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10 ORIENTATION--information especially likely to be needed by users of a file as a frame of reference for understanding the materials classified elsewhere; organization of the file, special coding decisions, and evaluation of the file.

GUIDE TO THE AR7 KHASI FILE

[The AR7 Khasi file is concerned with the Mon-Khmer-speaking Khasi people living in the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills district of Assam in northeastern India. It also contains some information on the very closely related Jaintias who live in the southeastern part of this area and the Lynngams in the western part of the area. Though all Khasis fundamentally share the same language and social structure, their culture, dialects, economy and political organization do vary. They are generally matrilineal in social organization, having matrilineal clans and a social class system. Their economy is based on agriculture, with emphasis on potatoes or rice depending on the location.

There are 21 sources in the Khasi file, all of them in English except for five translations from the German (2: Stegmiller, 3: Stegmiller, 4: Stegmiller, 5: Stegmiller, 6: Becker and 7: Becker). There are three major sources in the file, 1: Gurdon, 15: Nakane and 19: Assam. 1: Gurdon, by a British army officer, is a general, systematic ethnography of the Khasi, based on three years experience with the tribe around the year 1900. 15: Nakane, by a Japanese ethnologist, is a comparative study of Garo and Khasi matrilineal systems based on fieldwork in 1955 and 1956. 19: Assam is a general economic survey of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills area containing a great deal of detailed statistical information. Sources 2 through 7, by the Roman Catholic missionaries Stegmiller and Becker, emphasize various religious and cermonial customs of the period 1905-1920. 8: Gurdon and 16: McCormick are cultural summaries, with 16: McCormick being much better organized and being a good place to get an overview of the culture. Three sources (9: Godwin-Austen, 10: Clarke, and 18: Godwin-Austen) deal with stone monuments and their cultural implications. Sources concentrating on kinship and social organization are 13: Mukherjee, 14: Roy,

and 21: Ehrenfels. 11: Chattopadhyay contains a miscellany of cultural information, 12: Mukherjee et al. is a survey of house types, 17: Banerjee a description of a festival, and 20: Hunter a general description of the Khasi during the middle 1870's. This is generally a good file for comparative purposes, containing a good deal of information in depth on social organization and economics. However, most of the other subjects are only superficially covered. The researcher should be aware of subcultural variations within the society and of possible confusion in the data between Khasi, Jaintia and Lynngam. The file also has some historical depth, with several sources dating from the 1870s and with other material relating to the 1950s. The file was processed between 1956 and 1974.]

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[P. XIV is blank]

INTRODUCTION.

121 In 1903 Sir Bampfylde Fuller, then Chief Commissioner
122 of Assam, proposed, and the Government of India sanctioned, the preparation of a series of monographs on the more important tribes and castes of the Province, of which this volume is the first. They were to be undertaken by writers who had had special and intimate experience of the races to be described, the accounts of earlier observers being at the same time studied and incorporated; a uniform scheme of treatment was laid down which was to be adhered to in each monograph, and certain limits of size were prescribed.

114 Major Gurdon, the author of the following pages, who is also, as Superintendent of Ethnography in Assam, editor of the whole series, has enjoyed a long and close acquaintance with the Khasi race, whose institutions he has here undertaken to describe. Thoroughly familiar with their language, he has for three years been in charge as Deputy-Commissioner of the district where they dwell, continually moving among them, and visiting every part of the beautiful region which is called
643 by their name. The administration of the Khasi and
101 Jaintia Hills is an exceptionally interesting field of official responsibility. About half of the district, including the country around the capital, Shillong, is outside the limits of British India, consisting of a collection of small states in political relations, regulated by treaty with the Government of India, which enjoy

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643 almost complete autonomy in the management of their
101 local affairs. In the remainder, called the Jaintia Hills, which became British in 1835, it has been the wise policy of the Government to maintain the indigenous system of administration through officers named *dolois*, who preside over large areas of country with very little interference. All the British portion of the hills is what is called a "Scheduled District" under Acts XIV and XV of 1874, and legislation which may be inappropriate to the conditions of the people can be, and is, excluded from operation within it. In these circumstances the administration is carried on in a manner well calculated to win the confidence and attachment of the people, who have to bear few of the burdens which press upon the population elsewhere, and, with the peace and protection guaranteed by British rule, are able to develop their institutions upon indigenous lines. It is now more than forty years since any military operations have been necessary within the hills, and the advance of the district in prosperity and civilization during the last half-century has been very striking.

177 The first contact between the British and the
648 inhabitants of the Khasi Hills followed upon the
175 acquisition by the East India Company, in consequence of the grant of the *Dīwānī* of Bengal in 1765, of the district of Sylhet. The Khasis were our neighbours on the north of that district, and to the north-east was the State of Jaintia,* ruled over by a chief of Khasi lineage, whose capital, Jaintiapur, was situated in the plain between the Surma river and the hills. Along this frontier the Khasis, though not averse from trade, and in possession of the quarries which furnished the chief

113 * The previous history of the Khasi State of Jaintia, so far as it can be traced, will be found related in Mr. E. A. Gait's *History of Assam* (1906), pp. 253-262.

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177 Europeans had entered the hill territory of the Khasi
648 tribes, and the account of the march, quoted in
175 Pemberton's Report,* is the earliest authentic information which we possess of the institutions of the Khasi race. Dr. Buchanan-Hamilton, who spent several years at the beginning of the 19th Century in collecting information regarding the people of Eastern India, during which he lived for some time at Goalpara in the Brahmaputra Valley, confused the Khasis with the
[101] Garos, and his descriptions apply only to the latter people. The name Garo, however, is still used by the inhabitants of Kamrup in speaking of their Khasi neighbours to the South, and Hamilton only followed the local usage. In 1826 Mr. David Scott, after the expulsion of the Burmese from Assam and the occupation of that province by the Company, entered the Khasi Hills in order to negotiate for the construction of a road through the territory of the Khasi *Siem* or Chief of Nongkhlāw, which should unite Sylhet with Gauhati. A treaty was concluded with the chief, and the construction of the road began. At Cherrapunji Mr. Scott built for himself a house on the plateau which, two years later, was acquired from the Siem by exchange for land in the plains, as the site of a sanitarium.† Everything seemed to promise well, when the peace was suddenly broken by an attack made, in April 1829, by the people of Nongkhlāw on the survey party engaged in laying out the road, resulting in the massacre of two British officers and between fifty and sixty natives. This led to a general confederacy of

* Pp. 218-220. It appears from p. 219 that Mr. Scott's report is responsible for the erroneous statement (often repeated) that the mountaineers "called by us Cossyahs, denominate themselves Khyee." This second name is in fact the pronunciation current in Sylhet of the word *Khāsi*, *h* being substituted for *s*, and should be written *Khāhi*.

† In Mr. Scott's time it was usual to speak of such a place as a "Sanatary."

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THE KHASIS

SECTION I.

HABITAT.

101 162 THE Khasis reside in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills district of Assam. They number 176,614 souls, which total is made up as:—

Khasis	107,515
Syntengs	47,883
Christian Khasis	17,125
Khasis inhabiting other districts	4,091
	176,614

131 162 563 The Khasi and Jaintia Hills district is situated between 25° 1′ and 26° 5′ North Latitude, and between 90° 47′ and 92° 52′ East Longitude. It contains an area of 6,157 square miles, with a total population at the Census of 1901 of 202,250 souls. In addition to the Khasis there are some members of Bodo tribes inhabiting parts of the district.

The Lynngam tribe appears to have been reckoned in 1901 as Khasi, there being no separate record at the last Census of these people.

101 131 [133] 563 The district is split up into two divisions, the Khasi Hills proper and the Jaintia Hills. The Khasi Hills form the western portion of the district and the Jaintia Hills the eastern. The Khasis inhabit the Khasi Hills proper, and the Syntengs, or Pnars, the Jaintia Hills. The latter hills take their name from the Rajas of Jaintia, the former rulers of this part of the country, who had as their capital Jaintiapur, a place situated at the foot of the Jaintia Hills on the southern side, which now falls within the boundaries of the Sylhet

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101 district. The Lynngams inhabit the western portion of the
131 Khasi Hills proper. A line drawn north and south through
563 the village of Nongstoin may be said to form their eastern boundary, and the Kamrup and Sylhet districts their northern and southern boundaries, respectively. The people known as *Bhois* in these hills, who are many of them really Mikirs, live in the low hills to the north and north-east of the district, the term "Bhoi" being a territorial name rather than tribal. The eastern boundary of the Lynngam country may be said to form their north-western boundary. The Wárs inhabit the precipitous slopes and deep valleys to the south of the district. Their country extends along the entire southern boundary of the district to the Jadukata, or Kenchi-iong, river where the Lynngam territory may be said to commence towards the south. There are some Hadem colonies in the extreme eastern portions of the Jaintia Hills. It is these colonies which are sometimes referred to by other writers as "Kuki Colonies." They are settlers from the North Cachar Sub-division of the Cachar district within recent years. It is possible that the title Hadem may have some connection with *Hidimba*, the ancient name for the North Cachar Hills.

APPEARANCE.

142 The colour of the Khasi skin may be described as being usually brown, varying from dark to a light yellowish brown, according to locality. The complexion of the people who inhabit the uplands is of a somewhat lighter shade, and many of the
[361] women, especially those who live at Nongkrem, Laitlyngkot, Mawphlang, and other villages of the surrounding high plateaux, possess that pretty gipsy complexion that is seen in the South of Europe amongst the peasants. The people of Cherrapunji village are specially fair. The Syntengs of the Jaintia Hills are darker than the Khasi uplanders. The Wárs who live in the low valleys are frequently more swarthy than the Khasis. The Bhois have the flabby-looking yellow skin of the Mikirs, and the Lynngams are darker than the Khasis. The Lynngams are probably the darkest complexioned people in the

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577 plains, jealous of their power, brave in action, and have an aversion to falsehood."

797 Khasis of the interior who have adopted Christianity are
177 generally cleaner in their persons than the non-Christians,
515 and their women dress better than the latter and have an air
342 of self-respect about them. The houses in a Christian village are also far superior, especially where there are resident European missionaries. Khasis who have become Christians often
771 take to religion with much earnestness (witness the recent
797 religious revival in these hills, which is estimated by the Welsh
794 missionaries to have added between 4,000 and 5,000 converts to Christianity), and are model Sabbatarians, it being a pleasing sight to see men, women, and children trooping to church on a Sunday dressed in their best, and with quite the Sunday expression on their faces one sees in England. It is a pleasure to hear the sound of the distant church bell on the hill-side on a Sunday evening, soon to be succeeded by the beautiful Welsh hymn tunes which, when wafted across the valleys, carry one's thoughts far away. The Welsh missionaries have done, and continue to do, an immense amount of good amongst these people. It would be an evil day for the Khasis if anything should occur to arrest the progress of the mission work in the Khasi Hills.

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION.

162 The Khasis inhabit the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, although
101 there are a few Khasi settlers in the neighbouring plains districts. The Census Report of 1901 gives the following figures of Khasi residents in the plains:—

Cachar	333
Sylhet	3,083
Goalpara	4
Kamrup	191
Darrang	10
Nowgong	29
Sibsagar	62
Lakhimpur	22
Lushai Hills	77
North Cachar	32
Naga Hills	62

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Garo Hills	117	162
Manipur	69	101
Total	4,091*	

The following information regarding the general aspect of [127] the Khasi and Jaintia Hills district, with some additions, is 133 derived from Sir William Hunter's Statistical Account of Assam. The district consists almost entirely of hills, only a very small portion lying in the plains. The slope of the hills on the southern side is very steep until a table-land is met with at an elevation of about 4,000 feet at Cherrapunji. Higher up there is another plateau at Mawphlang. This is the [361] highest portion of the hills, some villages being found at as high an elevation as close on 6,000 feet above sea level. Fifteen miles to the east of Mawphlang, and in the same range, is situated the civil station of Shillong, at an average elevation of about 4,900 feet. The elevation of the Shillong Peak, the highest hill in the district, is 6,450 feet above sea level. On the northern side of the hills are two plateaux, one between 1,000 and 2,000 feet below the level of Shillong, and another at an elevation of about 2,000 feet above sea level. In general features all these plateaux are much alike, and consist of a succession of undulating downs, broken here and there by the valleys of the larger hill streams. In the higher ranges, where 137 the hills have been denuded of forest, the country is covered 185 with short grass, which becomes longer and more rank in the 374 lower elevations. This denudation of forest has been largely 327 due to the wood being used by the Khasis for fuel for iron smelting in days gone by. The Government, however, has taken steps to protect the remaining forests from further 137 spoliation. A remarkable feature is the presence of numerous sacred groves situated generally just below the brows of the [778] hills. In these woods are to be found principally oak and rhododendron trees. The fir-tree (Pinus Khasia) is first met with on the road from Gauhati to Shillong, at Umsning, at an elevation of about 2,500 feet. In the neighbourhood of Shillong the fir grows profusely, but the finest fir-trees are to be seen

* The figures for Khasi population in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills district will be found under "Habitat."

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SECTION III.

LAWS AND CUSTOMS.

TRIBAL ORGANIZATION.

101 [197] THE inhabitants of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills may be said to be divided into the following sections:—Khasi, Synteng or Pnar, Wár, Bhoi, and Lynngam. These divisions represent collections of people inhabiting several tracts of country and speaking dialects which, although often deriving their origin from the Khasi roots, are frequently so dissimilar to the standard language as to be almost unrecognizable. The above sections may be sub-divided as follows:—The Khasis into the inhabitants of the central high plateau, Cherra and Nongstoin, Maharam, Mario, Nongkhlaw, and the neighbouring Siemships. The Syntengs or Pnars may be divided as follows:—Into Syntengs proper, Nongtungs, and Kharwangs; the Wárs into Wár proper, and Wár Pnar; the Bhois into Jinthongs, Mynris, Ryngkhongs, and the Khasi-Bhois, i.e. Khasis who inhabit the low country to the north of the district, which is called generally the "Bhoi." The Lynngams are a separate division. They must not be confused with the Dkos or Hanas who are Garos. It must, however, be remembered that the Jinthong, Mynri, and Ryngkhong Sub-divisions of the Bhoi division are not Khasi, but Mikir, i.e. they belong to the Bodo or Bara group. The Lynngams are half Khasis and half Garos, and the Dkos or
101 Hanas are Garos who observe the Khasi custom of erecting
582 memorial stones. The above tribes and sub-tribes are not
614 strictly endogamous, nor are they strictly exogamous, but they are more endogamous than exogamous; for instance, Syntengs more often marry Syntengs than Khasis, and *vice versâ*, and it would be usually considered derogatory for a

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Khasi of the Uplands to marry a Bhoi or Wár woman, and 101
a disgrace to marry a Lynngam. These divisions are sub- 582
divided into a number of septs, taking Mr. Risley's definition of 614
"sept" as being the largest exogamous division of the tribe. It will, however, be more convenient to speak of these septs as "clans," the word "clan" having been used in other parts of this Monograph and by other writers.

Many of the clans trace their descent from ancestresses or 614
kiaw (grandmothers), who are styled *ki Iawbei-Tynrai*, lit. grandmothers of the root (i.e. the root of the tree of the clan). In some of the clans, the name of this ancestress survives; take as instances the Mylliem-ngap and Mylliem-pdah clans of the Khyrim State, the names of the ancestresses of the clans being *ka ngap* (honey, i.e. the sweet one), and *ka pdah* respectively. [776]
This tribal ancestress, as will be seen in the paragraph of the monograph dealing with ancestor-worship, is greatly reverenced, in fact, she may almost be said to be deified. The descendants of one ancestress of the clan, *Ka Iawbei Tynrai*, are called *shi kur* or one clan. We then come to the division of the *kpoh* or sub-clan, all the descendants of one great grandmother (*ka Iawbei Tymmen*), being styled *shi kpoh*. The next division is the *iing* (lit. house) or family. It is almost in- [592]
variably the case that the grandmother, her daughters and the daughter's children, live together under one roof, the grandmother during her life-time being the head of the house. The grandmother is styled *ka Iawbei Khynraw*, or the young grandmother, to distinguish her from the other two grandmothers, *ka Iawbei-tynrai* and *ka Iawbei-tymmen* who have been mentioned above. The young grandmother, her daughters and their children are said to belong to *shi iing*, one house, the word *iing* in this instance possessing amongst the Khasis the same significance as the English word *family*.

We will now see how the Khasi clan (*kur* or *jaid*) grew out 614
of the Khasi family (*iing*). Let us take the example of the 773
great Diengdoh clan of Cherra. Disregarding the myth that the Diengdohs are descended from a mermaid, it may be stated that there seems to be a fairly general belief amongst the Diengdohs that their first ancestress or *kiaw* came from the

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585 of a Garo marriage. The Lyngams, unlike the Garos, do not
782 observe which way the beaks of the fowls turn when they are thrown on the ground after being sacrificed. The Lyngams,
787 like the Khasis, take auguries from the entrails of the fowls and the pig. After these ceremonies are over, the Lyngam pair are allowed to cohabit. The cost of an ordinary Lyngam
585 marriage is from Rs. 30 to Rs. 40. The marriage system in
435 vogue among the Lyngams may be described as a mixture of the Khasi and Garo customs. As has already been stated,
101 the Lyngams are a mongrel breed of Khasis and Garos.

CEREMONIES ATTENDING DEATH.

764 The death customs of the Khasis are not only very elaborate, but possess a significance of their own, it is, therefore, necessary to describe them in detail; they are as follows:—

763 A member of the family bends down towards the ear of the apparently deceased person and calls him or her by name three times, to make sure that death has occurred. If no answer comes, the family laments, for it is then con-
764 cluded that the person is really dead. The body is then bathed
291 in warm water from three earthen pots and is reverently laid on a mat (*japung*), where it is dressed in white cloth, a peculiar feature of the dressing being that the waist-cloth and turban are folded from left to right, and not from right to left, as in the case of the living. An egg called *u'leng kpoh*
764 is placed on the stomach of the deceased, and nine fried grains, of *riw hadem*, or Indian corn, are tied round the head with a string. The rich place ear-rings in the ears and other jewellery on the body of the deceased, it being necessary that this jewellery should be specially made for the occasion, and they
[775] deck the corpse with valuable cloths. A cock, *u'iar krad lyati* (literally the cock that scratches the way), is sacrificed, the idea being that a cock will scratch a path for the spirit to the next world. A sacrifice of a bull, or of a cow in case the deceased is a woman, (*u* or *ka masi pynsum*,) follows. Portions of the left leg of the fowl and the lower part of the jaw of the bull or cow are kept, to be placed afterwards in the *mawshieng*, or bone,

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539 in the Rupatylli channel at Duwara. She was covered with shame, and she slackened her speed and split herself up into five branches, namely, ka Umtong, ka Torasa, ka Pasbiria, ka Kumarjani, and ka Duwara. Umiam did this so as to hide her shame from Umngot. This is how the river Rupatylli was formed at Duwara, to be a token that Umngot had been victorious in her contest with Umiew.*

leh khnang ba'n búh rien ia la ka jingkhein burom ha khymat ka Umngot. Kumta sa long ka wah Rupatylli ha Duwara namar ka long ka dak ka jingjop ka Umngot ia ka Umiew.

THE KUPLI (KOPILI).

539 133 484 782 The Kopili river rises in the "Black Mountains," † and flows northwards into the Brahmaputra. It is the boundary between the country of the Syntengs and that of the Hadems. ‡ Any traveller who wishes to cross this river must leave behind him the rice which he has taken for his journey, and any other food that he may have taken with him. If he does not do so, even if he crosses the river at an unforbidden point, he is liable to offer a sacrifice to the Kopili goddess. The people offer to her three fowls and three goats outside the village, i.e. one to the goddess herself, and the other two to her sons, U Shyngkram and U Jali; and five fowls, that

SHAPHANG KA KUPLI, U SHYNGKRAM BAD U JALI, KI KHÚN JONG KA.

Ka Kupli ka long ka wah na ki lúm baiong bad ka túid da artet ha ka wah Brahmaputra. Ka long ka púd ia ka ri Synteng bad ka ri Hadem ha mihngi. Uno-uno u nongleit jingleit uba kwah ban jám ia kane ka wah Blei-Kupli u don kam ba'n bred noh ia la u kháw-ryneng ha shiliang wah, bad ia ki kynja jingbám baroh phar, te un sa klan ia ka. Lada u'm da leh kumta, la'u klan na ka jaka ka b'ym sang ruh un háp jingaingúh ha ka. Ki khún-ki-hajár ia ka ba lum lái s'iar, lái blang kawei ia ka, marmar uwei ia U Shyngkram bad U Jali; bad san s'iar ba ki'n ia bám sngewbba baroh lái

* Both rivers, Umngot and Umiew, or Umiam, have their sources in or close to the Shillong Peak. The word "*Rupatylli*" signifies in Khasi a solid silver necklace of a peculiar shape. In order to appreciate this pretty tale thoroughly, the reader ought to view the river "Rupatylli" from the heights of Laitkynsew, or Mahadeo, whence it is to be seen glistening in the sun like a veritable *rupatylli* or silver necklace.

† These mountains are the high hills which lie to the east of the Jowai Sub-Division, and which form part of the boundary line between the Khasi and Jaintia Hills District and North Cachar.

‡ The word Hadem is possibly a corruption of "Hidimba," the old name for North Cachar.

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Khasi Hills.	Jaintia Hills.
1. Lynkah (Barpani or Khawang)	Kyllao. (Suhtnga).
2. Nongkrem	Pynsing.
3. Um-long (Maolong the hat at Laban)	Maolong. (Nartiang).
4. Ranghep (Ieu-bah at Cherra) (Mawtawar in Mylliem) (Unsaw in Nongkhlaw)	Maosiang. (Jowai).
5. Shillong (Laitlyngkot)	Maoshai. (Shangpung).
6. Pomtih or Pomtiah (Mawkhar, small market)	Pynkat. (Mynso).
7. Umnih	Thym-blein.
8. Yeo-duh (Mawkhar, large market)	Ka-hat. (Jaintiapur).

In the Wár country, markets are usually held every fourth day, e.g. at Nongjri, Mawbang, Tyllap, and Shella. At Theria the market is held every Friday, and at Hat-majai, or Bholagunj, every Tuesday.

THE LYNNGAMS.

●101 131 Although mention has been made incidentally in various parts of this monograph of Lynngam customs, it has been thought necessary to give the Lynngams a separate chapter, as these people differ so very greatly from the Khasis in their manner of life, and in their customs. *Lynngam* is the Khasi name; the Garo name for the Lynngams is *Megam*. There [361] are several *Megam* villages in the north-eastern corner of the Garo Hills district, and there is regular communication kept up between these villages and the Lynngam inhabitants of the Khasi Hills district. The Lynngams must not be confused with the *Hámá* or *Námdaniya* Garos who inhabit the low hills to the north of the Khasi Hills district, and are called by the 101 Khasis *Dko*. All Lynngams claim to be Khasis, they dislike 197 being called Garos; but although it is true they speak what may be called a dialect of Khasi, and observe some of the Khasi customs, the Lynngams, are more Garo than Khasi. Before 101 proceeding further, it should be stated that the Assamese of Boko call the Lynngams *Núniyá* Garos, all hill people being Garos to the Assamese of that region, without distinction

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or difference. It is owing to these three different names being 101
used for the same people that there has been so much confusion
about Lynngams previously; e.g. at one census they were named
Lynngam, at another they received the appellation of Garo, and
at a third enumeration they were called Khasis. In Section I. 131
the habitat of the Lynngams has been roughly defined. It is 361
impossible to define the Lynngam country exactly, because 173
these people are continually shifting their village sites
owing to the exigencies of *jhum* cultivation, which has been
described in Section II. Some of the Lynngams preserve
a tradition that they originally came from the Kamrup
plains. It is interesting that a people, like the Garos in so
many respects, should have the same idea as the Garos as to the
hills on the south bank of the Brahmaputra not always having
been their abode. The Garo legend is that they dwelt for 173
some years in the Goalpara and Kamrup plains after they 361
descended from Thibet, and before they moved to the Garo 144
Hills; and there is unmistakable evidence of their occupation of
both districts in the shape of certain Garo villages on both
banks of the Brahmaputra for some little distance up the river.
If, as I suspect, the Lynngams are an offshoot of the Garos, it
is, perhaps, possible that they entered the Khasi Hills much in
the same way as the Garos entered the hill district to which
they have given their name. The Lynngams are much darker 142
than the Khasis, and possess the Thibeto-Burman type of 177
feature often to a marked degree. It is not extraordinary that
they should have adopted some of the Khasi customs, for the
Khasis, being the stronger people, would in course of time be
bound to influence them in this respect. That the Lynngams 611
observe the matriarchate and erect (some clans) memorial 211
stones is not peculiar, because the Garos, like the Khasis, are 764
also a matriarchal people (to a limited degree), and the custom
of erecting memorial stones is not confined to the Khasis, for
other hill tribes in Assam observe the practice, e.g. certain
Naga tribes and the Mikirs; and the Garos themselves put up
carved posts, called *kima*, in honour of the departed. Although 582
there is not much intermarriage between the Khasis and the 101
Lynngams nowadays, perhaps in days gone by there was a 147
mixture of blood, the result being the hybrid race we are now
considered

5:Stegmiller-1 M-4,5(no date)1928 AR7Khasi AR7

[703]

443 The Market Life of the Khasi
(with ten original photographs by the author)
by P.F. Stegmiller, S.D.S., Munich

[101] The mountains in the northeast corner of India which lie between the valleys of the Brahmaputra and the Barak are inhabited by a [161] tribe, the Khasi, numbering about 200,000 people. Although they rarely cross the borders of their homeland and live almost cut off from their [484] neighbors, they have an active traffic amongst themselves and travel a lot. This traveling is determined by the very distinct market life of the Khasi. It is truly the pulse beat of the people. The rest of their homelife, their activities, and their private, public, and religious life. (1) Time is divided according to the market; the market replaces the daily newspaper and the information service; the market unites the individual villages; the market offers a living to many and for many has become a source of wealth.

1. P.F. Stegmiller, "Aus dem religiösen Leben der Khasi' [The Religion Life of the Khasi], Anthropos, 1921-1922, pp. 425 ff.

443 How much the Khasi depend on a thriving 782 market may be seen in their prayers which are spoken every year at the great state sacrifices in honor of the god Shillong by the sacrificer (lyngdoh) presenting the service: "O god, Shillong! Thou who receivest this prayer, this sacrifice of goats, of fowl, of kou and rynsi (a kind of bread of rice flour or cornmeal with pounded sugar), of utensils used in the preparation, as thou has given them to the royal

Family Property and Maternal Rights

/127/ by C. Becker S.D.S., Wurzburg

The fall of 1910 and the entire following year found the distin-
114 guished head of the Ethnographic Museum in Munich, to whom this anniversary volume is dedicated, on a research and collection trip in the extensive and inexhaustible territories of India. He was accompanied by his active wife, who served as his scientific assistant. From Burma, a mine of rich, ethnographic treasure and where the greatest part of their Indian stay was spent, their journey led the research couple into Assam, situated in the northeast of India, a country of equal significance. Assam certainly belongs politically to an-
101 terior India, but forms a bridge to interior India both ethnographically and linguistically.

Among the mountain peoples who inhabit the chain of hills which traverses the length of present-day Assam, and which separates the two largest parts of the country from each other, the Brahmaputra Valley in the north and the Surma Plain in the south, is one of the most interesting and doubtless the most advanced of the tribes, the Khasi, who inhabit the so-called Khasi and Jaintia Mountains. It
[631] was in Shillong, the center of this area, which is now the capital of the country Assam under the English government, where towards the end of September, 1911, I first became acquainted with Professor D. L. Scherman and his wife and where a friendship of many years
133 had its beginning. Therefore this little study will lead us to the Khasi Mountains, to its slopes overgrown with its peculiar pine trees, which receive greetings across the plains from the snow-crowned peaks of the Himalayas, which are flooded by the mighty waves of the Brahmaputra River and the alternating inundations of the Surma River. Here a contented and cheerful little people live who have maintained their own special characteristics in spite of the many European influences and those of neighboring cultures.

162 /128/ Of the entire population of 243,263 people, who form the inhabitants of the Khasi and Jaintai Mountains (1), 203,855 are Khasi.

1. The following statistical estimates are taken from the Census of India 1921, Vol. III, Assam, (Shillong 1923) pp. I and II.

162
797 Of those, 37,852 have adopted Christianity, while the others are still adherents of ancient animistic cults, with the exception of somewhat

Sr Gurdon G-3 (no date) 1904 AR7 Khasi AR7

[p. 57]

JOURNAL

OF THE

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.

Vol. LXXIII. Part III.—ANTHROPOLOGY AND COGNATE SUBJECTS.

No. 4.—1904.

101 *Note on the Khasis, Syntengs, and allied Tribes, inhabiting the Khasi and Jaintia Hills District in Assam.*—By MAJOR P. R. T. GURDON, *Superintendent of Ethnography in Assam.* (With plates III—IV).

[Read 3rd August, 1904.]

142 1. *Physical characteristics.*—The men are seldom tall; they are generally well made, and possess great strength of limb,—of leg in particular. Their features show a resemblance to those of the Japanese; their complexions are fair, noses flat, lips thick, and eyes very frequently obliquely set. The women are good-looking, of a buxom type, and are cheerful and pleasant-mannered. Children are sometimes [276] exceedingly pretty. Khasis are inveterate chewers of *pán*,—both men, [405] women, and children; the distances from place to place being measured [302] by the number of betel-nuts that can be chewed on the journey. The hair of the males is shaved above the forehead pretty high up, and the remainder is gathered into a knot at the back of the head. Very few 291 Khasis have much hair about the face. Both Khasis and Synteng wear the sleeveless coat (*jymphong*) loin-cloth, *jain sieng* (a kind of

9: Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 AR7 Khasi AR7

On the STONE MONUMENTS *of the* KHASI HILL TRIBES, *and on some of the Peculiar Rites and Customs of the People.* By Major H. H. GODWIN-AUSTEN, F.R.G.S., Deputy Superintendent Topographical Survey of India.

121 THE increasing interest that is taken at the present day in ethnology and the history of man in past and present ages, more particularly in the customs of semi-civilised races in distant quarters of the world as compared with the state of those races who dwelt in Europe in early historic times, has led me to put together the information I obtained regarding the people of the Khāsi Hill tracts. Their customs are peculiar, and the fact that they are among the very few who erect at the present day monolithic monuments, is alone of great interest.

This has not escaped the attention of different travellers, 122 officers of the Indian service and others who have visited that quarter of the Bengal Presidency, and from time to time papers have been published; these are scattered through a number of periodicals, and in no case is a complete record of these Hill people to be found.

Notices on the Garos and Khāsis, as well as many of the other tribes on the north-eastern frontier of Bengal, are generally very short, in some instances mislead, and in some cases do the peo- 152 ple, savages though they be, but little justice; in truth, there is very much to admire in these Hill people, they are in many ways, socially and physically, far above their Bengāli neighbours of the plains; intercourse with them is, in consequence, much pleasanter, easier, and has far greater interest; innate honesty and truth in their manners of dealing often crop out, more especially in villages well within the hills, where contact with the people of the plains is of rare occurrence.

101 I shall notice the best of these papers having reference to tribes inhabiting the range of hills running west to east, south of Assam, from the sharp southern bend of the Brahmaputra up to the Kopili and Diyung river, in long. 92 deg. 45 min., a length of some one hundred and sixty-five miles.

114 In the "Asiatic Researches," vol. iii, published so far back as 1792, is a very interesting paper on the Gāros, by Mr. John 113 Eliot; his travels, however, did not extend so far to the east as the Khāsias.

The Rev. A. B. Lish, a missionary of Cherra Poonjee, published an account of the Khāsias in the "Calcutta Christian Observer" for 1838, he gives an account of their mode of breaking eggs for omens, etc.

Neither in M'Cosh's "Topography of Assam," or in Robinson's "Assam," is any newer or better information afforded concerning

9: Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 AR7 Khasi AR7

114 etc., when employed at heavy labour. Very much more decent is it than the thin gauze-like cloth worn by even the better class of Baboo in Calcutta, which makes hardly any pretence of concealing the private parts. I can speak for the Gāro women being particularly quiet and modest in their demeanour; and the young men on reaching a certain age, and until they marry, live and take their meals apart in a large house constructed for them; this is always the largest in the village, and where strangers are put up. This custom mitigates strongly against "their want of modesty", so often advanced, and proves, if anything, an advanced state of morality.

Again, in speaking of the Khasis and the looseness of their family and domestic relations, which are somewhat easy, the frequent changing of wives is not so common as might be supposed, and in the remoter villages I should say very rare.. There is a very strong force which militates against its frequent practice. The men of these tribes select thei wives not for beauty and delicacy, but for their well-developed forms and hard-working qualities—those who can carry heavy loads throughout the day; and the more children she begets the better for the pair: they can cultivate as these grow up a larger area, and live in greater comfort.

[113] In the *Calcutta Christian Observer*, March, 1852, is to be found one of the best papers on the Khāsis, by the Rev. W. Pryse, who was attached to the Welsh Mission working both at Cherra Poonjee and Sylhet. A very good article appears in the *Calcutta Review* for 1856, vol. 27, being a review of the "Geology of the Khāsi Hills, with Observations on the Meteorology and Ethnology of that District," by Thomas Oldham, Superintendent of the Geological Survey of India. a work containing much valuable and interesting matter. An Introduction to the Khāsia Language, by the Rev. W. Pryse, is also included in the above review.

114 The various ways in which the word Khāsi has been spelt by
101 different writers, has no doubt puzzled many an European reader, and will be familiar no doubt to some in the form of Cossyah, Khassyah, Kasia, etc. The most correct has been adopted by the mission at Cherra Poonjee in their printed works in the language, and adopted in this paper.

101 They call themselves Ki Khási, and their country Ká Ri
197 Khási;* and without going out of our way to seek for a derivation of this word, may it not be derived from the Hindustani "Ghāsi"—grassy: the whole of the upper lands being of this nature, in contradiction to the forest-clad valleys and slopes of the outer hills both north and south. The Khásias never pro-

* Compare "Rhi", a mountain (Tibetan).

9: Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 AR7 Khasi AR7

nounce the hard G; and in all words of Hindustani origin this letter has the sound of K. 101 [197]

They are called by the tribes of Kúkis and Nágás on the west "Káro", the name they themselves have for the whole mass of hill people on their western side, the Gāros, though as we pass towards their confines, we find the names of local clans giving way to this general term which was not known to some of the villagers of West Nongstoin, who call the Gāros "Dékor."

The Gāro appellation for the Khāsis is "Dikkil" or "Digil"; and it was very interesting to find, after visiting the villages of both, that they mutually fear each other, and consequently border raids never occur. The Gāros owned that they feared the bow and arrow of their neighbour, a weapon they themselves are unacquainted with the use of.

The Khāsis always point to the east as the quarter from which they emigrated, but there is very little, if any, similarity with the languages of the people now occupying the hills on that side. [173] [197]

Before entering further on the subject matter of this paper, I must request my hearers or readers to remember that having no knowledge colloquially of the Khasi language, the information I give was obtained from natives who understood either English or Hindustani well. The greater part of the information was given me by a very intelligent man, a native inspector of schools in the district; thus I hope that all errors that exist may be hereafter corrected by others who have been able to elucidate with greater exactness the meaning of their many different rites and superstitions. 115

Certainly the most striking objects of interest in the Khāsi Hills are the upright stone monuments that are to be seen all over the country; these, set up by the wayside, or in the villages, more frequently cutting the sky on prominent hills, with the large slabs horizontally set before them, at once recall the Druidical remains of our own island, northern France, etc., and lead one to marvel at the similarity of the custom, and to inquire its origin and design. Many who visit those hills take it at once for granted that they are the graves of illustrious men, or, after a vain endeavour to get some information from the coolies about them, let the matter rest, or finally believe that the ashes of the dead, to whose memory the monoliths are erected, are buried under the flat kind of altar or dolmen seen in front. 764 211

It is always a very difficult matter to obtain information from semi-civilised people on such a subject as their religious rites, especially if the inquirer is ignorant of their language. A slight knowledge of Hindustani on the part of the Khāsia villager, renders the attempt still more hopeless, and the information given quite erroneous.

10: Clarke U-3 (no date)1874 AR7 Khasi AR7

The STONE MONUMENTS *of the* KHASI HILLS. By C. B. CLARKE. [Communicated by Professor H. Fawcett, through Sir John Lubbock, Bart].*

131 THE Khasi Hills form a plateau, at a mean elevation of 4,500 feet above the sea, between the plain of Assam on the north and the plain of Sylhet on the south. They are inhabited by the
● 101 Khasi tribe, a people very distinct from the Hindoos north and south of them, and who are a branch of a race which extends eastward as far as South China. Immediately east of them are the Jaintea people, also called Sintengs, who are very closely allied in race and customs to the Khasi tribe. The
133 Jaintea country is physically a portion of the same plateau as the Khasi, and is only arbitrarily divided from it, and exhibits the same grassy hill-tops. The Khasi and Jaintea tribes together occupy the political district administered by the Deputy-Commissioner of Shillong, and the whole plateau is accordingly called the Shillong Plateau by Mr. Medlicott, the Dep.-Superintendent of the Geological Survey in India. Shillong is the English station which is the political capital. The plateau is remarkable for its freedom from the dense jungle which covers the neighbouring Himalayas at similar elevations; it is a fine rocky moor-like plateau, with isolated

* The woodcuts illustrating this paper have been kindly lent by Mr. Murray.

[p. 481]

Ll: Chattopadhyay E-4, 5 (no date) 1941 AR7 Khasi AR7

[p. 3]

CHAPTER I

According to traditions preserved by the local people, the Iangblah clan were the first settlers in Mawphlang. The Lyngdohs were invited to come and settle as the Iangblahs wanted priests to perform proper worship for their village. Other clans came later and settled in the State. These old clans are known as Khadar Kur. Myntris are elected from the following four clans—Iangblah, Khar Shiing, Khar Hunai and Khar Sohlia. The above traditions of the origin of the settlement were furnished by the myntri U Subu Rai, his sister's husband U Alisson and others. The list of Khadar Kur furnished by the myntri is noted below :— 101 [124]

(1) Iangblah.	(2) Lyngdoh.	(3) Khar Shiing.
(4) Khar Hunai	(5) Khar Sohlia.	(6) Khar Phannap.
(7) Khar Kynnie.	(8) Khar Sahkhar.	(9) Marbaniang.
(10) Khar Narbi.	(11) Khar Mawphlang.	(12) Khar Syntiew.

The genealogy of myntri U Subu Rai, of myntri U Orong Singh and others are shown at the end of this chapter. In collecting kinship terms, three questions were asked of the informant : 125 601

(i). What is the relationship of B to the informant A (and of A to B). This is shown in the tables as the kinship term.

(ii). What the informant A called B (and conversely). This is shown in the tables as the term of address.

(iii). How the informant A referred to the relationship of B to C, another relative. This is shown as the term of reference.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7
Garo AR5

PREFACE

K
G
121

The purpose of this monograph is to present theoretical problems of Garo and Khasi social organization in relation to those of other matrilineal systems. In fact, the study of these two matrilineal systems has led me to enquire into many other matrilineal systems, as will appear throughout my discussion in Parts I and II. As a result, I think I have reached certain conclusions of theorical interest concerning matrilineal systems as a whole; these are presented in the last part of the book.

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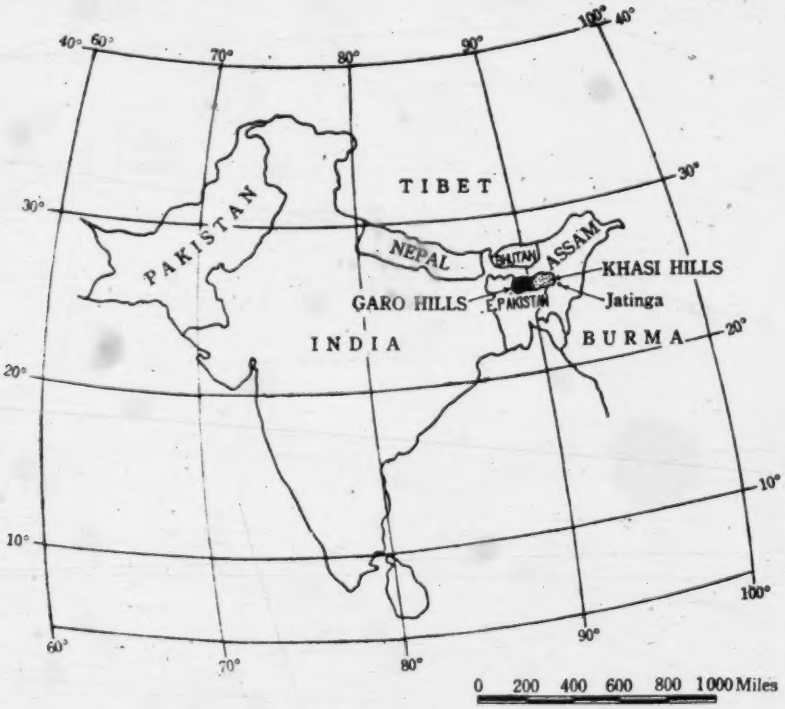

MAP I. — *Location of the Garo Hills and the Khasi-Jaintia Hills.*

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The homeland of the Khasi is the hilly country situated in the northeast of India and known at present as the District of United Khasi and Jaintia Hills, under the Assam State Government. The area is bounded by the plains of the Kamrup and the Nowgong Districts to the north, by the Cachar Hills and East Pakistan (District of Sylhet) to the south, and by the United Mikir and North Cachar Hills Districts to the east. The Khasi and Jaintia Hills are divided politically into two subdivisions, with headquarters at Shillong for the Khasi Hills, and at Jowai for the Jaintia Hills, respectively. The peoples of both subdivisions are called "Khasi" in a broad sense, and are distinctly marked off from other neighbouring tribes and peoples by language and social structure. The population of the Khasi in the District is 363,599 *(Census of India, 1951, Assam)*. Their language belongs to one of the Mon group of the Austro-Asiatic family to which the Munda in central India also belongs.[1]

Though all Khasis share fundamentally the same language and social structure, their culture, dialects, economy, social usage, and political organization vary greatly, owing to the ecological and politico-historical differences among them. The United Khasi and Jaintia Hills are much higher than the neighbouring Garo Hills. The plateau of the Khasi Hills ranges from about 5,000 feet to 6,000 feet, of which

1. The *Census of India, 1951, Assam*, makes the following remarks on their language: "Their nearest kinsmen have been discovered to be the Palaungs, a tribe inhabiting one of the Shan States to the northeast of Mandalay on the middle Salween. Later the relationship of the Khasi language has been traced not only to the Mon-Khmer language, but also to the Nicobarese and several dialects spoken by some tribes in the Malay Peninsula. In Assam, this special form of speech is only found in the Khasi and Jaintias while nearly all the other primitive languages with which it is surrounded belong to the great Bodo family. The Khasi language is the only member of the Mon-Khmer family which possesses a grammatical gender distinguishing all nouns as masculine and feminine, and here also the feminine nouns immensely preponderate."

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

133 the highest point is the Shillong Peak, 6,445 feet, covered with scrub,
137 grassland and forests (mostly oak, rhododendron and pine trees). The Jaintia Hills are considerably lower, with much flat land; wet paddy cultivation is practised here and there where sufficient water is available. From the plateau of the Khasi Hills northwards to the Assam Brahmaputra Valley there is a gentle slope covered with thick jungle, and the southern slope towards the Bengal plain is very steep, so that

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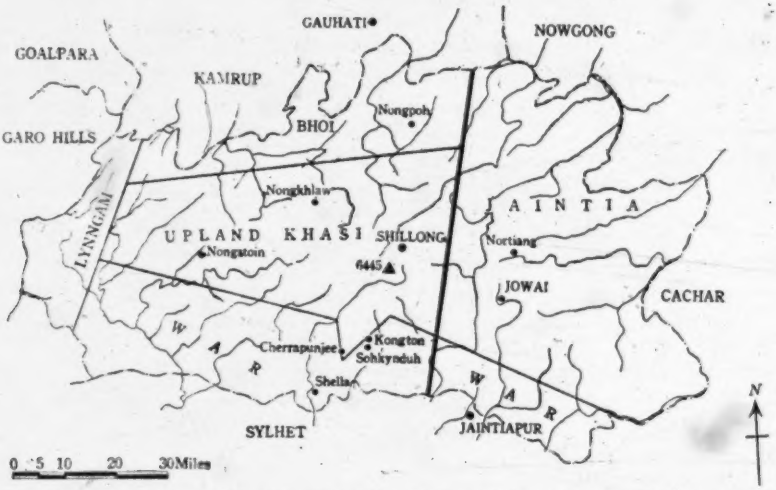

MAP. 8. — *Map of the Khasi-Jaintia Hills with Classification of Groups.*

133 the upland remained practically cut off from the plains until the
137 middle of the 19th century.

Following the geographical and ecological differences, the five
619 groups are segregated into fairly well-defined cultural areas, each developing a different economy and dialect:

[131]
[24]

1. The Jaintia[1] — associated mostly with wet rice cultivation.
2. The Khasi (upland Khasi) — practise potato cultivation with small-scale rice and maize cultivation.
3. The War — inhabit the southern slope of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills (they are called geographically the Khasi War and the Jaintia War). Due to the heavy rainfall, the soil is the most fertile in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills. The Khasi War practise jhuming of which the main yield is millet. In the lower part of this area, pan-leaf, betel-nut, and orange gardens are cultivated. The Jaintia War practise wet rice cultivation like most of the Jaintias, as well as pan-leaf cultivation.

1. They are called also the Synteng or the Pnar.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

CHAPTER II

VILLAGE COMMUNITY

As models of a Khasi village community, I have taken my data for the discussion presented in this chapter from two villages situated in the Kadashinong area, Sohkynduh and Kongton, with comparative data from Shella and Jatinga villages. 121

Sohkynduh and Kongton are situated in one of the most secluded spots of the Khasi Hills and the economy is shifting cultivation, with millet as its main product. Only a few Christians are found; most of the population are pagans. Shella is situated on the southern border of the Khasi Hills, adjacent to Pakistan. Jatinga is in the North Cachar Hills, surrounded by patrilineal tribes, such as the Zemi-Naga, the Kuki and the Cacharee. The economy of both villages is pan-leaf and orange cultivation. In Shella, Hindu, Christian and pagan are found among the villagers almost in the same proportions, while the Jatinga villagers are all Christian. The two Kadashinong villages, Shella and Jatinga, differ from one another not only in their religious and economic aspects, but in overt culture, dialect and political organization as well. (Additional information concerning Shella and Jatinga is given in Appendix.) Shella and Jatinga are unique among Khasi villages and quite sophisticated, having been developed under a trading economy, with considerable contacts with other peoples, including Hindus. I selected these villages in order to ascertain how far the structural principle which operates in the Kadashinong villages can be found to act also in totally different economic and environmental situations.

621 771 [101] [245] 184 621 121

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

APPENDIX

SOME ADDITIONAL INFORMATION FROM SHELLA AND JATINGA

SHELLA

Shella is situated on the lowest of the southern slopes of the Khasi Hills, bordering on the Sylhet plain of East Pakistan. For centuries the people of Shella maintained close trading connections with the people of the plain, so that they have been much influenced by the Hindu. They have been to some extent divorced economically and culturally from their own people who live in the uplands and on higher part of the slopes. Actually, this is a natural result of their geographical location. From Cherrapunjee, the southern edge of the upland Khasi Hills, only a narrow footpath goes down to Shella. The altitude of Cherrapunjee is about 5,000 feet and of Shella from 500 to 1,000 feet, and the distance between them is 8 miles. The path descends very steeply and is full of hard stones. This difficulty of communication is also why the Hindu influence did not penetrate the upland Khasi, as in the case of the Jaintia Hills.[1]

This area has a unique political organization which differs from the majority of Khasi states who are traditionally ruled by the members of the Siem clan. Shella is organized as a confederation, called 'Shella Confederacy,' and consists of four local villages. The head of the village is called *wadadhar*, and is elected by the villagers every three years. The number of households of the Shella Confederacy was about 900 in January 1956. The names of the four villages and their *wadadhar* in 1956 were:

Name of village	*Name of wadadhar*
1. Shella	Devish Mohan Roy
2. Mushtoh	Ditojou Roy
3. Nongtrai	Orju Roy
4. Tyngnger	Jabuni Roy

Each village is divided into sections. For instance, Shella village has nine sections: (1) Jasir, (2) Disong, (3) Duba, (4) Jamau, (5) Nongrum, (6) Nongnong,

1. However, Shella was the only way out and the main gateway from the Khasi Hills to the plain; it was here that the British first entered the Khasi Hills. They proceeded from Shella to Cherrapunjee and made the latter headquarters of the Khasi Hills in 1833.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

[Shella]

wife who lives with him. The Khasi woman lives with her mother. Some say the Khasi woman is his second wife, other say their marriage is not recognized by the public. 563

Actually, owing to the bad climate, very few non-Khasi live in this area. Besides the two non-Khasi just mentioned, there were a Bengalee tax collector and an Assamese Forest Officer, both of whom lived at Shella Bazaar. Bengalee villages are situated about five miles south of Shella. Except in the bazaar, Bengalee and Khasi have no social contact with each other, and intermarriages have been rare.

However, it is obvious that in the past the Khasi must have had many cases of intermarriage with Bengalee. Among the Khasi, there is a clan called 'Dkhar.' The term 'Dkhar' is also used for the peoples of the plains: Bengalee are called 'Dkhar' by the Khasi. They say that the Dkhar clan originated in Bengalee girls who married Khasi men and who went to live in the Hills. It is said that in older days, the Khasi often raided the Sylhet plain and kidnapped Bengalee girls as well as goods. In Bengalee records of Sylhet, Khasi appear as 'bloody Khasi.' Khasi old men say that in order to increase their population they did sometimes kidnap Bengalee girls, but that they treated these girls very nicely and kindly, no differently from their own people. Since they follow the matrilineal system, they decided to name their descendants 'Dkhar.' It is said that all the present Dkhar people are descendants of such marriages. The Dkhar are found more on the southern slopes of the Khasi Hills i.e. among the Wars. 101 563

It seems there were many reasons for the descendants by marriage between the Khasi and the Bengalee to become Khasi. First of all, it is said that in the olden days the Khasi wanted to increase the population by such marriages. At the same time, a Bengalee who married a Khasi became an outcast from his or her own society owing to the caste system, and this inevitably made them Khasi. Secondly, the Khasi were primarily grouped into the *iing*, and they considered the marriage relation as of secondary importance. Hence it was rather difficult to remove by marriage a Khasi man or woman from their native place. Thirdly, Khasi could hardly live in the plain where no betel-nut or pan-leaf gardens were available; they could not engage in rice cultivation in the plain, as the technique is entirely different from the cultivation of betel-nut or pan-leaf. Moreover, they said they could not stand the heat in the plain. Therefore, the orientation of intermarriages was always towards the Khasi community: the Khasi brought outsiders to their own land; they did not themselves leave.

Such a marked tendency on the part of the Khasi to remain attached to their own homeland, is in no way contradictory with the phenomena of their migration to places outside the Khasi Hills, owing to the exploitation of their homeland and to the increase in population. The formation of Jatinga represents such an instance; there are also the cases of modern Khasi women from sophisticated urban areas, who easily leave their homeland, after marriage with a non-Khasi; this also appears in the following data on Jatinga. 161 167 [563]

Jatinga

Jatinga is a Khasi village situated in the North Cachar Hills, three miles west from Haflong, the headquarters of the North Cachar Hills. The number of households was about sixty in February 1956. Their economy depends on the pan-leaf, orange and pineapple gardens, similar to that of the Shella people. 131 621 433

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

621 [Jatinga]

[175] This village was founded in 1905 by Khasi immigrants from the Jaintia Hills. At the entrance of the village, a bust of the founder, Lakhanbang Suchiang, [101] stands facing towards the east; it was erected on the occasion of the celebration [211] of their Golden jubilee, in November 1955. Houses are scattered along the [346] ridge of the moutain to the east and to the west; in the centre is the church. [771] All the inhabitants are Christians. Before the Partition this was one of the most modern and prosperous villages in Assam.

101 Jatinga provides a very interesting instance of the Khasi 'colonial' village. It is surrounded by villages of the Kuki, of the Zemi-Naga, and of the Cacharee, 121 who constitute the main population of the North Cachar Hills, and who are 621 tribes entirely different from the Khasi, in economy, social organization, language and culture. Therefore, Jatinga is like an island of Khasi community. I took this village as one of my fields, because I was particularly interested to discover how far the Khasi matrilineal organization is kept up in a community thus situated, surrounded by patrilineal tribes, and considerably modernized by Christianization and economic prosperity; and I was also interested in the process of formation of a new village, in comparison with Rinsibara and Joshipara in the Garo Hills.

Formation of the Present Population of Jatinga.

The first immigrants to Jatinga.

101 The main population of Jatinga, including the founder, originated in Bataw 166 village in the Jaintia Hills, twelve miles away from Jaintiapur, the capital of the then Jaintia Rajas. This village is situated on the border of the Jaintia 175 Hills and the East Bengal plain, the location being very similar to that of Shella, as are their culture and economy. In the later part of the nineteenth 621 century, some members of Bataw village moved to Borkhala, ten miles from Silchar, one of the biggest villages of the then Cacharee king.

These immigrants who came to Borkhala stayed there about fifteen years before they came to Jatinga. Kloribon, the first daughter of the founder's sister was born there. In November 1905, some Christian Khasi left Borkhala for Jatinga, acting on information gathered from a Welsh Mission at Haflong, that the land of present Jatinga was fertile and fit for their cultivation. They were the first immigrants to Jatinga. The Government record names the 166 following three persons as the first immigrants to Jatinga: Suchiang Lakhanbang, 551 Tariang, and Suchen Munik. In fact, according to the data which I collected 614 at Jatinga, Suchiang Lakhanbang was accompanied by the following persons (the names in brackets indicate the clans):

621 his wife, Misibon (Phanwar),[1]
175 his brother, Pryntah, and Pryntah's wife, Sintu (Rupsi),
his sister, Laptho, and Laptho's husband, Munik (Suchen) with their daughter, Kloribon, and Munik's younger brother, Sain.
his friend, Tariang.

Soon after their settlement, Sain, the brother of Munik, brought his wife Tahin (Suiam) from Jaintia. Misibon brought her younger sister, Diasibon. Tariang who came with Lakhanbang afterwards called his wife, Palong. But having spent some time there, they left eventually for another place, so that

1. Misibon was a native of the Cherrapunjee area of the Khasi Hills (not of Jaintia like the others). She was a school teacher at Cherrapunjee, and later became a teacher at a school near Jaintiapur, where she married Lakhanbang.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

178 like the Zemi-Naga, the Cacharee and the Kuki. But after the period of
563 economic prosperity as I shall describe in the next section, the Jatinga people
621 reached a rather high level of education, while most of the neighbouring tribes
[871] remained illiterate. Their standard of living likewise improved. Fashionable girls of Jatinga who have studied at the Convent school in Shillong, and speak English and Hindi, cannot marry half-naked tribesmen who work in the jungle. They prefer to intermarry with Moslem, Panjabee or Assamese who belong to amore sophisticated community, and through whom they can enjoy urban life. Thus the orientation of the intermarriage of the people of Jatinga has changed, along with the growth of Jatinga.

It should be noted that intermarriages came mostly through the contacts at Haflong, where people used to go once a week for the bazaar, rather than through direct contacts with neighbouring villages.

Economy of Jatinga and its Relation to Neighbouring Tribes.

178 It is very interesting to find two different kinds of economy in the same
171 ecological background: Jatinga Khasi practise pan-leaf and orange cultivation
245 and depend mainly on a trading economy, while the other neighbouring tribal peoples practise jhum cultivation, almost a subsistence economy. This situation has remained unchanged for the last fifty years since the establishment of Jatinga village.

101 The first Jatinga immigrants occupied one ridge of the mountain where the
245 present Jatinga is situated. Formerly, this land belonged to the Zemi-Naga, one of the old inhabitants of the Cachar Hills, who possessed a vast jungle area for jhum cultivation. It seems that there was no objection to the Khasi occupying this small spot: it was apparently too small an area for the jhum cultivator —pan-leaf cultivation of the Khasi requires less than one twentieth of the land of the usual jhum cultivation. The Khasi who started pan-leaf cultivation were able to accumulate some capital, and after several years they started orange gardens. They had had experience of orange cultivation in their homeland, but this was the first time they had operated commercially.

245 The success of this orange cultivation was beyond their dreams. Hearing
434 of good oranges at Jatinga, many Bengalee merchants from Dacca, Sylhet,
439 Silchar and Gauhati began to come to buy them. Moreover, the village had the great advantage of being situated near the railway station. Oranges were sold by carloads. Unimaginable wealth came to the Jatinga people. Especi-
[496] ally the founder's family, including his brother's and sister's, became extraor-
[871] dinarily wealthy; their income used to be Rs. 20,000 a year. The children were sent to the school which was established in the village and some were educated at colleges in Dacca, Sylhet and Shillong. The villagers had
[362] beautiful houses built by Manipuri and Bengalee carpenters. Actually the houses of Jatinga were known as some of the best construction in Assam.

Like the Shella people, they were managers of gardens and employed workers.
245 Wealthy households used to engage several labourers annually, most of them
46 from Jaintia where the Jatinga people had originated. These workers were provided with shelter in the servant quarters of their employer's house, but they had to provide meals for themselves. They were paid daily according to the work done. They were available to other households, when their employer had no work. Some labourers were also engaged locally among the Zemi-Naga, the Cacharee and the Kuki, though not as many as among the Jaintia.
245 These local tribes were fairly well occupied by their jhum cultivation, and not
464 used to being employed as workers. Therefore, most of them were not regular

16: McCormack E-4,5 (1956-1958) 1964
AR 7 Khasi AR 7
[P. 105 B]

NORTHERN UPLAND GROUPS

KHASIS[2]

Synonyms. *Cassia, Cossyah, Kasia, Kassia, Kassya, Kasya, Khasia, Khasiah, Khassi, Khassia, Khosia* 101

ORIENTATION. **Identification and location.** The term Khasi has often been applied to that entire 101 131 197 114 122

[2] This account of Khasi culture, contributed by Anna P. McCormack, is based on field work during 1956-58 in the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills District. The author wishes to emphasize that her data are on the upland Khasis who inhabit the center of the District. She gratefully acknowledges support of the field work from the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago, the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, Inc., and the Ford Foundation, for one of its Foreign Area Training Fellowships.

16: McCormack E-4,5 (1956-1958) 1964
AR7 Khasi AR7
[P. 106A]

group of matrilineal and Mon-Khmer-speaking people who claim as their ancestral homeland the present-day United Khasi-Jaintia Hills District (within approximately 90° 47′ and 92° 52′ E. and 25° 5′ and 26° 5′ N.). This group includes the Jaintias (also Pnar or Synteng) in the southeast, who differ from the Khasis primarily in their duolocal residence pattern and less virulent forms of sorcery. (The Hadem in eastern Jaintia are a Kuki people.) It also includes the Lyngngams (also spelled Lynngam) in the west, who practice migratory swidden agriculture and certain peculiar funerary rites, and are said by Ehrenfels (1955) to be culturally intermediate between Khasis and Garos. Finally, it includes Bhois, Wars, and upland Khasis, which terms are primarily territorial. Bhoi country is the north-central part of the District, and is culturally complicated by the presence of Mikirs, Lalungs, and Nepalis. War country spans the entire southern length of the District, so that Wars divide into Jaintia Wars and Khasi Wars; of these, the Khasi Wars have traditionally transmitted property to sons as well as to daughters. The upland center of the District is the country of the Khasis proper, those whose culture provides the most useful model for interpreting the variations found elsewhere. [For general reference on all categories of Khasi culture, cf. Costa 1936 and 1937; also Gurdon 1907, especially for data on regional variations.] **Geography.** The District is 5,554 square miles of hilly tableland, intricately dissected by numerous rivers, and marked by significant ecological variation over very short distances. The tablelands step gently downward north from Shillong Peak, which at 6,445 feet is the highest point in the District, and over about 55 miles ease into the Brahmaputra valley where this is some 250 feet above sea level. To the south, the land slopes more steeply downward for about 20 miles, and then drops abruptly, in cliff and steep-slope formations, to the Ganges sea-level delta that begins at its north with Sylhet. The annual southwest monsoons drop torrential rains around Cherrapunji and Mawsynram villages (for Cherrapunji, a record 805 inches in 1861), but then, reaching Shillong 33 miles to the northeast, provide only about 100 inches per year. Rainfall is again greater in Bhoi, which shares the Brahmaputra valley climate. Climate is temperate on the high Shillong plateau, where it seldom freezes and never snows. To the north, climate becomes subtropical, forest is jungly, and fauna abound. The climate to the south is also subtropical. [Cf. Hooker 1891: chap. XXIX.] **Linguistic affiliation.** Khasi is one of the major Mon-Khmer languages, related to Mon, Khmer, Semang-Sakai, Nicobarese, and Palaung-Wa. The major Khasi dialects are Khasi, Jaintia, and Lyngngam, to which Grierson adds War. Further minor variations occur from village to village. The Khasis had no script until 1842, when the roman alphabet was successfully applied to the Cherrapunji dialect of Khasi proper. [Cf. Rabel 1961; Grierson 1903-28: 2; Bareh 1962.]

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17: Banerjee E-5 (1955) 1962 AR7 Khasi AR7
Smit

THE KHASI FESTIVAL OF 'POMBLANG'

S. BANERJEE

INTRODUCTION

The Khasi inhabit the upland of the central part of the United Khasi and Jaintia Hills district of Assam. They reckon descent through mother and the youngest daughter (Ka khadduh) of the house is the custodian of the ancestral property. Belief in the existence of spirits is strong among them and the causes of diseases are ascertained by taking recourse to the process of divination. They are ruled by different categories of Chief. The *Siem* is the highest official responsible for the administration of the state but a few small states are also governed by *Sirdars* with same powers as vested in the former although does not possess the same status. It is interesting to note that their priest whose rank is next to *Siem*, have also been allotted to perform this secular duties in some of the regions of the Khasi country. The Chief function through their respective council comprising elected members from different administrative units. He is rather subservient to this body as he is liable to be censured or even dismissed, if his activities are not in conformity with the Khasi traditional usage. Most of his directives are implemented through the assistance of his subordinates who are in-charge of various sections of the State. The Khasi place his grievance first to these junior officers for redress and justice, after which an appeal can be preferred to the *Siem* or any other higher officer as the case may be. One of the eminent States of the Khasi people known as Khyriem, where this festival is celebrated, consists of eight units for administrative convenience under the supervision of different grades of officials who participated in this celebration along with the *Siem* as representatives of the people.

The Khasi festival of *Pomblang* (Goat killing) described below used to be celebrated at one time in Shillong when the Khasi states of Khyriem and Myliiem were not separated. The first chief of the Khyriem state U Singh Manik shifted his headquarters to Nongkrem village after partition of the kingdom, which occured before the arrival of the British. He again moved to Langkerdem after a brief stay at the village of Lyngshing. He performed this festival as long as he was there, transferring it again to Nongkrem where he re-settled again. It was celebrated here for a long time and consequently it was named after this village. Although the ruling family had later on shifted its residence about sixty years ago to the present village Smit, during the time of U Klur Singh, Siem, it is performed regularly as *Nongkrem dance* which was observed by the author from 21st June to 25th June, 1955.

OBJECT OF THE FESTIVAL

It is being held every year since the days of U Shillong who was supposed to be the founder of original Khyriem State. They celebrate it to perpetuate his memory and pay homage with a view to ensure rain, good harvest, eliminating diseases and famine. He was worshipped along with other ancestors with view to guide the present Chief in his discharge of his duties and for the welfare of the people.

The house of Siem (iing-sad) where the rites are observed, is considered sacred. It consists of a big-hall (shlur) in the centre, surrounded by rooms. One of these on the north is used as a kitchen room (iing-chetja) where ritual

18: Godwin-Austen G-3 (ca. 1872) 1875 AR7
Khasi AR7

[P.37]

FURTHER NOTES *on the* RUDE STONE MONUMENTS *of the* KHASI HILL TRIBES. By Major H. H. GODWIN-AUSTEN, F.R.G.S., F.Z.S., &c., Deputy Superintendent Topographical Survey of India. [With Plates ii. and iii.]

HAVING again visited the Khasi Hills since writing my last paper, I am enabled to give some further details regarding their

18: Godwin-Austen G-3 (ca. 1872) 1875 AR7
Khasi AR7

211 rude stone monuments. At the village of Nougshai, near
[101] Shillong, are to be seen some very striking monoliths; and
[131] although they do not come up quite to the length of those at Nurtiang (noticed by Dr. Hooker in his "Himalayan Journals"), yet they are very worthy of being mentioned. They stand on
[133] the open spur just above the village, and have been worked out of the beds of the Shillong sandstone series, and some of the smaller blocks have been taken from the conglomerate beds, the lowest in the series, and which come in, in the bed of the ravine, to the north of the spur. There are a number of monuments on this site, large and small, arranged both in line and on two sides of a square; the two largest have their central monoliths—height, 24 ft. 3 in.; width, 5 ft. 6 in.; thickness, 8 in.; and height, 23 ft. 2 in.; width, 2 ft. 9 in.; thickness, 1 ft., respectively.

[126 Plate ii., which is taken from a photograph by Mr. William Robert, Assistant Surveyor in the Khasi Hills survey party, gives an excellent idea of the second largest structure, showing the very massive flat-stone, the "Mao Kynthai," in front. This structure consisted of thirteen upright stones, which could not all be brought into the field of the camera; but the six outside stones on the right are shown. Many of the slabs in the
175 adjacent monuments have been overthrown and broken quite
211 recently, perhaps by Sepoys and camp followers from the military station close by. At one time a mountain battery of Eurasian Artillery was quartered there, and I attribute the overthrow of so many of the stones in the neighbourhood to their handiwork, who would look on such amusement as a "great lark." The Sepoy (native of India) is not of a mischievous disposition; the European and half-European (uneducated) is markedly so. Thus the monument with the highest stone is imperfect, and it must, when perfect, have been a very handsome one. This is a sad pity, after the time and labour that must have been expended in its erection.

361 I did not observe any new slabs anywhere in the immediate
712 neighbourhood. Nougshai must formerly have been a large
[211] and powerful village; it stands on a naturally very strong position, and old lines of fortification are to be traced on many sides, especially on the approach from the direction of the Falls of the Umiam. These old lines of defence are on a curious system: a ditch and bank have been carried forward from the main defences from 200 to 300 yards down the ridge of the spurs, thus effectually preventing an enemy working round the hill sides below the villages.

174 This fortified site points to a state of things in these hills
712 when the relations between the large village communities or
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18: Godwin-Austen G-3 (ca. 1872) 1875 AR7
Khasi AR7

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clans were very much as we find them at the present day among the Nagas and Kukis, beyond and bordering our present extreme limits, viz. that of constant feud. They are now the quietest, most peaceful, and contented of all the hill people on the eastern frontier. [178]

172

In my former paper I did not allude to the cairns in these hills, which I am inclined to think are works of greater age than the stone structures. The custom is one that certainly has long since been given up, for I could not obtain any satisfactory account of them. They are only to be seen on the northern side of the Khasi plateau, and Dr. Hooker, in his account of his trips to the Kollong Rock, did not fail to notice them. About Mairaug and towards Nougstoiu they are very numerous, and always stand on commanding situations. On the path leading down the grassy spur to the stone monuments previously described, near Nougshai, is a very fine large example of a cairn, about eight feet high. They are usually plain hemispherical mounds of earth; but this one is faced all round at the base with slabs of stone about four feet high; they are frequently not higher than six feet. A distant view is shown in Plate iii. [103]

Nowhere is there any trace of the earth that forms them having been excavated close by; it must, therefore, have been carried in some short distance, to avoid unsightly hollows near the structure. I should much like to have dug into one of these cairns, but was afraid to hurt the feelings of the people by doing so. They are very probably cineraries of an earlier form to those now made of stone, and this point it might be interesting to clear up.

Beyond the Khasi area no cairns are to be found, at least I had never come across any until visiting North Munipur last winter (1872—73), where, at the head of the Imphal river, on the direct road from Samaguting, are four fine cairns, all faced with large boulders. They are old, and the Nagas now living in the village near said they had been made by another clan of Nagas, who long ago had gone further north, and the site of whose village had been lately re-occupied by Kukis. [114] [101]

Mr. C. B. Clarke, in a paper read lately before your Institute, refers to the different forms of the cinerary in the Khasi Hills; but he has not quite exhausted the subject, or got further than I did, although with regard to the disposal of the ashes of the dead he gives some further interesting particulars. [114]

As I think that drawings are of very great interest, and better exhibit the many different forms of bone depository or cinerary that have been adopted at different periods by tribes inhabiting localities very far apart, and often quite unconnected affinitively, [126] [764]

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

[P. 203]

STATISTICAL ACCOUNT

OF THE

KHASI AND JAINTIA HILLS.

THE DISTRICT OF THE KHASI AND JAINTIA HILLS, called by the inhabitants Ka Ri Khási and Ka Ri Synteng, is situated between 26° 9′ 30″ and 25° 8′ 28″ north latitude, and between 91° 9′ 0″ and 92° 51′ 30″ east longitude. It contains an approximate area of 6157 square miles, and a population, according to the Census of 1872, of 141,838 souls. The principal town and Civil Station, which is also the headquarters of the Chief Commissioner of Assam, is Shillong, situated in 25° 32′ 39″ north latitude and 91° 55′ 32″ east longitude. 131 [101] [161] [632] [648]

BOUNDARIES.—The Khási and Jáintiá Hills District is bounded on the north by the Districts of Kámrúp and Nowgong; on the east by Northern Cáchár, the Nágá Hills District, and the Kapilí river; on the south by Sylhet District; and on the west by the Gáro Hills.

JURISDICTION.—The Khási and Jáintiá Hills constitute a Political District, removed from the jurisdiction of the ordinary Criminal, Civil, and Revenue Courts, and of the offices established under the General Regulations and Acts. The administration of the country is vested in the Chief Commissioner of Assam, the Deputy-Commissioner of the Khási and Jáintiá Hills and his Assistants, and the native Chiefs, who are variously styled Siems, Wáhadádárs, Sardárs, Dolloís, Pathors, and Lyngdohs. Siem, or more properly Seim, is derived from the Khási word for 'soul, life;' Wáhadárlár, from the Hindu term *wháddár*, meaning an 'officer;' Lyngdoh strictly means a 'sacrificial soothsayer,' from the Khási *ong*, 'to speak,' and *doh*, 'flesh.' The District is divided into three portions, —namely, British possessions in the Khási Hills; petty dependent 648 631

21: Ehrenfels E-4,5 (1950) 1953 AR7 Khasi AR7

question and indeed has been compiled without knowledge of Professor CHATTOPADHYAY's work, and before he very kindly sent a private copy of this work, which had not been available to me previously.

The present paper offers data on the following subjects:

1. Khasi kinship terms from the Mawshai Khasi plateau-area in the Khyrim State, about 20 to 30 miles south-east of Shillong, which are in some minor details different from the Mawphlang data, collected by CHATTOPADHYAY, south-west of Shillong;
2. Comparative data from the Wár-Khasi;
3. from the plateau-area of Jowai in the Jaintia [10] Hills, and
4. from the Wár-Jaintia;
5. Aspects of the Khasi kinship terms, with special reference to the matrilineal order of society, and to the respective position of women and men there, especially the particular consideration which the biological relationship through the father receives in kinship terminology, in spite of the emphasis on the matrilineal structure in Khasi society (comp. term No. 1 of the list and its discussion in para 3/6 of the present paper, on p. 400).

The data were collected in field researches to which I was enabled by two Research Grants for comparative studies in matrilineal civilizations of India, given by the Viking Fund Inc. (now: Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research) in New York, during the periods 1949-50 and 1951-52. My gratefulness to the foundation for enabling me to carry out these field researches, as well as to the University of Madras, for granting me Sabbathical leaves for the same purpose, is here once more recorded.

My research programme was based on the first tentative working hypothesis, laid down in my book "Mother-right in India" [11], but includes also various other aspects of study which have not been pre-planned, or even considered there [12], as for instance also the present comparative study of kinship terms in areas of four Khasi dialects and their special significance to the Khasi matrilineal social system. The material was collected during a five weeks house-to-house study in the recently founded Plateau Khasi village Maw Syn Jri, during April and May 1950. This village consisted mostly of houses, owned by Khasi elder sisters and inhabited by them, with their families, after they had left the ancestral home in the main village Kharang, about one mile across the valley on the western side of the new settlement. The ancestral family houses there were in the possession of either the mother, or, if she was no more alive, the youngest daughter of the family, the *ka khun khadduh* [13].

[10] Jaintia, (Pnár or "Syntieng") are the Khasi speaking eastern neighbours of the Khasi proper. As among the Khasi, so also among Jaintia the people in the cool plateau highlands are in many ways different from those who settled in the luxurious tropical rainforests of the southern slopes, now situated just north of the East Pakistan frontier: — the so-called Wár-country, where economy is mainly based on pan-leaf gardening.

[11] EHRENFELS (1941).

[12] EHRENFELS (1950)(A), (1950)(B), (1950)(C), (1950)(D), (1950)(E), (1951)(A), (1951)(B).

[13] GURDON (1914), pp. 83, seq., CARTLOE (1926), p. 11.

21: Ehrenfels E-4,5 (1950) 1953 AR7 Khasi AR7

105 It will here be recalled that the Khasi are a matrilineal agricultural
[175] people, pre-litterate until the advent of the British in the sixth decade of
[197] the 19th century, organized under democratically ruling *sieu*, or Khasi
144 princes and chieftains and speaking an Austro-Asiatic language [14]. Their physical affinities are unmistakably mongoloid and quite distinct from the Assamese speaking plains-Indians, — but not from the other mountaineers of Assam, Nepal and even Burmah or China, with whom they feel to be more closely related, as with the Indian plainspeople, as some of the tribal designations in the following lists of terms for Non-Khasi testifies (comp. No. 41 as against No. 42, 43 and 43/a-c).

114 In the collection of the material, I was hampered by my inability to
122 pick up the Khasi language sufficiently quickly, for conversation without the help of an interpreter, but on the other hand greatly eased by generous and voluntary assistance on the part of several Khasi friends, especially U Ekiman Singh, the President, Unitarian Union, Khasi- and Jaintai Hills and his (Khasi) wife, Ka Austria [15], who offered me hospitality in their house at Maw Syn Jri, during my stay there. Dr. H. LYNGDOH, Shillong, the author of detailed accounts on Khasi religious ceremonial and institutions [16], U Jeeban Roy, a leading Pnár gentleman of Jowei in the Jaintia Hills, Ka Ellen Giri, Principal, Govt. Basic Education Training Centre, Malki, Shillong, Ka Kongmen, Shillong, and U David Roy, Prime Minister (retd.), and a number of hospitable Wár Khasi and Wár-Jaintia pan-leaf cultivators in the southern slopes of the Khasi- and Jaintia Hills, especially from the villages Mawlat and Padu, also helped me greatly in my task. My thanks are due to all of them.

101 The data, submitted and briefly described in this paper were thus
114 collected in four different areas.

1. The South-eastern corner of the Khasi-Hills (plateau-area),
2. the southern slopes of the Khasi Hills, the "Wár-Khasi country" between the Khasi plateau proper and the northern boundary of East Pakistan,
3. the central plateau of the Jaintia Hills, round its capital market Jowei, and
4. the southern slopes of the Jaintia Hills, the "Wár-Jaintia country" between these and a section of the northern boundary of East Pakistan, further to the East than area 2.

197 Slightly different Khasi dialects are spoken in these four regions, Jaintia (Pnár or "Syntreng") and Wár-Jaintia being more akin to each other, similarly as Plateau-Khasi and Wár-Khasi are.

101 The Pnár or Jaintias ("Syntreng" is a slightly opprobious designation,
175 used by the Plateau-Khasi for these, their eastern neighbours) look back

[14] SCHMIDT (1906).

[15] So named, because Austria was much in the news at the time of her birth, during the first world war, — a fact which illustrates the Khasi peculiarity to use either ad hoc inventions as names for children, or to adopt such, from the Khasi point of view, outlandish words like: "Ka Austria" or "Ka Mediterranean Sea" as names for their children.

[16] LYNGDOH (1937).

[553]

21: Ehrenfels E-4,5 (1950) 1953 AR7 Khasi AR7

on a historical past, different from that of the Khasi proper, the former having been ruled by the powerful, but somewhat Hinduised dynasty of the Jaintia Rajas until the Jaintia Wars of the British; the latter by small independent chiefs. Yet Jaintia social organization appears on the whole to preserve the matrilineal social structure clearer and to be less influenced by plains-acculturation, than that of the Khasi, though a few features of Brahmanical religious observances and also some traces of racial admixture are found in the immediate vicinity of Jowei, the former summer residence of the Jaintia Rajas. Stronger no doubt, than this influence, was that exercised by the British and non-Assamese Indians in the provincial capital Shillong since 1866. Methods of agriculture and other aspects of material civilization differ but little in the Jaintia- and Khasi plateau-areas.

The same cannot be said of both: the Wár-Khasi and Wár-Jaintias. Linguistically their affiliations are with the Khasi or Jaintias respectively, as the plateau-areas. Economically, however, both Wár-groups form a separate pan-leaf cultivating unit in the little accessible steep southern slopes of the Khasi- and Jaintia Hill massif. Both Wár-groups live in the environment of luscious tropical flora and fauna, sharply differentiated from the cool, barren plateau with its perennial winds and the heroic, if solitary beauty of its highland heaths, which forms the background of both the Khasi- and Jaintia plateau-groups.

The age of the Wár-Khasi and -Jaintias, as one independent economic, — and two half-independent dialectical linguistic entities, is an intricate problem. The two Wár-groups subsist on pan-leaf cultivation as a money crop, grown in the thick tree-gardens as creepers; not on food-cultivation, as do the plateau-groups, because there is insufficient space on the steep slopes, for vegetable gardens or -fields. The pan-leaf cultivators therefore depend on food, purchased from outside. The slopes seem to have been uninhabited until not long ago. Yet pan-leaf chewing is such an integral part of Khasi life, that until quite recently, and occasionally even now, a distance between two places is not measured by the number of hours used for walking, but by the number of betelnut- and pan-leaf packages, consumed on the way. Also the common benediction among Khasi expresses the wish that so and so may eat pan in the Garden of God. Yet pan-cultivation and the settlements of the Wár-people as pan-leaf cultivators in the southern slopes seem comparatively young. Pan-cultivation on the plateau is impracticable. It is therefore possible that pan was for a long time only a much valued import article from the plains, bartered against Khasi ore and iron tools, though it is now an export article from the Wár-country, brought to the markets of the plains, by both Wár-Khasi and Wár-Jaintia women and men.

According to a tradition, across which I came among the Nonglamin clan of the Nongmuker village, the ancestors of the present Wár people were on the plateau at a time when no pan-cultivation was going on in the slopes and none of the present big estates of pan-tree gardens was yet held by their present (Wár-) owners. A not distant ancestor of a Nonglamin clan-member who about two or three generations ago told the story to U Siang (one of

21: Ehrenfels E-4,5 (1950) 1953 AR7 Khasi AR7

namely that male members of a matrilineal clan enjoy, among Khasi as among other matrilineal groups in India, a position which, far from unenviable, is a very high one in itself and doubly fortified by the respect which to the same male family member is being shown (*a*) in his capacity as the father of his children in his wife's clan (comp. term 8 of the list), and (*b*) in that of the maternal uncle (comp. terms 14, 14/*a*, 14/*b* and 26 and 28). 601 602

The terms 33/*b*, *c*, *g*, *h*, have classificatory character. 601

The term 33/*e* — *u kong* for the husband's older sister's husband is one of the exceptions of the rule that *kong* generally signifies an honoured older female relative but, as in this case, also her husband (comp. term 26).

Term 36/*a* *u pa* (father) in its usage among Pnár (Jaintia), also for stepfather is significant. A Pnár child has no legal clan-relationsihp with his/her biological father, who belongs to another (matrilineal) clan than the child and mother. Yet the honorific term *pa* is, among Pnár, also applied to a stepfather, although neither legal, nor biological but merely ideological relationship via the mother, exists between stepfather and -child. This use of the word *pa* thus seems to emphasize both, firstly the integration of the matrilineal family structure, by making an unrelated stepfather to be looked upon as father, owing to his relationship with Ego's mother and, secondly the important sociological and psychological position of the father in this matrilineal family structure which appears to go back to an old tradition among the Pnár. 601 593 [614]

Term 41 — *para 'riew lum* [33] (Assamese hill tribals) are characteristically termed *para* (Brethren), although they are different in many respects, from the Khasi, yet considered as definitely nearer related than all other neighbours, grouped under the 601

Term 43 — *dkhar* (plainspeople) [34], — a term which varies in emotional content from contempt pure and simple to an attitude, somewhat parallel to what ordinary English usage would generally associate with the expression "continental". Marriages of Khasi girls and boys with *dkhar* do occur, though infinitely rarer than marriages of (especially educated) Khasi girls with (educated) *para 'riew lum*, Nepalese, Gurkha or Chinese boys. One of the reasons which is usually being given for this preference for non-Indians is by no means colour-prejudice, but the taboo on either beef or pork which most *dkhar ïong* [35] (Indians, Hindus or Muslims, respectively) observe; a taboo which they generally extend to their Khasi wives, thus preventing them from enjoying two favourite Khasi national dishes. Another more psychological reason is the overbearing treatment of wives, which is generally ascribed to *dkhar ïong*, more even than to *dkhar li* [36]. It is in this connection 601 582

[33] Literally: Brethren Humans Hill.

[34] With Dkhar are here meant the plainspeople as such; — not the Khasi Dkhar (or Khar) clans which are mostly, if not always, descended from ancestresses who had been captured in the plains and brought to the Khasi Hills; comp. CHATTOPADHYAY (1941), pp. 30/31 and EHRENFELS (1950/*A*), pp. 33/34. [101]

[35] Literally: Plainspeople black.

[36] Literally: Plainspeople white.

G 342 space about three quarters of the width of the house, was partitioned off by mat walls. It served as a room for the married couple. The unmarried women sleep near the fireplace; the young men in the bachelor's house. Adjacent to the room of the couple, a small door opened on a small roofed veranda with a low gallery (Plate X, 3) which had no exit. The rear post was at-
[531] tractively carved. According to Dalton, the Garo have a special talent for this kind of work. The space under the house piles by the lower side of
[231] the slope, at the end of the house, was used for the oxen. Higher up, where they had less space, they kept the pig sty.

The Garo, like the Kachin and also other mountain tribes, have a second smaller house on their fields, frequently far distant. They live in these houses during tillage time and also to guard the crops. According to Playfair they have in more recent days even shown a tendency to abandon the village houses permanently in favor of the field huts.

They try to build the huts as high above the ground as possible in order to have a wider view, but mainly as a protection of the occupants against nocturnal attacks by elephants. To achieve this the Garo often use high trees instead of piles and build their houses into the forked branch stumps (73).

73. In Playfair, p. 36 is an excellent illustration of such a tree house (borang). These tree houses, of course, have nothing to do with primitive customs (Schurtz, ibid., p. 433; Brigham, ibid., pp. 58 et seq.).

K 101 197 Bordering the settlements of the Garo in the east live the Khasi, who linguistically must be linked to the Palaung, Wa, and Talaing in Burma.

31: Scherman--71 E-4 (no date) 1915 AP1 Burma
Khasi AK7

101 131 Of the sub-divisions of these people, the Khasi proper (74)--1911: 120,933--live in the Khasi

74. P.R.T. Gurdon, The Khasis (London, 1907), pp. 1 ff. about house construction pp. 30 ff.

Hills, the kindred Synteng in the Jaintia Hills. The Lynn Gam who are classified by Gurdon as half Khasi and half Garo live in the western part of the Khasi Hills, the people who inhabit the low hill country in the north of the district, which is usually called "Bhoi," are named the Bhoi. Many of them are really Mikir. My obser-
361 vations of the Khasi are limited to the surrounding of Shillong from where I visited the village of Nongkrem which is about 13 kilometers away (75).

75. Cf. C. Becker, Anthropos 4 (1909), pp. 892-902.

The place is located in a trough between low hills which are covered by large stone boulders. A small water course runs through the village. The huts are partly built along the slopes of the hills which surround the village. The houses
342 (Plate X, 4) all stand on small plots of land which are separated from each other by low stone walls; a narrow passage leads to them from the front side. Sometimes this passage is completely missing, in which event one has to climb over the wall. The houses stand on foundations of layers of irregular stone boulders. The walls are made of wooden boards--sometimes of bamboo--and are covered on the outside by grass. Grass is also used for roofing. Each strand is tied individually to bamboo poles, as in Burma (not as in Bengal where it is squeezed together between bamboo poles). Especially typical is the form of the roof; it is high and steep in the middle and the roof ridge is curved. The roof slopes down

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7 •
Garo AR5

PREFACE

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The purpose of this monograph is to present theoretical problems of Garo and Khasi social organization in relation to those of other matrilineal systems. In fact, the study of these two matrilineal systems has led me to enquire into many other matrilineal systems, as will appear throughout my discussion in Parts I and II. As a result, I think I have reached certain conclusions of theorical interest concerning matrilineal systems as a whole; these are presented in the last part of the book.

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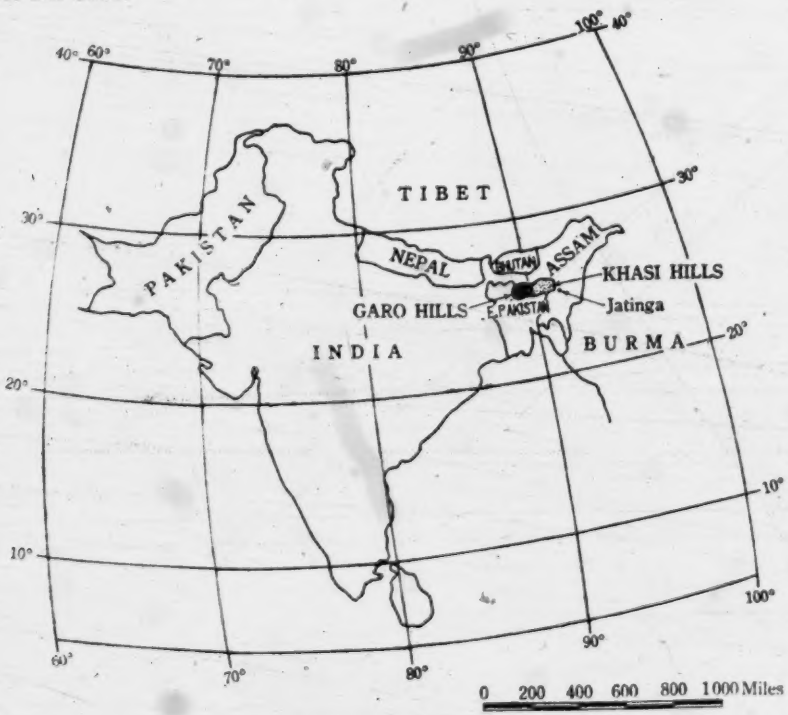

MAP 1. — *Location of the Garo Hills and the Khasi-Jaintia Hills.*

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

133 the highest point is the Shillong Peak, 6,445 feet, covered with scrub,
137 grassland and forests (mostly oak, rhododendron and pine trees). The Jaintia Hills are considerably lower, with much flat land; wet paddy cultivation is practised here and there where sufficient water is available. From the plateau of the Khasi Hills northwards to the Assam Brahmaputra Valley there is a gentle slope covered with thick jungle, and the southern slope towards the Bengal plain is very steep, so that

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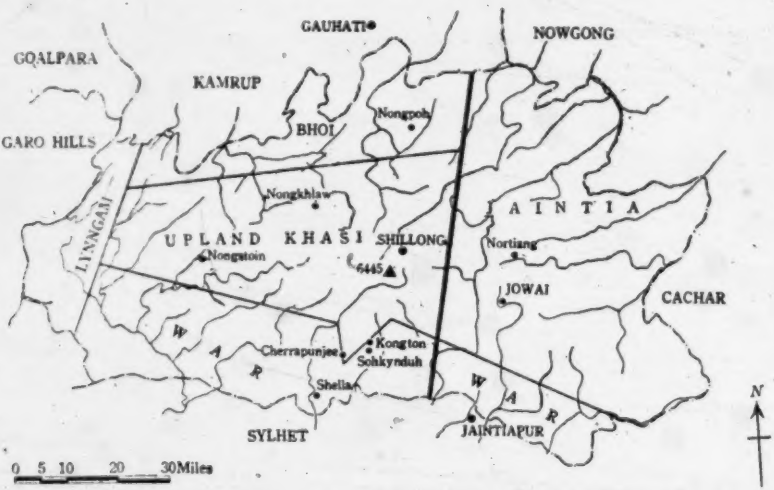

MAP. 8. — *Map of the Khasi-Jaintia Hills with Classification of Groups.*

133 the upland remained practically cut off from the plains until the
137 middle of the 19th century.

Following the geographical and ecological differences, the five
619 groups are segregated into fairly well-defined cultural areas, each developing a different economy and dialect:

[131]
[24]

1. The Jaintia[1] — associated mostly with wet rice cultivation.
2. The Khasi (upland Khasi) — practise potato cultivation with small-scale rice and maize cultivation.
3. The War — inhabit the southern slope of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills (they are called geographically the Khasi War and the Jaintia War). Due to the heavy rainfall, the soil is the most fertile in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills. The Khasi War practise jhuming of which the main yield is millet. In the lower part of this area, pan-leaf, betel-nut, and orange gardens are cultivated. The Jaintia War practise wet rice cultivation like most of the Jaintias, as well as pan-leaf cultivation.

1. They are called also the Synteng or the Pnar.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

[Shella]

621 (7) Mawrongkhong, (8) Rynsong-kanor, and (9) Sholap, as shown in Map 9.
103 In Shella village the number of households in each section ranges between 10 and 80. Such a section is called *kher*, and was supposed to be the site of house-
614 holds of segments of every *kur* (clan). It seems that Shella village was once composed of nine different *kur* which could intermarry with each other. However,
621 nowadays, each section, as appeared in my census, has nothing to do with the
178 *kur* as such; it is simply a geographical section. According to the information which I gathered, there had been a tendency for the same *kur* people to gather
731 within the section, before the great earthquake in 1897 brought considerable

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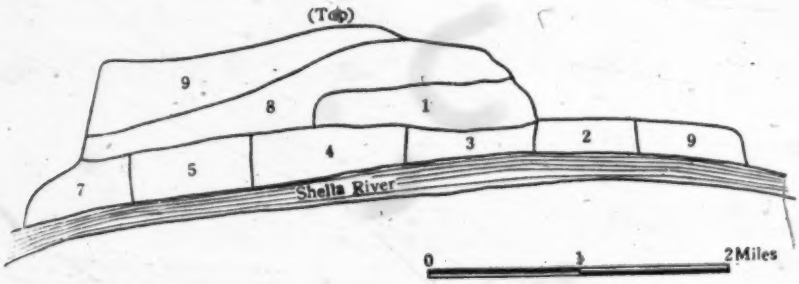

MAP 9. — *Distribution of Sections in Shella Village.*

damages and death to this area: many of them left the village at the time and many houses changed their sites in the village when they were reconstructed. For instance, the composition of Jasir section in January 1956 was as follows:

614
621

Name of kur	*Number of houses*	*Name of kur*	*Number of houses*
1. Yuchyne	7	9. Lyngdoh	1
2. Iunei	4	10. Riang	1
3. Lorit	4	11. Nongtathiang	1
4. Synren	3	12. Loki	1
5. Ksaieng	3	13. Kanto	1
6. Nongbri	3	14. Kanti	1
7. Siem	2	15. Khelwa	1
8. Iunoi	2	16. ?	5
		Total	40

178 The people said that in Jasir, the Yuchyne was the most influential *kur*, and must have been the original *kur* in this section. However, no clan solidarity
621 could be observed. These seven households were socially and economically quite independent of each other, as are all other households. As a whole, the
614 importance of *kur* diminished a great deal in this village. Five households in Jasir were reluctant to mention their *kur*; some of them did not care about their *kur*; others were not themselves certain to which *kur* they belonged. The *kur* is losing its function to a great extent. This can be ascribed to the high degree of sophistication and mobility. However, except for one Siem woman who came from the uplands and married a man of this village, all 15 *kur* mentioned above are local clans frequently found within the Shella Confederacy. In
621 this area also community endogamy was predominant. Perhaps the Shella

782 One month before the celebration rice liquor is poured into a hollowed-
796 out gourd bottle in the house of the S'iem sād and offered before the rishot Blei as a 'suit' (sacrifice of drink). This is done in order to in-
[769] form the u Suidnia long S'iem (the spirit of the first great-uncle on
[776] the maternal side who was the first king), the ka Blei long S'iem (the divinity who makes kings kings) and the u Blei Shillong (the god Shillong), that preparations are now being made for the Puja and that they might help with them.

776 The u Blei Shillong plays the chief part in the whole ceremony. He enjoys great reverence among the Khasi, especially in the kingdom Nongkrem and Nylliem. Not far from Nongkrem a mountain
[133] peak rises 6,450 feet above the sea. It is the highest peak in the Khasi Mountains; its name is "Shillong Peak." Here is the seat of
[773] the god Shillong. The story goes that a man appeared here once, who said he /894/ had not been born but came of himself (shu long). He also told the people that they would receive the kings, S'iem. So the god who lives here was called u Shu long (he who is out of him-
[103] self), from which the Europeans gradually made the word Shillong and also gave this name to the splendid mountain station in the heart of the Khasi Mountains.

796 After the S'iem sād has determined exactly the day of the cere-
782 monies, the news of this is sent out two weeks prior to the ceremony to the village elders (Rangbah shnong). This is done on the day of the large market (jēu duh), which takes place every eighth day. Two weeks after is the pom blang, also on the day of the large market, which is discussed below.

The way in which the invitation is issued is interesting. A num-
[211] ber of chains about an ell long are made of bamboo rings. These are called kyrwoh. One of these is sent to the oldest man of each village. Since the Khasi formerly had no script, this bamboo chain always served as a sign of invitation or summons to the S'iem for ceremonies, or of danger of war, or of court matters and such. The degree of urgency was shown by the form of the links; in the case of great haste the form was longish and flat, otherwise correspondingly rounder. The sending of the kyrwoh to the village elders serves now as a sign of invitation for the whole village to appear at the ceremonies and at the same time as a demand to gather together the prescribed sacri-
[651] ficial gifts. Each of the six districts, into which the kingdom Nongkrem is divided, must furnish a goat; each individual hut must pay a tax (called pynshok) of one rupee and four annas in addition. Very poor people only have to pay one anna or even only a half. The sacrificial gifts, such as rice, various sacrificial animals, fish, brandy

773 Several Khasis claim that the devil pre-
782 scribed to their ancestors the method of sacrificing. On the other hand others maintain that in times past a man of rare size and strength came to their country. This man accomplished wonderful things, and commanded their ancestors to sacrifice and at the same time prescribed for them the method of sacrificing. Today the place
● [103] of his former dwelling on a mountain near Shillong is still pointed out. Since something divine was suspected in that man, he was called u 'lei shillong (the god Shillong).

776 The Khasi believe in a highest being, whom they call u blei nongthaw (1) (the creator god).

[194] 1. Pronounciation of Khasi (method of writing): ei is pronounced as two syllables, e - i, w is pronounced like u, aw is therefore like a - u, sh is pronounced like sch = phonetic š.

Just as the ideas about this person are very hazy, so are the concepts of eternity and the soul.

775 The Khasi are not in agreement among themselves about the conception of what happens to the soul after death. Several say that after death the soul goes up in the air and becomes air and therefore exists no longer. But most of them believe that the soul exists after death and can be happy or unhappy. But this does not depend on personal guilt or sin but only on the conscientious completion of the burial ceremonies.

[631] The country in which the Khasi live is
776 divided into several districts, which were formerly ruled by several kings before the English came. [408] According to the Khasi each district

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

APPENDIX

SOME ADDITIONAL INFORMATION FROM SHELLA AND JATINGA

SHELLA

Shella is situated on the lowest of the southern slopes of the Khasi Hills, bordering on the Sylhet plain of East Pakistan. For centuries the people of Shella maintained close trading connections with the people of the plain, so that they have been much influenced by the Hindu. They have been to some extent divorced economically and culturally from their own people who live in the uplands and on higher part of the slopes. Actually, this is a natural result of their geographical location. From Cherrapunjee, the southern edge of the upland Khasi Hills, only a narrow footpath goes down to Shella. The altitude of Cherrapunjee is about 5,000 feet and of Shella from 500 to 1,000 feet, and the distance between them is 8 miles. The path descends very steeply and is full of hard stones. This difficulty of communication is also why the Hindu influence did not penetrate the upland Khasi, as in the case of the Jaintia Hills.[1]

This area has a unique political organization which differs from the majority of Khasi states who are traditionally ruled by the members of the Siem clan. Shella is organized as a confederation, called 'Shella Confederacy,' and consists of four local villages. The head of the village is called *wadadhar*, and is elected by the villagers every three years. The number of households of the Shella Confederacy was about 900 in January 1956. The names of the four villages and their *wadadhar* in 1956 were:

Name of village	*Name of wadadhar*
1. Shella	Devish Mohan Roy
2. Mushtoh	Ditojou Roy
3. Nongtrai	Orju Roy
4. Tyngnger	Jabuni Roy

Each village is divided into sections. For instance, Shella village has nine sections: (1) Jasir, (2) Disong, (3) Duba, (4) Jamau, (5) Nongrum, (6) Nongnong,

1. However, Shella was the only way out and the main gateway from the Khasi Hills to the plain; it was here that the British first entered the Khasi Hills. They proceeded from Shella to Cherrapunjee and made the latter headquarters of the Khasi Hills in 1833.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

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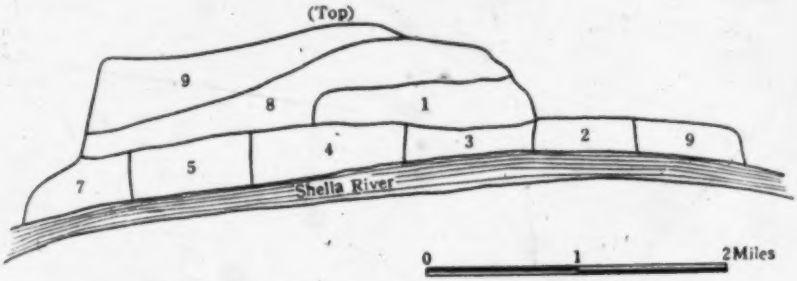

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621 this area also community endogamy was predominant. Perhaps the Shella

18: Godwin-Austen G-3 (ca. 1872) 1875 AR7
Khasi AR7

clans were very much as we find them at the present day among the Nagas and Kukis, beyond and bordering our present extreme limits, viz. that of constant feud. They are now the quietest, most peaceful, and contented of all the hill people on the eastern frontier.

In my former paper I did not allude to the cairns in these hills, which I am inclined to think are works of greater age than the stone structures. The custom is one that certainly has long since been given up, for I could not obtain any satisfactory account of them. They are only to be seen on the northern side of the Khasi plateau, and Dr. Hooker, in his account of his trips to the Kollong Rock, did not fail to notice them. About Mairaug and towards Nougstoiu they are very numerous, and always stand on commanding situations. On the path leading down the grassy spur to the stone monuments previously described, near Nougshai, is a very fine large example of a cairn, about eight feet high. They are usually plain hemispherical mounds of earth; but this one is faced all round at the base with slabs of stone about four feet high; they are frequently not higher than six feet. A distant view is shown in Plate iii.

Nowhere is there any trace of the earth that forms them having been excavated close by; it must, therefore, have been carried in some short distance, to avoid unsightly hollows near the structure. I should much like to have dug into one of these cairns, but was afraid to hurt the feelings of the people by doing so. They are very probably cineraries of an earlier form to those now made of stone, and this point it might be interesting to clear up.

Beyond the Khasi area no cairns are to be found, at least I had never come across any until visiting North Munipur last winter (1872—73), where, at the head of the Imphal river, on the direct road from Samaguting, are four fine cairns, all faced with large boulders. They are old, and the Nagas now living in the village near said they had been made by another clan of Nagas, who long ago had gone further north, and the site of whose village had been lately re-occupied by Kukis.

Mr. C. B. Clarke, in a paper read lately before your Institute, refers to the different forms of the cinerary in the Khasi Hills; but he has not quite exhausted the subject, or got further than I did, although with regard to the disposal of the ashes of the dead he gives some further interesting particulars.

As I think that drawings are of very great interest, and better exhibit the many different forms of bone depository or cinerary that have been adopted at different periods by tribes inhabiting localities very far apart, and often quite unconnected affinitively,

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

787 [791] case. The Khasi word for consulting the omens is *khan*, and a diviner is called a *nongkhan*. Another method of obtaining omens is by dropping two leaves into a pool of water or on a stone, the position of the leaves as they fall, either right side uppermost or upside down, signifying good or evil as the case may be; this is called *khan-sla*.

PRIESTHOOD.

793 104 The Khasi priest is usually called *Lyngdoh*, or *langdoh*; he is always appointed from the lyngdoh clan. The etymology of the word *lyngdoh* is said by certain lyngdohs of the Khyrim State to be *lang*=together and *doh*=flesh. A *lyngdoh*, or *langdoh*, is one who collects sacrificial victims, i.e. flesh for the purpose of sacrificing. It must be confessed, however, that this definition is doubtful, owing to the absence in the word *lyngdoh* of the prefix *nong* which is the sign of the agent in Khasi. Besides *lyngdohs* there are persons called *soh-blei* or *soh-sla*, who may 793 also be said to be priests. The Khasis, unlike the Hindus, have [604] no *purohit* or priest to perform the family ceremonies. Such duties fall to the lot of the head of the family or clan, who 782 carries them out generally through the agency of the *kni*, or maternal uncle. Old Khasis are frequently well versed in the details of sacrifices, and in the art of obtaining auguries by examining the viscera of sacrificial victims. Apart from family and clan sacrifices, there are the sacrifices for the good of the State or community at large; it is these sacrifices that it is the duty of the *lyngdoh* to perform. He may be said to be the priest of the communal religion, although he has certain duties in connection with offences committed against the social law of marriage, and with regard to the casting out of evil spirits from houses which may be thought to be infested with them. The lyngdohs of the Khasis may be likened to the Roman *pontifices*. 793 In the different Khasi States there is, as a rule, more 631 than one *lyngdoh*; sometimes there is quite a number of such priests, as in Nongkrem where there is a *lyngdoh* for each *raj* 793 or division of the state. There are a few Khasi States where 643 the priest altogether takes the place of the Siem, and rules the community with the help of his elders in addition to perform-

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7 *
Garo AR5

LISTS

000

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PLATES

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B. Garo house taken from back side, at Rombagiri village.
C. Garo women of Emangiri Village.
D. Preparation of *deranga* (funeral alter) at Rombagiri.
E. Khasi Jhum fields near Kongton village.
F. Khasi House at Sohkynduh village.
G. Old Khasi women of Kongton village.
H. Young Khasi women of Shella village.

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[104]

* Spelling of Garo and Khasi names in this volume follows local usage in each case, not the standard orthography.

21: Ehrenfels E-4,5 (1950) 1953 AR7 Khasi AR7

105 It will here be recalled that the Khasi are a matrilineal agricultural
[175] people, pre-litterate until the advent of the British in the sixth decade of
[197] the 19th century, organized under democratically ruling *siem*, or Khasi
144 princes and chieftains and speaking an Austro-Asiatic language [14]. Their physical affinities are unmistakably mongoloid and quite distinct from the Assamese speaking plains-Indians, — but not from the other mountaineers of Assam, Nepal and even Burmah or China, with whom they feel to be more closely related, as with the Indian plainspeople, as some of the tribal designations in the following lists of terms for Non-Khasi testifies (comp. No. 41 as against No. 42, 43 and 43/a-e).

114 In the collection of the material, I was hampered by my inability to
122 pick up the Khasi language sufficiently quickly, for conversation without the help of an interpreter, but on the other hand greatly eased by generous and voluntary assistance on the part of several Khasi friends, especially U Ekiman Singh, the President, Unitarian Union, Khasi- and Jaintai Hills and his (Khasi) wife, Ka Austria [15], who offered me hospitality in their house at Maw Syn Jri, during my stay there. Dr. H. LYNGDOH, Shillong, the author of detailed accounts on Khasi religious ceremonial and institutions [16], U Jeehan Roy, a leading Pnár gentleman of Jowei in the Jaintia Hills, Ka Ellen Giri, Principal, Govt. Basic Education Training Centre, Malki, Shillong, Ka Kongmen, Shillong, and U David Roy, Prime Minister (retd.), and a number of hospitable Wár Khasi and Wár-Jaintia pan-leaf cultivators in the southern slopes of the Khasi- and Jaintia Hills, especially from the villages Mawlat and Padu, also helped me greatly in my task. My thanks are due to all of them.

101 The data, submitted and briefly described in this paper were thus
114 collected in four different areas.

1. The South-eastern corner of the Khasi-Hills (plateau-area),
2. the southern slopes of the Khasi Hills, the "Wár-Khasi country" between the Khasi plateau proper and the northern boundary of East Pakistan,
3. the central plateau of the Jaintia Hills, round its capital market Jowei, and
4. the southern slopes of the Jaintia Hills, the "Wár-Jaintia country" between these and a section of the northern boundary of East Pakistan, further to the East than area 2.

197 Slightly different Khasi dialects are spoken in these four regions, Jaintia (Pnár or "Synteng") and Wár-Jaintia being more akin to each other, similarly as Plateau-Khasi and Wár-Khasi are.

101 The Pnár or Jaintias ("Synteng" is a slightly opprobious designation,
125 used by the Plateau-Khasi for these, their eastern neighbours) look back

[14] SCHMIDT (1906).

[553] [15] So named, because Austria was much in the news at the time of her birth, during the first world war; — a fact which illustrates the Khasi peculiarity to use either ad hoc inventions as names for children, or to adopt such, from the Khasi point of view, outlandish words like: "Ka Austria" or "Ka Mediterranean Sea" as names for these children.

[16] LYNGDOH (1937).

111 AR7 Khasi

1: Gurdon, Philip R. T. The Khasis. With an introduction by Sir Charles Lyall. London, David Nutt, 1907.

27, 227 p.: 19 illustrations.

Yale: Rj51. 71.

[Major Gurdon, Superintendent of Ethnology in Assam, was for three years Deputy-Commissioner of the Khasi District, and knew well the people whose institutions he describes here. This work is "an attempt to give a systematic account of the Khasi people, their manners and customs, their ethnological affinities, their laws and institutions, their religious beliefs, their folklore, their theories as to their origin, and their language".] --Analyst]

Field dates: none
Analyst: Alice McClinkey

Evaluation: Ethnologist--4,5
Processed in 1956

2: Stegmiller, P.F. Aus dem Religiosen Leben der Khasi [The Religious Life of the Khasi]. Anthropos, Vol. XVI, pp. 407-441. Salzburg: Leo Gesellschaft, 1921.

Yale: Nk10. /-An89. Vol. 16/17.

1 Figure, 5 Plates. [HRAF pagination: 1-70]

Translated from the German for the Human Relations Area Files by Elizabeth Knight.

[The author, an Apostolic missionary in Assam, herein describes various aspects of the Khasi religion. His presentation includes lists of Khasi spirits and gods and many Khasi religious taboos; he treats in detail ceremonies related to taboos, illness, naming and funerals. Incidental to such ceremonies are the sacrifices and divination procedures such as egg-throwing, which are adequately explained. He also gives texts and translations of the invocations used in the ceremonies. --Analyst]

Field date: none
Analyst: George R. Bedell

Evaluation: Missionary-4, 5
Processed in 1956

3: Stegmiller, P. F. Opfer und Opferbräuche der Khasi [Sacrifice and sacrificial customs of the Khasi]. Mitteilungen Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien, 54 (1924): 211-231. Wien, 1924.

4 plates.

Yale: Nk10.+ An88. v. 54 /HRAF MS: pp. 1-42/

Translated from the German for the Human Relations Area Files by Elizabeth Knight.

[The writer, former Apostolic Missionary of Assam, characterizes the religion of the Khasi and describes the various types and occasions for sacrifices. He records a description of the initiation rites of the lyngdoh, or officiating priest. Egg-throwing, a popular method of divination in all types of sacrifices is minutely described in this article.]

Field date: none
Analyst: Helen Takacs

Evaluation: Missionary-4, 5
Processed in 1956

4: Stegmiller, P. F. Pfeilschiessen und Jagdgebräuche der Khasi [Arrow shooting and hunting of the Khasi]. Anthropos, 20 (1925): 607-623. Salzburg: 1925.

2 plates; 2 figures

Yale: Nk10 + An89. v. 20 /HRAF MS: pp. 1-36/

Translated from the German for the Human Relations Area Files by Elizabeth Knight.

[This article includes a detailed description of the preparation of bows and arrows used for both hunting and for archery contests. The writer describes the archery games, the associated rituals and includes some song texts. There is a short description of hunting practices and a list of the animals sought.]

Field date: none
Analyst: Helen Takacs

Evaluation: Missionary-4, 5
Processed in 1956

5: Stegmiller, P. F. Das Marktleben der Khasi [The market life of the Khasi]. In Festschrift P. W. Schmidt. Wien, 1924: 703-710.

10 plates.

Yale: A3. 025 /HRAF MS: pp. 1 25/

Translated from the German for the Human Relations Area Files by Elizabeth Knight.

[Stegmiller concisely describes articles entering into market trade, the location of markets, and days set aside for marketing. He lists standard weights and measures and prices. His photographs illustrate methods of burden carrying as the Khasi travel to market.]

Field date: none
Analyst: Helen Takacs

Evaluation: Missionary--4, 5
Processed in 1956

6: Becker, C. Die Nongkrem-Puja in den Khasi-Bergen (Assam) [The Nongkrem Puja in the Khasi Mountains (Assam)]. Anthropos, 4 (1909): 892-902. Salzburg, 1909.

5 plates [HRAF MS. Pp. 1-18].

Yale: Nk10+ An89 v. 4.

Translated from the German for the Human Relations Area Files by Elizabeth Knight.

[The writer describes the great annual sacrifice which takes place in May, its preparations, the sacrificial feast and the celebrations which follow. A brief description of the folk dances is included. The photographs at the end of the article indicate the costumes, ornament and instruments used throughout the ceremonial.]

Field date: none
Analyst: Helen Takacs

Evaluation: Missionary-4, 5
Processed in 1956

7: Becker, C. Familienbesitz und Mutterrecht. [Family property and maternal rights]. Zeitschrift für Buddhismus und verwandte Gebiete, 4 (1924): 127-138, 300-310. München, Oskar Schloss, 1924.

4 plates [HRAF MS. pp. 1-18]

Yale: Mbn. Z37. Vol. 6-7.

Translated from the German for the Human Relations Area Files by Elizabeth Knight.

[This article is concerned with describing family property rights and inheritance among the matrilineal Khasi, the duties and obligations of the clan-mother, and of the men who are born into the group and who marry into the group. Becker discusses the effects of conversion to Christian religions and on inheritance, the division of family property and also regards the use of holy or taboo lands.]

Field date: 1910-1911
Analyst: Helen Takacs

Evaluation: Missionary-4, 5
Processed in 1956

8: Gurdon, Major P. R. T. Note on the Khasis, Syntengs, and allied Tribes inhabiting the Khasi and Jaintia Hills District in Assam. Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. LXXIII, Part III, no. 4, pp. 57-74, Calcutta, 1904.

2 plates

Yale: Fdl2. R81. v. 73 [3

[The writer, Superintendent of Ethnography in Assam, gives an excellent, concise resume of the Khasis and allied tribes of Assam. In this brief article, he describes adequately some characteristics of their language. His later volume on the Khasi, in which he amplifies much of these same data, has also been processed for the files. --Analyst]

Field date: none
Analyst: Helen Takacs

Evaluation: Government Official--3
Processed in 1956

9: Godwin-Austen, Major H. H. On the Stone Monuments of the Khasi Hill Tribes, and on some of the Peculiar Rites and Customs of the People. Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. I, pp. 122-143. London, 1872.

4 plates

Yale: Nk10 R81 v.1

[Major Godwin-Austen, Deputy Superintendent Topographical Survey of India, discusses several earlier sources describing Khasi monuments and funerary customs. He describes the monuments and their distribution in the areas peripheral to the Khasi groups. A discussion by various members of the Institute appears at the end of his paper. --Analyst]

Field date: none
Analyst: Helen Takacs

Evaluation: Government official-3
Processed in 1956

10: Clarke, C. B. The Stone Monuments of the Khasi Hills. Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. III, pp. 481-493. London, 1874.

Yale: Nk10, R81, v. 3

[The article describes the two types of Khasi monuments, horizontal and upright slabs, and their customary arrangements. The relative antiquity of these monuments is briefly discussed in terms of kinds of rock employed, sources where these slabs are obtained, workmanship and distribution. A brief commentary on the paper appears at the end of the article. --Analyst]

Field date: none
Analyst: Helen Takacs

Evaluation: Unknown--3
Processed in 1956

11: Chattopadhyay, K. P. Khasi Kinship and Social Organization. University of Calcutta Anthropological Papers, New Series, No. 6. pp. 1-78, Calcutta University Press, 1941.

Library of Congress: GN2 C18

[The writer, head of the Department of Anthropology of Calcutta University, describes kin terminology and classification, succession, marriage restrictions and patterned kin relationships. On the basis of these data he indicates that the hypothesis of a former dual division of Khasi society is untenable. --Analyst]

Field date: none
Analyst: Helen Takacs

Evaluation: Ethnologist--4, 5
Processed in 1956

12: Mukherjee, Ram Krishna et al. The Khasi Huts of Mawphlang. University of Calcutta Anthropological Papers, New Series, No. 6, pp. 177-187. Calcutta University Press, 1941.

Library of Congress GN2. C18

[The writers, post-graduate students in the Department of Anthropology of the University of Calcutta survey some typical Khasi house types. They note certain recent structural changes and trends.--Analyst]

Field date: 1940
Analyst: Helen Takacs

Evaluation: Anthropologist--4,5
Processed in 1956

13: Mukherjee, Bhabananda. Social Groupings Among the Khasis of Assam. Man in India, vol. 38, pp. 208-212. Ranchi: Nirmal Chandra Sarkar, 1958.

Yale: Nk10 M32 38-39

/This source deals exclusively with Khasi kin groupings, i.e., clan (sib), sub-clan, family, household, etc., and some mention is made of the possible effects of modern conditions on family life. The author gives a fairly clear breakdown of these groupings and their function, as well as native terms. At the time of publication the author was a member of the Department of Anthropology of the Indian Government./

Field date: 1954
Analyst: Millicent Kim

Evaluation: Ethnographer - 5
Processed in 1963

14:Roy, David. The Place of The Khasi in the World. Man in India, Vol. 18, pp. 122-134. Ranchi: G. E. L. Mission Press, 1938.

Yale: Nk10 M32 18-19

/This source (written by a Khasi) deals mainly with the Khasi individual's view of his kin and non-kin, the relationships and placement of these groups in reference to himself and the concepts of marriage which result from these beliefs. Classificatory-descriptive systems of kinship terms and the relationship of these terms to group definition and function are also included. There is some mention of Khasi cosmogony. --Analyst. /

Field date: no date
Analyst: Millicent Kim

Evaluation: Indigene - 5
Processed in 1963

15: Nakane, Chie. Garo and Khasi; a comparative study in matrilineal systems. Paris, Université, École Pratique des Hautes Études - Sorbonne; VIe Section: Sciences Économiques et Sociales, Cahiers de l'Homme, Nouvelle Série, 5. Paris, Mouton, 1967.

187 p.; 8 plates, 13 text figures; 9 maps; bibliography.

Yale: Nkc90 967N.

[After describing the matrilineal system of the Garo and the Khasi separately, the author compares them with each other and with other societies having matrilineal systems. Similarity between the social structure of the Garo and Khasi is found only at the level of the minimum criteria of matrilineal systems: the basic succession rules of mother-daughter, mother's-brother's-sister's-son; and the fact that property is owned by the woman, but the controlling power and authority over it are in the hands of the man. Differences lie in the composition of a property group: the property group of the Khasi is formed by a descent group at a shallow generational depth, while that of the Garo is maintained by the cooperation of two local lines, each of which represents a localized lineage group. Hence the descent group of the Khasi tends to have a stronger solidarity whereas the one of the Garo tends to be weakened in its solidarity. The author also gives consideration to culture change taking place due to expansion of both groups into the lowlands, and consequently more intense contact with the surrounding Hindu population, as well as due to Christian missionaries and their educational programs.]

Field date: October 1955-February 1956
Analysts: Sigrid Khera, marker
Dubravka Schmalzbauer, checker

Evaluation: Ethnologist -5
Processed in 1969-1974

16: McCormack, Anna P. Khasis. In Frank M. Lebar, Gerald C. Hickey, and John K. Musgrave, eds., Ethnic Groups of Mainland Southeast Asia, pp. 105-112. New Haven: Human Relations Area Files Press, 1964.

HRAF copy. DLC card no.: 64-25414.

/This is a summary of Khasi culture and society. Data are drawn from numerous sources and the author's own field research. Due consideration is given to historical developments, in particular the more recent culture changes./

Field date: 1956-1958
Analyst: Sigrd Khera

Evaluation: Ethnologist-4, 5
Processed in 1970

17: Banerjee, S. The Khasi festival of 'pomblang.' India, Government, Department of Anthropology. Bulletin, 5, no. 1 (1956): 53-59. Calcutta, 1962.

Yale: Nk10 In2 3-5.

[This article is a detailed description of one particular festival of the Khasi held in honor of a founding ancestor with a view to ensure the general well-being. The author observed the festival personally. The print in the original source is quite poor.]

Field date: June 1955
Analysts: Sigrid Khera, marker
Dubravka Schmalzbauer, checker

Evaluation: Ethnologist - 5
Processed in 1970-1973

18: Godwin-Austen, H.H. Further notes on the rude stone monuments of the Khasi hill tribes. Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, Journal, 5 (1875): 37-41. London, Trübner and Co., 1876.

2 plates.

Yale: Nk10 R81 v.5.

[This source contains brief comments and descriptions of megalithic stone monuments observed by the author in the Khasi hills, along with a photograph of the structures. Also included are a sketch and comments on cairns observed by the author in the same area. These notes are but a brief supplement to the author's more definitive discussion of this subject (see source number 9 in this file). The author, a British Army major, was at the time Deputy Superintendent Topographical Survey of India.]

Field date: ca. 1872
Analysts: Irving Rosenthal, marker
John Beierle, checker

Evaluation: Government Official-3
Processed in 1970-1974

19: Assam. Department of Economics and Statistics. Report on rural economic survey in United K. and J. Hills. Shillong, Printed at the Government Press, 1963.

2, 155 p. tables.

Yale: Nn96 I3 963A.

[This survey report gives a general description of the economic situation of the Khasi people as found in 1958, and provides a great amount of statistical material on its specific features. Before the 1948 division of the Indian sub-continent into India and Pakistan, the Khasis enjoyed a prosperous economy. Their main income had come through the sale of agricultural products (mostly oranges, betelnut and betel leaves, rice, and potatoes) to an area which belongs now to East Pakistan. Due to the division, the Khasis who live on the Indian side of the border have lost their market. Various measures to boost up the desparate economic situation which have been undertaken by the Indian government have not shown any noticeable effect. There is material on every page on subcultural differences. The source is very poorly printed; what is in HRAF is the best of several copies.]

Field date: 1958
Analysts: Sigrid Khera, marker
Dubravka Schmalzbauer, checker

Evaluation: Government Officials-5
Processed in 1970-1974

20: Hunter, William Wilson. Statistical account of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills. In his, A Statistical Account of Assam, vol. 2. London, Trübner and Co., 1879: 201-255.

Yale: DS485 A84 H85 2.

[This is a very general description of Khasi culture and society as known to the early British colonial explorers and administrators during the second half of 19th century. It also describes environmental features, possibilities of economic development of the region, and the administrative organization as established by the British by the the time this account was written (1875).]

Field date: no date
Analysts: Sigrid Khera, marker
Dubravka Schmalzbauer, checker

Evaluation: Government Official-4
Processed in 1970-1973

21: Ehrenfels, Uma R. Khasi Kinship Terms in Four Dialects. Anthropos, Vol. 48, pp. 396-412. Posieux (Freiburg), Schweiz: Anthropos-Institut, 1953.

Yale: Nk10+An89 48.

/This article is concerned with Khasi kinship terms -- a comparative analysis of their use in four different dialect areas, and a discussion of their relationship to the Khasi matrilineal social system. The author, an anthropologist, has included lists of kinship terms from each of the dialects, arranged so that comparisons can readily be made and variations noted. She relates some variations in kinship terminology to differing social and economic traits. The data was collected during a five week period using a Khasi interpreter and informants./

Field date: 1950
Analyst: Irving Rosenthal

Evaluation: Ethnologist-4.5
Processed in 1970

1: Gordon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

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Allen, W. J.	Report on the Khasi and Jaintia Hill Territory, 1866.
Aymonier, Monsieur	"Le Cambodge."
Bivar, Colonel H. S.	Administration Report on the Khasi and Jaintia Hills District of 1876.
Buchanan Hamilton	"Eastern India." Edited by Montgomery Martin.
Dalton, Colonel E. T.	Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal.
Gait, E. A.	Human Sacrifices in Assam, vol. i., J.A.S.B. of 1896.
Grierson, Doctor G. A.	"Linguistic Survey of India," vol. ii.
Hamilton, F. C.	Monograph on gold and silver wares in Assam.
Hooker, Sir Joseph	Himalayan Journals.
Hunter, Sir William	Statistical Account of Assam.
Jaintia Raj, U.	*Ka Niam Khasi.*
Jenkins, The Rev. Mr.	"Life and Work in Khasi."
Khasi Times	A monthly journal published at Shillong in the Khasi language.
Kuhn, Professor E.	*Über Herkunft und Sprache der transgangetischen Völker.* 1883.
Kuhn, Professor E.	*Beiträge zur Sprachkunde Hinterindiens.*
Lindsay, Lord	"Lives of the Lindsays."
Logan, J. R.	A series of papers on the Ethnology of the Indo-Pacific Islands which appeared in the "Journal of the Indian Archipelago."
Macdonald, Sir Alexander	Account of the North-Eastern Frontier.
Mills, A. J. M.	Report on the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, 1853.

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

113 Nisser Singh, U. . . Hints on the study of the Khasi language.

Nisser Singh, U. . . Khasi-English dictionary.

Oldham, Thomas . On the geological structure of a portion of the Khasi Hills, Bengal.

Oldham, Thomas . . Geology of the Khasi Hills.

Peal, S. E. . . On some traces of the Kiê-Mon-Anam in the Eastern Naga Hills.

Pryse, Rev. W. . . Introduction to the Khasia language, comprising a grammar, selections for reading, and a vocabulary.

Records of the Eastern Bengal and Assam Secretariat.

Roberts, The Rev. H. . Khasi grammar.

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Yule, Sir Henry . . Notes on the Khasi Hills and people.

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

almost complete autonomy in the management of their local affairs. In the remainder, called the Jaintia Hills, which became British in 1835, it has been the wise policy of the Government to maintain the indigenous system of administration through officers named *doloiś*, who preside over large areas of country with very little interference. All the British portion of the hills is what is called a "Scheduled District" under Acts XIV and XV of 1874, and legislation which may be inappropriate to the conditions of the people can be, and is, excluded from operation within it. In these circumstances the administration is carried on in a manner well calculated to win the confidence and attachment of the people, who have to bear few of the burdens which press upon the population elsewhere, and, with the peace and protection guaranteed by British rule, are able to develop their institutions upon indigenous lines. It is now more than forty years since any military operations have been necessary within the hills, and the advance of the district in prosperity and civilization during the last half-century has been very striking.

The first contact between the British and the inhabitants of the Khasi Hills followed upon the acquisition by the East India Company, in consequence of the grant of the *Diwani* of Bengal in 1765, of the district of Sylhet. The Khasis were our neighbours on the north of this district, and to the north-east was the State of Jaintia,* ruled over by a chief of Khasi lineage, whose capital, Jaintiapur, was situated in the plain between the Surma river and the hills. Along this frontier the Khasis, though not averse from trade, and in possession of the quarries which furnished the chief

* The previous history of the Khasi State of Jaintia, so far as it can be traced, will be found related in Mr. E. A. Gait's *History of Assam* (1906), pp. 259-262.

l: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

supply of lime to deltaic Bengal, were also known as troublesome marauders, whose raids were a terror to the inhabitants of the plains. Captain R. B. Pemberton, in his Report on the Eastern Frontier (1835), mentions* an attack on Jaintia by a force under Major Henniker in 1774, supposed to have been made in retaliation for aggression by the Raja in Sylhet; and Robert Lindsay who was Resident and Collector of Sylhet about 1778, has an interesting account of the hill tribes and the Raja of Jaintia in the lively narrative embodied in the "Lives of the Lindsays." † Lindsay, who made a large fortune by working the lime quarries and thus converting into cash the millions of cowries in which the land-revenue of Sylhet was paid, appears to have imagined that the Khasis, whom he calls "a tribe of independent Tartars," were in direct relations with China, and imported thence the silk cloths ‡ which they brought down for sale in the Sylhet markets. A line of forts was established along the foot of the hills to hold the mountaineers in check, and a Regulation, No. 1 of 1792, was passed declaring freedom of trade between them and Sylhet, but prohibiting the supply to them of arms and ammunition, and forbidding any one to pass the Company's frontier towards the hills with arms in his hands.

The outbreak of the first Burma War, in 1824, brought us into closer relations with the Raja of Jaintia, and in April of that year Mr. David Scott, the Governor-General's Agent on the frontier, marched through his territory from Sylhet to Assam, emerging at Raha on the Kalang river, in what is now the Nowgong district. This was the first occasion on which

* P. 211. † Vol. iii., p. 148, 177, &c.

‡ These cloths, which Lindsay calls "mongrelettes," were really the produce of Assam, and were dhotis or waist-cloths of eraje silk.

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

327 Colonel Lister, writing in 1853, estimated that 20,000 maunds
439 of iron were exported from the hills in the shape of hoes to
442 the Assam Valley, and in lumps of pig iron to the Surma Valley, where it was used by boat-builders for clamps. Nowadays the smelting of iron is carried on in very few places. There are still smelting-houses at Nongkrem and Nongspung, but these are practically the only places left where smelting of iron ore goes on; there are many forges where rough iron brought from the plains is melted down and forged into billhooks and hoes. Messrs. Yule and Crawfurd have described the
113 native process of smelting iron, and it is only necessary to refer
114 to their papers if information is required on the subject. Yule's
327 account is a very full one, and is to be found at page 853, vol. xi. part ii. of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The system pursued, both in the extraction and in the subsequent smelting of the ore, is the same at the present day as that described by Yule. Dr. Oldham, writing in 1863, says, "The
327 quality of this Khasi iron is excellent for all such purposes as Swedish iron is now used for. The impurity of the blooms (or masses of the metal in a molten state), however, as they are sent to market, is a great objection to its use, and the waste consequent thereon renders it expensive. It would also form steel or wootz (Indian steel) of excellent quality. I have no doubt that the manufacture could be greatly improved and possibly extended." Dr. Oldham, however, goes on to remark that the manufacture of iron could not be very much extended, owing to the scanty dissemination of the ore in the rocks, and
[312] the consequent high cost of obtaining it. At present the want of any permanent supply of water prevents the natives from working for more than a few days during the year, whilst the rains are heavy, and they can readily obtain sufficient force of water for the washing of the ore from its matrix. The export of iron in any form from the district has now almost died out, only a few hoes being brought down by the Khasis from Laitkôm, in Khadewphra, to the Bordwar and Palasbari markets in the Kamrup District of the Assam Valley. Iron of English manufacture has, of course, much cheapened the market, but probably the fact that the parts of the country in the neighbourhood of the rocks which contain the metal have

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

586 Khasi religion. If the marriage has been celebrated according to the *pynkiar synjat* rite, a *kniang* (go-between) is necessary on each side, also the *kni*, or maternal uncles of the parties, to witness the divorce. In other cases the presence of the *kniang* is unnecessary, but some acquaintances and friends as well as the relatives on both sides should witness the ceremony. The husband and the wife each bring five cowries (*shai*), or, more commonly nowadays, five pice. The wife gives her five cowries or pice to her husband, who places them with his, and then returns the five cowries or coins to his wife, together with his own five. The wife then returns the ten shells or coins to the husband who throws them on the ground. A crier (*u niang pyrta shnong*) then goes round the village to proclaim the divorce, using the following words:—

[203] "Kaw—hear, oh villagers, that U—— and K—— have become separated in the presence of the elders. Hei! thou, oh, young man, canst go and make love to Ka—— for she is now unmarried (*khynraw*), and thou, oh, spinster, canst make love to U——. Hei! there is no let or hindrance from henceforth." Among the Khasis divorce must be by mutual consent, and the ceremony must take place in the open air. Until the

[587] divorce ceremony has been performed as above described, neither husband nor wife can marry again, but after it has taken place, either can remarry, but not within the family of the divorced husband or wife. In the event of a husband or wife being absent for a long period, say ten years, without any communication having been received from either of them, a divorce ceremony is performed by the relatives on his or her behalf. It is stated by U Jeebon Roy* that the rule of

575 monogamy is not so strict for the husband as it is for the wife.
428 he can contract an informal alliance with another woman, the only prohibition being that she must not belong to the original wife's village. Such a wife is called *ka tynga tuk*, literally, stolen wife, in contradistinction to the legally married wife (*ka tynga tuei*). The children by the unmarried wife are called *ki khun khier* (children from the top). By children from the top, is understood to mean children from the branches not from the root (*tuei*) of the tree. Such children cannot claim ancestral property [illegible]

* See page 18, "Ka Niam Khasi." (U Jeebon Roy.)

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

The bridegroom then sets out with this man and a number of followers, clothed in clean garments and wearing either white or red pagris (a black pagri not being considered a fitting head-dress on this occasion), to the house of the bride, where a feast has been prepared, and fermented rice-beer (*ka-kiad-kiar*) in gourds (*klong*) placed ready. The bride, her female attendants, and her mother and aunts have collected in the meantime, dressed in their best, wearing their jewellery, and with their heads uncovered, for it is not thought proper for the females to cover their heads on the marriage day. On the side of the bride, also, a *kniang* (go-between) has been appointed, and it is his duty to manage all the business of the marriage on behalf of her family. Some young men of the bride's party go to meet the bridegroom's contingent by way of doing them honour. When they have reached the bride's house, the *kniang* of the bridegroom enters first, followed by the bridegroom, and after him the bridegroom's party. The *kniang* then hands over the bridegroom to the maternal uncle (*kni*) of the bride, or to the bride's father. Either of the latter then provides the bridegroom with a seat next the bride. The bride and bridegroom exchange bags of betel-nut, and where the custom of investiture of the ring is in vogue, these tokens are interchanged. The *kniangs* of the bridegroom and bride recite the marriage contract in lengthy formulæ, which may be found on pages 6, 7, 8 of the late U Jeebon Roy's interesting notes on the Khasi religion. The two *kniangs* then take up, each of them, a gourd containing fermented liquor from the gourd provided by the contracting party, and give them to an old man who is versed in sacrificial lore, who solemnly mixes the contents together. Three dried fish are produced, and are placed on the floor of the house. The priest thus appointed then solemnly adjures the gods in the following words:—

Ilei, oh god from above; oh god from below; oh *lei synohar*; oh god who hast created man; as thou hast ordained this marriage, the ring has been given this day; thou wilt know; thou wilt hear; from the clear firmament above that . . . . have been married this day. Thou wilt bless them; thou wilt grant them prosperity; thou wilt show them the way; thou wilt show them the road, that they may be well, that they may obtain dwellings and houses,

782 must be appeased by throwing eggs. If the desired
[787] effect does not occur after the sacrifice has been offered, further information is sought by observing intestines (sacrifice of rooster), and the sacrifice is offered again. At least that is what is done for sickness. The other sacrifices will be described in more detail later.

771 The religion of the Khasi is one that arises
114 from fear of misfortune and harm, and is active in the worship of (evil) spirits through sacrifice. This definition of mine corresponds essentialy with the definitions of Bivar, (3) who

•[113] 3. Bivar, Administration Report on the Khasi and Jaintia Hills District of 1876.

says: "The Khasi religion may be briefly defined as a form to cure illnesses and to ward off misfortune, by finding out [410] the name of the devil who is the original cause of the evil and to appease him by sacrifices which are necessary," and Gurdon (4) "calls the Khasi religion a cult

[113] 4. Gurdon, The Khasi (London, 1907) p. 105.

of spirits, i.e., actually rather a reconciliation of spirits, good as well as bad, by sacrifices, which are offered occasionally, especially in time of misfortune."

Table of Summary

774 of several gods (good and evil) who are revered by the Khasi and the Synteng.

1. Good Gods:

u blei nongthaw, the creator god,
u 'lei longspah, the (good) god of wealth,

776 Then the wings of his nose are cut with a shear,
782 or pincer of silver and the blood is drained off. In the same way the nails on the hands and feet are cut off with silver shears. Finally the dead body is thrown into an abyss. (5)

[113] 5. For further details about "Human Sacrifice Among the Khasi", see Dr. P. C. Becker, Salvatorianische Mitteilungen [Salvatorian Communications], 1909, No. 5, pp. 75 ff.

754 [114] Since on the one hand many Khasi are busy
782 trying to kill others with the help of the devil or to make them sick (ai-ksuid), and on the other hand the evil spirits also harm men without being called upon, an enormous fear is thus the fruit of this superstition. From this fear comes the desire to make oneself free from the influence of evil spirits (lait-ksuid) or to modify this influence by sacrifices (khad) or at least to propitiate the devil completely (khein-ban khai).

796 Therefore the Synteng annually hold a large feast for driving away cholera (ka behdiengkhlam).
[782] The offered sacrifices have the purpose or propitiating the feared demoness ka khlam but at the same time they also have the purpose of making the participants in the sacrifice safe against cholera (to enchant them). Gurdon (6)

6. Gurdon, The Khasis.

describes this feast as follows: "In the month of June when the river is full of water, on a certain day the men go in the morning in front of the huts and strike the roofs of the huts with sticks. At the same time they call on the demoness ka khlam continuously and challenge her to leave

796 the house concerned. Then they go slowly down to the river. Large poles, which were set out the day before, are now placed on the river. The people jump onto the poles and try to break them. If this happens a general great shout of joy sounds forth. If all the poles are broken, they fetch a particularly strong pole, actually a beam, and place it over the river. The people now divide up into two halves, and a battle begins for the possession of this beam. But the fight is a friendly one and even though there are many blows and even wounds, the people do not engage in a serious fight, even though they battle and struggle for the possession of the beam so hard that many lose all their clothes. The side which has the luck of winning possession of the beam will be healthy (free of cholera) and well for the coming year according to the belief of the people.

797 The use of charcoal also borders on magic. Thus P.V. Kartte, Apostolic Missionary, S.D.S. writes: (7) If a mother has a long journey to

[113] 7. Kartte, Die Religion der heidnischen Khasi [The Religion of the Heathen Khasi], Apostelkalender, 1895. [Apostle Calendar]

make, she makes a black mark with charcoal on the forehead of her child to protect it from any harm. Then she takes a longish piece of wood, splits it at one end into four parts, and puts the piece of charcoal in between. The mother carries this in her hand on the journey.

798 The same missionary also reports the doings of the Khasi during an eclipse of the moon: "If there is an eclipse of the moon, the Khasi believe that a frog is with the moon and is eating it up. The Khasi like the moon very much, and in order to prevent the frog from eating up the

821 moon they try to frighten the frog with noise and to drive him away. A few days ago we experienced a sample of it. In all the villages the Khasi beat drums and screamed at the same time. It was a purely hellish spectacle." (8)

8. Loc. cit., p. 62.

[415] The Khasi also have no explanation for thunderstorms. They believe, therefore, that the ksuid (devils) cause them. Especially disturbing to them is thunder, which can be extremely vio-
[712] lent in a tropical storm. When lightning strikes anywhere, they sacrifice to the ksuid u pyrthat a fat pig, the blood of which is smeared on the altar in order to propitiate him and to prevent the lightning from striking again.

When the Khasi sacrifice to protect themselves from harm or to heal themselves from illnesses, they murmur formulas or prayers during the sacrifice. They implore the invisible powers at the same time and thus support the offered sacrifice. They call this murmuring tim-knia (swearing-sacrificing). It is also reported thus of the sacrifices in Mongkrem: (9) "Each person places

[413] 9. P. Dr. G. Becker, Die Mongkrem-Puja in den Khasibergen (Assam) [The Mongkrem Puja in the Khasi Mountains (Assam)], Anthropos, IV (1909), p. 890.

the little bottle of liquor on the little pile of mud in front of him. This represents the altar. Then they take pepper leaves and oak leaves and place them in front of the altar in a certain way next to and on top of each other; pieces of betel nut are placed on top and the whole is sprinkled with rice, kpu meal and rynsi meal, while [illegible]."

784 the heir must pay 11 or 7 1/2 or 5 1/2 percent
782 of their wealth, in order to be able to pay for the great festivities at the cremation and the later disposal of the ashes. First of all various sacrificial gifts are bought with the money. When one has all the sacrificial gifts together, one erects three hewn stones in the manner of mau-bynna (urn stones) on any road. These stones are called "adulterer stones" /Ehebrechersteine/(mau-klim). Then one catches a pig and curses it in the following way: (10)

[113]

10. This and the following Khasi texts are taken from the kitab jingphawar by U. Rabon Singh (Shillong, 1902); I am indebted to the very worthy P.C. Bonheim, Apostolic Missionary, S.D.S. of Cherrapunji, who was most willing to place his many years of experience at my disposal for the translation into German.

Hei sngewkyndiang ho kane nga iathuhkhana ba me ba la ioh ka sang na ka tnga ka jong me yn leh kumno kynrad wei la pom ka bneng ka khyndew, ka tyrut ka smer sngew la khuid ka sang ka ma, ka klim ka ngat yn long sa ka rong sa ka taw, sa ka sngewbha ka sngewniat mo! Hei une sa u dykhot u lamjew ka iad bang ka iad thiang mo!

So listen carefully to this that I am saying, thou who hast inherited the sang from thy wife; What else should we do, lord; after heaven and earth, the Tyrut and the Smer (demonesses) slay him, we are freed; the sang is made holy, the feared sang, adultery and other sins. Then it can be that the bones are transferred and peace and joy will come to us, mo! Is it

784
683 hates stone; he does not wish any lime." (14)
342

14. P.A. Mänzloher, S.D.S. Die apostolische Präfektur Assam [The Apostolic Prefecture of Assam] Rome, 1899), p. 83.

4. Egg Throwing (shat-pylleng)

787 The most common of all the oracles of the
782 Khasi is egg throwing (shat-pylleng). A great deal has already been written about it. (15)

[113]

15. P. Dr. C. Becker, Das Eierwerfen der Khasi [Egg Throwing Among the Khasi] Anthropos XII-XIII (1917-1918), pp. 494-496.

I will only add here the prayer of the sacrificer u nongshat-pylleng. It is not an actual prayer, at least the nongshat-pylleng is not bound to any formula. The sacrificer speaks approximately thus:

Ko lengsam khun ka blei, ko banang ko bati, ko ba lah ko baiai, nga pynthiah nga pyndem halor ka diengshat ka diengkhein, ka duwan ka dupat, a kynrad ngan kylli ngan	O thou egg of the oracle, thou daughter of the goddess, thou whom thou knowest and art aware of (art able to) thou remainest thou (stayest); I put thee down here on the board (16)

16. Cf. Table II, Picture 1. [119]

togkit katne ba long shitom ka lanot ka shoh ka ther ka shit ka lyang ka pisa ka lynga ia ka met u	on the oracular wood, on the altar, o mistress, I question and ponder (would like to question,

8: Gurdon G-3 (no date) 1904 AR7 Khasi AR7

193 high. Interrogative adverbs may either precede or follow the verb, e.g., *nari phi una* or *phi una nari*, where do you come from.[1]

121 18. *Conclusion.*—I have endeavoured to note down briefly above some of what seem to be the more prominent features of Khasi Ethnology, reserving a more detailed account of the Khasis for the monograph which is under preparation. In publishing this brief account, it is my hope that it may attract criticism by persons who are more familiar with the Khasis than myself, and it is my earnest desire that if experts who are acquainted with the Ethnology of the province of Burma and of that great country comprising the valleys of the Mekong and the Menam, find any points of resemblance between Khasi Ethnology and that of those regions, they will kindly bring those points to my notice, so that perhaps a clue may be found to the origin of the Khasis, which is at present so obscure.

113 [1] In the compilation of this brief notice of the Khasi language, I beg to acknowledge my indebtedness to Dr. Grimson's Skeleton Khasi Grammar, the Revd. H. Robert's Khasi Grammar, and to Nimar Singh's "Hints on the Study of the Khasi language."—P. R. T. G.

On the STONE MONUMENTS *of the* KHASI HILL TRIBES, *and on some of the Peculiar Rites and Customs of the People.* By Major H. H. GODWIN-AUSTEN, F.R.G.S., Deputy Superintendent Topographical Survey of India.

121 THE increasing interest that is taken at the present day in ethnology and the history of man in past and present ages, more particularly in the customs of semi-civilised races in distant quarters of the world as compared with the state of those races who dwelt in Europe in early historic times, has led me to put together the information I obtained regarding the people of the Khási Hill tracts. Their customs are peculiar, and the fact that they are among the very few who erect at the present day monolithic monuments, is alone of great interest.

This has not escaped the attention of different travellers, 122 officers of the Indian service and others who have visited that quarter of the Bengal Presidency, and from time to time papers have been published; these are scattered through a number of periodicals, and in no case is a complete record of these Hill people to be found.

Notices on the Garos and Khásis, as well as many of the other tribes on the north-eastern frontier of Bengal, are generally very short, in some instances misleud, and in some cases do the peo- 52 ple, savages though they be, but little justice; in truth, there is very much to admire in these Hill people, they are in many ways, socially and physically, far above their Bengáli neighbours of the plains; intercourse with them is, in consequence, much pleasanter, easier, and has far greater interest; innate honesty and truth in their manners of dealing often crop out, more especially in villages well within the hills, where contact with the people of the plains is of rare occurrence.

101 I shall notice the best of those papers having reference to tribes inhabiting the range of hills [illegible] of Assam, from the sharp southern bend of the Brahmaputra up to the Kopili and Dhrung river, in long. 92 deg. 45 min., a length of some one hundred and sixty-five miles.

114 In the "Asiatic Researches," vol. iii, published so far back as 1792, is a very interesting paper on the Gáros, by Mr. John 113 Eliot; his travels, however, did not extend so far to the east as the Khásias.

The Rev. A. B. Lish, a missionary of Cherra Poonjee, published an account of the Khásias in the "Calcutta Christian Observer" for 1838, he gives an account of their mode of breaking [illegible] for [illegible], etc.

Neither in M'Cosh's "Topography of Assam," or in Robinson's "Assam," is any newer or better information afforded concerning

9: Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 A87 Khasi A87

the Gáro or Khási than is to be found in earlier writers, and no allusion is made to the stone monuments. The first contains a very exaggerated and by no means faithful account of both the Khási and Gáro, and the latter has copied Elliott's descriptions. 114 113

Dr. Hooker, in his "Himalayan Journals," gives some good drawings of the stone monuments—alludes briefly to their form, and the habits of the people. Dr. Hooker also alluded to the Khásias at the meeting of the British Association at Norwich in 1868; thus attention was drawn to them in a prominent manner. A paper was written shortly after this by Lieut. E. N. Steel, R.A., who had been quartered for some time at Cherra Poonjee, and published in the "Transactions of the Ethnological Society," vol. vii.

The latest paper that we have on the Khásias is one published in the "Ausland" of last year, by — Schlagintweit, yet is not confined solely to the people, but treats of the meteorology of the district, and very briefly of the geology. The Gáros and Nágas are also noticed. I hope to be able in a future paper to call attention to these people, and shall then allude to one or two paragraphs where I think M. Schlagintweit has been led into error. To one such error I would now refer. He says, "The Khásias are the most numerous and most powerful of the tribes inhabiting the part running from west to south (he must mean east) in this mountainous district, but it is also necessary to mention the two groups of Gárdos and Jaintias who are their neighbours in the south (he must mean the east) and the west. The grade of civilisation of the Gárdos and Jaintias is very low, etc., etc." Now, M. Schlagintweit must have been quite misinformed as regards the Jaintias, and he has evidently never been among them, or he would have known that the Jaintias, or more properly speaking, the Sintengs, are of the same stock as the Khásis, that the language is the same with some slight modification, and that their customs and religious rites are almost identical. In Cherra Poonjee itself there is a small hamlet of emigrants from the Jaintia side, and they are found living among the Khásias in the main village. Many of the clans in Cherra claim to have originally come, several generations back, from the side of Jawai. 114

M. Schlagintweit further on says:—"The want of all modesty in the grown-up people of these primitive races, to whom we apply the term savages, is very remarkable." With this statement I do not agree, and consider they have the feeling strongly developed, and are quite as particular about the exposure of their persons as the people of India proper. The Gáro wears the "Langooti" quite as large as that worn by the lower classes in Bengal and N. W. Provinces, etc.,

9: Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 A87 Khasi A87

114 etc., when employed at heavy labour. Very much more decent is it than the thin gauze-like cloth worn by even the better class of Babus in Calcutta, which makes hardly any pretence of concealing the private parts. I can speak for the Gáro women being particularly quiet and modest in their demeanour; and the young men on reaching a certain age, and until they marry, live and take their meals apart in a large house constructed for them; this is always the largest in the village, and where strangers are put up. This custom mitigates strongly against "their want of modesty", so often advanced, and proves, if anything, an advanced state of morality.

Again, in speaking of the Khasis and the looseness of their family and domestic relations, which are somewhat easy, the frequent changing of wives is not so common as might be supposed, and in the remoter villages I should say very rare. There is a very strong force which militates against its frequent practice. The men of those tribes select their wives not for beauty and delicacy, but for their well-developed forms and hard-working qualities—those who can carry heavy loads throughout the day; and the more children she begets the better for the pair: they can cultivate as these grow up a larger area, and live in greater comfort.

[113] In the *Calcutta Christian Observer*, March, 1852, is to be found one of the best papers on the Khásis, by the Rev. W. Pryse, who was attached to the Welsh Mission working both at Cherra Poonjee and Sylhet. A very good article appears in the *Calcutta Review* for 1856, vol. 27, being a review of the "Geology of the Khási Hills, with Observations on the Meteorology and Ethnology of that District," by Thomas Oldham, Superintendent of the Geological Survey of India, a work containing much valuable and interesting matter. An Introduction to the Khásia Language, by the Rev. W. Pryse, is also included in the above review.

114 101 The various ways in which the word Khási has been spelt by different writers, has no doubt puzzled many an European reader, and will be familiar no doubt to some in the form of Cossyah, Khassyah, Kasia, etc. The most correct has been adopted by the mission at Cherra Poonjee in their printed works in the language, and adopted in this paper.

101 197 They call themselves Ki Khási, and their country Ká Ri Khási,* and without going out of our way to seek for a derivation of this word, may it not be derived from the Hindustani "Ghási"—grassy: the whole of the upper lands being of this nature, in contradiction to the forest-clad valleys and slopes of the outer hills both north and south. The Khásias never pro-

* Compare "Rhi", a mountain (Tibetan).

9: Godwin-Austen C-3 (no date) 1872 AR7 Khasi AR7

intimately connected with cremation, and that bangles and other ornaments are to be found in them. Whether such are removed from the body at the present day is a point I did not satisfactorily clear up, but which is one of interest. 764

You find the cromlech cuboidal form of four well-cut large stones on edge, closely fitted and surmounted by another horizontal one closing the structure. I give a drawing of a very large and striking one not far from the mission houses at Cherra; one of the sides of this has fallen and been removed, it is probably of great age, and the family is extinct. In other cases a number of rough stones are set up in a circle, crowned by a flat circular slab. I have also seen them of octagonal form, the sketch represents one in the south of Jawai, near the site of a deserted village, one of the side stones has fallen outwards, thus exposing the interior; in this I found several calcined bones and two bangles or wristlets of brass; this surprised me, for I was not aware that ornaments were left on the body on cremation; nor do I think they are at the present day. There were no traces of pottery either, and the bones had not been placed in a vessel as is the usual custom now. The structure was apparently of considerable age, and no village had occupied the site for many years.

A very general form at present of these bone receptacles is that of a heavy slab of stone, level with the ground, covering a cyst, which is lined with stones.

The bones are not consigned to these receptacles for some time, often a year or more after the burning of the body, and in no case until it has been ascertained that the soul of the deceased is at rest, and leading a life, or rather a new existence of happiness; should the whole of his family remain in health, this state is assumed to be attained, if, on the contrary, any member be afflicted with illness or pain, the spirit is understood to be restless and in want of something; the breaking of eggs is resorted to, and such may indicate that it is necessary to sacrifice a fowl or goats, and that the bones of the defunct be taken up and buried in another spot. Such removal, however, in the case of the most troublesome ghost is only done three times, and restless as he may be, the bones are then finally deposited in the family bone receptacle; man and wife are never deposited together; they belong to different clans, thus the ashes of children are placed in the receptacle of their mother's tribe to which they are considered to belong. I would here refer to the paper written by the Rev. J. Pryse in the *Calcutta Review* for 1854, p. 128, with his excellent description of a form of sacrifice. (Appendix B.) [113]

The collection of the bones into one vault, as it may be termed, is done under the impression that the souls of the departed may 764 775

[see category 116, pp. 137-8. — Analyst]

9: Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 A87 Khasi A87

is seen by the inmates, and quite as soon by the neighbours, who collect to revile and jeer the unfortunate individual; his relations leave him; his wife, if he has one, retires to her parent's or sister's home, and in no other way can he recover his position in society save by throwing away all he possesses; cash and clothes are scattered on the road as he goes out of the village, and are picked up by those who follow; his house, I was told, is also demolished, and the thatch roof carried out and burnt in the outskirts of the place.

This paper has become much longer than I had anticipated, and I fear will exhaust the interest that there may be in it. I had intended alluding to the Kúkis, Mikirs, Garos, etc., and exhibiting drawings of their burial-grounds, but this I think may be best postponed and introduced with some notes on the extension of those tribes and the people of the northern slopes of the Khasi range of hills, if this Society should think such of sufficient interest to them. I trust also that Captain Williamson, Deputy-Commissioner of the Garo Hills, now on leave in England, will give us the benefit of the valuable information I know he has obtained regarding the manners and customs of the Garo tribes, among whom he has mixed so much and so intimately.

Appendix A

Paper on the Origin, Location, etc., of the Bodo, Koch, Dhimal People, by B. H. Hodgson, Esq., Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1849, Vol. xviii, pt. ii, p. 728.—"Thirteen leaves, each with a few grains of rice upon it, are placed by the exorcist in the segment of a circle before him, to represent the deities. The Ojha squatting on his hams before the leaves causes a pendulum attached to his thumb by a string to vibrate before them, repeating invocations the while. The god who has possessed the sick man is indicated by the exclusive vibration of the pendulum towards his representative leaf, which is then taken apart, and the god in question is asked what sacrifice he requires!—a buffalo, a hog, a fowl, or a duck to spare the sufferer (the Ojha best know how!) a hog, and it is forthwith vowed by the sick man and promised by the exorcist, but only paid when the former has recovered. On recovery the animal is sacrificed, and its *blood* offered to the offending deity."

Appendix B.

Calcutta Review, 1854, p. 128. Paper by the Rev. J. Pryse.—"The universal desire to immortalize the memory of their dead ancestors on earth by the erection of stone monuments, may be deemed as a faint indication of an expectation of some kind of future existence. The sacrifice for their dead, which they call 'Suid-ing', or "Kuid-ing', that is, the ghost or demon of the dead, may be considered indicative of the same notion. The professed intention of the sacrifice is to pacify the

Dimension.

[illegible] *Measurements of Size and Weight of the Stones composing the Monument at Lailongkote, Khasi Hills (from careful measurement of same).*

Upright Stones or Columns.

	Cubic feet.	Total cubic feet.
No. 1 = 13ft. 11in. × 6ft. 6in. × 1ft. 6in. =	63·0	
2 = 14ft. 9in. × 5ft. 6in. ×	56·4	
3 = 11ft. 2in. × 4ft. 6in. × 1ft. 6in. =	44·7	
		164·9

Upright Stones or Sacrificial.

5 = 16ft. 6in. × 3ft. 6in. × 1ft. 6in. =	216·7	
6 = 12ft. 6in. × 3ft. 6in. × 1ft. 6in. =	63·0	
7 = 9ft. 6in. × 3ft. 6in. × 1ft. 6in. =	47·2	
8 = 4ft. 3in. × 2ft. 6in. ×	14·4	
9 = 10ft. 9in. × 4ft. 6in. × 1ft. 6in. =	30·6	
10 = 9ft. 6in. × 2ft. 3in. × 1ft. 3in. =	20·6	
11 = 11ft. 9in. × 2ft. 6in. × 1ft. 3in. =	19·6	
12 = 12ft. 3in. × 2ft. 6in. × 1ft. 6in. =	46·7	
		417·7
		164·6

The Largest Flat Stone or Column.

Greatest height, 21ft. 6in.; breadth, 7ft.; and mean thickness, about 1 foot; measured by co-ordinates laid off from a central line, at 2 feet apart, with the thickness at edge. Total of cubic feet as above 329·0.

Flat Stones or Sufficient Size, are the two Sizes.

	Mean length.	Mean height.	Mean thickness.	Cubic feet.
No. 1 =	6ft. 6in. ×	5ft. 6in. ×	1ft. 6in. =	53·0
2 =	5ft. 6in. ×	5ft. 6in. ×	1ft. 6in. =	46·0
3 =	5ft. 3in. ×	5ft. 3in. ×	1ft. 6in. =	42·0
4 =	5ft. 3in. ×	5ft. 3in. ×	1ft. 6in. =	42·0
5 =	5ft. 3in. ×	5ft. 3in. ×	1ft. 6in. =	42·0
6 =	5ft. 3in. ×	5ft. 3in. ×	1ft. 6in. =	42·0
				293·0 cubic feet.

The specific gravity of granite being taken at 2·6, or 162 lbs., the weight of the Lailongkote granite by experiment, we have for the weight of the largest flat stone, 329 cubic feet=53·1 : 19 : 3 : 7, for the other sort, 293 cubic feet=53·1 : 9 : 1 : 5.

Discussion.

[illegible] Dr. Cunningham said the "Asiatic Researches" for the year 1829 contained a short paper by a Mr. Walters on the Khasi (Cheras). The paper in question, which related to the village of Sugar-Punji, also [illegible] drawings of certain stone monuments; among others, four large upright stones standing together. They were only a few feet

Dr Clarke U-3 (no date)1974 AR? Khasi AR?

years ago, previous to some of these published accounts, but contains several details not given by any of them.

3. The Khasi stones are of three classes, viz.:—

a. The funeral pyres.

b. The kists containing the pots of ashes.

c. The monumental groups.

It is the last class (c.) which has, hitherto, mostly monopolised attention, and to which the published notices almost exclusively refer.

4. The Funeral Pyres.—When a rich man dies his body is generally reduced to ashes immediately, but his honorific cremation does not take place till some time, often a year, afterwards. In the interim the earthen jar containing his ashes is kept "under a stone" (in Khasi talk) *i.e.*, in a small temporary closed kist. For the honorific burning a pyre is prepared on which the ashes are burnt once again a very little, *pro forma*, and the great funeral feast follows.

The pyre is placed just outside the village of the deceased, on a hillock or in a clear space and near the road. The modern pyres are usually square, (approximately), the sides of stone (dressed or undressed according to the means of the family) about four or five feet high, the whole of the middle filled with loose stones and earth up to the level of the walls.*

A pyre was raised about four years ago just outside the village of Mawmai close by the English main road. Many hundreds of men and women carrying from 1 cwt. to 1½ cwt. on their backs pass close by this pyre daily and a considerable per centage cast a few minutes on it. Lodges are raised on two sides, but are by no means essential to a pyre; they merely add a utility. The Khasis mean the lodges to be a convenient height to rest on with a load, and such lodge satisfies this condition, but no Khasi would dream of measuring with a two-foot rule, so as to get them the same height. So the pyre itself is meant to be a square or thereabouts. All the Khasi stonework is done in this way; they do not care to make it geometrically accurate, and consequently in my opinion little valuable result could be drawn from any accurate measurement and mapping of the stone monuments.

This pyre at the entrance to Mawmai is one of the most complete modern pyres. The ancient pyres were very seldom (if ever) made with hewn stones, and the Khasis state that in former times they were as often made round (*i.e.* oval) as square. Being thus originally very roughly shaped heaps of loose

* For admirable illustrations of the Khasi monuments, see "Proceedings of the Soc. Ant., Scotland," vol. i, p. 98. Ferguson's "Rude Stone Monuments," chap. viii, and "Asiatic Researches," vol. xvii, p. 348. [Ed.]

Pyna Karan, for the reciprocal relations. Normally, however, the mother-in-law is referred to by a separate special term which does not stress this aspect of the relation between the two persons.

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group of matrilineal and Mon-Khmer-speaking people who claim as their ancestral homeland the premier United Khasi-Jaintia Hills District (within approximately 90° 4' and 92° 52' E, and 25° 9' and 26° 9' N). This group includes the Jaintias (also Pnar or Syntengi) in the southeast, who differ from the Khasis primarily in their dualoid residence patterns and less virulent forms of sorcery. (The Hadaos or eastern Jaintia are a Kuki people.) It also includes the Lyngngams (also spelled Lyngam) in the west, who practice migratory swidden agriculture and certain peculiar funerary rites, and are said by Khasis [1955] to be culturally intermediate between Khasis and Garos. Finally, it includes Bhoi, War, and upland Khasis, which terms are primarily territorial. Bhoi country is the north-central part of the District, and is culturally complicated by the presence of Mikirs, Lalungs and Nepalis. War country spans the entire southern length of the District, so that Wars divide into Jaintia Wars and Khasi Wars, of these, the Khasi Wars have traditionally transmitted property to sons as well as to daughters. The upland center of the District is the country of the Khasis proper, those whose culture provides the most useful model for interpreting the variations found elsewhere. [For general reference on all categories of Khasi culture, cf. Gurdon 1906 and 1907, also Gurdon 1907, especially for data on regional variations.] Geography. The District is 5,384 square miles of hilly tableland, irregularly dissected by numerous rivers, and marked by significant ecological variation over very short distances. The tablelands step gently downward north from Shillong Peak, which at 6,449 feet is the highest point in the District, and over about 35 miles come into the Brahmaputra valley where this is some 200 feet above sea level. To the south, the land slopes more steeply downward for about 20 miles, and then drops abruptly, in cliff and steep-slope formations, to the Ganges sea-level delta that begins at its north with Sylhet. The annual southwest monsoons drop torrential rains around Cherrapunji and Mawsynram villages (for Cherrapunji, a record 905 inches in 1861), but then, reaching Shillong 35 miles to the northeast, provide only about 100 inches per year. Rainfall is again greater in Bhoi, which shares the Brahmaputra valley climate. Climate is temperate on the high Shillong plateau, where it seldom freezes and never snows. To the north, climate becomes subtropical, forest is jungle, and leeches abound. The climate to the south is also subtropical. [Cf. Hooker 1891, chap. XXIX.] Linguistic affiliation. Khasi is one of the major Mon-Khmer languages, related to Bhoi, Khmer, Semang-Sakai, Northern, and Pa-lung-Wa. The major Khasi dialects are Khasi, Jaintia, and Lyngngam, to which Gurdon adds War. Further minor variations occur from village to village. The Khasis had no script until 1842, when the roman alphabet was successfully applied to the Cherrapunji dialect of Khasi proper. [Cf. Sabel 1862, Gurdon 1915-24; 21 March 1962.]

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1963-38. 2. Barth 1962] **Demography.** According to the 1961 census of India, the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills District contained 221,982 Khasis and 97,532 Syntengs. Pears and Jaintias (India [Republic] 1962-57). These figures, together with those for Khasis enumerated in Cachar (4,988), Mikir and North Cachar Hills (467), Lakhimpur (287), Sibsagar (279), and Darrang (211) districts, and those for Syntengs enumerated in Mikir and North Cachar District (464), yield a total of 305,224 Khasis. **History and cultural relations.** Khasis believe that they had supernatural origin in Khasi Hills (see Gait 1928: 200 for historical evidence, and Rafe 1928: 5-9 for myth, but see also Gurdon 1904, 1906; Gurdon 1907: 10-11, and Chatterji 1951: 12). Khasi tradition also states that in early times they moved gradually from east to west, from Jaintia toward Khasi Hills, in the practice of swidden agriculture (Carpbell 1947: 97-98). The salient fact of known Khasi history, which begins generally in the mid-seventh century a.d. when there already existed the present-day 25 native Khasi chiefdoms, is the distinctive line of development followed by the separate kingdom of Jaintia. To the north, Jaintia was successively tributary, in part or in whole, to the Kachari kingdom (ca. 1250 a.d.), the Koch kingdom (strongest ca. 1500 a.d.), and the Ahom kingdom (strongest ca. 1700 a.d.) (Shakespear 1914: Map I). To the south, about 1500 a.d., Jaintia extended its rule over a tract of Sylhet, which was populated by Hindus and Muslims, and saw its kings fall thereafter under Brahman influence. In the early 1800s, Jaintia became involved in the fratricidal strife then prevalent in the ruling family of Manipur. In 1832, after the Jaintia, long ignored British warnings not to seize British subjects for human sacrifice, justice was punished by the British annexation of the Jaintia pargana in Sylhet. The Jaintia king then voluntarily turned over to the British the hills area of his domain, so that the whole of Jaintia became part of British India and, in 1835, came to be taxed as such, although the Jaintias were otherwise allowed to maintain their traditional system of village government. • By contrast, the remaining Khasi states had few formal external relations until British times. Khasis resided and traded in both the Brahmaputra and Sylhet valleys, but were basically turned inward on their own hills, where warfare between villages and between the states was apparently common. Khasis came into indirect relation with the British in 1765, when Sylhet and its markets became part of British India. In the 1770s, stepped-up Khasi raids into Sylhet caused the British to throw up a defensive line of forts along the foothills. Later, it became necessary to place an embargo on Khasi products in the Sylhet markets. In 1827, the British penetrated into western Khasi Hills by negotiating with the Khasi chief of Nongkhlaw Siem to build a road through his territory, linking the recently annexed Brahmaputra valley with Calcutta. For three decades

thereafter, the British-negotiated treaties with all the Khasi states, the last treaty being signed in 1883, it was contracted that he chiefs would be subject to the authority of a resident political agent, whose duties would involve maintaining law and order, trying cases of heinous crimes, approving the popular selection of any new chief, and exercising control over certain categories of natural resources. Khasis were guaranteed noninterference in their customary way of life, and they were so then, nor are they now, taxed. Most Khasis, as opposed to Jaintias, were never an integral part of British India, but they did undergo social change as a result of British presence. To summarize Mills (n.d.): (1) The British introduced the potato, which the Khasis rapidly took up as a cash crop for marketing as far as Calcutta. The intensive specialization exhausted the soil and made for ever poorer crops. (2) Christian missionaries made large numbers of converts, and there arose the difficult question of whether a Christian should inherit property that traditionally was earmarked for his performance of non-Christian religious rituals. (3) About 1864 the British transferred their headquarters from Cherrapunji to Shillong. When they made Shillong the capital of the new state of Assam, non-Khasis flocked to it, land rents soared, and the concept of private property became increasingly important. Khasis began to marry with members of other ethnic groups, which introduced confusion into traditional social patterns. These problems were exacerbated during World War II, when Shillong and its environs enjoyed enormous economic prosperity. One notable aftermath of this affluence has been the accelerated enrollments in school and colleges. Hundreds of Khasis now have the I.A., B.A., and even the Ph.D. degree. • With the Independence of India in 1947, and under the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India (which was drafted by a Khasi), the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills District became a Part B, or autonomous, Tribal Area to be governed by a District Council composed largely of Khasis and Jaintias and responsible not to the Legislature of Assam, but to the Governor of Assam as agent of the President of India. The native-state system and the chiefs still exist, and the District Council finds it difficult to effect legislation which neither offends its supposed masters nor a simple majority of Khasis and all India legislation. The major political schism at this time is between Jaintias, who are accustomed to central and authority and taxation, and Khasis, who resent the notion of taxation to support the work of a central District Council. (J. Gait 1906, Anderson 1931, Bhuyan 1940, Morris 1951.)

SETTLEMENT PATTERN AND HOUSING. Settlement pattern. Khasis by ethnicity is nuclear, nucleated, and neolocal villages which are situated just below hill summits to avoid strong winds but still be defensible, and which usually include a de-

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the active, and in that decade one U Kyrbai, a Khasi convert to Presbyterianism, left their church and founded a unique sect that blends something of Islam with something of mystical Hinduism and Christianity. The competition who most seriously threatened the dominance of the Welsh Presbyterians were the Roman Catholic missionaries who arrived in Shillong about 1890. Catholics have since opened a number of high schools, colleges, convents, and orphanages. They also established a technical school, and are now constructing a seminary. At the present time, one estimate is that there are about 100,000 Presbyterians and 30,000 Roman Catholics among Khasis. Hindus, together Christian sects are comparatively few, adherents to Hinduism and Islam are fewer still, comprised chiefly of Khasi women married to Hindu or Muslim men. U Kyrbai's sect is dying out, and the balance of Khasis are, according to their own term, "Khasi" in religion. (U Longkhit 1967, Morris 1910, Bopanna 1960, Singh 1960, Pugh 1961.) Supernaturals. The great deities are two, an unnamed masculine God (U Blei) and an unnamed feminine Goddess (Ka Blei Nongsynrhiew Nongkhulum). God created the earth, and in the beginning instructed man in cultivation techniques and also laid down the framework of a moral order that should guide his every move if he wished to join God in heaven after death. This framework was then filled in by the first ancestors, who are therefore the authorities on the subject and are considered as Ka Lyngkhi (the mother), U Thawlang (the father), and U Sniaiba (the mother's brother). Very early, Goddess undertook to keep account of the numbers of human beings on earth, and this role was so important, relating as it did to the health and the multiplication of the people, that she became of major importance to the Khasi pantheon. When no least human society, God activated automatic punishments in the form of natural calamities, and man finally decided that some mortal should go and intercede with God on behalf of humans. The cult went, agreed to take upon himself the burden of human sin, and received instruction in the correct divinatory and sacrificial techniques for which he would be one of the main objects of the faith. Again, over a period of time, it was the ancestors who perfected these techniques. Now, God is regarded as powerful and merciful, but passive. His punishments have their own impetus, and the presence of His mercy is exhibited in ritual. Goddess is more vengeful conceived, but is much closer to the individual. Shi of Khynriah 1890, who conceives of one double-sexed, great deity among Khasis.) Regarding ancestors, it is never clear from process whether supplication is to generalized ancestors or to particular first ancestors of a Khasi's own matrilineage, and such a distinction seems not to matter. There are three other categories of minor deities: those who protect places such as villages, groves, or springs,

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God or Goddess, deities regarded as helpful in bringing prosperity, producing fertility, and so on. Rituals of this kind are no longer practiced, except for the Rangbakhlam ceremony designed to protect the Jaintia village of Jowai. Finally, the main religion of many chieftains was supposed to use great ceremony per year which was intended to secure ancestral blessing for a chief and his lineage, and, through this, for the entire chieftain. The notable example, still practiced, is the Pomblang Syiem of Khyrim chieftain. (Cf. Lyngdoh 1937, 1940; Gurdon 1906; Sutton 1906.) Shaman and medicine. In view of the rare, a Khasi calls to a medicine, and possibly also a medicine man. The medicine man is an ordinary individual who has hit upon some herbal remedy for one or more ailments, who has become famous enough to be sought out and rewarded in cash, and who jealously guards the formula of his medicine until it dies with him. He and his patients tend to regard him as specially blessed. Soul, death, and afterlife. The universe is composed of a heaven, the earth, and the air between. Heaven is where the souls of deceased mortals live in eternal peace, grouped ab by ab. The earth and all nature was created by God, and everything that God created has its own individual soul. There is no other great earth deity, for it was God who created the earth. The air is inhabited by the wandering souls of those dead for whom full death rites were not performed. A Khasi's potentiality for enjoying an afterlife in heaven with his ancestors depends on his receiving proper death rites at the hands of his ab nurts. First, his body is cremated by his children, notably his youngest daughter, and his bones are collected and deposited temporarily in a small stone receptacle. All work stops in the village while everyone participates in the funeral. Once every several years, an entire ab gathers to witness the transfer of the bones of recently deceased ab nurts from their temporary receptacles to the great ab nurt that is in the keeping of the youngest daughter, descended from the ab founder through a line of youngest daughters. This final ceremony covers five days, and is elaborate and expensive, but when an individual's bones are finally resting with those of his antecedents in the nurt, it is understood that his soul is finally in heaven, "resting level out in the house of God."

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would not be in a position to direct their attention to the problems of large families and other necessities in their life. This is expressed through rituals which are maintained through tradition and transmitted from generation to generation. A proper performance of the ritual ensures prosperity.

The mother of [illegible] occupies a very important position in the social life of the Khasi community. He acts as a manager of the family and his opinion is always sought for in any matter of social implications. He is thus honoured and respected by all the members of the house. In spite of the mentioned set up of their society, the men are given honourable position in the affairs of the family. They are thus been given due recognition in their various customs and rites. The uncle (mother's brother) or also husbands in some exceptional cases, are always consulted by the living members of the house for their welfare and security. They are thus skilled and are prepared by them to become of possible help to take over their period of crisis. The Khasi partitions to whom the people in general pay due reverence, are considered to have led similar life as parentes in their private society. Thus the various rites and ceremonies that are observed, expressing clearly the duties, nature and obligations for these deities, are simply a reflection of the Khasi way of life. The general pattern of social structure has been found to be projected unconsciously through their religious worship and these celebrations are of course of great value to the ritual celebrants as it re-affirms certain cultural features as characteristics of the tribe.

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sonal or instruments of music which have not thereby suffered either abscription or discription—that is to say, they are all, with a few exceptions, reducible to their constituent root words, which are still "current coin," and retain their power as independent vocables. The cases in which abscription and "fusion" of roots have taken place are confined to—(1) the noun prefix *jing*, expressing abstract ideas; (2) the verbal prefixes *ïym*, *ïym*, *ïym*, *ym*, *ym*, *ym*, *ym*, *ym*, *ym*, *ym*, *ym*, *ym*, *ym*, expressing causation, intensification, and reciprocity. The language is found purest at Chunú Punji. The Khásis have no written character or literature of any kind of their own. Tradition says that all was lost while they were yet masters of the plains, whence they were driven by a general conflagration or deluge to their present fastnesses in the hills. The following works on the language have been published: *Khásí Grammar*, *Anglo-Khásí Dictionary*, *Khásí Primer* (Parts I. and II., with Vocabulary),—all issued by the Calcutta School-Book Society; *Khásí English Dictionary* (in preparation), and an *Anglo-Khásí First Book*.

"Customary Inheritance.—A Khásí, whether married or single, if he makes his mother's house his home, is said to be earning *ka* his *ïaw*, *i.e.* for his mother, or his brothers and sisters, or his mother's relatives. On his death his property goes to his mother, if living; if not, to the grandmother; if she is not living, then to his sisters; should his sisters also be dead, to his sisters' children. Should the deceased have left no sisters, the property goes to the brothers; should he have no brothers or should they be dead, the property descends to his aunts, or to their children if the aunts are not living; should the aunts have left no children, the property descends to the grandmother's or great-grandmother's sisters or children. The property of a female on her death goes to her mother, if the deceased have no children; or if the mother of the deceased is not living, the property goes to the brothers and sisters; if the sisters are dead, then their children become the heirs. If there are no such children, the property devolves as in the case of males. When a man is not living in his mother's house, but in that of his wife, he cares for his wife and children. On his death his property descends to his wife, with the exception of the ornaments and clothing worn by him during his lifetime, which go to the brothers and sisters or other relatives of the deceased. Should the deceased have been a widower, the property goes to his children, and in their absence

Eb: Shrenhio E-4,9 (1950) 1953 A87 Khasi A87

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significant that the reason, given for the comparatively frequent marriages of Khasi girls with Chinese boys is not the greater physical resemblance which no doubt exists between the average Khasi and the average Chinese (Dikhar) as compared to the average non-Chinese Dikhar (Indians, Europeans, Africans, Americans and others) but the belief that Chinese husbands are less domineering in their attitudes towards their wives, than are other Dikhar.

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Gordon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR? Khasi AR?

PREFACE.

This book is an attempt to give a systematic account of the Khasi people, their manners and customs, their ethnological affinities, their laws and institutions, their religious beliefs, their folk-lore, their theories as to their origin, and their language.

This account would perhaps have assumed a more elaborate and ambitious form were it not that the author has been able to give to it only the scanty leisure of a busy district officer. He has been somewhat hampered by the fact that his work forms part of a series of official publications issued at the expense of the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam, and that it had to be completed within a prescribed period of time.

The author gladly takes this opportunity to record his grateful thanks to many kind friends who have helped him either with actual contributions to his material, or with not less valued suggestions and criticisms. The arrangement of the subjects discussed is due to Sir Bampfylde Fuller, lately Lieutenant-Governor of the Province, whose kindly interest in the Khasis will long be remembered by them with affectionate gratitude. The Introduction is from the accomplished pen of Sir Charles Lyall, to whom the author is also indebted for much other help and encou-

2: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

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INTRODUCTION.

121 In 1903 Sir Bampfylde Fuller, then Chief Commissioner
122 of Assam, proposed, and the Government of India sanctioned, the preparation of a series of monographs on the more important tribes and castes of the Province, of which this volume is the first. They were to be undertaken by writers who had had special and intimate experience of the races to be described, the accounts of earlier observers being at the same time studied and incorporated; a uniform scheme of treatment was laid down which was to be adhered to in each monograph, and certain limits of size were prescribed.

• 114 Major Gurdon, the author of the following pages, who is also, as Superintendent of Ethnography in Assam, editor of the whole series, has enjoyed a long and close acquaintance with the Khasi race, whose institutions he has here undertaken to describe. Thoroughly familiar with their language, he has for three years been in charge as Deputy-Commissioner of the district where they dwell, continually moving among them, and visiting every part of the beautiful region which is called
643 by their name. The administration of the Khasi and
101 Jaintia Hills is an exceptionally interesting field of official responsibility. About half of the district, including the country around the capital, Shillong, is outside the limits of British India, consisting of a collection of small states in political relations, regulated by treaty, with the Government of India, which enjoy

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most of the neighbouring chiefs to resist the British, and a long and harassing war, which was not brought to a close till 1833. Cherrapunji then became the head-quarters of the Sylhet Light Infantry, whose commandant was placed in political charge of the district, including the former dominions in the hills of the Raja of Jaintia, which he voluntarily relinquished in 1835 on the confiscation of his territory in the plains.

Cherrapunji, celebrated as the place which has the greatest measured rainfall on the globe, became a popular station, and the discovery of coal there, and at several other places in the hills, attracted to it many visitors, some of whom published accounts of the country and people. The first detailed description was apparently that of the Rev. W. Lish, a Baptist missionary, which appeared in a missionary journal in 1838. In 1840 Capt. Fisher, an officer of the Survey Department, published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal * an account which showed that the leadingcharacteristics of the Khasi race had already been apprehended; he mentions the prevalence of matriarchyor mother-kinship, notes the absence of polyandry, except in so far as its place was taken by facile divorce, describes the religion as a worship of gods of valleys and hills, draws attention to the system of augury used to ascertain the will of the gods, and gives an account of the remarkable megalithic monuments which everywhere stud the higher plateaus. He also recognizes the fact that the Khasis as a race are totally distinct from the neighbouring hill tribes. In 1841 Mr. W. Robinson, Inspector of Schools in Assam, included an account of the Khasis in a volume on that province which was printed at Calcutta. In 1844 Lieut.

* Vol. ix., pp. 833 sqq.

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Yule (afterwards Sir Henry Yule) published in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society* a much more detailed description of the hills and their inhabitants than had been given by Fisher. This formed the basis of many subsequent descriptions, the best known of which is the attractive account contained in the second volume of Sir Joseph Hooker's *Himalayan Journals*† published in London in 1854. Sir Joseph visited Cherrapunji in June 1850, and stayed in the hills until the middle of the following November.

Meanwhile the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Mission, originally located at Sylhet, had extended their operations to Cherrapunji, and in 1842 established a branch there. They applied themselves to the study of the Khasi language, for which, after a trial of the Bengali, they resolved to adopt the Roman character. Their system of expressing the sounds of Khasi has since that time continued in use, and after sixty years' prescription it would be difficult to make a change. Their Welsh nationality led them to use the vowel *y* for the obscure sound represented elsewhere in India by a short *a* (the *u* in the English *but*), and for the consonantal *y* to substitute the vowel *i*: *w* is also used as a vowel, but only in diphthongs (*âw*, *ew*, *iw*, *ow*); in other respects the system agrees fairly well with the standard adopted elsewhere. Primers for the study of the language were printed at Calcutta in 1846 and 1852, and in 1855 appeared the excellent "Introduction to the Khasia language, comprising a grammar, selections for reading, and a Khasi-English vocabulary," of the Rev. W. Pryse. There now exists a somewhat extensive literature in Khasi, both religious and secular. An exhaustive grammar, by the Rev. H. Roberts, was

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published in Trübner's series of "Simplified Grammars" in 1891, and there are dictionaries, English-Khasi (1875) and Khasi-English (1906), besides many other aids to the study of the language which need not be mentioned here. It is recognised by the Calcutta University as sufficiently cultivated to be offered for the examinations of that body. Two monthly periodicals are published in it at Shillong, to which place the headquarters of the District were removed from Cherrapunji in 1864, and which has been the permanent seat of the Assam Government since the Province was separated from Bengal in 1874.

The isolation of the Khasi race, in the midst of a great encircling population all of whom belong to the Tibeto-Burman stock, and the remarkable features presented by their language and institutions, soon attracted the attention of comparative philologists and ethnologists. An account of their researches will be found in Dr. Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. ii. Here it will be sufficient to mention the important work of Mr. J. R. Logan, who, in a series of papers published at Singapore between 1850 and 1857 in the *Journal of the Indian Archipelago* (of which he was the editor), demonstrated the relationship which exists between the Khasis and certain peoples of Further India, the chief representatives of whom are the Mōns or Talaings of Pegu and Tenasserim, the Khmērs of Cambodia, and the majority of the inhabitants of Annam. He was even able, through the means of vocabularies furnished to him by the late Bishop Bigandet, to discover the nearest kinsmen of the Khasis in the Palaungs, a tribe inhabiting one of the Shan States to the north-east of Mandalay on the middle Salween. With the progress of research it became apparent that the Mōn-Khmēr group of Indo-

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117 China thus constituted, to which the Khasis belong, was
197 in some way connected with the large linguistic family in the Indian Peninsula once called Kolarian, but now more generally known as *Mundā*, who inhabit the hilly region of Chutia Nagpur and parts of the Satpura range in the Central Provinces. Of these tribes the principal are the Santhals, the Mundas, and the Korkus. In physical characters they differ greatly from the Indo-Chinese Khasis, but the points of resemblance in their languages and in some of their institutions cannot be denied; and the exact nature of the relation between them is as yet one of the unsolved problems of ethnology.

117 The work of Logan was carried further by Prof.
197 Ernst Kuhn, of Munich, who in 1883 and 1889 published important contributions to our knowledge of the languages and peoples of Further India. More recently our acquaintance with the phonology of Khasi and its relatives has been still further advanced by the labours of Pater W. Schmidt, of Vienna, whose latest work, *Die Mon-Khmer Völker, ein Bindeglied zwischen Völkern Zentralasiens und Australiens* (Braunschweig, 1906), has established the relationship of Khasi not only to the Mōn-Khmēr languages, but also to Nicobarese and several dialects spoken by wild tribes in the Malay Peninsula.

There still remains much to be done before the speech of the Khasi nation can be considered to have been thoroughly investigated. In the *Linguistic Survey* four dialects are dealt with, the standard literary form, founded on the language of Cherrapunji, the *Pnār* or *Synteng*, of Jowai, the *War*, spoken in the valleys on the southern face of the hills, and the *Lyngngām*, spoken in the tract adjacent to the Garos on the west. Major Gurdon (p. 203) mentions a fifth, that of Jirang

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or Mynnir, spoken in the extreme north, and there may be others. A great desideratum for linguistic purposes is a more adequate method of recording sounds, and especially differences of tone, than that adopted for the standard speech, which though sufficient for practical purposes, does not accurately represent either the quantity or the quality of the vowels, and leaves something to be desired as regards the consonants (especially those only faintly sounded or suppressed). These things, no doubt, will come in time. The immense advance which has been made in education by the Khasis during the last half-century has enabled some among them to appreciate the interesting field for exploration and study which their own country and people afford; and there is reason to hope that with European guidance the work of record will progress by the agency of indigenous students.

It remains to summarize briefly the principal distinctive features of this vigorous and sturdy race, who have preserved their independence and their ancestral institutions through many centuries in the face of the attractions offered by the alien forms of culture around them.

In the first place, their social organization presents one of the most perfect examples still surviving of matriarchal institutions, carried out with a logic and thoroughness which, to those accustomed to regard the status and authority of the father as the foundation of society, are exceedingly remarkable. Not only is the mother the head and source, and only bond of union, of the family: in the most primitive part of the hills, the Synteng country, she is the only owner of real property, and through her alone is inheritance transmitted. The father has no kinship with his children, who belong to their mother's clan; what he earns goes

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787 diviners in ancient Hellas.* This method has (with
171 much else in Khasi practice) been adopted by the former subjects of the Khasis, the Mikirs; but it does not appear to be prevalent among any other of the animistic tribes within the boundaries of India.

28 The third remarkable feature of Khasi usage is the
171 custom, which prevails to this day, of setting up great
74 memorials of rough stone, of the same style and character as the *menhirs* and *cromlechs* which are found in Western Europe, Northern Africa, and Western Asia. It is very surprising to a visitor, unprepared for the sight by previous information, to find himself on arrival at the plateau in the midst of great groups of standing and table stones exactly like those he may have seen in Brittany, the Channel Islands, the south of England, or the Western Isles. Unfortunately the great earthquake of June 1897 overthrew many of the finest of these megalithic monuments; but several still remain, and of these Major Gurdon has given an excellent description (pp. 144 sqq.), with an explanation of the different forms which they assume and the objects with which they are erected. Other races in India besides the Khasis set up stone memorials; but none, perhaps, to the same extent or with the same systematic purpose and arrangement.

114 In conclusion, I have only to commend this work to the consideration of all interested in the accurate and detailed description of primitive custom. I lived myself for many years among the Khasis, and endeavoured to find out what I could about them; but much of what Major Gurdon records is new to me, though the book generally agrees with what I was able

* Called φοσκοποιοί; one of the lost books of the Orphic cycle was entitled τὰ φοσκοποιά.

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to gather of their institutions and characteristics. It is, I think, an excellent example of research, and well fitted to stand at the head of a series which may be expected to make an important contribution to the data of anthropology.

C. J. LYALL.

November, 1906.

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147 villages, such as Sheila, Sepunji, Umnish, and in Nongpoh in
132 the Jaintia Hills.
30

ORIGIN.

173 The origin of the Khasis is a very vexed question. Although it is probable that the Khasis have inhabited their present abode for at any rate a considerable period, there seems to be a fairly general belief amongst them that they originally came from elsewhere. The Rev. H. Roberts, in the introduction to his Khasi Grammar, states that "tradition, such as it is, connects them politically with the Burmese, to whose king they were up to a comparatively recent date rendering homage, by sending him an annual tribute in the shape of an axe, as an emblem merely of submission." Another tradition points out the north as the direction from which they migrated, and Sylhet as the terminus of their wanderings, from which they were ultimately driven back into their present hill fastnesses by a great flood, after a more or less peaceful occupation of that district. It was on the occasion of this great flood, the legend runs, that the Khasi lost the art of writing, the Khasi losing his book whilst he was swimming at the time of this flood, whereas the Bengali
[212] managed to preserve his. Owing to the Khasis having possessed no written character before the advent of the Welsh missionaries, there are no histories as is the case with the Ahoms of the Assam Valley, and therefore no record of their journeys.
114 Mr. Shadwell, the oldest living authority we have on the
173 Khasis, and one who has been in close touch with the people for more than half a century, mentions a tradition amongst them that they originally came into Assam from Burma *viâ* the Patkoi range, having followed the route of one of the Burmese invasions. Mr. Shadwell has heard them mention the name Patkoi as a hill they met with on their journey. All this sort of
144 thing is, however, inexpressibly vague. In the chapter dealing
173 with "Affinities" have been given some reasons for supposing that the Khasis and other tribes of the Mon-Anam family, originally occupied a large portion of the Indian continent. Where the actual cradle of the Mon-Anam race was, is as

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impossible to state, as it is to fix upon the exact tract of country from which the Aryans sprung. With reference to the Khasi branch of the Mon-Anam family, it would seem reasonable to suppose that if they are not the autochthons of a portion of the hills on the southern bank of the Brahmaputra, and if they migrated to Assam from some other country, it is not unlikely that they followed the direction of the different irruptions of foreign peoples into Assam of which we have authentic data, i.e. from south-east to north-west, as was the case with the Ahom invaders of Assam who invaded Assam from their settlements in the Shan States *viâ* the Patkoi range, the different Burmese invasions, the movements of the Khamtis and, again, the Singphos, from the country to the east of the Hukong Valley. Whether the first cousins of the Khasis, the Mons, moved to their present abode from China, whether they are the aborigines of the portion of Burma they at present occupy, or were one of the races "of Turanian origin" who, as Forbes thinks, originally occupied the valley of the Ganges before the Aryan invasion, must be left to others more qualified than myself to determine. Further, it is difficult to clear up the mystery of the survival, in an isolated position, of people like the Ho-Mundas, whose language and certain customs exhibit points of similarity with those of the Khasis, in close proximity to the Dravidian tribes and at a great distance from the Khasis, there being no people who exhibit similar characteristics inhabiting countries situated in between; but we can, I think, reasonably suppose that the Khasis are an offshoot of the Mon people of Further India in the light of the historical fact I have quoted, i.e. that the movements of races into Assam have usually, although not invariably, taken place from the east, and not from the west. The tendency for outside people to move into Assam from the east still continues.

Affinities.

The late Mr. S. E. Peal, F.R.G.S., in an interesting and suggestive paper published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1896, drew attention to certain illustrations of

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[114] 182 171 177

"singular shoulder-headed celts," found only in the Malay Peninsula till the year 1875, when they were also discovered in Chota Nagpur, and figured in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for June of that year. These "celts" are, as the name implies, ancient stone implements. Mr. Peal goes on to state the interesting fact that when he was at Leeko and Tikak, Naga villages, east of Mokum, on the south-east frontier of the Lakhimpur district of Assam, in 1885, he found iron implements, ministrow hoes, used by the Nagas, of a similar shape to the "shoulder-headed celts" which had been found in the Malay Peninsula and Chota Nagpur. Now the peculiarly shaped Khasi hoe or *ma-khiw*, a sketch of which is given, with its far projecting shoulders, is merely an enlarged edition of the Naga hoe described by Peal, and may therefore be regarded as a modern representative in iron, although on an enlarged scale, of the "shoulder-headed celts." Another interesting point is that, according to Forbes, the Burmese name for these stone celts is *ma-gyo*. Now the Khasi name for the hoe is *ma-khiw*. The similarity between the two words seems very strong. Forbes says the name *ma-gyo* in Burmese means "cloud or sky chain," which he interprets "thunderbolt," the popular belief there, as in other countries, being that these palæolithic implements fell from heaven. Although the Khasi name *ma-khiw* has no connection whatsoever with aerolites, it is a singular coincidence that the name for the Khasi hoe of the present day should almost exactly correspond with the Burmese name for the palæolithic implement found in Burma and the Malay Peninsula, and when it is remembered that these stone celts are of a different shape from that of the stone implements which have been found in India (with the exception of Chota Nagpur), there would seem to be some grounds for believing that the

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327 Colonel Lister, writing in 1853, estimated that 20,000 maunds
439 of iron were exported from the hills in the shape of hoes to
442 the Assam Valley, and in lumps of pig iron to the Surma Valley, where it was used by boat-builders for clamps. Nowadays the smelting of iron is carried on in very few places. There are still smelting-houses at Nongkrem and Nongsprung, but these are practically the only places left where smelting of iron ore goes on; there are many forges where rough iron brought from the plains is melted down and forged into billhooks and hoes. Messrs. Yule and Cracroft have described the
113 native process of smelting iron, and it is only necessary to refer
114 to their papers if information is required on the subject. Yule's
327 account is a very full one, and is to be found at page 853, vol. xi. part ii. of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The system pursued, both in the extraction and in the subsequent smelting of the ore, is the same at the present day as that described by Yule. Dr. Oldham, writing in 1863, says, "The
327 quality of this Khasi iron is excellent for all such purposes as Swedish iron is now used for. The impurity of the blooms (or masses of the metal in a molten state), however, as they are sent to market, is a great objection to its use, and the waste consequent thereon renders it expensive. It would also form steel or wootz (Indian steel) of excellent quality. I have no doubt that the manufacture could be greatly improved and possibly extended." Dr. Oldham, however, goes on to remark that the manufacture of iron could not be very much extended, owing to the scanty dissemination of the ore in the rocks, and
[312] the consequent high cost of obtaining it. At present the want of any permanent supply of water prevents the natives from working for more than a few days during the year, whilst the rains are heavy, and they can readily obtain sufficient force of water for the washing of the ore from its matrix. The export of iron in any form from the district has now almost died out, only a few hoes being brought down by the Khasis from Laitkem, in Khaboupkra, to the Burdwar and Palashari markets in the Kamrup District of the Assam Valley. Iron of English manufacture has, of course, much cheapened the market, but probably the fact that the parts of the country in the neighbourhood of the rocks which contain the metal have

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from those of the Khasis and the Mons. Dr. Grierson comes to the same conclusion with respect to these languages as Professor Kuhn, which is as follows:—"Owing to the existence of these differences we should not be justified in assuming a common origin for the Mon-Khmêr langu..ges on the one hand, and for the Munda, Nancowry, and Malacca languages on the other. We may, however, safely assume that there is at the bottom of all these tongues a common substratum, over which there have settled layers of the speeches of other peoples, differing in different localities. Nevertheless, this substratum was so firmly established as to prevent its being entirely hidden by them, and frequent undeniable traces of it are still discernible in languages spoken in widely distant tracts of Nearer and Further India. Of what language this original substratum consisted we are not yet in a position to say. Whatever it was, it covered a wide area, larger than the area covered by many families of languages in India at the present day. Languages with this common substratum are now spoken, not only in the modern Province of Assam, in Burma, Siam, Cambodia, and Anam, but also over the whole of Central India, as far west as the Berars." Grierson, having agreed regarding the existence of this common substratum, does not finally determine whether the ancient substratum was the parent of the present Munda languages, or of the Mon-Khmêr language. He says, "It cannot have been the parent of both, but it is possible that it was the parent of neither." We are thus still in a state of uncertainty as to what was the origin of these languages. 197 193

The brief description which follows of some of the more prominent characteristics of the Khasi language is based chiefly on Sir Charles Lyall's skeleton Grammar contained in Vol. II. of Dr. Grierson's "Linguistic Survey of India." It does not pretend to be an exhaustive treatise on the language; for this students are referred to the excellent grammar compiled by the Rev. H. Roberts. 193 [14]

The Article.—There are four articles in Khasi; three in the singular, *u* (masculine), *ka* (feminine), and *i* (diminutive of both genders); and one in the plural for both genders, *ki*.

All Khasi nouns take a pronominal prefix to denote the gender, i.e. the third personal pronoun, *u* (masculine), *ka* (feminine),

782 must be appeased by throwing eggs. If the desired
[787] effect does not occur after the sacrifice has been offered, further information is sought by observing intestines (sacrifice of rooster), and the sacrifice is offered again. At least that is what is done for sickness. The other sacrifices will be described in more detail later.

771 The religion of the Khasi is one that arises
114 from fear of misfortune and harm, and is active in the worship of (evil) spirits through sacrifice. This definition of mine corresponds essentially with the definitions of Bivar, (3) who

[113] 3. Bivar, Administration Report on the Khasi and Jaintia Hills District of 1876.

says: "The Khasi religion may be briefly defined as a form to cure illnesses and to ward off misfortune, by finding out [410] the name of the devil who is the original cause of the evil and to appease him by sacrifices which are necessary," and Gurdon (4) "calls the Khasi religion a cult

[113] 4. Gurdon, The Khasi (London, 1907) p. 105.

of spirits, i.e., actually rather a reconciliation of spirits, good as well as bad, by sacrifices, which are offered occasionally, especially in times of distress."

Table of Summary

776 of several gods (good and evil) who are revered by the Khasi and the Synteng.

1. Good Gods:

u blei nongthaw, the creator god,
u 'lei longspah, the (good) god of wealth,

7:Becker--i M-4, 5(1910-11)1924 AR7 Khasi AR7

Editor's Note:

114 The author of this paper apparently uses several words to denote the same social group: Familie, Stamm, Sippe, Clan Stammesfamilie, Familienstamm, Familiensippe.

Stamm is translated as tribe when it refers to the Khasi as a whole, otherwise it is translated clan especially in the compounds Stammesgott, Stammgut, Stammeshütte, Stammesmutter. Sippe is also translated as clan; Stammesfamilie as clan-family; Familiensippe and Familienstamm as family-clan. The German word is occasionally kept in brackets.

Family Property and Maternal Rights

/127/ by C. Becker S.D.S., Wurzburg

The fall of 1910 and the entire following year found the distin-
114 guished head of the Ethnographic Museum in Munich, to whom this anniversary volume is dedicated, on a research and collection trip in the extensive and inexhaustible territories of India. He was accompanied by his active wife, who served as his scientific assistant. From Burma, a mine of rich, ethnographic treasure and where the greatest part of their Indian stay was spent, their journey led the research couple into Assam, situated in the northeast of India, a country of equal significance. Assam certainly belongs politically to an-
101 terior India, but forms a bridge to interior India both ethnographically and linguistically.

Among the mountain peoples who inhabit the chain of hills which traverses the length of present-day Assam, and which separates the two largest parts of the country from each other, the Brahmaputra Valley in the north and the Surma Plain in the south, is one of the most interesting and doubtless the most advanced of the tribes, the Khasi, who inhabit the so-called Khasi and Jaintia Mountains. It
[631] was in Shillong, the center of this area, which is now the capital of the country Assam under the English government, where towards the end of September, 1911, I first became acquainted with Professor D. L. Scherman and his wife and where a friendship of many years
133 had its beginning. Therefore this little study will lead us to the Khasi Mountains, to its slopes overgrown with its peculiar pine trees, which receive greetings across the plains from the snow-crowned peaks of the Himalayas, which are flooded by the mighty waves of the Brahmaputra River and the alternating inundations of the Surma River. Here a contented and cheerful little people live who have maintained their own special characteristics in spite of the many European influences and those of neighboring cultures.

162 /128/ Of the entire population of 243,263 people, who form the inhabitants of the Khasi and Jaintai Mountains (1), 203,855 are Khasi.

1. The following statistical estimates are taken from the Census of India 1921, Vol. III, Assam, (Shillong, 1923) pp. I and II.

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797 Of those, 37,852 have adopted Christianity, while the others are still adherents of ancient animistic cults, with the exception of somewhat

9: Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 AR7 Khasi AR7

On the STONE MONUMENTS *of the* KHASI HILL TRIBES, *and on some of the Peculiar Rites and Customs of the People.* By Major H. H. GODWIN-AUSTEN, F.R.G.S., Deputy Superintendent Topographical Survey of India.

121 THE increasing interest that is taken at the present day in ethnology and the history of man in past and present ages, more particularly in the customs of semi-civilised races in distant quarters of the world as compared with the state of those races who dwelt in Europe in early historic times, has led me to put together the information I obtained regarding the people of the Khāsi Hill tracts. Their customs are peculiar, and the fact that they are among the very few who erect at the present day monolithic monuments, is alone of great interest.

This has not escaped the attention of different travellers, 122 officers of the Indian service and others who have visited that quarter of the Bengal Presidency, and from time to time papers have been published; these are scattered through a number of periodicals, and in no case is a complete record of these Hill people to be found.

Notices on the Garos and Khāsis, as well as many of the other tribes on the north-eastern frontier of Bengal, are generally very short, in some instances mislead, and in some cases do the peo- 152 ple, savages though they be, but little justice; in truth, there is very much to admire in these Hill people, they are in many ways, socially and physically, far above their Bengāli neighbours of the plains; intercourse with them is, in consequence, much pleasanter, easier, and has far greater interest; innate honesty and truth in their manners of dealing often crop out, more especially in villages well within the hills, where contact with the people of the plains is of rare occurrence.

101 I shall notice the best of these papers having reference to tribes inhabiting the range of hills running west to east, south of Assam, from the sharp southern bend of the Brahmaputra up to the Kopili and Diyung river, in long. 92 deg. 45 min., a length of some one hundred and sixty-five miles.

114 In the "Asiatic Researches," vol. iii, published so far back as 1792, is a very interesting paper on the Gāros, by Mr. John 113 Eliot; his travels, however, did not extend so far to the east as the Khāsias.

The Rev. A. B. Lish, a missionary of Cherra Poonjee, published an account of the Khāsias in the "Calcutta Christian Observer" for 1838, he gives an account of their mode of breaking eggs for omens, etc.

Neither in M'Cosh's "Topography of Assam," or in Robinson's "Assam," is any newer or better information afforded concerning

9: Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 AR7 Khasi AR7

the Gāro or Khāsi than is to be found in earlier writers, and no allusion is made to the stone monuments. The first contains a very exaggerated and by no means faithful account of both the Khāsi and Gāro, and the latter has copied Elliott's descriptions. 114 113

Dr. Hooker, in his "Himalayan Journals," gives some good drawings of the stone monuments—alludes briefly to their form, and the habits of the people. Dr. Hooker also alluded to the Khāsias at the meeting of the British Association at Norwich in 1868; thus attention was drawn to them in a prominent manner. A paper was written shortly after this by Lieut. E. N. Steel, R.A., who had been quartered for some time at Cherra Poonjee, and published in the "Transactions of the Ethnological Society," vol. vii.

The latest paper that we have on the Khāsias is one published in the "Ausland" of last year, by — Schlagintweit, yet is not confined solely to the people, but treats of the meteorology of the district, and very briefly of the geology. The Gāros and Nāgas are also noticed. I hope to be able in a future paper to call attention to these people, and shall then allude to one or two paragraphs where I think M. Schlagintweit has been led into error. To one such error I would now refer. He says, "The Khassias are the most numerous and most powerful of the tribes inhabiting the part running from west to south (he must mean east) in this mountainous district, but it is also necessary to mention the two groups of Gārdos and Jaintias who are their neighbours in the south (he must mean the east) and the west. The grade of civilisation of the Gārdos and Jaintias is very low, etc., etc." Now, M. Schlagintweit must have been quite misinformed as regards the Jaintias, and he has evidently never been among them, or he would have known that the Jaintias, or more properly speaking, the Sintengs, are of the same stock as the Khāsis, that the language is the same with some slight modification, and that their customs and religious rites are almost identical. In Cherra Poonjee itself there is a small hamlet of emigrants from the Jaintia side, and they are found living among the Khasias in the main village. Many of the clans in Cherra claim to have originally come, several generations back, from the side of Jawai. 114

M. Schlagintweit further on says:—"The want of all modesty in the grown-up people of these primitive races, to whom we apply the term savages, is very remarkable." With this statement I do not agree, and consider they have the feeling strongly developed, and are quite as particular about the exposure of their persons as the people of India proper. The Gāro wears the "Lungooti" quite as large as that worn by the lower classes in Bengal and N. W. Provinces, etc.,

9: Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 AR7 Khasi AR7

114 etc., when employed at heavy labour. Very much more decent is it than the thin gauze-like cloth worn by even the better class of Baboo in Calcutta, which makes hardly any pretence of concealing the private parts. I can speak for the Gāro women being particularly quiet and modest in their demeanour; and the young men on reaching a certain age, and until they marry, live and take their meals apart in a large house constructed for them; this is always the largest in the village, and where strangers are put up. This custom mitigates strongly against "their want of modesty", so often advanced, and proves, if anything, an advanced state of morality.

Again, in speaking of the Khasis and the looseness of their family and domestic relations, which are somewhat easy, the frequent changing of wives is not so common as might be supposed, and in the remoter villages I should say very rare.. There is a very strong force which militates against its frequent practice. The men of these tribes select thei wives not for beauty and delicacy, but for their well-developed forms and hard-working qualities—those who can carry heavy loads throughout the day; and the more children she begets the better for the pair: they can cultivate as these grow up a larger area, and live in greater comfort.

[113] In the *Calcutta Christian Observer*, March, 1852, is to be found one of the best papers on the Khāsis, by the Rev. W. Pryse, who was attached to the Welsh Mission working both at Cherra Poonjee and Sylhet. A very good article appears in the *Calcutta Review* for 1856, vol. 27, being a review of the "Geology of the Khāsi Hills, with Observations on the Meteorology and Ethnology of that District," by Thomas Oldham, Superintendent of the Geological Survey of India. a work containing much valuable and interesting matter. An Introduction to the Khāsia Language, by the Rev. W. Pryse, is also included in the above review.

114 101 The various ways in which the word Khāsi has been spelt by different writers, has no doubt puzzled many an European reader, and will be familiar no doubt to some in the form of Cossyah, Khassyah, Kasia, etc. The most correct has been adopted by the mission at Cherra Poonjee in their printed works in the language, and adopted in this paper.

101 197 They call themselves Ki Khási, and their country Ká Ri Khási;* and without going out of our way to seek for a derivation of this word, may it not be derived from the Hindustani "Ghāsi"—grassy: the whole of the upper lands being of this nature, in contradiction to the forest-clad valleys and slopes of the outer hills both north and south. The Khásias never pro-

* Compare "Rhi", a mountain (Tibetan).

9: Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 AR7 Khasi AR7

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Memoranda of Size and Height of the Stones composing the Monument at Lailangkote, Khāsi Hills (from careful measurement of same).

UPRIGHT STONES OF GRANITE.

	Cubic feet.	Total, cubic feet.
No. 1=13ft. 10in. × 4ft. 0in. × 1ft. 6in.	=83·0	
3=18ft. 9in. × 3ft. 6in. × 9in.	=49·2	
10=11ft. 2in. × 4ft. 0in. × 1ft. 0in.	=44·7	
		176.9

UPRIGHT STONES OF SANDSTONE.

2=18ft. 6in. × 3ft. 4in. × 1ft. 8in.	=104·7	
4=12ft. 6in. × 3ft. 0in. × 1ft. 8in.	= 63·8	
5= 9ft. 0in. × 3ft. 0in. × 1ft. 6in.	= 40·5	
6= 8ft. 3in. × 2ft. 4in. × 9in.	= 14·4	
7=10ft. 9in. × 4ft. 8in. × 1ft. 2in.	= 58·6	
8= 9ft. 6in. × 2ft. 9in. × 1ft. 2in.	= 30 6	
9=10ft. 9in. × 2ft. 6in. × 2ft. 2in	= 58·4	
11=12ft. 5in. × 2ft. 6in. × 1ft. 6in.	= 46·7	
		417.7
		594·6

THE LARGEST FLAT STONE OF GRANITE.

Greatest length, 30ft. 4in.; breadth, 10ft.; and mean thickness, about 1 foot: measured by co-ordinates laid off from a central line, at 2 feet apart, with the thickness at edge. Total of cubic feet in mass 329·0.

FLAT STONES ON SOUTHERN SIDE, AND THE TWO STEPS.

	Mean breadth.	Mean length.	Mean thickness.	Cubic feet.
No. 1=	6ft. 0in. ×	8ft. 4in. ×	8ft. 0in.	=33·0
2=	5ft. 8in. ×	9ft. 8in. ×	1ft. 6in.	=82·0
3=	5ft. 2in. ×	9ft. 9in. ×	1ft. 4in.	=67·0
4=	5ft. 1in ×	7ft. 2in. ×	1ft. 4in	=49·0
5=	9ft. 3in. ×	5ft. 8in. ×	1ft. 0in.	=52·0
6=	3ft. 2in. ×	5ft. 8in. ×	8in.	=12.0
				295·0 cubic feet.

The specific gravity of granite being taken at 2·6, or 163 lbs., the weight of the Lailangkote granite by experiment, we have for the weight of the largest flat stone, 329 cubic feet=tons 23 : 18 : 3 : 7; for the other six, 295 cubic feet=tons 21 : 9 : 1 : 9.

DISCUSSION.

[113] 764 211 114

Dr. CHARNOCK said the "Asiatic Researches" for the year 1828 contained a short paper by a Mr. Walters on the Khāsi (Cāsias). The paper in question, which related to the village of Supar-Punji, also contained drawings of certain stone monuments; among others, four large circular stones standing together. They were only a few feet

9: Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 AR7 Khasi AR7

high, with a smooth surface, and resembled trees cut down; but it did not appear for what purpose they were used. Mr. Walters stated that the uprights and stone doors referred to in the paper were monuments to the memory of deceased rajahs and chiefs; that the upright slabs of granite were detached from the rock by means of fire; and that the dead bodies of the Khāsi are burned at an appointed place, and the ashes placed in earthen pots, which are deposited under the stones. He (Dr. Charnock) doubted the suggested derivation of the name of the tribe. If derived from the Hindústání, it could not be very ancient. The chief interest in the paper lay in the fact that the Khāsi erect these monuments at the present day.

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Sir Duncan Gibb said there was a feature of some interest in the author's very interesting paper, and that was the statement that the stones of the megalithic remains described by him were obtained from quarries of sandstone not far distant from the place in which they were erected. Now, this point he looked upon as of considerable importance, because it so readily explained the comparative facility of transport of such huge masses of stone as entered into the construction of the monument described. In this country the most diverse opinions prevailed as to the locality whence the stones were obtained composing such monuments as are found at Stonehenge, Aylesbury, and other places, and he thought the author had added to the value of his paper by giving accurate details as to the locality whence the stone was obtained, composing the remarkable monuments so graphically illustrated; nevertheless, as a geologist, he should like to know from the author to what formation these sandstones belonged.

Col. A. Lane Fox thought the Institute might be congratulated upon the paper which they had just heard, which was one of the most important contributions to anthropology that had been received for some time past. It was impossible to overrate the value of the details of the manners and customs which Major Godwin Austin had given, and which were associated with the erection of these megalithic monuments at the present time. They might at some future time serve as links of evidence in interpreting the object of similar monuments in other times and places. The great problem before the Institute, he thought, was how far the builders of these monuments in our own time might be regarded as the representatives of those who erected them in the prehistoric period of Europe, or how far the monuments themselves might be regarded as survivals from the prehistoric age. The geographical distribution of these monuments, as he had before shown in the *Ethnological Journal*, was continuous, or nearly so, extending from those Kassias in the north-east of India to Central India, Persia, Asia Minor, the Crimea, along the north coast of Africa bordering the Mediterranean. They are found in Etruria, up the south and west coast of France into Britain, and as far as Denmark and Sweden. In so far as our present knowledge enabled us to judge, they were unknown in Russia proper, in Northern Asia, in Central and Southern Africa, and on the two continents of America, with the exception of Peru. Their continuous geographical distribu-

9: Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 AR7 Khasi AR7

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tion extending from our own country to the country of these Kassias was in favour of the view that their erection might be a practice handed down by them from the remotest time; and this gave great additional interest to the study of the customs of the people who built them. Evidence of great antiquity of these monuments in India was wanting; most of those examined in Central India have been found to be associated with implements of iron; but it had been shewn that iron in the soil in that country would be preserved for ages, and there was no knowing how far back the use of this metal might have extended. There was one peculiar custom which in Europe, Africa, and Russia appeared to have nearly the same geographical distribution as those monuments, and which was sometimes associated with them; he alluded to the custom of placing pieces of rags upon trees at holy wells and elsewhere as a cure for diseases, and he should like to ask Major Austin whether this custom prevailed amongst these Kassias or in their neighbourhood.

Mr. HYDE CLARKE observed that Colonel Fox had just enumerated the geographical region of megalithic monuments, and this was precisely the region described in his paper on the Caucaso-Tibetans. The areas are coincident. The Khasias are seated among tribes, which have linguistic affinities with Georgian and Palæogeorgian. The present Khasias cannot, however, be considered as *in situ* in reference to the ancient migration connected with the stone monuments of the Dekkan, but are a subsequent migration. The connection of traditions between Khasias, etc., and Burmah is simply because they are obtained from a common centre in High Asia. Among the many valuable facts is that of the male and female stones, and the numbers of these are, perhaps, also male and female. The numbers three and seven signify middle. In two cases where eleven occur they are arranged as six and five. The male stones are more numerous than the female, and may have some relation to polyandrous notions. Egg divination may possibly have its metaphysical basis in the relations which exist in many languages in the form of words for eye (eage) and egg. Major Austen's testimony to the moral qualities of the hill tribes is of value. Dr. Hunter, hon. member Anthropological Institute, has pointed out in his *Rural Life in Bengal* that it is on the hill tribes we must greatly rely for the invigoration of our Indian empire.

Mr. W. C. DENDY: The great merit of this paper is that it is written by a careful observer who was an eye-witness of all which he describes; one such narrative is worth a volume of compilations. In our own region the megalith is a relic of very ancient date, the record, perhaps, of a semi-barbarous race, and all account of them is usually speculative and conjectural. In the east we learn there are kistvaens and cromlechs and dolmens of recent date, the constructors of which are yet in existence, and an inquiry into their history may elucidate by analogy some of the obscurity that has yet clouded our own megalithic monuments. Choir Gawr or Stonehenge is composed of several sorts of rock, blue stone and marble, sand and granitic: why is this variety of selection? Among Major Austen's sketches there is

9: Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 AR7 Khasi AR7

764 one of a beautiful megalithic temple, and he alluded to male and
211 female stones. May this variety of quality and colour in the stones
114 be symbolical of idol or astral or planetary worship? In Asia, it seems, these relics are chiefly within a certain latitude forming a belt from Oceania to the Mediterranean, the zone, indeed, of the anthropomorphous simiæ; and we have accounts of the relics of Asiatic pigmies discovered in and around one of these cromlechs not remote from the Khasi Hills. Remembering the influence of climate on both mind and body, it might be interesting to inquire how far a superstitious psychology may be an ethnic trait among the less accomplished orientals.

Dr. A. Campbell, Mr. James Fergusson, Mr. J. W. Flower, Dr. Seemann, Mr. E. B. Tylor, Mr. Wake, and the Chairman, also took part in the discussion.

10:Clarke U-3 (no date)1874 AR7 Khasi AR7

211 middle; annexed is a representation of a common type containing five stones.

A common height for the middle stone of such a monument will be six to ten feet, by 2-3 feet wide. The stones are sunk not very deep, say 1-2 feet, into the earth; great numbers of fallen stones are seen. Monuments of this character are often placed on the crest of the hills, and in many parts of Khasiland the landscape appears dotted over with them.

The horizontal slabs are commonly grouped in pairs. The flat slabs may be 5-10 feet long, and are rarely so exactly quadrangular, and they generally have some of the corners irregularly rounded off, and thus pass into the oval or round horizontal slab, which is also a frequent type.

The upright and horizontal slabs are often combined to form a single monument, and perhaps the commonest of all the combinations is that in which five upright slabs have two horizontal before them. The combinations adopted are, however, endless in variety. In these combinations it must be understood that the whole group of stones forms one indivisible monument, which may be the monument of one individual, a household, or a family. Families retain a history of the monuments which belong to the family, and thus in a small degree of the names of their ancestors. Such family monuments may be repaired, added to, or rebuilt from time to time. They are not necessarily placed where the family ashes are kept in kists, or near such kists; but they are usually at no great distance from the village where the family dwells.

The putting up a large stone, say one that stands fifteen feet out of the ground, is a very costly matter, and the monuments of the first class in size in the Khasi country are not very numerous; in the monuments of small stones, the number of stones is often great, I have noticed twenty-one stones in a row, no stone exceeding two feet high.

The upright slabs are (particularly when unaccompanied by any horizontal slabs) usually placed in a straight line. But frequently, where the horizontal slab is round, the upright slabs stand in the arc of a circle, and sometimes the upright slabs are placed in a curved line apparently by accident, or because the nature of the steep ground suggested such an arrangement. Two such monuments occur on the main road to Lailankote.

114 Major Godwin-Austen states in his article on the subject that
301 the upright slabs *always* stand in threes, fives, sevens, etc. This
211 is a mistake; to have the number of stones unequal, with the central slab the tallest, is perhaps the plan adopted in forty-nine monuments out of fifty; but among the vast variety of monuments

10: Clarke U-3 (no date)1874 AR7 Khasi AR7

in these hills a dozen monuments on the binary type may soon be found in which there are two equal upright slabs in the middle, and the other stones placed symmetrically on each side of them.

7. There are three kinds of rock employed by the Khasis for stone monuments, viz.:—

a. The Cherra sandstones.
b. The Shillong sandstones.
c. The granite.

Small stones are conveyed considerable distances from the place of manufacture before they are set up—large stones are not—hence the material of the monuments is determined everywhere geologically.

a. The Cherra sandstones are tertiary and cretaceous rocks spread along the southern edge of the plateau and producing the ledges which mark its abrupt termination. In the great thickness of these sandstones are many beds in which the rock occurs in large sheets with very few joints, and well-adapted for working out large slabs therefrom. The sandstone is generally very hard, but not so hard but that the Khasis can work it with their own native-made iron tools.

There is a quarry, now in full work, about half-a-mile out of the old Cherra cantonment, upon the Mamloo path, where slabs may be seen in preparation. The slabs made from the Cherra sandstones, admitting of being worked, are generally hewn pretty fairly to a shape and smoothed before being set up. The ancient monuments are, however, often made of very rough slabs.

All the well-known monuments near the old Cherra station are made of these sandstones, as also the large monuments at Mamloo, Mausmai, and Lirinow. These three monuments all stand on sheets of Cherra sandstone and the stones were cut out of the rock hard by where they now stand. The stones quarried now outside the Cherra cantonment, being for transport, are none of great size.

The Khasis also work gigantic slabs of stone for bridges. Where the span is anything under twenty feet a single slab four or five feet wide and two feet thick is thrown across; piers of enormous blocks of sandstone are raised on each side, on which the slab may rest, if there is the remotest fear that the water can, in any flood, reach the under surface of the slab. As compared with such a bridge the Khasis regard the best efforts of the English engineers as mere makeshifts. The arch at Amwee figured by Dr. Hooker is Bengali work.

b. The Shillong sandstones extend over a large area of the northern portion of the plateau: they are often more argillaceous

[p. 1]

KHASI KINSHIP AND SOCIAL ORGANISATION

BY

PROF. K. P. CHATTOPADHYAY.

Introduction

114 121 In a paper on Khasi marriage rules Prof. Hodson has tried to explain the special features of the Khasi kinship terms and marriage rules on the hypothesis of a former dual division of Khasi Society, and certain new social forces which came into operation when the dual society broke up (1).

Hodson used for his work, the kinship terms noted in the Assam Census Report (2), Gurdon's work on Khasis* (3) and a dictionary by U. Nissorsing. A full list of Khasi kinship terms was published by Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy shortly afterwards (4). The list is stated to have been compiled with the help of the ex- Siem of Cherra, on the genealogical method. The genealogies have not however been printed, and detailed notes are not available.

Recently the writer of this paper proceeded to the village of Mawphlang, the head-quarters of the Khasi State of this name and collected a certain amount of data to discuss this problem. The village is situated to the southwest of Shillong, at a distance of sixteen miles, and has preserved the old customs to a fair extent. It is ruled over by a lyngdoh or priest-chief, assisted by four myntris. At the time of the visit, the lyngdoh was away, suspended by the Political Agent for misgovernment, and the powers of the State were vested in the council of myntris. The senior myntri U Subu Rai, who is an old man

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* [this source has been processed for the AR7 Khasi file -- Analyst.]

Il: Chattopadhyay E-4, 5 (no date) 1941 AR7 Khasi AR7

nearly seventy years of age, spoke English a little, and kindly agreed to help by acting as introducer as well as interpreter. The Chowkidar of the bungalow, a Christian Khasi who spoke Hindi tolerably well was however our principal interpreter. Before proceeding to the village, I had studied Roberts' Khasi Grammar and also learnt simple sentences in Khasi necessary for collecting genealogies, kinship terms and connected details, like the inheritance of the ancestral house and lands. This portion of the data was collected entirely through questions and answers in Khasi; the other details were obtained with the help of myntri U Subu Rai and his friends and the Chowkidar, U Hudrington. On important points however, some checking was made, by simple questions in Khasi, which involved definite answers in the affirmative or negative. My students who had accompanied me for training in field studies, repeated some of my observations, in my presence and with my help and guidance.

My best thanks are due to Mr. K. Cantlie, Deputy Commissioner, Khasi and Jaintia Hills, for furnishing me with the letter of introduction to U Subu Rai and for other facilities. His published notes on Khasi law, especially the chapters on inheritance also proved to be of great value in carrying out the enquiries (5). In the subsequent portions of this article, references to the works of Gurdon and Cantlie, will be indicated merely by (G) and (CN) respectively.

Ik Chattopadhyay E-4, 5 (no date) 1941 AR7 Khasi AR7

Generally the terms for (i) and (iii) are the same. In a few instances a distinction was said to be made. Many people however do not observe such distinctions. In the list of kinship terms published by Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy, this distinction has not been made. While his list agrees with mine in many respects, there are important differences. He has noted certain identities in kinship terms, which I did not find, and which have not been noted also in the Census Report.

The kinship system of the Khasis has certain special features:

(a) There is a clear distinction drawn in the kinship terms, with regard to seniority and juniority in age between siblings. This distinction is also made in the generation above that of the speaker, with regard to the mother's sisters, and father's brothers and their spouses. It is also observed with regard to the mother's brothers but not with regard to the father's sisters or the spouses, or their children. The distinction is however observed throughout in terms of address.

(b) A woman refers to her sister's children by the same term as a man to his brother's children; but a woman refers to her brother's children by a different term, which is applied also by her brother to her children.

(c) Certain kin are grouped together. The same term, for example is applied to the mother, step mother, the mother's sisters, and the wives of the brothers of the father. Similarly, the father, the step father, the father's brothers and the husdands of the mother's sisters are grouped together. In both cases, the actual father and mother are referred to by a term, to which adjectives denoting seniority and juniority are added for the other relatives. The mother's brother and the father's sister's husband have a common term. But the mother's brother is always distinguished by adding the adjective of age noting his position as elder or younger uncle. The father's sister's husband is not so distinguished. The sister of the father is clearly distinguished

12: Mukherjee et al. E-4, 5 (1940) 1941 AR7 Khasi AR7

[p.177]

THE KHASI HUTS OF MAWPHLANG

BY

RAM KRISHNA MUKHERJEE, RAM CHANDRA BOSE, SALIL RAI CHAUDHURI, SAROJ GUPTA AND KUMARES SENGUPTA

114 Post-Graduate students of the Department of Anthropology of the University of Calcutta are expected to do a certain amount of field work for practical training. In 1940 a Khasi village was studied by us, the students of the Post-Graduate class, as part of our training, under the guidance of Prof. K. P. Chattopadhyay, the Head of the Department of Anthropology, whom we have 121 to thank also for the photographs used for this paper. This note 342 on Khasi house structure is based on our work in the village of Mawphlang, the headquarters of the Khasi State of this name, in the Khasi Hills, Assam. Our studies included a survey of the village and its house types. Particular attention was paid to the structure of the old type of Khasi house.

342 Gurdon in his book on the Khasis of Assam describes the Khasi hut as elliptical in shape. But in Mawphlang we found that they can be more strictly said to be 'U'-shaped, in ground plan the bend of the 'U' being the front, the two parallel arms the sides, and a straight line connecting the two ends of the two arms of the 'U' the rear. We found this to be the type of most of the old houses of Mawphlang village. As is well known it is the custom among Khasis for the women of a family to live together, until the number of members increases so much that they cannot be provided with room in a single house. Then new houses are built It is usual for a married couple with children to put up a separate

14:Roy 1-5 (no date) 1938 AR7 Khasi AR7

IV. THE PLACE OF THE KHASI IN THE WORLD.

By

David Roy

131 The Khasi country lies in the hills of the pro-
[614] vince of Assam in North East India. Khasi clans
[611] are exogamous and matrilneal, and the Khasis speak a
[197] MonKhmer language.

121 In speaking of the place of the Khasi in the world I intend to explain the Khasi's own view of his relation to other peoples of the world.*

829 The Khasi is very conscious of his importance. He says a Khasi claims to be the centre of the world. The Khasi has acquired such a feeling of self-importance from his great confidence in himself; and this confidence he has derived from the position in which his relationship-terminology represents him as standing with respect to himself and the world around him. Or, rather, his relationshisp terms and language are an expression of his attitude and notions.

601 The Khasi says—*Ka Kamie* (mother)

U Khun (son) — *Ka Kmie* (mother)

Which is—His mother

Himself (male) — His sister (female)

He calls this the family. Then he says—

Ka Kamie Kha (Father's mother)

U Kpa Kha (Father, Father's brother) (male) — *Ka Nia Kha* Father Father's sister (female)

* [114] The writer of th is article is himself a Khasi (Christian).

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7 •
Garo AR5

K a 121 From the beginning of my field work, my interest lay in a *comparative* study of the two systems, not in preparing a complete monograph of the cultures of the two peoples. I used the period of my field research in working among the two peoples alternately, so that I could constantly check from one field to the other as new problems appeared.

K a • 114 122 The period of my field work was very limited (October, 1955-February, 1956). I did not know the vernacular of either the Garo or the Khasi (Since Garo language has much commonness with Tibetan language which I was used to read and speak, I could quickly get used to follow their speech during my field work, but I failed to do so in Khasi language). I employed altogether five local English-speaking interpreters (out of the five, three were pagan, and all had relatives in the villages where I worked). But I already had experience in studying the economic and social organization of other hill peoples in Assam, having carried out two years (1953-1955) field work among tribes in Tripura State and among the Tangkul Nagas in Manipur State, as also among Himalayan peoples. This all helped me a great deal in my work among the Garo and the Khasi, and is one of the reasons why I could collect such a considerable amount of *data*, in spite of the alove mentioned handicaps of my actual field work. (Later on, I carried out field research for four months among the Nayar of Kerala, to provide further *data* for comparative study.

K a 121 The Garo and the Khasi present very different structures from each other. In order to present a more effective picture of each structure, I have used different ways of presentation, each of which brings out certain important theoretical implications. The emphasis is laid accordingly upon different features: in the case of the Garo, it is the marriage system in relation to the village community; in the case of the Khasi, it is variation in marriage forms related to the structure of descent groups.

K a 122 I wish to express my profound gratitude, first of all, to the Elin Wagner Foundation in Stockholm, by whose generous grant the field work of this study was carried out, and next to Professor C. Lévi-Strauss, who has consistently encouraged me to complete this manuscript and has very kindly given me this opportunity for publication. I am greatly indebted also to: Professor Fred Eggan, Professor Raymond Firth, Professor Meyer Fortes, Professor C. von Fürer-Haimendorf, Dr. E. R. Leach, Dr. Audrey Richards, and Professor D. M. Schneider for much stimulating discussion and helpful comment on the theoretical problems of this study.

I am grateful for invitations from the Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago (1959-1960) and the Department of Cultural Anthropology, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London (1960-1961), as also for an association with the Department

16: McCormack E-4,5 (1956-1958) 1964
AR7 Khasi AR7
[P. 105 B]

NORTHERN UPLAND GROUPS

KHASIS[1]

Synonyms. Cassia, Cossyah, Kasai, Kassia, Kassyas, Kasya, Khasia, Khasiah, Khasi, Khassia, Khysia 101

ORIENTATION. Identification and location. The term Khasi has often been applied to that eastern 101
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[1] This account of Khasi culture, contributed by Anna P. McCormack, is based on field work during 1956-58 in the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills District. The author wishes to emphasize that her data are on the upland Khasis who inhabit the center of the District. She gratefully acknowledges support of the field work from the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago, the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, Inc., and the Ford Foundation, for one of its Foreign Area Training Fellowships.

16: McCormack E-4,5 (1956-1958) 1964
AR7 Khasi AR7

[P. 106 A]

group of matrilineal and Mon-Khmer-speaking people who claim as their ancestral homeland the present-day United Khasi-Jaintia Hills District (within approximately 90° 4' and 92° 52' E. and 25° 5' and 26° 5' N.). This group includes the Jaintias (also Pnar or Synteng) in the southeast, who differ from the Khasis primarily in their dualoral residence pattern and less virulent forms of sorcery. (The Hadens in eastern Jaintia are a Kuki people.) It also includes the Lyngngams (also spelled Lyngngam) in the west, who practice migratory swidden agriculture and certain peculiar funerary rites, and are said by Eberhards (1958) to be culturally intermediate between Khasis and Garos. Finally, it includes Bhoys, Wars, and upland Khasis, which terms are primarily territorial. Bhoy country is the north-central part of the District, and is culturally complicated by the presence of Mikirs, Lalungs, and Nepalis. War country spans the entire southern length of the District, so that Wars divide into Jaintia Wars and Khasi Wars; of these, the Khasi Wars have traditionally transmitted property to sons as well as to daughters. The upland center of the District is the country of the Khasis proper, those whose culture provides the most useful model for interpreting the variations found elsewhere. For general reference on all categories of Khasi culture, cf. Costa 1938 and 1957, also Gordon 1907, especially for data on regional variations.] **Geography.** The District is 5,984 square miles of hilly tableland, intricately dissected by numerous rivers, and marked by significant ecological variation over very short distances. The tablelands step gently downward north from Shillong Peak, which at 6,445 feet is the highest point in the District, and over about 55 miles east into the Brahmaputra valley where this is some 250 feet above sea level. To the south, the land slopes more steeply downward for about 20 miles, and then drops abruptly, in cliff and steep-slope formations, to the Ganges sea-level delta that begins at its north with Sylhet. The annual southwest monsoons drop torrential rains around Cherrapunji and Mawsynram villages (for Cherrapunji, a record 905 inches in 1961), but then, reaching Shillong 33 miles to the northeast, provide only about 100 inches per year. Rainfall is again greater in Shoi, which shares the Brahmaputra valley climate. Climate is temperate on the high Shillong plateau, where it seldom freezes and never snows. To the north, climate becomes subtropical, forest is jungle, and fauna abound. The climate to the south is also subtropical. [Cf. Hooker 1881, chap. XXIX.] **Linguistic affiliation.** Khasi is one of the major Mon-Khmer languages, related to Mon, Khmer, Semang-Sakai, Nicobarese, and Pataang-Wa. The major Khasi dialects are Khasi, Jaintia, and Lyngngam, to which Grierson adds War. Further minor variations occur from village to village. The Khasis had no script until 1842, when the roman alphabet was successfully applied to the Cherrapunji dialect of Khasi proper. [Cf. Rabel 1961, Grierson 1903-28; Jj Roth 1842.]

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ing from the time it consists of an elementary family until it grows to a local descent group four generations deep. [Cf. Chattopadhyay 1941.] **Kin terminology.** The terms of address given below are also terms of reference except where otherwise indicated, and are uniform for male and female speakers. They were collected in an upland Khasi village near Shillong (cf. Ehrenfels 1953 for some regional variants). 602 601 [114]

Fa	*pa*
Mo	*mei*
FaElBr	*pasen*
FaYoBr	*pakhynnah*
FaSi	*kha*
Fa youngest Si	*khaduh*
MoElSi	*meisun*
MoYoSi	*meinah*
Mo youngest Si	*meiduh*
MoElBr	*mama, kni*
MoYoBr	*bah* (ref.: *kni*)
ElBr	*bah khynnah*
Eldest Br	*kong bah*
YoBr	*bah deng*
Youngest Br	*bah duh*
ElSi	*deng*
Eldest Si	*lud, kong*
YoSi	*lud nah, lud rit*
Youngest Si	*khatduh*
MoSiSo, MoSiDa	*para* (ref.: *para ar kmie*)
FaBrSo, FaBrDa	*para* (ref.: *parakha*)
MoBrSo, MoBrDa, FaSiSo, FaSiDa	*bakha*

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY. **Mode.** According to the traditional courtship pattern, a group of young male relatives and friends made nightly visits to the house of some virgin girl in another village, appraising her through banter while she and her parents appraised them, and staying the night to avoid the dark walk home. Marriage was according to the wishes of the parents after negotiation by a go-between from the boy's side. Girls might be 15, and boys 17, years of age. Girls have now acquired freedom of movement through attending school, however. Premarital sexual play is common, and young people choose their own spouses when the girl is about 19 and the boy 21. The most common mode of marriage is elopement, for Christians and non-Christians alike, but some Christians marry in church, and some Khasis still marry according to the traditional ceremony or some variation on it. There are no preferred or prescribed marriage types, nor is there a bride price or dowry. **Form.** Monogamy is the ideal for all. **Extension of incest taboos.** Sibs are exogamous. Other prohibited marriage partners are real and classificatory FaSi and FaBr, FaBrCh, FaMo, and FaMoMo. The MoBrWi is also prohibited. Roy 584 582 562 178 836 584 583 585 184 583 581 835 [114]

says that the MoBrCh but not the FaSiCh is prohibited (1897: 2), but Gurdon says that the MoBrCh is eligible after the death of MoBr, and that FaSiCh is eligible after the death of Fa (1907: 78). Nowadays both types of marriage occur, whether the linking relative is living or dead. **Residence.** Residence is either duolocal or matrilocal under the roof of the wife's mother until the birth of one or two children. For a man married to a youngest daughter, it then continues to be matrilocal. For men married to other daughters, it becomes uxorilocal; there have also always been cases of virilocal residence, and it is now common to find neolocal residence in Shillong. For non-Christian Jaintias, it is duolocal throughout the marriage. **Domestic unit.** The domestic unit is the elementary family, though for a youngest daughter it may temporarily include also her aged mother, aged father, unmarried siblings, or divorced or widowed brothers. **Inheritance.** Traditionally, after the Khasi mother had helped each of her daughters to build and supply a house when each one married and had children, her only real obligation to help them economically was ended. Everything she possessed, excepting certain personalty that was destroyed in her cremation, was inherited by her youngest daughter. Failing daughters, a woman's property reverted to her next youngest sister's daughter. Today, this pattern is often modified by putting more property into the hands of older daughters and even sons. [Cf. Cantlie 1934; Becker 1924.] **Divorce.** A woman may effect numerous and usually brief separations from her husband by simply closing the door of her house to him, whereupon he returns to the house of his mother or youngest sister. Divorce, however, must be initiated by mutual consent. Divorce is very common, even though women resist it because they do not wish to lose a provider, and men because they do not wish to lose their children. Formerly it was accomplished by a simple ritual in the presence of witnesses, followed by public announcement by a town crier. Now, the witnesses and the public announcement have been dispensed with, and evidence for divorce consists only in the word of the parties concerned.

835 [114] [178] 591 592 428 [178] 586 586 178

SOCIOPOLITICAL ORGANIZATION. **Political organization.** The basic unit of political organization is the village, which is composed of one or more dominant local descent groups plus several others. Village government is by an assembly of all resident adult males, under the informal chairmanship of a headman elected by them from among their number. The membership of any immigrant household into a village is defined by the participation of the household's males in this assembly. Sustained membership in a village is voluntary. Khasi chiefdoms probably arose out of voluntary associations of villages, which occasionally transferred allegiance from one chief to another.

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also active, and in that decade one U Kyrhai, a Khasi convert to Presbyterianism, left that church and founded a unique sect that blends something of himself with something of mystical Hinduism and Christianity. The competitors who most seriously threatened the dominance of the Welsh Presbyterians were the Roman Catholic missionaries who arrived in Shillong about 1890. Catholics have since opened a number of high schools, colleges, convents, and orphanages. They also established a technical school, and are now constructing a seminary. At the present time, one estimate is that there are about 100,000 Presbyterians and 80,000 Roman Catholics among Khasis. Members of other Christian sects are comparatively few; adherents to Hinduism and Islam are fewer still, comprised chiefly of Khasi women married to Hindu or Muslim men; U Kyrhai's sect is dying out; and the balance of Khasis are, according to their own term, "Khasi" in religion. [Cf. Lyngdoh 1937; Morris 1910; Ropmay 1940; Singh 1950; Pugh 1951.] **Supernaturals.** The great deities are two, an unnamed masculine God (U Blei) and an unnamed feminine Goddess (Ka Blei Nongsynshar Nonghukum). God created the earth, and in the beginning instructed man in cultivation techniques and also laid down the framework of a moral order that should guide his every move if he wished to join God in heaven after death. This framework was then filled in by the first ancestors, who are therefore the authorities on the subject and are semideified as Ka Iawbei (the mother), U Thawlang (the father), and U Suidñia (the mother's brother). Very early, Goddess undertook to keep account of the numbers of human beings on earth, and this role was so important, relating as it did to the health and the multiplication of the people, that she became of major importance in the Khasi pantheon. When sin beset human society, God activated automatic punishments in the form of natural calamities, and man finally decided that some animal should go and intercede with God on behalf of humans. The cock went, agreed to take upon himself the burden of human sin, and received instruction in the correct divinatory and sacrificial techniques for which he would be one of the main objects of the knife. Again, over a period of time, it was the ancestors who perfected these techniques. Now, God is regarded as powerful and merciful, but passive. His punishments have their own impetus, and the expression of His mercy is solidified in ritual. Goddess is more vaguely conceived, but is much closer to the individual. [But cf. Ehrenfels 1950, who conceives of one double-sexed, great deity among Khasis.] Regarding ancestors, it is never clear from prayers whether supplication is to generalized semideities or to particular first ancestors of a Khasi's own matrilineage, and such a distinction seems not to matter. There are three other categories of minor deities: those who protect places (such as villages, groves, or springs),

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18: Godwin-Austen G-3 (ca. 1872) 1875 AR7
Khasi AR7

clans were very much as we find them at the present day among the Nagas and Kukis, beyond and bordering our present extreme limits, viz. that of constant feud. They are now the quietest, most peaceful, and contented of all the hill people on the eastern frontier.

In my former paper I did not allude to the cairns in these hills, which I am inclined to think are works of greater age than the stone structures. The custom is one that certainly has long since been given up, for I could not obtain any satisfactory account of them. They are only to be seen on the northern side of the Khasi plateau, and Dr. Hooker, in his account of his trips to the Kollong Rock, did not fail to notice them. About Mairaug and towards Nougstoiu they are very numerous, and always stand on commanding situations. On the path leading down the grassy spur to the stone monuments previously described, near Nougshai, is a very fine large example of a cairn, about eight feet high. They are usually plain hemispherical mounds of earth; but this one is faced all round at the base with slabs of stone about four feet high; they are frequently not higher than six feet. A distant view is shown in Plate iii.

Nowhere is there any trace of the earth that forms them having been excavated close by; it must, therefore, have been carried in some short distance, to avoid unsightly hollows near the structure. I should much like to have dug into one of these cairns, but was afraid to hurt the feelings of the people by doing so. They are very probably cineraries of an earlier form to those now made of stone, and this point it might be interesting to clear up.

Beyond the Khasi area no cairns are to be found, at least I had never come across any until visiting North Munipur last winter (1872—73), where, at the head of the Imphal river, on the direct road from Samaguting, are four fine cairns, all faced with large boulders. They are old, and the Nagas now living in the village near said they had been made by another clan of Nagas, who long ago had gone further north, and the site of whose village had been lately re-occupied by Kukis.

Mr. C. B. Clarke, in a paper read lately before your Institute, refers to the different forms of the cinerary in the Khasi Hills; but he has not quite exhausted the subject, or got further than I did, although with regard to the disposal of the ashes of the dead he gives some further interesting particulars.

As I think that drawings are of very great interest, and better exhibit the many different forms of bone depository or cinerary that have been adopted at different periods by tribes inhabiting localities very far apart, and often quite unconnected affinitively,

18: Godwin-Austen G-3 (ca. 1872) 1875 AR7
Khasi AR7

of more scientific value; and the vocabularies given by the author in this paper would, no doubt, be found of great use to comparative philologists. He hoped that the Institute would be favoured with some further information on the races of Borneo from Lieut. de Crespigny.

With regard to the paper by Major Godwin-Austen, he (the President) would say his communications were always welcome to the Institute. He wished that a more detailed account had been given of the intrenchment referred to. There appears to have been a great camp-building period in the life of most races, when neighbouring tribes were constantly at war, and each had its stronghold in case of attack. Such camps are conspicuous amongst the antiquities of nearly all parts of the world, and a comparison of the different sytems of defence adopted, when viewed by the knowledge of the art of castrametation which we possess, affords reliable evidence of psychical connections. In the early British camps of this country he had never seen any evidence of the use of flanking defence except at the entrances; but the description given by Major Austin of this earthwork appeared to indicate that something of the kind was known to these people.

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511 It is seen that the per family average annual expenditure is Rs.909·00 nP. in Border areas, Rs.1008 00 nP. in Project area and Rs.828·00 nP. in General area. The per family annual net income in the respective area being Rs.852·86 nP., Rs.988·84 nP, and Rs.949·51 nP. it follows that the budget of the average family is deficit in all the areas. [426] This deficit is usually made up either by restricting the consumption expenditure during the lean months of the agricultural year or by taking loans.

221 511 The field work of the survey was started during the month of February, i.e., hardly after two months, of harvesting of winter paddy and during the harvesting period of cash crops like orange, betelnut, potatoes, etc. During this period people get money through the sale proceeds and naturally they [114] were tempted to spend comparatively higher amount on food. In fact, it was made clear during investigation that as lean months are approaching when people did not have money to purchase food articles, they used to lead a very austere life. This period is particularly very hard for the Border people because unlike people of other two areas they do not have [128] even paddy in store. As the above figures of annual expenditure of a [125] family were calculated on the basis of information collected for one month preceeding the date of investigation, in respect of food and non-food articles, and for one year in respect of miscellaneous items, there is every likelihood of the average per family expenditure on food and non-food articles being over-estimated.

128 511 As in the case of income, consumption of articles produced at home or at farm as well as those received out of the goods, services and gift and loan were valued in money terms on the basis of the local average retail prices in respect of the commodities concerned. Thus even firewood and other wild vegetables and fishes obtained by fishing were valued in terms of money. Of the total average expenditure on food, the food articles obtained in kind and consumed at home account for about 18 per cent in Border area, 53 per cent in Project area and 57 per cent in General area. Thus the share of food articles obtained in kind and consumed at home to the annual expenditure of a family is very low in Border area. This is natural because they depend almost exclusively on cash crop cultivation.

511 Out of the total expenditure, food account for about 68 per cent in Border area, 67 per cent in Project area and 73 per cent in General area. In all the areas cereals alone took the bulk of the expenditure on food, i.e., 66 per cent, 75 per cent and 81 per cent in the respective areas

It is seen that expenditure on pulses, vegetables and milk are very low. In fact only a few of the Tribal villagers take pulses, milk and vegetables. Rice and fish or meat are the only items of the dishes of most of the villages.

Among non-food articles fuel and light accounted for 6 per cent in Border area, 5 per cent in Project area, and 5 per cent in General area. Khasis are heavy chewers of betelnut and this accounted for 5 per cent of total annual expenditure in border area, 4 per cent in Project area and about 3 per cent in General area while tobacco and tea in tea-stall accounted for about 5 per cent, 4 per cent and 4 per cent respectively of the total annual expenditure in the three areas. Expenditure on liquor

21: Ehrenfels E-4,5 (1950) 1953 AR7 Khasi AR7

[p. 396]

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Khasi Kinship Terms in four Dialects

By U. R. EHRENFELS, Ph D. (Vienna)

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II. The List of the Kinship Terms
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I. Introductory Remarks

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Professor K. P. CHATTOPADHYAY (Calcutta University) published in 1941 an analysis of Khasi kinship terms [1] based on eight genealogies which he collected in the Mawphlang area, about sixteen miles south-west of Shillong [2]. He discussed in this paper a previous publication by Professor HODSON [3] where special features of certain Khasi kinship terms are held to prove the pre-existence of a dual system in a one-time Khasi social order and he quotes also the late RAI BAHADUR S. C. ROY's work on Khasi kinship [4] and lists of Assamese relationship terms, contained in "Census of India Reports" [5] and Khasi terms in U NISSOR SINGH's "Khasi-English Dictionary" [6], P. R. T. GURDON's monograph on the Khasi [7] and in SIR KEITH CANTLIE's "Notes on Khasi Law" [8]. Discussing these previously published papers, CHATTOPADHYAY arrives at the conclusion that HODSON's hypothesis of a dual organization in a hypothetical former Khasi society was not justified [9].

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The present paper, however, does not enter into discussion of this

[1] CHATTOPADHYAY (1941).
[2] Ibid., p. 1.
[3] HODSON (1921).
[4] ROY (1921).
[5] McSWINEY (1911), pp. 74/75. The Census Report of 1891, quoted by CHATTOPADHYAY (1941), p. 1, is not available to me at the time of writing.
[6] NISSOR SINGH (1906).
[7] GURDON (1914).
[8] CANTLIE (1934).
[9] CHATTOPADHYAY (1941), pp. 27, 35.

21: Ehrenfels E-4,5 (1950) 1953 AR7 Khasi AR7

question and indeed has been compiled without knowledge of Professor CHATTOPADHYAY's work, and before he very kindly sent a private copy of this work, which had not been available to me previously. 601 122 128

The present paper offers data on the following subjects:

1. Khasi kinship terms from the Mawshai Khasi plateau-area in the Khyrim State, about 20 to 30 miles south-east of Shillong, which are in some minor details different from the Mawphlang data, collected by CHATTOPADHYAY, south-west of Shillong; 601 101 128
2. Comparative data from the Wár-Khasi;
3. from the plateau-area of Jowai in the Jaintia [10] Hills, and
4. from the Wár-Jaintia;
5. Aspects of the Khasi kinship terms, with special reference to the matrilineal order of society, and to the respective position of women and men there, especially the particular consideration which the biological relationship through the father receives in kinship terminology, in spite of the emphasis on the matrilineal structure in Khasi society (comp. term No. 1 of the list and its discussion in para 3/*b* of the present paper, on p. 408).

The data were collected in field researches to which I was enabled by two Research Grants for comparative studies in matrilineal civilizations of India, given by the Viking Fund Inc. (now: Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research) in New York, during the periods 1949-50 and 1951-52. My gratefulness to the foundation for enabling me to carry out these field researches, as well as to the University of Madras, for granting me Sabbathical leaves for the same purpose, is here once more recorded. 122 [114]

My research programme was based on the first tentative working hypothesis, laid down in my book "Mother-right in India" [11], but includes also various other aspects of study which have not been pre-planned, or even considered there [12], as for instance also the present comparative study of kinship terms in areas of four Khasi dialects and their special significance to the Khasi matrilineal social system. The material was collected during a five weeks house-to-house study in the recently founded Plateau Khasi village Maw Syn Jri, during April and May 1950. This village consisted mostly of houses, owned by Khasi elder sisters and inhabited by them, with their families, after they had left the ancestral home in the main village Kharang, about one mile across the valley on the western side of the new settlement. The ancestral family houses there were in the possession of either the mother, or, if she was no more alive, the youngest daughter of the family, the *ka khun khaddu* [13]. 121 114 101 621 [601]

[10] Jaintia, (Pnár or "Synteng") are the Khasi speaking eastern neighbours of the Khasi proper. As among the Khasi, so also among Jaintia the people in the cool plateau highlands are in many ways different from those who settled in the luscious tropical rainforests of the southern slopes, now situated just north of the East Pakistan frontier: — the so-called Wár-country, where economy is mainly based on pan-leaf gardening.

[11] EHRENFELS (1951).

[12] EHRENFELS (1950/*A*), (1950/*B*), (1950/*C*), (1950/*D*), (1950/*E*), (1951/*A*), (1951/*B*).

[13] GURDON (1914), pp. 83, seq., CANTLIE (1934), p. 11.

21: Ehrenfels E-4,5 (1950) 1953 AR7 Khasi AR7

105 It will here be recalled that the Khasi are a matrilineal agricultural
[175] people, pre-litterate until the advent of the British in the sixth decade of
[197] the 19th century, organized under democratically ruling *siem*, or Khasi
144 princes and chieftains and speaking an Austro-Asiatic language [14]. Their physical affinities are unmistakably mongoloid and quite distinct from the Assamese speaking plains-Indians, — but not from the other mountaineers of Assam, Nepal and even Burmah or China, with whom they feel to be more closely related, as with the Indian plainspeople, as some of the tribal designations in the following lists of terms for Non-Khasi testifies (comp. No. 41 as against No. 42, 43 and 43/*a-e*).

114 In the collection of the material, I was hampered by my inability to
122 pick up the Khasi language sufficiently quickly, for conversation without the help of an interpreter, but on the other hand greatly eased by generous and voluntary assistance on the part of several Khasi friends, especially U Ekiman Singh, the President, Unitarian Union, Khasi- and Jaintai Hills and his (Khasi) wife, Ka Austria [15], who offered me hospitality in their house at Maw Syn Jri, during my stay there. Dr. H. LYNGDOH, Shillong, the author of detailed accounts on Khasi religious ceremonial and institutions [16], U Jeeban Roy, a leading Pnár gentleman of Jowei in the Jaintia Hills, Ka Ellen Giri, Principal, Govt. Basic Education Training Centre, Malki, Shillong, Ka Kongmen, Shillong, and U David Roy, Prime Minister (retd.), and a number of hospitable Wár Khasi and Wár-Jaintia pan-leaf cultivators in the southern slopes of the Khasi- and Jaintia Hills, especially from the villages Mawlat and Padu, also helped me greatly in my task. My thanks are due to all of them.

101 The data, submitted and briefly described in this paper were thus
114 collected in four different areas.

1. The South-eastern corner of the Khasi-Hills (plateau-area),
2. the southern slopes of the Khasi Hills, the "Wár-Khasi country" between the Khasi plateau proper and the northern boundary of East Pakistan,
3. the central plateau of the Jaintia Hills, round its capital market Jowei, and
4. the southern slopes of the Jaintia Hills, the "Wár-Jaintia country" between these and a section of the northern boundary of East Pakistan, further to the East than area 2.

197 Slightly different Khasi dialects are spoken in these four regions, Jaintia (Pnár or "Synteng") and Wár-Jaintia being more akin to each other, similarly as Plateau-Khasi and Wár-Khasi are.

101 The Pnár or Jaintias ("Synteng" is a slightly opprobious designation,
175 used by the Plateau-Khasi for these, their eastern neighbours) look back

[14] SCHMIDT (1906).

[553] [15] So named, because Austria was much in the news at the time of her birth, during the first world war; — a fact which illustrates the Khasi peculiarity to use either ad hoc inventions as names for children, or to adopt such, from the Khasi point of view, outlandish words like: "Ka Austria" or "Ka Mediterranean Sea" as names for their children.

[16] LYNGDOH (1937).

21: Ehrenfels E-4,5 (1950) 1953 AR7 Khasi AR7

III. Explanations

1. General

124 Most of my informants were illiterate. The spelling of the terms was
128 checked and corrected by my English-speaking and writing Khasi- and
601 Pnár- friends, mentioned in para one, to whom thanks are being here once more expressed. All responsibility for spelling mistakes, however, which may have slipped into this list has of course to be borne by me.

Blanks (—) or question marks (?) in one of the columns do not necessarily mean that there is no word used, by the respective group, for the particular term. They more often indicate that my informants did not use, or know, the particular term, or that I failed to enquire about it in a
[114] manner sufficiently clear to my informants. This is particularly true of general terms, partly or fully corresponding to English general terms, such as parents or grand-parents, or the terms No. 9/*a* and *b*, 13, 15/*a*, 19-21, and 26, which were partly explained to me, by Khasi friends in Shillong, where I stayed some time after completion of field-work during the rainy season. Hence I could no more return for verification to the little accessible Wár-villages in the steep southern slopes. Although I am planning to utilise a future opportunity for such checking up, I am yet publishing the present results in the hope that they may thus become accessible to field-workers among other S. E.-Asiatic, and especially Austro-Asiatic speaking peoples.

193 All terms which are equal for both sexes (cf. Nos. 10, 11, 18, 19, etc.)
601 are used with *ka* and *u* respectively. These sexdetermining preposed articles,
128 as also the honorific *i* are specially mentioned in the list, only if this is essential for the understanding of the respective terms as in Nos. 3-5, 7, 8, or 10.

2. Special

601 Term No. 1 — to give birth or beget (*kha*) signifies also relatives on the paternal side as in *para kha* (paternal cousins No. 9/*c*), in contradistinction to *para kur*, 9/*b*, (lit.: cousins of the clan), i. e. maternal cousins, since the clan is a matrilineal unit. This usage of the word *kha* appears also
[842] significantly in the terms 15/*a*, 17, 18/*b*, 20, 22, 32 and, as an integral part of the Khasi kinship terminology, renders it highly improbable that the Khasi matrilineal system could lave originated in ignorance of the biological function of the father. It is a significant feature in the matrilineal social system.

The terms 3 to 3/*b* refer to unmarried but biologically marriageable youths.
[881] It will be noted that there are (and were in 1914) no indications of puberty-
[584] rites for either girls or boys. There is also no child-marriage among Khasi. The use of special terms for mature, unmarried youths is therefore significant.

Term 6 — *i* as honorific article, is at the same time indicative of
[428] diminution [23], which is remarkable for two reasons: (firstly) the diminution is used for the oldest and most respected family members, like the diminution

[23] NISSOR SINGH (1906), p. 84.

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

589 dition that she does not remarry; the idea being that as long as
765 the bones remain in the widow's keeping, the spirit of her husband is still with her. On this account many wives who revere their husband's memories, and who do not contemplate
587 remarriage, purposely keep the bones for a long time. If a
765 widow marries, even after the customary taboo period of one year, whilst her deceased husband's bones are still in her keeping,
[346] she is generally looked down upon. Her children in such a case perform the ceremony of handing over the bones of their father to his clan in a building specially erected for the purpose. The widow cannot enter therein, or even go near it, whilst the ceremony is proceeding, no matter whether the *jing sang*, or the price for removing the taboo after a husband's death, has been
595 paid to the husband's clan or not. There is no evidence to show that polyandry ever existed amongst the Khasis. Unlike the Thibetans, the Khasi women seem to have contented themselves always with one husband, at any rate with one at a time. Certainly at the present day they are monandrists. Polygamy does not exist amongst the Khasis; such a practice would naturally not be in vogue amongst a people who observe the matriarchate. There are instances, however, of men having wives other than those they have regularly married, and in the War country children by such wives enjoy rights to their father's acquired property equally with the children by the legally
582 married wife. As the clans are strictly exogamous, a Khasi
688 cannot take a wife from his own clan; to do this would entail
764 the most disastrous religious, as well as social consequences. For to marry within the clan is the greatest sin a Khasi can commit, and would cause excommunication by his kinsfolk and the refusal of funeral ceremonies at death, and his bones would
[115] not be allowed a resting-place in the sepulchre of the clan. To
614 give a list of all the Khasi exogamous clans would perhaps serve no useful purpose, but I have prepared from information, kindly
582 furnished me by the Siems of Khyrim and Cherrapunji, a list of the clans in those States which will be found in Appendices A and B. These will suffice as examples. It will be seen from the Cherra list that the different divisions of the Diengdoh clan, viz. Lalu, Diengdoh-bah, Diengdoh-kylla, are prohibited from intermarriage; this is due to those branches of the clan being

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

787 even if *i* lies with its outside downwards. If, however, *j* lies with its outside downwards, this is not a good sign.

3. If there are a number of pieces of egg-shell lying in a line, as at *k*, this is an evil prognostic, the line of shell fragments indicating the road to the funeral pyre. Such a line of shell fragments is called *ki'leng rah thang*. This sign is a harbinger of death.

4. If all the fragments of shell on both sides of the board, excepting the boat, lie with their insides downwards, the question asked by the egg-breaker is not answered. If *a* or *l* fall with their outsides downwards, this is a bad sign.

5. If the portion of a shell at *f* falls with the outside downwards, this indicates that some god needs appeasing by sacrifice.

6. If there are a number of small fragments lying around the boat, as in the diagram, these mean that there are many reasons for the illness, which cannot be ascertained.

7. If the portion of shell marked *s* is detached from the boat, this indicates that the goddess is very angry.

8. If four fragments lie around the boat so as to form a square, as *c*, *e*, *h*, *j*, these mean that the patient is at the point of death. These are called *ki leng sher thang*.

8. If there are no fragments, as at *d*, *e*, *f*, *g*, *h*, *i*, it is a puzzle. *ka leng kymtip*.

[115] *Note*.—The above information was obtained from U Sarup Singh, of Mairong; U Thum, of Laitlyngkot, and U Bud, of Jowai. Different egg-breakers have somewhat different methods of reading the signs, but the main points are usually the same.

9: Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 AR7 Khasi AR7

nounce the hard G; and in all words of Hindustani origin this letter has the sound of K. 101 [197]

They are called by the tribes of Kúkis and Nágás on the west "Káro", the name they themselves have for the whole mass of hill people on their western side, the Gāros, though as we pass towards their confines, we find the names of local clans giving way to this general term which was not known to some of the villagers of West Nongstoin, who call the Gāros "Dékor."

The Gāro appellation for the Khāsis is "Dikkil" or "Digil"; and it was very interesting to find, after visiting the villages of both, that they mutually fear each other, and consequently border raids never occur. The Gāros owned that they feared the bow and arrow of their neighbour, a weapon they themselves are unacquainted with the use of.

The Khāsis always point to the east as the quarter from which they emigrated, but there is very little, if any, similarity with the languages of the people now occupying the hills on that side. [173] [197]

Before entering further on the subject matter of this paper, I must request my hearers or readers to remember that having no knowledge colloquially of the Khasi language, the information I give was obtained from natives who understood either English or Hindustani well. The greater part of the information was given me by a very intelligent man, a native inspector of schools in the district; thus I hope that all errors that exist may be hereafter corrected by others who have been able to elucidate with greater exactness the meaning of their many different rites and superstitions. 115 ●

Certainly the most striking objects of interest in the Khāsi Hills are the upright stone monuments that are to be seen all over the country; these, set up by the wayside, or in the villages, more frequently cutting the sky on prominent hills, with the large slabs horizontally set before them, at once recall the Druidical remains of our own island, northern France, etc., and lead one to marvel at the similarity of the custom, and to inquire its origin and design. Many who visit those hills take it at once for granted that they are the graves of illustrious men, or, after a vain endeavour to get some information from the coolies about them, let the matter rest, or finally believe that the ashes of the dead, to whose memory the monoliths are erected, are buried under the flat kind of altar or dolmen seen in front. 764 211

It is always a very difficult matter to obtain information from semi-civilised people on such a subject as their religious rites, especially if the inquirer is ignorant of their language. A slight knowledge of Hindustani on the part of the Khāsia villager, renders the attempt still more hopeless, and the information given quite erroneous.

21: Ehrenfels E-4,5 (1950) 1953 AR7 Khasi AR7

on a historical past, different from that of the Khasi proper, the former having been ruled by the powerful, but somewhat Hinduised dynasty of the Jaintia Rajas until the Jaintia Wars of the British; the latter by small independent chiefs. Yet Jaintia social organization appears on the whole to preserve the matrilineal social structure clearer and to be less influenced by plains-acculturation, than that of the Khasi, though a few features of Brahmanical religious observances and also some traces of racial admixture are found in the immediate vicinity of Jowei, the former summer residence of the Jaintia Rajas. Stronger no doubt, than this influence, was that exercised by the British and non-Assamese Indians in the provincial capital Shillong since 1866. Methods of agriculture and other aspects of material civilization differ but little in the Jaintia- and Khasi plateau-areas.

The same cannot be said of both: the Wár-Khasi and Wár-Jaintias. Linguistically their affiliations are with the Khasi or Jaintias respectively, in the plateau-areas. Economically, however, both Wár-groups form a separate pan-leaf cultivating unit in the little accessible steep southern slopes of the Khasi- and Jaintia Hill massif. Both Wár-groups live in the environment of luscious tropical flora and fauna, sharply differentiated from the cool, barren plateau with its perennial winds and the heroic, if solitary beauty of its highland heaths, which forms the background of both the Khasi- and Jaintia plateau-groups.

The age of the Wár-Khasi and -Jaintias, as one independent economic, — and two half-independent dialectical linguistic entities, is an intricate problem. The two Wár-groups subsist on pan-leaf cultivation as a money crop, grown in the thick tree-gardens as creepers; not on food-cultivation, as do the plateau-groups, because there is insufficient space on the steep slopes, for vegetable gardens or -fields. The pan-leaf cultivators therefore depend on food, purchased from outside. The slopes seem to have been uninhabited until not long ago. Yet pan-leaf chewing is such an integral part of Khasi life, that until quite recently, and occasionally even now, a distance between two places is not measured by the number of hours used for walking, but by the number of betelnut- and pan-leaf packages, consumed on the way. Also the common benediction among Khasi expresses the wish that so and so may eat pan in the Garden of God. Yet pan-cultivation and the settlements of the Wár-people as pan-leaf cultivators in the southern slopes seem comparatively young. Pan-cultivation on the plateau is impracticable. It is therefore possible that pan was for a long time only a much valued import article from the plains, bartered against Khasi ore and iron tools, though it is now an export article from the Wár-country, brought to the markets of the plains, by both Wár-Khasi and Wár-Jaintia women and men.

According to a tradition, across which I came among the Nonglamin clan of the Nongmuker village, the ancestors of the present Wár people were on the plateau at a time when no pan-cultivation was going on in the slopes and none of the present big estates of pan-tree gardens was yet held by their present (Wár-) owners. A not distant ancestor of a Nonglamin clan-member who about two or three generations ago told the story to U Siang (one of

21: Ehrenfels E-4,5 (1950) 1953 AR7 Khasi AR7

249 173 [115] my informants at Padu), in the year 1933, is said to have begun the cultivation of yam (*shniw*) and millets (*knei*) in the then uncultivated slopes. He and his people used to be, on this account, ridiculed as monkeys (*shrieh*). The Nonglamin clan took later to pan-leaf-, and arecanut-cultivation and became one of the richest landowners of the Wár-country. Others followed and imitated them. This clan (*kur*) is now residing at Nongtalang, about ten miles east of Padu in the Wár-Jaintia slopes.

174 184 601 This possibility of a comparatively recent origin of the now economically independent Wár-groups among the Khasi speaking peoples is of importance to the question of some different terms in kinship terminology which the following lists will show.

184 601 Comments on other features in the relationship terminology, bearing on sociological or historical problems of either among the four Khasi speaking groups under discussion, are being hinted at in the text of the lists itself and further discussed in Part Three of the present paper, following the lists of kinship terms.

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THE KHASIS

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BY

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WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

SIR CHARLES LYALL, K.C.S.I.

(Published under the orders of the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam)

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U BAKHOR SINGH, SIEM OF KHYRIM.

Reproduced from a picture by Miss Kirene Scott O'Connor.

[FRONTISPIECE]

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[Box 1-3 Contains Pre-Archival Material]

PREFACE.

121 This book is an attempt to give a systematic account of the Khasi people, their manners and customs, their ethnological affinities, their laws and institutions, their religious beliefs, their folk-lore, their theories as to their origin, and their language.

114 This account would perhaps have assumed a more
128 elaborate and ambitious form were it not that the author has been able to give to it only the scanty leisure of a busy district officer. He has been somewhat hampered by the fact that his work forms part of a series of official publications issued at the expense of the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam, and that it had to be completed within a prescribed period of time.

000 The author gladly takes this opportunity to record his grateful thanks to many kind friends who have helped him either with actual contributions to his material, or with not less valued suggestions and criticisms. The arrangement of the subjects discussed is due to Sir Bampfylde Fuller, lately Lieutenant-Governor of the Province, whose kindly interest in the Khasis will long be remembered by them with affectionate gratitude. The Introduction is from the accomplished pen of Sir Charles Lyall, to whom the author is also indebted for much other help and encou-

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ragement. It is now many years since Sir Charles Lyall served in Assam, but his continued regard for the Khasi people bears eloquent testimony to the attractiveness of their character, and to the charm which the homely beauty of their native hills exercises over the minds of all who have had the good fortune to know them.

To Mr. N. L. Hallward thanks are due for the revision of the proof sheets, and to the Revd. H. P. Knapton for the large share he took in the preparation of the index. The section dealing with folk-lore could hardly have been written but for the generosity of the Revd. Doctor Roberts, of the Welsh Calvinistic Mission in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, in placing at the author's disposal his collection of the legends current among the people. Many others have helped, but the following names may be specially mentioned, viz.: Mr. J. H. Shadwell, Mr. S. E. Rita, the Revd. C. H. Jenkins, Mr. C. Shadwell, Mr. Dohory Ropmay, U Hormu Roy Diengdoh, U Rai Mohan Diengdoh, U Job Solomon, U Suttra Singh Bordoloi, U San Mawthoh, U Hajam Kishore Singh, U Nissor Singh, and U Sabor Roy.

A bibliography of the Khasis, which the author has attempted to make as complete as possible, has been added. The coloured plates, with one exception, viz., that taken from a sketch by the late Colonel Woodthorpe, have been reproduced from the pictures of Miss Eirene Scott-O'Connor (Mrs. Philip Rogers). The reproductions are the work of Messrs. W. Griggand Sons, as are also the monochromes from photographs by Mrs. Muriel, Messrs. Ghosal Brothers, and

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the author. Lastly, the author wishes to express his thanks to Srijut Jagat Chandra Goswami, his painstaking assistant, for his care in arranging the author's somewhat voluminous records, and for his work generally in connection with this monograph.

P. R. G.

[P. viii is blank]

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INTRODUCTION.

121 In 1903 Sir Bampfylde Fuller, then Chief Commissioner
122 of Assam, proposed, and the Government of India sanctioned, the preparation of a series of monographs on the more important tribes and castes of the Province, of which this volume is the first. They were to be undertaken by writers who had had special and intimate experience of the races to be described, the accounts of earlier observers being at the same time studied and incorporated; a uniform scheme of treatment was laid down which was to be adhered to in each monograph, and certain limits of size were prescribed.

114 Major Gurdon, the author of the following pages, who is also, as Superintendent of Ethnography in Assam, editor of the whole series, has enjoyed a long and close acquaintance with the Khasi race, whose institutions he has here undertaken to describe. Thoroughly familiar with their language, he has for three years been in charge as Deputy-Commissioner of the district where they dwell, continually moving among them, and visiting every part of the beautiful region which is called
643 by their name. The administration of the Khasi and
101 Jaintia Hills is an exceptionally interesting field of official responsibility. About half of the district, including the country around the capital, Shillong, is outside the limits of British India, consisting of a collection of small states in political relations, regulated by treaty, with the Government of India, which enjoy

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643 almost complete autonomy in the management of their
101 local affairs. In the remainder, called the Jaintia Hills, which became British in 1835, it has been the wise policy of the Government to maintain the indigenous system of administration through officers named *dolois*, who preside over large areas of country with very little interference. All the British portion of the hills is what is called a "Scheduled District" under Acts XIV and XV of 1874, and legislation which may be inappropriate to the conditions of the people can be, and is, excluded from operation within it. In these circumstances the administration is carried on in a manner well calculated to win the confidence and attachment of the people, who have to bear few of the burdens which press upon the population elsewhere, and, with the peace and protection guaranteed by British rule, are able to develop their institutions upon indigenous lines. It is now more than forty years since any military operations have been necessary within the hills, and the advance of the district in prosperity and civilization during the last half-century has been very striking.

177 The first contact between the British and the
648 inhabitants of the Khasi Hills followed upon the
175 acquisition by the East India Company, in consequence of the grant of the *Dīwānī* of Bengal in 1765, of the district of Sylhet. The Khasis were our neighbours on the north of that district, and to the north-east was the State of Jaintia,* ruled over by a chief of Khasi lineage, whose capital, Jaintiapur, was situated in the plain between the Surma river and the hills. Along this frontier the Khasis, though not averse from trade, and in possession of the quarries which furnished the chief

113 * The previous history of the Khasi State of Jaintia, so far as it can be traced, will be found related in Mr. E. A. Gait's *History of Assam* (1906), pp. 253-262.

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supply of lime to deltaic Bengal, were also known as 177 troublesome marauders, whose raids were a terror to the 648 inhabitants of the plains. Captain R. B. Pemberton, 175 in his Report on the Eastern Frontier (1835), mentions* an attack on Jaintia by a force under Major Henniker in 1774, supposed to have been made in retaliation for aggression by the Raja in Sylhet; and Robert Lindsay, [113] who was Resident and Collector of Sylhet about 1778, has an interesting account of the hill tribes and the Raja of Jaintia in the lively narrative embodied in the "Lives of the Lindsays." † Lindsay, who made a large fortune by working the lime quarries and thus converting into cash the millions of cowries in which the land-revenue of Sylhet was paid, appears to have imagined that the Khasis, whom he calls "a tribe of independent Tartars," were in direct relations with China, and imported thence the silk cloths ‡ which they brought down for sale in the Sylhet markets. A line of forts was established along the foot of the hills to hold the mountaineers in check, and a Regulation, No. 1 of 1799, was passed declaring freedom of trade between them and Sylhet, but prohibiting the supply to them of arms and ammunition, and forbidding any one to pass the Company's frontier towards the hills with arms in his hands.

The outbreak of the first Burma War, in 1824, brought us into closer relations with the Raja of Jaintia, and in April of that year Mr. David Scott, the Governor-General's Agent on the frontier, marched through his territory from Sylhet to Assam, emerging at Raha on the Kalang river, in what is now the Nowgong district. This was the first occasion on which

* P. 211. † Vol. iii., p. 163, 177, &c.

‡ These cloths, which Lindsay calls "*moongadutties*," were really the produce of Assam, and were *dhutis* or waist-cloths of *muga* silk.

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177 Europeans had entered the hill territory of the Khasi
648 tribes, and the account of the march, quoted in
175 Pemberton's Report,* is the earliest authentic information which we possess of the institutions of the Khasi race. Dr. Buchanan-Hamilton, who spent several years at the beginning of the 19th Century in collecting information regarding the people of Eastern India, during which he lived for some time at Goalpara in the Brahmaputra Valley, confused the Khasis with the
[101] Garos, and his descriptions apply only to the latter people. The name Garo, however, is still used by the inhabitants of Kamrup in speaking of their Khasi neighbours to the South, and Hamilton only followed the local usage. In 1826 Mr. David Scott, after the expulsion of the Burmese from Assam and the occupation of that province by the Company, entered the Khasi Hills in order to negotiate for the construction of a road through the territory of the Khasi *Siem* or Chief of Nongkhlāw, which should unite Sylhet with Gauhati. A treaty was concluded with the chief, and the construction of the road began. At Cherrapunji Mr. Scott built for himself a house on the plateau which, two years later, was acquired from the Siem by exchange for land in the plains, as the site of a sanitarium.† Everything seemed to promise well, when the peace was suddenly broken by an attack made, in April 1829, by the people of Nongkhlāw on the survey party engaged in laying out the road, resulting in the massacre of two British officers and between fifty and sixty natives. This led to a general confederacy of

* Pp. 218-220. It appears from p. 219 that Mr. Scott's report is responsible for the erroneous statement (often repeated) that the mountaineers "called by us Cossyahs, denominate themselves Khyee." This second name is in fact the pronunciation current in Sylhet of the word *Khāsi*, *h* being substituted for *s*, and should be written *Khāhi*.

† In Mr. Scott's time it was usual to speak of such a place as a "Sanatary."

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most of the neighbouring chiefs to resist the British, and a long and harassing war, which was not brought to a close till 1833. Cherrapunji then became the head-quarters of the Sylhet Light Infantry, whose commandant was placed in political charge of the district, including the former dominions in the hills of the Raja of Jaintia, which he voluntarily relinquished in 1835 on the confiscation of his territory in the plains.

Cherrapunji, celebrated as the place which has the greatest measured rainfall on the globe, became a popular station, and the discovery of coal there, and at several other places in the hills, attracted to it many visitors, some of whom published accounts of the country and people. The first detailed description was apparently that of the Rev. W. Lish, a Baptist missionary, which appeared in a missionary journal in 1838. In 1840 Capt. Fisher, an officer of the Survey Department, published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal * an account which showed that the leading characteristics of the Khasi race had already been apprehended: he mentions the prevalence of matriarchy or mother-kinship, notes the absence of polyandry, except in so far as its place was taken by facile divorce, describes the religion as a worship of gods of valleys and hills, draws attention to the system of augury used to ascertain the will of the gods, and gives an account of the remarkable megalithic monuments which everywhere stud the higher plateaus. He also recognizes the fact that the Khasis as a race are totally distinct from the neighbouring hill tribes. In 1841 Mr. W. Robinson, Inspector of Schools in Assam, included an account of the Khasis in a volume on that province which was printed at Calcutta. In 1844 Lieut.

* Vol. ix., pp. 833 sqq.

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114 Yule (afterwards Sir Henry Yule) published in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society * a much more detailed description of the hills and their inhabitants than had been given by Fisher. This formed the basis of many subsequent descriptions, the best known of which is the attractive account contained in the second volume of Sir Joseph Hooker's *Himalayan Journals* † published in London in 1854. Sir Joseph visited Cherrapunji in June 1850, and stayed in the hills until the middle of the following November.

797 Meanwhile the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Mission,
177 originally located at Sylhet, had extended their
175 operations to Cherrapunji, and in 1842 established a branch there. They applied themselves to the study of the Khasi language, for which, after a trial of the Bengali, they resolved to adopt the Roman character. Their system of expressing the sounds of Khasi has since that time continued in use, and after sixty years' prescription it would be difficult to make a change. Their Welsh nationality led them to use the vowel *y* for the obscure sound represented elsewhere in India by a short *a* (the *u* in the English *but*), and for the consonantal *y* to substitute the vowel *i*: *w* is also used as a vowel, but only in diphthongs (*āw*, *ew*, *iw*, *ow*); in other respects the system agrees fairly well with
114 the standard adopted elsewhere. Primers for the study of the language were printed at Calcutta in 1846 and 1852, and in 1855 appeared the excellent "Introduction to the Khasia language, comprising a grammar, selections for reading, and a Khasi-English vocabulary," of the Rev. W. Pryse. There now exists a somewhat extensive literature in Khasi, both religious and secular. An exhaustive grammar, by the Rev. H. Roberts, was

* Vol. xiii., pp. 612 sqq.

† Pp. 272 sqq.

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published in Trübner's series of "Simplified Grammars" 114 in 1891, and there are dictionaries, English-Khasi (1875) and Khasi-English (1906), besides many other aids to the study of the language which need not be mentioned here. It is recognized by the Calcutta University as sufficiently cultivated to be offered for the examinations of that body. Two monthly periodicals are published in it at Shillong, to which place the headquarters of the district were removed from Cherrapunji in 1864, and which has been the permanent seat of the Assam Government since the Province was separated from Bengal in 1874.

The isolation of the Khasi race, in the midst of a great encircling population all of whom belong to the Tibeto-Burman stock, and the remarkable features presented by their language and institutions, soon attracted the attention of comparative philologists and ethnologists. An account of their researches will be found in Dr. Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. ii. Here it will be sufficient to mention the im- 114 portant work of Mr. J. R. Logan, who, in a series of 144 papers published at Singapore between 1850 and 1857 in the *Journal of the Indian Archipelago* (of which he was the editor), demonstrated the relationship which exists between the Khasis and certain peoples of Further India, the chief representatives of whom are the Mōns or Talaings of Pegu and Tenasserim, the Khmērs of Cambodia, and the majority of the inhabitants of Annam. He was even able, through the means of vocabularies furnished to him by the late Bishop Bigandet, to discover the nearest kinsmen of the Khasis in the Palaungs, a tribe inhabiting one of the Shan States to the north-east of Mandalay on the middle Salween. With the progress of research it became apparent that the Mōn-Khmēr group of Indo-

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114 China thus constituted, to which the Khasis belong, was
144 in some way connected with the large linguistic family in the Indian Peninsula once called Kolarian, but now more generally known as *Mundā*, who inhabit the hilly region of Chutia Nagpur and parts of the Satpura range in the Central Provinces. Of these tribes the principal are the Santhāls, the Mundās, and the Korkus. In physical characters they differ greatly from the Indo-Chinese Khasis, but the points of resemblance in their languages and in some of their institutions cannot be denied; and the exact nature of the relation between them is as yet one of the unsolved problems of ethnology.

114 The work of Logan was carried further by Prof.
197 Ernst Kuhn, of Munich, who in 1883 and 1889 published important contributions to our knowledge of the languages and peoples of Further India. More recently our acquaintance with the phonology of Khasi and its relatives has been still further advanced by the labours of Pater W. Schmidt, of Vienna, whose latest work, *Die Mon-Khmer Völker, ein Bindeglied zwischen Völkern Zentralasiens und Austronesiens* (Braunschweig, 1906), has established the relationship of Khasi not only to the Mōn-Khmēr languages, but also to Nicobarese and several dialects spoken by wild tribes in the Malay Peninsula.

There still remains much to be done before the speech of the Khasi nation can be considered to have been thoroughly investigated. In the *Linguistic Survey* four dialects are dealt with, the standard literary form, founded on the language of Cherrapunji, the *Pnār* or *Synteng*, of Jowai, the *Wār*, spoken in the valleys on the southern face of the hills, and the *Lyngngām*, spoken in the tract adjacent to the Garos on the west. Major Gurdon (p. 203) mentions a fifth, that of Jirang

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or Mynnār, spoken in the extreme north, and there may be others. A great desideratum for linguistic purposes is a more adequate method of recording sounds, and especially differences of tone, than that adopted for the standard speech, which though sufficient for practical purposes, does not accurately represent either the quantity or the quality of the vowels, and leaves something to be desired as regards the consonants (especially those only faintly sounded or suppressed). These things, no doubt, will come in time. The immense advance which has been made in education by the Khasis during the last half-century has enabled some among them to appreciate the interesting field for exploration and study which their own country and people afford; and there is reason to hope that with European guidance the work of record will progress by the agency of indigenous students.

It remains to summarize briefly the principal distinctive features of this vigorous and sturdy race, who have preserved their independence and their ancestral institutions through many centuries in the face of the attractions offered by the alien forms of culture around them.

In the first place, their social organization presents one of the most perfect examples still surviving of matriarchal institutions, carried out with a logic and thoroughness which, to those accustomed to regard the status and authority of the father as the foundation of society, are exceedingly remarkable. Not only is the mother the head and source, and only bond of union, of the family: in the most primitive part of the hills, the Synteng country, she is the only owner of real property, and through her alone is inheritance transmitted. The father has no kinship with his children, who belong to their mother's clan; what he earns goes

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614 to his own matriarchal stock, and at his death his bones
764 are deposited in the cromlech of his mother's kin. In
Jowai he neither lives nor eats in his wife's house, but
[591] visits it only after dark (p. 76). In the veneration of
ancestors, which is the foundation of the tribal piety,
769 the primal ancestress (*Ka Iāwbei*) and her brother are
211 the only persons regarded. The flat memorial stones
set up to perpetuate the memory of the dead are called
after the woman who represents the clan (*māw kynthei*,
p. 150), and the standing stones ranged behind them
are dedicated to the male kinsmen on the mother's
side.

776 In harmony with this scheme of ancestor worship,
the other spirits to whom propitiation is offered are
mainly female, though here male personages also figure
(pp. 106—109). The powers of sickness and death are
all female, and these are those most frequently wor-
shipped (p. 107). The two protectors of the household
are goddesses (p. 112), though with them is also revered
the first father of the clan, *U Thāwlang*.

793 Priestesses assist at all sacrifices, and the male
643 officiants are only their deputies (p. 121); in one
important state, Khyrim, the High Priestess and actual
head of the State is a woman, who combines in her
person sacerdotal and regal functions (p. 70).

193 The Khasi language, so far as known, is the only
member of the Mōn-Khmēr family which possesses
a grammatical gender, distinguishing all nouns as
masculine and feminine; and here also the feminine
nouns immensely preponderate (p. 206). The pronouns
of the second (*mē*, *phā*) and third person (*ū*, *kā*) have
separate forms for the sexes in the singular, but in the
plural only one is used (*phī*, *kī*), and this is the plural
form of the feminine singular.

000 It may perhaps be ascribed to the pre-eminence

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It may perhaps be ascribed to the pre-eminence
accorded by the Khasis to the female sex that successive 162
censuses have shown that the women of this race
considerably exceed the men in number. According
to the census of 1901, there are 1,118 females to every
1,000 male Khasis. This excess, however, is surpassed
by that of the Lushais, 1,191 to 1,000, and it may
possibly be due to the greater risks to life encountered
by the men, who venture far into the plains as traders
and porters, while the women stay at home. Habits of 165
intemperance, which are confined to the male sex, may
also explain a greater mortality among them.

It would be interesting to investigate the effect 161
on reproduction of the system of matriarchy which 163
governs Khasi family life. The increase of the race is
very slow. In the census of 1891 there were enumerated
only 117 children under 5 to every hundred married
women between 15 and 40, and in 1901 this number fell
to 108. It has been suggested that the independence
of the wife, and the facilities which exist for divorce,
lead to restrictions upon child-bearing, and thus keep
the population stationary. The question might with
advantage be examined at the census of 1911.

The next characteristic of the Khasis which marks 787
them out for special notice is their method of divination 782
for ascertaining the causes of misfortune and the
remedies to be applied. All forms of animistic religion
make it their chief business to avert the wrath of the
gods, to which calamities of all kinds—sickness, storm,
murrain, loss of harvest—are ascribed, by some kind of
propitiation; and in this the Khasis are not singular.
But it is somewhat surprising to find among them the 787
identical method of *extispicium* which was in use among 171
the Romans, as well as an analogous development in
the shape of egg-breaking, fully described by Major
Gurdon (p. 221), which seems to have been known to

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787 diviners in ancient Hellas.* This method has (with
171 much else in Khasi practice) been adopted by the former subjects of the Khasis, the Mikirs; but it does not appear to be prevalent among any other of the animistic tribes within the boundaries of India.

211 The third remarkable feature of Khasi usage is the
171 custom, which prevails to this day, of setting up great
731 memorials of rough stone, of the same style and character as the *menhirs* and *cromlechs* which are found in Western Europe, Northern Africa, and Western Asia. It is very surprising to a visitor, unprepared for the sight by previous information, to find himself on arrival at the plateau in the midst of great groups of standing and table stones exactly like those he may have seen in Brittany, the Channel Islands, the south of England, or the Western Isles. Unfortunately the great earthquake of June 1897 overthrew many of the finest of these megalithic monuments; but several still remain, and of these Major Gurdon has given an excellent description (pp. 144 sqq.), with an explanation of the different forms which they assume and the objects with which they are erected. Other races in India besides the Khasis set up stone memorials; but none, perhaps, to the same extent or with the same systematic purpose and arrangement.

114 In conclusion, I have only to commend this work to the consideration of all interested in the accurate and detailed description of primitive custom. I lived myself for many years among the Khasis, and endeavoured to find out what I could about them; but much of what Major Gurdon records is new to me, though the book generally agrees with what I was able

* Called φασκωνία: one of the lost books of the Orphic cycle was entitled τὰ φασκωνικά.

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to gather of their institutions and characteristics. It is, I think, an excellent example of research, and well fitted to stand at the head of a series which may be expected to make an important contribution to the data of anthropology. 114

C. J. LYALL.

November, 1906.

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THE KHASIS

SECTION I.

HABITAT.

101 162 The Khasis reside in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills District of Assam. They number 176,614 souls, which total is made up of:—

Khasis	107,[illegible]
Syntengs	47,[illegible]
Christian Khasis	17,[illegible]
Khasis inhabiting other districts	4,[illegible]
	176,614

131 162 563 The Khasi and Jaintia Hills district is situated between 25° 1' and 26° 5' North Latitude, and between 90° 47' and 92° 52' East Longitude. It contains an area of 6,157 square miles, with a total population at the Census of 1901 of 202,250 souls. In addition to the Khasis there are some members of Bodo tribes inhabiting parts of the district.

The Lyngam tribe appears to have been reckoned in 1901 as Khasi, there being no separate record at the last Census of these people.

101 131 [133] 563 The district is split up into two divisions, the Khasi Hills proper and the Jaintia Hills. The Khasi Hills form the western portion of the district and the Jaintia Hills the eastern. The Khasis inhabit the Khasi Hills proper, and the Syntengs, or Pnars, the Jaintia Hills. The latter hills take their name from the Rajas of Jaintia, the former rulers of this part of the country, who had as their capital Jaintiapur, a place situated at the foot of the Jaintia Hills on the southern side, which now falls within the boundaries of the Sylhet

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131 district. The Lyngngam inhabit the western portion of the
131 Khasi Hills proper. A line drawn north and south through
143 the village of Nongtrin may be said to form their eastern boundary, and the Kamrup and Sylhet districts their northern and southern boundaries, respectively. The people known as *Bhoi* in these hills, who are many of them really Mikirs, live in the low hills to the north and north-east of the district, the term "Bhoi" being a territorial name rather than tribal. The eastern boundary of the Lyngngam country may be said to form their north-western boundary. The Wirs inhabit the precipitous slopes and deep valleys to the south of the district. Their country extends along the entire southern boundary of the district to the Jadukata, or Kometi-ong, river where the Lyngngam territory may be said to commence towards the north. There are some Hadem colonies in the extreme eastern portions of the Jaintia Hills. It is these colonies which are sometimes referred to by other writers as "Kuki Colonies." They are settlers from the North Cachar Sub-division of the Cachar district within recent years. It is possible that the title Hadem may have some connection with *Hidimba*, the ancient name for the North Cachar Hills.

APPEARANCE.

142 The colour of the Khasi skin may be described as being usually brown, varying from dark to a light yellowish brown, according to locality. The complexion of the people who inhabit the uplands is of a somewhat lighter shade, and many of the women, especially those who live at Nongkrem, Laitlyngkot, Mawphlang, and other villages of the surrounding high plateaux, possess that pretty gipsy complexion that is seen in the South of Europe amongst the peasants. The people of Cherrapunji village are specially fair. The Syntengs of the Jaintia Hills are darker than the Khasi uplanders. The Wirs who live in the low valleys are frequently more swarthy than the Khasis. The Bhois have the sickly-looking yellow skin of the Mikirs, and the Lyngngam are darker than the Khasis. The Lyngngam are probably the darkest complexioned people in the

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A GROUP OF KHASI COOLIES.

Reproduced from a sketch by Major Colonel Woodthorpe, R.E.

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P 2.B

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142 hills, and if one met them in the plains one would not be able to distinguish them from the ordinary Kachari or Rabha. The nose in the Khasi is somewhat depressed, the nostrils being often large and prominent. The forehead is broad and the 141 space between the eyes is often considerable. The skull may be said to be almost brachy-cephalic, the average cephalic index of 77 Khasi subjects, measured by Col. Waddell and Major Hare, I.M.S., being as high as 77·3 and 77·9, respectively. According to these data the Khasis are more brachy-cephalic than the Aryans, whose measurements appear in Crooke's tables, more brachy-cephalic than the 100 Mundas whose measurements appear in Risley's tables, more brachy-cephalic than the Dravidians, but less brachy-cephalic than the Burmans, whose measurements also appear in Crooke's tables. It would be interesting to compare some head measurements of Khasis with Japanese, but unfortunately the necessary data are not available in the case of the latter people. The Khasi head 142 may be styled sub-brachy-cephalic. Eyes are of medium size, in colour black or brown. In the Jaintia Hills hazel eyes are not uncommon, especially amongst females. Eyelids are somewhat obliquely set, but not so acutely as in the Chinese and some other Mongols. Jaws frequently are prognathous, mouth large, with sometimes rather thick lips. Hair black, straight, and 302 worn long, the hair of people who adopt the old style being caught up in a knot at the back. Some males cut the hair short with the exception of a single lock at the back, which is called *u niuhtrong* or *u niuh-' iawbei* (i.e. the grandmother's lock.) The forepart of the head is often shaven. It is quite the exception to see a beard, although the moustache is not infrequently worn. The Lynngams pull out the hairs of the moustache with the exception of a few hairs on either side of the upper lip.

PHYSICAL AND GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS.

142 The Khasis are usually short in stature, with bodies well [147] nourished, and the males are extremely muscular. The trunk is long in proportion to the rest of the body, and broad at the waist; calves are very highly developed. The women when

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KHASI CHILD.

Reproduced from a picture by Miss Eirene Scott O'Connor.

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142 young are comely, of a buxom type, and, like the men, with highly-developed calves, the latter always being considered a beauty. The children are frequently remarkably pretty. Khasis carry very heavy burdens, it being the custom for the 482 cooly of the country to carry a maund, or 82 lbs. weight, or even more occasionally, on his back, the load being fixed by means of a cane band which is worn across the forehead; women carry almost as heavy loads as the men. The coolies, both male and female, commonly do the journey between Cherrapunji and Shillong, or between Shillong and Jowai, in one day, carrying the heavy loads above mentioned. Each of the above journeys is some thirty miles. They carry their great loads of rice and salt from Therria to Cherrapunji, an ascent of about 4,000 feet in some three to four miles, in the day. The Khasis are probably the best porters in the north of India, and have frequently been requisitioned for transport purposes on military expeditions.

157 The people are cheerful in disposition, and are light-
52 hearted by nature, and, unlike the plains people, seem to thoroughly appreciate a joke. It is pleasant to hear on the road down to Theriaghat from Cherrapunji, in the early morning the whole hillside resounding with the scraps of song and peals of laughter of the coolies, as they run nimbly down the short cuts on their way to market. The women are specially cheerful, and pass the time of day and bandy jokes with passers-
[461] by with quite an absence of reserve. The Khasis are certainly more industrious than the Assamese, are generally good-tempered, but are occasionally prone to sudden outbursts of
[533] anger, accompanied by violence. They are fond of music, and
[797] rapidly learn the hymn tunes which are taught them by the Welsh missionaries. Khasis are devoted to their offspring,
593 and the women make excellent nurses for European children,
463 frequently becoming much attached to their little charges. The people, like the Japanese, are fond of nature. A Khasi
517 loves a day out in the woods, where he thoroughly enjoys
824 himself. If he does not go out shooting or fishing, he is con-
825 tent to sit still and contemplate nature. He has a separate name for each of the commoner birds and flowers. He also has names for many butterflies and moths. These are traits which are not found usually in the people of India.

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000 which are not found usually in the people of India. He[1] is
461 not above manual labour, and even the Khasi clerk in the
333 Government offices is quite ready to take his turn at the hoe
335 in his potato garden. The men make excellent stonemasons and carpenters, and are ready to learn fancy carpentry and
276 mechanical work. They are inveterate chewers of *supari* and
804 the pan leaf (when they can get the latter), both men, women, and children; distances in the interior being often measured by the number of betel-nuts that are usually chewed on a
273 journey. They are not addicted usually to the use of opium or other intoxicating drugs. They are, however, hard drinkers, and consume large quantities of spirit distilled from rice or millet. Rice beer is also manufactured; this is used not only as a beverage, but also for ceremonial purposes. Spirit drinking is confined more to the inhabitants of the high plateaux and to the people of the Wár country, the Bhois and Lynngams
276 being content to partake of rice beer. The Mikirs who inhabit
751 what is known as the "Bhoi" country, lying to the north of the district, consume a good deal of opium, but it must be remembered that they reside in a malarious *terai* country, and that the use of opium, or some other prophylactic, is probably
525 beneficial as a preventive of fever. The Khasis, like other people of Indo-Chinese origin, are much addicted to gambling.
577 The people, and especially those who inhabit the Wár country, are fond of litigation. Col. Bivar remarks, "As regards truthfulness the people do not excel, for they rarely speak the truth unless to suit their own interests." Col. Bivar might have confined this observation to the people who live in the larger centres of population, or who have been much in contact with the denizens of the plains. The inhabitants of the far interior are, as a rule, simple and straightforward people, and are quite as truthful and honest as peasants one meets in other countries. My impression is that the Khasis are not less truthful certainly than other Indian communities. McCosh, writing in 1837, speaks well of the Khasis. The following is his opinion of them:—"They are a powerful, athletic
[147] race of men, rather below the middle size, with a manliness of gait and demeanour. They are fond of their mountains, and look down with contempt upon the degenerate race of the

[1] [the Khasi --- Analyst]

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577 plains, jealous of their power, brave in action, and have an aversion to falsehood."

797 Khasis of the interior who have adopted Christianity are
177 generally cleaner in their persons than the non-Christians,
515 and their women dress better than the latter and have an air
342 of self-respect about them. The houses in a Christian village are also far superior, especially where there are resident European missionaries. Khasis who have become Christians often
771 take to religion with much earnestness (witness the recent
797 religious revival in these hills, which is estimated by the Welsh
794 missionaries to have added between 4,000 and 5,000 converts to Christianity), and are model Sabbatarians, it being a pleasing sight to see men, women, and children trooping to church on a Sunday dressed in their best, and with quite the Sunday expression on their faces one sees in England. It is a pleasure to hear the sound of the distant church bell on the hill-side on a Sunday evening, soon to be succeeded by the beautiful Welsh hymn tunes which, when wafted across the valleys, carry one's thoughts far away. The Welsh missionaries have done, and continue to do, an immense amount of good amongst these people. It would be an evil day for the Khasis if anything should occur to arrest the progress of the mission work in the Khasi Hills.

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION.

162 The Khasis inhabit the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, although
101 there are a few Khasi settlers in the neighbouring plains districts. The Census Report of 1901 gives the following figures of Khasi residents in the plains:—

Cachar	333
Sylhet	3,083
Goalpara	4
Kamrup	191
Darrang	10
Nowgong	29
Sibsagar	62
Lakhimpur	22
Lushai Hills	77
North Cachar	32
Naga Hills	62

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133

AZALEA WALK. SHILLONG. [Facing p.7]

(from a photograph by Mrs. Muriel.)

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Garo Hills	117	162
Manipur	69	101
Total	4,091*	

The following information regarding the general aspect of [127] the Khasi and Jaintia Hills district, with some additions, is 133 derived from Sir William Hunter's Statistical Account of Assam. The district consists almost entirely of hills, only a very small portion lying in the plains. The slope of the hills on the southern side is very steep until a table-land is met with at an elevation of about 4,000 feet at Cherrapunji. Higher up there is another plateau at Mawphlang. This is the [361] highest portion of the hills, some villages being found at as high an elevation as close on 6,000 feet above sea level. Fifteen miles to the east of Mawphlang, and in the same range, is situated the civil station of Shillong, at an average elevation of about 4,900 feet. The elevation of the Shillong Peak, the highest hill in the district, is 6,450 feet above sea level. On the northern side of the hills are two plateaux, one between 1,000 and 2,000 feet below the level of Shillong, and another at an elevation of about 2,000 feet above sea level. In general features all these plateaux are much alike, and consist of a succession of undulating downs, broken here and there by the valleys of the larger hill streams. In the higher ranges, where 137 the hills have been denuded of forest, the country is covered 185 with short grass, which becomes longer and more rank in the 374 lower elevations. This denudation of forest has been largely 327 due to the wood being used by the Khasis for fuel for iron smelting in days gone by. The Government, however, has taken steps to protect the remaining forests from further 137 spoliation. A remarkable feature is the presence of numerous sacred groves situated generally just below the brows of the [778] hills. In these woods are to be found principally oak and rhododendron trees. The fir-tree (Pinus Khasia) is first met with on the road from Gauhati to Shillong, at Umsning, at an elevation of about 2,500 feet. In the neighbourhood of Shillong the fir grows profusely, but the finest fir-trees are to be seen

* The figures for Khasi population in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills district will be found under "Habitat."

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137 in the Jowai sub-division. In the vicinity of Nongpoh is observed the beautiful *nahor* or *nageswar*, the iron-wood tree. The latter is also to be found on the southern slopes of the hills in the Jowai sub-division. There are some *sal* forests to the west and south of Nongpoh, where the *sal* trees are almost as large as those to be found in the Garo Hills. Between Shillong and Jowai there are forests of oak, the country being beautifully wooded. Chestnuts and birches are also fairly common. The low hills on the northern and western sides of the district are clad with dense forests of bamboo, of which there are many varieties. The Pandanus or screw-pine is to
135 be met with on the southern slopes. Regarding the geological
133 formation of the hills, I extract a few general remarks from the Physical and Political Geography of Assam. The Shillong plateau consists of a great mass of gneiss, bare on the northern border, where it is broken into hills, for the most part low and very irregular in outline, with numerous outliers in the Lower Assam Valley, even close up to the Himalayas. In the central region the gneiss is covered by transition or sub-metamorphic rocks, consisting of a strong band of quartzites overlying a mass of earthy schists. In the very centre of the range, where the table-land attains its highest elevation, great masses of intrusive diorite and granite occur; and the latter is found in dykes piercing the gneiss and sub-metamorphic series throughout the southern half of the boundary of the plains. To the south, in contact with the gneiss and sub-metamorphics is a great volcanic outburst of trap, which is stratified, and is brought to the surface with the general rise of elevation along the face of the hills between Shella and Theriaghat south of Cherrapunji. This has been described as the "Sylhet trap." South of the main axis of this metamorphic and volcanic mass are to be found strata of two well defined series: (1) the cretaceous, and (2) nummulitic. The cretaceous contains several important coalfields. The nummulitic series, which overlies the cretaceous, attains a thickness of 900 feet in the Theria river, consisting of alternating strata of compact limestones and sandstones. It is at the exposure of these rocks on their downward dip from the edge of the plateau that are situated the extensive limestone quarries of the Khasi Hills. There are numerous

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limestone caves and underground water-courses on the southern face of the hills. This series contains coal-beds, e.g. the Cherra-field and that at Lakadong in the Jaintia Hills. Some description of the remarkable Kyllang Rock may not be out of place. Sir Joseph Hooker describes it as a dome of red granite, 5,400 feet above sea level, accessible from the north and east, but almost perpendicular to the southward where the slope is 80° for 600 feet. The elevation is said by Hooker to be 400 feet above the mean level of the surrounding ridges and 700 feet above the bottom of the valleys. The south or steepest side is encumbered with enormous detached blocks, while the north is clothed with forests containing red tree-rhododendrons and oaks. Hooker says that on its skirts grows a "white bushy rhododendron" which he found nowhere else. There is, however, a specimen of it now in the Shillong Lake garden. Numerous orchids are to be found in the Kyllang wood, notably a beautiful white one, called by the Khasis *u'tiw kyllang synrai*, which blooms in the autumn. The view from the top of the rock is very extensive, especially towards the north, where a magnificent panorama of the Himalayas is obtained in the autumn. The most remarkable phenomenon of any kind in the country is undoubtedly the enormous quantity of rain which falls at Cherrapunji.* Practically the whole of the rainfall occurs in the rains, i.e. from May to October. The remainder of the district is less rainy. The climate of the central plateau of the Shillong range is very salubrious, but the low hills in parts of the district are malarious. The effect of the different climates can at once be seen by examining the physique of the inhabitants. The Khasis who live in the high central plateaux are exceptionally healthy and strong, but those who live in the unhealthy "Bhoi country" to the north, and in the Lynngam portion to the west of the district, are often stunted and sickly. Not so, however, the Wárs who live on the southern slopes, for although their country is very hot at certain times of the year, it does not appear to be abnormally unhealthy except in certain

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* The average rainfall at the Cherrapunji Police Station during the last twenty years, from figures obtained from the office of the Director of Land Records and Agriculture, has been 448 inches. The greatest rainfall registered in any one year during the period was in 1890, when it amounted to 641 inches.

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147 villages, such as Shella, Borpunji, Umniuh, and in Narpuh in
132 the Jaintia Hills.
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ORIGIN.

173 The origin of the Khasis is a very vexed question. Although it is probable that the Khasis have inhabited their present abode for at any rate a considerable period, there seems to be a fairly general belief amongst them that they originally came from elsewhere. The Rev. H. Roberts, in the introduction to his Khasi Grammar, states that "tradition, such as it is, connects them politically with the Burmese, to whose king they were up to a comparatively recent date rendering homage, by sending him an annual tribute in the shape of an axe, as an emblem merely of submission." Another tradition points out the north as the direction from which they migrated, and Sylhet as the terminus of their wanderings, from which they were ultimately driven back into their present hill fastnesses by a great flood, after a more or less peaceful occupation of that district. It was on the occasion of this great flood, the legend runs, that the Khasi lost the art of writing, the Khasi losing his book whilst he was swimming at the time of this flood, whereas the Bengali
x [212] managed to preserve his. Owing to the Khasis having possessed no written character before the advent of the Welsh missionaries, there are no histories as is the case with the Ahoms of the Assam Valley, and therefore no record of their journeys.
114 Mr. Shadwell, the oldest living authority we have on the
173 Khasis, and one who has been in close touch with the people for more than half a century, mentions a tradition amongst them that they originally came into Assam from Burma *viâ* the Patkoi range, having followed the route of one of the Burmese invasions. Mr. Shadwell has heard them mention the name Patkoi as a hill they met with on their journey. All this sort of
144 thing is, however, inexpressibly vague. In the chapter dealing
173 with "Affinities" have been given some reasons for supposing that the Khasis and other tribes of the Mon-Anam family, originally occupied a large portion of the Indian continent. Where the actual cradle of the Mon-Anam race was, is as

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impossible to state, as it is to fix upon the exact tract of country 144
from which the Aryans sprang. With reference to the Khasi 173
branch of the Mon-Anam family, it would seem reasonable to suppose that if they are not the autochthons of a portion of the hills on the southern bank of the Brahmaputra, and if they migrated to Assam from some other country, it is not unlikely that they followed the direction of the different irruptions of foreign peoples into Assam of which we have authentic data, i.e. from south-east to north-west, as was the case with the Ahom invaders of Assam who invaded Assam from their settlements in the Shan States *viâ* the Patkoi range, the different Burmese invasions, the movements of the Khamtis and, again, the Singphos, from the country to the east of the Hukong Valley. Whether the first cousins of the Khasis, the Mons, moved to their present abode from China, whether they are the aborigines of the portion of Burma they at present occupy, or were one of the races "of Turanian origin" who, as Forbes thinks, originally occupied the valley of the Ganges before the Aryan invasion, must be left to others more qualified than myself to determine. Further, it is difficult to clear up the mystery of the survival, in an isolated position, of people like the Ho-Mundas, whose language and certain customs exhibit points of similarity with those of the Khasis, in close proximity to the Dravidian tribes and at a great distance from the Khasis, there being no people who exhibit similar characteristics inhabiting countries situated in between; but we can, I think, reasonably suppose that the Khasis are an offshoot of the Mon people of Further India in the light of the historical fact I have quoted, i.e. that the movements of races into Assam have usually, although not [167] invariably, taken place from the east, and not from the west. The tendency for outside people to move into Assam from the east still continues.

Affinities.

114
The late Mr. S. E. Peal, F.R.G.S., in an interesting and 412
suggestive paper published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society 171
of Bengal in 1896, drew attention to certain illustrations of 144

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"singular shoulder-headed celts," found only in the Malay Peninsula till the year 1875, when they were also discovered in Chota Nagpur, and figured in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for June of that year. These "celts" are, as the name implies, ancient stone implements. Mr. Peal goes on to state the interesting fact that when he was at Ledo and Tikak, Naga villages, east of Makum, on the south-east frontier of the Lakhimpur district of Assam, in 1895, he found iron implements, miniature hoes, used by the Nagas, of a similar shape to the "shoulder-headed celts" which had been found in the Malay Peninsula and Chota Nagpur. Now the peculiarly shaped Khasi hoe or *mo-khiw*, a sketch of which is given, with its far projecting shoulders, is merely an enlarged edition of the Naga hoe described by Peal, and may therefore be regarded as a modern representative in iron, although on an enlarged scale, of the "shoulder-headed celts." Another interesting point is that, according to Forbes, the Burmese name for these stone celts is *mo-gyo*. Now the Khasi name for the hoe is *mo-khiw*. The similarity between the two words seems very strong. Forbes says the name *mo-gyo* in Burmese means "cloud or sky chain," which he interprets "thunderbolt," the popular belief there, as in other countries, being that these palæolithic implements fell from heaven. Although the Khasi name *mo-khiw* has no connection whatsoever with aerolites, it is a singular coincidence that the name for the Khasi hoe of the present day should almost exactly correspond with the Burmese name for the palæolithic implement found in Burma and the Malay Peninsula, and when it is remembered that these stone celts are of a different shape from that of the stone implements which have been found in India (with the exception of Chota Nagpur), there would seem to be some grounds for believing that the

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Khasis are connected with people who inhabited the Malay 412
Peninsula and Chota Nagpur at the time of the Stone 171
Age.* That these people were what Logan calls the Mon-Anam, 144
may possibly be the case. Mr. Peal goes on to state, "the discovery is interesting for other reasons, it possibly amounts to 141
a demonstration that Logan (who it is believed was the first to draw attention to the points of resemblance between the languages of the Mon-Anam or Mon-Khmêr and those of the Mundas and the Khasis), was correct in assuming that at one time the Mon-Anam races and influence extended from the Vindyas all over the Ganges Basin, even over Assam, the northern border of the Ultra Indian Peninsula." Mr. Peal then remarks that the Eastern Nagas of the Tirap, Namstik, and Sonkap group "are strikingly like them (i.e. the Mon-Anam races), in many respects, the women being particularly robust, with pale colour and at times rosy cheeks." The 144
interesting statement follows that the men wear the Khasi- 291
Mikir sleeveless coat. Under the heading of dress this will be 171
found described as a garment which leaves the neck and arms bare, with a fringe at the bottom and with a row of tassels across the chest, the coat being fastened by frogs in front. It is a garment of a distinctive character and cannot be mistaken; it used to be worn largely by the Khasis, and is still used extensively by the Syntengs and Lynngams and by the Mikirs, and that it should have been found amongst these Eastern Nagas is certainly remarkable. It is to be regretted that the 144
investigations of the Ethnographical Survey, as at present 211
conducted, have not extended to these Eastern Nagas, who 171
inhabit tracts either outside British territory or in very remote places on its confines, so that we are at present unable to state whether any of these tribes possess other points of affinity, as

* It is interesting to compare the remarks of M. Aymonier in his volume iii. of "Le Cambodge." He writes as follows:—"Mais en Indo-Chine on trouve, partout disseminé, ce que les indigènes, au Cambodge du moins, appellent, comme les peuples les plus éloignés du globe 'les traits de foudre.' Ce sont ici des haches de l'âge néolithique ou de la pierre polie, dont la plupart appartiennent au type repandu en toute la terre. D'autres de ces celtes, dits épaulés, parcequ'ils possèdent un talon d'une forme particulière, paraissent appartenir en propre à l'Indo-Chine et à la presqu'île dekkhanique. Ils fourniraient donc un premier indice, non négligeable, d'une communauté d'origine des populations primitives des deux péninsules, cis et trans gangétiques."

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144 regards social customs, with the Khasis; but it will be noticed
211 in the chapter dealing with memorial stones that some of the
171 Naga tribes are in the habit of erecting monoliths somewhat similar in character to those of the Khasis, and that the Mikirs (who wear the Khasi sleeveless coat), erect memorial stones exactly similar to those of the Khasis. The evidence seems to suggest a theory that the Mon-Anam race, including of course the Khasis, occupied at one time a much larger area in the mountainous country to the south of the Brahmaputra in Assam than it does at present. Further references will be found to this
144 point in the section dealing with memorial stones. The fact
171 that the Ho-Mundas of Chota Nagpur also erect memorial stones and that they possess death customs very similar to those of the Khasis, has also been noticed in the same chapter. We have, therefore, the following points of similarity as regards customs between the Khasis on the one hand, certain Eastern Naga tribes, the Mikirs, and the ancient inhabitants of the Malay Peninsula on the other :—

(a) Peculiarly shaped hoe, i.e. the hoe with far projecting shoulders	1. Khasis. 2. Certain Eastern Naga tribes. 3. The ancient inhabitants of the Malay Peninsula. 4. The ancient inhabitants of Chota Nagpur (the Ho-Mundas ?).
(b) Sleeveless coat	1. Khasis. 2. Mikirs. 3. Certain Eastern Naga tribes.
(c) Memorial stones	1. Khasis. 2. Mikirs. 3. Certain Eastern Naga tribes. 4. Ho-Mundas of Chota Nagpur.

197 I wish to draw no definite conclusions from the above facts,
144 but they are certainly worth considering with reference to Logan's theory as stated by Peal; the theory being based on Logan's philological inquiries. Thanks to the labours of Grierson, Logan, and Kuhn in the linguistic field, we know that the languages of the Mon-Khmêr group in Burma and the Malay Peninsula are intimately connected with Khasi. I say, intimately, advisedly, for not only are roots of words seen to be similar, but the order of the words in the sentence is found to be the same, indicating that both these people think in the same order when wishing to express themselves by speech.

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There are also syntactical agreements. We may take it as finally proved by Dr. Grierson and Professor Kuhn that the Mon-Khmêr, Palaung, Wa, and Khasi languages are closely connected. In the section of the Monograph which deals with language some striking similarities between the languages of these tribes will be pointed out. We have not so far been able to discover social customs common to the Palaungs and the Khasis; this is probably due to the conversion of the Palaungs to Buddhism, the change in the religion of the people having possibly caused the abandonment of the primitive customs of the tribe. In a few years' time, if the progressive rate of conversions of Khasis to Christianity continues, probably the greater number of the Khasi social customs will have disappeared and others will have taken their place, so that it cannot be argued that because no manifest social customs can now be found common to the Khasis and the Palaungs, there is no connection between these two tribes. The strong linguistic affinity between these two peoples and the wild *Was* of Burma points to an intimate connection between all three in the past. As knowledge of the habits of the wild *Was* improves, it is quite possible that social customs of this tribe may be found to be held in common with the Khasis. With regard to social affinities it will be interesting to note the Palaung folk-tale of the origin of their Sawbwa, which is reproduced in Sir George Scott's Upper Burma Gazetteer. The Sawbwa, it is related, is descended from the Naga Princess Thusandi who lived in the *Nat* tank on the Mongok hills and who laid three eggs, from one of which was born the ancestor of the Palaung Sawbwa. Here we see how the Palaung regards the egg, and it is noteworthy that the Khasis lay great stress on its potency in divination for the purposes of religious sacrifices, and that at death it is placed on the stomach of the deceased and is afterwards broken at the funeral pyre. Amongst some of the tribes of the Malay Archipelago also the *Gaji-Guru* or medicine-man "can see from the yolk of an egg, broken whilst sacramentally counting from one to seven, from what illness a man is suffering and what has caused it." Here we have an almost exactly parallel case to the Khasi custom of egg-breaking.

In the Palaung folk-tale above referred to the importance of

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the egg in the eyes of Palaung is demonstrated, and we know how the Khasi regards it. But the folk-tale is also important as suggesting that the ancient people of Pagan were originally serpent-worshippers, i.e. *Nágas*, and it is interesting to note that the Rumai or Palaung women of the present day "wear a dress which is like the skin of the Naga (snake)." Is it possible that the Khasi superstition of the *thlen*, or serpent demon, and its worship, an account of which will be found under the heading of "Human Sacrifices" in the Monograph, has anything to do with the ancient snake-worship of the people of Pagan, and also of the ancient inhabitants of Naga-Dwipa, and that amongst the wild Was the custom of head-hunting may have taken the place of the Khasi human sacrifices to the *thlen?*

Notwithstanding that Sir George Scott says the story has very Burman characteristics, the Palaung folk-tale is further interesting in that it speaks of the Sawbwa of the Palaungs being descended from a *princess*. This might be a suggestion of the matriarchate.

It can well be imagined how important a matter it is also, in the light of Grierson's and Kuhn's linguistic conclusions, to ascertain whether any of the Mon-Khmêr people in Anam and Cambodia and neighbouring countries possess social customs in common with the Khasis. In case it may be possible for French and Siamese ethnologists in Further India to follow up these inquiries at some subsequent date, it may be stated that information regarding social customs is required with reference to the people who speak the following languages in Anam and Cambodia and Cochin China which belong to the Mon-Khmêr group—*Suk*, *Stieng*, *Bahnar*, *Anamese*, *Khamen-Boran*, *Xong*, *Sauro*, *Khmu*, and *Lamet*.

Notwithstanding our failure up till now to find any patent and direct social customs in common between the Khasis and the Palaungs, I am in hopes that we may yet discover some such affinities. Mr. Lowis, the Superintendent of Ethnography in Burma, states that there is no vestige of the matriarchal system among the Palaungs; but there is the folk-tale I have quoted above. In matters of succession, inheritance, &c., the Palaungs, Mr. Lowis, says, profess to follow the Shans, whose customs in this regard have a Buddhistic basis. The Palaungs

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are devout Buddhists, and, like the Burmans and Shans, bury their lay dead, whereas the Khasis invariably burn. There is nothing in the shape of memorial stones amongst the Palaungs. *Primâ facie* these appear to be points of differentiation between the Palaungs and the Khasis; but they should not, as has already been stated, be regarded as proof positive that the tribes are not connected, and it is possible that under the influence of Buddhism the Palaungs may have almost entirely abandoned their ancient customs, like the Christian Khasis.

Having noticed some similarities as regards birth customs, as described in Dr. Frazer's "Golden Bough," between the Khasis and certain inhabitants of the Dutch East Indies, I wrote to the Dutch authorities in Batavia requesting certain further information. My application was treated with the greatest courtesy, and I am indebted to the kindness of the President, his secretary, and Mr. C. M. Pleyte, Lecturer of Indonesian Ethnology at the Gymnasium of William III., at Batavia, for some interesting as well as valuable information. With reference to possible Malay influence in the countries inhabited by the people who speak the Mon-Khmêr group of languages in Further India, it was thought desirable to ascertain whether any of the people inhabiting the Dutch East Indies possessed anything in common with the Khasis, who also belong to the Mon-Khmêr group. There are, according to Mr. Pleyte, pure matriarchal customs to be found amongst the Minangkabe Malays inhabiting the Padang uplands and adjacent countries, in Sumatra, in Agam, the fifty Kotas, and Tanah Datar, more or less mixed with patriarchal institutions; they are equally followed by the tribes inhabiting parts of Korinchi and other places. The apparently strong survival of the matriarchate in parts of the island of Sumatra, as compared with this corresponding most characteristic feature of the Khasis, is a point for consideration. Mr. Pleyte goes on to state "regarding ancestor-worship, it may be said that this is found everywhere throughout the whole Archipelago; even the tribes that have already adopted Islam, venerate the spirits of their departed." The same might be said of some of the Khasis who have accepted Christianity, and much more of the Japanese. I would here refer the reader to the chapter on "Ancestor-worship." In the

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171 Southern Moluccas the placenta is mixed with salt, placed in
174 a pot, and hung on a tree; a similar custom is observed in Mandeling, on the west coast of Sumatra. This is a custom universally observed amongst the Khasis at births. Tokenomy to some extent prevails amongst some of these Malay tribes as with the Khasis. It will be seen from the above notes that there are some interesting points of affinity between the Khasis and some of the Malay tribes, and if we add that the Khasis are decidedly Malay in appearance, we cannot but wonder whether the Malays have any connection not only with the Mon-Khmer family, but also with the Khasis, with the Ho-Mundas, and with the Naga tribes mentioned by Mr. Peal in his interesting paper published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, already referred to. We will study the strong linguistic affinities between these peoples in the section which deals with language.

M. Aymonier in "Le Cambodge" mentions the matriarchate as having been prevalent apparently amongst the primitive races of Cambodia, and notes that the ancient Chinese writers spoke of Qyeens in Fou-nan (Cambodia). If the Khmiers were the ancient people of Cambodia, here we have an important landmark in common between them and the Khasis. M. Aymonier goes on to speak of priestesses, and the Cambodian taboo, *tom or Lemow*, which Mr. Lowin, the Superintendent of Ethnography in Burma, suggests may be akin to the Khasi *nong*.

DRESS.

251 Dress may be divided into two divisions, ancient and modern. It will be convenient to take the former division first. The Khasi males of the interior wear the sleeveless coat or *jymphong*, which is a garment leaving the neck and arms bare, with a fringe at the bottom, and with a row of tassels across
[177] the chest; it is fastened by frogs in front. This coat, however, may be said to be going out of fashion in the Khasi Hills, its place being taken by coats of European pattern in the more civilized centres and by all sorts of nondescript garments in the interior. The sleeveless coat, however, is still worn by many

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Syntengs in the interior and by the Bhoia and Lyngngam. The men in the Khasi Hills wear a cap with ear-flaps. The elderly men, or other men when ceremonies is desired, wear a white turban, which is fairly large and is well tied on the head. Males in the Siemship of Nongstoin and in the North-Western corner of the district wear knitted worsted caps which are often of a red colour. These are sold at Nongstoin market at about 8 or 9 annas each. They are brought to Nongstoin by traders from the Syntengs country, and from Shillong, where they are knitted generally by Syntengs women. A small cloth is worn round the waist and between the legs, one end of which hangs down in front like a small apron. The Syntengs wear a somewhat differently shaped cap, having no ear-flaps and with a high-peaked crown. Both Khasi and Syntengs caps are generally of black cloth, having, as often as not, a thick coating of grease. The old-fashioned Khasi female's dress, which is that worn by people of the cultivator class of the present day, is the following:—Next to the skin is worn a garment called *ka jymphu*, which is a piece of cloth wound round the body and fastened at the loins with a kind of cloth belt, and which hangs down from the waist to the knee or a little above it. Over this is worn a long piece of cloth, sometimes of muga silk, called *ka jaiswen*. This is not worn like the Assamese *mekhela* or Bengali *sari*, for it hangs loosely from the shoulders down to a little above the ankles, and is not caught in at the waist; in fact, Khasi women have no waist. It is kept in position by knotting it over both the shoulders. Over the *jaiswen* another garment called *ka jain hap* is worn. This is thrown over the shoulders like a cloak, the two ends being knotted in front, it hangs loosely down the back and sides to the ankles. It is frequently of some gay colour, the ladies in Mawkhar and Cherrapunji being some pretty shade of French grey or maroon. Over the head and shoulders is worn a wrapper called *ka tap-mak-khlieit*. This, again, is frequently of some bright colour, but is often white. There is a fold in the *jaiswen* which serves as a pocket for keeping odds and ends. Khasi women in cold weather wear gaiters which are often long stockings without feet, or, in the case of the poor, pieces of cloth wound round the legs like puttiee, or cloth gaiters. I have seen

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women at Nongstoin wearing gaiters of leaves. It was explained to me that these were worn to keep off the leeches. The Khasi women might almost be said to be excessively clothed—they wear the cloak in such a way as to hide entirely the graceful contours of the figure. The women are infinitely more decently clothed than Bengali coolie women, for instance; but their dress cannot be described as becoming or graceful, although they show taste as regards the blending of colours in their different garments.

The dress of the Synteng women is a little different. With them the *jain khywang* takes the place of the Khasi *jainsem*, and is worn by them in the following manner:—One of the two ends is passed under one armpit and its two corners are knotted on the opposite shoulder. The other end is then wound round the body and fastened at the waist, from which it hangs half way down the calf. Over this they wear a sort of apron, generally of *muga* silk. They have the cloak and the head-wrapper just the same as the Khasi women. The Synteng striped cloth may be observed in the picture of the Synteng girl in the plate. Khasi women on festive occasions, such as the annual Nongkrem puja, do not cover the head. The hair is then decked with jewellery or with flowers; but on all ordinary occasions Khasi women cover the head. *Wár* women, however, often have their heads uncovered.

Modern Dress.—The up-to-date Khasi male wears knicker-bockers made by a tailor, stockings, and boots; also a tailor-made coat and waistcoat, a collar without a tie, and a cloth peaked cap. The young lady of fashion dons a chemise, also often a short coat of cloth or velvet, stockings, and smart shoes. Of course she wears the *jainsem* and cloak, but occasionally she may be seen without the latter when the weather is warm. It should be mentioned that the Khasi males are seldom seen without a haversack in which betel-nut, lime, and other odds and ends are kept; and the female has her purse, which, however, is not visible, being concealed within the folds of her lower garment. The haversack of the men is of cloth in the high plateau and in the Bhoi country, but it is of knitted fibre in the *Wár* country. The Syntengs have a cloth bag, which they call *ka ramen*.

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291 The Wár men dress very much the same as the neighbouring Sylheti Hindus. The Wár women, especially the Shell women, wear very pretty yellow and red checked and striped cloths. The cloak is not so frequently worn as amongst Khasis, except in cold weather. The Lynngam dress is very similar to that of the neighbouring Garos. The males wear the sleeveless coat, or *phong marong*, of cotton striped red and blue, red and white, or blue and white, fastened in the same manner as the Khasi coat and with tassels. A small cloth, generally red or blue, is tied between the legs, one end of it being allowed to hang down, as with the Khasis, like an apron in front. A round [354] cap is commonly worn; but the elderly men and people of importance wear turbans. The females wear short cloths of cotton striped red and blue, the cloth reaching just above the knee, like the Garos; married women wear no upper clothing, except in winter, when a red or blue cotton cloth is thrown loosely across the shoulders. The women wear a profusion of blue bead necklaces and brass earrings like the Garos. Unmarried girls wear a cloth tightly tied round the figure, similar to that worn by the Kacharis. A bag of cloth for odds and ends is carried by the men slung across the shoulder. It should be [554] mentioned that even in ancient times great people amongst the Khasis, like Siems, wore waist-cloths, and people of less consequence on great occasions, such as dances. The use of waist-cloths among the Khasis is on the increase, especially among those who live in Shillong and the neighbouring villages, and in Jowai and Cherrapunji.

TATTOOING.

304 None of the Khasis tattoo; the only people in the hills who tattoo are certain tribes of the Bhoi country which are really Mikir. These tattoo females on the forehead when they attain the age of puberty, a straight horizontal line being drawn from the parting of the hair down the forehead and nose. The line is one-eighth to one-quarter of an inch broad. The Lynngams occasionally tattoo a ring round the wrist of females.

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JEWELLERY.

301 The Khasis, as a people, may be said to be fond of jewellery. 326 The women are specially partial to gold and coral bead necklaces. The beads are round and large, and are usually unornamented with filigree or other work. The coral is imported from [435] Calcutta. The gold bead is not solid, but a hollow sphere filled with lac. These necklaces are worn by men as well as women, especially on gala occasions. Some of the necklaces are comparatively valuable, e.g. that in the possession of the Mylliem Siem family. The gold and coral beads are prepared locally by Khasi as well as by foreign goldsmiths. The latter derive considerable profits from the trade. The Assam Census Report of 1901 shows 133 goldsmiths in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills district, but does not distinguish between Khasis and foreigners. There are Khasi goldsmiths to be found in Mawkhar, Cherrapunji, Mawlai, and other villages. Sylheti goldsmiths are, however, more largely employed than Khasi in Mawsynram and certain other places on the south side of the hills. In Mr. Heuniker's monograph on "gold and silver wares of Assam" it is stated that the goldsmiths of Karimganj in Sylhet make specially for Khasis certain articles of jewellery, such as men's and women's earrings, &c. An article of jewellery which is believed to be peculiar to the Khasis is the silver or gold crown. This crown is worn by the young women at 301 dances, such as the annual Nongkrem dance. An illustration of one will be seen by referring to the plate. These crowns are circlets of silver or gold ornamented with filigree work. There is a peak or, strictly speaking, a spike at the back, called *u'kiew-lawbon*, which stands up some six inches above the crown. There are long ropes or tassels of silver hanging from the crown down the back. Earrings are worn both by men and women. The former affect a pattern peculiar to themselves, viz. large gold pendants of a circular or oval shape. Women wear different patterns of earrings, according to locality. An ornament which I believe is also peculiar to the Khasis is the *rupa-tylli*, or silver collar. This is a broad flat silver collar which is allowed to hang down over the neck in front, and which is secured by a fastening behind.

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Silver chains are worn by men as well as by women. The 301
men wear them round the waist like a belt, and the women hang them round their necks, the chains being allowed to depend as low as the waist. Bracelets are worn by women; these are either of gold or of silver. The Lynngam [321]
males wear bead necklaces, the beads being sometimes of cornelian gathered from the beds of the local hill streams, and sometimes of glass obtained from the plains markets of Damra and Moiskhola. The cornelian necklaces are much prized by the Lynngams, and are called by them '*pieng blei*, or gods' necklaces. Like the Garos, the Lynngams wear as many brass earrings as possible, the lobes of the ears of the females being frequently greatly distended by their weight. These earrings are made out of brass wire obtained from the plains markets. The Lynngams wear silver armlets above the elbow and also on the wrists. It is only a [554]
man who has given a great feast who can wear silver armlets above the elbows. These armlets are taken off as a sign of [765]
mourning, but never on ordinary occasions. The Lynngams do not wear Khasi jewellery, but jewellery of a pattern to be seen in the Garo Hills. A distinctive feature of the Lynngam women is the very large number of blue bead necklaces they wear. They put on such a large number as to give them almost the appearance of wearing horse collars. These beads are obtained from the plains markets, and are of glass. Further detailed information regarding this subject can be obtained from Mr. Henniker's monograph, which contains a good plate illustrating the different articles of jewellery.

WEAPONS.

The weapons of the Khasis are swords, spears, bows and arrows, 311
and a circular shield which was used formerly for purposes of 314
defence. The swords are usually of wrought iron, occasionally of [326]
steel, and are forged in the local smithies. The Khasi sword is of considerable length, and possesses the peculiarity of not having a handle of different material from that which is used for the blade. In the Khasi sword the handle is never made of wood or bone, or

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411 of anything except iron or steel, the result being that the sword
314 is most awkward to hold, and could never have been of much use as a weapon of offence.

The same spear is used for thrusting and casting. The spear is not decorated with wool or hair like the spears of the Naga tribes, but it is nevertheless a serviceable weapon, and would be formidable in the hand of a resolute man at close quarters. The length of the spear is about 6½ feet. The shaft is generally of bamboo, although sometimes of ordinary wood. The spear heads are forged in the local smithies.

The Khasi weapon *par excellence* is the bow. Although no 'Robin Hoods," the Khasis are very fair archers, and they use the bow largely for hunting. The Khasi bow (*ka ryntieh*) is of bamboo, and is about 5 feet in height. The longest bow in use
[141] is said to be about the height of a man, the average height amongst the Khasis being about about 5 feet 2 inches to 5 feet 4 inches. The bowstring is of split bamboo, the bamboos that are used being *u spit*, *u shken*, and *u siej-lieh*.

The arrows (*ki khuam*) are of two kinds: (*a*) the barbed-headed (*ki pliang*), and (*b*) the plain-headed (*sop*). Both are made out of bamboo. The first kind is used for hunting,
[826] the latter for archery matches only. Archery may be styled the Khasi national game. A description of Khasi archery will be found under the heading "Games." The feathers
[825] of the following birds are used for arrows:—Vultures, geese, cranes, cormorants, and hornbills. Arrow-heads are made of iron or steel, and are forged locally. The distance a Khasi arrow will carry, shot from the ordinary bow by a man of medium strength, is 150 to 180 yards. The Khasi
[237] shield is circular in shape, of hide, and studded with brass or silver. In former days shields of rhinoceros hide are said to have been used, but nowadays buffalo skin is used. The shields would stop an arrow or turn aside a spear or sword thrust. The present-day shield is used merely for purposes of display.

389 Before the advent of the British into the hills the Khasis are said to have been acquainted with the art of manufacturing gunpowder, which was prepared in the neighbourhood of Mawsanram, Kynchi, and Cherra. The gunpowder used to be

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manufactured of saltpetre, sulphur, and charcoal, the three 389
ingredients being pounded together in a mortar. The Jaintia
Rajas possessed cannon, two specimens of which are still to be 713
seen at Jaintiapur. Their dimensions are as follows:—

Length, 9 feet; circumference in the middle, 3 feet 2 inches; diameter of the bore 3 inches. There are some old cannon also at Lyngkyrdem and at Kyndiar in the Khyrim State, of the same description as above. These cannon were captured from the Jaintia Raja by the Siem of Nongkrem. No specimens of the cannon ball used are unfortunately available. There are also small mortars, specimens of which are to be seen in the house of the Siem of Mylliem.

The weapons of the Syntengs are the same as those of the 411
Khasis, although some of them are called by different names. At Nartiang I saw an old Khasi gun, which the people say was fired from the shoulder. I also saw a mortar of the same pattern as the one described amongst the Khasi weapons.

The Wár and Lynngam weapons are also the same, but with different names. The only weapons used by the Bhois (Mikirs) are the spear and bill-hook for cutting down jungle. Butler, writing of the Mikirs 1854, says, "Unlike any other hill [181]
tribes of whom we have any knowledge, the Mikirs seem devoid of anything approaching to a martial spirit. They are a quiet, industrious, race of cultivators, and the only weapons used by them are the spear and *da* hand-bill for cutting down jungle. It is said, after an attempt to revolt from the Assamese rule, they were made to forswear the use of arms, which is the cause of the present generation having no predilection for war."

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SECTION II.

OCCUPATION.

241 THE greater proportion of the population subsists by cultiva-
463 tion. Cultivation of rice may be divided under two headings,
[162] high land or dry cultivation and low land or wet cultivation. The total number of persons who subsist by agriculture generally in the hills, is given in the last Census Report as 154,907, but the term agriculture includes the cultivation of the potato, the orange, betel-nut and *pán*. A full description of the different forms of agriculture will be given under the
463 heading "Agriculture." A considerable number of Khasis earn
482 their livelihood as porters, carrying potatoes to the markets on
439 the Sylhet side of the district, from whence the crop is conveyed by means of country boats to the different places of call of river-steamers in the Surma Valley, the steamers carrying the potatoes to Calcutta. Potatoes are also largely carried to Shillong by porters, where the tuber is readily bought by Marwari merchants, who load it in carts to be conveyed by road to Gauhati, from which station it is again shipped to
482 Calcutta and Upper Assam. Many persons are also employed in
463 carrying rice up the hill from Theria to Cherrapunji, Shillong,
[466] and on to other places. Salt is also carried by porters by this route. Many Khasis, both male and female, live by daily labour in this way, earning as much as eight annas, and
[162] six annas a day, respectively. The Census Report of 1901 shows some 14,000 "general labourers" in the district, the greater number of whom are porters and coolies, both male
[357] and female, employed on road work and on building. In Shillong the Government Offices and the printing press give employment to a certain number of Khasis. There is also a fair demand for Khasi domestic servants, both among the Europeans and the Bengali and Assamese clerks who are employed at the headquarters of the Administration.

headquarters of the Administration. The manufacture of country spirit gives employment to a considerable number of persons, most of whom are females. At a recent census of the country stills in the district, undertaken by the district officials, the number of stills has been found to be 1,530. There must be at least one person employed at each still, so that the number of distillers is probably not less than 2,000, possibly more. The spirit is distilled both for home consumption and for purposes of sale, in some villages almost entirely for sale. In the Jaintia Hills stock-breeding and dealing in cattle provides occupation for 1,295 people, according to the last census. The cattle are reared in the Jaintia Hills and are driven down to the plains when they reach the age of maturity, where they find a ready market amongst the Sylhetis. Cattle are also driven into Shillong for sale from the Jaintia Hills. Another place for rearing cattle is the Siemship of Nongkhlaw, where there is good pasturage in the neighbourhood of Mairang. These cattle are either sold in Shillong or find their way to the Kamrup district by the old Nongkhlaw road. Cattle-breeding is an industry which is capable of expansion in these hills. There are a few carpenters to be found in Shillong and its neighbourhood. The Khasis are said by Col. Waddell to be unacquainted with the art of weaving; but the fact that a considerable weaving industry exists amongst the Khyrwang villages of the Syntengs, and at Mynso and Suhtnga, has been overlooked by him. The Khyrwangs weave a special pattern of cotton and silk cloth, striped red and white. In Mynso and Suhtnga similar cloths are woven, also the sleeveless coat. In former days this industry is said to have been considerable, but it has been displaced to a large extent of late years by Manchester piece goods. The number of weavers returned at the last census in the district was 533. The Khasis and Mikirs of the low country, or Bhois as they are called, weave cotton cloths which they dye with the leaves of a plant called *u soli*. This is perhaps the wild indigo, or *rum*, of the Shan settlers in the Assam Valley. The weavers are almost always females. An important means of subsistence is road and building work; a considerable number of coolies, both male and female, are employed under Government, practically throughout the year, in

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[499] this manner, the males earning on an average 8 annas and the
463 females 6 annas a day. Col. Bivar writes that in 1875 the
465 wages for ordinary male labourers were 4 to 8 annas a day, and for females 2½ to 4 annas, so that the wages rates have almost doubled in the last thirty years. Contractors, however, often manage to obtain daily labour at lower rates than those paid by Government. Stonemasons and skilled labourers are able to
482 get higher rates. It is easier to obtain coolies in the Khasi
241 than in the Jaintia Hills, where a large proportion of the popu-
461 lation is employed in cultivation. The Khasis are excellent labourers, and cheerful and willing, but they at once resent bad treatment, and are then intractable and hard to manage. Khasis are averse to working in the plains in the hot-weather months.

APICULTURE.

231 I am indebted to Mr. Rita for the following remarks on apiculture in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills.

There are two kinds of indigenous bees in the Khasi Hills, one domesticated, called *u ngap* (*apis Indica*), and the other *u lywai*, which is never domesticated, and is very pugnacious; its hives are difficult of access, being always located in very high cliffs. A few hives of a third class of bee are now-a-days to be found in and around the station of Shillong, i.e. the Italian.
[177] This bee was imported into the hills by Messrs. Dobbie and Rita, and the species became propagated in the following manner. The bees had been just established in a hive, where they had constructed a brood comb, when the hive was robbed by some Khasis for the sake of the *larvæ* it contained, which they wished to consume as food; but the queen bee escaped and established other colonies, one of which was afterwards captured by Mr. Rita, the others establishing themselves at places in the neighbourhood. The hive used by the Khasis is of a very primitive description. It is usually a hollow piece of wood, about 2½ to 3 ft. in length and 10 or 12 in. in diameter. A small door is placed at each end of the log, one for the bees to go in and out, and the other for the removal of the honey when wanted. The honey-combs are broken and the honey is

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extracted by squeezing the comb with the hand. Wax is 231
obtained by placing the comb in boiling water and allowing it to cool, when the wax floats to the surface. The Khasis do not systematically tend their bees, as they do not understand how to prevent swarming, and as the Khasi bee is a prolific swarmer, hives become weak very soon and a new hive has to be started from a captured natural swarm. The villages in which bees are regularly kept to any large extent in the Khasi and [438]
Jaintia Hills are Thied-dieng, Mawphoo, Nongwar, Mawlong, Pynter, Tyrna, and Kongthong, but most of the Wár villagers rear bees and sell the honey at the neighbouring markets. The collection of the honey of the wild bee, or *u lywai*, is a hazardous occupation, the services of some six or seven persons being required, as the combs of this bee are generally built in the crevices of precipitous rocks, and sometimes weigh more than half a maund each. When such hives are discovered the bees are driven out by the smoke of a smouldering fire lit at the foot of the rock below the hive. Two or three men get to the top of the precipice, leaving two or three of their companions at the base. One of the men on the top of the rock is then lowered down in a sling tied to a strong rope, which is made fast by his companions above to a tree or boulder. The man in the sling is supplied with material to light a torch which gives out a thick smoke, with the aid of which the bees are expelled. The man then cuts out the comb, which he places in a leather bucket or bag, which, when filled, he lowers down to the persons in waiting at the foot of the rock. The wild honey may be distinguished from that of the domestic bee by being of a reddish colour. Honey from the last-mentioned bee is gathered twice or thrice in the year, once in the autumn and once or twice in the spring; that gathered in early spring is not so matured as that collected in autumn The flora of the [137]
Khasi Hills being so numerous, there is no necessity for providing bees with artificial food. The bees are generally able to obtain their sustenance from clover, anemonies, "golden rod," bush honeysuckle, and numerous shrubs such as andromeda, daphne, &c., which abound about Shillong. There seem to be facilities 231
for apiculture on a large scale in these hills, and certainly the 263
honey which is brought round by the Khasis for sale in

[Facing P. 30]

A KHASI HOUSE,
with Egg-breaker in the foreground.
(from a photograph by Mrs. Muriel.)

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231 Shillong is excellent, the flavour being quite as good as that
263 of English honey. Under "Miscellaneous Customs connected with Death" will be found a reference to the statement that the
[764] dead bodies of Siems used to be embalmed in honey. The existence of the custom is generally denied by Khasis, but its former prevalence is probable, as several trustworthy authors have quoted it.

HOUSES.

342 The houses of the people are cleaner than might be supposed
515 after taking into consideration the dirtiness of the clothes and persons of those who inhabit them. They are as a rule substantial thatched cottages with plank or stone walls, and raised on a plinth some 2 to 3 ft. from the ground. The only
354 window is a small opening on one side of the house, which admits but a dim light into the smoke-begrimed interior. The beams are so low that it is impossible for a person of ordinary stature to stand erect within. The fire is always burning on an earthen or stone hearth in the centre. There is no chimney, the smoke finding its exit as best it can. The firewood is placed to dry on a swinging frame above the hearth. In the
343 porch are stacked fuel and odds and ends. The pigs and calves
342 are generally kept in little houses just outside the main building. The Khasi house is oval-shaped, and is divided into three rooms, a porch, a centre room, and a retiring-room.

354 In olden days the Khasis considered nails *sang*, or taboo, and
784 only used a certain kind of timber for the fender which surrounds the hearth; but they are not so particular now-a-days. In Mawkhar, Cherrapunji, and other large villages, the walls of
342 houses are generally of stone. In Cherrapunji the houses are frequently large, but the largest house I have seen in the hills is that of the Doloi of Suhtnga in the Jaintia Hills, which measures 74 ft. in length. The house of the Siem Priestess at Smit in the Khasi Hills is another large one, being 61 ft. long by 30 ft. broad. In front of the Khasi house is a little space fenced in on two sides, but open towards the village street. The

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342 Syntengs plaster the space in front of the house with red earth and cow-dung, this custom being probably a remnant of Hindu influences. The Khasis have some peculiar customs when they build a new house. When the house is completed they perform a ceremony, *kynjoh-hka-skain*, when they tie three pieces of dried fish to the ridge pole of the house and then jump up and try to pull them down again. Or they kill a pig, cut a piece of the flesh with the skin attached, and fix it to the ridge pole, and then endeavour to dislodge it. The Syntengs at Nartiang worship *U Biskurom* (Biswakarma) and *Ka Siem Synshar* when a house is completed, two fowls being sacrificed, one to the former, the other to the latter. The feathers of the fowls are affixed to the centre post of the house, which must be of *u dieng sning*, a variety of the Khasi oak. The worship of a Hindu god (Biswakarma), the 776 architect of the Hindu gods, alongside the Khasi deity *Ka Siem* 177 *Synshar*, is interesting, and may be explained by the fact that 342 Nartiang was at one time the summer capital of the kings of Jaintia, who were Hindus latterly and disseminated Hindu customs largely amongst the Syntengs. Mr. Rita says that 627 amongst the Syntengs, a house, the walls of which have been 342 plastered with mud, is a sign that the householder has an enemy. The plastering no doubt is executed as a preventive of fire, arson in these hills being a common form of revenge.

342 Amongst the Khasis, when a daughter leaves her mother's house and builds a house in the mother's compound, it is considered *sang*, or taboo, for the daughter's house to be built on the right-hand side of the mother's house, it should be built either on the left hand or at the back of the mother's house.

776 In Nongstoin it is customary to worship a deity called 793 *u'li lap* (Khasi, *u phan*), by nailing up branches of the Khasi oak, interspersed with jaw-bones of cattle and the feathers of fowls, to the principal post, which must be of *u dieng sning*. The Siem priestess of the Nongkrem State at Smit and the ladies of the Siem family perform a ceremonial dance before a large post of oak in the midst of the Siem priestesses' house on the occasion of the annual goat-killing ceremony. This oak post is furnished according to custom by the *lyngskor*

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776 or official spokesman of the Siem's Durbar. Another post of
793 oak in this house is furnished by the people of the State.

342 The houses of the well-to-do Khasis of the present day in
179 Mawkhar and Cherrapunji are built after the modern style
353 with iron roofs, chimneys, glass windows and doors. In Jowai the well-to-do traders have excellent houses of the European pattern, which are as comfortable as many of the European subordinates' quarters in Shillong. Some up-to-date families in Shillong and at Cherra allow themselves muslin curtains and European furniture.

342 The houses of the Pnar-Wárs are peculiar. The roof, which
[824] is thatched with the leaves of a palm called *u tyaniew*, is hog-backed and the eaves come down almost to the ground. There are three rooms in the Wár as in the Khasi house, although called by different names in the Wár dialect. The hearth is in the centre room. The houses are built flush with the ground
[361] and are made of bamboos. In the Wár villages of Nongjri and
341 Umniuh there are small houses erected in the compounds of
782 the ordinary dwelling-houses called *ieng kwid* (spirit houses). In these houses offerings to the spirits of departed family ancestors are placed at intervals, this practice being very similar to the more ancient form of Shintoism. In some Wár villages
342 there are also separate bachelors' quarters. This custom is in accordance with that of the Naga tribes. There is no such custom amongst the Khasi Uplanders. The Wár houses are similar to those of the Pnar Wárs, except that a portion of the house is generally built on a platform, the main house resting on the hill-side and the portion on the platform projecting therefrom, the object being to obtain more space, the area for houses in the village sites being often limited owing to the steepness of the hill-sides.

The Bhoi and Lyngam houses are practically similar, and may be described together. They are generally built on fairly high platforms of bamboo, are frequently 30 to 40 ft. in length, and are divided into various compartments in order
[354] to suit the needs of the family. The hearth, which is of earth, is in the centre room. There is a platform at the back of the Lyngam house, and in front of the Bhoi house, used for drying paddy, spreading chillies, &c., and for sitting on when the day's

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work is done. In order to ascend to a Bhoi house, you have to climb up a notched pole. The Bhois sacrifice a he-goat and a fowl to *Rik-ingiong* (Khasi, *Rassiew iing*), the household god, when they build a new house.

VILLAGES.

Unlike the Nagas and Kukis, the Khasis do not build their villages on the extreme summits of hills, but a little below the tops, generally in small depressions, in order to obtain some protection from the strong winds and storms which prevail in these hills at certain times of the year. According to the late U Jeelon Roy, it is *sang*, or taboo, to the Khasis to build a house on the last eminence of a range of hills, this custom having perhaps arisen owing to the necessity of locating villages with reference to their defence against an enemy. Khasis build their houses fairly close together, but not as close as houses in the Bhoi and Lyngngam villages. Khasis seldom change the sites of their villages, to which they are very much attached, where, as a rule, the family tombs are standing and the *mawbynna* or memorial stones. In many villages stone cromlechs and memorial stones are to be seen which from their appearance show that the villages have been there for many generations. During the Jaintia rebellion the village of Jowai was almost entirely destroyed, but as soon as the rebellion was over the people returned to the old site and rebuilt their village. Similarly, after the earthquake, the ancient village sites were not abandoned in many cases, but the people rebuilt their houses in their former positions, although in Shillong and Cherrapunji they rebuilt the walls of the houses of wooden materials instead of stone. There is no such thing as a specially reserved area in the village *i.e.* the Siem and the nobility, all the people, rich or poor, living together in one village, their houses being scattered about indiscriminately. To the democratic Khasi the idea of the Siem living apart from his people would be repugnant. In the vicinity of the Khasi village, often just below the brow of the hill to the leeward side, are to be seen dark woods of oak

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and other trees. These are the sacred groves. Here the villagers worship *U ryngkew U basa*, the tutelary deity of the village. These groves are taboo, and it is an offence to cut trees therein for any purpose other than for performing funeral obsequies. The groves are generally not more than a few hundred yards away from the villages. The villages of the Syntengs are similar in character to those of the Khasis. The Wár villages nestle on the hill-sides of the southern border, and are to be seen peeping out from the green foliage with which the southern slopes are clad. In the vicinity of, and actually up to the houses, in the Wár villages, are to be observed large groves of areca-nut, often twined with the *pan* creeper, and plantain trees, which much enhance the beauty of the scene. Looking at a Wár village from a distance, a darker shade of green is seen; this denotes the limits of the extensive groves where the justly celebrated Khasi orange is grown, which is the source of so much profit to these people. The houses in the Wár villages are generally closer together than those of the Khasis, probably owing to space being limited, and to the villages being located on the slopes of hills. Generally up the narrow village street, and from house to house, there are rough steep stone steps, the upper portion of a village being frequently situated at as high an elevation as 200 to 300 ft. above the lower. In a convenient spot in a Wár village a clear space is to be seen neatly swept and kept free from weeds, and surrounded with a stone wall, where the village tribunals sit, and the elders meet in solemn conclave. Dances also are held here on festive occasions. At Nongjri village there is a fine rubber tree, under whose hollow trunk there are certain sacred stones where the priest performs the village ceremonies.

The Bhoi and Lyngam villages are built in small clearings in the forest, the houses are close together and are built often in parallel lines, a fairly broad space being reserved between the lines of houses to serve as a street. One misses the pretty gardens of the Wár villages, for Bhois and Lyngams attempt nothing of the sort, probably because, unlike the Khasi, a Bhoi or Lyngam village never remains more than two or three years in one spot; generally the villages of these people are in the vicinity of the forest clearings, sometimes actually in the midst

of them, more especially when the latter are situated in places where jungle is dense, and there is fear of attacks from wild animals. In the Lynngam village is to be seen a high bamboo platform some 20 to 30 ft. from the ground, built in the midst of the village, where the elders sit and gossip in the evening.

All the villages, Khasi, Wár, Lynngam and Bhoi, swarm with pigs, which run about the villages unchecked. The pigs feed on all kinds of filth, and in addition are fed upon the wort and spent wash of the brewings of country spirit, or rice beer, the latter being carefully collected and poured into wooden troughs. The pigs are of the usual black description seen in India. They thrive greatly in the Khasi villages, and frequently attain extreme obesity.

In the Khasi villages of the high plateaux are often nowadays potato gardens, the latter being carefully protected from the inroads of pigs, calves, and goats by dry dikes surmounted by hedges.

I noticed an interesting custom at a Bhoi village in Nongpoh of barricading the path leading to the village from the forest with bamboo palisading and bamboo *chevaux de frise* to keep out the demon of cholera. In the middle of the barricade there was a wooden door over which was nailed the skull of a monkey which had been sacrificed to this demon, which is, as amongst the Syntengs, called *khlam*.

FURNITURE AND HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS.

As in the case of houses, so with reference to furniture, the influence of civilization shows many changes. The Khasi of the present day who lives in Mawkhar * has a comfortable house regularly divided up into rooms in the European style with even some European articles of furniture, but owing probably to the influence of the women, he still possesses several of the articles of furniture which are to be met with in the houses of those who still observe the old style of living. Let us take the furniture of the kitchen to begin with. Above the hearth is slung by ropes of cane a swinging wooden framework

* Mawkhar is a suburb of Shillong, the headquarters station.

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352 blackened with the smoke of years, upon which are spread the
417 faggots of resinous fir-wood used for kindling the fire. Above this again is a wooden framework fixed on to the beams of the house, upon which all sorts of odds and ends are kept. Around
352 the fire are to be seen small wooden stools, upon which the members of the household sit. Up-to-date Khasis have cane chairs, but the women of the family, true to the conservative
915 instincts of the sex, prefer the humble stool to sit upon. Well-to-do Khasis nowadays have, in addition to the ordinary cooking vessels made of iron and earthenware, a number of brass utensils. The writer has seen in a Khasi house in Mawkhar brass drinking vessels of the pattern used in Orissa, of the description used in Manipur, and of the kind which is in vogue in Sylhet. The ordinary cultivator, however, uses a waterpot made from a gourd hollowed out for keeping water and liquor in, and drinks from a bamboo cylinder. Plates, or more properly speaking dishes, are of several kinds in the houses of the rich, the two larger ones being styled *ka pliang kyrthei* (female) and *ka pliang shyrong* (male). Needless to say, the first mentioned is a larger utensil than the latter. The ordinary waterpots, *u khiew phiang kyrthei* and *u khiew phiang shyrong*, are made of brass, the former being a size larger and having a wider mouth than the latter. The pot for cooking vegetables is made of iron. Another utensil is made of earthenware; this is the ordinary cooking pot used in the houses of the poor. Brass spoons of different sizes are used for stirring the contents of the different cooking utensils, also a wooden spoon.

550 [illegible]
573 beds with mattresses and sheets and pillows, clothes being
285 hung upon clothes-racks, which in one house visited were of the same pattern as the English "towel horse." The ordinary cultivator and his wife sleep on mats made of plaited bamboo, which are spread on the bare boards of the house. There are various kinds of mats to be met with in the Khasi houses made of plaited cane, of a kind of reed, and of plaited bamboo.
793 The best kind of mat is prepared from cane. In all Khasi
352 houses are to be seen *ki kwap*, or rain shields, of different sizes and sometimes of somewhat different shapes. The large

shield of Chowiyungi is used as a protection from rain. Those of Mulwem and Mawing are each of a peculiar pattern. Smaller shields are used as protections from the sun or merely for show, and there are specially small sizes for children. Then there are the different kinds of basket (*ki lûsh*) which are carried on the back, along across the forehead by a cane head-strap. These, again, are of different sizes. They are, however, always of the same conical shape, being round and broad-mouthed at the top and gradually tapering to a point at the bottom. A bamboo cover is used to protect the contents of the basket from rain. There is a special kind of basket made of cane or bamboo with a cover, which is used for carrying articles on a journey. These baskets, again, are of different sizes, the largest and best that the writer has seen being manufactured at Ranikai, in the south-western portion of the hills. Paddy is husked in a wooden mortar by means of a heavy wooden pestle. These are to be seen all over the hills. The work of husking paddy is performed by the women. A bamboo sieve is sometimes used for sifting the husked rice, a winnowing fan being applied to separate the husk. The cleaned rice is exposed to the sun in a bamboo tray. Paddy is stored in a separate rice-house in large circular bamboo receptacles. These hold sometimes as much as 30 maunds* of grain. Large baskets are also used for keeping paddy in. In every Khasi house is to be found the net bag which is made out of pineapple fibre, or of a stem, the *Arundinaria* (Bambusaria sinua). These bags are of two sizes, the larger one for keeping cowries in, the cowries in former days having been used instead of current coin in these hills, the smaller for the ever necessary betel-nut. Pân leaves are kept in a bamboo tube, and tobacco leaves in a smaller one. Lime for eating with betel-nut, is kept in a metal box, sometimes of silver, which is made in two separate parts held together by a chain. The box is called *ka shawan*, and is used all over the hills. This box is also used for divination purposes, one end of it being held in the hand, and the other, by means of the chain, being allowed to swing

* The maund is 82 lbs.

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like a pendulum. An explanation of this method of divination will be found in the paragraph dealing with divination.

There is also a pair of symbols used by the old and medicine for breaking up hard-out. In the houses of the well-to-do is to be seen the ordinary bubble-bubble of India. Outside the houses of cultivators are wooden troughs hollowed out of the trunks of trees, which are used either as drinking troughs for cattle or for feeding pigs. A special set of utensils is used for manufacturing liquor. The Syntung and War articles of furniture and utensils are the same as those of the Khasis, with different names, a remark which applies also to those of the Bhoi and Lyngngam. Both the latter, however, use leaves as plates, the Bhoi using the wild plantain and the Lyngngam a large leaf called *ka la maniang*. The leaves are thrown away after eating, fresh leaves being gathered for each meal. The Lyngngam use a quilt (*ka ryllan*) made out of the bark of a tree of the same name as a bed covering. This tree is perhaps the same as the Garo *simpok*. In the Bhoi and Lyngngam houses the swinging shelf for keeping firewood is not to be seen, nor is the latter to be found amongst the submontane Bodo tribes in Assam.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.

The Khasis have not many musical instruments, and those that they possess, with one or two exceptions, are of very much the same description as those of the Assamese. There are drums made of wood having the head covered with deer-skin; *ka kaing*, which is a cylindrically-shaped drum rather smaller than the Assamese *dhol* (*ka kaing kyrdoi* takes its name from the fact that this drum is beaten when women, *kyrdoi*, dance); *ka pudiah*, a small drum with a handle made of wood; *kathem*, a small circular drum. Khasi drums are usually always made of wood, not of metal, like the drums to be seen in the monasteries of Upper Assam, or of earthenware, as in Lower Assam.

Ka dotara is a guitar with eight silk strings, which is

played with a little wooden bar held in the hand. *Ka maripod* is an instrument much the same as the last, but is played with a bow like a violin. *Ka marynthing* is a kind of guitar with one string, played with the finger.

Ka kingnuri is a wooden pipe, which is played like a flageolet. *Ka lynskiw*, or *shikwiaw*, are cymbals made of bell metal; *ka shiwiti*, or *ka shingwiang*, is a kind of flute made of bamboo. This instrument is played at cremation ceremonies, and when the bones and ashes of a clan are collected and placed in the family tomb, or *mawbah*. This flute is not played on ordinary occasions. In the hill-men portion of the Monograph will be found a tale regarding it. There are other kinds of flutes which are played on ordinary occasions. The Wars of the twenty-five villages in the Khyrim State make a sort of harp out of reed, which is called *ka 'ning diny phong*. The Khasis also play a Jews' harp (*ka niang*), which is made of bamboo.

AGRICULTURE.

The Khasis are industrious cultivators, although they are behindhand in some of their methods of cultivation, (e.g. their failure to adopt the use of the plough in the greater portion of the district); they are thoroughly aware of the uses of manures. Their system of burning the soil, allowing them to dry, then burning them, and raking the ashes over the soil, is much in advance of any system of natural manuring to be seen elsewhere in the Province. The Khasis use the following agricultural implements:—A large hoe (*mukhie hok*), an axe for felling trees (*ka sifia*), a large *da* for felling trees (*ka wait lyngpun*), two kinds of bill-hooks (*ka wait pyut* and *ka wait khmat*), a sickle (*ka lyngkot*), also a harrow (*ka ink mus*). In dealing with agriculture, the lands of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills may be divided into the following classes:—(*a*) Forest land, (*b*) wet paddy land called *hili* or *pyndur*, (*c*) high grass land or *ka ri lum* or *ka ri phlang*, (*d*) homestead land (*ka 'dew kyppi*). Forest lands are cleared by the process known as *jhuming*, the trees being felled early in the winter and allowed to lie till January or February.

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when fire is applied, logs of wood being placed at intervals of a few feet to prevent as far as possible the ashes being blown away by the wind. The lands are not hoed, nor treated any further, paddy and millet being sown broadcast, and the seeds of root crops, as well as of maize and Job's tears, being dibbled into the ground by means of small hoes. No manure, beyond the wood ashes above mentioned, is used on this class of land; there is no irrigation, and no other system of watering is resorted to. The seeds are sown generally when the first rain falls. This style of cultivation, or *jhum*, is largely resorted to by the people inhabiting the eastern and southern portions of the Jaintia Hills, e.g. the Bhoiis and Lalungs, the Lyngams and Garos of the western tracts of the district. Wet paddy land (*kodi* or *pyndhor*) is, as the name implies, the land where the kind of paddy which requires a great deal of water is grown. The bottoms of valleys are divided up into little compartments by means of fairly high banks corresponding to the *Assamese dhis*, and the water is let in at will into these compartments by means of skilfully contrived irrigation channels, sometimes a mile or more in length. The soil is made into a thick paste in the Jaintia Hills by means of the plough, and in the Khasi Hills through the agency of the hoe. Droves of cattle also are driven repeatedly over the paddy-fields until the mud has acquired the right consistency. The seed is then sown broadcast in the wet mud. It is not sown first in a seedling bed and then transplanted, as in Assam and Bengal. When the plants have grown to a height of about four inches, water is let in again; then comes the weeding, which has to be done several times. When the crop is ripe the grain is cut with a sickle (*ka thmoi*) generally, so as to leave almost the entire stalk, and are left in different parts of the field. A peculiarity about the Lyngams and the Khasis and Mikirs of the low hills, or Bhoiis as they are called, is that they reckon it *sang*, or taboo, to use the sickle. They reap their grain by pulling the ear through the hand. The sheaves, after they are dry, are collected and threshed out on the spot, either by beating them against a stone (*shah khet*), or by men and women treading them out (*ioh khet*). Cattle are not used for treading out the grain. The grain is then collected and placed in large bamboo receptacles

(*bi thiar*). The paddy-fields are not manured. The Khasis when cultivating high lands, select a clayey soil if they can. In the early part of the winter the sods are turned over with the hoe, and they are exposed to the action of the atmosphere for a period of about two months. When the sods are dry, they are placed in piles, which are generally in rows in the fields, and by means of ignited bunches of dry grass within the piles a slow fire is kept up, the piles of sods being gradually reduced to ashes. This is the "paring and burning process" used in England. The ashes so obtained are then carefully raked over the field. Sometimes other manure is also applied, but not when paddy is cultivated. The soil is now fit to receive the seed, either high-land paddy, millet, *Job's tears*, or other crops, as the case may be. The homestead lands are plentifully manured, and consequently, with attention, produce good crops. They are cultivated with the hoe.

The cultivation of oranges in the southern portion of the district ranks equally in importance with that of the potato in the northern. The orange, which is known in Calcutta as the Chhatak or Sylhet orange, comes from the warm southern slopes of the hills in this district, where it is cultivated on an extensive scale. Although oranges do best when there is considerable heat, they have been known to do well as high as 5,000 ft.; but the usual limit of elevation for the growth of oranges in this district is probably about 1,000 to 1,500 ft. The orange of the Khasi Hills has always been famous for its excellence, and Sir George Birdwood, in his introduction to the "First Letter Book of the East India Company," page 56, refers to the orange and lemon of Garhwal, Sikkim, and Khasia as having been carried by Arab traders into Spain "whence the Moors helped to gradually propagate them throughout Southern Europe." Therefore, wherever the potato was imported, the orange would appear to be indigenous in these hills.

Nurseries.—The seeds are collected and dried by being exposed to the sun. In the spring nurseries are prepared, the ground being thoroughly hoed and the soil pulverised as far as possible. The nursery is walled with stones. The seeds are then sown, a thin top layer of earth being applied. The

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247 nurseries are regularly watered, and are covered up with layers of leaves to ensure, as far as possible, the retention of the necessary moisture. When the plants are 3 or 4 in. high, they are transplanted to another and larger nursery, the soil of which has been previously well prepared for the reception of the young plants.

245 An orangery is prepared in the following manner:—

The shrubs, weeds and small trees are cut down, leaving only the big trees for the purpose of shade. The plants from the nurseries are planted from 6 ft. to 9 ft. apart. When they have become young trees, many of the branches of the sheltering trees mentioned above are lopped off, so as to admit the necessary amount of sunlight to the young orange trees. As the orange trees increase in size, the sheltering trees are gradually felled. The orchard requires clearing of jungle once in spring and once in autumn. The Khasis do not manure their orange trees, nor do they dig about and expose the roots. The price of orange plants is from 75 to 100 plants per rupee for plants from 1 to 2 ft. in height, and from fifty to seventy-five plants per rupee for plants from 2 to 5 ft. in height. Orange trees bear fruit when from five to eight years old in ordinary soils. In very fertile soils they sometimes bear after four years. A full-grown tree yields annually as many as 1,000 oranges, but a larger number is not unknown. The larger portion of the produce is exported from the district to the plains, and to fruit markets at the foot of the hills such as Theria, Mowdon, and Phali-Bazar, on the Shella river, whence it finds its way to the Calcutta and Eastern Bengal

244 Potatoes are raised on all classes of land, except *hali*, or wet paddy land. When the land has been properly levelled and hoed, drains are dug about the field. A cultivator (generally a female), with a basket of seed potatoes on her back and with a small hoe in her right hand, digs holes and with the left hand drops two seed-potatoes into each hole. The holes are about 6 in. in diameter, 6 in. deep, and from 6 to 9 in. apart from one another. Another woman, with a load of manure in a basket on her back, throws a little manure over the seed in the hole, and then covers both up with earth.

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After the plants have attained the height of about 6 in., they are earthed up. When the leaves turn yellow, it is a sign that the potatoes are ripe. The different kinds of sweet potatoes grown and the yam and another kind of esculent root—*u sukphlang* (*Ceratopteris cretica Brongn.*) will be noticed under the head of "Crops." 244

The Khasis possess very few agricultural sayings and proverbs, but the following may be quoted as examples:— 241 538

(1) *Wet ju ai thang jingthang ne bet symbai ha uba sniew bti.*

Do not allow plants to be planted or seeds to be sown by one who has a bad hand. [177]

As elsewhere, there is a belief amongst the Khasis that some people's touch as regards agriculture is unlucky. [179]

(2) *Thang diang ne bet symbai haba ngen bnai, ym haba ehai u bnai.*

Plant trees or sow seeds not when the moon is waxing, but when it is on the wane.

(3) *Wei la sow lha la bang ngingi jan mint phin ne ioh jingrung lashai.*

A red sky in the west in the evening is the sign of fine weather to-morrow.

Cf. our English proverb "a red sky in the morning is a shepherd's warning, a red sky at night is a shepherd's delight."

CROPS.

The varieties of rice found in the Khasi Hills are divided [illegible] 243 [illegible] and the other raised in valleys and hollows which are artificially irrigated from hill streams. The lowland rice is more productive than that grown on high lands, the average per acre of the former, according to the agricultural bulletin, as ascertained from the results of 817 experimental crop cuttings carried out during the fifteen years preceding the year 1898, being 11.7 maunds of paddy per acre, as against an average of 9.4 maunds per acre (resulting from 667 cuttings made during the 435

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243 same period) for the latter.* The average out-turn of both
433 kinds is extremely poor, as compared with that of any description of rice grown in the plains. The rice grown in the hills is said by the Agricultural Department to be of inferior quality, the grain when cleaned being of a red colour, and extremely
244 coarse. The cultivation of potatoes is practically confined to the Khasi Hills, there being little or none in the Jaintia Hills. The normal out-turn of the summer crop sown in February and harvested in June is reported by the Agricultural Department to be five times the quantity of seed used, and that of the winter crop, sown in August and September on the land from which the summer crop has been taken, and harvested in December, twice the quantity of seed. The winter crop is raised chiefly for the purpose of obtaining seed for the spring sowings, as it is found difficult to keep potatoes from the summer crop in good condition till the following spring. The usual quantity of seed used to the acre at each sowing is about 9 maunds, so that the gross out-turn of an acre of land cultivated with potatoes during the year may be taken at 63 maunds, and the net out-turn, after deducting the quantity of seed used, at 45 maunds. The above estimate of the Agricultural Department rests chiefly on the statements of the cultivators, and has not been adequately tested by experiment.

244 Since the appearance of the potato disease in 1885-86 there
439 has been a great decrease in the area under potato cultivation. In 1881-82 the exports of potatoes from the district were as high as 126,961 maunds. From 1886-87 the exports began gradually to decrease until in 1895-96 the very low figure of 8,296 maunds was reached. The figures of export for the last nine years are as follows:—

1896-97	16,728 maunds.
1897-98	7,805 "
1898-99	9,272 "
1899-00	5,422 "
1900-01	29,142 "
1901-02	38,231 "
1902-03	38,047 "
1903-04	30,990 "

* See Bulletin No. 5 of the Agricultural Department of Assam, 1906, pp. 4 and 5.

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It will be seen that in the three years following the earthquake of 1897 the exports fell very low indeed. Since 1901 the trade has been steadily recovering, and the exports of 1904 reached half a lakh of maunds.

It will be observed that there has been some improvement, but the exports are still not half what they were in 1881-82. There are two kinds of sweet potatoes grown in the district, the Garo potato (*u phan Garo*), which appears to have been introduced from the Garo Hills, and *u phan saulia*, the latter being distinguished from the Garo potato by its having a red skin, the Garo potato possessing a white skin. These kinds of potato are planted on all classes of land except *kali*, they do best on jhumed and homestead lands. The yam proper (*u phan shyarsh*) is also largely grown. The small plant with an edible root called by the Khasis *u sohphang* (*Arunsingia vestita Benth.*), is also largely grown. The roots of the plant after being peeled are eaten raw by the Khasis. As far as we know, this esculent is not cultivated in the adjoining hill districts. Job's tears (*coix lachryma-Jobi*)* are extensively grown, and are planted frequently with the *sohphlang* mentioned above. This cereal forms a substitute for rice amongst the poorer cultivators. Maize or Indian corn (*u riew hadem*) is grown frequently, thriving best on homestead land, and requires heavy manuring; it is grown in rotation with potatoes. Next in importance to rice comes the millet (*u kwai*), as a staple of food amongst the Khasis. There are three varieties of millets generally to be seen in the Khasi Hills:—*u 'wai-sah* (*setaria Italica*), *u 'wai-shan* (Paspalum sanguinale), and *u 'wai-trah* (Eleusine coracana). *U 'wai-shan* is cultivated in rotation with the potato, *u 'wai-sah* and *u 'wai-trah* are generally cultivated on jhumed land, where they thrive well. Millet is sometimes used instead of rice in the manufacture of spirit by the Khasis; *u rymbai-ja* (*phaseolus calcaratus*), and *u rymbai kiung* (*glycine soja*) are beans which are cultivated occasionally. Khasis highly prize the fruit of the plantain, which they give to infants mashed up. The following are the best known varieties:—*K'a kait khán, ka kait siem, ka kait kulkait, ka kait bamon, ka kait shyiang.*

* Khasi *u sah-riew.*

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245 The most important crop on the southern side of the hills is
304 the orange, which has already been referred to in the paragraph dealing with agriculture.

The oranges are sold by the *epah* or 100, which is not a 100 literally, but somewhat over 3,000 oranges. Different places have different *epahs*. At P'hali Hat, on the Bogapani River, the *epah* is computed as follows:—

1 Hali = 4 oranges.
8 Halis = 1 Bhar.
100 Bhars = 1 ki epah (one hundred).
= 3,200 oranges.

At Shel, the computation is slightly different, being as follows:—

1 Gai = 8 oranges.
5 Gais + 4 oranges = 32 oranges.
4 Bhars = 1 hola = 128 oranges.
27 holas + 1 bhara = 1 ki epah (100)
= 3,520 oranges.

By another method of calculation the *epah* consists of 3,240 oranges.

[135] The price per *epah* varies from about 10 annas in good years to Rs. 40, when the orange harvest has been a poor one.

245 The lime is also cultivated, not separately, but along with the orange. The lime can be grown with success at a higher altitude than the orange. There is extensive betel-nut and *pân* cultivation on the southern slopes of the hills. The betel-nut tree is cultivated in the same manner as in the plains, except that the trees are planted nearer to one another. The trees bear when eight to ten years old. A portion of the crop is sold just after it has been plucked; this is called a '*nâi khiar*, and is for winter consumption. The remainder of the crop is kept in large baskets, which are placed in tanks containing water, the baskets being completely immersed. This kind of betel-nut is called a '*nâi ran*.' The Khasis, like the Assamese, prefer the fresh betel-nut. They do not relish the dry *supari* so much.

The principal *pân* gardens are on the south side of the hills, *pân* not being grown on the northern slopes, except in the neighbourhood of Jirang. The *pân* creepers are raised from cuttings, the latter being planted close to the trees up which they are to be trained. The creeper is manured with leaf

mould. The plant[2/1] is watered by means of small bamboo aqueducts which are constructed along the hill-sides, the water being conducted along them often considerable distances. As in the plains, the leaves of the *pán* creeper are collected throughout the year.

The bay leaf (*la tyrpád*, or *tezpát*) is classified in the *Agricultural Bulletin* as *Cinnamomum tamala*, and there is a note in the column of remarks that "this tree, as well as one or two others of the same genus, yields two distinct products, *tezpát* (bay leaf) and cinnamon bark." The bay leaf is gathered for export from the extensive gardens in Maharam, Malaisohmat, Mawsynram, and other Khasi States. The plants are raised from seed, although there are no regular nurseries, the young seedlings being transplanted from the jungle, where they have germinated, to regular gardens. Bay leaf gardens are cleared of jungle and weeds periodically; otherwise no care is taken of them. The leaf-gathering season is from November to March. The leaves are allowed to dry for a day or two in the sun, and then packed in large baskets for export. The gathering of bay leaf begins when the trees are about four years old.

The following are the other minor crops which are grown in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills:—

Pineapples, turmeric, ginger, pumpkins and gourds, the egg plant, chillies, sesamum, and a little sugar-cane. The arum* (*la shirin*) is also extensively grown in the hills, and forms one of the principal articles of food amongst the poorer classes; it is generally raised in rotation with potatoes, or is planted along with *Job's tears*. The stem of the arum is sometimes used as a vegetable, also for feeding pigs.

In the Jowai Sub-Division, notably at Nartiang, there are fairly good mangoes, which are more free from worms than those grown in the plains of Assam.

The Bhois and Lynngams cultivate lac. They plant *arhar dal*, *u landoo*, in their fields, and rear the lac insect on this plant. Last year the price of lac at Gauhati and Palasbari markets rose as high as Rs. 50 per maund of 82 lbs., it is said, but the price at the outlying markets of Singra and Boko was

* Colocasia esculenta, Beng. Kacho.

2/1 [i.e., the pán ... Ed.]

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about Rs. 30. The price of lac has risen a good deal of late years. Formerly the price was about Rs. 15 to Rs. 20 a maund. The lac trade in the Jaintia Hills and in the southern portion of the Khyrim State is a valuable one. The profits, however, go largely to middle-men, who in the Jaintia Hills are Syntengs from Jowai, who give out advances to the Bhoi cultivators on the condition that they will be repaid in lac. The Marwari merchants from the plains attend all the plains markets which are frequented by the hill-men, and buy up the lac and export it to Calcutta. The whole of the lac is of the kind known as stick-lac.

HUNTING.

The weapons used by the Khasis for hunting are bows and arrows, the latter with barbed iron heads, and spears which are used both for casting and thrusting. Before proceeding on a hunting expedition the hunters break eggs, in order to ascertain whether they will be successful or not, and to which jungle they should proceed. Offerings are also made to certain village deities, *e.g. U. Byuglew*, *u Bosa*, and *u Bosa ki mráli*. A lucky day having been selected and the deities propitiated, the hunters start with a number of dogs trained to the chase, the latter being held on leashes by a party of men called *ki nongsi-kaw*. When the dogs have picked up the scent some hunters are placed as "stops" (*ki khem*), at points of vantage in the jungle, and the drive commences with loud shouts from the hunters, the same being continued until the object of the chase breaks into the open. The man who draws the first blood is called *u nongsiat*, and the second man who scores a hit *u nongkan*. These two men get larger shares of the flesh than the others. The *nongsiat* obtains the lower half of the body of the animal, thighs and feet excepted, called *ka tdong*, and the *nongkan* one of the forequarters called *ka tabla*. The other hunters obtain a string of flesh each, and each hound gets a string of flesh to itself. These hunting parties pursue deer sometimes for many miles, and are indefatigable in the chase, the latter lasting occasionally more than one day. In the Jaintia Hills, at the end of the chase, the quarry is carried to

the house of the *nongsiat*, where a *puja* is performed to some local deity, before the flesh is distributed. At Shangpung, when a tiger or a mithan is killed, the head is cut off, and is carried in triumph to a hill in the neighbourhood where there is a *duscan*, or altar, at the foot of an oak tree (*dieng sning*). The head is displayed on the altar, and worship offered to *u 'lei lyngdoh*, the God of the doloiship.

The Khasis make use of an ingenious species of spring gun for killing game, the spring gun being laid alongside a deer path in the jungle. A string stretched across the path, when touched, releases a bolt and spring, which latter impels a bamboo arrow with great force across the path. This spring gun is called *ka riam siat*. A pit-fall, with bamboo spikes at the bottom, is called *u 'lie lep*, and a trap of the pattern of the ordinary leopard trap is called *ka riam slung*. A noose attached to a long rope laid in a deer run is named *riam syrwiah*.

There is also *ka riam pep*, the principle of which is that an animal is attracted by a bait to walk on to a platform; the platform sinks under the weight of the animal, and a bolt is released which brings down a heavy roof from above weighted with stones, which crush the animal to death.

There are several means employed in snaring birds; one of the most common is to smear pieces of bamboo with the gum of the jack-tree, the former being tied to the branches of some wild fruit tree, upon which, when the fruit is ripe, the birds light and are caught by the bird lime. This is called *ka riam thit*. Another is a kind of spring bow made of bamboo which is laid on the ground in marshy places, such as are frequented by snipe and woodcock. This form of snare is unfortunately most common. A third is a cage into which birds are lured by means of a bait, the cage being hidden in the grass, and the entrance being so contrived that the birds can hop in but not out again. This is called *ka riam sim*.

FISHING.

Although there are some Khasis who fish with rod and line, it may be said that the national method of fishing is to poison

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226 the streams. Khasis, except the Wárs and the people of Shella, unlike the Assamese and Bengalis, do not fish with nets, nor do they use the bamboo-work device known by the Assamese as *pala* (পলা) and *jak* (জাক). The method of fish-poisoning of the Khasis is the same as that described by Soppitt in his account of the tribes inhabiting North Cachar. The following is a description of how Khasis poison fish in the western portion of the district; it may be taken as a sample of the whole. A [204] large quantity of the bark of the tree *ka nyata* and the creeper *u khariew* is first brought to the river-side to a place on the stream a little above the pool which it is proposed to poison, where it is thoroughly beaten with sticks till the juice exudes and flows into the water, the juice being of a milky white colour. In a few minutes the fish begin to rise and splash about, and, becoming stupefied, allow themselves to be caught in the shallows. If the beating of the bark has been well carried out, many of the fish soon die and after a time float on the surface of the water. A large number of Khasis stand on the banks armed with bamboo scoops shaped like small landing nets, to catch the fish, and fish traps (*ki khowar*) Assamese *khoki* (খোকা) are laid between the stones in the rapids to secure [204] any fish that may escape the fishing party. Another fish poison is the berry *u soh lew*, the juice of which is beaten out in the same manner as described above.

226 Soppitt says, certain fish do not appear to be susceptible to 136 the poison, and not nearly the destruction takes place that is popularly supposed. The mahseer and the carp family generally do not suffer much, whereas, on the other hand, the river shark, the *bagh mas* of the Bengalis, is killed in large numbers. It is impossible, however, in the opinion of the writer, that the mahseer fry, which abound in these hill rivers in the spring and early summer months, can escape being destroyed in great numbers when the streams are frequently poisoned. In the neighbourhood of lime quarries and other large works where dynamite is used for blasting, this explosive is sometimes 226 employed for killing fish. The practice, however, has been strictly prohibited, and there have been some cases in which the offenders have been punished in the courts. Fish-poisoning is bad enough, but dynamiting is still worse, as with an effective

cartridge all the fish within a certain area are killed, none escape. When poisons are used, however, some fish are not affected by them, and others are only stupefied for the time being and afterwards recover.

FOOD.

The Khasi and Syntengs ordinarily take two meals a day, one in the early morning and the other in the evening, but labourers and others who have to work hard in the open take a midday meal as well, consisting of cold boiled rice wrapped in a leaf (*ka já-sang*), cakes (*ki kpu*) and a tuberous root (*u sohphlang*) which is eaten raw. They are fond of all kinds of meat, especially pork and beef, although some of the Syntengs, owing to Hindu influence, abstain from eating the latter. Unlike the neighbouring Naga, Garo and Kuki tribes, the Khasis abstain from the flesh of the dog. Both Bivar and Shadwell say the reason why the Khasis do not eat the flesh of the dog is because he is in a certain sense a sacred animal amongst them. There is a Khasi folk-tale relating how the dog came to be regarded as the friend of man. It is, however, quite possible that the Khasis may never have eaten the flesh of the dog from remote times, and it is nothing extraordinary that the Khasis should differ in a detail of diet from the neighbouring Thibeto-Burman tribes which are so dissimilar to them in many respects. The Khasis, except some of the Christian community and some of the people of the Mawkhar, do not use milk, butter, or ghee as articles of food. In this respect they do not differ from the Kachari and Rabhas of the plains or the Garos of the hills. The Mongolian race in its millions as a rule does not use milk for food, although the Tibetans and some of the Turcoman tribes are exceptions. Before fowls or animals are killed for food, prayers must be said, and rice sprinkled on the body of the animal. The staple food of the Khasis is rice and dried fish. When rice cannot be obtained or is scarce, millet or Job's tears are used instead. The latter are boiled, and a sort of porridge is obtained, which is eaten either hot or cold according to fancy. Khasis eat the flesh of nearly all wild animals, they

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262 also eat field rats and one kind of monkey (*u shrik*). The Syntengs and Lyngams are fond of tadpoles, and the Khasis consider a curry made from a kind of green frog, called *ka japieh*, a *bonne bouche*. They, however, do not eat ordinary frogs (*jakoid*). The Khasis of Mariao, Maharam, Nongstoin and some other Siemships eat the hairy caterpillar, *u'thiang phlang*.

262 A staple food which must not be forgotten is the inner por-
252 tion of the bark of the sago palm tree, *ka thái*, which grows wild in the forest and attains a large size. The tree is felled and the outer bark removed, the soft inner part is cut into slices, dried in the sun, pounded in a mortar and then passed through a fine bamboo sieve. A reddish flour is obtained, of sweet taste, which is boiled with rice. This flour is said to make good cakes and puddings.

262 Although the Khasis are such varied feeders, there are some
614 clans amongst them which are prohibited by the ordinance of *sang*, or taboo, from eating certain articles. The following are some instances:—

The Cherra Siem family cannot eat dried fish (*'thá-pinh*); the *Nongs* of Mylliem must not eat the gourd (*u pathiw*); a fish called *ka'thá-lani* is taboo to some of the *Siem-lik* clan. Some of the *Wair* people must not eat *ka khung* (perverted fish), and the clan *'khar-um-o-kiá* in Khyrim is debarred from the pleasure of partaking of pork. The flesh of the *sow* is *sang* to the *'khar* clan, although that of the male pig may be eaten.

DRINK.

273 The Khasis are in the habit of regularly drinking considerable quantities either of a spirit distilled from rice or millet (*ka'iad pudkha*), or of rice-beer, which is of two kinds (1) *ka'iad kiar*, (2) *ka'iad um*. Both of these are made from rice and, in some places, from millet, and the root of a plant called *u khawiang*. *Ka'iad kiar* is made by boiling the rice or millet. It is then taken out and spread over a mat, and, when it cools, fragments of the yeast (*u khawiang*) are sprinkled over it. After this it is placed in a basket, which is put in a wooden bowl. The

basket is covered tightly with a cloth so as to be air-tight, and it is allowed to remain in this condition for a couple of days, during which time the liquor has oozed out into the bowl. To make *ka'iad wa* the material, the rice or millet from which the *ka'iad kiar* was brewed, is made use of. It is placed in a large earthen pot and allowed to remain there for about five days to ferment, after which the liquor is strained off. *Ka'iad kiar* is said to be stronger than *ka'iad wa*. The former is used frequently by distillers of country spirit for mixing with the wort so as to set up fermentation. The people of the high plateaux generally prefer rice spirit, and the Wárs of the southern slopes of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills customarily partake of it also. The Khasis of the western hills, e.g. of the Nongstoin Siemship, and the Lyngngams, Bhoiés, Lalungs, and Hadems almost invariably drink rice-beer, but the Syntengs, like the Khasi uplanders, drink rice-spirit. Rice-beer (*ka'iad wa*) is a necessary article for practically all Khasi and Synteng religious ceremonies of importance, it being the custom for the officiating priest to pour out libations of liquor from a hollow gourd (*u Kiang*) to the gods on these occasions. As there is no Excise in the district, except within a five-mile radius of Shillong, liquor of both the above descriptions can be possessed and sold without restriction.

According to some Khasi traditions, the Khasis in ancient times used not to drink spirits, but confined themselves to rice-beer. It is only in the last couple of generations that the habit of drinking spirits has crept in, according to them. From Khasi accounts, the use of spirits is on the increase, but there is no means of testing these statements. There can be no doubt, however, that at the present time a very large amount of spirit is manufactured and consumed in the district. The spirit is distilled both for home consumption and for purposes of sale; in some villages, e.g. Mawlai and Marbiew, near Shillong, where there are fifty-nine and forty-nine stills respectively, there being a still almost in every house. Mawlai village supplies a great deal of the spirit which is drunk in Shillong, and from Marbiew spirit is carried for sale to various parts of the hills. Other large distilling centres are Cherrapunji, with forty-seven stills; Jowai, with thirty-one stills; Laitkynsew, with fifty-four stills;

A KHASI ARCHERY MEETING

(From a photograph by Mrs. Marriot.)

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Nongwar, thirty-one stills; and Rangthang, thirty-seven stills.

From what has been stated above some idea may be gathered how very large the number of stills in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills is. I am not in a position to state with any degree of accuracy what is the amount of spirit manufactured or consumed in the year, but it is very considerable. The out-turn of a Khasi still has been reckoned at from four to eight bottles per day. From this estimate, and the fact that there are 1,530 stills in the district, it may be roughly calculated what is the consumption annually. Practically the whole of the spirit is consumed within the district. The liquor which is manufactured is far stronger than the spirit distilled in the ordinary out-stills in the plains. It has been stated by an expert analyst that the Khasi spirit contains 60 to 80 per cent. of proof spirit, and that it possesses "an exceptionally nice flavour and taste." The usual price at which it is sold is 4 to 6 annas a quart bottle, a second quality being sometimes sold for 3 annas. It will be seen that the liquor is exceedingly cheap. A Khasi in the villages of the interior can get drunk for 2 annas,* or a quarter of an ordinary coolie's daily wage. Drunkenness prevails on every market day at Cherrapunji, Jowai, and other large hats, and on occasions when there are gatherings of the people for various purposes. This cheap but strong spirit is demoralizing the people, and some restriction of its use would be welcomed by many. In the Khasi Welsh Methodist Church abstention from liquor is made a condition of Church membership, but the vast number of stills and the facilities with which liquor can be obtained are a constant source of temptation to the Christian community, and cause many defections.

GAMES.

The Khasis have many games, but their principal game is archery, this may be said to be the national game, and is a very popular form of recreation amongst them, the sport being indulged in from about the beginning of January to the end of

* About threepence.

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May each year. The following is a description of a Khasi archery meeting, for the details of which I am largely indebted to U Job Solomon. By way of introduction it should be stated that the Khasis claim that arrow-shooting originated at the beginning of creation. The Khasi Eve (*Ka-mai-ka-nongkakaw*) had two sons to whom she taught the toxophilite art, at the same time she warned them never to lose their tempers over the game. At the present day villages have regular archery meetings, the men of one village challenging those of another. There are men on both sides called *nong khan kiwan* (lit., he who stops the arrow). This man, by uttering spells, and reciting the shortcomings of the opposite side, is supposed to possess the power of preventing the arrows of the opposing party hitting the mark. These men also, to some extent, may be said to perform the duties of umpires. They may be styled umpires for the sake of convenience in this account. Before the match commences conditions are laid down by the umpires of both sides, such as (*a*) the day on which the contest is to take place; (*b*) the place of the meeting; (*c*) the number of arrows to be shot by each archer; (*d*) the distinguishing marks to be given to the arrows of either side; (*e*) the amounts of the stakes on each side; (*f*) the number of times the competitors are to shoot on the day of the archery meeting, and many other conditions too numerous to mention here. The targets are generally small bundles of grass called "u ulwen," about 1 ft. long by 4 in. in diameter, fastened on a small pole. Sometimes targets are made from the root of a plant called *ka sah pdung*. The distances from the point where the marksmen stand to the targets are some 40 to 50 yards. Each side has its own target, the different targets being placed in a line, and the competitors taking up their positions in a straight line at right angles to the line of fire, and facing the targets; each side in turn then shoots at its own target. Early in the morning of the day fixed for the contest the umpire of each side sits in front of his target with a hollow bamboo full of water in his hand, the bows and arrows being laid on the ground alongside the targets. The umpire then repeats all the conditions of the contest, invokes the aid of the primeval woman (*ka mai ka nong kakaw*) aforesaid, goes through

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525 certain incantations freely adhering to the many faults of the opposite side, and pours water at intervals from the bamboo in front of the target. This business lasts about two hours. Then they exhort the competitors of their respective sides, and the match commences amidst loud shouts. Every time there is a hit there are loud cheers, the competitors leaping high into the air, the umpires muttering their incantations all the while. At the end of each turn the number of hits are counted by representatives of both sides. At the close of the day the side with the greatest number of hits wins the match, the successful party returning home, dancing and shouting. The young women adherents of both sides assemble, and dispense refreshments to the competitors, taking a keen interest in the proceedings withal. Frequently large wagers
525 are made on either side. In the *Khadar Blong* portion of the
526 Nongkrem State as much as Rs. 500 are occasionally wagered on either side. In Jowai the practice is also to bet a lump-sum, the amount being raised by subscription from amongst the competitors. More usual bets are, however, about one anna a head. The *sang Blong Khasia* and the men who prepare the targets receive presents from their respective sides. The Khasi bow carries a considerable distance, as some shot over 180 yards being within the personal knowledge of the writer. It is believed that Khasi bows wielded by experts carry up to 200 yards. The average range may be said, however, to be 120 to 140 yards.

524 Yule mentions peg-top spinning amongst Khasi children as
177 being indigenous and not an importation, but Rivett thinks that the game is of foreign introduction. I am, however, inclined to agree with Yule that peg-top spinning is indigenous, inasmuch as this game could not have been copied from the Syiemsie or the Awanong of the plains, who do not indulge in it. As the British had only recently established themselves in the hills when Yule wrote, they would scarcely have had time or opportunity to introduce an English children's game. Khasi
524 children also play a kind of "leap scotch" (*Hopscotch* under *skills* and *games of skill*), and Yule writes, "Another of their recreations is an old acquaintance also, which we are surprised to meet with in the Far East. A very tall, thick bamboo is planted in

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the ground and well oiled. A silver ornament, or a few rupees, placed at the top, reward the successful climber." A leg of mutton, or a piece of pork fixed at the top of this pole would render the pastime identical with the "greasy-pole" climbing of English villages. The following are some other Khasi games:—

Wrestling; two persons grasping each other's hands with the fingers interlocked, and then trying to push one another down; tug-of-war with a piece of stick, the two combatants placing their feet one against the other; butting at one another like bulls, and trying to upset each other (in two sorts); long jump; high jump; blind-man's buff; flying kites; pitching cowries into a hole in the ground; a game like marbles, only played with round pebbles, and others.

MANUFACTURES.

The manufactures of the Khasis are few in number, and do not seem to show any tendency to increase. On the contrary, two of the most important industries, the smelting of iron ore and the forging of iron implements therefrom, and the cotton-spinning industries at Nongpoh and Sohbiang, show signs of dying out. Ploughshares and hoes and bill-hooks can now be obtained more cheaply from the plains than from the forges in the hills, and Manchester piece goods are largely taking the place of cloths of local manufacture. The iron industry in former days was an important one, and there is abundant evidence that the workings were on a considerable scale, e.g. at Nongkrem and Lailyngkot, in the shape of large granite boulders which have fallen to the ground from the sides of the hills owing to the softer rock which filled the interstices between the boulders having been worked out by the iron-workers, their process being to dig out the softer ferruginous rock, and then extract the iron ore from it by means of washing. The softer rock having been removed, the heavier portions fell by their own weight, and rolled down to the bottom of the slopes, the result being the great number of boulders to be seen near the sites of these workings.

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327 Colonel Lister, writing in 1855, estimated that 20,000 maunds of iron were exported from the hills in the shape of hoes to the Assam Valley, and in bumps of pig iron to the Surma Valley, where it was used by boat-builders for clamps. Nowadays the smelting of iron is carried on in very few places. There are still smelting-houses at Nongkrem and Nongpyrung, but these are practically the only places left where smelting of iron ore goes on; there are many forges where rough iron brought from the plains is melted down and forged into bill-hooks and hoes. Messrs. Yule and Cawcroft have described the native process of smelting iron, and it is only necessary to refer to their papers if information is required on the subject. Yule's account is a very full one, and is to be found at page 452, vol. vi, part ii, of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The system pursued, both in the extraction and in the subsequent smelting of the ore, is the same at the present day as that described by Yule. Dr. Oldham, writing in 1862, says, "The quality of this Khasi iron is excellent for all such purposes as Swedish iron is now used for. The impurity of the blooms or masses of the metal in a molten state, however, as they are sent to market, is a great objection to its use, and the waste consequent thereon renders it expensive. It would also form steel or wootz (Indian steel) of excellent quality. I have no doubt that the manufacture could be greatly improved and possibly extended." Dr. Oldham, however, goes on to remark that the manufacture of iron could not be very much extended, owing to the scanty dissemination of the ore in the rocks, and the consequent high cost of obtaining it. At present the want of any permanent supply of water prevents the natives from working for more than a few days during the year, while the rains are heavy, and they can readily obtain sufficient force of water for the washing of the ore from its matrix. The export of iron in any form from the district has now almost died out, only a few hoes being brought down by the Khasis from Laitlum, in Khaliengdoh, to the Dudhnoi and Pilobari markets in the Kamrup District of the Assam Valley. Iron of Kolkata manufacture has, of course, much cheapened the market, but probably the fact that the parts of the country in the neighbourhood of the rocks which contain the metal have

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been denuded completely of timber, charcoal being necessary for smelting, has affected the production almost as much as the presence of cheap iron in the market.

MANUFACTURE OF ERI SILK CLOTHS AND COTTON CLOTHS IN THE JAINTIA HILLS.

The number of weavers in the district at the last Census was 333. This number in the Census Report is ascribed to the cotton industry, no mention being made of weavers of silk. The spinning of Eri silk thread, and weaving it into cloths is, however, a fairly considerable industry amongst the Khyrwang and Nongtung villages of the Jaintia Hills. The Nongtungs and Khyrwangs rear their own Eri worms, and spin the silk from the cocoons. The late Mr. Stack, in his admirable note on silk in Assam, says, "Throughout the whole range of the southern hills, from the Nikir country, Eri thread is in great request for weaving those striped cloths, in which the mountaineers delight," but this observation should have been confined to the Jaintia Hills portion of this district, the Khasis not weaving themselves either in silk or cotton. The Khasis obtain their silk cloths from the Assam Valley, and from the Nongtung or Khyrwang villages in Jaintia. The latter villages have given the name to the striped cloth, *ka jiin Khyrwang*, which is almost invariably worn by the Syntengs. Mr. Stack has given in detail a description of the silk industry in Assam, and it is not therefore necessary to go over the same ground here. The Khyrwang cloth is red and white, mauve and white, or chocolate and white, the cloth being worn by both men and women. The Khyrwang cloths vary in price from Rs. 5 to Rs. 25, according to size and texture. These cloths are the bridal wear of women alone, and a woman working every day regularly will take six months to manufacture a cloth valued at Rs. 25; but, as a rule, in the leisurely manner in which they work, it takes a year to complete it.

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THE PRIDE OF CHILDHOOD

Reproduced from a picture by Miss Grace Scott Williams

[Frontispiece, p. 44]

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COTTON CLOTHS.

In the Jaintia Hills at Myrsu cotton is spun into thread, and weaving is carried on there, but on a limited scale. The Myrsu people weave the small strips of cloth worn by the men to serve the purpose of the *Assamese langti* or *Hindi langoti*. In Nongpoh the people import cotton thread from Myrsu and weave the (*ingki*) or shawlless coat, peculiar to the district; these coats are dyed red and blue. The dark blue or black dye is obtained from the leaf of a plant called *u sylu*, which Mr. Kitts has classified as *strobilanthes kunthiana*, which grows in the gardens round the homesteads. The leaves are dried, then reduced to powder, mixed with hot water, and the skeins of thread are steeped in the liquid. The colour is permanent. The red dye is obtained from the mixture of the dry bark of two shrubs, *ka lyngdong* (*symplocos racemosa*, Roxb.) and *ka lawong* (*morinda citrifolia*, Roxb.), the latter being the same as the Assamese *al* (*morinda tinctoria*, Roxb.). The bark is dried, then pounded, and the two sorts are mixed together and made into a paste with hot water. The skeins are steeped in this mixture for twenty-four hours, then taken out and divided, and again steeped for another twenty-four hours. The Lalungs and Hajongs and Lyngngams all weave cotton cloths, which are generally dyed blue, sometimes striped blue and red. The Wins weave cotton cloths which are dyed red and yellow, the cloths being woven in checks. Mr. Dutch remarks that the cotton grown in the Jaintia Hills is said to be the best cotton produced in the province. Its thread can be more closely woven than that of other kinds. This statement, however, is not borne out by Mr. Allen writing in 1908, who says that the cotton is of inferior quality, the staple being short and woolly. The cotton cloths woven by the Khasis are called *ryna*.

POTTERY.

The Census Report of 1901 gave the number of persons who are supported by the manufacture of pottery at 14 only. Pottery is manufactured at one place only in the Jaintia Hills.

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§22 Lawai. The Lawai potters make many of the earthen pots to be found in the Khasi houses called *khiew rawi*, or sometimes *khiew Lawai*. Mr. Gait says, "These potters use two kinds of clay mixed, one is of a dark blue colour, 'dewsiang, and the other of a greyish colour, 'dew khiaid. These clays seem to correspond closely with the *kwaiir maiti* and *khiew maiti* of the Brahmaputra Valley."

§23 The clay at Lawai is well beaten out upon a hide, or upon a
¶25 flat disc of wood; the women fashion the pots by hand, they do
¶25 not use the potter's wheel. The pots are sun-dried and then fired. They are painted black with an infusion of a bark called *sohliya*. The Lawai potters also make flower-pots which are sold in Shillong at from 2 annas to 4 annas each, the price of the ordinary pot or *khiew rawai* varying from 2 pice to 4 annas each. A water-pot (*khiew um*) is also fashioned, which is sometimes used in the manufacture of liquor, price 4 annas to 6 annas each.

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SECTION III.

LAWS AND CUSTOMS.

TRIBAL ORGANIZATION.

120 [41] The inhabitants of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills may be said to be divided into the following sections:—Khasi, Syntengs or Pnar, Wáir, Bhoi, and Lyngpem. These divisions represent collections of people inhabiting several tracts of country and speaking dialects which, although often deriving their origin from the Khasi roots, are frequently so dissimilar to the standard language as to be almost unrecognizable. The above sections may be sub-divided as follows:—The Khasis into the inhabitants of the central high plateau, Cherra and Nongstoin, Mahadan, Maria, Nongkhlaw, and the neighbouring Siemships. The Syntengs or Pnars may be divided as follows:—Into Syntengs proper, Nongtungs, and Khorwangs; the Wáirs into Wáir proper, and Wáir Pnar; the Bhois into Jinthongs, Mynris, Synykhongs, and the Khasi-Bhois, i.e. Khasis who inhabit the low country to the north of the district, which is called generally the "Bhoi." The Lyngpems are a separate division. They must not be confused with the Dkas or Hanas who are Garos. It must, however, be remembered that the Jinthongs, Mynri, and Synykhong sub-divisions of the Bhoi division are not Khasi, but Mikir, i.e. they belong to the Bodo or Boro group. The Lyngpems are half Khasis and half Garos, and the Dkas or
121 Hanas are Garos who observe the Khasi custom of erecting
Sec. 4 (1) memorial stones. The above tribes and sub-tribes are not strictly endogamous, nor are they strictly exogamous, but they are more endogamous than exogamous; for instance, Syntengs more often marry Syntengs than Khasis, and vice versâ, and it would be usually considered derogatory for a

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Khasi of the Uplands to marry a Bhoi or War woman, and 101
a disgrace to marry a Lyngam. These divisions are sub- 55a
divided into a number of septs, taking Mr. Risley's definition of 614
"sept" as being the largest exogamous division of the tribe. It will, however, be more convenient to speak of these septs as "clans," the word "clan" having been used in other parts of this Monograph and by other writers.

Many of the clans trace their descent from ancestresses or 614
hiew (grandmothers), who are styled *ki Iawbei-Tyrwai*, lit. grandmothers of the root (i.e. the root of the tree of the clan). In some of the clans, the name of this ancestress survives; take as instances the Mylliem-ngap and Mylliem-pdah clans of the Khyrim State, the names of the ancestresses of the clans being *ka ngap* (honey, i.e. the sweet one), and *ka pdah* respectively. This tribal ancestress, as will be seen in the paragraph of the [116] monograph dealing with ancestor-worship, is greatly reverenced, in fact, she may almost be said to be deified. The descendants of one ancestress of the clan, *Ka Iawbei Tyrwai*, are called *shi kur* or one clan. We then come to the division of the *kpah* or sub-clan, all the descendants of one great grandmother (*ka Iawbei Tyrwan*), being styled *shi kpah*. The next division is the *iing* (lit. house) or family. It is almost in- [512] variably the case that the grandmother, her daughters and the daughter's children, live together under one roof, the grandmother during her life-time being the head of the house. The grandmother is styled *ka Iawbei Khynraw*, or the young grandmother, to distinguish her from the other two grandmothers, *ka Iawbei-tyrwai* and *ka Iawbei-tyrwan* who have been mentioned above. The young grandmother, her daughters and their children are said to belong to *shi iing*, one house, the word *iing* in this instance possessing amongst the Khasis the same significance as the English word *family*.

We will now see how the Khasi clan (*kur* or *jaid*) grew out 614
of the Khasi family (*iing*). Let us take the example of the 773
great Diangdoh clan of Cherra. Disregarding the myth that the Diangdohs are descended from a mermaid, it may be stated that there seems to be a fairly general belief amongst the Diangdohs that their first ancestress or *hiew* came from the

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country beyond the Kopili river (some go so far as to say that she came from the Assam Valley), to the Jaintia Hills, where she found a husband. Legend relates that it was one of the peculiarities of this woman that she was able to accommodate herself in an earthen jar or *lala*, which fact gave rise to the name *Lala* by which she and her children were called by the Syntengs. The family prospered during the time when a powerful chief of the Malngiang clan held sway in the Jaintia Hills. On the death of this king a civil war arose, and the *Lala* family, together with many others, beat a retreat across the river Kopili. Here they lived in prosperity for some generations until a plague arose and carried off the whole family except one female, called *Ka Law-Law*, who became the sole owner of the family wealth. Many desired to marry her for her possessions, and it was owing to their importunities that she fled to *Jowai* to the house of a *lyngdoh* or priest. The *lyngdoh*, under pressure from his wife, tried to sell Ka Law-Law as a slave, but no one would offer more than 20 *cowries* for her (*shi-bdi*); this decided the *lyngdoh* to keep her. Out of gratitude for this kindness, Ka Law-Law brought her wealth from beyond the Kopili to the *lyngdoh's* house, where the son of the lyngdoh was given her in marriage. They lived happily for some time, when some adventurers from beyond the Kopili came to *Jowai* with the intention of carrying off this rich bride. The lyngdoh, however, having received warning of their intent, arranged for the escape of Ka Law-Law, and they fled to Sohphokkyntum, a place near Nongkrem in the Khasi Hills, where she established a village. Here Ka Law-Law was called *Ka Law-shibdi*, because she paid every man who was engaged by her in founding a market there 20 *cowries* (*shibdi*) per day for their labours. Here also she is credited with having first introduced the art of smelting iron, and she is said to have made various iron implements which she exported to the plains. She is also said to have kept a large herd of pigs which she fed in a large trough hollowed out of a *diengdoh* tree; it is to this fact that the Diengdoh clan owes its name. After *Ka Law-shibdi* and her children had lived for some years in prosperity at Sohphokkyntum, they were attacked by the Syntengs Raja (the Atom King), U Long

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Raja (probably the Raja of Jaintia), and the Assamese Barphukan. They fled to a place called Lyndiangumthli, near Lyngkyrdem. Finding this place unsuitable as a home, the family split up into four divisions. One division returned to Jowai, where it increased and multiplied and afterwards grew into the Lalu clan, another went to Nongkhlaw and became the Diengdoh Kylla clan; another went to Mawiong and formed what is now known as the Pariong clan; the fourth, after some vicissitudes of fortune, went to Rangiyrteh and Cherra, at which place it established the powerful Diengdohbah clan, and became afterwards one of the chief *mantri* or minister clans of this state. I have quoted the history of the origin of the Diengdoh clan at some length, to show what I consider to be an example of the Khasi conceptions of how the clan was formed, i.e. from a common ancestress, all of the clans having traditions more or less of descent from some particular *Kiaw* or ancestress. This story moreover is remarkable as pointing to a Khasi migration from beyond the Kopili river to their present abode. The clans of the present day are nothing more or less than overgrown families, they are bound together by the religious tie of ancestor-worship in common, and of a common tribal sepulchre, except in cases of clans which have, owing to their size, split up into several sub-divisions, like the Diengdoh clan; each sub-divisions possessing their own cemeteries. Ancestor-worship in common and tribal sepulchres in common seem to indicate that the original unit was the family and not the tribe, for there would be no reason for the members of a clan to worship the same household gods and to deposit the remains of the clan members in the same tomb unless there was some strong tie, such as that of consanguinity, binding them together. It has been already mentioned that each of these clans is strictly exogamous; this again supports the family origin theory. A Khasi can commit no greater sin than to marry within the tribe. Some of the clans are prohibited moreover from intermarriage with other clans, because of each clans being of common descent. If the titles (see Appendix) are carefully examined, it will be seen that some of them bear the names of animals, such as the *Sheich* or monkey clan, the *Thow* or crab clan, or of trees, such as the Diengdoh clan (already referred to). The

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614 members of these clans do not apparently regard the animals or natural objects, from which they derive their names, as totems, inasmuch as they do not abstain from killing, eating or utilizing them. The names of these objects are connected generally with some story, concerning the history of the clan, but there is no evidence to show that the clans-folk ever regarded the above animals or objects as their tribal totems. If the lists of the Khyrim and Cherra clans are examined, it will be seen what a large number bear the name of *Dikhar* or its abbreviation *'Khar*. The word *dikhar* is that applied by a Khasi to an inhabitant of the plains. We come across names such as *'khar-mukhi*, *khar sowali*, the first word being an abbreviation of *dikhar*, and *mukhi* being the common Bengali name which occurs in Chandra Mukhi, Surjya Mukhi, &c. Sowali (*sharwali*) is the common Assamese word for a girl. The ancestresses of these tribes were plains women, carried off, no doubt, in the raids made by the Khasis over the border into Assam and Sylhet. The word *Jaep* in the list of tribes is a Syntengi synonym of *lyer* or *jaid*, and the Wair word *khamp*, which will often be found in the names of the tribes of the twenty-five villages of the Khyrim State, is merely a corruption of *jaep* or *iaep*, the Syntengi word for clan. Let us now see how the State or Khasi Township was formed out of a collection of these clans, how these clans obtained political power, how some clans became more powerful than others, and how a Khasi King or Siem is appointed.

STATE ORGANIZATION.

693 We have studied in the preceding chapter the formation of
692 the clan from the family, and how the former established villages. Let us now turn to the constitution of the Khasi State, which, it will be seen, has been formed, in more than one instance, by the voluntary association of villages, or groups of villages. The head of the Khasi State is the Siem or chief. A Khasi state is a limited monarchy, the Siem's powers
693 being much circumscribed. According to custom, he can per-
695 form no act of any importance without first consulting and obtaining the approval of his durbar, upon which the state

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mantrie sit. This durbar must not be confused with the 643
electoral durbar which will be referred to later. It is 645
an executive council over which the Siem presides, and
also possesses judicial powers (for a description of a judicial [693]
durbar, see page 91 of the monograph). The form of summons [694]
to appear before this durbar used to be a knotted piece of
string or cane, the number of knots denoting the degree of
urgency of the summons, not a piece of pork, as one writer has
said. Pork is a luxury which is not usually distributed gratis.
The Siem manages the State business through his *mantrie*,
although it is true that in some States the members of the 644
Siem family have been allowed a considerable share of the
State management. This latter arrangement is, however, a
departure from the ordinary rule in the Siemships, and is
regarded as unconstitutional. In some States there are village 622
headmen, styled Sirdars, who settle cases, collect labour, and 657
assess and receive for the chief the *pynsah*, which may be
literally translated as "gratification." In Nongstoin there is
an official styled *lyngdoh*, who is the superior of a number of
village sirdars, and who acts as the Siem's deputy-governor. 644
651
In the Khasi Hills there is no land revenue, nor are there any
tithes or other imposts levied upon the cultivator's produce. 643
The land, to a great extent, is the property of the different clans [423]
and villages, although in some instances there are estates owned
by private persons. The chief is entitled to receive the income
that arises from what are known as the *raj* or State lands only.
All that the Siem usually receives from his people in the
way of direct revenue is the State subscription, or *pynsah*,
mentioned above. Even this is supposed to be a voluntary
contribution, and it is not demanded in some States. This
tax is nominally a collection to meet the expenses of the State
ceremonies, but is really a means of increasing the chief's
private income. The contribution varies in amount according
to the means of the villagers. The Siem's principal source of 643
income, however, in all the Khasi States is the toll (*khwang*), 651
which he takes from those who sell at the markets in his 443
territory. As the Khasis are great traders these tolls are often
at the larger markets fairly valuable. The chief raises no
excise revenue, the manufacture of both fermented and distilled

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643 liquor being subject to no fiscal restrictions whatsoever. In a
651 few States the Siems are commencing to levy registration fees,
443 but the amounts are insignificant. Judicial fines are divided between the chief and the members of the durbar. In some States the Siems' incomes amount to a few hundreds a year only. Generally speaking, the Khasi chiefs are necessarily a very impecunious set of persons, and many of them are in-
643 debted to, comparatively speaking, large amounts. The Siem
631 is appointed from the Siem family, there being such a family in each of the fifteen Khasi States. The most important States are Khyrim, Mylliem, Cherra, Nongstoin, and Nongkhlaw. There are a few other petty States presided over by Lyngdoh, Sirdar, or Wahadadar. A fact which is of universal application is, that heirship to the Siemship lies through the female side. The customary line of succession is uniform in all cases, except in Khyrim, save that in some instances cousins rank with brothers, or are preferred to
643 grand-nephews, instead of being postponed to them. The
425 difference between the rule of succession and the rule of inheritance to real property should be noted. In the former case the sons of the eldest uterine sister inherit in order of priority of birth, although it is true that this rule has sometimes been disregarded. In cases of succession to realty, however, the inheritance goes to the youngest daughter of the deceased's mother, and after her to her youngest daughter. In successions to the Siemship, in the absence of male heirs from the eldest sister the succession passes, by what has been aptly described as the "knight's move," to the male children of the next eldest sister. In Khyrim the custom of succession is peculiar, there being a High Priestess, and heirship being
643 limited to her male relatives. Generally speaking, it would
644 appear that succession was originally controlled by a small
773 electoral body constituted of the heads (*lyngdohs*) of certain priestly clans, who, it is presumed, exercised their authority in select candidates, when necessary, mainly on religious grounds. There has, however, been a distinct tendency towards the broadening of the elective basis. In the large State of Khyrim the number of the electoral body has been greatly increased by the inclusion of the representative headmen of certain dominant but non-priestly clans (*mantris*).

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certain dominant but non-priestly clans (*mantrie*). In other States the Council has been widened by the addition to it of village headmen (*si-dare*), or the chief superintendents (*bonne*) of the village markets, tolls from which constitute the chief item in the public receipts of these States. A further step towards the recognition of the public will in the nomination of a Siem has been the introduction of popular elections, at which all the adult males vote. Such popular elections were very greatly due to the views held by Colonel Rivar, who was Deputy-Commissioner of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills from 1865 to 1877. These elections have been, in many States, an innovation which is hardly in accord with public sentiment, and in many cases the voters have done no more than confirm the selection of a special electoral body. It is, however, clear that the idea of popular elections is not one with which the people are unfamiliar, *e.g.* in Langrin State, where all the adult males customarily vote at an election of a Siem. Popular election has also been customary in the Nobosohpoh and Bhowal States, in cases where a special electoral body has been unable to agree upon a nomination, and also in Nongpoung, if a Council of five *lyngdoh*, which has in this State authority to declare who is the rightful heir, but not to disqualify him, cannot come to an unanimous decision. The Siems are appointed by an assembly, or *durbar*, which will be described later. The chiefs, having been thus chosen by the *durbar*, which is supposed by the people to be an institution of Divine origin, are styled, *ki Siem u Blei*, or Siems of God. In most States the Siem is the religious as well as the secular head, *e.g.* in the Chera State, where the Siem is also *lyngdoh*. In Khyrim State the Siem has sacerdotal duties to perform at different religious ceremonies, especially at the time of the annual Nongkrem dance. It is the custom for the Siem to consult the augurs with the soothsayers for the good of the State. The Siem in matters judicial acts as a judge, the whole body of the *durbar* being the jury. In olden days the Siem marched to war at the head of his army. It is not customary to recognise an heir-apparent, and the young men of the Siem family pursue the ordinary avocations of a Khasi, not comparing themselves in the least like scions of royalty. In quite

[illegible] the Siem --[illegible]

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692 recent years there have been instances of Siems having been summoned, like the Roman Cincinnatus, from quite humble positions, to undertake the duties of chief. We will now turn to
693 an examination of the systems in the different Siemships. In
793 the Kyrim or Nongkrem State there is a spiritual head, i.e. a High Priestess, *Ka Siem Sad*, who is responsible for the due performance of the State religious ceremonies, although, as already stated, the Siem also performs some of these duties. The temporal power here is delegated by the High Priestess to a Siem, who is her son or her nephew, or occasionally some
[695] more distant male descendant. It is the duty of an official called a *lyngdoh*, who is the official spokesman of the Siem's *durbar*, to propose a new Siem to the six *lyngdohs*, or priests, and to the heads of the twenty-four *mantri* clans. The latter then decide in *durbar* whether the proposed Siem should be appointed. In the event of their disapproving of the *lyngdoh's* nomination they proceed to elect another Siem. The High Priestess is appointed by the above electors, the order of succession to the post being as follows:—She is succeeded by her eldest surviving daughter; failing daughters, by the eldest daughter of her eldest daughter; failing daughters of her eldest daughter, by the eldest daughter of her second daughter, and so on. If there are no daughters or grand-daughters, as above, she is succeeded by her eldest sister. In the absence of sisters, she is succeeded by the eldest daughter of her mother's eldest sister, and so on. In this State the tradition runs that the first High Priestess was Ka Pah Syntiew, i.e. the flower-lined one. Ka Pah
[777] Syntiew was a beautiful maiden who had as her abode a cave at Mawsi, near Nongkrem, whence she was enticed by a man of the Mylliem-ngap clan by means of a flower. She was taken by him to be his bride, and she became not only the first High Priestess, but also the mother of the Siems of Nongkrem.* In Nongkrem the electors may disqualify the first, or any, heir to the Siemship for sufficient reason according to the Khasi religion and custom, such as bad character, physical disability, change of religion, &c. If the first heir be disqualified, the next in order must be appointed
694 Siem, unless he be disqualified, and so on. In this State there

* For the story in detail see the Folk-lore section of the monograph.

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are six divisions, each of which is known as a *raj*. In each 631
raj there is a *durbar*, to which are submitted for approval 631
the elections of the heads of the *mantri* class. These elec-
tions are subject to the approval of the Siem. The Siem, sitting 643
with the *durbar* of the *raj* concerned, may dismiss a *lyngdoh*, 644
lyngskor, or *mantri*, for bad conduct, or on account of physical
disability, in which case another *lyngdoh*, *lyngskor*, or *mantri*
would be appointed, as stated above. The Mylliem State 631
originally formed a portion of the Nongkrem State, but owing 643
to a quarrel between one of the Siems and his nephew there
was a partition. In this State the electors are the heads of five
mantri class, eleven *matchors*, or heads of class, and certain
lessoo, and other heads of class. A majority of the electors is
sufficient for the election of a Siem. A Siem is succeeded by
the eldest of his uterine brothers; failing such brothers, by the
eldest of his sisters' sons; failing such nephews, by the eldest
of the sons of his sisters' daughters; failing such grand-
nephews, by the eldest of the sons of his mother's sisters; and,
failing such first cousins, by the eldest of his male cousins on
the female side, other than first cousins, those nearest in degree
of relationship having prior claim. If there were no heirs
male, as above, he would be succeeded by the eldest of his
uterine sisters; in the absence of such sisters, by the eldest of
his sister's daughters; failing such nieces, by the eldest of the
daughters of his sisters' daughters; failing such grand-nieces,
by the eldest of the daughters of his mother's sisters; and
failing such first cousins, by the eldest of his female cousins on
the female side, other than first cousins, those nearest in degree
of relationship having prior claim. A female Siem would be
succeeded by her eldest son, and so on. As in the Khyrim
State, the first, or any other subsequent heir, may be dis-
qualified by the electors for sufficient reason. An elector is
succeeded by the eldest of his brothers; failing brothers, by the
eldest of the sons of his sisters, and so on. An elector can be
dismissed by the Siem, but only for good cause and with the
consent of his *durbar*.

In the Nongpoh State there is a tradition that the first 647
Siem originally came from Siumong* Dungapur. The name, 773

* Siumong is the Garo name for the river Someshwari.

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643 Sualong Dwarpar, of the place at the foot of the Garo Hills in
723 the Mymensing district, may be a corruption of the former. The Siems are supposed to be descended from a stag, possibly a relic of totemism in this family. In this State there is a large
631 elected durbar consisting of 2 *mantrie*, 31 *lyngdohs*, 25
622 *sirdars*, 1 *lyngdoh*, and 1 *bawa*. The *lyngdohs* are the heads of the priestly clans, by whom they are chosen. The sirdars of villages are appointed by the Siem in conjunction with the adult males of the different villages. There are two *lyngdohs* and two *bawas* in the State, but one *lyngdoh* and one *bawa* only at present are members of the *durbar* which nominates the Siem. A *lyngdoh* is the Siem's agent for the
[639] purpose of governing a collection of villages. He is appointed by the Siem with the consent of the adult males of the villages
643 which he is to supervise. The Siem family of Nongkhlaw, or Khadawphra, is believed to have been founded by a Syateng of the name of U Shajer, who left the Jowai hills with his sister, Ka Shaphlong, because she had failed to obtain her share of the family property in Jaintia. This man is said to have purchased certain lands in Sardwar in Kasarup. Apparently he did not obtain possession of this estate, for he came up into the Khasi Hills, and finding there certain villages without a ruler, he, at the wish of the *lyngdohs* of these villages, consolidated them into a state over which he ruled as a Siem. He was succeeded by his sister's son, U Syntiew, who further extended his territories until he obtained possession of other villages. U Syntiew is said to have delegated a portion of his powers to his two sisters, Ka Jem and Ka Sangkar, who ruled at Sohiong and Nongkhlaw respectively, succeeding rulers
[726] further extended the Nongkhlaw territory. In 1829, U Tirot Singh rebelled against the East India Company and carried on for four years a successful guerilla warfare. He was finally captured and was imprisoned for life by the British Govern-
643 ment. According to the statement of Raja Kiar Singh, it would
681 seem that formerly the heads of five clans had the right to appoint
[614] the Siem, i.e. the heads of 3 *lyngdoh* clans and of the *Jaid* Dkhar, and Dkhar clans. In the Cherra State the electors are the male adults of the State, who are represented on the [illegible] by the *mantrie* of the 12 aristocratic clans, known as the [illegible] and certain representative chiefs.

4 [i.e. the Nongstoin State --- Analyst]

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as the *khadar kur*, and certain representative elders. This State 643
is divided for electoral purposes into the following divisions:— 631

I. Cherra, or Sohra, consisting of 8 villages, inclusive of Cherra, which is the capital. These villages return the heads of the 12 tribes, as well as 5 elders, as their representatives on the electoral durbar.

II. The "five" villages, or 5 tribes. This division now consists of 17 villages, which return 5 representative elders.

III. The "twelve" villages, comprising now 38 villages, which return 12 representative elders.

IV. The "four" villages, comprising now 5 villages, which return 4 elders.

V. The "sixteen" villages, which return 6 representative elders.

VI. Three villages, which return 3 and 4 sirdars and 2 elders respectively.

In this State it is the custom for a Siem to cremate the body 643
of his predecessor. Unless he performs the cremation ceremony, 766
he is not considered to be Siem according to the Khasi religion. U Hajon Manik Siem failed to cremate the body of his predecessor, U Ram Singh, whose remains still repose in a wooden coffin which is kept in the house of the Siem family. The remains of Siems in this state are preserved by a peculiar process of embalming which will be found described elsewhere in this monograph. U Hajon Manik died not long ago, and his body also is awaiting cremation. U Ram Singh's remains, however, have been awaiting the funeral pyre for more than thirty years; but arrangements are being made by the present Siem U Roba Singh for the cremation ceremony. The cremation of Siems in the state is attended by a very great deal of expense, a large amount of money being spent on the feasting which then takes place. The Maharam State was ruled until 1875 by two Siems, 643
called, respectively, the "white" and the "black" Siems. In this State originally there were five *lyngdoh* who appointed the Siems, but as in certain other States the number of the electors has been expanded by the inclusion of *mantris*, *sirdars*, and *lanum*. The electors now number seventy-two persons. There is much the same state of things in the Mariaw Siemship as regards the electorate. In Rambrai, on a vacancy

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643 occurring in the Siemship, three *lyngdohs* and two *mantris* assemble and decide who is to be Siem. They then summon the sirdars of villages to meet them in *durbar* and obtain the approval of the latter to their nomination. If the sirdars do not approve, the combined *durbar* then decides who is to become
173 Siem. In Nongspung there is a tradition that two sisters, Ka
643 Jah and Ka Jem, came to the village of Nongspung, which was then ruled by two *lyngdohs*, and that the latter, having ascertained that the two sisters were of royal birth, married them. They then travelled to other villages and obtained the consent of the *lyngdohs* of these villages to the formation of all their villages into a State of which Nongspung became the capital, and over which U Sugi Shaflong, the son of Ka Jem, was appointed Siem by the five principal *lyngdohs*. After some generations the lyngdoh of Mairang with his villages became subject to the Siem of Nongkhlaw, an event which finds mention in the annals of the Nongkhlaw State as the conquest of the territory of the "Black" Siem of Nongspung. Another lyngdoh was appointed in place of the one whose territory had been thus annexed.

643 In the Mawiong State the ancient custom was that six *basans*
[643] appointed the Siem, subject to the approval of the people of the
614 Siemship. In the Nokseohpoh State there are two Siem families, the "Black" and the "White," from either of which it has apparently been the custom for the people to select a Siem, as they wished. In Mawsynram the electors of the Siem are the heads of the four principal clans in the State. On a recent occasion, the electors being equally divided regarding the appointment of a Siem, it was necessary to appeal to the people of the State. In Langrin there are, as in Maharam and Nokseohpoh, two main branches of the Siem family, i.e. the
[641] "Black" and the "White" Siems. Here there is no special electoral body; all the adults of the state have the right to vote at the election of a Siem. In Bhawal State Siems are appointed by the heads of eight clans whose decision is apparently final, provided that it is unanimous. In Malai-Sohmat a bare majority of the heads of six clans would be sufficient for the election of a Siem. Presumably both in Bhawal and Malai-Sohmat, if the electors were equally divided, there would be an appeal to the people.

an appeal to the people. Mention has been made above of States over which *lyngdohs* possess temporal as well as spiritual powers. The States of Sohiong, Mawphlang, and Lyniong may be quoted as examples. Here the *lyngdoh* is elected from the *lyngdoh* clan by all the adult males of the state. Some small States, such as Maodon and Pomsanngut, are presided over by Sirdars, a name which has probably been introduced during the British era of supremacy in these hills. The Sirdar is elected by the adult males of the State. In Mawlong there are a Sirdar, a *lyngdoh*, and a *doloi* who govern the State. These two latter officials are elected by the people as in the case of Sirdars. In the Shella Confederacy there are four officials who are styled *Wahadadar*, the name being probably a corruption of the Persian *'ahda-dar*.* These officials are elected for periods of three years each by the people.

The Jaintia Hills, which are British territory, are divided up into twenty doloiships, the doloi being an officer elected by the people, the Government reserving the right of approval or the reverse to the doloi's appointment. The doloiships, under the rules for the administration of justice in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, as well as the Sirdars of the British villages in the Khasi Hills, possess certain judicial powers. They are assisted by officials known as *pators*, *basans*, and *sangots* in the performance of their duties. This administration, on the whole, works well, and its success shows the wisdom of the Government in having made use of the indigenous agency it found to hand when the Jaintia territory was annexed. In the Jaintia Hills there are also three Sirdarships, the office being filled by election as in the case of doloiships.

In conclusion it should be stated that it has been attempted here to give but a brief *résumé* of the Khasi political system as it exists at the present time. The above account of the procedure at elections is based on existing usage. The procedure should not, however, be regarded as stereotyped, for it will no doubt be open to such revision as may on occasion be suggested by the legitimate evolution of tribal customs.

* Officer.

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KHASI GIRL.

Reproduced from a picture by Miss Eunice Scott O'Connor.

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MARRIAGE.

591 It is proposed in this section to consider marriage from its social side, the religious aspect thereof being reserved for another paragraph. The most remarkable feature of the Khasi marriage is that it is usual for the husband to live with his wife in his mother-in-law's house, and not for him to take his bride home, as is the case in other communities. This arrangement amongst the Khasis is no doubt due to the prevalence of the matriarchate. As long as the wife lives in her mother's house, all her earnings go to her mother, who expends them on the maintenance of the family. Amongst the Khasis, after one or two children are born, and if a married couple get on well together, the husband frequently removes his wife and family to a home of his own, and from the time the wife leaves her mother's house she and her husband pool their earnings,
591 which are expended for the support of the family. Amongst
576 the Syntengs, however, and the people of Maoshai, the case is different, for with them the husband does not go and live in his mother-in-law's house, he only visits her there. In Jowai some people admitted to me that the husband came to his mother-in-law's house only after dark, and that he did not eat, smoke, or even partake of betel-nut there, the idea being that because none of his earnings go to support this house, therefore it is not etiquette for him to partake of food or other refreshment there. If a Syntengs house is visited, it is unusual to find the husbands of any of the married daughters there, although the sons of the family may be seen in the house when they have returned from work. Generally in the day-time you will find in a Syntengs dwelling an old crone, who is the grandmother or even the great-grandmother, of the family, also grandchildren or great-grandchildren; but the husbands of the
796 married daughters are not there. The Syntengs seem to have
611 more closely preserved the customs of the matriarchate than the Khasis, and the Syntengs claim that their mien or religious ceremonies are purer, *i.e.* that they more closely correspond to what they were in ancient times than those of the
589 Khasis. Amongst the Syntengs, occasionally, a widow is
765 allowed to keep her husband's bones after his death, on cer-

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589 dices that she does not remarry, the idea being that as long as
765 the house remains in the widow's keeping, the spirit of her husband is still with her. On this account many wives who revere their husband's memories and who do not contemplate remarriage, purposely keep the house for a long time. If a
589 widow marries even after the customary taboo period of one
765 year, whilst her deceased husband's house are still in her keeping, she is generally looked down upon. Her children in such a case perform the ceremony of handing over the house of their father to his clan in a building specially erected for the purpose. The widow cannot enter therein, or even go near it, while the ceremony is proceeding, no matter whether the *jing sang* or the price for removing the taboo after a husband's death, has been
596 paid to the husband's clan or not. There is no evidence to show that polyandry ever existed amongst the Khasis. Unlike the Thibetans, the Khasi women seem to have contented themselves always with one husband, at any rate with one at a time. Certainly at the present day they are monandrists. Polygamy does not exist amongst the Khasis; such a practice would naturally not be in vogue amongst a people who observe the matriarchate. There are instances, however, of men having wives other than those they have regularly married, and in the War country children by such wives enjoy rights to their father's acquired property equally with the children by the legally
582 married wife. As the clans are strictly exogamous, a Khasi
688 cannot take a wife from his own clan; to do this would entail
764 the most disastrous religious, as well as social consequences. For to marry within the clan is the greatest sin a Khasi can commit, and would cause excommunication by his kinsfolk and the refusal of funeral ceremonies at death, and his bones would
[15] not be allowed a resting-place in the sepulchre of the clan. To
614 give a list of all the Khasi exogamous clans would perhaps serve
582 no useful purpose, but I have prepared from information, kindly furnished me by the Siems of Khyrim and Cherrapunji, a list of the clans in those States which will be found in Appendices A and B. These will suffice as examples. It will be seen from the Cherra list that the different divisions of the Diengdoh clan, viz. Lain, Diengdoh-bah, Diengdoh-kylla, are prohibited from intermarriage; this is due to those branches of the clan being

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[illegible] descended from a common ancestress. There are other instances of clans being connected with one another, such connection being called by the Khasis *iaiok kur*. Whenever such connection exists, intermarriage is strictly prohibited, and is considered to be *sang*. There is no custom of hypergamy. A Khasi cannot marry his maternal uncle's daughter during the lifetime of the maternal uncle. This is probably due to the fact that the maternal uncle, or *kni*, in a Khasi household is regarded more in the light of a father than of an uncle. His children, however, would belong to the clan of his wife, and there would, therefore, in ordinary cases be no bar to the nephew marrying one of them. Marriage with the daughters of a father's sister is not allowed during the lifetime of the father, but after the latter's death there is no religious bar, although such unions are looked upon with disfavour by the Khasis. In the War country, however, such marriages are totally prohibited. A Khasi cannot marry two sisters, but he can marry his deceased wife's sister after the expiry of one year from the wife's death, on payment of *jing sang* (price of *sang*, or taboo) to the wife's clan. A Khasi cannot marry the daughter of his father's brother, she is his *pyrsa kha* (lit. birth sister). Similarly he cannot marry the daughter of his father's paternal uncle. He can, however, marry the daughter of his mother's brother, provided that the brother is dead. This somewhat paradoxical state of affairs is explained by the fact that the children of the mother's brother belong to a different clan to that of the mother, i.e. to the mother's brother's wife's clan. The Khasi, Synteng, War, and Lyngam divisions are not strictly endogamous groups, and there is nothing to prevent intermarriage between them. For instance, it has been the custom in the Nongkhlaw Siem family to obtain husbands for the princesses of the state from the War country. There is no custom amongst the Khasis of two men exchanging daughters, i.e. each marrying his son to the other's daughter. Notwithstanding the existence of the matriarchate, and the fact that all ancestral property is vested in the mother, it would be a mistake to suppose that the father is a nobody in the Khasi house. It is true that the *kni*, or mother's elder brother, is the head of the house, but the father is the executive head of the new home, where, after children

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have been born to him, his wife and children live with him. It is he who faces the dangers of the jungles and risks his life for his wife and children. In his wife's clan he occupies a very high place, he is second to none but a Doi, the maternal uncle, while in his own family circle a father and husband is nearer to his children and his wife than a Doi. The Khasi saying is, "*a Kyo ulu lah hay Doi, a Doi ulu tang ha ka ing ha im,*" which may be translated freely as, "the father bears the heat and burden of the day, the maternal uncle only comes when it is a question of life or death." The Khasi father is revered not only when living, but also after death as U Thawlang, and special ceremonies are performed to propitiate his shade. Further remarks on the subject of marriage will be found in the Section which deals with religion.

DIVORCE.

Divorce amongst the Khasis is common, and may occur for a variety of reasons, such as adultery, barrenness, incompatibility of temperament, &c. The rule amongst the Khasis is that both parties must agree, but amongst the Wars, especially the people of Shella, the party who divorces the other without his or her consent must pay compensation, which is called *ka sepumia*, or *ka thawn*. Amongst the Khasis it is not the custom to enforce restitution of conjugal rights; as a rule, when husband and wife cannot live together amicably, they agree to divorce one another; but occasionally it happens that either the husband or the wife will not agree to a divorce. Usually the husband would be willing to live with his wife; but when the latter consents neither to live with her husband nor to accept a divorce, a difficult situation arises, and it is in the event of such a contingency happening that the necessity of according *ka sepumia*, or *ka thawn* (compensation), occurs. The latter is computed by the village elders. Parties who have been divorced cannot afterwards remarry one another, but they are at liberty to marry into other families. A woman cannot be divorced during pregnancy. The following description of the divorce ceremony is taken from U Joylon Roy's note on the

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Khasi religion. If the marriage has been celebrated according to the *pynkhar synjiat* rite, a *lniang* (go-between) is necessary on each side, also the *kni*, or maternal uncle of the parties, to witness the divorce. In other cases the presence of the *lniang* is unnecessary, but some acquaintances and friends as well as the relatives on both sides should witness the ceremony. The husband and the wife each bring five cowries (*shii*), or, more commonly nowadays, five pice. The wife gives her five cowries or pice to her husband, who places them with his, and then returns the five cowries or coins to his wife, together with his own five. The wife then returns the ten shells or coins to the husband who throws them on the ground. A crier (*u sing pyrta*) accompanied then goes round the village to proclaim the divorce, using the following words:—

"Ka—hear, oh villagers, that U—— and K—— have become separated in the presence of the elders. But! then, oh, young man, cannot go and make love to Ka—— for she is now unmarried (*khpawar*), and then, oh, spinster, cannot make love to U——. But! there is no lot or hindrance from heaven-earth." Among the Khasis divorce must be by mutual consent, and the ceremony must take place in the open air. Until the divorce ceremony has been performed as above described, neither husband nor wife can marry again, but after it has taken place, either can remarry, but not within the family of the divorced husband or wife. In the event of a husband or wife being absent for a long period, say ten years, without any communication having been received from either of them, a divorce ceremony is performed by the relatives on his or her behalf. It is stated by U *Joshua Roy* that the rule of monogamy is not so strict for the husband as it is for the wife, he can contract an informal alliance with another woman, the only prohibition being that she must not belong to the original wife's village. Such a wife is called *ka synjai tuk*, literally, stolen wife, in contradistinction to the legally married wife (*ka synjai kmai*). The children by the unmarried wife are called *ki khaw kliar* (children from the top). By children from the top, is understood to mean children from the branches not from the root (*kmai*) of the tree. Such children cannot claim ancestral property [illegible] in the lineage.

See page 12. "Ka Niam Khasi." (U Joshua Roy.)

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ancestral property, except in the *Wiar* country. In the event of a divorce the mother is always allowed the custody of the children. Divorces amongst both Khasis and Syntengs are of common occurrence, the result being that the children in many cases are ignorant of even the names of their fathers. For the mother, on the other hand, the children cherish a very strong affection, all their sympathies and affections binding them closely to the mother's kin. Divorce amongst the Syntengs, though resting on the same principle as that of the Khasis, differs in detail, and must be described separately. It is as follows:—In the first place it is not necessary for both husband and wife to be consenting parties, as is the case with the Khasis. In the Nongkhlih dolooiship divorce takes place before the relatives of the parties. The man has to give eight annas as a sign of the divorce, and clothes worth Rs. 3/- or Rs. 5/- to the wife. There is a similar custom in the Sohtinga and Amwi dolooiships. In the *Jowai* dolooiship the divorce takes place in the presence of a village official called *U hawar*. The husband or the wife gives the *hawar* an eight annas piece, the latter gives this either to the wife or to the husband, as the case may be. The *hawar's* share of the eight annas is two pice, the remainder being spent on liquor. The *hawar* is entitled to a further fee of one anna from the man. If a wife does not agree to accept divorce, she is entitled to receive two pieces of cloth from the husband to the value of Rs. 5/-. This compensation is called *thaw*. The divorce then takes place. If a wife wishes to divorce her husband, and the latter is unwilling, before she can obtain divorce, she must pay *thaw* to the value of the whole amount the husband has spent on her and her children during the marriage. Divorce customs in Nartiang and Nongjinghi dolooiships are much the same, only the amounts tendered by the parties and that of compensation differing.

In conclusion it should be stated that, the great drawback attaching to divorce in ordinary communities, i.e. the effect that it has on the lives of the children of the marriage, does not apply to the Khasis, for with them the children always live with their mother and their mother's family, which latter would be bound to maintain them in the event of a divorce.

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INHERITANCE.

The Khasi and Syntengu laws of inheritance are practically the same, although in some of the dolonships in the Jaintia Hills there are some slight differences. The War law of inheritance differs greatly from that of the Khasis, and the customs of the Bhoi or Mikirs, who inhabit the Bhoi dolonship of the Jaintia Hills, are totally different from those of the Khasis, thereby supplying another link in the chain of evidence in support of the conclusion that the Bhoi, or, more correctly speaking, the Mikirs, are of Dado origin, and not Khasi or Mon-Anam. The Lyngngam follow the Khasi law of inheritance. It will be convenient to describe the Khasi law first, and then to pass on to the special customs in vogue in the different dolonships in the Jaintia Hills, and, finally, to describe the War, Bhoi and Lyngngam customs.

The Khasi saying is, "*kong jaid ne ka kyntiei*" (from the woman sprang the clan). The Khasis, when reckoning descent, count from the mother only; they speak of a family of brothers and sisters, who are the great grandchildren of one great grandmother, as *shi kpah*, which, being literally translated, is one womb, i.e. the issue of one womb. The man is nobody. If he is a brother, *u bor*, a brother being taken to mean an uterine brother, or a cousin-german, he will be lost to the family or clan directly he marries. If he be a husband, he is looked upon merely as *u shong kha*, a begetter. In some of the War villages a newly married man is spoken of by the bride's family as, "*u khun ki briew*," some one else's son. It is, perhaps, somewhat of a paradox under the circumstances that wives should address their husbands as "*kyncad*," or lord. There is, however, no gainsaying the fact that the husband, at least in theory, is a stranger in his wife's home, and it is certain that he can take no part in the rites and ceremonies of his wife's family, and that his ashes after death can find no place within the wife's family tomb, except, in certain cases, amongst the Syntengs. Further, the ceremonial religion amongst Khasis, especially that of the home, is in the hands of the women. It is, therefore, perhaps not to be wondered at, considering the important status assigned to women by the Khasis, that women

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should inherit the property and not men. The rule amongst the Khasis is that the youngest daughter "holds" the religion, "*ka lad ka niam.*" Her house is called, "*ka iing sung,*" and it is here that the members of the family assemble to witness her performance of the family ceremonies. Here is, therefore, the largest share of the family property, because it is she whose duty it is to perform the family ceremonies, and propitiate the family ancestors. The other daughters, however, on their mother's death are entitled, each of them, to a share of their mother's property, although the youngest daughter gets the lion's share, e.g. the family jewellery, and the family house, and the greater part of what it contains. The youngest daughter cannot dispose of the house without the unanimous consent of her sisters. If the youngest daughter dies, she is succeeded by the next youngest daughter, and so on. All the daughters are bound to repair the house of the youngest daughter free of cost. In the event of the youngest daughter changing her religion, or committing an act of *sung*, or taboo, she loses her position in the family, and is succeeded by her next youngest sister, as in the case of a death. Failing daughters, inheritance would pass by the "knight's move" to the sister's youngest daughter, who would be succeeded by her youngest daughter, and so on. Failing sister's daughters succession would revert to the mother's sisters and their female descendants. In the Jaintia Hills the inheritance of all real property passes from mother to youngest daughter. No man in the uplands of the Jaintia Hills can possess landed property, unless it is self-acquired property. In the Jaintia Hills, if a man dies and leaves acquired property, his heir will be his mother, if alive, excluding wife, sons, and daughters. If the wife, however, undertakes not to re-marry, she will inherit half of her husband's property, which at her death will descend to her youngest daughter by him.

Amongst Khasis all property which has been acquired by a man before marriage is considered to belong to his mother; indeed it may be said to belong to the man's *kur*, or clan, such property being called by Khasis, "*ka mai iing kur*" (the earnings of the house of the clan). After marriage, if there are children, the case is different, provided that the property

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[127] 428 has been acquired by the man after marriage. Here the wife and children would inherit the acquired property, the youngest daughter obtaining the largest share of such property on the death of the wife. If there were no daughter, the acquired property would be equally divided amongst the sons.

[127] 428 The following examples of the Syntengi law of inheritance are taken from the exhaustive diaries recorded by the late Mr. Heath, who was for some years Sub-Divisional Officer of Jowai. In the Nongkli dolooloi ancestral land passes from mother to her youngest daughter; again, if a youngest daughter who has no acquired dies, the next youngest in point of age succeeds. Should such direct female succession fail, the family tree has to be looked up for the nearest branch, in which the youngest female, or her youngest female descendant, succeeds. Thus, respecting ancestral land, the youngest daughter, or youngest female descendant of youngest female heir, is virtually heir to entailed property. If a woman dies leaving acquired property, her youngest daughter or youngest granddaughter of that youngest daughter succeeds to all. In default, next youngest daughter, and so on. In default of daughters, the youngest son inherits. A man can hardly, in any circumstances, possess ancestral land; his property must almost necessarily be self-acquired. If a man dies leaving acquired property, his heir will be his mother, if alive, excluding wife, sons, and daughters. If the wife undertakes, however, not to marry again, she will get half, which will descend to her youngest daughter by her deceased husband. The mother, who thus gets the whole or half of her son's property, leaves it to her youngest daughter, or youngest daughter of that daughter, and so on, as described above in the case of a woman leaving ancestral or acquired property. If there is no mother, the man's youngest sister stands next heir with the same right as her mother. If there is no mother or sister, then the sister's female descendants stand in the man's mother's place. If there are none of these, then the man's youngest daughter succeeds to all. Ancestral property cannot be alienated without the consent of all the heirs in the entail. A gift of self-acquired property to any amount can be made by a donor during his lifetime. Acquired property cannot, however, be left by will out of the course sanctioned by

cultivation. In the Amwi doloiship a widow who commits to pay the costs of her husband's funeral, provided she agrees not to re-marry, inherits half of her husband's acquired property.

In the *Wai* country the children inherit both ancestral and acquired property in equal shares, both males and females, with the exception that the youngest daughter is given something in addition to her share, although not such a large share of the property as amongst the Khasis. Amongst the Mikir-Thoris, i.e. the Mikirs who inhabit the Thori doloiship of the Jaintia Hills, the law of inheritance is totally different from that of the Khasis, for males succeed to all property, whether ancestral or acquired. Thus, if a man dies, leaving son, mother, wife, and daughters, the son takes all. If there are several sons, they divide. If there are no sons, the property goes to the nearest male heir. If a woman dies, leaving husband and children, the husband takes all. If the husband is dead, and there are sons and daughters, the former inherit. The great difference in the custom of inheritance between Khasis and Thoris is, as I have already pointed out, part of the evidence that these people are of different origin.

The Lyngam law of inheritance is the same as that of the Khasis. The youngest daughter obtains the largest share of the ancestral property, the remainder being divided between the remaining daughters. The sons do not get any share. The rule is also said to apply with regard to acquired property.

ADOPTION.

Both Khasis and Syntengs observe a custom known as *'rep iing* (an abbreviation for *ia rep iing*, literally, to help the house). This is practically adoption. If in a family the female members have died out, the male members of the family are allowed by custom to call (*khot*) a girl from some other family, to act as *ka'rep iing*, and to perform the family religious ceremonies, and therefore to inherit the family ancestral property. The female so introduced into the family then takes her place as *ka khen khaddah*, or youngest daughter, and becomes the head of the house (*ka trai iing*). The

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The
577 adoption of a female obviates the family dying out (*iap duk*),
428 which to the Khasi is a very serious matter, inasmuch as there
764 will then be no one qualified to place the bones of its members within the family tomb (*ka ka thap shiong wawbah*), and to
577 perform the requisite funeral ceremonies. Amongst the Khasis no particular ceremonies are performed at the time of
242 adoption; but some of the Syntengs observe a religious cere-
782 mony which consists largely of a feast to the clans-folk, at which liquor, rice, dried fish, and ginger are partaken of. Before the feast commences, each clansman is provided with a small gourd (*u blangi*) filled with liquor, a little of the latter is then thrown on the ground from the gourd, and the following words are uttered:—

"Oh, God! oh, Lord! oh, ruling king Binkurem, now the *pynsap iing* ceremony is about to be performed, let the ceremony be propitious, and let males and females (of the clan) increase in numbers, so that the clan may become great, and respected, and that intelligent male members may spring up." No such ceremony is, however, observed, it is understood, in the Nartiang and Rulong di-hoikhips.

577 In the case of a family being *iap duk* (extinct), the family
428 property, according to Khasi custom, passes to the Siem.
421 Therefore it is to the interest of the members of families to adopt a female, when such necessity arises. As there is no religious ceremony which is compulsory to the Khasis on the occasion of an adoption, perhaps we are almost justified in concluding that in former times the adoption customs did not exist, more especially as the Khasis possess a special word, *iap duk*, for describing a family the females of which have all died out; and it is admittedly the custom for the Siem to succeed to the
177 property of such a family. The Synteng custom of *'sap iing*
797 may have been borrowed from the Hindus, when the Rajas of Jaintia became converts to that religion.

TENURE OF LAND AND LAWS REGARDING LAND.

423 Land in the Khasi Hills proper, i.e. land in the high plateau, is held somewhat differently from land in the Jaintia Hills and

the War country, it will be necessary to describe the land tenures and laws regarding land of each of these divisions separately. As land is always jhumed by the Bhoiis and Lyngngams from year to year, customs regarding land with these people are naturally very simple. Taking land in the high plateau of the Khasi Hills first:—The lands are classified under two main divisions, (a) public and (b) private lands. The following are the different descriptions of lands in the first division:—

Ka ri Raj, or *ka ri Siem*, which are Siem's, or Crown lands. These lands are intended for the support of the Siem family, they cannot be alienated. The Siems are, however, precluded by custom from levying a land tax on persons who cultivate such lands, the relation of landlord and tenant between the latter and their chiefs being unknown.

Ka ri Lynphok.—These lands are for the support of the Lynphohs or priests of the State. In some Siemships, as in Mawiang Siemship, paddy is grown on these lands from which rice is obtained for the State pujas.

Ri shnong, or village lands.—These lands are set apart to provide a supply of firewood, thatching grass, &c., and are the property of the village. The inhabitants of other villages are not allowed to enjoy the produce of such lands. Such lands can be cultivated by ryots of the village, but the latter possess only occupancy rights, and cannot transfer them.

Ri Raskynteng.—These are sacred groves, situated generally near the summit of hills, composed of oak and rhododendron trees, which are held sacred (*kynteng*), it being an offence, or *sang*, for any one to cut timber in the grove, except for cremation purposes. These groves are the property of the villages.

(b.) Private Lands. These may be subdivided into *ri-kur* or lands which are the property of the clan, and *ri kynti*, family, or acquired landed property. In the Khasi Hills proper a very large proportion, certainly of the high lands, is the property of the clan; for instance, the high lands at Laitkor, which are the property of the Khar kungor and Kur kulang clans, whose ancestors the large memorial stones close to the Laitkor road commemorate, also the lands of the Thang khew clan, and many others.

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923 Thang khiew clan, and many others. It has been explained,
629 in a previous paragraph, how the clan grew out of the family. The clan lands originally, when population was sparse, were owned by families, but as the members of the family increased and a clan was formed, the lands became the property of the clan instead of the family. Such clan lands are properly demarcated by stone boundary marks. The manager of the clan lands is the *kni* (maternal uncle of the youngest daughter of the main family, or branch of the clan), whose house "*ka iing khadduh*," or last house, is the place for performing all the religious ceremonies of the clan, and is also called *ka iing ong*. All the members of the clan are, however, entitled
(623) to share in the produce of any of the clan lands they may cultivate. No clan lands can be alienated without the consent of a darbar of the whole clan.

923 *Ki lyndi* are private lands which have been either acquired
928 by a man or woman individually, or, in the case of a woman, inherited from her mother; such lands must be entirely distinguished from the lands of the clan. In portions of the Jaintia Hills, if a man purchases a piece of land, at his death it passes to his mother, to the exclusion of his children; but in the Khasi Hills nowadays a man may leave such lands, provided they were acquired after marriage, either formally by will, or informally, to his children for their support. In land customs as well as other customs the Syntengs seem to preserve more closely than the Khasis what are probably the ancient usages of the race. It must be clearly understood, however, that all land acquired by inheritance must follow the Khasi law of entail, by which property descends from the mother to the youngest daughter, and again from the latter to her youngest daughter. Ancestral landed property must therefore be always owned by women. The male members of the family may cultivate such lands, but they must carry all the produce to the house of their mother, who will divide it amongst the members of the family. Daughters, other than youngest daughters, are entitled to maintenance from the produce of such family lands.

923 In the Jaintia Hills lands are classified as follows:—

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HALI LANDS OR IRRIGATED PADDY LANDS.

(1) *Raj* lands, which used to be the property of the Raja of Jaintiapur, now the property of Government, which are assessed to land revenue.

(2) Service lands, which are lands given rent free to doloiis, pators, and other officers who carry on the administration.

(3) Village puja lands, being land the occupants of which pay rent to the doloi or lyngdoh, which are set apart in each village for purposes of worship. These lands are not assessed to revenue.

(4) Private lands held by individuals, and which have been transferred from time to time by mortgage sale or otherwise at the will of the owner. These lands are not assessed to revenue.

High lands are sub-divided into (1) Private lands, held like *hali* private lands. (2) Unclaimed land, or Government Waste.

Up till now the Government has not assessed revenue on the high lands which are its own property. Surveys have been made from time to time of the Government *Raj hali* lands in the Jaintia Hills, but the maps require bringing up to date. The revenue on such lands is assessed at an uniform rate, viz. at 10 annas a bigha, and the leases have been issued so as to expire contemporaneously. A list of service lands of doloiis and others, showing the number of plots held by each official and their approximate total area in bighas, is kept in the Deputy Commissioner's Office. Puja lands are plots of lands set apart entirely for the support of the lyngdohs and other persons who perform the pujas of the doloiships. These lands are generally leased out by the doloiis, but in some doloiships they are under the management of the lyngdohs. The occupants of the puja lands have either to present annually sacrificial animals or objects, e.g. bulls, goats, fowls, or pigs, rice, liquor, &c., or make a payment in cash. In the War country in the Jaintia Hills, orange, *pan*, and betel-nut gardens, are held as private property except in a few villages where there are some Raj *pan* gardens which have been assessed to land revenue at the same rates as Government *hali* lands. The various gardens are distinguishable by means of boundary stones or stone cairns, by

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prominent trees on the boundary lines, or by natural boundaries such as streams.

92] 69 In the *Wer* country to the West of Cherra, notably the country between the heights of Laitkynsew and the plains, considerable portions of the hill-sides are the property of communities known as *sengs*. A *seng* may be defined as a collection of families sprung from some common ancestress or ancestor. As an instance of these *sengs* I may describe the community known as the *lai seng* which owns land in the neighbourhood of Laitkynsew, the area owned being known as the "*ri lai seng*," or land of the three clans. These clans are descended from three sons, U Kynta, U Nalein, and U Tangrai, it being remarkable that in this case descent is traced originally from male ancestors and not from females. The three ancestors are said to have owned a large tract of land, and they had as their abode the village of Laitmawria close to Laitkynsew; but owing to an epidemic, or some such cause, they deserted the village of Laitmawria and went with their families to live in some of the surrounding *Wer* villages, viz. in Tyrna, Nongkrah, Nongwar, Mawsh, and Mawlong. The descendants of the three sons above-mentioned possess a genealogical table, showing their descent from the original three founders of the *seng*. They claim a large tract of country lying to the south and south-east of the Laitkynsew plateau, containing not only orange gardens, but also valuable lime quarries. There are other *seng* communities also in the neighbourhood, e.g. the *khawiew phew seng*, or sixty *sengs*, who put forward claims to other tracts of land. The boundaries of the *ri lai seng* are identifiable on the ground. [693] The business of the *seng* community is managed by a durbar, an elder or other influential person being chosen as president.

923 [927] 692 In the country of the Lyngams the crop belongs to the person who cultivates it but the land belongs to the *kur* or family. The Lyngam villages, like those in the Khasi Siemships, do not pay any rent to the Siem. If outsiders cultivate within the areas set apart for the different Lyngam villages, all of them, including women, have to pay eight annas each to the people of the village in whose circle they cultivate. There is usually a mutual understanding between inhabitants of Lyngam villages that certain tracts of land belong to the

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competing villages; sometimes, however, there are disputes regarding these lands between the different villages. Such disputes are settled by the Lyngdoh Siedare of villages or by the Siedare sitting with the two Lyngdohs of the Siemship. If the disputes cannot be settled by these officials to the satisfaction of the parties, the latter are taken by the Lyngdohs and Siedare to the Siem of Nongstoin, who tries the case with the aid of the State mantrin.

LAWS REGARDING OTHER PROPERTY.

There is no separate law applying to personal property, as opposed to real property, amongst the Khasis.

DECISION OF DISPUTES.

Khasi Courts of Judicature.

In the first place a complaint is made before the Siem or chief, against a certain party or parties. The facts and circumstances of the case are then detailed before the chief and his headmen, the ostensible object being to attempt to bring about a compromise between the parties. If no reconciliation can be effected, a crier (*u nong pyrta shnong*), or in the Jaintia Hills a *ensnpt*, is sent out to proclaim at the top of his voice the durbar which is to assemble the following evening. He proceeds to cry the durbar in the evening when all the inhabitants have returned to the village from their usual daily pursuits. With a loud pressmatory yell the crier makes use of the following formula *:—

"*Kaw!* thou, a fellow-villager; thou, a fellow-creature; thou, an old man; thou, who art grown up; thou, who art young, thou, a boy; thou, a child; thou, an infant; thou, who art little; thou, who art great. *Hei!* because there is a contest. *Hei!* for to cause to sit together. *Hei!* for to cause to deliberate. *Hei!* for to give intelligence together. *Hei!* about to assemble in durbar. *Hei!* for to listen attentively. *Hei!* ye are forbidden. *Hei!* ye are stopped to draw water then

* What follows is a literal translation of the Khasi.

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645

KHASI DURBAR AT NWIT

on the occasion of the installation of U Dukhar Singh, Siem of Khyrim, with the usual of appointment.

(from a photograph by Khasi Bandhava.)

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203 not to cut firewood then; *Hei!* to go as coolies then; *Hei!*
694 to go to work then; *Hei!* to go a journey then; *Hei!* to descend to the valley then; *Hei!* he who has a pouch. *Hei!* he who has a bag. *Hei!* now come forth. *Hei!* now appear. *Hei!* the hearing then is to be all in company. *Hei!* the listening attentively then is to be all together. *Hei!* for his own king. *Hei!* for his own lord, lest destruction has come; lest wearing away has overtaken us. *Kaw!* come forth now fellow mates."

This proclamation is called *khang shnong*, and by it all are stopped from going anywhere from the village the following day.
[187] Anybody who disregards the prohibition is liable to fine.
695 The following day, towards evening, all the grown-up males of the village assemble at the durbar ground, the site of which is marked in some villages by rows of flat stones, arranged in an irregular circle, upon which the durbaris sit. The proceedings are opened by one of the headmen, who makes a long speech; then others follow, touching upon all sorts of irrelevant matters, but throwing out hints, now and then, bearing on the subject of accusation. By degrees the debate waxes warmer, and the parties get nearer the point. Then the complainant and the defendant each of them throw down on the ground a turban, or a bag containing betul and *pán*, lime, &c., in front of the durbar. These are regarded as the pledges of the respective parties and their representatives in the suit; they receive the name of *mamla* (hence the Khasi term *ar liang mamla* for the two contending parties in the suit). There are pleaders on both sides called *'riw said*, who address the durbar in lengthy speeches, the Siem being the judge and the whole body of the durbar the jury. Witnesses are examined by the parties; in former times they were sworn on a pinch of salt placed on a sword. The most sacred and most binding form of oath, however, is sworn on *u klong* (a hollow gourd containing liquor). As, however, the latter form of oath is regarded by the Khasis as a most serious ordeal, it will be described separately. The
695 durbar sometimes goes on for several days. At length the
702 finding of the durbar is taken, after the Siem has summed up, and sentence is pronounced, which generally consists of a fine in money, almost always accompanied by an order to the losing

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695 party to present a pig. The pig is supposed to be sacrificed
782 to a goddess, *Ka 'lei synshar*, i.e. the goddess of the State,
[776] but it is invariably eaten by the Siem and the members of the durbar. The Siem then calls out "*kumta mo khynraw*" (is it not so, young people?) The members of the durbar then reply, "*haoid kumta khein khynraw*" (yea, it is so, young
681 ones). Sentences of fine are more often resorted to than other
697 punishments nowadays, probably because very few of the Siems possess jails for the reception of criminals. The condemned one in a criminal case frequently serves his time by working for the Siem as a menial servant. The above description, which is based on the account given by the Rev. W. Lewis, with some modifications, may be taken as the usual form of procedure of the Khasi durbar.

682 Under the heading of decision of disputes we may perhaps
782 give a short description of some of the punishments which were inflicted by the Siems and their durbars in criminal cases in ancient times. Murder was punishable by beating the culprit to death with clubs (*ki tangon ki lymban*). The killing, however, of a *nong shoh noh*, i.e. a man who seeks for human victims to sacrifice to the monster, *u thlen*, is not considered murder, even now by the Khasis, and the slayer of the *nong shoh noh* only has to inform the Siem and deposit Rs. 5, and one pig in the Siem's court. The slaying of a robber also is dealt with in like manner.

684 The punishment of adultery was imprisonment for life (*ka sah dain mur*), or a fine of Rs. 1,100, and one pig (*ka khadwei spah wei doh*). Whether such a heavy fine was ever paid is perhaps doubtful, and probably some other form of punishment was substituted for it. A husband finding his wife and a man in *flagrante delicto* could, as under the law of the ancients, kill both adulterer and adulteress without punishment for murder. He was, however, bound to deposit Rs. 5, and the conventional pig in the Siem's durbar. The punishment for rape (*kaba khniot tynga*) was imprisonment for life in the case of the woman being married, and a heavy fine and one pig if the
685 woman was a spinster. Arson was punishable with imprison-
683 ment for life, or a heavy fine. The punishment for causing people to be possessed by devils (*ka ba ai-ksuid briew*) was

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683 exile (*pyrangkang par*); but if a person so possessed died, the
685 sorcerer was hurled down a precipice (*pynnoh khongpong*). The punishment for robbery and theft was the stocks (*ka pyndait diengsong*), the imposition of fetters, or a punishment known as *kaba s'ang sohmynken*, by which the culprit was compelled to sit on a bamboo platform under which chillies were burnt. The result of such torture can be better imagined than described.

684 Incest, or *sang*, which, amongst the Khasis means cohabiting
626 with a member of a man's or woman's own clan, was punishable with exile or a fine of Rs. 550/- and one pig. It is believed by the Khasis that the evils resultant from incestuous connection are very great; the following are some of them: being struck by lightning, being killed by a tiger, dying in childbirth, &c.

DECISION OF CASES BY ORDEAL.

1.—*Water Ordeal.*

695 In ancient times the Khasis used to decide certain cases by means of water ordeal (*ka ngam um*). Yule, writing in 1844, mentions a water ordeal, and one of my Khasi friends remembers to have seen one during his boyhood. There were two kinds of such ordeals. The first, called *ka ngam ksih*, was as follows:—The two disputants in a case would each of them fix a spear under water in some deep pool. They would then dive and catch hold of the spear. The man who remained longest under water without returning to the surface was adjudged by the Siem and durbar to have won the case. Colonel Maxwell, late Superintendent of the Manipur State, witnessed a similar ordeal in the Manipur State in the year 1903, when two Manipuris dived to the bottom of a river and held on to stones, the result being that one man, who remained under water in the most determined way, was very nearly drowned. Amongst the Khasis sometimes the supporters of the contending parties used to compel the divers to remain under water by holding them down with their spears. Another form of trial was to place two pots, each of them containing a piece of gold and a piece of silver wrapped up in cloths, in shallow water. The two contending parties

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were then directed to plunge their hands into the water and take up, each of them, one of the packets. The party who brought up a piece of gold was adjudged the victor. If both parties brought up either gold or silver, then the case was amicably settled by the Durbar, and if it was a land case, the land was equally divided between the parties. No instances of trial of cases by such ordeals have come to notice of late years. Yule, referring to water ordeals, says: "I have been told that it was lawful to use the services of practised attorneys in this mode of trial; so that long-winded lawyers have as decided a preference in these regions as they have elsewhere."

2.—*Ordeal by U Klong, or by U Klong U Khnam, in the Wár Country.*

Of all the ordeals these are the most dreaded by the Khasis. They believe that if a person swears falsely by *u klong* or *u klong u khnam*, he will die or, if he represents his family (i.e. wife and children) or his clan (*kur*), that his family and his clan will die out. Siems, Wahadadars, Lyngdohs, &c., do not order litigants, or even propose to them, to have their cases decided by this ordeal, fearing to incur blame for choosing it, owing to possible evil consequence thereafter to the parties. One of the parties must propose and the other must accept the ordeal, of their own accord and in open Court or Durbar. A gourd (*u klong*) containing fermented rice (*ka sohpoh*) is provided, and a feathered arrow with a barbed iron head is planted in the fermented rice. The following is the procedure:—

The person who wishes to take the oath brings a gourd of fermented rice, or a gourd with an arrow stuck in it, as the case may be, and makes it over to the judge, or a deputy appointed by such judge for this duty. The latter, before returning it to him, invokes the goddess as follows:—

"Come down, and bear witness, thou goddess who reignest above and below, who createst man, who placest him (on earth), who judgest the right and the wrong, who givest him being and stature, (i.e.) life. Thou goddess of the State, thou goddess of the place, who preservest the village, who preservest the State,

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695 come down and judge. If this man's cause be unrighteous, then shall he lose his stature (being), he shall lose his age (life), he shall lose his clan, he shall lose his wife and children; only the posts of his house shall remain, only the walls of his house shall remain, only the small posts and the stones of the fireplace shall remain; he shall be afflicted with colic, he shall be racked with excruciating pains, he shall fall on the piercing arrow, he shall fall on the lacerating arrow, his dead body shall be carried off by kites, it shall be carried off by the crows, his family and his clan shall not find it; he shall become a dog, he shall become a cat, he shall creep in dung, he shall creep in urine, and he shall receive punishment at thy hands, oh, goddess, and at the hands of man. If, on the other hand, his cause be righteous (lit. *lada u kren hok*) he shall be well, he shall be prosperous, he shall live long, he shall live to be an elder, he shall rise to be a defender and preserver of his clan, he shall be a master of tens and a master of hundreds (immensely rich), and all the world shall see it. Hear, oh, goddess, thou who judgest." (The whole of this invocation is uttered while a libation is poured out from *u klong*.)

U klong is next invoked as follows:—

"Thou, *u klong*, with whose assistance—according to our religion and our custom, a man when he is born into the world is named—hear and judge. If he speaks falsely (his cause be false), his name shall be cut off (by thee) and he shall surely die."

The fermented rice is then invoked as follows:—

"Thou yeast, thou charcoal, thou rice of the plough, thou rice of the yoke, thou, too, hear and judge. If he speaks falsely, eat off his tongue, eat away his mouth."

The arrow is lastly invoked as follows:—

"Thou piercing and lacerating arrow, as thou hast been ordained by the goddess, who creates man, who appoints man to occupy a pre-eminent place in war and in controversy, do thou hear and judge. If he (i.e. the man taking the oath) speaks falsely, let him fall upon thee, let him be cut and be torn, and let him be afflicted with shooting and pricking pains." The man then takes *u klong* or, *u klong u khnam*, and holds it on his head, and while in that posture utters the same

invocation. *U klong* is then made over to the judge (the Siem 695
or the Sirdar as the case may be, &c.).

The person who undergoes the above ordeal wins the case, the production of evidence being unnecessary.

WAR.

Although the Khasis, unlike the Nagas, the Garos, the wild 721
Was of Burma, the Dayaks of Borneo, and other head-hunting tribes, cannot be said to have indulged in head-hunting in ancient times, as far as we know, merely for the sake of collecting heads as trophies, there seems to be some reference to a custom of head-hunting in a description of the worship of [776]
the god *u Syngkai Bámon*, one of the principal gods of war amongst the Khasis. This god is described in one of the folk tales (I have obtained it through the kindness of Dr. Roberts, [797]
the Welsh missionary at Cherrapunji) as being the deity who gives the heads of the enemy to the successful warriors. To 726
this god, as well as to *Ka Rám Shandi*, they offer a cock. 782
Before sacrifice the warriors dance round an altar, upon which are placed a plume of cock's feathers (*u thuia*), a sword, a shield, a bow, an arrow, a quiver, *pán* leaves, and flowers. After the cock has been sacrificed, they fix its head on the point of a sword and shout three times. The fixing of the cock's head on the point of a sword is said to have been symbolical of the fixing of the human head of an enemy killed in battle, on the top of the *soh-lang* tree. Mr. Shadwell, of Cherrapunji, whose memory carries him back to the time when the British first occupied the Khasi Hills, has a recollection of a Khasi dance at Cherra, round an altar, upon which the heads of some *Dykhars*, or plains people, killed in a frontier raid had been placed. The Khasis used to sacrifice to a number of other gods also for success in battle. An interesting feature of 726
the ancient combats between the people of different Siemships was the challenge. When the respective armies had arrived at a little distance from one another, they used to stop to hear each other shout the *'tien-Blei*, or challenge, to the other side. This custom was called *pyrta 'tien-Blei*, or shouting out the

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[411] 726 challenge. From the records available of the military operations of the Khasis against the British, the former appear to have relied principally on bows and arrows, ambushes and surprises, when they fought against us at the time of our first occupation of the hills. During the Jaintia rebellion firearms were used, to some extent, by the Syntengs. The military records do not, however, disclose any peculiar battle customs as having been prevalent amongst those hill people then. Both Khasis and Syntengs seem to have fought much in the same manner as other savage hill-men have fought against a foe armed with superior weapons.

HUMAN SACRIFICES.

The Thlen Superstition.

825 782 773 776 There is a superstition among the Khasis concerning *thlen*, a gigantic snake which requires to be appeased by the sacrifice of human victims, and for whose sake murders have even in fairly recent times been committed. The following account, the substance of which appeared in the *Assam Gazette*, in August, 1882, but to which considerable additions have been made, will illustrate this interesting superstition:—"The tradition is that there was once in a cave near Cherrapunji,* a gigantic snake, or *thlen*, who committed great havoc among men and animals. At last one man, bolder than his fellows, took with him a herd of goats, and set himself down by the cave, and offered them one by one to the *thlen*. By degrees the monster became friendly, and learnt to open his mouth at a word from the man, to receive the lump of flesh which was then thrown in. When confidence was thoroughly established, the man, acting under the advice of a god called *U Suid-noh*,† (who has as his abode a grove near Sohrarim),

* This cave is at Pomdalai, some five miles west of Cherrapunji, close to a great waterfall called *Noh Ka Likai*, i.e. the place where Ka Likai jumped down the precipice (for a full account of this story see Section V. of the monograph), where there is a large block of stone, with some cuts over it, known as *Dain Thlen*, i.e. the snake cutting (place).

† In another account it is said to have been U Suid-noh himself who did this.

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having heated a lump of iron red hot in a furnace, induced the snake, at the usual signal, to open his mouth, and then threw in the red-hot lump, and so killed him. He proceeded to cut up the body, and sent pieces in every direction, with orders that the people were to eat them. Wherever the order was obeyed, the country became free of the *thlen*, but one small piece remained which no one would eat, and from this sprang a multitude of *thlens*, which infest the residents of Cherra and its neighbourhood. When a *thlen* takes up its abode in a family there is no means of getting rid of it, though it occasionally leaves of its own accord, and often follows family property that is given away or sold. The *thlen* attaches itself to property, and brings prosperity and wealth to the owners, but on the condition that it is supplied *with blood*. Its craving comes on at uncertain intervals, and manifests itself by sickness, by misadventure, or by increasing poverty befalling the family that owns the property. It can only be appeased by the murder of a human being." The murderer cuts off the tips of the hair of the victim with silver scissors, also the finger nails, and extracts from the nostril a little blood caught in a bamboo tube, and offers these to the *thlen*. The murderer, who is called *u nongshohnoh*, literally, "the beater," before he sets out on his unholy mission, drinks a special kind of liquor called, *ka 'iad tang-shi-snem* (literally, liquor which has been kept for a year). This liquor, it is thought, gives the murderer courage, and the power of selecting suitable victims for the *thlen*. The *nongshohnoh* then sets out armed with a short club, with which to slay the victim, hence his name *nongshohnoh*, i.e. one who beats; for it is forbidden to kill a victim on these occasions with any weapon made of iron, inasmuch as iron was the metal which proved fatal to the *thlen*. He also takes the pair of silver scissors above mentioned, a silver lancet to pierce the inside of the nostrils of the deceased, and a small bamboo or cylinder to receive the blood drawn therefrom. The *nongshohnoh* also provides himself with rice called "*u 'khaw tyndep*," i.e. rice mixed with turmeric after certain incantations have taken place. The murderer throws a little of this rice over his intended victim, the effect of which is to stupefy the

525 782 773 776 825 782 776 [273]

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825 782 776 [761]

latter, who then falls an easy prey to the *nongshohnoh*. It is not, however, always possible to kill the victim outright for various reasons, and then the *nongshohnoh* resorts to the following subterfuge:—He cuts off a little of the hair, or the hem of the garment, of a victim, and offers these up to the *thlen*. The effect of cutting off the hair or the hem of the garment of a person by a *nongshohnoh*, to offer up to the *thlen*, is disastrous to the unfortunate victim, who soon falls ill, and gradually wastes away and dies. The *nongshohnoh* also sometimes contents himself with merely throwing stones at the victim, or with knocking at the door of his house at night, and then returns home, and, after invoking the *thlen*, informs the master that he has tried his best to secure him a prey, but has been unsuccessful. This is thought to appease the *thlen* for a time, but the demon does not remain inactive long, and soon manifests his displeasure for the failure of his keeper to supply him with human blood, by causing one of the latter's family to fall sick. The *thlen* has the power of reducing himself to the size of a thread, which renders it convenient for the *nong-ri thlen*, or *thlen* keeper, to place him for safety in an earthen pot, or in a basket which is kept in some secure place in the house. When the time for making an offering to the *thlen* comes, an hour is selected, generally at dead of night, costly cloths are spread on the floor of the house of the *thlen* keeper, all the doors are opened, and a brass plate is laid on the ground in which is deposited the blood, or the hair, or a piece of the cloth of the victim. All the family then gathers round, and an elderly member commences to beat a small drum, and invokes the *thlen*, saying, "*ko kni ko kpa* (oh, maternal uncle, father), come out, here is some food for you; we have done everything we could to satisfy you, and now we have been successful; give us thy blessing, that we may attain health and prosperity." The *thlen* then crawls out from its hiding-place and commences to expand, and when it has attained its full serpent shape, it comes near the plate and remains expectant. The spirit of the victim then appears, and stands on the plate, laughing. The *thlen* begins to swallow the figure, commencing at its feet, the victim laughing the while. By degrees the whole figure

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is disposed of by the boa constrictor. If the spirit be that of a person from whom the hair, or a piece of his or her cloth, has been cut, directly the *thlen* has swallowed the spirit, the person expires. Many families in these hills are known, or suspected, to be keepers of a *thlen*, and are dreaded or avoided in consequence. This superstition is deep-rooted amongst these people, and even nowadays, in places like Shillong or Cherrapunji, Khasis are afraid to walk alone after dark, for fear of being attacked by a *nongshohnoh*. In order to drive away the *thlen* from a house or family all the money, ornaments, and property of that house or family must be thrown away, as is the case with persons possessed by the demon *Ka Taroh*, in the Jaintia Hills. None dare touch any of the property, for fear that the *thlen* should follow it. It is believed that a *thlen* can never enter the Siem's or chief's clan, or the Siem's house; it follows, therefore, that the property of the *thlen* keeper can be appropriated by the Siem. A Mohammedan servant, not long ago in Shillong, fell a victim to the charms of a Khasi girl, and went to live with her. He told the following story to one of his fellow-servants, which may be set down here to show that the *thlen* superstition is by no means dying out. In the course of his married life he came to know that the mother of his Khasi wife kept in the house what he called a *bhut* (devil). He asked his wife many, many times to allow him to see the *bhut*, but she was obdurate; however, after a long time, and after extracting many promises from him not to tell, she confided to him the secret, and took him to the corner of the house, and showed him a little box in which was coiled a tiny snake, like the hair spring of a watch. She passed her hands over it, and it grew in size, till at last it became a huge cobra, with hood erected. The husband, terrified, begged his wife to lay the spirit. She passed her hands down its body, and it gradually shrank within its box.

It may be stated that the greater number of the Khasis, especially in certain Siemships, viz. Cherra, Nongkrem, and Mylliem, still regard the *thlen*, and the persons who are thought to keep *thlens*, with the very greatest awe, and that they will not utter even the names of the latter for fear some ill may befall

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them. The superstition is probably of very ancient origin, and it is possible that the Khasi sacrifices to the *thlen* demon may be connected with the primæval serpent-worship which characterized the Cambodians, which Forbes says was "undoubtedly the earliest religion of the Mons." But it must be remembered that snake-worship is of very ancient origin, not only in Further India, but also in the nearer peninsula, where the serpent race or Nagas, who may have given their name to the town of Nagpur, were long held in superstitious reverence. Mr. Gait, in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. i. of 1898, gives some account of the human sacrifices of the Jaintias or Syntengs. He writes as follows:—

"It appears that human sacrifices were offered annually on the *Sandhi* day in the month of Ashwin (Sukla paksha) at the sacred *pitha*, in the Faljur pargana. They were also occasionally offered at the shrine of Jainteswari, at Nijpat, i.e. at Jaintiapur, the capital of the country. As stated in the *Haft Iqlim* to have been the case in Koch Behar, so also in Jaintia, persons frequently voluntarily came forward as victims. This they generally did by appearing before the Raja on the last day of Shravan, and declaring that the goddess had called them. After due inquiry, if the would-be victim, or *Bhoge khaora*, were deemed suitable, it was customary for the Raja to present him with a golden anklet, and to give him permission to live as he chose, and to do whatever he pleased, compensation for any damage done by him being paid from the royal treasury. But this enjoyment of these privileges was very short. On the Navami day of the Durga Puja, the *Bhoge khaora*, after bathing and purifying himself, was dressed in new attire, daubed with red sandal-wood and vermilion, and bedecked with garlands. Thus arrayed, the victim sat on a raised daïs in front of the goddess, and spent some time in meditation (*japa*), and in uttering *mantras*. Having done this, he made a sign with his finger, and the executioner, after uttering the usual sacrificial *mantras*, cut off his head, which was placed before the goddess on a golden plate. The lungs were cooked and eaten by such *Kandra Yogis* as were present, and it is said that the royal family partook of a small quantity of rice cooked in the blood of the victim. The ceremony was

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usually witnessed by large crowds of spectators from all parts 782
of the Jaintia pardganas.

"Sometimes the supply of voluntary victims fell short, or 782
victims were needed for some special sacrifice promised in the 721
event of some desired occurrence, such as the birth of a son, coming to pass. On such occasions, emissaries were sent to kidnap strangers from outside the Jaintia Raj, and it was this practice that eventually led to the annexation of the country by the British. In 1821, an attempt was made to kidnap a native of Sylhet proper, and while the agents employed were punished, the Raja was warned not to allow such an atrocity to occur again. Eleven years later, however, four British subjects were kidnapped in the Nowgong district, and taken to Jaintia. Three of them were actually sacrificed, but the fourth escaped, and reported the matter to the authorities. The Raja of Jaintia was called on to deliver up the culprits, but he failed to do so, and his dominions were in consequence annexed in 1835."[1]

There seems to be an idea generally prevalent that the Raja 782
of Jaintia, owing to his conversion to Hinduism, and especially 776
owing to his having become a devotee of the goddess Kali, took 823
to sacrificing human victims; but I find that human victims were formerly sacrificed by the Jaintias to the Kopili River, which the Jaintias worshipped as a goddess. Two persons were sacrificed every year to the Kopili in the months *U' naiwing* and *U' nai prah* (November and December). They were first taken to the *hat* Mawshai, or Shang-pung market, where they were allowed to take any eatables they wished. Then they were conducted to Sumer, and thence to Ka Ieu Ksih, where a stone on the bank of a small river which falls into the Kopili is pointed out as having been the place where the victims were sacrificed to the Kopili river goddess. Others say that the sacrificial stone was situated on the bank of the Kopili River itself. A special clan in the Raliang doloiship used to carry out the executions. It seems probable that the practice of sacrificing human victims in Jaintia was of long standing, and was originally unconnected with Hinduism, although when the Royal family became converts to Hinduism, the goddess Kali may easily have taken the place of the Kopili

1 Quote from Gait, Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. I. 1898 -- Analyst

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782 River goddess. Many of the Syntengs regard the River Kopili
776 to this day with superstitious reverence. Some of these people
823 will not cross the river at all, others can do so after having performed a sacrifice with goats and fowls. Any traveller who wishes to cross the river must leave behind him the rice which
[485] he has taken for the journey, and any other food supplies he may have brought with him. This superstition often results in serious inconvenience to travellers between the Jaintia Hills and North Cachar, unless they have arranged for another batch of coolies to meet them on the Cachar side of the River Kopili, for the Synteng coolies throw down their loads at the river side, and nothing will induce them to cross the river. The Kopili is propitiated by pujas in many parts of the Jaintia Hills, and at Nartiang a tank where sacrifices are regularly performed is called Ka Umkoi Kopili.

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SECTION IV.

RELIGION.

GENERAL CHARACTER OF POPULAR BELIEFS.

THE Khasis have a vague belief in a God the Creator, *U Blei Nong-thaw*, although this deity, owing, no doubt, to the influences of the matriarchate, is frequently given the attribute of the feminine gender, cf., *Ka lei Synshar*. The Khasis cannot, however, be said to worship the Supreme God, although it is true that they sometimes invoke him when sacrificing and in times of trouble. The religion of the Khasis may be described as animism or spirit-worship, or rather, the propitiation of spirits both good and evil on certain occasions, principally in times of trouble. The propitiation of these spirits is carried out either by priests (*lyngdohs*), or by old men well versed in the arts of necromancy, and as the *lyngdoh* or wise man deals with good as well as evil spirits, and, as often as not, with the good spirits of ancestors, the propitiation of these spirits may be said to partake of the nature of Shamanism. A very prominent feature of the Khasi beliefs is the propitiation of ancestors; but this will be described separately. There is a vague belief amongst the Khasi of a future state. It is believed that the spirits of the dead, whose funeral ceremonies have been duly performed, go to the house or garden of God, where there are groves of betel-nut trees; hence the expression for the departed, *uba bam kwai ha iing u blei* (he who is eating betel-nut in God's house), the idea of supreme happiness to the Khasi being to eat betel-nut uninterruptedly. The spirits of those whose funeral ceremonies have not been duly performed are believed to take the forms of animals, birds, or

776 771 782 791 793 769 775 276 764 775 764 825

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insects, and to roam on this earth; but this idea of transmigration of souls has been probably borrowed from the Hindus. Bivar writes that although the ideas of a Godhead are not clearly grasped, yet a supreme creator is acknowledged, and that the following is the tradition relating to the creation of man. "God in the beginning having created man, placed him on the earth, but on returning to look at him, found he had been destroyed by the evil spirit. This happened a second time, whereupon the Deity created first a dog, then a man; and the dog, who kept watch, prevented the devil from destroying the man, and the work of the Deity was thus preserved." The Khasis, apparently, do not believe in punishment after death, at least, there is no idea of hell, although the spirits of those who have died under the ban of *sang* remain uneasy, being obliged to wander about the earth in different forms, as noted above. The spirits worshipped by the Khasis are many in number, those of the Syntengs being specially numerous. The particular spirit to be propitiated is ascertained by egg-breaking. The offering acceptable to the spirit is similarly ascertained and is then made. If the particular sacrifice does not produce the result desired, a fowl is sacrificed; the entrails being then examined, an augury is drawn, and the sacrifice begins afresh. As the process of egg-breaking is believed to be peculiar * to the Khasis amongst the Assam hill tribes, a separate description of it is given in the Appendix. It should be remarked that the Khasis never symbolize their gods by means of images, their worship being offered to the spirit only. The following are some of the principal spirits worshipped by the Khasis and Syntengs, omitting the spirits of deceased ancestors such as *Ka Iawebi*, *u Thawlang*, and *u Suidnia*, which will be described under the heading of ancestor-worship.

Ulei mulak—the god of the State, who is propitiated yearly by the sacrifice of a goat and a cock.

Ulei umtong—the god of water, used for drinking and cooking purposes. This god is similarly propitiated once a year, so that the water supply may remain pure.

* Sir Charles Lyall has pointed out that the Mikirs possess this custom; it is probably borrowed from the Khasis.

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U lei longspah—the god of wealth. This god is propitiated with a view to obtaining increased prosperity. 776 782

U Ryngkew, or *u Basa shnong*, is the tutelary deity of the village. This godling is propitiated by sacrifices whenever they are thought to be necessary.

U Phan u kyrpad is a similar godling to the above.

Then follows a list of minor deities, or, rather, evil spirits, e.g. *Ka Rih*, the malarial fever devil; *ka Khlam*, the demon of cholera; *ka Duba*, the fever devil which is said to haunt the neighbourhood of Theriaghat.

Bivar says "the Khasi religion may be thus briefly defined as forms used to cure diseases and to avert misfortunes, by ascertaining the name of the demon, as the author of the evil, and the kind of sacrifice necessary to appease it." We may accept this description as substantially correct. In the Jaintia Hills, there is a peculiar superstition regarding a she devil, called "*ka Taroh*," which is supposed to cause delirium in cases of fever. When such cases occur, it is believed that "*ka Taroh*" has caused them, and inquiries are made by means of breaking eggs to find out in whose person the demon has obtained a lodgment; or sometimes the sick person is asked to reveal this. When in either of these ways the name of the person possessed by "*ka Taroh*" is known, the sick person is taken to the house of the possessed, and ashes and bits of broken pots are cast into the enclosure, after which, if the sick person recovers, the party indicated is denounced as possessed by the demon; but if the patient dies, it is concluded that the person possessed has not been properly ascertained. If people are satisfied that some one is really possessed, they denounce the person, who is then out-casted. The only way for him to regain his position is to exorcise the demon by divesting himself of all his property. He pulls down his house, burns the materials, his clothes, and all his other worldly goods. Lands, flocks, and herds are sold, the money realized by the sale being thrown away. No one dares touch this money, for fear he should become possessed by *ka Taroh*. It will be observed that, as in the case of the *thlen*, the demon is believed to follow the property. [771] 776 753 787 957 425

Mr. Jenkins, in his interesting little work on "Life and 000

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Mr. Jenkins, in his interesting little work on "Life and
753 Work in Khasia," gives a slightly different account of the
776 superstition, in that he states that it is the sick person who
826 is possessed by *ka Taroh*. The above belief is perhaps a
164 Synteng development of the Khasi *thlen* superstition. In
177 the Jaintia Hills "the small-pox" is believed to be a goddess, and is reverenced accordingly. Syntengs regard it as an honour to have had small-pox, calling the marks left by the disease the "kiss of the goddess"; the more violent the attack and the deeper the marks, the more highly honoured is the person affected. Mr. Jenkins says, "When the goddess has entered a house, and smitten any person or persons with this disease, a trough of clean water is placed outside the door, in order that every one before entering may wash their feet therein, the house being considered sacred." Mr. Rita mentions cases of women washing their hair in water used by a small-pox patient, in order that they may contract the disease, and women have been known actually to bring their little children into the house of a small-pox patient, in order that they may become infected and thus receive the kiss of the goddess. It is possible that the Syntengs, who were for some time under Hindu influences, may in their ignorance have adopted this degraded form of worship of the Hindu goddess, "Sitala Devi," who is adored as a divine mother under different names by Hindus all over India: cf., her name *mari-amman*, or mother of death, in the South of India, and the name Ai, mother, of the Assamese.

In the Khasi Hills the god of small-pox is known under the name of *u Siem ñiang thylliew*. He is not, however, appeased in any way, the people calling on two other spirits, *Thynrei* and *Sapa*, to whom a fowl or a goat is offered.

776 This section cannot be closed without some reference to the
773 household gods of the Syntengs. The legend is that in ancient times there came a woman "from the end of heaven to the borders of the country of *u Truh*" (the country of the plains people at a distance from the foot of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills). The name of the woman was Ka Taben, and she was accompanied by her children. She offered herself to *u Dkhar*, the plains man, as a household goddess, but he rejected her. She then went to the Khasis, who were ploughing their fields,

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and offered to help them with their cultivation. The Khasis also refused her, saying they were capable of managing their own cultivation, and at the same time told her to go to the country of the Bhois and Syntengs, i.e. the Jaintia Hills. Acting on this advice, she went to the village of Nongphyllud in the Jaintia Hills, where the people again turned a deaf ear to her. She proceeded to Mulagula village in Jaintia, at the foot of the Jaintia Hills, and ascended from thence to Rymbai, where she met a man who conducted her to the house of the Siem, who consented that she and her children should live with him. Ka Taben then apportioned to her children various duties in the house of the Siem as follows:—Ka Rasong was to look after the young unmarried folk, and was to supervise their daily labour and to prosper their trading operations at the markets. Next Ka Rasong was given a place at the foot of the king post, *trai rishot*, and her duty was to befriend young men in battle. Then came *Ka Longkhuinruid*, alias *ka Thab-bulong*, who said, "There are no more rooms in the house for my occupation, so I will go and live in the forest, and him who turns not his coat when I meet him I will make mad." Finally came *U Lamsymphud*, who elected to live with his youngest sister inside the house.

There are special sacrifices offered to these household deities. The leaves of the *sning*, or Khasi oak, are wrapped round the post of the house, and a fowl is sacrificed and other formalities are observed which it would be tedious to describe in detail. The legend of the arrival of Ka Taben with her children in the Synteng country from a distant clime is interesting in that it perhaps indicates the possibility of the migration of these people, i.e. the Syntengs, in ancient times from some distant place to their present abode.

ANCESTOR-WORSHIP.

The Khasis not only revere the memories of deceased ancestors, but they adore them by means of offerings, which are sometimes periodical, and sometimes made when thought neces-

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769 sary, as in times of trouble. These offerings take the shape of articles of food which are theoretically partaken of by the shades of the deceased ancestors, the idea of making such offerings being very similar to that of the Hindus when they offer the "*pinda*," or cake, to nine generations of ancestors, i.e. to propitiate the shades of the departed, and to obtain their help thereby. U Hormu Rai Diengdoh writes that, "the real religious demand" amongst the Khasis is the *ei ben*, or giving of food to the spirits of deceased ancestors, in order that the latter may aid the living members of the clan with their help, and bless them. To honour dead ancestors is the duty of every Khasi, and he who wilfully neglects this duty, it is believed, will neither receive their help, nor be defended from the influence of the numerous spirits of evil in which the Khasis believe. Amongst the Syntengs, a few days after depositing the bones in the ancestral tomb, the ceremony of feeding the spirits of the dead is performed. At this ceremony there are some families which give two pigs for each person of the family who is dead, and there are some who give one. The pigs are taken to the *iing-seng*, or puja house of the clan. Presumably, pigs are usually offered to the shades only of
[211] those members of the family whose remains have been recently
[764] deposited in the clan cromlech. In the chapter dealing with memorial stones the reader will notice how many of them are erected to the memory of deceased ancestors, and how they bear the names of such ancestors, e.g. *Ka Iawbei* (the first grandmother), *U Suidnia*, or *U lui rangbah* (the first maternal uncle). It was the custom in former days to make offerings of food upon the flat table-stones to the spirits of the deceased ancestors, and this is still the case in places in the interior of the district. This practice, however, may be said to be largely dying out, it being now commonly the custom to make the offerings in the house, either annually, or at times when it is thought necessary to invoke the aid of the departed. Such acts of devotion may well be said to partake of the
769 nature of worship. As has been the case in other countries,
171 and amongst other people, it is possible that the Khasi gods of
776 to-day are merely the spirits of glorified deceased ancestors transfigured, as has happened with some of the gods of the

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Shinto Pantheon of Japan. It may be interesting to note that the ancient Shinto cult of Japan possesses some features in common with the ancestor-worship of the Khasis. Take the funeral ceremonies. With both people we find the dead laid out in the house, food placed before the corpse, and the funeral ceremonies taking place, accompanied by music and dancing. Mr. Lafcadio Hearn, in an interesting book on Japan, writes "that in ancient times the Japanese performed ceremonies at regular intervals at the tombs of deceased members of the family, and food and drink were then served to the spirits;" this is exactly what the Khasis used to do at their cenotaphs. This, apparently, was the practice in Japan before the "spirit tablet" had been introduced from China, when the worship of the ancestors was transferred from the tomb to the home. We have an exactly similar instance of evolution amongst the Khasis of the present day, i.e. the transfer of the ancestor cult from the flat table-stones erected in honour of deceased ancestors to the home. Last, but not least, is the idea common to both people, that no family or clan can prosper which does not duly perform the worship of deceased ancestors; this, as Hearn puts it, is "the fundamental idea underlying every persistent ancestor-worship, i.e. that the welfare of the living depends upon the welfare of the dead." The "Khasi Mynta," in an interesting article, notes some further points of resemblance between the methods of ancestor-worship adopted by the two people. The following instances may be quoted. Amongst the Japanese the spirits of those who fall in battle are said to help their fellow-warriors who are still fighting. The "Khasi Mynta" quotes a similar belief as having existed amongst the Khasis in former days. The remains of Japanese warriors who die in battle are said to be reverently taken to the warrior's home at the first opportunity. The Khasis do likewise, the clothing in default of the ashes of Khasi transport coolies, who were employed on military expeditions on the North-Eastern Frontier, having been carried home by the survivors to present to the dead men's relations, who then performed the ceremonies prescribed by custom for those who have died violent or unnatural deaths. Of all deceased ancestors the Khasis revere *Ka Jawbei* the most, the word *Jawbei* being made up of

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769 'iaw, short for *kiaw* (grandmother), and *bei*, mother. *Ka Iawbei*
171 is the primeval ancestress of the clan. She is to the Khasis what the "tribal mother" was to old Celtic and Teutonic genealogists, and we have an interesting parallel to the reverence of the Khasis for *Ka Iawbei* in the Celtic goddess Brigit, the tribal mother of the Brigantes. Later on, like Ka Iawbei, she was canonized, and became St. Bridget.*

769 The greater number of the flat table-stones we see in front
of the standing monoliths in these hills are erected in honour
578 of *Ka Iawbei*. In former times, it was the custom to offer
787 food to her on these stones. In cases of family quarrels,
776 or dissensions amongst the members of the same clan, which it is desired to bring to a peaceful settlement, it is customary to perform a sacrifice to the first mother, "*Ka Iawbei*." They first of all take an augury by breaking eggs, and if it appears from the broken egg-shells that *Ka Iawbei* is offended, they offer to her a cotton cloth, and sacrifice a hen.
[534] On these occasions incantations are muttered, and a small drum, called, "*Ka 'sing ding dong*," is beaten. It is not unlikely that the Khasi household deities, *Ka lei iing*, and *Ka ksuy ka jirngam*, to whom pujas are offered for the welfare of the house, are also *Ka Iawbei* in disguise. Notwithstanding the strong influence of the matriarchate, we find that *U Thawlang*, the first father and the husband of *Ka Iawbei*, is also revered. To him on occasions of domestic trouble a cock is
[591] sacrificed, and a *jymphong*, or sleeveless coat is offered. This puja is called *kaba tap Thawlang*, i.e. covering the grandfather. The following incantation to *U Thawlang* is then chanted:—
"Oh, father Thawlang, who hast enabled me to be born, who hast given me my stature and my life, I have wronged thee, oh father, be not offended, for I have given thee a pledge and a sign, i.e. a red and white sleeveless coat. Do not deliver me into the power of (the goddess of) illness, I have offered thee the propitiatory cock that thou mayest carry me in thine arms, and that I may be aware of thee, my father Thawlang."
769 We see clearly from the above prayer that the Khasi idea is
171 that the spirit of the deceased male ancestor is capable of

* Karl Pearson's essay on "mother age civilization."

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being in a position to help his descendant in times of trouble. 769
The same thought underlies the extreme reverence with which 171
Ka Iawbei is regarded. Thus we see a striking point of resemblance between the Khasi ancestor-worship and the ancient Shinto cult of Japan, as described by Mr. Lafcadio Hearn. *U Suid-Nia*, or *u Kni Rangbah*, the first maternal uncle, i.e. the elder brother of *Ka Iawbei*, is also much revered. It will also be noticed under the heading of memorial stones that the great central upright monolith of the *máwbynna*, or memorial stones, is erected in his honour. The influence of 604
the *kni*, or mother's elder brother, in the Khasi family is very 764
great, for it is he who is the manager on behalf of the mother, 211
his position in the Khasi family being very similar to that of the *karta* in the Hindu joint family. It is on this account that he is so much revered, and is honoured with a stone which is larger than the other up-right memorial stones after death. It will be seen in the article dealing with "the disposal of the dead," that at Cherra, on the occasion of the bestowal of the ashes in the cinerarium of the clan, a part of the attendant ceremonies consists of the preparation of two effigies called *Ka Puron* and *U Tyngshop*, intended to represent *Ka Iawbei* (the first mother) and *U Suid-Nia* (the first maternal uncle). The Wárs of Nongjri have a custom peculiar to themselves. 344
They erect small thatched houses in their compounds, which 769
they call *iing ksuid*. When they worship their ancestors they 211
deposit offerings of food in these houses, the idea being that 171
the ancestors will feed on the offerings. These Wárs do not erect memorial stones, nor do they collect the ashes of the clan in a common sepulchre; they deposit the ashes in circular cineraria, each family, or *iing*, possessing one. It should further be noted with reference to the Khasi custom of *ai bam*, or giving food to the spirits of deceased ancestors, that Dr. Frazer, in his "Golden Bough," has mentioned numerous instances of firstfruits being offered to the spirits of deceased ancestors by the tribes inhabiting the Malay Archipelago. (See pages 462-463 of the "Golden Bough.") Some other points of similarity in customs have already been noticed between the Khasis and certain Malay tribes.

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WORSHIP OF NATURAL FORCES AND OF DEITIES.

133 In the Khasi Hills, especially on the southern side, there are numerous rivers, sometimes of considerable size, which find their way to the Sylhet plains through very deep valleys, the rivers flowing through narrow channels flanked by beetling cliffs which rise to considerable altitudes. The scenery in the neighbourhood of these beautiful rivers is of the most romantic description, and the traveller might imagine himself in Switzerland were it not for the absence of the snowy ranges. Of such a description is the scenery on the banks of the river Keuchi-
823 yong, the Jádukátá * or Punatit of the plains. It is in the bed
776 of the river, a few miles below Rilang, that there is the
782 curiously-arched cavity in the rock which resembles an upturned boat, which the Khasis call *Ka lieng blei* (the god's boat), and the plains people Basbanya's ship. Near to this, on the opposite side of the river, there is a rock bearing a Persian inscription, but so defaced by the action of the water as to be impossible to decipher. Like other inhabitants of mountainous countries, the Khasis reverence the spirits of fell and fall, and
226 propitiate them with offerings at stated times. A brief descrip-
782 tion of the ceremonies which are performed at Rilang, on the
776 occasion when the annual fishing in the river Punatit takes
787 place, may be of interest. The three Siems of Nongstoin, Langrin, and Nobosohpoh each sacrifice a goat to *Ka blei sam um* (the goddess of the river) before the boatmen can cast in their nets. In former times they say the passage up the river was obstructed by the goddess, who took the form of an immense crocodile: but she was propitiated by the gift of a goat, and the boatmen were then allowed to pass up the river in their boats. Hence it became necessary for the owners of the fishery to sacrifice annually a goat each to the goddess. At the time of my visit each Siem's party erected an altar in the bed of the river, in the midst of which a bough of the Khasi oak (*dieng sning*) was planted. The goats were then decapitated, it being considered an essential that the head

* Lit.: Cut by magic.

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should be severed with one blow. As soon as the head was cut 226
off there was a rush on the part of the sacrificers to see in 782
which direction the head faced. If the head faced towards the 776
north or west, it was considered an evil omen; if it faced towards 787
the south or east, a good omen. The east is a lucky quarter [823]
amongst the Assamese also. The people ended up the proceed-
ings by giving a long-drawn-out, deep-toned chant, or *kynhoi*. [171]
Immediately after the ceremony was concluded hundreds of boats shot out from the numerous creeks, where they had been lying, and fished the river all night, the result being an immense haul, to the delight of the Lynngams, who were seen next morning roasting the fish whole on bamboo stakes, after which they consumed them, the entrails being eaten with great [262]
gusto. Such is the worship of the goddess of the Punatit.

Similar pujas take place among the people of Wár-ding (the 823
valley of fire) before they fish in the Khai-mara river and else- 782
where in the Khasi Hills. In the Jaintia Hills there is the 776
Synteng-worship of the Kopili river, which used to be accompanied by human sacrifices, as has been mentioned above, pp. 102-104. The Myntang river, a tributary of the Kopili, must also be annually appeased by the sacrifice of a he-goat. Numerous hills also are worshipped, or rather the spirits which are said to inhabit them. One of the best known hill godlings is the deity who is thought to inhabit the little wood close to the summit of the Shillong Peak. This deity is said to have been discovered by a man named "U Shillong," who gave his name to the Shillong Peak, and indirectly to our beautiful hill station. The Siems of Mylliem and Nongkrem reverence *U'lei Shillong*, and there are certain clans who perform periodical sacrifices to this god. Probably the origin of the superstitious reverence with which U'lei Shillong is held by the Siems of Nongkrem [773]
and Mylliem is that their fabled ancestress "Ka Pah Syntiew," of whom an account will be found in the folk-lore section, took her origin from a rock not far from the Shillong Peak in the Nongkrem direction.

Rableng Hill, which is within full view of the Shillong Peak in an easterly direction, is also said to be the abode of a minor god who is periodically propitiated by the members of the Máwthoh clan of the Khyrim State with a he-goat and a cock.

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823 Apparently no special puja is performed to U Kyllang (the
776 Kyllang Rock) nowadays.

782 The picturesque hill of Symper, which rises abruptly from the plain in the Siemship of Maharam, is visible for many miles. It is in shape not unlike the Kyllang. Symper is said to be the abode of a god called "U Symper." There is a folk-tale
[773] that Kyllang and Symper fought a great battle, and that the numerous holes in the rocks at the base of the Symper hill are evidences of their strife. At the base of Symper there is a great cave, where many cattle find shelter in rainy weather. The people of Mawsymram propitiate the god of Symper in cases of sickness by sacrificing a he-goat or a bull. Symper, like *U'lei Shillong*, is one of the minor deities of the Khasis.

Close to Shangpung, in the Jaintia Hills, there is a small hill called "*u lúm pyddieng blai lyngdoh*," where sacrifices are offered on an altar at seed time and when the corn comes into ear. This altar used to be overshadowed by a large oak tree. The tree is now dead.

823 The Wars of Nongjri worship "*u'lei lyngdoh*," the tutelary
776 deity of the village, under the spreading roots of a large rubber tree which gives its name to this village Nongjri. This village worship is performed by a village priest (*lyngdoh*) at stated intervals, or whenever it is considered necessary. There are numerous other instances of hills and rivers being regarded as the abode of godlings, but those quoted above are sufficient for purposes of illustration.

RELIGIOUS RITES AND SACRIFICES, DIVINATION.

776 The Khasis, as has been explained already, worship numerous
782 gods and goddesses. These gods and goddesses are supposed to
753 exercise good or evil influence over human beings according
787 to whether they are propitiated with sacrifices or not. They are even supposed to possess the power of life and death, over men and women, subject to the control of *u Blei Nongtháw*, God the Creator. Thus illness, for example, is thought to be caused by one or more of the spirits on account of some act or omission, and health can only be

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restored by the due propitiation of the offended spirits. 776
In order to ascertain which is the offended spirit, a system 782
of divination by means of cowries, breaking eggs, or 753
examining the entrails of animals and birds, was instituted. 787
The Khasi method of obtaining auguries by examining the viscera of animals and birds may be compared with that of the Roman *haruspex*. Some description of these modes of divination has been given at the end of this chapter. The 771
Khasi religion has been described by Bivar as "demon worship, 773
or a jumble of enchantments muttered by priests who are 783
sorcerers." But even a religion which is thus unflatteringly 825
described is based on the cardinal doctrines of sin and sacrifice for sin. Tradition amongst the Khasis states that in the beginning (*mynnyngkong ka sngi*) there was no sin, heaven and earth were near each other, and man had direct intercourse with God. How man fell into sin is not stated, but it is certain that he did fall. Experts at "egg healing" never forget to repeat the formula "*nga briéw nga la pop*" (I man have sinned). The cock then appears as a mediator between God and man. The cock is styled "*u khún ka blei uba kit ryndang ba shah ryndang na ka bynta jong nga u briéw*," i.e. the son of god who lays down his neck (life) for me man. The use of the feminine *ka blei* is no doubt due to matriarchal influences. There is another prayer in which the Khasis say, "*ap jutang me u blei ieng rangbah me u briéw*" (oh god do not forget the covenant, arise oh man). The idea is that man has fallen into sins of omission and commission (*ka pop, ka lait ka let*) but that God is nevertheless expected to spare him, and to accept a substitute for him according to the covenant (*jutang*). By this covenant God is supposed to have accepted in exchange the cock as a substitute for man. How the cock came to occupy such an 771
important position, tradition is vague and self-conflicting. The 825
fact remains that the covenant of the cock is the foundation 171
of the Khasi religion. It is of interest to mention that amongst the Ahoms the tradition is that Khunlung and Khunlái brought down from heaven the *kái-chán-mung*,* or pair of heavenly fowls, and that to this day the sacrifice of the

* In Ahom *kái* = fowl, *chán* = beautiful, *mung* = country. Therefore *Kái-chán-mung* = fowl of a beautiful country (heaven).

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771 fowl is considered by the Deodhais, or priest-soothsayers of the
825 Ahoms, a most important feature of the ancient Ahom ritual.
[171] But amongst the Ahoms there is the difference that auguries are obtained, not from the entrails, but by examining the legs of the fowls. The Ahoms are Shans belonging to the Tai branch, another great division of the Indo-Chinese group of the human race.

787 The covenant of the cock as thus explained shows the im-
825 portance of this sacrifice to the Khasis. The large intestine of a fowl has two pea-like protuberances, one close to the other. One is symbolically called *u blei* or god, and the other is styled *u briéw* or man, they are connected by a thin membrane. Directly the bird has been disembowelled the sacrificer throws a few grains of rice on the entrails and then watches their convulsive movements. If the portion of the entrail called *u blei* moves towards that portion which represents man, it is considered proof positive that the god has heard the prayer of the sacrificer, but if the movement proceeds in the opposite direction, then the reverse is the case and the omen is bad. If the entrails are full and healthy, having no spots (*brai*), or blood marks (*thung*), and if the membrane between the two protuberances has not been fractured, these are favourable signs. If the intestines are empty, wrinkled, or spotted, and the membrane mentioned above is fractured, these are bad signs. Auguries also are drawn by examining the livers, the lungs and spleens and gall bladders of pigs, goats, and cattle. If the liver of a pig is healthy and without spot, the augury is good; if the reverse, it is bad. The spleen must not be unduly distended, otherwise the omen is unfavourable and the gall bladder must not be over full. Invocations to deduce omens from the appearance of the entrails are quoted on page 11 of Col. Bivar's Report. From the first invocation quoted by him it appears that the method of drawing the augury from the fowl differs slightly in detail from that which has been described to me by certain Khasis, but both descriptions agree in the main, and the slight dissimilarity in detail may be due to the methods of obtaining auguries varying slightly in different localities. Divination by breaking eggs and by other means, although not strictly sacrifice with the Khasis, partakes

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of the nature of a religious ceremony. Such divinations are of almost every-day occurrence in a Khasi house, and always precede sacrifices. The Khasis, moreover, do nothing of what they consider to be of even the least importance without breaking eggs. When a Khasi builds a new house, or before he proceeds on a journey, he always breaks eggs to see whether the building or the journey will be lucky or not. The description of egg-breaking given by Shadwell in his account of the Khasis is not altogether correct. A detailed description of this method of divination will be found in Appendix C. The description can be depended upon, as it is the result of my personal observations of egg-breaking on several occasions. A board of the shape shown in the diagram (Appendix C) is placed on the ground, the egg-breakers' position being that indicated in the diagram. After the egg has been smeared with red earth, it is thrown violently down and the contents and the fragments of egg-shell fall on the board. Auguries are drawn from the positions of the fragments of shell on the board, and from the fact of their lying with the inner sides facing upwards or downwards. Another method of egg-breaking is for the diviner to wrap up the egg in a plantain leaf with the point uppermost, or merely to hold the egg in his hand in this position without wrapping it up, and then to press another egg down upon it. If the end of the egg so pressed breaks at once, this is a good sign, but if it remains unbroken, the egg has a god in it, and the omen is bad.

A common method of divination is by means of the *shanam*, or lime-case. The diviner holds the lime-case by the end of its chain, and addresses the god. He then asks the lime-case a question, and if it swings, this is supposed to be an answer in the affirmative; if it does not move, this is a negative reply. This seems to be a very simple trick, for the diviner can impart movement to the lime-case by means of the hand. A similar way of consulting the oracle is by the bow, which is held in the hand by the middle of the string. A simple method of divining is by means of cowries or grains of rice. The diviner plunges his hand into a bag or basket after asking the god a question. If the number of cowries or grains of rice comes out odd, the omen is good; if it comes out even, the reverse is the

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787 [791] case. The Khasi word for consulting the omens is *khan*, and a diviner is called a *nongkhan*. Another method of obtaining omens is by dropping two leaves into a pool of water or on a stone, the position of the leaves as they fall, either right side uppermost or upside down, signifying good or evil as the case may be; this is called *khan-sla*.

PRIESTHOOD.

793 104 The Khasi priest is usually called *Lyngdoh*, or *langdoh*; he is always appointed from the lyngdoh clan. The etymology of the word *lyngdoh* is said by certain lyngdohs of the Khyrim State to be *lang*=together and *doh*=flesh. A *lyngdoh*, or *langdoh*, is one who collects sacrificial victims, i.e. flesh for the purpose of sacrificing. It must be confessed, however, that this definition is doubtful, owing to the absence in the word *lyngdoh* of the prefix *nong* which is the sign of the agent in Khasi. Besides *lyngdohs* there are persons called *soh-blei* or *soh-sla*, who may 793 also be said to be priests. The Khasis, unlike the Hindus, have [604] no *purohit* or priest to perform the family ceremonies. Such duties fall to the lot of the head of the family or clan, who 782 carries them out generally through the agency of the *kni*, or maternal uncle. Old Khasis are frequently well versed in the details of sacrifices, and in the art of obtaining auguries by examining the viscera of sacrificial victims. Apart from family and clan sacrifices, there are the sacrifices for the good of the State or community at large; it is these sacrifices that it is the duty of the *lyngdoh* to perform. He may be said to be the priest of the communal religion, although he has certain duties in connection with offences committed against the social law of marriage, and with regard to the casting out of evil spirits from houses which may be thought to be infested with them. The lyngdohs of the Khasis may be likened to the Roman *pontifices*. 793 In the different Khasi States there is, as a rule, more 631 than one *lyngdoh*; sometimes there is quite a number of such priests, as in Nongkrem where there is a *lyngdoh* for each *raj* 793 or division of the state. There are a few Khasi States where 643 the priest altogether takes the place of the Siem, and rules the community with the help of his elders in addition to perform-

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ing the usual spiritual offices. The duties of lyngdohs, their methods of sacrificing, and the gods to whom they sacrifice, vary in the different Siemships, but there is one point in which we find agreement everywhere, i.e. that the *lyngdoh* must be assisted at the time of performing sacrifices by a female priestess, called *ka soh-blei, ka soh-sla,* or simply *ka lyngdoh.* This female collects all the *puja* articles and places them ready to the *lyngdoh's* hand at the time of sacrifice. He merely acts as her deputy when sacrificing. The female *soh-blei* is without doubt a survival of the time when, under the matriarchate, the priestess was the agent for the performance of all religious ceremonies. Another such survival is the High Priestess of Nongkrem, who still has many religious duties to perform; not only so, but she is the actual head of the State in this Siemship, although she delegates her temporal powers to one of her sons or nephews, who thus becomes Siem. A similar survival of the ancient matriarchal religious system is the *Siem sad,* or priestess, at Mawsynram, who, on the appointment of a new Siem or chief, has to assist at certain sacrifices. Here we may compare Karl Pearson's remark, when dealing with matriarchal-customs, that "according to the evidence of Roman historians, not only the seers but the sacrificers among the early Teutons were women." The duties of the *lyngdohs,* as regards communal worship, consist chiefly of sacrificing at times of epidemics of cholera, and such-like visitations of sickness (*jing iap khlam*). In the Khyrim State there is a goddess of each *raj,* or division, of the state, to whom sacrifices are offered on such occasions. To the goddess are sacrificed a goat and hen, powdered rice (*u kpu*), and a gourd of fermented liquor; the leaves of the *dieng sning,* or Khasi oak, are also used at this ceremony. The *lyngdoh* is assisted by a priestess called *ka soh-sla,* who is his mother, or his sister, or niece, or some other maternal relation. It is the duty of the priestess to prepare all the sacrificial articles, and without her assistance the sacrifice cannot take place. Sacrifices are also performed by the *lyngdoh* to *u Lei Lyngdoh,* alias *u Ryngkew.* This used to be the tutelary deity in times of war, but in less troublous times the Khasi *lyngdoh* sacrifices to him for success in tribal or State litigation. A pig and a cock, with the usual accessories, are sacrificed by the

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793 *lyngdoh* to this god. As in the case of sacrifices to *Ka lei*
776 *Raj*, the services of a priestess are indispensable.

A *lyngdoh* is a *lyngdoh* for life. When a lyngdoh dies and
793 his successor is appointed, certain rather elaborate ceremonies are observed in the Nongkrem *raj* of the Khyrim State. The
535 funeral ceremonies of the old *lyngdoh* having been completed,
782 the *lyngdoh* clan appoints his successor. The latter then, after performing his ablutions, proceeds, accompanied by the assembled members of the *lyngdoh* clan, to the top of the Shillong Peak. The lyngdoh and his clansmen advance along the road dancing, this dancing being carried on all the way from the *lyngdoh's* house to the Shillong Peak. All are clad in the distinctive Khasi dancing dress. Having reached the Peak, they pick the leaves of a tree called *ka 'la phiah*, which they spread on the ground. A goat and a cock are then sacrificed, the new *lyngdoh* acting as the sacrificer. There are the usual accessories, including branches of the Khasi *sning* or oak. Nine portions (*dykhot*) are cut from different parts of the victims and are offered to the god of the Shillong Peak, *U lei Shillong*. The *lyngdoh* and his companions then perform obeisance three times to the god, and the lyngdoh walks backwards some paces. The puja is then over, and they return dancing to the lyngdoh's house. On another day the *lyngdoh* performs a puja to *u lei Lyngdoh*, alias *u Ramjah*. Undoubtedly the most interesting feature of the ceremonies on these occasions is the dancing. This dancing is carried out by the *lyngdoh* and his companions armed with sword and shield, a fly-flap made of goat's hair (*symphiah*) being also sometimes held in one hand, a quiver of arrows being slung on the back, and a plume of black and white cocks' feathers (*u thuya*) fixed in the turban. The dance is executed in a regular figure, the dancers advancing and retiring in an orderly and methodical manner, and finally clashing their swords together in mock combat. The dance of the present day is not unlikely the survival of a war dance of ancient times. The lyngdohs say they dance in honour of *U lei Lyngdoh*, to whom such dances are thought to be pleasing. The dance of the lyngdohs on these occasions may be compared with that of the Roman *salii*, who, in the month of March, performed a war dance in honour of Mars.

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The above and other similar sacrifices to the gods of the State 793
or divisions of the State may be said to be the communal 782
religious duties of the *lyngdohs*. The duties of *lyngdohs* with 588
reference to private persons may now be mentioned. When it is found that any two people have made an incestuous marriage, that is to say a marriage within the exogamous group of the *kur*, or clan, the parties at fault are taken before the *lyngdoh* by their clansmen, who request him to sacrifice in order to ward off the injurious effects of the *sang*, or taboo, of such a connection from the kinsfolk. On this occasion a pig is sacrificed to *u'lei lyngdoh* and a goat to *ka lei long raj*. The parties at fault are then outcasted. As mentioned in another [684] place, the sin of incest admits of no expiation for the offenders themselves. In the Khyrim State, it is said by the *lyngdohs* 793
themselves, although not by the Siem or the myntries, that 428
they are the reversionary legatees of all the persons who [643]
die without leaving female heirs (*iap duh*). In other Siem- 776
ships such property passes to the Siem. The *lyngdoh* of Nongkrem can also take possession of the property of persons who have been found to harbour an evil spirit (*jingbih*) in their houses. It appears that in such cases the house and furniture are burnt, as in the case of the *Taroh* superstition in the Jaintia Hills, the *lyngdoh*, however, taking possession of jewellery or anything else of value. The only practical service the *lyngdoh* renders in return is to build the afflicted person a new house; unless, indeed, we take into account the casting forth of the devil by the *lyngdoh*. Mr. Jenkins, of Shangpung, in the Jaintia Hills, writes: "Such is the belief of the people in the evil spirits, that they are completely under the influence of the priests and spend large sums of money in order to secure their favour. They live in constant dread lest by the least transgression or omission they should offend these avaricious men and so bring upon themselves the wrath of the demons." The 793
influence of the *lyngdohs* over the people in the Jaintia Hills 241
seems to be stronger than in the Khasi Hills. For instance, 797
it came to my notice in Raliang that crops cannot be cut until the *lyngdoh* has seen them, in other words, until the *lyngdoh* has claimed and obtained his share of the produce. In many places, however, in the Khasi Hills the *lyngdoh* is much discredited, owing, no doubt, to the advance of Christianity and education.

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000 credited, owing, no doubt, to the advance of Christianity and education.

CEREMONIES AND CUSTOMS ATTENDING BIRTH AND NAMING OF CHILDREN.

844 The Khasi birth ceremonies and customs are as follows:—
[784] When a child is born the umbilical cord is cut by a sharp
782 splinter of bamboo; no knife can be used on this occasion. The Mundas of Chota Nagpur similarly taboo a metal instrument for this purpose. The child is then bathed in hot water from a red earthen pot. The placenta is carefully preserved in an earthen vessel in the house till after the naming ceremony has taken place. When the umbilical cord, after being tied, falls off, a puja is performed with eggs to certain water deities (*ka blei sam-um* and *ka niangriang*),* also to a forest spirit
553 (*u'suid bri* or *u'suid khláw*). The naming ceremony of the child
386 is performed the next morning after the birth. Certain females are invited to come and pound rice in a mortar into flour. The flour when ready is placed on a bamboo winnower (*u prah*). Fermented rice is mixed with water and is placed in a gourd. Some powdered turmeric is also provided, and is kept ready in a plantain leaf, also five pieces of *'kha piah*, or dried fish. The earthen pot containing the placenta is then placed in the *nongpei*, or centre room of the house. If the child is a male, they place near him a bow and three arrows (the implements of a Khasi warrior); if a female, a *da* and *u star*, or cane
553 head-strap for carrying burdens. An elderly man, who knows
782 how to perform the naming puja, which is called by the Khasis "*kaba jer khun*," places a plantain-leaf on the floor and sprinkles some water on it. He takes the gourd in his hand and calls a god to witness. The people assembled then mention a number of names for the child, and ask the man who is performing the puja to repeat them. This he does, and at the same time pours a little liquor from the gourd on to the ground. As he goes on pouring, the liquor by degrees becomes exhausted, and finally only a few drops remain. The name at the repeat-

* A spirit which is supposed to have the power of causing a disease of the navel of a child.

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ing of which the last drop of liquor remains adhering to the 553
spout of the gourd is the name selected for the child. Then 782
the puja performer invokes the god to grant good luck to the child. The father takes the pot containing the placenta, after having previously placed rice flour and fermented rice therein, and waves it three times over the child, and then walks out with it through the main entrance of the house and hangs up the pot to a tree outside the village. When he returns from this duty, before he re-enters the house, another throws water over the father's feet. The father, being thus cleansed, enters, and holds the rice flour to his mouth three times. Two people then, holding the dried fish by their two ends, break them in two. The powdered turmeric mixed with rice flour [386]
and water is applied to the right foot of the father, the mother [302]
and the child receiving the same treatment. The friends and relations are then anointed, the turmeric being applied, however, to their left feet. The bow, arrows, *da*, and *u star* are carefully placed inside the inner surface of the thatch on the roof, and the 553
ceremony is over. Rice flour is then distributed to all who 304
are present, and the male adults are given liquor to drink. After two or three months the ears of the child are bored and ear-rings are inserted. These ear-rings are called *ki shashkor iawbei* (i.e. the ear-rings of the great-grandmother). Mr. Jenkins mentions that the naming ceremony amongst the 553
Syntengs is performed by the "eldest aunt," presumably on the [604]
mother's side. A basket of eggs is placed in the centre of the room, and before the ceremony begins one egg has to be broken. Then the aunt of the child takes two sticks, and, raising them to her shoulder, lets them fall to the ground. Before they fall she shouts, "What name do you give the child?" The name is mentioned, and if, on falling upon the ground, one stick crosses the other, it is a proof that the name has won the approval of the spirit. If the sticks do not fall in this position, another egg is broken and another name is chosen, and the sticks are dropped as before until they fall in the required position, when it is understood by the performers that the name is a good one. Mr. Jenkins was informed by a young man "who had renounced heathenism" that some of the more cunning women cross the sticks before lifting them, and that

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553 when they do this they invariably fall crossed to the ground. "They thus save their eggs, save time and trouble, get the
553 name they desire for the child. . . ." It is noteworthy that
844 the Khasis consider it necessary to preserve the placenta until the ceremony of naming the child is over, and that the pot containing the placenta is waved over the head of the child before it is removed and hung up in a tree.

844 Dr. Fraser, at page 53 *et seq.* of the "Golden Bough," when
171 dealing with the subject of sympathetic magic, refers to the navel string and the placenta as parts which are commonly believed amongst certain people to remain in sympathetic union with the body after the physical connection has been severed, and it is interesting to note that in the Babar Archipelago, between New Guinea and Celebes, the placenta is mixed with ashes and put in a small basket, which seven women, each of them armed with a sword, hang up on a tree of a peculiar kind (*citrus hystrix*). The women carry the swords for the purpose of frightening the evil spirits, otherwise the latter might get hold of the placenta and make the child sick. Mr. C. M. Pleyte, Lecturer on Indonesian Ethnology, at the Gymnasium William III. at Batavia, who has most courteously furnished me with some interesting information on this subject, states that it is especially in the Southern Moluccas that the placenta is mixed with ashes and hung in a tree. Wider spread is the custom of placing the after-birth on a small bamboo raft in a river "in order that it may be caught by crocodiles, incarnations of the ancestors, who will guard it till the person to whom it has belonged dies. Then the soul of the placenta is once more united with that of the dead man, and together they go to the realms of the dead. During lifetime the connection between men and their placentas is never withdrawn." The Khasis, although they cannot explain the meaning of the presence of the placenta at the naming ceremony, and the care with which they remove it and hang it up in a tree, are probably really actuated by the same sentiments as the inhabitants of the Southern Moluccas, i.e. they believe that there is, as Dr. Frazer puts it, a sympathetic union with the body after the physical
846 connection with the child has been severed. There is no fixed
784 period of *sang*, or taboo, after a birth, but the parents of the

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child are prohibited by custom from crossing a stream or washing their clothes until the navel-string falls off, for fear that the child should be attacked by the demons of the hills and the vales. 846 784

The Wár birth customs are substantially the same as those of the Khasis, but there is the difference that a Wár family after a birth is *sang*, or taboo, for seven days, whereas amongst the Khasis the only prohibition is that the parents must not cross a stream or wash their clothes until they have propitiated the spirits. A twin birth is *sang*, or taboo. The Khasis argue that as there is but one *Ka Iawbei* (first ancestress), and one *U Thawlang* (first ancestor), so one child, either male or female, should be born at a time. A twin birth is accordingly regarded as a visitation from God for some *sang*, or transgression, committed by some member of the clan. When the twins are of opposite sexes the *sang* is considered to be extremely serious, the Khasi idea being that defilement has taken place within the womb. The case is treated as one of *shong kur*, or marriage within the clan, and the bones of the twins cannot be placed in the sepulchre of the clan. 844 846 845 773 [766]

There are no special birth customs amongst the Lynngams. 844

There is no trace of the *couvade* amongst the Khasis. 846

MARRIAGE.

We now come to consider marriage amongst the Khasis from a religious point of view. Shadwell has said that marriage amongst the Khasis "is purely a civil contract." This statement is not correct, for there is an elaborate religious ceremony at which God the creator, *U'lei thaw briew man briew*, the god or goddess of the State, U or *ka'lei Synshar*, and, what is probably more important, the ancestress and ancestor of the clan, *Ka Iawbei-tymmen* and *U Thawlang*, are invoked. There are three marriage ceremonies prevalent amongst the Khasis, which are (*a*) *Pynhiarsynjat*, (*b*) *Lamdoh*, and (*c*) *Iadih-kiad*, respectively. The first and second forms above mentioned are considered the more respectable; the last-named is resorted to by the very poor who cannot afford the greater expense entailed by the first two ceremonies. 585 776

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The bridegroom then sets out with this man and a number of followers, clothed in clean garments and wearing either white or red pagris (a black pagri not being considered a fitting head-dress on this occasion), to the house of the bride, where a feast has been prepared, and fermented rice-beer (*ka-kiad-hiar*) in gourds (*klong*) placed ready. The bride, her female attendants, and her mother and aunts have collected in the meantime, dressed in their best, wearing their jewellery, and with their heads uncovered, for it is not thought proper for the females to cover their heads on the marriage day. On the side of the bride, also, a *ksiang* (go-between) has been appointed, and it is his duty to manage all the business of the marriage on behalf of her family. Some young men of the bride's party go to meet the bridegroom's contingent by way of doing them honour. When they have reached the bride's house, the *ksiang* of the bridegroom enters first, followed by the bridegroom, and after him the bridegroom's party. The *ksiang* then hands over the bridegroom to the maternal uncle (*kni*) of the bride, or to the bride's father. Either of the latter then provides the bridegroom with a seat next the bride. The bride and bridegroom exchange bags of betel-nut, and where the custom of investiture of the ring is in vogue, these tokens are interchanged. The *ksiangs* of the bridegroom and bride recite the marriage contract in lengthy formulae, which may be found on pages 6, 7, 8 of the late U Jeebon Roy's interesting notes on the Khasi religion. The two *ksiangs* then take up, each of them, a gourd containing fermented liquor from the gourd provided by the contracting party, and give them to an old man who is versed in sacrificial lore, who solemnly mixes the contents together. Three dried fish are produced, and are placed on the floor of the house. The priest thus appointed then solemnly adjures the gods in the following words :—

Hei, oh god from above; oh god from below; oh *'lei synshar*; oh god who hast created man; as thou hast ordained this marriage, the ring has been given this day; thou wilt know; thou wilt hear; from the clear firmament above that . . . . have been married this day. Thou wilt bless them; thou wilt grant them prosperity; thou wilt show them the way; thou wilt show them the road, that they may be well, that they may obtain dwellings and houses,

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565 that they may prosper, that they may obtain rice and fish, that
788 they may possess hundreds and thousands; thus, oh god." The priest then pours liquor on the ground three times from the gourd, counting "one, two, three." He then continues the invocation thus, "*Hei*, thou, oh mother; oh grandmother; oh maternal uncle; oh father: oh *Suid-nia;* oh younger grandmother; oh elder grandmother; oh younger grandfather; oh elder grandfather. As the flesh has fallen (on the floor, i.e. the feast has been prepared), the ring has been put on, the three strips of flesh are ready (alluding to the three dried fish already mentioned), you will all of you (ancestors) give ear, you will continue giving strength and spirit (i.e. to the married pair) that they may be well" (and so on, as written in the first invocation). He then pours out the liquor three times as before. He then adjures the Siem, the elders, and all the people who do not belong to either of the two clans, and pours out liquor three times as before. The three pieces of dried fish are first placed on the *tympan*, the high rack above the fire-place, then removed and tied to the ridge-pole of the house, amidst shouts of
585 *Ho, hoi, hoi, hoi.* The poor then sacrifice a fowl, and the
769 rich a pig without blemish (*uba tlem*), to *u Suid nia* and *ka Jaw-bei* (the spirits of deceased ancestors of the family), and present them with *dykhot*, or pieces of flesh. Two or three days afterwards, the bride, accompanied by her female relatives, pays a visit to the bridegroom at his house, and after this they go and come as they like to one another's houses.
591 After two or three children have been born, they take down the
782 pieces of dried fish from the roof and sacrifice two pigs, one on behalf of the husband and another on behalf of the wife. Then they say there can be no possible *sang*, and husband and wife use each other's things and pool their earnings, and if the husband has a house of his own, the wife can go and live with him; this, however, is not the custom amongst many of the Syntengs, who more strictly observe the principles of the
585 matriarchate. The cost of the marriage ceremonies amongst
435 Khasis, Syntengs and Wárs, may be put down at between Rs. 50 and Rs. 200 according to the position of the parties.

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LAMDOH CEREMONY.

This ceremony is identical with that of *Pynhiar synjat*, except that the bride and bridegroom do not interchange rings, and that there is no sacrifice of the pig. The parties merely buy some pig's flesh and perform a puja with a small portion of the flesh of the legs of the animal. Amongst the poor, fish sometimes takes the place of pork at the *Iadih-kiad* ceremony. The latter consists of a drinking bout mingled with muttered sentences by a *nongkinia* (sacrificer), the invocations and prayers being the same as at the *Pynhiar synjat*. The *Lamdoh* and *Iadih-kiad* ceremonies take the place of the more elaborate *Pynhiar synjat* in most places now-a-days. 585 782 273

LYNNGAM MARRIAGES.

The ritual observed at these marriages is described as under: —First of all a proposal is made in the following manner. A *ksiang*, or go-between, is sent, with the brother of the girl for whom a husband is required, to the house of the father of the young man (not to the house of the mother as is the case with the Khasis). If the proposal is accepted, the father of the young man kills a pig, and gives a feast to the people of the village of his father-in-law elect; also to the go-between and the *borany* (brother of the bride). The father of the bride then gives a similar feast. A sum of Rs. 1 each is given as a present to the go-between by the fathers of the bride and bridegroom, and the father of the bride pays from Rs. 5 to Rs. 15 to the father of the bridegroom. Further feasting ensues at the house of the father of the bride. The go-betweens then sacrifice a pig and two fowls at the house of the bridegroom, and afterwards perform the same sacrifice at the house of the bride. At the house of the bride, after the fowls and the pig have been sacrificed, the go-between, after drinking liquor himself, pours out some on the floor of the house and then gives some to the bride and bridegroom to drink. The killing of the fowls, the sacrifice of the pig, and the libation of liquor are essentials at a Lynngam marriage. The sacrifice of the fowls is also an essential feature 584 585 574 782 [431] 585 782

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585 of a Garo marriage. The Lyngams, unlike the Garos, do not
982 observe which way the beaks of the fowls turn when they are
thrown on the ground after being sacrificed. The Lyngams,
787 like the Khasis, take auguries from the entrails of the fowls and
the pig. After these ceremonies are over, the Lyngam pair
are allowed to cohabit. The cost of an ordinary Lyngam
585 marriage is from Rs. 30 to Rs. 40. The marriage system in
435 vogue among the Lyngams may be described as a mixture
of the Khasi and Garo customs. As has already been stated,
101 the Lyngams are a mongrel breed of Khasis and Garos.

CEREMONIES ATTENDING DEATH.

764 The death customs of the Khasis are not only very elaborate,
but possess a significance of their own, it is, therefore, necessary
to describe them in detail; they are as follows:—

763 A member of the family bends down towards the ear
of the apparently deceased person and calls him or her by
name three times, to make sure that death has occurred.
If no answer comes, the family laments, for it is then con-
964 cluded that the person is really dead. The body is then bathed
291 in warm water from three earthen pots and is reverently
laid on a mat (*jopung*), where it is dressed in white cloth, a
peculiar feature of the dressing being that the waist-cloth and
turban are folded from left to right, and not from right to left,
as in the case of the living. An egg called *u'long kpuh*
764 is placed on the stomach of the deceased, and nine fried grains,
of rice bodom, or Indian corn, are tied round the head with a
string. The rich place ear-rings in the ears and other jewellery
on the body of the deceased, it being necessary that this
jewellery should be specially made for the occasion, and they
[775] deck the corpse with valuable clothes. A cock, *u'ioe kynd kpati*
(literally the cock that scratches the way), is sacrificed, the idea
being that a cock will scratch a path for the spirit to the next
world. A sacrifice of a bull, or of a cow in case the deceased is
a woman, (*u* or *ka mawi pynsem*,) follows. Portions of the left
leg of the fowl and the lower part of the jaw of the bull or cow
are kept, to be placed afterwards in the *mawshiong*, or bone,

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receptacle. A small basket (*ka shong*) is hung up over the head of the corpse, the basket containing pieces (*dykhet*) of the sacrificed animals. A dish containing eatables, and betel-nut, and a jar of water are placed near the head of the corpse by way of offering refreshment to the spirit of the departed. The food is given each morning and evening that the corpse remains in the house; this is called *ái ja máit ja síep*. Each night the corpse remains in the house guns are fired, drums are beaten and flutes (*shárái*) are played. It is a noteworthy custom that the body is not retained in the house for an even number of nights, the usual time being three nights. If it is intended to burn the body on a masonry pyre (*jingthang*), a bull (*u masi kynroh*) is sacrificed. If the body is placed in a coffin (*ka skynpóid*), a pig named *u'siang skynpóid* is sacrificed, and if it is intended to adorn the pyre with flags, a fowl called *u'iar hait* is sacrificed. On the day of the funeral procession pigs are sacrificed by the relatives and friends of the deceased; those who cannot afford pigs bring liquor (*ka'iad sóng*), a small portion of which they pour on the funeral pyre. The coffin is laid on a bamboo bier (*ka kreng*), money being placed close to the corpse, so that the spirit of the deceased may possess the wherewithal to buy food on its journey. Cotton, or, in the case of the rich, silk cloths are tied cross-ways over the bier, if the deceased is a male, and in the form of a parallelogram, if it is a female. Before lifting the bier a handful of rice and water from a jar are thrown outside, and a goat (*u'lang sait kwód*) is sacrificed. These are purificatory ceremonies. The funeral procession then forms up and slowly passes along the way to the plaintive music of flutes (*shárái*) and the beating of drums. At intervals, in the case of the rich, salutes from guns are fired. Copper coins are also scattered along the route. On nearing the pyre the dead body is exposed to view, and the pieces of flesh of the sacrificial animals, which are with the corpse, are thrown away. They make ready three baked loaves (*ki kpo*), an egg, the lower jaw-bones of the animals which have been sacrificed, the left leg of the fowl (*u'iar kwad kpati*), a jar of water, eatables in a dish, and a bow and three arrows. A goat is then sacrificed, *u'lang mawkjat*. The corpse is laid on the pyre, inside the coffin, if one is used, with the head to the west and the feet to the east. Logs of

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764 wood are placed around the body, and the egg; "*u'leng kpoh*," is broken, not over the stomach of the deceased, as has been sometimes supposed, but by being thrown on the pyre in the direction of the feet of the corpse. Fire is applied to the pyre, first by the *kur*, or members of the clan, and then by the children, if any, of the [782] deceased. Another fowl, "*u'iar padat*," is sacrificed, its blood being smeared round the pyre three times, and across the corpse three times. The bier is then broken to pieces, the cloths having been removed from it previously. The eatables and the jaw-bones of the sacrificial animals are then placed at the head of the pyre. After the fowl (*u'iar padat*) has been sacrificed, the three arrows already mentioned are shot from the bow, one to the north, another to the south, and the third to the east. These arrows are called *ki 'nam tympem*. It is, perhaps, significant that the [844] arrows which are shot at death correspond in numbers with those which are used at the time of the birth ceremony. When [782] the fire has blazed up, another goat, "*u'lang dholia*," is sacrificed. In some cases all the clothes of the deceased are burnt with the body, in others the clothes are merely held over the fire and then taken away, after which they can be used (this is only in the case of poor persons). Before leaving the burning-place the relatives and friends of the deceased place betel-nuts on the pyre and bid farewell to the deceased, saying "*Khublei khie leit bam kwai sha iing u Blei ho*" (good-bye, go and eat betel-nut in 765 the house of god). When the body has been thoroughly burnt, 764 the fire is extinguished with water, and the uncalcined bones are collected by the relatives in three trips. The collectors are not allowed to turn back and pick up a bone which has been forgotten in any one of these trips. The bones thus collected are carefully wrapped in a piece of white cloth by the female relatives, and an old member of the family throws on the ground some powdered rice from a leaf, at the same time adjuring the spirit of the deceased not to trouble the *kur*, or the family, as the funeral ceremonies have been duly performed. The party then sets out to the [226] bone repository, or *mawshieng*. In front walks one who strews along the line of route leaves of the tree known by the Khasis as *dieng shit* (the berries of which are used for fishing with), and grains of rice, all the way from the pyre to the cairn.

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765 If any stream has to be crossed, a rough bridge is made of
764 branches and grass. This trail of leaves and the bridges are intended to guide the spirit of the deceased to the cairn. The person who carries the bones is not allowed to turn round, or to the right, or to the left, but must proceed straight to the cairn. On reaching it, a *nongknia*, or sacrificer, washes the bones three times and then places them in an earthen pot, tying up the mouth with a white cloth. Then, having taken three pieces of the hard yolk of an egg, three loaves of bread, the leg of the fowl, "*u'iar krad lynti*," and the lower jaw-bones of the animals which have been sacrificed, he places them inside the cairn and shuts the door. Eatables and
765 betel-nut are then placed on the top of the cairn. Early next
787 morning the relatives and friends go to the cairn with fresh food and water, and look about for new foot-prints, the idea being
[775] that from these foot-prints they can foretell future events. This they do until the third night after the cremation. During these three nights the front door of the house formerly occupied by the deceased is never closed, it being thought that the spirit may wish to return and visit its earthly abode. The whole family is moreover *sang*, or taboo, during this period, and no manner of work can be done. When the three nights are over, it is called the *lait ia*, i.e. the days (of mourning) are passed, and three eggs are broken to ascertain what was the cause of the death. After this the family goes to bathe, and
[783] the clothes and mats in the house are washed. When this has been done, the taboo is removed and the family can go to work. After a month a pig or a fowl is sacrificed, the ceremony
782 being called "*ai bam lait bnai*." It will be observed that *three*
765 seems to be the lucky number throughout these funeral
801 ceremonies. The number seems to bear a similar significance in other matters of Khasi ritual, e.g. the pouring out of libations, which is always done three times.

587 It is *sang* or taboo for a Khasi widow to re-marry within one
428 year from the death of her husband, there is a similar prohibition for a husband re-marrying; but such *sang* can be got over by the payment of a fine to the clan of the deceased. After the expiration of one year the fine is reduced in amount. Khasi widows do not as a rule re-marry, according to U Jeebon Roy,

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587 unless they have no female children, in which case the clan
428 urges them to re-marry, so that the chain of inheritance may not be broken, inheritance amongst the Khasis always passing in the female line.

CUSTOMS IN CONNECTION WITH DEATHS BY VIOLENCE OR ACCIDENT.

766 These customs are interesting enough to deserve a separate
782 description; they are as follows:—

If a man dies by the sword, before his body can be burnt,
776 a sacrifice of a black hen must be offered to *Ka Tyrut*, the goddess of death. The bones are then placed in a stone cairn. Again they are removed, and, after eggs have been broken, are taken to a river bank and there washed. If there is no river at hand, a tank is dug for the purpose, which is called *umkoi*. There are various such *umkois* in different parts of the district, e.g. near Raliang and Nartiang. A sacrifice of a goat is offered to the god *U Syngkai Bamon*, and a sow to *Ka Ramshandi*, both of whom are evil deities. Another sow is sacrificed to *Ka Tyrut*. After this the bones are placed in another newly-built cairn. The ceremony of placing the bones in one and
[787] then removing them to another cairn is usually performed three times; but unless the auspices, as deduced from the eggs, are favourable, the relatives must go on sacrificing and removing the bones until they are so. These ceremonies having been completed, they erect a flat table-stone, or *mawkynthei*, for the ghost of the departed to sit upon, and return home, where they propitiate their ancestors with offerings of food. In the case of the murdered victims of the *thlen* superstition the same ceremonies are observed. For people who have died by drowning, or been killed by wild animals, and for women who have died in child-birth, similar pujas are
766 offered, except that a sacrifice to *U Syngkai Bamon* does not take place. In the case of one who has died at a distance from
782 his home, e.g. in a foreign country, whose body has not been burnt in accordance with custom, and whose bones have not been collected, the members of his clan, or his children, take three or five seeds or cowries (*sbai*) to a place where three roads meet. Here they summon the spirit of the departed in a loud voice,

and throw up the seeds or cowries into the air, and when they fall to the ground they say, "*to alle noh ba ngin sa lum sa kynshew noh ia phi,*" come now we will collect you (the idea being that the seeds represent the bones of the deceased). Having collected the seeds, they place them on a bier and perform the service for the dead just in the same way as if a real dead body were to hand. If possible, a portion of the dead person's clothes should be burnt with the seeds in the bier, and it is with this view that the coats or cloths of Khasi coolies, who die when employed as porters on military expeditions at a distance from their homes, are brought back by their friends to give to the relatives. If a person dies of cholera, small-pox, or other such infectious or contagious disease, the body is buried, but is dug up again and burnt with all the customary rites when fear of infection or contagion is over. In parts of the district upright stones called *maw-umkoi* are erected along the line of route when the remains of a person who has met with an accidental death are brought home. This is stated to be the case in the Rambrai Siemship.

MISCELLANEOUS CUSTOMS IN CONNECTION WITH DEATH.

In Nongjri, a large village in the Wár Country, the dead body is placed on a bier near the door of the house, a turban being tied about the head, the face being left bare and turned towards the door. In some of the Shella villages a second cremation is performed, in which a bamboo frame-work represents the corpse. This second cremation takes place when the body has been disposed of without the requisite ceremonies. The bones and ashes of the dead in Shella are in some cases kept in a cavity hollowed out of a post erected for the purpose. The bones and ashes find a temporary resting-place here, but are afterwards removed to a cromlech.

At Nartiang, in the Jaintia Hills, the head of the corpse is shaved, but a tuft of hair in the middle of the head is left; this is called (*u'niuh Iawbei*), the great grandmother's lock. At Nartiang betel-nut, which has been chewed by one of the mourners, is put into the mouth of the corpse, also cooked rice. There is

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764 a similar custom prevalent amongst the Khyrwangs. The Nongtungs, in the Jaintia Hills, keep dead bodies sometimes as
[535] long as a month, until the *phur* or ceremonial dance has been performed. Hence they are called *Nong-tung*, or "stinkers." Amongst the Lynngams the dead body is kept for sometimes three or four months, or up to the time when a bull can be
[231] procured for a feast to the villagers. This feast is an essential, and, cattle being scarce in the Lynngam country, there is often great delay in disposing of the body. Lynngam villages at such a time are best avoided. The Lynngams of Nongsohbar bury the unburnt bones of the deceased within the village, and in front of the house occupied by the deceased when alive, the bones being placed in a hole in the ground, over which is laid a stone, a bamboo mat being nailed over the stone. A bamboo fence three or four feet high is erected round the grave. Other Lynngams bury the uncalcined bones and ashes in a gourd in the jungle near the burning-place. On their way home, the members of the clan of the deceased who have come from other villages to witness the funeral obsequies, put up a stone on the path in honour of the deceased, a turban being tied round the
[211] top of the stone. The Garos or Dkos, who live at the foot of the hills on the Kamrup border, and are called by the Assamese *Hana* (spear-men), erect memorial stones in honour of the deceased, the lower jaw-bones of sacrificial animals and other articles being hung on the stones. The stones are also swathed in cloths, and turbans are tied round the tops. The death customs of the Lynngams, and, indeed, other customs also, are partly Khasi and partly Garo, it being difficult to say that the
[197] Lynngams are more Khasi than Garo, or more Garo than Khasi in this respect; their language, however, has been found by Dr. Grierson to be a corruption of Khasi. In Nongstoin, Mawlih, and Mariaw villages, the inhabitants of which profess to be Khasis, the bones and ashes of the deceased are not collected and placed in repositories, as at Cherrapunji. At Mariaw and Nongstoin a large wooden coffin is used, painted white, with ornamentations on the outside, and standing on four legs.
764 This coffin is not burnt on the funeral pyre. In the
643 family of the chiefs of Cherra, the body of a deceased Siem is
766 subjected to the following process:—It is wrapped in a cloth

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and placed in the hollowed-out trunk of a tree, *ka-shyngoid*, 764 there being a small hole with a plug at the bottom of this 643 receptacle. Spirit is then poured into the *shyngoid* until the 766 whole body is immersed, the liquor being allowed to stand for three days. After the body has been thus steeped, the liquor is allowed to run out, and the body is washed with warm water, after which it is allowed to dry for a day. Then a quantity of lime-juice is poured in, the latter being obtained from the fresh fruit of the lime (*u soh jew*). The body is thus exposed to a process of pickling, which continues until the whole is thoroughly dry and becomes like that of a mummy. It is then placed in a coffin, which is kept in the house of the Siem family until it is time to perform the funeral obsequies. These ceremonies entail a very large amount of expense, and it sometimes happens that they cannot be completed for some years after the death of a Siem. The body of a deceased Siem according to the Cherra custom should be burnt by his successor; otherwise the latter is not Siem according to the Khasi religion. The last Siem of Cherra, U Hajon Manik, did not perform the funeral obsequies of his predecessor, U Ram Singh, and it is stated that many of his subjects did not regard him as Siem, according to the Khasi religion, in consequence. There are at the present time the corpses of two Siems of Cherra which have been preserved in the manner described above, awaiting cremation. The first Siem, U Ram Singh, died as far back as 1875, and the second, U Hajon Manik, died in 1901.

Sir Joseph Hooker and other authorities have stated that the 263 bodies of deceased Siems of Cherra used to be embalmed in 766 honey, and an amusing story is told regarding the necessity of 643 exercising caution in purchasing honey from Cherra (honey being plentiful in this neighbourhood), except in the comb, for fear of honey which has been used for embalming purposes being passed off on the unwary purchaser. But the members of the Siem family and the old residents deny that honey is used for this purpose nowadays, possibly in the interests of the trade. It is, however, not unlikely that honey was so utilized in days gone by, as it is a well-known agent for embalming. The bodies of priests in Burmah are said to be embalmed in honey, *vide* Yule's "Embassy to Ava."

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THE DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD.

764 The collection of the uncalcined bones and ashes of the deceased members of the clan and their bestowal in the *mawbah*, or great *cinerarium* of the clan, is without doubt the most important religious ceremony that the Khasis perform. That this ceremony is now but seldom celebrated, is due partly to the difficulty that exists in obtaining general agreement amongst the members of the clans, and partly to the considerable expense it entails. The information I have obtained regarding the ceremony, although differing to some extent in detail from that recorded by the late U Jeebon Roy, agrees with the latter's account as regards the main facts. The information may now be set down as follows. By way of premise it may be stated that the bones and ashes of the deceased are kept after cremation in small stone cairns, or *mawshieng*. From these small cairns the bones and ashes are removed to larger bone repositories called *mawphew*, each branch of a clan possessing a repository of its own. The ceremony attending the removal of the bones and ashes from the small cairns to the larger repository, or *mawphew*, and the ceremony attached to the removal of these remains from the *mawphew* to the sepulchre of the clan are practically the same, except that when the bones are removed to the *mawphew*, no female dancing takes place. First of all, the members of the various branches of the clan collect the bones from the different subsidiary repositories, when a ceremony called "*khot ia u lor u kap*," which it is not necessary to describe here, is performed. The bones of the deceased males and females are kept separately, and preparations are made to bring them to the sepulchre of the clan. Before, however, anything further can be done, it must be ascertained that the members of the clan are at peace with one another and no differences exist. If all differences are settled, a sacrificer offers up a prayer that the sins of the clans-folk may be forgiven, and then breaks eggs and sacrifices a cock to ascertain which will be a propitious day for depositing the bones in the sepulchre. A lucky day having been thus ascertained, the bones and ashes are brought to the *iing seng*, or clan puja-house,

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the bones of males and females being kept in separate bundles 764
wrapped in white cloth, two women of the clan reverently carrying them in their arms, holding the bundles of bones to their breasts. One female carries the bones of the males and the other those of the females. In front of these women walks an 764
old man who scatters along the way leaves of the *dieng-shit* tree 782
and grains of rice, and when it is necessary to cross any stream or river, he ties a thread from one side of the bank to the other, [775]
this is for the spirit of the departed to cross the water. Sometimes *u'nam tohrih*, a kind of long grass, is used instead of thread for the above purpose. On arrival at the clan puja-house, the bones of the males are laid on one bed and those of the females on another, the beds being bedecked with rich hangings. A cock, *u'iar kradlynti* (lit.: "the cock which scratches the way"), is sacrificed, this sacrifice being considered by the Khasis to be of peculiar significance. A pig, a cock, and a bull are then sacrificed, and portions of the above are offered to the spirits of the deceased. These offerings are known by the name of *ai-bam*, and are placed in a basket which is hung up in the house, together with the left thigh of the fowl and the lower jaw-bone of the bullock. A dance is performed that night, first [535]
in the house by two women, one belonging to the clan and the other an outsider, and afterwards in a specially prepared place outside the house called "*lympung*." The *sharati*, or flute, which is played at funerals is sounded, drums are beaten, and bombs are exploded. This dancing lasts from one to nine days, the limit being always an uneven number of days. At Cherra two effigies called *Ka Puron* and *U Tyngshop* are prepared and [776]
dressed up; the former is intended to represent *Ka Iawbei*, the first ancestress, and the other *U Suidnia*, the first maternal uncle of the clan. These effigies are held in the hands of the dancers. In the meantime two lines of upright stones consisting of three each, with a table stone in front of each line, have been set up. These are called *mawkjat* or 764
mawlynti, and are intended to serve as resting-places for the spirits of the dead on their way to the tomb of the clan. These stones are generally not more than three feet in height, and must not be confounded with the larger stones or *mawbynna*. On the night before it is proposed to deposit the

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764 bones, a ceremony called "*Beh-tympew*" is performed, which consists of driving out the devils from the house, so that they may not interf with the peace of the spirits of the departed whilst they rest in the house, and on their journey to the tomb. All the men after they have performed this ceremony are given [273] a drink of rice-beer known as *'iad nonglieh*. Another cock is sacrificed, and a small bamboo ladder of three rungs is prepared for the use of the spirits when climbing into the tomb. Rice is then thrown outside the door. The next morning they perform further sacrifices, which need not be detailed here, and let loose [783] a bull whose horns have been cased in silver. They dig two shallow tanks called *umkoi*, into which is poured water supposed [766] to possess the virtue of purifying the bones of any deceased clansmen who have died violent or unnatural deaths, or at places far away from their homes, where it was not possible to perform their funeral ceremonies according to custom. Three vertical stones are also erected, called *maw umkoi*. A bamboo with a white flag, and a plantain tree are set up; to the bamboo are attached three bamboo rings (*kyrwoh*), which are supposed to act as summonses to the spirits of the departed who have not received the benefits of a proper funeral ceremony. It may be explained that this ring of bamboo or cane is the form of summons used by the Khasi chiefs to their subjects when they wish to call them before them. Then a cock, *u'iar umkoi*, is sacrificed as a vicarious victim to bear the sins of the departed. When the procession reaches the *mawkjat* or *mawlynti* (the upright stones which have been erected), a goat called *u'lang mawlynti* is sacrificed. Then a bamboo is fixed to the centre one of the three upright stones, to which is attached the lower jaw-bone of one of the cattle sacrificed in the puja-house; this is called *u masi mawlynti*. A special ceremony called *ka-* [766] *lyngka-pongrei* is then performed for those of the clan who have died childless. We now come to the actual ceremony of placing the bones in the tomb of the clan. Having arrived at the tomb, the bones are washed three times in a dish (this is a Cherra custom). In Mawshai, the bones are exposed to the heat of a fire kindled on a small *jingthang*, or burning-platform. The stone door of the *cinerarium* is then opened, and the bones of the females are placed in an earthen pot inside the tomb

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close to the wall which is farthest away from the door, the bones of the males being deposited in a pot inside the tomb nearest the door. Some clans keep the pot containing the bones of the males on the right, and the vessel containing those of the females on the left hand. Then offerings of food and libations of liquor are offered to the ancestors on a stone in front of the tomb. The males then perform a ceremonial dance with swords and shields, three times, and the door of the sepulchre is closed, a flag being fixed to the tomb. All the clansfolk then depart except three men. One of these sacrifices a cock (*iar-tanding*) in front of the tomb, a second sits behind the sacrificer, holding three firebrands, and a third sits behind the tomb. The man with the firebrands shakes them about, and then crows like a cock three times. The man behind the tomb listens attentively for any fancied noise within it, the superstition being that if the ceremonies detailed above have not been properly performed, the whole tomb will quake. If the three watchers are satisfied that there is no commotion within the tomb, then all is well, and they return and report the result to the clanspeople. This ceremony is called *tanding*, or the fire test. Next morning the woman who is the head of the *iing-seng*, or puja-house, distributes to all those who have taken part in these sacrifices the hinder portions of the sacrificial animals. She then blesses one by one the assembled clansfolk. The latter are not permitted by custom to go to work until after three days from the time of the ceremony; the third day being called *ka sngi lait ia*. The ceremony described above is a symbolical one. The massive stone sepulchre is regarded as a symbol of a secure place of rest for the departed spirits. If the spirits of the dead are not, however, appeased by the due performance of the ceremonies attending the bestowal of the remains in the clan *cinerarium*, it is believed that they roam about and haunt their relations on earth, and plague them with various misfortunes. It may be interesting to note here, that Mr. Moberly, the Superintendent of Ethnography in Bengal, reports that the ashes of deceased Hos, after being sprinkled with water by means of peepul branches, are collected, dried, and placed in a new earthen pot, and kept in the house until the day of burial, which may take place, as with

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KHASI STONEHENGE.
(from a photograph by Mrs. Muriel.)

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764 the Khasis, long afterwards. The bones are buried in the
171 village under a large slab of stone (cf. the Khasi stone *cinerarium*), and a monolith is erected outside the village to commemorate the deceased.

KHASI MEMORIAL STONES.

211 Probably one of the first objects which strikes the eye of a
764 visitor to the Khasi Hills is the very large number of monoliths, table-stones, and cromlechs that are to be met with almost everywhere in that country. Yule, Dalton, and other writers have incidentally referred to them, but, as far as is known at present, no attempt has been made to explain in any detail what is the peculiar significance of these objects to the Khasis. These stones are rightly styled memorial stones; *kynmaw*, literally "to mark with a stone," is the word in the Khasi language for "to remember." The memorial stone, in the ordinary sense of the word, is a memorial to the dead; but we have such names of places in these hills as *Maomluh*, the salt stone (the eating of salt off the blade of a sword being one of the Khasi forms of oath), *Maosmai*, the oath stone, *Maophlang*, the grassy stone, and others. To commemorate with a stone an important event has been a constant custom amongst many people in many places, and the erection of grave-stones, to mark the spot where the remains of the dead are buried, is an almost universal practice amongst the Western nations, as indeed amongst some of the Eastern also. But the Khasi menhirs are no more grave-stones, in the sense of marking the place where the remains of the dead lie, than some of the memorials of Westminster Abbey and other fanes; the Khasi stones are cenotaphs, the remains of the dead being carefully preserved in stone sepulchres, which are often some distance apart from the memorial stones. It is proposed to treat this subject under the following heading:—

(1) A general description of the memorial stones in the Khasi Hills, showing that they are very similar in shape to monoliths, table-stones, or cromlechs in other parts of the world and of India.

(2) A comparison between Khasi memorial stones and those of the Ho-Mundas, the stones near Belgaum, those of

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the Mikirs, the monoliths at Willong in the Manipur Hills, and the Dimapur monoliths.

(3) The meaning of the stones.

(4) The method of their erection.

With regard to the first heading, the stones may be divided into (*a*) menhirs, or vertical stones; (*b*) table-stones, or dolmens, and (*c*) stone cromlechs, or cairns, which serve the purpose of *cineraria*. Taking the different stones in order, the menhirs are large upright stones varying in height from 2 or 3 ft. to 12 or 14 ft., but in exceptional instances rising to a more considerable elevation, the great monolith at Nartiang, in the Jaintia Hills, being 27 ft. high, and 2½ ft. thick. A photograph of this stone has been included. These menhirs are erected all in one line which nearly always consists of an uneven number of stones. Three is the commonest number of menhirs, but five together are frequently to be found, and there are some instances of seven stones; at Laitkor nine stones are standing, an illustration of which will be found in this book. The stones are of hewn gneiss granite, or sandstone, to be met with in many places in these hills. They are rough hewn, and generally taper gradually to their tops, which are sometimes neatly rounded off. The tallest stone is usually in the middle, and is occasionally ornamented with a small stone, through the middle of which a hole has been drilled so that it may fit on the top of the other. At Nongkrem there is a centre stone with a regularly carved top, evidently intended to represent the head of a man. At Umstow, some two miles from Cherrapunji by the cart road, stood two rows of fine monoliths, each row five in number, and standing on either side of the old bridle road. All of these stones except one were thrown down by the earthquake shock of June, 1897. The centre stone, or *mawkni*, of one of these rows was surmounted by a carved stone covering shaped like a hat, but having a rim with indented edges, the intention being evidently to represent a crown. This stone crown was riveted to the top of the large centre stone. All the stones, including the *mawkynthei*, or dolmen, have been very neatly hewn. They appear to be of granite. Stones with top coverings or carved heads are however rare.

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In front of the line of menhirs is a large flat table-stone resting on stone supports, the top of the uppermost plane being some 2 to 2½ ft. from the ground; this flat stone is sometimes as much as a foot or more thick. The largest table-stones are to be seen at Nartiang, in the Jaintia Hills, and Laitlyngkot in the Khasi Hills. The Laitlyngkot stone measures 28½ by 13¾ ft., and that at Nartiang 16½ by 14¾ ft. The Laitlyngkot stone is 1 ft. 8 in. thick. Sometimes two table-stones are found parallel to one another. The table-stones are always placed towards the centre of the group, generally in front of the great central menhir. These groups of stones are usually situated alongside roads, or close to well-known lines of route, where they readily attract the attention of passers-by. They do not necessarily face in any particular direction, but are to be found fronting all points of the compass. There is nothing therefore to show that they were erected so as to face the direction of the sun-rise, or of any particular planet's. We will now pass on to the numerous stone cromlechs which are to be found, frequently in proximity to the menhirs and table-stones. These stone cromlechs contain the bones of the dead, and the menhirs and table-stones are intimately connected with them, inasmuch as memorial stones to deceased ancestors are erected when the ceremony of depositing bones in the *cineraria* has been completed. The *cineraria* are built of blocks of stone, sometimes on stone platforms, and sometimes resting on the ground. They are frequently of considerable size. The cromlech is opened by removing one of the heavy stone slabs in front. There are no windows such as are to be seen in some of the illustrations of dolmens or cromlechs in France and Circassia in Waring's book of "Stone Monuments, Tumuli, and Ornaments of Remote Ages," probably because the Khasi idea was to confine the spirits and not allow them to escape from the tomb and haunt the living. The cromlechs are generally square or oblong, but are sometimes circular in shape also. Let us now compare the Khasi menhirs with some to be found in other parts of the world. In Lord Avebury's "Prehistoric Times," Fergusson's work, and Waring's collection of plates of stone monuments, there are numerous illustrations of menhirs and dolmens

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to be found in other parts of the world, which may be said to resemble those of the Khasis in appearance; but this is by no means a matter for surprise, for, given like conditions, amongst primitive peoples, totally unconnected with one another as regards race, and living in countries far remote from one another, the results, i.e. the erection of stones as memorials of important persons, or events, are probably the same all the world over. Waring in his book gives an illustration of several lines of stone monuments with two table-stones, either in front or in rear according to the position of the photographer or draftsman in taking the picture, which would appear to be very similar to the lines of menhirs we find in the Khasi Hills. In plate XLII., fig. 6, of Waring's book, are the lines of stones to which I refer. They may be said to be almost exactly similar to the lines of Khasi memorial stones, except that the stones depicted by Waring have circles or ovals painted on them, which are said to signify that certain sacrifices of animals have been performed. Now the Khasis perform such sacrifices, but they do not mark their performance thus on the stones. Fergusson on page 447 of his "Rude Stone Monuments" apparently refers to these stones, which are near Belgaum in the Bombay Presidency, and he is of opinion that "they were dedicated or vowed to the spirits of deceased ancestors"; further it is stated that these stones are always in uneven numbers, a striking point of similarity to the Khasi stones. We know, for a fact, that the Khasi memorial stones were dedicated to the same objects as those of the Belgaum stones, i.e. to the worship of ancestors; so that we have not only similarity in appearance, in conformation, and invariable unevenness of number, but identity of purpose, if Fergusson's conclusion is correct. It is, however, a far cry from Shillong to Belgaum, and it may, perhaps, be thought more reasonable if we look for stones nearer at hand. Bradley Birt in his interesting book on Chota Nagpur has given a photograph of certain Ho memorial stones, which would appear to resemble greatly the Khasi menhirs, and if his photograph is carefully examined, it will be seen that there are in rear of the stones what would seem to be stone cairns, very similar in appearance to the Khasi *cisteraria*. The funeral ceremonies of the Hos as described by Bradley

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Birt, viz. the cremation of the body, the collection of the ashes, their consignment to a grave, and the offering of food to the spirit of the deceased, are similar to those of the Khasis. Although not wishing to lay too much stress on what may be merely a coincidence, I think that the above similarity in death customs is well worth considering with regard to the view, based on linguistic affinity, that the Khasis and the Ho-Mundas were originally descended from a common stock, i.e. the Mon-Khmêr or Mon-Anam family, as has been postulated by Logan.

But there are other tribes in Assam which erect memorial stones, e.g. the Mikirs and certain Naga tribes. The Mikirs erect memorial stones in a line, the taller stone being sometimes in the centre, as in the case of the Khasi memorial stones. Such stones are set up by the Mikirs only in memory of important personages, such as *mauzadars* or leading *gaonburas* (village headmen). Besides the standing stones (*long-chong*), a flat stone (*long-pak*) is also erected in honour of the deceased. I understand that the Mikir stones, like the Khasi, are mere cenotaphs, the ashes of deceased Mikirs being left at the burning places which are generally by the sides of rivers, and the memorial stones not being necessarily anywhere near the burning grounds. Unlike the Khasis, the Mikirs do not collect and carefully keep the bones in stone cairns. Before erecting memorial stones, they dig a small tank; cf. the Khasi custom of digging similar tanks (*um-koi*), before erecting memorial stones (*maur umkoi*), to those of the clan who have died unnatural deaths. As with the Khasis, feasts and entertainments are given when the stones of the Mikirs are erected; but they need not necessarily consist of uneven numbers, it appears. It is possible that the Mikirs may have obtained the custom of erecting memorial stones from their near neighbours, the Khasis.

Then there is the interesting collection of stones at Willong in the Manipur Naga Hills, for a description of which I am indebted to the kindness of Colonel Maxwell, the late Political Agent and Superintendent of the State. It is said that about 300 or 400 years ago these stones were erected by the rich men of the village as memorials (probably to deceased ancestors). It is the custom of the Willong village that any person who

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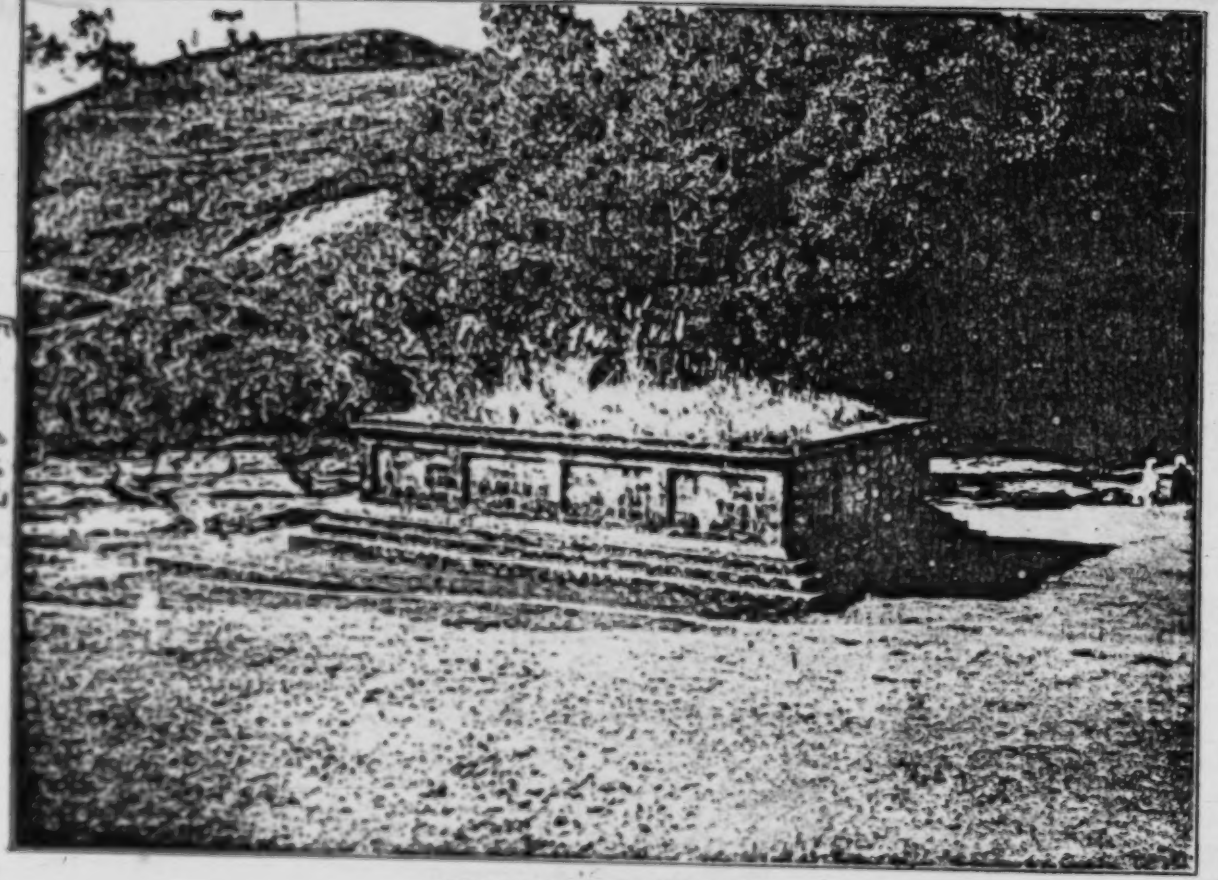

KHASI BURNING PLATFORM.
(*from a photograph by the author.*)

[Facing p. 184]

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wishes to erect such a stone should, with the members of his family, abstain from food; but liquor and ginger are allowed to them. Having chosen what he thinks is a suitable stone, the Naga cuts off a flake of it, returns home, and sleeps on it with a view to dreaming of the stone. If his dreams are favourable, he brings it in, otherwise not. From the day of the selection of the stone, until it is brought in and erected, he must fast. Women are taboo to him for the space of one year from the date of its erection. The custom of erecting memorial stones is not therefore peculiar to the Khasis amongst the hill tribes in Assam. An incidental reference should, I think, be made to the interesting carved monoliths at Dimapur, regarding the meaning of which there has been so much doubt. These Dimapur stones are remarkably similar in shape to the carved wooden *kima* posts of the Garos, another hill tribe speaking a language which is undoubtedly connected with the great Boro group of languages in North Eastern India. The Garo *kima* posts, like the Khasi stones, are erected to commemorate deceased ancestors. Some of the other Naga tribes, besides the Willong Nagas, are in the habit of erecting what are called *gessa* stones, a description of which will, we hope, be given in a subsequent Naga monograph. The object of the erection of such stones is certainly to show reverence to the memories of deceased ancestors amongst the Khasis, and Garos, and not improbably among the Nagas also.

It is only with the very greatest difficulty that it has been possible to obtain any intelligible information regarding the Khasi monoliths. Whether through feelings of delicacy in revealing the secrets of their religious system to a foreigner, or through ignorance or apathy (there being but few Khasis nowadays who observe the ancient ritual), it has been no easy task to extract information from people about these stones. As far as my information goes at present, I am inclined to classify the stones as follows:—

(*a*) *Mawlynti*, or *mawbjat*, the stones which are erected to serve as seats for the spirits of departed clansfolk on their way to the tomb of the clan, *i.e.* when their remains are carried by their relations to the clan cromlech (see the section entitled "The Disposal of the Dead").

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MEMORIAL STONES AT LAITKOR.
(From a photograph by Mrs. Wood.)

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1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

764 211 (*b*) *Mawbynna*, or *mawnam*, which are stones erected to commemorate a parent or some other near relation.

(*c*) *Maw-umkoi*, which are put up to mark the position of tanks or *umkoi*, the water of which is supposed to cleanse the [766] ashes and bones of those who have died unnatural deaths.

(*d*) *Maw-shongthait*, or flat table-stones, often accompanied [485] by vertical stones, which are placed in the market-places and by the side of roads to serve as seats for weary travellers. Taking the above main divisions seriatim, *mawlynti*, or *mawkjat*, may be described as follows. These generally consist of three upright stones, the tallest being in the centre, and a flat table-stone being placed in front. There are, however, some clans which erect more than three upright stones, as *mawlynti*, or *mawkjat*. As already stated, the clansfolk used to erect these stones, *mawlynti* (the stone of the way), or *mawkjat* (the stone of the leg), at each place at which they halted for the night on their way to deposit the bones of their deceased maternal relations in the clan sepulchre, or *mawbah*. The stones are called *mawkjat*, or stones of the leg, because it is supposed that the spirits of the departed sit and rest their limbs on the flat table-stones. The upright stones are not as a rule more than 3 or 4 ft. high, and are not massive like the great mawbynna, or memorial stones. They are to be found in great numbers all along the roads or paths which lead to the clan cromlechs. These stones, unlike the *mawbynna*, have no names.

769 211 (*b*) *Mawbynna*, or *mawnam*, are erected to commemorate deceased parents or deceased ancestors, and consist of 3, 5, 7, 9, or even, in an exceptional case, 11, upright stones with flat table-stones in front. The upright stones are called *maw-shynrang*, or male stones, and the flat table-stones *maw-kyathei*, or female stones. Turning to the plate of the Laitkor stones, it will be observed that there are nine upright stones, and one large flat table-stone in front. Counting from right to left, stone No. 5 is called *u maw kni*, or the maternal uncle's stone, and the stones to the right and left of it, *ki maw pyrsa ki para*, i.e. the stones of the maternal brothers and nephews. The table-stone is called *ka Iawbei tynrai*, or *ka Iawbei tymmen*, literally the grandmother of the root, or the old grandmother, in contradistinction to *ka*

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769 *Iawbei khynraw*, or *ka Iawbei kpoh* (the grandmother of the
211 family, or branch of the family). It frequently happens that there are two flat-table-stones in front of the upright stones, the one on the left being *ka Iawbei tynrai*, or the first ancestress, and the one on the right *ka Iawbei longkpoh*, the grandmother of the branch of the clan to which the memorialists belong, or *ka Iawbei khynraw*, the young grandmother, i.e. the grandmother of the actual family to which the memorialists belong. In olden days it used to be the custom for the clans-
[782] people to place offerings of food on the flat table-stones for the shades of the departed ancestors, and this is sometimes the case still; but now it is more frequently the custom to make these offerings in the *iing-seng*, or clan puja-house. The flat table-stones are some 2 to 2½ ft. from the ground, and it is difficult to resist the impression that they were originally sacrificial stones, i.e. that animals or even human beings were actually
773 sacrificed upon them. In connection with this theory I would
782 refer to the interesting folk-tale about the Kopili river. It is here related that in olden days human victims were sacrificed
211 to the Kopili goddess on the flat table-stone (*maw-kynthei*) at a place called *Iew Ksih*, close to the Kopili river. A careful search has been made for this stone, with the result that a flat table-stone has been found near the above village, where goats are still annually sacrificed to the Kopili. The *doloi* reports that this is an ancient custom. None can remember, however, having heard that human victims were ever sacrificed there. Yet I do not think it at all unlikely that this is the stone, locally called *Mynlep*, which is referred to in the folk-tale. At Jaintiapur and Nartiang, both of which places were the headquarters of the kings of Jaintia, there are very large table-stones. We know for a fact that human sacrifices used to take place at Jaintiapur. Is it possible that human beings were immolated on these table-stones? It would be unsafe to base any conclusion on the solitary folk-tale about the *Iew Ksih* table-stone; but the tale certainly furnishes food for reflection. The Khasis borrowed their
[177] religious customs largely from the Synteng inhabitants of
782 Jaintia, and it is possible that they may have obtained the
211 custom of erecting the table-stones from the Syntengs also,
769 and that the latter were originally used for both of them for sacrificing human victims.

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THE GREAT MONOLITH AT NARTIANG. [Facing p. 152]
(from a photograph by the author.)

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782 and that the latter were originally used by both of them
211 for sacrificing human victims. Sometimes, immediately on either
769 side of the *mawkni*, or large central stone, there are two much smaller stones called *mawksing*, or the stone of the drum, and *mawkait*, the stone of the plantain; the drum being used in all religious ceremonies by the Khasis, and the plantain relating to their custom of feeding young children on plantains. The *mawnam* must be described separately from the *mawbynna*, because they differ from them in an important particular, i.e. that the former may be erected to commemorate the father, while the latter are set up to perpetuate the memory of the ancestors on the female side of the family. *Mawnam* consist of three upright stones and one flat table-stone in front. The large central stone is called *u maw thawlang*, or the stone of the father, and the upright stones on either side are meant to represent the father's brothers or nephews. The flat table-stone is *ka Iawbei*, i.e. the grandmother of the father, not the first grandmother of the clan, as in the case of the *mawbynna*.

211 (*c*) The *maw umkoi* have already been described. They
783 are erected to mark the sites of purificatory tanks, which
766 have been dug so that the remains of deceased persons may be cleansed from the impurities attending an unnatural death, and to counteract the adverse influence upon the clan of *Ka Tyrut*, or the goddess of death. These stones are sometimes called *mawtyrut*.

(*d*) *Maw-shongthait*, or stones upon which weary travellers
211 sit, are to be found alongside all the principal lines of commu-
485 nication in the district. It may serve as an example of these stones to describe the very interesting collection of stones at Nartiang *hát*, or market. A reference is invited to the plate which gives a representation of some of the Nartiang stones. The great height of the upright stone will at once be seen; it is 27 ft. in height and 2½ ft. thick. This stone is the largest erect stone in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills at the present day, and is a very fine specimen. The upright stones and the flat table-stones at Nartiang are called "*ki maw jong Siem*." There is no separate designation for each of them. These stones are popularly supposed to have been erected long ago by two men,

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211 U Lah Laskor and U Mar Phalyngki, to commemorate the
485 establishment of Nartiang market, which is called Iew Mawlong. "Laskor" is the Synteng equivalent of the Khasi *lyngskor*, or prime minister. "Mar" is a Synteng word meaning a giant, the idea amongst the people being that in the olden days there were giants in the land who performed marvellous feats of strength, e.g. the erection of the megalithic remains at Nartiang and elsewhere. A puja is performed upon a great flat stone by the *doloi* and his officers in honour of the founders of the market, but no animals are sacrificed, rice and *rynsi* (balls of rice) only being offered. In the days of the Jaintia kings only the Raja could sit upon the great flat stone; hence the name *maw jong Siem* (or Siem's stone). The great upright stone is said to have been brought by U Lah Laskor and a great number
211 of people from Suriang, a place near Nartiang. With reference
782 to the Nartiang stones I would refer to my theory, formu-
491 lated above, that they were originally connected with human sacrifices. It may be mentioned that at Nartiang there is a bridge constructed out of a single stone, which is also said to have been set in position by U Lah Laskor. Near Suhtnga there is a group of stones, said to have been originally thirty in number, together with *maw shongthait*, or stones to seat the weary, which were erected to the memory of a woman, Ka Kampatwat, who in generations past is alleged to have had no less than *thirty* husbands. The lady is not supposed to have been polyandrous, nor nine-lived, but to have divorced one husband after another. As she probably established a record
211 for divorce, her descendants afterwards commemorated her in
[731] the manner described. There is another very large stone at Nongkseh, which unfortunately fell to the ground in the great earthquake shock of 1897. This stone must have stood over 20 ft. above the ground. It is called *u mawkni Siem*, the stone of the Siem's maternal uncle, and it used to form the central stone, or *mawkni*, of a line of stones. These stones belong to the clan of the *basans* of Nongkseh, which furnishes the *sohblei*, or head sacrificer, of the Siems of Khyrim. The stones at Mawsmai, which in ancient days used to be the head-
211 quarters of a Siem, are some of the best carved in the hills.
171 At Mawrongjong, in the Jaintia sub-division, is a stone upon

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Facing p. 154

THE SACRIFICE OF THE GOATS AT SMIT.
(from a photograph by Ghosal Brothers.)

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1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

211 which a figure, evidently of a Hindu god, has been carved, without
171 doubt after the erection of the stone. Here we have a striking parallel case to the painted and carved menhir near Tregastel in Brittany, upon which has been carved the representation of a crucifix. There are also some carved stones near Nartiang (said to represent two women) called *mawthawdur briew*.

211 The Khasis say that these great stones were brought
483 sometimes from considerable distances. After being hewn, the stones were laid on a large, wooden trolley and dragged
283 across country by means of ropes of cane, of which plenty can be had from the War country on the southern side of the district, and then placed in position by means of ropes and levers. It seems little short of marvellous that these stones, which sometimes weighed many tons, were placed in position by such primitive means, especially when we consider the great trouble there was to re-erect one of the fallen stones at Stonehenge lately. Nowadays only comparatively small stones are erected, which are generally hewn and erected on the spot, so that there is no necessity for any conveyance.

000 In conclusion, it may be remarked that the subject of the Khasi monoliths is in reality a large one, on which a great deal could be written, but owing to considerations of space it has been found necessary to compress the account within its present limits.

FESTIVITIES, DOMESTIC AND TRIBAL.

535 Dancing forms the principal part of all the Khasi festivities,
776 and is an important adjunct of some of their religious
796 ceremonies. One of the greatest festivals in the Khasi Hills is the Nongkrem dance; it may be said to be as important
789 an event to the Khasis as the *Beh dieng-khlam* festivities are to
782 the Syntengs.

The Nongkrem dance is really part of what is known as the *pom-blang*, or goat-killing ceremony, performed by the Siem of Khyrim (or Nongkrem) with the aid of his *soh-blei* (high priest) and the various *lyngdohs* (or priests) to Ka Blei Synshar (the ruling goddess), that the crops may prosper and that there may

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535 be a successful era in store for the people of the State. The
776 goddess on this occasion may be regarded as a Khasi Demeter,
796 although no mysteries form part of her services as at the
789 Grecian Eleusis. The Nongkrem ceremony and dance (now
782 held at Smit) take place in the late spring, generally in the month of May. A lucky day having been fixed, the Siem sends a ring of cane (*kyrwoh*) by way of a summons to the people of every village in the State, at the same time informing them of the date of the puja, and requesting them to attend with their offerings, consisting of goats and different articles of food. In the meantime various pujas have been taking place in the house of *Ka Siem Sad*, the Siem priestess, which it would be tedious to describe in detail. The more interesting points only will be mentioned. A fortnight before the puja and dance at Smit the *soh-blei*, or high priest, pours out libations of liquor in the *kyram-blang*, or place where the sacrificial goats are kept, and in front of the great post (of *dieng sning*, or Khasi oak), in the house of the Siem priestess. Dancing then takes place in front of the post. Later on the Siem, with the high priest and other attendant priests, walks with extremely slow gait to a small hill where a stone altar has been prepared, and sacrifices a cock in honour of *u'lei Shillong*, or the god of the Shillong Peak. A silver dish with powdered rice, liquor in a gourd (*ka'iad um*), betel-nut, and some leaves of the Khasi oak (*dieng sning*), are also necessary adjuncts of the puja. A goat is then sacrificed, and the sacrifice is followed by a dance of twenty-two men armed with swords and shields and chowries (fly-flaps). Having danced before the altar, the party returns to the house of the Siem priestess and executes another dance in the great courtyard. The Siem and certain selected persons dance in front of the *rishot blei*, or holy post
[242] of Khasi oak inside the house of the Siem priestess, the dancers being entertained with dried fish and ginger. Then follows the great dance of girls and men in front of her
782 house. The girls dance in the centre, taking such tiny
796 steps, that the lifting of their feet from the ground is hardly
535 perceptible, the arms held down to the sides and the eyes
301 demurely downcast. It is on this occasion that they wear the
302 peculiar silver (and sometimes gold) crowns illustrated in the

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KHASI GIRL IN DANCING DRESS.

Reproduced from a picture by Miss Eirene Scott O'Connor.

[FACING p. 150]

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

301 plate. The hair is worn tied in a knot behind the head, but with
302 a long tail hanging down the back. Rich silk cloths are worn
535 by the girls, who present the appearance of being, if any-
[292] thing, over-clothed, or, as Yule aptly puts it, of "perfect
796 parallelograms." They wear a profusion of gold and coral
782 bead necklaces, silver and gold chains, bracelets, ear-rings of gold, and any other jewellery they can lay hands on. Not only is the whole of the family jewellery requisitioned by the fair *débutante* (it is only the unmarried girls who dance), but she borrows from her friends. The men dance round the outside of the circle, waving fly-flaps and prancing (often nowadays wear-
[534] ing huge boots) with ungainly strides. The music necessary for the dance consists of *tangmuri* (pipes), drums, and cymbals.
[292] This is *ka shad kynthei*, or the dance of the women. Then there is *ka shad mastich*, or the dance of the men, who are gaily dressed, wearing plumes of black and white cock's feathers (*u thuiyah*) and hold swords and shields. After gyrating for some time, two men at a time rapidly approach one another and clash their swords together in mock combat. They then retire, and, after again revolving for a period, repeat the process; then other couples follow and take their place. This goes on until the dancers get tired or are told to stop.

535 The above description may be taken as applicable to all
764 the Khasi dances. Dancing forms part of the ceremony of placing the ashes in the sepulchre of the clan. Dancing also forms a part of certain ceremonies performed at markets for the prosperity of the State and for the good of trade.

535 When I was at Mawsynram, at the time of the appointment of a Siem, I witnessed a very pretty dance called *ka shad lymmoh*, performed by men who held the leafy branches of trees in their hands. This is most effective. Then
[301] followed a dance of some forty young girls, very well dressed, covered with the usual gold and coral beads and silver chains, and wearing the silver crown, or *pansngiat*. The young women danced with great spirit, and with an absence of all shyness, but still with the greatest decorum. Many of the women, spectators as well as dancers, were observed to be without the usual *tap moh khlih*, or head-cloth, the absence of which is always a sign amongst the Khasi women of merry-making. There were

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535 women from the Wár country, wearing their picturesque dress, amongst whom was the wife of the Siem of Bohwal with her little daughter. The dance was a pretty sight, and I have [752] seldom seen such evidence of unaffected happiness as was exhibited by the people on this occasion. Dancing may be described as one of the characteristic features of Khasi life.

796 The Synteng *Beh-dieng-khlam* festival takes place annually 789 at Jowai and elsewhere in the Jaintia Hills in the deep water moon month (*u Jyllieu*, or June). *Khlam* is the Khasi word for plague or pestilence, and *beh-dieng* signifies to drive away with sticks. The festival may be described as follows:—The males rise betimes on the day fixed and beat the roof with sticks, calling upon the plague-demon to leave the house. Having done this, later on in the day they go down to the stream where the goddess "Aitan" dwells. Then poles of great length, which have been newly cut, are held across the stream. The people jump on the poles and try to break them; when they succeed in doing so, a great shout is given. After all these poles have been broken, a very large pole is fixed across the stream. The people then divide themselves into two parties, and contend for the possession of the tree. The contest, however, is a good-humoured one, and although many buffets are given and received, these are not regarded seriously, and there [291] are seldom any fights. Col. Bivar says the contending villagers, in their excitement, sometimes relapse into a state of almost complete nudity. The party which succeeds in obtaining possession of this post is supposed to gain health and prosperity [976] during the coming year. Col. Bivar remarks that the origin of this so-called ceremony is said to be that the god of thunder, "*u'lei pyrthat*," and Ka Aitan, the goddess of the stream, enjoined its performance. Many innovations, however, have crept in. People disguise themselves as giants and wild beasts, they also parade images of serpents, elephants, tigers, peacocks, [535] &c. Dancing is carried on with enthusiasm by the males, the [526] girls, clad in their best attire, remaining on-lookers. Before the meeting breaks up the males play a sort of game of hockey with wooden balls.

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GENNA.

784 The word *genna* is one in common use amongst the Naga tribes. It seems to be a matter of doubt whether the word belongs to any of the numerous languages or dialects spoken by these tribes; but for our purposes it may be taken to mean *taboo*. The Khasi word *sang*, which implies an interdiction either religious or social from doing any particular thing, might have been employed; but as the word *genna* is so commonly used when speaking of taboos amongst the hill tribes of this province, I have thought fit to employ it here. The word *genna*, or taboo, may be held to include the Khasi *sang*. Taboos amongst the Khasis, Wárs and Lynngams may be divided into
784 two sections; (*a*) general, and (*b*) special. Instances of general
609 taboo have not been found amongst the Khasis, but the follow-
688 ing taboo called *Ka sang kla* amongst the Wár villages of Sohbar and Nongjri is peculiar, and therefore worthy of description. Its chief peculiarity is that during the time the *sang kla* continues, the inhabitants of these two villages are not allowed to associate with foreigners. This *genna* takes place twice a year, in the months of June and November, and lasts for a month each time. During the *genna* foreigners are not allowed to stay the night in these two villages, and the villagers must not sleep the night outside their villages. If they do not return home for the night, they are subjected to a fine. There is a prohibition against eating, smoking, or chewing betel-nut with foreigners
784 during the period. The above is the only instance of general
609 taboo that I have been able to find amongst the Wárs, but in
582 the Lynngam villages there is a taboo on all outsiders at the time of the village pujas. Such a taboo amongst the Lynngams is not to be wondered at, as they have probably imbibed the notion from their Garo mothers, intermarriages between Lynngams and Garos being common. The Garos, like other Thibeto-Burmans, have numerous taboos. There are numerous
582 instances of special taboos among the Khasis. *Kaba*
784 *shong sang*, or marrying within the *kur* or clan, is the
783 most important taboo of all, and is regarded as the most
764 serious offence a Khasi can commit. It admits of no expiation, and the bones and ashes of the offender cannot be placed in the family tomb.

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be placed in the family tomb. There are special taboos for certain clans, of which the following are some examples. The clan Nongtathiang cannot eat the lemon, the Khar-umnuid clan must abstain from pork, the Cherra Siem family cannot eat dried fish, and the Siem family of Mylliem taboo the pumpkin. Possibly these taboos may be relics of totemism amongst these communities. The following are some of the other taboos, although some of them are but lightly regarded now-a-days.

(i.) To build a house with stone walls on all four sides.
(ii.) To use nails in building a house.
(iii.) To use more than one kind of timber in building the hearth.
(iv.) To build a house with resinous timber. Only the Siem family can use such timber.
(v.) To cut trees from a sacred forest.
(vi.) To take or give anything with the left hand.
(vii.) To step over any one's body.
(viii.) To kill any animal or bird without first throwing rice over its body.
(ix.) To drink the milk of a cow or goat.
(x.) To talk with any one, except with one of a man's or woman's fellow-workers, when the thrashing of paddy is going on.

There are the following special taboos for pregnant women.

(*a*) To accompany a funeral procession.

(*b*) To finish any sewing she may have commenced before she became *enceinte*. There is a similar prohibition regarding the finishing of the plaiting of wicker baskets.

(*c*) It is *sang* for the husband of a pregnant woman to thatch the ridge of the house at such a time, or to fix a handle to an axe or a *dao*.

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SECTION V.

FOLK-TALES, TRADITIONS AND SUPERSTITIONS.

FOLK-TALES.

773 THE Khasis possess a considerable amount of folk-lore. The
128 tales which will be found reproduced in the original Khasi have been obtained from a collection which was in the possession of the Rev. Dr. Roberts, of Cherrapunji, who very kindly placed it at my disposal. The translations are by U Nissor Singh, Sub-Inspector of Schools, and the author of a Khasi English Dictionary as well as certain other educational works in that language. Dr. Roberts's collections would fill a book; so I have selected only a few of what I consider typical tales. At the instance of Sir Charles Lyall, I have given the Khasi and English side by side. The stories will speak for themselves,
133 but I add a few explanatory notes. The water-fall of Ka Likai
773 is a magnificent cascade in the rainy season; it can best be viewed from the heights of Laitkynsew. The water-fall is situated close to the village of Nongriat, which is approached by a succession of stone steps from the village of Tyrna, just below the Cherrapunji Laitkynsew bridle-path. "Dingiei," which is mentioned in the second tale, is the high hill to be seen on the right-hand side of the Shillong-Cherrapunji road soon after leaving Shillong. The highest point of the range is over 6,000 ft. The third tale contains the well-known story of Ka Pah Syntiew, the fabled ancestress of the Khyrim and Mylliem Siem families. The cave where Ka Pah Syntiew is said to have made her abode is still to be seen in the neighbourhood of Nongkrem. The story of the origin of the Siems of Suhtnga, who afterwards became the Rajas of Jaintiapur, is a well-known tale in the Jaintia Hills. A description of the

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wonderful mass of granite known by the name of the Kyllang Rock will be found in the section of the monograph which deals with geographical distribution. I have also added a photograph of the rock. The Syntengs have a story that when the strong west wind blows in the spring this is due to the advent of *U Kyllang*, who comes to visit his wife, the river *Umngot*, at that season: amongst the Khasis hills are all of them masculine, but to rivers is usually attributed the feminine gender. U Symper is another isolated rocky eminence rising from the Maharam plain close to the village of K'mawan. The best view of the hill is obtainable from Laitmawsiang on the path to Mawsynram. The village of Mawsmai every traveller from Therria to Cherrapunji knows. It is chiefly remarkable for a fairly large limestone cave, and its fine memorial stones. The Khasi theory to explain how the moon got its spots is, I believe, original, but is no more extraordinary than our own nursery tale about the "man in the moon." The *Sohpet Byneng* hill is the first hill of any size that the traveller sees on the Gauhati road when journeying to Shillong. It is close to Umsning Dak Bungalow. There are caves in the hill which are tenanted by bears. Strange to say, according to Khasi ideas, this is one of the highest points in the hills; in reality *Sophet Byneng* is some 2,000 ft. lower than the Shillong Peak. As mentioned elsewhere, the Khasis are very fond of dogs; so I have given their version of how the dog came to live with man. The well-known *thlen* superstition will be found fully described under the heading of "Human sacrifices." I have, however, thought the tale of sufficient interest to reproduce at length here. The story of the river Rupatylli is a pretty tale, and is just such a one as would appeal to the imagination of mountaineers like the Khasis. The Kopili story is important, in that it indicates the origin of human sacrifices in the Jaintia Hills; it also throws, perhaps, some light on the question of the use to which the flat table memorial stones were put in years gone by. The superstition about the crossing of the Kopili can be vouched for by many who have taken the journey from the Jaintia Hills to North Cachar by the Kopili route. Mawpunkyrtiang is a small village close to Cherrapunji. The weird tale about the Siem of Malyniang is the pride of the Maskut people, for in olden days their King,

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773 i.e. the Siem of Malyniang, is supposed to have been a very powerful monarch amongst the Khasis. The story of Manick [534] Raitong is interesting, in that it explains the origin of the use of the *sharati*, a bamboo flute of special make which is played only at funerals. The pool of water, which was formed after U [144] Manick and the erring queen were burnt, may be connected with the *Umkoi*, or tank, which is dug to cleanse the souls of those who have died violent deaths. The idea of the bamboo, which bore leaves that grew upside-down, springing up from the buried flute, is also to be found in the Synteng tale regarding U Loh Ryndi's fishing-rod. Owing to considerations of space, I have had to curtail largely the folk-lore section. I have, however, kept the materials by me, and if at any future time there is reason to believe that the reproduction of more Khasi folk-lore is called for, I shall be glad to try to arrange that some of the other folk-tales be printed.

The Water-fall of Ka Likai.

539 [133] The water-fall of Ka Likai is one of the most beautiful water-falls in the Khasi Hills. Its stream flows from a certain river from the village of Rangjirteh and passes by the village of Nongriat. The fall can be seen distinctly from the village of Laitkynsew. What a beautiful fall it is when viewed in the autumn. It is also a very high fall. There was in olden days in the village of Rangjirteh a woman called Ka Likai. She was a poor woman who had a husband. When she had given birth to a child, the husband died. Whilst the child was yet a baby, she experienced much trouble in taking care of it on account of her poverty. After the child was able to walk, what a pleasure it was to her to see it growing, and able to play with other children. Then that woman married

Ka Ksháid ka Likai.

Ka ksháid-ka-Likai ka long kawei ka ksháid ha ri Khasi kaba ítynnad shibún eh. Ka wan tuid na kawei ka wah ha ka shnong Rangjirteh kaba wan hap ha ka shnong Nongriat. Ia kane ka ksháid lah ban ioh-i bha na ka shnong Laitkynsew. Katno ka long kaba i-tynnad lada khmih ia ka ha ka por synrúi. Ka long ruh kaba jrong shibun eh. La don kawei ka briew ha ka shnong Rangjirteh hyndái kaba kyrteng ka Likai. Kane ka briew ka long kaba duk bad ka la don u tnga, te ynda la kha iwei i khun kynthei uta u tnga u la iap noh. Hamar ka por ba dang lung ita i khun ka la shitom shibún ban sumar ha ka jinglong duk jong ka. Te ynda i la nangiáid katno, ka la engewbhá ban ioh-i ia la i khun ha i la sháit, bad ha i la nang ba'n leh kái bad ki para khynnah. Te kane ka

another man; but he did not love the little child, and many a time he got angry because she could not take care of him more, on account of that child.

One day when she went to carry iron ore, her husband took the child and killed it. When he had cut up the body into pieces, he prepared curry with it, and placed the curry where the mother would come and eat it. When he had finished doing so, he threw the head and the bones of the child far away, but he forgot to throw away the fingers, which he had placed in a basket where the betel-nut was kept. When the mother returned from her journey, she inquired "Where is the child?" "She has just gone somewhere, I don't know where," he said. She remained silent awhile; then she said, "Is there any rice and curry?" He said "Yes, it is ready," and went out at the same time. When she ate, she found the curry very tasty, and she thought that he had got the flesh of a young pig from some one who had performed a sacrifice. When she had finished eating, she took up the betel-nut basket, but found the fingers of her child there. She shrieked and threw herself down, and then ran to the precipice and cast herself down it. All the villagers wondered, but no one ventured to prevent her as she held a da in her hand. From that time the waterfall was called the "Fall of Ka Likai."

The Dingiei Hill.

Dingiei Hill is one of the highest peaks in the Khasi

briew ka la shongkurim bad uwei pat u briew; hynrei uta u'm ieit ia ita i khún, bad katno ba u la jiw sngew bitár ba ka'm lah ban khreh ba'n sumar ia u na ka bynta ita i khún. 539

Te ha kawei ka sngi ba ka leit kit nongnar, utá u tnga u la shim ia ita i khún bad u la pyniap noh. Bad haba u la ot u la shet jintah ia ka doh jong i, u la buh ruh ha ka jaka ba ka'n wan bam ka kmie; bad ynda u la dep kumta baroh u la leit bred noh ia ka khlih bad ki shyieng sha jngái, hynrei ia ki shimpriahti ba u la buh ha ka shang kwái u'm kynmáw shuh ban leit bred. Haba la wan ka kmie na kata ka jingleit ka la kylli, "hangno ka khun"? "Tip ei, u ong, shano ka leit kái myntan." Ka shu sngap noh bad ka ong "La don ja don jintah ne em" u ong, "la don," bad hamar kata ka por u leit kái noh. Te haba ka la bam ja, ka sngew bang shibún, bad ka la tharai ba u ioh doh khún sniang na kino-kino kiba kñia, bad haba ka la lah bám ja ka la shim ka shang kwái ba'n bam kwái, ka shem pynban da ki shimpriahti ita i khún bad ka la lyniar la lympat ia lade kat ba lah, bad ka la mareh sha katei ka riat bad ka la pynnoh ia lade. Kumta lyngngoh ki shnong-ki-tháw baroh bad y'm lah ba'n khang mano-mano ruh, ka bat la ka wait ha ka kti. Te nadúh kata ka por ki khot "ka ksháid-ob-ka-Likai."

U Lum Dingiei.

U lum Dingiei u long u wei u lúm uba jrong shibún ha ri 539 133

539 [133] country, resembling in height and size the Shillong "Peak" which lies opposite and to the north of it. There are many villages on this hill belonging to the Shillong Siem. In olden days on the top of this hill grew a gigantic tree overshadowing the whole world, the name of that tree was "ka Dingiei." The Khasis came to a determination that if this tree were cut down (lit. destroyed) the world would become good and would have light, for as long as it (the tree) remained standing, the world remained dark and unfruitful. They accordingly came to an unanimous decision to fell it. When they cut (the tree) during the day and went back next morning, they found that the marks of cutting had been obliterated. Thus they cut each day, and next morning they found that the marks had disappeared. This was the case always. Then they marvelled why this thing was thus. They asked questions and they investigated; ka phreid (a very small bird) said "all this has happened because a tiger comes every night to (the foot of) the tree and licks the part of the tree which has been cut." Thereupon the men, having plied their axes and knives the whole day in cutting the tree (instead of carrying them away as usual), tied them to the incisions, with their edges pointing outwards. So when the tiger went as usual at night to lick the incisions, the sharp blades of the axes and knives cut his tongue. Thenceforth the tiger ceased to go to the tree; and as the tiger ceased

Khasi. U eyrim ha ki jing jong bad jingkhaw ia u lum Shillong, bad u long marpyrshah jong u shaphang Khasi. Haior une u lum don bon ki shnong haneh u Siem Shillong. Mynhyndéi haior une u lum don kawei ka diong kaba khaw shibon eh hadiah ba ka la kah dum ia ka pyrthei barah kawei, ka kyrteng kata ka diong ki khot ka Dingiei. Ki khim Khasi ki la ia kut jingmut ba lada yn ioh pyndah noh ia kane ka diong ka'n bha ka'n shái ka pyrthei, namar haiba ka dang ung, ka pyrthei ka dum bad ka'n lah ban ainieh. Kumta ki la ia iong da kawei ka jingmut ba'n ia khat noh ia ka. Ta yuda ki la pom ia ka myuengi, ki lott pai myuntep ki shem ba la dam noh ka dien pom. Kumta ki pom bieng ia ka kawei ka engi, yuda lashái myuntep ka dam-pa-dam bieng. Shu kumta barabor ka long. Hangta ki la lyngngoh, bana balei ka long kumne. Ki ia kylli ki ia ushkin; eng ka phreid (ka sim haba rit shibun) "kane ka jinglong ba dam kumne haba phi la pom ka long namar u khla myumiet myumiet u wan jlish ia ka dien ba phi la pom." Ta kumta ki khim bynriew yuda ki la lah pom myuengi barah shi engi, myumiet ki teh pyn-eng da ki wait ki edi ka kata ka jaka ka ki la lah pom. Kumta u khla haba u wan myumiet u jlish phrt u thyllied haba kyndah ka kita ki eyrti wait eyrti edi. Kumtah nadah kata ka pur um wan shih; bad yuda um ioh shah ban jlish kata ka dien pom u khun bynriew, ruh kam dam shah. Shu nangdep ka jingtrei man ka engi haddh

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to lick the interior, the mark was not obliterated as before. So their work went on progressing every day until ka Dingiei fell. Then the world received light, and cultivation thrives, and there was nothing more to stand in the way of the light of the sun and the moon. It was for that reason that the name of "U Lum Dingiei" was given to the hill. Nobody knows what became of the tree, for since the time it fell its species has died out and there is no seed of it (to be found) anywhere on the earth from which it can be grown.

ka la kylleu ka Dingiei. Kumta 539
ka shii phir ka pyrthei bad ka
mashka ka shung ka tep ka
rep ka sei yuda yudon ka shir
shah ia ka ungi ia u bnai. Na-
machain ki ka ioh ban khot
kyrkong ia ene u lum "u Lum
Dingiei." Ia ka jingiong kano
ka Dingiei yer don ka tip ei-
ei nadih kata ka pir hadih
myrta, namar nadih ka la
kylleu ka ingdih* bad yer don
symbai ka ban pyrmih bai-
bani ka ka pyrthei hadih kano
ka ungi.

Concerning the Origin of the Siems of Shillong.

The Siem of Shilling is a very great and powerful chief in the Khasi Hills. He is generally known throughout the Khasi Hills as the "god king." By the term "god king" is meant that God has been pleased to give over to him the largest portion of the Khasi country, i.e. the kingdom of Shilling, to rule. If you seek for the origin of these "god kings," you will find there is great uncertainty about it. At any rate there is a tradition amongst the Khasis to the following effect. In olden days a rumour got abroad that there was a woman in a cave called Marai, which is situated near the present village of Pomlakrai, at the source of the river Umiew or Umiam. She was a young and very

Shaphang ka long U Siem Shillong.

U Siem Shilling u long ewai 541
u Siem uba khaw shibin bad
uba don bir ruh ka kano ka ri
lum Khasi. Ia ene u Siem ia
jer kna kanih kawai ka ri ka u
long u Siem-Blei. Haba ong
Siem-Blei ka ward ka U Blei u
la i ann ungwbha ka'n ain ka u
ban symbar ia kawai ka hynta
haba khaw ka ri Khasi. Ha
ene la ki ka'n symbar ka ri
Shilling. Haba wad ia ka
jingdeng jong kine ki Siem
Blei don shibin ka jingh'yn
shiteu. La kumno-kumno ka
don ka jingmiln-khana kum
kano haba harum ka pydeng ki
Khasi hadih eano ka ungi.
Ha haba synghong ah ia hynn
ka don kawai ka briew ka ka
kum Marai haba lajer ka
shnong Pomlakrai myrta, ka
rylleng ka wah Umiew ar
Umiam. Kata ka briew haba

* Ingdeh is the regular word used for a clan, and in this case a species dying out.

519 beautiful damsel. Of the reality of the damsel's existence there is no question. Many tried to catch her, but they could not, owing to the narrowness of the cave. There came, however, a certain very clever man who went to entice her by showing her a flower called "u tiew-jalyngkieng." The damsel then came (out) near to snatch the flower, but the man went on holding back his hand until she came out into a more open place, when he seized her. He then brought her to his house and carefully tended her, and afterwards he married her. That damsel was called "*Ka Pah Syntiew*, the flower-lured one," because that man caught her by coaxing and enticing her with a flower. That man, who came from the village of Nongjri in the Bhoi country, was called the Nongjri Kongor. After she had given birth to daughters and sons, she returned to the same place whence she had been captured, and from that time forth she never came out again, however much her husband and children called and implored her. Her children increased in stature and in wisdom, and the people hearing of the wonderful origin of their mother, came from all parts of the country to look at them. The children also were very clever at showing their humility and good manners in the presence of the elders. All the people (in return) loved them and considered them to be the children of the gods, and did homage to them. It occurred to the nobles and leaders of the Shillong Raj to appoint them Siems, because dang met samla haba bhabriew shibain ah. Ia haba ka don, ka don bangta barabor, bad bün ki ia pyrshang ban kem ia ka, kim lah namar ka long ka kwam haba khim. Te ynda la mih uwai u briew uba khum sian u la leit khrub ia ka da haba pyni da u syntiew uba ki khot u tiew-ja-lyngkieng. Kamta katno ka briew ka la wan hajan ba'n kynish ia uta u syntiew, te uta u briew u nangring da haba pynran ia la ka kti khynduat khynduat haddih ka'n da mih ha haba khum kyllunid ka jaka, u ca kem ia ka. Hangta u la wallum uba la iong, u ri u sumar bha ia ka, bad hadien-hadien u la shongburim ia ka. Te la khot kyrtong ia kata ka briew ka Pahsyntiew, namar ka uta u briew u ioh kem ia ka da haba khrub ka pah da u syntiew. Uta u briew u long uba na Nongjri Bhoi, bad ki jaw khot u Kongor Nongjri ia u. Te ynda ka la kha ki khün, kynthei bad shyrwang, ka la leit phot uba kajah ka jaka na haba u la ioh kem ia ka, bad naddih kata ka pur ka'n wan shrub, la'n tuga ki khün ki leit khot leit pyrta katno-katno ruh. Kita ki khün ki la nangdwait nang sian, bad ki briew ruh, haba ki la lesa ia ka jinglong haba phylla ka jong ka kmie jong ki, ki la wan khwang na kyllong ki jaka ba'n khmih ia kita ki khynnah. Te kita ki khynnah ki la nang shibain ba'n lah rin ba'n lah don ahdi ka khmat ki synnam briew, ki briew ruh bawh ki a leit ia ki bad ki thaiai ba ki long ki khün Bhoi. Kamta ki la ia ngith ki la ia dam ia kita ki khynnah bad hadien kata ka la jia ka ki

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(they said) the children had been born of a wonderful woman, who, it seemed very clear, was the daughter of the "god Shillong." Therefore they gladly decided to appoint them Siems in the country of Shillong (i.e. the present Khyrim and Mylliem States). The children thus became Siems, and they were called "Ki Siem-Blei" (the god kings) of Shillong.*

dohnód kiba khráw-batri, ki tymmen-ki-san ha ka ri Shillong ban thung Siem ia ki namar ki khynnah ki long kiba la wan kha da ka briew kaba phylla shibán, kaba imat eh ba ka long ka khán u Blei Shillong. Te kumta ki la ia kut da ka mon snowbha baroh ba'n thung Siem ia ki ha ka hima Shillong, bad kumta la long Siem kita ki khynnah, ki synshéh bad ki khot ruh ia ki Siem-Blei-Siem-Shillong.

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U Loh Ryndi and Ka Lin Donkha.

The Syntengs give the following explanation of the origin of the Siems of Sohtinga. There was a man from Wár Umwi named U Loh Ryndi. He went one day to fish in the Umwi stream. When he had caught only one fish, he returned home. He roasted the fish and placed it on the *tyngir* (a swinging shelf above the hearth). He forgot that it was there, and did not remember to eat it. The next morning he went out for a walk to the hill. When he returned home in the evening, he found his house had been swept and locked after, and that the rice had been cooked. He was much surprised at this. The next day the same thing happened. When this state of things continued to occur, he made a pretence of going for a walk to the hill and he called his dog. But he concealed himself the whole day outside the village, and when it was

U Loh Ryndi bad Ka Lin Donkha.

Ki Synteng ki batai ia ka jinglong tynrai ki Siem Sohtinga kumne. Ka don u wei U Wár Umwi, uba kyrteng U Loh Ryndi, uba la leit khwái dohkha na ka Wah Umwi; te yuda la ngut tang kata kawei u la wan noh sha la iong. Yuda u la syang u la bah noh haior tyngir ha ka ruh. Hangta u la klet bad um kynnáw shuh ban bám ia ka. Kumta yuda la-shái myntep u la leit kái pat sha lum, te haba u la wan noh la jan miet u la shem ia ka ing jong u ba la sér la sumar bad ka ja ba la ih. Myukata u la lyngngoh shibún ba ka long kumne. Te kum la-shái ka la long kumjuh. Yuda ka shu dem iaiong kumne-pa-kumne la bún ein eh, yuda kumta u la leh ia lalle kum u ban sa leit lum, u da ting ia u kaew. Hinrei u la rih noh baroh shi ungi burud nong, bad yuda la poi ka pur shet ja u la wan noh sha ing. Te myuba u la inh-i ba la

* The Shillong Peak is thought to be the seat of a powerful bint or god who has his abode in the wood close to the top of the "Peak." Another folk-tale will be found concerning this god.

[Ka]

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539 time for cooking rice (evening), he returned home. When he saw that smoke was rising from the house, he crept up stealthily in order that he might suddenly enter the house. Finding a woman there, he said, "Who art thou?" She replied, "I am Ka Lih Dohkha. I am the fish whom thou didst catch and forget to eat." She forthwith added, "Thou must not let any one know. I have many relatives. Come, let us go and fetch them to come here." So U Loh Ryndi bade his mother take care of the house until his return from his journey. They went together and arrived at the place where he had caught her, and she jumped into the water and he remained on the dry land. After a while she returned, bringing with her her relatives, but how many of them there were is not known. They all went to the house of U Loh Ryndi. When Ka Lih Dohkha began to enter the house, and was about to cross the threshold, she saw a broom which his mother had placed on the threshold. She therefore abruptly turned back with all her relatives to the river. After that U Loh Ryndi saw in a dream that Ka Lih Dohkha had gone by the river Umwai Khyrwi to a village called Suhtnga. (Since that time all the fish have left the river up to the present day.) He accordingly went to angle for her in that stream, and when he had caught her, he found that she looked after him just the same as before. After that he married Ka Lih Dohkha and she bore him twelve daughters and a son. When the children tydem ding ha ieng u la syntiat bha biang ba un ioh rung kynsan bluit hapoh. Hynda kumta u la shem ia ka kynthei hangta. U la ong ia ka, "Pha kaei"? Ka la ong ia u, "nga long Ka Lih-dohkha, ma nga, nga long kata ka dohkha ba me la ngat bad me la klet ban bam." Ynda kumta ka la ong ia u "me wat pyntip iano iano ruh, nga don ki kur shibún eh, ngin ia leit shów ia ki ban wan noh shane." Kumta U Loh Ryndi u la buh ia la ka kmie ban sumar ia ka iing tad ynda un wan na ka jingleit jong u. Ynda ki la ia leit ki la poi ha kata ka jaka ba u la ngat ia ka. Ynda kumta ka la sid ha ka um, u te u nang sah ha ka ryngkew. Te la shibit ka la wan pat sha u bad ka wallam lem bad ka ia ki kur, hinrei ki long katno ngut ym lah banong, bad ki la leit baroh sha ka iing U Loh Ryndi. Te mynba Ka Lih Dohkha ka la sydang rung ha iing, hamar ba kan sa jám ia ka shahksew ka la ioh-i ia u synsar ba la buh ka kmie jong u hapoh kata ka shahksew; namarkata ka la kylla din bak bad ki kur jong ka sha kata ka wah. Hadin kata U Loh Ryndi u la phohsniw, u la ioh-i ha kata ka jingphohsniw ia Ka Lih Dohkha ba ka la leit noh sha ka shnong ba ki khot ka Suhtnga ha ka Umwai-khyrwi (naduh kata la jah noh ki dohkha ha ka wah Umwi haduh mynta). Te u ruh u la leit sha kata ka wah ban khwai ia ka, bad ynda u la ngat u la shem ba ka sumar ia u kumjuh. Ynda nangta u la shongkurim bad Ka Lih Dohkha, bad u la ioh khún khadar ngut ki kynthei uwei u shynrang. Ynda la

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of U Loh Ryndi and Ka Lih Dohkha grew up, both of them returned to the stream Umwai Khyrwi. It is said that from the fishing-rod of U Loh Ryndi, which he left on the bank of the stream, there grew up bamboos, the joints and leaves of which grow upside down to the present day.

rangbah kita ki khún u Loh Ryndi bad Ka Lih Dohkha ki la leit noh baroh ar ngut ha kata ka Umwai Khyrwi. Te ki ong ba na u ryngwiang khwai jong U Loh Ryndi, harud um ba u la ieh noh, la long ki shken kiba ka mat ka long khongpong bad ka sla de kumjuh jen haduh mynta. 539

Kyllang and Symper.

Kyllang is a hill which is near the village of Mawnai in Khadsawphra, and Symper is a hill which is situated in the Siemship of Maharam. The old folks say that there are gods which inhabit these hills, which are called U Kyllang and U Symper. These gods had a quarrel for some reason that we mortals do not know. They fought by throwing mud at one another. After they had fought, once or twice, U Kyllang proved victorious. So U Symper, having been humiliated, sits quietly in his own place to this day, and U Kyllang sits very proudly because he was victorious in the fight. The holes which are like tanks in U Symper's sides remain to this day; it is said that U Kyllang made those holes during the battle.

U Kyllang* bad U Symper.

U Kyllang u long u lúm uba hajan ka shnong Mawnái ha Khadsawphra bad U Symper u dei u lúm uba long ha ri Maharam. Ha kine ki lúm ki tymmen ki jiw tharai ba don ki blei kiba shong hangto kiba kyrteng U Kyllang bad U Symper. Kine ki blei baroh ar ngut ki la ia kajia namar kano kano ka dáw kaba ngi u bynriw ngim lah ban tip. Te ki la ialeh baroh ar ngut da kaba ia khawoh ktih. Ynda ki la ialeh shi por ar por jop U Kyllang. Kumta U Symper u shong pynrit ia lade ha l. ka jaka jar-jar haduh mynta, bad U Kyllang u shong da kaba engew khráw engew sarong shibún ba u la jop ha ka jingialeh. Ki thiw kiba long kum ki pukri kiba don ha ki krung u lúm Symper ki sah haduh mynta; ki ong ba la pynlong ia kito ki thiw di U Kyllang ha ka por ialeh. [133]

The Siem creating stone at Mawsmai.

On the outskirts of Mawsmai village, and to the west of it,

U Mawlong Siem ha Mawsmai.

Harád 'nong Máwsmái dor u wei u lúm uba shaphang 539 133

* Another version is that it was U Kyrphei, another hill in Nongpoing territory, who fought with U Symper.

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539 [133] stands a hill; it is a very beautiful hill. From a distance it looks like the hump of a bull. It has big trees growing on it, as people are afraid to cut them because they believe that the god "Ryngkew" is there, who takes care of and protects the country. This hill has two names, U Mawlong Siem and U Lyngkrem. U Mawlong Siem is the smaller (peak) on the southern side, and U Lyngkrem the taller one, in which there is a cave. The 539 Mawsmai people sacrifice once 776 or twice a year according to 782 the god's demand. The Mawsmai people have, besides U Mawlong Siem, other village gods (called "Ryngkew"). The name of the one is "U Rangjadong," and the name of the other "U Ramsong." Sacrifices are offered to these two 539 also. U Mawlong Siem is a very great and stern god. The other gods dare not engage in battle with him. He has a daughter called "Ka Khmat Kharai" (i.e. the mouth of the abyss). The god of the Umwai people fell in love with this daughter, but he was unable to obtain her in marriage, as U Mawlong Siem did not like him. It is not possible to know the exact reason why the name of U Mawlong Siem was given to him, but at any rate it appears that the name arose from the fact that in olden days before the death of a Siem there used to be heard at "Mawlong Siem" a great noise of beating of drums. The Mawsmai and the Mawmluh people used to hear it, and they attributed it to the god "Mawlong Siem," who beat the drum for his sepngi na ka shnong. Une u lúm uba i-tynnad shibún. Ban khymih na sha jingngái u long kum u syntai masi kyrtong. U don ki dieng kiba khráw ki bým jiw don ba núd ban thoh ban daiñ namar ba ki ñiew ba u long U Ryngkew u blei uba sumar uba da ia ka muluk ka jaka. Ia une u lúm ki khot ar kyrteng, U Mawlong Siem bad U Lyngkrem, U Máwlong Siem u long uta uba kham lyngkot shaphang shathi, bad U Lyngkrem u long uta uba jerong eh bad uba don ka krem Pubon hapoh. Ia une U Mawlong Siem ki Máwsmái ki jiw ai jingknia da u blang shisin shi snem ne shi sin ar snem katba u pan. Ki Mawmluh ruh ki leh kumjuh na la shnong. Nalor une U Mawlong Siem ki Máwsmái ki don shuh ki Ryngkew hajan shgong, uwei U Rangjadong bad uwei pat U Ramsong. Ia kine ki kñia. Une U Mawlong Siem u long u blei uba khráw shibún bad uba eh. Ki para blei kim núd ban ia leh thyma ia ki. U don kawei ka khén kaba kyrteng "Ka Khymat Kharái," u blei ki Umwái u i-bha ia ka, hinrei um lah poi namar U Máwlong Siem úm sngewbha ia u. Ban tip thikna ia ka dáw balei ba khot kyrteng Máwlong Siem ia u ym leh ban tip; hinrei la kumno kumno i-mat ba kane ka kyrteng ka la mih namar ba mynhyndái haba yn sa iap Siem la jiw ioh sngew hangta ha U Máwlong Siem ba don ka jingsawa tem ksing kaba khraw shibun. Ki Mawsmai bad ki Mawmluh ki jiw ioh sngew, bad ki jiw tharai ba u blei Mawlong Siem u tem ksing ban pynshád khún. Lei lei haba la

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children to dance to. At any rate, when this sound is heard, it never fails to portend the death of a Siem. It appears that this hill was called "Mawlong Siem" for that reason.

ioh sngew kum kata ka jingsawa ym jiw pep ia ka ban iap Siem, bad i-mat ba na kata ka daw la khot kyrteng ia une u lum Máwlong Siem. 539

Why there are Spots on the Moon.

In olden days there was a woman who had four children, three girls and one boy. Their names were these, Ka Sngi (sun), Ka Um (water), Ka Ding (fire), and U Bynai (moon). These four children belonged to rich gentle folk. The Moon was a wicked young man, for he began to make love to his elder sister, Ka Sngi. In the beginning the Moon was as bright as the Sun. When the Sun became aware of his bad intentions, she was very angry. She took some ashes in her hand and said to him, "do you harbour such an incestuous and wicked intention against me, your elder sister, who has taken care of you and held you in her arms, and carried you on her back like a mother does; now I will cover your brow with ashes, you wicked and shameless one; begone from the house." Then the Moon felt very much ashamed, and from that time he gave out a white light because the Sun had covered him with ashes. What we see like a cloud (on the Moon) when it is full, are the ashes which adhered from the time the Sun covered him with them. The three daughters, however, remained at home to take care of their mother, until she grew old and died.

Kumno ba la Thoh dak U Bynai.

La don kawei ka briew mynhyndái kaba don saw ngut ki khún, lai ngut ki kynthei bad u wei u shynrang. Ki kyrteng jong ki ki long kine, Ka Sngi, Ka Um, Ka Ding, bad U Bynái. Kine baroh saw ngut ki la long ki khún ríwbha khún don burom shisha shisha. Te une U Bynái u la long u bríew uba riwnar, u sydang ban i-bha ia la ka hynmen, Ka Sngi. Une U Bynái ruh ha kaba mynnyngkong u long uba phyrnái hi ryngkat Ka Sngi. Te ynda ka Sngi ka la sngewthuh ia ka jingmut riwnar jong u ka la sngew bittar shibún bad ka la shim u dypei ha la ka kti bad ka la ong ia u, "da kum kane ka kam kaba sang kaba sníw phi thew ia nga ka hynmen kaba la thum la bah, la sumar sukher kum ka kymie ryngkat; mynta ngan tep da u dypei ia ka shyllangmat jong me u riwnar u khlem raiñ,—khie phet noh na iing." Te U Bynái u la sngew rem sngew raiñ shibún eh. Bad naduh kata ka por U Bynái u kylla da ka jingshái kaba líh namar ba tep Ka Sngi da u dypei. Bad uta uba ngi ioh-i ha U Bynái kum u l'oh ha ka por ba u pyllun u long u dypei keiñ uba sah naduh ba tep Ka Sngi. Te ki sah lai ngut ki para kynthei kiba sumar ia la ka kmie ba la sydot la tymmen haduh ba kan da iap.

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"Sohpet Byneng" Hill.

539 In olden days, when the earth was very young, they say that heaven and earth were very near to one another, because the navel-string of heaven drew the earth very close to it. This navel-string of heaven, resembling flesh, linked a hill near Sumer with heaven. At that time all the subjects of the Siem of Mylliem throughout his kingdom came to one decision, i.e. to sever the navel-string from that hill. After they had cut it, the navel-string became short; and, as soon as it shortened, heaven then ascended high. It was since that time that heaven became so high, and it is for that reason that they call that hill which is near Sumer "U Sohpet Byneng."

U Lúm Sohpet Byneng.

Mynhyndái mynba dang lung ka pyrthei ki ong ba ka byneng bad ka khyndew ki ia jan shibún namar ba U Sohpet Byneng u ring ia ka byneng ba'n wan kham hajan. Une U Sohpet Byneng u long kum ka doh kaba snoh na u wei u lum uba hajan Sumer bad ka snoh ruh ia ka byneng. Te mynkata ka pór ki khún ki raiot U Siem Mylliem baroh kawei ka hima ki ia ryntieh kawei ka buit ban ia ieng ba'n khet noh ia uta U Sohpet Byneng na uta u lum. Te ynda ki la ialeh ba'n khet ia u u la dykut, bad tang u shu dykut ka byneng ka la kiw theng sha jerong. Kumta ka shu jngái kumne ka byneng nadúh kata ka pór ba dykut U Sohpet Byneng nalór uta u lúm. Kane ruh ka long ka dáw namar balei ba la khot ia uta u lúm uba don hajan Sumer "U Lúm Sohpet Byneng."

How the Dog came to live with Man.

In olden days, when the world was young, all the beasts lived happily together, and they bought and sold together, and they jointly built markets. The largest market where all the beasts used to take their articles for sale was "Luri-Lura," in the Bhoi country. To that market the dog came to sell rotten peas. No animal would buy that stinking stuff. Whenever any beast passed by his stall, he used to say "Please buy this stuff." When they looked at it and smelt it, it gave out a bad odour. When many animals had collected together

Kumno u Ksew u la wan shong bad u Briew.

Mynhyndái, mynba dang lung ka pyrthei shibit, ki mrád ki mreng lái phew jaid ki ia suk ki ia lok para mrád, bad ki ju ia-die-ia-thied, ia tháw iew tháw hat ryngkat. Te ka iew kaba khráw tam eh kaba poi baroh ki lái phew mrád ba'n wallam la ki jingkhaii pateng ka long ka Iew "Luri-Lura" na ri Bhoi. Ha kata ka iew u ksew u wan die 'tung rymbái, te ym man don ba pán thied satia ia kata ka ktung. La iaid kawei ka mrád u tyrwa, "To thied kane ka ktung." Haba ka la khmih bad ka la fw, kaba iwtung pynban, la iaid kawei pat ruh shu

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near the stall of the dog, they took offence at him, and they said to him, "Why have you come to sell this evil-smelling, dirty stuff?" They then kicked his ware and trampled it under foot. The dog then complained to the principal beasts and also to the tiger, who was at that time the priest of the market. But they condemned him, saying, "You will be fined for coming to sell such dirty stuff in the market." So they acted despitefully towards him by kicking and trampling upon his wares. When the dog perceived that there was no one to give ear to his complaint, he went to man, who said, "Come and live with me, and I will arise with you to seek revenge on all the animals who have wronged you." The dog agreed and went to live with man from that time. Then man began to hunt with the assistance of the dog. The dog knows well also how to follow the tracks of the animals, because he can scent in their footprints the smell of the rotten pea stuff which they trod under foot at Luri-Lura market.

The "Thlen."

In olden days there was a market in the village of Langhiang Kongkhen, and there was a bridge sacred to the gods there. All the children of men used to frequent that heavenly market. They used to pass by

shem ba ka long kumta, kaba sniew bad kaba íwtung ka jingdie jong u ksew. Te haba ki la ialang kham bún ha ka basa jong u ki la phoi ia u ksew, ki ong "balei me wan die ia ka ktung kaba íw jakhlia?" bad ki la kynjat ia ka jingdie jong u bad ki la iúh hapoh slajat. Te u ksew u la mudui ha ki para mrád kiba kham rangbah bad ha u khla uba long lyngdoh, ha kata ka iew. Pynban ki la pynrem ia u, bad ki la ong, "yn dain kuna ia me uba wan die ia ka jakhlia ha ka iew ka hat." Kumta ki la leh bein ia u da kaba iuh kaba kynjat ia kata ka ktung. Te u ksew haba u ioh-i b'ym don ba sngap ia ka jingmudui jong u, u la wan sha u bynriew, bad u bynriew u la ong "To wan shong noh bad nga nga'n ieng ryngkat bad me ba'n wád kyput ia ki lái phew mrád kiba leh bein ia me." Te kumta u ksew u la kohnguh bad u la wan shong bad u bynriew nadúh kata ka pór. Nangta sa long ka beh mrád u bynriew ryngkat bad ka jingiarap u ksew. U ksew ruh u tip ba'n búd dien ia ki mrád, namar u sngewthúh ba ka dien ka khnap ka mrád baroh ka don ka jingíw-khong ba la sah ka jingíw nadúh kata ka pór ba ki iúh ia ka ktung rymbái jong u ha ka Iew Luri-Lura.

Shaphang U Thlen.

Mynhyndái la don ka iew ha Langhiang Kongkhen, ba don ka jingkieng blei hangta. Baroh ki khún bynriw ki ia wan ha kane ka iew blei. Ki iáid lynti na Rangjirteh, kaba don ka krem u thlen uba khráw eh. Te katba ki leit sha kane ka

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539 Rangjirteh, where there is a cave which was tenanted by a gigantic "thlen." When they went to that market, as soon as they arrived at Rangjirteh they were swallowed up by the "thlen." The "thlen" did this in obedience to an order he had received. If ten people went there, five of them were swallowed up half of them he devoured, and half of them he let go. But any one who went alone was no touched by the "thlen," for it was necessary for him to leave untouched half (of the number of those who went). When many people had been devoured, and when they saw that all the children of men would be destroyed, whether they were Khasis or plains people, they held a great durbar at Sunnai market to which both Khasis and plains people went. They considered together as to how to devise a means by which they could slay the "thlen" which had devoured the children of men. After they had deliberated for a long time theydecided to adopt the following plan. In the grove that is close to Laitryngew, which iscalled "the grove of U Suidnoi," there was a man called "U Suidnoh." They counselled together to get "U Suidnoh" to make friends with the "thlen." This Suidnoh was a courageous man who did not care for any one. He used always to walk alone; so when he went to the "thlen," the latter did not eat him because there was no one else with him who could be let go. The people advised U Suidnoh that he should go and give the "thlen" flesh every

iew blei tang shu poi ha Rangjirteh la ngúid noh u thlen. U leh kum ha kane ka rukom kat kum ka hukum ba u la ioh. Lada iáid shiphew ngut, san ngut la ngúid noh; shiteng shiteng la bám, shiteng shiteng la pyllait noh. Hinrei ia uba iáid wei briew ym bit ba'n bám. Ka dei ba'n da pyllait shiteng shiteng. Te ynda la lut than eh ki briew, ki i ruh kum ba'n sa dúh ki khún bynriew baroh, bad Khasi bad Dykhar, hangta ki la sydang ba'n lum ka dorbar bah ha ka iew Sunnai, u Dykhar u hangta u Khasi ruh hangta. Ki ia pyrkhat ba'n ioh ka buit ka lád da kumno ki lah ba'n pyniap noh ia u thlen uba la bam dúh ia u khún bynriew. Ynda ki la dorbar kham slem ki la ioh ka lád kaba biang kumne. Ha kata ka khláw hajan Laitryngew kaba ki khot 'láw Suidnoh la don uwei uba kyrteng "U Suidnoh" ki la ong ba'n pynialok ia U Suidnoh bad U Thlen. Une U Suidnoh u long uba riwnar u b'ym jiw iáid ryngkat briew. Wei briw, wei briw, u iáid. Kumta haba u leit sha U Thlen ruh u'm bám satia namar ba U Thlen hi ruh u'm jiw bám ha b'ym don jingpyllait. Ki briew ki la sylla ia U Suidnoh ba un leit ai doh ia u hala ka sngi; u ai da ki blang, ki sniang, ki massi. Haba la leh kumta kham slem U Thlen u la júh, u la ia lok bha bad "U Suidnoh." Te ynda kine ki la ia juh bha, u khún bynriew u la bythah pat ia U Suidnoh ba u'n shna shlem, bad u la shna shlem ba'n pyrsut nar-wah. Ynda u la pyrsut ia u nar badúh ba u la sáw bha háin u la khap na ka lawar ding bak bad katba u

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day, either goats, or pigs, or cattle. After he had done this for a long time, the "thlen" became tame, and was great friends with U Suidnoh. When both of them became very intimate thus, the children of men advised U Suidnoh to build a smelting house. So he built a smelting house and made the iron red-hot, and, holding it with a pair of tongs, took it to the "thlen." When he arrived he said to the "thlen," "Open your mouth, open your mouth, brother-in-law, here is some flesh." As soon as he opened his mouth, he threw the red-hot iron down his throat. The monster then struggled and wriggled so violently in its death agony that the earth shook as if there had been an earthquake. When U Suidnoh saw the death struggle of the "thlen," he fainted (from excitement). The quaking of the earth startled all the children of men, and they thought that something had happened. When U Suidnoh did not return home his family went to look for him, for they knew that he had gone to feed the "thlen" with red-hot iron. They found him there lying in a faint. When they had revived him, they asked him why he had fainted thus. He replied, "When I was feeding the 'thlen' with red-hot iron, he struggled and wriggled and I fainted. Come, let us go and see what has become of him." They then went and found that the "thlen" was dead. They then published abroad all over the world that the "thlen" was dead, and they convened a durbar to decide about eating dang sáw dang khluid bha u la leit lam ha U Thlen. Tang shu poi u ong "Ko kynum ang, ang, kane ka doh," bad tang u shu ang u la thep jluk ha u pydot. Hangta U Thlen u la khih u la lympat u la kyrthat u la ksaid iap hadúh ba la win ka khyndew kumba khih u jumái. Hangta U Suidnoh, haba u ioh-i ia ka jingksáid iap U Thlen, u ruh u la iaplér b'ym tip briew shúh. Te kata ka jingwin ka khyndew ka la pynkyndit ia u khún bynriew baroh ha ka pyrthei, bad ki la pyrkhat ba la jia ei ei. U Suidnoh u'm poi shúh sha la iing, te kiba ha iing jong u ki la leit wád, namar ki la tip ba u la leit ai jingbám ha U Thlen da u nar sáw: hangta ki la shem ba u la iap lér, bad ki la pynkyndit ia u bad ki la kylli ia u "Balei me iaplér kumne?" U ong, "Hamar ba nga dang ai jingbam ia U Thlen da u nar sáw ba la pyrsut bha, u la kyrthat khih lympat U Thlen bad nga la iap lér. "Ia, ia leit khymih kumno u la long." Ynda ki la ia leit khymih ki shem ba la iap U Thlen. Hangta la pynbyna hàw ia ka pyrthei baroh ba la lah iap U Thlen, bad u lûm ka dorbar ba'n bám noh ia u. Hangta ha ka dorbar ki la ia kut kumne: ki Khasi ki'n bám shiteng bad ki Dykhar ki'n bam shiteng. Ynda la ia kut kumta ha ka dorbar ki la ieng ba'n leit sei noh na ka brem, bad ki la rah halor u máwsiang. Hangta ki la ia shain ia dain ia ka doh U Thlen lyngkhot lyngkhot. Ki Dykhar na mih-ngi, namar ba ki kham bún briew ki la bám lut ia la ka bynta, kim shym pynsah ei ei, kumta ym don Thlen shúh ha pyddeng ki

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539 him. In the durbar they came to the following understanding, i.e. that the Khasis should eat half, and the plains people half (of the body). After they had come to this decision in the durbar, they then went to take him out of the cave, and they lifted him on to a rock. They there cut into pieces the "thlen's" carcase. The plains people from the East, being more numerous, ate up their share entirely, not leaving anything—for this reason there are no "thlens" in the plains; but the Khasis from the West, being fewer in numbers, could not eat up the whole of their share; they left a little of it. Thus, because they did not eat it all, the "thlen" has remained with them. U Suidnoh gained for himself fame and honour, which he enjoys up to the present day. The Khasis, therefore, when they find that the hair or the clothes of any one belonging to them have been cut, refer the matter to U Suidnoh, and they sacrifice to him. The Syntengs also have their "thlen," but he differs much from the Khasi "thlen." The Syntengs also believe he is a kind of serpent, and there are some families and clans who keep him and worship him like a god. They sacrifice to him a pig only; they do not propitiate him with human blood as the Khasis do.*

Dylhar. Hinrei ki Khasi, na sepngi namar ba ki kham duna briew ki'm shym lah ba'n bam lut ia la ka bynta, ki la pynsah katto katne. Kumta namar ba ki'm shym bám lut, U Thlen u dang sah. U Suidnoh u la ioh la ka nám la ka burom hadúh mynta. Namar haba ki Khasi ki shem ba la ot shniuh ne ot jáin ki pynkit halor U Suidnoh bad ki ái jingknia ia u. Ki Synteng ruh ki don la U Thlen hinrei u phér shibun na U Thlen Khasi. Ki Synteng ruh ki ngeit ba u long u kynja bysein, bad don ki iing bad ki jaid kiba jiw ri ia u bad ki mane kum u blei. Ki ai jingknia ia u tang da u sniang, hinrei kim ái da ka snám briew kumba ái ki Khasi kiba ri ia u.

* For further details regarding the Khasi superstition of the "thlen," the reader is referred to the portion of the monograph dealing with human sacrifices. It may be mentioned that the "thlen's" cave is at a place called Pom Doloi in the territory of the Siem of Cherra, where there is also a rock called "Dain Thlen" (the cutting of the "thlen"). Another version of the story explaining why there are still "thlens" in the Khasi Hills is that there was an old woman who lived at a place called Mawphu, a village in a valley to the west of Cherrapunji. This old woman forgot to eat her share of the "thlen's" flesh, the result being that the species became repropagated.

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About the river "Rupatylli" at Duwara.

In ancient times, when the world was still young, there were two river goddesses who lived on the Shillong Peak; perhaps really they were the daughters of the god of the Peak. These two wagered one against the other that each would be the first to arrive in the Sylhet plains by cutting a channel for herself. They agreed to start from Shillong Peak. One followed the channel of the Umngot, and the other that of Umiew or Umiam. The one that followed the channel of Umngot chose a soft and easy bed, and although the way was a longer one, she did not find it a trouble to go by a circuitous route. When she reached the Sylhet plains she was called "Shengurkhat," and she then flowed past Chhatak and so reached Duwara. She looked round to see where Umiam was, but she could not descry her anywhere. So out of playfulness she flowed slowly, and she formed a channel like a necklace (*rupatylli*) by way of waiting to see where Umiam was. Umiew was very proud, she felt strong enough to make the channel she chose, and although it was through the midst of hills and rocks, she cared not a bit; so she wasted time by digging through the hills and boulders. When she reached Shella, she thought she could easily beat Umngot, for the course she had taken was a very straight one. When she got a little below Shella she saw Umngot shouting for joy with foaming waves

Shaphang ka wah Rupatylli ha Duwara.

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Hyndái mynba dang lung ka pyrthei la don ár ngut ki blei um kiba shong ha lúm Shillong. Lehse shisha ki long ki khún u blei Shillong. Kine ki la ia kop ba'n ia mareh ba'n ia pynpoi kloi sha ri madan Shilot da kaba ia pom mar kawei ka wah. Kumta ki la ia kut bad ki la ia mih na Shillong kawei ka Umngot bad kawei ka Umiew ne Umiám. Kata ka Umngot ka búd ia ka lynti na ba jem ba jem, la ka long kham jingngái ruh kam sngew salia ba'n iáid kyllain. Kumta ka la poi ha Shilot ba'n khot ka wah Shengurkhat bad ka iaid hadúh Shattok, bad ka poi ha Duwara. Ka khymih ia ka Umiam haei-haei-ruh, te ym ioh-i. Kumta ka la leh suki kái, ka tháw ka rupa tylli hangto ba'n long kumba sangeh ba'n ioh-i ia ka Umiám. Ka Umiew ka long kaba kham sarong, ka sngew khlain ba'n iaid na ka lynti kaba bit la ka long da ki lúm ne ki máw, ka'm suidniew, kumta ka la pynlut por ha kaba tih ia ki lúm bad ki máw. Ynda ka la poi ha Shella ka la shu mut ba'n jop ia ka Umngot namar ka lynti jong ka ka long kaba beit eb, te ynda ka la poi harum Shella khyndiat ka la ioh-i ia ka Umngot ba ka la risa da ka jingkhie dew ha ka wah Rupatylli ha Duwara. Kumta ka la sngew ráin suin bad ka la leh suki noh da kaba pynpait tynat ia lade san tylli, kawei ka Umtang; ár ka Umtarasa; lái ka Pasbiria; sáw ka wah Kumarjani; san ka wah Duwara. Kumne ka la

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539 in the Rupatylli channel at Duwara. She was covered with shame, and she slackened her speed and split herself up into five branches, namely, ka Umtong, ka Torasa, ka Pasbiria, ka Kumarjani, and ka Duwara. Umiam did this so as to hide her shame from Umngot. This is how the river Rupatylli was formed at Duwara, to be a token that Umngot had been victorious in her contest with Umiew.*

leh khnang ba'n búh rien ia la ka jingkhein burom ha khymat ka Umngot. Kumta sa long ka wah Rupatylli ha Duwara namar ka long ka dak ka jingjop ka Umngot ia ka Umiew.

The Kupli (Kopili).

539 133 484 782 The Kopili river rises in the "Black Mountains," † and flows northwards into the Brahmaputra. It is the boundary between the country of the Syntengs and that of the Hadems. ‡ Any traveller who wishes to cross this river must leave behind him the rice which he has taken for his journey, and any other food that he may have taken with him. If he does not do so, even if he crosses the river at an unforbidden point, he is liable to offer a sacrifice to the Kopili goddess. The people offer to her three fowls and three goats outside the village, i.e. one to the goddess herself, and the other two to her sons, U Shyngkram and U Jali; and five fowls, that

Shaphang Ka Kupli, U Shyngkram bad U Jali, ki Khún jong ka.

Ka Kupli ka long ka wah na ki lúm baiong bad ka túid da artet ha ka wah Brahmaputra. Ka long ka púd ia ka ri Synteng bad ka ri Hadem ha mihngi. Uno-uno u nongleit jingleit uba kwah ban jám ia kane ka wah Blei-Kupli u don kam ba'n bred noh ia la u kháw-ryneng ha shiliang wah, bad ia ki kynja jingbám baroh phar, te un sa klan ia ka. Lada u'm da leh kumta, la'u klan na ka jaka ka b'ym sang ruh un háp jingaingúh ha ka. Ki khún-ki-hajár ia ka ba lum lái s'iar, lái blang kawei ia ka, marmar uwei ia U Shyngkram bad U Jali; bad san s'iar ba ki'n ia bám sngewbba baroh lái

* Both rivers, Umngot and Umiew, or Umiam, have their sources in or close to the Shillong Peak. The word "*Rupatylli*" signifies in Khasi a solid silver necklace of a peculiar shape. In order to appreciate this pretty tale thoroughly, the reader ought to view the river "Rupatylli" from the heights of Laitkynsew, or Mahadeo, whence it is to be seen glistening in the sun like a veritable *rupatylli* or silver necklace.

† These mountains are the high hills which lie to the east of the Jowai Sub-Division, and which form part of the boundary line between the Khasi and Jaintia Hills District and North Cachar.

‡ The word Hadem is possibly a corruption of "Hidimba," the old name for North Cachar.

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they may all three feast together; this is in the case of one transgression only. But in the case of a man who has committed more than one, it is not possible to say how many goats and fowls must be sacrificed, because the river often demands offerings on account of a man's parents or relatives having crossed the river at some time or other.

From the time of the old Siem to that of U Ram Singh Siem, they used to sacrifice to this great goddess two persons during the months of November and December at the time of offering a sacrifice at Jaintiapur. After a ceremony performed by the Brahmins at Jaintiapur, the victims are led to the Mawshai (Shangpung) market, where they are allowed to take and eat anything they like. After that they conduct them to Sumer; but some say that the stone on which the victims are beheaded is situated below the village of Ka Iew Ksi, near a stream which falls into the Kopili, and where there is a *mawkynthei* (flat table-stone) close to that sacred river.

They place the victims on that stone, where the executioner beheads them with a terrible sword. After that they throw the dead bodies and their heads into the river. But in the days of U Markuhain (U Raj Indro Singh) "who was our contemporary," they have ceased to do so out of fear of the East India Company. The victims are known by the name of "Mugha Khara."

At that time all the people of the territory of the twelve dolois were in a great state of

ngut shi khún shi kymie, kata 539
ka long haba long tang kawei 133
ka lait, hinrei haba ka'n long 484
katba shong ka lait u briew lei-lei, 782
ngam tip ka'n long katno blang
katno siar namar haba dei ka'n
wan pán ka jingkñia namar ba
la klan ia ka na khlieh lane na
kyjat da u kyñie u kypa kano-
kano ka iing lane kano-kano ka
kur. Nadúh ki sngi ki Siem
Tymmen haduh ki sngi U Ram
Singh Siem ia kane ka blei bah 782
ka kymai u lei ba khraw ki kñia
da ki briew ár-ngùt shi snem
shi snem hamar u bynái ba ki
puja ne a ngúh ha Jaintiapur,
kata, hamar u 'nái wieng bad u
'nái nohprah. Ynda ki la kñia
ha Jaintiapur da ki Bramon, ki
sa ia lam ia ki sha ka iew Maw-
shái ne ka iew Shangpung ba
ki'n bám shiwa katba mon na
kata ka iew. Nangta pat sha
Sumer, kiwei pat ki ong ba u
máw ba ki khrái khlieh ia ki
Muga Khara u don harum ka
shnong Iewksi hajan kawei ka
wah kaba túid sha ka Kupli—
sha ka jaka ba don ka máw
kynthei harúd kata ka wah blei
Kumta ka sa kyntiw halor kata
ka maw kynthei ia ki; nangta
pat wan sa u nongkhrai khlieh
bad ka wait ba i-shyrkhei, u
khrai ia ki hangta. Hadin kata
ki sa sha ia ki met-iap sha um
bad ia ki khlieh jong ki ruh
de. Hinrei ha ki sngi U Mar-
kuháin ne U Raj-Indro Singh
uba ha Khyjong ngi mynta ym
long shún kumta namar ba u
tieng ia la Kompani. Ia kine
ki briew ba ki kñia ki kbot
kyrteng ia ki ki Muga Khara.

Mynkata ki bynriew shi khadár doloi sngew tieng, ki ong ba ki nongkem ki da kylli shiwa ia ka jaid, ki da leh ia lade kun ki bym mut ba'n leh

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782 terror. It is said that the victim-catchers, when they inquired about the clan (of their intended victims), conducted themselves as if they did not intend to do anything. When the people told their clan, then they caught them. When they heard that the people belonged to clans from which *kongngors* * were selected, they did not arrest them. When it was impossible to get hold of any one else, they sacrificed some of the (king's) slaves.

ei-ei-ruh, te ynda kita ki briw ia kiba ki mut ba'n kem ki la ia thuh ia la ka jaid ki sa kem ia ki. Haba ki sngew ba ki long na ka jaid kaba jiw long kongngór ki'm jiw kem. Te haba ym ioh eh ki kñia da ki mráw Siem.

The Village of Maw-pun-ka-Rytiang (Mawpunkyrtiang).

539 There was in olden days a woman called Ka Rytiang of the Siem clan. Whilst she was still a spinster, she used to go to catch fish in a stream over which there is to the present day a bridge made of a single stone, called Mawpun ka Rytiang. Whilst she was catching fish in the midst of the stream, a fit of drowsiness overtook her. At that very moment there approached her a very handsome young man, who thus addressed her: "Take this drumful of money; do not marry, and thou shalt nevertheless bear children. Thou must throw a bridge built of a single stone across this stream, thou must build thy house entirely of stone, the beams must be all of stone. Thou must spend all the money I have given thee, and if it does not suffice for thy expenditure, I shall bring more. Thou wilt remember all that I say?" She replied "yes." As soon as he

Ka shnong Mawpun-ka-Rytiang (Mawpunkyrtiang).

Te la don mynhyndái kawei ka briew kaba kyrteng ka Rytiang, ka jaid Siem. Mynba ka dangsamla ka leit tong shér na kata ka wah kaba don u Máwpún uba ki khot hadúh mynta u Máwpún ka-Rytiang. Hamar ba ka dang tong shér ha pyddeng um ka lamshoh sam thiah hangta. Hamarkata ka por la mih u wei u briew uba bhabriew shibun eh, bad u ong ha ka, "Heh kane ka tyngka shi sing nalai; te pha wat shongkurim shuh, ho; koit, ki khun pha'n ioh hi, bad pha'n pún uwei u máwpún na Shilliang sha shilliang kane ka wah, bad thaw iing ba phán shong da ki máw suda ki rijid ki rishot, kiei kiei baroh thaw da ki maw. Pha'n pynlut kane ka tyngka baroh, bad lada ym dap ruh ngán sa wallam pat. Phán kynmáw ho ia kaba nga la ong baroh." Ka ong "hacid." Te kumne-kumne, tang shu la dep kine ki ktin baroh ba u kren, ka la kyndit na kata ka jing-

* A Kongngor is one who has married a Khasi princess.

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had finished speaking to her, she awoke from her fit of drowsiness and found herself holding a drumful of money. On her way home she pondered over what he had said to her, and her heart was full of joy that she had met a god who had given her so much money, and who had spoken such words to her. She then constructed a bridge over that stream with a single stone, which remains till this day.* When she was about to build her house, it happened that she got married notwithstanding; she gave birth to a blind child, and died shortly afterwards. So the people called the village "Maw-pun-ka-Rytiang," or, when abbreviated, "Mawpunkyrtiang."

shoh samthiah, bad ka tyngka ka don ha ka kti jong ka shi-'sing nalai. Te ynda ka la wan sha la iing, artat artat ka lynti ka la puson ha la ka mynsim da kaba kymen ba ka la iashem ia u blei uba la ai katne ki tyngka bad uba la kren kum kine ki ktin. Te kumta ka la ring u máwpún uba don badúh mynta. Bad hamar ba ka dang sydang ba'n tháw sa ka iing ka lap ba ioh tynga noh pynban; kumta ka kha u khun da uba matlah bad tang shibit ka iap noh. Kumta ki ioh ban khot ka shnong Máwpún-ka-Rytiang, lane haba kren lyngkot Mawpunkyrtiang.

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The Siem of Malyniang.

The Siem of Malyniang was one of those kings who, people said, was one of the "god-kings." He lived in the village of Madur, which is now in the Maskut doloiship. There arose from the royal family of Malyniang a king whose name was Kyllong Raja. His manner was very peculiar, but he was at the same time both stern and courageous. He made up his mind to conquer the whole of the Synteng country as well as the territory of the Siem of Shillong, in order to extend his own kingdom of Madur. This Kyllong did not require many followers when he went to war

Shaphang U Siem Malyniang.

U Siem Malyniang u la long uwei u Siem ba jiw byna ba u long u kynja Siem blei. Une u la shong ha ka shnong Madur kaba long mynta ha ka ilaka u doloi Maskut. Ha ka jaid Siem Malyniang la mih uwei uba kyrteng U Kyllong Raja. Une u Siem uba phylla shibun ha la ka jinglong, u briew uba eh uba shlur. U la thymu ban jop ia ka ri Synteng baroh bad ia ka ri Shillong bán pynkhráw ia la ka hima Madur. Une u Kyllong u'm donkam shibun ki nongbud bán leit ia leh ia kanokano ka thyma, namár u long u briew uba khlain shibun bad u

* This stone bridge, situated on the Theria road about a mile below Cherra, existed up to the Earthquake of 1897, which demolished it. The large slab of stone which formed the roadway of the bridge, is, however, still to be seen lying in the bed of the stream.

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539 because he was a very strong man and a man whom nobody could kill, for, if he was killed he came to life again immediately. The Synteng king once chopped him up into pieces and threw his hands and feet far away, and thought he would not come to life again. Nevertheless, next morning he came to life just the same, and he stalked along all the paths and by-ways to intercept his enemies. The Synteng king was in great trouble on his account, and was at a loss for a plan how to overcome him, because, having been killed once or twice, he came to life again.

When the Synteng king had thought well over the matter, he hit on a device which he thought a very good one, by which he could ascertain by what manner of means he came to life again after having once been killed. The Synteng king's stratagem was the following. He selected the most beautiful girl in the Synteng country, he put on her ornaments of gold and of silver and royal raiment of great price, and he said to her, "All these will I give thee, and more besides, if thou canst obtain for me the secret of Kyllong Raja, and canst inform me how he brings himself to life again after being killed. Now I will send thee to the market there, and if Kyllong Raja takes a fancy to thee, and if he is willing to take thee to wife, thou wilt go, and thou wilt pretend to love him as far as is in thy power. Afterwards thou wilt inquire regarding all his secrets and wisdom, i.e. how he comes to life again after he has been killed; and after thou hast by'm jiw don uba lah ba'n pyniap ia u. La ki pyniap ruh u im pat kumne-kumne. U Siem Synteng u la pom ia u tukra-tukra, u la bred ia ki kyjat ki kti sha jingngai, bad u la tharai ba u'n ym im shuh, pynban tang la mynstep u la im hi kumjuh, u la laid ia ki lad ki dong ban sywait ia ki nongshun. U Siem Synteng u la shitom shibun ia u bad u la duh buit ruh da kumno yn leh ba'n jop ia u, haba shi sin ar sin la pyniap u shu im pat kumjuh pakumjuh. Te haba u Siem Synteng u la pyrkhat bha u la shem kawei ka buit kaba u tharai ba ka long kaba bha tam bad kaba u lah ban tip da kano ka rukom ne ka jingstad ba u im pat haba la pyniap ia u. Ka buit jong u Siem Synteng ka la long kumne. U la shim kawei ka samla kaba bhábriew tam na ka ri Synteng baroh, u pyndeng ki jingdeng ksiar ki jingdeng rupa, bad u pynkup ki jain Siem kiba kordor eh, bad u ong ha ka "ngan ai ia pha kine baroh, bad ngan ai shuh ruh nalor kine lada pha'n ioh ia ka buit u Kyllong Raja ban iathuh ha nga da kumno u lah ban pynim pat ia lade haba pom ia u. Te mynta nga'n phah ia pha sha ieu shato, lada une u Kyllong Raja u i-bha ia pha, bud u'n shim ia-pha ban long ka tynga jong u, phan leit, bad phan leh ieit ia u katba lah. Hadin sa kylli ia ka buit ka jingstad baroh, da kumno u im pat haba la pom ruh, bad ynda pha la tip ia kita baroh sa pyntip sha nga ba nga'n sa jop ia u. Te lada pha'n leh kumta nga'n ai buskit ia pha shibun ho. Kumta u phah iew soit ia ka. Te une U Kyllong Raja u la

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found out all these things, thou wilt inform me, so that I may overcome him. Then, if thou art successful in thy mission, I will give thee a great reward." He then sent her to the market. Kyllong Raja saw her and fell in love with her, and he took her to wife and kept her at Madur. Then that damsel pretended to love him exceedingly, and she repeatedly asked him his secret, how he came to life again. Then Kyllong Raja, fancying that she really loved him, confessed all to her. He said, "My life depends upon these things. I must bathe every day and must wash my entrails" (hence the appellation of "the king who washes his inside" which they gave him), "after that I take my food, and there is no one on earth who can kill me unless he obtains possession of my entrails. Thus my life hangs only on my entrails."

When, therefore, that damsel who had become his wife had learnt all these things, she sent word to the Synteng king that he should send one of his elders, to whom she might reveal the secret of U Kyllong's existence. When the Synteng king heard this, he sent his elders to her. She then told all those things that U Kyllong had confessed to her. When the Synteng king had heard everything, he gave orders to the people to be on the watch so as to get hold of U Kyllong Raja. They found him one day bathing, with his entrails placed on one side of the bathing-place, so that afterwards he might wash them. Thereupon a man from Ralliang seized the entrails and iohih ia ka, bad u la i-bha shisha ia ka, bad u shim iaka ba'n long ka tynga jong u. U boh ia ka ha Madur. Te kata ka samla ka la leh ieit ia u shibun eh bad ka kylli bynish ia ka buit ka jingstad ba u im pat. Hangta une u Kyllong Raja, haba u iohih ba ka leh ieit shibun u phla ia kiei-kiei baroh bak-a. U ong, "Ka jing im jong-nga ka long kumne:— nga dei ban sum ha la ka engi bad ban sait ia la ki snir (nangta la khot ia u "U Siem sait-snir"). Hadin kata ngan sa bam ja, bad y'm don mano-mano ba lah ban pyniap ia nga lada ki'm ioh ia ki snir. Kumta ka jing-im jong nga ka sydin tang ha ki snir hi." Kumta, ynda kata ka samla, ka tynga jong u, ka la ioh tip ia kata baroh ka phah ktin sha u Siem Synteng ba'n wan uno-uno u rangbah ba ka'n isthuh ia ka jingiap u Kyllong Raja. Te u Siem Synteng ynda u la sngow ia kata ka ktin shi syndon u la phah ia la ki rangbah sha ka. Te ka la isthuh ia kiei-kiei baroh katba u Kyllong Raja u la phla. Te u Siem Synteng ynda u la tip ia kane baroh u la ai hukum ia ki briew ha ki'n khiar ban ioh ia u Kyllong Raja. Te ha kawei ka engi ki la lap ia u ba u sum bad u la buh ia ki snir ha kata ka jaka ba u sum ba u mut ban sait ia ki. Hangta uwei u briew uba na Ralliang u la shim ia ki snir jong u bad u pom ia u; ia kita ki snir u la pyndykut lyngkot lyngkhai bad u la ai ha ki ksew. Nadub kata ka por u Kyllong Raja u'm lah shuh ba'n im pat, bad kumta la jop ia ka Madur. Ia pynsakyma ia ka jaid Siem Malyniang nadub

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539 killed him. He cut the entrails into little pieces and gave them to the dogs. Thenceforth U Kyllong Raja was not able to come to life again. Madur was conquered, and all the members of the royal family of Malyniang were scattered from that time. Seven generations have passed since then.*

kata ka por. Te naduh kata hadúh mynta la duh hinniew kyrteng bynriw.

U Manik Raitong and his Flute.

In the northern portion of the Khasi Hills which borders on the Bhoi country there lived a man, by name U Manik. The people nicknamed him "U Manik Raitong," because he was an orphan, his parents, his brothers and sisters, and the whole of his clansfolk having died. He was very poor in addition. U Manik Raitong was filled with grief night and day. He used to weep and deeply groan on account of his orphanhood and state of beggary. He did not care about going out for a walk, or playing like his fellow youths. He used to smear himself with ashes and dust. He used to pass his days only in weeping and groaning, because he felt the strain of his misery to such an extent. He made a flute upon which to play a pathetic and mournful tune. By day he used to work as a ploughman, whenever he was called upon to do so. If nobody called him, he used to sit inactive at home, weeping and groaning and smearing his rags with dust

U Manik Raitong bad ka Sharati jong u.

La don uwei u bríw shaphang shatei ha ka ri Khasi ha khap ri Bhoi uba kyrteng U Manik. Ki bríw ki la sin ia u U Manik Raitong namar ba u long u khun swet uba la iap baroh ki kymi, ki kypa, ki hynmen, ki para bad ki kur ki jaid. U long ruh uba duk shibun. Une U Manik Raitong u dap da ki jingsngowsih synia sngi, u iam ud jilliw ha la ka mynsim namar la ka jinglong khun swet long pukir. Um jiw kwah ban iaid kai leh kai kum ki para samla; u sum da ka dypei da ka khyndew ia lade, u pynleit la ki sngi ki por tang ha ki jingud ki jingiam ba u sngowisynei ia ka pyrthei sngi ba shem shitom haduh katne. Te u la thaw kawei ka sharati ban put ka jingiam bríw bad jingriwai sngowisynei. Mynsngi mynsngi u jiw leit bylia pynlur masi haba la don ba wer, haba ym don u shong khop-khop ha la iing, u iam u ud, u sum dypei sum khyndew halor la ki jain syrdep jot. Mynmiet mynmiet u sum u sleb, u kup bha kup khuid; bad

* The above story is said to have been taken down word for word from the mouth of an old woman of the Malyniang clan who lived at Mawlong.—P.R.G.

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and ashes. At night he used to bathe and dress himself well, and, after having eaten his food, he used to take his flute and play on it till morning. This was always his practice. He was a very skilful player. He had twelve principal tunes. There lived in the same village a queen. Her husband, the Siem, used to be absent from home for long intervals in connection with his public duties. One night, when the queen heard the strains of U Raitong's flute, she listened to them with very great pleasure, and she felt so much compassion for him that she arose from her couch at midnight and went to visit him. When she reached his house, she asked him to open the door, so that she might pay him a call. U Raitong said, "I can't open the door, as this is not the time to pay visits," and he went on playing his flute and dancing to the music, with tears in his eyes. Then the queen peeped through one of the chinks of the wall and saw him, and she was beside herself, and breaking open the door she entered in. Then U Raitong, having stopped playing, was annoyed that, to add to his misfortunes, this woman had come to trouble him thus. When she tried to beguile him, U Raitong admonished her and sent her away. She departed just before daybreak. U Raitong then took off his fine clothes, and putting on his rags, sprinkled himself with dust and ashes, and went to plough as was his wont. The queen, however, ensnared him by another device, and whilst the king was still away in the

ynda u la lah bam lah dih o shim ka shaati u put hadih ban da shai. Ban dur u jaw leh kumta. Ha kaba put ruh u long uba rang shibin, u don khadar jaid ki jingput kiba kongnan tam ha ka jingput jong u. Te la don ka mahadei ka kata ka shrong kaba u tynga jong ka u long u Siem Rangbah ha ka Hima. Une u Siem u leit sha Dykhar ban pyndep ban jaid ki kam Siem jong ki bad u dei ban jah slem na la iing. Kane ka mahadei ka kawei ka miet baba ka la ioh engow ka'riew ka shaati U Raitong ka la engowbha shibun eh ban engap, bad baba ka la engap ka la engow iaitt engowjeynei ia U Raitong badub ka ka la khie jaitt shiteng synia ban leit kai sha U Raitong. Te baba ka la pai tiap ka khymat ka iing jong u ka la phah pliu ban wan kai. U Raitong u ong yn lah ban pliu namar kam long ka par ka dei ban wan kai. Kumta u put la ka jingput bad la ka jingchad nohlyngngah pynjem synlang jaw ummat. Te ka mahadei, baba ka la khymih na kawei ka thiew kaba pei, ka la iohih ia u; hangta lei-lei kam don pyrthei shuh hadub ka ka la kyddiah ia ki jingkhang bad ka la rung shapoh iing. Kumta U Raitong u la wai noh la ka jingput bad u engowsih, baba ka Siem ka kaile ka pyrthei ang', sa ka-e ruh rang wan leh ih-bein kumne. Haba ka la lam pynslei ia u, U Raitong u la sneng ia ka bad u la phah noh ia ka, te ka la leit noh baba ka synlang ban shai phar. U Raitong u la law la ki jain tiba, u la shim la ki synrdep bad u dypei ban leh kumta u jaw leh

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539 plains, she gave birth to a male child. When the Siam returned, he was much surprised to find that she had borne a child during his absence, and however much he asked her to confess, she would not do so. So the king called the elders and young men to judge the case, and when no proof was found concerning this business, the king appointed another day, when all the males (in the State) should appear, each man holding a plantain. On the appointed day, all the males of the State having appeared, the king told them all to sit in a circle and to show their plantains, and said, "We will place this child in the midst, and to whomsoever the child goes, he is his father, and the adulterer. We will beat him to death with clubs according to the law." Accordingly, when all the people sat in a circle, and the child was placed in the midst, he went to no one, and, although the king called and coaxed him much, he nevertheless refused to go. Then the king said, "Remember who is absent." All replied, "There is no one else except U Manik Rutong." The Siam replied, "Call, then, U Rutong." Some of the people said, "It is somewhat [illegible] who is like a dog or a cat; leave him alone, ob king." The king replied, "No, go and call him, for every man must come." So they called him, and when he arrived and the child saw him, the child laughed and followed "U Rutong." Then the people showed that it was U Rutong who had committed adultery with the queen. The had u la lait pyaiur muai. Hinnei kane ka mahabri ka la ram ia u da kawei pat ka lait. Ta kalla u Siam u mengnah ka Dykhar ka la neng kha i wei i khun shimong, had haba u la wan u la angow phylla shibun ch ka ka la ioh khun haba um dim. La u kylli kynnah kamukamu rah kam phla sylla. Kumta U Siam u la lum ia u nyunnan u ma, u khynnow khondum, hanah kan hadiar, ta haba yn shem sahud ai ai shophang kane ka kam, kumta u lah ka kawei ka angi ka yn wan u shimong kaw hanah haba dim, kin wallam had lahnit kawei-kawei man u kaw. Tada ia pei kata ka angi, hanah ki la wan ia ka hima, had U Siam u ong, phin shong tawiar hanah, pynah la ka kah, ngin kah ia um u khmiling ka pyddong, jar haba um u khmiling un ioh ata dei u kyna had sha kim, ia ata yn shah tangon ka lynda ing kum ka ain ka jw long. Kumta ia haba la shong tawiar u pathah lylin, la, kah ia ata u khmiling ka pyddong. Ua u khmiling un ioh kamukamu rah, la khot la khnah. U Siam kamu kamu rah un tuh. "Ta ia ia kynnow ea man u kym dun kangna" ong U Siam. Hynrah ki ong, "yn dun shah, ea kang U Rutong." "Khot Don kaba kane ea pyddong ata u pathah kha ong. "Um khot makna ia sha pli, sha kum u kaw, u miaw, yn nei Siam." "Em sha khot wei u kynja shimong kaw dei kan wan." Ta la khot ia u, had haba u la pei ting ata u khmiling u khynnih u man rykhia had u lait had ia U Rutong. Kumta ren shar u pathah

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ting and his ministers then ordered that U Ratong should be put to death outside the village. U Ratong said, "Be pleased to prepare a funeral pyre, and I will burn myself thereon, wicked man that I am." They agreed to his request. U Ratong said to those who were preparing the funeral pyre, "When I arrive near the funeral pyre, set fire to it beforehand, and I will throw myself in, and you stand at a distance." Then U Ratong went and bathed, dressed himself well, and, taking his flute, played on it as he walked backwards to the funeral pyre; and when he arrived close to it, they lighted it as he had told them to do. He walked three times round the pyre, and then planted his flute in the earth and threw himself into the flames. The queen, too, ran quickly and threw herself on the pyre also. After U Ratong and the queen had been burned, a pool of water formed in the foundations of the pyre, and a bamboo sprang up whose leaves grew upside-down. From U Ratong's time it has become the practice to play the flute at funerals as a sign of mourning for the departed.

Ka U Ratong u la kham ka Ka Mahadai. Ta U Sum bad la ki Myntri ki la ei hukum ban ioit pyniap noh ia U Ratong shaud nong. Ta u ong "phi da ongwhiba sha thaw da la ka jingthong ngee thang ki ia hula wat ngi u dymar ymar. Kumta ki la shah ia kata ka jingpan jong u. Ta U Ratong u la ong ka kita kiba thaw jingthong. "Tada ngi pei sha jan jingthong ka nang ai ding lypa ngee ka nang thang ki, phi kynriah noh sha jingngai. Kumta U Ratong u wan sum wan shah, u kup kha sum kha, u shim ka shaniti u put, u hit da kaba iaid dadin shadah jingthang. Ta yada u la pei ka jan ki la hah ding kumta u la ong; yada pei ka jingthong u iaid lawiar ar sia ia ka, u ah ka shaniti ka khynduew, bad u thang ia hula. Ka Mahadai ruh da kaba kynhah ka la mawah sha kaba ka jingthang bad ka ruh ka la thang ioit hangta ia hula. Kumta yada la ing U Ratong bad ; sha Ka Mahadai, long da ka ioi ka kata ka nongrim jingthang, bad mih u shion sha long ka mat sha khongpong. Nadah U Ratong ka long ka shaniti hadah myata ban put ism kaw ban pynih la ki jingngewsih na ka kyata kiba la ngi.

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SECTION VI.

MISCELLANEOUS.

TERMINOLOGY.

551 The Khasis, like the Alfoors of Poso in Celebes, seem to be somewhat reluctant to utter the names of their own immediate relations, and of other people's also. Parents are very frequently called the mother of so and so (the child's name being mentioned), or the father of so and so, cf. *Ka bud ka Wan, U kpa u Philip*. The actual names of the parents, after falling into desuetude, are often entirely forgotten. The origin of the practice may be that the Khasis, like the Alfoors, were reluctant to mention their parents by name for fear of attracting the notice of evil spirits. The practice of *tabooing*, however, is not confined to the Khasis or the Alfoors of Celebes (see footnote to page 422 of the "Golden Bough"). The custom is also believed to have been prevalent to some extent not long ago in some parts of Ireland.

777 The advent of the Welsh Missionaries and the partial dis-
177 semination of English education has in some cases produced
551 rather peculiar names. I quote some instances :—

U Wasis Kingdom, Ka Mediterranean Sea, Ka Red Sea; U Shakewell Bosan, U Overland, Ka Brindisi, Ka Medina, Ka Mary Jones, U Mission, and Ka India.

SIMPLE METHOD OF CALCULATING TIME.

505 The Khasis adopt the lunar month, *u lynai*, twelve of which go to the year *ka snem*. They have no system of reckoning cycles, as is the custom with some of the Shan tribes. The following are the names of the months :—

505 *U Iylla-Iynglot*, corresponding to January. This month in
173. the Khasi Hills is the coldest in the year. The Khasis turn

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(*hylla*) the fire-brand (*lynghot*) in order to keep themselves warm in this month, hence its name *hylla-lynghot*. 805 132

U Symphang, the windy month, corresponding with February.

U Lyhor, March. In this month the hills are again clothed with verdure, and the grass sprouts up (*lyhor*), hence the name of the month, *u Lyhor*.

U Iaiong, April. This name may possibly be a corruption of *u Byneé-iong*, i.e. the black moon, the changeable weather month.

U Jymmang, May. This is the month when the plant called by the Khasis *u'ksu jymmang*, or snake-plant, blooms, hence the name.

U Jyllieu. The deep water month, the word *jyllieu* meaning deep. This corresponds to June.

U nalliang. The evil-smelling month, when the vegetation rots owing to excessive moisture. This corresponds with July.

U'nailar. The month when the weather is supposed to become clear, *synlar*, and when the plant called *ja'nailar* blooms. This is August.

U'nai-lar. September. The month for weeding the ground.

U Bi-sáw. The month when the Autumn tints first appear, literally, when the country, *ri*, becomes red, *saw*. This is October.

U'nói wiong. The month when cultivators fry the produce of their fields in *wiong* or earthen pots, corresponding with November.

U Nak-peik. The month when the *peik* or baskets for carrying the crops are put away (*bak nok*). Another interpretation given by Bivar is "the month of the fall of the leaf." December.

The Khasi week has the peculiarity that it almost universally consists of eight days. The reason of the eight-day week is [illegible] eighth day. The names of the days of the week are not those of planets, but of places where the principal markets are held, or used to be held, in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills. The following are the names of the days of the week and of the principal markets in the district :—

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Khasi Hills.	Jaintia Hills.
1. Lyngkhi (Sarpani or Khawang)	Kylla. (Sohtinga).
2. Nongkrem	Pyrung.
3. Umdeng (Maolong the but at Lahan)	Maolong. (Narting).
4. Bangkey (Iso-lah at Chorra) (Mawtawar in Mylliem) (Umsaw in Nongkhlaw)	Maoniang. (Jowai).
5. Shillong (Laitlingkot)	Mawhai. (Shangpung).
6. Pomsih or Pomsiah (Mawkhar, small market)	Pyshat. (Myntri).
7. Umsih	Thyrn-lista.
8. Umdah (Mawkhar, large market)	Ka-lat. (Jaintiapur).

In the War country, markets are usually held every fourth day, e.g. at Nongjri, Mawlong, Tyllep, and Shella. At Thoria the market is held every Friday, and at Hat-mojai, or Bholaganj, every Tuesday.

THE LYNGAMS.

Although mention has been made incidentally in various parts of this monograph of Lyngam customs, it has been thought necessary to give the Lyngams a separate chapter, as these people differ so very greatly from the Khasis in their manner of life, and in their customs. *Lyngam* is the Khasi name; the Garo name for the Lyngams is *Mopon*. There are several *Mopon* villages in the north-eastern corner of the Garo Hills district, and there is regular communication kept up between these villages and the Lyngam inhabitants of the Khasi Hills district. The Lyngams must not be confused with the *Bhoi* or *Nindaniya* Garos who inhabit the low hills to the north of the Khasi Hills district, and are called by the Khasis *Bhoi*. All Lyngams claim to be Khasis, they dislike being called Garos; but although it is true they speak what may be called a dialect of Khasi, and observe some of the Khasi customs, the Lyngams are more Garo than Khasi. Before proceeding further, it should be stated that the *Amanaus* of Boko call the Lyngams *Nindaniya* Garos, all hill people being Garos to the *Amanaus* of that region, without distinction

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or difference. It is owing to these three different names being 101
used for the same people that there has been so much confusion about Lyungams previously; e.g. at one census they were named *Lyungam*, at another they received the appellation of Garo, and at a third enumeration they were called Khasis. In Section I. 131
the habitat of the Lyungams has been roughly defined. It is 361
impossible to define the Lyungam country exactly, because 173
these people are continually shifting their village sites owing to the exigencies of *jhum* cultivation, which has been described in Section II. Some of the Lyungams preserve a tradition that they originally came from the Kamrup plains. It is interesting that a people, like the Garos in so many respects, should have the same idea as the Garos as to the hills on the south bank of the Brahmaputra not always having been their abode. The Garo legend is that they dwelt for 173
some years in the Goalpara and Kamrup plains after they 361
descended from Thibet, and before they moved to the Garo 199
Hills; and there is unmistakable evidence of their occupation of both districts in the shape of certain Garo villages on both banks of the Brahmaputra for some little distance up the river. If, as I suspect, the Lyungams are an offshoot of the Garos, it is, perhaps, possible that they entered the Khasi Hills much in the same way as the Garos entered the hill district to which they have given their name. The Lyungams are much darker 192
than the Khasis, and possess the Thibeto-Burman type of 197
feature often to a marked degree. It is not extraordinary that they should have adopted some of the Khasi customs, for the Khasis, being the stronger people, would in course of time be bound to influence them in this respect. That the Lyungams 411
observe the matriarchate and erect (some class) memorial 211
stones is not peculiar, because the Garos, like the Khasis, are 764
also a matriarchal people (to a limited degree), and the custom of erecting memorial stones is not confined to the Khasis, for other hill tribes in Assam observe the practice, e.g. certain Naga tribes and the Mikirs; and the Garos themselves put up carved posts, called *kima*, in honour of the departed. Although 582
there is not much intermarriage between the Khasis and the 101
Lyungams nowadays, perhaps in days gone by there was a 197
mixture of blood, the result being the hybrid race we are now

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U DAKHU, LYNGAM HEAD MAN.

Reproduced from a picture by Miss Kingsley Smith (O'Connor

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considering. Some of the leading characteristics of the Lyngams will now be detailed. The Lyngams are by complexion swarthy, with features of Mongolian type. The men are of middle height and the women remarkably short, both being not nearly so robust as the Khasis, a result due probably to climatic influences, for the Lyngams live in fever-haunted jungles. The men have very little hair about the face, although a scanty moustache is sometimes seen, the hairs in the centre being carefully plucked out, the result being two tufts on either side. Beards are never seen. The women are ill-favoured, and wear very little clothing. The men wear the sleeveless coat of the Khasi and Mikir pattern, called *phongmarong*, which is made of cotton dyed red, blue, and white. This custom may have been borrowed from the Khasis. They do not grow their own cotton, but obtain it from the plains. They make their own dyes, *changlong* (red) and *kar sai-iong* (black). A cotton cloth, barely enough for purposes of decency, is tied between the legs, the ends being allowed to hang down in front and behind. Sometimes an apron is worn in front. At the present day the men wear knitted woollen caps, generally black or red, of the Nongstoin pattern (a sort of fisherman's cap), but the elderly men and head-men wear turbans. The females wear a cotton cloth about eighteen inches broad round the loins, sometimes striped red and blue, but more often only dark blue. A blue or red cloth is thrown loosely across the shoulders by unmarried girls, but married women only wear the waist-cloth, like the Garos. A cloth is tied round the head by married women, sometimes, Garo fashion. The women wear quantities of blue beads as necklaces, like their Garo sisters. They obtain the beads from the Garo markets at the foot of the hills. Brass ear-rings are worn by both sexes; the women, like the Garos, load their ears to such an extent with brass rings as to distend the holes greatly. Silver armlets are worn by the head-men only, or by those who possess the means to give a great feast to the villagers. This is the custom of the Garo *nokmas*, or head-men. Both sexes wear bracelets. The men also wear necklaces of beads. The rich wear necklaces of cornelian and another stone which is thought by the Lyngams to be valuable. A necklace of such stones is called *u'piong blei* (god's necklace).

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301 This stone is apparently some rough gem which may be picked up by the Lyungams in the river beds. A rich man amongst
556 them, however, is one who possesses a number of metal gongs,
534 which they call *wiang*. For these they pay very high prices.
426 Rs. 100 being quite a moderate sum for one of them. Being curious to see one of these gongs, I asked a *sirdar*, or head-man, to show me one. He replied that he would do so, but it would take time, as he always buried his
[534] gongs in the jungle for fear of thieves. Next morning he brought me a gong of bell metal, with carvings of animals engraved thereon. The gong when struck gave out a rich deep note like that of Burmese or Thibetan gongs. These gongs have a regular currency in this part of the hills, and represent to the Lyungams "Bank of England" notes. It would be interesting to try to ascertain what is their history, for no one in the Lyungam country makes them in these days. Is it possible that the Garos brought them with them when
534 they migrated from Thibet? The gongs are well known in the
622 Garo Hills, and I hear that when a *sokma*, or head-man, there
778 dies his corpse is laid out upon them. They thus possess also an element of sanctity, besides being valuable for what they will fetch to the Garos or Lyungams. We may hope to hear more about them in Captain Playfair's account of the Garos.

309 The Lyungams do not tattoo. Their weapons are the large-
411 headed Garo spear, the dao, and the shield. They do not usually
243 carry bows and arrows, although there are some who possess them. They are by occupation cultivators. They sow two kinds of hill rice, red and white, on the hill-sides. They have no wet paddy cultivation, and they do not cultivate in terraces like the Nagas. They burn the jungle about February, after cutting down some of the trees and clearing away some of the debris, and then sow the paddy broadcast, without cultivating the ground in any way. They also cultivate millet and Job's-tears in the same way. With the paddy vhillies are sown the
241 first year. The egg plant, arum, ginger, turmeric, and sweet
231 potatoes of several varieties are grown by them in a similar
754 manner. Those that rear the lac insect plant *laadoo* trees (Hindi *achal dal*) in the forest clearings, and rear the insect thereon. Some of these people, however, are prohibited by a

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241 custom of their own from cultivating the *landoo*, in which
231 case they plant certain other trees favourable to the growth of
784 the lac insec. The villages are situated near their patches of cultivation i the forest. The villages are constantly shifting,
36 owing to the necessity of burning fresh tracts of forest every
241 two years. The houses are entirely built of bamboo, and, for such temporary structures, are very well built. In front, the
342 houses are raised some 3 or 4 ft. from the ground on platforms, being generally built on the side of a fairly steep hill, one end of the house resting on the ground, and the other on bamboo posts. The back end of the house is sometimes some 8 or 9 ft. from the ground. At the end of the house farthest away from the village path is a platform used for sitting out in the evening, and for spreading chillies and
342 other articles to dry. Some Lyngam houses have only one
354 room in which men, women, and children are all huddled
231 together, the hearth being in the centre, and, underneath the platform, th pigs. Well-to-do people, however, possess a retiring room, where husband and wife sleep. A house I
342 measured a Nongsdilar village was of the following dimensions:—Length, 42 ft.; breadth, 16 ft.; height of house from the ground to the eaves, front, 9 ft.; back 18 ft. Houses are built with a portion of the thatch hanging over the eaves in front. No explanation could be given me for this. It is probably a Garo custom. In some Lyngam villages there are houses in th centre of the village where the young unmarried men sleep, here male guests are accommodated, and where the
[171] village festivities go on. These are similar to the *dekhabang* or bachelors' club-houses of the Mikirs, Garos, and Lalungs, and to the *morung*, the Nagas. This is a custom of the Thibet-Burman tribes in Assam, and is not a Khasi institution. There
[577] are also high platforms, some 12 ft. or 15 ft. in height, in Lyngam villages, where the elders sit of an evening in the hot
[556] weather and take the air. Lyngam houses and villages are usually much cleaner than the ordinary Khasi villages, and although the Lyngams keep pigs, they do not seem to be so
352 much *en évidence* as in the Khasi village. There is little
513 or no furniture in a Lyngam house. The Lyngam sleeps on
287 a mat on the floor, and in cold weather covers himself with a

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quilt, made out of the bark of a tree, which is beaten out and then carefully woven, several layers of flattened bark being used before the right thickness is attained. This quilt is called by the Lyungams "*Ka sylkar*" (Garo *simpak*). Food is cooked in earthen pots, but no plates are used, the broad leaves of the *mariang* tree taking their place. The leaves are thrown away after use, a fresh supply being required for each meal. 352 513 287 252 415

The Lyungams brew rice beer, they do not distil spirit; the beer is brewed according to the Khasi method. Games they have none, and there are no jovial archery meetings like those of the Khasis. The Lyungam methods of hunting are setting spring guns and digging pitfalls for game. The people say that now the Government and the Siem of Nongstoin have prohibited both of these methods of destroying game, they no longer employ them. But I came across a pitfall for deer not long ago in the neighbourhood of a village in the Lyungam country. The people declared it to be a very old one; but this I very much doubt, and I fear that these objectionable methods of hunting are still used. The Lyungams fish to a small extent with nets, but their idea of fishing, *par excellence*, is poisoning the streams, an account of which has already been given in this monograph. The Lyungams are omnivorous feeders, they may be said to eat everything except dogs, snakes, the *bulok* monkey, and lizards. They like rice, when they can get it; for sometimes the out-turn of their fields does not last them more than a few months. They then have to fall back on Job's tears and millet. They eat arums largely, and for vegetables they cook wild plantains and the young shoots of bamboos and cane plants. The Lyungams are divided up into exogamous clans in the same manner as the Khasis. The clans are overgrown families. The Lyungams have some stories regarding the founders of these clans, of which the following is a specimen:—"A woman was asleep under a *sohbar* tree in the jungle, a flower from which fell on her, and she conceived and bore a female child who was the ancestress of the Nongsohbar clan." Some of the stories of the origins of other clans do not bear repeating. There do not appear to be any hypergamous groups. As with the Khasis, it is a deadly sin to 274 526 224 226 262 614 773 582 614

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582 marry any one belonging to your own *kur*, or clan. Unlike the
614 Khasis, however, a Lyngam can marry two sisters at a time.
595 The Lyngam marriages are arranged by *ksiangs*, or go-betweens,
584 much in the same way as Khasi marriages; but the ritual
582 observed is less elaborate, and shows a mixture of Khasi and Garo customs (see Section III.). The Lyngams intermarry
583 with the Garos. It appears that sometimes the parents of girls exact bride-money, and marriages by capture have been heard of. Both of these customs are more characteristic of the Bodo
849 tribes of the plains than of the Khasis. There are no special birth
762 customs, as with the Khasis, except that when the umbilical cord
553 falls a fowl is sacrificed, and the child is brought outside the house. Children are named without any special ceremony.
764 The death customs of the Lyngams have been described in Section III. A peculiar characteristic is the keeping of the dead body in the house for days, sometimes even for several months, before it is buried. The putrefying corpse inside the house seems to cause these people no inconvenience, for whilst it remains there, they eat, carry on their ordinary avocations, and sleep there, regardless of what would be
791 considered by others an intolerable nuisance. The religion of these people consists of a mixture of ancestor-worship and the propitiation of the spirits of fell and fall, which are, most of them, believed to be of evil influence, as is the case with other savage
786 races. As with the people of Nongstoin, the primaeval ancestress, "*Ka Iaw bei*," is worshipped for the welfare of the
782 clan, a sow being sacrificed to her, with a gourd of rice-beer, and leaves of the oak, or *diengsning* tree. The leaves of the oak are afterwards hung up inside the house, together with the jaw-bone of the pig. Sacrifices are offered to a forest demon, *U Bangjang* (a god who brings illness), by the roadside; also to *Ka Miang Bylli U Majgnaw*, the god of cultivation, at seed time, on the path to the forest clearing where the seed is sown. Models of paddy store-houses, baskets and agricultural implements are made, sand being used to indicate the grain. These are placed by the roadside, the skulls of the sacrificial animals and the feathers of fowls being hung up on bamboos about the place
793 where the sacrifice has been performed. There are no priests or
796 *Iyngdoh*, the fathers of the hamlet performing the various cere-
monies.

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monies. The Lyngams possess no head-hunting customs, as far as it has been possible to ascertain. These people are still wild and uncivilized. Although they do not, as a rule, give trouble, from an administrative point of view, a very serious dacoity, accompanied by murder, was committed by certain Lyngams at an Assamese village on the outskirts of the Lyngam country a few years ago. The victims were two Merwari merchants and their servant, as well as another man. These people were brutally murdered by the Lyngams, and robbed of their property. The offenders were, however, successfully traced and arrested by Inspector Raj Mohan Das, and several of them suffered capital punishment, the remainder being transported for life.

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SECTION VII.

LANGUAGE.

197 BEFORE commencing to describe the more salient features of the Khasi language, its grammar, and syntax, it seems to be of importance to show how intimately connected Khasi is with some of the languages of Further India. In the middle of the last century Logan pointed out affinity between Khasi and these languages, but it has been left to Professor Kuhn to prove this connection to demonstration. The examples of comparative vocabularies which follow are taken from Kuhn's "*Beiträge zur Sprachkunde Hinterindiens*," Sir George Scott's "Upper Burma Gazetteer," and Sir George Campbell's lists. It will be seen from the collections of words that follow how Khasi possesses many words in common with Mon or Talaing, Khmêr, Suk, Stieng, Bahnar, Annam, Khamen-Boram, Xong, Samre, Khmu, Lemet, Palaung, and Wa. There is some correspondence, although perhaps to a lesser degree, between Khasi and the Ho-Munda languages and those of Malacca and the Nancowry language of the Nicobar Islands.

192 197 Let us now examine the table of numerals. The Khasi word for 1 is *wei*, but in the Amwi dialect of Khasi it is *wi*. In Khmu the word is *mai*, also in Suk; in Mon *mwoi* and in Xong *mui*. The word for 2 is identical in Khasi and Lemet, viz. *ar*. The word for 3, viz. *lai*, is identical in Khasi and Wa; also compare Lemet *lahi*. Khasi *ruar* and Lalaubang *thar* for 4 are, however, deviating forms. In the case of 5, if we cut out the prefix *m* in the Mon word *m'sun*, we have fairly close agreement with the Khasi *sun*. In the numeral 6, if we cut out the prefix *kin* of the Khasi (*kin*)*riw*, and the initial *t* of Mon and Suk *t'rou*, *trou*, we have close agreement. In the Khasi words for 7 and 8 the syllable *kin* is but a prefix. This is also probably the case in the Khasi word (*khyn*)*dai* for 9, and the *shi* in the Khasi word *shipher*, 10, merely means one.

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NUMERALS.

—	Sue.	Mon or Talaing.	Sek.	Stieng.	Rahnar.	Annam.	Khmer Boran.	Xong.	Samre.
1	mue	mwoi	mui	mdi	moin, ming	môt	mouy	moi	moe
2	bar	bâ	bar	bar	bar	hai	bar	pra	pra
3	pei	pi	pi	pâi	peng	ba	peh	pe	pe
4	puon	pan	puon	pudn	pudn	bốn	pun	pôn	pun
5	sung	m'sum	sung	jrtm	(pu)dam	năm	pram	praw	pram
6	thpat	t'rou	trou	prou	(ta)trou	sáu	krong	dam	kadon
7	thpei	t'pah	tha	pâh	(ta)pe	bảy	grui	kanui	kanui
8	thkol	·tc'am	am	pham	(ta)ngam	tám	kati	kati	katei
9	thke	d'roit	ka	chn	(ta)ain	chín	kanaar	kam	katea
10	muchik	cah	cit	jamat jet	ming jit	mười chục	uai	rai	rai

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THE KHASIS

NUMERALS.

—	Khasi.	Lewai.	Palaung.	Wa.	Dialects of Khasi.				
					Khasi.	Lakadong.	Amwi.	Syiemlong.	Myanar or Jiang.
1	noni	mon (mun)	ki	te	wai	ki	mi	wi	mi
2	bar	ar	ó (a)	ra (a)	ar	a	o	ar	ir
3	pu	kho	ó	lai	lai	lai	la	la	lai
4	pain	pun (pun)	phun	pun	aow	thin	ok	au	au
5	phung	pan	phan	hpawa (han)	ean	than	ean	ean	ane
6	tuf	tal	ta	laiya (lia)	(hin)riw	thro	thrau	pure	thrai
7	kuf	pul	phu	a-laiya (alia)	(hin)iaw	(hum)thiri	yathin	yuniaw	yathini
8	ti	ta	ta	a'ie (ra'ie)	phra	hungya	hunphyo	phra	hunpyie
9	kuah	tim	tim	a'ti (ra'ti)	(khya)hai	hunaulai	hunthin	khyuhe	khyudai
10	kan	kuf	kan (ku)	kao	(shi)khaw	shiphai	shiphu	(shi)khaw	shiphi

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It will be seen that there is considerable similarity in the numerals of the different languages up to six, the correspondence being most strongly marked in the numerals 1, 2, 5, and 6. If we remember that primitive people seldom can count higher than the number of digits of one hand, the dissimilarity in the numerals, as the end of the decade is approached, is probably explained. As the different people speaking these languages gradually advanced in civilization they learned to count further; but by this time they had become in some cases like those of the Khasis, the Palaungs, and Mons, widely separated from one another. As they advanced in civilization, and found the necessity of an improved notation, they manufactured numerals which differed from one another, although they retained the first few numerals they had made use of in their days of savagery. Let us now study some extracts from Kuhn's interesting comparative vocabulary.* We find many instances of agreement. I give some examples:—

Houses.—Palaung, *pleng*; Khmér, *pleng* (rain); Xong, *pleng*; Khasi, *hoong*. Myunar (Jirang) *phaalleng* seems to be very near Khmér *pâlleng*, and Palaung, and Xong *pleng*.

Day (Sun).—Khmér, *thopay*; Mon, *tuyei*; Annam, *ngay*; Lemet, *ngay pei*; Palaung, *aengei*; Khasi, *ongi*; Lakadong, *angei*; Kol, *aingi*.

Year.—Mon, *nuin*; Annam, *nam*; Stieng, *ni'nam*; Bahnar, *anam*; Khasi, *nam*.

Lightning.—Mon, *Tli*; Khasi, *lelli*.

Stone, Rock.—Mon, *tnal*, *t'naw*; Stieng, *ta'nalu*; Bahn, *tnao*, *tnoa*; Khmér, *thnoa*; Xong, *tnoa*; Palaung, *naw*; Ba, *naow*; Khasi, *naw*; Wa, *hei-nao*, *hei-nan*. Also compare Myunar (Jirang) *anaw*.

Water.—Palaung, *ea*; Khasi, *um*; Lakadong, *ea*; Anwi, *ana*; Myunar (Jirang), *ion*; Rumai, *ue*. Probably the Stieng *um*, to bathe, can be connected with the Khasi word for water.

Sea, pond, or tank.—Khmér, *ping*; Khasi, *pong*.

Rice.—Mon, *aru*, paddy, seems to be in connection with Khmér, *srur* (spoken *sruu* or *sroo*).* Xong *ruke* is in Palaung *ruhen*, *ashen*, or *talon*. These words remind us of the Khasi

* Kuhn's "Beiträge zur Sprachenkunde Hinterindiens."

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khaw, which seems to be borrowed from the Shan *khaw* (*hkao k-aw*).

Dog.—The common word for this animal will be found to be nearly the same in sound in many of these languages, e.g. Suk, *cho*; Stieng, *sou*; Bahnar, *ko*, *cho*; Annam, *cho*; Xong, *tcho*; Mi, *khau*; Lemet, *so*; Palaung, *tsao*, *ksao*; Khasi, *ksew*. The Mon *khlaiw* is the same as the Khasi *ksew*, if l is changed into s. The Lakadong and Synteng dialects of Khasi have *kseu*, and Mynnar (Jirang) *ksow*.

Rat, mouse.—Mon, *kni*, *gni*; Stieng, *ko'nei*; Bahnar, *kone*; Khasi, *khnai*.

Swine.—Bahnar *niang* is evidently Khasi *'niang*, the abbreviated form of *sniang*.

Tiger.—Mon, *kla*; Stieng, *klah*; Bahnar, *kla*; Khmêr, *khlā*; and Khasi, *khlā* are evidently the same. With this compare the Kol *kula*, *kulā*, *kālā*.

Bird.—Suc, *kiem*; Mon, *g'cem*, *ka-tsim*; Hüei, *chiem*; Stieng, *chum*; Bahnar, Annam, *chim*; Xong, *chiem*; Palaung and Wa, *kaim*, and Khasi *sim* are clearly the same. Also compare Mynnar (Jirang), *ksem* which is very near to Mon, *g'cem*.

Fowl.—Hüei, *kat*, *yar*; Suk, *yer*; Bahnar, *ir*; Stieng, *iêr*; Khmu, *yer*; Lemet, *er*; Palaung, *her*, and Khasi, *siar*, abbreviated into *'iar*, are probably the same.

Fish.—The word *ka* or *kha* runs through the following languages:—Mon, Stieng, Bahnar, Annam, Khmu, Lemet, Palaung, Wa; and if we cut off the first syllable of the Khasi word for fish, *dokkha*, we find *'kha*, which is the same word as in the languages above mentioned, with an aspirate added. The Khasi *dok* merely means flesh, and the word *dokkha* is very frequently abbreviated, cf. *'kha mew*, *'kha iong*.

Crab.—Mon, *kh'tām*; Khmêr, *ktām*; Khasi, *thām*. If we add the gender sign to the Khasi word, it becomes *ka thām*, and we have exact correspondence.

Woman.—Mon, *brou* or *brao*. Is this the same as the Khasi (*ka*) *brie*?

Child.—Sa, *kâu*; Suk, *kou*; Mon, *kon*; Hüei, *kuon*; Annam, *kon*; Khmêr, *kun*; Khasi, *khun*. Compare Nancowry, *kon*.

Eye.—The word *mât*, *mat*, *māt*, runs through several of these languages, e.g. Mon, *mat*; Huei, *mat*; Stieng, *mat*; Bahnar,

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mat; Annam, *mat*; Khasi, *khmát* (dialectic *mát*). In Nancowry compare *ámat*, eye, and *ámat*, eyebrow, and (*e*) *mat* (*kea*) *mat* (*drug*), *mat*, of the Nicobar dialects, also Semang *mat*, *mat*, *med*. Kuhn remarks that the word *mat* is common for "*sight*," and "eye" all over the Malay Archipelago. It should be remarked that in the Amwi and Lakadong dialects of Khasi the word is *mát*. 197

Nose.—If we cut off the aspirate *kh* from the Khasi *khmat*, which thus becomes *mat*, we find some correspondence between Mon, *mah* (*mu*); Stieng (*kro*), *mih*; Bahnar, *mah*. Here also compare Ho *mae*, *mate*; Mundari, *mae*; Uraon, *mep*. In the Amwi and Lakadong dialects of Khasi the word is *mar-long*.

Hand.—Xong, *ti*; Mon, *toi*; Annam, *tay*, Khmer, *te* (from *ang te*, finger); Palaung, *tee*, *toi*, and Khasi, *khti* (with prefix *k*) closely correspond. The forms *te* and *toi* of Amwi, and Lakadong, respectively, still more closely correspond with the Mon-Khmer languages than with Khasi. Here compare Nancowry *toi* and *ti*, or *ti* of the Kol languages.

Blood.—Palaung *kwem*, and Wa *wam* closely correspond with Khasi *ambim*; here compare Khmér *jhém*.

Horn.—Mon, *grang*, the horn of an animal, may be compared with the Khasi *rang*.

Far.—Distant. Bahnar, *kangai*; Annam, *xai*; Khmér, *chkangay*; Lemet, *angay*; Sue *chagai* may be compared with the Khasi *jing-ngai*. Amwi *chajagai* seems to be a closer form to the above than Khasi *jing-ngai*. But compare Myunar (Jirang), *chagi*, which is clearly very close to Sue *chagai*, and Khmer *chkangay*.

To weep, to cry.—Mon, *pém*; Khmer, *pem*; Khmu Lemet and Palaung, *pem*, are clearly the same as Khasi *ibm*, with which also may be compared Ho *pém*.

It is interesting to note that the Amwi and Lakadong dialects of Khasi, which are spoken by the people who dwell on the southern slopes of the Jaintia Hills, seem more closely to correspond with the Mon-Khmer forms than even with Khasi. The Myunar or Jirang dialect of Khasi, spoken on the extreme north of the hills, also appears to possess some words which are very similar indeed to some of the Mon-Khmér forms given by 197

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Professor Kuhn. Unfortunately, I had time to collect but a few words of this interesting dialect, as I arrived in the portion of the country inhabited by these people only a short time before submitting this monograph to Government. The Mynnar dialect appears to be akin to the Syntong, Lakadong, and Amwi forms of speech. The Mynnar observe also the Syntong ceremony of "Bok-ding-dikon," or driving away the demon of cholera, so that although now inhabiting a part of the country a considerable distance away from that of the Syntengs, it is not unlikely that they were originally connected with the latter more closely.

Professor Kuhn comes to the conclusion that there is a distinct connection between Khasi, Mon or Talaing, Khmer, and the other languages of Indo-China that have been mentioned, which is to be seen not only from similarities in some of the numerals, but from the surviving condemnation of many other words of these languages. He goes on to add that more important than these contacts of the monosyllabic languages of Indo-China with monosyllabic Khasi is their affinity with the Kol, and Nonosyllabic-syllabic languages and with that of the aboriginal inhabitants of Malacca, i.e. the languages of the so-called Orang-Binatang, or some of the tribes, Sakai, Semang, Orang-Benua, and others; and that although it is not, perhaps, permissible to derive at once from this connection the relation of the Khasi Mon-Khmer monosyllabic group with these poly-syllabic languages, it seems to be certain that a common substratum lies below a great portion of the Indo-Chinese languages as well as those of the Kol and Mon-Munda group. More important than connections between words is, as Dr. Grierson points out in his introduction to the Mon-Khmer family, the order of the words in the sentence. In both Khasi and Mon
193 that order is subject, verb, object. Taking this fact in conjunc-
197 tion with the similarities of the Khasi and Mon vocabularies, we may conclude that it is proof positive of the connection between Khasi and Mon, or Talaing. In Munda, however, the order is subject, object, verb. This is a very important difference, for, as Dr. Grierson points out, "the order of words in a sentence follows the order of thought of the speaker; it follows therefore that the Munda think in an order of ideas different

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from those of the Khasis and the Mons. Dr. Grierson comes to the same conclusion with respect to these languages as Professor Kuhn, which is as follows:—"Owing to the existence of these differences we should not be justified in assuming a common origin for the Mon-Khasis langs., on the one hand, and for the Munda, Nancowry, and Malacca languages on the other. We may, however, safely assume that there is at the bottom of all these tongues a common substratum, over which there have settled layers of the speeches of other peoples, differing in different localities. Nevertheless, this substratum was so firmly established as to prevent its being entirely hidden by them, and frequent undeniable traces of it are still discernible in languages spoken in widely distant tracts of Farther and Further India. Of what language this original substratum consisted we are not yet in a position to say. Whatever it was, it covered a wide area, larger than the area covered by many families of languages in India at the present day. Languages with this common substratum are now spoken, not only in the modern Provinces of Assam, in Burma, Siam, Cambodia, and Annam, but also over the whole of Central India, as far west as the Berars." Grierson, having agreed regarding the existence of this common substratum, does not finally determine whether the ancient substratum was the parent of the present Munda languages, or of the Mon-Khasi language. He says, "It cannot have been the parent of both, but it is possible that it was the parent of neither." We are thus still in a state of uncertainty as to what was the origin of these languages.

The brief description which follows of some of the more prominent characteristics of the Khasi language is based chiefly on Sir Charles Lyall's skeleton Grammar contained in Vol. II of Dr. Grierson's "Linguistic Survey of India." It does not pretend to be an exhaustive treatise on the language; for this students are referred to the excellent grammar compiled by the Rev. H. Roberts.

The Article.—There are four articles in Khasi; three in the singular, *u* (masculine), *ka* (feminine), and *i* (diminutive of both genders); and one in the plural for both genders, *ki*.

All Khasi nouns take a pronominal prefix to denote the gender, i.e. the third personal pronoun, *u* (masculine), *ka* (feminine),

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193 *i* (diminutive). The great majority of inanimate nouns are feminine, and all abstract nouns. The sun (day), *ka sngi*, is feminine; the moon (month), *u Blei*, is masculine. Sometimes the word varies in meaning according to the gender, e.g. *u ngay*, a law; *ka ngay*, honey.

Gender.—Names of mountains, stones, plants, fruits, stars, and the moon, are masculine, e.g.:—

U Lylleng, the Lylleng rock.
U maskha, quartz.
U phew, potato.
U sok sniatim, orange.
U Iar shei, the morning star.
U Iar Bnlaj, star.
U Blei, the moon.

Names of rivers, lakes, books, places, the sun, and all abstract nouns are feminine, e.g.:—

Ka wah, river.
Ka umi, lake.
Ka Lylleng, book.
Ka Shillong, Shillong.
Ka sngi, sun.
Ka jingmang, advice.

The article *i* is used either as a diminutive, as *i Shnaiborg*, a baby, or for denoting relationship, as *i mei*, mother.

Number.—*U*, *ka*, and *i* stand for the singular number, e.g. *u Bilo* (a tiger), *ka Shah* (a Khasi basket), *i Shna* (a child). *Ki* is the sign of the plural, as *ki nam*, the sunn. *Ki* is used in few instances in most horrifically, as *ki Siem*, the kings, *ki Sibor*, the father-in-law.

Cases are eight in number, and are denoted by prefixes. The declension of the noun *ban* (bill) is given below by way of example:—

	Singular.	Plural.
Nominative	*u ban*	*ki ban.*
Accusative	*ym u ban*	*ym ki ban.*
Instrumental	*dia u ban*	*dia ki ban.*
Dative	*ym, ban, ym ulu u ban*	*ym, ban, ym ulu ki ban.*
Ablative	*ym u ban*	*ym ki ban.*
Genitive	*jong u ban*	*jong ki ban.*
Locative	*ban u ban*	*ban ki ban.*
Vocative	*ban ban*	*ban phi ki ban.*

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The sign of the genitive case, *jong*, is sometimes omitted for the sake of brevity, *e.g.* *u kwor ugo* (my dog) for *u kwor jong ugo*. The preposition *ka* gives also the force of the possessive case, *e.g.* *ka ka jong ka jong* (their own). There are some nouns which change their form, or rather are abbreviated when used in the vocative case, *e.g.* *ka mei*, not *ka kmei* = Oh mother; *ka pa*, not *ka kpa* = Oh father. These, however, are all of them nouns showing relationships. 195

Pronouns.—Personal pronouns are *ngu* (I), *ngi* (we), *ma* (thou, masculine), *pha* (thou, feminine), *phi*, you (masculine or feminine), *u* (he, it), *ka* (she, it), *i* (diminutive form of *u* or *ka*), and *ki* (they).

The emphatic form of the personal pronoun is formed by prefixing *ma*, *e.g.* *ma-ngu*, *ma-u*, after a verb, but not after a preposition, *e.g.* *ki-ma-ngu* = it is I. But *ai ia ma ngu* is an incorrect form.

The Reflexive Pronoun is formed by the word *kade* (self) being affixed to the personal pronoun, *as u-kah ma-ia kade* = he has hurt himself hard, or by the addition of the word *ki* (self) to the personal pronoun, *as phi ki phi ong* (you yourself).

The Relative Pronoun is formed by the suffix *ka*, added to any of the personal pronouns, *as kaba*, who, *kiba* (who, which).

The Demonstrative Pronoun is formed by the addition of the particles denoting the position of things with reference to the speaker, *e.g.* (1) near = this, *ne* (*u-ne*, *kane*, *i-ne*, *ki-ne*); (2) in sight, but further off = that, *to* (*u-to*, &c.); (3) further away, but still visible = that *tai* (*u-tai*, &c.); (4) out of sight or only contemplated in the mind = that, *ta* (*u-ta*, &c.); (5) above = that, *tai* (*u-tai*, &c.); (6) below = this, *thi* (*ka-thi*, &c.); *kitai-tai*, *kaiai-ta*, *kathi-thie* point to an object at a great distance but within sight.

The Interrogative Pronoun is the article followed by *no* or *ai* (*e.g.* *u-no*, *kano*, who), *u-ai*, *ka-ai* (who, which). *Ki* is often used without the "article," and *no* (which is restricted to persons) when *declined*, regularly drops the "article," *e.g.* *jong-no* whose? *no-no*, whom? *ska-no*, to whom? What? *ondar*, *ia-ainal*, and also *kaai*.

Adjectives are formed by prefixing *ka* to the root, thus *kha* goodness; *ka-kha*, good; *ensin*, badness; *ka-ensin*, bad. When

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193 *ka* is dropped, the word is no longer an adjective but a verb, and is some cases a noun, e.g. *ulu lêwar* (adj.) = big, great; *u lêwar* = he becomes great. An adjective may be formed without any of the prefixes *ka*, *ut*, &c., e.g. *ka mon-tuk* = a thieving cat.

An adjective follows the noun it qualifies, and agrees with the noun it qualifies in gender and number.

Comparison.—The comparative is formed by adding *lêwar* before an adjective, followed by *ban* or *ym* (than), or simply *ym*, and the superlative by adding such adverbs of intensity as *ban*, *ut*, *ut lêwar*, *ban ut*, *shikhdi-i*, which are followed generally by *ym* or *ban ym*.

Numerals.—In Khasi the cardinal number always precedes the noun (e.g. *ka ain*, three times). The following are the first ten numerals.

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1. *Ha-i.*	6. *Hynrai.*
2. *Ar.*	7. *Hynnem.*
3. *Ain.*	8. *Thew.*
4. *Sha.*	9. *Khyndai.*
5. *Sha.*	10. *Shiphew.*

The word *lêad* is prefixed for forming the numerals from 11 to 19, e.g. *lêad-ym*, *lêad-ar*, eleven, twelve, &c.

The verbal root (which never varies) may be simple or compound. The compound roots are (1) causal, formed by prefixing *pyn* to the simple root: as *ioy*, die; *pynioy*, kill. (2) Frequentative, formed by prefixing *ion*; as *iom*, weep; *ion iom*, weep continually. (3) *Intransitive*, by prefixing *mon*; as *ainud*, be wise; *monainud*, grow wise. (4) *Reciprocal*, by prefixing *ia*; as *ia-ïl*, love; *ia-ïl*, love one another. (5) *Intensive*, by prefixing the particle *lyn*, *lyn*, *syn*, *ryn*. Any noun or adjective may be treated as a verbal root by means of a prefix of these five classes. Thus *lajin*, a quarrel (Hindustani loan word, *pajin*); *ia-lajin*, to quarrel with one another; *lynin*, share; *pyn-lynin* (causal root), to divide between several persons. It should be mentioned with reference to the causal class or frequentative verbs, that they sometimes take the prefixes or particles as follows: prefixes to call them, *dem*, *day*, *mop*, *shuit*, *ioy* in place of *ion*; e.g. *dem-iom*, to come after; *day-ïl*, to practise; *mop-ïud*, to go on searching; *shuit-pang*, to be always ill; *ioy-iom*, to be in the habit of dropping. There are two

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verbs for "to be," *long*, implying existence absolutely, and *don*, implying limited existence, and also meaning "to have." There is only one form of conjugation for all verbs. Tense and mood are indicated by prefixes, number and person by the subject. When the subject is a noun the pronoun is inserted before the verb. The following is the conjugation of the verb "to be" in the present, past, and future tenses :—

Present.		Past.		Future.	
Singular.	Plural.	Singular.	Plural.	Singular.	Plural.
1	2	3	4	5	6
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

The above simple tenses are made definite or emphatic by various means. *Lai*, sign of the past, when added to *lah*, sign of the potential, has the sense of the pluperfect, e.g. *nga la lah long*, I had been. *Ïa* abbreviated into *'a* emphasises the future, the particle *ne* also indicates the future; *da* is the usual sign of the subjunctive mood, *lada*, *la*, *lymda*, *tad*, *pada*, *ban*, *de* are other signs of this mood. The sign of the infinitive is *ka'*. The imperative is either (1) the simple root, or (2) the root compounded with some word such as *to*.

Participles.—The present participle is formed by prefixing *ka* to the root, e.g. *ka long*, being. The imperfect participle is formed by prefixing such words as *ka ne*, *ka da*, *de lada*, &c. The perfect participle is formed by putting such particles as *ka la*, *lada la*, *de lada la* before the verb. Verbal nouns of agency are formed by prefixing *nong* to the root, e.g. *u nong lada* (the worth-er). The *Passive Voice* is formed by using the verb impersonally, and putting the subject into the *Accusative* case with *da*.

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193 *Potentiality* is indicated by the verb *lah*, necessity by the verb *dei*; *dang* and *da* show the indefinite present.

The negative is indicated by the particles *yn*, contracted into *'n*, *shym*, and *put*. *Yn* is put before the verb, e.g. *'yn don briw* = there is no one; with a pronoun it is contracted, e.g. *u'n wan*, he does not come. It follows the sign of the future, e.g. *phi'n y'n wan*, you will not come. *Shym* and *put* are negative particles, and are used with *negative* verbs in the past tense, e.g. *u'n shymle wan*, he did not come.

The use of the word "jing."—One of the most striking features of the language is the use of the word *jing*, which is employed to create a verbal noun out of a verb; for instance, take the verb *kam*, to eat; if we prefix *jing* we have *jingkam*, food. *Ïlat*, to hold; *jing-ïlat*, a handle. The use of the word *jing* has already been noticed under the heading "verbs." As an example of another common prefix, it may again be mentioned here. Thus, *sang-ni-jingkam* means a table servant, literally, one who gives food. Again, *sang-ïlat*, a holder, literally, one who holds.

Syntax.—The order of words in the sentence is usually (1) subject, (2) verb, and (3) object, in fact, the same as in English, and in this respect it differs entirely from the order in the languages derived from Sanskrit, and that of the languages of the Tibeto-Burman group, so far as I have been able to ascertain. For instance, in the Kachari or Bro language the order in the sentence is (1) subject, (2) object, (3) verb. In Khasi when emphasis is needed, however, the object occasionally precedes the verb, e.g. *ïa u sah u ïa shi*, he has sold the fruit, literally, the fruit he has sold. As stated before, adjectives follow the noun they qualify, e.g. *u lum sngi-mung*, a high mountain, literally, the hill that is high. Interrogative adverbs may either precede or follow the verb, e.g. *wei phi wan*, or *phi wan wei*, where do you come from?

No account of the Khasi language would be complete without some reference to the adverbs which are so very numerous in Khasi. U Nimar Singh, in his admirable little book of "Hints on the Study of the Khasi Language," writes, "Adverbs are so numerous in the Khasi language that I shall not attempt to enumerate them all in this small book. Many of the adverbs

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indeed, belong to the untranslatables of the language. We are never in want of a specific term to express the appropriate degree of any quality." To learn how to use the right adverb at the right time is one of the niceties of the language. There is a peculiarity about some of the adverbs of place which should be mentioned: e.g. *Hangto*, there (within sight); *hangne*, here; *hangto*, there (out of sight); *hangtei*, there (at some distance); *hangtei*, there (upwards); *hangthi*, there (downwards); also the interrogative adverbs *hangno*, *nangno*, whence, contain the inherent root *ngo*, and it seems possible that this *ngo* is the first personal pronoun I. If this is so, *hangto* would mean literally "to me there," *hangthi* "to me down there," and similarly *nangno*, *nangne* would mean "from where to me there" and "from there to me here." 193

Adverbs generally follow the words they modify, as *u'n leit nyuiu-ehe* will go now, but there are exceptions to the above rule, such as interrogative adverbs. The following come before those they modify: *hang ala*, *la dang* (as soon as, when); *khem*, *ehait* (used to, ever); *pat ne pat* (yet); and *ekyn* (not); but *ehah* (more) goes last. Adverbs of past time are formed by prefixing *ngo*, e.g. *ngnikyoo*, a short time ago. Adverbs of future time are formed by prefixing *la*. The particles *nan*, *nan la*, and *lada* denote repetition.

The Khasis are exceedingly fond of using double words* which add much to the finish and polish of a sentence. Old people especially have a predilection this way. It is one of the great difficulties of the language to learn how to use such double words correctly. The following are some examples:— [195] 193 192

Nouns.

ka jain ka sep	cloth.
ka lot ka ala	paper.
ka lyoti ka synghing	road.
ka ling ka sem	house.
o ladu, o phalu	lady.
o tymen o ma	elder.
ka sub, ka wait	arms (lit. shield and sword).
o ladon ka ess	a well to do person.
ka ejuli ka phew	wealth.
o kha o mat	a relation on the father's side.

Verbs.

pyneih pynsain	to comfort.
ia shah ia dah	to scoffs.

* Khasi little Spanish.

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Verbs.

kyrugom-kyrsit	to threaten.
shepting-shepmiej	to be afraid.
shiksh-shiksh	to be familiar.
kyrpad-kyrpen	to beg.
ia hum-ia hang	to assemble.

Adjectives.

hanjw-hanseh	bad.
hanat-hating	active.
dunbor-dunor	powerful.
don hurum-don [illegible]	noble.
hahhrow-hatri	pertaining to a noble family.
hahih-hanh	poor, needy.
hahsh-hanh	righteous.
hariwhha-riwmint	wealthy.

Adverbs.

hur-hur	delicately.
hum-hum	brilliantly (red).
prum-prum, prum-prum	prominently.
ryuhiow-ryuhiow	shrinkingly.
nuw-nuw, nuw-nuw	shakily.
iw-iw, iw-iw	weakly.
parum-parsh	many.
sep-sep, sep-sep	having no taste.

The Mikirs appear to have borrowed a small portion of their vocabulary from the Khasis. The following are quoted as examples of possible common roots:—

	Mikir.	Khasi.
belly	*pik*	*kpah.*
strike (v.)	*chik*	*shah.*
father	*po*	*kpa.*
come (v.)	*ring*	*ring.*
rice beer	*kor*	*kiar.*
maternal uncle	*mi-kor*	*kai.*

197 The Lyngngam dialect differs so much from the standard Khasi that some remarks regarding the former will not be out of place. Dr. Grierson, on pages 17 to 19 of his Volume II. of the "Linguistic Survey of India," has indicated some of these differences, which may be recapitulated here as follows. Some of the commonest verbs vary considerably from those used in
199 the standard dialect. There are also many minor differences of pronunciation. A man is *u kwa* not *u kwiar*, a son is *u u khaw*,
193 not *u khaw*. Standard *ny* is often represented by *nj*. Thus
194 *dinj* for *dinny*, see. A final *k* often appears as *h*, and an initial *k* as *p*. Thus, *kaah* (Standard) all becomes in Lyngngam *paah*

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Standard *ei* becomes *ee*. Thus *weim-wee*, one; *dei-dee*, be necessary. The articles are frequently omitted. The pronoun *u* is used for the plural as well as the singular, instead of the Standard plural *ki*. The diminutive *i* is used with inanimate nouns. This is also sometimes the case in the Standard form. 199 193 194

Nouns.—The prefix of the Accusative-dative is *ee* or *ee*, often contracted to *i* instead of *ie* (Standard). The prefix of the Dative is *hanam*, *hum*, or *from*. The Standard Dative-locative prefix *ha* is also used, and may be spelt *he* or *hy*. *Ta* or *te* are also found. For the genitive, besides the Standard *jong*, are found *ha*, *ee-ha*, *ee*, and *ee-nee*. *Ee-nee* and *ee* also mean "from." 193

The plural sometimes takes the suffix *ee*.

Adjectives.—The usual word for male is *hoong*, and for "female" *hoothee*, in place of the Standard *shyoong* and *hynthei* respectively. The following are examples of comparisons:—*Ee-nyrriang*, good; *Mei-nyrriang*, better; *U ee-nyrriang*, best. The Standard form is also used for the superlative.

Pronouns.—The Personal Pronouns are:—

	Singular	Plural
1st Person	*ee*	*hinee*, *ieee*.
2nd Person	*mi*, *mee*	*phinee*.
3rd Person	*u*, *ju*, *u-jo*	*kee*.

The Nominative of the pronoun of the second person singular is given once as *ha-mi*, and once as *ee-mi*. The *ee* or *he* is the Standard emphatic prefix *ee*.

Demonstrative Pronouns appear to be *ha*, *tei* that, and *ooi*, or *uih*, this. *Ee* is used as a definite article in the phrase *ee jeewee*, the earthquake.

The Relative Pronoun is *u-dah*, who.

Interrogative Pronouns are *mee*, *u-ieee*, who? and *mee*, what?

Verbs.—The pronoun which is the subject of a verb may either precede or follow it. Thus *ee sip*, I strike; *sip hinee*, we strike. The words meaning to be are *ee*, *ee*, and *mee* in addition to the Standard *long*. Like the Standard *dee*, *ee*, corresponding to Syntong *ee*, also means to have. As in the

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193 Standard, the Present Tense is formed by using the bare root.

The Past Tense is formed in one of five ways, viz. :—

1. By suffixing *ïai*, as in *ong-ïai*, said.
2. By suffixing *lah-ïai*, as in *dik-lah-ïai*, went.
3. By prefixing *ïai*, and suffixing *ïai*, as in *ïai-ong-ïai*, said.
4. By prefixing *lah*, as in *lah-ïpïai*, asked.
5. By prefixing *pa* (pan), *pan*, as in *pa-ong*, gave; *pan-ïkeit*, shook; *pa-pait*, broke; *pa-pai*, fell.

The Future is formed in a very peculiar way. The Standard *pa* is inserted into the middle of the root, immediately after the first consonant. Thus *ïap*, strike; *ïpaïp*, will strike. If the root is a compound, it is inserted between the two numbers, as in *pan-pa-ong*, will fill. Here observe that the Standard causative particle *pan* becomes *pan* in Lyngam. The Infinitive has the same form as the Future.

Dr. Stevenson points out the following most noteworthy fact with reference to the formation of the Lyngam Future and Infinitive, i.e. that similar infixes occur in Malay, in the Nancowry dialect of Nicobar, and the Malacca aboriginal languages.

The particle of the Imperative is *uei*, as in *uei-ïai*, give; *uei-dem*, bring. The usual negative particle is *ji*, which is suffixed, e.g. *ong-ji* is not.

NUMERALS.

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LYNGAM	DEVIANCE (KHASI).
1. [illegible]	Ïïei, etc.
2. [illegible]	Ïï.
3. [illegible]	Ïïei.
4. [illegible]	Ïïïïei.
5. [illegible]	[illegible].
6. [illegible]	[illegible].
7. [illegible]	[illegible].
8. [illegible]	[illegible].
9. [illegible]	[illegible].
10. [illegible]	[illegible].

The peculiarity about the Lyngam numerals is the suffix *ei*, and the numeral "five" *de*. None of the other dialects of Khasi possess this peculiarity. Dr. Stevenson's Volume may be

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referred to for a Lyngam Vocabulary. I make the following additions :— 12

English	Lyngam	Khasi (Standard)
Hearth	yaw	ka dypai
Earthen pot	khow	u khiw
Flesh	sim	ka dik
Spoon	jaupiai	ka siang
Sleeping-room	syrkat	ka'rumpai
Drinking-gourd	longtang	u shaw
" "	longjah	u khong dih-ow
Broom	shipnat	u synnar
Clothing.		
Turban	khalong jain brong	ka jain sprong
Ear-ring	kurong	ka shokokkor
Apron	shilang	ka jyrapkong
Haversack	jolonjwa *	ka pia
Cap	pokhia	ka topia
Girdle	pen-poh	u saipan
Under garment (female)	jaia tongpan	ka jyrapin
Domestic Terms.		
Pestle	syrow	u syrwi
Door	ykyrdaw	ka jingkhang
Fowl house	kjor syar	ka sem siar
Pegs of house in front of the hearth	u-ngiaw	ka ongpai
Do. behind the hearth	shangla	ka rumpai
Show-house	siang	ka iong loh kylla
Millet	jwai	u kwai
Indian corn	ash rikhaw	u riw hadon
Arum	chow	ka shirlaw
Agricultural Implements.		
Spade	wahlow	u sohkhiow
Bill-hook	wait-hah	ka wait Lyngpon
Do.	wait-koh	ka wait khmat
Axe	dapan	u ali
Basket used in reaping and sowing	khyrnai	ka koh rit

* * Assamese loan word, a corruption of "*jolanga*."

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APPENDIX A.

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EXOGAMOUS CLANS IN THE CHERRA STATE.

1. Bam-ow-mit
   Intermarriage with Majaw and Hynniewta clans prohibited.
2. Dienglah
   Intermarriage with Lalu, Dienglahlah and Dienglahbylla clans prohibited
3. 'Dkhar
4. Dohling
5. Dulei
6. Dumai
7. Hum
8. Hynniewta
9. Jale
10. Jeyma
11. Khar Jarain
12. " Khlum
13. " Khrang
14. " Kongor
15. " Kyrai
16. " Lukhi
17. " Maw
18. " Mawphlang
19. " Mo
20. " Mukil
21. " Muti
22. " Mylliem
23. " Naiw
24. " Shelong
25. " Syntong
26. —
27. Khongjer
28. " bat
29. " ji
30. " joh
31. " kwang
32. " kyndon
33. " kyrting
34. " kyshah
35. " lam
36. " lian
37. " longkai
38. " lyngwa
39. Khong mawpar
40. " mukhan
41. " ngain
42. " riat
43. " rymmai
44. " sohir
45. " shir
46. " sit
47. " sngi
48. " syn
49. " war
50. " wet
51. " wir
52. Lyngdoh-Nongkynrih
53. Lyndon
54. Lyngrah
55. Majaw
56. Marbaniang
    This is one of the myntri clans of Mawyaram State
57. Mylliegiang
    originally from Mawkot in the Jowai Sub-division
58. Maryna
59. Mawling
60. Marbah
    Formerly one of the Khadar Kur clans. Now now become extinct.
61. Mawlikhay
62. Mokhlow
63. Myrsiang
64. Myrthong
65. Nongbri
66. Nongkynrih
    One of the myntri clans of the Khyrim State
67. Nongkla
68. Nongtem
69. Nongthiang
70. Nongrum
    One of the myntri clans of the Khyrim State

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71. Nontariang
    These two clans cannot intermarry. Nongtariang is now one of the Khadar Kur clans in place of the Marbah clan which has become extinct.
72. Padoh
73. Parariang
74. Pohnong
75. Prawai
76. Puria
77. Pompyrthat
78. Rani
79. Raptlap.
80. Ryujah
    One of the myntri clans of the Khyrim State.
81. Sumai
82. Shalong
83. Shangpo
84. Shrieh
    Shrieh means a monkey. Possibly totemistic
85. Siem Lyngng
86. Sohkhlet
87. Shyngpliang
88. Sumer
89. Swer
90. Syiem
91. Syngai
92. Synrem
93. Thabah
94. Tham
    Tham means a crab. Possibly totemistic
95. Tokrih
96. Umdor
97. Walang
98. Warkon
99. Khyrwang
100. Kong

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APPENDIX B.

EXOGAMOUS CLANS IN THE KHYRIM STATE.

1. Awri
2. Bariang
3. Bam-iew-ouit
4. Ehoi
5. Eithai
6. Diengdoh (?)
   Intermarriage with Mawar clan prohibited
7. Ithhar
8. Dumpep
9. Hadem
10. Jasin
11. Khung-shei
12. Khar baino
13. " baki
14. " bangar
    Intermarriage with Nongtwai clan prohibited
15. Khar bih-khiew
    Intermarriage prohibited with Khar-mmaid clan
16. Khar bonnaid
17. " lind
18. " bali
19. " dint
20. " dohling
21. " dumpep
22. " bi-dhan
23. " iap
24. " Kanni
25. " Kongor
26. " Kseh
27. " kyung
28. " long
29. " lami
30. " Malki
31. " Mawar
32. Khar nawlah
    Intermarriage with Khar-pomlah clan prohibited
33. Khar nalpein
34. " nithai
35. " nodei
36. " nongai
37. " nokki
38. " nonti
39. " nothem
40. " pasni
41. " pein
42. " phan
43. " phar
44. " pohlong
45. " pohlokah
46. " pomlah
    Intermarriage with Khar-nawlah clan prohibited
47. Khar pomnih
48. " pyne
49. " rynji
50. " synna
51. " Sati
52. " shan
53. " shi-ong
54. " shilla
55. " shung
56. " shnah
57. " sohnah
58. " sngi
59. " Tawaid
    Intermarriage with Khar-bihkhiew clan prohibited
60. Khar ymmi
61. " War
62. Khar

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63. Khasah
64. Khong-bisnai
65. " lilah
66. " lieh
67. " leikylang
68. " likhar
69. " dop
Intermarriage prohibited with Bongsai and Khongroo class
70. Khong* lap
71. " long
72. " ji
Intermarriage with Pongrup class prohibited
73. Khong pah
74. " lai
75. " khar
76. " kiang
77. " lih
78. " kylla
79. " kyndah
80. " lato
81. " lano
82. " likong
83. " iaong
84. " lami
85. " mahi
86. " mawlow
87. " niar
88. " nah
89. " pdai
90. " pnoo
91. " pnar
92. " sdah
93. " sding
94. " sih
95. " sngi
96. " sla
97. " sli
Intermarriage prohibited also with Lyngdoh class
98. Khong sim
99. " sylla (?)
100. " thaw
101. " tiang
102. " thawa
103. " wandah (?)
104. " wah
105. " war
106. Khiaus
107. Khyariam
108. Khyariam
109. Khyariam mylut
110. Khyariam mawkarah
Intermarriage with Pongrup, Lyngdoh and Mawthoh class prohibited
111. Khyariam wahkaing
112. Kur Kalang
113. Lamin
114. Lawai
Intermarriage with Lyngdoh class prohibited
115. Lawiawkhar
116. Lingdoh
117. Liting
118. Lyngdoh
119. Lyngdoh
Intermarriage with Pongrup and Mawthoh class prohibited
120. Lyngiar
121. Malseng
122. Majaid
123. Mawar
124. Mawar
Intermarriage with Diengdoh class prohibited
125. Mawiong
126. Mawphlang
127. Mawkarah
128. Mawthoh
Intermarriage with Pongrup and Lyngdoh class prohibited
129. Mawsa
130. Marbah
131. Marwein
132. Makhin
133. Marah
134. Mylliem
135. Mylliem mawkong
136. " Niang
137. " pdah
Intermarriage between these class prohibited also with Sohiong class
138. Myrsong
139. Nongrang
140. Nongrah
141. Nongbet
Intermarriage with Nongkynrih class prohibited
142. Nongbet Pathah
143. Nongkhlaw
144. Nong-khlah

* The word Khong has probably connection with the Syntengi word *jong* meaning a clan.

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146. Nong-kynrieh
Intermarriage with Nonglwi clan prohibited
147. Nong-lwai
Intermarriage with Khar-Bangar clan prohibited
148. Nong-lyer
149. Nong-pieir
150. Nong-pioh
151. Nongrem
152. Nongpreng
153. Nongtieng
154. Nongtnin
155. Nongtloh
156. Pdei
157. Pdekhla
158. Pdeikhai
159. Pongrup
Intermarriage with Mawlieh and Lyngdoh clans prohibited
160. Rimkhong
161. Rimen
162. Rynkhong
163. Rynthong (2)
164. Rynghum
165. Rynjah
Intermarriage with Mawsiah clan prohibited
166. Rynjun
167. Rynieng
168. Syngrup
169. Shalong
170. Shadap
171. Singthing
172. Sohkhleh
173. Sohkma
Intermarriage with Mylliemongpu, Mylliemyndoh
Mylliem-mottong clans prohibited
174. Sonjri
175. Sungkiang
176. Sumer
177. Surong
178. Suting
179. Swali
180. Swer
181. Synnah
182. Syntong
183. Syntong-lum
184. Tadong
185. Tangjer
186. Tangsang
187. Tarieng
188. Tnai-law
189. Tyngnier
190. Tynsil (2)
191. Tyngsong
192. Umsong
193. Uri-ieng
194. Wallang
195. Warbah
Intermarriage with Wardong prohibited
196. War-Jaim
197. " jri
198. " Khyllaw
199. War-mahi
200. " nari
201. " Nongjri
202. War-khar
203. War-shong
Intermarriage with Warbah clan prohibited

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APPENDIX C.

DIAGRAM OF EGG BREAKING BOARD.

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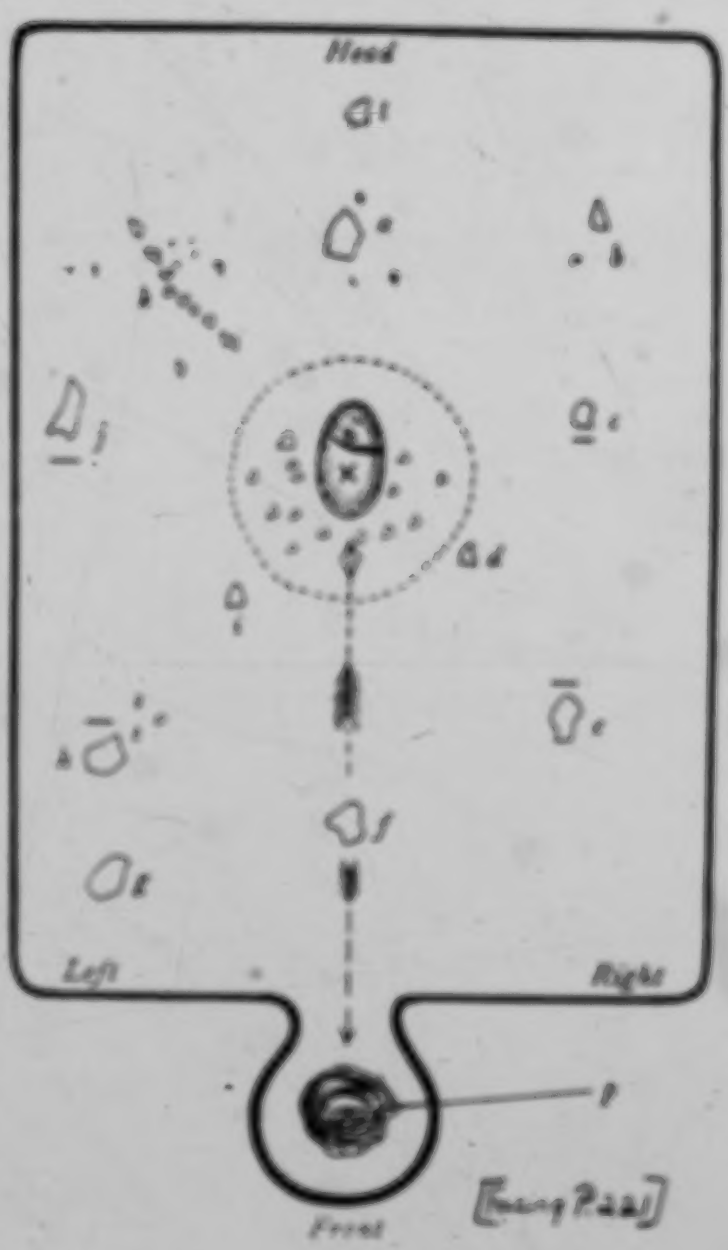

POSITION OF EGG BREAKER

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APPENDIX C.

DIVINATION BY EGG-BREAKING.

THE *diang shat pylleng*, or egg-breaking board, is shaped as indicated in the diagram. Having placed a little heap of red earth on the board at point *p*, the egg-breaker sits facing the board in the position shown in the diagram. He first of all makes a little heap of rice in the middle of the board sufficient to support the egg. He places the egg there. He then takes it up and smears it with red earth, muttering incantations the while. Having finished the invocation to the spirits, the egg-breaker sweeps the grains of rice off the board, stands up, and dashes the egg on the board with considerable force. The large portion of the egg-shell is made to fall in the middle of the board, as at X in the diagram. This portion of the shell is called *ka liang*, or the boat. The small bits of egg-shell which fall around the boat are either good or evil prognostics, according to the following rules:—

1. The bits of shell which fall on the right of the boat are called *ki jingkar*, and those on the left *ki jingkhew*. Supposing fragments of shell fall as at *b*, *c*, *d*, *e*, with their insides downwards, this is a good sign, but if one of the fragments lies with its outside downwards, this is a bad omen, and signifies *ka seng lang kha*, or sin on the father's or the children's part. It may also signify *ka daw lum*, or "came from the hill," i.e. that the illness or other affliction has been caused by a god of some hill.

2. If the fragments of shell lie on the left side of the boat as at *g*, *h*, *i*, *j* in the diagram, they are named *ki jingkhew*. If they lie with their insides downwards, they indicate a favourable sign. If *g* lies with its outside downwards, this is an evil omen. If *g* and *h* lie with their insides downwards, this is favourable,

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[167] even if *i* lies with its outside downwards. If, however, *j* lies with its outside downwards, this is not a good sign.

3. If there are a number of pieces of egg-shell lying in a line, as at *k*, this is an evil prognostic, the line of shell fragments indicating the road to the funeral pyre. Such a line of shell fragments is called *ki'leng rah thang*. This sign is a harbinger of death.

4. If all the fragments of shell on both sides of the board, excepting the boat, lie with their insides downwards, the question asked by the egg-breaker is not answered. If *a* or *l* fall with their outsides downwards, this is a bad sign.

5. If the portion of a shell at *f* falls with the outside downwards, this indicates that some god needs appeasing by sacrifice.

6. If there are a number of small fragments lying around the boat, as in the diagram, these mean that there are many reasons for the illness, which cannot be ascertained.

7. If the portion of shell marked *s* is detached from the boat, this indicates that the goddess is very angry.

8. If four fragments lie around the boat so as to form a square, as *c, e, h, j*, these mean that the patient is at the point of death. These are called *ki leng sher thang*.

9. If there are no fragments, as at *d, e, f, g, h, i*, it is a puzzle. *ka leng kyntip*.

[175] *Note.*—The above information was obtained from U Sarup Singh, of Mairong; U Thum, of Laitlyngkot, and U Bud, of Jowai. Different egg-breakers have somewhat different methods of reading the signs, but the main points are usually the same.

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THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE KHASI

(ZUM REALIGIÖSEN LEBEN DER KHASI)

By P. F. Stegmiller

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[Title Page]

2:Stegmiller-1 M-4,5(no date) 1921 ARF Khasi ARF

[501] The Religious Life of the Khasi

[502] By P. F. Stegmiller, Apostolic Missionary, S.D.S., of Assam (India).

I. Religion in General

1. Gods, Spirits, Souls.
2. Methods of Warding Off Evil Spirits.
3. Taboos (sang).
4. Egg Throwing (shat-pylleng).
5. The Sacrifice of the Rooster (jingkmia sylar).
6. Discovering the Spirits that Need Appeasing (kheinkeuid).
7. Prayer of Thanks after Receiving Good Health.

II. Religion in Various Phases of Life.

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2. Sacrifices during the Illness of a Member of the Family.
3. Sacrifices and Ceremonies at Death.
4. Cremation (ka jingthang).
5. Burial of the Bones.
   a) First Burial (maw shying).
   b) Second Burial (maw phew).
   c) Third Burial (maw bah).

I. Religion in General

1. Gods, Spirits, Souls.

[73] [77] An explanation about the origin of their religion is not to be expected from the Khasi themselves. Since they do not have a system of writing, nor idols or temples, one must turn entirely to their oral traditions.

773 782 Several Khasis claim that the devil prescribed to their ancestors the method of sacrificing. On the other hand others maintain that in times past a man of rare size and strength came to their country. This man accomplished wonderful things, and commanded their ancestors to sacrifice and at the same time prescribed for them the method of sacrificing. Today the place [104] of his former dwelling on a mountain near Shillong is still pointed out. Since something divine was suspected in that man, he was called u 'lei shillong (the god Shillong).

776 The Khasi believe in a highest being, whom they call u blei nongthaw (1) (the creator god).

[194] 1. Pronounciation of Khasi (method of writing): ei is pronounced as two syllables, e - i, w is pronounced like u, aw is therefore like a - u, sh is pronounced like sch = phonetic š.

Just as the ideas about this person are very hazy, so are the concepts of eternity and the soul.

775 The Khasi are not in agreement among themselves about the conception of what happens to the soul after death. Several say that after death the soul goes up in the air and becomes air and therefore exists no longer. But most of them believe that the soul exists after death and can be happy or unhappy. But this does not depend on personal guilt or sin but only on the conscientious completion of the burial ceremonies.

[631] 776 The country in which the Khasi live is divided into several districts, which were formerly ruled by several kings before the English came. [408] According to the Khasi each district

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776 has its own tutelary god on whom they confer the name of the district.

Villages have their own tutelary gods, families have their tutelary gods, even individual people na.. their guardian gods, to whom they occasionally bring a sacrifice.

The Khasi and Synteng also honor gods who are not thought of as tutelary gods but as dispensers of purely material favors, as, for example, u 'lei longspah (god of wealth) and u'lei umtong (the god of water which is used for cooking and drinking). (2)

2. Cf. (below, p. 410) the summarized table of some of the good and evil gods who are honored by the Khasi and the Synteng.

But in general the Khasi believe that the gods or spirits are evil spirits, whom they then designate with the name ksuid (devil).

782 They believe that their country is full of such ksuid. The chief task of the Khasi is to pacify them. They try by all means to put them in a good mood, and to appease them by sacrifice. It is fear which incites them to their religious activities, not respect or actual reverence. For the Khasi are convinced that it was formerly better. They relate that in the beginning [773] heaven and earth were near together, that people could consort directly with u blei nongthaw the creator god, and that there was still no sin at that time. Now, however, man is sinful and no one offering a sacrifice forgets to pronounce the formula: nga briu nga la pop (I, man, have sinned). Thus the concept sin is one of the bases of the Khasi religion. The other basis is sacrifice. There is no doubt that sin and sacrifice make up the basic thoughts of the religious views

782 of the Khasi.

Just as the Khasi are unable to explain how man fell into sin, so they also cannot explain why the rooster appears as mediator between god and man. The Khasi tradition relates of the rooster: u khun ka blei uba kit ryndang ba shah ryndang na ka kynta jong nga u briu, i.e. he who, as son of the goddess, gives his life for man, thus expiating sin through sacrifice and reconciling god.

769 775 The Khasi believe in another world and their attention is directed towards the comfort of the spirits of the dead. One of the main tasks is to give them nourishment (ai ban), which must be done, since the welfare of the living depends on the welfare of the dead. For example, if one can no longer get the corpse of the deceased because it is in a foreign country or has been consumed by wild animals, one takes his clothes at the very least and carries out the burial ceremonies with these. For only such spirits, whose burial ceremonies were performed according to usage and custom, can participate in chewing betel nuts in the garden (in the house) of god, whereas the others must wander around on earth [109] or must continue living in insects, birds, and other animals. They do not believe in hell (in the Christian sense). The greatest felicity [27K] for a Khasi is "to chew betel nuts perpetually." Therefore they conceive of heaven as the dwelling (garden or house) of god, in which only betel nuts are chewed: uba ban kwai ha iing u blei (he who chews betel nuts in the house of god).

[776] This cult of spirits, which relates to deceased relatives, is mixed with the ancestor cult. Thus the first great-grandmother of each sib (jaid) becomes a goddess (ka jaubei) and the first great-grandfather of the sib a god (u thaulang).

776 Finally other earthly things are deified,
777 and the cult of spirits increases in objects.
778 If there is an unusually formed mountain anywhere, sacrifices are brought to it, since a kwid lives there. And the spirit who inhabits the mountain is soon combined with the mountain itself, and then the mountain is worshipped and sacrifices are brought to it. The same thing happens with rivers. How easily a river god can be insulted and made angry by fishing or by crossing over to the other bank! Therefore the first thing to do is to bring the river god a sacrifice. The Khasi never make a picture, neither of stone nor of wood, which is supposed to represent their gods, but nevertheless they revere many powers of nature and phenomena of nature, and it is difficult to differentiate the extent to which the mountain or river is worshipped and the extent to which sacrifice is made to the spirit of the mountain or the river.

In everything that one calls bad luck or misfortune the Khasi see the work of evil spirits: in the bad harvest, in flood, in sickness. The spirits live in the primeval forest, in the steep inaccessible cliffs, in the rushing river, in the green tree. They come through the air in all weather. They give the tiger strength, the snake poison, the thicket fever, and they lurk in cholera for their victim.

782 These are the reasons for the many sacrifices and sacrificial customs of the Khasi all of which are only to bring about the reconciliation of the angered spirits. Prayers also occur during individual sacrificial scenes which one can conceive of as prayers of thanks or of praise, but these are exceptions.

The sacrifices are performed either by sacrificial priests (lyngdoh) or by old men who have experience. First one seeks out the spirit who

782 must be appeased by throwing eggs. If the desired
[781] effect does not occur after the sacrifice has been offered, further information is sought by observing intestines (sacrifice of rooster), and the sacrifice is offered again. At least that is what is done for sickness. The other sacrifices will be described in more detail later.

771 The religion of the Khasi is one that arises
114 from fear of misfortune and harm, and is active in the worship of (evil) spirits through sacrifice. This definition of mine corresponds essentially with the definitions of Bivar, (3) who

[113] 3. Bivar, Administration Report on the Khasi and Jaintia Hills District of 1876.

says: "The Khasi religion may be briefly defined as a form to cure illnesses and to ward off misfortune, by finding out [210] the name of the devil who is the original cause of the evil and to appease him by sacrifices which are necessary," and Gurdon (4) "calls the Khasi religion a cult

[113] 4. Gurdon, The Khasi (London, 1907) p. 105.

of spirits, i.e., actually rather a reconciliation of spirits, good as well as bad, by sacrifices, which are offered occasionally, especially in times of distress."

Table of Summary

776 of several gods (good and evil) who are revered by the Khasi and the Synteng.

1. Good Gods:

u blei nongthaw, the creator god,
u 'lei longspah, the (good) god of wealth,

776 u 'lei umtong, the god of water that is used for cooking and drinking,
u 'lei shillong, the god who commanded sacrifice,
u sim shillong nongjah, the highest god of the Synteng,
ka maidolong, the highest goddess of the Synteng,
u sim synriang, the son of the above who was born in a wonderful, supernatural way,
ka ram-ew, the goddess of earth,
ka puron, one of the first feminine deities of the Khasi, who is supposed to represent the first maternal ancestor,
u phan suid iap, one of the ancestor spirits who is invoked for blessing of the living and the dead,
u phan long siem, the household god of a king,
ka longkha, the goddess of marriage,
ka 'leikhuri, the household goddess of a certain sib of the Khasi,
u 'suid sia, the spirit of the first maternal great-uncle of a sib,
ka blei long-s'iem, the goddess who makes kings kings,
ka s'iem-synshar, the goddess who rules the world,
u biskurom, the god who teaches the playing of flutes and of other musical instruments,
ka blei-jew-lei-hat, the goddess of the market places,
u 'lei pyrthat, the god of thunder,
ka 'lei aitan, the goddess of the river,
ka 'lei iing, the household goddess,
ka ksaw ka jirngam, the goddess who brings luck, especially in the hunt,
u rynkew shnong, the tutelary god of a village,
u basa shnong, the tutelary god of a village,
u phan u kyrpad, the tutelary god of a village,
ka longkur, the tutelary goddess of a sib,

77 ka 'lei-sad 'lei-sunom, the tutelary goddess of a royal family,
ka 'leikhyrdop 'leikharai, the goddess who guards the entrance to the village in time of war,
ka 'lei-muluk, the goddess who guards the state or village,
ka sad, the goddess who guards the royal families,
ka ram-shandi, the goddess who inspires the people in time of war.

[41] 2. Evil Gods

u siem thylliew, the god of smallpox,
ka duba, the fever demoness in and around Theriagat,
ka rih, the demoness of malaria fever,
ka khlam, the demoness of cholera,
ka tyrut, the demoness who causes violent death,
u mahet, a devil to whom one offers sacrifices only inside a house,
ka byrdaw, the demoness who causes attacks of cramps,
u kyrtep, the devil who causes blindness,
u lasandoh, the devil who causes swelling of the joints and hoarseness,
u jingbih-u lasam, the devil who causes sickness of the mouth and of the teeth,
ka tihar, the demoness who causes severe colic,
ka shwar, the demoness who causes convulsive cramps,
ka shuar, the demoness of wealth,
u thynrai, the devil who always makes illnesses worse,
ka shur, the demoness of wealth (only among the Khasi),
ka taro, the demoness of wealth (only among the Synteng),
u 'suid-um, the devil of water who attacks the women and causes sterility and miscarriage,

776 u tynjang, the lame devil who lives in the thicket and tickles people to death,
ka ron, the worst of all the demonesses (only among the Synteng),
u 'suid-las-iap, the executor of the commands of god, who has to fetch the souls into the other world,
u thlen, the devil of wealth and comfort who can only be worshipped by human sacrifice,
ka smar, a demoness who brings violent death,
ka syrti, the demoness who scratches and cuts, saws, and files (by pain in the intestines),
ka jumai, the demoness of earthquakes,
ka niangriang, the demoness who causes children's illnesses (especially in the navel),
u 'suid briew or u 'suid ngon, the devil who attacks people in the early morning and causes stitches in the side or hoarseness,
u 'suid-synta-saran, the devil who makes headaches,
u synkai bamon, an evil spirit,
ka ramshandi, a demoness.

3. Revered Powers of Nature:

778 The Punatit River, to whom the kings of Mongstein, Dangrin, and Nobosohpoh offer sacrifices.
the Khai-sara River among the Lar,
the Kopili River among the Synteng,
the Myntang River among the Synteng,
the Shillong Peak (mountain near Shillong),
the Rableng Mountain near Shillong, [112]
the Kyllong Cliffs,
the Symper Mountain,
the mountain Pyddieng blei lyngdoh near Shangpung (Jaintia).

779 754 2. Methods of Warding Off Evil Spirits

The Khasi do not practise magic in the

758 strictest sense of the word. It is rather an
759 instinctive activity, which is influenced by superstition to which they have succumbed. In their opinion all misfortune and bad luck are caused by evil spirits. The chief purpose of
(760) their sacrifices is to propitiate them (khein ban khai). But they well know that it is possible to cause others harm with the help of the kouid. Their magic consists of this and in warding off harm. The magic is not accomplished by special magicians who make a profession of it; but whoever believes he is able to harm others with the help of the devil tries it. In the same way, those who have to ward off harm of any kind hope to be able to accomplish this with the help of the devil.

753 If anyone has a throat ailment, whether it
754 is a tumor or only hoarseness, they believe that
756 it occurs through the influence of the devil u lasamboh. Therefore a rooster or a pig is sacrificed in the courtyard of the person concerned. The blood of the sacrificed animal is given to the sick person to drink so that he may recover.

They do similar things when a person has a toothache or is sick with some kind of mouth ailment. This sickness is ascribed to the devil u jingbih.

757 If a child is born blind they believe that
758 adultery on the part of the father is the cause. This adultery is punished in the child by the devil u kyrdep.

The demoness ka byrdaw causes attacks of cramps, and convulsive cramps are the work of the feared demoness ka shwar.

Existent ailments are made definitely worse by the devil u thyrnrei.

Whoever goes into the forest and hears the call: kăw-hoit, kăw-hoit, should hurry away because the devil u 'suid-tynjang lives there and

7% is calling. He is, however, lame; but whoever
[756] answers the call or screams is lost, since he will be seized by the 'suid tynjang and tickled to death.

[763] If one wishes to protect oneself from a violent death, one must propitiate the demoness ka tyrut by sacrifice, because she is the original cause of this method of dying. The Khasi have a great respect for violent death as it increases the difficulties of the prescribed ceremonies of burial, even making them impossible, which would in turn deny the spirit of the departed one peace in eternity.

[775] They also live in fear of the devil u 'suid-lam-iap (the messenger of god, i.e., the executor of his commands). He leads the souls of people away into another kingdom. He is supposed to be horrible; of gigantic size, he walks around with long trailing hair seeking his victim. His teeth are as large as a ka wait (a hatchet or an axe).

[842] [413] The women are especially afraid of a devil whom they call u 'suid-um (the water devil). He has the power of attacking women and causing sterility in them, and if they are pregnant causing a miscarriage.

7% The demoness ka khlam brings cholera and the
753 demoness ka tihar brings severe colic.

They believe that they get malaria through the influence of the demoness ka rih, while in the region of Theriaghat the fever is ascribed to the demoness ka duba.

Smallpox, which is otherwise feared everywhere, is considered by the Khasi to be evidence of the favor of the god u siem niang thylliew. If there is someone in one of the huts sick with smallpox, the sick person is not only not avoided, but even healthy children are brought there, so that they may receive the "kiss of the god," i.e., that they may also get smallpox.

000 that they may also get smallpox.

776 Every Khasi is desirous of wealth. There-
556 fore they sacrifice to the demoness of wealth, ka shur, whom they fear just as much as the Synteng fear the demoness ka taro, who likewise only allows the desired wealth to come to those who revere her.

776 But all evil taken together can be caused
782 by the demoness ka ron. She is the worst of all devils in the opinion of the Synteng. The Khasi sacrifice only to her and the devil u mahet inside the hut, and not as is otherwise customary out of doors (in the courtyard of the hut).

But the Khasi have the greatest fear of the
[?25] devil u thlen. He can be kept in the house by people in the form of a snake. Since he is only propitiated by human blood, it is necessary to find human sacrifices (ka 'langthoklieh). One cuts off the toenails and fingernails of the victims and these are brought with the blood of the murdered one during the night in a closed house as a sacrifice to the devil with prayers and exhortations. To get these human sacrifices, the thlen possessor must look for them with cunning or violence. Usually hired murderers are sent out, to whom one previously hands a quite special liquor 'iad-tang-snem (literally: lasts for a year). The Khasi believe that anyone who drinks this liquor is so influenced (enchanted) that he will really carry out the planned murder. When these murderers (nong-shoh-noh) are on their way or waiting in ambush to catch their victim for the thlen, they may not use any iron, because the thlen near the cave of Pomdalai near Cherrapunji was killed by a brave man named u suidnoh, when the thlen appeared there in the form of an enormous snake in order to swallow up people and animals. The victim is struck down with a stick which usually has a silver knob.

776 Then the wings of his nose are cut with a shear,
782 or pincer of silver and the blood is drained off. In the same way the nails on the hands and feet are cut off with silver shears. Finally the dead body is thrown into an abyss. (5)

[113] 5. For further details about "Human Sacrifice Among the Khasi", see Dr. P. C. Becker, Salvatorianische Mitteilungen [Salvatorian Communications], 1909, No. 5, pp. 75 ff.

754 [114] Since on the one hand many Khasi are busy
782 trying to kill others with the help of the devil or to make them sick (ai-ksuid), and on the other hand the evil spirits also harm men without being called upon, an enormous fear is thus the fruit of this superstition. From this fear comes the desire to make oneself free from the influence of evil spirits (lait-ksuid) or to modify this influence by sacrifices (khad) or at least to propitiate the devil completely (khein-ban khai).

796 Therefore the Synteng annually hold a large feast for driving away cholera (ka behdiengkhlam).
[722] The offered sacrifices have the purpose or propitiating the feared demoness ka khlam but at the same time they also have the purpose of making the participants in the sacrifice safe against cholera (to enchant them). Gurdon (6)

6. Gurdon, The Khasis.

describes this feast as follows: "In the month of June when the river is full of water, on a certain day the men go in the morning in front of the huts and strike the roofs of the huts with sticks. At the same time they call on the demoness ka khlam continuously and challenge her to leave

796 the house concerned. Then they go slowly down to the river. Large poles, which were set out the day before, are now placed on the river. The people jump onto the poles and try to break them. If this happens a general great shout of joy sounds forth. If all the poles are broken, they fetch a particularly strong pole, actually a beam, and place it over the river. The people now divide up into two halves, and a battle begins for the possession of this beam. But the fight is a friendly one and even though there are many blows and even wounds, the people do not engage in a serious fight, even though they battle and struggle for the possession of the beam so hard that many lose all their clothes. The side which has the luck of winning possession of the beam will be healthy (free of cholera) and well for the coming year according to the belief of the people.

797 The use of charcoal also borders on magic. Thus P.V. Kartte, Apostolic Missionary, S.D.S. writes: (7) If a mother has a long journey to

[113] 7. Kartte, Die Religion der heidnischen Khasi [The Religion of the Heathen Khasi], Apostelkalender, 1895. [Apostle Calendar]

make, she makes a black mark with charcoal on the forehead of her child to protect it from any harm. Then she takes a longish piece of wood, splits it at one end into four parts, and puts the piece of charcoal in between. The mother carries this in her hand on the journey.

821 The same missionary also reports the doings of the Khasi during an eclipse of the moon: "If there is an eclipse of the moon, the Khasi believe that a frog is with the moon and is eating it up. The Khasi like the moon very much, and in order to prevent the frog from eating up the

821 moon they try to frighten the frog with noise and to drive him away. A few days ago we experienced a sample of it. In all the villages the Khasi beat drums and screamed at the same time. It was a purely hellish spectacle." (8)

8. Loc. cit., p. 62.

[415] The Khasi also have no explanation for thunderstorms. They believe, therefore, that the ksuid (devils) cause them. Especially disturbing to them is thunder, which can be extremely violent in a tropical storm. When lightning strikes [712] anywhere, they sacrifice to the ksuid u pyrthat a fat pig, the blood of which is smeared on the altar in order to propitiate him and to prevent the lightning from striking again.

722 When the Khasi sacrifice to protect themselves from harm or to heal themselves from illnesses, they murmur formulas or prayers during the sacrifice. They implore the invisible powers at the same time and thus support the offered sacrifice. They call this murmuring tim-knia (swearing-sacrificing). It is also reported thus of the sacrifices in Nongkrem: (9) "Each person places

[113] 9. P. Dr. C. Becker, Die Nongkrem-Puja in den Khasibergen (Assam) [The Nongkrem Puja in the Khasi Mountains (Assam)], Anthropos, IV (1909), p. 898.

the little bottle of liquor on the little pile of mud in front of him. This represents the altar. Then they take pepper leaves and oak leaves and place them in front of the altar in a certain way next to and on top of each other; pieces of betel nut are placed on top and the whole is sprinkled with rice, kpu meal and rynsi meal, while short prayers are murmured."

000 while short prayers are murmured." To ward off
789 the influence of evil spirits, the Khasi use all kinds of magic means. They prepare a kind of lattice work from split igrâ (thin bamboo), which they fasten side by side evenly with a binding object (u thri), with the inside towards the front, and they hang it up on forked branches in the forest. The number of these little sticks is always uneven, 13 or 15 more or less. In the middle of the little sticks a colorful line (blue or red) is drawn (Fig. 1). Such lattice work or bamboo flags are often placed several together in some place in the forest. [Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, spirit sticks and spirit lattices.]

In addition to these lattice works or flags they also make spirit sticks or spirit posts which they also place in the thickets and which have the same purpose of driving off the spirits or of making them harmless. [416] Such sticks are cut from wood and are either quite simple square sticks with a crooked, added point (Fig. 5) or they are simple square sticks with a triple point (Fig. 2) all cut from one piece. These sticks are not painted. In addition to these simple spirit sticks the Khasi also make beautiful painted sticks. Fig. 3 shows a square stick which has a triple square decoration in blue and red. Its point is not notched, but cut slanted or crooked. Fig. 4 shows another kind. It is a six-sided wooden stick which has a hat or head (of one piece with the stick), the point of which is notched or set off. This spirit stick has circular decorations of red and blue interrupted by straight, horizontal lines. Such sticks also occur in an eight-sided form.

One often finds several of such spirit sticks or flags placed beside each other in a little place in the woods or thickets. [Illustration: Magic lattices against the forest devil].

2:Stegmiller-17 M-4,5(no date) 1921 AR7 Khasi AR7

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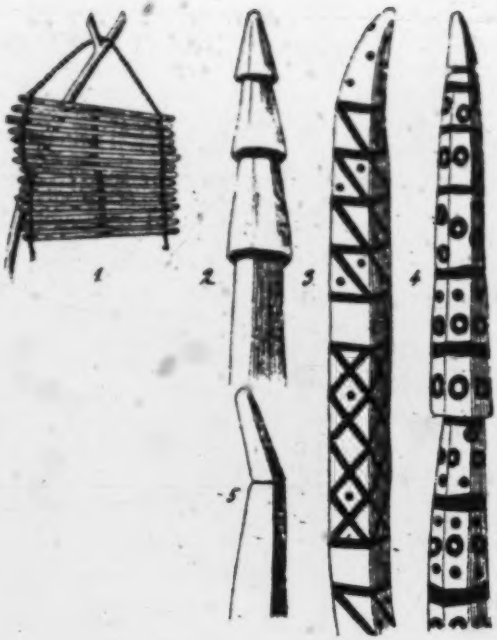

[415] Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5,

Spirit sticks and spirit lattices.

2:Stegmiller-18 (no date)1921 AR7 Khasi AR7

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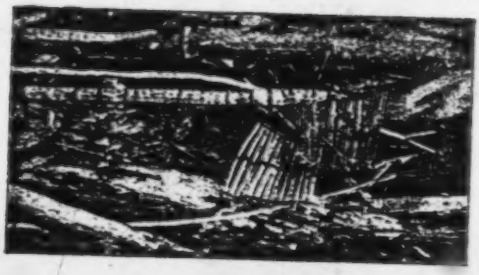

[416]

Magic lattices against the forest devil.

782 The Khasi also erect little platforms with little houses from long bamboo sticks in which food is served to the spirits of the woods and fields (to serve [siang-] actually means spread out, as one spreads out a carpet or as one spreads out leaves for serving rice on).

[789] But not only through making sacrifices do the Khasi try to propitiate the devils and thereby make them harmless. They even try it with violence. Thus, as mentioned above, they drive the cholera demoness out of the house with sticks. Also during a cremation they shoot three arrows to ward off evil spirits.

There are many ways of warding off evil spirits; or, for acquiring their help words, wishes, or curses are used, as, for example, during a match of arrow shooting, the watchers who stand by the target try to keep the arrows of the opponents from hitting the target by calling on some god (ksuid) and the more they shriek, the sooner they believe they will attain their purpose. They wish to influence the arrows of the opponents.

3. Taboos (sang)

784 The sang or taboos of the Khasi also belong
782 to superstition. Sang means the same as "sacrilegiously or most strictly forbidden." This sang can be traced back to totemistic views. Sang can be something for a single person, for a house (iing) or a family, for a sib and a whole race
[587 (jaid). If a man or a woman whose spouse has
428] died remarries, the sang is transferred to the relatives of the deceased man or woman. This "inheritance" of the sang is different according to the sib. By accepting the sang the inheritors must pay 11 of a [417] kaŵ or 7 1/2 of a kaŵ or 5 1/2 of a kaŵ. By kaŵ the number 1280 is actually understood. But it means, however, that

784 the heir must pay 11 or 7 1/2 or 5 1/2 percent
782 of their wealth, in order to be able to pay for the great festivities at the cremation and the later disposal of the ashes. First of all various sacrificial gifts are bought with the money. When one has all the sacrificial gifts together, one erects three hewn stones in the manner of mau-bynna (urn stones) on any road. These stones are called "adulterer stones" /Ehebrechersteine/ (mau-klim). Then one catches a pig and curses it in the following way: (10)

[113]

10. This and the following Khasi texts are taken from the kitab jingphawar by U. Rabon Singh (Shillong, 1902); I am indebted to the very worthy P.C. Bonheim, Apostolic Missionary, S.D.S. of Cherrapunji, who was most willing to place his many years of experience at my disposal for the translation into German.

Hei sngewkyndiang ho kane nga iathuhkhana ba me ba la ioh ka sang na ka tnga ka jong me yn leh kumno kynrad wei la pom ka bneng ka khyndew, ka tyrut ka smer sngew la khuid ka sang ka ma, ka klim ka ngat yn long sa ka rong sa ka taw, sa ka sngewbha ka sngewmiat mo! Hei une sa u dykhot u lamjew ka iad bang ka iad thiang mo!

So listen carefully to this that I am saying, thou who hast inherited the sang from thy wife; What else should we do, lord; after heaven and earth, the Tyrut and the Smer (demonesses) slay him, we are freed; the sang is made holy, the feared sang, adultery and other sins. Then it can be that the bones are transferred and peace and joy will come to us, mo! (is it

2:Stegmiller-21 M-4,5(no date)1921 AR7 Khasi AR7

784 not so!) See here the piece u dykhot (11) and
782

11. A piece of sacrificial meat.

the sour things u lamjew (12) (a strong and

12. Herbs, roots.

sweet liquor) no! (is it not so!)

[574] All relatives and acquaintances, friends and neighbors are invited to this sacrificial feast.[1] There is a big festive meal, chiefly of meat and bacon. But before the eating begins, the reng (horn) and ngap (fork) which were laid on the "adulterer stone" before the cursing of the pig are removed. At this sacrifice all the money collected before (11 or 7 1/2 or 5 1/2 of a kaw) must be completely used up, as it is forbidden to preserve any of it in house so that it will not get mixed up with the daily wage or one's earnings.

[587] The remarriage must naturally occur in another sib (jaid) if the sang is to be inherited; because otherwise the sang would remain in the family.

784 Most of the sang that occur, different according to the families or the sibs, are the following: (13)

13. Gurdon, The Khasis, p. 5.

[418] 1. Building a house with stone walls on all four sides.
2. The use of iron nails in building a house.
3. The use of more than one kind of wood in building a hearth.
4. The use of resinous wood in building a house.
5. Felling wood in a holy forest (except

1 [cf. cat. 116, pp. 19-21 -- Analyst]

784

for a cremation). See table I, picture 2, "The heathen Khasi village Raliang with a "holy wood" (law kyntang) in the background."

6. Giving or taking anything at all with the left hand.
7. Stepping over the corpse of another person.
8. Killing an animal or bird without having previously strewn rice on its head.
9. Using the milk of the cow or the goat.
10. Completing all kinds of started sewing or basket weaving for pregnant women.
11. Pregnant women are not allowed to accompany any funeral procession.
12. The husband of a pregnant woman is forbidden to roof the house (straw roof) or to make a handle for a hatchet or an axe (ka wait - ka da).
13. Speaking with anyone at all as long as the threshing of the rice lasts, unless it is with the co-workers of the man or of the woman.
14. Variously the use of pork, dried fish, melons, lemons, etc. is forbidden.

784 Violating the sang is punished by the
68?deity. Thus several Khasi explained after the
342great earthquake of June 12, 1897: "Because you built your houses of stone and fastened the planks with nails, it has so happened that everything has tumbled down, because god does not wish stone and despises nails. Formerly we too built only with wood and bamboo and used bast for making things fast and for binding, but today people have become proud and have built with stone. That is why this has happened; god

784
682 hates stone; he does not wish any lime." (14)
342

14. P.A. Münzloher, S.D.S. Die apostolische Präfektur Assam [The Apostolic Prefecture of Assam] (Rome, 1899), p. 83.

4. Egg Throwing (shat-pylleng)

787 The most common of all the oracles of the
782 Khasi is egg throwing (shat-pylleng). A great deal has already been written about it. (15)

[113] 15. P. Dr. C. Becker, Das Eierwerfen der Khasi [Egg Throwing Among the Khasi] Anthropos XII-XIII (1917-1918), pp. 494-496.

I will only add here the prayer of the sacrificer u nongshat-pylleng. It is not an actual prayer, at least the nongshat-pylleng is not bound to any formula. The sacrificer speaks approximately thus:

Ko lengsam khun ka blei, ko banang ko batip ko ba lah ko baiai, nga pynthiah nga pyndem halor ka diengshat ka diengkhein, ka duwan ka dupat, a kynrad ngan kylli ngan	O thou egg of the oracle, thou daughter of the goddess, thou whom thou knowest and art aware of (art able to) thou remainest thou (stayest); I put thee down here on the board (16)

16. Cf. Table II, Picture 1. [419]

togkit katne ba long shitom ka lanot ka shoh ka ther ka shit ka syang ka pisa ka lynga ia ka met u	on the oracular wood, on the altar, o mistress, I question and ponder (would like to question,

787 Donsing hato nangno ka
782 daw ba long katne don
hi na kpoh la iing mo?
Kaba wan thaw katne?

wish to question), for great are the troubles and the afflictions, the oppressions and the cares, the heat and the fire (of the fever), the disquietude and the depression of N.N. What is the reason that he is so badly off? Does the cause lie in the family itself perhaps (na khpoh, i.e., in the stomach, in the insides)? Has that perhaps done all this?

Lada don ka jot
ka rem ka bijar ka
buhkhoh ha ka blei
ka Iawbei, ha u phan u
kyrpad ngan sa jied
ngan sa pynshai ia ka
khmat ka long jot ka
long rem ka bijar ka
buhkhoh, don?

If perhaps a sin, a guilt, a vexation, or any annoyance exists for the goddess Jaubei or Phan u kyrpad, so will I ponder and illuminate the eye (of understanding) the corruption and the guilt, the annoyance and the vexation, which, may it be?

Jem ka mon bin
kynrong ka diang joit
buh ka jingkem arsnep
slait, da weng ka lar
ka sap ka buhsang ka
tharai ong em me ym don
na kpoh la iing ka ban

My will is soft as jelly and very tiny. Cross the left over the right quickly! Line up the two egg shells (slait, i.e., without any room in

787 wan thaw kum kata, khat
782 ei na wei du kaba wan
shoh ther katne.

between), take away the white (egg white), the sacrilegious thing, (not permitted thing) and the uncertain thing! Say: no! thou! It does not come from the family that which has caused all this. Therefore it comes from outside (from somewhere else), that which strikes him and rattles down so on him.

Lar ha ka dong ngang, kiew ha ka dong roit, noh ka diang khyllon ka diang da buh lengsam shiliang kadiang!

May the white come to the outermost corner and may it climb into the corner, down with the left! May the left close together (may the left sink powerlessly together). Place the oracle over to the left, to the half!

Mynno nga bynthiew mynno nga kyrkhah mynno nga sin mynno nga rngop nga pynsum dewlieh dewtem dewsni dewsnah dewraij dewkynton ba ngan iit ia ka liem ia ka dem ka pyllup ka lyndang, mo.

When have I then spit out? When have I cleared my throat of the thick phlegm? When have I [420] given a nickname? When have I washed and bathed the white earth (clay, loam), white loam, yellow loam, sticky loam, heaped up loam? So that I may

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782

	recognize that which lies towards the top and towards the bottom, that which lies on the back and on the stomach, is it not so?
Mynno nga rah mynno nga rong kum ka khlieng ka tyngab, ka ims ka doh.	When have I carried anything away, When have I dragged something off, such as the hawk or the raven or any kind of bird or meat?
Hu mo 'lengsam!	Hurrah! is it not so, thou egg of the oracle!

5. The Sacrifice of the Rooster (jingknia syiar)

Just as by egg throwing so by the sacrifice of the rooster the Khasi wish to find out the reasons that are causing illness or some other misfortune. This sacrifice of a rooster is almost as common as throwing eggs. It is especially performed when a serious case must be settled. Since the rooster is more expensive than an egg, they expect to get the desired results more readily through the sacrifice of the rooster. In general the rite is the same as described in the Nongkrem-Puja in the Khasi mountains. (17) An example of the "invocations"

17.P. Dr. C. Becker, Anthropos, IV (1909), p. 899.

follows here, which the sacrificer pronounces with the following words:

787
782 Te ko rangiarkhad, ko khun ka blei, ko rangkynjih ko rangkyn jai, ko rangkynih ko rangphawar ko ba ioh ka hukum ka kular na myndang long ka pyrthei, shai ka pyrthei na khmat ka blei ktien ka blei, te ha sngew nga kylli nga tohkit ha shat ha ka khan, nangno ka daw ba wan shoh wan ther katne ia ka met u Donsing?

And now, thou sacrificial rooster, thou son of the goddess, thou hopper and jumper, thou crower, thou wise-speaker (who understands how to speak in figures of speech), thou who hast received the law and the promise from the beginning of the world, Bright is the world from the face of the goddess, from the word of the goddess! So listen now, I ask, I ponder, I cast oracles, I question oracles: whence is the reason (what is the reason), that strikes N. N. and rattles down so on his body?

Ong phi ka blei manga, ka shoh te manga ka ther te manga ka sympat ka kawiat te manga, te nga shang darum-darum daneng-daneng nga kylli nangno ka long-jot ka long-rem, nangno ka bijar ka buhkhoh phi ka blei!

Say, o goddess: It is I who strikes him, it is I who rattles down on him, and I who scourges /421/ and lashes him. And I go back and forth and up and down and ask, whence comes then the destruction, the incrimination, whence then the vexation and annoyance, o thou goddess!

787
782 Ong phi ka blei,
ko khun ka lamler
mynkato me ka sngi
me iapan ia ka dur ka
long briew ka long iing
na khmat nga ka blei
ka laubei nga ong!

So say, o goddess,
thou daughter of lies,
at that time, is it
not so, (18) on that

18. The following words are, as it were, as if the sacrificial rooster were putting them in the mouth of the goddess and were contradicting the oracle.

Khie kynmaw
sieh ka jutang na kata
ka lynti, ynda me ieng
ka nguh ka dem u ak-
hot u lamjew u kpu u
rynsi ia ka jong ka
longspah kat ia katei
ka dur ka long briew
ba me la sieh ka jutang
mynkato ka sngi.

day thou hast demanded the picture of the man, the value of the family before my face, before me, the goddess, before me the Jaubei, so I say!

Stand up and recall! Draw forth the promise from that way! And when thou standest there and bowest down and showest reverence, then the thanks and the reverence, then the piece and the sour thing, then the bread and the cake, to thine own well-being and wealth, as to that picture of the coming into existence of man which thou hast produced through the

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782 Mem don ka iathuhkhana ha khmat nga ka blei me tep me lynde pynban, nangta jot nga ka blei ka laubei!

promise on that day.

Hast t.ou no tale of this before my, the goddess! before my face! Thou buryest, thou concealest it rather, and therefore the disaster, say I, the goddess, the Jaubei!

Im u syiar u shan ye nangta im ka sang ka ma te nangta, im ka tyrut ka smer te nangta, ioh ka shitom ka lanot u bynriew te na kata ku lynti.

Long live the rooster, the support, and further, long live the taboo and the threat, and again long live the Tyrut and the Smer and then: man experiences suffering and sorrow, on every way thither (from birth).

Te ko blei trai kynrad wei nga la lap ia kata ka knia ka lynti ka long-jot ka long-rem ka jong phi te mynta ngan da ieng ka kynmaw ka kyndit namar kata ka lynti kat haba shong ka nguh ka dem u kpu u rynsi u klonh u ksaw, la suk la jemnud phi ka olei ka lawbei na kata ka lynti.

Thou, however, o god and master, since I have now come along thy ground, the way of destruction, of guilt, so I raise myself up. The memory, the perplexity because of that way, wherever I may dwell, shall be the thanks, the reverence [420], the bread and the cake, the gourd and the gourd bottle; peaceful and well-intentioned art thou, o goddess Jaubei, on that path.

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Yn sa ioh ka khiah ka nang, ieng rangbah u bynriew joit suk me u blei lyngngai weng ka thoah ka tar ka kjab ka star.

We receive the sublime and the possible. Quickly rise up, man! Well satisfied be thou, o god! Take away the faults, the stains, the band and the sling.

Ong ym pat shong ka dur da kumta khadei dang kumwei du, kiew da ka thoh da ka tar da ka brain da ka briah da ka kjab da ka star, katta mo blei tray kynrad, kuri-ei nga pynsum nga pynsleh nga pyntang nga pynpung ha ka umthwei umlyngiam, ban kiew ka syrti ka jumai ban um ka ryndang ha khmat ka duwan ka dupat ban nang ka korbar ka sorbar mo?

Say: the picture does not yet appear thus, rather different, is it not so! Raise thyself from the great stains and from the great faults and from all the little stains and spots, from sling and band and then, is it not so, o god and master, it is in vain! I wash and bathe and make pipes of water and scooped-out wells in the eddy and in the depths, so that ka syrtieh (19)

[776] 19. Ka syrtieh is a demoness, who cuts and scratches and files and saws, i.e., through inner pains.

and ka Jumai (20) may

[776] 20. Ka jumai is the demoness of earthquakes.

arise, so that the throat may dissolve (bleed to death) before the visage of the

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Snam syiar, hei nga dkhat sohpet shynnai ban nang ka korbar ka sorbar, kane de ka deng de ka kup ka ryndia ka muka ka iarong ka muna ho, jei dong tam dong lait ban lait ka jot ka rem mo?

altar, so that the counsel be good, is it not so?

Thou blood of the rooster, hurrah! Look, I tear out its navel, the intestines, so that the counsel be good. This here is the jewelry, this the garment, this the silk, this the purse and the net, is it not so? Look, here is the tube for gathering, here the tube for escaping from destruction and guilt is it not so?

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6. Discovering the Spirits that Need Appeasing (kheinksuid).

Khein ksuid means the seeking for or the discovering of the insult to the goddess which sells (die) man through suffering to the pain-causer (ksuid). The demon cannot harm man if the goddess does not stand for it and allow it. The guilt of man plays no part in this (in and of itself). The Khasi say that in their religion there is only one goddess, the "Giver of Orders" (ka nonghukum). She commands that a phan u kyrpad [423] should be, that a suid-nia of Jaubei should be (suid-nia is the spirit of the first maternal uncle of the sib, in this case he is supposed to be the "intercessor" with the Jaubei). Or she herself choses a means, that is supposed to be "god." for example, as she herself becomes the goddess of wealth or the goddess of the curse. This goddess gives the command for the sacrifices: That the piece (u dykhot) and the

776
782 sour thing (u lamjew) be sacrificed! If this goddess is insulted by any kind of error, then she must be propitiated again, and this is done by the sacrifice of a goat, of a pig, or through the sacrifice of the gourd and the gourd bottle, or (for the very poor) through the sacrifice of water which one shakes out on a brass plate (ka pliang) or on a woven plate (ka pdung). It is she also who commands that one drive away the demon or the demoness, especially the demon who helps day and night (uba rap synnia rap sngi), by a sacrifice of money, a hundred or a ten, which must be brought to him.

Everything is at her command: thus the sacrifice of food which is brought the spirits (ai bam ia ki suidiap), the sacrifice of thanks which is brought the Thaulang (kaba nguh thawlang), the auguries (kaba tap ryngiew tap rywiang) or the naming of children (tap lubri tap hyrteng). For example, if a mountain devil or a river devil is supposed to be driven away, she gives the command to ask the oracle of the house first and not to make a noise. Then, however, one should take a freely chosen sacrifice, such as doves, chickens, pigs, or goats and strew them with rice and then let them run off free. Anyone who catches them may keep them.

[784] In this religion there is also something very painful and extremely difficult, namely finding out the guilt of one long since dead in order to atone for it again through sacrifice. For sometimes nothing can be found that is the reason or cause of sickness or trouble and therefore it must be the error of an ancestor that is not yet expiated. But this kind of investigation of devils is very difficult, since one cannot easily discover the connection. An experienced and worthy sacrifice who-

776 782 understands how to interpret the signs of the goddess must take this case in hand.

782 If the goddess Jaubei was insulted by an offense, a goat must be sacrificed to her. This goat must be beautiful, it must be white, it must be full-grown, but still virginal. The sacrifice is brought into the front courtyard. On the altar, which is usually prepared of loam or earth, (21) the sacrificial gifts are

21. By "altar" (ka duwan) the Khasi means everything on which he offers his sacrifices, whether it be a stone, or a banana leaf, a heap of loam, or an altar made of earth.

now spread out: bread(kpu), cake (rynsi), gourds (u klong), young oak shoots (u sning ka laliar), uncooked rice (u khaw) and fermented rice water (ka sapoh). Now the goat's head is cut off with one blow. The dead animal is cut up and the separate pieces needed for the sacrifice are placed in readiness. There are various ways of sacrificing. Some take five such pieces, others seven, and again others take nine pieces. But what is taken for the sacrifice, must [424] come from the inside of the animal (napoh krem ka kypoh, i.e., from the stomach cavity). Those who use five pieces take something from the liver, something from the heart, something from the lung, something from the kidneys, and something from the loin (of meat, the part that runs along the spinal marrow).

Those who use seven parts for the sacrifice take the above mentioned parts and in addition some of the spleen and some of the small intestine.

782 But those who use nine parts take in addition to those parts mentioned above two parts of the large intestine and of the small intestine and two parts of the appendix.

It is very hard to describe the sacrificial customs of the Khasi, i.e., to describe them quite exactly, as it is made differently in many cases. And even in the same case, for example for the same sickness or the same trouble, the sacrifices are made differently. One can readily see that in the fact that some use five parts of the sacrificed animal, some even seven parts and others again nine parts. Similar differences occur all along the line. For all cases the "piece" (dykhot) and the "sour thing" (lamjew), as well as "liquor" (iad) are sacrificed.

The method of the sacrifice depends on the relatives, that is on what the custom of the sib is. The youngest daughter is the [428] heiress of the wealth, but she is also the one who is responsible for the sacrificial rites of the sib. It is her duty to preserve the sacrificial rite which was always customary in the family (ha iing). The sacrificer (u synniang) conducts himself according to her instructions. Often many sacrificers are needed, for example at a time of plague or general trouble. Since there are now not too many sacrificers who understand the matter well, many desired sacrifices are omitted. Because of that, the Khasi believe that the rooster (u siar u shan) lives again, because of that the u longduh u longsam (evil spirit) lives again, because of that the Tyrut and the Smer live again, i.e., the evil demonic influences of these spirits become influential again through the neglect of the sacrifices.

782 Often the head of a sib (u knie u kypa) delays the sacrifice for a decade, often for a lifetime. From this comes the difficulty for the descendants of being able to sacrifice according to the ways of the sib, since the memory of their own sacrificial rites becomes lost by the years long pauses in the sacrifices. It is difficult to revive (kynroi) the method of sacrificing. Or the old people die off (or become Christians) and so the young people no longer learn which formulas they have, which invocations were customary, which parts (of the slain animal) they should [769] take. The relationship with the ancestors becomes lost and as a rule they can no longer remember everything.

When matters have progressed this far, then the Jaubei sees to it that sacrificing is not neglected by permitting the members of her sib to be plagued by the devils. Especially, she permits the devils of the mountains, the rivers, the water, and the air to make their harmful influences effective. Since illnesses always keep occurring and deaths [425] happen, etc., sacrificing never does quite die out and the religion of the Khasi which reverences spirits in the most varied ways remains in existence.

7. Prayer of Thanks after Receiving Good Health. (22)

22. Cf. also the prayer of thanks and entreaty at the end of the Nongkrem-Puja, Dr. Becker, Anthropos, IV (1909), p. 902.

Sacrifices are certainly offered chiefly in times of trouble. But the Khasi do not

782 forget a good deed received. If someone receives his health again by sacrifice, he brings a sacrifice of thanks and says:

To sngew ko blei ko laubei te wei nga la shem ia ka nia ka lynti ka long jot ka long rem jong phi, te kynrad hajar nguh te sngewsynei ho, ba la kum bieit kum lyndet nga u khun u ksiew!

Hear then! o god! o Jaubei! After I have recognized thy reasons and ways, from whence thy destruction and thy blame have come (which you have found in me), thus, o my lord, I thank thee a thousandfold, and hearken unto me graciously, since I unwittingly, since I opposed thee, I thy child and grandson!

To ai ka khiah ka nang, ngan sa kynmaw ngan sa kyndit namar kata ka nia kat haba shong ka nguh ka dem u dykhot u lamjew u kpu u rynsi u klong u ksaw law ka shoh ka ther ka pisa ka lynga, hei wat die rem ngiat shuh ho kum kynnin kum hunne, ap ia ka nia ka lynti pyllun katta mo!

Health and wealth, it will always hover before my eyes (thy command), these causes (of the sickness), wherever I live and settle (sit down), wherever the piece inclines itself and the sour thing and the bread and the cake, the gourd and the gourd bottle, loosen (take away) the blows and the rattling down, the difficulties and the oppression! O do not sell so dear any more as yesterday and early

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today, but await with patience the cause and the way! So much, is it not so! --

II. Religion in Various Aspects of Life.

553 1. Giving a Name (tap lubri tap kyrteng).
844 By tap lubri tap kyrteng one means the
782 ceremony of the giving of a name to a child. In the section on sang I have already indicated the various taboos of a pregnant mother in regard to her husband.

At the birth of a child now, so the Khasi say, there are not as many ceremonies as at the death of a relative. For birth is anyhow in and of itself a feast of joy, since one is more joyful when a person enters life than when he departs from life.

[426] When a child is born, sacrifices are made on the next day (if it was born in the evening or in the night, on the following morning) and the ceremony of giving the name is performed. The sacrificer must be a relative of the child's. Among the Synteng, aunts of the child are called on by preference as executors of the sacrifice. The umbilical chord is cut off with a sharp-edged piece of bamboo and the child is bathed in warm water. The afterbirth (ka shynnai) is carefully kept in an earthern pot in the house (nongpei). Instruments are then placed at the child's side as symbols of later occupations, near a girl a knife (i wait) and a woven bamboo carrier (i star); but near a boy a bow (ka tyntieh) and three arrows (ki 'nam). The sacrificer fetches a little plate, on which he sprinkles rice meal and fills a gourd bottle (u klong) with rice brandy, which he previously mixes with water. He

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arranges all this on a bamboo swing (u prah) and then begins the sacrifice with the following words:

Te ha sngew ko blei trai kynrad ko thaw-bynriew ko buhbynriew te ba long ka jer ba long ka thoh ban neh ka nam ban neh ka kyrteng ban long u lubri ban long ka kyrteng wei la suk la sngewbha phi ka blei ban khot da kata ka kyrteng to kein ba un long tymmen un long san un sain la ka kur la ka jaid un bad la ka khein ka bishar ha kpoh la iing mo.

Te sngew sa ka jong me u thawlang babha bamiat te wei ym don ka sang ka kyndiah te la long kynthei la long shynrang te a un long rangbah man rangbah yn sah ka nam yn sah ka kyrteng mo!

And so hear, o god and lord, o creator and maker of men! for now the name-giving and the noting-down shall occur, so that the fame may last and the name be kept, after it has pleased thee, o goddess, to name with this name. Now may it (the child) live to an old age and become great and strong in his descendants and races, and may he keep and observe the commands and justice of his family.

And so hear thou also, o thou good and beautiful Thaulang, since now for once no taboo and no difficultty exist and little woman and little man are (and a child was born), so may he become big and become a strong man and may the fame remain and the name remain preserved. Is it no so!

Meanwhile the sacrificer slowly sprinkles the brandy on the rice meal so that a dough is made. Now one seeks for the name of the child.

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844 While he pronounces several names, he very slow-
782 ly pours the rice liquor out on the ground. The name, then, that coincides with the drop that takes the longest to free itself from the neck of the gourd bottle, is given the child. When the name is found by this method, the sacrificer makes a mark on each foot of the child with the dough mentioned above, thus giving him the name.

553 [427] But if somebody comes into the hut
844 by chance while the liquor is being poured out and says something, then a name formed from these words is given the child. Then the parents and relatives of the child must eat three times from this dough. When this is all over, the father takes the placenta, sprinkles rice meal on it and swings it three times over the head of the child. Thereupon he leaves the house and fastens the jar including the contents to a tree near the hut. Today this ceremony is seldom done exactly. Usually the father only goes in the yard and buries the placenta somewhere.

553 When the father returns, his feet are sprinkled with water ban khuid ban jhiah krat i khunlung, i.e. so that the child may stay healthy. A rice cake (u purew) which was prepared earlier is now eaten by everybody. Thereupon all the relatives sit down, the relatives of the wife on the left and the relatives of the husband on the right. A piece of the rice cake (purew) is dipped in water and the toes of all the guests are wiped with it. After the end of these ceremonies the utensils which were placed at the side of the child, the bow, the three arrows, the knife and the carrying straps, are taken away and carefully fastened to the inside of the roof of the hut.

553 Here are several examples of heathen Khasi names:

u Kisorai	ka Nobitri
u Rasmoni	ka Derisi
u Jaweng	ka Nimai
u Syer	ka Elimai
u Sniang	ka Korimai

The names with the article u are for the masculine sex, those with the article ka for the feminine sex.

The customs of the name giving are not the same everywhere. It is reported (23) that on

23. Gurdon, The Khasis, pp. 124-127.

such occasions a banana leaf with a pounded yellow root and five dried fish should be placed in readiness. An older man, who understands name giving (kaba jer khun), places a banana leaf on the ground and sprinkles it with water. He takes the gourd bottle in his hand and calls on god as a witness. The people gathered there then mention a lot of names, which the one offering the sacrifice must repeat. While he is saying the names, he pours rice brandy out of the gourd bottle onto the ground. The name that is said with the last drop from the gourd bottle is the name of the child.

"Or one lets two little bamboo sticks (igrâ) fall to the ground. If these remain in the formation of a cross, the name that has been spoken meanwhile is the one kept. Otherwise this is done until the desired position of the sticks occurs. But this way takes a lot of time and trouble, since it is sometimes a long time before the little bamboo sticks lie in a crossed position. Mr. Jenkins reports

553 that a Khasi told him, [428] that all kinds of nuisance and deceptions occur with this method of name giving since one likes to save time and trouble."

"The dried fish are held by each end and cut into two pieces. Finally one wipes the yellow root that has been mixed with water on the right foot of the father, the mother, and the child."

844 Among the Synteng the following items are
782 offered in sacrifice immediately after the
553 birth of a child: some rice meal, eggs, roots and leaves. After the child is a month old (one often waits two months) the ceremony of the name giving is performed. This is done, if not by the sister of the mother, then by the oldest man of the sib. Sacrifices are brought again at this celebration, specifically two hens and a goat.

844 The parents of a newborn child are not allowed to cross a river, nor may they wash their clothes as long as the umbilical cord is not healed, since otherwise the mountain or river devil would harm the child.

845 Twins are considered a punishment, which has been incurred by somebody in the sib for violating a taboo. If the twins are of different sex, their bones may not later be placed in the common family grave.

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2. Sacrifices during the Illness of a Member of the Family.

[753] Usually sacrifices are made only for internal illnesses. Because the Khasi cannot explain the origin of these illnesses, they are of the opinion that a devil has caused them. He must be angry with the person concerned

755 and must now be propitiated by a sacrifice.
782 For outside illness, for example, wounds which they have incurred by falling or hitting something, they do not make a sacrifice because the cause of the illness is known to them.

For internal sickness the sacrifice is usually made in the court area if unfavorable weather does not prevent it. What should be sacrificed is determined only by the sacrificial priest (lyngdoh). If the illness is not important, an egg is sacrificed. (24) The

24. See above, egg throwing.

sacrificing priest takes a rather large dish (ka pliang kynthei) on which he places a lattice of little bamboo sticks. Now he takes an egg, caresses it, calls it goddess (ka blei), strews it with rice and smears it with red mud. Then he throws it with all his might onto the bamboo lattice. The inside of the egg runs through the lattice into the dish. He does this with one egg after another. This egg sacrifice is performed every morning and every evening until the sick person is well again. Many make the sacrifice early before sunrise and in the evening after sunset.

If the illness is of a more serious kind, chickens are sacrificed. This is done in the following way. The sacrificial priest strews rice on the chicken's head, then places the neck of the animal on the left index finger and holds the head of the animal down with his left thumb. Then he cuts open the chicken's throat with a knife. (25) The sacrificer

25. Cf. Table II, Picture 2: Sacrifice of a Chicken among the Khasi.

782 now draws the bronchia out through the opening
755 he had made [429] and according to their position he judges whether the sick person will get well or not. (26)

26. Cf. Sacrifice of the rooster, ka jingkhia syiar.

If the illness is still worse and death is feared, then the cleverest and most experienced sacrificial priests are called. Goats and pigs, and if the sick man belongs to the well-to-do, also cows are sacrificed by these. (27) All the relatives participate in the

27. Cf. above, Khein Ksuid

sacrificial meal with the priest.

If the illness is leading towards certain death, sacrifices are made until there is no longer any sign of life. Thus the father of a sick boy in Umpling, who himself was a sacrificial priest, sacrificed the most beautiful chickens all day long until the boy died in the evening from vomiting of blood.

Among the Synteng only rice, eggs, hens, pigs, and deer, but no cows, are sacrificed. Certainly many sibs are allowed to eat the meat of cows, but they are exceptions. Of the sacrificed animals the gods (or devils) receive only some blood, some of the heart and the intestines; the rest is eaten by those present.

3. Sacrifices and Ceremonies for a Death.

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782 Without interruption -- until death occurs -- sacrifices are offered for a dying

763 [782] person. Whether death has occurred is determined by calling his name. If no further sign of life is observed, howling and wailing begin to announce the mourning. Tears are extremely rare.

764 The dead person is bathed and washed (pynsum-pynsleh), wrapped in his clothes and reverently placed on a bamboo mat. One is particularly careful with the limbs; for the hands and feet are stretched out completely (phyneit ki kjat ki kti) and placed straight (pynthiah beit). To indicate mourning one does not wind the dead man's turban from right to left as usual but the other way around. In the territory of Lamin one puts betel nuts, which are wrapped in pepper leaves, between the turban and the forehead. These betel nuts are placed in a row so that they look like a crown or wreath. Every morning and every evening, as long as the body is in the house, one places cooked rice and dried fish by the head of the dead man. One calls this giving ai ka ja miet ja step (morning and evening meal).

764 782 How long the dead man stays in the hut varies with each sib. Many are cremated on the day after death, whereas others several days later, but always the body stays an uneven number of days in the hut. A betel nut with a pepper leaf and lime is placed with the food as well as a bamboo beaker with water. Finally one puts the "stomach egg" (ka leng kpoh) on the stomach of the dead man (in the area of the stomach). This is the start of the actual sacrifice.

The sacrificer takes a chicken, strews rice on its head, holds it ready for killing, and says while doing this:

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764 [430] To sngew mo ba long u krad lynti u krad syngkieng, te ba poi hi ka sngi ka ia te wei ngam lap ia ka khein ka bishar te la pom ka tyrut ka smer la pom ka bneng ka khyndew, te kynrad sngew ho, ba men leit da ba suk da ba beit ha kpoh la ka kmie ka kiaw u nie u ma suidnia ka laubei mo?

Hear, o thou road scraper, thou path scratcher, since the day and hour have come and I can no longer get along, am with sacrifice and justice, so have the Tyrut and the Smer struck me and heaven and earth have struck me and so my lord, stop then, that thou goest in peace, right and righteousness of the stomach (in the family) in peace and harmony with the uncle and the cousins. Judge thyself, o goddess Jaubei, is it no so?

Now even though otherwise only good chickens may be used for sacrifices, in this case it does not make any difference whether the rooster (u iar krad lynti) is a fine example or not. The next best is simply taken.

If the dead man is cremated "poorly," i.e. if the relatives are not in a position to pay greater costs, only this rooster and a handful of rice is sacrificed.

If the dead man is cremated "richly," i.e. if the relatives are in a position to pay for the usual ceremonies along with numerous sacrifices, a pig is sacrificed and each of the masculine relatives must give a handful of rice which is also sacrificed immediately.

Various sacrifices are offered, according to whether the dead man is to be cremated on a base built of stone as is the case of the very

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782 rich, or in a kind of coffin (shyngoid). In the first case a steer (ox) is sacrificed, in the other case a pig (u 'niang shyngoid). The horns of the steer (u masi pyllait) are painted gold or silver. Today one does this only with gold or silver paper. Then the animal is let loose after it has been strewn with rice and sprinkled with water ('iad-um). Anybody who captures it can keep it or kill it. As soon as the animal is let loose, one calls it masi-tamrong. If one wants to set up on the cremation area bamboo poles with white cloth pieces on them as if they were flags, which is only done for the very well-to-do, a rooster (u 'iar kait) is sacrificed.

[461] Since no work may be done on the day of cremation, all the preparations must be completed, such as fetching wood from the forest ('law kyndang), erecting the funeral pyre, arranging for the necessary sacrificial animals and other sacrificial gifts, etc.

4. The Cremation (ka jingthang).

The Khasi burn their dead. At the crematory ceremony one can distinguish various classes or kinds, either according to the wood [431] which is used or according to the catafalque (scaffolding for the body or structure above the dead person) which is erected.

The methods of cremation according to the differences in the wood are:

1. The cremation, for which only uncut wood is used, that is, wood as it is found without any kind of preparation. This type of cremation is made only by the very poor (uba duk eh) who have no more relatives. There is no sacrifice made at this cremation

764 (khlem dykhot).
782 2. Cremation in which the wood used is cut with a knife (da wait). Here a handful of rice is taken from the relatives (ka pynkham ka pynsoh) and a sacrifice offered, "the piece and the sour thing."

3. Cremation in which the wood used is cut clean as boards (ka lyntang). In this class the drum (ka ksing) and the kettledrum (ka dah) are beaten, guns (ka suloi) and the pipe (ka man, i.e., a cannon) are fired, sacrifices are offered, "the piece and the sour thing (u kykhot u lamjew)," an ox (u masi) and a pig (u sniang) are sacrificed. Usually the sword dance (shad wait) is also performed.

764 The method of cremation according to the differences in structure are:

1. Thang syrkhait is that type of cremation in which no kind of catafalque (structure) is used. In this case the dead person is placed on a kind of bamboo lattice work.

2. Thang lyngkhason is that form of cremation for which a catafalque is erected. The dead person is put in a kind of coffin made of young slender trees, bamboo, and boards. This coffin is covered with red cloth with decorations of silver edgings. Over the body, which one does not see, a structure is erected of flowering bushes and figures. One likes to make a peacock of wood to which paper is attached. (28) The whole thing is

28. This ceremony might have originated

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in the valley and been brought in from there.

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richly decorated with paper flowers. The structure is over the head of the deceased. Shell money (sbai) is distributed to the people at this cremation.

3. Thang shan is that method of cremation, in which the expense goes still further. In addition to the above mentioned structure over the body, a baldachin of four high bamboo poles is also erected over the funeral pyre, which is kept up after the cremation. The baldachin is decorated with colored cloth or paper. Only the very eminent people and the group mother (Stammutter) are cremated in this fashion.

The wood for the cremations is always taken from a holy forest ('law kyndang). But dry wood is also always brought along from the hut, since the green wood fetched from the 'law kyndang would not burn immediately. The fire is also not lighted at the place of cremation, but one takes a firebrand from the hut.

[432] Not until all the relatives have arrived and all the preparations for the cremation are completed -- for no work may be done on the day of cremation -- is the dead man brought to the place of cremation. He is placed, fully clothed, on a bamboo bier (ka krong). At the four ends of the bier, often also at the middle of the long sides, so that there are six of them, bamboo sticks are raised upright and a white cloth is fastened around the whole or crosswise -- depending on whether the body is that of a man or a woman. Weapons,

764 a shield, bow, arrow, and knife (wait) are placed beside the man and ornaments beside a woman. All this, however, is not burned, but is taken away before the fire is lighted, with the exception of the woolen or silk cloth that is attached to the upper ends of the bamboo poles. If the corpse has received money and food, a sacrifice is offered, usually a goat. Poorer people pour a little brandy on the ground.

Now the funeral procession moves towards the place of cremation. This place is designated in each village and is usually located on the slopes near oak forests.(29) As pre-

29. Cf. Table II, Picture 3: Place of Cremation of the Khasi with a stone substructure.

viously during the night, when the dead man lay in the hut, guns are also shot off now, and if the people have wealth, paper bombs are set off. On the way copper coins are distributed to poor people. The tom-tom resounds, the eternal, monotonous beat on the large drum and the melancholy piping of the flutes (sharati). With great wailing from the mourners, in which the women relatives of the dead person excel, they finally reach the place of cremation, which is not sought out until late in the afternoon.

764 First a goat (u'lang mawkjat) is sacrificed
782 here. Then the body is lifted up on the catafalque, which has already been prepared, with his head towards the west and his feet towards the east. A rooster is now sacrificed, which they call 'iar syngkhong. If the deceases is well-to-do, a he-goat is also slaughtered,

764 which is called u 'lang sait ksuid or "the
782 he-goat which washes off the devil." The meaning of this is: the he-goat is similar to the "scapegoat" which takes the sins of the deceased upon himself.

Among the poor (that is among those who only use uncut wood as well as those who use wood cut with the ka wait) there is no funeral.

Now the closest relatives start the fire and after these the children of the deceased, if there are any present, apply fire. The cloth on the upper end of the bamboo poles flame brightly and is burned up in no time. The few clothes of the deceased are also soon in flames and then the actual burning of the body begins.

If the pile of wood catches fire, a rooster u 'iar padat is sacrificed immediately. This rooster is swung three times over the funeral pyre just as one swings incense and its blood is smeared three times on the pyre. Then the "stomach egg" (leng kpoh) is broken at the head end of the funeral pyre. Then three ar-
[823] rows ('nam tympem) [433] are thrown by hand as far as one can in three directions. One to the east, one to the south, and the third to
[775] the north. But never to the west. Because according to the belief of the Khasi the west leads to the unending, thither go the souls of the dead, there lies eternity. (30)

[626] 30. When the Khasi would like to have somebody go far away and they curse him, they speak as follows: to leit sha ban sep ka sngi shaba mih u bnai, i.e., go away where the sun sets and the moon rises!

(Go away where the pepper grows.)

ooo (Go away where the pepper grows.)

764 Meanwhile others are completely occupied with the burning of the body. Soon the intestines pour out into the fire, whereupon they begin to sizzle. A horrible smell comes from the crackling intestines. The steam that is developing in the skull from the fire causes a violent explosion in the skull which sounds like a gunshot. After the pile of wood has burned down and the yellowish green smoke has gone, you still see in the bluish fire the outlines of the black, steaming and cooking corpse. Now the men, who are already quite drunk from rice brandy, poke around in the fire with bamboo sticks and pour liquor and oil on it, which causes the flames to blaze up again. I saw in Lamin at a cremation that the heart was left as the last thing, which was then burned by itself with great sadness on the [273] part of the cremators. The objectionable scene of cremation could not occur without an [782] excess taking of alchohol. As a conclusion a goat is sacrificed (u 'lang dholia) on the spot and the relatives take their departure as they place betel nuts on the burned up funeral pyre with these words: khublei khie leit bam kwai ha iing u blei (god guard thee, go and eat betel nuts in the house of god!

In some places it is customary before the cremation for a man to get drunk with liquor. He then represents the devil and performs all sorts of tricks.

764 When the corpse is burned, one then col-
782 lects the remains of the bones which did not quite get burned up. (31) These are washed

31. Cf. Table III, Picture 1: Collecting the Remains and the Bones

that are not burned up and the Ashes (among the Khasi).

and wrapped in a small piece of cloth and then put in an urn (jar). While a woman is doing this, a man strews rice on the ground and entreats the spirit of the deceased not to disturb his relatives who have remained behind in the world, since everything was done correctly at the cremation. When this entreaty is finished, the urn with the remains of the bones is placed under the tombstone (maw shying). The remains of poor people are also put under this stone but not in an urn. The sacrificial rice (ka japha) is also placed by the urn as food for the deceased (cf. the next section).

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782 Early the next day they count up together the expenditures they have had. Speeches are made by the u kni u kpa (the maternal uncle) to the assembled children and grandchildren. This u kni u kpa [434] has been the priest and judge of the sib up until now. Now all business stops for three days. But on the third day they gamble (draw lots - bud pylleng) with two eggs to see who will be the leader of the sib of the deceased in the future, so that one will know to whom one should turn when sacrifices must be offered or quarrels are to be smoothed out. Thereby the present u kni u kpa speaks in relation to the deceased:

Hei ap ia ka nia ka jutang ynda ia lum ia kynshew ia u kur u para u khun ka meinah ka meisan yn sa tai ia ka khein ka bi shar yn sa long ka

So hearken unto the words of the promises! After the relatives and brothers and sisters of the mothers-in-law and aunts are gathered, we will sift

765 ai ban ka ai sa ia me
772 ka kynrong ka hyntaw ka pynkhiah ka pynnang, dih sa ka kiad sa ka un mei

our words and our sacrifices and out judgments and then will be: to care for thee and to nourish thee and to carry over thy bones and to care for thee in sickness and to make thee healthy. So we wish to drink the liquor and the water, is it no so! (32)

[279] 32. The water is a fermented rice water, that is variously called rice beer. The last sentence has the sense of an affirmation and of an oath.

Hei angew ryngkat ma phi ka blei ka laubei ka nonglum nongkynshew shi khrum ka nar mei

So hear then, o goddess, thou Jaubei, thou who has gathered us here, one and all (33) the whole sib

33. Shi khrum - actually the hollow place, the place under the house.

and stone and iron, is it not so!

764 As there are various customs for sacri-
772 fices, so are the ceremonies for cremation various. It is reported (34) that on the day of

34. Gurdon, The Khasi, p. 133.

cremation pigs are slaughtered by the relatives of the deceased. Those, who cannot afford to

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782 sacrifice pigs, bring liquor, some of which they pour out on the funeral pyre. The coffin is raised onto a bamboo bier, and some money is placed next to the body so that the spirit of the deceased can buy food on the journey. Cotton or (in the case of rich people) silk cloths are wound around the coffin, crosswise if the deceased is a man, in the form of a square if the deceased is a woman. Before the bier is [783] raised up, one throws a handful of rice and pours a little water from a jug in front of the door and sacrifices a goat. These are purification ceremonies. The funeral procession is now arranged and slowly wends its way accompanied by a great deal of music. For rich people guns are shot off in between times. Copper coins are also strewn along the way. As the funeral pyre is approached, the corpse is placed on display and the peices of meat of the sacrificed animals which lay beside the body are thrown away. Then one arranges three loaves of baked bread, an egg, the lower jawbones of the animals which were sacrificed, the left [435] foot of the rooster (u 'iar krad lynti), a jug of water, food in a dish, and three arrows. A goat is now sacrificed. The body of the deceased is placed in the coffin, if one is used, and then lifted up on the pile of wood, with the head towards the west and the feet towards the east. Pieces of wood are now placed around the corpse, and the egg ("stomach egg") is broken, not as is often supposed over the stomach of the deceased but rather it is thrown on the pile of wood in the direction of the feet. The fire is now lighted by the kur or member of the clan and then by the children, if there are any. Another rooster (u 'iar padat) is sacrificed, the blood

764 of which is smeared three times on the pile
782 of wood. After the clothes are removed, the bier is broken into pieces. The edibles and the jawbones are now placed by the head of the deceased. After the sacrifice of the rooster the three arrows are shot off from a bow, one towards the north, another towards the south, and one towards the east. One calls these arrows the 'nam tympem. It should perhaps be mentioned that the number of arrows, which are shot off during the cremation, corresponds with the number of arrows which are used during the name giving. As soon as the fire is burning, another goat is sacrificed (lang dholia). In some cases all the clothes are burned with the body; in other cases the clothes are only held over the fire and then put aside for further use (which is the case only among the poor). Before the relatives and friends leave the place of cremation, they place betel nuts on the pile of wood and say farewell to the deceased with these words: "Khublei, go and eat betel nuts in the house of god" (according to Gurdon).

5. Burial of the Bones

764 There is a threefold burial of the bones, i.e., of the remains of the bones not burned up and of the ashes. But these burials are not varied for the wealthy, the well-to-do, or the poor, as in the case of cremation, but all the bones of the dead are buried three times in different places. The burial rite for the first or second burial is essentially the same. The rite of the third is considerably more ceremonial.

The first burial occurs immediately after the cremation near the place of cremation in

764 the maw shying, the place of temporary keeping.

The second burial occurs later, when the bones are transferred from the maw shying into the maw phew. Maw phew are places for keeping the ashes of members of a narrower family circle. The bones of the male relatives are kept here as well as the bones of the female relatives, but separately from each other.

The third burial finally occurs in a very ceremonial way, when the bones from the various maw phew are transferred into the common grave of the whole sib maw bah.

[436] A Schematic Representation of the Transfer of the Bones of a Sib:

1. Burial:	Cremation: maw shying	Cremation: maw shying	Cremation: maw shying
	Cremation: maw shying	Cremation: maw shying	
(Bones of a single dead person, male or female)			(single grave)
2. Burial:	maw phew	maw phew	
(Bones of men and women separated)			Family grave)
3. Burial:	maw bah		
(Bones of the men and women separated)			(Sib grave)

a) First Burial (maw shying)

As soon as the cremation is over, the participants form a procession and bring the ashes or bones to the maw shying. One man hurries ahead, strewing leaves (ding shit=hot wood) alternately with grains of rice on the
764 road. Then the woman follows who carries the
292 bones. She is festively dressed and has a kind of scarf around her shoulders such as the Catholic priests wear for carrying the monstrance. In a village south of Lamin I saw

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[292] on such an occasion a scarf which was decorated with gold edges and gold fringes. Whereas the relatives following next may walk and speak as they choose, the woman dressed in the scarf, who is carrying the bones wrapped in white cloth with respect against her breast, is required to be silent, not to vary to the right or to the left, but to walk in a straight line to the maw shing [sic] as far as this is possible.

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782 Having arrived at the place, a rooster is first sacrificed, which one calls the "guide to heaven" (u 'iar krad lynti), because he is supposed to accompany the spirit of the deceased into the other world. Afterwards three loaves of rice bread, an egg and brandy are sacrificed by the sacrificial priest (nongknia), so that the ashes may rest well here. The bones are placed in an earthern pot after they are well washed, and the jar is bound with a white linen cloth. The three loaves of bread along with the egg and the left foot of the previously sacrificed rooster are placed beside the jar in the prepared grave (if one can call the hole that) and the grave is closed with a stone. Betel nuts, pepper leaves, and lime are placed on top.

b) Second Burial (maw phew)

After a while the bones in the separate maw shying are collected, but the bones of the men and the bones of the women are kept and carried separately. In a manner similar to the above the transfer into the maw phew occurs. There the bones are laid separated in the prepared places, and the usual sacrifices of the rooster, the kpu, and the liquor are offered.

c) Third Burial (maw bah)

764 The ceremonial transfer of the bones from the various maw phew into the common sib grave maw bah is probably the most important of all the ceremonies [437] which the Khasi have. For not merely the precise and orderly fulfillment of every prescribed ceremony and custom, even the smallest, is necessary here, but also an emotional or spiritual preparation is needed, which neither occurs nor is demanded among the Khasi for anything else. This emotional or spiritual preparation consists in the requirement that all members of a whole sib must live in peace with each other, since otherwise the ceremonial transfer of the bones may not take place.

[787] If all quarrels and discords are smoothed out, this is determined with the greatest exactitude, and a sacrificer who is taken from the sib inquires by egg throwing and the sacrifice of a chicken, which day would be suitable for the ceremonial act. If the day is determined in this way, all the relatives of the dead meet together in the house of the group mother [Stammutter] (iing seng): the children, the brothers and sisters, the nephews and nieces (shi kur shi para ryngkat u khun ka meinah meisan baroh), the great uncles and the little uncles (u nie-bah u nierit). Standing, they call upon the goddess who has created the members of the whole sib and say:

764 782

Kumno? hukum phi ka blei thaw bynriew buh bynriew ba ngan ieng ka lum ka kyn shew ka thep ka tian ia u suidiap u nongiap u lor u kap	How dost thou, o goddess, wish that I stand (before thee, before thy face) to gather the hard earned, the stored up, the spirits of the dead,

764
782 baroh na tynrai ka iingseng iingkhad-duh? — the chiefs of the family and the old family chiefs of the deceased from the tribal house?

If the goddess now sanctions it, then they gather the sacrificial gifts and the sacrificial money (which is often thousands of rupees) to use them for the festivities.

Two women then go to the various maw phew and reverently fetch the bones that were placed there. One woman carries the bones of the male dead, the other the female ones, and both bring them to the house of the group mother, where they are ceremoniously placed and decorated with flowers and beautiful cloths. Now the spirits of the dead receive nourishment (ai bam), in that a pig, a rooster and a steer are sacrificed. The best pieces of these animals are kept in a basket in the house for a later division among the participants. The rest is sacrificed.

764
535 Then there is dancing. (35) This cere -

35. Cf. Table III, Picture 2: Ceremonial Dance in Honor of the Deceased.

monial dance in honor of the deceased lasts either three or five or nine days, whatever seems best (and how long the collected money lasts). A place in front of the house is festively arranged and used as the place for dancing (lympung). Music is played and liquor distributed.

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769 On the day on which they intend to transfer the bones, the drums (ka ksing) and the kettledrums (ka nakra) are beaten, [438] the flutes (ka sharati) are blown, guns (suloi) and cannons (ka man) are shot off. An ancestral

764 769 doll is made of bamboo and this is supposed to represent either the great grandmother (the Jaubei of the sib) or the great great uncle (suidnia). They walk to the mawniam mawrukom (the ceremonial stones, ancestral stones) (36)

36. Gurdon, The Khasis, p. 141, gives another description of these customs. He says: In Cherrapunji two dolls are made, called ka puron and u tyngshop. The former is supposed to represent the Jaubei, the latter the suidnia. The dancers hold these dolls in their hands.

[211] with this ancestral doll (u tyngshop). While some dance, others set up "resting stones" or "foot stones" or "road stones" (maw kjat or maw lynti) on the way to the maw bah for the spirits of the dead, where they can rest on the way to the common grave. These stones are about a meter high and stand three in a row at each place. In front of them a flat stone like a platter is placed on four small stones which form a base or feet (maw kjat, i.e., stone foot). (37)

37. Cf. Table III, Picture 3: "Foot stone or road stone" among the Khasi.

On the day on which the dance ends they arrange ka pyngrei, i.e., a marriage feast of the spirits of the deceased, who died in their youth (grown but unmarried or childless). For this they choose two poor old people a man and a woman, of small size whom they pay for this.

764 769 The man is the groom of the dead young girl, the old woman the bride of the dead youth. They have the two scramble for the spirits' rice (ki pyniaknieh bam ka ja snaiap) and have them jump over the rice mortar (thlong) and the rice pestle. Then arrows are thrown as far as possible, which the two people are supposed to seize. This game of catching means the driving out of demons who surround the maw bah and wish to prevent the approach to the stones. Then one strews seed rice (u kaw rawai) on the road from the house to the end of the village. The two little people must now run with sticks (da ki diengduh) and thresh or beat the rice. This happens three times, one after another.

764 When it has become bright day, a handful of rice is taken from each of the relatives, as well as the contribution for defraying the [782] costs of the whole festivities. Then they fetch an "altar he-goat" (u' lang duwan), in order to cut off its head on the village altar (ha ka duwan ka shnong ka mulak). Now they make merry with drums and flags (ka ksing ka lama). The children and grandchildren sit down together and greet each other solemnly, [535] especially the "cousin" (u kha pka). Then a shield dance (mastieh) (38) is held. They

38. Cf. Table IV, Picture 1: Khasi men, ready for the shield dance.

perform three rounds. Then a he-goat is slaughtered, and all dancers with the shields bow three times before the "cousin" (u kha pka). Each of the sons of the group house (Stammhaus) does the same thing.

Now everybody rises, and someone sacrifices the scapegoat u' lang sait ksuid. A

764 A
[335] weapon dance is performed in which the sons follow one behind the other (according to age) (39) (shad wait, i.e. weapon dance).

39. Cf. Table IV, Picture 2: Weapon dance of the Khasi at the third burial.

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782 [439] When the weapon dance has ended, they go in a procession (as above for the maw shying) to the maw kjat or maw lynti. Having arrived there, each of the sons slaughters a he-goat by separating the head of the animal from the body with one blow. The usual sacrifice takes place. But usually there are not a lot of he-goats slaughtered (since there is not enough money) but only one, which is then called u' lang maw lynti. The retinue or escort of the sons ends here (hangne la kut ka jingleit on lynti ki khun kha).

The others continue on to the maw bah. Having arrived there, they open the door (the closure of the container for the bones). A man, who is paid for it, crows three times to represent the spirit rooster iar iap. This occurs in front of the stone. Then all the spirits who are in the cave room are awakened (kyrsiew) by someone saying:

to khie to khie la wan u khun la wan u ksiew!	Stand up! Stand up! The children have come, the grandchildren have come!

Then they place the bones of the deceased inside, separated according to sex. In addition there are the sacrificial gifts: the bread and the cake, which they spread out (siang). Also morning and evening rice (i.e. cooked rice ready for eating) they place (theh —

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pour out) on the stone, also betel nuts and pepper leaves and ka reng ka ngab (the jawbones of the [sacrificed] animals). The contribution (u khrong u khwang) is also added. Then the stone is closed.

Then they strike three times with a stick (sympat da ki dieng) on the stone, which they call tan ding (taken from fire), saying:

Hei nga tan ding nga tan theh ioh don uba mang uba thew u tynjuh u pan tien wat	See, I come towards the fire, see, I pour out the sacrificial gift, (40) so

40.- i.e., I perform the ceremonies faithfully.

leit khih wat leit win ap la ka khein ka bishar pyllun ho mei, ho iaw, ho nie, ho ma shi khrum ka maw ka nar!	that someone does not perhaps come and infringe and seek to demand a sacrifice. Do not disturb thyself! Be calm! and await patiently thy time of sacrifice. Is it not so, little mother, is it not so, mother-in-law, is it not so great uncle, is it not so, cousin, is it not so, all ye cousins who are under the stone!

On the next morning they figure out what everything has cost and what has been used. Then they take sacrificial liquor and say ('suit' means actually: they take it, present it, and hold it up ceremoniously):

Hei ko nie ko ma ko mei ko iaw ka suidiap	See, o uncle, see, o cousin, see, o little

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ko nongiap shi khrum /407 ka maw sngew ho la lut la sep katta to nang kyrsoi to nang kyrsih la iaid ka iew ka duwar ka kitnong ka bylla ka khaii ka pateng!

mother, see o grandmother of the deceased, o all ye dead, who are under this stone, listen! Thus and thus much we have used and given out, bless and increase it. May all our doings, all our household, all our daily wage, all our business make us happy!

Then they divide the remains of the sacrificial gifts (also the pieces of meat which were kept in the basket) and bow down and mourn all the deceased cousins and aunts. And when the sacrificial remains have been divided, they give everybody four to five rupees (five marks, sixty pfennigs to seven marks according to the peace evaluation) in addition and say:

Shim kein khun to leit long bynriew to leit man byn riew to roi to pa to long spah to man spah wei kumba nga la kha la long shisha bam don ka sang bamdon ka ma a yn sah ka nam yn sah ka rong yn sah ka ummat yn sah ka umpung mo.

So, take, my son, grow and be strong, be happy and successful; may thy wealth increase, as I conceived thee without shame and wrong; may thy reputation and thy honor endure, and also the tears and the wells (41) should endure, is it not so.

41. i.e., the descendants who will mourn thee.

Thus they do it to all the children one after the other. After three days they destroy

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the doll, whether it was (i.e. was supposed to represent) a male or a female one.

In conclusion they sacrifice a pig as a food sacrifice which they call the "doll pig" (u niang ai bam tyngshop).

After the passage of a month they sacrifice a pig again as a food sacrifice, which they call the "month pig" (u niang ai bam lait bnai).

And finally after a year they sacrifice still another pig as a food sacrifice which they call the "year pig" (u niang ai bam lait snem). (42)

42. Cf. Table I, Picture 1: Third burial place of the Khasi.

Gurdon (43) also describes this ceremony

43. Gurdon, The Khasis, p. 142.

differently, saying: "After they have arrived at the grave, the bones are washed three times in a basin (this is a custom from Cherrapunji). In Maushai the bones are exposed to the heat of a fire which has been lighted on a little platform. Then the stone door of the cinerarium is opened. The bones of the women are placed inside with the urn next to the wall which is farthest away from the door. But the bones of the men are placed next to the door. Many sibs place the bones of the men on the right side and the bones of the women on the left side. Then sacrifices of food and drink are offered the ancestors on a stone in front of the grave. The men perform a ceremonial dance with sword /440a Table I, 1. Third Burial Place. 2. the village Raliang/ 1

1 [cf. cat. 116, p. 66 -- Amolyst]

Table I

Third Burial Place

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[40a] The Village Raliang

Table II

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The Egg Oracle

Sacrifice of a Chicken

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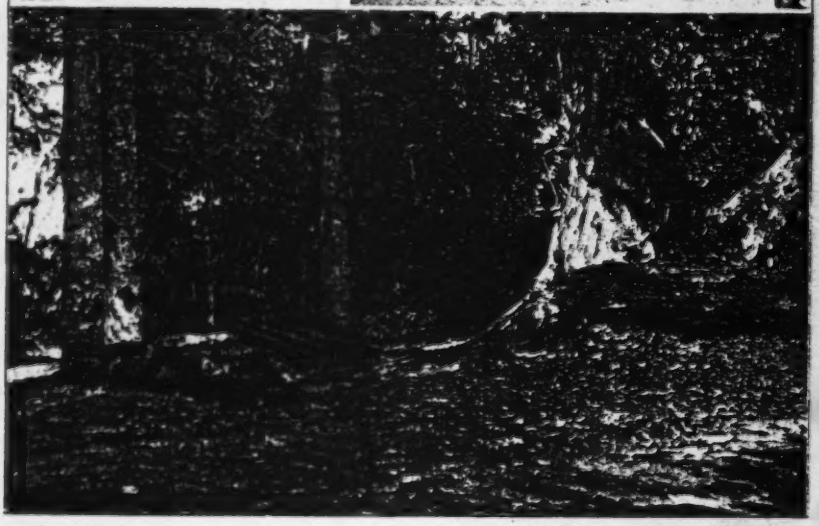

[40b] The Place of Cremation.

2:Stegmiller-68 M-4,5(no date)1921 AR7 Khasi AR7

Table III

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[211]

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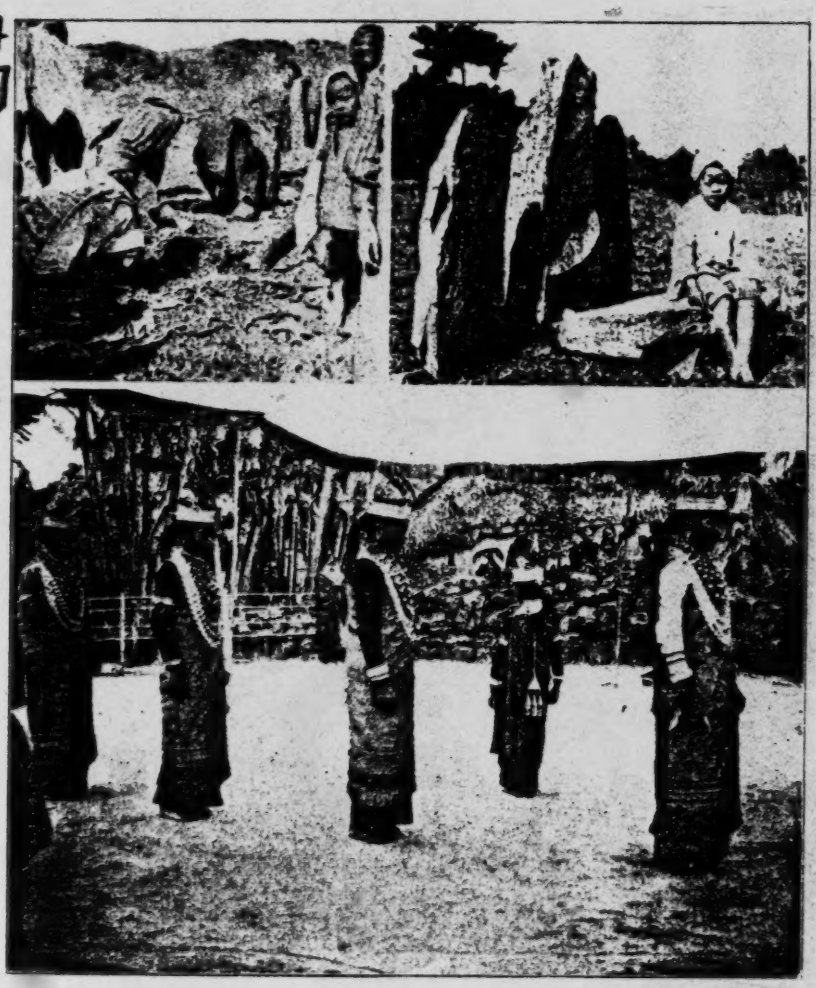

[140c] Gathering the Remains and the Ashes Ceremonial Dance. Foot Stone and Road Stone.

2:Stegmiller-69 M-4,5(no date)1921 AR7 Khasi AR7

Table IV

Ready for the Shield Dance.

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/440d/

Weapon Dance.

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782 [440b Table II, 1. The Egg Oracle. 2. Sacrifice of a Chicken. 3. The Place of Cremation.] [440c] Table III, 1. Gathering the Remains and the Ashes. 2. Ceremonial Dance. 3. Foot Stone and Road Stone.] [440d Table IV, 1. Ready for the Shield Dance. Weapon Dance.] [441] and shield (three times), and the door of the grave is closed. Afterwards a flag is planted on the grave.

All the people go away, with the exception of three men. One of these sacrifices a rooster (iar tanding) in front of the grave, the second one sits behind the sacrificer and holds three firebrands in his hands, which he moves back and forth. This man crows three times like a rooster. The (third) man behind the grave listens most carefully to every noise that is noticed meanwhile in the grave. The belief actually exists, that if the ceremonies have not been performed properly, the grave will now tremble and move. When the three watchers are satisfied and convinced that there was no motion in the grave, they go home and report it to the relatives. This ceremony is called tan ding or the test by fire.

On the next morning, the woman who is the householder of the house of the group [Stammhaus] divides the hind quarters of the sacrificial animals among all the participants of the sacrifices. The relatives are not allowed to go to work before three days have passed. The third day is called ka sngi lait.

The whole ceremony has symbolical meaning. The massive stone grave is supposed to represent a safe place for the spirits. If, however, the departed spirits are not satisfied with the whole ceremony, they will disturb their relatives in this world."

Aus dem religiösen Leben der Khasi.

Von P. F. Stegmüller, apostolischer Missionär, S. D. S., von Assam (Indien).

I. Die Religion im allgemeinen.
  1. Götter, Geister, Seelen.
  2. Mittel zur Abwehr der bösen Geister.
  3. Die Verbote (*tang*).
  4. Eierwerfen (*khai-pyiteng*).
  5. Das Hahnopfer (*jingkrein syiar*).
  6. Das Ausfindigmachen der zu bestrafenden Gehler (*khrinkmuid*).
  7. Dankgebet nach erhaltener Gesundheit.
II. Die Religion in verschiedenen Lebensphasen.
  1. Die Namengebung (*tap lahri tap kyrteng*).
  2. Opfer bei der Erkrankung eines Familienmitgliedes.
  3. Opfer und Zeremonien bei einem Todesfall.
  4. Die Lebensverbrennung (*ka jingthang*).
  5. Beisetzung der Gebeine.
    a) Erstes Begräbnis (*nsaw ktying*).
    b) Zweites Begräbnis (*nsaw phem*).
    c) Drittes Begräbnis (*nsaw bah*).

I. Die Religion im allgemeinen.

1. Götter, Geister, Seelen.

Von den Khasi selbst ist keine Erklärung über die Entstehung ihrer Religion zu erwarten. Da sie keine Schriftzeichen, keine Götzenbilder, keine Tempel haben, ist man ganz auf die mündliche Überlieferung angewiesen.

Einige Khasi behaupten, es wäre ihren Ahnen die Art und Weise zu opfern vom Teufel vorgeschrieben worden. Andere dagegen meinen, es sei in früheren Zeiten ein Mann in ihr Land gekommen von seltener Größe und Stärke. Dieser habe wunderbare Dinge vollbracht und ihren Ahnen befohlen, zu opfern und ihnen zugleich die Art und Weise des Opferns vorgeschrieben. Heute noch zeigt man den ehemaligen Platz seines Wohnsitzes auf einem Berge in der Nähe von Shillong. Da man in jenem Manne etwas Göttliches vermutete, wurde er *u 'lei shillong* (der Gott Shillong) genannt.

Die Khasi glauben an ein höchstes Wesen, das sie *u blei nongthaw*[1] (Gott den Schöpfer) nennen. Wie die Anschauungen über diesen sehr verschwommen sind, so sind es auch die Begriffe über Ewigkeit und Seele.

Über die Ansicht, was mit der Seele nach dem Tode geschieht, sind die Khasi unter sich nicht einig. Einige sagen, die Seele gehe nach dem Tode in die Luft und werde selbst zur Luft, bestehe also nicht mehr weiter. Die meisten aber glauben, daß die Seele nach dem Tode weiter bestehe und glücklich oder unglücklich sein könne. Doch hänge dies nicht von einer persönlichen Schuld oder Sünde, sondern nur vom gewissenhaften Vollzug der Bestattungszeremonien ab.

Das Land, das die Khasi bewohnen, ist in mehrere Bezirke eingeteilt, welche früher, bevor die Engländer kamen, von eigenen Königen regiert

[1] Zur Aussprache des Khasi (Schreibweise): *ai* wird gedehnt ausgesprochen, *o-i*, *u* wird wie *o* ausgesprochen, *ow* ist also gleich *o-u*, *ah* wird wie *ach* ausgesprochen — phonetisch *ā*.

wurden. Jeder Bezirk hat nach der Anschauung der Khasi einen eigenen Schutzgott, welchem sie den Namen des Bezirkes beilegen.

Dörfer haben ihre Schutzgötter, Familien haben ihre Schutzgötter, ja sogar einzelne Menschen haben ihre Schutzgötter, denen gelegentlich Opfer dargebracht werden.

Auch verehren die Khasi und Syntengs Gottheiten, die nicht als Schutzgötter, sondern als Spender von rein materiellen Wohlfahrten gedacht sind, wie z. B. *a 'ñi Jengpnah* (der Gott des Reichtums) und *a 'ñi umtong* (der Gott des Wassers, das zum Kochen und Trinken gebraucht wird)[1].

Im allgemeinen aber haben die Khasi den Begriff, daß die Gottheiten oder Geister böse Geister seien, die sie dann mit dem Namen *Arwah* (Teufel) bezeichnen.

Sie glauben, daß ihr Land voll von solchen *Arwah* sei. Diese zu beruhigen, ist die Hauptaufgabe der Khasi. Sie versuchen mit allen Mitteln die unbekannten Mächte und Geister zu versöhnen, gutzustimmen und durch Opfer zu beschwichtigen. Es ist Furcht, die sie zu ihren religiösen Handlungen antreibt, nicht Ehrfurcht oder eigentliche Verehrung. Denn die Khasi haben die Überzeugung: [illegible] Anfange Himmel und Erde nahe beisammen waren; daß die Menschen unmittelbar mit *a bier sengthaw* (Gott dem Schöpfer) verkehren konnten; daß es damals noch keine Sünde gab. Nun aber sei der Mensch in Sünden, und kein Opferer vergibt, den Spruch hersagend: *ngo bria ngo la pap* (ich Mensch habe gesündigt). So ist der Begriff Sünde einer der Fundamente der Khasireligion. Das andere Fundament aber ist das Opfer. Es ist kein Zweifel, daß Sünde und Opfer die Grundgedanken der religiösen Anschauungen der Khasi ausmachen.

So wenig sich aber die Khasi erklären können, wie der Mensch in die Sünde fiel, ebensowenig haben sie eine Erklärung dafür, daß der Hobo als Mittler zwischen Gott und dem Menschen erscheint. Vom Hobo sagt die Khasiüberlieferung: *a khun ka bäi ube bit ryndong ka shuh ryndong na ka kynia jong ngo a bria*, d. h. der als Sohn der Göttin sein Leben für den Menschen hingibt, also durch Opfer die Sünde wieder gutmachte und Gott versöhnte.

Die Khasi glauben an eine andere Welt und ihr Augenmerk richtet sich da auf das Wohlbefinden der Geister der Verstorbenen. Diesen Nahrung zu geben *(ai kam)*, ist eine der Hauptaufgaben, die erfüllt werden müssen, denn vom Wohle der Verstorbenen hängt das Wohl der Lebenden ab. Wenn man z. B. den Leichnam eines Verstorbenen nicht mehr haben kann; da er in der Fremde liegt oder von wilden Tieren verzehrt wurde, so nimmt man wenigstens seine Kleider und vollzieht mit denen die Bestattungszeremonien. Denn nur solche Geister, denen Bestattungszeremonien nach Herkommen und Gebrauch gemacht worden, können ins Brüllhausen im Garten (im Himmel) Gottes hineinkommen, während die anderen auf der Erde umherirren

[1] Vergleiche meine S. 410 die Übersetzung einiger guter und böser Gottheiten, die von den Khasi und Syntengs verehrt werden.

oder in Insekten, Vögel und anderen Tieren wiederfinden können. An eine Hölle (im christlichen Sinne) glauben sie nicht. Die größte Seligkeit für einen Khasi ist „ewig Beisichselbstsein". Daher stellen sie sich den Himmel als Wohnung (Garten oder Haus) Gottes vor, in der nur Beisichselbst gekannt wird: *ohn hum hmi ha ing a ñiñ* (der Beisichselbst lebt im Hause Gottes).

Dieser Gedankenkreis, der sich auf die verschiedenen Verwandten bezieht, verbindet sich mit dem Kulte der Ahnen. So wird die erste Urgroßmutter einer jeden Sippe (*jaid*) zur Göttin (*ka jaidon*) und der erste Urgroßvater der Sippe zum Gott (*U dkaulang*).

Schließlich werden auch andere indirekte Dinge vergöttlicht, und der Gedankenkreis erweitert zu Objekten so, ist ignoriert ein aufhaltend gebrauchter Berg, so werden ihm Opfer dargebracht, da dort ein *daiid* wohnt. Und der Geist, der den Berg bewohnt, wird bald mit dem Berge selbst verwirrt, und nun wird der Berg angebetet, und ihm werden die Opfer dargebracht. Mit den Flüssen geht es ähnlich. Wie leicht kann ein Flußgott beleidigt und erzürnt werden durch Fischen oder durch Eindringen von anderen Dingen! Das Naturbedürfnis ist also, diesem Flußgott ein Opfer darzubringen. Die Khasi machen sich niemals ein Bild, ist es aus Stein oder Holz, das ihre Gottheiten darstellen soll, aber trotzdem verehren sie manche Naturkräfte und Naturerscheinungen, und so ist [illegible] wie weit der Berg oder Fluß angebetet wird, und wie weit nur dem Geiste des Berges oder des Flusses gespielt wird.

In allem, was man Unglück oder Mißgeschick nennt, sehen die Khasi die Arbeit der bösen Geister: in der Mißernte, im Hochwasser, in der Krankheit. Die Geister wohnen im Urwald, in den steilen, unzugänglichen Felsen, im rauschenden Fluß, im grünen Baum. Sie kommen durch die Luft im Wind und Wetter. Sie geben dem Tiger die Kraft, der Schlange das Gift, sie verleihen dem Dickicht das Fieber und lauern in der Cholera auf ihre Opfer.

Daher die vielen Opfer und Opfergebräuche der Khasi, eben nur, um die Verehrung der mächtigen Geister herbeizuführen. Es kommen zwar bei den einzelnen Opferzeremonien auch Gebete vor, die man als Dank- oder Lobgebete auffassen kann, doch sind das nur Ausnahmen.

Die Opfer werden entweder von Opferpriestern (*lyngdoh*) oder von alten Männern, die Erfahrung haben, dargebracht. Erst wird durch Einwerfen nach dem Geiste gefragt, der versöhnt werden soll. Kommt nach dem dargebrachten Opfer der gewünschte Effekt nicht zustande, so wird durch Eingeweidebeschau (*Pilsomsyiar*) weitere Aufklärung gesucht und das Opfer von neuem dargebracht. So verzögern sich oft bei Krankheiten. Die anderen Opfer werden später näher beschrieben werden.

Die Religion der Khasi ist eine aus Furcht vor Unglück und Schaden entspringende, durch Opfer sich betätigende Verehrung der (bösen) Geister. Diese meine Definition deckt sich im wesentlichen mit der Definition von Bivar[1], welcher sagt: „Die Khasireligion mag kurz definiert werden als eine Furcht, Kreaturen zu besitzen und Unglück abzuwehren, durch Herauffinden

[1] Bivar, Administrative Report on the Khasi and Jaintia Hills District of 1906.

den Namens des Teufels, der der Urheber des Übels ist, und durch die Opfer, die nötig sind, ihn zu versöhnen" und Oldham[1] „nennt die Khasireligion einen Geisterkult, d. h. eigentlich mehr eine Versöhnung der Geister, sowohl guter wie böser durch Opfer, welche gelegentlich dargebracht werden, besonders in Zeiten der Trübsale".

Übersichtstafel

einiger Gottheiten (guter und böser), die von den Khasi und den Syntengs verehrt werden.

I. Reine Gottheiten:

a *Bôri nongthaw* Gott der Schöpfer,
a *'Iei longpyuh* der (gute) Gott des Reichtums,
a *'Iei umtong* der Gott des Wassers, das zum Kochen und Trinken gebraucht wird,
a *'Iei shillong* der Gott, der das Opfern befohlen hat,
a *sim shillong ramjuk* der höchste Gott der Syntengs,
fa *maidsiong* die höchste Göttin der Syntengs,
a *sim synriang* der Sohn der obigen, der auf wunderbare, außerordentliche Weise geboren wurde,
fa *rum-ew* die Göttin der Erde,
fa *parem* eine der ersten weiblichen Gottheiten der Khasi, die die erste mütterliche Ahne vorstellen soll,
a *pham raid iap* einer der Urahnengeister, wird angerufen um Segen für die Lebendigen und die Toten,
a *pham long sion* der Hausgott eines Königs,
fa *longkha* die Göttin der Hochzeiten,
fa *'ieikkuri* die Hausgöttin einer gewissen Sippe der Khasi,
a *'raid nia* der Geist des ersten mütterlichen Großvaters einer Sippe,
fa *blei long-i'ew* die Göttin, welche die Könige zu Königen macht,
fa *i'ew-synohar* die Göttin, welche die Welt regiert,
a *kiskarem* der Gott, der Flöten und andere Musikinstrumente spielen lehrte,
fa *blei-pra-lei-kai* die Göttin der Magie,
a *'Iei pyrthai* der Gott des Donners,
fa *'Iei nilam* die Göttin des Sturmes,
fa *'Iei ding* die Hausgöttin,
fa *kyner ka jingpaw* die Göttin, welche Glück bringt, besonders auf Jagden,
a *synlaw ainong* der Schutzgott eines Dorfes,
a *kma ainong* der Schutzgott eines Dorfes,
a *pham a kynpad* der Schutzgott eines Dorfes,
fa *longkur* die Schutzgöttin einer Sippe,
fa *'iei-ssid 'iei-sawaw* die Schutzgöttin einer Königsfamilie,
fa *'ieikhynriap 'ieikhawai* die Göttin, welche den Dorfeingang bei Kriegszeiten bewacht,
fa *'iei-maiiak* die Göttin, welche den Staat oder das Dorf bewacht,
fa *ssid* die Göttin, welche die Königsfamilien bewacht,
fa *rum-shandi* die Göttin, welche die Leute bei Kriegszeiten inspiriert.

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[1] Oldham, „The Khasis". London 1907, S. 108.

2. Böse Gottheiten:

a siem niang thyllew der Gott der Blattern,
ka dabu die Fieberdämonin in und um Theriagat,
ka rik die Dämonin des Malariafiebers,
ka khlum die Dämonin der Cholera,
ka tyrut die Dämonin, welche gewaltsamen Tod verursacht,
a maket ein Teufel, dem nur innerhalb des Hauses geopfert wird,
ka hyrdow die Dämonin, welche krampfhafte Anfälle verursacht,
a hyrtep der Teufel, der Blindheit verursacht,
a lasumdok der Teufel, der Schwellung des Gesichts und Heiserkeit verursacht,
a jinghik-a lasum der Teufel, welcher Mund- und Zahnkrankheiten verursacht,
ka tikar die Dämonin, welche schwere Kolik verursacht,
ka skmar die Dämonin, welche zuckende Krämpfe verursacht,
ka skaar die Dämonin des Reichtums,
a skparai der Teufel, welcher die Krankheiten stets verschlimmert,
ka skar die Dämonin des Reichtums (nur bei den Khasi),
ka taro die Dämonin des Reichtums (nur bei den Synteng),
a 'said-um der Teufel des Wassers, der die Weiber anpackt und Unfruchtbarkeit und Abortus verursacht,
a tynjong der *taime* Teufel, der *im Dickicht* wohnt und die *Menschen* zu Tode hetzt,
ka ron die schlechteste aller Dämoninnen (nur bei den Synteng),
a 'said-lum-tap der Vollstrecker der Befehle Gottes, der die Seelen in die andere Welt abzuholen hat,
a thim der Teufel des Reichtums und Wohlstandes, der nur durch Menschenopfer verehrt werden kann,
ka smar eine Dämonin, die gewaltsamen Tod bringt,
ka syrti die Dämonin, die kratzt und schneidet, die sägt und feilt (durch Schmerzen in den Eingeweiden),
ka jumai die Dämonin des Erdbebens,
ka niangriang die Dämonin, welche Kinderkrankheiten (besonders am Nabel) verursacht,
a 'said-briew oder *a 'said ngam* der Teufel, der die Menschen am frühen Morgen angreift und Seitenstechen oder Heiserkeit verursacht,
a 'said-kynta-maraw der Teufel, der Kopfweh macht,
a synkai hamar ein böser Geist,
ka ramskandi eine Dämonin.

3. Verehrte Naturkräfte:

Der *Piamtiil*-Fluß, welchem die Könige von Nongstoin, Dangrin und Nobosohpoh opfern,
der *Khai-mara*-Fluß bei den Wir,
der *Kiprill*-Fluß bei den Synteng,
der *Myntang*-Fluß bei den Synteng,
der *Shillong-peak* (Berg bei Shillong),
der *Riabong* Berg bei Shillong,

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der *Kyllong*-Felsen,
der *Symper*-Berg,
der Berg *Pyddieng blei lyngdoh* nahe bei Shangpung (Jaintia).

2. Mittel zur Abwehr der bösen Geister.

Die Khasi betreiben die Zauberei nicht im strengsten Sinne des Wortes. Es ist mehr ein instinktives Handeln, das beeinflußt wird durch den Aberglauben, dem sie verfallen sind. Nach ihrer Meinung entsteht ja alles Ungemach und Unglück nur durch die bösen Geister. Diese zu versöhnen *(khein bun khai)*, ist die Hauptaufgabe ihrer Opfer. Doch wissen sie gut, daß es möglich ist, mit Hilfe des *ksuid* anderen Schaden zuzufügen. Darin also und im Abwehren des Schadens besteht ihr Zaubern. Das Zaubern geschieht nicht durch eigene Zauberer, die ein Geschäft daraus machen würden, sondern, wer immer glaubt, mit Hilfe des Teufels anderen schaden zu können, der probiert es; ebenso wie auch diejenigen, die einen Schaden irgendwelcher Art zu verhindern haben, hoffen, dies mit Hilfe des Teufels tun zu können.

Hat irgend jemand eine Halskrankheit, sei es eine Geschwulst oder auch nur eine Heiserkeit, so glauben sie, dies komme durch den Einfluß des Teufels *u lasamdoh*. Daher wird im Hofe des betreffenden Kranken ein Hahn oder ein Schwein geopfert. Das Blut des Opfertieres wird dem Kranken zum Trinken eingegeben, damit er genese.

Ähnlich machen sie es, wenn eine Person an Zahnweh oder an einem sonstigen Mundleiden erkrankt ist. Diese Leiden schreiben sie dem Teufel *u jingbih* zu.

Wird ein Kind blind geboren, so ist nach ihrer Ansicht ein Ehebruch des Vaters schuld. Dieser Ehebruch wird am Kinde durch den Teufel *u kyrdep* bestraft.

Krampfhafte Anfälle verursacht die Dämonin *ka byrdaw*, und zuckende Krämpfe sind das Werk der gefürchteten Dämonin *ka shwar*.

Bereits bestehende Krankheiten werden durch den Teufel *u thynrei* bedeutend verschlimmert.

Wer immer im Walde geht und den Ruf: *kâw-hoit, kâw-hoit* vernimmt, der eile davon, denn der Teufel *u 'suid-tynjang* wohnt dort und ruft. Zwar ist er lahm, doch wer auf den Anruf antwortet oder einen Schrei ausstößt, der ist verloren, indem er vom *'suid tynjang* gefaßt und zu Tode gekitzelt wird.

Will man sich vor einem gewaltsamen Tode schützen, so muß man die Dämonin *ka tyrut* durch Opfer besänftigen, denn sie ist die Urheberin dieser Todesart. Die Khasi haben einen großen Respekt vor dem gewaltsamen Tode, da er die vorgeschriebenen Zeremonien beim Leichenbegängnis erschwert, wenn nicht unmöglich macht, was dem Geiste des Dahingeschiedenen in der Ewigkeit keine Ruhe gönnen würde.

Auch leben sie in Angst vor dem Teufel *u 'suid-lam-iap* (dem Boten Gottes, d. h. dem Vollstrecker seiner Befehle). Er hat die Menschenseelen hinwegzuführen ins andere Reich. Schauerlich soll er sein: von gigantischer Größe, mit langen, aufgelösten Haaren geht er umher, seine Opfer zu suchen. Seine Zähne sind so groß wie ein *ka wait* (ein Beil oder eine Axt).

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Besonders die Frauen werden durch einen Teufel beunruhigt, den sie *u 'suid-um* nennen (den Wasserteufel). Dieser hat die Macht, die Frauen anzupacken und bei ihnen Unfruchtbarkeit und, wenn sie schwanger sind, den Abortus zu verursachen.

Cholera bringt die Dämonin *ka khlam* und schwere Kolik die Dämonin *ka lihar*.

Malariafieber glaubt man durch den Einfluß der Dämonin *ka rih* zu erhalten, während man in der Gegend von Theriaghat das Fieber der Dämonin *ka daba* zuschreibt.

Die sonst überall gefürchteten Blattern sind den Khasi eine Gunstbezeugung des Gottes *u siem niang thylliew*. Ist in einer Hütte jemand an Blattern erkrankt, so wird die kranke Person nicht bloß nicht gemieden, sondern man bringt sogar noch gesunde Kinder hin, damit sie den „Kuß des Gottes" empfangen, d. h. auch die Blattern bekommen sollen.

Nach Reichtum trachtet jeder Khasi. Daher opfern sie der Dämonin des Reichtums *ka shur*, die sie ebenso fürchten wie die Synteng die Dämonin *ka taro*, die ebenfalls nur ihren Verehrern den ersehnten Reichtum zukommen läßt.

Alle Übel, aber zusammengenommen, können von der Dämonin *ka ron* verursacht werden. Sie ist die schlechteste aller Teufel nach Ansicht der Synteng. Ihr und dem Teufel *u mahet* opfern die Khasi nur in der Hütte und nicht, wie sonst gebräuchlich, auch im Freien (im Hofraum der Hütte).

Die größte Furcht aber haben die Khasi vor dem Teufel *u thlen*. Dieser kann in Gestalt einer Schlange von den Menschen im Hause gehalten werden. Da er nur durch Menschenblut versöhnt wird, ist es nötig, menschliche Opfer *(ka 'langthokhlieh)* zu finden. Diesen schneidet man die Nägel der Finger und Zehen ab, die dann mit dem Blute des Ermordeten des Nachts im verschlossenen Hause dem Teufel als Opfer unter Gebet und Anrufungen dargebracht werden. Um diese menschlichen Opfer zu bekommen, müssen die *Thlen*-Inhaber solche mit List oder Gewalt suchen. Meistens werden gedungene Mörder ausgeschickt, denen man vorher einen ganz bestimmten Schnaps *'iadtang-snem* (wörtlich: bewahrt für ein Jahr) verabreicht. Von diesem Schnaps glauben die Khasi, daß er denjenigen, der davon trinke, soweit beeinflusse (bezaubere), daß er den geplanten Mord auch wirklich ausführe. Wenn nun diese Mörder *(nong-shoh-noh)* auf ihrem Wege oder im Hinterhalte sind, um ihre Opfer für den *thlen* zu verfolgen *(beh-nong-shoh-noh)*, so dürfen sie sich keines Eisens bedienen, da durch Eise.. der *thlen* bei der Höhle von Pomdalai bei Cherrapoonjee, als er in Gestalt einer übergroßen Schlange erschien, um dort Menschen und Tiere zu verschlingen, von einem mutigen Manne namens *u saidwoh*, getötet wurde. Mit einem Stocke, der gewöhnlich einen silbernen Knauf hat, wird das Opfer niedergeschlagen. Dann werden ihm mit einer Schere oder Pinzette aus Silber die Nasenflügel geritzt und das Blut wird abgezapft. Ebenso werden die Nägel an den Händen und Füßen mit der silbernen Schere abgeschnitten. Der tote Körper wird zum Schlusse in einen Abgrund geworfen[1].

[1] Näheres über die „Menschenopfer unter den Khasi" siehe Dr. P. C. [illegible], Salvatorianische Mitteilungen, 1909, Nr. 5, S. 758.

Da nun einerseits viele Khasi darauf aus sind, andere mit Hilfe des Teufels zu töten oder krankzumachen *(ai-ksuid)*, anderseits aber die bösen Geister auch ungerufen dem Menschen schaden, so ist bei diesen Anschauungen eine übergroße Furcht die Frucht dieses Aberglaubens. Dieser Furcht entspringt der Wunsch, sich von dem Einflusse der bösen Geister freizumachen *(lait-ksuid)* oder diesen Einfluß abzuschwächen durch opfern *(khad)*, oder mindestens die Teufel gänzlich zu versöhnen *(khein-ban khai)*.

So halten die Synteng alljährlich ein großes Fest ab zur Vertreibung der Cholera *(ka behdiengkhlam)*. Die dargebrachten Opfer haben den Zweck, die gefürchtete Dämonin *ka khlam* zu versöhnen, aber auch zugleich den Zweck, die Teilnehmer am Opfer gegen den Einfluß der Cholera gefeit zu machen (zu verzaubern). Gurdon[1] beschreibt dieses Fest wie folgt: „Im Monat Juni, wenn der Strom mit Wasser gefüllt ist, gehen an einem bestimmten Tage die Männer des Morgens vor die Hütten und schlagen mit Stöcken *(dieng)* auf die Dächer der Hütten. Dabei rufen sie fortwährend die Dämonin *ka khlam* an und fordern sie auf, das (betreffende) Haus zu verlassen. Dann geht man gemeinsam zum Fluß hinunter. Große Stangen, die bereits am Tage zuvor zurechtgelegt wurden, werden nun über den Fluß gelegt. Die Leute springen auf die Stangen und versuchen diese zu zerbrechen. Geschieht dies, so ertönt ein allgemeines großes Freudengeschrei. Sind alle Stangen zerbrochen, so holt man eine besonders feste Stange, eigentlich einen Balken, und legt ihn über den Fluß. Das Volk teilt sich in zwei Hälften und nun beginnt ein Kampf um den Besitz dieses Balkens. Der Kampf ist aber ein gutmütiger, und wenn es gleich viele Püffe und sogar Wunden absetzt, so kommen die Leute doch nicht in einen ernsten Streit, trotzdem sie kämpfen und sich so bemühen um den Besitz des Balkens, daß manche dabei sämtliche Kleider verlieren. Diejenige Partei, welche das Glück hat, in den Besitz des Balkens zu kommen, ist nach dem Glauben der Leute für das folgende Jahr der Gesundheit (frei von Cholera) und der Wohlhabenheit gewiß."

An Zauberei grenzt auch der Gebrauch der Holzkohle. So schreibt P. V. Kartte, apostolischer Missionär, S. D. S.[2]: Hat eine Mutter mit ihrem Kinde einen weiten Weg zu machen, so macht sie, um es vor etwaigen Unfällen zu schützen, mit einem Stück Holzkohle dem Kinde einen schwarzen Fleck auf die Stirne. Dann nimmt sie ein längliches Stück Holz, spaltet es an dem einen Ende in vier Teile und steckt das Stück Holzkohle dazwischen. Dieses trägt die Mutter auf der Reise in der Hand.

Der gleiche Missionär berichtet auch das Tun der Khasi bei einer Mondfinsternis: „Ist eine Mondfinsternis, so meinen die Khasi, daß am Mond ein Frosch sei, welcher denselben abfrißt. Die Khasi haben den Mond sehr gern, und um zu verhindern, daß der Frosch den Mond auffresse, so suchen sie den Frosch durch Lärm furchtsam zu machen und zu verjagen. Vor einigen Tagen erlebten wir eine Probe davon. In sämtlichen Dörfern schlugen die Khasi die Trommeln und schrien dazu. Es war ein reiner Höllenspektakel[3]."

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[1] Gurdon, „The Khasis".

[2] Kartte, „Die Religion der heidnischen Khasi". Apostelkalender 1895.

[3] A. a. O., S. 62.

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Die Khasi haben auch keine Erklärung für das Gewitter. Sie meinen daher, daß die *ksuid* (Teufel) es verursachen. Besonders macht ihnen der Donner zu schaffen, der bei einem Tropengewitter äußerst stark sein kann. Wenn nun der Blitz irgendwo einschlägt, so opfern sie dem *ksuid u pyrthat* ein fettes Schwein, dessen Blut auf den Altar geschmiert wird, um ihn zu versöhnen und weitere Blitzschläge zu verhindern.

Wenn die Khasi opfern, um sich vor Schaden zu schützen oder um Krankheiten zu heilen, so murmeln sie Formeln oder Gebete während des Opferns. Sie beschwören gleichsam die unsichtbaren Kräfte und unterstützen so die dargebrachten Opfer. Dieses Murmeln nennt man *lim-knia* (schwören-opfern). So wird auch von den Opfern in Nongkrem berichtet[1]: „Ein jeder stellt das Schnapsfläschchen auf das vor ihm befindliche Häufchen Lehm. Dies stellt gleichsam den Altar vor. Dann nimmt man die Pfeffer- und Eichenblätter und legt sie vor demselben in einer bestimmten Form neben- und aufeinander, Stücke Betelnuß werden daraufgelegt und das Ganze mit Reis, *kpu-* und *rynsi*-Mehl bestreut, indem kurze Gebetsformeln gemurmelt werden." Um den Einfluß der bösen Geister abzuwehren, gebrauchen die Khasi auch allerlei Zaubermittel. Sie verfertigen aus gespaltenem *igrá* (dünner Bambus), das sie mit der Innenseite nach vorne gleichmäßig nebeneinander durch ein Bindemittel *(u thri)* befestigen, eine Art Gitter, das sie an gabelförmigen Ästen im Walde aufhängen. Die Zahl dieser Stäbchen ist immer eine ungerade, seien es nun 13 oder 15 oder mehr oder weniger. In der Mitte der Stäbchen wird ein farbiger Strich (blau oder rot) gezogen (Fig. 1). Solche Gitter oder Bambusfahnen werden oft mehrere zugleich an irgendeinem Orte im Walde versteckt.

Geisterstäbe und Geistergitter.

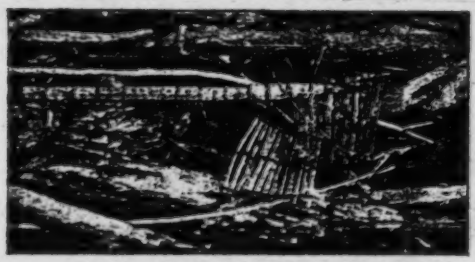
Außer diesen Gittern oder Fahnen machen sie auch Geisterstäbe oder Geisterpfosten, die sie ebenfalls im Dickicht verstecken und die den gleichen Zweck der Vertreibung, resp. der Unschädlichmachung der Geister haben.

[1] P. Dr. C. Becker, „Die *Nongkrem-Puja* in den Khasibergen (Assam)", „Anthropos" IV (1909), S. 898.

Solche Stäbe werden aus Holz geschnitzt und sind entweder ganz einfache, viereckige Stäbe, mit einer krummen, angesetzten Spitze (Fig. 5) oder es sind einfache viereckige Stäbe mit einer dreifachen Spitze (Fig. 2), alles aus einem Stück geschnitzt. Diese Stäbe sind nicht bemalt. Neben diesen einfachen Geisterstäben machen die Khasi auch schöne, bemalte Stäbe. So zeigt Fig. 3 einen viereckigen Stab, der eine dreifache, eckige Bemalung in blauer und roter Farbe aufweist. Seine Spitze ist nicht eingekerbt, aber schief oder gekrümmt zugeschnitten. Fig. 4 zeigt eine andere Art. Es ist ein sechseckiger Holzstab, der einen Hut oder Kopf (aus einem Stück mit dem Stabe) hat, dessen Spitze eingekerbt oder abgesetzt ist. Dieser Geisterstab hat eine kreisartige Bemalung von roter und blauer Farbe, von geraden Querlinien durchbrochen. Solche Stäbe kommen auch in achteckiger Form vor.

Man findet solche Geisterstäbe und Geistergitter oft mehrere nebeneinander auf einem kleinen Fleck im Walde oder Dickicht zusammen aufgestellt.

Auch errichten die Khasi auf langen Bambusstangen kleine Plattformen mit Häuschen, in denen den Geistern der Wälder und Felder Nahrungsmittel aufgetischt werden (auftischen *[siang-]* heißt eigentlich ausbreiten, wie man einen Teppich ausbreitet oder wie man die Blätter ausbreitet als Unterlage zum Reisessen).



Zaubergitter gegen die Waldteufel.

Aber nicht bloß durch Opfergaben versuchen die Khasi die Teufel zu versöhnen und dadurch unschädlich zu machen. Selbst mit Gewalt versuchen sie es. So treiben sie, wie schon oben erwähnt, die Cholera-Dämonin mit Stöcken zum Haus hinaus. Auch bei der Totenverbrennung schießen sie drei Pfeile ab, um dadurch die bösen Geister abzuwehren.

Vielfach sind die Mittel zur Abwehr der bösen Geister oder zur Erlangung ihrer Hilfe nur Worte, gleichsam nur Wünsche und Verwünschungen, wie z. B. beim Pfeilwettschießen suchen die Zuschauer, die am Ziele stehen, die Pfeile der Gegner dadurch vom Treffen des Zieles abzuhalten, daß sie irgendeine Gottheit *(ksuid)* anrufen, und je mehr sie schreien, desto eher glauben sie ihren Zweck zu erreichen. Sie wollen die Pfeile der Gegner beeinflussen.

3. Die Verbote *(sang)*.

Zum Aberglauben gehören auch die *sang* oder Verbote der Khasi. *Sang* heißt soviel als „sakrilegisch oder strengstens verboten". Dieses *sang* ist auf totemistische Anschauungen zurückzuführen. *Sang* kann etwas für eine einzelne Person, für ein Haus *(iing)* oder eine Familie, für eine Sippe und ein ganzes Geschlecht *(jaid)* sein. Wenn ein Mann oder eine Frau, deren Ehegatte gestorben ist, sich wieder verheiratet, so geht das *sang* auf die Verwandten des (oder der) Verstorbenen über. Dieses „Erben" des *sang* ist je nach der Sippe verschieden. Bei der Übernahme des *sang* müssen die Erben 11 von einem

kaŵ oder 7½ von einem *kaŵ* oder 5½ von einem *kaŵ* zahlen. Unter *kaŵ* versteht man eigentlich die Zahl 1280. Der Sinn aber ist, daß die Erben 11, resp. 7½ oder 5½ Prozent ihres Vermögens zahlen müssen, um die großen Feierlichkeiten bei der Verbrennung und bei der späteren Beisetzung der Asche begleichen zu können. Für das Geld werden in erster Linie die verschiedenen Opfergaben gekauft. Wenn man alle Opfergaben zusammen hat, so errichtet man drei behauene Steine nach Art der *mau-bynna* (Urnensteine) an irgendeinem Wege. Diese Steine heißen die „Ehebrechersteine" *(mau-klim)*. Dann fängt man ein Schwein ein und verflucht es auf folgende Weise[1]:

„Hei sngewkyndiang ho kane nga iathuhkhana ba me ba la ioh ka sang na ka tnga ka jong me yn leh kumno kynrad wei la pom ka bneng ka khyndew, ka tyrut ka smer sngew la khuid ka sang ka ma, ka klim ka ngat yn long sa ka rong sa ka taw, sa ka sngewbha ka sngewmiat mo! Hei une sa u dykhot u lamjew ka iad bang ka iad thiang mo!"

„So höre aufmerksam dieses, was ich erzähle, der du das *sang* vererbt hast von deiner Gemahlin, was sollen wir anderes tun, Gebieter, nachdem ihn erschlagen der Himmel und die Erde, die *Tyrut* und die *Smer* (sind Dämoninnen), sind wir befreit; geheiligt ist das *sang*, das gefürchtete, der Ehebruch und sonstige Sünden. So kann dann sein, daß die Gebeine übertragen werden und Friede und Freude wird uns zuteil, *mo!* (nicht wahr!) Siehe hier das Stück *u dykhot*[2] und das Säuerliche *u lamjew*[3] (ein starker und ein süßer Schnaps) *mo!* (nicht wahr!)"

Zu diesem Opferfeste ladet man alle Verwandte und Bekannte, Freunde und Nachbarn ein. Man hält ein großes Festessen, wobei Fleisch und Speck die Hauptsache bilden. Bevor aber das Essen beginnt, entfernt man die vor dem Verfluchen des Schweines auf die „Ehebrechersteine" hingelegten *reng* (Horn) und *ngap* (Gabel). Bei diesem Opfer müssen alle vorher gesammelten Münzen (11 oder 7½ oder 5½ von einem *kaŵ*) vollständig aufgebraucht werden, da es verboten ist, etwas davon im Hause aufzubewahren, damit es etwa nicht vermischt würde mit dem Tageslohn oder mit dem Erwerb.

Die Wiederverheiratung muß natürlich in eine andere Sippe *(jaid)* geschehen, wenn das *sang* vererbt werden soll; denn sonst bleibt das *sang* in der Familie.

Die meistens vorkommenden *sang*, je nach den Familien oder Sippen verschieden, sind folgende[4]:

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[1] Dieser und die folgenden Khasitexte sind dem *kitab jingphawar* von U. RABON SINGH, Shillong 1902, entnommen; bei der Wiedergabe in deutscher Sprache bin ich dem hochwürdigen P. C. BONHEIM, apostolischem Missionär, S. D. S., von Cherrapoonjee, sehr verbunden, der mir seine langjährigen Erfahrungen bereitwilligst zur Verfügung stellte.

[2] Ein Stück Opferfleisch.

[3] Kräuter, Würze.

[4] GURDON, „The Khasis", S. 5.

2: Stegmiller AR7 Khasi

1. Ein Haus bauen mit Steinmauern auf allen vier Seiten.
2. Der Gebrauch von Eisennägeln beim Hausbau.
3. Der Gebrauch von mehr als einer Holzart beim Bauen des Herdes.
4. Der Gebrauch von harzigem Holz beim Hausbau.
5. Das Holzfällen in einem heiligen Wald (mit Ausnahme für eine Leichenverbrennung). Siehe Tafel I, Bild 2, „Das heidnische Khasi-Dorf Raliang mit einem ‚heiligen Wald' *(law kyntang)* im Hintergrund".
6. Mit der linken Hand irgend etwas geben oder nehmen.
7. Über den Körper eines anderen hinwegschreiten.
8. Das Töten eines Tieres oder Vogels, ohne vorher Reis auf dessen Kopf gestreut zu haben.
9. Der Genuß von Kuh- oder Ziegenmilch.
10. Das Beendigen jeglicher angefangener Näh- oder Korbflechtarbeit für Schwangere.
11. Schwangere dürfen keinen Leichenzug begleiten.
12. Dem Manne einer schwangeren Frau ist es verboten, das Hausdach (Strohdach) zu decken oder an ein Beil oder Schwert *(ka wait -ka da)* einen Handgriff zu machen.
13. Das Sprechen mit irgend jemand, solange das Dreschen des Reises dauert, es sei denn mit den Mitarbeitern des Mannes oder der Frau.
14. Verschiedentlich ist der Genuß von Schweinefleisch, getrocknetem Fisch, Melonen, Zitronen usw. verboten.

Das Übertreten des *sang* wird von der Gottheit bestraft. So erklärten einige Khasi nach dem großen Erdbeben vom 12. Juni 1897: „Weil ihr eure Häuser von Steinen gebaut habt und die Planken mit Nägeln befestigt, so ist es geschehen, daß alles eingestürzt ist, denn Gott will nicht den Stein und verabscheut die Nägel. Wir haben in früheren Zeiten auch nur von Holz und Bambus gebaut und Bast zum Befestigen und Binden benützt, aber heute sind die Leute stolz geworden und haben von Steinen gebaut. Darum ist dies geschehen, Gott haßt den Stein, er will keinen Kalk[1]."

4. Eierwerfen *(shat-pylleng)*.

Das gewöhnliche aller Orakel der Khasi ist das Eierwerfen *(shat-pylleng)*. Ausführliches ist darüber bereits geschrieben worden[2]. Ich will hier nur mehr das Gebet des Opferers *u nongshat-pylleng* bringen. Ein eigentliches Gebet ist es nicht, wenigstens ist der *nongshat-pylleng* an keine Formel gebunden. Der Opferer spricht etwa:

„Ko lengsam khun ka blei, ko banang ko batip ko ba lak ko balai, nga pynthiah nga pyndem halor ka diengshat ka diengkhein, ka duwan ka dupat, a kynrad ngan kylli ngan

„O du Ei des Orakels, du Tochter der Göttin, du das du kennst und weißt (vermagst), du das du bestehst (bleibst), ich lege dich hier nieder, ich setze dich hier auf das Wurf-

[1] P. A. MÜNZLOHER, S. D. S., „Die apostolische Präfektur Assam", Rom 1899, S. 83.
[2] P. Dr. C. BECKER, „Das Eierwerfen der Khasi", „Anthropos" XII—XIII (1917—1918), S. 494—496

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togkit katne ba long ka shitom ka lanot ka shoh ka ther ka shit ka syang ka pisa ka lynga ia ka met u Donsing, hato nangno ka daw ba long katne, don hi na kpoh la iing mo? Kaba wan thaw katne?

brett[1], auf das Orakelholz, auf den Altar, o Herrin, ich frage und erwäge (möchte fragen, will fragen), denn groß sind die Beschwerden und Trübsale, Bedrängnis und Kümmernis, die Hitze und das Feuer (des Fiebers), die Unruhe und die Niedergeschlagenheit des N. N. Was ist denn der Grund, daß er so schlimm daran ist? Liegt der Grund in der Familie selbst vielleicht (*na khpoh*, d. h. im Bauche, im Innersten)? Hat das vielleicht alles dieses gemacht?

Lada don ka jot ka rem ka bijar ka buhkhoh ha ka blei ka lawbei, ha u phan u kyrpad ngan sa jied ngan sa pynshai ia ka khmat ka long jot ka long rem ka bijar ka buhkhoh, don?

Wenn etwa eine Sünde, ein Verschulden, ein Ärger oder ein Verdruß bei der Göttin *Jaubei* oder beim *Phan u kyrpad* vorliegen sollte, so will ich erwägen und das Auge (des Verstandes) erhellen, das Verderbnis und die Schuld, den Verdruß und den Ärger, welcher wohl sein mag?

Jem ka mon bin kynrong ka diang joit buh ka jingkem arsnep slait, da weng ka lar ka sap ka buhsang ka tharai: ong em me ym don na kpoh la iing ka ben wan thaw kum kata, khat ei na wei du kaba wan shoh wan ther katne.

Windelweich und winzig klein ist mein Wille. Überschlage das Linke über das Rechte geschwinde! Reihe an die zwei Schalenteile (*slait*, d. i. ohne jeden Zwischenraum), nimm du weg das Klar (Eierklar), das Sakrilegische (unerlaubte) und das Ungewisse! Sage: nein! du! Es kommt nicht her aus der Familie, das alles dies verursacht hat. Also so kommt es doch von außen (anderswo) her, welches ihn schlägt und so sehr auf ihn niederprasselt.

Lar ha ka dong ngang, kiew ha ka dong roit, noh ka diang khyllon ka diang da buh lengsam shiliang kadiang!

Es komme das Klar in die äußerste Ecke und es steige hinein in die Ecke, hinunter mit dem Linken! Es klappe zusammen das Linke (kraftlos sinke zusammen das Linke). Setze das Orakel hinüber zur Linken, zur Hälfte!

Mynno nga bynthiew mynno nga kyrkhah mynno nga sin mynno nga rngop nga pynsum dewlieh dewtem

Wann habe ich denn ausgespuckt? Wann habe ich geräuspert den dicken Schleim? Wann habe ich

[1] Siehe Tafel II, Bild 1.

dewsni dewsnah dewraij dewkynton ba ngan lit ia ka liem ia ka dem ka pyllup ka lyndang, mo.

einen Spitznamen gegeben? Wann habe ich gewaschen und gebadet die weiße Erde (Tonerde, Lehm), weißen Lehm, gelben Lehm, klebrigen Lehm, aufgehäuften Lehm? Damit ich erkenne das nach oben und nach unten Liegende, das auf den Rücken Liegende, und das auf dem Bauche Liegende, nicht wahr?

Mynno nga rah mynno nga rong kum ka khlieng ka tyngab, ka ims ka doh.

Wann habe ich etwa fortgetragen, wann habe ich etwas fortgeschleppt wie etwa der Habicht oder der Rabe oder irgendein Vogel oder das Fleisch?

Hu mo 'lengsam!"

Hurra! nicht wahr, du Ei des Orakels!"

5. Das Hahnopfer *(jingknia sylar)*.

Wie durch das Eierwerfen, so wollen die Khasi auch durch das Opfer des Hahnes die Gründe erforschen, die Krankheit oder sonstiges Ungemach verursachen. Dieses Hahnopfer ist fast ebenso häufig wie das Eierwerfen. Man stellt es besonders dann an, wenn ein schwieriger Fall zu erledigen ist. Denn wie der Hahn kostbarer ist als ein Ei, so ersieht man auch aus dem Opfer des Hahnes die gewünschten Resultate besser. Im allgemeinen bleibt sich der Ritus stets gleich, so wie er beschrieben ist in der *Nongkrem-Puja* in den Khasibergen[1]. Hier folgt ein Beispiel der „Anrufungen", die der Opferer mit folgenden Wort ausspricht:

„Te ko rangiarkhad, ko khun ka blei, ko rangkynjih ko rangkyn jai, ko rangkynih ko rangphawar ko ba ioh ka hukum ka kular na myndang long ka pyrthei, shai ka pyrthei na khmat ka blei klicn ka blei, te ha sngew nga kylli nga tohkit ha shat ha ka khan, nangno ka daw ba wan shoh wan ther katne ia ka met u Donsing?

„Und nun, o du Opferhahn, du Sohn der Göttin, du Hüpfer und Springer, du Kräher, du weiser Redner (der es versteht, in Figuren zu reden), du, der du das Gesetz bekommen hast und die Verheißung von Anbeginn der Welt. Hell ist die Welt vom Angesichte der Göttin, vom Worte der Göttin! So höre nun, ich frage, ich erwäge, ich werfe Orakel, ich befrage Orakel: Woher ist der Grund (was ist der Grund), das den N. N. schlägt und so sehr auf seinen Körper herniederprasselt?

Ong phi ka blei manga, ka shoh te manga ka ther te manga ka sympat ka kawiat te manga, te nga

Sage, o Göttin: Ich bin es, die ihn schlägt, ich bin es, die auf ihn herniederprasselt, und ich, der ihn

[1] P. Dr. C. Becker, „Anthropos" IV (1909), S. 899.

shang darum-darum daneng-daneng nga kylli nangno ka long-jot ka long-rem, nangno ka bijar ka buhkhoh phi ka blei!

geißelt und streicht. Und ich gehe hin und her und auf und ab und frage, woher kommt denn das Verderben, das Verschulden, woher denn der Verdruß und Ärger, o du Göttin!

Ong phi ka blei, ko khun ka lamler mynkato mo ka sngi me iapan ia ka dar ka long briew ka long jing na khmat nga ka blei ka laubei, nga ong!

So sage doch, o Göttin, du Tochter der Lüge, damals, nicht wahr[1], an jenem Tage hast du verlangt das Bild des Menschen, den Bestand der Familie vor meinem Angesichte, vor mir der Göttin, vor mir der *Jaubei*, so sage ich!

Khie kynmaw sieh ka jutang na kata ka lynti, ynda me ieng ka nguh ka dem u dkhot u lamiew u kpu u rynsi ia ka jong ka longspah kat ia katei ka dar ka long briew ha me la sieh ka jutang mynkato ka sngi.

Stehe auf und erinnere dich! Ziehe hervor die Verheißung aus jenem Wege! Und wenn du dastehst und dich verbeugst und Ehrerbietung bezeigst, dann der Dank und die Ehrerbietung, dann das Stück und das Säuerliche, dann das Brot und der Kuchen, deinem eigenen Wohlergehen und Reichtum, so wie jenem Bilde der Menschwerdung, welches du hervorgezogen hast durch die Verheißung an jenem Tage.

Mem don ka iathuhkhana ka khmat nga ka blei me tep me lynde pynban, nangta jot nga ka blei ka laubei!

Hast du keine Erzählung davon vor mir der Göttin! vor meinem Angesichte! Du vergräbst, du verbirgst es vielmehr und daher das Verderben, sage ich, die Göttin, die *Janbei!*

Im u syiar u shan te nangta im ka sang ka ma te nangta, im ka tyrut ka smer te nangta, ioh ka shitom ka lanot u bynriew te na kata ka lynti.

Es lebe der Hahn, die Stütze, und ferner es lebe das Verbot und die Drohung, und wiederum es lebe die *Tyrut* und die *Smer* und dann: der Mensch erfährt Leiden und Trübsale, und zwar von jenem Wege her (von der Geburt).

Te ko blei trai kynrad wei nga la lap ia kata ka knia ka lynti ka long-jot ka long-rem ka jong phi te mynta ngan da ieng ka kynmaw ka kyrdit namar kata ka lynti kat haba shong ka nguh ka dem u kpu u rynsi u klong u ksaw, la suk la

Du aber, o Gott und Herr, da ich nun einmal auf deinen Grund, den Weg des Verderbens, der Schuld gekommen bin, so erhebe ich mich. Die Erinnerung, die Betroffenheit von wegen jenes Weges, wo immer ich auch wohne, soll sein der Dank, die

[1] Folgende Worte sind gleichsam, als ob der Opferhahn der Göttin dieselben in den Mund legte und das Orakel wiederspräche.

jemnud phi ka blei ka lawbei na kata ka lynti.

Yn sa ioh ka khiah ka nang, ieng rangbah u bynriew joit suk me u blei lyngngai weng ka thoh ka tar ka kjab ka star.

Ong ym pat shong ka dur da kumta khadei dang kumwei du, kiew da ka thoh da ka tar da ka brain da ka briah da ka kjab da ka star, katta mo blei tray kynrad, kuri-ei nga pynsum nga pynsieh nga pyntang nga pynpung ha ka umthwei umlyngiam, ban kiew ka syrti ka jumai ban um ka ryndang ha khmat ka duwan ka dupat ban nang ka korbar ka sorbar mo?

Snam syiar, hei nga dkhat sohpet shynnai ban nang ka korbar ka sorbar, kane de ka deng de ka kup ka ryndia ka muka ka iarong ka muna ho, hei dong tam dong lait ban lait ka jot ka rem mo?"

Ehrerbietung, das Brot und der Kuchen, der Kürbis und die Kürbisflasche; friedlich und wohlgemut bist du, o Göttin *Jaubei*, an jenem Wege.

Wir erhalten Erhabenes und Vermögendes. Rasch erhebe dich, Mensch! Vollbefriedigt sei du, o Gott! Nimm hinweg die Makel, die Flecken, das Band und die Schlinge.

Sage: So sieht das Bild noch nicht aus, vielmehr anders, nicht wahr! Erhebe dich von den großen Flecken und von den großen Makeln und von allen kleinen Flecken und Sprenkeln, von Schlinge und Band und dann, nicht wahr, o Gott und Herr, umsonst ist es! Ich wasche und bade und mache Wasserröhren und Schöpfbrunnen im Strudel und in der Untiefe, damit sich erhebe *ka syrtieh*[1] und *ka Jumai*[2], damit der Hals zerfließe (verblute) vor dem Angesichte des Altars, damit gut sei die Beratung, nicht wahr?

Du Blut des Hahnes, Hurra! Siehe da, ich zerreiße ihm den Nabel, das Gedärm, damit gut sei die Beratung. Dieses hier ist das Geschmeide, dies das Gewand, dieses die Seide, dieses der Beutel und das Netz, nicht wahr? Siehe hier das Rohr des Sammelns, hier das Rohr des Entgehens vom Verderben und der Schuld, nicht wahr?"

6. Das Ausfindigmachen der zu besänftigenden Geister *(kheinksuid)*.

Khein ksuid bedeutet das Suchen oder das Erforschen nach der Beleidigung der Göttin, welche den Menschen durch Leiden an den Peiniger *(ksuid)* verkauft *(die)*. Der Dämon kann dem Menschen nichts anhaben, wenn es die Göttin nicht duldet und erlaubt: Das Verbrechen des Menschen spielt dabei keine Rolle (an und für sich). Die Khasi sagen, in ihrer Religion gibt es nur eine Göttin, die „Befehlshaberin" *(ka nonghukum)*. Sie befiehlt, daß ein *phan u kyrpad*

[1] *Ka syrtieh* ist eine Dämonin, die schneidet und kratzt und feilt und sägt, d. h. durch innere Schmerzen.

[2] *Ka jumai* ist eine Dämonin des Erdbebens.

sein soll, daß ein *suid-nia* der *Jaubei* sein soll (*suid-nia* ist der Geist des ersten mütterlichen Onkels der Sippe, in diesem Falle soll er der „Fürsprecher" bei der *Jaubei* sein). Oder sie wählt sich selbst ein Mittel, das „Gott" sein soll, wie sie z. B. selbst zur Göttin des Reichtums oder zur Göttin des Fluches wird. Diese Göttin gibt den Befehl zum Opfer: Daß das Stück *(u dykhot)* und das Säuerliche *(u lamjew)* geopfert werde! Wird diese Göttin beleidigt durch irgendwelche Verfehlungen, dann muß sie wieder versöhnt werden, und zwar durch das Opfer einer Ziege, eines Schweines, oder durch das Opfer des Kürbis und der Kürbisflasche, oder (für die ganz Armen) durch das Opfer des Wassers, das man auf einen Messingteller *(ka pliang)* oder auf einen geflochtenen Teller *(ka pdung)* ausschüttet. Sie ist es auch, die befiehlt, daß man den Dämon oder die Dämonin vertreibt, besonders den Dämon, der Tag und Nacht hilft *(uba rap synnia rap sngi)*, indem ihm ein Geldopfer, Hunderter oder Zehner, gebracht werden muß.

Alles ist auf ihren Befehl: so das Speiseopfer, das den Geistern gebracht wird *(ai bam ia ki suidiap)*, das Dankopfer, das dem *Thaulang* gebracht wird *(kaba nguh thawlang)*, die Haruspizien *(kaba tap ryngiew tap rywiang)* oder die Namensgebung der Kinder *(tap lubri tap kyrteng)*. Wenn z. B. ein Bergteufel oder ein Flußteufel vertrieben werden soll, gibt sie Befehl, zuerst das Orakel zu Hause zu befragen und keinen Lärm zu machen. Dann aber soll man ein freigewähltes Opfer nehmen, wie Tauben, Hühner, Schweine oder Ziegen, und sie mit Reis bestreuen und dann frei laufen lassen. Jeder, der sie einfängt, kann sie behalten.

In dieser Religion gibt es auch noch etwas sehr Peinliches und äußerst Schwieriges, nämlich die Verschuldungen der bereits längst Verstorbenen zu finden, um sie durch Opfer wieder zu begleichen. Denn manchmal ist nichts zu finden, was der Grund oder die Ursache der Krankheit oder der Trübsale wäre, es muß daher ein Fehler der Ahnen noch ungesühnt sein. Diese Art aber der Teufelsforschung ist sehr schwer, da man den Zusammenhang nicht leicht herausbekommt. Es muß so einen Fall schon ein erfahrener und tüchtiger Opferer in die Hand nehmen, der die Zeichen der Göttin zu deuten versteht.

Wurde die Göttin *Jaubei* durch ein Verbrechen beleidigt, so muß ihr eine Ziege geopfert werden. Diese Ziege muß schön sein, sie muß weiß sein, sie muß ausgewachsen, aber noch jungfräulich sein. Das Opfer wird im Vorhof gebracht. Auf dem Altare, der meistens aus Lehm oder Erde bereitet wird[1], werden nun die Opfergaben ausgebreitet: Brot *(kpu)*, Kuchen *(rynsi)*, Kürbis *(u klong)*, junge Eichentriebe *(u sning ka lalar)*, ungekochter Reis *(u khaw)* und fermentiertes Reiswasser *(ka sapoh)*. Nun wird mit einem Schlage der Ziege der Kopf abgehauen. Das tote Tier wird zerlegt und die einzelnen zum Opfer nötigen Teile bereitgestellt. Da gibt es nun verschiedene Arten zu opfern. Einige nehmen fünf solcher Teile, andere sieben, und wieder andere nehmen neun Teile her. Was aber zum Opfern genommen wird, muß

[1] Unter „Altar" *(ka duwan)* versteht der Khasi alles, worauf er seine Opfer darbringt, sei es nun ein Stein, oder ein Bananenblatt, oder ein Lehmhaufen, oder ein aus Erde gemachter Altar.

aus dem Innern des Tieres stammen (*napoh krem ka kypoh*, d. h. aus der Bauchhöhle). Diejenigen, welche nur fünf Teile verwenden, nehmen: etwas von der Leber, etwas vom Herzen, etwas von der Lunge, etwas von den Nieren und etwas vom Lendenstück (vom Fleisch, das dem Rückenmark entlang läuft).

Diejenigen, welche sieben Teile zum Opfer verwenden, nehmen das Obengenannte und dazu noch etwas von der Milz und etwas vom Dünndarm.

Diejenigen, welche aber neun Teile gebrauchen, nehmen nebst dem eben Genannten auch noch zwei Teile vom Dickdarm und vom Dünndarm und zwei Teile vom Blinddarm.

Es ist sehr schwer, die Opfergebräuche der Khasi zu beschreiben, d. h. ganz genau zu beschreiben, da es in vielen Fällen verschieden gemacht wird. Und selbst in dem gleichen Fall, z. B. bei der gleichen Krankheit oder der gleichen Trübsale, wird verschieden geopfert. Man kann dies leicht schon daraus ersehen, daß einige fünf, andere sieben, andere wiederum neun Teile des geopferten Tieres verwenden. Ähnliche Unterschiede finden sich auf der ganzen Linie. Für alle Fälle wird stets das „Stück" *(dykhot)* und das „Säuerliche" *(lamjew)*, sowie „Schnaps" *(iad)* geopfert.

Die Art und Weise des Opferns hängt von den Verwandten ab, d. h. wie es eben in einer Sippe Brauch ist. Die jüngste Tochter ist die Erbin des Vermögens, sie ist aber auch diejenige, welche für den Opferritus der Sippe verantwortlich ist. An ihr liegt es, den Opferritus zu bewahren, der stets in der Familie *(ha iing)* gebräuchlich war. Nach ihren Angaben richtet sich der Opferer *(u synniang)*. Manchmal nun werden viele Opferer verlangt, z. B. zur Zeit der Seuche oder allgemeiner Trübsale. Da es nun nicht allzu viele Opferer gibt, die die Sache gut verstehen, so fallen viele gewünschte Opfer aus. Dadurch nun, so glauben die Khasi, lebt der Hahn *(u siar u shan)* wieder auf, dadurch lebt der *u longduh u longsam* (böser Geist) wieder auf, dadurch lebt die *Tyrut* und die *Smer* wieder auf, d. h. die üblen dämonischen Einflüsse dieser Geister kommen durch das Vernachlässigen der Opfer wieder zu Einfluß.

Manchmal verzögert auch das Oberhaupt einer Sippe *(u knie u kypa)* jahrzehntelang, oft ein Lebensalter lang die Opfer. Dadurch entsteht dann für die Nachkommen die Schwierigkeit, der Sippe gemäß opfern zu können, da durch die jahrelange Pause im Opfern die Erinnerung an ihren eigenen Opferritus verloren gehen. Diese Opferweise wieder aufzufrischen *(kynroi)*, ist schwierig. Oder es sterben die Alten weg (oder werden Christen), und so lernen die Jungen nicht mehr, welche Formeln sie haben, welche Anrufungen gebräuchlich waren, welche Teile (des getöteten Tieres) sie nehmen sollen. Der Zusammenhang mit den Ahnen geht verloren, und in der Regel können sie sich nicht mehr an alles erinnern.

Wenn es aber so weit gekommen ist, dann sorgt die *Jaubei* wieder dafür, daß das Opfern nicht unterlassen werde, indem sie duldet, daß die Angehörigen ihrer Sippe von den Teufeln geplagt werden. Besonders erlaubt sie den Berg-, Fluß-, Wasser- und Luftteufeln, ihre unheilvollen Einflüsse geltend zu machen. Da nun Krankheiten stets wieder vorkommen, Todesfälle

2: Stegmiller AR7 Khasi

eintreten usw., so stirbt das Opfern eigentlich nie ganz aus, und die Religion der Khasi, die Geister in den verschiedensten Arten zu verehren, bleibt bestehen.

7. Dankgebet nach erhaltener Gesundheit[1].

Gewiß wird hauptsächlich in Zeiten der Trübsale geopfert. Aber die Khasi vergessen auch der erhaltenen Wohltaten nicht. Hat jemand durch ein Opfer seine Gesundheit wieder erlangt, so bringt er ein Dankopfer dar und spricht:

„To sngew ko blei ko laubei te wei nga la shem ia ka nia ka lynti ka long jot ka long rem jong phi, te kynrad hajar nguh te sngewsynei ho, ba la kum bieit kum lyndet nga u khun u ksiew!

To ai ka khiah ka nang, ngan sa kynmaw ngan sa kyndit namar kata ka nia kat haba shong ka nguh ka dem u dykhot u lamjew u kpu u rynsi u klong u ksaw law ka shoh ka ther ka pisa ka lynga, hei wat die rem ngiat shuh ho kum hynnin kum hynne, ap ia ka nia ka lynti pyllun katta mo!"

„Höre denn! o Gott! o *Laubei!* Nachdem ich deine Gründe und Wege erkannt habe, woher dein Verderben und Verschulden gekommen ist (das du in mir gefunden hast), so, o mein Herr, danke ich dir tausendmal, und erhöre mich gnädig, da ich unwissend, da ich wider dich gehandelt habe, ich dein Kind und Enkel!

Gesundheit und Vermögen, es wird mir immer vor Augen schweben (dein Gebot), diese Gründe (der Krankheit), wo immer ich wohne und mich niederlasse (mich hinsetze), wo immer sich hinneigt das Stück und das Säuerliche und das Brot und der Kuchen, der Kürbis und die Kürbisflasche, löse auf (nimm hinweg) die Schläge und das Herniedergeprassel, die Bedrängnis und die Bedrückung! O verkaufe nicht mehr so teuer wie gestern und heute früh, sondern warte geduldig den Grund und den Weg! So viel, nicht wahr!—"

II. Die Religion in verschiedenen Lebensphasen.

1. Die Namengebung *(tap lubri tap kyrteng)*.

Unter *tap lubri tap kyrteng* versteht man die Zeremonie der Namengebung eines Kindes. Beim Abschnitt *sang* habe ich bereits auf die verschiedenen Verbote einer schwangeren Mutter, resp. ihres Mannes hingewiesen.

Bei der Geburt eines Kindes nun, so sagen die Khasi, macht man nicht so viele Zeremonien wie beim Tode eines Verwandten. Denn die Geburt ist ja schon an und für sich ein Freudenfest, da man doch mehr Freude hat, wenn ein Mensch ins Leben eintritt, als wenn er aus dem Leben scheidet.

[1] Vgl. auch das Dank- und Bittgebet am Ende des *Nongkrem-Puja*. Dr. Becker, „Anthropos" IV (1909), S. 902.

Ist ein Kind geboren, so wird am nächsten Tage (wenn es am Abend oder in der Nacht geboren wurde, am darauffolgenden Morgen) geopfert und die Zeremonie der Namengebung vollzogen. Der Opferer muß ein Verwandter des Kindes sein. Bei den Synteng werden gerne Tanten des Kindes als Vollzieher des Opfers gerufen. Die Nabelschnur wird mit einem scharfkantigen Bambus abgeschnitten und das Kind im warmen Wasser gebadet. Die Nachgeburt *(ka shynnai)* wird in einem irdenen Topf sorgfältig im Hause *(nongpet)* aufbewahrt. Dem Kinde werden dann als Symbole der späteren Beschäftigung Instrumente an die Seite gelegt, und zwar einem Mädchen ein Messer *(i wait)* und ein geflochtener Bambusträger *(i star)*; einem Knaben aber ein Bogen *(ka rynlieh)* und drei Pfeile *(ki 'nam)*. Der Opferer holt sich einen kleinen Teller, auf den er Reismehl schüttet, und füllt eine Kürbisflasche *(u klong)* mit Reisbranntwein, den er vorerst mit Wasser vermischt. Alles dieses stellt er auf einer Bambusschwinge *(u prah)* zurecht und beginnt dann das Opfer mit folgenden Worten:

„Te ha sngew ko blei trai kynrad ko thaw-bynriew ko bakbynriew te ba long na jer ba long na thok ban neh ka nam ban neh ka kyrteng ban long u lubri ban long ka kyrteng wei la suk la sngewbha phi ka blei ban khot da kata ha kyrteng to kein ba un long tymmen un long san un sain la ha kur la ha jaid un bad la ha khein ka bishar ha kpoh la iing mo.

Te sngew sa ka jong me u thawlang babha bamiat te wei ym don ka sang ka kyndiah te la long kynthei la long shynrang te a un long rangbah man rangbah yn sah ka nam yn sah ka kyrteng mo!"

„Und so höre, o Gott und Herr, o Erschaffer und Hersteller der Menschen: denn jetzt sind geschehen die Namengebung und die Aufzeichnung, damit bestehe der Ruf und erhalten bleibe der Name, nachdem es dir, o Göttin, gefallen hat, zu nennen mit diesem Namen. Nun so lebe es (das Kind) bis ins hohe Alter und werde groß und stark in seinen Nachkommen und Geschlechtern, und es halte und beobachte die Gebote und Gerichte seiner Familie.

Und so höre auch du, o du guter und schöner *Thawlang*, nachdem nun einmal kein Verbot und kein Hindernis besteht und Weiblein und Männlein ist (und ein Kind geboren wurde), so werde es groß und werde zum starken Manne und bleibe bestehen der Ruf und bleibe erhalten der Name. Nicht wahr!"

Unterdessen schüttet der Opferer langsam den Branntwein unter das Reismehl, so daß ein Teig entsteht. Nun forscht man nach dem Namen des Kindes. Während er verschiedene Namen ausspricht, gießt er sehr langsam Reisschnaps auf den Boden aus. Der Name nun, der mit demjenigen Tropfen, der am längsten braucht, um sich vom Halse der Kürbisflasche zu lösen, zusammenfällt, wird dem Kinde gegeben. Ist der Name auf diese Weise gefunden, so macht der Opferer mit dem oben genannten Teige dem Kinde einen Strich auf jeden Fuß, wobei er ihm den Namen gibt.

Kommt aber während des Ausgrabens des Schweines zufällig jemand in die Hütte und spricht etwas, so wird aus diesen Worten ein Name gebildet, der dem Kinde bleibt. Sodann nehmen die Eltern und Verwandten des Kindes dreimal von diesem Teig essen. Bei dem alles vorüber, so nimmt der Vater den Mutterkuchen (placenta), überschüttet ihn mit Reiswein und schwingt ihn dreimal über dem Haupte des Kindes. Hierauf verläßt er das Haus und befestigt den Topf samt Inhalt an einem Balken in der Nähe der Hütte. Diese Zeremonie wird heutzutage selten genau genommen. Gewöhnlich geht der Vater nur in den Hof und vergräbt die Nachgeburt irgendwo.

Bei der Rückkehr des Vaters werden ihm die Füße mit Wasser begossen: *ace khnid ban khiah krut i khanlong*, d. h. damit gesund bleibe das Kind. Ein schon vorher bereiteter Reiskuchen (*la pawne*) wird nun gemeinsam von allen gegessen. Daraufhin setzen sich alle Verwandten, und zwar die Verwandten der Frau zur Linken und die Verwandten des Mannes zur Rechten. Ein Stück des Reiskuchens (*pawne*) wird in Wasser eingeweicht und allen Gästen damit die Zehen abgewischt. Nach Beendigung dieser Zeremonien werden die an die Seite des Kindes hingelegten Utensilien, der Bogen, die drei Pfeile, das Messer und die Trophäen, weggenommen und sorgfältig an der Innenseite des Hüttendaches befestigt.

Hier einige Beispiele von [illegible]:

a Kiawai	*ka Nidibri*
a Rasmoni	*ka Dertai*
a Jawang	*ka Nimai*
a Syer	*ka Elimai*
a Seiang	*ka Kirimai*

Die Namen mit dem Artikel *a* sind für das männliche, die mit dem Artikel *ka* sind für das weibliche Geschlecht.

Die Gebräuche der Namengebung sind nicht überall die gleichen. Es wird berichtet[1], daß bei solchen Gelegenheiten auch ein Bananenblatt mit gestoßener Gelbwurz und fünf getrockneten Fischen beteiligestellt werden. Ein älterer Mann, der die Namengebung (*kaba jer khun*) vorsteht, legt ein Bananenblatt auf den Boden und besprengt es mit Wasser. Er nimmt die Kürbisflasche in die Hand und ruft eine Gottheit zum Zeugnis an. Die Versammelten nennen ihm dann eine Menge Namen, die der Opternde zu wiederholen hat. Während er die Namen ausspricht, gießt er von der Kürbisflasche Reisbranntwein auf den Boden. Der Name nun, der mit dem letzten Tropfen aus der Kürbisflasche zusammenfällt, ist der Name des Kindes.

„Oder man läßt zwei Bambusstäbchen (*igrd*) zu Boden fallen. Wenn diese so liegen bleiben, daß sie ein Kreuz bilden, dann wird der unterdessen ausgesprochene Name beibehalten. Sonst wird so lange fortgemacht, bis eben die gewünschte Lage der Stäbchen eintritt. Diese Art aber braucht viel Zeit und Mühe, da es manchmal lange dauert, bis die Bambusstäbchen gekreuzt zu liegen kommen. Mr. Jowens berichtet, daß ihm von einem Khasi gesagt

[1] Gurdon, „The Khasis", S. 126—127.

wurde, daß bei dieser Art der Namengebung mancherlei Unfug und Betrug vorkomme, da man Zeit und Mühe sparen wolle."

„Die getrockneten Fische werden an den beiden Enden gehalten und so in zwei Teile zerrissen. Endlich streicht man die mit Wasser vermischte Gelbwurz an den rechten Fuß des Vaters, der Mutter und des Kindes."

Bei den Synteng wird gleich nach der Geburt eines Kindes geopfert, und zwar: etwas Reismehl, Eier, Gewürz und Blätter. Nachdem das Kind einen Monat alt geworden ist (manchmal wartet man zwei Monate), wird erst die Zeremonie der Namengebung vollzogen. Dieses geschieht, wenn nicht durch eine Schwester der Mutter, so doch durch den ältesten Mann der Sippe. Bei dieser Feier werden dann abermals Opfer gebracht, und zwar zwei Hühner und eine Ziege.

Die Eltern eines neugeborenen Kindes dürfen über keinen Fluß gehen und ihre Kleider nicht waschen, solange die Nabelschnur nicht verheilt ist, da sonst der Berg- oder Flußteufel dem Kinde schaden würde.

Zwillinge gelten für eine Strafe, die jemand aus der Sippe durch irgendeine Übertretung des *sang* verschuldet hat. Sind die Zwillinge verschiedenen Geschlechts, so dürfen später ihre Gebeine nicht im gemeinsamen Familiengrab beigesetzt werden.

2. Opfer bei der Erkrankung eines Familienmitgliedes.

Meistens wird nur bei innerlichen Krankheiten geopfert. Weil sich die Khasi die Entstehung dieser Krankheiten nicht erklären können, sind sie der Ansicht, ein Teufel habe sie verursacht. Er sei über die betreffende Person erzürnt und müsse nun durch Opfer versöhnt werden. Bei äußeren Krankheiten, wie z. B. bei Verwundungen, die sie sich durch Fallen oder Stoßen zugezogen haben, opfern sie nicht, weil ihnen da die Ursache der Krankheit bekannt ist.

Bei (inneren) Krankheiten wird meistens im Hofraum geopfert, wenn nicht ungünstige Witterung sie daran verhindert. Was geopfert werden soll, bestimmt nur der Opferpriester *(lyngdoh)*. Ist die Krankheit nicht bedeutend, so werden Eier geopfert[1]. Der Opferpriester nimmt eine ziemlich große Schüssel *(ka pilang kynthei)*, auf welche er Gitter von Bambusstäbchen legt. Nun nimmt er ein Ei, liebkost es, nennt es Göttin *(ka blei)*, besprengt es mit Reis und bestreicht es mit rotem Lehm. Dann wirft er es mit Gewalt auf das Bambusgitter. Das Innere des Eies rinnt durch das Gitter in die Schüssel. Ein Ei nach dem anderen kommt an die Reihe. Dieses Eiopfer wird jeden Morgen und jeden Abend vorgenommen, und zwar so lange, bis der Kranke gesund wird. Manche opfern früh vor Sonnenaufgang und abends nach Sonnenuntergang.

Ist die Krankheit schlimmer Art, so werden Hühner geopfert. Dies geschieht, indem der Opferpriester dem Hühnchen Reis auf den Kopf streut, dann den Hals des Tieres um den linken Zeigefinger legt und den Kopf des Tieres mit dem linken Daumen niederhält. Mit einem Messer schneidet er dann dem Hühnchen den Hals auf[2]. Bei der gemachten Öffnung zieht nun

[1] Siehe oben, Eierwurfen.

[2] Siehe Tafel II, Bild 2: Hühneropfer bei den Khasi.

der Opfrer die Bronchien heraus, und je nach der Lage derselben, urteilt er, ob der Kranke wieder gesund wird oder nicht[1].

Wird die Krankheit noch schlimmer und ist der Tod zu befürchten, so werden die klügsten und erfahrensten Opferpriester gerufen. Von diesen werden dann Ziegen und Schweine, und wenn der Kranke zu den Wohlhabenden gehört, auch Kühe geopfert[2]. Sämtliche Verwandte nehmen mit dem Opferpriester am Opfermahle teil.

Führt die Krankheit zum sicheren Tode, so wird so lange geopfert, bis kein Lebenszeichen mehr vorhanden ist. So opferte der Vater eines kleinen Knaben in Umpling, der selbst Opferpriester war, den ganzen Tag über die erhabensten Hühner, bis am Abend der Knabe durch Stillwerden starb.

Bei den Syntreng werden nur Reis, Eier, Hühner, Schweine und Hirsche, aber keine Kühe geopfert. Zwar dürfen manche Sippen auch Kuhfleisch essen, doch gebührt dies zu den Ausnahmen. Von den Opfertieren erhalten die Götter (bew. Teufel) nur etwas Blut, etwas vom Herzen und die Eingeweide, das Übrige wird von den Anwesenden gegessen.

3. Opfer und Zeremonien bei einem Todesfall.

Unterbrochen — bis zum Eintritt des Todes — werden bei einem Sterbenden Opfer dargebracht. Ob der Tod eingetreten ist, wird durch Aufrufen des Namens festgestellt. Wird kein Lebenszeichen mehr beobachtet, so beginnt ein Heulen und ein Wehklagen, um die Trauer zu bekunden. Trauer sind zuerst selten.

Der Tote wird gebadet und gewaschen (*pynsaw-pynshi*), in seine Kleider gehüllt und ehrfurchtsvoll auf eine Bambusmatte gelegt. Hierbei zeigt man den Glaubensbrüdern besondere Aufmerksamkeit; denn die Hände und Füße werden vollständig ausgestreckt (*pynhdit ki ïpuí ki kdi*) und gerade hingelegt (*pynthiah ïwit*). Um die Trauer zu bezeugen, wendet man dem Toten den Turban nicht von rechts nach links, wie gewöhnlich, sondern umgekehrt. Im Gebiete von Lamin steckt man nun zwischen Turban und Stirne Bambusse, die in ein Pfefferblatt gehüllt sind. Und zwar werden diese Bambusse der Reihe nach hineingesteckt, so daß es aussieht wie ein Kranz oder eine Krone. Zu Häupten des Toten stellt man jeden Morgen und jeden Abend, so lange sich der Leichnam im Hause befindet, gekochten Reis und gebrochene Fladen. Dieses nennt man *ai ka ja mint ja ship* (Morgen- und Abendessen) geben.

Wie lange der Tote in der Hütte bleibt, ist je nach den Sippen verschieden. Manche werden schon am Tage nach dem Hinscheiden verbrannt, während andere mehrere Tage, aber stets eine ungerade Zahl von Tagen, in der Hütte liegen. Zu den Speisen wird noch eine Beimischung mit Pfefferblatt und Kalk gelegt, sowie ein Bambusbecher mit Wasser gestellt. Zum Schlusse legt man auf den Bauch des Toten (in der Gegend des Magens) den „Beutel"* (*ka ïeng ïpoh*). Dieses ist der Beginn der eigentlichen Opfer.

Der Opfrer zündet einen Hahn, streut ihm Reis auf den Kopf, hält ihn bereit zum Töten und spricht dabei:

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* Siehe Halbmaßen, der jüngstens opfer.
* Siehe einen Beutel dazu.

„Ze engere met de tong a broad (yard) o breed uitgedeeld, ze ka gat bi ka engt ka ze ze wel tegoen lage ro ka kleine ka dinker ze ka pone ka (yard) ka ower ze pone ka breeng ka kilyindre, ze kyoned engere ka, ka more bill ze ka wall, ze ka bell ka fjerk ze ka breed ka kiaap o ner o ma neidrioc ka fasder ner?"

„Hört, o ihr Wagelustern, ihr Pfuderinnen, die nun der Tag und die Stunde gekommen ist, und ich euch mehr sowohl gekommen bin mit Cyler und Gewichi, so haben euch, ewchlagen die Cyrol und die Zinn, und haben euch ewchlagen die Hinnol und die Eulb, und ewcmeie Cotrotes, hier dem, ewl„fall die ortent in Frieden, Recht und Gewichtigkeit des Bandes die Jag Pawilin) in Frieden und Einvernehmen mit dem Chiel und dem Verbrec, Urnelo willen, o Centro dwelel, ruiep gale?"

Wenn nun nun zu den Cylinder nur gute Stücke verwendet worden dürfen, so ist es in dieserlei Falle gleich, ob der Faden ze ter *broad (yard)* ein schlechtes Exemplar ist oder nicht. Es wird einfach der nächste beste genommen.

Wird der Ton „*ner*" verlangt, d. h. sind die Angehörigen des Tolen nicht in der Lage, größere Spanne zu zahlen, so wird nur dieser Faden und eine Handvoll Bim gegeben.

Wird der Ton „*mich*" verlangt, d. h. sind die Angehörigen in der Lage, die gewöhnlichen Zeremonien unter den natürlichen Cylinder zu benutzen, so wird ein Schwein gegeben, und jeder der spezielen Verwandten und eine Handvoll Bim begeben, die ebenfalls gleich gegeben wird.

Nun werden verschiedene Cylin dargebracht, je nachdem der Ton auf einer aus Stein gemeißelten Unterlage, wie es bei den ganz Reichen der Fall ist, oder in einer Art Sarg (*Hyngend*) verlangt werden soll. In einem Falle wird ein Stier (*Chiles*), im anderen Falle ein Schwein (*a wang Hyngend*) gegeben. Dem Stier (*a mant gyland*) werden die Hörner vergoldet oder versilbert. Hierauf sucht man den ner mit Gold- bzw. Silbergegen. Dann wird der Ton, nachdem er mit Bim bestreut und mit Wasser besprengt worde (*ind-eng*), fortgeleitet. Jeder, der es erfährt, kann es letzteres sehen. Sobald der Stier fortgeleitet ist, sucht man die *mandoneng*. Mit man auf dem Verbrennungsplatz Begleitungen mit weißen Leinwandstücken, um wieder zu Fahnen, gefrischen, wer nur bei den ganz Wohlhabenden geschehen darf, so wird gilt ein Faden (*a 'ner bell*) gegeben.

Da ab Verbrennungsplatz nicht gearbeiten werden darf, müssen alle Vorbereitungen dazu, wie das Holen des Holzes aus dem Walde (*Tow dyndeng*), das Herrichten des Scheiterhaufens, das Besorgen der nötigen Cylinderes und sonstigen Cylingelnen zum bestellt werden.

4. Die Leichenverbrennung (*Ser Jingdeng*).

Die Klaat verbrennen den Totem. Bei dem Verbrennungsvorgang kann man verschiedene Klassen oder Zwei unterscheiden, sowohl nach dem Totem,

das gebraucht wird, oder nach dem Kawhéik (Leichengarten) oder Aufbau über dem Totem), der hergestellt wird.

Die Verbrennungsarten nach dem Holzunterschiede sind:

1. Die Verbrennung, wobei nur unbearbeitetes Holz, so wie es gefunden wird, ohne jegliche Zubereitung, Verwendung findet. Diese Art der Verbrennung findet nur bei den ganz Armen statt (*ishi dak ok*), und die betreffenden hergestellte nicht haben. Bei dieser Verbrennung finden keine Opfer statt (*khlaw dykkuu*).
2. Die Verbrennung, wobei das verwendete Holz mit dem Messer (*ka ward*) zubereitet wird. Hier wird eine Handvoll Reis von den Angehörigen gemessen (*ka pynkhaw ka pynwarb*), und ein Opfer dargebracht, „*ka Ditch and ka Skentiche*".
3. Die Verbrennung, wobei das gebrauchte Holz sinnreich wie Bretter verbrauscht wird (*ka lyndong*). Bei dieser Klasse wird die Trommel (*ka kang*) und die Pfeife (*ka duli*) gestimmen, werden Pfeifenrohrchen (*ka nalei*) und das Rohr (*ka man*, d. h. eine Kanone) eingeführt, werden Opfer dargebracht, „*ka Ditch and ka Skentiche (a dykkat a lawjang)*", wird ein Ochse (*a wasi*) und ein Schwein (*a wasing*) geopfert. Hierbei wird auch noch der Schwertanz (*shad wasi*) aufgeführt.*

Die Verbrennungsarten nach dem Aufbauunterschiede sind:

1. *Thang synkhuid* ist jene Verbrennungsart, bei der keinerlei Kawhéik (*kulhaw*) verwendet wird. Der Tote kommt in diesem Falle auf eine Art Bambusgitter zu liegen.
2. *Thang lynghkaw* ist jene Verbrennungsform, bei der ein Kawhéik aufgerichtet wird. Der Tote kommt in eine Art Sarg aus Latten, Bambus und Stroh. Dieser Sarg wird innerlich mit reinen Tuch, und es werden Verzierungen aus Silberfolien angebracht. Über dem Leichnam, den man nicht sieht, wird ein Aufbau von Blumenbüchen und Figuren errichtet. Ferner macht man einen Pfau aus Holz, der mit Papier verkleidet wird. Den Gesang wird mit Papierblumen künstlichst geschmückt. Der Aufbau ist über dem Haupte des Verstorbenen. Bei dieser Verbrennung wird Pfeifengeld (*ishei*) an die Leute verteilt.
3. *Thang shem* ist jene Verbrennungsart, wobei der Aufwand noch weitergeht. Außer dem oben genannten Aufbau über dem Leichnam wird hier noch über dem Schulterhaufen ein Baldachin auf vier hohen Bambusstangen errichtet, der auch nach der Verbrennung stehen bleibt. Der Baldachin wird mit farbigem Tuch oder Papier hergestellt. Auf diese hin werden nun die ganze Verwandtschaft und die Bekannten verbrannt.

Das Holz für die Verbrennungen wird stets aus einem heiligen Wald (*Iaw Kynding*) genommen. Es wird aber auch von den Hütte trockenes Holz entgegengenommen, in den Fällen, aus dem *Iaw Kynding* gefällte Holz nicht selbst benutzt werden kann. Dieses wird auf dem Verbrennungsplatz nicht auf das Feuer angezündet, sondern man nimmt den Feuerbrand aus der Hütte mit.

* Diese Zeremonien dürfte nicht aus dem Tale herstammen und von dort eingeführt worden sein.

Erst wenn alle Verwandten zusammengekommen und die Vorbereitungen für die Verbrennung beendet sind — denn am Verbrennungstage darf nicht gearbeitet werden —, wird der Tote auf den Verbrennungsplatz getragen. Er wird beisetzt auf eine Bambusbahre *(ha krung)* gelegt. An den vier Enden der Bahre, manchmal auch noch in der Mitte der Längsseiten, so daß es elf sind, werden Bambusstäbe in die Höhe gerichtet und ein weißes Tuch in denselben rund um den Genze befestigt oder kreuzweise — je nachdem es der Leichnam einer Frau oder eines Mannes ist. Den Männern werden ihre Waffen: Schild, Bogen, Pfeile und das Messer *(wat)*, den Frauen ihr Schmuck angelegt. Alles dieses wird aber nicht verbrannt, sondern vor dem Bringen des Feuers weggenommen, mit Ausnahme des weißen oder seidenen Tuches, das an den oberen Enden der Bambusstangen befestigt ist. Hat der Leichnam Geld auf Speise erhalten, so wird ein Opfer dargebracht, gewöhnlich eine Ziege. Ärmere Leute geben etwas Branntwein auf den Boden.

Nun bewegt sich der Leichenzug auf den Verbrennungsplatz. Dieser ist für jedes Dorf bestimmt und befindet sich gewöhnlich an Abhängen in der Nähe von Eisenwäldern[1]. Wie schon während der Nacht, als der Tote noch im Hause lag, so werden auch jetzt Flintenschüsse abgefeuert, und wenn es sich um Reiche handelt, Papierkuchen abgeworfen. Auf dem Wege werden Kupfermünzen an das Volk verteilt. Es ertönt der Trommel, der ewig eintönige Schlag auf die große Trommel und die melancholische Pfeife der Flöte *(khuen)*. Unter großem Geleit der Leidtragenden, worunter sich die Frauen der Verwandten des Toten besonders hervortun, ist man endlich am Verbrennungsplatz, der erst an vorem Nachmittag eingerichtet wird, angelangt.

Hier wird zuerst eine *Ziege (a lung mankjet)* geopfert. Dann wird der Tote mit dem Kopfe nach Westen und mit den Füßen nach Osten auf den bereits gemachten Scheiterhaufen gebettet. Nun wird ein Huhn geopfert, den sie *lar gnykhung* nennen. Bei dem Vorgehen wird noch ein Ziegenbock geschlachtet, der *a lung nai kaud* oder „der Ziegenbock", der den Teufel abwehrt" genannt wird. Der Sinn dieses ist: der Ziegenbock ist gleichsam der „Sündenbock", der die Sünden des Verstorbenen auf sich nimmt.

Bei Armen genügt bei jenen, die nur unbehauenes Holz, als auch bei jenen, die nur das mit dem *la wat* behauenen Holz gebrauchen, findet beim Leichenzuge statt.

Jetzt legen die nächsten Verwandten Feuer an, und nach denen die Kinder des Toten, wenn solche vorhanden sind. Hat Jemand den Tuch an den vieren Enden der Bambusstangen auf, und es fängt an zu brennen. Auch die wenigen Kleider des Toten sind bald in Flammen eingegangen, und nun beginnt die eigentliche Verbrennung der Leiche.

Ist das Feuer des Holzstoßes angezündet, so wird zuerst ein Huhn *a lar pulat* geopfert. Dieses Huhn wird dreimal über den Scheiterhaufen gewendet, wie man ein Kleidstück schwenkt, und sein Blut wird dreimal an den Scheiterhaufen gespritzt. Darauffin wird am Kopfende des Scheiterhaufens ein „Bauch-Ei" *(lung kyuk)* vergraben. Nun werden drei Pfeile *(mun tyke*

[1] Auf Tafel 8, Bild 2: Verbrennungsplatz der Khai [illegible]

pawi nach drei Seiten mit der Hand geworfen, so weit man kann. Der eine nach Osten, der andere nach Süden und der dritte nach Norden. Aber ja nicht nach Westen. Denn dort im Westen geht's ja ins Unendliche nach der Ansicht der Khasi, dorthin gehen die Seelen der Verstorbenen, dort liegt die Ewigkeit[1]

Währenddessen sind andere ganz mit dem Schmoren des Leichnams beschäftigt. Bald ergießen sich die Eingeweide in die Glut, worauf dieselben heftig zu zischen beginnen. Ein abscheulicher Geruch strömt aus den prasselnden Eingeweiden. Die durch das Feuer in der Hirnschale sich entwickelnden Dämpfe verursachen nun eine heftige Explosion der Hirnschädelknochen, die ganz wie ein Flintenschuß anhört. Nachdem der Holzstoß niedergebrannt ist und der gelblich grüne Rauch sich verzogen hat, sieht man in der bläulichen Glut immer noch die Umrisse des schwarzen, dampfenden und schmorenden Leichnams. Nun stechen die von Reisbranntwein bereits stark angetrunkenen Männer mit Bambusstangen darin herum, gießen Schnaps und Öl hinein, worauf die Flammen wieder lichterloh emporschlagen. In Laskin sah ich bei einer Verbrennung, wie als Letztes das Herz noch übrig war, das ganz unter dem traurigen Betragen der Leichenverbrenner noch eigens verbrannt wurde. Die widerliche Szene der Leichenverbrennung könnte ohne den übermäßigen Genuß von Alkohol gar nicht zustandekommen. Zum Schlusse wird an Ort und Stelle eine Ziege geopfert (*u 'long Jikrlai*), und die Verwandten nehmen Abschied, indem sie Bestimmt mit den Worten: *Mudiki Mie ieit bam kwai ka ing a kai* (Behüte dich Gott, gehe und ißt Beteinuß im Hause Gottes!) auf den niedergebrannten Scheiterhaufen legen.

In einigen Orten ist es Sitte, daß sich vor der Leichenverbrennung ein Mann mit Schnaps betrinkt, welcher sodann den Teufel vorstellen soll und allerhand Possen treibt.

Wenn der Leichnam verbrannt ist, dann sammelt man die Überreste der nicht ganz verbrannten Knochen[2]. Diese werden gewaschen und in ein Leinwandtüchlein gehüllt und sodann in eine Urne (Topf) gebracht. Während dies eine Frau besorgt, streut ein Mann Reis auf die Erde und beschwört den Geist des Verstorbenen, seine auf der Welt zurückgebliebenen Angehörigen ja nicht zu stören, da alles bei der Verbrennung richtig gemacht worden sei. Ist diese Beschwörung beendet, so wird die Urne mit den Knochenresten unter den Leichenstein (*mawi shyiang*) gestellt. Die Überreste der Armen kommen ohne Urne gleich unter den Leichenstein. Zur Urne wird auch der Opferreis (*ka jyrkha*) als Nahrung für den Verstorbenen gelegt (siehe den nächsten Abschnitt).

Am siebenten Tage rechnen sie in der Frühe die Auslagen zusammen, die sie hatten. Es werden vom *a kni a kpa* (dem Onkel mütterlicher Seite) Ansprüchen an die verstorbenen Kinder und Enkel gehalten. Dieser *a kni a kpa*

[1] Wenn die Khasi jemand weit weg haben wollten, sagten sie: [illegible] ist nur ein [illegible] *ka ing ka ingi shaba* soll a Kni, d. h. gehe hin, wo die Sonne untergeht, und der Mond aufgeht (Gehe hin, wo der Pfeiler steht!)

[2] Siehe Tafel II, Bild 1: Das Sammeln der Überreste und der nicht verbrannten Knochen und der Asche bei den Khasi.

ist der Priester und Richter der Sippe bisher gewesen. Nun ruhen drei Tage lang alle Geschäfte. Am dritten Tage aber würfeln sie (losen sie — *bad pylleng*) mit zwei Eiern, wer in Zukunft der Führer der Sippe dieses Verstorbenen sein soll, damit man weiß, an wen man sich zu wenden habe, wenn Opfer zu bringen oder Zwistigkeiten zu schlichten wären. Dabei spricht der bisherige *u kni u kpa* in bezug auf den Verstorbenen:

„Hei ap ia ka nia ka jalang yuda ia lum ia kynskew ia u kar u para u khan ka mainah ka mainan ym ia tai ia ka khein ka bi shar ym na lang ka ai bum ka ai ia ia ne ka kynrong ka kynlaw ka pynkkiah ka pynnang. dik ia ka kind ia ka sim ma!

Hei ungew synghat ma phi ka hini ka lashei ka nongiam nongkynshew shi ikrum ka mane ka nar ma!"

„So achte auf die Worte der Verheißung! Nachdem versammelt sind die Verwandten und Brüder und Schwestern der Schwiegermutter und Tanten, werden wir unser Wort sieben und unsere Opfer und Gerichte, und dann werden sein: Dich zu verpflegen und zu ernähren und Gebeine übertragen und dich pflegen in Krankheit und dich gesund machen. So wollen wir den Sibnaga und das Wasser trinken, nicht wahr?!

So höre denn, o Göttin, du *Jaslei*, die du uns versammelt hast Kind und Kugel[1], die ganze Sippe und Stein und Eisen, nicht wahr?"

Wie bei den Opfern verschiedene Gebräuche sind, so sind auch die Zeremonien bei der Verbrennung verschieden. Es wird berichtet[2], daß am Tage der Verbrennung von den Verwandten und Freunden des Toten Schweine geschlachtet werden. Jene, welche es nicht vermögen, Schweine zu opfern, bringen Sibnaga, wovon sie etwas auf den Scheiterhaufen gießen. Der Sarg wird auf eine Bambusbahre gehoben und etwas Geld neben den Leichnam gelegt, so daß der Geist des Verstorbenen sich auf der Reise Speise kaufen kann. Baumwollene oder (bei Reichen) seidene Tücher werden um den Sarg gewunden, und zwar kreuzweise, wenn der Verstorbene ein Mann ist, in Form eines Rechteckes, wenn die Verstorbene eine Frau ist. Bevor die Bahre gehoben wird, wirft man eine Handvoll Reis und etwas Wasser aus einem Krug vor die Türe hinaus und opfert eine Ziege. Dies sind Reinigungszeremonien. Die Leichenprozession wird nun zusammengestellt und geht langsam zum Weg unter vieler Musikbegleitung. Bei Reichen wird in Zwischenräumen mit Flinten geschossen. Auch werden Kopfschmuck auf den Weg gestreut. Bei der Annäherung an den Scheiterhaufen wird der Leichnam zur Schau gestellt, und die Fleischstücke der geopferten Tiere, welche bei dem Leichnam lagen, werden fortgeworfen. Dann richtet man her: drei gebratene Brote, ein Ei, die unteren Kinnbacken der Tiere, welche geopfert wurden, den linken

[1] Das Wissen ist ein konzentrierter Spiritismus, das verschiedentlich auch Reichtum gewinnt wird. Der letzte Satz hat den Sinn einer Beschwörung und einen Schwur.

[2] Die Skizzen an sagenhaft der Hohlmann, der Platz unter dem Haus.

[3] Gurdon, „The Khasis", S. 100.

Fuß des Hahnes *(a 'iar kraď lyntí)*, einen Krug Wasser, Lebensmittel in einer Schale und drei Pfeile. Nun wird eine Ziege geopfert. Der Leichnam wird in den Sarg hineingelegt, wenn ein solcher gebraucht wird, und dann auf den Holzstoß gehoben, und zwar mit dem Kopfe nach Westen und mit den Füßen nach Osten. Rund um den Leichnam werden nun Holzstücke gelegt und das Ei („Bauch-Ei") wird zerbrochen, aber nicht, wie vielfach gemeint wird, über dem Magen des Verstorbenen, sondern es wird in der Richtung der Füße an den Holzstoß hingeworfen. Nun wird das Feuer durch die *kur* oder Mitglieder der Clans und dann durch die Kinder, wenn solche da sind, angezündet. Ein anderer Hahn *(a 'iar pudaj)* wird geopfert, dessen Blut dreimal an den Holzstoß geschmiert und der dreimal über dem Holzstoß geschwungen wird. Nachdem die Kleider weggetan wurden, wird die Bahre in Stücke geschlagen. Die Eßwaren und die Kimbacken werden nun zu Häupten des Toten gelegt. Nach der Opferung des Hahnes werden die drei Pfeile von einem Bogen abgeschossen, einer nach Norden, einer nach Süden und einer nach Osten. Diese Pfeile nennt man die *'nam tympew*. Es ist vielleicht bemerkenswert, daß die Zahl der Pfeile, die man beim Verbrennen abschießt, mit der Zahl der Pfeile, die man bei der Namengebung gebraucht, übereinstimmt. Sobald das Feuer brennt, wird eine andere Ziege geopfert *(lang dhalia)*. In einigen Fällen werden mit dem Toten alle Kleider mitverbrannt, in anderen Fällen werden die Kleider nur über das Feuer gehalten und dann weggelegt zum weiteren Gebrauch (was aber nur bei den Armen der Fall ist). Bevor die Verwandten und Freunde den Verbrennungsplatz verlassen, stellen sie Reisbrei an den Holzstoß und sagen Lebewohl zum Toten mit den Worten: „*Khaddei*, geht und ist Reisbrei im Hause Gottes." (Soweit Gurdon.)

3. Beisetzung der Gebeine.

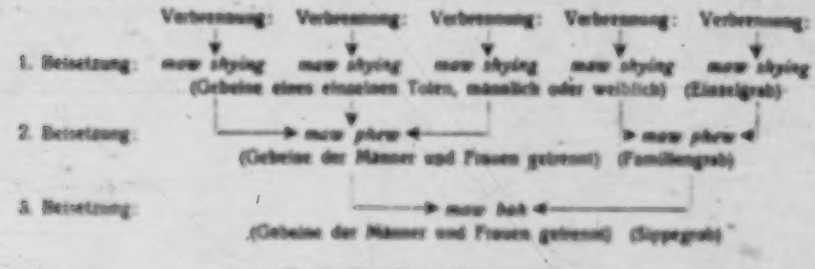
Es gibt eine dreifache Beisetzung der Gebeine, resp. der Überreste der nicht verbrannten Knochenteile und der Asche. Diese Beisetzungen sind aber nicht eine Art Klassen für die Reichen, Wohlhabenden oder Armen, wie bei der Verbrennung, sondern alle Gebeine der Verstorbenen werden dreimal an verschiedenen Orten beigesetzt. Der Beisetzungsritus ist bei der ersten und bei der zweiten Beisetzung im wesentlichen der gleiche. Der Ritus der dritten ist bedeutend feierlicher.

Die erste Beisetzung geschieht sofort nach der jeweiligen Verbrennung in der Nähe des Verbrennungsplatzes in das *mawsiyang*, dem Orte der vorläufigen Aufbewahrung.

Die zweite Beisetzung geschieht später, indem die Gebeine vom *mawsiyang* in das *mawphew* übertragen werden. *Mawphew* sind Aufbewahrungsorte für die Asche der Mitglieder eines engeren Familienkreises, hier werden die Gebeine der männlichen wie die Gebeine der weiblichen Verwandten getrennt von einander aufbewahrt.

Die dritte Beisetzung endlich geschieht in ganz feierlicher Weise, indem von den verschiedenen *mawphew* die Gebeine in das allgemeine Grab der ganzen Sippe *mawlah* übertragen werden.

Schematische Darstellung der Übertragung der Gebeine einer Sippe:



a) Erstes Begräbnis (*maw shying*).

Sobald die Verbrennung vorüber ist, sammeln sich die Teilnehmer zu einer Prozession, wobei sie die Asche bzw. die Gebeine zum *maw shying* bringen. Voraus eilt ein Mann, der Blätter (*diing shit* – heißes Holz) abwechselnd mit Reiskörnern auf den Weg streut. Dann folgt die Frau, welche die Gebeine trägt. Sie ist festlich gekleidet und hat eine Art Velum, wie die katholischen Priester ein solches zum Tragen der Monstranz benützen, um die Schultern. Ich sah in einem Dorfe südlich von Lamin bei einer solchen Gelegenheit ein Velum, das tief rot und mit Goldborten und Goldfransen verziert war. Während nun die nachfolgenden Verwandten gehen und sprechen dürfen, wie sie wollen, ist die mit dem Velum bekleidete Frau, welche die in weißes Linnen gehüllten Gebeine ehrfurchtsvoll auf der Brust trägt, verpflichtet, zu schweigen und weder nach rechts, noch nach links auszubiegen, sondern sie muß geraden Wegs zum *maw shing* gehen, soweit dies möglich ist.

Am Platze angekommen, wird zuerst ein Hahn geopfert, welchen man den „Wegweiser zum Himmel" (*u 'iar kraid lyuti*) nennt, weil er den Geist des Verstorbenen ins Jenseits geleiten soll. Nachher werden vom Opferpriester (*nongkniu*) drei Reisbrote, ein Ei und Branntwein geopfert, damit die Asche hier gut ruhen möge. Die Gebeine werden, nachdem sie neuerdings gewaschen worden, in einen irdenen Topf (Urne) gelegt, und dieser mit einem weißen Leinwandläppchen zugebunden. Die drei Brote werden nun mit dem Ei und dem linken Fuße des vorher geopferten Hahnes neben den Topf in die bereitete Gruft (wenn man das Loch so nennen kann) gelegt und dieselbe mit einem Steine verschlossen. Obendrauf kommt Betelnuß, Pfefferblatt und Kalk.

b) Zweites Begräbnis (*maw phew*).

Nach einiger Zeit werden die Gebeine der einzelnen *maw shying* genommen, aber die Gebeine der Männer und die Gebeine der Frauen werden getrennt aufbewahrt und getragen. In ähnlicher Weise wie oben geschieht nun die Übertragung ins *maw phew*. Dort werden die Gebeine wiederum getrennt in den vorbereiteten Ort hineingelegt und die gewöhnlichen Opfer des Hahnes, des Ayu und des Schnapses, gebracht.

c) Drittes Begräbnis (*maw bah*).

Die kultische Übertragung der Gebeine aus den verschiedenen *maw phew* ins allgemeine Sippengrab *maw bah* ist wohl die wichtigste aller Zere-

monien, welche die Khasi haben. Denn hier ist nicht bloß die genaue und ordentliche Erfüllung jeglicher, auch der kleinsten Zeremonien und Gebräuche vorgeschrieben, sondern hier ist sogar eine seelische oder geistige Vorbereitung nötig, die sonst bei den Khasi in keiner Weise vorkommt oder verlangt wird. Diese seelische oder geistige Vorbereitung besteht darin, daß alle Mitglieder der ganzen Sippe unter sich in Frieden leben müssen, da sonst die feierliche Übertragung der Gebeine nicht stattfinden darf.

Sind alle Zwistigkeiten und Reibereien geschlichtet, so wird dies peinlichst genau festgestellt, und ein Opferer, der der Sippe entnommen wird, frägt durch Eierwerfen und ein Hähneropfer an, welcher Tag wohl geeignet wäre für den festlichen Akt. Ist der Tag auf diese Weise gefunden, so kommen alle Verwandten der Verstorbenen im Hause der Stammutter *(ling seng)* zusammen: die Kinder und die Geschwister, die Neffen und Nichten *(shi kur shi paru ryngkat u khun ka meinah meisan barok)*, die Großonkel und die Kleinonkel *(u nie-bak u nierit)*. Stehend rufen sie die Göttin an, welche die Mitglieder der ganzen Sippe erschaffen hat, und sagen:

„Kiamno? hukum phi ha biri thaw hynriew buk hynriew ha ngan ieng ha lum ka hyn shew ha thep ha tian ia u suidiap u nongiap u lor u kap barok na tynrai ka lingseng lingkhaddak?"

„Wie willst du, o Göttin, daß ich stehe (vor dir, vor deinem Angesichte), zu sammeln das Erworbene, das Aufgespeicherte, die Geister der Verstorbenen, die Obern der Familie und die alten Familienhäupter der Verstorbenen aus diesem Stammhause?"

Wenn nun die Göttin es genehmigt, dann sammeln sie die Opfergaben und Opfergelder (die manchmal in die Tausende von Rupien gehen), um sie für die Festlichkeit zu verwenden.

Zwei Frauen gehen dann zu den verschiedenen *maw pkew* und holen ehrfürchtig die dort untergebrachten Gebeine. Die eine Frau trägt die Gebeine der männlichen Verstorbenen, die andere die der weiblichen Verstorbenen, und beide bringen sie in das Haus der Stammutter, wo sie feierlich hingestellt und mit Blumen und schönen Tüchern verziert werden. Nun erhalten die Geister der Verstorbenen Nahrung *(ai bam)*, indem ein Schwein, ein Huhn und ein Stier geopfert werden. Für eine spätere Verteilung an die Teilnehmer werden die besten Stücke dieser Tiere in einem Korbe im Hause aufbewahrt. Das übrige wird geopfert.

Nun wird gefeiert[1]. Dieser Zeremonienlauz zu Ehren der Verstorbenen dauert entweder drei oder fünf oder neun Tage, ganz wie man es für gut findet (und wie weit eben die gesammelten Gelder reichen). Ein Platz vor dem Hause wird festlich hergerichtet und als Tanzplatz *(lymphung)* benützt. Musik spielt und Schnaps wird verteilt.

An dem Tage nun, an dem sie beabsichtigen, die Gebeine zu übertragen, werden die Trommeln *(ka kiing)* und die Pauken *(ka nakra)* geschlagen,

[1] Siehe Tafel III, Bild 2: *Zeremonienlauz zu Ehren der Verstorbenen.*

die Flöten *(ka sharati)* geblasen, Flinten *(suloi)* und Böller *(ka man)* abgeschossen. Man verfertigt aus Bambus eine Ahnenpuppe, die entweder die Urgroßmutter (die *Jaubei* der Sippe) oder auch den Urgroßonkel *(suidnia)* vorstellen soll. Mit dieser Ahnenpuppe *(u tyngshop)* ziehen sie zu den *mawniam mawrukom* (den Zeremoniensteinen, Ahnensteinen[1]). Während die einen tanzen, errichten andere am Wege zu den *maw bah* „Ruhesteine" oder „Fußsteine" oder „Wegsteine" *(maw kjat* oder *maw lynti)* für die Geister der Verstorbenen, wo sie sich auf dem Wege zum allgemeinen Grab ausruhen können. Diese Steine sind ungefähr einen Meter hoch und stehen zu je drei in einer Reihe. Vor denselben wird auf vier kleinen Steinen gleichsam als Unterlage oder Füße (*maw kjat*, d. h. Steinfuß) ein flacher Stein wie eine Tischplatte hingelegt[2].

Am Tage nun, an dem der Tanz zu Ende ist, veranstalten sie *ka pyngrei*, d. h. ein Hochzeitsfest der Geister der Verstorbenen, die in ihrem Jünglingsalter (erwachsen, aber unverheiratet oder kinderlos) gestorben sind. Sie wählen dazu zwei arme, alte Leute von kleiner Statur, welche sie dafür bezahlen: einen Mann und eine Frau. Der Mann ist der Bräutigam der verstorbenen Jungfrau, das alte Weib die Braut des verstorbenen Jünglings. Sie lassen sich die zwei um den Geisterreis raufen *(ki pynlaknieh bam ka ju snaiap)* und lassen sie über den Reismörser *(thlong)* und den Mörserstößel *(synrei)* springen. Dann wirft man Pfeile so weit als möglich, welche die beiden erhaschen sollen. Dieses Fangspiel bedeutet die Vertreibung der Dämonen, welche den *maw bah* umgeben und den Zutritt zum Steine verwehren wollen. Dann streut man Saatreis *(u kaw rawai)* auf den Weg vom Hause bis zum Ende des Dorfes. Die zwei Leutchen müssen nun mit Stöcken *(da ki diengdah)* laufen und den Reis dreschen oder schlagen, und dies geschieht dreimal hintereinander.

Wenn es nun heller Tag geworden ist, so nimmt man von den Verwandten je eine Handvoll Reis, sowie die Beisteuer zur Bestreitung der Kosten für die ganze Feierlichkeit. Dann holt man einen „Altarbock" *(u' lang dawan)*, um ihn auf den Dorfaltar *(ha ka dawan ka shnong ka mulah)* zu köpfen. Nun belustigt man sich mit Trommeln und Fahnen *(ka king ka lama)*. Die Kinder und Kindeskinder setzen sich zusammen und begrüßen sich feierlich, besonders den „Vetter" *(u kha pha)*. Hierauf wird ein Schildtanz *(mastieh)*[3] abgehalten, und zwar macht man dabei drei Runden. Nun wird ein Ziegenbock geschlachtet und alle Tänzer mit den Schilden verneigen sich dreimal vor dem „Vetter" *(u kha kpu)*. So macht es auch jeder der Söhne des Stammhauses.

Jetzt erheben sich alle, und man opfert den Sündenbock *u' lang sali kasid*. Man hält einen Waffentanz ab, wobei die Söhne der Reihe nach (nach ihrem Alter) folgen[4] (*skad* wuid, d. h. Waffentanz).

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[1] GURDON, „The Khasis", S. 141, gibt eine andere Schilderung dieser Gebräuche, er sagt: In Cherrapunjee werden zwei Puppen gemacht, genannt *ka pawne* und *u tyngshop*. Die erstere soll die *Jaubei*, die letztere den *suidnia* vorstellen. Diese Puppen halten die Tänzer in den Händen.

[2] Siehe Tafel III, Bild 2: „Fuß- oder Wegsteine" bei den Khasi.

[3] Siehe Tafel IV, Bild 1: Khasi-Männer, bereit zum Schildtanz.

[4] Siehe Tafel IV, Bild 2: Waffentanz der Khasi beim dritten Begräbnis.

Ist der Waffentanz beendet, so geht man prozessionsweise (wie oben bei *maw shying*) zu den *maw kjat* oder *maw lynti*. Hier angekommen, schlachtet jeder der Söhne einen Ziegenbock, indem er den Kopf des Tieres mit einem Schlag vom Rumpfe trennt. Es findet das gewöhnliche Opfer statt. Meistens aber werden nicht so viele Ziegenböcke geschlachtet (da das Geld nicht reicht), sondern nur einer, der dann *u' lang maw lynti* genannt wird. Hier endet das Geleite oder die Begleitschaft der Söhne *(hangne la kut ka jingleit on lynti ki khun kha)*.

Die Übrigen ziehen weiter zu den *maw bah*. Dort angekommen, öffnen sie die Türe (den Verschluß des Behälters für die Gebeine). Ein Mann, der dafür bezahlt wird, kräht dreimal, um den Geisterbahn *iar iap* vorzustellen. Dies geschieht vordem Steine. Dann werden alle Geister aufgeweckt *(kyrsiew)*, die sich in dem Kohlraum befinden, indem man spricht:

„To khie to kie la wan u khan la wan u ksiew!"

„Steht auf! Steht auf! Es sind gekommen die Kinder, es sind gekommen die Enkel!"

Nun legen sie die Gebeine der Verstorbenen, getrennt nach den Geschlechtern, hinein. Dazu kommen noch die Opfergaben: die Brote und der Kuchen, die sie ausbreiten *(siang)*. Auch Morgen- und Abendreis (d. h. gekochten Reis zum Essen fertig) stellen sie (*thah* — ausgießen) auf den Stein, ebenso Betelnuß und Pfefferblatt wie *ka reng ka ngiah* (die Backenknochen der [geopferten] Tiere). Auch kommt die Beisteuer *(u khrung u khwang)* dazu. Hierauf wird der Stein geschlossen.

Nun schlägt man mit einem Stock *(sympat da ki dieng)* dreimal auf den Stein, was man *tan ding* (dem Feuer entgegenkommen) nennt, wobei man spricht:

„Hei nga tar ding nga tan thah ioh don aba mang aba ihew u tynjuh u pan tien wat leit khik wat leit wein ap la ka khin ka bishar pyllan ho mei, ho iaw, ho nie, ho ma ski khram ka maw ka nar!"

„Siehe, ich komme dem Feuer entgegen, siehe ich gieße aus die Opfergabe[1], damit nicht etwa jemand komme und verletze und versuche, Opfer zu verlangen. Rühr' dich nicht! Sei ruhig! und warte geduldig deine Opferzeit ab! Nicht wahr, Mütterchen, nicht wahr, Schwiegermutter, nicht wahr, Uronkel, nicht wahr, Vetter, nicht wahr, alle ihr Vettern, die ihr da seid unter dem Steine!"

Am nächsten Morgen rechnen sie aus, was alles gekostet hat und verbraucht worden ist. Dann nehmen sie Opferschnaps und sagen (*suif* heißt eigentlich: sie nimmen ihn, präsentieren ihn und halten ihn feierlich hin):

„Hei ko nie o ma ko mei ko iaw ka suidiap ko nongiap ski khram

„Siehe, o Onkel, siehe, o Vetter, siehe, o Mütterchen, siehe, o Groß-

[1] D. h. ich versuche gutmütig die Zeremonien.

ka maw sngew ho la lut la sep katta to nang kyrsoi to nang kyrsih la iaid ka iew ka duwar ka kitnong ka byilla ka khali ka pateng!"

mutter der Verstorbenen, o alle ihr Verstorbenen, die ihr unter diesem Steine seid, höret! So und soviel haben wir verbraucht und ausgegeben, segne und vermehre es! Möge uns beglücken all unser Handel und Wandel, all unser Haushalt, all unser Taglohn, all unsere Geschäfte!"

Dann verteilen sie die Reste der Opfergaben (auch die Stücke Fleisch, die im Korbe aufbewahrt wurden) und verneigen sich und beweinen alle die verstorbenen Vettern und Tanten. Und wenn sie Opferreste verteilt haben, geben sie noch jedem 4 bis 5 Rupies (5 Mark 60 Pfennig bis 7 Mark Friedenswährung) dazu und sagen:

„Shim kein khun to leit long bynriew to leit man byn riew to roi to pa to long spah to man spah wei kamba ngn la kha la long shisha bam don ka sang bam don ka ma a yn sah ka nam yn sah ka rong yn sah ka ummai yn sah ka umpung mo."

„So nimm, mein Sohn, wachse und sei stark, sei glücklich und erfolgreich, es mehre sich dein Reichtum, da ich dich erzeugt habe ohne Schande und Makel, es bleibe dein Ruf und deine Ehre bestehen, und bestehen sollen auch die Tränen und die Schöpfbrunnen[1], nicht wahr."

So machen sie es allen Kindern der Reihe nach. Nach drei Tagen zerstören sie die Puppe, ob es nun eine männliche oder eine weibliche gewesen ist (d. h. vorstellen sollte).

Zum Schlusse opfern sie ein Schwein als Speiseopfer, das sie das „Puppenschwein" *(u niang ai bam tyngshop)* nennen.

Nach Verlauf eines Monats opfern sie wiederum ein Schwein als Speiseopfer, das sie das „Monatsschwein" *(u niang ai bam lait baai)* nennen.

Und endlich nach einem Jahre opfern sie noch ein Schwein als Speiseopfer, das sie das „Jahresschwein" *(u niang ai bam lait snem)* nennen[2].

GURDON[3] beschreibt auch diese Zeremonie anders, er sagt: „Nachdem man am Grabe angekommen ist, werden die Gebeine dreimal in einer Schüssel gewaschen (dies ist eine Sitte aus Cherrapoonjee). In Maushai werden die Gebeine der Hitze eines Feuers ausgesetzt, das man auf einer kleinen Plattform angezündet hat. Nun wird die Steintüre des Cinerariums geöffnet. Die Gebeine der Frauen werden mit der Urne hineingestellt, und zwar nächst der Wand, welche am weitesten von der Türe weg ist. Die Gebeine der Männer aber werden der Türe zunächst hingestellt. Manche Sippen legen die Gebeine der Männer auf die rechte Seite, die Gebeine der Frauen auf die linke Seite. Dann werden auf einem Steine vor dem Grabe den Ahnen Speise- und Trankopfer dargebracht. Die Männer vollziehen einen Zeremonientanz mit Schwert

[1] D. h. die Nachkommen, die über dich trauern werden.
[2] Siehe Tafel I, Bild 1: Dritter Begräbnisplatz der Khasi.
[3] Gurdon, „The Khasis", S. 142.

TAFEL I.

1. Dritter Begräbnisplatz. 2. Dorf Rallong.

[p. 440: A]

TAFEL II.

1. Das Ei-Orakel. 2. Huhnopfer. 3. Verbrennungsplatz.

[p. 440: B]

TAFEL III.

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1. Sammeln der Überreste und der Asche. 2. Zeremonientanz. 3. Fuß- und Wegstein.

[p. 440 : C]

TAFEL IV.

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1. Zum Schildtanz bereit. 2. Waffentanz.

[p. 440: D]

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und Schild (dreimal), und die Türe des Grabes wird geschlossen. Nachher wird eine Fahne am Grabe aufgepflanzt.

Alle Leute gehen weg, mit Ausnahme von drei Männern. Der eine von diesen opfert einen Hahn *(iar tanding)* vor dem Grabe, ein zweiter sitzt hinter dem Opferer und hält drei Feuerbrände in den Händen, welche er hin und her bewegt. Dieser Mann kräht dreimal wie ein Hahn. Der (dritte) Mann hinter dem Grabe hört peinlichst auf jedes Geräusch, das sich etwa unterdessen im Grabe bemerkbar mache. Es herrscht nämlich der Glaube, daß, wenn die Zeremonien nicht ordentlich gemacht wurden, nun das Grab zittere und bebe. Wenn die drei Wächter zufriedengestellt sind und sich überzeugt haben, daß keinerlei Bewegung im Grabe war, so gehen sie heim und berichten es den Angehörigen. Diese Zeremonie nennt man *tan ding* oder die Feuerprobe.

Am anderen Morgen verteilt die Frau, welche die Hausbesitzerin des Stammhauses ist, an alle Teilnehmer dieser Opfer die hinteren Viertel der Opfertiere. Es ist den Verwandten nicht erlaubt, an die Arbeit zu gehen, bevor drei Tage vorüber sind. Der dritte Tag wird genannt *ka sngi lait*.

Die ganze Zeremonie hat symbolische Bedeutung. Das massive Steingrab soll einen sicheren Platz für die Geister darstellen. Wenn jedoch die verstorbenen Geister mit der ganzen Zeremonie nicht zufrieden sind, so beunruhigen sie ihre Verwandten auf dieser Welt."

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SACRIFICE AND SACRIFICIAL CUSTOMS OF THE KHASI

(OFFER UND OFFERBRAUCHE DER KHASI)

By P. F. Stegmiller

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[Title page]

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[211] Sacrifice and Sacrificial Customs of the Khasi by P.F. Stegmiller, S.D.S., Former Apostolic Missionary of Assam (India).

(With 6 Illustrations in the Text) 782

1. The Offerers of Sacrifices:
   a) Lyngdoh,
   b) Ceremonial introduction of the lyndoh.

2. The Sacrifices:
   a) State Sacrifices,
   b) Private Sacrifices,
   c) Secret Sacrifices

1. The Offerers of Sacrifices.

a) Lyndoh.

The religion of the Khasi is an (evil) 771
spirits worship, which has arisen out of fear 772
of misfortune and harm and which is carried 787
out by means of sacrifice. This definition of mine corresponds essentially with the definition of Bivar, (1) who says: "The Khasi reli-

1. Bivar, Administration Report of of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills District of 1876.

gion may be briefly defined as a form to cure illnesses and to ward off misfortune by finding out the name of the devil, who is the original cause of the evil, and by appeasing him by the necessary, sacrifices. Gurdon (2) calls "the 771
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2. Gurdon, The Khasi (London, 1906) p. 105.

Khasi religion a cult of spirits, i.e., actually

[211] rather a reconciliation of the spirits, good as
721 well as bad, by sacrifices, which are offered occasionally, especially in times of distress."

Undoubtedly sacrifices belong to the practice of the Khasi religion. Now who offers these sacrifices? In order to answer this question, it is necessary to differentiate between the various sacrifices that are customary among the Khasi. We find there

a) public sacrifices,
b) private sacrifices,
c) secret sacrifices,

The public sacrifices are performed by specially designated persons of the male sex (lyngdoh).

Private sacrifices can be performed by the ordinary men of the people as well as by sacrificers (lyngdoh) specifically designated for this.

Secret sacrifices are offered by anybody of the masculine or feminine sex.

722 The Khasi do not have priests in the actual
723 sense of the word. There is also no caste or family from which the sacrificers would come. There is also no special school or training for beginning sacrificers. The sacrificers or lyngdoh have also no special mark of distinction. (3) To be a lyngdoh does not mean [212] having

3. Cf. P. Dr. C. Becker, Indisches Kastenwesen und christliche Religion [India Caste System and Christian Religion], (Aachen) p. 6.

a special profession. The sacrificers are ordinary people who may have any profession which they practice. Such men only appear occasionally as sacrificers. Even the chief sacrificers, who

782 preside over a whole district and are known as
793 lyngdoh rangbah (head sacrificer), are not sacrificers by profession. Thus, for example, the chief sacrificer of Lawin in the district of War is a coolie by trade and carries loads from one market to the other (Fig.1).[1] None of these sacrificers has a revered position among the people. It is rather the "fear" of them which makes them respected. For the Khasi firmly believe that the lyngdoh or even merely the ordinary sacrificers are masters over the (evil) spirits. Therefore they are very careful not to quarrel with the sacrificers, so that they will not conjure up spirits in their anger and set them on the guilty one and thus bring him to destruction.

782 The sacrificers are not actually offerers
796 of sacrifices in the strict sense of the word,
798 but only representative people at the sacrifice. For the Khasi live under a matriarchy. With a sharpness of logic and with thoroughness they have probably developed and put into effect as a social organization the most beautiful pattern of a matriarchy of anyone up to today. The mother is the head of the family, the only tie that gives the family unity; she is the sole possessor and sole owner of all property, and inheritance is only possible through her. The father has no right to the relationship of the children. These belong only to the maternal line. Even his ashes will not rest finally beside those of his wife or children, but in the grave of his mother. Whatever the father may earn or save does not belong to his children, but returns to the maternal line. It is not surprising that with such views it is also the mother who has all the spiritual power. And in reality she is in complete possession of the highest spiritual power. It is her duty to

[1] [See category 24, p. 10 -- Analyst]

preserve the customs of the family or sib; she must see to it that the ancient domestic customs of the household sacrifices are truly preserved; it is her duty, to keep the inherited ceremonies of the sacrifices pure and to hand them down conscientiously to the descendants. Therefore she has to arrange for the necessary sacrificial materials; she must prepare everything; she is the only one who must fast before the offering of many a sacrifice; she gives the order for the sacrifice, and she should also have to perform it herself.

But this does not happen. In reality no woman offers the sacrifice herself. (4) She is

4. With the exception of the secret sacrifices, about which, see later.

represented by a male person. But he must be related to her on the maternal side. Usually a maternal uncle (kni) represents her. Such representation by a relative is always necessary, whether it be for a public or a private sacrifice. But not merely the degree of relationship must lie in the feminine line; there is still something else that must be observed for each sacrifice. Even though the duties of the sacrificers and their methods of sacrificing are very different and are arranged according to the customs and inherited usages in the family or in the sib or in the state or community, yet in one point they are all similar: namely, all the sacrificers must be assisted by a woman during the performance of the sacrificial ceremony. This is usually called ka iyugbah (the priestess). (5) Because the man must function in her name and he is only her representative at the sacrifice,

192 Gordon (5) believes that his ka lynghoh is with-
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5. Gordon, The Khasi, 1st. ed.

out doubt a holdover from that time of the matriarchy in which a priestess also performed the sacrifices herself.

b) The Public and Ceremonial Introduction as a lynghoh.

193 How does a person become a lynghoh?[8] This
194 question can also not be answered so easily.
XXX This is very different in the different districts. In general it may be assumed that the lynghoh arise from the practice of household (private) sacrifices. Since it is the duty of the woman to watch over the sacrificial ceremonies, she will introduce one of her sons to the rite of performing sacrifices that is peculiar to the family, so that he will be able to occasionally offer the sacrifice in the prescribed manner or in case of need (sickness, death, misfortune). But because the maternal uncle is usually called upon for the sacrifices, the son who has learned to offer sacrifices will have little chance to practice this art in his own family, but rather among his maternal relatives. And the other way around, people from there who know how to offer sacrifices will be called into this household. In this way the man who offers sacrifices becomes known in the neighborhood. If he has luck with his arrangements and if success crowns his offering, the more skilled spirit that he is an experienced sacrificer whom the spirits obey and that he knows how to seek them out, to drive them away, or to propitiate them, as the case requires. Thus it happens that such a man is called upon again and again to offer sacrifices,
[See Dr. Pfeer... Anoj.]

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especially in touchy cases. Thus of his own accord he becomes a lyngdoh and the people recognize him as such on the basis of his successes. Whoever is once esteemed a lyngdoh remains one for the rest of his life. Just as in our country ordinary people call a dental technician "Doctor" and a high school teacher "Professor," so the Khasi call a man who is well known for his good sacrifices their "lyngdoh," although this person would not be able to prove his right to the title officially. This way of becoming a lyngdoh is probably the usual practice in most of the cases.

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But it is not the way everywhere. There is a report from Lamin (6) that a group mother

6. Salvationistische Mitteilungen (Salvationist communications). 1906 No. 6, p. 84.

(Hammemutter) of the lyngdohs is there. Gordon (7) also writes about a lyngdoh tribe, from which

7. Gordon, loc. cit.

the lyngdohs are drawn. I have never found this to happen and I have never heard of a lyngdoh group (Hamm), or a lyngdoh eib (jaid). It could certainly happen that several sons of one and the same mother could by chance learn how to sacrifice and that they all excel in it and that they all have good luck so that these brothers are all called in as lyngdohs.

But the mother concerned has by no means become a lyngdoh group mother (Hammemutter) just because of that, and the eib involved has no claim to the title: lyngdohjaid (lyngdoh group (Hamm)). Naturally the correct art of sacrificing, which is often very involved and difficult,

777 is more easily handed on through the children
yet than outside of the family, although that can also occur. But this teaching each other would never be a justification for a community or group /Stamp/ relationship of lyngdohs.

/Ill/ In those Khasi territories in which the lyngdoh are still installed by public recognition so that they may function as lyngdohs during great community or state sacrifices, it is done in the following or in a similar way.

If a certain man has been decided upon to be choosen as lyngdoh for the district, for the community, or for the kingdom, he is invited to offer his first official sacrifice. First of all he must take a purification bath. Then he must go to the top of a nearby mountain with all his relatives or electors (who are usually his relatives). This is done with great ceremony. The new lyngdoh is festively dressed. Freshly washed clothes cover his body. His turban (jingapong) is decorated with white rooster feathers. He wears a leather belt around his body on which the short Khasi quiver hangs (ka ringkap). He has a long sword (ka waitlam) in one hand and a dancing brush of goat hair (u symtiah) in the other. The male escorts are also dressed like him, but instead of the white rooster feathers they have a bunch of bright colored (thula) flowers on their turbans. The entire distance from the house of the new lyngdoh up to the top of the mountain must be covered by dancing, which explains the ceremonial dancing clothes of the male escorts. But also the female participants in the parade, who do not have to dance, insist on appearing all dressed up even if they are not in dancing clothes. They are also dressed in freshly washed clothes. A snow white scarf on their heads and a sky-blue cloak marks them from a distance as participants in the festivities. In addition most of them wear the usual Khasi ornaments: chains of

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gold and silver, of gilded beads alternating with real beads of coral. The women and girls also take some light refreshments along. They take care of the necessary pauses for quais (betel nuts) and smoking, for the Khasi are never in a hurry. Several coolies, who accompany the procession, carry the necessary utensils for the sacrifices on their backs in waterproof woven baskets (ka shang) with forehead straps (u star) woven of bamboo, while other coolies lead the living animals to be sacrificed: a goat and a rooster.

When everything is ready, a little band, consisting usually of only a flute player (ka 'tangmuri) and one or two drummers (kaing), begins to play and the procession moves up the mountain dancing. It proceeds slowly. From time to time everybody rests and the coconut pipe (ka jingdih duma) is passed from mouth to mouth. After a bite of betel nut (quai) has been taken, the procession moves on again dancing until the top of the mountain is reached. The Khasi must be known and admired because of the quietness and cheerfulness with which they do everything. There is no hurrying and haste, no rushing back and forth and no forgetting of anything. They give themselves time for everything and therefore succeed in what they attempt.

Hopping, skiing, and skipping they reach the top. If there are Khasi ladies there, the ones who have arrived break off leaves from them and strew them on the ground. Otherwise the Khasi lady leaves are brought along from home to this, they can be strewn on the ground on the top of the mountain. This makes the ground holy and consecrated to the spirits. The men now put aside the swords and the dancing brush. They begin to prepare the first ceremonial sacrifice

of the new lyngdoh. A hole is dug anywhere in the ground with a chopping knife (ka wait) and the humus (earth or loam) which is dug out is brought to the middle of the place, piled up and thus serves as the altar. [215] A gourd bottle with fermented rice water is placed on the altar beside a bunch of betel nut leaves and beside a little basket full of rice and pounded meal next a pepper leaf, and the whole is surrounded by leaves of the Khasi oak trees.

Now a circle is formed. Several men lead the goat into the ring and hold it tight by a rope. Another man seizes the goat by the hind-feet and lifts these so high that the goat is only standing on its forefeet, and since it is tied by a rope it cannot move easily.

Now the new lyngdoh steps forward. He steps in front of the sacrifical animal, head high and armed with a chopping knife (ka wait). He folds his hands and takes the chopping knife between the flat surfaces of his hands. Then he crouches down, while murmuring his verses. Everything is still around him. The lyngdoh prays, i.e., he murmurs something which is not understood, yet everyone knows that he is now speaking to the spirits. After he has done this, he stands up. Taking the chopping knife by the handle with both hands, he swings it high and cuts off the goat's head with one blow. Blood shoots out in a wide arc. The body of the animal falls sideways to the ground. [Fig. 1. The chief sacrificer of Lamin in his private occupation as a coolie]. A cry of joy bursts from the throats of the crowd when the neck is severed. Raising himself up from the blow, the lyngdoh presents the bloody knife towards all sides and then hands it over to someone else. Now he picks up the severed head from the ground and lets the blood drip on the altar and on the sacrifical

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[The chief sacrificer of Lamon in his priestly occupation of a castle]

[Fig.]

Fig. 1

gifts carefully placed there. Finally he sets the goat's head on the top of the little pile of earth thereby flattening it out, and thus crowns the altar with the bloody head.

Now the body of the goat is dragged over and the new lyngdoh begins to divide it. He has certainly done this many times before when he offered private sacrifices, or perhaps when he offered sacrifices for his own family, or perhaps when he was called upon by others to perform such sacrifices. But this time he is particularly happy about it. After all it is the first ceremonial sacrifice which he is performing officially. This is not as it usually is when he must sacrifice for sick or dying people and must propitiate the spirits and perform the observation of the entrails very precisely. No, this is a sacrifice of joy. He only needs to place the nine prescribed parts on the altar. He does that, taking a piece of the liver, the heart, the lungs, the kidneys, the loin, the spleen, the gall bladder, [illegible] the small intestine and the large intestine. The others surround the bloody parts with leaves of the Khasi oak trees and the new lyngdoh shouts out joyfully: "The sacrifice is good!" The others repeat the cry and clap their hands as a sign of agreement. The goat is offered to the "god who commanded the sacrifice" (u 'lei Shillong). [Fig. 2. The state sacrifice at Mawkyrwat.]

Now a second sacrifice begins in honor of the god u 'lei lyngdoh. A rooster is slaughtered and placed in pieces on the altar. While the new lyngdoh is letting the blood of the rooster drip on the sacrificial gifts on the altar, he shouts out: "Hey! The blood of the rooster! Hurrah!"

The sacrifice is completed. Coolies pack up the sacrifical meat into the baskets that were

[illegible] on p. 12 --[illegible]]

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Fig. 2 p. 11
[The state transition of diamagnetism]

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Fig. 3 p. 13
[Cyl. rotating phasing plane]

782 brought along and push the sacrificial gifts to
793 one side.

The new lyngdoh now gives the sign for the dance of joy. The men who are all in dancing clothes get up and seize the swords and dancing brushes they brought along. They place them-
782 selves one behind the other. The music begins
793 and slowly the dancers move away from the place.
835 Hopping and rocking from one leg to another, they move forward, forming a definite figure while doing it. Sometimes it is a circle, sometimes an eight, sometimes a spiral, which then slowly resolves itself. Now the dancers face each other in pairs. With loud cries each pair jumps at each other and they beat their swords together, uttering cries of joy which are seconded by the spectators. [Fig. 3. Egg throwing: placing rice].

Now they arrange themselves as at the beginning and the dance begins again. Thus the dance crosses the place several times, each time the peculiar dance (shad mastieh) ending
793 with the striking together of the swords. The
782 new lyngdoh, who has now performed his first ceremonial sacrifice which is concluded by the sword dance, declares his veneration for the god who has commanded the sacrifice. For this purpose all the men arrange themselves in order and with the lyngdoh at the head bow three times before the (invisible) god. While they are all standing, the lyngdoh takes several steps backward and standing repeats his bow. With this the ceremony is over.

They arrange themselves in the order they came in. Dancing they go down the mountain to the hut of the lyngdoh. As soon as possible a new sacrifice [21] is offered to the u 'lei lyngdoh, the god of sacrificers. With this the new lyngdoh has officially begun his new office

[See category 18, p. 13 -- Amelie]

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7P2

Fig. 4 p. 15
[Egg throwing:
Throwing of the egg]

Fig. 5 p. 15
[Egg throwing:
Investigation]

782 and can now also appear at the public state and
793 community sacrifices when any basis of relationship justifies it.

This ceremonial way of introducing lyngdohs is still the custom especially in the kingdoms of Nyrim and Mongkrem.

The number of active, official lyngdohs varies according to the region. A kingdom has at least one official lyngdoh. [Fig. 4. Egg throwing: Throwing of the egg.] [Fig. 5. Egg throwing: Investigation] But the kingdom
[794] of Mongkrem, for example, has six official lyngdohs, who together with the king and with other lyngdohs from neighboring villages annually offer the great state sacrifice. (8) Even

8. P. Dr. Becker, S.D.S., "Die Mongkrempuja in den Khasibergen" [The Mongkrem Puja in the Khasi; Mountains], Anthropos, Vol. 4, (1909), p. 898.

villages often have their own official lyngdohs.

For the services which they perform for the people by offering sacrifices, they do not receive money or a present of money. Usually their trouble is rewarded by natural products, such as a hen, a bottle of rice liquor or even, though more rarely, by a pig. Obviously they always have the right to participate in the sacrificial meal.

2. The Sacrifices.

a) State Sacrifices.

761 According to the report of the last census
764 the tribe of Khasi numbers about 200,000 people.
767 (9) These are not unified under one ruler, but

9. P. Dr. C. Becker, S.D.S. In

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Stromtal des Brahmaputra [In the Valley of the Brahmaputra], (Aachen: Xaverius Publishing House, 1923) p. 293.

782 are divided into 10 kingdoms and 15 small states
621 (communities). In each of these kingdoms and communities an official state sacrifice is of-
782 fered each year. The smaller state units offer
776 it to the u basa shnong or to the u phan u
796 kyrpad (the tutelary god of a village), the larger one to the u 'lei Shillong (the god who has commanded the sacrifice) [218]. The purpose of this large sacrifice is to thank the revered god for the country (kingdom or community) and to beg him to make its inhabitants
782 healthy and happy. This is shown by the prayers
796 spoken at these sacrifices, namely: "O god Shillong! for thee is this prayer, this sacrifice of goat, of hen, of kpu and rymsi (a kind of bread of rice meal or cornmeal with pounded sugar), of utensils of preparation, as thou hast given them to the royal lineage, so that once in every year Puja is celebrated in thy name, so that we may live happily, be healthy and increase, so that kings will arise, so that their honor and that of the kingdom will grow and increase and the children of the kingdom will spread out to increase thy name and thy honor." (10)

10. P. Dr. C. Becker, S.D.S., "Die Nongkrempuja in den Khasibergen" [The Nongkrem Puja in the Khasi Mountains], Anthropos Vol. 4, 1909, p. 901.

In another prayer they say: "O lord, thou who hast created heaven and earth, thou hast placed a king that we may be children of his

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Fig. 6 p. 18 The village chief in his sacrificial coat and ornaments]

782 kingdom, thou hast given the sun and the moon,
796 for reckoning the year, so that we may have Puja once in the year, so that kings may arise, the children of the valleys may increase and thrive, the children of the Khasi, the children of the Bhoi, the children of the War, so that the sacrificial gifts may increase before the face of thine altar." (11)

11. P. Dr. Becker, S.D.S., loc. cit., p. 902 (Anthropos).

782 At these state and community sacrifices, the
793 official lyngdohs are the chief one to appear,
622 who together with the ruling king or chieftain
796 and with other lyngdohs from the villages perform the sacrifices. These annual state sacrifices are introduced and performed with great ceremony. They take place in front of the house of the s'iem sad (high priestess) of the state involved. (Fig. 2) [Fig. 6. The village chief in his sacrificial coat and ornaments].

782 In addition to the usual sacrificial gifts,
796 which are grouped together on a small altar of earth and which consist of a banana leaf, betel nut leaves, pepper leaves, betel nuts, kpu and rynsi, fermented rice water in a gourd bottle, and oak leaves, there are chiefly hens and goats and at the end a pig. Goats are slaughtered in great numbers, so that the chief festival day of the state sacrifice is called pne blang (the goat heads) by the people.

782 Besides the slaughtering of the sacrificial
585 animals, the dance plays a chief part. At these
796 great sacrifices all the dances that are customary among the Khasi are performed: the dance [219] of the unmarried girls, the dance of the girls and men together, but both sexes are so placed that the men form an outer circle and the girls

[See category 46, p. 19 -- Analyst]

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an inner circle; the dance of the men with torches; the sword dance of the men; the shield dance of the men; the dance of the men in couples; the solo dance of a girl and the solo dance of a man.

All the inhabitants of the kingdom combine for the state sacrifice. With the cheerfulness peculiar to the Khasi they watch the passage of the individual sacrifices and the dances for hours at a time. In the evening of the day of the chief festival a sacrifical meal is held, in which all the sacrificers, dancers, and spectators may participate.

b) Private Sacrifices.

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In addition to the annual large state sacrifices, other sacrifices are also offered by the Khasi. These are the usual sacrifices which arise from the needs of daily life. The following can be mentioned as such:

1. The sacrifice for questioning spirits.
2. The sacrifice at the name giving.
3. The sacrifice before every important business, for example, before the market, before planting rice, before shooting arrows, before building a hut, before a journey, etc.
4. The sacrifice of thanks after recovering health.
5. The sacrifice in cases of sickness.
6. The sacrifice at the time of death.
7. Human beings also sacrifice for finding out which spirits must be propitiated. This is a matter of finding out past errors of those already dead).
8. The sacrifice at a cremation.
9. The sacrifice at the burial of bones:

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a) at the mau shing (first burial),
b) at the mau phew (second burial),
c) at the mau bah (third burial).

10. The sacrifice in memory of the deceased:
a) the sacrifice at the end of a month,
b) the sacrifice at the end of a year.

These various sacrifices can be offered by the official lyngdohs as well as by other lyngdohs or even by ordinary men from the people, provided they know precisely the ritual which governs the family concerned and are guided by it.

782 A definite spiritual attitude is not required
784 for any sacrifice. There is only one exception
878 here: namely at the sacrifice for the third and last burial of the bones in the mau bah. This may only be carried out if all relatives of the sib concerned are living in peace with each other. This must be established by the lyngdoh himself who is performing the sacrifice. If any kind of enmity or a quarrel is discovered by the investigation, the burial and the sacrifice that goes with it must be postponed until the condition of general peace in the family is fulfilled.

782 [120] As concerns the place of the sacrifices, the areas may be divided in the following way:

1. Sacrifice is made in the hut:
at the name giving,
after recovering health.
2. Sacrifice is made in the courtyard in front of the hut:
when questioning spirits,
before important business,
in cases of sickness,
khein kauid,
in case of death.
3. Sacrifice is made away from the house:
at a cremation at the place it occurs,
at the three different burials of the bones at the places where they occur,

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at a memorial sacrifice at the place where the bones rest.

The sacrificial gifts for the individual sacrifices are the following:

1. At the questioning of the spirits: eggs, hens,
2. At the name giving: rice brandy, rice meal, eggs, roots, leaves.
3. Important business: eggs, hens.
4. After recovering health: kpu and rynai, gourds and gourd bottles, rice brandy.
5. In cases of sickness: eggs, hens, goats, pigs, cows.
6. In case of death: egg (stomach egg), rooster, rice, pig, steer.
7. Khein kwid: eggs, gourds and gourd bottles, rice brandy, water, doves, hens, goats, pigs.
8. At a cremation: rice, kpu and rynai, cows, pigs, he-goats, rooster, egg (stomach egg).
9. At the burial: a) rooster, rice bread, egg, brandy,
   b) rooster, rice bread, rice brandy,
   c) pigs, rooster, steer, he-goat.
10. At the memorial sacrifice:
    a) pig,
    b) pig.

Three distinct sacrifices may be differentiated, which are repeated again and again in some form or other:

1. The food sacrifice.
2. The egg sacrifice (egg throwing).
3. The blood sacrifice with observations of the entrails:
   a)rooster (hen)
   b)goat (pig, steer, cow).

1. The Food Sacrifice.

772 An altar is necessary primarily for offering this sacrifice. This altar is made of earth and consists of a little heap of earth which has been dug out of the ground near where the sacrifice is to be offered by a ka wait (chopping knife).

The usual sacrificial gifts, ingredients, and sacrificial utensils are:

kpu: a kind of bread made of rice meal. The rice is first washed, dried, and then pounded into meal.

rynsi: a kind of bread shaped like a bullet of pounded rice meal or cornmeal mixed with sugar.

/771/ u khaw: uncooked, shelled rice.

u skan: a gourd bottle.

u kiad: rice brandy.

ka um : water.

kwai :betel nut.

tympeu: a pepper leaf.

ela kait: a banana leaf.

ka ding sning: leaves of the Khasi oak (botanical name: Cartanopsis sp.)

u luta: a silver water container.

ka pliang rupa: a silver plate like a dish.

ka pliang kynthei: a rather large brass dish.

The sacrificing of the gifts consists in their being placed on the altar in certain forms or figures and being reddened with the blood of the animals (which will be sacrificed afterwards) or at least being sprinkled with water and rice brandy.

772 2. The Egg Sacrifice (Egg Throwing)
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The egg sacrifice or egg throwing (shad pylleng) as it is usually called is the most

782 common of all. It is used on those occasions
787 when something must be asked about or investigated. The spirits are supposed to inform at the egg throwing where the most favorable place is for the building of the hearth (building the hut,, from which forest the needed bamboo should be fetched for the construction of the hut, where the most productive huntings areas are, which is the most favorable day for setting out on a journey, in which week the cultivation of rice can begin, at which market the best sale may be expected, where a general archery contest can take place, for what reason somebody is sick, who has caused a difficult birth by a moral crime.

Lyngdohs are rarely called in for this sacrifice. For the Khasi are so familiar with egg throwing that probably most of the older men know how to do it. The process is also not too complicated, so that even a person with little practice can dare to try egg throwing. Only in very difficult cases, especially in cases of sickness, is a lyngdoh sought out to perform the sacrifice. Or also in\cases in which the spirits do not wish to answer. (12)

12. F. Stegmiller, S.D.S., "Teufelsopfer" [Devil Sacrifice], Missionsverlag für Indien [Missionary Publishers for India], (1922: Vienna) p. 51.

The following objects are needed for the offering of the egg sacrifice.

1. A wooden platter which is rounded at the corners and has a handle. It is called ka dieng shad pylleng (the wood for egg throwing). The middle part is called ka lieng (the little saucer).

2. Red earth for making distinguishable the outer side of the egg shells.

3:Stegmiller-24 N-4,5(no date)1974 A87 Khasi A87

3. Uncooked, husked rice which is placed in several piles (or also only in one pile) on the gaming board.

4. Last of all eggs, which one by one, after being strewn with rice (fig. 3), are rubbed with red earth, fondled, and called by flattering names and then thrown on the gaming board with great force (fig. 4). In this process the egg bursts and the white and the yolk splatter around, while the shells are scattered in all directions. So that the soft part in the egg will not obstruct the egg shells too much, the sacrificer speaks the following before he throws: "May the clear part come into the outermost corner! May it climb into the corner! Down with the left! May the left strike together!"

[222] The position of the egg shells provides the answer (fig. 5) and the various positions means approximately the following:

1. When the small pieces of shell lie with their insides down, on both sides of the board but not on the little saucer, then the question of the egg throwing is not answered. If this happens, the sacrificer asks beforehand at the throwing of the next egg with a sad voice: "Have I perhaps sinned? Have I washed and bathed the loam? the white loam? the yellow loam? the sticky loam? the piled up loam? Oh let me know what lies below and what lies above! Let me know that which is lying on the back and that which is lying on the stomach! Oh hear me, thou egg of the oracle!"

2. If a lot of little eggshells are lying around the saucer, that means that there are a lot of reasons (for example for the illness) which cannot be found out. In this case the sacrificer will express himself approximately thus with the next egg: "Oh egg of the oracle! Has a sin, has a crime been committed? Was the tutelary

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spirit of our village insulted? I wish to consider and to enlighten the eye of understanding as to what may well be the cause and the guilt of the sorrow and vexation! Look hither! Very tiny is my desire and soft as cotton my will! Thou shalt say! Thou shalt explain! Thou shalt help! Oh line up the bits of shell together! Make smaller the spaces in between! Cross the left over the right! Say: No! It does not come from the family, it comes from outside, that which carries the guilt for the misfortune!"

3. If a little piece of egg shell is lying with its outside facing down at the end of the little saucer in the middle of the board, that means that the goddess wishes a blood sacrifice.

4. If a little piece of egg shell is lying quite alone at the upper end of the saucer, that means that the divinity is very angry.

Thus the Khasi have determined the meaning of all possible positions of the eggshells, according to whether they are lying up or down, in the middle, or at the end, or the side of the saucer. It is the meaning which the divinity wishes to make by the position. It is obvious that sacrifices are made until a position is finally reached which presents the desired result. Thus it happens that 80, 200, and more eggs are used at a single sacrifice.

This method of throwing eggs is the most usual. But there is a still simpler way. The sacrificer wraps the egg in a leaf (ka la mat). He takes it in his left hand and strews it with grains of rice. Now he tries to press in the tip of the egg with the thumb of his right hand while uttering sayings and magic formulae. If this succeeds, it is a good sign, if not, it means the opposite. (13)

13. P. Dr. G. Becker, S.D.S. "Das

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Alexerfan der Ghost" /Egg Throwing Among the Ghost/, Anthropos, 1917, p. 136.

Only in cases of sickness does the sacrificer not take the usual gaming board. In its place he uses a rather large brass dish (ka pilang kyrthet), on which he lays a lattice work made of thin bamboo sticks (lgre). The broken egg runs through the lattice work into the dish and from the eggshells the sacrificer then predicts in the same way as described above, since he considers the narrow bamboo lattice work as the gaming board. (14)

14. F. Stuppeller, S.J.S., "Bei der Erkrankung eines Familienmitgliedes" /At the Illness of a Member of a Family/, Anthropos, 1921-22, p. 129.

3. The Blood Sacrifice with Observation of the Entrails.

a) The Rooster Sacrifice (ptogmia sytar).

If the desired result is not obtained by egg throwing, the sacrifice of the rooster usually follows. A rooster is dedicated to the godhead by strewing it with rice, kind, kyn, and synat. The sacrificer now dips a sharp knife in the sacrificial water that is standing ready and then cuts through the rooster's throat. He lets the blood drip on the altar and on the sacrificial gifts. Now the observation of the entrails begins, which is not always the same but is described

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as follows since this is the usual way. (15)

15. F. Dr. G. Becker, S.J.S., Anthropos Vol. 4 (1909), p. 899.

"The gullet of bees is formed like a fork about in the middle between the neck and the stomach. The right part of the prong is called a Kiet (god), the left a bots (man). First the rectum is looked at to see if it is perhaps empty or has any symptoms of a disease or spots. In these cases, the little fowl is unsuitable for sacrifice. But even when everything is without fault, better indications are still wanted. The forking mentioned above is looked at and the sacrificer, holding the intestine in his hand, begins the ceremony with the questions: "Nga kyill nga kyrthem da ka shat khan, lang rangbah a bots, dam a Kiet?" (I ask and seek by throwing and by oracles, does the man rise and the god bow?) While saying that he sprinkles the forking of the gullet with a little rice with the other hand, whereby because of the cumulative trembling one part or the other actually raises itself. If "the man" raises itself, that is a good sign, since the opposite forking, the "god" that bows or stays still as a sign of agreement."

The sacrificing lyngbah calls upon the godhead and ends with the following words: "Hey, the blood of the constant Hurrah! Look there, I tear out its navel, its entrails, so that the advice maybe good. This here is the ornament, this the garment, this the silk, this the bag and the net, is it not so? See here the sign of collecting, here the sign of escaping from destruction and the guilt, is it not so?" (16)

16. P.F. Stagmiller, Anthropos, 1931-32, pp. 420 ff.

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b) The Goat Sacrifice (pem blang).

The head of the goat is cut off with one blow. Only parts of the insides of the animal (na ka kpuh) may be taken for the actual sacrifice. Either 5, 7, or 9 parts are taken. If 5 parts are taken, they are from the heart, kidneys, lungs, gall bladder, and liver. If 7 parts are taken, parts of the spleen and loin are added. If 9 parts, the pieces mentioned above and pieces from the small and large intestines. If the parts are good, then the sacrifice is also good, but if spots and specklas are present (da ka thah da ka tar da ka brain da ka brieh) the sacrifice must be repeated, as it is nullified. The rest of the ritual is like the one described for the first celebration of a lynghih.

In the case of pigs, it is only observed whether liver, lungs, spleen and gall bladder are healthy.

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c) Secret Sacrifices.

Although the sacrifices already described and their offerers are in general known, a whole set of tales is woven around the "secret sacrifice." The Khasi themselves [Ti] speak of these only with shyness and abhorrence. After all it concerns a human sacrifice which is offered the devil "u thlen." The fact is that these sacrifices were offered and are still offered. I myself knew two persons who fell as sacrifice to this revolting superstition between the years 1905-10.

In order to describe the secret sacrifices of the "human sacrifices" of the Khasi it is necessary:

1. to sketch the thlen tale,
2. to discuss the preparations for the

772 sacrifice — that is the murder itself.

3. to describe the offering of the sacrifice.

Following from this, several questions arise of their own accord, namely:

1. How do the people accept these facts?
   a) the fear among the people,
   b) the liberation from thlen,
   c) story of former thlen possessors.

2. The position of the English-Indian government to these human sacrifices?

773 774 775 1. The Thlen legend

About five miles west of Cherrapungi, (15)

15. The following accounts are taken from the article "Menschenopfer unter den Khasi" (Human Sacrifice Among the Khasi) by Dr. C. Becker, S.J.S., Schweizerische Mitteilungen (Swiss Communications) 1959, No. 3, pp. 75 ff.

near the great waterfall Nohkalikai, there is the cave Pomblai, about which an old Khasi legend is concerned. The dwelling place of an enormous snake —called a thlen — which caused great destruction among men and animals was once here. People had to pass here to go to market; half of them were regularly swallowed by the thlen, the others could continue their way peacefully. It was a rule for the thlen, only to consume half the number of people or animals that came by. After many people had lost their lives in this fashion, the Khasi one day held a large meeting, a darbar, with the inhabitants of the villages, to consider how they could

703 remedy this great misfortune. A brave man named
704 Sulbuch volunteered to cause a change. He be-
705 gan to drive goats, pigs, and cattle to the thlen
to give them to the snake to eat. After he had
done this for quite some time, the thlen became
quite tame and trusting. One day Sulbuch brought
along a piece of glowing hot iron which he held
with a tongs. He ordered the snake to open its
mouth so that he could give it a piece of meat.
The snake believed him, opened its mouth and
Sulbuch quickly thrust the glowing hot iron in
its throat so that the snake burst with horrible
writhings. In another gathering it was decided
to cut the snake into two pieces: the inhabitants
of the valley were supposed to eat one half, the
Khasi the other half. Since the former are very
numerous, it was easy for them to manage their
portion; but the Khasi could not quite master
their share and left some of it. Others say that
in the village Maupho, west of Cherrapunji, an
old woman forgot to eat up her share. In short
the Khasi did not quite get rid of their share
and so it came about that the snake could grow
again and he still lives among them up to the
present day.

2. The Preparations for the Sacrifice

However the thlen is no longer the public
engineer of previous times. He has withdrawn
into the interior of the houses; also he no
longer is in just one place, but may be found in
several. There are certain families that are
considered possessors of such a devil snake and
are known as such among the people. They are
simply called the Bongri thlen, owners of a thlen.
The thlen is cared for and secretly kept by the
owner very carefully in a safe place. It is only
supposed to be seen by members of the household

776 of the thlen owner. It is also said of the snake
773 that it can reduce itself to the size of a thin
772 thread and therefore can easily find a place in
a basket or earthern jar. Others even say that
it has the power to change itself into a cat or
a rooster or a stone and to stay with the owner
in this form.

776 The possession of the thlen is a valuable
772 thing for the owner; for where the thlen makes
682 his home, it brings good fortune and wealth to
the family. However, the snake only does this
on the condition that it is provided with human
blood. If it does not receive this, it announces
itself from time to time in the family concerned
during the night in a dream. If its desires are
still not fulfilled, it then comes bringing
sickness, misfortune, impoverishment, and the
like. There is nothing that the owner can do
other than satisfy or propitiate the thlen by
human murder. In the night he waits for his
victim alone or with another whom he has hired
for this purpose. Often the thlen worshippers
have a so-called mongbylla, i.e., a wage earner
who shares the wealth of his master for his ef-
forts without having to bother with other work.
He goes out in ambush with his master and watches
hidden from the heights of a mountain, or along
the road, or at the edge of the forest to see
whether anyone is coming along the way. By
signs or shouts he warns his master who is waiting
some distance away, and then they commit the
murder together. Both are usually disguised and
armed with a wooden club for killing their
victim. The ordinary people call these murderers
in the service of the thlen as well as the thlen
worshippers in general only mogshok ash, litera-
ly, killers. They may not use iron weapons for
committing their dark deeds, as iron proved to
be fatal for the thlen tribal father, as was told
[illegible]

776 above. The tips of the hair and the finger-
772 nails of the slain person are cut off with
772 silver shears; then the murderer pricks the wing
of the nose with a silver lancet and catches
the blood that flows out in a bamboo tube. This
is called pjar snam. Again no dish or iron or
metal may be used for catching the blood.

]. The Offering of the Sacrifice.

772 The thlen owner now asks the oracle about
776 the actual time when he should sacrifice the
blood to the thlen. When this is revealed, the
whole family gathers together in the hut of the
thlen owner (male or female) in the dark night-
time. The doors are opened and costly cloths
are spread out on the floor. The blood of the
slain person is poured into a brass dish or a
plate (ka pliang); the hair and fingernails are
placed there. One member of the family begins
to strike a small drum and cries while doing
it: "O uncle, o father, come forth, we have
done everything to make thee satisfied, and now
we have succeeded. [776] Give us thy blessing,
so that we may receive health and wealth!"
They say that the thlen is only seen by the
members of the household of the owner. No matter
what form it otherwise has while staying in the
house, at the sacrifice of human blood it appears
in its true form as a snake. It is supposed to
crawl out of its hiding place when called upon,
then stretch itself out until it has attained
its full size. It approaches the platter and
waits a while in front of it until the spirit of
the slain person appears standing on the platter.
The spirit is supposed to laugh. The snake now
begins to swallow the entire form, beginning with
the feet; the victim is supposed to laugh con-
tinuously. Obviously it is difficult to find out

772 anything more certain and exact about activities
776 that are carried on in complete seclusion. The devil snake is satisfied again after receiving the sacrifice, and now pours forth a plenitude of good luck and wealth over the house.

Substitute sacrifice: Naturally it is not always easy to find a human sacrifice. In this case the thlen owner tries to help himself in another way. He sets out to catch at least some of the hair or the clothing of somebody or other and to sacrifice this to the devil snake. This means an evil fate for those, to whom the hair or the bit of cloth belongs, for the belief exists among the Khasi that the person concerned will become sick soon thereafter, will languish and die or at the very least misfortune and poverty will come to his. They are therefore very much on their guard that nothing of that sort will come into the hands of a thlen adherent. For example, if someone loses a hair, he is extremely careful to throw it into the fire at once and thus destroy it before a thlen owner can appropriate it. If the thlen owner cannot get hold of anything at all, he at least satisfies himself by throwing stones at a victim or knocking on strange doors during the night. He then calls upon the thlen to tell him that he has done his best to get booty for him but that unfortunately he was unsuccessful. The devil snake is supposed to be satisfied with this for a time until he again makes his desire for human blood known. Many heathen, on the other hand, try to get well when they are sick by putting themselves under the protection of the thlen. They give the thlen owner some of their hair, pieces of clothing, and a corresponding gift of money or food as a sacrifice for the thlen--ai thlen--in order to acquire their health again.

How Do the People Accept These Facts?

a) The Fear among the People

172 776 A great fear of these murderers who are in the service of the thlen permeates the whole life of the Khasi; this feeling is still especially strong in the kingdoms of Cherra, Mylliem, and Nongkrem. Naturally they guard themselves well from people who are supposed to be in possession of a devil snake and they often do not even dare to speak their names out loud for fear that misfortune could befall them. Many of them are certainly known by the people; others are just guessed at. We tried very hard to get a photograph of such people who are considered to be thlen owners; but we met only with complete refusal from them. Their bad consciences probably made them fearful. I was able to photograph the house of a woman thlen worshipper in Maurei, several [22] miles away from Cherra. In contrast to most of the Khasi huts, indications of wealth were evident on the outside, since the [23] hut was covered with tin. In spite of all my pleas the woman could not be prevailed upon to have herself photographed. Such an idea frightened her so that she cried out loud: "O, we are investigated so much!"

172 774 At night a Khasi does not really trust himself alone outside of his hut. If he is overtaken by darkness on the way home, he may be seen hurrying towards his home, singing or calling in a loud voice from time to time to give himself courage. A single man, even if he does not have to go far from his hut to work is not likely to go without his big knife — ka wait — under his arm to protect himself against all possible attacks. The people usually go together (in groups)

on the way to or from more distant markets. When they go to the even bigger markets which are several days' journey away, they only go to the markets where they have good friends along the way, where they can spend the night. Even the missionary has to endure this general feeling of fear. For example, if he has to send something from one place to another which one man could easily carry; or if he is on a journey then he might like to send on his small amount of luggage, his laundry, and food. Even if the place is only a day distant, it is not possible for him to hire one man for such an errand. There is nothing for him to do other than to hire two porters and naturally also to pay them, or to wait until a group of market people are going along the same way, to whom a single man can attach himself. If you criticize the people for the foolishness of their behavior or the inconvenience it causes, their simple answer is: "I am afraid of the nongshem ash" (killers).

On the other hand the people defend themselves against such criminals. According to ancient Khasi justice, the killing of such a nongshem ash is not considered murder and is not punished by death. Whoever has killed a nongshem ash does not need to do more than he who kills a rubber, namely to give 5 rupees (7 gold marks) and a pig to the S'iem (king). In the kingdom of Nongkrem the official lyngdoh has the right to confiscate all the property of those persons who are convicted for harboring an evil spirit — jinghih — in their house. The lyngdoh can keep the objects of value for themselves, while the house, including contents, is burned down. At the same time the people take justice into their own hands. In the year 1909 one of these murderers in the service of the devil snake was caught in the act in Nongkren. Without more ado his neck was cut off and he was left to rot with the snake of Christ.

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776 off and he was let go with the mark of Cain.

b) Liberation from the Thlen.

776 It also happens that people who revered a
782 thlen and sacrificed to it wish to free themselves
783 from its power and sever all connections with it. This is called pyndud noh ia u thlen, which means throwing away, exposing the thlen. However this is connected with a great sacrifice for the family concerned. [228] To get free of the thlen, there is no other way than to give up all their possessions. House and contents must be burned down; money and objects of value of all kinds thrown away and even the household animals must be given up. This takes place with the observance of a certain ceremony which is performed by the lyngdoh of a village with the participation of men designated by the S'iem (Khasi king). The sacrificer (lyngdoh) first asks the oracle about the place, mountains, etc., where the thlen goods should be taken. When that is found out, the ones who were the thlen owners go with the lyngdoh and the men named, as well as with a crowd of spectators to the place that has been determined upon. All the movable goods, including clothes, that belong to the ones who wish to be free, are brought here. The lyngdoh speaks an oath and then commands the thlen owners, who have been deprived of all their property down to their naked skins, to return to the village directly without looking around. Then the rest of the spectators leave. This occurs during the night. It is the superstition of the people that the devil snake is inwardly joined with property and follows it. Whoever should appropriate it therefore would also be in the power of the devil snake. The snake would climb on him as the expression says (kin u thlen ha ki).
[Gurdon, op. cit., p. 2147 ... Hajo]

771 Therefore nobody dares to appropriate the ob-
772 jects that have been thrown away or even to touch
773 them. Only into the house of the S'iem and into the whole royal family can no entrance be found by the thlen, and therefore some valuable things may be given to the Khasi king. This may be connected with the fact that usually on the next morning after the above ceremony nothing more is to be found of the objects that were given away. Therefore it rarely happened in former times that anyone kept a found object from fear that it might be thlen property and he might bring the thlen devil into his house with it. But if they did take an object they found, a piece of money or such, home with them, the oracle was first asked by egg throwing whether it contained any evil, and only when this was denied and the real owner could not be found did they keep a part of it; the rest had to be used for sacrificial purposes.

The immovable property is treated the same way as the movable property. Fields which the family formerly possessed lie fallow; nobody dares to take them over or to plant anything on them. [771] But the whole village hastens to help the former thlen owners who have lost all their property. They are given clothes and rice and helped in building a hut so that they can begin an honest life again.

a) Story of a Former Thlen Worshipper.

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775 How is all this known about the thlen, A many ask, if the owners try to hide their secret? An indirect answer is already given by the whole previous presentation. Then it also happens, for example, that men marry into the house of a woman who is a thlen owner. Certainly this is not always known beforehand, although real thlen

[Cf. infra; see ref. no. pp. 28 ff. --Ed.]

776 owners can only conceal this for any length of
573 time with difficulty. Now when the woman gathers the members of her household and the unsuspecting man together for the thlen sacrifice, this man dashes out from fright and tells the horrible things that he has seen. He never returns to his wife by whom he was deceived by the concealment of such an important condition and he seeks another wife.

776 [229] The accounts of previous thlen owners
573 finally give further information. I will only
773 introduce one case as it was told by one of these. I am indebted for this to the kindness of the missionary in Cherrapunji, P. Cordinian Bonhein S.V.D. who has been there many years and to whom a former thlen owner related his experiences. This he translated into our language as follows:

"Formerly we were very poor people. Then one day we found a wonderfully beautiful smooth stone on the mountain when we were chopping wood, and we brought it home and preserved it. From this time on we had good luck everywhere; every undertaking succeeded, we never had losses and our fortune increased from day to day and even at gambling we never lost. Gradually we became rich people. Thus matters continued for four or five years. Then I had a strange dream. A woman appeared to me who said to me: "Look, I have given you such great wealth, now I also demand a sacrifice of you. You should sacrifice a long thah khlih to me, i.e., a goat with a spotted head." The next morning I told my dream to the members of the household, and they thought that she was the goddess who was demanding the sacrifice owing to her. So we sacrificed a goat. But soon after I had a dream again and the same voice as before spoke to me again: "I have demanded ka long thah khlih of you and you only gave me a goat. The goat, however, that I demand,

776 is human blood ka snam brin!" The next morning
682 I told my dream again and all my relatives were
783 frightened, for they knew now that it was the thlen
devil and not the goddess who made them rich. But
now we had to decide what we would do: give up
all our wealth and possession or fulfill the will
of the thlen. We decided to do the latter. But
we let week after week go by until the thlen be-
gan to threaten that he would consume our whole
house. Now we went, my brother and I out stalk-
ing to see if we could murder someone. We saw
a woman from our village go alone to the forest
to gather wood. We crept after her and when we
thought the moment was right we fell upon her
with blows and beat her till she was dead. Im-
mediately thereafter, however, we fled deeper in-
to the forest with the intention of taking the
blood from the slain woman somewhat later when we
could do it undisturbed. But after a while the
woman came to her senses and luckily escaped back
to the village by a different way. When she ar-
rived home she told what had happened and named
the two of us brothers as her murderers. Her
relatives went at once to the chief and accused
us. When we now came out of our hiding place to
get the blood from the woman who we supposed was
dead, we found to our astonishment that she had
disappeared. We hurried along the road to pursue
her but we could not find her anywhere. When we
came home we were told at once that a woman had
luckily escaped from murderers, but that it was
still questionable whether she would live. We,
however, wished secretly that she would die. But
the chieftain had commanded that the woman be
cared for carefully. When she had so far re-
-covered that she could come to a judicial meet-
ing, the chieftain ordered all the inhabitants
of the village to the gathering. Our hands and
feet trembled, and stuttering we confessed our

996 guilt. The chieftain then said to us: "You
IPL will pay the woman the entire cost of her care
783 and agree that I have your thlen driven out and that you give up your property; if you will do that, nothing more will be done to you. A hut where you can live temporarily, a cloth (IX) so that you can at least cover your honor, and rice which you need will be given you by the village until you can again save something. But if you do not wish to do that then a severe punishment will be meted out to you without mercy or pity." We submitted to the judgment of the chieftain. We then had all our possessions carried away and our houses burned down to the ground. And when we had moved into the hut which was built for us by the inhabitants of the village at the command of the chieftain, lo, this wonderful stone was there. We reported this to the chieftain and he took counsel with his elders as to what should now be done. They came to the conclusion that at the time of the first exorcism the Iyngdoh had not given us the command to go home directly without looking around. We had looked around and therefore the thlen had come to us again. Therefore the chieftain now commanded that the expulsion and exorcism and destruction should be undertaken again. This time we went straight home without looking around and so we were then free of the thlen. We have never seen the thlen itself." This much the report of the thlen worshipper.

The Position of the English-Indian Government in Respect to these Human Sacrifices.

IPL 784

But is it possible, many will ask, that such crimes can occur in a British province of the Indian Empire? Why are such things not called to the attention of the English government and why

does the government not interfere? These things are known by the English government and it did and does its best, although the Khasi Mountains still possess their independence in part. Thorough mention of this superstitious immoral custom was made in the administrative report of the government concerning the Khasi Mountains and the Jaintia Mountains of the year 1881-82. Attached to it was the decision of the head of the government of Assam at that time (Chief Commissioner), dated August 5, 1882, in which among other things he stated: "Among the cases, which received judicial treatment in this year, were three murders of quite particular barbarous: two occurred to harmless old women, one to a boy. In none of these cases was a suitable reason given, and it is believed of at least two of them that they are connected with the remarkable superstition of the Ulam." After a presentation of this superstitious custom the report continues: "Many families in these mountains are known as Ulam supporters or are suspected of being so and are therefore feared and avoided. Whenever a dead body is found with the marks described above (blood drawn off through the nostrils, hair, and fingernails cut off) and especially when death is not caused by a wound but by strangulation, it may be assumed with almost absolute certainty that the purpose of the murder was the propitiation of the Ulam. This was observed in one of the three cases indicated; in the two others these signs could not be found; however, since there was no cause at all for a murder, it was more than probable that these two are also to be ascribed to the horrible superstition. In each of these three cases one or two persons were convicted although they might not have been the only guilty

ones; one man was hanged and the rest were sentenced to exile either of many years or for life."

There are also cases of murder in the following years in the government reports which are ascribed to the Uhlen superstition. Particularly noticeable and indicative was a case which occurred in the year 1890. The murder was committed only about ten miles from Shillong, the seat of the English government of Assam, about several hundred meters to one side of the government road, which leads from there to Cherrapunji. No trace of the murderers could be discovered, since the inhabitants of the nearby village did not care to appear as witnesses against them because of their superstitious feat that this would invite the revenge and anger of the Uhlen. They much preferred putting up with the government's sending to the village as a punishment a division of military policemen who had to be harbored and maintained by the inhabitants for a whole year at a great sacrifice. Those are the great difficulties with which the government has to struggle in spite of their best will: with the conditions that obtain there it is not at all difficult to have a person vanish without any trace; but if such a case of murder does come to daylight, it is still a long way to the punishment of the guilty ones because of the lack of witnesses or their refusal to testify. An improvement here can only come from the inside by a change in their religious views. At any rate it is a comfort for Europeans to know that their blood as well as the blood of any foreigner who is not a Khasi is not at all acceptable to the Uhlen and would not suffice to propitiate him.

Opfer und Opferbräuche der Khasi. [p. 211]

Von P. F. Stegmüller, S.D.S., röm. apostolischer Missionär von Assam (Indien).

(Mit 9 Abbildungen im Text.)

1. Die Opferdarbringer:
   a) lyngdoh,
   b) feierliche Einführung der lyngdoh.
2. Die Opfer:
   a) Staatsopfer,
   b) private Opfer,
   c) geheime Opfer.

1. Die Opferdarbringer.

a) Lyngdoh.

Die Religion der Khasi ist eine aus Furcht vor Unglück und Schaden entspringende, durch Opfer sich betätigende Verehrung der (bösen) Geister. Diese meine Definition deckt sich im wesentlichen mit den Definitionen von Bivar[1]), welcher sagt: „Die Khasireligion mag kurz definiert werden als eine Form, Krankheiten zu kurieren und Unglück abzuwehren durch Herausfinden des Namens des Teufels, welcher der Urheber des Übels ist, und durch die Opfer, die nötig sind, ihn zu versöhnen", und Gordon[2]) nennt „die Khasireligion einen Geisterkult, d. h. eigentlich mehr eine Versöhnung der Geister, sowohl guter wie böser, durch Opfer, welche gelegentlich dargebracht werden, besonders in Zeiten der Trübsal".

Unzweifelhaft gehören also Opfer zur Ausübung des Khasireligion. Wer bringt nun diese Opfer dar? Um diese Frage zu beantworten, muß man die verschiedenen bei den Khasi gebräuchlichen Opfer unterscheiden. Wir finden dort

a) öffentliche Opfer,
b) private Opfer,
c) geheime Opfer.

Die öffentlichen Opfer werden von eigens dazu bestimmten Personen männlichen Geschlechtes vollzogen (lyngdoh).

Die privaten Opfer können sowohl von den gewöhnlichen Männern des Volkes als auch von den eigens bestimmten Opferern (lyngdoh) vorgenommen werden.

Die geheimen Opfer werden von irgendeiner Person männlichen oder weiblichen Geschlechtes dargebracht.

Die Khasi haben keine Priester im eigentlichen Sinne des Wortes. Es gibt auch keine Kaste oder kein Geschlecht, aus dem die Opferer hervorgehen würden. Ebenso gibt es keine besondere Schule oder Ausbildung für angehende Opferer. Die Opferer oder lyngdoh haben auch keinerlei Abzeichen.[3]) Lyngdoh sein bedeutet

[1]) Bivar, Administrative Report of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills District of 1976.
[2]) Gordon, „The Khasis", London 1906, S. 105.
[3]) Vgl. P. Dr. C. Becker, „Indischen Kastenwesen und christl. Religion", Aachen, S. 6.

nicht eines eigenen Stand. Die Opferer sind Leute aus dem Volke, die irgendeinen Beruf inne haben, dem sie nachgehen. Nur gelegentlich treten solche Männer als Opferer auf. Selbst die obersten Opferer, die einer gewissen Gegend vorstehen und als lyngdoh rangbah (Chorepiscopi) bekannt sind, sind nicht Opferer von Beruf. So ist z. B. der oberste Opferer von Lamin im Bezirke der War von Beruf Kuli und trägt Lasten von einem Magazin zum andern (Abb. 1). All diese Opferer haben keinerlei angemessene Stellung im Volke. Es ist mehr die „Funktion" vor Ihnen, die sie angenehm macht. Denn die Khasi glauben heut daran, daß die Lyngdoh oder auch nur die gewöhnlichen Opferer Herr über die (bösen) Geister seien. Daher haben sie sehr darauf, sich mit den Opferern nicht zu überwerfen, damit jene nicht in ihrem Zorne die Geister beschwören und den Schuldigen auf den Hals hetzen und ihnen so zum Verderben werden.

Die Opferer sind auch nicht eigentliche Opferdarbringer im strengen Sinne des Wortes, sondern nur stellvertretende Personen beim Opfern. Denn die Khasi leben im Mutterrecht oder in der Mutterverwandtschaft. Mit scharfer Logik und Gründlichkeit haben sie wohl das schlimmste Muster des Mutterrechts ausgebildet und als soziale Organisation bis heute noch durchgeführt. Bei ihnen ist die Mutter das Haupt der Familie, das einzige Band, das der Familie die Einheit gibt, sie ist die einzige Besitzerin und einzige Inhaberin alles Besitzes und durch sie allein ist Erbschaft möglich. Der Vater hat kein Recht auf die Verwandtschaft der Kinder. Diese gehören nur der mütterlichen Linie. Selbst seine Asche wird einst nicht neben der seiner Gattin oder Kinder beigesetzt, sondern sie wird ruhen im Grabe seiner Mutter. Was auch immer der Vater erarbeitet oder erspart, gehört nicht seinen Kindern, sondern geht zurück an die mütterliche Linie. Bei solchen Anschauungen kann es nicht wundernehmen, wenn es auch die Mutter ist, der alle geistige Gewalt zukommt. Und sie ist in Wirklichkeit auch im Vollbesitze der höchsten geistigen Gewalt. Ihr steht es zu, die in der Familie oder Sippe gebräuchlichen Sitten zu bewahren; sie hat dafür zu sorgen, daß die von ihnen her heimischen Gewohnheiten bei den häuslichen Opfern treu bewahrt werden; ihre Pflicht ist es, die angestammten Zeremonien bei den Opfern rein zu erhalten und diese den Nachkommen gewissenhaft zu überliefern. Sie hat daher für die nötigen Opfermaterialien zu sorgen, sie hat alles vorzubereiten, muß allein lesen vor der Darbringung mancher Opfer, sie hat den Auftrag zu einem Opfer zu geben und sie hätte es auch selbst zu vollziehen.

Doch dies geschieht nicht. In Wirklichkeit bringt keine Frau selbst ein Opfer dar.[1]) Sie läßt sich vertreten durch eine männliche Person. Diese muß aber mütterlicherseits mit ihr verwandt sein. Gewöhnlich vertritt sie ein mütterlicher Onkel (kni). Solch eine verwandtschaftliche Vertretung ist stets nötig, sei es bei öffentlichen oder privaten Opfern. Aber nicht bloß der Verwandtschaftsgrad muß auf der weiblichen Linie liegen, es ist auch noch etwas anderes, das bei jedem Opfer zu beachten ist. Wenn auch die Pflichten der Opferer und deren Opfermethoden im allgemeinen sehr verschieden sind und sich jeweils nach den Sitten und angenommenen Gebräuchen in der Familie oder Sippe oder innerhalb eines Staates oder einer Gemeinde zu richten haben, so sind sie doch in einem Punkte alle gleich: nämlich sämtliche Opferer müssen während der Ausübung ihrer diesbezüglichen Dienste von einer Frau assistiert werden. Sie wird einfachhin ka lyngdoh (die Priesterin) genannt.

[1]) Mit Ausnahme der geheimen Opfer, davon später.

[illegible] Lynghöhle und er ist nur für Sadhuvrasen [illegible] Opfer. Gordon[1]) meint, dieser bei Lynghöhl sei einer Zeitlei die Überlieferung von jener Zeit des Matriarchats, in der eine Prinzessin auch die Opfer selbst noch vollzogen hat.

d) Öffentliche und heimliche Einführung als Lynghöhl.

Wie wird man Lynghöhl? Auch diese Frage kann nicht so einfach beantwortet werden. Es ist dies in den verschiedenen Gegenden sehr verschieden. Im allgemeinen darf wohl angenommen werden, daß die Lynghöhl von der Praxis der heimlichen (privaten) Opfer herrührt. Da es ja die Pflicht der Frau ist, dem die Opferzeremonien zu machen, wird sie im heimlichen Kreise einer dieser Söhne in dem der Familie eigenen Ritus der Darbringung der Opfer einführen, damit dieser gelegentlich oder im Falle der Not (Krankheit, Todesfall, Unglück) selbst und nach der vorgeschriebenen Weise die Opfer darbringe. Wird aber gewöhnlich der weibliche Chibel zu dem Opfern herangezogen wird, so kommt der das Opfern erlernte Sohn nicht leicht in der eigenen Familie zur Anwendung seiner Kunst dazu, sondern bei seinen mütterlichen Verwandten. Umgekehrt werden von dort ephebenhafte Personen ins eigene Haus gerufen. Somit wird der die Opfer darbringende Mann bald in der Gegend bekannt werden. Hat er nun Glück bei seinen Verrichtungen, und haben Erfolg seine Bitten, so wird sich bald der Ruf verbreiten, daß er ein gewaltiger Opferer ist, dem die Götter gehorchen und der so vermögend, die ausmerzenden, zu vertreiben oder zu vernichten, je nachdem der Fall es erheischt. So kommt es eine ganz von selbst, daß er ein Mann immer wieder zum Opfern gerufen wird, besonders in heiklen Fällen. Er wird also von selbst zum Lynghöhl und das Volk erkennt ihn auf Grund seiner Erfolge an. Wie einmal ein Lynghöhl gilt, der bleibt es für sein Leben lang. Ähnlich wie bei uns die gewöhnlichen Leute einen Zahnarzt als „Herr Doktor" und einen Gymnasialleiter als „Herr Professor" anreden, so nennen die Khasi einen als guten Opferer bekannten Mann einen Herrn „Lynghöhl", ohne daß sich dieser weiteren über das Recht, den Titel zu führen, durch ein amtliches Vorgehen auszuweisen hätte. Dieser Weg, zum Lynghöhl zu kommen, dürfte in den weitaus meisten Fällen die Praxis sein.

Doch nicht überall gilt er so. Aus Lawin wird berichtet[2]), daß dort eine Stammesmutter der Lynghöhl sei. Ähnlich schreibt Gordon[3]) von einem Lynghöhlstamme, dem die Lynghöhl entnommen würden. Es ist nur eigenartig dieser Fall vorgekommen und ich habe niemals etwas von einem Lynghöhlstamme oder einer Lynghöhlsippe (jaid) gehört. Gewiß kann der Fall eintreten, daß zufällig mehrere Söhne einer und derselben Mutter das Opfern erlernen, daß sie es als vorzüglich erkennen und daß alle Glück haben und so diese Brüder als Lynghöhl gerufen werden.

Damit ist aber die betreffende Mutter auch lange keine Lynghöhlstammesmutter geworden und die betreffende Sippe hat auch kein Anrecht auf den Titel: Lynghöhljaid (Lynghöhlstamm). Es vererbt sich eben sehr selten die richtige Kunst des oft sehr verwegenen und mühsamen Opferns leichter durch die Kinder als außerhalb einer Familie, was auch vorkommt. Diesen Einzelerscheinungen würde aber einmal eine Bevorzugung zu einer Gemeinschaft oder Stammesverwandtschaft der Lynghöhl geben.

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[1]) Gordon, „The Khasis", l. c.
[2]) Sahnerlaubnis Mitteilungen, 1908, Nr. 6, S. 64.
[3]) Gordon, a. a. O.

In [illegible] Gesangsliedern, in denen die Lyngbiê nach durch öffentliche Versammlung eingeladen wurden, dient die Lyngbiê bei den großen Gemeinde- oder Gesangsfesten. Verwendung finden einmal, gleich dem in folgender oder ähnlicher Weise von sich:

Hat man sich genügend auf einen bestimmten Mann, den man eine Lyngbiê für den Bezirk, für die Gemeinde oder das Dorf erwählen will, so wird dieser eingeladen, dann wird ein öffentliches Opfer zu bringen. Vor allem hat er die Genugtuung zu nehmen. Dann muß er sich mit all seinen Verwandten oder Nähern (die ja meist seine Verwandten sind) auf die Spitze eines nahen Berges begeben. Dies geschieht unter großen Feierlichkeiten. Der neue Lyngbiê ist festlich angetan. Frischgewaschene Kleider umhüllen seinen Leib. Sein Turban (Ungarang) ist mit großen Kalmusblättern geschmückt. Um den Leib trägt er einen Gürtel, an dem unten die beim Kleiderlichen (ka ringkiap) hängt. In der einen Hand führt er ein langes Schwert (ka wattang), in der anderen einen Tanzwedel aus Zugschwanz (a ryndiak). Durch ihn sind auch die männlichen Begleiter gekennzeichnet, die jedoch statt der weißen Kalmusblätter einen Bambus tragen (kawa) auf dem Turban haben. Der ganze Zug vom Hause des neuen Lyngbiê bis auf die Spitze des Berges muß ähnlich tanzend zurückgelegt werden, dabei auch die weiblichen Teilnehmer die männlichen begleiten. Aber auch die weiblichen Teilnehmer am Zuge, die nicht zu jenem Bereiche, lassen es sich nicht nehmen, so reiche Schmuck, wenn auch nicht in Tanzkostüm zu erscheinen. Auch sie sind in Trachtgewändern Kleider gekleidet. Die erforderlichen Kopfhaut und ein bemerkbarer Mantel oder Umhang lassen sie schon von weitem als Festteilnehmer erscheinen. Dann tragen die meisten den gewöhnlichen Kleidbestandteil: Ketten von Gold und Silber, von mannigfaltigen Kugeln, die mit edlen Kostbarkeiten ausgeschmückt. Die Frauen und Mädchen nehmen auch diese Gelegenheiten mit. Sie tragen für die übrigen Gast (Bekannt) und Bekannten, denen ein Ring haben an die Hand nennen. Einige Kette, die den Zug begleiten, tragen mit sich Bambus geflochtenen Strohgeschirr (a ma) auf dem Rücken in wunderbar geflochtenen Körben (ka ulang) die übrigen Opfertiere, während andere Kette die lebendigen Opfertiere mit sich führen: eine Ziege und einen Hahn.

Ist alles bereit, so beginnt eine kurze Ansprache, gewöhnlich nur von einem Priesterpriester (ka Tangkuan) und einem oder zwei Trommlern (Gong) begleitend, so spielen und tanzend bewegt sich der Zug langsamer. Langsam geht's vorwärts, die und so wird gewartet und geht die Kokosnußgleiste (ka jugiik dunia) von Mund zu Mund. Nachdem auch ein Bisam Geschwulst (jaat) gemessen worden, geht es tanzend weiter, bis die Spitze des Berges erreicht ist. Man muß die Gleiste kennen und wird sie nur bewundern wegen ihrer Reife und Gewichtigkeit, mit der alles vor sich geht. Die gibt es keine Eile und keine Hetze, kein Hin und Her und keine Vergessen. Sie lassen sich eben zu allem Zeit und so gelingt, was sie angehen.

Hingelend, trippelnd und tänzelnd kommt man eben an. Drei Gleistücken dort, nachdem, so breiten die Angekommenen Blätter von dreierlei und streuen sie auf den Boden. Anderseits werden diese Gleistücken-Blätter neben von Dienst abgenommen, um sie eben auf der Spitze des Berges auszustreuen zu können. Dadurch wird der Boden geheiligt und den Geistern geweiht. Die Männer legen nun die Schwerter und Tanzwedel beiseite. Man beginnt, das erste heutige Opfer des neuen Lyngbiê vorzubereiten. Mit einem Hackmesser (ka wat) wird langsam ein Loch in den Boden gegraben und der ausgegrabene Humus (Erde oder Lehm) wird auf die Mitte des Platzes gebracht, aufeinander gehäuft und dient so als Altar.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Ziege [illegible] Ziege [illegible] Ziege [illegible] Tier [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] Lyngbyit [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] Dämonen und [illegible] Dämonen dienen. Die Zeremonien verschlingen die Kräfte und Gebäuden der Klausurhöhle und bewirkt nach der neuen Lyngdjok [illegible] „Das Opfer ist gut!" Die Zeremonien verschlingen den Auszug und Bläschen [illegible] Zeichen der Zusammenzug in die Höhle. Die Zeige wird dem „Gott, der das Opferen bekämpfen hat" in [illegible] Ordnung dargebracht.

Abb. 4. Das Klausurzelt [illegible]

Nun beginnt ein zweites Opfer [illegible] Dämon dem Gottes [illegible] bei Lyngdjok. Man schlachtet einen Hahn und legt ihn zerteilt auf den Altar. Während der neue Lyngdjok das Blut des Hahnes und die Opfergaben des Altars [illegible] hält, ruft er aus: „Hier das Blut des Hahnes! Nimm!"

Das Opfer ist vollendet. Nun verwenden die Opferflamm in die mitgebrachten Kiste und [illegible] die Opfergaben bestatte.

Der neue Lyngdjok gibt nun die Zeichen zum Freudentanz. Die Mönche, die in [illegible] Tanzbekleidung [illegible] schreiten sich und gruppieren sich den mitgebrachten Schwertern und Tanzwerkzeugen. So [illegible] sie sich nacheinander auf. Die Musik setzt ein und langsam beginnen die Tänzer, sich vom Platz zu bewegen. Hüpfend und [illegible] [illegible] sich auf den anderen [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] bestimmte Figuren. Bald ist es ein Kreis, bald ein Achter, bald eine Spirale, die sich wieder langsam auflöst. Jetzt stehen die Tänzer sich [illegible] gegenüber. Mit lautem Geschrei springen [illegible] zwei aufeinander zu und schlagen [illegible] Schwerter aneinander, dabei Freudenzeichen [illegible], die von den Zuschauern [illegible] werden.

Abb. 5. Das [illegible] Opfer

Nun stellt man sich wieder auf [illegible] Reihe und der Tanz beginnt von vorn. Es gilt [illegible] [illegible] über den Platz, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] mit dem Zusammenschlagen der Schwerter beendigend. Der neue Lyngdjok, der nun zum ersten feierlichen Opfer dargebracht hat, das mit dem Schwerttanz beschlossen wurde, bezeugt jetzt dem Gott, der das Opfern bekämpfen hat, seine Ehrerbietung. Zu diesem Zwecke stellen sich alle Mönche in Ordnung auf und mit dem Lyngdjok an der Spitze verbeugen sie sich dreimal vor dem (unsichtbaren) Gott. Während alle stehen bleiben, macht der Lyngdjok einige Schritte rückwärts und wiederholt stehend die Verbeugungen. Damit ist die Feier zu Ende.

Man stellt sich wieder auf, wie man gekommen. Tanzend begleitet man sich den Berg hinunter bis an die Hütte des Lyngdjok. Dort wird beendigt ein neues Opfer

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

a) [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Frau gebiert [illegible] Kinder, damit sie gesund bleiben, gesund seien und nicht verschlecht, damit die Kinge [illegible] kommen, damit Ihre und die Kinder Ihre machen und zunehmen und die Kinder des Reiches sich ausbreiten, wie sie vermehren deinen Namen und deine Ehre.[1])

In einem anderen Gebete wird gesagt: „O Herr, der du Himmel und Erde erschaffen hast, du hast den Kinge gemacht, daß wir Kinder unsere Geschlecht seien, du hast die Sonne gegeben und den Mond, um das Jahr zu berechnen, damit wir [illegible] ihr jedes Frau [illegible] Gebete [illegible], auf daß der Kinge [illegible] kommen, die Kinder des Tiger zunehmen und gedeihen, die Kinder des Elefanten, die Kinder des Bär, die Kinder des Wildes, die Opfergaben [illegible] mit dem Angesicht deinen Kinge."[1])

Bei diesen Steuer- oder Gebetsmonographien treten in einem Lied die offiziellen Lyrgedichte auf, die [illegible] dem regierenden Kinge oder Kinge [illegible] im Vordrag mit anderen Lyrgedichten aus den Gebieten der Opfer [illegible]. Diese jährlichen Staatsopfer werden als großer Feierlichkeit eingeleitet und durchgeführt. Sie finden vor dem Palast der [illegible] und [illegible] Kinge statt. [illegible]

Zu den jährlichen Opfergaben, die auf einem [illegible] Altar gruppiert werden und aus einem Bananenblatt, Betelnußkörben, Pfefferkörben, Reisbrüchen, Eier und [illegible], [illegible] Reisbrüchen in einer Kokosschale und Eiweißkörben bestehen, kommen [illegible] Hühner und Ziegen, am Schluß noch ein Schwein. Ziegen werden in großen Mengen geschlachtet, so daß der Hauptbetrag dieser Staatsopfer im Vieh vor den zum Kinge (zum Ziegenkörper) gemacht wird.

Neben dem Schlachten der Opfertiere spielt der Tanz eine Hauptrolle. Bei diesen großen Opfern werden als bei den Kinge jährlichen Tänze aufgeführt: an der Tanz

[1]) P. Dr. C. Bruhn, S. D. S., „Die Feuergewinnung in den Kinschingen", Anthropos VIII, Sei. [illegible]

[1]) P. Dr. Bruhn, S. D. S., l. c. S. 992 (Anthropos)

[illegible]

Zum Sexualopfer selbst vereinigen sich alle Bewohner des betreffenden Bezirkes. Mit der dem Kinde eigentümlichen Geschicklichkeit schauen sie einstweilen dem Vorgang der einzelnen Opfer und den Tänzen zu. Am Abend des Hauptbetrages wird zur Opfermagd gebeten, an dem alle Opferenden, Tänzer und Zuschauer teilnehmen dürfen.

[illegible] Opfer.

Außer den jährlichen großen Sexualopfern werden von den Kinni auch noch andere Opfer dargebracht. Es sind dies die gewöhnlichen Opfer, die den Bedürfnissen des täglichen Lebens entspringen. Als solche können angeführt werden:

1. Opfer vom Beginn der Ernte.
2. Opfer bei der Hausweihung.
3. Opfer vor jedem wichtigen Geschäfte, z. B. vor der Jagd, vor dem Kampf, vor dem Gerichte, vor dem Pflanzen, vor dem Hämmern, vor [illegible] Ehe usw.
4. Dankopfer nach erhaltener Gesundheit.
5. Opfer in Krankheitsfällen.
6. Opfer bei einem Todesfall.
7. Einen dritte Opfer vom Aufbringenden zu bedürftigenden Gutes bei [illegible] sich hier um die Aufbrechen begangenen Fehler heute [illegible]
8. Opfer bei der Leichenverbrennung.
9. Opfer bei der Reinigung der Gebeine:
   a) beim man ohne [illegible] Reinigung),
   b) beim man [illegible] Reinigung),
   c) beim man bei [illegible] Reinigung).
10. Opfer zum Gedächtnis der Verstorbenen:
    a) das Monatsopfer,
    b) das Jahresopfer.

Diese verschiedenen Opfer können sowohl von den offiziellen Lyngdoh als auch von anderen Lyngdoh oder auch von gewöhnlichen Männern aus dem Volke dargebracht werden, vorausgesetzt, daß sie den Ritus, der in der betreffenden Familie herrscht, genau kennen und sich danach richten.

Zu keinem Opfer wird eine bestimmte [illegible] Verlesung verlangt. Nur [illegible] Ausnahme gibt es beim [illegible] Opfer für die dritte und letzte Bestattung der Gebeine [illegible]. Dieses darf nur durch durchgeführt werden, wenn alle Verwandten der betreffenden Sippe [illegible] in Frieden leben. Dies muß von dem das Opfer vollziehenden Lyngdoh eigens festgestellt werden. Würde sich irgendeine Feindschaft oder ein Zwist bei der Untersuchung herausstellen, so müßte die Bestattung mit dem durch verhandelnden Opfer so lange hinausgeschoben werden, bis die Bedingung des allgemeinen Familienfriedens erfüllt ist.

Was den Ort der Opfer betrifft, so verteilen sich diese auf folgende Weise:

1. In der Hütte wird geopfert:
   bei der Namensgebung,
   nach erfolgter Genesung.
2. Im Hofe vor der Hütte wird geopfert:
   beim Befragen der Geister,
   vor einem wichtigen Geschäfte,
   in Krankheitsfällen,
   [illegible],
   bei einem Todesfall.
3. Außerhalb des Anwesens wird geopfert:
   bei der Leichenverbrennung am Ort derselben,
   bei den drei verschiedenen Bestattungen der Gebeine am Ort derselben,
   beim Gedächtnisopfer am Ort, wo die Gebeine ruhen.

Die Opfergaben für die einzelnen Opfer sind folgende:

1. Beim Befragen der Geister: Eier, Hühner.
2. Bei der Namensgebung: Reisbranntwein, Reismehl, Eier, Gewürze, Hühner.
3. Wichtiges Geschäft: Eier, Hühner.
4. Nach erlangter Gesundheit: kyo und ryoni, Kürbis und Kürbisflasche, Reisbranntwein.
5. In Krankheitsfällen: Eier, Hühner, Ziegen, Schweine, Rüben.
6. Bei einem Todesfall: Ei (Bauchei), Huhn, Reis, Schweis, Stier.
7. [illegible]: Eier, Kürbis und Kürbisflasche, Reisbranntwein, Wasser, Tauben, Hühner, Ziege, Schweis.
8. Bei der Leichenverbrennung: Reis, kyo und ryoni, Ochsen, Schweis, Ziegenbock, Huhn, Ei (Bauchei).
9. Bei der Bestattung: a) Huhn, Reisbrei, Ei, Branntwein,
   b) Huhn, Reisbrei, Reisbranntwein,
   c) Schweis, Huhn, Stier, Ziegenbock.
10. Beim Gedächtnisopfer: a) Schweis,
    b) Schweis.

Man unterscheidet also drei bestimmte Opfer, die sich immer wiederholen in regelmässiger Form:

1. Das Speiseopfer.
2. Das Kopfer (Eierweihe).
3. Das Blutopfer mit Eingeweidescheue:
   a) beim Huhn (Hahn),
   b) bei der Ziege (Ziege, Schweis, Stier, Kuh).

1. Das Speiseopfer.

Zur Darbringung dieses Opfers gehört vor allem ein Altar. Dieser wird aus Erde gemacht und besteht in einem kleinen Häufchen Erde, das man mit einem ka weit (Hackenmesser) von dem Boden in der Mitte des darzubringenden Opfers herausholt.

Die gewöhnlichen Opfergaben, Zutaten und Opfergeräte sind:

kyo: eine Art Brot, aus Reismehl gemacht, wobei der Reis zuerst gewaschen, gemahlen und dann zu Mehl zerstampft wird.

ryoni: eine Art Brot in Kugelform aus gestampftem Reis- oder Maismehl, mit Zucker versetzt.

o Wein: ungebrauchter, ambitiöser Wein.
o Öl: Kleinbäuerlich.
o Mehl: Reichsmannsmehl.
ka ma: Wasser.
kwal: Reichsmehl.
Gruppen: Pfahlbaut.
ka kali: Bauernmehl.
ka ding ning: Bäcker der Klassischen Dichterischer Hexen: Carmenpunk ep.)
o lula: ein silberner Wasserbehälter.
ka pilang rupa: ein silberner, schlangenartiger Teller.
ka pilang kpelbe: eine ziemlich große Schüssel aus Messing.

Die Opferung der Gaben bestehe darin, daß diese in bestimmten Formen oder Figuren auf den Altar gelegt und mit dem Blute der (meistens zu opfernden) Tiere gerötet oder wenigstens mit Wasser und Reichsmannsmehl besprengt werden.

3. Das Eingeben (Einwerfen).

Das Eingeben oder Einwerfen (ninu) zylong), wie es gewöhnlich genannt wird, ist das häufigste von allen. Es wird bei dreipeugen Gelegenheiten angewandt, bei denen etwas zu erfragen und zu erforschen ist. Sie sollen die Gnaden beim Einwerfen kund tun: wo der günstigste Ort für ein zu errichtendes Heiligtum (Hütten-Haus) ist; aus welchem Wasser der für den Hüttenbau nötige Bambus zu holen wäre; wo das angelegtigste Jagdfeld sich befinde; welchen wohl der günstigste Tag zum Ausritt einer Reise ist; in welcher Woche man den Reisebau beginnen könne; an welchem Wochen der beste Almanb zu erbeiten wäre; wo ein allgemeinen Pfahlwohnschiffen stattfinden könne; aus welchen Ursache jemand krank darnieder liege; wer wohl eine stattfindende Schwangerschaft durch ein sittlichen Vergehen verschuldet habe.

Zu diesem Opfer werden ein unbenutzes Lyngefäß gerufen. Dem die Kinnt sind mit dem Einwerfen so vertraut, daß wohl die meisten Männer damit umzugehen verstehen. Auch ist der Vorgang durchaus nicht so kompliziert, so daß auch ein weniger Gebildeter sich an das Einwerfen wagen kann. Nur in ganz schwierigen Fällen, besonders in Krankheitsfällen, macht man einen Lyngefäß, das Opfer zu vollziehen. Oder auch in Fällen, in denen die Gnaden nicht anwesend werden.[1])

Zur Darbringung des Eingebens gehört:

1. Eine Holzplatte, die an den Ecken abgerundet ist und einen Handgriff hat. Man nennt sie ka ding ninu pylong (das Holz zum Einwerfen). Der mittlere Teil wird ka lung (das Schiffchen) genannt.

2. Rote Erde zum Kenntlichmachen der Außenseite der Eierschalen.

3. Ungebrochen, unbildlicher Reis, der in verschiedenen Häufchen (oder auch nur in einem) auf das Wurffeuer gelegt wird.

4. Endlich auch Eier, die der Reihe nach, nachdem sie mit Reis bestreut (Abb. 3), mit der roten Erde eingerieben, bekleidet und mit Schneckenhäusern besteckt werden, mit Gewalt auf das Wurffeuer geworfen werden (Abb. 4). Durch diesen Vorgang zerplatzt das Ei und spritzt das Klar und der Dotter heraus, während die Eierschalen sich in die verschiedensten Richtungen zerstreuen. Damit nun das Weiche zu Ei die Eierschalen nicht zu sehr beschädigen, spricht der Opferer vor dem Werfen: „Es kommen das Klar in die äußerste Ecke! Es springe hinein in die Ecke! Hinunter mit dem Linken! Es klappe zusammen, das Linke!"

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[1]) P. P. Stengelitten, S. D. S., „Dualismus", Missionsverlag St. Gabriel, Wien 1933, S. 21.

Die Lage der Eierschalen gibt nun die Antwort (1000 B), und neue Gebete die verschiedenen Lagen angefüllter Körperteile.

1. Wenn die kleinen Schalenteile mit der Innenseite nach unten zu liegen kommen, und zwar auf beiden Seiten des Bettes, aber mit Ausnahme des Schlafzimmers, so wird die Frage des Eierwerfers nicht beantwortet. Tritt dieser Fall ein, so fragt der Opferer beim nächsten E. mit nachdrücklichen Stimme vorher an: „Habe ich etwas gesündigt? Habe ich gewuchert und gebeutet das Leben? den weißen Leben? den gelben Leben? den kleinigen Leben? den aufgeblähten Leben? O laß mich erkennen, was nach rechts liegt und was nach links liegt! Laß mich erkennen das auf dem Rücken Liegende und das auf dem Bauche Liegende! O kläre mich, du E. des Gebiets!"

2. Liegt eine Menge kleiner Eierschalen rund um das Schiffchen, so bedeutet das, daß die Menge Gründe (für eine Krankheit u. B.) vorhanden sind, die man nicht herausfinden kann. In diesem Falle wird der Opferer sich beim nächsten E. ungefähr ausdrücken: „O E. des Gebiets! Ist dem eine Sünde, ein Verbrechen begangen worden? Wurde der Schwiegervater-unserer-Tochter beleidigt? Ich will erwägen und den Augen am Vorangehen erhellen, man sucht die Ursache und die Schuld des Kummers und auf Verdrauen wie mag! Stehe mir! Wirung-kann-es-nicht-Begehren-und-wieder-wenn-mein Wille! Du sollst sagen! Du sollst aufklären! Du sollst helfen! O sollst doch die Schuldverteile [illegible]! Verkünden den Zeitschwerpunkt! Überzeugen den Lieben über den Bruder! Sagt mir! Es kommt nicht von der Familie her, es kommt von außen her, daß die Schuld an dem Unglück trägt!"

3. Liegt ein Bruchteil Eierschale mit der Außenseite nach unten unterhalb des Schiffchens in der Mitte des Bettes, so bedeutet dies, daß die Gottin ein Blutopfer will.

4. Liegt ein kleines Bruchteil Eierschale ganz allein am oberen Ende des Schiffchens, so bedeutet dies, daß die Gottheit schwer erzürnt ist.

Sei halten die Eier für alle möglichen Stellungen der Eierschalen, je nachdem sie offen oder umgekehrt, in der Mitte, unten oder seitlich vom Schiffchen liegen, die Bedeutung herausfinden, die die Gottheit durch die Lage machen will. Es liegt auf der Hand, daß es lange weiter gegangen wird, bis endlich eine Stellung erreicht ist, die den gewünschten Erfolg angibt. Sei kommt es vor, daß Wi 100 und mehr Eier bei einem einzigen Opfer gebraucht werden.

Diese Art die Eier zu werfen ist die gewöhnliche. Es gibt aber noch eine einfachere Methode. Der Opferer hält das E. in eine Hand (da ja rund). Sie nimmt er in die linke Hand und bestreicht es mit Reinigungen. Nun versucht er unter Anwendung von Spröchen und Zauberformeln mit dem Daumen der rechten Hand das Spitze des Eies einzudrücken. Gelingt dies, so ist dies ein gutes Zeichen, wenn nicht, so bedeutet es das Gegenteil.[1])

Nur in Krankheitsfällen wendet der Opferer nicht das gewöhnliche Wurfbrett, sie dessen Stelle gebraucht er eine zirkelförmig große Schüssel aus Nemering (ein pflanzenartiges), auf welche er ein Gitter aus dünnen Bambusstäben legt. Das entscheidende E. wirft durch das Gitter in die Schüssel und aus den Eierschalen versucht der Opferer dann ähnlich, wie oben beschrieben, indem er das ganze Bambusgitter als Wurfbrett betrachtet.[2])

1) P. Dr. C. Becker, S. D. S., „Das Eierwerfen der Kiwai", Anthropos 1912, S. 488.

2) P. P. Scapellier, S. D. S., „Bei der Eierwerfung eines Familienzeichenbuches", Anthropos 1921, 21/2, S. 449.

5. Das Stabopfer und Eingeweideorakel.

a) Das Stabopfer (Jagdzauber).

Wird durch Gewerbe der gewünschte Erfolg nicht erreicht, so liegt manchmal das Stabopfer. Die Ratio wird der Gottheit gewiesen durch Begegnungen mit Berg, Stein, Baum und Quell. Der Opferer taucht nun die scharfen Messer in das kristallene Opferwasser und schneidet dann den Halm, die Rute durch. Das Blut fällt in auf den Altar und die Opfergaben schaffen. Nun beginnt die Eingeweideschau, die zwar nicht immer gleich ist, aber im folgenden, wie allgemein üblich, beschrieben wird[1]: „Die Spreuartikel der Hühner ist angeblich in der Mitte zwischen Hals und Magen gelegentlich gefunden. Der rechte dieser Zacken wird von a Ber (Gott), der linke a Ber (Mensch) genannt. Trennt sich man nach dem Messiaen, ob er etwa etwas bei sich, irgendwelche Krankheitssymptome oder Fehler aufweist, in diesem Falle ist das Hühnchen schon untauglich zum Opfern. Aber selbst wenn (die) tadellos ist, will man noch besseren Ausschlag. Man nimmt nach der oben erwähnten Vorgehung und der Opferrede beginnt, den Darm in der Hand haltend, das Zwiegespräch mit der Frage: „Nga bzlit nga bzrdzes. Ga ka shal da ka Gtsa, ang rangkhak a Ber, shak a Ber?" (Ich frage und kneipte durch das Wortes und durch Gnade, erhebt sich der Mensch und ringt sich Gott?) Dabei benetzt er mit der anderen Hand pour Vergatterung der Spreuartikel mit ein wenig Bier, wodurch sich durch die konvulsivischen Zuckungen tatsächlich der eine oder andere Teil demarkieren tut. Erhebt sich „der Mensch", so ist es ein gutes Zeichen, da ebenfalls die gegenüberstehende Vereinigung, der „Gott", sich dann vorwärts tut, sich ruhig verhält zum Zeichen des Einverstandenseins."

Dabei ruft der opfernde Lungdzik die Gottheit an und schließt mit folgenden Worten: „Ha, das Gtsa das Hakaua? Hurra? Seha da, ich verrolle hier den Halm, den Gedanken, damit gut sei die Bewegung. Dieses hier ist das Geschwindi, dieses das Gewand, dieses die Seide, dieses der Mond und das Bier, nicht wahr? Seha hier das Rote das Sonnenlos, hier das Rote das Eingetreue vom Vorderhaus und der Schwarz, nicht wahr?"[2]

b) Das Ziegenopfer (gsum blang).

Der Ziege wird mit einem Holz der Kopf abgeschlagen. Zum eigentlichen Opfer dürfen nur Teile aus dem Innern des Tieres (na ka lpak) genommen werden. Man nimmt verwendet 3, 7 oder 9 Teile. Werden 3 Teile genommen, so sind dieses von Herz, Niere, Lunge, Gallenblase und Leber. Werden 7 Teile genommen, so kommen noch Stücke von der Milz und dem Lendenstück dazu. Bei 9 Teilen die eben erwähnten sehen Stücke von Dünn- und Dickdarm. Sind die Teile gut, so ist auch das Opfer gut, sind aber Flecken und Sprenkeln (da ka thak da ka ter da ka bzang da ka brtsi) vorhanden, so muß das Opfer wegen Nichtigkeit wiederholt werden. Der übrige Ritus ist gleich dem oben bei der Erstlingsopfer dem Lungdzik angeführten.

Bei Schweinen wird zu allgemeinem nur darauf geachtet, ob Leber, Lunge, Milz und Gallenblase gesund sind.

c) Geheime Opfer.

Sind die bisher beschriebenen Opfer und ihre Darbringer allgemein bekannt, so spinnt sich um das „geheime Opfer" ein ganzes Netz von Sagen. Die Khasi selbst

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1) P. Dr. C. Bonkes, S. D. S., Anthropos 1909, Band 4, S. [illegible]

2) P. F. Gregorius, Anthropos 1910—11, S. 419 f.

Mitteilungen d. Anthrop. Gesellschaft in Wien, Bd. LIII, 1923 9

[illegible] Opfer und Kultus dieses Gottes [illegible] wie [illegible] Menschenopfer, das dem Tuskar „zu Ehren" dargebracht wird. Tatsache ist, daß diese Opfer dargebracht worden und noch immer dargebracht werden. Ich selbst kannte vier Personen, die in den Jahren 1909 – 10 diesem abscheulichen Aberglauben zum Opfer fielen.

Um die geheimen Opfer oder die „Menschenopfer" der Khasi zu beschreiben, ist es nötig:

1. die Tiersage zu skizzieren,
2. die Verkörperungen zum Opfer — oder den Mord selbst — zu behandeln,
3. die Durchführung des Opfers zu schildern.

Dieses vorläufig angeben soll wir uns selbst einige offene Fragen, erstens:

1. Wie kommt das Volk diese Tatsachen auf?
   a) die Furcht unter dem Volke,
   b) die Verfolgung von Tiger,
   c) Erzählung einzelnen Tiergeschichten.
2. Die Stellung der englisch-indischen Regierung zu diesen Menschenopfern?

I. Die Tiersage

Eines Tags Mutter weilten von Cherrapunjee[1], unter dem großen Wasserfalle Nuh ka Likai, befindet sich die Hütte Freudalis, von der sich eine alte Geschichte erzählt. Hier war einmal der Aufenthaltsort einer riesengroßen Schlange — a Khasi gesprochen — welche große Verheerungen unter Menschen und Tieren anrichtete. Die Leute mußten ihr weichen, als zum Mahle zu gehen; die Hütte von denen wurde regelmäßig von dem Tiger verschlungen, die andere konnte ruhig ihren Weg fortsetzen. Es war ein Gesetz für den Tiger, immer nur die halbe Anzahl der Menschen oder Tiere, welche vorher kamen, zu verzehren. Nachdem schon viele Leute auf dem Wege zum Leben gekommen waren, hatten die Khasi einen Tages zusammen mit den Talfreundinnen eine große Versammlung, eine Diskussion, ob, um zu beraten, wie sie diesem großen Unglück abhelfen könnten. Ein einziger Mann, namens Sunduk, erhob sich, dieses Wunder zu schaffen. Er fing an, Zinger, Schwerter und Kreuter zu dem Tiger zu rufen, um diese dazuhaben zu können zu gehen. Nachdem er den Bogen fertig gelegt hatte, wurde der Tiger ganz wahn und verfolgt zu ihm. Eines Tages brachte Sunduk ein Stück glühend rotes Eisen mit, das er mittels einer Zange hielt. Er öffnete die Schlange auf, den Mund zu öffnen, um ihr ein Stück Fleisch hinein zu geben. Diese gierte darauf, öffnete ihr Maul und Sunduk steckte ihr rasch das glühendhelle Eisen in den Schlund, so daß sie unter schrecklichen Zuckungen verkam. In einer phonetischen Versammlung kam man dann überein, daß man die tote Schlange in zwei Hälften zerlegen wolle: die eine Hälfte dann sollen die Talfreundinnen aufessen, die andere die Khasi. Da die erstere sehr zähnisch sind, war es dann ein Leichtes, ihre Portion zu bewältigen; die Khasi konnten der Sache jedoch nicht ganz Herr werden und halfen etwas davon übrig. Andere sagen, daß in dem Dorf Mawphu, westlich von Cherrapunjee, eine alte Frau ihren Anteil aufzunehmen vergaß. Kurzum, die Khasi verzehrten ihren Teil nicht ganz und so kam es, daß der Tiger sich wieder vermehren konnte und unter ihnen noch lebt bis auf den heutigen Tag.

[1] Die folgenden Ausführungen sind dem Artikel „Menschenopfer unter den Khasi" von P. Sn. C. Hicks, S. D. S., Serai Mitteilungen 1909, Nr. 3, S. 73 ff., entnommen.

2. Die Verbereitungen zum Opfer.

Der Tiboo ist jedoch jetzt nicht mehr der öffentliche Wegbereiter von [illegible]. Er hat sich in den besten der Häuser zurückgezogen; auch ist er die nicht mehr [illegible] [illegible] Platze, sondern vorzüglich zu [illegible] zu finden. Es sind besondere Familien, die die Besitzer eines solchen Schlangenbuches gelten und die selbst auch [illegible] Tiboo bekannt sind. Man nennt sie einfach die Wunga-Tiboo-Besitzer eines Tiboo. Dieser wird von seinem Besitzer sorgfältig an einem sicheren Platze aufbewahrt und geheim gehalten. Er soll nur von den Nachkommen des Tiboo-[illegible] gesehen werden. Auch sagt man von ihm, daß er auch die auf den Umfang [illegible] Fußbrett [illegible] sind, so leicht in einem Korbe oder [illegible] Gefäße Platz finde. Andere sagen sogar, er habe die Macht, sich in eine Kuhle, einen Kolben oder Stein zu verwandeln und in diesem Falle bei seinem Besitzer zu verweilen.

Für diesen ist der Besitz des Tiboo ein kostbares Ding; denn wo der Tiboo seine Wohnung aufgeschlagen hat, da bringt er Glück und Reichtum in die Familie. Dies hat er jedoch nur unter der Bedingung, daß er mit Wohlwollen [illegible] wird. Gefällt er diesem nicht, so meidet er sich von Zeit zu Zeit in der betreffenden Familie den Nachts im Traume. Wird sein Verlangen auch da nicht mehr erfüllt, so kommt es mit Krankheit, Unglücksfällen, Verarmung u. dgl. Es macht somit den Besitzer nicht anders abhängig, als den Tiboo durch Menschenmund zu befriedigen oder zu verscheuchen. In sichtlichster Weise kann er auf sein Opfer einen oder auch mit einem anderen, den er dazu dingt. Vielfach haben nicht die Tiboowesen einen angemessenen Lohnplatz, d. h. Tagelöhner, der ihr seine Verrichtungen am Reichtum seines Herrn einstreichen darf, ohne sich weiter mit anderen Arbeiten zu plagen. Derselbe gilt mit seinem Herrn gewissermaßen auf die Lauer und gibt von der Höhe eines Berges oder am Wege oder Wasserlauf vorzüglich gut Obacht, ob nicht irgend jemand allein den Wegen kommt. Durch Zuruf oder Zeichen verständigt er den in einiger Entfernung sich aufhaltenden Herrn, um dann nunmehr den Raub zu begehen. Beide sind gewöhnlich vermummt und mit einer Hutkaule bewaffnet, um damit den Opfer zu erschlagen. Im Vollmonde kommt man dem Wunder im Dienste des Tiboo sowie der Tiboowesen im allgemeinen nicht nur sorglos sich, sondern [illegible] Tätigkeit. Von Eisenwaffen dürfen demselben bei Begehung ihrer heimlichen Tätigkeit keinen Gebrauch machen, sondern das Eisen, wie oben erwähnt, vermeidet sich so verhängnisvoll für den Tiboo-Spannenden erweisen. Dem Erschlagenen werden mit einer eisernen Schere die Spitzen der Hände und die Fingerspitzen abgeschnitten; dann sticht ihn der Wunder mit einer eisernen Lanzette in die Nasenflügel hinein und fängt das herausfließende Blut in einem Bambusrohre auf. Was nennt den pur man. Um das Blut aufzufangen, darf wiederum kein Gefäß aus Eisen oder Metall benutzt werden.

3. Die Darbringung des Opfers.

Der Tiboozauber befragt nun das Orakel über den Zeitpunkt, wann er das Blut dem Tiboo opfern soll. Ist dieser gekommen, so wird zur dunklen Nachtzeit die ganze Familie in der Hütte des Tiboozauberers oder der Tiboozauberin versammelt. Die Tiboo werden geöffnet und auf dem Boden kostbare Tücher ausgebreitet. Das Blut des Erschlagenen wird auf eine Messingplatte oder einen Teller (ka ploug) gegossen; dann legt man dessen Hände und Fingerspitzen. Ein Glied der Familie beginnt eine kleine Trommel zu schlagen und ruft dabei: „O Orakel, O Vater, komm hervor, wir haben alles getan, um dich zufrieden zu stellen, und nun ist es uns gegückt.

Gibt man diesen Sagen, dass wir Gesundheit und Geschick erlangen?" Man sagt, der Tiger werde nur von den Hausangehörigen seines Bezirkes gemieden. In eine [illegible] für einen Gegner er sich [illegible] dem Hause denselben aufhält, wer hat der Ortsgruppe von Menschenblut [illegible] er in seiner weiteren Gestalt als Schlange. Derselbe soll auf die Anschauungen bei den Dorfbewohnern [illegible] und anfangen, sich auszudehnen, bis sie ihre volle Größe erreicht habe. Sie nähere sich nun der Pforte und wenn sie wenig vor derselben, bis der Geist des Erschlagenen auf der Pforte stehend erscheint. Derselbe sollte daher lachen. Die Schlange fängt nun an, die ganze Gestalt zu verschlingen, indem sie bei den Füßen beginnt; dem Opfer soll dabei hergestellt lachen. Selbstverständlich ist es schwer, über solche in vollständiger Körperlichkeit vor sich gehende Handlungen etwas Sicheres und Genaueres zu erfahren. Der Schlangenzauber ist nach Erhalten des Opfers wieder beendigt und geht nun das Fühlen des Glücks und Geschickes über das Haus aus.

Opferzauber. Es ist notwendig nicht immer leicht, ein Menschenopfer zu finden. In diesem Falle macht sich der Thiendoctor in anderer Weise zu helfen. Es gilt darauf aus, wenigstens etwas von den Haaren oder der Kleidung irgendeiner Person zu erwerben und dann den Schlangenzauber zu üben. Für diejenigen, denen die Haare oder das Stückchen Tuch gehören, bedeutet dies ein Verhängnis, denn es besteht der Glaube unter den Khasi, daß der oder die Betreffende bald darauf erkrankt, bisweilen und nicht oder durch wenigstens Unglück und Armut über sie kommen. Man ist darum sehr auf der Hut, daß einem Thiendoctor nichts derartiges in die Hände fällt. Vielfach z. B. jemand ein Haar, so ist er begreiflich darauf bedacht, es sogleich im Feuer zu verbrennen und es so der Vernichtung anheim zu geben, bevor noch ein Thiendoctor sich dieselbe aneignen könnte. Kann dieser gar nichts auffinden, so begnügt er sich damit, wenigstens mit Steinen auf irgend ein Opfer zu werfen oder zur Nachtzeit an besonder Tiere zu gehen. Es soll dann den Thiere ein, um ihn mitzutreten, daß er sein Bestes gethan habe, ihm eine Beute zu verschaffen, dass aber leider erfolglos geworden sei. Hierauf soll der Schlangenzauber für eine Zeitlang unterbleiben, bis er wiederum sein Verlangen nach Menschenblut kund gebe. Manche Kinder machen sich allerdings bisweilen in Krankheitsfällen dadurch Heilung zu verschaffen, daß sie sich unter den Schutz des Thiers begeben. Sie geben dem Thiendoctor einige ihrer Haare, Stückchen vom Kleide, reihen einer entsprechenden Gabe an Geld oder Lebensmittels als Opfer für den Thiers- ei Kinder, um so die Gesundheit wieder zu erlangen.

Wie äußert das Volk diesen Tatsachen auf?

a) Die Furcht unter dem Volke.

Eine sehr Furcht vor diesem Wildere im Dienste des Thiers durchdringt das ganze Leben der Khasi; besonders stark ist diese Gefühl noch in den Kleingemeinden von Cherra, Mylliem und Nongkrem. Man hütet sich selbstverständlich sehr vor Personen, die im Besitz eines Schlangenzauberers gelten, und wagt es vielfach nicht einmal, deren Namen auszusprechen aus Furcht, ein Thei könnte einem befallen. Manche derselben sind unter dem Volke mit Sicherheit bekannt; bei anderen vermutet man es nur. Es war uns viel daran gelegen, eine photographische Darstellung solcher Leute, die als Thiendoctor gelten, zu erhalten; jedoch stoß man dabei bis jetzt nur auf vollständige Weigerung von seiten derselben. Das böse Gewissen läßt sie wohl etwas dabei befürchten. Das Haus einer Thiendoctorin in Mawrei, einige

[illegible]

Bei Nacht gelangt sich die Kraft [illegible] [illegible] Wird er einmal unterwegs von der [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

kommen. Ob von dem Tiere bei so weiten, bleibt für einige andere Dinge, die auch dem ganzen Bestimmen zu entdecken. Haus und Einrichtung müssen vorhanden, Geld und Werkzeuge aber bei hergewerfen und selbst die Kosten geringgeschätzt werden. Dies geschieht unter Bedeutung einer gewissen Zeremonie, die durch den Lyngbrik einen Dorfes unter Mitwirkung der vom Dorfe (Kiwuchtung) bestimmten Männer vorgenommen wird. Der Opferer (Lyngbrik) befragt zunächst den Orakel nach dem Ort, Berge usw., wo die Tätigkeiten hingetragen werden sollen. Ist das erreicht, so begeben sich die Betreffenden Männerleuten mit dem Lyngbrik und den genannten Männern nach einer Menge Zuschauer an den betreffenden Ort. Hinter werden auch alle beweglichen Güter der anderen, selbst mit Einschluß der Kinder gebracht. Der Lyngbrik spricht mehrere eine Abschreckungsformel und bittet hierauf den Ba auf die nächste Frist von all denen Fall und Gut verbliebenen Tätigkeiten, gewünschte und eine unverbrauchen bei Dorf verbindenden. Hierauf nehmen sich auch die übrigen Zuschauer Dies alles geschieht während der Nacht. Es ist Vorbedingung, daß die Schlangenzeichen mit dem Eigentum wenig verbunden ist und dies bringt. Wer eine [illegible] übernehmen würde, könne dadurch auch unter die Gewalt des Schlangenzeichens, dessen wären auf die übrigen, wie die Ausdruck lautet: Sie a dies ba bi. Hierauf wagt es darum, die hergeworfenen Gegenstände sich anzueignen oder auch nur sie zu berühren. Nur in dem Haus des Diebes und in die ganze bewegliche Familie kann der Tiger seinen Eingang finden und darum können auch einige Wochen dem Kiwuchtung übergeben werden. Hierauf mag es zusammenbringen; daß gewöhnlich erhält ein anderes Dorfes nach der übrigen Zeremonie von den geringgeworfenen Gegenständen sich nichts mehr verfindet. Dieses kann es damit in früheren Zeiten dadurch erhoben wird, daß jemand sich einen gefundenen Gegenstand aneignete und Familie, so bildete Tiger aber und er erhielt sich dadurch den Tiger mit dem Dorfe bei. Hatte man jedoch einen gefundenen Gegenstand, ein Geldstück oder dergleichen mit nach Hause, so wurde sodann der Orakel durch Dienerfrau befragt, ob derselbe nicht einen Bann erhalte, und nur, wenn das verneint wurde und die notwendigen Bannen nicht gefunden werden konnte, behielt man einen Teil davon zurück, das übrige mußte zu Opfervorrichtungen verwendet werden.

Das gleiche wie für die beweglichen Güter gilt auch für die unbeweglichen. Felder, welche die Familie ziehen konnte, blieben brach liegen, niemand wagt es, dieselben zu übernehmen oder etwas darauf anzubauen. Das so von einer Gesellschaft verbliebene abgelegene Tiger-Gebiet springt jedoch das ganze Dorf bei. Was vorzüglich ist mit Kindern und Frau und hilft dann eine Hütte bauen, damit sie wieder ein rechtschaffenes Leben beginnen können.

c) Erschlagung ehemaliger Tigerangehörigen

Wollen wollt man dann aber ob dieses Ban den Tiger, wird manchen Tiger, wenn dieses bisher ihr Gemeinde zu verbrechen ausfindet? Eine indirekte Antwort auf diese Frage ergibt sich schon aus der ganzen bisherigen Darstellung. Dann aber kommt es auch vor, daß z. B. Männer in das Haus einer Frau betreten, die Tigerangehörigen ist. Bestimmt wollt man das ja vorher nicht wissen, obwohl wirklich Tigerangehörigen auf die Dauer schwer ganz verheimlichen können. Wenn nun die Frau ihre Haustürgegenstände und den erschlagenden Mann aus Tigerangehörigen verstoßen, dann dann vor Schrecken Bedauen und erzählt das Schwerbrechen, was er gemacht. Er bittet nicht mehr zurück zu seiner Frau, von der er durch Verheimlichung eines so wichtigen Umstandes betrogen war, und sucht sich eine andere Gefährtin.

Weiteren Aufschluß geben endlich auch die Erzählungen einzelner Tätowierten. Ich will hier nur einen Fall wiedergeben, wie er von solchen selbst erzählt wird. Dementsprechend verdanke ich der Güte des langjährigen Missionärs in Cheveyeuyen, P. Corrinder Bakujkem S. D. S., welchem ein tätowier Tätowierter seine Erlebnisse erzählte und der Ihn, wie folgt, in unserer Sprache übertragen hat:

„Wir waren Diebe wie unser Lande. Da landen wir eines Tages auf den Bergen beim Dörfchen einen wunderbar schönen glatten Stein, trugen ihn nach Hause und verwendeten ihn. Von dieser Zeit an hatten wir überall Glück, es gelang uns jeder Unternehmen, ich hatten ein Verlangen, unsere Vorväter mehrere mit von Tag zu Tag und wollen keine Spur verlassen wie sie. Wir wurden allgemach reiche Leute. So ging es fort etwa 2 bis 3 Jahre. Da hatte ich einen wunderbaren Traum. Es erschien mir eine Frau, die sagte zu mir: „Seit, ich habe dir jetzt so großen Reichtum verschafft, nun verlange ich auch ein Opfer von dir. Du sollst mir eine lang Hab Hitti, d. h. eine am Kopf gefaßte Ziege opfern. „Am anderen Morgen erzählte ich meinen Gesellschaftsgenossen den Traum und dieser meinten, daß sei die Göttin gewesen, die verlange das die goldbraunen Opfer. So opferten wir also die Ziege. Allein bald darauf hatte ich wieder einen Traum und dieselbe Stimme wie zuvor sprach wieder zu mir: „Ich habe von dir so lang Hab Hitti verlangt und du gibst mir nur so eine Ziege. Die Ziege also,die ich verlange, ist Menschenblut, so eine lang!" Am anderen Morgen erzählte ich wieder meinen Traum und da erschraken alle meine Angehörigen, denn sie wußten nun, daß es der Tätowerhut und nicht die Göttin war, der sie nicht gemacht. Nun aber hatten wir uns zu entschließen, was wir anfangen wollten: eines unserer Geschlecht, Hab und Gut geringgeben oder den Willen des Tätos erfüllen. Wir entschlossen uns für das letztere. Aber wir hatten Wochen um Wochen vergehen, bis uns der Täto im Traume zu drohen anfing, er werde unser ganzes Haus verderben. Nun gingen wir, ich und mein Bruder, auf die Lauer, um irgend jemanden ermorden zu können. Wir sahen eine Frau von unserem Dorfe allein in den Wald gehen, um Holz zu sammeln. Dieser erschien wir recht, und es war den Augenblick für geeignet halten. Überfielen wir sie mit Prügeln und erschlugen sie tot. Gleich darauf aber Stickten wir tiefer in den Wald in der Absicht, der erschlagenen Frau eines spitzen Stab abzuschneiden, wenn wir dies ungestört tun könnten. Nach einer Weile kam aber die Frau wieder zu sich und entkam glücklich im Dorf zurück auf einem anderen Wege. Zu Hause angekommen, erzählte sie den Geschehenen und nannte uns beide Beider als ihre Mörder. Ihre Angehörigen aber gingen gleich zum Häuptling und verklagten uns. Als wir uns nun den unseren Vorwurfe konfrontierten, um die ungemeinten Frau Stat abzuzapfen, fanden wir zu unserem Staunen, daß sie verschwunden war. Wir eilten auf den Weg, um sie zu verfolgen, konnten sie aber irgendwo nicht finden. Als wir nach Hause kamen, erzählte man uns gleich, daß eine Frau glücklich den Mördern entkommen sei, es sei aber doch fraglich, ob sie noch mit dem Leben davon kommen würde. Wir aber erkannten in gehörnem, daß sie doch sterben sollte. Der Häuptling aber hatte befohlen, daß die Frau sorgsam gepflegt werde. Als sie daher so weit sich wieder erholt hatte, daß sie zur Gerichtsstätte kommen konnte, befahl der Häuptling alle Dorfbewohner zur Versammlung. Wir zitterten an Händen und Füßen, und stotterend bekannten wir unseren Schuld. Der Häuptling sagte dann zu uns: „Ihr bezahlt der Frau ähnliche Kosten für ihre Verpflegung und gebt zu, daß ich euch meine Thäre verbrennen und vor Hab und Gut geringgeben lasse; wollt ihr das tun, so soll euch weiter nichts geschehen. Eine Hütte, wo ihr einstweilen wohnen könnt, ein Tuch

Kamit ist vorgegangen zum Elen bedeutet Stein, und Ben und wenn ihr somit noch nötig habt, wird auch noch Dieß angegeben werden, bis ihr wieder etwas ungewöhnlich scheint. Wenn ihr aber das nicht wißt, dann soll noch eine kurze Strafe treffen ohne Gnade und Barmherzigkeit." Wir unterwarfen uns dem Urteil des Häuptlings. Dieser hat darauf all unser Hab und Gut weggegeben und unser Haus bis auf den Grund und Boden niedergerissen. Und als wir nun die Hütte bauten, welche uns von den Dorfbewohnern auf Geheiß des Häuptlings erbaut wurde, siehe da fand sich wiederum dieser wunderbare Stein vor. Wir berichteten das dem Häuptling und dieser beriet sich mit seinen Ältesten, was man zu tun habe. Sie kamen zum Schlusse, daß uns bei der ersten Besichtigung die Lingkoh nicht den Beistand gegeben hatten, gemäßigt, ohne unsuchtsvoll, vorangegangen. Wir hatten umgesonnen und darum war der Thlen wieder auf uns gekommen. Daher befahl nun der Häuptling, die Vertreibung und Abschreckung und Vernichtung noch einmal vorzunehmen. Diesmal gingen wir gemäßigt hin, ohne unsuchtsvoll, und so waren wir diesmal frei vom Thlen. Den Thlen nahm halten wir wir gemieden." Soweit der Bericht des Thlenvertreibers.

Die Stellung der englisch-indischen Regierung zu diesem Menschenopfer.

Aber ist es denn möglich, wird mancher fragen, daß solche Verbrechen in einer britischen Provinz des indischen Kaiserreiches geschehen können? Warum werden solche Dinge der englischen Regierung nicht bekannt gemacht oder warum greift diese nicht ein? Diese Dinge sind der englischen Regierung bekannt und sie ist und ist gewiß das einzige, trotzdem die Khasiberge noch zum Teil ihre Selbständigkeit besitzen. Schon in den Verwaltungsberichten der Regierung über die Khasi- und Jaintiaberge des Jahres 1881–82 wurde dieser abergläubischen Unsitte eingehende Erwähnung getan. Anschließend daran veröffentlichte der damalige Hauptmann der Regierung Assams (Chief Commissioner) unterm 1. August 1882 eine Entschließung, in welcher unter anderem ausgeführt wird: „Unter den Fällen, welche in diesem Jahre zur gerichtlichen Verhandlung kamen, waren drei Erwürgungen von ganz besonderer Niederträchtigkeit: zwei geschahen an harmlosen alten Frauen, eine an einem Knaben. In keinem dieser Fälle wurde irgendeine entsprechende Ursache angegeben und nur wenigstens zwei derselben glaubt man, daß sie mit dem bemerkenswerten Aberglauben des Thlen in Verbindung stehen." Nach einer Darlegung dieser abergläubischen Sitte heißt es weiter: „Viele Familien in diesen Bergen sind als Thlenhalter bekannt oder stehen im Verdachte es zu sein und sind infolgedessen gefürchtet und gemieden. Wo immer ein toter Körper gefunden wird mit den oben beschriebenen Merkmalen (Blut durch die Nasenöffnungen abgezapft, Haare und Fingerspitzen abgeschnitten) und besonders, wenn der Tod durch keine Wunde, sondern durch Halsumdrehen herbeigeführt wurde, kann man mit nahezu absoluter Gewißheit annehmen, daß der Zweck des Mordes die Besänftigung des Thlen war. Dies wurde in einem der drei angeführten Fälle beobachtet; in den beiden anderen konnte man diese Ansichten nicht finden; da jedoch keinerlei Ursache für einen Mord vorlag, war es mehr als wahrscheinlich, daß auch sie dem schrecklichen Aberglauben zuzuschreiben sind. In jedem dieser drei Fälle wurden eine oder zwei Personen ermordet, obgleich das vielleicht nicht alle Mitschuldigen sein dürften; ein Mann wurde gehängt und die übrigen wurden zu lebenslänglicher oder mehrjähriger Verbannung verurteilt."

Auch in den folgenden Jahren finden sich in den Regierungsberichten noch Mordfälle, die dem Tibetanerglauben zur Last gelegt werden. Besonders auffällig und bezeichnend war ein Fall, der sich im Jahre 1890 ereignete. Der Mord wurde vor ungefähr zehn Meilen von Shillong, der Residenz der englischen Regierung von Assam, begangen, einige hundert Meter abseits von der Regierungsstraße, die von dort nach Chirrapunjee führt. Von den Mördern konnte man keine Spur entdecken, da die nahen Dorfbewohner es nicht wagten, als Zeugen gegen sie aufzutreten aus übergläubischer Furcht, die Rache und den Zorn des Thian auf sich zu laden. Sie erlangten es darum lieber, daß die Regierung zur Strafe eine Abteilung Polizeisoldaten in diesem Dorf schickte, welche von den Bewohnern unter schweren Opfern ein ganzes Jahr lang beherbergt und unterhalten werden mußten. Das sind die großen Schwierigkeiten, mit denen trotz des besten Willens die Regierung zu kämpfen hat; einmal ist es bei den obwaltenden Verhältnissen ja überhaupt nicht allzu schwer, eine Person spurlos verschwinden zu lassen; kommt dazu aber doch ein solcher Mordfall ans Tageslicht, so ist bei Erzwingung oder Weigerung von Zeugen immerhin noch ein guter Schritt bis zur Bestrafung der Schuldigen. Hier kann eine Besserung nur allein nur von innen heraus kommen durch Änderung der religiösen Anschauungen. Für Europäer ist es immerhin ein Trost, zu wissen, daß ihr Blut sowie das eines jeden Ausländers, der nicht Khasi ist, dem Thian keineswegs angenehm ist und nicht geneigt würde, ihn zu beschützen.

Mitteilungen d. Anthrop. Gesellsch. in Wien, Bd. LIV, 1924.

4:Stegmiller—M-4,5(no date)1925 AR7 Khasi AR7

Arrow Shooting and Hunting Customs of the Khasi
by P.F. Stegmiller, S.D.S., Apostolic Missionary
of Assam.

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1. Arrow Shooting and Its Implements.

Corresponding to the general interest which is shown in arrow shooting, the tools that belong to this art are prepared with great skill and ability, (1) namely the bow, the arrow, and

1. Hermann Meyer, Pfeil und Bogen in Zentralbrasilien, (Leipzig, 1895), p. 16. [Bows and Arrows in Central Brazil].

the target.

411 A kind of bamboo with many knots is used
422 for the Khasi bow (ka rynthieh), and it is cut out in one piece so that there are at least five knots on the bow. The length of the bow is about 1.5 meters. It is not a matter of indifference how long the bow is. The best shots claim that the bow must be made to measure and must be made shoulder height. The size of the man determines the size of the bow. (2)

2. Bruno Adler, Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie, [International Archive for Ethnography] Vol. 14, Supplement: "Der nordasiatische Pfeil", [The North Asian Arrow], p. 14: "The long arrow of the Japanese corresponds to the longest bow which we find in Asia-phenomena which are in the grossest contrast to the small figure of the Japanese."

4: Stegmiller M-4, 5 (no date) 1925
AR7 Khasi AR7

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ARROW SHOOTING AND HUNTING OF THE KHASI

(PFEILSCHIESSEN UND JAGDGEBRÄUCHE DER KHASI)

By P. F. Stegmiller

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[Title page]

4: Stegmiller -2- M-4,5, (No date) 1925

AR7 Kossi An7

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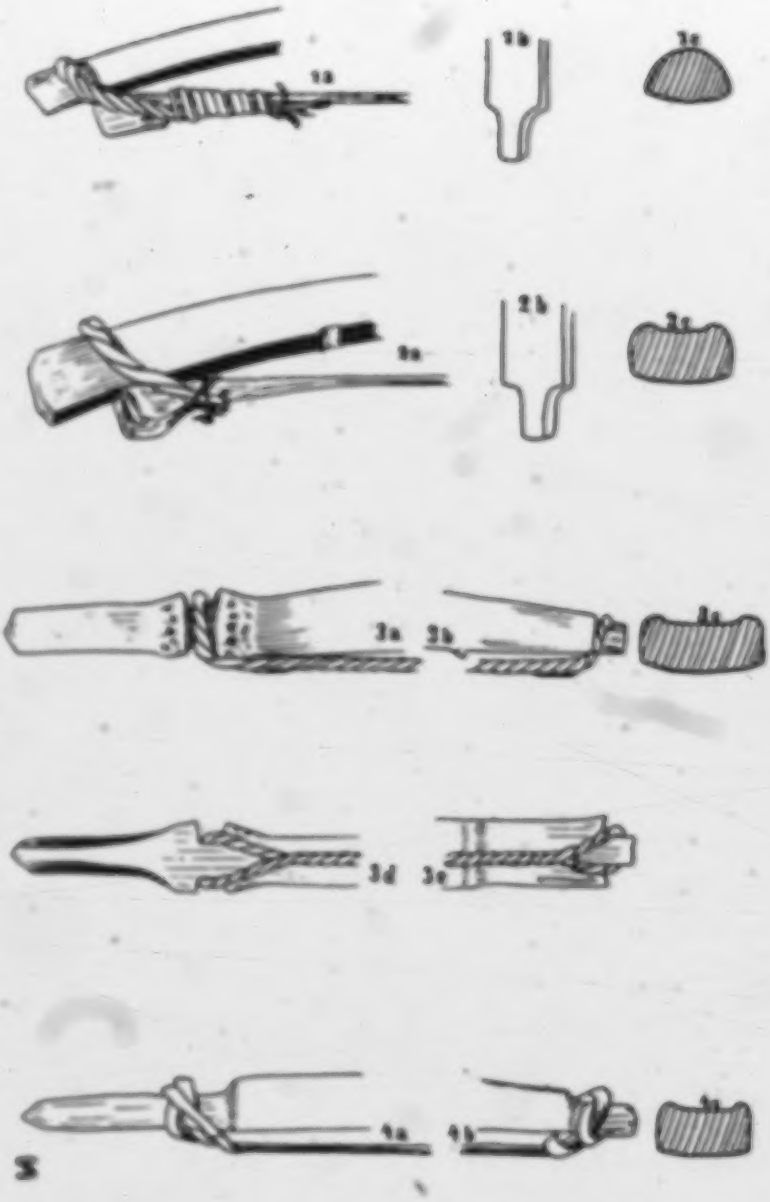

Fig. I

When a strong bamboo with many knots is found, it is cut off and split after the length has been determined. The outside of the bow in smaller bows is rounded off; (3) 411 322

3. Illustration I, fig. 1c.

for the usual bows and the larger ones almost the full half of the bamboo is taken. A little is cut off only on the sides so that the profile of the bow nearly forms a right angle. (4) In each case the shiny

4. Illustration I, figs. 2,3,4c.

outer side of the bamboo becomes the inside of the bow. The bow becomes smaller towards the ends. The ends are rounded off. Underneath one end, about 3 centimeters from the end, a notch is made, into which the string is put directly without any other means of fastening. The string remains fastened by pulling the loop taut. At the other end of the bow a peg is cut, around which the string is hung just before the bow is used. Often both ends of the bow end in a point. (5)

5. Illustration I, fig. 1, 2b.

The bow must not be kept strung but must be unstrung when left unused for a while. Stringing the bow is always done in this way. The archer takes the bow in his left hand while standing, resting on the ground the end to which the string always remains attached, and then pressing down the other end with his right hand as far as is necessary to hang the loop of the string around 411 284

411 the peg. In many cases with bows with the
284 points indented the string is attached by means of a special loop of bast or split bamboo (u thri), but it is also fastened directly by hanging around the peg. [608] [Illustration I. Khasi Bows. 1a, 1b, 1c, 2a, 2b, 2c, 3a, 3b, 3c, 3d, 3e, 4a, 4b, 4c]. [609] The bow is carved flat in the middle and a strip of reed palm is wound around it so that there is a band 12 to 15 centimeters wide around it. The purpose of this is to provide a surer grip, as the left hand, which carries the bow when shooting, gets a better grip on the ribbed foundation. In other places also, primarily at the ends of the bow, such reed strips are fastened and merely serve the purpose of ornamentation.

411 When the bow is completed, it is thorough-
322 ly smoked. The smoking takes place in the hut. In the center of the hut a fire burns constantly in a hearth of earth or of stone, the smoke of which, since there is no vent or chimney, seeks a way out the best it can. Above the fire a swing is set up from the ceiling on which the wood lies for drying. The bow and also the string are left lying on this swing until the desired result occurs. Smoked bows are more resistant to dampness, longer lasting, and considerably tougher. The smoking has no effect on the flexibility of the bow. (6)

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6. Ethongraphic Museum Munich: Bows As, 108, a, b, c, have 3 knots; bow As, 28, has 4 knots; bow J has 3 knots; bow S has 5 knots; bows As, 108, a, b, c, have a length of 119.5 centimeters; bow As, 28 has a length of 144 centimeters; bow J has a

length of 141 centimeters; bow S has a length of 156 centimeters; bows As, a, b, c, have a breadth of 22 millimeters in the middle, and 17 millimeters at the ends; bow As, 28, has a breadth of 27 millimeters in the middle and 18 millimeters at the ends; bow J has a breadth of 25 millimeters in the middle, and 12 to 16 millimeters at the ends; bow S has a breadth of 32 millimeters in the middle, and 12 to 18 millimeters at the ends; bow S gets smaller and smaller at an even rate towards the end to which the string is attached just before the bow is shot, while it gets too high at the other end. Height of the bow in the middle is 15 millimeters, at one end 12 millimeters, at the other 17 millimeters; bow J gets smaller and smaller at an even rate towards the end where the string is attached just before the bow is shot, while at the other end it becomes too round. Height in the middle 15 millimeters, at one end 12 millimeters (in the breadth), at the other end 12 millimeters (about on the average). None of the bows has either a wrapped handgrip nor any other ornamentation.

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For making the string (u ksai) the Khasi split a bamboo and split a strip of it off which they smoke thoroughly. The string is uniform for bows with a circular notch; for bows with tapered points, it becomes thicker towards the ends, on which braces are cut from the bamboo knots made from one piece with the string. The kinds of bamboo used for the strings are called u spit, u skhen and u siej-lieh by the Khasi. Bast string, twisted many times, is also used for the string. The bamboo strings are smoked (see above).[1] The strings obtained thus are extremely strong and can stand great tension. With a bow of 150 centimeters the height of the arc, i.e., the span of a strung bow amounts to 10 to 12 centimeters. Often, however, the string is almost the length of the bow and no arc results. When shooting the arc is increased by tightening the string to 60 centimeters. Thus the bow is a powerful, mighty /o107 sling, which sends off the arrow without any mechanism other than pulling back the string and moving back the bent bamboo. (7)

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7. Bow As, 108, b, has a bamboo string with 5 knots, the shiny side facing inward. The string is 4 millimeters wide in the middle and 7 millimeters wide at the ends. At each end there is a brace cut out of a piece with the string. The string is fastened to the indented tips by means of a threefold bamboo lace (u thri). The string and the bamboo lace are fastened by a strip of bamboo 3 millimeters wide. Illustration I, fig. la, height of the arc 9 centimeters,

1 [See category 116, p. 4--Analyst]

weight of the bow 190 grams. Bows 108, a, b, c, can scarcely have been used for sport, more probably they are children's bows, unless they were made deliberately for selling to Europeans. Bows As, 28, has a bamboo string with five knots, 3 millimeters wide in the middle and 8 millimeters wide at the ends and at both ends there are braces made out of a piece with the string. The outer shiny side of the bamboo string that is turned inward is scraped off with the exception of the ends of the string. There it is split and bent back as a covering for the brace. The string is fastened on both sides of the indented tips by means of a double bast lace. Both are held together with wire. Illustration I, fig. 2a, height of the arc 8 centimeters, weight of the bow 330 grams. Bow J has a bamboo string with two knots, 3 millimeters wide throughout without a brace. It is fastened at the pegs by hanging directly. Weight of the bow 330 grams. Illustration I, fig. 4a, 4b. Bow S has a threefold string of bast. This bast string is hung around the notch and the peg (indented tip) like a loop. The knots that tie the loop are 30 centimeters and 19 centimeters respectively from the ends. Weight of the bow is 449 grams. Illustration I, figs. 3a, 3b, 3c, 3d. Both of the bows mentioned last have no

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arc height since the strings are as long as the bows.

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The Khasi make the followings kinds of arrows:

1. Feathered arrows ('nam-pur).
2. Unfeathered arrows ('nam).

Feathered or unfeathered ones are: a) hunting arrows, b) arrows for sport. Always feathered are c) children's arrows.

Ad a) Hunting arrows (u 'nam-pliang) are about 70 centimeters long, and have tips like a spear with barbs. (8) The weight of the hunting

8. Illustration II, figs. 2a, 2b.

arrows is about 25 grams. These arrows are still poisoned nowadays.

Ad b) Arrows for sport (u 'nam-sop) are about 60 centimeters long and have round, conical iron tips. (9) Weight of the arrow for

9. Illustration II, fig. 1.

sport is about 8 grams.

Ad c) Children's arrows (u 'nam-phiah) are about 50 centimeters long, and have round points or none at all. The feathering is different from that of the other arrows (cf. the latter).

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Shafts of the Arrows

All the arrows are made of a very thin bamboo (u 'nam-long or igrâ) and smoked. When possible bamboo free of knots is used. The arrow is about 6 to 7 millimeters thick. The length of the arrow varies greatly. For the arrow and the bow must complement each other inwardly just as they belong together externally. (10)

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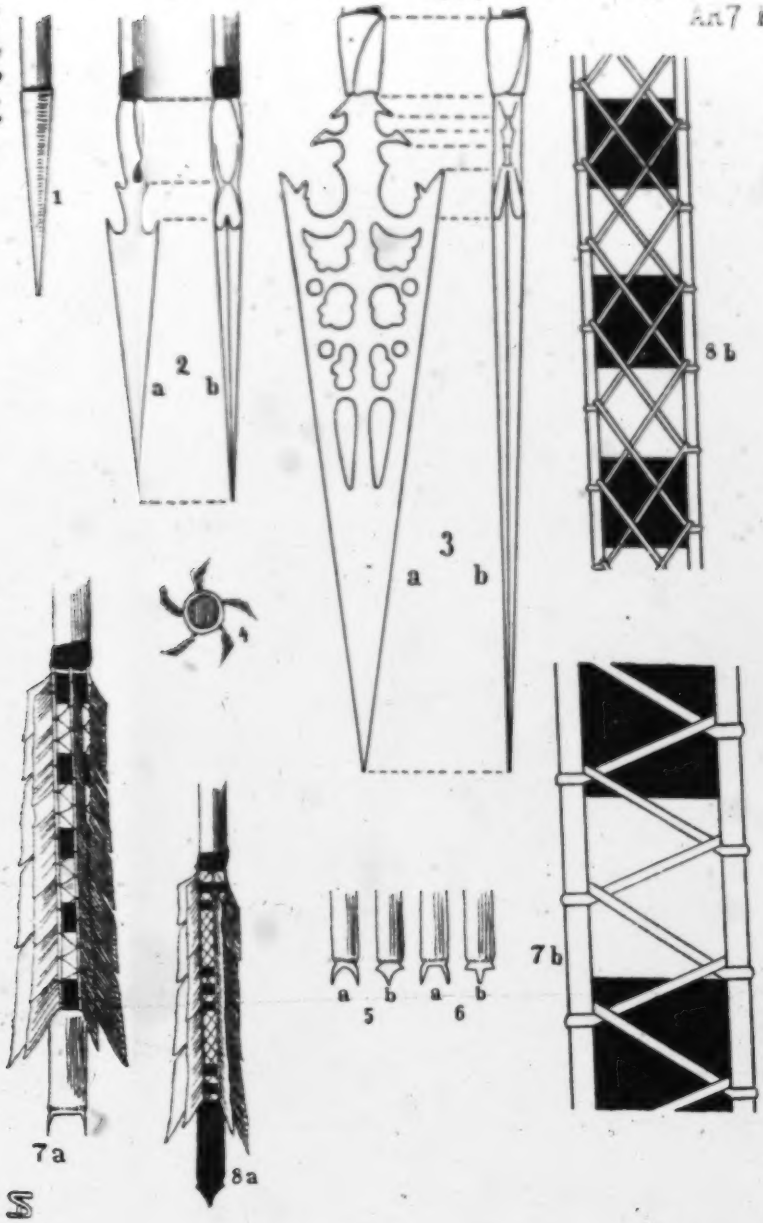

Fig. 2

10. Dr. R. Karutz, Die afrikanischen Bogen, Pfeile und Köcher im Lübecker Museum für Völkerkunde /African Bows, Arrows and Quivers in the Lübeck Ethnological Museum/ (Lübeck, 1900) p. 219.

There is no doubt that the length of the arrow depends on the length of the bow. A large, but less flexible bow does not need so long /611/ /Illustration II. Khasi Arrows. Figs. 1, 2a, 2b, 3a, 3b, 4, 5a, 5b, 6a, 6b, 7a, 7b, 8a, 8b./ /612/ an arrow as a smaller more flexible one. The absolute length of the bow conditions the length of the arrow to the extent that usually a longer bow requires a longer arrow. (11) Arrows for sport will [526]

11. Bruno Adler, op. cit. p. 13.

float horizontally on water. (12)

12. "Weniaminoff relates (Sapiski ob ostrovah Unalaschkinskago otdjela /Notes on the Island of the Unalaska Territory/, Vol. 2, St. Petersburg, 1840) of the Aleutians that the tips of their arrows, especially the ones used in hunting beaver, have such a weight distribution that the arrow does not sink in the water in spite of the heavy shaft nor does it lie on the water, but floats upright, so that a piece almost a foot long sticks up above the surface of the water."

Arrow Tips

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326 The arrow tips are made of iron in the village smithies. The tips of the hunting arrows ('nam-pliang) are flat, raised a little towards the middle and have smooth or toothed edges and two or more barbs (shaped like a spear). Length of the tip is about 9 to 15 [531] centimeters. Beautiful wrought iron arrow tips with pierced designs are also made. (13)

13. Illustration II, figs. 3a, 3b.

[526] The tips of the arrows used for sport ('nam-sop) are round and conical. Length is about 3 to 6 centimeters.

The spear-shaped arrow tips are poisoned with (ka bih) poison which the Khasi obtain from the tuber of a plant (aconitum ferox Wallich, aconite).

Attaching the Arrow Tips.

411 The arrow tips are attached in two ways:

1. either the shaft of the arrow is pointed in front and the arrow tip, which is hollow inside, is placed on it-both are joined with sealing wax;

2. or there is a separate shell of copper which connects the arrow tip with the shaft. Sealing wax is not used, since the shell acts as a clamp. Length of the shell is about 1.5 centimeters.

The Notch of the Arrow

At the tip of the opposite end a notch is cut in every arrow. The arrow is taken from a whole 'nam-long or igrâ (kind of bamboo) in

such a way that the notch can be cut directly after a knot. The purpose of the notch is to be able to set the arrow easily on the string. There are two kinds of notches: 411

1. Notches which resemble the curve of a Moorish bow. (14)

14. Illustration II, figs. 5a, 5b.

2. Notches which have an even flatness at the bottom and a point on the left and the right. (15)

15. Illustration II, figs. 6a, 6b.

Relationship of the Cut Surface to the Notch.

The large spear-shaped tips of the hunting arrows ('nam-pliang) are made with the wide flat part at right angles to the notch and thus to the string of the bow. (16)

16. Bruno Adler, op. cit., p. 607.

Markings on the Arrows.

/613/ Many arrows (arrows for sport 'nam-sop) are marked with black lacquer from the end of the base of the feathering to the notch, so that the arrows of the teams can be told apart in shooting competitions. (17) [526]

17. Illustration II, fig. 8a.

Feathering the Arrows 411

The Khasi have two ways of feathering: 237

1. Radial sewn feathering.
2. Tangential tied feathering.

411 Ad 1. Radial sewn feathering is the common
237 method. Feathers are taken from geese, cranes, cormorants, Buluwar vultures and the horn bird. The feathers of the carrion vultures are used less often as they are brittle. The feathers are split along the quill (shaft), cut on the top and on the bottom and sewn onto the base. At one end the feathers are 4 millimeters wide, on the other end (towards the notch) 8 millimeters wide. The split quill is 5 centimeters, the outer flags of the feathers 7 to 8 centimeters.

411 The base consists of tinfoil and is divi-
237 ded variously. A strip of tinfoil (not colored) alternates with a strip of tinfoil colored red.
531 Thus the bases have a red tinfoil strip in the middle and two red ones at each end. Or there are three in the middle and at the ends two or three red strips of tinfoil. The space in between is filled out with uncolored tinfoil (silver). The red strips of tinfoil are two millimeters wide. (18)

18. Illustration II, fig. 8a.

There are also bases of leather which is cut very fine and gilded. As in the examples just mentioned red strips of tinfoil alternate with the base that is not colored; similarly, uncolored strips of leather alternate with the gilded base. The uncolored strips of leather are 7 millimeters wide. (19)

19. Illustration II, fig. 7a.

The feathers which have been cut properly are now sewn onto the bases with uncolored natural silk, in a spiral form, (20), although

20. Illustration II, fig. 4

lightly. The stitches are made exactly and evenly throughout. Figures 7b and 8b of illustration II, though greatly enlarged show how the silken threads are put on. With a base 5 centimeters long the number of stitches is 22 to 24, with bases of 7.5 the number of stitches is 29 to 31. 411 237 531

The feathers are at right angles to the split quill on the shaft and are sewn on five together, more rarely three together.

On the underside of the base (towards the tip of the arrow) black colored pitch is smeared, to unite the cut off feather ends to the shaft of the arrow. (21)

21. Illustration II, figs. 7a, 8a.

/014/ Ad. 2. Tied tangential feathering is only used still on children's arrows ('nam-phiah). A completely uncut feather is fastened lengthwise on the end of the arrow by silk or bast and the join is smeared with pitch. 111 237

Hunting arrows and arrows for sport are also used unfeathered (hunting arrows especially in the neighborhood of Lamin) and are then simply called 'nam, but if they are feathered they are called 'nam-pur. 411 526

The target is made of the soft wood of a root and is called ka soh pdung by the Khasi. A piece of wood about 8 to 10 centimeters wide and 50 centimeters long is cut from the root, smoothed on the front side and pointed somewhat towards the ground, so that the whole thing resembles a relatively wide but short lath. This target is set up by putting the somewhat pointed end into the earth and placing two bamboo sticks behind as braces, so that the target cannot be tipped

411 over backwards by th impact of the arrows.
526 Bunches of grass of straw, u skum, are taken and fastened to a pole. The distance between the shooters and the target is quite varied, 50 to 200 meters being the usual distance. The Khasi bows can shoot an arrow a great distance with accuracy. Good shots hit the target even at a distance of 200 meters. The average shot can stand at a distance of 130 to 170 meters. Consideration is taken of younger archers, but if the distance has been established, it must be very carefully adhered to. A string is stretched along the ground which indicates exactly where the shooter must stand.

411

Ways of Bending the Bow

It takes a lot of practice and especially a great deal of strength to hit a definite mark. The archer usually gets down on his right knee and grasps the bow, with his left arm stretched out, somewhat below the middle of the ribbed band and braces his thunb against the bow. He places the arrow with his right hand. The arrows shoot out on the left side of the bow. Some release the arrow between the middle finger and the index finger which is held somewhat bent. The right hand braces the end of the arrow in the notch on the string and holds it firm with the thumb and bent index finger. With the head bent a little to the left and aiming with the right eye, string and arrow are pulled at the same time and after the bow has been pulled to the correct tension, the arrow is released. (22) Only the best shots

22. Hans von Stüssi, Mit Pfeil und Bogen /With Bow and Arrow/,

411

achieve calm aiming and a calm posture.

Another method of bending the bow is also used a great deal. The archer takes the arrow in his right hand, places it to the left on the bow and pulls the string with his middle finger and ring finger while his thumb and index finger hold the arrow. /614a/ /Table I, Khasi at an Archery Contest/ /614b/ Table II. Khasi at an Archery Contest/

/615/ The Quiver

The quiver (ka ryngkap) is made of plaited bamboo which is covered on the outside with a very finely plaited cover of reed palm. Its shape resembles a closed umbrella. At the opening the plaited work is raised in front in the shape of an arc, and in the back it is raised in a more rounded form. On each side where the quiver curves down and around a stick is attached. Quivers are not used for shooting or hunting. The Khasi carry their arrows in their hands then. The use of quivers is restricted to dances and even this is very rare. (23) [535]

23. Ethnographic Museum, Munich, Quiver As, 106, is 57 centimeters long and 9 centimeters wide at the opening. The plaited part in front is 40 centimeters high behind 38 centimeters, and on the sides where it curves in 33.5 centimeters. The very finely plaited reed palm has 16 smooth inlays at distances of 1.3 to

526

[614a] Table I

4: Stegmiller 18 ..-4.5, (No date) 1925
AK7 Khasi ...

526

p 18

Table II

411

2 centimeters. On the two sticks on each of the same sides is a bamboo strip covered around with palm reed which is tied with palm reed at intervals of 3 to 5 centimeters. Weight of the quiver 220 grams.

2. Archery Contests

526 Arrows are shot on every big market day which occurs every eight days. The men and youths of a village gather together, go to the place chosen for the contest and practise industriously, because everyone wants to win in the big contest. These usually take place from January to May. Large factions develop then: village against village. The number of participants must be equally large. Each faction has its own shooting place with its own target, each next to one another. The archers by tens are placed in a line and are the same distance from the target as the string stretched on the ground indicates. Each receives three arrows for a round. The watchers and the judges are placed near the target at right angles to the archers. Both factions name their judges themselves. The latter select a fortunate day by egg throwing; (24) they choose the

24. Becker, "Das Eierwerfen der Khasi", /Egg Throwing Among the Khasi/ Anthropos, 1917-1918, pp. 494 ff.

place of the contest as well as the number of participants and the arrows to be shot. They also measure the exact distance from the target, place the string on the ground, examine the

arrows for their markings and arrange the whole contest. 526

Early in the morning on the day of the contest, each judge, accompanied by the archers and several curious people, goes to the place of the festivity. There he stands before the target, which was set up the day before. The bows and arrows are placed beside the target. The judge now proclaims aloud again 526 all the conditions of the contest. He calls 782 upon the Khasi Eve (ka-mei-ka-nong-hukum (25)

25. The Khasi believe that arrow shooting began with the creation of the world. For the Khasi Eve had two sons. She taught them the art of arrow shooting but warned them at the same time never to lose their tempers while playing. Gurdon, The Khasis, p.55. [772]

for her help and in a rambling speech recites all the errors of the opponents (26). While

26. The Khasi believe that the opponents' arrows will be kept from hitting the target by invoking the Khasi Eve and by the utterances of the judge. Gurdon, p. 55.

he is speaking thus, he pours water [616] from time to time out of a bamboo tube that was brought along in front of the target. Because of the talkativeness of the Khasi and their peculiarity of talking extemporaneously and their slowness this lasts about two hours.

526 hours. Meanwhile all the archers and many people have arrived. The judge gets up and turns to the archers, talking eagerly and spurring them on to do their best, so that they may emerge as victors in the contest. Shrieking loyally and making a noise, the archers take their places by the string lying on the ground and each pays one anna (about 10 pfennigs, peace evaluation) as a contribution. It is customary in many places to charge a larger amount. The money is collected by the judge (u-nong-khang-khnam) and kept until the end of the year. After the last contest it is spent for the "festival after the archery contest."

When the money has been paid and some liquor (ka-kiad-um) is poured on the ground, the contest begins. The archers bend their bows and each one aims and shoots as he wishes. If an arrow hits the mark, a loud cry comes from the spectators. The men jump in the air and utter cries of joy. The archer himself gets up, turns around in a circle a couple of times, jumps in the air and swings his bow, uttering
526 cries of joy continuously. Now, since first
522 this one and then that one hits the mark, whether it is someone in one's own faction or one of the opponents, cries of joy and rejoicings may be heard almost without interruption. The people of one's own team try to spur on each archer during his round by shouts. For example, if an archer has a black (marked) arrow, they shout: "to, to ba iong ba iong! i.e., hit, hit black one, black one!" In this case the opponent has the white arrows. If such an arrow goes crooked and flies past the target, they shout at it: "Phui, phui kyndat shiliang, rakaid me, u rakaid! i.e. fie, fie you fly to one side, you bungler, you

bungler!" (27) When the opponent aims and 526 522

27. P.C. Bohnheim, "Das Pfeilshiessen der Khasi" /Arrow Shooting Among the Khasi/, Salvatoranische Milleilungen /Salvatorian Communications/, 1910, No. 2.

shoots they shout at him: "Bam khyndeu, bam shiap! i.e., eat earth, eat sand!" (The opponent's arrow is supposed to fly into the earth or sand). There is ample opportunity here for talking extemporaneously as the Khasi so love to do. Following the examples mentioned above they shout at the archers of their own team or of the opponents' team. At the same time I have never noticed that [578] anybody felt insulted or that quarrels and fights ever arose. If somebody feels affected by the remarks, he or one of his team tries to overtrump his opponent by a really potent remark. If that is successful everybody rejoices in the comment and the round 526 of shooting continues peacefully. When a round of ten or more archers who have each shot three or more arrows is finished, the judge enters the closed-off place and counts out loud the arrows sticking in the target. With a great hullabaloo the crowd confirms the number of hits; the opponents do the same and then the contest begins again with all the /617/ action described above. When this process has been repeated often, a longer pause occurs. During this, and often during the shorter recess after each round, the women and girls hand out refreshments. The water pipe makes the rounds and no one spares praises. Thus it continues till

526 sunset. (28)

28. The two large photographs were taken at this late hour. One picture (Plate I) during the sunset. Notice the long shadows. The other picture (Plate II) just after sunset.

When the target is no longer easily visible because of the twilight, the shooting is stopped. The judges now announce the final result out loud, which provokes stormy applause. After the judges are remembered with presents by their own factions, the archers come together in a group. They stand one behind another in a row, each row with about four to six archers. The battling factions stand opposite each other. Waving their bows longways up and down --the men on the outside swing theirs--they march up and down on the festival place, stamping their feet in a quick rhythm. Singing and shouting they go back and forth. First one team then the other goes backwards. This kind of joyful utterance cannot actually be called singing; it is rather a quick uniformly modulated recitative uttered in an excited tone, interrupted again and again by "ha, ha, hoi, hoi" (kynha, kynhoi is the same as ha, hoi, i.e. shouting, calling). Someone or other of the victorious team makes a verse on the spur of the moment, which is about the contest, and the dancing, marching crowd repeats it noisily. Or rather after each verse they burst out with cries of joy and pleasure (ha, ha, hoi, hoi).

533 To give an example how these verses sound approximately, I will give an original text with a literal and a free translation. (29)

29. For the German translation and

the added explanations I am 533
indebted to the Khasi missionary
R.P. Dominikus Daunderer, S.D.S.,
who has been here many years and
knows the language and who very
kindly placed his experiences
in this field at my disposal.

It should be noticed in general that the [771]
content of such extemporaneous verses has a
religious slant and the language adheres to
the mysterious method of expression of magic
formulae and other formulae usual in the reli-
gious customs of the Khasi. Nevertheless, we
may not seek for either secrets or magic in
the following chant (jingphawar) just as the
Khasi do not. The solo singer (u nongphawar) 526
goes in front of the victorious team and begins: 533

1. U dieng-duh u kyndeh
The placing, the rice.
U sohbyrthit ia u pathaw.
The bur, the gourd.

2. To ngin khynniuh tyngeh.
Let us shake mightily.
Ban shon shit la ka daw.
May our matter be in easy circumstances.

Then the rest shout, swinging their bows
and stamping the earth: "ha, ha, hoi, hoi-hui!"
[618]

3. Ka syrdeng u jasieh
The fence, the meadow.
Shi kynda ka kyndad.
Four moles.

4. To pynieng ka dieng ryntieh.
Let us place upright the wood
of the bow.

4:Stegmiller-25 M-4,5(no date)1925 AR7KhasiAR7

526 Ko samila kynrad
533 Youths, o lords.

All: "ha, ha, hoi, hoi-hui!"

5. Ka syrdeng u jasieh.
The fence, the meadow.
U thylliej ka shohthah.
The tongue, the little red
throat.

6. To pynieng ka dieng ryntieh.
Place upright the wood of the
bow.
Ban ieit ka daw bah.
So that the affair be loved,
the big one.

All: "ha, ha, hoi, hoi-hui!"

7. U narsuh, shibidi.
Iron, wire, four pieces.
U bisin ia ka syrdeng.
The snake, the fence.

8. La kynduh bad ngi.
When one battles with us.
Ngin pynkhein ia ka reng.
Then we break the horn.

All: "ha, ha, hoi, hoi-hui!"

9. U kyndeh ia u bisong.
The rice, the weasel.
Ka lengsangem halor dieng.
The hawk on the tree.

10. To lyngngeh la ka jingong.
Make your word hard.

Ba un jem ka jabieng
That the forehead may become
soft.

All: "ha, ha, hoi, hoi-hui!"

11. Ka liengsangem halor dieng.
The hawk on the tree.
U pathau u jalimut.
The gourd, the chrysamthemum.

12. Ba un jem ka jabieng.
That the forehead may become soft.
Ba un jaw ka eit mut.
That the mucous discharge from
the nose become soft.

All: "ha, ha, hoi, hoi-hui!"

13. U synrem u kyndok.
The nettle, the brimstone.
U sohryngkham shi hynda.
Wild plums, four pieces.

14. Wat iam rem ko lok.
Do not weep defeated, friend.
Ba la bam hi ka pasa.
For the Pasa itself has consumed it. (30)

30. Ka pasa is probably a demoness, guardian spirit of the shooters and hunters (-hsau?). Sanskrit: pasa--string, snare (Los?).

As may be seen, such a song (jingohawar) is not easily understood. In the first odd lines, words that are (seemingly) without

526 meaning are placed next to each other usually
533 a nominative before the objective case (accusative--dative). These words form the frame for the words contained in the second (even lines) sayings.

The poem can be reproduced in the following way to make sense (only the even lines):

2. Let us stamp mightily so that the earth groans.
So that it is known for certain that we have conquered.
4. Set up the bows, you brave youths!

6. Set up the bows so that the mighty victory shows.
8. Whoever dares to battle us, we will fix his comb.
10. May your mockery be sharp, the opponent must weep.
12. He must weep, his eyes weep, his nose runs.
14. Do not be sorry, comrades, it was so determined!

[522] /619/ Singing in this way with mocking songs
526 to the defeated opponent, shouting and rejoicing, the crowd moves across the place of the
273 festival. Liquor is brought and drunk zealously, only too zealously, so that the crowd lighted by the torches, aroused by the brandy, and excited by the shooting competition, makes a wild impression. The raw, wild joy breaks forth in a deafening racket. Finally tired of the rushing around they return slowly but still shouting to their village, and scatter to their huts, still disputing violently about the happenings.

526 The cost of an archery contest varies

The cost of an archery contest varies [435]
considerably. In general it can be said that 526
a shooter pays one anna (about 10 pfennigs, 525
peace evaluation) for each shot. All the various competitions together produce a tidy little sum, especially when the attendance is good. I have come across figures as high as 50 to 70 rupees which were got together in this way during the course of a year and were then spent at the end of the year together at a great feast after the main competition.

It is frequently the custom among the Synteng, not to collect this contribution, anna by anna; rather, a large sum, which is raised by collecting signatures, is bet with the opponent at the main shooting (the final game). This also occurs occasionally among the Khasi. (31)

31. Gurdon, The Khasis, reports on page 56 that a sum of 500 rupees was bet in the Nongkrem state in Khadar Blang at a shooting competition.

3. The Feast after the Archery Contest 527

A general feast is arranged with the money bet or saved. Everything is just as wild during this feast as during the archery competition. Several strong men go forth to fetch the pigs bought for this occasion. The living animals are tied to bamboo poles by their feet. Four men, two and two alternately, carry each a burden on their shoulders to the place of the festival. There is lively activity at that place. The men stand around huge fires and chat. Others busily arrange dishes and pots of brass --everything polished

527 clean. Others break off palm leaves and twigs
from trees to decorate themselves and the
place. A music ban takes care of the neces-
527 sary noise. The three pigs and goats are re-
252 ceived with shouts. Without much ceremony the
animals are slain and now the actual festival
begins: the cooking, the dancing and the
eating.

The people divide into various groups.
Some divide the slaughtered animals by the
light of a great fire. The pieces of meat
are put in one pile, the fat in another.
About ten men sit around in a circle and begin
to cut the meat into small cubes. These are
then placed on little three-sided bamboo
sticks. All the rest of the meat, such as
lungs, heart, kidneys, and brains are put to-
gether in a cooking pot. [620] The girls and
women sit at a third fire. They hold the fat
and lard on long bamboo sticks over the fire
to roast it on all sides by constant turning.
527 The rest of the men dance to the peculiar
music. Each person dances alone. They hold
long bamboo sticks in their right hands, and
in their left hands they hold a bunch of
branches from a tree or large leaves. Some
make huge turbans for themselves out of rice
straw. Decorated thus they hop from one foot
to another, make deep bows now to the left,
now to the right and alternately swing their
bamboo sticks or their bunches of leaves.
Others turn around in circles, beating time
with their palm leaves. When the dancers
are tired they take over the job of cutting
the meat and cooking and the others decorate
themselves for the dance. In reply to my
question, what this all means, I received the
following answer: "We are happy and for once
we want to have a thoroughly good time. We

won the money in the archery contest and now 527
we should have a big feast. It is full moon now and much more beautiful during the night than the day. Oh, we are just having a good time." At once he swung his bunches of leaves and hopped away. The women take care of stirring the cooking pots. They are not choosy about the spoon. A bamboo, which a tired dancer might have just thrown away, is quite adequate for this purpose. When everything is ready, the people sit down in groups and eat the meat. Rice brandy is handed around. When the archers and other guests at the festival are more than sated and exhausted from all the dancing, they leave the place towards morning.

It should be pointed out that contrary [262]
to their usual customs the Khasi eat no rice at the great feast after the archery competition but only meat, with which brandy is drunk. There is a good deal of overindulgence in food and drink on this occasion. (32)

32. P.F. Stegmiller, "Das Fest nach dem Pfeilschiessen" /The Feast after the Archery Contest/, Salvatoranische Mitteilungen /Salvatorian Communications/, 1910, No. 3.

4. Hunting Customs

Although there are all sorts of wild 224
animals in the Khasi hills and Jaintia hills 136
that can be hunted -- flying foxes which visit the orange gardens during the night, jackals, which annoy the villages with their howling, antelopes, does, deer and wild pigs which damage the rice fields, wild dogs, wolves,

224 bears, leopards and tigers, which seize their
136 prey not merely among the goats and calves, but also among the grown cattle, and at times are even dangerous to man; although there are lots of tasty birds -- quails, partridges, lapwings, coots and wild geese -- in spite of all this the Khasi are not actually hunters. Only when an opportunity either presents itself to catch such birds, or when a wild animal has shown itself or even caused damage in the village, then the Khasi go hunting. Exceptions occur. The Khasi who use bows and arrows from childhood on, who practise shooting conscientiously, dare to hunt bears, leopards, and tigers. [621] Today they often have guns for this purpose, but bown and arrows are always taken along.

224 When a lucky day has been determined upon
187 by egg throwing, (33) and often the hunting area

33. Dr. P.C. Becker, "Das Eierwerfen der Khasi" [Egg Throwing Among the Khasi], Anthropos, 1917-1918, pp. 494 ff.

is often determined in this way, the Khasi set
224 out with a pack of hounds. As soon as the dogs have come upon the scent of the wild animal, the Khasi begin driving it with howlings and noise. The first shooter is lucky (called u nongsiat by the Khasi) because he gets the lion's share of the prey. Whoever is the second one to hit the animal (called u nongban by the Khasi) also receives special consideration. The other shooters divide the rest of the slain animal among themselves after the hunting dogs have each been given a piece. The Khasi are very persevering on the hunt and do not bother about the time or the distance. For the efforts expended on the hunt are richly rewarded by the

triumphal procession with the slain beast through the home village. 224

A litter is prepared outside of the village of firm bamboo and decorated with palm leaves and other tree branches. In the middle of the litter a strong frame of bamboo is set up so that the spoil of the hunt (gazelle, antelope, bear, tiger, leopard, etc.) is placed on it belly down. The feet hang down stretched out. The head is held high by a forked branch, and a bunch of grass is placed in the animal's open mouth. The slain animal thus has an appearance of being alive. Arrow and bow are placed on the bier to the left and right of the animal. If the animal has been killed by a bullet, the Khasi carry the guns in their hands; if it was hit by an arrow, the first arrow which wounded it is placed in front on the bier before the animal. Then eight men lift the decorated bier with the slain animal on their shoulders and they all go towards the village with great ceremony. Blank shots announce the approach of the triumphal procession. The Khasi come from all sides. The hunters are congratulated, and all rejoice in the booty. Everybody watches the parade with pleasure. Some bring fresh rice brandy in bamboo pipes as thick as an arm; others bring betel nuts and water pipes. [redacted] this as well as other refreshments are offered the hunters. The crowd surges around the bier, and after the slain animal has been thoroughly discussed, the procession begins.

224 224 483 224

The village boys run noisily ahead. Beaters and hunters follow. Then comes the bier carried by eight men. To the left and right go the women and girls of the village, swinging branches and bunches of leaves. Shouts of joy resound. Several hundred people

224 have gathered and go either behind the bier or sit down on the edge of the road to be spectators. There is not much difference because the parade goes so slowly that it is hard to see if it is moving at all. The triumphal parade takes a full four hours to go a distance of about 800 to 900 meters. [622] Although the Khasi are never in a hurry, in this case they are the
224 slowest ever. But there is something ceremonial
533 in this and when the solo singer (the nongphawar) raises his voice in extemporaneous song, to celebrate the dead animal when the crowd answers rejoicing and shouting, assuring the singer again and again that he is doing it well and thus spurring him on to new verses, when blank cartridges are shot off and the spectators are lit up brightly by torchlight, milling around in their colorful costumes, when the rice brandy has done its share, then the climax is reached!

The solo singer goes in front of the bier, 1 but with his face always turned towards it. Gesticulating violently with his hands, he bows now to the left, now to the right; he bends his upper body now forwards, now backwards. Jumping in the air from time to time, he only shows signs of joy and praise. According to his whim and invention he sings about the animal. The crowd joins in the improvised refrain, which is sometimes a repetition of the solo song, sometimes a shout of applause.

533 The solo singer sings approximately: (34)

34. P.D. Daunderer, "Khasi-Sitten" [Khasi Customs], Missionar [Missionary] 1905, pp. 179 ff.

Solo singer: "Hey! strong mother of bears, hungrilly thou eatest thine own children!"

1 [carrying the hunters' prey-- Analyst]

All: "Ha, ha, ho, huh!"
S : "Hey! Beautiful she-bear! Truly beautiful mother, most exalted in the circle of thirty animals!"
All: "Ha, ha, ho, ha, huh!"
S : "Now thou hast been brought to the marketplace, o mistress! To the marketplace! Hey!"
All: "Ha, ha, ho, huh!"
S : "Thou has written thy death sentence thyself, when thou tookest booty from the house of the poor!"
All: "Ha, ha, ho, ha, huh!"
S : "The pack of hounds, however, the wonderfully raging hounds and the man, the clever one, brought luck on their side!"
All: "Ha, ha, ho, huh!"
S : "The hunting demon, the spirit of the field, the household spirit! Therefore we rejoice mightily and celebrate and exult!"
All: "Ha, ha, ho, huh!" etc.

One man sang about as follows at such a triumphal procession in Laitkynsew, when an antelope was brought home:

S : "From the mountains, from the cold land thou has come to us into this land, into the kingdom of Laitkynsew!"
All: "Ha, ha, ho, huh!"
S : "Thou wast free and rejoiced in the forest, thou didst thyself well by the green grass for a goodly long time!"
All: "Ha, ha, ho, huh!"
S : "The hunters saw thee young and powerful — beautiful -- in the circle of thirty animals. They went forth with arrow and bow, with gun, lead and powder!"
All: "Ha, ha, ho, huh!"

533 S. : "Thou fledst into the thicket! Did that help thee?
Shyly thou retreated before the brave crowd of hunters!"
All: "Ha, ha, ho, huh!"
S. : "Quickly indeed thou retreated; quickly the pursuers pressed after thee and arrow and bow brought thee low!"
All: "Ha, ha, ho, huh!"
S. : "O mistress! Why didst thou come hither? Thou gavest thyself over to death and destruction — but we rejoice and celebrate and exult!"

Thus it continues for a long time. When one person has sung until he is hoarse, another takes his place and continues the song.

224 Exhausted from the exertions of the hunt, exhausted from the activity of the parade home, hoarse from shouting and screaming, heated from the enjoyment of brandy, the crowd drags itself to the house of the hunter who placed the first arrow or shot in the wild animal. Sacrifice is made there to the village god and the slain animal is divided up. The first shooter (u nongsiat) receives the hind quarters, the second shooter (u nongban) the front quarters of the animal.

In the Jaintia Hills the Synteng go to a hill in the neighborhood of the village when they have hunted and killed a tiger or a leopard. An altar is set up there under an oak tree and the head of the animal, which has been severed from its body, is placed on it and sacrificed to the u'lei lyngdoh (the god of the Dolloi district).

782 224

411 778 Arrow and bow are not only necessary weapons to the Khasi for hunting or pleasant sporting equipment for archery contests; Arrow and bow are also holy to him in a certain

sense. For at his entrance into life and at his departure from it both are used in the religious ceremonies. If a boy is born, a bow and three arrows are placed beside him at the name giving, (35) After various ceremonies, 411 778 [KS]

35. P.F. Stegmiller, "Aus dem religiösen Leben der Khasi" [The Religious Life of the Khasi], Anthropos, 1921-1922, pp. 425 ff.

which cannot be described here, the sacrificer shows the boy the bow and three arrows, and calls upon him to become a good shooter. At the end of all the ceremonies the bow and the arrows are carefully attached to the inside of the straw roof of the hut.

It should be mentioned that at a Khasi cremation (36) a bow and three arrows are also 411 764

36. P.F. Stegmiller, loc. cit., p. 430 ff.

used. They are kept in readiness with the other ceremonial objects of the dead, while the corpse is being shown for the last time to the participants in the funeral. As soon as the fire flames up on the funeral pyre, three arrows are also shot off: one towards the north, one towards the south, and the third towards the east. The Khasi call these arrows 'nam-tympem.

Pfeilschießen und Jagdgebräuche der Khasi.

Von P. P. Stegmüller, S. D. S., apost. Missionar von Assam.

1. Das Pfeilschießen und seine Geräte.

Dem allgemeinen Interesse entsprechend, welchem dem Pfeilschießen entgegengebracht wird, sind auch die dazu gehörigen Utensilien mit großer Geschicklichkeit und Kunstfertigkeit[1] ausgestattet, nämlich der Bogen, die Pfeile und die Zielscheiben.

Zum Khasi-Bogen (ka rynthiah) nimmt man eine vielknotige Bambusart, und zwar schneidet man denselben so aus einem Stück heraus, daß wenigstens fünf Knoten am Bogen sind. Die Länge des Bogens beträgt rund 1·50 m. Es ist nicht gleichgültig, wie lang der Bogen ist. Die besten Schützen behaupten, daß der Bogen nach Maß, und zwar nach dem Längenmaß der Schützen bis zur Schulterhöhe gemacht sein soll. Die Größe des Mannes bestimmt die Größe des Bogens[2].

Ist ein vielknotiger starker Bambus gefunden, so wird er, nachdem die Länge bestimmt ist, abgeschnitten und halbiert. Die Außenseite des Bogens wird bei kleineren Bögen stark abgerundet[3], bei den gewöhnlichen und bei größeren Bögen wird fast die volle Hälfte des Bambus genommen. Nur an den Seiten wird etwas abgeschnitten, so daß der Durchschnitt dieser Bögen fast ein Rechteck bildet[4]. Die glänzende, äußere Seite des Bambus kommt in jedem Falle in die Innenseite des Bogens. Gegen die Bogenenden verjüngt sich der Bogen. Die Enden werden abgerundet. Unterhalb des einen Endes wird ungefähr 3 cm entfernt ringsum ein Einschnitt gemacht, in welchen die Sehne direkt, ohne weitere andere Verbindungsmittel, eingehängt wird. Durch strammer Anziehen dieser Schlinge bleibt die Sehne befestigt. Am anderen Ende des Bogens wird ein Zapfen geschnitten, um den die Sehne vor dem Schuß gehängt wird. Vielfach setzen beide Bogenenden in einer Spitze ab[4]. Der Bogen darf nicht gespannt aufbewahrt werden, sondern muß bei längerem Nichtgebrauch entspannt sein. Das Einhängen der Sehne geschieht stets in der Weise, daß der Schützen den Bogen stehend in die linke Hand nimmt, fest mit dem einen Ende, an dem die Sehne stets befestigt bleibt, auf die Erde stützt und dann mit der rechten Hand das andere Ende soweit herabdrückt, daß die Sehnenschlinge in den Zapfen eingehängt werden kann. Bei Bögen mit abgesetzten Spitzen wird in vielen Fällen die Sehne mittels einer besonderen Schlinge aus Bast oder gespal-

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[1] Hermann Meyer, „Pfeil und Bogen in Zentralborneo", Leipzig 1904, S. 10.

[2] Baessler Archiv, Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie, Bd. 10, Supplement: „Der vorhistorische Pfeil", S. 14: „Der lange Pfeil der Japaner entspricht dem langen Bogen, den wir in Asien begegnen: Einrichtungen die im besonderen Gegensatz zur kleinen Gestalt der Japaner stehen".

[3] Abb. 1, Fig. 1 c.

[4] Abb. 1, Fig. 2, 3, 4 c.

[5] Abb. 1, Fig. 1, 2 b.

[p. 607]

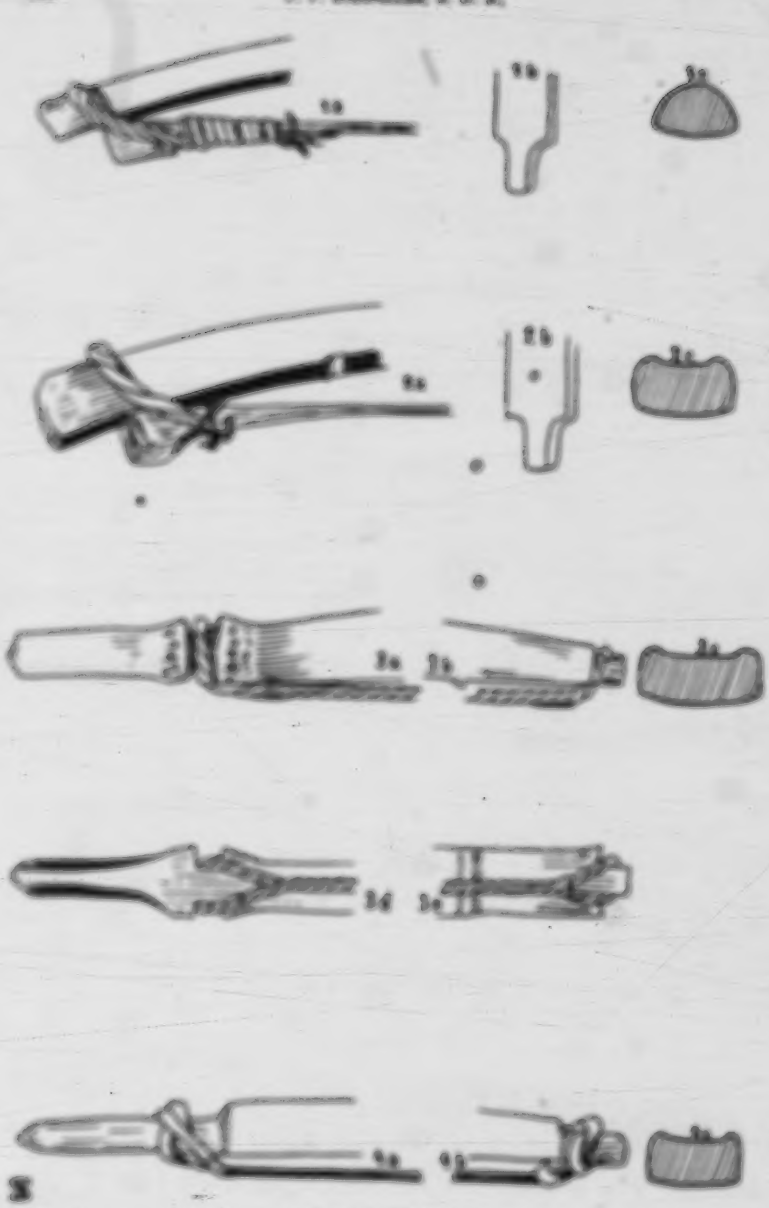

Abb. 1. Kharé-Degen.

treuem Bambus *(u ikri)* eingehängt, aber auch direkt durch Umhängen um den Zapfen befestigt.

In der Mitte wird der Bogen flach geschnitzt und ein Rotangstreifen um denselben gewickelt, so daß ein 12 bis 15 *cm* breites Band entsteht. Zweck desselben ist ein sicherer Halt, da die linke Hand, welche den Bogen beim Schießen trägt, an der gerippten Unterlage einen besseren Halt bekommt. Auch an anderen Stellen, vorzüglich an den Enden des Bogens werden solche Rotrbänder befestigt, die lediglich den Zweck eines Ornamentes haben.

Ist der Bogen fertiggestellt, so wird er tüchtig angeräuchert. Das Räuchern geschieht in der Hütte. Im Mittelpunkte der Hütte brennt ständig in einem Erd- oder Steinherd ein Feuer, dessen Rauch, weil ohne Abzug oder Kamin, sich so gut als möglich einen Ausweg sucht. Oberhalb des Feuers ist von der Decke herab eine Schwinge angebracht, auf der das Holz zum Trocknen liegt. Auf dieser Schwinge wird nun der Bogen und ebenso die Sehne solange liegen gelassen, bis der erwünschte Erfolg eingetreten ist. Geräucherte Bogen sind widerstandsfähiger gegen die Nässe und dauerhafter, da bedeutend stärker. Einen Einfluß auf die Biegsamkeit des Bogens hat das Räuchern nicht*.

Zur Herstellung der Sehne *(u kaai)* spalten die Khasi einen Bambus und splittern davon einen Streifen ab, den sie stark anräuchern. Die Sehne ist für Bogen mit ringförmigem Einschnitt gleichmäßig, für Bogen mit abgesetzten Spitzen verdickt sie sich gegen die Enden, an welchen Widerlager aus Bambusknoten (mit der Sehne aus einem Stück) geschnitzt werden. Die zur Sehne verwendeten Bambusarten werden von den Khasi *u ṡpit*, *u ṡkhew* und *u siej-lieh* genannt. Zur Sehne werden auch Bastschnüre mehrfach gedreht, verwendet. Die Bambussehnen werden geräuchert (siehe oben). Die so gewonnenen Sehnen sind äußerst stark und vertragen eine große Spannung. Bei einem 150 *cm* großen Bogen beträgt die Segmenthöhe, d. h. die Spannung bei eingehängter Sehne 10 bis 12 *cm*. Manchmal hat aber die Sehne fast die Länge des Bogens und es resultiert daher daraus keinerlei Spannung. Beim Abschuß wird die Spannung durch Anspannen der Sehne bis auf 60 *cm* erhöht. Der Bogen stellt somit eine starke, wuch-

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* Bibliographisches Museum München: Bogen Aa, 108, *a*, *b*, *c*, haben 3 Knoten; Bogen Aa, 28, hat 4 Knoten; Bogen *J* hat 3 Knoten; Bogen S hat 5 Knoten; Bogen Aa, 108, *a*, *b*, *c*, haben Länge 119·5 *cm*; Bogen Aa, 28, hat Länge 144 *cm*; Bogen *J* hat Länge 141 *cm*; Bogen S hat Länge 136 *cm*; Bogen Aa, *a*, *b*, *c*, haben in der Mitte 22 mm, an den Enden 17 mm Breite; Bogen Aa, 28, hat in der Mitte 27 mm, an den Enden 18 mm Breite; Bogen *J* hat in der Mitte 20 mm, an den Enden 12 bis 16 mm Breite; Bogen S hat in der Mitte 22 mm, an den Enden 12 bis 18 mm Breite; Bogen S geht nach dem Ende, wo die Sehne vor dem Schuß erst eingehängt wird, gleichmäßig verjüngend weiter, während er nach dem anderen Ende zu breit wird. Mitte des Bogens in der Mitte 15 mm, an dem einen Ende 12 mm, an dem anderen Ende 17 mm; Bogen *J* geht nach dem Ende zu, wo die Sehne vor dem Schuß erst eingehängt wird, gleichmäßig verjüngend weiter, während er nach dem anderen Ende zu rund wird. Mitte in der Mitte 15 mm, an dem einen Ende 12 mm (in der Breite), an dem anderen Ende 12 mm (rund im Durchschnitt). Sämtliche Bogen haben weder Einschnitzungen der Handgriffe noch sonstige Ornamentik.

4: Stegmiller AR7 Khasi

tige Schleuder dar, der den Pfeil ohne weitere Mechanik nur durch Anziehen der Sehne und Rückbewegung des gebogenen Bambus fortbewegt[7].

Die Khasi verfertigen folgende Arten von Pfeilen:

1. Befiederte Pfeile *('nam-pur)*.
2. Unbefiederte Pfeile *('nam)*.

Befiedert oder unbefiedert sind: *a)* Jagdpfeile, *b)* Sportpfeile; stets befiedert sind *c)* Kinderpfeile.

Ad *a)* Jagdpfeile *(u 'nam-pliang)* sind ungefähr 70 *cm* lang, haben speerförmige Spitzen mit Widerhaken[8]. Gewicht der Jagdpfeile ungefähr 25 *g*. Diese Pfeile werden auch heutzutage noch vergiftet.

Ad *b)* Sportpfeile *(u 'nam-sop)* sind ungefähr 60 *cm* lang, haben runde, konische Eisenspitzen[9]. Gewicht der Sportpfeile ungefähr 8 *g*.

Ad *c)* Kinderpfeile *(u 'nam-phiah)* sind ungefähr 50 *cm* lang, haben runde oder gar keine Eisenspitzen. Befiederung ist von den anderen Pfeilen verschieden (siehe diese).

Pfeilschäfte.

Sämtliche Pfeile werden aus einem sehr dünnen Bambus hergestellt *(u 'nam-long* oder *igrd)* und geräuchert. Man nimmt möglichst knotenfreies Bambus. Die Dicke der Pfeile beträgt ungefähr 6 bis 7 *mm*. Die Länge der Pfeile variiert sehr. Denn Pfeil und Bogen müssen sich eben so innerlich ergänzen, wie sie äußerlich zusammengehören[10]. Es unterliegt keinem Zweifel, daß die Länge des Pfeiles von der Länge des Bogens abhängt. Ein großer, aber wenig biegsamer Bogen braucht keinen ebenso langen

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[7] Bogen As, 108, *b*, hat eine fünfknotige Bambussehne, die glänzende Seite nach innen gekehrt. Die Sehne ist in der Mitte 4 *mm*, an den Enden 7 *mm* breit. Am Ende selbst ist je ein Widerlager aus einem Stück mit der Sehne geschnitzt. Die Sehne wird mittels einer dreifachen Bambusschnur *(u thri)* an den abgesetzten Spitzen befestigt. Die Sehne und die Bambusschnur wird von einem 3 *mm* breiten Bambusband festgehalten. Abb. I, Fig. 1 *a*, Segmentfhöhe 9 *cm*. Gewicht des Bogens 190 *g*. Bogen 108, *a*, *b*, *c*, haben schwerlich zu Sportzwecken gedient, wahrscheinlicher sind sie Kinderbogen, wenn sie nicht gar absichtlich für den Verkauf an Europäer angefertigt wurden. Bogen As, 28, hat eine fünfknotige Bambussehne, in der Mitte 3 *mm*, an den Enden 8 *mm* breit, an beiden Enden sind Widerlager aus einem Stück mit der Sehne. Die innen gekehrte, äußere, glänzende Seite der Bambussehne ist abgeschabt, mit Ausnahme der Sehnenenden. Dort ist sie abgesplittert und als Deckung für die Widerlager zurückgebogen. Die Sehne ist mittels einer zweifachen Bastschnur beiderseitig an den abgesetzten Spitzen befestigt. Beide werden mit Draht zusammengehalten. Abb. I, Fig. 2 *a*, Segmentfhöhe 8 *cm*. Gewicht des Bogens 330 *g*. Bogen J hat eine zweiknotige Bambussehne, 3 *mm* gleichmäßig breit, ohne Widerlager. Befestigung an den Zapfen durch direktes Einhängen, Gewicht des Bogens 330 *g*. Abb. I, Fig. 4 *a*, 4 *b*. Bogen S hat eine dreifach gedrehte Sehne aus Bast. Diese Bastschnur wird schlingenartig um die Kerbe und um den Zapfen (abgesetzte Spitze) eingehängt. Die Knüpfungsknoten der Schlingen befinden sich 30, resp. 19 *cm* vom Ende entfernt. Gewicht des Bogens 449 *g*. Abb. I, Fig. 3 *a*, 3 *b*, 3 *c*, 3 *d*. Beide letztgenannten Bögen haben keine Segmentfhöhe, da die Sehnen so lang sind wie die Bögen.

[8] Abb. II, Fig. 2 *a*, 2 *b*.

[9] Abb. II, Fig. 1.

[10] Dr. R. Karutz, „Die afrikanischen Bogen, Pfeile und Köcher im Lübecker Museum für Völkerkunde", Lübeck 1900, S. 219.

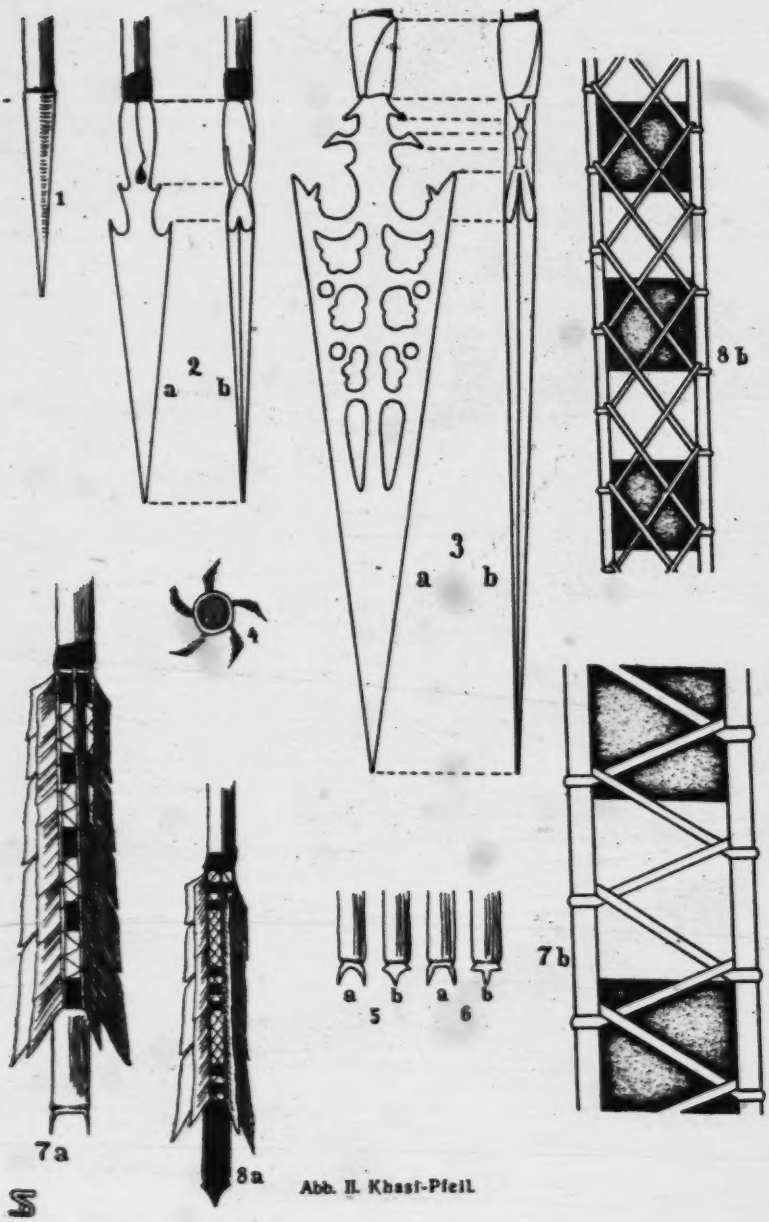

Abb. II. Khasi-Pfeil.

4: Stegmiller AR7 Khasi

Pfeil, wie ein kleiner biegsamer. Die absolute Länge des Bogens bedingt die Länge des Pfeiles insofern, als einem längeren Bogen in der Regel auch ein längerer Pfeil entspricht[11]. Sportpfeile schwimmen wagrecht auf dem Wasser[12].

Pfeilspitzen.

Die Pfeilspitzen werden aus Eisen in den Dorfschmieden gemacht. Die Spitzen für die Jagdpfeile *('nam-pliang)* sind flach, gegen die Mitte etwas erhaben, haben glatte oder gezähnte Ränder und zwei oder mehrere Widerhaken (speerförmig). Länge der Spitzen ungefähr 9 bis 15 *cm*. Es werden auch schöne schmiedeiserne Pfeilspitzen mit durchbrochenen Mustern gemacht[13].

Die Spitzen der Sportpfeile *('nam-sop)* sind rund und konisch. Länge ungefähr 3 bis 6 *cm*.

Die speerförmigen Pfeilspitzen werden vergiftet mit *(ka bih)* Gift, das die Khasi aus den Knollen einer Pflanze *(aconitum ferox Wallich*, Eisenhut) gewinnen.

Befestigung der Pfeilspitzen.

Auf zweierlei Arten werden die Pfeilspitzen befestigt:

1. Entweder wird der Pfeilschaft vorne zugespitzt und die Pfeilspitze, die innen hohl ist, darübergestülpt. Beides wird mit heißem Siegellack verbunden.

2. Oder man hat eine eigene Hülse aus Kupfer, die die Pfeilspitze mit dem Pfeilschaft verbindet. Siegellack wird nicht verwendet, da die Hülse wie eine Zwinge wirkt. Länge der Hülse ungefähr 1·5 *cm*.

Pfeilkerbe.

An dem der Spitze gegenüberliegenden Ende wird bei jedem Pfeile eine Kerbe eingeschnitten. Der Pfeil wird so aus einem ganzen *'nam-long* oder *igrâ* (Bambusart) genommen, daß die Kerbe gerade nach einem Knoten geschnitzt werden kann. Zweck der Kerbe ist ein ruhiges Aufsetzen auf die Sehne. Es gibt zweierlei Arten von Kerben:

1. Kerben, die der Kurve eines maurischen Bogens gleichen[14].

2. Kerben, die eine gerade Fläche im Untergrund und links und rechts eine Spitze haben[15].

Verhältnis der Schneidefläche zur Kerbe.

Die großen speerförmigen Spitzen der Jagdpfeile *('nam-pliang)* stehen mit der breiten Fläche im rechten Winkel zur Kerbe und somit zur Sehne des Bogens[16].

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[11] BRUNO ADLER, wie oben, S. 13.

[12] „So erzählt WENIAMINOFF (Sapiski ob ostrowah Unalaschkinskago Otdjela, Bd. 2, St. Petersburg 1840) von den Aleuten, daß die Spitzen der besonders auf Biberjagden verwendeten Pfeile solche Gewichtsverhältnisse haben, daß der Pfeil trotz des schweren Schaftes nicht im Wasser untergeht oder auf dem Wasser liegt, sondern aufrecht schwimmt, so daß ein beinahe fußgroßes Stück über die Wasserfläche herausragt."

[13] Abb. II, Fig. 3 *a*, 3 *b*.

[14] Abb. II, Fig. 5 *a*, 5 *b*.

[15] Abb. II, Fig. 6 *a*, 6 *b*.

[16] BRUNO ADLER, wie oben, S. 607.

Pfeilmarkierung.

Vom Ende der Befiederungsunterlage bis zur Kerbe werden manche Pfeile (Sportpfeile *'nam-sop*) durch Lack schwarz markiert, damit man beim Pfeilwettschießen die Parteien auseinander kennt[17].

Pfeilbefiederung.

Die Khasi haben eine zweifache Befiederung:

1. Radiale Nahtfiederung.
2. Tangentiale Stegfiederung.

Ad 1. Radiale Nahtfiederung ist das Gewöhnliche. Man nimmt die Federn von Gänsen, Kranichen, Kormoranen, Buluwargeiern und vom Hornvogel. Die Federn von Aasgeiern werden seltener gebraucht, da sie spröde sind. Die Federn werden am Kiel (Schaft) gespalten, oben und unten beschnitten und auf der Unterlage aufgenäht. An dem einen Ende sind die Federn 4 *mm*, am anderen Ende (der Kerbe zu) sind sie 8 *mm* breit. Der gespaltene Kiel hat 5 *cm*, die äußeren Fahnen der Federn haben 7 bis 8 *cm*.

Die Unterlage besteht aus Stanniol und ist verschiedentlich abgeteilt. Ein Stanniolstreifen (ungefärbt) wechselt mit einem rot gefärbten Stanniolstreifen ab. So hat man Unterlagen, die in der Mitte einen und an den Enden je zwei rote Stanniolstreifen haben. Oder es sind in der Mitte drei und an den Enden je zwei oder drei rote Stanniolstreifen. Der Zwischenraum ist mit ungefärbtem (silberglänzendem) Stanniol ausgefüllt. Die roten Stanniolstreifen sind 2 *mm* breit[18].

Es gibt auch Unterlagen aus Leder, das sehr fein geschnitten und vergoldet ist. Wie bei den eben angeführten Beispielen rote Stanniolstreifen mit der nicht gefärbten Unterlage abwechseln, so wechseln hier ungefärbte Lederstreifen mit dem vergoldeten Untergrund ab. Die ungefärbten Lederstreifen sind 7 *mm* breit[19].

Die zurechtgeschnittenen Federn werden nun mit ungefärbter Naturseide auf diesen Unterlagen aufgenäht, und zwar spiralförmig[20], wenn auch sehr schwach. Die Nähte sind durchaus exakt und regelmäßig durchgeführt. Auflage der Seidenfäden zeigen die Fig. 7 *b*, 8 *b*, auf Abb. II, in starker Vergrößerung. Bei den Unterlagen von 5 *cm* Länge beträgt die Anzahl der Nähte 22 bis 24, bei den Unterlagen von 7·5 beträgt die Anzahl der Nähte 29 bis 31.

Die Federn stehen mit dem gespaltenen Kiel am Pfeilschafte rechtwinklig auf und werden zu je fünf, seltener zu je drei Stück angenäht.

Am unteren Ende der Unterlage (gegen die Pfeilspitze zu) wird schwarzgefärbtes Pech geschmiert, um die abgeschnittenen Federenden mit dem Pfeilschafte zu einem Ganzen zu verbinden[21].

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[17] Abb. II, Fig. 8 *a*.
[18] Abb. II, Fig. 8 *a*.
[19] Abb. II, Fig. 7 *a*.
[20] Abb. II, Fig. 4.
[21] Abb. II, Fig. 7 *a*, 8 *a*.

+: Stegmiller AR7 Khasi

Ad 2. Tangentiale Stegfiederung findet sich nur noch an den sogenannten Kinderpfeilen *('nam-phiah)*. Es wird eine ganze unbeschnittene Feder der Länge nach am Pfeilende befestigt mittels Seide oder Bast und der Übergang mit Pech verschmiert.

Sowohl Jagdpfeile wie Sportpfeile werden auch unbefiedert gebraucht (Jagdpfeile besonders in der Gegend von Lamin) und heißen dann einfach *'nam*, während sie befiedert *'nam-pur* genannt werden.

Die Zielscheibe besteht aus dem weichen Holze einer Wurzel, von den Khasi *ka soh pdung* genannt. Man schneidet von der Wurzel ein ungefähr 8 bis 10 *cm* breites und 50 *cm* langes Stück ab, glättet es auf der Vorderseite und spitzt es gegen den Boden etwas zu, so daß das Ganze einer verhältnismäßig breiten, aber kurzen Latte gleicht. Diese Zielscheibe wird aufgestellt, indem man das untere, etwas zugespitzte Ende in den Boden steckt und von rückwärts zwei Bambusstangen als Stützen anbringt, so daß die Zielscheibe durch den Anprall der Pfeile nicht nach rückwärts umgeworfen werden kann.

Auch werden Gras- oder Strohbüschel *u skum* genommen, welche an einen Pfahl gebunden werden. Der Abstand zwischen Schützen und Ziel ist sehr verschieden, 50 bis 100 *m* ist das gewöhnliche. Der Khasibogen trägt zwar einen Pfeil auf große Strecken mit Sicherheit. Gute Schützen treffen ein Ziel noch bei einem Abstand von 200 *m*. Der Durchschnitt kann auf 130 bis 170 *m* gesetzt werden. Auf jüngere Schützen wird Rücksicht genommen, ist aber einmal der Abstand bestimmt, so muß er peinlichst genau eingehalten werden. Man spannt auf dem Boden eine Schnur, welche dem Schützen genau den Platz zum Abschießen anzeigt.

Spannweisen.

Es erfordert viel Übung und besonders viel Kraft, mit Pfeil und Bogen ein bestimmtes Ziel zu treffen. Der Schütze läßt sich meistens auf das rechte Knie nieder und faßt mit ausgespanntem linken Arm den Bogen etwas unterhalb der Mitte an dem gerippten Band und stemmt den Daumen gegen den Bogen. Mit der rechten Hand legt er den Pfeil an. Man läßt den Pfeil links vom Bogen vorbeigleiten. Einige lassen den Pfeil zwischen dem Mittelfinger und dem etwas gebogen gehaltenen Zeigefinger durch. Die rechte Hand stemmt das Pfeilende in die Kerbe auf die Sehne und hält ihn mit dem Daumen und gekrümmten Zeigefinger fest. Den Kopf etwas nach rechts geneigt und mit dem rechten Auge zielend, wird Sehne und Pfeil gleichzeitig angezogen und nachdem die richtige Spannung erreicht ist, der Pfeil abgeschossen[22]. Ruhiges Zielen und ruhiges Halten gelingt nur den stärksten Schützen.

Vielfach wird auch eine andere Spannweise angewendet. Der Schütze nimmt den Pfeil in die rechte Hand, legt ihn links am Bogen an und zieht die Sehne mit dem Mittel- und Ringfinger an, während der Daumen und der Zeigefinger den Pfeil halten.

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[22] HANS VON STÜSSI, „Mit Pfeil und Bogen", Stuttgart, S. 10.

Tafel I. Khasi beim Pfeilwettschießen.

[p. 614 : A]

4: Stegmüller AR7 Khasi

Tafel II. Khasi beim Pfeilwettschießen.

[p. 614: B]

4: Stegmiller AR7 Khasi

Der Köcher.

Der Köcher *(ka ryngkap)* besteht aus einem Bambusgeflecht, das außen mit einem sehr fein geflochtenen Rotangüberzug bedeckt ist. In der Form ähnelt er einem geschlossenen Schirm. Bei der Mündung hat das Geflecht vorne eine bogenförmige und rückwärts eine mehr abgerundete Erhöhung. In den seitlichen Einbuchtungen ist je ein Stab angebracht. Beim Pfeilschießen oder zur Jagd werden die Köcher nicht gebraucht. Da tragen die Khasi die Pfeile in den Händen. Der Gebrauch der Köcher beschränkt sich nur auf den Tanz und dies noch äußerst selten[33].

2. Das Pfeilwettschießen.

An jedem großen Markttage, der jeweils am achten Tage wieder trifft, wird Pfeil geschossen. Es versammeln sich die Männer und Jünglinge eines Dorfes, gehen auf den dazu bestimmten Platz und üben sich fleißig, denn man will beim großen Pfeilschießen gewinnen. Diese finden gewöhnlich von Jänner bis Mai statt. Da bilden sich große Parteien: Dorf gegen Dorf. Die Zahl der Teilnehmer muß gleich groß sein. Jede Partei hat ihren eigenen Schießplatz mit ihrem eigenen Ziel, beides nebeneinander. Die Schützen sind je zu zehn und zehn in einer Linie aufgestellt und durch die am Boden liegende Schnur gleichweit vom Ziele entfernt. Jeder erhält drei Pfeile für eine Runde. Die Zuschauer und Preisrichter haben ihren Platz nahe dem Ziele im rechten Winkel zu den Schützen. Beide Parteien ernennen ihre Preisrichter selbst. Diese wählen einen glücklichen Tag durch Eierwerfen[34], sie bestimmen den Platz des Wettschießens ebenso wie die Zahl der Teilnehmer und die der abzuschießenden Pfeile. Auch messen sie genau den festgelegten Abstand vom Ziele ab, ziehen am Boden die Schnur, untersuchen die Pfeile auf ihre Merkmale und ordnen das ganze Wettschießen.

Am frühen Morgen des Wettschießens begibt sich jeder Preisrichter, begleitet von den Schützen und einigen Neugierigen, zum Festplatz. Dort setzt er sich vor das Ziel hin, das bereits am Tage zuvor befestigt wurde. Die Bogen und Pfeile werden neben das Ziel gelegt. Der Preisrichter verkündet nun nochmals laut alle Bedingungen des Wettschießens. Er ruft die Khasi-Eva *(ka-mei-ka-nong-hukum)*[35] um ihre Hilfe an und zählt in langer weitschweifender Rede alle Fehler des Gegners auf[36]. Während er so spricht,

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[33] Ethnographisches Museum München, Köcher As, 106, hat 57 *cm* Länge und an der Mündung 9 *cm* Breite. Geflecht vorne 40 *cm*, hinten 38 *cm* und seitlich in den Einbuchtungen 33·5 *cm* Höhe. Das sehr feine Rotanggeflecht hat 16 glatte Einlagen in Abständen von 1·3 bis 2 *cm*. An den zwei Stäben auf je der gleichen Seite ein mit Rotang umwickelter Bambusstreifen, der in Abständen von 3 bis 5 *cm* mit Rotang festgebunden ist. Gewicht des Köchers 220 *g*.

[34] BECKER, „Das Eierwerfen der Khasi", Anthropos 1917/1918, S. 494 ff.

[35] Die Khasi glauben, daß das Pfeilschießen bereits mit der Erschaffung der Welt begonnen habe. Denn die Khasi-Eva *ka-mei-ka-nong-hukum* hatte zwei Söhne. Diesen lehrte sie die Kunst des Pfeilschießens, warnte sie aber zu gleicher Zeit, beim Spiele niemals das Temperament zu verlieren. GURDON, „The Khasis", pag. 55.

[36] Die Khasi glauben, daß bei diesen Reden durch die Anrufungen der Khasi-Eva und durch Äußerungen des Preisrichters dieser die gegnerischen Pfeile vom Treffen des Zieles abhalten könne. GURDON, S. 55.

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gießt er aus einem mitgebrachten Bambusrohre von Zeit zu Zeit Wasser vor das Ziel auf den Boden. Bei der Gesprächigkeit und der Eigenart der Khasi aus dem Stegreif zu reden und bei ihrer Langsamkeit dauert das ungefähr zwei Stunden. Unterdessen haben sich alle Schützen und viel Volk eingefunden. Der Preisrichter erhebt sich und wendet sich in eifriger Rede an die Schützen, spornt sie an, ihr Bestes zu tun, um als Sieger aus dem Wettschießen hervorzugehen. Laut schreiend und lärmend, nehmen dann die Schützen bei der am Boden liegenden Schnur Platz und jeder zahlt als Beitrag eine *anna* (ungefähr 10 Pfennig Friedenswährung). In manchen Orten ist es Sitte, daß eine größere Summe zusammengesteuert wird. Das Geld wird vom Preisrichter *(u-nong-khang-khnam)* gesammelt und aufbewahrt, bis das Jahr vollendet ist. Nach dem letzten Preisschießen wird es zum „Feste nach dem Pfeilschießen" verwendet.

Ist das Geld gezahlt und etwas Schnaps *(ka-kiad-um)* auf den Boden geschüttet worden, so beginnt das Wettschießen. Die Schützen spannen ihre Bogen und jeder zielt und schießt ab, wie es ihm gerade paßt. Trifft ein Pfeil, so ertönt ein lautes Geschrei von seiten der Zuschauer. Die Männer machen Luftsprünge und stoßen Freudenschreie aus. Der Schütze selbst erhebt sich, dreht sich ein paarmal im Kreise herum, springt in die Höhe und schwingt seinen Bogen, fortwährend Freudenschreie ausstoßend. Da nun abwechselnd bald dieser, bald jener trifft, sei es in der eigenen Partei, sei es in der des nebenan schießenden Gegners, so hört man ein fast ununterbrochenes Freudengeschrei und Jauchzen. Die Leute der eigenen Partei suchen jeden Schützen bei seiner Runde durch Zurufe anzuspornen. Hat ein Schütze z. B. einen schwarzen (markierten) Pfeil, so rufen sie: „*To, to ba iong ba iong*! d. h. triff, triff Schwarzer, Schwarzer!" Der Gegner hat in diesem Falle die weißen Pfeile. Geht ein solcher fehl und fliegt er am Ziele vorbei, so rufen sie ihm zu: „*Phui, phui kyndat shiliang, rakaid me, u rakaid!* d. h. pfui, pfui, du fliegst abseits, du Stümper, du Stümper[77]!" Dem Gegner wird beim Zielen und Abschießen zugerufen: „*Bam khyndeu, bam shiap*! d. h. friß Erde, friß Sand!" (Des Gegners Pfeil soll in die Erde, in den Sand fliegen.) Das bei den Khasi so beliebte Stegreifreden findet hiebei ausgiebigen Boden. Nach den eben genannten Beispielen wird mehr oder weniger eifrig auf die Schützen der eigenen Partei oder auf die der Gegner eingesprochen. Dabei habe ich aber noch nie bemerkt, daß sich jemand beleidigt gefühlt hätte oder daß es zu Zank und Streit gekommen wäre. Fühlt sich jemand betroffen, so sucht er oder einer seiner Partei durch einen wuchtigen Spruch seinen Gegner zu übertrumpfen. Ist das gelungen, so freuen sich alle der gemachten Bemerkung und friedlich wird die Runde weitergeschossen. Ist eine Runde von je zehn oder mehr Schützen, die je drei oder mehr Pfeile abgeschossen haben, abgelaufen, so betritt der Schiedsrichter den abgesperrten Platz und zählt laut die im Ziele steckenden Pfeile. Unter großem Hallo bestätigt die Menge die Zahl der Treffer; das gleiche macht die Gegenpartei und nun beginnt das Wettschießen mit all dem ge-

[77] P. C. BOHNHEIM, „Das Pfeilschießen der Khasi", Salv. Mitteilungen 1910, Nr. 2.

schilderten Leben aufs neue. Hat sich dieser Vorgang öfters wiederholt, so tritt eine größere Pause ein. Während dieser und öfters schon während der kleineren Pausen, je nach einer Runde, verteilen die Frauen und Mädchen Erfrischungen. Die Wasserpfeife macht die Runde, und es wird mit Lobsprüchen nicht gekargt. So geht es fort bis zum Sonnenuntergang[18].

Ist das Ziel infolge der Dämmerung nicht mehr gut sichtbar, so wird das Schießen eingestellt. Die Schiedsrichter verkünden nun laut das Endresultat, welches einen stürmischen Beifall auslöst. Nachdem die Schiedsrichter von ihren Parteien mit Geschenken bedacht wurden, gruppieren sich die Schützen zusammen. Sie stellen sich in Reihen hintereinander auf, jede Reihe ungefähr vier bis sechs Schützen. Dabei stehen sich die kämpfenden Parteien gegenüber. Ihre Bogen der Länge nach auf und ab senkend — die äußeren Männer schwingen dieselben — marschieren sie auf dem Festplatze auf und ab, mit den Füßen in raschem Takte den Boden stampfend. Singend und schreiend geht es hin und her. Dabei trifft es abwechselnd bald die eine, bald die andere Partei rücklings zu gehen. Singen kann man eigentlich diese Art der Freudenäußerung nicht nennen, es ist vielmehr ein in aufgeregtem Tone hervorgestossenes, rasches, einförmig moduliertes Recitativo, immer wieder von „ha, ha, hoi, hoi" unterbrochen (*kynha, kynhoi* ist gleich ha, hoi, d. h. jauchzen, rufen). Der eine oder andere der siegenden Partei macht im Stegreif einen Vers, der auf das Wettschießen Bezug hat, und lärmend wiederholt die tanzend dahermarschierende Menge denselben. Oder besser gesagt, sie bricht nach jedem Verse in Freuden- und Jubelrufe (ha, ha, hoi, hoi) aus.

Um ein Beispiel anzuführen, wie diese Verse ungefähr lauten, will ich einen Urtext mit der wörtlichen und sinngemäßen Übersetzung geben[19].

Im allgemeinen ist zu bemerken, daß der Inhalt solcher Stegreifreden einen religiösen Anstrich hat und die Sprache die geheimnisvolle Ausdrucksweise der Zauberformeln und sonstiger bei religiösen Bräuchen der Khasi üblichen Formeln befolgt. Trotzdem dürfen wir hinter dem vorliegenden Gesang *(jingphawar)* weder Geheimnis noch Zauber suchen, sowenig wie es die Khasi selbst tun. Vor der siegenden Partei geht also der Solosänger *(u nongphawar)* einher und hebt an:

1. *U dieng-duh u kyndeh.*
Der Stecken, den Reis.
U sohbyrthit ia u pathaw.
Die Klette, den Kürbis.

2. *To ngin khynniuh tyngeh.*
Laßt uns erschüttern kräftiglich.
Ban shon shit la ka daw.
Daß sitze warm unsere Sache.

Daraufhin schreien die Übrigen, den Bogen schwingend und die Erde stampfend: „ha, ha, hoi, hoi-hui!"

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[18] Die beiden großen Photographien sind zu dieser späten Stunde aufgenommen worden. Das eine Bild (Taf. I) während des Sonnenunterganges. Man beachte die langen Schatten. Das andere Bild (Taf. II) gleich nach Sonnenuntergang.

[19] Die deutsche Übersetzung nebst den anschließenden Erläuterungen verdanke ich dem sprachkundigen und langjährigen Khasi-Missionär R. P. DOMINIKUS DAUNDERER, S. D. S., welcher mir in liebenswürdiger Weise seine Erfahrungen auf diesem Gebiete zur Verfügung stellte.

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3. *Ka syrdeng u jasieh*
Der Zaun, die Weide.
Shi kynda ka kyndad.
Vier Maulwürfe.

4. *To pynieng ka dieng ryntieh.*
Laßt uns aufrecht stellen das Holz des Bogens.
Ko samila kynrad
O Jünglinge, o Herren.
Alle: „ha, ha, hoi, hoi-hui!"

5. *Ka syrdeng u jasieh.*
Der Zaun, die Weide.
U thylliej ka shohthah.
Die Zunge, das Rotkehlchen.

6. *To pynieng ka dieng ryntieh.*
Stellt auf das Holz des Bogens.
Ban ieit ka daw bah.
Damit man liebe die Sache, die große.
Alle: „ha, ha, hoi, hoi-hui!"

7. *U narsuh shibidi.*
Eisendraht, vier Stück.
U bisin ia ka syrdeng.
Die Schlange, den Zaun.

8. *La kynduh bad ngi.*
Wenn man streitet mit uns.
Ngin pynkhein ia ka reng.
Dann brechen wir das Horn.
Alle: „ha, ha, hoi, hoi-hui!"

9. *U kyndeh ia u bisong.*
Der Reis, das Wiesel.
Ka liengsangem halor dieng.
Der Habicht auf dem Baum.

10. *To lyngngeh la ka jingong.*
Macht hart euer Wort.
Ba un jem ka jabieng.
Daß weich werde das Hirn.
Alle: „ha, ha, hoi, hoi-hui!"

11. *Ka liengsangem halor dieng.*
Der Habicht auf dem Baum.
U pathau u jalimut.
Der Kürbis, die Wucherblume.

12. *Ba un jem ka jabieng.*
Daß weich werde das Hirn.
Ba un jaw ka eit mut.
Daß weich werde der Nasenschleim.
Alle: „ha, ha, hoi, hoi-hui!"

13. *U synrem u kyndok.*
Die Nessel, den Schwefel.
U sohryngkham shi kynda.
Schlehen vier Stück.

14. *Wat iam rem ko lok.*
Weinet nicht unterlegen, o Freunde.
Ba la bam hi ka pasa.
Denn die *Pasa* selbst hat es aufgezehrt**.

Wie man sieht, ist so ein Gesang *(jingphawar)* nicht leicht zu verstehen. In den ersten ungeraden Zeilen sind meist Wörter (anscheinend) sinnlos nebeneinandergestellt, gewöhnlich ein Nominativ vor einem Objektiv (Akkusativ — Dativ). Diese Wörter bilden den Rahmen für die in den zweiten (geraden Zeilen) enthaltenen Sprüche.

Sinngemäß kann man diese Dichtung folgendermaßen wiedergeben (nur die geraden Zeilen):

2. Stampfen wir kräftig, daß die Erde dröhnt.
Damit man sicher wisse, daß wir gesiegt.
4. Pflanzt auf den Bogen, Ihr wackeren Jungen!
6. Pflanzt auf den Bogen, daß sich zeige der gewalt'ge Sieg!
8. Wer's mit uns wagt, dem stutzen wir den Kamm.
10. Euer Spott sei scharf, der Gegner muß weinen.
12. Weinen muß er, tränen das Auge, fließen die Nase.
14. Bedauert es nicht, Kameraden, es war so bestimmt!

** *ka pasa* ist wahrscheinlich eine Dämonin, Schutzgeist der Schützen und Jäger *(-ksau?)*. Sanskrit: *pasa* — Schnur, Strick (Los?).

In dieser Weise den unterlegenen Gegner mit Spottreden besingend, bewegt sich die Menge schreiend und jauchzend über den Festplatz. Schnaps wird gebracht und fleißig, nur zu fleißig, getrunken, so daß die von Fackeln beleuchtete, vom Branntwein erhitzte, vom Wettschießen aufgeregte Menge einen wilden Eindruck macht. Die rohe, wilde Freude bricht hervor in einem geradezu ohrenbetäubenden Lärmen. Endlich des Treibens müde, ziehen sie langsam, aber schreiend ihrem Dorfe zu und verteilen sich, heftig über das Erlebte disputierend, in ihre Hütten.

Der Preis eines Wettschießens ist ganz verschieden hoch. Im allgemeinen kann man sagen, daß bei jedem Pfeilschießen ein Schütze je eine *anna* (ungefähr 10 Pfennig Friedenswährung) zahlt. Die verschiedenen Wettschießen zusammen ergeben dann, besonders wenn der Besuch ein guter war, immerhin ein nettes Sümmchen. Ich habe von Zahlen in der Höhe von 50 bis 70 Rupies erfahren, die während des ganzen Jahres auf diese Weise zusammenkommen und nun am Ende des Jahres beim großen Feste nach dem Pfeilschießen gemeinschaftlich verzehrt werden.

Bei den Synteng ist es vielfach Sitte, diesen Betrag nicht *anna*-weise zusammenzusparen, sondern man wettet mit dem Gegner beim Hauptschießen (beim Endspiel) eine große Summe, die durch eine Unterschriftsammlung erhoben wird. Vereinzelt kommen auch bei den Khasi solche Fälle vor[41].

3. Das Fest nach dem Pfeilwettschießen.

Für das gewettete oder zusammengesparte Geld wird ein allgemeines Festessen veranstaltet. Bei diesem Feste geht es gerade so urwüchsig zu, wie beim Pfeilwettschießen. Mehrere starke Männer gehen fort, um die für diesen Zweck gekauften Schweine zu holen. Die lebenden Tiere werden mit den Füßen an feste Bambusstangen gebunden. Vier Männer, abwechselnd zwei und zwei, tragen je eine Last auf ihren Schultern zum Festplatz. Auf demselben ist ein reges Leben. Um große Feuer stehen die Männer und plaudern. Andere besorgen geschäftig Schüsseln und Töpfe aus Messing — alles fein säuberlich geputzt. Wieder andere brechen Palmblätter und Zweige von Bäumen ab, den Platz und sich selbst damit zu schmücken. Eine Musikkapelle sorgt für den nötigen Spektakel. Mit Hallo werden die drei Schweine und Ziegen empfangen. Ohne lange Zeremonien wird den Tieren der Garaus gemacht und nun beginnt das eigentliche Fest: Das Kochen, der Tanz und das Essen.

Man teilt sich in verschiedene Gruppen. Beim Scheine eines großen Feuers zerteilen einige die geschlachteten Tiere. Die Fleischteile kommen auf einen Haufen, das Fett auf einen anderen. Zehn Männer etwa setzen sich im Kreise herum und fangen an, das Fleisch in viereckige kleine Stückchen zu zerschneiden. Diese werden dann an dreikantig zugeschnittenen Bambusstäbchen aufeinandergesteckt. Alles übrige Fleisch sowie Lungen, Herz, Nieren und Hirn kommt kunterbunt zusammen in den Kochtopf. An

[41] GURDON, „The Khasis", berichtet S. 56, daß im Nongkremstaat bei einem Wettschießen in Khadar Blang eine Summe von 500 Rupies gewettet worden sei.

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einem dritten Feuer sitzen Mädchen und Frauen. Sie halten an langen Bambusstangen das Fett und den Speck über das offene Feuer, um es durch beständiges Drehen allseits zu braten. Die übrigen Männer tanzen nach der eigenartigen Musik. Jeder tanzt für sich allein. In der rechten Hand halten sie lange Bambusrohre, in der linken einen Büschel Baumzweige oder große Blätter. Einige machen sich aus Reisstroh mächtige Turbane. So geschmückt, hüpfen sie von einem Fuß zum anderen, machen nach links und nach rechts tiefe Verbeugungen und schwingen abwechselnd ihre Bambusrohre oder Blätterbüschel. Andere drehen sich im Kreise herum, dabei mit den Palmblättern den Takt schlagend. Sind die Tänzer müde, so übernehmen sie das Geschäft der Fleischzerschneider und Köche und diese schmücken sich zum Tanze. Auf meine Frage, was dies alles zu bedeuten habe, erhielt ich die Antwort: „Wir freuen uns und wollen uns einmal gründlich freuen und vergnügen. Beim Pfeilschießen haben wir das Geld gewonnen und nun soll auch ein großes Fest sein. Jetzt ist ja Vollmond und bei der Nacht ist es viel schöner als am Tage. O, wir freuen uns nur." Und gleich schwang er seinen Blätterbüschel und hüpfte weiter. Das Umrühren bei den Kochtöpfen besorgen die Frauen. Sie sind nicht wählerisch mit dem Kochlöffel. Ein Bambus, den vielleicht soeben ein müder Tänzer weggeworfen, genügt diesem Zwecke vollständig. Ist alles bereitet, so setzen sich die Leute in Gruppen und verzehren das Fleisch. Reisbranntwein wird herumgereicht. Sind die Schützen und sonstigen Festgäste bis zum Übermaß gesättigt und ermüdet vom vielen Tanzen, so wird gegen Morgen der Platz verlassen.

Zu bemerken ist, daß die Khasi, entgegen ihrer sonstigen Gewohnheit, bei dem großen Feste nach dem Pfeilschießen keinen Reis, sondern nur Fleisch essen, zu dem Reisbranntwein getrunken wird. Dem Genusse von Speise und Trank wird bei dieser Gelegenheit vielfach im Übermaß gehuldigt[11].

4. Jagdgebräuche.

Obwohl es in den Khasi- und Jaintia-Hügeln allerlei jagdbares Wild gibt — fliegende Füchse, die zur Nachtzeit die Orangengärten besuchen, Schakale, die die Dörfer mit ihrem Geheul belästigen, Antilopen, Rehe, Hirsche und wilde Schweine, die den Reisfeldern schaden, wilde Hunde, Wölfe, Bären, Leoparden und Tiger, die nicht bloß von den Ziegen und Kälbern, sondern auch von dem ausgewachsenen Vieh ihre Beute holen, ja bisweilen dem Menschen gefährlich werden, obwohl es eine Menge genießbarer Vögel gibt — Wachteln, Rebhühner, Kibitze, Wasserhühner und wilde Gänse — trotz alledem sind die Khasi keine eigentlichen Jäger. Nur wenn sich entweder Gelegenheit bietet, solche Vögel zu fangen, oder wenn sich ein wildes Tier gezeigt oder gar im Dorfe Schaden angerichtet hat, dann gehen die Khasi auf die Jagd. Ausnahmen kommen vor. Die Khasi, die mit Pfeil und Bogen von Jugend auf umgehen, die sich jeder beim Pfeilschießen gründlich üben, sie getrauen sich auch den Bären, den Leoparden und den

[11] P. F. STEGMILLER, „Das Fest nach dem Pfeilschießen", Salv. Mitteilungen 1910, Nr. 3.

Tiger zu stellen. Heutzutage haben sie vielfach Feuerwaffen für diese Zwecke, doch werden Pfeil und Bogen stets mitgenommen.

Ist durch Eierwerfen ein glücklicher Tag bestimmt[33] und manchmal auch das Jagdgebiet auf diese Weise gefunden worden, so ziehen die Khasi mit der Meute aus. Sobald die Hunde die Spur des Wildes aufgenommen haben, beginnt das Treiben mit Geheul und Lärmen. Glücklich der erste Schütze (von den Khasi *u nongsiat* genannt), denn er bekommt den Löwenanteil an der Beute. Auch wer den zweiten Schuß auf das Tier abgibt (von den Khasi *u nongban* genannt), wird bei der Verteilung der Beute besonders bedacht. Die übrigen Schützen teilen unter sich den Rest des erlegten Tieres, nachdem auch die Jagdhunde je ein Stück erhalten haben. Die Khasi sind auf der Jagd sehr ausdauernd und fragen nicht nach Zeit, noch nach Entfernung. Denn die auf der Jagd ausgestandenen Mühen werden reichlich belohnt durch den Triumphzug mit dem erlegten Wilde durch das heimatliche Dorf.

Außerhalb des Dorfes wird aus festem Bambus eine Tragbahre angefertigt, die mit Palmblättern und sonstigen Baumzweigen festlich geschmückt wird. In der Mitte der Bahre wird aus Bambus ein starkes Gestell errichtet, so daß die Jagdbeute (Gazelle, Antilope, Bär, Tiger, Leopard usw.) mit der Bauchseite darauf zu liegen kommt. Die Füße hängen ausgestreckt herunter. Der Kopf wird mit einem gegabelten Aste in die Höhe gehalten, und ins geöffnete Maul des Tieres wird ein Grasbüschel gesteckt. Das erlegte Tier macht somit einen lebendigen Eindruck. Pfeil und Bogen werden links und rechts vom Tiere auf die Bahre gelegt. Ist das Tier durch eine Kugel getötet worden, so tragen die Khasi die Flinten in den Händen, ist es von Pfeilen getroffen worden, so wird der erste Pfeil, der es verwundete, in Front vor das Tier auf die Bahre gelegt. Nun heben acht Männer die geschmückte Bahre mit dem erlegten Wild auf ihre Schultern und feierlich geht man dem Dorfe zu. Blinde Schüsse verkünden das Nahen des Triumphzuges. Von allen Seiten kommen die Khasi herbei. Man beglückwünscht die Jäger und freut sich der Beute. Alles sieht mit Vergnügen dem Einzug entgegen. In armdicken Bambusrohren bringen einige frischen Reisbranntwein, andere holen Betelnuß und Wasserpfeife. Dieses alles, sowie noch andere Erfrischungen werden den Jägern angeboten, Die Menge schart sich um die Bahre und nachdem das erlegte Tier ausgiebig besprochen wurde, beginnt der Einzug.

Die Dorfjugend rennt lärmend voraus. Treiber und Jäger folgen. Nun kommt die Bahre, getragen von acht Männern. Links und rechts gehen Frauen und Mädchen aus dem Dorfe, sie schwingen Baumzweige und Blätterbüschel. Freudenrufe ertönen. Mehrere hundert Personen haben sich eingefunden und gehen entweder hinter der Bahre her oder setzen sich an den Wegrand nieder, um Zuschauer zu sein. Viel Unterschied ist nicht, denn der Zug geht so langsam, daß schwer wahrzunehmen ist, ob überhaupt Bewegung darin ist. Zu einer Strecke von ungefähr 800 bis 900 *m* braucht der Triumphzug volle

[33] Dr. P. C. Becker, „Das Eierwerfen der Khasi", „Anthropos", 1917—1918, S. 494ff.

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vier Stunden. Wenn es die Khasi auch sonst nicht eilig haben, so liefern sie in diesem Falle wohl die Höchstleistung ihrer Langsamkeit. Aber gerade darin liegt etwas Feierliches, und wenn der Solosänger (der *nongphawar*) seine Stimme erhebt, um aus dem Stegreif das erlegte Tier zu besingen, wenn die Menge jauchzend und schreiend antwortet, immer wieder dem Vorsänger bestätigend, daß er es gut gemacht, und ihn so zu neuen Versen anspornt, wenn blinde Schüsse abgefeuert werden und die Zuschauer, vom Fackelschein grell beleuchtet, in ihren farbigen Trachten zwar am Platze bleibend, sich doch bewegen, wenn der Reisbranntwein das übrige getan, dann ist der Höhepunkt erreicht!

Der Solosänger geht vor der Bahre her, das Gesicht aber immer gegen dieselbe gewendet. Mit den Händen heftig gestikulierend, macht er bald nach links, bald nach rechts Verbeugungen, beugt den Oberkörper bald nach vorwärts, bald nach rückwärts. Ab und zu in die Luft springend, zeigt er nur Zeichen der Freude und des Jubels. Je nach Laune und Einfall besingt er das Tier. Die Menge stimmt in den selbstgemachten Refrain ein, der bald eine Wiederholung des Sologesanges, bald ein sonstiger Beifallsruf ist.

Der Solosänger singt etwa**:

Solosänger: „Ei! Starke Bärenmutter, gehätlig zehrst du auf die eigenen Kinder!"

Alle: „Hau, hau, hoh, huh!"

S.: „Ei! Schöne Bärin! Wahrhaft schöne Mutter, Erhabenste im Kreise der dreißig Tiere!"

A.: „Hau, hau, hoh, hau, huh!"

S.: „Jetzt hat man dich auf den Marktplatz gebracht, o Herrin! Zum Markte! He!"

A.: „Hau, hau, hoh, huh!"

S.: „Dein Todesurteil hast du dir selbst geschrieben, als du die Beute holtest aus dem Hause des Armen!"

A.: „Hau, hau, hoh, hau, huh!"

S.: „Die Schar der Rüden aber, die trefflich grimmes Packer und der Mensch, der kluge, brachten das Glück auf ihre Seite!"

A.: „Hau, hau, hoh, huh!"

S.: „Den Jagddämon, den Geist des Feldes, den Hausgrist! Drum höchlich freuen wir uns und jubeln und jauchzen!"

A.: „Hau, hau, hoh, huh!" usw.

Bei einem solchen Triumphzug in Laitkynsew, wobei eine Antilope heimgebracht wurde, sang einer etwa:

S.: „Aus den Bergen, aus dem kalten Lande bist du zu uns gekommen in, dieses Land, in das Reich von Laitkynsew!"

A.: „Hau, hau, hoh, huh!"

S.: „Frei warst du und freutest dich im Walde, am frischen Gras taltest du dir gütlich lange Zeit!"

A.: „Hau, hau, hoh, huh!"

** P. D. DECHENBREN, „Khasi-Sitten", Missionar 1905, S. 1798.

S.: „Jung und kräftig — schön — haben dich die Jäger im Kreise der dreißig Tiere, sie zogen aus mit Pfeil und Bogen, mit Flinte, Blei und Pulver!"

A.: „Hau, hau, hoh, huh!"

S.: „Du flohst ins Dickicht! Half dir das? Scheu wichst du zurück vor kühner Jägerschar!"

A.: „Hau, hau, hoh, huh!"

S.: „Schnell freilich wichst du zurück; schnell drängten die Verfolger nach und Pfeil und Bogen brachten dich zur Strecke!"

A.: „Hau, hau, hoh, huh!"

S.: „O Herrin! Was kamst du hierher? Du hast dich selbst dem Tode und dem Verderben ausgeliefert — wir aber freuen uns und jubeln und jauchzen!"

So geht es lange Zeit fort. Hat sich einer heiser gesungen, so tritt ein anderer an seine Stelle und setzt den Gesang fort.

Ermüdet von den Anstrengungen der Jagd, übermüdet von dem Treiben bei diesem Einzug, heiser vom Lärmen und Schreien, erhitzt vom Genusse des Branntweins, schleppt sich die Menge durchs Dorf zum Hause desjenigen Jägers, der den ersten Pfeil oder Schuß auf das Wild abgegeben hat. Dort wird dem Dorigott geopfert und das erlegte Tier zerteilt. Der erste Schütze *(a nongsiat)* erhält nun die hinteren Viertel, der zweite Schütze *(a nongbun)* die vorderen Viertel des Tieres.

In den Jaintia-Hügel ziehen die Synteng, wenn sie einen Tiger oder einen Leopard erjagt haben, zu einem Hügel in der Nachbarschaft des Dorfes. Dort wird unter einer Eiche ein Altar errichtet und der abgeschlagene Kopf des Tieres darauf gesetzt und dem *u'lei lyngdoh* (dem Gott des Dolloi-Bezirkes) geopfert.

Pfeil und Bogen sind dem Khasi nicht nur nötige Waffen für die Jagd oder angenehme Sportartikel für das Wettschießen: Pfeil und Bogen sind ihm in gewissem Sinne auch heilig. Denn beim Eintritt ins Leben und beim Hinscheiden werden beide bei den religiösen Zeremonien verwendet. Wird ein Knabe geboren, so legt man bei der Namensgebung[33] neben ihm einen Bogen und drei Pfeile. Der Opferer zeigt nach verschiedenen Zeremonien, die hier zu beschreiben nicht der Platz ist, dem Kinde den Bogen und die drei Pfeile und fordert es auf, ein guter Schütze zu werden. Am Schlusse sämtlicher Zeremonien werden der Bogen und die Pfeile sorgfältig an der Innenseite des Strohdaches der Hütte befestigt.

Bemerkenswert ist, daß bei der Totenverbrennung[34] der Khasi ebenfalls ein Bogen und drei Pfeile gebraucht werden. Dieselben werden mit den anderen Totenzeremonialgegenständen bereitgehalten, während der Leichnam zum letztenmal den Teilnehmern der Bestattung gezeigt wird. Sobald nun am Scheiterhaufen das Feuer aufflammt, werden auch die drei Pfeile abgeschossen: einer nach Norden, einer nach Süden und der dritte nach Osten. Diese Pfeile nennen die Khasi *'nam-lympem.*

[33] P. F. Stegmüller, „Aus dem religiösen Leben der Khasi", „Anthropos", 1921—1922, S. 420 ff.

[34] P. F. Stegmüller, l. c., S. 430 ff.

5:Steguiller M-4,5 (no date)1928 AR7 Khasi AR7

THE MARKET LIFE OF THE KHASI

(DAS MARKTLEBEN DER KHASI)

by P. F. Steguiller

Publication d'hommage offerte au P.W. Schmidt

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[Title page]

[103]

The Market Life of the Khasi
(With ten original photographs by the author)
by P.F. Stegmiller, S.D.S., Munich

The mountains in the northeast corner of India which lie between the valleys of the Brahmaputra and the Barak are inhabited by a tribe, the Khasi, numbering about 200,000 people. Although they rarely cross the borders of their homeland and live almost cut off from their neighbors, they have an active traffic amongst themselves and travel a lot. This traveling is determined by the very distinct market life of the Khasi. It is truly the pulse beat of the people. The rest of their homelife, their activities, and their private, public, and religious life. (1) Time is divided according to the market; the market replaces the daily newspaper and the information service; the market unites the individual villages; the market offers a living to many and for many has become a source of wealth.

1. P.F. Stegmiller, "Aus dem religiösen Leben der Khasi' [The Religion Life of the Khasi], Anthropos, 1921-1922, pp. 425 ff.

How much the Khasi depend on a thriving market may be seen in their prayers which are spoken every year at the great state sacrifices in honor of the god Shillong by the sacrificer (lyngdoh) presenting the service: "O god, Shillong! Thou who receivest this prayer, this sacrifice of goats, of fowl, of kpu and rynsi (a kind of bread of rice flour or cornmeal with pounded sugar), of utensils used in the preparation, as thou has given them to the royal

race, so that once in every year a sacrifice 443
can be celebrated in thy name, so that we will 782
live happily and be healthy and increase in numbers, so that kings will arise, the markets will enjoy progress and success, and the children of the kingdom will spread out and increase in thy name and to thy honor."

After this prayer the chief sacrificer (lyngdoh rangbah) pours rice liquor (ka kiad um) out of a gourd bottle (u klong) onto the ground in honor of the goddess of the markets (ka blei jeu lei hat) and prays thus: "Hear us, o goddess, so that the markets will be good and safe and everything be blessed, so that the kingdom will progress and develop,mo (is it not so)!" (2)

2. P.F. Stegmiller, "Opfer und Opferbräuche der Khasi"[Sacrifice and Sacrificial Customs of the Khasi], Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien"[Proceedings of the Vienna Anthroplogical Society], Vol. LIV (1924).

[704] Among the Khasi, the women [The Market 443
Personnel] are so in the majority among the 462
selling personnel that it is tempting to consider them the founders of the markets. Since provisions form the chief articles of the market, and these are grown by the women, this may be the reason why the woman dominates the market. The masculine element certainly participates actively in the market, but only dealing in such articles as belong to him specially, such as dishes of iron which he has made or goats and sheep which he has raised. Although the men as an average only go to

443 market for pleasure, I cannot agree with the
462 view, (3) that they would consider market busi-

3. P.C. Becker, S.D.S., Salvatorianische Mitteilungen /Salvatorian Communications/, 1911, No. 4, p. 60.

ness beneath their dignity, if they had a wife or a grown girl (daughter) at home, to whom they could turn over this business. Not because the men would consider the business of the market beneath their dignity, but because the market is once and for all the preferred business of the women, men stay away from the market. If men are rarely seen offering provisions for sale, they are more frequently seen bringing the provisions to the women at the market. The men only sell personally birds they have caught themselves. Thus if the buying and selling of things is the business of the Khasi women, this position is not a subordinate and shameful one but a well established and dominant one.

2. The Market Wares

443 Food provisions are the chief items at the
438 Khasi markets. Sold are: rice (khau), dried fish (doh kha), potatoes (phan), sugar cane (u bai), an edible root which is eaten raw (u soh phlang; botanical name: flemingia vestita Baath); Job's tears (u soh rieu; botanical: name coix lachryma Jobi); Italian millet (u 'rai soh, botanical name: setreria italica); blood millet (u 'rai shan, botanical name: paspalum sanguinale); spadix millet (u 'rai truh, botanical name: eleusine Coracana); Khasi beans, two [illegible] (u rymbai ja, botanical name: paseolus

calcaratus) and (u rymbai ktung, botanical 443
name: glycine soja); corn (u 'rieuhadem); 438
pineapple (u soh trun); lemons (u soh myndong);
oranges (u soh niamtra); mangoes (u soh pieng);
melons (u pathau); breadfruit (u soh kpu,
botanical name: artocarpus incisa); Khasi
cherries (u soh jong, botanical name: prunus
ferrunginea); bananas (ka kait), pepper (u soh
mrit); chilis (u soh myngken); papayas (u soh
kynphor, botanical name: carica papaya); a
kind of wild potato (u soh pyrsiu); cinnamon
(ka sisia, botanical name: cinamum cassia);
nutmeg (u joi phol); ginger (u 'sieng);
honey in honeycombs (ka ngap).

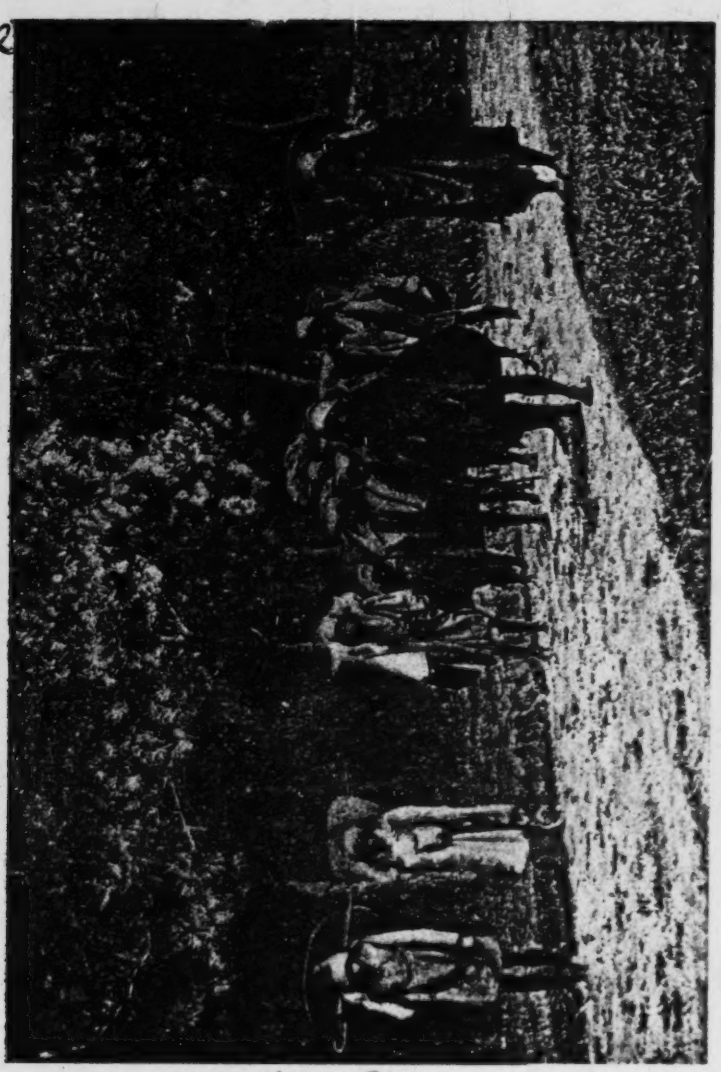
Goats, sheep, and cattle are sold, sometimes alive, sometimes slaughtered in small quantities. There are many chickens on the market, especially for sacrificial purposes.

In addition things are brought for sale that are necessary for the construction of houses or the cultivation of fields, such as grass for roofing huts; cut beams, bamboo poles, bamboo plaited into lattice work, dried cow manure, spades for the fields (mokhiu); Khasi knives (ka wait); [704: A]1 [P.W. Schmidt-Festschrift. Photo: P. Fr. Stegmiller. Market Troupe. They go in groups for fear of [484]
murderers (thleng owners)] [704: B]1 [P.W. Schmidt-Festschrift. Photo: P. Fr. Stegmiller. A woman, carrying beans, on the way to the market at Cherrapunji.] [704: C]1 [P.W. Schmidt-Festschrift. Photo: P. Fr. Stegmiller. Going towards Laban to the market with potatoes. [482]
The "umbrella" is placed between the back and the burden.] [704: D]1 [P.W. Schmidt-Festscrift. Photo: P. Fr. Stegmiller. On the way to Laban to the market with sugar cane.] [704: E]1 P.W. Schmidt-Festschrift. Photo: P. Fr. Stegmiller. Khasi traveling to the market in dugouts.]

1 [See plates, category 16, pp. 5-9-- Analyst]

5:Stegmiller--5 M-4,5(no date)1928 AR7 Khasi AR7

492



[Market troupe]

[704 A7

5:Stegmiller--6 M-4,5(no date)1928 AR7KhasiAR7

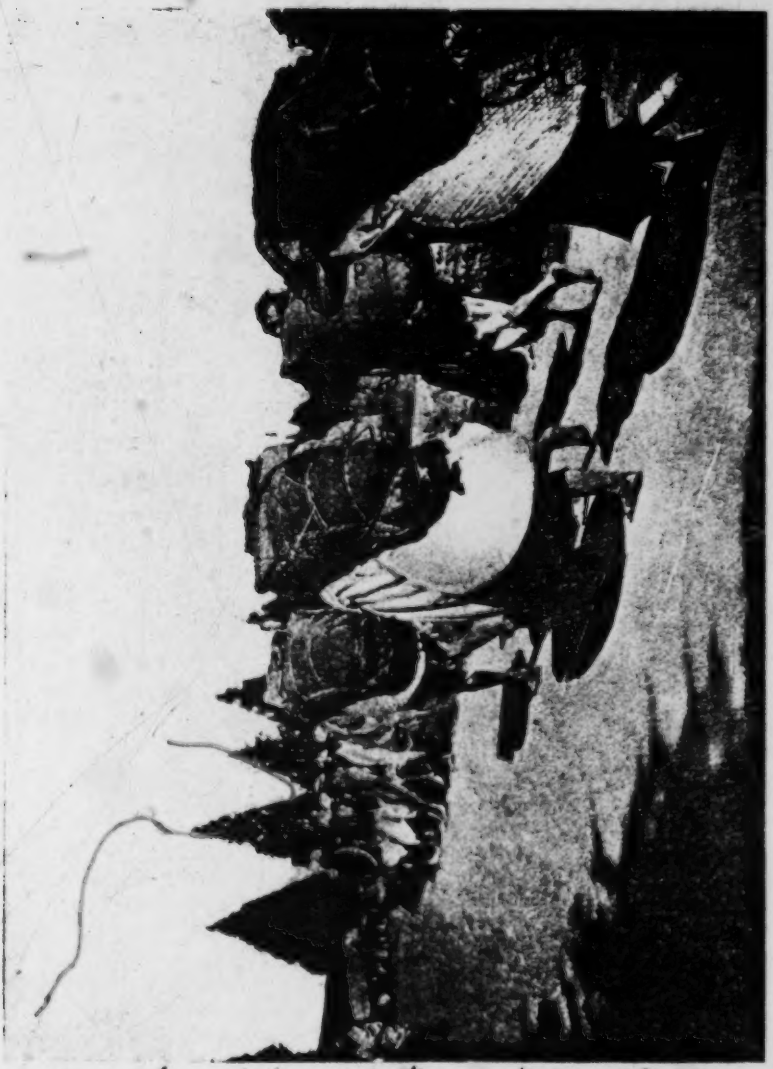
482

[A woman carrying beans on the way to the market at Cherrapunji]

[704 B]

5:Stegmiller--7 -4,5(no date)1928 AR7KhasiAh

482

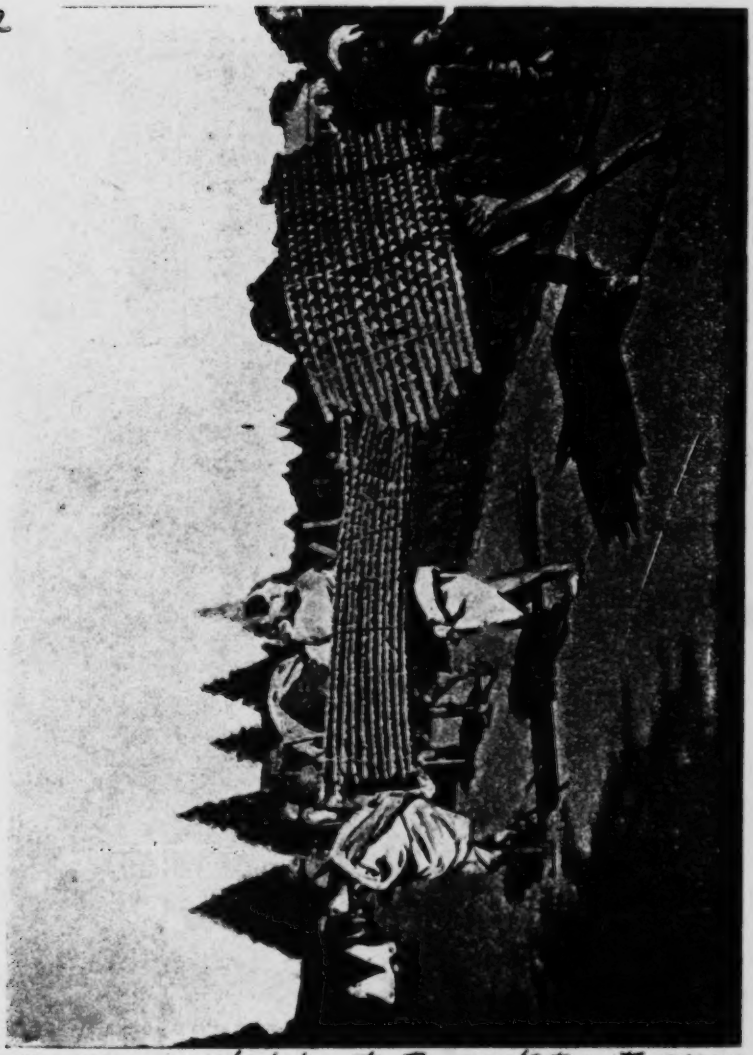


[Going toward Laban to the market with potatoes.]

[7040]

5:Stegmiller--8 M-4,5(no date)1928 AR7KhasiAR7

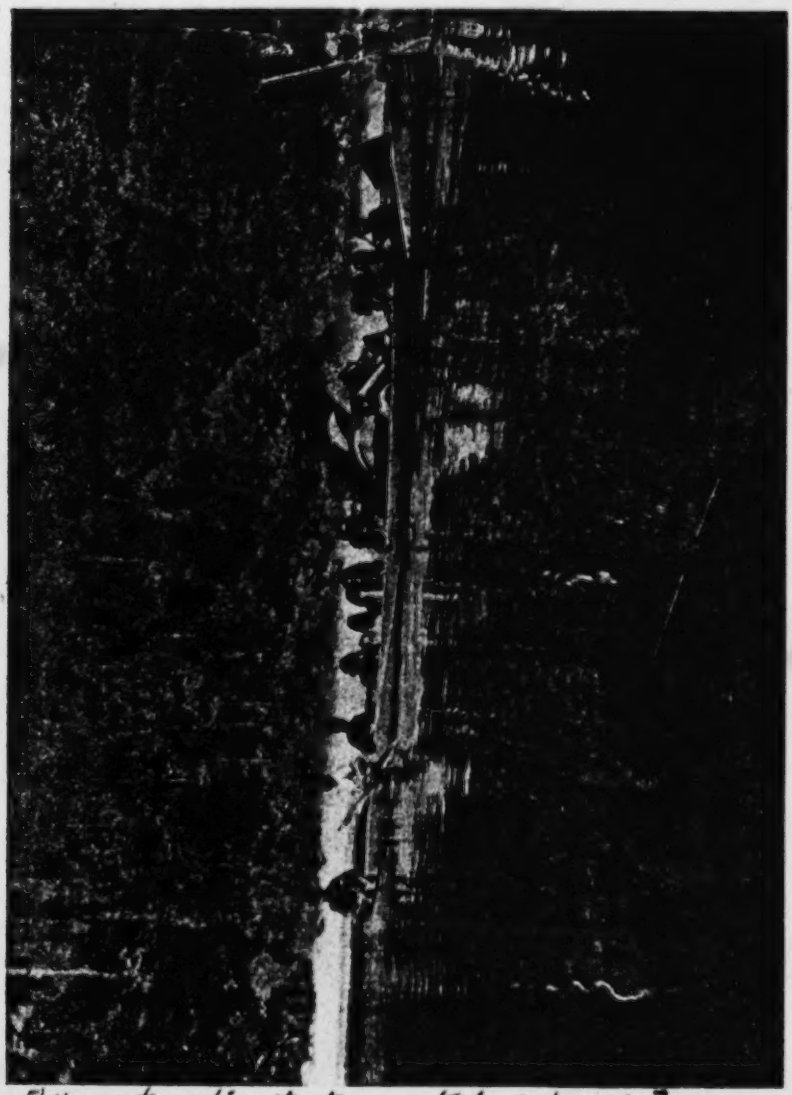
482



[On the way to Laban to the market with sugar cane]

[704D]

501



[Khasi traveling to the market in dugouts]

[704 E]

443 [704: F]1 [P.W. Schmidt-Festschrift. Photo:
438 P. Fr. Stegmiller. Market Place in Shillong.]
[704: G]1 [P.W. Schmidt-Festschrift. Photo: P.
Fr. Stegmiller. Market Place in Shillong:
Selling meat.] [704: H]1 [P.W. Schmidt-Festsch-
rift. Photo: P. Fr. Stegmiller, Market Place
in Shillong: round chicken coops.] [704: I]1
[P.W. Schmidt-Festschrift. Photo: P. Fr.
Stegmiller. Market Place in Daukhi.] [704: J]1
[P.W. Schmidt-Festschrift. Photo: P. Fr. Steg-
miller. Market Place in Laitkynsew^ Material
for roofing.] [705] plaited baskets in all
sizes , waterproof plaited containers, carry-
ing baskets (tappa), bands for the forehead
(u star), drinking cups of bamboo, gourd bot-
tles, wooden mortars, water pipes made of
cocoanuts, pipe bowls made out of clay and
dried in the sun, plates and saucers of brass,
cooking pots of iron, and earthern dishes;
everything is the work of the Khasi.

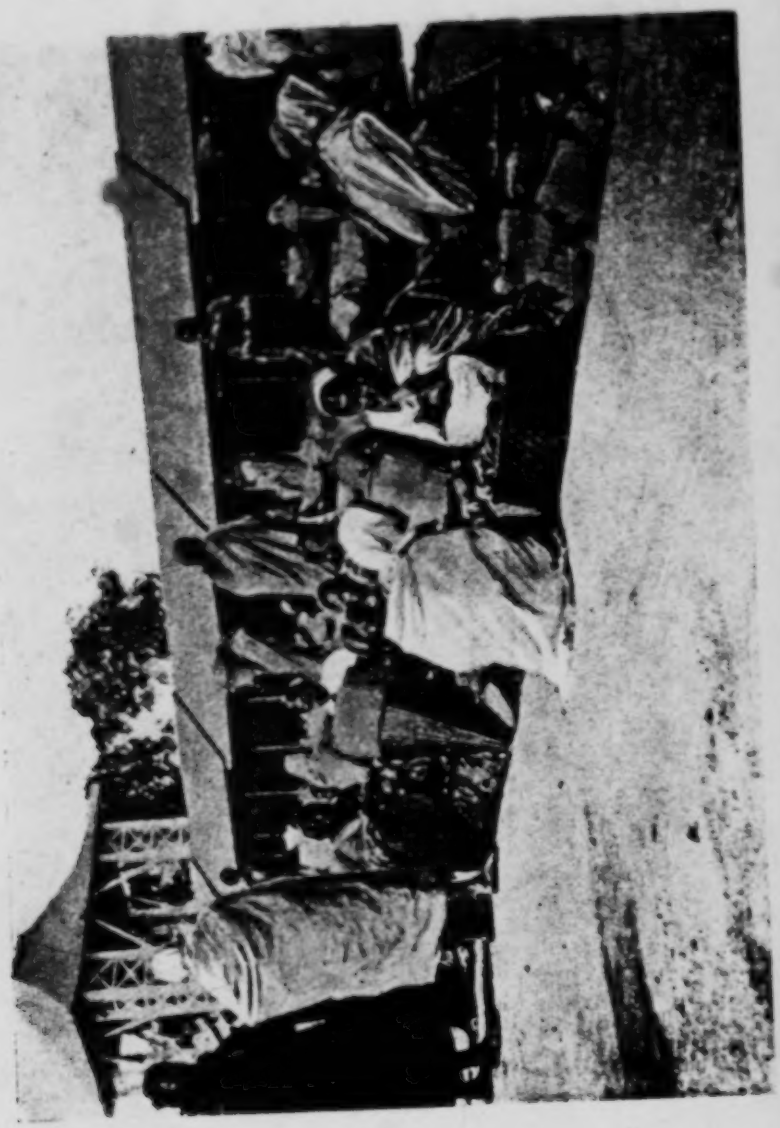
Recently European wares, such as loin
cloths, stockings, caps, combs, mirrors,
mouth harmonicas, matches, and cigarettes are
also seen in larger amounts.

443 At the markets of the Khasi not only food-
464 stuffs and other things necessary for life may
445 be obtained, but workers are also hired there.
Whoever wishes to hire himself out goes to the
market and stands around, hoping to find some
kind of work for the coming (market) week.
Day laborers can only be hired at the market.
Therefore it is hard during the week to get
any kind of a worker. It is also necessary
when hiring a t the market to hire the worker
for the whole "market week," i.e., until the
next market day, as the coolies otherwise
would have a hard time finding work and would
not accept the work at all for only one or
two days. The porters needed for traveling
may also be sought out and hired at the markets.

1 [See plates, category 116, pp. 11-15--Analyst]

5:Stegmiller-11 M-4,5(no date)1928 AR7 Khasi AR7

443



[704 F]

5:Stegmiller-12 M-4,5(no date)1928 AR7KhasiAR7

[704 g]

5:Stegmiller-13 8-4.5(no date)1976 ARTOnn1487

[70x 6]

5:Stegmiller-14 M-4,5(no date)1928 AR7KhasiAR7

443

(No. 17

5:Stegmiller-15 M-4,5(no date)1928 AR7KhasiAR7

443

[704 J]

must also be sought out and hired at the markets.(443

3. The Customs of the Market

a) The Preparation for Market. The sellers of both sexes normally carry their wares to the market themselves. They form smaller or larger groups and travel together. The wares are carried on their backs. The burden is packed according to its bulk or content. Larger objects, such as bamboo poles, beams, sugar cane, grass, and mats are carried without any covering by means of a forehead band plaited of reed grass (u stam). Smaller items, such as salt or potatoes, are packed in sacks; others such as betel nuts pepper leaves, fruit, vegetables, etc. are carried in baskets made of bamboo. The baskets are either pointed baskets which are round at the top or square baskets, which narrow to a point at the bottom but still are four feet long in size. The latter baskets are usually made with a cover, which, like the basket itself, is plaited and almost waterproof, so that flour or salt can be transported in them even during the rainy season. A round or oval object shaped like a shield, which in case of need is used as an umbrella (ka trap) and which is plaited out of bamboo, is inserted between the back and the burden (jingkit). On the one hand this object has the purpose of ameliorating the pressure of the burden and on the other hand it is pulled out in rainy weather to serve as an umbrella when it is held up against the rain by hand. [484] 443 482 438 285 443 [293]

With regard to the weight which the Khasi carry to market, the men carry about 100 and more pounds while the women seldom 482

482 laden themselves with more than 80 to 85 pounds.

484 Many Khasi have to start during the afternoon because of the great distance to the market. They spend the night with acquaintances. In the dark [706] they march by torch light. The torches consist of several igra, i.e., very thin bamboo tube, saturated with petroleum and lighted. Or a large bamboo tube is filled with cloth that has been saturated in petroleum. The burning torches are swung in circles while the Khasi march so that only a glow is provided, but this prevents the torches from going out. The glow is quite sufficient for giving enough light for the road (foot path).

[276] Betel nuts are chewed (4) all the way and

4. The length of the road is also measured in "betel nuts."

water pipes are smoked during the rests.

443 b) The Market Place. It is not possible
361 to talk about a definite place where the Khasi usually hold the market. This varies considerably according to the region. First of all the place chosen for the market lies outside the village. By preference they hold their markets on high ground or some such safe place. A place that has once been chosen remains the
[278] market place for that particular village. The market place is often found very close to the memorial stones, just as if the spirits of the ancestors honored there should offer aid and protection to the visitors to the market. On the southern slopes of the Khasi Mountains the market is often held on the bank of a river for the reason that the people come to these markets in boats. The market place in each case is quite isolated. Also the one in

Laban, but there is a small wood near there. 443
The market place is also often found under 361
trees, at the edge of a forest or near the
memorial stones.

c) Market Huts. Usually the market is 443
held in the open air. Grass offers places 347
to sit as well as places for laying out the
wares. But in many places there are also
market halls or market huts. These are
simple halls, open on all sides, made with a
framework of bamboo poles and a roof of
straw or palm leaves. The market huts or
market halls are built with square corners
and have gabled roofs. They offer the women
sellers protection from the sun or rain only,
but no other comforts. Neither tables nor
chairs nor other arrangements for displaying
wares are there. On the side where the wind
blows these market halls are often covered
with bamboo mats.

d) Choosing the Place for Selling. 443
The choice of the place for selling is left 462
up to the seller. Yet a certain division can
be recognized at every market. This division
could be called a division according to sex.
In the middle the food stuffs are usually
sold which the women take care of. Utensils
and cattle which are the business of the men,
are sold at the edges. Therefore there is a
definite arrangement to the market which is
taken for granted by the Khasis: in the middle
the women, outside the men (there is a similar
order for the dance: in the middle the feminine
sex, outside the masculine sex). The indivi-
dual types of wares have [707] their definite
places, although individual sellers are not
assigned definite places.

The women settle down at any place that 443
seems good to them after their arrival at the
market. They spread out in front of them the

443 food provisions which they have brought to sell. They sit close to each other and form long lines which double or treble when the market is heavily attended. There is little room for the visitors to the market, who must work their way through the wares that are spread out and through the women sellers who are sitting so close together. A woman seldom sits off to one side. Since there is no stealing at the market, sitting apart is also unnecessary, although a better view of the wares that are laid out for sale would be obtained.

The large objects, such as bamboo and beams are always set up on the outer side of the market and sold there even when the selling is managed by women (which is an exception).

443 e) Selecting the Time. 1. Choosing the
805 market day. The Khasi have a week that is eight or four days long. Every eight (5) days

5. P.P. Stegmiller, "Pfeilschiessen und Jagdgebräuche der Khasi" [Arrow Shooting and Hunting Customs of the Khasi], Anthropos, 1925, pp. 615 ff.

there is a large market and every fourth day there is a small market, always at the same place. The large and the small markets are also held daily, but at different places in a certain district. In this district or defined area the market days for the various villages are so determined that they never coincide with each other, and each Khasi can attend this market or that one as he wishes. The sequence of the markets is regulated so precisely that every Khasi knows exactly where a market is being held at the moment. The days are also named from the markets that are to be held. They do not talk about a Sunday or a Wednesday, but of the

jeu duh (large market) in Shillong, in Nongkrem, 443
in Umlong, in Rangkheu, in Pomtiah, in Imnih, 805
etc. Thus each day is precisely established, and at the same time the market for the place concerned.

In the territory of the War the markets are held every fourth day in the following order: In Nongjiri, in Maubang, in Tyllap and in Shella. Here the week days are either named according to the market days or they say: the day before the market dy, the market day, the day after the market dy and the day between the markets. Every Khasi in this district knows then without any doubt which day is meant.

2. Determining the time of day. As concerns the tie of day during which the markets are held, no generally valid rule can be set up. This varies according to the individual places. In general from noon until late in the afternoon is the time for the chief market. The market paces are usually still empty before 10 o'clock in the morning. The end is about 5 o'clock in the afternoon, if not earlier.

The duration of the markets results from what has been already said. In general [706] the duration of a large market is about six hours, while a small market lasts only about four hours.

f) Order at the Market or Market Peace. 943
Although thee are no guards or other agents of 944
order on dut at the Khasi markets, the great peace and order at even the largest Khasi markets seem most pleasant to everyone. I have never heard any complaint of foodstuffs or other objects for sale being stolen. The Khasi consider the market as something holy, as something to be respeced, as something that belongs to everybody, which nobody can claim for his own. Attacks on a person's life also do not occur.

443 Quarrels and fights are exceptional. It is most
778 natural to the Khasi not to disturb the peace of the markets, since the markets stand under the protection of the goddess. (Cf. The prayer in the introduction to this article.)* Also the memorial stones, in the shadow of which the markets are so often held, may exert some influence on the visitors to the markets, since the Khasi imagine themselves to be protected by the spirits of their ancestors and believe that any kind of disorder at the market would be avenged by these spirits.

443 Nearly all the men at the market are armed.
784 The reason for this lies in the fact that the
911 people are thus protected on the way to the market and are safe from the attacks of the "killers" (nongshohnoh), i.e., those who got out to murder people in order to dedicate their victims to the devil snake. Therefore the visitors to the market never go alone but always in groups. The men are armed with the ka wait (a chopping knife), with which they know how to defend themselves very well.

4. The Law of the Market

443 a) The Market Toll. All sellers who at-
651 tend the market must pay a contribution on entering the market place. Only those inhabitants of the village or district in which the market is held are excepted. This market tax is paid partly in money and partly in products. In many villages it is paid only in cash. The amount of the tax laid is 2 or 3 paisas, often even one anna (5--8--10 pfennigs, German peace evaluation). Only betel nuts and pepper leaves are preferred to money. In many villages everything is paid in produce, insofar as foodstuffs are concerned. The market tax collector reaches

*[See category 116, pp 1-2--Author]

right into the carrying baskets of the arriving sellers with little ceremony and takes as much as he can with one or two hands. 443 651

Toll is levied at the approaches to the market. Here and there is a toll hut where the people passing must pay their contribution. These receipts belong to the king in whose kingdom the market is located. These market tolls often form very good sources of income for the royal families, as the markets are held regularly and are well attended. In return for the market tolls the king must maintain the market halls (if there are any).

[709] b) Market Coercion. There is no actual market coercion. But nothing can be bought outside of the market, since the Khasi do not have any stores. Only in the larger villages are there one or two shops, which, however, do not count. These shops must all pay the "market toll" for all the articles which they sell at home with the exception of the sale of kiad, "rice liquor," which is never sold at the market.

c) Prices and Measures. The prices are based on supply and demand. They are freely determined by the sellers. It is not the custom to bargain and haggle. An exception is the price for the daily rice, which often causes quarrels. The sellers sit by their wares without shouting or praising. The visitors come to the market, look at the wares, touch them, weigh them in their hands, and finally ask about the price. 437

If the prices seems to them to be too high, they put the wares back in their places and go their way without making any remarks.

Coins are used for paying. The Khasi have the following names for the English-Indian money: 436

5:Stegmiller-23 M-4,5(no date) 1928 AR7KhasiAR7

436

4 sh'ing	equal	1 kynda
5 kynda	"	1 peisa or 3 damli
4 peisa	"	1 anna
16 anna	"	1 tyngka
15 tyngka	"	1 muhor ksiar equals 20.83 gold marks

804 The following norms are valid for wares sold according to weight:

4 suka	equals	1 tula
1 1/4 tula	"	1 katsha
5 katsha	"	1 shatak
4 shatak	"	1 pauwa
4 pauwa	"	1 ser
5 ser	"	1 pusari
8 pusari	"	1 mon
27 1/2 mon	"	1 ton equals 20 hundredweight

The following norms are valid for wares which are sold according to the square foot:

4 saudong	equals	1 kanda
20 kanda	"	1 shatak
16 shatak	"	1 katha
20 katha	"	1 bigha equals 120 square feet

The following norms are in general valid for wares which are sold by the piece:

12 tylli	equals	1 dorjon
20 tylli	"	1 kuri
5 kuri	"	1 scah (hundred)
24 tau	"	1 dista
20 dista	"	1 rim
10 rim		1 sing bah

[110] The sale of oranges is an exception. 804
These appear on the market by the thousands. This fruit is sold by the spah, i.e., the hundred, but this is not to be taken literally. For the spah have various meanings according to the region. Thus the people on the Bogapani River (in Phali) sell according to the following system:

1	hali	equals	4 oranges
8	hali	"	1 bhar
100	bhar	"	1 spah, i.e., 3200 oranges

They are reckoned as follows in Shella:

1 gai	equal	6 oranges
5 gai and 2 oranges	"	1 bhar
4 bhar	"	1 hola
27 hola and 2 bhar	"	1 spah or 3520 oranges

The price for a spah varies from 10 to 40 rupees (tyngka), according to the amount of fruit that appears at the market. [435]

Quai leaves (tympeu) are sold according to the following scale:

2 sla	equal	1 jur
10 jur	"	1 khongshi
3 khongshi	"	1 blah
4 biah	"	1 tap
20 tap	"	1 kuri
4 kuri	"	1 shalia

But among the War the quai leaves are sold 435

435 in bundles. Each bundle is four bunches and each bunch has 48 leaves. The price for 10 to 20 bundles costs a rupee (tyngka) on the average. But when the rain stops and the dry season begins, the price climbs to 2.3 rupees and more. Four thousand to five thousand bundles of tympeu are sold daily at a well-attended market.

Das Marktleben der Khasi.

(Mit zwei Originalaufnahmen des Verfassers)

Von P. F. Stegmiller, S. D. S., München.

Die zwischen den Tälern des Brahmaputra und des Barrak liegenden Berge in der Nordostecke Indiens werden von einem etwa 200.000 Menschen zählenden Stamme, den Khasi, bewohnt. Obwohl diese äußerst selten die Grenzen ihrer Heimat überschreiten und fast abgeschnitten von ihren Nachbarn leben, so haben sie unter sich doch einen regen Verkehr und sind viel auf Reisen. Dieser Reiseverkehr wird bedingt durch das sehr ausgeprägte Marktleben der Khasi. Es ist so recht der Pulsschlag des Volkes. In ihrem Marktleben findet sich wie in einem Spiegel das übrige Leben: die Häuslichkeit, die Beschäftigung, das private, das öffentliche und das religiöse Leben[1] des Volkes. Nach dem Markte wird die Zeit eingeteilt, der Markt ersetzt die tägliche Zeitung und den Nachrichtendienst, der Markt verbindet die einzelnen Dörfer untereinander, der Markt bietet vielen den Unterhalt und ist manchen die Quelle des Wohlstandes geworden.

Wieviel den Khasi an einem gedeihlichen Marktleben liegt, ersieht man aus den Gebeten, welche alljährlich beim großen Staatsopfer zu Ehren des Gottes Shillong vom dienstuenden Opferer *(lyngdoh)* gesprochen werden: „O Gott Shillong! Der du dieses Gebet, dieses Opfer der Ziege, der Henne, des *kpu* und *rynai* (eine Art Brot aus Reismehl oder Mais mit gemahlenem Zucker), der Vorbereitungsgerüte, wie du sie gegeben hast dem königlichen Geschlechte, auf daß alle Jahre einmal in deinem Namen ein Opfer gefeiert werde, damit wir glücklich leben und gesund seien und uns vermehren, damit die Könige emporkommen, die Märkte sich des Fortschrittes und des Erfolges erfreuen und die Kinder des Reiches sich ausbreiten und vermehren in deinem Namen und deiner Ehre."

Nach diesem Gebet gießt der oberste Opferer *(lyngdoh rangbah)* Reiswasser *(ka kiad um)* aus einer Kürbisflasche *(a kiang)* auf den Boden zu Ehren der Göttin der Märkte *(ka blei jiu lai hat)* und betet dabei: „Erhöre uns, o Göttin, auf daß die Märkte gut und gewinnbringend und erfolgreich seien, daß die Wege gut und sicher und alles geeignet sei, daß das Reich fortschreite und sich entwickle, *ner* (nicht wahr)?"

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[1] P. F. Stegmiller, „Aus dem religiösen Leben der Khasi", „Anthropos", 1921—1922, S. 425 ff.

[2] P. F. Stegmiller, „Opfer und Opferbräuche der Khasi", „Mitteilungen der Anthrop. Gesellschaft in Wien", Bd. LIV, 1924.

1. Das Marktpersonal

Bei den Khasi herrschen unter dem Verkaufspersonal die Frauen derart vor, daß man versucht ist, in ihnen die Begründerinnen des Mutterrechts zu vermuten. Da die Lebensmittel den Hauptartikel des Marktes bilden, diese aber von den Frauen gezogen werden, so liegt auch hierin ein Grund, warum die Frau auf dem Markte dominiert. Das männliche Element beteiligt sich zwar auch aktiv auf dem Markte, doch nur in solchen Artikeln, die ihm, sei es durch deren Herstellung, wie Geräte aus Eisen oder sei es durch eine Eigenart, wie die Aufzucht von Ziegen und Schafen speziell zukommen. Wenn die Männer durchschnittlich auch nur zum Vergnügen auf den Markt gehen, so kann ich der Ansicht nicht beipflichten[5], daß sie das Marktgeschäft unter ihrer Ehre halten würden, falls sie eine Frau oder ein erwachsenes Mädchen (Tochter) zu Hause haben, denen sie diese Geschäfte überlassen würden. Nicht weil die Männer das Marktgeschäft unter ihrer Ehre halten würden, sondern weil der Markt einmal das bevorzugte Geschäft der Frau ist, bleiben sie vom Markte fern. Sieht man auch äußerst selten Männer, die Nahrungsmittel feilbieten, so sieht man öfters Männer, die die Nahrungsmittel den Frauen auf den Markt tragen. Nur selbst gefangene Vögel verkaufen die Männer persönlich. Wenn also das Kaufen und Verkaufen Sache der Khasifrauen ist, so ist diese Stellung nicht etwa eine untergeordnete und beschämende, sondern eine lang eingebürgerte und dominierende.

2. Die Marktware

Vorwiegend sind auf den Khasimärkten die Lebensmittel. Verkauft werden: Reis *(khaw)*, getrocknete Fische *(dieh khe)*, Kartoffel *(phun)*, Zuckerrohr *(u pei)*, eine eßbare Wurzel, die roh genossen wird *(u soh phlang*, bot. Name: Tinospora cordifolia Benth); Johannisbeeren *(u soh riew*, bot.: coix lachryma Jobi); italienische Hirse *(u 'rai soh*, bot.: setaria italica); Rispenhirse *(u 'rai shan*, bot.: panicum sanguinale); Kolbenhirse *(u 'rai truh*, bot.: eleusine Coracana); Kheilebohnen, zwei Arten: *(u rymbai ja*, bot.: psoralea calcaratus) und *(u rymbai khang*, bot.: glycine soja). Mais *(u 'rimbaiem)*; Ananas *(u soh tram)*; Zitronen *(u soh myeiong)*; Orangen *(u soh niemtra)*; Mango *(u soh piang)*; Melonen *(u pathaw)*; Brotfrucht *(u soh kyu*, bot.: artocarpus incisa); Kirschbäume *(u soh jing*, bot.: prunus serrulata); Bananen *(ka kait)*; Pfeffer *(u soh sarit)*; Chilli *(u soh myrphah)*; Papaya *(u soh kynphar*, bot.: carica papaya); eine Art wilder Kartoffel *(u soh kyrsiar)*; Zimmt *(ka sisia*, bot.: cinnamon cassia); Muskatnuß *(u jai phat)*; Ginger *(u 'siang)*; Honig in Waben *(ka ngup)*.

Ziegen, Schafe und Vieh werden teils lebend, teils geschlachtet in kleinen Quantitäten verkauft. Hühner kommen viele, besonders zu Opferzwecken auf den Markt.

Außerdem kommen Dinge, die zum Haus- und Feldbau nötig sind, zum Verkauf, wie Gras zum Decken der Hütten; gezimmerte Balken; Bambusstangen; Bambusgeflechte; getrockneter Kuhmist; Feldspaten *(mukhu)*; Khasimesser *(ka*

[5] P. C. Bucera, S. D. S., Sahnsteinsamsche Mitteilungen, 1911, Nr. 4, S. 60.

S: Siegmüller

A.R.7 Khasi

[p. 704: A]

P. W. Schmidt-Postardrift

Photo: P. Fr. Siegmüller

Marktbesuch.

Man geht gemeinsam zu Fuß vor den Bäuden (Dörfer-Inhaber).

[Foto: B]

P. W. Schmidt-Annaberg

Photo: P. W. Schmidt

Frau, Sylhet-Legend, auf dem Weg zum Markt nach Chittagong

[p. 304: c].

A. G. Kowalski-Tarasevich

Photo: F. R. Engelhardt

Wie Kurofiots vom Wasser nach Leben

Der „Engineer" wird zerschlagen Fischen und Lust eingeschlossen

[p. 704: E]

Photo: A. A. Stegmiller

Kickapoo in Mexico

A. A. Stegmiller

[p. 704: F]

[p. 704: G]

Photo: P. A. Angelillo

Wandgemälde in Stiftung Rudolf Hildenbrandgum

P. W. Robert Ammonsch

[p. 704: H]

Perry, R. H. Douglas

Monogram in Double

R. W. Edwards-Fawcett

[p.704: I]

Marktplatz in Lettbynnen. Material zum Dachdecken.

[p. 704: J]

wal); geflochtene Körbe in allen Größen; wasserdichte geflochtene Behälter; Tragkörbe *(tapu)*; Strohhüte *(a star)*; Trinkbecher aus Bambus; Körbeflaschen; bitterne Mörser; Wasserpfeifen aus Kokosnüssen; Pfeifenköpfe aus an der Sonne gerösteten Lehm; Teller und Schalen aus Messing; Kochtöpfe aus Eisen und eisene Gefäße: alles Arbeiten der Khasi.

Neuerdings sieht man auch noch europäische Waren, wie Lendentücher, Strümpfe, Mützen, Kämme, Spiegel, Mundharmonikas, Streichhölzer und Zigaretten in größeren Mengen.

Auf den Märkten der Khasi kann man nicht bloß Lebensmittel und andere zum Leben nötige Dinge erwerben, sondern dort werden auch die Arbeiter gemietet. Wer sich bei anderen verdingen will, geht auf den Markt und sieht herum, hoffend, irgendeine Arbeit zu finden für die kommende (Markt-) Woche. Nur auf dem Markte kann man Tagelöhner mieten. Es wäre daher unter der Woche sehr schwer, irgendwelche Arbeiter zu bekommen. Auch beim Dingen auf dem Markte ist man genötigt, die Arbeiter für die ganze „Marktwoche" zu mieten, d. h. bis zum nächsten Markttag, da die Kuli sonst schwerlich Arbeit finden würden und wegen ein oder zwei Tage Beschäftigung die Arbeit gar nicht annehmen würden. Auch die Lastträger für Reisen müssen auf den Märkten gesucht und gemietet werden.

6. Die Marktsitten.

a) Die Vorbereitung zum Markte. Die Verkäufer und Verkäuferinnen tragen durchschnittlich ihre Waren selbst zum Markte. Sie schließen sich zu kleineren oder größeren Gruppen zusammen und gehen so gemeinsam. Die Waren werden auf dem Rücken getragen. Die Last wird je nach dem Umfang oder Inhalt verpackt. Größere Objekte, wie Bambusstangen, Balken, Zuckerrohr, Gras und Matten werden direkt mittels des *a star*, eines aus Rotang geflochtenen Strohhutes getragen, ohne weitere Umhüllung. Kleinere Objekte, wie Salz oder Kartoffel, werden in Säcke verpackt, andere, wie Bettstroh, Pfefferblatt, Obst, Gemüse usw., werden in Körben aus Bambus getragen. Die Körbe sind entweder Spitzkörbe, die oben rund sind oder viereckige Körbe, die unten zwar spitz zulaufen, aber doch noch den Ansatz von vier Füßen haben. Letztere Körbe sind meist mit einem Deckel versehen, die, wie die Körbe selbst, fast wasserdicht geflochten sind, so daß man Mehl oder Salz auch während der Regenzeit transportieren kann. Zwischen Rücken und Last *(ingbi)* wird ein aus Bambus geflochtener runder (oder ovaler), schildähnlicher Gegenstand eingeschoben, der im Bedarfsfalle als Regenschirm *(ka rup)* gebraucht wird. Einerseits hat dieser Gegenstand den Zweck, der Drückende der Last zu mildern, andererseits wird er bei Regenwetter hervorgezogen, um als Regenschirm zu dienen, indem er mit einer Hand gegen den Regen gehalten wird.

Was das Gewicht betrifft, das die Khasi zum Markte tragen, so beläuft sich das der Männer ungefähr auf 100 und mehr Pfund, während die Frauen selten mehr als 80 bis 85 Pfund sich aufladen.

Viele Khasi müssen wegen der großen Entfernung vom Markte bereits den Nachmittags aufbrechen. Sie übernachten bei Bekannten. In der Dämmerung ver-

schieren sie bei Fackelbeleuchtung. Die Fackeln bestehen aus mehreren Igra, d. h. ganz dünnen Bambus, die in ein großes Bambusrohr gesteckt und mit Petroleum übergossen, angezündet werden. Oder man füllt auch ein großes Bambusrohr mit Lappen, die mit Petroleum getränkt sind. Die brennenden Fackeln werden beim Gehen stets im Kreise geschwungen, was zwar nur ein Glimmen derselben ermöglicht, aber auch ein Erlöschen verhindert. Das Glimmen genügt vollauf zur nötigen Beleuchtung des Weges (Fußweges).

Auf dem gesamten Weg wird Betelnuß gekaut* und während der Rast die Wasserpfeife geraucht.

b) Der Marktplatz. Man kann bei den Khasi nicht von einem bestimmten Platze reden, auf dem sie im allgemeinen den Markt abhalten. Es ist dies nach den Gegenden sehr verschieden. Zumeist liegt der für den Markt gewählte Platz außerhalb des Dorfes. Mit Vorliebe halten sie die Märkte auf Anhöhen oder sonst exponierten Plätzen. Ein einmal gewählter Platz bleibt als Marktplatz für die betreffende Ortschaft bestehen. Oftmals findet sich der Marktplatz in nächster Nähe der Totengedenksteine, gleichsam als sollten die dort verehrten Geister der Ahnen den Marktbesuchern Schutz und Beistand leisten. In den südlichen Abhängen der Khasiberge wird der Markt vielfach an den Ufern der Flüsse abgehalten, was darin seinen Grund hat, daß die Khasi zu diesen Märkten in Booten kommen. Der Marktplatz in Mawkhlieng ist ganz isoliert. Ebenso der in Lahan, doch ist dort in der Nähe ein Gehölz. Auch findet man öfters den Marktplatz unter Bäumen, am Waldesrande oder in der Nähe der Totengedenksteine.

c) Markthütten. Man hält die Märkte durchschnittlich unter freiem Himmel ab. Der Rasen bietet hinreichendst so gut wie Platz zum Auslegen der Waren. Doch finden sich an manchen Orten auch Markthallen oder Markthütten. Diese sind einfache, nach allen Seiten offene Hallen, deren Gerüste aus Bambusstangen und deren Bedachung aus Stroh oder Palmenblättern besteht. Die Markthütten oder Markthallen sind im Rechteck gebaut und haben Giebeldächer. Sie bieten den Verkäuferinnen nur Schutz gegen Sonne resp. Regen, aber keine anderen Bequemlichkeiten. Weder Tische, noch Stühle, noch sonstige Vorrichtungen zum Auslegen der Waren sind vorhanden. Gegen die Windseite findet man diese Markthallen vielfach mit Bambusmatten abgedeckt.

d) Auswahl der Verkaufsstelle. Die Auswahl der Verkaufsstelle ist dem Verkäufer freigegeben. Doch ist eine gewisse Einteilung auf jedem Markte nicht zu verkennen. Man könnte diese Einteilung eine Einteilung nach den Geschlechtern nennen. Denn in der Mitte werden gewöhnlich die Lebensmittel verkauft, was die Frauen besorgen. An den Außenrändern kommen die Gerte und das Vieh zum Verkauf, was Sache der Männer ist. Es gibt daher eine bestimmte Marktordnung, die sich bei den Khasi von selbst versteht: in der Mitte die Frauen, außen herum die Männer (beim Tanz ist eine ähnliche Ordnung: in der Mitte das weibliche, außen herum das männliche Geschlecht). Die einzelnen Branchen haben

* Nach „Betelnuß" wird auch die Länge des Weges berechnet.

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ihre bestimmten Plätze, ohne daß dadurch den einzelnen Verkäufern ein bestimmter Platz angewiesen wäre.

Die Frauen lassen sich nach der Ankunft auf dem Marktplatze auf irgendeinem, ihnen gut scheinenden Platz nieder. Vor sich breiten sie dann die zum Verkaufe bestimmten Nahrungsmittel auf dem Boden aus. Sie sitzen hart neben einander und bilden so lange Reihen, welche sich bei starkem Marktbesuche verdoppeln und verdreifachen. Es gibt wenig Platz für die Marktbesucher, welche sich zwischen den ausgelegten Waren und den dicht beisammen sitzenden Verkäuferinnen durcharbeiten müssen. Selten findet man eine Frau abseits sitzen. Da auf dem Markte nicht gemahlen wird, so erübrigt sich auch das Abseitssitzen, wodurch freilich eine bessere Übersicht über die zum Verkaufe ausgelegten Waren erlangt würde.

Die großen Gegenstände, wie Bambus und Balken, werden stets an den Außenseiten des Marktplatzes aufgestellt und dort verkauft, auch wenn der Verkauf (ausnahmsweise) durch Frauen geschieht.

e) Zeitbestimmung. 1. Bestimmung des Markttages. Die Khasi haben eine achttägige bzw. eine viertägige Woche. Jeden achten Tag findet ein großer [5], jeden vierten Tag ein kleiner Markt statt, und zwar immer wieder am gleichen Ort. Die großen wie die kleinen Märkte werden also täglich abgehalten, nur an verschiedenen Orten in einem bestimmten Bezirk. In diesem Bezirk oder bestimmten räumlichen Gebiet sind die Markttage für die verschiedenen Ortschaften, respektive Marktplätze so bestimmt, daß sie nie miteinander kollidieren und jeder Khasi nach Belieben diesen oder jenen Markt besuchen kann. Die Reihenfolge der Märkte ist so genau geregelt, daß jeder Khasi bestimmt weiß, wo gerade Markt ist. Nach den abzuhaltenden Märkten werden auch die Tage benannt. Man spricht also nicht von einem Sonntag oder Mittwoch, sondern vom *jau duh* (großen Markt) in Shillong, in Nongkrem, in Umlong, in Rangkhei, in Pomtiah, in Imnih usw. Damit ist jeder Tag genau fixiert und zugleich der Markt für den betreffenden Ort.

Im Gebiete der War werden die Märkte jeden vierten Tag abgehalten, und zwar in der Reihenfolge: in Nongjiri, in Maubang, in Tyllap und in Shella. Entweder werden hier die Wochentage auch nach den Märkten benannt oder man sagt: der Tag vor dem Markttag, der Markttag, der Tag nach dem Markttag und der Tag zwischen den Märkten. Jeder Khasi in diesem Bezirke weiß dann unzweifelhaft, welcher Tag gemeint ist.

2. Bestimmung der Tageszeit. Was die Tageszeit betrifft, in der die Märkte abgehalten werden, so lassen sich hier allgemein gültige Regeln nicht aufstellen. Es ist dies verschieden nach den einzelnen Orten. Im allgemeinen wird die Mittagszeit bis spät in den Nachmittag hinein als Hauptmarktzeit genommen. Vor 10 Uhr früh sind die Marktplätze meist noch leer. Um 5 Uhr nachmittags ist Schluß, wenn nicht früher.

Die Dauer der Märkte ergibt sich aus dem bisher Gesagten. Im allgemeinen

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[5] P. F. Stegmüller, „Fleischessen und Jagdgebräuche der Khasi", „Anthropos", 1938, S. 645 ff.

F. W. Schmidt-Fürstenfeldt

Photo: F. Fr. Angelika

Alte Zuckerrohr auf dem Weg zum Markt nach Lub[illegible]

beträgt die Dauer eines großen Marktes ungefähr sechs Stunden, während ein kleiner Markt nur etwa vier Stunden währt.

l) Marktordnung bzw. Marktfrieden. Obwohl auf den Khasimärkten keinerlei amtliche Wächter oder sonstige Ordnungsorgane tätig sind, so fällt die große Ruhe und Ordnung auf jedem noch so großen Khasimarkt nur angenehm auf. Es ist mir niemals eine Klage zu Ohren gekommen, daß Nahrungsmittel oder sonstige Verkaufsgegenstände auf dem Markte gestohlen worden wären. Die Khasi betrachten den Markt als etwas Heiliges, als etwas Ehrwürdiges, als etwas allen gemeinsam Gehörendes, das niemand für sich allein in Anspruch nehmen darf. Auch Angriffe auf das Leben kommen nicht vor. Zank und Streit gehören zu den Ausnahmen. Es ist den Khasi etwas Selbstverständliches, den Marktfrieden nicht zu stören, da die Märkte doch unter dem Schutze der Götter stehen. (Siehe Götter in der Einleitung zu diesem Artikel.) Auch dürften die Tanzgelegenheiten, in denen Schutzes die Märkte vielfach abgehalten werden, einen Einfluß auf die Marktbesucher ausüben, da die Khasi sich von den Ahnengeistern beschützt wähnen und glauben, daß etwaige Unruhen auf dem Markte durch diese Geister gerächt würden.

Fast sämtliche Männer auf dem Markte sind bewaffnet. Dies hat einen Grund nur darin, daß die Leute auf dem Wege zum Markte beschützt und vor den Angriffen der „Totschläger" (*nongkhnuit*), d. h. derjenigen, welche auf Menschenmord ausgehen, um ihre Opfer dann den Schlangengeistern zu weihen, sicher sind. Deshalb gehen die Marktbesucher auch niemals allein, sondern immer in Gruppen zusammen. Die Männer sind bewaffnet mit dem *da* wait (einem Hackmesser), mit dem sie sich vortrefflich zu verteidigen wissen.

4. Der Marktzoll.

a) Der Marktzoll. Die den Markt besuchenden Verkäufer müssen beim Betreten des Marktplatzes eine Abgabe entrichten. Ausgenommen hiervon sind nur die jeweiligen Bewohner des Dorfes oder Bezirkes, in dem der Markt abgehalten wird. Die Marktabgabe wird teils in Geld, teils in Naturalien abverlangt. In manchen Dörfern wird alles nur in bar bezahlt. Die Höhe des zu erlegenden Zolles beträgt 2 oder 3 Paisa, manchmal auch eine Ana (in deutscher Friedenswährung 5—8—10 Pfennige). Nur Betelnuß und Pfefferblatt wird lieber als Geld genommen. In manchen Dörfern wird alles nur in Naturalien bezahlt, soweit die Nahrungsmittel in Betracht kommen. Der Marktzolleinnehmer greift ohne lange Zeremonien in den Tragkorb der angekommenen Verkäuferinnen und nimmt sich so viel, als er mit einer Hand, respektive mit zwei Händen fassen kann.

Der Zoll wird erhoben an den Zugangswegen zum Markte. Hie und da findet sich eine Zollhütte, bei dem Passieren der Abgabe gemacht werden muß. Die Einnahmen gehören dem Könige, in dessen Reich sich der Markt befindet. Diese Marktzölle bilden vielfach recht gute Einnahmequellen für die königlichen Familien, da die Märkte regelmäßig abgehalten und gut besucht werden. Als Gegenleistung für die Marktzölle muß der Königs die Marktbauten (wenn solche vorhanden sind) instand setzen.

b) **Marktordnung.** Die eigentliche Marktordnung besteht nicht. Doch kann man außerhalb des Marktes nicht handeln, da die Kiosk keine Läden haben. Nur in größeren Städten findet sich der eine oder andere Krämerladen, der aber nicht in Betracht kommt. Diese Kiosker nennen für alle Artikel, die sie zu Tisch verkaufen, auch den „Marktpreis" entrichten, mit Ausnahme für den Verkauf von *Zwei „Frühstücken"*, die sonnabends auf dem Markte verkauft wird.

c) **Preise und Maße.** Die Preise richten sich nach dem Angebot und der Nachfrage. Sie werden von den Verkäufern bei gemischte Fischchen und Fleischchen in nicht Stück. Eine Ausnahme bildet der Preis für den täglichen Fisch, der [illegible] festgesetzt wird. Ohne Zweifel aber kommen einem die Verkäuferinnen bei ihren Waren. Die Marktbesucher kommen, kaufen die Waren, berühren die [illegible], wägen sie in den Händen ab und fragen schließlich nach dem Preis.

Scheint ihnen der Preis zu hoch zu sein, so legen sie die Ware wieder an ihren Ort und gehen, ohne irgendeine Bemerkung zu machen, ihren Wegen.

Gezahlt wird mit Münzen. Die Kiosk haben folgende Bemessung für den englisch-indischen Geld:

4 shilling	=	gleich	1 kyatte
2 kyatte	=	=	1 pulse oder 2 annas
4 pulse	=	=	1 anna
16 anna	=	=	1 rupiee
15 rupiee	=	=	1 mohur, dazu ist gleich 30 Mk. [illegible]

Für Waren, die nach Gewicht verkauft werden, gelten folgende Normen:

4	tola	=	1 tola
1½	tola	=	1 [illegible]
2	[illegible]	=	1 [illegible]
4	[illegible]	=	1 [illegible]
8	[illegible]	=	1 [illegible]
2	[illegible]	=	1 [illegible]
4	[illegible]	=	1 [illegible]
37½	[illegible]	=	1 [illegible] ist gleich 30 [illegible]

Für Waren, die nach Quadratfuß verkauft werden, gelten folgende Normen:

4	[illegible]	=	1 [illegible]
20	[illegible]	=	1 [illegible]
16	[illegible]	=	1 [illegible]
20	[illegible]	=	1 [illegible] ist gleich 100 Quadratfuß

Für Waren, die nach Stückzahl verkauft werden, gelten im allgemeinen folgende Normen:

12	[illegible]	=	1 [illegible]
20	[illegible]	=	1 [illegible]
5	[illegible]	=	1 [illegible]
24	[illegible]	=	1 [illegible]
20	[illegible]	=	1 [illegible]
12	[illegible]	=	1 [illegible]

Eine Kaneliene bildet der Verband von Orangen. Diese kommen an vielen Tausenden auf den Markt. Diese Früchte werden nach qualität, d. h. besser verkauft, an aber nicht wirklich so schlecht. Dazu die qualität haben verschiedene Bezeichnungen, je nach der Gegend. So verbinden die Leute am Tiggenschiff (in Fluß) folgendermaßen:

1 karf	ent gleich	6 Orangen
6 karf	= =	1 Meer
100 Meer	= =	1 qarf, d.h. 600 Orangen

In Delta rechnet man so:

1 gur ent gleich 6 Orangen
1 gur ent 3 Orangen ent gleich 1 Meer
2 Meer = = 1 karf
37 karf und 1 Meer = = 1 qarf oder 1000 Orangen

Der Preis für ein qarf bewirt sich von 10 bis 40 Rupien (rupiffe), je nach der Menge der Früchte, die an Markte kommen.

Quabbiben (rynyne) werden verkauft nach folgender Zählung:

2 ein-	ent gleich	1 jar
10 jar	= =	1 Mengarit
5 Mengarit	= =	1 karf
4 karf	= =	1 kip
20 kip	= =	1 bert
6 bert	= =	1 mwim

Bei den Wirt aber werden die Quabbiben in Dzaddis verkauft. Jeder Dzaddi hat vier Blachet und jeder Blachet hat 40 Stück. Der Preis für 10 bis 20 Dzaddi beträgt durchschnittlich 1 Rupie (rynyfe). Wenn aber der Regen anfängt und die trockene Zeit beginnt, so steigt der Preis auf 2/3 und mehr Rupien. Bei einem gut besuchten Markt werden täglich 4000 bis 5000 Dzaddi rynyne verkauft.

C. Becker M-4,5 (no date) 1969 AB7 Khasi AB7

THE NONGKREM PUJA IN THE KHASI MOUNTAINS (ASSAM)

(DIE NONGKREM-PUJA IN DEN KHASI-BERGEN (ASSAM))

by C. Becker

Anthropos, Vol. IV (1909), 092-102

Translated from the German by Elizabeth Knight

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[title page]

/ABT/ The Hongkem Puja in the Khasi Mountains (Assam) (I)

/24 1. All the pictures attached to this article are prepared from photographs taken by P. Promotion Dagmillan, S.D.S., missionary in Shillong. The photographs were in part very difficult to take as they had to be made without being observed and in some cases the day was already well advanced.

by P. Dr. C. Berkan, S.D.S., Apostolic Prefect of Assam.

4.5) About five English miles to the east of Shillong, the chief town of the Khasi Mountains, lies the town of Hongkem. It is the seat of the king (U S'iem) who governs the state Hongkem of Khyrim, the largest of the 25 Khasi little states and which is partly independent (semi-independent) of the English government. Hongkem is best known for the great sacrifice, simply called Hongkem Puja or also be from Hang-u-S'iem Hongkem (Slaying the goat of the S'iem of Hongkem) which takes place there annually. This festivity offers, in little also data, an interesting insight into the religious and social views and customs of the interesting mountain people and should therefore be given a concise description, which may be divided into three parts.

I. The Preparations for the Sacrificial Feast,

II. The Sacrificial Feast,

III. The Celebration that Follows.

I. The Preparations for the Sacrificial Feast

Just as monarchy prevails in the family among the Khasi [illegible] similar arrangement has been kept in the management of the Khasi state, Hongkem. In the state, the S'iem is not the actual head but a high priestess, called Ka S'iem (Ka). (Ka) is not the dignity which [illegible] the social [illegible]. The temporal government is handled by the S'iem and by the S'iem [illegible] independent in the direction [illegible] working with his advisers, whose advice he must obtain in matter of importance. The temple of the Hongkem

[illegible] kept by the S'iem ঠিঙ্গ. Everything that comes in, such as taxes, 779
[illegible] contributions, or that which comes in through the administra- 775
tion of justice must be given to her. She may dispose of it as she
[illegible] best, while the S'iem receives from her the money necessary for
paying the costs of the government.

The S'iem ঠিঙ্গ is the sole authority in matters of religion. She
must watch over the religious sacrifices and determine the time and
place for them. /Seting p. 697 Fig. 1.[illegible] The Sacrifice (Nongbem
Pujo) among the Khasi/ /693/ the state sacrifices are held in her
house or in front of her house, and they must be performed in her
presence. The actual S'iem is her son or nephew or even more dis-
tant male relative, who is chosen by the "state council," the Dorbar.

After the death of the S'iem ঠিঙ্গ, this office passes to her eld-
est living daughter, and lacking such to the eldest daughter of her
eldest daughter, and lacking such granddaughters to the eldest daugh-
ter, and so forth. In case there are no daughters or granddaughters,
the eldest living sister takes the office; if there are no sisters, then
the eldest daughter of the eldest sister of the mother of the deceased
S'iem ঠিঙ্গ is the successor, and so it goes further. In this way the
office always remains within the royal lineage.

In the house of the S'iem ঠিঙ্গ (called ka-ing ঠিঙ্গ), which is 778
one of the largest and most attractive in the Khasi Hills, there is a 782
post in the middle which reaches from the floor to the ridge of the 776
roof. It is called a niduh Doi (post, pillar of gold) and serves at the
same time as the altar before which many sacrifices are performed.
The pillar is nothing other than the trunk of the Khasi oak (ka dieng
[illegible], botanical name: [illegible] sp.), which is holy to the Khasi. [824]
If the house of the S'iem ঠিঙ্গ burns down, or if it is built up anew, a
new pillar must be brought. Only certain families (jaid) have the
privilege of cutting down the tree for this purpose. As soon as it is
cut down, dancing and music begins, the trunk is covered with a
cloth and carried away on a carrying frame. Hundreds of persons
participate in this. As long as the pillar is not set up, it is guarded
night and day. A person or an animal might jump over it and then
would be sing[illegible]. In ancient times the trunk would be defiled and another
tree would have to be cut down. If something dreadful happens in
the kingdom, or if a danger threatens, the S'iem ঠিঙ্গ goes with the
official [illegible] priests of the kingdom Nongbem before the post
and offers sacrifice there in order to avert the evil.

The foregoing has to be mentioned in order to give a better
understanding of the following. 776

The Nongbem Pujo usually takes place in the month of May. 782

[See category 16, p. 16 - - - Budget]

One month before the celebration rice liquor is poured into a hollowed-out gourd bottle in the house of the S'iem ïïï

and cash are bought with these contributions, the balance, as with other money, is handed over to the S'iem ebi for management.

Until the approach of the actual festival, the fish sacrifice (nai-dohbha) takes places on the day called jea pomthiah, on which all who appear are fed with dried fish and brandy. This is supposed to be a further announcement to the u Blei Shillong, u Sumbria Iang Siem and ka Blei Iang Siem of the imminent Puja. Twelve different kinds of drums (kong) are beaten.

Thus the drum, kong thad tynghoh, is beaten three times, and the fore sacrificial priest (Soh Blei) and a flute player dance. The dance, tynghoh, will be described in more detail below. After it is finished, the kong kynthei (women drum) have a turn, to the sound of which the S'iem and the flute player (dohalia) dance three times. Usually only women dance to this drum. About the method of dancing it is sufficient to remark that in a Khasi dance the dancing persons do not touch each other, and each carries out the motions independent of the others. After the women drums are beaten, then the sword dance drum (kong mawlieh) and the large drum (nakra) are beaten. Torches are carried around and down of joy uttered nine times. Various drums, flute music, and clashes of cymbals follow, while dancing takes place. /facing p. 994. (A) Fig. 2. Drums, flutes and cymbals of the Khasi. Fig. 3 Sacrificial knives and ka wait of the Khasi. Phot. P. From. Stegmiller S. D. S. Fig. 4. Sacrificial dress of the Soh Blei (Khasi). Phot. P. From. Stegmiller, S. D. S. / /facing p. 994. (B) Fig. 10 (bis?). Khasi ornaments. Phot. P. Fro. Stegmiller, S. D. S. / /995/ At the end the S'iem dances alone, while the drums and flutes are not silent the whole night through. Fig. 3 shows several Khasi drums, a flute, and cymbals which are never missing from a dance.

The day of the large market, on which the actual ceremony begins, approaches meanwhile. On the day before -- ka ingi omsi -- the roads are swept and the place for the sacrifice of the goat put in order. As a sign of joy as to what will happen, drums are beaten again and flutes (lengmuri) played. In front of the house of the S'iem ieit, the S'iem and other men perform a sword dance. Although interesting, this dance is not very artistic. Hopping and skipping from one foot to the other, the men, one behind the other, move slowly in a circle on the open place. (cf. Fig. 6).[5] They hold a bunch of goat hair in one hand and a sword in the other. A shout of joy is uttered from time to time, then they stop again, jump at each other two by two, and hit each other with quick blows of their swords. Each one quickly draws back again and moves in a circle again as before. In this way the dance continues.

[5] See illustrations, see category 16, pp. 16-18 ... [illegible]

[96] this way the dance continues.

[97] After it has become dark a hen is sacrificed in front of the
[98] house of the S'iem ïdi: to the ka S'iem synshar (the queen who rules the world) and to the Bokuroh, the god who instructs in the playing of flutes and other instruments. Then various drums are beaten.

Then everyone goes inside the ïing ïdi. The S'iem ïdi hands the Sob Blei, the first sacrificial priest, who is from the family (jaid) Ramsong, a hollowed-out gourd bottle (u khaw) with rice liquor. The Sob Blei pours out the contents in front of the ridiut Blei in honor of the goddess of the markets (ka Blei jow lei hat) so that the markets will be good, remunerative, and successful; so that the roads will be good and safe and everything will be blessed; so that the kingdom itself will progress and develop. It must be remembered here that the market system is very studied among the Khasi and of the chief sources of their income. After this "salt" the same sacrificial drink is offered
[99] to the Ka Blei long S'iem in order to receive her blessings, so that the kings will be good and may make progress. Music and dancing then lasts until day break.

II. The Sacrificial Feast

The actual ceremony begins on the day of the large market. This day itself is called por ïlang (great heath). The S'iem ïdi may not eat rice for three days, only a kind of bread, which is made from rice flour. On the large open plain in front of the ïing ïdi the men hold their sword dance (ïhad wait) and guns are shot off until the S'iem ïdi, the S'iem and the Rungsh (elders) come out of the ïing ïdi. Following the S'iem ïdi, is her dawn-girl (mawi), who carries the utensils and sacrificial gifts. These are arranged by the S'iem ïdi herself and consist of a banana leaf, of which however only the upper part is taken (ka ïa kait), five betel nut leaves (tymphew), five portions of betel nuts, as much as is usually put in the mouth at one time (kwai) /096/, a kind of bread made of rice flour (kpu), for which the rice is first put in water, then taken out, dried, and pounded into flour; then ryni bread, which is also baked with pounded rice or corn mixed with sugar and rolled into the shape of ballets; some uncooked, shelled rice (u khaw), a gourd bottle with rice liquor (u klang) and several leaves of the Khasi oak tree. The following utensils are used: a golden or silver water container (u lota), a silver dishlike plate (ka pilung rupa). All these are now given by the S'iem ïdi to the Sob Blei and in addition a rooster and a white he-goat are brought to the place of sacrifice.

The spectators now go to the side. The S'iem and the Bangbain come down to the place of sacrifice, while the Bah Blei receives the unmilk and the sacrificial gifts and spreads them out in order on the ground. Then he takes the rooster in both hands and calls on the god Shillong with these words: "O god Shillong, thou who hast been feared since time immemorial! (ho Blei Shillong bumba la bah o long dwa!)" With a deep bow he then offers the sacrifice five times. Rooster and goat are sprinkled with water, rice, and the flour from lipu and rynai, and are then beheaded. Then the examination of the entrails (dylhor) takes place in order to see if the sacrifice was acceptable. The way of doing that will be given below.

After the end of the sacrifice the Bah Blei and a flute player lead the sword dance. After them the S'iem and the other dancers follow in turn. Various drums are beaten alternately and flutes are played through the whole night. When night falls the guests of the S'iem and those of the various districts of the kingdom of Nongkrem are brought for the sacrifice of the next day.

The day following the great market is called ka ngi Lynghe. It is the center point and climax of the whole ceremony. From early in the morning the crowds pour in from all sides of the Khasi Mountains.

Early in the morning an unmarried girl of the royal lineage (ka S'iem ka dang Myrsiew) dances in the house of the S'iem ñdi before the rishot Blei. Usually a granddaughter or nearer relative of the S'iem ñdi is chosen for this. Two men then take the girl in their arms and carry her with a rocking motion to the large open place in front of the ïing ñdi.

Then the great folk dance begins. In the middle of the place musicians squat on the ground and play the drums and flutes, and strike the cymbals. The music is quite without art, only a repetition of the same monotonous tones.

The women dancers move in a rather narrow circle around the musicians. Only the unmarried girls dance. The clothes they wear for it are very rich and frequently very valuable. Fine cloths, usually of red, yellow, or blue silk are draped over their bodies; the upper body and arms are covered by a satin jacket. Long hair is bound together in a bun behind their heads, a swing hanging /facing p. 198/ down from the bun which usually ends in three tassels. The head is covered by a golden or silver crown of fine chased work, which is topped by a bunch of feathers or a bunch of artificial flowers. Around their necks they wear chains of gold or

Fig. 5 Khasi Men Dancers in front of the ïing ñdi. Phot. F. From Stegmüller, S.D.S. Fig. 6. Sword Dance of the Khasi. Fig. 7. S'iem ñdi and S'iem of Nongkrem. / /197/ /198/ /199/ /200/ /201/ /202/ /203/

silver and enamel in various sizes made of real coralb. Their ear lobes are decorated with heavy earrings; shoes and stockings are not worn. Around their arms and wrists are massive silver rings or hoops, the latter being quite wide and in the same shape as cuffs. Fig. 10 shows the ornaments in detail. The very grand women dancers usually have a servant carrying an opened umbrella behind them.

The Khasi dance does not have the exciting and lively motions that are characteristic of our dances. Each woman dancer with her arms hanging down at her sides and her eyes cast modestly to the ground could be considered a model of modesty. Each completes her motions alone and completely independent of the others. She continuously makes a circle around the musicians, moving sideways, forwards, or backwards. At the same time the feet are kept close together and are moved seemingly so little that the motion is scarcely visible. When a woman dancer is tired she withdraws to rest a bit, and then enters again into the rows of the other dancers.

Fig. 8 and 9 illustrate the above description of the Khasi woman dancers. Fig. 8 shows the girls in the dance in front of the ring 24, of which only the front part may be seen above in the picture on the right.

At a proper distance from the girls the men dance in a wider circle around the place. They also have special clothing. Over the usual white cloth that covers the lower part of the body they wear a skirt, and over it a silk coat embroidered with many colors without sleeves which ends in a long fringe. Cf. Fig. 9 for this. A turban [illegible] large over over the back. Finally could [illegible] the head. A bunch of artificial flowers (?) about 12 inches long of black and white feathers is placed in the [illegible], while the right hand holds a bunch of green leaves. The [illegible] of all are now worn by many people fully with the exception perhaps [illegible].

The musicians of the dance are [illegible] the dancing girls, but still quite [illegible]. In a shuffling manner they hop from one foot to another in a [illegible] way, without lifting their legs very [illegible]. In this way they [illegible] forward, describing a circle of the [illegible] they wave the bunch of [illegible] toward to the sky. Every time [illegible] they hop and at a group [illegible] a bow towards the middle of the circle with a loud resounding [illegible] of pleasure, which they bring the bunch of [illegible] downwards at the same time. Fig. 11.

[see category 16, pp. 16-17 --- Anthy 17]

Then the dance continues for hours at a time inside the wave of the music. Thousands of spectators who do not seem to get tired throng around the great place. In the afternoon, at about three o'clock /935/ the dance, which plays a large part in all the religious festivities is ended. 935

Then preparations are made for the large sacrifice. In front of the house of the S'iem ñá several boards are placed in a row beside each other, and in front of them at certain intervals twelve little heaps of leaves are made. Music now plays inside of the ïing ñá. All the sacrificial gifts are given to the S'iem ñá in front of the Khasi Blei and then distributed to the sacrificers by her. These then go out of the hut to the place of the sacrifice. There are twelve of them, namely the six official sacrificial priests of the kingdom and several lyngdohs from the villages; the Soh Blei is at their head, wearing a special sacrificial coat (cf. Fig. 4),[1] while the others wear everyday clothes. Each one carries a dish in his hand with some rice, pounded flour for lipu and ryni, betel nuts and the pepper leaf that belongs with them, a small young hen, a water container, leaves of the Khasi oak tree, as well as a small gourd bottle with rice liquor. The dish and the water container of the sacrificial priests are of ornamented brass, those of the Soh Blei of silver -- all clean and polished until gleaming. 796 782

The spectators are arranged to the right and the left of the sacrificers, so that there is a wide alleyway open through the middle of the place to the gate of the board fence which surrounds the place and the ïing ñá. Several men are constantly busy keeping the crowd within these bounds. No one may come in through the gate during the whole ceremony, because the god comes here during the sacrifice - therefore the broad path must be left open. If anyone should chance to wish to come in through the gate during the performance of the sacrifice, he is driven back with loud shouts. If he dared to come in anyway, in earlier times he would have been a child of death; now the fear of the English government might present him to a certain extent, although this could hardly be an absolute guaranty of his life because of the religious excitement of the people. [illegible]

The twelve now squat down on the boards placed in front of the ïing ñá, the Soh Blei in the middle. Behind them the S'iem ñá sits alone on the steps which lead from the ïing ñá to the place of the sacrifice. Somewhat further back sits the S'iem surrounded by his bloodsib and relatives (cf. Fig 7).[2] The Soh Blei sets the example in all that follows; the others watch him and copy him. While each of the sacrificers slaughters only a small hen or a goat, the Soh Blei has

[1] [For illustrations, see Calcutta 1926, pp. 14-18 --- Analyst]

the right to kill two of them, since he sacrifices to the ka Blei long Sohem and to the u Blei Shillong at the same time.

Each one places the little liquor bottle on the little pile of earth in front of him. This also represents the altar. Then they take pepper leaves and oak leaves and place them in a certain pattern beside and on top of each other, pieces of betel nuts are placed on them, and the whole is strewn with rice, kpu flour and ryngi flour, while the [illegible] are murmured (cf. Fig. 1). Then follows the sacrifice of the little hens. The sacrificers each take one between both hands, murmuring soft prayers, then /99b/ the head of the little animal is sprinkled with water and strewn with rice, kpu flour, and ryngi flour. Each one dips a kind of pocket knife in the water and then cuts through the throat of the chicken. The freshly flowing blood is allowed to drip on the altar -- the little pile of earth with the bottle of liquor and the leaves. Then the entrails are taken out of the animals in order to see whether god is favorable to them or is angry with them because of the sins and wickedness of men. The sacrificers hold them up high with their right hands and look at them carefully. A joyful "u bhai (it is good)" escapes their lips and spreads through the circle of spectators.

This observing of entrails (dyhtor) occurs at all the sacrifices. Although there are many kinds of soft augaries, the following are more or less the usual ones. The gallet of chicken is about in the middle between the neck and the stomach and shaped like a fork. The right prong is called u Blei (god), the left one u brin (man). First the [illegible] is looked at to see if it is empty or shows any symptoms of sickness or spots; in these cases the hen is not suitable for sacrifice. But even when everything is faultless, better signs are wanted. The forking mentioned above is looked at and the sacrificer, holding the intestines in his hand, begins the ceremony with the question: "Nga kylli nga hynniam da ka shai ka khun, ieng ranghah u brin, dum u Blei? (I ask and seek through the morning and the evening, does the man rise and god bow?)" With his other hand he throws a little rice on the forking of the gallet, and because of the convulsive twitching actually one part or the other does rise. If the "man" rises, it is a good sign since the opposite branching, the "god" then bows or stays still as a sign of agreement.

If the omens are unfavorable, then it must be determined by throwing /perhaps a minister -- Kiwanrlon instead of Kiwanrlon - egg throwing: tr./, why the god is angry and which sacrifice would be [illegible] to him. Then the sacrifice begins again until the omens show that the god is reconciled and propitiated.

[illegible] to our Sanglewon Pala. After the observing of the

[illegible] of the hens is completed with good results, the main part of the ceremony begins. Goats are brought out of the inside of the *ing* *ñá* and one is placed behind each of the sacrificers. This [illegible] captured in Fig. 1. The hens that have already been sacrificed and the other sacrificial objects that have been mentioned can be seen lying in front of the Soh Blei and the other sacrificial priests on the ground. The Soh Blei now takes a long knife (ka wait) between both his outspreched hands and squeeting speaks a prayer with bowed head. Fig. 3 shows various kinds of such knives, the smaller folding ones are the ones mentioned above in describing the killing of the hens.

Meanwhile a kind of leaping place is thrown around the neck of one of the goats, one the the people present pulls it into the middle of the place where it /facing p. 698. Fig. 6. Dance of the Khasi Girls in front of the *ing ñá*. Two photographs by P. Frum. Snegmilled, S. D. S. Fig. 9. Women Khasi Dancers. Two photographs by P. Frum. Snegmillov, S. D. S. / /800/ is held fast by a rope. The Soh Blei gets up, walks up to the animal with the ka wait in his hand and waits for the instant when it holds still. With one blow the head flies on the ground. It is at once picked up and placed beside the good barrie standing on the little pile of earth. The twitching rump is dragged in front of the *ing ñá*. This is continues until five goats are beheaded.

Now the Siem comes down to the sacrificial place. He takes the slaughtering knife in his hand, squats down in the place of the head priest, and observes as the latter had done the same ceremonies. Then he gets up and strides into the middle of the place in full costume with raised head and a self-conscious dignity. A goat has already been led out there. One blow and its head also rolls on the ground. He sacrifices the first goat to the divinity which made him king, whereas the four others are sacrificed to the u Blei Shillong. A salve of guns and a loud shout of joy accompanies each blow of the Siem.

The slaughter is now continued by others in endless turns. Sixty, eighty and more goats must lose their lives. The poor victims are not always lucky enough to be killed with one blow. The animal might move at the last minute or an unskilled hand may lack a certain firmness. Then the goat is only lightly wounded and crying seeks to escape. The sacrificer throws the knife away in order to disappear hastily among the spectators, some pick up earth and throw it at him with reproachful cries, while others seize the poor animal, throw it on the ground and saw the head off with the knife. That is a horrible sight. It is considered an unfavorable sign when the goat is not

796 beheaded with one blow. If it happens to one of the five twelve goats, 797 the man concerned must inquire through new sacrifices why his sacri- 798 fice was not pleasing to god.

The observing of the entrails is only done with the twelve fine goats decapitated by the S'iem and the sacrificial priest. As in the case of pigs, it is only observed whether the liver, lungs, spleen and gall bladder are healthy and without spots, in which case the sacrifice is a good one and pleasing to god, otherwise through throwing /sic: could be egg throwing - Eierwerfen/ and new sacrifices a more favorable result must be brought about.

During the night a pig is sacrificed to the honor of the a Sohbia long S'iem and he is informed thereby that Puja has now taken place and that it will take place once annually to the honor of the a Blei Shillong so that the kings will be lucky and healthy, the markets will enjoy progress and good results, and the children of the kingdom will be happy. This closes with the address to the Sohbia long S'iem: "Bring it about that the augury turns out well, and if the god Shillong should still not be satisfied, then reveal it to us through the augury."

The Soh Blei now takes a chicken in his hand, sprinkles it with water, rice, flour of kpu and ryni and speaks: "Now thou art sprinkled in order to lose thy life by having thy neck cut so that I can see the good or the evil (ka pynsem pynsieh ban dah ka mynsem ban dyhut a ryndang; ka ngan khmih ia ka tha ka eiei)." Then /NB/ the animal's neck is cut, the blood, as mentioned above, is allowed to drip on the leaves and the gourd bottle, and the entrails are taken out. After the augury has turned out favorably, a white he-goat is brought in and the Soh Blei speaks: "O god Shillong, this prayer is for thee, this sacrifice of the goat, of the lac, of the kpu and ryni, of the utensils of preparation are for thee which thou hast given the royal family so that once annually the Puja may be celebrated in thy name, so that we may live happily, be healthy and increase, so that kings will arise so that their honor and that of the kingdom will grow and increase and the children of the kingdom will spread out to increase thy name and thy honor. O god Shillong, when thou hast received the sacrifice, bring it about that the heart, the lungs, the spleen, the gall bladder and the other parts are good."

Meanwhile dancers are arranged on both sides, they swing the sword (ka wait) and the bench (a symbolic) around in the air and utter shouts of joy. As mentioned above, the goat is now sacrificed three times with the various sacrificial gifts, and guns are shot off three times with shouts of joy afterward. Then the S'iem gets up, takes the ka wait in his hand and sits down on the place of sacrifice. He takes

all his turban (ka jain spong) and thanks god three times in a loud voice, then he hands over the ka wait to the Sah Blei who does the same and then gives the knife to the sacrificer from the jaid Nongkrem, this one hands it on to the one from the jaid [illegible], and this one finally gives it to the one from the jaid Nongpoing. Only one from these three families may undertake the beheading. When this has taken place, the head is placed on the leaves in front of the good bowls, and the entrails are taken from the body in order to read the omens. If these come out right, the dance of joy is set in motion. All members of the kingdom are invited to the feast, which consists of rice, sacrificial meat, and rice liquor and which lasts until early in the morning.

III. The Celebration that Follows.

On the evening of the following day -- called rind Mawbong -- a special meeting of the council takes place, which is called Darbar ka in order to announce that all the sacrifices are now past. The Siem has mats spread out inside the house and in the front room for the people to sit on; he himself takes his place on a pulong, a raised seat, in the front room. Goat meat and pork is distributed to all those present, while the person who is designated as the speaker in the Darbar and the five of the flute players receive betel nut. After Siem went to the village and has it announced three times that as long as the Darbar lasts nobody may leave his hut.

Then he takes his turban off, raises both hands and offers thanks in the name of the lord and creator (ka ka kynong u trai u nongthai) who made him king, gave him subjects as well as the districts of the kingdom, the markets and the roads leading thither and prays that he will ever give strength, growth and progress and prosperity to the faith. Then he cries out: "O god, lord and creator, give me, the Siem, happiness and prosperity also, so that my thanks and submission to thee may become ever greater (Ah Blei, trai kynrad u nongthaw u nongbah to ai tha ai ki ia nga I Siem ban nongkhraw ka ngah ka dong." Then he steps back.

The one who has been made the speaker now follows from the jaid Rynjah. He thanks the Siem three times and then says: "O lord, thou who hast created heaven and earth, thou hast created the king that we may be children of his kingdom; thou hast given thereon and the moon for reckoning the year, so that we can have Puja once in every year, so that the king appears, the children of the valleys in-cream and thrive, the children of the Khasi (3), the children of the

2. That mean the Khan themselves.

Khan (3), the childrenof the War (3), so that the sacrificial gifts will

3. All various faith tribes which compose the kingdom Mongolian

increase before the face of thy altar (Ke trai ba than la ka bong ka khyndew aba pyskong i S'lem i kyrwat ba long ma ngi ki khun ki ba-jai kanba phi bah ka ngi bun khun la a bosi, phi bah a bosi bun khun ka mem bun long ka puja ha ram ha mem bun ha bun rei i S'lem bun rei ki khun dyrbah khun khat, khun khat, khun khat, khun khat bun khun a khung a khat ka khmat ka dawan jong phi).

Then the drum of joy (ki jing ka ri ki) be use and everybody in glorious to Bogum . The Khan and the S'lem ka ka of the upper part of the world, the dire below, heaven and earth long but the world long and a city the over meeting with the participant in the forward where rights to their voting or not they not.

Fig. 2. The Sacrifice (Mangkram Tip) among the Khasi.

G. Bardhan - Pal M-A.S. pus dawg 2.mrg AMT Khasi ART

Fig. 2

Fig. 3

Fig. 4

Fig 2. Drums, flutes and cymbals of the Khasi. Fig 3. Sacrificial knives and the vest of the Khasi. Fig. 4. Sacrificial dress of the Sah Blei (Khasi).

Fig. 5.

Fig. 6.

Fig. 7

Fig. 20. Khasi Ornaments.

[facing p. 232]

Die Nongkrem-Feja in den Khasi-Bergen (Assam)[1].

Von P. Dr. C. [illegible], S.D.S., Apost. Präfekt von Assam.

[illegible] Dorf [illegible] Siebten Monat des Khasi-Kalenders, bedeutet sich der Ort Nongkrem. Es ist die Residenz des Königs (u *Syem*), der dort von der englischen Regierung bei [illegible] (*Jaintia-Hügelland*) Staat Nongkrem oder Khyrim, den größten der 25 Khasi-Kleinstaaten, installiert. Am Schauplatze ist Nongkrem durch die gleich drei nebeneinanderliegenden großen Opfer, Nongkrem-Feja einbezogen gewesen, aber auch die *Ñam Kiang-u-Ñam* Nongkrem (der Zugang-Tiber des *Ñam* von Nongkrem). Diese Festzeitzeit bietet, wie wenigen, einen interessanten Einblick in die religiösen und noch sonstigen Anschauungen und Gebräuche dieses bisher unbekannten Bergvolkes, und erlaubt davon hier eine gedrängte Schilderung zu finden, die sich von selbst in drei Teile gliedert:

I. Die Vorbereitungen zu dem Opferfeste.
II. Das Opferfest.
III. Die Nachfeste.

I. Die Vorbereitungen zu dem Opferfeste.

Wie das Mahlzeitfest bei den Khasis in der Familie beweist, so ist auch eine direkte Einrichtung in der Leitung des Khasi-Staates Nongkrem erhalten geblieben. In diesem ist der eigentliche Haupt nicht der *Syem*, sondern eine Priesterinnerin, die *Ñam* oder genannt. *Ñam* bedeutet die Gottheit, welche über die irdischen Geschicken wacht. Die wichtigste Begleitung ist dem *Ñam* von der *Ñam* oder Wahrsagerin, er handelt gleichsam als Ihr Beschützer, wenigstens erscheinbar in seinem Entschluß [illegible], sonstiges mit seinen Befehlen, Anordnungen, denen Sie er in Sachen von einiger Bedeutung einholen muß. Die Gelder des Staates sind bei der *Ñam* oder in Verwahr; Alles, was an Steuern, Wertsachgaben, durch Bestrafungen u. dgl. eingeht, muß an sie abgeliefert werden. Sie kann darüber nach Gutdünken verfügen, während der *Syem* die einzigen Geldmittel zur Bestreitung der Regierungsausgaben von Ihr erhält.

In Sachen der Religion ist die *Ñam* oder einzige Person. Sie hat über die religiösen Opfer zu wachen, Zeit und Ort derselben zu bestimmen, in

[1] Die sämtlichen diesem Artikel beigegebenen Bilder sind nach photographischen Aufnahmen von P. Franciscus Diagnéville, S.D.S., Missionar in Shillong, angefertigt. Die Aufnahmen waren zum Teil bereits schwierig durchzuführen, da sie unbedingt gemacht werden mußten, und der Tag bei einigen schon vorgerückt war.

oder von dieser Kasse werden die Staatsgelder eingezahlt, in Khasi-Gegenwart entnommen und weggenommen werden. Der jeweilige *Siem* ist der Sohn oder Neffe, oder auch entfernterer mütterlicher Verwandter, der von dem „*Siemship*", dem Adelstitel, geerbt wird.

Nach dem Tode der *Siem* und geht diese Würde auf den ältesten lebenden Tochter über, in Ermangelung von solchen auf die älteste Tochter von seiner ältesten Tochter, in Ermangelung solcher Enkelinnen auf die älteste Tochter von seiner dritten Tochter und so fort. Im Falle lebender Tochter oder Enkelinnen vorhanden sind, tritt die älteste lebende Schwester in das Amt ein; lebt es auch an Schwestern, so ist die älteste Tochter von der ältesten Schwester der Mutter der verstorbenen *Siem* und Nachfolgerin, und so geht es weiter. Auf diese Weise bleibt die Würde immer innerhalb der königlichen Gesellschaft.

Im Hause der *Siem* sind *the ling* und gewerkt, welches einen der größten und ehrwürdigsten in den Khasi-Hügeln ist, befindet sich in der Mitte ein Phoisa, der vom Boden bis zum Dachfirst hinaufreicht. Es wird a *rukar Bar* (Phoisa, Säule Gottes) genannt und dient gleichzeitig als der Altar, vor dem verlacht Opfer stattfinden. Die Säule ist nichts anderes, als der Stamm der Khasi-Eiche *the ulong rang* (wörtl. Name: Castanopsis sp.), die dem Khasi heilig ist. Bevor der Phoisa der *Siem* sind ab, oder wird er neu aufgerichtet, so muß eine neue Säule herbeigeschafft werden. Nur bestimmte Geschlechter (*jaid*) haben das Vorrecht, tapfer den Baum zu fällen. Sobald er angehauen ist, wird gewartet und musiziert, der Stamm wird mit einem Tuch bedeckt und auf einer Tragbahre weitergeschafft. Hunderte von Personen beteiligen sich daran. Solange der Phoisa noch nicht aufgerichtet ist, wird er Tag und Nacht bewacht. Es könnte ein Mensch oder Tier darüber springen und das wäre *ung* (= tabu): der Stamm wäre entweiht und es müßte ein anderer Baum gefällt werden. Geschieht etwas Böses im Reiche, oder droht demselben eine Gefahr, so geht die *Siem* und mit den weiteren offiziellen Opferpriestern den Reichen Nongkrem vor die Säule hin und bringt dort ein Opfer dar, um das Übel abzuwenden.

Dies mögen vorausgeschickt sein, zum besseren Verständnis des folgenden.

Die Nongkrem-*Puja* findet gewöhnlich um den *Monat Nai* herum statt. Einen Monat vor der Feier wird im Hause der *Siem* und Bevollmächtigte in eine eingehende Kürbisflasche gegossen und vor der *rukar Bar* als *sad* (Trankopfer) dargebracht. Dies geschieht, um dem *a Sniéna ling Siem* (dem Genie des ersten Gedenkens mütterlicher Seite, der der erste Königl war), der *Ka Bar ling Siem* (die Gottheit, welche die Königl zu Königen macht) und dem *a Bar Skilling* (dem Gotte Skilling) mitzuteilen, daß für die *Puja* nun Vorbereitungen getroffen werden und sie dazu helfen möchten.

Der *a Bar Skilling* spielt bei der ganzen Feier die Hauptrolle. Er erhebt sich bei den Khasi besonders in dem Reiche Nongkrem und Nylliem, einer großen Vertiefung. Unweit von Nongkrem erhebt sich eine Bergspitze, 6430 Fuß über dem Meere. Es ist die höchste Spitze in den Khasi-Bergen, der Name ist „Skilling-Spitze" (Skilling peak). Hier ist der Sitz des Gottes Skilling. Die Sage geht, hier sei einmal ein Mensch erschienen, der gesagt habe, er

Phot. 3. Photo Hoppenstiller, K. D. K.

1. Dreiaxtkeil, Axtkeil und Doppelaxt der Steinzeit

Phot. 2. Photo Hoppenstiller, K. D. K.

2. Spitzhacken und Ackerbau der Steinzeit

Phot. 1. Photo Hoppenstiller, K. D. K.

Phot. 4. Photo Hoppenstiller, K. D. K.

3. Spitzhacken der Zeit der Pfahlbauten

[illustration: Ausing p. 9 [illegible]]

Plate V. From Inspection N. P. A.

11. Khost-Gulamandrawfana

[facing p. 994: (B)]

[illegible] nicht gefunden werden, [illegible] aus [illegible] (*Ma Jong*). Auch [illegible] er den Lehrer gezwungen, daß sie Königin, *Fiawu*, [illegible] wurden. Sie wurde [illegible] der Gott, der [illegible] wohnt, *a Sha Jong* (der [illegible] aus [illegible] ist gemacht), wonach die Europäer seit der Zeit Stiftung machten [illegible] auch die [illegible] Hügelketten im Norden der Klassi-Berge diesen Namen, gaben.

Nachdem nun die *Fiawu* [illegible] den Tag der Feierlichkeiten genau bestimmt hat, ergeht zwei Wochen vor der Feier an die Dorfältesten (*Bongfuh*) [illegible] die Mitteilung davon. Dies geschieht am Tage des großen Markts (*Ale dofu*), der jeden achten Tag stattfindet. Zwei Wochen darauf ist der zweite Abschnitt, gewissermaßen am Tage des großen Marktes, wovon unten die Rede ist.

Die Art und Weise, wie die Einladung von statt geht, ist interessant. Es werden eine Anzahl, vielleicht eine Elle langer Ketten aus Bambusstängeln gemacht. Diese nennt man *Kyiwuh*. An den Knoten einer jeden Kette wird eine solche geschnitzt. Die *Ala* Kinds in [illegible] Zeiten [illegible] Schicksalsschläge [illegible], dienen diese Bambusketten [illegible] bei Festlichkeiten, Kriegsgefahren, Gerichtsverhandlungen u. dgl. als Zeichen der Einladung oder Verladung zu dem *Fiawu*. Durch die Form der Glieder der *kyiwuh* war der Grad der Dringlichkeit angezeigt; im Falle großer Eile waren diese lenghalt fach, [illegible] wurden. Die Chiemendung der *kyiwuh* an die Dorfältesten war [illegible] als Zeichen der Einladung für das ganze Dorf, an den Ortsbeschlüssen zu [illegible], und zugleich als Aufforderung, die [illegible] Opfergaben zu [illegible]. Jeder der sechs Bezirke, in welche das Dorf Nangbeto [illegible], muß eine Ziege liefern; jede einzelne *Hiyiw* muß außerdem eine Bananen-Quantität gewinnen von einer Rippe und vier *Aviaga* [illegible]. Ganz dem [illegible] Arme, [illegible] auch nur [illegible] zu geben. Von diesen Gaben [illegible] die Opfergaben, wie: Reis, verschiedene Opferkuchen, Fisch, [illegible] usw. angeschafft; der Rest wird, wie die übrigen Gelder, der *Fiawu* als [illegible] wahrung eingehändigt.

Bis zum Heranmahnen der eigentlichen Festtage [illegible] Tage, die zwischen den Festtagen (*sub-dokkhi*) [illegible], bei dem alle, welche erscheinen, mit getrocknetem Fisch und Reisschnaps bewirtet werden. Dies soll eine weitere Mitteilung, an den *a Sha Skilling*, *a Sadhoi Jong Fiawu* und *Ba Ziai Jong Fiawu* von [illegible] bevorstehenden *Fiyia* sein. Hierbei werden zwölf verschiedene Arten Trommeln (*Jong*) geschlagen.

Dann wird die Trommel *Aziog ahid* (*yaghuh*) dreimal geschlagen, wobei der erste Opferpriester (*Sola Bish*) und ein Flötenspieler tanzen. Der Tanz (*yaghuh*) wird weiter unten [illegible] Beschreibung finden. Nachdem er beendigt ist, kommt die *Aziog Kyiwuh* (Frauentrommel) an die Reihe, zu deren Schall der *Fiawu* und ein Flötenspieler (*Ja Sikabolo*) dreimal tanzen. Für gewöhnlich tanzen nur Frauen zu dieser Trommel. Über die Tanzart möge es hier im allgemeinen genügen, zu bemerken, daß bei diesem Klassi-Tanz eine Bewegung der tanzenden Personen untereinander stattfindet und jede unabhängig von der anderen ihre Bewegungen ausführt. Nach der Frauentrommel wird die Schwert-Tanztrommel (*Aziog mantiéh*) und die große Trommel (*sadoe*) gerührt. Hierbei werden Fackeln herumgetragen und neunmalige Freudenrufe ausgestoßen. Verschiedene Trommeln, Flötenspiel und Zimbelrasseln folgen auch, wobei immer wieder

getanzt wird. Zum Schlusse tanzt der *S'iem* noch allein, während das Getrommel und Flöten die ganze Nacht nicht mehr verstummt. Bild 2 zeigt einige Khasi-Trommeln, eine Flöte und Zimbeln, die bei keinem Tanze fehlen.

Der Tag des großen Marktes, an dem die eigentliche Feier beginnt, naht unterdessen heran. Am Tage vor demselben — *ka ingi amni* — werden die Wege gekehrt und der Platz für das Ziegenopfer in Ordnung gebracht. Als Zeichen der Freude hierüber, daß das geschehen, werden wieder Trommeln geschlagen und Flöten *(langmari)* gespielt. Vor dem Haus der *S'iem sâd* führt der *S'iem* und andere Männer einen Schwertertanz auf. Wenn auch interessant, so ist dieser Tanz doch wenig kunstvoll. Hüpfend und trippelnd, von einem Fuß auf den andern, bewegen sich die Männer hintereinander, langsam im Kreise, auf dem freien Platz umher (siehe Bild 6). In der einen Hand halten sie einen Busch aus Ziegenhaaren, in der andern das Schwert. Von Zeit zu Zeit wird ein Jauchzen ausgestoßen, dann halten sie wieder an, springen je zwei aufeinander zu und schlagen mit raschem Hieb ihre Schwerter aneinander. Mit lautem Aussuf zieht sich jeder wieder schnell zurück und bewegt sich im Kreise weiter wie zuvor. In dieser Weise geht es lange fort.

Nach Einbruch der Dunkelheit wird vor dem Hause der *S'iem sâd* eine Hymne gesungen: der *ka S'iem synshar* (die Königin, welche die Welt regiert) und dem *Biakarem*, dem Gott, der Flöten und andere Instrumente spielen lehrte. Hierauf werden verschiedene Trommeln geschlagen.

Man begibt sich dann in das Innere des *ûing sâd*. Hier überreicht die *S'iem sâd* dem *Sok Blei*, dem ersten Opferpriester, der aus dem Geschlechte *(jaid)* Rumnong ist, eine ungebühlte Kürbisflasche *(ka shaw)* mit Reiswein. Der *Sok Blei* gießt den Inhalt vor der *riskor Blei* aus, zu Ehren der Gottheit der Märkte *(ka Blei jria ïei sud)*, damit die Märkte gut, gewinnbringend und erfolgreich seien, daß die Wege gut und sicher und alles geeignet sei, daß das Reich selber fortschreite und sich entwickle. Man muß sich hier erinnern, daß bei den Khasis das Märktesystem sehr ausgeprägt und die Hauptquelle ihrer Einnahmen ist. Nach diesem *said* wird das gleiche Trankopfer der *ka Blei ïïing S'iem* dargebracht, um ihren Segen zu erhalten, auf daß die Könige gut wirken und Fortschritte machen mögen. Musik und Tanz ziehen sich dann bis Tagesanbruch hin.

II. Das Opferfest.

Mit dem Tag des großen Marktes beginnt nun die eigentliche Feier. Dieser Tag selbst wird *pom blang* (Ziegenkopfen) genannt. Die *S'iem sâd* darf nun drei Tage lang keinen Reis essen, nur eine Art Brot, das von Reismehl hergestellt wird. Auf dem großen freien Platz vor dem *ûing sâd* halten die Männer ihren Schwertertanz *(shad sûsi)* und wird mit Gewehren geschossen, bis die *S'iem sâd*, der *S'iem* und die *Rangbah* (Ältesten) aus dem *ûing sâd* herauskommen. Der *S'iem sâd* folgt ihre Sklavin *(mraw)*, welche die Geräthschaften und Opfergaben trägt. Diese sind von der *S'iem sâd* selber hergerichtet und bestehen aus einem Bananenblatt, von dem jedoch nur der obere Teil genommen wird *(ka sla kuit)*, fünf Betelnußblätter *(tympru)*, fünf Portionen Betelnuß, soviel man gewöhnlich auf einmal in den Mund nimmt

5. Khasi-Musikkapelle vor der *ling ski.* Phot. P. Frem, Hugstiller, S. D. S.

6. Schwerttanz der Khasi.

7. *Slem ski* und *Slem* von Rongkrem.

[facing p. 896]

(kwai), eine Art Brot aus Reismehl gemacht *(kpu)*, wovon der Reis zuerst ins Wasser getan, dann herausgenommen, getrocknet und zu Mehl gestoßen wird; dann aus *rynsi*, das gleichfalls aus gestoßenem Reis oder Mais gebacken, mit Zucker vermischt und in Form von Kugeln gerollt wird, etwas ungekochtem, enthülstem Reis *(u khaw)*, einer Kürbisflasche mit Reisschnaps *(u klong)* und einigen Blättern der Khasi-Eiche. An Gerätschaften kommen hierzu noch: ein goldener oder silberner Wasserbehälter *(u lata)*, ein silberner, schüsselartiger Teller *(ka pliang rupa)*. Alles dies wird nun von der *S'iem sâd* dem *Soh Blei* übergeben, dazu werden ein Hahn und ein weißer Ziegenbock auf den Opferplatz gebracht.

Die Zuschauer gehen jetzt zur Seite, der *S'iem* und die *Rangbah* kommen zum Opferplatz herab, während der *Soh Blei* die Gerätschaften und Opfergaben in Empfang nimmt und sie in Ordnung auf dem Boden ausbreitet. Dann nimmt er den Hahn in beide Hände und ruft den Gott *Shillong* an mit den Worten: „O Gott *Shillong*, der du gesetzt bist von unvordenklichen Zeiten! (*ho Blei Shillong kumba la buh u long shwa man shwa!*)" Mit tiefer Verneigung bietet er ihm dann fünfmal das Opfer dar. Hahn und Ziegenbock werden mit Wasser, Reis, dem Mehl von *kpu* und *rynsi* besprengt und dann geköpft. Hierauf findet die Eingeweideschau (*dykhôt*) statt, um zu sehen, ob das Opfer wohlgefällig war. Die Art und Weise derselben wird weiter unten mitgeteilt werden.

Nach Beendigung des Opfers führen der *Soh Blei* und ein Flötenspieler den Schwertertanz auf; nach ihnen kommen der *S'iem* und die übrigen Tänzer an die Reihe. Es werden abwechselnd verschiedene Trommeln geschlagen und Flöten gespielt, die ganze Nacht hindurch. Bei Anbruch der Nacht werden die Ziegen des *S'iem* und die der verschiedenen Bezirke des Reiches Nongkrem für die Opfer des nächsten Tages herbeigebracht.

Der folgende Tag nach dem großen Markt wird *ka sngi Lyngka* genannt. Er ist der Mittel- und Höhepunkt der ganzen Feier. Vom frühen Morgen an strömen von allen Seiten der Khasi-Hügel die Scharen herbei.

In der Frühe tanzt ein unverheiratetes Mädchen aus dem königlichen Geschlechte *(ka S'iem ba dang khynraw)* im Hause der *S'iem sâd* vor der *rishot Blei*. Gewöhnlich wird eine Enkelin oder nähere Verwandte der *S'iem sâd* hierzu genommen. Zwei Männer nehmen dann das Mädchen auf ihre Arme und tragen es mit schaukelnder Bewegung auf den großen freien Platz vor dem *ïing sâd*.

Nun beginnt der große Volkstanz. In der Mitte des Platzes hocken die Musikanten auf dem Boden und trommeln, flöten und schlagen die Zymbeln. Die Musik ist sehr kunstlos, immer nur eine Wiederholung der gleichen einförmigen Töne.

In einem engeren Kreise um die Musikanten herum bewegen sich die Frauentänzerinnen. Es tanzen nur unverheiratete Mädchen. Die Kleidung, welche sie dabei tragen, ist überreich und häufig sehr wertvoll. Feine Tücher, gewöhnlich von roter, gelber oder blauer Seide, fallen über die Körper herab; Oberkörper und Arme sind durch eine Sammetjacke verdeckt. Das Haar ist am Hinterkopfe in einen Knäuel zusammengebunden; eine Schnur fällt von

demselben herab, die gewöhnlich in drei Quasten endigt. Das Haupt wird von einer goldenen oder silbernen Krone von feiner ziselierter Arbeit bedeckt, die noch dazu von einem Federbusch oder einem Busch künstlicher Blumen überragt ist. Um den Hals tragen sie Ketten von Gold und Silber und mehrere in verschiedenen Größen von echten Korallen. Die Ohrläppchen sind mit schweren Ohrringen geziert; Schuhe und Strümpfe werden nicht getragen. Um die Arme und Handgelenke legen sich massiv silberne Ringe oder Reifen, die bei letzteren eine beträchtliche Breite, gleichsam in Form von Manschetten, haben. Die Schmucksachen im einzelnen zeigt das Bild 10. Bei vornehmeren Tänzerinnen pflegt noch ein Diener den aufgespannten Schirm hinterher zu tragen.

Der Khasi-Tanz zeichnet sich keineswegs aus durch die aufregenden und lebhaften Bewegungen, wie sie unseren Tanzarten eigen sind. Jede Tänzerin könnte mit den seitwärts herabhängenden Armen und den züchtig zu Boden gesenkten Augen als ein Typus von Bescheidenheit gelten. Eine jede vollführt ihre Bewegungen allein und vollständig unabhängig von den andern. Sie beschreibt fortwährend einen Kreis um die Musikanten entweder seitwärts, vorwärts oder rückwärts sich bewegend. Dabei werden die Füße dicht nebeneinander gehalten und nur ganz unscheinbar soviel weiter bewegt, daß die Bewegungen kaum sichtbar sind. Ist eine Tänzerin ermüdet, so zieht sie sich zurück, um ein wenig auszuruhen, und dann wieder in die Reihen der Übrigen einzutreten.

Die Bilder 8 und 9 illustrieren die obige Beschreibung der Khasi-Tänzerinnen; Bild 8 zeigt die Mädchen im Tanze vor dem *ling sâd*, von dem auf dem rechten Bild oben noch der vordere Teil zu sehen ist.

In einem gehörigen Abstande von den Mädchen tanzen in einem weiteren Kreise um den Platz die Männer. Sie haben gleichfalls eine besondere Kleidung. Über dem gewöhnlichen weißen Leinentuch, das den Unterkörper bedeckt, tragen sie ein Hemd, darüber einen seidenen, vielfarbig bestrickten Rock ohne Ärmel, der in langen Fransen endigt. Siehe hierzu die Bilder 9. Ein Schweif von Tierhaaren hängt über dem Rücken herab. Die Brust zieren kostbare Korallenketten. In dem seidenen Turban steckt ein Busch gegen 18 Zoll langer künstlicher Blumen *(thuia)* oder schwarzer und weißer Hahnenfedern, während die Rechte einen Busch aus Ziegenhaaren hält. Die modernen Schuhe und Strümpfe, welche jetzt vielfach getragen werden, passen schlecht zu der sonst hübschen Tracht.

Die Bewegungen der Männer sind lebhafter als die der tanzenden Mädchen, immerhin jedoch noch ganz gemütlich. In einem mehr schlenderndem Gange hüpfeln sie nach Kinderart von einem Bein auf das andere, ohne diese jedoch besonders aufzuheben. Auf diese Weise bewegen sie sich vorwärts, einen Kreis beschreibend; dabei fuchteln sie mit dem Haarbusch in der Luft herum. Von Zeit zu Zeit halten sie an und machen gruppenweise mit einem lauten jauchzenden Freudenausruf eine Verbeugung gegen die Mitte des Kreises, indem sie gleichzeitig den Haarbusch nach unten schwenken (siehe Bild 5).

So geht es unter dem Lärm der Musik stundenlang fort. Rings um den großen Platz drängen sich Tausende von Zuschauern, die scheinbar ohne zu ermüden ausharren. In den Nachmittagsstunden, ungefähr gegen drei Uhr,

Phot. P. Fram. Stegmüller, S. D. S.

Phot. P. Fram. Stegmüller, S. D. S.

8. Khasi-Mädchentanz vor der *ling sád*.

Phot. P. Fram. Stegmüller, S. D. S.

Phot. P. Fram. Stegmüller, S. D. S.

9. Khasi-Tänzerinnen.

[facing p. 898]

wird der Tanz beendigt, der bei allen religiösen Feierlichkeiten eine große Rolle spielt.

Nun geht es an die Vorbereitung für das große Opfer. Vor dem Hause der *S'iem sâd* werden mehrere Bretter in eine Reihe nebeneinander gelegt und davor in bestimmten Zwischenräumen zwölf kleine Häufchen aus Lehm gemacht. Die Musik spielt nun im Innern des *ïing sâd*. Hier werden vor dem *rishot Blei* alle Opfergaben der *S'iem sâd* übergeben und von dieser dann den Opfernden zugeteilt. Diese gehen dann aus der Hütte heraus auf den Opferplatz. Es sind ihrer zwölf, nämlich die sechs offiziellen Opferpriester des Reiches und noch einige *Lyngdoh* aus den Dörfern; an ihrer Spitze ist der *Soh Blei*, der einen besonderen Opferrock trägt (siehe Bild 4), während die übrigen ihre Alltagskleidung tragen. Ein jeder trägt eine Schüssel in der Hand mit etwas Reis, gestoßenem Mehl für *kpu* und *rynsi*, Betelnuß und das dazu gehörige Pfefferblatt, ein junges Hühnchen, einen Wasserbehälter, Blätter der Khasi-Eiche, sowie einen kleinen Flaschenkürbis mit Reisschnaps. Die Schüssel und der Wasserbehälter der Opferpriester sind von ornamentiertem Messing, die des *Soh Blei* von Silber — alle glänzend rein gescheuert.

Die Zuschauer werden rechts und links von den Opfernden aufgestellt, so daß vor diesen durch die Mitte des ganzen Platzes eine breite Gasse frei bleibt bis zum Tor des Bretterzaunes hin, der den Platz und das *ïing sâd* umgibt. Mehrere Männer sind fortwährend damit beschäftigt, die Menge in diesen Schranken zu halten. Durch das Tor darf während der ganzen Feier niemand eintreten, denn hier hält während des Opfers der Gott seinen Einzug: darum muß auch die breite Gasse frei bleiben. Sollte jemand zufällig während der Opferhandlung durch das Tor eintreten wollen, so wird er mit lautem Zurufen zurückgetrieben. Würde er es trotzdem noch wagen einzutreten, so wäre er in früheren Zeiten ein Kind des Todes gewesen; jetzt dürfte ihn die Furcht vor der englischen Regierung wohl einigermaßen schützen, wenngleich selbst dies bei der religiösen Erregung des Volkes schwerlich eine absolute Garantie für sein Leben bieten dürfte.

Die Zwölfe kauern nun auf den vor dem *ïing sâd* hingelegten Brettern nieder, der *Soh Blei* in der Mitte. Hinter ihnen sitzt auf den Stufen, die von dem *ïing sâd* zum Opferplatz herabführen, die *S'iem sâd* allein in einer Reihe. Etwas weiter rückwärts sitzt der *S'iem*, umgeben von seinen *Mentris* und Verwandten (siehe Bild 7). Der *Soh Blei* gibt in allem folgenden das Beispiel: die übrigen sehen auf ihn und machen ihm alles nach. Während jedoch jeder der Opfernden nur ein Hühnchen oder eine Ziege schlachtet, hat der *Soh Blei* das Vorrecht, deren zwei zu töten, da er zugleich der *ka Blei long S'iem* und dem *u Blei Shillong* opfert.

Ein jeder stellt das Schnapsfläschchen auf das vor ihm befindliche Häufchen Lehm. Dies stellt gleichsam den Altar vor. Dann nimmt man die Pfeffer- und Eichenblätter und legt sie vor demselben in einer bestimmten Form neben- und aufeinander, Stücke Betelnuß werden darauf gelegt und das Ganze mit Reis, *kpu*- und *rynsi*-Mehl bestreut, indem kurze Gebetsformeln gemurmelt werden (siehe Bild 1). Hierauf folgt das Opfer der Hühnchen. Die Opfernden nehmen es zwischen beide Hände, leise Gebete vor sich hinsprechend, dann

wird der Kopf des Tierchens mit Wasser begossen und Reis, *kpu-* und *ryngi-*Mehl darauf gestreut. Ein jeder taucht eine Art Taschenmesser in das Wasser und durchschneidet dann damit dem Huhn die Kehle. Das frisch fließende Blut wird um den Altar — das Lehmhäufchen mit dem Schnapskürbis und den Blättern — träufeln gelassen. Hierauf werden den Tieren die Eingeweide herausgenommen, um daraus zu ersehen, ob der Gott ihnen günstig ist, oder etwa wegen der Sünden und Bosheit der Menschen ihnen zürne. Die Opferer halten sie mit der rechten Hand in die Höhe und betrachten dieselben aufmerksam. Ein freudiges „*U bha*! (Er ist gut!)" entschlüpft ihren Lippen und pflanzt sich im Kreise der Umstehenden weiter.

Diese Eingeweidenschau (*dykhot*) findet bei allen Opfern statt. Trotzdem es verschiedene Arten solcher Haruspizien gibt, dürfte doch die folgende als mehr oder weniger allgemein übliche gelten. Die Speiseröhre der Hühner ist ungefähr in der Mitte zwischen Hals und Magen gabelartig geformt. Der rechte dieser Zacken wird nun *u Blei* (Gott), der linke *u briu* (Mensch) genannt. Vorerst sieht man nach dem Mastdarm, ob er nicht etwa leer ist, irgendwelche Krankheitssymptome oder Flecken aufweist; in diesen Fällen ist das Hühnchen schon untauglich zum Opfern. Aber selbst wenn alles tadellos ist, will man noch bessere Anzeichen. Man sieht nach der oben erwähnten Vergabelung und der Opfernde beginnt, den Darm in der Hand haltend, das Zeremoniell mit der Frage: „*Nga kylli nga byrthen da ka shat ka khan, ieng rangbah u briu, dem u Blei?* (Ich frage und forsche durch das Werfen und durch Orakel, erhebt sich der Mensch und neigt sich Gott?)". Dabei bewirft er mit der andern Hand jene Vergabelung der Speiseröhre mit ein wenig Reis, wobei sich durch die konvulsivischen Zuckungen tatsächlich der eine oder andere Teil derselben hebt. Erhebt sich „der Mensch", so ist es ein gutes Zeichen, da nämlich die gegenüberstehende Verzweigung, „der Gott", sich dann verneigt, bzw. sich ruhig verhält zum Zeichen des Einverständnisses.

Sollte das Haruspizium ungünstig verlaufen, so muß durch Einwerfen erforscht werden, warum der Gott böse ist, und welches Opfer ihm etwa angenehm wäre. Darauf beginnt dann das Opfer wieder von neuem, bis die Haruspizien ergeben, daß der Gott nun versöhnt und befriedigt ist.

Doch kehren wir zu unserer *Nongkrem-Puja* zurück. Nachdem die Eingeweideschau der Hühner vorüber und mit gutem Resultat verlaufen ist, beginnt der Hauptteil der Feier. Ziegen werden aus dem Innern des *ïïng sïïd* herausgebracht und hinter jedem der Opfernden eine aufgestellt. Dieser Augenblick ist auf Bild 1 festgehalten. Man sieht die bereits geopferten Hühner und die übrigen obengenannten Opfergegenstände noch gleichfalls vor dem *Soh Blei* und den übrigen Opferpriestern am Boden liegen. Der *Soh Blei* nimmt nun ein langes Messer (*ka wait*) zwischen beide flachgestreckte Hände und spricht mit nach vorn geneigtem Haupte in kauernder Stellung ein Gebet. Bild 3 stellt verschiedene Arten solcher Messer dar; von den kleineren zusammenklappbaren unten in der Mitte war oben bei der Tötung der Hühner die Rede.

Unterdessen wird einer der Ziegen eine Art Schlingpflanze um den Hals geworfen; einer der Anwesenden zieht sie in die Mitte des Platzes, wo sie

von ihm einfach an der Leine festgehalten wird. Der *Soh Blei* erhebt sich, schreitet mit dem *ka walt* in der Hand auf das Tier zu und erwartet den Moment, wo es sich ruhig verhält. Mit einem Hiebe liegt das Haupt am Boden. Es wird sofort aufgehoben und neben die auf dem Lehmhäufchen stehende Kürbisflasche gelegt. Der zuckende Rumpf wird vor das *ïing sïd* geschleift. So geht es weiter, bis fünf Ziegen geköpft sind.

Jetzt kommt der *S'tem* auf den Opferplatz herab. Er nimmt das Schlachtmesser zur Hand, kauert sich an den Platz des Opferpriesters und beobachtet wie dieser vorher die gleichen Zeremonien. Dann erhebt er sich und schreitet in vollen Schmuck, erhobenen Hauptes und mit selbstbewußter Würde in die Mitte des Platzes, wo bereits wieder eine Ziege vorgeführt ist. Ein Hieb und auch ihr Haupt rollt am Boden. Die erste Ziege opfert er der Gottheit, die ihn zum König gemacht hat; die vier andern nachher dem *u Blei Shillong*. Eine Gewehrsalve und lauter Freudenruf begleitet jeden Hieb des *S'tems*.

In endloser Reihe wird die Schlächterei nun von andern fortgesetzt. Sechzig, achtzig und noch mehr Ziegen müssen ihr Leben lassen. Nicht immer sind die armen Opfer so glücklich, mit einem Hieb ums Leben gebracht zu werden. Das Tier bewegt sich im letzten Augenblick noch, oder eine ungeschickte Hand entbehrt der sicheren Festigkeit. So wird es nur leicht verwundet und sucht schreiend zu entkommen. Der Opfernde wirft das Messer fort, um eilends unter den Zuschauern zu verschwinden; einige heben Erde auf und bewerfen ihn mit vorwurfsvollem Ausruf damit, während andere das arme Tier ergreifen, auf den Boden werfen und ihm mit dem Messer förmlich den Kopf heruntersägen. Das ist ein grausamer Anblick. Es gilt als ein ungünstiges Zeichen, wenn die Ziege nicht mit einem Schlag enthauptet wird. Geschieht es bei den zwölf ersten Ziegen, so muß der Betreffende durch neuerliche Opfer nachforschen lassen, warum sein Opfer Gott nicht angenehm war.

Die Eingeweideschau wird nur bei den vom *S'tem* und den Opferpriestern enthaupteten zwölf ersten Ziegen vorgenommen. Hier, wie auch bei den Schweinen, wird im allgemeinen nur darauf gesehen, ob Leber, Lunge, Milz und Gallenblase gesund und ohne Flecken sind, in welchem Falle das Opfer ein gutes und dem Gott angenehmes ist; sonst muß eben durch Einwerfen und neue Opfer ein günstigeres Resultat herbeigeführt werden.

In der Nacht wird dann noch ein Schwein geschlachtet zu Ehren des *u Suidnia long S'tem* und ihm dabei mitgeteilt, daß jetzt *Puja* gewesen sei, und daß sie diese jedes Jahr einmal zu Ehren des *u Blei Shillong* vornehmen werden, damit die Könige glücklich und gesund seien, die Märkte sich des Fortschrittes und guten Erfolges erfreuen, und die Kinder des Reiches glücklich seien. Dies schließt mit der Anrede an den *Suidnia long S'tem*: „Mache, daß die Opferschau gut ausfalle, und wenn der Gott *Shillong* noch nicht zufrieden sein sollte, so zeige es uns durch die Opferschau."

Der *Soh Blei* nimmt nun ein Huhn zur Hand, besprengt dasselbe mit Wasser, Reis, dem Mehl von *kpu* und *rynsi* und spricht: „Jetzt wirst du bestreut, um den Geist zu verlieren durch Halsabschneiden, damit ich sehe das Gute oder Böse (*La pynsum pynsleh ban duh ka mynsiem ban dykut u ryndang; ba ngan khmih ia ka bha ka sniw*)." Hierauf wird dem Tier der

6: Becker AR7 Khasi

Hals abgeschnitten, das Blut, wie oben erwähnt, auf die Blätter und Kürbisflasche träufeln gelassen und die Eingeweide herausgenommen. Nachdem die Opferschau günstig verlaufen ist, wird ein weißer Ziegenbock herbeigeführt und der *Soh Blei* spricht: „O Gott *Shillong*, dir ist dieses Gebet, dieses Opfer der Ziege, der Henne, des *kpu* und *rynsi*, der Vorbereitungsgeräte, wie du sie gegeben dem königlichen Geschlecht, auf daß alle Jahre einmal in deinem Namen *Puja* gefeiert werde, damit wir glücklich leben, gesund seien und uns vermehren, damit die Könige emporkommen, damit ihre und des Reiches Ehre wachse und zunehme und die Kinder des Reiches sich ausbreiten, um zu vermehren deinen Namen und deine Ehre. O Gott *Shillong*, wenn du das Opfer empfangen hast, mache, daß gut seien das Herz, die Lunge, die Milz, die Gallenblase und die übrigen Teile."

Auf beiden Seiten sind unterdessen Tänzer aufgestellt; sie schwingen das Schwert (*ka wait*) und den Busch (*u symphiah*) in der Luft umher und stößen Freudenrufe aus. Der Ziegenbock wird nun, wie oben, dreimal mit den verschiedenen Opfergaben besprengt, wobei dreimal geschossen wird, und Freudenrufe ausgestoßen werden. Hierauf erhebt sich der *S'iem*, nimmt das *ka wait* zur Hand und läßt sich am Opferplatz nieder. Er nimmt den Turban (*ka jain spong*) ab und dankt Gott dreimal mit leiser Stimme; dann übergibt er das *ka wait* dem *Soh Blei*, der das gleiche tut und hierauf das Messer dem Opferer aus dem *jaid Nongkseh*, dieser dem aus dem *jaid Thangkieu* und dieser zuletzt dem aus dem *jaid Niangnong* weitergibt. Nur einer aus diesen drei Geschlechtern darf die Köpfung vornehmen. Hat dieselbe stattgefunden, so wird der Kopf auf die Blätter vor die Kürbisflasche gelegt und der Körper ausgeweidet, um das Haruspizium vorzunehmen. Ist dieses glücklich verlaufen, so setzt sich der Freudentanz in Bewegung. Alle Angehörigen des Reiches sind hierauf zu dem Mahle eingeladen, das aus Reis, Opferfleisch und Reisschnaps besteht und sich bis in den frühen Morgen hinauszieht.

III. Die Nachfeier.

Am Abend des folgenden Tages — *mied Maulong* genannt — findet eine besondere Ratsversammlung statt, die man *Dorbar sla* nennt, um auszudrücken, daß alle Opfer nun vorüber sind. Der *S'iem* läßt im Innern des Hauses und dem Vorraum desselben Matten zum Sitzen für das Volk ausbreiten; er selbst nimmt auf einem *palong*, einem erhöhten Sitz, im Vorraum Platz. Allen Anwesenden wird Ziegen- und Schweinefleisch ausgeteilt, während derjenige, welcher zum Sprechen im *Dorbar* bestimmt ist, und der erste der Flötenspieler Betelnuß erhalten. Dann sendet der *S'iem* ins Dorf und läßt dreimal ausrufen, daß während der Dauer des *Dorbar* niemand mehr seine Hütte verlassen dürfe.

Hierauf nimmt er den Turban ab, hebt beide Hände empor und dankt im Namen des Herrn und Schöpfers (*ha ka kyrteng u trai u nongthaü*), der ihn zum König gemacht, ihm Untertanen gegeben sowie die Distrikte des Reiches, die Märkte und die Wege dazu, und betet, er möge immer mehr Kraft, Wachstum und Fortschritt geben und Gedeihen der Felder. Dann ruft

er aus: „O Gott, Herr und Erschaffer, gib Glück und Wohlfahrt auch mir, dem *S'iem*, damit immer größer werde meine Danksagung und Hingebung an dich *(Ah Blei, trai kynrad u nongthau u nongbuh to ai bha ai roi ia nga i S'iem ban nangkhrau ka nguh ka dem).*" Hiermit tritt er zurück.

Es folgt nun derjenige, welcher als Redner aufgestellt ist, aus der *jaid Rynjah*. Er dankt dem *S'iem* dreimal und spricht dann: „O Herr, der du Himmel und Erde erschaffen hast, du hast den König gesetzt, daß wir Kinder seines Reiches seien; du hast die Sonne gegeben und den Mond, um das Jahr zu berechnen, damit wir einmal im Jahr *Puja* haben können, auf daß der König vorankomme, die Kinder der Täler zunehmen und gedeihen, die Kinder der Khasi[1], die Kinder der Bhoi[2], die Kinder der War[2], damit die Opfergaben sich vermehren vor dem Angesicht deines Altars *(Ko trai ba thau ia ka bneng ka khyndew uba pynlong i S'iem i kynrad ba long ma ngi ki khun ki hajar kumba phi buh ka sngi ban khein ia u bnai, phi buh u bnai ban khein ka snem ban long ka puja shi sien shi snem ban im ban roi i S'iem ban roi ki khun dykhar, khun Bhoi, khun Khasi, khun War ban khrau u blang u bhet ha khmat ka duwan jong phi).*"

Dann wird die Freudentrommel geschlagen *(ksing risa)* und allen wird Reisschnaps gegeben, soviel sie nur verlangen. Der *S'iem* und die *S'iem sâd* verkosten von den inneren Teilen der Eingeweideschau des vorhergehenden Tages. Musik und Tanz dauern die ganze Nacht hindurch bis zum frühen Morgen, wo die Festteilnehmer ihre Dörfer und Hütten wieder aufsuchen.

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[1] Das heißt die Khasi selbst.

[2] Alles verschiedene Volksstämme, welche das Reich Nongkrem zusammensetzen.

7: Becker-- M-4, 5 (1910-11) 1924 AR7 Khasi AR7

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FAMILY PROPERTY AND MATERNAL RIGHTS
(FAMILIENBESITZ UND MUTTERRECHT)

By C. Becker

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[Title Page]

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Editor's Note:

114 The author of this paper apparently uses several words to denoe the same social group: Familie, Stamm, Sippe, Clan Stammesfamilie, Familienstamm, Famliensippe.

Stamm is translated as tribe when it refers to the Khasi as a whole, otherwise it is translated clan especially in the compounds Stammesgott, Stammgut, Stamneshütte, Stammesmutter. Sippe is also translated as clan; Stammesfamilie as clan-family; Familensippe and Familienstamm as family-clan. The German word is occasionally kept in brackets.

Family Property and Maternal Rights

/127/ by C. Becker S.D.S., Wurzburg

The fall of 1910 and the entire following year found the distin-
114 guished head of the Ethnographic Museum in Munich, to whom this anniversary volume is dedicated, on a research and collection trip in the extensive and inexhaustible territories of India. He was accompanied by his active wife, who served as his scientific assistant. From Burma, a mine of rich, ethnographic treasure and where the greatest part of their Indian stay was spent, their journey led the research couple into Assam, situated in the northeast of India, a country of equal significance. Assam certainly belongs politically to an-
101 terior India, but forms a bridge to interior India both ethnographically and linguistically.

Among the mountain peoples who inhabit the chain of hills which traverses the length of present-day Assam, and which separates the two largest parts of the country from each other, the Brahmaputra Valley in the north and the Surma Plain in the south, is one of the most interesting and doubtless the most advanced of the tribes, the Khasi, who inhabit the so-called Khasi and Jaintia Mountains. It
[631] was in Shillong, the center of this area, which is now the capital of the country Assam under the English government, where towards the end of September, 1911, I first became acquainted with Professor D. L. Scherman and his wife and where a friendship of many years
133 had its beginning. Therefore this little study will lead us to the Khasi Mountains, to its slopes overgrown with its peculiar pine trees, which receive greetings across the plains from the snow-crowned peaks of the Himalayas, which are flooded by the mighty waves of the Brahmaputra River and the alternating inundations of the Surma River. Here a contented and cheerful little people live who have maintained their own special characteristics in spite of the many European influences and those of neighboring cultures.

162 /128/ Of the entire population of 243,263 people, who form the inhabitants of the Khasi and Jaintai Mountains (1), 203,855 are Khasi.

1. The following statistical estimates are taken from the Census of India 1921, Vol. III, Assam, (Shillong, 1923) pp. I and II.

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797 Of those, 37,852 have adopted Christianity, while the others are still adherents of ancient animistic cults, with the exception of somewhat

more than a thousand of them who have been converted to the Hindu 162 [797]
religion.

This group of people possesses the possibility of expansion, since they have at their disposal within the area of the Khasi and Jaintia [311]
Mountains a territory of 6,022 English square miles, with only 40 persons per square mile. Although wide areas are not built up and the system of shifting fields prevents the full utilization of the land, it is still true that with this small population figure by far the largest part of the whole population (200,781) is dependent on agriculture; trade and manufacturing only play a subordinate part.

With regard to the division of the sexes, the two large religions 562
of Assam, Hinduism and Mohammedanism, show the same proportion 162
as in the rest of India, a lesser number of women than men. But among the Khasi the women are more numerous than the men. In the Brahmaputra valley with its greater Hindu population there are only 892 women for every 1,000 men; in the Surma valley, with a greater Moslem element, there are 937. But the situation is reversed among the Khasi, where there is a surplus of 74 women for every thousand men. The position of the women is basically different among this people. It is based on the customs and usages of maternal rights that prevail among them, which are predominantly based on possession and which find honorable expression in possession.

1. Property Rights in the Family Property.

The great principle which governs property among the Khasi, is 421
that all family property rests in the hands /128: A/ /Fig. 1. Khasi 613
Girls and Women with their Carrying Baskets. Fig. 2. An Old Clan 596
Mother in the Village Laitumkhra. / /128: B/ /Fig. 3. At the Oracle of Egg Throwing/. Fig. 5. Khasi Girls and Men in Festive Dance Clothing. / /128: C/ /Fig. 4. A Group of Synteng/ /128: D/ Fig. 6. A Holy Grove and Part of the Village Raliang/ /129/ of the women and not of the man. The man can never be the owner of family property, and it can never be transferred to him. He may perhaps acquire some property through his own industry and work, but even that will pass into feminine hands by the path of inheritance. The concept of family is not as narrowly drawn here as in our country. This is a question of the clan-family, the clan. The head of it is always the youngest daughter, who, even when she has become old, bears the honorable name ka barit in the Jaintia Mountains, and in the Khasi Mountains ka khadduh, the last, the youngest. Around her gather her nearest 613
blood relatives, brothers and sisters, and children. For example let 596

/128-A/

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Fig. 1. Khasi Girls and Women with their Carrying baskets.

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Fig. 2. An Old Clan Mother in the Village Lattumkhra.

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Fig. 3. At the Oracle of Egg Throwing.

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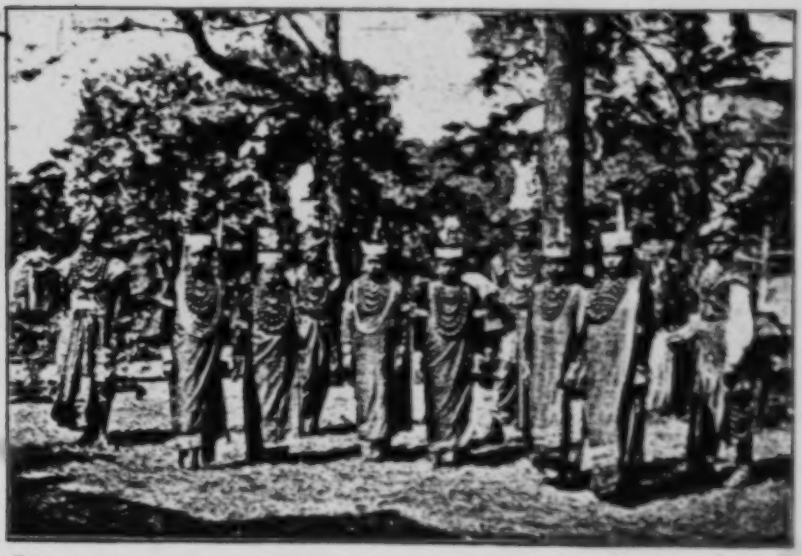

Fig. 5. Khasi Girls and Men in Festive Dance Clothing.

Fig. 4. A Group of Synteng.

?; Becker--2d M-4,5 (1910-11) 1924 AR7 Khasi AR7

/128-D/

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Fig. 6. A Holy Grove and Part of the Village Raliang.

613 us take such a clan mother with the name Ka Sing Lau. She has two
596 sons and five daughters, and in addition two brothers and two sisters who are all married. Also each of the five daughters and two sisters has four children. These forty-six people live with the clan mother and form the family clan of the Lau. To these we also add the sons
[582] and brothers, the nephews and grandsons, but not their children. The latter have nothing to do with the family Lau but belong to the family clan of their wives, live with that clan and are counted in it. Likewise neither the husband of Ka Sing Lau, nor the husbands of the various daughters, sisters, nieces, and granddaughters belong here. They are all counted with their own clans, live and work with them according to Khasi custom, and only visit their wives occasionally perhaps after dark.

621 The entire clan-family of Lau is housed in 5 or 6 huts, which all
351 stand next to each other in a semicircle or are built one above the other on the slope of a hill, according to the character of the land. A
[241] garden frequently surrounds them in which maize, sweet potatoes, potato-like roots of Soh-ot and Schrut, bananas and, on the southern slopes of the Khasi Mountains, also coffee, pineapples, and other fruits are cultivated. A circle of bamboo cane that is so important for building purposes, household objects, and /130/ implements surrounds the garden and huts. This bamboo cane grows up as thick as an arm to a height of 10 or 15 meters and at the same time forms a good protection against bad weather. A wall (morscha) of thrown-up earth encloses everything, forming an enclosed farm, prevents unimpeded access, and protects cattle and crops from the attacks and devastations of wild animals.

423 What is considered the family property of such a clan? Primarily it is the land, the gardens, the rice fields, woods, fallow mountain and grazing lands. On the southern slopes of the Khasi Mountains there
[241] are fields for the cultivation of rape, orange groves, laurel groves, plantations of betel palms and of pepper leaves which far and wide are so highly treasured for betel chewing as a source of pleasure. (2)

2. Cf. Becker, Im Stromtal des Brahmaputra, /In the River Valley of the Brahmaputra/ (Munich, 1923). pp. 357 ff.

[311] Usually there is so much land available that the family-clan can nourish itself properly and also increase in number

423 According to its size and wealth a family clan also owns a
231 corresponding number of cows, oxen, hens, pigs, and goats. Neither the milk nor the flesh of the cows is used. They are kept for the

423 manure, and primarily for breeding, since the oxen cannot be dis-
231 pensed with for the cultivation of the fields, especially of the rice fields, where the soaked earth must be trampled to a slimy mush. From the fowl the eggs are particularly prized, since they find an almost daily use in the questioning of oracles in cases of misfortune and sickness. (3) Hens, pigs and goats serve for sacrificial purposes, (4)

3. P.R.T. Gurdon, The Khasis, (London 1907) pp. 221 ff.; Becker, "Das Eierwerfen der Khasi," /Egg throwing Among the Khasi/, Anthropos, Vols. 12-13 (Vienna, 1917-18), pp. 494 ff.; P.F. Stegmiller, "Aus dem religiösen Leben der Khasi" /The Religious Life of the Khasi/ Anthopos Vol. 16-17 (1921-1922), pp. 418 ff.

4. Becker, "Die Nongrem-Puja in den Khasi-Bergen" /The Nongkrem Puja in the Khasi Mountains/, Anthropos, Vol. 4, (Vienna, 1909) No. 5-6, pp. 898 ff.; Stegmiller, loc cit.

and they are also a welcome addition to rice at all festive occasions such as arrow shooting, (5) at the name giving, /131/ at weddings,

5. Becker, Im Stromtal etc., /In the Valley, etc./, pp. 298 and 387.

and at the cremation of the dead.

421 Further the various huts belong to the family property, the erec-
613 tion and maintenance of which is the work of the members of the clan, the brothers, nephews, and grandsons. The hut of the clan mother is likewise considered the center of the whole family, and its possession forms the outer sign of the dominance of the clan mother. Here she holds the family sacrifices and also keeps the special treasures. These are considered to be those things which are connected with the religious cult. Special reverence and sacrifice is due the oldest clan mother, as the original founder of the clan, and her brother in each clan family; in addition there are a series of other spirits which vary according to the family clan. The branch of the Khasi people who live in the Jaintia Mountains, the so-called Synteng, have probably pre-
776 served the old Khasi customs the most faithfully. There in the hut of the
778 clan mother are found the following utensils for the service of the divinities, who are nearly always feminine: mats, little baskets for rice, gourd bottles, a little basket made of bamboo cane and decorated with feathers, as well as antlers of deer or antelopes. The latter are fastened to the wall: they are supposed to be the seat of the

776 divinities of the forest and of the chase. The little basket is at-
778 tached to a post in the hut; the special divinities of the clan-family are supposed to have their dwelling there; two hazelnut twigs fastened underneath symbolize their power. The gourd bottles are used as containers for the sacrificial drink of rice liquor. (6)

6. Cf. Die Nongkrem-Puja, /The Nongkrem Puja/, loc cit.

422 As treasures, which are handed down from generation to generation,
[301] are considered the rich ornaments of gold and silver, the heavy chains of coral, and the silk scarves, which are worn by the women at dancing ceremonies.

Also those things which the family huts contain in the way of furnishings and utensils, such as baskets, mats, lances, shields, arrows and bows, and brass pots for cooking and for water, earthen containers and brass plates are considered common property of the family.

421 /132/ The clan mother at the time has the entire property in
425 her hands; she is the legal and sole guardian and manager of the prop-
688 erty. Nothing can be lent even without her permission. No part of either the movable or immovable family possessions may be sold without her agreement. For the execution of the proper legal deed, as she is often ignorant of writing, she must place her fingerprint. Nothing may ever be given away: that would be an insult to the clan divinity since that would not mean treasuring and honoring their property but giving it away as being of no value. As a punishment for that the clan /stamm/ would also lose its other possessions and then live in poverty and disgrace. The individual members of the clan could sometimes be recruited for work for other clan-families as a kind of slave (mrau). But they may not be taken up in their society as they do not belong to that clan and the clan gods of that family would not permit it. Therefore if, for example, a clan-family has rice fields which they do not cultivate and would gladly give to poorer relatives, they must at least receive the smallest rent as a charge for it. This consists annually of a gourd bottle of rice liquor, which has the value of about 70 pfennigs to honor the household divinities.

Before the clan mother gives her permission for the sale of common property, she listens to the advice of the other members of the clan. Actually according to the old tribal custom things should be as little sold as given-away. It is said that in ages past the original ancestors, whom the individual clans reverence as divinities, apportioned out this their needs of field and wood, and these are supposed
421 to form their unsalable clan property (nongrim). To let it get out of
425 one's possession would therefore be insulting the gods. However, that

could not prevent individuals from becoming needy through misfortune 421
or laziness and their trying to rent a part of their property for an annual 425
payment or for a sum needed once. This is called ban die pan, literally: begging to buy. The sense of relinquishing by lending /133/ is contained in this. For example, a field is worth 300 reichsmarks. Fifty or 100 reichsmarks are accepted for it and the creditor remains the owner of the field until the money is repaid. This type of purchase occurs frequently. There are frequently traders (nongkhaii) who try to use such purchases to their own advantage. They turn over the field to the debtor for further cultivation in return for payment in produce of 50 to 70 per cent of the harvest. After several years the whole field is their property. Aside from this method, it also happens that instead of being able to repay the money the people need still further sums. In that case then the entire price of 300 reichsmarks is paid and the actual purchase is considered completed; that is called ban die lut; literally: totally, completely sold. A family-clan which gradually loses its property in this manner descends into poverty and need. There is nothing else for it to do than to look for work elsewhere, to rent land or to sell the children as a kind of slaves to better [567] situated people. If 40 reichsmarks are paid for a child of about 10 years, he remains in the bondage of the buyer until the money can be repaid. That happens only rarely. Besides food and the most necessary clothing only one rupee is deducted annually as wage from the purchase price; thus, practically, the child belongs to the buyer for the duration of his life.

It is the duty of individual members of a family clan to work to- 613
gether so that the clan property will be maintained and will produce 688
the necessary amount for the maintenance of all. The clan mother must oversee primarily that the appropriate customs and usages are preserved. She is held in high esteem by all. To do something against her wish to offend her, to call her insulting names, or to go so far as to strike her is considered sang (taboo), a severe crime that causes misfortune. It is a great sin (pop) and a thoroughly great dis- 613
grace (sngewsih eh tam) for the whole clan.(7) As long as a member 688
782

7. Also considered similar crimes are selling clan property in secret, incest, desecrating burial places in a coarse manner, making use of holy grounds or woods.

/134/ of the family has committed such a crime and has not begged pardon from the clan mother and the elders of the clan, perhaps with the words: pardon me, I have committed an error (to map ia nga leh

613 bakla); and as long as the expiatory sacrifice, in the form of pigs and
688 goats, determined by the elders of the family and by the sacrificial
682 priest (lyngdoh) has not been offered, the sinning member is considered excluded from the family and the family sacrifices. But even after being accepted again a certain stain still clings to him.

613 But it is also the duty of the clan mother to care for the needs of the members of her family clan with regard to food, clothing, and the like. She divides the fruits of the harvests according to the needs of the individual. She goes or sends to market to trade, to buy, or to sell. She takes care of the common purse and even the masculine members of the clan have to ask her for money when they wish to drink rice liquor or buy clothing. There the clan mother is generous
[662] rather than niggardly. This dependent relationship of the men is not considered unworthy at all or shameful. It is the matriarchal form and ancient custom. Nevertheless, the position of the men in the family clan is an esteemed one. Even the name they are called by has an important sound: Rangbah, Basan (oldest ones, advisers). On them falls often the work in the field and wood or the protection of the family; bow and arrow are handed to them as cradle gifts. In the more important family matters the clan mother consults with them. At the giving of the name, during a wedding, a funeral, or cremation the clan mother steps almost completely into the background, also during quarrels and court hearings before the chief (Doloi) or king (S'iem). She is still always influential with her advice, but the actual appearance, activity and judgments is the business of the men. The smaller,
[782] everyday sacrifices she performs in the clan hut; but she can also let these /135/ be performed by her sons. At larger sacrificial ceremonies which are offered by several family clans at the same time, by whole
[793] villages or even by one of the Khasi states, only the men are active as sacrificial priests.

613 With regard to the husbands of the clan mother and of the feminine
596 members, they are not considered members of the family clan of the women at all. They are only considered the begetters. They work and live in their own clan, participate in their sacrifices and burial places. The father has no further influence in the raising of the children, who belong entirely to the clan of the mother. But usually they have no obligation, unless the wife and children are impoverished. Even then their care comes in second place after that of members of their own
[593] clan. Nevertheless the husband is honored and is addressed by "Mr." (kynrad) by his wife. She would consider it disgraceful to approach him impertinently. Where the property of a clan has been dissolved or Christian customs introduced, the husband lives and works together with his wife and children.

his wife and children. 000

2. Holy Pieces of Land and Forest

A special kind of land property is still encountered in the Khasi and Jaintia Mountains. These are pieces of land and forests which are considered sang or kyntang, forbidden or holy, thus kyndeu sang, khlau kyntang, forbidden fields, holy forests. They are also named in connection with the name god, for example, khlau Blei, forest of the gods, which, to a certain extent, might offer the key to their purpose and meaning. The hands of man are not supposed to disturb this kind of property; this property is sacred to the gods and at the most may be used in their service. 423 778

It is not easy to trace the origin and beginnings of these reserves. But several solutions may be found in regard to sections of land. When the /136/ Catholic mission station was founded in the village of Schella which is located on a steep mountain slope, it was hard to find a place that was halfway suitable and big enough to build even a small dwelling on it. Finally the missionary discovered such a place somewhat outside the village. But then there was a new difficulty. The place was the cremation area for the dead and therefore was sang /taboo/. The spirits of the dead would punish every intruder severely. The people were finally persuaded to burn their dead somewhere else, but it was more difficult to find any who were ready to help with the work of the building. Even those whom the missionary finally persuaded to help still suffered heavily from the fear of the punishment of the gods and continuously one or the other of them had imaginary illnesses. [797] [764] [784]

In the cases of more extensive pieces of land, the snake worshippers (thlen), who carry on their dreadful activities in the Khasi Mountains, (8) may offer an explanation sometimes. If such a person is 423 784 [776] [782]

8. Im Stromtal des Brahmaputra, /In the River Valley of the Brahmaputra/, pp. 76ff.

convicted of murder, which he has committed in the service of the snake god in order to sacrifice the blood of the slain person to him, and if he wishes to free himself from the conviction, he can do nothing other than sell all his movable and immovable property. The latter thus becomes sang. Nobody would dare to take over the fields and gardens, to plant anything there, or to touch any fruit on that property. Thus in Cherrapunji a native Catholic was able to take

423 possession of a couple of orange gardens which a thlen worshipper
784 had abandoned, as the former did not believe in ghosts. (9)

9. Ibid., p. 82.

423 In the case of all these pieces of ground which are considered
784 sang, the fear of the severe punishment of the gods prevents each
797 owner from building. If another builds, he does not stop him, because he leaves him to the revenge of the insulted god. As may be seen from the case mentioned, the /137/ heathen are at a disadvantage in respect to their compatriots who have turned to Christianity. The latter no longer feel tied to the heathen laws, at least as far as religion is involved and no longer share their fears in many things. Impoverished Khasi Christians thus find an opportunity to acquire land in cases when it would not be possible for a Khasi who is still held captive by animistic beliefs.

But among the latter there are also disgraceful exceptions. In Nongbah, a larger village of the Jaintia Mountains with perhaps 400 huts -- therefore the name, which means large village -- several years ago a heathen observed with a jealous eye how so many pieces of the fallow fields of the gods were changed into fertile lands under the hands of the Christians. The wish grew in him to do likewise. Although he no longer had much fear of his gods, he still had to reckon with the anger and revenge of the members of his clan, if he as a heathen dared to take such a step. They were not likely to dare to do anything against Christians. Without further ado he became converted to the Methodist religion and appeared before the English government official in Jowai, the capital of the Jaintia Mountains, for the transfer of a suitable piece of land. After the revolt of the Synteng in the year 1862, the English government pronounced the whole territory of the Jaintia Mountains to be government land. They also claim the right of bestowal of all free-lying land, usually by a lease of many years. Since the government receives rent for the land, it is in its interest when applicants appear. In this case the deed of conveyance was issued and over the years a flourishing rice field was made from the land that had been useless up to now. Now that the renter was sure of his affairs, he turned his back on the Methodists in order to become a heathen again and to participate in the heathen sacrifices. But then he got into trouble. The heathen were incensed at such a game and brought serious charges before the English government official. He ruled that in the future no piece of ground of that type /138/ should be leased except upon

presentation of the written statement of the chieftain and the village elders that they would have no objection to it. The avaricious renter of the divine land mentioned above was despised by all. 423 784 797

As concerns the holy forests, which often extend picturesquely from the highest peak down the slope and are overgrown with gnarled oaks and bright colored rhododendron, no tree may be felled there; at the most, fallen wood or wood torn down by a storm or already rotten wood may be taken. The spirits of the forest, as punishing gods, will revenge every offense. Tigers and leopards, apes, bears, and snakes enjoy an undisturbed existence here. The only case in which wood may be cut in these divine woods is for the religious cremation ceremonies of the dead. It is the custom of the Khasi to set fire often to great areas in order to fertilize the ground with the ashes of grasses, trees, and shrubs without regard for the new growth of trees, and to make potato fields there for a year or two or to grow mountain rice, millet, or something similar and then to leave the field fallow again. Thus this is a clever precautionary rule, since there might otherwise be cases when there might be no wood for cremating the dead. 778 776 [764] [241]

(Continuation follows)

/300/ Family Property and Maternal Rights
by C. Becker S.D.S., Würzburg

Gurdon says, (10) that these holy groves were formerly the property of a village. That is not always so as the following case will demonstrate. I am also relating this because it grants us a deeper look into the whole customs of the clan under discussion. 779 423 613 777

10. The Khasis, p. 87.

Several decades ago, a Khasi who had become a Protestant, U Jacob Shai by name, was installed as a clerk with the English government official in Jowai. In order to assure his family a better living than just his meager salary, he yearned for land. By birth from Jongushen in the War territory, he remembered that he could obtain his aim in the neighboring village Syndai from the family clan Umliang. So one day he went thither. After the customary greetings, and refreshment with a water pipe and betel nut and conversation about various indifferent matters, he mentioned his desire. "I know," he said in the polite language of even these simple natural men, "I know the goodness and the good name of your clan /Stamm/ and the elders

778 423 613 787 of your clan; you are glad to come to the help of others everywhere and thereby have prepared honor and fame for your whole clan /Sippe/, for your clan gods and goddesses, and for your ancestors of both sexes. You are blessed with grandchildren and great grandchildren. I rejoice in your good fortune and I wish that the gods and goddesses of your clan /Stamm/ will be favorably inclined for all times. Therefore I dare to come to you and to make a request of you; I have only one request: nga don tang kawei ka jingkyrpad! Namely, I need a piece of land, so that I can give my grandsons and granddaughters something to eat. My own field does not suffice for so many mouths. I have noticed that a piece of forest lies here /301/ unused. I have inquired to whom it belongs and the village elders said to me that it was the property of the famous family clan Umliang. I honor you, therefore, and beg you: can I receive this forest according to the law and custom of the clan?"

Questions from the clan mother and the family elders followed this speech. Finally it was clear to them what piece was meant. "That is the khlau sang, the forest of the gods," they cried. "Certainly that belongs to our clan property, but as you yourself know, we can neither rent nor sell it. We cannot and do not even dare say, cultivate the land. But we also cannot prevent you from doing it or forbid you. That piece of land is presented to the gods; they will revenge themselves on anyone who removes it from their cult; they themselves will guard over it so that no one will seize it."

This answer satisfied U Shai completely. He had no fear of the punishment of the forest gods; he had just wanted to make certain whether the family clan would put difficulties in his way or would even bring complaints before the English government. The forest was soon arable. Fire transformed the wood and the bushes, the high grasses and the vines into ashes; oranges and lemons, pineapples, and bananas were planted and after a few years the land brought in from the sale of the fruit a sum, considerable for those conditions, of 800 to 1,000 reichsmarks a year.

The family clan Umliang was still faithful to their native faith. As the other heathen did, so they observed the undertaking of U Shai with fear and anxiety. They believed the gods must bestir themselves and the forest would devour the miscreant with his family. That did not occur. It could not be avoided that in this way the belief in their gods and native customs received a jolt among the heathen and many of them went over to the viewpoint that they might also do it.

After a while a young Khasi with such advanced views married /302/ into the family clan Umliang. Meanwhile 40 years had passed. The old father U Shai was already dead. The piece of land planted by him, as it was not actually family property, according to the special customs of the War had passed on not only to the youngest daughter but also to his son Jacob U Shai and his sisters. On their side they had helped their father in the clearing of the forest. The siblings were Catholic. The young man mentioned above brought a legal complaint against the siblings before the English government official in Jowai a few years ago: the forest made arable by Jacon U Shai and transformed into a fruit orchard had been illegally acquired and is the property of the clan of his wife; he demanded a piece of the land back for the family Umliang and for the other piece a corresponding annual rent must be paid.

In reply the siblings Shai could claim that the affair was past the legal time limit. According to tribal custom the time limit on small matters was 10 years, for greater matters 30 years. In addition the main point on their side was that the piece of land in question was khlau sang, forest of the gods, and the family Umliang could not ask anything for it. For this the Shai siblings lacked witnesses, whereas the Umliangs produced several heathen witnesses for the simple declaration of the right of possession. The case was long drawn out. It was finally decided against the Shai siblings and they were declared deprived of the property. The missionary P. Benedikt Neher now concerned himself with the affair. He brought more than 100 witnesses, all clan mothers or village elders, who were ready to swear that that piece of land was a forest of the gods as long as man could remember. The English judge, whom he informed of this, decided that this was a basis for proposing a revision and change of the judgment, but the Shai siblings had lost all their money in the previous trial to pettifogging lawyers and did not have the spirit to begin again. With oriental equanimity they accepted the loss and thus the affair remained.

/303/ The case is instructive anyway, insofar as it shows that the so-called holy forests are also found in the possession of individual family clans; how they are valued by them as long as they remain faithful to their animistic views and how they are able to make their right of possession to them valid even after years.

3. Customs Concerning the Right of Inheritance

When the clan mother dies, the youngest daughter always receives the inheritance among the Khasi. If for any reason the youngest daughter cannot take possession, her next youngest sister follows. If there are

428 613 no girls, only sons, the inheritance passes to the youngest daughter of the sister of the deceased clan mother. If there are no such sisters or if they have no daughters, the nearest, youngest female relative is next in line. If she has not lived in the family clan of the deceased up to now, she must first spend at least 3 months in the hut of the clan mother in order to be able to enter into her rights and duties. In such cases usually the successor to the office is taken into the hut previously by the clan mother and prepared for the later activity. It can happen that the successor is not even 13 years old and therefore is not of age and capable of marrying. In this case the mother or a sister of the deceased clan mother manages the rule and the household until the majority of the inheritress. But even as a child the latter has the honored name mother; she is called kmie or kmie san.

The great principle, which determines all conditions of inheritance, is that the sons and husbands are excluded from all family property, which is always passed on to the girls, the female world. But what if a fellow or a man creates or acquires property? The case is possible and also occurs.

428 556 /304/ As mentioned, each person must help with the work in his own family clan in order to have a claim on care from the common property. Between sowing the rice and the harvest and other possible common labors there are still many days and weeks. Instead of [464] spending these with archery, hunting or the popular shong kai, or loafing around, a young man can earn money by cutting wood for others and carrying loads for native traders or also for Europeans, since in the mountains nearly everything has to be carried on the back. He can also do work in the fields or gardens for pay for others outside his clan or carry on a small trade by buying wares at the market such as dried fish, betel nuts, pepper leaves and such, and carrying them a few days' journey away to the markets in the interior of the mountains where these items are not otherwise available and selling them there for a profit. What the man earns in this fashion is his property and is not counted as part of the clan property. An industrious man can thus gradually earn enough money to rent a rice field. Through sale of the surplus crop, he will finally have enough so that he is able to buy a rice field himself, which is also his property. If such a man dies unmarried, the inheritance passes 428 to his mother. If he is married then he can, if he wishes, found a clan property for his family who may be poor and without property. The property will then pass to the youngest daughter and be passed on then in the usual manner of inheritance. Thus everything finally

returns to the hands of the women. 428

The following example may explain the customs involved here and further sift them out even though it scarcely throws a pleasant light on the dissensions which have been introduced among the Khasi people as a result of the divisions of the various Christian religions which are striving for their conversion.

In the village Kyndongtupér, a man had gradually acquired some 428
property for himself with 15 oxen and cows, /305/ a decent hut and 797
furnishings and 3 beautiful rice fields, large enough to sustain a family 613
clan. After his death the youngest daughter of his sister, named Ka Pliang Shai Syndūr, was considered the valid heiress. She was still under age and her mother was already dead. As a result a sister of this mother, named Ka Pliang Shai (11)took over the management

11. Pan and Syndur are Khasi names; Pliang Shai is the name of the family, clan; literal meaning: shining plate.

of the inheritance and lived with the little heiress in the clan hut. There was no doubt that the latter would receive the entire property after she reached her majority. After a while, a young Catholic, U Salomon Taruh, wooed for Syndūr's hand. Thereupon the older sib- 428
lings, a brother and a sister, both of whom belonged to the Methodist 797
Church, became enraged. In spite of all the hostility, the young girl 671
stuck to her decision, married Taruh and became Catholic. The 613
young married couple had to flee from the clan hut because of the anger of the siblings. The latter sought to have the sister disinherited, but the other relatives involved would have nothing to do with this. They were so carried away by their anger that they did what was considered a crime even in the eyes of the heathen: they drove the cattle away secretly and sold it; likewise they cleared out the clan hut and even sold two rice fields. On complaint to the competent court, Syndūr was finally granted her right; she could take over the clan hut and the family property which was meanwhile greatly diminished.

Although the Khasi who have been converted to Christianity do not need to be bound by the laws of succession in inheritance and although this is often recognized by the heathen Khasi, there is no hindrance put in their way by the Catholic Church to following their native tribal customs in this matter. The Catholic Khasi themselves do not wish to deviate from them: /306/ a dogged attachment to ancient customs and a respect for them are in their blood. Here are a few examples.

In Nongbah the Catholic clan mother ka Johanna Sunah, wife of U Andreas Tubru, died without leaving any female descendants. It would

428 have been understood if the only son U Johannes Sunah, according
797 to the ruling custom of Christians elsewhere, had claimed the con-
671 siderable inheritance of rice fields, forest, and huts. A serious ob-
613 jection would not have been expected either from the officials or the relatives. Johannes was also spoken to about it in this fashion, but in vain. He could not conquer the inner revulsion of acting against ancient tribal customs for a temporal advantage. His simple answer was: "If I am a good Catholic, God will bless me in other ways without my going against our ancient customs." And so matters stood. The whole property went to the youngest daughter of the sister of the deceased; this branch of the family was still heathen. Through industry and economy Johannes finally acquired his own household with a goodly piece of land.

The Catholic Khasi even get rid of possessions readily which they already possess if the tribal customs demand it. It happened unfortunately several years ago that both the wife of the chief teacher of the Catholic Khasi public school in Shillong, U Thomas Byllun, as well as the wife of the cook of the mission station there, U Sebastian Shiah, were both carried away by death within a short time. Both men had acquired very nice property by their industry. According to Khasi law they had no further claims on their children who were still quite small. They belonged to the clan of their deceased wives and had to be taken by them and raised. According to Khasi law, the property that they had acquired also passed to the youngest daughter. Willingly each of them handed over the children and the interim management of the property to the relatives of the deceased wives, took the few clothes and purely personal possessions /307/ with them and sought to begin again from the beginning in the rented half of a hut. To my question, whether that had been hard for them, they answered with quiet matter-of-factness: "But that is the custom among us Khasi."

It is not necessary to emphasize especially that such respect for the tribal customs has made only a favorable impression on the Khasi who are still heathen.

Gurdon relates (12) that the clan mother loses her position in the

12. The Khasis, p. 83.

family when she changes her religion, for example at her conversion to Christianity, and that the youngest daughter takes her place. The justification for this lies in the fact that she then no longer belongs to the religion and cannot offer the customary family sacrifices.

Because of her whole position as guardian of the inherited religion and 428
customs, it is not frequent that such a woman breaks with the ancestor 613
cult. If this does happen, it does not necessarily mean that she loses 797
the entire property. That depends really on the position the other 671
members of the family take. If they are all still firm heathens, who wish to have nothing to do with Christianity, they can force the clan mother to give everything up. The high respect for her is frequently so great, however, that either the whole clan or at least a part of it decides to take the same step and change religions with the clan mother. The part that remains heathen will certainly propose a division of the family property. This is also possible in other cases.

4. Division of the Family Property.

Although it is rare, the weal and woe of a family-clan can re- 613
quire that a family-clan be split into two clans /Clan/ and that a 578
division of the common property be undertaken. The basis for this is 688
if the family /Geschlecht/ becomes too big, if the elders in the family council /308/ are no longer united and hate and revenge threaten to destroy, if a part of the clan /Clan/ tries to seize the better fields by violence and refuses to deliver the harvest for the common need, if one branch has brought the whole clan /Sippe/ dishonor and shame by false oaths, incest, revenge, treachery or some other severe crime. Only the guilty party will be excluded from the clan /Clan/ in such cases, if he remains stubborn and impenitent. But if he begs for forgiveness with his lips and participates in the expiatory sacrifice, forgiveness will not be refused him. But a certain inner tension and bad feeling often remain behind.

At the conversion to another religion, it often depends on how the 797
clan mother and also the family elders are inclined towards the re- 428
ligion in question, and also on who is changing religions. If it is only 425
brothers, sons, nephews, or grandsons, of the clan mother, a division 613
is out of the question, since the men are not capable of inheriting. But if it is the youngest or next youngest daughter or even the sister of the clan mother, then a division of property can be undertaken. A clan mother after all is so attached to her child or her nearest blood relatives that she would not like to push them entirely away from herself unless she were completely set against the religion in question and angered. If that should be so in individual cases, the heiress concerned will still consider, whether it is not more advisable to wait to change her religion until the clan mother has closed her eyes and she then has free play. Then that which was mentioned at the conclusion of the previous section can occur.

425 613 If after discussions lasting weeks all the problems involved have been settled, the agreements decided on are finally completed with the customary ceremonial. It was mentioned above, what objects [178] for the religious cult are to be found in the hut of the clan mother.[1] The little basket plaited of bamboo cane, which is considered the special seat of the divine ancestors of the clan. /Clan/ is not divided. /309/ Another, similar basket is made. By sacrifice of goats and pigs, these divinities are then entreated so that a part of them may take up their dwelling in this basket for the protection of the newly constructed clan. If the sacrificial priest can announce the agreement of the deceased spirits with the division from the oracle of the entrails of the animals and by egg throwing, then this basket is brought to the new clan hut. On another day one of the two hazelnut poles is then taken for the new hut with further sacrifices. Each of the two separated parties must fetch a new pole to go with the other one. In a like way the existent sacrificial utensils, such as rice baskets, mats, and gourd bottles are divided. With this ceremony the agreements made about the division of the other property are considered legally existent. Each party now goes his own way independent of the other. Certain relationships of [582] friendship and kinship still remain in existence; however, the bar to marriage, which otherwise would make impossible the marriage between members of the same family clan without regard to the degree of relationship, is no longer in existence.

425 797 796 If, at the conversion of one part of the members of the clan to the Christian religion, the division of property can be accomplished legally, it is better to insist on it. The members who have become Christian are more readily protected from disadvantageous treatment. Even if they should take part of the fields for themselves in separate management, the part of the clan that remained heathen could demand this back years later. Enmity, hate, and revenge would then follow. Without the formal ceremony combined with the sacrifices mentioned a Khasi does not recognize a division as legal. Since Christians cannot participate in such a sacrificial ceremony, there is nothing to do other than to have this ceremony undertaken while those seeking to be baptized are still catechumens. Before they are accepted then into the church by baptism, the heathen cult objects that were brought into the clan hut must be removed. "To /310/ this most important ceremony, "the missionary of the Synteng territory, P. Benedikt Neher S.D.S., once related, "I usually went myself if it was possible for me to or sent a European sister of the Order. Thereby the ceremony acquired a great deal

1 [See category 116, pp 4,5. — Analyst]

more solemnity and had a powerful effect on the heathen and the 425
catechumens. The basket of the gods, the two sticks, the gourd 797
bottles, and the other objects of the cult were carried to an open place 796
in front of the hut, placed on a pile of bamboo canes and wood and then lighted by fire. The heathen stood at a respectful distance, fearful and trembling, and expecting that the gods would revenge themselves and destroy me with fire from heaven. But nothing of the kind happened, and disappointed and thoughtful they went back to their huts. The clan hut would then be blessed and sprinkled with holy water."

In general the Christian religions strive to settle their members 797
in a village separated from the heathen clan members, and to settle them in such a way that the separate family clans remain together when possible. The christian customs, that husband, wife, and children then live together in one family is carried out when possible but, however it is not always done without difficulties in view of the traditional customs.

Familienbesitz und Mutterrecht.

Von C. Becker S. D. S., Würzburg.

Der Herbst des Jahres 1910 und das ganze darauffolgende Jahr sah den verdienstvollen Leiter des ethnographischen Museums in München, dem diese Festgabe gewidmet ist, in Begleitung seiner schaffensfreudigen Gattin als wissenschaftlicher Assistentin, auf einer Forschungs- und Sammelreise in den weiten und unerschöpflichen Gegenden Indiens. Aus Birma, dieser Fundgrube reicher ethnographischer Schätze, dem auch der weitaus größte Teil des indischen Aufenthaltes gewidmet war, führte das Forscherpaar der Weg in das nicht minder bedeutsame, im Nordosten Indiens gelegene Land Assam, das politisch zwar zu Vorderindien gehört, ethnographisch und linguistisch aber die Brücke zu Hinterindien schlägt.

Unter den Bergvölkern, welche die Hügelkette bewohnen, die der Länge nach das heutige Assam durchzieht und die beiden größten Teile des Landes, das Brahmaputra-Tal im Norden und die Surma-Ebene im Süden von einander scheidet, ist einer der interessantesten und zweifelsohne der fortgeschrittensten Stämme, das Volk der Khasi, welches die sogenannten Khasi- und Jaintia-(Dschaintia =) Berge bewohnt. In Schillong, dem Mittelpunkt derselben, das unter der englischen Herrschaft jetzt die Hauptstadt des Landes Assam bildet, war es, wo ich gegen Ende September 1911 zum erstenmale Herrn Prof. Dr. L. Scherman nebst seiner Gattin kennen lernte und eine langjährige Freundschaft ihren Anfang nahm. In die Khasi-Berge soll darum diese kleine Arbeit uns führen, zu seinen mit den ihnen eigentümlichen Föhrenwäldern bewachsenen Höhen, zu denen die schneegekrönten Spitzen des Himalaya aus der Ebene herübergrüßen, die von den mächtigen Wogen des Brahmaputra und den wechselnden Fluten der Surma umspült sind, in denen ein zufriedenes und heiteres Völkchen lebt, das trotz vielfachen europäischen Einflusses und dem anderer benachbarter Kulturen immerhin noch seine besondere Eigenart bewahrt hat.

Aus einer Gesamtbevölkerung von 243 263 Menschen, welche die Bewohner der Khasi- und Jaintia-Berge ausmachen[1]), gehören 203 855 zum Stamme der Khasi. 37 852 davon haben sich dem Christentum angeschlossen, während die übrigen noch Anhänger des althergebrachten animistischen Kultes sind, mit Ausnahme von etwas über einem Tausend, das zur Religion der Hindus übergetreten ist.

An Ausdehnungsmöglichkeiten fehlt es dieser Menschenschar nicht, da ihr innerhalb des Bezirkes der Khasi- und Jaintia-Berge ein Gebiet von 6022 englischen Quadratmeilen zur Verfügung steht, wobei nur 40 Personen auf die Quadratmeile kommen. Trotzdem weite Strecken unbebaut sind und auch das System der Wanderäcker die Ausnützung des Bodens verwehrt, kann es geschehen, daß bei dieser geringen Bevölkerungsziffer doch die weitaus größere Zahl der Gesamtbevölkerung (200 781) vom Ackerbau abhängig ist und Handel und Industrie nur eine untergeordnete Rolle spielen.

In bezug auf die Verteilung der Geschlechter weisen die beiden großen Religionen Assams, der Hinduismus und der Mohammedanismus, mit einer niedrigeren Zahl von Frauen als Männern ähnliche Verhältnisse wie im übrigen Indien auf. Bei den Khasi überwiegen jedoch die Frauen an Zahl die Männerwelt. Im Brahmaputra-Tal mit seiner größeren Hindubevölkerung kommen auf je 1000 Männer nur 892 Frauen; im Surma-Tale mit dem mehr muselmanischen Element dagegen 937. Umgekehrt jedoch ist das Verhältnis bei den Khasi, wo sich für je tausend Männer ein Überschuß von 74 Frauen ergibt. Die Stellung der Frau ist bei diesem Volke eine ganz grundverschiedene. Sie ist aufgebaut auf den unter ihm herrschenden mutterrechtlichen Sitten und Gebräuchen, die vor allem in dem Besitztum verankert sind, und in ihm ihren ehrenvollen Ausdruck finden.

1. Eigentumsrechte am Familienbesitz.

Der große Grundsatz, welcher bei dem Khasi das Eigentum beherrscht, ist, daß aller Familienbesitz in den Händen

[1]) Die hier folgenden statistischen Angaben sind dem Census of India 1921, vol. III, Assam, p. 1 u. II, Stiftung 1923 entnommen.

1. Kinderbäcker und Frauen mit Berg Trageböcken.

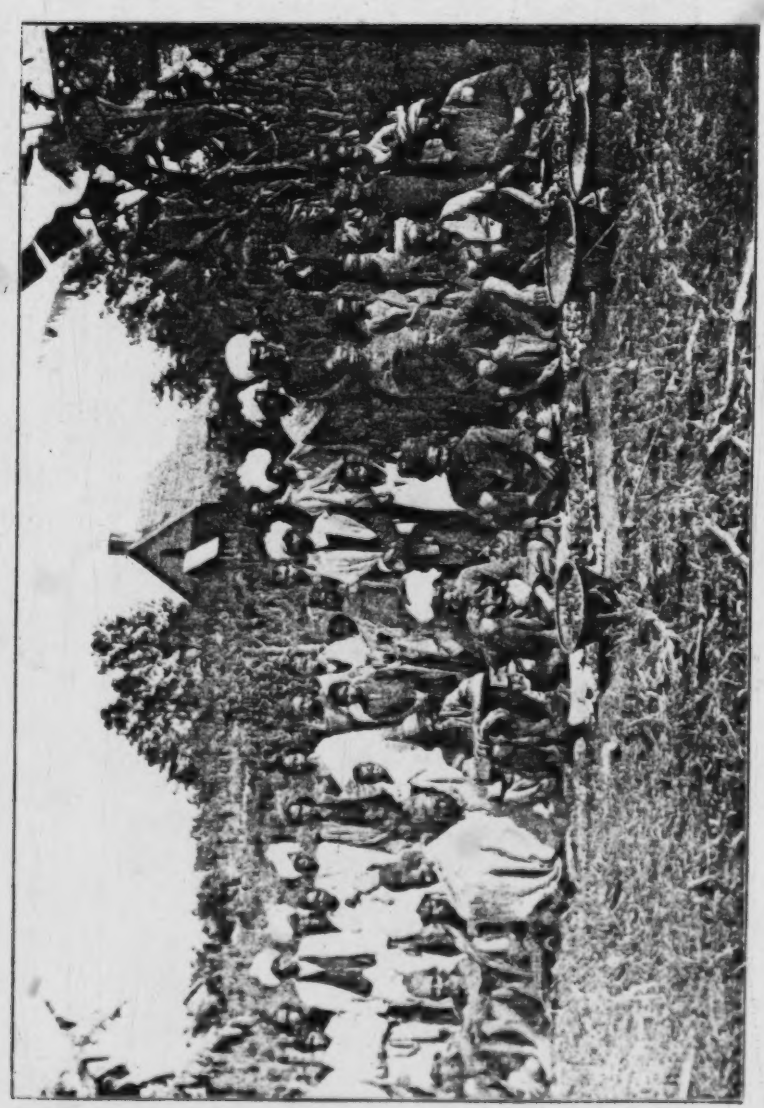
2. Eine alte Stammesmutter bei Dorfe Lakamkara.

[p. 12.8: A]

Beim Orakel des Eierwerfens.

5. Khasimädchen und Männer in festlicher Tanzkleidung.

[p. 128: B]



4. Eine Gruppe Synteng.

[p. 128:C]

6. Heiliger Hain und Teil des Dorfes Raliang.

[p. 128: D]

der Frau und nicht des Mannes liegt. Der Mann kann niemals der Besitzer desselben sein und derselbe kann in keiner Weise auf ihn übergehen. Er mag sich vielleicht einmal etwas durch eigene Tätigkeit und Arbeit erwerben, aber selbst dann wird dieses auf dem Erbwege wieder in Frauenhände gelangen. Der Begriff der Familie ist hier nicht so eng gezogen wie bei uns. Hier handelt es sich um die Stammesfamilie, die Familiensippe, den Clan. Das Haupt derselben ist jeweils die jüngste Tochter, welche, auch wenn sie schon alt geworden, in den Jaintia-Bergen den Ehrennamen ka barit, in den Khasi-Bergen dagegen mehr ka khadduh, die letzte, die jüngste führt. Um sie scharen sich ihre nächsten Blutsverwandten, Geschwister und Kinder. Nehmen wir beispielsweise eine solche Stammesmutter mit dem Namen Ka Sing Lau. Sie hat 2 Söhne und 5 Töchter; außerdem noch 2 Brüder und 2 Schwestern, die alle verheiratet sind. Dazu kommen noch je 4 Kinder der 5 Töchter und 2 Schwestern. Diese 46 Personen wohnen bei der Stammesmutter und bilden die Familiensippe der Lau. Zu derselben zählen wie ersichtlich auch die Söhne und Brüder, die Neffen und Enkel, nicht aber deren Kinder. Letztere haben mit der Familie Lau nichts zu tun, sondern gehören in die Familiensippe ihrer Frauen, wohnen jeweils bei dieser und werden zu ihr gerechnet. Ebenso gehören hierher weder der Ehemann der Ka Sing Lau, noch die Männer der verschiedenen Töchter, Schwestern, Nichten und Enkelinnen. Sie alle werden wiederum zu ihrer eigenen Sippe gerechnet, wohnen und arbeiten nach eigentlicher Khasi-Sitte bei dieser und besuchen ihre Frauen nur gelegentlich etwa nach Einbruch der Dunkelheit.

Die ganze Stammesfamilie der Lau ist in 5 bis 6 Hütten untergebracht, die alle nebeneinander in einem Halbkreise stehen oder je nach der Bodenbeschaffenheit am Abhang eines Hügels übereinandergebaut sind. Sie umgibt vielfach ein Garten, in dem Mais, süße Kartoffeln, die kartoffelartigen Knollen der Soh-ot und Schrut, Bananen, und an den südlichen Abhängen der Khasi-Berge auch Kaffee, Ananas und andere Früchte gezogen werden. Garten und Hütten umgibt ein Kranz des für Bauzwecke, Einrichtungsgegenstände und Ge-

rätschaften so wichtigen Bambusrohres, das in armdicken Strängen bis zu einer Höhe von 10 auf 15 Meter emporwächst und zugleich einen guten Schutz gegen Unwetter bildet. Ein aus Erde aufgeworfener Wall (morscha) schließt alles ringsum zu einem geschlossenen Gehöfte ab, verwehrt den ungehinderten Zutritt und schützt Vieh und Saaten vor den Angriffen und Verwüstungen wilder Tiere.

Was betrachtet man nun als Familienbesitz einer solchen Sippe? Vor allem sind es Grund und Boden, die Gärten, Reisfelder, Waldungen, brachliegendes Berg- und Weideland. An den südlichen Abhängen der Khasi-Berge sind es Felder für den Anbau von Reps, Orangenwälder, Lorbeerhaine, Pflanzungen von Betelpalmen und den als Genußmittel beim Betelkauen weit und breit so sehr geschätzten Pfefferblättern.[1]) Gewöhnlich ist soviel an Grund und Boden vorhanden, daß die Familiensippe sich ordentlich ernähren und auch vermehren kann.

Je nach Größe und Reichtum einer Familiensippe besitzt dieselbe auch eine entsprechende Anzahl Kühe, Ochsen, Hühner, Schweine und Ziegen. Von den Kühen werden weder Milch noch Fleisch gebraucht. Man hält sie des Düngers wegen, dann aber vor allem zu Zwecken der Zucht, denn der Ochsen kann man zur Bestellung der Felder nicht entraten, vor allem der Reisfelder nicht, um die durchwässerte Erde zu einem schlammigen Brei zu zerkneten. Von den Hühnern werden vor allem die Eier geschätzt, da sie bei allerlei Unglücksfällen und Krankheiten in dem Orakelbefragen des Eierwerfens eine fast tägliche Verwendung finden.[2]) Hühner, Schweine und Ziegen dienen zu Opferzwecken,[3]) jedoch sind sie auch bei allerlei festlichen Anlässen wie Pfeilschießen,[4]) bei der Erteilung

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[1]) Vgl. Becker, Im Stromtal des Brahmaputra, München 1923, S. 357 ff.

[2]) P. R. T. Gurdon, The Khasis, London 1907, p. 221 f.; Becker, Das Eierwerfen der Khasi, Anthropos, Bd. 12—13, Wien 1917/18, S. 494 ff.; P. F. Stegmiller, Aus dem religiösen Leben der Khasi, Anthropos, Bd. 16 bis 17, 1921—1922, S. 418 f.

[3]) Becker, die Nongrem. Puja in den Khasi-Bergen, Anthropos Bd. 4, Wien 1909, Heft 5—6, S. 898 ff.; Stegmiller l. c.

[4]) Becker, Im Stromtal etc. S. 298 und 387.

des Namens, bei Hochzeiten und Verbrennungsfeierlichkeiten der Toten eine willkommene Zugabe zum Reis.

Zum Familienbesitz gehören fernerhin die verschiedenen Hütten, deren Errichtung und Instandhaltung die Arbeit der Glieder der Sippe, der Brüder, Neffen und Enkel ist. Vor allem gilt die Hütte der Stammesmutter selbst gleichsam als das Zentrum des ganzen Geschlechtes, und deren Besitz bildet das äußere Zeichen der Herrschaft der Stammesmutter. Hier hält sie die Familienopfer ab und bewahrt hier auch die besonderen Kleinodien auf. Als solche betrachtet man diejenigen, welche mit dem religiösen Kult zusammenhängen. Der ältesten Stammesmutter, als der ursprünglichen Begründerin des Clans, und ihrem Bruder gelten in erster Linie besondere Verehrung und Opfer einer jeden Stammesfamilie; außerdem einer Reihe anderer Geister, die je nach der Familiensippe wieder verschieden sind. Bei dem in den Jaintia-Bergen lebenden Zweig des Khasi-Volkes, den sogenannten Synteng, welche die alten Khasisitten wohl noch am getreuesten bewahrt haben, findet man in der Hütte der Stammesmutter als Geräte für den Dienst der fast durchwegs weiblichen Gottheiten Matten, kleine Körbchen für Reis, Kürbisflaschen, ein aus Bambusrohr geflochtenes und mit Federn geschmücktes Körbchen, sowie Geweihe von Hirschen oder Antilopen. Letztere sind an der Wand befestigt: sie sollen der Sitz der Gottheiten von Wald und Jagd sein. Das kleine Körbchen ist an einem Pfosten der Hütte angebracht; in ihm sollen die besonderen Gottheiten der Stammesfamilie ihren Wohnsitz haben; zwei darunter befestigte Haselnußgerten versinnbilden deren Macht. Die Kürbisflaschen dienen als Behälter für Trinkopfer von Reisschnaps.[1]) Als Kleinodien, die sich von Geschlecht zu Geschlecht vererben, gelten ferner die reichen Schmucksachen aus Gold und Silber, die schweren Korallenketten und seidene Tücher, die von den Frauen bei den Tanzfeierlichkeiten getragen werden.

Auch was die Familienhütten an Einrichtung und Gerätschaften bergen, wie Körbe, Matten, Lanzen, Schilde, Pfeil und Bogen, die messingenen Koch- und Wassertöpfe, irdene Gefäße und Messingteller gilt als gemeinsames Familiengut.

[1]) s. Die Nongkrem = Puja, l. c.

Diesen gesamten Besitz nun hat die jeweilige Stammesmutter in Händen; sie ist die gesetzmäßige und alleinberechtigte Hüterin und Verwalterin desselben. Nichts kann ohne ihre Erlaubnis auch nur ausgeliehen werden. Keinen Teil weder der beweglichen noch unbeweglichen Familiengüter darf man ohne ihre Zustimmung veräußern. Zur Ausfertigung einer darauf bezüglichen rechtlichen Urkunde ist, da sie des Schreibens vielfach unkundig, ihr Fingerabdruck zu setzen. Verschenkt darf überhaupt nichts werden: das hieße die Stammesgottheiten beleidigen, indem man ihre Güter nicht schätzte und achtete, sondern als wertlos weitergäbe. Zur Strafe dafür würde der Stamm auch die übrigen Güter verlieren und dann in Armut und Verachtung dahinleben. Die einzelnen Glieder der Sippe könnten sich etwa als eine Art Sklaven (mrau) bei anderen Stammesfamilien zur Arbeit anwerben lassen. In ihren Verband aufnehmen dürfte sie aber keine von diesen, da sie nicht zu deren Sippe gehörten und die Stammesgötter dieser Familie das wiederum nicht dulden würden. Hat darum eine Stammesfamilie beispielsweise Reisfelder, die sie nicht bebaut und gerne ärmeren Anverwandten überlassen will, so muß sie wenigstens den geringsten Pachtzins dafür in Anrechnung bringen. Dieser besteht jährlich in einer Kürbisflasche voll Reisschnaps zu Ehren der Hausgottheiten, was einem Wert von etwa 70 Pfennigen entspricht.

Bevor die Stammesmutter zum Verkauf eines gemeinsamen Gutes ihr Jawort gibt, wird sie zuerst den Rat der übrigen Glieder der Sippe anhören. An und für sich sollte nach alter Stammessitte ebensowenig etwas verkauft wie verschenkt werden. Die Urahnen, welche die einzelnen Clans als Gottheiten verehren, haben, so heißt es, seit undenklichen Zeiten diesen ihren Bedarf an Feld und Wald zugeteilt, und sie sollen ihr unveräußerliches Stammgut (nongrim) bilden. Es aus der Hand lassen, hieße darum die Götter beleidigen. Das konnte jedoch nicht verhindern, daß einzelne durch Unglück oder Trägheit in Not gerieten und suchten einen Teil ihres Besitzes gegen einen jährlichen Zins oder den einmaligen gerade benötigten Betrag zu verpachten. Ban die pan, nennt man diese Art, wörtlich: zu kaufen bitten; es ist der Sinn der leihweisen

Überlassung darin enthalten. Ein Feld ist beispielsweise 300 Rs. wert. Man nimmt dafür 50 oder 100 Rs. entgegen, und der Gläubiger bleibt Eigentümer des Feldes bis das Geld zurückbezahlt wird. Diese Art des Kaufes kommt öfters vor. Manchmal gibt es auch Händler (nongkhaii) die aus derselben ihren Nutzen zu ziehen suchen. Sie überlassen das Feld zur weiteren Bebauung dem Schuldner gegen eine Abgabe in Naturalien von 50 bis 70% der Ernte. Nach wenigen Jahren ist dann das ganze Feld ihr Eigentum. Abgesehen von diesem Modus kommt es vor, daß die Leute anstatt das geliehene Geld zurückzahlen zu können, noch weitere Summen benötigen. Ist dann im angegebenen Falle der Gesamtbetrag von 300 Rs. gezahlt, so gilt der eigentliche Kauf als vollzogen; ban die lut, heißt man das; wörtlich: ganz, vollständig verkaufen. Eine Familiensippe, die auf solche Weise allmählich um ihren Grundbesitz gekommen ist, verfällt der Armut und Not. Es bleibt ihr nichts übrig, als sich anderweitig um Arbeit umzusehen, Land in Pacht zu nehmen oder auch die Kinder an Bessergestellte als eine Art Sklaven zu verkaufen. Werden für ein Kind im Alter von etwa 10 Jahren 40 Rs. bezahlt, so bleibt dasselbe in der Leibeigenschaft des Käufers bis das Geld zurückgegeben werden kann. Das ist nur selten der Fall. Außer Nahrung und der notwendigsten Kleidung wird jährlich nur eine Rupie als Lohn an der Kaufsumme abgerechnet; so gehört das Kind praktisch zeitlebens dem Käufer.

Es ist Pflicht der einzelnen Mitglieder einer Familiensippe, zusammenzuarbeiten, daß das Stammesgut erhalten bleibt und auch den nötigen Ertrag für den Unterhalt aller abwirft. Die Stammesmutter hat in erster Linie darüber zu wachen, daß die diesbezüglichen Sitten und Gebräuche gewahrt bleiben. Sie wird von allen hoch in Ehren gehalten. Gegen ihren Willen etwas tun, sie beleidigen, ihr Schimpfnamen geben oder sie gar schlagen, gilt als sang (tabu), ein schweres, unheilbringendes Verbrechen. Es ist eine grobe Sünde (pop) und eine überaus große Schande (sngewsih eh tam) für die ganze Sippe.[1]) So-

[1]) Als ähnliches Vergehen gilt auch: Stammesgüter im geheimen veräußern; Blutschande; Grabstätten auf gröbliche Weise verunehren; hl. Grundstücke oder Wälder in Benutzung nehmen.

lange ein Familienglied ein solches Verbrechen begangen und vor der Stammesmutter und den Ältesten der Sippe nicht Abbitte geleistet hat, etwa mit den Worten: Verzeihet mir, ich habe einen Fehler begangen (to map ia nga, nga leh bakla); solange auch das von den Familienältesten oder dem Opferpriester (lyngdoh) dafür bestimmte Sühneopfer in Form von Schweinen und Ziegen nicht dargebracht ist, gilt der sündige Teil als von der Familie und den Familienopfern ausgeschlossen. Aber selbst nach der Wiederzulassung bleibt noch immer ein gewisser Makel an ihm haften.

Pflicht der Stammesmutter ist es aber auch für die Bedürfnisse der Angehörigen ihrer Familiensippe in bezug auf Nahrung, Kleidung und dergl. Sorge zu tragen. Sie verteilt die Erträgnisse der Ernten nach dem Bedarf der einzelnen. Sie geht oder schickt zum Markte um dort zu tauschen, zu handeln, zu kaufen oder zu verkaufen. Sie führt die gemeinsame Kasse, und auch die männlichen Glieder der Sippe haben, wenn sie etwa einmal Reisschnaps trinken oder sich Kleider anschaffen wollen, das Geld von ihr zu erbitten. Da ist die Stammesmutter eher freigebig als knauserig. Überhaupt wird dieses Abhängigkeitsverhältnis von den Männern in keiner Weise als unwürdig oder beschämend empfunden. Das ist einmal so die matriarchalische Form und althergebrachter Brauch. Die Stellung der Männer in der Familiensippe ist trotzdem eine ansehnliche. Schon der Name, mit dem man sie benennt: Rangbah, Basan (Älteste, Ratgeber) hat einen ehrenvollen Klang. Ihnen obliegt vielfach die Arbeit in Feld und Wald und der Schutz der Familie; Pfeil und Bogen werden ihnen schon als Wiegengabe überreicht. In wichtigeren Familienangelegenheiten wird die Stammesmutter mit ihnen beratschlagen. Bei der Namenserteilung, Heirat, Totenfeier und Leichenverbrennung tritt die Stammesmutter fast ganz in den Hintergrund, ebenso bei Streitigkeiten und Gerichtsverhandlungen vor dem Häuptling (Doloi) oder König (S'iem). Sie ist zwar mit ihrem Rate immerhin von Einfluß, aber das äußere Auftreten, Handeln und Urteilfällen ist Sache der Männer. Die kleineren tagtäglichen Opfer in der Stammeshütte nimmt sie zwar vor; sie kann dieselben jedoch auch von ihren

Söhnen verrichten lassen. Bei größeren Opferfeierlichkeiten, welche von mehreren Familiensippen zugleich, von ganzen Dörfern oder auch einem der Khasi-Staaten dargebracht werden, treten jedoch nur die Männer als Opferpriester in Tätigkeit.

Was nun die Ehegatten der Stammesmutter und der weiblichen Angehörigen anbelangt, so werden sie zu der Familiensippe dieser Frauen in keiner Weise gerechnet. Für dieselben gelten sie nur als die Erzeuger. Sie haben bei ihrer eigenen Sippe Arbeit und Unterhalt, nehmen an deren Opfer und Beisetzungsstätte teil. Auf die Erziehung der Kinder, die ja ganz in den Stamm der Mutter hineingehören und an dessen Namen und Gütern sie teilnehmen, hat der Vater weiter keinen Einfluß. Aber für gewöhnlich auch keine weitere Verpflichtung, außer Frau und Kinder wären in Armut. Auch dann kommt die Sorge für sie erst an zweiter Stelle, nach derjenigen für die Angehörigen der eigenen Sippe. Trotzdem aber ist der Ehegatte in Ehren gehalten und wird von seiner Frau mit „Herr" (kynrad) angeredet. Ihm ungehörig gegenüberzutreten, würde als schimpflich betrachtet. Wo das Stammgut einer Sippe aufgelöst ist, oder christliche Sitte bereits eingeführt, lebt und arbeitet der Mann allerdings auch mit Frau und Kindern zusammen.

2. Heilige Grundstücke und Waldungen.

Einer besonderen Art von Grundbesitz begegnet man noch in den Khasi- und Jaintia-Bergen. Es sind dieses Grundstücke und Wälder, die als sang oder kyntang, als verboten, heilig gelten, so kyndêu sang, khlau kyntang, verbotene Felder, heilige Wälder. Man nennt sie auch in Verbindung mit dem Namen Gott z. B. khlau Blei, Götterwald, was einigermaßen den Schlüssel für Zweck und Bedeutung derselben bieten dürfte. Menschenhände sollen diese Art Besitztum nicht berühren; sie sind den Göttern heilig und dürfen höchstens in deren Dienst Verwendung finden.

Es ist nicht leicht, dem Ursprung und der Entstehung dieser Reservate nachzugehen. In bezug auf Grundstücke lassen sich immerhin einige Lösungen finden. So war es bei

der Gründung der kath. Missionsstation in dem an einem steilen Bergabhang gelegenen Dorfe Schella schwer, einen halbwegs geeigneten Platz zu finden, groß genug um auch nur eine kleine Wohnung darauf zu bauen. Endlich entdeckte der Missionär einen solchen etwas außerhalb des Dorfes. Da aber gab es eine neue Schwierigkeit. Der Platz galt als Verbrennungsplatz für die Toten und war darum sang. Die Geister der Toten würden jeden Eindringling schwer bestrafen. Es gelang schließlich die Leute zu bewegen ihre Toten anderswo zu verbrennen, schwieriger aber war es, solche zu finden, die bereit waren, an den Bauarbeiten mitzuhelfen. Selbst diejenigen, welche der Missionär schließlich hierzu bewegen konnte, litten noch stark unter der Furcht vor der Strafe der Götter, und fortgesetzt war der eine oder andere von ihnen aus Einbildung krank.

Bei ausgedehnteren Grundstücken mögen ab und zu die Schlangenverehrer (thlen) Erklärung dafür bieten, die in den Khasi-Bergen ihr Unwesen treiben.[1]) Wird ein solcher des Mordes überführt, den er im Dienste des Schlangengottes verübt hat, um diesem das Blut des Getöteten zu opfern, und will er sich von dessen Bann befreien, so bleibt ihm nichts anderes übrig, als sich all seiner beweglichen und unbeweglichen Habe zu entäußern. Letztere wird damit sang. Niemand wird es wagen die Felder und Gärten zu übernehmen, etwas darauf anzupflanzen oder eine Frucht davon zu berühren. So konnte in Cherrapoonjee (Tscherrapundschi) ein katholischer Eingeborener ein paar große Orangengärten in Besitz nehmen, die ein Thlen-Verehrer preisgegeben hatte, da ersterer an den Geisterspuk nicht glaubte.[2])

Bei all diesen Grundstücken, die als sang gelten, hält die Furcht vor der unnachsichtigen Strafe der Götter einen jeden Besitzer von der Bebauung desselben ab. Tut es ein anderer, so wird er ihn auch nicht daran hindern, weil er die Rache der beleidigten Gottheit überläßt.

Wie sich gerade aus dem erwähnten Falle ergibt, sind die

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[1]) Im Stromtal des Brahmaputra, S. 76 ff.

[2]) Ebendas. S. 82.

Heiden den zum Christentum übergetretenen Volksgenossen gegenüber im Nachteil. Letztere fühlen sich an die heidnischen Gesetze nicht mehr gebunden, wenigstens soweit ihnen religiöse Motive zugrunde liegen, und teilen in vielen Dingen deren Befürchtungen nicht. Verarmte Khasi-Christen finden so mitunter eine Gelegenheit, zu Grund und Boden zu kommen, in Fällen, wo es dem in seinen animistischen Anschauungen befangenen Khasi nicht möglich wäre.

Doch gibt es auch unter letzteren unrühmliche Ausnahmen. In Nongbah, einem größeren Dorfe der Jaintia-Berge mit etwa 400 Hütten — daher auch der Name, der großes Dorf bedeutet — sah ein Heide vor wenigen Jahren mit neidischen Augen, wie so manches Stück brachliegenden Götterfeldes sich unter den Händen von Christen in erträgnisreiche Gebiete verwandelte. Der Wunsch wurde in ihm wach, es diesen gleich zu tun. Wenn er sich nun auch nicht mehr allzuviel vor seinen Gottheiten fürchtete, so mußte er doch mit dem Zorn und der Rache seiner Stammesgenossen rechnen, wenn er als Heide einen derartigen Schritt wagte. Gegen Christen getraute man sich doch nicht leicht etwas zu tun. Kurzer Hand trat er darum zur methodistischen Religion über und kam bei dem englischen Regierungsbeamten in Jowai (Dschowai), dem Hauptorte der Jaintia-Berge, um Überlassung eines entsprechenden Stückes Land ein. Nach dem Aufstand der Synteng im Jahre 1862 hat die englische Regierung das ganze Gebiet der Jaintia-Berge als Regierungsland erklärt. Für alles freiliegende Land beansprucht sie darum auch die Vergebung, gewöhnlich in langjährigem Pacht. Da sie auf diese Weise Abgaben dafür erhält, ist es an sich in ihrem Interesse gelegen, wenn sich Bewerber melden. In dem gegebenen Falle wurde der Pachtbrief ausgestellt, und übers Jahr war aus dem bisher nutzlosen Land ein üppiges Reisfeld geworden. Nun da der Pächter seiner Sache sicher war, drehte er den Methodisten den Rücken, um wieder Heide zu sein und an den heidnischen Opfern teilzunehmen. Aber da kam er schlecht an. Die Heiden waren empört über ein solches Spiel und brachten ernste Beschwerden vor den englischen Regierungsbeamten. Dieser bestimmte daraufhin, daß in Zukunft kein derartiges Grundstück mehr

verpachtet werden solle, außer nach Vorlegung der schriftlichen Erklärung des Häuptlings und der Dorfältesten, daß sie dagegen keine Einwendung machten. Der gewinnsüchtige Pächter des erwähnten Götterlandes aber verfiel der allgemeinen Verachtung.

Was die heiligen Wälder anbelangt, die sich oft malerisch vom obersten Gipfel eines Berges den Abhang hinanziehen und mit knorrigen Eichen und buntfarbigen Rhododendren bewachsen sind, so darf dort kein Baum gefällt werden, höchstens kann man etwa abgefallenes, vom Sturme herabgerissenes oder schon abgestorbenes Holz mitnehmen. Die Geister des Waldes werden als strafende Gottheiten jeden Frevel ahnden. Tiger und Leoparden, Affen, Bären und Schlangen erfreuen sich darum hier eines ungestörteren Daseins. Der einzige Fall, in dem etwa in diesen Götterhainen Holz geschlagen werden darf, ist zu den religiösen Verbrennungsfeierlichkeiten der Toten. Bei der Sitte der Khasi, oft weite Strecken anzuzünden, ungeachtet des jungen Baumwuchses, der sich darauf befindet, um so durch die Asche von Gräsern, von Baum und Strauch den Boden zu düngen und für das eine oder andere Jahr ein Kartoffelfeld anzulegen, Bergreis, Hirse, oder sonst etwas anzubauen und das Feld dann wieder brach liegen zu lassen, ist dieses zum mindesten eine kluge Vorsichtsmaßregel, da es sonst gegebenen Falls gar einmal an Verbrennungsholz für die Toten mangeln könnte. (Fortsetzung folgt).

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139 T. 299 omitted

Familienbesitz und Mutterrecht.

Von C. Becker S. D. S., Würzburg.

(Fortsetzung).

Gurdon sagt,[1]) daß diese heiligen Haine jeweils Eigentum eines Dorfes seien. Das trifft nicht immer zu, wie der folgende Fall dartun soll, den ich auch deshalb erzähle, weil er einen tieferen Einblick in die ganzen diesbezüglichen Stammesgegewohnheiten gewährt.

Vor einigen Dezennien war ein protestantisch gewordener Khasi, U Jacob Shai mit Namen, bei dem englischen Regierungsbeamten in Jowai als Schreiber angestellt. Um neben dem geringen Gehalt seiner Familie ein besseres Auskommen zu sichern, gelüstete ihn auch nach Grundbesitz. Aus Jongushen (Dschonguschen) im Wargebiete gebürtig erinnerte er sich, daß er allenfalls in dem benachbarten Dorfe Syndai bei der Familiensippe der Umliang sein Ziel erreichen könnte. So machte er sich eines Tages auf den Weg dorthin. Nach den üblichen Begrüßungen, der Bewirtung mit Wasserpfeife und Betelnuß und der Unterhaltung über allerhand gleichgültige Dinge rückte er mit seinem Anliegen heraus. „Ich kenne", sagte er in der höflichen Sprache auch dieser einfachen Naturmenschen, „ich kenne die Güte und den guten Namen eures Stammes und eurer Stammesältesten; überall seid ihr anderen gerne zu Hilfe gekommen und habt dadurch der ganzen Sippe, euren Stammesgöttinnen und Stammesgöttern, euren Ahnen und Urahnen Ehre und Ruhm bereitet. Ihr seid beglückt mit Enkeln und Urenkeln. Dieses euer Glück freut mich und ich wünsche, daß die Götter und Göttinnen eurem Stamme gütig gestimmt seien für alle Zeiten. Deshalb wage ich es zu euch zu kommen und euch eine Bitte vorzutragen, nur eine Bitte habe ich: nga don tang kawei ka jingkyrpad! Ich brauche nämlich ein Stück Land, damit ich meinen Enkeln und Enkelinnen etwas zu essen geben kann. Mein eigenes Feld reicht nicht aus für so viele Köpfe. Da habe ich bemerkt, daß hier ein

[1]) The Khasis, p. 87.

Stück Wald unbenutzt liegt. Ich habe nachgefragt, wem es gehöre und die Dorfältesten sagten mir, es sei Eigentum des berühmten Familienstammes der Umliang. Ich tue euch somit die Ehre an und bitte euch: Kann ich diesen Wald nach Stammesgesetz und Sitte erhalten?"

Gegenfragen von seiten der Stammesmutter und Familienältesten folgten auf diese Rede. Endlich ist ihnen klar, welches Stück gemeint ist. „Das ist ja der khlau sang, der Götterwald," riefen sie aus. „Gewiß der gehört zu unserem Stammeseigentum, aber wie ihr ja selber wißt, können wir ihn weder verpachten noch verkaufen. Wir können und dürfen nicht einmal sagen, bau das Land an. Wir können euch aber auch nicht daran hindern, es zu tun oder es euch verbieten. Das Grundstück ist den Göttern geschenkt, sie werden sich an jedem rächen, der es ihrem Kulte entzieht; sie werden selbst darüber wachen, daß sich keiner daran vergreift."

Diese Antwort genügte dem U Shai vollständig. Vor den Strafen der Waldgötter fürchtete er sich nicht; er hatte sich nur vergewissern wollen, ob die Familiensippe ihm keine Schwierigkeiten in den Weg legen oder gar bei der englischen Regierung Einspruch erheben würde. Bald war der Wald gerodet. Das Holz und die Sträucher, die hohen Gräser und Schlingpflanzen verwandelte das Feuer in Asche; Orangen und Zitronen, Ananas und Bananen wurden angepflanzt und schon nach wenigen Jahren warf das Land für den Erlös der Früchte den nach dortigen Verhältnissen namhaften Betrag von 800 bis 1000 Rs. im Jahre ab.

Die Familiensippe der Umliang war ihrem heimatlichen Glauben noch treu ergeben. Wie die übrigen Heiden, so beobachtete auch sie das Unterfangen des U Shai mit scheuer Furcht und Beklemmung. Sie glaubten die Götter müßten sich rühren und der Wald würde den Frevler mit seinen Angehörigen verschlingen. Nichts davon geschah. Es konnte nicht ausbleiben, daß auf diese Weise allmählich auch unter den Heiden der Glauben an ihre Götter und heimischen Sitten einen Stoß erlitt und mancher unter ihnen zu der Anschauung überging, das dürften sie auch machen.

Ein so fortschrittlicher gesinnter junger Khasi heiratete

mit der Zeit in die Familiensippe der Umliang hinein. 40 Jahre waren unterdessen schon vergangen. Der alte Vater U Shai war bereits tot, das von ihm bepflanzte Grundstück war, da nicht eigentliches Stammesgut, nach den besonderen Gebräuchen der War nicht an die jüngste Tochter allein, sondern an seinen Sohn Jacob U Shai und dessen Schwestern gemeinsam übergegangen. Sie hatten seinerzeit dem Vater noch in der Ausrodung des Waldes geholfen. Die Geschwister waren katholisch. Der erwähnte junge Mann strengte nun vor wenigen Jahren bei dem englischen Regierungsbeamten in Jowai gegen die Geschwister gerichtliche Klage an: der von Jacob U Shai urbar gemachte und in einen Obstgarten verwandelte Wald sei widerrechtlich von diesem angeeignet worden; dieser sei Eigentum des Stammes seiner Frau; er fordere den einen Teil des Grundstückes für die Familie Umliang zurück; für den anderen müsse ein entsprechender jährlicher Pachtzins gezahlt werden.

Die Geschwister Shai konnten dagegen geltend machen, daß die Angelegenheit verjährt sei. Nach Stammessitte tritt die Verjährung bei geringeren Werten nach 10, bei größeren aber nach 30 Jahren ein. Außerdem sprach jedoch vor allem für sie, daß das fragliche Grundstück khlau sang, Götterwald sei und die Familie Umliang dafür nichts fordern könne. Hierzu fehlte es den Geschwistern Shai an Zeugen, während die Umliang für ihre einfache Aussage des Besitzrechtes mehrere heidnischen Zeugen aufbrachten. Der Prozeß zog sich in die Länge. Er wurde schließlich zu Ungunsten der Geschwister Shai entschieden und diese des Besitzes für verlustig erklärt. Der Misssionär P. Benedikt Neher nahm sich nun um die Sache an. Er brachte über 100 Zeugen, alle Stammesmütter und Dorfälteste zusammen, die bereit waren, zu schwören, daß jenes Grundstück seit Menschengedenken Götterwald gewesen sei. Der englische Richter, dem er dieses mitteilte, meinte, das sei Grund die Revision und Änderung des Urteils zu beantragen, die Geschwister Shai hatten jedoch durch den vorherigen Prozeß schon ihr ganzes Geld an Winkeladvokaten verloren und nicht mehr den Mut, nochmals damit anzufangen. Mit orientalischem Gleichmut fanden sie sich in den Verlust hinein und die Sache blieb dabei.

Der Fall ist jedenfalls lehrreich, insofern er zeigt, daß sich sogenannte heilige Wälder auch im Besitze einzelner Familiensippen befinden; wie sie von diesen gewertet sind, solange sie ihren animistischen Anschauungen treu bleiben und wie sie endlich ihr Besitzrecht darauf selbst nach Jahren noch geltend machen können.

3. Erbrechtliche Gebräuche.

Stirbt die Stammesmutter, so tritt bei den Khasi jeweils die jüngste Tochter derselben in das Erbe ein, dann wieder die jüngste von dieser und so fort. Kann die jüngste Tochter aus irgendeinem Grunde den Besitz nicht übernehmen, so folgt ihre nächstjüngste Schwester. Sind überhaupt keine Mädchen vorhanden, sondern nur Söhne, so geht die Erbschaft an die jüngste Tochter der Schwester der verstorbenen Stammesmutter über. Fehlt es auch an solchen Schwestern oder an Töchtern von diesen, dann kommt die nächste jüngste weibliche Verwandte an die Reihe. Wohnte dieselbe bisher nicht in der Familiensippe der Verstorbenen, so muß sie zuerst wenigstens 3 Monate lang in der Hütte der Stammesmutter zubringen, um in deren Rechte und Pflichten eintreten zu können. In einem solchen Falle wird jedoch gewöhnlich die Nachfolgerin im Amte schon vorher von der Stammesmutter in ihre Hütte aufgenommen und auf die spätere Tätigkeit vorbereitet. Es kann vorkommen, daß die Nachfolgerin noch nicht einmal 13 Jahre alt, somit auch noch nicht volljährig und heiratsfähig ist. In diesem Falle wird ihre Mutter oder eine Schwester der verstorbenen Stammesmutter die Verwaltung und den Haushalt bis zur Volljährigkeit der Erbin führen. Selbst als Kind führt aber dann die letztere schon den Ehrennamen Mutter, man nennt sie kmie nah oder kmie san.

Der große Grundsatz, welcher alle erbrechtlichen Bestimmungen beherrscht, ist somit, daß die Söhne und Männer von allem Familienbesitz ausgeschlossen sind und diese immer nur auf die Mädchen, die Frauenwelt, übergeht. Wie aber, wenn sich nun ein Bursche oder Mann selbst einen Besitz schafft oder erwirbt? Der Fall ist denkbar und kommt auch

vor. Wie erwähnt, muß ein jeder an den Arbeiten in der eigenen Familiensippe mithelfen, um Anspruch auf Versorgung aus dem gemeinsamen Besitz zu haben. Zwischen Aussaat des Reises und der Ernte und auch etwaigen anderen gemeinsamen Arbeiten liegen jedoch mancherlei Tage und Wochen. Anstatt diese nun mit Pfeilschießen, auf die Jagd gehen oder dem beliebten shong kai, herumhocken zum Vergnügen, zu verbringen, kann sich ein junger Mann noch Geld verdienen mit Holzfällen für andere und Lastentragen für eingeborene Händler oder auch Europäer, da ja in den Bergen fast alles auf dem Rücken herbeigetragen werden muß. Er kann auch sonstige Feld- und Gartenarbeiten gegen Bezahlung für andere außerhalb seiner Sippe verrichten oder einen kleinen Handel treiben, indem er auf einem Markte Waren wie etwa getrocknete Fische, Betelnüsse, Pfefferblätter u. dergl. kauft, sie ein paar Tagereisen weit auf Märkte ins Innere der Berge trägt, wo es dieselben sonst nicht gibt, um sie dort mit einem Gewinn wieder zu verkaufen. Was der Mann auf diese Weise verdient, ist sein Eigentum und rechnet nicht zum Stammesgut. Ein fleißiger Mensch kann sich so allmählich soviel Geld verdienen, um ein Reisfeld zu pachten. Durch Verkauf des Überschusses der Ernte wird er es schließlich soweit bringen, daß es selbst zum Kaufe eines Reisfeldes reicht, das ebenfalls sein Eigentum ist. Stirbt nun ein solcher Mann unverheiratet, so geht das Erbe an seine Mutter über. Ist er verheiratet, dann kann er damit, wenn er will, auch ein Stammesgut für seine vielleicht arme und besitzlose Familie begründen. Das Gut wird dann auf die jüngste Tochter übergehen und sich nach den üblichen Gewohnheitsrechten weiter vererben. So kehrt schließlich doch alles wieder in die Hände der Frauen zurück.

Das folgende Beispiel möge die diesbezüglichen Gewohnheiten erläutern und klarer herausschälen, wenn es auch gerade kein sehr erfreuliches Licht wirft auf die Mißhelligkeiten, die mitunter in das Khasi-Volk hineingetragen werden, infolge des Zwiespaltes der verschiedenen christlichen Religionen, welche sich um dessen Bekehrung bemühen.

In dem Dorfe Kyndongtupér hatte sich ein Mann allmählich selbst einen Besitz erworben mit 15 Ochsen und Kühen.

einer ordentlichen Hütte nebst Einrichtung und 3 schönen Reisfeldern, groß genug, um eine Familiensippe zu ernähren. Nach seinem Tode galt die jüngste Tochter seiner Schwester mit Namen Ka Pliang Shai Syndür, als die in Betracht kommende Erbin. Dieselbe war noch unmündig und ihre Mutter bereits gestorben. Infolgedessen übernahm eine Schwester dieser Mutter namens Ka Pliang Shai[1]), das Erbe in Verwaltung und wohnte mit der kleinen Erbin in der Stammeshütte zusammen. Es war kein Zweifel, daß letztere nach erreichter Volljährigkeit das ganze Besitztum antreten werde. Mit der Zeit hielt ein junger Katholik, U Salomon Tarüh, um die Hand der Syndür an. Diese faßte Neigung zu demselben und war [illegible] Geschwister der Syndür, ein Bruder und eine Schwester, welche beide der methodistischen Kirche angehörten, in Wut. Trotz aller Anfeindungen blieb das Mädchen bei seinem Entschlusse, heiratete den Tarüh und wurde katholisch. Vor dem Zorne der Geschwister mußte das junge Ehepaar aus der Stammeshütte flüchten. Erstere suchten die Schwester enterben zu lassen, aber die beteiligten Anverwandten wollten davon nichts wissen. Vor Zorn ließen sie sich zu etwas hinreißen, was selbst in den Augen der Heiden als Frevel galt: Sie trieben das Vieh heimlich fort und verkauften es; ebenso räumten sie die Stammeshütte aus und verkauften selbst 2 Reisfelder. Auf die Klage bei den zuständigen Gerichten hin erhielt die Syndür endlich ihr Recht zugesprochen; sie konnte die Stammeshütte beziehen und den unterdessen allerdings stark verminderten Familienbesitz übernehmen.

Obgleich die zum Christentum übergetretenen Khasi sich ihrerseits nicht an die Gesetze der Erbfolge zu binden brauchten und dieses auch von heidnischen Khasi vielfach anerkannt würde, wurde von seiten der katholischen Kirche jedenfalls keinerlei Hindernis für sie in den Weg gelegt, diesbezüglich bei den heimatlichen Stammessitten zu bleiben. Die katholischen Khasi selbst wollen für gewöhnlich jedoch davon nicht ab-

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[1]) Pan und Syndür sind Khasi-Namen; Pliang shai ist der Name des Geschlechtes, Clan; wörtliche Bedeutung: glänzender Teller.

weichen: dazu steckt ihnen das zähe Festhalten an dem Althergebrachten und die Achtung davor doch zu sehr im Blut. Hiervon nur ein paar Beispiele.

In Nongbah starb die katholische Stammesmutter ka Johanna Sunah, Frau des U Andreas Tubru, ohne weibliche Nachkommen zu hinterlassen. Man hätte es verstanden, wenn der einzige Sohn U Johannes Sunah, nach dem anderwärts herrschenden Brauch der Christen, das beträchtliche Erbe an Reisfeldern, Wald und Hütte für sich in Anspruch genommen hätte. Weder von seiten der Behörden noch der Anverwandten wäre ein ernstlicher Widerspruch zu erwarten gewesen. Man sprach dem Johannes auch in diesem Sinne zu, aber vergeblich. Er konnte das innere Widerstreben nicht bemeistern, einen zeitlichen Vorteils wegen gegen alte Stammesgewohnheiten zu handeln. Seine einfache Antwort lautete: „Wenn ich ein guter Katholik bin, dann wird Gott mich auch sonst wieder segnen, ohne daß ich gegen unsere alten Bräuche verstoße." Und dabei blieb es. Das ganze Besitztum ging an die jüngste Tochter der Schwester der Verstorbenen über; dieser Familienzweig war noch ganz heidnisch. Durch Fleiß und Sparsamkeit brachte es übrigens Johannes trotzdem mit der Zeit zu einem eigenen Haushalte mit einem ganz ordentlichen Grundbesitz.

Selbst von Gütern, die sie schon besitzen, entäußern sich katholische Khasi eben so leicht wieder, wenn die Stammessitte es erheischt. Es traf sich vor einigen Jahren unglücklicherweise, daß sowohl die Frau des Hauptlehrers der katholischen Khasi-Volksschule in Shillong, U Thomas Byllun, als auch die des Koches der dortigen Missionsstation, U Sebastian Shiah, innerhalb kurzer Frist vom Tode hingerafft wurde. Beide Männer hatten sich durch Arbeitsamkeit ein ganz hübsches Anwesen erworben. Nach Khasirecht hatten sie keinen weiteren Anspruch auf ihre noch kleinen Kinder. Diese gehörten zur Sippe ihrer verstorbenen Frau und mußten von dieser übernommen und aufgezogen werden. Nach Khasirecht ging auch das von ihnen erworbene Besitztum an die jüngste Tochter über. Bereitwillig überließ jeder von ihnen, Kinder und interimistische Verwaltung der Güter den Anverwandten der verstorbenen Frau, nahm die wenigen Kleider und rein per-

sönliche Habe mit sich und suchte anderwärts in dem gemieteten Teil einer Hütte allein wieder von vorne anzufangen. Auf meine Frage, ob ihnen denn das nicht sehr hart ankomme, antworteten sie mit einer ruhigen Selbstverständlichkeit: „Das ist ja doch so Brauch bei uns Khasi."

Es ist nicht nötig, eigens hervorzuheben, daß eine solche Achtung vor den Stammessitten nur von günstigem Eindruck auch auf die noch heidnischen Khasi ist.

Gurdon sagt einmal[1]), daß die Stammesmutter beim Religionswechsel, also beispielsweise beim Übertritt zum Christentum, ihrer Stellung in der Familie verlustig geht und die jüngste Tochter an ihren Platz tritt. An sich hat das seine Berechtigung darin, daß sie ja dann nicht mehr zur Religion gehört und die üblichen Familienopfer nicht weiterhin darbringen kann. Ihrer ganzen Stellung nach als Hüterin der ererbten Religion und Sitte, ist es nicht allzu häufig, daß eine solche Frau mit dem Ahnenkulte bricht. Kommt dieses vor, so ist damit jedoch noch nicht von selbst der Verlust des gesamten Besitzes für sie gegeben. Es hängt wesentlich von der Stellungnahme der übrigen Glieder der Familiensippe ab. Sind diese noch alles strenge eingefleischte Heiden, die vom Christentum durchaus nichts wissen wollen, so können sie allerdings die Stammesmutter zum Verzicht zwingen. Die Mißachtung vor derselben ist jedoch häufig so groß, daß entweder die ganze Sippe oder wenigstens ein Teil davon sich zu dem gleichen Schritt des Religionswechsels mit der Stammesmutter entschließt. Der noch heidnisch verbleibende Teil wird dann allenfalls eine Teilung des Familienbesitzes beantragen. Eine solche ist übrigens auch in anderen Fällen möglich.

4. Teilung des Familiengutes.

Wenn auch selten, so kann das Wohl und Wehe einer Familiensippe es doch mitunter erfordern, daß eine Familiensippe sich in zwei Clans scheidet und damit auch eine Teilung der gemeinsamen Güter vornimmt. Grund hierfür ist, wenn das Geschlecht zu groß wird; wenn sich die Ältesten im Fami-

[1]) The Khasis, p. 88.

lienrate nicht mehr einig werden und Haß und Rache alles zu vernichten droht; wenn ein Teil des Clans in gewalttätiger Weise die besseren Felder an sich reißen will oder den geernteten Reis nicht für den gemeinsamen Bedarf abliefert; wenn ein Zweig durch falschen Schwur, Blutschande, Rache, Betrug, oder sonstige schwere Vergehen der ganzen Sippe Unehre und Schande zugefügt hat. Ausgeschlossen vom Clan wird in solchen Fällen der schuldige Teil nur, wenn er hartnäckig und verstockt bleibt. Bringt er aber die Bitte um Verzeihung über die Lippen und beteiligt sich an dem Sühneopfer, so wird die Verzeihung nicht verweigert. Eine gewisse innere Spannung und Unstimmigkeit bleibt trotzdem oft bestehen.

Bei dem Übertritt zu einer anderen Religion kommt es vor allem darauf an, wie die Stammesmutter und auch die Familienältesten der betreffenden Religion gesinnt sind. Dann aber auch, wer den Religionswechsel vollziehen will. Sind es nur Brüder der Stammesmutter, Söhne, Neffen oder Enkel, so ist eine Teilung ausgeschlossen, denn die Männer sind ja nicht erbberechtigt. Kommt aber die jüngste oder zweitjüngste Tochter, oder auch die Schwester der Stammesmutter in Betracht, so kann eine Teilung vorgenommen werden. Eine Stammesmutter hängt doch zu sehr an ihrem Kinde oder ihrer nächsten Blutsverwandten, als daß sie diese ganz von sich stoßen würde, außer sie wäre etwa gegen die in Frage kommende Religion vollständig eingenommen und verhetzt. Trifft das im einzelnen Falle zu, so wird sich die betreffende Erbin es doch noch überlegen, ob es nicht ratsamer ist, mit dem Religionswechsel abzuwarten bis die Stammesmutter die Augen geschlossen und sie dann freieres Spiel hat. Es kann dann eintreten, was schon am Schlusse des vorhergehenden Abschnittes erwähnt wurde.

Sind nach wochenlangen Beratungen alle einschlägigen Vorfragen erledigt, dann werden die getroffenen Vereinbarungen endlich unter dem üblichen Zeremoniell vollzogen. Es wurde weiter oben erwähnt, welche Gerätschaften sich für den religiösen Kult in der Hütte der Stammesmutter befinden. Das aus Bambusrohr geflochtene Körbchen, welches als besonderer Sitz der vergötterten Ahnen des Clan gilt, wird nicht

geteilt. Es wird ein weiteres ebensolches Körbchen hergestellt. Durch Opfer von Ziegen und Schweinen werden dann diese Gottheiten gebeten, daß ein Teil von ihnen zum Schutze der neu errichteten Sippe Wohnung in diesem Körbchen nehmen möge. Können die Opferpriester durch das Orakel aus den Eingeweiden der Tiere und Eierwerfen das Einverständnis der verstorbenen Geister mit der Teilung melden, so wird dieses Körbchen in der neuen Stammeshütte angebracht. Unter weiteren Opfern wird an einem anderen Tage dann eine der beiden Haselnußruten für die neue Hütte abgenommen. Jeder der beiden getrennten Teile muß sich zu der alten Rute selbst noch eine neue hinzuverschaffen. Ebenso werden auch die vorhandenen Opfergeräte, wie Reiskörbchen, Matten und Kürbisflaschen geteilt. Mit dieser Feier gelten die getroffenen Vereinbarungen über die Teilung des sonstigen Besitzes endgültig als zu Recht bestehend. Jeder Teil geht nun unabhängig vom anderen seine eigenen Wege. Gewisse Freundschafts- und Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse bleiben wohl weiterhin bestehen; jedoch ist das Ehehindernis, welches sonst die Heirat zwischen Angehörigen der gleichen Familiensippe ohne Rücksicht auf den Grad der Verwandtschaft einfachhin unmöglich macht, nicht mehr vorhanden.

Kann beim Übertritt eines Teiles der Stammesangehörigen zur christlichen Religion die Teilung der Güter rechtlich vollzogen werden, so ist es besser auf ihr zu bestehen. Die christlich gewordenen Glieder sind so leichter vor Benachteiligung geschützt. Selbst wenn sie einen Teil der Felder für sich in getrennte Bewirtschaftung nähmen, könnte die heidnisch gebliebene Sippe diesen nach Jahren wieder zurück verlangen. Feindschaft, Haß und Rache wären dann die Folgen. Ohne die formelle Feier, verbunden mit den erwähnten Opfern, erkennt der Khasi eine Teilung nicht als rechtskräftig an. Da Christen an einer solchen Opferfeier sich nicht beteiligen können, bleibt nichts anderes übrig, als dieses Zeremoniell vornehmen zu lassen, solange die Taufbewerber noch Katechumenen sind. Bevor sie dann durch die Taufe in die Kirche aufgenommen werden, müssen die in der Stammeshütte angebrachten heidnischen Kultgegenstände entfernt werden. „Zu

dieser hochwichtigen Feier", so erzählt einmal der Missionär des Synteng-Gebietes P. Benedikt Neher S. D. S., „ging ich, wenn es mir möglich war, gewöhnlich selbst oder schickte eine europäische Ordensschwester. Dadurch gewann der Akt viel mehr an Feierlichkeit und wirkte mächtig auf Heiden und Katechumenen ein. Das Götterkörbchen, die zwei Stäbe, die Kürbisflaschen und andere Kultgeräte wurden auf einen freien Platz vor die Hütte getragen, auf ein Häufchen Bambusrohr und Holz gelegt und dann angezündet. Die Heiden standen in ehrfurchtsvoller Entfernung zagend und zitternd dabei und erwarteten, die Götter würden sich rächen und mich mit Feuer vom Himmel vernichten. Aber nichts von allem geschah und enttäuscht und nachdenklich kehrten sie in ihre Hütten zurück. Die Stammeshütte wurde dann gesegnet und mit geweihtem Wasser besprengt."

Im allgemeinen geht das Bestreben der christlichen Religionen darauf hinaus ihre Angehörigen in einem von den heidnischen Stammesgenossen getrennten Dorfe anzusiedeln und zwar so, daß die einzelnen Familiensippen möglichst beisammen bleiben. Der christliche Brauch, daß Mann, Frau und Kinder dann in einer Familie beisammen wohnen, wird dabei durchzuführen gesucht, was den überlieferten Gewohnheiten gegenüber allerdings auch nicht immer ohne Schwierigkeiten abgeht.

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101 *Note on the Khasis, Syntengs, and allied Tribes, inhabiting the Khasi and Jaintia Hills District in Assam.—By* MAJOR P. R. T. GURDON, *Superintendent of Ethnography in Assam.* (With plates III—IV).

[Read 3rd August, 1904.]

142 1. *Physical characteristics.*—The men are seldom tall; they are generally well made, and possess great strength of limb,—of leg in particular. Their features show a resemblance to those of the Japanese; their complexions are fair, noses flat, lips thick, and eyes very frequently obliquely set. The women are good-looking, of a buxom type, and are cheerful and pleasant-mannered. Children are sometimes [276] exceedingly pretty. Khasis are inveterate chewers of *pán*,—both men, [205] women, and children; the distances from place to place being measured [302] by the number of betel-nuts that can be chewed on the journey. The hair of the males is shaved above the forehead pretty high up, and the remainder is gathered into a knot at the back of the head. Very few 291 Khasis have much hair about the face. Both Khasis and Syntengs wear the sleeveless coat (*jymphong*) loin-cloth, *jain slieng* (a kind of

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291 small kilt), and a cap which is peaked in front and which comes down well over the ears, called (*ka tupia shkor*) ear cap. The dress of the Khasi females is somewhat different from that of the Synteng, the former wears a striped cloth tied round the waist, hanging down to the knees, and another cloth, with a fringed border, knotted on both the shoulders to cover the bust and a narrow cloth, called *ka jympien*, to serve the purpose of under-clothing. A cloth knotted in front is also worn like a cloak over shoulders. The Synteng woman wears a cloth smoothed round the body fastened above the bust and drooping down to the ankles. Another cloth is thrown over the shoulders, and crossed in front. Both Khasi and Synteng women wear a cloth tied over the head, called *ka tap mohkhlieh*. Up-to-date Khasi males wear knicker-
292 bockers, stockings, and boots, and females chemises. On festive occasions, both Khasis and Syntengs, males and females, wear expensive silks, with earrings of gold or silver. There is a special dancing-dress of
301 elaborate pattern: The women at festivals wear a circlet of silver with a spear-head ornament behind, rising 4 or 5 inches from the back of the head. Large coral beads are much valued, and necklaces of alternate beads of coral and gold, and sometimes of coral alone, are worn by the chiefs and their principal followers. Such necklaces are worn by
262 women also on *gala* occasions. The staple diet of both Khasis and Syntengs is rice and dried fish. They are, however, fond of all kinds of meat, especially pork. Some of the Syntengs abstain from beef,
[177] owing no doubt to Hindu influences. Neither Khasis nor Syntengs eat dog, which is partaken of with zest by the Naga and the Garo tribes,—this is owing to the dog being considered by the Khasis to be the friend of man. Neither Khasis nor Syntengs use milk, the latter being thought by them to be an excrement. Neither Khasis nor Syntengs
411 tattoo. The weapons of both Khasis and Syntengs are bows and arrows, swords and shields. The national game of the Khasis is archery, regarding which a detailed description will be found in paragraph 10.

The people live in regular villages on fixed sites which have not
361 changed for generations,—and they appear to be much attached to these sites, where, as a rule, the family tombs are standing. The houses are
342 built in the shape of a shell, the houses being divided into three compartments,—the *Shyngkup*, or porch, where odds and ends, and sometimes fowls, are kept; *nengpei*, or centre room, which is used for cooking and sitting in; and *rumpei*, or inner room, where the people sleep. The houses are low, with grass roofs reaching nearly to the ground, the beams are of hewn timber, the walls are of either planks roughly hewn or of reeds or split bamboos plastered with clay. The Khasis' houses generally have boarded floors raised some feet from the ground level,

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—the *Shyngkup*, or porch, being flush with the ground. The *nengpei*, or 342
centre room, is approached by a flight of steps. There are no windows, except one, which is bored on one side to admit light and air,—this is called the *pongshai*. Both Khasis and Syntengs, like other Indo-Chinese 524
races, are much addicted to gambling, and drinking to excess is a 273
national vice. Christianity has, through the agency of the Welsh Cal- 797
vinistic Mission, gained a very striking extension, and may be said in- 177
deed to be leavening the whole nation. Schools are numerous, and are pretty well attended by girls as well as boys. The Christians, and those who have come under the influence of Christianity, have adopted a high standard of comfort, and their houses resemble English cottages more nearly than the huts with which one is familiar in India.

Agriculture.—The Khasis do not use the plough; they cultivate their 241
fields with a peculiar-shaped hoe, or *mokkhiew*. They cultivate rice in the valleys, the rice being sown broadcast and the fields irrigated often after considerable labour. They also cultivate hill rice on the uplands, which they sow broadcast. The potato, which was introduced into the [177]
Khasi Hills by Mr. David Scott about the [439]
year 1830,[1] is extensively cultivated and forms one of the principal articles of export. Job's-tears (*Coix lachryma*), several kinds of millet, Indian-corn, the *Sohphlang* (*Flemingia vestita*), are also largely cultivated. The valleys on the 245
southern slopes of the hills have extensive orange groves, the oranges, especially those grown in the neighbourhood of Shella, being famous for their quality. The betel, vine, and areca nut are also largely grown on the southern side of the hills and in the low valleys, these plantations being irrigated by elaborate systems of aqueducts. The leaf of the bay tree (*'latyrpad*) is collected, and is exported to the Sylhet plains. The [439]
Syntengs differ from the Khasis, in that they make use of the plough. Both Khasis and Syntengs are industrious cultivators, and they possess a certain rough and ready knowledge of the uses of manure. A more detailed description of agriculture in these hills will be given in the monograph.

[1] Khasi and Jaintia Hills Administration Report for 1875-76 by Colonel Bivar.

2. *Matriarchal customs and law of inheritance of property.*—The 611
mother is the head of the house, and is both owner and the custodian of 428
the family property as long as she lives. Males can own no property amongst either Khasis or Syntengs except self-acquired property. On the death of the mother, in the case of the Khasis, the family property passes to the youngest daughter. According to some authorities, however, the property would in practice be divided amongst all the surviving daughters. Failing daughters, the property passes to the youngest niece, and failing a niece, to the youngest female cousin. The same

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611 custom prevails amongst the Syntengs. Inheritance to the post of Siem
428 (or chief) also passes through the female line, there being special customs of inheritance for each of the different chiefships.

3. The Khasis are divided into clans, or *kur*. These clans are
614 strictly exogamous. Some of these clans derive their names from animals, insects, trees or fish,—*e.g.*, the *tham* clan, *tham* meaning a crab; the *shrieh* clan, *shrieh* meaning a monkey; the *rani* clan, so called from a fish by name *rani*; the *diengdoh* clan, *diengdoh* meaning a certain tree. There are other instances also. In each instances, the clan is said to have sprung from the animal, fish, or tree, as the case may be. There thus appears to be a trace of totemism amongst the Khasis, although now-a-days their totems are not worshipped, nor do people abstain from killing, eating, or utilizing them. A man when he marries does not cease to belong to the *kur* or family of his mother, but his children belong to the *kur* of the man's wife. Frequently the husband merely visits his wife at her mother's house. It is seldom the case that a man takes his wife to his own house, certainly not until several children have been born.

As might be expected, owing to the influence of the marriarchate,
562 Khasi and Synteng women enjoy a much greater share of liberty than is usually the case with the sex. Although not wishing to make any general insinuations, there can be no doubt that Khasi women enjoy considerable freedom in their sexual relations. Women do all the trading, and like their Manipuri sisters make all the bazar purchases.

4. *Ancestor worship.*—The Khasis propitiate *Ka Iawbei*, the first
769 maternal ancestress of the clan, by sacrificing a pig; they also sacrifice yearly to *U Suidnia* (the departed maternal great-uncle). Also when a family is in trouble, *U Thawlang* (the departed great-grandfather) is propitiated. Ancestors are further worshipped by the erection of memorial stones. These memorial stones will be noticed separately.

5. *Birth customs.*—At the birth the navel of a child must not be
844 severed by any instrument made of iron or steel, but by a sharp splinter of bamboo. The placenta is placed in a pot and is kept inside the house till the ceremony of naming the child takes place. As long as the placenta remains in the house, the latter is *sang*, or taboo, to anyone except the members of the family. On the day of the ceremony of naming the child, the father removes the placenta and buries it outside the house. Having done this, the feet of the father are washed with water before he re-enters the house. When the ceremony takes place, powdered rice is placed on a sieve (*u prah*) and a small bow and three arrows, if the child is a male, and a *wait* (or *da*) and a star or (cane strap) (worn across the forehead when carrying a load by the Khasis), if the child is a female.

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child is a female. Up to the present time I have not discovered any trace of the *couvade.* 000 [546]

6. *Marriage ceremony.*—Marriage is a purely civil contract. The most prominent features of the Khasi marriage are the following:— [581] 585

(*a*) The *pynhiar synjat*, or betrothal.

(*b*) The pouring out of libations of liquor to *Ka Iawbei* (the first maternal ancestress).

(*c*) The eating by bride and bridegroom out of the same plate.

(*d*) The mixing of liquor by the *ksiangs*, or go-betweens.

(*e*) The taking of the bride to the house of mother of the bridegroom, where a ring is placed on her finger by her mother-in-law.

7. *Divorce* can be easily obtained amongst the Khasis. Adultery, want of issue, and incompatibility of temper, are some of the more frequent causes. The usual ceremony of divorce is as follows:—The husband hands the wife five cowries, or pice. The wife hands these back to the husband, with five of her own. The man then either throws them away or hands them over to some village elder, who throws them away. Divorce is then complete. 586

8. *Death, ceremonies.*—The corpse is bathed and laid on its back. A fowl's egg (*ka'lengkypoh*) is then placed on the navel. A cock (*ka' iarkrad lynti*=the fowl that scratches the way) is sacrificed. The limbs of the fowl and its feathers are placed in a bamboo basket, which is hung up near the head of the corpse. Rich people sacrifice a cow also, called *ka masi pynsum.* When a cow is sacrificed it is shot through the heart with an arrow. From the time of bathing the body till it is burned, offerings are offered daily; these offerings are called *ai ja miet ja step.* It is the custom amongst some to place the corpse in a long narrow box or coffin, which has been hollowed out of the trunk of a tree; this is called *ka shyngoid.* When this procedure is adopted, a small pig, which is killed by a spear (*u narsuh*) is sacrificed. This sacrifice takes place during the night. A goat (*U lang sait ksuid*=a goat to wash the devil)—which is believed to be a scapegoat to bear the sins of the deceased—is sacrificed. The corpse is then taken outside and placed on a bamboo bier (*ka krong*). When the *shyngoid* is used it is placed inside the bier. Some rice is scattered on the ground, and water is poured from a *lhota.* On arrival at the burning-place, the bier, with the corpse in it, is placed on the pyre, or *jingthang.* The egg placed on the navel is then broken on a plank and a fowl (*Ka iar padat*) is sacrificed. Two arrows are shot, one to the east and another to the west (this is a Khasi custom only); the arrows are intended for the protection of the spirit on its way to another world. Fire is then applied to the pyre. 764

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764 When the body has been burnt, the ashes and the uncalcined bones are collected by the relatives of the deceased and washed. They are then placed in a dish (*ka pliang*) which is taken to a stone repository for the bones (*mawshieng*); here a further sacrifice takes place. For three days after the burning, the maternal relatives frequent the *mawshieng*, where they offer articles of food for the spirit of the departed to eat, and then three eggs are broken (called *shat leng lait ia*) in order to ascertain what is the cause of death. Until this egg-breaking has taken place the family is taboo. The ashes and the uncalcined bones are subsequently removed from the *mawshieng*, and are placed in the family mausoleum, or *mawbah*. On this occasion a special ceremony takes place.

787 9. *Divination by breaking eggs.*—As this is a very peculiar custom, it deserves some description. Shadwell describes it as follows :—

[153] Each case of sickness or other calamity is attributed to the influence of some evil spirit, and the first step is to ascertain what particular spirit has been at work, and for this the great institution of egg-healing is brought into play. An expert (but not a professional) sits down before a board, in the centre of which he places an egg on a few grains of rice; after invoking the egg to speak the truth, he sweeps the rice off the board, excepting one grain left on any spot fancy dictates. Then naming a particular spirit, he asks that if he be the cause of evil, a part of the shell of the egg may be deposited near the grain of rice; he then strikes the egg sharply on the centre of the board. This process is repeated, if necessary, till the required information is obtained. The next thing is to discover what sort of offering will be acceptable to the spirit. This is ascertained in a precisely similar way, but the desired result is often not arrived at till much time and many eggs have been expended.

I have personally witnessed this egg-breaking and can vouch for the correctness of Mr. Shadwell's description. The Khasis do nothing of what they consider to be of the least importance without breaking eggs. When a Khasi builds a new house, or before he proceeds on a journey, he always breaks eggs to see whether the building or the journey will be lucky or not. I have quoted the description of egg-breaking at length, as I am informed that there is some similar custom extant in the Arracan Hill Tracts. I hope that it will be possible to ascertain whether or not there is any similar custom in Burma.

526 10. *Khasi archery*—Archery is a regular institution amongst the Khasis, who are very fond of it. Archery may be described as the Khasi national game. There are regular archery contests between the people of different villages, one village challenging another to shoot off a match. Certain conditions are fixed, such as the date and place of the match, the number of arrows to be shot by the archers, the distinguishing marks to be given to arrows of the two different sides, etc.,

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etc. The targets are of two kinds, i.e., *u skum*, which is made of a bundle of grass about 1 foot long and 4 inches in diameter, the target being fastened on to a pole; and from the root of a plant called *sohpdung*. The distance for the shooting is about 30 to 40 yards. 526

Before the shooting begins, a *nongknia*, or sacrificer, performs a *puja* and then the shooting commences. Each archer subscribes from half to one anna, the total amount so obtained is pooled and then wagered against a similar sum subscribed by the other side. Whilst the shooting is going on the men of both sides dance and sing, and when there is a hit a great shout, or *kynhoi*, is raised. The side that wins the match, after rewarding the *nongknia* and the man who makes the targets, buys a pig, and some liquor, which articles are partaken of by the people of the village which has won the match. In the War villages, and amongst the Syntengs, sometimes wagers of considerable sums are made in lump sums in these contests.

11. It is not intended to describe at great length the Khasi religious system, but only to note briefly regarding it at present, a full account being reserved for the monograph for the preparation of which I am collecting further information. Khasi religion is animism, or spirit worship. It may be divided into (*a*) the worship of spirits, (*b*) ancestor worship. 771

(*a*) *Spirit worship.*—The principal god amongst the Khasis is God the Creator (*U'lei Nongthaw*), who is sometimes masculine and sometimes feminine, the use of the feminine gender being no doubt due to matriarchal influence. A yearly sacrifice should be offered to this god of a cock and a goat. The cock is sacrificed as a substitute for man, it being thought that the cock, when killed, bears the sins of the man, and that by its sacrifice man will obtain redemption. How the cock came to occupy this important position in Khasi religion is not at present quite clear. Perhaps there were originally human sacrifices amongst the Khasis, and the cock nowadays takes the place of the human victim. Other gods which are worshipped are *Ka'lei long kur* (the goddess of the clan), *Ka'lei longspah* (the goddess of wealth), *U'lei um tong* (god of water). An important fact to be noted is that the Khasi gods or goddesses are never worshipped in the shape of idols in any form whatsoever. 776 782

(*b*) *Ancestor worship.*—I am inclined to think that this form of worship largely underlies the Khasi religious system. The following are some of the ancestors or ancestresses who are regularly worshipped:— 769

(1) *Ka Iawbei tymmen*,—the primeval ancestress of the family. A pig is sacrificed to her. 782

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769 (2) *U'snid' nia*, —or departed maternal great-uncle.
(3) *U thaw lang*, —or departed great-grandfather.

824 A very striking feature of the Khasi religion is the use of the leaves
771 of the *dingsning* (*Q lanceæfolia*) or Khasi oak tree. The leaves of this tree are used to cover the sacrifical knife, a sprig of the oak is implanted in the ground before the sacrifices of fowls or goats take place, an oak bough is hung up inside the house along with the jaw-bones and horns of sacrificed animals and the feathers of fowls. A great post of oak is to be found within the *arcana* of the sacred residence of the Siem priestess of Khyrim, the custodian of the religion of the State of that name. Another feature is the use of altars of stone on certain ceremonial occasions, and no Khasi religious ceremony takes place without the use of a small gourd *u klong* from which libation are poured out to the gods. Dancing always accompanies ceremonies of any importance, *e.g.*, funeral ceremonies, the erection of memorial stones, and the great *puja* of the Siems of Nongkrem.

769 12. *Memorial stones.*—These are without doubt the most prominent
764 feature connected with these people. The first thing that strikes any visitor to the Khasi and Jaintia Hills is the immense number of these
211 stones. The latter are placed in a line, a higher one in the centre, and lower ones on each side. The centre monolith is occasionally covered with a round flat stone. The upright stones are always in uneven numbers, being in sets of three, five, seven, or even nine stones. In front of each set of three stones is placed one horizontal stone, or cromlech which rests on three or four small upright stones, the horizontal stone being raised to about one foot from the ground. If five upright stones are erected, two horizontal stones are placed in front of them, and if seven are erected three, and so on. There can be no doubt that these stones possess considerable significance, but what exactly that significance is I am at present engaged in investigating. As far as my information extends at present, I give the following explanation.

Memorial stones may be divided for the present into two classes—

(*a*) Stones erected by the family, or *kur*, in accordance with the Khasi custom of ancestor worship.

(*b*) Stones which are erected by children in honour of a deceased parent.

It should be remarked that both classes of stones are merely cenotaphs, the mausoleums of the ancestors or the parents often being nowhere near the places where the memorial stones are erected. Taking class (*a*) first: Supposing that five upright stones are erected and two horizontal stones as depicted in plate III.[1]

[1] [see end plate 1 - - - Analyst]

Stone No. 3 in the middle is called *U Maw Kni*, i.e., the stone of the maternal uncle, Nos. 2 and 4 are called *Ki pyrsa, Ki para*, i.e., the brothers or sisters, and the nephews or nieces. No. 1 is called *U Maw Ksing*, i.e., the stone of the drum, and No. 5 *U Maw kait*, the stone of the plantain. No. 6 is called *Ka Iawbei tynrai*. The word *tynrai* meaning root, *Ka Iawbei tynrai* signifies the first maternal grandmother of the family. The above is the system of naming stones in Maoshai Raj—other systems will be described in the monograph. 769 764 211

Class (*b*).—Stones of this class are generally, I am informed, three in number, consisting of three upright stones as shown in plate IV and a flat stone in front, as in the case of stones falling under class (*a*):

Here there is a marked difference in that the big stone in the middle is called *U Maw thawlong*, or the stone of the generator or father. Nos. 1 and 3 are the brothers or the male cousins of the father, and No. 4 is erected in honour of *Ka Iawbei*, or the grandmother of the father, —not the first ancestress of the clan as in the case in stones falling under class (*a*). The post split at its top containing the jawbone of a bullock which has been sacrificed in honour of the deceased parent should be observed, *vide* Fig. B. It was formerly the custom and is still in some places the custom, to spread offerings upon the flat stones to appease the spirits of the deceased ancestors. These stones, which are only 2 to 3 feet from the ground, suggest the idea of sacrificial tables at some time or other. Stones 3, 4, and 5 in Fig. A are between 9 and 10 feet high, but there are several larger *menhirs* in these hills. [782]

The description of the stones in figures A and B was given me by a man of some intelligence at Nongkrem, but many different explanations of the names, and regarding the significance of these stones, are given by other persons living in various parts of the hills, and it is not unlikely that the account I have tentatively advanced may have to be modified subsequently. The system of each clan, apparently, varies to some extent from the other, and in some cases to a very considerable degree. In the Jaintia Hills very large groups of stones are found near villages, which are thought by the Syntengs to have been merely erected by the sides of roads as *Maw-shong-thait*, or seats for weary travellers, or for persons attending markets. At one place in the Jaintia Hills memorial stones were erected to commemorate a woman, *Ka Kumpatwat*, who in generations past is said to have had thirty husbands. It may, however, be stated that no such polyandrous custom has been found at the present day. The stones are reported to be thirty in number. There are also many stones at a place on the road from Shillong to Jowai said to have been erected to commemorate those who fell in a battle between the Syntengs and one of the Khasi Siems.

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764 As mentioned before, these stones are not gravestones, they are
769 shaped, both the vertical and the horizontal stones, remarkably like
211 the pictures of *menhirs* and *dolmens* that appear in Fergussons's work on rude stone monuments. It is a remarkable fact that Dalton mentions the existence of apparently very similar memorial stones in certain *Ho* and *Munda* villages in Chota Nagpur, and there is a drawing to be found at page 52 of Yule's Embassy to the Court of Ava of a cromlech which is apparently very like the cromlechs or *mawkynthei* to be met with every day in these hills. It is most unfortunate that the
[212] Khasis, owing to their want of a written language in former days, possess no written accounts of these stones, and that the Khasis of the present day are so very vague in their ideas about them, for I am inclined to believe that the proper elucidation of this question of memorial stones may prove to be the key to the origin of these people. I therefore strongly advise that a very careful search be made for similar stones, such as I have described, in other parts of India. It is possible that the Khasis may have found monoliths erected by some prehistoric race when they arrived in the Khasi Hills, and they may have adopted the custom of erecting memorial stones by the force of example, but the use of such stones seems to fit in with the Khasi system of ancestor worship, and it is remarkable that the shapes of the stones should be so very similar to those which exist in England, Ireland and Brittany, and I believe also in Denmark and Scandinavia. Is the custom of erecting such memorial stones in any way connected with people practising the matriarchate? The whole subject is a deeply interesting one, and I hope that it may be possible to throw some light on it.

784 13. *Taboo.*—The Khasis have an elaborate system of *sang*, or taboo. There are very many different kinds of *sang*, but some of them are the following :—

Special taboo, at time of pregnancy.—(a) It is *sang* for a pregnant woman to accompany a funeral procession.

(*b*) It is *sang* for a woman in the first stage of pregnancy to finish any sewing which she may have commenced before she became *enceinte*. There is a similar prohibition regarding the finishing of the plaiting of wicker baskets.

(*c*) It is *sang* for the husband of a pregnant woman to thatch the ridge of the roof of a house at such a time.

(*d*) It is *sang* under similar circumstances to fix an axe or a *dao* in a handle.

Ordinary taboos.—(i) It is *sang* to build a house with stone walls on all four sides.

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(ii) It is *sang* to use nails in fixing the timber of a house. 784

(iii) The *dypei*, or hearth, should be made of one kind of timber only.

(iv) To build a house with resinous timber (*'seh khlein*). Only the Siem's family can use such timber.

(v) To cut trees from the sacred forest.

(vi) To take or give anything with the left hand.

(vii) To step over the body of any person.

(viii) To kill a fowl or a goat without throwing first rice over the body of the victim.

(ix) To drink the milk of a cow or goat.

(x) To talk with any one, except with those who are working together, when the thrashing of paddy is going on.

(xi) Not to give fire or water when anyone demands the same.

(xii) A twin birth is *sang*. It is a more serious matter even than *sang* if the twins are of opposite sexes.

There are rules of *sang* regarding marriages within prohibited 784
degrees of relationship, and there is a very stringent rule of *sang* 582
against marrying within the *kur*, or clan. Those who do this are excommunicated and their bones or ashes are not allowed to be placed in the family mausoleum. To marry within the same *kur*, or clan, is the greatest crime a Khasi can commit.

There are special rules of *sang* affecting certain families, *e.g.*, for 784
the clan *Nongtathiang* to eat a certain kind of lemon, for the clan 614
Kharumnuid to eat pork, for the Cherra Siem's family to eat dry fish, for the family of the Siem of Mylliem to eat the pumpkin. Possibly, these taboos may be relics of totemism in these families.

14. *The Thlen superstition.*—The following succinct account of this 773
interesting superstition appeared on page 254, paragraph 20, of the *Assam Gazette* of the 5th August 1882. I do not think I can do better than repeat it here: "The tradition is that there was once in a cave near Cherrapunji a gigantic snake, or *Thlen*, who committed great havoc among men and animals. At last one man, bolder than his fellows, took with him a herd of goats and set himself down by the cave and offered them one by one to the *Thlen*. By degrees the monster became friendly, and learnt to open his mouth at a word from the man, to receive the lump of flesh which was then thrown in. When confidence was thoroughly established, the man heated a lump of iron red hot in a furnace, induced the snake at the usual signal, to open his mouth, and then threw in the red hot lump, and so killed him. He then cut up the body and sent pieces in every direction, with orders that the people were to eat them. Wherever the order was

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773 obeyed, the country became free of the *Thlen*: but one small piece remained which no one would eat, and from this sprang a multitude of *Thlens*, which infest the residents of Cherra and its neighbourhood. When a *Thlen* takes up its abode in a family there is no means of getting rid of it, though it occasionally leaves of its own accord, and often follows property of the family when given away or sold. The *Thlen* attaches itself to wealth, and brings prosperity and wealth to the family, but on the condition that it is supplied with *blood*. Its craving comes on at uncertain intervals: and manifests itself by sickness among the family, by misadventure, or increasing poverty. It can only be appeased by the murder of a human being. The murderer takes the hair, the tips of the fingers, and a little blood from the nostril, caught in a bamboo tube, and offers these to the *Thlen*. The belief is that the demon then appears in the form of a snake and devours the body of the murdered person, which is materialised from the portions thus offered. After this, its craving is satisfied for a time, and the affairs of that house prosper. Many families in these hills are known or suspected to be *Ri-thlen*, or keepers of a *Thlen*, and are dreaded and avoided in consequence. Whenever a dead body is found with the marks above described on it (and particularly if it is with no wound, and death has been caused by twisting the neck), it may be presumed with almost absolute certainty that the object of the murder was to appease a *Thlen*."

[171] It may be stated that, as far as I am aware in Assam, this superstition is peculiar to the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, and it is not to be met with amongst any of the other hill-tribes of the province. It would be specially interesting to learn whether there are any traces of a similar superstition amongst any of the tribes of Burma and Further India. The *Thlen* superstition is probably of a very ancient origin. It may be said to take the place amongst the Khasis of the head-hunting custom amongst the Nagas. The *Thlen* superstition is still deep-rooted amongst the people here, in many portions of the country the Khasis being afraid to walk out after dark for fear of being attacked by *nongshohkohs*, or persons who are searching for victims to sacrifice to the *Thlen*.

805 15. *Calculation of time.*—The Khasis adopt the lunar month. The names of the lunar months have been extracted from Colonel Bivar's report below. I am not certain whether all Colonel Bivar's explanations of meanings of the names of the months are correct:

U Kylla-lyn-kot,—the wood-burning moon, corresponding with January.

U Rympang,—the windy moon, corresponding with February.

U Lyber,—the seed-sowing moon, corresponding with March.

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U Iaiong,—the cloudy changeable-weather moon, corresponding with April. 805

U Jim-mang,—the flowering moon, corresponding with May.

U Jil-la,—the deep-water moon, corresponding with June.

U Naitung,—the bad-smelling moon, corresponding with July.

N Nailar,—the moon when a plant called the *Jotalar*, which has a red flower flourishes. This is perhaps one of the *arums*. The plant is commonly known as the snake plant.

U Nailar,—the moon for ploughing, corresponding with September. This may be also the month for courting, the word *lar* also having the meaning to woo.

U Ry-saw,—the moon when nature fades (usually becomes red) corresponding with October.

U Naiwing,—the earthen-pot moon, corresponding with November.

U Nohprah,—the moon of the fall of the leaf, corresponding with December.

The Khasi week consists generally of eight days, although in some of the *War* villages on the southern side of the hills there is a week of four days only. The days of the week are named after the markets which are held in rotation on the different days.

Khasi.	*Synteng.*
1. Lyngkah.	Ky-llao.
2. Nongkrem.	Pyn-sing.
3. Um-long.	Mao-long.
4. Rang-hep.	'Iao-siang.
5. Shillong.	Maoshai.
6. Pomtih.	Pynkat.
7. Um-nih.	Thym-blein.
8. Teo-duh.	Ka-hat.

16. *Tokaccomy.*—One more interesting custom that may be noticed is the Khasi and Synteng custom of *tokaccomy*, or of parents taking the names of their children, *e.g.*, ka Kmi Ka Nari (the mother of Ka Nari), U Kpa Nihon (the father of Nihon). The taking of names thus is almost universally practiced. The actual names of the parents after falling into desuetude are often completely forgotten by the villagers. Only the names of the children are used coupled with "father of" "mother of" as explained above. The advent of the Welsh Missionaries and the partial dissemination of English education has, in some cases, produced some rather peculiar names. I quote some instances:—U Water Kingdom, Ka Mediterranean Sea, Ka Red Sea, U Shakewell Bones, U Overland, Ka Brindisi. 551 [197]

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193 *A brief note on the Khasi language.*—It is not intended here to give a description of other than what occur to me to be same of the more prominent characteristics of the language.

The article.—There are four articles in Khasi; three in the singular, *u* (masculine), *ka* (feminine), and *i* (diminutive of both genders), and one in the plural for both genders, *ki*.

All Khasi nouns take the article as in French—the great majority of inanimate nouns are feminine and all abstract nouns. The sun (day), *ka sngi*, is feminine, the moon (month), *u b'nai*, is masculine. Sometimes the word varies in meaning according to the gender: *u ngap*, a bee; *ka ngap*, honey.

Genders.—Names of mountains, stones, plants, fruits, stars, the moon are masculine, *e.g.*:—

U kyllong, the Kyllang rock.
U mawlein, quartz.
U phaw, potato.
U soh siamtra, orange.
U 'lar shai, the morning star.
U 'tiw kulap, rose.
U b'nai, the moon.

Names of rivers, lakes, books, places, the sun, and all abstract nouns are feminine, *e.g.*:—

Ka wah, river.
Ka maw, lake.
Ka kitap, book.
Ka Shillong, Shillong.
Ka sngi, sun.
Ka jingmeng, advice.

The article *i* is used either as a diminutive, as *i khunlung*, a baby, or for denoting endearment, as *i mei*, mother.

Number—*u*, *ka* and *i* stand for the singular number. *Ki* is the sign of the pural, e.g., *u khla* (a tiger), *ka khoh* (a Khasi basket), *i khaw* (a child). *Ki* is the sign of the plural, as *ki maw*, the stones. *Ki* in some few instances is used honorifically, as *ki Siem*, the king, *ki khaw*, the father-in law.

Cases are eight in number, and are denoted by prefixes—the declension of the noun *lum* (hill) is given below by way of example:—

	Singular.	*Plural.*
Nominative	*u* lum	*ki* lum
Accusative	*ia u* lum	*ia* ki lum
Instrumental	*da u* lum	*da* ki lum

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	Singular.	*Plural.*
Dative	*ia, ka, or sha u lum*	*ia ka or sha ki lum*
Ablative	*ua u lum*	*ua ki lum*
Genitive	*jong u lum*	*jong ki lum*
Locative	*ka u lum*	*ka ki lum*
Vocative	*ka lum*	*ka phi ki lum*

The sign of the genitive case *jong* is sometimes omitted for the sake of brevity, e.g., *u kaw ups* (my dog) for *u kaw jong ups*. The preposition *ka* gives also the force of the possessive case, e.g., *ka ka jong ka jong* (their own). There are some nouns which change their form, or rather are abbreviated, when used in the vocative case, e.g., *ka ami*, not *ka kmie*, = Oh! mother; *ka pa*, not *ka kpa* = Oh! father. These, however, are all of them nouns showing relationships.

Pronouns.—Personal pronouns are *ups* (I), *upi* (we), *ua* (thou, masculine), *pha* (thou, feminine), *u* (he, it), *ka* (she, it) (diminutive form of *u* or *ka*, and *ki* (they).

The emphatic form of the personal pronoun is formed by prefixing *ma*, e.g., *manya*, *ma-u* after a verb, but not after a preposition, e.g., *dei ma-ups* = it is I. But *ai ia ma-ups* is an incorrect form.

The *Reflexive Pronoun* is formed by the word *lade* (self) being suffixed to the personal pronoun,—*ua u lah ensie ia lade* = he does himself harm, or by the addition of the word *ki* (self) to the personal pronoun,—*ua phi ki phi ong* (you yourself).

The *Relative Pronoun* is formed by the suffixes *ka, ai, ua, ka*, added to any of the personal pronouns,—*ua kaba, aba, kiba* (who, which) *kani, uni, kini* (who, what), *kawa, uwa, kiwa* (what, who), *kata, ata, kita* [that, what].

The *Demonstrative Pronoun* is formed by the addition of the particles denoting the position of things with reference to the speaker, e.g., (1) near = this, *ua* (*u-ua*) *kawa, i-ua, ki-ua*; [2] in sight, but further off = that, *ta* (*ata*, etc.); (3) further away, but still visible = that, *tai* [*u-tai*, etc.]; [4] out of sight, or only contemplated in the mind = that, *ta* [*u-ta* etc.]; [5] above = that, *ati* [*u-tai*, etc.]; [6] below = this, *thi* [*ka-thi*, etc].

The *Interrogative Pronoun* is the article followed by *ua* or *ki* (e.g., *u-ua, kawa*, who), *u-ai ka-ai* (who, which).

Adjectives are formed by prefixing *ka* to the root, thus *thi* goodness; *ka-tha* good, *ensie* badness; *ka-ensie* bad. When *ka* is dropped, the word is no longer an adjective but a verb, and in some cases a noun, e.g., *sha khrew* [adj.] = big, great; *u khrew* = he becomes great. An adjective may be formed without any of the prefixes *ka, aba, etc.*,—e.g., *ka mieu-tuk-wa* thieving cat.

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An adjective follows the noun it qualifies, and agrees with the noun
[92] it qualifies in gender and number.

Comparison.—The Comparative is formed by adding *khaw* before an adjective, followed by *ban* in [than], or simply *ia*; and the superlative by adding such adverbs of intensity, as *ban ah, ah thar, ban, ah, shibaddei*, which are followed generally by *ia* or *ban ia*.

Numerals.—In Khasi the cardinal number always precedes the noun
[93] [e.g., *ki ain, thrim times*]. The following are the first ten numerals:—

1. Wai	6. Khiew.
2. Ar.	7. Sinaiew.
3. Lai.	8. Phew.
4. San.	9. Khyndai.
5. Ban.	10. Shiphew.

The word *khad* is prefixed for forming the numerals from 11 to 19, e.g., *khad-ari, khad-ar*, eleven, twelve, etc.

Verbs.—The verbal root [which never varies] may be simple or compound. The compound roots are [1] *causals* formed by prefixing *pyn, pyl, kyn* to the simple root; *frequentatives* formed by prefixing *sang* [going on], *dang ehli, ioi, ia* [continuous to]; *emotives* formed by prefixing *ioun*.

Reciprocals are formed by prefixing *ia*. There is only one form of conjugation for all verbs. Tense and mood are indicated by prefixes, number and person by the subject. When the subject is a noun, the pronoun is inserted before the verb. The following is the conjugation of the verb "to be" in the present, past, and future tenses:

Present.		Past.		Future.	
Singular.	Plural.	Singular.	Plural.	Singular.	Plural.
1	2	3	4	5	6
Kyn long, I am.	Kyn long, we are.	Kyn ia long, I was.	Kyn ia long, we were.	Kyna long, I shall be.	Kyna long, we shall be.
Ki (noun) or phi (thou) long, thou art.	Phi long, ye are.	Ki or phi ia long, thou was.	Phi ia long, ye were.	Kna or phna long, thou shalt be.	Phna long, ye shall be.
U (noun) or ka (she) long, he or she is.	Ki long, they are.	U or ka ia long, he or she was.	Ki ia long, they were.	U'n or ka'n long, he or she will be.	Ki'n long, they will be.

The other simple tenses are made definite or emphatic by various means. *Ze*, sign of the past, when added to *lak*, sign of the potential has the sense of the pluperfect, e.g., *ngo le lak long*, I had been. To differentiate into 'e emphatic the future, the particle *ze* also indicates the future, *da* is the usual sign of the subjunctive mood, *lada*, *la*, *lyada*, *lad yada*, but *da* are other signs of this mood. The sign of the infinitive is *le*'e. The imperative is either (1) the simple root, or (2) the root compounded with some word such as *to*.

Participles.—The present participle is formed by prefixing *le* to the root, e.g., *le long*, being. The imperfect participle is formed by prefixing such words as *le*, *to*, *da*, *de lada*, etc. The perfect participle is formed by putting such particles as *le*, *la*, *lada* ', *da lada le* before the verb. Verbal nouns of agency are formed by affixing *wang* to the root, e.g., *e wang lein* (the murderer).

The *Passive Voice* is formed by using the verb impersonally and putting the subject into the *Accusative* case with *in*.

Potentiality is indicated by the verb *lak*, necessity by the verb *dei*; *dang* and *de* show the indefinite present.

The negative is indicated by the particles 'ya contracted into 'e *shyen* and *pei*. 'Ya is put before the verb,—e.g., '*ya dan lewe e* there is no one; with a pronoun it is contracted, e.g., *e'ne wan*, he does not come. It follows the sign of the future, e.g., *pei'e y'ne wan*, you will not come. *Shyen* and *pei* are negative particles, and with negative verbs in the past tense,—e.g., *e'ne shyen le wan*, he did not come.

The use of the word "ping".—One of the most striking features of the language is the use of the word *ping*, which is employed to create an abstract noun out of a verb. For instance, take the verb *lun*, to eat; if we prefix *ping* we have *pinglun* = food. *Ziet* to hold, *ping-ziet*, a handle. The use of the word *wang* has already been noticed under the heading "verbs." For example of another common prefix, it may again be mentioned here. Thus, *wang-ai-pinglun* means a table-servant, literally one who gives food. Again *wang-ziet*, a holder, literally one who holds.

Syntax.—The order of words in the sentence is usually (1) subject, (2) verb, and (3) object, in fact, the same as in English, and in this respect is different entirely from the order in the languages derived from Sanskrit, and that of the languages of the Tibeto-Burman group so far as I have been able to ascertain. For instance, in the Kachari or Boro language the order in the sentence is (1) subject, (2) object, (3) verb. In Khami when emphasis is needed, however, the object commonly precedes the verb, e.g., *ze e ah e le dia*, he has sold the fruit, literally the fruit he has sold. As stated before, adjectives follow the noun they qualify, e.g., *e lam lejwang*, a high mountain, literally, the hill that is

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193 high. Interrogative adverbs may either precede or follow the verb, e.g., *nani phi una or phi una nani*, where do you come from.[1]

121 18. *Conclusion.*—I have endeavoured to note down briefly above some of what seem to be the more prominent features of Khasi Ethnology, reserving a more detailed account of the Khasis for the monograph which is under preparation. In publishing this brief account, it is my hope that it may attract criticism by persons who are more familiar with the Khasis than myself, and it is my earnest desire that if experts who are acquainted with the Ethnology of the province of Burma and of that great country comprising the valleys of the Mekong and the Mouam, find any points of resemblance between Khasi Ethnology and that of those regions, they will kindly bring those points to my notice, so that perhaps a clue may be found to the origin of the Khasis, which is at present so obscure.

113 [1] In the compilation of this brief notice of the Khasi language, I beg to acknowledge my indebtedness to Dr. Grierson's Skeleton Khasi Grammar, the Revd. H. Roberts's Khasi Grammar, and to Nimar Singh's "Hints on the Study of the Khasi language."—P. R. T. G.

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[End plate 2]

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On the STONE MONUMENTS *of the* KHASI HILL TRIBES, *and on some of the Peculiar Rites and Customs of the People.* By Major H. H. GODWIN-AUSTEN, F.R.G.S., Deputy Superintendent Topographical Survey of India.

121 THE increasing interest that is taken at the present day in ethnology and the history of man in past and present ages, more particularly in the customs of semi-civilised races in distant quarters of the world as compared with the state of those races who dwelt in Europe in early historic times, has led me to put together the information I obtained regarding the people of the Khāsi Hill tracts. Their customs are peculiar, and the fact that they are among the very few who erect at the present day monolithic monuments, is alone of great interest.

This has not escaped the attention of different travellers, 122 officers of the Indian service and others who have visited that quarter of the Bengal Presidency, and from time to time papers have been published; these are scattered through a number of periodicals, and in no case is a complete record of these Hill people to be found.

Notices on the Garos and Khāsis, as well as many of the other tribes on the north-eastern frontier of Bengal, are generally very short, in some instances mislead, and in some cases do the peo- 152 ple, savages though they be, but little justice; in truth, there is very much to admire in these Hill people, they are in many ways, socially and physically, far above their Bengāli neighbours of the plains; intercourse with them is, in consequence, much pleasanter, easier, and has far greater interest; innate honesty and truth in their manners of dealing often crop out, more especially in villages well within the hills, where contact with the people of the plains is of rare occurrence.

101 I shall notice the best of these papers having reference to tribes inhabiting the range of hills running west to east, south of Assam, from the sharp southern bend of the Brahmaputra up to the Kopili and Diyung river, in long. 92 deg. 45 min., a length of some one hundred and sixty-five miles.

114 In the "Asiatic Researches," vol. iii, published so far back as 1792, is a very interesting paper on the Gāros, by Mr. John 113 Eliot; his travels, however, did not extend so far to the east as the Khāsias.

The Rev. A. B. Lish, a missionary of Cherra Poonjee, published an account of the Khāsias in the "Calcutta Christian Observer" for 1838, he gives an account of their mode of breaking eggs for omens, etc.

Neither in M'Cosh's "Topography of Assam," or in Robinson's "Assam," is any newer or better information afforded concerning

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the Gāro or Khāsi than is to be found in earlier writers, and no 114
allusion is made to the stone monuments. The first contains a 113
very exaggerated and by no means faithful account of both the Khāsi and Gāro, and the latter has copied Elliott's descriptions.

Dr. Hooker, in his "Himalayan Journals," gives some good drawings of the stone monuments—alludes briefly to their form, and the habits of the people. Dr. Hooker also alluded to the Khāsias at the meeting of the British Association at Norwich in 1868; thus attention was drawn to them in a prominent manner. A paper was written shortly after this by Lieut. E. N. Steel, R.A., who had been quartered for some time at Cherra Poonjee, and published in the "Transactions of the Ethnological Society," vol. vii.

The latest paper that we have on the Khāsias is one published 114
in the "Ausland" of last year, by — Schlagintweit, yet is not confined solely to the people, but treats of the meteorology of the district, and very briefly of the geology. The Gāros and Nāgas are also noticed. I hope to be able in a future paper to call attention to these people, and shall then allude to one or two paragraphs where I think M. Schlagintweit has been led into error. To one such error I would now refer. He says, "The Khassias are the most numerous and most powerful of the tribes inhabiting the part running from west to south (he must mean east) in this mountainous district, but it is also necessary to mention the two groups of Gārdos and Jaintias who are their neighbours in the south (he must mean the east) and the west. The grade of civilisation of the Gārdos and Jaintias is very low, etc., etc." Now, M. Schlagintweit must have been quite misinformed as regards the Jaintias, and he has evidently never been among them, or he would have known that the Jaintias, or more properly speaking, the Sintengs, are of the same stock as the Khāsis, that the language is the same with some slight modification, and that their customs and religious rites are almost identical. In Cherra Poonjee itself there is a small hamlet of emigrants from the Jaintia side, and they are found living among the Khasias in the main village. Many of the clans in Cherra claim to have originally come, several generations back, from the side of Jawai.

M. Schlagintweit further on says:—"The want of all modesty in the grown-up people of these primitive races, to whom we apply the term savages, is very remarkable." With this statement I do not agree, and consider they have the feeling strongly developed, and are quite as particular about the exposure of their persons as the people of India proper. The Gāro wears the "Lungooti" quite as large as that worn by the lower classes in Bengal and N. W. Provinces, etc.,

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114 etc., when employed at heavy labour. Very much more decent is itthan the thin gauze-like cloth worn by even the better class of Baboo in Calcutta, which makes hardly any pretence of concealing the private parts. I can speak for the Gāro women being partcularly quiet and modest in their demeanour; and the young men on reaching a certain age, and until they marry, live and take their meals apart in a large house constructed for them; this is always the largest in the village, and where strangers are put up. This custom mitigates strongly against "their want of modesty", so often advanced, and proves, if anything, an advanced state of morality.

Again, in speaking of the Khasis and the looseness of their famiy and domestic relations, which are somewhat easy, the frequent changing of wives is not so common as might be supposed, and in the remoter villages I should say very rare.. There is a very strong force which militates against its frequent practice. The men of these tribes select their wives not for beauty and delicacy, but for their well-developed forms and hard-working qualities—those who can carry heavy loads throughout the day and the more children she begets the better for the pair: they can cultivate as these grow up a larger area, and live in greater comfort.

[113] In the *Calcutta Christian Observer*, March, 1852, is to be found one of the best papers on the Khāsis, by the Rev. W. Pryse, who was attached to the Welsh Mission working both at Cherra Poonjee and Sylhet. A very good article appears in the *Calcutta Review* for 1856, vol. 27, being a review of the "Geology of the Khāsi Hills, with Observations on the Meteorology and Ethnology of that District," by Thomas Oldham, Superintendent of the Geological Survey of India, a work containing much valuable and interesting matter. An Introduction to the Khāsia Language, by the Rev. W. Pryse, is also included in the above review.

114 The various ways in which the word Khāsi has been spelt by
101 different writers, has no doubt puzzled many an European reader, and will be familiar no doubt to some in the form of Cossyah, Khassyah, Kasia, etc. The most correct has been adopted by the mission at Cherra Poonjee in their printed works in the language, and adopted in this paper.

101 They call themselves Ki Khási, and their country Ká Ri
197 Khási;* and without going out of our way to seek for a derivation of this word, may it not be derived from the Hindustani "Ghāsi"—grassy: the whole of the upper lands being of this nature, in contradiction to the forest-clad valleys and slopes of the outer hills both north and south. The Khāsias never pro-

* Compare "Khi", a mountain (Tibetan).

nounce the hard G; and in all words of Hindustani origin this letter has the sound of K. 101 [197]

They are called by the tribes of Kúkis and Nágás on the west "Káro", the name they themselves have for the whole mass of hill people on their western side, the Gāros, though as we pass towards their confines, we find the names of local clans giving way to this general term which was not known to some of the villagers of West Nongstoin, who call the Gāros "Dékor."

The Gāro appellation for the Khāsis is "Dikkil" or "Digil"; and it was very interesting to find, after visiting the villages of both, that they mutually fear each other, and consequently border raids never occur. The Gāros owned that they feared the bow and arrow of their neighbour, a weapon they themselves are unacquainted with the use of.

The Khāsis always point to the east as the quarter from which they emigrated, but there is very little, if any, similarity with the languages of the people now occupying the hills on that side. [173] [197]

Before entering further on the subject matter of this paper, I must request my hearers or readers to remember that having no knowledge colloquially of the Khasi language, the information I give was obtained from natives who understood either English or Hindustani well. The greater part of the information was given me by a very intelligent man, a native inspector of schools in the district; thus I hope that all errors that exist may be hereafter corrected by others who have been able to elucidate with greater exactness the meaning of their many different rites and superstitions. 115

Certainly the most striking objects of interest in the Khāsi Hills are the upright stone monuments that are to be seen all over the country; these, set up by the wayside, or in the villages, more frequently cutting the sky on prominent hills, with the large slabs horizontally set before them, at once recall the Druidical remains of our own island, northern France, etc., and lead one to marvel at the similarity of the custom, and to inquire its origin and design. Many who visit those hills take it at once for granted that they are the graves of illustrious men, or, after a vain endeavour to get some information from the coolies about them, let the matter rest, or finally believe that the ashes of the dead, to whose memory the monoliths are erected, are buried under the flat kind of altar or dolmen seen in front. 764 211

It is always a very difficult matter to obtain information from semi-civilised people on such a subject as their religious rites, especially if the inquirer is ignorant of their language. A slight knowledge of Hindustani on the part of the Khāsia villager, renders the attempt still more hopeless, and the information given quite erroneous.

9: Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 AR7 Khasi AR7

764 211 The tall upright stones are called "Mao bynna", from "mao", a stone; "bynna", to make known, to be informed, literally a monument. They are also known by the term, "Mao shinran", the male stone, while the flat seat-like slab in front is called "Mao Kynthai", the female stone, representative of all life, being in pairs. My informant explained this by saying the monument would be imperfect without the flat stone or its female adjunct.

769 764 211 The ashes of the dead are never deposited under the horizontal slabs always to be seen in front of the upright sets, the monument having no connection with funeral obsequies whatever. The monument is purely one to perpetuate the memory of a person long deceased, who, as a spirit, has watched over or brought good fortune to a descendant, his family, or clan. Wealth or [554] renown of the deceased has no connection with the size of the monument, which may be of any dimensions, from stones a foot or two and upward, but depends on the wealth of those who erect such mementos, and on the benefits the deceased has conferred aftar passing into the world of spirits and demons, for, according to Khāsi belief, the spirits of the dead and demons are the cause of all joy or woe—they give riches or strike with disease and death.

These monuments are not set up facing any particular point of the compass; the front is generally selected, having reference to the site and its surroundings: thus a number set up together on a hill-top will be found facing outwards, those by the wayside facing the road; however, single sets, standing on a hill-top or rising ground, as a rule, face to the southward.

The history connected with the erection of some large slabs near Cherra Poonjee will exemplify this curious custom. One of the clans, "Kūr" in Cherra, is known as the "Nongtariang"; and many years ago died an old lady of the clan, not famous for anything in particular during her lifetime, but whose virtues appear to have been great after her demise, for after this the Nongtariang clan, from being a poor one, rose gradually to considerable wealth; she, when propitiated and called on for aid, never failed her race, and in return, after some sixty years or more, they raised to her memory five well-cut stones, which are to be seen on the west side of the road between Cherra Poonjee and Surarun, the central monolith adorned with a kind of rose cut in relief on the front face, and an ornamental disc on the apex. It would appear that she still remained the guardian spirit of her clan; they continued to prosper, and as a further token to her memory, they added in 1869 five more stones on the other side of the road, and in a line with the first set.

It may very naturally be asked how descendants possibly dis-

9: Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 AR7 Khasi AR7

cover what their ancestors are doing for them, and what their views and inclinations may be as regards the amount of aid they may give. To a Khasia there is no difficulty about the matter; when in distress or requiring aid of any kind, seeking omens by the breaking of eggs (which I will hereafter describe) he appeals to and propitiates any one ancestor he may select; only one or two may promise such protection, and these it may so happen have died years ago. The benefit also conferred may be very trivial, and sufficiently acknowledged by the setting up of stones of small size; on the contrary, if great favours are conferred on the wealthy we find large monoliths forming conspicuous landmarks on many a hill-top, scattered over a large area of country, and which are mostly known to the country round by the name of the individuals who have wrought so much good in their after state. 764 769 211 [782]

These stones are never erected in pairs or in even numbers; in counting over a very large series still perfect, I found them invariably in sets of three, five, seven, or, as I have before mentioned in the case of the Nongtariang clan, in two sets, five and five, on opposite sites, to the same individual.* Even numbers are considered unfinished or imperfect. 801 211 764

A reference to the plans given, numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, will show the various arrangements in which the stones are set up, both in a segment of a circle and at right angles to each other, as in fig. 3. The most common form, however, is in line, fig. 4. Fig. 1 consisted of a circular platform raised about two feet, faced with rough stones on the front face. These three examples were observed on the hill of Lailang-kote, where the bazar is held, and I have not seen anywhere else the monoliths so arranged; in other parts of the country they are invariably set up in a straight row.

These monuments are also erected for such a reason as the following:—During the illness of a person, every kind of propitiation and exorcism either by the breaking of eggs, sacrifice of fowls, pigs, etc., and by the examination of the liver and viscera, having been made, and then failing to restore him; the sick man may vow that should he recover, he will erect a set of stones to one of his ancestors, who, it is presumed, on knowing of the intention, will do his best to save him. 764 211 [782] [787]

In setting up these slabs all members of the community are under an obligation to assist on such an occasion, and are not paid for their labour, beyond receiving in the evening a little food or liquor at the dwelling of the family who have sought the aid. The skilled workmen employed on the stone-cutting are, 764 211 476

* Three and five are the most frequent numbers met with, nine very rare I have seen eleven.

[See end charts 1–4, category 116 -- Analyst]

9: Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 AR7 Khasi AR7

476 764 however, regularly paid, as is done when cutting the stones for 211 the funeral platform; while this work is in progress musicians [533] are also entertained, and a continual beating of tom-toms (hand-drums) is kept up while the work is in progress.

That many of these monuments, and by far the larger number, 764 are of great age, may be inferred from the fact that their history 211 is quite lost.

171 As to their distribution, they are to be found over all the higher part of the range; the finest, certainly, in the central portion and in the vicinity of the larger villages, such as Cherra Poonjee, Juwai, Nurtiang, etc.

In Nongstoin, on the west, they gradually die out, and a few, not exceeding three or four feet in height, are to be found in the Khasia villages towards the Garo tribes, but at this limit the Langams come in, and their customs assimilate more with the former-named people. It is the same on the east and north-east of Jaintia; the stones set up are smaller and of rougher form, and by no means so numerous, yet they are to be seen in all kinds of out-of-the-way places quite overgrown with grass and jungle, where villages have not existed for years. Indications were not wanting, shewing that the country had been formerly much more populous, especially on the northern slopes of the Khasi and Janitia Hills. I have, on the other hand, never come across structures of the kind anywhere beyond the limits of Khasi-speaking people, that is, between longitude 91 deg. and 92 deg. 30 min., which includes the Jaintia Hills, the people of which part are called "Sintengs", differing in some minor points from the Khasis; the dialect is distinct, and there is so strong a type-form of likeness and expression, the two can be generally separated without inquiry. The same remarks hold good for the western side; a Khasi of the border Nongstoin villages can be told off at a glance: so strong are the great clan likenesses.

I have traversed the whole country on the east: viz., the North Cachar Hills, inhabited by tribes of Kookis and Nāgas, and had the Khasi ever occupied permanently a larger area either on the east or west, particularly the former, emigrating, as they are supposed to have done, from that side, I think we might have expected to find, occasionally, remains of their imperishable monuments. The only exception that I know of occurs on the road from Nenglo to Hangrūng, in the North Cachar Hills district, beyond Asālu, a part of the country now in the occupation of Nagas, and formerly entirely in that of Kacharis, who are Bodos or Méchis. The road lies through forest, keeping along the high spur; at about two miles from the peak of Hemeo are to be seen several large slabs of stone nearly level with the ground, one ten feet by six, covering some sort of receptacle, for the ends of the

9: Godwin-Austen G-3 (to date) 1872 AR7 Khasi AR7

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stones facing the sides are plainly visible. Near to these slabs is a platform with sides built up of rough stone, similar to those about Cherra Poonjee. Now Nāgas bury their dead, and no monument is erected, the graves being dug in the village street, often at the very door of the deceased person's house, all the protection and covering being a rough one of bamboo or straight sticks interwoven and neatly pegged down all round with hooked sticks. Some tribes of Kūks bury, others burn, but I have never observed any stones set up, or used to cover the grave. There is just a possibility that the slabs on the Hemeo ridge are the remains of an old Khāsi settlement, occupied, perhaps, for a short period when on their emigration westward.

The largest collection of huge slabs and upright stones that I have seen anywhere in the Khāsi Hills, is at Lailang-kote, the arrangement is so different in every way, that there can be little doubt that it was erected for a very different purpose, and was probably a place of meeting of the chiefs and elders of the clans. The steps to ascend it would indicate such a purpose, and we can imagine all the men of rank and influence seated around, and harangued by one of their number. I could never learn the history of this structure; although I made frequent inquiries, they could not say when or by whom it was set up. The stones, especially the large horizontal one, are of great size; this, with others, is of the granite found close by, but the hill on which the structure stands is an outlier of quartzitic sandstone, horizontally stratified, and great labour must have been expended in dragging such huge blocks into their present position; for the slope to the top of the rise, though not great, yet is quite sufficient to render such work a formidable undetaking. The weight of the largest horizontal slab was twenty tons eighteen hundredweight, and of all the stones composing its construction eighty tons. The horizontal granite slabs were unhewn, as well as the highest upright monolith, which stood eighteen feet nine inches. Eight of the upright stones out of the eleven were of sandstone. The largest slab is an irregular oval in shape, thirty feet by thirteen feet in longest and shortest axis, with a mean thickness of one foot and one-third, standing nearly five feet and a-half above the ground, and resting on ten upright unhewn pillars of granite; on the south side are four other slabs arranged close to the edge of the large one, and round all rise the eleven upright pillars; on the eastern end are two other slabs forming steps to ascend by.

I give a drawing of this very curious monument with a plan, and in an appendix the measurements of every stone, and these shew better than aught else the great massiveness of the work, and what an amount of labour these people must have expended in collecting the materials and setting them in this spot.

[see and plates 2-4, Category 116 — — — Analysis]

9: Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 AR7 Khasi AR7

764 I never saw the Khasis engaged in raising a stone into the
211 upright position, but I saw the spars which had formed a sort of
[483] cradle on which the stones forming the monument erected by the Nongtariang clan previously alluded to had been dragged from the spot where they had been quarried. They consisted of strong curved limbs of trees roughly smoothed and rounded, and would present a very small surface to friction. These stones had been taken from the side of a hill near, and had apparently been wedged out of the face of a step in the exposed sand-stone strata.

It may be as well that I should here give some account of the funeral rites of the Khasis, which will show there is no connection between them and the monuments I have been describing, and with which the other stone erections have no doubt been often confounded. In their funeral rites there is much that is wonderfully strange, and to those unacquainted with their
771 superstitions, appears unmeaning. There can be no doubt but
769 the Khasis have a very strong belief in a future state, and to say
778 that they have no religion, as has been stated by some writers, is erroneous. True, they have no temples for either worship or idols, the religion of the people is principally a demon worship, and we find the Khasi ever in communion with or in the power, as he supposes, of the spirits of those who have gone before him. While, added to these spirits of their ancestors are numberless demons, male and female, ever ready, if not propitiated, to bring evil upon himself or his undertakings, and whose power even extends over the spirits of the dead. Every dark shady wood, every stream, every conspicuous hill has its presiding demon, which in many instances gives the name to the site. Thus, the hill of Lárû, in North Jaintia, beyond Nongjinghi, is the abode of a one-legged demon, whom to see is death, but who was occasionally heard in the dense forest that clothed the northern steep face of the mountain, so said the credulous villagers of Nongtâng.

764 The dead are burnt on a funeral pyre, the logs of which are arranged very regularly, and the body lies in a sort of bed formed by them.

The calcined bones and ashes are collected and placed in an earthen vessel (small "ghara"), and are generally buried in some adjacent spot, a stone being placed over the vase for security; they do not, however, remain permanently in this place. Every family or clan has a separate receptacle for these remains, constructed in several ways, but always covered with a heavy slab of stone: these receptacles are called "Mao-lah," the great stone "Mao-shiing," a bone depository—lit., the "bone stone."

M. Schlagintweit has fallen into an error regarding the dolmen-shaped structures, and was not aware that this form is so

intimately connected with cremation, and that bangles and other ornaments are to be found in them. Whether such are removed from the body at the present day is a point I did not satisfactorily clear up, but which is one of interest. 764

You find the cromlech cuboidal form of four well-cut large stones on edge, closely fitted and surmounted by another horizontal one closing the structure. I give a drawing of a very large and striking one not far from the mission houses at Cherra; one of the sides of this has fallen and been removed, it is probably of great age, and the family is extinct. In other cases a number of rough stones are set up in a circle, crowned by a flat circular slab. I have also seen them of octagonal form, the sketch represents one in the south of Jawai, near the site of a deserted village, one of the side stones has fallen outwards, thus exposing the interior; in this I found several calcined bones and two bangles or wristlets of brass; this surprised me, for I was not aware that ornaments were left on the body on cremation; nor do I think they are at the present day. There were no traces of pottery either, and the bones had not been placed in a vessel as is the usual custom now. The structure was apparently of considerable age, and no village had occupied the site for many years.

A very general form at present of these bone receptacles is that of a heavy slab of stone, level with the ground, covering a cyst, which is lined with stones.

The bones are not consigned to these receptacles for some time, often a year or more after the burning of the body, and in no case until it has been ascertained that the soul of the deceased is at rest, and leading a life, or rather a new existence of happiness; should the whole of his family remain in health, this state is assumed to be attained, if, on the contrary, any member be afflicted with illness or pain, the spirit is understood to be restless and in want of something; the breaking of eggs is resorted to, and such may indicate that it is necessary to sacrifice a fowl or goats, and that the bones of the defunct be taken up and buried in another spot. Such removal, however, in the case of the most troublesome ghost is only done three times, and restless as he may be, the bones are then finally deposited in the family bone receptacle; man and wife are never deposited together; they belong to different clans, thus the ashes of children are placed in the receptacle of their mother's tribe to which they are considered to belong. I would here refer to the paper written by the Rev. J. Pryse in the *Calcutta Review* for 1854, p. 128, with his excellent description of a form of sacrifice. (Appendix B.) [113]

The collection of the bones into one vault, as it may be termed, is done under the impression that the souls of the departed may 764 775

[see category 86, pp. 137–9.—Analyst]

9: Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 AR7 Khasi AR7

764 775 all mingle together again in one large family without trouble or suffering. The idea of a member of a family being a wanderer in the other world, cut off from, and unable to join the circle of the spirits of his own clan, is most repugnant to the feelings of a Khasi or Sinteng. Thus we find every attempt is made on the death of a man in a distant village or district to lead his spirit back with his calcined bones to his native place. For instance, should he die alone on a trading expedition into North Cachar and be buried by a tribe of some other denomination, some relation, if he can afford it, will proceed to disinter and burn the remains; such will be done years after when accident may take some relative near the place. Of this I had an interesting example in my own camp when marching from the Khasi Hills to Asálu.* While encamped at Thangnansip in North Cachar, one of my coolies (porters) came one morning and asked leave for the day for himself and some of his fellows; on asking why they wanted it at such an unusual time, when we were in the field and moving camp, he said that a relation had died in that village while on a trading speculation with dried fish and salt towards Asálu from Jawai. It appeared that the man, having got an attack of fever, had been left behind by his companions, in the hope that he would get round in a few days and then follow them; he, however, eventually died, and was buried by the Kúkis of "Kabír." My men had with some difficulty discovered the grave (for many years had elapsed), the site of Kabír had been changed in the interim, as is the custom of the Kukis, who seldom remain more than four years tilling the same ground, frequently not more than three, known in that part of India as "Joom cultivation"; high grass covered the old village site; the Khasia coolies, however, disinterred the remains, burnt them, and the residue was carefully preserved and sent back to Jawai, the man's native place, to be interred with the bones of his family.

When carrying the remains to the home of the deceased, not only is the greatest care bestowed on them, but the spirit is carefully considered and led onward, to prevent the possibility, as they suppose, of its wandering off the route. Leaves are occasionally plucked, and with three or four grains of rice placed on them, are deposited by the wayside as offerings. On reaching [782] a river this is done on the bank, and sometimes when such a river is large and the abode of some powerful demon, a fowl is let loose in the jungle as an offering to the titular spirit of the stream. A most curious custom exists connected with this transporting of the soul which I have seen on several occasions. The dead, they say, have not the strength or ability to wade

* In Crawfurd's embassy to Siam, we find that a similar idea prevails in that country (see Appendix C).

9: Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 AR7 Khasi AR7

through water, and if they trust themselves to it would be carried down the stream, never to be recovered. They, therefore, stretch a thread of cotton from one bank to the other, and if the breadth is great this is kept clear of the water by sticks planted in the bed of the river, and notched at the top to receive it. If the running water should be very narrow merely a stick is laid, or even a stalk of grass is considered sufficient to form a bridge for the dead man's soul. The line of thread is called the "string bridge." 764 775

On passing through some dense dark wood where it is presumed a demon may be, they think it not improbable that he may be detaining them or throwing impediments in the way, and should any of the party fall sick such is to them clearly indicated. The breaking of eggs is resorted to, or a pendulum is made by tying a stone, knife, or generally the brass box in which they keep the lime that is mixed with the betal and pan leaves, and the rite so well described by Hodgson (Appendix A) is gone through. The similarity of the Bodo or Mech customs shows how general these superstitious customs are among the tribes in this quarter. The only difference being that with the Khasi, the weight is caused to revolve in a circle should any spirit require to be propitiated, and that it should cease to revolve when the offering, either a fowl or a pig, is considered to have been accepted. 764 782

Should a Khasia lose his life in such a way that his body cannot be recovered, say by being drowned in one of the large rivers in the plains, his relations assemble on some prominent hill or rock overlooking the low country. One of the members taking some kowries (small shells used as money, Cypræa) in his hand, and, looking towards the site of the accident, shouts out the name of the deceased and calls on him to return; his spirit having been supposed to do so, they proceed to burn the cowries, which are symbolical of his bones, and any clothes of the deceased they may possess. The ashes of the cowries are then placed in the bone depository. 766

The corpse is kept in the house four or five days, occasionally longer.* In the case of chiefs of tribes, men of consequence and wealth, the body after death is preserved in honey, and kept in this way in its coffin for a very considerable period; the platform on which the body is burnt is erected during the times, and considerable expense is entailed on its construction, in cutting the stones, as well as on the expenditure of gunpowder; throughout the day explosions may be heard at irregular intervals from different quarters, now at one side, then at another to drive away [764]

* The excessive and bottomless rainfall of the Khasi Hills is not the reason why the dead are preserved in honey; it would be impossible to procure it in sufficient quantity for such a purpose. Vide M. Schlagintweit's paper in the "Ausland", where this is stated.

[Just category, 766, p. 187 — Analyse?]

9; Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 AR7 Khasi AR7

766 evil spirits, who I suppose they think may be hovering about the neighbourhood. Here we find a custom the counterpart of one in Burmah, where the body of a Buddhist priest of rank is embalmed in honey, and laid in state for a long period, to be afterwards blown up with powder, together with the costly hearse that bears him to the place. The same custom we find in "Crawfurd's Embassy to Siam" exists in that country.

There is some slight analogy to be traced between the funeral customs of the Khasis and Singphos, particularly in the collection of the ashes and subsequent interment. (Appendix D.)

The breaking of eggs is perhaps of all modes of seeking for an
767 omen the most curious of all the Khasi customs, but it is by no means confined to these hill people. I am informed by Colonel McCulloch that the Kūkis and some other of the numerous Hill tribes around the Munipūr Valley do the same; but then it is not so commonly practised, and I never myself saw them engaged at the rite. The Gāros use eggs only for sacrifice. The number broken appears unlimited, but about twenty is a common number. It depends, of course, on the means of the individuals. They use a small board about twelve inches by eight inches square, which has a projecting kind of handle with a hollow to receive the egg to be used. The position of the chips on this board indicates the luck or answers to the inquiry that is sought, and only those pieces that fall within the board, outside of the egg-shell upwards, count as signs. The egg is personified and addressed after this manner: Egg! I am only a man, am ignorant and can divine nothing; you can commune with spirits, and between man and them have intercourse. Now, say! who has done this? (in case of sickness)—who has caused this man to fall sick? If the spirit is in the house, let the signs be on the left; if out of the house, on the right. The exorcist spits on the egg, and taking some clay in his hand, smears it over, so that the outside may be distinctly seen when it is smashed. Apology is made to the egg, saying: I do not spit on you to insult you, but to clean you and give you a colour. Then standing up he throws the egg down with all his force upon the board.

It would appear that only those pieces of egg-shell that fall to the right or left are of consequence in the matter; those that fall beyond or on the off-side of where the egg strikes are the representatives of spirits that are not implicated with the matter in hand, while those that lie on the near side show that the sickness is the cause of purely natural causes, over-eating, drinking, or exposure to heat and cold, and not through the agency of any malignant spirit; such signs are of good import, and indicate (taking a case of sickness) that the person is likely to recover. Should he not do so the egg, or rather the exorcist, a professional sacrificer called "Ka Nong Kinia" or "Ka Nong Kein Ksuid",

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PLATE III.

B: Gurdon G-3 (no date) 1904 AE7 Khasi AE7

[End plate 2]

holds his own, he can reply: What was the good of calling me 757
in, to seek signs from eggs, when the man was past hope? I could only give you such, and my he was sure to recover.—As might be expected, the sacrificers prey on the ignorance and superstitions of the people; and it not unfrequently happens, I am told, that on one being called in, and after smashing a number of eggs, he declares that owing to previous communion with spirits in other houses, he can do nothing, and recommends that another exorcist be called in, to kill a pig or a fowl, and thus those who can afford it are made to give up as much as can be squeezed out of them.

Any member of the community, if he desires it, can learn the forms of offering, sacrifice, etc., under the instruction of those who are in the profession, and who can thus sanction and look to their due and proper performance. When they sacrifice a cow, goat, or pig, the liver is the principal part examined for omens; if it is smooth and healthy, such are good. The entrails, if full, are a propitious token; the size of the gall-bladder is another point—if small, poverty may fall on the family. Demons also are particular; some will not accept a black or coloured fowl; pure white only will suffice, and these they object often to sell.

It is often a matter of great difficulty to persuade a Khasia to 758
take medicine, especially men from outlying villages; they quite dread it, imagining that, should they take it, some spirit, wroth at not being propitiated, may alter its properties, and thus make them much worse. I have seen a grown-up man burst into tears, and beg that medicine might not be administered, when he was lying seriously ill. They, however soon find out the good effects of our treatment, especially that of quinine in fever, and they laugh in turn at the scruples of their more ignorant companions.

The Jaintias, or, more properly, the Sintengs, on the East, are, 759
I think, more under the influence of their exorcists than are the 762
Khasis, on the West. On certain occasions, individuals sacrifice a number of animals to different demons and a great feast is held, to which numbers are invited; men, women, and children, are then arranged in large circles, each with a leaf for a plate before them, on which the meat, when dressed, is served.

There is, however, one very extraordinary custom—one, I am 759
glad to say, confined to only a few villages in the Jaintia country—called "Tarroo". The unfortunate individual who is presumed to be in league with a demon, in order to clear his character and be again admitted into the society of his kindred, must throw everything he possesses away, even to the clothes on his body, and begin life anew. A man on whom such an accusa-

[illegible] tion falls in deserted by even his wife; for all converting with him after the fact is declared would be equally criminal. The abuse of such a custom is unlimited; private spite must enter largely into its organization; and it becomes a ready method of ruining an individual of whom the community may be jealous, or who is obnoxious to them. The civil authorities have with reason looked with disfavour on it, and done much towards breaking the custom down. The missionaries also in Jowai have, no doubt, by the establishment of their small Christian colony, done much towards the same end. This system of witchcraft does not date, I am told, from a very remote period. Names of demons are from time to time invented, or rise up, and the most formidable now is a female demon, having very evil wealth, and who is connected with the superstition "tarow". The curse may slight on an individual in many ways, of which I give the following instances of how it acts on the community.

[illegible] A person may get ill, and, as in fever, become delirious; those attending on him listen attentively to his sayings, and he may constantly take some one's name in connection with his state. This person is said to have the ear of the demoness, and to use such influence for the purpose of bewitching others.

Two persons may join in trade together, and be on the best of terms for several years; but one may have a terrible dream repeatedly, or say he has, connected with their gains; he may then accuse his partner of having obtained certain power from Tarow.

A man, originally in poverty, rising in a very short time to be wealthy, the whole village may secretly, among themselves, point at him as having entered into a compact with this demoness; but no proof is forthcoming until some person suddenly falls ill, and apparently without cause. This sick person is questioned, and even bullied into saying that he believes the [illegible] to have taken in the face of the accused, as a sign that his further acquaintance is not desired. This is a common custom, and is done to a person for other reasons, such as for stealing, or committing some heinous crime. A woman who supplants the affections of another who is a wife may have ashes thrown in her face for spoiling the husband, and in this marked, for, of course, it is done in some public place. But, to continue, the family of the sick man next count up the number of pots that have been given by the accused during their intercourse, the number is prepared, made up into a bundle, and placed at his door during the night, and a sucking pig is killed and also left there. In the morning on the first opening of the door, the sign

is seen by the deceased, and quite as seen by the neighbours, who collect to revile and jeer the unfortunate individual; his relations leave him; his wife, if he has one, returns to her parent's or sister's home, and in no other way can he recover his position in society save by throwing away all he possesses; cash and clothes are scattered on the road as he goes out of the village, and are picked up by those who follow; his house, I was told, is also demolished, and the thatch roof carried out and burnt in the outskirts of the place.

This paper has become much longer than I had anticipated, and I fear will exhaust the interest that there may be in it. I had intended alluding to the Kákis, Mikirs, Garos, etc., and exhibiting drawings of their burial-grounds, but this I think may be best postponed and introduced with some notes on the extension of those tribes and the people of the northern slopes of the Khasi range of hills, if this Society should think such of sufficient interest to them. I trust also that Captain Williamson, Deputy-Commissioner of the Garo Hills, now on leave in England, will give us the benefit of the valuable information I know he has obtained regarding the manners and customs of the Garo tribes, among whom he has mixed so much and so intimately.

APPENDIX A.

Paper on the Origin, Location, etc., of the Bóhs, Kooch, Dhimdl People, by B. H. Hodgson, Esq., Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1848, Vol. xviii, pt. ii, p. 739.—"Thirteen leaves, each with a few grains of rice upon it, are placed by the sacrificer in the segment of a circle before him, to represent the deities. The Ojha squatting on his hams before the leaves causes a pendulum attached to his thumb by a string to vibrate before them, repeating invocations the while. The god who has possessed the sick man is indicated by the exclusive vibration of the pendulum towards his representative leaf, which is then taken apart, and the god in question is asked what sacrifice he requires?—a buffalo, a hog, a fowl, or a duck to spare the sufferer (the Ojha best knows how)? a hog, and it is forthwith vowed by the sick man and [illegible] the amount to sacrificing, and he [illegible] the offending deity."

APPENDIX B.

Calcutta Review, 1854, p. 139. Paper by the Rev. J. Pryse.—"The universal desire to immortalize the memory of their dead ancestors on earth by the erection of stone monuments, may be deemed as a faint indication of an expectation of some kind of future existence. The sacrifice for their dead, which they call 'Sutí-ing', or 'Kaná-ing', that is, the ghost or demon of the dead, may be considered indicative of the same notion. The profound veneration of the sacrifice is to pacify the

spirit of the dead, so that it may come in the capacity of a "Kmail", or demon, to cause pain and calamity to the family. This sacrifice is frequently repeated after a person's death, if his bones were deposited in a small repository; but if they are placed in a large one, the fear of his injuring the family is not so great, and the sacrifice is not so frequent, because "le bah ka ainu ka eskum", the religion and customs were observed regarding him."

Extract from the Rev. J. Pryse's Paper, p. 130.—"The reader is desired to observe that this form is always pronounced, when the person on pronouncing it is in the act of offering his thankofferings; hence it was thought necessary to give a few explanations of the movements of the speaker."

"*Thank-Offering to Secure the Protection of the Goddess.*"

(The Khasia words are, "Ka jing-ngih pyrakom ia ka Mei"; the offering is made in order to secure the kind offices of the goddess in the future, rather than to acknowledge past kindness.)

"Attend, O Goddess, that thou mayest protect us all as a family."* That we may increase and prosper. O Goddess, we are now about to sacrifice a large cock, and a large horned goat, also a plantain leaf, flour, baked rice, a heart, and a twig. Do thou, O Goddess, attend to us. I put up and cause to stand the offering for the purpose of appeasing thee, O Goddess.† O thou family-builder, I remove and drive away thirty demons, nine demons,‡ and Ka Tyrsit Ka Snor,§ that I may prepare and set aright the intestines, that I may cut the throat of the cock, and sprinkle the blood upon the twig.‖ Away, thou Ka Tyrsit ka Snor! I sweep away and remove thee, that I may open a clear road for the purpose of inquiring concerning the good and the evil. Thus it is proper that I should sacrifice a large horned goat. Attend thou, O Goddess, whilst I offer to thee a member and the backbone after I shall have had it here and made it ready.¶ Attend thou, while I observe and keep the rules and customs, and while I offer to thee a sacrifice in order that thou mayest give us

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* "All as a family", "hynrih shi kur", "ka kur", is generally used among the Khasis to signify all those who are related by blood.

† While saying these words, the officer prepares the place, and [illegible]

‡ The officer, while saying this, throws some rice on the ground to pacify the evil spirits, and drive them away, lest they should frustrate the sacrifice and ceremonies. "Lalyen kmail kynthei kmail"—here neither thirty nor nine should be regarded as the exact number, but both signify any number indefinitely great; much in the manner as the number one thousand was regarded by the Jews, and as that number is occasionally used in Scripture. The phrase, "kynthei kmail", nine demons, seems to be an old phraseology, the exact meaning of which is not known at present; but "lalyen kmail", thirty demons, in the common phrase in use to signify an indefinitely great number—it means all.

§ The name of one of the most powerful and malignant demons.

‖ While speaking thus, the officer kills the cock, and sprinkles the blood on [illegible] above.

¶ The officer's hands are busily employed in preparing his sacrifice while he utters the above speech.

health, that we may increase and prosper, that we may walk securely, that we may enjoy our possession in security, that we may carefully ameliorate our families, that we may increase in number. Do thou embrace us, do thou confide in us, do thou support us whilst we observe the rules and customs, that we may become numerous, that we may offer thee sacrifices. Come thou and receive us, receive us at thy feet, that we may spread out on the right and on the left. Come, confide in us; come, support us; come, envelope our spirits with thy power.*

This sacrifice is generally made by a whole Kúr or family *all related* by blood.

Appendix C.

Crawfurd's "Embassy to Siam", p. 19.—"Under ordinary circumstances so much importance is attached to the rite of burning the dead, that if the ceremony cannot be performed soon after death, either from poverty, or from the party dying at a distance, the body is first buried, and afterwards, as soon as convenient or practicable, disinterred and consigned to the funeral pile. Of persons of distinction, a few of the bones are kept, and either preserved in urns in the houses of their relations, or buried, with little pyramidal monuments over them, in the ground adjacent to the temples. Of these monuments we saw a good number: they are small and paltry, without any inscription.

Appendix D.

W. Griffith's "Journals", p. 13.—"Close to the village are the burying-places of two Singphos. These have the usual structure of the construction of the tribe, the graves being covered by a high conical thatched roof. I find, from Bayfield, that they first dry their dead, preserving them in odd-shaped coffins until the drying process is completed; they then burn the body, afterwards collecting the ashes, which are finally deposited in the mounds over which the conical sheds are erected," etc., etc.

Appendix E.

Burning the Dead, etc.—"The practice of preserving dead bodies in honey has not arisen, as M. Schlagintweit states, from the extremely cold season experienced at Chorra. Bodies are burnt throughout the year, as I have witnessed. Men of rank or wealth are treated of the dry cold weather, and not burnt until a propitious time has been selected. The custom, no doubt, has been derived from its Burmese source."

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* Mr. Pryse remarks: "However devoid of sense or poetic the traditional and unwritten literature of the Khasis may be considered, the writer is not sure that he is able to elicit much more sense from many parts of the much talked of literature of the Vedas and Puranas of the Hindu sages," and he offers a specimen from the Sanskrit.

[illegible] 211 *Measurements of Size and Height of the Stones composing the Monument at Lalinghate, Khasi Hills (from careful measurement of [illegible]).*

Upright Stones or Gallery.

		Cubic feet.	Total cubic feet.
No. 1 = 13ft. 10in. × 6ft. 6in. × 1ft. 6in. =		62·0	
2 = 14ft. 9in. × 3ft. 6in. ×		43·2	
3 = 11ft. 2in. × 6ft. 6in. × 1ft. 6in. =		44·7	
			176·9

Upright Stones or Enclosure.

1 = 10ft. 6in. × 3ft. 6in. × 1ft. 6in. =		104·7	
2 = 12ft. 6in. × 3ft. 6in. × 1ft. 6in. =		62·9	
3 = 8ft. 6in. × 3ft. 6in. × 1ft. 6in. =		40·2	
4 = 8ft. 3in. × 2ft. 6in. ×		14·4	
5 = 10ft. 9in. × 6ft. 9in. × 1ft. 2in. =		50·6	
6 = 8ft. 6in. × 2ft. 9in. × 1ft. 2in. =		20·4	
7 = 10ft. 9in. × 2ft. 6in. × 1ft. 2in. =		18·4	
8 = 11ft. 6in. × 1ft. 6in. × 1ft. 6in. =		40·7	
			417·7
			594·6

The Largest Flat Stone or Gallery.

Greatest length, 20ft. 6in.; breadth, 10ft.; and mean thickness, about 1 foot: measured by co-ordinates laid off from a central line, at 2 feet apart, with the thickness at edge. Total of cubic feet is mean 329·0.

Flat Stones or Surface Size, and the two Seats.

	Mean breadth.	Mean length.	Mean thickness.	Cubic feet.
No. 1 = 6ft. 6in. × 5ft. 6in. × 6ft. 6in. =				55·0
2 = 5ft. 6in. × 3ft. 6in. × 1ft. 6in. =				32·0
3 = 5ft. 2in. × 3ft. 3in. × 1ft. 6in. =				27·0
4 = 5ft. 1in. × 2ft. 2in. × 1ft. 6in. =				17·0
5 = 5ft. 2in. × 2ft. 6in. × 1ft. 6in. =				32·0
6 = 3ft. 2in. × 1ft. 6in. ×				12·0
				200·0 cubic feet.

The specific gravity of granite being taken at 2·6, or 163 lbs., the weight of the Lalinghate granite by experiment, we have for the weight of the largest flat stone, 329 cubic feet = tons 23 : 19 : 3 : 7; for the other-six, 200 cubic feet = tons 13 : 9 : 1 : 9.

Discussion.

[illegible] 211 104 Dr. Cranstoun said the "Asiatic Researches" for the year 1829 contained a short paper by a Mr. Walters on the Khasi (Chiefs). The paper in question, which related to the village of Sopur-[illegible], also contained drawings of certain stone monuments; among others, four large circular stones standing together. They were only a few feet

9: Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 ART Khasi ART

high, with a smooth surface, and resembled trees cut down; but it did not appear for what purpose they were used. Mr. Walters stated that the upright and stone down referred to in the paper were monuments to the memory of deceased rajahs and chiefs; that the upright slabs of granite were detached from the rock by means of fire; and that the dead bodies of the Khasi are burned at an appointed place, and the ashes placed in earthen pots, which are deposited under the stones. He (Dr. Charnock) doubted the suggested derivation of the name of the tribe. If derived from the Hindostani, it could not be very ancient. The chief interest in the paper lay in the fact that the Khasi erect these monuments at the present day.

Sir Duncan Gibb said there was a feature of some interest in the author's very interesting paper, and that was the statement that the stones of the megalithic remains described by him were obtained from quarries of sandstone not far distant from the place in which they were erected. Now, this point he looked upon as of considerable importance, because it so readily explained the comparative facility of transport of such huge masses of stone as enter into the construction of the monument described. In this country the most diverse opinions prevailed as to the locality whence the stones were obtained composing such monuments as are found at Stonehenge, Avebury, and other places, and he thought the author had added to the value of his paper by giving accurate details as to the locality whence the stone was obtained, composing the remarkable monuments so graphically illustrated; nevertheless, as a geologist, he should like to know from the author to what formation these sandstones belonged.

Col. A. Lane Fox thought the Institute might be congratulated upon the paper which they had just heard, which was one of the most important contributions to anthropology that had been received for some time past. It was impossible to overrate the value of the details of the manners and customs which Major Godwin Austen had given, and which were associated with the erection of these megalithic monuments at the present time. They might at some future time serve as links of evidence in interpreting the object of similar monuments in other times and places. The great problem before the Institute, he thought, was how far the builders of these monuments in our own time might be regarded as the representatives of those who erected them in the prehistoric period of Europe, or how far the monuments themselves might be regarded as survivals from the prehistoric age. The geographical distribution of these monuments, as he had before shown in the *Ethnological Journal*, was continuous, or nearly so, extending from those Kasias in the north-east of India to Central India, Persia, Asia Minor, the Crimea, along the north coast of Africa bordering the Mediterranean. They are found in Etruria, up the south and west coast of France into Britain, and as far as Denmark and Sweden. In so far as our present knowledge enabled us to judge, they were unknown in Russia proper, in Northern Asia, in Central and Southern Africa, and on the two continents of America, with the exception of Peru. Their continuous geographical distribu-

9: Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 A87 Khasi A87

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tion extending from our own country to the country of these Kassias was in favour of the view that their erection might be a practice handed down by them from the remotest time; and this gave great additional interest to the study of the customs of the people who built them. Evidence of great antiquity of these monuments in India was wanting; most of those examined in Central India have been found to be associated with implements of iron; but it had been shown that iron in the soil in that country would be preserved for ages, and there was no knowing how far back the use of this metal might have extended. There was one peculiar custom which in Europe, Africa, and Russia appeared to have nearly the same geographical distribution as these monuments, and which was sometimes associated with them; he alluded to the custom of placing pieces of rags upon trees at holy wells and elsewhere as a cure for diseases, and he should like to ask Major Austen whether this custom prevailed amongst these Kassias or in their neighbourhood.

Mr. Hugh Clarke observed that Colonel Fox had just enumerated the geographical region of megalithic monuments, and this was precisely the region described in his paper on the Caucasus-Tibetans. The areas are coincident. The Khasias are united among tribes, which have linguistic affinities with Georgian and Paleogeorgian. The present Khasias cannot, however, be considered as *in situ* in reference to the ancient migration connected with the stone monuments of the Dekkan, but are a subsequent migration. The connection of traditions between Khasias, etc., and Burmah is simply because they are obtained from a common centre in High Asia. Among the many valuable facts is that of the male and female stones, and the numbers of these are, perhaps, also male and female. The numbers three and seven signify middle. In two cases where eleven occur they are arranged as six and five. The male stones are more numerous than the female, and may have some relation to polyandrous notions. Egg divination may possibly have its metaphysical basis in the relations which exist in many languages in the form of words for eye (orgs) and egg. Major Austen's testimony to the moral qualities of the hill tribes is of value. Dr. Hunter, hon. member Anthropological Institute, has pointed out in his *Rural Life in Bengal* that it is on the hill tribes we must specially rely for the invigoration of our Indian empire.

Mr. W. C. Dewar: The great merit of this paper is that it is written by a careful observer who was an eye-witness of all which he describes; one such narrative is worth a volume of compilations. In our own region the megalith is a relic of very ancient date, the record, perhaps, of a semi-barbarous race, and all amount of theory is usually speculative and conjectural. In the east we learn there are kistvaens and cromlechs and dolmens of recent date, the constructors of which are yet in existence, and an inquiry into their history may elucidate by analogy some of the obscurity that has yet clouded our own megalithic monuments. Choir Gawr or Stonehenge is composed of several sorts of rock, blue stone and marble, sand and granite: why is this variety of selection? Among Major Austen's sketches there is

9: Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 ART Khasi ART

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one of a beautiful megalithic temple, and he alluded to male and female stones. May this variety of quality and colour in the stones be symbolical of idol or astral or planetary worship? In Asia, it seems, these relics are chiefly within a certain latitude forming a belt from Oceania to the Mediterranean, the seat, indeed, of the anthropomorphous simia; and we have accounts of the relics of Asiatic pigmies discovered in and around one of these crumbels not remote from the Khasi Hills. Remembering the influence of climate on both mind and body, it might be interesting to inquire how far a superstitious psychology may be an ethnic trait among the less accomplished orientals.

Dr. A. Campbell, Mr. James Fergusson, Mr. J. W. Flower, Dr. Stoneson, Mr. E. B. Tylor, Mr. Wake, and the Chairman, also took part in the discussion.

9. Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1972 AR7 Khasi AR7

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THE STONES AT MAWFLANG KHASI HILLS

[End plate 2]

[illegible]

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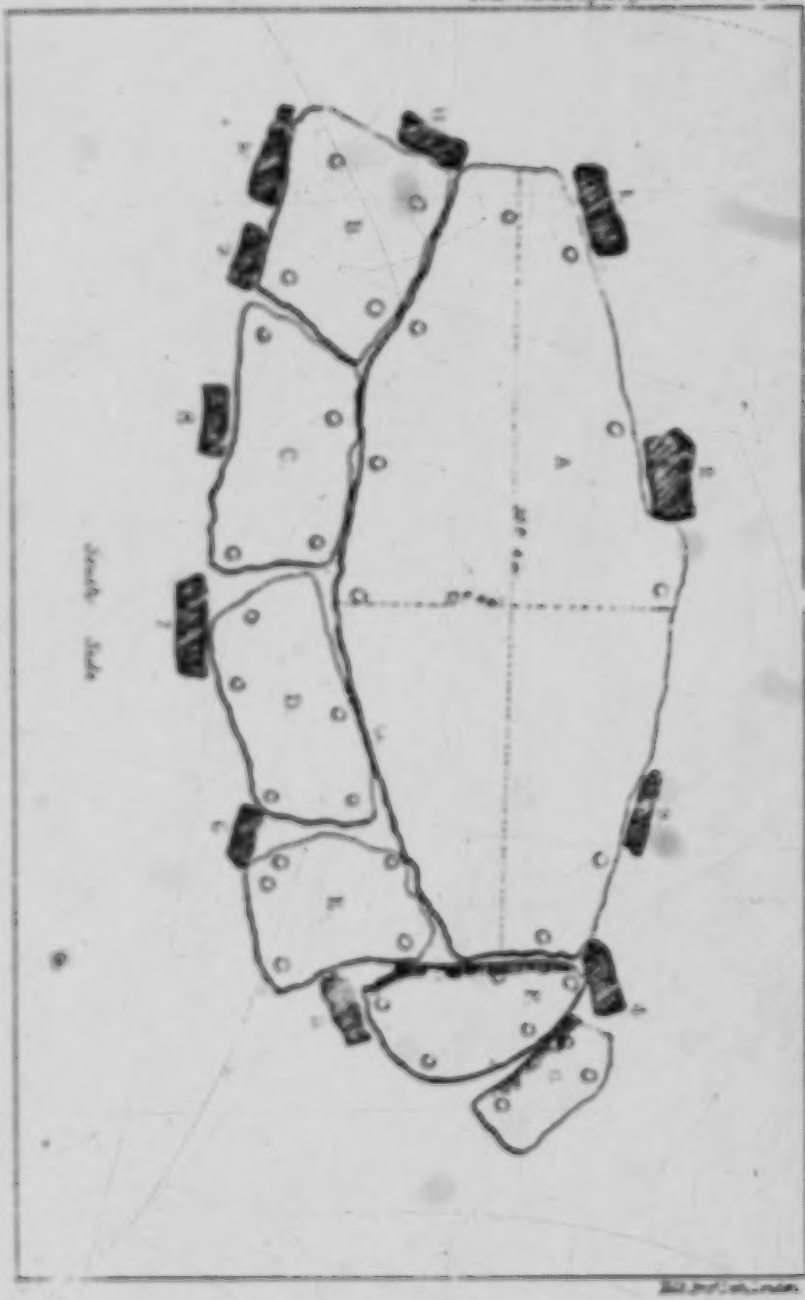

[End plate 3]

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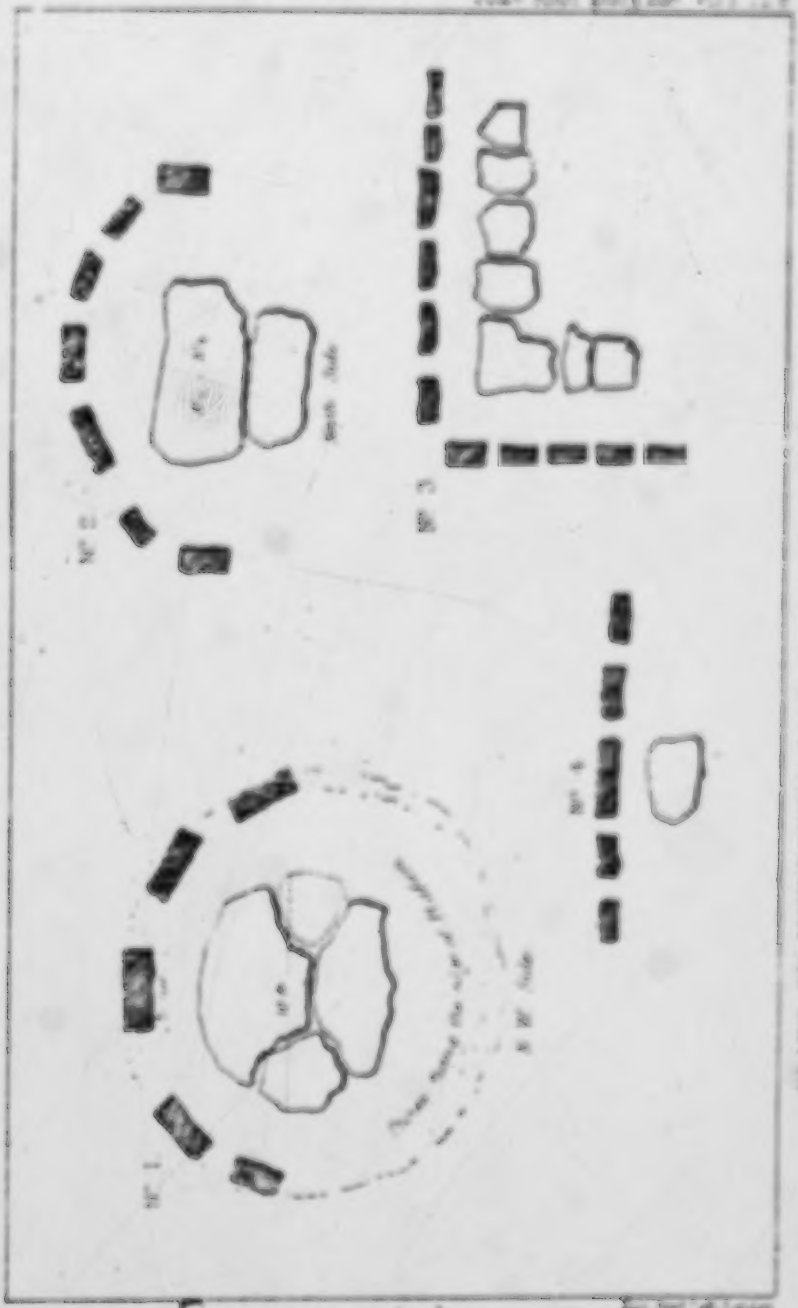

[End plate 4]

10: Clarke U-3 (no date)1874 AR7 Khasi AR7

The Stone Monuments *of the* Khasi Hills. By C. B. Clarke. [Communicated by Professor H. Fawcett, through Sir John Lubbock, Bart].*

[31] The Khasi Hills form a plateau, at a mean elevation of 4,500 feet above the sea, between the plain of Assam on the north and the plain of Sylhet on the south. They are inhabited by the [32] Khasi tribe, a people very distinct from the Hindoos north and south of them, and who are a branch of a race which extends eastward as far as South China. Immediately east of them are the *Jaintea* people, also called Sintengs, who are very closely allied in race and customs to the Khasi tribe. The [33] Jaintea country is physically a portion of the same plateau as the Khasi, and is only arbitrarily divided from it, and exhibits the same grassy hill-tops. The Khasi and Jaintea tribes together occupy the political district administered by the Deputy-Commissioner of Shillong, and the whole plateau is accordingly called the Shillong Plateau by Mr. Medlicott, the Dep.-Superintendent of the Geological Survey in India. Shillong is the English station which is the political capital. The plateau is remarkable for its freedom from the dense jungle which covers the neighbouring Himalayas at similar elevations; it is a fine rocky moor-like plateau, with isolated

* The woodcuts illustrating this paper have been kindly lent by Mr. Murray.

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'0:Clarke U-3 (no date)1874 AR7 Khasi AR7

153 patches of open forest, and with scattered fir trees and oaks. Though south of the Himalaya range the character of the
157 country is more like that found in the Himalayas at 4,000 feet higher elevation, and many plants, never collected in the Himalayas below 9,000 feet above sea-level, are found in the Khasi Hills between 4,500—6,000 feet. In this marvellous plateau the sub-alpine and the sub-tropical forms overlap; at the very foot of elegant palms may be gathered the identical stag's horn moss, which, in Britain, is found only on mountains. On a fir tree much resembling a scraggy Scotch-fir is seen growing the Vanda cœrulea, the king of epiphytic orchids; a gnarled oak will carry a gigantic tropical liana; the painted lady and many other British species of lepidoptera will be accompanied by gorgeous tropical papilios and by window moths eleven inches across the wing; the cuckoo and Himalayan pheasant are above, while the tiger, the wild elephant and the green python are below. Justly has Dr. Hooker observed, "I know no spot in the world more calculated to fascinate the naturalist who, while appreciating the elements of which a landscape is composed, is also keenly alive to the beauty and grandeur of tropical scenery."

211 2. Almost throughout Khasi-land, and in a less degree through the Jaintea country, monumental stones are common. They are numerous in villages in the valleys, but are specially prominent, and sometimes of gigantic size, scattered over the rounded hill-tops where they form a feature in the landscape. In all modern treatises of Archæology and Anthropology the study of monumental stones forms an important chapter. Monuments of a remarkable similarity in design are found alike in Europe, Asia, and isolated islands in the Pacific Ocean, and these are in general of such extreme antiquity that they are treated as belonging to the prehistoric age. The Khasi stone monuments have attracted already much attention; first, because of their great number and size; and, secondly and chiefly, because on these hills the erection of these monuments is now in full practice. It is reasonably supposed that a careful study of the Khasi method of raising the stones, and of the traditions or customs in accordance with which they raise them, may throw some light upon more ancient monuments of the same kind, even upon Stonehenge. It has been proposed to send out a commission from England to survey these Khasi stone monuments. They are described by Dr. Hooker, in his work (Min. Journ. II. 276), also by Colonel Fisher in the *Calcutta Review*, and some account has been lately given by Major Godwin-Austen in the "Journal of the Anthropological Institute," No. 2, Oct. 1871.[1] The present memoir was written

[1] [This article has been prepared for Hodgkin. —Analyst]

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years ago, previous to some of these published accounts, but 211
contains several details not given by any of them.

3. The Khasi stones are of three classes, viz:—

a. The funeral pyres.
b. The kists containing the pots of ashes.
c. The monumental groups.

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It is the last class (c.) which has, hitherto, nearly monopolised attention, and to which the published notices almost exclusively refer.

4. The Funeral Pyres.—When a rich man dies his body is generally reduced to ashes immediately, but his honorific cremation does not take place till some time, often a year, afterwards. In the interim the earthen jar containing his ashes is kept "under a stone" (in Khasi talk) *i.e.*, in a small temporary closed kist. For the honorific burning a pyre is prepared on which the ashes are burnt over again a very little, *pro forma*, and the great funeral feast follows.

The pyre is placed just outside the village of the deceased, on a hillock or in a clear space and near the road. The modern pyres are usually square (approximately), the sides of stone (dressed or undressed according to the means of the family) about four or five feet high, the whole of the middle filled with loose stones and earth up to the level of the walls.*

A pyre was raised about four years ago just outside the village of Mawmai close by the English main road. Many hundreds of men and women carrying from ½ cwt. to 1½ cwt. on their backs pass close by this pyre daily and a considerable per centage rest a few minutes on it. Ledges are raised on two sides, but are by no means essential to a pyre; they merely add a utility. The Khasis mean the ledges to be a convenient height to rest on with a load, and each ledge satisfies this condition, but no Khasi would dream of measuring with a two-foot rule, so as to get them the same height. So the pyre itself is meant to be a square or thereabouts. All the Khasi stonework is done in this way; they do not care to make it geometrically accurate, and consequently in my opinion little valuable result could be drawn from any minutiæ measurement and mapping of the stone monuments.

This pyre at the entrance to Mawmai is one of the most complete modern pyres. The ancient pyres were very seldom (if ever) made with hewn stones, and the Khasis state that in former times they were as often made round (*i. e.* oval) as square. Being thus originally very roughly shapen heaps of loose

* For admirable illustrations of the Khasi monuments, see "Proceedings of the Soc. Ant., Scotland," vol. i, p. 94. Fergusson's "Rude Stone Monuments," chap. viii, and "Asiatic Researches," vol. xvii, p. 368. [Ed.] 113

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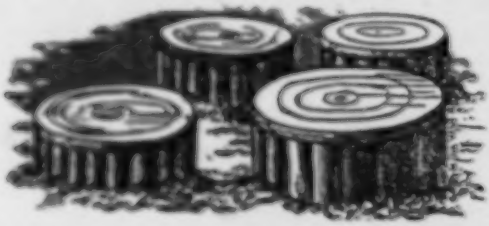
211 unhewn stones, and, being used on only one occasion, they
764 rapidly fall into complete decay. Dr. Hooker mentions that he repeatedly remarked cones of earth, clay, and pebbles, about twelve feet high, upon the hills, which appeared to be artificial. These must have been the broken down pyres.

764 5. THE KISTS CONTAINING THE POTS OF ASHES.—These consist of a circle or square of upright stones, fitting as closely as a Khasi can conveniently make them to do, with one round or square flat stone on the top. They vary in size from a few inches diameter to six or seven feet.



The circular kists are more especially used by the people of the valleys, *i. e.*, who inhabit villages at less than 3,000 feet above the sea; at Walong and Sabhar, which stand west and east of the main Government road as it steeply ascends from Sylhet, there are hundreds (I am not sure that there are not thousands) of kists of this type inside the village. The Khasis of the grassy plateau, the true Nongphlang (*i. e.*, people of the grass in Khasi language, the genuine representative type of the tribe) very commonly employ square kists.

One great feature of the Khasi sepulture is that the ashes of the families are collected from time to time. At first the ashes of a man are probably kept in a small kist. Then after a few years a great general family ceremony is held, and the ashes of the various individuals of the family are collected from the smaller kists. The ashes of all the men are collected into one earthen jar, the ashes of all the women are collected into another, and these two jars are placed in one larger kist, the jar

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of women's ashes next the door, *i. e.*, the last stone closed; the reason of which is that in Khasi-land the woman is always mistress of the house. The quantity of ashes altogether is very small. 744

Each occasion of collection of family ashes is accompanied by a grand family feast, which is mainly of pig. No house of pig could by any chance get inside the kist; that would be horror.

The stones forming the kist fit so closely so a Khasi can conveniently make them; a mouse might, however, generally get in. In the neck of each earthen jar of ashes a close-fitting stone is placed so that no animal could get at the ashes within; but this, of course, does not fit by any means air-tight, and the damp of the climate affects the ashes so much that on re-opening the kists after even a few years, for the purpose of agglomerating the family ashes, it frequently happens that no trace of ashes is found in the earthen jars.

In the descriptions of the Khasi stone monuments hitherto published, these numerous kists appear often overlooked or confounded with the horizontal monumental slab. The kists differ entirely in their object and meaning, and in being closed. So long as they contain earthen jars they cannot be mistaken; but by the continual collection of family ashes the majority of the square kists are left with one side broken down and empty, and in such a state it is sometimes impossible to determine whether the horizontal slab be a monument or the lid of an old kist, unless a family can be found to claim it as their monument. Where there are no upright monumental stones near I incline to suppose that a large majority of these doubtful remains are kists and not monuments.

6. The Monumental Group.—There are two general types of monumental stones, viz., the upright slab and the horizontal slab. 2 ft

The upright slabs are commonly grouped in threes or fives (sometimes they are seven or more); they are nearly always oblong and set up in a row with the tallest stone in the

10:Clarke U-1 (no date)1874 ART Khasi ART

291 middle; central is a representation of a common type containing five stones.

A common height for the middle stone of such a monument will be six to ten feet, by 2-3 feet wide. The stones are sunk not very deep, say 1-2 feet, into the earth; great numbers of fallen stones are seen. Monuments of this character are often placed on the crest of the hills, and in many parts of Khasi-land the landscape appears dotted over with them.

The horizontal slabs are commonly grouped in pairs. The flat slabs may be 5-10 feet long, and are rarely so exactly quadrangular, and they generally have some of the corners irregularly rounded off, and thus pass into the oval or round horizontal slab, which is also a frequent type.

The upright and horizontal slabs are often combined to form a single monument, and perhaps the commonest of all the combinations is that in which five upright slabs have two horizontal before them. The combinations adopted are, however, endless in variety. In these combinations it must be understood that the whole group of stones forms one indivisible monument, which may be the monument of one individual, a household, or a family. Families retain a history of the monuments which belong to the family, and thus in a small degree of the names of their ancestors. Such family monuments may be repaired, added to, or rebuilt from time to time. They are not necessarily placed where the family ashes are kept in kists, or near such kists; but they are usually at no great distance from the village where the family dwells.

The putting up a large stone, say one that stands fifteen feet out of the ground, is a very costly matter, and the monuments of the first class in size in the Khasi country are not very numerous; in the monuments of small stones, the number of stones is often great, I have noticed twenty-one stones in a row, no stone exceeding two feet high.

The upright slabs are (particularly when unaccompanied by any horizontal slabs) usually placed in a straight line. But frequently, where the horizontal slab is round, the upright slabs stand in the arc of a circle, and sometimes the upright slabs are placed in a curved line apparently by accident, or because the nature of the stony ground suggested such an arrangement. Two such monuments occur on the main road to Lailiankote.

Major Godwin-Austen states in his article on the subject that
174 the upright slabs always stand in threes, five, seven, etc. This
207 is a mistake; to have the number of stones unequal, with the
248 central slab the tallest, is perhaps the plan adopted in forty-nine monuments out of fifty; but among the vast variety of monuments

Clarke U-3 (no date)1874 AR7 Khasi AR7

In these Khasi monuments on the binary type may now be found in which there are two equal upright slabs in the middle, and the other stones placed symmetrically on each side of them. 209 210

7. There are three kinds of rock employed by the Khasis for stone monuments, viz.— 211

a. The Cherra sandstone.
b. The Shillong sandstone.
c. The granite.

Small stones are conveyed considerable distances from the place of manufacture before they are set up—large stones are not—hence the material of the monuments is determined everywhere geologically.

a. The Cherra sandstone are tertiary and outcrops extend along the southern edge of the plateau and producing the ledges which mark its abrupt termination. In the great thickness of these sandstones are many beds in which the rock occurs in large sheets with very few joints and well-adapted for working out large slabs therefrom. The sandstone is generally very hard, but not so hard but that the Khasis can work it with their own native-made iron tools. 212

There is a quarry, now in full work, about half-a-mile out of the old Cherra cantonment, upon the Mawlai path, where slabs may be seen in preparation. The slabs made from the Cherra sandstones, admitting of being worked, are generally hewn pretty fairly to a shape and smoothed before being set up. The ancient monuments are, however, often made of very rough slabs. 213

All the well-known monuments near the old Cherra station are made of these sandstones, as also the large monuments at Mawlai, Mawmai, and Litinow. These three monuments all stand on sheets of Cherra sandstone and the stones were cut out of the rock hard by where they now stand. The stones procured now outside the Cherra cantonment, being for transport, are more of great size. 214

The Khasis also work gigantic slabs of stone for bridges. Where the span is anything under twenty feet a single slab four or five feet wide and two feet thick is thrown across; piers of enormous blocks of sandstone are raised on each side, on which the slab may rest, if there is the constant fear that the water rises, in any flood, reach the under surface of the slab. As compared with such a bridge the Khasis regard the best efforts of the English engineers as mere molehills. The arch at Amwee figured by Dr. Hooker is Bengali work. 215

b. The Shillong sandstones extend over a large area of the northern portion of the plateau: they are often more argillaceous 216

10:Clarke U-3 (no date)1574 AR7 Khasi AR7

185 (sometimes they) than the Cherra monoliths, and are geologically ancient, probably being of palæozoic age, but containing no fossils. They are generally inclined at high angles and the beds are full of joints, and do not admit of large slabs being got out of them. I know of no monument of the first class made out of Shillong rocks, but slabs of six feet high are very common. They are generally obtained by splitting out with wooden wedges and are not often finished with iron tools. The monuments on the Shillong sandstone area are therefore of a much rougher character than the Cherra monuments, the stones irregular in shape, and the stones that should correspond in size only corresponding very roughly. It is often very difficult to say whether these monuments are of the regular 3-5-7 stonal type or not, but they all are designed in general accord with the two great types of upright and horizontal slabs.

186 c. A large area, perhaps 1,000 square miles, of the Shillong plateau, is covered with scattered blocks of granite, varying in size up to masses as large as cottages: perhaps the Rollong rock itself (figured by Hooker) might be counted as the extreme size

218

187 such blocks have much. This granite area runs east and west through the centre (or somewhat through the northern half) of the plateau. It is of great width and continuity westward, however broken into isolated areas in the centre of the hills, and

12: Clarke U-3 (no date)1874 ART Khasi ART

to East Jaintia, according to the Khasis, who are good geologists. 135

These granite blocks are found on the steep hill sides and on the hill tops, the valleys between being often entirely destitute of them. The highest hills of the plateau are especially favoured with them as Nongluo (Nonkhlow) and Lailiankote. On the edges of the granite area and on the isolated peaks of the country, outlying heaps of granite blocks are found. Around *Jowyo* (the *Jaintia*, capital), the country is very uniformly at a level of about 4000-4500 feet above the sea, and not a granite block is to be seen there, nor in marching east thence, where you keep at the same level, until you reach the Rallang hill about twelve miles east of *Jowyo*, where the blocks appear again in full force all over the summit of the hill.

From these granite blocks, slabs of almost any size might be obtained, but the Khasi native iron tools will not work this granite, which is very hard, and the granite slabs used in the Khasi monuments are merely flakes obtained by heating the block with fire along a line and then pouring cold water upon it. The upright granite slabs thus frequently exhibit one convex and one concave face, as also do the horizontal slabs which are round or oval, not quadrangular. The flakes are entirely unworked in the Khasi territory, so that the granite monuments have an extreme roughness and ruggedness about them which has been commonly supposed to indicate extreme antiquity. This I believe is altogether a mistake, but at the present time the taste of the people appears educated up to a preference for worked stones, and I have not seen any granite monument in process of construction, though I am told that many have been made within the memory of man. 136

There is an important difference in the *Jaintia* granite monuments which are neatly worked to the approved form. The Bengali Rajahs of the plains *Jaintia* and *Jaintiapore*, have long established an influence in the hills, and Bengali workmen have thus penetrated the hills from *Jaintiapore* by *Amwee* up to *Jowyo*, the hill capital, and further. The Bengali tools are able to fashion this hard granite, and the gigantic slabs, whether used for monuments or for bridges, are commonly found neatly hewn, all the way from *Jaintiapore* up to *Nartiang*, north of *Jowyo*.

Large granite stones are rather more difficult to move than sandstones of the same dimensions, and the first class granite monuments are found on the spot where the granite blocks abound. Where an isolated hill was covered with large blocks, and no blocks were seen anywhere else near, this seems at once to have suggested such a hill as a suitable spot for monumental sections. In just the same way at Stonehenge the large stones

10:Clarke U-3 (no date)1874 AR? Khasi AR?

[16] were all found within 200 yards of where they now stand, as may be inferred from the story stone at about that distance from Shnongpdeng and not made use of: the small stones were probably brought a considerable distance from the government seat in the north of the county.

[16] [17] 8. In the setting up of these monuments the Khasis at the present day use only the simplest and most direct mechanical means. For transporting a big stone wooden rollers are placed beneath it and the stone is then drawn by a large number of men harnessed to it by rattan ropes. To set one of the slabs upright, one end is slipped into a hole dug 1-2 feet in the ground, while the other end is tugged by similar ropes. For putting one stone upon another, as in a horizontal slab monument, it is drawn up a sloping stage of bamboo, but if the slab be of great weight, a slope of earth must be constructed, up which it may be pulled. These are the present Khasi methods, and it is, of course, highly probable that similar measures were employed in ancient times. I add a more particular account of some of the larger monuments.

[20] 9. The monument on the Government main road, about six miles north of Cherra, not far from the village of Litnow, stands on sheets of Cherra sandstone, out of which the slabs were cut. The tallest stone was about fifteen feet out of the ground. The five stones on the left-hand side (west) of the road were erected when I first visited the hills. The five stones on the right-hand side were erected about four years ago, the family to whom the monument belongs having determined on such an addition. The two portions form one indivisible monument, and exactly correspond, the stones being accurately worked and rounded. The two top-knots are seen in several other monuments, but most, I think, be held proof always of a very late date for their erection. At the Mawmai [18] monument a large rosette is carved on the face of the middle of the big central upright slab, which is also I presume modern work.

10. The monument at Mawlee village. This is, perhaps, the monument in all the hills which exhibits the largest slabs of Cherra sandstone. It stands on sheets of the same rock and there can be little doubt that the slabs were cut on the spot. It is of the (less usual) binary type.

11. The monuments at Bamboi to the west of Khasi-land. These consist of numerous horizontal and vertical slabs of no great size, the upright slabs being 3-4 feet out of the ground, but remarkable for their arrangement on a long open slope outside the village. The monuments stand all close together, reflected in a chandelier, so that it is not easy to separate

10: Clarke U-3 (no date)1874 AR7 Khasi AR7

ent each movement. The upright slabs are placed mainly in 2.11
rows, the plane of each slab being parallel to a horizontal line of the sloping ground. The effect of the whole, at a little distance, is exactly that of a ruinous English church-yard. The upright and the flat slabs so exactly correspond to the two types of tombstone which were in almost universal use in England before the rise of modern ritualism, that the correspondence can hardly escape notice. It is improbable that this correspondence can be wholly accidental.

12. The monuments at Laitlankote. These are chiefly made out of a heap of granite blocks which occupy the level top of a small hill, and among them are the largest stones in the Khasi country. Some of the upright slabs are as much as 18 feet out of the ground, and the largest horizontal slab is stated by Colonel Rahan, in his account, to be an irregular ellipse; major axis, 22 feet; minor axis, 15 feet; thickness, about 2 feet. It is one block of granite, and, like all the other stones here, is unhewn.

These Laitlankote monuments are collected on the level top of this hill, and (partly, perhaps, from the nature of the ground) they effect, more or less, a circular arrangement—the upright slabs being placed irregularly in arcs of circles on one side of the oval horizontal slabs. The slabs being of unhewn granite are necessarily oval and not quadrangular; but it should be remarked that, in marching from Cherra to Laitlankote, the monuments will be seen to pass quite gradually from the plane to the circular type.

At Laitlankote, the largest horizontal slab is granite; of the

10:Clarke U-3 (no date)1974 AR7 Khasi AR7

211 others, some are granite, some Shilling sandstone. Of the large upright slabs round the largest horizontal slab, half are granite, half (placed with-it method) are Shilling sandstone. And so with the other monuments on this hill. There is no general plan or system (so far as I can trace) in the arrangement of these monuments, as a whole.

It has been inferred from the gigantic size, circular arrangement, and rude workmanship of these Laitlankote monuments, that they are of extreme antiquity, probably the oldest in the hills. I see no sufficient grounds for such an assumption. The workmanship is no rougher than in other Khasi monuments made of granite and Shilling sandstone: the quasi-circular arrangement may be seen in hundreds of monuments: and as to the size of the stones, that proves to me, chiefly, that the Laitlankote monuments were erected when Laitlankote was a dominant and prosperous village. I do not say that the Laitlankote monuments may not be very old, but I should not be the least surprised if positive proof turned up that they had been erected within the last century.

12. The monuments at Nartiang, figured by Dr. Hooker, and called by him, the "Nartiang Stonehenge." Nartiang is in the Jaintia territory, about ten miles east of the Khasi boundary. Dr. Hooker's picture is on a small scale, and gives little idea of the great extent of the Nartiang monuments, which stand also more closely packed than I should have supposed from the picture.

This Nartiang Stonehenge contains the largest stones of any monuments in the Shilling plateau; they are also remarkable for being of hewn granite, and further, they are not scattered about the hill tops, but placed within the sacred grove of the village, in a valley near a lake, so that they stand, mingled with large trees, in a manner which I have seen nowhere else in Khasiland.

One of the worked granite blocks is 27 feet high out of the ground, about 6 feet broad at the base, and 2½ feet thick, and is neatly shaped and dressed. This, I suppose to be the work of Bengali artisans, or of their Jaintia apprentices, possibly. There are other very large worked granite slabs; one now used as a bridge, but, perhaps, originally intended for a monument. The area at Nartiang, thickly covered with monuments, is not less than an acre, and there are more scattered monuments around. The reading name for this Stonehenge is, that at Nartiang there occurs an outlying cluster of granite blocks. None of the large stones at Nartiang appear to have been moved many feet. The numerous monuments are all referible to the two types of upright and horizontal slabs, as indicated in the picture of Dr. Hooker.

Until the English period, say up to 1830, it does not appear that the Hindoos penetrated much into the Khasi hills; but they did into the Jaintea hills, and I imagine that either themselves or their lieutenants reached as far as Nartiang. There is a typical large movement of upright slabs at Jaintiapore, the capital of the Jaintea plains. 211 177

14. The notes for the above account of the stone monuments of the Khasi hills were placed in the hands of Colonel McCulloch (late Governor-General's agent at Munipore), and I have availed myself of many suggestions which he has kindly given me in the present paper. 000

Discussion.

Major Godwin-Austen said, one of the most interesting points of Mr. Clarke's paper is the notice of the separation of the sexes of the men and women of a family, at certain intervals, into separate earthen pots. I may mention that the shape of the cysts is never the same in any one part of the Khasi hills; sometimes they are oblong and above ground, and sometimes they stand on a raised platform. On opening one, in a part of the country long since deserted, I found entire bones, enlisted, and ornaments; these are now always taken off the body before cremation, but, evidently, in former times, were buried with the dead. The distance the Khasis sometimes carry the monumental stones is considerable. I know of blocks of granite that have been taken into the sandstone area nearly four miles. The custom of setting up these stones is fast dying out, and some villages have given it up altogether. It is impossible to say what age some of the monoliths may be; all history of most of them is gone, and the present generation can give no account of them. The custom is one of great antiquity, I think, and there is no reason why some of the stones, now standing, may not be many hundred years old.

Mr. A. L. Lewis said, if he, as a visitor, might be allowed to make a few remarks, he would suggest that there was no reason whatever for connecting the monuments of the Khasis with those of Britain. Mr. Clarke had spoken of stones lying round Stonehenge as showing that the stones composing it had been gathered close at hand; but this was not so, as they had been brought from a distance of some miles, and there were no loose stones lying round Stonehenge, except those which had been placed there by design. That design was found running through all the British circles that he had seen; but it was certainly not found in the Khasi monuments. It was, however, found in the circles in southern India, figured by Colonel Forbes Leslie, which differed, therefore, from the Khasi monuments, and resembled those of Britain. He had pointed this out before the British Association as long ago as 1869, in a paper which would be found printed in full in the *Journal of Anthropology*, 1870, p. 206, and also in subsequent papers read before the Anthropological Society and Institute, and published in the proceedings.

[p 1]

KHASI KINSHIP AND SOCIAL ORGANISATION

BY

PROF. E. P. CHATTOPADHYAY.

Introduction

124 In a paper on Khasi marriage rules Prof. Hutton has tried
121 to explain the special features of the Khasi kinship terms and marriage rules on the hypothesis of a former dual division of Khasi Society, and certain new social forces which came into
D operation when the dual society broke up (1).

Hutton used for his work, the kinship terms noted in the Assam Census Report (2), Gordon's work on Khasis (3) and a dictionary by U. Nongrang. A full list of Khasi kinship terms was published by Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy shortly afterwards (4). The list is stated to have been compiled with the help of the ex-Siem of Cherra, on the genealogical method. The genealogies have not however been printed, and detailed notes are not available.

Recently the writer of this paper proceeded to the village of Mawphlang, the head-quarters of the Khasi State of this name and collected a certain amount of data to discuss this
C92 [36] problem. The village is situated to the south-west of Shillong, at a distance of sixteen miles, and has preserved the old customs to a fair extent. It is ruled over by a lyngdoh or priest-chief, assisted by four myntris. At the time of the visit, the lyngdoh was away, suspended by the Political Agent for misgovernment, and the powers of the State were vested in the council of myntris. The senior myntri U Sobo Rai, who is an old man

[Also, [illegible] has been presented in [illegible] Khasi [illegible] Society ?]

nearly seventy years of age, spoke English a little, and kindly agreed to help by acting as interpreter. The Chowkidar of the bungalow, a Christian Khasi who spoke Hindi tolerably well was however our principal interpreter. Before proceeding to the village, I had studied Roberts' Khasi Grammar and also learnt simple sentences in Khasi necessary for collecting genealogies, kinship terms and connected details, like the inheritance of the ancestral house and lands. This portion of the data was collected entirely through questions and answers in Khasi; the other details were obtained with the help of myatri U Soba Rai and his friends and the Chowkidar, U Hodrington. On important points however, some checking was made, by simple questions in Khasi, which involved definite answers in the affirmative or negative. My students who had accompanied me for training in field studies, repeated some of my observations, in my presence and with my help and guidance.

My best thanks are due to Mr. E. Gantlin, Deputy Commissioner, Khasi and Jaintia Hills, for furnishing me with the letter of introduction to U Soba Rai and for other facilities. His published notes on Khasi law, especially the chapters on inheritance also proved to be of great value in carrying out the enquiries (I). In the subsequent portions of this article, references to the works of Gordon and Gantlin, will be indicated merely by (G) and (GN) respectively.

[p. 3]

CHAPTER I

According to traditions preserved by the local people, the Iangtlah clan were the first settlers in Mawphlang. The Lyngkhe were invited to come and settle as the Iangtlah wanted priests to perform proper worship for their village. Other clans came later and settled in the State. These old clans are known as Khadar Kur. Myntris are elected from the following four clans—Iangtlah, Khar Shiing, Khar Hunai and Khar Sohlia. The above traditions of the origin of the settlement were furnished by the myntri U Sohn Bai, his sister's husband U Alisan and others. The list of Khadar Kur furnished by the myntri is noted below :— 101 [124]

(1) Iangtlah.	(2) Lyngkhe.	(3) Khar Shiing.
(4) Khar Hunai	(5) Khar Sohlia.	(6) Khar Phonnap.
(7) Khar Kynsie.	(8) Khar Sohkhar.	(9) Marbaniang.
(10) Khar Nartiang.	(11) Khar Mawphlang.	(12) Khar Syntiew.

The genealogy of myntri U Sohn Bai, of myntri U Gung Singh and others are shown at the end of this chapter. In collecting kinship terms, three questions were asked of the informant : 125 601

(i). What is the relationship of B to the informant A (and of A to B). This is shown in the tables as the kinship term.

(ii). What the informant A called B (and conversely). This is shown in the tables as the term of address.

(iii). How the informant A referred to the relationship of B to C, another relative. This is shown as the term of reference.

Generally the terms for (i) and (iii) are the same. In a few instances a distinction was said to be made. Many people however do not observe such distinctions. In the list of kinship terms published by Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy, this distinction has not been made. While his list agrees with mine in many respects, there are important differences. He has noted certain identities in kinship terms, which I did not find, and which have not been noted also in the Census Report.

The kinship system of the Khasis has certain special features:

(a) There is a clear distinction drawn in the kinship terms, with regard to seniority and juniority in age between siblings. This distinction is also made in the generation above that of the speaker, with regard to the mother's sisters, and father's brothers and their spouses. It is also observed with regard to the mother's brothers but not with regard to the father's sisters or the spouses, or their children. The distinction is however observed throughout in terms of address.

(b) A woman refers to her sister's children by the same term as a man to his brother's children; but a woman refers to her brother's children by a different term, which is applied also by her brother to her children.

(c) Certain kin are grouped together. The same term, for example is applied to the mother, step mother, the mother's sisters, and the wives of the brothers of the father. Similarly, the father, the step father, the father's brothers and the husbands of the mother's sisters are grouped together. In both cases, the actual father and mother are referred to by a term, to which adjectives denoting seniority and juniority are added for the other relatives. The mother's brother and the father's sister's husband have a common term. But the mother's brother is always distinguished by adding the adjective of age noting his position as elder or younger uncle. The father's sister's husband is not so distinguished. The sister of the father is clearly distinguished

from the wife of mother's brother by a term denoting relationship through the father. The mother's brother's wife was stated by my informants in Mawphlang not to be denoted by the term "Kha" or "Kain Kha" which was applied only to the father's sister. She was merely Kain. 601

(d) A man and his wife applied to the brothers and sisters of the spouse, with one exception the same terms (with a term added to qualify) of relationship as for own brothers and sisters. This practice is extended also to the children of these relatives. The exception occurs with regard to the term used by a man towards his sister's husband, and by the latter to him. It is a single special term, the distinction extending to the term of address. In the other cases, the qualifying term even is dropped in address and no distinction is then made between a sister and the wife's sister, or a brother and the husband's brother.

In order to appreciate the significance of features of Khasi Kinship, it is necessary to note in brief, the rules of descent, inheritance, and succession among the Khasis. An excellent summary of these have been given by Gurdon. The rules of inheritance and land tenure have been further elucidated by Cantlie and others in the work already mentioned. I shall illustrate essential points in the next chapter with reference to the genealogies included in this paper, and also note certain additional details which were observed by me. 601 611

Abbreviations used in the kinship table are those employed in an earlier paper. They are noted below :—

F—father	M—mother	B—brother
S—sister	S—son	D—daughter
H—husband	W—wife	C—child
e—elder	y—younger	o—other
e.s.—man speaking	e.s.—woman speaking	

The prefixes U and Ka have not been noted in the case of most of the kinship terms as superfluous.

60 In the genealogies Ka before a name denotes a woman, and U, a man. Hence no special symbols have been used to distinguish sex. Abbreviations used are :—

[128] [illegible] — dead. [illegible] — not remembered. [illegible] — not known.
[illegible] — died young. [illegible] — unmarried. [illegible] — not born.

Unless the village of birth is stated to be otherwise, it is Mawphlang.

Relationship	Kinship term	Terms of address	Terms of reference
F.	U Kpa	I Kpa or Ka Kpa	— Ki
S.	U Khun.	Ka Khun.	—
D.	Ka Khun.	Ka Khun.	—
M.	I Mei.	I Mei.	Ka Kmie. Ki
M.s S.	Mei Kun.	Ka Mei kun.	Ka Kmie Kun.
M.s D.	Mei Kuh.	Ka Mei Kuh.	Ka Kmie Kuh.
p.G.s. (m.s)	Khun Kuh.	Ka Khun Kuh.	—
s.G.S. (m.s)	Khun Kun.	Ka Khun Kun.	—
p.G.D. (m.s)	"	"	—
s.G.D. (m.s)	"	"	—
M.s B.	Ma Kunghah.	I Ma Kunghah.	U Kmi. (s)
M.s S.	Ma Khynnah.	I Ma Khynnah.	U Kmi.
p.G.S. (m.s)	Dynn.	Ka Dynn.	—
s.G.S. (m.s)	Dynn.	Ka Dynn.	—
p.G.D. (m.s)	"	"	—
s.G.D. (m.s)	"	"	—
M.s S.W.	I Nia.	Ka Nia.	Nia.
M.s S.S.	Dynn.	Ka Dynn.	—
M.s S.D.	"	"	—
M.s D.S.	"	"	—
M.s D.D.	"	"	—
M.s U.B.	Pa Kun.	Ka Pa Kun.	—

Relationship.	Kinship term.	Term of address.	Term of reference.
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
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Relationship.	Kindred name.	Tribe of children.	Tribe of reference.
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—
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[illegible]	[illegible]

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Relationship.	Kinship term.	Term of address.	Term of reference.
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—
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[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	"	"	"
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	"	"	"
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	— [illegible]
[illegible]	"	According to age	—
[illegible]	[illegible]	"	—
[illegible]	"	"	—
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—
[illegible]	"	"	—
[illegible]	"	"	—

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Relationship.	Kinship term.	Term of address.	Term of reference.
S.D.	"	"	—
W. fad H.	Po Hyouak.	Ko Po Hyouak.	—
W. bro. H.C.	Khon Bak.	Ko Khon Bak.	—
W. bro. H.	Po Sao.	Ko Po Sao.	—
W. fad H.C.	Khon Bak.	Ko Khon Bak.	—

(a) Myint U Sein Rai insisted on the form I Kpa and similar forms for certain relatives as noted. (Kpa—Pa).

(b) The kinship term and term of reference was not distinguished by younger informants.

(c) The kinship term and term of reference was not distinguished by younger informants. Two Christian informants gave the term Mama in place of Kai and Sangbak. It is the Bengali and Assamese term for the M.B.

(d) No distinction was made by age.

(e) No distinction by age. Younger informants said that "Kai" was also used in place of "Ma".

(f) No difference according to sex of speaker. But some of the younger informants stated Hyouaw to be the kinship term in place of Bak and Kong for e.B. and e.S. and also M.S.E. and M.S.D. if older.

(g) The older informants gave these terms. Young men and women failed to distinguish between kinship terms and those of address commonly.

(h) The husband and wife address each other as parents of the children.

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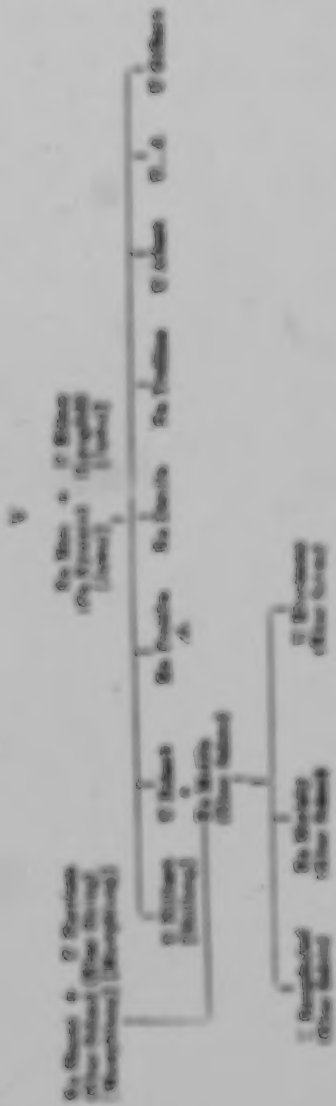

[p.19]

CHAPTER II

Descent, among Khasis, is counted through the mother; residence is also matrilocal. A woman lives with her mother from her birth until some time after her marriage. After one or two children have been born her husband may build for his family a house on the village land, in the village of the wife; this house becomes her property. The ancestral house goes to the youngest daughter. In the absence of a daughter the next youngest sister's youngest daughter becomes the heiress. Rarely, a man will take his wife to his mother's village. This case will be considered later.

A man is born, in the house of the mother's mother, or if the parents have built a separate house, in the house of his mother. He continues to live there until his marriage, when he generally goes to live in the wife's mother's house, whether it is in the same village or a different village.

The mysteri U Sohn Rai married in the village of Mawphlang, where his mother also lived, and built the house, which is known as his house. It is, technically, the property of his wife Ka Shyrugh and will be inherited by Ka Dhaiboo, and thereafter, by Ka Elistima. The house of U Sohn Rai's mother, Ka Jin has been inherited by Ka Eirihun, and will go in the next generation to Ka Pem. If the latter has no daughters, the property will go to Ka Drei and failing her heiress, to Ka Phre and then to Ka Lamih. If she has no issue, it will pass to her sister Ka Lasah and so on to Ka Lajer. If Ka Lajer has no daughters, the property will go to Ka Jem's family to her youngest daughter Ka Aibon. As she has only sons, the next heiress will be Ka Synon, and if she predeceases Ka Aibon or has no daughters, the girl Ka Risibon will inherit next. If

427 she does not have any daughter, the property will pass to the female descendants of sisters of Ka Long, as her elder sisters Ka Lamon and Ka Lalem have left no daughters. It is therefore necessary to distinguish carefully between an elder and a younger sister, and also similarly between sisters of the mother. The generation of the women of the same house and extended family requires to be noted with care.

The youngest daughter and heiress is termed the Ka Khaddah. As Cantlie remarks the "Ka Khaddah is the custodian of the family property, not the full heir in the sense known to other systems of law, but a limited heir. She is
[364] responsible for the performance of religious ceremonies.....; she cremates her mother, and if she be Ka Khaddah of the whole family, she puts the bones of all members in their final resting place under the stone (mawbah) of the clan. The expenses of this ceremony are considerable and for this reason she gets a larger share of property, or in some cases a piece of family property in addition and apart from her separate share. Members of the family who are unable to earn for themselves and have no children to earn for them have the right of being fed at the ing-Khaddah" (house of the heiress).

429 The management of the property is however vested in the men of the family. The ancestral property of the family of myntri U Subu R...'s mother was under the management of U Joi, in his mother's life-time; then, on the death U Joi, the next brother U Doi became manager. After U Doi, the management came to U Subu Rai. After him, the authority will pass to U Hojem, as U Sumkurai is dead and then to U Nodem. Any sons of Ka Pres and other sisters will not get any precedence over U Nodem. As the senior U Kai of the Iangbiah Kur, U Subu Rai is also the manager of the common property of the Kur.
[427] This land has been leased out to various persons and the total income is divided among the different houses of the Kur.
428 Whenever there is money to be distributed U Subu Rai calls together all the representatives of the Iangbiah houses and

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divides equally. U Subu Rai explained that each house counted as a separate unit. Thus if Ka Jem, Ka Jin and all their daughters were alive, the married daughters who lived in a separate house, namely, Ka Laimon, Ka Laibon, Ka Aimon and Ka Hoiman of Ka Jem's house, and Ka Phre of Ka Jin's line, would each get a share. But Ka Jem and her Ka Khadduh Ka Aibon who lives in the mother's house would get only one share. So would Ka Jin, Ka Eiribon and the unmarried daughters of the latter. The descendants of Ka Lung would get seven equal shares for distribution to each house, and not two shares first, divided later into shares corresponding to the number of daughters for Ka Jem's and Ka Jin's house. The manager does not get any share of the collections. Authority in the management of the ancestral property therefore passes from one male to another, in the extended family, and the Kur, in a manner which necessitates a clear distinction of seniority and juniority of brothers, among themselves and also of sisters with regard to brothers.

The case of succession is similar. Gurdon notes that the Siemship in Mylliem State passes from a man to his next brother, and "failing such brothers, by the eldest of his sisters' sons; failing such nephews by the eldest of the sons of his sisters' daughters; failing such grand nephews by the eldest of the sons of his mother's sisters" and so forth in the female line. In Nongkrem, the son or similar male relative of the High Priestess becomes by delegation a Siem. The office of the High Priestess passes from a woman to her eldest surviving daughter; and failing daughters to the eldest daughter of her eldest daughter; failing daughters of her eldest daughter, to the eldest daughter of her second daughter, and so on. This is the customary line of succession, and is stated by Gurdon to be "uniform in all cases" practically.

Neither levirate, nor sororate are practised by the Khasis. Widows are stated (G) quite often not to remarry if there are daughters. There is no question of the control of the property

587 421 of the woman by her husband. No occasion arises either of taking his place on death, by his brother or by sister's son; or of a sister of a deceased wife being made over to a man, as is the custom among Garos, where the husband of the heiress manages the property of his wife. Among the Khasis, the widow or widower cannot normally remarry before the end of a year after the death of the husband or wife. When a year is over, a payment is made to the Kur of the deceased to remove 587 782 the disability. If the man or woman want to remarry before the year is out, a larger sum is paid. In Mawphlang, a sum of Rs. 5-4-0 is paid at the end of the year and Rs. 11-4-0 for untimely remarriage (within the year). The payment is made to the Ka Khadduh of the deceased in each case, and a ceremony severing the relation with the dead spouse is performed. A pig is purchased with the money and it is sacrificed in the house of the Ka Khadduh by a man—usually a neighbour. If the deceased was a man, the following invocation is made: [539] "Ha kane ka mied la shim nong sang bad knia nong sang is phi. Ka tnga uta uta ban ia khuid."

Free translation :—

"On this night the tabooed person is sacrificing to you. The wife of so-and-so (naming the man) is hereby made pure."

The pig is then killed by thrusting an iron spike through the shoulder. It is then cooked and eaten by the people present. This mode of killing is known as "dung."

The myntri Orongsing, whose genealogy has been noted, remarried a year after the death of his first wife Ka Resimai. This woman died two years ago, and the ceremony for removing the bar on remarriage was performed only last year. The money was made over to an old man U Ru, who is well acquainted with the rites. He purchased a pig and killed it by the "dung" method in the compound of Ka Resimai's mother, Ka Sheribon. The spike might be of wood or iron, stated U Ichon. I was informed by the myntri U Subu Rai that the ceremony of

removal of the bar on remarriage was also of the same kind elsewhere in the neighbouring States. Clearly, the idea of leviration or sororation is incompatible with this idea of the marriage bond continuing even after death and necessitating a ceremony to break it. It may also be noted that while the Khasis permit divorce somewhat easily, remarriage is not permitted of either party "within the family of the divorced husband or wife" (G). A Khasi cannot also marry two sisters, although he can marry irregularly, more than one woman and also the wife's sister after the decease of the wife. We can now discuss why a woman or a man refers to the brothers and sisters of the husband or wife by the kinship terms used by the spouse, qualified by a special term. When a man marries and goes to live in the house of his wife's mother, he comes in contact with unmarried sisters of the wife. But he knows that they are sexually to be avoided. He lives in the wife's mother's house only during the life time of his wife. A wife's sister is comparable to a Kur sister sexually, during this period.

But his economic relations and religious ties require that a distinction should be made between these "sisters" and the "Kur sisters." The qualifying term supplies this requirement. The woman, on the other hand, has no direct relations with her husband's brothers. She has however to keep in touch with the husband's female relatives. The bones of the husband go over to the mother's house and eventually to the clan ossuary. The husband is also a potential manager of the property of his female relatives. She has therefore to take note of the order in age of her husband's sisters. As her husband uses the terms for sisters for the sisters-in-law, it is quite natural for her to extend such usage to her husband's sisters. The brothers of the husband do not count at all so far as the woman is concerned, and she will not therefore have any special term for them. As the sisters are referred to as Para Kynsi and Hymmen Kynsi, so will the brothers of the husband be referred to by similar terms. The absence of any sexual privileges between the woman and her

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husband's brothers fits in with such a terminology of kinship. It has not however determined the terminology.

We have referred to an exception in the case of kinship terms used by a man. His relation with his wife's brothers is quite different from that of a woman with the husband's sisters. The wife's brother is the manager of the wife's ancestral property; also this uncle has to be associated with important rites at birth and death of the children of the sister. Nevertheless, the husband has also his own position. The house that he sets up after marriage belongs to his wife no doubt; but he is the master there. As Gurdon states "It is he who faces the dangers of the jungles and risks his life for wife and children. In his wife's clan he occupies a very high place, he is second to none but U Kni, the maternal uncle, while in his own family circle a father and a husband is nearer to his children and wife than U Kni. The Khasi saying is "U Kpa uba lah ban iai, U Kni Uba tang ba ka Iap ka im" which may be translated freely as "The father bears the heat and burden of the day, the maternal uncle only comes when it is a question of life or death."

A man and his wife's brother represent the two aspects of the relationship which binds every man in Khasi society to his mother's house and to his wife's house.

Clearly, the two men, the sister's husband and the wife's brother, each have rights which are similar. Also they have close contact in many matters. Their relationship to each other is however distinct from that of brothers. Among the latter, authority depends on seniority. Between the S.H and the W.B, such a question does not arise. Each is in a position of authority, but in a different sphere. A special term is obviously needed to denote this special relation, which is reciprocal.

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CHAPTER III

It is evident from the discussions in the previous chapter, 601
that the children born in a house have to take note, as they grow 604
up, of the seniority and juniority among the sisters of the mothers, and also of the brothers of the mother. They have however very little relation with the brothers of the father, and we have to explain why the latter are classed with the father. This point will be discussed later. Here we may note that the relative lack of importance of the father's sisters has resulted in her not receiving distinction by age in the table of Kinship terms ; it is however indicated in address. Similarly the wife of the mother's brother is also not distinguished by age.

It may however be questioned why such a distinction by age is extended to the husband of the mother's sister. As noted before, a Khasi does not set up a separate house until one or two children are born. The children who are born in the house of [593]
mother's mother, are looked after like mothers, not only by the progenitress but her sisters. While there would arise no question as to who is the actual mother, it would be normal for the children to call the mother and her sisters by the same term which would thus cover the women of that generation who live in that house. Each little child would find its mother's sister addressed as "mother" by its playmate and cousin. Hence he or she would also tend to extend the term to the mother's sister from the mother. Under such circumstances, the simplest mode of distinction would be to apply the term "mother" to the actual relation, and add qualifying adjectives for the sisters of the mother. The Khasis use for this purpose, quite appropriately, terms denoting seniority and juniority for reasons previously stated. Reciprocally, a woman uses the same terms for

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her children and sister's children, using an additional term for the latter, to make the distinction clear. The mother's brother's wife, and the father's sister live elsewhere, and cannot therefore share the same kinship term with the mother. The husbands of the mother's sisters are comparable to the father, as these males are all outsiders who have married the women of the house. The actual father "U Kpa" is the husband of the actual mother "Ka Kmie" and is clearly distinguished. The others are the husbands of the "Kmie San" and "Kmie Nah." Hence they are given the labels of "Kpah San" and "Kpa Nah" or "Kpa Khynnah." They derive their kinship terms denoting "father" through their wives who are called mothers by the children—not through any sexual rights on the wife's sisters. Such sexual rights, as noted before, have no existence. Hodson is not justified in ascribing this identity of kinship terms to alleged marriage rules and sexual rights which were operative in a hypothetical earlier type of Khasi society.

The mother's brother is important to the Khasi child, and has a special name, Ma, with an adjective such as Rangbah to indicate his position among his brothers. His relation with his sister's children is different from that of the mother's sister's husbands. It is more or less formal and ceremonial. A similar relative, on the father's side of the family, is the father's sister, though her position is not so important. Nevertheless, the two relatives are comparable. The mother's brother is in charge of the management of the mother's ancestral property and helps in performing important social ceremonies for the group. The father's sister is the repository of the bones of the father's family; in her is vested the preservation of the family religious traditions. Both these relatives live in houses separate from those of the nephews and nieces concerned and are, in a sense, of other households. Each of them was born in the natal house of one of the parents. They are therefore clearly distinguished from the father, the mother, the sisters of the mother and their husbands. But a common term, allowing

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for difference in sex, is applied to both. The corresponding uncle and aunt by marriage are referred to by terms which make this clear. The husband of the father's sister is a "Ma" like the mother's brother and is also referred to as "Kni." But as his position by age is unimportant, the adjective of position is lacking in his case. Similarly the mother's brother's wife and the father's sister have a common term "Nia"; but the latter has her relationship through the father clearly indicated by the additional term "Kha" which refers to kinship through a male. The mother's brother's wife is, on the contrary, an aunt by marriage. The husband of the father's sister derives his term through his wife; and the wife of the mother's brother, through her husband. The identities M.B. = F.S.H. and M.B.W. = F.S. are therefore derived indirectly and are not original. Hodson's hypothesis that they represent actual identity of kinship in an earlier dual society therefore turns out to be superfluous.

Reciprocally, a man refers to his sister's children by a term which is different from that for his own children. A woman also refers to her brother's children by this term which is different from that used for her own or her sister's children. As indicated, the M.B. as well as the F.S. are both on a parallel footing, and are practically labelled together, allowing for differences of sex.

We may say that there are, in Khasi society, two clearly recognised units. One of these is the house and household, where the men and women have been born. Inside this house group, the sisters have similar rights, actual as well as potential. As we have seen, on the death of one sister, where there is no female issue, another sister takes her place in continuing the traditional religious entity of the group. The brothers again, among themselves, take one another's place in succession, in the matter of authority, and of management of the family property. The other unit is that of the woman, her husband and the children. We may refer to it as the unit set up by marriage.

Referring to the first type, we may say that the second type results from the men of the house going out to marry women of other houses. As the men settle down in the wife's mother's house and later on set up a separate house on her land, the continuity of tradition in the house of birth is kept up by the women who remain behind.

It would however be a mistake to suppose that the bond between the members born in a house is severed on marriage. We have noted before that the bones of a dead man return eventually to his mother's house, for final deposition in the clan cinerary, or at least that of the extended household. The bond between the mother's brother and sister's children has also been noted as well as the authority exercised by the former over the extended family.

Further links between a man and his mother's Kur will appear from a study of the rules of inheritance and land tenure with regard to men. Any property that a man acquires before marriage belongs to his mother's house. Myntri U Subu Rai, for example, earned money before his marriage, and he purchased some land with this amount, in a village called Mawbeh. It will go to his sisters and their heiresses on his death. The earnings of a man after marriage, and after he has settled down in his wife's mother's house (or wife's house), among Khasis proper, generally go to the wife and daughters on death. But any gifts made by the parents at marriage have to be returned on death. Slmilarly, if a man has earned money after marriage, independently of his wife's capital, a part can be claimed on death by the man's mother's group.

Again, if a man returns to his mother's village after marriage, he can exercise his rights to cultivate the common land there. Every village community has its common land known as Ri Raid. As David Roy states (CN), "people can occupy a raid land where they build their houses and cultivate. For cultivation purposes land not more than can be cultivated is taken. The occupant can sell his house and the site and the garden of

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his house or paddy field or grove; but the sale does not extend to anything more than his right of occupancy.....Any site, garden or place of cultivation if abandoned, can be taken by another."

A son of a house of the village, of which the Kur is of the ancient settlers or has been given similar privileges, has the right of building a house, and of cultivating land in the Ri Raid. Reference has been made to the rare practice whereby a man brings his wife from her mother's house to his own village. In such a case he may set up a separate house on the community land, and cultivate some of it, to maintain his wife and children. The property will pass, on his death, to his daughters as usual. It will not go to his mother or sister.

(*a*) The man U Hariluk married twice, but did not settle down with his wife on either occasion. He built a house in Mawphlang which is his mother's ancestral village and brought each wife there. Both of them were divorced in turn and have left. If any of his wives had lived with him the house would have gone to his daughters. Now, however, the heiress is Ka Jrom, the daughter of a sister. [Genealogy I(*b*))].

(*b*) The woman Ka Lakimon is of the old Lyngdoh clan of Mawphlang. When U Lynsun married her, he set up a house in Mawphlang and cultivated land. But on his death, the woman went away to Shillong with her children, about 10-15 years ago, selling the house and abandoning the jhum land. The son U Bellestar has recently come to Mawphlang and is working in U Subu Rai's house. If he settles down, *i.e.*, marries and wants to set up a house, he can do so on the Ri Raid. (Genealogy IV).

(*c*) The foundress of the Khar Dumpep clan was a woman of the village Dumpep, and of clan Khar Dohling. She had two other sisters. One of the three sisters went to Mylliem, and another came to Mawphlang while the third remained at Dumpep as Ka Khadduh. The girl who went to Mylliem founded the Khar Sohnoh Kur and the girl who came to Mawphlang founded

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Khar Dunpep. These three clans—Khar Dohling, Khar Dumpep and Khar Sohnoh cannot intermarry on account of their common ancestry. U Alisson, the sister's husband of U Subu Rai is of Khar Dumpep clan and furnished me with the above details. He stated that his ancestress married a man of the old settler clans of Mawphlang and came to her husband's village. This man, being of the Khadar Kur, could build a house and cultivate land from the community holding. The property thus acquired passed to the daughters; and gradually the clan Khar Dumpep grew more numerous, and acquired rights in the Ri Raid like an old clan. [Genealogy I(*c*)].

(*d*) The family of the first wife of U Orongsing furnishes another llustration. The woman Ka Li came with her widowed mother from Cherra. The father had been a Synteng from Jowai. The girl has been married by U Ibchon, who is a member of one of the old settler clans. He has built a house for his family and made an excellent potato garden out of the common land for the maintenance of his wife and children. They will inherit it from him according to the usual Khasi mode. [Genealogy II(*c*)].

(*e*) U Roberts who is a Synteng of Jowai, and a Christian by religion (Genealogy V) came to Mawphlang in 1930-31 and after a couple of years married a non-Christian Khasi girl by Khasi rites thereby losing his membership of the church. He cultivated Ri Raid land when he stayed with his wife's mother Ka Shami [Genealogy V]. This woman is of Khar Sohno clan. One of her ancestresses, came to Mawphlang only a few generations ago, and married a man of the old clans. Her descendants have thereby obtained the privilege of cultivating Ri Raid. U Roberts has divorced his wife and no longer possesses this right. He now works as a tailor in the village, and lives with a friend near the bazaar.

(*f*) Gurdon has suggested that the large number of clans having Khar as the first part of the name of the Kur have originated from ancestresses who were carried off from the plains.

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While the traditions regarding the origin of Khar Dumpep and Khar Sohnoh collected by me do not support the view that the ancestress came necessarily from the plains, it is clear that they support Gurdon's hypothesis that those clans are derived from ancestresses who came from or settled in certain villages. It is evident that Gurdon's hypothesis implies that the husbands of these women, who brought them home from elsewhere, could clear land and transmit such property to their daughters, although the mother of the daughters did not own any land locally. This right to clear the Ri Raid is therefore not a recent innovation.

I have noted these details here as this aspect of inheritance from males has not been clarified elsewhere. It is not meant of course that this right to clear land extended to the special clan lands or family property matrilenial of the man. As noted before the Kni manages such land and makes over the income or produce to the women who are the owners. Even in such land, however, a man has some rights. Both Gurdon and Cantlie state that a male can adopt a blood relative of the same Kur if all the female members of the particular stock are dead. He himself holds the property for life only, when the women of the line are dead. On adopting a girl of the Kur, she becomes the keeper of the property and also his successor. But "the profits of his labours in the landed property can be used for his wife and children." The inherent right of the male is brought out to a certain extent in this rule also. Such private lands are known as Ri Kynti. It may be of the family or the clan. As an example of family land may be noted the case of the forest of U Nong Sohra, the husband of Ka Jem [Genealogy I(*a*)]. He cleared some Ri Raid land and planted pine trees there. Only the descendants of Ka Jem can cut trees in this forest which is now practically private property of this group. But the land is essentially Ri Raid in this sense that it cannot be alienated and when all trees have been cut away, any villager will be entitled to occupy it. The Khar Shiing Kur as a whole has true private lands near the village. If people of other clans want to cultivate

it, they have to arrange with the U Kni, who is in this case U Babu of Mawphlang, elder brother of the Myntri, U Mama who represents this clan on the State organisation. Payment is made in money which is distributed to the different houses of the Kur. There is, however, Ri Kynti land of another kind, individual property which can be sold absolutely. It may be noted here that no rent is paid to the State or the British Government for the Ri Raid, Ri Kynti or other lands in Mawphlang, or in general in other Khasi States. The revenue of the State is derived from tolls levied on commodities sold in market places and also from fines and other minor sources.

The fundamental social and economic unit among Khasis is therefore the family house and the extended family associated with it; the Kur represents a later stage in its expansion. Marriage sets up new relations but does not disturb this basic structure of Khasi Society.

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[p.33]

CHAPTER IV

The Khasi marriage prohibitions may now be discussed in some detail. The rules regarding levirate and sororate have already been noted. The Khasi is also exogamous with regard to his Kur. This bar extends to clans derived from the same ancestry. A Khasi cannot also marry his father's brother's daughter, or his father's father's brother's daughter. He cannot marry his mother's brother's daughter so long as this uncle is alive but may do so after the death of this relative. He cannot also marry his father's sister's daughter so long as the father is alive but may marry her after the death of his father. Gurdon remarks that even then "such unions are looked upon with disfavour by Khasis. In the War country, such marriages are totally prohibited." 582

It has been noted in the previous chapter, that the basic unit of Khasi society is the house where the children are born and where the women stay all their lives and with which the men also are connected intimately even when they go elsewhere on marriage. It has also been observed that the authority is vested entirely in the men. The women have various rights not found in many patrilocal groups; but it would be a mistake to underestimate the position of the men in the house. The father is the head of his small family—the simple family consisting of himself, his wife and the children. He is also the person in authority over his sisters' households in matters affecting the extended family as opposed to the simple family. Although his own children, and the children born in his natal house are distinguished on account of their social and economic differentiation, nevertheless, they are, to a certain extent, both like children to 582 602 [594]

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him. His own brothers again, are to him his successors in the permanent rights, which are linked with the house of birth. Their bones all return to the common ossuary of thenatal house. Apparently, this close association of the brothers with the house of birth is responsible for the rule that children of brothers cannot marry. If we formulate the prohibitions from the standpoint of the women, we can get a clear idea of their significance.

A Khasi woman cannot marry her father's brother's son; nor even the son of this cousin. Again, a Khasi woman cannot marry her father's sister's son during the life-time of her father; but may do so after his death. As we know, the father's death and return of the bones severs the link of the children and their mother with the father's house of birth. The women who safeguard and maintain the Khasi religious traditions, will thereafter raise no objection to the marriage of a woman of their house with the father's sister's son, who is now no longer closely related and is a man of another house merely. But the case is different with the other cross-cousin. A woman cannot marry her mother's brother's son, even after the death of that uncle, without incurring odium. In the War country, such a marriage is not permissible even after the uncle's death. We know that the relation with the mother's brother is not severed either at marriage or at death. The links are maintained even after death. His bones come back and rest in the ossuary of the house and the clan of his women relatives. The decease of this uncle does not therefore place his son in the category of a person with whom the formerly existing bond has been broken. We may sum up the distinction as follows :—

In the case of the father's sister's son, the death of the father breaks the link between a woman and her cousin in the other house, as neither of the parents of that male cousin were born in the house or extended family of the woman. In the case of the mother's brother's son, the father of that cousin is of the woman's own house and one with whom the bond endures even

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after death. In the first case the bones of the male cousin's parent will not rest in the ossuary of the girl's house. In the second case, the bones of one parent of the male cousn will rest there. 552

The restrictions on cross-cousin marriage, and the difference in the two cases, bring out the importance of the house of birth and of the women who preserve the continuity of the Khasi religious traditions in this house. From the women's standpoint, the bar on intermarriage of children of sisters is absolute. Their bones will rest in the same ossuary after death in every case. The limitations on marriage of cross-cousins, who are of different households are less strict, the degree depending on the closeness of the link with the house of birth of the woman concerned.

The prohibition of marriage of parallel cousins born of two brothers is based on a similar reason Stress is laid by men on the unity of brothers, just as the women stress the unity of sisters. The rights in property and common or practically common residence, and the custodianship of the 'religion' unite the latter. The authority and other rights already noted, unite the brothers in similar fashion. They also are in a sense guardians of the 'religion.' It is true that they marry in different households; but the bond that links them together and with the natal house is not broken thereby. We have seen that they retain the links and rights during life. Also, on death, they all return to the house of birth, in the repository of bones, and eventually are united with all men born in their house and the houses that have preceded it, in the same Kur. (This unity of the men and separation from the women is observed in the placing of the bones for the two sexes at every stage of the bone disposal rites.) Their children will therefore be linked always to this house through the bones of their fathers.

The recognition of the permanent bond linking the members of the natal house is, therefore, here also the important factor in prohibiting intermarriage between their children.

Hodson has suggested that the prohibition of marriage of parallel cousins was the result of an earlier dual stage of Khasi

582 society. He states "In a dual society the children of two brothers are necessarily so closely related as to be unable to marry. This prohibition takes us straight to the dual days. It survives—because—if it does not directly promote—it does not impede the great social necessity which arises when a multiple society develops from a dual society, the necessity of giving wives to and getting wives from the new groups. The children of two brothers are called para Kha because they are kins on the male side."

The prohibition of marriage of a woman with the father's brother's son's son is ascribed to the necessity of prohibiting "a marriage which maintained and was maintained by the dual system." Hodson explains that under dual organisation and matrilineal descent a man's F.F.B.D. would be of the opposite moiety and married to a man classed as mother's brother. Among Garos a man married his mother's brother's widow and also her daughter under the nokrom system for control of property.[67] "Khasi custom definitely forbids a marriage which is the pivot of the Garo system which rests on the maintenance of the dual interest in the estate. This dual control would obviously be difficult to maintain against the pressure of competing groups which results from the development from a dual basis to a multiple basis." The rules regarding cross-cousin marriage are also ascribed by him to the break-up of the dual system. Hodson did not consider it necessary to distinguish the actual cross-cousin and mother's brother and father's sister from the classificatory kin of that status. He states that the distinction between the two kinds of cross-cousin marriage could not be drawn until "the dual system had ceased to operate, since so long as it flourished, the wife of the mother's brother would be the father's sister." His explanation of the prohibitions is that they "facilitate, may be intended to facilitate and may survive because they facilitate marriages with men of clans other than those of the two, to which the parents belong." Hodson fails to realise that there is no evidence of preferential mating of cross-cousins in the past,

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among Khasis. Even the Garos whom he cites apparently as 582
representing a type of social organisation which the Khasis had earlier, do not encourage marriage with the father's sister's daughter. There is also no evidence that a Khasi ever married his mother's brother's widow. As I have shown earlier, the marriage prohibitions regarding cross-cousins can be explained on the basis of existing social and economic forces in Khasi society. The rule regarding exclusion of the F.B.Z.Z merely states that a woman cannot marry the son of her para Kha. It is not a new prohibition.

We may now state the reasons why a Khasi calls his 601
father's brothers by the same term as father, and the wives of 602
these uncles, as mother, using of course a qualifying term for 604
seniority and juniority. As noted before, a Khasi boy or girl calls his mother's sister's children brothers and sisters. He avoids them strictly in marriage. They are not like cross-cousins, marriageable under certain circumstances. Any sexual approach towards them would have led in the old days to exile and also excommunication. The children of the father's brother are similarly excluded from the category of marriageable persons They are like brothers and sisters, and as such are addressed as Bah, Hep and Kong. They are referred to as Para Kha. As Hodson observes, the term Para conveys, when used as a prefix, the idea of having common rights or status. It also means, when used by itself, a younger brother or sister. The term Kha refers to relation (by birth) through a male. It is used for example in the combination Bah Kha, which denotes both varieties of cross-cousins, the children of the mother's brother, as well as the father's sister. A Khasi man (and) woman has already another set of parallel cousins who are sexually tabooed. Their parents are given terms denoting the father and mother, with certain modifications. As the children of the father's brothers are also sexually tabooed, it would be natural to extend to them the terms used for the parents of the other group of non-marriageable cousins.

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601 The close connection between the social structure of the
602 Khasis and their kinship terms, is evidenced also in the case of the other relatives, by marriage. For a woman, the husband of the daughter is a son of another household, and is referred to by the term Pyrsa, used for persons of the generation below the speaker when they are of another house-unit. Her husband also follows the same rule. The son-in-law is not the son of one who is the potential successor of the speaker, in the natal house. But a distinction is necessary between the Pyrsa who is a nephew, and the son-in-law. This is furnished by the qualifying term Kurim. For the same reasons, the son's wife also gets the kinship term Pyrsa Kurim. We may expect that the reciprocal kinship terms, for the mother-in-law at least, looking at the matter from the house-unit view, will be denoted by a general term of this type. This general term ought to be applicable, with qualifications, to the reciprocal woman relative of the children who are termed Pyrsa, *i.e.*, to the father's sister and mother's brother's wife. But the terms ordinarily used stress the relationship between the houses of these nephews and nieces and their aunts noted above. The terms Knia or Nia, and Kha have come from the relationship between the houses. This aspect of these terms has been discussed in an earlier chapter. Obviously an expression like Knia Kurim would not emphasise the fact that the mother-in-law was a woman of another household. The term Syngken is however used to denote the mother's brother's wife alternatively, and we find that the term Syngken Kurim is also used for a mother-in-law. Although the father's sister and the mother's brother's wife have certain common aspects, we note that only a woman related by marriage with a male relative of the previous generation is referred to by the term Syngken. Thus the wife of the father's brother is occasionally referred to as Syngken, apparently when she is not being thought of as the mother of a para Kha. The father's sister is naturally not termed Syngken. The usage is therefore comparable to the employment of the terms Pyrsa and

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Pyrsa Kurim, for the reciprocal relations. Normally, however, the mother-in-law is referred to by a separate special term which does not stress this aspect of the relation between the two persons.

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THE KHASI HUTS OF MAWPHLANG

BY

RAM KRISHNA MUKHERJEE, RAM CHANDRA BOSE, SALIL RAI CHAUDHURI, SANGI GUPTA AND KUMARES SENGUPTA

114 Post-Graduate students of the Department of Anthropology of the University of Calcutta are expected to do a certain amount of field work for practical training. In 1940 a Khasi village was studied by us, the students of the Post-Graduate class, as part of our training, under the guidance of Prof. K. P. Chattopadhyay, the Head of the Department of Anthropology, whom we have 121 to thank also for the photographs used for this paper. This note 342 on Khasi house structure is based on our work in the village of Mawphlang, the headquarters of the Khasi State of this name, in the Khasi Hills, Assam. Our studies included a survey of the village and its house types. Particular attention was paid to the structure of the old type of Khasi house.

342 Gurdon in his book on the Khasis of Assam describes the Khasi hut as elliptical in shape. But in Mawphlang we found that they can be more strictly said to be 'U'-shaped, in ground plan the bend of the 'U' being the front, the two parallel arms the sides, and a straight line connecting the two ends of the two arms of the 'U' the rear. We found this to be the type of most of the old houses of Mawphlang village. As is well known it is the custom among Khasis for the women of a family to live together, until the number of members increases so much that they cannot be provided with room in a single house. Then new houses are built It is usual for a married couple with children to put up a separate

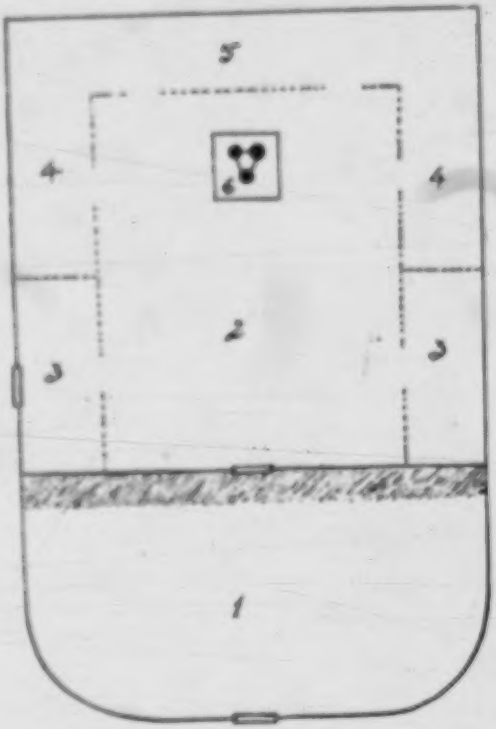
but for themselves. In all these cases the youngest daughter of the family who is known as the Ka Khadduh of the family must live in the old house and maintain the social and religious traditions of the family. In the village of Mawphlang we found that the houses of all the Ka Khadduhs like Ka Sadia, Ka Hosibon and others, and also the old house of the wife of U. Suburai, the myntri of the Mawphlang State, all belong to this 'U'-shaped type. This association of Ka Khadduhs and 'U' shaped huts suggests that this is the old type. The modern huts vary in their structure some being like modern bungalows common now-a-days in Shillong.

The old Khasi house, in general, can be described as follows :—

Generally there is a compound in front and a pigsty at one side, the whole site being enclosed by a fencing of reed and small plants or of wooden planks or some such material. The hut as observed from outside is elliptical in front and box-shaped behind (as seen in the diagram). It is 'U'-shaped in the ground plan. The roof of the hut is sloped on the two sides and spread out like a fan, in a semi-circle, in front.

The material used in the construction of the hut varies. In some of the old houses the walls were found to be made of blocks of stone with mud in the interstices serving the purpose of mortar. The roof had a bamboo frame covered with thatching grass. In other old huts the walls were not entirely made of stone blocks. In some we found the front portion made entirely of stone, the lower portions of the side and of the rear walls, up to a level of two to three feet, made of stone, the remaining portions being made of wooden planks or reeds covered with mud. In some modified huts again (either they were built later or the old huts were repaired) the entire rear wall except at the base and the upper portions of the sides were made of tinplates from used cans nailed to a frame. In some huts corrugated and galvanised iron sheets have been used. The material for the roof

also varies a good deal now-a-days, some being of corrugated galvanised iron sheets and others of flat tinplate sheets instead of



Ground plan
1. Ka Kyndur; 2. Ka Nympei;
3. Ka Kynrein; 4. Ka Ring Kyndong;
5. Ka Rumpei; 6. Ka Dypei.

thatching grass. In some modified houses we found a porch added in front of the main door of the hut.

Entering the hut by the main door, the interior can be divided into two compartments, the front one which is on the ground level and the inner compartment which has a wooden floor raised to a height of about four feet supported on pillars of stone..

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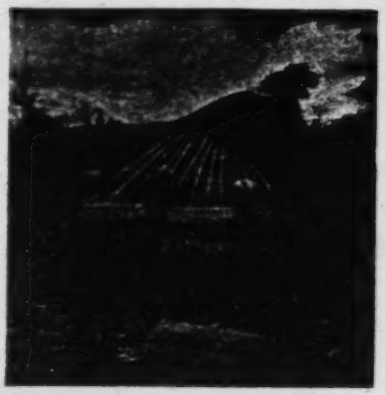
KHASI HUTS OF MAWPHLANG

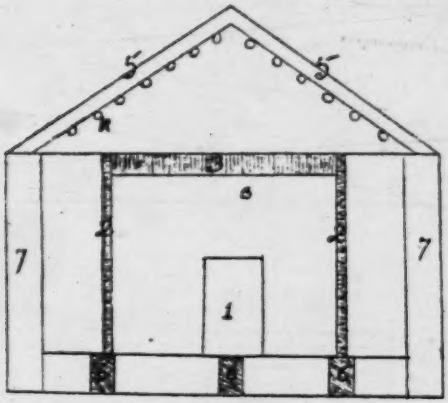
Construction of the frame of the Ka Kyndur



Thatching the Ka Kyndur

[facing p. 180]

342 In some huts there is a wooden partition in between the two compartments, while in others it is absent. The front compart-



ELEVATION

1. Door; 2. Supporting pillar; 3. Bahlymphan 4. U pyniar; 5. (Kynshi) & U bnoh; 6. Supporting pillar of wooden floor; 7. Outer walls.

ment on the ground floor is known in Mawphlang as Ka Kyndur, while the raised portion is known as Ka Nympei. The Ka Kyndur is smaller than the Ka Nympei and is roughly semi-circular in shape as it is formed of the front portion of the hut. Its floor is paved with stone or made of beaten earth. In some huts where there is a partition between the Ka Kyndur and the Ka Nympei, there is a raised shelf in the Ka Kyndur which is really the projection of the wooden floor of the Ka Nympei. From the Ka Kyndur the Ka Nympei is reached by means of a few steps made of stone or a short staircase of wood. Where there is a partition between the Ka Kyndur and the Ka Nympei there is a door in the middle of the wooden partition to enter the Ka Nympei.

The Ka Nympei is rectangular in shape and comprises about two-thirds of the area of the hut. The Ka Nympei is not a single compartment but is divided into smaller compartments at its two sides and the rear by means of low wooden partitions.

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342 But in some huts there are no such partitions and the demarcation is made by the pillars and beams which support the roof of the hut. The small enclosures at the two sides in the front portion are known locally as Ka Kynrein. The Ka Kynrein at the right hand side of the Ka Nympei close to the Ka Kyndur generally is used for storing water. The Ka Kynrein at the left hand side of the Ka Nympei just opposite to that for storing water is used as a larder for potatoes and other provisions. The enclosures at the rear of the Ka Nympei and those remaining at its sides are used as sleeping places. The sleeping places at the sides are known as Ka Iing Kyndong and those at the rear 342 as Ka Rumpei. In most huts there is a window in the Ka 354 Rumpei, high up in the back wall of the hut. In some huts there is a window in the front wall, in the Ka Kyndur. In many huts there is no window at all. Besides the main door in the Ka Kyndur, there is another door to the Ka Kynrein at the right hand side of the Ka Nympei. We were informed that in Cherra the part called Ka Kyndur is termed Ka Shyngkup, and Ka Kynrein as Ka Pyngshai.

In the centre of the Ka Nympei there is the hearth known as Ka Dypei. It is a rectangular space, about four feet and a half in length and three feet and a half in breadth, enclosed by fenders of wood. The floor of the hearth is paved with stone and mud. In the centre of it there are three small-shaped stone 352 pieces which are known as Mawbyrsiew. On the Mawbyrsiew there is an iron triangle known as Ka Nar to hold the pots. The space of the Ka Nympei behind the hearth and in front of the Ka Rumpei is known as Jingbuhkhiewja.

Running round the edge of the Ka Nympei at a man's height there is a wooden frame supported on vertical posts; to this frame are fixed the partitions, separating the Ka Nympei from the Ka Kyndur, Ka Kynrein, Ka Iing Kyndong and Ka Rumpei. This wooden frame is known as Bahtymphan or Bahtympha. Just above the Bahtymphan several stout beams of wood cross the house from side to side and rest on the

352 Bahtymphan. They are known as Ukhung. The Ukhung above the Dypei are placed close to one another. A little apart from this row of Ukhungs, there is a single Ukhung parallel to the others which in some huts is hollowed out and is used as a receptacle for some household articles.

342 The frame of the roof as observed from inside consists of a central ridge pole running along the length of the hut and situated above the middle of it. From the ridge pole pairs of rafters diverge on two sides, their lower ends resting on the side walls of the hut. In front of the hut, the rafters are radially spread out from the anterior end of the ridge pole which is supported by a vertical pole known as Rijit. These rafters rest on semi-circular wall at the bend of the 'U'. The ridge pole and the rafters are known as Kynshi. Besides the rafters there are thinner wooden poles similarly arranged which further strengthen the frame of the roof. They are known as Ubnoh. The small rafters which are set cross-wise on the sloping Kynshi and form each series a 'U' round the ceilling are known as U Pyniar. This frame for the roof is made on those huts where thatching grass is used, that is, in the old type of huts. In modern huts where corrugated or flat sheets of iron have been used instead of thatching grass such a frame is not required.

In the village of Mawphlang, we saw an old type hut, of Ka Lita repaired and re-built. At first the raised rectangular portion of the hut, the Ka Nympei, was reconstructed on a raised platform, with the frame for the roof above it. Then a semi-circular area was taken in front of the Ka Nympei about one-third the area of the inner compartment. Simultaneously with the making of the frame of the Ka Kyndur, the thatch was made in sections in bamboo frames. Then the roof of the hut was covered with these sections which were arranged in overlapping sheets (see plate). An old type Khasi hut is about thirty feet long; it is about twenty feet wide at the back.

343 Reference has been made to the usual pigsty adjoining each house. It is generally a small thatched shed with walls made of

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wood and grass matting. The shed may be partitioned into two 343
compartments one for keeping the cows and the other for keeping pigs. The upper portion of the pigsty is used for storing fuel in some houses. There is no uniformity in respect of this shed.

All the 'U'-shaped huts found in the Mawphlang village 342
were studied. Besides these typical 'U'-shaped huts there are many other huts in the village which are rather flattened in front and can be said to belong to the flattened 'U'-type. In the table given below the variations are shown in detail of the typical 'U'-type huts and also of a flattened 'U'-type hut belonging to Ka Labirmon of Lyngdoh clan. It is peculiar that all these huts have their main door facing north.

Serial No.	*Owner of the hut.*	*Materials used.*	*Peculiarities.*
I.	Ka Hosibon (Khar Hunai).	*Wall*—In front entirely of stone. Lower portions of sides and rear of stone. Upper portions of sides of wood, reed and mud. Upper portion of rear of thatch. *Roof*—Thatched entirely.	Partition between Ka Kyndur and Ka Nympei. No partition between Ka Nympei and its enclosures.
II.	Ka Krin (Lyngdoh).	*Wall*—Wood with an outer cover of reed and thatch. *Roof*—Thatching grass.	No partition between Ka Kyndur and Ka Nympei, and between Ka Nympei and its enclosures.
III.	Ka Thaiup	*Wall*—Planks covered with thatch. *Roof*—Thatched.	No partition between Ka Kyndur and Ka Nympie but the front Bahtymphan is present.
IV.	Ka Pre (Lyngdoh).	*Wall*—Planks with outer thatchings. Very low stone wall all round, at the base. *Roof*—Thatched.	No partition between Ka Kyndur and Ka Nympei.
V.	Ka Li (Rani)	*Wall*—Low stone wall all round. Upper portions of front of reed and mud. Upper portions of side and rear of planks with outer cover of thatch. *Roof*—Thatched.	Partition between Ka Kyndur and Ka Nympei.

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Serial No.	*Owner of the hut.*	*Materials used.*	*Peculiarities.*
VI.	Ka Iet (Khar Dumpep).	*Wall*—Front, sides, and lower portions of rear of stone Upper portions of rear of flat tinned sheets. *Roof*—Thatched.	Same as above.
VII.	Ka Ke (Lyngdoh)	*Wall*—Front, sides, and lower portion of rear of stone Upper portion of rear of flat tinned sheets. *Roof*—Thatched.	Partition between Ka Kyndur and Ka Nympei. In front of the main door a porch has been added,—a two sloped tin shed resting on four wooden pillars.
VIII.	Ka Sadia (Iangblah).	*Wall*—Front and lower portions of sides and rear of stone. Upper portion of left wall of flat tinned sheets. Upper portions of right wall and rear of thatch. *Roof*—Thatched.	No partitions.
IX.	Ka Pren (Khar Hunai).	*Wall*—Front and lower portions of sides and rear of stone. Upper portions of sides of wood, bamboo, and mud. Upper portions of rear of thatch *Roof*—Sloping sides of corrugated sheets. Front thatched.	Partition between Ka Kyndur and Ka Nympei. No partition between Ka Nympei and its enclosures.
X.	Ka Kin (Iangblah).	*Wall*—Low stone walls all round. *Roof*—Thatched.	
XI	Ka Krek (Rap Thap).	*Wall*—Front entirely of stone. Lower portions of sides and rear of stone, upper portions of planks. *Roof*—Flat tin plate.	Partition between Ka Kyndur and Ka Nympei, and between Ka Nympei and its enclosures. One window in Ka Rumpei.
XII.	Ka Eiribon (Iangblah).	*Wall*—Stone all round. *Roof*—Corrugated iron sheets.	All the partitions present. Two windows at the bend of the 'U' by the two sides of the main door. One window at the back of Ka Rumpei at the left side of it.
XIII.	Ka Ko (Lyngdoh).	*Wall*—Lower portions of stone. Upper portions of sides of bamboo and mud. Upper portion of rear of tinned sheets. *Roof*—Tinplate.	No partition beeween Ka Kyndur and Ka Nympei.

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Serial No.	*Owner of the hut*	*Materials used.*	*Peculiarities.*
XIV.	Ka Shyrngeh (Lyngdoh).	*Wall*—Front, sides, and lower portions of rear stone. Upper portion of rear of flat tinned sheets. *Roof*—Corrugated sheets of iron.	Partition between Ka Kyndur and Ka Nympei. A porch in front of hut similar to that in Ka Ke's hut.
XV.	Ka To(Lyngdoh)	*Wall*—Front and lower portions of sides of stone. Upper portions of sides of bamboo and mud. Rear almost entirely of flat tinned sheets. *Roof*—Entirely of flat tinplate.	
XVI.	Ka Pubon (Khar Dohling).	*Wall*—Front, sides, and lower portions of rear of stone. Upper portion of rear of flat sheets. *Roof*—Corrugated sheets of iron.	No partition between Ka Kyndur and Ka Nympei. No steps in Ka Kyndur to reach Ka Nympei. A small porch in front of main door as in the hut of Ka Ke.
XVII.	Ka Donbon (Lyngdoh.)	*Wall*—Lower portions of stone all round, upper portions of corrugated iron sheet *Roof*—Corrugated sheets of iron.	Small opening in the rear wall.
XVIII.	Ka Wer (Khar Wankher).	*Wall*—Same as above. *Roof*—Same as above.	
XIX.	Ka Kyrhen (Lyngdoh).	*Wall*—Low stone wall all round at the base. Upper portions of sides and front of corrugated sheets. Upper portion of rear of tinplate. *Roof*—of tinplate.	Partition between Ka Kyndur and Ka Nympei. Small porch in front of main door as mentioned in some huts previously.
XX.	Ka Labirmon (Lyngdoh).	*Wall*—Low stone wall all round. Upper portions of corrugated sheets. *Roof* Corrugated sheets of iron.	No partition between Ka Kyndur and Ka Nympei.

342

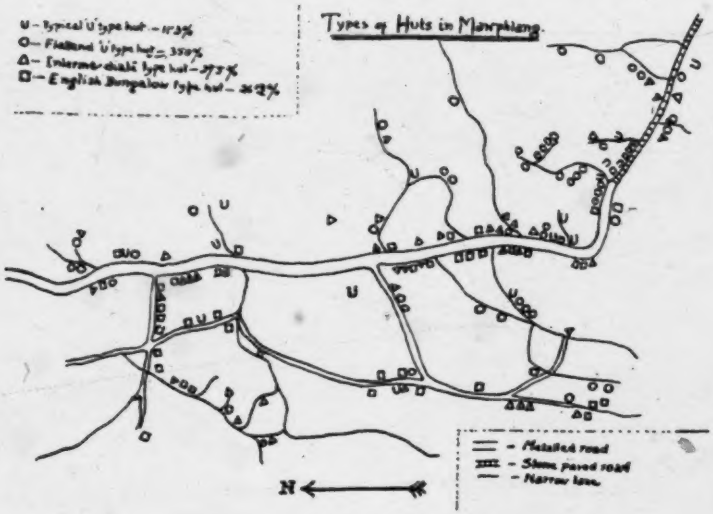
It has already been said that the Khasi house type is now changing. Some such changes have been noted in the table, such as, the addition of a porch, the ground plan of one hut changing into a flattened 'U,' and the extensive use of flat or corrugated iron sheets in place of thatch. As mentioned previously besides these typical 'U'-type huts, in many other huts the bend of the 'U' in front has been flattened but the oval roof in front is present. This is quite common. In other modified

12: Mukherjee et al. E-4, 5 (1940) 1941 AR7 Khasi AR7

342 huts the ground plan is entirely rectangular. In this type of huts the materials used are also different, the corrugated sheets and wooden planks being more used than blocks of stone and thatching grass. The inner apartments, however, conform to the old plan. In the market place of the village there are some houses which are two-storied, the front of the ground floor of which have been utilised for shops. These houses do not at all conform to the old 'U'-type but are square or rectangular in
342 ground plan. Near the market place there are three houses
177 of well-to-do Khasis which resemble the bungalows of Europeans of Shillong (and of the Mission house at Mawphlang) in their structure and material. In these modern houses unlike the old ones the main door faces the street. The myntr U. Suburai who is one of the well-to-do persons of Mawphlang village has his old house (that is, the old house he put up for his wife after marriage) of the 'U'-type, the description of which has been given in the preceding table under the name of the owner, the wife of U Suburai, Ka Shyrngeh. But their new house which has been added to their old one in front of it is altogether of the bungalow type. This new house is entered from a porch in front, leading to the central room which is used as parlour. The myntri generally sits here with his friends, round the fire-place, which is not a Dypei but a hearth in European style. The kitchen is beyond this room. Bedrooms open from the drawing room to the sides.

342 A plan of the village showing the distribution of the various
361 types of hut in Mawphlang is given below. From the plan it
177 will be found that out of the 160 houses in the village, inhabited at present, the typical 'U'-type of huts form about 11·3 per cent.; the flattened 'U'-type about 35·0 per cent.; the intermediate type, which has totally given up the 'U'-shaped ground plan but has its interior of the old type, about 27·5 per cent. and the English bungalow type about 26·2 per cent. This data shows how rapidly the old type of Khasi hut is now changing.

12. Mukherjee et al. E-4, 5 (1940) 1941 AR7 Khasi AR7



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Nirmal Kumar Bose

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SOCIAL GROUPINGS AMONG THE KHASIS OF ASSAM

by BHABANANDA MUKHERJEE

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Calcutta

(Received on 20th October, 1957)

Introduction

131 611 421 [591] [192] THE Khasis, who inhabit the United Khasi and Jaintia Hills district of Assam, are matrilineal. Like the Garos, they, are matrilocal in residence. Exclusive ownership over family property is claimed by the Khasi women and the youngest daughter (*Ka-Khadduh*) who lives permanently in the house of her mother, is the custodian of the family property and the holder of religion (*Ka bat ka-niam*)[1].

121 This paper deals with the social groupings, namely, the clan, sub-clan and family, of the Khasis. The materials were collected in 1954 from Mawphlang, Cherapunji and Mamluh and Mawsmai villages farther south of the Chera State.

Discussion

192 614 [562] [611] In the language of the Khasi, the prefix *Ka* is usually used before the name of a woman or any object belonging to a woman (or considered feminine). The use of *Ka* as a prefix before the name of each social group is suggested to have bearing on Khasi matriliny. *Kur* is not a very expressive and exact term for a clan. *Kabur*, which is supposed to have sprung from the woman (*long jaid na ka kynthei*)[2] is more exact. Similarly, *Ka-K'poh* and *Ka-iing* denote the sub-clan and family respectively.

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[1] Gurdon, P. R. T., *The Khasis*, London, 1914 p. 89.

[2] Op, cit, page 82.

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The primal father and the mother of the members of every clan are respectively known as *U-Parad* (*U-Thawlang*) and *Ka-Meyrad* (*Ka-Iawbei*). 614 192 773

There is a large number of clans among the Khasis and some of the clan names are those of animals and trees. *Shrieh* is monkey, *tham*, a crab, and *dingdoh*, a tree ; yet they do not constitute totemic clan organization. The clan names are not even the names of the ancestress. The clans are not ancestral but rather were territorial in nature when the clansmen (*shi-Kur*) used to live in a place having a common land (*ri-kur*) and a clan ossuary (*mawbah*) where the bones of the dead clansmen were deposited. 614 551

Unlike the clans, the sub-clans (*ka-k'poh*) are ancestral. As for example, in case of the *Siem* clan of the Chera state, it is found that Ka-Khiem was the primal ancestress. Her daughter Ka-Pet had three daughters, namely, Ka-Sngi, Ka-Lngen, and Ka-Kreh each of whom is regarded as the *Ka-K' poh* (*meaning* womb) of their respective descendants who are *shi-K'poh* (the members of the same womb). And their names are the names of the three sub-clans of the *siem* clan. 613

The names of the sub-clans of some of the clans as collected from the elderly Khasi women are given below. 613 614 551

CLAN	SUB-CLAN
1. Siem	— sngi ; lngen , kreh
2. Khongsit	— yin , phai ; har ; jiram
3. Kharshiing	— iew ; mah ; sayngiar , iynean
4. Lyngdoh	— kaban ; summhir ; kamai
5. Nongrum	— tungan ; tungwi ; syngna , buhai
6. Khongrymai	— thania ; thani , barhai , lisi
7. Jaidkhar	— hasi ; haza , tuli ; tula
8. Simpilian	— eli ; mayar ; josi , emi

Family (*ka-iing*) among the Khasis is the socio-economic and religious unit. Due to matrilocal residence, the structure of the Khasi families assumes a different form. The constituent members are the grandmother, her daughters and their children. But the parmanent[1] residents are the youngest daughter (*ka-khadduh*), her husband and daughters. It takes an 596

[1] [Should read: permanent.— Analyst]

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596 extended form more often when the children of the deceased sisters of *Ka-khadduh* reside there. This extension is on the mother's side and is affiliated through the extension of mother-child relationship.

Additional members like widower brothers or widowed sisters make the Khasi family a composite one.

In a Khasi family father, mother and her brother are very important. Father who is regard as *Mynder* (stranger) or *Ushong kha* (begetter), has also the position of *Kynrad* (master) of the house (set-up by him). He is the executive head and the mother is the *dejure* owner of the household.

177 Modern conditions and spread of Christianity have greatly
178 affected the Khasi society and changed the Khasi ways of life
604 but have failed to alter the traditional mode of inheritance even
593 among the Christian Khasis. Another important fact which is
[428] apparent in the Khasi families, is the change of the status of the mother's brother (*Uknii*) in his sister's house. His influence has greatly been diminished due to clash with *Ka-Khadduh* (heiress). He has almost lost his control over his sister's
[562] family. This has made the women exert their status to a danger point. Consequently, some amount of maladjustment in the relationship system, moral depravity and disintegration loom large in the family horizon.

Family is the core of Khasi social organization and the
596 closeness of familial kin with the members of the sub-clan is
613 due more to the fact that sub-clan owes its development to the family. A *Shi-K'poh* (member of sub-clan) is a secondary relative and can easily be approached for any help.

The functions of the above mentioned social groupings are
614 as follows :

Clan (*Ka-Kur*)—It regulates marriage. It being a larger non-residential kin group contact between its members is infrequent. The amount of social participation needed on certain level to intensify the relationship among its members falls far short of. But nevertheless, there existed among the members

614
764 [Should read: regarded.—Analyst]

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of a clan some ceremonial attachment developed out of the custom of depositing the bones of the clansmen in clan ossuary and renewing the relationship between the clansmen on the ceremonial occasion of *thepmawbah* when the bones were finally transferred from *mawshieng* (ossuary of a sub-clan) to *mawbah* (ossuary of a clan). 614 764

Social bond among the clansmen is due to the performance of common religious ceremonies (*phur*), worship of common deities and spirits of household (*Ksuidnia*), water (*puri*) and hills (*Ksuidlum*) and observance of mouring for three days for the death of clansmen with the cessation of outdoor work specially with implements. 614 [796] [776] [765]

Economic bond among them is due further to the possession of common land (*ri-kur*), which is divided into separate holdings held by families. [423]

Sub-clan *(Ka-k'pon)*—Unlike the clan, sub-clan has nothing to do with the regulation of marriage. Its main functions are socio-religious. Mutual interest in the welfare of the members of sub-clan evinced in the observance of *aibam** in honour of the dead grandmother, profund sentiment grown out of the former practice of depositing the bones of the dead persons of the same sub-clan in *mawshieng* and the responsibility of bearing the expenses for *thepmawbah* bind the members together. 613 [765]

The observance of mourning on the death of a person of the same sub-clan for three days and the consequent [765]

*Offering of food to the spirits of the dead ancestors.

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613
[765]

cessation of transaction of money (*kheinsbai*) during the period, compulsory social participation in marriage, household worship, and funeral ritual, and the pride for the privilege in sucession to *siem-ship* (chieftain ship) hold together the inner structure of the society in fulfilling its function.

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Family (*Ka-iing*)—The functions of family centre round the :

1. performance of basic religious rites,
2. management and inheritance of family property,
3. maintenance of social relations with the kin of *ka-k'poh* and *ka-kur*,
4. protection of familial kin.

602
867

From the above discussions it may be inferred that the social groupings of the Khasis function in different dimensions and make the individuals aware of their duties, and obligations towards each other. In the process of socialization and enculturation of the individual they learn that the individuals, the different social groups and the community at large are inseparable.

Even from infancy a boy is infused with the idea that family comes first in regard, sub-clan second, and clan third. The kin of the family are primary relatives, and those of the sub-clan and the clan are secondary and tertiary respectively. [553] One bow and three arrows given by a father to his son in his naming ceremony (*jerkhun*) symbolise their relationships with the three social groups. With the first arrow man has to fight for *shi-iing* (members of the same family) and *shi-k'poh* (members of the same sub-clan), with the second for his *shi-kur* and with the third for the state.

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[title page]

IV. THE PLACE OF THE KHASI IN THE WORLD.

By

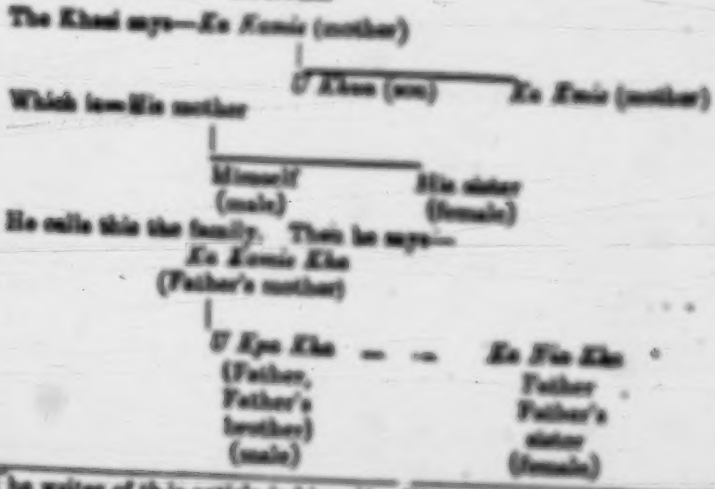
David Roy

131 The Khasi country lies in the hills of the pro-
[64] vince of Assam in North East India. Khasi clans
[61] are exogamous and matrilineal, and the Khasis speak a
[197] MonKhmer language.

121 In speaking of the place of the Khasi in the world I intend to explain the Khasi's own view of his relation to other peoples of the world.*

829 The Khasi is very conscious of his importance. He says a Khasi claims to be the centre of the world. The Khasi has acquired such a feeling of self-importance from his great confidence in himself; and this confidence he has derived from the position in which his relationship-terminology represents him as standing with respect to himself and the world around him. Or, rather, his relationship terms and language are an expression of his attitude and notions.

601 The Khasi says—*Ka Kmie* (mother)



[114] * The writer of this article is himself a Khasi (Christian).

He calls this the world. So a Khasi places his family on one side :— 601

Ka Kmie	*U Khun*	*Ka Kmie*
(Mother)	(Son)	(Mother)

which consists of his mother, himself, his sister, and, the world on the other side :—

Ka Kmie Kha	*U Kpa,*	*Ka Nia Kha*
(His father's mother.)	*U Kpa Kha* (Father, brother)	(His father's sister)

But he places himself again between that family and that world, and claims again :—

Ka Nia Kha	*U Khun Kha*	*Ka Bakha*
(Father's sister.)	(Father's son) (Himself.)	(Father's sister's daughter)

Thus he brings it nearer to himself and claims again :—

Ka Kmie Kha Ma	*u*	*Ka Para Kha*
(Father's mother)	(*u Khun Kha*) (Himself, Father's son.)	(Father's brother's daughter.)

Thus in the family—He stands between the mother and his sister ;—and outside in the world—His father—stands between his (the father's) mother and his (the father's) sister.

Thus is the world the Khasi stands between his mother and his sister, and between his father's mother and father's sister. 602

This happens when on the death of his uncle he stands between, and on behalf of, his sister and mother; and, on the death of his father, he stands between, and on behalf of, his father's sister and his father's sister's daughter.

On the death of his father's younger or elder brother he stands between, and, on behalf of, his father's mother and his father's brother's daughter.

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827 The Khasi's interpretation of his life is this,—'long jaid na ka kynthei,' i.e., from woman sprang the kind, or species; 'U kha uba ai ka rynieng,' i.e., it is the father who gives the stature or person. Thus, the mother produces the kind or species, and this kind 'ka jaid' springs and remains in the man's own house ('ha laing') by his mother, and is continued by his sister and his niece, sister's child. 828 The stature or person, is produced, crystallised and is endowed with power and fortune, that is, with power to resist forces which affect a man's capacity to grow in power and in fortune, by his father, father's younger brother and father's elder brother, and by the father's nephews.

602 Thus the Khasi says all those who spring 835 from the same womb are his kind, '*jaid-u sang*'; that is, they are forbidden as 'sacred' because, he says, they are suckled of one and the same breast. They are 'sang jaid.'

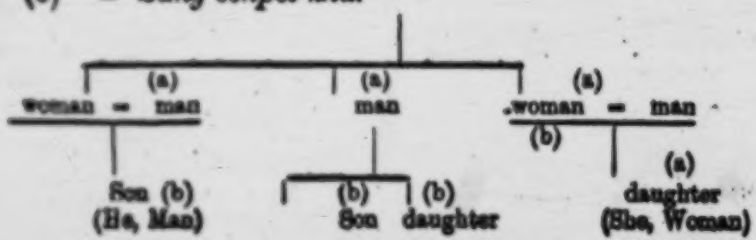
Again, he says, all who receive or derive re- 827 trospectively their stature from the common source 602 which gives birth to man's body—*u sang*, that is, they are tabooed or are sacred as they come out or spring or are generated from one navel-string (umbilical cord), *u sohpet kha*. They are '*sang sohpet kha*.'

(a) = *Sang jaid*

Table Woman

(1)

(b) = *Sang sohpet kha*.



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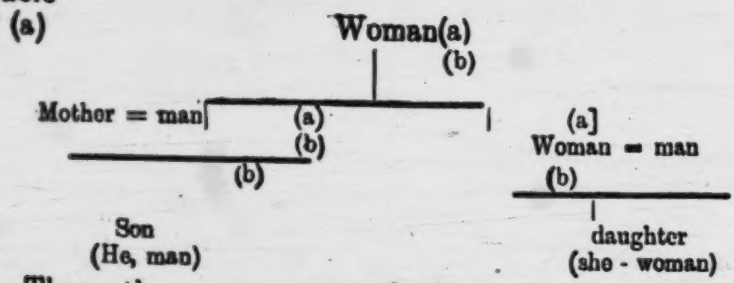
Thus the Khasi says, "I do not marry (and I cannot even think in this wise of) my own mother, my own sister. They are of the (a) group. I cannot think like that of my father's mother (kmie kha), father's sister (nia kha), father's brother (kpa kha), father's brother's children (para kha). They are of the (b) group." On his mother's side *u sang jaid*, that is, he is *sang* or forbidden as being of the same clan, kind, species. On his father's side *u sang sohpet kha*, that is, he is *sang*, forbidden as being of the same umbilical cord. 602 835

Then he finds only himself and his *bakha* (cousins, the children of his father's sister),—he being the son of a man born of one woman, and they the children of the sister of that person, born or whose 'statures' were generated from one man.

Table



Thus the *a* woman and the *a* daughter and all those between these two and those after these two, join to the *a* woman in life through the two primary stages of life in its essence when it was sustained through the umbilical cord and later by the woman's breasts. [827]

So the *a* woman and the *b* son and all those between the two and those after these two,

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602 join to the *a* woman in life through only one of the primary stages in the life essence when it was sustained through the umbilical cord.

Thus the connection of the *a* group is sustained to a much longer period and greater intensity in its life-formation to the *a* woman, than the *b* son.

Hence we have the double means of sustenace of life producing, through the umbilical cord and the breast, the single group *a*, while the single connection of life-formation through the umbilical cord produces a double a+b man-woman connection with the *b* son.

Thus he stands alone in the centre and he places his *jain na ka kpoh* (the kind which springs from the same womb), that is, those of (a) group (see tables) on one side, and he places his *kha* or those connected, or sprung of, the one umbilical cord, that is, those of (b) group on the other side. On the other side is *ka rynieng ka rngiew*, the 'stature', the person from which he also derives his. Then the Khasi calls the source (*thymmei*) from which he springs, *ko kur ka rngiew* (stature, person) *ki kha na uwei u sohpet* (those connected or sprung of one umbilical cord).

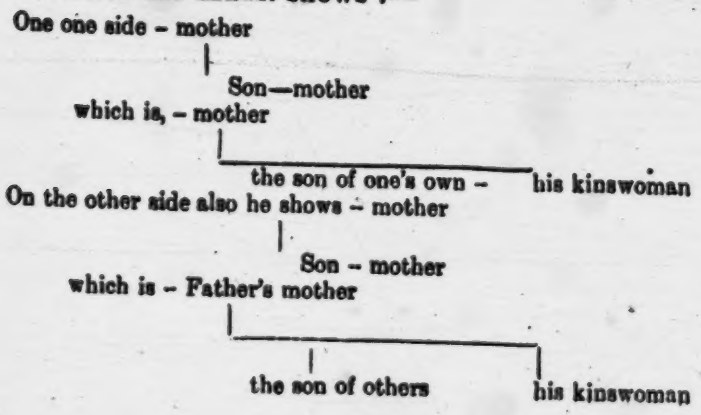
602 Thus the Khasi has his house of *ki kur ki jaid*
609 the relatives of his kind and species, and his world
156 of *ki kha ki man*, relatives of other people's kind and species with whom they are able to propagate human life.

This interesting Khasi fabric of human rela-
[186] tionship between man and his mother and father, of the connection between a man and his fellow-

14:Roy I-5 (no date) 1938 AR7 Khasi AR7

human beings all over the four quarters of the globe (*ehi snieh ka pyrthei*) with whom, in the world, he can give in marriage and take in marriage, shows the nature which is believed to be innate in the Khasi, and his supposed power of moulding the world. His nature is to grow and to resist, to extend and spread out. It is against his idea of life to remain narrow or limited and resourceless. He is not to be made small or made an orphan, it will not do for him and his idea of the world to '*sah khlem khun kelem kti*,' stay without kind and species, without child, without issue. A couple would even seek to separate if there are no children of the union. His idea is, so to say, 'imperialistic,' to sow and spread out. As I wrote elsewhere, "A Khasi marries men and women of all races; to his Khasi parent the issues are all one and the same without any distinction of caste or creed or colour or possessions. The children are the 'khun kha' (*khun* = child, *kha* = born, i.e. children who are born through the union of a descendant of the parent with a descendant of another parent), and these children are unified into families and are assimilated, in the Khasi idea of life, while these groups of families are traced to their mother and are made to revolve on this ancestress as the pivot of their existence."

Thus the Khasi shows :—



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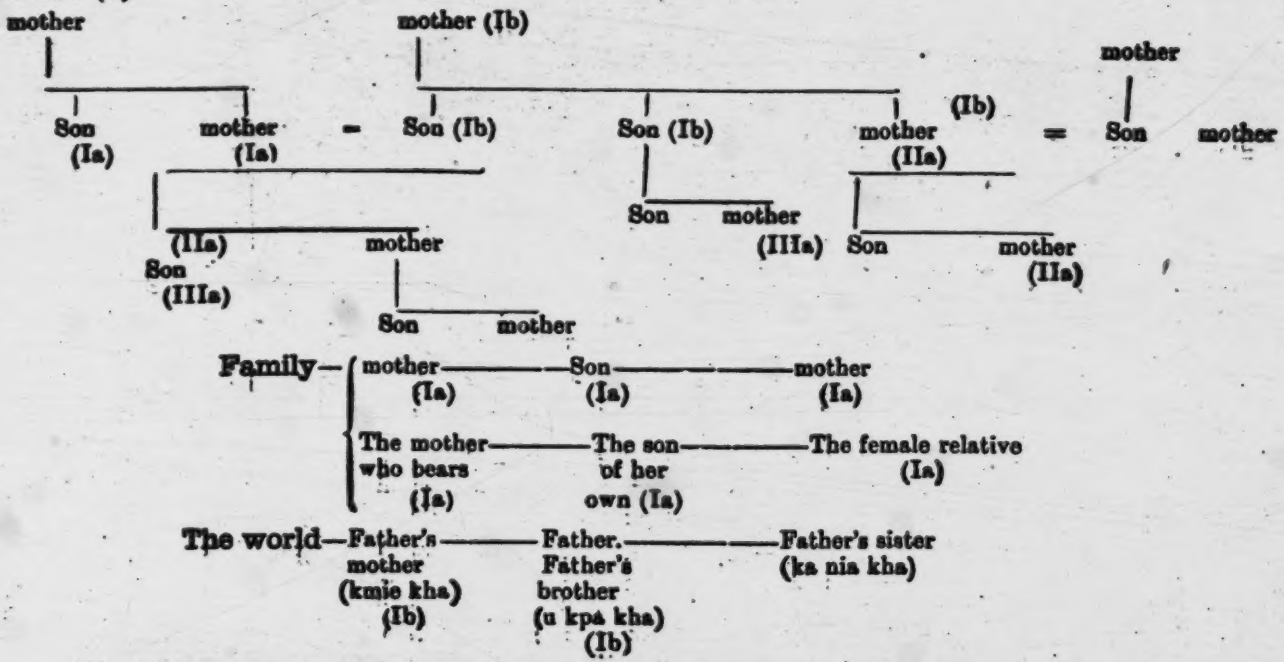
In their midst the Khasi places himself always as the son of the world, thus—

Table (3)



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For the species to increase and continue he says, Here—

The mother to bear and give birth—	—	The son of others	The aunt *ka nia kha* (father's sister) } Ia, Ib

156 601 611

For the house to continue and the world to remain he says, Here—

The aunt *ka nia kha* (father's sister)	—	The son *u khun kha* (son of brother of ka nia kha)	The cousin *ka bakha* (daughter of *ka nia kha*) father's sister) } Ib, IIa

For the person (*rngiew*) to crystalise, and the stature (rynieng) to remain he says, Here—

father's mother (*ka kmie kha*) —	The son *u khun kha* (son of brother of *ka nia kha*, who is grandson of *ka kmie kha* (father's mother)	The cousin *ka para kha* (daughter of father's brother) } Ib, IIIa

The Khasi knows the 'sang' (*sacra*, sacred, that which is forbidden as sacred). He has experimented and therefore he says *ka sang iap* (*lit.*, that which is 'sacred' or forbidden or taboo unto death) in the case of those who committed incest in the same *jaid*, kind, species, that is, those of the *a* group. It is sacrilege. There is no greater punishment than for this sin,—a punishment so severe that the Khasi will not permit the bones of these transgressors to enter the family cairn. Similarly they regard as an act of sacrilege for children of brothers (*shi para kha*) to intermarry. Thus the Khasi regards as 'sacred', that is, forbidden or tabooed, for those who are sprung of or connected through the same womb, and for those who are generated of and are suspended from or strung to one umbilical cord in origin, to marry. That is they regard as *sang* for the *a*+*b* man—woman group to marry the *b* son. [see Tables (1) & (2)].

684 582

14:Roy I-5 (no date) 1938 AR7 Khasi AR7

582 The Khasi knows the 'byrsieh'. The word *byr* means 'to appear', and, *sieh* means foul, thus *byrsieh* means to defile or corrupt; and '*tep*' means cover, *byrtep* means to cover, to spread over. Hence *ka byrsieh ka byrtep* means something which spreads over and makes everything foul, defiled and corrupt. Khasis regard marriage even in the case of cousins as not the right thing (*lit.*, not good), the *khun kha* (son of the son) that is the *b* son and his sister to give the seed to the house of his *kmie kha* (mother of the son, i.e. father's mother), that is, the house of the *a* group. Thus [824] no seed, e.g., seed of trees, rice, cucumber, pumkins, *shriw* or Job's tears, or millet, are taken from the children of the son by the family of the mother of that son, that is, no seed is taken from the children (*ki khun kha*) born of the son by his mother and sisters. Any seed given by these grand-children born of the brothers must be paid for if taken by his mother and sisters.

Thus Khasis do not consider that it is good for children of the brothers to marry the children of the sisters, though they are cousins, i.e. for III (a) to marry II(a). They believe that there will be misfortune and that they will not thrive. They consider it is better that the brother of II(a) marries the sister of III(a). In the case of these nearest cousins, however, they avoid such marriages so long as I (b), the father who is the uncle of II(a) is alive. [Table (3)]

Khasis do not consider it the right thing (regard it as 'bad') for the elder or younger brother of the wife to marry the elder or younger sister of

14:Roy I-5 (no date) 1938 AR7 Khasi AR7

the husband. Whichever side is *jem ka rwiang* 582
(*lit.* whose person is less strong, less able to resist the evil) will suffer death. The word *rwiang* means more than literally 'fortune.' The word *rwiang* goes with *rngiew* and the two are coupled together as *ka Rngiew ka Rwiang. Rngiew* is the person, the man's 'ama'. '*Rwiang*' is the encircling power produced by that person, hence *jem ka rwiang* means the power encircling the man's person becoming easy of being conquered or subdued. (*Jem* = easy, pliable.)

In a word, the Khasi's idea of himself is that he 156
stands in the middle of the world. We do not 601
find terms in the languages of peoples with the family system to express varieties of relationship to the extent that we have in the Khasi vocabulary. Some of the other languages content themselves with terms for father, mother, uncle, aunt, cousin. They have no words to differentiate the classificatory-descriptive system of terms showing relationship with mother, mother's elder and younger sistere (*mei, mei san, mei nah*); father and his elder and younger brothers (*kpa, kpa san, kap nah*) and father's brother's children (*para kha*), father's mother (*mei kha*), mother's mother (*mei rad,*) wife's brother (*kynum*), husband's brother (*kong*), and so on. We find in the Khasi sociology, departments of 156
social organization indicating the attitude towards 829
life which is peculiar to the Khasi. The terms are 601
not mere names but serve to show well-defined groups based on an idea of their special functions. As Dr. R. R. Marett says, "Exogamy, and everything 121

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[2] else that we do is instinct with a *plus*; and for the student of religion or of human culture in any of its forms, to account for that *plus* is the sum and substance of his task.....Whereas, then, there is likelihood that any *a posteriori* reason existed for believing that in-breeding makes for sterility, if indeed it be true in fact at all, there might well have been an *a priori* conviction to much the same effect based simply on a fear that to tamper with the fountain-head of human vitality would somehow cause it to dry up." The Khasi stands in the world as exogamous in his rule of life, and he says '*sang bad byrsieh*', that is, endogamy is forbidden and if it should ever be committed it will render life defiled and corrupt. He says this out of the fear of the knowledge that any act of carelessness in the prohibited area of the source of human life and vitality, which is in the Khasi phrase '*long briw*' (*long* is to be or become, *briew* is man, i.e., to be or become man), will make that source of human life to dry up. So he says, 'duh I jaid I khong' (*duh*=is exterminated; *jaid*= kind, species; *khong*=root).

156 829 582 [885]

In refutation of such aspersions as that the Khasi has no rules of marriage, I shall quote the most sacred pronouncement the Khasi when two persons, the man and the woman, are initiated into that state. Calling upon the name of God the Khasi says—"*U Lei thaw briew man briw, u' Lei ne ka 'Lei synshar'*, (God who creates man and is the source of human life, God who keeps, controls, preserves), "*Hei ko Blei na jrong, Ko*

582 585 [539]

14: Roy I-5 (no date) 1938 AR7 Khasi AR7

Blei na tbian, ko Lei Synshar, Ko Blei triw, man briw, kumba la hukum kumba bhu ma phi U Blei ka Blei ban long I Kha I man, kumba la pynhiar ka synjat mynta ka sgni, ba phin tip, ba phin sngew na jrong ho kyndiang ba ita I jaid bad ita I jaid ki la iapoi kha poi man ban iaroi ban ia man ban ia heh ka long kynthei ka long shynrang', Oh God from above, oh God from below, Thou God who controllest, who keepest and preservest, Thou God who createst man and the origin and source of human life,—as ordained by Thee, Oh God, U Blei (God in the male aspect), Ka Blei (God in the female aspect) that there should be *I Kha* (person to bear and give birth) *I man* (person with whom and through whom to give cause to life and to grow), as token has been brought down this day, [a ring is given], so that Thou mayest hear clearly from above, that such and such *jaid* (kind, clan) and such and such a *jaid* (kind, clan) have become joined in marriage in order to increase, in order to grow, so as to increase the state of being female and the state of being male (i. e. male and female population)." [This is said as a woman of a certain clan always marries a man of a different clan.] As I have said elsewhere, "There is no tradition among the Khasis that there was ever a time when the status of marriage did not exist among our ancestors. There is a belief among the Khasis that they were instructed in their religion and that their ceremonies and rites were delivered by God Himself to the

14:Roy I-5 (no date) 1938 AR7 Khasi AR7

581 [773] *Hynniew Trep Hynniew Sknm* (the seven nests, seven roots). These seven nests or roots were seven pairs of virgin women and men created by God to marry and they formed seven houses (families) and from them the country was filled and the rites and ceremonies were obtained. Thus the Khasi takes pride in the fact that God Himself delivered their religion and the rites and ceremonies unto them. ... The Khasi matrilineal system has come down through ages and with a definite idea of the union of one man with one woman. This is significant for those who consider that marriage is and has always been common to the whole human race, and it raises the question as to whether the Khasi idea is the survival of a period when the nature of paternity was not understood".

[851] [603] [553] In the sacred rites of baptism of this simple folk we find that a Khasi grandmother will not officiate in the name-giving ceremony unless in the marriage of her son with the woman to whom the child is born there has been the regular ceremony of marriage.

14:Roy
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AR7 Khasi

/See category 116 for numerous native terms which are used and defined in this text. These have been marked for pertinent subject categories. -- Analyst/

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GARO AND KHASI 000

A Comparative Study
in Matrilineal Systems

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TO MY FRIENDS 000
IN THE GARO AND KHASI HILLS
without whose help this book
could not have been written.

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* Spelling of Garo and Khasi names in this volume follows local usage in each case, not the standard orthography.

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PREFACE

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The purpose of this monograph is to present theoretical problems of Garo and Khasi social organization in relation to those of other matrilineal systems. In fact, the study of these two matrilineal systems has led me to enquire into many other matrilineal systems, as will appear throughout my discussion in Parts I and II. As a result, I think I have reached certain conclusions of theorical interest concerning matrilineal systems as a whole; these are presented in the last part of the book.

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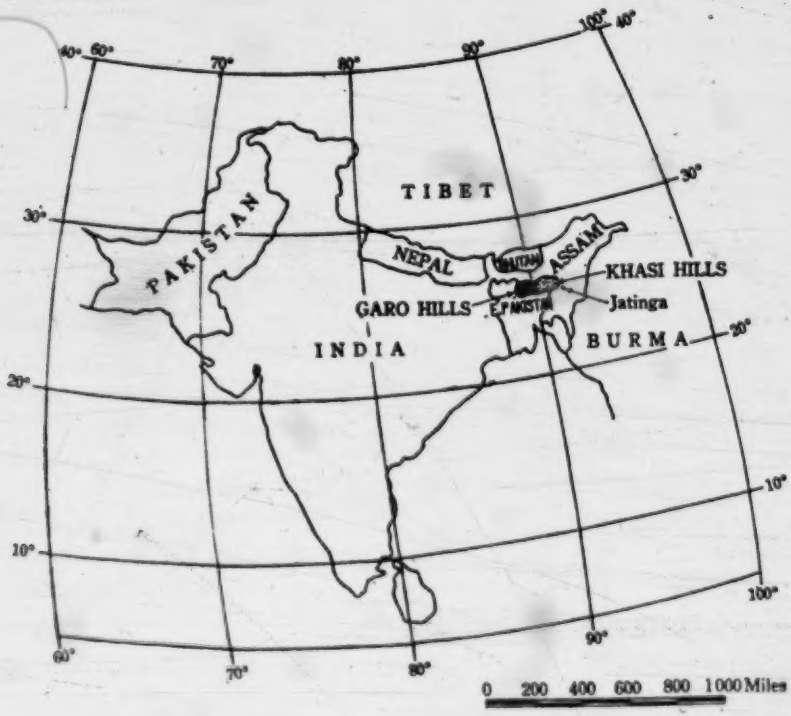

MAP 1. — *Location of the Garo Hills and the Khasi-Jaintia Hills.*

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From the beginning of my field work, my interest lay in a *comparative* study of the two systems, not in preparing a complete monograph of the cultures of the two peoples. I used the period of my field research in working among the two peoples alternately, so that I could constantly check from one field to the other as new problems appeared.

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The period of my field work was very limited (October, 1955-February, 1956). I did not know the vernacular of either the Garo or the Khasi (Since Garo language has much commonness with Tibetan language which I was used to read and speak, I could quickly get used to follow their speech during my field work, but I failed to do so in Khasi language). I employed altogether five local English-speaking interpreters (out of the five, three were pagan, and all had relatives in the villages where I worked). But I already had experience in studying the economic and social organization of other hill peoples in Assam, having carried out two years (1953-1955) field work among tribes in Tripura State and among the Tangkul Nagas in Manipur State, as also among Himalayan peoples. This all helped me a great deal in my work among the Garo and the Khasi, and is one of the reasons why I could collect such a considerable amount of *data*, in spite of the alove mentioned handicaps of my actual field work. (Later on, I carried out field research for four months among the Nayar of Kerala, to provide further *data* for comparative study.

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The Garo and the Khasi present very different structures from each other. In order to present a more effective picture of each structure, I have used different ways of presentation, each of which brings out certain important theoretical implications. The emphasis is laid accordingly upon different features: in the case of the Garo, it is the marriage system in relation to the village community; in the case of the Khasi, it is variation in marriage forms related to the structure of descent groups.

K a 122

I wish to express my profound gratitude, first of all, to the Elin Wagner Foundation in Stockholm, by whose generous grant the field work of this study was carried out, and next to Professor C. Lévi-Strauss, who has consistently encouraged me to complete this manuscript and has very kindly given me this opportunity for publication. I am greatly indebted also to: Professor Fred Eggan, Professor Raymond Firth, Professor Meyer Fortes, Professor C. von Fürer-Haimendorf, Dr. E. R. Leach, Dr. Audrey Richards, and Professor D. M. Schneider for much stimulating discussion and helpful comment on the theoretical problems of this study.

I am grateful for invitations from the Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago (1959-1960) and the Department of Cultural Anthropology, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London (1960-1961), as also for an association with the Department

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of Anthropology, London School of Economics and Political Science, which allowed me to give series of lectures on this subject. I received great profit from discussions with staff and students of these institutions in the preparation of the final manuscript. I have a special debt to acknowledge also to Professor Sol Tax, who has afforded me consistent help and encouragement in this work. I also had some interesting discussions with Miss A. Pikelis McCormack, and Dr. R. Burling each of whom worked in other areas of the Khasi and Garo Hills. I also wish to express my thanks to Mrs. Fürer-Haimendorf of the School of Oriental and African Studies, and Mrs. Horn of London School of Economics for their kind help with the manuscript.

A major acknowledgement also goes to the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research who supported this study, and to the Centre for Advanced Studies in Behavioral Sciences for its hospitality in the summer of 1959 when the first part of this manuscript was prepared.

Finally my most grateful thanks go to the Institute of Oriental Culture, University of Tokyo, which in its generous appreciation of the needs of a social anthropologist has permitted me to have a sufficient period of research abroad to make this and other studies possible.

London, February 1961.

Chie NAKANE.

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Part I

GARO SOCIAL ORGANIZATION 000

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

I. ECOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

The Garo are one of the groups of hill peoples of Assam. They 101
are in many cultural aspects similar to the Naga, the Kacharee and other hill tribes, but they are characterized in particular by the matrilineal system. The Garo occupy the area known as the Garo Hills, but scattered groups extend for some distance into the plain. Administratively the Garo Hills form a separate unit which is bordered by the Goalpara District (mainly part of the Brahmaputra valley) to the north and west, and the Mymensing District (East Pakistan) to the south. The eastern border continues to the Khasi Hills where there lives another people with matrilineal system—the Khasi (see Part II). The Garo population in this District was estimated at 242,075 in the 161
Census of 1951.

The structure of the Garo economy and society is related to the 133
type of land they occupy. In the heart of the Garo Hills lie the Nokrek, the Tura and the Arbela Mountains, from which subsidiary ranges run from west to east. All the rivers in the Garo Hills flow down from these central ranges to the northern, western and southern plains. The altitude ranges from 1,000 to 3,000 feet. The climate by 132
Indian standards is moderate, though field workers find it very exhausting to go through the jungle between the end of February and the middle of October. After the exhausting tropical heat from February to April, the monsoon season which lasts from April to September, brings heavy rainfalls which cause many routes in the Hills to be blocked. Due to the warm climate, the heavy rainfalls and moderate 137
altitude, the Garo Hills are covered by thick semi-tropical forests 136
where wild elephants, leopards, tigers and other wild animals thrive. The soil is one of the richest in Assam, producing good crops of rice, 134
cotton, chili, yams, timber and many medicinal plants.

Traditionally the Garo distinguish among themselves a dozen 619

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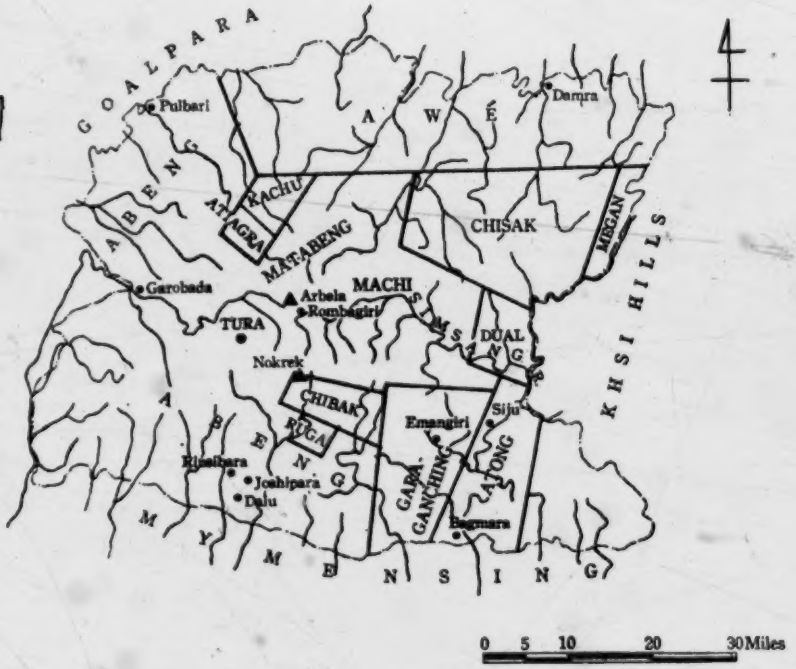
619 groups related to geographical area: namely Akawé (Awé), Chisak, Dual, Machi, Mathabeng, Kochi, Atiagra, Abeng, Chibak, Ruga, Ganching (Gara) and Atong.[1] These twelve groups can be arranged according to social and cultural similarities in the following seven categories:

1. Awé, Chisak and Kachu,
2. Abeng and Atiagra,
3. Machi and Matabeng,
4. Gara-Ganching,
5. Atong,
6. Chibak and Ruga,
7. Dual.[2]

[102]



MAP 2. — *Map of the Garo Hills with Classification of Groups.*

[131] The Awé occupy the northern slopes of the Garo Hills and the lower areas joining the Brahmaputra Valley. They are also known as Akawé which means 'plain dwellers' and have many contacts with

1. See Playfair, 1909, p. 59.
2. Besides these seven categories, we might add: 8. Megan,—who are said to be the people mixed with the Garo and the Khasi.

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other tribes and the peoples of the plain. Actually many of them 619
have spread into the plains lying outside the Garo Hills district.
Playfair mentions that the Chisak have a great deal in common with 184
the Awé, but they have certain distinctive features in dress and customs
which would seem to require that they be regarded as a separate 619
division. The Kachu are said to be scarcely distinguishable from the Awé whom they resemble in almost all particulars of dress and custom. Playfair notes that they comprised only seven villages, and were the smallest group among the Garo.

The bulk of the population of the Garo is represented by groups 2 and 3 above. The Machi occupy the heart of the Garo Hills and are famous for their production of cotton, while the Abeng occupy the western slopes of the Hills where dry hill rice is the main product. The Atiagra is a small group, very much akin to the Abeng. The Matabeng are situated between the Abeng and the Machi. These two groups exhibit much in common in both culture and dialect and manifest the characteristics usually termed 'the Garo.'

Groups 4 and 5—the Gara-Ganching and the Atong—are somewhat
different from the preceding groups among the Garo. The Atong 197
especially have quite a different dialect from the other Garo and it is
generally said that their dialect is nearer to that of the people of 619
Coochi-Behar than to the other Garo dialects, for other Garo groups hardly understand the speech of the Atong. However the latter are bilingual so that they have no difficulty in conversing with their
neighbours. While the Atong are well known for their skill in making 184
boats, the Gara-Ganching are renowned for their craftsmanship in
sculpture and in the building of houses. The Gara-Ganching and the 619
Atong employ different house-building techniques.

The Chibak and the Ruga are small groups whose myths and general culture show considerable variations from those of other Garos, particularly the Chibak who have different forms of folk dances. The last group—the Dual—are according to Playfair, a colony of plain-dwellers who have their home in the district of Mymensing.

Each group exemplifies certain cultural differences and a certain endogamous tendency which will be explained later, but they do not necessarily form political units. The distinct differences that exist are rather those that appear between the plain-dwellers of the first group, the Awé and others, and the hill-dwellers who constitute the
remaining groups. The plain-dwellers are cultivators of wet rice [241]
fields, while most of the Garo population in the Hills practise shifting
cultivation. The Garo of the plains have become more sophisticated [771]
by closer contacts with the lowland peoples and many of them have adopted Christianity. They seldom come into contact with the hill-dwellers and live in an entirely different ecological and cultural environ-

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184 ment from the latter. Thus the Garo may be divided roughly into
619 two main categories as hill-dwellers and plain-dwellers.

My field work was carried out among the hill-dwellers, who have
101 maintained a more indigenous culture; the villages of Rombagiri in Machi, Siju in Atong, Emangiri in Gara-Ganching, and Rinsibara in
131 Abeng (see Map 2). The older villages of the Garo like Rombagiri,
361 Siju, and Emangiri are situated in the interior of the Hills along the upper reaches of rivers. Their founders were always in search of clean running water when they settled, so their villages are always found near or on the bank of a river.[1]

241 As mentioned above, these Garo practise shifting cultivation, generally known in Assam as 'jhum cultivation'. Their main products are cotton and hill rice. Their farming calendar is as follows: from December to January they cut down trees in a certain fixed area of jungle and leave them to dry till the end of March. In April, just before the first rainfalls, they set fire to the fallen trees; ashes remaining on the ground are washed into the soil by the rain, rendering the area very fertile. Soon after, they sow all kinds of seeds—paddy, cotton, chili, bean, millet, maize, pumpkins and gourds. They also plant various kinds of yam. These various kinds of crops are cultivated at haphazard in the same field. Paddy, cotton and chili, however, are comparatively well separated from other plants in certain sections of the fields. As many species are mixed in one field, the ripening times of the crops differ, extending from August to November; thus they can be harvested successively as they ripen. The jhum field is usually shifted every year, and the period of rotation is now one of several years. In some parts of the Hills, the jhum field is used for two successive years. It depends on the proportion between the village land and its population: the details of the use of a jhum field will be explained later.

178 These hill-dwellers have for centuries enjoyed a self-sufficient eco-
619 nomy, with plenty of rice and rice-beer. They wore loin-cloth, and, in their bamboo houses, they slept near a fireplace, on a thin mattress
[513] made of bark. In the olden days, before the British period, the Garo
[287] Hills are very rarely mentioned in historical documents of either
[291] Bengal or Assam.

Since the British period, Tura has become the administrative centre and shortly after the Independence of India, the urbanisation of Tura, and the construction of roads from Goalpara to Tura, Tura to Dalu and further to Bagmala have brought great changes to the Garo Hills. Hindu culture and modern Christian education have gradually pene-

[171] 1. They thus present quite an exceptional case, as the tribes in Assam and Himalaya generally establish their villages near the tops of the hills and far from rivers.

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trated into the hill-dweller's way of life. Educated Christian Garo [797] leaders have been eager to bring civilization to their brethren. For instance, they are trying their best to teach the Garos to wear clothes [291] by purchasing cotton shirts from Hindu merchants. Nowadays a bare-breasted woman seldom happens to be met.

The increase in population in the last fifty years particularly led 178 the Garo to found new villages, and extend their settlements near 184 the plain. In this virgin field for cultivation between hill-dwellers 619 and plain-dwellers, the soil, in places like Rinsibara, is not good and the forests are poorer than in the interior, so that the people adopted [161] wet cultivation which, in such place, produced more yield than jhum- [361] ing (see Chapter III). Thus hill-dwellers have come closer geograph- [243] ically as well as economically to the plain peoples.

Hill-dwellers and plain-dwellers, no matter to what degree their sophistication may have proceeded nor the extent to which may have become differentiated as a result of their geographical and historical situation, have a strong tribal consciousness. As *Achik Mande* (people of Garo), all are Garo-speaking people and their social structure is uniform; hence they are very definitely marked off from neighbouring tribes and peoples.

II. Distribution and Organization of Unilineal Groups

The principle of differentiation from neighbouring tribes and 616 peoples, and the principle of dynamic coherence in the Garo tribe, operate in the Garo social organization. The Garo are internally divided by a major cleavage into two exogamous matrilineal phratries, Sangma and Marak, which intermarry. These two groups which form a moiety structure are alleged to have different origins as illustrated by the events of their legends. At present there is a third group, Momin, which is an accreted clan, i.e. additional to moiety structure by historical process of marriage with foreign women.[1] The Momin may marry either a Sangma or a Marak, thus creating a dual complementary moiety system. However, it is a much smaller group and is found usually nearer the plain. In fact, in my census of three villages, members of Momin are very few, less than 0.5%. As a whole, in the phratry organization, the Momin play but a small part: in effect, empirically there is only a moiety relationship. In order to simplify my exposition of the Garo social organization I shall leave out this third group in the following discussion.

1. It is considered that the Momin have been recently created by the marriage between a Garo (Sangma or Marak) and a Mohammedan.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi
Garo AR5

616 Every Garo individual belongs to either Sangma or Marak. When a Garo meets somebody on the way, he will ask whether he or she is Marak or Sangma. This moiety classification of clan is called *chatchi* by the natives. The *chatchi* is the most important indication of their social position among the Garo tribe. They can at once recognize the relation between *Ego* and anybody else, whether he or she is an ally or an enemy, and whether marriageable or not. Indeed, they are traditional enemies. At the same time, they are in a position of inescapable interdependence, since the Garo have a strict rule of exogamy at the level of *chatchi*.

614 These two *chatchi* are scattered all over the Garo area, being further segmented into various sub-groups, *mahari*. This distribution of *mahari* seems to have certain localized areas. For instance, *mahari* A, B and C of Sangma and *mahari* A′, B′ and C′ of Marak mostly occupied the eastern range of the Garo Hills, while D, E and F of Sangma and D′, E′ and F′ of Marak are mostly found along one of the rivers of the western area, and so on. Therefore, marriage relationship are usually to be found between *mahari* of Sangma and those of Marak which are localized in a particular area, not A of Sangma and D′ of Marak at random. Thus, they form a localized area. This socio-geographical area coincides to some extent with the differences in dialect and culture of the seven groups which I mentioned (see pp. 20-21). At least those areas I know of, show marked endogamous units with *mahari* distributions fairly corresponding with the cultural and geographical classification.

For instance, among the Atong the following *mahari* are to be found:

Ampang Sangma	Dadok Marak
Gineng Sangma	Gare Marak
Mangsang Sangma	Pantho Marak
Richil Sangma	Romtu Marak
Ronchel Sangma	Singtang Marak, etc.

These are only to be found among the Atong group along the lower banks of the Simsan River. Among the Machi, the following *mahari* are predominant:

Agitok Sangma	Chambugong Marak
Tigiti Sangma	Rangsa Marak
Manda Sangma	

These *mahari* are also found among the Abeng as well as the Matabeng.[1] It may be said that the Machi, the Abeng and the Matabeng are not

1. It is beyond the limits of my investigation to present all the names of *mahari* of these groups like the Atong, since their areas are much wider and each of the *mahari* occupies a much larger territory than that of the other smaller groups. The list of all *mahari* of the Garo is given in Playfair, *ibid.*, Appendix A.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi
Garo AR5

distinguishable as independent socio-cultural units like the Atong, but form an endogamous unit and, as I have already stated, they are, moreover, quite similar in culture. In this case, classification by their group names would seem to have only geographical and ecological significance. Their legends record that in the course of their migration, one party remained in the central part of the Garo Hills to produce cotton, while another party proceeded to the west to specialize in hill rice cultivation. The former is known as Machi and the latter as Abeng. 614

In the Gara-Ganching area, which adjoins Atong in the east and Machi in the north, there are the following *mahari* groups situated around Emangiri:

Manda Sangma	Rma Marak
Nenmanja Sangma	Rongmuto Marak
Meching Sangma	Areng Marak
Mangsang Sangma	Raksam Marak
Mankin Sangma	Jichan Marak
	Chada Marak

Among them, there may be found the same *mahari* with one of the Atong, as well as of the Machi. The distribution of *mahari* is not a clear-cut division in each group, but there appears a certain concentration of *mahari* which form an endogamous area.

Actually each group of *mahari* is again segmented into many localized lineages. Therefore, structurally, the *mahari* plays a secondary or intermediate role in the Garo tribal organization between *chatchi*, the primary organization of the phratry, and the tertiary or minor section of *mahari*—localized lineage. However, the native term *mahari* is used also to refer to the localized lineage. But in practice, the localized lineage is clearly indicated by adding its name to the *mahari* name. For instance, an individual sociological location is expressed as 'Chambugong Dinajik Sangma': Chambugong *(mahari)*, Dinajik (localized lineage), and Sangma *(chatchi)*. The broader category of *mahari* represents a sub-group of the *chatchi*, scattered in a considerably wider area. The members of this group often do not know each other, but as soon as they recognize that they belong to the same *mahari*, they behave as if they belonged to the same localized lineage. 613 614

For instance, during my field work, when I came to a village far away from my interpreter's village, the villagers found my interpreter was a member of the same *mahari* as them. Hence, they showed an extremely affectionate attitude and he addressed them as *mama* (mother's brother), though the kinship relation between the villagers and him could not be traced at all and it was the first time they had 123 574 613 614 [601]

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi
Garo AR5

123 met one another. In the course of discussion, they found names of
574 some common acquaintances, then as they were greatly satisfied with
613 this unexpected discovery of kinship, much more *chu* (rice-beer) was
614 poured into our glasses, and they talked with us intimately—there was no doubt of that being of great help for my field work. Thus there is a strong feeling of cohesion among the same *mahari* people. However, it is not an organized system, but rather a feeling of closer lineage relation. The actual organic body is established on the basis of a localized group, a minor segment of the *mahari*.

613 The minor *mahari* group which I term 'localized lineage group'
621 is associated with the composition of a local community—a village or usually a group of villages. The historical formation of a localized lineage is as follows: once upon a time a couple founded a village far away from their native village. The matrilineal descendants of this couple differentiate themselves from other members of the same *mahari*, by adding a local name. In the course of time, due to the increase of its population, branch villages were formed around the original. Therefore, a localized lineage often covers several neighbouring villages, among which the parent village (the oldest one) holds a direct matrilineal local line from the wife of the founder. In the Garo Hills, each village is a political and economic unit which forms an autonomous Garo tribal political organization. However, a group of villages associated with a localized lineage has a closer tie and are always considered as one sociological unit centered upon the parent village, and distinguished from other nearby villages by their functional coherence.

628 The membres of a village or a group of villages are thus united by
613 matrilineal kinship ties. Therefore, owing to their exogamous rule, they must take spouses from one of the localized lineage groups of
614 one of the *mahari* of an opposite *chatchi* within a certain local area of *mahari* distribution. It appears that there is a traditional contact
[621] between each localized lineage of Marak and of Sangma. Within a certain endogamous geographical area which was observed previously in the distribution of *mahari*, there are arrangements made between each paired relation of localized lineage groups of Marak and of Sangma. Therefore the actual marriage takes place on the basis of localized lineages, not on that of *mahari* alone. In terms of my model, and also in the people's mind, each pair of villages is composed of a pair of opposed lineages forming a moiety arrangement with each other, from which men are exchanged traditionally according to matrilineal and uxorilocal rule. For instance, village A of *mahari* X of Sangma and village B of *mahari* Y of Marak have a traditional moiety relationship with each other. Village A consists of members of a localized lineage of *mahari* X of Sangma with husbands of *mahari* Y of village B

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi
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and *vice versa*.[1] The villagers express this relationship as "village A is the community of women of *mahari* X of Sangma and of men of *mahari* Y of Marak," or "*a'king* of *mahari* X and *a'jiksa* of *mahari* Y." The latter expression especially touches upon a very important characteristic of the Garo social structure in relation to their economic system. 628 613

A'king is the land owned by a village: every village has its land which is cultivated by the villagers. This land is cultivated in rotation according to the method of jhum cultivation. The Garo who practise jhum cultivation have no individual ownership of land but each village household has its share in the village land. The common ownership of land is vested in the headman's wife, who maintains the direct local line of the founder of the village. This village land is called *a'king*. The term *a'jiksa* means: the village and land belonging to it where husbands come from. So the *a'king* of village A is the *a'jiksa* of village B and *vice versa*, since village A of Sangma and village B of Marak exchange menfolk in marriage. Through marriage rights, men of village A have rights of cultivation to the *a'king* of B and men of village B have the same to the *a'king* of A. This traditionally arranged social right (marriage right) based on an economic arrangement (land) is expressed in terms of *a'kim*.[2] 423 621 613 614 628 [581]

Thus marriage relations are established between two opposite lineages and are supported by the resulting economic balance. Every localized lineage finds its opposite localized lineage, and the two localized lineage groups form an inescapable interrelationship in their community. These relationships between pairs of opposite localized lineages are the nodal points of the whole net-work of Garo social organization. This localized lineage group emerges into broader *mahari* organization and again is linked to the widest range of kinship, *chatchi*. These vertical unilineal lines across a moiety organization through exogamous marriages thus construct the Garo social organization which marks off the Garo from neighbouring tribes and peoples. 61

1. The actual village composition is somewhat different, see List 2, p. 42.
2. This term: *a'kim* is used also for the expression of the right arised by a marriage bond between two households *(mok)*. Such relationship between the two household is theoretically not divorced from the relationship between two villages (localized lineages) as it will become clearer in the course of discussion. [592]
The marriage arrangement between two particular villages is an expression of the ideal pattern. The actual state is much more complicated, as I shall explain later. Owing especially to the recent increase and mobility of the village population, the concept of *a'kim* is getting out of use nowadays. The Garos of the villages I visited would talk to me in the following manner: "Village X was the *a'jiksa* of ours, but nowadays we no more call Village X our *a'jiksa*." [178]

[p. 28 is blank.]

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi
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CHAPTER II

THE RELATION OF VILLAGE COMMUNITY TO KINSHIP STRUCTURE

In this chapter, I shall consider Rombagiri village in some detail, as a basis for a general description of the characteristics of Garo village communities. Rombagiri, one of the oldest parent villages in the interior part of the Garo Hills, provides ample *data* for the discussion. For comparative and supplemental purposes, however, I shall also employ *data* on two other villages, Emangiri and Siju. The structural principles derived from the analysis of the workings of Rombagiri community, offer lights for the understanding of various guises of other Garo village communities, including those affected by rapid changes owing to the recent development of the Hills along with the construction of motor roads. 128 121

I. ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL BACKGROUND

Rombagiri is situated on the bank of the upper course of the Simsang River, the largest river in the Garo Hills; its source is in Mt. Nokrek and it flows through the heart of the Garo Hills towards the eastern border where it turns southwards to East Pakistan. Many of the older Garo villages are found along this river. The Simsang cuts a deep gorge at Rombagiri between the Arbela and the Nokrek ranges. The village is situated on the southern slope where the ridge falls down very steeply to the river, and faces northwards to the Nokrek range across the river. 133 361 [131]

The Rombagiri *a'king* (village land) encompasses vast slopes of mountains on both sides of the river, centred on the village site (see Map 3). Around the village site, a certain area of jungle is marked as village land, differentiated from other village lands by clear border lines (stones are placed at every corner). The *a'king* is subdivided into several sections which correspond to the rotation of jhum cultivation. 423 621 361 [241]

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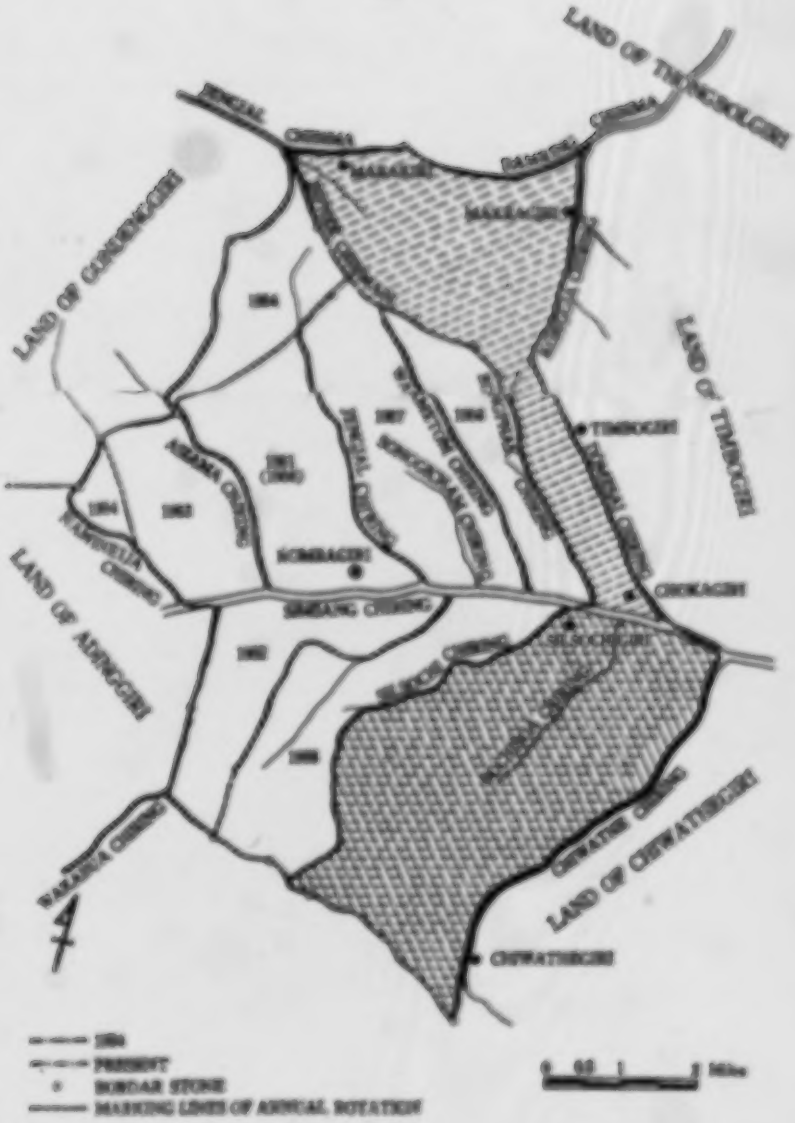
LAND OF TIMBOGIRI
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LAND OF CHWATIBOGIRI
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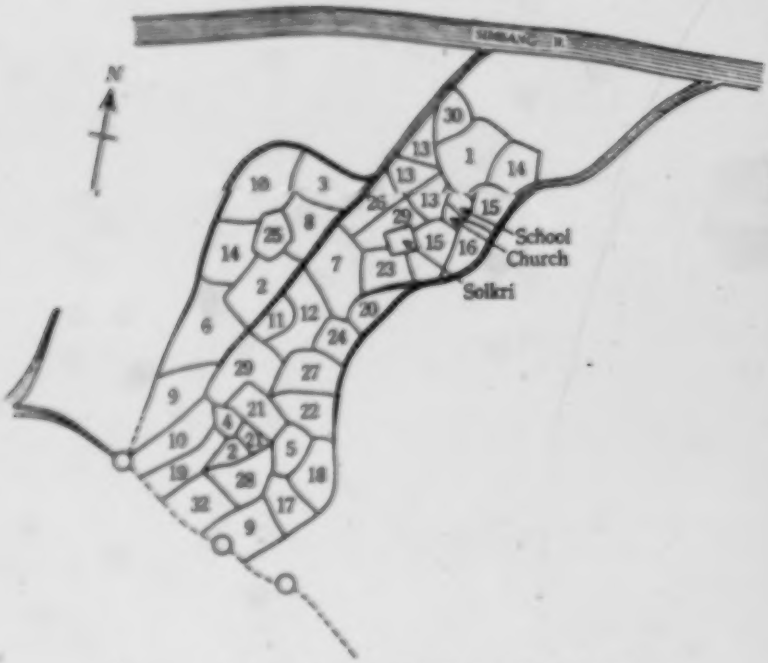
involving annual changes of cropping and a return to the same part of the field after several years: the rotation in Rombagiri is every seven years. Each area of the *a'king* under cultivation is further subdivided into many small fields which are apportioned to each household of the village (see Map 4). About this economic organization of the village further details will be presented later.

The management of the *a'king* is in the hands of the *nokma* (headman) who acts in cooperation with the villagers. The *nokma* as a rule



MAP 4. — *Distribution of Jhum Field for Each Household of Rombagiri in 1955.*

The portion named 'Solkri' is kept for the village ceremonies, cultivated by non-Christian villagers in turn. Likewise the portions of Church and of School are cultivated by Christian villagers, products of which are meant for Christian festivals.

cannot sell or lease this land, nor are the villagers required to pay any tax either in cash or in kind to the *nokma*. All the products of each field belong to the members of the household which cultivate it. Should the number of households increase, a new village is established on another section of the parent village *a'king*, convenient to the

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15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR? Khasi
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361 cultivation: some households of the village move away from the village
423 site, but the new settlements are found somewhere inside the *a'ing*.
621 Finally a part of the *a'ing* around the new settlement becomes an
[622] independent unit separated from the original one. They soon find it necessary to establish a new *nokma*, as they form an independent

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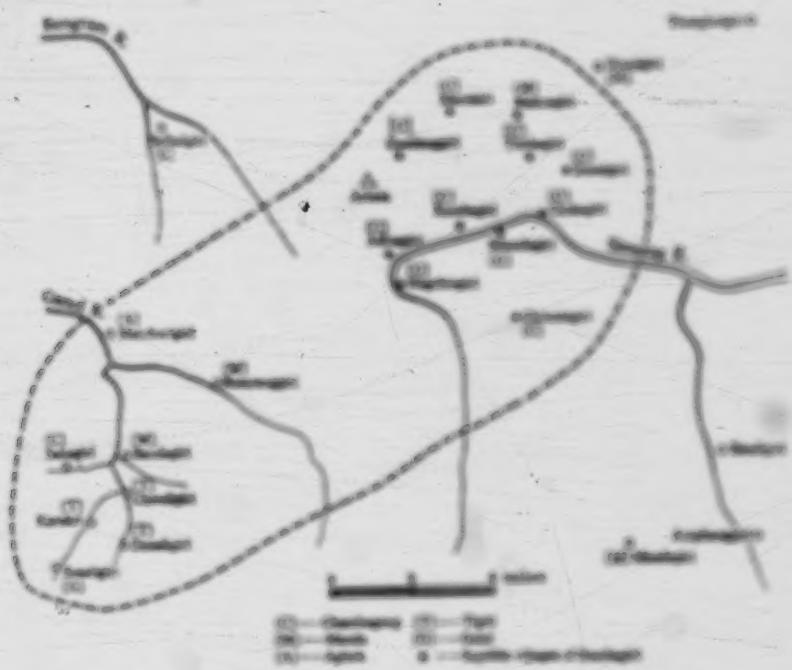

MAP 5. — *The Area including Rombagiri under the Same Leader*

body of economic management. Thus branch villages are formed around the parent village in the course of time. In the case of the Rombagiri group, there are several branch villages situated around the parent village, their distribution is shown on Map 5.

173 Rombagiri is possibly one of the oldest villages in the Garo Hills.
103 According to the legend of the foundation of the village once upon a time there was a man named Baigo who, accompanied by his wife, Gutingma, and his son, Rombu, came in search of a fertile land to the site of the present village of Rombagiri, then covered with thick jungle. Soon after their arrival, their beloved son, Rombu, was eaten

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi
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by a tiger. In his memory, they named the place "Rombagiri." The village was found by Bulgo Agitok Sangma and his wife, Gotingma Chambugong Marak. How old is Rombagiri? As far as people's memory goes through the names of successive generations of sokmas, the present sokma is the 28th; the details are as follows:

	Name of sokma	Chatchi	Mahari	Local lineage	Name of wife	Chatchi	Mahari	Local lineage
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1.	Sim	Sangma	Agitok	Khelang	Mikri	Marak	Chambugong	Dimajik
2.	Rongbal	—	—	—	Rengm	—	—	—
3.	Gera	—	—	—	Khem	—	—	—
4.	Gabil	—	—	—	Rengm	—	—	—
5.	Wank	—	—	—	Momang	—	—	—
6.	Machok	—	—	—	Gachang	—	—	—
7.	Gasang	—	—	—	Ziage	—	—	—
8.	Thyrak	—	—	—	Dagil	—	—	—
9.	Phiteng	—	—	—	Gaiam	—	—	—
10.	Thayong	—	—	—	Ziet	—	—	—
11.	Gindong	—	—	—	Sachi	—	—	—
12.	Mikrong	—	—	—	Dalma	—	—	—
13.	Sangma	—	—	—	Dikche	—	—	—
14.	Gobang	—	—	—	Ocjak	—	—	—
15.	Rangwal	—	—	—	Rakji	—	—	—
16.	Chamkim	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

It is considered that in early times the land of Rombagiri extended over a much wider area of southern Achaia, including the southern bank of the Simsang River, which covers all a long of the present branch villages. According to the people's accounts, it seems that the branching outwards took place during the last hundred years. In former times, there were constant fightings between villages of neighbouring lineage groups belonging to opposite *chatchi* and for purposes of military security, they found it necessary to settle together. According to numerous accounts, the Garo villages of the interior used to comprise more than a hundred households, though at present the usual number within a village ranges between 30 and 50. When the village were ceased under British administration, as indeed they did in many cases amongst the various tribes in India, satellite villages were begun to shape from a resulting increase of population as well as the need for a more efficient cultivation of the jhum fields. In a village of more than a hundred households, the distribution of jhum fields amongst the households becomes extremely complicated, since every year, when the field is shifted, each must be allocated its share. Another disadvantage was that due to the rotation of fields, on some years the field was situated very far from the village site—indeed they used to build temporary houses near the field for the period of the cultivation.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi
Garo AR5

361 The establishment of branch villages within the original *a'king* therefore enabled them to simplify the annual distribution of fields to each household as well as to each settlement situated close to the land to be cultivated. As I stated before, a group of settlements separated from the older village formed a new village, a political and economic unit, and created a new *nokma*, though they still remained part of their original social unit on the level of the localized lineage group.

In the course of time, some of these branch-villages further subdivided and created new secondary branch-villages. At present Rombagiri has altogether ten satellite villages: Gondenggiri, Adinggiri, Nagthingiri (sub-branch-village of Adinggiri), Timbogiri, Donsigiri (sub-branch-village of Timbogiri), Chiwathogiri, Makragiri, Marakiri, Chokagiri and Silsochigiri. It is very difficult to reconstruct in full the branching-off process of these ten villages from the original Rombagiri. What we do know is that in 1924, the *a'king* of Rombagiri included the area which is bounded by: ——— in Map 3, since the record made by the then Deputy Commissioner, G. D. Walker, marks the area as Rombagiri. It is understood throughout this record that by 1924 amongst the satellite villages, Gondenggiri, Adinggiri, Timbogiri and Chiwathogiri had already dissociated their land from Rombagiri. The southeastern part of the Simsang River was taken from Rombagiri at the foundation of Silsochigiri in 1936. This was the last formed of the satellite villages. The northeastern part of the Simsang River was taken by Marakiri, Makragiri[1] and Chokagiri, but there are no records relating to their breaking away from Rombagiri. We can only place it sometime between 1924 and 1936. I was also unable to obtain the date of the formation of the secondary branch-villages, i.e. Nagthingiri from Adinggiri and Donsigiri from Timbogiri.

361 At the establishment of Silsochigiri, a report was compiled by the
423 then British Deputy Commissioner. This report gives us valuable
622 information about the branching-off process. According to the report,
648 Gebung *nokma* (1918), was in debt to the extent of Rs. 400 and 2 bulls
692 to Gawan Marak and Buram Marak of his village. On January 1918
686 the section of that land which is marked as Silsochigiri in Map 3 was given to Gawan Marak and Buram Marak in payment of the debt. Now Gawan and Buram wanted it as a separate *a'king*, but the Chambugong *nokma* objected and offered instead to repay the original debt in order to take back the land. Gawan and Buram were unwilling to do this. The case was brought before the Deputy Commissioner's Court. The Deputy Commissioner, Mr. W. Shaw, granted Gawan and Buram this land as a separate *a'king* and called it Silsochigiri in February 1936.

1. The *a'king* of Makragiri became later in the possession of Mandu *nokma* (see p. 50).

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MAP 6. — *Distribution of Villages in Atong and Garo-Conching Area.*

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi
Garo AR5

361 As a rule, the *a'king* is village land and no one can hold any part
423 of it as private land. However such cases do occur when the *nokma*
622 or any other rich person becomes very powerful and uses the *a'king* as
661 if it were private land to sell, buy or mortgage. The above case is not an exceptional one. Such abuses of the power of the *nokma* and illegal activities of rich and powerful men have made considerable changes in the traditional distribution of *a'king* in the Garo Hills. The present *a'king* of Dinagiri and Makragiri, both of which are in the possession of the Manda *mahari*, were taken from the *a'king* of Waimagiri (another neighbouring Chambugong village) and of Rombagiri two generations back. I found similar instances of distribution of *a'king* also among the Emangiri group and the Siju group—the branching-off of villages was nearly always accompanied by stories of influential men who effected the present distribution of the *a'king*. Thus in spite of the moral tradition that the *a'king* belongs primarily to a village, the actual state of distribution shows a more fluid character.
[721] Before the British occupation the distribution of the *a'king* was decided
[178] by local wars, but under the Pax Britannica, the individual intrigues and the judicial decisions of the British administration were the more influencial factors.

361 In the Atong and the Gara-Ganching areas, the distribution of satellite villages can be easily recognized through the names of villages and their locations alone (see Map 6). Along the Simsang River and its tributary, the Rongdik, there are many satellite village groups such as the following:

Parent village	*Satellite villages*
Badri Songmong	Badri Malongithim
	Badri Wathregithim
	Badri Rongdinggithim
	Badri Rongsagithim
Siju Songmon	Siju Songgital
(Siju)	Siju Ronthainam
	Siju Daikim
	Siju Artika
Rewak Songmon	Rewak Sakagiri
	Rewak Chokinkgithim
	Rewak Rongchekgiri
Nenghong Songmong	Nenghong Matmagitik
	Nenghong Jolegiri
	Nenghong Jeramgitham
	Nenghong Seelgiri
Emaan Rongtikgiri	Emaan Gatabilgiri
(Emangiri)	Emaan Rongbagiri
	Emaan Thebrongphathalgiri
	Emaan Drabanda
	Emaan Seelgiri

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi
Garo AR5

Politically and economically each village, headed by the *nokma* and his wife, forms a unit. However, the satellite villages and the parent village form a social and political concentration whose cohesion is the theoretical basis of the localized lineage group and the result of earlier political and military unity. 621 622 628

Through the lineage organization with its historical background, the eleven villages, comprising Rombagiri and its satellites, form a single unit headed by the former and united against neighbouring village groups. Wives of the *nokma* of the ten satellite villages are closely related to the wife of the *nokma* of Rombagiri, thus forming the localized lineage group of Chambugong Dinajik. Likewise, the *nokma* of the eleven villages are, as a rule, men of the opposite lineage group, that is Agitok Khoksep Sangma. (Makragiri is the exception since its *a'king* became of Manda.) Their traditional enemies were the adjacent villages of Sangma, Chondigiri, whose *makari* is Tigiti Sangma (Karakiri and Dinadigiri are its satellite villages) and Mandagiri whose *makari* is Manda Sangma (see Map 5). The *makari* of Sangma had always been the enemy of the *makari* of Marak. The exception is the opposite lineage group with whom they exchange their menfolk. For instance, Dimitigiri (Agitok Sangma) had always been the *a'jikna* of the Rombagiri people, never the enemies. 613 614

The distribution of a certain group of the *makari* of Sangma and of Marak is traditionally associated with a particular locality, as in the case of the Rombagiri area: east and south of the Rombagiri group there is the Manda Sangma and to the west, Tigiti Sangma; to the north, Chambugong Marak and so on (see Map 5). Accordingly Siju, the *a'king* of the Ampan Sangma, is surrounded by Richil Sangma, Romchel Sangma and Singtang Marak. Around Emangiri, the *a'king* of the Rima Marak, whose *nokma* is Manda Sangma, there are the Manda Sangma, Aren Marak, Rongmutu Marak, etc. Thus the areas of the *makari* of Sangma and of the *makari* of Marak cut across each other with traditional enemies on the one hand, and intermarriage relations on the other. This particular area where either an enemy relationship or a marriage relationship exists forms an endogamous unit, because both relationships rarely extend beyond the traditional area. This area corresponds with what I already mentioned on pages 20-21. In this fairly clearly defined area, both the *makari* of Marak of and Sangma are distributed and amongst them, at the level of localised lineages, they form the moiety relationship with one another, cutting across the area in various ways. Each localised lineage group, as a village or a village group, maintains a hostile relationship on one hand and marriage connections on the other. Thus all villages within such an area are linked directly or indirectly either by cognatic ties or by affinal ties which tend to bridge cleavages where hostile relationships exist. 613 628 614 621

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi
Garo AR5

61 Each socio-geographical area on the level of the *mahari* is united
621 by the higher cognatic relationship of the *chatchi*, which merges into the wider constellation of tribal organization. This is the Garo socio-political structure. The Garo have no centralized political office or social ranking system in their organization; there is only the unit existing through the cohesion of the lineage group, which, though it might be fragmented into smaller political economic units, maintains, nevertheless, a balance of power through its functional organization based on exogamous rule. This system might be called a democratic type, as I have concluded in an earlier paper (Nakane, 1958/A).

177 On the basis of the traditional Garo political organization which
634 is so clearly associated with their social structure, the British administration created a new political office, the *loskor*. The Garo Hills
648 were divided into new geographical and political divisions wherein as many as a dozen villages or more became one unit, the head of which was called the *loskor*. He was elected among the *nokma* of this unit by the *nokma* themselves. The unit of the *loskor* around Rombagiri is shown on Map 5. In 1949 the Garo Autonomous District was formed and is known as the District of the Garo Hills, one of the districts under the Assam Government. By this administrative change, the *loskor* organization was still maintained, but alongside it they now appoint a *sordar* in each village to assist the *loskor*. The *sordar* are appointed by an autonomous body known as the Council of the Garo Hills, which supervises all the villages. These political changes have much affected the traditional socio-political system centred upon the *nokma*. To this theme, I shall return later.

II. Setting and Composition of the Population of Rombagiri

621 Rombagiri village was a community consisting, in December 1955,
36 of 30 households, the majority of which were *songsarek* (non-Christian); one-third of the population had adopted Christianity. The houses of the *songsarek* stood in three crescents along the slope of the northern bank of the Simsang River (see Map 7). The first line, which formed the outer circle of the village, faced the *nokpanti* (bachelors' dormitory). The uppermost corner was occupied by a group of Christians' houses, with a Church and a school. The cluster of houses was in turn surrounded by the *jam* (store-houses for paddy) of each house, circling the village from north to east. Usually these *jam* are full of paddy, as Rombagiri possesses one of the most fertile jhum fields in the
621 Garo Hills. The people of Rombagiri fish and bathe in the Simsang
[312] River, cooking water being available from the stream which flows

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 40]

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MAP. 7. — *Distribution of the Houses of Rombapiri.*

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621 through the village. Richer households possess several cows, ordinary
[312] households a few pigs and several chickens.
[231] The houses are made of bamboo and timber. The Garo houses are the most impressive among those of the tribes in Assam. They
342 have a frontage of about 4-5 meters and a length of about 15-30 meters —the longer the length, the more prosperous the household. Usually they are built on the slope, the entrance is on a level with the ground and the house is built backwards with long beams of timber; thus the flooring of the living-rooms is raised as much as three meters above the ground (See Plate A & B). A typical Garo house plan is shown on Fig. 1.

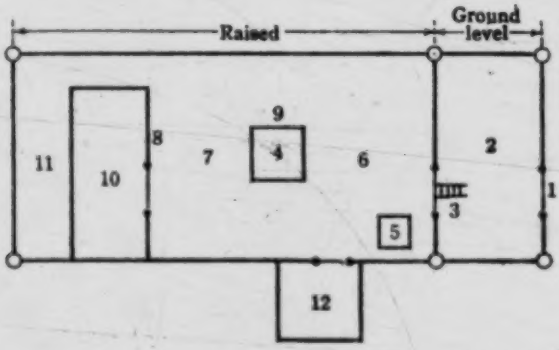

FIG. 1. — *Ground Plan of a Typical Garo House.*

1. Entrance.
2. Ground floor for keeping cattles at night.
3. Entrance ladder.
4. Central hearth for receiving guests and drinking, etc. (mainly for men).
5. Cooking hearth (mainly for women).
6. Women's place.
7. Men's place.
8. Seat of the household head.
9. Seat for guests.
10. Store room.
11. Covered verandah for the use of latrine at night.
12. Open verandah keeping water pots, etc.

[231] Inside, the house is divided into three main sections. The first room
from the entrance is used for sheltering cattle at night; then there is
[354] a large hall, in the centre of which is a square fire-place. The women usually cook at another fire-place situated near the first section and that part of the hall adjacent to the first section is the place reserved for the women. The central fire-place in the hall is kept for the men who sit there to talk, drink rice-beer and eat. This is the centre and the most important room of the Garo house. At the back of

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi
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this room there is a small room with a small entrance for storing all sorts of property. From the right side to the back of this small room there is a sort of corridor, the back of which is used as a latrine at night because of the fear of wild animals. 342 [514]

Each household, called *nok* by the natives, is occupied usually by the members of an elementary family, including the wife's unmarried siblings and her widowed mother according to the cycle of the domestic family. When it grows, it includes the heiress' husband and her children. But as long as the heiress' parents are alive, a small hut is built for the heiress and her husband, adjacent to the main house. The couple lives in this hut until the head of the main family dies. (See Map 7; (12) and (14) are such cases). However, this kind of hut forms a domestic and economic unit together with the main house. The head of the *nok* (domestic unit) is the husband, and the owner of its property is the wife; both represent the members of the *nok*. The following list shows the names of husbands (household heads) and wives of all the *nok* of Rombagiri by *mahari*. 592 551 614 621

List 1. *The Household Heads and their Wives of Rombagiri.*
(Numbers correspond to that of Map 7.)

	Husband	*Mahari*	*Wife*	*Mahari*
	—	—	—	—
1.	Chambat S.	Agitok Khoksep	Kalji M.	Ch. Dinajik
2.	Chajan S.	— —	Pajing M.	— —
3.	Sangwan M.	Ch. Dinajik	Segmi S.	Agitok Khoksep
4.	Gonsing M.	— —	Nanakmi S.	— —
5.	Wuilgan S.	Tigiti	Kancho M.	Ch. Dinajik
6.	Kilwang S.	Agitok Khoksep	Mijang M.	— —
7.	Singan S.	— —	Nobang M.	Ch. Macho
8.	Naban S.	— —	Wiljing M.	Ch. Dinajik
9.	Rintang S.	— —	Wantek M.	— —
10.	Raising S.	Manda Pakran	Kansi M.	— —
11.	Dinaram M.	Ch. Dinajik	Banchak M.	Rangsa
12.	Kiljan S.	Manda Rombok	Mishing M.	Ch. Dinajik
13.	Janggan M.	Ch. Dinajik	Parbat S.	Manda Rombok
14.	Sinchang S.	Manda Rombok	Jangri M.	Ch. Dinajik
15.	Airam S.	Tigiti	Milmi M.	— —
16.	Jingban S.	Agitok Dragiri	Jaji M.	— —
17.	Jiwan S.	Agitok Khoksep	Sinchok M.	Ch. Anil
18.	Songgan S.	— —	Janjak M.	Ch. Dinajik
19.	Palan M.	Ch. Anil	Kummi S.	Manda Akabanda
20.	Mingria S.	Agitok Machu	Gonjak M.	Ch. Dinajik
21.	Jia S.	Agitok Khoksep	Tijap M.	— —
22.	Singrin M.	Ch. Dinajik	Gonji S.	Manda Rombok
23.	Oren S.	Manda Rombok	Armin M.	Ch. Dinajik
24.	Kimjang M.	Ch. Dinajik	Ganni S.	Agitok Khoksep
25.	Changjan S.	Agitok Khoksep	Ganji M.	Ch. Dinajik
26.	Simba M.	Ch. Dinajik	Ramjin S.	Manda Rombok

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Husband	Mahari	Wife	Mahari
—	—	—	—
27. Changding S.	Tigiti	Barti M.	Ch. Dinajik
28. Wiuilwan M.	Ch. Dinajik	Dinding S.	Tigiti
29. Sesing Memin	Gabil	Simjin S.	Agitok Khoksep
30. Goren S.	Agitok Khoksep	Sujak M.	Ch. Dinajik

Note: M. = Marak, S. = Sangma, Ch. = Chambugong.
1 - 8 and 18 are Christians.

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621

List 2. *Numbers by* mahari *of Individuals named in List 1.*

Mahari	Husbands	Wives
—	—	—
1. Chambugong Dinajik	8	18
2. Agitok Khoksep	11	4
3. Manda Rombok	3	3
4. Tigiti	3	1
5. Chambugong Macho	0	1
6. Chambugong Anil	1	1
7. Agitok Dragiri	1	0
8. Agitok Machu	1	0
9. Mand Pakran	1	0
10. Manda Akabanda	0	1
11. Ransa	0	1
12. Gabil	1	0
Total	30	30

621
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[622]

Traditionally, Rombagiri is the village of Chambugong Dinajik; its *nokma'swife* is always a woman of Chambugong Dinajik (see p. 33) and its *a'kng* belongs to the same *mahari*. The *nokma* should always be a man of Agitok Khoksep of the Dimitigiri village group; husbands of the wonen likewise are men of the same lineage as the *nokma*. Rombagiri is the *a'jiksa* of Dimitigiri and *vice versa*. What I have explained in the previous chapter about the moiety arrangement between the two particular localized lineage groups of Sangma and of Marak is the ideal and fundamental force underlying the Garo social structure. However, the actual village community does not necessarily include only households of the same lineage groups. As appeared in the actual composition of Rombagiri, wives belong to seven different lineage groups besides the traditional lineage of Rombagiri, Chambugong Dinajik. Husbands also originate from eight different lineage groups besides Agitok Khoksep. However, these different lineages are minor ones and are comparative new-comers to Rombagiri except Chambugong Dinajik in the case of husbands and Agitok Khoksep in the case of the wives. In fact, those of *mahari* 5-12

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in List 2 came to Rombagiri during the last twenty years; their spouses are found among *mahari* 1-4. In spite of the accumulation of these new lineages, the majority of wives belong to Chambugong Dinajik and the husbands to Agitok Khoksep. 621 61

In order to simplify my demonstration I shall leave temporarily aside the elements of the new lineages and explain the fundamental workings of Chambugong Dinajik and Agitok Khoksep, which is the intrinsic constituent element of the whole organization of Rombagiri. The traditional moiety arrangement between the two local lineage groups, which are represented by Rombagiri and Dimitigiri, is based on the function of the cross-cousin marriage.

III. The Principles of Garo Cross-cousin Marriage and its Functional Importance

Theoretically Garo marriages are arranged between two localized lineage groups as we have seen, such as Chambugong Dinajik (Rombagiri group) and Agitok Khoksep (Dimitigiri group) by exchanging menfolk. As a result every member has his or her spouse as a cross-cousin (actual or classificatory). On this level, both types of cross-cousin marriage, matrilateral and patrilateral, are practised. It is *the symetrical cross-cousin marriage arrangement on the basis of localized lineage groups.* 582

This system is manifested in the extremely simple scheme of Garo kinship terminology. Its major framework is what is called Iroquois type. Clear lineal differentiations appear within three generations centred on *Ego*, with distinction of sex. The kinship terminology of each of these three generations clearly divides both cognates and affines into two categories: category A indicates the members of *Ego*'s matrilineal group, and category B the members of the opposite group; the former is non-marriageable and the latter is marriageable. Fig. 2 illustrates the kinship system by means of the genealogical diagram, 582 601 601

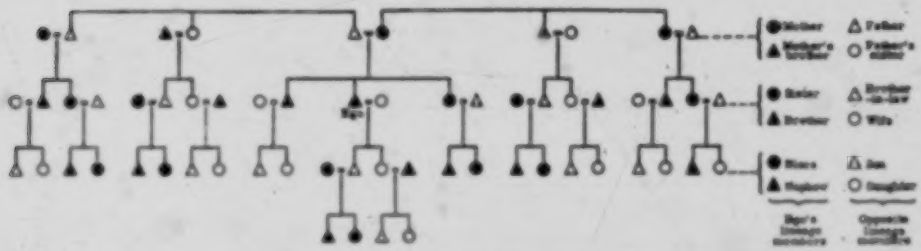

Fig. 2. — *Scheme of Garo Kinship Terminology.*

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601 and the following table classifies categories of relatives according to native terms.

Garo kinship terms used by the male Ego:[1]

A = Ego's matrilineal group; B = the opposite group;
F = female; M = male; (E) = elder; (Y) = younger.

First ascending generation:

A – F *ama:* mother.
majong (E), *madd* (Y): mother's sister, father's brother's wife, wife's father's sister.
A – M *mama:* mother's brother, father's sister's husband, wife's father, wife's father's brother.
B – M *apa:* father.
pajong (E), *awang* (Y): father's brother, mother's sister's husband.
B – F *mani:* father's sister, mother's brother's wife.

Ego's generation:

A – F *abi* (E), *no* (Y): sister, father's brother's daughter, mother's sister's daughter.
A – M *ada* (E), *jong* (Y): brother, father's brother's son, mother's sister's son.
B – F *jik:* wife, brother's wife, father's sister's daughter, mother's brother's daughter.
B – M *boning:* father's sister's son, mother's brother's son, sister's husband.

First descending generation:

A – F *namchik:* sister's daughter, wife's brother's daughter, father's sister's son's daughter, mother's brother's son's daughter, son's wife, wife's brother's wife.
A – M *gri:* sister's son, wife's brother's son, father's sister's son's son, mother's brother's son's son.
B – F *demichik:* daughter, brother's daughter, wife's sister's daughter, father's sister's daughter's daughter, mother's brother's son's daughter.
B – M *dipanti:* son, brother's son, wife's sister's son, father's sister's daughter's son, mother's brother's son's son.

The following terms indicate affinal relations to Ego:

A – M *obiti:* wife's father, wife's father's brother, wife's sister's husband (he is also called *sadi*).
chawari: daughter's husband (*nokrom* is used for the particular *chawari* who married the heiress).
B – F *nio:* wife's mother, wife's mother's sister.
B – M *mosa:* wife's mother's brother, wife's brother.

601 These terms are used for a set of people with whom *Ego* has close
602 social ties: members of his own native village as well as of his wife's village, and members of other villages with whom he and his close kin

1. For further detailed information concerning Garo kinship terminology, see R. Burling, 1956, and 1963 (Appendix e).

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have kinship relations. This set of relatives consists of a fairly wide circle of bilateral kins and includes certain affinal members. In fact the feeling of the Garo towards these relatives, whether lineage members or not, is very intimate, and discrimination between *Ego*'s own lineage people and others is not as great as we observe in other unilineal systems. This is because of the moiety structure, which allows lineage members and non-lineage members (affines) almost the same importance in relation to *Ego*. In this structure, the descent group solidarity is naturally minimized. For instance, the actual genealogical relation between *Ego* and the members of *Ego*'s own local lineage, whom *Ego* addresses by appropriate kinship terms, often cannot be clearly established. For the Garo actual genealogical links have no vital importance. For example, *Ego*'s relation to his wife's sister's husband (who belongs to the category of 'brother' since he is an *Ego*'s lineage member according to the moiety arrangement) is recognized through affinal lateral relation (they term this relation *saditan*), but the genealogical link between the two men is not always expressed, unless they are closely related, first cousins for instance. This is why the terms which indicate affinal relations are more developed, more frequently used than cognatie kinship terms among the Garo. This usage tends to ignore actual genealogical links among the members of the same lineage beyond a domestic scale. In fact I had great difficulty in compiling the actual genealogical relations of all inhabitants of the village, as beyond the grand mother's generation people's memory became very poor. 601 602

This also stands in close relation to the kinship system, the distinct lineal terminology of which is only found within three generations centred on *Ego*. For the grandparents' and the grandchildren's generation, the same terms are used for both paternal and maternal sides. Grandmothers of both sides are called *ambi*, likewise, grandfathers are *achu*; the grandchildren of both sides are *angsu*, though the additional distinctive terms *chongka* (true) and *jakasi* (secondary) are added.

It is clear that the Garo are organized into two unilineal categories within a clear sociological field—a certain range of unilineal groups *(mahari)* associated with a certain endogamous locality, and not into a system of descent groups of segmentary lineage. In a segmentary system, the members of a lineage are recognized through genealogical links. If the lineage is only used in terms of descent group, whose members can trace genealogical relation to each other, the Garo unilineal group in terms of localized segmentation (sub-*mahari*) which I term 'localized lineage' is not a lineage in the strict sense. Nevertheless I did use this term because, although members can not always trace genealogical links, their conceptual framework makes them out to be the descendants of a common ancestress who once established the 61

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61 local lineage together with the founding of a village, thus distinguishing themselves from other members of the same *mahari*. In the course of time when its members increased, spreading over more than a dozen villages, actual genealogical links tended to be forgotten, since the moiety structure which provides clearly defined categories, does not require the keeping of actual genealogies. Attention should be drawn here to this structural difference between Garo 'localized lineage' —lineage with incomplete genealogical evalidation—and the lineage of the segmentary system.

582 601 61 The scheme of Garo kinship terminology fits perfectly into the framework of cross-cousin marriage which has been described. Both mother's brother's daughter and father's sister's daughter stand in the same category as the potential wife in relation to *Ego*, in which both matrilateral and patrilateral cross-cousin marriages are expected. Indeed many cases of both kinds of cross-cousin marriages are found in my census. It is apparent that theoretically the exchange marriage arrangement between two lineage groups meets automatically the scheme of symmetrical cross-cousin marriages.

428 582 592 However, the Garo cross-cousin marriage is generally understood as matrilateral (Leach, 1951; Homan & Schneider, 1955), and indeed villagers emphasize that they should marry their mother's brother's daughter and many cases of this kind of cross-cousin marriage are to be found in my data. This involves the crucial point of analysis of Garo cross-cousin marriages and the key point to an understanding of the Garo social structure. The fact is that the matrilateral cross-cousin marriage is strongly preferred in the marriage of the heiress and the heir-to-be. In other words, *on the basis of household succession the matrilateral cross-cousin marriage is the rule*. To understand this it is necessary to have a clear notion of the Garo household institution which is called *nok*.

582 61 592 The Garo word *nok* has several meanings: as already described it means a house, and also the members of a household which form a domestic unit (p. 41), but above all it has the meaning of a combination of local lines; the women who stay in the village where the *nok* exists and their husbands who come from a village in the opposite moiety. Marital relationships which provide the basis of the *nok* bridge the cleavages between the two exogamous lineages of Sangma and of Marak. They are nodal relationships of the kinship ties between genealogically interdependent lineages in the whole network of the Garo social organization. The *nok* is maintained through regular succession of two offices, the headship of *nok* (husband) and the ownership of *nok* (wife), through cross-cousin marriage.

428 582 592 61 The heiress *(nokna)* should marry one of her father's sisters' sons (actual or classificatory). The man who marries an heiress (i.e. his

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi
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mother's brother's daughter) is called the ***nokrom***. The ***nokrom*** is the successor to his father-in-law (the head of the ***nok***), just as the heiress is the successor to her mother (the owner of the property of the ***nok***). The wife and the husband have not only the status of a family, but each of them also represents each local line which continues from the past to the future. The combination of the two particular local lines of the Agitok Khoksep (mother's brother – sister's son) and of the Chambugong Dinajik (mother – daughter) forms the institution called the ***nok***. The husband marries into the wife's house, but at the same time it is the house of his mother's brother. Therefore, the residence pattern of the Garo marriage is not only uxorilocal but also avunculocal. Hence, if the heiress marries a man from another lineage than her father's, it implies a cutting of the matrilineal line of her father's lineage which affects the social network. In such a case, heavy compensation has to be paid to the father's lineage people, centered on ***ma'nok*** (his mother's ***nok***), where the rights of the local line of the ***nok*** rest. ***A'kim*** is the Garo word for these rights (see p. 27, n. 2). In this particular case, the Garo avuncu-uxorilocal marriage differs from the uxorilocal marriages of the Khasi, the Hopi, the Zuni and the Trukese; in the same way it also differs from the avunculocal marriages of the Ashanti, and the Trobriands, in which structural differences are involved.

428 582 592 61 [591]

This cross-cousin rule, combined with the rule of succession, binds the marriage of the ***nokrom*** in the following manner. When the ***nokna***'s father dies the ***nokrom*** must marry the ***nokna***'s mother, because the ownership of the property of the ***nok*** is still retained by his mother-in-law and not by his wife, and will remain so, as long as she is alive. The headship goes with the marriage relationship to the owner of the property. Therefore, in order to succeed to his father-in-law's position, the ***nokrom*** must marry his mother-in-law. Actually, in most of cases the Garo husband as the head of the ***nok***, takes his widowed mother-in-law as his wife besides his young wife.[1]

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When the head of a ***nok*** dies before the ***nokna*** marries the ***nokrom***,

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1. A young ***nokrom*** sometimes refuses to marry his old widowed mother-in-law, as seen in the case described in pp. 50 and 84. In some areas, this rule is not kept strictly. For instance, I found in Emangiri village of the Garo-Gangchin, that this rule is not insisted upon; if the ***nokrom*** refuses to comply with it, the people just accept him as the head of a ***nok***, even though he does not cohabit with his widowed mother-in-law. The people said that of course it would be nicer if he could cohabit with his mother-in-law; but they do not insist upon it if he does not wish to do so. However, I am reluctant to agree with Burling's view that sexual relations between the ***nokrom*** and his mother-in-law after his father-in-law's death seem extremely unlikely (Burling, 1963, pp. 142-143). For the ***taboo*** (avoidance of intimate relations) between the ***nokrom*** and his mother-in-law is radically abandoned by his father-in-law's death, which marks the change of the man's status from being the ***nokrom*** to the head of the ***nok*** (see pp. 66-67).

[183] [114] [835]

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428 the *nokrom* will marry both mother and daughter at the same time:
595 the former is recognized as *jikmamong* (principal or first wife), and the latter *jikgile* (secondary wife). In such a case, the widow is usually comparatively young and her daughter still a child. Actual sexual relations with the latter will take place only when she attains puberty. Some times it happens that both mother and daughter have their babies in the same year. The relation between such co-wives as mother and daughter is usually amicable, the situation being taken for granted. Many Garo men pass through such a period of having as co-wives, mother and daughter.

592 The *nok* is maintained by the constant succession of the combina-
611 tion of two lines—the male line from the mother's brother to the sister's son and the female line from mother to daughter established through an actual or classificatory relationship—linked by marriage ties. Gaps caused by death should be filled by the members who have the right to do so through kinship relation. The succession of a *nok* is dependent upon the legal status of husband-wife as well as of two matrilineal lines which are, strictly speaking, local lines rather than descent lines.

428 The actual process of the rule of succession in the *nok* is shown
592 by Fig. 3, which illustrates the case of the *nokma*'s *nok* of Rombagiri.
622 The 14th *nokma* of Rombagiri, Gobang, had four wives: Nujak (1st), Misak (2nd), Alin (3rd) and Nujin (4th). In fact he married women of those categories; MoBrDa (1st), MoBrWiSi(classificatory)Da (2nd), and MoBrWiSiDaDa (3rd). His last wife was a woman of Chisim *makari* of Marak, while his other three all belonged to Chambugong. The first wife, Nujak, was in possession of the *a'king* (village land). Nujak was the daughter of the 13th *nokma*, Simjang, who was Gobang's mother's brother. Therefore, her daughter Nokli was the heiress. Gobang's *nokrom*, Rangmal, who was Gobang's sister's son, married Nokli, and when Gobang died, Nujak, according to the rule. This is the point which I have already mentioned: Nujak was the possessor of the property, and Nokli was not, so long as Nujak was alive. As for Rangmal, he should marry Nujak, his mother-in-law, in order to succeed Gobang. Thus Rangmal became the 15th *nokma*. Nujak was already old, and died soon after her marriage to Rangmal. Her daughter, Nokli, automatically succeeded to her office. When Nokli died, leaving Rangmal, the place of Nokli was taken by Kalji (Rangmal married Kalji), because before the death of Nokli, her daughter, Wanji, had not been selected as the *nokma* nor had Rangmal chosen his *nokrom*. This is very important because this case shows that the real daughter is not always the successor of the mother. The husband-wife relation is a no less important factor than the real mother-daughter relation. Thus it is clearly understood that

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi
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the *sok* is formed by local lines, not simply by descent lines. What is important is that a woman, just being a daughter, has no exclusive right to become the successor in the *sok*, unless she is appointed as the *sokma*, the *de jure* successor. Likewise, this procedure applies to also a wife: it is important whether she is the *de jure* owner of the *sok* property or not. In fact, in another case, which will be dealt with later, the daughter has the right to succeed before the wife. 428 592 622

When Rangmal died leaving his young wife, Kalji, all members of both *makasi* finally agreed to take Chambat as his successor (as the husband of Kalji) because Rangmal had no direct sister's son. Chambat was the grandnephew of Rangmal (his sister's daughter's 587 604 622 592 428

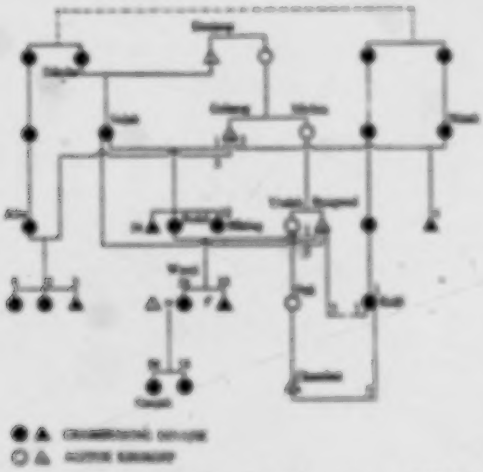

FIG. 3. — *Diagram showing Successions of Nokma of Rombagiri.*

son). Thus a classificatory sister's son is taken in the absence of a direct sister's son. Chambat is the present (16th) *sokma* of Rombagiri.

The above succession cases to the *sokmaship* of Rombagiri give typical instances of the succession to a *sok*. Thus the network of the succession overlaps descent lines by combinations of selected members of each moiety in various circumstances. It should be understood that descent lines are not the fundamental lines of succession through cross-cousin marriage, though the descent defines the categories. The institutionalized pair of succession lines, the *sok*, are local lines, not descent lines. 428 592

In addition, it is necessary to clear up problems of certain cases which might occur in the succession to the *sok*. If the *sokma* refuses 428 587 606 592

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi
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428 to cohabit with his widowed mother-in-law, he cannot become the
587 head of the *sok* by succeeding his late father-in-law. Though this
606 is the traditional rule among the Garo, a young *sokrem* sometimes
592 refuses to cohabit with his old mother-in-law and continues to live in a separate hut. Recently, in particular, there have been many complaints to this effect before the District Court at Tura. The plaintiffs are usually mothers-in-law, which fact embarrasses the judge —the Hindu Deputy Commissioner of the Garo Hills. During my
[622] field work, I came across such cases. For instance, in Rimshibara
[562] village, the people told me that their *sokma* was a woman though according to the Garo rule the *sokma* could not be a woman. The woman *sokma*, who was about sixty years old, complained to me that
[595] her *sokrem* was very bad, he was not at all kind to her. Later, I found out that her young *sokrem* was a youth of nineteen, and that he was a very good husband to his young wife *(sokma)*; but he had refused to live and to cohabit with his widowed mother-in-law. Therefore, though he was in the position of the *sokma*, he was not recognised as such because of his refusal to cohabit with his mother-in-law.

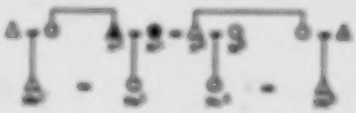

FIG. 4.
Possible Shift of the Succession to the Sok by Marriage Relations.

In such a case, he might lose the status of the *sokrem*, and his wife likewise that of the *sokma*. The possible consequences of his refusal to marry his mother-in-law would be as follows (see Fig. 4): his mother-in-law (M^1) might marry another man of her late husband's lineage (N^1), who will then become the head of the *sok*. Meanwhile when (M^1) dies, her husband (N^1) may take a woman (M^2) from the late wife's lineage in place of (M^1). By this marriage (M^2) may have a daughter (Na^2), who may be elected as the *sokma*, the successor of (M^2), and she will marry the *sokrem* (Nk^2), her father (N^2)'s sister's son. Thus the former *sokrem* (Nk^1) and *sokma* (Na^2) lose completely their status as successors to the *sok*, unless the (Na^2)'s mother (M^2) does not marry. It should be remembered that in any case such a development is the result of the decision of both the lineages whom they belong to. Usually the lineage peoples do not like to supersede the *sokma* and the *sokrem* upon whom they once decided, and consequently such cases are very rare, as are the cases of divorce which I shall describe later. Actually in my census, such a change of the *sokrem* and the *sokma* does not occur, and the above description is a theoretical extension based on the information I collected.

428 If the wife dies before the *sokma* and the *sokrem* have been select-
587 ed, the people of the wife's lineage supply a woman in place of the
592

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi
Garo AR5

late wife, as shown in the case of Rangmal's marriage to Kalji. But if the daughter of the widowed father has already been decided upon as the *nokna*, she is the successor of the late wife (her mother), marrying the *nokrom*; she never marries her father.[1] In this case the father may remarry another woman, but this new wife cannot succeed the late wife, if the *nokna* was already decided upon. The *nokna*'s (daughter's) rights have precedence over those of the wife, since she is the authorised heir of the deceased woman, her mother (cf. pp. 48-49). In such a case the woman who came into the picture as the wife of the widowed father will remain an outsider to the *nok*, without sociological locus in its structure. Actually her status is uncomfortable, and usually she will leave this *nok* as soon as her husband dies. The alternative arrangement in such a case is that the widower who took a secondary wife may leave this *nok*, and establish a new independent *nok* in which this secondary wife can possess full rights as the owner of the *nok*.

Thus actual matrilateral cross-cousin marriage works on the basis of the *nok* institution, not on the basis of the lineage group as such. There is a clear institutionalized *nok* relationship called *nok-chawal*. Every *nok* has two kinds of *nok-chawal* relations: the *nok* to which the husband is given and the *nok* from which the husband is received, since the matrilateral cross-cousin marriage is the rule at the level of the *nok*. These two *nok* should belong to the opposite moiety in relation to *Ego*. The relationships are shown in the following diagram, Fig. 5. Before his marriage, *Ego* was a member of *Nok* Y; by his marriage he became member of *Nok* A. On marrying the male mem-

1. On this point, Professor R. Firth put a question to me when he read the first draft of this manuscript: "why cannot the father marry his daughter?" Up to that time, I had taken it for granted, attributing it to the incest taboo between real father and daughter. After his question I started to rethink the situation. There must be some structural reason for it, since all other rules are reasonably explained in terms of structure; in such a society as the Garo in which the structure is well established, the structure may take precedence over the biological situation. An incest taboo observed in one society is not always the incest taboo of another society: the incest taboo is not biological, but sociological. Then I came to the following conclusion—it seems that the important reason is structural.

The *nokrom* married the widowed mother-in-law in order to acquire the headship of the *nok*. On the other hand, the ownership was automatically handed over to the *nokna* when her mother died. This ownership is not based on the headship in the same way as the headship is based on the ownership; the relation is not that of the chicken and the egg. In relation to the headship, the ownership is logically but not functionally, the primarily important factor. The *nokna* does not need to marry her father in order to acquire the ownership; the ownership is already in her hands, and through it her husband is the head of the *nok*; thus the father theoretically loses the headship and retires from office on his wife's death if the *nokna* and the *nokrom* have already been chosen. In such cases, the *nokrom* has rights to the headship before the father-in-law. Thus, the Garo structure avoids the marriage of the father and the daughter.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi
Garo AR5

582 ber thus becomes part of his mother's *nok*. The female
592 member, if she is the heiress, remains after marriage in the same *nok*
However, a non-heiress *(agatè)* has to branch off from her parent's
61 *nok*, and establish a new *nok* by her marriage

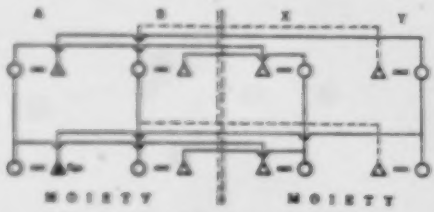

FIG. 5. — Nok-chamé *Relations*.

582 Except for the particular member who are involved in the succes-
592 sion of the *nok*, anyone is free to marry anybody he wishes in the
[61] opposite moiety. However, even in such marriages, the conception of the *nok* plays an important role. One cannot marry members of a *nok* into which one's sister or brother has married. The matrilateral cross-cousin marriages of the *nokna* and *nokkrom* create considerable matrilateral tendencies even in the marriages of the free members.
[835] The Garo avoids having more than one conjugal relation between members (real siblings) of two *nok*. A man's sister unlikely marry his wife's brother and likewise his brother also unlikely marry his wife's sister.[1] Reciprocal first cousin marriage is thus avoided. Since, as a rule a man *(nokrom)* marries his mother's brother's daughter

1. The people of Rombagiri observes this avoidance strictly insisting that they should not have such relations, and in fact, I did not find even single case
[184] of the brother exchange between two *nok*. However I found two cases in a colonial village, Rinsibara (see p. 78). Burling stresses the existence of brother exchange (see Burling, 1958/B; 1963, pp. 158-160) against my earlier discussion (1958/A). Neverthless, he himself states 'Most people, in fact, seem to feel that it is a mildly awkward arrangement' (1963, p. 160). Certainly the avoidance of brother exchange is not a strict rule comparable to that of the exogamy. However, this orientation seems a natural outcome of the structural arrangement of the Garo social organization. For example, it also works logically on the basis of the *nok-chamé* relationship, just discussed. Mere existence of brother exchange itself, which is rather rare, does not affect the basic scheme of the working of the Garo social organization, which I am presenting.

Furthermore, it should be noted that the avoidance of brother exchange applies to only the case between two sets of *real* siblings. Such a case as marriage of two men to each other's classificatory 'sisters' (considered as an similar case by Burling, 1963, p. 160) is a quite different matter (and certainly acceptable and in fact many cases are found), since the latter are not the members of the same *nok*. The difference of my discussion from that of Burling on Garo kinship, is mostly attributed to the analysis in which I distinguish *nok* as an important institution, while Burling seems to fail in differentiating local lines *(nok)* from descent groups.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi
Garo AR9

(*nokna*), the siblings of the *nokrom* and *nokna* avoid patrilateral cross-cousin marriage (real, not classificatory). As the result, the orientation of matrilateral cross-cousin marriage dominates over that of patrilateral cross-cousin marriage.

This orientation of the rule differentiates the Garo type of marriage from the Kariera type, in which a man marries his mother's brother's daughter who is also sister to his own sister's husband. On the other hand, the Garo marriage system, an asymmetrical cross-cousin marriage on the basis of *nok*, may be fairly regarded as a matrilineal version of the Murngin system. As with the Murngin, the general rule of marriage is that of matrilateral cross-cousin marriage and this is coupled with a moiety system.[1] However, the Murngin system seems to lack the counterpart of the *nok*. Hence, a mere comparison with the Murngin system may mislead the understanding of the Garo system. First of all, the number of *nok*, the unit of institution on which matrilateral cross-cousin marriage is based, increases constantly through addition of the *nok* created by the marriage of *agnit*. Hence the whole picture of a kind of circulating marriage relationship without any fixed number of constant bodies becomes highly complicated.

Secondly, the roots of the *nok* lie in the descent group, the localized lineage. Any member of the authorized local lineage group can be called upon to fill the gap caused by the death of a member of a *nok*. Actually all unmarried members are regarded as an immediate reserve for its continuation. The nature of the *nok* is such that a lack of members is to be expected. *Nok* A might fail to supply a husband to *Nok* B, which is in *nok-chami* relationship with it, or *nok* B might fail to supply an heiress. In such emergency cases they look for lineage members in the immediate reserve. The nearest individual in the descent line is usually taken. It may, however, depend also on personal liking or capacity. The selection is made at a meeting of members of the localized lineage groups of both the husband and the wife. For instance, in deciding upon the *nokna* and *nokrom*, the lineage [illegible] will be decided upon by the parents in consultation with her mother's brothers, including their lineage members. Likewise, the *nokrom* will be chosen by the parents of the *nokna*, especially by her father, in consultation with his lineage members. Thus the formation of a *nok* is dependent upon the functioning of the lineage. In other words, the whole network of the organization does not confer any independent social status on the *nok*. Hence, the matrilateral cross-cousin marriage

1. The Murngin system, since presented by Warner (1937-41), has been discussed great deal as one of the important cases in relation to theories of cross-cousin marriage systems (particularly see Lévi-Strauss, 1949, pp. 319-24; and Leach, 1951).

19: Nakane E-5 (1959-1964) 1967 AR? Khoo
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arrangements on the level of the sub-lineage do not cause status differences between the husband-giving sub and the husband-receiving sub.

The economic loss or gain derived from the matrilateral cross-cousin marriage tends to individual sub in compensated by the society arrangement which integrates this mechanism as the exchange of men between two localized lineages, the economic base of which lies in the village land. In this respect, a village is a convenient economic segment of the wider unit, a local lineage group. Actually, the man (or woman) acts, socially, as a member of a localized lineage rather than of a particular village where he (or she) was born. For instance, A (born in village X) may succeed as a subsub of B (born in village Y), or of C (born in village Z), instead of a man born in village X. In this sense, a considerable mobility of the members of a lineage group among villages of the same lineage group may be observed. As shown

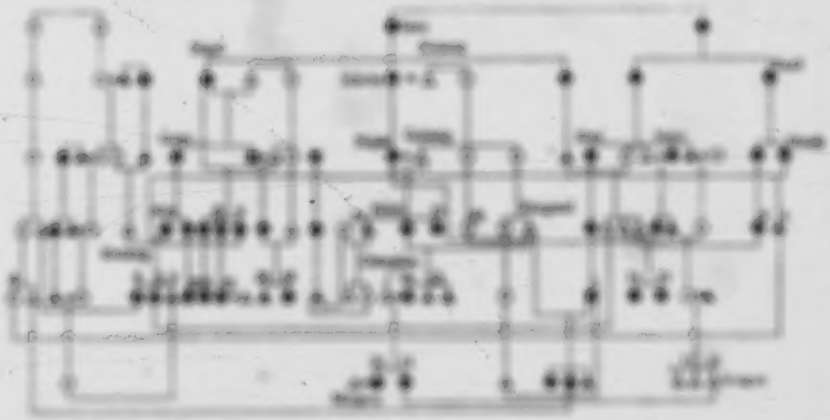

Fig. 6. — The Network of Cross-cousin Marriages between

in Fig. 6, the network of genealogical cross-cousin relations between the Chambugong Dingik and the Agitok Khokong of the present inhabitants of Rombagiri (November, 1955) includes a number of dead, as well as living members of other satellite villages of Rombagiri and of Dongiri.

However, the function of the village as an important unit should not be disregarded. The village serves as an effective economic unit accommodating actual households, sub, which are the units of the domestic as well as property group, whose members share production

19: Nakano E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi
Garo AR5

and consumer activities. The village is not only an economic unit 621
based on the *a'ring*, it is also the important ritual unit, the mainspring of the people's life.

In conclusion, the analysis of Garo social organization reveals that 61
three units are to be distinguished: *lineage*, *village*, and *mahr*, each of 621
which plays an important role, being closely interwoven with the 182
functional unity of the Garo social structure.

IV. Interrelationship or Disjunction between the Ideal Rule and the Empirical Facts

As I have explained, the moiety arrangement between two patrilineal lineal lineage groups through cross-cousin marriage is the 182
fundamental rule. Now if the whole network of the composition of 182
the present population of Rombagiri is analyzed, it will be observed 191
that the population of the present village does not conform entirely 61
to this rule. The moiety arrangement is the ideal pattern of a Garo village community but not the actual state. According to the ideal 621
rule, the wives of Rombagiri should belong to Chambugong Dimajik [183]
and their husbands should belong to Agitok Khiliang. However, as we have seen in the lists of wives and husbands by *mahrs* (pp. 40-42, Lists 1 & 2), there are ten different *mahrs* besides the traditional *mahrs*. Thus actual conditions are very complicated: firstly because a minority practice virilocal residence in a society where arrangements are generally uxorilocal,[1] and secondly, because marriage relations sometimes extend to the third lineal lineage group apart from the traditional opposite lineage group. These two variations occur easily amongst members of the community who are free from the rigid cross-cousin principle, e.g. non-*mahrs* and non-*mahrs*. The following will explain the multiformity of the different lineages in regard to the traditional arrangement as found in the composition of the present population of Rombagiri.

Virilocal residence brings complexity into the lineal arrangements [illegible] lineage is to be A), there may be found women of lineage B, who belong to the opposite moiety in relation to A. In the case of Rombagiri, women, as a rule, are to be Chambugong Dimajik, but actually there are Agitok Khiliang wives and Chambugong Dimajik husbands.

1. In this discussion the terms 'virilocal' and 'uxorilocal' are used at a village level, the uxorilocal residence for the case in which a couple resides in the wife's village, not necessarily in the wife's parents' house. Likewise, in the case of virilocal, a couple resides in the husband's village, but never in his parents' house.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi
Garo AR5

182 What factors have brought about virilocal establishments in a uxorilocal arrangement? The study of Rombagiri reveals these factors to
582 be due to personal attachments. After the appearance of a great
591 male personality such as Gobang *Anker* of Rombagiri, his descendants
67 show great attachment to him and desire to remain in their natal
621 village. In the village remarks were often heard such as "I am Gobang *Anker*'s so-and-so," which indicates a cognatic or affinal relationship with Gobang. Thus, people like to explain their social position in a community through a great personality. They are proud of it and consider themselves to be of a social status rather superior to that of others. These people, Gobang's sons, grand-sons and nephews, had a strong tendency to stay in Rombagiri, bringing their wives to the village. And they form an influential family group, together with their sisters and their husbands. The core of this group is not a matrilineal descent group, but rather a kind of an ambilateral descent group, the members of which linked through Gobang *Anker*. As manifested in such a particular reason for the existence of virilocal marriages, in general it seems that when a man has a particularly strong attachment to his natal village in various reasons involved, it is not so difficult to bring the wife from the opposite lineage group instead of his going to his wife's village.[1] More important in the arrangement between the localized lineages the actual residential locus seems of secondary significance to it.

The descendants of the women of such virilocal marriages are always addressed or classified as members of the opposite moiety. Their descendants may, under the exogamous rule, marry any member of the village in which they were born. As a result, marriages occur between members of the same village, which fact gives again more chances of creating houses of Agitok wives; because of uxorilocal usage, daughters of such wives naturally stay near their mothers' houses. At the same time, it gives men easier opportunities to remain in their natal village: for a Chambragong man will automatically stay in his village if he takes a wife among daughters of such wives, and as

[illegible] the wife or two in his village [illegible] "For his village [illegible] have a male relative present" (Burling, 1957, p. 200; and the similar statements in Burling, 1958A and 1958B). This same view was also held by D. M. Schneider in his comment on this manuscript. These views are obviously based on a concept such as the strong cohesion and interdependence of brothers and sisters, which Schneider presents as one of the distinguishing features common to matrilineal peoples (see Schneider, 1961, Introduction). Though I do not deny their view to be true to a certain extent in the Garo case, I am reluctant to take it as the only factor or the primarily decisive one in this particular situation. For I take the view that the Garo exemplify a quite different structure from other matrilineal societies such as appear in Schneider's just mentioned work; among the Garo solidarity of the descent group is minimized (see p. 27). This point will be clarified in the concluding discussion of this book.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi
Garo AR5

Agitok man born of such wives need not change his village on his marriage: he can just marry a Chambugong woman born in the same village.

The second variation is the result of marriages with members of the third group. A woman (or man) may sometimes marry a member from another localized lineage of the opposite *Aatchi*, a quite different group from the one with which their own members have traditional relations. Once established, a new *sok* by such a marriage conforms to the logical succession rule of the *sok* as found among the traditional *sok*, by which the relations between the two lineages become an insti-

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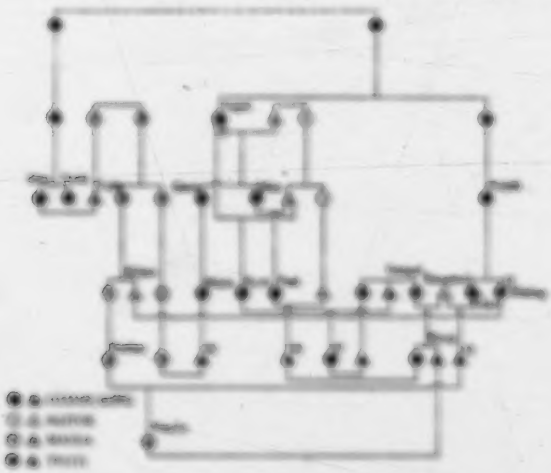

FIG. 5. — *Cross-cousin Relations with the Third Local Lineages of Rombagiri.*

tutionalized continuum, inserting itself into the traditional local arrangement. This phenomenon is illustrated in the cases of Rombagiri by the establishment of the Manda and the Tigiti lineages. The Manda came to have marital relations with the Chambugong of Rombagiri [illegible] village of Rombagiri, Nabi's elder sister, Sima married Tuja (Manda). (see Figs. 6 & 7). This might be regarded as one of the first steps towards the disintegration of the Chambugong Dimajik-Agitok Khoksep relationship. It is said that Tuja, being a very influential man, sold some part of the Chambugong *a'bing* to his own people, the Manda and this became the *a'bing* of the present Dimajigiri and Makragiri (see p. 56). Since then, the Manda have encroached upon the Chambugong area and soon continuous marriage relations were established.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi
Garo AR5

182 Here, the logical extension of the principle of the *nok* and *nok-chawa*
582 was made: the relation of the Chambugong of Rombagiri and the
591 Manda of Makragiri became constant. Thus, there are many members
61 of the Manda in the genealogy of Rombagiri, whose cross-cousin
621 relationship can be seen in Fig. 7.

In a similar way, Tigiti came upon the scene when Gangri became Rangmal *koker*'s fourth wife: this resulted marriage relations between Tigiti and Chambugong as shown in Fig. 7. The Manda and the Tigiti have now become the third groups in Rombagiri after the Agitok. Both Manda and Tigiti are of Sangma like the Agitok. It is important, however, that to whatever extent the marriage relationship may go, the exogamous rule on the level of *chatchi* should be strictly maintained[1]

Complications such as these arising from the practice of vicliocal residence and from marriages with the third local lineage groups have resulted in multiformity of lineages in one community as in the case of Rombagiri, which again increases the chances of village endogamy.
[198] The present Garo villages are in a state of considerable flux. This contrasts with their traditional view of their former structure, allegedly well arranged and restricted in relationships, and in fact it may be really due to newly created circumstances. This tendency has increased everywhere since the cessation of fighting between the villages of Songma and Marak and elsewhere in the Garo Hills; modern developments in the Hills allow the Garo more frequent and closer contacts with each other in various ways. As may be noted, several new marital relations with the new lineages of Rombagiri, such as Chambugong Machu, Chambugong Anil, Manda Akchanda, Manda Pukron, Rangsa and Gabil, etc., have taken place. However, the majority of the Garo still follow the traditional moiety arrangement, especially among the older *nok*, and in fact, the people ideally still adhere strongly to it.

The multiformity of lineages in one community has appeared to
[p. 1] the extreme amongst the Atong and the Garo-Gaochin. The village
the Sintang, consists of members of Ampang Sangma, Sintang Marak, Richil Sangma and Rowchel Sangma, each of which are quite numerous, and form thus an endogamous community like those we shall find among the Khasis. According to actual lineage members, there are nowadays no clearly distinguishable exogamous geographical units in

1. In Fig. 7, this rule was broken in two cases, the marriages of Rangmal (Agitok Sangma) with his fourth wife, Gatji (Tigiti Sangma), and of Rangi (Tigiti Sangma) with Sonjin (Manda Sangma). Villagers regard them as an
[684] incestuous relationship especially the latter marriage (because the former was a secondary marriage). The nation call such a relationship *ahi-kama*. They had to pay a considerable fine.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi
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this area. Such a high degree of integration may be due to the small size and close distribution of the local lineages. Even the possession of a'ding by a particular lineage becomes nominal. Emangiri belongs also to this type of community. There are two dominant *makari*, the Manda and the Rima, including other neighbouring Garo-Gaochin *makari*, as follows:

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List 3. *Numbers by Makari of Household Heads and their Wives of Emangiri.*

Makari	*Wives*	*Husbands*
1. Rima Marak	18	18
2. Manda Sangma	15	16
3. Areng Marak	8	3
4. Rakam Marak	4	4
5. Sumnanja Sangma	4	4
6. Rongmatta Marak	5	5
7. Mangrong Sangma	2	1
8. Shiking Sangma	1	2
9. Jengchiam Marak	0	0
10. Shatim Sangma	0	0
11. Chalab Marak	0	1
Total	57	57

Out of the total of 57 couples representing all of the households, 3 took virilocal residence: these were husbands whose parents lived in this village but who took their wives from outside the village; 41 cases are marriages within the village. The remaining 13 cases are those in which husbands from outside the village married women of the village. The above list should be compared with the list of Rombagiri (p. 41, List 2). In Rombagiri the traditional Chambugong-Agitok relationship can still be clearly seen in the distribution of the numbers of wives and of husbands by *makari*. Households of Chambugong wives form the majority and there are more traditional Agitok husbands than of other *makari*. On the other hand, in Emangiri, the numbers of wives and husbands of Rima and Manda are almost the same, so that the tendency towards village endogamy is more marked. However, the existence of a paired traditional lineage arrangement can be seen amongst the members of Rima and Manda who form the largest *makari* in the village. Besides these two *makari*, the third *makari*, Areng Marak, is also fairly numerous. As a matter of fact, there are three *nokpanti* (bachelors' dormitories), one of the Rima, one of the Manda and one of the Areng. This fact shows that in Emangiri, besides the traditional *makari*, the Rima, the Manda and the Areng have also the right to regard this village as their own, though the *a'ding* belongs to the Rima. The villagers take for granted

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15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi
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182 such multiformity of more than two lineages within one village. In
582 this way Garo traditional rules and ideal arrangements are being modified greatly.

591 One of the leading educated Garos, who belongs to the Gara-
61 Ganchin explained this phenomenon to me as follows: "In the begin-
621 ning we used also to take a husband from a particular village. But afterwards, our families used to worry about whether our sons were happy or not in their wives' houses. If they marry inside a village, such worry ceases, and so people started to marry inside the village.
[178] Nowadays marriages inside a village have become quite common." This might be an explanation of this tendency to village endogamy. However, the fundamental reason must be regarded as the consequence of political changes effected by the British administration, coupled with the increase of the population and its branching off into satellite villages, which, I think, inevitably weakened the lineage solidarity and complicated inter-lineage relations. It is needless to add that
[177] the recent modernization and Christianization are another significant factor.

The most important underlying facts in the process of disintegration of the Garo social organization are the following: the tendency to village endogamy is paralleled with the disappearance among the people of the *a'ibba* concept which lies at the basis of Garo social organization. Another is that the advent of a third lineage group, which inevitably renders the composition of a local group more complex, tends to ignore the function of institutionalized cross-cousin marriages as an organic whole upon which the core of the Garo social organization is founded.

V. Ownership and Power Relations among Families in a Village Community

61 In this section, I shall discuss some political aspects of the village
621 community, keeping in mind the information given in previous sections.

Each Garo village community is an autonomous political unit, the
622 head of which is the *nokma*. The *nokma* holds his office through the
[421] right of the *a'ibing* which theoretically belongs to his wife and her *mahari*. The office of the *nokma* is hereditary through the *mal* institution. The *nokma's nokrom* is his successor. The office of the *nokma* has the intrinsic importance from the point of view of the Garo organization: it is the pivot of the village organization, through which the basic network of the entire Garo society is woven. In fact the *nokma* plays the leading role as the central figure in the village activities, and externally represents the village. However, the position of the

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi
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nokma is very delicate. As a matter of fact, the *nokma* cannot be compared to a chief who exercises his political authority with various social and economic advantages. The *nokma* is rather social and economic representative of the village without having a distinguished advantage or authority. 61 621 622

The *nokma*'s position becomes clear when we consider the characteristics of the Garo social structure, associated with the *mok* institution. Though every *mok* is independent, the function of the *mok* is always backed by all the members of the two lineages in moiety relation. No *mok* can develop a social solidarity or a differentiated status from others, as already discussed (see pp. 53-54). The *nokmaship* also follows this principle. No doubt, the *nokma*'s *mok* has prestige as the oldest *mok* among the *mok* of the village. The word *nokma* itself indicates 'mother of the *mok*,' according to the people's explanation. However, the *nokma* (including his family members) cannot claim any superiority of status, because he is simply a selected member from both local lineage groups, in which the members are of equal status in the kinship network. Any male member of one lineage group may become the *nokma*. The opportunity is provided according to the circumstances.[1] Thus, structurally, the *nokma*'s status does not confer on him any distinguishable social rank. 592 61 621 622

With regard to the economic organization, the *nokma*'s status is also basically equal to that of the others. Though the *a'king* belongs to the *nokma*'s wife, it is actually held in common by all the inhabitants of the village. Every member of the village has the right to cultivate the village land. The possession of the *a'king* is simply represented by the *nokma*'s wife. As a rule, no portion of the *a'king* can be sold or mortgaged by the *nokma*, since it is the common property of the villagers. The village land is divided into several parts on the basis of the annual rotation of jhum cultivation (see Map 3). Every year one of these parts is distributed to each household according to the number of its members (see Map 4). The share of the *nokma*'s family is allotted in the same way as that of the other families. The *nokma*, in theory, has no special economic advantage over commoners. Sometimes indeed the *nokma*'s family is poorer than the others.[2] 423 621 622

1. Indeed the villagers, together with lineage people, have also the right to dismiss him from the *nokma*ship should he fail seriously to perform his duties, as happened a few years ago in a neighbouring village of Rongbagiri, where the *nokma* was replaced because of his failure to arrange the funeral of his wife.

2. As a matter of fact, when I was in the Hills, the members of the Council of the Garo Hills were considering giving the *nokma* some economic advantages thus raising their position in a village community. The series of political and economic changes occurred since the British rule, which gradually leads to disintegration of the traditional Garo system, have obviously affected the status and function of the *nokma*. These factors also related to the recent decline of *nokma*'s vigour. [177]

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi
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622 The *nokma*'s expenses are high, the *nokma* being the centre of social activities within the village as well as outside. The entertain-
[574] ment of visitors rests on his shoulders. It is the usual custom for visitors who have no close kin in the village to stay at the *nokma*'s house and to eat there. Festivals, funerals, and marriage ceremonies
[527] are conducted in his presence, and as the *nokma* does, he usually offers extra meals and drinks to the people. Actually, such social
[556] activities, which result in considerable expense to the *nokma*, are sometimes taken over by some rich and powerful man in the village, if the *nokma* is poor.[1] Such a man is then also addressed as *nokma* or *nokma-gawa*: but this *nokma* should be differentiated from the *a'kong-nokma* (*nokma* of the village land) which I am discussing at present, as the Garo distinguish clearly between two kinds of *nokma*.

556 The fairly well balanced economy based upon the allotment of
621 land to every household in the village according to the number of its members does produce nevertheless some relative differences in their wealth, ascribable to varying methods of management and to the labour force available in a particular household. Therefore rich and poor do appear, though the differentiation may not be great or constant. When a man becomes very wealthy, the villagers address him as *nokma*, so as to encourage him to take on some extra activities such as those just mentioned. And when such a man becomes extremely
[527] wealthy by native standards, the villagers expect him to give a great feast. Not only the villagers, but also many related peoples come to partake of it. They enjoy eating and drinking for several days—it
[301] has no fixed period. After the feast, he is offered a silver ring for
[554] his arm, this being the greatest honour and prestige the Garo can confer, and he is addressed as *nokma-gawa*. However, by gaining such great prestige, he usually becomes again a poor man, having used up all his stock for the fantastic feast. Thus the Garo prevent any *nok* from acquiring a constant economic superior status.

621 In the absence of political authority, the village community, the
622 households of which have basically socially and economically equalitarian status, tends to have a somewhat delicately balanced temporal
[554] internal rank-order or power-relationship among the families resulting from various given factors. The following are the major factors: the higher prestige for the pedigree of older *nok*; the nearness to the descent line of the women to the wives of precedent *nokma*; the advantage of and respect paid to the age of the head of *nok*; friendly support given by more adult males (heads of *nok*); economic and social capacity and achievement as the head of the *nok*, as a rich

[184] 1. Likewise, if a *nokma* is a Christian as in the case of Rombagiri, in a certain activities in which the *nokma* has to play a religious role, a wealthy and senior *nengsook* (non-Christian) is to take his role.

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man and a manof leadership. The last factor is essential; when a man has this quiity in greater measure than the rest of the villagers, combined with ay one of the other factors mentioned, he is a very powerful figure. The 14th *sokma* of Rombagiri, Gobang, was a typical example of a ma who had all the above qualities. He was the most outstanding perso among the villagers. Many stories which showed his powerful pesonality as the leader were told to me. He was, no doubt, the richet man, having four wives altogether. He fully used the advantage obeing in the position of the *sokma* and was later elected as the *loskor*,the head of the nineteen villages around Rombagiri.

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I should saythis kind of personality, combined with *sokma*ship, is rather rare. n a village where no distinguished leader comes forth, there usually exits power relationships between more than two groups of *sok*; this has lso been the situation in Rombagiri since the death of Gobang. Cetain families in the village support the *sokma* mainly in their own intrest; other groups vie with the former group, while the rest stand a a third power or maintain indifference. This kind of situation is itensified in such events as the election of a new *sokma*. Theoretically, the post of *sokma* carries in itself no advantage other tan prestige, as we have discussed; but it provides considerable advntage for the accumulation of political power by an individual or a goup of people. This is the reason why intrigues and competition amng parties, as well as among individuals, become intensified whendeciding upon a new *sokma*. This situation is well illustrated in thease of the election of the present *sokma* of Rombagiri.

Several year ago, the last *sokma*, Rangmal, died, leaving his young wife, Kiji, and without appointing his *sokrom*, as already mentioned. Thre were many intrigues amongst the families in Rombagiri for the choosing of his successor. (For the following discussion, refer to Figs. 31 6.) Mingrin (20) whose wife, Gonjak is the direct descendant of Gbang as well of Rangmal, trind to obtain the *sokma*ship by marrying Kiji. Another candidate was Kiljan (12) (in spite of his being Mang *sokmari*, -drum-wife. Mingrin, is the daughter of Gobang by his first wife, Nujak. The wives of both the candidates belong to the direct descent line of Gobang's first wife. Among males related to the descendants of Gobang's second and fourth wives, there was no one who could be Kalji's husband. The sons and grandsons of Gobang's third wife, including the husbands of their sisters, joined forces and formed a strong third party against the two candidates. This third group also represented the Christian population of the village since Gobang kept only his third wife in the later period of his life when he had become a Christian: his remaining wives were given to Rangmal, his successor. This Christian group had no suitable bachelor who could marry Kalji. They, therefore, started to seek an Agitok

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi
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621 man amongst their relatives, who could be the *nokma* under their
622 control. Meanwhile, they persuaded Kalji to embrace Christianity. Kalji, becoming a Christian, was backed by the third group who were trying to counter the schemes of Mingrin and Kiljan. As Kalji lived alone, Mingrin's *saditan* (wife's sister's husband—this relation is considered as one of the most close and friendly), Songan (18) had sympathized with her, and made her a *jam* (store house). Mingrin became very angry about this. Later on the relationship between these two *saditan* further deteriorated. Finally Songan adopted Christianity and joined the third group. The third group, after two years' intrigues and desperate search, finally found Chambat, a grandnephew of Rengmal, who was living at Silsochigiri and agreed to become the *nokma* as well as being converted to Christianity.

In comparison with the third group, Kiljan and Mingrin might have had a stronger voice since their wives belonged to the direct descent line of Gobang's first wife. However, the third group was too strong for them. Actually, this third group had more adult male members than the other parties. As we have already discussed elsewhere (p. 56), the sons and grandsons being very much attached to the great figure, Gobang, and practised virilocal residence in their marriage. Though their mother (or grandmother) was the third wife of Gobang, they say that she was his most important one, since he kept her after his conversion to Christianity, and she was the wife who was present at his death. Furthermore, she also belonged to one of the oldest *sok* of Rombagiri. I observed that this group was becoming more and
[178] more influential and powerful in the village, having the advantage of being Christian : Christians usually lead modernization and development in the Hills.

429 The foregoing is an instance concerned with particular kin groups.
592 The other aspect, the distribution of fields, presents a more general
621 example of power relations within the village community. As I have
6'. stated elsewhere, the fields change hands every year over a seven-year period of rotation. Upon the eighth year of this seven-year cycle, the distribution of the field to each household usually follows the last pattern. But in seven years there are usually considerable changes in the numbers of each household; while some families have moved away, some have died, and new families have appeared. Hence, every year a large meeting, comprising the heads of each household in a village, is held after the harvest of the current year. At this meeting there are usually long discussions and sometimes even quarrels develop when the new boundaries of each family's share are being determined. In disputes of this kind, the *nokma* has no authority to give a final decision. An agreement is usually arrived at on the basis of the best opinion put forth. Those who swayed the meetings

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi
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most skillfully during my sojourn were the representatives of the Christian group mentioned above; others were Kiljan (12) who was the *sordar* of Rombagiri and who tried to become *nokma*; Rintang (9) and Jinban (16) both of whose wives belong to one of the oldest lines descended through Najol. Rintang was one of the oldest men in Rombagiri. These people usually have a stronger voice in the various matters concerned with village life, and the *nok* of these men appeared to rank somewhat higher amongst the villagers. I found that their fields lay in the more fertile portion of the slope, or contained a proportionally larger share of fertile soil than that of the others. The more fertile portion is considered to be in the lower part of the hills where there is more water. These parts are usually occupied by older *nok*, while new *nok* (households of newly married couples) have their share mostly in the upper part of the hills.

Another clear indication of the advantageous position of these particular *nok* is the orange gardens situated along the river where the jhum field ends. These orange gardens are owned by each household permanently. Only those *nok* which enjoy the advantages mentioned above possess them. These gardens bring in a far better income (in cash) than the jhum field. I asked these people whether they had the consent of the villagers to make their own garden, since these are part of the village land. What they replied was, "no, we just made them, nobody could object to it, as we have the right to do it." These families, no doubt, belong to the traditional lineage of Rombagiri —the wives or mothers are Chambugong Dinajik and have a advantageous social status, which is closely associated with their economic standing.

It is clear that, to a certain extent, the women's descent lines confer the internal rank order, and serve to form groups—a kind of descent group including their spouses—in a comparatively shallow generation depth. This fact implies that, in spite of various factors which do not allow the differentiation of *nok*, or the formation of particular descent groups, the descent line in shallow depth functions as criteria to establish a temporal body of power. Further, a village may include many members of various lineages other than the traditional one, and political power within a village community is found in those households where the wives (or sisters) belong to the traditional lineage under which name the *a'king* is kept. Thus, though the households of the traditional lineage may not appear in great number in the census, the underlying situation reveals that the existence of these households has a much more important meaning than appears in the statistics.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi
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VI. Formation and Stability of the Domestic Family

592 The simplest Garo domestic pattern is the elementary family: husband, wife and their children. The composition of a domestic group changes according to the cycle of the *mok* institution, as we have seen. It increases with the heiress' husband *(mokrom)* and her children, while her siblings leave to form other domestic families.

591 According to custom, the *agatí* (daughters other than the heiress)
592 establish independent domestic families with their husbands one or two years after their marriage, during which period they prepare their new houses. The *agatí*'s husband[1] lives with his wife's family, works in his wife's parents' field for the first year, and, in the coming year, marked by the new distribution of a jhum field, the newly married couple obtain a share in the fields. At the same time, their house is built in the village of the wife with the help of the villagers, the expense being met by the bride's parents with whom her husband has worked for a year or more as a member of the domestic unit. Thus a new domestic family, a *mok*, is established.

591 In the case of the *mokrom* who is destined to succeed his father-in-
592 law as the head of the family, the newly-wed *mokrom* and his wife are usually given a small newly-built temporary house next to his
606 father-in-law's house, so that a newly-married couple are separated
[428] from other members of their *mok* and can enjoy matrimonial privacy. As already mentioned, however, they are not an independent domestic unit. They form one productive and consumer economic unit together with the wife's parents and other members of the *mok*. They work
[587] together in the same field,[2] but sleep separately. When the *mokrom*'s father-in-law dies, his family joins his mother-in-law, whom he marries,
[835] and he succeeds to the headship of his father-in-law. This residential arrangement is important in relation to the sex taboo of the Garo. They observe a strict sex taboo between the son-in-law and the mother-in-law. However, this only obtains while the father-in-law is alive. As soon as the latter dies, the situation is entirely reversed—son-in-law and mother-in-law are virtually forced to live in the same house. Thus the independent sleeping arrangements for the *mokma* and *mokrom* are not only intended to protect the matrimonial life of the young

1. *Agatí*'s husband has no particular name like *mokrom* simply called *chawari* (son-in-law) but in the next generation there will be need to have a *mokrom*. The *mokrom* and the *mokma* are created in every household, once *mok* is established.

2. The portion of the field allotted to each domestic family is adjusted every year to the new distribution of households inside the village and to the changes in number of each domestic family.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi
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couple, but also to avoid sexual relations between the son-in-law and the mother-in-law. The residence pattern is a clearly reflected picture of the *sok* structure.

Implications of nokpanté *and Courtship.*

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Sons and daughters *(agaté)* are members who leave the house on marriage, while a *sokrom* is a member whose addition increases the number of the unit. Hence, sons and daughters *(agaté)* are fluid elements of the perpetual continuance and the solidarity of a domestic family, i.e. the *sok*. According to their ideal rule, and in fact, to their general practices, the following is the picture resulted from their marriage arrangements. At the fission of the *sok*, daughters *(agaté)* have many advantages in comparison with sons since, though they have to leave their parents' house on marriage, they establish new households in the same familiar environment, i.e. in the same village; while sons must change their *sok* from their father's to their maternal uncle's (*sokrom*'s case) or to the new *sok* established in their maternal uncle's village (non-*sokrom*'s case). They have to start their married life in an entirely different village from that in which they were born and grew up.

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Usually uxorilocal marriages militate against the status of husbands and constitute an element of tension in the relations of parents-in-law and son-in-law, as we shall see among Khasi marriages. In the case of the Garo, these disadvantages are well covered by their social system and usages. First of all, as already discussed, Garo uxorilocal marriage is at the same time avunculocal marriage; a man's father-in-law is always the actual or classificatory maternal uncle or at least of his own lineage people. This father-in-law can check various pressures from the wife's lineage people and relatives-in-law upon the newly arrived bridegroom. Not only within the single *sok*, but also within the village community, the bridegroom will find many familiar faces belonging to his own lineage people, who have also come to the village as husbands.

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The first orientation and shift from father to maternal uncle is experienced by the boy when he enters the *nokpanté* (bachelor's dormitory). Boys become members of a *nokpanté* when five or six years old. This institution prepares them to become conscious of their lineage and social group, of which the members belonging to the same *mahari* gather at the *nokpanté*, situated at the centre of the village (see Map 7). Each village has its own *nokpanté*. If a village includes more than two major lineages, a *nokpanté* is made for each dominant lineage, as for instance in Emangiri, which has three *nokpanté* in the

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi
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575 village (see p. 59). Boys of the same lineage gather at the *sokpanti*
604 after their supper and spend the night there chatting about field work
613 and love affairs, etc., and playing music (they practise music and dance for their festivals). They are all unmarried young men of the same lineage and the eldest boy becomes the leader while the others follow in strict order according to their ages. (It is not merely ideal; I observed this in their daily life.) It is an entirely masculine community. Women are not allowed to enter the *sokpanti*, although in [562] festivals, sweet-hearts bring food-stuffs to their lovers through the back door (the front entrance is forbidden to women). In the *sokpanti*, boys cultivate friendship and develop great intimacy and co-operation among themselves. Thus, men of the same lineage grow up together. The role of the *sokpanti* has a great influence on their social life and prepares them for adulthood and married life, as they become more and more conscious of lineage comradeship. Actually their social orientation gradually shifts from their fathers to their maternal uncles, as they approach a marriageable age. Reciprocally, the maternal uncle begins to look after his nephews, paying less attention to his own sons. Thus, the *sokpanti* plays an intermediate role in the passage of a man's life from his natal house to his maternal uncle's house or village.

593 Actual relations with maternal uncles are kept up by occasional
604 visits from both sides. When an important event occurs in one of
613 the two groups (a paire of particular local lineage groups) the opposite group of villagers visits the village. For instance, on the occasion of marriage, serious illness, funerals, periodical festivals, etc., villagers of the opposite local lineage group would come. In such cases boys visit first their *mama*'s (maternal uncle's) house. The *mama* himself often visits his natal village and gives special attention to his maternal nephews, which involves looking for his successor among them. Thus, though a boy works in his father's field and dines with his parents, his psychological and social orientation to his *mama*'s *sok* and village becomes more and more pronounced as he grows up.

The last break with his natal family occurs at his marriage. The resistance to the change is manifested in the process of courtship which will be explained presently. By marriage a man is transferred from his father's authority to that of his *mama*. Especially if he is appointed to the *sokrom* of his *mama*, he is under the direct authority
591 of the *mama*, marrying his daughter. Even a non-*sokrom* stays at his

1. Boys who belong to minor lineages in a village and have no *sokpanti* of their lineage, join the *sokpanti* of the major lineage of the village. However, according to my observation, some of them may not join. The function of the [178] *sokpanti* seems to be declining as the traditional social organization is becoming looser.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi
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father-in-law's house (which is often his actual or classificatory *mama's* house) during the preliminary period of his marriage before he gets an independent house. At the same time, a newly-arrived husband finds amongst the husbands of his wife's village many of his *mokpantè* comrades whom he can consult and from whom he can gain support in matters of importance. These husbands develop strong friendship and cohesion amongst men of the same lineage, the basis of which was laid in the *mokpantè* period, thus combating the various disadvantages and hardships of coming to a new village.

The psychological, social and economic change in a man's life is well arranged by their social system and usages. The system of cross-cousin marriage and the *mokpantè* play an important role as an organized body to protect husbands in their new *mok*. Further, Garo men, as individuals, keep on their best behaviour in order to establish themselves securely in their new *mok*. This is fully apparent in the picture of their courtship.

The Garo have a peculiar custom in proposing. The man who makes a marriage arrangement is the head of a *mok*, the father. According to the rule, the successor of the father is his sister's son and not his own son. For the Garo *mok*, the most important concern is to find an ideal successor, *mokrom*. After the members of the *mok* and the *chra* (wife's kin) have selected their *mokma* from amongst their daughters (actual as well as classificatory), the head of the family chooses his *mokrom* from among his sisters' sons, in consultation with both lineage people. Then the head of the *mok* proposes that the *mokrom*-to-be should marry his daughter, *mokma*.[1] The boy, or the boy's family, never gives a definite answer to the first proposal and usually the boy's answer is negative.

Some time after the first negotiation, all the young boys in the village, who belong to the same *makari* as the girl, i.e., the members of the *mokpantè*, plan stratagems to bring the boy to the girl who wants to marry him. They suddenly attack the boy either at home or in the field and bring him to the girl's house by force. The young boys of the girl's *makari* grip his arms and surround him so that he cannot escape. Then, he is forcibly brought to the girl's village. In day time, he is made to visit every house in the village under the strict guard of these boys. In fact they never free his arms, being afraid that he might run away. At nightfall, they bring the boy inside the girl's house. During that night, all the boys who belong to the girl's *makari* do not sleep at the *mokpantè*, but in the girl's house. The boy who was brought in sits in the corner of the room.

1. *Apai*'s marriage also follows the same pattern; however, the desire to marry particular boy is naturally less, and more flexibility in choosing the husband is seen.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi
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584 full of shyness, while the members of the family and the boys enjoy chatting. The mother of the girl offers them rice beer, corn, and tobacco, etc. When they sleep, the boy is placed next to the girl and the other boys sleep around them, keeping a boy near the door to guard him from escape. In spite of such strong guards, the boy often escapes during the night by breaking the bamboo wall with his *dao* (hatchet). In most cases the boy's village is far away. Garo husbands say they were never afraid of tigers, leopards and elephants at such a time. One *must* run away! Afterwards, another attempt is made to bring the boy back. It might be weeks or months later, depending on the circumstances. Again he is forced to spend the night in the girl's house and again he does his best to escape. If successful he may be brought back a third time.

When I stayed in a village, I came across such an occasion. The boy sat in the corner of the room, near the entrance hiding his face in his arms. The girl's mother said to me, "I don't know whether he wishes to marry my daughter or not. This is already the third time, but he is still like that." She was worrying very much. If the boy really likes the girl, he shows a friendly face. The third time the guard is especially strong and no opportunity to escape is given. In such a case, he pretends that he might stay with the girl for a few days. When the tension has relaxed, he might offer to show the girl to his parents. Then the young couple start out for his village. Sometimes he runs away somewhere in the midst of jungle, leaving the girl alone. The poor girl, full of misery, comes back to her house. When such a couple passes through a village, people peep out and whisper to each other, "Look! a young couple is passing." In the beginning I could not understand what this meant. There is some significance behind it as to whether the girl could really keep the boy or not. In spite of her eagerness towards the boy, should he not respond, the girl sometimes goes to his parents' house and assists in their domestic work as well as in the jhum field in order to show that she is worthy enough to marry their son. When night falls, the girl prepares some delicacies which the boy likes, proceeds to the back entrance of the *nokpanti* and calling him shows her affection for him. By such means the girl does her best to lure him and get him as her husband.

584 [184] [795] Among Christian Garo, the process of proposal is essentially the same though it takes on a different form. A Christian Garo does not ask boys of the same *mahari* to bring a potential husband to a girl, since the *mahari* comradeship is not regarded as so important a matter and these boys often do not sleep in the *nokpanti*. Moreover, they do not care to follow the same customs as the *songsarel* (non-Christians). The Christian way of proposal is as follows: since most of them can read and write, a girl sends a letter to the boy whom she likes, request-

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi
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ing marriage. This is not a love letter in our sense, it is only a variation of the traditional Garo proposal. The following letters are examples of those written by Garo Christians:[6] 584

1. —The first letter usually accompanies one written by her father— 539
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Rombagiri. 1st, Dec. 1955.

Dear nephew, Rupenkengjiri Sangma,

I am writing a few lines to you, enclosing my daughter's letter to you, with an idea of knowing your intention in your reply. If you could marry my daughter, Gaujak, I would be very happy. I don't mean to say that my daughter is a wonderful girl, but I hope that you would kindly help your maternal uncle and consider my request. For a man it is necessary to take a partner in this world and to have a happy married life. If you receive this letter, kindly reply to us, as I am anxious to hear from you.

With best wishes, I remain,
Yours sincerely,
Your uncle,
Gimbilipu Sangma.

Rombagiri. 1st, Dec. 1955.

Dear friend, Rupenkengjiri Sangma,

I am writing a few lines to you today, and I hope you will pay attention to my words. As my father has written to you, I request you to take me as your wife. I am ready to serve you. I don't claim to be clever and beautiful, but one must have a partner in this world, God created man and woman to live together. So we too must have a partner to live in this world. I hope that you will choose me as your partner.

Please let me know if you have any other plan in your future in your reply.

With best compliments, I remain,
Yours sincerely,
Your friend,
Gaujak Marak.

Reply Chokagiri. 5th, Dec. 1955.

Dear friend, Gaujak Marak,

I have received your letter and I like to let you know that I have no idea of choosing a wife for myself yet. Therefore, I would like to advise you to try someone else instead of me. I am intending to go for further study and afterwards I have to support my own parents. Kindly excuse my inability to take you as my wife.

With best wishes,
Sincerely yours,
Rupenkengjiri Sangma.

6. I tried to find whether any couple might have kept some original letters after their marriage, but I unfortunately failed to find any. But I happened to know a man from a neighbouring village of Rombagiri, whom the people regard as a good writer as well as a narrator of old Garo stories. He willingly agreed to produce for me a set of typical letters of the Garo courtship. These are the letters I present here. The Christians of Rombagiri highly appreciated them, saying they were exactly the same style as theirs, but rather more beautiful than the letters which they used to write. The English translation was done by one of the Garo intellectuals at Tura. 126
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II.

Rombagiri, 10th, Dec. 1955.

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Dear friend, Repraksagipi Sangma,

I have received your letter, dated 9th, inst. I am very sad, you have not shown any intention to have me as your wife. I request you once more to consider this matter. I understood that there is no other man better than you who could be my husband, from my father's words. You are so capable in managing affairs and working in the field. I am a helpless girl, without your protection, it is very difficult to carry on my life. I shall obey all your orders. This is my duty. I have no property, I am poor. Although I am in such a position, if you consider taking me as your wife, I shall be very grateful. But if you do not consider this matter and do not take me, I shall be in great sorrow. I shall be nowhere.

Expecting your kind reply, with best regards,

Yours sincerely,

Ganjak.

Reply:

Chokagiri, 15th, Dec. 1955.

Dear friend, Ganjak,

I have received your letter, dated 10th, inst. I have read all what you have written. But I am in difficulty to take you as my wife, because I have no property or education. Your family is big. I don't know how to work. If you have me, you will lose all your property. There will be many difficulties under such circumstances for both of us. Please don't write any more, give up your writing to me and try to have another better boy. It will be useful for you.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Repraksagipi Sangma.

III.

Rombagiri, 20th, Dec. 1955.

Dear friend, Repraksagipi Sangma,

I have received your letter and I feel so sad about it. What you have written shows your indifference to me. I have already chosen you as my partner. It is impossible to think of another man. Though we are poor, if you come to my house, you would feel very much at home with my father, your maternal uncle, and my mother and uncles and brothers will be very kind to you. I shall do my best to serve you. Please think over it once again!

In the night when stars are shining in the sky, sorrow fills my heart, thinking of you. I dream of happy days when you come to my home and we work in the jhum field together. But I know you have no mind to take me. Oh! when we will be united! Please do make a fresh decision to make me your wife, rather than to continue to work for your parents. I have lots to tell you, but please let me stop here.

Your lost friend,

Ganjak.

Reply:

Chokagiri, 28th, Dec. 1955.

Dear friend, Ganjak,

Just a few words to tell you that I was extremely glad to receive these three letters which you have written to me. I can now realise all the facts. So

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi
Garo AR5

I have decided to marry you. I shall come to your house on 2nd January 1956. 539
But please let me know whether your uncles, brothers and elders are really agreeable to our marriage or not. I was very pleased with the way you wrote 584
to me. Please let me know when you desire to have our marriage ceremony. In the moonlit night I think of you very much. Please keep to your statements. I believe you are the only one with whom I can share my heart. I am closing here with best wishes and sweet expectation.

Yours lovingly,
Repraksogijil Sangma.

The period of a courtship may last for a month or so, or even for 584
a couple of years. It depends on the circumstances of the young people. Young Christian boys usually receive several letters from different girls. For the girls, however, it is difficult at times to know whether unwilling letters from a boy are a real refusal or simply part of the process of courtship. They say that they have to write at least three times to one boy.

This peculiar aspect of Garo courtship is well known amongst many 583
neighbouring tribes and peoples in Assam. Those who are patrilineal 584
laugh at the Garo, saying "How cowardly the Garo boy is! He cannot approach women by himself but must wait till girls come to him. The Garo are really matriarchal people. Women propose to the boys. It is women who choose husbands." This opinion is also held by foreign travellers who have visited the Garo Hills; but this impression is false and is based on ignorance of the details of the Garo social organization and the real meaning behind it. The Garo men express it themselves clearly by the following remarks: "A man must not approach a girl even if he loves her very much, but he may let fall a hint to the girl so that she will come to his feet. When he is caught by the young men of the girl's *makari*, he must run away at least three times, in order to show his pride as a man, and to give the impression that there are many girls luring him. He is not so cheap as to throw himself at a woman's feet. If a man married without running away, he would be regarded all his life as a poor fellow, who was afraid that no girl would approach him for marriage except that particular girl, he is such a poor man." Among Garo, the more a man refuses offers of marriage the more manly he appears.

This is not only due to men's pride; there is also considerable reasons behind it. Refusals of marriage help to establish the boys in a more powerful position after their marriage. Most Garo men have to go alone to a new village by marriage, leaving familiar kinsmen and the fields of their native villages. A newcomer, a newly-wed 583
bridegroom, is in a weak position as a result of uxorilocal marriage; in order to combat this situation, he endeavours to discover the girl's

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi
Garo AR5

583 weakness during his courtship. Then finally he decides to marry if
he likes the girl, but pretends to do so unwillingly and only at the
strong request of both her and her kinsmen. In the beginning of
[593] his married life, he behaves as if he came to his wife's house to protect
her and to make her house prosperous by attending to all her requests.
But she must obey his orders. By such careful manipulation the
newcomer firmly establishes his position in his new home. This peculiar
form of courtship is also indicative of the man's resistance to the
transition from his father's to his maternal uncle's circle. Courtship
amongst the Garo thus appears closely linked to the Garo social
structure.

Relationship between Husband and Wife.

592 A well arranged and carefully prepared Garo marriage usually gives
the husband paternal authority in his new soil. The place of the
593 husband in the family is firmly established in the function of the soil.
In the case of the widower, he is placed in the second seat among the
[428] members of the soil, next to his father-in-law.[1] The Garo domestic
[606] family has strong cohesion and solidarity, centred upon the leadship
of the husband (father), on the basis of residential rule and domestic
economy. In spite of the lineage grouping of the wife and husband,
there is a considerable degree of privacy and cohesion in each domestic
family. The residential autonomy is an index of the economic auto-
nomy: it is a single economic unit engaged in food production and
consumption, cultivating the field in common.

423 This norm appears very clearly, for instance, when the boundaries
of family shares in the new jhum field are being marked. Following
592 the day of the burning of the new jhum field, all the members of
each domestic family rush to the field in the early morning to mark
out their new portion for the coming cultivation. There may be
[578] many quarrels when marking the border lines between neighbours.
The husband, wife and children whose interests are entirely in com-
mon claim their rights in the field to the fullest possible extent,
showing the strongest solidarity in relation to others. It is they who
must cultivate the field for their livelihood and prosperity in the
coming year. Thus the economic system acts as the strongest possible
bond in uniting them.

593 However, as already described, the central core of the soil, and

1. This is easily observed in their daily life as well as on religious occasions. His mother-in-law is next to him, being his potential wife; she is not placed before him, though she is his mother-in-law. This is quite different situation
[171] from the Khasi husband of an heiress, whose status is the lowest among the members of his domestic family.

15: Makaua E-5 (1955-1954) 1967 ABT Kiaei
Garo ABS

of the domestic family, is the husband-wife relationship (with the [595]
successors when it grows), rather than that of the parents and children.
This husband-wife relation is firmly established under the patronage [591]
of both their local lineages. The wife, according to the promises
made by her during the courting period, subordinates herself to the [593]
newly-arrived husband. The power of the husband is, no doubt, [619]
checked to some extent by the wife's uncles and brothers, backed
by their local lineage people. But this pressure from the wife's
side is checked by the husband's lineage people, one of whom is his
father-in-law. With such a balance of power on both sides, most
Garo marriages are successful. The stability of the relationship of
husband and wife grows more and more in the course of their married
life. Divorces are very rare except in the very early period of the [596]
marriage. During my field work in four villages, I discovered among
people whose genealogies I collected only two cases of divorce after
the couple had established their own household.

In a domestic unit, the husband is given all the responsibility
for the family affairs. The wife is subordinate to him, in spite of
matrilocal residence. In daily behaviour, we can easily see this rela-
tionship in action. The husband is the first person served by the
wife. The husband, though it is very rare for him to do so, can beat
his wife, if she acts against him unreasonably. It is permitted, as
a matter of course, since he is the holder of authority in the family.
However, cases of wife-beating are less common than among neigh-
bouring patrilineal tribes, because of the nature of matrilocal mar-
riages; a husband must be conscious of the existence of his wife's clan
always around him. Indeed he is always aware of their looking
shadow. On the other hand, if a wife beats her husband, it is a serious
matter for the Garo. They think of it as a great insult to the husband
and his lineage people. According to their information, as soon as
such news is received by her husband's *machong*, all his *machong* people
come to his wife's house. Parties of both *machong* gather together and
a row is mediated in their presence. They persuade the wife not to
behave in such a way again and to reflect upon her action. Even if
the situation is worse than this, and the couple want a divorce, the
people of both lineages try their best to smooth over matters and
usually succeed in doing so by making the couple conscious of their
lineage responsibilities. With such a line going on, the husband and
wife are made to appreciate their duties as representatives of their
respective *machong* and to attach less importance to their personal
things. Personal friction between a husband and wife are thus closely
bound up with the relationship between the two *machong*. Once estab-
lished, the marriage relationship becomes an almost inescapable insti-
tution until the death of one of the partners.

399 It is characteristic of the Garo marriage that an affectionate relationship of husband and wife is cultivated in the course of their married life. In fact, I often met very affectionate couples. For instance, I once gave a man a cup of tea and a piece of biscuit; his wife joined us a few minutes later. He drank half of the tea and gave the other half to his wife, together with half of the biscuit. This simple matrimonial affection impressed me a great deal. When I said this to my interpreter, he replied, "We are like this." It is quite true and I often found similar cases. On another occasion, when we happened to pass near the village whence my leaves had come, he suddenly shouted to a man, who was on top of a tree, watching for elephants, to ask whether his wife was well or not. As soon as I got the meaning of his shout through my interpreter, I smiled at him, as he was somewhat embarrassed, but he was very happy to receive news of his wife's good health. Garo husbands are indeed
[191] very kind and care very much for their wives. This seems to be an outstanding phenomenon amongst the various tribes in Assam. It is not correct to say that it is the natural outcome of matrilocal residence and matrilineal succession, for we shall see later that the matrilocal and matrilineal Khasi are unlike the Garo in this respect. It seems to be the moral code cultivated by the nature of the marriage which has resulted from the whole structural dynamics of their society.

The wife is fully dependent on her husband in her daily life. The promises made by both parties during their courting appear as facts in their married life. But sometimes the wife shows that she is a member of a matrilineal and matrilocal society where the relation of husband and wife is rather different from that among patrilineal tribes and peoples. For example, if the husband is not at home when a meal is ready, she eats it with her children without waiting for him,
[266] leaving his share wrapped in banana leaves. If the wife is engaged
[267] in looking her baby when the husband asks her to bring some firewood to burn in the fireplace, she simply says "I cannot, I am engaged." Or, if the time is unreasonable, she may say "I am tired now, I am going to sleep." If the wife's remarks are reasonable, the Garo husband easily understands the circumstances and never forces her against her will. So far as my observation goes, neither the authority of the husband nor the subordination of the wife are ever carried to extremes.

Of course, there are exceptional cases, as in any society. Among 30 houses in Rombagiri, 4 houses are notorious, because the wives keep their husbands under their thumbs. They often have quarrels. For instance, when the yield of the jhum field was bad, they started to quarrel in the field, blaming each other. The children, especially the daughters, sided with the mother. Villagers regarded it as a very bad and shameful state of affairs. I think, however, that while these

10: Nakano E-9 (1955-1956) 1957 ARI Khasi
Gara ARS

are always similar cases in any society, these are certainly not typical 595
instances of Garo society.

The higher status of the husband and the establishment of the parental authority are based not only on the unique arrangement of the marriage, but also on the actual economic contribution of the husband as manager as well as worker. In fact, if a husband dies [613]
and it is some time before his lineage people supply the next husband, the widow's house rapidly becomes economically poorer, owing to the lack of management and labour. In general, the Garo have a concept about men and women, which clearly appears in such a remark as "after all, women are weak, what can they do without men?" Another interesting remark is "If I am afraid of my wife, I shall tear my *gando*." The *gando* is the loin-cloth worn by the men. This is [291]
considered their most important article of clothing—an usually their [558]
only one. To be without a *gando* is the most shameful state for a man; they would sooner die. When they fight among themselves, they [578]
declare at the beginning: "I am Marak, my father's *machar* is so-and-so Sangma, my mother's *machar* is so-and-so Marak. If you defeat me, [615]
you shall have my *gando*," holding up a piece of cloth, a loin-cloth, in the right hand stretched upwards. In their houses, men occupy the centre of the room, while the women are allocated the lower seats near the entrance (see p. 91). Thus the men definitely maintain a higher status.

In addition to the foregoing, the case of the polygynous family 595
should be presented here. A Garo husband may take secondary wives, provided that he obtains the first wife's permission and her lineage people's consent. The former does not usually cause difficulties, when a husband is capable and energetic. Indeed, it often happens that the household of a prosperous man becomes too big to be managed by one wife, who in such cases is usually alone, and she herself may press her husband to take another younger wife who can help her in her heavy domestic duties. The wife's *machar* may of its own accord supply [613]
another woman or give its consent to him to take another wife from their *machar* or from another *machar*, whom he likes. A secondary wife mostly belongs to the same *machar* with that of the first wife; she may be a younger sister or a niece of the latter (as seen in Gobang's case, p. 48). But there are the sharp distinction between *almamong* (first wife) and *rikgiri* (secondary wife), as clearly understandable in the light of the structural working of the *mal* institution, already discussed.

The practice of this kind of polygyny should be considered in [587]
relation to the rule of succession in the *mal*, which also often results in a kind of polygyny, the widow marrying her widowed mother-in-law and her daughter at the same time. I believe that this practice may prepare them socially and morally to have more than two wives

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi
Garo AR5

595 if the circumstances allow. In certain well defined marital spheres, the Garo individual is subject to the dictates of the *mok* and the lineage function. Further, the Garo women are quite resigned to their [171] husbands taking further wives, which, I think, is closely associated with the subordination to the husband—a unique feature among matrilineal peoples (cf. Khasi polygyny, pp. 139-70).

As a rule, secondary wives come to the first wife's house, where lived is the husband. In most cases, they live together very peace- [556] fully, dividing their domestic work. I once met a rich old man who possessed seven wives and who told me that he was going to have another. This, of course, is an exceptional case. However, one or two polygynists are usually to be found in any village. In my genealogical tables there are three cases of polygynists: Gobang and Rangmal of Rombagiri and Ramding of Rimbara. They had extra wives besides marrying mother and daughter in the cycle of the *mok* succes- [556] sion. They were all influential and wealthy men as well as being *mokma* in the villages.

171 In conclusion, the high stability of Garo marriage is in contrast 192 with the unstable marriage of other matrilineal peoples, one of which 531 I will deal with in Part II. Usually a matrilineal system tends to show strong solidarity in the matrilineal descent group. Therefore, there is always potential conflict between the marriage bond and the descent bond—which weakens the husband-wife relationship. No doubt, the Garo also have bonds of the descent group as do other matrilineal peoples, as represented in the Garo word, *chra* (see p. 75). However, the function of a descent group is limited. Instead, the function of a *mok* has more significant structural importance, and this is the core of Garo social organization. In the Garo system, the ownership of the property group and the authority of its controlling power can never be found in the same descent group, which certainly weakens the solidarity of matrilineal descent groups. Moreover, the property group, *mok*, is in fact established by the combination of two descent groups in perfect balance, as analysed in the previous sections of this chapter. The structural extension of this is also found in the composition of the village, the land-holding group. As manifested in their avunculocal marriage, neither to the Garo husband nor to the wife does marriage mean marrying into one of either group (the *mok* is located in the balance of two descent groups) unlike the marriages of in-marrying women in virilocal or avunculocal marriages, and of in-marrying men in an uxorilocal one. These are the structural implications of the stable marriage found among the matrilineal Garo. In this respect, the Garo system differs greatly from other matrilineal systems of which I will give a comparative analysis in the last part of this volume.

19: Nakaue E-9 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi
Garo AR3

Chapter III

SOCIAL CHANGE IN VILLAGES NEAR THE PLAIN

In this chapter I shall discuss the significant aspects of social 101
change, and of structural change in particular, which occur in the frontier Garo community—the newly-formed villages on the southern slopes of the Hills near the plain of Bengal.

The bulk of the Garo population have lived in the interior of the Hills for centuries. The Garo who occupy the northern slopes of the Hills, together with those in the Assam Valley, are also considered to be inhabitants as old as those in the interior Hills. They are said to be the descendants of those who remained in these areas during the migration of the Garo tribe that originated in the north—according to their legends, they migrated from Tibet through Cooch-Behar, stayed for a time in the plain near the present Goalpara, and finally reached to the present Garo Hills. The southern slopes of the Hills are therefore the frontier of the Garo population, and indeed, as far as I can tell, most of the Garo villages in these areas seem to have been established during the last hundred years.

Political changes, coupled with an increase in population, resulted 161
in the formation of satellite villages around a parent village, as described in the previous chapter. However, during the last few decades, 192
the rate of increase in population has become too high to be accommodated in the interior Hills near the parent-villages. According to 311
the Census of Assam 1951, Garo Hills District Census, the population of the district was 145,173 against 103,381 in 1941, i.e., it has increased by 5.41 per cent over this period, which is slightly less than half the percentage increase of 13.11 recorded in 1931-41 but larger than the 4.37 per cent of 1921-31. Such a rapid growth in population is a serious matter for a people whose economy is based on jhum cultivation, because this method requires an area of more than ten times

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 ART Khasi
Garo ARS

that of wet cultivation for the same population, and the technical arrangement is too simple to allow improvements in yield from the same amount of land. Thus, the serious shortage of land, coupled with the increasing population, made it imperative that the people of the interior should look for a new area in which to accommodate the surplus population. Most of the jungle areas in the interior were already exploited. Thus some of them had to move to a new site far away from their social villages. This tendency resulted in the establishment of new villages near the plain. The regions along the foot of the southern slopes of the Hills, near the plain, had been left unclaimed, since the land was not sufficiently fertile for jhum cultivation, nor was it fit for large-scale wet cultivation owing to the fairly steep slopes—the plain dwellers, the Bengalee, likewise had not penetrated into these regions. But because of the pressure of increasing population in the Hills, the Garo had to settle even in these areas. Also on account of increasing population, these Garo, once settled near the plain, had to engage in wet cultivation in the available flat lands which could support a greater density of population.

These series of events naturally brought about social and economic changes. The main forces which led to a change in Garo organization can be summarized as follows: firstly, the shift to an entirely new area, far from the parent villages, inevitably resulted in the establishment of a kind of colonial village. The social rules and customs had to be modified: in particular, the moiety relation between two traditional *machas* was difficult to maintain, since such a village is usually composed of volunteers from various *machas* as well as villages. Thus the basic setting of their organization could not be maintained, and this resulted in a series of modifications at the organizational level.

Secondly, the change in agricultural technique from jhum to wet cultivation constituted the decisive factor in the Garo economic and social changes. So long as the village economy depends entirely on jhum cultivation, the village land is held in common by all the inhabitants of the village, represented by the *nokma*. However, once the villagers started wet cultivation, the field could no longer be held in common by all of them; it became the property of the particular family who first brought it under cultivation and continued to cultivate it.

Thus wet cultivation inevitably develops private ownership of fields. Wet cultivation differs a great deal technically from jhum cultivation. First of all, it does not require the cooperation of all the villagers, which is essential in jhum, particularly in the period of felling and burning the jungle trees. Once cultivated, a wet field requires great care throughout the year and is cultivated every year by the same family. As a result, the cultivators develop a great

A. Cave houses at Bhirkhagai village

B. Cave house taken from back side, at Bhirkhagai village

[P. 80-A]

19: Nakano E-5 (1955-1956) 1957 AR7 Khoi
Gero AR5

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C. Gero women at Emangeni village

D. Preparation of dressing funeral chair at Emangeni

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[E 10-0]

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi
Garo AR5

attachment to their field, which is hardly ever found among the cultivators of jhum fields, who cultivate a new piece of land every year. The right to the field naturally falls to the family who reclaimed it. So far as my own observation goes, conversion to a wet rice field of a part (flat land) of the jhum field, which originally belonged to the village, does not create opposition among the other villagers who continue jhum cultivation. This is because the jhum field usually extends over a vast area and jhum cultivation is usually done on the slope, not on flat land. Hence the conversion does not vitally affect the village economy. When a family in a village starts to convert a piece of flat land into a wet rice field, the people are usually not aware of the loss of land. The problem lies not in the actual commencement of wet cultivation itself, but in the gradual results which lead to social differentiation between the jhum cultivators and the wet cultivators within a same community, because of the different types of ownership.[1]

The observation of social change ascribable mainly to the first factor is based upon field work done in Rinsabara village, and I have chosen Joshipara village as an illustration of economic change, the second factor.

Rinsabara

Rinsabara is situated about five miles north of the bordering bazaar, Dalu, in the plain. This area is located where the mountains cease and the plain starts gradually. At Rinsabara, the major economy was jhum cultivation. Twenty years ago, wet paddy cultivation was begun alongside the jhum cultivation. Rinsabara, established about sixty years ago, was a community of 20 households in January 1956 (see List 4). I decided to choose this village because many of the present population were closely related to the people of Rombagiri. The *a'kong* belongs to the Agitok and the *mahna* was Doljel Marak since the founder of this village was a man from Doljel, whose wife was Agitok. However, at present there are no members of the Doljel Marak in the village. Actually the majority of the population comprises people of Agitok and of Chambugong. The analysis of the formation of this village, as well as of the present composition of the inhabitants, reveals various aspects which are different from those of Rombagiri.

1. This is a very common phenomenon in many tribal areas in Assam bordering the plain. On this problem I did further field work among the tribes of Tripura State see Nakane, 1959.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 ART Khasi
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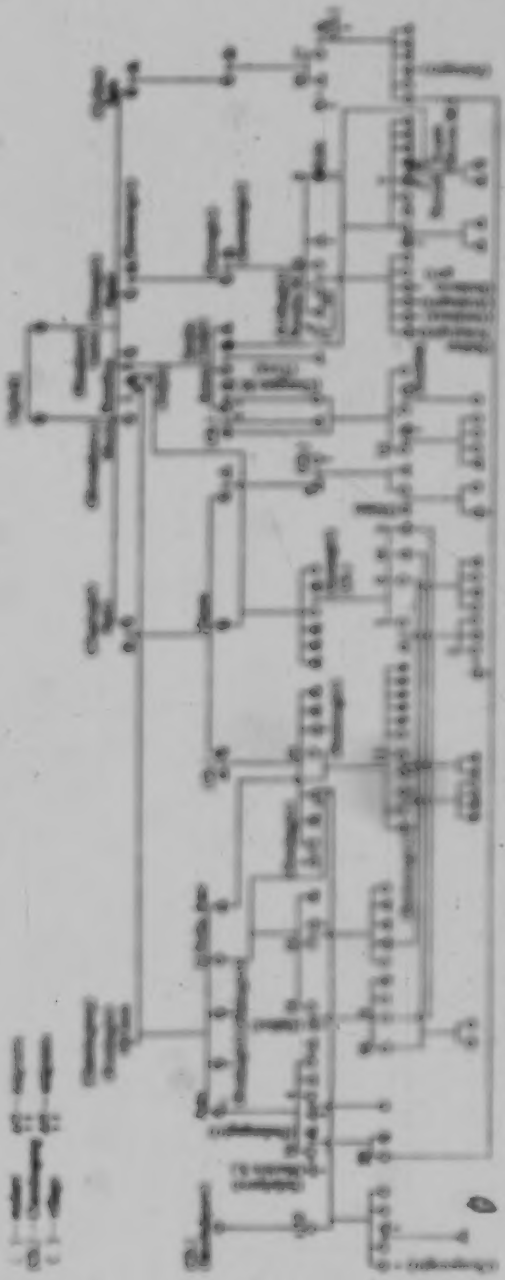

FIG. 8. — Genealogical Relations of Inhabitants of Elsewhere in February 1956.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi Garo ARS

List 4. *Household Heads and their Wives of Rimchara.*

Husband's style	*Mahari*	*Pram (village)*	*No. of cows*	*Wet rice field (by acres)*	*Jhum field (by pals*)*
—	—	—	—	—	—
1. Dingrua	Chambugrong M.		1	1	4
Ranjuk	Agitok S.				
2. Wilson	Marng M.	Jaskipara	10	1	3
Mirila	Agitok S.				
3. Gomin	Agitok S.		1	1	3
Nujuk	Chambugrong M.				
4. Rumon	Agitok S.	Gasanghalbagiri			
Gawri	Chambugrong M.		1	0	3
5. Shonjan	Chambugrong M.		4	0	6
Bongma	Agitok S.				
6. (Sanjay)	(Dilipi M.)				
Rula	Agitok S.		3	3	0
7. Jingan	Warem M.				
Nunujuk	Agitok S.				
8. Tangan	Agitok S.		0	0	3
Sengri	Chambugrong M.	Wymandong			
9. Jinggan	Chambugrong M.	Bokbagiri	10	3	4
Rangi	Agitok S.				
Sujuk	Pamba M.				
10. Ruar	Chambugrong M.		3	3	0
Wanna	Agitok S.				
11. Jangrim	Chambugrong M.	Bokbarangiri	3	0	4
Sonjuk	Agitok S.				
12. Dinjuk	Chambugrong M.	Bokbarangiri	8	3	3
Manjuk	Agitok S.				
13. Wangan	Agitok S.		4	0	3
Nalin	Chambugrong M.				
Nanni	Chambugrong M.				
14. Jangmong	Dulber S.	Samyagiri	0	3	3
Gonjin	Chambugrong M.				
15. Inang	Chirung S.	Mokagiri	0	0	7
Ranjuk	Chambugrong M.				
16. Tanjong	Agitok S.		0	0	4
Minujin	Chambugrong M.				
17. Dimin	Chambugrong M.	Bondagiri	3	3	3
Mulup	Agitok S.				
18. Gnaram	Agitok S.		0	0	1
Gaiin	Chaham M.	Sikagiri			
19. Sarmuk	Marbin S.,	Saijalgara	0	0	3
Jibini	Chambugrong M.	Bombagiri			
20. Nangrum	Agitok S.		0	0	0
Sengjuk	Chambugrong M.				

Note: 6. Sanjay died and Jingan (?) is the successor of Sanjay (see p. 84).
*A quantity of seed.

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15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi
Garo AR5

173 The founder of the village was named Ramling, a Doijel Marak.
614 He married Muchi whose *makari* was Agitok Sangma of Shanshapara
621 village near Tura. He had four wives altogether including this first
622 wife:

Name of wife	*Makari*	*Born at*	*Married at*
—	—	—	—
1. Muchi	Agitok	Shanshapara	Shanshapara
2. Gedek	Agitok	Shanshapara	Shanshapara
3. Gaon	Chambugong	Rombagiri	Rimsibara
4. Naren	Agitok	Chamagiri	Rimsibara

The second wife, Gedek, is the daughter of the younger sister of the first wife (Muchi)'s mother, and the fourth wife, Naren, is Gedek's elder sister's daughter (see Fig. 8). After his marriage to the second wife, Ramling came to this site and founded the new village, Rimsibara. Some time later, Gaon visited Rimsibara, accompanied by her parents from Rombagiri, and fell in love with Ramling (note, Ramling and Gaon both belong to Marak, though they are of different *makari*!). After her parents left, Gaon remained at Rimsibara as the third wife of Ramling who later took a fourth wife, Naren.

Ramling's daughter, Amon, whose mother is Gedek (the second wife), became *sokma*. She married Ramling's classificatory sister's son (note, a cross-cousin marriage for the succession of *sok* of *sokma*). This *sokma*, Sanjin, was the second *sokma* of Rimsibara. When his wife, Amon, died, he was given a woman, Rohi, from the late wife's *makari* people. This woman, Rohi, is the present *sokma*. When Sanjin died, his *sokma*, Jingan, married his *sokma*, Nonjak (Rohi's daughter). According to their rule, Jingan should have married the widowed Rohi, his wife's mother. However, he refused to cohabit with his mother-in-law and thus could not act as *sokma*. Temporarily, therefore, Rohi is recognized as *sokma* by the villagers. (I have already mentioned this case in pp. 47-50.)

Jingan belongs to the Maron Marak, not to the Doijel like Ramling and Sanjin. Sanjin's *makari* had failed to supply his successor. Therefore Jingan was taken as the *sokma* since he was a Marak, though Maron not Doijel. *A'kim* (the right of marriage—see pp. 27, 45) is still held by the Doijel *makari*, who are attempting to make the *sokma* of the next generation a Doijel man. However, in such newly-formed villages the arrangement between the two *makari* is not well followed.

614 In cases other than that of the *sokma*, the genealogy of Rimsibara
621 shows that marriage relations are not maintained between the Agitok and the Doijel. Moreover, there are no living members of the Doijel *makari* at present in Rimsibara. In place of this, Chambugong and

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi
Garo AR5

Agitok marriages are common. Out of 40 married men and women, 34 belong to the Chambugong (women-10, men-7) and the Agitok (women-10, men-7). Combinations of Chambugong and Agitok comprise 13 out of 20 couples (these numbers refer to the head of each house and his wife, see List 4). The Agitok—the descendants of Ramding's second and fourth wives, including other members of the same *makari*—and the Chambugong from Rombagiri—the descendants of Gaon, the third wife of Ramding—form the main population of the present Rimsibara. They have a marked tendency towards village endogamy. Since Rimsibara is a totally new village, it has no firm

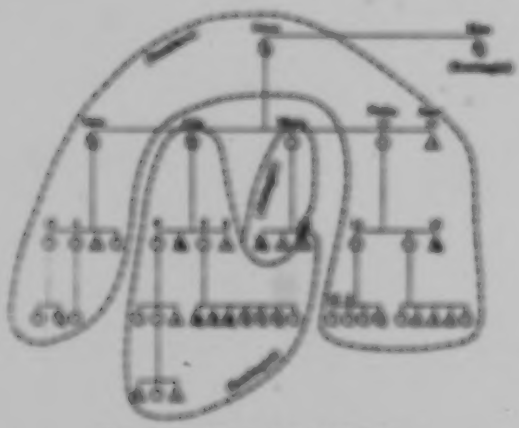

FIG. 9. — *Genealogical Relations of Rombagiri and Rimsibara.*

foundation economically and socially upon which to establish a society arrangement, such as we observed in Rombagiri.

In actual fact Rimsibara was formed by colonies of the Shomdapara and the Rombagiri. The process of colonization appears clearly when we combine the genealogical data of Rombagiri and of Rimsibara, as shown in Fig. 9. Gaon herself and the next generation still have a close relationship with the Rombagiri people. Gaon had four daughters and a son from Ramding; the second daughter married Gobang *lodoe*, then *sobma* of Rombagiri. The third daughter went out to Alabagiri. However, the first and fourth daughters and the son remained at Rimsibara; most of the present Chambugong people are their descendants. Not only these descendants but many of the villagers think of Rombagiri as their homeland, since a number of them are related to Rombagiri people through kinship or affinal ties. In fact many of them visit Rombagiri. My field work was carried out

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi
Garo AR5

123 with considerable ease in this village, because I knew all their relatives in Rombagiri and the villagers were very pleased to hear from me news of Rombagiri. I am not able to present such data for Shomchapara, which I did not visit. In any case, in Rimsbara there are many
582 members of the Agitok and the Chambagong of both sexes, resulting
614 in a tendency to marry between the two: thus making feasible to
621 practice cross-cousin marriages among members of the same village.

This colonial village has not only a tendency towards endogamy
166 but welcomes also various villagers who seek new land. The composi-
621 tion of the population includes people who came from various villages
[109] as illustrated in the following list:

List 3.

Name of village	Immigrants		Emigrants	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
1. Alabagiri				1
2. Asragiri	1	1		
3. Atibagiri		1	1	
4. Baramagiri			1	
5. Bolchagiri	1			
6. Boldoringiri	1		1	
7. Borongiri	1			
8. Chongotogiri		1		
9. Dumla			1	
10. Dodengagiri	1			
11. Doldengiri	1			
12. Gimenglodhagiri	1			
13. Jodhipara	1			
14. Mechokipara		1		
15. Molmagiri	1			
16. Mymensing		1		
17. Nathan Nokatigiri	1			
18. Ontabara	1		1	
19. Rombagiri		1		1
20. Rondigiri	1			
21. Sampagiri	1			
22. Sikagiri		1		
23. Soljelpara	1			
24. Tura	1			
Total	12	7	6	4

Note: The figures record the movement of population in Rimsbara over the last thirty years. These villages are scattered over a vast area from Dala to Bagmara, Rombagiri, Tura and down to Dala through Rimsbara. These figures were collected by myself through village genealogy.

582 There are twenty-four villages with which individuals of Rimsbara
621 have had marriage relations over the last thirty years; 17 men and

19: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR? Khasi
Garo AR5

7 women came into the village and 6 men and 2 women left it; immigrants are in the majority: 24 immigrants against 8 emigrants. The majority of the fluid population is male, which shows that matrilocal residences predominate in this case as in other Garo villages. Thus the composition and the genealogical table of the inhabitants show typical characteristics of a colonial community of the Garo. The traditional arrangements between two particular lineages based on the *a'ring* are distorted. 582 621 [184]

The analysis of the genealogical table (Fig. 8) reveals, too, that certain traditional rules concerning marriages are not strictly followed. For instance, amongst orthodox Garo like those of Rimdogiri, more than one marriage relation is avoided between two families; one's sister is forbidden to marry one's wife's brother, and the brother is also forbidden to marry his wife's sister. However, the people of Rimdhara are not aware of this rule; we can find such relations in the genealogical table of Rimdhara, as in the case of marriage (11) and (13), and those of (3) and (16) in Fig. 8. These facts must be attributed to the nature of such a village where it is difficult to maintain the traditional Garo organization based on *a'ring*; and accordingly the *a'kim* and *sub-chama'* arrangements have little significance. In such a situation, the matrilateral cross-cousin marriage based on the sub succession has also to lose its functional force. As a result, there are only general cross-cousin marriages in practice, so that evidence of brother exchange naturally ceased to be. (See pp. 52-53.) 182 582 621

Again, we should not forget the case of the marriage between Rumding (Dalui Marak) and his third wife, Gasu (Chambugong Marak). Marriage within the same *chatchi* is regarded as a great sin amongst the orthodox Garo; where such practices occur a considerable fine is exacted and the culprits are usually expelled from their village. This rule is not so strict in the colonial villages. During my trip, I also found some marriages of the same *chatchi* (but not the same *machari*) in the colonial area. Their moral concepts are much less exacting in the case of such marriages. They accepted it, saying they are not of the same *machari*, though they do not appreciate the four points involved. However, the last line, i.e., the marriage between the same *machari*, is strongly opposed even amongst these villagers. 182 582 614 616 [684]

The relaxing of the social rules is really associated with economic changes due to colonization and the application of wet cultivation. The people do not entirely live on *a'ring* and the *a'kim* concept no longer works systematically in these areas. These are the main reasons why the social system is losing in the colonial areas its dyadic compact nature. 182 184 621

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi
Garo AR5

Jenkipara[1]

178 Jenkipara provides an illustration of more radical changes in the
184 Garo social system, particularly for economic reasons. Jenkipara is
243 situated three miles southeast of Rimibara—closer to the plain. It is
621 quite an old and large village for this area, the number of households
[191] amounting to about 70 (Jan. 1956). Its economy is similar to that of Rimibara; wet cultivation is practised alongside jhum cultivation. However, some features are different from those of Rimibara. First of all there is more flat land than at Rimibara, so that wet cultivation is practised on a much larger scale. A more significant difference is that in Jenkipara a certain number of households are entirely dependent on wet cultivation, while the rest rely only on the jhum field, in Rimibara almost every household had a jhum field as well as some wet paddy fields.

178 One-third of the population of Jenkipara (10 households) practices
184 wet cultivation; this same group is also differentiated from the others
243 in forming the Christian population. In 1908, one of the villagers
621 (a man) was converted to Christianity which spread slowly in his
971 extended families through the channels of kinship. The Government
[195] Lower Primary School was established in the village in 1922. That
[192] same year, the man who had become the first Christian started the wet paddy cultivation, copying its technique from Gurkha farmers living near the border. In general, among the Garo "to become Christian" means "separation from all the traditional ways of living." This attitude often results in an antipathy against all aspects of the old culture. For instance, as soon as a person becomes Christian, he starts to build a new house in modern style and destroys the drums and ornaments to which he used to be greatly attached. This change
[201] of attitude, in practical terms, is a fertile field for the acceptance
[199] of a new culture, for example, missionary education, wearing shirts over the naked body, etc.[2] In this case, the acceptance of the technique of wet cultivation must also be encouraged by such an attitude.

182 Whether Christian or not, those who changed their vital economy
243 to wet cultivation had to face considerable difficulties which forced
421 them to seek an alternative solution by changing existing rules. Those
621 who established private ownership of land by wet cultivation, abandoning their rights on the village jhum field, are practically cut off from the village economic organization centered upon the *ochma*. This

1. Jenkipara was selected as one of the areas of the Agricultural Irrigation Project, the Government of India, 1954-55.
2. Aspects of social change due to Christianization among the Garo were dealt in my earlier paper (Nakane, 1957).

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi
Garo AR5

means that their descendants cannot claim their shares in the village jhum field. In this situation, the traditional succession rule in private ownership faces significant difficulties in the following manner: 182 243

According to the traditional rule, the *mama* is the successor to the property. When this rule is applied to the new situation, the wet land is to be inherited by the *mama* undivided, leaving no share for the other daughters. While the *mama* enjoys her father's acquired property, wet land, other daughters have to face after marriage a serious economic situation, since they have no share of the wet field nor have they a share of the village jhum field, being cut off from the economic organization of the village, based on the jhum. Thus considerable economic unbalance is created among the descendants. 423 621 [428]

The problem does not concern only the *mama* inheritance, but also the *mamaship*. Though the wet cultivators are cut off from the village economic organization, they still keep close kinship relations as well as affinal relations with the rest of the members of the village, including of some other villages, amongst whom they choose their *mamas*. Now the families from whom their *mamas* comes are not always in the same economic situation as those who practise wet cultivation—they might be jhum cultivators. One can easily imagine the condition that will develop when the private wet land is handed over to the *mama* and her husband, the *mamas*, who does not know how to cultivate it. The wet cultivators of Jonhipara say that private land must be bequeathed to their sons and not to their *mamas*. Because the son has worked with the father in his field, the father is glad to hand it over safely to him. 182 243 423 428 [593]

The private ownership of wet land develops strong ties between the father and the son who collaborate in the same field which is owned by the family. Sons no longer sleep at the *mahpanti*, since they are Christians. They are attached more to the father than to the kinsage men, including the maternal uncle. At the same time, the father's attention goes to his sons who help him in his own field, instead of to his nephew who works in another field which belongs to someone else, or in the jhum field from which he is already divorced. The father develops a great desire to see his son succeed to his land, as he has worked with him and knows the technique of cultivation as well as the value of the land. The relation between the father and son becomes similar to that existing in patrilineal families. Indeed, the paternal authority also increases, since his management and his labour predominate over that of the other members of the family, particularly in comparison with that of the women. The wet cultivators at Jonhipara say: "The daughters, being women, cannot do anything, except rely on their husbands. To let them succeed to the land is a great risk." They try hard to have a son succeed to their private land, 182 243 423 593 182 428

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi
Garo AR5

182 rather than the mahar and the mahram. Actually some of the families
428 in this area have already started to hand over the land to sons, against the Garo law.

This tendency, no doubt, tends to break up the traditional Garo
182 social organization. If a father decides to let his son succeed to his
243 land, the son will remain at his father's house after his marriage,
423 most probably taking a woman from a neighbouring household which also practises wet cultivation. Such a practice really marks a depar-
61 ture from the traditional organization, not only transforming from matrilineal to patrilineal succession, but developing a new type of
428 organization which might be called an inter-family group organiza-
621 tion divorced from the network of the social organization to which they have belonged. The latter, especially, is one of the phenomena occurring in many tribal areas in Assam.

Whether matrilineal or patrilineal, the important social change among such population is gradual development of a new type of a corporate group consisting of several neighbouring households, while a localized lineage or village organization began to lose its effective function as the important corporate body. Among those owned wet paddy fields, the land may be inherited in common by the sons, or divided amongst them, or it may be inherited by one of the sons while the other sons become cultivators for the successor. In any case, a set of households thus related through kinship and inheritance will form a socio-economic corporate group. In the course of time, there may be many such household groups, and among them marriage relations are established. According to my observation in Assam tribal areas, development of this type of new local groups and household relationships affects significantly to the traditional lineage or village organization based on jhum cultivation.

Trends, such as we have observed in Joshipara, suggest the latest stage in the series of changes undergone by Garo society, which will result in an entirely different organization of the community, in which the traditional network of Garo social organization will be destroyed. However, these economic changes have only been in operation over the last thirty years and only very recently have they started to undermine the traditional organization.

182 The adoption of wet cultivation seems to be a important factor in
184 social change occuring in tribal areas, as discussed here. However,
243 it is necessary to consider some other factors relevant to it. For instance, in Rinsibara, in spite of the adoption of wet cultivation, the
423 degree of change was not so great as in Joshipara. The reason for
621 this might be found in the following: in Rinsibara, wet cultivation began to be practised by every family, whether Christian or not (Christians were very few, and there were no clear-cut groups of

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi
Garo AR5

Christian and of *songsarek*), at more or less the same time. As in List 4, out of 20 households 7 did not possess wet fields; they were members of much younger generations, whose wives were not *nokna*. Older families possessed some wet paddy fields between 1 and 5 acres in extent. However, in 1956, all of them still had jhum fields as well, while among the people of Joshipara, there was a clear-cut division between jhum cultivators and wet cultivators. It seems that the degree of economic differentiation among the households within a village community is important. If every household has a similar economic activity the traditional organization can be fairly preserved, in spite of the adoption of wet cultivation. For instance, though I did not do field work among the Garo who live on the northern slopes of the Hills near the Assam Valley, and depend mainly on wet rice fields for their livelihood, I understood through different information that they have a very similar organization to the Garo of the interior Hills and keep to the basic rules to a considerable degree.

182 184 243 423 621

Another remark I should like to add here is that the social change observed in Joshipara would never be so radical and so serious in any other tribal areas of Assam in a similar situation. This is no doubt because the Garo have had a matrilineal system in which social change involves an entire structural change. The same analogy can be applied to the rapid disintegration of the Nayar joint family in comparison with that of patrilineal Hindu joint family (see the discussion in Nakane, 1958/B and 1962).

171 182 184 611

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15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR? Khasi AR?

Part II

KHASI SOCIAL ORGANIZATION ooo

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19: Nakano E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR? Khasi AR?

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The homeland of the Khasi is the hilly country situated in the northeast of India and known at present as the District of United Khasi and Jaintia Hills, under the Assam State Government. The area is bounded by the plains of the Kamrup and the Nowgong Districts to the north, by the Cachar Hills and East Pakistan (District of Sylhet) to the south, and by the United Mikir and North Cachar Hills Districts to the east. The Khasi and Jaintia Hills are divided politically into two subdivisions, with headquarters at Shillong for the Khasi Hills, and at Jowai for the Jaintia Hills, respectively. The peoples of both subdivisions are called "Khasi" in a broad sense, and are distinctly marked off from other neighbouring tribes and peoples by language and social structure. The population of the Khasi in the District is 363,999 (*Census of India, 1951, Assam*). Their language belongs to one of the Mon group of the Austro-Asiatic family to which the Munda in central India also belongs.[1]

Though all Khasis share fundamentally the same language and social structure, their culture, dialects, economy, social usage, and political organization vary greatly, owing to the ecological and politico-historical differences among them. The United Khasi and Jaintia Hills are much higher than the neighbouring Garo Hills. The plateau of the Khasi Hills ranges from about 5,000 feet to 6,000 feet, of which

1. The *Census of India, 1951, Assam*, makes the following remarks on their language: "Their nearest kinsmen have been discovered to be the Palaungs, a tribe inhabiting one of the Shan States to the northeast of Mandalay on the middle Salween. Later the relationship of the Khasi language has been traced not only to the Mon-Khmer language, but also to the Nicobarese and several dialects spoken by some tribes in the Malay Peninsula. In Assam, this special form of speech is only found in the Khasi and Jaintias while nearly all the other primitive languages with which it is surrounded belong to the great Bodo family. The Khasi language is the only member of the Mon-Khmer family which possesses a grammatical gender distinguishing all nouns as masculine and feminine, and here also the feminine nouns immensely preponderate."

19: Nakano K-5 (1955-1956) 1957 AR7 Khasi AR7

the highest point in the Shillong Peak, 6,445 feet, covered with scrub, grassland and forests (mostly oak, rhododendron and pine trees). The Jaintia Hills are considerably lower, with much flat land; wet paddy cultivation is practised here and there where sufficient water is available. From the plateau of the Khasi Hills northwards to the Assam Brahmaputra Valley there is a gentle slope covered with thick jungle, and the southern slope towards the Bengal plain is very steep, so that

Map 6. — *Map of the Khasi-Jaintia Hills with Classification of Groups.*

the upland remained practically cut off from the plains until the middle of the 19th century.

Following the geographical and ecological differences, the five groups are segregated into fairly well-defined cultural areas, each developing a different economy and dialect:

1. The Jaintia[1] — associated mostly with wet rice cultivation.
2. The Khasi (upland Khasi) — practise potato cultivation with small-scale rice and maize cultivation.
3. The War — inhabit the southern slope of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills (they are called geographically the Khasi War and the Jaintia War). Due to the heavy rainfall, the soil is the most fertile in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills. The Khasi War practise jhooming of which the main yield is millet. In the lower part of this area, pan-leaf, betel-nut, and orange gardens are cultivated. The Jaintia War practise wet rice cultivation like most of the Jaintias, as well as pan-leaf cultivation.

1. They are called also the Syntong or the Pnar.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[P. 96-A]

G. Kilwa women of Kongwa village

H. Young Kilwa women of Mafia village

15: Nakano E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 A&T Khasi A&T

a. The Khasi — occupy the northern slopes of the Khasi Hills, covered with thick semi-tropical forests, they practice jhum cultivation. 679

b. The Jaintiaps — inhabit the western border of the Khasi Hills, near the Jaintia Hills. They are said to be half-Khasi and half-Garo. Their economy is similar to that of the Khasi.

These ecological and geographical differences correspond also to political-historical differences. From the 16th century to 1835, one of the annexation of the Jaintia Hills to the Khasi Hills under the British administration, the people of the Jaintia Hills formed part of the Hindu Jaintia kingdom, whose capital was Jaintiapur, on the border of the present East Pakistan and of the Jaintia Hills. The capital, at one time, was moved to Nartiang near Jowai in the heart of the Jaintia Hills. The Jaintia Hills were administrated by twelve governors. Such a highly developed economic system as based on wet rice cultivation, must have helped a great deal informing a kingdom adjoining the plain. Through the common economy and political organization with the Hindus of the plain, the Hindu civilization of the Bengal plain penetrated deeply among the Jaintias, who are mentioned hill dwellers. 175 648

On the other hand, the Khasi Hills have remained outside the horizons of either Assam or Bengal. They were governed by a number of petty native chiefs; there were twenty-five chiefs ruling the Khasi Hills when the British colonial administration was established there. Most of these chiefs belonged to the Siem clan. The history of the Khasi Hills had been shrouded in darkness till the beginning of the 19th century, except for fragmentary stories such as Khasi raids on the lyllot people.

The development of the upland Khasi Hills started with the establishment of its headquarters at Shillong in 1874. Since then the features of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills have changed a great deal. What was once a small Khasi hamlet, untouched by the light of history, has become nowadays a busy modern town where many Khasi intellectuals live, mixing with various outsiders who are engaged in official work or in business. The British administration opened the way to missionary activities, especially that of the Welsh Calvinist Methodists who set up a mission in the Hills in 1841, almost at the same time as British political influence began to make itself felt in the Khasi Hills. Along with the political penetration from Cherrapunjee (1833) to Shillong, missionaries established many institutions, including churches, schools and hospitals, etc. Christian education, bringing with it the promise of clerical positions, attracted young Khasi a great deal; and the majority of the upland Khasi have been converted to Christianity. They have become the modern intellectuals of their people. 178 668 797 [891] [745]

197 Besides these political and religious changes, there have been very
198 important changes in Khasi economy, particularly by the spread of
244 potato cultivation. Potatoes were first introduced into the Hills in
1830 by Mr. David Scott. Since then, the upland Khasi Hills have been completely planted with potatoes. This groundnut seems to be very easily adapted to potato cultivation; it spread so rapidly and successfully, becoming basic economy of the people, that they hardly remember life without potatoes. Information is very scanty on what was the major cultivation before the potato. However, we may surmise that they must have practised jhum cultivation as do the present people in War and Bhoi. Nowadays, there are no jhum fields in the uplands as there are practically no forests with which to make jhum fields. There must have been a long period of jhum cultivation, which resulted in recent ecological changes in the uplands through the exploitation of the jungle. This hypothesis might be supported by the existence of big timbers in old buildings in the Khasi Hills, as well as by the present economic techniques of the people.

197 The present potato cultivation is also a kind of shifting cultivation
244 like jhuming, with a rotation from three years to five years. The
241 uplands are covered with groundnut, and sometimes with scanty pine trees which were also introduced by the British. For potato cultivation, the Khasi first cut branches from these pine trees, and the groundnut is cultivated by the small Khasi hoe. They root out grasses with earth attached about three inches in depth and one foot square. These pieces are turned onto the cultivated surface, where fallen leaves, branches and wild grass have been spread, in such a way as to keep a space between the ground and the turned up clods of earth. The field in which the potatoes are to be planted is entirely covered in this way. The grass and leaves are set on fire in one corner of the field and this fire spreads through the middle spaces and burns all of the grass and branches, thus converting it into excellent manure. The potatoes are planted afterwards. Two crops of potatoes are raised generally in a year. The following year the field is shifted to another grass-growing area, leaving for a few years the last field to grow another crop of grass. This is a type of small-scale jhum cultivation. This example of the present economic method suggests that
198 the Khasi had been jhum cultivators before potatoes were introduced.
244 It might be indicative of the last stage of jhum cultivation when the
[241] forests are completely exhausted. Before the potatoes, they must have grown yams, maize and millet more or less in the same manner; these items are still cultivated on a small scale along with potatoes; the yield must be very low as compared with that of the War areas, obtained through the exploitation of land. In the uplands, pan culti-

15: Nakaoka E-5 (1955-1956) 1957 AR7 Khasi AR7

cation is impossible because of the cold climate. In the past, Khasi economy must have remained at a very primitive stage.

Potato cultivation has been much encouraged along with the development of Shillong and the opening of the motor road to Gauhati from Shillong after the Independence of India when Shillong became the seat of the Assam Government, as well as the capital of the Khasi-Jaintia Hills. Shillong has become an important trading centre, where big merchants collect the harvests of potatoes in exchange for rice, clothes and various other goods from the Assam valley. These changes have introduced the Khasis into an active commercial economy which again has brought about various changes in their social life. Recently coal excavations have started in the upland Khasi Hills, and many Khasi become miners.

Thus the history of the Khasi Hills during the last hundred years has changed a great deal the picture of the Hills. However, dark corners still remain in Bhoi, War and in the area bordering on the Garo Hills. These have been kept in a vacuum between the Hindu civilization of the bordering plain and the modernization of the uplands centred in Shillong. In these areas, the people are still practising primitive jhum cultivation. I have chosen two villages in War located in one of these areas as subjects of my major field-work.

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15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR? Khasi AR?

CHAPTER II

VILLAGE COMMUNITY

As models of a Khasi village community, I have taken my data for the discussion presented in this chapter from two villages situated in the Kadashinong area, Sohkynshah and Kongton, with comparative data from Shella and Jatinga villages. 121

Sohkynshah and Kongton are situated in one of the most secluded spots of the Khasi Hills and the economy is shifting cultivation, with millet as its main product. Only a few Christians are found; most of the population are pagans. Shella is situated on the southern border of the Khasi Hills, adjacent to Pakistan. Jatinga is in the North Cachar Hills, surrounded by patrilineal tribes, such as the Zemi-Naga, the Kuki and the Cacharee. The economy of both villages is pan-leaf and orange cultivation. In Shella, Hindu, Christian and pagan are found among the villagers almost in the same proportions, while the Jatinga villagers are all Christian. The two Kadashinong villages, Shella and Jatinga, differ from one another not only in their religious and economic aspects, but in overt culture, dialect and political organisation as well. (Additional information concerning Shella and Jatinga is given in Appendix.) Shella and Jatinga are unique among Khasi villages and quite sophisticated, having been developed under a trading economy, with considerable contacts with other peoples, including Hindus. I selected these villages in order to ascertain how far the structural principle which operates in the Kadashinong villages can be found to act also in totally different economic and environmental situations.

621 971 [101] [245] 184 621 121

[P. 101]

15: Nakane E-9 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

I. Setting and Economy: Background of Sohkynduh and Kongton

Sohkynduh and Kongton are villages of the Kadashinong,[1] one of the areas under the Cherra Chief. The Kadashinong is situated on the southern slope of the Khasi Hills, in what is called War country. These two villages are situated at the farthest point from both Shella, the centre bordered by the plain, and Cherrapunjee, the seat of the Cherra Chief, one of the centres of the upland Khasi Hills. The people at Cherrapunjee say that these villages are one of the most backward parts of the Khasi Hills. They correspond to Rombagiri in the Garo Hills, as they lie in the innermost parts and more traditional economic and social settings have been preserved there than in other villages. These are also the reasons why I selected those villages as my field.

It is nine miles to Sohkynduh from Cherrapunjee, crossing two deep valleys towards the east. Kongton is located at the heart of the mountain ranges, ten miles from Cherrapunjee, towards the north-east. It is about twelve miles from Sohkynduh to Kongton, and the way leads through one of the most difficult passes, where even villagers seldom travel. In December, 1955, Sohkynduh was a community of 46 households (List 6), and Kongton of 62 households (List 9). The settlements of both villages are clustered in the southern depressions of a mountain, not far from the summit, a typical location of Khasi villages. Sohkynduh has poor soil, covered with plenty of pieces of stones. The yield therefore is very poor. On the other hand, Kongton, a much older village, enjoys fertile soil, and is one of the most prosperous communities in the Kadashinong.

The major economy of both villages is shifting cultivation. We have already seen, in the chapters on the Garo, the fundamental technique of "Jhuming cultivation." The differences between the Garo and the Khasi shifting cultivation are to be found in two aspects: one is the nature of the crops and the other is the type of landownership. In this area, the main crop is millet, while that of the Garo is rice. Besides the shifting cultivation, the Khasi have pan-leaf gardens and sometimes pineapple gardens, though on a small scale and not in every household. The most important feature of Khasi shifting cultivation is the development of private ownership. In the tribal areas in Assam, such private ownership of the jhum field is quite an

1. Kadashinong is the name of a group of villages. Its literal meaning is "twelve villages," and it comprises the following villages: Sohkynduh, Rymmai, Mawbawein, Mawshiut, Mawmang, Kongton, Shyntiang, Krohiawhiar, Pdei, Tenshun, Nongpriang, and Diengnaw. (Khasi spelling follows the customary usage in Cherra State.)

15: Nakano E-9 (1955-1956) 1967 AB? Khasi AB?

exception. As I pointed out in the last chapter on the Garo, private ownership started with wet cultivation. In Kongton, there are no common (village) or clan land: every piece of land is owned by some household—more precisely it is owned by the woman, the head of a household, and managed by her brother or maternal uncle. The majority of households in Kongton possesses land. Some of the richer households lend the land while some of the poorer households lease it. The rate for leases is Rs. 30/- per year for an area where one maund (80 lbs.) of millet seeds can be sown. As there is no acreage system, the measurement is by quantity of seeds, and since shifting cultivation requires a change of field every year, the rent is fixed by the year. The pan-leaf gardens, also privately owned, are never leased. When labour is required, the owner engages villagers, paying them Rs. 3/- per day.

In Sohkyndoh, there are some lands called "clan land." Throughout the history of the formation of Sohkyndoh village, as reconstructed from my data, can be traced some evidence of the evolution of land ownership. The first inhabitants of Sohkyndoh were said to be the people belonging to the Prarian clan (See Lists 6 and 7). It seems that when the Prarian came to this site, the land already belonged to the Dkhar clan of Rymmai village, five miles north of Sohkyndoh. The present distribution of land ownership confirms this story. The jhum field belonging to Sohkyndoh is divided into four sections according to the locality:

1. Lum Sohkyndoh
2. Sohliang
3. Mawkhalai
4. Lumpalong

One part of Lum Sohkyndoh belongs to the Prarian clan. The rest of Lum Sohkyndoh, Sohliang and Mawkhalai belong to the Dkhar clan of Rymmai village, the management of which is in the hands of Phrensing who came from Rymmai and married a woman of Sohkyndoh. Lumpalong is owned by Sor (Kynshah clan, 32 of List 6) privately. The Prarian and Dkhar lands are used by their descendants respectively. The people of other clans have to pay a rent of Rs. 80/- to use these clan lands. For the land which belongs to Sor, even the people of the same clan (Kynshah) have to pay rent since this land is privately owned. Thus the land of Sohkyndoh belongs partly to particular clans and partly to a private owner.

Gurdom explains the existence of the clan land in the Khasi Hills as follows:

"The clan lands originally, when population was sparse, were owned by families, but as the members of the family increased and a clan was formed, the lands became the property of the clan instead of the family. Such clan lands are properly demarcated by stone boundary marks. The manager of the clan

178 lands to the two (matrilineal) uncle of the youngest daughter of the main family,
423 or branch of the clan), whose house 'ka ing khadduh,' as last house, is the place
for performing all the religious ceremonies of the clan, and is also called ka
614 ing ang. All the members of the clan are, however, entitled to share in the
produce of any of the clan lands they may cultivate. No clan lands can be
alienated without the consent of a durbar of the whole clan" (Gordon, 1929,
p. 88).

178 Theoretically we can assume that the land was owned by the family
423 (precisely, ing, the matrilineal descent group at the lowest segmenta-
428 tion, the structure of which will be discussed later) who first claimed
the right to the land, and was managed by the maternal uncle of the
614 youngest daughter, the heiress entitled to the property. In course
of time, with the increase of the descent members and with fissions
of the descent group, this land was inherited through the youngest
daughter's line, but other members who had become segments of the
main descent group had a right to use the land, so long as they remained
in the same area. Newcomers who belonged to another clan were
not granted the same right and had to pay rent. According to the
information I was able to collect, even people of the same clan could
not claim the right to use the land, unless they were the direct matri-
lineal descendants of the woman who first owned the land. In this
sense, the descent group solidarity at a lower level is much stronger
than that of the Garo.

Therefore, newly possessed or purchased land is always owned by
the individual family (ing, descent group). This Khasi conception
of land ownership produces a picture of predominant private owner-
ship of land, combined with high geographical mobility of the popula-
tion (see p. 112). In such circumstances, it seems that even the
land called "clan land" has been alienated or sold frequently, and
has developed small holdings to suit the small segments of descent
groups. In particular, when the entitled owner moved away to another
area, the land was sold. For instance, in Sohkynduh, the maternal
uncle of Sor (mentioned above) purchased the land indicated above
about ten years ago from a family of Siem Lyngngoh who left for
another village. This land was originally purchased by the Siem
Lyngngoh from the Dkhar to whom the land belonged as part of the
clan land.

Under this system, clan ownership of land can develop only (1)
when the members of the descent group remain in the same community
for a considerable period and (2) when there is sufficient land to acco-
178 modate all members. I think these are the main reasons why land-
423 holding at present among the Khasi is found to be in small descent
428 groups—in one household as in Kongton in most cases, and this I call
private ownership. For the second reason, further explanation is

19: Nakane K-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

summary. The chances of acquiring a piece of land nowadays are 178
small, except for very successful men, and usually the size of the plot
is only just enough to maintain one household. When this land is 423
passed on to the next generation, the youngest daughter will hold the
title to it. This fact tends to exclude married elder sisters from the 428
right to use the land, since it is not sufficient for more than one household. Thus the ultimogenitrow succession rule seems to have developed more sharply and to have encouraged limited inheritance in conjunction with the shortage of land.

This tendency creates unbalance in the economy of the households 178
within a community. It is a usual picture in Khasi villages, for the
bigger and well-built houses to be occupied by the youngest daughter's 189
family, while the elder sisters reside in poor huts. Youngest daughters 423
are usually landowners, while their elder sisters have often to become
day-labourers after their marriage, unless their husbands are capable 428
men, or their fathers wealthy enough to give them some share of their 556
acquired property. On the whole, the variations at present between [171]
rich and poor are considerable in a Khasi community, in comparison with that of the Garo, where the economic condition of each household in a village is more or less similar. These differences are not only a matter of economic organization but arise from the nature of each social structure.

The economic and social patterns of Sohkynduh and Kongton are 197
very similar, but their dialects are slightly different: my interpreter, [124]
who came from Cherrapunjee, could work quite well at Sohkynduh, but at Kongton he found some difficulty, especially with the speech of the old men, and with their religious expressions. The head man of Kongton, who was quite accustomed to the Cherra dialect, acted as an interpreter for us. Such differences in dialect in the Khasi Hills are common phenomena; it is said that every valley has its own dialect. Differences are found not only in speaking, but also, to a certain extent, in culture and in social usages.

II. Village Endogamy

One of the outstanding features of Khasi social organization is 582
the predominant tendency of endogamy on the level of the village,
which contrasts with the structural orientation of the Garo village 621
exogamy. This is closely connected with the distributions of clans [171]
and the nature of the descent groups.

The Khasi population consists of a number of *kur*, matrilineal 614
clans, whose members consider themselves to be descended from a
common ancestress. The members of the same *kur* have a common [765]
[769]

19: Nakane K-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

614 *maubs* (green stone), in which the bones of all the dead members
[765] are buried. When the *maubs* becomes full, or some members move
[769] away to a considerable distance, they provide another branch *maubs*, creating a new *kur*.[1] Thus in course of time, every elder *kur* occasionally branches off. Every branch *kur* has a different name, but can be grouped into a major *kur* thus forming a distinct exogamous group. Relationships among the minor *kur* of one major *kur* are usually known, or can be ascertained, so that marriages among these members are avoided. When the Khasi express this kind of group consciousness, they use the term *jai* (own people). For outsiders, it is difficult to know through the names of minor *kur* whether *kur* A and *kur* B are of the same group or not.

However, neither clan solidarity nor corporative activities are found among the Khasi, except in those clans which are considered of higher status, and maintain a functional position in the political or religious fields. Such are the Siem of the ruling clan and the Ringdoh of the priest clan, etc. Among commoners like the villagers of Sohkynduh and Kongton, the importance of a *kur* is confined to recognising a common ancestress, with a common *maubs* conception, which requires them to maintain a strict exogamous rule. But whether of major or minor *kur*, its members do not meet together or have a common leader. Actually major *kur* of which there are a considerable number all over the Khasi Hills, have no clear-cut geographical distribution. Each is scattered over a wide area, cutting across territory which includes several villages, and mixing with various other *kur*. Indeed, some of them are very widely distributed geographically and found in almost all regions of the Khasi Hills. A minor *kur* is also scattered over many different villages, though it shows more concentration than the
[621] major one. Consequently a village may be composed of small segments of more than a dozen different *kur*. Even those small segments of each *kur* found in a single village have little or no sense of kin-group solidarity, unless the members have quite close kinship ties. In many cases, though some members have the same *kur* name, their relationship may be distant, so that they cannot always reconstruct their genealogical relationship. In such a case their behaviour and attitude towards the same *kur* members and towards other *kur* members show no difference.

613 Individuals are not grouped actually under the name of *kur* but in a smaller group of matrilineal descendants from one great-grand-

[764] 1. The Khasi cremate dead bodies: bones and ashes are usually kept in a spot near the youngest sister's house which is the centre of a functional descent group, for many years and finally placed in the *maubs* of the *kur*. They say that these bones are to be collected and replaced into the *maubs* every hundred years with a great ceremony. However, none of villagers are certain about the year when the last ceremony was held.

19: Nakane K-9 (1955-1956) 1967 AR? Khasi AR?

mother, for which unit the Khasi word *kpuk* is used. Such a group of matrilineal kin is usually confined to one domestic family or to a group of households, linked by direct extension of a main household. However, even this descent unit is not a single productive and consumer unit, though it may act as a religious unit, having common ancestral property. I shall take up this thread again at a later stage of my analysis. 613

Because of the lack of the functional lineage organization as a corporate unit, the village community becomes the significant unit at a higher level of organization than that of *kpuk*. This fact is supported by the high tendency to community endogamy which links every household of a village into a unit with considerable cohesion and solidarity. In fact the members of a village community are linked to each other in various ways by affinal or cognatic ties. 621 613 614 551 621

List 6. *House-owners and their Spouses of Sohkynshah.*

House-owner	*Kur*	*Spouse*	*Kur*
1. Ruba	Pohsong	Saro	Prarian
2. Shogiam	Pohsong	Hor	Riatam
3. U Ruba	Prarian		
4. Ta	Prarian	Phamgrong	Dkhar
5. Phu	Khongriah	Sir	Dkhar
6. Dewli	Dkhar	Wan	Kaing
7. Sinh	Khongshei	Major	Khongsit
8. Kosmai	Dkhar	Kosbon	Kongjah
9. Onni	Dkhar	Major	Khongsit
10. Jaid	Khongiam		
11. Jun	Khonsdir	Uaing	Kaing
12. Mu	Khongsdir	Kishad	Khongshei
13. U ial	Khongsdir		
14. Rupai	Khongshei	Sali	Shrieh
15. Tugan	Khongmowpat	Tih	Prarian
16. Sing	Khongmowpat	Niwel	Kaing
17. Phi	Khongsdir	Photo	Mawpat
18. Khaila	Prarian	Siang	Mawar
19. Jep	Kaing	Syndro	Dkhar
20. Khot	Shrieh	Lait	Khongshei
21. Pre	Prarian	Men	Khongshei
22. Kam	Khonshei	Pion	Khongriah
23. Lesi	Prarian	Jam	Khongjilew
24. Shakmei	Khongngain	Jeep	Dkhar
25. Jia	Khongjilew		
26. Jemnod	Khongiam	Josio	Riahtam
27. Kilo	Dkhar	Muta	Khongiam
28. Phimai	Riahtam	Rang	Dkhar
29. Jak	Riahtam	Babusing	Tyngsong
30. U Jin	Khongiam		
31. Kheri	Shrieh	Biaing	Khongiam
32. Sor	Kynshah	Josio (28)	Riahtam

15: Nakone E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR? Khasi AR?

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House-owner	Kur	Spouse	Kur
—	—	—	—
33. Ko	Khongsit	Dono	Khongriah
34. Nki	Khongjiew	Mudin	Shajon
35. [illegible]	Riahtam	Tom	Khongji
36. Eli	Khongsit	Khong	Khongshet
37. Eio	Khongsit	Dawal	Riahtam
38. Kord	Shrieh	Gowri	Khongsit
39. Ro	Khongsit	Dak	Shawyat
40. Phro	Dkhar	Dakhil	Pnarian
41. Shogal	Khongkan	Tom	Pnarian
42. Intmon	Tham	Kay	Khongsuiv
43. Pnong	Khongsit	Miro	Khongngam
44. Pjah	Shrieh		
45. Lic	Pnarian		
46. Libon	Kynshah	Syrdar	Dkhar
47. Kwott	Tham	Shorni	Kynshah
48. Syndon	Shrieh	Jum	Khongriah

Note: 1) 3, 13, and 30 are households the heads of which are men who have no wife or sister (mother, sister) living with them.
2) Husbands of 10, 29 and 40 died, and 13 divorced.
3) Husbands of 16 and 30 are the same man (polygynyst).

List 3. Numbers by kur of individuals named in List 6.

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	House-owner Women	House-owner Men	Spouses	Total
	—	—	—	—
1. Pnarian	8	1	8	17
2. Riahtam	3		3	6
3. Dkhar	8		6	14
4. Shrieh	3		2	5
5. Pohnong	0		0	0
6. Kung	6		3	9
7. Khongsit	3		3	6
8. Khongsuiv	3	1	1	5
9. Khongshet	3		3	6
10. Khongnowpat	3		1	4
11. Khongkan	3	1	2	6
12. Khongjiew	3		0	3
13. Khongngam	1		0	1
14. Khongriah	1		3	4
15. Tham	3		0	3
16. Kynshah	2		1	3
17. Khongjah			1	1
18. Mawr			1	1
19. Tygong			1	1
20. Majaw			1	1
21. Khongji			1	1
Total	45	3	40	88

List 6. *Actual Second Levels found among Kinsa-owners of Sohkhmalieh.* 619 621

Kinsa-owner[1]	*Kur*
1. [illegible]	Pnarlah
2. [illegible]	Pnarlah
3. [illegible]	Rabtam
4. [illegible]	Diehar
5. [illegible]	Shrah
6. [illegible]	Khongsit
7. [illegible]	Khongsit
8. [illegible]	Khongsiar
9. [illegible]	Khongshai
10. [illegible]	Khongmawngsai
11. [illegible]	Khongjiew
12. [illegible]	Kynshah

Note. Figures correspond to those of List 6.

List 7. *Kinsa-owners and their Spouses of Kongkon.* 551 619 614 621

Kinsa-owner	*Kur*	*Spouse*	*Kur*
1. Shra	Pdeiong	Syrn	Khongsit
2. Khar	—	*(Sohkhlin)	Shabong
3. Phawi	—	*(Shit)	Majaw
4. Rai	—	D(Shit) (3)	—
5. Syrn	—	Shyrna	Khongsit
6. Khalew	—	*(Iwi)	—
7. Shaphan	—	D(Ranai)	Sohkhlet
8. Lghain	—	Juhnowai (3a, 8a)	Majaw
9. Dep	—	Khain	Rabtam
10. Kynin	—	*(Kaber)	Sohkhlet
11. U Kynsai	—	D(Jet)	Khongsit
12. Iaid	—	Khim	Khongwar
13. Tangkai	Khongsit	*(Khong)	Myrsiang
14. Sikiam	—	*(Mongkah)	Majaw
15. Lili	—	Rynsing	Shabong
16. Wah	—	Mitt	Dohphang
17. Latim	—	*(Ring)	Shabong
18. Langkiang	—	Burma	Rabtam
19. Rikamon	—	Swar	Pdeiong
20. Mo	—	Juhnowai (8, 3a)	Majaw
21. Khart	—	Mohar	—
22. Thakert	—	D*(Bit)	—
23. U Sabar	—	*(Jing)	Shabong
24. Iut	—	*(Khylah)	Khongji
25. Dugar	—	*(Lariang)	Khongngain
26. Duro	Majaw	Iong	Khongkhet
27. Bah	—	That	Sohkhlet
28. Hima	—	Shedar	Rangrah

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	House-owner	Kur	Spouse	Kur
	—	—	—	—
10	U Shai	—	Phai	Khongpugrin
11	Tarow	—	*(Sangma)	Pohnong
12	Kisin	—	Jaik	Khongwir
13	Kiap	—	Mrik	Sohphang
14	Mein	—	Sah	Diskar
15	Pyin	Rangrah	Khar	Shabong
16	Sik	—	Kiba	—
17	Kyman	—	Ham	Shabong
18	Thil	—		
19	U Thain	—	Phai	Lyngdoh
20	Pyin	Riahtam	D*(Sing)	Tiing
21	Kit	—	Sikar	Pohnong
22	Kimar	—	D*(Pyne)	—
23	Kita	—	*(Shadong)	Kyndah
24	Kitih	—	Shamdah	Lyngdoh
25	Gil	—	Kyndar	Tiing
26	Jangpat	Sohkhlet	Sim	Khongji
27	Wan	—	*(Mahon)	Shabong
28	Kiar	—	Sho	Khongsit
29	Kim	Shabong	*(Sing)	Rangrah
30	Pho	—	Mian	Khongji
31	Sin	—	Gian	Khongpugrin
32	Lapsin	—	D*(Kiar)	Lyngdoh
33	Rupa	—	Johongrai (8, 10)	Majaw
34	Kaber	—	*(Sangit)	Khongsit
35	Kelim	—	Pin	Majaw
36	Lak	Khongji	D*(Kiyhah)	Khongdait
37	U Phin	—	*(Syiah)	Myrsiang
38	Thait	—	Tim	Shabong
39	Dhaw	—	Dorow	Rangrah
40	Syiah	Myrsiang	D(Phin, 36)	Khongji
41	Dyir	—	Kdah	Khongyunnai
42	Sur	—	*(Ihant)	Shabong
43	Shik	—	D(Lar)	Majaw

Note: 1) * = dead. D = divorced.
2) House-owners of 11, 13, 19, 38 and 39 are men, and the rest are women.
3) Husband of 8, 10 and 32 are the same man (polygynist).

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List 10. *Numbers by kur of Individuals named in List 9.*

Kur	No. of house-owners: Women	No. of house-owners: Men	No. of spouses: Men	No. of spouses: Women	Total
—	—	—	—	—	—
1. Pohnong	11	1	4		16
2. Khongsit	12	1	6		19
3. Majaw	7	1	7	—	15
4. Rangrah	4	1	3		8
5. Riahtam	6		2		8

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

Kur	*No. of house-owners*		*No. of spouses*		*Total*
	Women	*Men*	*Men*	*Women*	
6. Sohkhlet	3		3		6
7. Shabong	7		10		17
8. Khongji	3	1	2	1	7
9. Mynriong	4		1	1	6
10. Khongwir			2		2
11. Buhphong			2		2
12. Khongngain			3		3
13. Khongbri			2		2
14. Dkhar			1		1
15. Lyngdoh			2		3
16. Tiing			2		2
17. Kynshah			1		1
18. Khongrymmai			1		1
Total	37	3	34	3	109

List 11. *Actual Descent Links found among House-owners of Kwaing.*

House-owners	*Kur*
1. 1-7	Pohsong
2. 2-3-12	Pohsong
3. 13-18	Khongsit
4. 14-15	Khongsit
5. 17-23	Khongsit
6. 19-20	Khongsit
7. 22-24	Khongsit
8. 26-29-33	Majaw
9. 27-28	Majaw
10. 31-32	Majaw
11. 36-38	Rangrah
12. 40-44	Rishtam
13. 42-43	Rishtam
14. 45-46-47	Sohkhlet
15. 48-49-34	Shabong
16. 35-50-61	Mynriong

Note: Numbers correspond to that of List 9.

The data I collected in Sohkynduh and Kongton show that the number of households that can be included in a single descent group (actual kinship ties through female members) is strikingly small, as shown in List 8 (Sohkynduh) and List 11 (Kongton). The maximum number of households belonging to a recognizable descent group was four, and mostly two. Many households (19 households of Sohkynduh; 25 households of Kongton) which did not appear in List 8 and List 11,

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

613 formed independent descent groups by individual households, for
614 which no traceable genealogical relation with any other descent groups
621 could be established, though some of them belonged to the same *kur*. In Sohkynduh, the total 48 households were divided into 16 *kur* (according to the house-owner), and in Kongton, the total 62 households were divided into 9 *kur*, while the number of actual descent groups amount to 31 in Sohkynduh and 41 in Kongton.

166 This fact, I presumed, indicated a considerable mobility of the
178 population of each village community. Hence, I tried my best to
613 reconstruct the historical alignments of these descent groups, both
614 from my genealogical data and with the help of the villagers' memory. The result showed that the mobility of the population over the last fifty years had been surprisingly great and complex. In Sohkynduh,
621 the Praian clan seems to be the oldest inhabitants of this village with 16 *kur* segments. Next came a family of the Ksing. The third wave was a family of Khonglam, and the fourth, Siem Lyngngoh which I mentioned previously (p. 104). The next were families of the Kynshah, many members of which had left for Nonprian village after a few years. The sixth wave was the Srieh family. All the above movements took place before the great earthquake of 1897 which shook Assam. After 1897 the movements became more intense and complicated, and involved many families of various *kur*. The villagers could not remember the order in which they came: there has been continual coming and going even up to now. At present, the Prarian, the Ksing, the Khonglam, the Kynshah and the Dkhar are the older among the 16 *kur*. However, such migrations concern usually a single family only, not a group of *kur*, and that is the typical pattern of Khasi migration. Hence, families which have the same *kur* name do not always indicate the same movements. The incentive for such migration seems to be to get land better appropriated to one's economic condition. Particularly, as I have already mentioned elsewhere (p. 105), the shortage of land seems to encourage families of older sisters who have no share of property, to move to other areas and look for land.

Thus, many households which make up the present village are minor segments of different *kur*, or of the same *kur*, but they can hardly trace their genealogical relations to one another. A migration to a new village was not undertaken at random; it was mostly as a result of information received from neighbouring villages, or from those where friends or relatives had already settled in. Several neigh-
178 bouring villages usually dispose of more than one common market
613 where they can exchange information and developed friendships over
614 trading. The matrilineal kinship relation is no more important a
621 factor than any of the others mentioned above. Among the Khasi,

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

the matrilineal descent group has a distinguished function only when there is common residence and common property. 178

In Kongton, among 9 different *kur* (List 10), Pohnong and Khonsit accounted for the majority of the population, while the rest, seven *kur*, were more or less of equal size. On the whole the population seemed more stable than that of Sohkynduh. However, as in Sohkynduh, actual descent groups amounted to 41, many of which have the same *kur* name but could not always establish genealogical relationship with one another; nor was there any functional cohesion. I failed to reconstruct the history of the formation of these descent groups: the villagers had no memory of their past except very fragmentary information which was quite insufficient to account for their present composition. They only insisted this was a very old village in comparison with Sohkynduh and other neighbouring villages. 613 614 621 [182]

While I was struggling with the villagers' scant accounts of their past and fragmented kinship relations among the present households, I was struck by the poorness of the villagers' genealogical memory in comparison with that of the Garo. Suppose A, B and C, who belonged to the same property-holding descent group three generations back: A and B being sisters and C being B's daughter. If B, including her descendants, moved away from the village two generations back, the present generation of A's and C's descendants would easily lose contact and knowledge of their genealogical relationship. This fact, on the other hand, illustrates some important aspects of the Khasi social structure: the kinship relation—matrilineal descent link—is not a significant factor beyond the scale of the household (property-holding descent group), and locality is more important than matrilineal descent for the formation of the Khasi community. Through the predominant practice of endogamy on the level of the village, the small segments (found on a level of a household or a group of a few households) of various different *kur* clustered in a village are linked by affinal relations each other, by which altogether form a well knit social organization of a village community. The cohesion and solidarity of the Khasi village community is strengthened by the local endogamy not by the localized lineage organization. 182 613 621

In fact, in contrast with the rather loose kinship relations which link different households, the affinal relations link almost every households in the village, as shown in Fig. 10. The lines, ———, indicate marriage relations between living members of households, and the lines, - - - - -, indicate affinal relations established through dead members of present households or through spouses' kinship relations at Sohkynduh, as in November 1955. In this way, except for one household (24), members of a single household are all linked together through affinal or cognatic ties. In some cases, the affinal relations between 602 621

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

602
621

FIG. 10. — *Kinship and Household Location in Sohkynduh.*
——— Matrilineal kinships relations among household-owners;
——— Affinal relations (direct) among household-members;
- - - - - Affinal relations (indirect) among household-members.

particular two families are not restricted to one, but may be accumulated two or three, though I omitted to indicate these in Fig. 10.

582 There are some extensions of marriage relations with members
591 outside the village. In Sohkynduh, out of 88 (48 houseowners and
61 40 their husbands) 13 men and 2 women came from neighbouring
621 villages. Owing to the predominant uxorilocal arrangement, those
who came in from outside the village were mostly men. By these
628 members, five different *kur*, new to Sohkynduh, were found, as shown in List 7 (17-21). Most of these outsiders came from villages inside the Kadashinong, or villages no further than a day's journey there and back. This area might be called a secondary endogamous area, and includes more than half a dozen villages. In Kongton, 20 husbands and 3 women came from neighbouring villages by their marriages. The secondary endogamous areas of Kongton and of Sohkynduh are not the same but they overlap in certain places, the surrounding areas being centred on each village. There were, by December 1955, no instances of direct marriage between these two villages.

184 There are a few exceptions to local endogamy, such as those
582 individuals who have become Christians and are educated in towns like Shillong or Cherrapunjee. They usually move to a town, seeking

621
[795]

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

184
some clerical work. However, such instances are very rare in these 582
regions and few Christians are to be found among the people. So far
as my genealogical table accounts for, only two boys from Sohkynduh, 621
and one girl and one boy from Kongton, left for Shillong, and [171]
married there. In contrast to these exceptional cases in these villages,
in the upland Khasi Hills, there are considerable changes in the [178]
composition of a village with high geographical and social mobility
of population because of the spread of Christian education and urban
influence.

The people of the two villages say that marriages with outside 166
people were not formally practised, and were only a recent tendency. 178
However, the composition of the population of the two villages showed
extensive movements of population in the past (not to urban areas, 582
but from village to village). Such movement is attributed mostly to
migration by a family rather than by an individual on marriage. 621
This type of migration is clearly found also in the process of the [184]
formation of Jatinga village (see Appendix, Jatinga).

The composition of the village community and the social character- 582
istics of Sohkynduh and Kongton show very similar features of village
endogamy. They seem to be typical of the traditional pattern of 621
Khasi villages. Village endogamy is the intrinsic pattern among the 184
Khasis. This fact can be also observed to a considerable degree in
Shella and Jatinga.

[P. 116 is blank]

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

CHAPTER III

KINSHIP STRUCTURE AND ITS IMPLICATIONS IN VARIOUS FORMS OF MARRIAGE

I. KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY AND SELECTION OF SPOUSE

The Khasi social structure differs greatly from that of the Garo; and one of the important differential elements is revealed in their kinship terminology. The Khasi kinship terminology does not show the structural significance of the marriage rules except for the basic distinction between own matrilineal kin, *kur*, and non-matrilineal kin, *kha*; this distinction serves to enforce the exogamous rule. 601 [117]

All members of Ego's generation, including both maternal and paternal cousins, are classed as *para* (sibling), and those of Ego's child's generation as *khun*. In these two important generations, the generation principle is the basic pattern in terms of marriage. Cutting across this principle, distinctions of sex (*ka* for female, *u* for male) and order of birth (old or first, young or youngest, sometimes middle is added) are to be found. For instance, *ka-para-kur* is mother's sister's daughter, *u-para-kha* is father's brother's (or sister's) son. Wife is *ka-lok*, and husband, *u-lok*. The youngest daughter is *ka-khun-khadduh*.[1]

Though the terminology of Ego's and child's generations shows the generation principle, the matrilineal structure is reflected in the following points apart from the distinction between *kur* and *kha*. 1) In the child's generation *(khun)*, the matrilineal nephew and niece are termed *pyrsa* as well as *khun*, signifying the sociologically closest members of the child's generation. 2) *Kñi* is the most important kinship term among the Khasi; it designates the head (and potential head) of the descent group, i.e. the mother's brother. The mother's mother's brother is also termed *kñi*, just like among the Nayar the [171]

1. For further instances, see U. R. Ehrenfels, 1953.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

601 [171] term *mama* for mother's brother designates as well mother's mother's brother. 3) Terms for mother's sister *(kmie)* and father's sister *(ñia)* are different; and, needless to say, father's brother is called *kpa*, not *kñi*. 4) Mother's mother *(meirad)* is differentiated from father's mother *(meikha)*, though the grandfathers on both sides are termed *parad*.

582 601 [171] As regards cross-cousin marriage, which, as we have seen, was an essential part of Garo social structure, the Khasi have no institutional arrangements. The cross-cousin distinction is indeed found in the Khasi kinship terminology. Among those who are called *para* (sibling), an additional term is applied to cross-cousins (both matrilateral and patrilateral). They are called *bakha*. However, this additional cross-cousin term should not be considered as indicating a preference [171] for cross-cousin marriage. This is structurally different from that of the Iroquois type discussed in terms of Garo kinship terminology, in which a prescrived cross-cousin marriage is involved. The term *para* (sibling) is more often used for them than *bakha*.[1] Actually, among the Khasi there is no preference for cross-cousin marriage; indeed there are even indications to the contrary, in that marriage with the mother's brother's daughter is not allowed during the life-time of the maternal uncle. In the same way, marriage with the father's sister's daughter is not allowed during the life-time of the father.

582 In fact, the Khasi have numerous prohibitions of marriages between near kin on both paternal as well as maternal sides. The first and second parallel cousins are avoided. Those related to father within three generations are avoided. Within such a framework of marriage prohibitions, the use of a special additional term for cross-cousins is an indication of marriageable relatives within the framework of prohibition. This should not be considered to indicate a marriageable member in an active sense or a preference for cross-cousin marriage.

However, such marriages do sometimes appear in my census; for example, a man may have married a woman who is the sister of his brother's wife, or of his sister's husband. Thus sometimes between two descent groups there are more than two exchanges of men. But such relations are temporary and would terminate after one or two 582 generations. There is no structural continuity. My censuses of four Khasi villages do show some tendency to marriages between two 614 specific *kur*, but I consider this to be largely accidental. When the choice of an individual is random, but one or two *kur* are larger than the others, it will naturally follow that there will be a high frequency

[171] 1. Such use of the dual terminology is also found among the Zuni and the Trukese, (see the discussion, in pp. 154-155).

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

of marriages between these two *kur*. Such marriage arrangements 582
cannot be regarded as constituting a cross-cousin institution. From 614
my data of four villages it was not possible to produce any institutionalized pattern.

In general, the selection of a marital partner depends mainly on personal choice, though the authority of the *iing* (descent group) and parents should be consulted. The man proposes to the girl. The network of marriage relations among the Khasi seems in no way to follow any set principle. Every marriage is likely to be fortuitous: it is ruled simply by temporary personal liking, except for the strict rule of exogamy and the avoidance of near kin.

Exogamy is strictly kept. In the olden days breaking this rule 178
was equivalent to being sentenced to death. Offenders had their
heads shaved in a particular way and had to leave the Khasi com- 582
munity completely. Even now such a marriage is considered as the 614
worst kind of sin; a Khasi Christian intellectual said to me that it 684
was worse than homicide. I came across one couple who had broken this rule. Though they had different *kur* names, both *kur* were segments of one common *kur*. It happened in Jatinga, one of the most modern Khasi communities whose inhabitants were all Christians. The couple were not allowed to have their house inside the village. Their house was in the jungle about one mile away from the village.

Successive sororate marriage—marriage to a younger sister of the 587
late wife—is practised, since it justifies the widower in remaining in the same household as his children after his wife's death. Otherwise, the Khasi rule demands that he should leave the house and his children in order to remarry another woman. We shall deal with this aspect again in terms of marriage.

II. Principle of Descent and Succession

Previously I have mentioned the *kpoh*, the matrilineal kin group 613
with a common great grandmother. This is not, however, an institutional corporate descent group. The most important functional descent unit is called *iing*. The *iing* is the lowest order of clan segmentation, smaller than the *kpoh*—a *kpoh* may include two or more *iing*. The generation depth of an *iing* is usually two to four, in some cases an *iing* is formed only by mother and child. The Khasi consider this unit to be the most important social index for the classification of individuals. Marriages are arranged by individual *iing*, not by wider groups of kinsmen. The *iing* is the structurally significant norm. The term *iing* is also used for a house building itself, as is the *nok* of the Garo. However, the membership of the *iing*, as I shall

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613 explain later, does not always correspond to a domestic unit, nor to a corporate production unit. At least husbands are excluded from the wives' *iing* though they share a common household. The members of an *iing* consist of a set of strictly matrilineal descendants, who have a common right over the ancestral property, are subject to a common authority and practise some joint ritual.

The membership of the *iing* is determined through the mother. The central core of the *iing* comprises two persons, one holding the authority and the other owning the property; the rule of succession is strictly matrilineal. The authority goes from mother's brother to sister's son while the property is handed down from mother to daughter. A man continues to be a member of the same *iing* all his life whether he marries or not. A woman, if she is not the heiress (the youngest daughter), will branch off after her marriage and though she herself will continue as member of her mother's *iing*, the third generation from her will form an independent *iing*. It is sometimes difficult to trace the clear line of each group, as it is formed by a process of branching off. The actual working of the *iing* may be explained as follows (see Fig. 11).

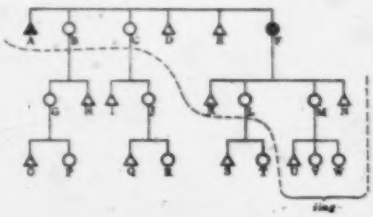

FIG. 11. — *Composition of the Members of an* Iing.

All members appearing in Fig. 11 form a *kpoh*. The dotted lines mark off members of one *iing*. F is the mother who possesses property and A is her brother who holds the authority in the *iing*. F's property is at the disposal of all members of the *iing* for funerals, and for religious ceremonies of the *iing*. But all members of the *iing* do not usually share the property, as I shall explain later in connection with the dwelling unit.

G, H, I, J, S and T are excluded from F's *iing*, but F is responsible for them if their mothers should die before their marriage. In case they loose their mother they must be fed by F, or by F's daughter, or by F's grand-daughter. The descendants of B, C and L will form respective independent *iing*, separated from F's. Thus, the position of B, C and L show the process by which an *iing* segments. F is succeeded at her death by her youngest daughter M.

On the death of A, he is succeeded in his position of authority by K. If K is too young, and D or E live in the same house as K, D or E will succeed A. Succession to the position of authority normally depends on seniority, but capability and the place of residence are also taken into account, according to circumstances. In the

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absence of A, D E, K and N, U succeeds to the office if he is grown up. 613
If U is too young, a chance arises for F's husband, if F is alive, if not, for M's husband.[1] In the event that none of these males be available, finally the office is taken by F and then by M. It should be noted that the office assumed by F's husband, M's husband, F or M would have to be returned to M's son, as soon as he comes of age. These cases are considered a temporary measure to meet an emergency.

The Khasi follow a strict descent line, and neither a classificatory 611
uncle (or brother) is allowed to take over the authority of the *iing*,[2] 613
though if there is no successor to the property, a daughter may be adopted from the nearest matrilineal descent group. Instead of the adoption of a daughter, the following steps may also be taken. The property is handed over to the nearest matrilineal descent group; or if there is a son, he may inherit his father's or mother's acquired property, but ancestral property should go to a matrilineal kin. In such cases, the particular *iing* actually becomes extinct: in the former case, though the property is handed over to another *iing*, this *iing* belongs to the same matrilineal line; in the latter, the property goes eventually to the son's wife and to his children, i.e. an *iing* of an entirely different *kur*. The latter arrangement suggests that though the Khasi follow the strict descent line, so far as the acquired property is concerned, the child has primary rights over the mother's other matrilineal kin, as expressed by the son's right of inheritance in the absence of a daughter. In this way, the *iing* may become extinct by the death of the female member who has no daughter.

The Khasi consider the *iing* institution as the basic and most 613
important functional unit; it represents also the religious unit which keeps ancestral property and shares a common religious ceremony. This is indeed the key to the whole Khasi social organization.

III. Residential Unit

In this section I shall deal with the relation between the *iing* and 592
the domestic dwelling unit and examine the type of relation maintain- 593
ed between the marital family (husband, wife and children) and the 613
iing. Among the Garo, the *nok* corresponds to the actual group of individuals residing within one household. Upon this point the Khasi system is more complicated since spouses of members of the *iing* are excluded from the *iing*.

1. This would only arise in cases where the husbands of F or M live in the same household as their wives.
2. In the case of succession to the chieftainship, a classificatory sister's son is taken in the absence of a direct nephew or brother

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592 The Khasi domestic unit (co-residential group) can be divided into four categories:

1. Households consisting of wife, husband and their children, wife's unmarried sisters and brothers—sometimes including widowed or divorced.
2. [613] Households including all members of an *iing* (excluding their spouses from members of 1). In this type, larger households contain all the descendants of three or more generations from one woman (in this case, an *iing* corresponds to a *kpoh*).
3. [591] Households of intermediate type between 1 and 2. Husbands are supposed to live in their wife's house, but they often go back to their sister's house for meals, and sometimes sleep there. They are supposed to work in their wife's field but they might work in their mother's (sister's) field, if necessary. This tendency is especially strong among newly married couples before they have a child.
4. Households consisting of only one elementary family. This mostly happens when a man married a non-heiress.

Most Khasi households are of types 1, 3 and 4 and these three types are usually found within one village. They were found in the four villages in which I worked. It is to these dwelling units that I have given the name of house in Lists 6 and 9. Category 2, according to [178] the information of Khasis and Jaintias, was used to be found among the Jaintias, though nowadays such cases are rapidly decreasing, changing into forms 1, 3 and 4. The members of category 2 belong to an *iing*, which structurally corresponds to the *tarwad* of the Nayar, and the *parui* of the Minangkabau.

178 Category 2 may have been practised among certain of the Khasi a long time ago. Kongton people said that as recently as their father's 184 generation, there were many husbands who stayed at the mother's house after their marriage and visited the wife at night. Nowadays, 591 visiting husbands are very unusual cases in the Khasi Hills, though such situations may occur among newly married couples before they have children. Gurdon, who wrote his book *The Khasi* in 1914, states:

> "Amongst the Khasis, after one or two children are born, and if a married couple get on well together, the husband frequently removes his wife and family to a house she and her husband pool their earings, which are expended for the support of the family" (p. 76).

In the Khasi Hills, the transition period between duolocal residence and neolocal or uxorilocal residence seems to have been shortened during the last forty or fifty years. This might have been effected through the influence of Christian marriages, which start cohabitation of the wife and the husband immediatly after the marriage ceremony. However, in Jatinga whose inhabitants originated in the Jaintia Hills where duolocal marriage is the usual practice, there are even now many instances of a man staying at his mother's house for several

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years after his marriage. During this period he works in his wife's 178
field, then, if the couple gets on well, they start to live together in 184
an independent house (non-heiress's case) or in the wife's house
(heiress's case). In spite of the fact that the inhabitants are all
Christians, they have retained this custom.

It is difficult to determine at what date the Khasi people have 178
changed from duolocal marriage to uxorilocal marriage. However, 591
the present dwelling unit, with its fluid relationship between husband
and wife (in fact, there are many cases of category 3), suggests a situation linked with the duolocal residence pattern. The fragmentary historical information available and the present Khasi residence pattern suggest that the duolocal arrangement may be an older pattern of marriage. When I was in Kongton there was no husband who stayed at his mother's house permanently, visiting his wife at night. The head man told me that, when he married, there were many who did not stay in the wife's house. He was the first person to settle in the wife's house. In his case, he said, he felt sympathy for his wife who had no brother who could work for her. After he had settled in his wife's house, many villagers began to follow his example.[1] When the [621]
pattern of a visiting marriage was in vogue, a village must have constituted a more compact endogamous unit. If the husband's house was in another village, a visiting marriage must have been a great inconvenience. The tendency to settle in the wife's house and work for the wife's house must have brought about a wider range of marriage contracts, such as with members of nearby villages, even though in the present form of marriage, village endogamy is much preferred as it is decidedly advantageous particularly for a husband, since he can continue his life in the same familiar environment in spite of uxorilocal marriage.

The variations in the pattern of co-residential grouping, which 592
I have classified into four categories, reflect two different themes in 593
the social structure of the Khasi. On the one hand they represent 613
different stages in the maturity of the individual families concerned. For example, a householder who starts in category 3 or 4 may end as an old man in category 1. On the other hand these variations also reflect the polar opposition between the obligations of matrilineal kinship and the obligations of parenthood; a man, in particular, has conflicting obligations towards the *iing* of his sister and the *iing* of

1. However, all the information which I collected in the upland Khas [184]
Hills indicates that the uxorilocal residence pattern has been practised for a long time. According to stories often told by the Kongton people, they migrated from the Jaintia Hills. If these accounts are to be taken as a reflection of the real history of their migration, it would seem that the Kongton people may have kept up the Jaintia custom including the duolocal residence pattern up to recent times, while the majority of the Khasi practised uxorilocal marriage.

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592 his wife. Paternal rights are not well recognized among the Khasi.
593 The religious elements in the *iing* institution lay stress only on matri-
613 lineal solidarity. These elements tend therefore to orient each individual of the domestic unit to his or her own matrilineal kin group, the *iing*. This results in unstable relations between members of each elementary family, in other words, the marriage relation is one of the weakest.

000 This is the crucial point in matrilineal societies, and has been much discussed by anthropologists. Richards says,

> "In this balance of privileges and duties between the patrikin and the matrikin the crucial point is obviously the husband's right to determine the residence of the bride. If she and her children live in the same homestead or village as his kinsmen, his domestic authority is likely to be greater than where they remain with the wife's relative" (Richards, 1950, p. 208).

This statement is quite acceptable for those matrilineal systems which provide possibility for a man to take his wife from her matrikin to his house or village where the husband's kin are found, as in cases of the matrilineal Central Bantus, the Ashanti, the Trobriands and
591 the Nayar in North Malabar. However, among the Khasi, there is no such custom of removing a wife from her kin to that of her husband. Since most marriages take place inside a village, there are only two different residential arrangements: one is to take the husband to the wife's house, where he lives with his wife's parents and other matrikin; the second is for the newly married couple to establish an independent house. Among Khasi men and women the usual practice is to leave the parents' house at marriage, except in the case of the heiress (the youngest daughter). In this respect the Khasi differ again from the Nayar and the Minangkabau who form a sibling family on the basis of duolocal residence,[1] and from the Hopi, the Zuni and the Trukese who form a residential group of an extended family, based on matrilineal descent including in-marrying husbands of married females. Khasi sisters do not form a residential group after their marriage; sisters' houses are scattered over the whole village residential area, mixing with households of other descent groups (see Fig. 10 with List 8).

Then, what is the factor that makes the Khasi have two different types of residence i.e. uxorilocal and neolocal[2] within a matrilineal

1. Only the case of some traditional Jaintias (category 2) would appear to show groupings similar to those of the Nayar, however, I did not work among them, nor are there anthropological reports available for them, particularly in this respect.

2. I use 'neolocal' in terms of house-building, since they usually build a house for newly married couple in the same village where both wife's and husband's parents live—village endogamy.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

society? Among the matrilineal Central Bantus, Richards says that 591
the determining factor in residence at marriage is the marriage payment
or the type of goods and services which the bridegroom gives (Richards,
1950, p. 249). However, the Khasi have no such custom in the mar-
riage contract, it is therefore out of the question to explain the two
types of residence in this way. In the case of the Khasi, the determin- 182
ing factor is the type of marriage with relation to the rule of inheritance 428
and ownership of property, which is clearly related to the structure 581
of the *iing*. Khasi marriages can be divided into two categories i.e., 591
marriage with an heiress and with a non-heiress. Marriages with an 602
heiress must be uxorilocal. This accounts for category 1 or 3 of the 613
household pattern. On the other hand, marriages with a non-heiress
become neolocal and correspond to category 4 of the household unit.

IV. Marriage with the Heiress

A man married to an heiress, usually lives with his wife's parents 182
and her unmarried or divorced brothers and sisters. For a man, life 428
after marriage under such circumstances require great adjustment 591
and endurance. The husband's status is especially weak when a male 592
member of the wife's kin lives in the same household. The manage- 593
ment of property and all economic activities are entirely controlled 602
by the authority (wife's brother or maternal uncle) of the *iing*. The 604
husband works in the wife's field under constant supervision from 613
this authority. Both economic activities and domestic affairs are
always under the management of this authority. The children have
more attachment to, and are more obedient to, the maternal uncle
than to the father. The tie between the uncle and the nephew is so
strong that the father is rather like an additional member of the
household. He is the last person to be introduced to visitors. [574]

This family system is clearly reflected in the daily behaviour. 123
When we visited the Khasi household of a youngest daughter, if a 574
man (obviously the husband) came first to greet us, he always said 592
"please wait, my wife (or mother-in-law) is coming." And it was 593
the wife who entertained us, offering tea or pan and discussing matters 602
with us, while her husband remained silent in the corner of the room, 604
or in the next room. If her uncle or brother was there, *he* would be
the person who talked to us, while his niece or sister served us. In
such a case, we were seldom introduced to the husband. When I was
working at Shella, I happened to stay in such a family. I had hardly
any opportunity to talk to the husband during the two weeks of my
stay. He left the house very early in the morning and came back 592
late in the evening from the fields. While he was at home, he was 593
604

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

592 always somewhat outside the family conversation which was centred
593 on the maternal uncle and his sisters, nephews and nieces, by whom
604 I was well taken care of. This is somewhat similar to the situation amongst the Cewa and the Yao of the Central Bantus, which have what Richard calls 'the detachable husband' (Richards, 1950, pp. 233-35, 248), though the parallel is not by any means exact.

428 There is, therefore, inevitably an element of tension in the relations
581 between the wife's maternal uncle (including parents-in-law) and the
586 husband (son-in-law) and this tension makes the latter's life extremely uncomfortable. This awkward position is well shown in the divorce
[604] rate. At Kongton (see List 9), out of 61 couples (house-owners and
[606] their spouses), the number of persons who had experience of divorce
[592] was 33 (female 15, male 18) and those married more than twice
[593] numbered 19 (female 7, male 12). Out of 61 couples, there were only 31 in which neither husband nor wife had been divorced. In my census of Jatinga village, 70 per cent of all divorce cases were marriages to heiresses. In general, the period when divorce occurs more frequently is before a couple get children and after the wife has passed the child-bearing age. A marriage breaks up either through the action of the wife or of the husband, but generally through that of the wife. However, the state of separation which I presently describe is brought about by the husband, though later it results in a divorce from the wife. Divorce does not mean a great catastrophe for a Khasi wife, especially if she is an heiress and her husband's economic
[587] contribution is not significant. Moreover, in this society remarriage is as easy for a widow or divorcée, as it is to divorce. In the villages of Sohkynduh and Kongton, the couple who wants to divorce has only to throw a few Annas together in the presence of some witness, usually an elderly man.

581 In addition to divorce, there are many actual separations of husband
593 and wife, of short or long duration, when the husband runs away from his wife's house to his sister's. Though it does not always end in divorce, considerable number of husbands have a strong tendency to spend most of their time at their sister's house. Khasi women often told me, "I don't know why he does not come back to my place." I have often found the husband staying at his sister's house only a few houses away from his wife's, without any particular reason. They are obliged to see each other every day whether divorced or separated. This kind of ambiguity in the marriage relation seems to have an important correlation with the Khasi social structure, combined with the village endogamy. The man and and wife have grown up together from their childhood in the same village and known each other very well. Hence their psychology cannot clearly distinguish the marriage form as a newly-established independent social relation-

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

ship. They still live in the same familiar atmosphere as before their 581
marriage. The implications of this ambiguity in the married state are 593
considerable. Particularly the husband's uncomfortable situation, when the wife is heiress, encourages him to take marriage less seriously.

A husband who undergoes hardship in his wife's house, finds 581
himself as the authority in his sister's house; if he is not the authority, 591
he can find at least a respected position as uncle or brother. In the 592
case of a man of authority in the *iing*, the tendency for him to regard 593
his *iing* as more important than his married life is proportionately 602
stronger, as I will discuss later. Hence the most unstable and unsuccessful marriages are those between the heiress and the man of 604
authority. This is one of the reasons we often find among the Khasi: 613
a brother or an uncle, who is already married, acting nevertheless as 428
the head to a family *(iing)* and as a member of its domestic group. This means that he is in a state of temporary separation or divorced. Among the Ashanti, a man and his wife's brother are never found as [171]
members of a common household (Fortes, 1950, p. 262), but among the Khasi, on the contrary, a man and his wife's brother are often found as members of a common household. In such cases, however, the brother has no wife, or never brings his wife to his *iing*. Therefore, a man and his wife and his sister never reside together. As far as the residence of women is concerned, the Khasi keep to the strict descent rule; two women who belong to different descent groups never live together. This point differentiates the Khasi residence pattern, in which social structure is involved, from that not only of the Ashanti but also of the Yao where the head of a descent group can bring his wife to his sister's household, though, among other members, uxorilocal marriage is the rule. These differential aspects of matrilineal systems will be discussed from a more theoretical point of view later.

In addition, should a Khasi man even succeed in spending his life 602
with his wife's kinsmen, as soon as the wife dies, he will usually 613
return to his *iing*, that is, to his sister's house, where he is received warmly and where he often acts as the *de facto* authorithy, as in the similar situation of divorce and separation. Thus the strong matrilineal structural principle tends to orient a man towards his own descent group, the *iing*.

The man's attachment to his *iing* is very great throughout his 171
life. In this regard the Khasi differs from the matrilineal Negri 592
Sembilan Malay. Among the latter, returning to the matrilineal kin 602
is regarded by the man as an imposition rather than as the enjoyment 613
of a legitimate privilege (see Swift, 1958, p. 157).[1] This difference 428

1. He presents this fact as one of the reasons of the durability of marriage [581]
among the Negri Sembilan. Indeed, on this precise point they differ from the Khasi where marriage is rather unstable.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

171 seems to come *firstly* from the different residential arrangement on
592 marriage: among the Negri Sembilan a man marries into his wife's
602 group, i.e. his wife's village; being thus separated from his kin, and
613 as a result of the physical absence of his wife's brother or maternal
428 uncle in his domestic family, he enjoys considerable rights in his wife's household—as Swift states, he is 'master in his own house.' On the other hand, since among the Khasi the man stays in the village where his mother's (or mother's successor's) house is, even after his marriage, his relation to his natal house is preserved; *secondly*, from the structural difference of organization of the descent group. Among the Khasi, the *iing* is always the centre of the descent group, based on unigeniture succession and inheritance. Hence, the core of the descent group is always found physically in a particular household, whereas among the Negri Sembilan, the descent group is *not* organized on a *household* level, but is a much wider organization, including apparently many households. Membership of an actual household and of a descent group are at different levels. To marry out and become a member of his wife's household means for the man the transfer of his household membership. Likewise, his sister's husband becomes a member of his sister's household. Thereby he becomes a secondary member of his sister's household after marriage though he keeps his memberhsip in the descent group to which his sister belongs. Among the Khasi, membership of a descent group always corresponds to membership of a particular household. The Khasi man can always demand his rights at his natal house primarily, as he is a member of that descent group. But it should be noted that he has this right only in his mother's (or mother's successor's) household, not his other sisters' (non-heiress') and mother's sisters' households (unless one of them is successor of his mother), though they may belong to the same descent group. These matri kin's households are considered as separate *iing* (strict functional descent group) from his.

586 Indeed, sometimes a man cannot find his *iing*, because his mother
613 died leaving no daughter to succeed her, or his sister died leaving
736 no successor, and his *iing* became extinct. Such a case occasionally
428 happens when a man becomes a divorcé or a widower as he is getting old. Then he has to face a serious social and economic condition. In divorcing, he has to leave everything he owned, his earnings including the house which he built, and even children . . . really he has nothing left him except his body.[1] Such a wretched man collects some timber and makes a small hut for himself, though sometimes lads who sympathize with him help him to build it. Unless he finds some woman

1. A widower has an alternative solution—to remain in his late wife's household till he marries again, though his position is not comfortable there.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

whom he can marry, he has to endure this miserable lonely life, while often in the same village his former wife is living in a well-built house with her children and her matrilineal relatives as before. Households of 3, 13 and 30 of Sohkynduh in List 6, and 23, 29, 38 and 56 of Kongton in List 9 are instances of such cases. It is really a pitiful picture to see such a man, aged and poor, living all alone. 586 613 736 428

V. Marriage with the Non-heiress

Outsiders who come to the Khasi Hills are often impressed by the Khasi husband's miserable status and express surprise at the high divorce rate. This is mostly due to exaggeration based on the marriage with the heiress. However, where a man marries a non-heiress, there are many successful marriages with paternal authority. In most of these cases a man's status as a husband and as a father is stable. First of all, the domestic residential unit is an elementary family. From the onset of the marriage the husband's labour is of great importance to his family, since a non-heiress usually has no economic background, i.e., no dowry or inherited property (see p. 105). The economic circumstances allow a man to be the *de facto* head even though whatever he earns belongs, as a rule, to his wife. A man who succeeds at the beginning of his married life is respected and honoured as father in his family for the rest of his life. By this type of marriage, the man's status is firmly established. It is therefore a more secure form of marriage than a match with an heiress. 184 428 593

In such a marriage the children love and obey their father. The management of his acquired property will be taken over by his son and the property will be handed over to his daughter. Thus the paternal authority is as well established in this form of domestic family, as in a patrilineal family. However, the great difference from a patrilineal case is that the husband/father status is not permanent as the authority of the family. Theoretically he exercises it in the absence of a male adult member of his wife's *iing* (actually founded by his contribution), in other words, till his son is grown up (see p. 12). In the next generation this will form an established *iing* in which the husband of his youngest daughter will suffer again. [613]

The household of this kind of marriage with a non-heiress actually enjoys a considerable degree of independence from the descent groups of both wife and husband. If a man who has established a matrimonial life independent of his wife's natal *iing*, is not the authority of his natal *iing*, his relation with the latter usually becomes weaker. Economic and residential factors make it possible for the men to make the considerable shift from his *iing* to his wife's *iing*, and though 592 593 613

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

592 he clearly maintains the label of his descent group, he is at least
593 divorced from them economically. If a father's activities were such
613 as to permit the accumulation of wealth to be handed over to the next generation, he is always remembered with great respect and admiration by his successors and by the descendants of his wife's matrilineal line. In such a case he is looked upon as a member of his wife's descent group rather than of his mother's descent group. The best examples of this are the cases of men belonging to the first generation of Jatinga villagers, especially that of the founder of
[166] Jatinga. These immigrants to Jatinga mostly accompanied their wives, who were not heiresses (as I mentioned previously, the unit of Khasi immigrants is mostly found in this kind of a couple); and most of them established successful matrimonial life with paternal authority, having been freed from the gravity of both matri-kin of wife as well as of husband.

Not necessarily confined to such cases of immigrants, even in an ordinary situation, if husband is ready to devote himself for his wife and children, the matrimonial life mostly turns happier and well established one. For under the Khasi matrilineal system, a wife, if she is not the heiress, is normally oriented to develop surprisingly high degree of independence from her descent group, i.e. her natal *iing*, unlike women of other matrilineal societies. This fact is closely related with the unique structure of the *iing*, as already discussed.

As a woman (non-heiress) tends to keep a certain distance to her natal *iing*, her brother accordingly decreases his concern to her new household. The pressure of the authority (wife's maternal uncle or brother) of wife's natal *iing*, on such a household becomes less marked. The wife's brothers are members of her natal *iing*, not of her new established *iing*, and therefore none of them can act as an authority over her new *iing*, though they may exercise certain pressure on the sister's husband, since the sister who established the new *iing* still keeps her membership in her natal *iing*. In fact a husband actually feels pressure from his wife's brothers; the occasional visits of the authority of her natal *iing* exercise a psychological check on his whole control over her and his children. Should any serious mischance occur in the marriage, the wife will run to her brother for consultation. Furthermore, as member of her natal *iing*, he has the right to demand the property acquired by him if his wife has no successor, since it automatically belongs to his wife unless he acquired it without cohabitation with her, or through the capital of his *iing*. However, the process of segmentation in the *iing* leads the wife to greater attachment to her husband, particularly when his economic contribution is important, and as a consequence weakens her ties with her natal *iing*.

613 The limited rights of the brother over his sister's (non-heiress)

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

household are easily understandable in the light of the economic aspect of the fission of the *iing*. As I stated before, the non-heiress is given hardly any share of the property of her natal *iing* on her marriage (if the *iing* is rich a non-heiress and the sons may receive some part), and even if her new household happens to face serious economic difficulty, her natal *iing*, whose authority is vested in her brother, does not usually help her. This fact clearly suggests that brothers can have only limited rights over the elder sister's *iing*. 613

This is the crucial point of the Khasi matrilineal system. The *iing* is a very restricted descent group, giving opportunities to split off by those who have no right to inheritance. The *iing* has vertical continuity without expansion in collateral lines. Therefore, even the siblings of the same mother do not always form a completely constant unit of a functional descent group, since the elder sisters are oriented by their marriages to form a new *iing*, though they may retain their membership in their natal *iing*. The central core of the *iing* is the particular sibling bond between a sister (the heiress) and a brother (the authority), a pair of statuses. Other sisters are ready to leave and other brothers are fluid members, clearly differentiated in status from that particular brother (authority) and sister (heiress). This structural principle should be compared with other matrilineal descent groups, whose sibling group is based on interdependence between members of a group, not between particular persons or statuses. The structural unit of the Khasi social organization, is *not* the descent group based on sibling links, but the *iing*, though descent is the principal factor, and the limiting one, in the formation of the *iing* institution. The descent factor is delineated by the functional force of the inheritance rule through female ultimogeniture, which results in constant internal fission and segmentation in the descent group. Technically, it is very similar to the process of fission of the Garo *nok* on the unigeniture principle, though the internal structure is different. 182 611 613 [171]

The establishment of a new household by a Khasi woman with her husband, means the beginning of the establishment of a new *iing*, separated from her natal *iing* not only in residence but also sociologically. In other words, it is the process of fission and segmentation of an *iing*, matrilineal descent group. Therefore, a woman who has once established a new household independent of her natal household, will not go back to her natal house i.e. her mother's descent group, though her bond with her mother's descent group remains undiminished. Of course she may visit her natal *iing* occasionally, but in fact, much less than her husband will visit his natal *iing*. In this respect as well the Khasi manifest structural differences from the Ashanti as described by Fortes, where a mother goes back to her own matricentral household and often prefers to reside there (Fortes, 1949, p. 77). Even [171] 000

182 Even after divorce or husband's death, the Khasi woman stays on in her
586 household. Indeed many divorced or widowed poor wives, whose
613 children are still small, try their best to live and bring up their children
736 by themselves without asking their brothers' help. Of course a mother and her small children may go back to live in her natal *iing*. Such cases are found particularly when the woman's *iing* is rich. However, during my field work, I found no sense of psychological inferiority in Khasi women, widows or divorcées, such as we usually find in other societies. The personality of the individual seems to reflect the social structure.

182 Given such strong residential independence on the part of the
184 non-heiress, economically divorced from her descent group, and
586 oriented towards sociological separation from it, the husband's eco-
593 nomic and social contribution is handsomely rewarded by the estab-
613 lishment of a stable, happier, matrimonial life. In fact, as already mentioned, the divorce rate among such couples is very low contrasted with the high rate among marriages with heiresses. More accurately, I should say that divorce is more likely to occur among the latter owing to the conflict of loyalties towards spouse and *iing*. Therefore, when each partner has less loyalty towards his or her natal *iing*, the divorce cases become correspondingly fewer. Thus, among the Khasi, successful marriages are frequently found where there is branching off from an *iing*. And a new *iing* is always established by a husband's contribution.

182 Khasi men, who are well aware of this fact, prefer to marry a
184 non-heiress, since they will then form an independent household and
581 remain immune to pressure from their wife's kin. However, they say a poor or lazy man prefers marriage with an heiress. As Richards said of the matrilineal Central Bantus, the residence on marriage seems to be a most important index of the husband's status, though the determining factors of the residence of the Khasi differ from those of the Bantus (see p. 124).

182 In the case of marriage with an heiress, when the wife dies, the
184 husband usually returns to his *iing* (the youngest sister's house). But
587 in marriage with a non-heiress the husband often remains with his
593 children, if his children are not too small and he is not planning to
613 marry any woman other than his late wife's younger sister. If he marries his wife's younger sister, he has the right to stay on. This
736 kind of sororal marriage cannot take place in the case of a man married to an heiress, since a Khasi man is not allowed to marry the late wife's elder sister. This form of sororate is found among the Khasi, but the levirate is unknown, such as can be seen among the Ashanti
182 and the Ila, where a man takes his late brother's wife. Among
587 the Khasi, even if a widow happened to marry her late husband's

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

brother (actually not likely to happen), the levirate has no sociological implication in the social structure, which is specifically related to the residence rule. The levirate seems to have a significant function only when a marriage is virilocal—when the husband has full rights over his residence and property. This is also another aspect where the Khasi structure shows a marked difference from that of the Ashanti and the Ila, etc. 182 587

VI. Marriage of the Man of Authority of an *Iing*

Among these successful marital families, there are also shadows of a matrilineal order. These affect especially those men who are in the position of authority in an *iing*. Such a man, though he has an independent household with his wife and children, often visits his youngest sister's (or niece's) house, *iing (ka iing sew)*, and sometimes stays there. Such a man's attachment to his *iing* is not only social or psychological, but also often economic. The man, as authority of his natal *iing*, usually has economic control over the management, particularly so, if his *iing* has considerable property or active trading business. As husband/father in his family he works for his wife and children, but often takes into consideration as well the interests of his *iing*. I found such cases especially among richer villagers in Sheila and Jatinga, where the main economic activities were based on trading. 592 599 602 619 [182]

Among the Khasi, it is quite a traditional rule of the division of labour that women engage in trading activities at markets whether on a large or small scale. Husbands may carry goods from field to market, but male members are kept away from the actual scene of the selling and buying. However, these activities on the part of the women are controlled and accounted for by their uncle or brother, or even son (or, if no male member is available, by the husband), though in many cases they form separate domestic families. The man's control over the trade appears more marked when the scale of business is large. [443] [462]

A man of Jatinga, who worked in a shop in Haflong, spent his salary in keeping his wife and children, but at the same time he kept the accounts of his sister who was a professional merchant. Thus, the economy of the *iing* and that of the co-residential group are crossed by the dual rule of the man. Hence, among the Khasi, residential autonomy is not always an indication of economic autonomy. However, it should be clearly understood that a man's acquired property goes to his co-residential group, not to his *iing*. [421]

A man of authority is attached to his *iing* by the stronger ties of religious, social and economic (management) duties as well as by

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

592 sentiment, in spite of his forming an independent domestic unit. Such a
593 man with two households, the family of orientation and of procreation,
602 says "one leg is in my sister's house and the other is in my wife's,"
613 and he feels more at home in his sister's. In villages, whenever a
[123] Khasi man in such a position invited me, I was always taken to his sister's (or niece's) house, his *iing*, not to his wife's. There I was warmly welcomed with highest respect by the women of the household as the guest of their uncle (or of their brother), the head of the *iing*. Khasi men whom outsiders often regard as hopeless in their social position, thus enjoy the highest status in their *iing*.

One Khasi gentleman who occupies a fairly high post in the Government, at Haflong, leaving his wife (non-heiress) and children at Shillong, to my question "when you go to Shillong into which house do you first step," immediately replied, "As soon as I get back to Shillong, I take the way to my sister's home and there take the evening meal with them, enjoying their talk. Then I go to my wife's house where my loving children are waiting." This shows a typical Khasi man's psychology in relation to a family of orientation and of procreation. His first concern on coming back to his homeland is whether his sister and her children are well, since he is the man of authority in that *iing*. He feels much more relaxed in his sister's house where he is held in higher regard and more cared for.

I came across many similar cases. In Jatinga and Shella, such men on returning from their work, often have their evening meal with their sisters though their wives are waiting for them. Furthermore, if they choose to do so, they sleep at their sister's house without even going back to their wife's house. This results in an unstable married life, where a wife has to face a psychological handicap caused by the occasional absence of the husband, in spite of her advantageous position in a matrilineal and uxorilocal system. Many wives worry every day over whether or not their husbands will come to their house at night. And often this concern changes into sadness and loneliness when the husband does not return for several days on end. The wife knows her husband is at his sister's house in the same village. But she has no right to fetch her husband home. As in Western social dancing, the women have to wait till their partners come. During my field work I often came across these lonely women, just waiting for their husbands, each knowing he was only a few houses
[123] away. Though these Khasi women never show their feelings of loneliness in the presence of others, I, being a female anthropologist, was often told of the sadness of their married life. The situation of these women can be more easily understood if we remember the process of the segmentation of the *iing*, which separates each married woman from her descent group, her natal *iing*.

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Thus, the marriage of a non-heiress and a man of authority also produces an unstable position for the husband in spite of his having an independent household. Therefore, the possibility of a really stable marriage is even more limited; it will occur only in the match of a non-heiress and a non-authority of the *iing*. But even these marriages cannot be free from the influence of a matrilineal social structure: the man of authority of the wife's *iing* may visit these couples now and then, curb the husband's power and remind both partners of the orientation towards the matri-kin, the *iing*, though this pressure is insignificant in comparison with that experienced by the heiress's family. Likewise, a husband now and then visits his youngest sister's house, *ka iing sen*. These constant matrilineal contacts offer husbands chances of escaping from even the slightest matrimonial tension. Whenever a Khasi man feels uneasiness, he will return to his sister's house rather than face a difficult situation with his wife. This tendency is maximised especially on the occasion of religious ceremonies, when all individuals are grouped around each *iing*.

It is apparent that the rules of the *iing* as the underlying structural pattern, function throughout the various categories of domestic unit of the Khasi community as the most important intrinsic force.

VII. Polygyny

After this long attempt at the structural analysis of marriages, I think one can theoretically predict what is the situation of polygyny among the Khasi. The theoretical framework elaborated through preceding discussions can also be tested by the empirical data in terms of polygyny.

Nowadays, the Khasi feel so strongly against polygyny that they have no knowledge even that they ever practised it. Many Khasi, in more sophisticated areas, did not believe my findings on polygyny in Sohkynduh and Kongton. I think this is due to the rapid Christianization of the Hills during the last hundred years. My interpreter, though he was not Christian, said to me in the village, "it is most regrettable to bring you to a village where we find polygyny." However, one of the ministers of the Cherra State to which the two villages belong, told me that there was no particular opposition to polygyny, though recent Christian influence gave people the idea that it was a shameful custom, and he mentioned the case of a polygynist in his area, a man who had recently died, who had had ten wives. In Jatinga whose inhabitants are all Christian, and in Shella where there has been much contact with, and influence by, Hindus, there were

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

178 no polygynists, though there were many personal temporary illicit relations or love affairs.

184 It is true that even in interior villages polygyny is rapidly decreas-
595 ing. In the two villages I found only two cases of polygyny: a man with two wives in Sohkynduh (Josio in List 6, whose wives are 26 and 32), and a man with three wives in Kongton (Jubongrai in List 9, whose wives are 8, 20 and 52). These cases appeared clearly as cases of polygyny which the villagers recognized as such, speaking of them quite differently from the way they would have spoken of lovers, calling them wives and husbands. Of course, the first wife socially outranks the secondary wives, as *ka tynga trai*, and the term *ka tynga tuh* is used for the latter, as Gurdon states (1914, p. 80). The difference being that the first wife has a legal marriage ceremony while the
585 others have not—*ka tynga tuh* means literally 'stolen wife.' About the marriage ceremony, Gurdon gives a detailed discription (*ibid.*,
595 pp. 127-130) and says there are three forms of marriage ceremonies, *Pynhiarsynjat*, *Lamdoh* and *Iadih-hiad*. The first and second forms are considered the more respectable; the last one is resorted to by the very poor who cannot afford the greater expense entailed by the first two. Unfortunately, during my stay in these villages, no marriage ceremony took place, but villagers described to me what seems to be the *Iadih-hiad*, where only a fowl is sacrified, and the whole procedure is much simpler than that described by Gurdon. However, whatever the complexity and richness may be, there is a distinct line between having a ceremony and not having it, and this draws the distinction between the status of the first wife and that of the secondary wives.

428 Nevertheless, this distinction has more of a social bearing than the legal bearing it has in a patrilineal system. Since they follow the
595 matrilineal system, the legal distinction between the first wife and
851 the secondary wife does not affect their children's status and their property rights, at least not in the villages where I worked. The children's social locus is determined by their mother. The children (particularly the youngest daughter) have the right to inherit their father's acquired property which is automatically under their mother's ownership. If the polygynist father has acquired property by working their mother's field, or in trading on behalf of their mother, whether she be the first wife or the second, this property undoubtedly belongs to the children of that wife, not to the first wife alone. The father's physical locus at the time of his economic realisations is the decisive factor.

591 The Khasi polygynist, without bringing his wives into one house-
595 hold, alternates his residence among them, in turn or according to his temper. This practice is similar to that of the Trukese described by Goodenough (1951, p. 123), and quite different from that of the Garo

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which I described previously, where a man brings his secondary wives to his first wife's house in which he is acting as the head. Furthermore, sororal polygyny is prohibited, while it was prefered among the Garo in terms of wives taken from the same *mahari*, though mostly not real sisters. The strong jealousy, which I observed, among the Khasi wives of a polygynist, would appear to make such polygynous marriages with closely related women practically impossible. As shown in List 6 & 9 every single one of the wives of each polygynist belongs to different *kur*, and the two secondary wives of the man of Kongton came from neighbouring villages. 591 595 [171]

These aspects of Khasi polygyny are related fundamentally to the underlying Khasi social structure. It should be remembered that every married woman has her independent household, *iing*, and that two women of different descent groups never reside together (see p. 127). The picture is one of every married woman holding a key-point in the whole network of the social system, and men fit into this network with much flexibility. The strong stability of women and the fluid nature of men in terms of residence naturally produces this form of polygyny. This analogy is also true of lovers' relations and illegal marriages. Though polygyny is a rapidly decreasing institution all over the Khasi Hills, cases of lovers' relations and illegal marriages are found to be very numerous among the Khasi, as compared with neighbouring tribes and peoples in Assam. 182 591 595 613 837 [171]

Throughout my discussions of various forms of Khasi marriage, I found men to be more or less in the position wittily described by one of them as "having one leg in my sister's house, the other in my wife's," except in cases of the husband/father who succeds in establishing paternal authority, as in marriages with a non-heiress. Even in the latter a man might have a period of uncertainty until his children were born and until the economic basis for his matrimonial life was firmly established. For the rest, Khasi men would be in the position of either becoming the authority of an *iing*, or swinging between their sister and their wife, which may produce more opportunities for lovers' relations. One of a man's legs is certainly always found in his sister's house, the other may rest in his wife's, but it may also rest in another woman's house. The wife being rather accustomed to his occasional absence due to his visits to his sister's house, another kind of absence does not mark any great change from the usual situation, at least not physically. Such situations occur particularly in the earlier stage of the marriage, as a sort of continuation of premarital affairs, which are quite freely practised: it is a usual custom before marriage for young men to sleep at a girl's house whom they like though they say sexual intercourse usually does not take place in such cases. This I observed in Sohkynduh and Kongton. 182 591 593 613 836 837

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

182 595 Because of the firm right of women over the residence, Khasi polygyny can never be a clearly distinguishable institution, and has no operational advantage in the social and economic fields; the situation is very similar with lovers' relations and illegal marriages. By polygyny the man achieves no additional economic advantage, nor does he increase his social status or prestige; rather the reverse, for I observed that the polygynyst was regarded as a somewhat ludicrous or tragic figure. As for the woman, she is placed slightly at a disadvantage since the husband's economic activities are not concentrated on her household. However, even many legally-married wives are separated or divorced, so that such disadvantages are not only experienced by the wives of polygynists. The social disadvantage of being secondary wife is not serious, firstly, because wives, whether first or secondary, have social and economic independence—they do not belong to the husband as in the case of patrilineal systems. Secondly, the significance attached to the legal marriage institution is not so great, so that the handicap of being the secondary wife is not severe. What is most important, furthermore, is that her slightly inferior status does in no ways affect the next generation. Indeed such children, including [848] those of premarital or illegal relations, suffer no serious social disadvantage, though they are nominally distinguishable from legitimate [851] children. From this it is clear that the effectiveness of legitimate marriage, and paternal recognition are rather limited among the Khasi.

Thus, Khasi polygyny differs greatly from the polygyny of other societies in terms of its operation and of its form. It also differs in the incentive to its practice. Among the Garo and many other societies, the practice of polygyny usually depends on a man's economic capability, but among the Khasi, it appears rather to depend on his whim. 182 Khasi husbands are notorious for their heavy drinking and neglect of wife and children. 593 Some of them told me that their earnings, their children and everything they acquired go to their wife or sister, 733 leaving them with nothing; therefore they should at least have freedom to enjoy their life. This freedom seemed to mean women and drink. I am not sure how far this explanation is true, but it seems to justify their behaviour to a certain extent. I do not mean that this is the general characteristic of the Khasi husbands, but some such tendency is to be observed. Actually I often heard wives complain of their husbands' drinking and running after women, and was asked "Are your Japanese husbands also like that?", "What is the good of having a husband!" then comes divorce . . .

182 562 593 On the contrary, women placed at an advantage by residence and matrilineal inheritance, are required always to be on their best behaviour. There are very strict rules governing the behaviour of Khasi women. They are supposed not to drink, smoke, or play with

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

any man other than their husband. Women before marriage enjoy a considerable freedom in love affairs, but once married these are no longer tolerated. Women should be faithful wives. They should be so in order to keep their husbands who have a strong tendency to leave their wives. The husband of a woman who has an affair with another man, will never come back to her. There is no attraction to draw the husband, who has home at his sister's, to his wife's house unless she is good and charming. Such Gurdon's remarks as "There is no evidence to show that polyandry ever existed among the Khasis. Unlike the Tibetans, the Khasi women seem to have contented themselves always with one husband, at any rate with one at a time" (Gurdon, 1914, p. 77), is utterly nonsense: a Khasi woman is placed in a situation which is not easy to monopolize even one husband. Moreover, the Khasi social organization in general does not accord to the practice of polyandry.

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DISCUSSION OF MATRILINEAL SYSTEMS

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As a concluding discussion, I shall here deal with the main theoretical problems concerning matrilineal systems as a whole; at the same time, I shall attempt to make clear the structural alignment of the Garo and Khasi systems, together with other matrilineal systems. For this purpose, my analysis is focused particularly on the structure and composition of the descent group, with relation to residential patterns. For my argument it is very important to keep in mind the concept of the descent group. In this discussion, I use the term 'descent group' as constituting a 'corporate property group'; more properly, perhaps, this unit should be called the matrilineal inheritance group. Though the discussion deals mainly with matrilineal systems, it also touches upon theoretically important aspects of unilineal systems as a whole.[1]

1. The analysis of matrilineal descent groups has been greatly advanced since Audrey Richard's outstanding contribution on the comparative study of Central Bantu matrilineal societies (Richard, 1950). Among all, the recent publication of *Matrilineal Kinship* (Edited by Schneider and Gough, 1961) is a remarkable achievement as the landmark in the series of studies in this field.

My analysis presented here, however, has been developed quite independently from that of *Matrilineal Kinship* (when the latter was published, the manuscript of this essay had already been sent to the publisher: the publication of this book is unusually delayed). Though some of the issues touch upon the discussions presented by these authors, particularly of David Schneider's Introduction, the angle of my analysis differs considerably from theirs. Firstly, my analysis is primarily concerned with the differences in the structures of matrilineal systems, while Schneider's discussion intends to bring out the distinctive features of matrilineal descent groups in contrast to that of patrilineal systems; again it is also quite different from that of Kathleen Gough, the major concern of which is the corelations between productivity (or ecology) and social structure; and also from that of David Aberle's cross-cultural comparison by using a large ethnographic sample. Secondly, my argument develops from the analysis of the Garo and Khasi social structures, while in that of Schneider, these two matrilineal systems seem to fall in a rather exceptional cases: in fact they are excluded from a set of his collection of matrilineal systems, on which his theory is tested.

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I

The discussion of Parts I and II reveals that the social structure of the Garo and the Khasi differ greatly. Similarity is found only at the level of the minimum criteria of matrilineal systems: the basic succession rules of mother-daughter, mother's brother-sister's son; and the fact that property is owned by the woman, but the controlling power and authority over it are in the hands of the man.

One of the most outstanding structural differences between the two lies in the composition of a property group: the property group of the Khasi is formed by a descent group at a shallow generation depth, while that of the Garo is maintained by the cooperation of two local lines, each of which represents a localized lineage group. Hence the descent group of the former tends to have stronger solidarity, whereas the latter tends to be weakened in its solidarity.

In a broad framework, in terms of social organization, the Garo fall structurally into a category based on the moiety arrangement, in which patrilineal systems, such as the Murngin, and the Kariera, etc., are also to be found. Theoretically, this type of mechanism is operative in either matrilineal or patrilineal systems: by the exchange of men in the former and the exchange of women in the latter.

On the other hand, the Khasi system presents more outstanding features of a type which is generally accepted as belonging to matrilineal systems. However, the basic structural traits of this system may also be found among patrilineal systems, in terms of relatively stronger descent group solidarity.

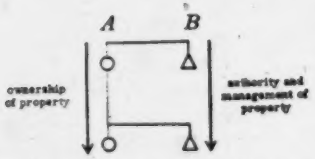

FIG. 12. — *Succession Lines of Female and Male in the Matrilineal System.*

Lines *A* and *B* may include sister-sister, and brother-brother relation respectively, also members of classificatory category; variations in these minor points depend on each matrilineal system.

Though both matrilineal and patrilinal systems may share such basic structural categories, they differ significantly in the following respects: in matrilineal systems, the ownership of the property and the authority over the property group never rest in one person, as in the case of the father/husband of the patrilineal systems, and the succession to these two offices follows the female line (mother-daughter) and the male line (mother's brother-sister's son) as shown in line *A* and line *B* in Fig. 12. This duality of office-holding individuals within the succession rule is the intrinsic cause

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of complications and variations in matrilineal systems. The matrilineal system is not a mirror of the patrilineal system; it is a different system in which more complicated mechanisms are involved. This complexity of the matrilineal system is a decided handicap when it comes to resisting radical economic changes. In order to preserve the system, a fairly stable economy is required, well-balanced in its population and resources. This may be one of the reasons for the rapid disintegration or unstability of social organization of matrilineal peoples in the world. 121 171 182 611

The difficulty of preserving in function both lines *A* and *B* is caused by residential problems—individual marriages which contradict the sibling cohesion. According to my theoretical analysis, there are four alternative ways of resolving such contradictory factors, each case being represented by actual ethnographic samples.[1] Each arrangement represents a different degree of the function of the two lines *A* and *B* in relation to the residential pattern, as following (see Fig. 13): G K 171 182 591 611

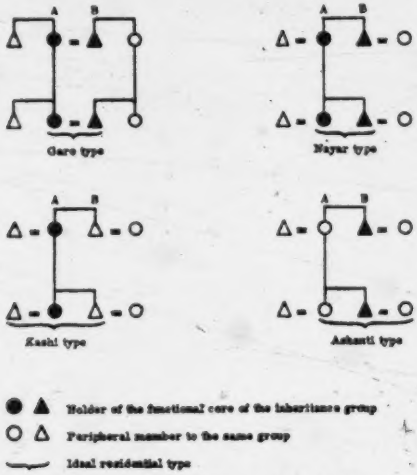

FIG. 13. — *Central Core of Matrilineages in Relation to Property Groups and Residential Groups.*

The Garo type: The co-residential type is 'husband-wife' instead of 'brother-sister.' The function of both lines *A* and *B* is equally strong. This is kept by the marriage contract between two local lines, so that it is possible to keep the function of each line against the residential separation of the two lines in one descent group. This type is found at the moment only among the Garo.

1. For this discussion I take only such major matrilineal samples for which ample documentation is available. G K [121]

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The Nayar type: The counter scheme of the Garo type: the co-residential type is 'brother-sister' instead of 'husband-wife.' The function of both line *A* and *B* is equally strong. This type is found among the traditional Nayar (except those in North Malabar) and the Minangkabau matrilineal people.

The Khasi type: The ideal co-residential type consists of a woman with either her husband or her brother. The function of line *A* is much stronger than that of line *B*. This type is found among the Khasi, the Hopi, the Zuni, the Trukese, the Negri-Sembilan Malay, the Yao, etc.

The Ashanti type: The ideal co-residential type consists of a man with either his wife or his sister. The function of line *B* is much stronger than that of line *A*. This type is found among the Ashanti, the Gwembe Tonga, the Mayombe, the Trobriands, the Nayar of North Malabar, etc.

In terms of the strong function of both lines *A* and *B*, both the Garo type and the Nayar type may fall into a similar category. But as already explained, their structure basically differs from one another, and clearly appears as the counter schemes of different residential arrangements. The Nayar type shares with the Khasi a rather similar structure in terms of a descent group equated with a property group, while in the Garo type the two lines *A* and *B* of a single descent group never form an independent property unit.

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If, leaving aside the Garo type, we consider the three others, the Nayar type appears again different from the rest in so far as in it, both lines fulfill an equally strong function, while in the Khasi and Ashanti types, one of the two lines is always more developed functionnally than the other. The Nayar type presents the highest degree of descent group solidarity among the three. This Nayar situation might be compared with that of the traditional Chinese patrilineal systems.[1] In both social systems the structural importance of marriage is minimized: the role of a spouse is only to ensure descendants of the matrilineal (patrilineal) group. The structural importance of a husband (wife) is almost neglected, while the wife (husband) holds the paramount locus in her (his) descent line. The descent group manifests the strongest solidarity within itself, neglecting affinal relations with other groups. This principle results in the custom of the "visiting husband" in the matrilineal system; and, in the patrilineal system, in a total social shift of the wife by her complete assimilation into her husband's group, and separation from her descent group,—she has no social and personal independent locus in terms of the structure. It is an interesting fact that the most extreme scheme of highly institutionalized unilineal systems can be seen among societies of pre-industrialized high civilization. These schemes are structurally opposed to those of the system of the moiety

1. Fortes touches this point in his paper (Fortes, 1959, p. 208).

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arrangement, such as the Garo and the Murngin, where both wife and husband keep important social positions as representatives of each descent group.

Leaving the Garo and the Nayar types, the following discussion deals with the implications of the differences between the Khasi type and the Ashanti type. The degree of function of the two lines *A* and *B*, is related to the residential arrangement. A household of the Khasi type includes the matrilineage women and either their husbands or brothers—brother's wives are excluded as a rule. A household of the Ashanti type includes the matrilineage men and either their wives or sisters—sister's husbands are excluded as a rule. Among the Khasi as I have already explained (p. 127), a woman and her brother's wife are never found as members of a common household, while among the Ashanti, as Fortes states, a man and his wife's brother are never found as members of a common household. In the former, since a woman is the centre of the matrilineage, her husband stands socially closer to her matrilineage than she does to his—the husband shares the matrilineage dwelling, while a man being a peripheral member, his wife is excluded as a rule from his matrilineage residence (hence predominantly uxorilocal);[1] the Ashanti type examplifies exactly the opposite case (predominantly virilocal or avunculocal).

The crucial point in which lies the difference between the Khasi and Ashanti types is the rule of inheritance. In matrilineal systems, as a rule, the ancestral property is inherited by the matrilineal descent group. The starting point of the difference is really in the ways of inheritance of the *acquired property* particularly by the husband. So long as a man remains with his matrilineage members, both types show no difference. The crucial difference appears in the married life. In the Khasi type, if a man builds an independent house in which to live with his wife and children, that house and his acquired property during his matrimonial life automatically belong to and are inherited by his wife and children. On the other hand, in the Ashanti type, if a man builds an independent house in which to live with his wife and children, that house and his acquired property belong as a rule to him and are inherited by his matrilineal group, not by his wife and children. In case of divorce or death of a spouse, the difference between the Khasi and the Ashanti types appears most clearly: in the former, it is the husband who leaves, and in the latter it is the wife and children who leave. Hence the residence pattern reflects

1. Among the Yao-Cewa group, which I classify into the Khasi type, a senior brother who is selected for the position of head of a sororal family, takes his wife with him. This virilocal marriage should be considered as an exceptional case applied to only such a particular member. Such special arrangement is also found among the Nayar where duolocal arrangement is general rule.

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these rules, as the Khasi type tends to a uxorilocal arrangement, whil the Ashanti type tends to a virilocal or avunculocal arrangement

In the Khasi type, the residential arrangement is the decisive facto for a man's economic achievement. The men, though they keep clos social and ritual ties with their matrilineage, are divorced economicall from their matrilineal descent group.[2] On the other hand, in th Ashanti type, where the matrilineal rule is the decisive factor, me keep strong social, ritual and economic ties with their descent grou at the expense of the women's and children's residential mobilit However, these women are not like men of the Khasi type; as amon the Ashanti, women mostly go back to their matrilineage at a la stage of their married life. In the case of the Trobriands, the wi stays all her married life at her husband's house while her sons g back to her matrilineage, and her daughters leave for their husband house at their marriage. This can be considered as the exact opposi of what happens in the Khasi type. The matrilineage represente by men keeps its function and solidarity at the expense of the wome There, the female line (mother-daughter) is broken, in practice, b the residential arrangement, as was broken the male line (mother brother-sister's son) in the Khasi type. The actual tie of the Tr briand wife to her matrilineage is maintained through the presen her brothers send her, not through mother, sister or daughter. Th of the Khasi husband is maintained through his youngest sister niece, not through his brother or nephew. Thus Trobriand wiv and Khasi husbands are marginal members of the matrilineage. The facts show that they sacrifice either the male (*B*) or the female (line to the co-habitation of wife and husband. Unless they have structural arrangement like that of the Garo, the co-residence of t married couple is the crucial factor which modifies the matrilin system.

The Ashanti manifest great unstability in this respect, since th do not like to sacrifice either line *A* or *B*, though actually line *A* much weaker than *B*. The mother wishes to be with her daught and son, while the mother's brother wishes to be with his siste son, yet they do wish to have co-habitation in their marriage—co bining theoretically opposed factors. This is also the case whi I found among the Nayar in the transitional stage of the disinteg

1. These arguments do not mean that all members of a society act in same way; in any society, considerable variations in residential pattern found in individual cases. What is important here is the model, and the ori tation of ideas of the people, the pattern of which is usually followed by majority of the people in a given society, at a given time.

2. Among the Khasi, though the authority of the *iing* may keep the acco and manage his sister's property, his acquired property through his wife's f or his independent economic activity definitely go to his wife and children.

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tion of the matrilineal system (see Nakane, 1958/B and 1962). In comparison with the Ashanti, the Khasi or the Trobriand type gain considerable stability by sacrificing either *A* or *B* line, which is one of the possible ways of preserving the matrilineal system along with the practice of co-habitation of the married couple.

Another solution of the conflicting situation in such a society is the practice of cross-cousin marriage, as in the case of the Ashanti, which brings two conflicting factors together, the matrilineage and the family of procreation. In this case, the cross-cousin marriage tends to take place between the first cross-cousins centred around each man. Fortes states, "Cross-cousin marriage most often occurs between the children of full siblings or of uterine first cousins . . . cross-cousin marriage offers a possibility of reconciling the conflicting influences of conjugal, parental, and matrilineal kinship ties" (1950, p. 282). This is quite different from the cross-cousin marriage of the Garo, because among the latter, the cross-cousin marriage being practised as the basis of the whole structure of society, it makes no difference whether a cross-cousin is first or classificatory. In the case of the Ashanti and other matrilineal systems of a similar type, such as the Mayombe and the Kongo, it is considered most desirable to enter into a first cross-cousin marriage; classificatory cross-cousin marriage, such as among the Garo, does not make much sense. Moreover, the cases of cross-cousin marriage tend to take place among comparatively wealthy members in a society (see Rattray, 1927, Chapter XXIX). If one has no property in the Ashanti type society, then cross-cousin marriage has not much meaning. G [582]

The cross-cousin marriage of matrilineal systems has been often referred to as being the solution to the conflicting situations of a man as a husband and as a brother. I suggest here that this can be applied to the matrilineal system of the Ashanti type; not to those of the Khasi type where men have already given up the role of forming the central core of the matrilineage. In these societies, the solution is already given through the sacrifice of one line. There are no conflicting economic factors, though men are still in a situation of social conflict between their matrilineage and family of procreation. This hypothesis is confirmed empirically by the fact that there are no prescribed or preferential cross-cousin marriages among the Khasi, the Hopi, the Zuni, the Trukese and the Negri Sembilan Malay,[1] where a man is not in economic conflict with his matrilineage and family of procreation. His nephews are already outside his economic K [582]

1. "In arranging marriages the preference is for someone 'near'. As cross-cousins are the nearest possible naturally a large number of these marriages occur . . . This preference, however, is not explicitly institutionalised . . ." (Swift, 1958, p. 156).

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scope; due to uxorilocal marriage, they have no right over his residence and his acquired property. Naturally the maternal uncle becomes far less important than in the Ashanti type.

Among the Yao, which I classified as belonging to the Khasi type, Mitchell states that in spite of the emphasis laid on cross-cousin marriage by his informants, real or classificatory cross-cousins are found in only 15 per cent of 103 first marriages (Mitchell, 1956, p. 200). The functional importance of cross-cousin marriage among the Yao is particularly evident in the minority (headmen of villages or lineages) who practise virilocal marriage[1] in a society where a uxorilocal arrangement is the general rule; as in the case of the Ashanti, cross-cousin marriage functions as a solution to two conflicting tendencies: matrilineality and virilocality. The Trobriands, though they belong to the Ashanti type, demonstrate the same structural analogy to the Khasi type, though in reverse. Among Trobriand commoners there is no preference for cross-cousin marriage. The much discussed cross-cousin marriage of the Trobriand aristocrats should be considered as the exception, as has already been examined by Leach (1958, p. 139). In this regard the Yao and the Trobriands produce a picture somewhat similar to the Ashanti type, among the minority of society, though the general practice bears similar features with that of the Khasi type.

It has become clear that cross-cousin marriage is closely related to the type of residence, i.e. virilocality, combined with economic factors. Furthermore, the cross-cousin marriage signifies the political importance of the maternal uncle as lineage head. Thus the Khasi type and the Ashanti type represent alternative arrangements to the different locus of the core of the functional body, the matrilineal descent group.

II

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The preceding section has made clear different types of matrilineal systems as far as the *internal* structure of the descent group is concerned. This section deals with the relation of the descent group to the *external* organization.

Both the Garo and the Khasi follow a unilineal system, but they do not have what is called "segmentary lineage" organization, which has been much discussed in the African field. As generally understood,

1. Richards states: among the Yao-Cewa group, a cross-cousin marriage is likely to be found between a daughter of a head (male) of a descent group and his sister's son (Richards, 1950, p. 235). Mitchell states that Yao cross-cousin marriage is one of the solutions for the conflict between the principle of uxorilocal marriage and the principle of male leadership of the lineage (Mitchell, 1956, p. 144).

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lineage is a corporate unilineal descent group of which the members can establish demonstrable genealogical relationships to each other. According to Firth, "lineage is essentially a unilineal descent group with some corporate functions, normally related by segmentary process to other descent groups of the same type, and with them usually covering the entire society" (1957, p. 4). The Garo and the Khasi can then be said to have the lineage, but to lack its segmentary organization which *normally* is found in a unilineal society. Both social structures exemplify the importance of the residence as a functional unit, against the wider descent group which may be called the lineage group.

In the case of the Garo, the localized lineage is expressed in terms of the village (or group of villages) whose land bears the name of the localized lineage. However, it is the village which acts as the functional corporate body, the economic and ritual unit, not the group of members of the localized lineage. The village theoretically consists of the members of the two localized lineages, as represented in the headman and his wife respectively. Practically, though it bears the name of a particular lineage to which the wife of the headman belongs, as also usually the majority of the inhabitants, it includes many other lineage members as well as the traditional two lineages. Therefore, the lineage is not, in this sense, an exclusive corporate unit with a ritual and economic function, though it gives a theoretical framework to the structure.

In the case of the Khasi, the lineage is found only on a household scale, centred in the woman, the property owner with members having direct matrilineal kinship ties to the former, such as her brothers, elder sisters, sons and daughters, who may or may not reside in the same household—the members of the *iing*. Beyond this unit (the *iing*) one can hardly find any functional organization based on the descent system. In other words, the lineage becomes a functional unit only at the level of the household, e.g., the lowest level of segmentation of the descent group, and it lacks wider external organization by the same principle. The clan is considered rather as a ritual conception implying exogamy, not as an organized body of kin.

These phenomena contrast sharply with the Hopi and the Ashanti social organization, where lineage organization has crucial importance wider than on a household level. Many factors can be considered in this connection. First of all, the locus of property and ceremonial unit are the most distinctive features. Among the Khasi, property and ceremonial units are always found in an *iing*, represented by the youngest daughter's household, while that of the Hopi and the Ashanti are in a wider lineage organization in which members of many households are usually included. The Zuni pattern seems also similar to that of the Khasi. The difference between the Khasi and Zuni lies

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in the rule of inheritance; the former follows unigeniture (ultimogeniture), while the latter does not. Therefore, the number of members of a Zuni household is naturally larger than that of the Khasi.[1] Against the average number of a Khasi household, four to five, that of the Zuni is seven and a half to eight persons (Kroeber, 1917, p. 124). Among the Khasi, sisters separate through marriage in every generation, leaving the youngest in their natal house; while Zuni sisters may stay together even after their marriages. Kroeber states:

> "The house belongs to the women born of the family. They come into the world, pass their lives, and within the walls they die . . . Now and then a new dwelling may be built by all the inmates, or for a girl of the house by an enterprising husband; but in general the same walls, or reerected ones on the same spot (*ibid.*, pp. 47-48). . . . It is true that a Zuni 'house' often contains what we should regard as two or three households, but as long as it includes only one used hearth, and all natives insist that the two or three households are a single one" (*ibid.*, p. 124).

The internal composition of the household may differ from that of the Khasi, but the household in terms of the important institutionalized unit, is very similar to the Khasi. Li An-che states that "characteristics of a joint household based on the kinship principle stand out very strikingly" (Li, 1937, p. 75). Eggan's statement brings Zuni social organization much closer to the issue. He writes, "In terms of Kroeber's table it would seem that the Zuni tend to equate a lineage with a household, except in cases of recent expansion or budding off" (Eggan, 1950, p. 189). He gives a further illuminating analysis of this point:

> "We have noted that the lineage principle, . . . also provides a mechanism for the inheritance of ceremonial duties and obligations and the transmission and preservation of fetishes and other ceremonial paraphernalia. In Zuni this inheritance is phrased in terms of the household, but it is clear that it is the lineage segment born into the household that is important. This lineage segment, or at least the female line thereof, also owns land and holds it in trust for succeeding generations, to be worked by the men who marry into the household" (*ibid.*, p. 217).

Another similar equation of lineage and household, comparable to that of the Khasi and the Zuni, is found among the Trukese. According to Goodenough (1951):

1. This involves not only the difference of the number of members to a household but also the relation between the members of a descent group. As already discussed, the core of the descent group among the Khasi, is the pair of statuses: the owner of the property (the youngest sister) and the authority (a brother), not the sibling group altogether (see p. 131) as happens in other matrilineal systems appearing in this discussion. In regard to the unigeniture succession itself, the Garo share the same system as the Khasi, though it appears to operate differently by reason of the structural difference of organization.

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"In aboriginal times they used to be associated with most lineages a dwelling house, *jimw* (p. 67) . . . *jimw* is the corporate property of the lineage or descent line whose women live in it, but it is normally built by their husbands" (p. 68).

Here, it is clear that a household provides the major locus of a lineage. In other words, a lineage is a corporate property group with a common residence. This is also the case of the Nayar *tarwad* and the Minangkabau *parui*, though in these cases the household excludes the spouses of its members, while with the Khasi, the Zuni, and the Trukese the spouses (in most cases, the husbands) share the residence.

Though they may differ in scale and size from one society to another, as well as from one household to another, the functional lineage founded upon residence has thus a similar range in all of these systems. For convenience sake, I tentatively term this type of lineage "household-lineage,"[1] as opposed to that of the Hopi and the Ashanti, which might be termed "segmentary-lineage."

The average number of Khasi and Garo household members is four to five, that of the Zuni seven and a half to eight as stated above, the Trukese is eighteen (three to thirty-four in Romonum Island, according to Goodenough), while the Nayar range from thirty to two hundred. These differences, I think, mostly depend on the economic (and environmental) situation; they should not be regarded as structural, except for the Garo and the Khasi, which, because of the unigeniture rule, have smaller and fairly uniform households. The wide range of variation in composition which we observe among the Trukese and the Nayar is due in reality to economic and environmental factors: the more favorable the circumstances, the larger the unit.

The co-residential group and the property unit do not always necessarily correspond. One property group may consist of more than two independent residences. But even in such cases, the lineage is likely to be found in a group which formed a co-residential unit in the recent past, and which should be considered as marginal cases, derived from the recent fission of a group—it is a lineage in process of fission not a constant kin-group based on wider organization such as we find among the Ashanti and the Hopi. Usually such a lineage ceases to function shortly after it loses its common property, which usually follows closely upon the fission of the residential unit. Thus, in the course of time a once-recognized lineage group disappears into the common sea of the clan, which represents only a ritual and exogamous unit. In some cases, even this clan loses its function, as happens among the Nayar and the Minangkabau, where the lineage which

1. It should be noted that it does not mean that the lineage consists of household members, but that the lineage solidarity is found around the range of a household scale.

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corresponds (or corresponded in the near past) to the co-residential property-group itself becomes an exogamic unit, disregarding the wider unit of the clan. Structurally it can be said that in these societies a lineage cannot exercise its full function unless it has a common residence based on a property unit.

In contrast to these societies, I cannot help but think that the Ashanti and the Hopi belong to a different type. Both Fortes and Eggan lay great emphasis on the descent principle, based on the ethnographic data of the Ashanti and of the Hopi respectively. The best examples of statements concerning this issue are the accounts in which both stress their disagreement with Kroeber's argument of 1938 in favour of the priority of local residence relationships over those of descent, under the title of "Basic and secondary patterns of social structure."

Fortes states:

"A lineage cannot easily act as a corporate group if its members can never get together for the conduct of their affairs. It is not surprising therefore to find that the lineage in African societies is generally locally anchored; but it is not necessarily territorially compact or exclusive. A compact nucleus may be enough to act as the local center for a group that is widely dispersed. I think it would be agreed that lineage and locality are independently variable and how they interact depends on other factors in the social structure. As I interpret the evidence, local ties are of secondary significance, *pace* Kroeber, for local ties do not appear to give rise to structural bonds in and of themselves. There must be common political or kinship or economic or ritual interests for structural bonds to emerge. Again spatial dispersion does not immediately put an end to lineage ties or to the ramifying kin ties found in cognatic systems like that of the Lozi. For legal status, property, office and cult act centripetally to hold dispersed lineages together and scattered kindred" (Fortes, 1953, p. 36).

Eggan states:

"For the Hopi the kinship structure is centered primarily around the lineage; the household relationships are secondary (Eggan, 1950, p. 113).

"Furthermore, it is the lineage and clan, rather than the household group, which is intrusted with lands and ceremonies and which is considered to own the house itself. Important as are the ties of residence and subsistence associations, they are not the key groupings in Hopi estimation—or in terms of our interpretation.

"Kroeber explicitly leaves kinship out of account in his analysis of 'basic and secondary patterns of social structure,' but in a sense kinship is more fundamental than either patterns of residence or formal grouping. Our analysis of Hopi kinship has suggested that both the household and the lineage organizations are encompassed in the kinship system. And it is clear that 'the kinship system is organized in terms of the lineage principle rather than in terms of residence" (*ibid.*, p. 133).

These arguments seem to me to refer more to a difference of social organization than to a theoretical contrast. On the basis of my own

13. Nakane E-5 (1955 1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7
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field work as well as on the accounts of various matrilineal systems, 000
I feel strongly that there must be different types of systems which may be distinguished as "household-lineage" and "segmentary-lineage". Fortes and Eggan postulate the pre-eminence of the descent principle over residence. Though this may be the case among the Ashanti and the Hopi, it does not fit the cases belonging to what I call "household-lineage" type. Firth's argument emphasizing the importance of rights to group membership being associated with locality, fits very well with the latter case. With more precision and subtilty than Kroeber, he argues that "residence by itself does not give title to descent-group membership, but land rights established by descent-group membership tend to remain operational only through residence" (Firth 1957, p. 7).

I believe there are crucial differences between these household-lineage type and segmentary-lineage type organizations. The technical process of fission into segments is similar in both types. But in the former, once a segmented group attains autonomy, the relation between the segments will easily be forgotten after a few generations, as it has no significant social implication. Among these societies, people's genealogical memory outside the residential group is surprisingly poor. This empirical fact also suggests a different structure from that of the segmentary system.

In both types of society the internal organization of a household is the same, but it differs externally. Eggan states that "Kroeber's and Parsons' statements about the lack of system in regard to Zuni kinship indicate judgement from some arbitrary standard" and adds "The concept of the lineage provides a bridge between the household and the clan" (Eggan, *ibid.*, p. 197). I cannot agree with this. In K
fact, my study of the Garo, the Khasi and the Nayar corresponds 9
very well to the Zuni situation described by Kroeber and Parsons. 171
There are matrilineal systems which lack a bridge between the house- 182
hold and the clan.

Then what is it that makes the difference between the two types 592
of organization in similar unilineal systems? I am not sure that I can 613
produce at present effective hypotheses on this issue. However, empirical facts show that the household-lineage type organization is likely to be found among more complicated societies or in a society with considerable mobility. This we gather also if we compare the village compositions of the Hopi and the Zuni. In the case of the Khasi, K
we saw that there was considerable mobility in population even in [166]
remote villages, so that we easily understand that in such a condition lineage membership hardly maintained itself. This seems to agree with the view put forth by Fortes on segmentary systems. Fortes 000
says the limits of the spread or span of internal segmentation of the

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

000 lineage "are set by the condition of stability in the social structure which it is one of the chief functions of lineage systems to maintain" (1953, p. 32). The Nayar and Minangkabau are highly institutionalized cases with a rich economy and a high agricultural civilization, and among matrilineal peoples they undoubtedly appear as most integrated and complex. Then it may be suggested that the household-lineage type organization appears in less stable or more complexed societies than in that of segmentary systems.

With reference to this issue, the analysis of kinship terminology seems to throw a certain amount of light. Eggan, comparing the Zuni kinship terminology to that of the Hopi, concludes "there is a marked structural resemblance to the Crow type in general and the Hopi system in particular" (1950, p. 182). Resemblance between the Zuni and the Hopi terminology is found particularly in Ego's generation: father's sister's son is 'father', father's sister's daughter is 'father's sister'; and mother's brother's son and daughter are designated by the term 'child'—a terminology usually accepted as characteristic of the Crow type. However, Zuni terminology differs from that of the Hopi (the Crow type) in the following two points: first, the above mentioned cross-cousins termed 'father,' 'father's sister' and 'child' are also called by sibling terms (according to Kroeber, 1917, pp. 75-81). Schneider and Roberts state, "informants reported that sibling terms were most commonly applied to mother's brother's son, mother's brother's daughter and father's sister's son; that father's sister's daughter was called *ãnãn* (father's sister) as often as *ãawo* (elder sister)" (1956, p. 11). Secondly, the lineal distinction manifested in the terms for cross-cousins has no structural continuity, as in the case of the Hopi; it disappears by the child's generation: against Eggan's prediction on the Zuni terms as belonging to the Crow type, Schneider and Roberts found that father's sister's son's child had no term (Eggan: brother and sister), father's sister's daughter's son was 'grand father,' 'elder brother' (Eggan: father), and descendants of persons belonging in the above categories had no term.[1]

Taking these facts into account, I suggest that Zuni kinship terminology has a framework of the generation type with some inclination towards the Crow type, since the lineal distinction of collateral lines can be seen only in limited generations, in contrast to that of the Hopi where differentiation continues from generation to generation. Furthermore, this distinction is not as sharply made as in the Crow type, because cross-cousins are also, and more often, termed 'sibling.'

1. They conclude that "It is neither pure lineage in type nor pure generation but best be described as 'modified' Crow," in other words "Zuni terminology is modified lineage, rather than 'pure lineage' in type" (Schneider & Roberts, *ibid.*, p. 11).

15: Nahone E-9 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

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This Zuni type kinship terminology is also found among the Truk: its basic framework is generation type, and cross-cousins have additional terms which suggest the principle of the Crow type (one's father's sister's children classed as parents and one's mother's brother's children as children).[5] Such duality of terms for cross-cousins in a framework of the generation type was also the case of the Khasi, as I described in pp. 117-118. On the co-existence of alternative terms and irregular usages and certain lineage principle in Zuni kinship terminology, Schneider and Roberts note that its weak corporate character is reflected in the failure of the Zuni terminology either to segregate or lump members of contiguous lineages, and in the subordinate position of the ordering or classifying function of kinship terms. And they distinguish the Zuni case, as weakly corporate groups, from societies like the Hopi, as strongly corporate groups.

I consider that the crucial structural importance of the differences between the Hopi type and the Zuni type lies in the method of recruiting kin into a social unit. The Zuni type is used within a comparatively small unit, like a household, because the members of kin-groups which are included within second generations from Ego correspond to the limit of a domestic unit, while the Hopi type is used to recruit kin in a much wider way, since lineal differentiation extends from generation to generation, with a clear demarcation of the whole population of a society as a result. This reminds me of Eggan's statement on Hopi kinship terminology. He writes: "From the standpoint of kinship structure these 'vertical' groupings of kindred represent collective or generalized relationships with definite positions and obligations. For the Hopi the kinship structure is centered primarily around the lineage; the household relationships are secondary" (Eggan, *ibid.*, p. 113). My hypothesis can be supported by the empirical fact that the kinship terminology of all matrilineal systems discussed as the household-lineage type exemplify the same structure as the Zuni type, that is, basically generation type with some tendency to the Crow or Iroquois type: lineal differentiation doubled with sibling term is restricted to the second generation from Ego.

However, this argument does not tend to prove that restricted kinship type corresponds to household-lineage structure, and vertical type to segmentary-lineage structure, but only that certain correlations can be observed. The Ashanti present a critical case for these arguments. The function of Ashanti lineages as described by Forde

5. See Goodenough, 1951, pp. 95-96. Goodenough explains this dual usage of Truk kinship terminology in terms of Ego's relation to his own matrilineage and his father's lineage, as Ego is a potential heir of both lineages: the terms of the generation type are used for the former relation and the terms modified from the Crow type are for the latter relation.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

has a striking resemblance to that of the Hopi as described by Eggan. The lineage, having segmentary structure, performs strong functions as a land ownership and religious unit. However, from Rattray's account, we understand that all grandchildren of matrilineage as well as children through the male line, are called *nana*, a term which is also applied to grandparent's generation. This means that the lineal classification does not extend beyond the second generation from Ego; such a classification corresponds to the Zuni-type, but not to the Hopi type.

Coming back to the discussion of the correlation between the restricted type of kinship terminology and household-lineage, we should consider another important aspect of its bilateral character. In these societies can be observed considerable bilateral tendencies reaching beyond the household-lineage. As I have made clear in the description of the Khasi, the social and economic relationship with outside members of the household are no different towards people who belong to the same descent or clan than towards those who belong to an entirely different kin-group, except as concerns directly related kindred, such as sibling and mother and children. The matrilineal group wider than the *iing* has no exclusive function at all except avoidance of marriage. In this level of arganization, there is no extention of the organizing principle of the matrilineal descent system. For instance, households A, B and C are matrilineally related to each other (A is the original and B and C the outcome of the fission of A). Such matrilineal links have no exclusive features that mark them off from other households unrelated through the matrilineal descent line; actual matrilineal links are minimized in their value and function in regard to relations between households. Such characteristics of this kind of organization must be corelated with the existence of an inheritance case, in which the matrilineal rule is distorted as I mentioned elsewhere (p. 121): if there is no daughter to succeed the *iing*, the son can inherit the acquired property of the *iing*, thus creating by transmission of the property, an entirely new *iing* (of his wife), in which no matrilineal link is established. Likewise in Truk, a son is the potential heir of his father's lineage, and frequency of patrilocal arrangements as alternatives—transmission of the property on the establishment of a new property-residential group—does not always follow the strict matrilineal line. These facts point to considerable bilateral characteristics outside the household. The relationships among households are not organized upon the matrilineal principle.

Kroeber's emphasis on the bilateral character of the Zuni society should be regarded as important in this respect:

"Upon her (Zuni woman) permanent occupancy of the house rests the matrilineal custom of the tribe. But kinship is thoroughly and equally bila-

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

teral. Take away from the Zuni woman her possession of the home, and her apparent preeminence in relationship vanishes . . . (Kroeber, 1917, p. 48). The Zuni, a matrilinear and clan people, approximate much more nearly to the English scheme, as regards reciprocity and consistency in the use of categories" (*ibid.*, p. 81). 000

And Eggan observes that "Kroeber believes that common residence and friendship count for more than clan membership, in daily life at least" (1950, p. 186). Schneider and Roberts also touch upon the bilateral character of the Zuni and state that "in the formal sense in which the terms are used today, however, we must still regard Zuni as matrilineal in descent and not bilateral. Yet the Zuni pattern of integration is 'bilateral' or 'Ego centered' in type and not unilineal" (1956, p. 21). I rather suggest, in interpreting the Zuni situation, that the lineage principle is well maintained within a household scale, but that outside it, predominant bilateral tendencies come into action. Among the Nayar, also the relationship of outside *tarwad* do not show a unilineal structure.

In societies of the household-lineage type, a functional unit is demarcated in the first place by common property and residence, which cut off clearly other members who may be included by the descent principle. This demarcation is so clear-cut that the wider group, which may be recruited by descent principle, can hardly have a function in itself. The lineage, in the sense of wider descent units, may be vaguely seen, but its composition is immaterial to its structure. Hence the unilineal structural principle is much weakened, creating bilateral features beyond the household (property owning descent group). Therefore, the crucial difference between household-lineage and segmentary-lineage is the predominant bilateral characteristic of the former outside of the household, while in the latter, the unilineal structure inside of a household is theoretically extended to the wider organization, which may be regarded as a more rigorously structured unilineal system. The bilateral characteristics of household-lineage type correspond functionnally to the scheme of a bilateral system such as the Maori, as expressed by Firth who writes: "that descent and the formal structure of the kinship grouping can be understood only by reference to residence and land holdings" (1957, p. 4).

Fortes (1959), considering ambilateral descent groups, such as the Maori *hapu* described by Firth (1929) and the kind of landowning groups described by Goodenough (1955), in contrast to lineage type descent groups, expresses his view to designate the former type as 'kindred groups' and the latter as 'descent groups' on the ground that "This (the former) would emphasize the fact that they are not recruited on the principle of perpetual succession but on the more general principle of filiative kin right." The crucial difference is defined by

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi
Garo AR5

000 Fortes as follows: "it is the 'stock'—that is, the estate—and the function of the organization in the external politico-jural domain that make it a corporate unit, not the mode of recruiting members" (Fortes, *ibid.*, p. 212). The delineation of the unit which Fortes calls "kindred groups" is very much similar to that of household-lineage. A corporate group based on "stock" and residence is not only characteristic of bilateral society; it is also found in unilineal societies, but in them the unit is clearly always a "descent group" in Fortes' terms, though the external organization be different from the "descent group" of the segmentary system.

III

All matrilineal systems discussed above have a basic common structure: the composition of a corporate property group is structured by matrilineal descent principles. There are some peoples with a matrilineal system in certain respects, who do not share this basic common structure: the property group is not always composed of a matrilineal descent group, nor has it any institutionalized organization with a matrilineal principle of inheritance, such as we observed among the Garo. For instance, the Bemba, the plateau Tonga, the Bisa, the Ila, the Lamba in Africa, the Siuai of the Solomon Islands, and the Majuro of the Marshall Islands present such features; for the sake of convenience I term these *the Bemba type*.

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The essential difference between the Bemba type and the other matrilineal systems discussed in previous sections, lies in the fact that though they follow the matrilineal *succession* rule, they do not always follow the matrilineal *inheritance* rule. In other words, though the membership of a *matrilineal group* is acquired by matrilineal descent right, the membership of a *property group* is acquired through ambilateral (not always by matrilineal) descent or affinal links. Hence, there are no distinguishable general patterns of internal structure of a property group as expressed by the criteria of two lines, *A* (female) and *B* (male). However, as a whole, property groups tend to bear more matrilineal features than that of bilateral systems like those of the Maori or the Iban, because of the existence of the matrilineal succession rule. Indeed, in some cases a property group consists of a matrilineal descent group.

In the absence of a strict matrilineal inheritance rule, considerable variations of residence pattern and composition appear within the same community. Virilocal, avuncolocal, uxorilocal and neolocal residences are found equally within the same society, as the residence pattern of a newly married couple is determined by various given circumstances.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

When classifying Majuro couples according to residence, Spoehr found 23 cases on the husband's land; 18 cases on the wife's land; 6 cases on land belonging to the husband's relatives in the household, though he himself did not have a right in the land; or 3 cases on land belonging to the wife's relatives in the household, though she did not have a right in the land. And he writes "this indicates a very considerable flexibility in the relation of household composition to land rights and residence after marriage" (Spoehr, 1949, p. 116). 000

Oliver found that the residence patterns in Siuai were subject to considerable variations. "Their order of numerical importance is: predominantly patrilocal; evenly mixed patrilocal and matrilocal; predominantly matrilocal; predominantly avunco-virilocal" (Oliver, 1955, p. 237). The more important factors entering into choice of residence are:

1. While a father is alive, his sons tend to set up their households in his hamlet.
2. If a man is wealthy and influential, both his sons and sons-in-law are likely to establish their households in his hamlet. In fact, the influential man exercises a strong pull on other relatives as well.
3. Upon a man's death, his co-resident sons and sons-in-law tend to move to their matrilineage centers, where their own maternal uncles may be residing, unless they acquire important rights in the deceased's landholdings.
4. A wealthy matrilineage or sub-matrilineage is also a magnet, resulting, in many instances, in matrilocal and avunco-virilocal residence.
5. Close friendship between kinsmen, especially between brothers and between classificatory *brothers-in-law*, frequently induces them to reside in the same hamlet. (Oliver, *ibid.*, p. 237)

Among the peoples which I classified into the Bemba type, the similar flexibility in deciding residence at marriage also appears in case of divorce or of death of a spouse. In such cases the one who has married into the group usually leaves, but the children decide themselves where they will go. In the case of virilocal arrangement, if the husband dies, the general heir chosen from among his matrilineal kin should assume his name and his position within the family, marrying his widow and fathering his children, which is a very similar arrangement to that of the Ashanti. However, the widow may refuse to marry her late husband's successor, either staying with her children and being allowed to retain her field, or going off to live as an affiliated member in the family of some relative (see Colson, 1951, pp. 127-128; Richards, 1950, p. 226). Thus, there is some tendency towards a matrilineal arrangement of the Ashanti type such as the widow leaving the house or the levirate derived from virilocal residence, but there are alternative solutions which contradict the matrilineal arrangement: the widow and the children may remain in the house and enjoy the property over which the deceased man's matrilineal kin have right. Thus the inheritance rule is very flexible.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

000 Such variety in residential arrangements and such flexibility in inheritance rule complicates considerably the composition of the residential unit when a property group (residential domestic unit) grows. Richards gives an interesting illustrative description of the formation of a Bemba residential unit:

> "The Bemba bridegroom starts his married life as a stranger in his wife's village, but since his daughters remain with him for some years after marriage he builds up a grand-family composed of his daughters, their husbands, and their children. In some cases he is able to persuade his sons-in-law to remain permanently with him, while in others he is even able to keep his sons in his own village. In time some of his sister's sons, with their wives, will choose to come and settle with him, so that he will be head of a group of rather heterogeneous composition" (Richards, *ibid.*, p. 227).

Here we find a man's wife's matrilineal kin (his daughters and sons, including the daughters' descendants); his own matrilineal kin (his sisters' sons); and the third matrilineal sets (his sons' wives and his sister's sons'wives). Such a mixed composition of a residential unit may never be found among societies belonging to those types previously discussed; such residential composition would be impossible if the matrilineal principle was functioning strongly in the structure of the actual property group.

Thus, the Bemba type presents an outstanding structural difference from the other types of matrilineal systems in which the matrilineal inheritance rule was the decisive factor for the formation of the residence unit. It is clear that in the Bemba type, both a man and a woman are fairly free from the economic control of his and her matrilineal group, and their relations are somewhat like those of the husband of the Khasi type and the wife of the Ashanti type. Therefore, the conflicts between one's matrilineal group and family of procreation are minimized, particularly in the economic sphere.

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This analysis throws much light on the following remarks of Richards bearing on different aspects of the similar formation of descent groups among the Yao and the Bemba.

> "The head of a Yao village of this sort (taking his wife to his matrilineage residence) thus has authority over his wife's children and over those of his sisters, but the position of the wife's children seems to be clearly differentiated from that of the sister's children, and Mitchell speaks of a traditional hostility between them. I never saw evidence of such hostility in Bemba villages, which also often contain a man's children and his sister's children" (Richards, *ibid.*, p. 235).

This difference should really be ascribed to the structural difference between the Khasi type (the Yao) and the Bemba type. In the former the matrilineal structural force is strongly functioning in the residential group, whereas in the latter it is minimized.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7
Garo AR5

Within such a structural framework it is quite understandable that the predominance of virilocal arrangements, coupled with male authority as husband/father, are found. All observers of these societies have noted this feature. Among the plateau Tonga and the Bemba particularly, male authority is outstanding. 000

"Men are free to move and to form their own homesteads because they acquire rights over their wives which permit them to remove these women from the protection of their kin . . . As head of the household, the husband occupies a position comparable in many respects to that which falls to men in patrilineal societies" (Colson, 1958, p. 61).

"With the marriage the husband obtains—but only for the probationary period—rights over his wife's labour, the right to control her movements, and rights to her sexually. He is the father of any children born to her, whether or not he begets them . . ." (*ibid.*, p. 101).

"So long as the household contains a married couple, it is theoretically under the authority of the husband. The wife and her children form the house, the *inganda*, but the husband is known as the *singanda*, 'the owner of the house' . . ." (*ibid.*, p. 105).

"Once the young man is admitted to the family he is free to move his wife and children to his own village should he desire to do so" (Richards, *ibid.*, p. 225).

"This is a male dominant society and, even though descent is reckoned through the mother, the wife is very much under the control of her husband even while he is an outsider in his wife's village" (*ibid.*, p. 225).

The husband/father's authority was also observed among other matrilineal systems under certain conditions, as already fully discussed in the chapters on the Garo and the Khasi, and more predominantly among societies of the Ashanti type where the residential pattern was viri-avunculocal. However, the ambilateral structure on the level of the household composition may give more opportunity to create a husband/father authority of a more stable kind, unhampered by matrilineal force. K 9 171 182 593 611

Furthermore, individuals are almost free from the descent principle in establishing their residence. Colson states in her account on the Tonga that a man has complete freedom to choose his residence, and residents in a single neighbourhood need not have kinship ties with one another. In the ordinary round of daily life, membership within a neighbourhood may be of more significance than membership within a matrilineal group (Colson, 1958, pp. 27-28). Oliver describes a similar situation: 000

"The out-marrying women and their children acquire provisional rights in tracts where they reside, and ultimately acquire full title to such lands" (Oliver, 1955, p. 116).

It is clear, in these societies, that there are two sets of groups on different levels: a matrilineal group membership of which is acquired

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

000 through matrilineal descent right, and a residential property group membership of which is acquired through ambilateral descent right and actual residential right. The lineage and the domestic family of Majuro are not the same and should not be considered as synonymous (Spoehr, 1949, p. 160). The Tonga matrilineal groups which are conceived as persisting through time, are not localized and do not form the basis for the homesteads or hamlet (Colson, 1958, p. 61). The Ila recognize the difference between the domestic unit under the authority of the father and the descent unit of which the mother's brother is head. "The clan is your mother's, the family is your father's" (Richards, 1950, p. 240).

The matrilineal group seems to act as a ritual corporate kinship unit, and the residential property group as an economic corporate unit. Ethnographic data inform us about the matrilineal group as follows: a Tonga matrilineal group is "a corporate body since it has a common legal personality vis-à-vis all other similarly organized bodies. Inheritance, succession, provision and sharing of bridewealth, vengeance—though to a very attenuated degree today—and a common ritual responsibility, are functions of the group" (Colson, 1958, p. 16). In Majuro, the lineage is a landholding group and a basic feature of political organization; it also determines the ascribed status of an individual in the old class system, and constitutes a cooperating kinship unit (Spoehr, *ibid.*, p. 158). In Siuai, the matrilineage is a unit of landholding, possession and vengeance, with a common shrine and a common heirloom of shell money, etc. of high value (Oliver, 1955, Chapter 3).

These features would seem to indicate that these matrilineal groups have important economic aspects, which fact contradicts the existence of the property group composed of ambilateral descent with residential right. The answers may be, firstly, that the land-holding right of a matrilineal group is not of an inflexible nature; rather, it is nominal, and much concession is made to the actual co-residential group when a clash occurs between residential and descent rights. Secondly, at the different levels, these two groups, matrilineal group and property group, overlap in their distribution, so that in some cases both groups may coincide: the members of a property group form at the same time a matrilineal group. On these two points no anthropologist who has reported on these societies has given a clear analysis. However, I draw this conclusion from their ethnographic statements.

Spoehr sees in such coincidence of matrilineal group and residential group chance occurrences, resulting primarily from the fact that the living kinfolk in each case happened to fall into a lineage pattern. Interestingly enough, I find from Colson's and Oliver's accounts, that the bigger and more functional matrilineal groups are found as property

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

groups, associated with wealth. Among the Tonga, "wealth and power attract kinsmen. The largest matrilineal groups today are those which center upon one of the new class of wealthy farmers or upon a chief whose prospects of inheritance holds the members together" (Colson, 1958, p. 23). Oliver illustrates a case as follows: 000

"they (matrilineage people) interact among themselves . . . they corporately claim full title to all the tracts together and do not differentiate between the various tracts except to describe the several ways in which they were acquired.

It is important to comment on the oft-repeated statement of Soni and Siham that all this land will pass intact to their matrilineage descendants. 'Why,' I asked, 'will not other matrilineage acquire portions of it when you die just as you acquired tracts when former owners died?'

'The difference is that *we* are wealthy,' they answered. 'We are able to provide generous mortuary feasts for ourselves, and need not call upon other matrilineages to contribute; therefore, we do not have to throw away our land' " (Oliver, 1955, pp. 113-114).

In these societies, such matrilineal property groups seem to occur as a result of considerable accumulation of property which attracted kinsmen. Since they have a matrilineal system, one might be justified in approaching a wealthy man through the channel of the membership; in the same way, wealthy men may find in it a convenient excuse to delineate the members who enjoy their wealth. This economic reason seems important. Among the Bemba no strong matrilineal property group is found, and Richards states that "there is thus practically no inheritable wealth amongst these peoples, either in the form of land, stock, or money, and this fact naturally influences profoundly the nature of their residential and kinship groups" (Richards, 1950, p. 222).

I am, therefore, reluctant to consider that this kind of matrilineage corporate property group represents the traditional pattern of organization of this kind of society, and that other attending features are the product of its disintegration. I rather agree with Spoehr's view when he says: "I doubt that the present structure of the Marshallese household can be explained by the assumption that is changing from matrilocal to patrilocal residence, and I am equally doubtful that the family organization was ever highly formalized around maternal lineage" (Spoehr, 1949, p. 117). These matrilineal societies differ in structure from those discussed in the previous sections, but under certain circumstances, such as outstanding accumulation of property, they may become organized along the same lines as other matrilineal system. On another level the matrilineal descent group happened to coincide under most favourable circumstances with an actual property and residence group and formed a more effective and substantial corporate body. It is decidedly the most advantageous and effective way to build up a stronger corporate property group by using the

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7
Garo AR5

000 devices of the existing system. This does not necessarily imply that such societies have or had the same organization as other matrilineal societies,, but I believe this to be an economic and historical product of the existing structure. I do not question the fact that all these societies are subject to a process of change; but it does seem unnecessary to assume that every factor which happens to be missing nowadays, did, in fact, exist in the past.

K 9 171 182 611 000 Summing up the above discussion, the essential structural differences between the Bemba type and other matrilineal systems are found firstly in the internal structure of its property group: "ambilateral" contrasting with the "matrilineal" of the Garo, Nayar, Khasi and Ashanti types. Secondly, in the structure of the wider organization of the residential groups: the clear matrilineal principle is found to act in the composition of matrilineal groups. The focus of the matrilineal operation is quite opposite to that of the household-lineage type. In the latter the bilateral features are met with at the wider organizational level. In the Bemba type, in spite of bilateral features in the composition of the residential property group, the rigorous matrilineal group conception is found in the wider organization. Unlike the case of the segmentary-lineage type, this matrilineal group does not have necessarily a direct and actual economic basis. Perhaps the scale of the Bemba society is small enough to maintain the matrilineal social system without a definite economic basis.

In conclusion, such terms as "matrilineal" (unilineal) and "bilateral" are simply convenient labels for the preliminary classification: they should not be used as contrasting criteria for classifying social structure. The unilineal principle (matrilineal system) works differently in each given society, producing as I have observed different structures. Again, *descent* principle and *residence* (with landholdings or property) are equally important criteria for the analysis of social organization. The preeminence of either descent or residence should not be theoretically opposed in the arguments of anthropologists, for different degrees and levels of both factors are involved in each given society.

K 9 121 171 182 611 Finally I should like to note that the five major types of matrilineal systems in relation to the internal structure of the property group, which I presented in this discussion, namely the Garo, the Nayar, the Khasi, the Ashanti and the Bemba types, give theoretical criteria for the analysis. It should not be assumed that all matrilineal systems grouped into the same type present the same structure, but that each possesses the important basic element of its type. Also a system may change from one type to another through important economic changes or migrations: for instance, from the Nayar type to the Ashanti type, or from the Ashanti type to the Bemba type.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

APPENDIX

SOME ADDITIONAL INFORMATION FROM SHELLA AND JATINGA

SHELLA

Shella is situated on the lowest of the southern slopes of the Khasi Hills, bordering on the Sylhet plain of East Pakistan. For centuries the people of Shella maintained close trading connections with the people of the plain, so that they have been much influenced by the Hindu. They have been to some extent divorced economically and culturally from their own people who live in the uplands and on higher part of the slopes. Actually, this is a natural result of their geographical location. From Cherrapunjee, the southern edge of the upland Khasi Hills, only a narrow footpath goes down to Shella. The altitude of Cherrapunjee is about 5,000 feet and of Shella from 500 to 1,000 feet, and the distance between them is 8 miles. The path descends very steeply and is full of hard stones. This difficulty of communication is also why the Hindu influence did not penetrate the upland Khasi, as in the case of the Jaintia Hills.[1]

This area has a unique political organization which differs from the majority of Khasi states who are traditionally ruled by the members of the Siem clan. Shella is organized as a confederation, called 'Shella Confederacy,' and consists of four local villages. The head of the village is called *wadadhar*, and is elected by the villagers every three years. The number of households of the Shella Confederacy was about 900 in January 1956. The names of the four villages and their *wadadhar* in 1956 were:

Name of village	*Name of wadadhar*
1. Shella	Devish Mohan Roy
2. Mushtoh	Ditojou Roy
3. Nongtrai	Orju Roy
4. Tyngnger	Jabuni Roy

Each village is divided into sections. For instance, Shella village has nine sections: (1) Jasir, (2) Disong, (3) Duba, (4) Jamau, (5) Nongrum, (6) Nongnong,

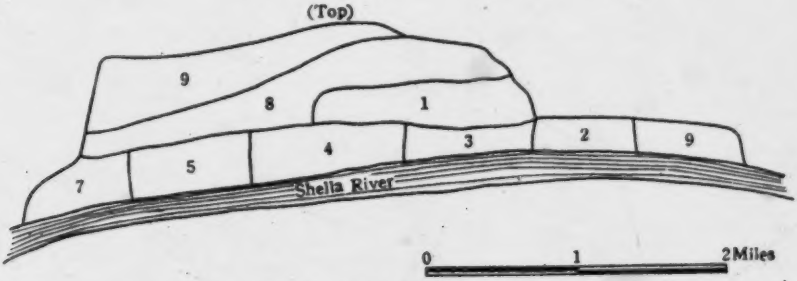
1. However, Shella was the only way out and the main gateway from the Khasi Hills to the plain; it was here that the British first entered the Khasi Hills. They proceeded from Shella to Cherrapunjee and made the latter headquarters of the Khasi Hills in 1833.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

[Shella]

621 (7) Mawrongkhong, (8) Rynsong-kanor, and (9) Sholap, as shown in Map 9.
103 In Shella village the number of households in each section ranges between 10 and 80. Such a section is called *kher*, and was supposed to be the site of house-
614 holds of segments of every *kur* (clan). It seems that Shella village was once
621 composed of nine different *kur* which could intermarry with each other. However, nowadays, each section, as appeared in my census, has nothing to do with the
178 *kur* as such; it is simply a geographical section. According to the information which I gathered, there had been a tendency for the same *kur* people to gather
731 within the section, before the great earthquake in 1897 brought considerable

[102]



MAP 9. — *Distribution of Sections in Shella Village.*

damages and death to this area: many of them left the village at the time and many houses changed their sites in the village when they were reconstructed.
614 For instance, the composition of Jasir section in January 1956 was as follows:
621

Name of kur	*Number of houses*	*Name of kur*	*Number of houses*
1. Yuchyne	7	9. Lyngdoh	1
2. Iunei	4	10. Riang	1
3. Lorit	4	11. Nongtathiang	1
4. Synren	3	12. Loki	1
5. Ksaieng	3	13. Kanto	1
6. Nongbri	3	14. Kanti	1
7. Siem	2	15. Khelwa	1
8. Iunoi	2	16. ?	5
		Total	40

178 The people said that in Jasir, the Yuchyne was the most influential *kur*,
621 and must have been the original *kur* in this section. However, no clan solidarity could be observed. These seven households were socially and economically
614 quite independent of each other, as are all other households. As a whole, the importance of *kur* diminished a great deal in this village. Five households in Jasir were reluctant to mention their *kur;* some of them did not care about their *kur;* others were not themselves certain to which *kur* they belonged. The *kur* is losing its function to a great extent. This can be ascribed to the high degree of sophistication and mobility. However, except for one Siem woman who came from the uplands and married a man of this village, all 15 *kur* mentioned above are local clans frequently found within the Shella Confederacy. In
621 this area also community endogamy was predominant. Perhaps the Shella

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

Shella

Confederacy forms a more marked endogamous community, through being cut off geographically and economically from the rest of the Khasi, and socially from the neighbouring Hindu people. 621

The Economy and the People.

Shella lies along the upper part of the Shella River and stretches upwards 131
along the steep slope, looking down towards the Bengal plain. The climate
of this part of the hills is considered to be one of the worst in tropical India 132
for human habitation. The Bengal plain, though warmer than this area, is
considered more healthy. This border land is the zone of malaria, typhoid, 164
black fever, cholera, etc. None of the Bengalee peasants dare to live in such
an area. However, it is the most fertile for products such as betel-nuts, pan- 433
leaves, oranges, bananas and pineapples, and it also produces limestone. These
people seem to prefer to settle in this zone and to enjoy its prosperity, at the 164
expense of human lives: every year, especially between March and September,
the inhabitants suffer from various fevers and dysentry and other diseaes, many
of the weaker facing death. 648

Before the Partition of India and Pakistan, the products of Shella were 177
carried down the Shella River to Sylhet, one of the biggest centres in East 178
Bengal, which brought unimaginable wealth to the Shella people. Their houses
were built by carpenters from Sylhet. The style and structure of these houses 434
were exceptionally elaborate for the Khasi. They purchased vast rice fields [439]
in the plain, which used to be cultivated by Bengalee and Garo labourers [342]
engaged by them. These Khasi do not themselves know how to cultivate
rice fields; they have always been managers or landowners. Their boys used [166]
to be sent to high schools and colleges in Sylhet. As a result of their trading [464]
with the Bengalee, many of them read and speak fluent Bengalee. There is [871]
no difference between their style of clothing and that of the Bengalee, though [191]
the women maintain their traditional dress in the Shella style. [291]

They have thus been distinguished from the rest of the Khasi not only
geographically, but also economically and culturally. Their personality also
differs sharply from the rest of the Khasi. They are very sociable, and quick, 157
a quality lacking among the Khasi of Sohkynduh and Kongton. They are
clever enough to deal with strangers. The upland Khasi say Shella people 184
are very cunning. This remark shows one side of these people. They had to 648
be cunning, since they traded with the Sylhet Bengalee who were said to be the
most cunning of their race. Their role in the trade and in the history of the 177
modernization of the Hills was considerable. For centuries they represented 178
intellectual Khasi owing to their contact with Hindu civilization, while the
Hills remained in darkness. They assumed an important role when the British [439]
established an administration in the Hills, and even up to now, many leading
Khasi originated from this area: for instance, Lati Hat, the first interpreter
of the British Headquarters at Cherrapunjee; Jeebon Roy, who was the first
Magistrate among the Khasi; Maham Sing, a lawyer and Member of the Legislative Assembly (the grandson of Jeebon Roy); Nichols Roy, Minister of Health and Prisons of the Assam Government, Member of the Legislative Assembly, and Missionary of the Church of God; R. R. Thomas (brother of Nichols Roy), Principal of the Gauhati University, etc.

Through constant cultural contact with Hindu, and encouraged by their 177
economic prosperity, the Shella Khasi, like the Jaintias, have been much
influenced by Hindu culture. However, this does not mean that the people 648
of Shella adopted the Hindu beliefs. Though there is a small Hindu shrine, 771
and some ceremonial elements were borrowed from the Hindu, most of the 795

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

377 people remained non-Hindu in their basic beliefs and social customs. Hindu
648 influences are nevertheless predominant in their culture, especially in their way
771 of living which shows a practical adaptability, somewhat similar to the Japanese
795 acceptance of modern western culture without becoming Christian. In my
[797] census of Shella village, the people calling themselves 'Hindu' amount to 40 per
[162] cent of the total, but they are the recent converts to the Ramakrishna School which established a missionary station at Shella after the Partition. The Christians constitute 30 per cent of the total, most of them having been converted during the last ten years, as in the case of the Ramachrishna School.[1]
[458] The rest remain as they were, of Khasi belief. These conversions to either Ramachrishna or Christianity seem to have been encouraged by the unstable situation of the people resulting from the recent economic depression in this area.

439 The Partition of India and Pakistan in August 1947, which drew the bor-
458 derline a few miles south of Shella village, considerably upset village economy by stopping all trade with Bengal, though a limited amount of trade is allowed
648 with local people at the border. Because of this political change, all the produce of Shella gardens is rotting away for lack of markets, while all of the rice fields were taken by Pakistan. Goods now come to Shella only from the uplands, carried upon men's shoulders over the most difficult pass, which makes everything very expensive. Many families have sold their gold and other treasures, and some families are facing starvation.[2]

182 Concerning the conversion to a new religion, an interesting phenomenon
171 is to be observed. The conversion to Christianity or to Ramakrishna is mostly by individual: I found in my census that the wife and husband often belong to
592 different religions. This is a very different picture from the Garo, among whom I always found that the husband and wife belonged to the same religion: the
613 conversion of the husband to Christianity was always followed by that of the
771 wife. I think this reflects the structural differences which influence the actual relationship between the husband and wife. Among these Khasi, instead of
795 the husband and wife, the maternal uncle and his nephews and nieces are mostly of the same religion. The function of the *iing*, the most important social and religious unit, thus appears also in the conversion to a new religion, stronger than that of a domestic unit.

Intermarriage.

648 The close economic and cultural contact of the Shella people and the Bengalee
771 is not matched by social contact. The essential barrier between the two peoples is the difference of religion which dominates the entire social order in each
563 society. Though these Khasi were important traders, richer than the neighbouring Hindu peasants, they were considered by the Hindu as outcasts with whom they never shared social activities. Intermarriages were therefore very rare. In Shella village, only two exceptional cases were found in my census:

1. A Khasi woman married to a Gurka (cattle-keeper); they live at Shella Bazaar (Sholap).
2. A Khasi woman has marital relation with a Bengalee medical doctor who has resided at Disong in Shella for six years. He already has a Bengalee

1. These two entirely different missionary activities are competing with each other, and are somewhat related to the political powers within this area.
2. The state government is doing its best to provide them with additional facilities: for example, providing air transport for the transportation of oranges from Shella to Gauhati and Calcutta. However, such arrangements cannot cover the great economic loss suffered by the Shella people.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

[Shella]

wife who lives with him. The Khasi woman lives with her mother. Some say the Khasi woman is his second wife, other say their marriage is not recognized by the public. 563

Actually, owing to the bad climate, very few non-Khasi live in this area. Besides the two non-Khasi just mentioned, there were a Bengalee tax collector and an Assamese Forest Officer, both of whom lived at Shella Bazaar. Bengalee villages are situated about five miles south of Shella. Except in the bazaar, Bengalee and Khasi have no social contact with each other, and intermarriages have been rare.

However, it is obvious that in the past the Khasi must have had many cases of intermarriage with Bengalee. Among the Khasi, there is a clan called 'Dkhar.' The term 'Dkhar' is also used for the peoples of the plains: Bengalee are called 'Dkhar' by the Khasi. They say that the Dkhar clan originated in Bengalee girls who married Khasi men and who went to live in the Hills. It is said that in older days, the Khasi often raided the Sylhet plain and kidnapped Bengalee girls as well as goods. In Bengalee records of Sylhet, Khasi appear as 'bloody Khasi.' Khasi old men say that in order to increase their population they did sometimes kidnap Bengalee girls, but that they treated these girls very nicely and kindly, no differently from their own people. Since they follow the matrilineal system, they decided to name their descendants 'Dkhar.' It is said that all the present Dkhar people are descendants of such marriages. The Dkhar are found more on the southern slopes of the Khasi Hills i.e. among the Wars. 101 563

It seems there were many reasons for the descendants by marriage between the Khasi and the Bengalee to become Khasi. First of all, it is said that in the olden days the Khasi wanted to increase the population by such marriages. At the same time, a Bengalee who married a Khasi became an outcast from his or her own society owing to the caste system, and this inevitably made them Khasi. Secondly, the Khasi were primarily grouped into the *iing*, and they considered the marriage relation as of secondary importance. Hence it was rather difficult to remove by marriage a Khasi man or woman from their native place. Thirdly, Khasi could hardly live in the plain where no betel-nut or pan-leaf gardens were available; they could not engage in rice cultivation in the plain, as the technique is entirely different from the cultivation of betel-nut or pan-leaf. Moreover, they said they could not stand the heat in the plain. Therefore, the orientation of intermarriages was always towards the Khasi community: the Khasi brought outsiders to their own land; they did not themselves leave.

Such a marked tendency on the part of the Khasi to remain attached to their own homeland, is in no way contradictory with the phenomena of their migration to places outside the Khasi Hills, owing to the exploitation of their homeland and to the increase in population. The formation of Jatinga represents such an instance; there are also the cases of modern Khasi women from sophisticated urban areas, who easily leave their homeland, after marriage with a non-Khasi; this also appears in the following data on Jatinga. 161 167 [563]

JATINGA

Jatinga is a Khasi village situated in the North Cachar Hills, three miles west from Haflong, the headquarters of the North Cachar Hills. The number of households was about sixty in February 1956. Their economy depends on the pan-leaf, orange and pineapple gardens, similar to that of the Shella people. 131 621 433

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

621 [Jatinga]

[175] This village was founded in 1905 by Khasi immigrants from the Jaintia Hills. At the entrance of the village, a bust of the founder, Lakhanbang Suchiang, [101] stands facing towards the east; it was erected on the occasion of the celebration [211] of their Golden jubilee, in November 1955. Houses are scattered along the [346] ridge of the moutain to the east and to the west; in the centre is the church. [771] All the inhabitants are Christians. Before the Partition this was one of the most modern and prosperous villages in Assam.

Jatinga provides a very interesting instance of the Khasi 'colonial' village. 101 It is surrounded by villages of the Kuki, of the Zemi-Naga, and of the Cacharee, 121 who constitute the main population of the North Cachar Hills, and who are tribes entirely different from the Khasi, in economy, social organization, language 621 and culture. Therefore, Jatinga is like an island of Khasi community. I took this village as one of my fields, because I was particularly interested to discover how far the Khasi matrilineal organization is kept up in a community thus situated, surrounded by patrilineal tribes, and considerably modernized by Christianization and economic prosperity; and I was also interested in the process of formation of a new village, in comparison with Rinsibara and Joshipara in the Garo Hills.

Formation of the Present Population of Jatinga.

The first immigrants to Jatinga.

101 The main population of Jatinga, including the founder, originated in Bataw 166 village in the Jaintia Hills, twelve miles away from Jaintiapur, the capital of 175 the then Jaintia Rajas. This village is situated on the border of the Jaintia Hills and the East Bengal plain, the location being very similar to that of 621 Shella, as are their culture and economy. In the later part of the nineteenth century, some members of Bataw village moved to Borkhala, ten miles from Silchar, one of the biggest villages of the then Cacharee king.

These immigrants who came to Borkhala stayed there about fifteen years before they came to Jatinga. Kloribon, the first daughter of the founder's sister was born there. In November 1905, some Christian Khasi left Borkhala for Jatinga, acting on information gathered from a Welsh Mission at Haflong, that the land of present Jatinga was fertile and fit for their cultivation. They were the first immigrants to Jatinga. The Government record names the 166 following three persons as the first immigrants to Jatinga: Suchiang Lakhanbang, 551 Tariang, and Suchen Munik. In fact, according to the data which I collected at Jatinga, Suchiang Lakhanbang was accompanied by the following persons 614 (the names in brackets indicate the clans):

621 his wife, Misibon (Phanwar),[1]
175 his brother, Pryntah, and Pryntah's wife, Sintu (Rupsi),
his sister, Laptho, and Laptho's husband, Munik (Suchen) with their daughter, Kloribon, and Munik's younger brother, Sain.
his friend, Tariang.

Soon after their settlement, Sain, the brother of Munik, brought his wife Tahin (Suiam) from Jaintia. Misibon brought her younger sister, Diasibon. Tariang who came with Lakhanbang afterwards called his wife, Palong. But having spent some time there, they left eventually for another place, so that

1. Misibon was a native of the Cherrapunjee area of the Khasi Hills (not of Jaintia like the others). She was a school teacher at Cherrapunjee, and later became a teacher at a school near Jaintiapur, where she married Lakhanbang.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

there are none of their descendants in Jatinga. Summing up, the first party who settled at Jatinga was composed of people of the following five clans: 166

551

1. Suchiang — Lakhanbang, his sister, Laptho, and her daughter, Kloribon, his brother, Pryntah. 614
2. Suchen — Munik and his younger brother, Sain. 621
3. Phanwar — Misibon and her younger sister, Diasibon. 175
4. Rupsi — Sintu, the wife of Pryntah.
5. Suiam — Tahin, the wife of Sain.

Among them, Suchen had no female member. Phanwar had no successor: Misibon had no issue and Diasibon did not marry. Therefore, Suchiang, Rupsi and Suiam are the oldest clans in present Jatinga. Suchiang and Rupsi especially are the dominant and richest groups among the present population.

This was the time when the railway from Gauhati to Silchar was being constructed. Some Khasi labourers were working at Haflong on the construction of the railway. After the foundation of Jatinga, these Khasi workers established marriage relations with the Khasi of Jatinga, and finally, upon completion of the railway, many of them became the inhabitants of Jatinga. The present members of the Dome and Siangshai clans are the descendants of these people, and they form a considerable number of the present inhabitants of Jatinga. Besides them, there were a few other Khasi at Haflong who were engaged in trading business. In the course of time, they also had marital relations with Jatinga people and came to Jatinga. 166 175 458 621 [499] [464]

After five years had elapsed they found that in spite of their hard work the land was not favourable to them. Many of them left Jatinga. This was the hardest period of Jatinga history.

The second migration (1919-1925).

The railway which once had been blocked was reopened in 1919. The people who had left Jatinga came back to settle there. This time the circumstances seemed to them quite favourable. The pan trees which they had planted earlier were growing and they could gather considerable produce. The village grew bigger around 1920 as a result of new immigrants from Jaintia; most of them were people from Bataw, the village of the founder. In this period, many immigrants came from Jaintia not only to Jatinga but also to Sylhet, Borkhala and other places outside the Khasi-Jaintia Hills. It seems that by this time the over-populated Jaintia realised that these areas were favourable for their new home. However, the successive waves of Jaintia immigrants to Jatinga ceased by 1925, its population having reached saturation point. [499] [245]

Orange production brought economic prosperity to the people of Jatinga. Wealthy villagers employed temporary labourers from the Jaintia Hills every year. Some of these labourers came with their families and others came individually. During their stay at Jatinga, some of them married and settled there. Hence, there are also descendants of such labourers among the present inhabitants of Jatinga. [245] [464]

Some Aspects of Descent Groups.

Throughout the history of Jatinga, immigrations have always been undertaken by a family (elementary family, siblings) or by an individual, but never by a group of clan members. Therefore, the present population is grouped in small descent groups according to each migration. Though some of them happened to have the same clan name, their history of migration and their 621 [175] [614] [166]

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

621 descent grouping are often different. This is a very similar pattern to the
[184] mobility which I discussed in Sohkynduh and Kongton (see p. 112).

One of the outstanding features in this community is the strong paternal
178 authority, established especially in the first generation, because the father's
593 (husband's) contribution was very important in such circumstances: their domestic units were completely independent from the *iing* either of husband
61 or wife. Some of them came with their wives, and many younger ones and their sons brought their wives from their homeland afterwards, thus practising
621 virilocal marriage.

They have an interesting social usage which reflects the importance of the husband of the first generation. This is the addition of the name of the husband of the first generation to the matrilineal clan name in order to differentiate each particular descent group established at Jatinga within the same clan. For instance, Rupsi-Tah, Rupsi-Loh, Rupsi-Khla and Rupsi-Lati are found in the Rupsi clan. Rupsi-Tah is one of the lines of the first immigrants to Jatinga, which I have mentioned as Rupsi: Tah was taken from Pryntah, the husband of Sintu (Rupsi) (see p. 171). Thus the present inhabitants of Jatinga are very conscious of their father or grandfather, though they strictly follow the matrilineal descent rule. From such a usage of naming a clan, the Indian officer, who gave me some information about Jatinga before I went there, made the mistaken deduction that they had changed from matrilineal to patrilineal, assuming this to have come about as a result of the influence of patrilineal tribes around Jatinga. But this is simply due to the fact, firstly, that they hold in high regard the man of the first generation, because of his great contribution; secondly, that they distinguish themselves from members of the same clan according to the descent group established at each immigration; in other words, it indicates each *iing* grouping in the village.

178 The fundamental Khasi social organization based on the matrilineal system
184 did not change at all. I could observe in Jatinga exactly the same principle in action as I had found in Sohkynduh and Kongton. The village endogamy
582 has also been well established in the present generation: there are about 20 different clans which can intermarry, and taking a spouse from an outside com-
61 munity has become very rare nowadays. Marriage patterns in relation to the *iing* structure and all its related aspects are surprisingly similar to that of the
621 communities in the Khasi Hills. The solidarity of the *iing* is even greater in Jatinga, particularly among the rich, because of the greater accumulation of wealth and greater economic activity, which also increases the authority of the *iing* as manager of considerable property—this was also the case with the Shella people. Jatinga demonstrates that in spite of colonization and of a significant change in economic activities, Khasi social organization has maintained itself intact. This situation is in contrast with the considerable social changes observed among the Garo community in colonial areas like Rinsibara and Joshipara.

621 ***Intermarriage.***

178 From the earliest period of the establishment of Jatinga up to the present,
582 some changing aspects of marriage patterns relating to intermarriages are to be observed.

563 As I stated before, in the earlier period, the people used to bring their spouses from their homeland, but they also married neighbouring tribal peoples, namely,
563 the Zemi-Naga, the Kuki and the Cachareе of villages close to Jatinga, and
621 also the Lushai, the Bengalee, the Moslem and the Anglo-Indian who lived in Haflong, the biggest political and commercial centre in the Hills, situated

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

[Jatings]

three miles away from Jatinga. As one may expect in such a situation, quite a number of intermarriages with these peoples appear in my census of Jatings. The resultant of these intermarriages was that when the couple and their children lived in Jatinga, they were considered to have become Khasi; otherwise they were held to be non-Khasi, whether the spouse was man or woman. This orientation of social recognition of the result of intermarriage was generally seen among Khasi in such situations, not only in the case of Jatinga. 563 621

The following are extracts of intermarriages from my genealogical table of Jatinga people. 563

591

A. Cases of intermarriages in which the descendants became Khasi. 621

1. A woman of the Dome clan married a Kuki man. All members of the present Dome clan at Jatinga are their descendants.
2. A woman of the Rymbai clan married a Kuki man as her second marriage. Their descendants are Rymbai.
3. A man of the Suchiang clan married a Mikir woman, and lived in Jatinga. They had one daughter who married a man of the Hua clan of Jatinga. They named this woman's line 'Shadap' as one of the Khasi clans. Later this Mikir woman's sister's daughter married a man of Rupsi-Lati, and their descendants were also named 'Shadap' by the villagers. Thus Shadap clan was created by a Mikir woman who married a Khasi man of Jatinga.
4. A Khasi man married a Lushai woman and lived at Aijal, the headquarters of the Lushai Hills. They said he became Lushai. Later a man of the Pajat clan of Jatinga married his daughter from Aijal. This couple lives at Jatinga and has several children. The villagers said they have to give them a new clan name. It is under consideration.

B. Cases of intermarriages leading to the emigration of Jatinga inhabitants.

5. A man of Jatinga married a woman of Zemi-Naga as his second marriage and lives at his wife's village.
6. A woman (the daughter of the woman of Rymbai, who married a Kuki: A-2) married a Moslem man and lives at Haflong.
7. A woman of Rymbai married a Punjabee and lives at Shillong. This woman is (B-6)'s mother's sister's daughter.
8. A woman of Siangshai clan married an Assamese and lives at Gauhati.
9. A woman of Rupsi-Tah married an Anglo-Indian and has gone to the United Provinces.
10. A woman of Jatinga married a man of Zemi-Naga and went to his village.
11. A woman of Jatinga married a man of Cachares and lived at his village some time, but she came back to Jatinga after divorcing him.

A cases belong to the earlier period when Jatinga had a shortage of population, while *B* cases, except 10 and 11, are found among the present younger generation. The population, which had increased rapidly in the last twenty years with economic prosperity, is suffering from the recent economic depression caused by the Partition as well as from the great damages done to their orange gardens and pan-leaf gardens by tree diseases. Moreover they have an unbalanced rate of birth according to sex: females are more numerous than males. Therefore, many daughters marry out as shown in the cases of *B*. The above-cited cases are only concerned with intermarriages with non-Khasi, but there are still other women who married Khasi men and who reside outside Jatinga, as for example, at Haflong and Shillong. [161]

In the village there are still many unmarried girls without suitable spouses. In the olden days, it was less difficult to marry neighbouring tribal peoples, 178 563 621

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178 like the Zemi-Naga, the Cacharee and the Kuki. But after the period of
563 economic prosperity as I shall describe in the next section, the Jatinga people
621 reached a rather high level of education, while most of the neighbouring tribes
[871] remained illiterate. Their standard of living likewise improved. Fashionable girls of Jatinga who have studied at the Convent school in Shillong, and speak English and Hindi, cannot marry half-naked tribesmen who work in the jungle. They prefer to intermarry with Moslem, Panjabee or Assamese who belong to amore sophisticated community, and through whom they can enjoy urban life. Thus the orientation of the intermarriage of the people of Jatinga has changed, along with the growth of Jatinga.

It should be noted that intermarriages came mostly through the contacts at Haflong, where people used to go once a week for the bazaar, rather than through direct contacts with neighbouring villages.

Economy of Jatinga and its Relation to Neighbouring Tribes.

178 It is very interesting to find two different kinds of economy in the same
171 ecological background: Jatinga Khasi practise pan-leaf and orange cultivation
245 and depend mainly on a trading economy, while the other neighbouring tribal peoples practise jhum cultivation, almost a subsistence economy. This situation has remained unchanged for the last fifty years since the establishment of Jatinga village.

The first Jatinga immigrants occupied one ridge of the mountain where the
101 present Jatinga is situated. Formerly, this land belonged to the Zemi-Naga,
245 one of the old inhabitants of the Cachar Hills, who possessed a vast jungle area for jhum cultivation. It seems that there was no objection to the Khasi occupying this small spot: it was apparently too small an area for the jhum cultivator —pan-leaf cultivation of the Khasi requires less than one twentieth of the land of the usual jhum cultivation. The Khasi who started pan-leaf cultivation were able to accumulate some capital, and after several years they started orange gardens. They had had experience of orange cultivation in their homeland, but this was the first time they had operated commercially.

245 The success of this orange cultivation was beyond their dreams. Hearing
434 of good oranges at Jatinga, many Bengalee merchants from Dacca, Sylhet,
439 Silchar and Gauhati began to come to buy them. Moreover, the village had the great advantage of being situated near the railway station. Oranges were sold by carloads. Unimaginable wealth came to the Jatinga people. Especi-
[496] ally the founder's family, including his brother's and sister's, became extraor-
[871] dinarily wealthy; their income used to be Rs. 20,000 a year. The children were sent to the school which was established in the village and some were educated at colleges in Dacca, Sylhet and Shillong. The villagers had
[362] beautiful houses built by Manipuri and Bengalee carpenters. Actually the houses of Jatinga were known as some of the best construction in Assam.

Like the Shella people, they were managers of gardens and employed workers.
245 Wealthy households used to engage several labourers annually, most of them
46 from Jaintia where the Jatinga people had originated. These workers were provided with shelter in the servant quarters of their employer's house, but they had to provide meals for themselves. They were paid daily according to the work done. They were available to other households, when their employer had no work. Some labourers were also engaged locally among the Zemi-Naga, the Cacharee and the Kuki, though not as many as among the Jaintia.
245 These local tribes were fairly well occupied by their jhum cultivation, and not
464 used to being employed as workers. Therefore, most of them were not regular

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR? Khasi AR?

workers and they were few in number.[1] They were particularly employed for such work as the clearing of jungle for new pan gardens in summer. 245 464

In the orange season (December to February) the number of workers increased and they were paid more: Rs. 1/8 were paid for one load (one person carrying 80 pounds of oranges, from an orange garden to the railway station—about two miles). Usually a worker made three to five trips a day. Many workers from Jaintia used to come for this particular season. 245 464 465

Semi-permanent workers were engaged for wet rice fields. They were usually Hindu cultivators: since these Khasi and other tribes do not know the technique of wet cultivation, plains people like the Biharee immigrants were engaged. These workers were provided with servants' quarters where they lived with their wives and children. However, very few Jetinga households possessed rice fields. 243 464

The economic prosperity of Jetinga reached its climax during the period from 1934 to 1940. Since 1941, the orange production has been decreasing. In 1945, a serious disease attacked the orange gardens as well as the pan-leaf gardens. Besides, by depriving Jetinga, as it had Shella, of their most important markets, Dacca and Sylhet, the Partition of India was Partition so very caused a serious economic depression in the whole region. On the other hand, because of the past prosperity, the population has rapidly increased during the last ten years. The serious economic condition of Jetinga is illustrated in the petition which was submitted by the Jetinga people when the Governor of Assam visited those areas in January 1956. It runs thus: 245 434 161 458

"Since the last ten years or so, with the increase of population in the village and with the loss of fertility of the soil, the people were faced with economic depression. At present they are facing acute shortage of land they have also no scope to adopt other forms of cultivation like jhooming and wet rice cultivation, etc. Moreover, there has been successive attack of Blight's disease which destroyed and wiped out all the orange and pan gardens. And as such, majority of the families have to depend for their livelihood on daily wages.

It is indeed a serious situation for them, because the Khasi do not produce staple foods, such as rice; their economy is completely dependent on the trade of their products by which they purchase their main provisions, clothes, etc. Other peoples round Jetinga, being jhum cultivators, can at least get rice and cotton: the minimum requirements, staple foods and clothing are available even in the worst conditions, so that they can at least maintain themselves though the standard of living is low. As I stated before, a few households in Jetinga possessed rice fields, but the majority had none. Recently they rented some plots of jhum field for rice cultivation from Zemi-Naga of neighbouring villages.[2] However, its yield was but a small percentage of their consumption. A few 182 434 [433] [243]

1. If they had worked in the gardens of Jetinga, they might have got more profit than from their own jhum fields. For one day's labour, they got Ans. 6/. For one month, they could earn Rs. 15 with which they could buy about 4-5 maunds of rice (one maunds paddy cost Rs. 3-4). For one year it became 30 maunds, which was impossible to produce in a jhum field by a single person's labour. [495]

2. These rates, including the figures of note 1, apply to 1956.

3. Jetinga villagers told me that Zemi-Naga were kind enough to lend them their field for a negligible rent, though they had not enough for themselves. Zemi-Naga said that they owed much to Jetinga in the past, so that now they sympathised with the conditions of Jetinga, and offered some parts of their jhum field. [427] [428]

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192 very wealthy households still maintain their former economic activities, but
434 the majority have been impoverished, becoming daily labourers for the wealthy
men or for road construction. Thus considerable internal economic differentia-
tion has begun to appear in the community.

Though the recent economic depression brought poverty to Jaintiya, the
192 standard of living is still strikingly higher than that of neighbouring tribes.
Studying such economic aspects of Jaintiya, I wondered at first why these
245 neighbouring tribes have remained as they were, except for temporary employ-
648 ment at Jaintiya, why, looking at the prosperity of Jaintiya, they did not adopt
the way of the Jaintiya people?

Indeed some of them attempted to imitate the Jaintiya economy, but the results were unfortunately not favourable to them. First, both pan-leaf and orange cultivations were entirely new to the tribal people, and the technique was quite different from that of dry rice cultivation on the jhum field. Pan cultivation requires very delicate care which is almost impossible to manage for people who have been accustomed to the primitive jhuming cultivation. For instance, when they go into pan gardens, they have to wash themselves and put on special clean clothes in order to prevent the spread of epidemic leaf-disease. Tribal people, who seldom wash their clothes, or mostly go naked, could hardly keep pan gardens. In this respect the Khasi are entirely different, having specialized in this economy for a long period, even as they believe, from time immemorial.

On the other hand, the technique of orange cultivation is much easier than that of pan-leaf, but it takes several years to obtain a yield, it requires considerable capital to begin with. For the jhum cultivators, who usually did not have such income nor funds, it was almost impossible to start it, while the Khasi were able to raise funds from the selling of the pan-leaf. Furthermore, the
[423] management of such gardens, either pan-leaf or orange, differs also from that of the jhum field as it entirely depends on individual enterprise based on private land ownership, which is new for those tribes where the community owns the land. Therefore the possibility of starting orange gardens is restricted to special individuals among them belonging to exceptionally rich and powerful households. A few households in neighbouring villages did, in fact, start orange gardens, adopting the technique of the Jaintiya people. This was around 1947 and they were expecting to have the yield around 1950. However, unfortunately, when their oranges began to come into production, orange disease started in Jaintiya and spread all over those areas. Their dream therefore never came true.

Besides oranges, some of them also established gardens of bananas, pineapples and papayas, which were more successful than the oranges. These plantations started much earlier than oranges in this area, though not in great quantity. The products were sold to the Jaintiya people who sold them again to Bengalee merchants. The question arises why were they not sold directly to Bengalee merchants, where the profit would have been much greater.

This aspect of the market economy touches upon very interesting problems
192 concerning the relations between tribal and Hindu peoples. Such tribal peoples
44 who live on a primitive subsistence level usually do not have direct contact
648 with the peoples of the plains. There is always an intermediary between them.
In this case it is the Jaintiya people who know both tribal life and Hindu life. They are also in between culturally. If a tribal cultivator sells his produce to a Hindu merchant, he would most certainly be cheated by the cunning merchant, as he is quite ignorant of trade. Tribal men do deal with markets directly, but only on a small scale at Shillong bazaar, and without making a profit, it is just the exchange of their basketful of jhum produce for an iron

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

spade or some dried fish, etc. Products such as large quantities of fruits should be sold to the Jetinga people who buy them at reasonable prices. 182

The Khasi are born traders. Too must be closely related with their economic technique, such as pan cultivation which makes it impossible for them to live without trading. Hence, though they are hill people, they have had close economic contact with the peoples of the surrounding plains. At the same time, some of them have had a very similar economy to that of other tribes, such as that of Sohkyndoh and of Kongton; hence they are familiar with tribal economy. On the whole, their dealings with the tribes as well as with the plains peoples are fair, though they are hard bargainers. Indeed the Khasi are quite welcomed by both sides. Thus the Khasi play an important role as intermediary between the tribes living in the hills and the Hindu (and Muslim) living in the plains.[1] 44 648

The economic contact is the most important of the many contacts between Jetinga and other tribal villages. Social contact, as opposed in intermarriages, is a rather marginal matter for the total population. Cultural contact is negligible. I only observed one indicator—some fashionable tribal girls sometimes wear Khasi women's dress when they go to the Mafiong bazaar. In their contact with tribes, the Jetinga Khasi speak Khasi which is the common language at Mafiong bazaar for all tribes and peoples in this area. A few men of Jetinga speak some tribal language, but none of the tribal speak the Khasi language. 648 182 [191]

In spite of such great differences in culture, economy and social organization, the relationship between the Jetinga people and the tribes has remained very friendly. For instance, as I mentioned before (p. 173, note 3), the tribes lent their land to Jetinga people who were suffering from a great economic depression. Their actual behaviour also reflects such a friendly relationship. It is said that at the time of the Golden Jubilee of Jetinga in November 1955, many Zemi-Naga, Kuki, and Cachareé came and performed their dances for the celebration.

1. The important role of the Khasi as intermediary is not only in the economic field, but also in the political and cultural fields: nowadays many Khasi officers are sent to tribal areas by the Government. They are very efficient in dealing with such work, because they are used to deal with both tribal and plain peoples.

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ETHNIC GROUPS OF MAINLAND SOUTHEAST ASIA

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[Title Page]

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NORTHERN UPLAND GROUPS

KHASIS[2]

Synonyms. *Cassia, Cossyah, Kasia, Kassia, Kassya, Kasya, Khasia, Khasiah, Khassi, Khassia, Khosia* 101

ORIENTATION. **Identification and location.** The term Khasi has often been applied to that entire 101 131 197 114 122

[2] This account of Khasi culture, contributed by Anna P. McCormack, is based on field work during 1956-58 in the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills District. The author wishes to emphasize that her data are on the upland Khasis who inhabit the center of the District. She gratefully acknowledges support of the field work from the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago, the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, Inc., and the Ford Foundation, for one of its Foreign Area Training Fellowships.

group of matrilineal and Mon-Khmer-speaking people 101
who claim as their ancestral homeland the present- 131
day United Khasi–Jaintia Hills District (within ap- 197
proximately 90° 47′ and 92° 52′ E. and 25° 5′ and
26° 5′ N.). This group includes the Jaintias (also 101
Pnar or Synteng) in the southeast, who differ from 184
the Khasis primarily in their duolocal residence pat- 162
tern and less virulent forms of sorcery. (The Hadem 563
in eastern Jaintia are a Kuki people.) It also includes
the Lyngngams (also spelled Lynngam) in the west, 591
who practice migratory swidden agriculture and cer- 154
tain peculiar funerary rites, and are said by Ehren- 241
fels (1955) to be culturally intermediate between 764
Khasis and Garos. Finally, it includes Bhois, Wars, 114
and upland Khasis, which terms are primarily terri-
torial. Bhoi country is the north-central part of the
District, and is culturally complicated by the presence
of Mikirs, Lalungs, and Nepalis. War country spans [428]
the entire southern length of the District, so that
Wars divide into Jaintia Wars and Khasi Wars; of
these, the Khasi Wars have traditionally transmitted
property to sons as well as to daughters. The upland
center of the District is the country of the Khasis
proper, those whose culture provides the most useful
model for interpreting the variations found elsewhere.
[For general reference on all categories of Khasi cul- [113]
ture, cf. Costa 1936 and 1937; also Gurdon 1907,
especially for data on regional variations.] **Geography.** 133
The District is 5,554 square miles of hilly tableland, [131]
intricately dissected by numerous rivers, and marked
by significant ecological variation over very short
distances. The tablelands step gently downward north
from Shillong Peak, which at 6,445 feet is the highest
point in the District, and over about 55 miles ease
into the Brahmaputra valley where this is some 250
feet above sea level. To the south, the land slopes
more steeply downward for about 20 miles, and then
drops abruptly, in cliff and steep-slope formations,
to the Ganges sea-level delta that begins at its
north with Sylhet. The annual southwest mon- 132
soons drop torrential rains around Cherrapunji and
Mawsynram villages (for Cherrapunji, a record 805
inches in 1861), but then, reaching Shillong 33 miles
to the northeast, provide only about 100 inches per
year. Rainfall is again greater in Bhoi, which shares
the Brahmaputra valley climate. Climate is temperate
on the high Shillong plateau, where it seldom freezes
and never snows. To the north, climate becomes sub-
tropical, forest is jungly, and fauna abound. The cli-
mate to the south is also subtropical. [Cf. Hooker [113]
1891: chap. XXIX.] **Linguistic affiliation.** Khasi is 197
one of the major Mon-Khmer languages, related to
Mon, Khmer, Semang-Sakai, Nicobarese, and Pa-
laung-Wa. The major Khasi dialects are Khasi, Jain-
tia, and Lyngngam, to which Grierson adds War.
Further minor variations occur from village to village.
The Khasis had no script until 1842, when the roman [212]
alphabet was successfully applied to the Cherrapunji
dialect of Khasi proper. [Cf. Rabel 1961; Grierson [113]
1903-28: 2; Bareh 1962.]

1903-28: 2; Bareh 1962.] **Demography.** According to the 1951 census of India, the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills District contained 221,982 Khasis and 67,532 Syntengs, Pnars, and Jaintias (India [Republic] 1952-57). These figures, together with those for Khasis enumerated in Cachar (4,005), Mikir and North Cachar Hills (467), Lakhimpur (287), Sibsagar (276), and Darrang (211) districts, and those for Syntengs enumerated in Mikir and North Cachar District (464), yield a total of 295,224 Khasis. **History and cultural relations.** Khasis believe that they had supernatural origin in Khasi Hills (see Gait 1926: 260 for historical evidence, and Rafy 1920: 8-9 for myth, but see also Costa 1958, 1960; Gurdon 1907: 10-11; and Chatterji 1953: 12). Khasi tradition also states that in early times they moved gradually from east to west, from Jaintia toward Khasi Hills, in the practice of swidden agriculture (Gatphoh 1947: 97-98). The salient fact of known Khasi history, which begins generally in the mid-sixteenth century A.D. when there already existed the present-day 25 native Khasi chiefdoms, is the distinctive line of development followed by the separate kingdom of Jaintia. To the north, Jaintia was successively tributary, in part or in whole, to the Kachari kingdom (ca. 1230 A.D.), the Koch kingdom (strongest ca. 1560 A.D.), and the Ahom kingdom (strongest ca. 1700 A.D.) (Shakespear 1914: Map I). To the south, about 1500 A.D., Jaintia extended its rule over a tract of Sylhet, which was populated by Hindus and Muslims, and saw its kings fall thereafter under Brahman influence. In the early 1800s, Jaintia became involved in the fratricidal strife then prevalent in the ruling family of Manipur. In 1835, after the Jaintia king ignored British warnings not to seize British subjects for human sacrifice, Jaintia was punished by the British annexation of the Jaintia parganas in Sylhet. The Jaintia king then voluntarily turned over to the British the hills area of his domain, so that the whole of Jaintia became part of British India and, in 1860, came to be taxed as such, although the Jaintias were otherwise allowed to maintain their traditional system of village government. • By contrast, the remaining Khasi states had few formal external relations until British times. Khasis raided and traded in both the Brahmaputra and Sylhet valleys, but were basically turned inward on their own hills, where warfare between villages and between the states was apparently common. Khasis came into indirect relation with the British in 1765, when Sylhet and its markets became part of British India. In the 1790s, stepped-up Khasi raids into Sylhet caused the British to throw up a deterring line of forts along the foothills. Later, it became necessary to place an embargo on Khasi products in the Sylhet markets. In 1827, the British penetrated into western Khasi Hills by negotiating with the Khasi chief of Nongkhlaw State to build a road through his territory, linking the recently annexed Brahmaputra valley with Calcutta. For three decades

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thereafter, the British negotiated treaties with all the Khasi states, the last treaty being signed in 1862. It was contracted that the chiefs would be subject to the authority of a resident political agent, whose duties would involve maintaining law and order, judging cases of heinous crimes, approving the popular selection of any new chief, and exercising control over certain categories of natural resources. Khasis were guaranteed noninterference in their customary way of life, and they were not then, nor are they now, taxed. Most Khasis, as opposed to Jaintias, were never an integral part of British India, but they did undergo social change as a result of British presence. To summarize Mills (n.d.): (1) The British introduced the potato, which the Khasis rapidly took up as a cash crop for marketing as far as Calcutta. The intensive specialization exhausted the soil and made for ever-poorer crops. (2) Christian missionaries made large numbers of converts, and there arose the difficult question of whether a Christian should inherit property that traditionally was earmarked for her performance of non-Christian religious rituals. (3) About 1864 the British transferred their headquarters from Cherrapunji to Shillong. When they made Shillong the capital of the entire state of Assam, non-Khasis flocked to it, land values soared, and the concept of private property became increasingly important. Khasis began to marry with members of other ethnic groups, which introduced confusion into traditional social patterns. These problems were exacerbated during World War II, when Shillong and its environs enjoyed enormous economic prosperity. One notable aftermath of this affluence has been the accelerated enrollments in schools and colleges. Hundreds of Khasis now have the B.A., M.A., and even the Ph.D. degree. • With the Independence of India in 1947, and under the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India (which was drafted by a Khasi), the United Khasi–Jaintia Hills District became a Part B, or Autonomous, Tribal Area, to be governed by a District Council composed largely of Khasis and Jaintias, and responsible not to the Legislature of Assam, but to the Governor of Assam as agent of the President of India. The native-state system and the chiefs still exist, and the District Council finds it difficult to effect legislation which is neither offensive to regional custom nor a simple blueprint of ill-fitting all-India legislation. The major political schism at this time is between Jaintias, who are accustomed to centralized authority and taxation, and Khasis, who resist the notion of taxation to support the work of a central District Council. [Cf. Gait 1926; Aitchison 1931; Bhuyan 1949; Morris 1910.]

175 619 648 [726] [651] [177] 177 648 [244] [439] [134] [797] [428] [635] [633] [167] [563] [423] [873] 648 642 [651] [563] [113]

SETTLEMENT PATTERN AND HOUSING. **Settlement pattern.** Khasis live sedentarily in named, nucleated, and unplanned villages which are situated just below hill summits to avoid strong winds but still be defensible, and which usually include a de-

361 [312]

pendable water supply. Villages are about two to five miles apart, and have no boundary markers. In the past, villages contained semipublic buildings and grounds: the home of the village priest (also the home of a chief if he resided in that village), the village marketplace, and tree groves, cremation grounds, or other awesome spots that were believed to be inhabited by supernatural beings. Villages today may have also one or more Christian churches, government social welfare buildings, and schools. Formerly, villages were entered through a guarded gateway; this is no longer the case, and paths feed into villages from all directions. Often several villages are nucleated into one large unit, named and also described as a "village." These were once defense units, but were so uncohesive otherwise that institutionalized rivalry obtained among the component villages. Now, they have been integrated through the agency of all-village public services, especially schools. **Housing.** The traditional Khasi house is entered through a door at the rounded end of a U-shaped ground plan, and is about 20 feet at widest extent; it is about 30 feet deep, and is elliptical or hogback in profile. Its walls are of stone blocks cemented with mud. The roof of grass thatch, supported by a bamboo frame, overhangs the walls on their outside, down to about three feet above the ground. The house is divided into two parts: the front one-third is on the ground level, floored either with stone blocks or tamped earth, and is used for storage of occupational instruments and as a shelter for poultry. The rear two-thirds is raised four feet on piles of stone blocks to a platform of planks, and is partitioned into six rooms, comprising a kitchen, areas for storage of food and water, and sleeping quarters. Furniture is minimal, and the house is totally undecorated. There are no windows, and no smoke vents. A house generally has a companion shed, walled of wood and grass matting and thatched with grass. This serves as a pigsty, but it may be partitioned also to house cows, and it may have a loft for fuel storage. Compounds often contain garden plots, and are fenced around with stone or bamboo and mud. Nowadays, the traditional house has given way to Western-style bungalows of wood and tin, especially in and around Shillong. [Cf. Mukherjee et al. 1941.]

ECONOMY. The Khasi economy is a market economy based on agriculture, and most Khasis are primary producers, sellers, middlemen, and/or providers of services in connection with markets. Khasis are often multioccupational: they produce goods for partial subsistence, and also play some part in trade. **Agriculture.** On the Shillong plateau, the major field crops are potatoes, maize, millets, and dry rice, still produced mostly through swidden farming, with a two- to three-year period of fallow, but increasingly through continuous use of a single field with the aid of ma-

16: McCormack E-4,5 (1956-1958) 1966
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more and chemical fertilizers. Both level land and 241
hillsides are cultivated by the same hand techniques.
3 × 6-foot patches are fashioned with walkways between, sods are overturned within the patches and allowed to dry, the sods are burned slowly and the ashes spread over the soil, and finally the soil is sown, either broadcast or sown with the aid of the typical Khasi hoe. The coldest part of the upland enjoys a two-crop year, and Khasis often double
crop as well. Paddy has long been found in the 243
lowlands, in parts of Jaintia and Bhoi, the only 184
places where the plow is found. Nowadays paddy is 178
more and more seen in the uplands, together with a simple terracing and irrigation technology. Many
upland Khasis have house gardens in which they 244
raise a wide variety of vegetables, including pumpkins, cabbage, radishes, sweet potatoes, eggplant,
and many others. Important crops in Bhoi country 241
are paddy rice, lac, cucumbers, cotton, bananas, and 187
pineapples, in War, they are betel nut, pan leaf, oranges, and sugar cane. **Fishing and hunting.** Fish-
ing is done by spearfishing, dynamite, bait, dam, or net. 226
Commercial activity only in the southern foothills. Hunting was formerly by bow and arrow or by traps, 224
including spring guns and pitfalls, but was always primarily a sport. [Cf. Stagmuller 1928.] **Gathering.** 222
Khasis once gathered about 150 species of wild plants, most of them for food, but some for medicine. Thrifty villagers still gather food plants, but there is
no real dependence on gathering. Medicinal plants (278)
continue to be very important. **Domestic animals.** 231
Fowl, goats, pigs, and cattle are bred both for meat and sacrifice. Milk was formerly not utilized, but is (230)
now so popular that specialists keep herds of milch cows. Pigs are used as village scavengers, but some
also receive prepared food. Cattle and goats forage (233)
freely in the fields during the winter, but are herded by a communally hired herdsboy during the agri-
cultural season. Most households keep chickens, pri- (235)
marily for their eggs, and a few keep ducks. A few horses are also seen. Dogs are pariahs, except for
hunting dogs. Cats are popular. **Food and stimulants.** 262
The staple food of Khasis is boiled rice, together with the dried fish which is imported from Sylhet. Boiled
beef, pork, and chicken are relished, but beyond the means of most. Meals are taken twice a day, in the 264
morning and evening, although farmers also take a midday meal in the field, and others may take tea
and cold sweet potatoes or rice bread. Certain foods 262
are taboo to certain sibs. Stimulants are extremely 184
common, especially betel nut, which is often ac-
companied by a bit of tobacco. Tobacco is also 276
smoked as cigarettes and in hookah and other pipes. Every village has one or more household taverns, 273
where distilled rice whisky is cooked and sold by the 275
glass and by the bottle. Imported opium had spread widely in the malarious Bhoi country, but controls 276
instituted in the 1940s have been fairly successful. 177
All stimulants were once taken by men, women, and

16: McCormack E-4,5 (1956-1958) 1964
[P. 108 B] AR7 Khasi AR7

children, but Christian influence has eradicated or driven underground the consumption by women and children. **Industrial arts.** The only industrial arts traditionally practiced in all households were a rudimentary carpentry and a simple utilitarian basketry. Other arts were few, and were practiced as village specialties: the washing and smelting of iron ore and the forging of hoes, daos, knives, swords, and cooking pots (upland Khasis); the spinning of cotton thread (Mynso village, Jaintia); the dyeing of cotton thread and the weaving of cloth (Jaintias, Bhois, Lyngngams, Wars); the spinning and weaving of Eri silk (Khyrwang and Nongtung villages, Bhoi and Jaintia); and the hand manufacture, without wheel, of painted earthenware pots (Larnai village, Jaintia). Ironworking and the production of cotton goods have nearly died out through the competition of machine-made goods. Carpentry has greatly improved. An innovation of major importance is the sewing and tailoring, on sewing machines, of ready-made garments for both sexes. [Cf. Darrah 1896; C., W. 1832.] **Trade.** Khasi villages normally contain a number of household shops operated by women. Every Khasi also lives within walking distance of several village markets that are held on successive days of the eight-day week. The limits of market intercourse for the members of any particular village can be roughly distinguished by their naming the days of their week, which are called after the active markets. The exception is the huge market at Shillong, much of which is active daily, and which serves as a magnet for Khasis from all over the hills. The traditional barter has given way to currency in all markets. The small ones contain at least some local farm produce, plus other essentials like betel nut, and the food and tea stalls which serve as centers of social intercourse. The big markets contain not only regional produce and manufactures but also products from distant parts of the hills, brought for sale by traveling middlemen. There is also substantial trade, from the hills to the valleys, in potatoes, pears, hides, lac, cotton, caoutchouc, the wood of the sal tree, Eri silk thread, limestone, coal, ivory, bay leaf, betel nut, pan leaves, bananas, sugar cane, oranges, til, turmeric, and chilies. From the plains to the hills, there is trade in dried fish, paddy rice, salt, cooking oil, kerosene, matches, tea, sugar, wheat flour, machine-made cloth, shoes, metal pots, crockery, porcelain objects, coral beads, silver, and gold. Markets are important not only as economic institutions but also as centers for recreation (including archery competitions), courtship, reaffirmation of kinship ties with distant relatives, and the dissemination of information of all kinds. [Cf. Stegmiller 1964a.] **Division of labor.** Men do the heavy work, such as clearing and burning the swidden fields, caring for cattle and goats and driving them to market, butchering and selling large cuts of beef and pork, carpentry and mining, and driving and laboring on motor vehicles. They also tailor men's

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clothing, operate the large Khasi business establishments in Shillong, and provide all civic and religious leadership. Women care for children and for the home, do the marketing, and sell dried fish, betel nut, lime, fruits, and rice beads at markets. Other tasks can be performed by either sex. Land tenure. Land was formerly divided into sib land and public domain. Sib land was corporately held in perpetuity and was inalienable except by the unanimous consent of all members of the sib. The public domain was subject to usufructuary right by anyone who kept the land regularly under habitation or cultivation, with a lapse of no more than three years. Most villages grew up on public domain, and then reclaimed all land inhabited or under cultivation by a village member as village land. Forests were public, except for sacred groves possessed by villages or lineage groups, and everyone was free to gather branches for fuel. Wastelands and streams were also public. By now most public domain and village land, together with its forest cover, has been pre-empted as private property and is being rented and sold as such. Sib lands remain intact, unless the sib agrees to rent, lease, or sell. [Cf. Gurdin 1904.]

(71)

KIN GROUPS. Descent. Descent is matrilineal, and the Khasi is a member exclusively of his own matrilineage from birth to death. Adoption, which is very rare, is only within the matrilineage. Kin groups. The maximal matrilineage is the sib, this is a named, widely dispersed, strictly exogamous, lineage group, which claims but cannot trace its origin from a single ancestress. Sibs tend to meet as corporate groups from time to time. Some sibs are linked with others in large amorphous groups that are unnamed and are defined solely by exogamy. Such a group is composed of two or more sibs, the ancestresses of which are claimed to have been either real sisters or close friends who out of affection declared that themselves and their descendants would be as consanguineals. The origin and function of sib-linkage is now unknown, and today the members of a sib will often disagree on whether or not their sib is linked with another. • The minimal matrilineage is the local descent group, or ing. This is the largest kin group that normally collect at life crises. It is said that the ing formerly spanned six generations; today, it encompasses only four. If an ing grows to more than four generations in a single village, it separates. New houses are located at some distance from the old and the ing soon forgets exactly how to trace genealogical connection, except for which separate descended from a youngest sister. The term ing may also be applied to an extended family, an elementary family, and a house. The elementary family is the basic domestic unit in Khasi society. In any village there are likely to be one or two households which stand as sole local representatives of the lineage of the female household head. Such a household is known as an

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ring from the time it consists of an elementary family until it grows to a local descent group four generations deep. (Cf. Chattopadhyay 1961.) Kin terms [G2]
[G1]
vings. The terms of address given below are also terms of reference except where otherwise indicated, and are uniform for male and female speakers. They were collected in an upland Khasi village near Shillong (cf. Chowdhri 1963) for some regional variants. [1-6]

Fy	[illegible]
Mo	[illegible]
FyEBy	[illegible]
FyYBy	[illegible]
FyB	[illegible]
Fy youngest B	[illegible]
MoEBy	[illegible]
MoYBy	[illegible]
Mo youngest B	[illegible]
MoEBy	[illegible]
MoYBy	[illegible]
EBy	[illegible]
EBoy By	[illegible]
YBy	[illegible]
Youngest By	[illegible]
EBy	[illegible]
EBoy By	[illegible]
YBy	[illegible]
Youngest By	[illegible]
MoSiSi, MoSiDy	[illegible]
FaSiSi, FaSiDy	[illegible]
MoBoSi, MoBoDy, FaBoSi, FaBoDy	[illegible]

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY. Made according to the traditional courting pattern, a group of young male relatives and female male nightly visits to the house of some virgin girl in another village, approaching her through basins while she and her parents [illegible] there, and staying the night to avoid the dark walk home. Marriage was according to the wishes of the parents after negotiation by a go-between from the boy's side. Girls might be 15 and boys 17 years of age. Girls have now acquired freedom of movement through attending school, however. Premarital sexual play is common, and young people choose their own spouses when the girl is about 18 and the boy 21. The most common mode of marriage is elopement, for Christians and non-Christians alike, but some Christians marry in church, and some Khasis still marry according to the traditional ceremonies or some variation on it. There are no preferred or prescribed marriage types, nor is there a bride price or dowry. Fame, Monogamy is the ideal for all. Examples of [illegible] are exceptions. Other prohibited marriage partners are real and classificatory FaB and FaSi, FaBoCh, FaSiCh, and FaMoSi. The MoBoW is also prohibited, for [illegible]

[illegible] 595
[illegible] [178]
[illegible] [178]
[illegible] 591

[illegible] 592

[illegible] 428

[illegible] [178]

[illegible] 586

[illegible] 586
[illegible] 178

[illegible] 62

[illegible] 174
[illegible] 619

16: McCormack E-4,5 (1956-1958) 1964
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[P. 110B]

890
175
619
62
(101)
(793)

carribar. In other words, a state is not a fixed territorial entity. In the early twentieth century, the most populous of the 18 chiefdoms, Khyrim, contained 30,322 persons occupying 7,800 houses in 372 villages, and the least populous, Nongkhrai, contained 240 persons occupying 53 houses in 3 villages. Fifteen of the chiefdoms were headed by a *syem* (chief), three by a *lyngdoh* (priest), six by a *siñar*, and one by a *wahadadar*. These leaders all had executive and judicial functions, but a chief's authority was limited in that he had to obtain the approval of his executive council before acting. The other leaders were subject to a similar limitation. A chief maintained a small police force. His major sources of revenue were market tolls, fines, and, more recently, income from licenses to distill rice whisky. Succession to a ruling role in the larger states traditionally involved election by members of a lineage that had a hereditary right to elect, from among members of a lineage that had the hereditary right to rule. In British times, the election basis was broadened, differentially in the various states, even to the point of popular elections. [Cf. Ardhawn 1935, Lyngdoh 1962.] Social stratification. The three classes of lineage are the nobles, the commoners, and the slaves or servants. This stratification applies only to the recruitment to office in the native-state system, for there is no hereditary; and in a village assembly everyone has equal voice. The noble lineages have the hereditary right to fill from among their male members roles such as village or state priest, councilor to a chief, or elector of a chief. The few lineages which today are remembered as slave or servant lineages had the inherited obligation to render special services to a chief's household. There is no Khasi term for "commoner." Every lineage other than a noble or a slave lineage is a commoner lineage, and the commoner lineages are in the majority. Warfare. Warfare was suppressed by the British, and little is known for certain about its traditional form. The tactics which confronted the British were the ambush and the guerrilla raid. Traditional goals included taking heads from other Khasis and capturing women from the villages.

(651)
(646)
(177)
(178)
565
629
621
567
72
(177)

RELIGION. Major and indigenous religions. A Welsh Calvinistic Methodist missionary penetrated into Cherrapunji in 1841, and the work that he began continues to this day. His society, which has since become the Welsh Presbyterian Foreign Mission, introduced writing, village primary schools, a high school, a theological seminary, and a hospital. Competing missionaries followed, and by 1914 some thirty Khasis were preaching over the hearth set aside of traditional Hinduism and Islam but also of the Buddhism, Brahmo Samaj, Arya Samaj, and Theosophy (Rev. 1914). By the 1920s, missionaries of the Church of God and the Seventh Day Adventists were

797
17

also active, and in that decade one U Kyrhai, a Khasi 797
convert to Presbyterianism, left that church and
founded a unique sect that blends something of himself with something of mystical Hinduism and Christianity. The competitors who most seriously threatened the dominance of the Welsh Presbyterians were the Roman Catholic missionaries who arrived in Shillong about 1890. Catholics have since opened a number of high schools, colleges, convents, and orphanages. They also established a technical school, and are now constructing a seminary. At the present time, 779
one estimate is that there are about 100,000 Presby- [162]
terians and 50,000 Roman Catholics among Khasis. Members of other Christian sects are comparatively few; adherents to Hinduism and Islam are fewer still, comprised chiefly of Khasi women married to Hindu or Muslim men. U Kyrhai's sect is dying out, and the balance of Khasis are, according to their own
terms, "Khasi" in religion. [Cf. Lyngdoh 1937, Morris [113]
1949, Bropney 1940, Singh 1960, Pugh 1961.] Supple- 776
mentals. The great deities are two, an unnamed masculine God (U Blei) and an unnamed feminine Goddess (Ka Blei Nongpyniaiar Nongkhrum). God 771
created the earth, and in the beginning instructed 773
man in cultivation techniques and also laid down the framework of a moral order that should guide his every move if he wished to join God in heaven after death. This framework was then filled in by the first ancestors, who are therefore the authorities on the subject and are unidentified as Ka Iawbei (the mother), U Thawlang (the father), and U Suchiin (the mother's brother). Very early, Goddess undertook to keep account of the numbers of human beings on earth, and this role was so important, relating as it did to the health and the multiplication of the people, that she became of major importance in the Khasi pantheon. When sin beset human society, God ordained automatic punishments in the form of natural calamities, and man finally decided that some
animal should go and intercede with God on behalf of humans. The cock went, agreed to take upon himself the burden of human sin, and received instruction in the correct divinatory and sacrificial techniques for which he would be one of the main objects of the trade. Again, over a period of time, it was the ancestors who perfected these techniques. Now, God is regarded as powerful and merciful, but passive. His punishments have their own impetus, and the expression of His mercy is solidified in ritual. Goddess is more vaguely conceived, but is much closer to the individual. [See cf. Khoombah 1960, who conceives of
one double-sexed, great deity among Khasis.] Suggest- [114]
ing uncertainty, it is never clear from prayers whether 776
supplication is to generalized ancestors or to par- 771
ticular first ancestors of a Khasi's own matrilineage, (769)
and such a distinction seems not to matter. There are
three other categories of minor deities: those who
protect places (such as villages, groves, or springs),

household deities, and measles and smallpox deities. 776
Deities of the first two categories are simply aspects
of the high God or Goddess. • The earth is peo- 971
pled with two great orders of land demons and
water demons who cause all undesirable, unnatural,
and otherwise inexplicable events, acting either on
their own or as instruments in the hands of sorcerers.
Apart from omens, both in nature and in dreams, 787
Khasis attach supernatural significance also to mystic 822
numbers, and to the colors white, black, and red.
They hold especially important folk beliefs regarding 824
betel nut, paddy rice, gold and silver, and clothing.
Practitioners. The two classes of religious practition- 701
ers are the village or state priests and the sacrificers.
Both are male. They use the same divinatory tech- 753
niques of reading broken eggshells and the entrails 754
of cocks, and they both sacrifice cocks, hens, goats,
pigs, and cattle. Their skills are not taught to them
so much as picked up by observation and confirmed
by demonstrations of efficacy. A priest is elected
from among the men of his sib to direct his skills to
the public good until he dies, and his rewards are
institutionalized and come from the village or the
state. A sacrificer acts for private persons or his
groups, as call, and is rewarded by them personally
with gifts in cash or in kind. The sacrificer is called
upon to explain and then to ritually remedy every
variety of misfortune, especially illness, though his
powers are nowadays regarded with ambivalence,
and he is widely expected to become a sorcerer
sooner or later. • There are two major types of sor- 754
cerer. One is the ritual specialist or sacrificer who
secretly turns his skills from good to evil, manipulat-
ing demons to injure a person or his group, and
acting always for himself alone out of considerations
of jealousy or revenge. The other is normally a lead-
ing citizen, a woman who is so wealthy and success-
ful that it is believed that she must keep a shiu, i.e.
a creature which will bring her prosperity so long as
she feeds it periodically with human blood. To pro-
vide this blood, the men of her household, or other
males whom she bewitches with a special whisky,
will indiscriminately murder anyone except a mem- [P 8v]
ber of her sacrificeage. The Jaintias have an ana-
logue to the shiu in their tiev, except that the
ultimate result is death from illness rather than
murder. Minor witchcraft can be perpetrated by
poison keepers or persons with an evil eye, who are
often women. Ceremonies. The important traditional
ceremonies were the life-crisis rituals relating to
pregnancy and childbirth, the naming of a child, and
death. Lesser ceremonies related to marriage and
divorce, and to housebuilding. All these rituals were
addressed primarily to the ancestors, and they are
still performed in modified form by many Khasis.
Other rituals, which were performed by groups such
as villages, sibs, local descent groups, or households,
were addressed to the ancestral aspects of the high 782

God or Goddess, deities regarded as helpful in bringing prosperity, producing fertility, and so on. Rituals of this kind are no longer practiced, except for the Bedinghlam ceremony designed to protect the Jaintia village of Jowai. Finally, the state religion of many chiefdoms was expressed in one great ceremony per year which was intended to secure ancestral blessing for a chief and his lineage, and, through this, for the entire chiefdom. The notable example, still practiced, is the Pomblang Syiem of Khyrim chiefdom. [Cf. Lyngdoh 1937, 1946, Stepanoff 1954b, Becker 1936.] **Illness and medicine.** In time of illness, a Khasi calls in a sacrificer, and possibly also a medicine man. The medicine man is an ordinary individual who has hit upon some herbal remedy for one or more ailments, who has become famous enough to be sought out and rewarded in cash, and who jealously guards the formula of his medicine until it dies with him. He and his patients tend to regard him as specially blessed. **Soul, death, and afterlife.** The universe is comprised of a heaven, the earth, and the air between. Heaven is where the souls of deceased mortals live in eternal peace, grouped ab by ab. The earth and all nature were created by God, and everything that God created has its own individual soul. There is no other great earth deity, for it was God who created the earth. The air is inhabited by the wandering souls of those dead for whom full death rites were not performed. A Khasi's potentiality for enjoying an afterlife in heaven with his ancestors depends on his receiving proper death rites at the hands of his ab mates. First, his body is cremated by his children, notably his youngest daughter, and his bones are collected and deposited temporarily in a small stone receptacle. All work stops in the village while everyone participates in the funeral. Once every several years, an entire ab gathers to witness the transfer of the bones of recently deceased ab mates from their temporary receptacles to the great ab cairn that is in the keeping of the youngest daughter, descended from the ab ancestress through a line of youngest daughters. This final ceremony covers five days, and is elaborate and expensive, but when an individual's bones are finally resting with those of his antecedents in the cairn, it is understood that his soul is finally in heaven, "resting hand out in the house of God."

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THE KHASI FESTIVAL OF 'POMBLANG'

S. BANERJEE

INTRODUCTION

The Khasi inhabit the upland of the central part of the United Khasi and Jaintia Hills district of Assam. They reckon descent through mother and the youngest daughter (Ka khadduh) of the house is the custodian of the ancestral property. Belief in the existence of spirits is strong among them and the causes of diseases are ascertained by taking recourse to the process of divination. They are ruled by different categories of Chief. The *Siem* is the highest official responsible for the administration of the state but a few small states are also governed by *Sirdars* with same powers as vested in the former although does not possess the same status. It is interesting to note that their priest whose rank is next to *Siem*, have also been allotted to perform this secular duties in some of the regions of the Khasi country. The Chief function through their respective council comprising elected members from different administrative units. He is rather subservient to this body as he is liable to be censured or even dismissed, if his activities are not in conformity with the Khasi traditional usage. Most of his directives are implemented through the assistance of his subordinates who are in-charge of various sections of the State. The Khasi place his grievance first to these junior officers for redress and justice, after which an appeal can be preferred to the *Siem* or any other higher officer as the case may be. One of the eminent States of the Khasi people known as Khyriem, where this festival is celebrated, consists of eight units for administrative convenience under the supervision of different grades of officials who participated in this celebration along with the *Siem* as representatives of the people.

The Khasi festival of *Pomblang* (Goat killing) described below used to be celebrated at one time in Shillong when the Khasi states of Khyriem and Myliem were not separated. The first chief of the Khyriem state U Singh Manik shifted his headquarters to Nongkrem village after partition of the kingdom, which occured before the arrival of the British. He again moved to Lanekerdem after a brief stay at the village of Lyneshing. He performed this festival as long as he was there, transferring it again to Nongkrem where he re-settled again. It was celebrated here for a long time and consequently it was named after this village. Although the ruling family had later on shifted its residence about sixty years ago to the present village Smit, during the time of U Klur Singh, Siem, it is performed regularly as *Nongkrem dance* which was observed by the author from 21st June to 25th June, 1955.

OBJECT OF THE FESTIVAL

It is being held every year since the days of U Shillong who was supposed to be the founder of original Khyriem State. They celebrate it to perpetuate his memory and pay homage with a view to ensure rain, good harvest, eliminating diseases and famine. He was worshipped along with other ancestors with view to guide the present Chief in his discharge of his duties and for the welfare of the people.

The house of Siem (iing-sad) where the rites are observed, is considered sacred. It consists of a big-hall (shlur) in the centre, surrounded by rooms. One of these on the north is used as a kitchen room (iing-chetja) where ritual

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778 objects are stored while that of the west (kynram blang) was meant exclusively
796 for sacrificial goats. There is a very big circular courtyard in front of the building where the members of the royal family as also other boys and spinsters
[193] hold a ritual dance. The function is always held during the moonlit period of
[443] May or June and the actual dates are fixed in consultation with the Chief priest (*Sohblei*) in such a way that the first day—*Pamtiah** always coincides with the market day of Shillong Chota bazar. The dates of the festival is then co-
[202] mmunicated to the in-charge of different units of his territory, through a wooden stick '*kyrwoh*' having a few knots of cane-strips, as a form of summons for attending the festival for five days at Smit along with subjects under their jurisdiction.

IMPORTANT PARTICIPANT

796 The responsibility of performing this ritual rests on the High-priestess
793 (*Ka Siem Sad*) who is succeeded by her eldest daughter. Different ritual objects are procured by her, well in advance and it is obligatory on her part to
562 join the ceremonial dancing, in which her daughter may also officiate on her
[769] behalf. U Shillong is worshipped by the chief priest while the other ancestors
[533] are invoked by lesser priests. The musicians (*Dhulia*) besides their normal duties, take part in the worship of the ancestors and they are presented with silk turban, jacket, cloth, by the ruling family for the services rendered during the festival. The *Siem* has no especial role except to supervise and evoke U Shillong for the welfare of the community. He is required to perform certain sacrifices, failing which his heir-apparent (*Siem kynsah*) does the same. He along with his sister (High priestess) abstain from taking rice during the period of celebration presumably to observe the sanctity of this festival as also to ensure the successful conclusion of the function.

RITUAL MATERIALS

796 The festival derives its name from the sacrifice of a large number of goats
782 some of which were supplied from the State fund and from different units of the territory. Formerly at least fifty goats were required and each unit had
231 a specific allotment but owing to the economic difficulty that the Khasi are experiencing, the number of goats sacrificed hardly exceeds twenty-five. The goats collected from the different units, are presented to the Chief at the midnight
[273] of the third day. Rice-beer, dried fish, fermented-rice, betel leaves together
[276] with nuts are also important ritual objects in this celebration.

DESCRIPTION OF THE FESTIVAL

796 The commencement of the festival was marked by the distribution of dried
782 fish (suit dokha) to the persons assembled on the occasion, in the evening of *Pamtiah* (*i.e.* 21st June, 1957). This was followed by the dropping of rice-beer by the Chief priest over the fire place of central hall known as *Ka suit-ka char*

[805] *A week consists of eight days in Khasi. Calendar the names are according to the places where markets are held in Khasi Hills.

Name	Market
1. Pamtiah	Shillong Chota Bazar.
2. Umai	Jowai(pnsi).
3. Yew-dah	Shillong Diaro Bazar.
4. Lyngka	Jowai(pnsi).
5. Kongkrem	Kongkrem.
6. Mawlong	Laban (Shillong).
7. Ryngkep	Jowai(pnsi) Chota Bazar.
8. Shillong	Lumjing fish.

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in which no sacrifice was made except this libation of this liquor in the name of U Shillong, Ka Blei Long Siem and U Suidnia. Subsequently, the Chief musician (Dhulia) worshipped another deity Ka Synchar, by holding a yellow cock in front of ritual offerings collected on a plantain leaf while his subordinates immediately shouted nine times in their traditional way. Redistribution of dry-fish and indigenous liquor to the people marked and the end of the first day and the ceremonies performed on this day were repeated on the second day (Umni). 796 782

The sacrifice of goats which was an important feature of the festival, was performed in the afternoon of the third day (Yew duh) on the top of an adjacent hill where the *Siem* along with other members of his house, went there in a procession. The people shouted all the time while it was preceeding to that place. The musicians went round the altar first at the top of the hill thrice in anticipation of a happy and good augurs. The Chief priest facing the north, prayed to U Shillong holding a red-coloured cock in his right hand and killed it on the altar collecting its blood in a gourd vessel. The entrails of the cock were carefully examined by him and then kept on a silver plate. The Chief priest threw some grains of rice before him as also over the yellow goat and prayed to U Shillong holding a *dah* in his hand. He then passed on this implement to the *Siem* who also prayed to the deity. The *Siem* handed over the same to a man (nengnong) who sacrificed the goat on behalf of the *Siem*. He collected nine pieces of meat from different parts of the goats body (*e.g.* heart, lungs, liver, stomach, kidney, etc.) and handed them over to the priest. The latter cut each piece of the meat into five parts and offered them to the five ancestors.* The procession returned to the Siem's residence when the head of the goat was brought back by a member of a Kharbamen clan. It was then given to the High-priestess for disposal of the same in a manner as she liked. The day's rituals were completed by performing the goat presentation ceremony in the midnight. The Chief musician stood very near the fire made in this occasion at the verhandah (tynghong) of the building and called the names of different units to present their gifts, in order of their seniority. The gathering that was watching from the courtyard shouted in their traditional way three times on receipt of the *Siem's* acceptance and the animals were led to the *Lymme-Nong* for overnight stay before which they were not considered fit to be sacrificed to be held on the day next.

On the evening of the fourth day (Lyngka) betel leaves and nuts were presented to the members of the *Siem's* family by the people wishing them happiness and prosperity. The chief priest took his seat in front of the verhandah in a line along with his ten assistants who were on either side in a group of five facing the north. The Chief priest worshipped U Blei Shillong and Ka Blei-Long Siem and the responsibility of invoking each ancestor or ancestress was devolved on each assistant priest : [769] [793]

Asstt. Priest	Chief Priest	Asstt. Priest
1. U Dengar. 2. U Marshan. 3. U Ram Shillong. 4. Ka Phan Sem Shillong. 5. U Bokenyn.	6. U Shillong. 7. Ka Blei Long Siem.	8. U Phan Kynthei. 9. U Shyeng. 10. Ka Lei Dymen. 11. Ka Sem Sngi. 12. Ka Blei Synthar.

* (1) U Blei Shillong (2) U Suidnia (3) U Kpa & U Kha
(4) U Shabrim Sawar (5) U Bairi Shaka

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17: Banerjee E-5 (1955) 1962 AR7 Khasi AR7
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796 The goats were sacrificed by his sister's eldest son (*Siem-khynnah*) and in
182 charge of respective units at the open courtyard. The priests evoked the
ancestors and ancestress and called upon them by name praying 'Oh God and
769 Goddess, I offer this sacrifice as our ancestors did. Bless the *Siem*, his family
and the people of his state. I shall beseech you again on this day after one
231 year. You create favourable weather by virtue of your power, bring clouds
and rains to yield bumper crops and ensure a happy and prosperous life.'

On the last day (Nongkrem), a man of Mawroh clan sacrificed a pig introducing an iron spike in its left armpit. Nine pieces of meat from different parts of the pig's body were again offered to their five ancestors. The *Siem* in the presence of his *Darbar* performed the last item of festival by praying to U Shillong, when the Chief of Ryngjah clan also followed in the same way for seeking the blessings of their Chief deity.

This brought the ritual to an end performed at the residence of *Siem*. The five pieces of goat's and pig's meat offered to their five ancestors, were then handed over to the in-charge of the five units considered as somewhat higher in their State organisation. They distributed them at a suitable place in their unit, making a feast as a sort of public declaration of the completion of their greatest festival for the year.

DANCING

535 Besides the ritual described above, dance with the accompaniment of music
796 formed an important aspect of this festival. A dance known as *and-ryngkah*
had been a regular feature for the first, second, third and fifth day. This dance
[533] has some interesting features. It has to be performed in pairs. The first
pair was constituted by Chief priest and the Chief musician. Second to fifth pair was left between the Seniors of the right units after which *Siem* along with an official of his council constituted the sixth pair. The subsequent pairs were formed by any two persons from the gathering. They danced only after bowing first before the Oak pillar (*Rinbah*), then to *Siem* on the fifth day. This pairing was then not adhered to on completion of the last rite of the festival.

A solo type of dance (*ka nad mantieh*) was then performed in the courtyard by the musicians as well as by the professional dancers (*nongshad*) with drums and *dy-kroch* in the afternoon of the third day. The dance was always
[291] held in pairs first by musicians, and then dancers, who danced their traditional
[301] dress consisting of silk turban (*Iaimpong*) decorated with feathers, coloured sleeveless coat (*Iymphong*) silver chains and coral necklaces. Later on they joined the procession, that went to the adjacent hill where after the completion of the ceremony of goat killing, a group dance was performed returning to the residence of *Siem* ultimately.

This dance (*nad-mukjor*) was performed by the Siems family. It was held early in the morning of the fourth day in the central hall (*Shlur*) and also
[291] in the courtyard. The men put on their normal dress whereas the women
[301] dressed themselves with gold and silver crown (*passejat*), numerous silver ornaments and different coloured blouse. They dressed and braided the hairs into a knot just at the nape. The High Priestess who also danced with
[302] the members of the Siems' family, stood in the middle of the line and chief musician stood at one end. They hold each other in hand and danced round the fire-place of the central hall (*Shlur*) in anti-clock-wise direction in accompaniment of music. The people assembled there, gave vent to their feeling in their customary way every time, before they resumed to make it three times. Similar performance of dances were also held in the courtyard.

17: Bancrjee E-5 (1955) 1962 AR7 Khasi AR7
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Then followed the dance of the girls (*Ki shad k yeiksi*) who were also wearing dress as described above. They kept their eyes down, keeping their arms on their sides taking such a short steps with the music, that the movement of the feet were hardly perceptable. The boys were also in their dancing dress as worn by *nongshad* and danced with fly-brush round the girls making their steps with the beatings of the drums. The music started from the morning would be stopped only after completion of the dance which prolonged till evening. These functions served as a good source of amusement to the people, enabling them to have a good diversion from their monotonous life with an opportunity to meet their friends and relations who assembled there from different parts of the hill.

535 (534)

DISCUSSION

From the fore-going description, it is evident that the Khasi live in a democratic set up in which the secular duties are entrusted to the *Siem*. A different rule is followed in the case of religious festivals. Every Khasi family entrusts the sacredotal work of the house to the youngest daughter. The *Siem's* sister (Siem Sod) being the senior member of his mother's clan, is made responsible for the observance of these ceremonies which concerns the welfare of the subjects. The people attend the festival to seek blessings of their supreme deity U Shillong and their presence in the Siem's residence indicates their loyalty to him. The rituals of the festival, instead of being performed by her (High Priestess), were conducted by the Chief Priest (Sob blei) for which he was allotted a very important position in the celebration. The musicians were given similar status owing to the belief in the sacredness of their music. It ought to be played in proper tunes otherwise the displeasure of the deity would fall on them on finding any slight departure in this respect. For this reason, the music is considered as important as the rituals and the role of musicians were consequently given due recognition at every stage of the festival. The tradition of depositing one pounce of Nongrong (bin to sacrifice the goat at the top of the hill was followed on account of their ancestors having carried out in olden times the profession of *sala-lawang* (body guard) to the *Siem*. Another pounce of khadhumsa (bin was also asked to carry the head of the sacrificial animal from the hill to the residence of the *Siem* after the worship, as his predecessors were *gatik* in ancient times during the period of their exploits in the Mara. Such evidence were found expressed in a symbolic way through their ceremonies.

182 64 796 (593) 182

The most important concern of the people was to maintain their wish of living together with their property and other means of subsistence. They worshipped him so that he might prevent the evil spirit from doing any harm and may in addition grant them bumper crops. To be recipient of such a favour, they approached their God U Shillong with gifts and prayers. It is not easy whether he is considered as one of their defined ancestors but his important position in the Khasi pantheon enabled him to have some priority in their worship. The offering of and-ewek together with a yellow goat, moreover, revealed his amiable and benevolent nature as the malignant even got appreciation invariably with black colours. U Shillong was invoked simultaneously with other dead ancestors, with this hope, that all the deities would pool their supernatural strength in fighting the evil spirits before the latter were able to move any harm to their crops or to subsist in any way the fertility of their fields.

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It would be interesting to refer here about the preservation of nine pieces of meat from various parts of the sacrificial animal. It may be a case of appeasement by serving him with some food but there seems to be something

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796 magical in such gifts. The Khasi deities being souls of departed members,
782 are anthropomorphic in nature, have all the qualities of an ordinary human
769 being. The worshippers believe that the deities may also loose their strength
776 in course of time which can be augmented only by offering suitable sacrifices.
182 They presented pieces of meat to transfer to them the supernatural "power" which are concentrated or lodged in those regions of the sacrificial animal, from where they were taken out. It is a case of reciprocal help between the deity and the devotee so that on attaining their normal strength, they would fulfil their request.

796 The Khasi people while participating in the celebration gave vent to their
769 emotion through their traditional cries. It could not be definitely established
182 whether these were any indication of frightening the evil spirits but on the other hand, those were intended to cheer the *Siem*, musicians, and the respective units taking parts in the celebration. The musicians on another occasion, were round the altar three times on reaching the top of the hill. The members of the *Siem's* house similarly performed a sacred dance round the
(699) (801) fire place of central hall (*Shiar*) to the same number of times. This odd number of three seemed to be an auspicious one. The exact cause for such a reverential attitude to this figure may be to pay respect to their primal ancestress (Ka Iawbei), her husband (U Thawlang) and her brother, *i.e.*, first maternal uncle (U Suidna) who are considered highest amongst all the Khasi deities.

796 The dancing is generally taken as secular part of religious function, but the
535 Khasi people considered them (except the last one) as sacred for the reason
182 that it is one of their methods of propitiating their deity. The people at times, ascribe certain meanings to them to rationalise their thinking. The dancing invariably put the participants into ecstacy to enable them to be in communion with their supernatural beings, yet these are interpreted as a device to control the spirits inspite of its calm and quiet nature. The people even then enjoyed them with this hope that these would prevent the intruding spirits from spreading diseases. Owing to the fixation of the dates of the function at the time of sowing period, the dance of the unmarried girls may have some bearing on the promotion of fertility of the soil. The custom of allowing Khasi boys to dance round the spinsters with fly-flap in one of their hands may be to protect them from the influence of the evil spirits.

The heads of the various units adhered to the official precedence strictly before they allowed a common man to take part in the dancing. The custom of allowing two officials to dance, at a time, was in recognition to their equal status. It had become a practice to follow at every stage of their function. The presence of all the incharge of the Siemship were essential to secure the blessings of their deity on behalf of his subjects whom they represent in official capacity in the festival. This is a suitable mechanism to foster unity and solidarity among the people of the different units which is the main aim of this celebration. This was found to be so when Khasi people from all parts of State were seen witnessing the dancing of the unmarried girls. The informant on being asked to state the reason of permitting the spinsters only in this dance, came out with an interesting fact about the ancient Khasi tradition. The dance used to offer at one time, an opportunity to the youngmen of the Royal families in selecting their brides. A betel leaf with a nut were usually thrown at a girl and the men going round them, remained as witness of the incident. This explanation received some support from the frequent utterances (*rong-rong*) by the public, expressing a desire to run away with a girl dancing with graceful style.

796 The celebration can be taken up as a solidarity rite. The performance is
182 all the more essential for the purpose of security without which the people

17: Banerjee E-5 (1955) 1962 AR7 Khasi AR7
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could not be in a position to divert their attention to the problems of basic amenities and other necessaries in their life. This is expressed through rituals which are maintained through tradition and transmitted from generation to generation. A proper performance of the ritual ensures prosperity. 796 182

The maternal uncle occupies a very important position in the social life of the Khasi community. He acts as a manager of the family and his opinion is always sought for in any matter of social implications. He is thus honoured and respected by all the members of the house. In spite of the matrilineal set up of their society, the men are given honourable position in the affairs of the family. Their role has been given due recognition in their various customs and rites. The uncle (mother's brother) as also husbands in some exceptional cases, are always remembered by the living members of the house for their wisdom and sagacity. They are thus deified and are prayed by them to bestow all possible help to tide over their period of crisis. The Khasi pantheons to whom the people in general pay due reverence, are considered to have led similar life as prevalent in their present society. Thus the various rites and ceremonies that are observed, expressing clearly the duties, nature and obligations for these deities, are simply a reflection of the Khasi way of life. The general pattern of social structure has been found to be projected unconsciously through their religious worship and these celebrations are of course of great value to the local inhabitants as it re-informs certain cultural features so characteristic of the tribe. 593 604 182 769 796 182

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10: Gedenk-Bestem G-3 (ca. 1072) 1075 AB 7
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Khasi AD?

[p 37]

Previous Views on the Khasi Group. Monograph of the Khasi Hills, Tavoys. By Major H. H. Godwin-Austen, F.R.G.S., F.Z.S., &c., Deputy Superintendent Topographical Survey of India. [With Plates ii. and iii.] 800

Having again visited the Khasi Hills since writing my last paper, I am enabled to give some further details regarding their 19 21

only stone monuments. At the village of Nongbah, near Shillong, we to be seen some very striking monoliths; and although they do not come up quite to the length of those at Nongtalang (noticed by Dr. Hooker in his "Himalayan Journals"), yet they are very worthy of being mentioned. They stand on the open spur just above the village, and have been worked out of the beds of the Shillong sandstone series, and some of the smaller blocks have been taken from the conglomerate beds, the lowest in the series and which crop in, in the bed of the nullah, to the south of the spur. There are a number of monuments on this site, large and small, arranged both in line and on two sides of a square; the two largest have their central monoliths—height, 21 ft. 7 in.; width, 4 ft. 6 in.; thickness, 7 in.; and height, 21 ft. 4 in.; width, 3 ft. 7 in.; thickness, 1 ft., respectively.

There is, which is taken from a photograph by Mr. William Roberts, Assistant Surveyor in the Khasi Hills survey party, gives an excellent idea of the second largest structure, showing the very massive lakatoor, the "Kiad Kyrkat," in front. This structure consisted of thirteen upright stones, which could not all be brought into the field of the camera; but the six outside stones on the right are shown. Many of the slabs in the adjacent monuments have been overthrown and broken quite recently, perhaps by Sepoys and camp followers from the military station close by. At one time a mountain battery of European Artillery was quartered there, and I attribute the overthrow of so many of the stones in the neighbourhood to their handiwork, who would look on such monuments as a "great lark." The Sepoy (native of India) is not of a very mischievous disposition; the European and half-European (non-commissioned) is decidedly so. Thus the monument with the highest stone is impossible, and it must, when perfect, have been a very handsome one. This is a sad pity, after the time and labour that must have been expended in its erection.

I did not discover any new slabs anywhere in the immediate vicinity, possibly "Nongpoh" is merely an absolutely very strong position, and old lines of fortification are to be traced on many sides, especially on the approach from the direction of the Falls of the Umiam. These old lines of defence are on a curious system; a ditch and bank have been carried forward from the main defences from 200 to 300 yards down the ridge of the spur, thus effectually preventing an enemy working round the hill side below the village.

This fortified site points to a state of things in these hills when the relations between the large village communities or

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slave were very much so as to find them at the present day among the Naga and Kukis, beyond and bordering our present extreme limits, viz. that of constant feud. They are now the quietest, most peaceful, and contented of all the hill people on the eastern frontier.

In my former paper I did not allude to the caves in these hills, which I am inclined to think are works of greater age than the stone structures. The custom is one that certainly has long since been given up, for I could not obtain any satisfactory account of them. They are only to be seen on the northern side of the Khasi plateau, and Dr. Hooker, in his account of his trips to the Kollong Rock, did not fail to notice them. About Barung and towards Jowpitoo they are very numerous, and always stand on commanding situations. On the path leading down the grassy spur to the stone monuments previously described, near Jowpitoo, is a very fine large example of a cave, about eight feet high. They are usually plain hemispherical mounds of earth; but this one is faced all round on the base with slabs of stone about four feet high; they are frequently not higher than six feet. A distant view is shown in Plate iii.

Nowhere in these are trees of the earth that forms them having been excavated close by; it must, therefore, have been carried in some short distance, to avoid unsightly hollows near the structure. I should much like to have dug into one of these caves, but was afraid to hurt the feelings of the people by doing so. They are very probably sincerely of an earlier form in those now made of stone, and this point it might be interesting to clear up.

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Beyond the Khasi area no caves are to be found, at least I had never come across any until visiting North Manipur last winter (1872–73), where, at the head of the Imphal river, on the direct road from Sonapoorjing, are four fine caves, all faced with large boulders. They are old, and the Naga now living in the village near said they had been made by another clan of Naga, who long ago had gone further north, and the site of which village is to be seen, very similar to ours, in Kohima.

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[illegible] refers to the different forms of the cemetery in the Khasi Hills; but he has not quite exhausted the subject, or gone further than I did, although with regard to the disposal of the ashes of the dead he gives some further interesting particulars.

As I think that drawings are of very great interest, and better exhibit the many different forms of bone depository or cemetery that have been adopted at different periods by tribes inhabiting localities very far apart, and often quite unconnected ethnically,

10: Godwin-Austen G-3 (c.c. 1872) 1875 AR 7
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Later a sketch of a form of cemetery meriting attention, and not hitherto noticed (Plate iii.). Several of this form may be seen on a low spur near the Dome of Jubilee at Shillong. The cemetery is above ground, and stands on a slightly raised platform. It consists of four thick stones, about three feet high, set on edge, and capped with a heavy top-stone; and, so far, it resembles the usual form, a figure of which is given in my first paper.* The approach to all these depositories is from the outward by several low steps, and the whole structure is enclosed on three sides by large flat slabs (in the rough) standing on end—the largest being placed round the cemetery (well overtopping it by three to four feet, and the remainder, three-fourths thereof in size, stand on either side of the steps. There are about six such monuments along the edge of the spur, and I have seen no others similar elsewhere. They have been broken into, and the first stone removed, very probably by some followers from our regimental lines, which is close by. There is thus a double probability of their ultimate destruction altogether, should the entire be extended to that direction.

Explanation of Plates II. and III.

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Plate II.—View of megalithic monuments at Bongthai, near Shillong, Khasi Hills. *From a photograph taken by Mr. W. Ickes.*

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Plate III.—View of rude stone cemetery and approach, at Shillong, Khasi Hills, with cairn in the distance: *by the author.*

Discussion.

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The President said that the paper of Lieut. de Crespigny on the Minyongs of Burma, contained a great deal of extremely interesting information, especially in relation to their religious customs, the author hoping, attempted to connect the Minyongs with the inhabitants of Thibet, through the similarity of their religious beliefs. He (the President) did not venture to express any opinion on the point, but believing any opinion to be worthy, he thought, however, that, as a general rule, evidence of identity of race, derived from the comparison of the religious of savages, must be received with caution, especially in the absence of any information as to physical resemblance. The attention that is devoted to religion arises from the interest that is taken in the subject, rather than from the value of the evidence it affords of connection with other peoples. There must always be a great liability to error in the attempts of the religious customs of savages. Inquiries into the resemblance of the arts of different people, about which there could be no mistake, were, he thought,

* Feat Mag for, 1875.

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From Indian ink by [illegible]

STONE MONUMENTS OLDE BUILDING, [illegible] ISLE

18: Godwin-Austen G-3 (ca. 1972) 1975 AR?
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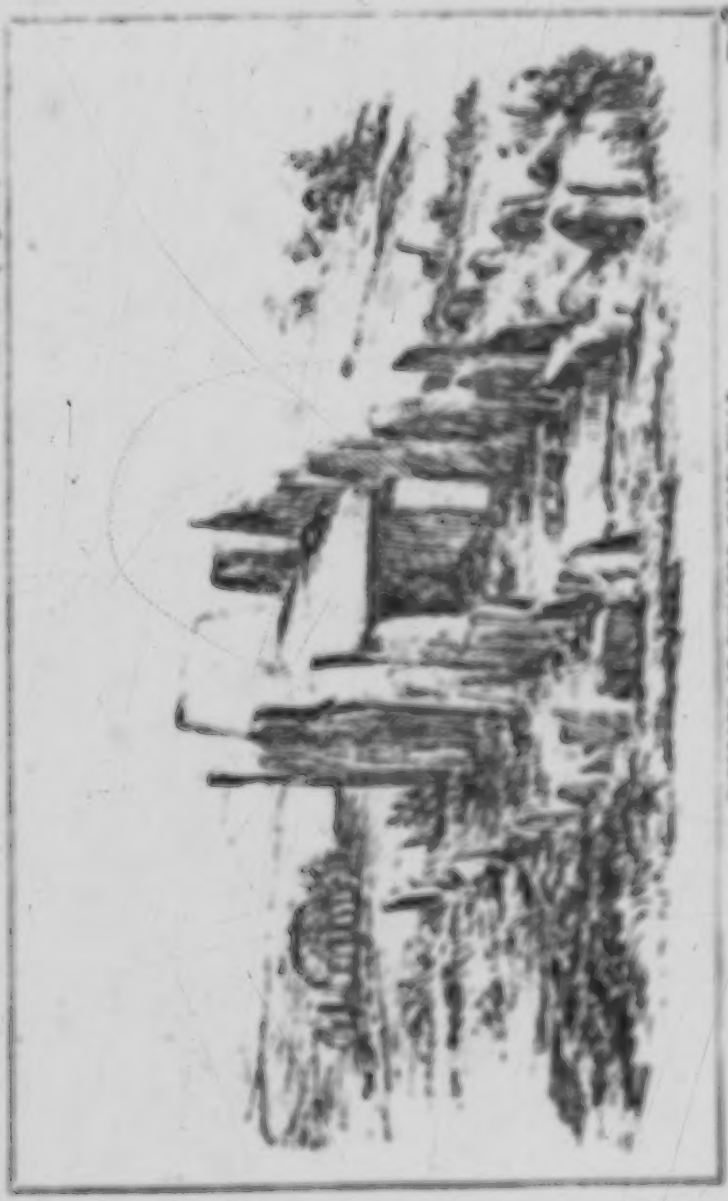
[P. 40-8]



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DISCOVERY OF BRIGHTON, GOOD WILLS

18: Gowin-Austen G-3 (ca. 1872) 1875 AR7
Khasi AR7

of more scientific value; and the conclusions given by the author in this paper will, no doubt, be found of great use to comparative philologists. It is hoped that the Institute would be favoured with some fuller information on the races of Borneo from Lieut. de Crespigny.

With regard to the paper by Major Godwin-Austen, he (the President) must say his communications were always welcome to the Institute. He wished that a more detailed account had been given of the monument referred to. There appears to have been a great camp-building period in the life of most races, when neighbouring tribes are constantly at war, and each had its stronghold in case of attack. Such camps are conspicuous amongst the antiquities of nearly all parts of the world, and a comparison of the different styles of defence adopted, when viewed by the knowledge of the art of communication which we possess, affords reliable evidence of physical connections. In the early British camps of this country head never saw any evidence of the use of flanking defence excepted the entrance; but the description given by Major Austen's this earthwork appeared to indicate that something of the kind was known to these people.

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[For information on the stone monuments of the Khasi hill tribes see also categories 211 and 764, specifically in regard to sources 9: Godwin-Austen and 18: Godwin-Austen.]

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REPORT ON RURAL ECONOMIC SURVEY IN UNITED K. & J. HILLS.

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REPORT ON RURAL ECONOMIC SURVEY IN UNITED KHASI-JAINTIA HILLS.

CHAPTER I

Introduction

1.1 **Objective.**—Consequent upon restrictions on trade merging in the border marches after partition, the economic conditions of the people living in the border areas of the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills district adjoining East Pakistan, suffered a serious set back. There was demand from the people all over the border areas for adequate relief as well as rehabilitation of their shattered economy. From time to time Government took up various relief measures but, for adopting a planned programme of relief and rehabilitation in an integrated and sustained manner, the need for a comprehensive economic survey of the district with special emphasis on the border areas, came to the forefront. Accordingly at the instance of Government of Assam, the Department of Economics and Statistics addressed itself to the task of launching an economic survey in the district.

The programme consisted of an intensive study of the conditions in selected villages and was designed to meet the following objectives:— (i) To obtain a broad picture of the rural economic conditions in the district and in particular, to provide factual data on the various aspects of agriculture and farm economics, *e.g.*, land tenure, size and distribution of agricultural holdings and farms, fragmentation, income and expenditure, indebtedness and the like. Data should be collected also on the occupations and industries which play subsidiary roles in the economy of the district. (ii) Special emphasis need be given on border areas, in order to bring to light the measure of suffering of the border people as a result of partition and to suggest various long and short term measures for ameliorating the condition of the border people. (iii) The survey should adequately cover the Community Development areas also in order that it becomes possible to make an assessment of the impact of the community development programmes on the socio-economic life of the people in these areas.

1.2 **Coverage and Period.**—The field work of the survey was started on 23rd February, 1958 and was completed by the middle of July, 1958 thus requiring nearly four and a half months.

1.3 **Design of the Survey.**—For a study of border economy a purposive selection of ten villages in the border area, which were known to be important from the point of view of production and distribution trade in pre-partition days was made. Similarly for Project area a total of eight villages two from each of the four blocks in the district where intensive development programmes were taken up, were selected. These villages were selected by the Project Officers themselves. Apart from these, a random sample of ten villages from all over the district were taken. Thus a total of 28 villages all over district—10 from border area, 8 from project area and 10 from general sample were selected for

12 654 investigation. The sample size of ten villages only out of a total 1887 villages in the general area of the district is indeed, very small, which nevertheless had to be resorted to commensurate with the availability of time and field staff at our disposal and in consideration of the difficulty of conducting field work in the remote interior of a hill state in, where communication facilities lack so badly.

1.6 Plan of Investigation.—Plan of investigation may be considered as consisting of two parts viz.—

(1) The general investigation was confined mainly to six border area. This consisted in holding meeting of villagers in the selected villages, discussing the various important problems facing them and recording their suggestions for improving their lot. Apart from meeting the villagers, problems were also discussed with the important people of the locality.

Schedules—Schedule I.—This schedule was meant for collection of village statistics relating to various facilities offered by the village, namely—communication, health, sanitation, education, marketing, cottage industries and the like.

Schedule II.—This was the most important schedule for collection of information on the economic aspect of the families. This was canvassed in all the families of the selected villages. The most important item on which information were collected through this schedule were :—

Block V: Demographic particulars of household, occupational and employment patterns.

Block VI: Household indebtedness.

Block VII: Land holding and farm.

Block VIII & IX: Implements and Livestock.

Block X & XI: Household expenditure.

Block XII: Receipts and disbursement of the household.

Schedule III—Listing of household and occupation.

Special Schedule.—This was canvassed in all the households of the villages selected from Community Project areas. This was intended to collect information on adoption by households of various improved agricultural practices advocated through the Community Development programme and for assessment of the extent of public participation and co-operation in developmental works. Information was also collected on agricultural extension received by households.

1.5 Method of collection of data and field organisation.—For the collection of data personal interview method was adopted. Actual investigation in the villages was done by Inspectors and Primary Investigators of the Department of Economics and Statistics. The District Statistical Officer was put directly in-charge of the investigation. He maintained general supervision, direction and control of their day-to-day work. The officers in headquarters also exercised overall supervision and inspection. Before starting the actual field work, the Director of Statistics, apart from personally visiting the border area and selecting the villages for investigation in consultation with knowledgeable people of the locality, addressed letters to the District Council for rendering all necessary help who in turn instructed all the Members of the District Council and village Sirdars to extend their co-operation to the field staff. We take the opportunity of recording here our deep appreciation of the valuable help we received from various officials and non-officials in the conduct of the survey.

It is obvious that the success of such a survey under specially difficult situations lived in the inaccessible and backward hilly areas, entirely depends on the intellectual honesty and technical efficiency of the field staff as well as on their ability to call up the required sense of co-operation from all concerned. Though we could reasonably claim a high standard as regards the former category of requirement, the latter nevertheless presented itself as a tremendously difficult task as, the villagers—almost free from any tax or other obligation to the government—could not but receive this work with feelings of suspicion and resented it as a device to buy some taxes or other by the government, in as much as it did involve some questions relating to land, income and expenditure, etc. It was at a large measure of effort to keep the level of suspicion at bay. We had to hold sittings in each village and devote considerable time to convince the people that this was in no way connected with any taxation scheme.

1.6 Interim Report.—In view of the urgency of the border problem, particularly the setting up of Border Rehabilitation Committee for suggesting ways and means for rehabilitation of the border economy, we learned to submit an interim report on border economy to the government on the basis of investigation conducted only in few border villages in April, 1958.

CHAPTER II

General Features of the District

128 2.1 In this chapter a brief note on the geography, population and economy of the district is given in order to provide a perspective and make the report self contained.

129 2.2 Relief.—The whole of the district is composed of hill ranges. On the northern and western border these hills take the form of parallel ranges which run for the most part north and south and have a general height of one to three thousand feet. None of the hills in the central and southern portions of the district has anything really or precipitous about them. Their sides are covered with short grass and from one direction or another, they can generally be accounted by a man on horseback. There is a high plateau in the centre of the district, the general level of which is not much below 6000 feet though it decreases in height towards east and west.

2.3 Rivers.—The high plateau that occupies the centre of the district is the watershed of the hills. The following are the principal rivers. On the west there is the Jaldhaka or Kynshi river, further east come the Um Manda and the Bogapani which fall into the Surma. The Umngot or Mahabhali, known as the Pylon Gang in the plains of Sylhet, forms for a considerable distance the boundary of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills. On the north the principal rivers are Kaichi, the Dhanu and Umiam. Further west comes the Umkhen, Um Myntang and the Myntang. All these rivers possess the characteristics usually associated with hill streams. The beds are rocky and gravelly, the currents swift and after heavy rains even small streams come down in spate. The rivers of the district are not used for traffic to any appreciable extent.

135 2.4 Minerals.—The Geological products of economic value are lime and coal. From the earliest days of British rule, the lime quarries of Khasi Hills formed one of the principal attractions of Sylhet, drawing a large number of Europeans to that district. The lime quarries are situated all along the southern face of the hills. Coal is found both in the cretaceous and nummulitic formations. The largest deposits of nummulitic coal are found at Cherrapunjee, Laitryngew, Mawsynram, Jowai, Sutnga, Mawphlang, Mawsynram, Lalabung and Nongpoh. Cretaceous coal is found in Mookhlikar, Borsora, Wapung Lankyrow and in the Langrin field.

137 2.5 Forests.—The district exhibits a varied flora reflecting the variations in the physical features, configuration of the ground, edaphic factors and climatic gradient. In the pine zone covering area between 3000-4000' elevation are found the pines, birch, alnus, oak, beech, etc. The evergreen hardwood zone, which forms belt along the foothills contains useful hardwood species of which the most important species are sal, sadar, chum, chap, gamari, etc. The dry grass belt covering the lower zones roughly between 500'-2000' elevation from the level ground for grazing.

Until now the main sources of forest revenue in the district are timber, firewood, lac, bay leaf and elephants. 13

2. Agriculture.—The greater proportion of population of the district work on agriculture. The staple crops raised in the district are wet and dry rice, various kinds of millets, maize, potatoes, pineapples, oranges, arecanut, betel-leaf and bay leaf. To a smaller extent they grow in the gardens round their houses vegetables, pulses and occasionally sugarcane. 24

2.1 **The main crops : Rice.**—While wet rice is grown in the valleys with which the hills are intersected, dry rice is grown on the hill sides. Highland rice is seldom grown twice running on the same spot for after one crop the soil is exhausted and a fallow period of four to five years is usually allowed. Jowai subdivision is predominantly a wet rice producing area. In Shillong subdivision main wet rice pockets are the Khoi area stretching upto the sung valley and the northern portion of the plateau, the Mylliem state, the south-western portion of the district and the southern plain portion of the district adjoining East Pakistan. Dry rice is grown more or less through out the district. While Jowai subdivision can claim self sufficiency in rice, Shillong subdivision is a deficit area and the people in this subdivision particularly those in the southern portion (border area) of the district have to depend on supplies from outside. Though there is no reliable statistics of the area under rice, a rough estimate is given elsewhere in the land utilisation table. 243

Maize and millet.—The two important food crops of the district grown more or less throughout the district.

Potatoes are extensively grown in the higher slopes and in the lower land which are well drained. Generally two crops of potatoes are raised annually in the district. In respect of production and export of potato this district occupies the topmost position in the State of Assam. 244

Oranges, betel leaf and arecanut are most extensively grown in the southern base of the hills, *i.e.* all over the border areas. Oranges are also grown in Borsillat areas, in the northern portion of the district. Orange and betelnut plantations extend from the foot of the hills to a height of about 1500 feet and are carried up the ravines which score the southern face of the high plateau. The district is an important producer of Bay-leaf which is abundantly found in the border areas of the district. Other valuable cash crops of the district are black pepper, turmeric, chillies, ginger, pineapple and various other fruits. 245

2.2 **Agricultural seasons.**—For wet rice, the lands which are naturally irrigated by virtue of their very location, are ploughed or hoed by about the middle of February and seed sown in May or June. Harvesting takes place in October and November. For dry rice, the land is hoed by about the middle of September, the solds are collected into little heaps and burnt and by February the land is again hoed up and the seed sown in April - May. Harvesting goes 243

243 on from October to December. For millets the seed is sown in April-May and reaped about six months later. Maize is usually sown in 244 April-May and ripens in August-September. For potato, generally three crops are raised in the district; the first is sown in December-January and harvested in April-May, the second is sown in February-March and is gathered in June-July and the third is sown in July-August and is harvested in November-December.

245 For oranges and betelnut the orchards are cleaned of weeds twice a year. Harvesting of orange takes place from October to January. Betelnut ripens at the beginning of the year and are collected between February and May.

241 2.6.3 **Agricultural implements.**—The usual agricultural implements are a hoe, a sickle, three or four kinds of dao, a harrow, a cleaner which is used for the construction of irrigation channels, sieves and winnowing baskets. Bullock drawn plough is used in wet paddy cultivation in parts of Jowai subdivision and in Bhoi area and rotavator the use is in use in the plains of the State.

2. 6. 4. **General cultural practices.**—The cultivators mostly adhere to their indigenous practices of cultivation. Rotation of crops is not widely used. Cultivation of rice is usually done by broadcasting the seeds though transplanting is also in vogue in some areas. Mixed cropping is widely practised. Cultivation by making terraces in the hill slopes is gaining popularity in the district.

233 2.7 **Cottage Industries.**—Cottage Industries, it appears, have not 326 found very great favour among the people of the district. A few 322 families here and there manufacture iron implements, earthenware, 185 pottery, baskets, mats and jewellery. In striking contrast with other 308 districts weaving of cotton clothes is rare among the Khasis. The 286 Mikirs in Bhoi area and in areas adjoining North Cachar and Mikir 171 Hills practice it only for their domestic consumption. At present, the 654 Government is trying to popularise weaving in the district and this 231 has been welcomed by the Khasis. Among other cottage industries production of eri cocoon in the northern part of the district adjoining Kamrup district and bee keeping throughout the district are worth mentioning.

142 2.8 **The People.**—The Khasis and Jaintias are a short sturdy 197 race distinct from the neighbouring hill tribes. By nature they are 44 hardy and laborious and in respect of manual labour, they are free 563 from any inhibition. Side by side with the Khasis live the Mikirs, Garos and Nepalis who form respectively 7.32 percent, 3.38 percent and 7.07 per cent of the total rural population. Besides, there are plains people who are mainly concentrated in the town of Shillong. In the marketing centres of the border area there are a large number of Bengali Hindus who dominate the bulk of the trade in the border areas.

241 2.9 **Occupation.**—The greater portion of the population of the 232 district subsists on cultivation. More than 75 percent of the rural 246 households are predominantly agricultural. The industrious Khasi agriculturists males and females have a high regard for hard labour

[illegible]

and even the well to do even do not feel anything to work as labourers in other's farms. It is almost customary among the agriculturists to work in other's farms on wage basis, when agricultural operations in one's own farm are over. This is probably an outcome of the difficult economic situation. Among the non-agriculturists a few, those who follow agriculture as subsidiary occupation, a large number of persons and labourers engaged in jobs like transporting of goods from place to place, collection of bamboos, wood, fuel etc. Cultivators and farmers of the district also offer employment to a good number of people. Since the taking up of road programme under the plan, a large number of people are getting employment in construction of roads, etc. It is heartening to note that for conservation of roads, use for all kinds of works demanding unskilled labourers, the district fully serves the whole labour force. People in the various local pockets of the district, particularly those living in higher hills are mainly engaged in trade. The tribals are indefatigable traders and hawkers side by side with the whole of the small trade in the district in their own hands. A small proportion of the people are engaged in cottage industries such as mat cutting, brick making, bee keeping, blacksmiths, [illegible] and furniture works, etc.

The number of persons enumerated in the 1951 census under each of the eight main livelihood classes for the rural area of the district was as follows.

TABLE 1

Division of Persons (Census 1951 Census)

Class	Male	Female	Total	P.C.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
A. Agricultural classes—				
1. Cultivators of land wholly or mainly owned and their dependants	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
2. Cultivators of land wholly or mainly unowned and their dependants	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
3. Cultivating labourers and their dependants	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
4. Non-cultivating owners of land, agricultural rent receivers and their dependants	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Sub-total	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
B. Non-agricultural classes—				
1. Production other than cultivation	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
2. Commerce	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
3. Transport	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
4. Other services and miscellaneous sources	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Sub-total	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	...	...	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible] 3.11 **Labour and Wages.** It has already been mentioned above that a large number of people subsist on labour—agricultural as well as non-agricultural. Owners of big orchards employ labourers for clearing of their orchards twice or thrice a year, ploughing and manuring to produce to crop. Fields cultivated with large farms require labourers for ploughing and hoeing of fields, sowing, harvesting and threshing of paddy. It should be mentioned that due to the peculiar agricultural practice prevalent in the district, the input of labour cost for paddy cultivation is higher than that in any of the other districts of the State, which compare unfavourably to the labour cost for small paddy fields. In the case of cash crops, wages are usually paid in cash and for food crops it is paid in cash and kind more usually in kind. Wage rates for males and females are different which generally vary from Rs.0.50 to 1.25 for males and Rs.0.25 to Rs.0.50 for females.

There are however, numerous instances of engaging agricultural labourers at the rate of Rs.0.50 per day. During the busiest months the cultivators farmers advance loans to the poorer section of the people on condition that repayment will have to be made by rendering labour on wage basis at the rate of Rs.0.50 per day in the cultivators farms whenever their services are demanded. Thus whenever their services are demanded the poor people have to work in cultivator's farm even at the cost of ruining their own cultivation.

There are other instances where the labourers are paid less than usual wages. In some villages where there is density of work of the agricultural labourers gather together at some specified place early in the morning. The cultivators farmers go there and through bargaining manage to reg ge the number of hands they want at very low rates. Similar letting down of wages of non-agricultural labourers is also prevalent whenever demand for labour is very low.

Land utilisation and cropping

[illegible] 3.12 **Land census system.**—The district of Dakshin Kanara is not cadastrally surveyed and so far as land census is concerned, there is no road uniform or regular system work the same, with the exception of those lands under the control of the State Forest Department and the Land Tribunal Council. There are different kinds of land under different systems though for obvious reasons no reliable statistics can be gathered in respect of them. As far as land census system is concerned, there subdivisions in completely different from Shiling subdivisions. However, land in the whole district can be broadly placed under the following categories:

[illegible] 1. **Ryotwari or Private land.**—They are private land belonging to certain class or families but not to an individual according to Ryotwari system. Under Ryotwari system the Revenue Council has got any private land there exists the ryotwari patta to work any dispute that may arise [illegible] any piece of land. The only connection is with the Land Revenue Department in respect of private personal lands who collect royalty from the produce of these lands if they are used for purpose of

lands. Rajas are mostly found in the higher hills region—the area [illegible] [illegible] of the district covering the lower and [illegible] constitute a major portion of the total area of land in Hillang subdivision. In Jowai subdivision private lands are very small in area, only 1,[illegible] acres in total and they are known as 'Raing'.

(i) **Raj Lands.**—They are lands belonging to subjects. It can be said to be a common property which everybody has a right to use of course with necessary permission from 'Village Raj' in respect of Raj lands under the village or from Syiem in respect of Raj lands under the Syiem. In case of Raj lands the land continues to be in possession of one as long as he cultivates them, but as soon as he leaves cultivation it reverts back to the Raj. The land which is known in the official work as unclassed State forests is also Raj land but is under the control of the District Council.

Raj lands are found every where in the district though the major portion is found in Khasi area and in his area the purpose of cultivation permission is given to any Khasi from any part of the district, while elsewhere in the district, this is confined to the local people only.

(ii) **Land under Zamindars.**—In War area in both subdivisions here are some big land holders who are locally known as zamindars. There is no record of the number of such zamindars nor the extent of land held by them. These lands provide suitable sites for cultivation of suitable soil, crops like betelnut, oranges, betelleaf, tapioca and other crops. The party landlords are not at all powerful nor it is necessary to enclose the estate. Generally, the landlord leases out of his land as long were taxes and the rest is either land in use or in land and the rate varies according to the fertility of the soil and other convenience from all points of view. On the average the rent per year is 10% of the produce in case of landlord. Rs. [illegible] per acre of land per annum (usually 5 to 6 years) in case of landlord cultivation and for non public cultivation if the land is very fertile the produce is shared in the ratio 50:50 otherwise 1:3 between the landlord and the tenants. For other crops, generally the rent is negligible or nil.

(iii) Surplus lands under the above main three categories there are also lands which are under control and management of the State Forest Department and the District Council of United K.J.H. Hills.

(a) **Forest reserve under Assam Forest Regulation VII, 1891.**—There are forests belonging to Government under the control of the State Forest Department. These are five numbers in total, three of them are in Hillang subdivision covering a total area [illegible] acres and two in Jowai subdivision covering an area of [illegible] acres. The total area is [illegible] acres, i.e., [illegible] sq. miles.

(b) **Forest reserve under executive orders of Government.**—These forest are also under the control of the same Department reserved for the purpose of beautification, etc. There are only five of them within the Hillang subdivision and around the town of Hillang. The total area covered is [illegible] acres only, i.e., about [illegible] sq. miles.

(i) **Green Blocks**.—These green forests are private forest but preserved and managed by the Department for the purpose of ensuring the source of water supply, etc., for the town of Shillong. They are five in number covering a total area of [illegible] sq. miles and located around the town of Shillong itself.

(ii) **Private protected Forests**.—There are private forests protected by the State Government for the growth of forests, but the owner can use them provided permission is given by the Deputy Commissioner. There are 18 numbers of them scattered here and there throughout the whole of Shillong subdivision only and covering an area of more than [illegible] sq. miles.

V. In Jowai subdivision there are four blocks of land covering a total area of [illegible] sq. miles reserved for sports and games. They are under the control of the State Revenue Department.

VI. **Raj lands of unclassed State Protected Forests**.—This includes the Raj lands under the District Council mentioned in item 3 above. These forests were formerly under the control of the State Forest Department but are now transferred to the District Council. They are scattered throughout the whole of the district and cover an area of more than [illegible] sq. miles. There are altogether 32 numbers of such forests, 30 of them with an area of more than [illegible] sq. miles and one in Shillong subdivision and 32 numbers with an area of [illegible] sq. miles are in Jowai subdivision.

[illegible] **Revenue collected by the District Council (Land Revenue System)**.—(a) In Jowai subdivision all the Raj lands mentioned in item 3 above which have been brought under cut partly cultivation are subjected to payment of annual revenue. The revenue is fixed according to the fertility of the soil. There are three classes—class I full lands, class II half lands and class III half lands, and the revenue varies according to these three classes of lands from Rs. [illegible] to Rs. [illegible] per bigha per year. There are altogether [illegible] plots covering a total area of [illegible] acres. No such revenue rates in Shillong subdivision.

(b) In both subdivisions there are also lands under special settlement accompanied by revenue.

Shillong subdivision.—No annual revenue is collected for the building site only from Sutnelyam village, where there are [illegible] buildings covering a total area of [illegible] acres with a total revenue of Rs. [illegible] per year.

Some pieces of land in Sarchar said by the United Fruit Company covering a total area of [illegible] acres. The revenue collected per year is Rs. [illegible]. A revenue of Rs. [illegible] only per year is collected from real building sites at Nongpo-h station whose area is [illegible] sq. ft.

Jowai subdivision.—An area of [illegible] acres of land in Lalmalong and Sangsiar Dolomite and under orange cultivation is also subjected to payment of annual revenue of Rs. [illegible].

There is another 5000 acres of land in Sulaiburma in the hills (Lakhimpur District) which is under the plantation since preparation period. After partition this area has fallen into India. But as generic though its cultivation is still carried on, the revenue has never been collected or it. It shows the company has given to Sulaiburma.

There are also in Jowai subdivision 75 members of building land (ten, mostly based are to non-Khasi individuals and institutions. They include building for churches, schools, hospitals and training classes, etc. The total area covered is 1000.75 acres with a total revenue of Rs.214.6/- per year. The period of the lease varies from ten plus to twenties.

A part from land revenue, all the houses in Jowai subdivision are subjected to taxation. The rate is fixed at Rs.2 to Rs.4 per year according to the economic condition of the village. In Nongpoh subdivision only 21 Rankadipa which were formerly known as British Dominions have to pay house tax.

2.10 **Land Utilisation.**—The following table gives the area under important crops.

TABLE 2

Kharif rice					8,000	acres.
Maize					6,000	"
Chief cereals					1,000	"
Pulses					10,000	"
Chillies					500	"
Sweet potato					5,000	"
Linseed					100	"
Cotton					50	"
Tobacco					400	"
Arecanut					10,000	"
Orange					20,000	"
Jackfruit					10,000	
		Total			1,10,000	acres.

CHAPTER III

The Border Area

3.1 **Definition of Border Area.**—The term 'border area' although very frequently used does not refer to any well demarcated area. It was, therefore, decided after a joint discussion between the Director of Statistics with the Deputy Commissioner of the district and Subdivisional Officer, Jowai, that area within 20 miles of the India-Pak border line would be considered as the 'border area' for the purpose of the present survey. The list of the villages falling in the area was supplied by the Deputy Commissioner and the Subdivisional Officer.

3.2 **Conditions of the Border Area before partition.**—The border area under review thus comprised of the southern slopes of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills and a narrow strip of plains adjoining the southern slopes running along the Pakistan border. The area extends between only over a length of about 120 miles, roughly from Mahadeb on the east to Sonapur on the west thus covering an area of 2,800 sq. miles approximately, comprising of 600 villages inhabited by population of 70 thousands.

3.3 During the harvest and early rainy plantations the slopes are utilized for the production of valuable cash crops on massive scale. These slopes provide suitable soil and climate for the production crops like arecanut, singpha, betelnut, oranges, pineapples and other fruits. On account of rich profits which such plantations give to the cultivators these slopes were more densely inhabited and intensively cultivated than would appear possible from the topography of the area. Even the most inaccessible spots in the slopes has been converted into rich orchards, otherwise the produce was carried by headloads over steep gradients for several miles. Due to steep gradients little other use, except some farming here and there, could be made of this area.

3.4 Because of the very topography, this land had no natural connection with Sylhet district now forming part of East Pakistan. From man immemorial the area had a flourishing trade with Sylhet district. It was a venous trade. The cash crops found super known in the markets of Sylhet, from where in turn the people in the border area obtained supplies of rice, fish, vegetables and other necessities of daily life. This in generation days that enjoyed a very prosperous and also that economy. The cash heritage in the border area villages which are now forming area, bear eloquent testimony to the past prosperous of the border economy.

3.5 With the partition of the country in 1947, trade with the plains of Sylhet, now forming part of East Pakistan, was removed. As a result the whole economy of this region was completely disrupted and the commerce which was flourished with activity and abundance was overshadowed with sorrow, poverty and despair. All the cash crop marketing of the border people for the market in East Pakistan area. For want of communication facilities the produce could not be

transported to other parts of Indian Union. The prices of some of the food crops recorded a disproportionate fall as mentioned below. The price of orange which ruled at Rs. [illegible] to Rs. [illegible] per lot [illegible] fell down to Rs. [illegible] to Rs. [illegible] per lot, that of local rice which used to sell at Rs. [illegible] to Rs. [illegible] per lot [illegible] fell down to Rs. [illegible] to Rs. [illegible] per lot. Tomato and other fruits also suffered equally. The sense of all was that even at this rock bottom price the produce was not lifted. The following figures quoted from the representation submitted to the Prime Minister by the Border Peoples Association which are claimed to have been collected from individual growers are indicative of the extent to which the border traders suffered after partition.

TABLE 6.1

Amount exported from United Khasi & Jaintia Hills to Eastern Bengal before and after partition

(In thousand rupees)

Items	Pre-partition exports	Post-partition exports				
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
1. Oranges	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
2. Pineapples	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
3. Tangerine	[illegible]	[illegible]				
4. Vegetables	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
5. Arecanuts	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
6. Betel	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
7. Betelleaves	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
8. Bamboo, cane, timber, etc.		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
9. Spices, turmeric, chillies, pepper	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
10. Fruits, flowers, plants, pine-apples, jackfruits, peels and grapes	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
11. Lemons	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

The difficulty of getting adequate supply of foodgrains and other commodities of daily life posed a serious problem. Due to communication difficulties arrangements for adequate supply of rice commodities from other parts of Indian Union could not be made. The supply from

[illegible] East Pakistan to which the people in the border area were entitled in the strength of various trade agreements of the Government of India with the authorities in Pakistan, were also scanty. The situation was still more aggravated due to the stringent measures adopted by authorities in Pakistan, on the plea of prevention of smuggling, in Dhaka, Bhiy where the entire border trade actually came to a standstill.

[illegible] This stress in border economy has resulted in widespread unemployment among the border people. There being no market for the product, the owners ceased to take proper care of their orchards and plantations. As a result thousands of labourers who were employed in the orchards were thrown out of employment. Similar was the condition of those who were employed in the transportation of various commodities such as merchandise of trade etc. A large section of the people engaged in collection of firewood were also rendered unemployed with the set back received by the trade in timber with East Pakistan. Due to stoppage of cross-border trade, petty traders engaged in distributive trade also suffered.

[illegible] Many of the border people possessing paddy lands and orchards in areas that are located in Pakistan had to abandon them. The following table will show the amount of land lying in Pakistan belonging to the farmer in the selected villages of border area :—

TABLE A-3

Name of village	Area of land lost through partition		
	No. of families who possessed land in Pakistan	Area (acres)	Average per family (acres)
1. Chungri	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
2. Ghoda	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
3. Shalgaon	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
4. Dalu	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
5. Mandar	[illegible]	—	—
6. Lungkor	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
7. Dawng	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
8. Kuchi	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
9. Amti	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
10. Gorkawng	[illegible]	—	—

[illegible] A few families who did not have any landed income on this side of the border were reported to have migrated to Pakistan. Most of the families are even now paying tax to East Pakistan authorities even though they are not getting any income because they do not want to lose their right on land.

13 **Measures so far taken.**—Since 1947, there has been constant 649
demand from border people for relief and rehabilitation. Government 659
undertook various measures to alleviate their difficulties. Government's
attention to border problem has however, not been adequate. The
common feeling of border people was that whenever the border problem
deteriorated due to some adverse measures adopted by East Pakistan
authorities more attention was attracted, on the other hand, when
the situation eased comparatively the Government's vigilance also
slackened.

The various measures so far adopted by Government in border area,
have been fully discussed and commented upon by the Border
Rehabilitation Committee. These need no repetition here. But a few
points emerging from the measures put forward by the villagers during
our investigation are noted below.

On the question of the scheme linked up with the issue of 178
diversification of agriculture in border area, a large section of the border 241
people skilled in the maintenance and operation of orchards are opposed 633
to the idea of a complete switch over from cash crops to food crops in
the cultivation of which they have no adequate experience. Moreover,
there is the problem of getting adequate land in the vicinity for use
paddy cultivation. Indeed, having lost the market for some of the cash
crops, some cultivators are trying to increase cultivation of paddy and
other suitable crops on their own initiative whenever suitable
land is available. But the problem of getting adequate funds for
reclamation and improvement of land has proved a serious handicap to
them. Financial assistance to the needy and willing cultivators for
reclamation works and taking up of more minor irrigation projects is
very necessary.

As regards Government loans granted to cultivators, people 241
complained that apart from being inadequate they are often untimely. 651
As a result the people, needy as they are, utilize the amount for meeting 659
their day to day consumption expenses.

There have been complaints that various improved seeds supplied
by Government are of very inferior quality leading to waste of time and
money of the poor people. The Department of Agriculture should not
only check the quality of the seeds before issue but should also see that
the seed are properly used by inexperienced cultivators who are newly
taking up cultivation of these crops.

With the opening up of a few vital B. W. D. Roads transport of 487
border products to Shillong and other places has greatly been facilitated 491
but the problem of transporting from farm remote interior to the various 659
local points on B. W. D. roads still remains unsolved. While during
some years these places may be negotiated by a mule on foot up and
down the steep gradients, during rainy season these roads become
slippery, the streams and circlets are non-fordable and it becomes
impossible for a mule to cross them, thus isolating the villages from each
other leading to scarcity of roads and all other activities between villages.
Properly planned rural relief schemes for construction of feeder roads and
bridges linking up these villages will, apart from giving some works to
the people alleviate much of the difficulties of transportation of
agricultural produce.

485 Regarding supply of foodgrains through fair price shops, the position appeared to be unsatisfactory. Complaints were heard from some 687 villagers coming from the interior villages that they were rarely get rice from fair price shops, which are usually allotted to bigger villages, sometimes too far from the villages vagged to it. Even the people of the villages where there were fair price shops, complained that the supply of rice to these shops was inadequate and the price also was very high which in some cases was even as high as Rs. 0/00 per maund.

486 In a majority of the villages investigated, water supply and medical 514 facilities were not satisfactory. Malaria, dysentery and other bowel diseases are common in the area.

CHAPTER IV

Report of the survey

4.1 Distribution of sample [illegible] has already been mentioned in Chapter 2 that purposive selection of ten villages from Bauchi area, eight villages from the Jungle Area and 6 Random selection of ten villages from the general area, were made for intensive investigation.

It is not our intention in this Chapter on the specific needs of individual villages. Some common salient features of the villages relating to the situation of the villages, disease-spreading flies and mosquitoes, communications, educational and medical facilities obtainable in these villages are briefly described below for the purpose of giving [illegible] the condition of the sample villages.

The following table shows the geographic distribution of the sample villages, their location by chiefs and subdivisions and the number of families inhabiting each village at the time of the survey.

TABLE 4-1

Sample villages in United N. A. J. Hills and their location

Group	Name of village	Chiefs	Subdivisions	No. of families
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
[illegible]	1. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	2. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	3. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	4. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	5. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	6. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	7. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	8. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	9. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	10. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

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Group (1)	Name of village (2)	Tribe (3)	Subdivision (4)	No. of families (5)
Project area --	11. Sungro	Jamir	Jamir	119
	12. Kekiye	Chakhi	Do	11
	13. Khuzama	Jamir	Do	83
	14. Khonoma	Jamir	Do	104
	15. Kenoma	Khaiganh	Khiliang	47
	16. Khedim	Do	Do	12
	17. Pamelikhuth	Do	Do	17
	18. Mayphemma	Khiliang	Do	79
Control area --	19. Tapanto	Jamir	Jamir	78
	20. Lasumang	Do	Do	10
	21. Mekhrichiba	Do	Do	87
	22. Jangkin	Khiliang	Khiliang	7
	23. Dzumro	Do	Khiliang	21
	24. Mekhrilo	Do	Do	12
	25. Mekhelong	Do	Do	23
	26. Kedi	Do	Do	5
	27. Jiwi	Khaiganh	Do	7
	28. Kychah	Do	Do	23
		Total --		1,037

7.1 4.3 General collection. — The villages are free from severe natural calamities like flood, erosion, earthquake and the like. Excessive rain fall has reached the higher levels below near Chemenyim, Mawemenyim, etc. During the monsoon also heavy rain, the small streams and creeks rise to spate delaying communication from village to village which cause much inconvenience to the people in carrying on trade, marketing and other day to day activities.

6.3 Incidence of diseases and medical facilities:

TABLE B-2

Incidence of diseases

Name of disease	No. of villages reporting incidence of disease		
	Border area	Plains area	General area
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
(a) Malaria	0	0	0
(b) Dysentery	0	7	0
(c) Pox	7	7	4
(d) Kala-azar	1	0	0
(e) Leprosy	0	1	0
(f) Typhoid	1	0	0
(g) Pneumonia	0	0	0

N.B.—Number of villages surveyed—10 in border area, 8 in Plains area and 10 in General area.

As the above table shows malaria and dysentery were of common occurrence. The scourge of malaria was, however, reported to be more acute in the border area, the hill slopes of which provided suitable breeding ground for mosquitoes. Due to malaria, dysentery and other bowel diseases have widespread prevalence in the district. The high incidence of these as well as various skin diseases are mainly accounted for by a lack of good water supply. Leprosy and kala-azar were reported only from one village each (Jyrkah and Shella respectively).

TABLE B-3

Distribution of the villages according to distances from nearest dispensary, hospital, veterinary dispensary and nearest private licensed medical practitioner

	Within the village	Within 5 miles	Within 5 miles	Within 10 miles	Within 20 miles	Above 20 miles
Dispensary	1	1	2	7	0	0
Hospital	0	0	0	1	0	10
Veterinary dispensary	0	0	0	1	0	10
Private licensed medical practitioner	0	0	0	0	0	0

[illegible]

The table above clearly shows that the medical facilities available to these villages are far from satisfactory. Only 6 villages out of 68 villages have a dispensary either located in the village or within a radius of few miles. Considering the lack of communication facilities and the hilly nature of the district even five miles is often too long a distance for a patient to go to the doctor or for a doctor to attend a patient. When the doctor has to move long distances the charges become too high. As a result the poor patients in case of serious illness have to approach unqualified medical men when one is available or otherwise to depend upon the mercy of God. Even for quinine and other cheap medicines one has to go to a dispensary or a private medical practitioner miles away. Especially the most disheartening fact is that the medical help provided by the people from Government dispensaries are not often timely and adequate due to non-availability of a doctor and inadequacy of stock of medicines.

[illegible] 1.8 **Sanitation.**—Though conditions of housing, sanitation, etc., of the villages are described in village notes in the appendix, it will be perhaps to make some general observations on the point. Unlike other hill tribes, the Khasis usually their house sites on the hill slopes and level lands by the side of the hills as a protection from winds. From the fact that the villages are situated in the slopes one might be tempted to think that the sanitary and drainage system of the villages should be quite satisfactory. But in fact it is otherwise in many cases particularly in the case of big villages where too many families huddle up constructing their houses very close to each other thus practically converting the village into a slum. Many of the villages, due to their very location in green surrounded by thick jungle do not get sufficient sunlight and as a result always remain damp, facilitating frequent incidence of cold and influenza. People remove the cut of nature in jungle and bushes in and around the villages. Many of the villages are built on level lands full of swamps, and soil full weeds, pools which provide good breeding place for mosquitoes. Cowsheds and pig sties are built close to the residential quarters which make the villages all the more dirty. Indeed, there are villages enjoying excellent sanitation and health but in majority of the villages there remains a lot to be done for improving the sanitary, drainage system, for educating the people to make their villages more hygienic. From the Government side also, elaborate measures should be adopted to combat and eradicate malaria which is still causing havoc in the district. Similarly, drinking water supply schemes should receive a high priority in a programme of development.

[illegible] 1.9 **Housing.**—Majority of the houses in the interior areas are made of thatch and bamboo with wooden planking or stone or earthen floor. Walls are plastered with mud. In higher altitudes houses are fairly roofed generally as a protection against wind and heavy rain. Some of these houses seem the shape of a half-turned saucer. They generally have [illegible] opening through the main door, though some of them have another in their rear side. They generally contain only one small room. One who is not used to such unclean surroundings from the outside, especially when there are lots of them, could feel uncomfortable. Houses of the well-to-do people particularly those on the road side, are built in the modern style with C.I. roofing, stone floor, and plastered, whitewashed

or timber or mud wall with plinth of stone and windows. Houses of most of the hamlet villages were well connected also agricultural facilities, but are now in tottering condition for want of proper repair and maintenance.

4.4 Educational Facilities.—The following table shows the number of educational facilities enjoyed by the villages under enquiry.

TABLE B-4

Distance within a radius of 2 miles	No. of villages having the nearest school				
	L. P.	M. S.	H. S.	Basic	Vocational school
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
0	10	0	0	0	0
1	0	1	0	0	0
2	0	0	0	0	0
3	0	0	0	0	0
4	0	0	0	0	0
5 and above	0	0	0	0	10

The above table reveals that out of a total of 10 villages, 10 villages have got a Lower Primary school located within the village, 1 have got within a radius of 1 miles and 8 within a radius of 5 miles. Out of the 10 villages under general area selected at random from the district, only 8 villages have got a Lower Primary school within the village, and 2 villages within 5 miles of the village. In regard of secondary education the position is far from being satisfactory as the above table will reveal.

The number of pupils on the roll of the 8 Lower Primary and Basic schools located in the 10 villages was 1,110. Thus the average number of pupils on roll per village was 56 while the average number of females per village was 22. The poverty of the villagers is the main reason for this low enrolment. Many parents would rather like their children to do gainfully work or play about on the fields, than to allow them to indulge in the comparatively expensive of going to school.

4.5 Communication Facilities.—As there are no railways, area [illegible] available roads within the villages, the only communication facilities available to the people of the district is by road. Some of these roads are adequately metalled while other roads having very poor condition throughout the year.

[illegible]

[illegible] The following table summarizes the situation of the sample villages, schools, communational facilities available.

TABLE [illegible]

Villages classified according to distance from the tehsil/national headquarters and from the nearest metalled road.

Distance from	0 miles	1 mile	2 miles	3 miles	4 miles	5 miles	6 miles or more	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Tehsil/national headquarters	—	1	—	1	[illegible]	20	6	28
Nearest metalled road	4	6	7	9	[illegible]	7	—	30

TABLE [illegible]

Villages classified according to type of road connecting the nearest metalled road and means of transport available

Means of transport	No. of villages							
	Type of road connecting the nearest metalled road						Just on the metalled road	Total
	Fair weather road			Fair weather road				
	Kutcha road	Pucca road	Total	Kutcha road	Pucca road	Total		
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Trucks	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bus	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Jeep	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	3
Cars	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Carts	—	—	8	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	3	[illegible]
Camels	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	3
Total	—			[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]

There is no rail-head nearer to the only means of transport of goods in [illegible] villages, and at the rate of [illegible] villages served by the nearest.

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6.1 **Marketing**.—The Khasis and Jaintias are market minded people. Rarely they sell their produce on the farm site. They have established markets at all average points of the dawan to which they carry their produce for bartering or sale. The market days is a gathering to see a section of people with bandbands owing to the market up and down hills from sales event.

Markets are held usually twice in every eight days of which one is a 'Lumbaiar' day which is held on every eighth day and the other is a 'Chung Sawar' day which is held two days ahead of the Lumbaiar day. The following table shows the marketing facilities available to the rural people in the sample villages.

Table D.7 below shows the number of markets classified according to distances from the selected villages served by them and charge per annum for conveyance of produces from the village to these markets.

TABLE D.7

Average per annum from village to market	Distance from village to market: 1 mile	Less than 1 mile	1—10 miles	Above 10 miles	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Rs. Rs.					
0-00 to 100	∞	0	∞	∞	0
0.00 to 0-00	∞	∞	0	∞	0
0.00 to 0-00	∞	0	0	∞	0
0-00 to 0-00	∞	0	0	0	∞	0
0-00 to 0-00	∞	∞	0	0	∞	0
0-00 to 0-00	∞	∞	0	0	0	0
0-00 to 0-00	∞	∞	0	∞	0	0
0-00 to 0-00	∞	∞	∞	∞	0	0
more than 0-00	∞	∞	∞	∞	0	0
Total	0	0	0	0	0	0

No. of villages served by—

1	market	10
0	markets	0
0	∞	1
0	∞	0

[illegible] The above table shows clearly that the producers have to pay heavy charges when carrying their produce which because inevitably [illegible] when the distance to market is very long on the way to the market [illegible] Although no [illegible]. The table also shows that out of a total of [illegible] markets with which the people in the 28 selected villages are in touch, [illegible] are within 10 miles, while 13 are situated more than 10 miles away from the village. Considering the fact that transport is to be done by head of only, marketing of the agricultural produce is indeed a difficult task. The transport charges are far and are high. It is seen from the above table that out of the 27 markets, transport charges in many in 14 markets work out to be higher than Rs. 2 a maund.

[illegible] 4.4 Co-operatives. Twelve co-operative societies were not within the selected villages. Out of these is found as 7 were engaged in marketing or trading. These organisations grew up sometime earlier under direct guidance of Government but mostly at the initiative of the villagers themselves in some certain situations. The following statement shows a list of the co-operative societies in the sample villages.

TABLE 9.4

Name of village	Name of society	Sponsored by
(1)	(2)	(3)
1. Syedbi ...	Marketing Society	Government.
2. Bairong ...	(1) Women Welfare Association.	Local people.
	(2) A Credit Co-operative Association.	
3. Nurbong ...	(1) Trading Co-operative Society.	Do.
	(2) Credit Society for the improvement of the lot of farmers.	
4. Nuki ...	Marketing Society ...	Government
5. Pathanmali ...	The Mulberry Centre Co-operative Society.	Local people
6. Mizoramuah ...	Trading Co-operative Society.	Do.

Name of village (1)	Name of society (2)	Sponsored by (3)
7. Sutrapa ...	(1) Credit Society.	Local people
	(2) Co-operative Trading Society.	
8. Dumang ...	Marketing Society.	Do
9. Stulla ...	Trading Co-operative Society.	Do.

4.10 Cottage Industries.—It has already been mentioned that Village and Cottage Industries are not very popular in the district.

The following table shows the industries reported from the sample villages.—

TABLE 2-9

Industry (1)	No. of villages reporting existence of the industries. (2)	No. of villages reporting production for sale. (3)
Cane and bamboo works ...	9	7
Blacksmithy	5	5
Tailoring	2	2
Handloom	—	—
Weaving and Spinning ...	2	1
Braiding of coconut, etc. ...	1	1
Rearing of lac	1	1
Others	2	1

Blacksmithy and making of baskets, cane products, etc., out of cane and bamboo, are a traditional occupation. Weaving and spinning of cotton, rearing of silk worms and weaving of silk, etc., are in vogue only in the Bhoja area and the areas adjoining Kamrup and North Cachar and Mikir Hills districts. Lac rearing is found in the northern portion of the district, i.e., Nowgaon area.

Except cane and bamboo works and blacksmithy other industries are practised on a very limited scale. There is thus a lot of scope for introducing cottage industries in the district.

241 6.11 **Agriculture.**—The following table summarises a few salient features of agriculture in the selected villages:—

TABLE B-10

Crops raised and agricultural practices prevalent in the selected villages.

Name of village	Important crops raised in the village	Agricultural implements used	Manures used
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Border area.—			
1. Nongkhi	Betelnut, betel-leaf, oranges and paddy.	Daos, hoes, jampers and plough.	No.
2. Amlai ..	Oranges, betelnut and betel-leaf and paddy.	Daos, hoes and plough	Dung
3. Lumkhi-ot	Oranges, paddy and millet ..	Daos and hoes	No.
4. Darrang ..	Betel-leaf, betel-nut	Daos and hoes	No.
5. Mawsoli ..	Tapioca, betelnut, betel-leaf, black pepper and urpata	Daos and hoes	No.
6. Lyngkhat ..	Paddy and urpata	Daos and hoes	No.
7. Shella ..	Betelnut, betel-leaf and orange	Daos and hoes	No.
8. Bala ..	Paddy, millet and tapioca ..	Daos, hoes and plough	No.
9. Nongpo ..	Betelnut, orange	Daos and hoes	No.
10. Bholagunj ..	Potato, betelnut and paddy.	Daos, hoes and plough	No.
Project area.—			
1. Nartiang ..	Paddy and maize	Daos, hoes and plough	No.
2. Wallong ..	Paddy and maize	Daos, hoes and plough	Dung, chemical and bonemeal.
3. Umdon ..	Paddy, maize and millet ..	Daos, plough and hoes	No.
4. Pamarkhawah	Paddy and sweet potato ..	Daos, hoes and plough	Bone-meal, dung, chemical.
5. Madan ..	Paddy and potato	Daos, hoes and plough	Dung
6. Nongpo ..	Paddy, maize and millet ..	Plough, hoes and daos ..	Dung and bone-meal
7. Mawphanlew	Paddy, maize and potato ..	Plough, hoes and daos	Dung
[illegible] ..	Betelnut, betel-leaf, millet and turmeric.	Daos and hoes	No.

General area.—

1. Mawphlang	Paddy and maize	Dao, hoes and plough	Government farm and chemical	241
2. Jaiaw	Paddy, maize and [illegible]	Dao, hoes and plough	No	
3. Mawlai	Paddy, maize, etc.	Dao, hoes and plough	No	
4. Mawlaiong	Paddy, maize and potato	Dao, hoes and plough	No	
5. Aiale	Paddy, maize and millet	Dao, hoes and plough	No	
6. Langrieng	Paddy, maize and millet	Dao, hoes and plough	Dung and [illegible]	
7. Mawkhih	Paddy, potato and maize	Dao, hoes and plough	Occasional	
8. Lapriah	Paddy and maize	Dao, hoes and plough	No.	
9. Dwarya	Paddy, potato and maize	Dao and hoes	No.	
10. Jyngkar	Tezpata, tapioca, millet and orange.	Dao and hoes	No.	

This table reveals that in one region there is bias for cash crops and in the other for food crops—more or less depending upon the soil and topography of the regions. Extreme hardship occurs when there is deficiency in food production or a glut in the market of cash crops. The cash crop producers are, of course, trying to adapt their crops to the changing market conditions. With the loss of market for oranges, the people in the border areas are trying to increase their lentilent production and start cultivating paddy, potatoes, etc. Throughout the district, people are trying to increase wet paddy cultivation. Wherever water is available, they spare no pain to convert it into a wet paddy field. Similarly, increasing interest is evident among the people in the cultivation of valuable crops like black-pepper, cashewnut, etc., which have a good prospect in the border areas. It is felt that there is considerable scope for introduction of cultivation of chillies, turmeric, coffee, etc. But any new endeavour demands heavy initial investment which often is not within the reach of cultivators. Government should continue to advance adequate agricultural loans to the needy cultivators in a better planned manner. 178 241 233 238 64 77

Only 19 out of 28 villages reported use of bullock driven ploughs for wet paddy cultivation. But even in these villages animal power is not universally used. Of course, in the rocky fields people have no alternative to the use of hoes and spades but in some areas particularly in the wet paddy field, bullock driven ploughs may profitably be utilised. It is not that the farmers do not realise the advantage of ploughing but want of funds for purchase of bullocks, etc., is reported to be the cause of continuance of the old practice. Both broadcasting and transplanting methods are in vogue in paddy cultivation the latter being a recent introduction is gaining popularity. Some farmers in the project area villages have tried line sowing but according to them it is very labourious and amounts to 178 241

[illegible] waste of time. Chemical fertilizers are found to be used by some cultivators but there is still a large section of cultivators who feel simply about the use of fertilizers. There is need of continuation of training and demonstration in the proper use of fertilizers and manures.

The primitive method of hand shredding of jute by beating with a stick is used in a waste of time and labour. There is no reason why shredding cannot be done by using hatchets or in the jute farm.

CHAPTER V

Population and Occupation

The following table shows the number of families and population of the sample villages in the different village groups.

TABLE 6.6

	Border area	Project area	General area
1	2	3	4
No. of villages	10	6	10
No. of families	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
No. of persons	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Average no. of families per village	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Average no. of persons per village	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Average no. of persons per family	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

The population in the first two groups of villages is much more than in the third group because important villages were intentionally selected from border and project areas. The figures may not truly reflect the difference in the average size of villages in these areas.

The population in the selected villages were compared with the 1951 census figures. But it was found that the two sets of figures are not strictly comparable due to changes in the names and boundaries of the villages and migrations. A note on this study is included in the appendix. [128]

2.2. The following table shows the classification of population by age and sex in the three areas:—

Age and Sex Composition of Population

Age (years)	Border area			Project area			General area		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
1. Below 2 years	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (10.40)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (10.48)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (10.76)
2. 2 to below 12 years	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (30.01)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (31.08)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (30.40)
3. 12 to below 45 years	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (57.51)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (51.41)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (57.18)
4. 45 and above	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (1.48)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (1.13)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (1.48)
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (100.00)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (100.00)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (100.00)
No. of females per 1,000 males	—	[illegible]	—	—	—	[illegible]	—	—	[illegible]

It is seen that the population under 12 years of age in the border area, project area and general area were respectively 41 per cent, 41 per cent and 41 per cent of the total population in these areas, while that under age group between 12 to 45 years constituted respectively 57 per cent, 57 per cent 57 per cent of the population in the three areas.

It is evident that population of females was as a whole greater than that of male in border area and project area and less in general area. The number of females per 1,000 males in border area, project area and general area were respectively 1,010, 1,072 and 981 against the 1951 census figure of 985 females per 1,000 males in the rural areas of the district of United K.J. Hills.

2.3. The following table shows the classification of population by religion.

TABLE C.1

Classification of Population by Religion

Area	Tribal religion	Christianity	Hinduism	Other religion	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1. Border area	[illegible] ([illegible])	[illegible] (39.93)	[illegible] (17.11)	11 (0.41)	[illegible] (100.00)
2. Project area	[illegible] (17.01)	[illegible]	141 (4.70)	0.00	[illegible] (100.00)
3. General area	[illegible] (9.31)	971 (10.10)	33 (2.94)	0.00	[illegible] (100.00)

Population following Hinduism and other religion in the border area comprises mostly of displaced persons from East Pakistan following trade and business as their means of livelihood, while those in the general and project area are mainly the Nepalese who are generally engaged in cattle rearing and agriculture.

1.4 Literacy and Education

TABLE C1-4

Distribution of Population by Standard of Education

(1)		Rural area			Urban area			Combined area		
		Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
			(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
1. Illiterate	..	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
2. Literate up to Primary	..	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
3. Middle English	..	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
4. Matriculate	..	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	—	—
5. Intermediate	..	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	—	—	—
6. Graduate and above	..	[illegible]	—	—	—	—	[illegible]	—	—	—
Total	..	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible] In Jandia area and project area the percentage of literates is varied [illegible] as 16 and 31 respectively i.e comparatively high figure for a rural area. [illegible] This however, cannot be regarded as a true index of literacy in the rural area of the district for the two that villages from Jandia area and project area were purposely selected almost all of which by virtue of their figures in 1961 and therefore in average active, happened to possess at least one school for quite a long time. The average picture for the district as a whole is brought out by the percentage of literacy in the general area which is only 11. A comparison of this figure with that of 1951 census for the rural area of the district which is only 10 per cent shows that during the last eight years there has been an increase in the percentage of literacy.

As will be seen from table above the proportion of literate among males is higher than that among females throughout the district.

Economic Status

[illegible] 5.5. The following table shows the number of persons in the sample villages by sex and economic status.

TABLE C 1

Number of Farmers by Sex and Economic Status

Economic status	Number of farmers in								
	Vanier area			Regent area			Kanawa area		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Farmers	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Farmers in the labour force	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Earning dependents	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Percentage of total population	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Non-earning dependents	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Percentage of total population	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total population	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

From the above table it is seen that the proportion of women in the Border area, Frontier area and General area are respectively 71 per cent, 61 per cent and 55 per cent of the corresponding total population. Thus each earner has to support himself and roughly one dependent. Thus the burden of dependence is not very heavy in the district. This is because of the fact that men, women and children all are the labour force. Number of women engaged wholly on domestic work is few. Only in big landlords' houses a number of women, one or two of them are engaged in domestic work, otherwise the Khan women attend to the domestic work in addition to their work in the field.

From table G 2-1 in the appendix it will be seen that respectively 6.7 per cent, 3.8 per cent and 1.6 per cent of the persons in Border area, Frontier area and General area are below 15 years of age.

2.6—Attempt was made to study the employment position in the selected villages. For this purpose the following definition of employed and unemployed persons was adopted.

Persons working for pay or profit on one day during a period of 30 days preceding the date of enquiry would be classified as employed. Those who did not work on any day during the last 30 days, may be employed or unemployed. The person is unemployed if—

(i) He who was without a job for the whole reference period.

(ii) Who was seeking one, and

(iii) Who was in a position to accept job if offered one.

A person is also unemployed if he did not work because of his permanent illness, believed that no work was available, or was expecting to return to a job from which he had been indefinitely laid off.

On the other hand a person is employed if he had a job, although temporarily absent from work during the reference period due to illness, vacation, industrial dispute or being laid off temporarily. Also a person would be considered employed if he was waiting to take up a new job which he had been offered or to start a new business.

TABLE C4

Number of Persons Employed, Unemployed and available Labour force in the selected villages

Employment status	Hilly area				Rural area				General area			
	Male	Female	Total	P.C. to total population	Male	Female	Total	P.C. to total population	Male	Female	Total	P.C. to total population
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
1. Employed	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	(34.19)	(38.45)	(100.00)		(50.42)	(39.42)	(100.00)		(34.86)	(40.14)	(100.00)	
2. Unemployed	0	0	0	0.00	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	(00.00)	(00.00)	(00.00)									
3. Within labour force	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	(34.19)	(38.45)	(100.00)		(50.42)	(39.42)	(100.00)		(34.86)	(40.14)	(100.00)	
4. Outside labour force	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	(34.95)	(38.45)	(100.00)		(50.42)	(39.12)	(100.00)		(35.72)	(39.28)	(100.00)	
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible] The above table speaks of the employment position in the three village groups. It will be seen that more than half of the [illegible] [illegible] working force the percentage for the general area [illegible] [illegible] in rural areas, [illegible] of unemployment is negligible. The few cases of reported unemployment from [illegible] were mainly due to inability to secure work due to [illegible] illness or inability to take up work [illegible] the time persons who were engaged by some employer and actually discharged. The percentage of reported persons is however not a true [illegible] of the employment situation of the rural population as the incidence of underemployment is very high. For agricultural population the work-force is rather very low owing to lack of development of the working persons. In some of the areas only one or two seasonal crops are raised each year. Labour population are even more hard hit. Considering the high percentage of labour population, work available to them is rather very small. There are instances as has been mentioned already—where labourers gather together early in the morning for work on wage basis and have to wait for a wage of 50 nP. a day. The picture is even more bleak for the Border area. Orchards and plantations are being less attended and a large section of cultivators and the labourers who were formerly working there have to look for alternative work for livelihood. This inevitably factor against the limited opportunities opened to them. The new relief schemes introduced by Government have succeeded in giving seasonal employment to these people only to a very limited scale.

9.7 The relative preponderance of different industrial census groups among the employed persons can be judged from the following:—

TABLE C.7

Industrial class	Border area		Project area		General area	
	No. of Persons	P.C. to total employed persons	No. of persons	P.C. to total employed persons	No. of persons	P.C. to total employed persons
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1. Employer	26	0.7[illegible]	1	0.06	3	0.[illegible]
2. Employee	650	22.[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	64	0.[illegible]
3. Own account worker	1[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total employed	2[illegible]	[illegible]	1576	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

The own account workers form the largest group comprising over 76 per cent, 86 per cent and 89 per cent of the total employed persons in the Border area, Project area and General area respectively followed

[illegible] 18 per cent, 19 per cent and [illegible] per cent respectively. It may be noted that the large number of families who engaged agricultural labourers on daily basis in and other occupations could be placed as 'employers'.

Occupations

1.8. In the following table attempt has been made to depict the occupational distribution of the population.

As agriculture is the principal occupation of the majority of the villagers, the following scheme of classification of occupations, has been adopted:—

[illegible]	Assam	G-3	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	Khasi	[illegible]

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families have been classified into three main classes, viz.:—

(1) Wholly agricultural

(2) Partly agricultural

(a) Agriculture as principal occupation

(b) Agriculture as subsidiary occupation.

(3) Independent of Agriculture.

2.9. The following table shows the distribution of families by occupational type in the three village groups :—

TABLE C-6

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96.3

Occupational distribution of families in different village groups

Occupational type	Sunder area	P. C. to total no. of families (Base total)	Pragna area	P. C. to total no. of families	General area	P. C. to total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1. Wholly agricultural	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
2. Partly agricultural—						
(a) agriculture as principal occupation.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
(b) agriculture as subsidiary occupation.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
3. Independent of agriculture.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	100·00	[illegible]	100·00	[illegible]	100·00

It will be seen that wholly agricultural families, in Garo area, Jaintia area and Central area are 92.46 and 79 p.c. respectively of the total families. Classifying the "fully agricultural" families and families pursuing agriculture as principal occupation, as "predominantly agricultural families"—the proportion of such families for Garo area, Jaintia area and Central area stand at 98 p.c. 78 p.c. and 70 p.c. respectively. That is it is clear that in the Garo area the proportion of predominantly agricultural families is the lowest. The reason for this can be safely ascribed to the wicked, cardinal fact to-closure of markets after partition. A close study of tables G10 and G11 below and table G.12.1 at the appendix will bear testimony to the fact that in Garo area there is evidence of a shift of occupation from agriculture to non-agricultural occupies especially labour (non-agricultural).

Predominantly agricultural families have been classified into five groups:— Non-cultivating owner, owner cultivator, tenants, partitioner and part-tenants and landless agricultural labourers. The number of families and the proportion of each of these groups in the three areas are as follows:—

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TABLE C-9

Classification of Predominantly Agricultural Families

Type	Border area			Project area			General area		
	No. of families			No. of families			No. of families		
	Shifting cultivation	Jhum cultivation	Total	Shifting cultivation	Jhum cultivation	Total	Shifting cultivation	Jhum cultivation	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
1. Non-cultivating owners...	25 (3·07)	6 (2·41)	31 (2·97)	.. ..	4 (1·02)	4 (0·88)	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..
2. Owner cultivators (owning 25 per cent or more of farm land).	275 (30·32)	90 (42·61)	365 (34·96)	128 (17·58)	175 (44·61)	303 (31·96)	70 (32·57)	40 (77·11)	110 (38·21)
3. Tenant (owning less than 25 per cent of farm land).	5 (1·10)	75 (35·50)	81 (11·91)	34 (4·68)	51 (13·14)	85 (13·04)	3 (1·40)	7 (13·42)	10 (4·86)
4. Part owner and part tenant (owning between 25 per cent and 75 per cent of farm land).	7 (1·54)	19 (9·00)	26 (2·49)	15 (2·06)	31 (8·00)	46 (7·17)	1 (0·46)	3 (5·76)	4 (1·94)
5. Landless agricultural labourers.	24 (7·47)	24 (11·38)	48 (10·11)	5 (0·69)	73 (18·81)	87 (13·56)	4 (1·87)	7 (13·42)	11 (5·37)
Total ...	443 (100·00)	211 (100·00)	679 (100·00)	185 (100·00)	334 (100·00)	449 (100·00)	213 (100·00)	52 (100·00)	205 (100·00)

Apart from private lands, Raj lands possessed by a family and land possessed through settlement by District Council have been considered as 'land owned' for the purpose of this survey. Tenants usually take in rents from land-owners only those lands which are possessed by the later as private land or through settlement through District Council. A perusal of table C 9 given above will show that proportion of tenants are higher in Jowai subdivision which is due to the existence in this subdivision of some big landholders who are known as zamindars. Majority of the families shown against 'non-cultivating owner' are in fact agricultural labour families who also possess some land but due to some reason or other left it uncultivated. Among owner cultivators, tenants and part-owner and part-tenant families also there are some whose major income is derived from agricultural labour. Consideration of these two facts along with the number of landless agricultural families goes to show that the proportion of agricultural labourers in the district is rather high. 423 463 427 125

TABLE C10

Occupational distribution of families whose principal occupation is other than agriculture 162* 463

principal occupation	No. of families					
	Border area		Project area		General area	
	Total	P.C. to total	Total	P.C. to total	Total	P.C. to total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1. Non-agricultural labour.	188	57·43	58	44·50	6	31·58
2. Service, professions, etc.	34	10·40	38	29·08	3	15·79
3. Trades	65	19·88	31	23·79	4	21,05
4. Small scale manufacture & handicraft.	23	7·03	19	14·60	1	5·26
5. Poultry & dairy farming.	7	2·14	..	..	5	26·31
6. Others	10	3·05	9	6·90	...	...
Total ..	327	100·00	130	100·00	19	100·00

19: Assam 6-5 (1958) 1963 AR7 Khasi AR7

463 A perusal of the table above will show that proportion of families following non-agricultural labour as principal occupation is highest in 464 Border areas. Majority of these families were formerly engaged in [17] agriculture but due to adverse circumstances arising out of partition, one forced to take to other occupations. Test relief works and normal P. W. D. works gave employment to a large section of these people. Other avenues of employment are collection and carriage of limestone, 441 woodcutting, and carrying of merchandise, etc. Traders in stationery articles and groceries who formed the bulk of the traders in the border 433 area are largely the displaced persons and the Bengali people concentrated in Bholaganj and Balat. Others are petty traders dealing in fruits, 563 vegetables, fish, clothes and other foodstuff. Under small-scale manufacture, etc., come the liquor distillers, blacksmiths, carpenters, etc., Commission agents, fishermen, hunters, etc., are shown as others.

8.10 In the following table the families in the three village groups are classified according to their subsidiary occupation.

TABLE C-II

Predominantly agricultural families and Predominantly non-agricultural families classified according to their subsidiary occupation

Subsidiary occupation	No. of families								
	Border area			Project area			General area		
	Predominantly Agricultural	Predominantly Non-Agricultural	Total	Predominantly Agricultural	Predominantly Non-Agricultural	Total	Predominantly Agricultural	Predominantly Non-Agricultural	Total
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Agriculture	—	181 (37·56)	181 (40·54)	...	108 (95·16)	108 (51·18)	..	17 (94.44)	17 (30·90)
2. Labour	117 (59·64)	6 (3·47)	123 (33·63)	57 (50·95)	3 (2·58)	60 (10·96)	7 (10·92)	1 (5·66)	8 (14·55)

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(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
3. Service, profession, etc. ...	17 (10·12)	3 (1·44)	30 (3·33)	7 (7·37)	2 (1·72)	9 (4·27)	1 (2·70)	..	(1·82)
4. Trader	23 (13·69)	4 (2·07)	29 (7·60)	11 (11·58)	2 (1·72)	13 (6·16)	4 (10·81)	..	4 (7·27)
5. Small scale manufacture ..	7 (4·17)	6 (3·87)	13 (3·45)	27 (28·42)	1 (0·87)	28 (13·27)	21 (56·75)	..	21 (38·18)
6. Poultry & dairy farming ..	2 (1·19)	3 (0·96)	4 (1·06)	3 (3·16)	..	3 (1·42)	2 (5·11)	..	2 (3·64)
7. Others	2 (1·19)	3 (1·44)	5 (1·32)	10 (10·52)	..	10 (4·74)	2 (5·41)	..	2 (3·64)
Total number of families having some subsidiary occupation	168 (100·00)	209 (100·00)	377 (100·00)	95 (100·00)	116 (100·00)	211 (100·00)	37 (100·00)	18 (100·00)	55 (100·00)
Total number of all families ..	679	327	1006	489	158	647	165	19	184
Percentage of families having sub-sidiary occupation to total No. of families	24·74	63·00	37·48	39·43	73·42	32·61	22·42	94·74	29·89

In the border areas 25 p.c. of the predominantly agricultural families had some subsidiary occupation, the most important of which was non-agricultural labour followed as trade. Majority of (64 per cent) of the predominantly non-agricultural families has some subsidiary occupation, the most important of which is agriculture accounting for 88 per cent of such families. 162* 463

The picture for the project area is more or less the same except that among agricultural families a relatively higher proportion of families have small scale manufacture as subsidiary occupation while trading is relatively less popular.

In the general area among the agricultural families with some subsidiary occupation the majority are engaged in small scale manufacture as subsidiary occupation, labour occupying a minor place. Almost all the predominantly non-agricultural families have agriculture as subsidiary occupation.

5.11 The following table shows the distribution of employed persons according to major industry groups (according to principal occupation).

TABLE C-12

Distribution of employed persons by Industries

Name of industry	No. of persons		
	Border area	Project area	General area
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
1. Agriculture	1441 (71·94)	1225 (77·93)	498 (88·45)
2. Livestock	16 (0·80)	28 (1·78)	33 (5·86)
3. Forestry, fishery, etc.	12 (0·60)	4 (0·25)	9 (1·60)
4. Mining & quarrying	111 (5·54)	9 (0·57)	..
5. Manufacture	74 (3·69)	36 (2·28)	11 (1·95)
6. Construction	170 (8·49)	170 (10·82)	3 (0·53)
7. Trade & commerce	117 (5·84)	33 (2·11)	5 (0·89)
8. Transport	33 (1·65)	6 (0·38)	..
9. Service & profession	29 (1·45)	61 (3·88)	4 (0·72)
Total	2063	1572	563

19: Assam G-5 (1958) 1963 AR7 Khasi AR7

*162 464 433

As is expected, agriculture comes out to be the single major industry giving employment to about 3/4th of the employed persons. In Border area this accounts for 72 per cent of the total employed persons. Among the other industries giving employment to the rest of the employed persons come in order of importance, construction (8 per cent), trade and commerce (6 per cent), mining and quarrying (6 per cent) and manufacture such as manufacture of foodstuff, production of garmets, other wood and stone products (4 per cent). In Project area, apart from agriculture which accounts for 78 per cent other industries in order of importance of employment come construction (11 per cent), service and profession, manufacture, trade and livestock (2per centeach), and rearing (4 per cent). In General area agriculture gives emploment to 88 per cent of the population. Next to it come livestock rearing, manufacture and forestry which account for 6 per cent and 2 per centrespectively of the total employed persons.

CHAPTER VI

LAND

6.1 The total area covered by the sample villages is not available for want of relevant village records as the district is not cadastrally surveyed for settlement purposes. Having no alternative on matters of land and land utilisation pertaining to a family we had to depend entirely on the accounts given by family concerned. However, every care was taken to ensure reliability and in a number of cases accounts of land given by families were verified by actual measurements. In most cases they were found to tally approximately. To simplify matters land referred hereafter relates only to agricultural land. 12 423 162*

HOLDING

6·2 "Holding' usually means the land over which the individual or family has permanent and heritable right of occupancy. Due to peculiar land tenure system prevailing in this district, an account of which has already been given in the introductory chapter, this definition had to be modified to fit in with the system obtaining in the district and accordingly the holding of an individual or family was meant to comprise of all lands held as private property or held under Raj System or under settlement through District Council.

The total area covered by land holdings of all sizes in the Border area, Project area and General area samples are respectively 5366.42 acres, 1891.42 acres and 613.24 acres and with 1006, 647 and 184 families in the respective sample. The average size of holding per family works out respectively at 5.3 acres, 2.9 acres, and 3.3 acres in Border area, Project area and General area and holding per head 1.48 acres, 0.63 acres and 0.70 acres respectively. The real situation on the structure of family holding, however, will be better understood from an examination of the distribution of the holdings according to their size as presented in the following table.

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TABLE-D1

Distribution of families by size of Holding Groups

Size of holding group	Border area				Project area				General area			
	No. of families	Average size of holding per family (In acres)	No. of families cultivating land	Average size of cultivated holding (acres)	No. of families	Average size of holding per family (acres)	No. of families cultivating land	Average size of cultivated holding (acres)	No. of families	Average size of holding per family (acres)	No. of families cultivating land	Average size of cultivated holding (acres)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
1 No land	309 (30·72)	..	..	...	185 (28·59)	...	...	...	19 (10·33)	..	..	..
2 Less than 1 acre ..	82 (8·15)	4·7	71	44·00	59 (9·12)	0·51	56	0·50	19 (10·33)	0·55	19	0·55
3 Less than 3 acres ..	173 (17·20)	1·76	146	1·44	190 (29·37)	1·76	187	1·64	64 (34·78)	1·81	64	1·68
4 3 to less than 10 .. acres	260 (25·84)	5·63	238	4·01	169 (26·12)	5.06	166	4·49	72 (39·13)	5·02	74	4·36
5 10 acres & above	182 (18·09)	19·55	176	11·61	44 (6·80)	15·25	44	10·57	10 (5·43)	12·53	10	9·95
Total no. of families possessing land	697 (69·28)	7·70	631	5·13	462 (71·41)	4·09	453	3·41	165 (89·67)	3·72	164	3·21
Grand Total	1006 (100·00)	5·33			647 (100·00)	2·92			184 (100·00)	3·23		

It is seen from the above table that proportion of landless families was quite high in Border area and Project area accounting for 31 and 29 per cent of the total number of families in the respective area, against 10 in the General area. Considering holdings in general and classifying them as small holdings (if less than 3 acres), medium holding (if 3 acres to less than 10 acres) and large holdings (if 10 acres and above), the proportion of families holding land in the three holding groups is found to be respectively 56 per cent, 26 per cent and 18 per cent in Border area, 67 per cent 26, per cent and 7 per cent in Project area and 55 per cent, 39 per cent and 6 per cent in General area.

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Considering only the families holding land as will be evident from table D1.1 in the appendix in Border area, the proportions of families in the three holding groups, *i.e.*, small, medium and large are respectively 37%, 37% and 26% of the families holding land while for Project area they are 54%, 37% and 9% and for General area 50%, 44% and 6% respectively.

As to the area covered by the three holding groups in the Border area, Project area and General area, the small holding cover respectively 6 per cent 19 per cent and 21 per cent of the total agricultural land medium holdings cover respectively 28 per cent, 45 per cent and 59 per cent, and the large holding cover 66·32 per cent, 35·50 per cent and 20,42 per cent respectively. Thus in Border area 37 per cent of the families holding land own only 6 per cent of the total agricultural land in the villages while in Project area 54 per cent of the families own 19 per cent in the land and in General area 50 per cent of the families own 21 per cent of total land. As a result the individual holdings under the small holding group are small measuring between 0·24 acres to 2·26 acres in Border area, 0·25 acres to 2·28 acres in Project area and 0·25 acres to 2·30 acres in General area. The average size of holdings per family in the small holding group in the three areas are respectively 1·36 acres, 1·47 acres and 1·55 acres as compared with 5·63 acres, 4·05 acres and 5·02 acres in the medium holding group and 19·55 acres, 15·25 acres and 12·53 acres in large holding group. Average size of holding per family holding land in Border area, Project area and General area comes to respectively 7·70 acres, 4·09 acres and 3·72 acres. However considering cultivated holdings only as will be shown by Table D1.1 at the appendix, the above figures stand at 5·13 acres, 3.41 acres and 3·21 acres respectively crystalising the fact that a considerable portion of land is either left fallow or leased out to others.

The following table will throw light on the point.

19: Assam G-5 (1958) 1963 AR7 Khasi AR7

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TABLE D2

Village group	No. of families holding land	Total area of holding (acres)	No. of families renting out land	Area leased out (acres)	No. of families cultivating owned land	Area cultivated (acres)	Area left fallow	Percentage to col. 3
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
1. Border area	697	5366·42	39	251·41	631	3239·66	1876·35	34·96
2. Project area	462	1891·42	27	91·56	453	1543·56	256·30	13·55
3. General area	165	613·24	5	16·75	164	526·45	70·04	11·41

Thus it is seen that of the owned land at least 35 per cent in Border area, 14 per cent in Project area and 11 per cent in General area were left fallow.

Considering the number of families, it was found that in Border area villages as many as 66 families had either totally leased out or left fallow their owned land, the corresponding number for Project area and General area being only 9 and 1 respectively.

TABLE D3

Number of families of different occupational type holding land of various sizes

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Size of holding (acre)	No. of families				
	wholly agricultural	Agriculture as principal occupation	Agriculture as subsidiary occupation	Independent of agriculture	All occupations
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1. BORDER AREA					
1. No land ..	108 (21·14)	29 (17·26)	61 (33·33)	111 (77·08)	309 (30·72)
2. Less than 1 acre ..	51 (9·98)	11 (6·56)	19 (10·39)	1 (0·69)	82 (8·15)
3. 1 to less than 3 acres	88 (17·22)	30 (17·86)	37 (20·22)	18 (12·51)	173 (17·20)
4. 3 to less than 10 acre	144 (28·18)	57 (33.92)	48 (26.23)	11 (7·64)	260 (25·85)
5. 10 and above ..	120 (23·47)	41 (24·40)	18 (9·83)	3 (2·08)	182 (18·10)
Total	511 (100·00)	168 (100·00)	183 (100·00)	144 (100·00)	1006) (100·00
2. (Project area)					
2. No land	115 (29·19)	9 (9·47)	15 (13·89)	46 (92·00	185 (28·59)
2. Less than 1 acre.. ..	40 (10·15)	8 (8·43)	11 (10·18)	..	59 (9·12)
3. 1 to less than 3 acres	111 (28·17)	32 (33·68)	44 (40·74)	3 (6·00)	190 (29·33)
4. 3 to less than 10 acres	113 (28·68)	29 (30·53)	26 (24.07)	1 (2·00)	169 (26·12)
5. 10 acres and above..	15 (3·81)	17 (18·09)	12 (11·14)	..	44 (6·81)
Total ..	394 (100.00)	95 (100·00)	108 (100·00)	50 (100·00)	647 (100·00)

TABLE B3 (*contd.*)

(1)	(2)	(3)		(5)	(6)
*162 241 423 3. General area—					
1. No land	15 (11·72)	1 (2·70)	(11·76)	1 (50·00)	17 (10·33)
2. Less than 1 acre ..	9 (7·03)	4 (10·81)	5 (29·41)	1 (50.00)	19 (10·33)
3. 1 to less than 3 acres	47 (36·71)	10 (27·03)	7 (41·19)	..	64 (34·78)
4. 3 to less than 10 acres	52 (40·63)	17 (45·91)	3 (17·64)	..	72 (39·13)
5. 10 acres and above	5 (3·91)	5 (13·52)	...	... ..	10 (5·43)
Total ..	128 100·00	37 100·00	17 100·00	2 100·00	184 100·00

6.3 It is significant that in all the three areas a considerable section of wholly agricultural families and families following agriculture as principal occupation are landless. On the other hand, a considerable proportion of the families with agriculture as subsidiary occupation or independent of agriculture hold land of various sizes. The fact why agriculture for those families who possessed sufficient land, was reduced to a subsidiary occupation is possibly more due to less return from agriculture than their attachment to it.

FRAGMENTATION

182 311 423 6.4 It has been observed that a large number of rural families have small holdings, the very smallness of which render their holdings un-economic. In addition, the holding of rural families suffer most from the evils of fragmentation. Often holdings are not in compact blocks but are scattered all over and surrounded by lands in possession of others or some uncultivable waste land. Some of the fragments lie even in separate villages.

Unlike in the plains district, fragmentation here was brought about not so much by population pressure (except only in case of wet paddy field) or inheritance legislations or such other factors as would give rise to excessive fragmentation of holdings. This is because there is no settlement regulation and the people are free to reclaim as much of the Raj land as possible for their cultivation. Fragmentation here is thus more a product of the topography of the district, for cultivable land in large compact block is not easy to get and cultivable land have to be found in isolated patches.

The extent of fragmentation is presented in the following table :

TABLE D-4

Distribution of holdings according to number of fragments.

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No. of fragments	Border area		Project area		General area	
	No. of holdings	Percentage	No. of holdings	Percentage	No. of holdings	Percentage
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1	155	22.24	189	[illegible]	31	18.79
2	147		122	[illegible]	57	..
3	122	58.68	68		43	26.79
4	83		36	33.68	22	...
5	57		25		11	..
6	44		15		1	..
7	25		4	4	2	2.42
8	20	15.55	2	..	..	..
9	11		2			..
10	7		..		1	..
11	11		2			..
12	5		1			..
13	1		..			..
14	4	3.73	1	0.86	...	..
15	1		..			..
16	1		—			..
17	—		—			..
18	..		..			..
19	1		..			..
20	2		—			—
21 & above	0		..			..
Total.. ..	697	100	482	100	195	100

311 The total number of fragments in 697 holding in Border of area
423 is 2,540 giving an average of 3.64 fragments per holding, that in
182 462 holdings in project area is 1,080 which gives on the average 2.34 fragment per holding, while in General area 165 holdings comprise of 443 fragments, *i.e.*, 2.68 fragment per holding. A comparison of the above figures with the average fragment figures of 1.61, 4.50, 4.40 and 3.73 per holding in Mikir Hills, Darrang, Sibsagar and Lakhimpur districts respectively goes to show that incidence of fragmentation in this district is higher than that in Mikir Hills but less than that in other districts.

It will be seen from table D4.1 at the appendix that in the small holding group (less than 3 acres) average number of fragments per holding is 1.99 in Border, 1.60 in Project and 2.01 in General area. The average sizes in the corresponding holding group being 1.36 acres 1.47 acres and 1.55 acres, in Border area, Project area and General area, the average size of fragments in the respective area works out at ·68 acres, ·92 and ·76 acres. Similarly it will be seen that average sizes of fragments for medium holding group are, in Border area 1.61 acres (average size of medium holding 5.63 acres) in Project area 1.85 acres (averages size of holding 4.95 acres) and in General area 1.51 acres (average size of holding 5.03 acres), those for large holding group being 3.15 acres, 3.06 acres and 3.49 acres respectively against the average large holding sizes of 19.55 acres, 15.25 acres and 12.53 acres in the respective area.

FARMS

241 6.5 The operating unit in the rural agricultural system is in most
592 cases the family farm. Functions, entrepreneur, capital and manual labour as regards to the agricultural operations in these farms are done through a joint effort of the family unit. Rarely permanent farm servants are maintained though employment of casual labourers are employed during the busy seasons.

[128] In this enquiry a farm has been defined as comprising of all agricultural land operated by a single family with or without employment of labour. The family may or may not have the right of permanent occupancy and inheritance over the farm land operated by it, and in this sense the farm is distinguised from holding which comprises of such land only over which the family concerned possesses right of occupancy and inheritance.

TABLE D-5

Distribution of farms according to size

6.6 The summary distribution of farms in the three areas is shown in the following table:—

Size of farm (in acres)	Border area			Project area			General area		
	No. of farms	Total area (acres)	Average size of farm (acres)	No. of farms	Total area (acres)	Average size of farm (acres)	No. of farms	Total area (acres)	Average size of farm (acres)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Below 1 acre	151	82.59	.48	46	25.03	.67	14	8.85	.58
" 5 acres	384	383.38	1.00	723	470	1.06	77	148	1.88
Small farms	535	465.17	1.05	778	495.57	1.06	91	156.75	1.88
	(44.15)	(11.48)	—	(44.41)	(14.40)	..	(38.55)	(16.85)	..
Medium farms—									
5 to less than 10 acres ..	515	1813.35	3.52	594	2144.51	4.08	72	258.88	4.03
	(42.50)	(47.08)	..	(38.72)	(59.84)	..	(30.51)	(27.72)	..
Large farms—									
10 acres and above ..	160	1560.71	10.60	96	964.82	10.05	8	92.00	11.49
	(14.57)	(40.42)	..	(6.87)	(22.11)	..	(6.84)	(9.88)	..
Total	1210 (100.00)	3854.11 (100.00)	3.18 ..	1511 (100.00)	3585.19 (100.00)	3.04 ..	171 (100.00)	929.51 (100.00)	2.24 ..

19: Assam G-5 (1958) 1963 AR7 Khasi AR7

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It will be seen from the above table that the total number of farms in each of the three areas is greater than the number of holdings in the corresponding area. There are 759 farms in Border area villages, covering a total areas of 2918.18 acres, whereas the corresponding figures in case of holdings, as we have already seen, are 697 and 5166.42 acres. In Project area 511 farm cover an area of 1898.79 acres, the corresponding figures being 462 and 1891.42 acres, while in General for holding area there are 171 farms which cover 575.81 acres as against 165 holdings covering an area of 613.24 acres. Two reasons may be attributed to these differences. In the first place, proportions of village land are owned by people from outside and rented out to people of the village. Secondly, there are some among the right holders who cultivate only part of their land and the remaining portion is either left fallow or leased out to others. The position will be made clear from a study of subsequent tables viz., D-6 and D-7 given elsewhere in this chapter.

The average size of farms for Border area, Project area and General area respectively are 5.16 acres, 3.54 acres and 2.20 acres which again are less than the corresponding figures of holding of 7.79 acres, 4.09 acres and 3.72 acres. The average size of farm is, however, hardly an adequate measure for judging the conditions of the farmers in as much a large proportion of cultivators (44%, 54% and 53%, in Border area, Project area and General area respectively operates small size farms of less than 3 acres (exact average being 1.33 acres for Border, 1.56 acres for Project and 1.66 acres for General area) and the total farm area cultivated by these cultivators constitute only 11%, 42% and 46% of the total farm areas in the Border area, Project area and General area respectively. In these areas proportion of families operating middle-sized farms, *i.e.*, between 3 to less than 10 acres are 41%, 40% and 42% covering respectively 42%, 56% and 58% of the total farm areas in the respective village group. Proportion of families operating large sized farms, *i.e.*, 10 acres and above in Border area, Project area and General area is respectively 15%, 6%, and 5%, possessing a comparatively bigger slice of farm land amounting to 47%, 22 per cent and 18 per cent of the total farm land in the respective area.

6.7 The following two tables give the distribution of farms and farm areas respectively according to size and ownership.

TABLE D-6

Distribution of farms according to size and ownership

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Size of farms	No. of farms			
	Wholly owned	wholly rented	Partly owned and partly rented	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
A. Border area—				
Small farms				
Less than 3 acres ..	.. 255 (76.12)	65 (19.40)	15 (4.48)	335 (100.00)
Medium farms— 3 to less than 10 acres	.. 229 (72.70)	53 (16.83)	33 (10.47)	315 (100.00)
Large farms—				
10 acres & above ..	.. 90 (82.57)	10 (9.11)	9 (9.26)	109 (100.00)
Total ..	.. 574	128	57	759
..	.. (75.68)	(16.86)	(7.51)	(100.00)
B. Project area—				
Small farm—				
Less than 3 acres	... 196	45	39	278
	(70.50)	(15.47)	(14.03)	(100.00)
Medium farms—				
3 to less than 10 acres	.. 161 (78.82)	13 (6.40)	29 (14.48)	203 (100.00)
Large farms—				
10 acres & above ..	.. 26 (86.67)	2 (6.67)	2 (6.66)	30 (100.00)
Total	.. 382 (72.80)	58 (11.35)	71 (15.85)	511 (100.00)

19: Assam G-5 (1958) 1963 AR7 Khasi AR7

TABLE D-6 (*concld.*)

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Distributing for farms according to size and ownership

Size of farms	No. of farms			
	Wholly owned	Wholly rented	Partly owned and partly rented	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
C. General area—				
Small farms—				
Less than 3 acres	75	5	11	91
	(82.42)	(5.49)	(12.02)	(100.00)
Medium farms—				
3 to less than 10 acres ..	65	2	5	72
	(90.28)	(2.78)	(6.94)	(100.00)
Large farms—				
10 acres & above	7	..	1	8
	(47.50)	..	(12.50)	(100.00)
Total	147	7	17	171
	(85.96)	(4.10)	(9.94)	(100.00)

TABLE D-7

Distribution of farm area by size and type of ownership

Size of farms	Area in acres								
	Wholly owned	Wholly rented	Partly Owned and partly rented			Total owned area (2+4)	Total rented area (3+5)	Total (7+8)
			Owned area	Rented area	Total			
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
A. Border area—								
Small farm— (less than 3 acres)	318·66	85·50	14·78	27·23	42·01	333·44	112·73	446·17
Medium farms— (3 to less than 10 acres)	1206·63	263·34	94·31	86·95	181·26	1300·94	350·29	1651.23
farms— (10 acreas and above)	1545·28	132·25	59·00	80·25	139·25	1604·28	212·50	1816·78
Total	3070·57	481·69	168·09	194·43	362·52	3238·66	675·52	3914·18
	(78·45)	(12·29)	(4·29)	(4·97)		(82 74)	(17·26)	(100·00)

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TABLE D-7 (*concld.*)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
B. Project area—								
Small farms— (less than 3 acres)	305·12	59·29	28·47	41·58	70·05	333·59	100·87	434·46
Medium fams— (3 to less than 10 acres) — ..	790·56	47·15	59·39	77·21	136·60	849·95	124·36	974·31
Large farms— (10 acres and above)	324·77	23·00	35·25	17·00	52·25	360·02	40·00	400·02
Total	1420·45	129·44	123·11	135·79	258·90	1543·56	265·23	1808·79
	(78·53)	(7·16)	(6·81)	(7·50)		(85·34)	(14·66)	(100·00)
C. General area—								
Small farms— (less than 3 acres)	126·08	7·25	8·57	9·25	17·82	134·65	16·50	151·15
Medium farms— (3 acres to less than 10 acres) ...	300·07	8·00	7·73	16·86	24·57	307·80	24·86	332·66
Large farms— (10 acres and above)	80·00	—	4·00	8·00	12·00	84·00	8·00	92·00
Total	506·15	15·25	20·30	34·11	54·39	526·45	49·36	575·81
	(87·90)	(2·65)	(3·53)	(5·92)	(100·00)	(91·43)	(8·57)	(100·00)

From the above tables it is evident that for all the areas in each size group small, medium and large, a high proportion of the farms (*i.e.*, in total 76 per cent in Border area, 78 per cent in Project area and 86 per cent in General area) is wholly owned and the area covered by those wholly owned farms also constitutes almost similar high proportions (*i.e.*, 79 per cent in Border area, 79 per cent in Project area and 88 per cent in General area) of the farm area available in the respective village group. Owned area under all farms amounts to 3238·66 acres (83 per cent of the total farm area) in Border area, 1543·56 acres (85 per cent) in Project area and 526·45 acres (91 per cent) in General area. Of this total owned area, in Border area nearly 95 per cent is covered by wholly owned farms and the rest by the partly owned farms. In Project area and General area respectively 92 per cent and 96 per cent of the total owned area are covered by wholly owned farms. Thus the area available for renting in Border area constitutes 17 per cent of the total farm land amounting to 675·52 acres of which 71 per cent is under wholly rented farm and 29 per cent under partly owned farm, in Project area total area available for renting constitutes 15 per cent (*i.e.*, 265·23 acres) of the total farm area of which 49 per cent and 51 per cent respectively are under wholly rented and partly owned farms while in General area 8·57 per cent (49·26 acres) of the total farm area are available for renting of which respectively 31 per cent and 69 per cent are covered by wholly rented and partly owned farms.

It is seen from Table D-7, that total rented area in Border area, Project area and General area are respectively 675·52 acres, 265·23 acres and 49·36 acres. A comparison of these figures with the figures of land leased out as in Table D-2 which are respectively 251.41 acres, 91·56 acres and 16·75 acres in the three areas, goes to show that some of the village lands taken in rent by the villagers belong to some right-holders who live outside the village.

CHAPTER VII

Rural Indebtedness

426 7.1. As Rural indebtedness is a problem of great importance we have attempted below to reproduce the extent of indebtedness in the rural areas of the district. During investigation account was taken of all loans of which at least a part was outstanding on the date of investigation.

7.2. The following table shows the number of indebted families in the three village groups :

TABLE E-1

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Number of indebted families and amount of loan outstanding in the three areas:

Village group	Total No. of families.	No. of indebted families	P. C. of indebted families	Amount of loan outstanding (Rs.)	Average amount outstanding: Per family (Rs.)	Average amount outstanding: Per indebted family (Rs.)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Border area ..	1006	630	62	1,58,289	157·34	251·25
Project area ..	647	322	50	89,510	138·35	277·508
General area ..	185	52	28	9,364	50·89	18·000

Thus 62 per cent of the families in Border area, 50 per cent in Project area and 28 per cent in General area are indebted, the average amount outstanding per family in the corresponding area being Rs. 251.25, Rs. 277.50 and Rs. 180,08 respectively. All these prove beyond doubt that rural indebtedness in the district is high. It will be seen from a subsequent table that Government loan constitutes the largest portion of the total amount of loan in these Border area villages. It will also be seen that per family indebtedness is highest in Project area. This is, however, apt to be inflated in view of the fact that from Project area, villages where intensive development activities were taken up by Project, were selected and these villagers happened to receive various kinds of loans from Project. Loans were taken both in cash and kind. Kind loans, however, were not frequent. It was found that value of kind loans constituted only 2 per cent, 19 per cent and 22 per cent of the total amount of loans in Border area, Project area and General area respectively. Kind loans are usually taken as follows :

426 Firstly when agricultural produce fails to meet the annual requirements of the people they resort to grain loans. Secondly, some Government loan, particularly agricultural loan disbursed by Project area, are given partly in cash and partly in kind.

7.3. As a study of the occupational distribution of these indebted families may be useful, in the following table, indebted families are classified according to their principal occupation.

TABLE E-2

Debts by principal occupation

Principal occupation	Total No. of families	No. of indebted families	Amount of loan outstanding (Rs.)	Average amount outstanding per household (Rs.)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
A. Border area :—				
1. Agriculture ...	697	458	90,516	197·63
2. Labour ...	188	103	16,745	162·51
3. Service, Profession, etc. ..	84	19	28,310	1490·00
4. Trade ..	65	29	16,188	558·20
5. Small scale manufacture and handicraft ..	23	13	4,910	377·69
6. Poultry and diary, farming, etc. ..	7	3	1,200	400·00
7. Others ..	10	5	420	84·00
Total : ..	1,006	630	1,58,289	251·25
B. Project area—				
1. Agriculture ..	489	249	69,595	279·50
2. Labour ..	70	33	2,740	80·30
3. Service profession, etc.	39	17	5,755	338·53
4. Trade ..	21	8	2,035	254·38
5. Small scale manufacture and handicraft.	19	11	8,275	752·27
6. Poultry and diary farming, etc. ..	..	..	..	..
7. Others ..	9	4	1,110	277·50
Total: ..	647	322	89,510	277·98

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Principal occupation	Total No. of families	No of indebted families	Amount of loan outstanding (Rs.)	Average Amount outstanding per household (Rs.)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
C. General area:—				
1. Agriculture ..	165	51	9,264	181·65
2. Labour ...	6	1	100	100·00
3. Service profession, etc.	3	..	..	..
4. Trade ..	4	.	..	..
5. Small scale manufacture and handicraft.	1	..	..	..
6. Poultry and diary farming, etc. ..	5	..	..	..
7. Others ..	...	...	..	...
Total: ..	184	52	9,364	180·08

From the above table it will be seen that predominantly agricultural families constitute the highest proportion of the indebted class in all the three areas. In Border area they constitute 73 per cent of the total number of indebted families, accounting for 57 per cent of the total amount of loan. In Project area and General area these proportions were respectively 77 per cent, 98 per cent and 99 per cent. It is clear that in Border area, average amount of loan per family is higher of the non-agricultural class which ranges from Rs. 377·69 nP to Rs. 1,490·00 nP. These averages, as a matter of fact were inflated due to inclusion of a few families in each class who have very high amount of outstanding loan ranging from Rs. 600 to Rs. 10,000 per family. Otherwise indebtedness in agricultural and non-agricultural class did not visualise any wide difference. In Project area indebtedness among agricultural families is definitely higher than that among their counterparts in Border area and they accounted for a fair proportion (78 per cent) of the total amount of loan. Different occupational groups in non-agricultural class, of course, revealed among themselves wide variation in average per family indebteness ranging from Rs. 80 to Rs. 752 per family. On the other hand, in General area, agricultural families account for almost the entire amount of loan.

Per family indebtedness taking all the families into consideration stands at, for Border area Rs. 157·34, for Project area Rs. 138·35 and for General area Rs. 50·89.

7.4. As has already been mentioned, the average debt per family worked out above does not reflect the true picture of indebtedness in the areas. The following table is illustrative.—

TABLE E-3

Distribution of loans in different amount groups

Loan group (Rs.)	Border area			Project area			General area		
	No. of loan	Amount (Rs.)	Average (Rs.)	No. of loan	Amount (Rs.)	Average (Rs.)	No. of loan	Amount (Rs.)	Average (Rs.)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
1. Below Rs. 100	449	15,251	33·97	249	10,770	43·25	17	857	50.41
	(41)	(9)		(49)	(12)		(28)	(8)	
2. Rs. 100 to below 200 ..	497	50,855	10 12	111	13207	118·98	26	2979	114.58
	(46)	(30)		(22)	(15)		(43)	(30)	

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TABLE E-3—*concld.*

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
3. Rs. 300 to below 500 ..	71	18,700	263·38	103	26,390	256·21	12	2800	233.33
	(7)	(11)		(20)	(29)		(20)	(28)	
4. Rs. 500 to below 1,000 ..	39	24,450	626·92	34	21,370	628·53	4	2100	525·00
	(4)	(15)		(7)	(24)		(7)	(21)	
5. Rs. 1000 to below 2,000 ..	13	25,620	1201·54	7	7,500	1071·43	1	1,300	1300·00
	(1)	(9)		(1)	(8)		(2)	(13)	
6. Rs. 2,000 and above ..	12	43,830	3652·50	4	10,400	2600·00	..	..	..
	(1)	(26)		(1)	12	..	..	..	..
Total	1081	168106	155·51	508	89637	176·45	60	10086	167·27
	(100)	(100)		(100)	(100)		(100)	(100)	

From the above table it is clear that majority of the loans are of small amounts. In Border area as many as 87 per cent of the loans are of size less than Rs. 200 (average Rs. 69.25 only) covering only 39 per cent of the total amount of loan. The corresponding figures for Project area are 71 per cent (average Rs. 66·60) and 27 per cent and for General area 72 per cent (average Rs. 89·20) and 38 per cent. Thus in Border area there were 135 big loans ranging from Rs. 263·38 to Rs. 3652·50, in Project area 148 big loans ranging from Rs. 256·21 to Rs. 2,600·00 and in General area 17 big loans ranging between Rs. 233·33 to Rs. 1,300·00 which have given considerable weight in raising the average figure of per family indebtedness.

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7.5 It has been observed that majority of the loans are of shortstanding particularly those in Project area and General area. The following table will be illustative

TABLE E-4

Period of Standing of Loan	Border area		Project area		General area	
	No. of loan	Amount of loan (Rs.)	No. of loan	Amount of loan (Rs.)	No. of loan	Amount (Rs.)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1. Less than 3 years ..	721	92,466	421	72,714	54	8,236
	(67)	(55)	(83)	(81)	(90)	(82)
3. 3 to less than 5 years	318	48,120	66	11,083	5	500
	(29)	(29)	(13)	(12)	(8)	(5)
4. 5 years and above ..	42	27,520	21	5,840	1	1,300
	(4)	(16)	(4)	(7)	(2)	(13)
Total.	1,081	1,68,106	508	89,637	60	10,036
	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)

Thus in Border area, Project area and General area respectively 67 per cent, 83 per cent and 90 per cent of the total number of loans in the respective area were contracted during the three years preceding the enquiry respectively covering 55 per cent, 81 per cent and 82 per cent of the total amount of loans in the respective areas. In Border area out of 1081 loans, 360 numbers of loans (33 per cent) were of more than 3 years standing, the corresponding figures for Project area and General area being 87 (*i.e.*, 17.12 per cent) and 6 (*i.e.*, 10 per cent). A comprehensive analysis of the component parts of these loans will be found in Table E-4 at the appendix.

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7.6 Th purposes for which the loans were incurred and different sources of loans are summarised in the following table :—

TABLE E-5

Loans by source and purpose

Source	Government Agriculture loan		Other Government loan		Co-operative Societies		Money lender village Mahajan		Owner of land		Others		Total	
Purpose	No.	Amount (Rs)	No.	Amount (Rs)	No.	Amount (Rs)	No.	Amount (Rs)	No.	Amount (Rs)	No.	Amount (Rs)	No.	Amount (Rs)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)
A. Border Area—														
1. Education	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	...	..	..	..	..	..	..
2. Marriage and other social functions	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3. Normal maintenance	...	..	..	..	..	..	36	10,415	1	15	4	530	40 (6)	10,960 (7)
4. Purchase of draught animal	..	..	...	..	...	..	1	600	..	..	..	..	1	600

TABLE 2.5—cont.

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)
5. Purchase of land	--	--	--	--	3	1,105	--	--	3	2,229	--	--	4	2,346	15 (7)	5,115 (4)
6. Purchase of seed, manure and other irrigation and other agricultural purposes.	(53)	44,280	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	14	5,303	1	300	80 (70)	11,041 (63)
7. Construction and purchase of seed, seeds and other durable and semi-durable goods.	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	7	2,804	--	--	1	2		4 (2)	2,804 (1)
8. Household expenses	--	--	--	4	2,[illegible]	--	--	11	[illegible]	--	--	1	140		31 (9)	[illegible] (7)
9. Repayment of debt	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	4	[illegible]	--	--	--	--		4	[illegible] (3)
10. Others	--	--	--	--	--	41	10,[illegible]	--	--	40	[illegible]	--	--	18	[illegible]	14 (11)	[illegible] (8)
Total	--	--	--	853 (71)	44,280 (41)	46 (1)	10,[illegible] (10)	--	--	1,[illegible] (13)	[illegible] (41)	15 (1)	[illegible] (1)	18 (1)	[illegible] (4)	[illegible] (340)	1,11,[illegible] (100)

TABLE E-5—*contd.*

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)
B. Project area—														
1. Education	—	..	..	—	—	..	1	1,000	..	—	—	..	1 (1)	1,000 (1)
2. Marriage and other social functions	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	1,100	..	..	..	..	2 (1)	1,000 (1)
3. Normal maintenance.	..	..	—	..	1	8½	14½	34,221	12	1,583	2	246	160 (33)	40,316 (42)
4. Purchase of drought animal ..	1	750	2	650	..	..	2	420	—	—	..	—	6 (1)	1,570 (2)
5. Purchase of land.	2	480	..	—	..	..	10	3,150	..	..	..	..	12 (3)	3,530 (4)
6. Purchase of seed manure, other implements and other equipment for purposes.	21½	19,[illegible]	..	..	2	100	3½	7,[illegible]	3	[illegible]	—	..	[illegible] (34)	27,978 (31)
7. Construction and purchase of and water and other durable and semi durable goods. ..	..	..	1	[illegible]	..	..	2	1,000	..	..	..	..	3 (1)	1,200 (1)
8. Household enterprise. —	..	..	—	..	..	..	13	1,[illegible]	—	..	..	..	13 (3)	1,030 (2)
9. Repayment of debt.	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	400	..	..	..	..	1	400 (1)
10. Others.	—	..	9	1,[illegible]	3	140	43	8,[illegible]	..	..	1	100	56 (11)	10,755 (12)
Total: .. — —	119 (41)	21,135 (24)	11 (2)	2,[illegible] (3)	6 (1)	101 (6)	232 (50)	63,041 (70)	17 (3)	2,681 (3)	3 (1)	445 (1)	508 (100)	89,457 (100)

TABLE E-5—*concld.*

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)
C. General area—														
1. Education.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	...	..
2. Marriage and other social functions.	..	..	..	...	..	..	1	60	..	..	..	..	1 (5)	60 (1)
3. Normal maintenance.	..	..	..	..	..	..	27	4,604	5	518	..	..	22 (55)	5,122 (51)
4. Purchase of draught animal ..	..	..	...	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
5. Purchase of land	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
6. Purchase of seed, manure, minor irrigations and other agricultural purposes.	10	1,084	..	..	..	..	13	2,570	..	...	..	..	19 (32)	3,254 (32)
7. Construction and purchase of real assets and other durable and semi-durable goods.	..	—	...	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
8. Household enterprise. ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	...	—	..	..	..	..	..	..
9. Repayment of debt	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	...	..	..	..	..	..
10. Others.	..	..	..	...	..	..	4	1,200	..	..	..	..	8 (13)	1,600 (16)
Total	10 (17)	1,084 (11)	.. ...	.. ...	.. ..	... ..	45 (75)	8,434 (84)	5 (8)	518 (5)	.. ..	.. ...	60 (100)	10,036 (100)

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426 A close scrutiny of table above, shows that families contracted loans for productive as well as unproductive purposes, the bulk of them apparently being for productive purposes. In Border area out of 1081 loans, as many as 850 loans (79%) accounting for 43% of the total amount of loan were incurred for agricultural purposes other than purchase of land and draught animals followed by 116 loans (11%) accounting for 28% of the total taken for other purposes which included some Government loan such as Relief and Rehabilitation loans, etc., and other loans taken from private persons for meeting medical expenses which is considerable in Border area and other necessities. Next to it in order of importance come the loans for normal maintenance and for running houshold enterprises, the number on respective item being 60 (6%) and 27 accounting for 7% and 15% of the total amount of loans. Individually loans for running household enterprises are of biggest amount, being Rs. 952.04 on the average.

Though the majority of the loans were incurred for productive purposes, replies given by the loanees during enquiry, suggest that the major portion of these loans was spent on normal maintenance. This was particularly the case with Government loans given in Border area.

In Project area out of a total of 508 loans, 255 loans (50%) were contracted for agricultural purposes covering 31% of the total amount of loan, followed by loans for normal maintenance and for other purposes, number of loans for the respective categories being 160 (32%) and 56 (11%) accounting respectively for 4% and 12% of the total amount of loan.

In General area out of a total of 60 loans 32 (53%) were incurred for normal maintenance accounting for 51% of the total amount of loan. Next come the 19 loans contracted for agricultural purposes which accounted for 32% of the total amount of loans again followed by 8 loans taken for other purposes accounting for 16% of the total amount of loan.

7.7 These loans were, as will be seen from the above table, taken from various sources. In all the areas, however, Government and money lenders eclipsed the other sources. In Border area, for example, Government loans constitute 82% of the total number of 1081 loans accounting for 53% of the total amount of loan, followed by loans from money lenders and Mahajans which constituted 15% of the total number of loans and covered a comparatively much higher proportion (41%) of the total amount of loans pointing to the significance of individual loans. Next to them are the loans from other sources which included friends and relatives, followed by those from owners of land.

In project area loans from private money lenders constitued 50% of total number of loans (508) covering a little less than ¾th (70%) of the total amount of loan, followed by Government loans for which the corresponding figures are 45% and 26%. The remaining 5.12% of the total number of loans accounting for 3·61% of the total amount are taken in order of importance, from owner of land, Co-operative Societies and 'other' sources.

In General area out of a total of 60 loans 45 loans (75%) accounting for 84% of the total amount are from money lenders followed by 10 loans from Government and five loans from owners of land accounting respectively for 11 per cent and 5% of the total amount. 426

Thus it is seen that money lenders are still holding sway among the poor people in the rural areas.

7.8 The following table summarises the position with regard to the interests borne by different parts of the rural debt. The calculation of rates of interests presents difficulties in the case of loans taken in kind or in cash on condition of selling the crop after harvest to the creditors or rendering labour at less wages at creditor's farm during busy agricultural season. In case of such loans the interest rates given here are as ascertained on the basis of the information furnished by the debtor regarding the amount of produce to be given to the creditor, or number of man-days worked on creditor's farm in repayment of principal and interest.

TABLE E-6

Debts classfied according to rate of interests

Rate of interest	No. of loans	P. C. to total no of loan	Amount (Rs)	Percentage to total amount of loan	Average amount of loan (Rs)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Border area—					
1. Free of interest	882	82	87,549	52	99·32
2. Less than 5 per cent	4	..	3,425	3	1106·25
3. 5 per cent and less than 10 per cent ..	49	4	21,000	13	440.82
4. 10 per cent and less than 20 per cent ...	48	4	24,795	15	516·56
5. 20 per cent and less than 30 per cent ..	41	4	15,430	10	400·73
6. 30 per cent and less than 50 per cent ...	28	3	8,710	5	311·07
7. 50 per cent and less than 100 per cent ...	7	1	1,965	1	280·71
8. 100 per cent and less than 200 per cent ..	6	1	947	..	157·83
9. 200 per cent and above ..	16	1	1,535	1	102·19
Total	1081	100	168,106	100	

TABLE E-6—*concld.*

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Project area—					
1. Free of interest	92	18	13,131	14	142·95
2. Less than 5 per cent ...	11	2	3,427	3	220·64
3. 5 per cent and less than 10 per cent	196	39	20,365	23	103·90
4. 10 per cent and less than 20 per cent	55	11	16,975	19	308·64
5. 20 per cent and less than 30 per cent	59	12	10,864	12	184·14
6. 30 per cent and less than 50 per cent	48	9	11,369	13	236·85
7. 50 per cent and less than 100 per cent	41	8	12,416	14	302·83
8. 100 per cent and less than 200 per cent	5	1	1,470	1	294·00
9. 200 per cent and above.	1	0	600	1	600·00
Total—	508	100	89,637	100	
General area —					
1. Free of interest	12	20	1,038	10	86·50
2. less than 5 per cent					
3. 5 per cent and less than 10 per cent	3	5	384	4	128·00
4. 10 per cent and less than 20 per cent	9	15	2,340	23	260·00
5. 20 per cent and less than 30 per cent	15	25	2,505	25	167·00
6. 30 per cent and less than 50 per cent	7	12	1,470	15	210·00
7. 50 percent and less than 100 per cent	14	23	2,299	23	164·21
8. 100 per cent and less than 200 per cent	...	..	...	..	..
9. 200 per cent and above	...	...	..	...	...
Total	60	(100)	10,036	100	

It is seen that proportion of interest free loans are 82 per cent in Border area accounting for 52% of toal amount of loan, 18% in Project area which cover 14% of the total amount of loan and that in General area being 20% covering 10% of the total amount of loan. The reason behind the unusually high proportion of interest free loans in Border area was that most of the Government loans were free of interest. Thus only 18% of loans in Border area bear interest whereas as much as 82% in Project area and 80% in General area bear interest ranging even up to 200%. It has been found that loans contracted from friends and relatives are free of interest, those from money lenders and other village Mahajans are usually of very high interests and as has already been mentioned in Project area and General area they constitute the major portion of the loans. It will be seen from table above that proportion of loans with interest between 20%— 100% and 100% to above 200% are repectively in Border area 7% and 2% only in Project area 29% and 1% and in General area 60% and nil.

CHAPTER VIII

Farm Output and sale

8.1 As a large majority of the family income is mainly from their farms, an attempt is made below to analyse the data collected on farm output, disposal and sale of produce. The data relate to the agricultural year March, 1957 to February, 1957. 241 433

8.2 **Output:** The following table sets forth some interesting data on farm output average cultivated area, etc. of cultivators by value groups.

TABLE F-1

Number of families by Gross output group 162* 241 433

Gross output group (Rs)	Border area		Project area		General area	
	No. of families	Average cultivated area (acres)	No. of families	Average cultivated area (acres)	No. of families	Average cultivated area
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
0	50 (7)	3.12	20 (4)	1.64	2 (1)	2.25
Less than 100	177 (23)	1.87	47 (9)	1.56	10(6)	1.12
100—250	120 (16)	2.97	84(16)	1.80	39(23)	2.05
250—500	161 (21)	4.21	133(26)	2.67	51(30)	2.51
500—1000	143 (19)	8.00	159(31)	4.07	55(32)	4.41
1000—2000	71 (9)	10.52	57 (11)	6.9	13(8)	5.93
2000—3000	20 (3)	15.24	8 (2)	13.5	1	12.00
3000—4000	7 (1)	16.09	2 (1)	13.63	—	..
4000 and above	10 (1)	12.07	2	16.25	—	...
Total :—	759(100)		511(00)		171(100)	

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TABLE F-2

Number of Families

Gross output group Rs.	Border area				Project area				General area			
	Small farms	Medium farms	Large farms	Total	Small farms	Medium farms	Large farms	Total	Small farms	Medium farms	Large farms	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
0	35	12	3	50	17	3	—	20	1	1	—	2
Less than 100	145	33	1	177	41	6	..	47	9	1	..	10
100 — 250	73	45	2	120	69	14	1	84	31	8	..	39
250 — 500	60	86	15	161	93	37	3	133	32	18	1	51
500 — 1000	18	89	36	143	54	100	4	158	18	33	4	55
1000 — 2000	5	36	30	71	4	43	10	57	..	11	2	13
2000 — 3000	..	9	11	20	..	—	8	8	..	..	1	1
3000 — 4000	1	1	5	7	..	..	2	2	..	—	..	..
4000 and above	..	4	6	10	—	..	2	2	..	..	..	..

As is to be expected, large output groups are associated with higher farm size groups. It will also be seen that proportion of farms with an output of less than Rs. 500.00 per annum in Border area, Project area and General area are respectively 67 per cent, 55 per cent and 60 per cent. A joint consideration of the proportions and the size of cultivated area in the three groups indicates that the large majority of farms in Border area are less profitable than those in the other two areas though the farms in Border area are sown with very rich cash crops. This is further amplified by the fact that in Border area of the total number of farms fetching less than Rs. 500.00 a year, 35 per cent are medium sized farms and 4 per cent are large sized farms, the corresponding percentages for the Project area being 21 per cent and 1 per cent and for General area 27 per cent and 1 per cent respectively.

8.3.—The following table summarises the data on relative importance of crops, harvested area under different crops, average yeild of crops and sale proceeds, etc.

TABLE F-3

Yield rate of some important crops

Crop	Border area			Project area			General area		
	Gross farm area harvested (in acres)	Average yield per acre	Sale proceed (Rs.0.00)	Gross farm area harvested (in acre)	Average yield per acre	Sale proceed (Rs.0.00)	Gross farm area harvested (in acre)	Average yield per acre	Sale proceed (Rs.0.00)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
1. Betel leaf	298.69	17.15	15037	58.10	50.64	7857	10.50	24	486
	(9)	(kuri)	(5)	(3)	(kuri)	(8)	(2)	(kuri)	(2)
2. Arecanut	891.80	2.93	18,025	13.50	4·11	4719	8.50	3.03	1098
	(97)	(luti)	(60)	(1)	(luti)	(5)	(1)	(luti)	(4)
3. Orange	1018.77	5.27	68404	52.34	16·76	5128	21.25	2·80	71
	(91)	(luti)	(23)	(3)	(luti)	(5)	(4)	(luti)	(..)
4. Potato	20.70	17.49	1118	28.31	22.77	1143	37.40	27.16	9075
	(1)	(mds)	(—)	(2)	(mds)	(1)	(7)	(mds)	(39)
5. Paddy	648.76	8.38	17600	1401.89	12.92	77243	342.75	12.60	1209
	(19)	(mds)	(6)	(82)	(mds)	(17)	(61)	(mds)	(45)
6. Millet	101.80	3·51	370	4·10	8.78	132	22.94	6.94	737
	(3)	(mds)	(—)	(—)	(mds)	(—)	(4)	(mds)	(3)
7. Tapioca	36·25	24.41	401	..	—	..	6.75	37.08	225
	(1)	(mds)	(—)	..	—	..	(1)	(mds)	(—)
8. Yam	59.03	9.40	598	5.60	18·46	90	1.87	23.45	25
	(2)	(mds)	(—)	(..)	(mds)	(—)	(—)	(mds)	(..)
9 Others	248.68	..	16494	136·36	..	3806	189.41	..	3821
	(7)	..	(6)	(8)	..	(4)	(19)		(14)
Total	3324.48	...	3,04,496	1700.40	..	100127	561.37	..	26628
	(100)	..	(100)	(100)	..	(100)	(100)		(100)

N.B. (a) 1 luti=1024 nos. in the case of orange.
=6400 ,, ,, ,, betelnut.
(b) 1 Kuri=288 leaves.
(c) Potato here relates to potato harvested in winter months.

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241 311 433 **8·4—Relative importance of crops**—Total gross farm area harvested amounted to 3324.48 acres in Border area, 1700.40 acres in Project area and 561 acres in General area.

From above table it will be seen that in Border area, orange accounted for the highest proportion of harvested area, *i.e.*, 31 per cent, followed in order of importance by betel nut, paddy, betel leaf and millet which respectively accounts for 17 per cent, 19 per cent, 9 per cent and 3 per cent of the total harvested area. Other crops which account for 248.68 acres (7 per cent) includes maize, tezpata, banana, turmeric, dal, blackpepper and other fruit crops.

Considering sale proceeds, it is clear that betelnut happens to be the main earner accounting for 60 per cent of the total sale proceeds followed by orange, paddy and betel leaf which respectively account for 22 per cent, 6 per cent and 5 per cent of the total sale proceeds. Thus orange and betel leaf which in pre-partition days were the main earner-crops in the Border area have been passed to second and forth position respectively—the proportions fetched by them, particularly by betel leaf, being negligible. On other hand as there is a good market for betel nut, Border people have taken to betel nut cultivation in a more extensive scale.

241 245 311 433 It is significant that while in Border area total farm area is 3914 acres, total area harvested comes to only 3325 acres including area under mixed cropping which is in wide practice in Border area particularly for orange, betelnut, and for some other minor crops. Thus proportion of unharvested farm area emerges out to be considerable which can be accounted for the following reasons:—

(1) The farm area includes some new gardens particularly of betelnuts which usually take quite a few years to bear fruits.

[44] (2) Reportedly a large number of orange and betel-leaf gardens were not harvested at all as there was no market for them.

241 433 44 Turning our attention to Project area and General area, it will be found that paddy eclipses all other crops in as much as in the two areas it respectively covers 82 per cent and 61 per cent of the total harvested area in the respective area. In Project area paddy is followed by Betel leaf, orange, potato and betelnut in order of importance while in General area it is followed by potato, millet, orange, betel leaf and betelnut. In both the areas as will be seen from table above, almost all the crops retain their respective position in value. Considering sale proceed, in Project area, paddy occupies the highest position accounting for 77 per cent of the total sale proceeds followed by betel leaf, orange, betelnut and potato accounting respectively for 8 per cent, 5 per cent, 5 per cent and 1 per cent of the total sale proceeds. In General area, in order of importance of sale proceed paddy, potato and betelnut are worth mentioning fetching respectively 45 per cent, 30 per cent and 4 per cent of the total sale proceeds.

8·5—In the following paragraphs we have reproduced the yield rates of different crops, calculated on the basis of area harvested and total produces reported by the cultivators. For assesment of correct yield rates it is necessary to conduct a scientifically designed crops cutting survey which in view of its largeness in magnitude and other complexities associated with the type of experiments, could not be fitted in with the programme of the present survey. It is admitted that the yield estimates worked out by us are proved to be subjected to the usual limitations of this type of data. 128 433

Yield

1. **Paddy.**—It will be seen from table above that average yields of paddy per acre for Border area, General area and Project area are respectively 8.38 maunds, 12.92 maunds and 12.60 maunds and for the district as a whole it comes to 11.65 maunds though there are cases where maximum yield goes to above 18 maunds per acre. Thus it is seen that the average yield is much less than the average yield for the State of Assam (plain district) which is above 18 maunds per acre. Average yield in Border area is evidently much smaller. Apart from low fertility of land, another reason for this low average is that in a number of villages selected from Border area such as Syndai, Amki and Lumshnong, there was widespread havoc to standing crops was caused by wild elephants. 243 433 [136]

2. **Potato.**—The average for the three areas comes to 21·61 maunds per acre which is in contrast to the State average of above 40 maunds per acre. Our estimate has in fact been lowered due to inclusion of a few villages in the foot hills where potatoes don't grow well, otherwise in a number of high altitude villages, yield per acre well exceeded 40 maunds. The average for Border area is rather too low. Apart from unsuitability of Border land of high altitude potatoes another reason for this low average is that during the reference year the crop suffered from widespread incidence of pests and insects. 244 433 [136]

3. **Orange.**—yield of orange in Border area, Project area and General area was found to be 5. 27 luties or 5396 numbers against 16.76 luties or 17162 numbers and 2.80 luties or 2867 numbers respectively Thus the average yield in Border area, even considering the mixed nature of some gardens is much low. The reasons are obvious. 245 433

4. **Betelnut**—Average yield per acre from Border area, Project area and General area was found to be 2.93 luties (18752 numbers), 4.11 luties (26304 numbers) ann 3.03 luties (19392 numbers) respectively bringing the average for all the three areas to 2.95 luties per arce. 249 433

5. **Betel leaf.**—Average yield per acre works out at 17·15 kuris, 50.64 kuris and 24 kuris in Border area, Project area and General area respectively. Thus in Booder area the average is much lower. This is due to the fact that most of the gardens remained unplucked for want of market for leaf.

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CHAPTER IX

Income and Expenditure

434 592 9·1 The great majority of rural people are members of families of two or more persons sharing a common income earned mostly by joint efforts of family members an also disbursed in supplying the consumption needs of the family as a whole. An attempt is made below, therefore, to analyse the aspects of income and expenditure of the rural families family-wise.

434 463 592 9.2 It has already been mentioned that the majority (*i.e.*, above 75 per cent) of the families of all the three areas pursued agriculture as a principal occupation. Some of these families follow cottage industries, trade, transport, labour, etc. as subsidiary occupations. The rest of the families had either agriculture as subsidiary occupation or were independent of agriculture. The larger section of these families were non-agricultural labourers. The following table gives the distribution of families in different income groups.

TABLE G-1

Frequency distribution of families in different income groups

Income Group Rs.	No. of families: Border area: Mainly agricultural	Border area: Non-agricultural	Border area: Total	Average annual gross income per family (Rs.0.00)	Project area: Mainly agricultural	Project area: Non-agricultural	Project area: Total	Average annual gross income per family (Rs.0.00)	General area: Mainly agricultural	General area: Non-agricultural	General area: Total	Average annual income per family (Rs. 0.00)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
1. Below 100 ..	..	1 (.31)	1 (.10)	60.00 ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2. 100 to below 250	6 (.88)	17 (5.20)	23 (2.29)	208.96	7 (1.43)	6 (3.80)	13 (2.01)	193.00	1 (.61)	..	1 (.34)	128.00 ..
3. 250 to below 500	120 (17.67)	73 (22.32)	193 (19.18)	398.75	62 (12.68)	9 (5.71)	71 (10.97)	392.34	18 (10.90)	4 (21.05)	22 (11.96)	345.27
4. 500 to below 750	207 (30.49)	80 (24.46)	287 (28.53)	709.54	108 (22.09)	31 (19.62)	139 (21.48)	633.68	36 (39.94)	4 (21.05)	40 (32.61)	530.25
5. 750 to below 1000	131 (19.29)	48 (14.68)	179 (17.79)	829.89	115 (23.52)	22 (13.92)	137 (21.17)	867.55	38 (23.03)	6 (31.58)	44 (23.92)	993.48
6. 1000 to below 1500	129 (19.00)	39 (11.93)	168 (16.70)	1,188.68	122 (24.95)	38 (24.05)	160 (24.73)	1189.24	41 (24.85)	3 (15.79)	44 (23.92)	1210.64
7. 1500 to below 2000	34 (5.01)	21 (6.42)	55 (5.47)	1,687.05	40 (8.18)	11 (6.96)	51 (7.88)	1680.73	10 (6.06)	2 (10.53)	12 (6.51)	1694.50

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TABLE G-1—contd.

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
8. 2000 to below 2500	14 (1.86)	16 (2.06)	33 (2.28)	2,148.09	12 (2.45)	10 (2.38)	23 (3.41)	2,103.27 ..	.. ..			
9. 2500 to below 3000	11 (1.42)	18 (2.97)	24 (3.32)	2,875.42	10 (2.04)	6 (1.43)	19 (2.82)	2,886.61 ..	1 (.41)	.. ..	1 (.34)	2,932.00
10. 3000 to below 3500	7 (1.04)	3 (.50)	10 (.69)	3,127.50	4 (.82)	6 (1.43)	10 (1.48)	3,394.00 ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..
11. 3500 to below 4000	6 (.88)	5 (1.25)	11 (1.09)	3,710.27 ..	1 (.20)	1 (.24)	9 (.91)	3,892.00 ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..
12. 4,000 & above	13 (2.21)	17 (3.00)	37 (3.18)	5,776.18 ..	5 (1.04)	16 (3.82)	24 (3.78)	6,175.42 ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..
Total ..	679 (100.00)	527 (100.00)	1,166 (100.00)	10,96[illegible] ..	488 (100.00)	418 (100.00)	647 (100.00)	1,399.[illegible] ..	2[illegible] (100.00)	3[illegible] (100.00)	1[illegible] (100.00)	[illegible] ..

From table above, it is difficult to judge the relative prosperity of agricultural and non-agricultural families. The annual gross income of 49 per cent of the agricultural families is less than Rs.750 a year while that of 87 per cent of them is below Rs.1,500 a year. Thus the remaining 13 per cent of the families only have a gross annual income of above Rs.1,500 a year. Among non-agricultural families the corresponding proportions are 32 per cent, 79 per cent and 21 per cent. Thus proportion of non-agricultural families with annual gross income less than Rs.750, is greater than the corresponding proportion of agricultural families. The petty traders, pariahs and other non-agricultural labourers who are necessarily very poor constitute this non-agricultural class. On the other hand proportion of non-agricultural families with annual gross income of more than Rs.750 exceeds the corresponding proportion for agricultural families. These non-agricultural families comprise of a good number of business men, contractors, etc., who are comparatively a bit well off than the agriculturists.

In Project area proportion of agricultural families and non-agricultural families with annual gross income of less than Rs.750 is 36 per cent and 29 per cent respectively as against 49 per cent and 32 per cent of their respective counterpart in Border area. Proportions of families with gross income below Rs.1,500 a year is 84 per cent and 64 per cent indicating that proportions of agricultural as well as non-agricultural families with income above Rs.1,500 a year are greater than their corresponding counterparts in Border area.

In general area villages it is significant to note that proportion of agricultural families with gross annual income of over Rs.1,500 is negligible (·61 per cent) while those under Rs.750 and Rs.1,500 are 45 per cent and 95 per cent respectively.

Table below further reveals that 38 per cent of the gross income in the Border area, 34 per cent in the Project area and 30 per cent in the General area is earned by families in the income group less Rs.1,500 constituting as much as 85 per cent of the total number of families in the respective areas.

TABLE G-2

Percentage distribution of income and families in different income groups

Annual income group (Rs.) (1)	Border area: Families (2)	Border area: Income earned (3)	Project area: Families (4)	Project area: Income earned (5)	General area: Families (6)	General area: Income earned (7)
1. Less than 1,500	84.5	38.4	83.5	33.8	95.00	95.0
2. 1,500 to less than 3,000	10.5	19.2	14.1	22.6	5.0	5.0
3. 3,000 to less than 4,500	2.1	6.7	1.9	5.0	..	..
4. 4,500 and above	3.0	35.7	0.7	38.6	..	..
Total ..	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

19: Assam G-5 (1956) 1953 A37 Sheet A37

[illegible] Considering all the families together if we classify the families with gross annual income below Rs.750 as low income group, those between Rs.750 to less than 1,500 as medium income group and those above Rs.1,500 as high income group, we get the following proportion of families in different areas :—

	Low income group	Medium income group	High income group	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Border area	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Project area	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
General area	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Thus we see that majority of the families are underprivileged, towards the medium income group in Project area and General area, while proportion of medium income group families is least in Border area. Proportion of low-income group families is least in Project area and highest in Border area closely followed by General area. Thus it appears that Project area villages enjoy a comparatively better economy than Border area and General area villages.

9.8 The greater bulk of the agricultural families income is derived from sale of agricultural produce. Most of them supplement their income through non-agricultural labour while others do it through Cottage Industries, trade, etc. The Non-agricultural families derived their total income from non-agricultural enterprises. The following table shows the contribution of different components to the average annual gross income of families.

TABLE G-5

Components of average annual gross income per family

Source of income	Agricultural families				Non-agricultural families				All families			
	Value of produce				Value of produce				Value of produce			
	Consumed at home	Marketed	Total	P.C.	Consumed at home	Marketed	Total	P.C.	Consumed at home	Marketed	Total	P.C.
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
(Rupees omitted)	Rs. nP.	Rs. nP.	Rs. nP.		Rs. nP.	Rs. nP.	Rs. nP.		Rs. nP.	Rs. nP.	Rs. nP.	
1. Agriculture and Animal husbandry ..	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	11	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
2. Non-agricultural occupations—												
(a) Rural crafts manufacture and handicrafts	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	*	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	11	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	4
(b) Trade	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	13
(c) Transport	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3. Earning, production wages, etc. ..	..	..	[illegible]	[illegible]	..	..	[illegible]	[illegible]	..	..	[illegible]	[illegible]
4. Liquidation of assets	..	..	[illegible]	[illegible]	..	..	[illegible]	[illegible]	..	..	[illegible]	[illegible]
5. Miscellaneous	..	..	[illegible]	[illegible]	..	..	[illegible]	[illegible]	..	..	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	..	..	[illegible]	[illegible]	..	..	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

* Negligible

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TABLE G-3—*contd.*

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Project no.—												
1. Agriculture and Animal husbandry. ..	295·42	232·18	527·60	48	153·87	70·72	224·59	14	260·85	191·75	453·50	37
2. Non-agricultural enterprises—												
(a) Small scale manufacture and handicrafts.	2·17	10·56	12·73	1	7·14	226·61	233·85	14	3·38	63·35	66·73	5
(b) Trade	3·09	34·63	37·72	4	33·39	288·61	322·00	20	10·49	96·65	107·14	9
(c) Transport	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3. Service, profession wages, etc. ..		..	394·97	36	..	..	779·16	47	..	..	488·79	40
4. Liquidation of assets ..	..	..	89·64	8	..	..	47·99	3	..	..	79·47	6
5. Miscellaneous ..	..	..	32·97	3	—	..	36·73	2	..	..	39·67	3
Total ..	..	..	1,095·33	100·80	..	..	1,644·37	100	274·72	352·15	1,229·40	100

TABLE G-3—*contd.*

General area—	(1) Rs. nP.	(2) Rs. nP.	(3) Rs. nP.	(4)	(5) Rs. nP.	(6) Rs. nP.	(7) Rs. nP.	(8)	(9) Rs. nP.	(10) Rs. nP.	(11) Rs. nP.	(12)
1. Agriculture and Animal husbandry. ..	305·70	158·39	464·09	53	248·79	150·53	371·32	46	298·99	155·52	454·51	55
2. Non-agricultural enterprise—												
(a) Small scale manufacture and Handicrafts.	0·23	16·99	17·22	2	...	8·42	8·42	1	0·21	16·10	16·31	2
(b) Trade	1·46	36·46	37·92	4	8·63	45·26	53·89	7	2·21	37·37	39·58	5
(c) Transport	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3. Service, profession, wages, etc. ..		..	317·25	36	..	..	296·74	38	..	..	315·13	36
4. Liquidation of assets		..	35·63	4	..	..	49·42	6	..	..	37·03	4
5. Miscellaneous		..	1·87	*	...	..	1·05	*	..	..	1·78	..
Total		..	873·98	100	..	..	780·84	100	301·41	208·98	864·06	100

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From the above table it is seen that average annual gross income of predominantly agricultural families in Border area, Project area and General area are respectively Rs. 1,035, Rs. 1,095 and Rs.874. Apparently it appears that people in the General area are poorer than those in Border area. This however cannot be said to be true, for, from a consideration of the distribution of families in table G-1 it will be seen that average income figures for Border area and Project area are in fact inflated due to existence of a number of families in higher income group.

To the income of families in Border area agriculture and Animal husbandry contribute 58 per cent followed by Labour-service-profession which contribute 34 per cent (Labour includes agricultural labour also). Miscellaneous sources such as charity remittance, loan realised, etc., contribute 1 per cent. Others in order of importance are liquidation of assets, non-agricultural enterprises such as Trade, Cottage Industries, etc., which respectively account for 4 per cent, 3 ~~and~~ per cent only.

In project area main contributors are agriculture and Animal husbandry and Labour-service, profession etc.. accounting for 48 per cent and 36 per cent respectively followed by Liquidation of assets, and non-agricultural pursuits such as trade and cottage industries which respectively contribute 8 per cent and 5 per cent of the families total gross income.

Main contributors to family income in General area are in order of importance agriculture, Labour-service, profession, etc.. non-agricultural enterprise, and Liquidation of assets, which respectively accounts for 53 per cent, 36 per cent, 6 per cent, and 4 per cent of the families total gross income.

It is also seen that of the total average income of families, value of items produced at farm or at home and consumed at home account for 16 per cent of the families total annual gross income in Border area, 27 per cent in Project area and 35 per cent in General area. Thus average annual cash receipt of an agricultural family in the three areas comes to 84 per cent, 73 per cent and 65 per cent respectively, of the families average gross annual income, *i. e.*, Rs.1,035·06, Rs.1,095·33 and Rs. 873·98 respectively.

Components of average annual net income per family

(in 0·00 rupees

Village group	Type of families	Average income per family: Agriculture and Animal husbandry	Non-agricultural enterprise: Small scale manufacture and handicrafts	Non-agricultural enterprise: Trade	Non-agricultural enterprise: Service, profession wages etc.	Liquidation of assets	Miscellaneous	Total	Average outlay per family	Average net income per family
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
A. Border area	1. Agricultural families.	599·41	1·51	25·36	356·58	37.13	15·07	1,035·06	146·26	888·80
	2. Non-agricultural families.	131·46	128·39	441·07	405·05	32·85	23·09	1,161·91	385·77	776·14
Total ..	..	447·30	42·25	160·49	372·34	35·74	17·68	1,076·30	223·44	852·86
		(41·56)	(3·97)	(14·92)	(34·59)	(3·32)	(1·64)	(100·00)	...	...

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TABLE G-4—*contd.*

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
B. Project area	1. Agricultural families.	527·60	12·73	37·72	394·97	89·64	32·67	1,095·33	144·63	990·70
	2. Non-agricultural families.	324·59	233·84	322·00	779·16	47·99	36·78	1,644·36	475·56	1,168·80
Total	... ...	853·60	66·73	107·14	488·79	79·47	33·67	1,229·40	240·39	988·84
		(35·90)	(5·43)	(8·71)	(39·76)	(6·46)	(2·74)	(100·00)	...	...
C. General area	1. Agricultural families.	464·08	17·22	37·93	317·25	35·63	1·87	873·98	115·86	758·12
	2. Non-agricultural families.	371·32	8·48	53·89	296·74	49·42	1·05	780·84	108·48	672·12
Total	... ...	454·51	16·31	39·58	315·13	37·05	1·78	864·36	114·85	749·51
		(52·58)	(1·89)	(4·58)	(36·46)	(4·29)	(0·20)	100·00	...	...

9.4 Considering non-agricultural families it is seen that average gross annual income per family in Border area, Project area and General area are respectively Rs.1,161·91, Rs. 1,644·36 and Rs.873·98 respectively. The main contributor to this income in Border area is Trade followed by Service, Profession, Labour and Agriculture and Animal husbandry, those in Project area are Labour-Service-Profession followed by Trade, small scale manufacture and agriculture and Animal husbandry. The comparatively higher average income from small scale manufacture and handicraft is due to existence of quite a good number of liquor distillers with quite a large amount of annual income. Main contributors to gross annual income of non-agricultural families in General area in order of importance are agriculture and animal husbandry, service-profession and labour. It is significant that among the non-agricultural families also agriculture and animal husbandry emerge to be the biggest contributor. This is due to the fact that in General area villages there are a large number of Nepali families whose principal occupation is cattle rearing and earned enough by selling milk, ghee, and livestock. These families were classed as non-agricultural families. 434 592 [563]

9.5 Of the gross income, agriculturists spend a portion in their farms on items such as purchase of seed, manure, etc., cost of maintenance of livestock, wages and salaries for labourers, and transport of produce while other spend a portion on running their household enterprises such as purchase of merchandise for trading, purchase of plants and machinery and raw materials for household enterprises, wages and salaries for employees, etc. The net annual income per family, as will be evident from table G-4, comes to Rs. 852·86 in Border area, Rs. 988·84 in Project area and Rs.749·51 in General area. The corresponding figures for agricultural families being Rs. 889·80, Rs. 930·70 Rs. 758·42 and for non-agricultural families Rs. 776·14, Rs.1,168·80 and Rs. 672·16 respectively. 511

The following table shows the annual expenditure of families in running their enterprises.

TABLE G-5

Current expenditure of enterprise

	Border area			Project area			General area		
	Amount	Average expenditure per family		Amount	Average expenditure per family		Amount	Average expenditure per family	
		Reporting	All families		Reporting	All families		Reporting	All families
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Agricultural families—									
1. Seed and manure ..	11,023	32·04	16·23	19·692	59·31	40·27	6,323	50·99	38·32
2. Maintenance of livestock..	3,913	72·46	5·76	5,883	38·74	12·04	2,728	29·65	16·53
3. Wages & Salaries ..	51,740	130·33	76·23	26,835	124·24	54·88	5,403	88·57	32·75
4. Cost of transport ..	10,421	93·88	15·35	1,221	55·50	2·30	820	34·17	4·97
5. Taxes & Revenue ..	1 067	10·78	1·57	1,198	6·08	2·45	315	4·37	1·91
6. Rent of land	3,947	27·80	5·81	2,313	23·36	4·73	1,051	24·44	6·37
7. Other rents and interest ..	689	48·90	1·01	4,859	59·99	9·94	278	23·17	1·68
8. Cost of raw materials for house hold enterprises ..	510	255·00	·75	385	55·00	·79	415	24·41	2·51
9. Purchase of merchandise...	9,403	427·36	13 86	11,770	1070·00	24·07	712	178·00	4·32
10. Others..	254	18·14	·37	96	13·17	·20	58	14·50	·45
Total	92,966	..	136·90	72,457	..	151·87	18,193	..	109·71

TABLE G-5—*contd.*

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Non-agricultural families—									
1. Seed and manure ..	2195	24·39	6·71	39·91	49·27	25·26	109	21·11	10·00
2. Maintenance of livestock	1694	51·69	5·06	761	29·27	4·82	208	20·80	10·95
3. Wages and salaries ..	9792	97·92	29·94	75·04	127·19	47·49	493	100·75	21·21
4. Cost of transport ..	4935	98·70	15·09	883	18·27	5·59	..	...	...
5. Taxes and Revenue ..	462	18·04	1·41	304	4·54	1·92	239	34·14	12·98
6. Rent of land	1814	23·26	5·55	347	6·94	2·19	47	11·75	2·47
7. Other rent and interest ..	857	92·86	199	16·73	88·05	10·59	13	2·17	·68
8. Cost of raw materials for household enterprise.	18798	671·36	57·49	190·55	1002·94	120·60	15	15·00	·79
9. Purchase of merchandise..	79290	1201·41	242·49	334·80	1594·29	211·90	950	315·67	50·00
10. Others..	1606	133·83	4·91	1380	276·00	8·73	..	..	..
Total	121199	..	370·64	69878	...	432·10	2065	..	108·68

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9.5 The following table analyses the changes occurring in the structure and volume of capital assets of the predominantly agricultural families as a result of the purchase and sale of the assets and liabilities during the period of a year—

TABLE G-6

	Gross investment			Disinvestment			Capital formation (+) or reduction (−)	
	Assets	Repayment of debt	Total	Assets	Borrowing	Total	—	Average per family
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
1. Border area	[illegible]	2185	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
2. Project area	28135	5049	43185	18146	47075	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
3. General area	7600	949	8548	1700	6895	13127	[illegible]	[illegible]

Gross investment made by the families stands at Rs.(1),[illegible], *i. e.*, Rs.40·0 per family in Border area, Rs.45,183, *i. e.*, Rs.66·7 per family in Project area and Rs.2,318, *i. e.*, Rs.45·8 per family in General area. It will be seen that in all the three areas the major portion of this investment is from equitting of assets. 511 426

Dis-investment consisting of borrowing and liquidation of assets amounts to Rs.[illegible],444, *i. e.*, Rs.[illegible]·1 per family in Border areas, Rs.66,045., *i. e.*, Rs.108·1 per family in Project area and Rs.12,627, *i. e.*, Rs.60·6 per family in General area.

Thus in all the three dis-investment far outweights investment with the result that a family in Border, Project and General areas, on an average disinvests a sum of Rs.25·0, Rs.35·4 and Rs.22·1 respectively. This net dis-investment arises largely, as is clear from table above, from the heavy rise in indebtedness among the families. Actually considering changes in assets alone there is a net increase of Rs.12.1 per family in Border area, Rs.30·9 in Project area and Rs.10.9 in General area. But these increases are more than multiplied by average per family increase in indebtedness of Rs.41·1, Rs.66·2 and Rs.32·1 respectively in the three areas.

9·6 Investment in assets by various items are shown in the following table.

TABLE G-7

Investment in Assets

Items	Border area: No. of families investing items	Border area: Average value of assets acquired: per family (Rs.)	Project area: No. of families investing items	Project area: Average value of assets acquired: per family (Rs.)	General area: No. of families investing items	General area: Average value of assets acquired: per family (Rs.)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1. Land	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
2. Agricultural assets :—						
(a) Livestock	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
(b) Implements and equipments	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
(c) Others—						
3. Building	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
4. Furniture & fans	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
5. Plows & machineries prob. etc. for household enterprises	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
6. Others	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Thus it is seen that proportion of families purchasing livestock is highest in all the three areas, followed by that purchasing agricultural tools, implements. Considering investment by items, building is conspicuous in all the three areas, contributing largely towards a net investment in assets in all the three areas. Others of importance are land and agricultural assets.

9.7. **Consumption expenditure of the family.**— The following tables show the broad pattern of the average family consumption expenditure in the three village-groups. The component of annual expenditure on food, clothing and other items of consumption which determine the standard of living of the rural families are displayed separately.

Size of average family—In Border area 5.5 members,
Project area 6.0 members and
General area 4.9 members.

TABLE G-6

Household Consumption Expenditure

Item	Baseline area				Project area				Control area			
	Cash on production	Obtained in kind & consumed at home	Total	P.C.	Cash on production	Obtained in kind & consumed at home	Total	P.C.	Cash on production	Obtained in kind & consumed at home	Total	P.C.
	(Rs. [illegible])	(Rs. [illegible])	(Rs. [illegible])		(Rs. [illegible])	(Rs. [illegible])	(Rs. [illegible])		(Rs. [illegible])	(Rs. [illegible])	(Rs. [illegible])	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
1. Food	--	--										
2. Clothing	--	--	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
3. Fuel	--	--	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	--	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	--	[illegible]
4. Vegetables	--	--	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
5. Fruits & Nuts	--	--	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

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TABLE G-5—contd.

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
5. Milk & milk products ..	10·72	4·88	19·59	1·71	0·45	2·36	10·95	1·08	6·32	5·23	9·74	0.69
6. Oil & oilseed ..	30·36	0.46	27·42	3·62	14·39	0·19	14·94	1·48	8·87	-	8·97	1·08
7. Meat ..	8·13	0·19	8·11	9·56	15·54	0·23	18·77	1·64	15·80	-	18·36	1·46
8. Fish ..	52·32	3·33	77·45	8.54	57·56	0·27	56·53	3·73	32·22	[illegible]	32·94	8·18
9. Egg ..	1·32	0·22	1·06	0·17	0·48	0·04	0·67	0·07	..	-	..	—
10. Sugar ..	32·73	0·44	39·17	3·43	34·11	0·61	34·12	3·39	31·06	-	31·06	3·34
11. Salt ..	7·44	0·65	7·69	0·16	9·27	0·41	9·20	0·52	9·39	-	9·39	1.13
Total—Food: ..	380·15	132·38	614·08	67·73	318·69	38·67	633·42	67·04	237·67	50·46	[illegible]	58·46
B. Non-food:												
12. Tobacco, Tea, etc. ..	44·37	3·43	43·34	4·48	37·62	..	37·68	3·75	32·10	..	32·10	3·88
13. Liquor, etc. ..	9·18	0·48	9·47	1·08	12·38	2·34	13·84	1·37	15·31	1·23	16·54	2·00
14. Fuel & light ..	21.48	37·37	32·87	3·74	10·71	31·61	48·33	4·82	11·47	2·83	42·43	4·48
15. Toilet ..	23·03	0·57	23·60	2·82	23·98	0·46	23·34	2·28	19·44	-	19·44	2·81
16. Betel nut & betel leaf	32·71	27·53	48·31	3·48	38·44	3·64	42·42	4·42	29·31	(1)	30·42	3·43
Total—Non-food ..	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

TABLE G-8—*concld.*

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
C. Miscellaneous:												
17. Education and private tutor	6·34	...	6·34	0·70	11·10	..	11·10	1·10	1·00	..	1·00	0·12
18. Medicine and Doctor ..	25·09	...	25·08	2·76	30·25	...	30·25	3·00	24·23	..	24·23	2·93
19. Clothing & footwear ..	33·17	..	33·17	3·65	55·80	..	55·80	5·54	42·87	..	42·87	5·18
20. Ceremonials, sports and Amusements.	6·22	...	6·22	0·68	14·12	..	14·12	1·40	4·42	...	4·42	0·53
21. Sundry goods ..	8·17	..	8·17	0·90	4.96	...	4·96	0·49	1·75	..	1·75	0·21
22. Litigation .	1·32	..	1·32	0·14	8·04	..	8·04	0·80	..	..	...	..
23. Domestic servants ..	1·25	..	1·35	0·15	0·81	..	0.81	0·08	..	..	..	..
24. Repair & maintenance of residential building.	10·23	...	10·23	1·13	11·81	..	11·81	1·17	5·83	..	5·83	0·70
25. Residential house building and land.	19·45	..	19·45	2·14	24·77	..	24·77	2·45	6·93	..	6·93	0.84
26. Travelling —	2·67	..	2·67	0·29	3·32	...	3·32	0·33	0·78	..	0·78	0·09
27. Rent and others ..	1·65	..	1·65	0·18	0·68	..	0·68	0·07	..	..	..	..
Total—Miscellaneous ..	115·65	..	115·65	12·72	165·66	..	165·66	16·44	87·81	...	87·81	10·60
..	738·19	170·27	909·16	100·00	614·79	392·94	1,007·73	100·00	451·91	376·40	828·31	100.00
Grand Total ..	(81·27)	(18·73)			(61·01)	(38·99)			(54·56)	(45·44)		

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511 It is seen that the per family average annual expenditure is Rs.909·00 nP. in Border areas, Rs.1008·00 nP. in Project area and Rs.828·00 nP. in General area. The per family annual net income in the respective area being Rs.852·86 nP., Rs.988·84 nP, and Rs.949·51 nP. it follows that the budget of the average family is deficit in all the areas. [426] This deficit is usually made up either by restricting the consumption expenditure during the lean months of the agricultural year or by taking loans.

221 511 The field work of the survey was started during the month of February, *i.e.*, hardly after two months, of harvesting of winter paddy and during the harvesting period of cash crops like orange, betelnut, potatoes, etc. During this period people get money through the sale proceeds and naturally they [114] were tempted to spend comparatively higher amount on food. In fact, it was made clear during investigation that as lean months are approaching when people did not have money to purchase food articles, they used to lead a very austere life. This period is particularly very hard for the Border people because unlike people of other two areas they do not have [128] even paddy in store. As the above figures of annual expenditure of a [125] family were calculated on the basis of information collected for one month preceeding the date of investigation, in respect of food and non-food articles, and for one year in respect of miscellaneous items, there is every likelihood of the average per family expenditure on food and non-food articles being over-estimated.

128 511 As in the case of income, consumption of articles produced at home or at farm as well as those received out of the goods, services and gift and loan were valued in money terms on the basis of the local average retail prices in respect of the commodities concerned. Thus even firewood and other wild vegetables and fishes obtained by fishing were valued in terms of money. Of the total average expenditure on food, the food articles obtained in kind and consumed at home account for about 18 per cent in Border area, 53 per cent in Project area and 57 per cent in General area. Thus the share of food articles obtained in kind and consumed at home to the annual expenditure of a family is very low in Border area. This is natural because they depend almost exclusively on cash crop cultivation.

511 Out of the total expenditure, food account for about 68 per cent in Border area, 67 per cent in Project area and 73 per cent in General area. In all the areas cereals alone took the bulk of the expenditure on food, *i.e.*, 66 per cent, 75 per cent and 81 per cent in the respective areas

It is seen that expenditure on pulses, vegetables and milk are very low. In fact only a few of the Tribal villagers take pulses, milk and vegetables. Rice and fish or meat are the only items of the dishes of most of the villages.

Among non-food articles fuel and light accounted for 6 per cent in Border area, 5 per cent in Project area, and 5 per cent in General area. Khasis are heavy chewers of betelnut and this accounted for 5 per cent of total annual expenditure in border area, 4 per cent in Project area and about 3 per cent in General area while tobacco and tea in tea-stall accounted for about 5 per cent, 4 per cent and 4 per cent respectively of the total annual expenditure in the three areas. Expenditure on liquor

varied between 1·06 per cent to 2·00 per cent in the three areas. It is very likely that this figure will be an under-estimate due to the fact that people addicted to it do not like to admit so. The existence of a large number of liscentiate liquor distilleries – numbering upto 5 in a single village, and the brisk trade in these distilleries bear testimony to the fact that a large share of family income is drained out through liquor. 511

Among miscellaneous items clothing and foot-wear accounted for nearly 4 per cent in Border area, 6 per cent in Project area and 5 per cent in General area. Next to it in importance is medicine and doctor which accounted for about 3 per cent of the total annual expenditure in all the three areas.

Generally speaking, the comparatively high percentage of expenditure on food and low percentages on other items like clothing, houses and its repair, education, etc., indicates a low standard of living of the rural families in general.

9.8. It may be of some interest to know how the families belonging to typical economic groups divide their incomes between their current living expenses and other outlays on goods and services. The picture of the family expenditure pattern is summarised in the following table. 434 592 511

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TABLE G 9

Analysis of family expenditure in different income groups

Border Area—	Income group											
	Below Rs. 100	100-250	250-500	500-750	750-1000	1000-1500	1500-2000	2000-2500	2500-3000	3000-3500	3500-4000	4000 and above
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
1. No. of families	1	23	158	227	179	168	35	28	24	11	10	22
2. Average gross income per family. ..	60·00	228·96	358·75	709·34	874·69	1110·68	1627·65	2184·69	2615·42	3127·36	3710·27	5870·18
3. Average outlay per family. ..	0·00	0·00	14·68	32·71	88·48	150·88	442·65	612·52	1048·04	984·09	1257·40	2427·47
4. Average net income per family. ..	60·00	228·66	384·07	675·63	786·41	1258·68	1144·20	1566·57	1567·38	2143·41	2452·87	3440·71
5. Average expenditure per family. ..	82·72	245·68	451·00	648·88	888·17	1311·45	1344·69	1880·06	1849·88	1979·15	2870·98	3488·31
6. Proportion of expenditure on—												
(a) Food ..	100·00	74·39	68·31	71·03	70·83	70·07	69·45	63·78	64·02	68·13	58·35	52·65
(b) Tea, tobacco and dogs ..		2·09	0·12	0·61	3·72	0·35	3·91	3·39	6·46	3·13	6·08	5·18
(c) Fuel and Lighting .		12·38	0·03	6·30	5·70	5·97	4·64	3·02	4·41	5·04	3·68	2·21
(d) Clothing ..		2·83	3·26	3·23	3·48	0·11	3·93	3·98	3·84	3·07	4·47	3·91
(e) Miscellaneous ..		0·88	13·65	18·41	14·27	17·50	22·30	19·42	20·34	21·60	22·14	34·46

TABLE G 9—*contd*

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
Project area —												
1. No. of families		13	71	139	137	160	51	22	18	10	2	24
2. Average gross income per family.	..	193·00	392·34	633·68	867·55	1189·24	1660·73	2103·27	2690·61	3296·90	3092·90	6170·45
3. Average outlay per family.	..	85·08	25·77	47·93	87·48	160·29	324·69	487·73	618·22	546·00	334·00	2662·42
4. Average net income per family.	..	109·92	366·57	585·75	780·07	1028·95	1336·04	1615·54	2072·39	2750·90	3358·90	3508·03
5. Average expenditure per family.	..	345·69	443·08	670·44	838·52	1113·37	1380·83	1519·14	2024·02	2386·40	3347·50	2478·79
6. Proportion of expenditure on—												
(a) Food.	..	69·62	72·64	71·83	72·49	71·76	66·98	61·29	60·32	51·88	52·35	47·27
(b) Tea, etc.	..	1·34	3·68	5·95	4·99	5·18	5·68	4·25	8·09	4·93	6·48	6·43
(c) Fuel and lighting	..	9·74	6·52	5·38	4·78	5·15	4·71	3·72	4·66	3·96	3·07	4·90
(d) Clothing	..	4·56	4·14	5·94	5·11	5·28	6·02	6·39	6·34	4·65	11·28	6·71
(e) Miscellaneous.	..	14·74	13·06	12·70	12·63	12·65	16·61	24·35	20·59	35·10	24·87	34·69

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TABLE G 9—*contd*

General Area— (1)		(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
1. No. of families		1	22	60	44	44	12		1	..	..	
2. Average gross income per family.	..	128·00	363·21	580·25	903·48	1210·64	1694·50	..	2752·00	..	..	..
3. Average outlay per family	..	36·00	28·05	55·50	103·11	177·45	348·08	..	748·00	..	..	..
4. Average net income per family.	..	93·00	335·22	525·75	800·37	1033·19	1346·42	..	2004·00	..	..	..
5. Average expenditure per family.	..	485·44	419·01	619·18	901·58	1154·92	1325·73	..	2120·56	..	..	..
6. Proportion of expenditure on—												
(a) Food.	..	71·98	68·93	73·68	74·39	75·61	69·05	...	67·64	..	:	..
(b) Tea, etc.	..	8·57	5·80	4·72	6·00	8·13	7·91	..	3·61	..	..	..
(c) Fuel and lighting	..	6·18	4·44	5·17	4.68	4·81	8·08	..	4·92	..	..	..
(d) Clothing	..	8·15	4.56	4·77	4·63	5·27	5·79	..	7·05	..	..	..
(e) Miscellaneous	..	11·12	15·98	11·66	9·50	9·29	12·25	..	17·68	..	..	..

19: Assam G-5 (1958) 1963 AR7 Khasi AR7

It is noticed that food is the largest single item of expenditure a every income level demanding about two-thirds or more of the average over all expenditure. It is significant to note that money outlays on food increase markedly at successive income level. This wide range of expenditure is the result of very low standard of food consumption in the low income groups and also possibly of increasing number of members per family in the higher income groups.

One striking feature revealed by the summary table of family income and expenditure given above is the average net deficit shown by the families of almost each income-group, except perhaps marginal surplus in respect of a few income-groups in the higher level. Thus for majority of the families the entire family income was not adequate on the average to meet current outlays on food and other necessities and comforts of daily living. Even the advantage of comparatively large average income was more than balanced by the larger differential increase in the family exp nditure due either to their larger family size or comparatively higher standard of living or both.

CHAPTER—X

Summary of main findings

125 10.1. Twenty-eight villages were selected for the purpose of the survey. Out of the 28 villages selected, 10 from Border area and 8 from Project area were selected purposively while the remaining 10 were selected at random from the entire district which is referred hereafter as general area.

166 Migration from big villages was rare but some migration was reported in respect of small villages.

164 293 871 489 482 Occurrence of Malaria, influenza and dysentery is a regular phenomenon in the area. Medical facilities were not found satisfactory and as much as 78 per cent of the villages have no dispensary within a radius of five miles. In regard to education, the facilities cannot also be said to be unsatisfactory for more than 60 per cent of the villages have a Lower Primary School. Transport facilities were not satisfactory and as much as 85 per cent of the villages still depend upon primitive mode of transport, namely head load. Correlated with outmoded form of transport, is the prevalence of unduly high cost of transport.

*162 161 10.2. The number of the families covered by the survey was 1006 in the Border area, and 647 in the Project area and 186 in the General area. The average size of a village in the respective area is 100·6, 80·9 and 18·6 families. In the Border and Project areas females out number males being respectively 1076 and 1092 females per 1,000 males as against 940 females per 1,000 males in the general area. 212 Literacy is as high as 34 per cent in the border area and 31 per cent in the Project area but as low as 17 per cent in the general area. [562] In all the areas literacy among females is very low.

*162 464 The working population (earners and earning dependents) is as high as 55 per cent in the Border area, 54 per cent in the Project area and 63 per cent in the general area. While there were no cases of unemployment in the Project and General areas, 53 persons were reported unemployed from border area.

241 *162 463 10.3. 51 per cent of the families in Border area are wholly agricultural, 35 per cent partly agricultural and 14 per cent independent of agriculture. The corresponding figures for the Project area are 61, 31 and 8 per cent respectively while for the General area they are 70 per cent, 29 per cent, 1 per cent respectively.

Predominantly agricultural families constitute 67, 76 and 90 per cent of the families in Border, Project and General areas respectively.

*162 423 10.4. 31 per cent of the families in Border area, 29 per cent in Project area and 10 per cent in General area were absolutely without any land while 35 per cent, 39 per cent and 24 per cent of the families in the respective areas possessed small holding ranging from 0·24 to 2·50 acres representing 11, 24 and 26 per cent of the total holding area in the respective areas. 26 per cent of the families in Border and Project areas and 41 in General area possessed medium sized holding (2 to less than 10 acres)

accounting for 42, 54 and 58 per cent of the total holding area in the respective areas. Large holding (10 acres and above) covering 44, 22 and 14 per cent of the total holding area in the Border, Project and General areas respectively were possessed by 16, 7 and 3 per cent of the families of the respective areas. 162 423

The average size of family holding worked out at 7.7 acres for Border area, 4·1 acres for Project area and 3·7 acres for the General area. The average size of cultivated holding per family in the three areas was found to be 5·1, 3·4 and 3·2 acres respectively.

10.5. The total number of farms in Border area, Project area and General area were respectively 759, 611 and 171 covering respectively 3914·18 acres, 1808·79 acres, and 373·81 acres, bringing the average size of farms to 5·16 acres in Border area, 3·64 acres in Project area and 2·20 acres in General area. 241 311 423

Percentage distribution of these farms and farm area by different size group is depicted in the following table.

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Size of Farm Family	Border Area			Dwipar Area			Central Area		
	P. C. Farm Family	P. C. of Farm (Acres)	Average Size (Acres)	P. C. of Farm	P. C. of Farm	Average Size (Acres)	P. C. of Farm	P. C. of Farm	Average Size (Acres)
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Small Farms (Less than 5 Acres).	[illegible]	[illegible]	1.33	[illegible]	[illegible]	1.56	[illegible]	[illegible]	1.44
2. Medium Farms 5 to less than 20 acres.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
3. Large Farms (above 20 acres).	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

10.6. Of the total of 799 farms in Border area, 78 per cent were wholly owned, 17 per cent were wholly rented and the remaining 5 per cent were partly owned and partly rented. In Project area, proportions of wholly owned, wholly rented and partly owned and partly rented farms were found to be 73 per cent, 11 per cent and 16 per cent respectively while those in General area were respectively 84 per cent, 4 per cent and 12 per cent of the total number of farms. Of the total farm area, owned area accounted for in Border area 83 per cent, in Project area, 86 per cent and in General area 91 per cent of the total farm area in the respective area. Of the total owned area, nearly 80 per cent in Border area, 88 per cent in Project area and 94 per cent in General area were owned by wholly owned farms and the rest by partly owned farms. Of the total rented area, in Border area, Project area and General area respectively 91 per cent, 40 per cent and 51 per cent are covered by wholly rented farms.

10.7. Out of 1066 families in Border area, 436, i.e. 40 per cent were indebted, average debt per family being Rs.157·94 nP, and that per indebted family being Rs.351·95 nP. In Project area out of 1017 families 332, i.e., 30 per cent were indebted, average debt per family being Rs. 130·11 nP, and that per indebted family Rs.372·00 nP. In General area out of 186 families, 52, i.e. 28 per cent were indebted, average debt per family being Rs. 50·00 nP, and that per indebted family being Rs. 180·00 nP, of the total indebted families. Predominantly agricultural families constituted the highest proportion in all the three areas, being 98 per cent in Border area, 77 per cent in Project area and 98 per cent in General area accounting respectively for 97 per cent, 78 per cent and 99 per cent of the total amount of debt in the three areas. Majority of the loans were of small amount numerically in Border area 90 per cent of the loans are of size less than Rs.500·00, average size of these loans being only Rs. 69·71 nP. In Project area 71 per cent and in General area 72 per cent of the loans are of size less than Rs. 200.00, average size of these loans being respectively Rs. 44·69 and Rs. 89·89 only. Of the total number of loans 67 per cent in Border area, 81 per cent in Project area and 90 per cent in General area were of less than 3 years standing. Majority of the loans in Border and Project areas were found to be incurred for productive purposes. In General area 33 per cent of the loans were contracted for maintenance of the family.

Government and other professional and semi-professional money lenders emerged out to be the predominant sources of rural credit. In Border area loans from Government constituted 61 per cent of the total number of loans accounting for 53 per cent of the total amount of loans followed by those from money lenders which worked out to 55 per cent of the total number of loans accounting for 41 per cent of the total amount of loan. In Project area and General area respectively 60 per cent and 75 per cent of the total number of loans accounting for 70 per cent and 84 per cent of the total amount of loan in the respective area were contracted from private money lenders, while Government loans constituted in Project area 40 per cent and, in General area 17 per cent of the total number of loans accounting respectively for 30 per cent and 41 per cent of the total amount of loans in the respective area.

[illegible] Of the total number of farms [illegible] per cent in Border area, [illegible] per cent in Project area and [illegible] per cent in General area were less of income while one of income for [illegible] per cent, [illegible] per cent and [illegible] per cent respectively of the farms in the three areas were found to be [illegible] per cent or more per annum which in some cases rose [illegible] per cent.

[illegible] 10.3. Farm output of [illegible] per cent of the families in Border area, [illegible] per cent of families in Project area and [illegible] per cent of families in General area were less than Rs. [illegible] a year, while [illegible] per cent, [illegible] per cent and [illegible] per cent of the families in the respective area earned more than Rs. [illegible] a year from their farms. Of the total number of farms yielding less than or Rs. [illegible] a year in Border area [illegible] per cent of them are medium sized farms, and [illegible] per cent large sized farms, the corresponding proportions for Project area and General area being [illegible] per cent, [illegible] per cent, [illegible] per cent and [illegible] per cent.

[illegible] 10.4. In Border area the most important crops are sorghum, bajra, pulses, and [illegible] which respectively accounted for [illegible] per cent, [illegible] per cent, [illegible] per cent and [illegible] per cent of the total harvested area. In Project area pulses and sorghum are the most important crop which accounted respectively for [illegible] per cent and [illegible] per cent of the total harvested area. The most important crops in the General area are pulses and gram which respectively accounted for [illegible] per cent and [illegible] per cent of the total harvested area.

On the basis of data collected for all the villages investigated average yield per acre, worked out as pulses [illegible] maunds, gram [illegible] maunds, sorghum [illegible] lacs ([illegible] maunds) and bajra [illegible] lacs ([illegible] maunds). These yield exhibited wide variation among the three areas.

[illegible] 10.11. Proportions of families with annual gross income of less than Rs. [illegible], Rs. [illegible] to less than Rs. [illegible], and above Rs. [illegible], were respectively found to be [illegible] per cent, [illegible] per cent and [illegible] per cent in Border area, [illegible] per cent, [illegible] per cent and [illegible] per cent in Project area and [illegible] per cent, [illegible] per cent and [illegible] per cent in General area. Average annual gross income per family worked out to Rs. [illegible] in Border area, Rs. [illegible] in Project area and Rs. [illegible] in General area which for predominantly agricultural and non-agricultural families respectively stood at Rs. [illegible] and Rs. [illegible] in Border area, [illegible] in General area, [illegible] and [illegible] respectively as family income were agriculture, service-profession-labour and trade accounting respectively for [illegible] per cent, [illegible] per cent and [illegible] per cent of the total average income in Border area, [illegible] per cent, [illegible] per cent and [illegible] per cent in Project area and [illegible] per cent, [illegible] per cent and [illegible] per cent in General area.

The net annual income per family in different income groups varied between Rs. [illegible] to [illegible] in Border area, between Rs. [illegible] to Rs. [illegible] in Project area and between Rs. [illegible] to Rs. [illegible] in General area. The average net of per family net annual income worked out to Rs. [illegible] in Border area, Rs. [illegible] in project area and Rs. [illegible] in General area and the same per capita at Rs. [illegible] in Border area, Rs. [illegible] in Project area and Rs. [illegible] in General area.

[illegible]

So all the three area investment in land capital was more than [illegible] followed by disinvestment with the result that a family in Border area, Project area and General area on an average respectively disinvested a sum of Rs. [illegible], Rs. [illegible] and Rs. [illegible] during the year under reference.

13.11 The average annual expenditure per family worked out as Rs. [illegible] for Border area, Rs. [illegible] in Project area and Rs. [illegible] in General area. All the three areas thus have a deficit family budget.

Out of the total expenditure of the Border village family 67.8 per cent was incurred on food, 5.1 on clothing, 6.7 per cent on fuel and lighting, 6.8 per cent on tea, tobacco and drugs and 3.5 per cent on medical expenses. The corresponding proportions for project area being respectively [illegible] per cent, 5.1 per cent, 6.8 per cent, 4.8 per cent, and 3.3 per cent and for General area respectively 72.5 per cent, 5.2 per cent, 6.9 per cent, 5.9 per cent and 3.3 per cent of the total average expenditure, within the [illegible] in kind and consumed at home accounted for [illegible] per cent in Border area, [illegible] per cent in Project area and [illegible] per cent in General area.

APPENDIX

Population and Occupation

No. of families and population of sample villages

Name of village	No. of persons working in		Labourers	No. of persons depending on farm activities	
	Self-Cultivators	Tenant cultivators			
Sibsagar Area—					
1. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
2. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
3. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
4. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
5. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
6. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	Average size of village [illegible]
7. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
8. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	Average family [illegible]
9. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
10. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
Jorhat Area—					
11. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
12. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	Average size of village [illegible]
13. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	Average family size [illegible]
14. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
15. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
16. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
17. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
18. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

19: Annual G-9 - (1956) 1963 AR7 Khost AR7

Name of village	No. of people according to 1961 Census	No. of people according to Patwari survey	Variation	No. of heads for according to Diwan [illegible]	
Central Area—					
16. Mandrang	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	Average size of village [illegible]
17. Zangar	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	?	
18. Asda	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	— —
19. Dawran	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
20. Lamyaling	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	Average [illegible] only one [illegible]
21. Sighala	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
22. Mandrakhel	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
23. Jawa	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	?	
24. Sarbak	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
25. Mandak	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	

N. B.—1961 census population figures are not shown against Bardar Area and Pirgar Area villages. This is because of the fact that in most cases in the Census report, the different hlaqas of a village have been enumerated as different villages, e.g., the village Sabkha has been enumerated in 1961 census as three villages, viz., Sabkha Pakung, Sabkha [illegible], etc., while in some other cases, only one population figure has been recorded against a number of villages of which, mostly one is the main village, others being its satellites and as these villages were selected without any reference to the Census Handbook, there is every likelihood of our selected villages not coinciding with Census villages. So far as migration is concerned, it is very rare in big villages, particularly when they have been settled long ago but it was found through investigation that in some of the border villages due to continued adversities in their agricultural and other occupations people had to move away in search of work. Migration of some families was reported from Bhutani and Lyakhar. Some Khost families were reported to have migrated to Peshawar where they had got settlement land. However, information of this type was lacking, received from Sabkha, a village in Lakai near Sangung Sharang, M. P. C. D. Block, but land of near the Sabkha Bandar, where about one third of the total population was said to have migrated to Peshawar, Jaji Agencies, from Mandak are at the village. A study of population variation in Central area villages given above, will show that there is a net decrease of [illegible] persons in the sample villages from total number of persons recorded in 1961 Census. This is accounted for by migration of people which is considerable in smaller villages particularly those depending on shifting cultivation. A few families from Mandrang are said to have migrated to Khurram a village only a few miles away from Mandrang. Migration was also reported from Lamyaling, Dawran, Asda, and Jawa from Sighala and Mandrakhel a few families were said to have left the village a few days ahead of the date of investigation for their cultivation at some distant place.

TABLE C.5. 1

Distribution of population by Age-Group

Age-group	Sadiya Area (No. of persons)			Pasighat Area (No. of persons)			General Area (No. of persons)			Remarks
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
1. Below 1 year	[illegible] (1.1%)	[illegible] (1.1%)	[illegible] (1.1%)	[illegible] (0.8%)	[illegible] (0.8%)	[illegible] (0.8%)	[illegible] (1.2%)	[illegible] (0.1%)	[illegible] (0.6%)	
2. 1 year—10 years	[illegible] (16.1%)	[illegible] (17.2%)	[illegible] (17.1%)	[illegible] (16.1%)	[illegible] (15.1%)	[illegible] (17.7%)	[illegible] (16.4%)	[illegible] (17.8%)	[illegible] (16.2%)	[illegible]
3. 10 years—15 years	[illegible] (7.0%)	[illegible] (6.0%)	[illegible] (6.5%)	[illegible] (6.0%)	[illegible] (7.1%)	[illegible] (6.0%)	[illegible] (7.1%)	[illegible] (6.8%)	[illegible] (7.0%)	
4. 15 years—20 years	[illegible] (6.0%)	[illegible] (7.1%)	[illegible] (6.5%)	[illegible] (6.8%)	[illegible] (7.1%)	[illegible] (7.2%)	[illegible] (7.1%)	[illegible] (7.1%)	[illegible] (7.1%)	
5. 20 years—25 years	[illegible] (10.0%)	[illegible] (10.1%)	[illegible] (10.1%)	[illegible] (11.1%)	[illegible] (10.0%)	[illegible] (9.1%)	[illegible] (10.1%)	[illegible] (11.1%)	[illegible] (10.0%)	
6. 25 years—30 years	[illegible] (11.1%)	[illegible] (11.1%)	[illegible] (11.1%)	[illegible] (11.1%)	[illegible] (10.0%)	[illegible] (10.0%)	[illegible] (11.1%)	[illegible] (11.1%)	[illegible] (11.1%)	
7. 30 years—40 years	[illegible] (10.0%)	[illegible] (10.0%)	[illegible] (10.0%)	[illegible] (11.1%)	[illegible] (10.0%)	[illegible] (11.1%)	[illegible] (11.1%)	[illegible] (11.1%)	[illegible] (10.0%)	
8. 40 years—50 years	[illegible] (9.0%)	[illegible] (9.0%)	[illegible] (9.0%)	[illegible] (9.0%)	[illegible] (9.0%)	[illegible] (9.0%)	[illegible] (9.0%)	[illegible] (9.0%)	[illegible] (9.0%)	
9. 50 years and above	[illegible] (1.1%)	[illegible] (1.0%)	[illegible] (1.0%)	[illegible] (1.1%)	[illegible] (1.0%)	[illegible] (1.1%)	[illegible] (1.0%)	[illegible] (1.0%)	[illegible] (1.0%)	
Total	[illegible] (100.0%)	[illegible] (100.0%)	[illegible] (100.0%)	[illegible] (100.0%)	[illegible] (100.0%)	[illegible] (100.0%)	[illegible] (100.0%)	[illegible] (100.0%)	[illegible] (100.0%)	

19: Assam G-5 (1958) 1965 A87 Khasi A87

TABLE C. 4.1

Percentage of literates to total persons in the three areas in different age groups

Age group	Pnojan area	Bader area	General area
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
1. Below 15 years	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
2. 15-19 years ..	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
3. 20-24 years ..	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
4. 25-29 years ..	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
5. 30-39 years ..	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
6. 40-49 years ..	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
7. 50 and above	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

TABLE C—5-1

Classification of population by Economic Status

Tribe	Age-group (year)	Border area			Project area			General area		
		Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
	Below 15 ..	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (1·7)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	15 to 20 ..	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (2·4)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (1·9)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (2·6)
	20 to 25 ..	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (3·4)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (3·4)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (3·6)
Reang ..	25 to 30 ..	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (3·4)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (3·6)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (3·6)
	30 to 35 ..	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	35 to 40 ..	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	40 and above	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	Total ..	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
N. G. to total population		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

TABLE C-91—(concld.)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
Total — — — —	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
P.C. rural population	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Reading Arithmetic	5 and above	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	3 to 4	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	Below 3	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	3 to 4	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	Below 3	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	3 to 4	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	Below 3	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	3 to 4	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	Below 3	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

TABLE C—2/1—(contd.)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
Dependents	Below 1y	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	1 to 10	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	11 to 20	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	21 to 30	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	31 to 40	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	41 to 50	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	51 and above	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
P.O. and population		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

TABLE C—7·11

Employed persons in the three village groups classified according to Industrial status :

Industrial Status	Border area: No. of persons: Male	Border area: No. of persons: Female	Border area: No. of persons: Total	Border area: P. C. to total employed persons	Project area: No. of persons: Male	Project area: No. of persons: Female	Project area: No. of persons: Total	Project area: P. C. to total employed persons	General area: Male	General area: Female	General area: Total	General area: P. C. to total employed persons
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
1. Employed	... [illegible]	1	16	0.[illegible]	1	...	1		3		3	[illegible]
2. Employer	... [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
3. Own account worker	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total employed persons	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

TABLE G–1·11

Distribution of the families by Principal and Subsidiary occupation

Subsidiary occupation (1)	Principal occupation: Agriculture (2)	Labour (3)	Service & profession (4)	Trade (5)	Small scale manufacture & handicrafts (6)	Poultry, Dairy & Forestry etc. (7)	Others (8)	Total (9)
A. Barder area :								
1. Not Subsidiary Occupation ..	11 (0·1%)	42 (0·4%)	12 (0·1%)	75 (0·7%)	5 (0·0%)	5 (0·1%)	2 (0·0%)	152 (1·4%)
2. Agriculture ..	–	112 (0·9%)	11 (0·0%)	87 (0·1%)	15 (0·1%)	3 (0·1%)	1 (0·0%)	230 (1·4%)
3. Labour ..	11 (0·1%)	..	..	1 (0·0%)	3 (0·0%)	..	..	15 (0·1%)
4. Service, profession ..	2 (0·0%)	..	..	7 (0·0%)	..	1 (0·0%)	..	10 (0·0%)
5. Trade ..	2 (0·0%)	1 (0·0%)	3 (0·0%)	7 (0·0%)	–	..	..	13 (0·0%)
6. Cottage Industry ..	1 (0·0%)	2 (0·0%)	1 (0·0%)	..	..	..	..	4 (0·0%)
7. Poultry, dairy, forestry, etc. ..	1 (0·0%)	..	1 (0·0%)	1 (0·0%)	..	..	1	4 (0·0%)
8. Others ..	1 (0·0%)	1 (0·0%)	..	..	..	..	..	2 (0·0%)
Total Subsidiary ..	17 (0·0%)	158 (0·0%)	27 (0·0%)	42 (0·0%)	23 (0·0%)	7 (0·0%)	2 (0·0%)	314 (0·0%)
G. C. Total ..	(0·0%)	(0·0%)	(0·0%)	(0·0%)	(0·0%)	(0·0%)	(0·0%)	(0·0%)

TABLE C-121—(Contd.)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
B. Product series :										
1. Non-Subsidiary manufactures	--	--	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	--	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
2. Agriculture -- --	--	--	--	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	--	--	[illegible]
3. Labour -- --	--	--	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	--	--	--	--	[illegible]
4. Service and production, etc.	--	--	[illegible]	--	[illegible]	--	[illegible]	--	--	[illegible]
5. Trade -- --	--	--	[illegible]	--	[illegible]	--	[illegible]	--	--	[illegible]
6. Cottage Industry -- --	--	--	[illegible]	--	--	[illegible]	--	--	--	[illegible]
7. Dealing, Hire, Servicing, etc.	--	--	[illegible]	--	--	--	--	--	--	[illegible]
8. Others -- --	--	--	[illegible]	--	--	--	--	--	--	[illegible]
Total product wise	--	--	[illegible] (100.00)	[illegible] (100.00)	[illegible] (100.00)	[illegible] (100.00)	[illegible] (100.00)	--	[illegible] (100.00)	[illegible] (100.00)
D. C. to total	--	--	-- (75.18)	(10.41)	(7.74)	(7.12)	(7.54)	--	(7.94)	(100.00)

TABLE C—[illegible]

C. General area	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
1. No of subsidiary occupation	..	..	..	[illegible]	..	[illegible]	..	..	..	..	[illegible]
2. Agriculture	..	..	..	..	..	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	..	[illegible]
3. Labour	..	..	..	..	[illegible]	..	..	[illegible]	..	..	..	[illegible]
4. Service and profession	..	..	..	..	[illegible]	..	..	..	..	..	..	[illegible]
5. Trade	..	..	..	..	[illegible]	..	..	..	..	..	..	[illegible]
6. Cottage Industry	..	..	..	..	[illegible]	..	..	..	..	..	..	[illegible]
7. Fishery, dairy farming, etc.	..	..	..	..	[illegible]	..	..	..	..	..	..	[illegible]
8. Others	..	..	..	..	[illegible]	..	..	..	..	..	..	[illegible]
Total general area	..	..			[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	..	[illegible]
P. C. to total	..	..	..		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	..	[illegible]

TABLE [illegible]—(contd.)

Distribution of buildings by size group

(Area in [illegible])

Size of the building	No. of buildings	Floor area under the groups	Average size of the buildings	No. of the unfurnished building	Floor area unfurnished units	Average size
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
A. Dwelling units :						
1. Less than 125 sqm. ..	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
2. 125 or less than 125 sqm	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
3. 125 .. .. .. 1 sqm	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
4. 1 .. .. .. 5 ..	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
5. 5 .. .. .. 9 ..	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Small building	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
6. 9 building less than 9 sqm. ..	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
7. 9 .. .. .. 19	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Medium building	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
8. 19 building less than 50 sqm. ..	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
9. 50 .. .. .. 99	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
10. 99 and above	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Large building	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

N.B. Figures within brackets indicate percentages.

TABLE [illegible]—(Concld.)

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

TABLE D-1.—(contd.)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Agriculture Subsidiary	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Grand Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

TABLE D-11—(contd.)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
		(2.42)	(5.42)				
(2). Commercial areas :—							
1. Less than 12½ cents	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
2. 12½ to less than 100 cents	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
3. 100 to less than 1 acre	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
4. 1 to less than 2 acres	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
5. 2 to less than 5 acres	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Small holding	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
6. 5 to less than 5 acres	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
7. 5 to less than 10 acres	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Medium holding	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
8. 10 to less than 25 acres	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Large holding	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

TABLE D.21

No. of families of different occupational type building land of various sizes.

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
A. Sharecrop[illegible] farms —					
1. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
2. Less than [illegible] acre —	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]
3. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]
4. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Less than 5 acre (Total)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
5. 5 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
6. 5 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Less than 9 acre (Total)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
7. 9 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
8. 9 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Medium holding — —	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
9. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
10. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]
11. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	—	[illegible]
Large holding — —	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Grand Total —	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

TABLE D51—(contd.)

No. of families of different occupational type holding land of various class

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
B. Project area —					
1. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
2. Less than 10 acre	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
3. 10 but less than 20 acre	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
4. 20 but less than 5 acre	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Less than 5 acre (Total)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
5. 5 but less than 7	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
6. 7 but less than 9	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Less than 9 acre (Total)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
7. 9 but less than 2 acre	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
8. 2 but less than 10 acre	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Medium holding (Total)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
9. 10 but less than 20 acre	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
10. 20 but less than 50 acre	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
11. 50 and more	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Large holding (Total)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Grand Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

TABLE D-91—(contd)

No. of families of different occupational type holding land of various sizes.

Size of holding	Wholly agriculture	Agriculture as principal occupation	Agriculture as subsidiary occupation	Cultivation of agriculture	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
C. Canal area—					
1. 10	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
2. Less than 1½ acre	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
3. 1½ but less than 2½ acre	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
4. 2½ but less than 5 acre	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Less than 5 acre (Total)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
5. 5 but less than 7½ acre	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
6. 7½ but less than 10 acre	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Less than 10 acre (Total)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
7. 10 but less than 15 acre	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
8. 15 but less than 20 acre	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Medium holding	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
9. 20 but less than 25 acre	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
10. 25 but less than 50 acre	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
11. 50 and above	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Large holding	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Grand Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

TABLE D-41

Distribution of buildings according to size and no. of frequencies

Size of building	No. of frequencies										
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
1. Below 100 sqm	18	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
2. 100 to below 200 sqm	18	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
3. 200 to below 300 sqm	21	10	1	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
4. 300 to below 400 sqm	25	18	10	10	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
5. 400 to below 500 sqm	28	24	14	8	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
6. 500 to below 600 sqm	30	27	13	11	1	1	1	—	—	—	—
7. 600 to below 700 sqm	6	10	16	14	11	11	1	1	1	—	1
8. 700 to below 800 sqm	1	12	14	13	11	10	10	10	1	1	1
9. 800 to below 900 sqm	—	1	1	—	—	—	1	1	—	1	1
10. 900 and above	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	1
Total No. of building	147 (100%)	121 (100%)	110 (100%)	81 (100%)	72 (100%)	72 (100%)	71 (100%)	68 (100%)	71 (100%)	4 (100%)	4 (100%)
Total No. of frequencies	185	156	180	140	100	104	115	104	90	70	100

TABLE D-15—(contd.)

Distribution of buildings according to size and No. of fragments

Size of buildings	No. of fragments										Total		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	10 and above	No. of buildings	Total No. of fragments	Total area in square feet	Average area in square feet
A. [illegible]														
1. Below 1.0 acre	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
2. 1.0 to below 1.50 acre	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
3. 1.50 to below 2 acre	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
4. 2 to below 3 acre	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
5. 3 to below 4 acre	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
6. 4 to below 5 acre	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
7. 5 to below 10 acre	—	—	0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
8. 10 acre below 50 acre	—	—	0	0	0	—	—	0	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
9. 50 acre below 100 acre	—	—	0	—	0	0	0	—	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
10. 100 and above	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total No. of building	—	—	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total No. of fragments	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]			

TABLE D-41—(contd.)

Distribution of buildings according to size and No. of fragments

Size of holding	No. of fragments										
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
B. PROJECT AREA											
1. Below 1/2 acre	13										
2. 1/2 to below 1/2 acre	8										
3. 1/2 to below 1 acre	27	9	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
4. 1 to below 2 acres	44	27	2	1	1	--	--	--	--	--	--
5. 2 to below 3 "	30	22	13	4	2	--	--	--	--	--	--
6. 3 to below 5 "	18	18	20	10	4	1	--	--	--	--	1
7. 5 to below 10 "	12	12	14	15	9	4	1	1	1	--	--
8. 10 to below 25 "	1	4	10	6	11	7	--	--	1	--	1
9. 25 to below 50 "	--	--		--	--	--	--	--	-		-
10. 50 and above	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	1
Total No. of holding --	150 (4·91)	121 (29·61)	60 (14·72)	34 (7·34)	28 (4·91)	1 (0·61)	4 (0·61)	1 (0·61)	1 (0·61)	--	3 (0·61)
Total No. of fragments	339	244	184	146	115	38	20	6	12	--	20

TABLE D-4/5—(contd.)

Classification of buildings according to size and No. of fragments

Size of building	No. of fragments										Total			
	(1-9)	(10)	(11-20)	(21-30)	(31-40)	(41-50)	(51-60)	(61-70)	(71-80)	81 and above	No. of building	Total No. of fragments	Total area (square feet)	Average area (square feet)
8. PROPERTY rights														
1. Below 125 sqmt	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
2. 125 to below 175 sqmt	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
3. 175 to below 2 acre	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
4. 2 to below 3 acres	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
5. 3 to below 4 ,,	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
6. 4 to below 5 ,,	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
7. 5 to below 10 ,,	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
8. 10 to below 50 ,,	—	—	—	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	—	—	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
9. 50 to below 50 ,,	—	—	—	[illegible]	—	—	—	—	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
10. 50 and above	—	—	—	—	—	[illegible]	—	—	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total No. of building	—	—	—	[illegible] (0.0%)	— —	[illegible] (0.0%)	—	—	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total No. of fragments	—	—	—	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	—	—	—	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	—

TABLE [illegible]—(contd.)

Distribution of buildings according to size and No. of [illegible]

No. of buildings	No. of [illegible]										
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
G. [illegible]											
3. [illegible]	0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
5. [illegible]	0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
6. [illegible]	0	0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
7. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	—	—	—	—	—
8. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	—	—	—	—	—
9. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	—	—	—	—	—
10. [illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	—	—
11. [illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	—	[illegible]	—	—	—	[illegible]	—
12. [illegible]	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
13. [illegible]	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total No. of buildings	[illegible] (28.7%)	[illegible] (21.5%)	[illegible] (17.5%)	[illegible] (13.1%)	[illegible] (9.8%)	[illegible] (3.4%)	[illegible] (3.1%)	—	—	[illegible] (3.8%)	—
Total No. of [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]			[illegible]	

TABLE D-01—(contd.)

Distribution of buildings according to size and No. of fragments

Size of building	No. of fragments								Total			
	20	19	18	17	16	15	14	13 and above	No. of buildings	Total No. of fragments under the size	Average size of fragments under the size	
(1) General area												
1. Below 2.5 acre	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0 (0.00)	0	0.00	0.00
2. 2.5 to below 5.0 acre	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0 (0)	0	0.00	0.00
3. 5.0 to below 7.5 acre	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	[illegible] (7.00)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
4. 7.5 to below 10 acre	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	[illegible] (28.00)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
5. 10 to below 15 acre	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	[illegible] (17.00)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
6. 15 to below 20 acre	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	[illegible] (20.00)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
7. 20 to below 30 acre	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	[illegible] (10.00)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
8. 30 to below 50 acre	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	[illegible] (5.00)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
9. 50 to below 100 acre												
10. 100 and above												
Total No. of buildings	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total No. of fragments	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	[illegible]		

TABLE [illegible]

Size of farm	No. of farms	Percentage	Cultivated area	Total area reported	Percentage	Cumulative Percentage	Average size of farm
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
A. [illegible]							
1. Below [illegible] acres	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
2. [illegible] to [illegible] "	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
3. [illegible] to [illegible] "	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
4. [illegible] to [illegible] "	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
5. [illegible] to [illegible] "	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Small farms	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]
6. [illegible] to [illegible] "	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
7. [illegible] to [illegible] "	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Medium farms	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]
8. [illegible] to [illegible] "	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
9. [illegible] to [illegible] "	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
10. [illegible] and above "	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Large farms	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]

[illegible]—(concl.)

	(1)					(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Foreign women:												
1. Below 1/2 acre	—	—	—	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
2. 1/2 to 1/2 "	—	—	—	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
3. 1/2 to 1 "	—	—	—	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
4. 1 to 2 "	—	—	—	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
5. 2 to 5 "	—	—	—	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Small farms						[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]
6. 5 to 8 "	—	—	—	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
7. 8 to 10 "	—	—	—	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Medium farms						[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]
8. 10 to 20 "	—	—	—	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
9. 20 to 50 "	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
10. 50 and above	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Large farms						[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]
Total—						[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]

Table [illegible]—*concld.*

| | | |

TABLE D-4.1

Distribution of farms according to size and ownership

| Size of farm | Number of farms | | |

TABLE [illegible]—[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

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Project Area

1. Below 1½ acre	--	--	1	--	--	1 (0·02)	3	4	--	7 (2·0)	
2. 1½ to 1½ acre	--	--	--	--	--	--	5	1	--	6 (1·7)	
3. 1·0 to 1 acre	--	--	16	--	3	19 (11·08)	9	3	--	12 (3·4)	
4. 1 to 2 acres	--	--	30	3	8	41 (24·03)	32	11	9	73 (20·7)	
5. 2 to 5 acres	--	--	29	1	4	34 (20·00)	31	14	13	58 (16·4)	
Small Farms	--	--	76 (50·00)	4 (2·63)	15 (9·87)	95 (54·90)	80 (42·17)	33 (23·31)	24 (13·17)	159 (100·00)	

TABLE D-4.1—contd.

(1)			(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
6. 3 to 5 acres	--	--	29	--	8	37 (22·16)	55	10	9	74 (21·51)
7. 6 to 10 acres	--	--	21	--	4	25 (14·97)	58	8	8	67 (19·19)
Medium Farms	--	--	50 (30·61)	--	12 (19·35)	62 (100·00)	111 (79·72)	13 (9·22)	17 (12·66)	141 (100·00)
8. 10 to 25 acres	--	--	9	--	1	10 (5·98)	16	2	2	20 (5·81)
9. 25 to 50 acres	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Large Farms	--	--	9 (90·00)	--	1 (10·00)	10 (100·00)	16 (80·00)	2 (10·00)	2 (10·00)	20 (100·00)
Total	--		135 (39·24)	4 (1·16)	25 (10·76)	157 (100·00)	247 (71·80)	54 (15·70)	43 (12·50)	344 (100·00)

General Area

1. Below 1/3 acre	..	--	1	...	..	1 (1·11)	1	..	--	1 (1·23)
2. 1/2 to 1/3 acre	..	..	1	--	..	1 (1·11)	..	...	..	..
3. 1/2 to 1 acre	.	--	5	1	...	6 (6·66)	5	--	..	5 (6·17)
4. 1 to 2 acres	...	..	17	1	7	25 (27·79)	12	2	1	15 (18·52)
5. 2 to 8 acres	..	..	18	--	2	20 (22·22)	15	1	1	17 (20·99)
Small Farms	..	--	(79·25)	2 (2·77)	9 (16·98)	53 (100·00)	33 (60·84)	3 (7·89)	2 (5·27)	38 (100·00)

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TABLE D-6.1—*concld.*

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
6. 3 to 5 acres	25	..	1	26 (28·89)	19	1	1	21 (25·93)
7. 5 to 10 acres	11	—	..	11 (12·22)	10	1	3	14 (17·28)
Medium	36 (97·30)	—	1	37 (100·00)	29 (82·86)	2 (5·71)	4 (11·43)	35 (100·00)
8. 10 to 25 acres	..	..	..	—	7	—	1	8 (9·88)
Large	—	..	..	—	7 (87·50)	...	1 (12·50)	8 (100·00)
Total:	78 (86·67)	2 (2·22)	10 (11·11)	90 (100·00)	69 (85·19)	5 (6·17)	7 (8·64)	81 (100·00)

TABLE D-7.1

Distribution of farm area by size and type of ownership

Size of farm	Area in acre: Wholly owned	Wholly rented	Partly owned and Partly rented: Owned area	Rented area	Total	Total owned area (2+4)	Total rented area (3+5)	Total (7+8)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
A. Border area								
1. Small Farms (less than 3 acres).	318.66	85.60	14.78	27.23	42.01	333.44	112.73	446.17
2. Medium Farm (3 to less than 10 acres).	1206.63	263.34	24.31	86.96	111.26	1300.94	350.29	1651.23
3. Large Farms (10 acres and above	1545.28	132.25	59.00	80.25	139.25	1604.28	212.50	1816.78
Total:	3070.57 (78.45)	481.09 (12.29)	168.09 (4.20)	194.43 (4.97)	362.52	3238.66 (82.74)	675.52 (17.26)	3914.18 (100.00)

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TABLE 19-7.1—*contd.*

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
B. Project area								
1. Small Farms (less than 10 acres).	305.12	59·29	28·47	41·99	70.05	353.59	100.00	454.46
2. Medium Farms (8 to less than 10 acres).	790.56	47·15	59·30	77.21	136.60	849.95	124.36	974.31
3. Large Farms (10 acres and above).	342.77	23·00	35·26	17.00	52.26	360.02	40.00	400.02
Total ...	1420·45 (78·53)	129·44 (7·16)	123·11 (6·81)	135.79 (7.50)	258.90 ..	1543.56 (85.34)	265.29 (14.66)	1808.79 (100·00)
C. General area								
1. Small Farms (less than 3 acres).	126·98	7·26	8.57	9·25	17.82	134·65	16·50	151·15
2. Medium Farms (3 to less than 10 acres).	300·97	8·60	7·73	16·26	28·57	307·80	24·86	332·66
3. Large Farms (10 acres and above).	80·00	..	4·00	8·00	12·00	84·00	8·00	92·00
Total: ..	506·45 (87.92)	15·25 (2·65)	20·30 (3·58)	34·11 (5·92)	54·39	526·45 (91·43)	49·36 (8·57)	575·81 (100·00)

TABLE B-3.1

Distribution of loans in different amount groups

Loan groups	Border Area				Project Area				General Area			
	No. of loan	Amount (Rs. 0·00)		Total Rs. 0·00	No. of loan	Amount (Rs. 0·00)		Total Rs. 0·00	No. of loan	Amount (Rs. 0·00)		Total Rs. 0·00
		Cash	Kind			Cash	Kind			Cash	Kind	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
Below 100 ..	449 (41·54)	15,242	9 ..	15,251 (9·07)	249 (49·02)	9,576 ...	1,194 ..	18,770 (12·02)	17 (28·33)	719	138	857 (8·54)
100 to below 200 ..	497 (45·97)	50,255	..	50,255 (29·89)	111 (21·85)	10,270	2,937	13,207 (14·73)	26 (43·33)	1,770	1,309	2,979 (29·68)
200 to below 500 ...	71 (6·57)	18,500	200	18,700 (11·12)	103 (20·28)	22,250	4,140	26390 (29·44)	12 (20·00)	1,900	900	2,800 (27·90)
500 to below 1000	39 (3·61)	23,950	500	24,450 (14·54)	34 (6·69)	17,870	3,500	2,137 (23·84)	4 (6·67)	2,100	...	2,100 (20·93)
1000 to below 2000	13 (1·20)	15620	..	15,620 (9·30)	7 (1·38)	5,000	2,500	7,500 (8·37)	1 (1·67)	1,380	...	1,380 (12·95)
2000 and above ..	12 (1·11)	4.1830	2,000	43830 (26·07)	4 (0·78)	8,000	2,400	10,400 (11·60)	..	..	..	..
Total ...	1,081 (100·00)	1,65,397	2,709	1,68,106 (100·00)	508 (100·00)	72,966	16,671	89,637 (100·00)	60 (100·00)	7,789	2,247	10,036 (100·00)

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TABLE E-4.1

Rural indebtedness classified according to the period of standing of the loan.

Period of loan	Border Area						Project Areas						General Area					
			Secured		Un-secured				Secured		Un-secured				Secured		Un-secured	
	Total No. of loan	Total amount (Rs.)	No. of loan	Amount (Rs.)	No. of loan	Amount (Rs.)	Total No. of loan	Total amount (Rs.)	No. of loan	Amount (Rs.)	No. of loan	Amount (Rs.)	Total No. of loan	Total amount (Rs.)	No. of loan	Amount (Rs.)	No. of lo	Amount (Rs.)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)
1. Less than 1 ..	401 (37·10)	16,349 (9·72)	381	15,465 (10·39)	20	874	191 (37·60)	31,935 (35·63)	127	19,698	64	12,237	17 (28·33)	2,622 (26·15)	7	1,280	10	1,342
2. 1 to less than 2	144 (13·32)	46,482 (27·65)	111	38,235 (25·69)	33	8,247	177 (34·84)	24,685 (32·00)	94	17,174	83	11,511	32 (53·33)	5,062 (50·44)	18	3,780	14	1,282
3. 2 to less than 3	176 (16·28)	29,645 (17·63)	168	27,705 (18·61)	8	1,940	53 (10·43)	12,894 (13·40)	37	9,639	16	2,464	5 (8·33)	582 (5·80)	2	202	3	35
4. 3 to less than 4	39 (3·61)	8,610 (5·12)	36	8,400 (5·64)	3	210	36 (7·09)	7,960 (8·28)	31	7,355	5	605	1 (1·67)	100 (0·99)	1	100	..	...
5. 4 to less than 5 ..	279 (25·81)	39,510 (23·51)	274	38,110 (26·00)	5	800	30 (5·91)	3,123 (3·48)	27	3,050	3	73	4 (6·67)	400 (3·99)	4	400	.	..
6. 5 Years & above	42 (3·88)	27,520 (16·37)	34	20,345 (13·67)	8	7,175	21 (4·13)	5,810 (6·52)	14	4,920	7	920	1 (1·67)	1,300 (12·95)	1	1,300	..	..
Total ..	1081 (100·00)	1,68,106 (100·00)	1004	1,48,860 (100·00)	77	19,246	508 (100·00)	89,637 (100·00)	330	61,827	178	27,810	60 (100·00)	10,036 (100·00)	33	7,062	27	2,974

TABLE F-1.1

Number of firm by Gross output group

Size of firm	Number of household in the output group												
	0	Less than 100	100 to 250	250 to 500	500 to 1000	1000 to 1500	1500 to 2000	2000 to 2500	2500 to 3000	3000 to 3500	3500 to 4000	4000 & above	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
Border Area:													
1. 0	—	—	..	..	...	..	..	...	...	..	...	..	..
2. Less than ½ acre	4	20	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	...	..	..	27 (3·58)
3. ½ to ½ acre ...	4	19	5	2	..	..	..	...	..	..	..	..	30 (3·95)
4. ½ to 1 acre ..	6	33	20	14	1	...	...	..	...	..	..	..	74 (9·75)
5. 1 to 2 acres ..	11	37	21	24	5	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	99 (13·04)
6. 2 to 3 acres ...	10	34	24	20	12	2	2	..	..	1	...	..	105 (13·83)
Small Farm	35 (10·45)	143 (42·67)	73 (21·79)	60 (17·91)	18 (5·37)	3 (·90)	2 (·60)	.. ..	... ...	1 (·31)	..	..	336 (100·00)
7. 3 to 5 acres ..	5	25	29	49	29	4	3	2	..	..	..	1	147 (19·37)
9. 5 to 10 acres ...	7	8	16	37	60	24	5	5	2	..	1	3	168 (22·14)
Medium Farm	12 (3·81)	33 (10·48)	45 (14·29)	86 (27·30)	89 (28·25)	28 (8·89)	8 (2·54)	7 (2·22)	2 (·63)	..	1 (·32)	4 (1·27)	315 (100·00)

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TABLE F-1.1—*contd.*

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
9. 10 to 25 acres..	3	1	1	15	52	21	7	6	3	4	..	5	98 (12·91)
10. 25 to 50 acres	—	..	1	..	1	1	..	1	—	1	.	1	6 (0·79)
11. 50 and above	—	...	...	..	2	1	..	—	...	..	...	..	5 (0·66)
Large Farm. ..	3 (2·75)	1 (·91)	3 (1·83)	15 (13·76)	56 (33·08)	23 (21·60)	7 (6·42)	8 (7·34)	3 (2·75)	5 (4·59)	... ..	6 (5·50)	109 (100·00)
Total	50 (6·59)	177 (23·32)	150 (15·81)	161 (21·21)	143 (18·84)	54 (7·11)	17 (2·24)	15 (1·98)	5 (0·66)	6 (0·79)	1 (0·13)	10 (1·32)	759 (100·00)
Total cultivated area.	156·01 (2·99)	298·65 (7·55)	353·92 (9·09)	677·68 (17·31)	1,143·86 (29·23)	593·44 (15·16)	153·53 (3·92)	234·78 (6·00)	70·00 (1·79)	104.14 (2·66)	9·50 (·23)	120·70 (3·08)	3,914·18 (100·00)
Average ..	3·12	1.67	2·97	4·21	8·00	10·99	9·03	15·65	14·00	17·36	9·50	12·07	..
Project Area:													
1. 0 ..	—	..		...	—	...	...	..	..	..	..	..	..
2. Less than 1/3 acre.	1	3	3	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	...	..	8 (1·24)
3. 1/3 to 1/2 acre	1	4	1	—	..	—	..	..	..		..	..	6 (0·93)
4. 1/2 to 1 acre ..	3	6	12	10	..	..		—	..	—	..	..	31 (4·87)
5. 1 to 2 acres ...	7	19	32	33	22	..	..	.	..	..	..	..	113 (17·73)
6. 2 to 3 acres ..	5	9	15	30	32	2	1	—	..	.	..	..	94 (14·75)
Small Farm ..	17 (6·13)	41 (14·75)	69 (24·82)	93 (33·45)	54 (19·42)	3 (1.08)	1 (·36)	..	..	...	..	..	278 (100·00)

7.0 to 8 acres	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	--	--	--	--	--	[illegible]
8.0 to 10 acres	[illegible]	--	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	--	--	--	--	--	[illegible]
Medium Farms	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	--	--	--	--	--	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	--	--	--	--	--	[illegible]
9.0 to 10 acres	--	--	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	[illegible]
10.00 to 20 acres	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
11.00 and above	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Large Farms	--	--	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	--	--	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total Cultivated Area	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Average	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	--

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TABLE F-1.1—*contd.*

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
General Area:													
1. 0	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2. Less than 1/2 acre	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2 (1·12)
3. 1/2 to 1/2 acre	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1 (0·56)
4. 1/2 to 1 acre	..	3	5	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	11 (6·42)
5. 1 to 2 acres	1	3	16	14	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	40 (22·29)
6. 2 to 3 acres	..	1	9	15	12	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	37 (21·64)
Small Farm	1 (1·10)	9 (9·90)	31 (34·07)	31 (33·16)	18 (19·78)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	91 (100·00)
7. 3 to 5 acres	1	1	6	19	21	4	3	..	..	..	..	..	47 (27·49)
8. 5 to 10 acres	..	..	2	5	12	5	1	..	..	..	..	..	25 (14·62)
Medium Farm	1 (1·39)	1 (1·39)	8 (11·11)	18 (25·00)	33 (45·83)	9 (12·50)	3 (4·16)	..	..	..	..	..	72 (100·00)
9. 10 to 25 acres	..	..	..	1	4	2	..	1	..	..	..	..	8 (4·48)
10. 25 to 50 acres	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
11. 50 and above	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Large Farm	..	..	..	1 (12·50)	4 (50·00)	2 (25·00)	..	1 (12·50)	..	..	..	..	8 (100·00)
Total ..	2 (1·11)	10 (5·56)	59 (32·81)	51 (28·33)	55 (30·56)	11 (6·11)	3 (1·67)	1 (0·56)	..	..	..	..	171 (100·00)
Total cultivated land	4·50 (·78)	11·24 (1·95)	80·01 (13·96)	149·49 (25·75)	212·49 (36·11)	68·50 (11·91)	9·50 (1·65)	12·00 (2·08)	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	575·81 (100·00)
Average ..	2·25	1·12	1·36	2·93	3·41	6·24	3·17	12·00	..	..	..	..	..

TABLE F-3

Yield rate of some Important crops

Crop	Gross area harvested (acre)	Total yield (unit below)	Quantity consumed	Quantity value (Rs. 0·00)	Quantity sold	Sale Value	Average yield per acre
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Border area :—							
a. Betel leaf ..	298·69(8·98)	5121·59	832·09	2953·92	4249·50	15037·09(4·94)	17·15
b. Betel nut ..	891·80(26·83)	2612·97	224·93	16988·75	23·04	184024·50(60·44)	2·93
c. Orange ..	1018·77(30·64)	5367·90	362·95	5161·15	4311·84	68404·50(22·46)	5·27
d. Potato ..	20·70(0·62)	207·04	110·07	1266·91	96·97	1117·50(—)	17·49
e. Paddy ...	20·70(19·52)	5437·75	3926·75	62356·79	1108·75	176090·50(5·78)	8·38
f. Millet ..	101·80(3·06)	363·98	343·06	6192·23	20·50	370·00(0·12)	3·57
g. Tapioca ..	36·25(1·09)	884·96	814·46	4634·28	70·50	401·37(0·13)	24·41
h. Yam ..	59·03(1·78)	554·97	475·47	3575·53	79·50	597·50(0·20)	9·50
i. Others ..	248·68(7·48)	..	..	...	..	16934·05(5·56)	39·76
Total :	3324·48			103129·56		304495·92	

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TABLE F-3—*contd.*

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Project area:—							
a. Betel leaf ..	58·10(3·42)	2945·00	152·00	428·64	2786·00	7866·50(7·86)	50·64
b. Betel nut ..	13·50(0·80)	55·45	6·22	608·56	48·23	4719·00(4·71)	4·11
c. Orange ..	52·34(3·08)	876·99	539·36	8182·09	338·13	5128·50(5·13)	16·76
d. Potato ..	28·31(1·66)	644·75	533·75	5442·50	111.00	1143·00(1·14)	22·77
e. Paddy ..	1401·80(82·44)	18112·75	12655·00	152366·20	6418·00	77243·00(77·14)	12·92
f. Millet ..	4·10(0·24)	36·00	23·00	337·41	9·00	132·00(0·13)	8·78
g. Tapioca ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
h. Yam ..	5·60(0·33)	103·35	89·85	599·30	13·50	90·00(0·09)	18·46
. Others ...	136·56(8·03)	...	..	4930·00	..	3805·50(3·80)	18·87
Total	1700·00(100·00)	..	..	172894·70	..	100127·50(100·00)	..

General area:—

a. Betel leaf	..	10·50(1·87)	252·00	40·00	85·00	212·00	486·00(1·83)	24·00
b. Betel nut	..	8·50(1·57)	25·75	13·60	1360·00	12·15	1093·00(4·10)	3·03
c. Orange	...	21·25(3·79)	59·50	50·50	360·19	9·00	70·75(0·27)	2·80
d. Potato	...	37·40(6·66)	1015·51	164·82	1587·27	850·59	8075·00(30·33)	27·15
e. Paddy	—	342·75(61·06)	4321·00	3301·50	46320·05	1019·50	12095·00(45·42)	12·60
f. Millet	..	22·94(4·09)	159·25	114·75	1943·87	43·50	737·00(2·77)	6·94
g. Tapioca	..	6·75(1·20)	250·00	200·00	900·00	50·00	225·00(0·84)	37·03
h. Yam	..	1·87(0·33)	43·87	38·87	194·35	5·00	25·00(0·99)	23·45
i. Others	..	109·41(19·43)	...	...	...	...	3821·00(14·35)	...
Total:		561·37(100·00)			52750·75		26627·75(100·00)	

Unit:— a. Betel leaf in Kuri — 1 Kuri = 20 bundles, 1 bundles = 144 of leaves (approx.).
b. Betel nut in Luti — 1 Luti = 16 kani, 1 kani = 400 nos. of nuts.
c. Orange in Luti — 1 Luti = 16 bhar, 1 bhar = 64 nos. of oranges.
d to h-in mounds.

A.G.P 3/61 (Tribal)—400—8-[illegible]-63.

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[For the differences between Border area, Project area and General area, see category 116 passim.]

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[For the composition of population by social groupings, see category 116, pp. 29-52, 62-64, 75-76, 81-84, 106-123, 127-129, and 149-152.]

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STATISTICAL ACCOUNT

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OF THE

KHASI AND JAINTIA HILLS.

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STATISTICAL ACCOUNT

OF THE

KHASI AND JAINTIA HILLS.

THE DISTRICT OF THE KHASI AND JAINTIA HILLS, called by the inhabitants Ka Ri Khási and Ka Ri Synteng, is situated between 26° 9′ 30″ and 25° 8′ 28″ north latitude, and between 91° 9′ 0″ and 92° 51′ 30″ east longitude. It contains an approximate area of 6157 square miles, and a population, according to the Census of 1872, of 141,838 souls. The principal town and Civil Station, which is also the headquarters of the Chief Commissioner of Assam, is Shillong, situated in 25° 32′ 39″ north latitude and 91° 55′ 32″ east longitude. 131 [101] [161] [632] [648]

BOUNDARIES.—The Khási and Jáintiá Hills District is bounded on the north by the Districts of Kámrúp and Nowgong; on the east by Northern Cáchár, the Nágá Hills District, and the Kapili river; on the south by Sylhet District; and on the west by the Gáro Hills.

JURISDICTION.—The Khási and Jáintiá Hills constitute a Political District, removed from the jurisdiction of the ordinary Criminal, Civil, and Revenue Courts, and of the offices established under the General Regulations and Acts. The administration of the country is vested in the Chief Commissioner of Assam, the Deputy-Commissioner of the Khási and Jáintiá Hills and his Assistants, and the native Chiefs, who are variously styled Siems, Wáhadádárs, Sardárs, Dollois, Pathors, and Lyngdohs. Siem, or more properly Seim, is derived from the Khási word for 'soul, life;' Wáhadádár, from the Hindu term *uhdádár*, meaning an 'officer;' Lyngdoh strictly means a 'sacrificial soothsayer,' from the Khási *ong*, 'to speak,' and *doh*, 'flesh.' The District is divided into three portions, —namely, British possessions in the Khási Hills; petty dependent 648 631

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648 631 States in the Khásí Hills; and the Jáintiá Hill country, which is wholly British. The British possessions are administered under a code specially introduced for the purpose. The Khásí dependent States consist of petty democracies, presided over by chiefs called Siems, who, though taken from one family, are appointed by election; or by head-men, such as Wáhadádárs, Sardárs, and Lyngdohs, whose offices are absolutely elective. The appointment of all these chiefs and head-men is subject to the confirmation of the British Government, which also reserves to itself the right to remove them in case of misconduct.

The British possessions in the Khásí and Jáintiá Hills, which cover an aggregate area of 2160 square miles, consist of the following Fiscal Divisions:—In the Khásí Hills—(1) Jim-mang; (2) Láit-lyn-kot; (3) Láit-kroh; (4) Bái-rang, otherwise Wáh-long; (5) Long-ká-ding; (6) Máo-be-lár-kár; (7) Máo-smái; (8) Mynteng; (9) Máo-mlúh; (10) Máo-puñ-kyr-tiang; (11) Nong-jírí; (12) Nong-lyng-kin; (13) Nong-bah; (14) Nong-riát; (15) Nong-kroh; (16) Nun-niah; (17) Rám-dáit; (18) Sáit-soh-pen; (19) Tyng-riang; (20) Tyng-rong; (21) Tyr-ná; (22) Um-niuh; (23) Mar-bisu (dependency); and (24) U Ttymá. In the Jáintiá Hills—(1) Am-wi; (2) Chap-duk (Kukí); (3) Dar-rang; (4) Jowái; (5) Lang-flút; (6) Lang-soh; (7) Lá-ká-dong; (8) Myn-riang (Mikír); (9) Mul-shoi (Kukí); (10) Más-kút; (11) Myn-sáo; (12) Nong-klih; (13) Nong-fúlút; (14) Nong-thá-long; (15) Nar-pú; (16) Nar-tiang; (17) Nong-bah; (18) Nong-jyngi; (19) Ral-liang; (20) Rym-bái; (21) Sái-pung (Kukí); (22) Soh-tyn-gah; (23) Shiliang-myn-tang; (24) Sáth-pathor; and (25) Shang-púng.

The Khásí democratic States, covering an aggregate area of 3997 square miles (in some reports stated at 4490 square miles), are as follow:—Presided over by Siems—(1) Bhawál, otherwise War-bah; (2) Cherrá; (3) Khyrim; (4) Lyng-kin; (5) Maláí-soh-mat; (6) Mahárám; (7) Máriao; (8) Máo-iong; (9) Máo-syn-rám; (10) Myl-liem; (11) Nong-soh-phoh; (12) Nong-klao; (13) Nongs-pung; (14) Nong-stain; and (15) Rám-brái. Presided over by Wáhadádárs—(1) The Confederacy of Shellá. Presided over by Sardárs—(1) Dwárá Nong-tyr-men; (2) Ji-rang; (3) Máolong; (4) Máo-don; and (5) Nong-long. Presided over by Lyngdohs—(1) Lyn-iong; (2) Máo-flang; (3) Nong-lywái; and (4) Soh-iong.

648 692 The administration in the Khásí States gives to the native Chiefs independent jurisdiction in all cases, civil or criminal (except

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homicide), in which their own subjects are concerned. All cases of homicide, or matters involving disputes between people belonging to different States, are adjudicated upon by the British officers of the District. 648 692

In the British possessions, the principal sources of revenue are rents and royalties derived from mineral workings, such as lime and coal; rents of fisheries; and a house tax, which varies, according to situation and productiveness of the soil, from R. 1 to Rs. 2 or from 2s. to 4s. per house. A land tax is only levied in tracts where the Government possesses the actual proprietary right in the soil. Again, in the Khási States, the British Government, which undertakes the management of the natural products of the country, such as waste lands, coal, lime, etc., receives a half-share of the rents realized from these sources, the other half belonging to the native Chiefs. The other sources of revenue of the Chiefs are market dues, cesses levied occasionally for State purposes, and fines realized in the administration of justice. 648 651 [135]

HISTORY.—Our first knowledge of the Khási Hills dates from the time when the East India Company acquired the *diwání* of Bengal in 1765. The adjoining District of Sylhet was included in that grant; but as the hillmen had never acknowledged any subjection to the Muhammadans, so they still remained absolutely independent of the British power. However, the necessities of commerce, arising from their monopoly of the lime quarries, from which Bengal has drawn its supply from time immemorial, soon attracted European enterprise to the country. As stated in the Appendix to the Statistical Account of Sylhet, the control of the profits of the lime trade formed in early times one of the most valuable advantages attaching to the position of the official in charge of that District. It does not appear that any European had been attracted to reside in the Hills before 1826. In that year the Rájá of Nongklao entered into an agreement with certain European British subjects to allow a road to be made across the Hills, to connect the Surmá valley with Assam Proper. These Europeans took up their residence at Nongklao. Misunderstandings unfortunately arose, and, partly by the misconduct of some of their Bengálí followers, the growing discontent and apprehension were fanned into a flame. On 4th April 1829 the Khásiás rose in arms and massacred Lieutenants Bedingfield and Burlton, together with some sepoys. This led to military operations on the part of the British Government, which 175 648 [135] [487]

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175 continued through several cold seasons. The last of the Khási chiefs
648 did not tender his submission until 1833. In February 1835 Colonel Lister was appointed Political Agent in the Khási Hills, with his headquarters at Nongklao; and the command of the Sylhet Light Infantry battalion was also placed in his hands. The civil and military functions remained conjoined until 1854, when Mr. Hudson was deputed to Cherrá Púnjí, which had then become the administrative headquarters, with the title of Junior Assistant-Commissioner, shortly afterwards changed to the present one of Deputy-Commissioner.

The Jáintiá Hills came into British possession in 1835. In that year, as related in the Statistical Account of Sylhet District, the last Rájá of Jáintiá, Indra Singh, was deposed on the charge of complicity with certain of his tribesmen who had carried off three British subjects and barbarously immolated them at the shrine of Kálí. The portion of his territory that lay in the plains was forthwith annexed to the District of Sylhet; and the Rájá voluntarily resigned the hill portion, of which we also took possession. A pension of Rs. 500 a month, or £600 a year, was granted to the deposed Rájá for life, and he resided peaceably in Sylhet until
175 his death in 1861. When we first assumed the administration of
648 the Hills, no change was made in the indigenous revenue system,
651 which consisted simply of the payment of a he-goat once a year from each village. The Rájá had derived the greater portion of his income from his possessions in the plains. In 1860, however, a house tax was imposed, the highest limit of which was one rupee (2s.) per house. This measure of direct taxation was very obnoxious to the Syntengs. They formed irregular gatherings, at which they resolved to resist payment, or at least to refuse to pay except through their own hereditary Rájá, who was then alive. An outbreak took place in the early part of the year, but it was promptly suppressed; the people were disarmed, and matters went on much as usual. But the disarmament was imperfect, and it soon became evident that the Syntengs were profoundly disaffected to our rule. Towards the close of 1860 new taxation was introduced, in the form of judicial stamps; and the elaborate schedules of the new income tax were thrust into the hands of persons, few of whom could read the language in which they were framed. Imposts also were
175 introduced upon fisheries and the right to cut timber. Con-
764 siderable feeling had been excited by a sanitary prohibition against
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burning the dead in the immediate neighbourhood of the village of Jowái. Suspicions of insurrection arose during the months of October and November 1861. In the beginning of January 1862 alarming reports were received from various quarters, and the first serious outbreak occurred on the 17th of that month. This was occasioned by the interference of a *dárogá*, or native police official, with a religious ceremony that took place at the village of Jalong. In such ceremonies dancing with arms is held essential; and the *dárogá* took upon himself to disarm the dancers. This was the signal for a general rising. The *thána* or police station at Jowái was burned to the ground; the garrison of sepoys was besieged, and all show of British authority was swept away throughout the Hills. The Syntengs fought bravely for their independence, and at first were successful in cutting off several small detachments of police and sepoys. Their weapons were bows and arrows. In common with the other hill tribes of the North-East Frontier, their chief defence consisted in a series of strong stockades, one behind another; and the paths leading to their villages were thickly planted with *pánjis*, or little bamboo spikes, stuck in the ground like caltrops. The battalion of sepoys stationed in the Hills was rendered inefficient by sickness. At last it was found necessary to move a regular army, including an elephant battery and two regiments of Sikhs, into the country in order to quell the revolt. Colonel Dunsford was in chief command. He was accompanied by Major Haughton, the Governor-General's Agent on the North-East Frontier, and Captain Morton, the Deputy-Commissioner of the Khási and Jaintiá Hills, who acted in a political capacity. The operations were tedious and harassing. The rebel chiefs were captured one by one, and the District was declared to be finally pacified in March 1863, after the rebellion had lasted for fifteen months. The special Commission appointed under Act xi. of 1857, for the trial of offenders in the Jaintiá Hills, was dissolved in December 1863. The causes of the rebellion were thus summed up by Major Haughton in an official despatch to the Government of Bengal:—'Taxation was introduced without the supervision with which such a measure should have been accompanied. It was followed up by fresh taxation and rumours of other taxes, also by fiscal and other innovations, which tended to disturb the minds of the people, without any counterpoise such as might have resulted from the continued presence of a European officer.' The Syntengs, like the

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175 648 Khasis, have, ever since the measures of improvement which followed, remained peaceable and contented.

133 General Aspect of the District.—The District consists almost entirely of hills, only a very small portion lying in the plains. The slope of the hills on the southern side is steep, until a table-land is met with at an elevation of about 4000 feet. Higher up there is another plateau at Mão-flong, ten miles to the eastward of which, and in the same mountain range, the Civil Station of Shillong is situated at an elevation of 4500 feet above sea level. On the northern side of the hills are two plateaus, one between 1000 and 2000 feet below the level of Shillong, and the second lower down, about 500 feet above sea level. In general features all these plateaus are much alike, and consist of a succession of undulating downs, broken here and there by the valleys of the larger hill streams. In the higher ranges, where the hills have been denuded of forest, the country is covered with short grass, which becomes longer and more rank in the lower elevations. A remarkable feature in the aspect of the country throughout the hills is the numerous sacred groves which superstition has preserved from time immemorial from the destructive hand of the woodcutter. These sacred groves contain beautiful timber-trees of various kinds, rare orchids, rhododendrons, and wild cinnamon. On the more elevated table-lands, pine trees and stunted oak are met with; and in the lower hills, in every direction, are dense forests of the usual Indian trees, containing valuable timber.

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134 135 The geological formation is mainly granite, with stratified rocks of sandstone, limestone, and shale. The coal-beds rest on trap and metamorphic rocks. The prevailing surface soil is a red homogeneous loam.

133 Mountains.—The principal mountain ranges and highest peaks in the Khási and Jaintia Hills are as follow:—(1) The Shillong range—height of principal peak, 6,445 feet above sea level. (2) Dingiai range—principal peak, 6,200 feet. (3) Mão-thad-rú-shiu range—highest peak, 6,137 feet. (4) Lão-syn-rú range—highest peak, 5,773 feet. (5) Lão-mão-dah range—highest peak, 5,577 feet. (6) Lão-ber-ah—highest peak, 5,400 feet. (7) Lão-bah range—highest peak, 4,464 feet. (8) Lyng-ker-dem range—highest peak, 5,000 feet. (9) Lão-luiong range—highest peak, 4,848 feet. (10) Mão-ryb-shu range—highest peak, 5,800 feet.

The principal mountains are:—(1) Ray-long—height, 5,850 feet.

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(2) Sak-pen-lyu-rong, literally "The Navel of the Sky." This is supposed by the Khasis to be the centre of the world, and to be the highest peak in the hills. Its real altitude, however, is only about [illegible] feet. (3) Syrwo—height, [illegible] feet. (4) Shillong—height, 6,[illegible] feet. (5) Dingiai—height, 6,[illegible] feet. (6) Kyi-lang mark, one huge mass of stone, about [illegible] feet high, and of a rounded form—height above sea level, 5,[illegible] feet. (7) Lôh-lôh—height, [illegible] feet. (8) Lôh-dwô—height, [illegible] feet. (9) Thang-ô-mîle—height, [illegible] feet. (10) Nong-jong—height, [illegible] feet. (11) U Mîle—height, [illegible] feet. (12) Mîle-lang—height, [illegible] feet. (13) Mîle-kô-long—height, [illegible] feet. (14) Mîle-ny-mul—height, [illegible] feet. (15) Syn-pen—height, [illegible] feet. (16) Mîle-ungi—height, [illegible] feet. (17) Lôh-mîle-kôn—height, [illegible] feet. (18) Nong-syn-rôh—height, [illegible] feet. (19) Mîle-kryh—height, [illegible] feet. (20) Nong-khrong—height, [illegible] feet. (21) Kôlô-long-ungôn—height, [illegible] feet. (22) Mîle-lôh-lôh—height, [illegible] feet. (23) Funtar-kyi-long—height, [illegible] feet.

The mountain peaks are of various forms and shapes, but generally conical, and capped by sacred groves. No roads exist to permit the ascent of carriages, but most of the hills can be ascended by beasts of burden, even without roads tracks. In the eastern portion of the District the hills are covered with forest.

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RIVERS.—Six navigable rivers flow through the hills, the streams being all mountain torrents. On some of the large streams, however, near the point where they debouch upon the plains, small canoes are used for short distances below the rapids. The principal streams flowing south to the Surma river in Sylhet are the following:—(1) The Kyn-chi-ang, named Jâhâkâl by the Bengalis in the plains; (2) the Tangla, called Mokâi in the plains; (3) the Bograh, called Bogrâdai in the plains; (4) the Sak-ryng-kaw, called Dhalâi in the plains; (5) the Mawgâi, called Pûm in the plains; (6) the Mîle-ryh-du, called Kôni in the plains; and (7) the Lubâ or Lubâi. The principal tributaries to the Brahmaputra are:—(1) The Kapili; (2) the Umkhen, called Sanjâni in the plains; (3) the Umrôi; (4) the Umrem, called Digru in the plains; and (5) the Kaldôni, called Kalai in the plains. All the foregoing streams have numerous feeders of their own, but none of them are of any importance.

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The Khâsi and Jaintia Hills are, like all mountainous countries, intensely wooded, and the streams run over rocky beds, some passing through cultivated lands. As they approach the plains,

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133 they form rapids, the waters precipitating themselves down deep, rocky gorges and chasms, choked with huge boulders. Some of these gorges are very beautiful; the streams, being hemmed in between stupendous mountains and rocks covered with primeval forest, run in narrow but very deep channels swarming with fish. No islands or lakes are formed by any of the rivers, although several of them have large, deep pools. They are all unfordable during the rains.

312 Utilisation of the Water Supply.—None of the rivers are utilised as a motive power for turning machinery, although the streams on the higher plateaux might be easily turned to such an account. Their waters, however, are extensively used for the purposes of irrigation, and the hill people display great ingenuity in cutting channels or aqueducts for leading the water on to their fields. It is in this manner that the Civil Station of Shillong [365] receives its water supply. Aqueducts convey water to the houses of all the European residents; and branch channels from the main aqueduct flow through the *Aladr*, and along the streets occupied by the native inhabitants. No fishing towns exist in the hills; but [226] near where the rivers debouch upon the plain are some valuable [543] fisheries, which are annually let in farm, the lessees being generally Bengalis. These fisheries yield an annual Government revenue of about £300. Embankments in order to protect the land against floods do not exist. A few embankments, or rather dams, are thrown across narrow valleys between hills, so as to create reservoirs for water. At Shillong there are a few tanks thus formed, which are both useful and ornamental.

135 Minerals, etc.—Coal and limestone, both of excellent quality, are found in abundance. Lower Bengal obtains nearly the whole of its lime supply from the *Khásí* and *Jáintiá* Hills. The lime is known as 'Sylhet lime,' and is obtained by quarrying from the beds of stone which line the base of the mountains along the whole length of the Sylhet boundary. The supply is literally inexhaustible. Coal cut-crops at Chertá Pónji, Lákká-dong, Shellá, Mío-ryn-rim, and at several other places; but as a rule it is scattered, and found in places difficult of access. The coal, however, is of excellent quality, and leaves very little ash. Stone, well adapted for building purposes, is also found. Ironstone exists almost everywhere throughout the Hills, but principally in the dependent States of Khyrim, Nongpyung, Cherrá, and Mylliem. In former years the Khásís were

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In former years the Khásiás were great iron-smelters, and enormous excavations in the most favourable localities for obtaining ironstone prove the extent to which this manufacture was carried on. In some places the whole surface of the ground appears to have been dug up for a depth of several feet, leaving huge boulders standing up here and there. Of late years, however, as the price of labour in the Hills has risen, the trade in iron has died away, and there is now little demand for the Khási article, the cheaper English metal having driven it out of the market. 178 316 325

NATURAL PHENOMENA.—Many peculiar caves and caverns are found in the limestone rock formation, the most notable being the caves at Cherrá Púnji and at Rúpnáth in Amwi. At the latter place the caverns extend a great distance beneath the earth, one being imagined by the people to reach as far as China, and a Hindu legend states that a Chinese army once marched by this route to the invasion of India. In another cave, the limestone stalactites have been carved into images representing the gods of the Hindu pantheon. On the banks of the Kapili river on the Cáchár border, at a place called Sumir, there is a hot spring, the water of which contains carbonate of lime. All the rivers in the Hills flow through gorges in certain parts of their course, the most picturesque being at Tehriá, where a small stream is compressed into deep pools among limestone rocks; and at Darrang and Borghát, where the Mangat and Mantideo rivers respectively debouch upon the plains. 133 [823]

FORESTS, ETC.—The India-rubber or caoutchouc tree is found in many forests throughout the Hills, but not in great numbers, and the supply and value of the gum has much decreased of late years. In 1870 the right of tapping the trees in the Jáintiá Hills was leased out for a sum of £36, 12s. 0d.; but by 1876 the trade had almost entirely ceased. There are some tracts of timber forest on the lower hills towards the Brahmaputra valley, but through the want of water carriage they are of no great value. Vigorous efforts are being made to preserve the forests in the higher plateaux. Owing to the habit of firing the jungle in spring prior to sowing, great waste of valuable timber has taken place; but since the country has been separated from Bengal and placed under the administration of the Chief Commissioner of Assam, attention has been given to the matter, and special areas are now being set apart for the preservation and growth of forest timber. Cinnamon grows wild in some parts of the country. There is a considerable trade carried on in 137 [314] 137 648 659 000

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There is considerable trade carried on in
245 *tezpit* or bay leaves, the trees being extensively cultivated by the
439 inhabitants of the lower slopes of the hills on the Sylhet border. The finest oranges in India are also grown in groves in the same tract, the value of the trade in which is now (1876) estimated to amount
237 to £3760 per annum. Lac is gathered by the Míkirs in the Jáintiá
439 Hills, but not to any great extent. Bees are both domesticated and found wild, and an extensive trade in bees-wax is carried on,
231 the amount exported being estimated at from three hundred to four hundred *maunds* annually. The whole of the Hills, where there is
233 no forest, and where the land is not under cultivation, consists of
621 rich pasture grounds, which are held in common by the villagers
651 and pay no revenue to Government.

137 The forests of the Khásí and Jáintiá Hills do not yield much profit either to the British Government or to the chiefs. There
[648] are no reserved forests in the District; and according to the Deputy-Conservator, the total area of unreserved forest, *i.e.* of land covered
[659] with timber trees and not at present required for *júm* cultivation, is only 150 square miles. The trees found are chiefly pine, and those classified as 'mixed upper hill forests.' At an elevation of 3000 feet, the Pinus Kasia predominates over all other vegetation and forms almost pure pine forests. It is found also at lower heights, and there attains larger dimensions, but only in the case of isolated trees. The 'mixed upper hill forests' are confined to a series of sacred groves, which clothe the topmost ridge of the watershed between the valleys of the Brahmaputra and Surmá. The characteristic trees are those of a temperate vegetation, chiefly consisting of oaks, chestnuts, magnolia, Schima, Cinnamomum, Prunus, Engelhardtia, etc. There are also numerous other timber trees, including the valuable *sál* (Shorea robusta) and the rubber tree (Ficus elastica); but on the whole the Khásí Hills are remarkable for the
[648] absence of forest. Early in 1874-75 measures were taken to put a stop to the indiscriminate burning of the forests, and the Siems and
[659] village officers were made responsible for the conservancy of the sacred groves. These endeavours have met with some success; but it is a very difficult thing to change the habits of a population, or to induce uncivilised tribes to incur a small temporary inconvenience for the sake of future benefit. The total area directly protected from fire during the year 1875-76 is returned at 3618 acres; the expenditure was Rs. 122; and in ten prosecutions for breaches of forest rules, twenty-three persons were convicted.

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The forest administration of the British Government is confined to two plantations in the neighbourhood of Shillong, for which a rent is payable in perpetuity. One of these, on the farther side of the Umkra, was originally acquired in 1871-72 for the sake of experiments in arboriculture. The rent of Rs. 50, or £5, is paid by the Forest Department; the area had been at first estimated at 580 acres, but an actual survey undertaken in 1875-76 reduced this estimate to 262·59 acres. A considerable portion is covered with Pinus Kasia, which is carefully protected. Of the exotic trees tried on this plantation, only the three following can be said to have done well: Juglans regia, Eucalyptus rostrata, and Pinus maritima. All the rest either suffered from frost in the winter, or required far more nursing than can be afforded them in forest plantations. The young trees of the indigenous oak (Quercus serrata) were also attacked by rats, who bit off great numbers just above the ground. The Spanish chestnuts did not thrive, and were removed to the model farm for trial at a higher elevation. The second plantation, on the northern slopes of the range immediately behind the Station, consists of several patches of forest, which were acquired in connection with the scheme for providing Shillong with a permanent water supply. The total rent is Rs. 375, or £37, 10s., paid from Town Improvement Funds; and the aggregate area is estimated at 796 acres. All the fields within this area that had formerly been cultivated by the Khásiás—about 80 acres in all—were sown by the Forest Department with Pinus Kasia, Quercus Griffithii, Q. serrata, and Q. fenestrata, which have succeeded well; and about 8 acres were planted with different species of Eucalyptus. Up to the close of 1875-76 the sum expended on the first of these two plantations was Rs. 742. 9. 9, or £74, 5s. 3d., and on the second, Rs. 730. 9. 6, or £73, 1s. 2d.

A cinchona plantation was started in 1867 by the Superintendent of the Calcutta Botanical Gardens. It consists of twelve small patches of plants near Nongklao, and one near Jírang, situated at elevations varying from 3500 feet to 2000 feet. The species cultivated are Cinchona succirubra, C. officinalis, and C. micrantha. At first they were under the charge of two Khási gardeners, who each received Rs. 16 a month, or £19, 4s. a year, to weed them and keep fires out. In 1874-75 these plantations were taken charge of by the Forest Department, and specimens of the cinchona bark were submitted for analysis to the Government Quinologist

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at Dárjiling, who reported unfavourably on them. They have since been made over to the Siem of Nongklao, who is responsible for their being kept clear of weeds and protected against fire. Up to the close of 1875–76 the total expenditure had been Rs. 672, or £67, 4s. 0d.

136 [224] [648] [165]

FERÆ NATURÆ.—Tigers, elephants, rhinoceros, buffaloes, *mithuns* or wild cows, bears, leopards, wolves, jackals, foxes, wild hog, and several kinds of deer abound in the Khásí and Jáintiá Hills. The expense of keeping down tigers in the shape of Government rewards amounted to £44, 10s. 0d. in 1869-70. The rate of reward now paid is Rs. 25 or £2, 10s. 0d. per head. No rewards have ever been given for the destruction of venomous serpents. The number of deaths from wild beasts and snake-bite reported to the police amounted to 28 in 1866-67, 18 in 1867-68, 16 in 1868-69, and 26 in 1869-70. The small game found in the Hills consists of black partridges, hill partridges, quails, ducks, teal, snipe, and woodcocks. The *mahsir* fish is caught in the rivers. No regular trade is carried on in the skins of wild animals; and, except in the case of wild elephants, the *feræ naturæ* are not made to contribute towards the wealth of the people.

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ELEPHANTS.—Wild elephants are found in the lower ranges of the hills, and in the gorges opening on the valleys of the Surmá and the Brahmaputra. Each State in the Khásí Hills and each dolloiship in the Jáintiá Hills constitutes a separate hunting circle or *mahál*. In the Khásí States the conditions of elephant hunting are governed by rules framed in 1874-75 by the Chief Commissioner, and approved by the Government of India. These rules provide, (1) that the British Government will make no claim to royalty on account of elephants caught in the Khásí Hills; (2) that one half of the proceeds of the sale of each elephant caught shall be paid over to the chief whose State forms the *mahál*, and the other half retained by Government; (3) that if a chief wishes to hunt elephants on his own account, the *mahál* composed of his State shall be reserved from sale, and a special arrangement shall be made with him on the basis that half the proceeds of the hunting shall accrue to Government. A special form of hunting licence in accordance with these rules has been settled by the Chief Commissioner. In the Jáintiá Hills, as being British territory, the ordinary Assam rules are in force, in accordance with which leases of the *mahals* are sold at intervals of two years to the highest bidder at

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public auction. The Assam rules, as revised in 1875-76, reserve to Government the right of pre-emption at the price of Rs. 600 (£60) in the case of every elephant captured between 6 feet and 7½ feet in height. For every elephant caught that is not purchased by Government, a royalty of Rs. 100 (£10) is payable within one month after capture. Certain methods of hunting are prohibited. 224 648 651

POPULATION.—Prior to 1872 no attempts had been made at a Census of the Khási and Jáintiá Hills, but in 1870 the Deputy-Commissioner approximately estimated the population at 118,925 souls. In 1872, at the time of the Bengal Census, operations were set on foot in these Hills, but on a less elaborate system than in Regulation Districts. In the Khási Hills, the Census of the various petty States was effected through the chiefs; in British territory in the Jáintiá Hills, the *dollois* conducted the enumeration; while at Shillong and other places under direct administration, the work was done by officers attached to the Deputy-Commissioner's office. The results are thus returned:—Adults—males, 39,882; and females, 44,298: total adults, 84,280. Children under twelve years of age—males, 28,611; and females, 28,947: total children, 57,558. Total males, 68,593; total females, 73,245. Grand total, 141,838; proportion of males, 48·36 per cent. The total area of the District, according to the latest returns, is 6157 square miles, which gives an average density of 23 persons per square mile. The number of villages is 1003; the number of houses, 30,557, of which 350 are returned as of the better sort. 648 659 161 161 162

ETHNICAL DIVISION OF THE PEOPLE.—The population consists almost exclusively of aboriginal tribes and races, viz. Khásiás and Syntengs (who form the bulk of the inhabitants of the Khási and Jáintiá Hills respectively), Mikirs, Gáros, and Kukis. The only other dwellers in the Hills are the European officials and military officers at Shillong and Cherrá Púnjí, with their native servants and followers, a few Bengálí officials, and the sepoys of a regiment of native infantry. The classification of the inhabitants according to religion shows:—141,283 aborigines; 365 Hindus; 62 Muhammadans; and 128 Christians, including 35 Europeans, 8 Eurasians, and 85 native converts. 563 162 [648] [779]

THE KHASIAS.—The following sketch of the physical characteristics and customs of the Khásiás has been kindly furnished to me by the Deputy-Commissioner, Colonel Bivar; it is reproduced almost verbatim from his report and on his authority:— 144

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144 'ETHNOLOGY.—In order to determine the ethnological position of the Khásiás, we need dwell upon a few only of their physical characteristics, viz. those which are held to indicate that type of the human family, the Mongolian, to which they undoubtedly belong. A detailed description of their physiognomy would embrace forms and characters by no means common even to tribes occupying the hills in close proximity to them, much less referable to all branches of the Mongolian stock. These differences in detail, which may be attributed mainly to local influences, render it extremely difficult, if not absolutely impossible, to trace out the exact relation which these mountain tribes bear to each other. But the Mongolian, or, to use a more comprehensive term, the Turanian, physiognomy is unmistakeable in them all—Khásiás, Jáintiás, Gáros, Míkírs, Nágás, Manipuris, etc. The chief points may be briefly stated as follows:—
142 Colour tawny or yellow, though a darker hue is not entirely
[141] unknown; nose somewhat depressed, with a peculiar conformation
[302] towards the forehead at the glabellum, which is very flat and broad; face broad, flat, and squarish, with high and rounded cheek-bones; skull globular rather than square; eyes middle-sized and black, with a yellow tinge in the eyeball; eyelids obliquely set, but less acutely than in the Chinese and other Indo-Chinese races; mouth large, with prominent though not very thick lips; hair black, thick, and worn long, the orthodox style being to tie it up in a knot at the back, varying little with sex; beard remarkably sparse, but the
141 moustache more abundant than the beard. The lower classes go
[826] bare-headed; stature low in the majority of cases; constitution strong and robust; limbs thick, short, and stout; trunk long in proportion and very broad at the waist; calves over-developed, but this is considered an element of beauty, more especially in the women, who, on the average, are fairer and handsomer than the men; carriage ungraceful.

157 'SOCIAL AND MORAL QUALITIES.—Disposition very affable, gentle, and cheerful; rather industrious, but devoid of ingenuity and mechanical skill. In the industrial arts, such as masonry, carpentry,
291 and agriculture, they are amenable to training. Dress amongst the lower classes is confined to a fringed jacket rudely woven of hemp, extending down as far as the thighs, and leaving the arms bare, together with a scanty covering for the loins. The more respectable classes wear a turban of coarse cotton or silk for a head-dress, and a sheet of silk thrown loosely over the shoulders, together with a long

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strip of fine silk for the loins, a part of which hangs gracefully as low as the calves in front. No notice is here taken of what has undoubtedly been added and borrowed from their more civilised neighbours in the plains. 291

'MARRIAGE.—The marriageable age for females is from 15 to 18; for males, from 18 to 24. Matrimonial alliances are contracted either through the parents or the living representatives of the families to which the parties belong. The mode of procedure is still very primitive and unceremonious. The bridegroom, escorted by a number of friends and relatives, goes to the house of the bride, where all are feasted and lodged for the night; on the morrow he leads the bride, accompanied by a number of her relatives, to his own house, and entertains the company with dishes of boiled rice and fresh pork. After remaining there a day or two, the newly-married couple return together to the house of the wife, which becomes their future home. Marriage is dissoluble by regular divorce, for any sufficient cause, and often without any assignable reason except mutual dislike or want of issue, the latter being the most common case of all. Marriage with the Khásiás is simply a conventional arrangement, with nothing further for its object than the procreation of children; failing that, it is no longer looked upon as a contract permanently binding. Divorce is effected in the presence of eye-witnesses—the parents, or the heads of clans. Five cowries (*kauris*) are produced by the parties and exchanged, then cast away by mutual consent, and the ceremony is over. Parties once divorced can never again contract marriage with each other, but they are at liberty to marry into other families. Polygamy, strictly so called, is not sanctioned by Khási custom. Adultery is looked upon as a serious crime. If the five cowries have not been cast away by mutual consent, both husband and wife are held to be subject to the "matrimonial demon;" and even when either dies in wedlock, the survivor is not at liberty to contract a fresh alliance until he or she pays the family a sum of money as the means of removing the surviving party from subjection to the "matrimonial demon." The husband is a stranger, so to speak, in the family he has entered, and perpetuates the race of others, not his own. The children in all questions of lineage and personal rights follow the mother. There are always two interests in the same family—that of the husband, and that of the wife. Whatever the husband may have earned or acquired in

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593 wedlock goes to the wife and becomes her property; but all other
428 property is inalienable, and reverts to his family, as also does his corpse after death.

771 'RELIGION.—The religion of the Khásiás is demon-worship, or a jumble of enchantments muttered by priests who are sorcerers. They invoke evil spirits as the deputies of God and the instruments
775 of His pleasure or displeasure. The Khásiás believe in metempsychosis, or the transmigration of souls. After death, human beings are transformed into monkeys, crabs, tortoises, frogs, etc. Though a future state is not denied, it is treated with absolute indifference, as beyond the sphere of responsibility; all rites, ceremonies, and observances bear reference to the welfare of mankind in this world. The spirits of their departed relatives and ancestors are invoked only in so far as they are considered to influence and have power
764 over the present life. The Khásiás burn their dead, and collect the ashes into urns, which are kept under a slab raised on four others enclosing a space. These monuments are of various kinds and sizes —one for individuals, another for a family, and another for a whole
614 clan. There is no caste system, but each clan is called after some object of nature, as the Oak clan, the Crab clan, etc., and these names entail certain restrictions beyond which intermarriage is
771 forbidden. The Khási religion may be briefly described as the practice of forms to cure diseases, and to avert misfortunes of all kinds, by means of ascertaining the name of the demon who is the author of the evil, and the kind of sacrifice necessary to appease it.

797 'CHRISTIANITY.—The Welsh Mission has been labouring amongst the Khásiás and Syntengs for thirty-two years. The Christians number about 1000 [according to the Census of 1872, the total number of native converts in the District is only 85]. There are four central stations—Cherrá, Shellá, Shillong, and Jowái —and twenty-three churches. Translations of the whole of the New Testament, and a portion of the Old, are now (1876) going to press, besides other religious books.

197 'LANGUAGE.—The definitions generally given of monosyllabic languages are far from adequate to enable us to assign to the
193 Khási tongue its position amongst the Indo-Chinese family of speech. Still, in the absence of a better terminology, it may be described as monosyllabic in the agglutinative stage. The monosyllabic element greatly predominates. By far the larger number of the compounds are mere agglutinations (in a modified

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sense) or juxtapositions of roots which have not thereby suffered 197
either obscuration or absorption—that is to say, they are all, 193
with a few exceptions, reducible to their constituent root words, which are still "current coin," and retain their power as independent vocables. The cases in which obscuration and "fusion" of roots have taken place are confined to—(1) the noun prefix *jong*, expressing abstract ideas; (2) the verbal prefixes *byn*, *kyn*, *lyn*, *ryn*, *syn*, *tyn*, *pyn*, *byr*, *kyr*, *lyr*, *pyr*, *syr*, *tyr*, expressing causation, intensification, and contrariety. The language is found purest at Cherrá Púnjí. The Khásiás have no written character or literature of 212
any kind of their own. Tradition says that all was lost while they 173
were yet masters of the plains, whence they were driven by a general catastrophe or deluge to their present fastnesses in the hills. The following works on the language have been published: *Khási Grammar*, *Anglo-Khási Dictionary*, *Khási Primer* (Parts I. and II., 113
with Vocabulary),—all issued by the Calcutta School-Book Society; *Khási English Dictionary* (in preparation), and an *Anglo-Khási First Book*.

'CUSTOMS REGARDING INHERITANCE.—A Khásiá, whether married 428
or single, if he makes his mother's house his home, is said to be earning for his *kur*, *i.e.* for his mother, or his brothers and sisters, or his mother's relatives. On his death his property goes to his mother, if living; if not, to the grandmother; if she is not living, then to his sisters; should his sisters also be dead, to his sisters' children. Should the deceased have left no sisters, the property goes to the brothers; should he have no brothers or should they be dead, the property descends to his aunts, or to their children if the aunts are not living; should the aunts have left no children, the property descends to the grandmother's or great-grandmother's sisters or children. The property of a female on her death goes to her mother, if the deceased have no children; or if the mother of the deceased is not living, the property goes to the brothers and sisters; if the sisters are dead, then their children become the heirs. If there are no such children, the property devolves as in the case of males. When a man is not living in his mother's house, but in that of his wife, he earns for his wife and children. On his death his property descends to his wife, with the exception of the ornaments and clothing worn by him during his lifetime, which go to the brothers and sisters or other relatives of the deceased. Should the deceased have been a widower, the property goes to his children, and in their absence

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428 to the sisters of his wife, or to her nearest relatives if there are no sisters. The rank and titles of a deceased male descend to his brother; when no brother exists, then to the male children of his mother's sisters (maternal aunts); should the maternal aunts have no male children living at the time, then to the eldest male child of his sisters. When no relatives are to be found, the property of the deceased goes to the ruler of the country; or if a man dies leaving no relative other than wife and children, *i.e.* no relatives on the mother's side, the property in this case also goes to the ruler, who, as the wife and children cannot preserve the ashes of the deceased, takes charge of them, and for so doing takes all the property also. With regard to the inhabitants of the Lower Hills at Shellá, the custom as to succession is as follows:—Property belonging to a subject of Shellá is divided into two classes—(1) Property inherited from ancestors, which descends to the nearest of kin or to the relative of a deceased person who can perform his obsequies. (2) Property acquired during the lifetime of the holder, which is inherited by the children, whose duty it is to provide for the maintenance of their mother until she re-marries or dies.'

434 465 MATERIAL CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE.—The Khásiás and the Syntengs are as a people prosperous. Common labourers, if adult males, can earn wages as high as one shilling per diem, and adult 342 females as high as eightpence. The dwellings of the well-to-do classes are generally constructed of masonry, with thatched roof and 352 plank floor, and divided into two or three rooms. The furniture consists of a bedstead (*charpái*), a seat or two (*morá*), some cooking utensils, and a few boxes. The ordinary peasants and poorer 342 classes construct their huts of stone, mud, or plank walls, with a 184 thatch or cane roof. These are fitted with wooden platforms or loose planks placed on the ground to serve as beds. The food 262 of the well-to-do classes consists of rice, fish when obtainable, fowl 434 or meat, curry, vegetables, oil, hog's lard, fermented and spirituous liquor. It may be estimated that the living expenses of an average-sized household of this class would be about Rs. 25 or £2, 10s. a month, valuing the articles of consumption at *bázár* prices. An ordinary husbandman or labourer lives on rice, dry fish, occasionally a 276 little meat, oil, or hog's lard. *Pán* leaf, betel-nut, and lime are essential to the comfort of all the hill people, who are inveterate chewers of *pán*. They commence at an early age, and are rarely seen without a *pán* leaf in their mouths; the females are quite

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disfigured from the practice. Adults will chew as many as four or five betel-nuts a day, with the usual accompaniment of *pán* leaves. The estimated cost of maintaining an average family of the labouring class is about Rs. 8 or 16s. a month. 276 [434]

TOWNS: SHILLONG.—There are no towns in the usual acceptance of the word; but the chief places in the Hills, looked upon by the inhabitants as cities, are Shillong, Jowái, Cherrá Púnji, and Shellá. According to the Census of 1872, Shillong had only 1363 inhabitants, Cherrá Púnji 443, and Jowái 4502. Jowái, however, is a collection of rural hamlets, and the population of Shillong has entirely altered since the date of the Census. The latter place first became the Civil Station in 1864, in substitution for Cherrá Púnji; and when Assam was erected into an independent Province in 1874, it was selected as the permanent seat of the Local Government. The Chief-Commissioner resides there, and also the heads of all departments in the Administration. The area of the Station is 7 miles in length by 1½ to 1¾ miles in breadth. A considerable native population is already settled, and is increasing from day to day. One of the largest weekly markets is held in the *bázár*; and with a view to facilitate access to the Station, which is the sanitarium for the Province of Assam, a cart road has recently been completed to Gauháti on the Brahmaputra, which will tend to make the place more and more important. An excellent water supply is introduced into Shillong through an aqueduct which has its source in the neighbouring hill streams, and sanitary measures are carefully enforced. Large sums of money have annually been expended on the erection of the public buildings necessary for the offices of the administration. A printing-press has been established, from which issue all the official documents and reports of the Province. The climate is excellent, the temperature being more equable than that of any other hill station in India, and therefore admirably suited to the constitution of Europeans. There is a church at Shillong, and a chaplain on the Bengal establishment officiates both there and at Gauháti. The cantonments were occupied in 1875 by the 43d Regiment of Assam Light Infantry, with three outposts. The strength was 9 European officers, 16 native commissioned officers, 80 non-commissioned officers, 772 fighting men, and 58 paid camp followers and non-combatants; grand total, 935. The total cost, including contingencies, was Rs. 189,190, or £18,919.

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[443] [743] [491] [365] [364] [344] [213] [132] [346] [712]

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361 In the interior of the Hills the largest villages are mere clusters of
463 huts. The great majority of the inhabitants are employed in agriculture, but there are no data upon which a proportion of agriculturists to non-agriculturists could be based.

167 There is no immigration into the District. Both the Khásiás and
178 the Syntengs have been successful in preserving to the present day their primitive isolation, free from the interference of Hinduism. They still maintain their aboriginal forms of belief and re-
[771] ligious worship, and repudiate alike the authority of Bráhmans and
[262] the entire system of caste. To some extent, however, they have given way to Hindu prejudices in the matter of purity of food. The
[563] few Hindus to be found in the Hills are temporary residents, engaged in civil and military employ, who always contemplate returning
[441] to their own homes. The traders are for the most part natives of the Hills; for the Márwárí merchants, who penetrate into every other corner of Assam, have been able to obtain no footing in the face of Khási competition. There is likewise no emigration from the District. The hillmen are a well-to-do and contented race, and either produce themselves or obtain by trade sufficient to satisfy
[166] their scanty wants. A certain number of both Khásiás and Syntengs proceed southwards every year to work on the tea gardens of Cáchár and Sylhet, but such absence from home is only temporary.

243 AGRICULTURE: RICE.—Thirteen different varieties of rice are cultivated in the District, of which the following is a list, giving the Khási name as well as the description of the grain:—(1) *U-kyba-khynriam* (*u*, the masculine article, meaning 'the,' and *kyba*, noun masculine, meaning 'paddy'), brown rice with long grain; (2) *u-kyba-khynriam bai-lih*, a white rice with long grain; (3) *u-kyba la-toh*, round-grained rice; (4) *u-kyba ksai*, bearded, husked; (5) *u-kyba-dew-ba-iong*, black husked rice (literally *u* = 'the,' *kyba* = 'paddy,' *dew* = 'earth,' *ba* = 'that,' *iong* = 'black'); (6) *u-kyba-ba-lih*, white rice; (7) *u-kyba-seim*, scented rice (literally *u* = 'the,' *kyba* = 'paddy,' *seim* = 'royal'); (8) *u-kyba la-kroh*, large-grained rice; (9) *u-kyba-ba-tlang*, small-grained rice; (10) *u-kyba sa-bia*, early rice; (11) *u-kyba ra-bon*, late rice; (12) *u-kyba tang-la*, rice grown along with beans; (13) *u-kyba-ba-túh*, small rice.

Rice is cultivated in marshy fields situated near running water as well as in high lands. The first seven of the above thirteen species of rice are sown in marshy lands during the months of April and May,

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and reaped generally in November and December, although in some parts of the hills the harvesting season commences as early as October. The following is the mode of cultivation pursued. About the middle of February, the husbandman commences to prepare the land by bringing water to his fields from neighbouring streams by means of regularly-cut channels. His land is thus kept inundated for from fifteen to thirty days, in order to soften the soil, when part of the water is allowed to escape through openings made in the banks surrounding the field. The land is then ploughed, the ploughing being called *lur-snih*, and three or four days afterwards it is made to undergo a second ploughing, called *lur-kyn-rvi*. The fields are then refilled with water by the same means as before, and allowed to remain covered from ten to fifteen days, when the water is again drained off. After this the land is ploughed a third and a fourth time, the ploughings being termed *lur-shat* and *lur-ket* respectively, and the soil is made as smooth as possible with the hands or a hoe (*kedáli*). The seed is then scattered broadcast over the field. Transplanting is not practised in the District. When the plant has sprung up about six inches above the ground, water is introduced into the field a third time, and allowed to stand for about two months, when it is drawn off for a few days, in order that the land may be weeded. After weeding, water is again let in, and is not drained off till the crop is ripe for the sickle. The other six varieties are grown on high lands, the mode of cultivation adopted being as follows:—About the middle of September the grass on the ground to be cultivated is turned up with a little of the soil attached to the roots, and allowed to remain until about February, when the turf so dug up is collected into heaps and burnt. In March or April, according as the rains happen to be early or late, these heaps are broken up and scattered over the fields. The land is then ploughed twice, or merely dug up with a hoe, and the seed is then sown. After sowing, the plough or hoe is used to cover up the seed, which sprouts in about ten days. Showers of rain at short intervals are now looked for, but too much rain, or, on the other hand, a succession of dry days, would injure the crop. As the plant acquires strength, less anxiety is felt concerning the rainfall. About the middle of September the ears begin to appear, and in November the grain is reaped. This description of rice is never grown for more than two successive seasons on the same land. No improvement has taken place within the last twenty years in the quality of the rice grown in

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243 the District, nor do any superior kinds of cereals appear to have been substituted for inferior ones.

THE DIFFERENT STAGES OF RICE CULTIVATION, in English and Khásí, are as follow:—The blade as it first shows, *spch-u-kyba;* the blade when well above the ground, *la-thylleng-u-kyba;* the ears when first formed, *lam-mat;* the ears beginning to ripen, *byr-tem;* the ripe ears, *la-hih;* unhusked rice, *u-kyba;* husked rice, *u-khaw;* cooked rice, *ka-ja.*

262 [435] [782] THE VARIOUS SOLID AND LIQUID PREPARATIONS made from rice are the following:—(1) *U-kypu*, cakes of different kinds, sold at six or twelve for a penny, according to size. (2) *U-shiní* or *gáh-khir*, prepared by the hillmen as an offering to their deity at the conclusion of the harvest. (3) *Kadam*, fermented rice water, sold at the rate of from three-farthings to threepence per quart, according to the strength of the liquor. (4) *Ka kiad-phatika* or *ka kiad-hárak*, a kind of spirits distilled from rice, and sold at from threepence to fourpence-halfpenny per quart.

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243 OTHER CEREALS.—Indian corn, or *u-riu-ha-dem*, is grown on homestead lands. The ground is first manured, and the seed is sown about the middle of April. The crop is fit for cutting in September and October. A kind of millet seed called *u-kráti* is commonly sown with paddy on high lands. For want of more suitable land, however, this crop is often cultivated by itself on rocky slopes; and when this course is adopted, the jungle is first cut down in February and burnt. The seed is sown in April, and the crop gathered in December.

244 PULSES AND FIBRES.—Only two kinds of pulses are grown in the Hills, *u-rym-bai-ktung* and *u-rym-bai-jú*, both of which are varieties of beans. They are sown on high lands in March and April, and gathered in December. The only fibre is that made from the pine-apple stalk, which is largely used for making netted bags.

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245 [439] MISCELLANEOUS CROPS.—(1) Oranges.—There are numerous orange plantations in the neighbourhood of Cherrá Púnjí, and the fruit is exported to all parts of Bengal. In the year 1876-77 the estimated exports were 9,400,000 in number, valued at Rs. 37,600, or £3760, at the rate of Rs. 12 or £1, 4s. per three thousand. These figures show a decrease in number as compared with the estimated export twenty years ago. The trees flower in March or April, and the fruit ripens in October and the following months. In some cases the oranges are allowed to remain on the trees till March, but

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generally the gathering does not extend beyond January. As a rule, the cultivation is confined to the valleys and slopes on the southern face of the hills. (2) Pine-apples are also largely cultivated on the southern slopes, and grow to great perfection on the limestone formation. The fruit ripens in May or June, and is exported in considerable quantities. In 1876-77 the export of pine-apples was valued at Rs. 8000 or £800. (3) Potatoes are extensively grown on slopes of high land, and also in the low-lying fields where the land is well drained. The tuber was first introduced into the Hills in 1830 by Mr. Scott, who was then the Governor-General's Agent. The season for sowing commences about the middle of February when the rains set in early, and in April when they are late. The ground is dug up and carefully manured with burnt earth, and holes are dug about nine inches deep, and the same distance from each other. These holes are then partially filled in with loose earth, and a potato or two halves of one placed in each. They are then filled up with dry manure and soil. When the plant is fifteen or twenty days old, the ground about the roots is loosened and the plant earthed up, and the land is kept carefully weeded. In about four months after sowing, the crop is gathered. During the cold weather a second crop is raised, the seeds being planted in September and the tubers dug up in December. Potato cultivation has largely increased of late years in the District. In 1876-77 the exports were approximately estimated at 200,500 *maunds*, or 7480 tons, valued at Rs. 501,250 or £50,125, at the rate of Rs. 2. 8 per *maund*, or £7 per ton. (4) Sugar-cane is grown, but not to any great extent; cuttings are planted in March, and the cane ripens by November or December. (5) *Pán* is extensively cultivated, the runner being trained up trees standing in deep and shady valleys. Planting is carried on during the months of April and May, but the leaves are not fit to be gathered till the plant is two years old. (6) The *supári* or betel-nut (Areca catechu), called *u-kwai* by the Khásiás, is grown on the lower southern slopes of the hills, and, together with the *pán* leaf, is consumed in immoderate quantities by the inhabitants, who measure distance by the number of *páns* consumed on a journey. It is also exported to the plains. (7) *U-soh-phlang*, a root crop resembling a small turnip, is sown on high lands in April and gathered in September. It is a poor vegetable, but the natives of the Hills are fond of it, and eat it either raw or cooked. (8) Cotton is grown on high lands and

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(8) Cotton is grown on high lands and
248 slopes; it is sown in April, and becomes fit for picking by January.

311 Area and Out-turn of Crops.—According to the Assam Ad-
241 ministration Report for 1875-76, the area of the British portion of the Khásí and Jáintiá Hills District amounts to 2160 square miles,
648 of which only 110 are under cultivation; of the remainder, 1337 square miles are set down as cultivable, and 713 as uncultivable. The total area of the semi-independent Khásí States is given as 3997 square miles, of which 176 are under cultivation, 2561 are cultivable, and 1260 uncultivable. In another portion of the same Report, the area under various crops throughout the entire District is thus approximately estimated:—Rice, 59,880 acres; other food grains, 57,820 acres; cotton, 1076 acres; potatoes, 33,880 acres. The average out-turn of rice per acre is returned at 8 *maunds*, or nearly 6 cwt.; of other food grains, 3 *maunds*, or over 2 cwt.; of cotton, 2 *maunds*, or 1½ cwt.; of
[435] potatoes, 55 *maunds*, or nearly 40 cwt. The price of rice in 1875-76 was Rs. 4 8 per *maund*, or 12s. 8d. a cwt., which gives Rs. 36 or £3, 12s. as the value of the rice crop obtained from one acre.

241 Condition of the Peasantry.—The Khásís can scarcely be considered an agricultural people, as they do not grow sufficient
423 grain for their own subsistence, and are dependent to a great
433 extent on imports of rice from the neighbouring Districts. Ten acres is generally considered a comfortable holding for a husbandman in the position of an ordinary Bengal peasant, but scarcely any man in the Hills depends entirely upon the produce of his land for
[231] his support. In the Jáintiá Hills a cultivator's position is con-
[554] sidered to be very low if he possesses no cattle, but performs all the operations of agriculture with his own hands. In that portion of the District, five acres is all that can be cultivated with a single
[465] pair of oxen, the average being four acres. A husbandman with a holding of five acres would not be so well off as a retail shopkeeper, nor would it enable him to live as comfortably as he could on a money wage of Rs. 8 or 16s. a month. The peasantry, however, as a class are not in debt. The land is owned chiefly by small proprietors, who occupy and cultivate their hereditary fields. The relations of landlord and tenant do not exist in the Hills, and no rent is payable to any one; consequently the principle of Act x. of 1859 (the Rent Law of Bengal) has no application.

231 The Animals used in agriculture are oxen; goats and pigs are
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reared either for food or as articles of trade. A pair of ploughing oxen are worth about Rs. 32, or £3, 4s.; an ordinary cow, Rs. 12, or £1, 4s.; a score of kids six months old, Rs. 16, or £1, 12s.; and a score of full-grown pigs, from Rs. 100 to Rs. 160, or from £10 to £16. 231 435

THE AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS in use in the District consist of a plough, called *ka jingkir* in Khásí, and a hoe or *kudáli*, called *u-mu-kkiu*. When the cultivation is carried on by means of oxen, the plough is used, the hoe alone being used when the land is cultivated by manual labour. In the Khásí Hills the use of the plough, except in a few rare cases, is entirely unknown; but in the *Jaintia* Hills, oxen and ploughs are used to a greater extent. What is technically termed 'a plough' of land is equivalent to four English acres; a pair of oxen, together with the necessary implements, would represent a capital of about Rs. 40, or £4. 241 407 [435]

WAGES.—The Deputy-Commissioner reports that the price of labour in the District has more than doubled in the last ten years. The rates obtaining at present are from eightpence to one shilling a day for an ordinary labourer, and from one shilling to eighteenpence a day for a porter. An agricultural day-labourer earns sixpence, and a woman at the same work fourpence-halfpenny a day. Bricklayers, carpenters, and blacksmiths earn from a shilling to eighteenpence a day. The new Station of Shillong, the present seat of the Local Government, was established in May 1864, and since that date the demand for labour has markedly increased. The extension of the cultivation of potatoes has also had an appreciable effect on the price of labour. 178 464 465 [244]

PRICES OF FOOD GRAINS.—Of the different descriptions of rice in the markets of the District, the better sorts are imported from the neighbouring Districts of Sylhet and Kámrúp. The local produce is considered fit only for the use of the Khásiás. The price of the better descriptions depends entirely upon the distance from which the supplies come. In a distant market like that of Shillong, rice of the best quality generally sells at from 6 to 7 *seers* for the rupee, or from 16s. to 18s. 8d. per cwt.; and rice of inferior quality, which is only used by the poorer classes, at from 9 to 10 *seers* for the rupee, or from 11s. 2d. to 12s. 3d. per cwt. Little or no trade is carried on in unhusked grain. Paddy produced in the District generally sells at an average of from 15 to 16 *seers* per rupee, or from 3s. to 3s. 6d. per cwt. Indian corn, which is only grown to a small extent, is sold 435 439 243

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439 at the rate of two or three ears for a farthing; and sugar-cane, the
[243] cultivation of which is also very limited, at from a little over a farthing
273 to three-farthings per cane. A fermented liquor called *kadaw*, made
435 from rice, is sold at from three-farthings to threepence a quart, according to strength; and a distilled spirit called *phatika*, or *kalied-kiruk*, at from threepence to fourpence-halfpenny a quart. This latter description of liquor is sometimes made very strong. No records exist by which the present prices of the above articles can
[731] be compared with the rates ruling ten years ago. The maximum price of rice during the famine of 1866-67 was 5 *sers* 6 *chhatiks* for the rupee, or about £1 a hundredweight.

804 MEASURES, WEIGHTS, ETC.—The Hill people have no proper
805 measurement of time or distance. If there be any standard for measuring distance, it is by the number of *pâns* a man chews in the course of a journey, generally about one every half hour. In some parts of the District, land is measured by a stick called *ka diongsang*, varying in length from six to seven cubits. Liquids are measured in gourds of different measures, varying from half a *chhatik* to a *ser*, and also in bamboo tubes. Rice, potatoes, beans, etc. are measured in baskets, varying in size in different markets from two to eighty pounds.

805 In the Khâsi Hills the inhabitants reckon eight days in the week, named as follows:—(1) Lyn-kah; (2) Nong-krem; (3) Um-long; (4) Rung-hep; (5) Shillong; (6) Pom-tih; (7) Um-nih; (8) Yeo-duh. In the Jaintiâ Hills the eight days are named thus:—(1) Kylloo; (2) Pyn-sing; (3) Mâo-long; (4) Mâo-siang; (5) Mâo-shai; (6) Pyn-kat; (7) Thym-blein; (8) Ka-hat. The Khâsi months of the year, calculated by moons, are as follow:—(1) U Kylla lynkot; (2) U Rym-pang; (3) U Lyber; (4) U Laiong; (5) U Jimmang; (6) U Jillew; (7) U Nai-ting; (8) U Nai-lar; (9) U Nai-lûr; (10) U Rymew; (11) U Nai-wing; (12) U Nob-prah.

464 LANDLESS LABOURING CLASSES.—There is, and always has been,
423 a large class of labourers in the District who neither rent nor possess any land. Women and children are employed in manual out-door labour of all kinds.

423 VARIETIES OF LAND TENURE can hardly be said to exist. There is nothing whatever resembling the relations between landlord and
[427] tenant throughout the Khâsi Hills. The lands as a rule are either ancestral property or belong to village communities, and are cultivated under unwritten but well-understood agreements. Of the wide

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extent of waste land, some is cultivated in a manner resembling the *jhum* system,—successive crops are grown on a patch of land till the soil is exhausted, and then another spot is selected, where the same process is repeated afresh, but without anything that can be called a *jhumi* tenure. Any owning of land is exceptional, and there are no recognized rates of rent. The Deputy-Commissioner, however, states that an ordinary rate for rented land would be from two to three shillings a year for as much land as an individual can cultivate with his own hands. 423 (423)

Manure is generally used in raising rice and potatoes. It is seldom, however, the dogs and litter of the cattle and other animals about the house being generally utilized for the purpose. For rice fields a little less than half a ton of manure, but for potatoes upwards of two tons, is required per acre. Manure, if purchased, would cost from 1s. 7½d. to 3s. 9d. per acre for rice land, and for potato fields from 12s. to 18s. per acre. 263 299 (435)

Irrigation for agricultural purposes is regularly practised. Water is brought to the land by means of channels cut from the numerous hill streams in the neighbourhood of the fields. Wells and tanks are unknown. The work of irrigation by means of these channels is very easily carried on, and is a very telling reality. Rotation of crops is not practised in the Hills. 312

Model Farm.—The Shillong Model Farm, established in 1872, has not proved a success. Experiments tried with wheat give some hope that cold-weather crops may profitably be introduced into the Hills. Two new varieties of potato—'red rangbar' and 'pheasant's eye'—were successfully introduced in 1872-73; but these are not looked upon favourably by the Khasiás, as they only give one crop in the year, whereas the ordinary variety yields two crops. Several fruit-trees have been planted out, including apple, pear, cherry, nectarine, and plum; and the tables of the European residents are supplied with vegetables from the garden attached to the farm. A *Manual of Potato Cultivation* compiled by the superintendent has been translated into Assamese, and copies have been distributed among the adjoining Hill tribes. The general failure in all the agricultural experiments is attributed partly to the unknown of the soil, and still more to the ravages of white ants and other insects peculiar to the Hills. The attempts to improve the indigenous breeds of live stock have been equally unfortunate. During the two years 1874-76 the sum of Rs. 1,722 177 245 697 654 177 245 697 654 (134) (134) 231 648 654

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231 (£110, 0s.) was expended on the purchase of stock, including
608 cattle, sheep, and pigs from England. Even native cattle at the
654 elevation of Shillong fell off very much in the months of January and February from want of forage, and the Khasis at this season generally drove them to lower slopes. But one of the chief objects in keeping cattle at the farm was to obtain manure; and *mat kulai* (*Phaseolus radiatus*) was grown for them, cut green, and stacked for food. On this they did very well. In 1899-00, however, cattle disease broke out on the farm in a very virulent shape. One of 33 [illegible] died, and the animals imported from England all died. There was also a heavy mortality [771] in that year among the sheep and pigs. The following are the financial results for the two years:—1898-99—Expenditure, Rs. 13,057, 0, 3; receipts, Rs. 309, 0, 6; deficit, Rs. 12,687, 13, 11: 1899-00—Expenditure, Rs. 11,445, 8, 8; receipts, Rs. 1198, 13, 0; deficit, Rs. 10,246, 9, 8. Total deficit, Rs. 23,936, 7, 5, or £1595, 7s. In view of these figures the Chief Commissioner has determined to restrict farming operations to small experiments in improved soil crops, and, as a measure of economy, to dispense with the services of the superintendent. The future expenditure on the farm will be insignificant. The establishment now (1899) consists of a *sardar* on Rs. 30 and a *chaukidar* on Rs. 10 a month (total, £52 a year), under the direct control of the Deputy-Commissioner of Tawang; the total number of live-stock is 60 head.

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Silkworm Culture, such as Mighra, Eusla, or Eenghra, are not common in the District, although the crops in the Jaintia Hills sometimes suffer from insects. So far as the Deputy-Commissioner is able to ascertain, no destruction of crops affecting the general harvest has occurred within the experience of the present generation. During the Orissa famine of 1866-67 the maximum price of common rice reached £1 per hundredweight, but no such distress was felt as to require Government relief operations. The price just mentioned was certainly equal to the rates prevalent in the famine-stricken localities; but prices always rule high in the Hills, and afford no just criterion of the state of affairs among the general body of the inhabitants. Distress was only felt by a small portion of the population, chiefly the Bengali immigrants residing in the District, who are generally a well-to-do class. The Hill people, as a rule, do not use pulses, which they grow only for export; but in case of actual famine, they might fall back upon this crop for their own food [illegible]

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supply. As the District depends so largely for its supply of rice upon Sylhet and Kinwip, the state of the markets in those places exercises a greater influence on the rates in the Hills than any failure of the local harvest. In the year 1898 the price of common rice is said to have risen as high as 6 *seers* for the rupee, or 16s. 8d. per cwt., in consequence of the failure of the crops in the plains.

Roads and Means of Communication.—The following are the eight principal lines of road in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills:—(1) Road from Shillong to Cherrapunji, in Kinwip. This road has recently (1899) been opened for wheeled traffic throughout its entire length. The Deputy-Commissioner's Report for 1898-99 states that the number of passengers passing up and down may be estimated at about five or seven every month, and the number of carts already used at about 50. The *dak* brings travellers up to Shillong from Cherrapunji in two days by a comfortable and easy carriage service, while for natives a cheaper conveyance by bullock cart is available. At Cherrapunji there is a good *dak* bungalow in charge of a *khansamah*, where the usual accommodation provided in a hotel is to be found. The stages to Shillong are as follow:—(a) Cherrapunji to Sumdah, 17 miles. The road is good throughout. There is a *dak* bungalow in charge of a *chaukidar* at Sumdah, where grain and rice are procurable. (b) Sumdah to Nongpoh, 14½ miles. The road is hilly throughout, but good. At Nongpoh, which is at an elevation of 1500 feet, there is a *dak* bungalow in charge of a *khansamah*, from whom tea, liquors, and biscuits, etc. can be obtained. The *dak* bungalow is furnished with bedding, linen, etc. Grain and rice can be purchased in the *bazar*. (c) Nongpoh to Umwing, 18½ miles. At Umwing, elevation 1500 feet, there is a *dak* bungalow in charge of a *chaukidar*. Supplies or coolies are not procurable, but sometimes grain and rice can be purchased. (d) Umwing to Umjam, 9½ miles. At Umjam there is a Public Works Department rest-house in charge of a *chaukidar*. Supplies or coolies are not procurable. (e) Umjam to Shillong, 9½ miles, of which 6½ are a continuous ascent. At Shillong there are *dak* bungalows in the Artillery Lines, containing four separate rooms. A *khansamah* is in attendance, and the rooms are completely furnished with bedding, linen, etc. This entire road, which has a total length of 67 miles, is as perfect a hill road as could be seen in any country, and a model of engineering skill. (2) Road running from Cherrapunji across the Hills, via Sohpetbneng, Mawkyrwat, Cherrapunji

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491 Pínjí, and Thoridghát, to Bholíganj in Sylhet; length, about 130 miles. Repairs to this road are effected partly by the inhabitants of the Native States, and partly by Government. (3) Cart road from Shillong to Máo-ílang, 14 miles. This road has been opened for cart traffic throughout. (4) Road from Shillong, *viâ* Jowái and Mukhtápur, to Jáintápur in Sylhet; length, about 70 miles. This road is being improved from year to year, and when finished the cost may amount to £50 per mile. (5) Road to connect Shillong with the Garo Hills, opened out from Márbisé, *viâ* Sob-iong, Kynchí, Máo-ker-ché, and Nongstoin, to within 20 miles of the boundary between the two Districts; length, about 52 miles. This road is at present only a fair-weather road. It was made in 1872-73, and when completed may cost £50 a mile. (6) Road to connect Shillong with the Confederate State of Shellá, bordering on Sylhet, from Lyn-kyn-tyng-noh *viâ* Pum-ston-ngdit to Sym-pher; length, about 16 miles. This road, when completed, will be about 60 miles in length. (7) Road leading *viâ* Lait-tyng-ket to Sob-ri-rim and Cherrá Pínjí; length, about 22 miles. This is at present a bridle path, but may eventually be the line for a cart road to Cherrá Pínjí. (8) Road from Jowái, in the Jáintiá Hills, to Nong-ri-tiong; length, about 12 miles. This road, when extended, will connect Jowái with the District of Nowgong in the Brahmaputra valley, and the estimated total length will be about 90 miles. Besides the above-mentioned eight roads, there are other bridle paths which facilitate access to remote places.

195 Coal Mines.—Coal exists in the Khási and Jáintiá Hills in connection with the limestone formation. As a rule the carboniferous strata are not extensive, and they are for the most part found in localities more or less inaccessible. In the Khási Hills coal has been discovered at the eleven following places:—(1) By-rang, altitude about 1040 feet above sea level; (2) Cherrá, 4218 feet; (3) Lait-tyng-iew, 4800 feet; (4) Máo-long, 600 feet; (5) Máo-ensh, 1500 feet; (6) Máo-syn-ram, 4000 feet; (7) Máo-don, 400 feet; (8) Máo-mai-ckhuré, 300 feet; (9) Máo-beh-lyrkár, 5000 feet; (10) Shellá, 800 feet; (11) Thúnjindth, 4400 feet. In the Jáintiá Hills at the five following localities:—(1) Ano-wí, altitude about 3800 feet above sea level; (2) Lá-ká-dong, 2200 feet; (3) Náp-pá, 300 feet; (4) Sah-tyng-gilh, 3300 feet; (5) Sher-mang, 4000 feet. The most extensive of the coal beds are those situated at Cherrá Pínjí in the Khási Hills, and at Lá-ká-dong in the Jáintiá Hills.

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The coal strata at the former place are calculated to extend over one-third of a square mile, with an average thickness of from 3 feet 6 inches to 4 feet; and the yield of the coal, if it could be worked, is estimated at 447,000 tons. At the latter spot the area of the coal-fields is computed to extend over 0·394 of a square mile, and the estimated yield of the mineral is about 1,100,000 tons. The coal at Cherrá Púnji and at Lá-ká-dong is in quality equal to some English coals; it is quick in its action, and consequently would generate steam rapidly; it cakes well, but gives out a large amount of smoke; it is fragile and easily broken. From the absence of that definite structure which produces the planes of division known to English miners as 'backs,' or joints in the coal, it breaks into unsymmetrical pieces, and consequently does not stow well. From its composition, quick combustion, and irregular cleavage, it is estimated to be from 5 to 7 per cent. inferior to good English coal; but as a gas-producing coal it is considered superior to English produce, both as regards quality and purity of the gas. It is also calculated to yield a good quality of coke. The market value of coal found in the Khási and Jáintiá Hills cannot be given with any approach to accuracy, owing to the expense of labour in the Hills and of carriage to the plains. The Station of Shillong, which consumes coal as fuel, derives its supply from the coal beds at Máo-beh-lyrkár, 18 miles distant, and the price is as high as £3 per ton. Lá-ká-dong is within six miles of Borghát, a village on an affluent of the Surmá, which is accessible all the year round by boats of 500 maunds, or 18 tons burden; but at present only coolie-carriage is available between Lá-ká-dong and Borghát. 135 [435]

The following is a brief history of the mines at Cherrá Púnji in the Khási Hills, and at Lá-ká-dong in the Jáintiá Hills:—Government holds a perpetual lease of the Cherrá Púnji mines from the chief or Siem of Cherrá, conditionally upon the payment by Government of a royalty of two shillings and eightpence for every five tons of coal quarried and removed from the mine, and also upon the terms that the people of Cherrá shall be permitted to work the beds on their own account. In 1844 Government transferred its right to work the mine to Captain Engledue, then agent of the Peninsular and Oriental Company, for a period of twenty years; but in the following year this gentleman, with the permission of Government, made over his lease to Messrs. Gisborne & Co., of Calcutta, who worked the mine for about two years, 316 648 655

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316 and in 1851 transferred their rights to Mr. W. Moran, of Calcutta.
648 The last lessee, however, preferred buying his coal to mining it; and
655 Government, seeing that the mines were not worked in a satisfactory manner, resumed the beds in 1859, and advertised them for letting. No person, however, has since come forward to work the mine. The Lá-ká-dong coal mines are the sole property of Government, which in the year 1848 leased the mining rights to Mr. B. W. Darley. This gentleman in the following year made over his lease to Messrs. Gisborne & Co., who soon afterwards transferred it to Mr. Moran. This gentleman surrendered his lease in 1859, when the mines were advertised for letting, but no one has since come forward and undertaken to work the coal. Between 1850 and 1856, while the mines were worked, about 5100 tons of coal were extracted for exportation.

In Mr. Allen's Report, dated 1858, it is stated that the coal of the Hills then found a ready sale at Dacca and elsewhere at 8 *dnnás* per *maund*; and that the average quantity exported into Bengal was about
[435] 25,000 *maunds*, valued at Rs. 12,500, or £1250. According to the local trade reports, this exportation would appear to have entirely died out; but the Bengal registration returns record 2965 *maunds* of coal, valued at Rs. 1482, or £148, at the rate of 8 *dnnás* per *maund*, as exported from Sylhet District in the year 1876-77. This supply was probably derived from the Khási and Jáintiá Hills.

317 LIMESTONE QUARRIES.—A limestone formation prevails more or less along the whole southern face of the Khási and Jáintiá Hills. The quarries are chiefly situated in the beds and on the banks of rivers and water-courses.

The limestone-quarrying localities in the Khási Hills are the following twenty-six:—(1) Bha-wál; (2) Bor-syr-mai; (3) By-rang, *alias* Wáh-long; (4) Bor-púnjí; (5) Chún-jurá; (6) Dholai; (7) Dwárá; (8) Ichhámati; (9) Lúm-dih-long; (10) Lan-grin; (11) Long-long; (12) Máo-nai; (13) Máo-don; (14) Máo-kár-tillá; (15) Mohesh-khálí; (16) Máo-long; (17) No-kriá; (18) Páthárá; (19) Ram-seng-rai-skeh; (20) Soh-lai; (21) Silai; (22) Shellá; (23) Tanglá; (24) Tang-wai; (25) Um-song; (26) Um-tymá. In the Jáintiá Hills, the following seven:—(1) Chún-chhorá; (2) Lámá-pushi; (3) Lithánq; (4) Myrki Púnjí; (5) Nongthá-long; (6) Rúpnáth; (7) Rowai. The supply of limestone is literally inexhaustible. The wants of Calcutta and of the whole of Lower Bengal
648 have been satisfied from these hills from time immemorial. During
651 the year 1876-77 the estimated export was 1,600,000 *maunds*, valued
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at Rs. 480,000, or £48,000, and the revenue derived by Government from the quarries was Rs. 67,266, or £6726. In addition, the Khási Chiefs receive a revenue from this source of more than £2000. 648 651 317

IRON.—The smelting of iron was once the chief industry in the Khási Hills, and a considerable quantity of the metal used to be exported into Sylhet, both in the crude and the manufactured state. Recently, however, this industry has almost died out, in the face of the competition of the superior article imported from England and sold in the plains at a cheaper rate. The indigenous methods of extracting, washing, and smelting the ore have been minutely described by Professor Oldham. The following description is taken from Mr. Allen's Report, dated 1858, at which date the annual export of smelted iron was estimated at 45,000 *maunds*, valued at Rs. 67,500, or £6750, at the rate of Rs. 1. 8 per *maund*: —'The ore is said to be most abundant and of the best quality in the State of Khyrim, especially at the villages of Nongkrím and Noyandri. A few iron articles, such as *dáos* or hill knives, *koddlis* or mattocks, spear and arrow-heads, are manufactured by the Khási smiths in the Hills; but the greater bulk of the smelted iron is sent to the plains for sale in circular lumps weighing about 4 or 5 *sers*. These lumps, called *birá*, sell at Chhaták for from Rs. 1. 4 to Rs. 1. 6 per *maund*. The best iron, however, which is beaten into bars called *peti*, sells for from Rs. 1. 10 to Rs. 1. 12 per *maund*. Khási iron is preferred to English, in consequence of its greater malleability. It is much used by the native boat-builders of Sylhet and the neighbouring Districts to make fastenings for the timbers of their boats. When brought into the market, it is more than half dross, and it is this circumstance which renders the iron trade unprofitable. The cost of carriage from the Hills to the plains is about 6 *dánás* per *maund*; and the traders, who are all Khásiás themselves, affirm that they get an average profit of only 2 *dánás* per *maund*.' The tables of trade for 1876-77 return no smelted iron as exported from the Hills, but Rs. 7000 of iron implements exported, against nails and ironmongery imported to the value of Rs. 18,000. 178 325 439 [326] [435] [501]

THE MANUFACTURES of the District, besides iron, consist of coarse cotton and *rundia* cloth, plain silver work, rude implements of husbandry, netted bags made of the fibre of the pine-apple, common pottery, and mats and baskets. With the exception of the 28 433

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with the exception of the
326 manufacture of iron, in which the master blacksmith often employs
462 hired labourers, the other industries are generally followed by
463 females in their own houses. No class of labourers are hereditarily attached to any manufacture in a manner that affects their personal freedom. The system of advancing money for manufacturing pur-
452 poses does not obtain in the Khásí and Jáintiá Hills. The total
434 value of the manufactures of the District is stated to be between £2000 and £3000 per annum. No local manufactures are carried on by means of imported capital.

439 COMMERCE AND TRADE.—The external commerce of the Khásí and Jáintiá Hills is chiefly conducted on the southern boundary, through the District of Sylhet. The total value is more considerable than might be expected, owing to the fact that these Hills practically possess the monopoly of supplying Bengal with lime, potatoes, and oranges. Other important articles of export are raw cotton, stick-lac, betel-nut and *pán* leaves, and bay leaves or *tez-pát*. The exportation of iron, which was once large, has now almost ceased. The chief imports consist of rice, dried fish, cotton cloth, salt, and tobacco. On the whole, it would appear that the course of trade is about equally balanced. Trade statistics of more or less value are in existence. The earliest of such statistics are to be found in the Report of Mr. W. J. Allen, dated 1858. The information there given was based for the most part upon oral statements furnished by numerous native traders to Mr. Hudson, who then filled the office of Principal Assistant-Commissioner. It may be accepted as 'a fair representation of the state of trade in
439 the Hills' at that time. The imports and exports on the Assam
434 side were each estimated at about Rs. 15,000, or £1500. The trade with the markets in the Surmá valley was much larger. The total of the exports was valued at Rs. 700,000, or £70,000, giving a profit to the traders of Rs. 170,705, or £17,070. The chief items were:—Limestone, 1,700,000 *maunds*, valued at Rs. 306,000; potatoes, 50,000 *maunds*, value Rs. 125,000; oranges, 45,000,000 in number, value Rs. 78,750; smelted iron, 45,000 *maunds*, value Rs. 67,500; cotton, 12,000 *maunds*, value Rs. 42,000; betel-nuts, value Rs. 37,500; coal, 25,000 *maunds*, value Rs. 12,500. The total value of the imports was estimated at Rs. 350,000, or £35,000, being just one-half the value of the exports; the estimated profits are given as Rs. 44,325, or £4432. The chief items were:—Rice, 150,000 *maunds*, value Rs. 225,000; cloth of sorts, Rs. 25,000;

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fish, fresh and dried, Rs. 20,000; salt, 2000 *maunds*, value Rs. 10,000. For the last three years, from 1874-75 to 1876-77, elaborate tables of the external commerce have been drawn up by the successive Deputy-Commissioners in charge of the District. There is, however, no organized system of trade registration, and the Chief Commissioner of Assam has expressed the opinion that the figures 'cannot be at all relied upon.' The items vary greatly year by year, which is partly due to the different principles of valuation adopted. For the year 1874-75 the total exports were valued at Rs. 1,371,830, or £137,183, being just double the estimated value twenty years ago; the imports were valued at Rs. 1,359,300, or £135,930, being an increase in the same period of nearly forty-fold. The excess value of exports was Rs. 12,530, or £1253. In 1875-76 the exports were valued at Rs. 1,721,761, or £172,176; the imports at Rs. 1,617,455, or £161,745, showing an excess on the export side of Rs. 104,306, or £10,430. The tables for 1876-77, given in full on the following pages (pp. 238, 239), are quoted from the Administration Report for that year. They are based partly upon returns of trade at the marts of Bholáganj and Jáintiápur, and partly upon such approximations as could be supplied by local traders. The total value of the exports amounts to Rs. 1,603,530, or £160,353; that of the imports to Rs. 1,576,483, or £157,648, showing a balance of Rs. 27,047, or £2704, in favour of the District.

The export of limestone in 1876-77 was 1,600,000 *maunds*, valued at Rs. 480,000, at the rate of Rs. 300 for 1000 *maunds*. These figures show no increase in quantity, but a large increase in value, over the estimates of twenty years ago. The registration system of river traffic in Bengal shows a total export during 1876-77 from the two Districts of Sylhet and Cáchár of 1,056,159 *maunds* of lime and limestone, valued at Rs. 742,118 at the rate of 12 *dánds* per *maund*. The difference between these two sets of figures for the same year is very considerable. It may be partly explained by the consideration that the Bengal estimate of value includes the stone after it has been calcined and reduced to lime. The trade in limestone is chiefly in the hands of Messrs. Inglis & Co., whose depot is at Chhaták, on the Surmá river. The connection of this firm with the trade of the Khási Hills is of very long standing. The founder, Mr. Henry Inglis, was the son-in-law of

[*Sentence continued on page* 238.

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ESTIMATE OF IMPORTS INTO THE KHASI AND JAINTIA HILLS FOR THE YEAR 1876-77.

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ARTICLES.	RATES OF VALUATION.	WEIGHT IN *maunds*.	VALUE.
	Rs. per *maund*.		Rs.
Brass pots and pans,	...	...	14,700
Country soap,	15. 0	1,200	18,000
Churá or crushed rice,	4. 8	650	2,925
Cloth of sorts,	...	...	158,000
Coral beads,	...	...	18,100
Cows and oxen,	...	...	5,600
Castor oil,	16. 0	125	2,000
Cocoa-nut oil,	25. 0	30	750
Dál or pulse,	6. 0	1,600	9,600
Eggs,	...	...	2,000
Earthenware and glass,	...	...	800
European stores,	...	...	16,600
Fish, and dry fish,	6. 0	35,900	215,400
Ghí,	35. 0	650	22,750
Grains,	4. 0	1,300	5,200
Gold,	...	...	6,500
Kerosene oil,	22. 0	125	2,750
Molasses,	7. 0	2,800	19,600
Nails and ironmongery,	20. 0	900	18,000
Oil,	18. 0	1,700	30,600
Onions,	6. 0	800	4,800
Poultry,	...	...	12,500
Rice,	3. 8	205,800	720,300
Salt,	7. 0	12,000	84,000
Sugar,	17. 8	800	14,000
Spices,	...	...	1,000
Silver,	...	...	4,200
Sheep,	...	...	2,400
Tamarind,	8. 0	26	208
Tea and coffee,	...	...	2,300
Tobacco,	13. 0	4,800	62,400
Atta or wheat flour,	7. 0	10,000	70,000
Wines and liquors,	...	...	26,000
Miscellaneous Native goods,	...	...	2,500
Total,	...	...	1,576,483

Sentence continued from page 237.]

439 Colonel Lister, who filled the office of Political Agent from 1835 to
648 1854. In 1858, when Mr. Allen drew up his Report on the District, the trade both in lime and oranges was a monopoly of this Mr. Inglis. The stone is exported to Chhaták and other marts on the Surmá river, where some portion is burned and made into lime, and the remainder sold in the rough. The trade name in Bengal is 'Sylhet lime.'

439 The export of potatoes in 1876-77 was 200,500 *maunds*, valued
434 at Rs. 501,250, or £50,125, at the rate of Rs. 2. 8 per *maund*.

[*Text continued on page* 239.

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ESTIMATE OF EXPORTS FROM THE KHASI AND JAINTIA HILLS FOR THE YEAR 1876-77.

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ARTICLES.	RATES OF VALUATION.	WEIGHT OR NUMBER.	VALUE.
	Rs.		Rs.
Tejpát or bay leaves,	2. 8 per *maund*.	26,000 *maunds*.	65,000
Betel-nuts and *pán* leaves, ...	...	...	95,600
Black pepper, . .	1. 8 per *maund*.	500 ,,	9,000
Boats, ...	...	...	7,000
Cinnamon, . . .	4. 0 per *maund*.	900 ,,	3,600
Chillies, ...	8. 0 ,,	2,600 ,,	20,800
Cotton, ...	6. 0 ,,	36,000 ,,	216,000
Fruits (jack and lime),	...	...	2,600
Garlic, ...	...	...	3,100
Hides, ...	...	...	1,200
Honey, ...	15. 0 per *maund*.	330 ,,	4,950
India-rubber, . .	40. 0 ,,	200 ,,	8,000
Iron implements, .	...	...	7,000
Limestone, . . .	300. 0 per 1000 *maunds*.	1,600,000 ,,	480,000
Oranges, ...	12. 0 per 3000.	9,400,000 No.	37,600
Potatoes, ...	2. 8 per *maund*.	200,500 *maunds*.	501,250
Pine-apples, . . .	...	...	8,000
Stick lac, ...	20. 0 per *maund*.	5,000 ,,	100,000
Timber, bamboos, and canes, . .	...	...	30,000
Turmeric, . . .	2. 0 per *maund*.	700 ,,	1,400
Bees-wax, . . .	55. 0 ,,	26 ,,	1,430
Total, .	...	...	1,603,530

Text continued from page 238.]

This price is about the same as it was twenty years ago, but the quantity has increased fourfold. The potato was first introduced into the Hills in 1830 by Mr. David Scott, who was then the Governor-General's Agent. 'No greater boon could have been conferred upon the people.' The local trade is entirely in the hands of the Khásiás themselves, and the larger portion of the produce is despatched direct to Calcutta. According to the registration returns of river traffic in Bengal, the export of provisions (including vegetables) from Sylhet in 1876-77 was 123,108 *maunds*, valued at Rs. 369,324, or £36,932, at the rate of Rs. 3 per *maund*.

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The export of oranges in 1876-77 was 9,400,000 in number, valued at Rs. 37,600, at the rate of Rs. 12 per 3000. These figures apparently show a great decrease since 1858. At that time Mr. Inglis possessed the entire monopoly of the trade, by means of the leases which he held from the Khásí Chiefs of all the valuable groves. The annual produce of his groves was estimated at forty-five millions of oranges, having increased from eleven millions within the

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439 previous twenty years. The oranges, like the lime, were brought
648 down to Mr. Inglis' depot at Chhaták, where they were sold to
245 the dealers at the rate of about Rs. 1. 12 per 1000, or less than
434 half their present estimated price. It is stated in Mr. Allen's Report, that the Calcutta market was then chiefly supplied from the groves of Shella Púnjí and Bor Púnjí; the produce of the other villages was more perishable, and required to be sold in the neighbouring Districts. The fruit is known in Calcutta as 'Sylhet oranges.' The Bengal registration returns for 1876-77 show a total export from Sylhet of 64,505 *maunds* of 'fruit,' valued at Rs. 193,515, or £19,351.

439 The export of raw cotton appears to have greatly increased. In 1876-77 the total quantity exported was 36,000 *maunds*, valued at Rs. 216,000, or £21,600, at the rate of Rs. 6 per *maund*. Twenty years before the export had been only 12,000 *maunds*, valued at Rs. 42,000, at the rate of only Rs. 3. 8 per *maund*. The cotton is of inferior quality, with a short and woolly staple. It is chiefly consumed by the Sylhet weavers. The total registered export from that District in 1876-77 was only 4300 *maunds*, valued at Rs. 64,500,
434 at the high rate of Rs. 15 per *maund*.

439 The chief article of import now, as twenty years ago, is rice; for
[178] the hill-men have never grown sufficient for their own consumption,
[243] and the recent establishment of the Civil Station of Shillong has increased the demand. In 1876-77 the total imports of rice were estimated at 205,800 *maunds*, valued at Rs. 720,300, or £72,030, at the rate of Rs. 3. 8 per *maund*. Twenty years ago the imports were nearly as great, viz. 150,000 *maunds;* but the value was only Rs. 225,000, at the rate of Rs. 1. 8 per *maund*, or less than one-half the present value. The chief source of supply is Sylhet District, which sends its surplus to the tea gardens of Cáchár, as well as to these Hills, and also exported, in the year 1876-77, 214,000 *maunds* of rice and 433,100 *maunds* of paddy into Bengal.

The importation of fish (fresh and dried) has enormously increased. In 1876-77 the total amount was 35,900 *maunds*, valued at Rs. 215,400, or £21,540, at the rate of Rs. 6 per *maund*. Twenty years ago the value was only Rs. 20,000, but the quantity is not given. The preparation of dried fish is a flourishing industry in the adjoining District of Sylhet.

The importation of cotton cloth has increased in an almost equal proportion. The value in 1876-77 was Rs. 158,000, or £15,800, as

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against Rs. 25,000, or £2,500, twenty years earlier. The supply of 439
piece-goods is derived directly from Dacca.

A curious feature in the trade of the Khásí and Jáintiá Hills is 441
the total absence of Márwári or Jain merchants—an enterprising class, who are found everywhere else in Assam, even to the farthest corners of the Brahmaputra valley. There are a few Bengálí traders from Dacca, who do not take up a permanent residence in the Hills; but the great bulk of the business remains in the hands of the natives, who themselves reap the profits and are said to be keen at a bargain.

The principal markets at the foot of the Hills, on the Sylhet side, 443
are Bholáganj, Chhaták, Lakhát, Jaíntiápur, Jafling, Pharálbázár, Máodong, Ponatit, Sónápur, Molághul, and Lengjut. Many of these are situated within the Sylhet boundary; but they are all frequented by Khásí and Synteng traders, who spend their whole time in passing from one market village to another. The markets or *háts* are held at regular intervals of eight days (for the Khásí week consists of this number), with the object of permitting the same people to visit the different places in rotation.

CAPITAL.—Such little capital as the people possess is either 454
employed in trade or lent out upon interest. In a few cases it is hoarded and allowed to remain idle. In small loan transactions, whether articles are pledged as security or not, the interest usually charged is one *ánná* in the rupee per month, or 75 per cent. per annum. In larger transactions the rate of interest per month varies from 2 to 3 per cent. Nothing is charged in the name of interest where lands are mortgaged as security for a loan, as the land is always made over to the mortgagee in lieu thereof, and he is only bound to restore it on payment of the amount lent. In petty advances for agricultural purposes, part of the produce is given by the cultivator at something less than market rates in repayment of the amount borrowed. Limestone quarrying is the only industry in 316
the District carried on by European agency. 648

REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE.—The revenue realized from the 648
Khásí and Jáintiá Hills has increased considerably in recent years. 651
As the Khásí States are treated as semi-independent, the receipts from that portion of the District are altogether insignificant, with the exception of the dues levied from the lime quarries. The larger part of the revenue in Jáintiá is derived from the house tax. For 1835, when British authority was first established in the Khásí Hills,

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the total revenue is returned at £77, and the expenditure at £2061. By the year 1860-61, at which date the Jáintiá Hills were included, the revenue was £2194, and the expenditure was £4151. There has since been a large increase on both sides of the account, and the District now more than pays for the cost of administration. The budget estimate for 1870-71 calculated on a revenue of £6290, and an expenditure of £7853. In 1875, according to the figures of the Deputy-Commissioner, the revenue was £13,383, and the expenditure £9692. The Assam Administration Report for 1875-76 returns the gross revenue at Rs. 108,018, or £10,801, of which only Rs. 342 was derived from the land, and the total cost of officials and police of all kinds at Rs. 64,731, or £6473, showing an apparent surplus of Rs. 43,287, or £4328. This increase of revenue is the more satisfactory, considering that the Khásiás still remain practically untaxed.

Sources of Revenue.—The main sources of revenue are the following:—(1) Mineral revenue; (2) House tax. The mineral revenue consists of the rents derived from the lime quarries, which are leased for terms of years to the highest bidder at public auction after due advertisement. All such leases have to receive the sanction of the Chief Commissioner. In 1876-77 the total revenue from lime quarries was Rs. 67,266, or £6,726, 12s., being a decrease of Rs. 7892 on the previous year. The house tax is levied throughout the whole of the Jáintiá Hills, and in the British possessions in the Khásí Hills. The settlement is made with the head-man of each village, who is termed a *dolloi* or *sardár*. It is his duty to submit every year to the Deputy-Commissioner or subdivisional officer a list of the number of houses in his village, accounting for all changes since the previous assessment. Thereupon the Deputy-Commissioner or subdivisional officer makes the assessment according to the rate fixed for the village, which is either R. 1 (2s.) or Rs. 2 (4s.) per house, and submits the proceedings for the confirmation of the Chief Commissioner. In 1876-77 the house tax realized a total revenue of Rs. 13,714, or £1371, 8s., of which Rs. 10,654 came from the Jáintiá Hills. The land revenue is derived from a few petty estates lying at the foot of the Jáintiá Hills, which were transferred from the rent-roll of Sylhet District on the adjustment of the boundary between the hills and plains portion of Jáintiá. The settlement of these estates was made in 1856-57, for twenty years, in the same manner as the settlement of the other Jáintiá

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estates. In addition, there are a few small holdings at Jowái, in the Jáintia Hills, which have been settled, after measurement, under the Assam Settlement Rules for a term of ten years. In 1876-77 the total land revenue amounted to Rs. 223, or £22, 6s., derived from 24 estates. Other small items of revenue are derived from fisheries, forests, stamps, and excise. In 1876-77 the rent of the fishery *mahâls* was Rs. 3321, or £332, 2s.; forests produced Rs. 773, or £77, 6s., of which Rs. 652 represents fees on the exportation of timber from the Khási States to the District of Kámrúp. In the same year stamps yielded Rs. 16,121, or £1612, 2s.; but this total includes the sale of postage and telegraph stamps, as well as the sum credited for service stamps. Excise produced Rs. 1216, or £121, 12s. The stamps are sold at the Treasury; there are no licensed vendors. The excise laws are applied only within the limits of the Stations of Shillong and Cherrá Púnjí, and throughout the Jáintiá Hills. There are no licensed distilleries in the District, and the free manufacture of country spirit is permitted both in the dependent States and in British territory; what is manufactured is mainly for home consumption. In 1876-77 there were in all 18 licenses in force—4 for imported spirituous and fermented liquors, 1 each for *máhát* and *chandu*, 2 for *gánjá*, and 10 for opium. The Khásiás and Syntengs are not addicted to the use of intoxicating drugs, which is confined to the people from the plains residing on British territory.

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Courts, etc.—In the year 1835 there were two Magisterial and Civil Courts in the District. By 1850 the number had risen to four, which continues to the present time. The maximum distance of any village from the nearest court is 65 miles, the average distance is 25 miles. In 1835 one European official was permanently stationed in the District; in 1850, two; in 1862 and 1869, again one. In the last-mentioned year the subdivision of Jowái was opened in the Jáintiá Hills; and there have since been two officers in the District, a Deputy-Commissioner at Shillong, and an Assistant at Jowái. The total number of magistrates is three. These figures, of course, are exclusive of the staff of the Local Government, which has been established at Shillong since 1874.

692

Police Statistics.—For police purposes, the Khási and Jáintiá Hills are divided into the three following *thánás* or police circles, with two outposts:—(1) Shillong, with an outpost at Nongpoh; (2) Jowái; (3) Cherrá Púnjí, with an outpost at Thária-ghát, at the foot of the southern hills.

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625 In 1835, when British authority was first extended to the Khásí
648 Hills, the cost of maintaining the police, from the rank of *jamáddr*
465 or head constable upwards, was £45; and in 1840, £57, 16s. By 1860, when the Jáintiá Hills had been annexed, and a *thána* opened at Jowái, the cost had risen to £480. In the year 1869 the strength of the regular police was 149 men in the Khásí Hills, and an additional 29 in Jáintiá.

In 1875 the police statistics of the Khásí and Jáintiá Hills were as follow:—The force consisted of 1 inspectors on a salary of upwards of Rs. 100 a month, or £120 a year; 3 sub-inspectors and *13 head constables on a salary of* less than Rs. 100 a month; and 113 constables on an average pay of Rs. 9 a month, or £10, 16s. a year. The total pay of subordinate officers amounted to Rs. 8340 or £834 a year; and the total pay of constables to Rs. 12,168 or £1216, 16s. Certain contingencies brought up the aggregate expenses to Rs. 24,969 or £2496, 18s. The total number of men of all ranks was 131. As compared with the area and population of the District, these figures show one man to every 16·49 square miles, or to every 153 persons of the population, maintained at a cost of Rs. 4. 1 or 8s. 1½d. per square mile, and of 2 *dnnás* 10 *pies* or 4¼d. per head of population. Of the total force, 1 officer and 13 men were employed to guard the jail, 3 officers and 23 men to guard the treasury and lock-up and to serve as escorts, leaving 14 officers and 77 men available for general duty.

648 CRIMINAL STATISTICS.—The District of the Khásí and Jáintiá Hills,
692 like the other Hill Districts of Assam, is administered by political officers, under special rules framed under Act xxii. of 1869. Petty criminal cases are disposed of by the indigenous magistracy, and only cases of a heinous character are reported to the political officers. Similarly, civil causes are referred to arbitration, according to the indigenous system of village *panchdyats;* and the Deputy-Commissioner reports that this system, while affording equal justice to the people, tends to preserve them from the evil of litigiousness.

674 In 1874 the total number of cases reported by the police to the
178 political officers was 83, as compared with 63 in the previous year. In these 83 cases, 102 persons were arrested, of whom 71 were put on their trial; 61 persons, or 86 per cent., were convicted, and 10 were acquitted.

Though little serious crime exists in the Hills, yet the number of offences shows a tendency towards increase. The Report of the

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Deputy-Commissioner for 1876-77 states that in that year 168 persons in all were brought before the magistrates, the most common classes of cases being theft and house trespass. In the same year 89 civil suits were instituted, of which 83 were for money claims, 2 for immoveable property, 2 for restitution of conjugal rights, and 2 in connection with religion and caste. In the Political Court there were 31 cases tried during the year, of which 13 were civil and 18 criminal. In the latter class of cases process issued against 60 persons, of whom 20 were convicted and 40 acquitted. The details of the two following cases will illustrate the condition of social life in the District. The first was a case of grievous hurt. The Siem of Myl-liem had sent four persons to fetch a man named U Dorja, who had been selected to marry the Siem's sister. While on their way the messengers were attacked by a number of persons, evidently relatives of U Dorja who were opposed to the marriage. One of them was severely beaten, and died within twelve days from pneumonia. The offenders, numbering five in all, were sentenced to pay a fine of Rs. 10 (£1) each, or in default to suffer fourteen days' imprisonment. The second case was one of oppression. It originated in a dispute about land, situated in a locality over which both the Siem of Nongklao and the Lyngdoh of Soh-iong claimed to exercise jurisdiction. The parties out of possession had gone to lay their complaint before the Siem, whereupon the Lyngdoh, with eight other persons, seized three of the complainants' kinsmen, ill-treated them, and kept them in durance with the object of having the complaint submitted to himself for adjudication. The Lyngdoh was sentenced to a fine of Rs. 50 (£5), and his companions were warned and discharged.

JAIL STATISTICS.—There are two jails in the Khási and Jáintiá Hills:—(1) The jail at Shillong, which is directly under the charge of the Deputy-Commissioner; and (2) the lock-up at Jowái, under the Assistant-Commissioner. It has been proposed to build a new jail at Shillong; the present structure consists only of bamboo huts, surrounded by a fence of the same material.

The following are the jail statistics for 1875:—Daily average number of prisoners, 40·91, of whom 1·07 were females; daily average number of sick, 1·42; number of deaths, 4, or 10 per cent. of the average daily strength. The total expenditure was Rs. 7430 (£743), or an average of Rs. 181 (£18, 2s.) per prisoner. This high rate of expenditure is due to the cost of rations at Shillong.

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697 In addition, a total of Rs. 899 (£89, 18s.) was expended on jail buildings. The manufacturing account shows cash receipts amounting to Rs. 60, against an expenditure of Rs. 29, or a net profit of Rs. 31 (£3, 2s).

797 871 648 EDUCATIONAL STATISTICS.—The management of education in the Khási and Jáintiá Hills is entirely in the hands of the Welsh Calvinistic Mission, who first established themselves in the District about the year 1844. Though the Khásiás are naturally dull, and children are taken away from school before they have obtained more than a smattering of instruction, yet the perseverance of the missionaries has been rewarded by most satisfactory results. It is stated, in the Report of the Inspector of Schools for Assam for 1874-75, that 'a much larger proportion of the Khásiás know a little of reading, writing, and arithmetic than is the case, probably, in any other District of either Assam or Bengal.' Female education, owing to the interest taken in this work by the wives of the missionaries, is also in a comparatively advanced condition. The missionary schools are largely subsidized by grants in aid from Government. The teaching is conducted in English and in Khási, the Roman character being used in both cases.

[562] [212]

The following paragraphs are compiled from the Education Report for 1874-75, above referred to. In that year the total number of schools open in the District was 73, attended by 1666 pupils. As compared with the area and the population, these figures show one school to every 84·34 square miles, and one pupil to every 85 inhabitants. As compared with the total number of males under ten years of age, the number of boys only attending school (1322) shows one scholar to every 13·1. The total expenditure on education in the same year was Rs. 17,722. 11. 3, or £1772, 5s. 5d.; towards which Government contributed Rs. 10,443. 9, fees and fines produced Rs. 228. 5. 3, while the remainder (Rs. 7051. 4) was expended by the Missionary Society from its own funds. The average cost of educating each pupil was Rs. 10. 10. 4, or £1, 1s. 3½d.

648 797 872 PRIMARY SCHOOLS.—With the exception of the schools at Cherrá Punji, Jowái, Shillong, and Shellá, all the schools in the Hills may properly be classed as primary, though several are returned as middle vernacular schools. On this principle the total number of primary schools is 64, in 45 of which a little English is taught. These 64 schools had 1226 pupils on their rolls at the close of the year 1874-75, and an average daily attendance of 829, comparing

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favourably with an average attendance of 694 in the preceding year. Of the pupils on the rolls, 132 were professed Christians, 36 Hindus, and 1058 Khásiás. The total cost was Rs. 7107. 11. 6, or £711, 15s. 3d., towards which Government contributed Rs. 3246. The average cost of each pupil was Rs. 8. 3. 7, or 17s., of which Rs. 3. 14. 7 represents the share paid by Government. The chief failure among the Khásiás is stated by the Inspector to be in arithmetic. Four primary scholarships were awarded during the year by the Deputy-Commissioner, on the recommendation of the secretary to the Mission. These scholarships are of the value of Rs. 3 a month, or £3, 12s. a year, and are tenable for two years.

MIDDLE ENGLISH SCHOOLS.—There were four schools of this class during the year under report, with 397 pupils on the rolls, and an average daily attendance of 243. The total expenditure was Rs. 4581. 13. 9, or £458, 4s., towards which Government contributed Rs. 1478. 8; the average cost of each pupil was Rs. 18. 13. 7, or £1, 17s. 8d.

FEMALE INSTRUCTION.—The Khásí and Jáintia Hills is the only District of Assam, and one of the very few throughout all India, in which female instruction can be said to exist. During 1874-75 the number of girls attending the schools increased from 141 to 344, or by more than 41 per cent., showing 4·7 girls at school to every thousand of the female population, as opposed to ·4 in the Province generally. Of this number 24 were taught by Mrs. Hugh Roberts of Cherrá Pínji, and 18 by Mrs. John Roberts of Shillá. During the year five of the girls were sent out as teachers, of whom one was placed in charge of the Shillong girls' school, which has 29 pupils.

NORMAL SCHOOL.—According to the classification adopted by the Education Department, the institution at Cherrá Pínji, under the management of the Rev. Hugh Roberts, is described as partly 'Government normal' and partly 'aided English.' In 1874-75 the number of pupils on the rolls was 43, and the average attendance 39. There is a class of 10 girls, and of the 16 teachers turned out during the year, 3 were girls. The total cost was Rs. 4052. 6. 6, almost the whole being paid by Government. The average cost of each pupil was Rs. 105. 0. 3, or £10, 19s., of which Rs. 105. 0. 11 represents the share of Government. The following paragraph, quoted from Mr. Roberts' Report, illustrates what the missionaries have effected, and also the difficulties with which they have to contend:—'Cases have been brought to my notice during the past year

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648 of parents undergoing considerable privations rather than deny their
797 children education; and in many families it has become a matter of
871 ordinary routine to send the children to school. This only refers to the younger children; for after boys have attained their fourteenth or fifteenth year, their parents grow impatient for their pecuniary
858 assistance. It is the custom among the Khasis to insure very young children to work, so that they may earn enough to support themselves as soon as ever they can manage scrap and basket. It is common for a boy to realize from ten *pice* to five *annas* a day for his parents; and it is considered sufficient sacrifice for the latter to have kept him at school up to his fourteenth year.'

631 'Amanat States.—The following is a list of the nineteen semi-
651 independent Khasi States or Democracies, with the particulars
413 of information that are available for each, taken from the Assam Administration Report for 1875-76:—

(1) Bhawal or Warjah.—Name of Siem, U Ramsan Singh, age in 1876, 16 years; approximate population of State, 389; estimated gross revenue—from market dues, Rs. 10; from *mikhlad* on lime quarry, Rs. 16,000—total, Rs. 16,010, or £1601; products, rice, millet, *betel* or betel leaves, black pepper, Piper nigrum; minerals, lime.

(2) Cossna or Sohsan.—Siem, U Hijan Mitek, aged 40; population, 8060; revenue—from market dues, Rs. 7000; judicial fines, Rs. 150; *mikhlad* on lime quarry, Rs. 200; *nankhlit* holding in Sylhet, Rs. 1300—total, Rs. 8650, or £865; products, cotton, millet, betel-nuts, *pân*, oranges, black pepper, Piper nigrum, chillies, turmeric, ginger, and honey; manufactures, bamboo mats and bamboo baskets; minerals, lime, iron, and coal.

(3) Sohsla.—Wihaddibha, U Jirdi, aged 25, and U Rai Singh, aged 35, of whom the former can read and write both Khasi and Bengali a little; population, 5500; revenue—from market dues, Rs. 300; judicial fines, Rs. 400—total, Rs. 700, or £70; products, oranges, betel-nuts, and pine-apples; manufactures, bamboo mats and bamboo baskets; minerals, lime and coal.

(4) Kyrem or Nongkrem.—Siem, U Khar Singh, aged 50; population, 10,504; revenue—from pension allowed by the British Government, Rs. 1800; market dues, Rs. 3000; judicial fines, Rs. 400; *mikhlad* on lime quarry, Rs. 1500; contributions for State purposes, Rs. 2000—total, Rs. 10,700, or £1070; products, rice, cotton, millet, 'Job's tears,' cassia-bark, cinnamon, *sulphur*

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(2) kind of turmeric, betel-nuts, Indian corn, *pán*, oranges, lac, potatoes, black pepper, Piper nigrum, chillies, turmeric, ginger, and honey; manufactures, cotton cloth, *eri* silk cloth, *dáo* or hill knives, *kuddlis* or mattocks, knives, hammers, crowbars, wedges, mats, and baskets; minerals, lime, coal, and iron. 631 651 433

(3) MYLIOR or MYLIUM.—Siem, U Hain Mísik, aged 30; population, 10,266; revenue—from market dues, Rs. 250; State contributions, Rs. 1200; judicial fines, Rs. 225; forest rent, Rs. 15—total, Rs. 1690, or £169; products, cinnamon, sugar-cane, rice, 'Job's tears,' Indian corn, *sohphlang*, ginger, and millet; manufactures, *dáo* and baskets; minerals, iron.

(4) LANGRIN or LYNGRIN.—Siem, U Bor, aged 25; population, 1867; revenue—from market dues, Rs. 150; *mihkhed* on lime quarry, Rs. 700; forest rent, Rs. 60; fisheries, Rs. 50—total, Rs. 960, or £96; products, rice, millet, chillies, turmeric, and ginger; minerals, lime and coal.

(5) MAHRAIN.—Siem, Ardhar Singh, aged 38; population, 6157, revenue—from State contributions, Rs. 400; market dues, Rs. 120; forest revenue, Rs. 55; *mihkhed* on lime quarry, Rs. 350; judicial fines, Rs. 100—total, Rs. 1025, or £102. 10s.; products, 'Job's tears,' black pepper, Piper nigrum, chillies, bay leaves, honey, Indian corn, *sohphlang*, cinnamon, cowtchouc, sugar-cane, and ginger; manufactures, *dáo*, *kuddlis*, and hammers; minerals, iron and lime.

(6) MAOYANG or MAO-YONG.—Siem, U Jit Singh, aged 33; population, 1238; revenue—from lime quarries, Rs. 252. 8; house tax, Rs. 9; rent of fisheries, Rs. 50; judicial fines, Rs. 100; State contributions, Rs. 90—total, Rs. 501. 8, or £50. 3s.; products, honey, bees-wax, cotton, rice, millet, 'Job's tears,' *sohphlang*; manufactures, mats; minerals, lime.

(7) MAO-SYW-RAM.—Siem, U Rammen, aged 29; population, 947; revenue—from market dues, Rs. 180; State contributions of an uncertain nature, Rs. 150—total, Rs. 330, or £33; products, potatoes, millet, chillies, turmeric, honey, and ginger; manufactures, mats; minerals, lime, coal, and iron.

(10) MALAC-SEM-MAT or MALASCHAMAT.—Siem, U Shongram Singh, aged 33; population, 299; revenue from market dues, Rs. 50; *mihkhed* on lime quarry, Rs. 750; State contributions, Rs. 50; forest revenue, Rs. 50—total, Rs. 900, or £90; products, rice, millet, 'Job's tears,' ginger, chillies, turmeric, bay leaves, betel-nuts, and oranges; manufactures, mats; minerals, lime.

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(11) Mawlai.—Siem, U Ron Singh, aged 28; population, 1308; revenue—from market dues, Rs. 15; State contributions, Rs. 100—total, Rs. 115, or £10, 10s.; products, rice, millet, 'Job's tears,' ginger, chillies, turmeric, sulphur, Indian corn, sugar-cane; manufactures, none.

(12) Nongthymmai or Nong-kan-rum.—Siem, U Kaan, aged 28; population, 361; revenue—from market dues, Rs. 100; judicial fees, Rs. 30—total, Rs. 130, or £13; products, rice, 'Job's tears,' Indian corn, sulphur, potatoes; manufactures, none.

(13) Nongkilan.—Siem, Kiew Singh, aged 30; population, 1304; revenue—from market dues, Rs. 600; State contributions, Rs. 800; judicial fees, Rs. 50; forest dues, Rs. 600; cost of State land, Rs. 10—total, Rs. 2060, or £206; products, potatoes, rice, millet, 'Job's tears,' Indian corn, sulphur, cucumbers, cinnamon; manufactures, cotton, *dolitis*, *dhis*, and cowhair; minerals, lime.

(14) Nong-spoh.—Siem, U Sep Singh, aged 33 (died in 1891); population, 871; revenue, from commission on *mouhdis* in Khasi Hills District, Rs. 100, or £10; products, rice, potatoes, honey, beeswax; manufactures, *dhis*; minerals, iron.

(15) Nongstoin.—Siem, U Ten Singh, aged 38; population, 7563; revenue—from market dues, Rs. 1000; lime quarries, Rs. 300; State contributions, Rs. 1500; judicial fees, Rs. 1000—total, Rs. 4400, or £440; products, lac, honey, beeswax, honey, cucumbers, bay leaves, rice, millet, 'Job's tears,' sugar-cane, chillies, sulphur; manufactures, earthenware, pottery, cotton cloth, *dhis*, and spades; minerals, lime and coal.

(16) Rambrai.—Siem, U Amar Singh, aged 38, who can read and write Assamese a little; population, 1232; revenue—from market dues, Rs. 40; judicial fees, Rs. 150; forest rent, Rs. 250—total, Rs. 440, or £44; products, rice, 'Job's tears,' ginger, chillies, millet, and Indian corn; manufactures, cotton cloth.

(17) Jyrang.—Sordar, U Mon Singh, aged 33; population, 581; revenue, *nil*; products, rice, millet, ginger, chillies, 'Job's tears,' cucumbers; manufactures, cotton cloth.

(18) Dwara Nong-tyr-wan.—Sordar, U Jaonni, aged 29; population, 378; revenue—from *mulkhad* on lime quarry, Rs. 1680; fees for cutting timber, Rs. 35—total, Rs. 1715, or £171, 10s.; products, rice, millet, oranges, betel-nuts, *pân*, and turmeric; manufactures, small mat; minerals, lime.

(19) Mao-wan.—Sordar, U Mohur Singh, aged 29; population,

[illegible]; revenue, [illegible]; products, millet, sesamin, hemp-seed, jack-fruit, pine-apples, chillies, and bay leaves; minerals, lime and coal. 631 651

These estates give the following totals for the ancient Khiri Raiyat or Demesnes:—Population, [illegible]; revenue, Rs. [illegible], or £[illegible], [illegible], of which Rs. [illegible], or £[illegible], is derived from land revenue. The aggregate area of these Raiyats is therefore assumed at [illegible] square miles. 633

Subdivisional Establishment.—The twenty-five local divisions which constitute the Jowki Hills are regarded as forming a separate subdivision, under the charge of an Assistant-Commissioner, whose headquarters are at the village of Jowki. This Subdivision dates from 1889, for which year the separate cost of administration is assumed at £[illegible]. The following statistics, referring only to the Jowki Hills, are taken from the Report of the Assistant-Commissioner for 1898-99; for the rest, all information is included in the preceding sections of the Imperial Account, which apply generally to the whole District of the Khiri and Jowki Hills. In the year 1898-99 the total revenue of the Jowki Subdivision amounted to Rs. [illegible], or £[illegible], of which Rs. [illegible] was derived from the house tax. The total value of the exports from the Subdivision was estimated at Rs. [illegible], or £[illegible], viz., including [illegible] maunds of raw cotton, valued at Rs. [illegible], and [illegible] maunds of lac, valued at Rs. [illegible]. The total value of the imports was estimated at Rs. [illegible], or £[illegible], chiefly cotton and woollen cloth from Bengal, valued at Rs. [illegible]; silk cloth from Assam, Rs. [illegible]; [illegible] maunds of rice, value Rs. [illegible]; [illegible] heads of dried fish, value Rs. [illegible]; [illegible] maunds of salt, value Rs. [illegible]; [illegible] maunds of tobacco, value Rs. [illegible]. These figures are compiled from reports submitted by the police-sentinel at Jowki, on the Jowkipur road, and from information collected from the chief traders of Jowki. They show an apparent balance of trade against the Subdivision amounting to Rs. [illegible], or £[illegible], viz. The population of Jowki and the surrounding villages is given below. 651 652

Climate, Temperature, Meteorology.—The climate of the Khiri and Jowki Hills is mild and equable. In Shillong the thermometer within doors ranges from about [illegible] in December to [illegible] or [illegible] in the hottest months. Out of doors the day heat varies between about [illegible] in the cold weather and [illegible] in May and June. A temperature higher than [illegible] is seldom recorded. During the three years ending 172

132 In 1911, the highest maximum temperature was registered in the month of August, the lowest minimum in January. From November until the end of March the weather is dry and bracing. Hoar-frost lies upon the ground almost every morning in the months of December, January, and February. Shallow water occasionally freezes over, but snow never falls.

The rainfall at Cherrá Pónjí is enormous, varying between 400 and 500 inches per annum. The heaviest fall is in the months of June and July. As much as 50 inches has been collected in one day in July, and 150 inches has been registered as the total rainfall of that month. The average rainfall of the three years ending in 1911 is returned at 466·91 inches. It is affirmed that a total of 600 inches fell in 1870, of which 466 inches is assigned to the single month of July. This excessive rainfall can be readily accounted for by the abrupt manner in which the hills at Cherrá Pónjí rise from the plains on the south. The vapour-bearing breezes of the south-west monsoon, sweeping across the heated, flooded plains of Lower Bengal, suddenly strike against the hills. The vapour as it ascends gets condensed into fogs and mists, and finally, when it reaches the crest of the range, discharges itself in torrents of rain, unequalled by that recorded in any other part of the world.

At Shillong, which is only 50 miles north and a little higher than Cherrá Pónjí, the average rainfall is only about 65 inches, but between these two stations three higher ranges intervene, which deprive the clouds in passage of a considerable portion of their moisture. During the three years ending in 1911, the average rainfall at Shillong was 65·65 inches.

The rainfall at Jowai, a subdivisional station in the Jaintia Hills, 40 miles distant from the plains, holds a mid place between that at Cherrá Pónjí and Shillong, and is estimated at 120 inches in the year. During the three years ending in 1911, the average rainfall at Jowai was 119·60 inches, but in the last of these years there as much as 200·00 inches was registered, of which 150·50 inches fell in the month of June.

133 The District is liable to shocks of earthquake. In September 1897 considerable damage was done in the bazaar in Shillong by a shock which extended with great severity as far as Gauhati, and several minor shocks were experienced in the year 1898-99.

144 Diseases, etc.—Generally speaking, the climate of Shillong is pleasant and congenial to Europeans. English children thrive

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unsuitable, and there are few indigenous diseases of any kind. Malarious fevers of local origin are unknown, and cholera never prevails in the Hills except when directly imported from the plains. Notwithstanding the excessive rainfall, the climate of Cherrá Pinjí also is pleasant and salubrious. The rainfall is confined in great part to the five months from May to the end of September. For the rest of the year the weather is mild and very equable, and in the winter months almost pleasanter than that of Shillong. 164 132

Smallpox is the chief scourge amongst the Khásiás. The fears of more than half the people are accused by the marks of this disease. Strenuous efforts have recently been made to introduce vaccination, and with some success. Within the past three years nearly 9000 children have been vaccinated. The number of vaccinations in 1896 was 1,909, as compared with 1848 in the preceding year. 164 [751] [643]

Dysentery and bowel complaints generally prevail to a considerable extent; and, as at most other hill stations in India, the English residents at Shillong occasionally suffer from these diseases. Diseases of the liver are also not uncommon, mostly affecting persons who have recently arrived from the plains, probably from unhealthy localities. When they have once passed through a short period of acclimatizing indisposition, most English residents at Shillong enjoy excellent health.

The moist country lying along the foot of the Hills, especially on the southern side, is extremely malarious; and people passing through, especially pedestrians who travel without comforts and expose themselves to great fatigue, contract remittent fevers and agues of a severe type.

Epidemics.—The following is a brief notice of some recent epidemics. Cholera made its appearance in the Hills in May 1869, travelling from the direction of Jaintiápur, on the borders of Sylhet. It lately showed its presence by a few sporadic cases from time to time until the 10th July, when the disease broke out in an epidemic form among the police and in the jail. The police and the prisoners were at once moved into camp, and communication restricted as much as possible. These precautions probably had the effect of preventing the spread of the disease at Shillong. The epidemic lasted a week; it attacked twenty-four persons, of whom fifteen died. From Shillong the disease travelled southwards, the people deserting their villages as the plague broke out. In the 731

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731 pre-eminently filthy villages on the Cherrá Pínji plateau the epidemic appears to have found a fitting home, for it stayed among them for a period of nine weeks and a half. The civil surgeon reports the deaths at Cherrá Pínji and the surrounding villages to have amounted to about 175 out of a total of 230 cases. During the year 1876-77 hooping-cough and small-pox were prevalent in an epidemic form. In the Jáintiá Hills small-pox is stated to have caused 47 deaths, chiefly during the months of June, July, and August. Some fatal cases of hooping-cough occurred among the Khásí children in the village of Mínkhar, near Shillong. The only two cases of cholera reported were in the Jáintiá Hills.

16 VITAL STATISTICS.—A general system of registration is not {659 attempted throughout the Khásí and Jáintiá Hills District. Statistics 648} of births and deaths are only collected among the inhabitants of the Stations of Shillong and Cherrá Pínji, and in the selected area in the vicinity of Jowái, which comprises the following seven villages:—Jowái, Nongkah, Nartiang, Mylíem, Amwí, Rollíang, and Shangpíng. This selected area has a population of 10,504. Each village forms a distinctly-circumscribed community, in which the statistics are readily ascertained and reported by the *dolói* or headman. The returns may be regarded as extremely close to the truth, both for births and deaths; and they thus furnish an approximate statement of the health of the entire Hills. In 1879 the total number of deaths in the selected area was 351, showing a death rate of 28 per thousand; the number of births was 431, or 34·2 per thousand. The total population of all the places in which vital statistics are collected is 15,458 persons, among whom 428 deaths were recorded in 1879, showing a death-rate of 27·6 per thousand, as compared with 27·3 per thousand in the preceding year. The deaths were thus distributed—24 from cholera, 298 from fever, 58 from bowel complaints, 2 from snake-bite or wild beasts, and 68 from all other causes. The mortality from fevers was the highest recorded throughout the entire Province. On this the civil surgeon observes:—"There are few local sources of malaria in the Hills. Many of the deaths from fever were probably due to typhoid, induced by the use of impure water and by the filthy state in which the 312 people live. There is no attempt at conservancy in a Khásí village. 364 In Jowái, a good specimen of the class, the lanes and pathways are 164 strewn with excrement and house refuse. Drinking water is got from wells in the heart of the village, fed by the drainage of the

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

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surface soil of the hills upon which the houses are built.' Cholera is attributed to importation from the plains.

SANITATION.—It has already been stated that the ordinary Khásí villages are absolutely destitute of any conservancy arrangements. The sanitary condition, however, of the Station of Shillong is described as 'good.' The natural drainage is excellent. Drinking water is obtained chiefly from hill streams, and on the banks of these streams conservancy regulations are enforced. The water is conducted into the town by means of an artificial water-course. Public latrines have been erected at suitable places inside the town. The staff of sweepers and bhiśtis keeps the roads and drains clean, and the surface generally free from pollution. The sanitary condition of the cantonment is reported to be very good.

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CHARITABLE DISPENSARY.—There is one dispensary in the Khásí and Jaintia Hills—at the Station of Shillong. It was first opened in 1872, and considerable additions have since been made to the building. During 1874 a total sum of Rs. 773. 8, or £77. 11s., was expended on new constructions and repairs, towards which the European residents subscribed Rs. 329. There is now accommodation for 10 male and 3 female patients. In that year the total number of in-door patients treated was 22, of whom 9 died, giving a death-rate of 20.45 per cent. The number of out-door patients was 919, or an average daily attendance of 7.8. Of the grand total of patients of both classes, only 31 were females. The largest number of cases are classified under the headings of fevers and constipation and colic. The total income during the year was Rs. 1398. 13. 9, or £139. 17s. 8d., of which Government contributed Rs. 300 for salaries, and an additional Rs. 300 as a special allowance. The European subscriptions amounted to Rs. 863, as compared with Rs. 33 subscribed by natives. The total expenditure was Rs. 1187. 13. 6, or £118. 16s., leaving a balance in hand of Rs. 410. 14. 3. The chief items were Rs. 480 for salaries of medical subordinates, Rs. 180 for servants' wages, and Rs. 100 for dieting of sick. There were 33 minor operations performed during the year.

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The people of the District have no system of medicine of their own, and no native practitioners. Their sole remedies consist in divination and incantation. The only indigenous native drugs are chiretta and wormwood. As stated in a previous paragraph, a small cinchona plantation was established by Government at Pangthúm in 1869.

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Khasi Kinship Terms in four Dialects

By U. R. Ehrenfels, Ph D. (Vienna)

Contents:

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I. Introductory Remarks

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Professor K. P. Chattopadhyay (Calcutta University) published in 1941 an analysis of Khasi kinship terms [1] based on eight genealogies which he collected in the Mawphlang area, about sixteen miles south-west of Shillong [2]. He discussed in this paper a previous publication by Professor Hodson [3] where special features of certain Khasi kinship terms are held to prove the pre-existence of a dual system in a one-time Khasi social order and he quotes also the late Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy's work on Khasi kinship [4] and lists of Assamese relationship terms, contained in "Census of India Reports" [5] and Khasi terms in U Nisson Singh's "Khasi-English Dictionary" [6], P. R. T. Gurdon's monograph on the Khasi [7] and in Sir Keith Cantlie's "Notes on Khasi Law" [8]. Discussing these previously published papers, Chattopadhyay arrives at the conclusion that Hodson's hypothesis of a dual organisation in a hypothetical former Khasi society was not justified [9].

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The present paper, however, does not enter into discussion of this

[1] Chattopadhyay (1941).
[2] Ibid., p. 1.
[3] Hodson (1921).
[4] Roy (1931).
[5] McSwiney (1901), pp. 74/75. The Census Report of 1891, quoted by Chattopadhyay (1941), p. 1, is not available to me at the time of writing.
[6] Nisson Singh (1906).
[7] Gurdon (1906).
[8] Cantlie (1906).
[9] Chattopadhyay (1941), pp. 27, 28.

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question and indeed has been compiled without knowledge of Professor CHATTOPADHYAY's work, and before he very kindly sent a private copy of this work, which had not been available to me previously. 601 122 128

The present paper offers data on the following subjects:

1. Khasi kinship terms from the Mawshai Khasi plateau-area in the Khyrim State, about 20 to 30 miles south-east of Shillong, which are in some minor details different from the Mawphlang data, collected by CHATTOPADHYAY, south-west of Shillong; 601 101 128
2. Comparative data from the Wár-Khasi;
3. from the plateau-area of Jowai in the Jaintia [10] Hills, and
4. from the Wár-Jaintia;
5. Aspects of the Khasi kinship terms, with special reference to the matrilineal order of society, and to the respective position of women and men there, especially the particular consideration which the biological relationship through the father receives in kinship terminology, in spite of the emphasis on the matrilineal structure in Khasi society (comp. term No. 1 of the list and its discussion in para 3/b of the present paper, on p. 409).

The data were collected in field researches to which I was enabled by two Research Grants for comparative studies in matrilineal civilizations of India, given by the Viking Fund Inc. (now: Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research) in New York, during the periods 1949-50 and 1951-52. My gratefulness to the foundation for enabling me to carry out these field researches, as well as to the University of Madras, for granting me Sabbathical leaves for the same purpose, is here once more recorded. 122 [114]

My research programme was based on the first tentative working hypothesis, laid down in my book "Mother-right in India" [11], but includes also various other aspects of study which have not been pre-planned, or even considered there [12], as for instance also the present comparative study of kinship terms in areas of four Khasi dialects and their special significance to the Khasi matrilineal social system. The material was collected during a five weeks house-to-house study in the recently founded Plateau Khasi village Maw Syn Jri, during April and May 1950. This village consisted mostly of houses, owned by Khasi elder sisters and inhabited by them, with their families, after they had left the ancestral home in the main village Kharang, about one mile across the valley on the western side of the new settlement. The ancestral family houses there were in the possession of either the mother, or, if she was no more alive, the youngest daughter of the family, the *ka khon khadduh* [10]. 121 114 101 621 [601]

[10] Jaintia, (Pnar or "Synteng") are the Khasi speaking eastern neighbours of the Khasi proper. As among the Khasi, so also among Jaintia the people in the cool plateau highlands are in many ways different from those who settled in the lowlows tropical rainforests of the southern slopes, now situated just north of the East Pakistan frontier: — the so-called Wár-country, where economy is mainly based on pan-leaf gardening.

[11] EHRENFELS (1951).

[12] EHRENFELS (1950/A), (1950/B), (1950/C), (1950/D), (1950/E), (1951/C), (1951/D).

[13] GRAMAN (1910), pp. 93, seq., CARNOY (1936), p. 11.

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105 It will here be recalled that the Khasi are a matrilineal agricultural
[175] people, pre-litterate until the advent of the British in the sixth decade of
[197] the 19th century, organized under democratically ruling *siem*, or Khasi
144 princes and chieftains and speaking an Austro-Asiatic language [14]. Their physical affinities are unmistakably mongoloid and quite distinct from the Assamese speaking plains-Indians, — but not from the other mountaineers of Assam, Nepal and even Burmah or China, with whom they feel to be more closely related, as with the Indian plainspeople, as some of the tribal designations in the following lists of terms for Non-Khasi testifies (comp. No. 41 as against No. 42, 43 and 43/a-c).

114 In the collection of the material, I was hampered by my inability to
122 pick up the Khasi language sufficiently quickly, for conversation without the help of an interpreter, but on the other hand greatly eased by generous and voluntary assistance on the part of several Khasi friends, especially U Ekimar Singh, the President, Unitarian Union, Khasi- and Jaintai Hills and his (Khasi) wife, Ka Austria [15], who offered me hospitality in their house at Maw Syn Jri, during my stay there. Dr. H. LYNGDOH, Shillong, the author of detailed accounts on Khasi religious ceremonial and institutions [16], U Jeeban Roy, a leading Pnár gentleman of Jowei in the Jaintia Hills, Ka Ellen Giri, Principal, Govt. Basic Education Training Centre, Malki, Shillong, Ka Kongmen, Shillong, and U David Roy, Prime Minister (retd.), and a number of hospitable Wár Khasi and Wár-Jaintia pan-leaf cultivators in the southern slopes of the Khasi- and Jaintia Hills, especially from the villages Mawlat and Padu, also helped me greatly in my task. My thanks are due to all of them.

101 The data, submitted and briefly described in this paper were thus
114 collected in four different areas.

1. The South-eastern corner of the Khasi-Hills (plateau-area),
2. the southern slopes of the Khasi Hills, the "Wár-Khasi country" between the Khasi plateau proper and the northern boundary of East Pakistan,
3. the central plateau of the Jaintia Hills, round its capital market Jowei, and
4. the southern slopes of the Jaintia Hills, the "Wár-Jaintia country" between these and a section of the northern boundary of East Pakistan, further to the East than area 2.

197 Slightly different Khasi dialects are spoken in these four regions, Jaintia (Pnár or "Syntong") and Wár-Jaintia being more akin to each other, similarly as Plateau-Khasi and Wár-Khasi are.

101 The Pnár or Jaintias ("Syntong" is a slightly opprobious designation,
175 used by the Plateau-Khasi for these, their eastern neighbours) look back

[14] Schmidt (1906).

[553] [15] Strangeness, because Austria was much in the news at the time of her birth, during the last world war; — a fact which illustrates the Khasi peculiarity to use either all by inventions as names for children, or to adapt such, from the Khasi point of view, outlandish words like: "Ka Austria" or "Ka Mediterranean Sea" as names for their children.

[16] Lyngdoh (1957).

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on a historical past, different from that of the Khasi proper, the former having been ruled by the powerful, but somewhat Hinduised dynasty of the Jaintia Rajas until the Jaintia Wars of the British; the latter by small independent chiefs. Yet Jaintia social organization appears on the whole to preserve the matrilineal social structure clearer and to be less influenced by plains-acculturation, than that of the Khasi, though a few features of Brahmanical religious observances and also some traces of racial admixture are found in the immediate vicinity of Jowei, the former summer residence of the Jaintia Rajas. Stronger no doubt, than this influence, was that exercised by the British and non-Assamese Indians in the provincial capital Shillong since 1866. Methods of agriculture and other aspects of material civilization differ but little in the Jaintia- and Khasi plateau-areas.

The same cannot be said of both: the Wár-Khasi and Wár-Jaintias. Linguistically their affiliations are with the Khasi or Jaintias respectively in the plateau-areas. Economically, however, both Wár-groups form a separate pan-leaf cultivating unit in the little accessible steep southern slopes of the Khasi- and Jaintia Hill massif. Both Wár-groups live in the environment of luscious tropical flora and fauna, sharply differentiated from the cool, barren plateau with its perennial winds and the heroic, if solitary beauty of its highland heaths, which forms the background of both the Khasi- and Jaintia plateau-groups.

The age of the Wár-Khasi and -Jaintias, as one independent economic, — and two half-independent dialectical linguistic entities, is an intricate problem. The two Wár-groups subsist on pan-leaf cultivation as a money crop, grown in the thick tree-gardens as creepers; not on food-cultivation, as do the plateau-groups, because there is insufficient space on the steep slopes, for vegetable gardens or -fields. The pan-leaf cultivators therefore depend on food, purchased from outside. The slopes seem to have been uninhabited until not long ago. Yet pan-leaf chewing is such an integral part of Khasi life, that until quite recently, and occasionally even now, a distance between two places is not measured by the number of hours used for walking, but by the number of betelnut- and pan-leaf packages, consumed on the way. Also the common benediction among Khasi expresses the wish that so and so may eat pan in the Garden of God. Yet pan-cultivation and the settlements of the Wár-people as pan-leaf cultivators in the southern slopes seem comparatively young. Pan-cultivation on the plateau is impracticable. It is therefore possible that pan was for a long time only a much valued import article from the plains, bartered against Khasi ore and iron tools, though it is now an export article from the Wár-country, brought to the markets of the plains, by both Wár-Khasi and Wár-Jaintia women and men.

According to a tradition, across which I came among the Nonglamin clan of the Nongmaker village, the ancestors of the present Wár people were on the plateau at a time when no pan-cultivation was going on in the slopes and none of the present big estates of pan-tree gardens was yet held by their present (Wár-) owners. A not distant ancestor of a Nonglamin clan-member who about two or three generations ago told the story to U Siang (one of

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249 173 [115] my informants at Padu), in the year 1933, is said to have begun the cultivation of yam (*shniw*) and millets (*knei*) in the then uncultivated slopes. He and his people used to be, on this account, ridiculed as monkeys (*shrieh*). The Nonglamin clan took later to pan-leaf-, and arecanut-cultivation and became one of the richest landowners of the Wár-country. Others followed and imitated them. This clan (*kur*) is now residing at Nongtalang, about ten miles east of Padu in the Wár-Jaintia slopes.

174 184 601 This possibility of a comparatively recent origin of the now economically independent Wár-groups among the Khasi speaking peoples is of importance to the question of some different terms in kinship terminology which the following lists will show.

184 601 Comments on other features in the relationship terminology, bearing on sociological or historical problems of either among the four Khasi speaking groups under discussion, are being hinted at in the text of the lists itself and further discussed in Part Three of the present paper, following the lists of kinship terms.

II. The List of the Kinship Terms

(*u* is the definite article masc. gen.; *ka* — the definite article fem. gen. Both are prefixed to proper nouns and then assume the meaning and function of the English Mr. and Mrs. [or Miss] respectively.)

No.	English	Plateau Khasi	Wár Khasi	Pnár (Jaintia)	Wár Jaintia
1.	To give birth or beget:	*kha* (noun: *jyug kha*)	*kha*	*kha*	*dikun*
1/a.	To give birth to a girl:	*kha kynthei*	*kha kynthei*	*kha kynthai*	*dikun kynthah* (*kinthai*)
1/b.	To give birth to a boy:	*kha shynrang*	*kha shynrang*	*kha shynrang*	*dkun tyrma* (*tyrmai*)
1/c.	To give birth twins:	*kha synrap*	*kha bynrap*	*kha synrap* (or: *arngoi*)	*dikun brap*
2.	Child:	*khynnah* (with *u* and *ka* respectively)	*khun* (or: *khunlung*) (*u* and *ka*)	*khyu ho* (with *u* and *ka*)	*kimboi* (with *u* and *ka*)
2/a.	Childhood:	*ka jinglong khunlung*	*ka jinglong khunlung*	*ka porkhynnah*	*ka kymbotlung*
3.	Puberty of a girl or boy:	*sdang samla* (or: *khynraw*)	*jan samla*	*sdang khyllud*	*khynrong darow*
3/a.	Marriageable girl:	*ka samla* (or: *khynraw*)	*ka samla* (or: *khynraw*)	*ka khyllud*	*ka darow*
3/b.	Marriageable man:	*u samla* (or: *khynraw*)	*u sahla* (or: *khynraw*)	*u khynro*	*u darow*
4.	Woman:	*ka* (or: *ka kynthei*)	*ka* (or: *ka kynthei*)	*ka kynthai*	*ka* (or: *ka kynthaurangbah*)
5.	Man:	*u* (or: *u shynrang*)	*u* (or: *u shynrang*)	*u* (or: *u chynrang*)	*u* (or: *u tyrma rangbah*)
6.	Article of respect: *i* (instead *u* or *ka*)	for both sexes is a term of diminution: used as honorific prefix; but has a contemptuous meaning in the Jaintia dialects			
	Parents:				
7.	Mother:	*i mei* (-addressing); *kmie* (-referring)	*i mei*; — *kmie*	*ka bri*	*ka ma*
8.	Father:	*i pa* (-addressing); *kpa* (-referring)	*i pa*; — *kpa*	*u pa*; *pain*	*u pa*
9.	Siblings and maternal cousins:	*para* (-referring only)	*para*	*pain*	*para*
9/a.	"Brethren"; as in the phrases:	*para lum* — "Brethren Hill (tribesmen)" *para kristan* — "Christian Brethren"	— (?)	— (?)	— (?)

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No.	English	Plateau Khasi	War Khasi	Pnar (Jaintia)	War Jaintia
9/b.	Maternal cousins :	*para kur* (*kur* — clan)	— (?)	— (?)	— (?)
9/c.	Paternal cousins (and half-siblings through the father) :	*para kha* (*kha* — birth, or : begetting)	— (?)	— (?)	— (?)
9/d.	Older sisters, or female cousins :	*kung* (-addressing) ; *kymuro* (-referring)	*ka tih*	*pain ue kah*	*ka tah*
9/e.	Older brother, or male cousin :	*kah* (-addressing) ; *kymuro* (-referring)	*u tih*	*u ane*	*u tah kynthe*
9/f.	Younger siblings and cousins (and other young folk) :	*kep* (-addressing) ; *para* (referring if matrilin).	*ione*	*diah*	*ka* — sister *pun* — brother
10.	Spouses :	*kah*	*kah*	*ahkaw*	*kah* (or : *kaung*)
10/a.	Wife :	*ka kah* "friend" (-addressing) ; *ka tuga* (-referring)	*ka kah* ; *ka tuga*	*ka ahkaw*	*ka kah* ; *ka kaung*
10/b.	Husband :	*u kah* (-addressing) ; *u tuga* (-referring)	*u kah* ; *u tuga*	*u ahkaw*	*u kah* ; *u kaung*
11.	Children :	*khaw*	*khaw*	*khaw*	*kaw*
11/a.	Daughter :	*ka khaw*	*ka khaw*	*ka khaw*	*ka kaw kynthe*
11/b.	First Daughter :	*khaw nyughong* (or : *pkrong*, or : *ahma*)	*khaw nyughong*	*ka khaw nukah* — "first"	*ka kaw pkrong*
11/c.	Middle or younger daughters :	*khaw pdeng* (or : *kadiew*)	*khaw lud*	*ka khaw nuhud* — "second"	—
11/d.	Youngest daughter :	*khaw khaddah* (or : *khrong kpah* — "chand the womb")	*khaw khynduh*	*ka khaw synthud* (or : *nuhud*) — "third"	*ka kaw khaddah*
11/e.	Son :	*khaw*	*khaw*	*khaw*	*kaniyrnaw*
11/f.	First son :	*khaw nonghong* (or : *pkrong*, or : *ahma*, or : *nonghah*)	*nonghah* (or : *ahma*, or : *nonghong*)	*khaw nukah* — "first"	*kaniyrnaw*
11/g.	Middle or younger sons :	*khaw pdeng* (or : *ni* — "small, young")	*khaw lud*	*khaw nuhud* — "second" (or : *synthud*)	*kaniyrnaw pkrong*
11/h.	Youngest son :	*khaw khaddu*	*khaw khaddu*	*khaw nuhud*	—

No.	English	Pnaroo Khasi	War Khasi	Pnar (Jaintia)	War Jaintia
	Grand parents:				
12.	Mother's mother:	*mainud*	*maidiuh*	*lei pun*	*maiñiun*
12a.	Mother's father:	*pawud*	*paduh*	*pajun*	*mahiñun*
12b.	Father's mother:	*mai kha* *	*law kha* *	*mun*	*mamun*
12c.	Father's father:	*pawud* (or : *pa kha*) *	*pawud, paduh*	*mah*	*mahmun*
13.	Mother's sisters (and female cousins):	*kwie* (descriptive)	(?)	(?)	(?)
13a.	Mother's older sister:	*mai ano* (*ano* — elder)	*mai ano*	*lei lah*	*mai lang*
13b.	Mother's younger sister:	*mai khyneuh* (*mainuh*) (*khyneuh* — younger)	*mai nuh*	*lei diah*	*mai jiang*
14.	Mother's brothers: (and male cousins):	*kki* (descriptive)	(?) *kki* is not used, but understood by War Khasi (see sub : "Husband's or wife's father" word 7b, 12c in this list).		
14a.	Mother's older brother:	*kki* (or : *mai*) *nonghah*	*ki lah* (*ki lah ainai*)	*ma ano* (addressing) ; *kki* (referring)	*mino lang*
14b.	Mother's younger brother:	*khyneuh* (or : *ma khyneuh*)	*ki lah Did*	*ma diah* (addressing)	*lahjino, mino diah*
15.	Father's sisters (m. and y.):	*kin kha*	*kin kha* (older : *pa ano*, or : *kha nonghah*) (younger : *ki*, or : *khyneuh*)	older : *kin ano* ; younger : *kin mai*	older : *pa ano* or : *pa lang* ; younger : *ngi* * *mun* *
15a.	Father's brothers and cousins:	*kpa kha* * (descriptive)	(?)	(?)	(?)
15b.	Father's older brother:	*pa ano*	*pa ano* or : (*ngi*) * *lah*	*pa ano*	*pa lang*
15c.	Father's younger brother:	*pa khyneuh*	*pa khyneuh*, or : *pa lah*, or : *ngi lah lah*	*pa mai*	*pa jiang*

* The *kha* (*ngi*) refers to the paternal side of relationship.
* *ngi* — indicates distinction and respect among Pnar (and War Khasi) like *i* among Khasi.
* *mun* — indicates descent ("coming from") among War Jaintia ; like *kha* among Khasi.

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No.	English	Phone Khel	Wir Khel	Pale (Janiki)	Wir Janiki
	Mother's co-wives:				
11.	Mother's sister's husband:	elder: *ga sara*; younger: *ga Shyamak*	*ego ga* (elder and younger)	elder: *ga lak*; younger: *ga dlak*	*ga* (with *a* — *gara*, *jiang*, *dlak*, *mosig*, *ego*) *ki*
11.a.	Mother's brother's wife:	*Kia* (elder and younger)	*Kia* (elder and younger)	*Kia*	
	Father's co-wives:				
11'.	Father's sister's husband:	*ghilla*; addition: *ma*, *ma-ma*, *ki*	*lak*	*sister*	*sister mere*
11'.a.	Father's brother's wife:	*Kaso ur*: *Kia* (*ma-ma*, *ur*: *ma-ma*)	*ma*	*mamai*	*Ma* (with *a* — *gara*, *jiang*, *dlak*, *mosig*, *to ego*)
10.	All sisters and cousins:	*Bhai* (with *ha* and *a*)	—	—	—
10.a.	sisters and cousins on maternal side:	*Jyrna* (or: *Bhai mak*; lit.: *mogo-child*)	*jiana ur kaso* (with *ha* and *a*) (elder — *lak*; younger — *lua*)	*jiyrna* (with *ha* and *a*) (elder — *lak*; younger — *lua*)	*jiyrna* (elder than Ego — *lak*; younger — *lua*) (with *ha* and *a*)
10'.b.	sisters and cousins on paternal side:	*kaso Bhai*	*kaiba* (elder *lak*; younger — *lua*)	*cuzina* (father's sisters' children; *kong cuzina*, — father's brother's children: *jiana jia*)	*kaiba* (with *ha* and *a*) (elder) than Ego: *lak*; younger — *lu*
10.	All maternal cousins and sisters siblings:	*jiana kor* (with *ha* and *a*) (*jiana* — brothers; *kor* — *chor*)	—	—	—
10.a.	Mother's sister's children: (marriage among them — taboo)	*jiana ur kaso* (lit.: children of two mothers)	—	—	—
9.	All paternal cousins and paternal half-siblings:	*jiana Bhai* (*jiana* — brothers; *Bhai* — begotting)	—	—	—
9'.	Direct cousin:	*kaiba*	—	—	—
9'.a.	Mother's brother's children: (marriage with kaiba permitted)	*kaiba* (descriptive) (Ego's elder — *kong*(subtracting); Ego's younger — *kaji* (addressing))	*jiana lak* (elder), (with *ha* and *a*) *jiana lua* (younger), (with *ha* and *a*)	*Bhai cuzina* (with *ha* and *a*) —	*lak* (elder), (with *ha* and *a*) *lu* (younger), (with *ha* and *a*)

No.	English	Pintupi Sheet	Wife Sheet	Pale (Gamble)	Wife (Gamble)
31A.	Father's sister's children (marriage with father permitted)	Juliba (descriptive) (Ego's elder female — Kung [abbreviated]) (Ego's elder male — Kuk [abbreviated]) (Ego's younger — Kuj [abbreviated])	Juliba kit (elder), (with the sun) x — Juliba kun (younger), (with the sun) x	Kung (elder) (with the sun) x	Ke tika (with the sun) x
32.	Father's brother's children (marriage between para tika (children of brothers, generally not allowed))	para tika (Ego's elder female — para kung * [abbreviated]) (Ego's elder male — para kuk * [abbreviated]) (Ego's younger — kuj * [abbreviated])	ruk (elder), (with the sun) x ruk (younger), (with the sun) x	para pa (with the sun) x —	ke tika (with the sun) x
33.	Grandchildren	Mere kung (with the sun) x	Kuna (with the sun) x	ki ken (with the sun) x	Kunam (with the sun) x
33A.	Daughter's children	Kuna (with the sun) x	Kuna	Ken	gai
33B.	Son's children	Kuna tika (with the sun) x	Kuna tika	Ken	Kunam
34.	Consanguineal child (sometimes)	Mere wuna	—	pakirla ken (with the sun) x	—
35.	Great-great child (sometimes)	Mere kani	—	—	—
	Ascending Lines:				
36.	Maternal elder relatives including uncles	a ki a kung (lit. maternal uncle and elder sisters, female relative and their in-laws)	?	?	?
37.	Female relatives on the maternal side	kani ruf	nanthi (with the sun) x	?	nanthi (with the sun) x nanthi (with the sun) x

* Kung, kuk and kuj are not necessarily added if addressing them.

No.	Kaghan	Phanen Ghaut	Nila Ghaut	Pain (Jumba)	Nila Jumba
(1)	Gilab [illegible] (a cousin [illegible] father's grandfather [illegible])	Gili	[illegible]	—	—
(2)	Aliab [illegible] on the [illegible] side	[illegible] (with the wall)	[illegible] (with the wall)	?	[illegible] (with the wall)
(3)	Gwaab [illegible] on the father's side	[illegible] (with the wall)	[illegible] (with the wall)	?	[illegible] (with the wall)
(4)	[illegible] [illegible]	1 [illegible] (with the wall)	1 [illegible] (with the wall)	?	[illegible] [illegible] (with the wall)
(5)	[illegible] [illegible]	1 [illegible] (with the wall)	1 [illegible] (with the wall)		[illegible] [illegible] (with the wall)

Relationship of [illegible] as [illegible]

(1)	[illegible] [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] — [illegible] [illegible] — [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
(1-1)	[illegible] [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]	[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]	[illegible]
(1-2)	[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]	[illegible] [illegible]	[illegible] [illegible]	[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]	[illegible] [illegible]
(1-3)	[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]	[illegible] [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]	[illegible] [illegible]
(1-4)	[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]	[illegible] [illegible]
(1-5)	[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]	[illegible] [illegible] — [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]	[illegible] [illegible]	[illegible] [illegible]	—
(1-6)	[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] [illegible]	[illegible] [illegible]	—

No.	English	Chinese (Kinds)	Wife (Kinds)	Pinin (Jyutping)	Wife (Jyutping)
(1)(g)	Husband's older brother's wife	hung fuxui	nyuhkee	ba hung	ba, kwai (or : kwhwai)
(1)(h)	Husband's younger brother's wife	kuji fuxui	nyuhkee	ba ba	ba, kwai (or : kwhwai)
	Wife's in-laws (sep. designations)				
(1)	Wife's sister's husband	jiang shangfen (lit. : "brother-in-marriage")	jiang shang kee (lit. : "brother-in-marriage")	ailian : a hung yuangen : a ba	—
(1)	Wife's older brother's wife	hung (followed by proper name)	—	—	—
(1)(a)	Wife's younger brother's wife	kuji (followed by proper name)	—	—	—
(1)	Stepmother	wai mah, hwa mah	wai mah	ba kwai (stepfather — jai)	ba mai
(1)(b)					
(1)	Family	ba hung — ba yee (Seven siblings, or : ki kwai — ki ki, or : ba jing — kwai — jeiung	chi kee — chi yee	ung	chi kee — chi yuit
(1)	Clan community	i kee — i yuit	i kee — i yuit	ki kee	chi kee — chi yuit
(1)	Ancestral clan	kee	kee	kee	kee
(1)	Twelve ancestral	chi yuit	yuit kwaja	—	yuit kwaja
(1)	Ancestral sacrificial group	jiang hee kee (kee — field, ancestors)	jiang hee kee	ba kee (jee — [illegible])	jiee ji jiee jiang (jiee — business)
(1)	Fellowgen	ki hung ian (jiang — village; ian — old)	—	—	—
(1)	Relationship (unknown)	ailian	ailian	ailian	ailian
(1)(i)	Relative	ki wai jiang (or : ailian)	ki wai jiang	ki wai jiang	ki wai jiang
(1)(j)	Nature	ailian hung (hung — black)	?	?	?
(1)(k)	Energies	ailian ki (ki — energy)	?	?	?

III. Explanations

1. General

Most of my informants were Khasis. The spelling of the terms was checked and corrected by my English-speaking and writing Khasi and Pnar friends, mentioned in para one, to whom thanks are being here once more expressed. All responsibility for spelling mistakes, however, which may have slipped into this list has of course to be borne by me.

Blanks (–) or question marks (?) in one of the columns do not necessarily mean that there is no word used, by the respective group, for the particular term. They more often indicate that my informants did not use, or know, the particular term, or that I failed to enquire about it in a manner sufficiently clear to my informants. This is particularly true of general terms, partly or fully corresponding to English general terms, such as parents or grand-parents, or the terms No. 9(a and b, 11, 11(a, 19-21, and 26, which were partly explained to me, by Khasi friends in Shillong, where I stayed some time after completion of field-work during the rainy season. Hence I could no more return for verification to the little accessible War-villages in the steep southern slopes. Although I am planning to utilize a future opportunity for such checking up, I am yet publishing the present results in the hope that they may thus become accessible to field-workers among other S. E.-Asiatic, and especially Austro-Asiatic speaking peoples.

All terms which are equal for both sexes (cf. Nos. 10, 11, 18, 19, etc.) are used with no gad a respectively. These underlining prepared articles, as also the homonyms i are specially mentioned in the list, only if this is essential for the understanding of the respective terms as in Nos. 3-5, 7, 8, or 10.

2. Special

Term No. 1 — to give birth or beget (bha) signifies also relation on the paternal side as in para the (paternal cousin No. 7(c), in contradistinction to para ka. 7(b, (b) — cousin of the clan), i. e. maternal cousin, since the clan is a matrilineal unit. This usage of the word the appears also significantly in the terms (1(a, 17, 19(b, 20, 22, 23 and, as an integral part of the Khasi kinship terminology, renders it highly improbable that the Khasi matrilineal system could have originated in ignorance of the biological function of the father. It is a significant feature in the matrilineal social system.

The terms 1 to 13 refer to unmarried but biologically marriageable youths. It will be noted that there are (and were in 1950) no indications of puberty-rites for either girls or boys. There is also no child-marriage among Khasis. The use of special terms for mature, unmarried youths is therefore significant.

Term 4 — i ga hunnerbi article, is at the same time indicator of diminutive *, which is remarkable for two reasons: (firstly) the diminutive is used for the oldest and most respected family members, the the diminutive

* Cousin Rabin (1955), p. 65.

21: Khronika E-4,5 (1950) 1953 ART Khasi ART

of father to Ramsim (for the kar, etc.), (usually) the youngest, not the eldest, daughter performs the family rites and inherits the family property [illegible]. Even in cases where there is no woman to inherit, the youngest, not the eldest son inherits [illegible]. Among the conservatively matrilineal Pnar (Jaintia) this term of diminution is, however, earlier at times a somewhat contemptuous meaning, though the moment is strongly in force also among them. The underdrest position of this honorific term of diminution is thus significant (comp. term 9/c among Pnar and infra.) [illegible]

Term 7 — *mother* (*i mai*) — The *pnin i mai* among Khasi and War Khasi signifies particular reverence (supra : term 4). The classificatory character of the term has been discussed by Chattopadhyay [illegible].

Term 9/f — *hep* for all younger siblings, cousins and even other young kith does not indicate the consideration which the terms 9/d — *dong* for elder sisters and female cousins, or 9/e — *bah* for their male equivalents indicate. The term *ses* (9/a among Pnar) stands here, as generally, for elder and implies a honorific meaning (comp. term 4 supra and term 11/a infra). [illegible]

Terms 10/a and 8 show that husband and wife address each other by equal terms and do in no way indicate anything like an inferior position of either wives or husbands of which I did also not find any indications otherwise. It may here be mentioned that property rights even in newly established estates, vest in women and are inherited by women, — not generally men. [illegible]

Term 11/d — *ka khaw khadduh* — the youngest daughter whose important position in Khasi religious ritual, social organization and inheritance law has already been referred to sub term 4 and described in detail elsewhere [illegible]. The affectionate character of this term finds vivid expression in the abbreviation *ka dud*, which I heard from sisters and the father of a youngest daughter. [illegible]

Term 11/e — *mei sam* (mother's elder sister). The word *sam* (elder) here has a definitely honorific character, although the *mei khynnah* — the mother's younger sister (term 11/f) may be the heir of Epi's ancestral property. This contradiction corresponds to the peculiar significance of terms 4, 9/d and especially 11/d (supra). [illegible]

Terms 12, 13, 13/a, 14, 15/a, 15/b, and the terms for cousins 13, 14, 13/a, 13/b, 13 show, the term 7 — *mother* (supra), classificatory character. The restriction on cross-cousin marriage is of different nature, according as to whether they belong to different households, or not, as has been discussed by Chattopadhyay [illegible]. [illegible]

Term 16/a — *ka* (mother's brother's wife) is basically the same as term 15 — *ka kha* (father's sister) [illegible] though the latter is qualified by the additional term *kha* (begetting, birth) which signifies personal relationship (see : term 9/a, 4).

[illegible] (1934), pp. 63, seq. ; Carrier (1956), p. 17.
[illegible] (1956), p. 55.
Chattopadhyay (1953), pp. 55, seq.
[illegible] (1934), pp. 91, seq. and Carrier (1956), pp. 17, seq.
Chattopadhyay (1953), pp. 56, seq. 3.
As detail discussed by Chattopadhyay (1953), p. 57.

Terms 19 and 20 — *pawa kor* and *pawa kho*, the former for all cousins and half-siblings on the mother's and the latter for those on the father's side, show the consciousness of the matrilineal clan-affinity and the patrilineal biological relationship through their classificatory subdivision, which is also true of

Terms 21, 21a and 21b — the *kaiba* are cross-cousins.

Terms 21b shows special consideration for the elder paternal male cousin of the first degree, who is addressed as *kak* whilst the elder maternal male cousin of the first degree is addressed as *kong*; like the elder female cousins on both sides.

Terms 23, 23a, 23b, — *kaiw* for grandchildren would appear to mean dog's children. It has, however, been pointed out to me, by Khasi friends, that the Khasi word for dog is *kaw*; not *kaiw*. The Pnar (Jaintia) pronunciation *ki kaw* for grandchildren, and the occasionally occurring designation of great-grandchildren as "rats children" (term 24) and of great-great-grandchildren as "rats children" (term 25), however, would appear rather to suggest the derivation of *kaiw* *kaiw* from *kaw* — dog, than from a meaningless separate root.

Term 26 — *kiwa* means (i. e. rats children) for great-great-grandchildren is used among Nahwa Khasi families. Bradfield considers with Cameron, E. Lunet de Lajonquière, Kubahata and Kuhnert the possibility that the name of the Wa has been derived from rats[*]. This is a hill tribe, speaking a language with some similarity to the Mon-Khmer group[*] (to which also the Khasi language belongs). The Wa are living not very far from the possible homeland of the Khasi around the region of S. China, S. Siam and Indo-China. If a parallel should here be assumed, the two complementary Khasi terms No. 27 (dogs children) and 25 (rats children) may appear to be formed on the basis of analogy with the term "rats children" as tribal self-designation. Another explanation, however, of this unusual kinship-term which was given to me by a Khasi friend, contented that such generation, seen from the ancestral parent's point of view, is as numerous as the young of the respective varieties of animals.

Term 28 — *kiwa kaw* (rats children) *ramnaiw* — see term 26 (begins).

Term 29 — *o ki* — *o kong* as a favourite term for the maternal uncle and the husbands of the elder sisters and elder female cousins on the maternal side, illustrates the great respect shown to male relatives on the mother's side by adding the masculine preposition *o* to the word *kong*, which generally signifies elder female maternal relatives, but, in this case, their husbands (comp. term 31a). This usage of the term is reminiscent of the Brahmin ceremonies preferred for male maternal ancestors, instead of for mothers, grandmothers, etc. It also tallies with my observations, otherwise obtained[*]

[*] Bradfield (1907), pp. 6, 7.

[*] Bradfield (1907), p. xvi, though he draws the exclusion of the Wa into the Mon-Khmer group.

[*] Cameron (1898), p. 14; (1901-02), pp. 6, 7, 7; (1901-2), pp. 72, 88, etc.

21: Ehrenfels E-4,5 (1950) 1953 ART Khasi ART

namely that male members of a matrilineal clan copy, among Khasi as among other matrilineal groups in India, a position which, far from unenviable, is a very high one in itself and doubly fortified by the respect which to the same male family member is being shown (a) in his capacity as the father of his children in his wife's clan (comp. term 4 of the list), and (b) in that of the maternal uncle (comp. terms 16, 16 a, 16 b and 28 and 29).

The terms 33 b, c, g, h, have classificatory character.

The term 33 e — *u kong* for the husband's elder sister's husband is one of the exceptions of the rule that *kong* generally signifies an honoured elder female relative but, as in this case, also her husband (comp. term 26).

Term 36 a *pa* (father) in its usage among Pnar (Jaintia), also for stepfather is significant. A Pnar child has no legal clan-relationship with his/her biological father, who belongs to another (matrilineal) clan than the child and mother. Yet the honorific term *pa* is, among Pnar, also applied to a stepfather, although neither legal, nor biological but merely sociological relationship via the mother, exists between stepfather and child. This use of the word *pa* then seems to emphasize both, firstly the integration of the matrilineal family structure, by making an unrelated stepfather to be looked upon as father, owing to his relationship with Ego's mother and, secondly the important sociological and psychological position of the father in this matrilineal family structure which appears to go back to an old tradition among the Pnar.

Term 41 — *para* 'very low'[*] (lowcaste hill tribals) are characteristically termed *para* (Brethren), although they are different in many respects, from the Khasi, yet considered as definitely nearer related than all other neighbours, grouped under the

Term 43 — *dibar* (photograph)[*], — a term which varies in emotional content from contempt pure and simple to an attitude, somewhat parallel to what ordinary English usage would generally associate with the expression "continental". Marriages of Khasi girls and boys with *dibar* do occur, though infinitely more than marriages of (superially educated) Khasi girls with (educated) *para* 'very low', Nepalese, Garhlia or Chinese boys. One of the reasons which is usually being given for this preference for non-Indians is by no means colour-prejudice, but the taboo on either beef or pork which most *dibar kong*[*] (Indians, Hindus or Muslims, respectively) observe; a taboo which they generally extend to their Khasi wives, thus preventing them from enjoying two favourite Khasi national dishes. Another more psychological reason is the overbearing treatment of wives, which is generally ascribed to *dibar kong*, more even than to *dibar ki*[*]. It is in this connection

[*] Literally: Lowcaste Humans (hill).

[*] With Dibar are here meant the photographs as such, — not the Khasi Dibar or Ghari class which are mostly, if not always, descended from ancestors who had been captured in the plains and brought to the Khasi Hills, comp. Gurdon (1907), pp. 30 ff and Ehrenfels (1950 E), pp. 19/20.

[*] Literally: Photograph Man.

[*] Literally: Photograph Men.

21: Kroeber E-6,5 (1950) 1951 AR7 Khasi AR7

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signifest that the reason, given for the comparatively frequent marriages of Khasi girls with Chinese boys is not the greater physical resemblance which a doubt exists between the average Khasi and the average Chinese (Dikhar)as compared to the average non-Chinese Dikhar (Indians, Europeans, African, Americans and others) but the belief that Chinese husbands are less demanding in their attitudes towards their wives, than are other Dikhar.

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19: Assam G-5 (1958) 1965 A87 Khasi A87

REPORT ON RURAL ECONOMIC SURVEY IN UNITED KHASI-JAINTIA HILLS.

CHAPTER I

Introduction

1.1 **Objective.**—Consequent upon operations on trade emerging in the border markets after partition, the economic condition of the people living in the border areas of the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills district adjoining East Pakistan, suffered a serious set back. There was demand from the people all over the border areas for adequate relief as well as rehabilitation of their shattered economy. From time to time Government took up various relief measures but, for adopting a planned programme of relief and rehabilitation in an integrated and sustained manner, the need for a comprehensive economic survey of the district with special emphasis on the border area, came to the forefront. Accordingly at the instance of Government of Assam, the Department of Economics and Statistics addressed itself to the task of launching an economic survey in the district.

The programme consisted of an intensive study of the conditions in selected villages and was designed to meet the following objectives:— (i) To obtain a broad picture of the rural economic conditions in the district and in particular, to provide factual data on the various aspects of agriculture and farm economics e.g., land tenure, use and distribution of agricultural holdings and farms, fragmentation, income and expenditure, occupation and the like. Data should be collected also on the competitive and influences which play subsidiary roles in the economy of the district. (ii) Special emphasis need be given on border areas, in order to bring to light the measure of suffering of the border people as a result of partition and to suggest various long and short term measures for ameliorating the condition of the border people. (iii) The survey should adequately cover the Community Development areas also in order that it becomes feasible to make an assessment of the impact of the community development programmes on the socio-economic life of the people in these areas.

1.2 **Coverage and Period.**—The field work of the survey was started on 28th February, 1958 and was completed by the middle of July, 1958 thus requiring nearly four and a half months.

1.3 **Design of the Survey.**—For a study of border economy a purposive selection of ten villages in the border area, which were known to be important from the point of view of production and distributive trade in pre-partition days was made. Similarly for Project area a total of eight villages two from each of the four blocks in the district—where intensive development programmes were taken up, were selected. These villages were selected by the Project Officers themselves. Apart from these, a random sample of ten villages from all over the district were taken. Thus a total of 28 villages all over district—10 from border area, 8 from project area and 10 from general areas selected for

19: Assam G-5 (1958) 1963 AR7 Khasi AR7

1.3 Investigation. The sample size of ten villages only out of a total 1002 villages in the general area of the district is indeed, very small, which nevertheless had to be restricted to commensurate with the availability of time and field staff at our disposal and in consideration of the difficulty of conducting field work in the remote interiors of a hill district, where communication facilities lack so badly.

1.4 Plan of Investigation.—Plan of investigation may be considered as consisting of two parts viz.—

(1) The general investigation was confined mainly to the border area. This consisted in holding meeting of villagers in the selected villages, discussing the various important problems facing them and recording their suggestions for improving their lot. Apart from meeting the villagers, problems were also discussed with the important people of the locality.

Schedules—Schedule I.—This schedule was meant for collection of village statistics relating to various facilities offered by the village, namely—communication, health, recreation, education, marketing, cottage industries and the like.

Schedule II.—This was the most important schedule for collection of information on the economic aspect of the families. This was canvassed in all the families of the selected villages. The more important item on which information were collected through this schedule were :—

Block V: Demographic particulars of household, occupational and employment pattern.

Block VI: Household indebtedness.

Block VII: Land-holding and farm.

Block VIII & IX: Implements and Livestock.

Block X & XI: Household expenditure.

Block XII: Receipts and disbursement of the household.

Schedule III.—Listing of household and occupation.

Special Schedule.—This was canvassed in all the households of the villages selected from Community Project areas. This was intended to collect information on adoption by households of various improved agricultural practices advocated through the Community Development programme and for assessment of the extent of public participation and co-operation in developmental works. Information was also collected on agricultural assistance received by households.

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1.5 Method of collection of data and field organisation.—For the collection of data personal interview method was adopted. Actual investigation in the villages was done by Inspectors and Primary Investigators of the Department of Economics and Statistics. The District Statistical Officer was put directly in-charge of the investigation. He maintained general supervision, direction and control of their day-to-day work. The officers from headquarters also exercised overall supervision and inspection. Before starting the actual field work, the Director of Statistics, apart from personally visiting the border area and selecting the villages for investigation in consultation with knowledgeable people of the locality, addressed letters to the District Council for rendering all necessary help who in turn instructed all the Members of the District Council and village Headmen to extend their co-operation to the field staff. We take the opportunity of recording here our deep appreciation of the valuable help we received from various officials and non-officials in the conduct of the survey.

It is obvious that the success of such a survey under specially difficult situations faced in the inaccessible and backward hilly areas, entirely depends on the intellectual honesty and technical efficiency of the field staff as well as on their ability to call up the required extent of co-operation from all concerned. Though we could reasonably claim a high standard as regards the former category of requirement, the latter nevertheless presented itself as a tremendously difficult task as, the villagers—almost free from any tax or other obligation to the government—could not but receive this work with feelings of suspicion and scented in it a device to levy some taxes or other by the government, in as much as it did involve some questions relating to land, income and expenditure, etc. It cost us a large amount of effort to keep the fond of suspicion at bay. We had to hold meetings in each village and devote considerable time to convince the people that this was in no way connected with any taxation scheme.

1.6 Interim Report.—In view of the urgency of the border problem, particularly the setting up of Border Rehabilitation Committee for suggesting ways and means for rehabilitation of the border economy, we hastened to submit an interim report on border economy to the committee on the basis of investigation completed only in five border villages in April, 1968.

CHAPTER VI

LAND

6.1 The total area covered by the sample villages is not available for want of relevant village records as for district is not enforceable surveyed for settlement purposes. Hence no alternative on matters of land and land utilisation pertaining to a family we had to depend entirely on the accounts given by family concerned. However, every care was taken to ensure reliability to a number of cross accounts of land given by families were verified by actual measurements. In most cases they were found to tally approximately. To simplify matters land referred hereafter relates only to cultivated land.

HOLDING

6.2 "Holding" usually means the land over which the individual or family has permanent and heritable right of occupancy. Due to peculiar land tenure system prevailing in this district, an account of which has already been given in the introductory chapter, the definition had to be modified to fit in with the system obtaining in the district and accordingly the holding of a individual or family was meant to comprise of all lands held as own property or held under Raj Tyoma or under settlement through District Council.

The total area covered by land holdings of all sizes in the Border area, Project area and General area were 2066.40 acres, 1891.42 acres and 613.24 acres respectively with 1056, 847 and 184 families in the respective samples. The average size of holding per family works out respectively as 1.9 acres, 2.2 acres, and 3.3 acres in Border area, Project area and General area and holding per head 1.48 acres, 0.65 acres and 0.7 acres respectively. The real situation on the structure of family holdings, however, will be better understood from an examination of the distribution of the holdings according to their size as presented in the following table.

lt Gordon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

[Box 1-3 Contact the Archival Manuscripts]

PREFACE.

This book is an attempt to give a systematic account of the Khasi people, their manners and customs, their ethnological affinities, their laws and institutions, their religious beliefs, their folk-lore, their theories as to their origin, and their language.

This account would perhaps have assumed a more elaborate and ambitious form were it not that the author has been able to give to it only the scanty leisure of a busy district officer. He has been somewhat hampered by the fact that his work forms part of a series of official publications issued at the expense of the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam, and that it had to be completed within a prescribed period of time.

The author gladly takes this opportunity to record his grateful thanks to many kind friends who have helped him either with actual contributions to his material, or with not less valued suggestions and criticism. The arrangement of the subjects discussed is due to Sir Bampfylde Fuller, lately Lieutenant-Governor of the Province, whose kindly interest in the Khasis will long be remembered by them with affectionate gratitude. The Introduction is from the accomplished pen of Sir Charles Lyall, to whom the author is also indebted for much other help and encou-

[illegible]

INTRODUCTION.

121 In 1902 Sir Bampfylde Fuller, then Chief Commissioner
122 of Assam, proposed, and the Government of India
sanctioned, the preparation of a series of monographs
on the more important tribes and castes of the Province,
of which this volume is the first. They were to be
undertaken by writers who had had special and
intimate experience of the races to be described, the
accounts of earlier observers being at the same time
studied and incorporated; a uniform scheme of treat-
ment was laid down which was to be adhered to in each
monograph, and certain limits of size were prescribed.

124 Major Gurdon, the author of the following pages, who
is also, as Superintendent of Ethnography in Assam,
editor of the whole series, has enjoyed a long and close
acquaintance with the Khasi race, whose institutions
he has here undertaken to describe. Thoroughly
familiar with their language, he has for three years been
in charge as Deputy-Commissioner of the district where
they dwell, continually moving among them, and visit-
ing every part of the Khasi hill region which is called
123 by their name. The administration of the Khasi and
124 Jaintia Hills is an exceptionally interesting field of
official responsibility. About half of the district,
including the country around the capital, Shillong, is
outside the limits of British India, consisting of a
coll[illegible]n of small states in political relations, regulated
by [illegible] with the Government of India, which enjoy

Dr Gordon G-3 (no date) 1904 AR7 Khasi AR7

193 high. Interrogative adverbs may either precede or follow the verb, e.g., *mant phi ano or phi ano ano*, where do you come from.[1]

121 10. *Conclusion.*—I have endeavoured to note down briefly above some of what seem to be the more prominent features of Khasi Ethnology, reserving a more detailed account of the Khasis for the monograph which is under preparation. In publishing this brief account, it is my hope that it may attract criticism by persons who are more familiar with the Khasis than myself, and it is my earnest desire that if experts who are acquainted with the Ethnology of the province of Burma and of that great country comprising the valleys of the Mekong and the Menam, find any points of resemblance between Khasi Ethnology and that of those regions, they will kindly bring these points to my notice, so that perhaps a clue may be found to the origin of the Khasis, which is at present so obscure.

113 [1] In the compilation of this brief notice of the Khasi language, I beg to acknowledge my indebtedness to Dr. Grierson's Modern Khasi Grammar, the Revd. H. Roberts's Khasi Grammar, and to Nissor Singh's "Note on the Study of the Khasi language."—P. R. T. G.

9. Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 AR7 Khasi AR7

On the STONE MONUMENTS *of the* KHASI HILL TRIBES, *and on some of the Peculiar Rites and Customs of the People.* By Major H. H. GODWIN-AUSTEN, F.R.G.S., Deputy Superintendent Topographical Survey of India.

121 THE increasing interest that is taken at the present day in ethnology and the history of man in past and present ages, more particularly in the customs of semi-civilised races in distant quarters of the world as compared with the state of those races who dwelt in Europe in early historic times, has led me to put together the information I obtained regarding the people of the Khāsi Hill tracts. Their customs are peculiar, and the fact that they are among the very few who erect at the present day monolithic monuments, is alone of great interest.

This has not escaped the attention of different travellers, 122 officers of the Indian service and others who have visited that quarter of the Bengal Presidency, and from time to time papers have been published; these are scattered through a number of periodicals, and in no case is a complete record of these Hill people to be found.

Notices on the Garos and Khāsis, as well as many of the other tribes on the north-eastern frontier of Bengal, are generally very short, in some instances mislead, and in some cases do the peo- 123 ple, savages though they be, but little justice; in truth, there is very much to admire in these Hill people, they are in many ways, socially and physically, far above their Bengāli neighbours of the plains; intercourse with them is, in consequence, much pleasanter, easier, and has far greater interest; innate honesty and truth in their manners of dealing often crop out, more especially in villages well within the hills, where contact with the people of the plains is of rare occurrence.

I shall notice the best of these papers having reference to 101 tribes inhabiting the range of hills running west to east, south of Assam, from the sharp southern bend of the Brahmaputra up to the Kopili and Diyung river, in long. 92 deg. 45 min., a length of some one hundred and sixty-five miles.

114 In the "Asiatic Researches," vol. iii, published so far back as 1792, is a very interesting paper on the Gāros, by Mr. John 113 Eliot; his travels, however, did not extend so far to the east as the Khāsias.

The Rev. A. B. Lish, a missionary of Cherra Poonjee, published an account of the Khāsias in the "Calcutta Christian Observer" for 1838, he gives an account of their mode of breaking eggs for omens, etc.

Neither in M'Cosh's "Topography of Assam," or in Robinson's "Assam," is any newer or better information afforded concerning

[p. 1]

KHASI KINSHIP AND SOCIAL ORGANISATION

BY

PROF. K. P. CHATTOPADHYAY.

Introduction

114 In a paper on Khasi marriage rules Prof. Hodson has tried
121 to explain the special features of the Khasi kinship terms and marriage rules on the hypothesis of a former dual division of Khasi Society, and certain new social forms which came into operation when the dual society broke up (1).

Hodson used for his work, the kinship terms noted in the Assam Census Report (2), Gordon's work on Khasis (3) and a dictionary by U. Nissoring. A full list of Khasi kinship terms was published by Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy shortly afterwards (4). The list is stated to have been compiled with the help of the ex-Siem of Cherra, on the genealogical method. The genealogies have not however been printed, and detailed notes are not available.

Recently the writer of this paper proceeded to the village of Mawphlang, the head-quarters of the Khasi State of this name and collected a certain amount of data to discuss this
C92 problem. The village is situated to the southwest of Shillong,
[36] at a distance of sixteen miles, and has preserved the old customs to a fair extent. It is ruled over by a lyngdoh or priest-chief, assisted by four myntris. At the time of the visit, the lyngdoh was away, suspended by the Political Agent for misgovernment, and the powers of the State were vested in the council of myntris. The senior myntri U Suba Rai, who is an old man

[This Section has been presented for the [illegible] Khasi [illegible] Analysis.]

[p.177]

THE KHASI HUTS OF MAWPHLANG

BY

[illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible]
[illegible], [illegible] and [illegible]

191 Post-Graduate students of the Department of Anthropology of the University of Calcutta are expected to do a certain amount of field work for practical training. In 1940 a Khasi village was studied by us, the students of the Post-Graduate class, as part of our training, under the guidance of Prof. R. P. Chattopadhyay, the Head of the Department of Anthropology, whom we have
192 to thank also for the photographs used for this paper. This note on Khasi house structure is based on our work in the village of
193 Mawphlang, the headquarters of the Khasi State of the same, in the Khasi Hills, Assam. Our studies included a survey of the village and its house types. Particular attention was paid to the structure of the old type of Khasi house.

193 Gurdon in his book on the Khasis of Assam describes the Khasi hut as elliptical in shape. But in Mawphlang we found that they can be more strictly said to be "U"-shaped, in ground plan the bend of the "U" being the front, the two parallel arms the sides, and a straight line connecting the two ends of the two arms of the "U" the rear. We found this to be the type of most of the old houses of Mawphlang village. As is well known it is the custom among Khasis for the women of a family to live together, until the number of members increases so much that they cannot be provided with rooms in a single house. Then new houses are built. It is usual for a married couple with children to put up a separate

[illegible]

SOCIAL GROUPINGS AMONG THE KHASIS OF ASSAM

by [illegible]

Dept. of Anthropology, Govt. of India

Calcutta

(Received on [illegible] October, 1957)

Introduction

THE Khasis, who inhabit the United Khasi and Jaintia Hills district of Assam, are matrilineal. Like the Garos, they are matrilocal to residence. Exclusive ownership over family property is claimed by the Khasi women and the youngest daughter (Ka-Khadduh) who lives permanently in the house of her mother, is the custodian of the family property and the holder of religion (Ka-lut-ka-mawi[1]).

This paper deals with the social groupings, namely, the clan, sub-clan and family, of the Khasis. The materials were collected in 1956 from Mawphlang, Cherrapunji and Mawlah and Mawsmai villages further south of the Khasi State.

Clan-system

In the language of the Khasi, the prefix *Ka* is usually used before the name of a woman or any object belonging to a woman (or considered feminine). The use of *Ka* as a prefix before the name of each social group is suggested to have bearing on Khasi matrility. *Kur* is not a very expressive and much now for a clan. *Kaiam*, which is supposed to have sprung from the women *Dong yaid ne ka Kyndiah*[2] is more exact. Similarly, *Ka-Ki'jak* and *Ka-Sing* denote the sub-clan and family respectively.

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[1] Gurdon, P. R. T., The Khasis, London, 1914, p. 46.

[2] Op. cit., page 46.

IV. THE PLACE OF THE KHASI IN THE WORLD.

By

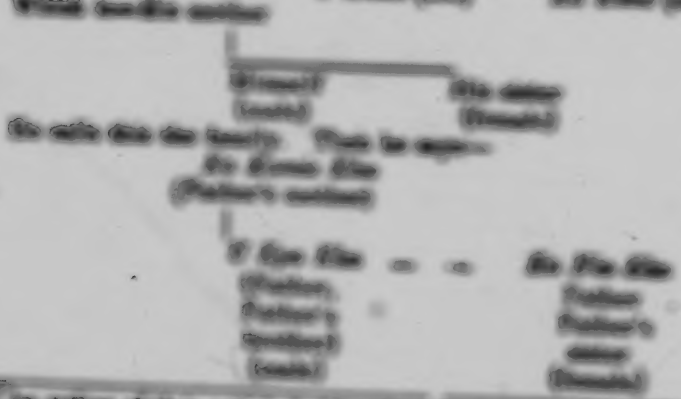
Dorbi Roy

(1) The Khasi country lies in the hills of the province of Assam in North East India. Khasi clans are exogamous and matrilineal, and the Khasis speak a Mon-Khmer language.

(2) In speaking of the place of the Khasi in the world I intend to explain the Khasi's own view of his relation to other peoples of the world.*

(3) The Khasi is very conscious of his importance. He says a Khasi claims to be the centre of the world. The Khasi has acquired such a feeling of self-importance from his great confidence in himself; and this confidence he has derived from the position in which his relationship-terminology represents him as standing with respect to himself and the world around him. Or, rather, his relationship terms and language are an expression of his attitude and notions.

(4) The Khasi says—Ka Pawn (mother)



[illegible] The center of it is occupied a Khasi (Dobbins).

the husband. Whichever side is *jaw ka rwiang* (lit. whose power is less strong, less able to resist the evil) will suffer death. The word *rwiang* means more than literally 'fortune.' The word *rwiang* goes with *rngiew* and the two are coupled together as *ka Rngiew ka Rwiang*. *Rngiew* is the person, the man's 'soul'. '*Rwiang*' is the controlling power produced by that person, hence *jaw ka rwiang* means the power controlling the man's person becoming easy of being conquered or subdued. (*Jaw* = easy, pliable.)

In a word, the Khasi's idea of himself is that he stands in the middle of the world. We do not find terms in the language of peoples with the family system to express relation of relationship to the extent that we have in the Khasi vocabulary. Some of the other languages content themselves with terms for father, mother, uncle, aunt, cousin. They have no words to differentiate the classificatory-descriptive system of terms showing relationship with mother, mother's elder and younger sisters (*mai*, *mai ses*, *mai ual*); father and his elder and younger brothers (*kpa*, *kpa ses*, *kap ual*) and father's brother's children (*pawa blei*), father's mother (*mai blei*), mother's mother (*mai ual*,) wife's brother (*kynsai*), husband's brother (*long*), and so on. We find in the Khasi sociology, departments of social organization indicating the attitude towards life which is peculiar to the Khasi. The terms are not mere names but serve to show well-defined groups based on an idea of their special functions. As Dr. R. R. Marett says, "Language, and everything

also that we do in instinct with a plus; and for the student of religion or of human culture in way of its forms, to account for that plus is the sum and substance of his task.....Whereas, then, there is likelihood that any a posteriori reason existed for believing that in-breeding makes for sterility, if indeed it be true in fact at all, there might well have been an a priori conviction to reach the same effect based simply on a fear that to tamper with the fountain-head of human vitality would conceive same is to dry up." The Khasi stands in the world an exponent in his rule of life, and he says "*ang bud lyrwiah*", that is, endogamy is forbidden and if it should ever be committed it will render life defiled and corrupt. He says this out of the fear of the knowledge that any act of carelessness in the prohibited area of the source of human life and vitality, which is in the Khasi phrase "*ling briw*" (*ling* is to be or become, *briw* is man, i.e., to be or become man), will make that source of human life to dry up. He he says, "*Kah I jaid I khong*" (*Kah* is exterminated; *jaidbriad*, species; *khong* = man).

In refutation of such sayings as that the Khasi has no rules of marriage, I shall quote the most sacred pronouncement the Khasi when two persons, the man and the woman, are initiated into that state. Calling upon the name of God the Khasi says—"*U Lei shaw briw man briw, u lei ne ka 'lei synduai'*, (God who creates man and in the source of human life, God who keeps, sustains, preserves), "*Ka ka Jhai ka jong, Ka*

PREFACE

The purpose of this monograph is to present theoretical problems of Garo and Khasi social organization in relation to those of other matrilineal systems. In fact, the study of these two matrilineal systems has led me to enquire into many other matrilineal systems, as will appear throughout my discussion in Parts I and II. As a result, I think I have reached certain conclusions of theoretical interest concerning matrilineal systems as a whole; these are presented in the last part of the book.

Map 1. — Location of the Garo Hills and the Khasi-Jaintia Hills.

From the beginning of my field work, my interest lay in a comparative study of the two systems, not in preparing a complete monograph of the cultures of the two peoples. I used the period of my field research in working among the two peoples alternately, so that I could constantly check from one field to the other as new problems appeared.

The period of my field work was very limited (October, 1959-February, 1960). I did not know the vernacular of either the Garo or the Khasi (Since Garo language has much commonness with Tibetan language which I was used to read and speak, I could quickly get used to follow their speech during my field work, but I failed to do so in Khasi language). I employed altogether five local English-speaking interpreters (out of the five, three were pagan, and all had relatives in the villages where I worked). But I already had experience in studying the economic and social organization of other hill peoples in Assam, having carried out two years (1955-1957) field work among tribes in Tripura State and among the Tangkul Nagas in Manipur State, as also among Himalayan peoples. This all helped me a great deal in my work among the Garo and the Khasi, and is one of the reasons why I could collect such a considerable amount of data, in spite of the above mentioned handicaps of my actual field work. (Later on, I carried out field research for four months among the Nayar of Kerala, to provide further data for comparative study.

The Garo and the Khasi present very different structures from each other. In order to present a more effective picture of each structure, I have used different ways of presentation, each of which brings out certain important theoretical implications. The emphasis is laid accordingly upon different features: in the case of the Garo, it is the marriage system in relation to the village community; in the case of the Khasi, it is variation in marriage forms related to the structure of descent groups.

I wish to express my profound gratitude, first of all, to the Ella Wagner Foundation in Stockholm, by whose generous grant the field work of this study was carried out, and next to Professor C. Loveman, who has consistently encouraged me to complete the manuscript and has very kindly given me this opportunity for publication. I am greatly indebted also to Professor Fred Eggan, Professor Raymond Firth, Professor Meyer Fortes, Professor C. von Fürer-Haimendorf, Dr. E. R. Leach, Dr. Audrey Richards, and Professor D. M. Schneider for much stimulating discussion and helpful comment on the theoretical problems of this study.

I am grateful for invitations from the Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago (1959-1960) and the Department of Cultural Anthropology, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London (1960-1961), as also for an association with the Department

19. Nakaso E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

Chapter III

VILLAGE COMMUNITY

As models of a Khasi village community, I have taken my data for the discussion presented in this chapter from two villages situated in the Kuhadhinong area, Sohkynilah and Kongton, with comparative data from Sholla and Jutinga villages.

Sohkynilah and Kongton are situated in one of the most secluded areas of the Khasi Hills and the economy is shifting cultivation, with millet as its main product. Only a few Christians are found, most of the population are pagans. Sholla is situated on the southern border of the Khasi Hills, adjacent to Pakistan. Jutinga is in the North Cachar Hills, surrounded by partitional tribes, such as the Zemi-Naga, the Kuki and the Cachares. The economy of both villages is partitional and orange cultivation. In Sholla, Hindu, Christian and pagan are found among the villagers almost in the same proportions, while the Jutinga villagers are all Christian. The two Kuhadhinong villages, Sholla and Jutinga, differ from one another not only in their religious and economic aspects, but in court culture, dialect and political organization as well. (Additional information concerning Sholla and Jutinga is given in Appendix.) Sholla and Jutinga are unique among Khasi villages and quite sophisticated, having been developed under a trading economy, with considerable contacts with other peoples, including Hindus. I selected these villages in order to ascertain how far the structural principle which operates in the Kuhadhinong villages can be found to act also in totally different economic and environmental situations.

I. Setting and Economic Background of Sohkyndah and Kongton

Sohkyndah and Kongton are villages of the Kadashimong,[1] one of the areas under the Chera Chief. The Kadashimong is situated on the southern slope of the Khasi Hills, in what is called War country. These two villages are situated at the farthest point from both Shella, the centre bordered by the plain, and Cherrapunjee, the seat of the Chera Chief, one of the centres of the upland Khasi Hills. The people at Cherrapunjee say that these villages are one of the most backward parts of the Khasi Hills. They correspond to Rongkhoi in the Garo Hills, as they lie in the innermost parts and more traditional economic and social settings have been preserved there than in other villages. These are also the reasons why I selected these villages as my field.

It is nine miles to Sohkyndah from Cherrapunjee, crossing two deep valleys towards the east. Kongton is located at the heart of the mountain ranges, ten miles from Cherrapunjee, towards the north-east. It is about twelve miles from Sohkyndah to Kongton, and the way leads through one of the most difficult passes, where even villagers seldom travel. In December, 1955, Sohkyndah was a community of 38 households (List 6), and Kongton of 60 households (List 9). The settlements of both villages are clustered in the southern depressions of a mountain, not far from the summit, a typical location of Khasi villages. Sohkyndah has poor soil, covered with plenty of pieces of stones. The yield therefore is very poor. On the other hand, Kongton, a much older village, enjoys fertile soil, and is one of the most prosperous communities in the Kadashimong.

The major economy of both villages is shifting cultivation. We have already seen, in the chapters on the Garo, the fundamental technique of "Burning cultivation." The difference between the Garo and the Khasi shifting cultivation are to be found in two aspects: one is the nature of the crops and the other is the type of landownership. In this area, the main crop is millet, while that of the Garo is rice. Besides the shifting cultivation, the Khasi have pan-leaf gardens and sometimes pineapple gardens, though on a small scale and not in every household. The most important feature of Khasi shifting cultivation is the development of private ownership. In the tribals areas in Assam, such private ownership of the jhum field is quite an

1. Kadashimong is the name of a group of villages. Its literal meaning is "twelve villages," and it comprises the following villages: Sohkyndah, Kymmen, Sharkuwan, Shwdiat, Shwiang, Kongton, Shwiang, Kyllapathar, Pilar, Tawkaw, Umpyrang, and Umpaw. (Khasi spelling follows the customary usage in Chera Hills.)

13: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 A87 Khasi A87 ●
Garo A85

DISCUSSION OF MATRILINEAL SYSTEMS

As a concluding discussion, I shall here deal with the main theoretical problems concerning matrilineal systems as a whole; at the same time, I shall attempt to make clear the structural alignment of the Garo and Khasi systems, together with other matrilineal systems. For this purpose, my analysis is focused particularly on the structure and composition of the descent group, with relation to residential patterns. For my argument it is very important to keep in mind the concept of the descent group. In this discussion, I use the term 'descent group' as constituting a 'corporate property group'; more properly, perhaps, this unit should be called the matrilineal inheritance group. Though the discussion deals mainly with matrilineal systems, it also touches upon theoretically important aspects of unilineal systems as a whole.[1]

1. The analysis of matrilineal descent groups has been greatly advanced since Andrew Lyall's outstanding contribution on the comparative study of Central Pacific matrilineal societies (Richard, 1950). Among all, the recent publication of Matrilineal Kinship (Edited by Schneider and Gough, 1961) is a remarkable achievement on the landmark in the series of studies in this field.

My analysis presented here, however, has been developed quite independently from that of Matrilineal Kinship (when the latter was published, the manuscript of this essay had already been sent to the publisher. The publication of this book is extremely delayed). Though some of the issues touch upon the discussions presented in these volumes, particularly of David Schneider's Introduction, the angle of my analysis differs considerably from theirs. Firstly, my analysis is primarily concerned with the differences in the structures of matrilineal systems, which Schneider's discussion intends to bring out the distinctive features of matrilineal descent groups in contrast to that of patrilineal systems; again it is also quite different from that of Kathleen Gough, the major concern of which is the correlation between productivity (or ecology) and social structures and also from that of David Schneider's cross-cultural comparison by using a large ethnographic sample. Secondly, my argument develops from the analysis of the Garo and Khasi social structures, while in that of Schneider, these two matrilineal societies seem to fall in a rather exceptional case; in fact they are excluded from a set of the collection of matrilineal systems, on which his theory is based.

15: Nakano E.S (1955-1956) 1957 AR7 Khasi AR7 Garo AR5

I

The discussion of Parts I and II reveals that the social structures of the Garo and the Khasi differ greatly. Similarity is found only at the level of the minimum criteria of matrilineal systems: the basic succession rules of mother-daughter, mother's brother-sister's son, and the fact that property is owned by the women, but the controlling power and authority over it are in the hands of the men.

One of the most outstanding structural differences between the two lies in the composition of a property group: the property group of the Khasi is formed by a descent group at a shallow generation depth, while that of the Garo is maintained by the cooperation of two local lineages, each of which represents a localized lineage group. Hence the descent group of the former tends to have stronger solidarity, whereas the latter tends to be weakened in its solidarity.

In a broad framework, in terms of social organization, the Garo fall structurally into a category based on the moiety arrangement, in which patrilineal systems, such as the Murngin, and the Karieri, etc., are also to be found. Theoretically, this type of mechanism is operative in either matrilineal or patrilineal systems by the exchange of men in the former and the exchange of women in the latter.

On the other hand, the Khasi system presents more outstanding features of a type which is generally accepted as belonging to matrilineal systems. However, the basic structural traits of this system may also be found among patrilineal systems, in terms of relatively stronger descent group solidarity.

Fig. 10. — Succession Lines of Female and Male in the Matrilineal Descent System.

Lines A and B may include succession and brother-hood relation respectively, the numbers of classificatory category variations in these succession points depend on each matrilineal system.

Though both matrilineal and patrilineal systems may share such basic structural categories, they differ significantly in the following respects: in matrilineal systems, the ownership of property and the authority over the property group never rest in one person, as in the case of the father-husband of the patrilineal systems, and the succession to these two offices follows the female line (mother-daughter) and the male line (mother's brother-sister's son) as shown in line A and line B in Fig. 10. This duality of office-holding individuals within the succession rule is the intimate cause

of complications and variations in matrilineal systems. The matrilineal system is not a mirror of the patrilineal system; it is a different system in which more complicated mechanisms are involved. This complexity of the matrilineal system is a decided handicap when it comes to meeting radical economic changes. In order to preserve the system, a fairly stable economy is required, with balanced ratio in population and resources. This may be one of the reasons for the rapid disintegration or instability of social organization of matrilineal peoples in the world.

The difficulty of preserving in function both lines *A* and *B* is caused by residential problems—individual marriages which contradict the sibling cohesion. According to my theoretical analysis, there are four alternative ways of resolving such contradictory factors, each case being represented by actual ethnographic samples.[1] Each arrangement represents a different degree of the function of the two lines *A* and *B* in relation to the residential pattern, as following (see Fig. 13):

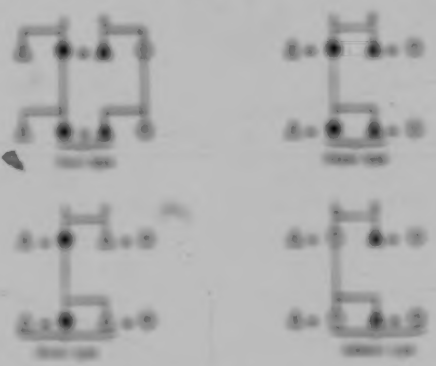


FIG. 13. — *Central Case of Matrilineages in Relation to Property Groups and Residential Groups.*

The Garo type. The residential type in Northeast India consists of "avoidance marriage." The function of both lines *A* and *B* is equally strong. This is brought by the marriage contract between two local lines, so that it is possible to keep the function of each line against the residential separation of the two lines in one descent group. This type is found at the moment only among the Garo.

1. For this discussion I take only such major matrilineal samples for which ample documentation is available.

19: Nakao E-9 (1953-1954) 1957 AR7 Khasi AR7 *
Garo AR5

devices of the existing system. This does not necessarily imply that such societies have or had the same organization as other matrilineal societies, but I believe this to be an economic and historical product of the existing structure. I do not question the fact that all these societies are subject to a process of change; but it does seem unnecessary to assume that every factor which happens to be missing nowadays, did, in fact, exist in the past.

Summing up the above discussion, the essential structural differences between the Bemba type and other matrilineal systems are found firstly in the internal structure of its property group: "unilateral" contrasting with the "matrilineal" of the Garo, Nayar, Khasi and Ashanti types. Secondly, in the structure of the wider organization of the residential groups the clear matrilineal principle is found to act in the composition of matrilineal groups. The focus of the matrilineal operation is quite opposite to that of the household-lineage type. In the latter the bilateral features are met with at the wider organizational level. In the Bemba type, in spite of bilateral features in the composition of the residential property group, the rigorous matrilineal group conception is found in the wider organization. Unlike the case of the segmentary-lineage type, this matrilineal group does not have necessarily a direct and actual economic basis. Perhaps the scale of the Bemba society is small enough to maintain the matrilineal social system without a definite economic basis.

In conclusion, such terms as "matrilineal" (unilineal) and "bilateral" are simply convenient labels for the preliminary classification; they should not be used as contrasting criteria for classifying social structure. The unilineal principle (matrilineal system) works differently in each given society, producing as I have observed different structures. Again, descent principle and residence (with landholdings or property) are equally important criteria for the analysis of social organization. The prominence of either descent or residence should not be theoretically opposed in the arguments of anthropologists, for different degrees and levels of both factors are involved in each given society.

Finally I should like to note that the five major types of matrilineal systems in relation to the internal structure of the property group, which I presented in this discussion, namely the Garo, the Nayar, the Khasi, the Ashanti and the Bemba types, give theoretical criteria for the analysis. It should not be assumed that all matrilineal systems grouped into the same type present the same structure, but that each possesses the important basic element of its type. Also a system may change from one type to another through important economic changes or migrations: for instance, from the Nayar type to the Ashanti type, or from the Ashanti type to the Bemba type.

13: Nakaso K-5 (1959-1964) 1967 ART Khasi ART

[Jaitinga]

The village was founded in 1919 by Khasi immigrants from the Jaintia Hills. At the entrance of the village, a bust of the founder, Lakhmiking Sachiang, stands facing towards the east; it was erected on the occasion of the celebration of their Golden jubilee, in November 1969. Houses are scattered along the ridge of the mountain to the east and to the west; in the centre is the church. All the inhabitants are Christians. Before the Partition this was one of the most modern and prosperous villages in Assam.

Jaitinga provides a very interesting instance of the Khasi 'colonial' village. It is surrounded by villages of the Kuki, of the Semi-Naga, and of the Cacharee, who constitute the main population of the North Cachar Hills, and who are tribes entirely different from the Khasi, in economy, social organization, language and culture. Therefore, Jaitinga is like an island of Khasi community. I took this village as one of my fields, because I was particularly interested to discover how far the Khasi matrilineal organization is kept up in a community thus situated, surrounded by patrilineal tribes, and considerably modernized by Christianization and economic prosperity; and I was also interested in the process of formation of a new village, in comparison with Rimphoro and Jedipore in the Garo Hills.

Formation of the Present Population of Jaitinga

The first immigrants to Jaitinga.

The main population of Jaitinga, including the founder, originated in Rawa village in the Jaintia Hills, twelve miles away from Jaintiapur, the capital of the then Jaintia Raja. This village is situated on the border of the Jaintia Hills and the East Bengal plain, the location being very similar to that of Dulla, as are their culture and economy. In the later part of the nineteenth century, some members of Rawa village moved to Borkhala, ten miles from Silchar, one of the biggest villages of the then Cacharee king.

These immigrants who came to Borkhala stayed there about fifteen years before they came to Jaitinga. Kiarlem, the first daughter of the founder's sister was born there. In November 1919, some Christian Khasi left Borkhala for Jaitinga, acting on information gathered from a Welsh Mission at Haflong, that the land of present Jaitinga was fertile and fit for their cultivation. They were the first immigrants to Jaitinga. The Government record names the following three persons as the first immigrants to Jaitinga: Sachiang Lakhmiking, Tarsang, and Sachiar Wheels. In fact, according to the data which I collected at Jaitinga, Sachiang Lakhmiking was accompanied by the following persons (the names in brackets indicate the clans):

his wife, Mathew (Thawan);[1]
his brother, Prostish, and Prostish's wife, Sorra (Ryntl);
his sister, Lapiler, and Lapiler's husband, Wheels (Sachiar) with their daughter, Kiarlem, and Wheels's younger brother, Iam;
his friend, Tarsang.

Soon after their settlement, Iam, the brother of Wheels, brought his wife Tylem (Sarem) from Jaintia. Mathew brought her younger sister, Dimilem. Tarsang also came with Lakhmiking afterwards called his wife, Pakeng. But having spent some time there, they left eventually for another place, so that

1. Mathew was a native of the Cherrapunjee area of the Khasi Hills (not of Jaintia like the others). She was a school teacher at Cherrapunjee, and later became a teacher of a school near Jaintiapur, where she married Lakhmiking.

CHAPTER III

The Border Area

3.1 Definition of Border Area.—The term 'border area' although very frequently used does not refer to any well demarcated area. It was, therefore, decided after a joint discussion between the Director of Statistics with the Deputy Commissioner of the district and Subdivisional Officer, Jowai, that area within 10 miles of the Indo-Pak border line would be considered as the 'border area' for the purpose of the present survey. The list of the villages falling in this area was supplied by the Deputy Commissioner and the Subdivisional Officer.

3.2 Condition of the Border Area before partition.—The border area under review then comprised of the southern slopes of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills and a narrow strip of plains adjoining the southern slopes running along the Pakistan border. The area extends roughly over a length of about 120 miles, roughly from Mahadeb on the east to Sonapur on the west thus covering an area of 3,000 sq. miles approximately, comprising of 100 villages inhabited by population of 70 thousands.

Barring the barren and rocky top plateau the slopes are utilized as the production of valuable cash crops on terraced mode. These slopes provide suitable soil and climate for the production crops like oranges, tangerine, betelnut, mango, pineapple and other fruits. The manner of rich yields which such plantations give to the cultivators these slopes were more densely inhabited and intensively cultivated than would appear possible from the topography of the area. Even the most inaccessible spots in the slopes has been converted into rich orchards, signifying the produce was carried by headloads over steep gradients for several miles. Due to steep gradients little other use, except some jhooming here and there, could be made of this area.

Because of the very topography, this land had no natural communication with Indian district now forming part of East Pakistan. Even since immemorial the area had a bordering trade with Indian district. It was a seasonal trade. The cash crops found ready buyers in the people of Indian, from where in turn the people in the border area obtained supplies of rice, fish, vegetables and other necessities of daily life. Thus in pre-partition days this enjoyed a very prosperous and secured economy. The rich heritage in the border area villages which are now listening away, bear eloquent testimony to the past prosperity of the border economy.

With the partition of the country in 1947, trade with the plains of Indian, now forming part of East Pakistan, was restricted. As a result the whole economy of this region was completely disrupted and the enterprise which was founded with activity and abundance was pre-shadowed with stress, poverty and despair. Of the rich economic resources of the border people but the memory is left. Moreover, for want of communication facilities the produce could not be

spective and related has been compiled without knowledge of Professor Chattopadhyay's work, and before he very kindly sent a private copy of this work, which had not been available to me previously.

The present paper offers data on the following subjects:

1. Khasi kinship terms from the Shendal Khasi plateau-area in the Khynriam State, about 20 to 30 miles south-east of Shillong, which are in some minor details different from the Sumphlang data, collected by Chattopadhyay, south-west of Shillong;
2. Comparative data from the War-Khasi;
3. from the plateau-area of Jaintia in the Jaintia* Hills, and
4. from the War-Jaintia;
5. Aspects of the Khasi kinship terms, with special reference to the matrilineal order of society, and to the respective position of women and men there, especially the particular consideration which the biological relationship through the father confers in kinship terminology, in spite of the emphasis on the matrilineal structure in Khasi society (away from No. 1 of the list and its discussion in para 1.0 of the present paper, on p. 396).

The data here collected in field researches to which I was enabled by two Research Grants for comparative studies in matrilineal civilizations of India, given by the Viking Fund Inc. (now: Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research) in New York, during the periods 1950-52 and 1954-55. My gratitude to the Foundation for enabling me to carry out these field researches, as well as to the University of Madras, for granting me Sabbatical Leave for the same purpose, is here once more specified.

My research programme was based on the first tentative working hypothesis, laid down in my book "Mother-right in India"[1], but includes also various other aspects of study which have not been pre-planned, or even considered there[2], as for instance also the present comparative study of kinship terms in areas of four Khasi dialects and two special significances in the Khasi matrilineal social system. The material was collected during a five weeks house-to-house study in the recently founded Pamsan Khasi village Mon Syn Jri, during April and May 1956. This village consisted mostly of houses owned by Khasi clan-sisters and inhabited by them, with their families, after they had left the ancestral home in the main village Khynriam, about two miles across the valley on the western side of the new settlement. The ancestral family houses there were in the possession of either the mother, or, if she was no more alive, the youngest daughter of the family, the lai Khasi Khadih[3].

* Jaintia (Pnar or "Synteng") are the Khasi speaking eastern neighbours of the Khasi proper. As among the Khasi, so also among Jaintia the people in the well-planted highlands are in many ways inferior, from their who arrived in the former Jaintia kingdom at the northern begin, with Bengali get-ments of the East Pakistan frontier — the so-called War-country, which economy is mostly based on garden gardening.

[1] Kanchanmoy (1955).
[2] Kanchanmoy (1956-57), (1957-58), (1958-59), (1959-60), (1960-61), (1961-62).
[3] Kanchanmoy (1956, pp. 40, 44), Kanchanmoy (1958), p. 41.

Ic Gordon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

[Not in Library]

INTRODUCTION.

In 1905 Sir Bampfylde Fuller, then Chief Commissioner of Assam, proposed, and the Government of India sanctioned, the preparation of a series of monographs on the more important tribes and castes of the Province, of which this volume is the first. They were to be undertaken by writers who had had special and intimate experience of the races to be described, the accounts of earlier observers being at the same time studied and incorporated; a uniform scheme of treatment was laid down which was to be adhered to in each monograph, and certain limits of size were prescribed.

Major Gordon, the author of the following pages, who is also, as Superintendent of Ethnography in Assam, editor of the whole series, has enjoyed a long and close acquaintance with the Khasi race, whose institutions he has here undertaken to describe. Thoroughly familiar with their language, he has for three years been in charge as Deputy-Commissioner of the district where they dwell, continually moving among them, and visiting every part of the beautiful region which is called by their name. The administration of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills is an exceptionally interesting field of official responsibility. About half of the district, including the country around the capital, Shillong, is outside the limits of British India, consisting of a collection of small states in political relations, regulated by treaty with the Government of India, which enjoy

9. Godwin-Austen G-S (no date) 1872 A87 Khasi A87

On the STONE MONUMENTS *of the* KHASI HILL TRIBES, *and on some of the Frontier Rites and Customs of the People.* By Major H. H. GODWIN-AUSTEN, F.R.G.S., Deputy Superintendent Topographical Survey of India.

121 THE increasing interest that is taken at the present day in ethnology and the history of man in past and present ages, more particularly in the customs of semi-civilised races in distant quarters of the world as compared with the state of those races who dwelt in Europe in early historic times, has led me to put together the information I obtained regarding the people of the Khasi Hill tracts. Their customs are peculiar, and the fact that they are among the very few who erect at the present day monolithic monuments, is alone of great interest.

This has not escaped the attention of different travellers, officers of the Indian service and others who have visited that quarter of the Bengal Presidency, and from time to time papers have been published; these are scattered through a number of periodicals, and in no case is a complete record of these Hill people to be found.

Notices on the Garos and Khásis, as well as many of the other tribes on the north-eastern frontier of Bengal, are generally very short, in some instances misleading, and in some cases do the people, savages though they be, but little justice; in truth, there is very much to admire in these Hill people, they are in many ways, socially and physically, far above their Bengáli neighbours of the plains; intercourse with them is, in consequence, much pleasanter, easier, and has far greater interest; innate honesty and truth in their manners of dealing often crop out, more especially in villages well within the hills, where contact with the people of the plains is of rare occurrence.

I shall notice the best of these papers having reference to tribes inhabiting the range of hills running west to east, south of Assam, from the sharp southern bend of the Brahmaputra up to the Kopili and Diyung river, in long. 92 deg. 45 min., a length of some one hundred and sixty-five miles.

In the "Asiatic Researches," vol. iii, published so far back as 1792, is a very interesting paper on the Gáros, by Mr. John Eliot; his travels, however, did not extend so far to the east as the Khásias.

The Rev. A. B. Lish, a missionary of Cherra Poonjee, published an account of the Khásias in the "Calcutta Christian Observer" for 1839, he gives an account of their mode of breaking eggs for omens, etc.

Neither in M'Cosh's "Topography of Assam," or in Robinson's "Assam," is any newer or better information afforded concerning

K. Chattopadhyay 2-4, 5 (no date) 1941 AR7 Khasi AR7

nearly seventy years of age, spoke English a little, and kindly agreed to help by acting as introducer as well as interpreter. The Chowkidar of the bungalow, a Christian Khasi who spoke Hindi tolerably well was however our principal interpreter. Before proceeding to the village, I had studied Roberts' Khasi Grammar and also learnt simple sentences in Khasi necessary for collecting genealogies, kinship terms and connected details, like the inheritance of the ancestral house and lands. This portion of the data was collected entirely through questions and answers in Khasi; the other details were obtained with the help of myntri U Subu Rai and his friends and the Chowkidar, U Hudrington. On important points however, some checking was made, by simple questions in Khasi, which involved definite answers in the affirmative or negative. My students who had accompanied me for training in field studies, repeated some of my observations, in my presence and with my help and guidance.

My best thanks are due to Mr. K. Cantlie, Deputy Commissioner, Khasi and Jaintia Hills, for furnishing me with the letter of introduction to U Subu Rai and for other facilities. His published notes on Khasi law, especially the chapters on inheritance also proved to be of great value in carrying out the enquiries (5). In the subsequent portions of this article, references to the works of Gurdon and Cantlie, will be indicated merely by (G) and (CN) respectively.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR? Khasi AR? •
Garo AR?

From the beginning of my field work, my interest lay in a comparative study of the two systems, not in preparing a complete monograph of the cultures of the two peoples. I used the period of my field research in working among the two peoples alternately, so that I could constantly check from one field to the other as new problems appeared.

The period of my field work was very limited (October, 1955-February, 1956). I did not know the vernacular of either the Garo or the Khasi (Since Garo language has much commonness with Tibetan language which I was used to read and speak, I could quickly get used to follow their speech during my field work, but I failed to do so in Khasi language). I employed altogether five local English-speaking interpreters (out of the five, three were pagan, and all had relatives in the villages where I worked). But I already had experience in studying the economic and social organization of other hill peoples in Assam, having carried out two years (1953-1955) field work among tribes in Tripura State and among the Tangkul Nagas in Manipur State, as also among Himalayan peoples. This all helped me a great deal in my work among the Garo and the Khasi, and is one of the reasons why I could collect such a considerable amount of *data*, in spite of the above mentioned handicaps of my actual field work. (Later on, I carried out field research for four months among the Nayar of Kerala, to provide further *data* for comparative study.

The Garo and the Khasi present very different structures from each other. In order to present a more effective picture of each structure, I have used different ways of presentation, each of which brings out certain important theoretical implications. The emphasis is laid accordingly upon different features: in the case of the Garo, it is the marriage system in relation to the village community; in the case of the Khasi, it is variation in marriage forms related to the structure of descent groups.

I wish to express my profound gratitude, first of all, to the Elin Wagner Foundation in Stockholm, by whose generous grant the field work of this study was carried out, and next to Professor C. Lévi-Strauss, who has consistently encouraged me to complete this manuscript and has very kindly given me this opportunity for publication. I am greatly indebted also to: Professor Fred Eggan, Professor Raymond Firth, Professor Meyer Fortes, Professor C. von Fürer-Haimendorf, Dr. E. R. Leach, Dr. Audrey Richards, and Professor D. M. Schneider for much stimulating discussion and helpful comment on the theoretical problems of this study.

I am grateful for invitations from the Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago (1959-1960) and the Department of Cultural Anthropology, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London (1960-1961), as also for an association with the Department

15- Nakane E-6 (1950-1956) 1957 ABT Khasi ABT Garo ABT

of Anthropology, London School of Economics and Political Science, which allowed me to give series of lectures on this subject. I received great profit from discussions with staff and students of these institutions in the preparation of the final manuscript. I have a special debt to acknowledge also to Professor Sol Tax, who has afforded me consistent help and encouragement in this work. I also had some interesting discussions with Miss A. Filetis McCormack and Dr. R. Burling each of whom worked in other areas of the Khasi and Garo Hills. I also wish to express my thanks to Mrs. Fürer-Haimendorf of the School of Oriental and African Studies, and Mrs. Hore of London School of Economics for their kind help with the manuscript.

A major acknowledgement also goes to the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research who supported this study, and to the Centre for Advanced Studies in Behavioral Sciences for its hospitality in the summer of 1959 when the first part of this manuscript was prepared.

Finally my most grateful thanks go to the Institute of Oriental Culture, University of Tokyo, which in its generous appreciation of the needs of a social anthropologist has permitted me to have a sufficient period of research abroad to make this and other studies possible.

London, February 1962.

CHIE NAKANE.

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[illegible]

[illegible]

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NORTHERN UPLAND GROUPS

KHASIS*

Synonyms. Cassia, Cassyah, Kasia, Kassia, Kassya, Kasya, Khasia, Khasiah, Khasi, Khassia, Khesia 101

ORIENTATION. Identification and location. The term Khasi has often been applied to their entire 101
131
197
114
122

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*The account of Khasi culture, contributed by Amy F. McCosh, is based on field work during 1948-49 in the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills District. The author wishes to emphasize that her data are on the upland Khasis who inhabit the centre of the District. She gratefully acknowledges support of the field work from the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago, the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, Inc., and the Ford Foundation, for use of its Foreign Area Training Fellowships.

[p. [illegible]]

Khasi Kinship Terms in four Dialects

By [illegible]

Contents

I. Introductory Remarks
II. The List of the Kinship Terms
III. Comparisons
1. General
2. Special
Bibliography

I. Introductory Remarks

[illegible] Professor [illegible] Calcutta University published in [illegible] an analysis of Khasi kinship terms[1] based on eight genealogies which he collected in the Sohpetbneng area, about seven miles south-west of Shillong.[2] He discussed in his paper a previous publication by Professor Kroeber[3] where special features of certain Khasi kinship terms are held to prove the pre-existence of a dual system in a non-Hindu Khasi social order and he quotes also the late Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy's work on Khasi kinship[4] and lists of Eastern relationship terms, contained in "Census of India Reports"[5] and Khasi terms in U. Nissan Singh's "Khasi-English Dictionary"[6], P. R. T. Gurdon's monograph on the Khasi[7] and in Sir Gurdo Carrick's "Notes on Khasi Law"[8]. Discussing these previously published papers, Chattopadhyay arrives at the conclusion that Kroeber's hypothesis of a dual organisation in a hypothetical former Khasi society was not justified[9].

[illegible] The present paper, however, does not enter into discussion of this

[1] Chattopadhyay (1951).
[2] Ibid., p. 1.
[3] Kroeber (1923).
[4] Roy (1931).
[5] McCracken (1901), pp. 74-75. The Census Report of 1891, quoted by Chattopadhyay (1951), p. 1, is not available to me at the time of writing.
[6] Nissan Singh (1906).
[7] Gurdon (1914).
[8] Carrick (1939).
[9] Chattopadhyay (1951), pp. 97, 10.

[illegible] and edited has been compiled without knowledge of Professor [illegible]'s work, and before he very kindly sent a private copy of this work, which had not been available to me previously.

The present paper offers data on the following subjects:

1. Khasi kinship terms from the Sumdai Khasi phrases-area to the Khynriam-Nongkhlaw area, about 30 to 35 miles south-east of Shillong, which are in some minor details different from the Mawphlang data, collected by Gurdon (1906), south-west of Shillong.
2. Comparative data from the War-Khasi.
3. from the phrases-area of Jowai in the Jaintia* Hills, and
4. from the War-Jaintia.
5. Aspects of the Khasi kinship terms, with special reference to the matrilineal order of society, and to the respective position of women and men therein, especially the particular consideration which the biological relationship through the father receives in kinship terminology, in spite of the emphasis on the matrilineal structure in Khasi society (comp. term No. 1 of the list and its discussion in para. 1.0 of the present paper, on p. 188).

The data were collected in field researches to which I was enabled by two Research Grants for comparative studies in matrilineal civilizations of India, given by the Viking Fund Inc. (now: Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research) in New York, during the periods 1950-52 and 1953-55. My gratitude to the foundation for enabling me to carry out these field researches, as well as to the University of Madras, for granting me Sabbatical leave for the same purpose, is here once more recorded.

My research programme was based on the first tentative working hypothesis, laid down in my book "Matriarchy in India"*, but includes also various other aspects of study which have not been pre-planned, or even considered there*, as for instance also the present comparative study of kinship terms in areas of four Khasi dialects and their special significance to the Khasi matrilineal social system. The material was collected during a five weeks house-to-house study in the recently founded Pateng Khasi village Shaw Syn Jri, during April and May 1956. This village consisted mostly of houses, owned by Khasi elder sisters and inhabited by them, with their families, after they had left the ancestral home in the main village Khasiang, about one mile across the valley on the western side of the new settlement. The ancestral family houses there were in the generation of either the mother, or, if she was no more alive, the youngest daughter of the family, the *ka khun khadduh*.*

* Jaintia, (Pnar or "Synteng") are the Khasi speaking eastern neighbours of the Khasi proper. As among the Khasi, so also among Jaintia the people in the cool plateau highlands are in many ways different from those who settled in the tropical rainforests of the southern slopes, now situated just north of the East Pakistan frontier — the so-called War-country, where economy is mainly based on jam-leaf gardening.

* Chinnappa (1951).

* Chinnappa (1950-A), (1950-B), (1950-C), (1950-D), (1950-E), (1950-F), (1951-B).

* Gurdon (1914), pp. 63, seq., Cowlan (1906), p. 10.

It will have to be recalled that the Khasi are a matriarchal agricultural people, pre-Hindu, and the advent of the Bengali in the early decade of the 19th century, represent under democratically ruling clan, as Khasi princes and chieftains and speaking an Austro-Asiatic language.* These physical affinities are considerably mangled and quite distinct from the Tibetan speaking plains-Indians, — but not from the other mountaineers of Assam, Tripal and even Burmah or China, with whom they fall to be more closely related, as with the Indian photographs, as some of the tribal designations in the following lists of terms for Non-Khasi neighbor groups. Go to or against Fig. (1), (2) and (3)(a).

In the collection of the material, I was hampered by my inability to pick up the Khasi language sufficiently quickly, for conversation without the help of an interpreter, but on the other hand greatly eased by generous and voluntary assistance on the part of several Khasi friends, especially U Ekkman Singh, the President, Cultivator Union, Khasi and Jaintia Hills and his (Khasi) wife, Ka Juanta *, who offered me hospitality in their home at Nan-Kyn Jri, during my stay there. Dr. H. Lyngdoh, Shillong, the author of detailed accounts on Khasi religious ceremonial and institutions *, U Jashon Roy, a leading Pnar gentleman of Jowai in the Jaintia Hills, Ka Khin Lyn, Principal, Govt. Basic Education Training Centre, Raibi, Shillong, Ka Kongmen, Shillong, and U Tarrel Roy, Pnar Student (still), and a number of hospitable Wip-Khasi and Wip-Jaintia peasant cultivators in the southern slopes of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, especially from the villages Shaitar and Dalu, also helped me greatly in my work. My thanks are due to all of them.

The data, submitted and briefly described in this paper were then collected in four different areas:

1. The Southwestern corner of the Khasi-Hills (plateau area),
2. The southern slopes of the Khasi Hills, the "Wip-Khasi country" between the Khasi plateau proper and the northern boundary of East Pakistan,
3. The central plateau of the Jaintia Hills, round its capital market Jowai, and
4. The southern slopes of the Jaintia Hills, the "Wip-Jaintia country" between Jowai and a section of the northern boundary of East Pakistan, further to the East than group 2.

Slightly different Khasi dialects are spoken in these four regions, Jaintia (Pnar or "Syntong") and Wip-Jaintia being more akin to each other, similarly as Plateau-Khasi and Wip-Khasi are.

The Pnar or Jaintian ("Syntong" is a slightly opprobrious designation, used by the Plateau-Khasi for them, their nearest neighbours) look back

* [illegible]

* In recent, bitterness feeling was much in the news at the time of her death, during the first world war — a fact which illustrates the Khasi geniality to an extent not for strangers as names for children, or to adopt such, from the Khasi point of view, outlandish words like "Ka Andrew" or "Ka Mediterranean Sea" as names for their children.

* Lyngdoh (1957).

How Do the People Accept These Facts?

a) The Fear among the People

[171] [172] A great fear of these murderers who are in the service of the Ulen permeates the whole life of the Ghasi; this feeling is still especially strong in the kingdoms of Cherre, Ejilles, and Bongkrem. Naturally they guard themselves well from people who are supposed to be in possession of a devil snake and they often do not even dare to speak their names out loud for fear that misfortune could befall them. Many of them are certainly known by the people; others are just guessed at. We tried very hard to get a photograph of such people who are considered to be Ulen owners; but we met only with complete refusal from them. Their bad consciences probably make them fearful. I was able to photograph the house of a woman Ulen worshipper in Mauerel, several [illegible] miles away from Cherre. In contrast to most of the Ghasi huts, indications of wealth were evident on the outside, since the hut was covered with tin. In spite of all my pleas the woman could not be prevailed upon to have herself photographed. Such an idea frightened her so that she cried out loud: "O, we are investigated so much!"

[173] [174] At night a Ghasi does not really trust himself alone outside of his hut. If he is overtaken by darkness on the way home, he may be seen hurrying towards his home, singing or calling in a loud voice from time to time to give himself courage. A single man, even if he does not have to go far from his hut to work is not likely to go without his big knife — ka wait — under his arm to protect himself against all possible attacks. The people usually go together (in groups)

society." Among the mentioned Central Bantu, Richards says that the determining factor in residence at marriage is the marriage payment in the type of goods and services which the bridegroom gives (Richards, 1950, p. 124). However, the Khasi have no such custom in the marriage contract, it is therefore out of the question to explain the two types of residence in this way. In the case of the Khasi, the determining factor is the type of marriage with relation to the rule of inheritance and ownership of property, which is closely related to the structure of the ing. Khasi marriages can be divided into two categories i.e., marriage with an heiress and with a non-heiress. Marriages with an heiress must be uxorilocal. This accounts for category 1 or 3 of the household pattern. On the other hand, marriages with a non-heiress become neolocal and correspond to category 2 of the household unit.

IV. Marriage and the Household

A man married to an heiress, usually lives with his wife's parents and her unmarried or divorced brothers and sisters. For a man, life after marriage under such circumstances require great adjustment and endurance. The husband's status is especially weak when a male member of the wife's kin lives in the same household. The management of property and all economic activities are entirely controlled by the authority (wife's brother or maternal uncle) of the ing. The husband works in the wife's field under constant supervision from this authority. Both economic activities and domestic affairs are always under the management of this authority. The children have more attachment to, and are more obedient to, the maternal uncle than to the father. The tie between the uncle and the nephew is so strong that the father is rather like an additional member of the household. He is the last person to be introduced to visitors.

This family system is clearly reflected in the daily behaviour. When we visited the Khasi household of a youngest daughter, if a man (obviously the husband) came first to greet us, he always said "please wait, my wife (or mother-in-law) is coming." And it was the wife who entertained us, offering tea or pan and discussing matters with us, while her husband remained silent in the corner of the room, or in the next room. If her uncle or brother was there, he would be the person who talked to us, while his niece or sister served us. In such a case, we were seldom introduced to the husband. When I was working at Shella, I happened to stay in such a family. I had hardly any opportunity to talk to the husband during the two weeks of my stay. He left the house very early in the morning and came back late in the evening from the fields. While he was at home, he was

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[123]

sentiment, in spite of his forming an independent domestic unit. Such a man will use households, the family of orientation and of procreation, says "one leg is in my sister's house and the other is in my wife's," and he feels more at home in his sister's. In villages, whenever a Khasi man in such a position invited me, I was always taken to his sister's (or sister's) house, his *ing*, not to his wife's. There I was warmly welcomed with highest respect by the women of the household as the guest of their uncle (or of their brother), the head of the *ing*. Khasi men whom outsiders often regard as hopeless in their social position, thus enjoy the highest status in their *ing*.

One Khasi gentleman who occupies a fairly high post in the Government, at Haflong, leaving his wife (non-kinsman) and children at Shillong, to my question "when you go to Shillong into which house do you first step," immediately replied, "As soon as I get back to Shillong, I take the way to my sister's home and there take the evening meal with them, enjoying their talk. Then I go to my wife's house where my loving children are waiting." This shows a typical Khasi man's psychology in relation to a family of orientation and of procreation. His first concern on coming back to his homeland is whether his sister and her children are well, since he is the man of authority in that *ing*. He feels much more relaxed in his sister's house where he is held in higher regard and more cared for.

I came across many similar cases. In Jaintia and Shella, such men on returning from their work, often have their evening meal with their sisters though their wives are waiting for them. Furthermore, if they choose to do so, they sleep at their sister's house without even going back to their wife's house. This results in an unstable married life, where a wife has to face a psychological handicap caused by the occasional absence of the husband, in spite of her advantageous position in a matrilineal and uxorilocal system. Many wives worry every day over whether or not their husbands will come to their house at night. And often this concern changes into sadness and loneliness when the husband does not return for several days on end. The wife knows her husband is at his sister's house in the same village. But she has no right to fetch her husband home. As in Western social dancing, the women have to wait till their partners come. During my field work I often came across these lonely women, just waiting for their husbands, each knowing he was only a few houses away. Though these Khasi women never show their feelings of loneliness in the presence of others, I, being a female anthropologist, was often told of the sadness of their married life. The situation of these women can be more easily understood if we remember the process of the segmentation of the *ing*, which separates each married woman from her descent group, her natal *ing*.

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nearly seventy years of age, spoke English a little, and kindly agreed to help by acting as introducer as well as interpreter. The Chowkidar of the bungalow, a Christian Khasi who spoke Hindi tolerably well was however our principal interpreter. Before proceeding to the village, I had studied Roberts' Khasi Grammar and also learnt simple sentences in Khasi necessary for collecting genealogies, kinship terms and connected details, into the inheritance of the ancestral house and lands. This portion of the data was collected entirely through questions and answers in Khasi; the other details were obtained with the help of myself, U Soba Rai and his friends and the Chowkidar, U Blahrington. On important points however, some checking was made, by simple questions in Khasi, which involved definite answers in the affirmative or negative. My students who had accompanied me for training in field studies, separated some of my observations, in my presence and with my help and guidance.

My best thanks are due to Mr. E. Gantlin, Deputy Commissioner, Khasi and Jaintia Hills, for furnishing me with the letter of introduction to U Soba Rai and for other facilities. His published views on Khasi law, especially the chapters on inheritance also proved to be of great value in carrying out the enquiries (I). In the subsequent portions of this article, references to the works of Gurdon and Gantlin, will be indicated merely by (G) and (CN) respectively.

[p. 1]

CHAPTER I

According to traditions preserved by the local people, the Longkhit clan were the first settlers in Mawphlang. The Lyngkhoe were invited to come and settle as the Longkhit coming priests to perform proper worship for their village. Other clans came here and settled in the State. These old clans are known as Khadar Kur. Myntris are elected from the following four clans—Longkhit, Khar Shiang, Khar Bunai and Khar Sohlia. The above traditions of the origin of the settlement were furnished by the myntri U Sohn Bai, his sister's husband U Alimon and others. The list of Khadar Kur furnished by the myntri is noted below :— 101 (124)

(1) Longkhit.	(2) Lyngkhoe.	(3) Khar Shiang.
(4) Khar Bunai	(5) Khar Sohlia.	(6) Khar Phanneng.
(7) Khar Kynnin.	(8) Khar Sohkhar.	(9) Marbaniang.
(10) Khar Narbi.	(11) Khar Mawphlang.	(12) Khar Syntiew.

The genealogy of myntri U Sohn Bai, of myntri U Onong Singh and others are shown at the end of this chapter. In collecting kinship terms, three questions were asked of the informant : 125 601

(i). What is the relationship of B to the informant A (and of A to B). This is shown in the tables as the kinship term.

(ii). What the informant A called B (and conversely). This is shown in the tables as the term of address.

(iii). How the informant A referred to the relationship of B to C, another relative. This is shown as the term of reference.

121 From the beginning of my field work, my interest lay in a comparative study of the two systems, not in preparing a complete monograph of the cultures of the two peoples. I used the period of my field research in working among the two peoples alternately, so that I could constantly check from one field to the other as new problems appeared.

122 The period of my field work was very limited (October, 1956–February, 1958). I did not know the vernacular of either the Garo or the Khasi (Since Garo language has much commonness with Tibetan language which I was used to read and speak, I could quickly get used to follow their speech during my field work, but I failed to do so in Khasi language). I employed altogether five local English-speaking interpreters (out of the five, three were pagan, and all had relatives in the villages where I worked). But I already had experience in studying the economic and social organization of other hill peoples in Assam, having carried out two years (1955–1957) field work among tribes in Tripura State and among the Tangkhul Nagas in Manipur State, as also among Himalayan peoples. This all helped me a great deal in my work among the Garo and the Khasi, and is one of the reasons why I could collect such a considerable amount of data, in spite of the above mentioned handicaps of my actual field work. (Later on, I carried out field research for four months among the Nayar of Kerala, to provide further data for comparative study.

123 The Garo and the Khasi present very different structures from each other. In order to present a more effective picture of each structure, I have used different ways of presentation, each of which brings out certain important theoretical implications. The emphasis is laid accordingly upon different features: in the case of the Garo, it is the marriage system in relation to the village community; in the case of the Khasi, it is variation in marriage forms related to the structure of descent groups.

124 I wish to express my profound gratitude, first of all, to the Ella Wagner Foundation in Stockholm, by whose generous grant the field work of this study was carried out, and next to Professor C. Lévi-Strauss, who has consistently encouraged me to complete this manuscript and has very kindly given me this opportunity for publication. I am greatly indebted also to: Professor Fred Eggan, Professor Raymond Firth, Professor Meyer Fortes, Professor C. von Fürer-Haimendorf, Dr. E. R. Leach, Dr. Audrey Richards, and Professor D. M. Schneider for much stimulating discussion and helpful comment on the theoretical problems of this study.

I am grateful for invitations from the Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago (1959–1960) and the Department of Cultural Anthropology, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London (1960–1961), as also for an association with the Department

12: Nakano E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 A87 Khasi A87

necessary. The chances of acquiring a piece of land nowadays are small, except for very successful men, and usually the size of the plot is only just enough to maintain one household. When this land is passed on to the next generation, the youngest daughter will hold the title to it. This fact tends to exclude married older sisters from the right to use the land, since it is not sufficient for more than one household. Thus the ultimogeniture succession rule seems to have developed more sharply and to have encouraged limited inheritance in conjunction with the shortage of land. 178 623 623

This tendency creates unbalance in the economy of the households within a community. It is a usual picture in Khasi villages, for the bigger and well-built houses to be occupied by the youngest daughter's family, while the older sisters reside in poor huts. Youngest daughters are usually landowners, while their older sisters have often to become day-labourers after their marriage, unless their husbands are capable men, or their fathers wealthy enough to give them some share of their acquired property. On the whole, the variations at present between rich and poor are considerable in a Khasi community, in comparison with that of the Garo, where the economic condition of each household in a village is more or less similar. These differences are not only a matter of economic organization but arise from the nature of each social structure. 178 189 623 628 556 [171]

The economic and social patterns of Sohkynduh and Kongton are very similar, but their dialects are slightly different: my interpreter, who came from Cherrapunjo, could work quite well at Sohkynduh, but at Kongton he found some difficulty, especially with the speech of the old men, and with their religious expressions. The head man of Kongton, who was quite accustomed to the Cherra dialect, acted as an interpreter for us. Such differences in dialect in the Khasi Hills are common phenomena, it is said that every valley has its own dialect. Differences are found not only in speaking, but also, to a certain extent, in culture and in social usages. 197 [124]

II. Village Endogamy

One of the outstanding features of Khasi social organization is the predominant tendency of endogamy on the level of the village, which contrasts with the structural orientation of the Garo village exogamy. This is closely connected with the distributions of clans and the nature of the descent groups. 582 621 [171]

The Khasi population consists of a number of *kur*, matrilineal clans, whose members consider themselves to be descended from a common ancestress. The members of the same *kur* have a common 614 [765] [769]

[illegible] Explanations

1. General

Most of my informants were illiterate. The spelling of the terms was checked and corrected by my English-speaking and writing Khasi and Pnar friends, mentioned in para 1a, to whom thanks are being here once more expressed. All responsibility for spelling mistakes, however, which may have slipped into this list, is of course to be borne by me.

Blanks (—) or question marks (?) in one of the columns do not necessarily mean that there is no word used, by the respective group, for the particular term. They more often indicate that my informants did not use, or know, the particular term, or that I failed to enquire about it in a manner sufficiently clear to my informants. This is particularly true of general terms, partly or fully corresponding to English general terms, such as parents or grand-parents, or the terms No. 1(a) and 4, 13, 15(a), 19-20, and 28, which were partly explained to me, by Khasi friends in Shillong, where I stayed some time after completion of field-work during the rainy season. Hence I could no more return for verification to the little accessible War-villages on the steep southern slopes. Although I am planning to utilize a future opportunity for such checking up, I am yet publishing the present results in the hope that they may then become accessible to field-workers among other N. E.-Assam, and especially Austro-Asiatic speaking peoples.

All terms which are equal for both sexes (cf. Nos. 10, 11, 18, 19, etc.) are used with *ka* and *u* respectively. These sex-overcoming proposed articles, as also the honorific *i* are specially mentioned in the list, only if this is essential for the understanding of the respective terms as in Nos. 3-5, 7, 8, or 10.

2. Special

Term No. 1 — *to give birth to* (*ngeh*) signifies also relation on the paternal side as in *pawa kha* (paternal cousins No. 5(c)), in contradistinction to *pawa ka*, 9(b), 26 (female of the clan), i.e. maternal cousin, since the clan is a matrilineal unit. This usage of the word *ngeh* appears also significantly in the terms 15(a), 17, 20(b), 25, 32, 33 and, as an integral part of the Khasi kinship terminology, renders it highly improbable that the Khasi matrilineal system could have originated in ignorance of the biological function of the father. It is a significant feature in the matrilineal social system.

The terms 1 to 3/9 refer to unmarried but biologically marriageable youths. It will be noted that there are (any) none in 1914) no indications of puberty-rites for either girls or boys. There is also no child-marriage among Khasi. The use of special terms for mature, unmarried youths is therefore significant.

Term 6 — *i* as honorific suffix, is at the same time indicative of diminution [illegible], which is remarkable for two reasons: (firstly) the diminution is used for the oldest and most respected family members, like the diminution

[illegible] Nongpoh Statist (1926), p. 49.

[p. 3]

CHAPTER I

According to traditions preserved by the local people, the Iangtiah clan were the first settlers in Mawphlang. The Lyngkhie were invited to come and settle on the Iangtiahs wanted priests to perform proper worship for their village. Other clans came later and settled in the State. These old clans are known as Khadar Kur. Myntris are elected from the following four clans—Iangtiah, Khar Shiing, Khar Hynni and Khar Sohlia. The clans traditions of the origin of the settlement were furnished by the myntri U Sohn Rai, his sister's husband U Alisan and others. The list of Khadar Kur furnished by the myntri is noted below :— 101 [124]

(1) Iangtiah.	(2) Lyngkhi.	(3) Khar Shiing.
(4) Khar Hynni	(5) Khar Sohlia.	(6) Khar Phonnap.
(7) Khar Kynsai.	(8) Khar Sohkhar.	(9) Morbasiang.
(10) Khar Narbi.	(11) Khar Mawphlang.	(12) Khar Syntiew.

The genealogy of myntri U Sohn Rai, of myntri U Gong Singh and others are shown at the end of this chapter. In collecting kinship terms, three questions were asked of the informant : 125 601

(i). What is the relationship of B to the informant A (and of A to B). This is shown in the tables as the kinship term.

(ii). What the informant A called B (and conversely). This is shown in the tables as the term of address.

(iii). How the informant A referred to the relationship of B to C, another relative. This is shown as the term of reference.

19: Assam G-5 (1958) 1963 AR7 Khasi AR7

CHAPTER IV

Result of the survey

4.1 **Distribution of sample.**—It has already been mentioned in Chapter I that purposive selection of ten villages from border area, eight villages from the proper area and a random selection of ten villages from the general area, were made for intensive investigation. 125 128

It is not our intention to dilute this Chapter on the specific levels of individual villages. Some common salient features of the villages relating to the situation of the villages, diseases occurring there and marketing, communication, educational and medical facilities obtainable in those villages are briefly described below for the purpose of giving intelligence into the condition of the sample villages.

The following table shows the group-wise distribution of the sample villages, their location by thana and subdivision and the number of families inhabiting each village at the time of the survey.

TABLE B-I

Sample villages in United K. & J. Hills and their location 621

Group	Name of village	Thana	Subdivision	No. of families
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Border area—	1. Lumthiang	Jowai	Jowai	64
	2. Amki	Dowki	Do	19
	3. Syndai	Do	Do	155
	4. Dawang	Do	Do	104
	5. Lumkhar	Do	Do	20
	6. Nongpi	Chiang	Shillong	210
	7. Shadawng	Do	Do	66
	8. Mawlai	Do	Do	196
	9. Mawdon	Do	Do	85
	10. Rajat	Do	Do	65

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CHAPTER V

Population and Occupation

The following table shows the number of families and population of the sample villages in the different village groups.

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TABLE C-1

	Border area	Project area	General area
1	2	3	4
No. of villages ..	19	8	10
No. of families ..	1,086	647	184
No. of persons	5,674	2,963	902
Average no. of families per village.	108	81	18
Average no. of persons per village.	301·9	370·8	90·2
Average no. of persons per family.	5·6	4·6	4·9

The population in the first two groups of villages is much more than in the third group because important villages were intentionally selected from border and project areas. The figures may not truely reflect the difference in the average size of villages in these areas.

The population in the selected villages were compared with the 1951 census figures. But it was found that the two sets of figures are not strictly comparable due to changes in the names and boundaries of the villages and emigrations. A note on this study is included in the appendix. [128]

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5.2: The following table shows the classification of population by age and sex in the three areas:—

Age and Sex Composition of Population

Age Group	Border area			Project area			General area		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
1. Below 5 yrs.	293	328	621 (16·90)	290	294	584 (20·83)	77	87	164 (18·18)
2. 5 to below 15 yrs.	435	450	885 (24·09)	260	373	733 (25·49)	127	112	239 (26·50)
3. 15 to below 65 yrs.	1025	1077	2102 (57·21)	722	862	1584 (53·42)	238	256	494 (54·76)
4. 65 yrs. & above	26	40	66 (1·80)	16	18	34 (1·15)	3	2	5 (0·56)
Total	1779	1904	3674 (100·00)	1417	1548	2965 (100·00)	445	457	902 (100·00)
No. of females per 1,000 males	..	1076	..	..	..	1092	..	..	940

It is seen that the population under 15 years of age in the border area, project area and general area were respectively 41 per cent, 45 per cent and 45 per cent of the total population in these areas, while that under age group 'between 15 to 65 years', constituted respectively 57 per cent, 53 per cents 55 per cent of the population in the three areas.

It is evident that population of females was as a whole greater than that of male in border area and project area and less in general area. The number of females per 1,000 males in border area, project area and general area were respectively 1,076, 1,092 and 940 against the 1951 census figure of 983 females per 1,000 males in the rural areas of the district of United K-J. Hills.

5.3: The following table shows the classification of population by religion.

TABLE C-3

*162 779

Classification of Population by Religion

Area	Tribal religion	Christianity	Hinduism	Other religion	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1. Border area	1766 (48·07)	1410 (38·33)	483 (13·15)	15 (0.41)	3674 (100·00)
2. Project area	811 (27·35)	2013 (67.89)	141 (4.76)	0.00	2965 (100·00)
3. General area	310 (34·26)	571 (63·30)	22 (2·44)	0.00	903 (100·00)

[433] [563] Population following Hinduism and other religion in the border area comprises mostly of displaced persons from East Pakistan following trade and business as their means of livelihood, while those in the general and project areas are mainly the Nepalies who are generally engaged in cattle rearing and agriculture.

*162 871 125 In border area and project area the percentage of literates is worked out at 24 and 31 respectively –a comparatively high figure for a rural area. This, however, cannot be regarded as a true index of literacy in the rural area of the district for the fact that villages from border area and project area were purposively selected almost all of which by virtue of their bigness in size and location in vantage points, happened to possess at least one school for quite a long time. The average picture for the district as a whole is brought out by the percentage of literates in the general area which is only 17. A comparison of this figure with that of 1951 census for the rural areas of the district which is only 12 per cent shows that during the last eight years there has been an increase in the percentage of literates.

As will be seen from table above the proportion of literates among males is higher than that among females throughout the district.

Economic Status

*162 434 5.5: The following table shows the number of persons in the sample villages by sex and economic status.

*162 434 464 From the above table it is seen that the proportion of earners in the Border area, Project area and General area are respectively 50 per cent, 48 per cent and 55 per cent of the corresponding total population. Thus each earner has to support himself and roughly one dependent. Thus the burden of dependency is not very heavy in the district. This is because of the fact that men, women and adolescents all join the labour force. Number of women engaged wholly on domestic works is few. Only in big families having a number of women, one or two of them are engaged in domestic works, otherwise the Khasi women attend to the domestic works in addition to their work in the field.

From table G 5·1 in the appendix it will be seen that respectively 4·7 per cent, 7.8 per cent and 10.2 per cent of the earners in Border area, Project area and General area are below 15 years of age.

5·6—Attempt was made to study the employment position in the selected villages. For this purpose the following definition of employed and unemployed persons was adopted.

• 125 464 Persons working for pay or profit on one day during a period of 30 days preceding the date of enquiry would be classified as employed. Those who did not work on any day during the last 30 days, may be employed or unemployed. The person is unemployed if—

(i) He who was without a job for the whole reference period.

(ii) Who was seeking one, and

(iii) Who was in a position to accept job if offered one.

A person is also unemployed if he did not work because of his protracted illness, believed that no work was available, or was expecting to return to a job from which he had been indefinitely laid off.

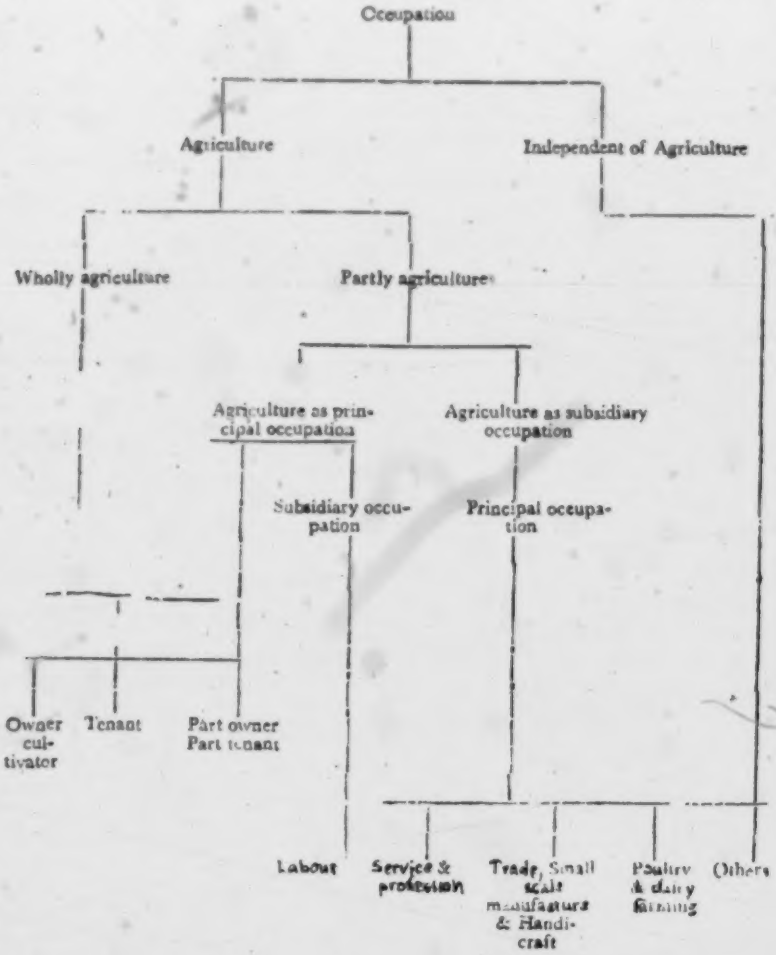
On the other hand a person is employed if he had a job, although temporarily absent from work during the reference period due to illness, vacation, industrial disputes or being laid off temporarily. Also a person would be considered employed if he was waiting to take up a new job which he had been offered or to start a new business.

by employees who comprise over 22 per cent, 13 per cent and 9 per cent respectively. It may be noted that the large number of families who engaged agricultural labourers on daily basis as and when necessary were not classed as 'employers'. 162* 164 [125]

Occupation

3.8: In the following tables attempt has been made to depict the occupational distribution of the population. 463 125

As agriculture is the principal occupation of the majority of the villagers the following schemes of classification of occupation, has been adopted—



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Families have been classified into three main classes, *viz.*

(1) Wholly agricultural

(2) Partly agricultural

(a) Agriculture as principal occupation

(b) Agriculture as subsidiary occupation.

(3) Independent of Agriculture.

5.9: The following table shows the distribution of families by occupational type in the three village groups :—

TABLE C·8

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Occupational distribution of families in different village groups

Occupational type	Border area	P. C. to total no. of families (house hold)	Project area	P. C. to total no. of families	General area	P.C. to total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1. Wholly agricultural	511	50·80	394	60·90	128	69·57
2. Partly agricultural—						
(a) agriculture as principal occupation.	168	16·70	95	14·68	37	20·11
(b) agriculture as subsidiary occupation.	183	18·19	108	16·69	17	9·24
3. Independent of agriculture.	144	14·31	50	7·73	2	1·08
	1006	100·00	647	100·00	184	100·00

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463

Families have been classified into three main classes, *viz.* :—

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(b) agriculture as subsidiary occupation.	183	18·19	108	16·69	17	9·24
3. Independent of agriculture.	144	14·31	50	7·73	2	1·08
	1006	100·00	647	100·00	184	100·00

It will be seen that wholly agricultural families, in Border area, Project area and General area are 51, 61 and 70 p. c. respectively of the total families. Classifying the wholly agricultural families and families pursuing agriculture as principal occupation, as predominantly agricultural families—the proportion of such families for Border area, Project area and General area stand at 68 p. c. 76 p.c. and 90 p.c. respectively. Thus it is clear that in the Border area the proportion of predominantly agricultural families is the lowest. The reason for this can be safely ascribed to the set-back received due to closure of markets after partition. A close study of tables C·10 and C.11 below and table C.11.1 at the appendix will bear testimony to the fact that in Border area there is evidence of a shift of occupation from agriculture to non-agricultural enterprise especially labour (non-agricultural). 162* 463

Predominantly agricultural families have been classified into five groups— Non-cultivating owner, owner cultivator, tenants, part-owner and part-tenants and landless agricultural labourers. The number of families and the proportion of each of these groups in the three areas are as follows— 125 241 423 427 463

Apart from private lands, Raj lands possessed by a family and land possessed throug settlement by District Council have been considered as 'land owned' for the purpose of this survey. Tenants usually take in rent from lad-owners only those lands which are possessed by the later as private land or through settlement through District Council. A perusal of tale C 9 given above will show that proportion of tenants are highr in Jowai subdivision which is due to the existence in this subdivisin of some big landholders who are known as zamindars. Majority of the families shown against 'non-cultivating owner' are in fact agricultural labor families who also possess some land but due to some reason or other left it uncultivated. Among owner cultivators, tenants and part-owner ad part-tenant families also there are some whose major income is derivedfrom agricultural labour. Consideration of these two facts along with the number of landless agricultural families goes to show that the proporion of agricultural labourers in the district is rather high. 423 463 427 [125]

TABLE C1·0

Occupational distribution of families whose principal occupation is other than agriculture 162* 463

principal occupation	No. of families					
	Border area		Project area		General area	
	Total	P.C. to total	Total	P.C. to total	Total	P.C. to total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1. Non-agricultural labour.	188	57·49	70	44·30	6	31·58
2. Service, profession, etc.	34	10·40	39	24·68	3	15·79
3. Trader.	65	19·88	21	13·29	4	21,05
4. Small scale manufacture & handicraft.	23	7·03	19	12·03	1	2·56
5. Poultry & dairy farming.	7	2·14	..	..	5	26·32
6. Others	10	3·06	9	5·70	...	...
Total ..	327	100·00	158	100·00	19	100·00

511 It is seen that the per family average annual expenditure is Rs.909·00 nP. in Border areas, Rs.1008·00 nP. in Project area and Rs.828·00 nP. in General area. The per family annual net income in the respective area being Rs.852·86 nP., Rs.988·84 nP, and Rs.949·51 nP. it follows that the budget of the average family is deficit in all the areas. [426] This deficit is usually made up either by restricting the consumption expenditure during the lean months of the agricultural year or by taking loans.

221 511 The field work of the survey was started during the month of February, *i.e.*, hardly after two months, of harvesting of winter paddy and during the harvesting period of cash crops like orange, betelnut, potatoes, etc. During this period people get money through the sale proceeds and naturally they [114] were tempted to spend comparatively higher amount on food. In fact, it was made clear during investigation that as lean months are approaching when people did not have money to purchase food articles, they used to lead a very austere life. This period is particularly very hard for the Border people because unlike people of other two areas they do not have [128] even paddy in store. As the above figures of annual expenditure of a [125] family were calculated on the basis of information collected for one month preceeding the date of investigation, in respect of food and non-food articles, and for one year in respect of miscellaneous items, there is every likelihood of the average per family expenditure on food and non-food articles being over-estimated.

128 511 As in the case of income, consumption of articles produced at home or at farm as well as those received out of the goods, services and gift and loan were valued in money terms on the basis of the local average retail prices in respect of the commodities concerned. Thus even firewood and other wild vegetables and fishes obtained by fishing were valued in terms of money. Of the total average expenditure on food, the food articles obtained in kind and consumed at home account for about 18 per cent in Border area, 53 per cent in Project area and 57 per cent in General area. Thus the share of food articles obtained in kind and consumed at home to the annual expenditure of a family is very low in Border area. This is natural because they depend almost exclusively on cash crop cultivation.

511 Out of the total expenditure, food account for about 68 per cent in Border area, 67 per cent in Project area and 73 per cent in General area. In all the areas cereals alone took the bulk of the expenditure on food, *i.e.*, 66 per cent, 75 per cent and 81 per cent in the respective areas

It is seen that expenditure on pulses, vegetables and milk are very low. In fact only a few of the Tribal villagers take pulses, milk and vegetables. Rice and fish or meat are the only items of the dishes of most of the villages.

Among non-food articles fuel and light accounted for 6 per cent in Border area, 5 per cent in Project area, and 5 per cent in General area. Khasis are heavy chewers of betelnut and this accounted for 5 per cent of total annual expenditure in border area, 4 per cent in Project area and about 3 per cent in General area while tobacco and tea in tea-stall accounted for about 5 per cent, 4 per cent and 4 per cent respectively of the total annual expenditure in the three areas. Expenditure on liquor

CHAPTER—X

Summary of main findings

• 125 10.1. Twenty-eight villages were selected for the purpose of the survey. Out of the 28 villages selected, 10 from Border area and 8 from Project area were selected purposively while the remaining 10 were selected at random from the entire district which is referred hereafter as general area.

166 Migration from big villages was rare but some migration was reported in respect of small villages.

164 Occurrence of Malaria, influenza and dysentery is a regular phenomenon in the area. Medical facilities were not found satisfactory and
743 as much as 78 per cent of the villages have no dispensary within a
871 radius of five miles. In regard to education, the facilities cannot also
489 be said to be unsatisfactory for more than 60 per cent of the villages
482 have a Lower Primary School. Transport facilities were not satisfactory and as much as 86 per cent of the villages still depend upon primitive mode of transport, namely head load. Correlated with outmoded form of transport, is the prevalence of unduly high cost of transport.

*162 10.2. The number of the families covered by the survey was 1006
161 in the Border area, and 647 in the Project area and 184 in the General area. The average size of a village in the respective area is 100·6, 80·9 and 18·4 families. In the Border and Project areas females out number males being respectively 1076 and 1092 females per 1,000 males as against 940 females per 1,000 males in the general area
212 Literacy is as high as 34 per cent in the border area and 31 per cen
[562] in the Project area but as low as 17 per cent in the general area In all the areas literacy among females is very low.

*162 The working population (earners and earning dependents) is as high
464 as 55 per cent in the Border area, 54 per cent in the Project area and 63 per cent in the general area. While there were no cases of unemployment in the Project and General areas, 53 persons were reported unemployed from border area.

241 10.3. 51 per cent of the families in Border area are wholly agricul-
* 162 tural, 35 per cent partly agricultural and 14 per cent independent o
463 agriculture. The corresponding figures for the Project area are 61, 31 and 8 per cent respectively while for the General area they are 70 per cent, 29 per cent, 1 per cent respectively.

Predominantly agricultural families constitute 67, 76 and 90 per cent of the families in Border, Project and General areas respectively.

*162 10.4. 31 per cent of the families in Border area, 29 per cent in Project
423 area and 10 per cent in General area were absolutely without any land while 25 per cent, 39 per cent and 24 per cent of the families in the respective areas possessed small holding ranging from 0·24 to 2·30 acres representing 11,24 and 26 per cent of the total holding area in the respective areas. 36 per cent of the families in Border and Project areas and 41 in General area possessed medium sized holding (3 to less than 10 acres)

Name of village	No. of persons according to 1951 Census	No. of persons according to survey	Variation	No. of families according to listing schedule	
General Area—					
19. Mawlaiteng	113	86	−27	20	Average size of village 18.4
20. Jympiat	87	48	−39	7	
21. Asola	29	22	−7	5	.. ..
22. Domrya	76	16	40	20	
23. Lamyrsiang	119	97	−22	23	Average family size 4.9
24. Iapmala	126	161	35	24	
25. Mawkynshian	163	159	−4	40	
26. Jowe	48	31	−17	7	
27. Byrheh	114	106	−8	20	
28. Mawkhi	49	76	27	16	
Total ..	924	902	−20	184	.. ...

N. B.—1951 census population figures are not shown against Border Area and Project Area villages. This is because of the fact that in some cases in the Census report, the different blocks of a village have been enumerated as different villages, *e.g.*, the village **Sohkha** has been enumerated in **1951** census as three villages, *i.e.*, **Sohkha Phlang, Sohkha mission**, etc., while in some other cases, only one population figure has been recorded against a number of villages of which possibly one is the main village, others being its satellites and as these villages were selected without any reference to the **Census** Handbook, there is every likelihood of our selected villages not coinciding with **Census** villages. So far as migration is concerned it is **very** rare in big villages, **particularly** when they have some settled occupation but it was found through investigation that in some of the border villages due to continued adversities in their agricultural and other occupation people had to move away in search of work. **Migration** of some traders was reported from **Bholaganj** and **Lyngkhat**. Some Khasi families **were** reported to have migrated to Pakistan where they had got **agricultural** land. Heaviest emigration of this type was however, reported from **Sohkha**, a village selected from **Saipung-Darrang, M. P. C. D. Block**, but located **near** the Indo-Pak Border, where about **one third** of its **total** population was **said** to have migrated to **Pakistan**. Some **families** from **Mawdon** are **said** to have migrated to a nearby village due to unhealthy condition of the village. A study of population variation in **General area** villages given above, will show that there is **a net decrease of 20 persons** in the sample villages from **total number of persons recorded** in **1951** Census. This is accounted for by migration of **people** which is considerable in smaller villages particularly those depending on **shifting** cultivation. A few families from **Mawlaiteng** are said to have migrated to **Mawlum** a village **only a** few **furlong** away from **Mawlaiteng**. Migration was also reported from **Lamyrsiang, Domrya, Asola**, and **Jowe** from **Byrhoh** and **Mawkynshian** a few families were said to have left the village a few days ahead of the **date of** investigation for their cultivation at some distant place.

/892/ The Nongkrem Puja in the Khasi Mountains (Assam) (1)

126 1. All the pictures attached to this article are prepared from photographs taken by P. Frumentius Stegmiller, S.D.S., missionary in Shillong. The photographs were in part very difficult to take as they had to be made without being observed and in some cases the day was already well advanced.

by P. Dr. C. Becker, S.D.S., Apostolic Prefect of Assam.

631 About five English miles to the east of Shillong, the chief town of the Khasi Mountains, lies the town of Nongkrem. It is the seat of the king (u S'iem) who governs the state Nongkrem of Khyrim, the largest of the 25 Khasi little states and which is partly independent (semi-independent) of the English government. Nongkrem is best 796 known for the great sacrifice, simply called Nongkrem Puja or also 782 ka Pom blang-u-S'iem Nongkrem (Slaying the goat of the S'iem of Nongkrem) which takes place there annually. This festivity offers, as little else does, an instructive insight into the religious and social views and customs of this interesting mountain people and should therefore be given a concise description, which may be divided into three parts:

I. The Preparations for the Sacrificial Feast.

II. The Sacrificial Feast.

III. The Celebration that Follows.

I. The Preparations for the Sacrificial Feast

793 Just as matriarchy prevails in the family among the Khasi so a 643 similar arrangement has been kept in the management of the Khasi state, Nongkrem. In the state the S'iem is not the actual head but a high priestess, called ka S'iem sūd. Sūd means the divinity which watches over the royal races. The temporal government is transferred by the S'iem sūd to the S'iem; he acts as her authorized agent although independent in his decisions, working with his advisers, whose advice he must obtain in matters of importance. The moneys of the kingdom

18: Godwin-Austen G-3 (ca. 1872) 1875 AR7
Khasi AR7

211 rude stone monuments. At the village of Nougshai, near
[101] Shillong, are to be seen some very striking monoliths; and
[131] although they do not come up quite to the length of those at
Nurtiang (noticed by Dr. Hooker in his "Himalayan Journals"),
[133] yet they are very worthy of being mentioned. They stand on the open spur just above the village, and have been worked out of the beds of the Shillong sandstone series, and some of the smaller blocks have been taken from the conglomerate beds, the lowest in the series, and which come in, in the bed of the ravine, to the north of the spur. There are a number of monuments on this site, large and small, arranged both in line and on two sides of a square; the two largest have their central monoliths—height, 24 ft. 3 in.; width, 5 ft. 6 in.; thickness, 8 in.; and height, 23 ft. 2 in.; width, 2 ft. 9 in.; thickness, 1 ft., respectively.

[126] Plate ii., which is taken from a photograph by Mr. William Robert, Assistant Surveyor in the Khasi Hills survey party, gives an excellent idea of the second largest structure, showing the very massive flat-stone, the "Mao Kynthai," in front. This structure consisted of thirteen upright stones, which could not all be brought into the field of the camera; but the six outside stones on the right are shown. Many of the slabs in the
175 adjacent monuments have been overthrown and broken quite
211 recently, perhaps by Sepoys and camp followers from the military station close by. At one time a mountain battery of Eurasian Artillery was quartered there, and I attribute the overthrow of so many of the stones in the neighbourhood to their handiwork, who would look on such amusement as a "great lark." The Sepoy (native of India) is not of a mischievous disposition; the European and half-European (uneducated) is markedly so. Thus the monument with the highest stone is imperfect, and it must, when perfect, have been a very handsome one. This is a sad pity, after the time and labour that must have been expended in its erection.

361 I did not observe any new slabs anywhere in the immediate
712 neighbourhood. Nougshai must formerly have been a large
[211] and powerful village; it stands on a naturally very strong position, and old lines of fortification are to be traced on many sides, especially on the approach from the direction of the Falls of the Umiam. These old lines of defence are on a curious system: a ditch and bank have been carried forward from the main defences from 200 to 300 yards down the ridge of the spurs, thus effectually preventing an enemy working round the hill sides below the villages.

174 This fortified site points to a state of things in these hills
712 when the relations between the large village communities or
628

18: Godwin-Austen G-3 (ca. 1872) 1875 AR7
Khasi AR7

clans were very much as we find them at the present day among the Nagas and Kukis, beyond and bordering our present extreme limits, viz. that of constant feud. They are now the quietest, most peaceful, and contented of all the hill people on the eastern frontier.

In my former paper I did not allude to the cairns in these hills, which I am inclined to think, are works of greater age than the stone structures. The custom is one that certainly has long since been given up, for I could not obtain any satisfactory account of them. They are only to be seen on the northern side of the Khasi plateau, and Dr. Hooker, in his account of his trips to the Kollong Rock, did not fail to notice them. About Mairaug and towards Nougstoin they are very numerous, and always stand on commanding situations. On the path leading down the grassy spur to the stone monuments previously described, near Nougshai, is a very fine large example of a cairn, about eight feet high. They are usually plain hemispherical mounds of earth; but this one is faced all round at the base with slabs of stone about four feet high; they are frequently not higher than six feet. A distant view is shown in Plate iii.

Nowhere is there any trace of the earth that forms them having been excavated close by; it must, therefore, have been carried in some short distance, to avoid unsightly hollows near the structure. I should much like to have dug into one of these cairns, but was afraid to hurt the feelings of the people by doing so. They are very probably cinerarics of an earlier form to those now made of stone, and this point it might be interesting to clear up.

Beyond the Khasi area no cairns are to be found, at least I had never come across any until visiting North Munipur last winter (1872—73), where, at the head of the Imphal river, on the direct road from Samaguting, are four fine cairns, all faced with large boulders. They are old, and the Nagas now living in the village near said they had been made by another clan of Nagas, who long ago had gone further north, and the site of whose village had been lately re-occupied by Kukis.

Mr. C. B. Clarke, in a paper read lately before your Institute, refers to the different forms of the cinerary in the Khasi Hills; but he has not quite exhausted the subject, or got further than I did, although with regard to the disposal of the ashes of the dead he gives some further interesting particulars.

As I think that drawings are of very great interest, and better exhibit the many different forms of bone depository or cinerary that have been adopted at different periods by tribes inhabiting localities very far apart, and often quite unconnected affinitively,

18: Godwin-Austen G-3 (ca. 1872) 1875 AR7
Khasi AR7

764 172 [26 I give a sketch of a form of cinerary meriting attention, and not hitherto noticed (Plate iii.). Several of this form may be seen on a low spur near the Bazar of Jeddo at Shillong. The cinerary is above ground, and stands on a slightly raised platform; it consists of four thick stones, about three feet high, set on edge, and capped with a heavy top-stone; and, so far, it resembles the usual form, a figure of which is given in my first paper.* The approach to all these depositories is from the eastward by several low steps, and the whole structure is enclosed on three sides by large flat slabs (in the rough) standing on end—the largest being placed round the cinerary itself, overtopping it by three to four feet, and the remainder, thence diminishing in size, stand on either side of the steps. There are about six such monuments along the ridge of the spur, and I have seen no others similar elsewhere. They have been broken into, and the front stone removed, very probably by camp followers from our regimental bazar, which is close by. There is thus a double probability of their ultimate destruction altogether, should the station be extended in that direction.

Explanation of Plates II. and III.

211 Plate II.—View of megalithic monuments at Nougshai, near Shillong, Khasi Hills. From a photograph taken by Mr. W. Robert.

764 172 Plate III.—View of rude stone cinerary and approach, at Shillong, Khasi Hills, with cairn in the distance: by the author.

Discussion.

000 The President said that the paper of Lieut. de Crespigny, on the Milanows of Borneo, contained a great deal of extremely interesting information, especially in relation to their religious customs; the author, however, attempted to connect the Milanows with the inhabitants of Timor, through the similarity of their religious beliefs. He (the President) did not venture to express any opinion on this point, not having any grounds for forming one. He thought, however, that, as a general rule, evidence of identity of races, derived from the comparison of the religions of savages, must be received with caution, especially in the absence of any information as to physical resemblance. The attention that is devoted to religion arises from the interest that is taken in the subject, rather than from the value of the evidence it affords of connection with other peoples. There must always be a great liability to error in the accounts of the religious customs of savages. Inquiries into the resemblance of the arts of different people, about which there could be no mistake, were, he thought,

* Read May 1st, 1871.

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

Garo Hills	117	162
Manipur	69	101
Total	4,091*	

The following information regarding the general aspect of [127] the Khasi and Jaintia Hills district, with some additions, is 133 derived from Sir William Hunter's Statistical Account of Assam. The district consists almost entirely of hills, only a very small portion lying in the plains. The slope of the hills on the southern side is very steep until a table-land is met with at an elevation of about 4,000 feet at Cherrapunji. Higher up there is another plateau at Mawphlang. This is the [361] highest portion of the hills, some villages being found at as high an elevation as close on 6,000 feet above sea level. Fifteen miles to the east of Mawphlang, and in the same range, is situated the civil station of Shillong, at an average elevation of about 4,900 feet. The elevation of the Shillong Peak, the highest hill in the district, is 6,450 feet above sea level. On the northern side of the hills are two plateaux, one between 1,000 and 2,000 feet below the level of Shillong, and another at an elevation of about 2,000 feet above sea level. In general features all these plateaux are much alike, and consist of a succession of undulating downs, broken here and there by the valleys of the larger hill streams. In the higher ranges, where 137 the hills have been denuded of forest, the country is covered 185 with short grass, which becomes longer and more rank in the 374 lower elevations. This denudation of forest has been largely 327 due to the wood being used by the Khasis for fuel for iron smelting in days gone by. The Government, however, has taken steps to protect the remaining forests from further 137 spoliation. A remarkable feature is the presence of numerous sacred groves situated generally just below the brows of the [778] hills. In these woods are to be found principally oak and rhododendron trees. The fir-tree (Pinus Khasia) is first met with on the road from Gauhati to Shillong, at Umsning, at an elevation of about 2,500 feet. In the neighbourhood of Shillong the fir grows profusely, but the finest fir-trees are to be seen

* The figures for Khasi population in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills district will be found under "Habitat."

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

421 has been acquired by the man after marriage. Here the wife
428 and children would inherit the acquired property, the youngest daughter obtaining the largest share of such property on the death of the wife. If there were no daughter, the acquired property would be equally divided amongst the sons.

[127] The following examples of the Synteng law of inheritance
428 are taken from the exhaustive diaries recorded by the late Mr. Heath, who was for some years Sub-Divisional Officer of Jowai. In the Nongkli doloiship ancestral land passes from mother to her youngest daughter; again, if a youngest daughter who has so acquired dies, the next youngest in point of age succeeds. Should such direct female succession fail, the family tree has to be looked up for the nearest branch, in which the youngest female, or her youngest female descendant, succeeds. Thus, respecting ancestral land, the youngest daughter, or youngest female descendant of youngest female heir, is virtually heir to entailed property. If a woman dies leaving acquired property, her youngest daughter or youngest granddaughter of that youngest daughter succeeds to all. In default, next youngest daughter, and so on. In default of daughters, the youngest son inherits. A man can hardly, in any circumstances, possess ancestral land; his property must almost necessarily be self-acquired. If a man dies leaving acquired property, his heir will be his mother, if alive, excluding wife, sons, and daughters. If the wife undertakes, however, not to marry again, she will get half, which will descend to her youngest daughter by her deceased husband. The mother, who thus gets the whole or half of her son's property, leaves it to her youngest daughter, or youngest daughter of that daughter, and so on, as described above in the case of a woman leaving ancestral or acquired property. If there is no mother, the man's youngest sister stands next heir with the same right as her mother. If there is no mother or sister, then the sister's female descendants stand in the man's mother's place. If there are none of these, then the man's youngest daughter succeeds to all. Ancestral property
[425] cannot be alienated without the consent of all the heirs in the entail. A gift of self-acquired property to any amount can be made by a donor during his lifetime. Acquired property cannot, however, be left by will out of the course sanctioned by

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[Pp. I-IV Contain no textual material]

PREFACE.

121 This book is an attempt to give a systematic account of the Khasi people, their manners and customs, their ethnological affinities, their laws and institutions, their religious beliefs, their folk-lore, their theories as to their origin, and their language.

114 This account would perhaps have assumed a more
128 elaborate and ambitious form were it not that the author has been able to give to it only the scanty leisure of a busy district officer. He has been somewhat hampered by the fact that his work forms part of a series of official publications issued at the expense of the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam, and that it had to be completed within a prescribed period of time.

000 The author gladly takes this opportunity to record his grateful thanks to many kind friends who have helped him either with actual contributions to his material, or with not less valued suggestions and criticisms. The arrangement of the subjects discussed is due to Sir Bampfylde Fuller, lately Lieutenant-Governor of the Province, whose kindly interest in the Khasis will long be remembered by them with affectionate gratitude. The Introduction is from the accomplished pen of Sir Charles Lyall, to whom the author is also indebted for much other help and encou-

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SECTION V.

FOLK-TALES, TRADITIONS AND SUPERSTITIONS.

FOLK-TALES.

773 THE Khasis possess a considerable amount of folk-lore. The
128 tales which will be found reproduced in the original Khasi have been obtained from a collection which was in the possession of the Rev. Dr. Roberts, of Cherrapunji, who very kindly placed it at my disposal. The translations are by U Nissor Singh, Sub-Inspector of Schools, and the author of a Khasi English Dictionary as well as certain other educational works in that language. Dr. Roberts's collections would fill a book; so I have selected only a few of what I consider typical tales. At the instance of Sir Charles Lyall, I have given the Khasi and English side by side. The stories will speak for themselves,
133 but I add a few explanatory notes. The water-fall of Ka Likai
773 is a magnificent cascade in the rainy season; it can best be viewed from the heights of Laitkynsew. The water-fall is situated close to the village of Nongriat, which is approached by a succession of stone steps from the village of Tyrna, just below the Cherrapunji Laitkynsew bridle-path. "Dingiei," which is mentioned in the second tale, is the high hill to be seen on the right-hand side of the Shillong-Cherrapunji road soon after leaving Shillong. The highest point of the range is over 6,000 ft. The third tale contains the well-known story of Ka Pah Syntiew, the fabled ancestress of the Khyrim and Mylliem Siem families. The cave where Ka Pah Syntiew is said to have made her abode is still to be seen in the neighbourhood of Nongkrem. The story of the origin of the Siems of Suhtnga, who afterwards became the Rajas of Jaintiapur, is a well-known tale in the Jaintia Hills. A description of the

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nearly seventy years of age, spoke English a little, and kindly agreed to help by acting as introducer as well as interpreter. The Chowkidar of the bungalow, a Christian Khasi who spoke Hindi tolerably well was however our principal interpreter. Before proceeding to the village, I had studied Roberts' Khasi Grammar and also learnt simple sentences in Khasi necessary for collecting genealogies, kinship terms and connected details, like the inheritance of the ancestral house and lands. This portion of the data was collected entirely through questions and answers in Khasi; the other details were obtained with the help of myntri U Subu Rai and his friends and the Chowkidar, U Hudrington. On important points however, some checking was made, by simple questions in Khasi, which involved definite answers in the affirmative or negative. My students who had accompanied me for training in field studies, repeated some of my observations, in my presence and with my help and guidance.

My best thanks are due to Mr. K. Cantlie, Deputy Commissioner, Khasi and Jaintia Hills, for furnishing me with the letter of introduction to U Subu Rai and for other facilities. His published notes on Khasi law, especially the chapters on inheritance also proved to be of great value in carrying out the enquiries (5). In the subsequent portions of this article, references to the works of Gurdon and Cantlie, will be indicated merely by (G) and (CN) respectively.

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601 In the genealogies Ka before a name denotes a woman, and U, a man. Hence no special symbols have been used to distinguish sex. Abbreviations used are :—

[128]

d—dead. n.r.—not remembered. n.k.—not known.

d.y.—died young. unm—unmarried. n.i.—no issue.

Unless the village of birth is stated to be otherwise, it is Mawphlang.

Relationship	Kinship term	Term of address	Term of reference
F.	U Kpa	I Kpa or Ko Kpa.	— (a)
Z.	U Khun.	Ko Khun.	—
D.	Ka Khun.	Ko Khun.	—
M.	I Mei.	I Mei.	Ka Kmie. (b)
M.e S.	Mei San.	Ko Mei San.	Ka Kmie San.
M.y S.	Mei Nah.	Ko Mei Nah.	Ka Kmie Nah.
y.S.z. (w.s.)	Khun Ruit.	Ko Khun Ruit.	—
e.S.Z. (w.s.)	Khun Ruit.	Ko Khun Ruit.	—
y.S.D. (w.s.)	"	"	—
e.S.D. (w.s.)	"	"	—
M.e.B.	Ma Rangbah.	I Ma Rangbah.	U Kni. (c)
M.y.B.	Ma Khynnah.	I Ma Khynnah.	U Kni.
y.S.Z. (m.s.)	Pyrsa	Ko Pyrsa.	—
e.T.Z. (m.s.)	Pyrsa.	Ko Pyrsa.	—
y.S.D. (m.s.)	"	"	—
e.S.D. (m.s.)	"	"	—
M.e.B.W.	I Nia.	Ko Nia.	Nia.
H.e.S Z.	Pyrsa.	Ko Pyrsa.	—
H.y.S.Z.	"	"	—
H.e.S.D.	"	"	—
H.y.S.D.	"	"	—
M.e.S.H.	Pa San.	Ko Pa San	—

CHAPTER II

General features of the district

128 2.1 In this chapter a brief note on the geography, population and economy of the district is given in order to provide a perspective and make the report self contained.

133 2.2 **Relief.**—The whole of the district is composed of hill tracts. On the northern and western border these hills take the form of tumbled ranges which run for the most part north and south and have a general height of two to three thousand feet. None of the hills in the central and southern portions of the district has anything rocky or precipitous about them. Their sides are covered with short grasses and from one direction or another, they can generally be negotiated by a man on horseback. There is a high plateau in the centre of the district, the general level of which is not much below 6000 feet though it decreases in height towards east and west.

2.3 **Rivers.**—The high plateau that traverses the centre of the district is the watershed of the hills. The following are the principal rivers. On the west there is the Jadukata or Kynshi river, further east come the Um Maopa and the Bogani which fall into the Surma. The Umngot or Maheskhali, known as the Pyian Gang in the plains of Sylhet, forms for a considerable distance the boundary of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills. On the north the principal rivers are Kakhri, the Digaru and Umiam. Farther west comes the Umkhen, Um Myntang and the Mynriang. All these rivers possess the characteristics usually associated with hill streams. The beds are rocky and gravelly; the currents swift and after heavy rains even small streams come down in spate. The rivers of the district are not used for traffic to any appreciable extent.

135 2.4 **Minerals.**—The Geological products of economic value are lime and coal. From the earliest days of British rule, the lime quarries of Khasi Hills formed one of the principal attractions of Sylhet, drawing a large number of Europeans to that district. The lime quarries are situated all along the southern face of the hills. Coal is found both in the cretaceous and nummulitic formations. The largest deposits of nummulitic coal are found at Cherrapunjee, Laitryngew, Mawlong, Mustoh, Mawsynram, Mawdon, Thanjinath, Lakadong and Narpuh. Cretaceous coal is found in Maobchlarkar, Barsora, Wapung Laitkynsew and in the Langrin field.

137 2.5 **Forests.**—The district exhibits a varied flora reflecting the variations in the physical features, configuration of the ground, adaphic factors and climatic gradient. In the pine zone, covering areas between 2500'- 6200' elevation are found the pines, birch, schima, oak, beech, etc. The evergreen hardwood zone, which forms belt along the foothills contains useful hardwood species of which the most important species are sal, nahor, cham, chap, gomari, etc. The dry grassy belt covering the lower slopes roughly between 500'-2500' elevation form the ideal ground for graziers.

19: Assam G-5 (1958) 1963 AR7 Khasi AR7

CHAPTER IV

Result of the survey

4.1 **Distribution of sample.**—It has already been mentioned in Chapter I that purposive selection of ten villages from border area, eight villages from the project area and a random selection of ten villages from the general area, were made for intensive investigation. 125 128

It is not our intention to devote this Chapter on the specific needs of individual villages. Some common salient features of the villages relating to the situation of the villages, diseases occurring there and marketing, communication, educational and medical facilities obtainable in those villages are briefly described below for the purpose of giving intelligence into the condition of the sample villages.

The following table shows the group-wise distribution of the sample villages, their location by thana and subdivision and the number of families inhabiting each village at the time of the survey.

TABLE B-I

Sample villages in United K. & J. Hills and their location 621

Group	Name of villages	Thana	Subdivision	No. of families
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Border area—	1. Lumshnong ..	Jowai ..	Jowai ..	63
	2. Amki —	Dawki .	Do ..	18
	3. Syndai ..	Do ..	Do ..	133
	4. Darrang ..	Do ..	Do ..	104
	5. Lyngkhat ..	Do ..	Do ..	28
	6. Nongjri ..	Cherra ...	Shillong ...	229
	7. Bholaganj ...	Do ..	Do ..	84
	8. Shella .	Do ..	Do ..	236
	9 Mawdon .	Do ..	Do ..	52
	10. Bajet ..	Do ..	Do ..	65

311 423 182 The total number of fragments in 697 holding in Border of area is 2,540 giving an average of 3.64 fragments per holding, that in 462 holdings in project area is 1,080 which gives on the average 2.34 fragment per holding, while in General area 165 holdings comprise of 443 fragments, *i.e.*, 2.68 fragment per holding. A comparison of the above figures with the average fragment figures of 1.61, 4.50, 4.40 and 3.73 per holding in Mikir Hills, Darrang, Sibsagar and Lakhimpur districts respectively goes to show that incidence of fragmentation in this district is higher than that in Mikir Hills but less than that in other districts.

It will be seen from table D4.1 at the appendix that in the small holding group (less than 3 acres) average number of fragments per holding is 1.99 in Border, 1.60 in Project and 2.01 in General area. The average sizes in the corresponding holding group being 1.36 acres 1.47 acres and 1.55 acres, in Border area, Project area and General area, the average size of fragments in the respective area works out at ·68 acres, ·92 and ·76 acres. Similarly it will be seen that average sizes of fragments for medium holding group are, in Border area 1.61 acres (average size of medium holding 5.63 acres) in Project area 1.85 acres (averages size of holding 4.95 acres) and in General area 1.51 acres (average size of holding 5.02 acres), those for large holding group being 3.15 acres, 3.06 acres and 3.49 acres respectively against the average large holding sizes of 19.55 acres, 15.25 acres and 12.53 acres in the respective area.

FARMS

241 592 6.5 The operating unit in the rural agricultural system is in most cases the family farm. Functions, entrepreneur, capital and manual labour as regards to the agricultural operations in these farms are done through a joint effort of the family unit. Rarely permanent farm servants are maintained though employment of casual labourers are employed during the busy seasons.

[128] In this enquiry a farm has been defined as comprising of all agricultural land operated by a single family with or without employment of labour. The family may or may not have the right of permanent occupancy and inheritance over the farm land operated by it, and in this sense the farm is distinguised from holding which comprises of such land only over which the family concerned possesses right of occupancy and inheritance.

8·5—In the following paragraphs we have reproduced the yield rates of different crops, calculated on the basis of area harvested and total produces reported by the cultivators. For assesment of correct yield rates it is necessary to conduct a scientifically designed crops cutting survey which in view of its largeness in magnitude and other complexities associated with the type of experiments, could not be fitted in with the programme of the present survey. It is admitted that the yield estimates worked out by us are proved to be subjected to the usual limitations of this type of data. 128 433

Yield

1. **Paddy.**—It will be seen from table above that average yields of paddy per acre for Border area, General area and Project area are respectively 8.38 maunds, 12.92 maunds and 12.60 maunds and for the district as a whole it comes to 11.65 maunds though there are cases where maximum yield goes to above 18 maunds per acre. Thus it is seen that the average yield is much less than the average yield for the State of Assam (plain district) which is above 18 maunds per acre. Average yield in Border area is evidently much smaller. Apart from low fertility of land, another reason for this low average is that in a number of villages selected from Border area such as Syndai, Amki and Lumshnong, there was widespread havoc to standing crops was caused by wild elephants. 243 433 [136]

2. **Potato.**—The average for the three areas comes to 21·61 maunds per acre which is in contrast to the State average of above 40 maunds per acre. Our estimate has in fact been lowered due to inclusion of a few villages in the foot hills where potatoes don't grow well, otherwise in a number of high altitude villages, yield per acre well exceeded 40 maunds. The average for Border area is rather too low. Apart from unsuitability of Border land of high altitude potatoes another reason for this low average is that during the reference year the crop suffered from widespread incidence of pests and insects. 244 433 [136]

3. **Orange.**—yield of orange in Border area, Project area and General area was found to be 5. 27 luties or 5396 numbers against 16.76 luties or 17162 numbers and 2.80 luties or 2867 numbers respectively Thus the average yield in Border area, even considering the mixed nature of some gardens is much low. The reasons are obvious. 245 433

4. **Betelnut**—Average yield per acre from Border area, Project area and General area was found to be 2.93 luties (18752 numbers), 4.11 luties (26304 numbers) ann 3.03 luties (19392 numbers) respectively bringing the average for all the three areas to 2.95 luties per arce. 249 433

5. **Betel leaf.**—Average yield per acre works out at 17·15 kuris, 50.64 kuris and 24 kuris in Border area, Project area and General area respectively. Thus in Booder area the average is much lower. This is due to the fact that most of the gardens remained unplucked for want of market for leaf.

511 It is seen that the per family average annual expenditure is Rs.909·00 nP. in Border areas, Rs.1008 00 nP. in Project area and Rs.828·00 nP. in General area. The per family annual net income in the respective area being Rs.852·86 nP., Rs.988·84 nP, and Rs.949·51 nP. it follows that the budget of the average family is deficit in all the areas. [426] This deficit is usually made up either by restricting the consumption expenditure during the lean months of the agricultural year or by taking loans.

221 511 The field work of the survey was started during the month of February, i.e., hardly after two months, of harvesting of winter paddy and during the harvesting period of cash crops like orange, betelnut, potatoes, etc. During this period people get money through the sale proceeds and naturally they [114] were tempted to spend comparatively higher amount on food. In fact, it was made clear during investigation that as lean months are approaching when people did not have money to purchase food articles, they used to lead a very austere life. This period is particularly very hard for the Border people because unlike people of other two areas they do not have [128] even paddy in store. As the above figures of annual expenditure of a [125] family were calculated on the basis of information collected for one month preceeding the date of investigation, in respect of food and non-food articles, and for one year in respect of miscellaneous items, there is every likelihood of the average per family expenditure on food and non-food articles being over-estimated.

128 511 As in the case of income, consumption of articles produced at home or at farm as well as those received out of the goods, services and gift and loan were valued in money terms on the basis of the local average retail prices in respect of the commodities concerned. Thus even firewood and other wild vegetables and fishes obtained by fishing were valued in terms of money. Of the total average expenditure on food, the food articles obtained in kind and consumed at home account for about 18 per cent in Border area, 53 per cent in Project area and 57 per cent in General area. Thus the share of food articles obtained in kind and consumed at home to the annual expenditure of a family is very low in Border area. This is natural because they depend almost exclusively on cash crop cultivation.

511 Out of the total expenditure, food account for about 68 per cent in Border area, 67 per cent in Project area and 73 per cent in General area. In all the areas cereals alone took the bulk of the expenditure on food, i.e., 66 per cent, 75 per cent and 81 per cent in the respective areas

It is seen that expenditure on pulses, vegetables and milk are very low. In fact only a few of the Tribal villagers take pulses, milk and vegetables. Rice and fish or meat are the only items of the dishes of most of the villages.

Among non-food articles fuel and light accounted for 6 per cent in Border area, 5 per cent in Project area, and 5 per cent in General area. Khasis are heavy chewers of betelnut and this accounted for 5 per cent of total annual expenditure in border area, 4 per cent in Project area and about 3 per cent in General area while tobacco and tea in tea-stall accounted for about 5 per cent, 4 per cent and 4 per cent respectively of the total annual expenditure in the three areas. Expenditure on liquor

21: Ehrenfels E-4,5 (1950) 1953 AR7 Khasi AR7

[p. 396]

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Khasi Kinship Terms in four Dialects

By U. R. EHRENFELS, Ph D. (Vienna)

Contents:

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I. Introductory Remarks

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Professor K. P. CHATTOPADHYAY (Calcutta University) published in 1941 an analysis of Khasi kinship terms [1] based on eight genealogies which he collected in the Mawphlang area, about sixteen miles south-west of Shillong [2]. He discussed in this paper a previous publication by Professor HODSON [3] where special features of certain Khasi kinship terms are held to prove the pre-existence of a dual system in a one-time Khasi social order and he quotes also the late RAI BAHADUR S. C. ROY's work on Khasi kinship [4] and lists of Assamese relationship terms, contained in "Census of India Reports" [5] and Khasi terms in U NISSOR SINGH's "Khasi-English Dictionary" [6], P. R. T. GURDON's monograph on the Khasi [7] and in SIR KEITH CANTLIE's "Notes on Khasi Law" [8]. Discussing these previously published papers, CHATTOPADHYAY arrives at the conclusion that HODSON's hypothesis of a dual organization in a hypothetical former Khasi society was not justified [9].

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The present paper, however, does not enter into discussion of this

[1] CHATTOPADHYAY (1941).
[2] Ibid., p. 1.
[3] HODSON (1921).
[4] ROY (1921).
[5] MCSWINEY (1911), pp. 74/75. The Census Report of 1891, quoted by CHATTOPADHYAY (1941), p. 1, is not available to me at the time of writing.
[6] NISSOR SINGH (1906).
[7] GURDON (1914).
[8] CANTLIE (1934).
[9] CHATTOPADHYAY (1941), pp. 27, 35.

21: Ehrenfels E-4,5 (1950) 1953 AR7 Khasi AR7

question and indeed has been compiled without knowledge of Professor CHATTOPADHYAY's work, and before he very kindly sent a private copy of this work, which had not been available to me previously.

The present paper offers data on the following subjects:

1. Khasi kinship terms from the Mawshai Khasi plateau-area in the Khyrim State, about 20 to 30 miles south-east of Shillong, which are in some minor details different from the Mawphlang data, collected by CHATTOPADHYAY, south-west of Shillong;
2. Comparative data from the Wár-Khasi;
3. from the plateau-area of Jowai in the Jaintia [10] Hills, and
4. from the Wár-Jaintia;
5. Aspects of the Khasi kinship terms, with special reference to the matrilineal order of society, and to the respective position of women and men there, especially the particular consideration which the biological relationship through the father receives in kinship terminology, in spite of the emphasis on the matrilineal structure in Khasi society (comp. term No. 1 of the list and its discussion in para 3/*b* of the present paper, on p. 408).

The data were collected in field researches to which I was enabled by two Research Grants for comparative studies in matrilineal civilizations of India, given by the Viking Fund Inc. (now: Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research) in New York, during the periods 1949-50 and 1951-52. My gratefulness to the foundation for enabling me to carry out these field researches, as well as to the University of Madras, for granting me Sabbathical leaves for the same purpose, is here once more recorded.

My research programme was based on the first tentative working hypothesis, laid down in my book "Mother-right in India" [11], but includes also various other aspects of study which have not been pre-planned, or even considered there [12], as for instance also the present comparative study of kinship terms in areas of four Khasi dialects and their special significance to the Khasi matrilineal social system. The material was collected during a five weeks house-to-house study in the recently founded Plateau Khasi village Maw Syn Jri, during April and May 1950. This village consisted mostly of houses, owned by Khasi elder sisters and inhabited by them, with their families, after they had left the ancestral home in the main village Kharang, about one mile across the valley on the western side of the new settlement. The ancestral family houses there were in the possession of either the mother, or, if she was no more alive, the youngest daughter of the family, the *ka khun khaddu* [13].

[10] Jaintia, (Pnár or "Synteng") are the Khasi speaking eastern neighbours of the Khasi proper. As among the Khasi, so also among Jaintia the people in the cool plateau highlands are in many ways different from those who settled in the luscious tropical rainforests of the southern slopes, now situated just north of the East Pakistan frontier: — the so-called Wár-country, where economy is mainly based on pan-leaf gardening.

[11] EHRENFELS (1941).

[12] EHRENFELS (1950/*A*), (1950/*B*), (1950/*C*), (1950/*D*), (1950/*E*), (1951/*A*), (1951/*B*).

[13] GURDON (1914), pp. 83, seq., CANTLIE (1934), p. 11.

21: Ehrenfels E-4,5 (1950) 1953 AR7 Khasi AR7

III. Explanations

1. General

124 Most of my informants were illiterate. The spelling of the terms was
•128 checked and corrected by my English-speaking and writing Khasi- and
601 Pnár- friends, mentioned in para one, to whom thanks are being here once more expressed. All responsibility for spelling mistakes, however, which may have slipped into this list has of course to be borne by me.

Blanks (—) or question marks (?) in one of the columns do not necessarily mean that there is no word used, by the respective group, for the particular term. They more often indicate that my informants did not use, or know, the particular term, or that I failed to enquire about it in a
[114] manner sufficiently clear to my informants. This is particularly true of general terms, partly or fully corresponding to English general terms, such as parents or grand-parents, or the terms No. 9/*a* and *b*, 13, 15/*a*, 19-21, and 26, which were partly explained to me, by Khasi friends in Shillong, where I stayed some time after completion of field-work during the rainy season. Hence I could no more return for verification to the little accessible Wár-villages in the steep southern slopes. Although I am planning to utilise a future opportunity for such checking up, I am yet publishing the present results in the hope that they may thus become accessible to field-workers among other S. E.-Asiatic, and especially Austro-Asiatic speaking peoples.

193 All terms which are equal for both sexes (cf. Nos. 10, 11, 18, 19, etc.)
601 are used with *ka* and *u* respectively. These sexdetermining preposed articles,
128 as also the honorific *i* are specially mentioned in the list, only if this is essential for the understanding of the respective terms as in Nos. 3-5, 7, 8, or 10.

2. Special

601 Term No. 1 — to give birth or beget (*kha*) signifies also relatives on the paternal side as in *para kha* (paternal cousins No. 9/*c*), in contradistinction to *para kur*, 9/*b*, (lit.: cousins of the clan), i. e. maternal cousins, since the clan is a matrilineal unit. This usage of the word *kha* appears also
[842] significantly in the terms 15/*a*, 17, 18/*b*, 20, 22, 32 and, as an integral part of the Khasi kinship terminology, renders it highly improbable that the Khasi matrilineal system could lave originated in ignorance of the biological function of the father. It is a significant feature in the matrilineal social system.

The terms 3 to 3/*b* refer to unmarried but biologically marriageable youths.
[881] It will be noted that there are (and were in 1914) no indications of puberty-
[584] rites for either girls or boys. There is also no child-marriage among Khasi. The use of special terms for mature, unmarried youths is therefore significant.

Term 6 — *i* as honorific article, is at the same time indicative of
[428] diminution [23], which is remarkable for two reasons: (firstly) the diminution is used for the oldest and most respected family members, like the diminution

[23] NISSOR SINGH (1906), p. 84.

18: Godwin-Austen G-3 (ca. 1872) 1875 AR7
Khasi AR7

21 rude stone monuments. At the village of Nougshai, near
[101] Shillong, are to be seen some very striking monoliths; and
[131] although they do not come up quite to the length of those at Nurtiang (noticed by Dr. Hooker in his "Himalayan Journals"), yet they are very worthy of being mentioned. They stand on
[133] the open spur just above the village, and have been worked out of the beds of the Shillong sandstone series, and some of the smaller blocks have been taken from the conglomerate beds, the lowest in the series, and which come in, in the bed of the ravine, to the north of the spur. There are a number of monuments on this site, large and small, arranged both in line and on two sides of a square; the two largest have their central monoliths—height, 24 ft. 3 in.; width, 5 ft. 6 in.; thickness, 8 in.; and height, 23 ft. 2 in.; width, 2 ft. 9 in.; thickness, 1 ft., respectively.

[126] Plate ii., which is taken from a photograph by Mr. William Robert, Assistant Surveyor in the Khasi Hills survey party, gives an excellent idea of the second largest structure, showing the very massive flat-stone, the "Mao Kynthai," in front. This structure consisted of thirteen upright stones, which could not all be brought into the field of the camera; but the six outside stones on the right are shown. Many of the slabs in the
175 adjacent monuments have been overthrown and broken quite
211 recently, perhaps by Sepoys and camp followers from the military station close by. At one time a mountain battery of Eurasian Artillery was quartered there, and I attribute the overthrow of so many of the stones in the neighbourhood to their handiwork, who would look on such amusement as a "great lark." The Sepoy (native of India) is not of a mischievous disposition; the European and half-European (uneducated) is markedly so. Thus the monument with the highest stone is imperfect, and it must, when perfect, have been a very handsome one. This is a sad pity, after the time and labour that must have been expended in its erection.

361 I did not observe any new slabs anywhere in the immediate
712 neighbourhood. Nougshai must formerly have been a large
[211] and powerful village; it stands on a naturally very strong position, and old lines of fortification are to be traced on many sides, especially on the approach from the direction of the Falls of the Umiam. These old lines of defence are on a curious system: a ditch and bank have been carried forward from the main defences from 200 to 300 yards down the ridge of the spurs, thus effectually preventing an enemy working round the hill sides below the villages.

174 This fortified site points to a state of things in these hills
712 when the relations between the large village communities or
628

Uptill now the main sources of forest revenue in the district are timber, limestone, lac, bay leaf and elephants. 13

2.6 **Agriculture.**—The greater proportion of population of the distict subsist on agriculture. The staple crops raised in the district are wet and dry rice, various kinds of millets, maize, potatoes, pineapples, oranges, arecanut, betel-leaf and bay leaf. To a smaller extent they grow in the gardens round their houses vegetables, pulses and occasionally sugarcane. 24

2.6.1 **The main crops : Rice.**—While wet rice is grown in the valleys with which the hills are intersected, dry rice is grown on the hill sides. Highland rice is seldom grown twice running on the same spot for after one crop the soil is exhausted and a fallow period of four to five years is usually allowed. Jowai subdivision is predominantly a wet rice producing area. In Shillong subdivision main wet rice pockets are the Bhoi area stretching upto the sung valley and the northern portion of the plateau, the Mylliem state, the south-western portion of the district and the southern plain portion of the district adjoining East Pakistan. Dry rice is grown more or less through out the district. While Jowai subdivision can claim self sufficiency in rice, Shillong subdivision is a deficit area and the people in this subdivision particularly those in the southern portion (border area) of the district have to depend on supplies from outside. Though there is no reliable statistices of the area under rice, a rough estimate is given elsewhere in the land utilisation table. 243

Maize and millet.—are two important food crops of the district grown more or less throughout the district.

Potatoes are extensively grown in the higher slopes and in the lower land which are well drained. Generally two crops of potatoes are raised annually in the district. In respect of production and export of potato this district occupies the topmost position in the State of Assam. 244

Orange, betel leaf and arecanut are most extensively grown in the southern base of the hills, *i.e.* all over the border areas. Oranges are also grown in Bornihat areas, in the northern portion of the district. Orange and betelnut plantations extend from the foot of the hills to a height of about 1500 feet and are carried up the ravines which score the southern face of the high plateau. The district is an important producer of Bay-leaf which is abundantly found in the border areas of the district. Other valuable cash crops of the district are black pepper, turmeric, chillies, ginger, pineapple and various other fruits. 245

·26.2 **Agricultural seasons.**—For wet rice, the lands which are naturally irrigated by virtue of their very location, are ploughed or hoed by about the middle of February and seed sown in May or June. Harvesting takes place in October and November. For dry rice, the land is hoed by about the middle of September, the solds are collected into little heaps and burnt and by February the land is again hoed up and the seed sown in April - May. Harvesting goes 243

21: Ehrenfels E-4,5 (1950) 1953 AR7 Khasi AR7

on a historical past, different from that of the Khasi proper, the former having been ruled by the powerful, but somewhat Hinduised dynasty of the Jaintia Rajas until the Jaintia Wars of the British; the latter by small independent chiefs. Yet Jaintia social organization appears on the whole to preserve the matrilineal social structure clearer and to be less influenced by plains-acculturation, than that of the Khasi, though a few features of Brahmanical religious observances and also some traces of racial admixture are found in the immediate vicinity of Jowei, the former summer residence of the Jaintia Rajas. Stronger no doubt, than this influence, was that exercised by the British and non-Assamese Indians in the provincial capital Shillong since 1866. Methods of agriculture and other aspects of material civilization differ but little in the Jaintia- and Khasi plateau-areas.

The same cannot be said of both: the Wár-Khasi and Wár-Jaintias. Linguistically their affiliations are with the Khasi or Jaintias respectively, in the plateau-areas. Economically, however, both Wár-groups form a separate pan-leaf cultivating unit in the little accessible steep southern slopes of the Khasi- and Jaintia Hill massif. Both Wár-groups live in the environment of luscious tropical flora and fauna, sharply differentiated from the cool, barren plateau with its perennial winds and the heroic, if solitary beauty of its highland heaths, which forms the background of both the Khasi- and Jaintia plateau-groups.

The age of the Wár-Khasi and -Jaintias, as one independent economic, — and two half-independent dialectical linguistic entities, is an intricate problem. The two Wár-groups subsist on pan-leaf cultivation as a money crop, grown in the thick tree-gardens as creepers; not on food-cultivation, as do the plateau-groups, because there is insufficient space on the steep slopes, for vegetable gardens or -fields. The pan-leaf cultivators therefore depend on food, purchased from outside. The slopes seem to have been uninhabited until not long ago. Yet pan-leaf chewing is such an integral part of Khasi life, that until quite recently, and occasionally even now, a distance between two places is not measured by the number of hours used for walking, but by the number of betelnut- and pan-leaf packages, consumed on the way. Also the common benediction among Khasi expresses the wish that so and so may eat pan in the Garden of God. Yet pan-cultivation and the settlements of the Wár-people as pan-leaf cultivators in the southern slopes seem comparatively young. Pan-cultivation on the plateau is impracticable. It is therefore possible that pan was for a long time only a much valued import article from the plains, bartered against Khasi ore and iron tools, though it is now an export article from the Wár-country, brought to the markets of the plains, by both Wár-Khasi and Wár-Jaintia women and men.

According to a tradition, across which I came among the Nonglamin clan of the Nongmuker village, the ancestors of the present Wár people were on the plateau at a time when no pan-cultivation was going on in the slopes and none of the present big estates of pan-tree gardens was yet held by their present (Wár-) owners. A not distant ancestor of a Nonglamin clan-member who about two or three generations ago told the story to U Siang (one of

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

THE KHASIS

SECTION I.

HABITAT.

101 162 THE Khasis reside in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills district of Assam. They number 176,614 souls, which total is made up of:—

Khasis	107,515
Syntengs	47,883
Christian Khasis	17,125
Khasis inhabiting other districts	4,091
	176,614

131 162 563 The Khasi and Jaintia Hills district is situated between 25° 1′ and 26° 5′ North Latitude, and between 90° 47′ and 92° 52′ East Longitude. It contains an area of 6,157 square miles, with a total population at the Census of 1901 of 202,250 souls. In addition to the Khasis there are some members of Bodo tribes inhabiting parts of the district.

The Lyngam tribe appears to have been reckoned in 1901 as Khasi, there being no separate record at the last Census of these people.

101 131 [133] 563 The district is split up into two divisions, the Khasi Hills proper and the Jaintia Hills. The Khasi Hills form the western portion of the district and the Jaintia Hills the eastern. The Khasis inhabit the Khasi Hills proper, and the Syntengs, or Pnars, the Jaintia Hills. The latter hills take their name from the Rajas of Jaintia, the former rulers of this part of the country, who had as their capital Jaintiapur, a place situated at the foot of the Jaintia Hills on the southern side, which now falls within the boundaries of the Sylhet

[P.]

1-Gordon E-4.5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

101 district. The Lynngams inhabit the western portion of the
131 Khasi Hills proper. A line drawn north and south through
563 the village of Nongstoin may be said to form their eastern boundary, and the Kamrup and Sylhet districts their northern and southern boundaries, respectively. The people known as *Bhois* in these hills, who are many of them really Mikirs, live in the low hills to the north and north-east of the district, the term "Bhoi" being a territorial name rather than tribal. The eastern boundary of the Lynngam country may be said to form their north-western boundary. The Wárs inhabit the precipitous slopes and deep valleys to the south of the district. Their country extends along the entire southern boundary of the district to the Jadukata, or Kenchi-iong, river where the Lynngam territory may be said to commence towards the south. There are some Hadem colonies in the extreme eastern portions of the Jaintia Hills. It is these colonies which are sometimes referred to by other writers as "Kuki Colonies." They are settlers from the North Cachar Sub-division of the Cachar district within recent years. It is possible that the title Hadem may have some connection with *Hidimba*, the ancient name for the North Cachar Hills.

APPEARANCE.

142 The colour of the Khasi skin may be described as being usually brown, varying from dark to a light yellowish brown, according to locality. The complexion of the people who inhabit the uplands is of a somewhat lighter shade, and many of the women, especially those who live at Nongkrem, Laitlyngkot, [361] Mawphlang, and other villages of the surrounding high plateaux, possess that pretty gipsy complexion that is seen in the South of Europe amongst the peasants. The people of Cherrapunji village are specially fair. The Syntengs of the Jaintia Hills are darker than the Khasi uplanders. The Wárs who live in the low valleys are frequently more swarthy than the Khasis. The Bhois have the flabby-looking yellow skin of the Mikirs, and the Lynngams are darker than the Khasis. The Lynngams are probably the darkest complexioned people in the

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

Khasi Hills.	Jaintia Hills.
1. Lyngkah (Barpani or Khawang)	Kyllon. (Sohtaga).
2. Nongkrem	Pynsing.
3. Um-long (Maslong the hat at Laban)	Maslong. (Nartiang).
4. Rangbap (Iew-lah at Cherra) (Mawtawar in Mylliem) (Umsaw in Nongkhlaw)	Mawiang. (Jowai).
5. Shillong (Laitlyngkot)	Mawlai. (Shangpung).
6. Pomtih or Pomtiah (Mawkhar, small market)	Pynkat. (Mynsi).
7. Umsih	Thyne-blein.
8. Yeo-duh (Mawkhar, large market)	Ka-lut. (Jaintiapur).

In the War country, markets are usually held every fourth day, e.g. at Nongjri, Mawlang, Tyllap, and Shella. At Thoria the market is held every Friday, and at Hat-majai, or Bholagunj, every Tuesday.

THE LYNGAMS.

Although mention has been made incidentally in various parts of this monograph of Lyngam customs, it has been thought necessary to give the Lyngams a separate chapter, as these people differ so very greatly from the Khasis in their manner of life, and in their customs. *Lyngam* is the Khasi name; the Garo name for the Lyngams is *Mopem*. There are several *Mopem* villages in the north-eastern corner of the Garo Hills district, and there is regular communication kept up between these villages and the Lyngam inhabitants of the Khasi Hills district. The Lyngams must not be confused with the *Bimi* or *Nimdonigra* Garos who inhabit the low hills to the north of the Khasi Hills district, and are called by the Khasis *Dio*. All Lyngams claim to be Khasis, they dislike being called Garos; but although it is true they speak what may be called a dialect of Khasi, and observe some of the Khasi customs, the Lyngams are more Garo than Khasi.* Before proceeding further, it should be stated that the Assamese of Boko call the Lyngams *Nonipá* Garos, all hill people being Garos to the Assamese of that region, without distinction

I: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

or difference. It is owing to these three different names being 101
used for the same people that there has been so much confusion about Lyungams previously; e.g. at one census they were named *Lyungam*, at another they received the appellation of Garo, and at a third enumeration they were called Khasis. In Section I. 131
the habitat of the Lyungams has been roughly defined. It is 361
impossible to define the Lyungam country exactly, because 173
these people are continually shifting their village sites owing to the exigencies of *jhum* cultivation, which has been described in Section II. Some of the Lyungams preserve a tradition that they originally came from the Kamrup plains. It is interesting that a people, like the Garos in so many respects, should have the same idea as the Garos as to the hills on the south bank of the Brahmaputra not always having been their abode. The Garo legend is that they dwelt for 173
some years in the Goalpara and Kamrup plains after they 361
descended from Thibet, and before they moved to the Garo 144
Hills; and there is unmistakable evidence of their occupation of both districts in the shape of certain Garo villages on both banks of the Brahmaputra for some little distance up the river. If, as I suspect, the Lyungams are an offshoot of the Garos, it is, perhaps, possible that they entered the Khasi Hills much in the same way as the Garos entered the hill district to which they have given their name. The Lyungams are much darker 142
than the Khasis, and possess the Thibeto-Burman type of 177
feature often to a marked degree. It is not extraordinary that they should have adopted some of the Khasi customs, for the Khasis, being the stronger people, would in course of time be bound to influence them in this respect. That the Lyungams 411
observe the matriarchate and erect (some clans) memorial 211
stones is not peculiar, because the Garos, like the Khasis, are 764
also a matriarchal people (to a limited degree), and the custom of erecting memorial stones is not confined to the Khasis, for other hill tribes in Assam observe the practice, e.g. certain Naga tribes and the Mikirs; and the Garos themselves put up carved posts, called *hima*, in honour of the departed. Although 582
there is not much intermarriage between the Khasis and the 101
Lyungams nowadays, perhaps in days gone by there was a 144
mixture of blood, the result being the hybrid race we are now

10: Clarke U-3 (no date)1874 AR7 Khasi AR7

The STONE MONUMENTS *of the* KHASI HILLS. By C. B. CLARKE. [Communicated by Professor H. Fawcett, through Sir John Lubbock, Bart].*

131 THE Khasi Hills form a plateau, at a mean elevation of 4,500 feet above the sea, between the plain of Assam on the north and the plain of Sylhet on the south. They are inhabited by the 101 Khasi tribe, a people very distinct from the Hindoos north and south of them, and who are a branch of a race which extends eastward as far as South China. Immediately east of them are the Jaintea people, also called Sintengs, who are very closely allied in race and customs to the Khasi tribe. The 133 Jaintea country is physically a portion of the same plateau as the Khasi, and is only arbitrarily divided from it, and exhibits the same grassy hill-tops. The Khasi and Jaintea tribes together occupy the political district administered by the Deputy-Commissioner of Shillong, and the whole plateau is accordingly called the Shillong Plateau by Mr. Medlicott, the Dep.-Superintendent of the Geological Survey in India. Shillong is the English station which is the political capital. The plateau is remarkable for its freedom from the dense jungle which covers the neighbouring Himalayas at similar elevations; it is a fine rocky moor-like plateau, with isolated

* The woodcuts illustrating this paper have been kindly lent by Mr. Murray.

[p. 481]

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

133 the highest point is the Shillong Peak, 6,445 feet, covered with scrub,
137 grassland and forests (mostly oak, rhododendron and pine trees). The Jaintia Hills are considerably lower, with much flat land; wet paddy cultivation is practised here and there where sufficient water is available. From the plateau of the Khasi Hills northwards to the Assam Brahmaputra Valley there is a gentle slope covered with thick jungle, and the southern slope towards the Bengal plain is very steep, so that

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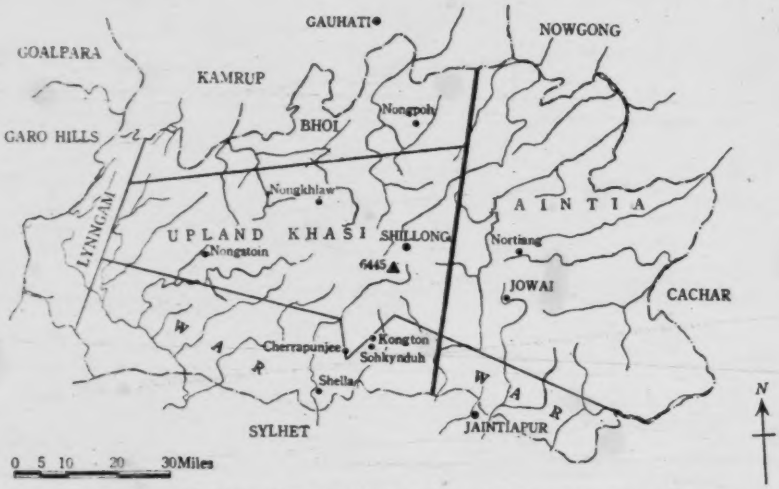

MAP. 8. — *Map of the Khasi-Jaintia Hills with Classification of Groups.*

133 the upland remained practically cut off from the plains until the
137 middle of the 19th century.

Following the geographical and ecological differences, the five
619 groups are segregated into fairly well-defined cultural areas, each developing a different economy and dialect:

[131]
[24]

1. The Jaintia[1] — associated mostly with wet rice cultivation.
2. The Khasi (upland Khasi) — practise potato cultivation with small-scale rice and maize cultivation.
3. The War — inhabit the southern slope of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills (they are called geographically the Khasi War and the Jaintia War). Due to the heavy rainfall, the soil is the most fertile in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills. The Khasi War practise jhuming of which the main yield is millet. In the lower part of this area, pan-leaf, betel-nut, and orange gardens are cultivated. The Jaintia War practise wet rice cultivation like most of the Jaintias, as well as pan-leaf cultivation.

1. They are called also the Synteng or the Pnar.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

I. Setting and Economic Background of Sohkynduh and Kongton

361 632 [131] Sohkynduh and Kongton are villages of the Kadashinong,[1] one of the areas under the Cherra Chief. The Kadashinong is situated on the southern slope of the Khasi Hills, in what is called War country. These two villages are situated at the farthest point from both Shella, the centre bordered by the plain, and Cherrapunjee, the seat of the Cherra Chief, one of the centres of the upland Khasi Hills. The people 184 at Cherrapunjee say that these villages are one of the most backward 121 parts of the Khasi Hills. They correspond to Rombagiri in the Garo [171] Hills, as they lie in the innermost parts and more traditional economic and social settings have been preserved there than in other villages. These are also the reasons why I selected those villages as my field.

361 It is nine miles to Sohkynduh from Cherrapunjee, crossing two [131] deep valleys towards the east. Kongton is located at the heart of the mountain ranges, ten miles from Cherrapunjee, towards the north- [487] east. It is about twelve miles from Sohkynduh to Kongton, and the way leads through one of the most difficult passes, where even [162] villagers seldom travel. In December, 1955, Sohkynduh was a community of 48 households (List 6), and Kongton of 62 households (List 9). The settlements of both villages are clustered in the southern depressions of a mountain, not far from the summit, a typical location [134] of Khasi villages. Sohkynduh has poor soil, covered with plenty of pieces of stones. The yield therefore is very poor. On the other hand, Kongton, a much older village, enjoys fertile soil, and is one of the most prosperous communities in the Kadashinong.

241 The major economy of both villages is shifting cultivation. We have already seen, in the chapters on the Garo, the fundamental technique of "Jhuming cultivation." The differences between the 423 Garo and the Khasi shifting cultivation are to be found in two aspects: one is the nature of the crops and the other is the type of landowner- [171] ship. In this area, the main crop is millet, while that of the Garo is [241] rice. Besides the shifting cultivation, the Khasi have pan-leaf gardens and sometimes pineapple gardens, though on a small scale and not in every household. The most important feature of Khasi shifting cultivation is the development of private ownership. In the tribal areas in Assam, such private ownership of the jhum field is quite an

1. Kadashinong is the name of a group of villages. Its literal meaning is "twelve villages," and it comprises the following villages: Sohkynduh, Rymmai, Mawbawein, Mawshiut, Mawmang, Kongton, Shyntiang, Krohiawhiar, Pdei, Tenshun, Nongpriang, and Diengsaw. (Khasi spelling follows the customary usage in Cherra State.)

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

APPENDIX

SOME ADDITIONAL INFORMATION FROM SHELLA AND JATINGA

SHELLA

Shella is situated on the lowest of the southern slopes of the Khasi Hills, bordering on the Sylhet plain of East Pakistan. For centuries the people of Shella maintained close trading connections with the people of the plain, so that they have been much influenced by the Hindu. They have been to some extent divorced economically and culturally from their own people who live in the uplands and on higher part of the slopes. Actually, this is a natural result of their geographical location. From Cherrapunjee, the southern edge of the upland Khasi Hills, only a narrow footpath goes down to Shella. The altitude of Cherrapunjee is about 5,000 feet and of Shella from 500 to 1,000 feet, and the distance between them is 8 miles. The path descends very steeply and is full of hard stones. This difficulty of communication is also why the Hindu influence did not penetrate the upland Khasi, as in the case of the Jaintia Hills.[1]

This area has a unique political organization which differs from the majority of Khasi states who are traditionally ruled by the members of the Siem clan. Shella is organized as a confederation, called 'Shella Confederacy,' and consists of four local villages. The head of the village is called *wadadhar*, and is elected by the villagers every three years. The number of households of the Shella Confederacy was about 900 in January 1956. The names of the four villages and their *wadadhar* in 1956 were:

Name of village	*Name of wadadhar*
1. Shella	Devish Mohan Roy
2. Mushtoh	Ditojou Roy
3. Nongtrai	Orju Roy
4. Tyngnger	Jabuni Roy

Each village is divided into sections. For instance, Shella village has nine sections: (1) Jasir, (2) Disong, (3) Duba, (4) Jamau, (5) Nongrum, (6) Nongnong,

1. However, Shella was the only way out and the main gateway from the Khasi Hills to the plain; it was here that the British first entered the Khasi Hills. They proceeded from Shella to Cherrapunjee and made the latter headquarters of the Khasi Hills in 1833.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

Shella

Confederacy forms a more marked endogamous community, through being cut off geographically and economically from the rest of the Khasi, and socially from the neighbouring Hindu people. 621

The Economy and the People.

Shella lies along the upper part of the Shella River and stretches upwards 131
along the steep slope, looking down towards the Bengal plain. The climate
of this part of the hills is considered to be one of the worst in tropical India 132
for human habitation. The Bengal plain, though warmer than this area, is
considered more healthy. This border land is the zone of malaria, typhoid, 164
black fever, cholera, etc. None of the Bengalee peasants dare to live in such
an area. However, it is the most fertile for products such as betel-nuts, pan- 433
leaves, oranges, bananas and pineapples, and it also produces limestone. These
people seem to prefer to settle in this zone and to enjoy its prosperity, at the 164
expense of human lives: every year, especially between March and September,
the inhabitants suffer from various fevers and dysentry and other diseaes, many
of the weaker facing death. 648

Before the Partition of India and Pakistan, the products of Shella were 177
carried down the Shella River to Sylhet, one of the biggest centres in East 178
Bengal, which brought unimaginable wealth to the Shella people. Their houses
were built by carpenters from Sylhet. The style and structure of these houses 434
were exceptionally elaborate for the Khasi. They purchased vast rice fields [439]
in the plain, which used to be cultivated by Bengalee and Garo labourers [342]
engaged by them. These Khasi do not themselves know how to cultivate [166]
rice fields; they have always been managers or landowners. Their boys used [464]
to be sent to high schools and colleges in Sylhet. As a result of their trading [871]
with the Bengalee, many of them read and speak fluent Bengalee. There is [191]
no difference between their style of clothing and that of the Bengalee, though [291]
the women maintain their traditional dress in the Shella style.

They have thus been distinguished from the rest of the Khasi not only
geographically, but also economically and culturally. Their personality also
differs sharply from the rest of the Khasi. They are very sociable, and quick, 157
a quality lacking among the Khasi of Sohkynduh and Kongton. They are
clever enough to deal with strangers. The upland Khasi say Shella people 184
are very cunning. This remark shows one side of these people. They had to 648
be cunning, since they traded with the Sylhet Bengalee who were said to be the
most cunning of their race. Their role in the trade and in the history of the 177
modernization of the Hills was considerable. For centuries they represented 178
intellectual Khasi owing to their contact with Hindu civilization, while the
Hills remained in darkness. They assumed an important role when the British [439]
established an administration in the Hills, and even up to now, many leading
Khasi originated from this area: for instance, Lati Hat, the first interpreter
of the British Headquarters at Cherrapunjee; Jeebon Roy, who was the first
Magistrate among the Khasi; Maham Sing, a lawyer and Member of the Legislative Assembly (the grandson of Jeebon Roy); Nichols Roy, Minister of Health
and Prisons of the Assam Government, Member of the Legislative Assembly,
and Missionary of the Church of God; R. R. Thomas (brother of Nichols Roy),
Principal of the Gauhati University, etc.

Through constant cultural contact with Hindu, and encouraged by their 177
economic prosperity, the Shella Khasi, like the Jaintias, have been much
influenced by Hindu culture. However, this does not mean that the people 648
of Shella adopted the Hindu beliefs. Though there is a small Hindu shrine, 771
and some ceremonial elements were borrowed from the Hindu, most of the 795

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

[Shella]

wife who lives with him. The Khasi woman lives with her mother. Some say the Khasi woman is his second wife, other say their marriage is not recognized by the public. 563

Actually, owing to the bad climate, very few non-Khasi live in this area. Besides the two non-Khasi just mentioned, there were a Bengalee tax collector and an Assamese Forest Officer, both of whom lived at Shella Bazaar. Bengalee villages are situated about five miles south of Shella. Except in the bazaar, Bengalee and Khasi have no social contact with each other, and intermarriages have been rare.

However, it is obvious that in the past the Khasi must have had many cases of intermarriage with Bengalee. Among the Khasi there is a clan called 'Dkhar.' The term 'Dkhar' is also used for the peoples of the plains: Bengalee are called 'Dkhar' by the Khasi. They say that the Dkhar clan originated in Bengalee girls who married Khasi men and who went to live in the Hills. It is said that in older days, the Khasi often raided the Sylhet plain and kidnapped Bengalee girls as well as goods. In Bengalee records of Sylhet, Khasi appear as 'bloody Khasi.' Khasi old men say that in order to increase their population they did sometimes kidnap Bengalee girls, but that they treated these girls very nicely and kindly, no differently from their own people. Since they follow the matrilineal system, they decided to name their descendants 'Dkhar.' It is said that all the present Dkhar people are descendants of such marriages. The Dkhar are found more on the southern slopes of the Khasi Hills i.e. among the Wars. 101 563

It seems there were many reasons for the descendants by marriage between the Khasi and the Bengalee to become Khasi. First of all, it is said that in the olden days the Khasi wanted to increase the population by such marriages. At the same time, a Bengalee who married a Khasi became an outcast from his or her own society owing to the caste system, and this inevitably made them Khasi. Secondly, the Khasi were primarily grouped into the *iing*, and they considered the marriage relation as of secondary importance. Hence it was rather difficult to remove by marriage a Khasi man or woman from their native place. Thirdly, Khasi could hardly live in the plain where no betel-nut or pan-leaf gardens were available; they could not engage in rice cultivation in the plain, as the technique is entirely different from the cultivation of betel-nut or pan-leaf. Moreover, they said they could not stand the heat in the plain. Therefore, the orientation of intermarriages was always towards the Khasi community: the Khasi brought outsiders to their own land; they did not themselves leave.

Such a marked tendency on the part of the Khasi to remain attached to their own homeland, is in no way contradictory with the phenomena of their migration to places outside the Khasi Hills, owing to the exploitation of their homeland and to the increase in population. The formation of Jatinga represents such an instance; there are also the cases of modern Khasi women from sophisticated urban areas, who easily leave their homeland, after marriage with a non-Khasi; this also appears in the following data on Jatinga. 161 167 [563]

JATINGA

Jatinga is a Khasi village situated in the North Cachar Hills, three miles west from Haflong, the headquarters of the North Cachar Hills. The number of households was about sixty in February 1956. Their economy depends on the pan-leaf, orange and pineapple gardens, similar to that of the Shella people. 131 621 433

13: Mukherjee E-5 (1954)1958 AR7 Khasi AR7

[p. 208]

SOCIAL GROUPINGS AMONG THE KHASIS OF ASSAM

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Introduction

THE Khasis, who inhabit the United Khasi and Jaintia Hills district of Assam, are matrilineal. Like the Garos, they, are matrilocal in residence. Exclusive ownership over family property is claimed by the Khasi women and the youngest daughter (*Ka-Khadduh*) who lives permanently in the house of her mother, is the custodian of the family property and the holder of religion (*Ka bat ka-niam*)[1].

This paper deals with the social groupings, namely, the clan, sub-clan and family, of the Khasis. The materials were collected in 1954 from Mawphlang, Cherapunji and Mamluh and Mawsmai villages farther south of the Chera State.

Discussion

In the language of the Khasi, the prefix *Ka* is usually used before the name of a woman or any object belonging to a woman (or considered feminine). The use of *Ka* as a prefix before the name of each social group is suggested to have bearing on Khasi matriliny. *Kur* is not a very expressive and exact term for a clan. *Kakur*, which is supposed to have sprung from the woman (*long jaid na ka kynthei*)[2] is more exact. Similarly, *Ka-K'poh* and *Ka-iing* denote the sub-clan and family respectively.

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[1] Gurdon, P. R. T., *The Khasis*, London, 1914 p. 88.

[2] Op, cit., page 82.

14:Roy I-5 (no date) 1938 AR7 Khasi AR7

IV. THE PLACE OF THE KHASI IN THE WORLD.

By

David Roy

131 The Khasi country lies in the hills of the province of Assam in North East India. Khasi clans are exogamous and matrilneal, and the Khasis speak a MonKhmer language.

121 In speaking of the place of the Khasi in the world I intend to explain the Khasi's own view of his relation to other peoples of the world.*

829 The Khasi is very conscious of his importance. He says a Khasi claims to be the centre of the world. The Khasi has acquired such a feeling of self-importance from his great confidence in himself; and this confidence he has derived from the position in which his relationship-terminology represents him as standing with respect to himself and the world around him. Or, rather, his relationshisp terms and language are an expression of his attitude and notions.

601 The Khasi says—*Ka Kamie* (mother)

U Khun (son) — *Ka Kmie* (mother)

Which is = His mother

Himself (male) — His sister (female)

He calls this the family. Then he says—

Ka Kamie Kha (Father's mother)

U Kpa Kha (Father, Father's brother) (male) — *Ka Nia Kha* Father Father's sister (female)

* The writer of th is article is himself a Khasi (Christian).

16: McCormack E-4,5 (1956-1958) 1964
[P. 105 B] AR7 Khasi AR7

NORTHERN UPLAND GROUPS

KHASIS[2]

Synonyms. *Cassia, Cossyah, Kasia, Kassia, Kassya, Kasya, Khasia, Khasiah, Khassi, Khassia, Khosia* 101

ORIENTATION. **Identification and location.** The term Khasi has often been applied to that entire 101 131 197 114 122

[2] This account of Khasi culture, contributed by Anna P. McCormack, is based on field work during 1956-58 in the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills District. The author wishes to emphasize that her data are on the upland Khasis who inhabit the center of the District. She gratefully acknowledges support of the field work from the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago, the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, Inc., and the Ford Foundation, for one of its Foreign Area Training Fellowships.

group of matrilineal and Mon-Khmer-speaking people who claim as their ancestral homeland the present-day United Khasi–Jaintia Hills District (within approximately 90° 47′ and 92° 52′ E. and 25° 5′ and 26° 5′ N.). This group includes the Jaintias (also Pnar or Synteng) in the southeast, who differ from the Khasis primarily in their duolocal residence pattern and less virulent forms of sorcery. (The Hadem in eastern Jaintia are a Kuki people.) It also includes the Lyngngams (also spelled Lynngam) in the west, who practice migratory swidden agriculture and certain peculiar funerary rites, and are said by Ehrenfels (1955) to be culturally intermediate between Khasis and Garos. Finally, it includes Bhois, Wars, and upland Khasis, which terms are primarily territorial. Bhoi country is the north-central part of the District, and is culturally complicated by the presence of Mikirs, Lalungs, and Nepalis. War country spans the entire southern length of the District, so that Wars divide into Jaintia Wars and Khasi Wars; of these, the Khasi Wars have traditionally transmitted property to sons as well as to daughters. The upland center of the District is the country of the Khasis proper, those whose culture provides the most useful model for interpreting the variations found elsewhere. [For general reference on all categories of Khasi culture, cf. Costa 1936 and 1937; also Gurdon 1907, especially for data on regional variations.] **Geography.** The District is 5,554 square miles of hilly tableland, intricately dissected by numerous rivers, and marked by significant ecological variation over very short distances. The tablelands step gently downward north from Shillong Peak, which at 6,445 feet is the highest point in the District, and over about 55 miles ease into the Brahmaputra valley where this is some 250 feet above sea level. To the south, the land slopes more steeply downward for about 20 miles, and then drops abruptly, in cliff and steep-slope formations, to the Ganges sea-level delta that begins at its north with Sylhet. The annual southwest monsoons drop torrential rains around Cherrapunji and Mawsynram villages (for Cherrapunji, a record 805 inches in 1861), but then, reaching Shillong 33 miles to the northeast, provide only about 100 inches per year. Rainfall is again greater in Bhoi, which shares the Brahmaputra valley climate. Climate is temperate on the high Shillong plateau, where it seldom freezes and never snows. To the north, climate becomes subtropical, forest is jungly, and fauna abound. The climate to the south is also subtropical. [Cf. Hooker 1891: chap. XXIX.] **Linguistic affiliation.** Khasi is one of the major Mon-Khmer languages, related to Mon, Khmer, Semang-Sakai, Nicobarese, and Palaung-Wa. The major Khasi dialects are Khasi, Jaintia, and Lyngngam, to which Grierson adds War. Further minor variations occur from village to village. The Khasis had no script until 1842, when the roman alphabet was successfully applied to the Cherrapunji dialect of Khasi proper. [Cf. Rabel 1961; Grierson 1903-28: 2; Bareh 1962.]

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17: Banerjee E-5 (1955) 1962 AR7 Khasi AR7
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THE KHASI FESTIVAL OF 'POMBLANG'

S. BANERJEE

INTRODUCTION

The Khasi inhabit the upland of the central part of the United Khasi and Jaintia Hills district of Assam. They reckon descent through mother and the youngest daughter (Ka khadduh) of the house is the custodian of the ancestral property. Belief in the existence of spirits is strong among them and the causes of diseases are ascertained by taking recourse to the process of divination. They are ruled by different categories of Chief. The *Siem* is the highest official responsible for the administration of the state but a few small states are also governed by *Sirdars* with same powers as vested in the former although does not possess the same status. It is interesting to note that their priest whose rank is next to *Siem*, have also been allotted to perform this secular duties in some of the regions of the Khasi country. The Chief function through their respective council comprising elected members from different administrative units. He is rather subservient to this body as he is liable to be censured or even dismissed, if his activities are not in conformity with the Khasi traditional usage. Most of his directives are implemented through the assistance of his subordinates who are in-charge of various sections of the State. The Khasi place his grievance first to these junior officers for redress and justice, after which an appeal can be preferred to the *Siem* or any other higher officer as the case may be. One of the eminent States of the Khasi people known as Khyriem, where this festival is celebrated, consists of eight units for administrative convenience under the supervision of different grades of officials who participated in this celebration along with the *Siem* as representatives of the people.

The Khasi festival of *Pomblang* (Goat killing) described below used to be celebrated at one time in Shillong when the Khasi states of Khyriem and Mylliem were not separated. The first chief of the Khyriem state U Singh Manik shifted his headquarters to Nongkrem village after partition of the kingdom, which occured before the arrival of the British. He again moved to Langkerdem after a brief stay at the village of Lyneshing. He performed this festival as long as he was there, transferring it again to Nongkrem where he re-settled again. It was celebrated here for a long time and consequently it was named after this village. Although the ruling family had later on shifted its residence about sixty years ago to the present village Smit, during the time of U Klur Singh, Siem, it is performed regularly as *Nongkrem dance* which was observed by the author from 21st June to 25th June, 1955.

OBJECT OF THE FESTIVAL

It is being held every year since the days of U Shillong who was supposed to be the founder of original Khyriem State. They celebrate it to perpetuate his memory and pay homage with a view to ensure rain, good harvest, eliminating diseases and famine. He was worshipped along with other ancestors with view to guide the present Chief in his discharge of his duties and for the welfare of the people.

The house of Siem (iing-sad) where the rites are observed, is considered sacred. It consists of a big-hall (shlur) in the centre, surrounded by rooms. One of these on the north is used as a kitchen room (iing-chetja) where ritual

19: Assam G-5 (1958) 1963 AR7 Khasi AR7

CHAPTER III

The Border Area

121 131 **3. 1 Definition of Border Area.**—The term 'border areas' although very frequently used does not refer to any well demarcated area. It was, therefore, decided after a joint discussion between the Director of Statistics with the Deputy Commissioner of the district and Subdivisional Officer, Jowai, that area within 20 miles of the Indo-Pak border line would be considered as the 'border area' for the purpose of the present survey. The list of the villages falling in this area was supplied by the Deputy Commissioner and the Subdivisional Officer.

3. 2 Condition of the Border Area before partition.—The border area under review thus comprised of the southern slopes of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills and a narrow strip of plains adjoining the southern slopes running along the Pakistan border. The area extends laterally over a length of about 120 miles, roughly from Maheskhola on the west to Sonapur on the east thus covering an area of 2,400 sq. miles approximately, comprising of 454 villages inhabited by population of 74 thousands. [161]

245 311 Barring the barren and rocky top plateaus the slopes are utilised or the production of valuable cash crops on intensive scale. These slopes provide suitable soil and climate for the production crops like arecanut, tezpatta, betel-leaf, oranges; pineapples and other fruits. On account of rich yields which such plantations give to the cultivators these slopes were, more densely inhabited and intensively cultivated than would appear possible from the topography of the area. Even the most inaccessible tracts in the slopes has been converted into rich orchards, wherefrom the produce was carried by headloads over steep gradients for several miles. Due to steep gradients little other use, except some jhuming here and there, could be made of this area. [482]

439 Because of the very topography, this land had its natural connections with Sylhet district now forming part of East Pakistan. From time immemorial the area had a flourishing trade with Sylhet district. It was a two-way traffic. The cash crops found eager buyers in the people of Sylhet, from whom in turn the people in the border area obtained supplies of rice, fish, vegetables and other necessities of daily life. Thus in prepartition days they enjoyed a very prosperous and settled economy. The rich buildings in the border area villages which are now lottering away, bear eloquent testimony to the past prosperity of the border economy.

439 458 648 With the partition of the country in 1947, trade with the plains of Sylhet, now forming part of East Pakistan, was restricted. As a result the whole economy of this region was completely shattered and the countryside which once hummed with activity and abundance was over-shadowed with unemployment, poverty and despair. All the cash crops-the mainstay of the border people lost the market in East Pakistan. for want of communication facilities the produce could not be

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

STATISTICAL ACCOUNT

OF THE

KHASI AND JAINTIA HILLS.

THE DISTRICT OF THE KHASI AND JAINTIA HILLS, called by the inhabitants Ka Ri Khási and Ka Ri Synteng, is situated between 26° 9′ 30″ and 25° 8′ 28″ north latitude, and between 91° 9′ 0″ and 92° 51′ 30″ east longitude. It contains an approximate area of 6157 square miles, and a population, according to the Census of 1872, of 141,838 souls. The principal town and Civil Station, which is also the headquarters of the Chief Commissioner of Assam, is Shillong, situated in 25° 32′ 39″ north latitude and 91° 55′ 32″ east longitude. 131 [101] [161] [632] [648]

BOUNDARIES.—The Khási and Jáintiá Hills District is bounded on the north by the Districts of Kámrúp and Nowgong; on the east by Northern Cáchár, the Nágá Hills District, and the Kapilí river; on the south by Sylhet District; and on the west by the Gáro Hills.

JURISDICTION.—The Khási and Jáintiá Hills constitute a Political District, removed from the jurisdiction of the ordinary Criminal, Civil, and Revenue Courts, and of the offices established under the General Regulations and Acts. The administration of the country is vested in the Chief Commissioner of Assam, the Deputy-Commissioner of the Khási and Jáintiá Hills and his Assistants, and the native Chiefs, who are variously styled Siems, Wáhadádárs, Sardárs, Dollois, Pathors, and Lyngdohs. Siem, or more properly Seim, is derived from the Khási word for 'soul, life;' Wáhadádár, from the Hindu term *uhdádár*, meaning an 'officer;' Lyngdoh strictly means a 'sacrificial soothsayer,' from the Khási *ong*, 'to speak,' and *doh*, 'flesh.' The District is divided into three portions, —namely, British possessions in the Khási Hills; petty dependent 648 631

21: Ehrenfels E-4,5 (1950) 1953 AR7 Khasi AR7

on a historical past, different from that of the Khasi proper, the former having been ruled by the powerful, but somewhat Hinduised dynasty of the Jaintia Rajas until the Jaintia Wars of the British; the latter by small independent chiefs. Yet Jaintia social organization appears on the whole to preserve the matrilineal social structure clearer and to be less influenced by plains-acculturation, than that of the Khasi, though a few features of Brahmanical religious observances and also some traces of racial admixture are found in the immediate vicinity of Jowei, the former summer residence of the Jaintia Rajas. Stronger no doubt, than this influence, was that exercised by the British and non-Assamese Indians in the provincial capital Shillong since 1866. Methods of agriculture and other aspects of material civilization differ but little in the Jaintia- and Khasi plateau-areas.

The same cannot be said of both: the Wár-Khasi and Wár-Jaintias. Linguistically their affiliations are with the Khasi or Jaintias respectively, in the plateau-areas. Economically, however, both Wár-groups form a separate pan-leaf cultivating unit in the little accessible steep southern slopes of the Khasi- and Jaintia Hill massif. Both Wár-groups live in the environment of luscious tropical flora and fauna, sharply differentiated from the cool, barren plateau with its perennial winds and the heroic, if solitary beauty of its highland heaths, which forms the background of both the Khasi- and Jaintia plateau-groups.

The age of the Wár-Khasi and -Jaintias, as one independent economic, — and two half-independent dialectical linguistic entities, is an intricate problem. The two Wár-groups subsist on pan-leaf cultivation as a money crop, grown in the thick tree-gardens as creepers; not on food-cultivation, as do the plateau-groups, because there is insufficient space on the steep slopes, for vegetable gardens or -fields. The pan-leaf cultivators therefore depend on food, purchased from outside. The slopes seem to have been uninhabited until not long ago. Yet pan-leaf chewing is such an integral part of Khasi life, that until quite recently, and occasionally even now, a distance between two places is not measured by the number of hours used for walking, but by the number of betelnut- and pan-leaf packages, consumed on the way. Also the common benediction among Khasi expresses the wish that so and so may eat pan in the Garden of God. Yet pan-cultivation and the settlements of the Wár-people as pan-leaf cultivators in the southern slopes seem comparatively young. Pan-cultivation on the plateau is impracticable. It is therefore possible that pan was for a long time only a much valued import article from the plains, bartered against Khasi ore and iron tools, though it is now an export article from the Wár-country, brought to the markets of the plains, by both Wár-Khasi and Wár-Jaintia women and men.

According to a tradition, across which I came among the Nonglamin clan of the Nongmuker village, the ancestors of the present Wár people were on the plateau at a time when no pan-cultivation was going on in the slopes and none of the present big estates of pan-tree gardens was yet held by their present (Wár-) owners. A not distant ancestor of a Nonglamin clan-member who about two or three generations ago told the story to U Siang (one of

31: Scherman--71 E-4 (no date) 1915 AP1 Burma
Khasi AK7

101 Of the sub-divisions of these people, the Khasi
131 proper (74)--1911: 120,933--live in the Khasi

74. P.R.T. Gurdon, The Khasis (London, 1907), pp. 1 ff. about house construction pp. 30 ff.

Hills, the kindred Synteng in the Jaintia Hills. The Lynn Gam who are classified by Gurdon as half Khasi and half Garo live in the western part of the Khasi Hills, the people who inhabit the low hill country in the north of the district, which is usually called "Bhoi," are named the Bhoi. Many of them are really Mikir. My obser-
361 vations of the Khasi are limited to the surrounding of Shillong from where I visited the village of Nongkrem which is about 13 kilometers away (75).

75. Cf. C. Becker, Anthropos 4 (1909), pp. 892-902.

The place is located in a trough between low hills which are covered by large stone boulders. A small water course runs through the village. The huts are partly built along the slopes of the hills which surround the village. The houses
342 (Plate X, 4) all stand on small plots of land which are separated from each other by low stone walls; a narrow passage leads to them from the front side. Sometimes this passage is completely missing, in which event one has to climb over the wall. The houses stand on foundations of layers of irregular stone boulders. The walls are made of wooden boards--sometimes of bamboo--and are covered on the outside by grass. Grass is also used for roofing. Each strand is tied individually to bamboo poles, as in Burma (not as in Bengal where it is squeezed together between bamboo poles). Especially typical is the form of the roof; it is high and steep in the middle and the roof ridge is curved. The roof slopes down

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

most of the neighbouring chiefs to resist the British, /77 and a long and harassing war, which was not brought /648 to a close till 1833. Cherrapunji then became the head- /175 quarters of the Sylhet Light Infantry, whose commandant was placed in political charge of the district, including the former dominions in the hills of the Raja of Jaintia, which he voluntarily relinquished in 1835 on the confiscation of his territory in the plains.

Cherrapunji, celebrated as the place which has the [132] greatest measured rainfall on the globe, became a popular station, and the discovery of coal there, and at several other places in the hills, attracted to it many visitors, some of whom published accounts of the country and people. The first detailed description /114 was apparently that of the Rev. W. Lish, a Baptist missionary, which appeared in a missionary journal in 1838. In 1840 Capt. Fisher, an officer of the Survey Department, published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal * an account which showed that the leading characteristics of the Khasi race had already been apprehended; he mentions the prevalence of matriarchy or mother-kinship, notes the absence of polyandry, except in so far as its place was taken by facile divorce, describes the religion as a worship of gods of valleys and hills, draws attention to the system of augury used to ascertain the will of the gods, and gives an account of the remarkable megalithic monuments which everywhere stud the higher plateaus. He also recognizes the fact that the Khasis as a race are totally distinct from the neighbouring hill tribes. In 1841 Mr. W. Robinson, Inspector of Schools in Assam, included an account of the Khasis in a volume on that province which was printed at Calcutta. In 1844 Lieut.

* Vol. ix., pp. 833 sqq.

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

limestone caves and underground water-courses on the southern face of the hills. This series contains coal-beds, e.g. the Cherra-field and that at Lakadong in the Jaintia Hills. Some description of the remarkable Kyllang Rock may not be out of place. Sir Joseph Hooker describes it as a dome of red granite, 5,400 feet above sea level, accessible from the north and east, but almost perpendicular to the southward where the slope is 80° for 600 feet. The elevation is said by Hooker to be 400 feet above the mean level of the surrounding ridges and 700 feet above the bottom of the valleys. The south or steepest side is encumbered with enormous detached blocks, while the north is clothed with forests containing red tree-rhododendrons and oaks. Hooker says that on its skirts grows a "white bushy rhododendron" which he found nowhere else. There is, however, a specimen of it now in the Shillong Lake garden. Numerous orchids are to be found in the Kyllang wood, notably a beautiful white one, called by the Khasis *u'tiw kyllang synrai*, which blooms in the autumn. The view from the top of the rock is very extensive, especially towards the north, where a magnificent panorama of the Himalayas is obtained in the autumn. The most remarkable phenomenon of any kind in the country is undoubtedly the enormous quantity of rain which falls at Cherrapunji.* Practically the whole of the rainfall occurs in the rains, i.e. from May to October. The remainder of the district is less rainy. The climate of the central plateau of the Shillong range is very salubrious, but the low hills in parts of the district are malarious. The effect of the different climates can at once be seen by examining the physique of the inhabitants. The Khasis who live in the high central plateaux are exceptionally healthy and strong, but those who live in the unhealthy "Bhoi country" to the north, and in the Lyngngam portion to the west of the district, are often stunted and sickly. Not so, however, the Wars who live on the southern slopes, for although their country is very hot at certain times of the year, it does not appear to be abnormally unhealthy except in certain

* The average rainfall at the Cherrapunji Police Station during the last twenty years, from figures obtained from the office of the Director of Land Records and Agriculture, has been 448 inches. The greatest rainfall registered in any one year during the period was in 1899, when it amounted to 641 inches.

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

147 villages, such as Shella, Borpunji, Umniuh, and in Narpuh in
132 the Jaintia Hills.
361

ORIGIN.

173 The origin of the Khasis is a very vexed question. Although it is probable that the Khasis have inhabited their present abode for at any rate a considerable period, there seems to be a fairly general belief amongst them that they originally came from elsewhere. The Rev. H. Roberts, in the introduction to his Khasi Grammar, states that "tradition, such as it is, connects them politically with the Burmese, to whose king they were up to a comparatively recent date rendering homage, by sending him an annual tribute in the shape of an axe, as an emblem merely of submission." Another tradition points out the north as the direction from which they migrated, and Sylhet as the terminus of their wanderings, from which they were ultimately driven back into their present hill fastnesses by a great flood, after a more or less peaceful occupation of that district. It was on the occasion of this great flood, the legend runs, that the Khasi lost the art of writing, the Khasi losing his book whilst he was swimming at the time of this flood, whereas the Bengali
[212] managed to preserve his. Owing to the Khasis having possessed no written character before the advent of the Welsh missionaries, there are no histories as is the case with the Ahoms of the Assam Valley, and therefore no record of their journeys.
114 Mr. Shadwell, the oldest living authority we have on the
173 Khasis, and one who has been in close touch with the people for more than half a century, mentions a tradition amongst them that they originally came into Assam from Burma *viâ* the Patkoi range, having followed the route of one of the Burmese invasions. Mr. Shadwell has heard them mention the name Patkoi as a hill they met with on their journey. All this sort of
144 thing is, however, inexpressibly vague. In the chapter dealing
173 with "Affinities" have been given some reasons for supposing that the Khasis and other tribes of the Mon-Anam family, originally occupied a large portion of the Indian continent. Where the actual cradle of the Mon-Anam race was, is as

work is done. In order to ascend to a Bhoi house, you have to climb up a notched pole. The Bhois sacrifice a he-goat and a fowl to *Rik-ioplong* (Khasi, *Rymiew ling*), the household god, when they build a new house.

VILLAGES.

Unlike the Nagas and Kukis, the Khasis do not build their villages on the extreme summits of hills, but a little below the tops, generally in small depressions, in order to obtain some protection from the strong winds and storms which prevail in these hills at certain times of the year. According to the late U Jeelon Roy, it is *sang*, or taboo, to the Khasis to build a house on the last eminence of a range of hills, this custom having perhaps arisen owing to the necessity of locating villages with reference to their defence against an enemy. Khasis build their houses fairly close together, but not as close as houses in the Bhoi and Lyngam villages. Khasis seldom change the sites of their villages, to which they are very much attached, where, as a rule, the family tombs are standing and the *mainbynna* or memorial stones. In many villages stone cromlechs and memorial stones are to be seen which from their appearance show that the villages have been there for many generations. During the Jaintia rebellion the village of Jowai was almost entirely destroyed, but as soon as the rebellion was over the people returned to the old site and rebuilt their village. Similarly, after the earthquake, the ancient village sites were not abandoned in many cases, but the people rebuilt their houses in their former positions, although in Shillong and Cherrapunji they rebuilt the walls of the houses of wooden materials instead of stone. There is no such thing as a specially reserved area in the village for the Siem and the nobility, all the people, rich or poor, living together in one village, their houses being scattered about indiscriminately. To the democratic Khasi the idea of the Siem living apart from his people would be repugnant. In the vicinity of the Khasi village, often just below the brow of the hill to the leeward side, are to be seen dark woods of oak

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

SECTION VI.

MISCELLANEOUS.

TEKNONYMY.

551 The Khasis, like the Alfoors of Poso in Celebes, seem to be somewhat reluctant to utter the names of their own immediate relations, and of other people's also. Parents are very frequently called the mother of so and so (the child's name being mentioned), or the father of so and so, *cf. Ka kmi ka Hari, U kyn u Philip.* The actual names of the parents, after falling into desuetude, are often entirely forgotten. The origin of the practice may be that the Khasis, like the Alfoors, were reluctant to mention their parents by name for fear of attracting the notice of evil spirits. The practice of *teknonymy*, however, is not confined to the Khasis or the Alfoors of Celebes (see footnote to page 412 of the "Golden Bough"). The custom is also believed to have been prevalent to some extent not long ago in some parts of Ireland.

797 177 551 The advent of the Welsh Missionaries and the partial dissemination of English education has in some cases produced rather peculiar names. I quote some instances:—

U Water Kingdom, Ka Mediterranean Sea, Ka Red Sea; U Stickewell Bones, U Overland, Ka Brindisi, Ka Medina, Ka Mary Jones, U Mission, and Ka India.

KHASI METHOD OF CALCULATING TIME.

505 The Khasis adopt the lunar month, *u lynai*, twelve of which go to the year *ka sora*. They have no system of reckoning cycles, as is the custom with some of the Shan tribes. The following are the names of the months:—

505 *U Iylla-Iynplet*, corresponding to January. This month in the Khasi Hills is the coldest in the year. The Khasis turn

l: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

(*kylla*) the fire-brand (*iyngkot*) in order to keep themselves warm in this month, hence its name *kylla-lyngkot*. 805 132

U Rymphang, the windy month, corresponding with February.

U Lyber, March. In this month the hills are again clothed with verdure, and the grass sprouts up (*lyber*), hence the name of the month, *u Lyber*.

U Iaiong, April. This name may possibly be a corruption of *u bynai-iong*, i.e. the black moon, the changeable weather month.

U Jymmang, May. This is the month when the plant called by the Khasis *ut'ieu jymmang*, or snake-plant, blooms, hence the name.

U Jyllieu. The deep water month, the word *jyllieu* meaning deep. This corresponds to June.

U ndiitung. The evil-smelling month, when the vegetation rots owing to excessive moisture. This corresponds with July.

U'ndilar. The month when the weather is supposed to become clear, *synlar*, and when the plant called *ja'nailar* blooms. This is August.

U'ndi-lur. September. The month for weeding the ground.

U Ri-saw. The month when the Autumn tints first appear, literally, when the country, *ri*, becomes red, *saw*. This is October.

U'ndi sieng. The month when cultivators fry the produce of their fields in *sieng* or earthen pots, corresponding with November.

U Noh-prih. The month when the *prih* or baskets for carrying the crops are put away (*buh noh*). Another interpretation given by Bivar is "the month of the fall of the leaf." December.

The Khasi week has the peculiarity that it almost universally consists of eight days. The reason of the eight-day week is because the markets are usually held every eighth day. The names of the days of the week are not those of planets, but of places where the principal markets are held, or used to be held, in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills. The following are the names of the days of the week and of the principal markets in the district :— 805 443

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

Shella

Confederacy forms a more marked endogamous community, through being cut off geographically and economically from the rest of the Khasi, and socially from the neighbouring Hindu people. 621

The Economy and the People.

Shella lies along the upper part of the Shella River and stretches upwards along the steep slope, looking down towards the Bengal plain. The climate of this part of the hills is considered to be one of the worst in tropical India for human habitation. The Bengal plain, though warmer than this area, is considered more healthy. This border land is the zone of malaria, typhoid, black fever, cholera, etc. None of the Bengalee peasants dare to live in such an area. However, it is the most fertile for products such as betel-nuts, pan-leaves, oranges, bananas and pineapples, and it also produces limestone. These people seem to prefer to settle in this zone and to enjoy its prosperity, at the expense of human lives: every year, especially between March and September, the inhabitants suffer from various fevers and dysentry and other diseaes, many of the weaker facing death. 131 132 164 433 164 648

Before the Partition of India and Pakistan, the products of Shella were carried down the Shella River to Sylhet, one of the biggest centres in East Bengal, which brought unimaginable wealth to the Shella people. Their houses were built by carpenters from Sylhet. The style and structure of these houses were exceptionally elaborate for the Khasi. They purchased vast rice fields in the plain, which used to be cultivated by Bengalee and Garo labourers engaged by them. These Khasi do not themselves know how to cultivate rice fields; they have always been managers or landowners. Their boys used to be sent to high schools and colleges in Sylhet. As a result of their trading with the Bengalee, many of them read and speak fluent Bengalee. There is no difference between their style of clothing and that of the Bengalee, though the women maintain their traditional dress in the Shella style. 177 178 434 [439] [342] [166] [464] [871] [191] [291]

They have thus been distinguished from the rest of the Khasi not only geographically, but also economically and culturally. Their personality also differs sharply from the rest of the Khasi. They are very sociable, and quick, a quality lacking among the Khasi of Sohkynduh and Kongton. They are clever enough to deal with strangers. The upland Khasi say Shella people are very cunning. This remark shows one side of these people. They had to be cunning, since they traded with the Sylhet Bengalee who were said to be the most cunning of their race. Their role in the trade and in the history of the modernization of the Hills was considerable. For centuries they represented intellectual Khasi owing to their contact with Hindu civilization, while the Hills remained in darkness. They assumed an important role when the British established an administration in the Hills, and even up to now, many leading Khasi originated from this area: for instance, Lati Hat, the first interpreter of the British Headquarters at Cherrapunjee; Jeebon Roy, who was the first Magistrate among the Khasi; Maham Sing, a lawyer and Member of the Legislative Assembly (the grandson of Jeebon Roy); Nichols Roy, Minister of Health and Prisons of the Assam Government, Member of the Legislative Assembly, and Missionary of the Church of God; R. R. Thomas (brother of Nichols Roy), Principal of the Gauhati University, etc. 157 184 648 177 178 [439]

Through constant cultural contact with Hindu, and encouraged by their economic prosperity, the Shella Khasi, like the Jaintias, have been much influenced by Hindu culture. However, this does not mean that the people of Shella adopted the Hindu beliefs. Though there is a small Hindu shrine, and some ceremonial elements were borrowed from the Hindu, most of the 177 648 771 795

group of matrilineal and Mon-Khmer-speaking people who claim as their ancestral homeland the present-day United Khasi–Jaintia Hills District (within approximately 90° 47′ and 92° 52′ E. and 25° 5′ and 26° 5′ N.). This group includes the Jaintias (also Pnar or Synteng) in the southeast, who differ from the Khasis primarily in their duolocal residence pattern and less virulent forms of sorcery. (The Hadem in eastern Jaintia are a Kuki people.) It also includes the Lyngngams (also spelled Lynngam) in the west, who practice migratory swidden agriculture and certain peculiar funerary rites, and are said by Ehrenfels (1953) to be culturally intermediate between Khasis and Garos. Finally, it includes Bhois, Wars, and upland Khasis, which terms are primarily territorial. Bhoi country is the north-central part of the District, and is culturally complicated by the presence of Mikirs, Lalungs, and Nepalis. War country spans the entire southern length of the District, so that Wars divide into Jaintia Wars and Khasi Wars: of these, the Khasi Wars have traditionally transmitted property to sons as well as to daughters. The upland center of the District is the country of the Khasis proper, those whose culture provides the most useful model for interpreting the variations found elsewhere. [For general reference on all categories of Khasi culture, cf. Costa 1936 and 1937; also Gurdon 1907, especially for data on regional variations.] **Geography.** The District is 5,554 square miles of hilly tableland, intricately dissected by numerous rivers, and marked by significant ecological variation over very short distances. The tablelands step gently downward north from Shillong Peak, which at 6,445 feet is the highest point in the District, and over about 55 miles ease into the Brahmaputra valley where this is some 250 feet above sea level. To the south, the land slopes more steeply downward for about 20 miles, and then drops abruptly, in cliff and steep-slope formations, to the Ganges sea-level delta that begins at its north with Sylhet. The annual southwest monsoons drop torrential rains around Cherrapunji and Mawsynram villages (for Cherrapunji, a record 805 inches in 1861), but then, reaching Shillong 33 miles to the northeast, provide only about 100 inches per year. Rainfall is again greater in Bhoi, which shares the Brahmaputra valley climate. Climate is temperate on the high Shillong plateau, where it seldom freezes and never snows. To the north, climate becomes subtropical, forest is jungly, and fauna abound. The climate to the south is also subtropical. [Cf. Hooker 1891: chap. XXIX.] **Linguistic affiliation.** Khasi is one of the major Mon-Khmer languages, related to Mon, Khmer, Semang-Sakai, Nicobarese, and Palaung-Wa. The major Khasi dialects are Khasi, Jaintia, and Lyngngam, to which Grierson adds War. Further minor variations occur from village to village. The Khasis had no script until 1842, when the roman alphabet was successfully applied to the Cherrapunji dialect of Khasi proper. [Cf. Rabel 1961; Grierson 1903-28: 2; Bareh 1962.]

101 131 197 101 184 162 563 591 [428] [113] 133 [131] 132 [113] 197 [212] [113]

621

Group	Name of villages	Thana	Subdivision	No. of families
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Project area –	11. Sutnga	Jowai	Jowai	127
	12. Sohkha	Dawki	Do	95
	13. Mustem	Jowai	Do	85
	14. Nartiang	Jowai	Do	161
	15. Raitong	Nongpoh	Shillong	47
	16. Umden	Do	Do	32
	17. Patnarkhmah	Do	Do	22
	18. Mawphanieng	Shillong	Do	14
General area—	19. Iapmala	Jowai	Jowai	24
	20. Lamarsiang	Do	Do	25
	21. Mawkynchian	Do	Do	40
	22. Jympiat	Shillong	Shillong	7
	23. Demrya	Do	Shillong	20
	24. Mawkhli	Do	Do	16
	25. Mawlaiteng	Do	Do	20
	26. Asale	Do	Do	5
	27. Jowe	Nongpoh	Do	7
	28. Byrbeh	Do	Do	20
		Total — :		1,837

731
132
491

4.2 Natural calamities.—The villages are free from severe natural calamities like flood, erosion, earthquake and the like. Excessive rain has rendered the higher lands barren near Cherapunjee, Mawsynram, etc. During the monsoon after heavy rains, the small rivulets and streams come in spate dislocating communication from village to village which cause much inconvenience to the people in carrying on trade, marketing and other day to day activities.

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disfigured from the practice. Adults will chew as many as four or five betel-nuts a day, with the usual accompaniment of *pán* leaves. The estimated cost of maintaining an average family of the labouring class is about Rs. 8 or 16s. a month. 276 [434]

TOWNS: SHILLONG.—There are no towns in the usual acceptance of the word; but the chief places in the Hills, looked upon by the inhabitants as cities, are Shillong, Jowái, Cherrá Púnjí, and Shellá. According to the Census of 1872, Shillong had only 1363 inhabitants, Cherrá Púnjí 443, and Jowái 4502. Jowái, however, is a collection of rural hamlets, and the population of Shillong has entirely altered since the date of the Census. The latter place first became the Civil Station in 1864, in substitution for Cherrá Púnjí; and when Assam was erected into an independent Province in 1874, it was selected as the permanent seat of the Local Government. The Chief-Commissioner resides there, and also the heads of all departments in the Administration. The area of the Station is 7 miles in length by 1½ to 1¾ miles in breadth. A considerable native population is already settled, and is increasing from day to day. One of the largest weekly markets is held in the *bázár*; and with a view to facilitate access to the Station, which is the sanitarium for the Province of Assam, a cart road has recently been completed to Gauháti on the Brahmaputra, which will tend to make the place more and more important. An excellent water supply is introduced into Shillong through an aqueduct which has its source in the neighbouring hill streams, and sanitary measures are carefully enforced. Large sums of money have annually been expended on the erection of the public buildings necessary for the offices of the administration. A printing-press has been established, from which issue all the official documents and reports of the Province. The climate is excellent, the temperature being more equable than that of any other hill station in India, and therefore admirably suited to the constitution of Europeans. There is a church at Shillong, and a chaplain on the Bengal establishment officiates both there and at Gauháti. The cantonments were occupied in 1875 by the 43d Regiment of Assam Light Infantry, with three outposts. The strength was 9 European officers, 16 native commissioned officers, 80 non-commissioned officers, 772 fighting men, and 58 paid camp followers and non-combatants; grand total, 935. The total cost, including contingencies, was Rs. 189,190, or £18,919.

632

632 648

[443] [743] [491] [365] [364] [344] [213] [132] [346] [712]

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253; revenue, *nil;* products, millet, oranges, betel-nuts, jack-fruit, pine-apples, chillies, and bay leaves; minerals, lime and coal. 631 651

These statistics give the following totals for the nineteen Khási States or Democracies:—Population, 78,992; revenue, Rs. 49,856. 8, or £4985, 13s., of which Rs. 22,732. 8, or £2273, 5s., is derived from lime quarries. The aggregate area of these States is elsewhere returned at 3997 square miles. 433

SUBDIVISIONAL ADMINISTRATION.—The twenty-five fiscal divisions which constitute the Jáintiá Hills are regarded as forming a separate Subdivision, under the charge of an Assistant-Commissioner, whose headquarters are at the village of Jowái. This Subdivision dates from 1869, for which year the separate cost of administration is returned at £1091. The following statistics, referring only to the Jáintiá Hills, are taken from the Report of the Assistant-Commissioner for 1876-77; for the rest, all information is included in the preceding sections of this Statistical Account, which apply generally to the whole District of the Khási and Jáintiá Hills. In the year 1876-77 the total revenue of the Jowái Subdivision amounted to Rs. 12,713, or £1271, 6s., of which Rs. 10,654 was derived from the house tax. The total value of the exports from the Subdivision was estimated at Rs. 197,575, or £19,757, 10s., including 16,000 *maunds* of raw cotton, valued at Rs. 120,000, and 5490 *maunds* of lac, valued at Rs. 54,900. The total value of the imports was estimated at Rs. 345,600, or £34,560, chiefly cotton and woollen cloth from Bengal, valued at Rs. 81,000; silk cloth from Assam, Rs. 25,000; 15,000 *maunds* of rice, value Rs. 60,000; 6229 loads of dried fish, value Rs. 35,344; 5287 *maunds* of salt, value Rs. 37,009; 609 *maunds* of tobacco, value Rs. 44,872. These figures are compiled from reports submitted by the police stationed at Jarán, on the Jáintiápur road, and from information collected from the chief traders of Jowái. They show an apparent balance of trade against the Subdivision amounting to Rs. 148,025, or £14,802, 10s. The population of Jowái and the surrounding villages is 4502 souls. 63 648 651

MEDICAL ASPECTS—METEOROLOGY.—The climate of the Khási and Jáintiá Hills is mild and equable. At Shillong the thermometer within doors ranges from about 58° in December to 70° or 75° in the hottest months. Out of doors the dry bulb varies between about 38° in the cold weather and 80° in May and June. A temperature higher than 80° is seldom recorded. During the three years ending 132

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132 in 1876, the highest maximum temperature was registered in the month of August, the lowest minimum in January. From November until the end of March the weather is dry and bracing. Hoar-frost lies upon the ground almost every morning in the months of December, January, and February. Shallow water occasionally freezes over, but snow never falls.

The rainfall at Cherrá Púnjí is enormous, varying between 300 and 500 inches per annum. The heaviest fall is in the months of June and July. As much as 30 inches has been collected in one day in July, and 157 inches has been registered as the total rainfall of that month. The average rainfall of the three years ending in 1876 is returned at 368·41 inches. It is affirmed that a total of 805 inches fell in 1861, of which 366 inches is assigned to the single month of July. This excessive rainfall can be readily accounted for by the abrupt manner in which the hills at Cherrá Púnjí rise from the plains on the south. The vapour-bearing breezes of the south-west monsoon, sweeping across the heated, flooded plains of Lower Bengal, suddenly strike against the hills. The vapour as it ascends gets condensed into fogs and mists, and finally, when it reaches the crest of the range, discharges itself in torrents of rain, unequalled by that recorded in any other part of the world.

At Shillong, which is only 30 miles north and a little higher than Cherrá Púnjí, the average rainfall is only about 85 inches; but between these two Stations three higher ranges intervene, which deprive the clouds in passage of a considerable portion of their moisture. During the three years ending in 1876, the average rainfall at Shillong was 83·65 inches.

The rainfall at Jowái, a subdivisional Station in the Jáintiá Hills, 26 miles distant from the plains, holds a mid place between that of Cherrá Púnjí and Shillong, and is estimated at 150 inches in the year. During the three years ending in 1876, the average rainfall at Jowái was 145·62 inches; but in the last of these years alone as much as 309·21 inches was registered, of which 134·34 inches fell in the month of June.

133 The District is liable to shocks of earthquake. In September 1875 considerable damage was done to the houses in Shillong by a shock which extended with great severity as far as Gauhátí; and several minor shocks were experienced in the year 1876-77.

164 132 Diseases, etc.—Generally speaking, the climate of Shillong is pleasant and congenial to Europeans. English children thrive

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remarkably, and there are few indigenous diseases of any kind. Malarious fevers of local origin are unknown, and cholera never prevails in the Hills except when directly imported from the plains. Notwithstanding the excessive rainfall, the climate of Cherrá Púnjí also is pleasant and salubrious. The rainfall is confined in great part to the five months from May to the end of September. For the rest of the year the weather is mild and very equable, and in the winter months almost pleasanter than that of Shillong. 164 132

Small-pox is the chief scourge amongst the Khásiás. The faces of more than half the people are seamed by the marks of this disease. Strenuous efforts have recently been made to introduce vaccination, and with some success. Within the past three years nearly 5000 children have been vaccinated. The number of vaccinations in 1876 was 1309, as compared with 1628 in the preceding year. 164 [751] [648]

Dysentery and bowel complaints generally prevail to a considerable extent; and, as at most other hill stations in India, the English residents at Shillong occasionally suffer from these diseases. Disorders of the liver are also not uncommon, usually affecting persons who have recently arrived from the plains, probably from unhealthy localities. When they have once passed through a short period of acclimatizing indisposition, most English residents at Shillong enjoy excellent health.

The *tarái* country lying along the foot of the Hills, especially on the northern side, is extremely malarious; and people passing through, especially pedestrians who travel without comforts and expose themselves to great fatigue, contract remittent fevers and agues of a severe type.

EPIDEMICS.—The following is a brief notice of some recent epidemics. Cholera made its appearance in the Hills in May 1869, travelling from the direction of Jáintiápur, on the borders of Sylhet. It only showed its presence by a few sporadic cases from time to time until the 11th July, when the disease broke out in an epidemic form among the police and in the jail. The police and the prisoners were at once moved into camp, and communication restricted as much as possible. These precautions probably had the effect of preventing the spread of the disease at Shillong. The epidemic lasted a week; it attacked twenty-four persons, of whom fifteen died. From Shillong the disease travelled southwards, the people deserting their villages as the plague broke out. In the 731

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THE KHASIS

SECTION I.

HABITAT.

101 162 THE Khasis reside in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills district of Assam. They number 176,614 souls, which total is made up of:—

Khasis	107,515
Syntengs	47,883
Christian Khasis	17,125
Khasis inhabiting other districts	4,091
	176,614

131 162 563 The Khasi and Jaintia Hills district is situated between 25° 1′ and 26° 5′ North Latitude, and between 90° 47′ and 92° 52′ East Longitude. It contains an area of 6,157 square miles, with a total population at the Census of 1901 of 202,250 souls. In addition to the Khasis there are some members of Bodo tribes inhabiting parts of the district.

The Lyngam tribe appears to have been reckoned in 1901 as Khasi, there being no separate record at the last Census of these people.

101 131 [133] 563 The district is split up into two divisions, the Khasi Hills proper and the Jaintia Hills. The Khasi Hills form the western portion of the district and the Jaintia Hills the eastern. The Khasis inhabit the Khasi Hills proper, and the Syntengs, or Pnars, the Jaintia Hills. The latter hills take their name from the Rajas of Jaintia, the former rulers of this part of the country, who had as their capital Jaintiapur, a place situated at the foot of the Jaintia Hills on the southern side, which now falls within the boundaries of the Sylhet

[p. 1]

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AZALEA WALK. SHILLONG. [Facing P.7]

(from a photograph by Mrs. Muriel.)

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Garo Hills	117	162
Manipur	69	101
Total	4,091*	

The following information regarding the general aspect of [127] the Khasi and Jaintia Hills district, with some additions, is 133 derived from Sir William Hunter's Statistical Account of Assam. The district consists almost entirely of hills, only a very small portion lying in the plains. The slope of the hills on the southern side is very steep until a table-land is met with at an elevation of about 4,000 feet at Cherrapunji. Higher up there is another plateau at Mawphlang. This is the [361] highest portion of the hills, some villages being found at as high an elevation as close on 6,000 feet above sea level. Fifteen miles to the east of Mawphlang, and in the same range, is situated the civil station of Shillong, at an average elevation of about 4,900 feet. The elevation of the Shillong Peak, the highest hill in the district, is 6,450 feet above sea level. On the northern side of the hills are two plateaux, one between 1,000 and 2,000 feet below the level of Shillong, and another at an elevation of about 2,000 feet above sea level. In general features all these plateaux are much alike, and consist of a succession of undulating downs, broken here and there by the valleys of the larger hill streams. In the higher ranges, where 137 the hills have been denuded of forest, the country is covered 185 with short grass, which becomes longer and more rank in the 374 lower elevations. This denudation of forest has been largely 327 due to the wood being used by the Khasis for fuel for iron smelting in days gone by. The Government, however, has taken steps to protect the remaining forests from further 137 spoliation. A remarkable feature is the presence of numerous sacred groves situated generally just below the brows of the [778] hills. In these woods are to be found principally oak and rhododendron trees. The fir-tree (Pinus Khasia) is first met with on the road from Gauhati to Shillong, at Umsning, at an elevation of about 2,500 feet. In the neighbourhood of Shillong the fir grows profusely, but the finest fir-trees are to be seen

* The figures for Khasi population in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills district will be found under "Habitat."

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137 in the Jowai sub-division. In the vicinity of Nongpoh is observed the beautiful *nahor* or *nageswar*, the iron-wood tree. The latter is also to be found on the southern slopes of the hills in the Jowai sub-division. There are some *sal* forests to the west and south of Nongpoh, where the *sal* trees are almost as large as those to be found in the Garo Hills. Between Shillong and Jowai there are forests of oak, the country being beautifully wooded. Chestnuts and birches are also fairly common. The low hills on the northern and western sides of the district are clad with dense forests of bamboo, of which there are many varieties. The Pandanus or screw-pine is to 135 be met with on the southern slopes. Regarding the geological 133 formation of the hills, I extract a few general remarks from the Physical and Political Geography of Assam. The Shillong plateau consists of a great mass of gneiss, bare on the northern border, where it is broken into hills, for the most part low and very irregular in outline, with numerous outliers in the Lower Assam Valley, even close up to the Himalayas. In the central region the gneiss is covered by transition or sub-metamorphic rocks, consisting of a strong band of quartzites overlying a mass of earthy schists. In the very centre of the range, where the table-land attains its highest elevation, great masses of intrusive diorite and granite occur; and the latter is found in dykes piercing the gneiss and sub-metamorphic series throughout the southern half of the boundary of the plains. To the south, in contact with the gneiss and sub-metamorphics is a great volcanic outburst of trap, which is stratified, and is brought to the surface with the general rise of elevation along the face of the hills between Shella and Theriaghat south of Cherrapunji. This has been described as the "Sylhet trap." South of the main axis of this metamorphic and volcanic mass are to be found strata of two well defined series: (1) the cretaceous, and (2) nummulitic. The cretaceous contains several important coalfields. The nummulitic series, which overlies the cretaceous, attains a thickness of 900 feet in the Theria river, consisting of alternating strata of compact limestones and sandstones. It is at the exposure of these rocks on their downward dip from the edge of the plateau that are situated the extensive limestone quarries of the Khasi Hills. There are numerous

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limestone caves and underground water-courses on the southern face of the hills. This series contains coal-beds, e.g. the Cherra-field and that at Lakadong in the Jaintia Hills. Some description of the remarkable Kyllang Rock may not be out of place. Sir Joseph Hooker describes it as a dome of red granite, 5,400 feet above sea level, accessible from the north and east, but almost perpendicular to the southward where the slope is 80° for 600 feet. The elevation is said by Hooker to be 400 feet above the mean level of the surrounding ridges and 700 feet above the bottom of the valleys. The south or steepest side is encumbered with enormous detached blocks, while the north is clothed with forests containing red tree-rhododendrons and oaks. Hooker says that on its skirts grows a "white bushy rhododendron" which he found nowhere else. There is, however, a specimen of it now in the Shillong Lake garden. Numerous orchids are to be found in the Kyllang wood, notably a beautiful *white one, called by the Khasis u'tiw kyllang synrai*, which blooms in the autumn. The view from the top of the rock is very extensive, especially towards the north, where a magnificent panorama of the Himalayas is obtained in the autumn. The most remarkable phenomenon of any kind in the country is undoubtedly the enormous quantity of rain which falls at Cherrapunji.* Practically the whole of the rainfall occurs in the rains, i.e. from May to October. The remainder of the district is less rainy. The climate of the central plateau of the Shillong range is very salubrious, but the low hills in parts of the district are malarious. The effect of the different climates can at once be seen by examining the physique of the inhabitants. The Khasis who live in the high central plateaux are exceptionally healthy and strong, but those who live in the unhealthy "Bhoi country" to the north, and in the Lynngam portion to the west of the district, are often stunted and sickly. Not so, however, the Wárs who live on the southern slopes, for although their country is very hot at certain times of the year, it does not appear to be abnormally unhealthy except in certain

* The average rainfall at the Cherrapunji Police Station during the last twenty years, from figures obtained from the office of the Director of Land Records and Agriculture, has been 448 inches. The greatest rainfall registered in any one year during the period was in 1890, when it amounted to 641 inches.

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WORSHIP OF NATURAL FORCES AND OF DEITIES.

133 In the Khasi Hills, especially on the southern side, there are numerous rivers, sometimes of considerable size, which find their way to the Sylhet plains through very deep valleys, the rivers flowing through narrow channels flanked by beetling cliffs which rise to considerable altitudes. The scenery in the neighbourhood of these beautiful rivers is of the most romantic description, and the traveller might imagine himself in Switzerland were it not for the absence of the snowy ranges. Of such a description is the scenery on the banks of the river Kenchi-
823 yong, the Jádukátá * or Punatit of the plains. It is in the bed
776 of the river, a few miles below Rilang, that there is the
782 curiously-arched cavity in the rock which resembles an upturned boat, which the Khasis call *Ka lieng blei* (the god's boat), and the plains people Bashanya's ship. Near to this, on the opposite side of the river, there is a rock bearing a Persian inscription, but so defaced by the action of the water as to be impossible to decipher. Like other inhabitants of mountainous countries, the Khasis reverence the spirits of fell and fall, and
226 propitiate them with offerings at stated times. A brief descrip-
782 tion of the ceremonies which are performed at Rilang, on the
776 occasion when the annual fishing in the river Punatit takes
787 place, may be of interest. The three Siems of Nongstoin, Langrin, and Nobosohpoh each sacrifice a goat to *Ka blei sam um* (the goddess of the river) before the boatmen can cast in their nets. In former times they say the passage up the river was obstructed by the goddess, who took the form of an immense crocodile: but she was propitiated by the gift of a goat, and the boatmen were then allowed to pass up the river in their boats. Hence it became necessary for the owners of the fishery to sacrifice annually a goat each to the goddess. At the time of my visit each Siem's party erected an altar in the bed of the river, in the midst of which a bough of the Khasi oak (*dieng saing*) was planted. The goats were then decapitated, it being considered an essential that the head

* Lit.: Cut by magic.

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SECTION V.

FOLK-TALES, TRADITIONS AND SUPERSTITIONS.

FOLK-TALES.

773 THE Khasis possess a considerable amount of folk-lore. The
128 tales which will be found reproduced in the original Khasi have been obtained from a collection which was in the possession of the Rev. Dr. Roberts, of Cherrapunji, who very kindly placed it at my disposal. The translations are by U Nissor Singh, Sub-Inspector of Schools, and the author of a Khasi English Dictionary as well as certain other educational works in that language. Dr. Roberts's collections would fill a book; so I have selected only a few of what I consider typical tales. At the instance of Sir Charles Lyall, I have given the Khasi and English side by side. The stories will speak for themselves,
133 but I add a few explanatory notes. The water-fall of Ka Likai
773 is a magnificent cascade in the rainy season; it can best be viewed from the heights of Laitkynsew. The water-fall is situated close to the village of Nongriat, which is approached by a succession of stone steps from the village of Tyrna, just below the Cherrapunji Laitkynsew bridle-path. "Dingiei," which is mentioned in the second tale, is the high hill to be seen on the right-hand side of the Shillong-Cherrapunji road soon after leaving Shillong. The highest point of the range is over 6,000 ft. The third tale contains the well-known story of Ka Pah Syntiew, the fabled ancestress of the Khyrim and Mylliem Siem families. The cave where Ka Pah Syntiew is said to have made her abode is still to be seen in the neighbourhood of Nongkrem. The story of the origin of the Siems of Suhtnga, who afterwards became the Rajas of Jaintiapur, is a well-known tale in the Jaintia Hills. A description of the

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wonderful mass of granite known by the name of the Kyllang Rock will be found in the section of the monograph which deals with geographical distribution. I have also added a photograph of the rock. The Syntengs have a story that when the strong west wind blows in the spring this is due to the advent of *U Kyllang*, who comes to visit his wife, the river *Umngot*, at that season: amongst the Khasis hills are all of them masculine, but to rivers is usually attributed the feminine gender. U Symper is another isolated rocky eminence rising from the Maharam plain close to the village of K'mawan. The best view of the hill is obtainable from Laitmawsiang on the path to Mawsynram. The village of Mawsmai every traveller from Therria to Cherrapunji knows. It is chiefly remarkable for a fairly large limestone cave, and its fine memorial stones. The Khasi theory to explain how the moon got its spots is, I believe, original, but is no more extraordinary than our own nursery tale about the "man in the moon." The *Sohpet Byneng* hill is the first hill of any size that the traveller sees on the Gauhati road when journeying to Shillong. It is close to Umsning Dak Bungalow. There are caves in the hill which are tenanted by bears. Strange to say, according to Khasi ideas, this is one of the highest points in the hills; in reality *Sophet Byneng* is some 2,000 ft. lower than the Shillong Peak. As mentioned elsewhere, the Khasis are very fond of dogs; so I have given their version of how the dog came to live with man. The well-known *thles* superstition will be found fully described under the heading of "Human sacrifices." I have, however, thought the tale of sufficient interest to reproduce at length here. The story of the river Rupatylli is a pretty tale, and is just such a one as would appeal to the imagination of mountaineers like the Khasis. The Kopili story is important, in that it indicates the origin of human sacrifices in the Jaintia Hills; it also throws, perhaps, some light on the question of the use to which the flat table memorial stones were put in years gone by. The superstition about the crossing of the Kopili can be vouched for by many who have taken the journey from the Jaintia Hills to North Cachar by the Kopili route. Mawpunkyrtiang is a small village close to Cherrapunji. The weird tale about the Siem of Malyniang is the pride of the Maskut people, for in olden days their King,

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i.e. the Siem of Malyniang, is supposed to have been a very powerful monarch amongst the Khasis. The story of Manick Raitong is interesting, in that it explains the origin of the use of the *sharati*, a bamboo flute of special make which is played only at funerals. The pool of water, which was formed after U Manick and the erring queen were burnt, may be connected with the *Umkoi*, or tank, which is dug to cleanse the souls of those who have died violent deaths. The idea of the bamboo, which bore leaves that grew upside-down, springing up from the buried flute, is also to be found in the Synteng tale regarding U Loh Ryndi's fishing-rod. Owing to considerations of space, I have had to curtail largely the folk-lore section. I have, however, kept the materials by me, and if at any future time there is reason to believe that the reproduction of more Khasi folk-lore is called for, I shall be glad to try to arrange that some of the other folk-tales be printed.

THE WATER-FALL OF KA LIKAI.

The water-fall of Ka Likai is one of the most beautiful water-falls in the Khasi Hills. Its stream flows from a certain river from the village of Rangjirteh and passes by the village of Nongriat. The fall can be seen distinctly from the village of Laitkynsew. What a beautiful fall it is when viewed in the autumn. It is also a very high fall. There was in olden days in the village of Rangjirteh a woman called Ka Likai. She was a poor woman who had a husband. When she had given birth to a child, the husband died. Whilst the child was yet a baby, she experienced much trouble in taking care of it on account of her poverty. After the child was able to walk, what a pleasure it was to her to see it growing, and able to play with other children. Then that woman married

KA KSHAID KA LIKAI.

Ka ksháid-ka-Likai ka long kawei ka ksháid ha ri Khasi kaba itynnad shibún eh. Ka wan tuid na kawei ka wah ha ka shnong Rangjirteh kaba wan hap ha ka shnong Nongriat. Ia kane ka ksháid lah ban ioh-i bha na ka shnong Laitkynsew. Katno ka long kaba i-tynnad iada khmih ia ka ha ka por synrái. Ka long ruh kaba jrong shibun eh. La don kawei ka briew ha ka shnong Rangjirteh hyndái kaba kyrteng ka Likai. Kane ka briew ka long kaba duk bad ka la don u tnga, te ynda la kha iwei i khun kynthei uta u tnga u la iap noh. Hamar ka por ba dang lung ita i khun ka la shitom shibún ban sumar ha ka jinglong duk jong ka. Te ynda i la nangiáid katno, ka la sngewbhá ban ioh-i ia la i khun ba i la sháit, bad ba i la nang ha'n leh kii bad ki para khynnah. Te kane ka

another man; but he did not love the little child, and many a time he got angry because she could not take care of him more, on account of that child.

One day when she went to carry iron ore, her husband took the child and killed it. When he had cut up the body into pieces, he prepared curry with it, and placed the curry where the mother would come and eat it. When he had finished doing so, he threw the head and the bones of the child far away, but he forgot to throw away the fingers, which he had placed in a basket where the betel-nut was kept. When the mother returned from her journey, she inquired "Where is the child?" "She has just gone somewhere, I don't know where," he said. She remained silent awhile; then she said, "Is there any rice and curry?" He said "Yes, it is ready," and went out at the same time. When she ate, she found the curry very tasty, and she thought that he had got the flesh of a young pig from some one who had performed a sacrifice. When she had finished eating, she took up the betel-nut basket, but found the fingers of her child there. She shrieked and threw herself down, and then ran to the precipice and cast herself down it. All the villagers wondered, but no one ventured to prevent her as she held a *da* in her hand. From that time the waterfall was called the "Fall of Ka Likai."

briew ka la shongkurim bad uwei pat u briew; hynrei uta u'm ieit ia ita i khún, bad katno ba u la jiw sngew bitár ba ka'm lah ban khreh ba'n sumar ia u na ka bynta ita i khún. 539

Te ha kawei ka sngi ba ka leit kit nongnar, utá u tnga u la shim ia ita i khún bad u la pyniap noh. Bad haba u la ot u la shet jintah ia ka doh jong i, u la buh ruh ha ka jaka ba ka'n wan bam ka kmie; bad ynda u la dep kumta baroh u la leit bred noh ia ka khlih bad ki shyieng sha jngái, hynrei ia ki shimpriahti ba u la buh ha ka shang kwái u'm kynmáw shuh ban leit bred. Haba la wan ka kmie na kata ka jingleit ka la kylli, "hangno ka khun"? "Tiṇ ei, u ong, shano ka leit kái myntan." Ka shu sngap noh bad ka ong "La don ja don jintah ne em" u ong, "la don," bad hamar kata ka por u leit kái noh. Te haba ka la bam ja, ka sngew bang shibún, bad ka la tharai ba u ioh doh khún sniang na kino-kino kiba kñia, bad haba ka la lah bám ja ka la shim ka shang kwái ba'n bam kwái, ka shem pynban da ki shimpriahti ita i khún bad ka la lyniar la lympat ia lade kat ba lah, bad ka la mareh sha katei ka riat bad ka la pynnoh ia lade. Kumta lyngngoh ki shnong-ki-tháw baroh bad y'm lah ba'n khang mano-mano ruh, ka bat la ka wait ha ka kti. Te nadúh kata ka por ki khot "ka ksháid-ioh-ka-Likai."

The Dingiei Hill.

Dingiei Hill is one of the highest peaks in the Khasi

U Lum Dingiei.

U lum Dingiei u long u wei u lúm uba jrong shibún ha ri 539 133

1: Gordon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 ART Khasi ART

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country, resembling in height and size the Shillong "Peak" which lies opposite and to the north of it. There are many villages on this hill belonging to the Shillong Siem. In olden days on the top of this hill grew a gigantic tree overshadowing the whole world, the name of that tree was "ka Dingiei." The Khasis came to a determination that if this tree were cut down (lit. destroyed) the world would become good and would have light, for as long as it (the tree) remained standing, the world remained dark and unfruitful. They accordingly came to an unanimous decision to fell it. When they cut (the tree) during the day and went back next morning, they found that the marks of cutting had been obliterated. Thus they cut each day, and next morning they found that the marks had disappeared. This was the case always. Then they marvelled why this thing was thus. They asked questions and they investigated; ka phreid (a very small bird) said "all this has happened because a tiger comes every night to (the foot of) the tree and licks the part of the tree which has been cut." Thereupon the men, having plied their axes and knives the whole day in cutting the tree (instead of carrying them away as usual), tied them to the incisions, with their edges pointing outwards. So when the tiger went as usual at night to lick the incisions, the sharp blades of the axes and knives cut his tongue. Thenceforth the tiger ceased to go to the tree; and as the tiger ceased

Khasi. U eyrim ha ki jing jong bad jingkhrew ia u lum Shillong, bad u long marpyrshah jong u shaphang Shaisi. Halor une u lum don bun ki shnong hapoh u Siem Shillong. Myrkyndei halor une u lum don kawei ka dieng kaba khriw shibun eh hadub ha ka la kah dum ia ka pyrthei barah kawei, ka kyrteng kata ka dieng ki khot ka Dingiei. Ki khun Khasi ki la ia kut jingmut ba lada yn ioh pyndub noh ia kane ka dieng ka'n bha ka'n shai ka pyrthei, namar kaba ka dang ieng, ka pyrthei ka dum bad ka'n lah ban mach. Kumta ki la ia iong da kawei ka jingmut ba'n ia khot noh ia ka. Ta yada ki la pom ia ka myrsiep, ki leit pai myrsiep ki shem ha la dam noh ka dien pom. Kumta ki pom bang ia ka kawei ka ingi, yada lashai myrsiep ka dam-pa-dam bang. Nha kumta barabor ka jong. Hangta ki la lyngngoh, bate balei ka long kumne. Ki ia kylli ki ia tohkit; ong ka phreid (ka sim kaba rit shibun) "kane ka jinglong ba dum kumne haba phi la pom ka long namar u khla myrmiet myrmiet u wan jlah ia ka dien ba phi la pom." Ta kumta ki khun bynriew yada ki la lah pom myrsiep barah shi ingi, myrmiet ki teh pyr-ang da ki wait ki adi ha kata ka jaka ba ki la lah pom. Kumta u khla haba u wan myrmiet u-jlah phrt u thylliad haba kyndah ha kita ki eyrti wait eyrti adi. Kumtah nadub kata ka pur um wan shih; bad yada um ioh shah ban jlah kata ka dien pom u khun bynriew, eah kam dam shah. Nha naughep ka jingtrei man ka ingi hadih

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of U Loh Rymdi and Ka Lih Dekkha grew up, both of them returned to the stream Umwai Khyrwi. It is said that from the fishing-rod of U Loh Rymdi, which he left on the bank of the stream, there grew up bamboos, the joints and leaves of which grow upside down to the present day.

rangbah kita ki khôn u Loh Rymdi bud Ka Lih Dekkha ki la loit noh bamh ar ngut ha kata ka Umwai Khyrwi. Te ki ong ba na u ryngwiang khwai jong U Loh Rymdi, barud um ha u la ioh noh, la long ki shken kiba ka mut ka long khongpong bud ka sla da kumjah jem badoh myntu. 539

Kyllang and Synger.

Kyllang is a hill which is near the village of Mawmai in Khadsawphra, and Synger is a hill which is situated in the Siemship of Maharam. The old folks say that these are gods which inhabit these hills, which are called U Kyllang and U Synger. These gods had a quarrel for some reason that we mortals do not know. They fought by throwing mud at one another. After they had fought, once or twice, U Kyllang proved victorious. So U Synger, having been humiliated, sits quietly in his own place to this day, and U Kyllang sits very proudly because he was victorious in the fight. The holes which are like tanks in U Synger's sides remain to this day; it is said that U Kyllang made those holes during the battle.

U Kyllang* and U Synger.

U Kyllang ka long u lim sha hajan ka shong Mawmai ha Khadsawphra bud U Synger u dei u lim sha long ha ri Maharam. Ha kine ki lim ki symman ki jaw thurai ha dim ki kiei kiba shong hangne kiba kyrwang U Kyllang bud U Synger. Kine ki kiei bamh ar ngut ki la ia kajia namar kano kano ka daw kaba ngi u hynniw ngim lah ban tip. Te ki la ioh bamh ar ngut da kaba u khawah kith. Tada ki la ioh shi pur ar pur jng U Kyllang. Kumba U Synger u shong pyrkat ia baba ka U. ka joka jar jar badoh myntu, ind U Kyllang u shong da kaba angew khaiw angew sawang shibain ha u la jop ki ka jingiaiah. Ki thiew kiba long kane ki pukat kiba dew ha ki kyrwang u lum Synger ki ioh badoh myntu; ki ong ha la pyndong ia kiba ki thiew di. U Kyllang ha la pur iaiah. [22] 539

The sacrificial stone at Mawmai.

On the outskirts of Mawmai village, and to the west of it,

U Mawjong Sakhi ha Mawmai.

Hynñ 'mong Mawmai dei u wei u lim sha shughong 539 [22]

* Another version is that it was U Kynthai, another idol in Sumyapong territory, who fought with U Synger.

539 (535) stands a hill; it is a very beautiful hill. From a distance it looks like the hump of a bull. It has big trees growing on it, as people are afraid to cut them because they believe that the god "Ryngkew" is there, who takes care of and protects the country. This hill has two names, U Mawlong Siem and U Lyngkrem. U Mawlong Siem is the smaller (peak) on the southern side, and U Lyngkrem the taller one, in which there is a cave. The Mawsmai people sacrifice once or twice a year according to the god's demand. The Mawsmai people have, besides U Mawlong Siem, other village gods (called "Ryngkew"). The name of the one is "U Rangjabong," and the name of the other "U Ramsong." Sacrifices are offered to these two also. U Mawlong Siem is a very great and stern god. The other gods dare not engage in battle with him. He has a daughter called "Ka Khynat Khasi" (i.e. the sinuth of the Khasi). The god of the Umwai people fell in love with this daughter, but he was unable to obtain her in marriage, as U Mawlong Siem did not like him. It is not possible to know the exact reason why the name of U Mawlong Siem was given to him, but at any rate it appears that the name arose from the fact that in olden days before the death of a Siem there used to be heard at "Mawlong Siem" a great noise of beating of drums. The Mawsmai and the Mawmluh people used to hear it, and they attributed it to the god "Mawlong Siem," who beat the drum for his

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sepngi na ka ahnong. Une u lém uba i-tynnad shibin. Ban khymih na aba jingngéi u long kum u syntai maai kyrtong. U don ki dieng kiba khráw ki bym jiw don ba náid ban thoh ban daiñ namar ba ki fiew ba u long U Ryngkew u blei uba eumar uba da ia ka muluk ka jaka. Ia une u lém ki khot ar kyrtong, U Mawlong Siem bad U Lyngkrem, U Máwlong Siem u long uta uba kham lynghot shaphang shathi, bad U Lyngkrem u long uta uba jerong eh bad uba don ka krem Pubon hapah. Ia une U Mawlong Siem ki Máwsmái ki jiw ai jingkaia da u blang shisin shi emem ne shi sin ar emem katha u pan. Ki Mawmluh ruh ki leh kumjah na la ahnong. Nalor une U Mawlong Siem ki Máwsmái ki don shah ki Ryngkew hajan ahgung, uwei U Rangjabong bad uwei pat U Ramsong. Ia kine ki khia. Une U Mawlong Siem u long u blei uba khráw shibin bad uba ah. Ki para blei kim náid ban ia leh thymu ia ki. U-don kawai ka khin kaba kyrtong "Ka Khynat Khasi," u blei ki Umwai u i-kha ia ka, hinrei um lah pei namar U Mawlong Siem im ingwtha ia u. Ban tip thikna ia ki diw balei ba khot kyrtong Máwlong Siem ia u ym lah ban tip; hinrei la kumno kumno i-mat ba kane ka kyrtong ka la mih namar ba synkynnii haba yn ia iap Siem ia jiw ieh angew hangta ba U Máwlong Siem ba don ka jingnawa tum kang kaba khraw shibun. Ki Mawsmai bad ki Mawmluh ki jiw ieh angew, bad ki jiw thawai ba u blei Mawlong Siem u tum kang ban pynshiid khin. Lei lei haba la

L: Gurdon E-4, 5. (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

539 in the Rupatylli channel at Duwara. She was covered with shame, and she slackened her speed and split herself up into five branches, namely, ka Umtong,* ka Torasa, ka Pasbria, ka Kumarjani, and ka Duwara. Umiam did this so as to hide her shame from Umngot. This is how the river Rupatylli was formed at Duwara, to be a token that Umngot had been victorious in her contest with Umiew.*

leh khnang ba'n búh rieu ia la ka jingkhein burom ha khymat ka Umngot. Kumta sa long ka wah Rupatylli ha Duwara namar ka long ka dak ka jingjop ka Umngot ia ka Umiew.

The Kupli (Kopili).

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The Kopili river rises in the "Black Mountains,"† and flows northwards into the Brahmaputra. It is the boundary between the country of the Syntengs and that of the Hadems.‡ Any traveller who wishes to cross this river must leave behind him the rice which he has taken for his journey, and any other food that he may have taken with him. If he does not do so, even if he crosses the river at an unforbidden point, he is liable to offer a sacrifice to the Kopili goddess. The people offer to her three fowls and three goats outside the village, i.e. one to the goddess herself, and the other two to her sons, U Shyngkram and U Jali; and five fowls, that

Shaphang Ka Kupli, U Shyngkram bad U Jali, ki Ksu'n jong ka.

Ka Kupli ka long ka wah na ki lám baiong bad ka táid da artet ha ka wah Brahmaputra. Ka long ka púd ia ka ri Synteng bad ka ri Hadem ha mihngi. Uno-uno u nongleit jingleit uba kwah ban jám ia kane ka wah Blei-Kupli u don kam ba'n bred noh ia la u khaw-ryneng ha shiliang wah, bad ia ki kynja jingbím baroh phar, te un sa klan ia ka. Lada u'm da leh kumta, la'u klan na ka jaka ka b'ym sang ruh un háp jinguingúh ha ka. Ki khán-ki-hajár ia ka ba lum lái s'iar, lái blang kawei ia ka, marmar uwei ia U Shyngkram bad U Jali; bad ean s'iar ba ki'n ia bím angewbha baroh lái

* Both rivers, Umngot and Umiew, or Umiam, have their sources in or close to the Shillong Peak. The word "*Rupatylli*" signifies in Khasi a solid silver necklace of a peculiar shape. In order to appreciate this pretty tale thoroughly, the reader ought to view the river "Rupatylli" from the heights of Laitkynsew, or Mahadeo, whence it is to be seen glistening in the sun like a veritable rupatylli or silver necklace.

† These mountains are the high hills which lie to the east of the Jowai Sub-Division, and which form part of the boundary line between the Khasi and Jaintia Hills District and North Cachar.

‡ The word Hadem is possibly a corruption of "Hidimba," the old name for North Cachar.

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1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

they may all three feast together; this is in the case of one transgression only. But in the case of a man who has committed more than one, it is not possible to say how many goats and fowls must be sacrificed, because the river often demands offerings on account of a man's parents or relatives having crossed the river at some time or other.

From the time of the old Siem to that of U Ram Singh Siem, they used to sacrifice to this great goddess two persons during the months of November and December at the time of offering a sacrifice at Jaintiapur. After a ceremony performed by the Brahmins at Jaintiapur, the victims are led to the Mawshai (Shangpung) market, where they are allowed to take and eat anything they like. After that they conduct them to Sumer; but some say that the stone on which the victims are beheaded is situated below the village of Ka Iew Ksi, near a stream which falls into the Kopili, and where there is a *mawkynthei* (flat table-stone) close to that sacred river.

They place the victims on that stone, where the executioner beheads them with a terrible sword. After that they throw the dead bodies and their heads into the river. But in the days of U Markuhain (U Raj Indro Singh) "who was our contemporary," they have ceased to do so out of fear of the East India Company. The victims are known by the name of "Mugha Khara."

At that time all the people of the territory of the twelve doloi were in a great state of ngut shi khún shi kymie, kata ka long haba long tang kawei ka lait, hinrei haba ka'n long katba shong ka lait u briew lei-lei, ngam tip ka'n long katno blang katno siar namar haba dei ka'n wan pán ka jingkñia namar ba la klan ia ka na khlieh lane na kyjat da u kyñie u kypa kano-kano ka iing lane kano-kano ka kur. Nadúh ki sngi ki Siem Tymmen haduh ki sngi U Ram Singh Siem ia kane ka blei bah ka kymai u lei ba khraw ki kñia da ki briew ár-ngùt shi snem shi snem hamar u bynái ba ki puja ne ai ngúh ha Jaintiapur, kata, hamar u 'nái wieng bad u 'nái nohprah. Ynda ki la kñia ha Jaintiapur da ki Bramon, ki sa ia lam ia ki sha ka iew Mawshái ne ka iew Shangpung ba ki'n bám shiwa katba mon na kata ka iew. Nangta pat sha Sumer, kiwei pat ki ong ba u máw ba ki khrái khlieh ia ki Muga Khara u don harum ka shnong Iewksi hajan kawei ka wah kaba túid sha ka Kupli—sha ka jaka ba don ka máw kynthei harúd kata ka wah blei Kumta ki sa kyntiw halor kata ka maw kynthei ia ki; nangta pat wan sa u nongkhrai khlieh bad ka wait ba i-shyrkhei, u khrai ia ki hangta. Hadin kata ki sa shat ia ki met-iap sha um bad ia ki khlieh jong ki ruh de. Hinrei ha ki sngi U Markuhain ne U Raj-Indro Singh uba ha Khyjong ngi mynta ym long shúh kumta namar ha u tieng ia ka Kompani. Ia kine ki briew ha ki kñia ki khot kyrteng ia ki ki Muga Khara.

Mynkata ki bynriew shi khadár doloi sngew tieng, ki ong ba ki nongkem ki da kylli shiwa ia ka jaid, ki da leh ia lade kum ki bym mut ha'n leh

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782 One month before the celebration rice liquor is poured into a hollowed-
796 out gourd bottle in the house of the S'iem sīd and offered before the rishot Blei as a 'suit' (sacrifice of drink). This is done in order to in-
[769] form the u Suidnia long S'iem (the spirit of the first great-uncle on
[776] the maternal side who was the first king), the ka Blei long S'iem (the divinity who makes kings kings) and the u Blei Shillong (the god Shillong), that preparations are now being made for the Puja and that they might help with them.

776 The u-Blei Shillong plays the chief part in the whole ceremony. He enjoys great reverence among the Khasi, especially in the kingdom Nongkrem and Nylliem. Not far from Nongkrem a mountain
[133] peak rises 6,450 feet above the sea. It is the highest peak in the Khasi Mountains, its name is "Shillong Peak." Here is the seat of
[778] the god Shillong. The story goes that a man appeared here once, who said he /894/ had not been born but came of himself (shu long). He also told the people that they would receive the kings, S'iem. So the god who lives here was called u Shu long (he who is out of him-
[163] self), from which the Europeans gradually made the word Shillong and also gave this name to the splendid mountain station in the heart of the Khasi Mountains.

796 After the S'iem sīd has determined exactly the day of the cere-
782 monies, the news of this is sent out two weeks prior to the ceremony to the village elders (Rangbah shnong). This is done on the day of the large market (jū duh), which takes place every eighth day. Two weeks after is the pom blang, also on the day of the large market, which is discussed below.

The way in which the invitation is issued is interesting. A num-
[211] ber of chains about an ell long are made of bamboo rings. These are called kyrwoh. One of these is sent to the oldest man of each village. Since the Khasi formerly had no script, this bamboo chain always served as a sign of invitation or summons to the S'iem for ceremonies, or of danger of war, or of court matters and such. The degree of urgency was shown by the form of the links; in the case of great haste the form was longish and flat, otherwise correspondingly rounder. The sending of the kyrwoh to the village elders serves now as a sign of invitation for the whole village to appear at the ceremonies and at the same time as a demand to gather together the prescribed sacri-
[651] ficial gifts. Each of the six districts, into which the kingdom Nongkrem is divided, must furnish a goat; each individual but must pay a tax (called pynthok) of one rupee and four annas in addition. Very poor people only have to pay one anna or even only a half. The sacrificial gifts, such as rice, various sacrificial animals, fish, brandy

Family Property and Maternal Rights

/127/ by C. Becker S.D.S., Wurzburg

The fall of 1910 and the entire following year found the distin-
114 guished head of the Ethnographic Museum in Munich, to whom this anniversary volume is dedicated, on a research and collection trip in the extensive and inexhaustible territories of India. He was accompanied by his active wife, who served as his scientific assistant. From Burma, a mine of rich, ethnographic treasure and where the greatest part of their Indian stay was spent, their journey led the research couple into Assam, situated in the northeast of India, a country of equal significance. Assam certainly belongs politically to an-
101 terior India, but forms a bridge to interior India both ethnographically and linguistically.

Among the mountain peoples who inhabit the chain of hills which traverses the length of present-day Assam, and which separates the two largest parts of the country from each other, the Brahmaputra Valley in the north and the Surma Plain in the south, is one of the most interesting and doubtless the most advanced of the tribes, the Khasi, who inhabit the so-called Khasi and Jaintia Mountains. It
[631] was in Shillong, the center of this area, which is now the capital of the country Assam under the English government, where towards the end of September, 1911, I first became acquainted with Professor D. L. Scherman and his wife and where a friendship of many years
133 had its beginning. Therefore this little study will lead us to the Khasi Mountains, to its slopes overgrown with its peculiar pine trees, which receive greetings across the plains from the snow-crowned peaks of the Himalayas, which are flooded by the mighty waves of the Brahmaputra River and the alternating inundations of the Surma River. Here a contented and cheerful little people live who have maintained their own special characteristics in spite of the many European influences and those of neighboring cultures.

162 /128/ Of the entire population of 243,263 people, who form the inhabitants of the Khasi and Jaintai Mountains (1), 203,855 are Khasi.

1. The following statistical estimates are taken from the Census of India 1921, Vol. III, Assam, (Shillong, 1923) pp. I and II.

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177 Of those, 37,852 have adopted Christianity, while the others are still adherents of ancient animistic cults, with the exception of somewhat

10: Clarke U-3 (no date)1874 AR7 Khasi AR7

The STONE MONUMENTS *of the* KHASI HILLS. By C. B. CLARKE. [Communicated by Professor H. Fawcett, through Sir John Lubbock, Bart].*

131 THE Khasi Hills form a plateau, at a mean elevation of 4,500 feet above the sea, between the plain of Assam on the north and the plain of Sylhet on the south. They are inhabited by the 101 Khasi tribe, a people very distinct from the Hindoos north and south of them, and who are a branch of a race which extends eastward as far as South China. Immediately east of them are the Jaintea people, also called Sintengs, who are very closely allied in race and customs to the Khasi tribe. The 133 Jaintea country is physically a portion of the same plateau as the Khasi, and is only arbitrarily divided from it, and exhibits the same grassy hill-tops. The Khasi and Jaintea tribes together occupy the political district administered by the Deputy-Commissioner of Shillong, and the whole plateau is accordingly called the Shillong Plateau by Mr. Medlicott, the Dep.-Superintendent of the Geological Survey in India. Shillong is the English station which is the political capital. The plateau is remarkable for its freedom from the dense jungle which covers the neighbouring Himalayas at similar elevations; it is a fine rocky moor-like plateau, with isolated

* The woodcuts illustrating this paper have been kindly lent by Mr. Murray.

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10:Clarke U-3 (no date)1874 AR7 Khasi AR7

133 patches of open forest, and with scattered fir trees and oaks. Though south of the Himalaya range the character of the
137 country is more like that found in the Himalayas at 4,000 feet higher elevation, and many plants, never collected in the Himalayas below 9,000 feet above sea-level, are found in the Khasi Hills between 4,500—6,000 feet. In this marvellous plateau the sub-alpine and the sub-tropical forms overlap; at the very foot of elegant palms may be gathered the identical stag's horn moss, which, in Britain, is found only on mountains. On a fir tree much resembling a scraggy Scotch-fir is seen growing the Vanda cœrulea, the king of epiphytic orchids; a gnarled oak will carry a gigantic tropical liane; the painted lady and many other British species of lepidoptera will be accompanied by gorgeous tropical papilios and by window moths eleven inches across the wing; the cuckoo and Himalayan pheasant are above, while the tiger, the wild elephant and the green python are below. Justly has Dr. Hooker observed, "I know no spot in the world more calculated to fascinate the naturalist who, while appreciating the elements of which a landscape is composed, is also keenly alive to the beauty and grandeur of tropical scenery."

211 2. Almost throughout Khasi-land, and in a less degree through the Jaintea country, monumental stones are common. They are numerous in villages in the valleys, but are specially prominent, and sometimes of gigantic size, scattered over the rounded hill-tops where they form a feature in the landscape. In all modern treatises of Archæology and Anthropology the study of monumental stones forms an important chapter. Monuments of a remarkable similarity in design are found alike in Europe, Asia, and isolated islands in the Pacific Ocean, and these are in general of such extreme antiquity that they are treated as belonging to the prehistoric age. The Khasi stone monuments have attracted already much attention; first because of their great number and size; and, secondly and chiefly, because on these hills the erection of these monuments is now in full practice. It is reasonably supposed that a careful study of the Khasi method of raising the stones, and of the traditions or customs in accordance with which they raise them, may throw some light upon more ancient monuments of the same kind, even upon Stonehenge. It has been proposed to send out a commission from England to survey these Khasi stone monuments. They are described by Dr. Hooker, in his work (Min. Journ. II. 276), also by Colonel Raban in the *Calcutta Review*, and some account has been lately given by Major Godwin-Austen in the "Journal of the Anthropological Institute," No. 2, Oct. 1871.[1] The present memoir was written

[1] [This article has been processed for the file —Analyst]

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The homeland of the Khasi is the hilly country situated in the northeast of India and known at present as the District of United Khasi and Jaintia Hills, under the Assam State Government. The area is bounded by the plains of the Kamrup and the Nowgong Districts to the north, by the Cachar Hills and East Pakistan (District of Sylhet) to the south, and by the United Mikir and North Cachar Hills Districts to the east. The Khasi and Jaintia Hills are divided politically into two subdivisions, with headquarters at Shillong for the Khasi Hills, and at Jowai for the Jaintia Hills, respectively. The peoples of both subdivisions are called "Khasi" in a broad sense, and are distinctly marked off from other neighbouring tribes and peoples by language and social structure. The population of the Khasi in the District is 363,599 *(Census of India, 1951, Assam)*. Their language belongs to one of the Mon group of the Austro-Asiatic family to which the Munda in central India also belongs.[1]

Though all Khasis share fundamentally the same language and social structure, their culture, dialects, economy, social usage, and political organization vary greatly, owing to the ecological and politico-historical differences among them. The United Khasi and Jaintia Hills are much higher than the neighbouring Garo Hills. The plateau of the Khasi Hills ranges from about 5,000 feet to 6,000 feet, of which

1. The *Census of India, 1951, Assam*, makes the following remarks on their language: "Their nearest kinsmen have been discovered to be the Palaungs, a tribe inhabiting one of the Shan States to the northeast of Mandalay on the middle Salween. Later the relationship of the Khasi language has been traced not only to the Mon-Khmer language, but also to the Nicobarese and several dialects spoken by some tribes in the Malay Peninsula. In Assam, this special form of speech is only found in the Khasi and Jaintias while nearly all the other primitive languages with which it is surrounded belong to the great Bodo family. The Khasi language is the only member of the Mon-Khmer family which possesses a grammatical gender distinguishing all nouns as masculine and feminine, and here also the feminine nouns immensely preponderate."

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

133 the highest point is the Shillong Peak, 6,445 feet, covered with scrub, grassland and forests (mostly oak, rhododendron and pine trees). The 137 Jaintia Hills are considerably lower, with much flat land; wet paddy cultivation is practised here and there where sufficient water is available. From the plateau of the Khasi Hills northwards to the Assam Brahmaputra Valley there is a gentle slope covered with thick jungle, and the southern slope towards the Bengal plain is very steep, so that

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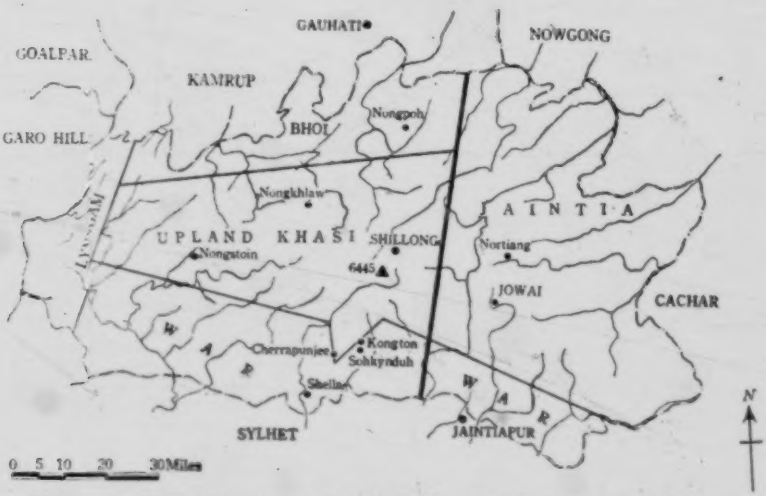

MAP. . — *Map of the Khasi-Jaintia Hills with Classification of Groups.*

133 the upland remained practically cut off from the plains until the 137 middle of the 19th century.

Following the geographical and ecological differences, the five 619 groups are segregated into fairly well-defined cultural areas, each developing a different economy and dialect:

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1. The Jaintia[1] — associated mostly with wet rice cultivation.
2. The Khasi (upland Khasi) — practise potato cultivation with small-scale rice and maize cultivation.
3. The War — inhabit the southern slope of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills (they are called geographically the Khasi War and the Jaintia War). Due to the heavy rainfall, the soil is the most fertile in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills. The Khasi War practise jhuming of which the main yield is millet. In the lower part of this area, pan-leaf, betel-nut, and orange gardens are cultivated. The Jaintia War practise wet rice cultivation like most of the Jaintias, as well as pan-leaf cultivation.

1. They are called also the Synteng or the Pnar.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

APPENDIX

SOME ADDITIONAL INFORMATION FROM SHELLA AND JATINGA

SHELLA

Shella is situated on the lowest of the southern slopes of the Khasi Hills, bordering on the Sylhet plain of East Pakistan. For centuries the people of Shella maintained close trading connections with the people of the plain, so that they have been much influenced by the Hindu. They have been to some extent divorced economically and culturally from their own people who live in the uplands and on higher part of the slopes. Actually, this is a natural result of their geographical location. From Cherrapunjee, the southern edge of the upland Khasi Hills, only a narrow footpath goes down to Shella. The altitude of Cherrapunjee is about 5,000 feet and of Shella from 500 to 1,000 feet, and the distance between them is 8 miles. The path descends very steeply and is full of hard stones. This difficulty of communication is also why the Hindu influence did not penetrate the upland Khasi, as in the case of the Jaintia Hills.[1]

This area has a unique political organization which differs from the majority of Khasi states who are traditionally ruled by the members of the Siem clan. Shella is organized as a confederation, called 'Shella Confederacy,' and consists of four local villages. The head of the village is called *wadadhar*, and is elected by the villagers every three years. The number of households of the Shella Confederacy was about 900 in January 1956. The names of the four villages and their *wadadhar* in 1956 were:

Name of village	*Name of wadadhar*
1. Shella	Devish Mohan Roy
2. Mushtoh	Ditojou Roy
3. Nongtrai	Orju Roy
4. Tyngnger	Jabuni Roy

Each village is divided into sections. For instance, Shella village has nine sections: (1) Jasir, (2) Disong, (3) Duba, (4) Jamau, (5) Nongrum, (6) Nongnong,

1. However, Shella was the only way out and the main gateway from the Khasi Hills to the plain; it was here that the British first entered the Khasi Hills. They proceeded from Shella to Cherrapunjee and made the latter headquarters of the Khasi Hills in 1833.

group of matrilineal and Mon-Khmer-speaking people who claim as their ancestral homeland the present-day United Khasi–Jaintia Hills District (within approximately 90° 47′ and 92° 52′ E. and 25° 5′ and 26° 5′ N.). This group includes the Jaintias (also Pnar or Synteng) in the southeast, who differ from the Khasis primarily in their duolocal residence pattern and less virulent forms of sorcery. (The Hadem in eastern Jaintia are a Kuki people.) It also includes the Lyngngams (also spelled Lynngam) in the west, who practice migratory swidden agriculture and certain peculiar funerary rites, and are said by Ehrenfels (1955) to be culturally intermediate between Khasis and Garos. Finally, it includes Bhois, Wars, and upland Khasis, which terms are primarily territorial. Bhoi country is the north-central part of the District, and is culturally complicated by the presence of Mikirs, Lalungs, and Nepalis. War country spans the entire southern length of the District, so that Wars divide into Jaintia Wars and Khasi Wars; of these, the Khasi Wars have traditionally transmitted property to sons as well as to daughters. The upland center of the District is the country of the Khasis proper, those whose culture provides the most useful model for interpreting the variations found elsewhere. [For general reference on all categories of Khasi culture, cf. Costa 1936 and 1937; also Gurdon 1907, especially for data on regional variations.] **Geography.** The District is 5,554 square miles of hilly tableland, intricately dissected by numerous rivers, and marked by significant ecological variation over very short distances. The tablelands step gently downward north from Shillong Peak, which at 6,445 feet is the highest point in the District, and over about 55 miles ease into the Brahmaputra valley where this is some 250 feet above sea level. To the south, the land slopes more steeply downward for about 20 miles, and then drops abruptly, in cliff and steep-slope formations, to the Ganges sea-level delta that begins at its north with Sylhet. The annual southwest monsoons drop torrential rains around Cherrapunji and Mawsynram villages (for Cherrapunji, a record 805 inches in 1861), but then, reaching Shillong 33 miles to the northeast, provide only about 100 inches per year. Rainfall is again greater in Bhoi, which shares the Brahmaputra valley climate. Climate is temperate on the high Shillong plateau, where it seldom freezes and never snows. To the north, climate becomes subtropical, forest is jungly, and fauna abound. The climate to the south is also subtropical. [Cf. Hooker 1891: chap. XXIX.] **Linguistic affiliation.** Khasi is one of the major Mon-Khmer languages, related to Mon, Khmer, Semang-Sakai, Nicobarese, and Palaung-Wa. The major Khasi dialects are Khasi, Jaintia, and Lyngngam, to which Grierson adds War. Further minor variations occur from village to village. The Khasis had no script until 1842, when the roman alphabet was successfully applied to the Cherrapunji dialect of Khasi proper. [Cf. Rabel 1961; Grierson 1903-28: 2; Bareh 1962.]

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18: Godwin-Austen G-3 (ca. 1872) 1875 AR7
Khasi AR7

211 rude stone monuments. At the village of Nougshai, near
[101] Shillong, are to be seen some very striking monoliths; and
[131] although they do not come up quite to the length of those at Nurtiang (noticed by Dr. Hooker in his "Himalayan Journals"), yet they are very worthy of being mentioned. They stand on
[133] the open spur just above the village, and have been worked out of the beds of the Shillong sandstone series, and some of the smaller blocks have been taken from the conglomerate beds, the lowest in the series, and which come in, in the bed of the ravine, to the north of the spur. There are a number of monuments on this site, large and small, arranged both in line and on two sides of a square; the two largest have their central monoliths—height, 24 ft. 3 in.; width, 5 ft. 6 in.; thickness, 8 in.; and height, 23 ft. 2 in.; width, 2 ft. 9 in.; thickness, 1 ft., respectively.

[126 Plate ii., which is taken from a photograph by Mr. William Robert, Assistant Surveyor in the Khasi Hills survey party, gives an excellent idea of the second largest structure, showing the very massive flat-stone, the "Mao Kynthai," in front. This structure consisted of thirteen upright stones, which could not all be brought into the field of the camera; but the six outside stones on the right are shown. Many of the slabs in the
175 adjacent monuments have been overthrown and broken quite
211 recently, perhaps by Sepoys and camp followers from the military station close by. At one time a mountain battery of Eurasian Artillery was quartered there, and I attribute the overthrow of so many of the stones in the neighbourhood to their handiwork, who would look on such amusement as a "great lark." The Sepoy (native of India) is not of a mischievous disposition; the European and half-European (uneducated) is markedly so. Thus the monument with the highest stone is imperfect, and it must, when perfect, have been a very handsome one. This is a sad pity, after the time and labour that must have been expended in its erection.

361 I did not observe any new slabs anywhere in the immediate
1710 neighbourhood. Nougshai must formerly have been a large
[211] and powerful village; it stands on a naturally very strong position, and old lines of fortification are to be traced on many sides, especially on the approach from the direction of the Falls of the Umiam. These old lines of defence are on a curious system: a ditch and bank have been carried forward from the main defences from 200 to 300 yards down the ridge of the spurs, thus effectually preventing an enemy working round the hill sides below the villages.

174 This fortified site points to a state of things in these hills
912 when the relations between the large village communities or
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CHAPTER II

General features of the district

128 2.1 In this chapter a brief note on the geography, population and economy of the district is given in order to provide a perspective and make the report self contained.

133 2.2 **Relief.**—The whole of the district is composed of hill tracts. On the northern and western border these hills take the form of tumbled ranges which run for the most part north and south and have a general height of two to three thousand feet. None of the hills in the central and southern portions of the district has anything rocky or precipitous about them. Their sides are covered with short grasses and from one direction or another, they can generally be negotiated by a man on horseback. There is a high plateau in the centre of the district, the general level of which is not much below 6000 feet though it decreases in height towards east and west.

2.3 **Rivers.**—The high plateau that traverses the centre of the district is the watershed of the hills. The following are the principal rivers. On the west there is the Jadukata, or Kynshi river, further east come the Um Maoda and the Bogani which fall into the Surma. The Umngot or Maheskhali, known as the Pyian Gang in the plains of Sylhet, forms for a considerable distance the boundary of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills. On the north the principal rivers are Kakhri, the Digaru and Umiam. Farther west comes the Umkhen, Um Myntang and the Mynriang. All these rivers possess the characteristics usually associated with hill streams. The beds are rocky and gravelly; the currents swift and after heavy rains even small streams come down in spate. The rivers of the district are not used for traffic to any appreciable extent.

135 2.4 **Minerals.**—The Geological products of economic value are lime and coal. From the earliest days of British rule, the lime quarries of Khasi Hills formed one of the principal attractions of Sylhet, drawing a large number of Europeans to that district. The lime quarries are situated all along the southern face of the hills. Coal is found both in the cretaceous and nummulitic formations. The largest deposits of nummulitic coal are found at Cherrapunjee, Laitryngew, Mawlong, Mustoh, Mawsynram, Mawdon, Thanjinath, Lakadong and Narpuh. Cretaceous coal is found in Maobchlarkar, Barsora, Wapung Laitkynsew and in the Langrin field.

137 2.5 **Forests.**—The district exhibits a varied flora reflecting the variations in the physical features, configuration of the ground, adaphic factors and climatic gradient. In the pine zone, covering areas between 2500'- 6200' elevation are found the pines, birch, schima, oak, beech, etc. The evergreen hardwood zone, which forms belt along the foothills contains useful hardwood species of which the most important species are sal, nahor, chain, chap, gomari, etc. The dry grassy belt covering the lower slopes roughly between 500'-2500' elevation form the ideal ground for graziers.

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

175 Khásiás, have, ever since the measures of improvement which
648 followed, remained peaceable and contented.

General Aspect of the District.—The District consists
133 almost entirely of hills, only a very small portion lying in the plains. The slope of the hills on the southern side is steep, until a table-land is met with at an elevation of about 4000 feet. Higher up there is another plateau at Máo-flang, ten miles to the eastward of which, and in the same mountain range, the Civil Station of Shillong is situated at an elevation of 4900 feet above sea level. On the northern side of the hills are two plateaux, one between 1000 and 2000 feet below the level of Shillong, and the second lower down, about 3000 feet above sea level. In general features all these plateaux are much alike, and consist of a succession of undulating downs, broken
137 here and there by the valleys of the larger hill streams. In the higher ranges, where the hills have been denuded of forest, the country is covered with short grass, which becomes longer and more rank in the lower elevations. A remarkable feature in the
[778] aspect of the country throughout the hills is the numerous sacred groves which superstition has preserved from time immemorial from the destructive hand of the woodcutter. These sacred groves contain beautiful timber-trees of various kinds, rare orchids, rhododendrons, and wild cinnamon. On the more elevated table-lands, pine trees and stunted oak are met with; and in the lower hills, in every direction, are dense forests of the usual Indian trees, containing valuable timber.

134 The geological formation is mainly granitic, with stratified rocks
135 of sandstone, limestone, and shale. The coal-beds rest on trap and metamorphic rocks. The prevailing surface soil is a red ferruginous loam.

133 Mountains.—The principal mountain ranges and highest peaks in the Khási and Jáintiá Hills are as follow:—(1) The Shillong range—height of principal peak, 6449 feet above sea level. (2) Dingiei range—principal peak, 6400 feet. (3) Máo-thad-ráí-shán range—highest peak, 6297 feet. (4) Láo-syn-niá range—highest peak, 5775 feet. (5) Láit-máo-doh range—highest peak, 5377 feet. (6) Láo-ber-sát—highest peak, 5400 feet. (7) Láo-bah range—highest peak, 4464 feet. (8) Lyng-ker-dem range—highest peak, 5000 feet. (9) Lúm-baiong range—highest peak, 4646 feet. (10) Máo-syn-rám range—highest peak, 5810 feet.

The principal mountains are:—(1) Rap-leng—height, 5671 feet.

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

(2) Soh-pet-byneng, literally 'The Navel of the Sky.' This is supposed by the Khásiás to be the centre of the world, and to be the highest peak in the hills. Its real altitude, however, is only about 4000 feet. (3) Sywer—height, 6050 feet. (4) Shillong—height, 6449 feet. (5) Dingiei—height, 6400 feet. (6) Kyl-lang rock, one huge mass of stone, about 500 feet high, and of a rounded form—height above sea level, 5684 feet. (7) Láit-blih—height, 5800 feet. (8) Láit-derá—height, 6000 feet. (9) Thanji-náth—height, 4448 feet. (10) Nong-jrong—height, 4995 feet. (11) U Mún—height, 6221 feet. (12) Máo-flang—height, 5931 feet. (13) Máo-ká-leng—height, 5900 feet. (14) Már-py-nuá—height, 5600 feet. (15) Symper—height, 5700 feet. (16) Máo-sngi—height, 5810 feet. (17) Láit-már-kán—height, 5313 feet. (18) Nong-syn-rih—height, 5585 feet. (19) Más-keyn—height, 5306 feet. (20) Nong-khrong—height, 5606 feet. (21) Kalái-long-sngún—height, 5128. (22) Máo-lih-bah—height, 4252 feet. (23) Pattar-kyl-lang—height, 5755 feet. 133 •

The mountain peaks are of various forms and shapes, but generally conical, and capped by sacred groves. No roads exist to permit the ascent of carriages, but most of the hills can be ascended by beasts of burden, even without made tracks. In the eastern portion of the District the hills are covered with forest. 491 137

RIVERS.—No navigable rivers flow through the hills, the streams being all mountain torrents. On some of the large streams, however, near the point where they debouch upon the plains, small canoes are used for short distances below the rapids. The principal streams flowing south to the Surmá river in Sylhet are the following:—(1) The Kyn-chi-ong, named Jádukátá by the Bengális in the plains; (2) the Tanglá, called Mukái in the plains; (3) the Bograh, called Bogápání in the plains; (4) the Soh-ryng-kew, called Dhulái in the plains; (5) the Mungít, called Pein in the plains; (6) the Mán-tyh-du, called Hári in the plains; and (7) the Lukí or Lubá. The principal tributaries to the Brahmaputra are:—(1) The Kapilí; (2) the Um-khen, called Barpáni in the plains; (3) the Um-ifm; (4) the Um-tru, called Digru in the plains; and (5) the Ka-khri, called Kulsi in the plains. All the foregoing streams have numerous feeders of their own, but none of them are of any importance. 133 [501]

The Khási and Jáintiá Hills are, like all mountainous countries, intricately watered, and the streams run over rocky beds, some passing through cultivated lands. As they approach the plains,

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

133 they form rapids, the waters precipitating themselves down deep, rocky gorges and chasms, choked with huge boulders. Some of these gorges are very beautiful; the streams, being hemmed in between stupendous mountains and rocks covered with primeval forest, run in narrow but very deep channels swarming with fish. No islands or lakes are formed by any of the rivers, although several of them have large, deep pools. They are all unfordable during the rains.

312 UTILIZATION OF THE WATER SUPPLY.—None of the rivers are utilized as a motive power for turning machinery, although the streams on the higher plateaux might be easily turned to such an account. Their waters, however, are extensively used for the purposes of irrigation, and the hill people display great ingenuity in cutting channels or aqueducts for leading the water on to their [365] fields. It is in this manner that the Civil Station of Shillong receives its water supply. Aqueducts convey water to the houses of all the European residents; and branch channels from the main aqueduct flow through the *bázár*, and along the streets occupied [226] by the native inhabitants. No fishing towns exist in the hills; but [563] near where the rivers debouch upon the plain are some valuable fisheries, which are annually let in farm, the lessees being generally Bengális. These fisheries yield an annual Government revenue of about £300. Embankments in order to protect the land against floods do not exist. A few embankments, or rather dams, are thrown across narrow valleys between hills, so as to create reservoirs for water. At Shillong there are a few tanks thus formed, which are both useful and ornamental.

135 MINERALS, ETC.—Coal and limestone, both of excellent quality, are found in abundance. Lower Bengal obtains nearly the whole of its lime supply from the Khási and Jáintiá Hills. The lime is known as 'Sylhet lime,' and is obtained by quarrying from the beds of stone which line the base of the mountains along the whole length of the Sylhet boundary. The supply is literally inexhaustible. Coal out-crops at Cherrá Pánji, Lá-kí-long, Shellá, Mío-ym-ním, and at several other places; but as a rule it is scattered, and found in places difficult of access. The coal, however, is of excellent quality, and leaves very little ash. Stone, well adapted for building purposes, is also found. Ironstone exists almost everywhere throughout the Hills, but principally in the dependent States of Khyrim, Nongpung, Cherrá, and Mylliem. In former years the Khásás were 000

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

In former years the Khásiás were great iron-smelters, and enormous excavations in the most favourable localities for obtaining ironstone prove the extent to which this manufacture was carried on. In some places the whole surface of the ground appears to have been dug up for a depth of several feet, leaving huge boulders standing up here and there. Of late years, however, as the price of labour in the Hills has risen, the trade in iron has died away, and there is now little demand for the Khási article, the cheaper English metal having driven it out of the market. 178 316 325

NATURAL PHENOMENA.—Many peculiar caves and caverns are found in the limestone rock formation, the most notable being the caves at Cherrá Pinji and at Rápnáth in Amwi. At the latter place the caverns extend a great distance beneath the earth, one being imagined by the people to reach as far as China, and a Hindu legend states that a Chinese army once marched by this route to the invasion of India. In another cave, the limestone stalactites have been carved into images representing the gods of the Hindu pantheon. On the banks of the Kapili river on the Cáchár border, at a place called Sumir, there is a hot spring, the water of which contains carbonate of lime. All the rivers in the Hills flow through gorges in certain parts of their course, the most picturesque being at Tobrá, where a small stream is compressed into deep pools among limestone rocks; and at Dumang and Borghát, where the Mangot and Mantidoo rivers respectively debouch upon the plains. 133 [323]

FORESTS, ETC.—The India-rubber or caoutchouc tree is found in many forests throughout the Hills, but not in great numbers, and the supply and value of the gum has much decreased of late years. In 1870 the right of tapping the trees in the Jíntiá Hills was leased out for a sum of £56, 12s. 0d.; but by 1876 the trade had almost entirely ceased. There are some tracts of timber forest on the lower hills towards the Brahmaputra valley, but through the want of water carriage they are of no great value. Vigorous efforts are being made to preserve the forests in the higher plateaux. Owing to the habit of firing the jungle in spring prior to sowing, great waste of valuable timber has taken place; but since the country has been separated from Bengal and placed under the administration of the Chief Commissioner of Assam, attention has been given to the matter, and special areas are now being set apart for the preservation and growth of forest timber. Cinnamon grows wild in some parts of the country. There is a considerable trade carried on in 137 [314] 137 648 659 000

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

132 in 1876, the highest maximum temperature was registered in the month of August, the lowest minimum in January. From November until the end of March the weather is dry and bracing. Hoar-frost lies upon the ground almost every morning in the months of December, January, and February. Shallow water occasionally freezes over, but snow never falls.

The rainfall at Cherrá Pínji is enormous, varying between 300 and 500 inches per annum. The heaviest fall is in the months of June and July. As much as 30 inches has been collected in one day in July, and 157 inches has been registered as the total rainfall of that month. The average rainfall of the three years ending in 1876 is returned at 368·41 inches. It is affirmed that a total of 805 inches fell in 1861, of which 366 inches is assigned to the single month of July. This excessive rainfall can be readily accounted for by the abrupt manner in which the hills at Cherrá Pínji rise from the plains on the south. The vapour-bearing breezes of the south-west monsoon, sweeping across the heated, flooded plains of Lower Bengal, suddenly strike against the hills. The vapour as it ascends gets condensed into fogs and mists, and finally, when it reaches the crest of the range, discharges itself in torrents of rain, unequalled by that recorded in any other part of the world.

At Shillong, which is only 30 miles north and a little higher than Cherrá Pínji, the average rainfall is only about 85 inches; but between these two Stations three higher ranges intervene, which deprive the clouds in passage of a considerable portion of their moisture. During the three years ending in 1876, the average rainfall at Shillong was 85·65 inches.

The rainfall at Jowái, a subdivisional Station in the Jáintiá Hills, 26 miles distant from the plains, holds a mid place between that of Cherrá Pínji and Shillong, and is estimated at 150 inches in the year. During the three years ending in 1876, the average rainfall at Jowái was 145·60 inches; but in the last of these years alone as much as 309·21 inches was registered, of which 134·34 inches fell in the month of June.

• 133 The District is liable to shocks of earthquake. In September 1875 considerable damage was done to the houses in Shillong by a shock which extended with great severity as far as Gauhátí; and several minor shocks were experienced in the year 1876-77.

164 132 DISEASES, ETC.—Generally speaking, the climate of Shillong is pleasant and congenial to Europeans. English children thrive

I. Setting and Economic Background of Sohkyndih and Kongton

361 Sohkyndih and Kongton are villages of the Kadashinong,[1] one of
692 the areas under the Cherra Chief. The Kadashinong is situated on
[131] the southern slope of the Khasi Hills, in what is called War country.
These two villages are situated at the farthest point from both Shella,
the centre bordered by the plain, and Cherrapunjee, the seat of the
184 Cherra Chief, one of the centres of the upland Khasi Hills. The people
121 at Cherrapunjee say that these villages are one of the most backward
[171] parts of the Khasi Hills. They correspond to Rombagiri in the Garo
Hills, as they lie in the innermost parts and more traditional economic
and social settings have been preserved there than in other villages.
These are also the reasons why I selected those villages as my field.

361 It is nine miles to Sohkyndih from Cherrapunjee, crossing two
[131] deep valleys towards the east. Kongton is located at the heart of
[487] the mountain ranges, ten miles from Cherrapunjee, towards the north-
east. It is about twelve miles from Sohkyndih to Kongton, and
[162] the way leads through one of the most difficult passes, where even
villagers seldom travel. In December, 1955, Sohkyndih was a com-
munity of 48 households (List 6), and Kongton of 62 households
(List 9). The settlements of both villages are clustered in the southern
depressions of a mountain, not far from the summit, a typical location
[134] of Khasi villages. Sohkyndih has poor soil, covered with plenty of
pieces of stones. The yield therefore is very poor. On the other
hand, Kongton, a much older village, enjoys fertile soil, and is one of
the most prosperous communities in the Kadashinong.

241 The major economy of both villages is shifting cultivation. We
have already seen, in the chapters on the Garo, the fundamental
technique of "Jhuming cultivation." The differences between the
423 Garo and the Khasi shifting cultivation are to be found in two aspects:
one is the nature of the crops and the other is the type of landowner-
[171] ship. In this area, the main crop is millet, while that of the Garo is
[241] rice. Besides the shifting cultivation, the Khasi have [illegible]
and sometimes pineapple gardens, though on a small scale and not
in every household. The most important feature of Khasi shifting
cultivation is the development of private ownership. In the tribal
areas in Assam, such private ownership of the jhum field is quite un-

1. Kadashinong is the name of a group of villages. Its literal meaning is "twelve villages," and it comprises the following villages: Sohkyndih, Rymmai, Mawbawon, Mawshisit, Mawmang, Kongton, Shwetong, Kodhupthiat, Pilli, Tendon, Nongpyrang, and Dongpaw. (Khasi spelling follows the customary usage in Cherra State.)

[illegible] the British negotiated treaties with all the Khasi states, the last treaty being signed in 1862. It was contended that the chiefs would be subject to the authority of a resident political agent, whose duties would involve maintaining law and order, trying cases of heinous crimes, approving the popular selection of any new chief and exercising control over certain categories of natural resources. Khasis were guaranteed noninterference in their customary way of life and they were not then, nor are they now, taxed. Most Khasis, as opposed to Jaintias, were never an integral part of British India, but they did undergo social change as a result of British presence. To summarize Hills (vol.) - (1) The British introduced the potato which the Khasis rapidly took up as a cash crop for marketing as far as Calcutta. The intensive speculation exhausted the soil and made far-reaching changes. (2) Christian missionaries made large numbers of converts, and there arose the difficult question of whether a Christian should observe practices that traditionally was outmoded for lack of relevance of non-Christian religious rituals. (3) About 1866 the British transferred their headquarters from Cherrapunji to Shillong. When they made Shillong the capital of the entire state of Assam, non-Khasis flocked to it, land values soared, and the concept of private property became increasingly important. Khasis began to mingle with members of other ethnic groups, which introduced confusion into traditional social patterns. These problems were exacerbated during World War II, when Shillong and its environs enjoyed enormous economic prosperity. One notable aftermath of this affluence has been the widespread enrollment in schools and colleges. Hundreds of Khasis now have the B.A., M.A., and even the Ph.D. degree. • With the independence of India in 1947, and under the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India (which was drafted by a Khasi), the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills District became a Part B, or autonomous, Tribal Area, to be governed by a District Council composed largely of Khasis and Jaintias, and responsible not to the Legislature of Assam, but to the Governor of Assam as agent of the President of India. The subversion system and the chiefs and rent, and the District Council, lack a difficult to effect legislation which a nation offensive to regional culture are a simple blueprint of drifting all India is between Jaintias, who are accustomed to central and authority and taxation, and Khasis, who resent the notion of taxation to support the work of a central District Council. (2) Cat 1000, [illegible] Khasis 1000, Wang 1000.

SETTLEMENT PATTERN AND MORTAR: Settlement patterns. Khasis live primarily in nuclear, nucleated, and clustered villages which are situated just below hill summits to avoid strong winds but still be defensible, and which usually include a do-

[illegible] Khasis, here, ever since the measures of improvement which followed, remained peaceable and contented.

[illegible] GENERAL ASPECT OF THE DISTRICT.—The District consists almost entirely of hills, only a very small portion lying in the plains. The slope of the hills on the southern side is steep, until a table-land is met with at an elevation of about [illegible] feet. Higher up there is another plateau at Nongkhlaw, ten miles to the eastward of which, and in the same mountain range, the Civil Station of Shillong is situated at an elevation of [illegible] feet above sea level. On the northern side of the hills are two plateaus, one between [illegible] and [illegible] feet below the level of Shillong, and the second lower down, about [illegible] feet above sea level. In general features all these plateaus are much alike, and consist of a succession of undulating downs, broken here and there by the valleys of the larger hill streams. In the higher ranges, where the hills have been denuded of trees, the country is covered with short grass, which becomes longer and more rank in the lower elevations. A remarkable feature in the aspect of the country throughout the hills is the numerous sacred groves which superstition has preserved from time immemorial from the destructive hand of the woodcutter. These sacred groves contain beautiful timber-trees of various kinds, rare orchids, rhododendrons, and wild cinnamon. On the more elevated table-lands, pine trees and stunted oak are met with; and in the lower hills, in every direction, are dense forests of the usual Indian trees, containing valuable timber.

[illegible] The geological formation is mostly granitic, with stratified rocks of sandstone, limestone, and shale. The rock beds rest on trap and metamorphic rocks. The prevailing surface soil is a red ferruginous loam.

[illegible] MOUNTAINS.—The principal mountain ranges and highest peaks in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills are as follows:—(i) The Shillong range—height of principal peak, [illegible] feet above sea level. (ii) [illegible] range—highest peak, [illegible] feet. (iii) Lika-syi-ruid range—highest peak, [illegible] feet. (iv) Lika-mlo-doh range—highest peak, [illegible] feet. (v) Lika-ber-ch—highest peak, [illegible] feet. (vi) Lika-bah range—highest peak, [illegible] feet. (vii) Lang-kor-dow range—highest peak, [illegible] feet. (viii) Lum-lalong range—highest peak, [illegible] feet. (ix) Mlo-sya-ram range—highest peak, [illegible] feet.

The principal mountains are:—(i) Rup-lang—height, [illegible] feet.

20: Mundy G-4 (no date) 1897 AR? Khasi AR?

extent of waste land, some is cultivated in a manner resembling the jum system,—successive crops are grown on a patch of land till the soil is exhausted, and then another spot is selected, where the same process is repeated afresh, but without anything that can be called a *jhum* tenure. Any owning of land is unknown, and there are no recognized rates of rent. The Deputy-Commissioner, however, states that an ordinary rate for rented land would be from two to three shillings a year for as much land as an individual can cultivate with his own hands. 423 [427]

Manure is generally used in raising rice and potatoes. It is seldom purchased, the dung and litter of the cattle and other animals about the house being generally utilized for the purpose. For rice fields a little less than half a ton of manure, but for potatoes upwards of two tons, is required per acre. Manure, if purchased, would cost from 10. 7½d. to 3s. 9d. per acre for rice land, and for potato fields from 10s. to 18s. per acre. 243 244 [435]

Irrigation for agricultural purposes is regularly practised. Water is brought to the land by means of channels cut from the numerous hill streams in the neighbourhood of the fields. Wells and tanks are unknown. The work of irrigation by means of these channels is very easily carried on, and at a very trifling outlay. Rotation of crops is not practised in the Hills. 312

Model Farm.—The Shillong Model Farm, established in 1871, has not proved a success. Experiments tried with wheat give some hope that cold-weather crops may profitably be introduced into the Hills. Two new varieties of potato—'red maple' and 'pheasant's eye'—were successfully introduced in 1893-94, but these are not looked upon favourably by the Khásiás, as they only give one crop in the year, whereas the ordinary variety yields two crops. Several fruit-trees have been planted out, including apple, pear, cherry, mulberry, and plum; and the tables of the European gardeners are supplied with vegetables from the garden attached to the Model Farm. [illegible] the experimenters has been transferred into Assamese, and copies have been distributed among the adjoining Hill tribes. The general failure in all the agricultural experiments is attributed partly to the unfitness of the soil, and still more to the ravages of white ants and other insects peculiar to the Hills. The attempts to improve the indigenous breeds of live stock have been equally unfortunate. During the two years 1894-95 the sum of Rs. 1,344 177 177 244 [illegible] 654 177 245 [illegible] 654 [134] [134] 231 648 654

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

157 in the Jowai sub-division. In the vicinity of Nongpoh is observed the beautiful *sakor* or *sapowar*, the iron-wood tree. The latter is also to be found on the southern slopes of the hills in the Jowai sub-division. There are some *sal* forests to the west and south of Nongpoh, where the *sal* trees are almost as large as those to be found in the Garo Hills. Between Shillong and Jowai there are forests of oak, the country being beautifully wooded. Chestnuts and birches are also fairly common. The low hills on the northern and western sides of the district are clad with dense forests of bamboo, of which there are many varieties. The Pandanus or screw-pine is to 136 be met with on the southern slopes. Regarding the geological 133 formation of the hills, I extract a few general remarks from the Physical and Political Geography of Assam. The Shillong plateau consists of a great mass of gneiss, here on the northern border, where it is broken into hills, for the most part low and very irregular in outline, with numerous outliers in the Lower Assam Valley, even close up to the Himalayas. In the central region the gneiss is covered by transition or sub-metamorphic rocks, consisting of a strong band of quartzites overlying a mass of earthy schists. In the very centre of the range, where the table-land attains its highest elevation, great masses of intrusive diorite and granite occur; and the latter is found in dikes piercing the gneiss and sub-metamorphic series throughout the southern half of the boundary of the plain. To the south, in contact with the gneiss and sub-metamorphics is a great volcanic outburst of trap, which is stratified, and is brought to the surface with the general rise of elevation along the face of the hills between Shella and Thringhat south of [illegible] which are called collectively the Cherra trap. South of the main axis of this metamorphic and volcanic mass are to be found strata of two well defined series: (1) the cretaceous, and (2) nummulitic. The cretaceous contains several important coal-fields. The nummulitic series, which overlies the cretaceous, attains a thickness of 500 feet in the Thevia river, consisting of alternating strata of compact limestones and sandstones. It is at the exposure of these rocks on their downward dip to the edge of the plateau that are situated the extensive limestone quarries of the Khasi Hills. There are numerous

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limestone caves and underground water-courses on the southern face of the hills. This series contains coal-beds, e.g. the Cherra-field and that at Lakadong in the Jaintia Hills. Some description of the remarkable Kyllang Rock may not be out of place. Sir Joseph Hooker describes it as a dome of red granite, 5,400 feet above sea level, accessible from the north and east, but almost perpendicular to the southward where the slope is 80° for 600 feet. The elevation is said by Hooker to be 400 feet above the mean level of the surrounding ridges and 700 feet above the bottom of the valleys. The south or steepest side is encumbered with enormous detached blocks, while the north is clothed with forests containing red tree-rhododendrons and oaks. Hooker says that on its skirts grows a "white bushy rhododendron" which he found nowhere else. There is, however, a specimen of it now in the Shillong Lake garden. Numerous orchids are to be found in the Kyllang wood, notably a beautiful white one, called by the Khasis *u'lior kyllang synrai*, which blooms in the autumn. The view from the top of the rock is very extensive, especially towards the north, where a magnificent panorama of the Himalayas is obtained in the autumn. The most remarkable phenomenon of any kind in the country is undoubtedly the enormous quantity of rain which falls at Cherrapunji.* Practically the whole of the rainfall occurs in the rains, i.e. from May to October. The remainder of the district is less rainy. The climate of the central plateau of the Shillong range is very salubrious, but the low hills in parts of the district are malarious. The effect of the different climates can at once be seen by examining the physique of the inhabitants. The Khasis who live in the high central plateaux are exceptionally healthy and strong, but those who live in the unhealthy "Bhoi country" to the north, and in the Lyngngam [illegible] in the west of the district, are often stunted and sickly. Not so, however, the Wars who live on the southern slopes, for although their country is very hot at certain times of the year, it does not appear to be abnormally unhealthy except in certain

* The average rainfall at the Cherrapunji Police Station during the last twenty years, from figures obtained from the office of the Director of Land Records and Agriculture, has been 426 inches. The greatest rainfall registered in any one year during the period was in 1906, when it amounted to 641 inches.

10: Clarke U-3 (no date)1874 AR7 Khasi AR7

In these hills a dozen monuments on the binary type may soon be found in which there are two equal upright slabs in the middle, and the other stones placed symmetrically on each side of them.

7. There are three kinds of rock employed by the Khasis for stone monuments, viz.:—

a. The Cherra sandstones.
b. The Shillong sandstones.
c. The granite.

Small stones are conveyed considerable distances from the place of manufacture before they are set up—large stones are not—hence the material of the monuments is determined everywhere geologically.

a. The Cherra sandstones are tertiary and cretaceous rocks spread along the southern edge of the plateau and producing the ledges which mark its abrupt termination. In the great thickness of these sandstones are many beds in which the rock occurs in large sheets with very few joints, and well-adapted for working out large slabs therefrom. The sandstone is generally very hard, but not so hard but that the Khasis can work it with their own native-made iron tools.

There is a quarry, now in full work, about half-a-mile out of the old Cherra cantonment, upon the Mawloo path, where slabs may be seen in preparation. The slabs made from the Cherra sandstones, admitting of being worked, are generally hewn pretty fairly to a shape and smoothed before being set up. The ancient monuments are, however, often made of very rough slabs.

All the well-known monuments near the old Cherra station are made of these sandstones, as also the large monuments at Mawloo, Mawsmai, and Lirinow. These three monuments all stand on sheets of Cherra sandstone and the stones were cut out of the rock hard by where they now stand. The stones quarried now outside the Cherra cantonment, being for transport, are none of great size.

The Khasis also work gigantic slabs of stone for bridges. Where the span is anything under twenty feet a single slab [illegible] of enormous blocks of sandstone are raised on each side, on which the slab may rest, if there is the remotest fear that the water can, in any flood, reach the under surface of the slab. As compared with such a bridge the Khasis regard the best efforts of the English engineers as mere makeshifts. The arch at Amwee figured by Dr. Hooker is Bengali work.

b. The Shillong sandstones extend over a large area of the northern portion of the plateau: they are often more argillaceous

10:Clarke U-3 (no date)1874 AR7 Khasi AR7

135 (sometimes slaty) than the Cherra sandstones, and are geologically ancient, probably being of palæozoic age, but containing no fossils. They are generally inclined at high angles and the beds are full of joints, and do not admit of large slabs being got out of them. I know of no monument of the first class made out of 211 Shillong rocks, but slabs of six feet high are very common. They are generally obtained by splitting out with wooden wedges and are not often finished with iron tools. The monuments on the Shillong sandstone area are therefore of a much rougher character than the Cherra monuments, the stones irregular in shape, and the stones that should correspond in size only corresponding very roughly. It is often very difficult to say whether these monuments are of the regular 3-5-7 stoned type or not, but they all are designed in general accord with the two great types of upright and horizontal slabs.

135 *c.* A large area, perhaps 1,000 square miles, of the Shillong plateau, is covered with scattered blocks of granite, varying in size up to masses as large as cottages: perhaps the Kollong rock itself (figured by Hooker) might be counted as the extreme size

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135 such blocks here reach. This granite area runs east and west through the centre (or somewhat through the northern half) of the plateau. It is of great width and continuity westward, becomes broken into isolated areas in the centre of the hills, and becomes very narrow in the Jâintea territory, finally dying out

10: Clarke U-3 (no date)1874 AR7 Khasi AR7

in East Jaintea, according to the Khasis, who are good geologists. 135

These granite blocks are found on the steep hill sides and on the hill tops, the valleys between being often entirely destitute of them. The highest hills of the plateau are especially favoured with them as Nonglas (Nunklow) and Laitlankote. On the edges of the granite area and on the isolated peaks of the country, outlying heaps of granite blocks are found. Around Jowye (the Jaintea capital), the country is very uniformly at a level of about 4000–4500 feet above the sea, and not a granite block is to be seen there, nor in marching east thence, where you keep at the same level, until you reach the Ralliang hill about twelve miles east of Jowye, where the blocks appear again in full force all over the summit of the hill.

From these granite blocks, slabs of almost any size might be obtained, but the Khasi native iron tools will not work this granite, which is very hard, and the granite slabs used in the Khasi monuments are merely flakes obtained by heating the block with fire along a line and then pouring cold water upon it. The upright granite slabs thus frequently exhibit one convex and one concave face, as also do the horizontal slabs which are round or oval, not quadrangular. The flakes are entirely unworked in the Khasi territory, so that the granite monuments have an extreme rudeness and ruggedness about them which has been commonly supposed to indicate extreme antiquity. This I believe is altogether a mistake, but at the present time the taste of the people appears educated up to a preference for worked stones, and I have not seen any granite monument in process of construction, though I am told that many have been made within the memory of man. 316

There is an important difference in the Jaintea granitic monuments which are neatly worked to the approved form. The Bengali Rajahs of the plains, Jaintea and Jaintaspore, have long established an influence in the hills, and Bengali workmen have thus penetrated the hills from Jaintaspore by Amwee up to Jowye, the hill capital, and further. The Bengali tools are able to [illegible] for monuments or for bridges, are commonly found neatly hewn, all the way from Jaintaspore up to Nartiung, north of Jowye.

Large granite stones are rather more difficult to move than sandstones of the same dimensions, and the first class granite monuments are found on the spot where the granite blocks abound. Where an isolated hill was covered with large blocks, and no blocks were seen anywhere else near, this seems at once to have suggested such a hill as a suitable spot for monumental erections. In just the same way at Stonehenge the large stones

CHAPTER II

General features of the district

128 2.1 In this chapter a brief note on the geography, population and economy of the district is given in order to provide a perspective and make the report self contained.

133 **2.2 Relief.**—The whole of the district is composed of hill tracts. On the northern and western border these hills take the form of tumbled ranges which run for the most part north and south and have a general height of two to three thousand feet. None of the hills in the central and southern portions of the district has anything rocky or precipitous about them. Their sides are covered with short grass and from one direction or another, they can generally be negotiated by a man on horseback. There is a high plateau in the centre of the district, the general level of which is not much below 6000 ft though it decreases in height towards east and west.

2.3 Rivers.—The high plateau that traverses the centre of the district the watershed of the hills. The following are the principal rivers. In the west there is the Jadukata or Kynshi river, further east cor the Um Mantha and the Bogapani which fall into the Surma. The Umgot or Mahrokhah, known as the Pylon Gang in the plains of Sylhet forms for a considerable distance the boundary of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills. On the north the principal rivers are Kakhri, the Digaru and Umiam. Farther west comes the Umkhen, Um Myntang and the Myrang. All these rivers possess the characteristics usually associated with hill streams. The beds are rocky and gravelly, the current swift and after heavy rains even small streams come down in spate. The rivers of the district are not used for traffic to any appreciable extent.

135 **2.4 Minerals.**—The Geological products of economic value are lime and coal. From the earliest days of British rule, the lime quarries of Khasi Hills formed one of the principal attractions of Sylhet, drawing large number of Europeans to that district. The lime quarries are situated all along the southern face of the hills. Coal is found both in the cretaceous and nummulitic formations. The largest deposits of nummulitic coal are found at Cherrapunjee, Laitryngew, Mawlon Mawsynram, Mowdon, Thangjrath, Lakadong and Narai. Cretaceous coal is found in Mooleblakar, Berseu, Wapung Laitkynsew and in the Langrin field.

137 **2.5 Forests.**—The district exhibits a varied flora reflecting the variations in the physical features, configuration of the ground, edaphic factors and climatic gradient. In the pine zone, covering areas between 2500'-6200' elevation are found the pines, birch, uhima, oak, beech, etc. The evergreen hardwood zone, which forms belt along the foothills contains useful hardwood species of which the most important species are sal, nahor, cham, chap, gomari, etc. The dry grass belt covering the lower slopes roughly between 500'-2500' elevation form the best ground for grasses.

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homicide), in which their own subjects are concerned. All cases of homicide, or matters involving disputes between people belonging to different States, are adjudicated upon by the British officers of the District. 648 692

In the British possessions, the principal sources of revenue are rents and royalties derived from mineral workings, such as lime and coal; rents of fisheries; and a house tax, which varies, according to situation and productiveness of the soil, from R. 1 to Rs. 2 or from 2s. to 4s. per house. A land tax is only levied in tracts where the Government possesses the actual proprietary right in the soil. Again, in the Khási States, the British Government, which undertakes the management of the natural products of the country, such as waste lands, coal, lime, etc., receives a half-share of the rents realized from these sources, the other half belonging to the native Chiefs. The other sources of revenue of the Chiefs are market dues, cesses levied occasionally for State purposes, and fines realized in the administration of justice. 648 651 [135]

HISTORY.—Our first knowledge of the Khási Hills dates from the time when the East India Company acquired the *diwani* of Bengal in 1765. The adjoining District of Sylhet was included in that grant; but as the hillmen had never acknowledged any subjection to the Muhammadans, so they still remained absolutely independent of the British power. However, the necessities of commerce, arising from their monopoly of the lime quarries, from which Bengal has drawn its supply from time immemorial, soon attracted European enterprise to the country. As stated in the Appendix to the Statistical Account of Sylhet, the control of the profits of the lime trade formed in early times one of the most valuable advantages attaching to the position of the official in charge of that District. It does not appear that any European had been attracted to reside in the Hills before 1826. In that year the Raja of Nongkloo entered into an agreement with certain European British subjects to allow a road to be made across the Hills, to connect the Surma valley with Assam Proper. These Europeans took up their residence at Nongkloo. Misunderstandings unfortunately arose, and, partly by the misconduct of some of their Bengali followers, the growing discontent and apprehension were fanned into a flame. On 4th April 1829 the Khásiás rose in arms and massacred Lieutenants Bedingfield and Burlton, together with some sepoys. This led to military operations on the part of the British Government, which 175 648 [135] [437]

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General Aspect of the District.—The District consists
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135 of sandstone, limestone, and shale. The coal-beds rest on trap and metamorphic rocks. The prevailing surface soil is a red ferruginous loam.

133 Mountains.—The principal mountain ranges and highest peaks in the Khási and Jaintiá Hills are as follow:—(1) The Shillong range—height of principal peak, 6449 feet above sea level. (2) Dongiei range—principal peak, 6400 feet. (3) Máo-thad-ei-shin range—highest peak, 6297 feet. (4) Lúo-syn-nid range—highest peak, 5775 feet. (5) Lúit-máo-dah range—highest peak, 5377 feet. (6) Lúo-ber-sit—highest peak, 5400 feet. (7) Lúo-bah range—highest peak, 4264 feet. (8) Lyng-ker-dem range—highest peak, 3000 feet. (9) Lúm-luiong range—highest peak, 4646 feet. (10) Máo-syn-rim range—highest peak, 5810 feet.

The principal mountains are:—(1) Rap-leng—height, 3671 feet.

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133 they form rapids, the waters precipitating themselves down deep, rocky gorges and chasms, choked with huge boulders. Some of these gorges are very beautiful; the streams, being hemmed in between stupendous mountains and rocks covered with primeval forest, run in narrow but very deep channels swarming with fish. No islands or lakes are formed by any of the rivers, although several of them have large, deep pools. They are all unfordable during the rains.

312 Utilization of the Water Supply.—None of the rivers are utilized as a motive power for turning machinery, although the streams on the higher plateaux might be easily turned to such an account. Their waters, however, are extensively used for the purposes of irrigation, and the hill people display great ingenuity in cutting channels or aqueducts for leading the water on to their [365] fields. It is in this manner that the Civil Station of Shillong receives its water supply. Aqueducts convey water to the houses of all the European residents; and branch channels from the main aqueduct flow through the *bázár*, and along the streets occupied [226] by the native inhabitants. No fishing towns exist in the hills; but [563] near where the rivers debouch upon the plain are some valuable fisheries, which are annually let in farm, the lessees being generally Bengalis. These fisheries yield an annual Government revenue of about £300. Embankments in order to protect the land against floods do not exist. A few embankments, or rather dams, are thrown across narrow valleys between hills, so as to create reservoirs for water. At Shillong there are a few tanks thus formed, which are both useful and ornamental.

135 Minerals, etc.—Coal and limestone, both of excellent quality, are found in abundance. Lower Bengal obtains nearly the whole of its lime supply from the Khásí and Jaintia Hills. The lime is known as 'Sylhet lime,' and is obtained by quarrying from the beds of stone which line the base of the mountains along the whole length of the Sylhet boundary. The supply is literally inexhaustible. Coal out-crops at Cherrá Pínji, Lá-ká-dong, Shellá, Máo-syn-rám, and at several other places; but as a rule it is scattered, and found in places difficult of access. The coal, however, is of excellent quality, and leaves very little ash. Stone, well adapted for building purposes, is also found. Ironstone exists almost everywhere throughout the Hills, but principally in the dependent States of Khyrim, Nongpoh, Cherrá, and Mylliem. In former years the Khásís were
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491 Pínji, and Tharighát, to Bholáganj in Sylhet; length, about 130 miles. Repairs to this road are effected partly by the inhabitants of the Native States, and partly by Government. (3) Cart road from Shillong to Máo-ílong, 14 miles. This road has been opened for cart traffic throughout. (4) Road from Shillong, *via* Jowái and Mukhtápur, to Jaintápur in Sylhet; length, about 70 miles. This road is being improved from year to year, and when finished the cost may amount to £50 per mile. (5) Road to connect Shillong with the Garo Hills, opened out from Márbisú, *via* Sob-iong, Kynchi, Máo-ker-chá, and Nongstoin, to within 10 miles of the boundary between the two Districts; length, about 52 miles. This road is at present only a fair-weather road. It was made in 1872-73, and when completed may cost £50 a mile. (6) Road to connect Shillong with the Confederate State of Sheilá, bordering on Sylhet, from Lyn-kyn-tyng-noh *via* Pom-ran-ngát to Sym-pher; length, about 16 miles. This road, when completed, will be about 60 miles in length. (7) Road leading *via* Lait-tyng-kat to Sob-rá-rim and Cherrá Pínji; length, about 22 miles. This is at present a bridle path, but may eventually be the line for a cart road to Cherrá Pínji. (8) Road from Jowái, in the Jaintiá Hills, to Nong-ritiong; length, about 12 miles. This road, when extended, will connect Jowái with the District of Nowgong in the Brahmaputra valley, and the estimated total length will be about 90 miles. Besides the above-mentioned eight roads, there are other bridle paths which facilitate access to remote places.

• 135 COAL MINES.—Coal exists in the Khási and Jaintiá Hills in connection with the limestone formation. As a rule the carboniferous strata are not extensive, and they are for the most part found in localities more or less inaccessible. In the Khási Hills coal has been discovered at the eleven following places:—(1) By-rang, altitude about 1242 feet above sea level; (2) Cherrá, 4118 feet; (3) Lait-tyng-iew, 4800 feet; (4) Máo-long, 600 feet; (5) Máo-noh, 1500 feet; (6) Máo-syn-ram, 4000 feet; (7) Máo-dun, 400 feet; (8) Máo-nai-chhord, 300 feet; (9) Máo-beh-lyrkár, 5000 feet; (10) Sheilá, 800 feet; (11) Thinjindih, 4400 feet. In the Jaintiá Hills at the five following localities:—(1) Am-wi, altitude about 3800 feet above sea level; (2) Lá-kú-dong, 2000 feet; (3) Náo-pá, 300 feet; (4) Sob-tyng-gih, 3500 feet; (5) Sher-mung, 4000 feet. The most extensive of the coal beds are those situated at Cherrá Pínji in the Khási Hills, and at Lá-kú-dong in the Jaintiá Hills.

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR 7 Khasi AR 7

The coal strata at the former place are calculated to extend over one-third of a square mile, with an average thickness of from 3 feet 6 inches to 4 feet; and the yield of the coal, if it could be worked, is estimated at 447,000 tons. At the latter spot the area of the coal-fields is computed to extend over 0·394 of a square mile, and the estimated yield of the mineral is about 1,100,000 tons. The coal at Cherrá Púnji and at Lá-kká-dong is in quality equal to some English coals; it is quick in its action, and consequently would generate steam rapidly; it cakes well, but gives out a large amount of smoke; it is fragile and easily broken. From the absence of that definite structure which produces the planes of division known to English miners as 'backs,' or joints in the coal, it breaks into unsymmetrical pieces, and consequently does not stow well. From its composition, quick combustion, and irregular cleavage, it is estimated to be from 5 to 7 per cent. inferior to good English coal; but as a gas-producing coal it is considered superior to English produce, both as regards quality and purity of the gas. It is also calculated to yield a good quality of coke. The market value of coal found in the Khási and Jáintiá Hills cannot be given with any approach to accuracy, owing to the expense of labour in the Hills and of carriage to the plains. The Station of Shillong, which consumes coal as fuel, derives its supply from the coal beds at Mawlongkhi, 18 miles distant, and the price is as high as £3 per ton. Lá-kká-dong is within six miles of Borghát, a village on an affluent of the Surmá, which is accessible all the year round by boats of 300 maunds, or 18 tons burden; but at present only coolie-carriage is available between Lá-kká-dong and Borghát.

The following is a brief history of the mines at Cherrá Púnji in the Khási Hills, and at Lá-kká-dong in the Jáintiá Hills:—Government holds a perpetual lease of the Cherrá Púnji mines from the chief or Siem of Cherrá, conditionally upon the payment by Government of a royalty of two shillings and eightpence for every five tons of coal quarried and removed from the mine, and also upon the terms that the people of Cherrá shall be permitted to work the beds on their own account. In 1862 Government transferred its right to work the mine to Captain Engledue, then agent of the Peninsular and Oriental Company, for a period of twenty years; but in the following year this gentleman, with the permission of Government, made over his lease to Messrs. Gisborne & Co., of Calcutta, who worked the mine for about two years,

1:Gurdon E-4.5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

226 the streams. Khasis, except the Wárs and the people of Shella, unlike the Assamese and Bengalis, do not fish with nets, nor do they use the bamboo-work device known by the Assamese as *pale* (পলি) and *jak* (জাক). The method of fish-poisoning of the Khasis is the same as that described by Soppitt in his account of the tribes inhabiting North Cachar. The following is a description of how Khasis poison fish in the western portion of the district; it may be taken as a sample of the whole. A [204] large quantity of the bark of the tree *la nyuto* and the creeper *u khariew* is first brought to the river-side to a place on the stream a little above the pool which it is proposed to poison, where it is thoroughly beaten with sticks till the juice exudes and flows into the water, the juice being of a milky white colour. In a few minutes the fish begin to rise and splash about, and, becoming stupefied, allow themselves to be caught in the shallows. If the beating of the bark has been well carried out, many of the fish soon die and after a time float on the surface of the water. A large number of Khasis stand on the banks around with bamboo scoops shaped like small landing nets, to catch the fish, and fish traps (*ki khoraw*) Assamese *khoki* (খোকি) are laid between the stones in the rapids to secure any fish that may escape the fishing party. Another fish poison [204] is the leaves *u sah lim*, the juice of which is beaten out in the same manner as described above.

226 Soppitt says, certain fish do not appear to be susceptible to 136 the poison, and not nearly the destruction takes place that is popularly supposed. The mahseer and the carp family generally do not suffer much, whereas, on the other hand, the river shark, the *hangsa* *mas* of the Bengalis, is killed in large numbers. It is [illegible], however, [illegible] of the [illegible], which the mahseer fry, which abound in these hill rivers in the spring and early summer months, can escape being destroyed in great numbers when the streams are frequently poisoned. In the neighbourhood of lime quarries and other large works where dynamite is used for blasting, this explosive is sometimes 226 employed for killing fish. The practice, however, has been strictly prohibited, and there have been some cases in which the offenders have been punished in the courts. Fish-poisoning is bad enough, but dynamiting is still worse, as with an effective

I: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

wonderful mass of granite known by the name of the Kyllang Rock will be found in the section of the monograph which deals with geographical distribution. I have also added a photograph of the rock. The Syntengs have a story that when the strong west wind blows in the spring this is due to the advent of *U Kyllang*, who comes to visit his wife, the river *U'mngot*, at that season: amongst the Khasis hills are all of them masculine, but to rivers is usually attributed the feminine gender. U Symper is another isolated rocky eminence rising from the Maharam plain close to the village of K'mawan. The best view of the hill is obtainable from Laitmawsiang on the path to Mawsynram. The village of Mawmai every traveller from Therria to Cherrapunji knows. It is chiefly remarkable for a fairly large limestone cave, and its fine memorial stones. The Khasi theory to explain how the moon got its spots is, I believe, original, but is no more extraordinary than our own nursery tale about the "man in the moon." The *Sohpet Byung* hill is the first hill of any size that the traveller sees on the Gauhati road when journeying to Shillong. It is close to U'msning Dak Bungalow. There are caves in the hill which are tenanted by bears. Strange to say, according to Khasi ideas, this is one of the highest points in the hills; in reality *Sophet Byung* is some 2,000 ft. lower than the Shillong Peak. As mentioned elsewhere, the Khasis are very fond of dogs; so I have given their version of how the dog came to live with man. The well-known *Ishiw* superstition will be found fully described under the heading of "Human sacrifices." I have, however, thought the tale of sufficient interest to reproduce at length here. The story of the river Rapatylli is a pretty tale, and is just such a one as would appeal to the imagination of mountaineers like the Khasis. The Kopili story is important, in that it indicates the origin of human sacrifices in the Jaintia Hills; it also throws, perhaps, some light on the question of the use to which the flat table memorial stones were put in years gone by. The superstition about the crossing of the Kopili can be vouched for by many who have taken the journey from the Jaintia Hills to North Cachar by the Kopili route. Mawpunkyrtiang is a small village close to Cherrapunji. The weird tale about the Siem of Malyniang is the pride of the Maskut people, for in olden days their King,

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won the money in the archery contest and now we should have a big feast. It is full moon now and much more beautiful during the night than the day. Oh, we are just having a good time." At once he swung his bunches of leaves and hopped away. The women take care of stirring the cooking pots. They are not choosy about the spoon. A bamboo, which a tired dancer might have just thrown away, is quite adequate for this purpose. When everything is ready, the people sit down in groups and eat the meat. Rice brandy is handed around. When the archers and other guests at the festival are more than sated and exhausted from all the dancing, they leave the place towards morning.

It should be pointed out that contrary to their usual customs the Khasi eat no rice at the great feast after the archery competition but only meat, with which brandy is drunk. There is a good deal of overindulgence in food and drink on this occasion. (32) [262]

32. P.F. Stegmiller, "Das Fest nach dem Pfeilschiessen" [The Feast after the Archery Contest], Salvatorianische Mitteilungen [Salvatorian Communications], 1910, No. 3.

4. Hunting Customs

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Although there are all sorts of wild animals in the Khasi hills and Jaintia hills that can be hunted -- flying foxes which visit the orange gardens during the night, jackals, which annoy the villages with their howling, antelopes, does, deer and wild pigs which damage the rice fields, wild dogs, wolves,

224 bears, leopards and tigers, which seize their
•136 prey not merely among the goats and calves, but also among the grown cattle, and at times are even dangerous to man; although there are lots of tasty birds -- quails, partridges, lapwings, coots and wild geese -- in spite of all this the Khasi are not actually hunters. Only when an opportunity either presents itself to catch such birds, or when a wild animal has shown itself or even caused damage in the village, then the Khasi go hunting. Exceptions occur. The Khasi who use bows and arrows from childhood on, who practise shooting conscientiously, dare to hunt bears, leopards, and tigers. [621] Today they often have guns for this purpose, but bown and arrows are always taken along.

224 When a lucky day has been determined upon
187 by egg throwing, (33) and often the hunting area

33. Dr. P.C. Becker, "Das Eierwerfen der Khasi" [Egg Throwing Among the Khasi], Anthropos, 1917-1918, pp. 494 ff.

is often determined in this way, the Khasi set
224 out with a pack of hounds. As soon as the dogs have come upon the scent of the wild animal, the Khasi begin driving it with howlings and noise. The first shooter is lucky (called u nongsiat by the Khasi) because he gets the lion's share of the prey. Whoever is the second one to hit the animal (called u nongban by the Khasi) also receives special consideration. The other shooters divide the rest of the slain animal among themselves after the hunting dogs have each been given a piece. The Khasi are very persevering on the hunt and do not bother about the time or the distance. For the efforts expended on the hunt are richly rewarded by the

0.5—In the following paragraphs we have reproduced the yield rates of different crops, calculated on the basis of area harvested and total produce reported by the cultivators. For assessment of correct yield rates it is necessary to conduct a scientifically designed crop cutting survey which in view of its largeness in magnitude and other complexities associated with the type of experiments, could not be dealt in with the programme of the present survey. It is admitted that the yield estimates worked out by us are proved to be subjected to the usual limitations of this type of data.

Yield

1. **Paddy.**—It will be seen from table above that average yields of paddy per acre for Border area, General area and Project area are respectively 8.38 maunds, 12.97 maunds and 13.69 maunds and for the district as a whole it comes to 11.86 maunds though there are cases where maximum yield goes to above 18 maunds per acre. Thus it is seen that the average yield is much less than the average yield for the State of Assam (plain district) which is above 20 maunds per acre. Average yield in Border area is suddenly much smaller. Apart from low fertility of land, another reason for this low average is that in a number of villages selected from Border area such as Syndai, Aathi and Lumdoong, there was widespread havoc to standing crops was caused by wild elephants.

2. **Potato.**—The average for the three areas comes to 21.61 maunds per acre which is in contrast to the State average of above 40 maunds per acre. Our estimate has in fact been lowered due to inclusion of a few villages in the foot hills where potatoes don't grow well, otherwise in a number of high altitude villages, yield per acre well exceeded 40 maunds. The average for Border area is rather too low. Apart from unsuitability of Border land of high altitude potatoes another reason for this low average is that during the reference year the crop suffered from widespread incidence of pests and insects.

3. **Orange.**—Yield of orange in Border area, Project area and General area was found to be 3.87 lakhs or 5906 numbers against 16.74 lakhs or 17162 numbers and 2.80 lakhs or 2867 numbers respectively. Thus the average yield in Border area, even considering the school nature of some gardens is much low. The reasons are obvious.

4. **Betelnut.**—Average yield per acre from Border area, Project area and General area was found to be 2.89 lakhs (18722 numbers), 4.11 lakhs (26304 numbers) and 3.42 lakhs (19882 numbers) respectively bringing the average for all the three areas to 2.95 lakhs per acre.

5. **Betel leaf.**—Average yield per acre works out at 17.25 lakhs, 50.64 lakhs and 24 lakhs in Border area, Project area and General area respectively. Thus in Border area the average is much lower. This is due to the fact that most of the gardens remained unplucked for want of market for leaf.

[illegible] ACCOUNT OF KHASI AND JAINTIA HILLS.

in Darjiling, who reported unfavourably on them. They have since been made over to the State of Bengalia, who is responsible for their being kept clear of weeds and protected against fire. Up to the close of 1879-80 the total expenditure had been Rs. [illegible], or £[illegible], 4s. 6d.

FOREST REVENUE.—Tigers, elephants, rhinoceros, buffaloes, antlered or wild cows, bears, leopards, wolves, jackals, foxes, wild dog, and several kinds of deer abound in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills. The rewards of keeping down tigers in the shape of Government rewards amounted to £[illegible] one ad. in 1879-80. The rate of reward now paid is Rs. 25 or £[illegible] one ad. per head. No rewards have ever been given for the destruction of venomous serpents. The number of deaths from wild beasts and snakes reported to the police amounted to 18 in 1876-77, 18 in 1877-78, 18 in 1878-79, and 18 in 1879-80. The small game found in the Hills consists of black partridges, hill partridges, quails, ducks, teal, snipe, and woodcocks. The *mahsir* fish is caught in the rivers. No regular tools is carried on in the skins of wild animals; and, except in the case of wild elephants, the *fees* actually are not made to contribute towards the wealth of the people.

ELEPHANTS.—Wild elephants are found in the lower ranges of the hills, and in the jungles opening on the valleys of the Barak and the Brahmaputra. Each Sub- in the Khasi Hills and each Subdivision in the Jaintia Hills constitutes a separate hunting circle or market. In the Khasi Hills the conditions of elephant hunting are governed by rules framed in 1879-80 by the Chief Commissioner, and approved by the Government of India. These rules provide, (1) that the British Government will make no claim to royalty on account of elephants caught in the Khasi Hills; (2) that one half of the proceeds of the sale of each elephant caught shall be paid over to the chief whose State forms the market, and the other half retained by Government; (3) that if a chief wishes to hunt elephants on his own account, the relief conferred of his force shall be exempt from sale, and a special arrangement shall be made with him on the basis that half the proceeds of the hunting shall accrue to Government. A special form of hunting licence in accordance with these rules has been issued by the Chief Commissioner. In the Jaintia Hills, as being British territory, the ordinary forest rules are in force, in accordance with which licence of the market are sold at intervals of two years to the highest bidder at

crops of waste land, some is cultivated in a manner resembling the *jum* system,—successive crops are grown on a patch of land till the soil is exhausted, and then another spot is selected, where the same process is repeated afresh, but without anything that can be called a fixed tenure. Any vacant of land is recognised, and there are no recognised rates of rent. The Deputy-Commissioner, however, states that an ordinary rate for vacant land would be from two to three shillings a year for an acre land so an individual can cultivate with his own hands. 423 [427]

Manure is generally used in mixing rice and potatoes. It is 243
seldom purchased, the dung and litter of the cattle and other 244
animals about the house being generally utilized for the purpose. For rice fields a little less than half a ton of manure, but for potatoes upwards of one ton, is required per acre. Manure, if purchased, would cost from six rupees to six rupees per acre for rice land, and for potato fields from one to six per acre. [435]

Irrigation for agricultural purposes is regularly practised. 312
Water is brought to the land by means of channels cut from the numerous hill streams in the neighbourhood of the fields. Wells and tanks are unknown. The work of irrigation by means of these channels is very easily carried on, and at a very trifling outlay. Rotation of crops is not practised in the Hills.

Model Farm.—The Shillong Model Farm, established in 1871, 177
has not proved a success. Experiments tried with wheat give 244
some hope that cold-weather crops may profitably be introduced 447
into the Hills. Two new varieties of potato—"red maple" and 654
"pheasant's eye"—were successfully introduced in 1872-73; but these are not looked upon favourably by the Khasis, as they only give one crop in the year, whereas the ordinary variety yields two crops. Several fruit-trees have been planted out, including apple, 177
pear, cherry, nectarine, and plum; and the tables of the European 245
residents are supplied with vegetables from the garden attached 447
to the farm. *A Manual of Plants Cultivation* compiled by 654
the superintendent has been translated into Assamese, and copies have been distributed among the adjoining Hill tribes. The general failure in all the agricultural experiments is attributed [336]
partly to the coldness of the soil, and still more to the ravages of [336]
white ants and other insects peculiar to the Hills. The attempts to improve the indigenous breeds of live stock have been equally 231
unfortunate. During the two years 1872-73 the sum of Rs. 1,700 443
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Garo Hills	117	162
Manipur	69	101
Total	4,091*	

The following information regarding the general aspect of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills district, with some additions, is derived from Sir William Hunter's Statistical Account of Assam. The district consists almost entirely of hills, only a very small portion lying in the plains. The slope of the hills on the southern side is very steep until a table-land is met with at an elevation of about 4,000 feet at Cherrapunji. Higher up there is another plateau at Mawphlang. This is the highest portion of the hills, some villages being found at as high an elevation as close on 6,000 feet above sea level. Fifteen miles to the east of Mawphlang, and in the same range, is situated the civil station of Shillong, at an average elevation of about 4,900 feet. The elevation of the Shillong Peak, the highest hill in the district, is 6,450 feet above sea level. On the northern side of the hills are two plateaux, one between 1,000 and 2,000 feet below the level of Shillong, and another at an elevation of about 2,000 feet above sea level. In general features all these plateaux are much alike, and consist of a succession of undulating downs, broken here and there by the valleys of the larger hill streams. In the higher ranges, where the hills have been denuded of forest, the country is covered with short grass, which becomes longer and more rank in the lower elevations. This denudation of forest has been largely due to the wood being used by the Khasis for fuel for iron smelting in days gone by. The Government, however, has taken steps to protect the remaining forests from further spoliation. A remarkable feature is the presence of numerous sacred groves situated generally just below the brows of the hills. In these woods are to be found principally oak and rhododendron trees. The fir-tree (Pinus Khasia) is first met with on the road from Gauhati to Shillong, at Umsning, at an elevation of about 2,500 feet. In the neighbourhood of Shillong the fir grows profusely, but the finest fir-trees are to be seen

* The figures for Khasi population in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills district will be found under "Shillong."

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137 in the Jowai sub-division. In the vicinity of Nongpoh is observed the beautiful *sakar* or *sapowar*, the iron-wood tree. The latter is also to be found on the southern slopes of the hills in the Jowai sub-division. There are some *sal* forests to the west and south of Nongpoh, where the *sal* trees are almost as large as those to be found in the Garo Hills. Between Shillong and Jowai there are forests of oak, the country being beautifully wooded. Chestnuts and birches are also fairly common. The low hills on the northern and western sides of the district are clad with dense forests of bamboo, of which there are many varieties. The Tambarra or *arrow-pine* is to
138 be met with on the southern slopes. Regarding the geological
133 formation of the hills, I extract a few general remarks from the Physical and Political Geography of Assam. The Shillong plateau consists of a great mass of gneiss, lying on the northern border, where it is broken into hills, for the most part low and very irregular in outline, with numerous outliers in the Lower Assam Valley, even close up to the Himalayas. In the central region the gneiss is covered by transition or sub-metamorphic rocks, consisting of a strong band of quartzite overlying a mass of earthy schists. In the very centre of the range, where the hills land attains its highest elevation, great masses of syenite-diorite and granite occur; and the latter is found in dikes piercing the gneiss and sub-metamorphic series throughout the southern half of the boundary of the plain. To the south, in contact with the gneiss and sub-metamorphics is a great volcanic outlierlet of trap, which is stratified, and is brought to the surface with the general rise of elevation along the face of the hills between Shella and Thongkhat south of Cherrapunji. This has been described as the "Sylhet trap." South of the main axis of this metamorphic and volcanic mass are to be found strata of two well defined series; (1) the cretaceous, and (2) nummulitic. The cretaceous contains several important coalfields. The nummulitic series, which overlies the cretaceous, attains a thickness of 300 feet in the Therria river, consisting of alternating strata of compact limestones and sandstones. It is at the exposure of these rocks on their downward dip to the edge of the plateau that are situated the extensive limestone quarries of the Khasi Hills. There are numerous

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limestone caves and underground water-courses on the southern face of the hills. This series contains coal-beds, e.g. the Cherrapunji and that at Lakadong in the Jaintia Hills. Some description of the remarkable Kyllang Rock may not be out of place. Sir Joseph Hooker describes it as a dome of red granite, 3,600 feet above sea level, accessible from the north and east, but almost perpendicular to the southward where the slope is 80° for 600 feet. The elevation is said by Hooker to be 400 feet above the mean level of the surrounding ridges and 700 feet above the bottom of the valleys. The south or steepest side is encumbered with enormous detached blocks, while the north is clothed with forests containing red tree-rhododendrons and oaks. Hooker says that on its skirts grows a "white bushy rhododendron" which he found nowhere else. There is, however, a specimen of it now in the Shillong Lake garden. Numerous orchids are to be found in the Kyllang wood, notably a beautiful white one, called by the Khasis *ulior kyllang synrai*, which blooms in the autumn. The view from the top of the rock is very extensive, especially towards the north, where a magnificent panorama of the Himalayas is obtained in the autumn. The most remarkable phenomenon of any kind in the country is undoubtedly the enormous quantity of rain which falls at Cherrapunji.* Practically the whole of the rainfall occurs in the rains, i.e. from May to October. The remainder of the district is less rainy. The climate of the central plateau of the Shillong range is very salubrious, but the low hills in parts of the district are unhealthy. The effect of the different climates can at once be seen by examining the physique of the inhabitants. The Khasis who live in the high central plateaus are exceptionally healthy and strong, but those who live in the unhealthy "Blue country" to the north, and in the Lyngngam portion to the west of the district, are often stunted and sickly. Not so, however, the Wars who live on the southern slopes, for although their country is very hot at certain times of the year, it does not appear to be abnormally unhealthy except in certain

* The average rainfall at the Cherrapunji Police Station during the last twenty years, from figures obtained from the office of the Director of Land Records and Agriculture, has been 425 inches. The greatest rainfall registered in any one year during the period was in 1906, when it amounted to 721 inches.

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extracted by squeezing the comb with the hand. Wax is obtained by placing the comb in boiling water and allowing it to cool, when the wax floats to the surface. The Khasis do not systematically tend their bees, as they do not understand how to prevent swarming, and as the Khasi bee is a prolific swarmer, hives become weak very soon and a new hive has to be started from a captured natural swarm. The villages in which bees are regularly kept to any large extent in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills are Thied-dieng, Mawphoo, Nongwar, Mawlotg, Fynnor, Tyrna, and Kongthong, but most of the *Wáir* villagers rear bees and sell the honey at the neighbouring markets. The collection of the honey of the wild bee, or *u Ipwai*, is a hazardous occupation, the services of some six or seven persons being required, as the combs of this bee are generally built in the crevices of precipitous rocks, and sometimes weigh more than half a maund each. When such hives are discovered the bees are driven out by the smoke of a smouldering fire lit at the foot of the rock below the hive. Two or three men get to the top of the precipice, leaving two or three of their companions at the base. One of the men on the top of the rock is then lowered down in a sling tied to a strong rope, which is made fast by his companions above to a tree or boulder. The man in the sling is supplied with material to light a torch which gives out a thick smoke, with the aid of which the bees are expelled. The man then cuts out the comb, which he places in a leather bucket or bag, which, when filled, he lowers down to the persons in waiting at the foot of the rock. The wild honey may be distinguished from that of the domestic bee by being of a reddish colour. Honey from the last-mentioned bee is gathered twice or thrice in the year, once in the autumn and once or twice in the spring; that gathered in early spring is not so matured as that collected in autumn. The flora of the Khasi Hills being so numerous, there is no necessity for providing bees with artificial food. The bees are generally able to obtain their sustenance from clover, ammonias, "golden rod," bush honeysuckle, and numerous shrubs such as rudbeckia, daphne, &c., which abound about Shillong. There seem to be facilities for apiculture on a large scale in these hills, and certainly the honey which is brought round by the Khasis for sale is

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work is done. In order to ascend to a Bhoi house, you have to climb up a notched pole. The Bhois sacrifice a he-goat and a fowl to *Rik-lapliang* (Khasi, *Riewlew ling*), the household god, when they build a new house.

VILLAGES.

Unlike the Naga and Kukis, the Khasis do not build their villages on the extreme summits of hills, but a little below the tops, generally in small depressions, in order to obtain some protection from the strong winds and storms which prevail in these hills at certain times of the year. According to the late U' *Sordon* Roy, it is *eang*, or taboo, to the Khasis to build a house on the last eminence of a range of hills, this custom having perhaps arisen owing to the necessity of locating villages with reference to their defence against an enemy. Khasis build their houses fairly close together, but not as close as houses in the Bhoi and Lyngngam villages. Khasis seldom change the sites of their villages, to which they are very much attached, where, as a rule, the family tombs are standing and the *mawbynna* or memorial stones. In many villages stone cromlechs and memorial stones are to be seen which from their appearance show that the villages have been there for many generations. During the *Jaintia* rebellion the village of *Sowai* was almost entirely destroyed, but as soon as the rebellion was over the people returned to the old site and rebuilt their village. Similarly, after the earthquake, the ancient village sites were not abandoned in many cases, but the people rebuilt their houses in their former positions, although in Shillong and Cherrapunji they rebuilt the walls of the houses of wooden materials instead of stone. There is no such thing as a specially reserved area in the village for the Siem and the nobility, all the people, rich or poor, living together in one village, their houses being scattered about indiscriminately. To the democratic Khasi the idea of the Siem living apart from his people would be repugnant. In the vicinity of the Khasi villages, often just below the brow of the hill on the leeward side, are to be seen dark woods of oak

9:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

and other trees. These are the sacred groves. Here the villagers worship *U ryngkew U baas*, the tutelary deity of the village. These groves are taboo, and it is an offence to cut trees therein for any purpose other than for performing funeral obsequies. The groves are generally not more than a few hundred yards away from the villages. The villages of the Syntengs are similar in character to those of the Khasis. The War villages nestle on the hill-sides of the southern border, and are to be seen peeping out from the green foliage with which the southern slopes are clad. In the vicinity of, and actually up to the houses, in the War villages, are to be observed large groves of areca-nut, often twined with the *pan* creeper, and of plantain trees, which much enhance the beauty of the scene. Looking at a War village from a distance, a darker shade of green is seen; this denotes the limits of the extensive groves where the justly celebrated Khasi orange is grown, which is the source of so much profit to these people. The houses in the War villages are generally closer together than those of the Khasis, probably owing to space being limited, and to the villages being located on the slopes of hills. Generally up the narrow village street, and from house to house, there are rough steep stone steps, the upper portion of a village being frequently situated at as high an elevation as 200 to 300 ft. above the lower. In a convenient spot in a War village a clear space is to be seen neatly swept and kept free from weeds, and surrounded with a stone wall, where the village tribunals sit, and the elders meet in solemn conclave. Dances also are held here on festive occasions. At Nongpi village there is a fine rubber tree, under whose hollow trunk there are certain sacred stones where the priest performs the village ceremonies.

The Bhoi and Lyngam villages are built in small clearings in the forest, the houses are close together and are built often in parallel lines, a fairly broad space being reserved between the lines of houses to serve as a street. One misses the pretty gardens of the War villages, for Bhois and Lyngams attempt nothing of the sort, probably because, unlike the Khasi, a Bhoi or Lyngam village never remains more than two or three years in one spot; generally the villages of these people are in the vicinity of the forest clearings, sometimes actually in the midst

I: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

mould. The plant is watered by means of small bamboo aqueducts which are constructed along the hill-sides, the water being conducted along them often considerable distances. As in the plains, the leaves of the *pân* creeper are collected throughout the year.

The bay leaf (*la tryphôl*, or *tezpât*) is classified in the *Agricultural Bulletin* as *Cinnamomum tamala*, and there is a note in the column of remarks that "this tree, as well as one or two others of the same genus, yields two distinct products, *tezpât* (bay leaf) and cinnamon bark." The bay leaf is gathered for export from the extensive gardens in Maharam, Malaichaut, Mawsynram, and other Khasi States. The plants are raised from seed, although there are no regular nurseries, the young seedlings being transplanted from the jungle, where they have germinated, to regular gardens. Bay leaf gardens are cleared of jungle and weeds periodically; otherwise no care is taken of them. The leaf-gathering season is from November to March. The leaves are allowed to dry for a day or two in the sun, and then packed in large baskets for export. The gathering of bay leaf begins when the trees are about four years old.

The following are the other minor crops which are grown in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills:—

Pineapples, turmeric, ginger, pumpkins and gourds, the egg plant, chillies, sesamum, and a little sugar-cane. The arum* (*la Alirie*) is also extensively grown in the hills, and forms one of the principal articles of food amongst the poorer classes; it is generally raised in rotation with potatoes, or is planted along with *Job's tears*. The stem of the arum is sometimes used as a vegetable, also for feeding pigs.

In the *Jowai* Sub-Division, notably at Nartiang, there are fairly *gôd* mangoes, which are more free from worms than those grown in the plains of Assam.

The Bhoia and Lyngngam cultivate lac. They plant either *Jal*, a *landon*, in their fields, and rear the lac insect on this plant. Last year the price of lac at Garhati and Palmlaiet markets rose as high as Rs. 30 per maund of 82 lbs., it is said, but the price at the outlying markets of Singra and Boko was

* Colocasia esculenta, Schott. Kindu.

2 [i.e., the pân ... Ans. 1, 2]

I: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

the War country, it will be necessary to describe the land tenures and laws regarding land of each of these divisions separately. As land is always jhumed by the Bhois and Lyngams from year to year, customs regarding land with these people are naturally very simple. Taking land in the high plateau of the Khasi Hills first:—The lands are classified under two main divisions, (a) public and (b) private lands. The following are the different descriptions of lands in the first division:—

Ka ri Raj, or ka ri Siem, which are Siem's, or Crown lands. These lands are intended for the support of the Siem family, they cannot be alienated. The Siems are, however, precluded by custom from levying a land tax on persons who cultivate such lands, the relation of landlord and tenant between the latter and their chiefs being unknown.

Ka ri Lynghdoh.—These lands are for the support of the Lynghdoh or priests of the State. In some Siemships, as in Mawiang Siemship, paddy is grown on these lands from which rice is obtained for the State pujas.

Ki shnong, or village lands.—These lands are set apart to provide a supply of firewood, thatching grass, &c., and are the property of the village. The inhabitants of other villages are not allowed to enjoy the produce of such lands. Such lands can be cultivated by ryots of the village, but the latter possess only occupancy rights, and cannot transfer them.

Ki lawkynteng.—These are sacred groves, situated generally near the summit of hills, composed of oak and rhododendron trees, which are held sacred (*kynteng*), it being an offence, or sin, for any one to cut timber in the grove, except for cremation purposes. These groves are the property of the village.

(b) Private Lands. These may be subdivided into *ri-kur*, or lands which are the property of the clan, and *ri kynthi*, family, or acquired landed property. In the Khasi Hills proper a very large proportion, certainly of the high lands, is the property of the clan; for instance, the high lands at Laitkor, which are the property of the Khar kmaw and Kur kalong clans, whose ancestors the large memorial stones close to the Laitkor road commemorate, also the lands of the Thang Khew clan, and many others.

'0:Clarke U-3 (no date)1874 AR7 Khasi AR7

133 patches of open forest, and with scattered fir trees and oaks. Though south of the Himalaya range the character of the
137 country is more like that found in the Himalayas at 4,000 feet higher elevation, and many plants, never collected in the Himalayas below 9,000 feet above sea-level, are found in the Khasi Hills between 4,500—6,000 feet. In this marvellous plateau the sub-alpine and the sub-tropical forms overlap; at the very foot of elegant palms may be gathered the identical stag's horn moss, which, in Britain, is found only on mountains. On a fir tree much resembling a scraggy Scotch-fir is seen growing the Vanda coerulea, the king of epiphytic orchids; a gnarled oak will carry a gigantic tropical lilase; the painted lady and many other British species of lepidoptera will be accompanied by gorgeous tropical papilios and by window moths eleven inches across the wing; the cuckoo and Himalayan pheasant are above, while the tiger, the wild elephant and the green python are below. Justly has Dr. Hooker observed, "I know no spot in the world more calculated to fascinate the naturalist who, while appreciating the elements of which a landscape is compound, is also keenly alive to the beauty and grandeur of tropical scenery."

211 2. Almost throughout Khasi-land, and in a less degree through the Jaintea country, monumental stones are common. They are numerous in villages in the valleys, but are specially prominent, and sometimes of gigantic size, scattered over the rounded hill-tops where they form a feature in the landscape. In all modern treatises of Archæology and Anthropology the study of monumental stones forms an important chapter. Monuments of a remarkable similarity in design are found alike in Europe, Asia, and isolated islands in the Pacific Ocean, and these are in general of such extreme antiquity that they are treated as belonging to the prehistoric age. The Khasi stone monuments have attracted already much attention; first, because of their great number and size; and, secondly and chiefly, because on these hills the erection of these monuments is now in full practice. It is reasonably supposed that a careful study of the Khasi method of raising the stones, and of the traditions or customs in accordance with which they raise them, may throw some light upon more ancient monuments of the same kind, even upon Stonehenge. It has been proposed to send out a commission from England to survey these Khasi stone monuments. They are described by Dr. Hooker, in his work (Him. Journ. II. 278), also by Colonel Fisher in the *Calcutta Review*, and some account has been lately given by Major Godwin-Austen in the "Journal of the Anthropological Institute," No. 2, Oct. 1871.[1] The present memoir was written

[1] [illegible] has been prepared for the site. —Ed.]

19: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The homeland of the Khasi is the hilly country situated in the northeast of India and known at present as the District of United Khasi and Jaintia Hills, under the Assam State Government. The area is bounded by the plains of the Kamrup and the Nowgong Districts to the north, by the Cachar Hills and East Pakistan (District of Sylhet) to the south, and by the United Mikir and North Cachar Hills Districts to the east. The Khasi and Jaintia Hills are divided politically into two subdivisions, with headquarters at Shillong for the Khasi Hills, and at Jowai for the Jaintia Hills, respectively. The peoples of both subdivisions are called "Khasi" in a broad sense, and are distinctly marked off from other neighbouring tribes and peoples by language and social structure. The population of the Khasi in the District is 363,505 (*Census of India, 1951, Assam*). Their language belongs to one of the Mon group of the Austro-Asiatic family to which the Munda in central India also belongs.[1]

Though all Khasis share fundamentally the same language and social structure, their culture, dialects, economy, social usage, and political organization vary greatly, owing to the ecological and politico-historical differences among them. The United Khasi and Jaintia Hills are much higher than the neighbouring Garo Hills. The plateau of the Khasi Hills ranges from about 5,000 feet to 6,000 feet, of which

1. The *Census of India, 1951, Assam*, makes the following remarks on their language: "Three sources unknown have been discovered to be the Palaungs, a tribe inhabiting one of the Shan States to the northeast of Mandalay on the middle Salween. Later the relationship of the Khasi language has been traced not only to the Mon-Khmer language, but also to the Nicobarese and several dialects spoken by some tribes in the Malay Peninsula. In Assam, this special form of speech is only found in the Khasi and Jaintia while nearly all the other primitive languages with which it is surrounded belong to the great Bodo family. The Khasi language is the only member of the Mon-Khmer family which possesses a grammatical gender distinguishing all nouns as masculine and feminine, and here also the feminine noun immensely preponderates."

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

133 the highest point is the Shillong Peak, 6,445 feet, covered with scrub,
• 137 grassland and forests (mostly oak, rhododendron and pine trees). The Jaintia Hills are considerably lower, with much flat land; wet paddy cultivation is practised here and there where sufficient water is available. From the plateau of the Khasi Hills northwards to the Assam Brahmaputra Valley there is a gentle slope covered with thick jungle, and the southern slope towards the Bengal plain is very steep, so that

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Map. 9. — *Map of the Khasi-Jaintia Hills with Classification of Groups.*

139 the upland remained practically cut off from the plains until the
137 middle of the 19th century.

Following the geographical and ecological differences, the five
619 groups are segregated into fairly well-defined cultural areas, each
[191] developing a different economy and dialect:
[24]

1. The Jaintia[1] — associated mostly with wet rice cultivation.
2. The Khun (upland Khasi) — practise potato cultivation with small-scale rice and maize cultivation.
3. The War — inhabit the southern slope of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills (they are called geographically the Khasi War and the Jaintia War). Due to the heavy rainfall, the soil is the most fertile in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills. The Khasi War practise jhuming of which the main yield is millet. In the lower part of this area, betel-leaf, betel-nut, and orange gardens are cultivated. The Jaintia War practise wet rice cultivation like most of the Jaintias, as well as betel-leaf cultivation.
4. They are called also the Syiemlieng or the Pnar.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

137 178 244 Besides these political and religious changes, there have been very important changes in Khasi economy, particularly by the spread of potato cultivation. Potatoes were first introduced into the Hills in 1830 by Mr. David Scott. Since then, the upland Khasi Hills have been completely planted with potatoes. This grassland seems to be very easily adapted to potato cultivation; it spread so rapidly and successfully, becoming basic economy of the people, that they hardly remember life without potatoes. Information is very scanty on what was the major cultivation before the potato. However, we may surmise that they must have practised jhum cultivation as do the present people in War and Bhoi. Nowadays, there are no jhum fields in the uplands as there are practically no forests with which to make jhum fields. There must have been a long period of jhum cultivation, which resulted in recent ecological changes in the uplands through the exploitation of the jungle. This hypothesis might be supported by the existence of big timbers in old buildings in the Khasi Hills, as well as by the present economic techniques of the people.

137 244 241 The present potato cultivation is also a kind of shifting cultivation like jhuming, with a rotation from three years to five years. The uplands are covered with grassland, and sometimes with scanty pine trees which were also introduced by the British. For potato cultivation, the Khasi first cut branches from these pine trees, and the grassland is cultivated by the small Khasi hoe. They root out grasses with earth attached about three inches in depth and one foot square. These pieces are turned unto the cultivated surface, where fallen leaves, branches and wild grass have been spread, in such a way as to keep a space between the ground and the turned up clods of earth. The field in which the potatoes are to be planted is entirely covered in this way. The grass and leaves are set on fire in one corner of the field and this fire spreads through the middle spaces and burns all of the grass and branches, thus converting it into excellent manure. The potatoes are planted afterwards. Two crops of potatoes are raised generally in a year. The following year the field is shifted to another grass-growing area, leaving for a few years the last field to grow another crop of grass. This is a type of small-scale jhum cultivation. 178 244 [241] This example of the present economic method suggests that the Khasi had been jhum cultivators before potatoes were introduced. It might be indicative of the last stage of jhum cultivation when the forests are completely exhausted. Before the potatoes, they must have grown yams, maize and millet more or less in the same manner; these items are still cultivated on a small scale along with potatoes; the yield must be very low as compared with that of the War areas, obtained through the exploitation of land. In the uplands, pan culti-

19: Assam G-3 (1958) 1963 A87 Khasi A87

CHAPTER II

General features of the district

1.34 2.1 In this chapter a brief note on the geography, population and economy of the district is given in order to provide a perspective and make the report self contained.

1.35 2.2 **Relief**.—The whole of the district is composed of hill tracts. On the northern and western border these hills take the form of undulating ranges which run for the most part north and south and have a general height of 500 to three thousand feet. None of the hills in the central and southern portions of the district has anything rocky or precipitous about them. Their sides are covered with dense growth and from one direction or another, they are generally be approached by a gradual incline. There is a high plateau in the centre of the district, the general level of which is not much below 6000 feet though it decreases to height towards east and west.

2.3 **Rivers**.—The high plateau that occupies the centre of the district is the watershed of the hills. The following are the principal rivers. On the west there is the Jaintiaka or Kynshi river, further east come the Um Mawie and the Begli which fall into the Surma. The Umngot or Mahadduli, known as the Pine Gang in the plains of Nilhat, forms for a considerable distance the boundary of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills. On the north the principal rivers the Kaliyo, the Digaru and Umiam. Further west come the Umkiam, Um Mawang and the Myntang. All these rivers possess the characteristics usually associated with hill streams. The beds are rocky and gravelly, the currents swift and after heavy rains even small streams rush down in spate. The rivers of the district are not used for traffic to any appreciable extent.

1.36 2.4 **Minerals**.—The Geological products of economic value are lime and coal. From the earliest days of British rule, the lime quarries of Khasi Hills formed one of the principal attractions of Nilhat, drawing a large number of Europeans to that district. The lime quarries are situated at along the southern face of the hills. Coal is found both in the cretaceous and nummulitic formations. The largest deposits of nummulitic coal are found at Cherrapunjee, Laitryngew, Mawlong, Mawsi, Mawsynram, Mawlai, Thangjaith, Laitlang and Sarah. Cretaceous coal is found in Mawlaikhar, Sumer, Mawang Laitkynew and in the Langrin field.

1.37 2.5 **Forests**.—The district exhibits a varied flora reflecting the variations in the physical features, configuration of the ground, rainfall factors and climatic gradient. In the pine zone, covering area between 2000-4000' elevation are found the pines, birch, alders, oak, beech, etc. The evergreen hardwood zone, which forms belt along the foothills contains useful hardwood species of which the more important species are sal, sedar, chem, chap, gamar, etc. The dry grassy belt covering the lower slopes roughly between 500-2000' elevation form the best grazed for grasses.

ACCOUNT OF KHASI AND JAINTIA HILLS.

175 Khasis, have, ever since the measures of improvement which
698 followed, remained peaceable and contented.

133 GENERAL ASPECT OF THE DISTRICT.—The District consists almost entirely of hills, only a very small portion lying in the plains. The slope of the hills on the southern side is steep, until a table-land is met with at an elevation of about 4000 feet. Higher up there is another plateau at Nongpoh, ten miles to the eastward of which, and in the same mountain range, the Civil Station of Shillong is situated at an elevation of 4500 feet above sea level. On the northern side of the hills are two plateaus, one between 1000 and 2000 feet below the level of Shillong, and the second lower down, about 500 feet above sea level. In general features all these plateaus are much alike, and consist of a succession of undulating downs, broken here and there by the valleys of the larger hill streams. In the
• 137 higher ranges, where the hills have been denuded of forest, the country is covered with short grass, which becomes longer and
[718] more rank in the lower elevations. A remarkable feature in the aspect of the country throughout the hills is the numerous sacred groves which superstition has preserved from time immemorial from the destructive hand of the woodcutter. These sacred groves contain beautiful timber-trees of various kinds, rare orchids, rhododendrons, and wild cinnamon. On the more elevated table-lands, pine trees and stunted oak are met with; and in the lower hills, in every direction, are dense forests of the usual Indian trees, containing valuable timber.

194 The geological formation is mainly granite, with stratified rocks
195 of sandstone, limestone, and shale. The coal-beds rest on trap and metamorphic rocks. The prevailing surface soil is a red ferruginous loam.

133 MOUNTAINS.—The principal mountain ranges and highest peaks in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills are as follows:—(i) The Shillong range—height of principal peak, 6445 feet above sea level. (ii) Dingiri range—principal peak, 4400 feet. (iii) Mawthadi-ri-shain range—highest peak, 4050 feet. (iv) Lite-rye-ri-ki range—highest peak, 3975 feet. (v) Lite-ri-ki-lok range—highest peak, 3900 feet. (vi) Lite-ker-ri—highest peak, 3400 feet. (vii) Lite-lok range—highest peak, 2980 feet. (viii) Long-ker-dem range—highest peak, 3000 feet. (ix) Lum-kiang range—highest peak, 4848 feet. (x) Mawsynram range—highest peak, 4800 feet.

The principal mountains are:—(i) Sag-lang—height, 4800 feet.

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR? Khasi AR?

(8) Sohpetbyung, literally "The Navel of the Sky." This is supposed by the Khasis to be the centre of the world, and to be the highest peak in the hills. Its real altitude, however, is only about [illegible] feet. (9) Syrwe—height, [illegible] feet. (10) Shillong—height, [illegible] feet. (11) Diwiri—height, [illegible] feet. (12) Kylhong rock, one huge mass of stone, about [illegible] feet high, and of a rounded form—height above sea level, [illegible] feet. (13) Lite hills—height, [illegible] feet. (14) Lakadong—height, [illegible] feet. (15) Thangsniliè—height, [illegible] feet. (16) Nongpoh—height, [illegible] feet. (17) U Mèo—height, [illegible] feet. (18) Mawlong—height, [illegible] feet. (19) Mawkhrong—height, [illegible] feet. (20) Mawpynsai—height, [illegible] feet. (21) Symper—height, [illegible] feet. (22) Mawngi—height, [illegible] feet. (23) Lèimawkhe—height, [illegible] feet. (24) Nongsohsih—height, [illegible] feet. (25) Mawkyrwat—height, [illegible] feet. (26) Nongkhrong—height, [illegible] feet. (27) Kulihongngut—height, [illegible]. (28) Mawkhleh—height, [illegible] feet. (29) Pawrkylong—height, [illegible] feet.

The mountain peaks are of various forms and shapes, but generally conical, and capped by sacred groves. No roads exist to permit the ascent of carriages, but most of the hills can be ascended by bearers of burden, even without made tracks. In the eastern portion of the District the hills are covered with forest.

RIVERS.—Six navigable rivers flow through the hills, the streams being all mountain torrents. On some of the large streams, however, near the point where they debouch upon the plains, small canoes are used for short distances below the rapids. The principal streams flowing south to the Surma river in Sylhet are the following:—(1) The Kynshi-ang, named Jiddidi by the Bengalis in the plains; (2) the Tangla, called Mukdi in the plains; (3) the Bograh, called Bagdyng in the plains; (4) the Sakyngkew, called Dhulai in the plains; (5) the Mungli, called Pem in the plains; (6) the Mawryhda, called Hilé in the plains; and (7) the Lukai or Lulai. The principal tributaries to the Brahmaputra are:—(1) The Kapili; (2) the Umkhan, called Bangal in the plains; (3) the Umsiu; (4) the Umrem, called Digru in the plains; and (5) the Kaldon, called Kalé in the plains. All the foregoing streams have numerous feeders of their own, but none of them are of any importance.

The Khasi and Jaintia Hills are, like all mountainous countries, necessarily wooded, and the streams run over rocky beds, some passing through cultivated lands. As they approach the plains,

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

In former years the Khasias were great iron-smelters, and enormous excavations in the most favourable localities for obtaining ironstone prove the extent to which this manufacture was carried on. In some places the whole surface of the ground appears to have been dug up for a depth of several feet, leaving huge boulders standing up here and there. Of late years, however, as the price of labour in the Hills has risen, the trade in iron has died away, and there is now little demand for the Khásí article, the cheaper English metal having driven it out of the market.

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NATURAL FEATURES.—Many peculiar caves and caverns are found in the limestone rock formation, the most notable being the cave at Chorá Pínji and at Bájyndih in Amwí. At the latter place the caverns extend a great distance beneath the earth, one being imagined by the people to reach as far as China, and a Hindu legend states that a Chinese army once marched by this route to the invasion of India. In another cave, the limestone stalactites have been carved into images representing the gods of the Hindu pantheon. On the banks of the Kapíl river on the Cáchár border, at a place called Sumír, there is a hot spring, the water of which contains carbonate of lime. All the rivers in the Hills flow through gorges in certain parts of their course, the most picturesque being at Tóbrá, where a small stream is compressed into deep pools among limestone rocks; and at Dumung and Jinghás, where the Mangú and Mantíríen rivers respectively debouch upon the plains.

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FOREST, ETC.—The India-rubber or caoutchouc tree is found in many forests throughout the Hills, but not in great numbers, and the supply and value of the gum has much decreased of late years. In 1870 the right of tapping the trees in the Jíntiá Hills was leased out for a sum of £38, 10s. 0d.; but by 1878 the trade had almost entirely ceased. There are some tracts of timber forest on the lower hills towards the Brahmaputra valley, but through the want of water carriage they are of no great value. Vigorous efforts are being made to preserve the forests in the higher plateaux. Owing to the habit of firing the jungle in spring prior to sowing, great waste of valuable timber has taken place; but since the country has been separated from Bengal and placed under the administration of the Chief Commissioner of Assam, attention has been given to the matter, and special areas are now being set apart for the preservation and growth of forest timber. Cinnamon grows wild in some parts of the country. There is a considerable trade carried on in

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20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

There is considerable trade carried on in
245 *nipit* or bay leaves, the trees being extensively cultivated by the
439 inhabitants of the lower slopes of the hills on the Sylhet border. The finest oranges in India are also grown in groves in the same tract, the value of the trade in which is now (1876) estimated to amount
237 to £3760 per annum. Lac is gathered by the Míkirs in the Jáintiá
439 Hills, but not to any great extent. Bees are both domesticated and found wild, and an extensive trade in bees-wax is carried on,
231 the amount exported being estimated at from three hundred to four hundred *maunds* annually. The whole of the Hills, where there is
233 no forest, and where the land is not under cultivation, consists of
621 rich pasture grounds, which are held in common by the villagers
651 and pay no revenue to Government.

137 The forests of the Khási and Jáintiá Hills do not yield much profit either to the British Government or to the chiefs. There
[648] are no reserved forests in the District; and according to the Deputy-
[659] Conservator, the total area of unreserved forest, *i.e.* of land covered with timber trees and not at present required for *júm* cultivation, is only 150 square miles. The trees found are chiefly pine, and those classified as 'mixed upper hill forests.' At an elevation of 3000 feet, the Pinus Kasia predominates over all other vegetation and forms almost pure pine forests. It is found also at lower heights, and there attains larger dimensions, but only in the case of isolated trees. The 'mixed upper hill forests' are confined to a series of sacred groves, which clothe the topmost ridge of the watershed between the valleys of the Brahmaputra and Surmá. The characteristic trees are those of a temperate vegetation, chiefly consisting of oaks, chestnuts, magnolia, Schima, Cinnamomum, Prunus, Engelhardtia, etc. There are also numerous other timber trees, including the valuable *sál* (Shorea robusta) and the rubber tree (Ficus elastica); but on the whole the Khási Hills are remarkable for the
[648] absence of forest. Early in 1874-75 measures were taken to put a
[659] stop to the indiscriminate burning of the forests, and the Siems and village officers were made responsible for the conservancy of the sacred groves. These endeavours have met with some success; but it is a very difficult thing to change the habits of a population, or to induce uncivilised tribes to incur a small temporary inconvenience for the sake of future benefit. The total area directly protected from fire during the year 1875-76 is returned at 3618 acres; the expenditure was Rs. 122; and in ten prosecutions for breaches of forest rules, twenty-three persons were convicted.

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR? Khasi AR?

The forest administration of the British Government is confined to two plantations in the neighbourhood of Shillong, for which a rent is payable in perpetuity. One of these, on the further side of the Umkra, was originally acquired in 1871-72 for the sake of experiments in arboriculture. The rent of Rs. 50, or £5, is paid by the Forest Department; the area had been at first estimated at 380 acres, but an actual survey undertaken in 1875-76 reduced this estimate to 262·39 acres. A considerable portion is covered with Pinus Kasia, which is carefully protected. Of the exotic trees tried on this plantation, only the three following can be said to have done well: Juglans regia, Eucalyptus resinifera, and Pinus maritima. All the rest either suffered from frost in the winter, or required far more nursing than can be afforded them in forest plantations. The young trees of the indigenous oak (Quercus serrata) were also attacked by rats, who bit off great numbers just above the ground. The Spanish chestnuts did not thrive, and were removed to the model farm for trial at a higher elevation. The second plantation, on the northern slopes of the range immediately behind the Station, consists of several patches of forest, which were acquired in connection with the scheme for providing Shillong with a permanent water supply. The total rent is Rs. 375, or £37, 10s., paid from Town Improvement Funds; and the aggregate area is estimated at 796 acres. All the fields within this area that had formerly been cultivated by the Khásis—about 80 acres in all—were sown by the Forest Department with Pinus Kasia, Quercus Griffithii, Q. serrata, and Q. fenestrata, which have succeeded well; and about 8 acres were planted with different species of Eucalyptus. Up to the close of 1875-76 the sum expended on the first of these two plantations was Rs. 742. 9. 9, or £74. 5s. 3d., and on the second, Rs. 730. 9. 6, or £73. 1s. 2d.

A cinchona plantation was started in 1867 by the Superintendent of the Calcutta Botanical Gardens. It consists of twelve small patches of plants near Nongkiao, and one near Jirang, situated at elevations varying from 3500 feet to 5000 feet. The species cultivated are Cinchona succirubra, C. officinalis, and C. micrantha. At first they were under the charge of two Khási gardeners, who each received Rs. 16 a month, or £19, 4s. a year, to weed them and keep fires out. In 1874-75 these plantations were taken charge of by the Forest Department, and specimens of the cinchona bark were submitted for analysis to the Government Quinologist

II Gordon E-4, 9 (no date) 1907 AR? Khasi AR?

141 hills, and if one met them in the plains one would not be able to distinguish them from the ordinary Kachari or Bodda. The nose in the Khasi is somewhat depressed, the nostrils being often large and prominent. The forehead is broad and the space between the eyes is often considerable. The skull may be said to be almost brachy-cephalic, the average cephalic index of 77 Khasi subjects, measured by Col. Waddell and Major Hare, I.M.S., being as high as 77·9 and 77·9, respectively. According to these data the Khasis are more brachy-cephalic than the Aryans, whose measurements appear in Crooke's tables, more brachy-cephalic than the 100 Minchas whose measurements appear in Risley's tables, more brachy-cephalic than the Dravidians, but less brachy-cephalic than the Burmans, whose measurements also appear in Crooke's tables. It would be interesting to compare some head measurements of Khasis with Japanese, but unfortunately the necessary data are not available in the case of the latter people. The Khasi head may be styled sub-brachy-cephalic. Eyes are of medium size, in colour black or brown. In the Jaintia Hills hazel eyes are not uncommon, especially amongst females. Eyelids are somewhat obliquely set, but not so acutely as in the Chinese and some other Mongols. Jaws frequently are prognathous, mouth large, with sometimes rather thick lips. Hair black, straight, and worn long, the hair of people who adopt the old style being caught up in a knot at the back. Some make out the hair short with the exception of a single lock at the back, which is called *u sinkhrong* or *u nisk-i kwaiei* (i.e. the grandmother's lock.) The forepart of the head is often shaven. It is quite the exception to see a beard, although the moustache is not infrequently worn. The Lyngngam pull out the hairs of the moustache with the exception of a few hairs on either side of the upper lip.

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143

PHYSICAL AND GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS.

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of anything except iron or steel, the result being that the sword is most awkward to hold, and could never have been of much use as a weapon of offence.

The same spear is used for throwing and casting. The spear is not decorated with wool or hair like the spears of the Naga tribes, but it is nevertheless a serviceable weapon, and would be formidable in the hand of a resolute man at close quarters. The length of the spear is about 6½ feet. The shaft is generally of bamboo, although sometimes of ordinary wood. The spear heads are forged in the local smithies.

The Khasi weapon par excellence is the bow. Although no "Robin Hoods," the Khasis are very fair archers, and they use the bow largely for hunting. The Khasi bow (*ka synteh*) is of bamboo, and is about 5 feet in height. The longest bow in use is said to be about the height of a man, the average height amongst the Khasis being about about 5 feet 2 inches to 5 feet 6 inches. The bowstring is of split bamboo, the bamboos that are used being a *spit*, a *sikhon*, and a *sip-lieh*.

The arrows (*ki khnam*) are of two kinds: (a) the lopped-headed (*ki plieng*), and (b) the plain-headed (*sep*). Both are made out of bamboo. The first kind is used for hunting, the latter for archery matches only. Archery may be styled the Khasi national game. A description of Khasi archery will be found under the heading "Games." The feathers of the following birds are used for arrows:—Vultures, geese, cranes, cormorants, and hornbills. Arrow-heads are made of iron or steel, and are forged locally. The distance a Khasi arrow will carry, shot from the ordinary bow by a man of medium strength, is 150 to 180 yards. The Khasi shield is circular in shape, of hide, and studded with brass or silver. In former days shields of rhinoceros hide are said to have been used, but nowadays buffalo skin is used. The shields would stop an arrow or turn aside a spear or sword thrust. The present-day shield is used merely for purposes of display.

Before the advent of the British into the hills the Khasis are said [illegible] been acquainted with the art of manufacturing gun[illegible] which was prepared in the neighbourhood of Mawsynram, Kyuchi, and Cherra. The gunpowder used to be

Dr. Hunter C-4 (no date) 1897 AR? Khasi AR?

144 "Ethnology.—In order to determine the ethnological position of the Khasis, we must dwell upon a few only of their physical characteristics, viz. those which are held to indicate the type of the human family, the Mongolian, to which they undoubtedly belong. A detailed description of their physiognomy would embrace form and character, by no means common even to tribes occupying the hills in close proximity to them, much less referable to all branches of the Mongolian stock. These differences in detail, which may be attributed mainly to local influences, render it extremely difficult, if not absolutely impossible, to trace out the exact relation which these mountain tribes bear to each other. But the Mongolian, or to use a more comprehensive term, the Turanian, physiognomy is unmistakable in them all—Khasis, Jaintias, Garos, Mikirs, Naga, Manipuris, etc. The chief points may be briefly stated as follows.—

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• [141] unknown; nose somewhat depressed, with a peculiar conformation
[302] towards the forehead at the glabellum, which is very flat and broad; face broad, flat, and squarish, with high and rounded cheek-bones; skull globular rather than square; eyes middle-sized and black, with a yellow tinge in the eyeball; eyelids obliquely set, but less acutely than in the Chinese and other Indo-Chinese races; mouth large, with prominent though not very thick lips; hair black, thick, and worn long, the orthodox style being to tie it up in a knot at the back, varying little with sex; beard remarkably sparse, but the
141 moustache more abundant than the beard. The lower classes go
[826] bare-headed; nature low in the majority of cases; constitution strong and robust; limbs thick, short, and stout; trunk long in proportion and very broad at the waist; calves over-developed, but this is considered an element of beauty, more especially in the women, who, on the average, are fairer and handsomer than the men, although ungraceful.

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district. The Lyngngam inhabit the western portion of the Khasi Hills proper. A line drawn north and south through the village of Nongpoh may be said to form their eastern boundary, and the Kamrup and Sylhet districts their northern and southern boundaries, respectively. The people known as *Bhois* in these hills, who are many of them really Mikirs, live in the low hills to the north and north-east of the district, the term "Bhoi" being a territorial name rather than tribal. The eastern boundary of the Lyngngam country may be said to form their north-western boundary. The Wars inhabit the precipitous slopes and deep valleys to the south of the district. Their country extends along the entire southern boundary of the district to the *Jaintiaia*, or *Kmahi-ing*, river where the Lyngngam territory may be said to commence towards the south. There are some Hadem colonies in the extreme eastern portions of the *Jaintia* Hills. It is these colonies which are sometimes referred to by other writers as "Kaki Colonies." They are settlers from the North Cachar Sub-division of the Cachar district within recent years. It is possible that the title Hadem may have some connection with *Hidimbat*, the ancient name for the North Cachar Hills.

APPEARANCE

The colour of the Khasi skin may be described as being usually brown, varying from dark to a light yellowish brown, according to locality. The complexion of the people who inhabit the uplands is of a somewhat lighter shade, and many of the women, especially those who live at Nongkrem, Laitlyngkot, Mawphlang, and other villages of the surrounding high plateaux, possess that pretty gipsy complexion that is seen in the South of Europe amongst the peasants. The people of Cherrapunji village are especially fair. The *Syntengs* of the *Jaintia* Hills are darker than the Khasi uplanders. The Wars who live in the low valleys are frequently more swarthy than the Khasis. The Bhois have the flabby-looking yellow skin of the Mikirs, and the Lyngngams are darker than the Khasis. The Lyngngams are probably the darkest complexioned people in the

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A GROUP OF KHASI COOLIES.

Reproduced from a sketch by the late Colonel Woodthorpe, R.E.

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P 2-6

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Reproduced from a picture by Miss Emma Smith O'Connor.

[FACING P. 4]

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young are comely, of a buxom type, and, like the men, with highly-developed calves, the latter always being considered a beauty. The children are frequently remarkably pretty. Khasis carry very heavy burdens, it being the custom for the coolie of the country to carry a maund, or 82 lbs. weight, or even more occasionally, on his back, the load being fixed by means of a cane band which is worn across the forehead; women carry almost as heavy loads as the men. The coolies, both male and female, commonly do the journey between Cherrapunji and Shillong, or between Shillong and Jowai, in one day, carrying the heavy loads above mentioned. Each of the above journeys is some thirty miles. They carry their great loads of rice and salt from Therria to Cherrapunji, an ascent of about 4,000 feet in some three to four miles, in the day. The Khasis are probably the best porters in the north of India, and have frequently been requisitioned for transport purposes on military expeditions.

The people are cheerful in disposition, and are light-hearted by nature, and, unlike the plains people, seem to thoroughly appreciate a joke. It is pleasant to hear on the road down to Therighat from Cherrapunji, in the early morning the whole hillside resounding with the songs of song and peals of laughter of the coolies, as they run nimbly down the short cuts on their way to market. The women are specially cheerful, and pass the time of day and bandy jokes with passers-by with quite an absence of reserve. The Khasis are certainly more industrious than the Assamese, are generally good-tempered, but are occasionally prone to sudden outbursts of anger, accompanied by violence. They are fond of music, and rapidly learn the hymn tunes which are taught them by the Welsh missionaries. Khasis are devoted to their offspring and the women make excellent nurses for European children, frequently becoming much attached to their little charges. The people, like the Japanese, are fond of nature. A Khasi loves a day out in the woods, where he thoroughly enjoys himself. If he does not go out shooting or fishing, he is content to sit still and contemplate nature. He has a separate name for each of the commoner birds and flowers. He also has names for many butterflies and moths. These are traits which are not found usually in the people of India.

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or difference. It is owing to these three different names being used for the same people that there has been so much confusion about Lyngngams previously; e.g. at one census they were named *Lyngngam*, at another they received the appellation of Garo, and at a third enumeration they were called Khasis. In Section I. the habitat of the Lyngngams has been roughly defined. It is impossible to define the Lyngngam country exactly, because these people are continually shifting their village sites owing to the exigencies of jhum cultivation, which has been described in Section II. Some of the Lyngngams preserve a tradition that they originally came from the Kamrup plains. It is interesting that a people, like the Garos in so many respects, should have the same idea as the Garos as to the hills on the south bank of the Brahmaputra not always having been their abode. The Garo legend is that they dwelt for some years in the Goalpara and Kamrup plains after they descended from Thibet, and before they moved to the Garo Hills; and there is unmistakable evidence of their occupation of both districts in the shape of certain Garo villages on both banks of the Brahmaputra for some little distance up the river. If, as I suspect, the Lyngngams are an offshoot of the Garos, it is, perhaps, possible that they entered the Khasi Hills much in the same way as the Garos entered the hill district to which they have given their name. The Lyngngams are much darker than the Khasis, and possess the Thibeto-Burman type of feature often to a marked degree. It is not extraordinary that they should have adopted some of the Khasi customs, for the Khasis, being the stronger people, would in course of time be bound to influence them in this respect. That the Lyngngams observe the matriarchate and erect (some class) memorial stones is not peculiar, because the Garos, like the Khasis, are also a matriarchal people (to a limited degree), and the custom of erecting memorial stones is not confined to the Khasis, for other hill tribes in Assam observe the practice, e.g. certain Naga tribes and the Mikirs; and the Garos themselves put up carved posts, called *kima*, in honour of the departed. Although there is not much intermarriage between the Khasis and the Lyngngams nowadays, perhaps in days gone by there was a mixture of blood, the result being the hybrid race we are now

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U DAKHU, LYNNGAM HEAD MAN.

Reproduced from a picture by Miss Kirene Scott O'Connor.

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considering. Some of the leading characteristics of the Lyngams will now be detailed. The Lyngams are by complexion swarthy, with features of Mongolian type. The men are of middle height and the women remarkably short, both sexes being not nearly so robust as the Khasis, a result due probably to climatic influences, for the Lyngams live in fever-haunted jungles. The men have very little hair about the face, although a scanty moustache is sometimes seen, the hairs in the centre being carefully plucked out, the result being two tufts on either side. Beards are never seen. The women are ill-favoured, and wear very little clothing. The men wear the shoulders coat of the Khasi and Mikir pattern, called *phong-maong*, which is made of cotton dyed red, blue, and white. This custom may have been borrowed from the Khasis. They do not grow their own cotton, but obtain it from the plains. They make their own dyes, *changlang* (red) and *kar ani-long* (black). A cotton cloth, barely enough for purposes of decency, is tied between the legs, the ends being allowed to hang down in front and behind. Sometimes an apron is worn in front. At the present day the men wear knitted woollen caps, generally black or red, of the Nongstoin pattern (a sort of fisherman's cap), but the elderly men and head-men wear turbans. The females wear a cotton cloth about eighteen inches broad round the loins, sometimes striped red and blue, but more often only dark blue. A blue or red cloth is thrown loosely across the shoulders by unmarried girls, but married women only wear the waist-cloth, like the Garos. A cloth is tied round the head by married women, sometimes Garo fashion. The women wear quantities of blue beads as necklaces, like their Garo sisters. They obtain the beads from the Garo markets at the foot of the hills. Brass ear-rings are worn by both sexes; the women, like the Garos, load their ears to such an extent with brass rings as to distend the holes greatly. Silver armlets are worn by the head-men only, or by those who possess the means to give a great feast to the villagers. This is the custom of the Garo *nokmas*, or head-men. Both sexes wear bracelets. The men also wear necklaces of beads. The rich wear necklaces of cornelian and another stone which is thought by the Lyngams to be valuable. A necklace of such stones is called *u'pieng blei* (god's necklace).

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JOURNAL

OF THE

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.

Vol. LXXIII. Part III.—ANTHROPOLOGY AND COGNATE SUBJECTS.

No. 4.—1904.

101 *Note on the Khasis, Syntengs, and allied Tribes, inhabiting the Khasi and Jaintia Hills District in Assam.—By* Major P. R. T. Gurdon, *Superintendent of Ethnography in Assam.* (*With plates* III—IV).

[Read 3rd August, 1904.]

142 1. *Physical characteristics.*—The men are seldom tall; they are generally well made, and possess great strength of limb,—of leg in particular. Their features show a resemblance to those of the Japanese; their complexions are fair, noses flat, lips thick, and eyes very frequently obliquely set. The women are good-looking, of a bacon type, and are cheerful and pleasant-mannered. Children are sometimes exceedingly pretty. Khasis are inveterate chewers of *pân*,—both men, women, and children; the distances from place to place being measured by the number of betel-nuts that can be chewed on the journey. The hair of the males is shaved above the forehead pretty high up, and the remainder is gathered into a knot at the back of the head. Very few Khasis have much hair about the face. Both Khasis and Syntengs wear the sleeveless coat (*Ijymphong*) loin-cloth, *jain sliang* (a kind of

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from October to December. For millet the seed is sown in April-May and reaped about six months later. Maize is usually sown in April-May and reaped in August-September. For potato, generally three crops are raised in the district; the first is sown in December-January and harvested in April-May, the second is sown in February-March and is gathered in June-July and the third is sown in July-August and is harvested in November-December.

For oranges and bonduc the orchards are cleared of weeds twice a year. Harvesting of oranges takes place from October to January. Bonduc ripens at the beginning of the year and are collected between February and May.

2.6.3 Agricultural implements.—The usual agricultural implements are a hoe, a sickle, three or four kinds of dao, a harrow, a crowbar which is used for the construction of irrigation channels, 'winnowing' and winnowing baskets. Bullock drawn plough is used in wet paddy cultivation in parts of Jowai subdivision and in Shillong area and remaining the use is not in the plains of the hills.

2.6.4. General cultural practices.—The cultivators mostly adhere to their indigenous practices of cultivation. Rotation of crops is not widely used. Cultivation of rice is usually done by broadcasting the seeds though transplanting is also in vogue in some areas. Manuring is widely practised. Cultivation by making terraces in the hill sides is gaining popularity in the district.

2.7 Cottage Industries.—Cottage Industries, it appears, have not found very great favour among the people of the district. A few families here and there manufacture iron implements, earthenware, pottery, baskets, mats and jewellery. In weaving cotton with other materials cotton clothes is rare among the Khasis. The Mikirs in Shillong area and in areas adjoining North Cachar and Mikir Hills produce it only for their domestic consumption. At present, the Government is trying to popularise weaving in the district and this has been welcomed by the Khasis. Among other cottage industries production of art cotton in the northern part of the district adjoining Kamrup district and bee keeping throughout the district are worth mentioning.

2.8 The People.—The Khasis and Jaintias are a short sturdy race distinct from the neighbouring hill tribes. By nature they are hardy and laborious and in respect of manual labour, they are free from any inhibitions. Side by side with the Khasis live the Mikirs, Garos and Nepalis who form respectively 7.32 percent, 3.38 percent and 7.27 per cent of the total rural population. Besides, there are plains people who are mainly concentrated in the town of Shillong. In the marketing centres of the border area there are a large number of Bengali Hindus who dominate the bulk of the trade in the border areas.

2.9 Occupation.—The greater portion of the population of the district subsists on cultivation. More than 75 percent of the rural households are predominantly agricultural. The industrious Khasi agriculturists males and females have a high regard for hard labour

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144 ETHNOLOGY.—It is not in determine the ethnological position of the Khasis we need dwell upon a few only of their physical characteristics, viz. those which are held to indicate that type of the human family, the Mongolian, to which they undoubtedly belong. A detailed description of their physiognomy would embrace forms and characters by no means common even to tribes occupying the hills in close proximity to them, much less adaptable to all branches of the Mongolian stock. These differences in detail, which may be attributed mainly to local influences, render it extremely difficult, if not absolutely impossible, to trace out the exact relation which these mountain tribes bear to each other. But the Mongolian, or to use a more comprehensive term, the Turanian, physiognomy is unmistakable in them all—Khasis, Jaintias, Garos, Mikirs, Naga, Manipuris, etc. The chief points may be briefly stated as follows:—

142 [141] [302] Colour tawny or yellow, though a darker hue is not entirely unknown; nose somewhat depressed, with a peculiar conformation towards the forehead at the glabellum, which is very flat and broad; face broad, flat, and squarish, with high and rounded cheek-bones; skull globular rather than square; eyes middle-sized and black, with a yellow tinge in the eyeball; eyelids obliquely set, but less acutely than in the Chinese and other Indo-Chinese races; mouth large, with prominent though not very thick lips; hair black, thick, and worn long, the orthodox style being to tie it up in a knot at the back, varying little with sex; beard remarkably sparse, but the moustache more abundant than the beard. The lower classes go

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published in Trübner's series of "Simplified Grammars" in 1891, and there are dictionaries, English-Khasi (1875) and Khasi-English (1906), besides many other aids to the study of the language which need not be mentioned here. It is recognized by the Calcutta University as sufficiently cultivated to be offered for the examinations of that body. Two monthly periodicals are published in it at Shillong, to which place the headquarters of the District were removed from Cherrapunji in 1864, and which has been the permanent seat of the Assam Government since the Province was separated from Bengal in 1874.

The isolation of the Khasi race, in the midst of a great encircling population all of whom belong to the Tibeto-Burman stock, and the remarkable features presented by their language and institutions, soon attracted the attention of comparative philologists and ethnologists. An account of their researches will be found in Dr. Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. ii. Here it will be sufficient to mention the important work of Mr. J. R. Logan, who, in a series of papers published at Singapore between 1850 and 1857 in the *Journal of the Indian Archipelago* (of which he was the editor), demonstrated the relationship which exists between the Khasis and certain peoples of Further India, the chief representatives of whom are the Mōns or Talaings of Pegu and Tenasserim, the Khmērs of Cambodia, and the majority of the inhabitants of Annam. He was even able, through the means of vocabularies furnished to him by the late Bishop Bigandet, to discover the nearest kinsmen of the Khasis in the Palaungs, a tribe inhabiting one of the Shan States to the north-east of Mandalay on the middle Salween. With the progress of research it became apparent that the Mōn-Khmēr group of Indo-

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114 China thus constituted, to which the Khasis belong, was
144 in some way connected with the large linguistic family in the Indian Peninsula once called Kolarian, but now more generally known as *Mundā*, who inhabit the hilly region of Chutia Nagpur and parts of the Satpura range in the Central Provinces. Of these tribes the principal are the Santhāls, the Mundās, and the Korkus. In physical characters they differ greatly from the Indo-Chinese Khasis, but the points of resemblance in their languages and in some of their institutions cannot be denied; and the exact nature of the relation between them is as yet one of the unsolved problems of ethnology.

114 The work of Logan was carried further by Prof.
197 Ernst Kuhn, of Munich, who in 1883 and 1889 published important contributions to our knowledge of the languages and peoples of Further India. More recently our acquaintance with the phonology of Khasi and its relatives has been still further advanced by the labours of Pater W. Schmidt, of Vienna, whose latest work, *Die Mon-Khmer Völker, ein Bindeglied zwischen Völkern Zentralasiens und Australiens* (Braunschweig, 1906), has established the relationship of Khasi not only to the Mōn-Khmēr languages, but also to Nicobarese and several dialects spoken by wild tribes in the Malay Peninsula.

There still remains much to be done before the speech of the Khasi nation can be considered to have been thoroughly investigated. In the *Linguistic Survey* four dialects are dealt with, the standard literary form, founded on the language of Cherrapunji, the *Pnār* or *Syntengā*, of Jowai, the *War*, spoken in the valleys on the southern face of the hills, and the *Lynngām*, spoken in the tract adjacent to the Garos on the west. Major Gurdon (p. 203) mentions a fifth, that of Jirang

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147 villages, such as Shella, Borpunji, Umniuh, and in Narpuh in
132 the Jaintia Hills.
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ORIGIN.

173 The origin of the Khasis is a very vexed question. Although it is probable that the Khasis have inhabited their present abode for at any rate a considerable period, there seems to be a fairly general belief amongst them that they originally came from elsewhere. The Rev. H. Roberts, in the introduction to his Khasi Grammar, states that "tradition, such as it is, connects them politically with the Burmese, to whose king they were up to a comparatively recent date rendering homage, by sending him an annual tribute in the shape of an axe, as an emblem merely of submission." Another tradition points out the north as the direction from which they migrated, and Sylhet as the terminus of their wanderings, from which they were ultimately driven back into their present hill fastnesses by a great flood, after a more or less peaceful occupation of that district. It was on the occasion of this great flood, the legend runs, that the Khasi lost the art of writing, the Khasi losing his book whilst he was swimming at the time of this flood, whereas the Bengali
[212] managed to preserve his. Owing to the Khasis having possessed no written character before the advent of the Welsh missionaries, there are no histories as is the case with the Ahoms of the Assam Valley, and therefore no record of their journeys.
114 Mr. Shadwell, the oldest living authority we have on the
173 Khasis, and one who has been in close touch with the people for more than half a century, mentions a tradition amongst them that they originally came into Assam from Burma *viâ* the Patkoi range, having followed the route of one of the Burmese invasions. Mr. Shadwell has heard them mention the name Patkoi as a hill they met with on their journey. All this sort of
144 thing is, however, inexpressibly vague. In the chapter dealing
173 with "Affinities" have been given some reasons for supposing that the Khasis and other tribes of the Mon-Anam family, originally occupied a large portion of the Indian continent. Where the actual cradle of the Mon-Anam race was, is as

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impossible to state, as it is to fix upon the exact tract of country from which the Aryans sprang. With reference to the Khasi branch of the Mon-Anam family, it would seem reasonable to suppose that if they are not the autochthons of a portion of the hills on the southern bank of the Brahmaputra, and if they migrated to Assam from some other country, it is not unlikely that they followed the direction of the different irruptions of foreign peoples into Assam of which we have authentic data, i.e. from south-east to north-west, as was the case with the Ahom invaders of Assam who invaded Assam from their settlements in the Shan States *viâ* the Patkoi range, the different Burmese invasions, the movements of the Khamtis and, again, the Singphos, from the country to the east of the Hukong Valley. Whether the first cousins of the Khasis, the Mons, moved to their present abode from China, whether they are the aborigines of the portion of Burma they at present occupy, or were one of the races "of Turanian origin" who, as Forbes thinks, originally occupied the valley of the Ganges before the Aryan invasion, must be left to others more qualified than myself to determine. Further, it is difficult to clear up the mystery of the survival, in an isolated position, of people like the Ho-Mundas, whose language and certain customs exhibit points of similarity with those of the Khasis, in close proximity to the Dravidian tribes and at a great distance from the Khasis, there being no people who exhibit similar characteristics inhabiting countries situated in between; but we can, I think, reasonably suppose that the Khasis are an offshoot of the Mon people of Further India in the light of the historical fact I have quoted, i.e. that the movements of races into Assam have usually, although not invariably, taken place from the east, and not from the west. The tendency for outside people to move into Assam from the east still continues.

Affinities.

The late Mr. S. E. Peal, F.R.G.S., in an interesting and suggestive paper published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1896, drew attention to certain illustrations of

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[114]
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144

"singular shoulder-headed celts," found only in the Malay Peninsula till the year 1875, when they were also discovered in Chota Nagpur, and figured in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for June of that year. These "celts" are, as the name implies, ancient stone implements. Mr. Peal goes on to state the interesting fact that when he was at Ledo and Tikak, Naga villages, east of Makum, on the south-east frontier of the Lakhimpur district of Assam, in 1895, he found iron implements, miniature hoes, used by the Nagas, of a similar shape to the "shoulder-headed celts" which had been found in the Malay Peninsula and Chota Nagpur. Now the peculiarly shaped Khasi hoe or *mo-khiw*, a sketch of which is given, with its far projecting shoulders, is merely an enlarged edition of the Naga hoe described by Peal, and may therefore be regarded as a modern representative in iron, although on an enlarged scale, of the "shoulder-headed celts." Another interesting point is that, according to Forbes, the Burmese name for these stone celts is *mo-gyo*. Now the Khasi name for the hoe is *mo-khiw*. The similarity between the two words seems very strong. Forbes says the name *mo-gyo* in Burmese means "cloud or sky chain," which he interprets "thunderbolt," the popular belief there, as in other countries, being that these palæolithic implements fell from heaven. Although the Khasi name *mo-khiw* has no connection whatsoever with aerolites, it is a singular coincidence that the name for the Khasi hoe of the present day should almost exactly correspond with the Burmese name for the palæolithic implement found in Burma and the Malay Peninsula, and when it is remembered that these stone celts are of a different shape from that of the stone implements which have been found in India (with the exception of Chota Nagpur), there would seem to be some grounds for believing that the

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Khasis are connected with people who inhabited the Malay Peninsula and Chota Nagpur at the time of the Stone Age.* That these people were what Logan calls the Mon-Anam, may possibly be the case. Mr. Peal goes on to state, "the discovery is interesting for other reasons, it possibly amounts to a demonstration that Logan (who it is believed was the first to draw attention to the points of resemblance between the languages of the Mon-Anam or Mon-Khmêr and those of the Mundas and the Khasis), was correct in assuming that at one time the Mon-Anam races and influence extended from the Vindyas all over the Ganges Basin, even over Assam, the northern border of the Ultra Indian Peninsula." Mr. Peal then remarks that the Eastern Nagas of the Tirap, Namstik, and Sonkap group "are strikingly like them (i.e. the Mon-Anam races), in many respects, the women being particularly robust, with pale colour and at times rosy cheeks." The interesting statement follows that the men wear the Khasi-Mikir sleeveless coat. Under the heading of dress this will be found described as a garment which leaves the neck and arms bare, with a fringe at the bottom and with a row of tassels across the chest, the coat being fastened by frogs in front. It is a garment of a distinctive character and cannot be mistaken; it used to be worn largely by the Khasis, and is still used extensively by the Syntengs and Lynngams and by the Mikirs, and that it should have been found amongst these Eastern Nagas is certainly remarkable. It is to be regretted that the investigations of the Ethnographical Survey, as at present conducted, have not extended to these Eastern Nagas, who inhabit tracts either outside British territory or in very remote places on its confines, so that we are at present unable to state whether any of these tribes possess other points of affinity, as

* It is interesting to compare the remarks of M. Aymonier in his volume iii. of "Le Cambodge." He writes as follows:—"Mais en Indo-Chine on trouve, partout disseminé, ce que les indigènes, au Cambodge du moins, appellent, comme les peuples les plus éloignés du globe 'les traits de foudre.' Ce sont ici des haches de l'âge néolithique ou de la pierre polie, dont la plupart appartiennent au type repandu en toute la terre. D'autres de ces celtes, dits épaulés, parcequ'ils possèdent un talon d'une forme particulière, paraissent appartenir en propre à l'Indo-Chine et à la presqu'île dekkhanique. Ils fourniraient donc un premier indice, non négligeable, d'une communauté d'origine des populations primitives des deux péninsules, cis et trans gangétiques."

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144 regards social customs, with the Khasis; but it will be noticed
211 in the chapter dealing with memorial stones that some of the
171 Naga tribes are in the habit of erecting monoliths somewhat similar in character to those of the Khasis, and that the Mikirs (who wear the Khasi sleeveless coat), erect memorial stones exactly similar to those of the Khasis. The evidence seems to suggest a theory that the Mon-Anam race, including of course the Khasis, occupied at one time a much larger area in the mountainous country to the south of the Brahmaputra in Assam than it does at present. Further references will be found to this
144 point in the section dealing with memorial stones. The fact
171 that the Ho-Mundas of Chota Nagpur also erect memorial stones and that they possess death customs very similar to those of the Khasis, has also been noticed in the same chapter. We have, therefore, the following points of similarity as regards customs between the Khasis on the one hand, certain Eastern Naga tribes, the Mikirs, and the ancient inhabitants of the Malay Peninsula on the other :—

(a) Peculiarly shaped hoe, i.e. the hoe with far projecting shoulders	1. Khasis. 2. Certain Eastern Naga tribes. 3. The ancient inhabitants of the Malay Peninsula. 4. The ancient inhabitants of Chota Nagpur (the Ho-Mundas ?).
(b) Sleeveless coat	1. Khasis. 2. Mikirs. 3. Certain Eastern Naga tribes.
(c) Memorial stones	1. Khasis. 2. Mikirs. 3. Certain Eastern Naga tribes. 4. Ho-Mundas of Chota Nagpur.

197 I wish to draw no definite conclusions from the above facts,
144 but they are certainly worth considering with reference to Logan's theory as stated by Peal: the theory being based on Logan's philological inquiries. Thanks to the labours of Grierson, Logan, and Kuhn in the linguistic field, we know that the languages of the Mon-Khmêr group in Burma and the Malay Peninsula are intimately connected with Khasi. I say, intimately, advisedly, for not only are roots of words seen to be similar, but the order of the words in the sentence is found to be the same, indicating that both these people think in the same order when wishing to express themselves by speech.

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There are also syntactical agreements. We may take it as finally proved by Dr. Grierson and Professor Kuhn that the Mon-Khmèr, Palaung, Wa, and Khasi languages are closely connected. In the section of the Monograph which deals with language some striking similarities between the languages of these tribes will be pointed out. We have not so far been able to discover social customs common to the Palaungs and the Khasis; this is probably due to the conversion of the Palaungs to Buddhism, the change in the religion of the people having possibly caused the abandonment of the primitive customs of the tribe. In a few years' time, if the progressive rate of conversions of Khasis to Christianity continues, probably the greater number of the Khasi social customs will have disappeared and others will have taken their place, so that it cannot be argued that because no manifest social customs can now be found common to the Khasis and the Palaungs, there is no connection between these two tribes. The strong linguistic affinity between these two peoples and the wild *Was* of Burma points to an intimate connection between all three in the past. As knowledge of the habits of the wild *Was* improves, it is quite possible that social customs of this tribe may be found to be held in common with the Khasis. With regard to social affinities it will be interesting to note the Palaung folk-tale of the origin of their Sawbwa, which is reproduced in Sir George Scott's Upper Burma Gazetteer. The Sawbwa, it is related, is descended from the Naga Princess Thusandi who lived in the *Nat* tank on the Mongok hills and who laid three eggs, from one of which was born the ancestor of the Palaung Sawbwa. Here we see how the Palaung regards the egg, and it is noteworthy that the Khasis lay great stress on its potency in divination for the purposes of religious sacrifices, and that at death it is placed on the stomach of the deceased and is afterwards broken at the funeral pyre. Amongst some of the tribes of the Malay Archipelago also the *Gaji-Guru* or medicine-man "can see from the yolk of an egg, broken whilst sacramentally counting from one to seven, from what illness a man is suffering and what has caused it." Here we have an almost exactly parallel case to the Khasi custom of egg-breaking.

In the Palaung folk-tale above referred to the importance of

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144 the egg in the eyes of Palaung is demonstrated, and we know
825 how the Khasi regards it. But the folk-tale is also important
171 as suggesting that the ancient people of Pagan were originally serpent-worshippers, i.e. Nágás, and it is interesting to note that the Rumai or Palaung women of the present day "wear a dress which is like the skin of the Naga (snake)." Is it possible that the Khasi superstition of the *thlen*, or serpent demon, and its worship, an account of which will be found under the heading of "Human Sacrifices" in the Monograph, has anything to do with the ancient snake-worship of the people of Pagan, and also of the ancient inhabitants of Naga-Dwipa, and that amongst the wild *Was* the custom of head-hunting may have taken the place of the Khasi human sacrifices to the *thlen?*

Notwithstanding that Sir George Scott says the story has very Burman characteristics, the Palaung folk-tale is further interesting in that it speaks of the Sawbwa of the Palaungs being descended from a *princess*. This might be a suggestion of the matriarchate.

171 It can well be imagined how important a matter it is also,
144 in the light of Grierson's and Kuhn's linguistic conclusions, to ascertain whether any of the Mon-Khmêr people in Anam and Cambodia and neighbouring countries possess social customs in common with the Khasis. In case it may be possible for French and Siamese ethnologists in Further India to follow up these inquiries at some subsequent date, it may be stated that information regarding social customs is required with reference to the people who speak the following languages in Anam and Cambodia and Cochin China which belong to the Mon-Khmêr group—*Suk, Stieng, Bahnar, Anamese, Khamen-Boran, Xong, Samre, Khmu*, and *Lamet*.

Notwithstanding our failure up till now to find any patent and direct social customs in common between the Khasis and the Palaungs, I am in hopes that we may yet discover some such affinities. Mr. Lowis, the Superintendent of Ethnography in Burma, states that there is no vestige of the matriarchal system among the Palaungs; but there is the folk-tale I have quoted above. In matters of succession, inheritance, &c., the Palaungs, Mr. Lowis, says, profess to follow the Shans, whose customs in this regard have a Buddhistic basis. The Palaungs

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are devout Buddhists, and, like the Burmans and Shans, bury their lay dead, whereas the Khasis invariably burn. There is nothing in the shape of memorial stones amongst the Palaungs. *Primâ facie* these appear to be points of differentiation between the Palaungs and the Khasis; but they should not, as has already been stated, be regarded as proof positive that the tribes are not connected, and it is possible that under the influence of Buddhism the Palaungs may have almost entirely abandoned their ancient customs, like the Christian Khasis.

Having noticed some similarities as regards birth customs, as described in Dr. Frazer's "Golden Bough," between the Khasis and certain inhabitants of the Dutch East Indies, I wrote to the Dutch authorities in Batavia requesting certain further information. My application was treated with the greatest courtesy, and I am indebted to the kindness of the President, his secretary, and Mr. C. M. Pleyte, Lecturer of Indonesian Ethnology at the Gymnasium of William III., at Batavia, for some interesting as well as valuable information. With reference to possible Malay influence in the countries inhabited by the people who speak the Mon-Khmêr group of languages in Further India, it was thought desirable to ascertain whether any of the people inhabiting the Dutch East Indies possessed anything in common with the Khasis, who also belong to the Mon-Khmêr group. There are, according to Mr. Pleyte, pure matriarchal customs to be found amongst the Minangkabe Malays inhabiting the Padang uplands and adjacent countries, in Sumatra, in Agam, the fifty Kotas, and Tanah Datar, more or less mixed with patriarchal institutions; they are equally followed by the tribes inhabiting parts of Korinchi and other places. The apparently strong survival of the matriarchate in parts of the island of Sumatra, as compared with this corresponding most characteristic feature of the Khasis, is a point for consideration. Mr. Pleyte goes on to state "regarding ancestor-worship, it may be said that this is found everywhere throughout the whole Archipelago; even the tribes that have already adopted Islam, venerate the spirits of their departed." The same might be said of some of the Khasis who have accepted Christianity, and much more of the Japanese. I would here refer the reader to the chapter on "Ancestor-worship." In the

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171 Southern Moluccas the placenta is mixed with ashes, placed in
144 a pot, and hung on a tree; a similar custom is observed in Mandeling, on the west coast of Sumatra. This is a custom universally observed amongst the Khasis at births. Teknonomy to some extent prevails amongst some of these Malay tribes as with the Khasis. It will be seen from the above notes that there are some interesting points of affinity between the Khasis and some of the Malay tribes, and if we add that the Khasis are decidedly Malay in appearance, we cannot but wonder whether the Malays have any connection not only with the Mon-Khmer family, but also with the Khasis, with the Ho-Mundas, and with the Naga tribes mentioned by Mr. Peal in his interesting paper published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, already referred to. We will study the strong linguistic affinities between these peoples in the section which deals with language.

M. Aymonier in "Le Cambodge" mentions the matriarchate as having been prevalent apparently amongst the primitive races of Cambodia, and notes that the ancient Chinese writers spoke of Queens in Fou-nan (Cambodia). If the Khmêrs were the ancient people of Cambodia, here we have an important landmark in common between them and the Khasis. M. Aymonier goes on to speak of priestesses, and the Cambodian taboo, *tam* or *trenam*, which Mr. Lewis, the Superintendent of Ethnography in Burma, suggests may be akin to the Khasi *sang*.

DRESS.

291 Dress may be divided into two divisions, ancient and modern. It will be convenient to take the former division first. The Khasi males of the interior wear the sleeveless coat or *jymphong*, which is a garment leaving the neck and arms bare, with a fringe at the bottom, and with a row of tassels across
[172] the chest; it is fastened by frogs in front. This coat, however, may be said to be going out of fashion in the Khasi Hills, its place being taken by coats of European pattern in the more civilized centres and by all sorts of nondescript garments in the interior. The sleeveless coat, however, is still worn by many

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or difference. It is owing to these three different names being 101
used for the same people that there has been so much confusion
about Lynngams previously; e.g. at one census they were named
Lynngam, at another they received the appellation of Garo, and
at a third enumeration they were called Khasis. In Section I. 131
the habitat of the Lynngams has been roughly defined. It is 361
impossible to define the Lynngam country exactly, because 173
these people are continually shifting their village sites
owing to the exigencies of *jhum* cultivation, which has been
described in Section II. Some of the Lynngams preserve
a tradition that they originally came from the Kamrup
plains. It is interesting that a people, like the Garos in so
many respects, should have the same idea as the Garos as to the
hills on the south bank of the Brahmaputra not always having
been their abode. The Garo legend is that they dwelt for 173
some years in the Goalpara and Kamrup plains after they 361
descended from Thibet, and before they moved to the Garo 144
Hills; and there is unmistakable evidence of their occupation of
both districts in the shape of certain Garo villages on both
banks of the Brahmaputra for some little distance up the river.
If, as I suspect, the Lynngams are an offshoot of the Garos, it
is, perhaps, possible that they entered the Khasi Hills much in
the same way as the Garos entered the hill district to which
they have given their name. The Lynngams are much darker 142
than the Khasis, and possess the Thibeto-Burman type of 177
feature often to a marked degree. It is not extraordinary that
they should have adopted some of the Khasi customs, for the
Khasis, being the stronger people, would in course of time be
bound to influence them in this respect. That the Lynngams 611
observe the matriarchate and erect (some clans) memorial 211
stones is not peculiar, because the Garos, like the Khasis, are 764
also a matriarchal people (to a limited degree), and the custom
of erecting memorial stones is not confined to the Khasis, for
other hill tribes in Assam observe the practice, e.g. certain
Naga tribes and the Mikirs; and the Garos themselves put up
carved posts, called *kima*, in honour of the departed. Although 582
there is not much intermarriage between the Khasis and the 101
Lynngams nowadays, perhaps in days gone by there was a 144
mixture of blood, the result being the hybrid race we are now

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

public auction. The Assam rules, as revised in 1875-76, reserve to Government the right of pre-emption at the price of Rs. 600 (£60) in the case of every elephant captured between 6 feet and 7½ feet in height. For every elephant caught that is not purchased by Government, a royalty of Rs. 100 (£10) is payable within one month after capture. Certain methods of hunting are prohibited. 224 648 651

POPULATION.—Prior to 1872 no attempts had been made at a Census of the Khási and Jáintiá Hills, but in 1870 the Deputy-Commissioner approximately estimated the population at 118,925 souls. In 1872, at the time of the Bengal Census, operations were set on foot in these Hills, but on a less elaborate system than in Regulation Districts. In the Khási Hills, the Census of the various petty States was effected through the chiefs; in British territory in the Jáintiá Hills, the *dolloïs* conducted the enumeration; while at Shillong and other places under direct administration, the work was done by officers attached to the Deputy-Commissioner's office. The results are thus returned:—Adults—males, 39,882; and females, 44,298: total adults, 84,280. Children under twelve years of age—males, 28,611; and females, 28,947: total children, 57,558. Total males, 68,593; total females, 73,245. Grand total, 141,838; proportion of males, 48·36 per cent. The total area of the District, according to the latest returns, is 6157 square miles, which gives an average density of 23 persons per square mile. The number of villages is 1003; the number of houses, 30,557, of which 350 are returned as of the better sort. 648 659 161 161 162

ETHNICAL DIVISION OF THE PEOPLE.—The population consists almost exclusively of aboriginal tribes and races, viz. Khásiás and Syntengs (who form the bulk of the inhabitants of the Khási and Jáintiá Hills respectively), Míkírs, Gáros, and Kukis. The only other dwellers in the Hills are the European officials and military officers at Shillong and Cherrá Púnjí, with their native servants and followers, a few Bengálí officials, and the sepoys of a regiment of native infantry. The classification of the inhabitants according to religion shows:—141,283 aborigines; 365 Hindus; 62 Muhammadans; and 128 Christians, including 35 Europeans, 8 Eurasians, and 85 native converts. 563 162 [648] [779]

THE KHASIAS.—The following sketch of the physical characteristics and customs of the Khásiás has been kindly furnished to me by the Deputy-Commissioner, Colonel Bivar; it is reproduced almost verbatim from his report and on his authority:— 144

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144 'ETHNOLOGY.—In order to determine the ethnological position of the Khásiás, we need dwell upon a few only of their physical characteristics, viz. those which are held to indicate that type of the human family, the Mongolian, to which they undoubtedly belong. A detailed description of their physiognomy would embrace forms and characters by no means common even to tribes occupying the hills in close proximity to them, much less referable to all branches of the Mongolian stock. These differences in detail, which may be attributed mainly to local influences, render it extremely difficult, if not absolutely impossible, to trace out the exact relation which these mountain tribes bear to each other. But the Mongolian, or to use a more comprehensive term, the Turanian, physiognomy is unmistakeable in them all—Khásiás, Jáintiás, Gáros, Mikírs, Nágás, Manipuris, etc. The chief points may be briefly stated as follows:—
142 Colour tawny or yellow, though a darker hue is not entirely
[141] unknown; nose somewhat depressed, with a peculiar conformation
[302] towards the forehead at the glabellum, which is very flat and broad; face broad, flat, and squarish, with high and rounded cheek-bones: skull globular rather than square; eyes middle-sized and black, with a yellow tinge in the eyeball; eyelids obliquely set, but less acutely than in the Chinese and other Indo-Chinese races; mouth large, with prominent though not very thick lips; hair black, thick, and worn long, the orthodox style being to tie it up in a knot at the back, varying little with sex; beard remarkably sparse, but the
141 moustache more abundant than the beard. The lower classes go
[826] bare-headed; stature low in the majority of cases; constitution strong and robust; limbs thick, short, and stout; trunk long in proportion and very broad at the waist; calves over-developed, but this is considered an element of beauty, more especially in the women, who, on the average, are fairer and handsomer than the men; carriage ungraceful.

157 'SOCIAL AND MORAL QUALITIES.—Disposition very affable, gentle, and cheerful; rather industrious, but devoid of ingenuity and mechanical skill. In the industrial arts, such as masonry, carpentry,
291 and agriculture, they are amenable to training. Dress amongst the lower classes is confined to a fringed jacket rudely woven of hemp, extending down as far as the thighs, and leaving the arms bare, together with a scanty covering for the loins. The more respectable classes wear a turban of coarse cotton or silk for a head-dress, and a sheet of silk thrown loosely over the shoulders, together with a long

21: Ehrenfels E-4,5 (1950) 1953 AR7 Khasi AR7

105 It will here be recalled that the Khasi are a matrilineal agricultural
[175] people, pre-litterate until the advent of the British in the sixth decade of
[197] the 19th century, organized under democratically ruling *siem*, or Khasi
princes and chieftains and speaking an Austro-Asiatic language [14]. Their
144 physical affinities are unmistakably mongoloid and quite distinct from the Assamese speaking plains-Indians, — but not from the other mountaineers of Assam, Nepal and even Burmah or China, with whom they feel to be more closely related, as with the Indian phinspeople, as some of the tribal designations in the following lists of terms for Non-Khasi testifies (comp. No. 41 as against No. 42, 43 and 43/*a-e*).

114 In the collection of the material, I was hampered by my inability to
122 pick up the Khasi language sufficiently quickly, for conversation without the help of an interpreter, but on the other hand greatly eased by generous and voluntary assistance on the part of several Khasi friends, especially U Ekiman Singh, the President, Unitarian Union, Khasi- and Jaintai Hills and his (Khasi) wife, Ka Austria [15], who offered me hospitality in their house at Maw Syn Jri, during my stay there. Dr. H. LYNGDOH, Shillong, the author of detailed accounts on Khasi religious ceremonial and institutions [16], U Jeeban Roy, a leading Pnár gentleman of Jowei in the Jaintia Hills, Ka Ellen Giri, Principal, Govt. Basic Education Training Centre, Malki, Shillong, Ka Kongmen, Shillong, and U David Roy, Prime Minister (retd.), and a number of hospitable Wár Khasi and Wár-Jaintia pan-leaf cultivators in the southern slopes of the Khasi- and Jaintia Hills, especially from the villages Mawlat and Padu, also helped me greatly in my task. My thanks are due to all of them.

101 The data, submitted and briefly described in this paper were thus
114 collected in four different areas.

1. The South-eastern corner of the Khasi-Hills (plateau-area),
2. the southern slopes of the Khasi Hills, the "Wár-Khasi country" between the Khasi plateau proper and the northern boundary of East Pakistan,
3. the central plateau of the Jaintia Hills, round its capital market Jowei, and
4. the southern slopes of the Jaintia Hills, the "Wár-Jaintia country" between these and a section of the northern boundary of East Pakistan, further to the East than area 2.

197 Slightly different Khasi dialects are spoken in these four regions, Jaintia (Pnár or "Synteng") and Wár-Jaintia being more akin to each other, similarly as Plateau-Khasi and Wár-Khasi are.

101 The Pnár or Jaintias ("Synteng" is a slightly opprobious designation,
175 used by the Plateau-Khasi for these, their eastern neighbours) look back

[14] SCHMIDT (1906).

[553] [15] So named, because Austria was much in the news at the time of her birth, during the first world war; — a fact which illustrates the Khasi peculiarity to use either ad hoc inventions as names for children, or to adopt such, from the Khasi point of view, outlandish words like: "Ka Austria" or "Ka Mediterranean Sea" as names for their children.

[16] LYNGDOH (1937).

21: Ehrenfels E-4,5 (1950) 1953 AR7 Khasi AR7

on a historical past, different from that of the Khasi proper, the former having been ruled by the powerful, but somewhat Hinduised dynasty of the Jaintia Rajas until the Jaintia Wars of the British; the latter by small independent chiefs. Yet Jaintia social organization appears on the whole to preserve the matrilineal social structure clearer and to be less influenced by plains-acculturation, than that of the Khasi, though a few features of Brahmanical religious observances and also some traces of racial admixture are found in the immediate vicinity of Jowei, the former summer residence of the Jaintia Rajas. Stronger no doubt, than this influence, was that exercised by the British and non-Assamese Indians in the provincial capital Shillong since 1866. Methods of agriculture and other aspects of material civilization differ but little in the Jaintia- and Khasi plateau-areas.

The same cannot be said of both: the Wár-Khasi and Wár-Jaintias. Linguistically their affiliations are with the Khasi or Jaintias respectively, in the plateau-areas. Economically, however, both Wár-groups form a separate pan-leaf cultivating unit in the little accessible steep southern slopes of the Khasi- and Jaintia Hill massif. Both Wár-groups live in the environment of luscious tropical flora and fauna, sharply differentiated from the cool, barren plateau with its perennial winds and the heroic, if solitary beauty of its highland heaths, which forms the background of both the Khasi- and Jaintia plateau-groups.

The age of the Wár-Khasi and -Jaintias, as one independent economic, — and two half-independent dialectical linguistic entities, is an intricate problem. The two Wár-groups subsist on pan-leaf cultivation as a money crop, grown in the thick tree-gardens as creepers; not on food-cultivation, as do the plateau-groups, because there is insufficient space on the steep slopes, for vegetable gardens or -fields. The pan-leaf cultivators therefore depend on food, purchased from outside. The slopes seem to have been uninhabited until not long ago. Yet pan-leaf chewing is such an integral part of Khasi life, that until quite recently, and occasionally even now, a distance between two places is not measured by the number of hours used for walking, but by the number of betelnut- and pan-leaf packages, consumed on the way. Also the common benediction among Khasi expresses the wish that so and so may eat pan in the Garden of God. Yet pan-cultivation and the settlements of the Wár-people as pan-leaf cultivators in the southern slopes seem comparatively young. Pan-cultivation on the plateau is impracticable. It is therefore possible that pan was for a long time only a much valued import article from the plains, bartered against Khasi ore and iron tools, though it is now an export article from the Wár-country, brought to the markets of the plains, by both Wár-Khasi and Wár-Jaintia women and men.

According to a tradition, across which I came among the Nonglamin clan of the Nongmuker village, the ancestors of the present Wár people were on the plateau at a time when no pan-cultivation was going on in the slopes and none of the present big estates of pan-tree gardens was yet held by their present (Wár-) owners. A not distant ancestor of a Nonglamin clan-member who about two of three generations ago told the story to U Siang (one of

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

142 hills, and if one met them in the plains one would not be able to distinguish them from the ordinary Kachari or Rabha. The nose in the Khasi is somewhat depressed, the nostrils being often large and prominent. The forehead is broad and the 141 space between the eyes is often considerable. The skull may be said to be almost brachy-cephalic, the average cephalic index of 77 Khasi subjects, measured by Col. Waddell and Major Hare, I.M.S., being as high as 77·3 and 77·9, respectively. According to these data the Khasis are more brachy-cephalic than the Aryans, whose measurements appear in Crooke's tables, more brachy-cephalic than the 100 Mundas whose measurements appear in Risley's tables, more brachy-cephalic than the Dravidians, but less brachy-cephalic than the Burmans, whose measurements also appear in Crooke's tables. It would be interesting to compare some head measurements of Khasis with Japanese, but unfortunately the necessary data are not available in the case of the latter people. The Khasi head 142 may be styled sub-brachy-cephalic. Eyes are of medium size, in colour black or brown. In the Jaintia Hills hazel eyes are not uncommon, especially amongst females. Eyelids are somewhat obliquely set, but not so acutely as in the Chinese and some other Mongols. Jaws frequently are prognathous, mouth large, with sometimes rather thick lips. Hair black, straight, and 302 worn long, the hair of people who adopt the old style being caught up in a knot at the back. Some males cut the hair short with the exception of a single lock at the back, which is called *u niuhtrong* or *u niuh-' iawbei* (i.e. the grandmother's lock.) The forepart of the head is often shaven. It is quite the exception to see a beard, although the moustache is not infrequently worn. The Lynngams pull out the hairs of the moustache with the exception of a few hairs on either side of the upper lip.

PHYSICAL AND GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS.

142 The Khasis are usually short in stature, with bodies well [147] nourished, and the males are extremely muscular. The trunk is long in proportion to the rest of the body, and broad at the waist; calves are very highly developed. The women when

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

000 which are not found usually in the people of India. He is
461 not above manual labour, and even the Khasi clerk in the
333 Government offices is quite ready to take his turn at the hoe
335 in his potato garden. The men make excellent stonemasons and carpenters, and are ready to learn fancy carpentry and
276 mechanical work. They are inveterate chewers of *supari* and
804 the pan leaf (when they can get the latter), both men, women, and children; distances in the interior being often measured by the number of betel-nuts that are usually chewed on a
273 journey. They are not addicted usually to the use of opium or other intoxicating drugs. They are, however, hard drinkers, and consume large quantities of spirit distilled from rice or millet. Rice beer is also manufactured; this is used not only as a beverage, but also for ceremonial purposes. Spirit drinking is confined more to the inhabitants of the high plateaux and to the people of the Wár country, the Bhois and Lynngams
276 being content to partake of rice beer. The Mikirs who inhabit
751 what is known as the "Bhoi" country, lying to the north of the district, consume a good deal of opium, but it must be remembered that they reside in a malarious *terai* country, and that the use of opium, or some other prophylactic, is probably
525 beneficial as a preventive of fever. The Khasis, like other people of Indo-Chinese origin, are much addicted to gambling.
577 The people, and especially those who inhabit the Wár country, are fond of litigation. Col. Bivar remarks, "As regards truthfulness the people do not excel, for they rarely speak the truth unless to suit their own interests." Col. Bivar might have confined this observation to the people who live in the larger centres of population, or who have been much in contact with the denizens of the plains. The inhabitants of the far interior are, as a rule, simple and straightforward people, and are quite as truthful and honest as peasants one meets in other countries. My impression is that the Khasis are not less truthful certainly than other Indian communities. McCosh, writing in 1837, speaks well of the Khasis. The following is his opinion of them:—"They are a powerful, athletic
• [147] race of men, rather below the middle size, with a manliness of gait and demeanour. They are fond of their mountains, and look down with contempt upon the degenerate race of the

1/1 [the Khasi --- Anal pt]

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

limestone caves and underground water-courses on the southern face of the hills. This series contains coal-beds, e.g. the Cherra-field and that at Lakadong in the Jaintia Hills. Some description of the remarkable Kyllang Rock may not be out of place. Sir Joseph Hooker describes it as a dome of red granite, 5,400 feet above sea level, accessible from the north and east, but almost perpendicular to the southward where the slope is 80° for 600 feet. The elevation is said by Hooker to be 400 feet above the mean level of the surrounding ridges and 700 feet above the bottom of the valleys. The south or steepest side is encumbered with enormous detached blocks, while the north is clothed with forests containing red tree-rhododendrons and oaks. Hooker says that on its skirts grows a "white bushy rhododendron," which he found nowhere else. There is, however, a specimen of it now in the Shillong Lake garden. Numerous orchids are to be found in the Kyllang wood, notably a beautiful white one, called by the Khasis *u'tiw kyllang synrai*, which blooms in the autumn. The view from the top of the rock is very extensive, especially towards the north, where a magnificent panorama of the Himalayas is obtained in the autumn. The most remarkable phenomenon of any kind in the country is undoubtedly the enormous quantity of rain which falls at Cherrapunji.* Practically the whole of the rainfall occurs in the rains, i.e. from May to October. The remainder of the district is less rainy. The climate of the central plateau of the Shillong range is very salubrious, but the low hills in parts of the district are malarious. The effect of the different climates can at once be seen by examining the physique of the inhabitants. The Khasis who live in the high central plateaux are exceptionally healthy and strong, but those who live in the unhealthy "Bhoi country" to the north, and in the Lyngngam portion to the west of the district, are often stunted and sickly. Not so, however, the Wars who live on the southern slopes, for although their country is very hot at certain times of the year, it does not appear to be abnormally unhealthy except in certain

* The average rainfall at the Cherrapunji Police Station during the last twenty years, from figures obtained from the office of the Director of Land Records and Agriculture, has been 449 inches. The greatest rainfall registered in any one year during the period was in 1896, when it amounted to 641 inches.

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

147 villages, such as Shella, Borpunji, Umniuh, and in Narpuh in
132 the Jaintia Hills.
361

ORIGIN.

173 The origin of the Khasis is a very vexed question. Although it is probable that the Khasis have inhabited their present abode for at any rate a considerable period, there seems to be a fairly general belief amongst them that they originally came from elsewhere. The Rev. H. Roberts, in the introduction to his Khasi Grammar, states that "tradition, such as it is, connects them politically with the Burmese, to whose king they were up to a comparatively recent date rendering homage, by sending him an annual tribute in the shape of an axe, as an emblem merely of submission." Another tradition points out the north as the direction from which they migrated, and Sylhet as the terminus of their wanderings, from which they were ultimately driven back into their present hill fastnesses by a great flood, after a more or less peaceful occupation of that district. It was on the occasion of this great flood, the legend runs, that the Khasi lost the art of writing, the Khasi losing his book whilst he was swimming at the time of this flood, whereas the Bengali [312] managed to preserve his. Owing to the Khasis having possessed no written character before the advent of the Welsh missionaries, there are no histories as is the case with the Ahoms of the Assam Valley, and therefore no record of their journeys.
114 Mr. Shadwell, the oldest living authority we have on the
173 Khasis, and one who has been in close touch with the people for more than half a century, mentions a tradition amongst them that they originally came into Assam from Burma *viâ* the Patkoi range, having followed the route of one of the Burmese invasions. Mr. Shadwell has heard them mention the name Patkoi as a hill they met with on their journey. All this sort of
144 thing is, however, inexpressibly vague. In the chapter dealing
173 with "Affinities" have been given some reasons for supposing that the Khasis and other tribes of the Mon-Anam family, originally occupied a large portion of the Indian continent. Where the actual cradle of the Mon-Anam race was, is as

I: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

There are also syntactical agreements. We may take it as finally proved by Dr. Grierson and Professor Kuhn that the Mon-Khmer, Palaung, Wa, and Khasi languages are closely connected. In the section of the Monograph which deals with language some striking similarities between the languages of these tribes will be pointed out. We have not so far been able to discover social customs common to the Palaungs and the Khasis; this is probably due to the conversion of the Palaungs to Buddhism, the change in the religion of the people having possibly caused the abandonment of the primitive customs of the tribe. In a few years' time, if the progressive rate of conversions of Khasis to Christianity continues, probably the greater number of the Khasi social customs will have disappeared and others will have taken their place, so that it cannot be argued that because no manifest social customs can now be found common to the Khasis and the Palaungs, there is no connection between these two tribes. The strong linguistic affinity between these two peoples and the wild *Was* of Burma points to an intimate connection between all three in the past. As knowledge of the habits of the wild *Was* improves, it is quite possible that social customs of this tribe may be found to be held in common with the Khasis. With regard to social affinities it will be interesting to note the Palaung folk-tale of the origin of their Sawbwa, which is reproduced in Sir George Scott's Upper Burma Gazetteer. The Sawbwa, it is related, is descended from the Naga Princess Thusandi who lived in the *Nat* tank on the Mongok hills and who laid three eggs, from one of which was born the ancestor of the Palaung Sawbwa. Here we see how the Palaung regards the egg, and it is noteworthy that the Khasis lay great stress on its potency in divination for the purposes of religious sacrifices, and that at death it is placed on the stomach of the deceased and is afterwards broken at the funeral pyre. Amongst some of the tribes of the Malay Archipelago also the *Gaji-Guru* or medicine-man "can see from the yolk of an egg, broken whilst sacramentally counting from one to seven, from what illness a man is suffering and what has caused it." Here we have an almost exactly parallel case to the Khasi custom of egg-breaking.

In the Palaung folk-tale above referred to the importance of

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

considering. Some of the leading characteristics of the Lynngams will now be detailed. The Lynngams are by complexion swarthy, with features of Mongolian type. The men are of middle height and the women remarkably short, both sexes being not nearly so robust as the Khasis, a result due probably to climatic influences, for the Lynngams live in fever-haunted jungles. The men have very little hair about the face, although a scanty moustache is sometimes seen, the hairs in the centre being carefully plucked out, the result being two tufts on either side. Beards are never seen. The women are ill-favoured, and wear very little clothing. The men wear the sleeveless coat of the Khasi and Mikir pattern, called *phongmarong*, which is made of cotton dyed red, blue, and white. This custom may have been borrowed from the Khasis. They do not grow their own cotton, but obtain it from the plains. They make their own dyes, *changlong* (red) and *hur sai-iong* (black). A cotton cloth, barely enough for purposes of decency, is tied between the legs, the ends being allowed to hang down in front and behind. Sometimes an apron is worn in front. At the present day the men wear knitted woollen caps, generally black or red, of the Nongstoin pattern (a sort of fisherman's cap), but the elderly men and head-men wear turbans. The females wear a cotton cloth about eighteen inches broad round the loins, sometimes striped red and blue, but more often only dark blue. A blue or red cloth is thrown loosely across the shoulders by unmarried girls, but married women only wear the waist-cloth, like the Garos. A cloth is tied round the head by married women, sometimes, Garo fashion. The women wear quantities of blue beads as necklaces, like their Garo sisters. They obtain the beads from the Garo markets at the foot of the hills. Brass ear-rings are worn by both sexes; the women, like the Garos, load their ears to such an extent with brass rings as to distend the lobes greatly. Silver armlets are worn by the head-men only, or by those who possess the means to give a great feast to the villagers. This is the custom of the Garo *nokmas*, or head-men. Both sexes wear bracelets. The men also wear necklaces of beads. The rich wear necklaces of cornelian and another stone which is thought by the Lynngams to be valuable. A necklace of such stones is called *u'pieng blei* (god's necklace).

19: Assam G-5 (1958) 1963 AR7 Khasi AR7

243 on from October to December. For millets the seed is sown in April-May and reaped about six months later. Maize is usually sown in 244 April-May and ripens in August - September. For potato, generally three crops are raised in the district ; the first is sown in December-January and harvested in April-May, the second is sown in February-March and is gathered in June-July and the third is sown in July-August and is harvested in November-December.

245 For oranges and betelnut the orchards are cleared of weeds twice a year. Harvesting of orange takes place from October to January. Betelnut ripens at the beginning of the year and are collected between February and May.

241 **2.6.3 Agricultural Implements.**—The usual agricultural implements are a hoe, a sickle, three or four kinds of dras, a harrow, a crowbar which is used for the construction of irrigation channels, 'sierras' and winnowing baskets. Bullock drawn plough is used in wet paddy cultivation in parts of Jowai subdivision and in Bhoi area and resembles the one in use in the plains of the State.

2. 6. 4. **General cultural practices.**—The cultivators mostly adhere to their indigenous practices of cultivation. Rotation of crops is not widely used. Cultivation of rice is usually done by broadcasting the seeds though transplanting is also in vogue in some areas. Mixed cropping is widely practised. Cultivation by making terraces in the hill slopes is gaining popularity in the district.

433 326 323 285 304 286 171 654 231 **2.7 Cottage Industries.**—Cottage Industries, it appears, have not found very great favour among the people of the district. A few families here and there manufacture iron implements, earthenware, pottery, baskets, mats and jewellery. In striking contrast with other districts weaving of cotton clothes is rare among the Khasis. The Mikirs in Bhoi area and in areas adjoining North Cachar and Mikir Hills practice it only for their domestic consumption. At present, the Government is trying to popularise weaving in the district and this has been welcomed by the Khasis. Among other cottage industries production of eri cocoon in the northern part of the district adjoining Kamrup district and bee keeping throughout the district are worth mentioning.

142 147 441 563 **2.8 The People.**—The Khasis and Jaintias are a short sturdy race distinct from the neighbouring hill tribes. By nature they are hardy and laborious and in respect of manual labour, they are free from any inhibition. Side by side with the Khasis live the Mikirs, Garos and Nepalis who form respectively 7.32 percent, 3.38 percent and 3·27 per cent of the total rural population. Besides, there are plains people who are mainly concentrated in the town of Shillong. In the marketing centres of the border area there are a large number of Bengali Hindus who dominate the bulk of the trade in the border areas.

241 433 461 **2.9 Occupation.**—The greater portion of the population of the district subsists on cultivation. More than 75 percent of the rural households are predominantly agricultural. The industrious Khasi agriculturists males and females have a high regard for hard labour

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

535 women from the Wár country, wearing their picturesque dress, amongst whom was the wife of the Siem of Bohwal with her little daughter. The dance was a pretty sight, and I have [752] seldom seen such evidence of unaffected happiness as was exhibited by the people on this occasion. Dancing may be described as one of the characteristic features of Khasi life.

796 The Synteng *Beh-dieng-khlam* festival takes place annually 789 at Jowai and elsewhere in the Jaintia Hills in the deep water moon month (*u Jyllieu*, or June). *Khlam* is the Khasi word for plague or pestilence, and *beh-dieng* signifies to drive away with sticks. The festival may be described as follows:—The males rise betimes on the day fixed and beat the roof with sticks, calling upon the plague-demon to leave the house. Having done this, later on in the day they go down to the stream where the goddess "Aitan" dwells. Then poles of great length, which have been newly cut, are held across the stream. The people jump on the poles and try to break them; when they succeed in doing so, a great shout is given. After all these poles have been broken, a very large pole is fixed across the stream. The people then divide themselves into two parties, and contend for the possession of the tree. The contest, however, is a good-humoured one, and although many buffets are given and received, these are not regarded seriously, and there [291] are seldom any fights. Col. Bivar says the contending villagers, in their excitement, sometimes relapse into a state of almost complete nudity. The party which succeeds in obtaining possession of this post is supposed to gain health and prosperity [976] during the coming year. Col. Bivar remarks that the origin of this so-called ceremony is said to be that the god of thunder, "*u'lei pyrthat*," and Ka Aitan, the goddess of the stream, enjoined its performance. Many innovations, however, have crept in. People disguise themselves as giants and wild beasts, they also parade images of serpents, elephants, tigers, peacocks, [535] &c. Dancing is carried on with enthusiasm by the males, the [526] girls, clad in their best attire, remaining on-lookers. Before the meeting breaks up the males play a sort of game of hockey with wooden balls.

9: Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 AR7 Khasi AR7

On the STONE MONUMENTS *of the* KHASI HILL TRIBES, *and on some of the Peculiar Rites and Customs of the People.* By Major H. H. GODWIN-AUSTEN, F.R.G.S., Deputy Superintendent Topographical Survey of India.

121 THE increasing interest that is taken at the present day in ethnology and the history of man in past and present ages, more particularly in the customs of semi-civilised races in distant quarters of the world as compared with the state of those races who dwelt in Europe in early historic times, has led me to put together the information I obtained regarding the people of the Khāsi Hill tracts. Their customs are peculiar, and the fact that they are among the very few who erect at the present day monolithic monuments, is alone of great interest.

This has not escaped the attention of different travellers, 122 officers of the Indian service and others who have visited that quarter of the Bengal Presidency, and from time to time papers have been published; these are scattered through a number of periodicals, and in no case is a complete record of these Hill people to be found.

Notices on the Garos and Khāsis, as well as many of the other tribes on the north-eastern frontier of Bengal, are generally very short, in some instances mislead, and in some cases do the peo- 152 ple, savages though they be, but little justice; in truth, there is very much to admire in these Hill people, they are in many ways, socially and physically, far above their Bengāli neighbours of the plains; intercourse with them is, in consequence, much pleasanter, easier, and has far greater interest; innate honesty and truth in their manners of dealing often crop out, more especially in villages well within the hills, where contact with the people of the plains is of rare occurrence.

101 I shall notice the best of these papers having reference to tribes inhabiting the range of hills running west to east, south of Assam, from the sharp southern bend of the Brahmaputra up to the Kopili and Diyung river, in long. 92 deg. 45 min., a length of some one hundred and sixty-five miles.

114 In the "Asiatic Researches," vol. iii, published so far back as 1792, is a very interesting paper on the Gāros, by Mr. John 113 Eliot; his travels, however, did not extend so far to the east as the Khāsias.

The Rev. A. B. Lish, a missionary of Cherra Poonjee, published an account of the Khāsias in the "Calcutta Christian Observer" for 1838, he gives an account of their mode of breaking eggs for omens, etc.

Neither in M'Cosh's "Topography of Assam," or in Robinson's "Assam," is any newer or better information afforded concerning

14:Roy I-5 (no date) 1938 AR7 Khasi AR7

602 join to the *a* woman in life through only one of the primary stages in the life essence when it was sustained through the umbilical cord.

Thus the connection of the *a* group is sustained to a much longer period and greater intensity in its life-formation to the *a* woman, than the *b* son.

Hence we have the double means of sustenace of life producing, through the umbilical cord and the breast, the single group *a*, while the single connection of life-formation through the umbilical cord produces a double a+b man-woman connection with the *b* son.

Thus he stands alone in the centre and he places his *jain na ka kpoh* (the kind which springs from the same womb), that is, those of (a) group (see tables) on one side, and he places his *kha* or those connected, or sprung of, the one umbilical cord, that is, those of (b) group on the other side. On the other side is *ka rynieng ka rngiew*, the 'stature', the person from which he also derives his. Then the Khasi calls the source (*thymmei*) from which he springs, *ko kur ka rngiew* (stature, person) *ki kha na uwei u sohpet* (those connected or sprung of one umbilical cord).

602 Thus the Khasi has his house of *ki kur ki jaid*
609 the relatives of his kind and species, and his world
156 of *ki kha ki man*, relatives of other people's kind and species with whom they are able to propagate human life.

This interesting Khasi fabric of human relationship between man and his mother and father,
[186] of the connection between a man and his fellow-

14: Roy I-5 (no date) 1938 AR7 Khasi AR7

human beings all over the four quarters of the globe (*ehi snieh ka pyrthei*) with whom, in the world, he can give in marriage and take in marriage, shows the nature which is believed to be innate in the Khasi, and his supposed power of moulding the world. His nature is to grow and to resist, to extend and spread out. It is against his idea of life to remain narrow or limited and resourceless. He is not to be made small or made an orphan, it will not do for him and his idea of the world to '*sah khlem khun kelem kti*,' stay without kind and species, without child, without issue. A couple would even seek to separate if there are no children of the union. His idea is, so to say, 'imperialistic,' to sow and spread out. As I wrote elsewhere, "A Khasi marries men and women of all races; to his Khasi parent the issues are all one and the same without any distinction of caste or creed or colour or possessions. The children are the 'khun kha' (*khun* = child, *kha* = born, i.e. children who are born through the union of a descendant of the parent with a descendant of another parent), and these children are unified into families and are assimilated, in the Khasi idea of life, while these groups of families are traced to their mother and are made to revolve on this ancestress as the pivot of their existence."

Thus the Khasi shows :—

One one side – mother
|
Son—mother
which is, – mother
|
the son of one's own – his kinswoman
On the other side also he shows – mother
|
Son – mother
which is – Father's mother
|
the son of others his kinswoman

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For the species to increase and continue he says, Here—

The mother to bear and give birth—	—	The son of others	The aunt *ka nia kha* (father's sister) } Ia, Ib

156 601 611

For the house to continue and the world to remain he says, Here—

The aunt *ka nia kha* (father's sister)	—	The son *u khun kha* (son of brother of ka nia kha)	The cousin *ka bakha* (daughter of *ka nia kha*) father's sister) } Ib, IIa

For the person (*rngiew*) to crystalise, and the stature (rynieng) to remain he says, Here—

father's mother (*ka kmie kha*) —		The son *u khun kha* (son of brother of *ka nia kha*, who is grandson of *ka kmie kha* (father's mother)	The cousin *ka para kha* (daughter of father's brother) } Ib, IIIa

The Khasi knows the 'sang' (*sacra*, sacred, that which is forbidden as sacred). He has experimented and therefore he says *ka sang iap* (*lit.*, that which is 'sacred' or forbidden or taboo unto death) in the case of those who committed incest in the same *jaid*, kind, species, that is, those of the *a* group. It is sacrilege. There is no greater punishment than for this sin,—a punishment so severe that the Khasi will not permit the bones of these transgressors to enter the family cairn. Similarly they regard as an act of sacrilege for children of brothers (*shi para kha*) to inter-marry. Thus the Khasi regards as 'sacred', that is, forbidden or tabooed, for those who are sprung of or connected through the same womb, and for those who are generated of and are suspended from or strung to one umbilical cord in origin, to marry. That is they regard as *sang* for the *a*+*b* man—woman group to marry the *b* son. [see Tables (1) & (2)].

684 582

14: Roy I-5 (no date) 1938 AR7 Khasi AR7

the husband. Whichever side is *jem ka rwiang* 582
(*lit.* whose person is less strong, less able to resist the evil) will suffer death. The word *rwiang* means more than literally 'fortune.' The word *rwiang* goes with *rngiew* and the two are coupled together as *ka Rngiew ka Rwiang*. *Rngiew* is the person, the man's 'ama'. '*Rwiang*' is the encircling power produced by that person, hence *jen ka rwiang* means the power encircling the mans person becoming easy of being conquered or subdued. (*Jem* = easy, pliable.)

In a word, the Khasi's idea of himself is that he 156 ●
stands in the middle of the world. We do not 601
find terms in the languages of peoples with the family system to express varieties of relationship to the extent that we have in the Khasi vocabulary. Some of the other languages content themselves with terms for father, mother, uncle, aunt, cousin. They have no words to differentiate the classificatory-descriptive system of terms showing relationship with mother, mother's elder and younger sistere (*mei, mei san, mei nah*); father and his elder and younger brothers (*kpa, kpa san, kap nah*) and father's brother's children (*para kha*), father's mother (*mei kha*), mother's mother (*mei rad,*) wife's brother (*kynum*), husband's brother (*kong*), and so on. We find in the Khasi sociology, departments of 156
social organization indicating the attitude towards 829
life which is peculiar to the Khasi. The terms are 601
not mere names but serve to show well-defined groups based on an idea of their special functions. As Dr. R. R. Marett says, "Exogamy, and everything 121

14:Roy I-5 (no date) 1938 AR7 Khasi AR7

121 else that we do is instinct with a *plus*; and for the student of religion or of human culture in any of its forms, to account for that *plus* is the sum and substance of his task.....Whereas, then, there is likelihood that any *a posteriori* reason existed for believing that in-breeding makes for sterility, if indeed it be true in fact at all, there might well have been an *a priori* conviction to much the same effect based simply on a fear that to tamper with the fountain-head of human vitality would somehow cause it to dry up." The Khasi stands in the world as exogamous in his rule of life, and he says '*sang bad byrsieh*', that is, endogamy is forbidden and if it should ever be committed it will render life defiled and corrupt. He says this out of the fear of the knowledge that any act of carelessness in the prohibited area of the source of human life and vitality, which is in the Khasi phrase '*long briw*' (*long* is to be or become, *briew* is man, i.e., to be or become man), will make that source of human life to dry up. So he says, 'duh I jaid I khong' (*duh*=is exterminated; *jaid*= kind, species; *khong*=root).

156 829 582 [885]

In refutation of such aspersions as that the Khasi has no rules of marriage, I shall quote the most sacred pronouncement the Khasi when two persons, the man and the woman, are initiated into that state. Calling upon the name of God the Khasi says—"*U Lei thaw briew man briw, u' Lei ne ka 'Lei synshar'*, (God who creates man and is the source of human life, God who keeps, controls, preserves), "*Hei ko Blei na jrong, Ko*

582 585 [539]

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

142 young are comely, of a buxom type, and, like the men, with highly-developed calves, the latter always being considered a beauty. The children are frequently remarkably pretty. Khasis carry very heavy burdens, it being the custom for the 482 cooly of the country to carry a maund, or 82 lbs. weight, or even more occasionally, on his back, the load being fixed by means of a cane band which is worn across the forehead; women carry almost as heavy loads as the men. The coolies, both male and female, commonly do the journey between Cherrapunji and Shillong, or between Shillong and Jowai, in one day, carrying the heavy loads above mentioned. Each of the above journeys is some thirty miles. They carry their great loads of rice and salt from Therria to Cherrapunji, an ascent of about 4,000 feet in some three to four miles, in the day. The Khasis are probably the best porters in the north of India, and have frequently been requisitioned for transport purposes on military expeditions.

157 The people are cheerful in disposition, and are light-
522 hearted by nature, and, unlike the plains people, seem to thoroughly appreciate a joke. It is pleasant to hear on the road down to Theriaghat from Cherrapunji, in the early morning the whole hillside resounding with the scraps of song and peals of laughter of the coolies, as they run nimbly down the short cuts on their way to market. The women are specially cheerful, and pass the time of day and bandy jokes with passers-
[461] by with quite an absence of reserve. The Khasis are certainly more industrious than the Assamese, are generally good-tempered, but are occasionally prone to sudden outbursts of
[533] anger, accompanied by violence. They are fond of music, and
[797] rapidly learn the hymn tunes which are taught them by the Welsh missionaries. Khasis are devoted to their offspring,
593 and the women make excellent nurses for European children,
463 frequently becoming much attached to their little charges. The people, like the Japanese, are fond of nature. A Khasi
517 loves a day out in the woods, where he thoroughly enjoys
824 himself. If he does not go out shooting or fishing, he is con-
825 tent to sit still and contemplate nature. He has a separate name for each of the commoner birds and flowers. He also has names for many butterflies and moths. These are traits which are not found usually in the people of India.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

Shella

Confederacy forms a more marked endogamous community, through being cut off geographically and economically from the rest of the Khasi, and socially from the neighbouring Hindu people. 621

The Economy and the People.

Shella lies along the upper part of the Shella River and stretches upwards 131
along the steep slope, looking down towards the Bengal plain. The climate
of this part of the hills is considered to be one of the worst in tropical India 132
for human habitation. The Bengal plain, though warmer than this area, is
considered more healthy. This border land is the zone of malaria, typhoid, 164
black fever, cholera, etc. None of the Bengalee peasants dare to live in such
an area. However, it is the most fertile for products such as betel-nuts, pan- 433
leaves, oranges, bananas and pineapples, and it also produces limestone. These
people seem to prefer to settle in this zone and to enjoy its prosperity, at the 164
expense of human lives: every year, especially between March and September,
the inhabitants suffer from various fevers and dysentry and other diseaes, many
of the weaker facing death. 648

Before the Partition of India and Pakistan, the products of Shella were 177
carried down the Shella River to Sylhet, one of the biggest centres in East 178
Bengal, which brought unimaginable wealth to the Shella people. Their houses
were built by carpenters from Sylhet. The style and structure of these houses 434
were exceptionally elaborate for the Khasi. They purchased vast rice fields [439]
in the plain, which used to be cultivated by Bengalee and Garo labourers [342]
engaged by them. These Khasi do not themselves know how to cultivate
rice fields; they have always been managers or landowners. Their boys used [166]
to be sent to high schools and colleges in Sylhet. As a result of their trading [464]
with the Bengalee, many of them read and speak fluent Bengalee. There is [874]
no difference between their style of clothing and that of the Bengalee, though
the women maintain their traditional dress in the Shella style. [191]

They have thus been distinguished from the rest of the Khasi not only [291]
geographically, but also economically and culturally. Their personality also
differs sharply from the rest of the Khasi. They are very sociable, and quick, 157
a quality lacking among the Khasi of Sohkynduh and Kongton. They are
clever enough to deal with strangers. The upland Khasi say Shella people 184
are very cunning. This remark shows one side of these people. They had to 648
be cunning, since they traded with the Sylhet Bengalee who were said to be the
most cunning of their race. Their role in the trade and in the history of the 177
modernization of the Hills was considerable. For centuries they represented 178
intellectual Khasi owing to their contact with Hindu civilization, while the
Hills remained in darkness. They assumed an important role when the British [439]
established an administration in the Hills, and even up to now, many leading
Khasi originated from this area: for instance, Lati Hat, the first interpreter
of the British Headquarters at Cherrapunjee; Jeebon Roy, who was the first
Magistrate among the Khasi; Maham Sing, a lawyer and Member of the Legislative Assembly (the grandson of Jeebon Roy); Nichols Roy, Minister of Health and Prisons of the Assam Government, Member of the Legislative Assembly, and Missionary of the Church of God; R. R. Thomas (brother of Nichols Roy), Principal of the Gauhati University, etc.

Through constant cultural contact with Hindu, and encouraged by their 177
economic prosperity, the Shella Khasi, like the Jaintias, have been much
influenced by Hindu culture. However, this does not mean that the people 648
of Shella adopted the Hindu beliefs. Though there is a small Hindu shrine, 771
and some ceremonial elements were borrowed from the Hindu, most of the 795

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

144 'ETHNOLOGY.—In order to determine the ethnological position of the Khásiás, we need dwell upon a few only of their physical characteristics, viz. those which are held to indicate that type of the human family, the Mongolian, to which they undoubtedly belong. A detailed description of their physiognomy would embrace forms and characters by no means common even to tribes occupying the hills in close proximity to them, much less referable to all branches of the Mongolian stock. These differences in detail, which may be attributed mainly to local influences, render it extremely difficult, if not absolutely impossible, to trace out the exact relation which these mountain tribes bear to each other. But the Mongolian, or to use a more comprehensive term, the Turanian, physiognomy is unmistakeable in them all—Khásiás, Jáintiás, Gáros, Míkírs, Nágás, Manipuris, etc. The chief points may be briefly stated as follows:—
142 Colour tawny or yellow, though a darker hue is not entirely
[141] unknown; nose somewhat depressed, with a peculiar conformation
[302] towards the forehead at the glabellum, which is very flat and broad; face broad, flat, and squarish, with high and rounded cheek-bones; skull globular rather than square; eyes middle-sized and black, with a yellow tinge in the eyeball; eyelids obliquely set, but less acutely than in the Chinese and other Indo-Chinese races; mouth large, with prominent though not very thick lips; hair black, thick, and worn long, the orthodox style being to tie it up in a knot at the back, varying little with sex; beard remarkably sparse, but the
141 moustache more abundant than the beard. The lower classes go
[826] bare-headed; stature low in the majority of cases; constitution strong and robust; limbs thick, short, and stout; trunk long in proportion and very broad at the waist; calves over-developed, but this is considered an element of beauty, more especially in the women, who, on the average, are fairer and handsomer than the men; carriage ungraceful.

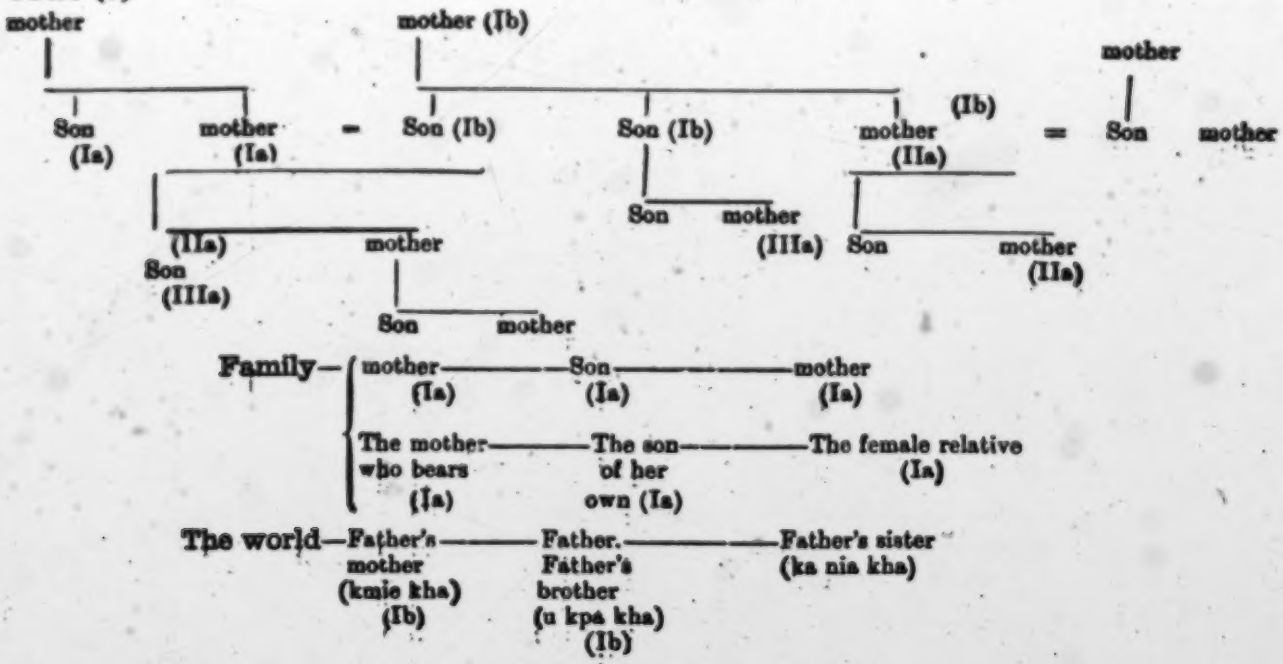
157 'SOCIAL AND MORAL QUALITIES.—Disposition very affable, gentle, and cheerful; rather industrious, but devoid of ingenuity and mechanical skill. In the industrial arts, such as masonry, carpentry,
291 and agriculture, they are amenable to training. Dress amongst the lower classes is confined to a fringed jacket rudely woven of hemp, extending down as far as the thighs, and leaving the arms bare, together with a scanty covering for the loins. The more respectable classes wear a turban of coarse cotton or silk for a head-dress, and a sheet of silk thrown loosely over the shoulders, together with a long

14:Roy I-5 (no date) 1938 AR7 Khasi AR7

156
601
611

In their midst the Khasi places himself always as the son of the world, thus—

Table (3)



20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR 7 Khasi AR 7

731 pre-eminently filthy villages on the Cherrá Pónji plateau the epidemic appears to have found a fitting home, for it stayed among them for a period of nine weeks and a half. The civil surgeon reports the deaths at Cherrá Pónji and the surrounding villages to have amounted to about 175 out of a total of 230 cases. During the year 1876-77 hooping-cough and small-pox were prevalent in an epidemic form. In the Jáintiá Hills small-pox is stated to have caused 47 deaths, chiefly during the months of June, July, and August. Some fatal cases of hooping-cough occurred among the Khási children in the village of Mákhar, near Shillong. The only two cases of cholera reported were in the Jáintiá Hills.

- 16 VITAL STATISTICS.—A general system of registration is not
{659} attempted throughout the Khási and Jáintiá Hills District. Statistics
{648} of births and deaths are only collected among the inhabitants of the Stations of Shillong and Cherrá Pónji, and in the selected area in the vicinity of Jowái, which comprises the following seven villages:—Jowái, Nongkah, Mariang, Mynsan, Amwí, Rálíang, and Shompíng. This selected area has a population of 11,924. Each village forms a distinctly-circumscribed community, in which the statistics are readily ascertained and reported by the *dalói* or head-man. The returns may be regarded as extremely close to the truth, both for births and deaths; and they thus furnish an approximate statement of the health of the entire Hills. In 1874 the total number of deaths in the selected area was 331, showing a death rate of 28 per thousand; the number of births was 431, or 34·4 per thousand. The total population of all the places in which vital statistics are collected is 15,458 persons, among whom 428 deaths were recorded in 1874, showing a death-rate of 27·6 per thousand, as compared with 27·3 per thousand in the preceding year. The deaths were thus distributed—24 from cholera, 256 from fever, 38 from bowel complaints, 2 from snake-bite or wild beasts, and 68 from all other causes. The mortality from fevers was the highest recorded throughout the entire Province. On this the civil surgeon observes:—"There are few local sources of malaria in the Hills. Many of the deaths from fever were probably due to typhoid, induced by the use of impure water and by the filthy state in which the
312 people live. There is no attempt at conservancy in a Khási village.
364 In Jowái, a good specimen of the class, the lanes and pathways are
164 strewn with excrement and house refuse. Drinking water is got from wells in the heart of the village, fed by the drainage of the

I: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

It may perhaps be ascribed to the pre-eminence
accorded by the Khasis to the female sex that successive 162
censuses have shown that the women of this race
considerably exceed the men in number. According
to the census of 1901, there are 1,118 females to every
1,000 male Khasis. This excess, however, is surpassed
by that of the Lushais, 1,191 to 1,000, and it may
possibly be due to the greater risks to life encountered
by the men, who venture far into the plains as traders
and porters, while the women stay at home. Habits of 165
intemperance, which are confined to the male sex, may
also explain a greater mortality among them.

It would be interesting to investigate the effect 161
on reproduction of the system of matriarchy which 163
governs Khasi family life. The increase of the race is
very slow. In the census of 1891 there were enumerated
only 117 children under 5 to every hundred married
women between 15 and 40, and in 1901 this number fell
to 108. It has been suggested that the independence
of the wife, and the facilities which exist for divorce,
lead to restrictions upon child-bearing, and thus keep
the population stationary. The question might with
advantage be examined at the census of 1911.

The next characteristic of the Khasis which marks 787
them out for special notice is their method of divination 782
for ascertaining the causes of misfortune and the
remedies to be applied. All forms of animistic religion
make it their chief business to avert the wrath of the
gods, to which calamities of all kinds—sickness, storm,
murrain, loss of harvest—are ascribed, by some kind of
propitiation; and in this the Khasis are not singular.
But it is somewhat surprising to find among them the 787
identical method of *extispicium* which was in use among 171
the Romans, as well as an analogous development in
the shape of egg-breaking, fully described by Major
Gurdon (p. 221), which seems to have been known to

782 and can now also appear at the public state and
793 community sacrifices when any basis of relationship justifies it.

This ceremonial way of introducing lyngdohs is still the custom especially in the kingdoms of Kyrim and Nongkrem.

The number of active, official lyngdohs varies according to the region. A kingdom has at least one official lyngdoh. [Fig. 4. Egg throwing: Throwing of the egg.] [Fig. 5. Egg throwing: Investigation] But the kingdom
[796] of Nongkrem, for example, has six official lyngdohs, who together with the king and with other lyngdohs from neighboring villages annually offer the great state sacrifice. (8) Even

8. P. Dr. Becker, S.D.S., "Die Nongkrempuja in den Khasibergen" [The Nongkrem Puja in the Khasi; Mountains], Anthropos, Vol. 4, (1909), p. 898.

villages often have their own official lyngdohs.

For the services which they perform for the people by offering sacrifices, they do not receive money or a present of money. Usually their trouble is rewarded by natural products, such as a hen, a bottle of rice liquor or even, though more rarely, by a pig. Obviously they always have the right to participate in the sacrificial meal.

2. The Sacrifices.

a) State Sacrifices.

161 According to the report of the last census
722 the tribe of Khasi numbers about 200,000 people.
621 (9) These are not unified under one ruler, but

9. P. Dr. C. Becker, S.D.S. Im

161

Stromtal des Brahmaputra [In the Valley of the Brahmaputra], (Aachen: Xaverius Publishing House, 1923) p. 293.

782 621 are divided into 10 kingdoms and 15 small states (communities). In each of these kingdoms and communities an official state sacrifice is of-
782 fered each year. The smaller state units offer
776 it to the u basa shnong or to the u phan u
796 kyrpad (the tutelary god of a village), the larger one to the u 'lei Shillong (the god who has commanded the sacrifice) [218]. The purpose of this large sacrifice is to thank the revered god for the country (kingdom or community) and to beg him to make its inhabitants
782 healthy and happy. This is shown by the prayers
796 spoken at these sacrifices, namely: "O god Shillong! for thee is this prayer, this sacrifice of goat, of hen, of kpu and rynsi (a kind of bread of rice meal or cornmeal with pounded sugar), of utensils of preparation, as thou hast given them to the royal lineage, so that once in every year Puja is celebrated in thy name, so that we may live happily, be healthy and increase, so that kings will arise, so that their honor and that of the kingdom will grow and increase and the children of the kingdom will spread out to increase thy name and thy honor." (10)

10. P. Dr. C. Becker, S.D.S., "Die Nongkrempuja in den Khasibergen" [The Nongkrem Puja in the Khasi Mountains], Anthropos Vol. 4, 1909, p. 901.

In another prayer they say: "O lord, thou who hast created heaven and earth, thou hast placed a king that we may be children of his

[703]

443

The Market Life of the Khasi
(With ten original photographs by the author)
by P.F. Stegmiller, S.D.S., Munich

[101] The mountains in the northeast corner of India which lie between the valleys of the Brahmaputra and the Barak are inhabited by a [161] tribe, the Khasi, numbering about 200,000 people. Although they rarely cross the borders of their homeland and live almost cut off from their [484] neighbors, they have an active traffic amongst themselves and travel a lot. This traveling is determined by the very distinct market life of the Khasi. It is truly the pulse beat of the people. The rest of their homelife, their activities, and their private, public, and religious life. (1) Time is divided accord-

1. P.F. Stegmiller, "Aus dem religiösen Leben der Khasi" [The Religion Life of the Khasi], Anthropos, 1921-1922, pp. 425 ff.

ing to the market; the market replaces the daily newspaper and the information service; the market unites the individual villages; the market offers a living to many and for many has become a source of wealth.

443 How much the Khasi depend on a thriving
782 market may be seen in their prayers which are spoken every year at the great state sacrifices in honor of the god Shillong by the sacrificer (lyngdoh) presenting the service: "O god, Shillong! Thou who receivest this prayer, this sacrifice of goats, of fowl, of kpu and rynsi (a kind of bread of rice flour or cornmeal with pounded sugar), of utensils used in the preparation, as thou has given them to the royal

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The homeland of the Khasi is the hilly country situated in the northeast of India and known at present as the District of United Khasi and Jaintia Hills, under the Assam State Government. The area is bounded by the plains of the Kamrup and the Nowgong Districts to the north, by the Cachar Hills and East Pakistan (District of Sylhet) to the south, and by the United Mikir and North Cachar Hills Districts to the east. The Khasi and Jaintia Hills are divided politically into two subdivisions, with headquarters at Shillong for the Khasi Hills, and at Jowai for the Jaintia Hills, respectively. The peoples of both subdivisions are called "Khasi" in a broad sense, and are distinctly marked off from other neighbouring tribes and peoples by language and social structure. The population of the Khasi in the District is 363,599 *(Census of India, 1951, Assam)*. Their language belongs to one of the Mon group of the Austro-Asiatic family to which the Munda in central India also belongs.[1]

Though all Khasis share fundamentally the same language and social structure, their culture, dialects, economy, social usage, and political organization vary greatly, owing to the ecological and politico-historical differences among them. The United Khasi and Jaintia Hills are much higher than the neighbouring Garo Hills. The plateau of the Khasi Hills ranges from about 5,000 feet to 6,000 feet, of which

1. The *Census of India, 1951, Assam*, makes the following remarks on their language: "Their nearest kinsmen have been discovered to be the Palaungs, a tribe inhabiting one of the Shan States to the northeast of Mandalay on the middle Salween. Later the relationship of the Khasi language has been traced not only to the Mon-Khmer language, but also to the Nicobarese and several dialects spoken by some tribes in the Malay Peninsula. In Assam, this special form of speech is only found in the Khasi and Jaintias while nearly all the other primitive languages with which it is surrounded belong to the great Bodo family. The Khasi language is the only member of the Mon-Khmer family which possesses a grammatical gender distinguishing all nouns as masculine and feminine, and here also the feminine nouns immensely preponderate."

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

[Shella]

wife who lives with him. The Khasi woman lives with her mother. Some say the Khasi woman is his second wife, other say their marriage is not recognized by the public. 563

Actually, owing to the bad climate, very few non-Khasi live in this area. Besides the two non-Khasi just mentioned, there were a Bengalee tax collector and an Assamese Forest Officer, both of whom lived at Shella Bazaar. Bengalee villages are situated about five miles south of Shella. Except in the bazaar, Bengalee and Khasi have no social contact with each other, and intermarriages have been rare.

However, it is obvious that in the past the Khasi must have had many cases of intermarriage with Bengalee. Among the Khasi, there is a clan called 'Dkhar.' The term 'Dkhar' is also used for the peoples of the plains: Bengalee are called 'Dkhar' by the Khasi. They say that the Dkhar clan originated in Bengalee girls who married Khasi men and who went to live in the Hills. It is said that in older days, the Khasi often raided the Sylhet plain and kidnapped Bengalee girls as well as goods. In Bengalee records of Sylhet, Khasi appear as 'bloody Khasi.' Khasi old men say that in order to increase their population they did sometimes kidnap Bengalee girls, but that they treated these girls very nicely and kindly, no differently from their own people. Since they follow the matrilineal system, they decided to name their descendants 'Dkhar.' It is said that all the present Dkhar people are descendants of such marriages. The Dkhar are found more on the southern slopes of the Khasi Hills i.e. among the Wars. 101 563

It seems there were many reasons for the descendants by marriage between the Khasi and the Bengalee to become Khasi. First of all, it is said that in the olden days the Khasi wanted to increase the population by such marriages. At the same time, a Bengalee who married a Khasi became an outcast from his or her own society owing to the caste system, and this inevitably made them Khasi. Secondly, the Khasi were primarily grouped into the *iing*, and they considered the marriage relation as of secondary importance. Hence it was rather difficult to remove by marriage a Khasi man or woman from their native place. Thirdly, Khasi could hardly live in the plain where no betel-nut or pan-leaf gardens were available; they could not engage in rice cultivation in the plain, as the technique is entirely different from the cultivation of betel-nut or pan-leaf. Moreover, they said they could not stand the heat in the plain. Therefore, the orientation of intermarriages was always towards the Khasi community: the Khasi brought outsiders to their own land; they did not themselves leave.

Such a marked tendency on the part of the Khasi to remain attached to their own homeland, is in no way contradictory with the phenomena of their migration to places outside the Khasi Hills, owing to the exploitation of their homeland and to the increase in population. The formation of Jatinga represents such an instance; there are also the cases of modern Khasi women from sophisticated urban areas, who easily leave their homeland, after marriage with a non-Khasi; this also appears in the following data on Jatinga. 161 167 [563]

JATINGA

Jatinga is a Khasi village situated in the North Cachar Hills, three miles west from Haflong, the headquarters of the North Cachar Hills. The number of households was about sixty in February 1956. Their economy depends on the pan-leaf, orange and pineapple gardens, similar to that of the Shella people. 131 621 433

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

[Jatinga]

three miles away from Jatinga. As one may expect in such a situation, quite a number of intermarriages with these peoples appear in my census of Jatinga. The resultant of these intermarriages was that when the couple and their children lived in Jatinga, they were considered to have become Khasi; otherwise they were held to be non-Khasi, whether the spouse was man or woman. This orientation of social recognition of the result of intermarriage was generally seen among Khasi in such situations, not only in the case of Jatinga. 563 621

The following are extracts of intermarriages from my genealogical table of Jatinga people. 563 591 621

A. Cases of intermarriages in which the descendants became Khasi.

1. A woman of the Dome clan married a Kuki man. All members of the present Dome clan at Jatinga are their descendants.
2. A woman of the Rymbai clan married a Kuki man as her second marriage. Their descendants are Rymbai.
3. A man of the Suchiang clan married a Mikir woman, and lived in Jatinga. They had one daughter who married a man of the Hua clan of Jatinga. They named this woman's line 'Shadap' as one of the Khasi clans. Later this Mikir woman's sister's daughter married a man of Rupsi-Lati, and their descendants were also named 'Shadap' by the villagers. Thus Shadap clan was created by a Mikir woman who married a Khasi man of Jatinga.
4. A Khasi man married a Lushai woman and lived at Aijal, the headquarters of the Lushai Hills. They said he became Lushai. Later a man of the Pajat clan of Jatinga married his daughter from Aijal. This couple lives at Jatinga and has several children. The villagers said they have to give them a new clan name. It is under consideration.

B. Cases of intermarriages leading to the emigration of Jatinga inhabitants.

5. A man of Jatinga married a woman of Zemi-Naga as his second marriage and lives at his wife's village.
6. A woman (the daughter of the woman of Rymbai, who married a Kuki: A-2) married a Moslem man and lives at Haflong.
7. A woman of Rymbai married a Panjabee and lives at Shillong. This woman is (B-6)'s mother's sister's daughter.
8. A woman of Siangshai clan married an Assamese and lives at Gauhati.
9. A woman of Rupsi-Tah married an Anglo-Indian and has gone to the United Provinces.
10. A woman of Jatinga married a man of Zemi-Naga and went to his village.
11. A woman of Jatinga married a man of Cacharee and lived at his village some time, but she came back to Jatinga after divorcing him.

A cases belong to the earlier period when Jatinga had a shortage of population, while *B* cases, except 10 and 11, are found among the present younger generation. The population, which had increased rapidly in the last twenty years with economic prosperity, is suffering from the recent economic depression caused by the Partition as well as from the great damages done to their orange gardens and pan-leaf gardens by tree diseases. Moreover they have an unbalanced rate of birth according to sex: females are more numerous than males. Therefore, many daughters marry out as shown in the cases of *B*. The above-cited cases are only concerned with intermarriages with non-Khasi, but there are still other women who married Khasi men and who reside outside Jatinga, as for example, at Haflong and Shillong. [161]

In the village there are still many unmarried girls without suitable spouses. In the olden days, it was less difficult to marry neighbouring tribal peoples, 178 563 621

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

workers and they were few in number.[1] They were particularly employed for such work as the clearing of jungle for new pan gardens in summer. 245 464

In the orange season (December to February) the number of workers increased and they were paid more: Rs. 1/8 were paid[2] for one load (one person carrying 80 pounds of oranges, from an orange garden to the railway station—about two miles). Usually a worker made three to five trips a day. Many workers from Jaintia used to come for this particular season. 245 464 465

Semi-permanent workers were engaged for wet rice fields. They were usually Hindu cultivators: since these Khasi and other tribes do not know the technique of wet cultivation, plains people like the Biharee immigrants were engaged. These workers were provided with servants' quarters where they lived with their wives and children. However, very few Jatinga households possessed rice fields. 243 464

The economic prosperity of Jatinga reached its climax during the period from 1934 to 1940. Since 1942, the orange production has been decreasing. In 1945, a serious disease attacked the orange gardens as well as the pan-leaf gardens. Besides, by depriving Jatinga, as it had Shella, of their most important markets, Dacca and Sylhet, the Partition of India and Pakistan in 1947 caused a serious economic depression in the whole region. On the other hand, because of the past prosperity, the population has rapidly increased during the last ten years. The serious economic condition of Jatinga is illustrated in the petition which was submitted by the Jatinga people when the Governor of Assam visited those areas in January 1956. It runs thus: 245 434 731 161 458

"Since the last ten years or so, with the increase of population in the village and with the loss of fertility of the soil, the people were faced with economic depression. At present they are facing acute shortage of land they have also no scope to adopt other forms of cultivation like jhuming and wet rice cultivation, etc. Moreover, there has been successive attack of Bright's disease which destroyed and wiped out all the orange and pan gardens. And as such, majority of the families have to depend for their livelihood on daily wages. . . ."

It is indeed a serious situation for them, because the Khasi do not produce staple foods, such as rice; their economy is completely dependent on the trade of their products by which they purchase their main provisions, clothes, etc. Other peoples round Jatinga, being jhum cultivators, can at least get rice and cotton: the minimum requirements, staple foods and clothing are available even in the worst conditions, so that they can at least maintain themselves though the standard of living is low. As I stated before, a few households in Jatinga possessed rice fields, but the majority had none. Recently they rented some plots of jhum field for rice cultivation from Zemi-Naga of neighbouring villages.[3] However, its yield was but a small percentage of their consumption. A few 182 434 [433] [243]

1. If they had worked in the gardens of Jatinga, they might have got more profit than from their own jhum fields. For one day's labour, they got Ans. 8/. For one month, they could earn Rs. 15 with which they could buy about 4-5 maunds of rice (one maunds paddy cost Rs. 3-4). For one year it became 50 maunds, which was impossible to produce in a jhum field by a single person's labour. [435]

2. These rates, including the figures of note 1, apply to 1956.

3. Jatinga villagers told me that Zemi-Naga were kind enough to lend them their field for a negligible rent, though they had not enough for themselves. Zemi-Naga said that they owed much to Jatinga in the past, so that now they sympathised with the condition of Jatinga, and offered some parts of their jhum field. [427] [628]

16: McCormack E-4,5 (1956-1958) 1964
[P. 106 B] AR7 Khasi AR7

1903-28: 2, Bareh 1962.] **Demography.** According to the 1951 census of India, the United Khasi–Jaintia Hills District contained 221,982 Khasis and 67,532 Syntengs, Pnars, and Jaintias (India [Republic] 1952-57). These figures, together with those for Khasis enumerated in Cachar (4,005), Mikir and North Cachar Hills (467), Lakhimpur (287), Sibsagar (276), and Darrang (211) districts, and those for Syntengs enumerated in Mikir and North Cachar District (464), yield a total of 295,224 Khasis. **History and cultural relations.** Khasis believe that they had supernatural origin in Khasi Hills (see Gait 1926: 260 for historical evidence, and Rafy 1920: 8-9 for myth, but see also Costa 1958, 1960; Gurdon 1907: 10-11; and Chatterji 1953: 12). Khasi tradition also states that in early times they moved gradually from east to west, from Jaintia toward Khasi Hills, in the practice of swidden agriculture (Gatphoh 1947: 97-98). The salient fact of known Khasi history, which begins generally in the mid-sixteenth century A.D. when there already existed the present-day 25 native Khasi chiefdoms, is the distinctive line of development followed by the separate kingdom of Jaintia. To the north, Jaintia was successively tributary, in part or in whole, to the Kachari kingdom (ca. 1230 A.D.), the Koch kingdom (strongest ca. 1560 A.D.), and the Ahom kingdom (strongest ca. 1700 A.D.) (Shakespear 1914: Map I). To the south, about 1500 A.D., Jaintia extended its rule over a tract of Sylhet, which was populated by Hindus and Muslims, and saw its kings fall thereafter under Brahman influence. In the early 1800s, Jaintia became involved in the fratricidal strife then prevalent in the ruling family of Manipur. In 1835, after the Jaintia king ignored British warnings not to seize British subjects for human sacrifice, Jaintia was punished by the British annexation of the Jaintia parganas in Sylhet. The Jaintia king then voluntarily turned over to the British the hills area of his domain, so that the whole of Jaintia became part of British India and, in 1860, came to be taxed as such, although the Jaintias were otherwise allowed to maintain their traditional system of village government. • By contrast, the remaining Khasi states had few formal external relations until British times. Khasis raided and traded in both the Brahmaputra and Sylhet valleys, but were basically turned inward on their own hills, where warfare between villages and between the states was apparently common. Khasis came into indirect relation with the British in 1765, when Sylhet and its markets became part of British India. In the 1790s, stepped-up Khasi raids into Sylhet caused the British to throw up a deterring line of forts along the foothills. Later, it became necessary to place an embargo on Khasi products in the Sylhet markets. In 1827, the British penetrated into western Khasi Hills by negotiating with the Khasi chief of Nongkhlaw **State** to build a road through his territory, linking the recently annexed Brahmaputra valley with Calcutta. For three decades

161 563 173 [113] [113] 175 619 648 175 619 648 726 [439] [437]

16: McCormack E-4,5 (1956-1958) 1964
[P 110B] AR7 Khasi AR7

another. In other words, a state is not a fixed territorial entity. In the early twentieth century, the most populous of the 25 chiefdoms, Khyrim, contained 36,833 persons occupying 7,859 houses in 372 villages, and the least populous, Nonglwai, contained 246 persons occupying 53 houses in 3 villages. Fifteen of the chiefdoms were headed by a *syiem* (chief), three by a *lyngdoh* (priest), six by a sirdar, and one by a *wahadadar*. These leaders all had executive and judicial functions, but a chief's authority was limited in that he had to obtain the approval of his executive council before acting. The other leaders were subject to a similar limitation. A chief maintained a small police force. His major sources of revenue were market tolls, fines, and, more recently, income from licenses to distill rice whisky. Succession to a ruling role in the larger states traditionally involved election by members of a lineage that had a hereditary right to elect, from among members of a lineage that had the hereditary right to rule. In British times, the elective basis was broadened, differentially in the various states, even to the point of popular elections. [Cf. Aitchison 1931; Lyngdoh 1952.] **Social stratification.** The three classes of lineage are the nobles, the commoners, and the slaves or servants. This stratification applies only to the recruitment to office in the native-state system, for there is no hypergamy, and in a village assembly everyone has equal voice. The noble lineages have the hereditary right to fill from among their male members roles such as village or state priest, councilor to a chief, or elector of a chief. The few lineages which today are remembered as slave or servant lineages had the inherited obligation to render special services to a chief's household. There is no Khasi term for "commoner." Every lineage other than a noble or a slave lineage is a commoner lineage, and the commoner lineages are in the majority. **Warfare.** Warfare was suppressed by the British, and little is known for certain about its traditional forms. The tactics which confronted the British were the ambush and the guerrilla raid. Traditional goals included taking heads from other Khasis and capturing women from the valleys.

RELIGION. **Major and indigenous religions.** A Welsh Calvinistic Methodist missionary penetrated into Cherrapunji in 1832, and the work that he began continues to this day. His society, which has since become the Welsh Presbyterian Foreign Mission, introduced writing, village primary schools, a high school, a theological seminary, and a hospital. Competing missionaries followed, and by 1914 some Shillong Khasis were puzzling over the tenets not only of traditional Hinduism and Islam but also of the Buddhists, Brahmo Samaj, Arya Samaj, and Unitarians (Roy 1914). By the 1920s, missionaries of the Church of God and the Seventh Day Adventists were

CHAPTER III

The Border Area

121 131 **3. 1 Definition of Border Area.**—The term 'border areas' although very frequently used does not refer to any well demarcated area. It was, therefore, decided after a joint discussion between the Director of Statistics with the Deputy Commissioner of the district and Subdivisional Officer, Jowai, that area within 20 miles of the Indo-Pak border line would be considered as the 'border area' for the purpose of the present survey. The list of the villages falling in this area was supplied by the Deputy Commissioner and the Subdivisional Officer.

3. 2 Condition of the Border Area before partition.—The border area under review thus comprised of the southern slopes of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills and a narrow strip of plains adjoining the southern slopes running along the Pakistan border. The area extends laterally over a length of about 120 miles, roughly from Maheskhola on the west to Sonapur on the east thus covering an area of 2,400 sq. miles approximately, comprising of 454 villages inhabited by population of 74 thousands. [161]

245 311 Barring the barren and rocky top plateaus the slopes are utilised or the production of valuable cash crops on intensive scale. These slopes provide suitable soil and climate for the production crops like arecanut, tezpatta, betel-leaf, oranges; pineapples and other fruits. On account of rich yields which such plantations give to the cultivators these slopes were, more densely inhabited and intensively cultivated than would appear possible from the topography of the area. Even the most inaccessible tracts in the slopes has been converted into rich orchards, wherefrom the produce was carried by headloads over steep gradients for several miles. Due to steep gradients little other use, except some jhuming here and there, could be made of this area. [482]

439 Because of the very topography, this land had its natural connections with Sylhet district now forming part of East Pakistan. From time immemorial the area had a flourishing trade with Sylhet district. It was a two-way traffic. The cash crops found eager buyers in the people of Sylhet, from whom in turn the people in the border area obtained supplies of rice, fish, vegetables and other necessities of daily life. Thus in prepartition days they enjoyed a very prosperous and settled economy. The rich buildings in the border area villages which are now lottering away, bear eloquent testimony to the past prosperity of the border economy.

439 458 648 With the partition of the country in 1947, trade with the plains of Sylhet, now forming part of East Pakistan, was restricted. As a result the whole economy of this region was completely shattered and the countryside which once hummed with activity and abundance was over-shadowed with unemployment, poverty and despair. All the cash crops-the mainstay of the border people lost the market in East Pakistan. for want of communication facilities the produce could not be

19: Assam G-5 (1958) 1963 AR7 Khasi AR7

CHAPTER V

Population and Occupation

The following table shows the number of families and population of the sample villages in the different village groups. 162* 161 125 621

TABLE C-1

	Border area	Project area	General area
1	2	3	4
No. of villages	10	8	10
No. of families	1,086	647	184
No. of persons	3,674	2,965	902
Average no. of families per village.	101	81	18
Average no. of persons per village.	367·4	370·6	90·2
Average no. of persons per family.	3·6	4·6	4·9

The population in the first two groups of villages is much more than in the third group because important villages were intentionally selected from border and project areas. The figures may not truely reflect the difference in the average size of villages in these areas.

The population in the selected villages were compared with the 1951 census figures. But it was found that the two sets of figures are not strictly comparable due to changes in the names and boundaries of the villages and emigrations. A note on this study is included in the appendix. [128]

*162 125 • 161 621

5.2: The following table shows the classification of population by age and sex in the three areas:—

Age and Sex Composition of Population

Age Group	Border area			Project area			General area		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
1. Below 5 yrs.	293	328	621 (16·90)	299	295	594 (20·03)	77	87	164 (18·18)
2. 5 to below 15 yrs.	426	459	885 (24·09)	380	373	753 (25·40)	127	112	239 (26·50)
3. 15 to below 65 yrs.	1025	1077	2102 (57·21)	722	862	1584 (53·42)	258	236	494 (54·76)
4. 65 yrs. & above	26	40	66 (1·80)	16	18	34 (1·15)	3	2	5 (0·56)
Total	1770	1904	3674 (100·00)	1417	1548	2965 (100·00)	465	437	902 (100·00)
No. of females per 1,000 males	..	1076	..	..	..	1092	..	..	940

It is seen that the population under 15 years of age in the border area, project area and general area were respectively 41 per cent, 45 per cent and 45 per cent of the total population in these areas, while that under age group 'between 15 to 65 years', constituted respectively 57 per cent, 53 per cents 55 per cent of the population in the three areas.

It is evident that population of females was as a whole greater than that of male in border area and project area and less in general area. The number of females per 1,000 males in border area, project area and general area were respectively 1,076, 1,092 and 940 against the 1951 census figure of 983 females per 1,000 males in the rural areas of the district of United K-J. Hills.

5.3: The following table shows the classification of population by religion.

TABLE C-3

*162 779

Classification of Population by Religion

Area	Tribal religion	Christianity	Hinduism	Other religion	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1. Border area	1766 (48·07)	1410 (38·38)	483 (13·15)	15 (0.41)	3674 (100·00)
2. Project area	811 (27·35)	2013 (67.89)	141 (4.76)	0.00	2965 (100·00)
3. General area	300 (34·26)	571 (63·30)	22 (2·44)	0.00	902 (100·00)

[433 563] Population following Hinduism and other religion in the border area comprises mostly of displaced persons from East Pakistan following trade and business as their means of livelihood, while those in the general and project areas are mainly the Nepalies who are generally engaged in cattle rearing and agriculture.

CHAPTER—X

Summary of main findings

125 10.1. Twenty-eight villages were selected for the purpose of the survey. Out of the 28 villages selected, 10 from Border area and 8 from Project area were selected purposively while the remaining 10 were selected at random from the entire district which is referred hereafter as general area.

166 Migration from big villages was rare but some migration was reported in respect of small villages.

164 743 871 489 482 Occurrence of Malaria, influenza and dysentery is a regular phenomenon in the area. Medical facilities were not found satisfactory and as much as 78 per cent of the villages have no dispensary within a radius of five miles. In regard to education, the facilities cannot also be said to be unsatisfactory for more than 60 per cent of the villages have a Lower Primary School. Transport facilities were not satisfactory and as much as 86 per cent of the villages still depend upon primitive mode of transport, namely head load. Correlated with outmoded form of transport, is the prevalence of unduly high cost of transport.

*162 161 10.2. The number of the families covered by the survey was 1006 in the Border area, and 647 in the Project area and 184 in the General area. The average size of a village in the respective area is 100·6, 80·9 and 18·4 families. In the Border and Project areas females out number males being respectively 1076 and 1092 females per 1,000 males as against 940 females per 1,000 males in the general area 212 Literacy is as high as 34 per cent in the border area and 31 per cen [562] in the Project area but as low as 17 per cent in the general area In all the areas literacy among females is very low.

*162 464 The working population (earners and earning dependents) is as high as 55 per cent in the Border area, 54 per cent in the Project area and 63 per cent in the general area. While there were no cases of unemployment in the Project and General areas, 53 persons were reported unemployed from border area.

241 *162 463 10.3. 51 per cent of the families in Border area are wholly agricultural, 35 per cent partly agricultural and 14 per cent independent o agriculture. The corresponding figures for the Project area are 61, 31 and 8 per cent respectively while for the General area they are 70 per cent, 29 per cent, 1 per cent respectively.

Predominantly agricultural families constitute 67, 76 and 90 per cent of the families in Border, Project and General areas respectively.

*162 423 10.4. 31 per cent of the families in Border area, 29 per cent in Project area and 10 per cent in General area were absolutely without any land while 25 per cent, 39 per cent and 24 per cent of the families in the respective areas possessed small holding ranging from 0·24 to 2·30 acres representing 11,24 and 26 per cent of the total holding area in the respective areas. 36 per cent of the families in Border and Project areas and 41 in General area possessed medium sized holding (3 to less than 10 acres)

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

[P. 203]

STATISTICAL ACCOUNT

OF THE

KHASI AND JAINTIA HILLS.

THE DISTRICT OF THE KHASI AND JAINTIA HILLS, called by the inhabitants Ka Ri Khási and Ka Ri Synteng, is situated between 26° 9′ 30″ and 25° 8′ 28″ north latitude, and between 91° 9′ 0″ and 92° 51′ 30″ east longitude. It contains an approximate area of 6157 square miles, and a population, according to the Census of 1872, of 141,838 souls. The principal town and Civil Station, which is also the headquarters of the Chief Commissioner of Assam, is Shillong, situated in 25° 32′ 39″ north latitude and 91° 55′ 32″ east longitude.

BOUNDARIES.—The Khási and Jáintiá Hills District is bounded on the north by the Districts of Kámrúp and Nowgong; on the east by Northern Cáchár, the Nágá Hills District, and the Kapili river; on the south by Sylhet District; and on the west by the Gáro Hills.

JURISDICTION.—The Khási and Jáintiá Hills constitute a Political District, removed from the jurisdiction of the ordinary Criminal, Civil, and Revenue Courts, and of the offices established under the General Regulations and Acts. The administration of the country is vested in the Chief Commissioner of Assam, the Deputy-Commissioner of the Khási and Jáintiá Hills and his Assistants, and the native Chiefs, who are variously styled Siems, Wáhadádárs, Sardárs, Dollois, Pathors, and Lyngdohs. Siem, or more properly Seim, is derived from the Khási word for 'soul, life;' Wáhadádár, from the Hindu term *uhdádár*, meaning an 'officer;' Lyngdoh strictly means a 'sacrificial soothsayer,' from the Khási *ong*, 'to speak,' and *doh*, 'flesh.' The District is divided into three portions, —namely, British possessions in the Khási Hills; petty dependent

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

public auction. The Assam rules, as revised in 1875-76, reserve to Government the right of pre-emption at the price of Rs. 600 (£60) in the case of every elephant captured between 6 feet and 7½ feet in height. For every elephant caught that is not purchased by Government, a royalty of Rs. 100 (£10) is payable within one month after capture. Certain methods of hunting are prohibited. 224 648 651

POPULATION.—Prior to 1872 no attempts had been made at a Census of the Khási and Jáintiá Hills, but in 1870 the Deputy-Commissioner approximately estimated the population at 118,925 souls. In 1872, at the time of the Bengal Census, operations were set on foot in these Hills, but on a less elaborate system than in Regulation Districts. In the Khási Hills, the Census of the various petty States was effected through the chiefs; in British territory in the Jáintiá Hills, the *dollois* conducted the enumeration; while at Shillong and other places under direct administration, the work was done by officers attached to the Deputy-Commissioner's office. The results are thus returned:—Adults—males, 39,882; and females, 44,298: total adults, 84,280. Children under twelve years of age—males, 28,611; and females, 28,947: total children, 57,558. Total males, 68,593; total females, 73,245. Grand total, 141,838; proportion of males, 48·36 per cent. The total area of the District, according to the latest returns, is 6157 square miles, which gives an average density of 23 persons per square mile. The number of villages is 1003; the number of houses, 30,557, of which 350 are returned as of the better sort. 648 659 161 161 162

ETHNICAL DIVISION OF THE PEOPLE.—The population consists almost exclusively of aboriginal tribes and races, viz. Khásiás and Syntengs (who form the bulk of the inhabitants of the Khási and Jáintiá Hills respectively), Míkírs, Gáros, and Kukís. The only other dwellers in the Hills are the European officials and military officers at Shillong and Cherrá Púnjí, with their native servants and followers, a few Bengálí officials, and the sepoys of a regiment of native infantry. The classification of the inhabitants according to religion shows:—141,283 aborigines; 365 Hindus; 62 Muhammadans; and 128 Christians, including 35 Europeans, 8 Eurasians, and 85 native converts. 563 162 [648] [779]

THE KHASIAS.—The following sketch of the physical characteristics and customs of the Khásiás has been kindly furnished to me by the Deputy-Commissioner, Colonel Bivar; it is reproduced almost verbatim from his report and on his authority:— 144

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no-date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

accorded by the Khasis to the female sex that successive 162
censuses have shown that the women of this race
considerably exceed the men in number. According
to the census of 1901, there are 1,118 females to every
1,000 male Khasis. This excess, however, is surpassed
by that of the Lushais, 1,191 to 1,000, and it may
possibly be due to the greater risks to life encountered
by the men, who venture far into the plains as traders
and porters, while the women stay at home. Habits of 165
intemperance, which are confined to the male sex, may
also explain a greater mortality among them.

It would be interesting to investigate the effect 161
on reproduction of the system of matriarchy which 163
governs Khasi family life. The increase of the race is
very slow. In the census of 1891 there were enumerated
only 117 children under 5 to every hundred married
women between 15 and 40, and in 1901 this number fell
to 108. It has been suggested that the independence
of the wife, and the facilities which exist for divorce,
lead to restrictions upon child-bearing, and thus keep
the population stationary. The question might with
advantage be examined at the census of 1911.

The next characteristic of the Khasis which marks 787
them out for special notice is their method of divination 782
for ascertaining the causes of misfortune and the
remedies to be applied. All forms of animistic religion
make it their chief business to avert the wrath of the
gods, to which calamities of all kinds—sickness, storm,
murrain, loss of harvest—are ascribed, by some kind of
propitiation; and in this the Khasis are not singular.
But it is somewhat surprising to find among them the 787
identical method of *extispicium* which was in use among 171
the Romans, as well as an analogous development in
the shape of egg-breaking, fully described by Major
Gurdon (p. 221), which seems to have been known to

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

THE KHASIS

SECTION I.

HABITAT.

101 162 THE Khasis reside in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills district of Assam. They number 176,614 souls, which total is made up of:—

Khasis	167,816
Syntengs	4,[illegible]
Christian Khasis	1[illegible]
Khasis inhabiting other districts	4,[illegible]
	176,614

131 162 563 The Khasi and Jaintia Hills district is situated between 25° 1' and 26° 5' North Latitude, and between 90° 47' and 92° 52' East Longitude. It contains an area of 6,157 square miles, with a total population at the Census of 1901 of 202,250 souls. In addition to the Khasis there are some members of Bodo tribes inhabiting parts of the district.

The Lyngam tribe appears to have been reckoned in 1901 as Khasi, there being no separate record at the last Census of these people.

101 131 [133] 563 The district is split up into two divisions, the Khasi Hills proper and the Jaintia Hills. The Khasi Hills form the western portion of the district and the Jaintia Hills the eastern. The Khasis inhabit the Khasi Hills proper, and the Syntengs, or Pnars, the Jaintia Hills. The latter hills take their name from the Rajas of Jaintia, the former rulers of this part of the country, who had as their capital Jaintiapur, a place situated at the foot of the Jaintia Hills on the southern side, which now falls within the boundaries of the Sylhet

[P.J]

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

577 plains, jealous of their power, brave in action, and have an aversion to falsehood."

717 Khasis of the interior who have adopted Christianity are
177 generally cleaner in their persons than the non-Christians,
515 and their women dress better than the latter and have an air
942 of self-respect about them. The houses in a Christian village are also far superior, especially where there are resident European missionaries. Khasis who have become Christians often
771 take to religion with much earnestness (witness the recent
717 religious revival in these hills, which is estimated by the Welsh
794 missionaries to have added between 4,000 and 5,000 converts to Christianity), and are model Sabbatarians, it being a pleasing sight to see men, women, and children trooping to church on a Sunday dressed in their best, and with quite the Sunday expression on their faces one sees in England. It is a pleasure to hear the sound of the distant church bell on the hill-side on a Sunday evening, soon to be succeeded by the beautiful Welsh hymn tunes which, when wafted across the valleys, carry one's thoughts far away. The Welsh missionaries have done, and continue to do, an immense amount of good amongst these people. It would be an evil day for the Khasis if anything should occur to arrest the progress of the mission work in the Khasi Hills.

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION.

• 11.2 The Khasis inhabit the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, although
101 there are a few Khasi settlers in the neighbouring plains districts. The Census Report of 1901 gives the following figures of Khasi residents in the plains:—

Cachar	333
Sylhet	3,083
Goalpara	4
Kamrup	101
Darrang	10
Nowgong	29
Sibsagar	62
Lakhimpur	22
Lushai Hills	27
North Cachar	32
Naga Hills	67

l: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

Garo Hills	117	162
Manipur	69	101
Total	4,091*	

The following information regarding the general aspect of [127] the Khasi and Jaintia Hills district, with some additions, is 133 derived from Sir William Hunter's Statistical Account of Assam. The district consists almost entirely of hills, only a very small portion lying in the plains. The slope of the hills on the southern side is very steep until a table-land is met with at an elevation of about 4,000 feet at Cherrapunji. Higher up there is another plateau at Mawphlang. This is the [361] highest portion of the hills, some villages being found at as high an elevation as close on 6,000 feet above sea level. Fifteen miles to the east of Mawphlang, and in the same range, is situated the civil station of Shillong, at an average elevation of about 4,900 feet. The elevation of the Shillong Peak, the highest hill in the district, is 6,450 feet above sea level. On the northern side of the hills are two plateaux, one between 1,000 and 2,000 feet below the level of Shillong, and another at an elevation of about 2,000 feet above sea level. In general features all these plateaux are much alike, and consist of a succession of undulating downs, broken here and there by the valleys of the larger hill streams. In the higher ranges, where 137 the hills have been denuded of forest, the country is covered 185 with short grass, which becomes longer and more rank in the 374 lower elevations. This denudation of forest has been largely 327 due to the wood being used by the Khasis for fuel for iron smelting in days gone by. The Government, however, has taken steps to protect the remaining forests from further 137 spoliation. A remarkable feature is the presence of numerous sacred groves situated generally just below the brows of the [778] hills. In these woods are to be found principally oak and rhododendron trees. The fir-tree (Pinus Khasia) is first met with on the road from Gauhati to Shillong, at Umsning, at an elevation of about 2,500 feet. In the neighbourhood of Shillong the fir grows profusely, but the finest fir-trees are to be seen

* The figures for Khasi population in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills district will be found under "Habitat."

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

SECTION II.

OCCUPATION.

241 THE greater proportion of the population subsists by cultiva-
463 tion. Cultivation of rice may be divided under two headings,
[162] high land or dry cultivation and low land or wet cultivation. The total number of persons who subsist by agriculture generally in the hills, is given in the last Census Report as 154,907, but the term agriculture includes the cultivation of the potato, the orange, betel-nut and *pán*. A full description of the different forms of agriculture will be given under the
463 heading "Agriculture." A considerable number of Khasis earn
482 their livelihood as porters, carrying potatoes to the markets on
439 the Sylhet side of the district, from whence the crop is conveyed by means of country boats to the different places of call of river-steamers in the Surma Valley, the steamers carrying the potatoes to Calcutta. Potatoes are also largely carried to Shillong by porters, where the tuber is readily bought by Marwari merchants, who load it in carts to be conveyed by road to Gauhati, from which station it is again shipped to
482 Calcutta and Upper Assam. Many persons are also employed in
463 carrying rice up the hill from Theria to Cherrapunji, Shillong,
[466] and on to other places. Salt is also carried by porters by this route. Many Khasis, both male and female, live by daily labour in this way, earning as much as eight annas, and
[162] six annas a day, respectively. The Census Report of 1901 shows some 14,000 "general labourers" in the district, the greater number of whom are porters and coolies, both male
[357] and female, employed on road work and on building. In Shillong the Government Offices and the printing press give employment to a certain number of Khasis. There is also a fair demand for Khasi domestic servants, both among the Europeans and the Bengali and Assamese clerks who are employed at the headquarters of the Administration.

I: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

headquarters of the Administration. The manufacture of country spirit gives employment to a considerable number of persons, most of whom are females. At a recent census of the country stills in the district, undertaken by the district officials, the number of stills has been found to be 1,530. There must be at least one person employed at each still, so that the number of distillers is probably not less than 2,000, possibly more. The spirit is distilled both for home consumption and for purposes of sale, in some villages almost entirely for sale. In the Jaintia Hills stock-breeding and dealing in cattle provides occupation for 1,295 people, according to the last census. The cattle are reared in the Jaintia Hills and are driven down to the plains when they reach the age of maturity, where they find a ready market amongst the Sylhetis. Cattle are also driven into Shillong for sale from the Jaintia Hills. Another place for rearing cattle is the Siemship of Nongkhlaw, where there is good pasturage in the neighbourhood of Mairang. These cattle are either sold in Shillong or find their way to the Kamrup district by the old Nongkhlaw road. Cattle-breeding is an industry which is capable of expansion in these hills. There are a few carpenters to be found in Shillong and its neighbourhood. The Khasis are said by Col. Waddell to be unacquainted with the art of weaving; but the fact that a considerable weaving industry exists amongst the Khyrwang villages of the Syntengs, and at Mynso and Suhtnga, has been overlooked by him. The Khyrwangs weave a special pattern of cotton and silk cloth, striped red and white. In Mynso and Suhtnga similar cloths are woven, also the sleeveless coat. In former days this industry is said to have been considerable, but it has been displaced to a large extent of late years by Manchester piece goods. The number of weavers returned at the last census in the district was 533. The Khasis and Mikirs of the low country, or Bhois as they are called, weave cotton cloths which they dye with the leaves of a plant called *u noli*. This is perhaps the wild indigo, or *ram*, of the Shan settlers in the Assam Valley. The weavers are almost always females. An important means of subsistence is road and building work; a considerable number of coolies, both male and female, are employed under Government, practically throughout the year, in

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

been denuded completely of timber, charcoal being necessary for smelting, has affected the production almost as much as the presence of cheap iron in the market. 327

MANUFACTURE OF ERI SILK CLOTHS AND COTTON CLOTHS IN THE JAINTIA HILLS.

The number of weavers in the district at the last Census was 533. This number in the Census Report is ascribed to the cotton industry, no mention being made of weavers of silk. 288 [162] The spinning of Eri silk thread, and weaving it into cloths is, however, a fairly considerable industry amongst the Khyrwang and Nongtung villages of the Jaintia Hills. The Nongtungs and Khyrwangs rear their own Eri worms, and spin the silk from the cocoons. The late Mr. Stack, in his admirable note on silk in Assam, says, "Throughout the whole range of the southern hills, from the Mikir country, Eri thread is in great request for weaving those striped cloths, in which the mountaineers delight," but this observation should have been confined to the Jaintia Hills portion of this district, the Khasis not weaving themselves either in silk or cotton. The Khasis obtain their silk cloths from the Assam Valley, and from the Nongtung or Khyrwang villages in Jaintia. The latter villages have given the name to the striped cloth, *ka jáin Khyrwang*, which is almost invariably worn by the Syntengs. Mr. Stack has given in detail a description of the silk industry in Assam; and it is not therefore necessary to go over the same ground here. The Khyrwang cloth is red and white, mauve and white, or chocolate and white, the cloth being worn by both men and women. The Khyrwang cloths vary in price from Rs. 5 to Rs. 25, according to size and texture. [435] These cloths are the handiwork of women alone, and a woman working every day regularly will take six months to manufacture a cloth valued at Rs. 25; but, as a rule, in the leisurely manner in which they work, it takes a year to complete it. [462]

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

COTTON CLOTHS.

283 In the Jaintia Hills at Mynso cotton is spun into thread, and
288 weaving is carried on there, but on a limited scale. The Mynso people weave the small strips of cloth worn by the men to serve the purpose of the Assamese *lengti* or Hindi *languti*. In Suhtnga the people import cotton thread from Mynso and weave the (*ingki*) or sleeveless coat, peculiar to the district; these coats are dyed red and blue. The dark blue or black dye
824 is obtained from the leaf of a plant called *u sybu*, which
386 Mr. Rita has classified as *strobilanthus hoeditolius*, which
288 grows in the gardens round the homesteads. The leaves are dried, then reduced to powder, mixed with hot water, and the skeins of thread are steeped in the liquid. The colour is permanent. The red dye is obtained from the mixture of the dry bark of two shrubs, *ka lapyndong* (*symplocos racemosa*, Roxb.), and *ka 'larnong* (*morinda-tinctoria*, Roxb.), the latter being the same as the Assamese (আচুকাঠ) *áchukáth*. The bark is dried, then pounded, and the two sorts are mixed together and made into a paste with hot water. The skeins are steeped in this mixture for twenty-four hours, then taken out and divided, and again steeped for another twenty-four hours. The Lalungs and Bhois and Lynngams all weave cotton cloths, which are generally dyed blue, sometimes striped blue and red. The Wárs weave cotton cloths which are dyed red and yellow, the cloths being woven in checks. Mr. Darrah remarks that the cotton grown in the Jaintia Hills is said to be the best cotton produced in the province. Its thread can be more closely woven than that of other kinds. This statement, however, is not borne out by Mr. Allen writing in 1858, who says that the cotton is of inferior quality, the staple being short and woolly. The cotton cloths woven by the Bhois are called *spua*.

POTTERY.

[162] The Census Report of 1901 gave the number of persons who
323 are supported by the manufacture of pottery at 54 only. Pottery is manufactured at one place only in the Jaintia Hills,

Family Property and Maternal Rights

/127/ by C. Becker S.D.S., Wurzburg

114 The fall of 1910 and the entire following year found the distinguished head of the Ethnographic Museum in Munich, to whom this anniversary volume is dedicated, on a research and collection trip in the extensive and inexhaustible territories of India. He was accompanied by his active wife, who served as his scientific assistant. From Burma, a mine of rich, ethnographic treasure and where the greatest part of their Indian stay was spent, their journey led the research couple into Assam, situated in the northeast of India, a country of equal significance. Assam certainly belongs politically to an-
101 terior India, but forms a bridge to interior India both ethnographically and linguistically.

Among the mountain peoples who inhabit the chain of hills which traverses the length of present-day Assam, and which separates the two largest parts of the country from each other, the Brahmaputra Valley in the north and the Surma Plain in the south, is one of the most interesting and doubtless the most advanced of the tribes, the Khasi, who inhabit the so-called Khasi and Jaintia Mountains. It
[631] was in Shillong, the center of this area, which is now the capital of the country Assam under the English government, where towards the end of September, 1911, I first became acquainted with Professor D. L. Scherman and his wife and where a friendship of many years
133 had its beginning. Therefore this little study will lead us to the Khasi Mountains, to its slopes overgrown with its peculiar pine trees, which receive greetings across the plains from the snow-crowned peaks of the Himalayas, which are flooded by the mighty waves of the Brahmaputra River and the alternating inundations of the Surma River. Here a contented and cheerful little people live who have maintained their own special characteristics in spite of the many European influences and those of neighboring cultures.

162 /128/ Of the entire population of 243,263 people, who form the inhabitants of the Khasi and Jaintai Mountains (1), 203,855 are Khasi.

1. The following statistical estimates are taken from the Census of India 1921, Vol. III, Assam, (Shillong, 1923) pp. I and II.

162
797 Of those, 37,852 have adopted Christianity, while the others are still adherents of ancient animistic cults, with the exception of somewhat

more than a thousand of them who have been converted to the Hindu 162 [797]
religion.

This group of people possesses the possibility of expansion, since they have at their disposal within the area of the Khasi and Jaintia [311]
Mountains a territory of 6,022 English square miles, with only 40 persons per square mile. Although wide areas are not built up and the system of shifting fields prevents the full utilization of the land, it is still true that with this small population figure by far the largest part of the whole population (200,781) is dependent on agriculture; trade and manufacturing only play a subordinate part.

With regard to the division of the sexes, the two large religions 562
of Assam, Hinduism and Mohammedanism, show the same proportion 162
as in the rest of India, a lesser number of women than men. But among the Khasi the women are more numerous than the men. In the Brahmaputra valley with its greater Hindu population there are only 892 women for every 1,000 men; in the Surma valley, with a greater Moslem element, there are 937. But the situation is reversed among the Khasi, where there is a surplus of 74 women for every thousand men. The position of the women is basically different among this people. It is based on the customs and usages of maternal rights that prevail among them, which are predominantly based on possession and which find honorable expression in possession.

1. Property Rights in the Family Property.

The great principle which governs property among the Khasi, is 421
that all family property rests in the hands /128: A/ /Fig. 1. Khasi 613
Girls and Women with their Carrying Baskets. Fig. 2. An Old Clan 596
Mother in the Village Laitumkhra. / /128: B/ /Fig. 3. At the Oracle of Egg Throwing/. Fig. 5. Khasi Girls and Men in Festive Dance Clothing. / /128: C/ /Fig. 4. A Group of Synteng/ /128: D/ Fig. 6. A Holy Grove and Part of the Village Raliang/ /129/ of the women and not of the man. The man can never be the owner of family property, and it can never be transferred to him. He may perhaps acquire some property through his own industry and work, but even that will pass into feminine hands by the path of inheritance. The concept of family is not as narrowly drawn here as in our country. This is a question of the clan-family, the clan. The head of it is always the youngest daughter, who, even when she has become old, bears the honorable name ka barit in the Jaintia Mountains, and in the Khasi Mountains ka khadduh, the last, the youngest. Around her gather her nearest 613
blood relatives, brothers and sisters, and children. For example let 596

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

I. Setting and Economic Background of Sohkynduh and Kongton

361 Sohkynduh and Kongton are villages of the Kadashinong,[1] one of
632 the areas under the Cherra Chief. The Kadashinong is situated on
[131] the southern slope of the Khasi Hills, in what is called War country. These two villages are situated at the farthest point from both Shella, the centre bordered by the plain, and Cherrapunjee, the seat of the
184 Cherra Chief, one of the centres of the upland Khasi Hills. The people
121 at Cherrapunjee say that these villages are one of the most backward
[171] parts of the Khasi Hills. They correspond to Rombagiri in the Garo Hills, as they lie in the innermost parts and more traditional economic and social settings have been preserved there than in other villages. These are also the reasons why I selected those villages as my field.

361 It is nine miles to Sohkynduh from Cherrapunjee, crossing two
[131] deep valleys towards the east. Kongton is located at the heart of the mountain ranges, ten miles from Cherrapunjee, towards the north-
[487] east. It is about twelve miles from Sohkynduh to Kongton, and the way leads through one of the most difficult passes, where even
[162] villagers seldom travel. In December, 1955, Sohkynduh was a community of 48 households (List 6), and Kongton of 62 households (List 9). The settlements of both villages are clustered in the southern depressions of a mountain, not far from the summit, a typical location
[134] of Khasi villages. Sohkynduh has poor soil, covered with plenty of pieces of stones. The yield therefore is very poor. On the other hand, Kongton, a much older village, enjoys fertile soil, and is one of the most prosperous communities in the Kadashinong.

241 The major economy of both villages is shifting cultivation. We have already seen, in the chapters on the Garo, the fundamental technique of "Jhuming cultivation." The differences between the
423 Garo and the Khasi shifting cultivation are to be found in two aspects:
[171] one is the nature of the crops and the other is the type of landowner-
[241] ship. In this area, the main crop is millet, while that of the Garo is rice. Besides the shifting cultivation, the Khasi have pan-leaf gardens and sometimes pineapple gardens, though on a small scale and not in every household. The most important feature of Khasi shifting cultivation is the development of private ownership. In the tribal areas in Assam, such private ownership of the jhum field is quite an

1. Kadashinong is the name of a group of villages. Its literal meaning is "twelve villages," and it comprises the following villages: Sohkynduh, Rymmai, Mawbawein, Mawshiut, Mawmang, Kongton, Shyntiang, Krohiawhiar, Pdei, Tenshun, Nongpriang, and Diengsaw. (Khasi spelling follows the customary usage in Cherra State.)

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

177 people remained non-Hindu in their basic beliefs and social customs. Hindu
648 influences are nevertheless predominant in their culture, especially in their way
771 of living which shows a practical adaptability, somewhat similar to the Japanese
795 acceptance of modern western culture without becoming Christian. In my
[797] census of Shella village, the people calling themselves 'Hindu' amount to 40 per cent of the total, but they are the recent converts to the Ramakrishna School
[162] which established a missionary station at Shella after the Partition. The Christians constitute 30 per cent of the total, most of them having been converted during the last ten years, as in the case of the Ramachrishna School.[1]
[458] The rest remain as they were, of Khasi belief. These conversions to either Ramachrishna or Christianity seem to have been encouraged by the unstable situation of the people resulting from the recent economic depression in this area.

439 The Partition of India and Pakistan in August 1947, which drew the bor-
458 derline a few miles south of Shella village, considerably upset village economy by stopping all trade with Bengal, though a limited amount of trade is allowed
648 with local people at the border. Because of this political change, all the produce of Shella gardens is rotting away for lack of markets, while all of the rice fields were taken by Pakistan. Goods now come to Shella only from the uplands, carried upon men's shoulders over the most difficult pass, which makes everything very expensive. Many families have sold their gold and other treasures, and some families are facing starvation.[2]

182 Concerning the conversion to a new religion, an interesting phenomenon
171 is to be observed. The conversion to Christianity or to Ramakrishna is mostly by individual: I found in my census that the wife and husband often belong to
592 different religions. This is a very different picture from the Garo, among whom
613 I always found that the husband and wife belonged to the same religion: the conversion of the husband to Christianity was always followed by that of the
771 wife. I think this reflects the structural differences which influence the actual relationship between the husband and wife. Among these Khasi, instead of
795 the husband and wife, the maternal uncle and his nephews and nieces are mostly of the same religion. The function of the *iing*, the most important social and religious unit, thus appears also in the conversion to a new religion, stronger than that of a domestic unit.

Intermarriage.

648 The close economic and cultural contact of the Shella people and the Bengalee
771 is not matched by social contact. The essential barrier between the two peoples is the difference of religion which dominates the entire social order in each
563 society. Though these Khasi were important traders, richer than the neighbouring Hindu peasants, they were considered by the Hindu as outcasts with whom they never shared social activities. Intermarriages were therefore very rare. In Shella village, only two exceptional cases were found in my census:

1. A Khasi woman married to a Gurka (cattle-keeper); they live at Shella Bazaar (Sholap).
2. A Khasi woman has marital relation with a Bengalee medical doctor who has resided at Disong in Shella for six years. He already has a Bengalee

1. These two entirely different missionary activities are competing with each other, and are somewhat related to the political powers within this area.
2. The state government is doing its best to provide them with additional facilities: for example, providing air transport for the transportation of oranges from Shella to Gauhati and Calcutta. However, such arrangements cannot cover the great economic loss suffered by the Shella people.

group of matrilineal and Mon-Khmer-speaking people who claim as their ancestral homeland the present-day United Khasi–Jaintia Hills District (within approximately 90° 47′ and 92° 52′ E. and 25° 5′ and 26° 5′ N.). This group includes the Jaintias (also Pnar or Synteng) in the southeast, who differ from the Khasis primarily in their duolocal residence pattern and less virulent forms of sorcery. (The Hadem in eastern Jaintia are a Kuki people.) It also includes the Lyngngams (also spelled Lynngam) in the west, who practice migratory swidden agriculture and certain peculiar funerary rites, and are said by Ehrenfels (1955) to be culturally intermediate between Khasis and Garos. Finally, it includes Bhois, Wars, and upland Khasis, which terms are primarily territorial. Bhoi country is the north-central part of the District, and is culturally complicated by the presence of Mikirs, Lalungs, and Nepalis. War country spans the entire southern length of the District, so that Wars divide into Jaintia Wars and Khasi Wars; of these, the Khasi Wars have traditionally transmitted property to sons as well as to daughters. The upland center of the District is the country of the Khasis proper, those whose culture provides the most useful model for interpreting the variations found elsewhere. [For general reference on all categories of Khasi culture, cf. Costa 1936 and 1937; also Gurdon 1907, especially for data on regional variations.] **Geography.** The District is 5,554 square miles of hilly tableland, intricately dissected by numerous rivers, and marked by significant ecological variation over very short distances. The tablelands step gently downward north from Shillong Peak, which at 6,445 feet is the highest point in the District, and over about 55 miles ease into the Brahmaputra valley where this is some 250 feet above sea level. To the south, the land slopes more steeply downward for about 20 miles, and then drops abruptly, in cliff and steep-slope formations, to the Ganges sea-level delta that begins at its north with Sylhet. The annual southwest monsoons drop torrential rains around Cherrapunji and Mawsynram villages (for Cherrapunji, a record 805 inches in 1861), but then, reaching Shillong 33 miles to the northeast, provide only about 100 inches per year. Rainfall is again greater in Bhoi, which shares the Brahmaputra valley climate. Climate is temperate on the high Shillong plateau, where it seldom freezes and never snows. To the north, climate becomes subtropical, forest is jungly, and fauna abound. The climate to the south is also subtropical. [Cf. Hooker 1891: chap. XXIX.] **Linguistic affiliation.** Khasi is one of the major Mon-Khmer languages, related to Mon, Khmer, Semang-Sakai, Nicobarese, and Palaung-Wa. The major Khasi dialects are Khasi, Jaintia, and Lyngngam, to which Grierson adds War. Further minor variations occur from village to village. The Khasis had no script until 1842, when the roman alphabet was successfully applied to the Cherrapunji dialect of Khasi proper. [Cf. Rabel 1961; Grierson 1903-28: 2; Bareh 1962.]

101 131 197 101 184 162 563 591 154 241 764 114 [428] [113] 133 [131] 132 [113] 197 [212] [113]

16: McCormack E-4,5 (1956-1958) 1964
[P. 111 A] AR7 Khasi AR7

also active, and in that decade one U Kyrhai, a Khasi 797
convert to Presbyterianism, left that church and
founded a unique sect that blends something of him-
self with something of mystical Hinduism and Chris-
tianity. The competitors who most seriously threat-
ened the dominance of the Welsh Presbyterians were
the Roman Catholic missionaries who arrived in Shil-
long about 1890. Catholics have since opened a num-
ber of high schools, colleges, convents, and orphan-
ages. They also established a technical school, and
are now constructing a seminary. At the present time, 779
one estimate is that there are about 100,000 Presby-
terians and 80,000 Roman Catholics among Khasis. [162]
Members of other Christian sects are comparatively
few; adherents to Hinduism and Islam are fewer still,
comprised chiefly of Khasi women married to Hindu
or Muslim men; U Kyrhai's sect is dying out; and
the balance of Khasis are, according to their own
term, "Khasi" in religion. [Cf. Lyngdoh 1937; Morris [113]
1910; Ropmay 1940; Singh 1950; Pugh 1951.] Super-
naturals. The great deities are two, an unnamed 776
masculine God (U Blei) and an unnamed feminine
Goddess (Ka Blei Nongsynshar Nonghukum). God 771
created the earth, and in the beginning instructed
man in cultivation techniques and also laid down 773
the framework of a moral order that should guide his
every move if he wished to join God in heaven after
death. This framework was then filled in by the first
ancestors, who are therefore the authorities on the
subject and are semideified as Ka Iawbei (the moth-
er), U Thawlang (the father), and U Suidñia (the
mother's brother). Very early, Goddess undertook to
keep account of the numbers of human beings on
earth, and this role was so important, relating as it
did to the health and the multiplication of the peo-
ple, that she became of major importance in the
Khasi pantheon. When sin beset human society, God
activated automatic punishments in the form of nat-
ural calamities, and man finally decided that some
animal should go and intercede with God on behalf
of humans. The cock went, agreed to take upon him-
self the burden of human sin, and received instruction
in the correct divinatory and sacrificial techniques
for which he would be one of the main objects of
the knife. Again, over a period of time, it was the
ancestors who perfected these techniques. Now, God
is regarded as powerful and merciful, but passive.
His punishments have their own impetus, and the ex-
pression of His mercy is solidified in ritual. Goddess
is more vaguely conceived, but is much closer to the
individual. [But cf. Ehrenfels 1950, who conceives of [114]
one double-sexed, great deity among Khasis.] Regard-
ing ancestors, it is never clear from prayers whether 776
supplication is to generalized semideities or to par- 771
ticular first ancestors of a Khasi's own matrilineage, [769]
and such a distinction seems not to matter. There are
three other categories of minor deities: those who
protect places (such as villages, groves, or springs),

• 162

[For the composition of population by social groupings, see category 116, pp. 29-52, 62-64, 75-76, 81-84, 106-123, 127-129, and 149-152.]

and even the well to do ones do not feel anything to work as labourers in other's farms. It is almost customary among the agriculturists to work in other's farms on wage basis, when agricultural operation in one's own farm are over. This is probably an outcome of the difficult transport situation. Among the non-agriculturists and those who follow agriculture as subsidiary occupation, a large number are porters and labourers engaged in jobs like transporting of goods from place to place, collection of limestone, sand, fuel, Collieries and forests of the district also offer employment to a good number of people. Since the taking up of road programme under the plan, a large number of people are getting employment in construction of roads, etc. It is heartening to note that for construction of roads, nay for all kinds of works demanding unskilled labourers, the district locally supplies the whole labour force. People in the various local points of the district, particularly those living in higher hills are mainly engaged in trade. The Khasis are indefatigable traders and have been able to keep almost the whole of the small trade in the district in their own hands. A small proportion of the people are engaged in cottage industries such as stone cutting, brick making, bee keeping, blacksmithy, cane and bamboo works, etc.

The number of persons returned in the 1951 census under each of the eight main livelihood classes for the rural tract of the district was as follows.

TABLE 1

Number of Persons (Source 1951 Census)

Head	Male	Female	Total	P.C.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
A. Agricultural class:—				
1. Cultivators of land wholly or mainly owned and their dependents.	90,603	92,107	1,82,710	59·89
2. Cultivators of land wholly or mainly unowned and their dependents.	16,014	16,109	32,123	10·53
3. Cultivating labourers and their dependents.	14,053	14,941	28,994	9·50
4. Non-cultivating owners of land, agricultural rent receivers and their dependents.	344	562	906	·30
Sub-total	1,21,014	1,23,719	2,44,733	80·22
B. Non-agricultural class:—				
5. Production other than cultivation.	11,794	10,309	22,103	7·24
6. Commerce	3,237	4,069	7,306	2·39
7. Transport	355	264	619	·20
8. Other services and miscellaneous sources.	17,462	12,864	30,326	9.95
Sub-total	32,848	27,506	60,354	19.780
Total	..	..	3,05,087	100.00

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

public auction. The Assam rules, as revised in 1875-76, reserve to Government the right of pre-emption at the price of Rs. 600 (£60) in the case of every elephant captured between 6 feet and 7½ feet in height. For every elephant caught that is not purchased by Government, a royalty of Rs. 100 (£10) is payable within one month after capture. Certain methods of hunting are prohibited. 224 648 651

POPULATION.—Prior to 1872 no attempts had been made at a Census of the Khási and Jáintiá Hills, but in 1870 the Deputy-Commissioner approximately estimated the population at 118,925 souls. In 1872, at the time of the Bengal Census, operations were set on foot in these Hills, but on a less elaborate system than in Regulation Districts. In the Khási Hills, the Census of the various petty States was effected through the chiefs; in British territory in the Jáintiá Hills, the *dollois* conducted the enumeration; while at Shillong and other places under direct administration, the work was done by officers attached to the Deputy-Commissioner's office. The results are thus returned:—Adults—males, 39,882; and females, 44,298: total adults, 84,280. Children under twelve years of age—males, 28,611; and females, 28,947: total children, 57,558. Total males, 68,593; total females, 73,245. Grand total, 141,838; proportion of males, 48·36 per cent. The total area of the District, according to the latest returns, is 6157 square miles, which gives an average density of 23 persons per square mile. The number of villages is 1003; the number of houses, 30,557, of which 350 are returned as of the better sort. 648 659 161 161 162

ETHNICAL DIVISION OF THE PEOPLE.—The population consists almost exclusively of aboriginal tribes and races, viz. Khásiás and Syntengs (who form the bulk of the inhabitants of the Khási and Jáintiá Hills respectively), Míkirs, Gáros, and Kukis. The only other dwellers in the Hills are the European officials and military officers at Shillong and Cherrá Púnjí, with their native servants and followers, a few Bengálí officials, and the sepoys of a regiment of native infantry. The classification of the inhabitants according to religion shows:—141,283 aborigines; 365 Hindus; 62 Muhammadans; and 128 Christians, including 35 Europeans, 8 Eurasians, and 85 native converts. 563 162 [648] [779]

THE KHASIAS.—The following sketch of the physical characteristics and customs of the Khásiás has been kindly furnished to me by the Deputy-Commissioner, Colonel Bivar; it is reproduced almost verbatim from his report and on his authority:— 144

I: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

It may perhaps be ascribed to the pre-eminence
accorded by the Khasis to the female sex that successive 162
censuses have shown that the women of this race
considerably exceed the men in number. According
to the census of 1901, there are 1,118 females to every
1,000 male Khasis. This excess, however, is surpassed
by that of the Lushais, 1,191 to 1,000, and it may
possibly be due to the greater risks to life encountered
by the men, who venture far into the plains as traders
and porters, while the women stay at home. Habits of 165
intemperance, which are confined to the male sex, may
also explain a greater mortality among them.

It would be interesting to investigate the effect 161
on reproduction of the system of matriarchy which 163
governs Khasi family life. The increase of the race is
very slow. In the census of 1891 there were enumerated
only 117 children under 5 to every hundred married
women between 15 and 40, and in 1901 this number fell
to 108. It has been suggested that the independence
of the wife, and the facilities which exist for divorce,
lead to restrictions upon child-bearing, and thus keep
the population stationary. The question might with
advantage be examined at the census of 1911.

The next characteristic of the Khasis which marks 787
them out for special notice is their method of divination 782
for ascertaining the causes of misfortune and the
remedies to be applied. All forms of animistic religion
make it their chief business to avert the wrath of the
gods, to which calamities of all kinds—sickness, storm,
murrain, loss of harvest—are ascribed, by some kind of
propitiation; and in this the Khasis are not singular.
But it is somewhat surprising to find among them the 787
identical method of *extispicium* which was in use among 171
the Romans, as well as an analogous development in
the shape of egg-breaking, fully described by Major
Gurdon (p. 221), which seems to have been known to

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

Mr. Jenkins, in his interesting little work on "Life and
753 Work in Khasia," gives a slightly different account of the
796 superstition, in that he states that it is the sick person who
826 is possessed by *ka Tarah*. The above belief is perhaps a
164 Synteng development of the Khasi *thlen* superstition. In
177 the Jaintia Hills "the small-pox" is believed to be a goddess, and is reverenced accordingly. Syntengs regard it as an honour to have had small-pox, calling the marks left by the disease the "kiss of the goddess"; the more violent the attack and the deeper the marks, the more highly honoured is the person affected. Mr. Jenkins says, "When the goddess has entered a house, and smitten any person or persons with this disease, a trough of clean water is placed outside the door, in order that every one before entering may wash their feet therein, the house being considered sacred." Mr. Rita mentions cases of women washing their hair in water used by a small-pox patient, in order that they may contract the disease, and women have been known actually to bring their little children into the house of a small-pox patient, in order that they may become infected and thus receive the kiss of the goddess. It is possible that the Syntengs, who were for some time under Hindu influences, may in their ignorance have adopted this degraded form of worship of the Hindu goddess, "Sitala Devi," who is adored as a divine mother under different names by Hindus all over India: *cf.*, her name *mari-amman*, or mother of death, in the South of India, and the name Ai, mother, of the Assamese.

In the Khasi Hills the god of small-pox is known under the name of *u Siem ñiang thylliew*. He is not, however, appeased in any way, the people calling on two other spirits, *Thynrei* and *Saps*, to whom a fowl or a goat is offered.

This section cannot be closed without some reference to the
776 household gods of the Syntengs. The legend is that in ancient
773 times there came a woman "from the end of heaven to the borders of the country of *u Truh*" (the country of the plains people at a distance from the foot of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills). The name of the woman was Ka Taben, and she was accompanied by her children. She offered herself to *u Dkhar*, the plains man, as a household goddess, but he rejected her. She then went to the Khasis, who were ploughing their fields,

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR? Khasi AR?

Sholla

Confederacy forms a more marked endogamous community, though being cut off geographically and economically from the rest of the Khasi, and socially from the neighbouring Hindu people.

The Economy and the People

Sholla lies along the upper part of the Sholla River and stretches upwards along the steep slope, looking down towards the Bengal plain. The climate of this part of the hills is considered to be one of the worst in tropical India for human habitation. The Bengal plain, though warmer than this area, is considered more healthy. This border land is the zone of malaria, typhoid, black fever, cholera, etc. None of the Bengalee peasants dare to live in such an area. However, it is the most fertile for products such as betel-nuts, pan-leaves, oranges, bananas and pineapples, and it also produces limestone. These people seem to prefer to settle in this zone and to enjoy its prosperity, at the expense of human lives every year, especially between March and September, the inhabitants suffer from various fevers and dysentry and other diseases, many of the weaker facing death.

Before the Partition of India and Pakistan, the products of Sholla were carried down the Sholla River to Sylhet, one of the biggest centres in East Bengal, which brought unimaginable wealth to the Sholla people. Their houses were built by carpenters from Sylhet. The style and structure of these houses were exceptionally elaborate for the Khasi. They purchased vast rice fields in the plain, which used to be cultivated by Bengalee and Garo labourers engaged by them. These Khasi do not themselves know how to cultivate rice fields; they have always been managers or landowners. Their boys used to be sent to high schools and colleges in Sylhet. As a result of their trading with the Bengalee, many of them read and speak fluent Bengalee. There is no difference between their style of clothing and that of the Bengalee, though the women maintain their traditional dress in the Sholla style.

They have thus been distinguished from the rest of the Khasi not only geographically, but also economically and culturally. Their personality also differs sharply from the rest of the Khasi. They are very sociable, and quick, a quality lacking among the Khasi of Sohkynduh and Kongton. They are clever enough to deal with strangers. The upland Khasi say Sholla people are very cunning. This remark shows one side of these people. They had to be cunning, since they traded with the Sylhet Bengalee who were said to be the most cunning of their race. Their role in the trade and in the history of the modernization of the Hills was considerable. For centuries they represented intellectual Khasi owing to their contact with Hindu civilization, while the Hills remained in darkness. They assumed an important role when the British established an administration in the Hills, and even up to now, many leading Khasi originated from this area: for instance, Lalit Hati, the first interpreter of the British Headquarters at Cherrapunjee; Jashon Roy, who was the first Magistrate among the Khasi; Mahem Sing, a lawyer and Member of the Legislative Assembly (the grandson of Jashon Roy); Nicholas Roy, Minister of Health and Prisons of the Assam Government, Member of the Legislative Assembly, and Missionary of the Church of God; R. R. Thomas (brother of Nicholas Roy), Principal of the Gauhati University, etc.

Through constant cultural contact with Hindu, and encouraged by their economic prosperity, the Sholla Khasi, like the Jaintias, have been much influenced by Hindu culture. However, this does not mean that the people of Sholla adopted the Hindu beliefs. Though there is a small Hindu shrine, and some ceremonial elements were borrowed from the Hindu, most of the

29: Assam C-5 (1958) 1963 A87 Khasi A87

Regarding supply of foodgrains through fair price shops, the position appeared to be unsatisfactory. Complaints were heard from some villagers coming from the interior villages that they very rarely get rice from fair price shops, which are usually allotted to bigger villages, sometimes too far from the villages tagged to it. Even the people of the villages where there were fair price shops, complained that the supply of rice to these shops was inadequate and the price also was very high which in some areas was even as high as Rs. 2/-00 per maund.

In a majority of the villages investigated, water supply and medical facilities were not satisfactory. Malaria, dysentery and other bowel diseases are common in this area.

164 •

4.3 Incidence of diseases and medical facilities:

TABLE B-2

Incidence of diseases

Name of disease	No. of villages reporting incidence of disease		
	Border area	Project area	General area
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
(a) Malaria	6	8	8
(b) Dysentery	6	7	8
(c) Flu	7	7	6
(d) Kala-azar	1	0	0
(e) Leprosy	0	1	0
(f) Typhoid	1	0	0
(g) Pneumonia	1	0	0

N. B.—Number of villages surveyed—10 in border area, 8 in Project area and 10 in General area.

As the above table shows malaria and dysentery were of common occurrence. The scourge of malaria was, however, reported to be most severe in the border areas, the hill slopes of which provided suitable breeding ground for mosquitos. Next to malaria, dysentery and other bowel diseases have widespread prevalence in the district. The high incidence of these as well as various skin diseases are mainly accounted for by a lack of good water supply. Leprosy and kala-azar were reported only from one village each (Byrbeh and Sheila respectively).

TABLE B-5

743

Distribution of the villages according to distances from nearest dispensary, hospital, veterinary dispensary and nearest private/livestock medical practitioner

	Within the village	Within 2 miles	Within 5 miles	Within 10 miles	Within 20 miles	Above 20 miles
Dispensary ...	0	1	2	7	9	6
Hospital ...	0	0	0	1	3	24
Veterinary dispensary	0	0	0	2	5	24
Private/livestock medical practitioner	0	1	5	8	8	9

CHAPTER—X

Summary of main findings

125 10.1. Twenty-eight villages were selected for the purpose of the survey. Out of the 28 villages selected, 10 from Border area and 8 from Project area were selected purposively while the remaining 10 were selected at random from the entire district which is referred hereafter as general area.

166 Migration from big villages was rare but some migration was reported in respect of small villages.

164 Occurrence of Malaria, influenza and dysentery is a regular phenomenon in the area. Medical facilities were not found satisfactory and as much as 78 per cent of the villages have no dispensary within a radius of five miles. In regard to education, the facilities cannot also be said to be unsatisfactory for more than 60 per cent of the villages have a Lower Primary School. Transport facilities were not satisfactory and as much as 60 per cent of the villages still depend upon primitive mode of transport, namely head load. Correlated with outmoded form of transport, is the prevalence of unduly high cost of transport.

162 10.2. The number of the families covered by the survey was 1006 in the Border area, and 647 in the Project area and 184 in the General area. The average size of a village in the respective area is 100·6, 80·9 and 18·4 families. In the Border and Project areas females out number males being respectively 1076 and 1092 females per 1,000 males as against 940 females per 1,000 males in the general area Literacy is as high as 34 per cent in the border area and 31 per cen in the Project area but as low as 17 per cent in the general area In all the areas literacy among females is very low.

162 The working population (earners and earning dependents) is as high as 55 per cent in the Border area, 54 per cent in the Project area and 63 per cent in the general area. While there were no cases of unemployment in the Project and General areas, 53 persons were reported unemployed from border area.

241 10.3. 51 per cent of the families in Border area are wholly agricultural, 35 per cent partly agricultural and 14 per cent independent o agriculture. The corresponding figures for the Project area are 61, 31 and 8 per cent respectively while for the General area they are 70 per cent, 29 per cent, 1 per cent respectively.

Predominantly agricultural families constitute 67, 76 and 90 per cent of the families in Border, Project and General areas respectively.

162 10.4. 31 per cent of the families in Border area, 29 per cent in Project area and 10 per cent in General area were absolutely without any land while 35 per cent, 39 per cent and 24 per cent of the families in the respective areas possessed small holding ranging from 0·14 to 2·30 acres representing 11,34 and 26 per cent of the total holding area in the respective areas. 36 per cent of the families in Border and Project areas and 41 in General area possessed medium sized holding (3 to less than 10 acres)

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

132 in 1876, the highest maximum temperature was registered in the month of August, the lowest minimum in January. From November until the end of March the weather is dry and bracing. Hoar-frost lies upon the ground almost every morning in the months of December, January, and February. Shallow water occasionally freezes over, but snow never falls.

The rainfall at Cherrá Púnjí is enormous, varying between 300 and 500 inches per annum. The heaviest fall is in the months of June and July. As much as 30 inches has been collected in one day in July, and 157 inches has been registered as the total rainfall of that month. The average rainfall of the three years ending in 1876 is returned at 368·41 inches. It is affirmed that a total of 805 inches fell in 1861, of which 366 inches is assigned to the single month of July. This excessive rainfall can be readily accounted for by the abrupt manner in which the hills at Cherrá Púnjí rise from the plains on the south. The vapour-bearing breezes of the south-west monsoon, sweeping across the heated, flooded plains of Lower Bengal, suddenly strike against the hills. The vapour as it ascends gets condensed into fogs and mists, and finally, when it reaches the crest of the range, discharges itself in torrents of rain, unequalled by that recorded in any other part of the world.

At Shillong, which is only 30 miles north and a little higher than Cherrá Púnjí, the average rainfall is only about 85 inches; but between these two Stations three higher ranges intervene, which deprive the clouds in passage of a considerable portion of their moisture. During the three years ending in 1876, the average rainfall at Shillong was 83·65 inches.

The rainfall at Jowái, a subdivisional Station in the Jáintiá Hills, 26 miles distant from the plains, holds a mid place between that of Cherrá Púnjí and Shillong, and is estimated at 150 inches in the year. During the three years ending in 1876, the average rainfall at Jowái was 145·62 inches; but in the last of these years alone as much as 309·21 inches was registered, of which 134·34 inches fell in the month of June.

133 The District is liable to shocks of earthquake. In September 1875 considerable damage was done to the houses in Shillong by a shock which extended with great severity as far as Gauhátí; and several minor shocks were experienced in the year 1876-77.

164 132 DISEASES, ETC.—Generally speaking, the climate of Shillong is pleasant and congenial to Europeans. English children thrive

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

remarkably, and there are few indigenous diseases of any kind. 164
Malarious fevers of local origin are unknown, and cholera never 132
prevails in the Hills except when directly imported from the plains. Notwithstanding the excessive rainfall, the climate of Cherrá Púnjí also is pleasant and salubrious. The rainfall is confined in great part to the five months from May to the end of September. For the rest of the year the weather is mild and very equable, and in the winter months almost pleasanter than that of Shillong.

Small-pox is the chief scourge amongst the Khásiás. The faces 164
of more than half the people are seamed by the marks of this disease. Strenuous efforts have recently been made to introduce [751]
vaccination, and with some success. Within the past three years nearly 5000 children have been vaccinated. The number of [648]
vaccinations in 1876 was 1309, as compared with 1628 in the preceding year.

Dysentery and bowel complaints generally prevail to a considerable extent; and, as at most other hill stations in India, the English residents at Shillong occasionally suffer from these diseases. Disorders of the liver are also not uncommon, usually affecting persons who have recently arrived from the plains, probably from unhealthy localities. When they have once passed through a short period of acclimatizing indisposition, most English residents at Shillong enjoy excellent health.

The *tardi* country lying along the foot of the Hills, especially on the northern side, is extremely malarious; and people passing through, especially pedestrians who travel without comforts and expose themselves to great fatigue, contract remittent fevers and agues of a severe type.

EPIDEMICS.—The following is a brief notice of some recent 731
epidemics. Cholera made its appearance in the Hills in May 1869, travelling from the direction of Jáintiápur, on the borders of Sylhet. It only showed its presence by a few sporadic cases from time to time until the 11th July, when the disease broke out in an epidemic form among the police and in the jail. The police and the prisoners were at once moved into camp, and communication restricted as much as possible. These precautions probably had the effect of preventing the spread of the disease at Shillong. The epidemic lasted a week; it attacked twenty-four persons, of whom fifteen died. From Shillong the disease travelled southwards, the people deserting their villages as the plague broke out. In the

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

731 pre-eminently filthy villages on the Cherrá Púnjí plateau the epidemic appears to have found a fitting home, for it stayed among them for a period of nine weeks and a half. The civil surgeon reports the deaths at Cherrá Púnjí and the surrounding villages to have amounted to about 175 out of a total of 232 cases. During the year 1876-77 hooping-cough and small-pox were prevalent in an epidemic form. In the Jáintiá Hills small-pox is stated to have caused 47 deaths, chiefly during the months of June, July, and August. Some fatal cases of hooping-cough occurred among the Khási children in the village of Máokhar, near Shillong. The only two cases of cholera reported were in the Jáintiá Hills.

16 VITAL STATISTICS.—A general system of registration is not [659] attempted throughout the Khási and Jáintiá Hills District. Statistics [648] of births and deaths are only collected among the inhabitants of the Stations of Shillong and Cherrá Púnjí, and in the selected area in the vicinity of Jowái, which comprises the following seven villages: —Jowái, Nongbah, Nartiang, Mynsau, Amwí, Ralliang, and Shámpúng. This selected area has a population of 12,504. Each village forms a distinctly-circumscribed community, in which the statistics are readily ascertained and reported by the *dolloi* or head-man. The returns may be regarded as extremely close to the truth, both for births and deaths; and they thus furnish an approximate statement of the health of the entire Hills. In 1874 the total number of deaths in the selected area was 351, showing a death rate of 28 per thousand; the number of births was 431, or 34·4 per thousand. The total population of all the places in which vital statistics are collected is 15,458 persons, among whom 428 deaths were recorded in 1874, showing a death-rate of 27·6 per thousand, as compared with 27·3 per thousand in the preceding year. The deaths were thus distributed—24 from cholera, 296 from fever, 38 from bowel complaints, 2 from snake-bite or wild beasts, and 68 from all other causes. The mortality from fevers was the highest recorded throughout the entire Province. On this the civil surgeon observes:—'There are few local sources of malaria in the Hills. Many of the deaths from fever were probably due to typhoid, induced by the use of impure water and by the filthy state in which the 312 people live. There is no attempt at conservancy in a Khási village. In Jowái, a good specimen of the class, the lanes and pathways are 364 strewn with excrement and house refuse. Drinking water is got • 164 from wells in the heart of the village, fed by the drainage of the

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR 7 Khasi AR 7

312

surface soil of the hills upon which the houses are built.' Cholera is attributed to importation from the plains. 364 [164]

SANITATION.—It has already been stated that the ordinary Khási villages are absolutely destitute of any conservancy arrangements. The sanitary condition, however, of the Station of Shillong is described as 'good.' The natural drainage is excellent. Drinking water is obtained chiefly from hill streams, and on the banks of these streams conservancy regulations are enforced. The water is conducted into the town by means of an artificial water-course. Public latrines have been erected at suitable places inside the town. The staff of sweepers and *beldárs* keeps the roads and drains clean, and the surface generally free from pollution. The sanitary condition of the cantonment is reported to be very good.

CHARITABLE DISPENSARY.—There is one dispensary in the Khási and Jáintiá Hills—at the Station of Shillong. It was first opened in 1872, and considerable additions have since been made to the building. During 1874 a total sum of Rs. 775. 8, or £77, 11s., was expended on new constructions and repairs, towards which the European residents subscribed Rs. 329. There is now accommodation for 10 male and 3 female patients. In that year the total number of in-door patients treated was 44, of whom 9 died, giving a death-rate of 20·45 per cent. The number of out-door patients was 529, or an average daily attendance of 7·8. Of the grand total of patients of both classes, only 31 were females. The largest number of cases are classified under the headings of fevers and constipation and colic. The total income during the year was Rs. 1598. 13. 9, or £159, 17s. 8d., of which Government contributed Rs. 300 for salaries, and an additional Rs. 300 as a special allowance. The European subscriptions amounted to Rs. 869, as compared with Rs. 33 subscribed by natives. The total expenditure was Rs. 1187. 15. 6, or £118, 16s., leaving a balance in hand of Rs. 410. 14. 3. The chief items were Rs. 480 for salaries of medical subordinates, Rs. 160 for servants' wages, and Rs. 222 for dieting of sick. There were 53 minor operations performed during the year. 743 [164]

The people of the District have no system of medicine of their own, and no native practitioners. Their sole remedies consist in divination and incantation. The only indigenous native drugs are chireta and wormwood. As stated in a previous paragraph, a small cinchona plantation was established by Government at Nongklao in 1867. 755 278 648 654

I: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

It may perhaps be ascribed to the pre-eminence
accorded by the Khasis to the female sex that successive 162
censuses have shown that the women of this race
considerably exceed the men in number. According
to the census of 1901, there are 1,118 females to every
1,000 male Khasis. This excess, however, is surpassed
by that of the Lushais, 1,191 to 1,000, and it may
possibly be due to the greater risks to life encountered
by the men, who venture far into the plains as traders
and porters, while the women stay at home. Habits of 165
intemperance, which are confined to the male sex, may
also explain a greater mortality among them.

It would be interesting to investigate the effect 161
on reproduction of the system of matriarchy which 163
governs Khasi family life. The increase of the race is
very slow. In the census of 1891 there were enumerated
only 117 children under 5 to every hundred married
women between 15 and 40, and in 1901 this number fell
to 108. It has been suggested that the independence
of the wife, and the facilities which exist for divorce,
lead to restrictions upon child-bearing, and thus keep
the population stationary. The question might with
advantage be examined at the census of 1911.

The next characteristic of the Khasis which marks 787
them out for special notice is their method of divination 782
for ascertaining the causes of misfortune and the
remedies to be applied. All forms of animistic religion
make it their chief business to avert the wrath of the
gods, to which calamities of all kinds—sickness, storm,
murrain, loss of harvest—are ascribed, by some kind of
propitiation; and in this the Khasis are not singular.
But it is somewhat surprising to find among them the 787
identical method of *extispicium* which was in use among 171
the Romans, as well as an analogous development in
the shape of egg-breaking, fully described by Major
Gurdon (p. 221), which seems to have been known to

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

249 648 65 at Dárjiling, who reported unfavourably on them. They have since been made over to the Siem of Nongklao, who is responsible for their being kept clear of weeds and protected against fire. Up to the close of 1875–76 the total expenditure had been Rs. 672, or £67, 4s. 0d.

136 FERÆ NATURÆ.—Tigers, elephants, rhinoceros, buffaloes, *mithuns* or wild cows, bears, leopards, wolves, jackals, foxes, wild hog, and several kinds of deer abound in the Khásí and Jáintiá Hills. The [224] [648] expense of keeping down tigers in the shape of Government rewards amounted to £44, 10s. 0d. in 1869-70. The rate of reward now paid is Rs. 25 or £2, 10s. 0d. per head. No rewards have ever been given for the destruction of venomous serpents. The number [165] of deaths from wild beasts and snake-bite reported to the police amounted to 28 in 1866-67, 18 in 1867-68, 16 in 1868-69, and 26 in 1869-70. The small game found in the Hills consists of black partridges, hill partridges, quails, ducks, teal, snipe, and woodcocks. 226 The *mahsir* fish is caught in the rivers. No regular trade is carried 439 on in the skins of wild animals; and, except in the case of wild elephants, the *feræ naturæ* are not made to contribute towards the wealth of the people.

224 ELEPHANTS.—Wild elephants are found in the lower ranges of the hills, and in the gorges opening on the valleys of the Surmá and 648 the Brahmaputra. Each State in the Khásí Hills and each dolloi- 651 ship in the Jáintiá Hills constitutes a separate hunting circle or *mahál*. In the Khásí States the conditions of elephant hunting are governed by rules framed in 1874-75 by the Chief Commissioner, and approved by the Government of India. These rules provide, (1) that the British Government will make no claim to royalty on account of elephants caught in the Khásí Hills; (2) that one half of the proceeds of the sale of each elephant caught shall be paid over to the chief whose State forms the *mahál*, and the other half retained by Government; (3) that if a chief wishes to hunt elephants on his own account, the *mahál* composed of his State shall be reserved from sale, and a special arrangement shall be made with him on the basis that half the proceeds of the hunting shall accrue to Government. A special form of hunting licence in accordance with these rules has been settled by the Chief Commissioner. In the Jáintiá Hills, as being British territory, the ordinary Assam rules are in force, in accordance with which leases of the *mahál*s are sold at intervals of two years to the highest bidder at

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

613 formed independent descent groups by individual households, for
614 which no traceable genealogical relation with any other descent groups
621 could be established, though some of them belonged to the same *kur*. In Sohkynduh, the total 48 households were divided into 16 *kur* (according to the house-owner), and in Kongton, the total 62 households were divided into 9 *kur*, while the number of actual descent groups amount to 31 in Sohkynduh and 41 in Kongton.

166 This fact, I presumed, indicated a considerable mobility of the
178 population of each village community. Hence, I tried my best to
613 reconstruct the historical alignments of these descent groups, both from my genealogical data and with the help of the villagers' memory.
614 The result showed that the mobility of the population over the last fifty years had been surprisingly great and complex. In Sohkynduh,
621 the Praian clan seems to be the oldest inhabitants of this village with 16 *kur* segments. Next came a family of the Ksing. The third wave was a family of Khonglam, and the fourth, Siem Lyngngoh which I mentioned previously (p. 104). The next were families of the Kynshah, many members of which had left for Nonprian village after a few years. The sixth wave was the Srieh family. All the above movements took place before the great earthquake of 1897 which shook Assam. After 1897 the movements became more intense and complicated, and involved many families of various *kur*. The villagers could not remember the order in which they came: there has been continual coming and going even up to now. At present, the Prarian, the Ksing, the Khonglam, the Kynshah and the Dkhar are the older among the 16 *kur*. However, such migrations concern usually a single family only, not a group of *kur*, and that is the typical pattern of Khasi migration. Hence, families which have the same *kur* name do not always indicate the same movements. The incentive for such migration seems to be to get land better appropriated to one's economic condition. Particularly, as I have already mentioned elsewhere (p. 105), the shortage of land seems to encourage families of elder sisters who have no share of property, to move to other areas and look for land.

Thus, many households which make up the present village are minor segments of different *kur*, or of the same *kur*, but they can hardly trace their genealogical relations to one another. A migration to a new village was not undertaken at random; it was mostly as a result of information received from neighbouring villages, or from
178 those where friends or relatives had already settled in. Several neigh-
613 bouring villages usually dispose of more than one common market where they can exchange information and developed friendships over
614 trading. The matrilineal kinship relation is no more important a
621 factor than any of the others mentioned above. Among the Khasi,

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

some clerical work. However, such instances are very rare in these regions and few Christians are to be found among the people. So far as my genealogical table accounts for, only two boys from Sohkynduh, and one girl and one boy from Kongton, left for Shillong, and married there. In contrast to these exceptional cases in these villages, in the upland Khasi Hills, there are considerable changes in the composition of a village with high geographical and social mobility of population because of the spread of Christian education and urban influence.

The people of the two villages say that marriages with outside people were not formally practised, and were only a recent tendency. However, the composition of the population of the two villages showed extensive movements of population in the past (not to urban areas, but from village to village). Such movement is attributed mostly to migration by a family rather than by an individual on marriage. This type of migration is clearly found also in the process of the formation of Jatinga village (see Appendix, Jatinga).

The composition of the village community and the social characteristics of Sohkynduh and Kongton show very similar features of village endogamy. They seem to be typical of the traditional pattern of Khasi villages. Village endogamy is the intrinsic pattern among the Khasis. This fact can be also observed to a considerable degree in Shella and Jatinga.

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15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

592 he clearly maintains the label of his descent group, he is at least
593 divorced from them economically. If a father's activities were such
613 as to permit the accumulation of wealth to be handed over to the next generation, he is always remembered with great respect and admiration by his successors and by the descendants of his wife's matrilineal line. In such a case he is looked upon as a member of his wife's descent group rather than of his mother's descent group. The best examples of this are the cases of men belonging to the first generation of Jatinga villagers, especially that of the founder of
[166] Jatinga. These immigrants to Jatinga mostly accompanied their wives, who were not heiresses (as I mentioned previously, the unit of Khasi immigrants is mostly found in this kind of a couple); and most of them established successful matrimonial life with paternal authority, having been freed from the gravity of both matri-kin of wife as well as of husband.

Not necessarily confined to such cases of immigrants, even in an ordinary situation, if husband is ready to devote himself for his wife and children, the matrimonial life mostly turns happier and well established one. For under the Khasi matrilineal system, a wife, if she is not the heiress, is normally oriented to develop surprisingly high degree of independence from her descent group, i.e. her natal *iing*, unlike women of other matrilineal societies. This fact is closely related with the unique structure of the *iing*, as already discussed.

As a woman (non-heiress) tends to keep a certain distance to her natal *iing*, her brother accordingly decreases his concern to her new household. The pressure of the authority (wife's maternal uncle or brother) of wife's natal *iing*, on such a household becomes less marked. The wife's brothers are members of her natal *iing*, not of her new established *iing*, and therefore none of them can act as an authority over her new *iing*, though they may exercise certain pressure on the sister's husband, since the sister who established the new *iing* still keeps her membership in her natal *iing*. In fact a husband actually feels pressure from his wife's brothers; the occasional visits of the authority of her natal *iing* exercise a psychological check on his whole control over her and his children. Should any serious mischance occur in the marriage, the wife will run to her brother for consultation. Furthermore, as member of her natal *iing*, he has the right to demand the property acquired by him if his wife has no successor, since it automatically belongs to his wife unless he acquired it without cohabitation with her, or through the capital of his *iing*. However, the process of segmentation in the *iing* leads the wife to greater attachment to her husband, particularly when his economic contribution is important, and as a consequence weakens her ties with her natal *iing*.

613 The limited rights of the brother over his sister's (non-heiress)

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7
Garo AR5

field work as well as on the accounts of various matrilineal systems, I feel strongly that there must be different types of systems which may be distinguished as "household-lineage" and "segmentary-lineage". Fortes and Eggan postulate the pre-eminence of the descent principle over residence. Though this may be the case among the Ashanti and the Hopi, it does not fit the cases belonging to what I call "household-lineage" type. Firth's argument emphasizing the importance of rights to group membership being associated with locality, fits very well with the latter case. With more precision and subtilty than Kroeber, he argues that "residence by itself does not give title to descent-group membership, but land rights established by descent-group membership tend to remain operational only through residence" (Firth 1957, p. 7). 000

I believe there are crucial differences between these household-lineage type and segmentary-lineage type organizations. The technical *process of fission into segments is similar* in both types. But in the former, once a segmented group attains autonomy, the relation between the segments will easily be forgotten after a few generations, as it has no significant social implication. Among these societies, people's genealogical memory outside the residential group is surprisingly poor. This empirical fact also suggests a different structure from that of the segmentary system.

In both types of society the internal organization of a household is the same, but it differs externally. Eggan states that "Kroeber's and Parsons' statements about the lack of system in regard to Zuni kinship indicate judgement from some arbitrary standard" and adds "The concept of the lineage provides a bridge between the household and the clan" (Eggan, *ibid.*, p. 197). I cannot agree with this. In fact, my study of the Garo, the Khasi and the Nayar corresponds very well to the Zuni situation described by Kroeber and Parsons. There are matrilineal systems which lack a bridge between the household and the clan. K 9 171 182

Then what is it that makes the difference between the two types of organization in similar unilineal systems? I am not sure that I can produce at present effective hypotheses on this issue. However, empirical facts show that the household-lineage type organization is likely to be found among more complicated societies or in a society with considerable mobility. This we gather also if we compare the village compositions of the Hopi and the Zuni. In the case of the Khasi, we saw that there was considerable mobility in population even in remote villages, so that we easily understand that in such a condition lineage membership hardly maintained itself. This seems to agree with the view put forth by Fortes on segmentary systems. Fortes says the limits of the spread or span of internal segmentation of the 592 613 K [166] 000

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

Shella

Confederacy forms a more marked endogamous community, through being cut off geographically and economically from the rest of the Khasi, and socially from the neighbouring Hindu people. 621

The Economy and the People.

Shella lies along the upper part of the Shella River and stretches upwards along the steep slope, looking down towards the Bengal plain. The climate of this part of the hills is considered to be one of the worst in tropical India for human habitation. The Bengal plain, though warmer than this area, is considered more healthy. This border land is the zone of malaria, typhoid, black fever, cholera, etc. None of the Bengalee peasants dare to live in such an area. However, it is the most fertile for products such as betel-nuts, pan-leaves, oranges, bananas and pineapples, and it also produces limestone. These people seem to prefer to settle in this zone and to enjoy its prosperity, at the expense of human lives: every year, especially between March and September, the inhabitants suffer from various fevers and dysentry and other diseases, many of the weaker facing death. 131 132 164 433 164 648

Before the Partition of India and Pakistan, the products of Shella were carried down the Shella River to Sylhet, one of the biggest centres in East Bengal, which brought unimaginable wealth to the Shella people. Their houses were built by carpenters from Sylhet. The style and structure of these houses were exceptionally elaborate for the Khasi. They purchased vast rice fields in the plain, which used to be cultivated by Bengalee and Garo labourers engaged by them. These Khasi do not themselves know how to cultivate rice fields; they have always been managers or landowners. Their boys used to be sent to high schools and colleges in Sylhet. As a result of their trading with the Bengalee, many of them read and speak fluent Bengalee. There is no difference between their style of clothing and that of the Bengalee, though the women maintain their traditional dress in the Shella style. 177 178 434 [439] [342] [166] [464] [871] [191] [291]

They have thus been distinguished from the rest of the Khasi not only geographically, but also economically and culturally. Their personality also differs sharply from the rest of the Khasi. They are very sociable, and quick, a quality lacking among the Khasi of Sohkynduh and Kongton. They are clever enough to deal with strangers. The upland Khasi say Shella people are very cunning. This remark shows one side of these people. They had to be cunning, since they traded with the Sylhet Bengalee who were said to be the most cunning of their race. Their role in the trade and in the history of the modernization of the Hills was considerable. For centuries they represented intellectual Khasi owing to their contact with Hindu civilization, while the Hills remained in darkness. They assumed an important role when the British established an administration in the Hills, and even up to now, many leading Khasi originated from this area: for instance, Lati Hat, the first interpreter of the British Headquarters at Cherrapunjee; Jeebon Roy, who was the first Magistrate among the Khasi; Maham Sing, a lawyer and Member of the Legislative Assembly (the grandson of Jeebon Roy); Nichols Roy, Minister of Health and Prisons of the Assam Government, Member of the Legislative Assembly, and Missionary of the Church of God; R. R. Thomas (brother of Nichols Roy), Principal of the Gauhati University, etc. 157 184 648 177 178 [439]

Through constant cultural contact with Hindu, and encouraged by their economic prosperity, the Shella Khasi, like the Jaintias, have been much influenced by Hindu culture. However, this does not mean that the people of Shella adopted the Hindu beliefs. Though there is a small Hindu shrine, and some ceremonial elements were borrowed from the Hindu, most of the 177 648 771 795

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

621 [Jatinga]

[175] This village was founded in 1905 by Khasi immigrants from the Jaintia Hills.
[101] At the entrance of the village, a bust of the founder, Lakhanbang Suchiang,
[211] stands facing towards the east; it was erected on the occasion of the celebration
[346] of their Golden jubilee, in November 1955. Houses are scattered along the
[771] ridge of the moutain to the east and to the west; in the centre is the church. All the inhabitants are Christians. Before the Partition this was one of the most modern and prosperous villages in Assam.

Jatinga provides a very interesting instance of the Khasi 'colonial' village.
101 It is surrounded by villages of the Kuki, of the Zemi-Naga, and of the Cacharee,
121 who constitute the main population of the North Cachar Hills, and who are
621 tribes entirely different from the Khasi, in economy, social organization, language and culture. Therefore, Jatinga is like an island of Khasi community. I took this village as one of my fields, because I was particularly interested to discover how far the Khasi matrilineal organization is kept up in a community thus situated, surrounded by patrilineal tribes, and considerably modernized by Christianization and economic prosperity; and I was also interested in the process of formation of a new village, in comparison with Rimsibara and Joshipara in the Garo Hills.

Formation of the Present Population of Jatinga.

The first immigrants to Jatinga.

101 The main population of Jatinga, including the founder, originated in Bataw
166 village in the Jaintia Hills, twelve miles away from Jaintiapur, the capital of
175 the then Jaintia Rajas. This village is situated on the border of the Jaintia Hills and the East Bengal plain, the location being very similar to that of
621 Shella, as are their culture and economy. In the later part of the nineteenth century, some members of Bataw village moved to Borkhala, ten miles from Silchar, one of the biggest villages of the then Cacharee king.

These immigrants who came to Borkhala stayed there about fifteen years before they came to Jatinga. Kloribon, the first daughter of the founder's sister was born there. In November 1905, some Christian Khasi left Borkhala for Jatinga, acting on information gathered from a Welsh Mission at Haflong, that the land of present Jatinga was fertile and fit for their cultivation. They
166 were the first immigrants to Jatinga. The Government record names the following three persons as the first immigrants to Jatinga: Suchiang Lakhanbang,
551 Tariang, and Suchen Munik. In fact, according to the data which I collected
614 at Jatinga, Suchiang Lakhanbang was accompanied by the following persons (the names in brackets indicate the clans):

621 his wife, Misibon (Phanwar).[1]
175 his brother, Pryntah, and Pryntah's wife, Sintu (Rupsi).
his sister, Laptho, and Laptho's husband, Munik (Suchen) with their daughter, Kloribon, and Munik's younger brother, Sain.
his friend, Tariang.

Soon after their settlement, Sain, the brother of Munik, brought his wife Tahin (Suiam) from Jaintia. Misibon brought her younger sister, Dissibon. Tariang who came with Lakhanbang afterwards called his wife, Palong. But having spent some time there, they left eventually for another place, so that

1. Misibon was a native of the Cherrapunjee area of the Khasi Hills (not of Jaintia like the others). She was a school teacher at Cherrapunjee, and later became a teacher at a school near Jaintiapur, where she married Lakhanbang.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

there are none of their descendants in Jatinga. Summing up, the first party who settled at Jatinga was composed of people of the following five clans: 166

1. Suchiang — Lakhanbang, his sister, Lapthe, and her daughter, Khorthon, his brother, Pryntah. 551
2. Suchen — Munik and his younger brother, Sain. 614
3. Phanwar — Misibon and her younger sister, Diasibon. 621
4. Rupsi — Sintu, the wife of Pryntah. 175
5. Sulam — Tahin, the wife of Sain.

Among them, Suchen had no female member. Phanwar had no successor. Misibon had no issue and Diasibon did not marry. Therefore, Suchiang, Rupsi and Sulam are the oldest clans in present Jatinga. Suchiang and Rupsi especially are the dominant and richest groups among the present population.

This was the time when the railway from Gauhati to Silchar was being constructed. Some Khasi labourers were working at Haflong on the construction of the railway. After the foundation of Jatinga, these Khasi workers established marriage relations with the Khasi of Jatinga, and finally, upon completion of the railway, many of them became the inhabitants of Jatinga. The present members of the Dome and Siangshai clans are the descendants of these people, and they form a considerable number of the present inhabitants of Jatinga. Besides them, there were a few other Khasi at Haflong who were engaged in trading business. In the course of time, they also had marital relations with Jatinga people and came to Jatinga. 166 175 458 621 [499] [464]

After five years had elapsed they found that in spite of their hard work the land was not favourable to them. Many of them left Jatinga. This was the hardest period of Jatinga history.

The second migration (1919-1925).

The railway which once had been blocked was reopened in 1919. The people who had left Jatinga came back to settle there. This time the circumstances seemed to them quite favourable. The pan trees which they had planted earlier were growing and they could gather considerable produce. The village grew bigger around 1920 as a result of new immigrants from Jaintia; most of them were people from Bataw, the village of the founder. In this period, many immigrants came from Jaintia not only to Jatinga but also to Sylhet, Borkhala and other places outside the Khasi-Jaintia Hills. It seems that by this time the over-populated Jaintia realised that these areas were favourable for their new home. However, the successive waves of Jaintia immigrants to Jatinga ceased by 1925, its population having reached saturation point. [499] [245]

Orange production brought economic prosperity to the people of Jatinga. Wealthy villagers employed temporary labourers from the Jaintia Hills every year. Some of these labourers came with their families and others came individually. During their stay at Jatinga, some of them married and settled there. Hence, there are also descendants of such labourers among the present inhabitants of Jatinga. [245] [464]

Some Aspects of Descent Groups.

Throughout the history of Jatinga, immigrations have always been undertaken by a family (elementary family, siblings) or by an individual, but never by a group of clan members. Therefore, the present population is grouped in small descent groups according to each migration. Though some of them happened to have the same clan name, their history of migration and their 621 [175] [614] [166]

CHAPTER—X

Summary of main findings

125 10.1. Twenty-eight villages were selected for the purpose of the survey. Out of the 28 villages selected, 10 from Border area and 8 from Project area were selected purposively while the remaining 10 were selected at random from the entire district which is referred hereafter as general area.

166 Migration from big villages was rare but some migration was reported in respect of small villages.

164 243 871 499 780 Occurrence of Malaria, influenza and dysentery is a regular phenomenon in the area. Medical facilities were not found satisfactory and as much as 78 per cent of the villages have no dispensary within a radius of five miles. In regard to education, the facilities cannot also be said to be satisfactory for more than 60 per cent of the villages have a Lower Primary School. Transport facilities were not satisfactory [illegible] per cent of the villages still depend upon primitive mode of transport, namely head load. Correlated with primitive form of transport, is the prevalence of unduly high cost of transport.

162 161 10.2. The number of the families covered by the survey was 1000 in the Border area, and 647 in the Project area and 184 in the General area. The average size of a village in the respective area is 1006, 829 and 184 families. In the Border and Project areas females out number males being respectively 1096 and 1002 females per 1,000 males as against 948 females per 1,000 males in the general area. Literacy is as high as 34 per cent in the border area and 31 per cent in the Project area but as low as 17 per cent in the general area. In all the areas literacy among females is very low.

213 [362]

162 464 The working population (earners and earning dependents) is as high as 55 per cent in the Border area, 54 per cent in the Project area and 63 per cent in the general area. While there were no cases of unemployment in the Project and General areas, 13 persons were reported unemployed from border area.

241 162 463 10.3. 51 per cent of the families in Border area are wholly agricultural, 35 per cent partly agricultural and 14 per cent independent of agriculture. The corresponding figures for the Project area are 61, 31 and 8 per cent respectively while for the General area they are 98 per cent, 29 per cent, 1 per cent respectively.

Predominantly agricultural families constitute 67, 76 and 90 per cent of the families in Border, Project and General areas respectively.

162 423 10.4. 31 per cent of the families in Border area, 35 per cent in Project area and 10 per cent in General area were absolutely without any land while 35 per cent, 30 per cent and 24 per cent of the families in the respective areas possessed small holding ranging from 0·24 to 2·50 acres representing 11,34 and 36 per cent of the total holding area in the respective areas. 36 per cent of the families in Border and Project areas and 41 in General area possessed medium sized holding (3 to less than 10 acres)

Name of village	No. of persons according to 1951 Census	No. of persons according to Present survey	Variation	No. of families according to listing schedule	
General Area—					
18. Mawbiang	119	84	—35	20	Average size of village 119
19. Jyngiat	69	42	—39	7	
20. Asola	29	22	—7	5	.. ..
21. Dawsya	75	16	49	20	
22. Lawyriang	119	97	—22	23	Average family size 4.8
24. Ingwala	126	161	35	24	
25. Mawkyrshiw	143	139	—4	40	
26. Jowa	40	23	—17	7	
27. Byhuh	134	126	—8	20	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
Total ..	924	902	—20	184	.. ..

N. B.—1951 census population figures are not shown against Border Area and Project Area villages. This is because of the fact that in some cases in the Census report, the different blocks of a village have been enumerated as different villages, *e.g.*, the village **Sohkha** has been enumerated in 1951 census as three villages, *viz.*, **Sohkha Phlang, Sohkha mission**, etc., while in some other cases, only one population figure has been recorded against a number of villages of which possibly one is the main village, others being its satellites and as these villages were selected without any reference to the **Census Handbook**, there is every likelihood of our selected villages not coinciding with **Census** villages. So far as migration is concerned it is **very** rare in big villages, particularly when they have some settled occupation but it was found through investigation that in some of the border villages due to continued adversities in their agricultural and other occupation people had to move away in search of work. Migration of some traders was reported from **Bholaganj** and **Lyngkhat**. Some **Khasi** families were reported to have migrated to **Pakistan** where they had got agricultural land. Heaviest emigration of this type was however, reported from **Sohkha**, a village located from **Saipung-Darrang, M. P. C. D. Block**, but located near the **Indo-Pak Border**, where about **one third** of its **total** population was said to have migrated to **Pakistan**. Some families from **Mawdon** are said to have migrated to a nearby village due to unhealthy condition of the village. A study of population variation in **General area** villages given above, will show that there is **a net decrease of 20 persons** in the sample villages from **total number of persons recorded** in **1951 Census**. This is accounted for by migration of people which is considerable in smaller villages particularly those depending on **shifting** cultivation. A few families from **Mawlaiteng** are said to have migrated to **Mawlum** a village **only a** few **furlong** away from **Mawlaiteng**. Migration was also reported from **Lawyriang, Dawsya, Asola**, and **Jowa** from **Byhuh** and **Mawkyrshiw** a few families were said to have left the village a few days ahead of the **date of** investigation for their cultivation at some distant place.

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR? Khasi AR?

361 In the interior of the Hills the largest villages are mere clusters of
463 huts. The great majority of the inhabitants are employed in agriculture, but there are no data upon which a proportion of agriculturists to non-agriculturists could be based.

167 There is no immigration into the District. Both the Khasis and
198 the Syntengs have been successful in preserving to the present day their primitive isolation, free from the interference of Hindoism. They still maintain their aboriginal forms of belief and religious worship, and repudiate alike the authority of Brahmans and
[771] the entire system of castes. To some extent, however, they have
[262] given way to Hindu prejudices in the matter of purity of food. The few Hindus to be found in the Hills are temporary residents, en-
[563] gaged in civil and military employ, who always contemplate returning to their own homes. The traders are for the most part natives of the
[441] Hills; for the Marwari merchants, who penetrate into every other corner of Assam, have been able to obtain no footing in the face of Khasi competition. There is likewise no emigration from the District. The hillmen are a well-to-do and contented race, and either produce themselves or obtain by trade sufficient to satisfy
• [166] their scanty wants. A certain number of both Khasis and Syntengs proceed southwards every year to work on the tea gardens of Cachar and Sylhet, but such absences from home is only temporary.

243 AGRICULTURE: RICE.—Thirteen different varieties of rice are cultivated in the District, of which the following is a list, giving the Khasi name as well as the description of the grain:—(i) *U-dyke-khyrwiew* (*u*, the masculine article, meaning 'the,' and *dyke*, noun masculine, meaning 'paddy'), brown rice with long grain; (ii) *u-dyke-khyrwiew-dwitik*, a whitish rice with long grain; (iii) *u-dyke-lo-tik*, round-grained rice; (iv) *u-dyke-kwai*, bearded, hooked; (v) *u-dyke-dew-de-ieng*, black hooked rice (literally *u* = 'the,' *dyke* = 'paddy,' *dew* = 'earth,' *de* = 'that,' *ieng* = 'black'); (vi) *u-dyke-de-lili*, white rice; (vii) *u-dyke-wiw*, scented rice (literally *u* = 'the,' *dyke* = 'paddy,' *wiew* = 'royal'); (viii) *u-dyke-de-kwak*, large-grained rice; (ix) *u-dyke-de-ieng*, small-grained rice; (x) *u-dyke-se-ka*, early rice; (xi) *u-dyke-ra-kan*, late rice; (xii) *u-dyke-ieng-la*, rice grown along with beans; (xiii) *u-dyke-de-lili*, small rice.

Rice is cultivated in marshy fields situated near running water as well as in high lands. The first seven of the above thirteen species of rice are sown in marshy lands during the months of April and May,

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

impossible to state, as it is to fix upon the exact tract of country from which the Aryans sprung. With reference to the Khasi branch of the Mon-Anam family, it would seem reasonable to suppose that if they are not the autochthons of a portion of the hills on the southern bank of the Brahmaputra, and if they migrated to Assam from some other country, it is not unlikely that they followed the direction of the different irruptions of foreign peoples into Assam of which we have authentic data, i.e. from south-east to north-west, as was the case with the Ahom invaders of Assam who invaded Assam from their settlements in the Shan States off the Patkoi range, the different Burmese invasions, the movements of the Khamtis and, again, the Singphaw, from the country to the east of the Hukong Valley. Whether the first cousins of the Khasis, the Mons, moved to their present abode from China, whether they are the aborigines of the portion of Burma they at present occupy, or were one of the races "of Turanian origin" who, as Forbes thinks, originally occupied the valley of the Ganges before the Aryan invasion, must be left to others more qualified than myself to determine. Further, it is difficult to clear up the mystery of the survival, in an isolated position, of people like the Bo-Mondas, whose language and certain customs exhibit points of similarity with those of the Khasis, in close proximity to the Dravidian tribes and at a great distance from the Khasis, there being no people who exhibit similar characteristics inhabiting countries situated in between; but we can, I think, reasonably suppose that the Khasis are an offshoot of the Mon people of Further India in the light of the historical fact I have quoted, i.e. that the movements of races into Assam have usually, although not invariably, taken place from the east, and not from the west. The tendency for outside people to move into Assam from the east still continues.

Appendix.

The late Mr. S. E. Peal, F.R.G.S., in an interesting and suggestive paper published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* in 1886, drew attention to certain illustrations of

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

[Shella]

wife who lives with him. The Khasi woman lives with her mother. Some say the Khasi woman is his second wife, other say their marriage is not recognized by the public. 563

Actually, owing to the bad climate, very few non-Khasi live in this area. Besides the two non-Khasi just mentioned, there were a Bengalee tax collector and an Assamese Forest Officer, both of whom lived at Shella Bazaar. Bengalee villages are situated about five miles south of Shella. Except in the bazaar, Bengalee and Khasi have no social contact with each other, and intermarriages have been rare.

However, it is obvious that in the past the Khasi must have had many cases of intermarriage with Bengalee. Among the Khasi, there is a clan called 'Dkhar.' The term 'Dkhar' is also used for the peoples of the plains; Bengalee are called 'Dkhar' by the Khasi. They say that the Dkhar clan originated in Bengalee girls who married Khasi men and who went to live in the Hills. It is said that in other days, the Khasi often raided the Sylhet plain and kidnapped Bengalee girls as well as goods. In Bengalee records of Sylhet, Khasi appear as 'Bloody Khasi.' Khasi old men say that in order to increase their population they did sometimes kidnap Bengalee girls, but that they treated these girls very nicely and kindly, so differently from their own people. Since they follow the matrilineal system, they decided to name their descendants 'Dkhar.' It is said that all the present Dkhar people are descendants of such marriages. The Dkhar are found more on the southern slopes of the Khasi Hills i.e. among the Wars. 101 563

It seems there were many reasons for the descendants by marriage between the Khasi and the Bengalee to become Khasi. First of all, it is said that in the other days the Khasi wanted to increase the population by such marriages. At the same time, a Bengalee who married a Khasi became an outcast from his or her own society owing to the caste system, and this inevitably made them Khasi. Secondly, the Khasi were primarily grouped into the *iaing*, and they considered the marriage relation as of secondary importance. Hence it was rather difficult to remove by marriage a Khasi man or woman from their native place. Thirdly, Khasi could hardly live in the plain where no betel-nut or pan-leaf gardens were available; they could not engage in rice cultivation in the plain, as the technique is entirely different from the cultivation of betel-nut or pan-leaf. Moreover, they said they could not stand the heat in the plain. Therefore, the orientation of intermarriages was always towards the Khasi community: the Khasi brought outsiders to their own land; they did not themselves leave.

Such a marked tendency on the part of the Khasi to remain attached to their own homeland, is in no way contradictory with the phenomena of their migration to places outside the Khasi Hills, owing to the exploitation of their homeland and to the increase in population. The formation of Jaitinga represents such an instance; there are also the cases of modern Khasi women from sophisticated urban areas, who easily leave their homeland, after marriage with a non-Khasi, this also appears in the following data on Jaitinga. 161 167 [563]

JAITINGA

Jaitinga is a Khasi village situated in the North Cachar Hills, three miles east from Haflong, the headquarters of the North Cachar Hills. The number of households was about sixty in February 1956. Their economy depends on the pan-leaf, orange and pineapple gardens, similar to that of the Shella people. 131 621 653

thereafter, the British negotiated treaties with all the Khasi states, the last treaty being signed in 1862. It was contracted that the chiefs would be subject to the authority of a resident political agent, whose duties would involve maintaining law and order, judging cases of heinous crimes, approving the popular selection of any new chief, and exercising control over certain categories of natural resources. Khasis were guaranteed noninterference in their customary way of life, and they were not then, nor are they now, taxed. Most Khasis, as opposed to Jaintias, were never an integral part of British India, but they did undergo social change as a result of British presence. To summarize Mills (n.d.): (1) The British introduced the potato, which the Khasis rapidly took up as a cash crop for marketing as far as Calcutta. The intensive specialization exhausted the soil and made for ever-poorer crops. (2) Christian missionaries made large numbers of converts, and there arose the difficult question of whether a Christian should inherit property that traditionally was earmarked for her performance of non-Christian religious rituals. (3) About 1864 the British transferred their headquarters from Cherrapunji to Shillong. When they made Shillong the capital of the entire state of Assam, non-Khasis flocked to it, land values soared, and the concept of private property became increasingly important. Khasis began to marry with members of other ethnic groups, which introduced confusion into traditional social patterns. These problems were exacerbated during World War II, when Shillong and its environs enjoyed enormous economic prosperity. One notable aftermath of this affluence has been the accelerated enrollments in schools and colleges. Hundreds of Khasis now have the B.A., M.A., and even the Ph.D. degree. • With the Independence of India in 1947, and under the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India (which was drafted by a Khasi), the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills District became a Part B, or Autonomous, Tribal Area, to be governed by a District Council composed largely of Khasis and Jaintias, and responsible not to the Legislature of Assam, but to the Governor of Assam as agent of the President of India. The native-state system and the chiefs still exist, and the District Council finds it difficult to effect legislation which is neither offensive to regional customs nor a simple blueprint of ill-fitting all-India legislation. The major political schism of this time is between Jaintias, who are accustomed to centralized authority and taxation, and Khasis, who resist the notion of taxation to support the work of a central District Council. (Cf. Gait 1906, Aitchison 1931, Bhuyan 1948, Morris 1958.)

SETTLEMENT PATTERN AND HOUSING. Settlement pattern. Khasis live endemically in nucleated, nucleated, and emplanted villages which are situated just below hill summits to avoid strong winds but still be defensible, and which usually include a de-

175 619 648 [726] [651] [177] 177 648 [449] [439] [139] [737] [423] [635] [633] [167] [563] [423] [971] 641 642 [651] [563] [113] 361 [312]

439 East Pakistan to which the people in the border areas were entitled
648 in the strength of various trade agreements of the Government of
458 India with the authorities in Pakistan, were also scanty. The situation was still more aggravated due to the stringent measures adopted by authorities in Pakistan, on the plea of prevention of smuggling, in December, 1957 when the entire border trade virtually came to a standstill.

245 This chaos in border economy has resulted in widespread unem-
439 ployment among the border people. There being no market for the
458 produce, the owners ceased to take proper care of their orchards and
464 plantations. As a result thousands of labourers who were employed in the orchards were thrown out of employment. Similar was the condition of those who were employed in the transportation of various commodities such as merchandise of trade etc. A large section of the people engaged in collection of limestone were also rendered unemployed with the set back received by the trade in limestone with East Pakistan. Due to stoppage of trans-border trade, petty traders engaged in distributive trade, also suffered.

423 Many of the border people possessing paddy lands and orchards in
648 areas that are located in Pakistan had to abandon them. The following
458 table will show the amount of land lying in Pakistan belonging to the farmer in the selected villages of border area :—

TABLE A-2

Name of villages	Area of land lost through partition		
	No. of families who possessed land in Pakistan	Area (acres)	Average per family (acres)
1. Hongjri	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
2. Shella	9	[illegible]	[illegible]
3. Mawlangkai	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
4. Balay	2	[illegible]	[illegible]
5. Mawlum	nil	..	..
6. Lyngkhat	1	[illegible]	[illegible]
7. Dawang	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
8. Syntai	3	[illegible]	[illegible]
9. Amlit	8	[illegible]	[illegible]
10. Umlatong	nil	..	..

• 167 A few families who did not have any landed interest on this side
650 of the border were reported to have migrated to Pakistan. Most of the families are even now paying tax to East Pakistan authorities even though they are not getting any returns because they do not want to lose their right on land.

Name of village	No. of persons according to 1951 Census	Present survey	Variation	No. of families according to listing schedule	
General Area—					
19. Mawhiteng	113	86	−27	20	Average size of village 18·4
20. Jyngiat	87	49	−38	7	
21. Asola	29	22	−7	5	.. ..
22. Domrya	76	16	40	20	
23. Lamyriang	119	97	−22	23	Average family size 4·4
24. Ingenala	126	161	35	24	
25. Mawkyrkhiw	163	159	−4	40	
26. Jowe	48	31	−17	7	
27. Byrbah	114	106	−8	20	
28. Mawkhi	48	75	27	16	
Total ..	924	902	−22	184	.. ...

N. B.—1951 census population figures are not shown against Border Area and Project Area villages. This is because of the fact that in some cases in the Census report, the different blocks of a village have been enumerated as different villages, *e.g.*, the village **Sohkha** has been enumerated in 1951 census as three villages, viz., **Sohkha Phlang, Sohkha mission**, etc., while in some other cases, only one population figure has been recorded against a number of villages of which possibly one is the main village, others being its satellites and as these villages were selected without any reference to the **Census Handbook**, there is every likelihood of our selected villages not coinciding with Census villages. So far as migration is concerned it is very rare in big villages, particularly when they have some settled occupation but it was found through investigation that in some of the border villages due to continued adversities in their agricultural and other occupation people had to move away in search of work. Migration of some traders was reported from **Bholaganj** and **Lyngkhat**. Some Khasi families were reported to have migrated to **Pakistan** where they had got agricultural land. Heaviest emigration of this type was however, reported from **Sohkha**, a village selected from **Saipung-Darrang, M. P. C. D. Block**, but located near the Indo-Pak Border, where about one third of its total population was said to have migrated to **Pakistan**. Some families from **Mawlum** are said to have migrated to a nearby village due to unhealthy condition of the village. A study of population variation in General area villages given above, will show that there is a net decrease of 20 persons in the sample villages from total number of persons recorded in 1951 Census. This is accounted for by migration of people which is considerable in smaller villages particularly those depending on shifting cultivation. A few families from **Mawhiteng** are said to have migrated to **Mawlum** a village only a few **Coloms** away from **Mawhiteng**. Migration was also reported from **Lamyriang, Domrya, Asola**, and **Jowe** from **Byrbah** and **Mawkyrkhiw** a few families were said to have left the village a few days ahead of the date of investigation for their cultivation at some distant place.

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361 In the interior of the Hills the largest villages are mere clusters of
463 huts. The great majority of the inhabitants are employed in agriculture, but there are no data upon which a proportion of agriculturists to non-agriculturists could be based.

167 There is no immigration into the District. Both the Khásiás and
178 the Syntengs have been successful in preserving to the present day their primitive isolation, free from the interference of Hinduism. They still maintain their aboriginal forms of belief and re-
[771] [262] ligious worship, and repudiate alike the authority of Bráhmans and the entire system of caste. To some extent, however, they have given way to Hindu prejudices in the matter of purity of food. The
[563] few Hindus to be found in the Hills are temporary residents, engaged in civil and military employ, who always contemplate returning
[441] to their own homes. The traders are for the most part natives of the Hills; for the Márwári merchants, who penetrate into every other corner of Assam, have been able to obtain no footing in the face of Khási competition. There is likewise no emigration from the District. The hillmen are a well-to-do and contented race, and either produce themselves or obtain by trade sufficient to satisfy
[166] their scanty wants. A certain number of both Khásiás and Syntengs proceed southwards every year to work on the tea gardens of Cáchár and Sylhet, but such absence from home is only temporary.

243 AGRICULTURE: RICE.—Thirteen different varieties of rice are cultivated in the District, of which the following is a list, giving the Khási name as well as the description of the grain:—(1) *U-kyba-khyuriew* (*u*, the masculine article, meaning 'the,' and *kyba*, noun masculine, meaning 'paddy'), brown rice with long grain; (2) *u-kyba-khyuriew hoi-lik*, a white rice with long grain; (3) *u-kyba la-tob*, round-grained rice; (4) *u-kyba khai*, bearded, husked; (5) *u-kyba-drw-ha-iong*, black husked rice (literally *u* = 'the,' *kyba* = 'paddy,' *drw* = 'earth,' *ha* = 'that,' *iong* = 'black'); (6) *u-kyba-ha-lik*, white rice; (7) *u-kyba-srim*, crested rice (literally *u* = 'the,' *kyba* = 'paddy,' *srim* = 'royal'); (8) *u-kyba la-krub*, large-grained rice; (9) *u-kyba-ha-tieng*, small-grained rice; (10) *u-kyba sa-kia*, early rice; (11) *u-kyba ra-ion*, late rice; (12) *u-kyba tang-la*, rice grown along with beans; (13) *u-kyba-ha-tik*, small rice.

Rice is cultivated in marshy fields situated near running water as well as in high lands. The first seven of the above thirteen species of rice are sown in marshy lands during the months of April and May,

16: McCormack E-4,5 (1956-1958) 1964
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another. In other words, a state is not a fixed territorial entity. In the early twentieth century, the most populous of the 25 chiefdoms, Khyrim, contained 36,833 persons occupying 7,859 houses in 372 villages, and the least populous, Nonglwai, contained 246 persons occupying 53 houses in 3 villages. Fifteen of the chiefdoms were headed by a *syiem* (chief), three by a *lyngdoh* (priest), six by a sirdar, and one by a *wahadadar*. These leaders all had executive and judicial functions, but a chief's authority was limited in that he had to obtain the approval of his executive council before acting. The other leaders were subject to a similar limitation. A chief maintained a small police force. His major sources of revenue were market tolls, fines, and, more recently, income from licenses to distill rice whisky. Succession to a ruling role in the larger states traditionally involved election by members of a lineage that had a hereditary right to elect, from among members of a lineage that had the hereditary right to rule. In British times, the elective basis was broadened, differentially in the various states, even to the point of popular elections. [Cf. Aitchison 1931; Lyngdoh 1952.] **Social stratification.** The three classes of lineage are the nobles, the commoners, and the slaves or servants. This stratification applies only to the recruitment to office in the native-state system, for there is no hypergamy, and in a village assembly everyone has equal voice. The noble lineages have the hereditary right to fill from among their male members roles such as village or state priest, councilor to a chief, or elector of a chief. The few lineages which today are remembered as slave or servant lineages had the inherited obligation to render special services to a chief's household. There is no Khasi term for "commoner." Every lineage other than a noble or a slave lineage is a commoner lineage, and the commoner lineages are in the majority. **Warfare.** Warfare was suppressed by the British, and little is known for certain about its traditional forms. The tactics which confronted the British were the ambush and the guerrilla raid. Traditional goals included taking heads from other Khasis and capturing women from the valleys.

000 175 619 62 (161) (793) (651) (666) (177) (178) 565 623 621 567 72 (177)

RELIGION. Major and indigenous religions. A Welsh Calvinistic Methodist missionary penetrated into Cherrapunji in 1832, and the work that he began continues to this day. His society, which has since become the Welsh Presbyterian Foreign Mission, introduced writing, village primary schools, a high school, a theological seminary, and a hospital. Competing missionaries followed, and by 1914 some Shillong Khasis were puzzling over the tenets not only of traditional Hinduism and Islam but also of the Buddhists, Brahmo Samaj, Arya Samaj, and Unitarians (Roy 1914). By the 1920s, missionaries of the Church of God and the Seventh Day Adventists were

797 17

It may perhaps be ascribed to the pre-eminence
accorded by the Khasis to the female sex that successive 162
censuses have shown that the women of this race
considerably exceed the men in number. According
to the census of 1901, there are 1,118 females to every
1,000 male Khasis. This excess, however, is surpassed
by that of the Lushais, 1,191 to 1,000, and it may
possibly be due to the greater risks to life encountered
by the men, who venture far into the plains as traders
and porters, while the women stay at home. Habits of 165
intemperance, which are confined to the male sex, may
also explain a greater mortality among them.

It would be interesting to investigate the effect 161
on reproduction of the system of matriarchy which 163
governs Khasi family life. The increase of the race is
very slow. In the census of 1891 there were enumerated
only 117 children under 5 to every hundred married
women between 15 and 40, and in 1901 this number fell
to 108. It has been suggested that the independence
of the wife, and the facilities which exist for divorce,
lead to restrictions upon child-bearing, and thus keep
the population stationary. The question might with
advantage be examined at the census of 1911.

The next characteristic of the Khasis which marks 787
them out for special notice is their method of divination 782
for ascertaining the causes of misfortune and the
remedies to be applied. All forms of animistic religion
make it their chief business to avert the wrath of the
gods, to which calamities of all kinds—sickness, storm,
murrain, loss of harvest—are ascribed, by some kind of
propitiation; and in this the Khasis are not singular.
But it is somewhat surprising to find among them the 787
identical method of *extispicium* which was in use among 171
the Romans, as well as an analogous development in
the shape of egg-breaking, fully described by Major
Gurdon (p. 221), which seems to have been known to

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787 diviners in ancient Hellas.* This method has (with
171 much else in Khasi practice) been adopted by the
● former subjects of the Khasis, the Mikirs; but it does not appear to be prevalent among any other of the animistic tribes within the boundaries of India.

211 The third remarkable feature of Khasi usage is the
171 custom, which prevails to this day, of setting up great
731 memorials of rough stone, of the same style and character as the *menhirs* and *cromlechs* which are found in Western Europe, Northern Africa, and Western Asia. It is very surprising to a visitor, unprepared for the sight by previous information, to find himself on arrival at the plateau in the midst of great groups of standing and table stones exactly like those he may have seen in Brittany, the Channel Islands, the south of England, or the Western Isles. Unfortunately the great earthquake of June 1897 overthrew many of the finest of these megalithic monuments; but several still remain, and of these Major Gurdon has given an excellent description (pp. 144 sqq.), with an explanation of the different forms which they assume and the objects with which they are erected. Other races in India besides the Khasis set up stone memorials; but none, perhaps, to the same extent or with the same systematic purpose and arrangement.

114 In conclusion, I have only to commend this work to the consideration of all interested in the accurate and detailed description of primitive custom. I lived myself for many years among the Khasis, and endeavoured to find out what I could about them; but much of what Major Gurdon records is new to me, though the book generally agrees with what I was able

* Called φοιτικία: one of the lost books of the Orphic cycle was entitled τὰ φοιτικά.

impossible to state, as it is to fix upon the exact tract of country from which the Aryans sprang. With reference to the Khasi branch of the Mon-Anam family, it would seem reasonable to suppose that if they are not the autochthons of a portion of the hills on the southern bank of the Brahmaputra, and if they migrated to Assam from some other country, it is not unlikely that they followed the direction of the different irruptions of foreign peoples into Assam of which we have authentic data, i.e. from south-east to north-west, as was the case with the Ahom invaders of Assam who invaded Assam from their settlements in the Shan States *viâ* the Patkoi range, the different Burmese invasions, the movements of the Khamtis and, again, the Singphos, from the country to the east of the Hukong Valley. Whether the first cousins of the Khasis, the Mons, moved to their present abode from China, whether they are the aborigines of the portion of Burma they at present occupy, or were one of the races "of Turanian origin" who, as Forbes thinks, originally occupied the valley of the Ganges before the Aryan invasion, must be left to others more qualified than myself to determine. Further, it is difficult to clear up the mystery of the survival, in an isolated position, of people like the Ho-Mundas, whose language and certain customs exhibit points of similarity with those of the Khasis, in close proximity to the Dravidian tribes and at a great distance from the Khasis, there being no people who exhibit similar characteristics inhabiting countries situated in between; but we can, I think, reasonably suppose that the Khasis are an offshoot of the Mon people of Further India in the light of the historical fact I have quoted, i.e. that the movements of races into Assam have usually, although not invariably, taken place from the east, and not from the west. The tendency for outside people to move into Assam from the east still continues.

Affinities.

The late Mr. S. E. Peal, F.R.G.S., in an interesting and suggestive paper published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1896, drew attention to certain illustrations of

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"singular shoulder-headed celts," found only in the Malay Peninsula till the year 1875, when they were also discovered in Chota Nagpur, and figured in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for June of that year. These "celts" are, as the name implies, ancient stone implements. Mr. Peal goes on to state the interesting fact that when he was at Ledo and Tikak, Naga villages, east of Makum, on the south-east frontier of the Lakhimpur district of Assam, in 1895, he found iron implements, miniature hoes, used by the Nagas, of a similar shape to the "shoulder-headed celts" which had been found in the Malay Peninsula and Chota Nagpur. Now the peculiarly shaped Khasi hoe or *mo-khiw*, a sketch of which is given, with its far projecting shoulders, is merely an enlarged edition of the Naga hoe described by Peal, and may therefore be regarded as a modern representative in iron, although on an enlarged scale, of the "shoulder-headed celts." Another interesting point is that, according to Forbes, the Burmese name for these stone celts is *mo-gyo*. Now the Khasi name for the hoe is *mo-khiw*. The similarity between the two words seems very strong. Forbes says the name *mo-gyo* in Burmese means "cloud or sky chain," which he interprets "thunderbolt," the popular belief there, as in other countries, being that these palæolithic implements fell from heaven. Although the Khasi name *mo-khiw* has no connection whatsoever with aerolites, it is a singular coincidence that the name for the Khasi hoe of the present day should almost exactly correspond with the Burmese name for the palæolithic implement found in Burma and the Malay Peninsula, and when it is remembered that these stone celts are of a different shape from that of the stone implements which have been found in India (with the exception of Chota Nagpur), there would seem to be some grounds for believing that the

Khasis are connected with people who inhabited the Malay Peninsula and Chota Nagpur at the time of the Stone Age.* That these people were what Logan calls the Mon-Anam, may possibly be the case. Mr. Peal goes on to state, "the discovery is interesting for other reasons it possibly amounts to a demonstration that Logan (who it is believed was the first to draw attention to the points of resemblance between the languages of the Mon-Anam or Mon-Khmêr and those of the Mundas and the Khasis), was correct in assuming that at one time the Mon-Anam races and influence extended from the Vindyas all over the Ganges Basin, even over Assam, the northern border of the Ultra Indian Peninsula." Mr. Peal then remarks that the Eastern Nagas of the Tirap, Namstik, and Sonkap group "are strikingly like them (i.e. the Mon-Anam races), in many respects, the women being particularly robust, with pale colour and at times rosy cheeks." The interesting statement follows that the men wear the Khasi-Mikir sleeveless coat. Under the heading of dress this will be found described as a garment which leaves the neck and arms bare, with a fringe at the bottom and with a row of tassels across the chest, the coat being fastened by frogs in front. It is a garment of a distinctive character and cannot be mistaken; it used to be worn largely by the Khasis, and is still used extensively by the Syntengs and Lynngams and by the Mikirs, and that it should have been found amongst these Eastern Nagas is certainly remarkable. It is to be regretted that the investigations of the Ethnographical Survey, as at present conducted, have not extended to these Eastern Nagas, who inhabit tracts either outside British territory or in very remote places on its confines, so that we are at present unable to state whether any of these tribes possess other points of affinity, as

* It is interesting to compare the remarks of M. Aymonier in his volume iii. of "Le Cambodge." He writes as follows:—"Mais en Indo-Chine on trouve, partout disseminé, ce que les indigènes, au Cambodge du moins, appellent, comme les peuples le plus éloignés du globe 'les traits de foudre.' Ce sont ici des haches de l'âge néolithique ou de la pierre polie, dont la plupart appartiennent au type répandu en toute la terre. D'autres de ces celtes, dits épaulés, parceque ils possèdent un talon d'une forme particulière, paraissent appartenir en propre à l'Indo-Chine et à la presqu'île dekkhanique. Ils fournissent donc un premier indice, non négligeable, d'une communauté d'origine des populations primitives des deux péninsules, cis et transgangétiques."

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144 regards social customs, with the Khasis; but it will be noticed
211 in the chapter dealing with memorial stones that some of the
171 Naga tribes are in the habit of erecting monoliths somewhat similar in character to those of the Khasis, and that the Mikirs (who wear the Khasi sleeveless coat), erect memorial stones exactly similar to those of the Khasis. The evidence seems to suggest a theory that the Mon-Anam race, including of course the Khasis, occupied at one time a much larger area in the mountainous country to the south of the Brahmaputra in Assam than it does at present. Further references will be found to this
144 point in the section dealing with memorial stones. The fact
171 that the Ho-Mundas of Chota Nagpur also erect memorial stones and that they possess death customs very similar to those of the Khasis, has also been noticed in the same chapter. We have, therefore, the following points of similarity as regards customs between the Khasis on the one hand, certain Eastern Naga tribes, the Mikirs, and the ancient inhabitants of the Malay Peninsula on the other :—

(a) Peculiarly shaped hoe, i.e. the hoe with far projecting shoulders	1. Khasis. 2. Certain Eastern Naga tribes. 3. The ancient inhabitants of the Malay Peninsula. 4. The ancient inhabitants of Chota Nagpur (the Ho-Mundas ?).
(b) Sleeveless coat	1. Khasis. 2. Mikirs. 3. Certain Eastern Naga tribes.
(c) Memorial stones	1. Khasis. 2. Mikirs. 3. Certain Eastern Naga tribes. 4. Ho-Mundas of Chota Nagpur.

197 I wish to draw no definite conclusions from the above facts,
144 but they are certainly worth considering with reference to Logan's theory as stated by Peal: the theory being based on Logan's philological inquiries. Thanks to the labours of Grierson, Logan, and Kuhn in the linguistic field, we know that the languages of the Mon-Khmêr group in Burma and the Malay Peninsula are intimately connected with Khasi. I say, intimately, advisedly, for not only are roots of words seen to be similar, but the order of the words in the sentence is found to be the same, indicating that both these people think in the same order when wishing to express themselves by speech.

There are also syntactical agreements. We may take it as finally proved by Dr. Grierson and Professor Kuhn that the Mon-Khmér, Palaung, Wa, and Khasi languages are closely connected. In the section of the Monograph which deals with language some striking similarities between the languages of these tribes will be pointed out. We have not so far been able to discover social customs common to the Palaungs and the Khasis; this is probably due to the conversion of the Palaungs to Buddhism, the change in the religion of the people having possibly caused the abandonment of the primitive customs of the tribe. In a few years' time, if the progressive rate of conversions of Khasis to Christianity continues, probably the greater number of the Khasi social customs will have disappeared and others will have taken their place, so that it cannot be argued that because no manifest social customs can now be found common to the Khasis and the Palaungs, there is no connection between these two tribes. The strong linguistic affinity between these two peoples and the wild *Was* of Burma points to an intimate connection between all three in the past. As knowledge of the habits of the wild *Was* improves, it is quite possible that social customs of this tribe may be found to be held in common with the Khasis. With regard to social affinities it will be interesting to note the Palaung folk-tale of the origin of their Sawbwa, which is reproduced in Sir George Scott's Upper Burma Gazetteer. The Sawbwa, it is related, is descended from the Naga Princess Thusandi who lived in the *Nat* tank on the Mongok hills and who laid three eggs, from one of which was born the ancestor of the Palaung Sawbwa. Here we see how the Palaung regards the egg, and it is noteworthy that the Khasis lay great stress on its potency in divination for the purposes of religious sacrifices, and that at death it is placed on the stomach of the deceased and is after-wards broken at the funeral pyre. Amongst some of the tribes of the Malay Archipelago also the *Gaji-Guru* or medicine-man "can see from the yolk of an egg, broken whilst sacramentally counting from one to seven, from what illness a man is suffering and what has caused it." Here we have an almost exactly parallel case to the Khasi custom of egg-breaking.

In the Palaung folk-tale above referred to the importance of

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the egg in the eyes of Palaung is demonstrated, and we know how the Khasi regards it. But the folk-tale is also important as suggesting that the ancient people of Pagan were originally serpent-worshippers, i.e. *Nágas*, and it is interesting to note that the Ronai or Palaung women of the present day "wear a dress which is like the skin of the Naga (snake)." Is it possible that the Khasi superstition of the *thlen*, or serpent demon, and its worship, an account of which will be found under the heading of "Human Sacrifices" in the Monograph, has anything to do with the ancient snake-worship of the people of Pagan, and also of the ancient inhabitants of Naga-Dwipa, and that amongst the wild *Was* the custom of head-hunting may have taken the place of the Khasi human sacrifices to the *thlen?*

Notwithstanding that Sir George Scott says the story has very Burman characteristics, the Palaung folk-tale is further interesting in that it speaks of the Sawbwa of the Palaungs being descended from a *princess*. This might be a suggestion of the matriarchate.

It can well be imagined how important a matter it is also, in the light of Grierson's and Kuhn's linguistic conclusions, to ascertain whether any of the Mon-Khmér people in Annam and Cambodia and neighbouring countries possess social customs in common with the Khasis. In case it may be possible for French and Siamese ethnologists in Further India to follow up these inquiries at some subsequent date, it may be stated that information regarding social customs is required with reference to the people who speak the following languages in Annam and Cambodia and Cochin China which belong to the Mon-Khmér group—*Sok*, *Stieng*, *Bolaor*, *Aromre*, *Khamen-Bawa*, *Xong*, *Annam*, *Khoa*, and *Lamet*.

Notwithstanding our failure up till now to find any patent and direct social customs in common between the Khasis and the Palaungs, I am in hope that we may yet discover some such affinities. Mr. Lewis, the Superintendent of Ethnography in Burma, states that there is no vestige of the matriarchal system among the Palaungs; but there is the folk-tale I have quoted above. In matters of succession, inheritance, &c., the Palaungs, Mr. Lewis, says, profess to follow the Shans, whose customs in this regard have a Buddhistic basis. The Palaungs

are devout Buddhists, and, like the Burmans and Shans, bury their lay dead, whereas the Khasis invariably burn. There is nothing in the shape of memorial stones amongst the Palaungs. *Primâ facie* these appear to be points of differentiation between the Palaungs and the Khasis; but they should not, as has already been stated, be regarded as proof positive that the tribes are not connected, and it is possible that under the influence of Buddhism the Palaungs may have almost entirely abandoned their ancient customs, like the Christian Khasis.

Having noticed some similarities as regards birth customs, as described in Dr. Frazer's "Golden Bough," between the Khasis and certain inhabitants of the Dutch East Indies, I wrote to the Dutch authorities in Batavia requesting certain further information. My application was treated with the greatest courtesy, and I am indebted to the kindness of the President, his secretary, and Mr. C. M. Pleyte, Lecturer of Indonesian Ethnology at the Gymnasium of William III., at Batavia, for some interesting as well as valuable information. With reference to possible Malay influence in the countries inhabited by the people who speak the Mon-Khmér group of languages in Further India, it was thought desirable to ascertain whether any of the people inhabiting the Dutch East Indies possessed anything in common with the Khasis, who also belong to the Mon-Khmér group. There are, according to Mr. Pleyte, pure matriarchal customs to be found amongst the Minangkabe Malays inhabiting the Padang uplands and adjacent countries, in Sumatra, in Agam, the fifty Kotas, and Tanah Datar, more or less mixed with patriarchal institutions; they are equally followed by the tribes inhabiting parts of Korinchi and other places. The apparently strong survival of the matriarchate in parts of the island of Sumatra, as compared with this corresponding most characteristic feature of the Khasis, is a point for consideration. Mr. Pleyte goes on to state "regarding ancestor-worship, it may be said that this is found everywhere throughout the whole Archipelago; even the tribes that have already adopted Islam, venerate the spirits of their departed." The same might be said of some of the Khasis who have accepted Christianity, and much more of the Japanese. I would here refer the reader to the chapter on "Ancestor-worship." In the

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Southern Moluccas the placenta is mixed with ashes, placed in a pot, and hung on a tree; a similar custom is observed in Mandeling, on the west coast of Sumatra. This is a custom universally observed amongst the Khasis at births. Teknonomy to some extent prevails amongst some of these Malay tribes as with the Khasis. It will be seen from the above notes that there are some interesting points of affinity between the Khasis and some of the Malay tribes, and if we add that the Khasis are decidedly Malay in appearance, we cannot but wonder whether the Malays have any connection not only with the Mon-Khmèr family, but also with the Khasis, with the Ho-Mundas, and with the Naga tribes mentioned by Mr. Peal in his interesting paper published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, already referred to. We will study the strong linguistic affinities between these peoples in the section which deals with language.

M. Aymonier in "Le Cambodge" mentions the matriarchate as having been prevalent apparently amongst the primitive races of Cambodia, and notes that the ancient Chinese writers spoke of Queens in Fou-nan (Cambodia). If the Khmèrs were the ancient people of Cambodia, here we have an important landmark in common between them and the Khasis. M. Aymonier goes on to speak of priestesses, and the Cambodian taboo, *tam or lenam*, which Mr. Lowis, the Superintendent of Ethnography in Burma, suggests may be akin to the Khasi *sang*.

DRESS.

Dress may be divided into two divisions, ancient and modern. It will be convenient to take the former division first. The Khasi males of the interior wear the sleeveless coat or *jymphong*, which is a garment leaving the neck and arms bare, with a fringe at the bottom, and with a row of tassels across the chest; it is fastened by frogs in front. This coat, however, may be said to be going out of fashion in the Khasi Hills, its place being taken by coats of European pattern in the more civilized centres and by all sorts of nondescript garments in the interior. The sleeveless coat, however, is still worn by many

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sary, as in times of trouble. These offerings take the shape of articles of food which are theoretically partaken of by the shades of the deceased ancestors, the idea of making such offerings being very similar to that of the Hindus when they offer the "*pinda*," or cake, to nine generations of ancestors, i.e. to propitiate the shades of the departed, and to obtain their help thereby. U Herson Bai Dongdoh writes that, "the soul religious demand" amongst the Khasis is the *ai hum*, or giving of food to the spirits of deceased ancestors, in order that the latter may aid the living members of the clan with their help, and bless them. To honour dead ancestors is the duty of every Khasi, and he who wilfully neglects this duty, it is believed, will neither receive their help, nor be defended from the influence of the numerous spirits of evil in which the Khasis believe. Amongst the Syntengs, a few days after depositing the bones in the ancestral tomb, the ceremony of feeding the spirits of the dead is performed. At this ceremony there are some families which give two pigs for each person of the family who is dead, and there are some who give one. The pigs are taken to the *diep-ang*, or puja house of the clan. Presumably, pigs are usually offered to the shades only of those members of the family whose remains have been recently deposited in the clan cromlech. In the chapter dealing with memorial stones the reader will notice how many of them are erected to the memory of deceased ancestors, and how they bear the names of such ancestors, e.g. *Ka Bowbai* (the first grandmother), *U Bowbain*, or *U bai ranghah* (the first maternal uncle). It was the custom in former days to make offerings of food upon the flat table-stones to the spirits of the deceased ancestors, and this is still the custom in places in the interior of the district. This practice, however, may be said to be largely dying out, it being now commonly the custom to make the offerings in the house, either monthly, or at times when it is thought necessary to invoke the aid of the departed. Such acts of devotion may well be said to partake of the nature of worship. As has been the case in other countries, and amongst other people, it is possible that the Khasi gods of to-day are merely the spirits of glorified deceased ancestors transfigured, as has happened with some of the gods of the

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Shinto Pantheon of Japan. It may be interesting to note that the ancient Shinto cult of Japan possesses some features in common with the ancestor-worship of the Khasis. Take the funeral ceremonies. With both people we find the dead laid out in the house, food placed before the corpse, and the funeral ceremonies taking place, accompanied by music and dancing. Mr Lafcadio Hearn, in an interesting book on Japan, writes "that in ancient times the Japanese performed ceremonies at regular intervals at the tombs of deceased members of the family, and food and drink were then served to the spirits;" this is exactly what the Khasis used to do at their cenotaphs. This, apparently, was the practice in Japan before the "spirit tablet" had been introduced from China, when the worship of the ancestors was transferred from the tomb to the house. We have an exactly similar instance of evolution amongst the Khasis of the present day, i.e. the transfer of the ancestor cult from the flat table-stones erected in honour of deceased ancestors to the house. Last, but not least, is the idea common to both people, that no family or clan can prosper which does not duly perform the worship of deceased ancestors; this, as Hearn puts it, is "the fundamental idea underlying every persistent ancestor-worship, i.e. that the welfare of the living depends upon the welfare of the dead." The "Khasi Mystic," in an interesting article, notes some further points of resemblance between the methods of ancestor-worship adopted by the two people. The following instances may be quoted. Amongst the Japanese the spirits of those who fall in battle are said to help their fellow-countrymen who are still fighting. The "Khasi Mystic" quotes a similar belief as having existed amongst the Khasis in former days. The remains of Japanese warriors who die in battle are said to be reverently taken to the warrior's home at the first opportunity. The Khasis do likewise, the sinking in defeat of the allies of Khasi transport coolies, who were employed on military expeditions on the North-Eastern Frontier, having been carried home by the survivors to present to the dead man's relations, who then performed the ceremonies prescribed by custom for those who have died violent or untimely deaths. Of all deceased ancestors the Khasis revere *Ki Jaidei* the most, the word *Jaydei* being made up of

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"sow, short for Mme (grandmother), and Ka, mother. *Ka Iawbei* is the primeval ancestress of the clan. She is to the Khasis what the "tribal mother" was to old Celtic and Teutonic genealogists, and we have an interesting parallel to the reverence of the Khasis for *Ka Iawbei* in the Celtic goddess Brigit, the tribal mother of the Brigantes. Later on, like Ka Iawbei, she was canonized, and became St. Bridget.*

The greater number of the flat table-stones we see in front of the standing monoliths in these hills are erected in honour of *Ka Iawbei*. In former times, it was the custom to offer food to her on these stones. In cases of family quarrels, or dissensions amongst the members of the same clan, which it is desired to bring to a peaceful settlement, it is customary to perform a sacrifice to the first mother, "*Ka Iawbei*." They first of all take an augury by breaking eggs, and if it appears from the broken egg-shells that *Ka Iawbei* is offended, they offer to her a cotton cloth, and sacrifice a hen. On these occasions invocations are uttered, and a small drum, called, "*Ka 'sing ding dong*," is beaten. It is not unlikely that the Khasi household deities, *Ka lei ding* and *Ka lawa la jingpon*, to whom pujas are offered for the welfare of the house, are also *Ka Iawbei* in disguise. Notwithstanding the strong influence of the matriarchate, we find that U Thawlang, the first father and the husband of *Ka Iawbei*, is also revered. To him on occasion of domestic trouble a cock is sacrificed, and a *jymphong*, or sleeveless coat is offered. This puja is called *baba tap Thawlang*, i.e. covering the grandfather. The following invocation to U Thawlang is then chanted:—"Oh, father Thawlang, who hast enabled me to be born, who [illegible] and my life, I have secured thee, oh, father, be not offended, for I have given thee a pledge and a sign, i.e. a red and white sleeveless coat. Do not deliver me into the power of (the goddess of) illness, I have offered thee the propitiatory—ok that thou mayest carry me in thine arms, and that I may be aware of thee, my father Thawlang."

We see clearly from the above prayer that the Khasi idea is that the spirit of the deceased male ancestor is capable of

* Kuno Francke's essay on "medieval age civilization."

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being in a position to help his descendant in times of trouble. The same thought underlies the extreme reverence with which *Ka Iawbei* is regarded. Thus we see a striking point of resemblance between the Khasi ancestor-worship and the ancient Shinto cult of Japan, as described by Mr. Lafcadio Hearn. *U Doid-Sin*, or *u Kni Blogbah*, the first maternal uncle, i.e. the elder brother of *Ka Iawbei*, is also much revered. It will also be noticed under the heading of memorial stones that the great central upright monolith of the *mawbynna*, or memorial stones, is erected in his honour. The influence of the *kni*, or mother's elder brother, in the Khasi family is very great, for it is he who is the manager on behalf of the mother, his position in the Khasi family being very similar to that of the karta in the Hindu joint family. It is on this account that he is so much revered, and is honoured with a stone which is larger than the other up-right memorial stones after death. It will be seen in the article dealing with "the disposal of the dead," that at Cherra, on the occasion of the burial of the ashes in the cremation of the *ainl*, a part of the attendant ceremonies consists of the preparation of two effigies called *Ka Pawa* and *U Tyngkop*, intended to represent *Ka Iawbei* (the first mother) and *U Doid-Sin* (the first maternal uncle). The Wars of Nongpi have a custom peculiar to themselves. They erect small thatched houses in their compounds, which they call *ing lawid*. When they worship their ancestors they deposit offerings of food in these houses, the idea being that the ancestors will feed on the offerings. These Wars do not erect memorial stones, nor do they collect the ashes of the *ainl* in a common sepulchre; they deposit the ashes in circular concavities, each family, or *ing*, possessing one. It should further be noted with reference to the Khasi custom of *ai bam*, or giving food to the spirits of deceased ancestors, that Dr. Frazer, in his "Golden Bough," has mentioned instances of foodstuffs being offered to the spirits of deceased ancestors by the tribes inhabiting the Malay Archipelago. (See pages 462-463 of the "Golden Bough.") Some other points of similarity in customs have already been noticed between the Khasis and certain Malay tribes.

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should be severed with one blow. As soon as the head was cut off there was a rush on the part of the sacrifiers to see in which direction the head faced. If the head faced towards the north or west, it was considered an evil omen; if it faced towards the south or east, a good omen. The east is a lucky quarter amongst the Assamese also. The people ended up the proceedings by giving a long-drawn-out, deep-toned chant, or *hynkai*. Immediately after the ceremony was concluded hundreds of boats shot out from the numerous creeks, where they had been lying, and fished the river all night, the result being an immense haul, to the delight of the Lyngngams, who were seen next morning roasting the fish whole on bamboo stakes, after which they consumed them, the entrails being eaten with great gusto. Such is the worship of the goddess of the Pomsiñ.

Similar pujas take place among the people of Wie-ding (the valley of fire) before they fish in the Khai-mara river and elsewhere in the Khasi Hills. In the Jaintia Hills there is the Myntong-worship of the Kopili river, which used to be accompanied by human sacrifices, as has been mentioned above, pp. 102-104. The Myntong river, a tributary of the Kopili, must also be annually appeased by the sacrifice of a he-goat. Numerous hills also are worshipped, or rather the spirits which are said to inhabit them. One of the best known hill goddesses is the deity who is thought to inhabit the little wood close to the summit of the Shillong Peak. This deity is said to have been discovered by a man named "U Shillong," who gave his name to the Shillong Peak, and indirectly to our beautiful hill station. The Siems of Mylliem and Nongkrem reverence U'lei Shillong, and there are certain clans who perform periodical sacrifices to this god. Probably the origin of the superstitious reverence with which U'lei Shillong is held by the Siems of Nongkrem and Mylliem is that their fabled ancestor—the Pah ryngam, of whom an account will be found in the folk-lore section, took his origin from a rock not far from the Shillong Peak in the Nongkrem direction.

Rubiong Hill, which is within full view of the Shillong Peak to an easterly direction, is also said to be the abode of a minor god who is periodically propitiated by the members of the Mawthoh clan of the Khyrim State with a he-goat and a cock.

restored by the due propitiation of the offended spirits. In order to ascertain which is the offended spirit, a system of divination by means of cowries, breaking eggs, or examining the entrails of animals and birds, was instituted. The Khasi method of obtaining auguries by examining the viscera of animals and birds may be compared with that of the Roman haruspex. Some description of these modes of divination has been given at the end of this chapter. The Khasi religion has been described by Rivett as "demon worship, or a jumble of enchantments muttered by priests who are sorcerers." But even a religion which is thus unflatteringly described is based on the cardinal doctrines of sin and sacrifice for sin. Tradition amongst the Khasis states that in the beginning (*nyngrophong ka ongi*) there was no sin, heaven and earth were near each other, and man had direct intercourse with God. How man fell into sin is not stated, but it is certain that he did fall. Experts at "egg healing" never forget to repeat the formula "*nga briew nga la pap*" (I man have sinned). The cock then appears as a mediator between God and man. The cock is styled "*u khlaw ka blei u khlaw ka blei u khlaw syndong ka shah syndong ka ka kynta jong nga u briew*," i.e. the son of god who laye down his neck (life) for our man. The use of the feminine *ka blei* is no doubt due to matriarchal influence. There is another prayer in which the Khasis say, "*ay jatong ma u blei iong ranghah ma u briew*" (oh god do not forget the covenant, arise oh man). The idea is that man has fallen into sin of omission and commission (*ka pap, ka lait ka lei*) but that God is nevertheless expected to spare him, and to accept a substitute for him according to the covenant (*jatong*). By this covenant God is supposed to have accepted in exchange the cock as a sin-offering for man. "How the cock came to occupy such an important position, tradition is vague and self-contradicting. The fact remains that the covenant of the cock is the foundation of the Khasi religion. It is of interest to mention that amongst the Aboms the tradition is that Khunlung and Khunlai brought down from heaven the *lei-shim-mang*,* a pair of heavenly fowls, and that to this day the sacrifice of the

* In Abom *lei* is fowl, *shim* is beautiful, *mang* is country. Therefore *Kingshim-mang* is fowl of a beautiful country (heaven).

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77/ 925 fowl is considered by the Deodhais, or priest-soothsayers of the Abors, a most important feature of the ancient Abor ritual. ([71]) But amongst the Abors there is the difference that augaries are obtained, not from the entrails, but by examining the legs of the fowls. The Abors are Shans belonging to the Tai branch, another great division of the Indo-Chinese group of the human race.

787 925 The covenant of the cock as thus explained shows the importance of this sacrifice to the Khasis. The large intestine of a fowl has two pea-like protuberances, one close to the other. One is symbolically called *u Iaei* or god, and the other is styled *u Iaiim* or man, they are connected by a thin membrane. Directly the bird has been disembowelled the sacrificer throws a few grains of rice on the entrails and then watches their curvilinear movements. If the portion of the entrail called *u Iaei* moves towards that portion which represents man, it is considered good positive that the god has heard the prayer of the sacrificer, but if the movement proceeds in the opposite direction, then the reverse is the case and the omen is bad. If the entrails are full and healthy, having no spots (*lum*), or blood marks (*thang*), and if the membrane between the two protuberances has not been fractured, these are favourable signs. If the intestines are empty, wrinkled, or spotted, and the membrane mentioned above is fractured, these are bad signs. Augaries also are drawn by examining the livers, the lungs and spleens and gall bladders of pigs, goats, and cattle. If the liver of a pig is healthy and without spot, the augury is good; if the reverse, it is bad. The spleen must not be unduly lacerated, otherwise the omen is unfavourable and the gall bladder must not be over full. Invocations to deduce omens from the appearance of the entrails are quoted on page 11 of Col. Dixon's Report. From the first invocation quoted by him it appears that the method of drawing the augury from the fowl differs slightly in detail from that which has been described to me by certain Khasis, but both descriptions agree in the main, and the slight dissimilarity in detail may be due to the methods of obtaining augaries varying slightly in different localities. Divination by breaking eggs and by other means, although not strictly sacrifice with the Khasis, partakes

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553 when they do this they invariably fall crossed to the ground. "They thus save their eggs, save time and trouble, get the
553 name they desire for the child. . . ." It is noteworthy that
844 the Khasis consider it necessary to preserve the placenta until the ceremony of naming the child is over, and that the pot containing the placenta is waved over the head of the child before it is removed and hung up in a tree.

844 Dr. Frazer, at page 53 *et seq.* of the "Golden Bough," when
171 dealing with the subject of sympathetic magic, refers to the navel string and the placenta as parts which are commonly believed amongst certain people to remain in sympathetic union with the body after the physical connection has been severed, and it is interesting to note that in the Bahar Archipelago, between New Guinea and Celebes, the placenta is mixed with ashes and put in a small basket, which seven women, each of them armed with a sword, hang up on a tree of a peculiar kind (*ficus bodrica*). The women carry the swords for the purpose of frightening the evil spirits, otherwise the latter might get hold of the placenta and make the child sick. Mr. C. M. Pleyte, Lecturer on Indonesian Ethnology, at the Gymnasium Willem III. at Batavia, who has most courteously furnished me with some interesting information on this subject, states that it is especially in the Southern Moluccas that the placenta is mixed with ashes and hung in a tree. Wider spread is the custom of placing the after-birth on a small bamboo raft in a stream "in order that it may be caught by crocodiles, incarnations of the ancestors, who will guard it till the person to whom it has belonged dies. Then the soul of the placenta is once more united with that of the dead man, and together they go to the [illegible] heads, 'proving thereby the connection between man and their placentas is never withdrawn.' The Khasis, although they cannot explain the meaning of the presence of the placenta at the naming ceremony, and the care with which they remove it and hang it up in a tree, are probably really actuated by the same sentiments as the inhabitants of the Southern Moluccas, i.e. they believe that there is, as Dr. Frazer puts it, a sympathetic union with the body after the physical
546 connection with the child has been severed. There is no fixed
784 period of seven or eleven, after a birth, but the parents of the

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close to the wall which is farthest away from the door, the bones of the males being deposited in a pot inside the tomb nearest the door. Some clans keep the pot containing the bones of the males on the right, and the vessel containing those of the females on the left hand. Then offerings of food and libations of liquor are offered to the ancestors on a stone in front of the tomb. The males then perform a ceremonial dance with swords and shields, three times, and the door of the sepulchre is closed, a flag being fixed to the tomb. All the clansfolk then depart except three men. One of these sacrifices a cock (*ior-tandiog*) in front of the tomb, a second sits behind the sacrificer, holding three firebrands, and a third sits behind the tomb. The man with the firebrands shakes them about, and then crows like a cock three times. The man behind the tomb listens attentively for any fancied noise within it, the superstition being that if the ceremonies detailed above have not been properly performed, the whole tomb will quake. If the three watchers are satisfied that there is no commotion within the tomb, then all is well, and they return and report the result to the clanspeople. This ceremony is called *tandiog*, or the fire test. Next morning the woman who is the head of the *ling-soop*, or puja-house, distributes to all those who have taken part in these sacrifices the hinder portions of the sacrificial animals. She then blesses one by one the assembled clansfolk. The latter are not permitted by custom to go to work until after three days from the time of the ceremony; the third day being called *ka ongi lait ia*. The ceremony described above is a symbolical one. The massive stone sepulchre is regarded as a symbol of a secure place of rest for the departed spirits. If the spirits of the dead are not, however, appeased by the due performance of the ceremonies attending the interment of the remains in the clan sepulchre, it is believed that they roam about and haunt their relatives on earth, and plague them with various misfortunes. It may be interesting to note here, that Mr. Mobeely, the Superintendent of Ethnography in Bengal, reports that the ashes of deceased Hos, after being sprinkled with water by means of peepul branches, are collected, dried, and placed in a new earthen pot, and kept in the house until the day of burial, which may take place, as with

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the Khasis long afterwards. The bones are buried in the village under a large slab of stone (cf. the Khasi stone *cisternæ*), and a monolith is erected outside the village to commemorate the deceased.

KHASI MEMORIAL STONES.

Probably one of the first objects which strikes the eye of a visitor to the Khasi Hills is the very large number of monoliths, table-stones, and cromlechs that are to be met with almost everywhere in that country. Yule, Dalton, and other writers have incidentally referred to them, but, as far as is known at present, no attempt has been made to explain in any detail what is the peculiar significance of these objects to the Khasis. These stones are rightly styled memorial stones; *kynmaw*, literally "to mark with a stone," is the word in the Khasi language for "to remember." The memorial stone, in the ordinary sense of the word, is a memorial to the dead; but we have such names of places in these hills as *Mawshuk*, the salt stone (the eating of salt off the blade of a sword being one of the Khasi forms of oath), *Mawsmai*, the oath stone, *Maophlang*, the grassy stone, and others. To commemorate with a stone an important event has been a constant custom amongst many people in many places, and the erection of grave-stones, to mark the spot where the remains of the dead are buried, is an almost universal practice amongst the Western nations, as indeed amongst some of the Eastern also. But the Khasi monoliths are no more grave-stones, in the sense of marking the place where the remains of the dead lie, than some of the memorials of Westminster Abbey and other fanes; the Khasi stones are cenotaphs, the remains of the dead being carefully preserved in stone sepulchres, which are often some distance apart from the memorial stones. It is proposed to treat this subject under the following heading:—

(1) A general description of the memorial stones in the Khasi Hills, showing that they are very similar in shape to monoliths, table-stones, or cromlechs in other parts of the world and of India.

(2) A comparison between Khasi memorial stones and those of the Ho-Mundas, the stones near Belgaum, those of

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211 U Lah Lasker and U Mar Phalyngki, to commemorate the
115 establishment of Nartiang market, which is called Iew Mawlong. "Lasko" is the Synteng equivalent of the Khasi *lyngskor*, or prime minister. "Mar" is a Synteng word meaning a giant, the idea amongst the people being that in the olden days there were giants in the land who performed marvellous feats of strength, e.g. the erection of the megalithic remains at Nartiang and elsewhere. A puja is performed upon a great flat stone by the *doli* and his officers in honour of the founders of the market but no animals are sacrificed, rice and *ryoi* (balls of rice) only being offered. In the days of the Jaintia kings only the Raj could sit upon the great flat stone; hence the name *maw jog Siem* (or Siem's stone). The great upright stone is said to have been brought by U Lah Lasker and a great number
211 of people from Suriang, a place near Nartiang. With reference
72 to the Nartiang stones I would refer to my theory, formu-
111 lated above, that they were originally connected with human sacrifice. It may be mentioned that at Nartiang there is a bridge constructed out of a single stone, which is also said to have been set in position by U Lah Lasker. Near Suhtngatbere is a group of stones, said to have been originally thirty in number, together with *maw shongthait*, or stones to seat thereon, which were erected to the memory of a woman, Ka Kamatwat, who in generations past is alleged to have had no less than *thirty* husbands. The lady is not supposed to have been polyandrous, nor nine-lived, but to have divorced one husband after another. As she probably established a record
211 for divorce, her descendants afterwards commemorated her in
[131] the manner described. There is another, very large, stone at Nongkseu, which unfortunately fell to the ground in the great earthquake shock of 1897. This stone must have stood over 20 ft. above the ground. It is called a *mawkoi Siem*, the stone of the Siem's maternal uncle, and it used to form the central stone, or *mawkoi*, of a line of stones. These stones belong to the clan of the *besses* of Nongkseu, which furnishes the *sohbiei*, or head sacrificer, of the Siems of Khyrim. The stones at Mawmaei, which in ancient days used to be the head-
211 quarters of a Siem, are some of the best carved in the hills.
171 At Mawrongjong, in the Jaintia sub-division, is a stone upon

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211 which a figure, evidently of a Hindu god, has been carved, without
•171 doubt after the erection of the stone. Here we have a striking parallel case to the painted and carved menhir near Tregastel in Brittany, upon which has been carved the representation of a crucifix. There are also some carved stones near Nartiang (said to represent two women) called *mouthawdur briew*.

211 The Khasis say that these great stones were brought
483 sometimes from considerable distances. After being hewn, the stones were laid on a large, wooden trolley and dragged
283 across country by means of ropes of cane, of which plenty can be had from the Wár country on the southern side of the district, and then placed in position by means of ropes and levers. It seems little short of marvellous that these stones, which sometimes weighed many tons, were placed in position by such primitive means, especially when we consider the great trouble there was to re-erect one of the fallen stones at Stonehenge lately. Nowadays only comparatively small stones are erected, which are generally hewn and erected on the spot, so that there is no necessity for any conveyance.

000 In conclusion, it may be remarked that the subject of the Khasi monoliths is in reality a large one, on which a great deal could be written, but owing to considerations of space it has been found necessary to compress the account within its present limits.

FESTIVITIES, DOMESTIC AND TRIBAL.

555 Dancing forms the principal part of all the Khasi festivities,
776 and is an important adjunct of some of their religious ceremonies. One of the greatest festivals in the Khasi Hills is
776 the Nongkrem dance; it may be said to be as important
789 an event to the Khasis as the *Bah diengkhlam* festivities are to
782 the Syntengs.

The Nongkrem dance is really part of what is known as the *pomblang* or goat-killing ceremony, performed by the Siem of Khyrim (or Nongkrem) with the aid of his *sok-lói* (high priest) and the various *lyngdohs* (or priests) to Ka Blei Synthar (the ruling goddess), that the crops may prosper and that there may

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custom of their own from cultivating the *lendon*, in which case they plant certain other trees favourable to the growth of the lac insect. The villages are situated near their patches of cultivation in the forest. The villages are constantly shifting, owing to the necessity of burning fresh tracts of forest every two years. The houses are entirely built of bamboo, and, for such temporary structures, are very well built. In front, the houses are raised some 3 or 4 ft. from the ground on platforms, being generally built on the side of a fairly steep hill, one end of the house resting on the ground, and the other on bamboo posts. The back end of the house is sometimes some 8 or 9 ft. from the ground. At the end of the house farthest away from the village path is a platform used for sitting out in the evening, and for spreading chillies and other articles to dry. Some Lyngngam houses have only one room in which men, women, and children are all huddled together, the hearth being in the centre, and, underneath the platform, the pigs. Well-to-do people, however, possess a retiring room, where husband and wife sleep. A house I measured at Nongpdiar village was of the following dimensions:—Length, 42 ft.; breadth, 16 ft.; height of house from the ground to the eaves, front, 9 ft.; back 18 ft. Houses are built with a portion of the thatch hanging over the eaves in front. No explanation could be given me for this. It is probably a Garo custom. In some Lyngngam villages there are houses in the centre of the village where the young unmarried men sleep, where male guests are accommodated, and where the village festivities go on. These are similar to the *dekhelang* or bachelors' club-houses of the Mikirs, Garos, and Labangs, and to the *morung* of the Nagas. This is a custom of the Thibet-Burman tribes in Assam, and is not a Khasi institution. There are also high platforms, some 12 ft. or 15 ft. in height, in Lyngngam villages, where the elders sit of an evening in the hot weather and take the air. Lyngngam houses and villages are usually much cleaner than the ordinary Khasi villages, and although the Lyngngam keep pigs, they do not seem to be as much *en évidence* as in the Khasi village. There is little or no furniture in a Lyngngam house. The Lyngngam sleeps on a mat on the floor, and in cold weather covers himself with a

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773 obeyed, the country became free of the *Thlen*: but one small piece re-
mained which no one would eat, and from this sprang a multitude o
Thlens, which infest the residents of Cherra and its neighbourhoo
When a *Thlen* takes up its abode in a family there is no means o
getting rid of it, though it occasionally leaves of its own accord, an
often follows property of the family when given away or sold. Th
Thlen attaches itself to wealth, and brings prosperity and wealth to th
family, but on the condition that it is supplied with *blood*. Its cravin
comes on at uncertain intervals: and manifests itself by sicknes
among the family, by misadventure, or increasing poverty. It can onl
be appeased by the murder of a human being. The murderer takes th
hair, the tips of the fingers, and a little blood from the nostril, caugh
in a bamboo tube, and offers these to the *Thlen*. The belief is that th
demon then appears in the form of a snake and devours the body of th
murdered person, which is materialised from the portions thus offere
After this, its craving is satisfied for a time, and the affairs of the
house prosper. Many families in these hills are known or suspected t
be *Ki-thlen*, or keepers of a *Thlen*, and are dreaded and avoided in co
sequence. Whenever a dead body is found with the marks above
described on it (and particularly if it is with no wound, and death ha
been caused by twisting the neck), it may be presumed with almo
absolute certainty that the object of the murder was to appease
Thlen."

[179] It may be stated that, as far as I am aware in Assam, this supe
stition is peculiar to the Khasi and Jointia Hills, and it is not to be me
with amongst any of the other hill-tribes of the province. It would b
especially interesting to learn whether there are any traces of a simila
superstition amongst any of the tribes of Burma and Further India
The *Thlen* superstition is probably of a very ancient origin. It may b
said to take the place amongst the Khasis of the head-hunting custo
amongst the Naga. The *Thlen* superstition is still deep-rooted among
the people here, in many portions of the country the Khasis bein
afraid to walk out after dark for fear of being attacked by nonpaloinch
or persons who are searching for victims to sacrifice to the *Thlen*.

805 15. *Calculation of time.*—The Khasis adopt the lunar month
The names of the lunar months have been extracted from Colonel Bivar'
report below. I am not certain whether all Colonel Bivar's explan
nations of meanings of the names of the months are correct:

U Kylie-lyn-lut,—the wood-burning moon, corresponding wit
January.

U Symparg,—the windy moon, corresponding with February.

U Lyber,—the seed-sowing moon, corresponding with March.

9: Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 AR7 Khasi AR7

however, regularly paid, as is done when cutting the stones for the funeral platform; while this work is in progress musicians are also entertained, and a continual beating of tom-toms (hand-drums) is kept up while the work is in progress.

That many of these monuments, and by far the larger number, are of great age, may be inferred from the fact that their history is quite lost.

As to their distribution, they are to be found over all the higher part of the range; the finest, certainly, in the central portion and in the vicinity of the larger villages, such as Cherra Poonjee, Juwai, Nurtiang, etc.

In Nongstoin, on the west, they gradually die out, and a few, not exceeding three or four feet in height, are to be found in the Khasia villages towards the Garo tribes, but at this limit the Langams come in, and their customs assimilate more with the former-named people. It is the same on the east and north-east of Jaintia; the stones set up are smaller and of rougher form, and by no means so numerous, yet they are to be seen in all kinds of out-of-the-way places quite overgrown with grass and jungle, where villages have not existed for years. Indications were not wanting, shewing that the country had been formerly much more populous, especially on the northern slopes of the Khasi and Janitia Hills. I have, on the other hand, never come across structures of the kind anywhere beyond the limits of Khasi-speaking people, that is, between longitude 91 deg. and 92 deg. 30 min., which includes the Jaintia Hills, the people of which part are called "Sintenge", differing in some minor points from the Khasis; the dialect is distinct, and there is so strong a type-form of likeness and expression, the two can be generally separated without inquiry. The same remarks hold good for the western side; a Khasi of the border Nongstoin villages can be told off at a glance: so strong are the great clan likenesses.

I have traversed the whole country on the east: viz., the North Cachar Hills, inhabited by tribes of Kookis and Nagas, and had the Khasi ever occupied permanently a larger area either on the east or west, particularly the former, emigrating, as they are supposed to have done, from that side, I think we might have expected to find, occasionally, remains of their imperishable monuments. The only exception that I know of occurs on the road from Nenglo to Hangrüng, in the North Cachar Hills district, beyond Asalu, a part of the country now in the occupation of Nagas, and formerly entirely in that of Kacharis, who are Bodos or Méchis. The road lies through forest, keeping along the high spur; at about two miles from the peak of Hemeo are to be seen several large slabs of stone nearly level with the ground, one ten feet by six, covering some sort of receptacle, for the ends of the

9: Godwin-Austen G-3 (to date) 1872 AR7 Khasi AR7

764
281
171

stones facing the sides are plainly visible. Near to these slabs is a platform with sides built up of rough stone, similar to those about Cherra Poonjee. Now Nágas bury their dead, and no monument is erected, the grave being dug in the village street, often at the very door of the deceased person's house, all the protection and covering being a rough one of bamboo or straight sticks interwoven and neatly pegged down all round with hooked sticks. Some tribes of Kúki bury, others burn, but I have never observed any stones set up, or used to cover the grave. There is just a possibility that the slabs on the Hemmo ridge are the remains of an old Khási settlement, occupied, perhaps, for a short period when on their emigration westward.

The largest collection of huge slabs and upright stones that I have seen anywhere in the Khási Hills, is at Laiksng-kote, the arrangement is so different in every way, that there can be little doubt that it was erected for a very different purpose, and was probably a place of meeting of the chiefs and elders of the clans. The steps to ascend it would indicate such a purpose, and we can imagine all the men of rank and influence seated around, and harangued by one of their number. I could never learn the history of this structure; although I made frequent inquiries, they could not say when or by whom it was set up. The stones, especially the large horizontal one, are of great size; this, with others, is of the granite found close by, but the hill on which the structure stands is an outlier of carbonaceous sandstone, horizontally stratified, and great labour must have been expended in dragging such huge blocks into their present position; for the slope to the top of the rise, though not great, yet is quite sufficient to render such work a formidable undertaking. The weight of the largest horizontal slab was twenty tons eighteen hundredweight, and of all the stones composing its construction eighty tons. The horizontal granite slabs were unhewn, as well as the highest upright monolith, which stood eighteen feet nine inches. Eight of the upright stones out of the eleven were of sandstone. The largest slab is an irregular oval in shape, thirty feet by thirteen feet in longest and shortest axis, with a mean thickness of one foot and one-third, standing nearly five feet and a-half above the ground, and resting on ten upright unhewn pillars of granite; on the south side are four other slabs arranged close to the edge of the large one, and round all rise the eleven upright pillars; on the eastern end are two other slabs forming steps to ascend by.

I give a drawing[1] of this very curious monument with a plan, and in an appendix the measurements of every stone, and these shew better than aught else the great massiveness of the work, and what an amount of labour these people must have expended in collecting the materials and setting them in this spot.

[1] [See end plates 2-4, catalogue 186 — — — — Analysis]

15: Nakone E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

I. Setting and Economic Background of Sohkyndah and Kongton

361 Sohkyndah and Kongton are villages of the Kadashinong,[1] one of
632 the areas under the Cherra Chief. The Kadashinong is situated on
[151] the southern slope of the Khasi Hills, in what is called War country.
These two villages are situated at the farthest point from both Shella,
the centre bordered by the plain, and Cherrapunjee, the seat of the
Cherra Chief, one of the centres of the upland Khasi Hills. The people
186 at Cherrapunjee say that these villages are one of the most backward
121 parts of the Khasi Hills. They correspond to Rombagiri in the Garo
[171] Hills, as they lie in the innermost parts and more traditional economic
and social settings have been preserved there than in other villages.
These are also the reasons why I selected those villages as my field.

361 It is nine miles to Sohkyndah from Cherrapunjee, crossing five
[181] deep valleys towards the east. Kongton is located at the heart of
[487] the mountain ranges, ten miles from Cherrapunjee, towards the north-
east. It is about twelve miles from Sohkyndah to Kongton, and
[162] the way leads through one of the most difficult passes, where even
villagers seldom travel. In December, 1955, Sohkyndah was a com-
munity of 48 households (List 6), and Kongton of 62 households
(List 9). The settlements of both villages are clustered in the southern
[184] depressions of a mountain, not far from the summit, a typical location
of Khasi villages. Sohkyndah has poor soil, covered with plenty of
pieces of stones. The yield therefore is very poor. On the other
hand, Kongton, a much older village, enjoys fertile soil, and is one of
the most prosperous communities in the Kadashinong.

241 The major economy of both villages is shifting cultivation. We
have already seen, in the chapters on the Garo, the fundamental
632 technique of "burning cultivation." The difference between the
Garo and the Khasi shifting cultivation are to be found in two aspects:
[171] one is the nature of the crops and the other is the type of ownership.
[241] In this area, the main crop is millet, while that of the Garo is
rice. Besides the shifting cultivation, the Khasi have pan-leaf gardens
and sometimes pineapple gardens, though on a small scale and not
in every household. The most important feature of Khasi shifting
cultivation is the development of private ownership. In the tribal
areas in Assam, such private ownership of the jhum field is quite an

1 Kadashinong is the name of a group of villages. Its literal meaning is "twelve villages," and it comprises the following villages: Sohkyndah, Nongtalai, Mawkhanam, Mawshisat, Mawmang, Kongton, Shortung, Kodipurlum, Pim, Tandum, Nongtrong, and Dongkoi. (Khasi spelling follows the customary usage in Cherra State.)

15: Nakano E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR? Khasi AR?

necessary. The chances of acquiring a piece of land nowadays are 178
small, except for very successful men, and usually the size of the plot
is only just enough to maintain one household. When this land is 423
passed on to the next generation, the youngest daughter will hold the 428
title to it. This fact tends to exclude married elder sisters from the
right to use the land, since it is not sufficient for more than one house-
hold. Thus the ultimogeniture succession rule seems to have developed
more sharply and to have encouraged limited inheritance in conjunc-
tion with the shortage of land.

This tendency creates unbalance in the economy of the households 178
within a community. It is a usual picture in Khasi villages, for the
biggest and well-built houses to be occupied by the youngest daughter's 189
family, while the elder sisters reside in poor huts. Youngest daughters 423
are usually landowners, while their elder sisters have often to become 428
day-labourers after their marriage, unless their husbands are capable 556
men, or their fathers wealthy enough to give them some share of their
acquired property. On the whole, the variations at present between [171]
rich and poor are considerable in a Khasi community, in comparison
with that of the Garo, where the economic condition of each household
is a village is more or less similar. These differences are not only a
matter of economic organization but arise from the nature of each
social structure.

The economic and social patterns of Sohkynduh and Kongton are 193
very similar, but their dialects are slightly different: my interpreter, [124]
who came from Cherrapunji, could work quite well at Sohkynduh, but
at Kongton he found some difficulty, especially with the speech of
the old men, and with their religious expressions. The head man of
Kongton, who was quite accustomed to the Cherra dialect, acted as
an interpreter for us. Such difference in dialect in the Khasi Hills
are common phenomena, it is said that every valley has its own dialect.
Differences are found not only in speaking, but also, to a certain
extent, in culture and in social usages.

55. VILLAGE EXOGAMY

One of the outstanding features of Khasi social organization is 582
the predominant tendency of endogamy on the level of the village, 621
which contrasts with the structural orientation of the Garo village
exogamy. This is closely connected with the distribution of clans [71]
and the nature of the descent groups.

The Khasi population consists of a number of *kur*, matrilineal 614
clans, whose members consider themselves to be descended from a
common ancestress. The members of the same *kur* have a common [65] [69]

Chapter III

KINSHIP STRUCTURE AND ITS IMPLICATIONS IN VARIOUS FORMS OF MARRIAGE

I. Kinship Terminology and Selection of Spouse

The Khasi social structure differs greatly from that of the Garo, and one of the important differential elements is revealed in their kinship terminology. The Khasi kinship terminology does not show the structural significance of the marriage rules except for the basic distinction between own matrilineal kin, *kur*, and non-matrilineal kin, *kha*; this distinction serves to enforce the exogamous rule. 601 [171] *

All members of Ego's generation, including both maternal and paternal cousins, are classed as *pawa* (sibling), and those of Ego's child's generation as *khun*. In these two important generations, the generation principle is the basic pattern in terms of marriage. Cutting across this principle, distinctions of sex (*ka* for female, *u* for male) and order of birth (*iaid* or first, young or youngest, sometimes middle is added) are to be found. For instance, *ka-pawa-kur* is mother's sister's daughter, *u-pawa-kha* is father's brother's (or sister's) son. Wife is *ka-iaid*, and husband, *u-iaid*. The youngest daughter is *ka-khun-khadduh*.[1]

Though the terminology of Ego's and child's generations shows the generation principle, the matrilineal structure is reflected in the following points: apart from the distinction between *kur* and *kha*, 1) In the child's generation (*khun*), the matrilineal nephew and niece are termed *pawa* as well as *khun*, signifying the sociologically closest members of the child's generation. 2) *Kdi* is the most important kinship term among the Khasi, it designates the head (and potential head) of the descent group, i.e. the mother's brother. The mother's mother's brother is also termed *kdi*, just like among the Nayar the [171]

1. For further comparison, see U. N. Chowdhri, 1955.

15: Nakane K-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

601 term *mama* for mother's brother designates as well mother's mother's
• [171] brother. *j)* Terms for mother's sister *(kwia)* and father's sister *(kia)* are different, and, needless to say, father's brother is called *kpa*, not *kia*. *g)* Mother's mother *(mawad)* is differentiated from father's mother *(mabba)*, though the grandfathers on both sides are termed *paral*.

582 As regards cross-cousin marriage, which, as we have seen, was an
601 essential part of Garo social structure, the Khasi have no institutional
[171] arrangements. The cross-cousin distinction is indeed found in the Khasi kinship terminology. Among those who are called *para* (sibling), an additional term is applied to cross-cousins (both matrilateral and patrilateral). They are called *babba*. However, this additional cross-cousin term should not be considered as indicating a preference
[171] for cross-cousin marriage. This is structurally different from that of the Iroquois type discussed in terms of Garo kinship terminology, in which a perceived cross-cousin marriage is involved. The term *para* (sibling) is more often used for them than *babba*.[1] Actually, among the Khasi there is no preference for cross-cousin marriage; rather there are even indications to the contrary, in that marriage with the mother's brother's daughter is not allowed during the lifetime of the maternal uncle. In the same way, marriage with the father's sister's daughter is not allowed during the life-time of the father.

582 In fact, the Khasi have numerous prohibitions of marriages between near kin on both paternal as well as maternal sides. The first and second parallel cousins are avoided. Those related to father within three generations are avoided. Within such a framework of marriage prohibitions, the use of a special additional term for cross-cousins is an indication of marriageable relatives within the framework of prohibition. This should not be considered to indicate a marriageable member in an active sense or a preference for cross-cousin marriage.

However, such marriages do sometimes appear in my census, for example, a man may have married a woman who is the sister of his brother's wife, or of his sister's husband. Thus sometimes between two descent groups there are more than two exchanges of men. But such relations are temporary and would terminate after one or two
582 generations. There is no structural continuity. My censuses of four
614 Khasi villages do show some tendency to marriages between two specific *kur*, but I consider this to be largely accidental. When the choice of an individual is random, but one or two *kur* are larger than the others, it will naturally follow that there will be a high frequency

[171] 1. Such use of the dual terminology is also found among the *Lani* and the *Trobriand*, (see the discussion, in pp. 154-155).

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

ship. They still live in the same familiar atmosphere as before their 581
marriage. The implications of this ambiguity in the married state are 593
considerable. Particularly the husband's uncomfortable situation, when the wife is heiress, encourages him to take marriage less seriously.

A husband who undergoes hardship in his wife's house, finds 581
himself as the authority in his sister's house; if he is not the authority, 591
he can find at least a respected position as uncle or brother. In the 592
case of a man of authority in the *iing*, the tendency for him to regard 593
his *iing* as more important than his married life is proportionately 602
stronger, as I will discuss later. Hence the most unstable and un- 604
successful marriages are those between the heiress and the man of 613
authority. This is one of the reasons we often find among the Khasi: 428
a brother or an uncle, who is already married, acting nevertheless as the head to a family *(iing)* and as a member of its domestic group. This means that he is in a state of temporary separation or divorced. Among the Ashanti, a man and his wife's brother are never found as [171]
members of a common household (Fortes, 1950, p. 262), but among the Khasi, on the contrary, a man and his wife's brother are often found as members of a common household. In such cases, however, the brother has no wife, or never brings his wife to his *iing*. Therefore, a man and his wife and his sister never reside together. As far as the residence of women is concerned, the Khasi keep to the strict descent rule; two women who belong to different descent groups never live together. This point differentiates the Khasi residence pattern, in which social structure is involved, from that not only of the Ashanti but also of the Yao where the head of a descent group can bring his wife to his sister's household, though, among other members, uxorilocal marriage is the rule. These differential aspects of matrilineal systems will be discussed from a more theoretical point of view later.

In addition, should a Khasi man even succeed in spending his life 602
with his wife's kinsmen, as soon as the wife dies, he will usually 613
return to his *iing*, that is, to his sister's house, where he is received warmly and where he often acts as the *de facto* authorithy, as in the similar situation of divorce and separation. Thus the strong matrilineal structural principle tends to orient a man towards his own descent group, the *iing*.

The man's attachment to his *iing* is very great throughout his 171
life. In this regard the Khasi differs from the matrilineal Negri 592
Sembilan Malay. Among the latter, returning to the matrilineal kin 602
is regarded by the man as an imposition rather than as the enjoyment 613
of a legitimate privilege (see Swift, 1958, p. 157).[1] This difference 428

1. He presents this fact as one of the reasons of the durability of marriage [581]
among the Negri Sembilan. Indeed, on this precise point they differ from the Khasi where marriage is rather unstable.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

171 592 602 615 428 seems to come *freely* from the different residential arrangement on marriage: among the Naga Semilian a man marries into his wife's group, i.e. his wife's village, being thus separated from his kin, and as a result of the physical absence of his wife's brother or maternal uncle in his domestic family, he enjoys considerable rights in his wife's household—as Smith states, he is 'master in his own house'. On the other hand, since among the Khasi the man stays in the village where his mother's (or mother's successor's) house is, even after his marriage, his relation to his natal house is preserved, secondly, from the structural difference of organization of the descent group. Among the Khasi, the *sing* is always the center of the descent group, based on uxorilocal succession and inheritance. Hence, the core of the descent group is always found physically in a particular household, whereas among the Naga Semilian, the descent group is not organized on a *household* level, but is a much wider organization, including apparently many households. Membership of an actual household and of a descent group are at different levels. To marry out and become a member of his wife's household means for the man the transfer of his household membership. Likewise, his sister's husband becomes a member of his sister's household. Thereby he becomes a secondary member of his sister's household after marriage though he keeps his membership in the descent group to which his sister belongs. Among the Khasi, membership of a descent group always corresponds to membership of a particular household. The Khasi man can always demand his rights at his natal house primarily, as he is a member of that descent group. But it should be noted that he has this right only in his mother's (or mother's successor's) household, not his other sisters' (non-heiress') and mother's sisters' households (unless one of them is successor of his mother), though they may belong to the same descent group. These matri kin's households are considered as separate *sing* (strict functional descent group) from his.

586 619 796 428 Indeed, sometimes a man cannot find his *sing*, because his mother died leaving no daughter to succeed her, or his sister died leaving no successor, and his *sing* became extinct. Such a case occasionally happens when a man becomes a divorcé or a widower as he is getting old. Then he has to face a serious social and economic condition. In divorcing, he has to leave everything he owned, his earnings including the house which he built, and even children . . . really he has nothing left him except his body.[1] Such a wretched man collects some timber and makes a small hut for himself, though sometimes kafs who sympathize with him help him to build it. Unless he finds some woman

1. A widower has an alternative solution—to remain in his late wife's household till he marries again, though his position is not comfortable there.

household are easily understandable in the light of the economic aspect of the fission of the ring. As I stated before, the nonfiction is given hardly any share of the property of her natal ring on her marriage (if the ring is rich a nonfiction and the wife may receive some part), and even if her new household happens to face serious economic difficulty, her natal ring, whose authority is vested in her brother, does not usually help her. This fact clearly suggests that brothers can have only limited rights over the other sister's ring.

This is the crucial point of the Khasi matrilineal system. The ring is a very restricted descent group giving opportunities to split off by those who have no right to inheritance. The ring has sorts of continuity without expansion in collateral lines. Therefore, even the siblings of the same mother do not always form a completely constituent unit of a functional descent group, since the other sisters are created by their marriages to form a new ring, though they may retain their membership in their natal ring. The central core of the ring is the particular sibling bond between a sister (the heiress) and a brother (the authority), a pair of statuses. Other sisters are really to have and other brothers are dual members, clearly differentiated in status from that particular brother (authority) and sister (heiress). This structural principle should be compared with other matrilineal descent groups, whose sibling group is based on interdependence between members of a group, not between particular persons or statuses. The structural unit of the Khasi social organization, is not the descent group based on sibling links, but the ring, though descent is the principal factor, and the limiting one, in the formation of the ring institution. The descent factor is delineated by the functional force of the inheritance rule through female ultimogeniture, which results in constant internal fission and segmentation in the descent group. Technically, it is very similar to the process of fission of the Garo sub on the uxoporous principle, though the internal structure is different.

The establishment of a new household by a Khasi woman with her husband, means the beginning of the establishment of a new ring, separated from her natal ring not only in residence but also sociologically. In other words, it is the process of fission and segmentation of an ring, matrilineal descent group. Therefore, a woman who has once established a new household independent of her natal household, will not go back to her natal home i.e. her mother's descent group, though her bond with her mother's descent group remains undiminished. Of course she may visit her natal ring occasionally, but in fact, much less than her husband will visit his natal ring. In this respect as well the Khasi manifest structural differences from the Ashanti as described by Fortes, where a mother goes back to her own matrilineal household and often prefers to reside there (Fortes, 1949 p. 77). Khasi

which I described previously, where a man brings his secondary wives to his first wife's house in which he is acting as the head. Furthermore, sororal polygyny is prohibited, while it was preferred among the Gusii's Gusii of wives taken from the same market, though mostly not real sisters. The strong jealousy, which I observed, among the Kisii wives of a polygynist, would appear to make such polygynous marriages with closely related women practically impossible. As shown in List 6 & 9 every single one of the wives of such polygynist belongs to different lineage, and the two secondary wives of the man of Kenyoro came from neighbouring villages.

These aspects of Kisii polygyny are related fundamentally to the underlying Kisii social structure. It should be remembered that every married woman has her independent household, ring, and that two women of different descent groups never reside together for a year. The picture is one of every married woman holding a key-point in the whole network of the social system, and men fit into this network with much flexibility. The strong mobility of women and the fixed nature of men in terms of residence naturally produces this form of polygyny. This analogy is also true of lovers' relations and illegal marriages. Though polygyny is a rapidly decreasing institution all over the Kisii Hills, cases of lovers' relations and illegal marriages are found to be very numerous among the Kisii, as compared with neighbouring tribes and peoples in Kenya.

Throughout my discussions of various forms of Kisii marriage, I found men who were more or less in the position wittily described by one of them as "having one leg in my sister's house, the other in my wife's," except in cases of the husband/father who succeeds in establishing paternal authority, as in marriages with a non-kinsman. Even in the latter a man might have a period of uncertainty until his children were born and until the economic basis for his matrimonial life was firmly established. For the men, Kisii men would be in the position of either becoming the authority of an ring, or managing between their sister and their wife, which may produce more opportunities for lovers' relations. One of a man's legs is certainly always found in his sister's house, the other may not in his wife's, but it may also not in another woman's house. The wife being rather accustomed to his occasional absence due to his visits to his sister's house, another kind of absence does not mark any great change from the usual situation, at least not physically. Such situations occur particularly in the earlier stage of the marriage, as a sort of continuation of premarital affairs, which are quite freely practised. It is a usual custom before marriage for young men to sleep at a girl's house whom they like though they say sexual intercourse usually does not take place in such cases. This I observed in Ichigwatoto and Kengoro.

5 A

I

[2] The discussion of Parts I and II reveals that the social structure
[3] of the Garo and the Khasi differ greatly. Similarity is found only
[4] at the level of the minimum criteria of matrilineal systems: the basic
[5] succession rules of mother-daughter, mother's brother-sister's son,
[6] and the fact that property is owned by the woman, but the controlling
power and authority over it are in the hands of the man.

One of the most outstanding structural differences between the two lies in the composition of a property group: the property group of the Khasi is formed by a descent group at a shallow generation depth, while that of the Garo is maintained by the cooperation of two local lines, each of which represents a localized lineage group. Hence the descent group of the former tends to have stronger solidarity, whereas the latter tends to be weakened in its solidarity.

In a broad framework, in terms of social organization, the Garo fall structurally into a category based on the moiety arrangement, in which patrilineal systems, such as the Murngin, and the Karieri, etc., are also to be found. Theoretically, this type of mechanism is operative in either matrilineal or patrilineal systems by the exchange of men in the former and the exchange of women in the latter.

On the other hand, the Khasi system presents more outstanding features of a type which is generally accepted as belonging to matrilineal systems. However, the basic structural traits of this system may also be found among patrilineal systems, in terms of relatively stronger descent group solidarity.

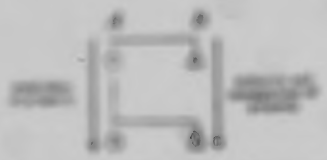

Fig. 10. — Succession Lines of Female and Male in Matrilineal Kinship System.

Lines A and B may include unlike-sexed, and brother-sister relation respectively, the numbers of characteristic subgroup variations in these minor groups depend on each matrilineal system.

Though both matrilineal and patrilineal systems may share such basic structural categories, they differ significantly in the following respects: in matrilineal systems, the ownership of property and the authority over the property group never rest in one person, as in the case of the father-husband of the patrilineal system, and the succession to these two offices follows the female line (mother-daughter) and the male line (mother's brother-sister's son) as shown in line A and line B in Fig. 10. This duality of office-holding individuals within the succession rule is the intrinsic cause

2. FUNCTIONING OF MATRILINEAL SYSTEMS

of complications and variations in matrilineal systems. The matrilineal system is not a mirror of the patrilineal system; it is a different system in which more complicated mechanisms are involved. This complexity of the matrilineal system is a decided handicap when it comes to meeting radical economic changes. In order to preserve the system, a fairly stable economy is required, well-balanced in its population and resources. This may be one of the causes for the rapid disintegration or instability of social organization of matrilineal peoples in the world.

The difficulty of preserving in function both lines *A* and *B* is caused by residential problems—individual marriages which contradict the sibling cohesion. According to my theoretical analysis, there are four alternative ways of resolving such contradictory factors, each one being represented by actual ethnographic samples.[1] Each arrangement represents a different degree of the function of the two lines *A* and *B* in relation to the residential pattern, as following (see Fig. 13):

● ●, [illegible]

○ ○, [illegible]

[illegible]

Fig. 13. — Central Case of Matrilineages in Relation to Property Groups and Residential Groups

The Garo type. The residential type is 'husband-wife' instead of 'brother-sister.' The function of both lines *A* and *B* is equally strong. This is kept by the marriage contract between two local lines, so that it is possible to keep the function of each line against the residential separation of the two lines in one descent group. This type is found at the moment only among the Garo.

1. In this discussion I take only such major matrilineal samples for which sufficient documentary [illegible] is available.

The Nayar type. The counter scheme of the Garo type, the uxorilocal type is 'brother-sister' instead of 'husband-wife'. The function of both line A and B is equally strong. This type is found among the traditional Nayar (except those in North Malabar) and the Mosuo(Moso matrilineal people).

The Khasi type. The ideal uxorilocated type consists of a woman with either her husband or her brother. The function of line A is much stronger than that of line B. This type is found among the Khasi, the Hopi, the Ute, the Tsimshian, the Nagi-Sentinel Hills, the Tiwa, etc.

The Ashanti type. The ideal uxorilocated type consists of a man with either his wife or his sister. The function of line B is much stronger than that of line A. This type is found among the Ashanti, the Gonndo Tonga, the Mafonde, the Tsimsamik, the Nayar of North Malabar, etc.

In terms of the strong function of both lines A and B, both the Garo type and the Nayar type may fall into a similar category. But as already explained, their structure basically differs from one another, and clearly appears as the counter schemes of different uxorilocal arrangements. The Nayar type shares with the Khasi a rather similar structure in terms of a descent group equated with a property group, while in the Garo type the two lines A and B of a single descent group never form an independent property unit.

If, leaving with the Garo type, we consider the three others, the Nayar type appears quite different from the rest in so far as in it, both lines fulfill an equally strong function, while in the Khasi and Ashanti types, one of the two lines is always more developed functionally than the other. The Nayar type presents the highest degree of descent group solidarity among the three. This Nayar situation might be compared with that of the traditional Chinese patrilineal systems.* In both social systems the structural importance of marriage is minimized: the role of a spouse is only to insure descendants of the matrilineal (patrilineal) group. The structural importance of a husband (wife) is almost neglected, while the wife (husband) holds the paramount force to her (his) descent line. The descent group manifests the strongest solidarity within itself, neglecting affinal relations with other groups. This principle results in the custom of the "visiting husband" in the matrilineal system, and, in the patrilineal system, in a total social shift of the wife by her complete assimilation into her husband's group, and separation from her descent group—she has no social and personal independent being in terms of the structure. It is an interesting fact that the most extreme schemes of highly institutionalized matrilineal systems can be seen among societies of pre-industrialized high civilization. These schemes are structurally opposed to those of the system of the majority

* Parsons touches this point in his paper (Parsons, 1949, p. 108).

15: Nakano R-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7 ○
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arrangement, such as the Garo and the Mangin, where both wife and husband keep important social positions as representatives of each descent group.

Leaving the Garo and the Nayar types, the following discussion deals with the implications of the difference between the Khasi type and the Ashanti type. The degree of function of the two lines *A* and *B*, is related to the residential arrangement. A household of the Khasi type includes the matrilineage women and either their husbands or brothers—brother's wives are excluded as a rule. A household of the Ashanti type includes the matrilineage men and either their wives or sisters—sister's husbands are excluded as a rule. Among the Khasi as I have already explained (p. 137), a woman and her brother's wife are never found as members of a common household, while among the Ashanti, as Fortes states, a man and his wife's brother are never found as members of a common household. In the former, since a woman is the center of the matrilineage, her husband stands solidly closer to her matrilineage than she does to his—the husband shares the matrilineage dwelling, while a man being a peripheral member, his wife is excluded as a rule from his matrilineage residence (hence predominantly uxorilocal);[1] the Ashanti type exemplifies exactly the opposite case (predominantly virilocal or avunculocal).

The crucial point in which lies the difference between the Khasi and Ashanti types is the rule of inheritance. In matrilineal systems, as a rule, the ancestral property is inherited by the matrilineal descent group. The starting point of the difference is really in the ways of inheritance of the *acquired property* particularly by the husband. So long as a man remains with his matrilineage members, both types show no difference. The crucial difference appears in the married life. In the Khasi type, if a man builds an independent house in which to live with his wife and children, that house and his acquired property during his matrimonial life automatically belong to and are inherited by his wife and children. On the other hand, in the Ashanti type, if a man builds an independent house in which to live with his wife and children, that house and his acquired property belong as a rule to him and are inherited by his matrilineal group, not by his wife and children. In case of divorce or death of a spouse, the difference between the Khasi and the Ashanti types appears most clearly: in the former, it is the husband who leaves, and in the latter it is the wife and children who leave. Hence the residence pattern reflects

1. Referring the Tiwa (Lowa) group, which I classify into the Khasi type, it seems therefore that a husband who is selected for the position of head of a matrilineal family, takes his wife with him. This method of marriage should be considered as an exceptional case applied to only such a particular condition. Such special arrangement is also found among the Nayar where fraternal arrangement is general rule.

19. Nakane E-9 (1955-1956) 1957 AR7 Khasi AR7 *
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these rules, as the Khasi type tends to a matrilocal arrangement, while the Ashanti type tends to a virilocal or avunculocal arrangement.[1]

In the Khasi type, the residential arrangement is the decisive factor for a man's economic achievement. The men, though they keep close social and ritual ties with their matrilineage, are divorced economically from their matrilineal descent group.[2] On the other hand, in the Ashanti type, where the matrilineal rule is the decisive factor, men keep strong social, ritual and economic ties with their descent group at the expense of the women's and children's residential mobility. However, these women are not like men of the Khasi type; as among the Ashanti, women mostly go back to their matrilineage at a late stage of their married life. In the case of the Tachibanda, the wife stays all her married life at her husband's house while her sons go back to her matrilineage, and her daughters leave for their husbands' house at their marriage. This can be considered as the exact opposite of what happens in the Khasi type. The matrilineage represented by men keeps its function and solidarity at the expense of the women. There, the female line (mother-daughter) is broken, in practice, by the residential arrangement, as was broken the male line (mother's brother-sister's son) in the Khasi type. The actual tie of the Tachibanda wife to her matrilineage is maintained through the presence her brothers and her, not through mother, sister or daughter. That of the Khasi husband is maintained through his youngest sister or mom, not through his brother or nephew. Thus Tachibanda wives and Khasi husbands are marginal members of the matrilineage. These facts show that they sacrifice either the male (B) or the female (A) line to the cohabitation of wife and husband. Unless they have a structural arrangement like that of the Garo, the cohabitation of the married couple is the crucial factor which modifies the matrilineal system.

The Ashanti manifest great mutability in this respect, since they do not like to sacrifice either line A or B, though actually line A is much weaker than B. The mother wishes to be with her daughter and son, while the mother's brother wishes to be with his sister's son, yet they do wish to have cohabitation in their marriage—combining theoretically opposed factors. This is also the case which I found among the Nayar in the transitional stage of the disintegra-

1. These arguments do not mean that all members of a society act in the same way; in any society, considerable variations in residential pattern are found in individual cases. What is important here is the model, and the orientation of most of the people, the actions of which is usually followed by the majority of the people in a given society, or a given time.

2. Among the Khasi, though the authority of the ring may have the account and manage his sister's property, he acquired property through his wife's field or his independent economic activity ordinarily go to his wife and children.

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15. Nakane E-9 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7 •
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tion of the matrilineal system (see Nakane, 1958(B) and 1964). In comparison with the Ashanti, the Khasi or the Trobriand type gain considerable stability by sacrificing either *A* or *B* line, which is one of the possible ways of preserving the matrilineal system along with the practice of co-habitation of the married couple.

Another solution of the conflicting situation in such a society is the practice of cross-cousin marriage, as in the case of the Ashanti, which brings two conflicting factors together, the matrilineage and the family of procreation. In this case, the cross-cousin marriage tends to take place between the first cross-cousin centred around such unit. Fortes states, "Cross-cousin marriage most often occurs between the children of full-siblings or of uterine first cousins . . . cross-cousin marriage offers a possibility of reconciling the conflicting influences of conjugal, parental, and matrilineal kinship ties" (1950, p. 262). This is quite different from the cross-cousin marriage of the Garo, because among the latter, the cross-cousin marriage being practised as the basis of the whole structure of society, it makes no difference whether a cross-cousin is first or classificatory. In the case of the Ashanti and other matrilineal systems of a similar type, such as the Wayombe and the Kongo, it is considered most desirable to enter into a first cross-cousin marriage; classificatory cross-cousin marriage, such as among the Garo, does not make much sense. Moreover, the cases of cross-cousin marriage tend to take place among comparatively wealthy members in a society (see Rattray, 1927, Chapter XXIX). If one has no property in the Ashanti type society, then cross-cousin marriage has not much meaning.

The cross-cousin marriage of matrilineal systems has been often referred to as being the solution to the conflicting situations of a man as a husband and as a brother. I suggest here that this can be applied to the matrilineal system of the Ashanti type, not to those of the Khasi type where men have already given up the role of forming the central core of the matrilineage. In these societies, the solution is already given through the sacrifice of one line. There are no conflicting economic factors, though men are still in a situation of social conflict between their matrilineage and family of procreation. This hypothesis is confirmed empirically by the fact that there are no prescribed or preferential cross-cousin marriages among the Khasi, the Hopi, the Zuni, the Trobriand and the Nayar (similar Wolcy.[1] where a man is not in economic conflict with his matrilineage and family of procreation. His nephews are already outside his economic

1. "In arranging marriages the preference is for someone 'near'. As cross-cousins are the nearest possible naturally a large number of these marriages occur . . . This preference, however, is not explicitly institutionalized . . ." (Gough, 1958, p. 130).

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7 Garo AR5

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scope; due to uxorilocal marriage, they have no right over his residence and his acquired property. Naturally the maternal uncle becomes far less important than in the Ashanti type.

Among the Yao, which I classified as belonging to the Khasi type, Mitchell states that in spite of the emphasis laid on cross-cousin marriage by his informants, real or classificatory cross-cousins are found in only 15 per cent of 103 first marriages (Mitchell, 1956, p. 200). The functional importance of cross-cousin marriage among the Yao is particularly evident in the minority (headmen of villages or lineages) who practise virilocal marriage[1] in a society where a uxorilocal arrangement is the general rule; as in the case of the Ashanti, cross-cousin marriage functions as a solution to two conflicting tendencies: matrilineality and virilocality. The Trobriands, though they belong to the Ashanti type, demonstrate the same structural analogy to the Khasi type, though in reverse. Among Trobriand commoners there is no preference for cross-cousin marriage. The much discussed cross-cousin marriage of the Trobriand aristocrats should be considered as the exception, as has already been examined by Leach (1958, p. 139). In this regard the Yao and the Trobriands produce a picture somewhat similar to the Ashanti type, among the minority of society, though the general practice bears similar features with that of the Khasi type.

It has become clear that cross-cousin marriage is closely related to the type of residence, i.e. virilocality, combined with economic factors. Furthermore, the cross-cousin marriage signifies the political importance of the maternal uncle as lineage head. Thus the Khasi type and the Ashanti type represent alternative arrangements to the different locus of the core of the functional body, the matrilineal descent group.

II

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The preceding section has made clear different types of matrilineal systems so far as the internal structure of the descent group is concerned. This section deals with the relation of the descent group to the external organization.

Both the Garo and the Khasi follow a unilineal system, but they do not have what is called "segmentary lineage" organization, which has been much discussed in the African field. As generally understood

1. Richards states, among the Tao-Cewa group, a cross-cousin marriage is likely to be found between a daughter of a head (male) of a descent group and his sister's son (Richards, 1950, p. 139). Mitchell states that Yao cross-cousin marriage is one of the solutions for the conflict between the principle of uxorilocal marriage and the principle of male leadership of the lineage (Mitchell, 1956, p. 199).

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7 •
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lineage is a corporate unilineal descent group of which the members can establish demonstrable genealogical relationships to each other. According to Firth, "lineage is essentially a unilineal descent group with some corporate functions, normally related by segmentary process to other descent groups of the same type, and with them usually comprising the entire society" (1957, p. 4). The Garo and the Khasi can thus be said to have the lineage, but to lack its segmentary organization which normally is found in a unilineal society. Both social structures exemplify the importance of the residence as a functional unit, against the wider descent group which may be called the lineage group.

In the case of the Garo, the localized lineage is expressed in terms of the village (or group of villages) whose land bears the name of the localized lineage. However, it is the village which acts as the functional corporate body, the economic and ritual unit, not the group of members of the localized lineage. The village theoretically consists of the members of the two localized lineages, as represented in the headman and his wife respectively. Practically, though it bears the name of a particular lineage to which the wife of the headman belongs, as also usually the majority of the inhabitants, it includes many other lineage members as well as the traditional two lineages. Therefore, the lineage is not, in this sense, an exclusive corporate unit with a ritual and economic function, though it gives a theoretical framework to the structure.

In the case of the Khasi, the lineage is found only on a household scale, centred in the woman, the property owner with members having direct matrilineal kinship ties to the former, such as her brothers, elder sisters, sons and daughters, who may or may not reside in the same household—the members of the *ing*. Beyond this unit (the *ing*) one can hardly find any functional organization based on the descent system. In other words, the lineage becomes a functional unit only at the level of the household, e.g., the lowest level of segmentation of the descent group, and it lacks wider external organization by the same principle. The clan is considered rather as a ritual conception implying exogamy, not as an organized body of kin.

These phenomena contrast sharply with the Hopi and the Ashanti social organization, where lineage organization has crucial importance either than on a household level. Many factors can be considered in this connection. First of all, the locus of property and communal unit are the most distinctive features. Among the Khasi, property and communal units are always found in an *ing*, represented by the youngest daughter's household, while that of the Hopi and the Ashanti are in a wider lineage organization in which members of many households are usually included. The Zuni pattern seems also similar to that of the Khasi. The difference between the Khasi and Zuni lies

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in the rule of inheritance, the former follows uxorilineal (uterine-positive), while the latter does not. Therefore, the number of members of a Zuni household is naturally larger than that of the Khasi.[1] Against the average number of a Khasi household, four to five, that of the Zuni is seven and a half to eight persons (Kroeber, 1917, p. 144). Among the Khasi, sisters separate through marriage in every generation, leaving the youngest in their natal house, while Zuni sisters may stay together even after their marriages. Kroeber states:

"The house belongs to the women born of the family. They come into the world, pass their lives, and within the walls they die. . . . Now and then a new dwelling may be built by all the women, or for a girl of the house by an enterprising husband, but in general the same walls, or rebuilt ones on the same spot (ibid., pp. 47-48). . . . It is true that a Zuni 'house' often contains what we should regard as two or three households, but so long as it includes only one used hearth, and all natives insist that the two or three households are a single one" (ibid., p. 114).

The internal composition of the household may differ from that of the Khasi, but the household in terms of the important institutionalized unit, is very similar to the Khasi. Li Anche states that "characteristics of a joint household based on the kinship principle stand out very strikingly" (Li, 1937, p. 75). Eggan's statement brings Zuni social organization much closer to the issue. He writes, "In terms of Kroeber's table it would seem that the Zuni tend to equate a lineage with a household, except in cases of recent expansion or building off" (Eggan, 1950, p. 189). He gives a further illuminating analysis of this point:

"We have noted that the lineage principle. . . . also provides a mechanism for the inheritance of ceremonial duties and obligations and the transmission and preservation of fetishes and other ceremonial paraphernalia. In Zuni the inheritance is phrased in terms of the household, but it is clear that it is the lineage segment born into the household that is important. This lineage segment, or at least the female line thereof, also owns land and holds it in trust for succeeding generations, to be worked by the men who marry into the household" (ibid., p. 197).

Another similar equation of lineage and household, comparable to that of the Khasi and the Zuni, is found among the Trobriaus. According to Goodenough (1956):

1. This involves not only the difference of the number of members in a household but also the relation between the members of a descent group. As already discussed, the core of the descent group among the Khasi is the pair of siblings, the owner of the property (the youngest sister) and the authority (a brother); yet the sibling group altogether (see p. 139) is known in other matrilineal societies appearing in this discussion. In regard to the uxorilineal principle itself, the Zuni share the same system as the Khasi, though it appears to operate differently by reason of the structural difference of organization.

13: Nakano E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7 *
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"In aboriginal times they used to be associated with most lineages a dwelling house, *iaw* (p. 63) . . . *iaw*-is the corporate property of the lineage or element (no whose women live in it), but it is normally built by their husbands" (p. 63).

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Here, it is clear that a household provides the major locus of a lineage. In other words, a lineage is a corporate property group with a common residence. This is also the case of the Nayar *tarwad* and the Nitanghakhas *pawi*, though in these cases the household excludes the spouses of its members, while with the Khasi, the Zuni, and the Trobriand the spouses (in most cases, the husbands) share the residence.

Though they may differ in scale and size from one society to another, as well as from one household to another, the functional lineage founded upon residence has thus a similar range in all of these systems. For convenience sake, I tentatively term this type of lineage "household-lineage,"[1] as opposed to that of the Hopi and the Ashanti, which might be termed "segmentary-lineage."

The average number of Khasi and Garo household members is four to five, that of the Zuni seven and a half to eight as stated above, the Trobriand is eighteen (three to thirty-four in Kiriwina Island, according to Goodenough), while the Nayar range from thirty to two hundred. These differences, I think, mostly depend on the economic (and environmental) situation; they should not be regarded as structural, except for the Garo and the Khasi, which, because of the uxorilocal rule, have smaller and fairly uniform households. The wide range of variation in composition which we observe among the Trobriand and the Nayar is due in reality to economic and environmental factors: the more favorable the circumstances, the larger the unit.

The co-residential group and the property unit do not always necessarily correspond. One property group may consist of more than two independent residences. But even in such cases, the lineage is likely to be found in a group which formed a co-residential unit in the recent past, and which should be considered as marginal cases, derived from the recent fission of a group—it is a lineage in process of fission not a constant kin-group based on wider organization such as we find among the Ashanti and the Hopi. Usually such a lineage ceases to function shortly after it loses its common property, which usually follows closely upon the fission of the residential unit. Thus, in the course of time a once-recognized lineage group disappears into the common sea of the clan, which represents only a ritual and exogamous unit. In some cases, even this clan loses its function, as happens among the Nayar and the Minangkabau, among the lineage which

1. It should be noted that it does not mean that the lineage consists of household members, but that the lineage solidarity is found around the range of a household unit.

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corresponds (or corresponded in the near past) to the co-residential property-group itself becomes an exogamic unit, disregarding the wider unit of the clan. Structurally it can be said that in these societies a lineage cannot exercise its full function unless it has a common residence based on a property unit.

In contrast to these societies, I cannot help but think that the Ashanti and the Hopi belong to a different type. Both Fortes and Eggan lay great emphasis on the descent principle, based on the ethnographic data of the Ashanti and of the Hopi respectively. The best examples of statements concerning this issue are the accounts in which both stress their disagreement with Kroeber's argument of 1938 in favour of the priority of local residence relationships over those of descent, under the title of "Basic and secondary patterns of social structure."

Fortes states:

"A lineage cannot easily act as a corporate group if its members can never get together for the conduct of their affairs. It is not surprising therefore to find that the lineage in African societies is generally locally anchored, but it is not necessarily territorially compact or exclusive. A compact nucleus may be enough to act as the local centre for a group that is widely dispersed. I think it would be agreed that lineage and locality are independently variable and how they interact depends on other factors in the social structure. As I interpret the evidence, local ties are of secondary significance, pace Kroeber, for local ties do not appear to give rise to structural bonds in and of themselves. There must be common political or kinship or economic or ritual interests for structural bonds to emerge. Again spatial dispersion does not immediately put an end to lineage ties or to the ramifying kin ties found in cognatic systems like that of the Lozi. For legal status, property, office and cult act centripetally to hold dispersed lineages together and scattered kindred" (Fortes, 1953, p. 30).

Eggan states:

"For the Hopi the kinship structure is centered primarily around the lineage; the household relationships are secondary (Eggan, 1950, p. 103) . . .

"Furthermore, it is the lineage and clan, rather than the household group, which is invested with lands and ceremonies and which is considered to own the house itself. Important as are the ties of residence and inheritance associations, they are not the key groupings in Hopi ceremonies—or in terms of our interpretation.

"Kroeber explicitly leaves kinship out of account in his analysis of 'basic and secondary patterns of social structure,' but in a sense kinship is more fundamental than either patterns of residence or formal grouping. Our analysis of Hopi kinship has suggested that both the household and the lineage organizations are encompassed in the kinship system. And it is clear that the kinship system is expressed in terms of the lineage principle rather than in terms of residence" (ibid., p. 122).

These arguments seem to me to refer more to a difference of social organization than to a theoretical contrast. On the basis of my own

15. Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7 *
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field work as well as on the accounts of various matrilineal systems. I feel strongly that there must be different types of systems which may be distinguished as "household-lineage" and "segmentary-lineage". Fortes and Eggan postulate the pre-eminence of the descent principle over residence. Though this may be the case among the Ashanti and the Hopi, it does not fit the cases belonging to what I call "household-lineage" type. Firth's argument emphasizing the importance of rights to group membership being associated with locality, fits very well with the latter case. With more precision and subtlety than Kroeber, he argues that "residence by itself does not give title to descent-group membership, but land rights established by descent-group membership tend to remain operational only through residence" (Firth 1957, p. 75).

I believe there are crucial differences between these household-lineage type and segmentary-lineage type organizations. The technical process of fission into segments is similar in both types. But in the former, once a segmented group attains autonomy, the relation between the segments will easily be forgotten after a few generations, as it has no significant social implication. Among these societies, people's genealogical memory outside the residential group is surprisingly poor. This empirical fact also suggests a different structure from that of the segmentary system.

In both types of society the internal organization of a household is the same, but it differs externally. Eggan states that "Kroeber's and Parsons' statements about the lack of system in regard to Zuni kinship indicate judgment from some arbitrary standard" and adds "The concept of the lineage provides a bridge between the household and the clan" (Eggan, *ibid.*, p. 197). I cannot agree with this. In fact, my study of the Garo, the Khasi and the Nayar corresponds very well to the Zuni situation described by Kroeber and Parsons. There are matrilineal systems which lack a bridge between the household and the clan.

Then what is it that makes the difference between the two types of organization in similar matrilineal systems? I am not sure that I can produce at present effective hypotheses on this issue. However, empirical facts show that the household-lineage type organization is likely to be found among more complicated societies or in a society with considerable mobility. This we gather also if we compare the village compositions of the Hopi and the Zuni. In the case of the Khasi, we saw that there was considerable mobility in population even in [illegible] villages, so that we easily understand that in such a condition lineage membership hardly maintained itself. This seems to agree with the view put forth by Fortes on segmentary systems. Fortes says the limits of the spread or span of internal segmentation of the

13: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR? Khasi AR?

has a striking resemblance to that of the Hopi as described by Eggan. The lineage, having segmentary structure, performs strong functions as a land ownership and religious unit. However, from Kathey's account, we understand that all grandchildren of matrilineage as well as children through the male line, are called nana, a term which is also applied to grandparent's generation. This means that the lineal classification does not extend beyond the second generation from Ego; such a classification corresponds to the Zuni type, but not to the Hopi type.

Coming back to the discussion of the correlation between the restricted type of kinship terminology and household-lineage, we should consider another important aspect of its bilateral character. In these societies can be observed considerable bilateral tendencies reaching beyond the household-lineage. As I have made clear in the description of the Khasi, the social and economic relationship with outside members of the household are no different towards people who belong to the same descent or clan than towards those who belong to an entirely different kin-group, except as concerns directly related kindred, such as sibling and mother and children. The matrilineal group wider than the ing has no exclusive function at all except avoidance of marriage. In this level of organization, there is no extension of the organizing principle of the matrilineal descent system. For instance, households A, B and C are matrilineally related to each other (A is the original and B and C the outcome of the fission of A). Such matrilineal links have no exclusive features that mark them off from other households unrelated through the matrilineal descent line; actual matrilineal links are minimized in their value and function in regard to relations between households. Such characteristics of this kind of organization must be correlated with the existence of an inheritance case, in which the matrilineal rule is distorted as I mentioned elsewhere (p. 125): if there is no daughter to succeed the ing, the son can inherit the acquired property of the ing, thus creating by transmission of the property, an entirely new ing (of his wife), in which no matrilineal link is established. Likewise in Trik, a son is the potential heir of his father's lineage, and frequency of patrilocal arrangements as alternatives—transmission of the property on the establishment of a new property-residential group—does not always follow the strict matrilineal line. These facts point to considerable bilateral characteristics outside the household. The relationships among households are not organized upon the matrilineal principle.

Kroeber's emphasis on the bilateral character of the Zuni society should be regarded as important in this respect:

"Upon her (Zuni woman) permanent occupancy of the house rests the matrilineal custom of the tribe. But kinship is thoroughly and equally bilat-

Such variety in residential arrangements and such flexibility in inheritance rule complicates considerably the composition of the residential unit when a property group (residential domestic unit) grows. Richards gives an interesting illustrative description of the formation of a Bemba residential unit:

> "The Bemba bridegroom starts his married life as a stranger in his wife's village, but since his daughters remain with him for some years after marriage to build up a grand-family composed of his daughters, their husbands, and their children. In some cases he is able to persuade his son-in-law to remain permanently with him, while in others he is even able to keep his son in his own village. In time some of his sister's sons, with their wives, will choose to come and settle with him, so that he will be head of a group of rather heterogeneous composition" (Richards, ibid., p. xxi).

Here we find a man's wife's matrilineal kin (his daughters and sons, including the daughters' descendants), his own matrilineal kin (his sisters' sons), and the third matrilineal sets (his sons' wives and his sister's sons' wives). Such a mixed composition of a residential unit may never be found among societies belonging to those types previously discussed, such residential composition would be impossible if the matrilineal principle was functioning strongly in the structure of the actual property group.

Thus, the Bemba type presents an outstanding structural difference from the other types of matrilineal systems in which the matrilineal inheritance rule was the decisive factor for the formation of the residence unit. It is clear that in the Bemba type, both a man and a woman are fairly free from the economic control of his and her matrilineal group, and their relations are somewhat like those of the husband of the Khasi type and the wife of the Ashanti type. Therefore, the conflicts between one's matrilineal group and family of procreation are minimized, particularly in the economic sphere.

This analysis throws much light on the following remarks of Richards bearing on different aspects of the similar formation of descent groups among the Yao and the Bemba.

> "The head of a Yao village of this sort (taking his wife to his matrilineage residence) thus has authority over his wife's children and over those of his sisters, but the position of the wife's children seems to be clearly differentiated from that of the sister's children, and Mitchell speaks of a traditional hostility between them. I never saw evidence of such hostility in Bemba villages, which also often contain a man's children and his sister's children" (Richards, ibid., p. xxi).

This difference should really be ascribed to the structural difference between the Khasi type (the Yao) and the Bemba type. In the former the matrilineal structural force is strongly functioning in the residential group, whereas in the latter it is minimized.

Within such a matrilineal framework it is quite understandable that the predominance of uxilocal arrangements, coupled with male authority or husband-father, are found. All observers of these societies have noted this feature. Among the plateau Tonga and the Bemba particularly, male authority is outstanding.

"Men are free to move and to form their own households because they acquire rights over their wives which permit them to remove these women from the protection of their kin. . . . As head of the household, the husband occupies a position comparable in many respects to that which falls to men in patrilineal societies." (Colson, 1958, p. 96)

"With the marriage the husband obtains—but only for the probationary period—rights over his wife's labour, the right to control her movements, and rights to her sexually. He is the father of any children born to her, whether or not he begets them . . ." (ibid., p. 100)

"As long as the household contains a married couple, it is theoretically under the authority of the husband. The wife and her children form the house, the uxoria, but the husband is known as the uxoratis, 'the owner of the house' . . ." (ibid., p. 102)

"Once the young man is admitted to the family he is free to move his wife and children to his own village should he desire to do so." (Richards, ibid., p. 103)

"This is a male dominant society and, even though descent is reckoned through the mother, the wife is very much under the control of her husband even while he is an outsider in his wife's village." (ibid., p. 103)

The husband-father's authority was also observed among other matrilineal systems under certain conditions, as already fully discussed in the chapters on the Garo and the Khasi, and more predominantly among societies of the Ashanti type where the matrilineal system was well-established. However, the unilineal structure on the level of the household composition may give more opportunity to create a husband-father authority of a more stable kind, unhampered by matrilineal force.

Furthermore, individuals are almost free from the descent principle in establishing their residence. Colson states in her account on the Tonga that a man has complete freedom to choose his residence, and residents in a single neighbourhood need not have kinship ties with one another. In the ordinary round of daily life, membership within a neighbourhood may be of more significance than membership within a matrilineal group (Colson, 1958, pp. 27-28). Oliver describes a similar situation:

"The non-marrying women and their children acquire proprietary rights in huts where they reside, and ultimately acquire full title to such huts" (Oliver, 1955, p. 109).

It is clear, in these societies, that there are two sets of groups on different levels: a matrilineal group membership of which is acquired

15: Nakane E-9 (1955-1956) 1967 AR? Khasi AR? *
Garo AR5

000 devices of the existing system. This does not necessarily imply that such societies have or had the same organization as other matrilineal societies, but I believe this to be an economic and historical product of the existing structure. I do not question the fact that all these societies are subject to a process of change; but it does seem unnecessary to assume that every factor which happens to be missing nowadays, did, in fact, exist in the past.

Summing up the above discussion, the essential structural differences between the Bemba type and other matrilineal systems are found firstly in the internal structure of its property group: "unilateral" contrasting with the "matrilineal" of the Garo, Nayar, Khasi and Ashanti types. Secondly, in the structure of the wider organization of the residential group: the clear matrilineal principle is found to act in the composition of matrilineal groups. The focus of the matrilineal operation is quite opposite to that of the household-lineage type. In the latter the bilateral features are met with at the wider organizational level. In the Bemba type, in spite of bilateral features in the composition of the residential property group, the rigorous matrilineal group conception is found in the wider organization. Unlike the case of the segmentary-lineage type, this matrilineal group does not have necessarily a direct and actual economic basis. Perhaps the scale of the Bemba society is small enough to maintain the matrilineal social system without a definite economic basis.

In conclusion, such terms as "matrilineal" (unilineal) and "bilateral" are simply convenient labels for the preliminary classification: they should not be used as contrasting criteria for classifying social structure. The unilineal principle (matrilineal system) works differently in each given society, producing as I have observed different structures. Again, *descent* principle and *residence* (with landholdings or property) are equally important criteria for the analysis of social organization. The prominence of either descent or residence should not be theoretically opposed in the arguments of anthropologists, for different degrees and levels of both factors are involved in each given society.

Finally I should like to note that the five major types of matrilineal systems in relation to the internal structure of the property group, which I presented in this discussion, namely the Garo, the Nayar, the Khasi, the Ashanti and the Bemba types, give theoretical criteria for the analysis. It should not be assumed that all matrilineal systems grouped into the same type present the same structure, but that each possesses the important basic elements of its type. Also a system may change from one type to another through important economic changes or migrations: for instance, from the Nayar type to the Ashanti type, or from the Ashanti type to the Bemba type.

19: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR? Khasi AR?

197 648 771 995 people remained non-Hindu in their basic beliefs and social customs. Hindu influences are nevertheless predominant in their culture, especially in their way of living which shows a practical adaptability, somewhat similar to the Japanese acceptance of modern western culture without becoming Christian. In my census of Shella village, the people calling themselves 'Hindu' amount to 40 per cent of the total, but they are the recent converts to the Ramakrishna School which established a missionary station at Shella after the Partition. The Christians constitute 30 per cent of the total, most of them having been converted during the last ten years, as in the case of the Ramakrishna School.[1] The rest remain as they were, of Khasi belief. These conversions to either Ramakrishna or Christianity seem to have been encouraged by the unstable situation of the people resulting from the recent economic depression in this area.

[197] [162] [459]

The Partition of India and Pakistan in August 1947, which drew the borderline a few miles south of Shella village, considerably upset village economy by stopping all trade with Bengal, though a limited amount of trade is allowed with local people at the border. Because of this political change, all the produce of Shella gardens is rotting away for lack of markets, while all of the rice fields were taken by Pakistan. Goods now come to Shella only from the uplands, carried upon men's shoulders over the most difficult pass, which makes everything very expensive. Many families have sold their gold and other treasures, and some families are facing starvation.[2]

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Concerning the conversion to a new religion, an interesting phenomenon is to be observed. The conversion to Christianity or to Ramakrishna is mostly by individual. I found in my census that the wife and husband often belong to different religions. This is a very different picture from the Garo, among whom I always found that the husband and wife belonged to the same religion: the conversion of the husband to Christianity was always followed by that of the wife. I think this reflects the structural differences which influence the actual relationship between the husband and wife. Among these Khasi, instead of the husband and wife, the maternal uncle and his nephews and nieces are mostly of the same religion. The function of the sing, the most important social and religious unit, thus appears also in the conversion to a new religion, stronger than that of a domestic unit.

182 171 592 613 771 995

Intermarriage

The close economic and cultural contact of the Shella people and the Bengalee is not matched by social contact. The essential barrier between the two peoples is the difference of religion which dominates the entire social order in each society. Though these Khasi were important traders, richer than the neighbouring Hindu peasants, they were considered by the Hindu as outcasts with whom they never shared social activities. Intermarriages were therefore very rare. In Shella village, only two exceptional cases were found in my census:

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a. A Khasi woman married to a Gurka (cattle-keeper); they live at Shella Bazaar (Sholap).

b. A Khasi woman has marital relation with a Bengalee medical doctor who has resided at Dawng in Shella for six years. He already has a Bengalee

1. These two entirely different missionary activities are competing with each other, and are somewhat related to the political powers within this area.

2. The state government is doing its best to provide them with additional facilities for example, providing air transport for the transportation of oranges from Shella to Gauhati and Calcutta. However, such arrangements cannot cover the great economic loss suffered by the Shella people.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

178 like the Zemi-Naga, the Cacharee and the Kuki. But after the period of
563 economic prosperity as I shall describe in the next section, the Jatinga people
621 reached a rather high level of education, while most of the neighbouring tribes
[871] remained illiterate. Their standard of living likewise improved. Fashionable girls of Jatinga who have studied at the Convent school in Shillong, and speak English and Hindi, cannot marry half-naked tribesmen who work in the jungle. They prefer to intermarry with Moslem, Panjabee or Assamese who belong to amore sophisticated community, and through whom they can enjoy urban life. Thus the orientation of the intermarriage of the people of Jatinga has changed, along with the growth of Jatinga.

It should be noted that intermarriages came mostly through the contacts at Haflong, where people used to go once a week for the bazaar, rather than through direct contacts with neighbouring villages.

Economy of Jatinga and its Relation to Neighbouring Tribes.

178 It is very interesting to find two different kinds of economy in the same
171 ecological background: Jatinga Khasi practise pan-leaf and orange cultivation
245 and depend mainly on a trading economy, while the other neighbouring tribal peoples practise jhum cultivation, almost a subsistence economy. This situation has remained unchanged for the last fifty years since the establishment of Jatinga village.

101 The first Jatinga immigrants occupied one ridge of the mountain where the
245 present Jatinga is situated. Formerly, this land belonged to the Zemi-Naga, one of the old inhabitants of the Cachar Hills, who possessed a vast jungle area for jhum cultivation. It seems that there was no objection to the Khasi occupying this small spot: it was apparently too small an area for the jhum cultivator —pan-leaf cultivation of the Khasi requires less than one twentieth of the land of the usual jhum cultivation. The Khasi who started pan-leaf cultivation were able to accumulate some capital, and after several years they started orange gardens. They had had experience of orange cultivation in their homeland, but this was the first time they had operated commercially.

245 The success of this orange cultivation was beyond their dreams. Hearing
434 of good oranges at Jatinga, many Bengalee merchants from Dacca, Sylhet,
439 Silchar and Gauhati began to come to buy them. Moreover, the village had the great advantage of being situated near the railway station. Oranges were sold by carloads. Unimaginable wealth came to the Jatinga people. Especi-
[496] ally the founder's family, including his brother's and sister's, became extraor-
[871] dinarily wealthy; their income used to be Rs. 20,000 a year. The children were sent to the school which was established in the village and some were educated at colleges in Dacca, Sylhet and Shillong. The villagers had
[362] beautiful houses built by Manipuri and Bengalee carpenters. Actually the houses of Jatinga were known as some of the best construction in Assam.

Like the Shella people, they were managers of gardens and employed workers.
245 Wealthy households used to engage several labourers annually, most of them
46 from Jaintia where the Jatinga people had originated. These workers were provided with shelter in the servant quarters of their employer's house, but they had to provide meals for themselves. They were paid daily according to the work done. They were available to other households, when their employer had no work. Some labourers were also engaged locally among the Zemi-Naga, the Cacharee and the Kuki, though not as many as among the Jaintia.
245 These local tribes were fairly well occupied by their jhum cultivation, and not
464 used to being employed as workers. Therefore, most of them were not regular

on from October to December. For millets the seed is sown in April-May and reaped about six months later. Maize is usually sown in April-May and ripens in August-September. For potato, generally three crops are raised in the district: the first is sown in December-January and harvested in April-May, the second is sown in February-March and is gathered in June-July and the third is sown in July-August and is harvested in November-December.

For oranges and lemons the orchards are cleared of weeds twice a year. Harvesting of orange takes place from October to January. Breakfast ripens at the beginning of the year and are collected between February and May.

2.6.3 Agricultural implements.—The usual agricultural implements are a hoe, a sickle, three or four kinds of dao, a harrow, a cycloid which is used for the construction of irrigation channels, 'sieves' and winnowing baskets. Bullock drawn plough is used in wet paddy cultivation in parts of Jowai subdivision and in Bhoi area and remaining the one in use in the plains of the State.

2. 6. 4. General cultural practices.—The cultivators mostly adhere to their indigenous practices of cultivation. Rotation of crops is not widely used. Cultivation of rice is usually done by broadcasting the seeds though transplanting is also in vogue in some areas. Mixed cropping is widely practised. Cultivation by making terraces in the hill slopes is gaining popularity in the district.

2.7 Cottage Industries.—Cottage Industries, it appears, have not found very great favour among the people of the district. A few families here and there manufacture iron implements, earthenware, pottery, baskets, mats and jewellery. In striking contrast with other districts weaving of cotton clothes is rare among the Khasis. The Mikirs in Bhoi area and in areas adjoining North Cachar and Mikir Hills practice it only for their domestic consumption. At present, the Government is trying to popularise weaving in the district and this has been welcomed by the Khasis. Among other cottage industries production of eri cocoon in the northern part of the district adjoining Kamrup district and bee keeping throughout the district are worth mentioning.

2.8 The People.—The Khasis and Jaintias are a short sturdy race distinct from the neighbouring hill tribes. By nature they are hardy and laborious and in respect of manual labour, they are free from any inhibition. Side by side with the Khasis live the Mikirs, Garos and Nepalis who form respectively 7.32 percent, 3.28 percent and 2.27 per cent of the total rural population. Besides, there are plains people who are mainly concentrated in the town of Shillong. In the marketing centres of the border area there are a large number of Bengali Hindus who dominate the bulk of the trade in the border areas.

2.9 Occupation.—The greater portion of the population of the district subsists on cultivation. More than 75 percent of the rural households are predominantly agricultural. The industrious Khasi agriculturists males and females have a high regard for hard labour

favourably with an average attendance of 844 in the preceding year. Of the pupils on the rolls, 130 were professed Christians, 98 Hindus, and 1098 Khiddis. The total cost was Rs. 3105. 11. 6, or £310. 13s. 3d., towards which Government contributed Rs. 3048. The average cost of each pupil was Rs. 2. 3. 3, or 4s., of which Rs. 3. 14. 7 represents the share paid by Government. The chief failure among the Khiddis is stated by the Inspector to be in arithmetic. Four primary scholarships were awarded during the year by the Deputy-Commissioner, on the recommendation of the secretary to the Mission. These scholarships are of the value of Rs. 3 a month, or £3. 10s. a year, and are tenable for two years.

Middle English Schools.—There were four schools of this class during the year under report, with 227 pupils on the rolls, and an average daily attendance of 159. The total expenditure was Rs. 4380. 15. 9, or £438. 4s., towards which Government contributed Rs. 1456. 8; the average cost of each pupil was Rs. 18. 15. 3, or £1. 17s. 8d.

Female Instruction.—The Khasi and Jaintia Hills is the only District of Assam, and one of the very few throughout all India, in which female instruction can be said to exist. During 1872-73 the number of girls attending the schools increased from 122 to 322, or by more than 40 per cent., showing 4·7 girls at school to every thousand of the female population, as opposed to 4 in the Province generally. Of this number 24 were taught by Mrs. Hugh Roberts of Cherrá Púnjí, and 18 by Mrs. John Roberts of Shillá. During the year five of the girls were sent out as teachers, of whom one was placed in charge of the Shillong girls' school, which has 29 pupils.

Normal School.—According to the classification adopted by the Education Department, the institution at Cherrá Púnjí, under the management of the Rev. Hugh Roberts, is described as partly "Government normal" and partly "aided English." In 1872-73 the number of pupils on the rolls was 43, and the average attendance 35. There is a class of 10 girls, and of the 18 teachers turned out during the year, 3 were girls. The total cost was Rs. 4132. 6. 4, almost the whole being paid by Government. The average cost of each pupil was Rs. 109. 0. 3, or £10. 19s., of which Rs. 107. 2. 11 represents the share of Government. The following paragraph, quoted from Mr. Roberts' Report, illustrates what the missionaries have effected, and also the difficulties with which they have to contend:—"Cases have been brought to my notice during the past year

[For information on the rune monuments of the Klimt hill tribes see site categories III and 7da, specifically in regard to sources in Gudwin-Austen and Ob Gudwin-Austen.]

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shows were very much as we find them at the present day among the Naga and Kukis, beyond and bordering our present eastern limits, the land of unknown tribes. They are now the quietest, most peaceful, and successful of all the hill people on the eastern frontier.

In my former paper I did not allude to the caves in these hills, which I am inclined to think are works of greater age than the stone structures. The caves in question have long since been given up, for I could not obtain any satisfactory account of them. They are only to be seen on the northern side of the Khasi plateau, and Dr. Hooker, in his account of his trips to the Kalling Jinch, did not fail to notice them. About Mawsaj and towards Bangmara they are very numerous, and always occur on commanding situations. On the path leading down the grassy spur to the stone monumental pre-viously described, near Jangjirti, in a very few days I caught of a cave, about eight feet high. They are usually quite horizontal mounds of earth; but this one is lined all round on the face with slabs of stone about four feet high; they are frequently not higher than six feet. A distant view is shown in Plate 6.

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Zemlaw is there one cave of the earth that forms them having been excavated alone by, in most, therefore, have been carried in some clear distance, to avoid unsightly heaps near the structure. I should much like to have dug into one of these caves, but was afraid to hurt the feelings of the people by doing so. They are very probably excavated of an earlier form to form now made of stone, and this point is might be interesting to clear up.

Beyond the Khasi area no caves are to be found, at least I had never some intercourse with visiting North Hamjyer last winter (1874-75), where, at the head of the Jingkai river, on the direct road from Samagurig, are four fine caves, all lined with large boulders. They are old, and the Naga now living in the village near said they had been made by another clan of Naga, who long ago had gone further north, and the site of whose village had been lately re-occupied by Kukis.

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Mr. C. B. Clarke, in a paper read lately before your Institute, refers to the different forms of the structure in the Khasi Hills; but he has not quite estimated the subject, as yet further than I did, although with regard to the disposal of the dead he gives some further interesting particulars.

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As I think that drawings are of very great interest, and better exhibit the many different forms of bone depository or cistern that have been adopted at different periods by tribes inhabiting localities very far apart, and often quite unconnected ethnically,

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I give a sketch of a form of cinerary meeting attention, and are hitherto unique (Plate iii.). Several of this form may be seen on a low spur near the Dame of Jaddo or Shillong. The cinerary is above ground, and stands on a slightly raised platform. It consists of five thick stones about three feet high, set on edge, and capped with a heavy tegmentum; and, as far, it resembles the small form, a figure of which is given in my first paper.* The approach to all these depositories is from the natural by several low steps, and the whole structure is enclosed on three sides by large flat slabs (or the rough) standing on end—the longest being placed round the cinerary itself, overtopping it by three to four feet, and the remainder, three diminishing in size, stand on either side of the steps. There are about six such monuments along the ridge of the spur, and I have seen no others similar elsewhere. They have been broken into, and the front stone removed, very probably by some followers from our regimental bands, which is close by. There is thus a double probability of their ultimate destruction altogether, should the station be extended in that direction.

Explanation of Plates II. and III.

Plate II.—View of megalithic monuments at Jingrahai, near Shillong, Khasi Hills. From a photograph taken by Rev. W. Bryant.

Plate III.—View of main stone cinerary and approach, at Shillong, Khasi Hills, with entry in the distance, by the author.

Discussion.

The President said that the paper of Lieut. de Crespigny on the Missions of Burma, contained a great deal of extremely interesting information, especially in relation to their religious customs; the author, however, attempted to connect the Bilaans with the inhabitants of Tibet, through the similarity of their religious beliefs. He (the President) did not venture to express any opinion on this point, not being any grounds for forming one. He thought, however, that, as a general rule, evidence of identity of race, derived from the comparison of the religions of savages, must be received with caution, especially in the absence of any information as to physical conditions. The attention that is devoted to religion arises from the interest that is taken in the subject, rather than from the value of the evidence it affords of connection with other peoples. There must always be a great liability to error in the accounts of the religious customs of savages. Inquiries into the peculiarities of the arts of different peoples, about which there could be no mistake, were, he thought,

* Proc. May 1st, 1875.

STONE MONUMENTS NEAR BRUGHAS, ISLE OF MULL

KINGDOM AT SHILLONG, KHASI HILLS

10: Godwin-Austen G-3 (ca. 1872) 1075 ABT
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of more scientific value, and the translation given by the author in this paper would, no doubt, be found of great use to comparative philologists. He hoped that the Institute would be favoured with some further information on the roots of Bhoopa from Major-Gen. Cunningham.

With regard to the paper by Major Godwin-Austen, he (the President) could say his communications were always welcome to the Institute. He wished that a more detailed account had been given of the intercourse referred to. There appears to have been a great map-building period in the life of some race when neighbouring tribes were constantly at war, and each had its strongholds in case of attack. Such maps are conspicuous amongst the antiquities of nearly all parts of the world, and a comparison of the different systems of defence adopted, when viewed in the knowledge of the use of communication which we possess, affords valuable evidence of psychical connections. In the early British maps of this country he had never seen any evidence of the use of flanking defence except at the entrances, but the description given by Major Austen of this earthwork appeared to indicate that something of the kind was known to these people.

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I:Gordon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 ART Khasi ART

villages, such as Shella, Borpunji, Umsiah, and in Nongpoh in the Jaintia Hills.

Origin.

The origin of the Khasis is a very vexed question. Although it is probable that the Khasis have inhabited their present abode for at any rate a considerable period, there seems to be a fairly general belief amongst them that they originally came from elsewhere. The Rev. H. Roberts, in the introduction to his Khasi Grammar, states that "tradition, such as it is, connects them politically with the Burmese, to whom king they were up to a comparatively recent date rendering homage, by sending him an annual tribute in the shape of an axe, as an emblem merely of submission." Another tradition points out the north as the direction from which they migrated, and Sylhet as the terminus of their wanderings, from which they were ultimately driven back into their present hill fastnesses by a great flood, after a more or less peaceful occupation of that district. It was on the occasion of this great flood, the legend runs, that the Khasi lost the art of writing, the Khasi being his book whilst he was swimming at the time of this flood, whereas the Bengali managed to preserve his. Owing to the Khasis having possessed no written character before the advent of the Welsh missionaries, there are no histories as is the case with the Ahoms of the Assam Valley, and therefore no record of their journeys. Mr. Shadwell, the oldest living authority we have on the Khasis, and one who has been in close touch with the people for more than half a century, mentions a tradition amongst them that they originally came into Assam from Burma *viâ* the Patkoi range, having followed the route of one of the Burmese invasions. Mr. Shadwell has heard them mention the name Patkoi as a hill they met with on their journey. All this sort of thing is, however, inexpressibly vague. In the chapter dealing with "Affinities" have been given some reasons for supposing that the Khasis and other tribes of the Mon-Anam family, originally occupied a large portion of the Indian continent. Where the actual cradle of the Mon-Anam race was, is as

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impossible to state, as it is to fix upon the exact tract of country from which the Aryans sprung. With reference to the Khasi branch of the Mon-Anam family, it would seem reasonable to suppose that if they are not the autochthons of a portion of the hills on the northern bank of the Brahmaputra, and if they originated to Assam from some other country, it is not unlikely that they followed the direction of the different irruptions of foreign peoples into Assam of which we have authentic data, i.e. from south-east to north-west, as was the case with the Ahom invaders of Assam who invaded Assam from their settlements in the Shan States old the Patkoi range, the different Burmese invasions, the movements of the Khamtis and, again, the Singphos, from the country to the east of the Hukong Valley. Whether the first cousins of the Khasis, the Mons, moved to their present abode from China, whether they are the aborigines of the portion of Burma they at present occupy, or were one of the races "of Turanian origin" who, as Forbes thinks, originally occupied the valley of the Ganges before the Aryan invasion, must be left to others more qualified than myself to determine. Further, it is difficult to clear up the mystery of the survival, in an isolated position, of people like the Ho-Mundas, whose language and certain customs exhibit points of similarity with those of the Khasis, in close proximity to the Dravidian tribes and at a great distance from the Khasis, there being no people who exhibit similar characteristics inhabiting countries situated in between; but we can, I think, reasonably suppose that the Khasis are an offshoot of the Mon people of Further India in the light of the historical fact I have quoted, i.e. that the movements of races into Assam have usually, although not invariably, taken place from the east, and not from the west. The tendency for outside people to move into Assam from the east still continues.

Appendix.

The late Mr. S. E. Peal, F.R.G.S., in an interesting and suggestive paper published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1896, drew attention to certain illustrations of

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648 occurring in the Siemship, these *lyngdohs* and two *mantris* assemble and decide who is to be Siem. They then summon the sirdars of villages to meet them in *durbar* and obtain the approval of the latter to their nomination. If the sirdars do not approve, the combined durbar then decides who is to become
1?? Siem. In Nongpoyng there is a tradition that two sisters, Ka
643 Jah and Ka Jem, came to the village of Nongpoyng, which was then ruled by two *lyngdohs*, and that the latter, having ascertained that the two sisters were of equal birth, married them. They then travelled to other villages and obtained the consent of the *lyngdohs* of these villages to the formation of all their villages into a State, of which Nongpoyng became the capital, and over which U Sugi Shaling, the son of Ka Jem, was appointed Siem by the five principal *lyngdohs*. After some generations the lyngdoh of Mairang with his villages became subject to the Siem of Nongkhlaw, an event which finds mention in the annals of the Nongkhlaw State as the conquest of the territory of the "Black" Siem of Nongpoyng. Another lyngdoh was appointed in place of the one whose territory had been thus annexed.

642 In the Mawiong State the ancient custom was that six headmen
[643] appointed the Siem subject to the approval of the people of the
644 Siemship. In the Nongkhyah State there are two Siem families, the "Black" and the "White," from either of which it has apparently been the custom for the people to select a Siem, as they wished. In Mawryngkang the electors of the Siem are the heads of the four principal clans in the State. On a recent occasion, the electors being equally divided regarding the appointment of a Siem, it was necessary to appeal to the people of the State. In Langrin there are, as in Maharam and Nongkhyah, two main branches of the Siem family, i.e. the
[641] "Black" and the "White" Siems. Here there is no special electoral body; all the adults of the state have the right to vote at the election of a Siem. In Bhawal State Siems are appointed by the heads of eight clans whose decision is apparently final, provided that it is unanimous. In Malai-Sohmat a bare majority of the heads of six clans would be sufficient for the election of a Siem. Presumably both in Bhawal and Malai-Sohmat, if the electors were equally divided, there would be an appeal to the people.

1: Gordon E-4, 9 (no date) 1907 AR? Khasi AR?

to difference. It is owing to these three different names being used for the same people that there has been so much confusion about Lyngams previously; e.g. at one course they were named Lyngam, at another they received the appellation of Garo, and at a third enumeration they were called Khasis. In Section I. the habitat of the Lyngams has been roughly defined. It is impossible to define the Lyngam country exactly, because these people are continually shifting their village sites owing to the exigencies of jhum cultivation, which has been described in Section II. Some of the Lyngams preserve a tradition that they originally came from the Kamrup plains. It is interesting that a people, like the Garos in so many respects, should have the same idea as the Garos as to the hills on the south bank of the Brahmaputra not always having been their abode. The Garo legend is that they dwelt for some years in the Goalpara and Kamrup plains after they descended from Thibet, and before they moved to the Garo Hills; and there is unmistakable evidence of their occupation of both districts in the shape of certain Garo villages on both banks of the Brahmaputra for some little distance up the river. If, as I suspect, the Lyngams are an offshoot of the Garos, it is, perhaps, possible that they entered the Khasi Hills south in the same way as the Garos entered the hill district to which they have given their name. The Lyngams are much darker than the Khasis, and possess the Thibeto-Burman type of feature often to a marked degree. It is not extraordinary that they should have adopted some of the Khasi customs, for the Khasis, being the stronger people, would in course of time be bound to influence them in this respect. That the Lyngams observe the matriarchate and erect (some claim) memorial stones is not peculiar, because the Garos, like the Khasis, are also a matriarchal people (to a limited degree), and the custom of erecting memorial stones is not confined to the Khasis, for other hill tribes in Assam observe the practice, e.g. certain Naga tribes and the Mikirs; and the Garos themselves put up carved posts, called *bima*, in honour of the departed. Although there is not much intermarriage between the Khasis and the Lyngams nowadays, perhaps in days gone by there was a mixture of blood, the result being the hybrid race we are now

2:Stagmiller-1 N-4,5(no date) 1921 ART Khasi ART

[507] The Religious Life of the Khasi

(50)

By P. F. Stagmiller, Apostolic Missionary, S.D.S., of Assam (India).

I. Religion in General

1. Gods, Spirits, Souls.
2. Methods of Warding Off Evil Spirits.
3. Taboos (eang).
4. Egg Throwing (shat-pylleng).
5. The Sacrifice of the Rooster (jinghnia sylar).
6. Discovering the Spirits that Need Appeasing (shelshkeid).
7. Prayer of Thanks after Receiving Good Health.

II. Religion in Various Phases of Life.

1. Giving a Name (tap lubri tap kyrteng).
2. Sacrifices during the Illness of a Member of the Family.
3. Sacrifices and Ceremonies at Death.
4. Cremation (ka jingthang).
5. Burial of the Bones.
   a) First Burial (maw shying).
   b) Second Burial (maw phew).
   c) Third Burial (maw bah).

I. Religion in General

1. Gods, Spirits, Souls.

•173 771 An explanation about the origin of their religion is not to be expected from the Khasi themselves. Since they do not have a system of writing, nor idols or temples, one must turn entirely to their oral traditions.

9: Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 AR7 Khasi AR7

nounce the hard G; and in all words of Hindustani origin this letter has the sound of K. 101 [197]

They are called by the tribes of Kúkis and Nágás on the west "Káro", the name they themselves have for the whole mass of hill people on their western side, the Gáros, though as we pass towards their confines, we find the names of local clans giving way to this general term which was not known to some of the villagers of West Nongstoin, who call the Gáros "Dékor."

The Gáro appellation for the Khásis is "Dikkil" or "Digil"; and it was very interesting to find, after visiting the villages of both, that they mutually fear each other, and consequently border raids never occur. The Gáros owned that they feared the bow and arrow of their neighbour, a weapon they themselves are unacquainted with the use of.

The Khásis always point to the east as the quarter from which they emigrated, but there is very little, if any, similarity with the languages of the people now occupying the hills on that side. [178] [197]

Before entering further on the subject matter of this paper, I must request my hearers or readers to remember that having no knowledge colloquially of the Khasi language, the information I give was obtained from natives who understood either English or Hindustani well. The greater part of the information was given me by a very intelligent man, a native inspector of schools in the district; thus I hope that all errors that exist may be hereafter corrected by others who have been able to elucidate with greater exactness the meaning of their many different rites and superstitions. 115

Certainly the most striking objects of interest in the Khási Hills are the upright stone monuments that are to be seen all over the country; these, set up by the wayside, or in the villages, more frequently cutting the sky on prominent hills, with the large slabs horizontally set before them, at once recall the Druidical remains of our own island, northern France, etc., and lead one to marvel at the similarity of the customs, and to inquire its origin and design. Many who visit those hills take it at once for granted that they are the graves of illustrious men, or, after a vain endeavour to get some information from the coolies about them, let the matter rest, or finally believe that the ashes of the dead, to whose memory the monoliths are erected, are buried under the flat kind of altar or dolmen seen in front. 764 211

It is always a very difficult matter to obtain information from semi-civilised people on such a subject as their religious rites, especially if the inquirer is ignorant of their language. A slight knowledge of Hindustani on the part of the Khásia villager, renders the attempt still more hopeless, and the information given quite erroneous.

16: McCormack E-4,5 (1956-1958) 1964
AR7 Khasi AR7

[P. 106 B]

1963-2b: 2; Raeth 1962.] **Demography.** According to the 1961 census of India, the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills District contained 221,982 Khasis and 67,532 Syntengs. Pnars and Jaintias (India [Republic] 1962-57). These figures, together with those for Khasis enumerated in Cachar (4,005), Mikir and North Cachar Hills (407), Lakhimpur (287), Sibsagar (279), and Darrang (211) districts, and those for Syntengs enumerated in Mikir and North Cachar District (464), yield a total of 295,224 Khasis. **History and cultural relations.** Khasis believe that they had supernatural origin in Khasi Hills (see Gait 1926: 280 for historical evidence, and Raly 1930: 5-9 for myth, but see also Costa 1986, 1989; Gordon 1907: 10-11, and Chatterji 1953: 12). Khasi tradition also states that in early times they moved gradually from east to west, from Jaintia toward Khasi Hills, in the practice of swidden agriculture (Gatphoh 1947: 97-98). The salient fact of known Khasi history, which begins generally in the mid-sixteenth century A.D. when there already existed the present-day 25 native Khasi chiefdoms, is the distinctive line of development followed by the separate kingdom of Jaintia. To the north, Jaintia was successively tributary, in part or in whole, to the Kachari kingdom (ca. 1250 A.D.), the Koch kingdom (strongest ca. 1500 A.D.), and the Ahom kingdom (strongest ca. 1700 A.D.) (Shakespear 1914: Map 1). To the south, about 1500 A.D., Jaintia extended its rule over a tract of Sylhet, which was populated by Hindus and Muslims, and saw its kings fall thereafter under Brahman influence. In the early 1800s, Jaintia became involved in the fratricidal strife then prevalent in the ruling family of Manipur. In 1835, after the Jaintia king ignored British warnings not to seize British subjects for human sacrifice, Jaintia was punished by the British annexation of the Jaintia parganas in Sylhet. The Jaintia king then voluntarily turned over to the British the hills area of his domain, so that the whole of Jaintia became part of British India and, in 1860, came to be taxed as such, although the Jaintias were otherwise allowed to maintain their traditional system of village government. • By contrast, the remaining Khasi states had few formal external relations until British times. Khasis resided and traded in both the Brahmaputra and Sylhet valleys, but were basically turned inward on their own hills, where warfare between villages and between the states was apparently common. Khasis came into indirect relation with the British in 1765, when Sylhet and its markets became part of British India. In the 1790s, stepped-up Khasi raids into Sylhet caused the British to throw up a deterring line of forts along the foothills. Later, it became necessary to place an embargo on Khasi products in the Sylhet markets. In 1827, the British penetrated into western Khasi Hills by negotiating with the Khasi chief of Nongkhlaw State to build a road through his territory, linking the recently annexed Brahmaputra valley with Calcutta. For three decades

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20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

sense) or juxtapositions of roots which have not thereby suffered 197
either obscuration or absorption—that is to say, they are all, 193
with a few exceptions, reducible to their constituent root words, which are still "current coin," and retain their power as independent vocables. The cases in which obscuration and "fusion" of roots have taken place are confined to—(1) the noun prefix *jong*, expressing abstract ideas; (2) the verbal prefixes *hyn*, *kyn*, *lyn*, *ryn*, *syn*, *tyn*, *pyn*, *hyr*, *kyr*, *lyr*, *pyr*, *syr*, *tyr*, expressing causation, intensification, and contrariety. The language is found purest at Cherrá Punji. The Khásiás have no written character or literature of 212
any kind of their own. Tradition says that all was lost while they 173
were yet masters of the plains, whence they were driven by a general catastrophe or deluge to their present fastnesses in the hills. The following works on the language have been published: *Khási Grammar*, *Anglo-Khási Dictionary*, *Khási Primer* (Parts I. and II., 113
with Vocabulary),—all issued by the Calcutta School-Book Society; *Khási English Dictionary* (in preparation), and an *Anglo-Khási First Book*.

'CUSTOMS REGARDING INHERITANCE.—A Khásiá, whether married 428
or single, if he makes his mother's house his home, is said to be earning for his *kur*, *i.e.* for his mother, or his brothers and sisters, or his mother's relatives. On his death his property goes to his mother, if living; if not, to the grandmother; if she is not living, then to his sisters; should his sisters also be dead, to his sisters' children. Should the deceased have left no sisters, the property goes to the
2 brothers; should he have no brothers or should they be dead, the property descends to his aunts, or to their children if the aunts are not living; should the aunts have left no children, the property descends to the grandmother's or great-grandmother's sisters or children. The property of a female on her death goes to her mother, if the deceased have no children; or if the mother of the deceased is not living, the property goes to the brothers and sisters; if the sisters are dead, then their children become the heirs. If there are no such children, the property devolves as in the case of males. When a man is not living in his mother's house, but in that of his wife, he cares for his wife and children. On his death his property descends to his wife, with the exception of the ornaments and clothing worn by him during his lifetime, which go to the brothers and sisters or other relatives of the deceased. Should the deceased have been a widower, the property goes to his children, and in their absence

21: Ehrenfels E-4,5 (1950) 1953 AR7 Khasi AR7

on a historical past, different from that of the Khasi proper, the former having been ruled by the powerful, but somewhat Hinduised dynasty of the Jaintia Rajas until the Jaintia Wars of the British; the latter by small independent chiefs. Yet Jaintia social organization appears on the whole to preserve the matrilineal social structure clearer and to be less influenced by plains-acculturation, than that of the Khasi, though a few features of Brahmanical religious observances and also some traces of racial admixture are found in the immediate vicinity of Jowei, the former summer residence of the Jaintia Rajas. Stronger no doubt, than this influence, was that exercised by the British and non-Assamese Indians in the provincial capital Shillong since 1866. Methods of agriculture and other aspects of material civilization differ but little in the Jaintia- and Khasi plateau-areas.

The same cannot be said of both: the Wár-Khasi and Wár-Jaintias. Linguistically their affiliations are with the Khasi or Jaintias respectively, in the plateau-areas. Economically, however, both Wár-groups form a separate pan-leaf cultivating unit in the little accessible steep southern slopes of the Khasi- and Jaintia Hill massif. Both Wár-groups live in the environment of luscious tropical flora and fauna, sharply differentiated from the cool, barren plateau with its perennial winds and the heroic, if solitary beauty of its highland heaths, which forms the background of both the Khasi- and Jaintia plateau-groups.

The age of the Wár-Khasi and -Jaintias, as one independent economic, — and two half-independent dialectical linguistic entities, is an intricate problem. The two Wár-groups subsist on pan-leaf cultivation as a money crop, grown in the thick tree-gardens as creepers; not on food-cultivation, as do the plateau-groups, because there is insufficient space on the steep slopes, for vegetable gardens or -fields. The pan-leaf cultivators therefore depend on food, purchased from outside. The slopes seem to have been uninhabited until not long ago. Yet pan-leaf chewing is such an integral part of Khasi life, that until quite recently, and occasionally even now, a distance between two places is not measured by the number of hours used for walking, but by the number of betelnut- and pan-leaf packages, consumed on the way. Also the common benediction among Khasi expresses the wish that so and so may eat pan in the Garden of God. Yet pan-cultivation and the settlements of the Wár-people as pan-leaf cultivators in the southern slopes seem comparatively young. Pan-cultivation on the plateau is impracticable. It is therefore possible that pan was for a long time only a much valued import article from the plains, bartered against Khasi ore and iron tools, though it is now an export article from the Wár-country, brought to the markets of the plains, by both Wár-Khasi and Wár-Jaintia women and men.

According to a tradition, across which I came among the Nonglamin clan of the Nongmuker village, the ancestors of the present Wár people were on the plateau at a time when no pan-cultivation was going on in the slopes and none of the present big estates of pan-tree gardens was yet held by their present (Wár-) owners. A not distant ancestor of a Nonglamin clan-member who about two or three generations ago told the story to U' Siang (one of

21: Ehrenfels E-4,5 (1950) 1953 AR7 Khasi AR7

249 my informants at Padu), in the year 1933, is said to have begun the cultivation
173 of yam (*shwir*) and millets (*kner*) in the then uncultivated slopes. He and
[115] his people used to be, on this account, ridiculed as monkeys (*shrieh*). The Nonglamin clan took later to pan-leaf-, and arecanut-cultivation and became one of the richest landowners of the Wár-country. Others followed and imitated them. This clan (*kner*) is now residing at Nongtalang, about ten miles east of Pada in the Wár-Jaintia slopes.

174 This possibility of a comparatively recent origin of the now economically
184 independent Wár-groups among the Khasi speaking peoples is of importance
601 to the question of some different terms in kinship terminology which the following lists will show.

184 Comments on other features in the relationship terminology, bearing
601 on sociological or historical problems of either among the four Khasi speaking groups under discussion, are being hinted at in the text of the lists itself and further discussed in Part Three of the present paper, following the lists of kinship terms.

1: Gurdon E-4 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

and offered to help them with their cultivation. The Khasis also refused her, saying they were capable of managing their own cultivation, and at the same time told her to go to the country of the Bhois and Syntengs, i.e. the Jaintia Hills. Acting on this advice, she went to the village of Nongphyllud in the Jaintia Hills, where the people again turned a deaf ear to her. She proceeded to Mulagula village in Jaintia, at the foot of the Jaintia Hills, and ascended from thence to Rymbai, where she met a man who conducted her to the house of the Siem, who consented that she and her children should live with him. Ka Taben then apportioned to her children various duties in the house of the Siem as follows:—Ka Rasong was to look after the young unmarried folk, and was to supervise their daily labour and to prosper their trading operations at the markets. Next Ka Rasong was given a place at the foot of the king post, *trai rishot*, and her duty was to befriend young men in battle. Then came *Ka Longkhuinruid*, alias *ka Thab-bulong*, who said, "There are no more rooms in the house for my occupation, so I will go and live in the forest, and him who turns not his coat when I meet him I will make mad." Finally came *U Lamsymphud*, who elected to live with his youngest sister inside the house.

There are special sacrifices offered to these household deities. The leaves of the *sning*, or Khasi oak, are wrapped round the post of the house, and a fowl is sacrificed and other formalities are observed which it would be tedious to describe in detail. The legend of the arrival of Ka Taben with her children in the Synteng country from a distant clime is interesting in that it perhaps indicates the possibility of the migration of these people, i.e. the Syntengs, in ancient times from some distant place to their present abode.

ANCESTOR-WORSHIP.

The Khasis not only revere the memories of deceased ancestors, but they adore them by means of offerings, which are sometimes periodical, and sometimes made when thought neces-

says that the MoBrCh but not the FaSiCh is prohibited (1897: 2), but Gurdon says that the MoBrCh is eligible after the death of MoBr, and that FaSiCh is eligible after the death of Fa (1907: 78). Nowadays both types of marriage occur, whether the linking relative is living or dead. **Residence.** Residence is either duolocal or matrilocal under the roof of the wife's mother until the birth of one or two children. For a man married to a youngest daughter, it then continues to be matrilocal. For men married to other daughters, it becomes uxorilocal; there have also always been cases of virilocal residence, and it is now common to find neolocal residence in Shillong. For non-Christian Jaintias, it is duolocal throughout the marriage. **Domestic unit.** The domestic unit is the elementary family, though for a youngest daughter it may temporarily include also her aged mother, aged father, unmarried siblings, or divorced or widowed brothers. **Inheritance.** Traditionally, after the Khasi mother had helped each of her daughters to build and supply a house when each one married and had children, her only real obligation to help them economically was ended. Everything she possessed, excepting certain personalty that was destroyed in her cremation, was inherited by her youngest daughter. Failing daughters, a woman's property reverted to her next youngest sister's daughter. Today, this pattern is often modified by putting more property into the hands of older daughters and even sons. [Cf. Cantlie 1934; Becker 1924.] **Divorce.** A woman may effect numerous and usually brief separations from her husband by simply closing the door of her house to him, whereupon he returns to the house of his mother or youngest sister. Divorce, however, must be initiated by mutual consent. Divorce is very common, even though women resist it because they do not wish to lose a provider, and men because they do not wish to lose their children. Formerly it was accomplished by a simple ritual in the presence of witnesses, followed by public announcement by a town crier. Now, the witnesses and the public announcement have been dispensed with, and evidence for divorce consists only in the word of the parties concerned.

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SOCIOPOLITICAL ORGANIZATION. **Political organization.** The basic unit of political organization is the village, which is composed of one or more dominant local descent groups plus several others. Village government is by an assembly of all resident adult males, under the informal chairmanship of a headman elected by them from among their number. The membership of any immigrant household into a village is defined by the participation of the household's males in this assembly. Sustained membership in a village is voluntary. Khasi chiefdoms probably arose out of voluntary associations of villages, which occasionally transferred allegiance from one chief to another.

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18: Godwin-Austen G-3 (ca. 1872) 1875 AR7
Khasi AR7

211 rude stone monuments. At the village of Nougshai, near
[101] Shillong, are to be seen some very striking monoliths; and
[131] although they do not come up quite to the length of those at Nurtiang (noticed by Dr. Hooker in his "Himalayan Journals"), yet they are very worthy of being mentioned. They stand on
[132] the open spur just above the village, and have been worked out of the beds of the Shillong sandstone series, and some of the smaller blocks have been taken from the conglomerate beds, the lowest in the series, and which come in, in the bed of the ravine, to the north of the spur. There are a number of monuments on this site, large and small, arranged both in line and on two sides of a square; the two largest have their central monoliths—height, 24 ft. 3 in.; width, 5 ft. 6 in.; thickness, 8 in.; and height, 23 ft. 2 in.; width, 2 ft. 9 in.; thickness, 1 ft., respectively.

[126] Plate ii., which is taken from a photograph by Mr. William Robert, Assistant Surveyor in the Khasi Hills survey party, gives an excellent idea of the second largest structure, showing the very massive flat-stone, the "Mao Kynthai," in front. This structure consisted of thirteen upright stones, which could not all be brought into the field of the camera; but the six outside stones on the right are shown. Many of the slabs in the
175 adjacent monuments have been overthrown and broken quite
211 recently, perhaps by Sepoys and camp followers from the military station close by. At one time a mountain battery of Eurasian Artillery was quartered there, and I attribute the overthrow of so many of the stones in the neighbourhood to their handiwork, who would look on such amusement as a "great lark." The Sepoy (native of India) is not of a mischievous disposition; the European and half-European (uneducated) is markedly so. Thus the monument with the highest stone is imperfect, and it must, when perfect, have been a very handsome one. This is a sad pity, after the time and labour that must have been expended in its erection.

361 I did not observe any new slabs anywhere in the immediate
712 neighbourhood. Nougshai must formerly have been a large
[211] and powerful village; it stands on a naturally very strong position, and old lines of fortification are to be traced on many sides, especially on the approach from the direction of the Falls of the Umiam. These old lines of defence are on a curious system: a ditch and bank have been carried forward from the main defences from 200 to 300 yards down the ridge of the spurs, thus effectually preventing an enemy working round the hill sides below the villages.

174 This fortified site points to a state of things in these hills
712 when the relations between the large village communities or
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18: Godwin-Austen G-3 (ca. 1872) 1875 AR7
Khasi AR7

 174 712 628

clans were very much as we find them at the present day among the Nagas and Kukis, beyond and bordering our present extreme limits, viz. that of constant feud. They are now the quietest, most peaceful, and contented of all the hill people on the eastern frontier. [178]

In my former paper I did not allude to the cairns in these hills, which I am inclined to think are works of greater age than the stone structures. The custom is one that certainly has long since been given up, for I could not obtain any satisfactory account of them. They are only to be seen on the northern side of the Khasi plateau, and Dr. Hooker, in his account of his trips to the Kollong Rock, did not fail to notice them. About Mairaug and towards Nougstoin they are very numerous, and always stand on commanding situations. On the path leading down the grassy spur to the stone monuments previously described, near Nougshai, is a very fine large example of a cairn, about eight feet high. They are usually plain hemispherical mounds of earth; but this one is faced all round at the base with slabs of stone about four feet high; they are frequently not higher than six feet. A distant view is shown in Plate iii. 172 [103]

Nowhere is there any trace of the earth that forms them having been excavated close by; it must, therefore, have been carried in some short distance, to avoid unsightly hollows near the structure. I should much like to have dug into one of these cairns, but was afraid to hurt the feelings of the people by doing so. They are very probably cineraries of an earlier form to those now made of stone, and this point it might be interesting to clear up.

Beyond the Khasi area no cairns are to be found, at least I had never come across any until visiting North Munipur last winter (1872—73), where, at the head of the Imphal river, on the direct road from Samaguting, are four fine cairns, all faced with large boulders. They are old, and the Nagas now living in the village near said they had been made by another clan of Nagas, who long ago had gone further north, and the site of whose village had been lately re-occupied by Kukis. [114] [101]

Mr. C. B. Clarke, in a paper read lately before your Institute, refers to the different forms of the cinerary in the Khasi Hills; but he has not quite exhausted the subject, or got further than I did, although with regard to the disposal of the ashes of the dead he gives some further interesting particulars. [114]

As I think that drawings are of very great interest, and better exhibit the many different forms of bone depository or cinerary that have been adopted at different periods by tribes inhabiting localities very far apart, and often quite unconnected affinitively, [126] [764]

21: Ehrenfels E-4,5 (1950) 1953 AR7 Khasi AR7

on a historical past, different from that of the Khasi proper, the former having been ruled by the powerful, but somewhat Hinduised dynasty of the Jaintia Rajas until the Jaintia Wars of the British; the latter by small independent chiefs. Yet Jaintia social organization appears on the whole to preserve the matrilineal social structure clearer and to be less influenced by plains-acculturation, than that of the Khasi, though a few features of Brahmanical religious observances and also some traces of racial admixture are found in the immediate vicinity of Jowei, the former summer residence of the Jaintia Rajas. Stronger no doubt, than this influence, was that exercised by the British and non-Assamese Indians in the provincial capital Shillong since 1866. Methods of agriculture and other aspects of material civilization differ but little in the Jaintia- and Khasi plateau-areas.

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1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

643 almost complete autonomy in the management of their
101 local affairs. In the remainder, called the Jaintia Hills, which became British in 1835, it has been the wise policy of the Government to maintain the indigenous system of administration through officers named *dolois*, who preside over large areas of country with very little interference. All the British portion of the hills is what is called a "Scheduled District" under Acts XIV and XV of 1874, and legislation which may be inappropriate to the conditions of the people can be, and is, excluded from operation within it. In these circumstances the administration is carried on in a manner well calculated to win the confidence and attachment of the people, who have to bear few of the burdens which press upon the population elsewhere, and, with the peace and protection guaranteed by British rule, are able to develop their institutions upon indigenous lines. It is now more than forty years since any military operations have been necessary within the hills, and the advance of the district in prosperity and civilization during the last half-century has been very striking.

177 The first contact between the British and the
648 inhabitants of the Khasi Hills followed upon the
● 175 acquisition by the East India Company, in consequence of the grant of the *Dīwānī* of Bengal in 1765, of the district of Sylhet. The Khasis were our neighbours on the north of that district, and to the north-east was the State of Jaintia,* ruled over by a chief of Khasi lineage, whose capital, Jaintiapur, was situated in the plain between the Surma river and the hills. Along this frontier the Khasis, though not averse from trade, and in possession of the quarries which furnished the chief

113 * The previous history of the Khasi State of Jaintia, so far as it can be traced, will be found related in Mr. E. A. Gait's *History of Assam* (1906), pp. 253-262.

I: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

supply of lime to deltaic Bengal, were also known as troublesome marauders, whose raids were a terror to the inhabitants of the plains. Captain R. B. Pemberton, in his Report on the Eastern Frontier (1835), mentions* an attack on Jaintia by a force under Major Henniker in 1774, supposed to have been made in retaliation for aggression by the Raja in Sylhet; and Robert Lindsay, who was Resident and Collector of Sylhet about 1778, has an interesting account of the hill tribes and the Raja of Jaintia in the lively narrative embodied in the "Lives of the Lindsays." † Lindsay, who made a large fortune by working the lime quarries and thus converting into cash the millions of cowries in which the land-revenue of Sylhet was paid, appears to have imagined that the Khasis, whom he calls "a tribe of independent Tartars," were in direct relations with China, and imported thence the silk cloths ‡ which they brought down for sale in the Sylhet markets. A line of forts was established along the foot of the hills to hold the mountaineers in check, and a Regulation, No. 1 of 1799, was passed declaring freedom of trade between them and Sylhet, but prohibiting the supply to them of arms and ammunition, and forbidding any one to pass the Company's frontier towards the hills with arms in his hands.

The outbreak of the first Burma War, in 1824, brought us into closer relations with the Raja of Jaintia, and in April of that year Mr. David Scott, the Governor-General's Agent on the frontier, marched through his territory from Sylhet to Assam, emerging at Raha on the Kalang river, in what is now the Nowgong district. This was the first occasion on which

* P. 211. † Vol. iii., p. 163, 177, &c.

‡ These cloths, which Lindsay calls "*moongadutties*," were really the produce of Assam, and were *dhutis* or waist-cloths of *muga* silk.

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

177 Europeans had entered the hill territory of the Khasi
648 tribes, and the account of the march, quoted in
175 Pemberton's Report,* is the earliest authentic information which we possess of the institutions of the Khasi race. Dr. Buchanan-Hamilton, who spent several years at the beginning of the 19th Century in collecting information regarding the people of Eastern India, during which he lived for some time at Goalpara in the Brahmaputra Valley, confused the Khasis with the
[101] Garos, and his descriptions apply only to the latter people. The name Garo, however, is still used by the inhabitants of Kamrup in speaking of their Khasi neighbours to the South, and Hamilton only followed the local usage. In 1826 Mr. David Scott, after the expulsion of the Burmese from Assam and the occupation of that province by the Company, entered the Khasi Hills in order to negotiate for the construction of a road through the territory of the Khasi *Siem* or Chief of Nongkhlāw, which should unite Sylhet with Gauhati. A treaty was concluded with the chief, and the construction of the road began. At Cherrapunji Mr. Scott built for himself a house on the plateau which, two years later, was acquired from the Siem by exchange for land in the plains, as the site of a sanitarium.† Everything seemed to promise well, when the peace was suddenly broken by an attack made, in April 1829, by the people of Nongkhlāw on the survey party engaged in laying out the road, resulting in the massacre of two British officers and between fifty and sixty natives. This led to a general confederacy of

* Pp. 218-220. It appears from p. 219 that Mr. Scott's report is responsible for the erroneous statement (often repeated) that the mountaineers "called by us Cossyahs, denominate themselves Khyee." This second name is in fact the pronunciation current in Sylhet of the word *khāsi*, *h* being substituted for *s*, and should be written *Khāhi*.

† In Mr. Scott's time it was usual to speak of such a place as a "Sanatary."

most of the neighbouring chiefs to resist the British, and a long and harassing war, which was not brought to a close till 1833. Cherrapunji then became the head-quarters of the Sylhet Light Infantry, whose commandant was placed in political charge of the district, including the former dominions in the hills of the Raja of Jaintia, which he voluntarily relinquished in 1835 on the confiscation of his territory in the plains.

Cherrapunji, celebrated as the place which has the greatest measured rainfall on the globe, became a popular station, and the discovery of coal there, and at several other places in the hills, attracted to it many visitors, some of whom published accounts of the country and people. The first detailed description was apparently that of the Rev. W. Lish, a Baptist missionary, which appeared in a missionary journal in 1838. In 1840 Capt. Fisher, an officer of the Survey Department, published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal * an account which showed that the leading characteristics of the Khasi race had already been apprehended; he mentions the prevalence of matriarchy or mother-kinship, notes the absence of polyandry, except in so far as its place was taken by facile divorce, describes the religion as a worship of gods of valleys and hills, draws attention to the system of augury used to ascertain the will of the gods, and gives an account of the remarkable megalithic monuments which everywhere stud the higher plateaus. He also recognizes the fact that the Khasis as a race are totally distinct from the neighbouring hill tribes. In 1841 Mr. W. Robinson, Inspector of Schools in Assam, included an account of the Khasis in a volume on that province which was printed at Calcutta. In 1844 Lieut.

* Vol. ix., pp. 833 sqq.

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

114 Yule (afterwards Sir Henry Yule) published in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society * a much more detailed description of the hills and their inhabitants than had been given by Fisher. This formed the basis of many subsequent descriptions, the best known of which is the attractive account contained in the second volume of Sir Joseph Hooker's *Himalayan Journals* † published in London in 1854. Sir Joseph visited Cherrapunji in June 1850, and stayed in the hills until the middle of the following November.

797 Meanwhile the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Mission,
177 originally located at Sylhet, had extended their
175 operations to Cherrapunji, and in 1842 established a branch there. They applied themselves to the study of the Khasi language, for which, after a trial of the Bengali, they resolved to adopt the Roman character. Their system of expressing the sounds of Khasi has since that time continued in use, and after sixty years' prescription it would be difficult to make a change. Their Welsh nationality led them to use the vowel *y* for the obscure sound represented elsewhere in India by a short *a* (the *u* in the English *but*), and for the consonantal *y* to substitute the vowel *i*: *w* is also used as a vowel, but only in diphthongs (*āw*, *ew*, *iw*, *ow*); in other respects the system agrees fairly well with
114 the standard adopted elsewhere. Primers for the study of the language were printed at Calcutta in 1846 and 1852, and in 1855 appeared the excellent "Introduction to the Khasia language, comprising a grammar, selections for reading, and a Khasi-English vocabulary," of the Rev. W. Pryse. There now exists a somewhat extensive literature in Khasi, both religious and secular. An exhaustive grammar, by the Rev. H. Roberts, was

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

4. The Bhoi — occupy the northern slopes of the Khasi Hills, covered with thick semi-tropical forests; they practise jhum cultivation. 619

5. The Lynngam — inhabit the western border of the Khasi Hills, near the Garo Hills. They are said to be half-Khasi and half-Garo. Their economy is similar to that of the Bhoi.

These ecological and geographical differences correspond also to 175
politico-historical differences. From the 16th century to 1835, eve 648
of the annexation of the Jaintia Hills to the Khasi Hills under the British administration, the people of the Jaintia Hills formed part of the Hindu Jaintia kingdom, whose capital was Jaintiapur, on the border of the present East Pakistan and of the Jaintia Hills. The capital, at one time, was moved to Nortiang near Jowai in the heart of the Jaintia Hills. The Jaintia Hills were administrated by twelve governors. Such a highly developed economic system as based on wet rice cultivation, must have helped a great deal in forming a kingdom adjoining the plain. Through the common economy and political organization with the Hindus of the plain, the Hindu civilization of the Bengal plain penetrated deeply among the Jaintias, who are matrilineal hill dwellers.

On the other hand, the Khasi Hills have remained outside the histories of either Assam or Bengal. They were governed by a number of petty native chiefs: there were twenty-five chiefs ruling the Khasi Hills when the British colonial administration was established there. Most of these chiefs belonged to the Siem clan. The history of the Khasi Hills had been shrouded in darkness till the beginning of the 19th century, except for fragmentary stories such as Khasi raids on the Sylhet people.

The development of the upland Khasi Hills started with the estab- 178
lishment of its headquarters at Shillong in 1874. Since then the 648
features of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills have changed a great deal. 797
What was once a small Khasi hamlet, untouched by the light of history, has become nowadays a busy modern town where many Khasi intellectuals live, mixing with various outsiders who are engaged in official work or in business. The British administration opened the way to missionary activities, especially that of the Welsh Calvinist Methodists who set up a mission in the Hills in 1841, almost at the same time as British political influence began to make itself felt in the Khasi Hills. Along with the political penetration from Cherrapunjee [871]
(1833) to Shillong, missionaries established many institutions, includ- [743]
ing churches, schools and hospitals, etc. Christian education, bringing with it the promise of clerical positions, attracted young Khasi a great deal; and the majority of the upland Khasi have been converted to Christianity. They have become the modern intellectuals of their people.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

621 [Jatinga]

[175] This village was founded in 1905 by Khasi immigrants from the Jaintia Hills. At the entrance of the village, a bust of the founder, Lakhanbang Suchiang, [101] stands facing towards the east; it was erected on the occasion of the celebration [211] of their Golden jubilee, in November 1955. Houses are scattered along the [346] ridge of the moutain to the east and to the west; in the centre is the church. [771] All the inhabitants are Christians. Before the Partition this was one of the most modern and prosperous villages in Assam.

Jatinga provides a very interesting instance of the Khasi 'colonial' village. 101 It is surrounded by villages of the Kuki, of the Zemi-Naga, and of the Cacharee, 121 who constitute the main population of the North Cachar Hills, and who are tribes entirely different from the Khasi, in economy, social organization, language 621 and culture. Therefore, Jatinga is like an island of Khasi community. I took this village as one of my fields, because I was particularly interested to discover how far the Khasi matrilineal organization is kept up in a community thus situated, surrounded by patrilineal tribes, and considerably modernized by Christianization and economic prosperity; and I was also interested in the process of formation of a new village, in comparison with Rinsibara and Joshipara in the Garo Hills.

Formation of the Present Population of Jatinga.

The first immigrants to Jatinga.

101 The main population of Jatinga, including the founder, originated in Bataw 166 village in the Jaintia Hills, twelve miles away from Jaintiapur, the capital of the then Jaintia Rajas. This village is situated on the border of the Jaintia 175 Hills and the East Bengal plain, the location being very similar to that of Shella, as are their culture and economy. In the later part of the nineteenth 621 century, some members of Bataw village moved to Borkhala, ten miles from Silchar, one of the biggest villages of the then Cacharee king.

These immigrants who came to Borkhala stayed there about fifteen years before they came to Jatinga. Kloribon, the first daughter of the founder's sister was born there. In November 1905, some Christian Khasi left Borkhala for Jatinga, acting on information gathered from a Welsh Mission at Haflong, that the land of present Jatinga was fertile and fit for their cultivation. They were the first immigrants to Jatinga. The Government record names the 166 following three persons as the first immigrants to Jatinga: Suchiang Lakhanbang, 551 Tariang, and Suchen Munik. In fact, according to the data which I collected 614 at Jatinga, Suchiang Lakhanbang was accompanied by the following persons (the names in brackets indicate the clans):

621 his wife, Misibon (Phanwar),[1]
175 his brother, Pryntah, and Pryntah's wife, Sintu (Rupsi),
his sister, Laptho, and Laptho's husband, Munik (Suchen) with their daughter, Kloribon, and Munik's younger brother, Sain.
his friend, Tariang.

Soon after their settlement, Sain, the brother of Munik, brought his wife Tahin (Suiam) from Jaintia. Misibon brought her younger sister, Diasibon. Tariang who came with Lakhanbang afterwards called his wife, Palong. But having spent some time there, they left eventually for another place, so that

1. Misibon was a native of the Cherrapunjee area of the Khasi Hills (not of Jaintia like the others). She was a school teacher at Cherrapunjee, and later became a teacher at a school near Jaintiapur, where she married Lakhanbang.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR? Khasi AR?

there are none of their descendants in Jatinga. Summing up, the first party who settled at Jatinga was composed of people of the following five clans: 166

1. Suchiang — Lakhanbang, his sister, Lapthe, and her daughter, Kiwiboo, his brother, Pryntah. 551
2. Suchen — Munik and his younger brother, Sain. 614
3. Phanwar — Misibon and her younger sister, Diasibon. 621
4. Rupsi — Sintu, the wife of Pryntah. 175 •
5. Suiam — Tahin, the wife of Sain.

Among them, Suchen had no female member. Phanwar had no successor: Misibon had no issue and Diasibon did not marry. Therefore, Suchiang, Rupsi and Suiam are the oldest clans in present Jatinga. Suchiang and Rupsi especially are the dominant and richest groups among the present population.

This was the time when the railway from Gauhati to Silchar was being constructed. Some Khasi labourers were working at Haflong on the construction of the railway. After the foundation of Jatinga, these Khasi workers established marriage relations with the Khasi of Jatinga, and finally, upon completion of the railway, many of them became the inhabitants of Jatinga. The present members of the Dome and Siangshai clans are the descendants of these people, and they form a considerable number of the present inhabitants of Jatinga. Besides them, there were a few other Khasi at Haflong who were engaged in trading business. In the course of time, they also had marital relations with Jatinga people and came to Jatinga. 166 175 458 621 [499] [464]

After five years had elapsed they found that in spite of their hard work the land was not favourable to them. Many of them left Jatinga. This was the hardest period of Jatinga history.

The second migration (1919-1923).

The railway which once had been blocked was reopened in 1919. The people who had left Jatinga came back to settle there. This time the circumstances seemed to them quite favourable. The pan trees which they had planted earlier were growing and they could gather considerable produce. The village grew bigger around 1920 as a result of new immigrants from Jaintia; most of them were people from Butaw, the village of the founder. In this period, many immigrants came from Jaintia not only to Jatinga but also to Sylhet, Borkhola and other places outside the Khasi-Jaintia Hills. It seems that by this time the over-populated Jaintia realized that these areas were favourable for their new home. However, the successive waves of Jaintia immigrants to Jatinga ceased by 1923, its population having reached saturation point. [499] [245]

Orange production brought economic prosperity to the people of Jatinga. Wealthy villagers employed temporary labourers from the Jaintia Hills every year. Some of these labourers came with their families and others came individually. During their stay at Jatinga, some of them married and settled there. Hence, there are also descendants of such labourers among the present inhabitants of Jatinga. [245] [464]

Some Aspects of Descent Groups.

Throughout the history of Jatinga, immigrations have always been undertaken by a family (elementary family, siblings) or by an individual, but never by a group of clan members. Therefore, the present population is grouped in small descent groups according to each migration. Though some of them happened to have the same clan name, their history of migration and their 621 [175] [614] [166]

1903-28; 2, March 1962.) Demography. According to the 1951 census of India, the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills District contained 221,902 Khasis and 97,532 Syntengs, Pnars, and Jaintias (India [Republic] 1953-57). These figures, together with those for Khasis enumerated in Cachar (4,008), Mikir and North Cachar Hills (407), Lakhimpur (287), Sibsagar (279), and Darring (211) districts, and those for Syntengs enumerated in Mikir and North Cachar District (404), yield a total of 308,224 Khasis. History and cultural relations. Khasis believe that they had supernatural origin in Khasi Hills (see Gait 1906: 200 for historical evidence, and Bafy 1920: 5-9 for myth, but see also Costa 1956, 1960; Gordon 1907: 10-11, and Chatterji 1953: 12). Khasi tradition also states that in early times they moved gradually from east to west, from Jaintia toward Khasi Hills, in the practice of swidden agriculture (Gatphoh 1947: 97-98). The salient fact of known Khasi history, which begins generally in the mid-sixteenth century A.D. when there already existed the present-day 25 native Khasi chiefdoms, is the distinctive line of development followed by the separate kingdom of Jaintia. To the north, Jaintia was successively tributary, in part or in whole, to the Kachari kingdom (ca. 1250 A.D.); the Koch kingdom (strongest ca. 1500 A.D.), and the Ahom kingdom (strongest ca. 1700 A.D.) (Shakespear 1914: Map 1). To the south, about 1500 A.D., Jaintia extended its rule over a tract of Sylhet, which was populated by Hindus and Muslims, and saw its kings fall thereafter under Brahman influence. In the early 1800s, Jaintia became involved in the fratricidal strife then prevalent in the ruling family of Manipur. In 1830, after the Jaintia king ignored British warnings not to seize British subjects for human sacrifice, Jaintia was punished by the British annexation of the Jaintia pargana in Sylhet. The Jaintia king then voluntarily turned over to the British the hills area of his domain, so that the whole of Jaintia became part of British India and, in 1860, came to be taxed as such, although the Jaintias were otherwise allowed to maintain their traditional system of village government. • By contrast, the remaining Khasi states had few formal external relations until British times. Khasis resided and traded in both the Brahmaputra and Sylhet valleys, but were basically turned toward on their own hills, where warfare between villages and between the states was apparently common. Khasis came into indirect relation with the British in 1765, when Sylhet and its markets became part of British India. In the 1770s, cropped-up Khasi raids into Sylhet caused the British to throw up a defensive line of forts along the foothills. Later, it became necessary to place an embargo on Khasi products in the Sylhet markets. In 1827, the British penetrated into western Khasi Hills by negotiating with the Khasi chief of Nongkhlaw State to build a road through his territory, linking the recently annexed Brahmaputra valley with Calcutta. For three decades

thereafter, the British negotiated treaties with all the Khasi states, the last treaty being signed in 1862. It was contracted that the chiefs would be subject to the authority of a resident political agent, whose duties would involve maintaining law and order, judging cases of heinous crimes, approving the popular selection of any new chief, and exercising control over certain categories of natural resources. Khasis were guaranteed noninterference in their customary way of life, and they were not then, nor are they now, taxed. Most Khasis, as opposed to Jaintias, were never an integral part of British India, but they did undergo social change as a result of British presence. To summarize Mills (n.d.): (1) The British introduced the potato, which the Khasis rapidly took up as a cash crop for marketing as far as Calcutta. The intensive specialization exhausted the soil and made for ever-poorer crops. (2) Christian missionaries made large numbers of converts, and there arose the difficult question of whether a Christian should inherit property that traditionally was earmarked for her performance of non-Christian religious rituals. (3) About 1864 the British transferred their headquarters from Cherrapunji to Shillong. When they made Shillong the capital of the entire state of Assam, non-Khasis flocked to it, land values soared, and the concept of private property became increasingly important. Khasis began to marry with members of other ethnic groups, which introduced confusion into traditional social patterns. These problems were exacerbated during World War II, when Shillong and its environs enjoyed enormous economic prosperity. One notable aftermath of this affluence has been the accelerated enrollments in schools and colleges. Hundreds of Khasis now have the B.A., M.A., and even the Ph.D. degree. • With the Independence of India in 1947, and under the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India (which was drafted by a Khasi), the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills District became a Part B, or Autonomous, Tribal Area, to be governed by a District Council composed largely of Khasis and Jaintias, and responsible not to the Legislature of Assam, but to the Governor of Assam as agent of the President of India. The native-state system and the chiefs still exist, and the District Council finds it difficult to effect legislation which is neither offensive to regional customs nor a simple blueprint of ill-fitting all-India legislation. The major political schism at this time is between Jaintias, who are accustomed to centralized authority and taxation, and Khasis, who resist the notion of taxation to support the work of a central District Council. [Cf. Gait 1926; Aitchison 1931; Bhuyan 1949; Morris 1910.]

175 619 648 [726] [651] [177] 177 648 [249] [439] [134] [797] [428] [635] [633] [167] [563] [423] [973] 641 642 [651] [563] [113]

SETTLEMENT PATTERN AND HOUSING. Settlement pattern. Khasis live sedentarily in named, nucleated, and unplanned villages which are situated just below hill summits to avoid strong winds but still be defensible, and which usually include a de-

361 [312]

16: McCormack E-4,5 (1956-1958) 1964
[P. 110B] AR7 Khasi AR7

another. In other words, a state is not a fixed territorial entity. In the early twentieth century, the most populous of the 25 chiefdoms, Khyrim, contained 36,833 persons occupying 7,859 houses in 372 villages, and the least populous, Nonghwai, contained 246 persons occupying 53 houses in 3 villages. Fifteen of the chiefdoms were headed by a *syiem* (chief), three by a *lyngdoh* (priest), six by a sirdar, and one by a *wahadadar*. These leaders all had executive and judicial functions, but a chief's authority was limited in that he had to obtain the approval of his executive council before acting. The other leaders were subject to a similar limitation. A chief maintained a small police force. His major sources of revenue were market tolls, fines, and, more recently, income from licenses to distill rice whisky. Succession to a ruling role in the larger states traditionally involved election by members of a lineage that had a hereditary right to elect, from among members of a lineage that had the hereditary right to rule. In British times, the elective basis was broadened, differentially in the various states, even to the point of popular elections. [Cf. Aitchison 1931; Lyngdoh 1952.] **Social stratification.** The three classes of lineage are the nobles, the commoners, and the slaves or servants. This stratification applies only to the recruitment to office in the native-state system, for there is no hypergamy, and in a village assembly everyone has equal voice. The noble lineages have the hereditary right to fill from among their male members roles such as village or state priest, councilor to a chief, or elector of a chief. The few lineages which today are remembered as slave or servant lineages had the inherited obligation to render special services to a chief's household. There is no Khasi term for "commoner." Every lineage other than a noble or a slave lineage is a commoner lineage, and the commoner lineages are in the majority. **Warfare.** Warfare was suppressed by the British, and little is known for certain about its traditional forms. The tactics which confronted the British were the ambush and the guerrilla raid. Traditional goals included taking heads from other Khasis and capturing women from the valleys.

RELIGION. **Major and indigenous religions.** A Welsh Calvinistic Methodist missionary penetrated into Cherrapunji in 1832, and the work that he began continues to this day. His society, which has since become the Welsh Presbyterian Foreign Mission, introduced writing, village primary schools, a high school, a theological seminary, and a hospital. Competing missionaries followed, and by 1914 some Shillong Khasis were puzzling over the tenets not only of traditional Hinduism and Islam but also of the Buddhists, Brahmo Samaj, Arya Samaj, and Unitarians (Roy 1914). By the 1920s, missionaries of the Church of God and the Seventh Day Adventists were

17: Banerjee E-5 (1955) 1962 AR7 Khasi AR7
Smit

THE KHASI FESTIVAL OF 'POMBLANG'

S. BANERJEE

INTRODUCTION

The Khasi inhabit the upland of the central part of the United Khasi and Jaintia Hills district of Assam. They reckon descent through mother and the youngest daughter (Ka khadduh) of the house is the custodian of the ancestral property. Belief in the existence of spirits is strong among them and the causes of diseases are ascertained by taking recourse to the process of divination. They are ruled by different categories of Chief. The *Siem* is the highest official responsible for the administration of the state but a few small states are also governed by *Sirdars* with same powers as vested in the former although does not possess the same status. It is interesting to note that their priest whose rank is next to *Siem*, have also been allotted to perform this secular duties in some of the regions of the Khasi country. The Chief function through their respective council comprising elected members from different administrative units. He is rather subservient to this body as he is liable to be censured or even dismissed, if his activities are not in conformity with the Khasi traditional usage. Most of his directives are implemented through the assistance of his subordinates who are in-charge of various sections of the State. The Khasi place his grievance first to these junior officers for redress and justice, after which an appeal can be preferred to the *Siem* or any other higher officer as the case may be. One of the eminent States of the Khasi people known as Khyriem, where this festival is celebrated, consists of eight units for administrative convenience under the supervision of different grades of officials who participated in this celebration along with the *Siem* as representatives of the people.

The Khasi festival of *Pomblang* (Goat killing) described below used to be celebrated at one time in Shillong when the Khasi states of Khyriem and Mylliem were not separated. The first chief of the Khyriem state U Singh Manik shifted his headquarters to Nongkrem village after partition of the kingdom, which occured before the arrival of the British. He again moved to Lanekerdem after a brief stay at the village of Lyneshing. He performed this festival as long as he was there, transferring it again to Nongkrem where he re-settled again. It was celebrated here for a long time and consequently it was named after this village. Although the ruling family had later on shifted its residence about sixty years ago to the present village Smit, during the time of U Klur Singh, Siem, it is performed regularly as *Nongkrem dance* which was observed by the author from 21st June to 25th June, 1955.

OBJECT OF THE FESTIVAL

It is being held every year since the days of U Shillong who was supposed to be the founder of original Khyriem State. They celebrate it to perpetuate his memory and pay homage with a view to ensure rain, good harvest, eliminating diseases and famine. He was worshipped along with other ancestors with view to guide the present Chief in his discharge of his duties and for the welfare of the people.

The house of Siem (iing-sad) where the rites are observed, is considered sacred. It consists of a big-hall (shlur) in the centre, surrounded by rooms. One of these on the north is used as a kitchen room (iing-chetja) where ritual

18: Godwin-Austen G-3 (ca. 1872) 1875 AR7
Khasi AR7

21 rude stone monuments. At the village of Nougshai, near
[101] Shillong, are to be seen some very striking monoliths; and
[131] although they do not come up quite to the length of those at Nurtiang (noticed by Dr. Hooker in his "Himalayan Journals"), yet they are very worthy of being mentioned. They stand on
[133] the open spur just above the village, and have been worked out of the beds of the Shillong sandstone series, and some of the smaller blocks have been taken from the conglomerate beds, the lowest in the series, and which come in, in the bed of the ravine, to the north of the spur. There are a number of monuments on this site, large and small, arranged both in line and on two sides of a square; the two largest have their central monoliths—height, 24 ft. 3 in.; width, 5 ft. 6 in.; thickness, 8 in.; and height, 23 ft. 2 in.; width, 2 ft. 9 in.; thickness, 1 ft., respectively.

[126] Plate ii., which is taken from a photograph by Mr. William Robert, Assistant Surveyor in the Khasi Hills survey party, gives an excellent idea of the second largest structure, showing the very massive flat-stone, the "Mao Kynthai," in front. This structure consisted of thirteen upright stones, which could not all be brought into the field of the camera; but the six outside stones on the right are shown. Many of the slabs in the
175 adjacent monuments have been overthrown and broken quite
211 recently, perhaps by Sepoys and camp followers from the military station close by. At one time a mountain battery of Eurasian Artillery was quartered there, and I attribute the overthrow of so many of the stones in the neighbourhood to their handiwork, who would look on such amusement as a "great lark." The Sepoy (native of India) is not of a mischievous disposition; the European and half-European (uneducated) is markedly so. Thus the monument with the highest stone is imperfect, and it must, when perfect, have been a very handsome one. This is a sad pity, after the time and labour that must have been expended in its erection.

361 I did not observe any new slabs anywhere in the immediate
712 neighbourhood. Nougshai must formerly have been a large
[211] and powerful village; it stands on a naturally very strong position, and old lines of fortification are to be traced on many sides, especially on the approach from the direction of the Falls of the Umiam. These old lines of defence are on a curious system: a ditch and bank have been carried forward from the main defences from 200 to 300 yards down the ridge of the spurs, thus effectually preventing an enemy working round the hill sides below the villages.

174 This fortified site points to a state of things in these hills
712 when the relations between the large village communities or
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20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

homicide), in which their own subjects are concerned. All cases of homicide, or matters involving disputes between people belonging to different States, are adjudicated upon by the British officers of the District. 648 692

In the British possessions, the principal sources of revenue are rents and royalties derived from mineral workings, such as lime and coal; rents of fisheries; and a house tax, which varies, according to situation and productiveness of the soil, from R. 1 to Rs. 2 or from 2s. to 4s. per house. A land tax is only levied in tracts where the Government possesses the actual proprietary right in the soil. Again, in the Khási States, the British Government, which undertakes the management of the natural products of the country, such as waste lands, coal, lime, etc., receives a half-share of the rents realized from these sources, the other half belonging to the native Chiefs. The other sources of revenue of the Chiefs are market dues, cesses levied occasionally for State purposes, and fines realized in the administration of justice. 648 651 [135]

HISTORY.—Our first knowledge of the Khási Hills dates from the time when the East India Company acquired the *diwání* of Bengal in 1765. The adjoining District of Sylhet was included in that grant; but as the hillmen had never acknowledged any subjection to the Muhammadans, so they still remained absolutely independent of the British power. However, the necessities of commerce, arising from their monopoly of the lime quarries, from which Bengal has drawn its supply from time immemorial, soon attracted European enterprise to the country. As stated in the Appendix to the Statistical Account of Sylhet, the control of the profits of the lime trade formed in early times one of the most valuable advantages attaching to the position of the official in charge of that District. It does not appear that any European had been attracted to reside in the Hills before 1826. In that year the Rájá of Nongklao entered into an agreement with certain European British subjects to allow a road to be made across the Hills, to connect the Surmá valley with Assam Proper. These Europeans took up their residence at Nongklao. Misunderstandings unfortunately arose, and, partly by the misconduct of some of their Bengáli followers, the growing discontent and apprehension were fanned into a flame. On 4th April 1829 the Khásiás rose in arms and massacred Lieutenants Bedingfield and Burlton, together with some sepoys. This led to military operations on the part of the British Government, which 175 648 [135] [487]

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175 continued through several cold seasons. The last of the Khásí chiefs
648 did not tender his submission until 1833. In February 1835 Colonel Lister was appointed Political Agent in the Khásí Hills, with his headquarters at Nongklao; and the command of the Sylhet Light Infantry battalion was also placed in his hands. The civil and military functions remained conjoined until 1854, when Mr. Hudson was deputed to Cherrá Púnjí, which had then become the administrative headquarters, with the title of Junior Assistant-Commissioner, shortly afterwards changed to the present one of Deputy-Commissioner.

The Jáintiá Hills came into British possession in 1835. In that year, as related in the Statistical Account of Sylhet District, the last Rájá of Jáintiá, Indra Singh, was deposed on the charge of complicity with certain of his tribesmen who had carried off three British subjects and barbarously immolated them at the shrine of Kálí. The portion of his territory that lay in the plains was forthwith annexed to the District of Sylhet; and the Rájá voluntarily resigned the hill portion, of which we also took possession. A pension of Rs. 500 a month, or £600 a year, was granted to the deposed Rájá for life, and he resided peaceably in Sylhet until
175 his death in 1861. When we first assumed the administration of
648 the Hills, no change was made in the indigenous revenue system,
651 which consisted simply of the payment of a he-goat once a year from each village. The Rájá had derived the greater portion of his income from his possessions in the plains. In 1860, however, a house tax was imposed, the highest limit of which was one rupee (2s.) per house. This measure of direct taxation was very obnoxious to the Syntengs. They formed irregular gatherings, at which they resolved to resist payment, or at least to refuse to pay except through their own hereditary Rájá, who was then alive. An outbreak took place in the early part of the year, but it was promptly suppressed; the people were disarmed, and matters went on much as usual. But the disarmament was imperfect, and it soon became evident that the Syntengs were profoundly disaffected to our rule. Towards the close of 1860 new taxation was introduced, in the form of judicial stamps; and the elaborate schedules of the new income tax were thrust into the hands of persons, few of whom could read the language in which they were framed. Imposts also were introduced upon fisheries and the right to cut timber. Con-
175 siderable feeling had been excited by a sanitary prohibition against
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burning the dead in the immediate neighbourhood of the village of Jowái. Suspicions of insurrection arose during the months of October and November 1861. In the beginning of January 1862 alarming reports were received from various quarters, and the first serious outbreak occurred on the 17th of that month. This was occasioned by the interference of a *dárogá*, or native police official, with a religious ceremony that took place at the village of Jalong. In such ceremonies dancing with arms is held essential; and the *dárogá* took upon himself to disarm the dancers. This was the signal for a general rising. The *thánd* or police station at Jowái was burned to the ground; the garrison of sepoys was besieged, and all show of British authority was swept away throughout the Hills. The Syntengs fought bravely for their independence, and at first were successful in cutting off several small detachments of police and sepoys. Their weapons were bows and arrows. In common with the other hill tribes of the North-East Frontier, their chief defence consisted in a series of strong stockades, one behind another; and the paths leading to their villages were thickly planted with *pánjis*, or little bamboo spikes, stuck in the ground like caltrops. The battalion of sepoys stationed in the Hills was rendered inefficient by sickness. At last it was found necessary to move a regular army, including an elephant battery and two regiments of Sikhs, into the country in order to quell the revolt. Colonel Dunsford was in chief command. He was accompanied by Major Haughton, the Governor-General's Agent on the North-East Frontier, and Captain Morton, the Deputy-Commissioner of the Khásí and Jáintiá Hills, who acted in a political capacity. The operations were tedious and harassing. The rebel chiefs were captured one by one, and the District was declared to be finally pacified in March 1863, after the rebellion had lasted for fifteen months. The special Commission appointed under Act xi. of 1857, for the trial of offenders in the Jáintiá Hills, was dissolved in December 1863. The causes of the rebellion were thus summed up by Major Haughton in an official despatch to the Government of Bengal:—'Taxation was introduced without the supervision with which such a measure should have been accompanied. It was followed up by fresh taxation and rumours of other taxes, also by fiscal and other innovations, which tended to disturb the minds of the people, without any counterpoise such as might have resulted from the continued presence of a European officer.' The Syntengs, like the

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175 Khásiás, have, ever since the measures of improvement which
648 followed, remained peaceable and contented.

General Aspect of the District.—The District consists
133 almost entirely of hills, only a very small portion lying in the plains. The slope of the hills on the southern side is steep, until a table-land is met with at an elevation of about 4000 feet. Higher up there is another plateau at Máo-flang, ten miles to the eastward of which, and in the same mountain range, the Civil Station of Shillong is situated at an elevation of 4900 feet above sea level. On the northern side of the hills are two plateaux, one between 1000 and 2000 feet below the level of Shillong, and the second lower down, about 3000 feet above sea level. In general features all these plateaux are much alike, and consist of a succession of undulating downs, broken
137 here and there by the valleys of the larger hill streams. In the higher ranges, where the hills have been denuded of forest, the country is covered with short grass, which becomes longer and more rank in the lower elevations. A remarkable feature in the
[778] aspect of the country throughout the hills is the numerous sacred groves which superstition has preserved from time immemorial from the destructive hand of the woodcutter. These sacred groves contain beautiful timber-trees of various kinds, rare orchids, rhododendrons, and wild cinnamon. On the more elevated table-lands, pine trees and stunted oak are met with; and in the lower hills, in every direction, are dense forests of the usual Indian trees, containing valuable timber.

134 The geological formation is mainly granitic, with stratified rocks
135 of sandstone, limestone, and shale. The coal-beds rest on trap and metamorphic rocks. The prevailing surface soil is a red ferruginous loam.

133 Mountains.—The principal mountain ranges and highest peaks in the Khási and Jáintiá Hills are as follow:—(1) The Shillong range—height of principal peak, 6449 feet above sea level. (2) Dingiei range—principal peak, 6400 feet. (3) Máo-thad-rái-shán range—highest peak, 6297 feet. (4) Láo-syn-niá range—highest peak, 5775 feet. (5) Láit-máo-doh range—highest peak, 5377 feet. (6) Láo-ber-sát—highest peak, 5400 feet. (7) Láo-bah range—highest peak, 4464 feet. (8) Lyng-ker-dem range—highest peak, 5000 feet. (9) Lúm-baiong range—highest peak, 4646 feet. (10) Máo-syn-rám range—highest peak, 5810 feet.

The principal mountains are:—(1) Rap-leng—height, 5671 feet.

21: Ehrenfels E-4,5 (1950) 1953 AR7 Khasi AR7

105 It will here be recalled that the Khasi are a matrilineal agricultural
[175] people, pre-litterate until the advent of the British in the sixth decade of
[197] the 19th century, organized under democratically ruling *siem*, or Khasi
144 princes and chieftains and speaking an Austro-Asiatic language [14]. Their physical affinities are unmistakably mongoloid and quite distinct from the Assamese speaking plains-Indians, — but not from the other mountaineers of Assam, Nepal and even Burmah or China, with whom they feel to be more closely related, as with the Indian plainspeople, as some of the tribal designations in the following lists of terms for Non-Khasi testifies (comp. No. 41 as against No. 42, 43 and 43/*a-e*).

114 In the collection of the material, I was hampered by my inability to
122 pick up the Khasi language sufficiently quickly, for conversation without the help of an interpreter, but on the other hand greatly eased by generous and voluntary assistance on the part of several Khasi friends, especially U Ekiman Singh, the President, Unitarian Union, Khasi- and Jaintai Hills and his (Khasi) wife, Ka Austria [15], who offered me hospitality in their house at Maw Syn Jri, during my stay there. Dr. H. LYNGDOH, Shillong, the author of detailed accounts on Khasi religious ceremonial and institutions [16], U Jeeban Roy, a leading Pnár gentleman of Jowei in the Jaintia Hills, Ka Ellen Giri, Principal, Govt. Basic Education Training Centre, Malki, Shillong, Ka Kongmen, Shillong, and U David Roy, Prime Minister (retd.), and a number of hospitable Wár Khasi and Wár-Jaintia pan-leaf cultivators in the southern slopes of the Khasi- and Jaintia Hills, especially from the villages Mawlat and Padu, also helped me greatly in my task. My thanks are due to all of them.

101 The data, submitted and briefly described in this paper were thus
114 collected in four different areas.

1. The South-eastern corner of the Khasi-Hills (plateau-area),
2. the southern slopes of the Khasi Hills, the "Wár-Khasi country" between the Khasi plateau proper and the northern boundary of East Pakistan,
3. the central plateau of the Jaintia Hills, round its capital market Jowei, and
4. the southern slopes of the Jaintia Hills, the "Wár-Jaintia country" between these and a section of the northern boundary of East Pakistan, further to the East than area 2.

197 Slightly different Khasi dialects are spoken in these four regions, Jaintia (Pnár or "Synteng") and Wár-Jaintia being more akin to each other, similarly as Plateau-Khasi and Wár-Khasi are.

101 The Pnár or Jaintias ("Synteng" is a slightly opprobious designation,
175 used by the Plateau-Khasi for these, their eastern neighbours) look back

[14] SCHMIDT (1906).

[553] [15] So named, because Austria was much in the news at the time of her birth, during the first world war: — a fact which illustrates the Khasi peculiarity to use either ad hoc inventions as names for children, or to adopt such, from the Khasi point of view, outlandish words like: "Ka Austria" or "Ka Mediterranean Sea" as names for their children.

[16] LYNGDOH (1937).

21: Ehrenfels E-4,5 (1950) 1953 AR7 Khasi AR7

on a historical past, different from that of the Khasi proper, the former having been ruled by the powerful, but somewhat Hinduised dynasty of the Jaintia Rajas until the Jaintia Wars of the British; the latter by small independent chiefs. Yet Jaintia social organization appears on the whole to preserve the matrilineal social structure clearer and to be less influenced by plains-acculturation, than that of the Khasi, though a few features of Brahmanical religious observances and also some traces of racial admixture are found in the immediate vicinity of Jowei, the former summer residence of the Jaintia Rajas. Stronger no doubt, than this influence, was that exercised by the British and non-Assamese Indians in the provincial capital Shillong since 1866. Methods of agriculture and other aspects of material civilization differ but little in the Jaintia- and Khasi plateau-areas.

The same cannot be said of both: the Wár-Khasi and Wár-Jaintias. Linguistically their affiliations are with the Khasi or Jaintias respectively, in the plateau-areas. Economically, however, both Wár-groups form a separate pan-leaf cultivating unit in the little accessible steep southern slopes of the Khasi- and Jaintia Hill massif. Both Wár-groups live in the environment of luscious tropical flora and fauna, sharply differentiated from the cool, barren plateau with its perennial winds and the heroic, if solitary beauty of its highland heaths, which forms the background of both the Khasi- and Jaintia plateau-groups.

The age of the Wár-Khasi and -Jaintias, as one independent economic, — and two half-independent dialectical linguistic entities, is an intricate problem. The two Wár-groups subsist on pan-leaf cultivation as a money crop, grown in the thick tree-gardens as creepers; not on food-cultivation, as do the plateau-groups, because there is insufficient space on the steep slopes, for vegetable gardens or -fields. The pan-leaf cultivators therefore depend on food, purchased from outside. The slopes seem to have been uninhabited until not long ago. Yet pan-leaf chewing is such an integral part of Khasi life, that until quite recently, and occasionally even now, a distance between two places is not measured by the number of hours used for walking, but by the number of betelnut- and pan-leaf packages, consumed on the way. Also the common benediction among Khasi expresses the wish that so and so may eat pan in the Garden of God. Yet pan-cultivation and the settlements of the Wár-people as pan-leaf cultivators in the southern slopes seem comparatively young. Pan-cultivation on the plateau is impracticable. It is therefore possible that pan was for a long time only a much valued import article from the plains, bartered against Khasi ore and iron tools, though it is now an export article from the Wár-country, brought to the markets of the plains, by both Wár-Khasi and Wár-Jaintia women and men.

According to a tradition, across which I came among the Nonglamin clan of the Nongmuker village, the ancestors of the present Wár people were on the plateau at a time when no pan-cultivation was going on in the slopes and none of the present big estates of pan-tree gardens was yet held by their present (Wár-) owners. A not distant ancestor of a Nonglamin clan-member who about two or three generations ago told the story to U Siang (one of

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643 almost complete autonomy in the management of their
101 local affairs. In the remainder, called the Jaintia Hills, which became British in 1835, it has been the wise policy of the Government to maintain the indigenous system of administration through officers named *dolois*, who preside over large areas of country with very little interference. All the British portion of the hills is what is called a "Scheduled District" under Acts XIV and XV of 1874, and legislation which may be inappropriate to the conditions of the people can be, and is, excluded from operation within it. In these circumstances the administration is carried on in a manner well calculated to win the confidence and attachment of the people, who have to bear few of the burdens which press upon the population elsewhere, and, with the peace and protection guaranteed by British rule, are able to develop their institutions upon indigenous lines. It is now more than forty years since any military operations have been necessary within the hills, and the advance of the district in prosperity and civilization during the last half-century has been very striking.

177 The first contact between the British and the
648 inhabitants of the Khasi Hills followed upon the
175 acquisition by the East India Company, in consequence of the grant of the *Dīwānī* of Bengal in 1765, of the district of Sylhet. The Khasis were our neighbours on the north of that district, and to the north-east was the State of Jaintia,* ruled over by a chief of Khasi lineage, whose capital, Jaintiapur, was situated in the plain between the Surma river and the hills. Along this frontier the Khasis, though not averse from trade, and in possession of the quarries which furnished the chief

113 * The previous history of the Khasi State of Jaintia, so far as it can be traced, will be found related in Mr. E. A. Gait's *History of Assam* (1906), pp. 253-262.

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supply of lime to deltaic Bengal, were also known as troublesome marauders, whose raids were a terror to the inhabitants of the plains. Captain R. B. Pemberton, in his Report on the Eastern Frontier (1835), mentions* an attack on Jaintia by a force under Major Henniker in 1774, supposed to have been made in retaliation for aggression by the Raja in Sylhet; and Robert Lindsay, who was Resident and Collector of Sylhet about 1778, has an interesting account of the hill tribes and the Raja of Jaintia in the lively narrative embodied in the "Lives of the Lindsays." † Lindsay, who made a large fortune by working the lime quarries and thus converting into cash the millions of cowries in which the land-revenue of Sylhet was paid, appears to have imagined that the Khasis, whom he calls "a tribe of independent Tartars," were in direct relations with China, and imported thence the silk cloths ‡ which they brought down for sale in the Sylhet markets. A line of forts was established along the foot of the hills to hold the mountaineers in check, and a Regulation, No. 1 of 1799, was passed declaring freedom of trade between them and Sylhet, but prohibiting the supply to them of arms and ammunition, and forbidding any one to pass the Company's frontier towards the hills with arms in his hands.

The outbreak of the first Burma War, in 1824, brought us into closer relations with the Raja of Jaintia, and in April of that year Mr. David Scott, the Governor-General's Agent on the frontier, marched through his territory from Sylhet to Assam, emerging at Raha on the Kalang river, in what is now the Nowgong district. This was the first occasion on which

* P. 211. † Vol. iii., p. 163, 177, &c.

‡ These cloths, which Lindsay calls "*moongadutties*," were really the produce of Assam, and were *dhutis* or waist-cloths of *muga* silk.

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177 Europeans had entered the hill territory of the Khasi
648 tribes, and the account of the march, quoted in
175 Pemberton's Report,* is the earliest authentic information which we possess of the institutions of the Khasi race. Dr. Buchanan-Hamilton, who spent several years at the beginning of the 19th Century in collecting information regarding the people of Eastern India, during which he lived for some time at Goalpara in the Brahmaputra Valley, confused the Khasis with the
[101] Garos, and his descriptions apply only to the latter people. The name Garo, however, is still used by the inhabitants of Kamrup in speaking of their Khasi neighbours to the South, and Hamilton only followed the local usage. In 1826 Mr. David Scott, after the expulsion of the Burmese from Assam and the occupation of that province by the Company, entered the Khasi Hills in order to negotiate for the construction of a road through the territory of the Khasi *Siem* or Chief of Nongkhlāw, which should unite Sylhet with Gauhati. A treaty was concluded with the chief, and the construction of the road began. At Cherrapunji Mr. Scott built for himself a house on the plateau which, two years later, was acquired from the Siem by exchange for land in the plains, as the site of a sanitarium.† Everything seemed to promise well, when the peace was suddenly broken by an attack made, in April 1829, by the people of Nongkhlāw on the survey party engaged in laying out the road, resulting in the massacre of two British officers and between fifty and sixty natives. This led to a general confederacy of

* Pp. 218-220. It appears from p. 219 that Mr. Scott's report is responsible for the erroneous statement (often repeated) that the mountaineers "called by us Cossyahs, denominate themselves Khyee." The second name is in fact the pronunciation current in Sylhet of the word *khāsi*, *h* being substituted for *s*, and should be written *Khāhi*.

† In Mr. Scott's time it was usual to speak of such a place as a "Sanatary."

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most of the neighbouring chiefs to resist the British, and a long and harassing war, which was not brought to a close till 1833. Cherrapunji then became the head-quarters of the Sylhet Light Infantry, whose commandant was placed in political charge of the district, including the former dominions in the hills of the Raja of Jaintia, which he voluntarily relinquished in 1835 on the confiscation of his territory in the plains.

Cherrapunji, celebrated as the place which has the greatest measured rainfall on the globe, became a popular station, and the discovery of coal there, and at several other places in the hills, attracted to it many visitors, some of whom published accounts of the country and people. The first detailed description was apparently that of the Rev. W. Lish, a Baptist missionary, which appeared in a missionary journal in 1838. In 1840 Capt. Fisher, an officer of the Survey Department, published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal * an account which showed that the leading characteristics of the Khasi race had already been apprehended; he mentions the prevalence of matriarchy or mother-kinship, notes the absence of polyandry, except in so far as its place was taken by facile divorce, describes the religion as a worship of gods of valleys and hills, draws attention to the system of augury used to ascertain the will of the gods, and gives an account of the remarkable megalithic monuments which everywhere stud the higher plateaus. He also recognizes the fact that the Khasis as a race are totally distinct from the neighbouring hill tribes. In 1841 Mr. W. Robinson, Inspector of Schools in Assam, included an account of the Khasis in a volume on that province which was printed at Calcutta. In 1844 Lieut.

* Vol. ix., pp. 833 sqq.

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114 Yule (afterwards Sir Henry Yule) published in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society * a much more detailed description of the hills and their inhabitants than had been given by Fisher. This formed the basis of many subsequent descriptions, the best known of which is the attractive account contained in the second volume of Sir Joseph Hooker's *Himalayan Journals* † published in London in 1854. Sir Joseph visited Cherrapunji in June 1850, and stayed in the hills until the middle of the following November.

797 Meanwhile the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Mission, 177 originally located at Sylhet, had extended their 175 operations to Cherrapunji, and in 1842 established a branch there. They applied themselves to the study of the Khasi language, for which, after a trial of the Bengali, they resolved to adopt the Roman character. Their system of expressing the sounds of Khasi has since that time continued in use, and after sixty years' prescription it would be difficult to make a change. Their Welsh nationality led them to use the vowel *y* for the obscure sound represented elsewhere in India by a short *a* (the *u* in the English *but*), and for the consonantal *y* to substitute the vowel *i*: *w* is also used as a vowel, but only in diphthongs (*āw*, *ew*, *iw*, *ow*); in other respects the system agrees fairly well with 114 the standard adopted elsewhere. Primers for the study of the language were printed at Calcutta in 1846 and 1852, and in 1855 appeared the excellent "Introduction to the Khasia language, comprising a grammar, selections for reading, and a Khasi-English vocabulary," of the Rev. W. Pryse. There now exists a somewhat extensive literature in Khasi, both religious and secular. An exhaustive grammar, by the Rev. H. Roberts, was

* Vol. xiii, pp. 612 seq.

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or Mynnār, spoken in the extreme north, and there may be others. A great desideratum for linguistic purposes is a more adequate method of recording sounds, and especially differences of tone, than that adopted for the standard speech, which though sufficient for practical purposes, does not accurately represent either the quantity or the quality of the vowels, and leaves something to be desired as regards the consonants (especially those only faintly sounded or suppressed). These things, no doubt, will come in time. The immense advance which has been made in education by the Khasis during the last half-century has enabled some among them to appreciate the interesting field for exploration and study which their own country and people afford; and there is reason to hope that with European guidance the work of record will progress by the agency of indigenous students.

It remains to summarize briefly the principal distinctive features of this vigorous and sturdy race, who have preserved their independence and their ancestral institutions through many centuries in the face of the attractions offered by the alien forms of culture around them.

In the first place, their social organization presents one of the most perfect examples still surviving of matriarchal institutions, carried out with a logic and thoroughness which, to those accustomed to regard the status and authority of the father as the foundation of society, are exceedingly remarkable. Not only is the mother the head and source, and only bond of union, of the family: in the most primitive part of the hills, the Synteng country, she is the only owner of real property, and through her alone is inheritance transmitted. The father has no kinship with his children, who belong to their mother's clan; what he earns goes

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577 plains, jealous of their power, brave in action, and have an aversion to falsehood."

797 Khasis of the interior who have adopted Christianity are generally cleaner in their persons than the non-Christians, 177 and their women dress better than the latter and have an air 515 of self-respect about them. The houses in a Christian village 342 are also far superior, especially where there are resident European missionaries. Khasis who have become Christians often 771 take to religion with much earnestness (witness the recent 797 religious revival in these hills, which is estimated by the Welsh missionaries to have added between 4,000 and 5,000 converts to 794 Christianity), and are model Sabbatarians, it being a pleasing sight to see men, women, and children trooping to church on a Sunday dressed in their best, and with quite the Sunday expression on their faces one sees in England. It is a pleasure to hear the sound of the distant church bell on the hill-side on a Sunday evening, soon to be succeeded by the beautiful Welsh hymn tunes which, when wafted across the valleys, carry one's thoughts far away. The Welsh missionaries have done, and continue to do, an immense amount of good amongst these people. It would be an evil day for the Khasis if anything should occur to arrest the progress of the mission work in the Khasi Hills.

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION.

162 The Khasis inhabit the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, although 101 there are a few Khasi settlers in the neighbouring plains districts. The Census Report of 1901 gives the following figures of Khasi residents in the plains:—

Cachar	333
Sylhet	3,083
Goalpara	4
Kamrup	191
Darrang	10
Nowgong	29
Sibsagar	62
Lakhimpur	22
Lushai Hills..	77
North Cachar	22
Naga Hills	62

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171 Southern Moluccas the placenta is mixed with ashes, placed in
144 a pot, and hung on a tree; a similar custom is observed in Mandeling, on the west coast of Sumatra. This is a custom universally observed amongst the Khasis at births. Teknonomy to some extent prevails amongst some of these Malay tribes as with the Khasis. It will be seen from the above notes that there are some interesting points of affinity between the Khasis and some of the Malay tribes, and if we add that the Khasis are decidedly Malay in appearance, we cannot but wonder whether the Malays have any connection not only with the Mon-Khmér family, but also with the Khasis, with the Ho-Mundas, and with the Naga tribes mentioned by Mr. Peal in his interesting paper published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, already referred to. We will study the strong linguistic affinities between these peoples in the section which deals with language.

M. Aymonier in "Le Cambodge" mentions the matriarchate as having been prevalent apparently amongst the primitive races of Cambodia, and notes that the ancient Chinese writers spoke of Queens in Fou-nan (Cambodia). If the Khmérs were the ancient people of Cambodia, here we have an important landmark in common between them and the Khasis. M. Aymonier goes on to speak of priestesses, and the Cambodian taboo, *tam* or *tenam*, which Mr. Lowis, the Superintendent of Ethnography in Burma, suggests may be akin to the Khasi *sang*.

DRESS.

291 Dress may be divided into two divisions, ancient and modern. It will be convenient to take the former division first. The Khasi males of the interior wear the sleeveless coat or *jymphong*, which is a garment leaving the neck and arms bare, with a fringe at the bottom, and with a row of tassels across
[177] the chest; it is fastened by frogs in front. This coat, however, may be said to be going out of fashion in the Khasi Hills, its place being taken by coats of European pattern in the more civilized centres and by all sorts of nondescript garments in the interior. The sleeveless coat, however, is still worn by many

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[499] this manner, the males earning on an average 8 annas and the
463 females 6 annas a day. Col. Bivar writes that in 1875 the
465 wages for ordinary male labourers were 4 to 8 annas a day, and for females 2½ to 4 annas, so that the wages rates have almost doubled in the last thirty years. Contractors, however, often manage to obtain daily labour at lower rates than those paid by Government. Stonemasons and skilled labourers are able to
482 get higher rates. It is easier to obtain coolies in the Khasi
241 than in the Jaintia Hills, where a large proportion of the popu-
461 lation is employed in cultivation. The Khasis are excellent labourers, and cheerful and willing, but they at once resent bad treatment, and are then intractable and hard to manage. Khasis are averse to working in the plains in the hot-weather months.

APICULTURE.

231 I am indebted to Mr. Rita for the following remarks on apiculture in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills.

There are two kinds of indigenous bees in the Khasi Hills, one domesticated, called *u opap (apis Indica)*, and the other *u lymai*, which is never domesticated, and is very pugnacious; its hives are difficult of access, being always located in very high cliffs. A few hives of a third class of bee are now-a-days to be found in and around the station of Shillong, i.e. the Italian.
77] This bee was imported into the hills by Messrs. Dobbie and Rita, and the species became propagated in the following manner. The bees had been just established in a hive, where they had constructed a brood comb, when the hive was robbed by some Khasis for the sake of the *larvæ* it contained, which they wished to consume as food; but the queen bee escaped and established other colonies, one of which was afterwards captured by Mr. Rita, the others establishing themselves at places in the neighbourhood. The hive used by the Khasis is of a very primitive description. It is usually a hollow piece of wood, about 2½ to 3 ft. in length and 10 or 12 in. in diameter. A small door is placed at each end of the log, one for the bees to go in and out, and the other for the removal of the honey when wanted. The honey-combs are broken and the honey is

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392 Syntengs plaster the space in front of the house with red earth and cow-dung, this custom being probably a remnant of Hindu influence. The Khasis have some peculiar customs when they build a new house. When the house is completed they perform a ceremony, *kyojok-iko-shain*, when they tie three pieces of dried fish to the ridge pole of the house and then jump up and try to pull them down again. Or they kill a pig, cut a piece of the flesh with the skin attached, and fix it to the ridge pole, and then endeavour to dislodge it. The Syntengs at Nartiang worship *U Biskurem* (Biswakarma) and *Ka Siem Syngkar* when a house is completed, two fowls being sacrificed, one to the former, the other to the latter. The feathers of the fowls are affixed to the centre post of the house, which must be of *u diang ewing*, a variety of the Khasi oak. The worship of a Hindu god (Biswakarma), the 77% architect of the Hindu gods, alongside the Khasi deity *Ka Siem* 177 *Syngkar*, is interesting, and may be explained by the fact that 392 Nartiang was at one time the summer capital of the kings of Jaintia, who were Hindus latterly and disseminated Hindu customs largely amongst the Syntengs. Mr. Bita says that 637 amongst the Syntengs, a house, the walls of which have been 392 plastered with mud, is a sign that the householder has an enemy. The plastering no doubt is executed as a preventive of fire, arson in these hills being a common form of revenge.

392 Amongst the Khasis, when a daughter leaves her mother's house and builds a house in the mother's compound, it is considered *ewing*, or taboo, for the daughter's house to be built on the right-hand side of the mother's house, it should be built either on the left hand or at the back of the mother's house.

77% In Nongtrai it is customary to worship a deity called 793 *u Ki Sep* (Khasi, *u phaw*), by nailing up branches of the Khasi oak, interspersed with jaw-bones of cattle and the feathers of fowls, to the principal post, which must be of *u diang ewing*. The Siem priestess of the Nongkrem State at Smit and the ladies of the Siem family perform a ceremonial dance before a large post of oak in the midst of the Siem priestesses' house on the occasion of the annual goat-killing ceremony. This oak post is furnished according to custom by the *kyngkar*

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776 or official spokesman of the Siem's Durbar. Another post of
793 oak in this house is furnished by the people of the State.

342 The houses of the well-to-do Khasis of the present day in
177 Mawkhar and Cherrapunji are built after the modern style
353 with iron roofs, chimneys, glass windows and doors. In Jowai the well-to-do traders have excellent houses of the European pattern, which are as comfortable as many of the European subordinates' quarters in Shillong. Some up-to-date families in Shillong and at Cherra allow themselves muslin curtains and European furniture.

342 The houses of the Pnar-Wárs are peculiar. The roof, which
[324] is thatched with the leaves of a palm called *u tynriew*, is hog-backed and the eaves come down almost to the ground. There are three rooms in the Wár as in the Khasi house, although called by different names in the Wár dialect. The hearth is in the centre room. The houses are built flush with the ground [361] and are made of bamboos. In the Wár villages of Nongjri and 396 Umniuh there are small houses erected in the compounds of 782 the ordinary dwelling-houses called *ieng kruid* (spirit houses). In these houses offerings to the spirits of departed family ancestors are placed at intervals, this practice being very similar to the more ancient form of Shintoism. In some Wár villages 342 there are also separate bachelors' quarters. This custom is in accordance with that of the Naga tribes. There is no such custom amongst the Khasi Uplanders. The Wár houses are similar to those of the Pnar Wárs, except that a portion of the house is generally built on a platform, the main house resting on the hill-side and the portion on the platform projecting therefrom, the object being to obtain more space, the area for houses in the village sites being often limited owing to the steepness of the hill-sides.

The Bhoi and Lyngam houses are practically similar, and may be described together. They are generally built on fairly high platforms of bamboo, are frequently 30 to 40 ft. in length, and are divided into various compartments in order [354] to suit the needs of the family. The hearth, which is of earth, is in the centre room. There is a platform at the back of the Lyngam house, and in front of the Bhoi house, used for drying paddy, spreading chillies, &c., and for sitting on when the day's

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(*ki thiar*). The paddy-fields are not manured. The Khasis, 243
when cultivating high lands, select a clayey soil if they can. In the early part of the winter the sods are turned over with the hoe, and they are exposed to the action of the atmosphere for a period of about two months. When the sods are dry, they are placed in piles, which are generally in rows in the fields, and by means of ignited bunches of dry grass within the piles a slow fire is kept up, the piles of sods being gradually reduced to ashes. This is the "paring and burning process" used in England. The ashes so obtained are then carefully raked over the field. Sometimes other manure is also applied, but not when paddy is cultivated. The soil is now fit to receive the seed, either high-land paddy, millet, Job's tears, or other crops, as the case may be. The homestead lands are plentifully manured, and consequently, with attention, produce good crops. They are cultivated with the hoe.

The cultivation of oranges in the southern portion of the 244
district ranks equally in importance with that of the potato in 245
the northern. The orange, which is known in Calcutta as the Chhatak or Sylhet orange, comes from the warm southern slopes of the hills in this district, where it is cultivated on an extensive scale. Although oranges do best when there is considerable heat, they have been known to do well as high as 3,000 ft.; but the usual limit of elevation for the growth of oranges in this district is probably about 1,000 to 1,500 ft. The orange of the Khasi Hills has always been famous for its excellence, and Sir George Birdwood, in his introduction to the "First Letter Book of the East India Company," page 36, refers to the orange and lemon of Garhwál, Sikkim, and Khasia as having been carried by Arab traders into Syria, "whence the Crusaders helped to gradually propagate them throughout Southern Europe." Therefore, whereas the potato was im- [77]
ported, the orange would appear to be indigenous in these hills.

Nurseries.—The seeds are collected and dried by being 247
exposed to the sun. In the spring nurseries are prepared, the ground being thoroughly hoed and the soil pulverized as far as possible. The nursery is walled with stones. The seeds are then sown, a thin top layer of earth being applied. The

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526 certain incantations freely referring to the many faults of the opposite side, and pours water at intervals from the bamboo in front of the target. This business lasts about two hours. Then they exhort the competitors of their respective sides, and the match commences amidst loud shouts. Every time there is a hit there are loud cheers, the competitors leaping high into the air, the umpires muttering their incantations all the while. At the end of each turn the number of hits are counted by representatives of both sides. At the close of the day the side with the greatest number of hits wins the match, the successful party returning home, dancing and shouting. The young women admirers of both sides assemble, and dispense refreshments to the competitors, taking a keen interest in the proceedings withal. Frequently large wagers
525 are made on either side. In the *Khadar Blang* portion of the
526 Nongkrem State as much as Rs. 500 are occasionally wagered on either side. In Jowai the practice is also to bet a lump sum, the amount being raised by subscription from amongst the competitors. More usual bets are, however, about one anna a head. The *nong khang khnam* and the men who prepare the targets receive presents from their respective sides. The Khasi bow carries a considerable distance, an arrow shot over 180 yards being within the personal knowledge of the writer. It is believed that Khasi bows wielded by experts carry up to 200 yards. The average range may be said, however, to be 150 to 180 yards.

524 Yule mentions peg-top spinning amongst Khasi children as
177 being indigenous and not an importation, but Bivar thinks that the game is of foreign introduction. I am, however, inclined to agree with Yule that peg-top spinning is indigenous, inasmuch as this game could not have been copied from the Sylhetis or the Assamese of the plains, who do not indulge in it. As the British had only recently established themselves in the hills when Yule wrote, they would scarcely have had time or opportunity to introduce an English children's game. Khasi
524 children also play a kind of "hop Scotch" (*khyndat mala shito* and *in tiet hile*), and Yule writes, "Another of their recreations is an old acquaintance also, which we are surprised to meet with in the Far East. A very tall, thick bamboo is planted in

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The
597 adoption of a female obviates the family dying out (*iap duh*),
428 which to the Khasi is a very serious matter, inasmuch as there
764 will then be no one qualified to place the bones of its members within the family tomb (*ka ba thep shieng mawbah*), and to
597 perform the requisite funeral ceremonies. Amongst the Khasis no particular ceremonies are performed at the time of
262 adoption; but some of the Syntengs observe a religious cere-
782 mony which consists largely of a feast to the clans-folk, at which liquor, rice, dried fish, and ginger are partaken of. Before the feast commences, each clansman is provided with a small gourd (*u klong*) filled with liquor, a little of the latter is then thrown on the ground from the gourd, and the following words are uttered:—

"Oh, God! oh, Lord! oh, ruling king Biskurom, now the *pynrap iing* ceremony is about to be performed, let the ceremony be propitious, and let males and females (of the clan) increase in numbers, so that the clan may become great, and respected, and that intelligent male members may spring up." No such ceremony is, however, observed, it is understood, in the Nartiang and Raliang doloiships.

597 In the case of a family being *iap duh* (extinct), the family
428 property, according to Khasi custom, passes to the Siem. Therefore it is to the interest of the members of families to
421 adopt a female, when such necessity arises. As there is no religious ceremony which is compulsory to the Khasis on the occasion of an adoption, perhaps we are almost justified in concluding that in former times the adoption custom did not exist, more especially as the Khasis possess a special word, *iap duh*, for describing a family the females of which have all died out; and it is admittedly the custom for the Siem to succeed to the
177 property of such a family. The Synteng custom of *'rap iing*
797 may have been borrowed from the Hindus, when the Rajas of Jaintia became converts to that religion.

TENURE OF LAND AND LAWS REGARDING LAND.

423 Land in the Khasi Hills proper, i.e. land in the high plateau, is held somewhat differently from land in the Jaintia Hills and

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Mr. Jenkins, in his interesting little work on "Life and
753 Work in Khasia," gives a slightly different account of the
776 superstition, in that he states that it is the sick person who
826 is possessed by *ka Taroh*. The above belief is perhaps a
164 Synteng development of the Khasi *thlen* superstition. In
177 the Jaintia Hills "the small-pox" is believed to be a goddess, and is reverenced accordingly. Syntengs regard it as an honour to have had small-pox, calling the marks left by the disease the "kiss of the goddess"; the more violent the attack and the deeper the marks, the more highly honoured is the person affected. Mr. Jenkins says, "When the goddess has entered a house, and smitten any person or persons with this disease, a trough of clean water is placed outside the door, in order that every one before entering may wash their feet therein, the house being considered sacred." Mr. Rita mentions cases of women washing their hair in water used by a small-pox patient, in order that they may contract the disease, and women have been known actually to bring their little children into the house of a small-pox patient, in order that they may become infected and thus receive the kiss of the goddess. It is possible that the Syntengs, who were for some time under Hindu influences, may in their ignorance have adopted this degraded form of worship of the Hindu goddess, "Sitala Devi," who is adored as a divine mother under different names by Hindus all over India: cf., her name *mari-amman*, or mother of death, in the South of India, and the name Ãi, mother, of the Assamese.

In the Khasi Hills the god of small-pox is known under the name of *u Siem ñiang thylliew*. He is not, however, appeased in any way, the people calling on two other spirits, *Thynrei* and *Sapa*, to whom a fowl or a goat is offered.

776 This section cannot be closed without some reference to the
773 household gods of the Syntengs. The legend is that in ancient times there came a woman "from the end of heaven to the borders of the country of *u Truh*" (the country of the plains people at a distance from the foot of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills). The name of the woman was Ka Taben, and she was accompanied by her children. She offered herself to *u Dkhar*, the plains man, as a household goddess, but he rejected her. She then went to the Khasis, who were ploughing their fields,

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769 *Iawbei khynraw*, or *ka Iawbei kpoh* (the grandmother of the
211 family, or branch of the family). It frequently happens that there are two flat table-stones in front of the upright stones, the one on the left being *ka Iawbei tynrai*, or the first ancestress, and the one on the right *ka Iawbei longkpoh*, the grandmother of the branch of the clan to which the memorialists belong, or *ka Iawbei khynraw*, the young grandmother, i.e. the grandmother of the actual family to which the memorialists belong. In olden days it used to be the custom for the clans-
[782] people to place offerings of food on the flat table-stones for the shades of the departed ancestors, and this is sometimes the case still; but now it is more frequently the custom to make these offerings in the *iing-seng*, or clan puja-house. The flat table-stones are some 2 to 2½ ft. from the ground, and it is difficult to resist the impression that they were originally sacrificial stones, i.e. that animals or even human beings were actually
773 sacrificed upon them. In connection with this theory I would
782 refer to the interesting folk-tale about the Kopili river. It is here related that in olden days human victims were sacrificed
211 to the Kopili goddess on the flat table-stone (*maw-kynthei*) at a place called *Iew Ksih*, close to the Kopili river. A careful search has been made for this stone, with the result that a flat table-stone has been found near the above village, where goats are still annually sacrificed to the Kopili. The *doloi* reports that this is an ancient custom. None can remember, however, having heard that human victims were ever sacrificed there. Yet I do not think it at all unlikely that this is the stone, locally called *Mynlep*, which is referred to in the folk-tale. At Jaintiapur and Nartiang, both of which places were the headquarters of the kings of Jaintia, there are very large table-stones. We know for a fact that human sacrifices used to take place at Jaintiapur. Is it possible that human beings were immolated on these table-stones? It would be unsafe to base any conclusion on the solitary folk-tale about the *Iew Ksih* table-stone; but the tale certainly furnishes food for reflection. The Khasis borrowed their
[177] religious customs largely from the Synteng inhabitants of
782 Jaintia, and it is possible that they may have obtained the
211 custom of erecting the table-stones from the Syntengs also,
769 and that the latter were originally used by both of them for sacrificing human victims.

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SECTION VI.

MISCELLANEOUS.

TEKNONOMY.

551 THE Khasis, like the Alfoors of Poso in Celebes, seem to be somewhat reluctant to utter the names of their own immediate relations, and of other people's also. Parents are very frequently called the mother of so and so (the child's name being mentioned), or the father of so and so, cf. *Ka kmi ka Weri, U kpa u Philip.* The actual names of the parents, after falling into desuetude, are often entirely forgotten. The origin of the practice may be that the Khasis, like the Alfoors, were reluctant to mention their parents by name for fear of attracting the notice of evil spirits. The practice of *teknonomy*, however, is not confined to the Khasis or the Alfoors of Celebes (see footnote to page 412 of the "Golden Bough"). The custom is also believed to have been prevalent to some extent not long ago in some parts of Ireland.

797 The advent of the Welsh Missionaries and the partial dis-
177 semination of English education has in some cases produced
551 rather peculiar names. I quote some instances:—

U Water Kingdom, Ka Mediterranean Sea, Ka Red Sea; U Shakewell Bones, U Overland, Ka Brindisi, Ka Medina, Ka Mary Jones, U Mission, and Ka India.

KHASI METHOD OF CALCULATING TIME.

805 The Khasis adopt the lunar month, *u bynai*, twelve of which go to the year *ka snem*. They have no system of reckoning cycles, as is the custom with some of the Shan tribes. The following are the names of the months:—

805 *U kylla-lyngkot*, corresponding to January. This month in
132 the Khasi Hills is the coldest in the year. The Khasis turn

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or difference. It is owing to these three different names being 101
used for the same people that there has been so much confusion
about Lynngams previously; e.g. at one census they were named
Lynngam, at another they received the appellation of Garo, and
at a third enumeration they were called Khasis. In Section I. 131
the habitat of the Lynngams has been roughly defined. It is 361
impossible to define the Lynngam country exactly, because 173
these people are continually shifting their village sites
owing to the exigencies of *jhum* cultivation, which has been
described in Section II. Some of the Lynngams preserve
a tradition that they originally came from the Kamrup
plains. It is interesting that a people, like the Garos in so
many respects, should have the same idea as the Garos as to the
hills on the south bank of the Brahmaputra not always having
been their abode. The Garo legend is that they dwelt for 173
some years in the Goalpara and Kamrup plains after they 361
descended from Thibet, and before they moved to the Garo 144
Hills; and there is unmistakable evidence of their occupation of
both districts in the shape of certain Garo villages on both
banks of the Brahmaputra for some little distance up the river.
If, as I suspect, the Lynngams are an offshoot of the Garos, it
is, perhaps, possible that they entered the Khasi Hills much in
the same way as the Garos entered the hill district to which
they have given their name. The Lynngams are much darker 142
than the Khasis, and possess the Thibeto-Burman type of 177
feature often to a marked degree. It is not extraordinary that
they should have adopted some of the Khasi customs, for the
Khasis, being the stronger people, would in course of time be
bound to influence them in this respect. That the Lynngams 611
observe the matriarchate and erect (some clans) memorial 211
stones is not peculiar, because the Garos, like the Khasis, are 764
also a matriarchal people (to a limited degree), and the custom
of erecting memorial stones is not confined to the Khasis, for
other hill tribes in Assam observe the practice, e.g. certain
Naga tribes and the Mikirs; and the Garos themselves put up
carved posts, called *kima*, in honour of the departed. Although 582
there is not much intermarriage between the Khasis and the 101
Lynngams nowadays, perhaps in days gone by there was a 147
mixture of blood, the result being the hybrid race we are now
considering.

8: Gurdon G-3 (no date) 1904 AR7 Khasi AR7

291 small kilt), and a cap which is peaked in front and which comes down well over the ears, called (*ka tupia shkor*) ear cap. The dress of the Khasi females is somewhat different from that of the Synteng, the former wears a striped cloth tied round the waist, hanging down to the knees, and another cloth, with a fringed border, knotted on both the shoulders to cover the bust and a narrow cloth, called *ka jympien*, to serve the purpose of under-clothing. A cloth knotted in front is also worn like a cloak over shoulders. The Synteng woman wears a cloth smoothed round the body fastened above the bust and drooping down to the ankles. Another cloth is thrown over the shoulders, and crossed in front. Both Khasi and Synteng women wear a cloth tied over the head, called *ka tap mokhkhlieh*. Up-to-date Khasi males wear knicker-
292 bockers, stockings, and boots, and females chemises. On festive occasions, both Khasis and Syntengs, males and females, wear expensive silks, with earrings of gold or silver. There is a special dancing-dress of
301 elaborate pattern: The women at festivals wear a circlet of silver with a spear-head ornament behind, rising 4 or 5 inches from the back of the head. Large coral beads are much valued, and necklaces of alternate beads of coral and gold, and sometimes of coral alone, are worn by the chiefs and their principal followers. Such necklaces are worn by
262 women also on *gala* occasions. The staple diet of both Khasis and Syntengs is rice and dried fish. They are, however, fond of all kinds of meat, especially pork. Some of the Syntengs abstain from beef,
[177] owing no doubt to Hindu influences. Neither Khasis nor Syntengs eat dog, which is partaken of with zest by the Naga and the Garo tribes,—this is owing to the dog being considered by the Khasis to be the friend of man. Neither Khasis nor Syntengs use milk, the latter being thought by them to be an excrement. Neither Khasis nor Syntengs
411 tattoo. The weapons of both Khasis and Syntengs are bows and arrows, swords and shields. The national game of the Khasis is archery, regarding which a detailed description will be found in paragraph 10.

361 The people live in regular villages on fixed sites which have not changed for generations,—and they appear to be much attached to these sites, where, as a rule, the family tombs are standing. The houses are
342 built in the shape of a shell, the houses being divided into three compartments,—the *Shyngkup*, or porch, where odds and ends, and sometimes fowls, are kept; *nengpei*, or centre room, which is used for cooking and sitting in; and *rumpei*, or inner room, where the people sleep. The houses are low, with grass roofs reaching nearly to the ground, the beams are of hewn timber, the walls are of either planks roughly hewn or of reeds or split bamboos plastered with clay. The Khasis' houses generally have boarded floors raised some feet from the ground level,

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—the *Shyngkup*, or porch, being flush with the ground. The *nengpei*, or 342
centre room, is approached by a flight of steps. There are no windows, except one, which is bored on one side to admit light and air,—this is called the *pongshai*. Both Khasis and Syntengs, like other Indo-Chinese 524
races, are much addicted to gambling, and drinking to excess is a 273
national vice. Christianity has, through the agency of the Welsh Cal- 797
vinistic Mission, gained a very striking extension, and may be said in- 177
deed to be leavening the whole nation. Schools are numerous, and are pretty well attended by girls as well as boys. The Christians, and those who have come under the influence of Christianity, have adopted a high standard of comfort, and their houses resemble English cottages more nearly than the huts with which one is familiar in India.

Agriculture.—The Khasis do not use the plough; they cultivate their 241
fields with a peculiar-shaped hoe, or *mohkhiew*. They cultivate rice in the valleys, the rice being sown broadcast and the fields irrigated often after considerable labour. They also cultivate hill rice on the uplands, which they sow broadcast. The potato, which was introduced into the [177]
Khasi Hills by Mr. David Scott about the [439]
year 1830,[1] is extensively cultivated and forms one of the principal articles of export. Job's-tears (*Coix lachryma*), several kinds of millet, Indian-corn, the *Sohphlang* (*Flemingia vestita*), are also largely cultivated. The valleys on the 245
southern slopes of the hills have extensive orange groves, the oranges, especially those grown in the neighbourhood of Shella, being famous for their quality. The betel, vine, and areca nut are also largely grown on the southern side of the hills and in the low valleys, these plantations being irrigated by elaborate systems of aqueducts. The leaf of the bay tree (*'latyrpad*) is collected, and is exported to the Sylhet plains. The [439]
Syntengs differ from the Khasis, in that they make use of the plough. Both Khasis and Syntengs are industrious cultivators, and they possess a certain rough and ready knowledge of the uses of manure. A more detailed description of agriculture in these hills will be given in the monograph.

[1] Khasi and Jaintia Hills Administration Report for 1875-76 by Colonel Bivar.

2. *Matriarchal customs and law of inheritance of property.*—The 611
mother is the head of the house, and is both owner and the custodian of 428
the family property as long as she lives. Males can own no property amongst either Khasis or Syntengs except self-acquired property. On the death of the mother, in the case of the Khasis, the family property passes to the youngest daughter. According to some authorities, however, the property would in practice be divided amongst all the surviving daughters. Failing daughters, the property passes to the youngest niece, and failing a niece, to the youngest female cousin. The same

10: Clarke U-3 (no date)1874 AR7 Khasi AR7

Until the English period, say up to 1828, it does not appear that the Hindoos penetrated much into the Khasi hills; but they did into the Jaintea hills, and I imagine that either themselves or their handicrafts reached as far as Nurtiung. There is a typical large monument of upright slabs at Jainteapore, the capital of the Jaintea plains. 211 177

14. The notes for the above account of the stone monuments of the Khasi hills were placed in the hands of Colonel McCulloch (late Governor-General's agent at Muneypoor), and I have availed myself of many suggestions which he has kindly given me in the present paper. 000

Discussion.

Major Godwin-Austen said, one of the most interesting points of Mr. Clarke's paper is the notice of the separation of the ashes of the men and women of a family, at certain intervals, into separate earthen pots. I may mention that the shape of the cysts is never the same in any one part of the Khasi hills; sometimes they are oblong and above ground, and sometimes they stand on a raised platform. On opening one, in a part of the country long since deserted, I found entire bones, calcined, and ornaments; these are now always taken off the body before cremation, but, evidently, in former times, were burnt with the dead. The distance the Khasis sometimes carry the monumental stones is considerable. I know of blocks of granite that have been taken into the sandstone area nearly four miles. The custom of setting up these stones is fast dying out, and some villages have given it up altogether. It is impossible to say what age some of the monoliths may be; all history of most of them is gone, and the present generation can give no account of them. The custom is one of great antiquity, I think, and there is no reason why some of the stones, now standing, may not be many hundred years old.

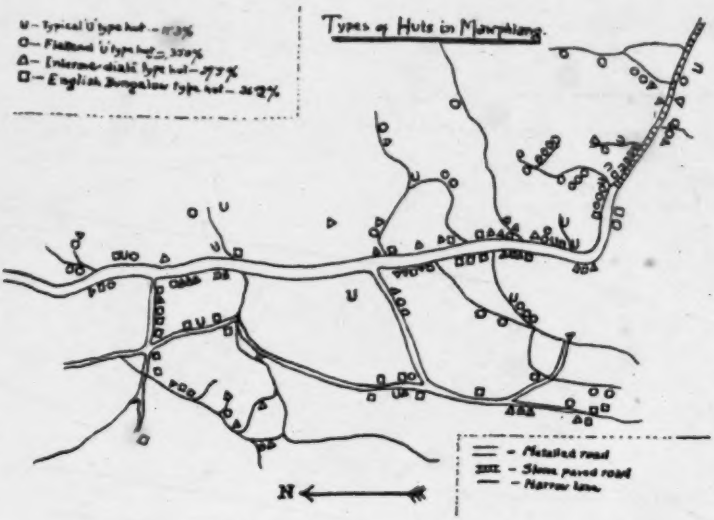
Mr. A. L. Lewis said, if he, as a visitor, might be allowed to make a few remarks, he would suggest that there was no reason whatever for connecting the monuments of the Khasis with those of Britain. Mr. Clarke had spoken of stones lying round Stonehenge as showing that the stones composing it had been gathered close at hand; but this was not so, as they had been brought from a distance of some miles, and there were no loose stones lying round Stonehenge, except those which had been placed there by design. That design was found running through all the British circles that he had seen; but it was certainly not found in the Khasi monuments. It was, however, found in the circles in southern India, figured by Colonel Forbes Leslie, which differed, therefore, from the Khasi monuments, and resembled those of Britain. He had pointed this out before the British Association as long ago as 1869, in a paper which would be found printed in full in the Journal of Anthropology, 1870, p. 286, and also in subsequent papers read before the Anthropological Society and Institute, and published in the proceedings.

12: Mukherjee et al. E-4, 5 (1940) 1941 AR7 Khasi AR7

342 huts the ground plan is entirely rectangular. In this type of huts the materials used are also different, the corrugated sheets and wooden planks being more used than blocks of stone and thatching grass. The inner apartments, however, conform to the old plan. In the market place of the village there are some houses which are two-storied, the front of the ground floor of which have been utilised for shops. These houses do not at all conform to the old 'U'-type but are square or rectangular in 342 ground plan. Near the market place there are three houses 177 of well-to-do Khasis which resemble the bungalows of Europeans of Shillong (and of the Mission house at Mawphlang) in their structure and material. In these modern houses unlike the old ones the main door faces the street. The myntr U. Suburai who is one of the well-to-do persons of Mawphlang village has his old house (that is, the old house he put up for his wife after marriage) of the 'U'-type, the description of which has been given in the preceding table under the name of the owner, the wife of U Suburai, Ka Shyrngeh. But their new house which has been added to their old one in front of it is altogether of the bungalow type. This new house is entered from a porch in front, leading to the central room which is used as parlour. The myntri generally sits here with his friends, round the fire-place, which is not a Dypei but a hearth in European style. The kitchen is beyond this room. Bedrooms open from the drawing room to the sides.

342 A plan of the village showing the distribution of the various 361 types of hut in Mawphlang is given below. From the plan it 177 will be found that out of the 160 houses in the village, inhabited at present, the typical 'U'-type of huts form about 11·3 per cent.; the flattened 'U'-type about 35·0 per cent.; the intermediate type, which has totally given up the 'U'-shaped ground plan but has its interior of the old type, about 27·5 per cent. and the English bungalow type about 26·2 per cent. This data shows how rapidly the old type of Khasi hut is now changing.

12: Mukherjee et al. E-4, 5 (1940) 1941 AR7 Khasi AR7



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13: Mukherjee E-5 (1954)1958 AR7 Khasi AR7

596 extended form more often when the children of the deceased sisters of *Ka-khadduh* reside there. This extension is on the mother's side and is affiliated through the extension of mother-child relationship.

Additional members like widower brothers or widowed sisters make the Khasi family a composite one.

In a Khasi family father, mother and her brother are very important. Father who is regard[1] as *Mynder* (stranger) or *Ushong kha* (begetter), has also the position of *Kynrad* (master) of the house (set-up by him). He is the executive head and the mother is the *dejure* owner of the household.

177 178 604 593 [428] Modern conditions and spread of Christianity have greatly affected the Khasi society and changed the Khasi ways of life but have failed to alter the traditional mode of inheritance even among the Christian Khasis. Another important fact which is apparent in the Khasi families, is the change of the status of the mother's brother (*Uknii*) in his sister's house. His influence has greatly been diminished due to clash with *Ka-Khadduh* (heiress). He has almost lost his control over his sister's [562] family. This has made the women exert their status to a danger point. Consequently, some amount of maladjustment in the relationship system, moral depravity and disintegration loom large in the family horizon.

Family is the core of Khasi social organization and the 596 closeness of familial kin with the members of the sub-clan is 613 due more to the fact that sub-clan owes its development to the family. A *Shi-K'poh* (member of sub-clan) is a secondary relative and can easily be approached for any help.

The functions of the above mentioned social groupings are 614 as follows :

Clan (*Ka-Kur*)—It regulates marriage. It being a larger non-residential kin group contact between its members is infrequent. The amount of social participation needed on certain level to intensify the relationship among its members falls far short of. But nevertheless, there existed among the members

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[1] [Should read: regarded. — Analyst]

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

Thus, the marriage of a non-heiress and a man of authority also produces an unstable position for the husband in spite of his having an independent household. Therefore, the possibility of a really stable marriage is even more limited; it will occur only in the match of a non-heiress and a non-authority of the *iing*. But even these marriages cannot be free from the influence of a matrilineal social structure: the man of authority of the wife's *iing* may visit these couples now and then, curb the husband's power and remind both partners of the orientation towards the matri-kin, the *iing*, though this pressure is insignificant in comparison with that experienced by the heiress's family. Likewise, a husband now and then visits his youngest sister's house, *ka iing sen*. These constant matrilineal contacts offer husbands chances of escaping from even the slightest matrimonial tension. Whenever a Khasi man feels uneasiness, he will return to his sister's house rather than face a difficult situation with his wife. This tendency is maximised especially on the occasion of religious ceremonies, when all individuals are grouped around each *iing*.

It is apparent that the rules of the *iing* as the underlying structural pattern, function throughout the various categories of domestic unit of the Khasi community as the most important intrinsic force.

VII. Polygyny

After this long attempt at the structural analysis of marriages, I think one can theoretically predict what is the situation of polygyny among the Khasi. The theoretical framework elaborated through preceding discussions can also be tested by the empirical data in terms of polygyny.

Nowadays, the Khasi feel so strongly against polygyny that they have no knowledge even that they ever practised it. Many Khasi, in more sophisticated areas, did not believe my findings on polygyny in Sohkynduh and Kongton. I think this is due to the rapid Christianization of the Hills during the last hundred years. My interpreter, though he was not Christian, said to me in the village, "it is most regrettable to bring you to a village where we find polygyny." However, one of the ministers of the Cherra State to which the two villages belong, told me that there was no particular opposition to polygyny, though recent Christian influence gave people the idea that it was a shameful custom, and he mentioned the case of a polygynist in his area, a man who had recently died, who had had ten wives. In Jatinga whose inhabitants are all Christian, and in Shella where there has been much contact with, and influence by, Hindus, there were

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

Shella

Confederacy forms a more marked endogamous community, through being cut off geographically and economically from the rest of the Khasi, and socially from the neighbouring Hindu people. 621

The Economy and the People.

Shella lies along the upper part of the Shella River and stretches upwards along the steep slope, looking down towards the Bengal plain. The climate of this part of the hills is considered to be one of the worst in tropical India for human habitation. The Bengal plain, though warmer than this area, is considered more healthy. This border land is the zone of malaria, typhoid, black fever, cholera, etc. None of the Bengalee peasants dare to live in such an area. However, it is the most fertile for products such as betel-nuts, pan-leaves, oranges, bananas and pineapples, and it also produces limestone. These people seem to prefer to settle in this zone and to enjoy its prosperity, at the expense of human lives: every year, especially between March and September, the inhabitants suffer from various fevers and dysentry and other diseaes, many of the weaker facing death. 131 132 164 433 164 648

Before the Partition of India and Pakistan, the products of Shella were carried down the Shella River to Sylhet, one of the biggest centres in East Bengal, which brought unimaginable wealth to the Shella people. Their houses were built by carpenters from Sylhet. The style and structure of these houses were exceptionally elaborate for the Khasi. They purchased vast rice fields in the plain, which used to be cultivated by Bengalee and Garo labourers engaged by them. These Khasi do not themselves know how to cultivate rice fields; they have always been managers or landowners. Their boys used to be sent to high schools and colleges in Sylhet. As a result of their trading with the Bengalee, many of them read and speak fluent Bengalee. There is no difference between their style of clothing and that of the Bengalee, though the women maintain their traditional dress in the Shella style. 177 178 434 [439] [342] [166] [464] [871] [191] [291]

They have thus been distinguished from the rest of the Khasi not only geographically, but also economically and culturally. Their personality also differs sharply from the rest of the Khasi. They are very sociable, and quick, a quality lacking among the Khasi of Sohkynduh and Kongton. They are clever enough to deal with strangers. The upland Khasi say Shella people are very cunning. This remark shows one side of these people. They had to be cunning, since they traded with the Sylhet Bengalee who were said to be the most cunning of their race. Their role in the trade and in the history of the modernization of the Hills was considerable. For centuries they represented intellectual Khasi owing to their contact with Hindu civilization, while the Hills remained in darkness. They assumed an important role when the British established an administration in the Hills, and even up to now, many leading Khasi originated from this area: for instance, Lati Hat, the first interpreter of the British Headquarters at Cherrapunjee; Jeebon Roy, who was the first Magistrate among the Khasi; Maham Sing, a lawyer and Member of the Legislative Assembly (the grandson of Jeebon Roy); Nichols Roy, Minister of Health and Prisons of the Assam Government, Member of the Legislative Assembly, and Missionary of the Church of God; R. R. Thomas (brother of Nichols Roy), Principal of the Gauhati University, etc. 157 184 648 177 178 [439]

Through constant cultural contact with Hindu, and encouraged by their economic prosperity, the Shella Khasi, like the Jaintias, have been much influenced by Hindu culture. However, this does not mean that the people of Shella adopted the Hindu beliefs. Though there is a small Hindu shrine, and some ceremonial elements were borrowed from the Hindu, most of the 177 648 771 795

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

• 177 people remained non-Hindu in their basic beliefs and social customs. Hindu
648 influences are nevertheless predominant in their culture, especially in their way
771 of living which shows a practical adaptability, somewhat similar to the Japanese
795 acceptance of modern western culture without becoming Christian. In my
[797] census of Shella village, the people calling themselves 'Hindu' amount to 40 per
[162] cent of the total, but they are the recent converts to the Ramakrishna School
[458] which established a missionary station at Shella after the Partition. The Christians constitute 30 per cent of the total, most of them having been converted during the last ten years, as in the case of the Ramachrishna School.[1] The rest remain as they were, of Khasi belief. These conversions to either Ramachrishna or Christianity seem to have been encouraged by the unstable situation of the people resulting from the recent economic depression in this area.

439 The Partition of India and Pakistan in August 1947, which drew the bor-
458 derline a few miles south of Shella village, considerably upset village economy
648 by stopping all trade with Bengal, though a limited amount of trade is allowed with local people at the border. Because of this political change, all the produce of Shella gardens is rotting away for lack of markets, while all of the rice fields were taken by Pakistan. Goods now come to Shella only from the uplands, carried upon men's shoulders over the most difficult pass, which makes everything very expensive. Many families have sold their gold and other treasures, and some families are facing starvation.[2]

182 Concerning the conversion to a new religion, an interesting phenomenon
171 is to be observed. The conversion to Christianity or to Ramakrishna is mostly
592 by individual: I found in my census that the wife and husband often belong to different religions. This is a very different picture from the Garo, among whom
613 I always found that the husband and wife belonged to the same religion: the
771 conversion of the husband to Christianity was always followed by that of the wife. I think this reflects the structural differences which influence the actual
795 relationship between the husband and wife. Among these Khasi, instead of the husband and wife, the maternal uncle and his nephews and nieces are mostly of the same religion. The function of the *iing*, the most important social and religious unit, thus appears also in the conversion to a new religion, stronger than that of a domestic unit.

Intermarriage.

648 The close economic and cultural contact of the Shella people and the Bengalee
771 is not matched by social contact. The essential barrier between the two peoples is the difference of religion which dominates the entire social order in each
563 society. Though these Khasi were important traders, richer than the neighbouring Hindu peasants, they were considered by the Hindu as outcasts with whom they never shared social activities. Intermarriages were therefore very rare. In Shella village, only two exceptional cases were found in my census:

1. A Khasi woman married to a Gurka (cattle-keeper); they live at Shella Bazaar (Sholap).
2. A Khasi woman h[illegible] marital relation with a Bengalee medical doctor who has resided at Disong in Shella for six years. He already has a Bengalee

1. These two entirely different missionary activities are competing with each other, and are somewhat related to the political powers within this area.

2. The state government is doing its best to provide them with additional facilities: for example, providing air transport for the transportation of oranges from Shella to Gauhati and Calcutta. However, such arrangements cannot cover the great economic loss suffered by the Shella people.

thereafter, the British negotiated treaties with all the Khasi states, the last treaty being signed in 1862. It was contracted that the chiefs would be subject to the authority of a resident political agent, whose duties would involve maintaining law and order, judging cases of heinous crimes, approving the popular selection of any new chief, and exercising control over certain categories of natural resources. Khasis were guaranteed noninterference in their customary way of life, and they were not then, nor are they now, taxed. Most Khasis, as opposed to Jaintias, were never an integral part of British India, but they did undergo social change as a result of British presence. To summarize Mills (n.d.): (1) The British introduced the potato, which the Khasis rapidly took up as a cash crop for marketing as far as Calcutta. The intensive specialization exhausted the soil and made for ever-poorer crops. (2) Christian missionaries made large numbers of converts, and there arose the difficult question of whether a Christian should inherit property that traditionally was earmarked for her performance of non-Christian religious rituals. (3) About 1864 the British transferred their headquarters from Cherrapunji to Shillong. When they made Shillong the capital of the entire state of Assam, non-Khasis flocked to it, land values soared, and the concept of private property became increasingly important. Khasis began to marry with members of other ethnic groups, which introduced confusion into traditional social patterns. These problems were exacerbated during World War II, when Shillong and its environs enjoyed enormous economic prosperity. One notable aftermath of this affluence has been the accelerated enrollments in schools and colleges. Hundreds of Khasis now have the B.A., M.A., and even the Ph.D. degree. • With the Independence of India in 1947, and under the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India (which was drafted by a Khasi), the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills District became a Part B, or Autonomous, Tribal Area, to be governed by a District Council composed largely of Khasis and Jaintias, and responsible not to the Legislature of Assam, but to the Governor of Assam as agent of the President of India. The native-state system and the chiefs still exist, and the District Council finds it difficult to effect legislation which is neither offensive to regional custom nor a simple blueprint of ill-fitting all-India legislation. The major political schism at this time is between Jaintias, who are accustomed to centralized authority and taxation, and Khasis, who resist the notion of taxation to support the work of a central District Council. [Cf. Gait 1928; Aitchison 1931; Bhuyan 1949; Morris 1910.]

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SETTLEMENT PATTERN AND HOUSING. Settlement pattern. Khasis live sedentarily in nucleated, nucleated, and unplanned villages which are situated just below hill summits to avoid strong winds but still be defensible, and which usually include a de-

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pendable water supply. Villages are about two to five miles apart, and have no boundary markers. In the past, villages contained semipublic buildings and grounds: the house of the village priest (also the house of a chief if he resided in that village), the village marketplace, and tree groves, cremation grounds, or other awesome spots that were believed to be inhabited by supernatural beings. Villages today may have also one or more Christian churches, government social welfare buildings, and schools. Formerly, villages were entered through a guarded gateway; this is no longer the case, and paths feed into villages from all directions. Often several villages are nucleated into one large unit, named and also described as a "village." These were once defense units, but were so uncohesive otherwise that institutionalized rivalry obtained among the component villages. Now, they have been integrated through the agency of all-village public services, especially schools. **Housing.** The traditional Khasi house is entered through a door at the rounded end of a U-shaped ground plan, and is about 20 feet at widest extent; it is about 30 feet deep, and is elliptical or hogback in profile. Its walls are of stone blocks cemented with mud. The roof of grass thatch, supported by a bamboo frame, overhangs the walls on their outside, down to about three feet above the ground. The house is divided into two parts: the front one-third is on the ground level, floored either with stone blocks or tamped earth, and is used for storage of occupational instruments and as a shelter for poultry. The rear two-thirds is raised four feet on piles of stone blocks to a platform of planks, and is partitioned into six rooms, comprising a kitchen, areas for storage of food and water, and sleeping quarters. Furniture is minimal, and the house is totally undecorated. There are no windows, and no smoke vents. A house generally has a companion shed, walled of wood and grass matting and thatched with grass. This serves as a pigsty, but it may be partitioned also to house cows, and it may have a loft for fuel storage. Compounds often contain garden plots, and are fenced around with stone or bamboo and mud. Nowadays, the traditional house has given way to Western-style bungalows of wood and tin, especially in and around Shillong. [Cf. Mukherjee et al. 1941.]

361 [944] [443] [778] [344] [178] [712] [628] [178] [182] 342 352 353 354 343 361 177 184 342

ECONOMY. The Khasi economy is a market economy based on agriculture, and most Khasis are primary producers, sellers, middlemen, and/or providers of services in connection with markets. Khasis are often multioccupational: they produce goods for partial subsistence, and also play some part in trade. **Agriculture.** On the Shillong plateau, the major field crops are potatoes, maize, millets, and dry rice, still produced mostly through swidden farming, with a two- to three-year period of fallow, but increasingly through continuous use of a single field with the aid of ma-

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manure and chemical fertilizers. Both level land and hillsides are cultivated by the same hand techniques. 1 × 0.6-mile patches are fashioned with walkways between, soils are overturned within the patches and allowed to dry, the soils are burned slowly and the ashes spread over the soil, and finally the soil is sown, either broadcast or soils with the aid of the typical Khasi hoe. The outdoor part of the upland enjoys a two-crop year, and Khasis often double crop as well. Paddy has long been found in the lowlands, in parts of Jaintia and Khasi, the only places where the plow is found. Nowadays paddy is more and more seen in the uplands, together with a simple terracing and irrigation technology. Many upland Khasis have home gardens in which they raise a wide variety of vegetables, including pumpkins, cabbage, eggplant, sweet potatoes, [illegible] and many others. Important crops in Khasi country are paddy rice, lac, cassava, cotton, bananas and pineapples, in War, they are betel nut, pan leaf, oranges, and sugar cane. Fishing and hunting. Fishing is always by [illegible] extensive activity only in the southern foothills. Hunting was formerly by bow and arrow or by traps, including spring guns and pitfalls, but was always primarily a sport. [Cf. Stagmiller 1955.] Gathering. Khasis once gathered about 150 species of wild plants, most of them for food, but some for medicine. Thirty villagers still gather food plants, but there is no real dependence on gathering. Medicinal plants continue to be very important. Domestic animals. Fowl, goats, pigs, and cattle are bred both for meat and sacrifice. Milk was formerly not utilized, but is now so popular that specialists keep herds of milch cows. Pigs are used as village scavengers, but some also receive prepared food. Cattle and goats range freely in the fields during the winter, but are herded by a commonly hired herdsman during the agricultural season. Most households keep chickens, partly for their eggs, and a few keep ducks. A few horses are also seen. Dogs are pariahs, except for hunting dogs. Cats are popular. Food and stimulants. The staple food of Khasis is boiled rice, together with the dried fish which is imported from Sylhet. Boiled beef, pork, and chicken are relished, but beyond the means of most. Meals are taken twice a day, in the morning and evening, although farmers also take a midday meal in the field, and others may take tea and cold sweet potatoes or rice bread. Certain foods are taboo to certain clans. Stimulants are extremely common, especially betel nut, which is often accompanied by a bit of tobacco. Tobacco is also smoked as cigarettes and in hookah and other pipes. Every village has one or more household taverns, where distilled rice whisky is cooked and sold by the glass and by the bottle. Imported opium had spread widely in the malarious Khasi country, but controls instituted in the 1940s have been fairly successful. All stimulants were once taken by men, women, and

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children, but Christian influence has weakened or driven underground the conception by women and children. Industrial arts. The only industrial arts universally practiced in all households were a rude monitor carpentry and a simple utilitarian basketry. Other arts were few, and were practiced in village specialties: the working and smelting of iron ore and the forging of bows, dues, knives, swords, and cooking pots (upland Khasis); the spinning of cotton thread (Mawsynram village, Jaintia); the dyeing of cotton thread and the weaving of cloth (Jaintia, Khasi, Langpungsu, War); the spinning and weaving of Eri silk (Khyrwang and Nongtung villages, Khasi and Jaintia); and the hand manufacture, without wheel, of pottery earthenware pots (Lawai village, Jaintia). Handweaving and the production of cotton goods have nearly died out through the competition of machine-made goods. Carpentry has greatly improved. An innovation of major importance is the sewing and tailoring, on sewing machines, of ready-made garments for both sexes. (J. Dupuch 1906, C. W. Hill, Trade. Khasi villages normally contain a number of household shops operated by women. Every Khasi [illegible] within walking distance of several village markets that are held on successive days of the eight-day week. The limits of market attendance for the members of any particular village can be roughly distinguished by their naming the days of their week, which are called after the active markets. The exception is the huge market at Shillong, much of which is active daily, and which serves as a magnet for Khasis from all over the hills. The traditional barter has given way to currency in all markets. The small cows contain at least some local farm produce, plus other essentials like betel nut, and the betel and tea stalls which serve as centers of social intercourse. The big markets contain not only regional produce and manufactures but also products from distant parts of the hills, brought for sale by traveling middlemen. There is also substantial trade from the hills to the valleys, as potatoes, pears, betel, tea, cotton, cured cheese, the wood of the ai tree, Eri silk thread, limestone, coal, soap, bay leaf, betel nut, pan leaves, bananas, sugar cane, oranges, oil, turmeric, and chillies. From the plains to the hills, there is trade in dried fish, paddy rice, salt, cooking oil, bananas, matches, tea, sugar, wheat flour, machine-made cloth, shoes, metal pots, ornaments, porcelain objects, coral beads, silver, and gold. Markets are important not only as economic institutions but also as centers for recreation (including archery competitions), courtship, affirmation of kinship ties with distant relatives, and the dissemination of information of all kinds. (J. Dupuchez 1906.) Division of labor. Men do the heavy work, such as clearing and burning the swidden fields, caring for cattle and goats and driving them to market, butchering and selling large cuts of beef and pork, carpentry and sewing, and driving and laboring on motor vehicles. They also take care

another. In other words, a state is not a fixed territorial entity. In the early twentieth century, the most populous of the 25 chiefdoms, Khyrim, contained 30,833 persons occupying 7,800 houses in 372 villages, and the least populous, Nongkwai, contained 248 persons occupying 33 houses in 3 villages. Fifteen of the chiefdoms were headed by a *sjem* (chief), three by a *lyngdoh* (priest), six by a *siular*, and one by a *wahadadar*. These leaders all had executive and judicial functions, but a chief's authority was limited in that he had to obtain the approval of his executive council before acting. The other leaders were subject to a similar limitation. A chief maintained a small police force. His major sources of revenue were market tolls, fines, and, more recently, income from licenses to distill raw whisky. Succession to a ruling role in the larger states traditionally involved election by members of a lineage that had a hereditary right to elect, from among members of a lineage that had the hereditary right to rule. In British times, the elective basis was broadened, differentially in the various states, even to the point of popular

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stratification. The three classes of lineage are the nobles, the commoners, and the slaves or servants. This stratification applies only to the recruitment to office in the native-state system, for there is no hereditary, and in a village assembly everyone has equal voice. The noble lineages have the hereditary right to fill from among their male members roles such as village or state priest, councilor to a chief, or elector of a chief. The few lineages which today are remembered as slave or servant lineages had the inherited obligation to render special services to a chief's household. There is no Khasi term for "commoner." Every lineage other than a noble or a slave lineage is a commoner lineage, and the commoner lineages are in the majority. Warfare. Warfare was suppressed by the British, and little is known for certain about its traditional forms. The tactics which confronted the British were the ambush and the guerrilla raid. Traditional goals included taking heads from other Khasis and capturing women from the villages.

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RELIGION. Major and indigenous religions. A Welsh Calvinistic Methodist missionary penetrated into Cherrapunji in 1841, and the work that he began continues to this day. His society, which has since become the Welsh Presbyterian Foreign Mission, introduced writing, village primary schools, a high school, a theological seminary, and a hospital. Competing missionaries followed, and by 1914 some Shillong Khasis were puzzling over the tenets not only of traditional Hinduism and Islam but also of the Buddhists, Brahmo Samaj, Arya Samaj, and Unitarians (Roy 1914). By the 1930s missionaries of the Church of God and the Seventh Day Adventists were

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20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

The forest administration of the British Government is confined to two plantations in the neighbourhood of Shillong, for which a rent is payable in perpetuity. One of these, on the farther side of the Umkra, was originally acquired in 1871-72 for the sake of experiments in arboriculture. The rent of Rs. 50, or £5, is paid by the Forest Department; the area had been at first estimated at 580 acres, but an actual survey undertaken in 1875-76 reduced this estimate to 262·59 acres. A considerable portion is covered with Pinus Kasia, which is carefully protected. Of the exotic trees tried on this plantation, only the three following can be said to have done well:—*Juglans regia*, *Eucalyptus resinifera*, and *Pinus maritima*. All the rest either suffered from frost in the winter, or required far more nursing than can be afforded them in forest plantations. The young trees of the indigenous oak (Quercus serrata) were also attacked by rats, who bit off great numbers just above the ground. The Spanish chestnuts did not thrive, and were removed to the model farm for trial at a higher elevation. The second plantation, on the northern slopes of the range immediately behind the Station, consists of several patches of forest, which were acquired in connection with the scheme for providing Shillong with a permanent water supply. The total rent is Rs. 375, or £37, 10s., paid from Town Improvement Funds; and the aggregate area is estimated at 796 acres. All the fields within this area that had formerly been cultivated by the Khásís—about 80 acres in all—were sown by the Forest Department with Pinus Kasia, Quercus Griffithii, Q. serrata, and Q. fenestrata, which have succeeded well; and about 8 acres were planted with different species of Eucalyptus. Up to the close of 1875-76 the sum expended on the first of these two plantations was Rs. 742. 9. 9, or £74. 5s. 3d., and on the second, Rs. 730. 9. 6, or £73. 1s. 2d.

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A cinchona plantation was started in 1867 by the Superintendent of the Calcutta Botanical Gardens. It consists of twelve small patches of plants near Nongkloo, and one near Jirang, situated at elevations varying from 3500 feet to 2000 feet. The species cultivated are Cinchona succirubra, C. officinalis, and C. micrantha. At first they were under the charge of two Khási gardeners, who each received Rs. 16 a month, or £19. 4s. a year, to weed them and keep fires out. In 1874-75 these plantations were taken charge of by the Forest Department, and specimens of the cinchona bark were submitted for analysis to the Government Quinologist

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20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

generally the gathering does not extend beyond January. As a rule, the cultivation is confined to the valleys and slopes on the southern face of the hills. (2) Pine-apples are also largely cultivated on the southern slopes, and grow to great perfection on the limestone formation. The fruit ripens in May or June, and is exported in considerable quantities. In 1876-77 the export of pine-apples was valued at Rs. 8000 or £800. (3) Potatoes are extensively grown on slopes of high land, and also in the low-lying fields where the land is well drained. The tuber was first introduced into the Hills in 1830 by Mr. Scott, who was then the Governor-General's Agent. The season for sowing commences about the middle of February when the rains set in early, and in April when they are late. The ground is dug up and carefully manured with burnt earth, and holes are dug about nine inches deep, and the same distance from each other. These holes are then partially filled in with loose earth, and a potato or two halves of one placed in each. They are then filled up with dry manure and soil. When the plant is fifteen or twenty days old, the ground about the roots is loosened and the plant earthed up, and the land is kept carefully weeded. In about four months after sowing, the crop is gathered. During the cold weather a second crop is raised, the seeds being planted in September and the tubers dug up in December. Potato cultivation has largely increased of late years in the District. In 1876-77 the exports were approximately estimated at 200,500 *maunds*, or 7480 tons, valued at Rs. 501,250 or £50,125, at the rate of Rs. 2. 8 per *maund*, or £7 per ton. (4) Sugar-cane is grown, but not to any great extent; cuttings are planted in March, and the cane ripens by November or December. (5) *Pán* is extensively cultivated, the runner being trained up trees standing in deep and shady valleys. Planting is carried on during the months of April and May, but the leaves are not fit to be gathered till the plant is two years old. (6) The *supári* or betel-nut (Areca catechu), called *u-kwai* by the Khásiás, is grown on the lower southern slopes of the hills, and, together with the *pán* leaf, is consumed in immoderate quantities by the inhabitants, who measure distance by the number of *pánz* consumed on a journey. It is also exported to the plains. (7) *U-sok-phlang*, a root crop resembling a small turnip, is sown on high lands in April and gathered in September. It is a poor vegetable, but the natives of the Hills are fond of it, and eat it either raw or cooked. (8) Cotton is grown on high lands and

245 244 [439] [177] [439] 249 244 000

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

extent of waste land, some is cultivated in a manner resembling the *júm* system,—successive crops are grown on a patch of land till the soil is exhausted, and then another spot is selected, where the same process is repeated afresh, but without anything that can be called a *júmid* tenure. Any renting of land is exceptional, and there are no recognised rates of rent. The Deputy-Commissioner, however, states that an ordinary rate for rented land would be from two to three shillings a year for as much land as an individual can cultivate with his own hands. 423 [427]

MANURE is generally used in raising rice and potatoes. It is seldom purchased, the dung and litter of the cattle and other animals about the house being generally utilized for the purpose. For rice fields a little less than half a ton of manure, but for potatoes upwards of two tons, is required per acre. Manure, if purchased, would cost from 2s. 7½d. to 3s. 9d. per acre for rice land, and for potato fields from 12s. to 18s. per acre. 243 244 [435]

IRRIGATION for agricultural purposes is regularly practised. Water is brought to the land by means of channels cut from the numerous hill streams in the neighbourhood of the fields. Wells and tanks are unknown. The work of irrigation by means of these channels is very easily carried on, and at a very trifling outlay. Rotation of crops is not practised in the Hills. 312

MODEL FARM.—The Shillong Model Farm, established in 1873, has not proved a success. Experiments tried with wheat give some hope that cold-weather crops may profitably be introduced into the Hills. Two new varieties of potato—'red roughs' and 'pheasant's eye'—were successfully introduced in 1873-74; but these are not looked upon favourably by the Khásiás, as they only give one crop in the year, whereas the ordinary variety yields two crops. Several fruit-trees have been planted out, including apple, pear, cherry, nectarine, and plum; and the tables of the European residents are supplied with vegetables from the garden attached to the farm. A *Manual of Potato Cultivation* compiled by the superintendent has been translated into Assamese, and copies have been distributed among the adjoining Hill tribes. The general failure in all the agricultural experiments is attributed partly to the unfitness of the soil, and still more to the ravages of white ants and other insects peculiar to the Hills. The attempts to improve the indigenous breeds of live stock have been equally unfortunate. During the two years 1874-76 the sum of Rs. 1744 177 244 648 654 177 245 648 654 [134] [136] 231 648 654

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

ESTIMATE OF EXPORTS FROM THE KHASI AND JAINTIA HILLS FOR THE YEAR 1876-77.

ARTICLES.	RATES OF VALUATION.	WEIGHT OR NUMBER.	VALUE.
	Rs.		Rs.
Tejpát or bay leaves,	2. 8 per *maund*.	26,000 *maunds*.	65,000
Betel-nuts and *pán* leaves, ...	...	...	95,600
Black pepper, . .	1. 8 per *maund*.	500 ,,	9,000
Boats, ...	...	...	7,000
Cinnamon, ...	4. 0 per *maund*.	900 ,,	3,600
Chillies, ...	8. 0 ,,	2,600 ,,	20,800
Cotton, ...	6. 0 ,,	36,000 ,,	216,000
Fruits (jack and lime),	...	...	2,600
Garlic, ...	...	...	3,100
Hides, ...	...	...	1,200
Honey, ...	15. 0 per *maund*.	330 ,,	4,950
India-rubber, . .	40. 0 ,,	200 ,,	8,000
Iron implements, .	...	...	7,000
Limestone, . . .	300. 0 per 1000 *maunds*.	1,600,000 ,,	480,000
Oranges, ...	12. 0 per 3000.	9,400,000 No.	37,600
Potatoes, ...	2. 8 per *maund*.	200,500 *maunds*.	501,250
Pine-apples, . . .	...	...	8,000
Stick lac, ...	20. 0 per *maund*.	5,000 ,,	100,000
Timber, bamboos, and canes, . .	...	...	30,000
Turmeric, . . .	2. 0 per *maund*.	700 ,,	1,400
Bees-wax, . . .	55. 0 ,,	26 ,,	1,430
Total, .	...	...	1,603,530

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Text continued from page 238.]

This price is about the same as it was twenty years ago, but the quantity has increased fourfold. The potato was first introduced into the Hills in 1830 by Mr. David Scott, who was then the Governor-General's Agent. 'No greater boon could have been conferred upon the people.' The local trade is entirely in the hands of the Khásiás themselves, and the larger portion of the produce is despatched direct to Calcutta. According to the registration returns of river traffic in Bengal, the export of provisions (including vegetables) from Sylhet in 1876-77 was 123,108 *maunds*, valued at Rs. 369,324, or £36,932, at the rate of Rs. 3 per *maund*.

[177]
[244]

The export of oranges in 1876-77 was 9,400,000 in number, valued at Rs. 37,600, at the rate of Rs. 12 per 3000. These figures apparently show a great decrease since 1858. At that time Mr. Inglis possessed the entire monopoly of the trade, by means of the leases which he held from the Khási Chiefs of all the valuable groves. The annual produce of his groves was estimated at forty-five millions of oranges, having increased from eleven millions within the

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21: Ehrenfels E-4,5 (1950) 1953 AR7 Khasi AR7

on a historical past, different from that of the Khasi proper, the former having been ruled by the powerful, but somewhat Hinduised dynasty of the Jaintia Rajas until the Jaintia Wars of the British; the latter by small independent chiefs. Yet Jaintia social organization appears on the whole to preserve the matrilineal social structure clearer and to be less influenced by plains-acculturation, than that of the Khasi, though a few features of Brahmanical religious observances and also some traces of racial admixture are found in the immediate vicinity of Jowei, the former summer residence of the Jaintia Rajas. Stronger no doubt, than this influence, was that exercised by the British and non-Assamese Indians in the provincial capital Shillong since 1866. Methods of agriculture and other aspects of material civilization differ but little in the Jaintia- and Khasi plateau-areas.

The same cannot be said of both: the Wár-Khasi and Wár-Jaintias. Linguistically their affiliations are with the Khasi or Jaintias respectively, in the plateau-areas. Economically, however, both Wár-groups form a separate pan-leaf cultivating unit in the little accessible steep southern slopes of the Khasi- and Jaintia Hill massif. Both Wár-groups live in the environment of luscious tropical flora and fauna, sharply differentiated from the cool, barren plateau with its perennial winds and the heroic, if solitary beauty of its highland heaths, which forms the background of both the Khasi- and Jaintia plateau-groups.

The age of the Wár-Khasi and -Jaintias, as one independent economic, — and two half-independent dialectical linguistic entities, is an intricate problem. The two Wár-groups subsist on pan-leaf cultivation as a money crop, grown in the thick tree-gardens as creepers; not on food-cultivation, as do the plateau-groups, because there is insufficient space on the steep slopes, for vegetable gardens or -fields. The pan-leaf cultivators therefore depend on food, purchased from outside. The slopes seem to have been uninhabited until not long ago. Yet pan-leaf chewing is such an integral part of Khasi life, that until quite recently, and occasionally even now, a distance between two places is not measured by the number of hours used for walking, but by the number of betelnut- and pan-leaf packages, consumed on the way. Also the common benediction among Khasi expresses the wish that so and so may eat pan in the Garden of God. Yet pan-cultivation and the settlements of the Wár-people as pan-leaf cultivators in the southern slopes seem comparatively young. Pan-cultivation on the plateau is impracticable. It is therefore possible that pan was for a long time only a much valued import article from the plains, bartered against Khasi ore and iron tools, though it is now an export article from the Wár-country, brought to the markets of the plains, by both Wár-Khasi and Wár-Jaintia women and men.

According to a tradition, across which I came among the Nonglamin clan of the Nongmuker village, the ancestors of the present Wár people were on the plateau at a time when no pan-cultivation was going on in the slopes and none of the present big estates of pan-tree gardens was yet held by their present (Wár-) owners. A not distant ancestor of a Nonglamin clan-member who about two or three generations ago told the story to U Siang (one of

31: Scherman--74 E-4 (no date) 1915 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4 Southeast Asia AL1 Khasi AR7

K 342 generally used follows from a once ruling law which forbade the Khasi the use of nails for house construction as being "sang," i.e. taboo (78). It remains a question whether the Khasi

78. Gurdon, pp. 30 ff. Cf. above, p. 206, fn. 1.

K [177] house with its curved roof form reflects the building style of the Bengali, who also in other respects influenced the customs of the Khasi (79),

79. To be sure the roof ridge of the Bengal hut is evenly curved toward both sides and the entrance is from the broad side. This roof style is a distinctive architectural theme with temples and tombs of Bengal, as Monmohan Chakravarti in "Bengali Temples and Their General Characteristics" Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal 5 (Calcutta, 1909), p. 160 explains in detail. But whether the relation with the Pallava architecture of South India exists, as conjectured here on p. 147, seems to me very doubtful.

or whether the roof, sloping down in front and projecting broadly over the entrance wall must be considered as a modification of the veranda awning of the pile dwellings.

* * *

B S 342 From the numerous types presented above is it somehow possible to prove a homogenous development? /234/ Without vague hypotheses, in view of the inadequacy of the historical sources of the Indochinese ethnographical groups, a line of direction

13: Mukherjee E-5 (1954)1958 AR7 Khasi AR7

596 extended form more often when the children of the deceased sisters of *Ka-khadduh* reside there. This extension is on the mother's side and is affiliated through the extension of mother-child relationship.

Additional members like widower brothers or widowed sisters make the Khasi family a composite one.

In a Khasi family father, mother and her brother are very important. Father who is regard[1] as *Mynder* (stranger) or *Ushong kha* (begetter), has also the position of *Kynrad* (master) of the house (set-up by him). He is the executive head and the mother is the *de jure* owner of the household.

177 Modern conditions and spread of Christianity have greatly
178 affected the Khasi society and changed the Khasi ways of life
604 but have failed to alter the traditional mode of inheritance even
593 among the Christian Khasis. Another important fact which is
[428] apparent in the Khasi families, is the change of the status of the mother's brother (*Uknii*) in his sister's house. His influence has greatly been diminished due to clash with *Ka-Khadduh* (heiress). He has almost lost his control over his sister's
[562] family. This has made the women exert their status to a danger point. Consequently, some amount of maladjustment in the relationship system, moral depravity and disintegration loom large in the family horizon.

Family is the core of Khasi social organization and the
596 closeness of familial kin with the members of the sub-clan is
613 due more to the fact that sub-clan owes its development to the family. A *Shi-K'poh* (member of sub-clan) is a secondary relative and can easily be approached for any help.

The functions of the above mentioned social groupings are
614 as follows :

Clan (*Ka-Kur*)—It regulates marriage. It being a larger non-residential kin group contact between its members is infrequent. The amount of social participation needed on certain level to intensify the relationship among its members falls far short of. But nevertheless, there existed among the members

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[1] [Should read: regarded.—Analyst]

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

4. The Bhoi — occupy the northern slopes of the Khasi Hills, covered with thick semi-tropical forests; they practise jhum cultivation. 619

5. The Lynngam — inhabit the western border of the Khasi Hills, near the Garo Hills. They are said to be half-Khasi and half-Garo. Their economy is similar to that of the Bhoi.

These ecological and geographical differences correspond also to 175
politico-historical differences. From the 16th century to 1835, eve
of the annexation of the Jaintia Hills to the Khasi Hills under the 648
British administration, the people of the Jaintia Hills formed part of the Hindu Jaintia kingdom, whose capital was Jaintiapur, on the border of the present East Pakistan and of the Jaintia Hills. The capital, at one time, was moved to Nortiang near Jowai in the heart of the Jaintia Hills. The Jaintia Hills were administrated by twelve governors. Such a highly developed economic system as based on wet rice cultivation, must have helped a great deal in forming a kingdom adjoining the plain. Through the common economy and political organization with the Hindus of the plain, the Hindu civilization of the Bengal plain penetrated deeply among the Jaintias, who are matrilineal hill dwellers.

On the other hand, the Khasi Hills have remained outside the histories of either Assam or Bengal. They were governed by a number of petty native chiefs: there were twenty-five chiefs ruling the Khasi Hills when the British colonial administration was established there. Most of these chiefs belonged to the Siem clan. The history of the Khasi Hills had been shrouded in darkness till the beginning of the 19th century, except for fragmentary stories such as Khasi raids on the Sylhet people.

The development of the upland Khasi Hills started with the estab- 178 •
lishment of its headquarters at Shillong in 1874. Since then the
features of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills have changed a great deal. 648
What was once a small Khasi hamlet, untouched by the light of 797
history, has become nowadays a busy modern town where many Khasi intellectuals live, mixing with various outsiders who are engaged in official work or in business. The British administration opened the way to missionary activities, especially that of the Welsh Calvinist Methodists who set up a mission in the Hills in 1841, almost at the same time as British political influence began to make itself felt in the
Khasi Hills. Along with the political penetration from Cherrapunjee [871]
(1833) to Shillong, missionaries established many institutions, includ- [743]
ing churches, schools and hospitals, etc. Christian education, bringing with it the promise of clerical positions, attracted young Khasi a great deal; and the majority of the upland Khasi have been converted to Christianity. They have become the modern intellectuals of their people.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

137 Besides these political and religious changes, there have been very
178 important changes in Khasi economy, particularly by the spread of
244 potato cultivation. Potatoes were first introduced into the Hills in 1830 by Mr. David Scott. Since then, the upland Khasi Hills have been completely planted with potatoes. This grassland seems to be very easily adapted to potato cultivation; it spread so rapidly and successfully, becoming basic economy of the people, that they hardly remember life without potatoes. Information is very scanty on what was the major cultivation before the potato. However, we may surmise that they must have practised jhum cultivation as do the present people in War and Bhoi. Nowadays, there are no jhum fields in the uplands as there are practically no forests with which to make jhum fields. There must have been a long period of jhum cultivation, which resulted in recent ecological changes in the uplands through the exploitation of the jungle. This hypothesis might be supported by the existence of big timbers in old buildings in the Khasi Hills, as well as by the present economic techniques of the people.

137 The present potato cultivation is also a kind of shifting cultivation
244 like jhuming, with a rotation from three years to five years. The
241 uplands are covered with grassland, and sometimes with scanty pine trees which were also introduced by the British. For potato cultivation, the Khasi first cut branches from these pine trees, and the grassland is cultivated by the small Khasi hoe. They root out grasses with earth attached about three inches in depth and one foot square. These pieces are turned unto the cultivated surface, where fallen leaves, branches and wild grass have been spread, in such a way as to keep a space between the ground and the turned up clods of earth. The field in which the potatoes are to be planted is entirely covered in this way. The grass and leaves are set on fire in one corner of the field and this fire spreads through the middle spaces and burns all of the grass and branches, thus converting it into excellent manure. The potatoes are planted afterwards. Two crops of potatoes are raised generally in a year. The following year the field is shifted to another grass-growing area, leaving for a few years the last field to grow another crop of grass. This is a type of small-scale jhum cultiva-
178 tion. This example of the present economic method suggests that
244 the Khasi had been jhum cultivators before potatoes were introduced.
[241] It might be indicative of the last stage of jhum cultivation when the forests are completely exhausted. Before the potatoes, they must have grown yams, maize and millet more or less in the same manner; these items are still cultivated on a small scale along with potatoes; the yield must be very low as compared with that of the War areas, obtained through the exploitation of land. In the uplands, pan culti-

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

vation is impossible because of the cold climate. In the past, Khasi economy must have remained at a very primitive stage. 178 244

Potato cultivation has been much encouraged along with the development of Shillong and the opening of the motor road to Gauhati from Shillong after the Independence of India when Shillong became the seat of the Assam Government, as well as the capital of the Khasi-Jaintia Hills. Shillong has become an important trading centre, where big merchants collect the harvests of potatoes in exchange for rice, clothes and various other goods from the Assam valley. These changes have introduced the Khasis into an active commercial economy which again has brought about various changes in their social life. Recently coal excavations have started in the upland Khasi Hills, and many Khasi become miners. 178 433 369 [244] [633] [491] [439] [316]

Thus the history of the Khasi Hills during the last hundred years has changed a great deal the picture of the Hills. However, dark corners still remain in Bhoi, War and in the area bordering on the Garo Hills. These have been kept in a vacuum between the Hindu civilization of the bordering plain and the modernization of the uplands centred in Shillong. In these areas, the people are still practising primitive jhum cultivation. I have chosen two villages in War located in one of these area as subjects of my major field-work. 178 184

[P. 100 is blank]

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

exception. As I pointed out in the last chapter on the Garo, private ownership started with wet cultivation. In Kongton, there are no common (village) or clan land: every piece of land is owned by some household—more precisely it is owned by the woman, the head of a household, and managed by her brother or maternal uncle. The majority of households in Kongton possesses land. Some of the richer households lend the land while some of the poorer households lease it. The rate for leases is Rs. 90/– per year for an area where one maund (80 lbs.) of millet seeds can be sown. As there is no acreage system, the measurement is by quantity of seeds, and since shifting cultivation requires a change of field every year, the rent is fixed by the year. The pan-leaf gardens, also privately owned, are never leased. When labour is required, the owner engages villagers, paying them Rs. 3/- per day. 423 423 427

In Sohkynduh, there are some lands called "clan land." Throughout the history of the formation of Sohkynduh village, as reconstructed from my data, can be traced some evidence of the evolution of land ownership. The first inhabitants of Sohkynduh were said to be the people belonging to the Prarian clan (See Lists 6 and 7). It seems that when the Prarian came to this site, the land already belonged to the Dkhar clan of Rymmai village, five miles north of Sohkynduh. The present distribution of land ownership confirms this story. The jhum field belonging to Sohkynduh is divided into four sections according to the locality: 178 423 614

1. Lum Sohkynduh 2. Sohliang
3. Mawkhalai 4. Lumpalong

One part of Lum Sohkynduh belongs to the Prarian clan. The rest of Lum Sokynduh, Sohliang and Mawkhalai belong to the Dkhar clan of Rymmai village, the management of which is in the hands of Phrensing who came from Rymmai and married a woman of Sokynduh. Lumpalong is owned by Sor (Kynshah clan, 32 of List 6) privately. The Prarian and Dkhar lands are used by their descendants respectively. The people of other clans have to pay a rent of Rs. 80/– to use these clan lands. For the land which belongs to Sor, even the people of the same clan (Kynshah) have to pay rent since this land is privately owned. Thus the land of Sohkynduh belongs partly to particular clans and partly to a private owner. [427]

Gurdon explains the existence of the clan land in the Khasi Hills as follows:

"The clan lands originally, when population was sparse, were owned by families, but as the members of the family increased and a clan was formed, the lands became the property of the clan instead of the family. Such clan lands are properly demarcated by stone boundary marks. The manager of the clan

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

178 lands is the *kni* (maternal uncle of the youngest daughter of the main family,
423 or branch of the clan), whose house '*ka iing khadduh*,' or last house, is the place
614 for performing all the religious ceremonies of the clan, and is also called *ka iig seng*. All the members of the clan are, however, entitled to share in the produce of any of the clan lands they may cultivate. No clan lands can be alienated without the consent of a durbar of the whole clan" (Gurdon, 1914, p. 88).

178 Theoretically we can assume that the land was owned by the family
423 (precisely, *iing*, the matrilineal descent group at the lowest segmenta-
428 tion, the structure of which will be discussed later) who first claimed
614 the right to the land, and was managed by the maternal uncle of the youngest daughter, the heiress entitled to the property. In course of time, with the increase of the descent members and with fissions of the descent group, this land was inherited through the youngest daughter's line, but other members who had become segments of the main descent group had a right to use the land, so long as they remained in the same area. Newcomers who belonged to another clan were not granted the same right and had to pay rent. According to the information I was able to collect, even people of the same clan could not claim the right to use the land, unless they were the direct matrilineal descendants of the women who first owned the land. In this sense, the descent group solidarity at a lower level is much stronger than that of the Garo.

Therefore, newly possessed or purchased land is always owned by the individual family (*iing*, descent group). This Khasi conception of land ownership produces a picture of predominant private ownership of land, combined with high geographical mobility of the population (see p. 112). In such circumstances, it seems that even the land called "clan land" has been alienated or sold frequently, and has developed small holdings to suit the small segments of descent groups. In particular, when the entitled owner moved away to another area, the land was sold. For instance, in Sohkynduh, the maternal uncle of Sor (mentioned above) purchased the land indicated above about ten years ago from a family of Siem Lyngngoh who left for another village. This land was originally purchased by the Siem Lyngngoh from the Dkhar to whom the land belonged as part of the clan land.

Under this system, clan ownership of land can develop only (1) when the members of the descent group remain in the same community for a considerable period and (2) when there is sufficient land to acco-
178 modate all members. I think these are the main reasons why land-
423 holding at present among the Khasi is found to be in small descent
428 groups—in one household as in Kongton in most cases, and this I call private ownership. For the second reason, further explanation is

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

necessary. The chances of acquiring a piece of land nowadays are small, except for very successful men, and usually the size of the plot is only just enough to maintain one household. When this land is passed on to the next generation, the youngest daughter will hold the title to it. This fact tends to exclude married elder sisters from the right to use the land, since it is not sufficient for more than one household. Thus the ultimogeniture succession rule seems to have developed more sharply and to have encouraged limited inheritance in conjunction with the shortage of land. 178 423 428

This tendency creates unbalance in the economy of the households within a community. It is a usual picture in Khasi villages, for the bigger and well-built houses to be occupied by the youngest daughter's family, while the elder sisters reside in poor huts. Youngest daughters are usually landowners, while their elder sisters have often to become day-labourers after their marriage, unless their husbands are capable men, or their fathers wealthy enough to give them some share of their acquired property. On the whole, the variations at present between rich and poor are considerable in a Khasi community, in comparison with that of the Garo, where the economic condition of each household in a village is more or less similar. These differences are not only a matter of economic organization but arise from the nature of each social structure. 178 184 423 428 556 [171]

The economic and social patterns of Sohkynduh and Kongton are very similar, but their dialects are slightly different: my interpreter, who came from Cherrapunje, could work quite well at Sohkynduh, but at Kongton he found some difficulty, especially with the speech of the old men, and with their religious expressions. The head man of Kongton, who was quite accustomed to the Cherra dialect, acted as an interpreter for us. Such differences in dialect in the Khasi Hills are common phenomena; it is said that every valley has its own dialect. Differences are found not only in speaking, but also, to a certain extent, in culture and in social usages. 197 [124]

II. Village Endogamy

One of the outstanding features of Khasi social organization is the predominant tendency of endogamy on the level of the village, which contrasts with the structural orientation of the Garo village exogamy. This is closely connected with the distributions of clans and the nature of the descent groups. 582 621 [171]

The Khasi population consists of a number of *kur*, matrilineal clans, whose members consider themselves to be descended from a common ancestress. The members of the same *kur* have a common 614 [765] [769]

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

613 formed independent descent groups by individual households, for
614 which no traceable genealogical relation with any other descent groups
621 could be established, though some of them belonged to the same *kur*. In Sohkynduh, the total 48 households were divided into 16 *kur* (according to the house-owner), and in Kongton, the total 62 households were divided into 9 *kur*, while the number of actual descent groups amount to 31 in Sohkynduh and 41 in Kongton.

166 This fact, I presumed, indicated a considerable mobility of the
178 population of each village community. Hence, I tried my best to
613 reconstruct the historical alignments of these descent groups, both
614 from my genealogical data and with the help of the villagers' memory.
621 The result showed that the mobility of the population over the last fifty years had been surprisingly great and complex. In Sohkynduh, the Praian clan seems to be the oldest inhabitants of this village with 16 *kur* segments. Next came a family of the Ksing. The third wave was a family of Khonglam, and the fourth, Siem Lyngngoh which I mentioned previously (p. 104). The next were families of the Kynshah, many members of which had left for Nonprian village after a few years. The sixth wave was the Srieh family. All the above movements took place before the great earthquake of 1897 which shook Assam. After 1897 the movements became more intense and complicated, and involved many families of various *kur*. The villagers could not remember the order in which they came: there has been continual coming and going even up to now. At present, the Prarian, the Ksing, the Khonglam, the Kynshah and the Dkhar are the older among the 16 *kur*. However, such migrations concern usually a single family only, not a group of *kur*, and that is the typical pattern of Khasi migration. Hence, families which have the same *kur* name do not always indicate the same movements. The incentive for such migration seems to be to get land better appropriated to one's economic condition. Particularly, as I have already mentioned elsewhere (p. 105), the shortage of land seems to encourage families of elder sisters who have no share of property, to move to other areas and look for land.

Thus, many households which make up the present village are minor segments of different *kur*, or of the same *kur*, but they can hardly trace their genealogical relations to one another. A migration to a new village was not undertaken at random; it was mostly as a result of information received from neighbouring villages, or from
178 those where friends or relatives had already settled in. Several neigh-
613 bouring villages usually dispose of more than one common market
614 where they can exchange information and developed friendships over trading. The matrilineal kinship relation is no more important a
621 factor than any of the others mentioned above. Among the Khasi,

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

the matrilineal descent group has a distinguished function only when there is common residence and common property. 178

In Kongton, among 9 different *kur* (List 10), Pohnong and Khonsit accounted for the majority of the population, while the rest, seven *kur*, were more or less of equal size. On the whole the population seemed more stable than that of Sohkynduh. However, as in Sohkynduh, actual descent groups amounted to 41, many of which have the same *kur* name but could not always establish genealogical relationship with one another; nor was there any functional cohesion. I failed to reconstruct the history of the formation of these descent groups: the villagers had no memory of their past except very fragmentary information which was quite insufficient to account for their present composition. They only insisted this was a very old village in comparison with Sohkynduh and other neighbouring villages. 613 614 621 [182]

While I was struggling with the villagers' scant accounts of their past and fragmented kinship relations among the present households, I was struck by the poorness of the villagers' genealogical memory in comparison with that of the Garo. Suppose A, B and C, who belonged to the same property-holding descent group three generations back: A and B being sisters and C being B's daughter. If B, including her descendants, moved away from the village two generations back, the present generation of A's and C's descendants would easily lose contact and knowledge of their genealogical relationship. This fact, on the other hand, illustrates some important aspects of the Khasi social structure: the kinship relation—matrilineal descent link—is not a significant factor beyond the scale of the household (property-holding descent group), and locality is more important than matrilineal descent for the formation of the Khasi community. Through the predominant practice of endogamy on the level of the village, the small segments (found on a level of a household or a group of a few households) of various different *kur* clustered in a village are linked by affinal relations each other, by which altogether form a well knit social organization of a village community. The cohesion and solidarity of the Khasi village community is strengthened by the local endogamy not by the localized lineage organization. 182 613 621

In fact, in contrast with the rather loose kinship relations which link different households, the affinal relations link almost every households in the village, as shown in Fig. 10. The lines, ———, indicate marriage relations between living members of households, and the lines, - - - - -, indicate affinal relations established through dead members of present households or through spouses' kinship relations at Sohkynduh, as in November 1955. In this way, except for one household (24), members of a single household are all linked together through affinal or cognatic ties. In some cases, the affinal relations between 602 621

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

184
some clerical work. However, such instances are very rare in these 582
regions and few Christians are to be found among the people. So far
as my genealogical table accounts for, only two boys from Sohkynduh, 621
and one girl and one boy from Kongton, left for Shillong, and [171]
married there. In contrast to these exceptional cases in these villages, [178]
in the upland Khasi Hills, there are considerable changes in the
composition of a village with high geographical and social mobility
of population because of the spread of Christian education and urban
influence.

The people of the two villages say that marriages with outside 166
people were not formally practised, and were only a recent tendency. 178
However, the composition of the population of the two villages showed
extensive movements of population in the past (not to urban areas, 582
but from village to village). Such movement is attributed mostly to 621
migration by a family rather than by an individual on marriage.
This type of migration is clearly found also in the process of the [184]
formation of Jatinga village (see Appendix, Jatinga).

The composition of the village community and the social character- 582
istics of Sohkynduh and Kongton show very similar features of village
endogamy. They seem to be typical of the traditional pattern of 621
Khasi villages. Village endogamy is the intrinsic pattern among the 184
Khasis. This fact can be also observed to a considerable degree in
Shella and Jatinga.

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15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

of marriages between these two *kur*. Such marriage arrangements cannot be regarded as constituting a cross-cousin institution. From my data of four villages it was not possible to produce any institutionalized pattern. 582 614

In general, the selection of a marital partner depends mainly on personal choice, though the authority of the *iing* (descent group) and parents should be consulted. The man proposes to the girl. The network of marriage relations among the Khasi seems in no way to follow any set principle. Every marriage is likely to be fortuitous: it is ruled simply by temporary personal liking, except for the strict rule of exogamy and the avoidance of near kin.

Exogamy is strictly kept. In the olden days breaking this rule was equivalent to being sentenced to death. Offenders had their heads shaved in a particular way and had to leave the Khasi community completely. Even now such a marriage is considered as the worst kind of sin; a Khasi Christian intellectual said to me that it was worse than homicide. I came across one couple who had broken this rule. Though they had different *kur* names, both *kur* were segments of one common *kur*. It happened in Jatinga, one of the most modern Khasi communities whose inhabitants were all Christians. The couple were not allowed to have their house inside the village. Their house was in the jungle about one mile away from the village. 178 582 614 684

Successive sororate marriage—marriage to a younger sister of the late wife—is practised, since it justifies the widower in remaining in the same household as his children after his wife's death. Otherwise, the Khasi rule demands that he should leave the house and his children in order to remarry another woman. We shall deal with this aspect again in terms of marriage. 587

II. Principle of Descent and Succession

Previously I have mentioned the *kpoh*, the matrilineal kin group with a common great grandmother. This is not, however, an institutional corporate descent group. The most important functional descent unit is called *iing*. The *iing* is the lowest order of clan segmentation, smaller than the *kpoh*—a *kpoh* may include two or more *iing*. The generation depth of an *iing* is usually two to four, in some cases an *iing* is formed only by mother and child. The Khasi consider this unit to be the most important social index for the classification of individuals. Marriages are arranged by individual *iing*, not by wider groups of kinsmen. The *iing* is the structurally significant norm. The term *iing* is also used for a house building itself, as is the *ook* of the Garo. However, the membership of the *iing*, as I shall 613

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR? Khasi AR?

592 The Khasi domestic unit (co-residential group) can be divided into four categories:

1. Households consisting of wife, husband and their children, wife's unmarried sisters and brothers—sometimes including widowed or divorced.
2. Households including all members of an *iing* (including their spouses from [613] members of 1). In this type, larger households contain all the descendants of three or more generations from one woman (in this case, an *iing* corresponds to a *kpoh*).
3. Households of intermediate type between 1 and 2. Husbands are supposed [591] to live in their wife's house, but they often go back to their sister's house for meals, and sometimes sleep there. They are supposed to work in their wife's field but they might work in their mother's (sister's) field, if necessary. This tendency is especially strong among newly married couples before they have a child.
4. Households consisting of only one elementary family. This rarely happens when a man married a non-Khasi.

Most Khasi households are of types 1, 3 and 4 and these three types are usually found within one village. They were found in the four villages in which I worked. It is to these dwelling units that I have given the name of house in Lists 6 and 9. Category 2, according to • [178] the information of Khasis and Jaintias, was used to be found among the Jaintias, though nowadays such cases are rapidly decreasing, changing into forms 1, 3 and 4. The members of category 2 belong to an *iing*, which structurally corresponds to the *tarwad* of the Nayar and the *pawi* of the Minangkabau.

178 Category 2 may have been practised among certain of the Khasis
184 a long time ago. Kongton people said that as recently as their father's
591 generation, there were many husbands who stayed at the mother's house after their marriage and visited the wife at night. Nowadays visiting husbands are very unusual cases in the Khasi Hills, though such situations may occur among newly married couples before they have children. Gordon, who wrote his book *The Khasis* in 1914, states:

> "Amongst the Khasis, after one or two children are born, and if a married couple get on well together, the husband frequently removes his wife and family to a house she and her husband post their savings, which are expended for the support of the family" (p. 76).

In the Khasi Hills, the transition period between duolocal residence and neolocal or uxorilocal residence seems to have been shortened during the last forty or fifty years. This might have been effected through the influence of Christian marriages, which start cohabitation of the wife and the husband immediately after the marriage ceremony. However, in Jaitinga where inhabitants originated in the Jaintia Hills where duolocal marriage is the usual practice, there are even now many instances of a man staying at his mother's house for several

years after his marriage. During this period he works in his wife's field, then, if the couple gets on well, they start to live together in an independent house (non-heiress's case) or in the wife's house (heiress's case). In spite of the fact that the inhabitants are all Christians, they have retained this custom.

It is difficult to determine at what date the Khasi people have changed from duolocal marriage to uxorilocal marriage. However, the present dwelling unit, with its fluid relationship between husband and wife (in fact, there are many cases of category 3), suggests a situation linked with the duolocal residence pattern. The fragmentary historical information available and the present Khasi residence pattern suggest that the duolocal arrangement may be an older pattern of marriage. When I was in Kongton there was no husband who stayed at his mother's house permanently, visiting his wife at night. The head man told me that, when he married, there were many who did not stay in the wife's house. He was the first person to settle in the wife's house. In his case, he said, he felt sympathy for his wife who had no brother who could work for her. After he had settled in his wife's house, many villagers began to follow his example.[1] When the pattern of a visiting marriage was in vogue, a village must have constituted a more compact endogamous unit. If the husband's house was in another village, a visiting marriage must have been a great inconvenience. The tendency to settle in the wife's house and work for the wife's house must have brought about a wider range of marriage contracts, such as with members of nearby villages, even though in the present form of marriage, village endogamy is much preferred as it is decidedly advantageous particularly for a husband, since he can continue his life in the same familiar environment in spite of uxorilocal marriage.

The variations in the pattern of co-residential grouping, which I have classified into four categories, reflect two different themes in the social structure of the Khasi. On the one hand they represent different stages in the maturity of the individual families concerned. For example, a householder who starts in category 3 or 4 may end up an old man in category 1. On the other hand these variations also reflect the polar opposition between the obligations of matrilineal kinship and the obligations of parenthood; a man, in particular, has conflicting obligations towards the ring of his sister and the ring of

1. However, all the information which I collected in the upland Khasi villages indicates that the uxorilocal residence pattern has been practised for a long time. According to stories often told by the Kongton people, they migrated from the Jaintia Hills. If these accounts are to be taken as a reflection of the real history of their migration, it would seem that the Kongton people may have kept up the Jaintia custom including the duolocal residence pattern up to recent times, while the majority of the Khasi practised uxorilocal marriage.

15: Nakano E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

Thus, the marriage of a non-heiress and a man of authority also produces an unstable position for the husband in spite of his having an independent household. Therefore, the possibility of a really stable marriage is even more limited; it will occur only in the match of a non-heiress and a non-authority of the *sing*. But even these marriages cannot be free from the influence of a matrilineal social structure: the man of authority of the wife's *sing* may visit these couples now and then, curb the husband's power and remind both partners of the orientation towards the matri-kin, the *sing*, though this pressure is insignificant in comparison with that experienced by the heiress's family. Likewise, a husband now and then visits his youngest sister's house, the *sing* one. These constant matrilineal contacts offer husbands chances of escaping from even the slightest matrimonial tension. Whenever a Khasi man feels uneasiness, he will return to his sister's house rather than face a difficult situation with his wife. This tendency is maximized especially on the occasion of religious ceremonies, when all individuals are grouped around each *sing*.

It is apparent that the rules of the *sing* as the underlying structural pattern, function throughout the various categories of domestic unit of the Khasi community as the most important intrinsic force.

VII. Polygyny

After this long attempt at the structural analysis of marriages, I think one can theoretically predict what is the situation of polygyny among the Khasi. The theoretical framework elaborated through preceding discussions can also be tested by the empirical data in terms of polygyny.

Nowadays, the Khasi feel so strongly against polygyny that they have no knowledge even that they ever practised it. Many Khasi, in more sophisticated areas, did not believe my findings on polygyny in Sohkhymsiah and Kongkan. I think this is due to the rapid Christianization of the Hills during the last hundred years. My interpreter, though he was not Christian, said to me in the village, "it is most regrettable to bring you to a village where we find polygyny." However, one of the ministers of the Chaura State to which the two villages belong, told me that there was no particular opposition to polygyny, though recent Christian influence gave people the idea that it was a shameful custom, and he mentioned the case of a polygynist in his own, a man who had recently died, who had had ten wives. In Jaitinga whose inhabitants are all Christian, and in Sielia where there has been much contact with, and influence by, Hindus, there were

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

118 no polygynists, though there were many personal temporary illicit
184 relations or love affairs.

It is true that even in interior villages polygyny is rapidly decreas-
595 ing. In the two villages I found only two cases of polygyny: a man with two wives in Sohkyndah (Josio in List 6, whose wives are 26 and 32), and a man with three wives in Kongton (Jubongrai in List 9, whose wives are 8, 20 and 52). These cases appeared clearly as cases of polygyny which the villagers recognized as such, speaking of them quite differently from the way they would have spoken of lovers, calling them wives and husbands. Of course, the first wife socially outranks the secondary wives, as *ka tynga iwai*, and the term *ka tynga tuk* is used for the latter, as Gordon states (1914, p. 80). The difference being that the first wife has a legal marriage ceremony while the others have not—*ka tynga tuk* means literally 'stolen wife.' About
585 the marriage ceremony, Gordon gives a detailed discription (*ibid.*,
595 pp. 127-130) and says there are three forms of marriage ceremonies, *Pynkiarynjat*, *Lamdok* and *Iadik-kiad*. The first and second forms are considered the more respectable; the last one is resorted to by the very poor who cannot afford the greater expense entailed by the first two. Unfortunately, during my stay in these villages, no marriage ceremony took place, but villagers described to me what seems to be the *Iadik-kiad*, where only a fowl is sacrified, and the whole procedure is much simpler than that described by Gordon. However, whatever the complexity and richness may be, there is a distinct line between having a ceremony and not having it, and this draws the distinction between the status of the first wife and that of the secondary wives.

428 Nevertheless, this distinction has more of a social bearing than the
595 legal bearing it has in a patrilineal system. Since they follow the
851 matrilineal system, the legal distinction between the first wife and the secondary wife does not affect their children's status and their property rights, at least not in the villages where I worked. The children's social horse is determined by their mother. The children (particularly the youngest daughter) have the right to inherit their father's acquired property which is automatically under their mother's ownership. If the polygynist father has acquired property by working their mother's field, or in trading on behalf of their mother, whether she be the first wife or the second, this property undoubtedly belongs to the children of that wife, not to the first wife alone. The father's physical horse at the time of his economic realisations is the decisive factor.

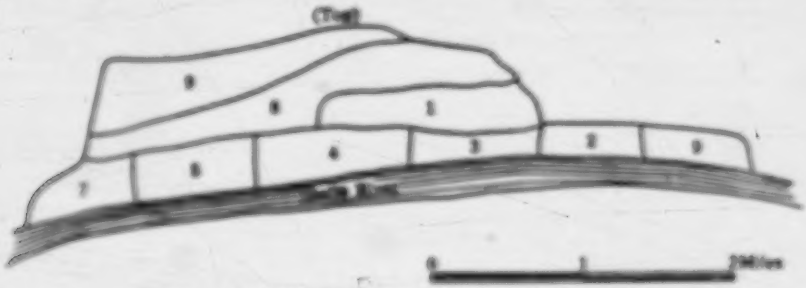
591 The Khasi polygynist, without bringing his wives into one house-
595 hold, alternates his residence among them, in turn or according to his temper. This practice is similar to that of the Trobriaw described by Goodenough (1956, p. 103), and quite different from that of the Garo

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

[Shella]

621 (7) Mawronghong, (8) Rymsong-kanor, and (9) Sholap, as shown in Map 9.
103 In Shella village the number of households in each section ranges between 10 and 80. Such a section is called *kaw*, and was supposed to be the site of house-
614 holds of segments of every *kur* (clan). It seems that Shella village was once
621 composed of nine different *kur* which could intermarry with each other. However, nowadays, each section, as appeared in my census, has nothing to do with the
• 178 *kur* as such; it is simply a geographical section. According to the information which I gathered, there had been a tendency for the same *kur* people to gather
731 within the section, before the great earthquake in 1897 brought considerable

[102]



MAP 9. — *Distribution of Sections in Shella Village.*

damage and death to this area: many of them left the village at the time and many houses changed their sites in the village when they were reconstructed. For instance, the composition of Jaair section in January 1956 was as follows:

614
621

Name of kur	Number of houses	Name of kur	Number of houses
1. Yuchyne	7	9. Lyngkhi	1
2. Jaiaai	4	10. Riang	1
3. Lawit	4	11. Nongthiang	1
4. Synnon	3	12. Lohi	1
5. Kmiong	3	13. Kanto	1
6. Nongkai	3	14. Kanti	1
7. Sawr	2	15. Khelwa ?	1
8. Jaiaai	2	16. ?	3
		Total	40

178 The people said that in Jaair, the Yuchyne was the most influential *kur*,
621 and must have been the original *kur* in this section. However, no clan solidarity could be observed. These seven households were socially and economically
614 quite independent of each other, as are all other households. As a whole, the importance of *kur* diminished a great deal in this village. Five households in Jaair were reluctant to mention their *kur*; some of them did not care about their *kur*; others were not themselves certain to which *kur* they belonged. The *kur* is losing its function to a great extent. This can be ascribed to the high degree of sophistication and mobility. However, except for one Siem woman who came from the uplands and married a man of this village, all 15 *kur* mentioned above are local clans frequently found within the Shella Confederacy. In
621 this area also community endogamy was predominant. Perhaps the Shella

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

Shella
Confederacy forms a more marked endogamous community, through being cut off geographically and economically from the rest of the Khasi, and socially from the neighbouring Hindu people. 621

The Economy and the People.

Shella lies along the upper part of the Shella River and stretches upwards along the steep slope, looking down towards the Bengal plain. The climate of this part of the hills is considered to be one of the worst in tropical India for human habitation. The Bengal plain, though warmer than this area, is considered more healthy. This border land is the zone of malaria, typhoid, black fever, cholera, etc. None of the Bengalee peasants dare to live in such an area. However, it is the most fertile for products such as betel-nuts, pan-leaves, oranges, bananas and pineapples, and it also produces limestone. These people seem to prefer to settle in this zone and to enjoy its prosperity, at the expense of human lives: every year, especially between March and September, the inhabitants suffer from various fevers and dysentry and other diseases, many of the weaker facing death. 131 132 164 433 164 648

Before the Partition of India and Pakistan, the products of Shella were carried down the Shella River to Sylhet, one of the biggest centres in East Bengal, which brought unimaginable wealth to the Shella people. Their houses were built by carpenters from Sylhet. The style and structure of these houses were exceptionally elaborate for the Khasi. They purchased vast rice fields in the plain, which used to be cultivated by Bengalee and Garo labourers engaged by them. These Khasi do not themselves know how to cultivate rice fields; they have always been managers or landowners. Their boys used to be sent to high schools and colleges in Sylhet. As a result of their trading with the Bengalee, many of them read and speak fluent Bengalee. There is no difference between their style of clothing and that of the Bengalee, though the women maintain their traditional dress in the Shella style. 177 178 434 [434] [342] [166] [464] [97] [191] [291]

They have thus been distinguished from the rest of the Khasi not only geographically, but also economically and culturally. Their personality also differs sharply from the rest of the Khasi. They are very sociable, and quick, a quality lacking among the Khasi of Sohkyndah and Kongkon. They are clever enough to deal with strangers. The upland Khasi say Shella people are very cunning. This remark shows one side of these people. They had to be cunning, since they traded with the Sylhet Bengalee who were said to be the most cunning of their race. Their role in the trade and in the history of the modernization of the Hills was considerable. For centuries they represented intellectual Khasi owing to their contact with Hindu civilization, while the Hills remained in darkness. They assumed an important role when the British established an administration in the Hills, and even up to now, many leading Khasi originated from this area: for instance, Lalli Hat, the first interpreter of the British Headquarters at Cherrapunjee; Jaobon Roy, who was the first Magistrate among the Khasi; Mohum Sing, a lawyer and Member of the Legislative Assembly (the grandson of Jaobon Roy); Nicholas Roy, Minister of Health and Prisons of the Assam Government, Member of the Legislative Assembly, and Missionary of the Church of God; R. R. Thomas (brother of Nicholas Roy), Principal of the Gauhati University, etc. 157 184 648 177 176 [439]

Through constant cultural contact with Hindu, and encouraged by their economic prosperity, the Shella Khasi, like the Jaintias, have been much influenced by Hindu culture. However, this does not mean that the people of Shella adopted the Hindu beliefs. Though there is a small Hindu shrine, and some ceremonial elements were borrowed from the Hindu, most of the 177 648 771 795

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

621 descent grouping are often different. This is a very similar pattern to the
[184] mobility which I discussed in Sohkynduh and Kongton (see p. 112).

One of the outstanding features in this community is the strong paternal
• 178 authority, established especially in the first generation, because the father's (husband's) contribution was very important in such circumstances: their
593 domestic units were completely independent from the *iing* either of husband or wife. Some of them came with their wives, and many younger ones and
61 their sons brought their wives from their homeland afterwards, thus practising
621 virilocal marriage.

They have an interesting social usage which reflects the importance of the husband of the first generation. This is the addition of the name of the husband of the first generation to the matrilineal clan name in order to differentiate each particular descent group established at Jatinga within the same clan. For instance, Rupsi-Tah, Rupsi-Loh, Rupsi-Khla and Rupsi-Lati are found in the Rupsi clan. Rupsi-Tah is one of the lines of the first immigrants to Jatinga, which I have mentioned as Rupsi: Tah was taken from Pryntah, the husband of Sinta (Rupsi) (see p. 171). Thus the present inhabitants of Jatinga are very conscious of their father or grandfather, though they strictly follow the matrilineal descent rule. From such a usage of naming a clan, the Indian officer, who gave me some information about Jatinga before I went there, made the mistaken deduction that they had changed from matrilineal to patrilineal, assuming this to have come about as a result of the influence of patrilineal tribes around Jatinga. But this is simply due to the fact, firstly, that they hold in high regard the man of the first generation, because of his great contribution; secondly, that they distinguish themselves from members of the same clan according to the descent group established at each immigration; in other words, it indicates each *iing* grouping in the village.

178 The fundamental Khasi social organization based on the matrilineal system
184 did not change at all. I could observe in Jatinga exactly the same principle in action as I had found in Sohkynduh and Kongton. The village endogamy
582 has also been well established in the present generation: there are about 20 different clans which can intermarry, and taking a spouse from an outside com-
61 munity has become very rare nowadays. Marriage patterns in relation to the
621 *iing* structure and all its related aspects are surprisingly similar to that of the communities in the Khasi Hills. The solidarity of the *iing* is even greater in Jatinga, particularly among the rich, because of the greater accumulation of wealth and greater economic activity, which also increases the authority of the *iing* as manager of considerable property—this was also the case with the Shella people. Jatinga demonstrates that in spite of colonization and of a significant change in economic activities, Khasi social organization has maintained itself intact. This situation is in contrast with the considerable social changes observed among the Garo community in colonial areas like Rimibara and Jodhipara.

621 *Intermarriage.*

178 From the earliest period of the establishment of Jatinga up to the present,
582 some changing aspects of marriage patterns relating to intermarriages are to be observed.

563 As I stated before, in the earlier period, the people used to bring their spouses from their homeland, but they also married neighbouring tribal peoples, namely,
563 the *Zemi*-Naga, the Kuki and the Cachareo of villages close to Jatinga, and
621 also the Lushai, the Bengalee, the Moslem and the Anglo-Indian who lived in Haflong, the biggest political and commercial centre in the Hills, situated

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

[Jatinga]

three miles away from Jatinga. As one may expect in such a situation, quite a number of intermarriages with these peoples appear in my census of Jatinga. The resultant of these intermarriages was that when the couple and their children lived in Jatinga, they were considered to have become Khasi; otherwise they were held to be non-Khasi, whether the spouse was man or woman. This orientation of social recognition of the result of intermarriage was generally seen among Khasi in such situations, not only in the case of Jatinga. 563 621

The following are extracts of intermarriages from my genealogical table of Jatinga people. 563 591 621

A. Cases of intermarriages in which the descendants became Khasi.

1. A woman of the Dome clan married a Kuki man. All members of the present Dome clan at Jatinga are their descendants.
2. A woman of the Rymbai clan married a Kuki man as her second marriage. Their descendants are Rymbai.
3. A man of the Suchiang clan married a Mikir woman, and lived in Jatinga. They had one daughter who married a man of the Hua clan of Jatinga. They named this woman's line 'Shadap' as one of the Khasi clans. Later this Mikir woman's sister's daughter married a man of Rupsi-Lati, and their descendants were also named 'Shadap' by the villagers. Thus Shadap clan was created by a Mikir woman who married a Khasi man of Jatinga.
4. A Khasi man married a Lushai woman and lived at Aijal, the headquarters of the Lushai Hills. They said he became Lushai. Later a man of the Pajat clan of Jatinga married his daughter from Aijal. This couple lives at Jatinga and has several children. The villagers said they have to give them a new clan name. It is under consideration.

B. Cases of intermarriages leading to the emigration of Jatinga inhabitants.

5. A man of Jatinga married a woman of Zemi-Naga as his second marriage and lives at his wife's village.
6. A woman (the daughter of the woman of Rymbai, who married a Kuki: A-2) married a Moslem man and lives at Haflong.
7. A woman of Rymbai married a Panjabee and lives at Shillong. This woman is (B-6)'s mother's sister's daughter.
8. A woman of Siangbai clan married an Assamese and lives at Gauhati.
9. A woman of Rupsi-Tah married an Anglo-Indian and has gone to the United Provinces.
10. A woman of Jatinga married a man of Zemi-Naga and went to his village.
11. A woman of Jatinga married a man of Cacharee and lived at his village some time, but she came back to Jatinga after divorcing him.

A cases belong to the earlier period when Jatinga had a shortage of population, while *B* cases, except 10 and 11, are found among the present younger generation. The population, which had increased rapidly in the last twenty years with economic prosperity, is suffering from the recent economic depression caused by the Partition as well as from the great damages done to their orange gardens and pan-leaf gardens by tree diseases. Moreover they have an unbalanced rate of birth according to sex: females are more numerous than males. Therefore, many daughters marry out as shown in the cases of *B*. The above-cited cases are only concerned with intermarriages with non-Khasi, but there are still other women who married Khasi men and who reside outside Jatinga, as for example, at Haflong and Shillong. [161]

In the village there are still many unmarried girls without suitable spouses. In the olden days, it was less difficult to marry neighbouring tribal peoples. 178 563 621

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

178 like the Zemi-Naga, the Cacharee and the Kuki. But after the period of
563 economic prosperity as I shall describe in the next section, the Jatinga people
621 reached a rather high level of education, while most of the neighbouring tribes
[871] remained illiterate. Their standard of living likewise improved. Fashionable girls of Jatinga who have studied at the Convent school in Shillong, and speak English and Hindi, cannot marry half-naked tribesmen who work in the jungle. They prefer to intermarry with Moslem, Panjabee or Assamese who belong to amore sophisticated community, and through whom they can enjoy urban life. Thus the orientation of the intermarriage of the people of Jatinga has changed, along with the growth of Jatinga.

It should be noted that intermarriages came mostly through the contacts at Haflong, where people used to go once a week for the bazaar, rather than through direct contacts with neighbouring villages.

Economy of Jatinga and its Relation to Neighbouring Tribes.

178 It is very interesting to find two different kinds of economy in the same
171 ecological background: Jatinga Khasi practise pan-leaf and orange cultivation
245 and depend mainly on a trading economy, while the other neighbouring tribal peoples practise jhum cultivation, almost a subsistence economy. This situation has remained unchanged for the last fifty years since the establishment of Jatinga village.

The first Jatinga immigrants occupied one ridge of the mountain where the
101 present Jatinga is situated. Formerly, this land belonged to the Zemi-Naga,
245 one of the old inhabitants of the Cachar Hills, who possessed a vast jungle area for jhum cultivation. It seems that there was no objection to the Khasi occupying this small spot: it was apparently too small an area for the jhum cultivator —pan-leaf cultivation of the Khasi requires less than one twentieth of the land of the usual jhum cultivation. The Khasi who started pan-leaf cultivation were able to accumulate some capital, and after several years they started orange gardens. They had had experience of orange cultivation in their homeland, but this was the first time they had operated commercially.

245 The success of this orange cultivation was beyond their dreams. Hearing
434 of good oranges at Jatinga, many Bengalee merchants from Dacca, Sylhet,
439 Silchar and Gauhati began to come to buy them. Moreover, the village had
[496] the great advantage of being situated near the railway station. Oranges were sold by carloads. Unimaginable wealth came to the Jatinga people. Especially the founder's family, including his brother's and sister's, became extraordinarily wealthy; their income used to be Rs. 20,000 a year. The children
[871] were sent to the school which was established in the village and some were educated at colleges in Dacca, Sylhet and Shillong. The villagers had
[362] beautiful houses built by Manipuri and Bengalee carpenters. Actually the houses of Jatinga were known as some of the best construction in Assam.

Like the Shella people, they were managers of gardens and employed workers.
245 Wealthy households used to engage several labourers annually, most of them
46 from Jaintia where the Jatinga people had originated. These workers were provided with shelter in the servant quarters of their employer's house, but they had to provide meals for themselves. They were paid daily according to the work done. They were available to other households, when their employer had no work. Some labourers were also engaged locally among the Zemi-Naga, the Cacharee and the Kuki, though not as many as among the Jaintia.
245 These local tribes were fairly well occupied by their jhum cultivation, and not
464 used to being employed as workers. Therefore, most of them were not regular

pendable water supply. Villages are about two to five miles apart, and have no boundary markers. In the past, villages contained semipublic buildings and grounds: the home of the village priest (also the home of a chief if he resided in that village), the village marketplace, and tree groves, cremation grounds, or other awesome spots that were believed to be inhabited by supernatural beings. Villages today may have also one or more Christian churches, government social welfare buildings, and schools. Formerly, villages were entered through a guarded gateway; this is no longer the case, and paths feed into villages from all directions. Often several villages are nucleated into one large unit, named and also described as a "village." These were once defense units, but were so uncohesive otherwise that institutionalized rivalry obtained among the component villages. Now, they have been integrated through the agency of all-village public services, especially schools. **Housing.** The traditional Khasi house is entered through a door at the rounded end of a U-shaped ground plan, and is about 20 feet at widest extent; it is about 30 feet deep, and is elliptical or hogback in profile. Its walls are of stone blocks cemented with mud. The roof of grass thatch, supported by a bamboo frame, overhangs the walls on their outside, down to about three feet above the ground. The house is divided into two parts: the front one-third is on the ground level, floored either with stone blocks or tamped earth, and is used for storage of occupational instruments and as a shelter for poultry. The rear two-thirds is raised four feet on piles of stone blocks to a platform of planks, and is partitioned into six rooms, comprising a kitchen, areas for storage of food and water, and sleeping quarters. Furniture is minimal, and the house is totally undecorated. There are no windows, and no smoke vents. A house generally has a companion shed, walled of wood and grass matting and thatched with grass. This serves as a pigsty, but it may be partitioned also to house cows, and it may have a loft for fuel storage. Compounds often contain garden plots, and are fenced around with stone or bamboo and mud. Nowadays, the traditional house has given way to Western-style bungalows of wood and tin, especially in and around Shillong. [Cf. Mukherjee et al. 1941.]

361 [344] [443] [778] [344] [178] [712] [628] [178] [182] 342 352 353 354 343 361 177 184 342

ECONOMY. The Khasi economy is a market economy based on agriculture, and most Khasis are primary producers, sellers, middlemen, and/or providers of services in connection with markets. Khasis are often multioccupational: they produce goods for partial subsistence, and also play some part in trade. **Agriculture.** On the Shillong plateau, the major field crops are potatoes, maize, millets, and dry rice, still produced mostly through swidden farming, with a two- to three-year period of fallow, but increasingly through continuous use of a single field with the aid of ma-

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16: McCormack E-4,5 (1956-1958) 1964
[P. 1084] AR7 Khasi AR7

nure and chemical fertilizers. Both level land and hillsides are cultivated by the same hand techniques: 3 × 6-foot patches are fashioned with walkways between, sods are overturned within the patches and allowed to dry, the sods are burned slowly and the ashes spread over the soil, and finally the seed is sown, either broadcast or sunk with the aid of the typical Khasi hoe. The coldest part of the upland enjoys a two-crop year, and Khasis often double crop as well. Paddy has long been found in the lowlands, in parts of Jaintia and Bhoi, the only places where the plow is found. Nowadays paddy is more and more seen in the uplands, together with a simple terracing and irrigation technology. Many upland Khasis have house gardens in which they raise a wide variety of vegetables, including pumpkins, cabbage, radishes, sweet potatoes, eggplant, and many others. Important crops in Bhoi country are paddy rice, lac, caoutchouc, cotton, bananas, and pineapples; in War, they are betel nut, pan leaf, oranges, and sugar cane. **Fishing and hunting.** Fishing is done by poisoning streams, but this is a subsistence activity only in the southern foothills. Hunting was formerly by bow and arrow or by traps, including spring guns and pitfalls, but was always primarily a sport. [Cf. Stegmiller 1925.] **Gathering.** Khasis once gathered about 150 species of wild plants, most of them for food, but some for medicine. Thrifty villagers still gather food plants, but there is no real dependence on gathering. Medicinal plants continue to be very important. **Domestic animals.** Fowl, goats, pigs, and cattle are bred both for meat and sacrifice. Milk was formerly not utilized, but is now so popular that specialists keep herds of milch cows. Pigs are used as village scavengers, but some also receive prepared food. Cattle and goats forage freely in the fields during the winter, but are herded by a communally hired herdsboy during the agricultural season. Most households keep chickens, primarily for their eggs, and a few keep ducks. A few horses are also seen. Dogs are portable, except for hunting dog. Cats are popular. **Food and stimulants.** The staple food of Khasis is boiled rice, together with the dried fish which is imported from Sylhet. Boiled beef, pork, and chicken are relished, but beyond the means of most. Meals are taken twice a day, in the morning and evening, although farmers also take a midday meal in the field, and others may take tea and cold sweet potatoes or rice bread. Certain foods are taboo to certain sibs. Stimulants are extremely common, especially betel nut, which is often accompanied by a bit of tobacco. Tobacco is also smoked as cigarettes and in hookah and other pipes. Every village has one or more household taverns, where distilled rice whisky is cooked and sold by the glass and by the bottle. Imported opium had spread widely in the malarious Bhoi country, but controls instituted in the 1940s have been fairly successful. All stimulants were once taken by men, women, and

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16: McCormack E-4,5 (1956-1958) 1964
[P. 108 B] AR7 Khasi AR7

children, but Christian influence has eradicated or driven underground the consumption by women and children. **Industrial arts.** The only industrial arts traditionally practiced in all households were a rudimentary carpentry and a simple utilitarian basketry. Other arts were few, and were practiced as village specialties: the washing and smelting of iron ore and the forging of hoes, daos, knives, swords, and cooking pots (upland Khasis); the spinning of cotton thread (Mynso village, Jaintia); the dyeing of cotton thread and the weaving of cloth (Jaintias, Bhois, Lyngngams, Wars); the spinning and weaving of Eri silk (Khyrwang and Nongtung villages, Bhoi and Jaintia); and the hand manufacture, without wheel, of painted earthenware pots (Larnai village, Jaintia). Ironworking and the production of cotton goods have nearly died out through the competition of machine-made goods. Carpentry has greatly improved. An innovation of major importance is the sewing and tailoring, on sewing machines, of ready-made garments for both sexes. [Cf. Darrah 1896; C., W. 1832.] **Trade.** Khasi villages normally contain a number of household shops operated by women. Every Khasi also lives within walking distance of several village markets that are held on successive days of the eight-day week. The limits of market intercourse for the members of any particular village can be roughly distinguished by their naming the days of their week, which are called after the active markets. The exception is the huge market at Shillong, much of which is active daily, and which serves as a magnet for Khasis from all over the hills. The traditional barter has given way to currency in all markets. The small ones contain at least some local farm produce, plus other essentials like betel nut, and the food and tea stalls which serve as centers of social intercourse. The big markets contain not only regional produce and manufactures but also products from distant parts of the hills, brought for sale by traveling middlemen. There is also substantial trade, from the hills to the valleys, in potatoes, pears, hides, lac, cotton, caoutchouc, the wood of the sal tree, Eri silk thread, limestone, coal, ivory, bay leaf, betel nut, pan leaves, bananas, sugar cane, oranges, til, turmeric, and chikas. From the plains to the hills, there is trade in dried fish, paddy rice, salt, cooking oil, kerosene, matches, tea, sugar, wheat flour, machine-made cloth, shawls, metal pots, crockery, porcelain objects, coral beads, silver, and gold. Markets are important not only as economic institutions but also as centers for recreation (including archery competitions), courtship, reaffirmation of kinship ties with distant relatives, and the dissemination of information of all kinds. [Cf. Stegmüller 1924a.] **Division of labor.** Men do the heavy work, such as clearing and burning the swidden fields, caring for cattle and goats and driving them to market, butchering and selling large cuts of beef and pork, carpentry and mining, and driving and laboring on motor vehicles. They also tailor men's

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clothing, operate the large Khasi business establishments in Shillong, and provide all civic and religious leadership. Women care for children and for the home, do the marketing, and sell dried fish, betel nut, lime, fruits, and rice breads at markets. Other tasks can be performed by either sex. **Land tenure.** Land was formerly divided into sib land and public domain. Sib land was corporately held in perpetuity, and was inalienable except by the unanimous consent of all members of the sib. The public domain was subject to usufructuary right by anyone who kept the land regularly under habitation or cultivation, with a lapse of no more than three years. Most villages grew up on public domain, and then reckoned all land inhabited or under cultivation by a village member as village land. Forests were public, except for sacred groves possessed by villages or lineage groups, and everyone was free to gather branches for fuel. Wastelands and streams were also public. By now, most public domain and village land, together with its forest cover, has been pre-empted as private property and is being rented and sold as such. Sib lands remain intact, unless the sibs agree to rent, lease, or sell. [Cf. Cantlie 1934.]

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KIN GROUPS. **Descent.** Descent is matrilineal, and the Khasi is a member exclusively of his own matrilineage from birth to death. Adoption, which is very rare, is only within the matrilineage. **Kin groups.** The maximal matrilineage is the sib; this is a named, widely dispersed, strictly exogamous, lineage group, which claims but cannot trace its origin from a single ancestress. Sibs used to meet as corporate groups from time to time. Some sibs are linked with others in large amorphous groups that are unnamed and are defined solely by exogamy. Such a group is composed of two or more sibs, the ancestresses of which are claimed to have been either real sisters or dear friends who out of affection declared that thenceforth their descendants would be as consanguineals. The origin and function of sib-linkage is now unknown, and today the members of a sib will often disagree on whether or not their sib is linked with another. • The minimal matrilineage is the local descent group, or *ing*. This is the largest kin group that normally rallies at life crises. It is said that the *ing* formerly spanned six generations; today, it encompasses only four. If an *ing* grows to more than four generations in a single village, it segments. New houses are located at some distance from the old and the *ing* soon forgets exactly how to trace genealogical connection, except for which segment descended from a youngest sister. The term *ing* may also be applied to an extended family, an elementary family, and a house. The elementary family is the basic domestic unit in Khasi society. In any village there are likely to be one or two households which stand as sole local representatives of the lineage of the female household head. Such a household is known as an

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ing from the time it consists of an elementary family 602
until it grows to a local descent group four generations deep. [Cf. Chattopadhyay 1941.] **Kin terminology.** The terms of address given below are also 601
terms of reference except where otherwise indicated, and are uniform for male and female speakers. They were collected in an upland Khasi village near Shillong (cf. Ehrenfels 1953 for some regional variants). [114]

Fa	*pa*
Mo	*mei*
FaElBr	*pasan*
FaYoBr	*pakhynnah*
FaSi	*kha*
Fa youngest Si	*khaduh*
MoElSi	*meisan*
MoYoSi	*meinah*
Mo youngest Si	*meiduh*
MoElBr	*mama, kni*
MoYoBr	*bah* (ref.: *kni*)
ElBr	*bah khynnah*
Eldest Br	*kong bah*
YoBr	*bah deng*
Youngest Br	*bah duh*
ElSi	*deng*
Eldest Si	*lud, kong*
YoSi	*lud nah, lud rit*
Youngest Si	*khatduh*
MoSiSo, MoSiDa	*para* (ref.: *para ar kmie*)
FaBrSo, FaBrDa	*para* (ref.: *parakha*)
MoBrSo, MoBrDa, FaSiSo, FaSiDa	*bakha*

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY. **Mode.** According to 584
the traditional courtship pattern, a group of young male relatives and friends made nightly visits to the house of some virgin girl in another village, appraising her through banter while she and her parents appraised them, and staying the night to avoid the dark walk home. Marriage was according to the wishes of the parents after negotiation by a go-between from the boy's side. Girls might be 15, and 582
boys 17, years of age. Girls have now acquired free- 564
dom of movement through attending school, how- 178
ever. Premarital sexual play is common, and young 836
people choose their own spouses when the girl is 584
about 19 and the boy 21. The most common mode 583
of marriage is elopement, for Christians and non- 585
Christians alike, but some Christians marry in church, 184
and some Khasis still marry according to the tradi- 583
tional ceremony or some variation on it. There are
no preferred or prescribed marriage types, nor is 581
there a bride price or dowry. **Form.** Monogamy is 835
the ideal for all. **Extension of incest taboos.** Sibs are
exogamous. Other prohibited marriage partners are
real and classificatory FaSi and FaBr, FaBrCh, FaMo, [114]
and FaMoMo. The MoBrWi is also prohibited. Boy

says that the MoBrCh but not the FaSiCh is prohibited (1897: 2), but Gurdon says that the MoBrCh is eligible after the death of MoBr, and that FaSiCh is eligible after the death of Fa (1907: 78). Nowadays both types of marriage occur, whether the linking relative is living or dead. **Residence.** Residence is either duolocal or matrilocal under the roof of the wife's mother until the birth of one or two children. For a man married to a youngest daughter, it then continues to be matrilocal. For men married to other daughters, it becomes uxorilocal; there have also always been cases of virilocal residence, and it is now common to find neolocal residence in Shillong. For non-Christian Jaintias, it is duolocal throughout the marriage. **Domestic unit.** The domestic unit is the elementary family, though for a youngest daughter it may temporarily include also her aged mother, aged father, unmarried siblings, or divorced or widowed brothers. **Inheritance.** Traditionally, after the Khasi mother had helped each of her daughters to build and supply a house when each one married and had children, her only real obligation to help them economically was ended. Everything she possessed, excepting certain personalty that was destroyed in her cremation, was inherited by her youngest daughter. Failing daughters, a woman's property reverted to her next youngest sister's daughter. Today, this pattern is often modified by putting more property into the hands of older daughters and even sons. [Cf. Cantlie 1934; Becker 1924.] **Divorce.** A woman may effect numerous and usually brief separations from her husband by simply closing the door of her house to him, whereupon he returns to the house of his mother or youngest sister. Divorce, however, must be initiated by mutual consent. Divorce is very common, even though women resist it because they do not wish to lose a provider, and men because they do not wish to lose their children. Formerly it was accomplished by a simple ritual in the presence of witnesses, followed by public announcement by a town crier. Now, the witnesses and the public announcement have been dispensed with, and evidence for divorce consists only in the word of the parties concerned.

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SOCIOPOLITICAL ORGANIZATION. **Political organization.** The basic unit of political organization is the village, which is composed of one or more dominant local descent groups plus several others. Village government is by an assembly of all resident adult males, under the informal chairmanship of a headman elected by them from among their number. The membership of any immigrant household into a village is defined by the participation of the household's males in this assembly. Sustained membership in a village is voluntary. Khasi chiefdoms probably arose out of voluntary associations of villages, which occasionally transferred allegiance from one chief to another.

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another. In other words, a state is not a fixed territorial entity. In the early twentieth century, the most populous of the 25 chiefdoms, Khyrim, contained 36,833 persons occupying 7,859 houses in 372 villages, and the least populous, Nongkwai, contained 246 persons occupying 53 houses in 3 villages. Fifteen of the chiefdoms were headed by a *syiem* (chief); three by a *lyngdoh* (priest), six by a *sirdar*, and one by a *wahadadar*. These leaders all had executive and judicial functions, but a chief's authority was limited in that he had to obtain the approval of his executive council before acting. The other leaders were subject to a similar limitation. A chief maintained a small police force. His major sources of revenue were market tolls, fines, and, more recently, income from licenses to distill rice whisky. Succession to a ruling role in the larger states traditionally involved election by members of a lineage that had a hereditary right to elect, from among members of a lineage that had the hereditary right to rule. In British times, the elective basis was broadened, differentially in the various states, even to the point of popular elections. [Cf. Aitchison 1931; Lyngdoh 1962.] Social stratification. The three classes of lineage are the nobles, the commoners, and the slaves or servants. This stratification applies only to the recruitment to office in the native-state system, for there is no hypergamy, and in a village assembly everyone has equal voice. The noble lineages have the hereditary right to fill from among their male members roles such as village or state priest, councilor to a chief, or elector of a chief. The few lineages which today are remembered as slave or servant lineages had the inherited obligation to render special services to a chief's household. There is no Khasi term for "commoner." Every lineage other than a noble or a slave lineage is a commoner lineage, and the commoner lineages are in the majority. Warfare. Warfare was suppressed by the British, and little is known for certain about its traditional forms. The tactics which confronted the British were the ambush and the guerrilla raid. Traditional goals included taking heads from other Khasis and capturing women from the valleys.

RELIGION. Major and indigenous religions. A Welsh Calvinistic Methodist missionary penetrated into Cherrapunji in 1832, and the work that he began continues to this day. His society, which has since become the Welsh Presbyterian Foreign Mission, introduced writing, village primary schools, a high school, a theological seminary, and a hospital. Competing missionaries followed, and by 1914 some Shillong Khasis were puzzling over the tenets not only of traditional Hinduism and Islam but also of the Buddhists, Brahmo Samaj, Arya Samaj, and Unitarians (Roy 1914). By the 1920s, missionaries of the Church of God and the Seventh Day Adventists were

household deities, and measles and smallpox deities. 776
Deities of the first two categories are simply aspects 771
of the high God or Goddess. • The earth is peopled with two great orders of land demons and water demons who cause all undesirable, unnatural, and otherwise inexplicable events, acting either on their own or as instruments in the hands of sorcerers. Apart from omens, both in nature and in dreams, 787
Khasis attach supernatural significance also to mystic 822
numbers, and to the colors white, black, and red. They hold especially important folk beliefs regarding 824
betel nut, paddy rice, gold and silver, and clothing.

Practitioners. The two classes of religious practitioners are the village or state priests and the sacrificers. 791
Both are male. They use the same divinatory tech- 793
niques of reading broken eggshells and the entrails 764
of cocks, and they both sacrifice cocks, hens, goats, pigs, and cattle. Their skills are not taught to them so much as picked up by observation and confirmed by demonstrations of efficacy. A priest is elected from among the men of his sib to direct his skills to the public good until he dies, and his rewards are institutionalized and come from the village or the state. A sacrificer acts for private persons or his groups, on call, and is rewarded by them personally with gifts in cash or in kind. The sacrificer is called upon to explain and then to ritually remedy every variety of misfortune, especially illness, though his powers are nowadays regarded with ambivalence, and he is widely expected to become a sorcerer sooner or later. • There are two major types of sor- 754
cerer. One is the ritual specialist or sacrificer who secretly turns his skills from good to evil, manipulating demons to injure a person or his group, and acting always for himself alone out of considerations of jealousy or revenge. The other is normally a leading citizen, a woman who is so wealthy and successful that it is believed that she must keep a thlaw, i.e. a creature which will bring her prosperity so long as she feeds it periodically with human blood. To provide this blood, the men of her household, or other males whom she bewitches with a special whisky, will indiscriminately murder anyone except a mem- [184]
ber of her matrilineage. The Jaintias have an analogue to the thlaw in their tiwi, except that the ultimate result is death from illness rather than murder. Minor witchcraft can be perpetrated by poisons keepers or persons with an evil eye, who are often women. Ceremonies. The important traditional 845
ceremonies were the life-crisis rituals relating to 846
pregnancy and childbirth, the naming of a child, and 847
death. Lesser ceremonies related to marriage and 848
divorce, and to housebuilding. All these rituals were 849
addressed primarily to the ancestors, and they are 850
still performed in modified form by many Khasis. 851
Other rituals, which were performed by groups such 852
as villages, sibs, local descent groups, or households, 1780 •
were addressed to the unnamed aspects of the high 782

16: McCormack E-4,5 (1956-1958) 1964
[P. 112 A] AR7 Khasi AR7

God or Goddess, deities regarded as helpful in bringing prosperity, producing fertility, and so on. Rituals of this kind are no longer practiced, except for the Bedinghkhum ceremony designed to protect the Jaintia village of Jowai. Finally, the state religion of many chiefdoms was expressed in one great ceremony per year which was intended to secure ancestral blessing for a chief and his lineage, and, through this, for the entire chiefdom. The notable example, still practiced, is the Pomblang Syiem of Khyrim chiefdom. [Cf. Lyngdoh 1937, 1940, Stagneliur 1950b, Becker 1956.] **Illness and medicine.** In time of illness, a Khasi calls in a sacrificer, and possibly also a medicine man. The medicine man is an ordinary individual who has hit upon some herbal remedy for one or more ailments, who has become famous enough to be sought out and rewarded in cash, and who jealously guards the formula of his medicine until it dies with him. He and his patients tend to regard him as specially blessed. **Soul, death, and afterlife.** The universe is comprised of a heaven, the earth, and the air between. Heaven is where the souls of deceased mortals live in eternal peace, grouped ski by ski. The earth and all nature were created by God, and everything that God created has its own individual soul. There is no other great earth deity, for it was God who created the earth. The air is inhabited by the wandering souls of those dead for whom full death rites were not performed. A Khasi's potentiality for enjoying an afterlife in heaven with his ancestors depends on his receiving proper death rites at the hands of his ski mates. First, his body is cremated by his children, notably his youngest daughter, and his bones are collected and deposited temporarily in a small stone receptacle. All work stops in the village while everyone participates in the funeral. Once every several years, an entire ski gathers to witness the transfer of the bones of recently deceased ski mates from their temporary receptacles to the great ski cairn that is in the keeping of the youngest daughter, descended from the ski ancestress through a line of youngest daughters. This final ceremony covers five days, and is elaborate and expensive, but when an individual's bones are finally resting with those of his antecedents in the cairn, it is understood that his soul is finally in heaven, "resting hand out in the house of God."

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18: Godwin-Austen G-3 (ca. 1872) 1875 AR7
Khasi AR7

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clans were very much as we find them at the present day among the Naga and Kukis, beyond and bordering our present extreme limits, viz. that of constant feud. They are now the quietest, most peaceful, and contented of all the hill people on the eastern frontier. [178]

In my former paper I did not allude to the cairns in these hills, which I am inclined to think are works of greater age than the stone structures. The custom is one that certainly has long since been given up, for I could not obtain any satisfactory account of them. They are only to be seen on the southern side of the Khasi plateau, and Dr. Hooker, in his account of his trips to the Kollong Rock, did not fail to notice them. About Mairang and towards Nongstoin they are very numerous, and always stand on commanding situations. On the path leading down the grassy spur to the stone monuments previously described, near Nongkhi, is a very fine large example of a cairn, about eight feet high. They are usually plain hemispherical mounds of earth; but this one is faced all round at the base with slabs of stone about four feet high; they are frequently not higher than six feet. A distant view is shown in Plate iii. 172 [03]

Nowhere is there any trace of the earth that forms them having been excavated close by; it must, therefore, have been carried in some short distance, to avoid unsightly hollows near the structure. I should much like to have dug into one of these cairns, but was afraid to hurt the feelings of the people by doing so. They are very probably cinerarias of an earlier form to those now made of stone, and this point it might be interesting to clear up.

Beyond the Khasi area no cairns are to be found, at least I had never come across any until visiting North Manipur last winter (1872—73), where, at the head of the Imphal river, on the direct road from Sonagoting, are four fine cairns, all faced with large boulders. They are old, and the Naga now living in the village near said they had been made by another clan of Naga, who long ago had gone farther north, and the site of whose village had been lately re-occupied by Kukis. [114] [101]

Mr. C. B. Clarke, in a paper read lately before your Institute, refers to the different forms of the cinerary in the Khasi Hills; but he has not quite exhausted the subject, or got farther than I did, although with regard to the disposal of the ashes of the dead he gives some further interesting particulars. [114]

As I think that drawings are of very great interest, and better exhibit the many different forms of bone depository or cinerary that have been adopted at different periods by tribes inhabiting localities very far apart, and often quite unconnected ethnically, [126] [164]

19: Assam C-5 (1958) 1963 A87 Khasi A87

3.3 **Measures so far taken.**—Since 1947, there has been constant demand from border people for relief and rehabilitation. Government undertook various measures to alleviate their difficulties. Government's attention to border problem has however, not been adequate. The common feeling of border people was that whenever the border problem deteriorated due to some adverse measures adopted by East Pakistan authorities more attention was attracted, on the other hand, when the situation eased comparatively the Government's vigilance also slackened. 649 659

The various measures so far adopted by Government in border area, have been fully discussed and commented upon by the Border Rehabilitation Committee. These need no repetition here. But a few points emerging from the grievances put forward by the villagers during our investigation are noted below.

On the question of the schemes linked up with the issue of diversification of agriculture in border area, a large section of the border people skilled in the maintenance and operation of orchards are opposed to the idea of a complete switch over from cash crops to food crops in the cultivation of which they have no adequate experience. Moreover, there is the problem of getting adequate land in the vicinity for wet paddy cultivation. Indeed, having lost the market for some of the cash crops, some cultivators are trying to increase cultivation of paddy and other valuable crops on their own initiative wherever suitable land is available. But the problem of getting adequate funds for reclamation and improvement of land has acted as a serious handicap to them. Financial assistance to the needy and willing cultivators for reclamation works and taking up of more minor irrigation projects is very necessary. 178 241 633

As regards Government loans granted to cultivators, people complained that apart from being inadequate they are often untimely. As a result the people, needy as they are, utilise the amount for meeting their day to day consumption expenses. 241 651 659

There have been complaints that various improved seeds supplied by Government are of very inferior quality leading to waste of time and money of the poor people. The Department of Agriculture should not only check the quality of the seeds before issue but should also see that the seed are properly used by inexperienced cultivators who are newly taking up cultivation of these crops.

With the opening up of a few vital P. W. D. Roads transport of border products to Shillong and other places has greatly been facilitated but the problem of transporting them from remote interiors to the various local points on P. W. D. roads still remains unsolved. While during winter months these places may be negotiated by a man on foot up and down the steep gradients, during rainy seasons these tracks become slippery, the streams and rivulets are overflooded and it becomes impossible for a man to cross them, thus isolating the villages from each other leading to closure of trade and all other activities between villages. Properly planned and solid schemes for construction of feeder roads and bridges linking up these villages, will, apart from giving some works to the people alleviate much of the difficulties of transportation of agricultural produce. 659 491 659

19: Assam G-5 (1958) 1963 AR7 Khasi AR7

178 241 waste of time. Chemical fertilisers are found to be used by some cultivators but there is still a large section of cultivators who feel sceptic about the use of fertilisers. There is need of continuation of training and demonstration in the proper use of fertilisers and manures.

The present method of hand threshing of paddy by beating with a stick of wood is a waste of time and labour. There is no reason why threshing cannot be done by using bullocks as in the plains.

General area.—

1. Mawphlang	Paddy and maize	Hoes, hoes and plough	Sometimes, hoes and plough	247
2. Jowai	Paddy, maize and millet	Hoes, hoes and plough	No.	
3. Byrnihat	Paddy, maize, etc.	Hoes, hoes and plough	No.	
4. Mawkaiong	Paddy, maize and potato	Hoes, hoes and plough	No.	
5. Amlo	Paddy, maize and millet	Hoes, hoes and plough	No.	
6. Langrinang	Paddy, maize and millet	Hoes, hoes and plough	Hoes and [illegible].	
7. Mawkhi	Paddy, potato and maize	Hoes, hoes and plough	Sometimes.	
8. Lapasia	Paddy and maize	Hoes, hoes and plough	No.	
9. Demiya	Paddy, potato and maize	Hoes and hoes	No.	
10. Jyngjar	Tapioca, sesame, millet and orange.	Hoes and hoes	No.	

This table reveals that in one region there is bias for cash crops and in the other for food crops—more or less depending upon the soil and topography of the regions. Extreme hardship occurs when there is deficiency in food production or a glut in the market of cash crops. The cash crop producers are, of course, trying to adapt their crops to the changing market conditions. With the loss of market for oranges, the people in the border areas are trying to increase their foodgrain production and start cultivating paddy, potatoes, etc. Throughout the district, people are trying to increase wet paddy cultivation. Wherever water is available, they spare no pain to convert it into a wet paddy field. Similarly, increasing interest is evident among the people in the cultivation of valuable crops like black-pepper, cashewnut, etc., which have a good prospect in the border areas. It is felt that there is considerable scope for investment of cultivation of chillies, turmeric, coffee, etc. But any new endeavour demands heavy initial investment which often is not within the reach of cultivators. Government should continue to advance adequate agricultural loans to the needy cultivators in a better planned manner.

Only 19 out of 88 villages reported use of bullock driven ploughs for wet paddy cultivation. But even in these villages animal power is not universally used. Of course, in the rocky fields people have no alternative to the use of hoes and spades but in some areas particularly in the wet paddy field, bullock driven ploughs may profitably be utilised. It is not that the farmers do not realise the advantage of ploughing but want of funds for purchase of bullocks, etc., is reputed to be the cause of continuance of the old practice. Both broadcasting and transplanting methods are in vogue in paddy cultivation the latter being a recent introduction is gaining popularity. Some farmers in the project area villages have tried line sowing but according to them it is very laborious and resorts to

A perusal of the table above will show that proportion of families following non-agricultural labour as principal occupation is higher in Sunthar area. Majority of these families were formerly engaged in agriculture but due to adverse circumstances arising out of Tarai[illegible] [illegible] have to take to other occupations. The child work and normal F. W. D. work gave employment to a large section of these people. Other avenues of employment are collection and carriage of fodder[illegible], woodcutting, and carting of merchandise, etc. Unlike to outsiders artisans and graziers who formed the bulk of the traders in the border area are largely the displaced persons and the Bengali people concentrated in Dhulagarh and Salar. Others are petty traders dealing in fruits, vegetables, fish, chatai and other handicraft. Under employments agriculturists, etc., come the Sipaw shellers, blacksmiths, carpenters, etc., Government agents, Educators, hunting etc., are shown as others.

8.18 In the following table the families in the three village groups are classified according to their subsidiary occupation.

DS: Mission G-4 (see date) 1997 AR? Khasi AR?

[illegible] great iron-smelters, and extensive excavations in the most favourable localities for obtaining immense power the means to which the manufacture was carried on. In some places the whole surface of the ground appears to have been dug up for a depth of several feet, leaving huge boulders standing up here and there. Of late years, however, as the price of labour in the Hills has risen, the trade in iron has died away, and there is now little demand for the Khasi article, the cheaper English metal having driven it out of the market.

Caves, Pagodas.—Many peculiar caves and caverns are found in the limestone rock formation, the most notable being the cave at Chorai Pitij and at Bilpakhi in Jaintia. In the latter place the caverns extend a great distance beneath the earth, one being imagined by the people to reach as far as China, and a Hindu legend states that a Chinese army once marched by this route to the invasion of India. In another cave, the limestone stalactites have been carved into images representing the gods of the Hindu pantheon. On the banks of the Kupili river on the Cachar border, at a place called Sumri, there is a hot spring, the water of which contains carbonate of lime. All the rivers in the Hills flow through gorges in certain parts of their courses, the most picturesque being at Tuboi, where a small stream is compressed into deep pools among limestone rocks; and at Dawing and Songhi, where the Wangu and Mawkiriu rivers respectively debouch upon the plains.

Forests, etc.—The India-rubber or caoutchouc tree is found in many forests throughout the Hills, but not in great numbers, and the supply and value of the gum has much decreased of late years. In olden times the right of tapping the trees in the Jaintia Hills used to be leased out for a sum of [illegible] rupees, but by which the trade had [illegible] towards the Brahmaputra valley, but through the dearth of water carriage they are of no great value. Vigorous efforts are being made to preserve the forests in the higher plateaus. Owing to the habit of firing the jungle in spring prior to sowing, great waste of valuable timber has taken place; but since the country has been separated from Sylhet and placed under the administration of the Chief Commissioner of Assam, attention has been given to the matter, and special areas are now being set apart for the preservation and growth of forest timber. Cinnamon grows wild in some parts of the country. There is a considerable trade carried on in

— ACCOUNT OF KHASI AND JAINTIA HILLS.

141 In the interior of the Hills the larger villages are mere clusters of huts. The great majority of the inhabitants are employed in agri-
142 culture, but there are no data upon which a proportion of agricultural to non-agricultural people could be based.

147 There is no immigration into the District. Both the Khiahs and the Synteng have been successful in preserving to the present day their primitive isolation, free from the interference of Hindu-
148 ism. They still maintain their aboriginal forms of belief and religious worship, and repudiate alike the authority of Brahmans and the entire system of caste. To some extent, however, they have
170 given way to Hindu prejudices in the matter of purity of food. The
242 few Hindus to be found in the Hills are temporary residents, employed in civil and military employ, who always contemplate returning
141 to their own homes. The traders are for the most part natives of the
141 Hills, for the Marwari merchants, who penetrate into every other corner of Assam, have been able to obtain no footing in the face of Khasi competition. There is likewise no emigration from the District. The Khasis are a well-to-do and contented race, and
144 either produce themselves or obtain by trade sufficient to satisfy their scanty wants. A certain number of both Khiahs and Synteng proceed southwards every year to work on the tea gardens of Cachar and Sylhet, but such absence from home is only temporary.

243 AGRICULTURE: RICE.—Thirteen different varieties of rice are cultivated in the District, of which the following is a list, giving the Khasi name as well as the description of the grain:—(1) *U-lyda-thlyrdew* (u, the masculine article, meaning "the," and *lyda*, meaning "paddy"), brown rice with long grain; (2) *u-lyda-thlyrdew-lawlih*, a white rice with long grain; (3) *u-lyda-lo-ion*, round-grained rice; (4) *u-lyda-kwai*, speckled, hooked; (5) *u-lyda-u-* "earth," *ka-u-* "this," *sang-u-* "black"); (6) *u-lyda-ka-ith*, white rice; (7) *u-lyda-u-ma*, scented rice (literally *u-* "the," *lyda-* "paddy," *u-ma-* "scent"); (8) *u-lyda-la-kroh*, large-grained rice; (9) *u-lyda-ka-shang*, small-grained rice; (10) *u-lyda-u-ha*, early rice; (11) *u-lyda-ka-ban*, late rice; (12) *u-lyda-ksop-la*, rice grown along with beans; (13) *u-lyda-ka-ioh*, small rice.

Rice is cultivated in marshy fields situated near running water as well as in high lands. The first seven of the above thirteen species of rice are sown in marshy lands during the months of April and May,

59: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR? Khasi AR?

[illegible] either for food or as articles of trade. A pair of ploughing 231
oxen are worth about Rs. 30, or £2, 0s.; an ordinary cow, Rs. 12, 435
or £1, 4s.; a score of kids six months old, Rs. 18, or £1, 10s.; and
a score of full-grown pigs, from Rs. 100 to Rs. 180, or from £10 to
£18.

THE AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS in use in the District consist 241
of a plough, called *ka-ploghir* in Khásí, and a hoe or *kuhál*, called 407
ka-ruhtiri. When the cultivation is carried on by means of oxen,
the plough is used, the hoe alone being used where the land is cul-
tivated by manual labour. In the Khásí Hills the use of the plough,
except in a few rare cases, is entirely unknown; but in the Jaintia
Hills, oxen and ploughs are used to a greater extent. What is [475]
technically termed "a plough" of land is equivalent to four English
acres; a pair of oxen, together with the necessary implements, would
represent a capital of about Rs. 40, or £4.

WAGES.—The Deputy-Commissioner reports that the price of 178
labour in the District has more than doubled in the last ten years. 469
The rates obtaining at present are from eighpence to one shilling 465
a day for an ordinary labourer, and from one shilling to eighteen-
pence a day for a person. An agricultural day-labourer earns eighteen-
and a woman at the same work fourpence-halfpenny a day. Brick-
layers, carpenters, and blacksmiths earn from a shilling to eighteen-
pence a day. The new System of Shillong, the present seat of the
Local Government, was established in May 1864, and since then
does the demand for labour has markedly increased. The extension [244]
of the cultivation of potatoes has also had an appreciable
effect on the price of labour.

PRICES OF FOOD GRAINS.—Of the different descriptions of rice in 435
the markets of the District, the better sorts are imported from the 439
neighbouring Districts of Sylhet and Kámrúp. The best produce 242
is considered fit only for the use of the Khásís. The price of the

the supplies come. In a distant market like that of Shillong, rice
of the best quality generally sells at from 6 to 7 *seers* for the rupee,
or from 16s. to 18s. 6d. per cwt.; and rice of inferior quality, which
is only used by the poorer classes, at from 9 to 10 *seers* for the rupee,
or from 11s. 6d. to 14s. 3d. per cwt. Little or no trade is carried on
in unhusked grain. Paddy produced in the District generally sells
at an average of from 13 to 18 *seers* per rupee, or from 3s. to 3s. 6d.
per cwt. Indian corn, which is only grown to a small extent, is sold

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1997 AR? Khasi AR?

or Rs. [illegible], or £[illegible], and the revenue derived by Government from the quarries was Rs. 87,[illegible], or £[illegible]. In addition, the Khasi Chiefs receive a revenue from this source of more than £[illegible]. 609 651 317

Iron.—The smelting of iron was once the chief industry in the Khasi Hills, and a considerable quantity of the metal used to be exported into Sylhet, both in the crude and the manufactured state. Recently, however, this industry has almost died out, in the face of the competition of the superior article imported from England and sold in the plains at a cheaper rate. The indigenous methods of smelting, washing, and smelting the ore have been minutely described by Professor Oldham. The following description is taken from Mr. Allen's Report, dated 1878, at which date the annual export of smelted iron was estimated at [illegible] maunds, valued at Rs. [illegible], or £[illegible], at the rate of Rs. [illegible] per maund:—"The ore is said to be most abundant and of the best quality in the State of Khyrim, especially at the villages of Tangkhar and Pryandih. A few iron articles, such as axes or bill hooks, dahs or matchets, spear and arrow-heads, are manufactured by the Khasi smiths in the Hills; but the greater bulk of the smelted iron is sent to the plains for sale in circular lumps weighing about 2 or 3 seers. These lumps, called *dwi*, sell at Chikandi for from Rs. [illegible] to Rs. [illegible] per maund. The best iron, however, which is known into iron called *pah*, sells for from Rs. [illegible] to Rs. [illegible] per maund. Khasi iron is preferred to English, in consequence of its greater malleability. It is much used by the native iron-builders of Sylhet and the neighbouring Districts to make fastenings for the corners of their boats. When brought into the market, it is more than half down, and it is this circumstance which renders the iron trade unprofitable. The cost of carriage from the Hills to the plains is about 6 annas per maund, and the traders, who are all Khasis themselves, allege that they get an average profit of only 2 annas per maund." The tables of trade for [illegible] return no smelted iron as imported from the Hills, but Rs. [illegible] of iron implements imported, against nails and horseshoes imported to the value of Rs. [illegible]. 178 125 439 [324] [615] [501]

The Manufactures of the District, besides iron, consist of coarse cotton and muslin cloth, plain silver work, rude implements of husbandry, coarse bags made of the fibre of the pineapple, coarse pottery, and mats and baskets. With the exception of the 28 [illegible]

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR? Khasi AR?

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previous twenty years. The oranges, like the limes, were brought down to Mr. Ingle' depot at Chhatak, where they were sold to the dealers at the rate of about Rs. 1. 12 per 1000, or less than half their previous estimated price. It is stated in Mr. Allen's Report, that the Calcutta market was then chiefly supplied from the groves of Shella Pinji and Bar Pinji; the produce of the other villages was more perishable, and required to be sold in the neighbouring Districts. The fruit is known in Calcutta as "Sylhet oranges." The Bengal registration returns for 1876-77 show a total export from Sylhet of 64,503 seconds of "fruit," valued at Rs. 155,575, or £15,551.

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The export of raw cotton appears to have greatly increased. In 1876-77 the total quantity exported was 36,000 seconds, valued at Rs. 108,000, or £10,800, at the rate of Rs. 6 per second. Twenty years before the export had been only 12,000 seconds, valued at Rs. 40,000, at the rate of only Rs. 3. 8 per second. The cotton is of inferior quality, with a short and weakly staple. It is chiefly consumed by the Sylhet weavers. The total registered export from that District in 1876-77 was only 2,500 seconds, valued at Rs. 64,500, at the high rate of Rs. 25 per second.

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The chief article of import now, as twenty years ago, is rice; for the hill-men have never grown sufficient for their own consumption, and the recent establishment of the Civil Station of Shillong has increased the demand. In 1876-77 the total imports of rice were estimated at 203,600 seconds, valued at Rs. 700,300, or £70,030, at the rate of Rs. 3. 8 per second. Twenty years ago the imports were nearly as great, viz. 172,000 seconds; but the value was only Rs. 215,000, at the rate of Rs. 1. 8 per second, or less than one-half the present value. The chief source of supply is Sylhet District, which sends to surplus to the tea gardens of Cachar, as well as to these Hills, and also exported, in the year 1876-77, 214,000 seconds of rice and 233,000 seconds of paddy into Bengal.

The importation of fish (fresh and dried) has enormously increased. In 1876-77 the total amount was 35,000 seconds, valued at Rs. 105,000, or £10,500, at the rate of Rs. 3 per second. Twenty years ago the value was only Rs. 20,000, but the quantity is not given. The preparation of dried fish is a flourishing industry in the adjoining District of Sylhet.

The importation of cotton cloth has increased in an almost equal proportion. The value in 1876-77 was Rs. 178,000, or £17,800, at

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

625 In 1835, when British authority was first extended to the Khásí
648 Hills, the cost of maintaining the police, from the rank of *jowáddár* or head constable upwards, was £25; and in 1840, £32, 16s. By
965 1860, when the Jáinti Hills had been annexed, and a *thánd* opened at Jowái, the cost had risen to £480. In the year 1869 the strength of the regular police was 149 men in the Khásí Hills, and an additional 19 in Jáinti.

In 1873 the police stations of the Khásí and Jáinti Hills were as follow:—The force consisted of 2 inspectors on a salary of aggregate of Rs. 100 a month, or £120 a year; 3 sub-inspectors and 19 head constables on a salary of less than Rs. 100 a month; and 113 constables on an average pay of Rs. 9 a month, or £10, 16s. a year. The total pay of subordinate officers amounted to Rs. 8,340 or £834 a year; and the total pay of constables to Rs. 12,168 or £1216, 16s. Certain contingencies bringing up the aggregate expenses to Rs. 24,363 or £2436, 16s. The total number of men of all ranks was 132. As compared with the area and population of the District, these figures show one man to every 18·49 square miles, or to every 1,133 persons of the population, maintained at a cost of Rs. 2 : 10 to Rs. 13·6 per square mile, and of 2 annas 12 pies to 2·6 per head of population. Of the total force, 1 officer and 13 men were employed to guard the jail, 3 officers and 23 men to guard the treasury and lock-up and to serve as escorts, leaving 14 officers and 77 men available for general duty.

649 Criminal Statistics.—The District of the Khásí and Jáinti Hills,
692 like the other Hill Districts of Assam, is administered by political officers, under special rules framed under Act xxii of 1869. Petty criminal cases are disposed of by the indigenous magistracy, and only cases of a heinous character are reported to the political officers. Similarly, civil cases are referred to arbitration, according to the indigenous system of village *pancháyat*; and the Deputy-Commissioner reports that this system, while affording equal justice to the people, tends to preserve them from the evil of litigiousness.

679 In 1874 the total number of cases reported by the police to the
171 political officers was 83, as compared with 83 in the previous year. In these 83 cases, 102 persons were arrested, of whom 71 were put on their trial; 61 persons, or 86 per cent., were convicted, and 10 were acquitted.

Though little serious crime exists in the Hills, yet the number of offences shows a tendency towards increase. The Report of the

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR? Khasi AR?

Deputy-Commissioner for 1876-77 states that in that year 168 persons in all were brought before the magistracy, the most common classes of cases being theft and house trespass. In the same year 89 civil suits were instituted, of which 83 were for money claims, 2 for immoveable property, 2 for restitution of conjugal rights, and 2 in connection with religion and caste. In the Political Court there were 31 cases tried during the year, of which 13 were civil and 18 criminal. In the latter class of cases persons issued against 60 persons, of whom 20 were convicted and 40 acquitted. The details of the two following cases will illustrate the condition of social life in the District. The first was a case of grievous hurt. The Siem of Mylliem had sent four persons to fetch a man named U Dorja, who had been selected to marry the Siem's sister. While on their way the messengers were attacked by a number of persons, evidently relatives of U Dorja who were opposed to the marriage. One of them was severely beaten, and died within twelve days from pneumonia. The offenders, numbering five in all, were sentenced to pay a fine of Rs. 10 (£1) each, or in default to suffer fourteen days' imprisonment. The second case was one of oppression. It originated in a dispute about land, situated in a locality over which both the Siem of Nongkhlaw and the Lyngdoh of Sohiong claimed to exercise jurisdiction. The parties out of possession had gone to lay their complaint before the Siem, whereupon the Lyngdoh, with eight other persons, seized three of the complainants' kinsmen, disrobed them, and kept them in durance with the object of having the complaint submitted to himself for adjudication. The Lyngdoh was sentenced to a fine of Rs. 50 (£5), and his companions were warned and discharged.

JAIL STATISTICS.—There are two jails in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills:—(1) The jail at Shillong, which is directly under the charge of the Deputy-Commissioner; and (2) the lock-up at Jowai, under the Assistant-Commissioner. It has been proposed to build a new jail at Shillong; the present structure consists only of bamboo huts, surrounded by a fence of the same material.

The following are the jail statistics for 1875:—Daily average number of prisoners, 40·30, of whom 1·05 were females; daily average number of sick, 1·40; number of deaths, 4, or 10 per cent. of the average daily strength. The total expenditure was Rs. 3,430 (£343), or an average of Rs. 181 (£18, 10s.) per prisoner. This high rate of expenditure is due to the cost of rations at Shillong.

P. Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

manufactured of saltpetre, sulphur, and charcoal, the three ingredients being pounded together in a mortar. The Jaintia Rajas possessed cannon, two specimens of which are still to be seen at Jaintiapur. Their dimensions are as follows:—

Length, 9 feet; circumference in the middle, 3 feet 2 inches; diameter of the bore 3 inches. There are some old cannon also at Nongkyrdem and at Kyndiar in the Khyrim State, of the same description as above. These cannon were captured from the Jaintia Raja by the Siem of Nongkrem. No specimens of the cannon ball used are unfortunately available. There are also small mortars, specimens of which are to be seen in the house of the Siem of Mylliem.

The weapons of the Syntengs are the same as those of the Khasis, although some of them are called by different names. At Nartiang I saw an old Khasi gun, which the people say was fired from the shoulder. I also saw a mortar of the same pattern as those described amongst the Khasi weapons.

The War and Lyngngam weapons are also the same, but with different names. The only weapons used by the Bhois (Mikirs) are the spear and bill-hook for cutting down jungle. Butler, writing of the Mikirs 1854, says, "Unlike any other hill tribes of whom we have any knowledge, the Mikirs seem devoid of anything approaching to a martial spirit. They are a quiet, industrious race of cultivators, and the only weapons used by them are the spear and the hand-bill for cutting down jungle. It is said, after an attempt to revolt from the Assamese rule they were made to forswear the use of arms, which is the cause of the present generation having no predilection for war."

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

the matrilineal descent group has a distinguished function only when there is common residence and common property. 178

In Kongton, among 9 different *kur* (List 10), Pohnong and Khonsit accounted for the majority of the population, while the rest, seven *kur*, were more or less of equal size. On the whole the population seemed more stable than that of Sohkyndoh. However, as in Sohkyndoh, actual descent groups amounted to 41, many of which have the same *kur* name but could not always establish genealogical relationship with one another; nor was there any functional cohesion. I failed to reconstruct the history of the formation of these descent groups: the villagers had no memory of their past except very fragmentary information which was quite insufficient to account for their present composition. They only insisted this was a very old village in comparison with Sohkyndoh and other neighbouring villages. 613 614 621 [182]

While I was struggling with the villagers' scant accounts of their past and fragmented kinship relations among the present households, I was struck by the poverty of the villagers' genealogical memory in comparison with that of the Garo. Suppose A, B and C, who belonged to the same property-holding descent group three generations back: A and B being sisters and C being B's daughter. If B, including her descendants, moved away from the village two generations back, the present generation of A's and C's descendants would easily lose contact and knowledge of their genealogical relationship. This fact, on the other hand, illustrates some important aspects of the Khasi social structure: the kinship relation—matrilineal descent link—is not a significant factor beyond the scale of the household (property-holding descent group), and locality is more important than matrilineal descent for the formation of the Khasi community. Through the predominant practice of endogamy on the level of the village, the small segments (found on a level of a household or a group of a few households) of various different *kur* clustered in a village are linked by affinal relations each other, by which altogether form a well knit social organization of a village community. The cohesion and solidarity of the Khasi village community is strengthened by the local endogamy not by the localized lineage organization. 182 613 621

In fact, in contrast with the rather loose kinship relations which link different households, the affinal relations link almost every households in the village, as shown in Fig. 10. The lines, ———, indicate marriage relations between living members of households, and the lines, - - - - -, indicate affinal relations established through dead members of present households or through spouses' kinship relations at Sohkyndoh, as in November 1955. In this way, except for one household (24), members of a single household are all linked together through affinal or cognatic ties. In some cases, the affinal relations between 602 621

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

society? Among the matrilineal Central Bantus, Richards says that the determining factor in residence at marriage is the marriage payment or the type of goods and services which the bridegroom gives (Richards, 1950, p. 249). However, the Khasi have no such custom in the marriage contract, it is therefore out of the question to explain the two types of residence in this way. In the case of the Khasi, the determining factor is the type of marriage with relation to the rule of inheritance and ownership of property, which is clearly related to the structure of the *iing*. Khasi marriages can be divided into two categories i.e., marriage with an heiress and with a non-heiress. Marriages with an heiress must be uxorilocal. This accounts for category 1 or 3 of the household pattern. On the other hand, marriages with a non-heiress become neolocal and correspond to category 4 of the household unit.

IV. Marriage with the Heiress

A man married to an heiress, usually lives with his wife's parents and her unmarried or divorced brothers and sisters. For a man, life after marriage under such circumstances require great adjustment and endurance. The husband's status is especially weak when a male member of the wife's kin lives in the same household. The management of property and all economic activities are entirely controlled by the authority (wife's brother or maternal uncle) of the *iing*. The husband works in the wife's field under constant supervision from this authority. Both economic activities and domestic affairs are always under the management of this authority. The children have more attachment to, and are more obedient to, the maternal uncle than to the father. The tie between the uncle and the nephew is so strong that the father is rather like an additional member of the household. He is the last person to be introduced to visitors.

This family system is clearly reflected in the daily behaviour. When we visited the Khasi household of a youngest daughter, if a man (obviously the husband) came first to greet us, he always said "please wait, my wife (or mother-in-law) is coming." And it was the wife who entertained us, offering tea or pan and discussing matters with us, while her husband remained silent in the corner of the room, or in the next room. If her uncle or brother was there, *he* would be the person who talked to us, while his niece or sister served us. In such a case, we were seldom introduced to the husband. When I was working at Shella, I happened to stay in such a family. I had hardly any opportunity to talk to the husband during the two weeks of my stay. He left the house very early in the morning and came back late in the evening from the fields. While he was at home, he was

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

household are easily understandable in the light of the economic aspect of the fission of the *iing*. As I stated before, the non-heiress is given hardly any share of the property of her natal *iing* on her marriage (if the *iing* is rich a non-heiress and the sons may receive some part), and even if her new household happens to face serious economic difficulty, her natal *iing*, whose authority is vested in her brother, does not usually help her. This fact clearly suggests that brothers can have only limited rights over the elder sister's *iing*.

This is the crucial point of the Khasi matrilineal system. The *iing* is a very restricted descent group, giving opportunities to split off by those who have no right to inheritance. The *iing* has vertical continuity without expansion in collateral lines. Therefore, even the siblings of the same mother do not always form a completely constant unit of a functional descent group, since the elder sisters are oriented by their marriages to form a new *iing*, though they may retain their membership in their natal *iing*. The central core of the *iing* in the particular sibling bond between a sister (the heiress) and a brother (the authority), a pair of statuses. Other sisters are ready to leave and other brothers are fluid members, clearly differentiated in status from that particular brother (authority) and sister (heiress). This structural principle should be compared with other matrilineal descent groups, whose sibling group is based on interdependence between members of a group, not between particular persons or statuses. The structural unit of the Khasi social organization, is *not* the descent group based on sibling links, but the *iing*, though descent is the principal factor, and the limiting one, in the formation of the *iing* institution. The descent factor is delineated by the functional force of the inheritance rule through female ultimogeniture, which results in constant internal fission and segmentation in the descent group. Technically, it is very similar to the process of fission of the Garo *mah* on the ungeniture principle, though the internal structure is different.

The establishment of a new household by a Khasi woman with her husband, means the beginning of the establishment of a new *iing*, separated from her natal *iing* not only in residence but also sociologically. In other words, it is the process of fission and segmentation of an *iing*, matrilineal descent group. Therefore, a woman who has once established a new household independent of her natal household, will not go back to her natal house i.e. her mother's descent group, though her bond with her mother's descent group remains undiminished. Of course she may visit her natal *iing* occasionally, but in fact, much less than her husband will visit his natal *iing*. In this respect as well the Khasi manifest structural differences from the Ashanti as described by Fortes, where a mother goes back to her own matricentral household and often prefers to reside there (Fortes, 1949, p. 77). Even

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956)1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

182 586 613 736 Even after divorce or husband's death the Khasi woman stays on in her household. Indeed many divorced or widowed poor wives, whose children are still small, try their best to live and bring up their children by themselves without asking their brothers' help. Of course a mother and her small children may go back to live in her natal *iing*. Such cases are found particularly when the woman's *iing* is rich. However, during my field work, I found no sense of psychological inferiority in Khasi women, widows or divorcees, such as we usually find in other societies. The personality of the individual seems to reflect the social structure.

182 184 586 593 613 Given such strong residential independence on the part of the non-heiress, economically divorced from her descent group, and oriented towards sociological separation from it, the husband's economic and social contribution is amply rewarded by the establishment of a stable, happier, matrimonial life. In fact, as already mentioned, the divorce rate among such couples is very low contrasted with the high rate among marriages with heiresses. More accurately, I should say that divorce is more likely to occur among the latter owing to the conflict of loyalties towards spouse and *iing*. Therefore, when each partner has less loyalty towards his or her natal *iing*, the divorce cases become correspondingly fewer. Thus, among the Khasi, successful marriages are frequently found where there is branching off from an *iing*. And a new *iing* is always established by a husband's contribution.

182 184 581 Khasi men, who are well aware of this fact, prefer to marry a non-heiress, since they will then form an independent household and remain immune to pressure from their wife's kin. However, they say a poor or lazy man prefers marriage with an heiress. As Richards said of the matrilineal Central Bantu, the residence on marriage seems to be a most important index of the husband's status, though the determining factors of the residence of the Khasi differ from those of the Bantu (see p. 124).

182 184 587 593 613 736 In the case of marriage with an heiress, when the wife dies, the husband usually returns to his own or younger sister's house; but in marriage with a non-heiress the husband often remains with his children, if his children are not too small and he is not planning to marry any woman other than his late wife's younger sister. If he marries his wife's younger sister, he has the right to stay on. This kind of sororal marriage cannot take place in the case of a man married to an heiress, since a Khasi man is not allowed to marry the late wife's elder sister. This form of sororate is found among the Khasi, but the levirate is unknown, such as can be seen among the Ashanti and the Ila, where a man takes his late brother's wife. Among the Khasi, even if a widow happened to marry her late husband's

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15: Nakane K-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

brother (actually not likely to happen), the levirate has no sociological implication in the social structure, which is specifically related to the residence rule. The levirate seems to have a significant function only when a marriage is virilocal—when the husband has full rights over his residence and property. This is also another aspect where the Khasi structure shows a marked difference from that of the Ashanti and the Ila, etc. 182 587

VI. Marriage of the Man of Authority of an *Iing*

Among these successful marital families, there are also shadows of a matrilineal order. These affect especially those men who are in the position of authority in an *iing*. Such a man, though he has an independent household with his wife and children, often visits his youngest sister's (or sister's) house, *iing (he iing aw)*, and sometimes stays there. Such a man's attachment to his *iing* is not only social or psychological, but also often economic. The man, as authority of his natal *iing*, usually has economic control over the management, particularly so, if his *iing* has considerable property or active trading business. As husband/father in his family he works for his wife and children, but often takes into consideration as well the interests of his *iing*. I found such cases especially among richer villagers in Shella and Jaitiang, where the main economic activities were based on trading. 592 599 602 619 [182]

Among the Khasi, it is quite a traditional rule of the division of labour that women engage in trading activities at markets whether on a large or small scale. Husbands may carry goods from field to market, but male members are kept away from the actual scene of the selling and buying. However, these activities on the part of the women are controlled and accounted for by their uncle or brother, or even son (or, if no male member is available, by the husband), though in many cases they form separate domestic families. The man's control over the trade appears more marked where the scale of economic of *iings*. [443] [462]

A man of Jaitiang, who worked in a shop in Halflong, spent his salary in keeping his wife and children, but at the same time he kept the accounts of his sister who was a professional merchant. Thus, the economy of the *iing* and that of the co-residential group are crossed by the dual role of the man. Hence, among the Khasi, residential autonomy is not always an indication of economic autonomy. However, it should be clearly understood that a man's acquired property goes to his co-residential group, not to his *iing*. [421]

A man of authority is attached to his *iing* by the stronger ties of religious, social and economic (management) duties as well as by

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

Thus, the marriage of a non-heiress and a man of authority also produces an unstable position for the husband in spite of his having an independent household. Therefore, the possibility of a really stable marriage is even more limited; it will occur only in the match of a non-heiress and a non-authority of the *sing*. But even these marriages cannot be free from the influence of a matrilineal social structure: the man of authority of the wife's *sing* may visit these couples now and then, curb the husband's power and remind both partners of the orientation towards the matri-kin, the *sing*, though this pressure is insignificant in comparison with that experienced by the heiress's family. Likewise, a husband now and then visits his youngest sister's house, *ka sing* sw. These constant matrilineal contacts offer husbands chances of escaping from even the slightest matrimonial tension. Whenever a Khasi man feels uneasiness, he will return to his sister's house rather than face a difficult situation with his wife. This tendency is maximized especially on the occasion of religious ceremonies, when all individuals are grouped around each *sing*.

It is apparent that the rules of the *sing* as the underlying structural pattern, function throughout the various categories of domestic unit of the Khasi community as the most important intrinsic force.

VII. Polygyny

After this long attempt at the structural analysis of marriages, I think one can theoretically predict what is the situation of polygyny among the Khasi. The theoretical framework elaborated through preceding discussions can also be tested by the empirical data in terms of polygyny.

Nowadays, the Khasi feel so strongly against polygyny that they have no knowledge even that they ever practised it. Many Khasi, in more sophisticated areas, did not believe my findings on polygyny in Sohkynrdah and Kongtoo. I think this is due to the rapid Christianization of the Hills during the last hundred years. My interpreter, though he was not Christian, said to me in the village, "It is most reprehensible to bring you to a village where we find polygyny." However, one of the ministers of the Cherra State to which the two villages belong, told me that there was no particular opposition to polygyny, though recent Christian influence gave people the idea that it was a shameful custom, and he mentioned the case of a polygynist in his own, a man who had recently died, who had had ten wives. In Jaitinga where inhabitants are all Christian, and in Shella where there has been much contact with, and influence by, Hindus, there were

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR? Khasi AR?

which I described previously, where a man brings his secondary wives to his first wife's house in which he is acting as the head. Furthermore, sororal polygyny is prohibited, while it was preferred among the Garo in terms of wives taken from the same *mahari*, though mostly not real sisters. The strong jealousy, which I observed, among the Khasi wives of a polygynist, would appear to make such polygynous marriages with closely related women practically impossible. As shown in List 6 & 9 every single one of the wives of each polygynist belongs to different *kur*, and the two secondary wives of the man of Kongkon came from neighbouring villages. 591 595 [171]

These aspects of Khasi polygyny are related fundamentally to the underlying Khasi social structure. It should be remembered that every married woman has her independent household, *iing*, and that two women of different descent groups never reside together (see p. 127). The picture is one of every married woman holding a key-point in the whole network of the social system, and men fit into this network with much flexibility. The strong stability of women and the fluid nature of men in terms of residence naturally produces this form of polygyny. This analogy is also true of lovers' relations and illegal marriages. Though polygyny is a rapidly decreasing institution all over the Khasi Hills, cases of lovers' relations and illegal marriages are found to be very numerous among the Khasi, as compared with neighbouring tribes and peoples in Assam. 182 591 595 619 837 [171]

Throughout my discussions of various forms of Khasi marriage, I found men to be more or less in the position wittily described by one of them as "having one leg in my sister's house, the other in my wife's," except in cases of the husband/father who succeeds in establishing paternal authority, as in marriages with a non-kinsman. Even in the latter a man might have a period of uncertainty until his children were born and until the economic basis for his matrimonial life was firmly established. For the rest, Khasi men would be in the position of either becoming the authority of an *iing*, or swinging between their sister and their wife, which may produce more opportunities for lovers' relations. One of a man's legs is certainly always found in his sister's house, the other may rest in his wife's, but it may also rest in another woman's house. The wife being rather accustomed to his occasional absence due to his visits to his sister's house, another kind of absence does not mark any great change from the usual situation, at least not physically. Such situations occur particularly in the earlier stage of the marriage, as a sort of continuation of premarital affairs, which are quite freely practised: it is a usual custom before marriage for young men to sleep at a girl's house whom they like though they say sexual intercourse usually does not take place in such cases. This I observed in Sohkynduh and Kongkon. 182 591 593 619 856 837

15: Nakano E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

• 182 595 Because of the firm right of women over the residence, Khasi polygyny can never be a clearly distinguishable institution, and has no operational advantage in the social and economic fields; the situation is very similar with lovers' relations and illegal marriages. By polygyny the man achieves no additional economic advantage, nor does he increase his social status or prestige; rather the reverse, for I observed that the polygynyst was regarded as a somewhat ludicrous or tragic figure. As for the woman, she is placed slightly at a disadvantage since the husband's economic activities are not concentrated on her household. However, even many legally-married wives are separated or divorced, so that such disadvantages are not only experienced by the wives of polygynists. The social disadvantage of being secondary wife is not serious, firstly, because wives, whether first or secondary, have social and economic independence—they do not belong to the husband as in the case of patrilineal systems. Secondly, the significance attached to the legal marriage institution is not so great, so that the handicap of being the secondary wife is not severe. What is most important, furthermore, is that her slightly inferior status does in no ways affect the next generation. Indeed such children, including [949] those of premarital or illegal relations, suffer no serious social dis- [951] advantage, though they are nominally distinguishable from legitimate children. From this it is clear that the effectiveness of legitimate marriage, and paternal recognition are rather limited among the Khasi.

Thus, Khasi polygyny differs greatly from the polygyny of other societies in terms of its operation and of its form. It also differs in the incentive to its practice. Among the Garo and many other societies, the practice of polygyny usually depends on a man's economic capability, but among the Khasi, it appears rather to depend on his 182 whim. Khasi husbands are notorious for their heavy drinking and 599 neglect of wife and children. Some of them told me that their earnings, 997 their children and everything they acquired go to their wife or sister, leaving them with nothing; therefore they should at least have freedom to enjoy their life. This freedom seemed to mean women and drink. I am not sure how far this explanation is true, but it seems to justify their behaviour to a certain extent. I do not mean that this is the general characteristic of the Khasi husbands, but some such tendency is to be observed. Actually I often heard wives complain of their husbands' drinking and running after women, and was asked "Are your Japanese husbands also like that?", "What is the good of having a husband!" then comes divorce . . .

182 On the contrary, women placed at an advantage by residence 562 and matrilineal inheritance, are required always to be on their best 595 behaviour. There are very strict rules governing the behaviour of Khasi women. They are supposed not to drink, smoke, or play with

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

any man other than their husband. Women before marriage enjoy a considerable freedom in love affairs, but once married these are no longer tolerated. Women should be faithful wives. They should be so in order to keep their husbands who have a strong tendency to leave their wives. The husband of a woman who has an affair with another man, will never come back to her. There is no attraction to draw the husband, who has home at his sister's, to his wife's house unless she is good and charming. Such Gurdon's remarks as "There is no evidence to show that polyandry ever existed among the Khasis. Unlike the Tibetans, the Khasi women seem to have contented themselves always with one husband, at any rate with one at a time" (Gurdon, 1914, p. 77), is utterly nonsense: a Khasi woman is placed in a situation which is not easy to monopolize even one husband. Moreover, the Khasi social organization in general does not accord to the practice of polyandry.

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Garo AR5

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The discussion of Parts I and II reveals that the social structure of the Garo and the Khasi differ greatly. Similarity is found only at the level of the minimum criteria of matrilineal systems: the basic succession rules of mother-daughter, mother's brother-sister's son, and the fact that property is owned by the women, but the controlling power and authority over it are in the hands of the men.

One of the most outstanding structural differences between the two lies in the composition of a property group: the property group of the Khasi is formed by a descent group at a shallow generation depth, while that of the Garo is maintained by the cooperation of two local lines, each of which represents a localized lineage group. Hence the descent group of the former tends to have stronger solidarity, whereas the latter tends to be weakened in its solidarity.

In a broad framework, in terms of social organization, the Garo fall structurally into a category based on the moety arrangement, in which patrilineal systems, such as the Murngin, and the Karieri, etc., are also to be found. Theoretically, this type of mechanism is operative in either matrilineal or patrilineal systems: by the exchange of men in the former and the exchange of women in the latter.

On the other hand, the Khasi system presents more outstanding features of a type which is generally accepted as belonging to matrilineal systems. However, the basic structural traits of this system may also be found among patrilineal systems, in terms of relatively stronger descent group solidarity.

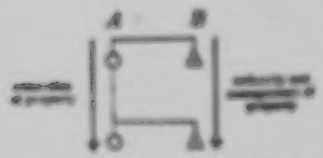

FIG. 10. — *Succession Lines of Female and Male in the Matrilineal System.*

Lines *A* and *B* may include sister-sister, and brother-brother relation respectively, also members of classificatory category; variations in these minor points depend on each matrilineal system.

Though both matrilineal and patrilineal systems may share such basic structural categories, they differ significantly in the following respects: in matrilineal systems, the ownership of property and the authority over the property group never rest in one person, as in the case of the father/husband of the patrilineal systems, and the succession to these two offices follows the female line (mother-daughter) and the male line (mother's brother-sister's son) as shown in line *A* and line *B* in Fig. 10. This duality of office-holding individuals within the succession rule is the intrinsic cause

of complications and variations in matrilineal systems. The matrilineal system is not a mirror of the patrilineal system; it is a different system in which more complicated mechanisms are involved. This complexity of the matrilineal system is a decided handicap when it comes to meeting radical economic changes. In order to preserve the system, a fairly stable economy is required, well-balanced in its population and resources. This may be one of the reasons for the rapid disintegration or unstability of social organization of matrilineal peoples in the world.

The difficulty of preserving in function both lines *A* and *B* is caused by residential problems—individual marriages which contradict the sibling solution. According to my theoretical analysis, there are four alternative ways of resolving such contradictory factors, each one being represented by actual ethnographic samples.[1] Each arrangement represents a different degree of the function of the two lines *A* and *B* in relation to the residential pattern, as following (see Fig. 13):

Fig. 13. — Central Case of Matrilineage in Relation to Property Group and Residential Group.

The Garo case. The residential type is 'husband-with' instead of 'brother-sister.' The function of both lines *A* and *B* is equally strong. This is done by the marriage contract between two local lines, so that it is possible to keep the function of each line against the residential separation of the two lines in one descent group. This type is found at the moment only among the Garo.

1. For this discussion I take only such major matrilineal samples for which simple documentation is available.

The Nayar type. The counter scheme of the Garo type, the co-residential type is 'brother-sister' instead of 'husband-wife'. The function of both line A and B is equally strong. This type is found among the traditional Nayar (except those in North Malabar) and the Mosophulous matrilineal people.

The Khasi type. The ideal co-residential type consists of a woman with either her husband or her brother. The function of line A is much stronger than that of line B. This type is found among the Khasi, the Naga, the Ceni, the Trobriand, the Negri-Sembilan Malay, the Ifugao, etc.

The Ashanti type. The ideal co-residential type consists of a man with either his wife or his sister. The function of line B is much stronger than that of line A. This type is found among the Ashanti, the Cocoanda Tonga, the Bagandan, the Trobriand, the Nayar of North Malabar, etc.

In terms of the strong function of both lines A and B, both the Garo type and the Nayar type may fall into a similar category. But as already explained, their structure basically differs from one another, and clearly appears as the counter schemes of different residential arrangements. The Nayar type shares with the Khasi a rather similar structure in terms of a descent group equated with a property group, while in the Garo type the two lines A and B of a single descent group never form an independent property unit.

If, leaving aside the Garo type, we consider the three others, the Nayar type appears again different from the rest in so far as in it, both lines fulfill an equally strong function, while in the Khasi and Ashanti types, one of the two lines is always more developed functionally than the other. The Nayar type presents the highest degree of descent group solidarity among the three. This Nayar situation might be compared with that of the traditional Chinese patrilineal system.[1] In both social systems the structural importance of marriage is minimized: the role of a spouse is only to ensure descendants of the matrilineal (patrilineal) group. The structural importance of a husband (wife) is almost neglected, while the wife (husband) holds the paramount locus in her (his) descent line. The descent group constitutes the strongest solidarity within itself, neglecting affinal relations with other groups. This principle results in the custom of the "visiting husband" in the matrilineal system, and, in the patrilineal system, in a total social shift of the wife by her complete assimilation into her husband's group, and separation from her descent group,—she has no social and personal independent locus in terms of the structure. It is an interesting fact that the most extreme scheme of highly institutionalized unilineal systems can be seen among societies of pre-industrialized high civilization. These schemes are structurally opposed to those of the systems of the equity

1. Fortes touches this point in his paper (Fortes, 1949, p. 108).

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Garo AR?

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arrangement, such as the Garo and the Mundari, where both wife and husband keep important social positions as representatives of each descent group.

Leaving the Garo and the Nayar types, the following discussion deals with the implications of the difference between the Khasi type and the Ashanti type. The degree of function of the two lines *A* and *B*, is related to the residential arrangement. A household of the Khasi type includes the matrilineage women and either their husbands or brothers—brother's wives are excluded as a rule. A household of the Ashanti type includes the matrilineage men and either their wives or sisters—sister's husbands are excluded as a rule. Among the Khasi as I have already explained (p. 141), a woman and her brother's wife are never found as members of a common household, while among the Ashanti, as Fortes states, a man and his wife's brother are never found as members of a common household. In the former, since a woman is the centre of the matrilineage, her husband stands socially closer to her matrilineage than she does to his—the husband shares the matrilineage dwelling, while a man being a peripheral member, his wife is excluded as a rule from his matrilineage residence (hence predominantly matrilocal); the Ashanti type exemplifies exactly the opposite case (predominantly virilocal or avunculocal).

The crucial point on which lies the difference between the Khasi and Ashanti types is the rule of inheritance. In matrilineal systems, as a rule, the ancestral property is inherited by the matrilineal descent group. The starting point of the difference is really in the ways of inheritance of the acquired property particularly by the husband. So long as a man remains with his matrilineage members, both types show no difference. The crucial difference appears in the married life. In the Khasi type, if a man builds an independent house in which to live with his wife and children, that house and his acquired property during his marriage-life automatically belong to and are inherited by his wife and children. On the other hand, in the Ashanti type, if a man builds an independent house in which to live with his wife and children, that house and his acquired property belong as a rule to him and are inherited by his matrilineal group, not by his wife and children. In case of divorce or death of a spouse, the difference between the Khasi and the Ashanti types appears most clearly: in the former, it is the husband who leaves, and in the latter it is the wife and children who leave. Hence the residence pattern reflects

1. Among the Tiv-Goan group, which I classify into the Khasi type, a man's brother who is selected for the position of father of a second family takes his wife with him. This cultural marriage should be considered as an exceptional case applied to only such a particular member. Such special arrangement is also found among the Nayar where matrilocal arrangement is general rule.

19: Nakano E-5 (1955-1956) 1957 AR7 Khasi AR7 ◆
Gero AR5

these rules, as the Khasi type tends to a uxorilocal arrangement, while the Ashanti type tends to a virilocal or avunculocal arrangement.[1]

In the Khasi type, the residential arrangement is the decisive factor for a man's economic achievement. The men, though they keep close social and ritual ties with their matrilineage, are divorced economically from their matrilineal descent group.[2] On the other hand, in the Ashanti type, where the matrilineal rule is the decisive factor, men keep strong social, ritual and economic ties with their descent group at the expense of the women's and children's residential mobility. However, these women are not like men of the Khasi type; as among the Ashanti, women mostly go back to their matrilineage at a late stage of their married life. In the case of the Toubiands, the wife stays all her married life at her husband's house while her sons go back to his matrilineage, and her daughters leave for their husbands' house at their marriage. This can be considered as the exact opposite of what happens in the Khasi type. The matrilineage represented by men keeps its function and solidarity at the expense of the women. There, the female line (mother-daughter) is broken, in practice, by the residential arrangement; as was broken the male line (mother's brother-sister's son) in the Khasi type. The actual tie of the Toubiand wife to her matrilineage is maintained through the presents her brothers send her, not through mother, sister or daughter. That of the Khasi husband is maintained through his youngest sister or niece, not through his brother or nephew. Thus Toubiand wives and Khasi husbands are marginal members of the matrilineage. These facts show that they sacrifice either the male (*B*) or the female (*A*) line to the co-habitation of wife and husband. Unless they have a structural arrangement like that of the Gero, the co-residence of the married couple is the crucial factor which mobilize the matrilineal system.

The Ashanti manifest great mutability in this respect, since they do not like to sacrifice either line *A* or *B*, though actually line *A* is much weaker than *B*. The mother wishes to be with her daughter and son, while the mother's brother wishes to be with his sister's son, yet they do wish to have co-habitation in their marriage—combining (theoretically opposed) factors. This is also the case which I found among the Nayar in the transitional stage of the disintegra-

1. These arrangements do not mean that all members of a society act in the same way. In any society, considerable variations in residential pattern are found in individual cases. What is important here is the model, and the orientation of ideas of the people, the pattern of which is mostly followed by the majority of the people in a given society, at a given time.

2. Among the Khasi, though the authority of the male may have the account and manage his sister's property, his acquired property, though his wife's dowry or his independent economic activity, inevitably go to his wife and children.

tion of the matrilineal system (see Nakano, 1956B and 1960). In comparison with the Ashanti, the Khoi or the Tshiamo type gain considerable stability by sacrificing either A or B line, which is one of the possible ways of preserving the matrilineal system along with the practice of co-habitation of the married couple.

Another solution of the conflicting situation in such a society is the practice of cross-cousin marriage, as in the case of the Ashanti, which brings two conflicting factors together, the matrilineage and the family of procreation. In this case, the cross-cousin marriage tends to take place between the first cross-cousin centred around each man. Fortes states, "Cross-cousin marriage most often occurs between the children of full siblings or of uterine first cousins . . . cross-cousin marriage offers a possibility of reconciling the conflicting influences of conjugal, parental, and matrilineal kinship ties" (1950, p. 282). This is quite different from the cross-cousin marriage of the Gare, because among the latter, the cross-cousin marriage being practised on the basis of the whole structure of society, it makes no difference whether a cross-cousin is first or classificatory. In the case of the Ashanti and other matrilineal systems of a similar type, such as the Bayombe and the Kongo, it is considered more desirable to enter into a first cross-cousin marriage; classificatory cross-cousin marriage, such as among the Gare, does not make much sense. Moreover, the cases of cross-cousin marriage tend to take place among comparatively wealthy members in a society (see Buttenj, 1957 Chapter XXIX). If one has no property in the Ashanti type society, then cross-cousin marriage has not much meaning.

The cross-cousin marriage of matrilineal systems has been often referred to as being the solution to the conflicting situations of a man as a husband and as a brother. I suggest here that this can be applied to the matrilineal system of the Ashanti type, not to those of the Khoi type where men have already given up the role of forming the central core of the matrilineage. In these societies, the solution is already given through the sacrifice of one line. There are no conflicting economic factors, though men are still in a situation of social conflict between their matrilineage and family of procreation. This hypothesis is confirmed empirically by the fact that there are no generalized or preferential cross-cousin marriages among the Khoi, the Hopi, the Zuni, the Tsimo and the Nagri Sanskian Hebes,[1] where a man is not in economic conflict with his matrilineage and family of procreation. His explorers are already outside his economic

1. "In averaging marriages the preference is for someone 'near'. As cross-cousins are the nearest possible naturally a large number of them marriages occur. . . . This preference, however, is not explicitly institutionalized" (Leach, 1957 p. 136).

10: Nakano E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7 ●
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ceeds: due to matrilocal marriage, they have no right over his residence and his acquired property. Naturally the maternal uncle becomes far less important than in the Ashanti type.

Among the Yao, which I classified as belonging to the Khasi type, Mitchell states that in spite of the emphasis laid on cross-cousin marriage by his informants, real or classificatory cross-cousins are found in only 13 per cent of 103 first marriages (Mitchell, 1956, p. 200). The functional importance of cross-cousin marriage among the Yao is particularly evident in the minority (headmen of villages or lineages) who practice matrilocal marriage[1] in a society where a uxorilocal arrangement is the general rule; as in the case of the Ashanti, cross-cousin marriage functions as a solution to two conflicting tendencies: matrilocality and virilocality. The Todas, though they belong to the Ashanti type, demonstrate the same structural analogy to the Khasi type, though in reverse. Among Todas of cross-cousins there is no preference for cross-cousin marriage. The much discussed cross-cousin marriage of the Todas of Kotagiri should be considered as the exception, as has already been examined by Leach (1958, p. 139). In this regard the Yao and the Todas of Kotagiri produce a picture somewhat similar to the Ashanti type, among the minority of society, though the general practice bears similar features with that of the Khasi type.

It has become clear that cross-cousin marriage is closely related to the type of residence, i.e. virilocality, combined with economic factors. Furthermore, the cross-cousin marriage signifies the political importance of the maternal uncle as lineage head. Thus the Khasi type and the Ashanti type represent alternative arrangements to the different forms of the core of the functional body, the matrilineal descent group.

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The preceding section has made clear different types of matrilineal systems so far as the internal structure of the descent group is concerned. This section deals with the relation of the descent group to the external organization.

Both the Garo and the Khasi follow a uxorilocal system, but they do not have what is called "segmentary lineage" organization, which has been much discussed in the African field. As generally understood,

1. Naturally never among the Yao-Cewa group, a cross-cousin marriage is likely to be found between a daughter of a head (male) of a descent group and his sister's son (Ashanti, type, p. 222). Mitchell states that Yao cross-cousin marriage is one of the solutions for the conflict between the principle of uxorilocal marriage and the principle of male leadership of the lineage (Mitchell, 1956, p. 194).

19: Nakao E-5 (1955-1956) 1957 AR7 Khasi AR7 •
Garo AR5

lineage is a corporate unilineal descent group of which the members can establish demonstrable genealogical relationships to each other. According to Firth, "lineage is essentially a unilineal descent group with some corporate functions, normally related by segmentary process to other descent groups of the same type, and with them usually covering the entire society" (1957, p. 4). The Garo and the Khasi can then be said to have the lineage, but to lack its segmentary organization which normally is found in a unilineal society. Both social structures exemplify the importance of the residence as a functional unit, against the wider descent group which may be called the lineage group.

In the case of the Garo, the localized lineage is expressed in terms of the village (or group of villages) whose land bears the name of the localized lineage. However, it is the village which acts as the functional corporate body, the economic and ritual unit, not the group of members of the localized lineage. The village theoretically consists of the members of the two localized lineages, as represented in the headman and his wife respectively. Practically, though it bears the name of a particular lineage to which the wife of the headman belongs, as also usually the majority of the inhabitants, it includes many other lineage members as well as the traditional two lineages. Therefore, the lineage is not, in this sense, an exclusive corporate unit with a ritual and economic function, though it gives a theoretical framework to the structure.

In the case of the Khasi, the lineage is found only on a household scale, centred in the woman, the property owner with members having direct matrilineal kinship ties to the former, such as her brothers, other sisters, sons and daughters, who may or may not reside in the same household—the members of the *iing*. Beyond this unit (the *iing*) one can hardly find any functional organization based on the descent system. In other words, the lineage becomes a functional unit only at the level of the household, e.g., the lowest level of segmentation of the descent group, and it lacks wider external organization by the same principle. The clan is considered rather as a ritual conception implying exogamy, not as an organized body of kin.

These phenomena contrast sharply with the Hopi and the Ashanti social organization, where lineage organization has crucial importance wider than on a household level. Many factors can be considered in this connection. First of all, the locus of property and economical unit are the most distinctive factors. Among the Khasi, property and economical units are always found in an *iing*, represented by the youngest daughter's household, while that of the Hopi and the Ashanti are in a wider lineage organization in which members of many households are usually included. The Zuni pattern seems also similar to that of the Khasi. The difference between the Khasi and Zuni lies

13: Nakano K-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7
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in the rule of inheritance, the former follows uxipatrilineal (ultimogeniture), while the latter does not. Therefore, the number of members of a Zuni household is naturally larger than that of the Khasi.[1] Against the average number of a Khasi household, four to five, that of the Zuni is seven and a half to eight persons (Kroeber, 1917, p. 104). Among the Khasi, sisters separate through marriage in every generation, leaving the youngest in their natal house, while Zuni sisters may stay together even after their marriages. Kroeber states:

> "The house belongs to the women born of the family. They come into the world, pass their lives, and within the walls they die . . . Now and then a new dwelling may be built by all the inmates, or by a girl of the house by an enterprising husband but in general the same walls, or rooms[1] same on the same spot (ibid., pp. 47-48). . . . It is true that a Zuni 'house' often contains what we should regard as two or three households, but as long as it includes only one used hearth, and all natives insist that the two or three households are a single one" (ibid., p. 104).

The internal composition of the household may differ from that of the Khasi, but the household in terms of the important institutionalized unit, is very similar to the Khasi. Li An-che states that "characteristics of a joint household based on the kinship principle stand out very strikingly" (Li, 1937, p. 77). Eggan's statement brings Zuni social organization much closer to the issue. He writes, "In terms of Kroeber's table it would seem that the Zuni tend to equate a lineage with a household, except in cases of recent expansion or budding off" (Eggan, 1950, p. 184). He gives a further illuminating analysis of this point:

> "We have noted that the lineage principle . . . also provides a mechanism for the inheritance of ceremonial duties and obligations and the transmission and preservation of fetishes and other ceremonial paraphernalia. In Zuni this inheritance is phrased in terms of the household, but it is clear that it is the lineage segment born into the household that is important. This lineage segment, or at least the female line thereof, also owns land and holds it in trust for succeeding generations, to be worked by the men who marry into the household" (ibid., p. 217).

Another similar equation of lineage and household, comparable to that of the Khasi and the Zuni, is found among the Trobriand. According to Goodenough (1956)

> 1. This involves not only the difference of the number of members in a household but also the relation between the members of a descent group. As already discussed, the core of the descent group among the Khasi, is the pair of siblings, the owner of the property (the youngest sister) and the authority (a brother), not the sibling group altogether (see p. 131) as happens in other matrilineal systems appearing in this discussion. In regard to the uxipatrilineal succession (ibid.), the Garo share the same system as the Khasi, though it appears to operate differently by reason of the structural difference of organization.

19: Nakane K-9 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7 •
Garo AR5

"In aboriginal times they used to be associated with most lineages a dwelling house, *jawa* (p. 93) . . . *jawa* is the corporate property of the lineage or descent line whose women live in it, but it is normally built by their husbands" (p. 68).

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Here, it is clear that a household provides the major locus of a lineage. In other words, a lineage is a corporate property group with a common residence. This is also the case of the Nayar *tarwad* and the Minangkabau *jawa*, though in these cases the household excludes the spouses of its members, while with the Khasi, the Zuni, and the Trobriand the spouses (in most cases, the husbands) share the residence.

Though they may differ in scale and size from one society to another, as well as from one household to another, the functional lineage founded upon residence has thus a similar range in all of these systems. For convenience sake, I tentatively term this type of lineage "household-lineage,"[1] as opposed to that of the Hopi and the Ashanti, which might be termed "segmentary-lineage."

The average number of Khasi and Garo household members is four to five, that of the Zuni seven and a half to eight as stated above, the Trobriand is eighteen (three to thirty-four in Romonum Island, according to Goodenough), while the Nayar range from thirty to two hundred. These differences, I think, mostly depend on the economic (and environmental) situation; they should not be regarded as structural, except for the Garo and the Khasi, which, because of the uxorilocal rule, have smaller and fairly uniform households. The wide range of variation in composition which we observe among the Trobriand and the Nayar is due in reality to economic and environmental factors: the more favorable the circumstances, the larger the unit.

The co-residential group and the property unit do not always necessarily correspond. One property group may consist of more than two independent residences. But even in such cases, the lineage is likely to be found in a group which formed a co-residential unit in the recent past, and which should be considered as marginal cases, derived from the recent fission of a group—it is a lineage in process of fission not a constant kin-group based on wider organization such as we find among the Ashanti and the Hopi. Usually such a lineage ceases to function shortly after it loses its common property, which usually follows closely upon the fission of the residential unit. Thus, in the course of time a once-recognized lineage group disappears into the common sea of the clan, which represents only a ritual and exogamous unit. In some cases, even this clan loses its function, as happens among the Nayar and the Minangkabau, where the lineage which

1. It should be noted that it does not mean that the lineage consists of household members, but that the lineage solidarity is found around the range of a household scale.

15: Nakane E-9 (1955-1956) 1967 AR? Khasi AR? Garo AR5

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corresponds (or corresponded in the near past) to the co-residential property-group itself becomes an exogamic unit, disregarding the wider unit of the clan. Structurally it can be said that in these societies a lineage cannot exercise its full function unless it has a common residence based on a property unit.

In contrast to these societies, I cannot help but think that the Ashanti and the Hopi belong to a different type. Both Fortes and Eggan lay great emphasis on the descent principle, based on the ethnographic data of the Ashanti and of the Hopi respectively. The best examples of statements concerning this issue are the accounts in which both stress their disagreement with Kroeber's argument of 1938 in favour of the priority of local residence relationships over those of descent, under the title of "Basic and secondary patterns of social structure."

Fortes states:

"A lineage cannot easily act as a corporate group if its members can never get together for the conduct of their affairs. It is not surprising therefore to find that the lineage in African societies is generally locally anchored, but it is not necessarily territorially compact or exclusive. A compact enclave may be enough to act as the local centre for a group that is widely dispersed. I think it would be agreed that lineage and locality are independently variable and how they interact depends on other factors in the social structure. As I interpret the evidence, local ties are of secondary significance, pace Kroeber, for local ties do not appear to give rise to structural bonds in and of themselves. There must be common political or kinship or economic or ritual interests for structural bonds to emerge. Agnatic spatial dispersion does not immediately put an end to lineage ties as the corresponding ties are found in exogamic systems like that of the Lele. For legal status, property, office and cult are contingently to hold dispersed lineages together and scattered kindred" (Fortes, 1953, p. 30).

Eggan states:

"For the Hopi the kinship structure is centered primarily around the lineage; the household relationships are secondary (Eggan, supra, p. 163) . . .

"Furthermore, it is the lineage and clan, rather than the household group, which is interwoven with lands and ceremonies and which is considered to own the house itself. Important as are the ties of residence and subsistence associations, they are not the key groupings in Hopi orientation—or in terms of our interpretation.

"Kroeber explicitly leaves kinship out of account in his analysis of 'basic and secondary patterns of social structure,' but in a sense kinship is more fundamental than either patterns of residence or formal grouping. The analysis of Hopi kinship has suggested that both the household and the lineage organizations are encompassed in the kinship system. And it is clear that the kinship system is organized in terms of the lineage principle rather than in terms of residence" (ibid., p. 193).

These arguments seem to me to refer more to a difference of social organization than to a theoretical contrast. On the basis of my own

field work as well as on the accounts of various matrilineal systems, I feel strongly that there must be different types of systems which may be distinguished as "household-lineage" and "segmentary-lineage". Forde and Eggan postulate the pre-eminence of the descent principle over residence. Though this may be the case among the Ashanti and the Hopi, it does not fit the cases belonging to what I call "household-lineage" type. Firth's argument emphasizing the importance of rights to group membership being associated with locality, fits very well with the latter case. With more precision and subtlety than Kroeber, he argues that "residence by itself does not give title to descent-group membership, but land rights established by descent-group membership tend to remain operational only through residence" (Firth 1957, p. 7).

I believe there are crucial differences between these household-lineage type and segmentary-lineage type organizations. The technical process of fission into segments is similar in both types. But in the latter, once a segmented group attains autonomy, the relation between the segments will easily be forgotten after a few generations, so it has no significant social implication. Among these societies, people's genealogical memory outside the residential group is surprisingly poor. This empirical fact also suggests a different structure from that of the segmentary system.

In both types of society the internal organization of a household is the same, but it differs externally. Eggan states that "Kroeber's and Parsons' statements about the lack of system in regard to Zuni kinship indicate judgement from some arbitrary standard" and adds "The concept of the lineage provides a bridge between the household and the clan" (Eggan, *ibid.*, p. 197). I cannot agree with this. In fact, my study of the Garo, the Khasi and the Nayar corresponds very well to the Zuni situation described by Kroeber and Parsons. There are matrilineal systems which lack a bridge between the household and the clan.

Then what is it that makes the difference between the two types of organization in similar unilineal systems? I am not sure that I can produce at present effective hypotheses on this issue. However, empirical facts show that the household-lineage type organization is likely to be found among more complicated societies or in a society with considerable mobility. This we gather also if we compare the village compositions of the Hopi and the Zuni. In the case of the Khasi, we saw that there was considerable mobility in population even in remote villages, so that we easily understand that in such a condition lineage membership hardly maintained itself. This seems to agree with the view put forth by Forde on segmentary systems. Forde says the limits of the spread or span of internal segmentation of the

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

has a striking resemblance to that of the Hopi as described by Eggan. The lineage, having segmentary structure, performs strong functions as a land ownership and religious unit. However, from Rattray's account, we understand that all grandchildren of matrilineage as well as children through the male line, are called *nana*, a term which is also applied to grandparent's generation. This means that the local classification does not extend beyond the second generation from Ego; such a classification corresponds to the *Zuni* type, but not to the Hopi type.

Coming back to the discussion of the correlation between the restricted type of kinship terminology and household-lineage, we should consider another important aspect of its bilateral character. In these societies can be observed considerable bilateral tendencies reaching beyond the household-lineage. As I have made clear in the description of the Khasi, the social and economic relationship with outside members of the household are no different towards people who belong to the same descent or clan than towards those who belong to an entirely different kin-group, except as concerns directly related kindred, such as sibling and mother and children. The matrilineal group wider than the *ing* has no exclusive function at all except avoidance of marriage. In this level of organization, there is no extension of the organizing principle of the matrilineal descent system. For instance, households A, B and C are matrilineally related to each other (A is the original and B and C the outcome of the fission of A). Such matrilineal links have no exclusive features that mark them off from other households unrelated through the matrilineal descent line; actual matrilineal links are minimized in their value and function in regard to relations between households. Such characteristics of this kind of organization must be correlated with the existence of an inheritance case, in which the matrilineal rule is distorted as I mentioned elsewhere (p. 121). If there is no daughter to succeed the *ing*, the son can inherit the acquired property of the *ing*, thus creating by transmission of the property, an entirely new *ing* (of his wife), in which no matrilineal link is established. Likewise in Truk, a son is the potential heir of his father's lineage, and frequency of patrilineal arrangements as alternatives—transmission of the property on the establishment of a new property-conferred group—does not always follow the strict matrilineal line. These facts point to considerable bilateral characteristics outside the household. The relationships among households are not organized upon the matrilineal principle.

Kroeber's emphasis on the bilateral character of the *Zuni* society should be regarded as important in this respect. *

*Upon her (Zuni woman) permanent occupancy of the house rests the matrilineal custom of the tribe. But kinship is thoroughly and equally bila-

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR? Khasi AR?

Such variety in residential arrangements and such flexibility in inheritance rule complicates considerably the composition of the residential unit when a property group (residential domestic unit) grows. Richards gives an interesting illustrative description of the formation of a Bemba residential unit:

> "The Bemba bridegroom starts his married life as a stranger in his wife's village, but since his daughters remain with him for some years after marriage he builds up a grand-family composed of his daughters, their husbands, and their children. In some cases he is able to persuade his sons-in-law to remain permanently with him, while in others he is even able to keep his son in his own village. In time some of his sister's sons, with their wives, will choose to come and settle with him, so that he will be head of a group of rather heterogeneous composition" (Richards, ibid., p. 107).

Here we find a man's wife's matrilineal kin (his daughters and sons, including the daughters' descendants); his own matrilineal kin (his sisters' sons); and the third matrilineal sets (his sons' wives and his sister's sons' wives). Such a mixed composition of a residential unit may never be found among societies belonging to those types previously discussed; such residential composition would be impossible if the matrilineal principle was functioning strongly in the structure of the actual property group.

Thus, the Bemba type presents an outstanding structural difference from the other types of matrilineal systems in which the matrilineal inheritance rule was the decisive factor for the formation of the residence unit. It is clear that in the Bemba type, both a man and a woman are fairly free from the economic control of his and her matrilineal group, and their relations are somewhat like those of the husband of the Khasi type and the wife of the Ashanti type. Therefore, the conflicts between one's matrilineal group and family of procreation are minimized, particularly in the economic sphere.

This analysis throws much light on the following remarks of Richards bearing on different aspects of the similar formation of descent groups among the Yao and the Bemba.

> "The head of a Yao village of this sort (taking his wife to his matrilineage residence) thus has authority over his wife's children and over those of his sisters, but the position of the wife's children seems to be clearly differentiated from that of the sister's children, and Mitchell speaks of a traditional hostility between them. I never saw evidence of such hostility in Bemba villages, which also often contain a man's children and his sister's children" (Richards, ibid., p. 109).

This difference should really be ascribed to the structural difference between the Khasi type (the Yao) and the Bemba type. In the former the matrilineal structural force is strongly functioning in the residential group, whereas in the latter it is minimized.

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Within such a structural framework it is quite understandable that the predominance of virilocal arrangements, coupled with male authority as husband/father, are found. All observers of these societies have noted this feature. Among the plateau Tonga and the Bemba particularly, male authority is outstanding.

"Men are free to move and to form their own homesteads because they acquire rights over their wives which permit them to remove their women from the protection of their kin . . . . As head of the household, the husband occupies a position comparable in many respects to that which falls to men in patrilineal societies" (Colson, 1958, p. 61).

"With the marriage the husband obtains—but only for the probationary period—rights over his wife's labour, the right to control her movements, and rights to her sexually. He is the father of any children born to her, whether or not he begets them . . ." (ibid., p. 101).

"So long as the household contains a married couple, it is theoretically under the authority of the husband. The wife and her children form the house, the *ingenda*, but the husband is known as the *ingenda*, 'the owner of the house' . . ." (ibid., p. 103).

"Once the young man is admitted to the family he is free to move his wife and children to his own village should he desire to do so" (Richards, ibid., p. 103).

"This is a male dominant society and, even though descent is reckoned through the mother, the wife is very much under the control of her husband even while he is an outsider in his wife's village" (ibid., p. 183).

The husband/father's authority was also observed among other matrilineal systems under certain conditions, as already fully discussed in the chapters on the Garo and the Khasi, and more predominantly among societies of the Ashanti type where the residential pattern was virilocal. However, the ambilateral structure on the level of the household composition may give more opportunity to create a husband/father authority of a more stable kind, unhampered by matrilineal force.

Furthermore, individuals are almost free from the descent principle in establishing their residence. Colson states in her account on the Tonga that a man has complete freedom to choose his residence, and residents in a single neighbourhood need not have kinship ties with one another. In the ordinary round of daily life, membership within a neighbourhood may be of more significance than membership within a matrilineal group (Colson, 1958, pp. 27-28). Oliver describes a similar situation:

"The non-marrying women and their children acquire provisional rights in trusts where they reside, and ultimately acquire full title to such lands" (Oliver, 1955, p. 110).

It is clear, in these societies, that there are two sets of groups on different levels: a matrilineal group membership of which is acquired

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7 *
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000 devices of the existing system. This does not necessarily imply that such societies have or had the same organization as other matrilineal societies, but I believe this to be an economic and historical product of the existing structure. I do not question the fact that all these societies are subject to a process of change; but it does seem unnecessary to assume that every factor which happens to be missing nowadays, did, in fact, exist in the past.

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Summing up the above discussion, the essential structural differences between the Bemba type and other matrilineal systems are found firstly in the internal structure of its property group: "unilateral" contrasting with the "matrilineal" of the Garo, Nayar, Khasi and Ashanti types. Secondly, in the structure of the wider organization of the residential groups: the clear matrilineal principle is found to act in the composition of matrilineal groups. The focus of the matrilineal operation is quite opposite to that of the household-lineage type. In the latter the bilateral features are met with at the wider organizational level. In the Bemba type, in spite of bilateral features in the composition of the residential property group, the rigorous matrilineal group conception is found in the wider organization. Unlike the case of the segmentary-lineage type, this matrilineal group does not have necessarily a direct and actual economic basis. Perhaps the scale of the Bemba society is small enough to maintain the matrilineal social system without a definite economic basis.

In conclusion, such terms as "matrilineal" (unilineal) and "bilateral" are simply convenient labels for the preliminary classification; they should not be used as contrasting criteria for classifying social structure. The unilineal principle (matrilineal system) works differently in each given society, producing as I have observed different structures. Again, *descent* principle and *residence* (with landholdings or property) are equally important criteria for the analysis of social organization. The prominence of either descent or residence should not be theoretically opposed in the arguments of anthropologists, for different degrees and levels of both factors are involved in each given society.

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Finally I should like to note that the five major types of matrilineal systems in relation to the internal structure of the property group, which I presented in this discussion, namely the Garo, the Nayar, the Khasi, the Ashanti and the Bemba types, give theoretical criteria for the analysis. It should not be assumed that all matrilineal systems grouped into the same type present the same structure, but that each possesses the important basic element of its type. Also a system may change from one type to another through important economic changes or migrations: for instance, from the Nayar type to the Ashanti type, or from the Ashanti type to the Bemba type.

people remained non-Hindu in their basic beliefs and social customs. Hindu influences are nevertheless predominant in their culture, especially in their way of living which shows a practical adaptability, somewhat similar to the Japanese acceptance of modern western culture without becoming Christian. In my census of Shella village, the people calling themselves 'Hindu' amount to 91 per cent of the total, but they are the recent converts to the Ramakrishna School which established a missionary station at Shella after the Partition. The Christians constitute 9 per cent of the total, most of them having been converted during the last ten years, as in the case of the Ramakrishna School.[7] The rest remain as they were, of Khasi belief. Those conversions to either Ramakrishna or Christianity seem to have been encouraged by the unstable situation of the people resulting from the recent economic depression in this area.

The Partition of India and Pakistan in August 1947, which drew the boundaries a few miles south of Shella village, considerably upset village economy by stopping all trade with Dawgan, though a limited amount of trade is allowed with local people at the border. Because of this political change, all the produce of Shella gardens is rotting away for lack of markets, while all of the rice fields were taken by Pakistan. Goods are come to Shella only from the uplands, carried upon men's shoulders over the most difficult pass, which makes everything very expensive. Many families have sold their gold and other treasures, and some families are facing starvation.[8]

Concerning the conversion to a new religion, an interesting phenomenon is to be observed. The conversion to Christianity or to Ramakrishna is mostly by individual. I found in my census that the wife and husband often belong to different religions. This is a very different picture from the Garo, among whom I always found that the husband and wife belonged to the same religion, the conversion of the husband to Christianity was always followed by that of the wife. I think this reflects the structural difference which influences the actual relationship between the husband and wife. Among these Khasi, instead of the husband and wife, the maternal uncle and his nephews and nieces are mostly of the same religion. The function of the sing, the most important social and religious unit, thus appears also in the conversion to a new religion, stronger than that of a domestic unit.

Intermarriage

The close economic and cultural contact of the Shella people and the Dawgan is not matched by social contact. The essential barrier between the two peoples is the difference of religion which dominates the entire social order in each society. Though these Khasi were important traders, richer than the neighbouring Hindu peasants, they were considered by the Hindu as outcasts with whom they never shared social activities. Intermarriages were therefore very rare. In Shella village, only two exceptional cases were found in my census:

- A Khasi woman married to a Garhia (cattle-keeper), they live at Shella Bazaar (Shella).
- A Khasi woman has marital relation with a Dawgan medical doctor who has resided at Dawgan in Shella for six years. He already has a Dawgan

1. These two entirely different missionary activities are competing with each other, and are somewhat related to the political power within that area.

2. The state government is doing its best to provide them with additional facilities for example, providing an transport for the transportation of oranges from Shella to Gauhati and Calcutta. However, such arrangements cannot cover the great economic loss suffered by the Shella people.

workers and they were few in number.[1] They were particularly employed for such work as the clearing of jungle for new pan gardens in summer.

In the orange season (December to February) the number of workers increased and they were paid more: Rs. 1.8 were paid[2] for one load (one person carrying 80 pounds of oranges, from an orange garden to the railway station—about two miles). Usually a worker made three to five trips a day. Many workers from Jaintia used to come for this particular season.

Semi-permanent workers were engaged for wet rice fields. They were usually Hindu cultivators since these Khasi and other tribes do not know the technique of wet cultivation, plains people like the the Biharee immigrants were engaged. These workers were provided with servants' quarters where they lived with their wives and children. However, very few Jaintiaga households possessed rice fields.

The economic prosperity of Jaintiaga reached its climax during the period from 1939 to 1941. Since 1941, the orange production has been decreasing. In 1942, a serious disease attacked the orange gardens as well as the pan leaf gardens. Besides, by depriving Jaintiaga, as it had Shella, of their most important markets, Dacca and Sylhet, the Partition of India and Pakistan in 1947 caused a serious economic depression in the whole region. On the other hand, because of the past prosperity, the population has rapidly increased during the last ten years. The serious economic condition of Jaintiaga is illustrated in the petition which was submitted by the Jaintiaga people when the Governor of Assam visited there once in January 1956. It runs thus:

"Since the last ten years or so, with the increase of population in the village and with the loss of fertility of the soil, the people were faced with economic depression. At present they are facing more shortage of land they have also no scope to adopt other forms of cultivation like jhuming and wet rice cultivation, etc. Moreover, there has been successive attack of Bright's disease which destroyed and wiped out all the orange and pan gardens. And as such, majority of the families have to depend for their livelihood on daily wages.

It is indeed a serious situation for them, because the Khasi do not produce staple foods, such as rice, their economy is completely dependent on the trade of their products by which they purchase their main provisions, clothes, etc. Other people round Jaintiaga, being from cultivators, can at least get rice and cotton: the minimum requirements, staple foods and clothing are available even in the worst conditions, so that they can at least maintain themselves though the standard of living is low. As I stated before, a few households in Jaintiaga possessed rice fields, but the majority had none. Recently they rented some plots of jhum field for rice cultivation from Zemi-Naga of neighbouring villages.* However, its yield was but a small percentage of their consumption. A few

* If they had worked in the gardens of Jaintiaga, they might have got more profit than from their own jhum fields. For one day's labour, they got Rs. 2/-. For one month, they could earn Rs. 12 with which they could buy about 2.5 maunds of rice (one maunds paddy cost Rs. 5/-). For one year it became 30 maunds, which was impossible to produce in a jhum field by a single person's labour.

1. These notes, including the figures of note 1, apply to 1956.
2. Jaintiaga villagers said one that Zemi-Naga were kind enough to lend them their field for a negligible rent, though they had not enough for themselves. Zemi-Naga said that they owed much to Jaintiaga in the past, so that now they sympathized with the conditions of Jaintiaga, and offered some parts of their jhum field.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR? Khasi AR?

192 434 very wealthy households still maintain their former economic activities, but the majority have been impoverished, becoming daily labourers for the wealthy men or for road construction. Thus considerable internal economic differentiation has begun to appear in the community.

192 245 648 Though the recent economic depression brought poverty to Jaitinga, the standard of living is still strikingly higher than that of neighbouring tribes. Studying such economic aspects of Jaitinga, I wondered at first why these neighbouring tribes have remained as they were, except for temporary employment at Jaitinga; why, looking at the prosperity of Jaitinga, they did not adopt the way of the Jaitinga people?

Indeed some of them attempted to imitate the Jaitinga economy, but the results were unfortunately not favourable to them. First, both pan-leaf and orange cultivations were entirely new to the tribal people, and the technique was quite different from that of dry rice cultivation in the jhum field. Pan cultivation requires very delicate care which is almost impossible to manage for people who have been accustomed to the primitive jhuming cultivation. For instance, when they go into pan gardens, they have to wash themselves and put on special clean clothes in order to prevent the spread of epidemic leaf disease. Tribal people, who seldom wash their clothes, or mostly go naked, could hardly keep pan gardens. In this respect the Khasi are entirely different, having specialized in this economy for a long period, even as they believe, from time immemorial.

On the other hand, the technique of orange cultivation is much easier than that of pan-leaf, but it takes several years to obtain a yield, it requires considerable capital to begin with. For the jhum cultivators, who usually did not have such income nor funds, it was almost impossible to start it, while the Khasi were able to raise funds from the selling of the pan-leaf. Furthermore, the management of such gardens, either pan-leaf or orange, differs also from that of the jhum field as it entirely depends on individual enterprise based on private land ownership, which is new for these tribes where the community owns the land. Therefore the possibility of starting orange gardens is restricted to special individuals among them belonging to exceptionally rich and powerful households. A few households in neighbouring villages did, in fact, start orange gardens, adopting the technique of the Jaitinga people. The was sound vast and they were expecting to have the yield around 1950. However, unfortunately, when their oranges began to come into production, orange disease started in Jaitinga and spread all over these areas. Their dream therefore never came true.

[425] Besides oranges, some of them also established gardens of bananas, jackfruits, and papaya, which were more successful than the oranges. These plantations started much earlier than oranges in this area, though not in great quantity. The products were sold to the Jaitinga people who sold them again to Bengalee merchants. The question arises why were they not sold directly to Bengalee merchants, when the profit would have been much greater.

192 44 648 This aspect of the market economy touches upon very interesting problems concerning the relations between tribal and Hindu peoples. Such tribal peoples who live on a primitive subsistence level usually do not have direct contact with the peoples of the plains. There is always an intermediary between them. In this case it is the Jaitinga people who know both tribal life and Hindu life. They are also in between culturally. If a tribal cultivator sells his produce to a Hindu merchant, he would most certainly be cheated by the cunning merchant, as he is quite ignorant of trade. Tribal men do deal with markets directly, but only on a small scale at Shillong bazaar, and without making a profit; it is just the exchange of their basketful of jhum produce for an iron

15: Nakano E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

spade or some dried fish, etc. Products such as large quantities of fruits should be sold to the Jaintiya people who buy them at reasonable prices. 182 •

The Khasi are born traders. This must be closely related with their economic technique, such as pan cultivation which makes it impossible for them to live without trading. Hence, though they are hill people, they have had close economic contact with the peoples of the surrounding plains. At the same time, some of them have had a very similar economy to that of other tribes, such as that of Sohkhynrubh and of Kongkon; hence they are familiar with tribal economy. On the whole, their dealings with the tribes as well as with the plains peoples are fair, though they are hard bargainers. Indeed the Khasi are quite welcomed by both sides. Thus the Khasi play an important role as intermediary between the tribes living in the hills and the Hindu (and Muslim) living in the plains.[1] 44 646

The economic contact is the most important of the many contacts between Jaintiya and other tribal villages. Social contact, as appeared in intermarriages, is a rather marginal matter for the total population. Cultural contact is negligible. I only observed one infiltration—some fashionable tribal girls sometimes wear Khasi women's dress when they go to the Hafleng bazaar. In their contact with tribes, the Jaintiya Khasi speak Hindi which is the common language at Hafleng bazaar for all tribes and peoples in this area. A few men of Jaintiya speak some tribal language, but none of the tribal speak the Khasi language. 645 182 [191]

In spite of such great differences in culture, economy and social organization, the relationship between the Jaintiya people and the tribes has remained very friendly. For instance, as I mentioned before (p. 175, note 3), the tribes lent their land to Jaintiya people who were suffering from a great economic depression. Their actual behaviour also reflects such a friendly relationship. It is said that at the time of the Golden Jubilee of Jaintiya in November 1955, many Zemi-Naga, Kuki, and Cachareo came and performed their dance for the celebration.

1. The important role of the Khasi as intermediary is not only in the economic field, but also in the political and cultural fields: nowadays many Khasi officers are sent to tribal areas by the Government. They are very efficient in dealing with such work, because they are used to deal with both tribal and plain peoples.

[P. 178 is blank]

potable water supply. Villages are about two to five miles apart, and have no boundary markers. In the past, villages contained semipublic buildings and grounds: the home of the village priest (also the home of a chief if he resided in that village), the village marketplace, and tree groves, cremation grounds, or other awesome spots that were believed to be inhabited by supernatural beings. Villages today may have also one or more Christian churches, government social welfare buildings, and schools. Formerly, villages were entered through a guarded gateway; this is no longer the case, and paths feed into villages from all directions. Often several villages are nucleated into one large unit, named and also described as a "village." These were once defense units, but were so uncohesive otherwise that institutionalized rivalry obtained among the component villages. Now, they have been integrated through the agency of all-village public services, especially schools. **Housing.** The traditional Khasi house is entered through a door at the rounded end of a U-shaped ground plan, and is about 20 feet at widest extent; it is about 30 feet deep, and is elliptical or hogback in profile. Its walls are of stone blocks cemented with mud. The roof of grass thatch, supported by a bamboo frame, overhangs the walls on their outside, down to about three feet above the ground. The house is divided into two parts: the front one-third is on the ground level, floored either with stone blocks or tamped earth, and is used for storage of occupational instruments and as a shelter for poultry. The rear two-thirds is raised four feet on piles of stone blocks to a platform of planks, and is partitioned into six rooms, comprising a kitchen, areas for storage of food and water, and sleeping quarters. Furniture is minimal, and the house is totally undecorated. There are no windows, and no smoke vents. A house generally has a companion shed, walled of wood and grass matting and thatched with grass. This serves as a pigsty, but it may be partitioned also to house cows, and it may have a loft for fuel storage. Compounds often contain garden plots, and are fenced around with stone or bamboo and mud. Nowadays, the traditional house has given way to Western-style bungalows of wood and tin, especially in and around Shillong. [Cf. Mukherjee et al. 1941.]

361 [944] [443] [778] [344] [178] [712] [628] [178] [182] 342 352 353 354 343 351 177 184 342

ECONOMY. The Khasi economy is a market economy based on agriculture, and most Khasis are primary producers, sellers, middlemen, and/or providers of services in connection with markets. Khasis are often multioccupational: they produce goods for partial subsistence, and also play some part in trade. **Agriculture.** On the Shillong plateau, the major field crops are potatoes, maize, millets, and dry rice, still produced mostly through swidden farming, with a two- to three-year period of fallow, but increasingly through continuous use of a single field with the aid of ma-

241 433 443 [463] 241

17: Banerjee E-5 (1955) 1964 ART Khasi ART
Smith

Then followed the dance of the girls (*Ki shad I pyrkat*) who were also wearing dress as described above. They kept their eyes down, keeping their arms on their sides taking such a short steps with the music, that the movement of the feet were hardly perceptible. The boys were also in their dancing dress as worn by *nongshad* and danced with fly-brush round the girls making their steps with the beatings of the drums. The music started from the morning would be stopped only after completion of the dance which prolonged till evening. These functions served as a good source of amusement to the people, enabling them to have a good diversion from their monotonous life with an opportunity to meet their friends and relations who assembled there from different parts of the hill.

DISCUSSION

From the foregoing description, it is evident that the Khasi live in a democratic set up in which the secular duties are entrusted to the *Siem*. A different rule is followed in the case of religious festivals. Every Khasi family entrusts the sacerdotal work of the house to the youngest daughter. The *Siem's* sister (Siem Sad) being the senior member of his mother's clan, is made responsible for the observance of these ceremonies which concerns the welfare of the subjects. The people attend the festival to seek blessings of their supreme deity U Shillong and their presence in the *Siem's* residence indicates their loyalty to him. The rituals of the festival, instead of being performed by her (High Priestess), were conducted by the Chief Priest (Sub Siem) for which he was allotted a very important position in the celebration. The musicians were given similar status owing to the belief in the sacredness of their music. It ought to be played in proper tunes otherwise the displeasure of the deity would fall on them on finding any slight departure in this respect. For this reason, the music is considered as important as the rituals and the role of musicians were consequently given due recognition at every stage of the festival. The tradition of depositing one pieces of Nongrong (lit. to sacrifice the goat at the top of the hill was followed on account of their ancestors having carried out in olden times the profession of *ski-lawang* (body guard) to the *Siem*. Another person of Khariemen clan was also asked to carry the head of the sacrificial animal from the hill to the residence of the *Siem* after the worship, as his predecessors were such in ancient times during the period of their captivity in this State. Such attitudes were found expressed in a symbolic way through their ceremonies.

The most important concern of the people was to maintain their mode of living together with their property and other means of subsistence. They worshipped him so that he might prevent the evil spirit from doing any harm and may in addition grant them bumper crops. To be recipient of such a favour, they appeased their god U Shillong with gifts and sacrifices. It is not sure whether he is considered as one of their defined counterpart but his important position in the Khasi pantheon enabled him to have some priority in their worship. The offering of red-cock together with a yellow goat, moreover, revealed his amiable and benevolent nature as the malignant ones get representation invariably with black colours. U Shillong was invoked simultaneously with other dead ancestors, with this hope, that all the deities would pool their supernatural strength in fighting the evil spirits before the latter were able to cause any harm to their crops or to reduce in any way the fertility of their fields.

It would be interesting to refer here about the presentation of nine pieces of meat from various parts of the sacrificial animal. It may be a case of appeasement by serving him with some food but there seems to be something

19. Sarvajna S.A (1911) 19.2 AR? Khan AR?
Smith

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

TABLE [illegible] (contd.)

(1)	(2)	(3)		(4)	(5)
5. Cultivated acres—					
1. No land ...	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
2. Less than 1 acre ...	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
3. 1 or less than 5 acres	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	...	[illegible]
4. 5 or less than 10 acres	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	...	[illegible]
5. 10 acres and above	[illegible]	[illegible]	...	...	[illegible]
Total ...	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

6.6 It is significant that in all the three areas a considerable section of wholly agricultural families and families following agriculture as principal occupation are landless. On the other hand, a considerable proportion of the families with agriculture as subsidiary occupation or independent of agriculture had land of various sizes. The fact why agriculture for those families who possessed sufficient land, was relegated to a subsidiary occupation is possibly more due to low returns from agriculture than their attachment to it.

FRAGMENTATION

6.6 It has been observed that a large number of rural families have small holdings, the very smallness of which render their holdings uneconomic. In addition, the holding of rural families suffer most from the evils of fragmentation. Often holdings are not in compact blocks but are scattered all over and surrounded by lands in possession of others or some uncultivable waste land. Some of the fragments lie even in separate villages.

Unlike in the plains districts, fragmentation here was brought about not so much by population pressure (except only in case of wet paddy field) or inheritance legislations as each other factors as would give rise to extensive fragmentation of holdings. This is because there is no settlement regulation and the people are free to retain as much of the Raj land as possible for their cultivation. Fragmentation here is thus more a product of the topography of the district, for cultivable land in large compact block is not easy to get and cultivable land have to be found in isolated pockets.

The extent of fragmentation is presented in the following table :

TABLE [illegible]

Distribution of holdings according to number of Engineers

No. of Engineers	Under sale (percentage of holdings)		Project sale (percentage of holdings)		Overall sale (percentage of holdings)	
	No. of holdings	Percentage	No. of holdings	Percentage	No. of holdings	Percentage
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
1	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
2	[illegible]		[illegible]		[illegible]	—
3	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]
4	[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—
5	[illegible]		[illegible]		[illegible]	—
6	[illegible]		[illegible]		[illegible]	—
7	[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
8	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	—	—
9	[illegible]		[illegible]			—
10	[illegible]		—		[illegible]	—
11	[illegible]		[illegible]			—
12	[illegible]		[illegible]			—
13	[illegible]		—			—
14	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	—
15	[illegible]		—			—
16	[illegible]		—			—
17	—		—			—
18	—		—			—
19	[illegible]		—			—
20	[illegible]		—			—
21 & above	[illegible]		—			—
Total...	[illegible]	100	[illegible]	100	[illegible]	100

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] E-5 (1955-1956) 1957 AR7 Khasi AR7

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[244]
[451]
[491]
[369]
[316]

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vation is impossible because of the cold climate. In the past, Khasi economy must have remained at a very primitive stage.

Potato cultivation has been much encouraged along with the development of Shillong and the opening of the motor road to Gauhati from Shillong after the Independence of India when Shillong became the seat of the Assam Government, as well as the capital of the Khasi-Jaintia Hills. Shillong has become an important trading centre, where big merchants collect the harvests of potatoes in exchange for rice, clothes and various other goods from the Assam valley. These changes have introduced the Khasis into an active commercial economy which again has brought about various changes in their social life. Recently coal excavations have started in the upland Khasi Hills, and many Khasi become miners.

Thus the history of the Khasi Hills during the last hundred years has changed a great deal the picture of the Hills. However, dark corners still remain in Bhoi, War and in the area bordering on the Garo Hills. These have been kept in a vacuum between the Hindu civilization of the bordering plain and the modernization of the uplands centred in Shillong. In these areas, the people are still practising primitive jhum cultivation. I have chosen two villages in War located in one of these areas as subjects of my major field-work.

[P. 100 is blank]

19: Nakaso E-5 (1950-1954) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

Chapter III

VILLAGE COMMUNITY

As models of a Khasi village community, I have taken my data for the discussion presented in this chapter from two villages situated in the Kadashinong area, Sohkyndah and Kongkon, with comparative data from Sholla and Jotinga villages.

Sohkyndah and Kongkon are situated in one of the most secluded spots of the Khasi Hills and the economy is shifting cultivation, with millet as its main product. Only a few Christians are found; most of the population are pagans. Sholla is situated on the southern border of the Khasi Hills, adjacent to Pakistan. Jotinga is in the North Cachar Hills, surrounded by patrilineal tribes, such as the Zemi-Naga, the Kuki and the Cachares. The economy of both villages is pan-leaf and orange cultivation. In Sholla, Hindu, Christian and pagan are found among the villagers almost in the same proportions, while the Jotinga villagers are all Christian. The two Kadashinong villages, Sholla and Jotinga, differ from one another not only in their religious and economic aspects, but in overt culture, dialect and political organization as well. (Additional information concerning Sholla and Jotinga is given in Appendix.) Sholla and Jotinga are unique among Khasi villages and quite sophisticated, having been developed under a trading economy, with considerable contacts with other peoples, including Hindus. I selected these villages in order to ascertain how far the structural principle which operates in the Kadashinong villages can be found to act also in totally different economic and environmental situations.

[P. 101]

I. Setting and Economic Background of Sohkyndih and Kongton

361 Sohkyndih and Kongton are villages of the Kadashimong,[1] one of
632 the areas under the Cherra Chief. The Kadashimong is situated on
[191] the southern slope of the Khasi Hills, in what is called War country. These two villages are situated at the farthest point from both Shella, the centre bordered by the plain, and Cherrapunjee, the seat of the
• 194 Cherra Chief, one of the centres of the upland Khasi Hills. The people
121 at Cherrapunjee say that these villages are one of the most backward
[171] parts of the Khasi Hills. They correspond to Rombagiri in the Garo Hills, as they lie in the innermost parts and more traditional economic and social settings have been preserved there than in other villages. These are also the reasons why I selected these villages as my field.

361 It is nine miles to Sohkyndih from Cherrapunjee, crossing two
[191] deep valleys towards the east. Kongton is located at the heart of
[497] the mountain ranges, ten miles from Cherrapunjee, towards the north-east. It is about twelve miles from Sohkyndih to Kongton, and the way leads through one of the most difficult passes, where even
[162] villagers seldom travel. In December, 1955, Sohkyndih was a community of 48 households (List 6), and Kongton of 62 households (List 9). The settlements of both villages are clustered in the southern depressions of a mountain, not far from the summit, a typical location
[194] of Khasi villages. Sohkyndih has poor soil, covered with plenty of pieces of stones. The yield therefore is very poor. On the other hand, Kongton, a much older village, enjoys fertile soil, and is one of the most prosperous communities in the Kadashimong.

241 The major economy of both villages is shifting cultivation. We have already seen, in the chapters on the Garo, the fundamental technique of "jhuming cultivation." The differences between the
423 Garo and the Khasi shifting cultivation are to be found in two aspects:
[171] one is the nature of the crops and the other is the type of landowner-
[241] ship. In this area, the main crop is millet, while that of the Garo is rice. Besides the shifting cultivation, the Khasi have pan-leaf gardens and sometimes pineapple gardens, though on a small scale and not in every household. The most important feature of Khasi shifting cultivation is the development of private ownership. In the tribal areas in Assam, such private ownership of the jhum field is quite an

1. Kadashimong is the name of a group of villages. Its literal meaning is "twelve villages," and it comprises the following villages: Sohkyndih, Rymmai, Mawbawein, Mawshiot, Mawmang, Kongton, Shyntiang, Krohiawhiar, Pilei, Tenshon, Nongpriang, and Dienglaw. (Khasi spelling follows the customary usage in Cherra State.)

necessary. The chances of acquiring a piece of land nowadays are 175
small, except for very successful men, and usually the size of the plot
is only just enough to maintain one household. When this land is 423
passed on to the next generation, the youngest daughter will hold the 428
title to it. This fact tends to exclude married elder sisters from the
right to use the land, since it is not sufficient for more than one house-
hold. Thus the ultimogeniture succession rule seems to have developed
more sharply and to have encouraged limited inheritance in conjunc-
tion with the shortage of land.

This tendency creates imbalance in the economy of the households 175
within a community. It is a usual picture in Khasi villages, for the
bigger and well-built houses to be occupied by the youngest daughter's 184
family, while the elder sisters reside in poor huts. Youngest daughters 423
are usually landowners, while their elder sisters have often to become 428
day-labourers after their marriage, unless their husbands are capable 556
men, or their fathers wealthy enough to give them some share of their
acquired property. On the whole, the variations at present between [171]
rich and poor are considerable in a Khasi community, in comparison
with that of the Garo, where the economic conditions of each household
in a village is more or less similar. These differences are not only a
matter of economic organization but arise from the nature of each
social structure.

The economic and social patterns of Sohkynduh and Kongton are 197
very similar, but their dialects are slightly different: my interpreter, [124]
who came from Cherrapunji, could work quite well at Sohkynduh, but
at Kongton he found some difficulty, especially with the speech of
the old men, and with their religious expressions. The headman of
Kongton, who was quite accustomed to the Cherra dialect, acted as
an interpreter for us. Such differences in dialect in the Khasi Hills
are common phenomena; it is said that every valley has its own dialect.
Differences are found not only in speaking, but also, to a certain
extent, in culture and in social usages.

II. Village Exogamy

One of the outstanding features of Khasi social organization is 582
the predominant tendency of endogamy on the level of the village, 621
which contrasts with the structural orientation of the Garo village [171]
exogamy. This is closely connected with the distributions of clans
and the nature of the descent groups.

The Khasi population consists of a number of *kur*, matrilineal 614
clans, whose members consider themselves to be descended from a [765]
common ancestress. The members of the same *kur* have a common [769]

15: Nature E-9 (1955-1956) 1957 AR7 Khasi AR7

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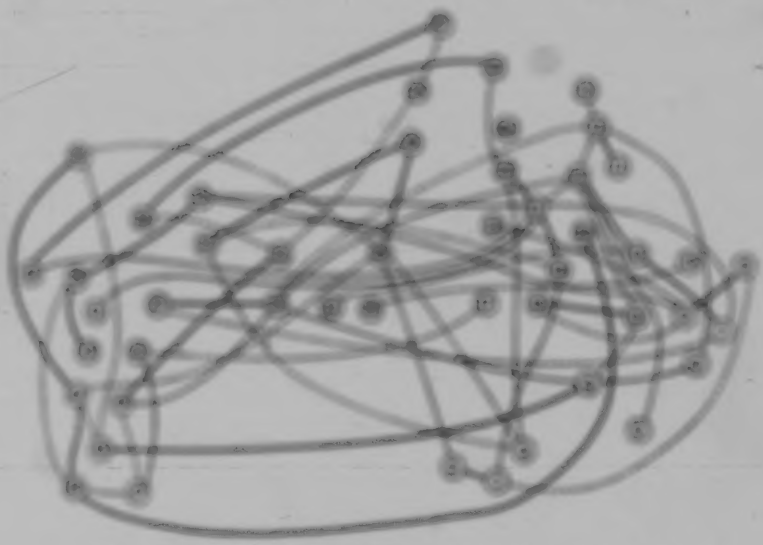

FIG. 10. — *Kinship and Household Location in Sohkyndah*

——— Matrilineal kinship relations among household members
——— Affinal relations (direct) among household members
- - - - - Affinal relations (indirect) among household members

particular two families are not restricted to one, but may be accumulated two or three, though I omitted to indicate these in Fig. 10.

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There are some extensions of marriage relations with members outside the village. In Sohkyndah, out of 88 (46 housewives and 42 their husbands) 13 men and 2 women came from neighbouring villages. Owing to the predominant uxorilocal arrangement, those who came in from outside the village were mostly men. By these members, five different *kur*, new to Sohkyndah, were found, as shown in List 7 (17-21). Most of these outsiders came from villages inside the Kadashiong, or villages no further than a day's journey there and back. This area might be called a secondary endogamous area, and includes more than half a dozen villages. In Kongton, 20 husbands and 3 women came from neighbouring villages by their marriages. The secondary endogamous areas of Kongton and of Sohkyndah are not the same but they overlap in certain places, the surrounding areas being centred on each village. There were, by December 1955, no instances of direct marriage between these two villages.

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There are a few exceptions to local endogamy, such as those individuals who have become Christians and are educated in towns like Shillong or Cherrapunjee. They usually move to a town, seeking

19: Nakaso K-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

some clerical work. However, such instances are very rare in these regions and few Christians are to be found among the people. So far as my genealogical table accounts for, only two boys from Sohkynduh, and one girl and one boy from Kongton, left for Shillong, and married there. In contrast to these exceptional cases in these villages, in the upland Khasi Hills, there are considerable changes in the composition of a village with high geographical and social mobility of population because of the spread of Christian education and urban influence.

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The people of the two villages say that marriages with outside people were not formally practised, and were only a recent tendency. However, the composition of the population of the two villages showed extensive movements of population in the past (not to urban areas, but from village to village). Such movement is attributed mostly to migration by a family rather than by an individual on marriage. This type of migration is clearly found also in the process of the formation of Jatinga village (see Appendix, Jatinga).

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The composition of the village community and the social characteristics of Sohkynduh and Kongton show very similar features of village endogamy. They seem to be typical of the traditional pattern of Khasi villages. Village endogamy is the intrinsic pattern among the Khasis. This fact can be also observed to a considerable degree in Shella and Jatinga.

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592 The Khasi domestic unit (co-residential group) can be divided into four categories:

a. Households consisting of wife, husband and their children, wife's unmarried sisters and brothers—sometimes including widowed or divorced.

[619] c. Households including all members of an *iing* (including their spouses from members of c). In this type, larger households contain all the descendants of three or more generations from one woman (in this case, an *iing* corresponds to a *kpoh*).

[591] b. Households of intermediate type between 1 and 2. Husbands are supposed to live in their wife's house, but they often go back to their sister's house for meals, and sometimes sleep there. They are supposed to work in their wife's field but they might work in their mother's (sister's) field, if necessary. This tendency is especially strong among newly married couples before they have a child.

e. Households consisting of only one elementary family. This mostly happens when a man married a non-farmer.

Most Khasi households are of types 1, 3 and 4 and these three types are usually found within one village. They were found in the four villages in which I worked. It is to these dwelling units that I have [178] given the name of house in Lists 6 and 9. Category 2, according to the information of Khasis and Jaintias, was used to be found among the Jaintias, though nowadays such cases are rapidly decreasing, changing into forms 1, 3 and 4. The members of category 2 belong to an *iing*, which structurally corresponds to the *tarwad* of the Nayar and the *parai* of the Minangkabau.

178 Category 2 may have been practised among certain of the Khasis a long time ago. Kongton people said that as recently as their father's • 184 generation, there were many husbands who stayed at the mother's 591 house after their marriage and visited the wife at night. Nowadays, visiting husbands are very unusual cases in the Khasi Hills, though such situations may occur among newly married couples before they have children. Gordon, who wrote his book *The Khasis* in 1914, states:

> "Amongst the Khasis, after one or two children are born, and if a married couple get on well together, the husband frequently removes his wife and family to a house she and her husband pool their earnings, which are expended for the support of the family" (p. 76).

In the Khasi Hills, the transition period between duolocal residence and neolocal or uxorilocal residence seems to have been shortened during the last forty or fifty years. This might have been effected through the influence of Christian marriages, which start cohabitation of the wife and the husband immediatly after the marriage ceremony. However, in Jatinga whose inhabitants originated in the Jaintia Hills where duolocal marriage is the usual practice, there are even now many instances of a man staying at his mother's house for several

years after his marriage. During this period he works in his wife's 178
field, then, if the couple gets on well, they start to live together in 184 •
an independent house (non-heiress's case) or in the wife's house
(heiress's case). In spite of the fact that the inhabitants are all
Christians, they have retained this custom.

It is difficult to determine at what date the Khasi people have 178
changed from duolocal marriage to uxorilocal marriage. However, 591
the present dwelling unit, with its fluid relationship between husband
and wife (in fact, there are many cases of category 3), suggests a situa-
tion linked with the duolocal residence pattern. The fragmentary
historical information available and the present Khasi residence pattern
suggest that the duolocal arrangement may be an older pattern of
marriage. When I was in Kongton there was no husband who stayed
at his mother's house permanently, visiting his wife at night. The
head man told me that, when he married, there were many who did
not stay in the wife's house. He was the first person to settle in the
wife's house. In his case, he said, he felt sympathy for his wife who
had no brother who could work for her. After he had settled in his
wife's house, many villagers began to follow his example.[1] When the [621]
pattern of a visiting marriage was in vogue, a village must have
constituted a more compact endogamous unit. If the husband's house
was in another village, a visiting marriage must have been a great
inconvenience. The tendency to settle in the wife's house and work
for the wife's house must have brought about a wider range of marriage
contracts, such as with members of nearby villages, even though in
the present form of marriage, village endogamy is much preferred as
it is decidedly advantageous particularly for a husband, since he can
continue his life in the same familiar environment in spite of uxori-
local marriage.

The variations in the pattern of co-residential grouping, which 592
I have classified into four categories, reflect two different themes in 599
the social structure of the Khasi. On the one hand they represent
different stages in the maturity of the individual families concerned. 613
For example, a householder who starts in category 3 or 4 may end as
an old man in category 1. On the other hand these variations also
reflect the polar opposition between the obligations of matrilineal
kinship and the obligations of parenthood; a man, in particular, has
conflicting obligations towards the *ing* of his sister and the *ing* of

1. However, all the information which I collected in the upland Khasi [184]
Hills indicates that the uxorilocal residence pattern has been practised for a
long time. According to stories often told by the Kongton people, they migrat-
ed from the Jaintia Hills. If these accounts are to be taken as a reflection of
the real history of their migration, it would seem that the Kongton people may
have kept up the Jaintia custom including the duolocal residence pattern up
to recent times, while the majority of the Khasi practised uxorilocal marriage.

whom he can marry, he has to endure one miserable family life, while 596
often in the same village his former wife is living in a well-built house 619
with her children and her matrilineal relatives as before. Households 596
of 3, 13 and 30 of Sohkyndah in List 6, and 23, 29, 38 and 58 of Rongiron 628
in List 5 are instances of such cases. It is really a pitiful picture to
see such a man, aged and poor, living all alone.

V. Marriage with the Non-heiress

Outsiders who come to the Khasi Hills are often impressed by the 184
Khasi husband's miserable status and express surprise at the high 628
divorce rate. This is mostly due to exaggeration based on the mar- 599
riage with the heiress. However, where a man marries a non-heiress,
there are many successful marriages with paternal authority. In most
of these cases a man's status as a husband and as a father is stable.
First of all, the domestic residential unit is an elementary family.
From the onset of the marriage the husband's labour is of great impor-
tance to his family, since a non-heiress usually has no economic
background, i.e., no dowry or inherited property (see p. 103). The
economic circumstances allow a man to be the *de facto* head even
though whatever he earns belongs, as a rule, to his wife. A man who
succeeds at the beginning of his married life is respected and honoured
as father in his family for the rest of his life. By this type of marriage,
the man's status is firmly established. It is therefore a more secure
form of marriage than a match with an heiress.

In such a marriage the children love and obey their father. The
management of his acquired property will be taken over by his son
and the property will be handed over to his daughter. Thus the
paternal authority is as well established in this form of domestic
family, as in a patrilineal family. However, the great difference from
a patrilineal case is that the husband/father status is not permanent
as the authority of the family. Theoretically he exercises it in the
absence of a male adult member of his wife's *iing* (actually founded [619]
by his contribution), in other words, till his son is grown up (see p. 16).
In the next generation this will form an established *iing* in which the
husband of his youngest daughter will suffer again.

The household of this kind of marriage with a non-heiress actually 592
enjoys a considerable degree of independence from the descent groups 599
of both wife and husband. If a man who has established a matri- 619
monial life independent of his wife's natal *iing*, is not the authority of
his natal *iing*, his relation with the latter usually becomes weaker.
Economic and residential factors make it possible for the men to make
the considerable shift from his *iing* to his wife's *iing*, and though

182 after divorce or husband's death, the Khasi woman stays on in her
586 household. Indeed many divorced or widowed poor wives, whose
619 children are still small, try their best to live and bring up their children
736 by themselves without asking their brothers' help. Of course a mother and her small children may go back to live in her natal *iing*. Such cases are found particularly when the woman's *iing* is rich. However, during my field work, I found no sense of psychological inferiority in Khasi women, widows or divorcees, such as we usually find in other societies. The personality of the individual seems to reflect the social structure.

182 Given such strong residential independence on the part of the
184 non-heiress, economically divorced from her descent group, and
586 oriented towards sociological separation from it, the husband's eco-
599 nomic and social contribution is handsomely rewarded by the estab-
619 lishment of a stable, happier, matrimonial life. In fact, as already mentioned, the divorce rate among such couples is very low contrasted with the high rate among marriages with heiresses. More accurately, I should say that divorce is more likely to occur among the latter owing to the conflict of loyalties towards spouse and *iing*. Therefore, when such partner has less loyalty towards his or her natal *iing*, the divorce cases become correspondingly fewer. Thus, among the Khasi, successful marriages are frequently found where there is branching off from an *iing*. And a new *iing* is always established by a husband's contribution.

182 Khasi men, who are well aware of this fact, prefer to marry a
184 non-heiress, since they will then form an independent household and
581 remain immune to pressure from their wife's kin. However, they say a poor or lazy man prefers marriage with an heiress. As Richards said of the matrilineal Central Bantus, the residence on marriage seems to be a most important index of the husband's status, though the determining factors of the residence of the Khasi differ from those of the Bantus (see p. 124).

182 In the case of marriage with an heiress, when the wife dies, the
184 husband usually returns to his *iing* (the youngest sister's house). But
587 in marriage with a non-heiress the husband often remains with his
599 children, if his children are not too small and he is not planning to
619 marry any woman other than his late wife's younger sister. If he
736 marries his wife's younger sister, he has the right to stay on. This kind of sororal marriage cannot take place in the case of a man married to an heiress, since a Khasi man is not allowed to marry the late wife's elder sister. This form of sororate is found among the Khasi, but the levirate is unknown, such as can be seen among the Ashanti and the Ila, where a man takes his late brother's wife. Among the Khasi, even if a widow happened to marry her late husband's

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19: Nakao E-5 (1955-1956) 1957 AR? Khasi AR?

Thus, the marriage of a non-heiress and a man of authority also produces an unstable position for the husband in spite of his having an independent household. Therefore, the possibility of a really stable marriage is even more limited; it will occur only in the match of a non-heiress and a non-authority of the *sing*. But even these marriages cannot be free from the influence of a matrilineal social structure: the man of authority of the wife's *sing* may visit these couples now and then, curb the husband's power and remind both partners of the orientation towards the matri-kin, the *sing*, though this pressure is insignificant in comparison with that experienced by the heiress's family. Likewise, a husband now and then visits his youngest sister's house, *ka sing* son. These constant matrilineal contacts offer husbands chances of escaping from even the slightest matrimonial tension. Whenever a Khasi man feels uneasiness, he will return to his sister's house rather than face a difficult situation with his wife. This tendency is maximized especially on the occasion of religious ceremonies, when all individuals are grouped around each *sing*.

It is apparent that the rules of the *sing* as the underlying structural pattern, function throughout the various categories of domestic unit of the Khasi community as the most important intrinsic force.

VII. Polygyny

After this long attempt at the structural analysis of marriages, I think one can theoretically predict what is the situation of polygyny among the Khasi. The theoretical framework elaborated through preceding discussions can also be tested by the empirical data in terms of polygyny.

Nowadays, the Khasi feel so strongly against polygyny that they have no knowledge even that they ever practised it. Many Khasi, in more sophisticated areas, did not believe my findings on polygyny in Sohkynduh and Kongton. I think this is due to the rapid Christianization of the Hills during the last hundred years. My interpreter, though he was not Christian, said to me in the village, "it is most regrettable to bring you to a village where we find polygyny." However, one of the ministers of the Cherra State to which the two villages belong, told me that there was no particular opposition to polygyny, though recent Christian influence gave people the idea that it was a shameful custom, and he mentioned the case of a polygynist in his area, a man who had recently died, who had had ten wives. In Jatinga whose inhabitants are all Christian, and in Shella where there has been much contact with, and influence by, Hindus, there were

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

118 no polygynists, though there were many personal temporary illicit relations or love affairs.

• 184 595 It is true that even in interior villages polygyny is rapidly decreasing. In the two villages I found only two cases of polygyny: a man with two wives in Sohkynduh (Josio in List 6, whose wives are 26 and 32), and a man with three wives in Kongton (Jubongrai in List 9, whose wives are 8, 20 and 52). These cases appeared clearly as cases of polygyny which the villagers recognized as such, speaking of them quite differently from the way they would have spoken of lovers, calling them wives and husbands. Of course, the first wife socially outranks the secondary wives, as *ka tynga trai*, and the term *ka tynga tuk* is used for the latter, as Gurdon states (1914, p. 80). The difference being that the first wife has a legal marriage ceremony while the 585 others have not—*ka tynga tuk* means literally 'stolen wife.' About 595 the marriage ceremony, Gurdon gives a detailed discription (*ibid.*, pp. 127-130) and says there are three forms of marriage ceremonies, *Pynkiarsynjat*, *Lawdok* and *Iadik-biad*. The first and second forms are considered the more respectable; the last one is resorted to by the very poor who cannot afford the greater expense entailed by the first two. Unfortunately, during my stay in these villages, no marriage ceremony took place, but villagers described to me what seems to be the *Iadik-biad*, where only a fowl is sacrified, and the whole procedure is much simpler than that described by Gurdon. However, whatever the complexity and richness may be, there is a distinct line between having a ceremony and not having it, and this draws the distinction between the status of the first wife and that of the secondary wives.

428 Nevertheless, this distinction has more of a social bearing than the 595 legal bearing it has in a patrilineal system. Since they follow the 851 matrilineal system, the legal distinction between the first wife and the secondary wife does not affect their children's status and their property rights, at least not in the villages where I worked. The children's social locus is determined by their mother. The children (particularly the youngest daughter) have the right to inherit their father's acquired property which is automatically under their mother's ownership. If the polygynist father has acquired property by working their mother's field, or in trading on behalf of their mother, whether she be the first wife or the second, this property undoubtedly belongs to the children of that wife, not to the first wife alone. The father's physical locus at the time of his economic realisations is the decisive factor.

591 The Khasi polygynist, without bringing his wives into one house- 595 hold, alternates his residence among them, in turn or according to his temper. This practice is similar to that of the Trukese described by Goodenough (1951, p. 123), and quite different from that of the Garo

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

APPENDIX

SOME ADDITIONAL INFORMATION FROM SHELLA AND JATINGA

SHELLA

Shella is situated on the lowest of the southern slopes of the Khasi Hills, bordering on the Sylhet plain of East Pakistan. For centuries the people of Shella maintained close trading connections with the people of the plain, so that they have been much influenced by the Hinds. They have been to some extent divorced economically and culturally from their own people who live in the uplands and on higher part of the slopes. Actually, this is a natural result of their geographical location. From Cherrapunjee, the southern edge of the upland Khasi Hills, only a narrow footpath goes down to Shella. The altitude of Cherrapunjee is about 5,000 feet and of Shella from 500 to 1,000 feet, and the distance between them is 8 miles. The path descends very steeply and is full of hard stones. This difficulty of communication is also why the Hinds influence did not penetrate the upland Khasi, as in the case of the Jaintia Hills.[1]

This area has a unique political organisation which differs from the majority of Khasi states who are traditionally ruled by the members of the Siem clan. Shella is organized as a confederation, called 'Shella Confederacy,' and consists of four local villages. The head of the village is called *wadadkar*, and is elected by the villagers every three years. The number of households of the Shella Confederacy was about 900 in January 1956. The names of the four villages and their *wadadkar* in 1956 were:

Name of village	*Name of wadadkar*
1. Shella	Devish Mohan Roy
2. Mushtoh	Ditojou Roy
3. Nongtrai	Orju Roy
4. Tyngngar	Jabuni Roy

Each village is divided into sections. For instance, Shella village has nine sections: (1) Jasir, (2) Diseng, (3) Duba, (4) Jamao, (5) Nongrum, (6) Nongnong,

1. However, Shella was the only way out and the main gateway from the Khasi Hills to the plain; it was here that the British first entered the Khasi Hills. They proceeded from Shella to Cherrapunjee and made the latter headquarters of the Khasi Hills in 1833.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

Shella

Confederacy forms a more marked endogamous community, through being cut off geographically and economically from the rest of the Khasi, and socially from the neighbouring Hindu people. 621

The Economy and the People.

Shella lies along the upper part of the Shella River and stretches upwards 131
along the steep slope, looking down towards the Bengal plain. The climate
of this part of the hills is considered to be one of the worst in tropical India 132
for human habitation. The Bengal plain, though warmer than this area, is
considered more healthy. This border land is the zone of malaria, typhoid, 164
black fever, cholera, etc. None of the Bengalee peasants dare to live in such
an area. However, it is the most fertile for products such as betel-nuts, pan- 433
leaves, oranges, bananas and pineapples, and it also produces limestone. These
people seem to prefer to settle in this zone and to enjoy its prosperity, at the 164
expense of human lives: every year, especially between March and September,
the inhabitants suffer from various fevers and dysentry and other diseases, many
of the weaker facing death. 648

Before the Partition of India and Pakistan, the products of Shella were 177
carried down the Shella River to Sylhet, one of the biggest centres in East 178
Bengal, which brought unimaginable wealth to the Shella people. Their houses
were built by carpenters from Sylhet. The style and structure of these houses 434
were exceptionally elaborate for the Khasi. They purchased vast rice fields [439]
in the plain, which used to be cultivated by Bengalee and Garo labourers [342]
engaged by them. These Khasi do not themselves know how to cultivate [166]
rice fields; they have always been managers or landowners. Their boys used
to be sent to high schools and colleges in Sylhet. As a result of their trading [464]
with the Bengalee, many of them read and speak fluent Bengalee. There is [874]
no difference between their style of clothing and that of the Bengalee, though
the women maintain their traditional dress in the Shella style. [191] [291]

They have thus been distinguished from the rest of the Khasi not only
geographically, but also economically and culturally. Their personality also
differs sharply from the rest of the Khasi. They are very sociable, and quick, 157
a quality lacking among the Khasi of Sohkynduh and Kongton. They are
clever enough to deal with strangers. The upland Khasi say Shella people 184
are very cunning. This remark shows one side of these people. They had to 648
be cunning, since they traded with the Sylhet Bengalee who were said to be the
most cunning of their race. Their role in the trade and in the history of the 177
modernization of the Hills was considerable. For centuries they represented 178
intellectual Khasi owing to their contact with Hindu civilization, while the
Hills remained in darkness. They assumed an important role when the British [439]
established an administration in the Hills, and even up to now, many leading
Khasi originated from this area: for instance, Lati Hat, the first interpreter
of the British Headquarters at Cherrapunjee; Jeebon Roy, who was the first
Magistrate among the Khasi; Maham Sing, a lawyer and Member of the Legislative Assembly (the grandson of Jeebon Roy); Nichols Roy, Minister of Health and Prisons of the Assam Government, Member of the Legislative Assembly, and Missionary of the Church of God; R. R. Thomas (brother of Nichols Roy), Principal of the Gauhati University, etc.

Through constant cultural contact with Hindu, and encouraged by their 177
economic prosperity, the Shella Khasi, like the Jaintias, have been much 648
influenced by Hindu culture. However, this does not mean that the people
of Shella adopted the Hindu beliefs. Though there is a small Hindu shrine, 771
and some ceremonial elements were borrowed from the Hindu, most of the 795

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

621 descent grouping are often different. This is a very similar pattern to the
• [184] mobility which I discussed in Sohkynduh and Kongton (see p. 112).

One of the outstanding features in this community is the strong paternal
178 authority, established especially in the first generation, because the father's
593 (husband's) contribution was very important in such circumstances: their
61 domestic units were completely independent from the *iing* either of husband or wife. Some of them came with their wives, and many younger ones and their sons brought their wives from their homeland afterwards, thus practising virilocal marriage.

621 They have an interesting social usage which reflects the importance of the husband of the first generation. This is the addition of the name of the husband of the first generation to the matrilineal clan name in order to differentiate each particular descent group established at Jatinga within the same clan. For instance, Rupsi-Tah, Rupsi-Loh, Rupsi-Khla and Rupsi-Lati are found in the Rupsi clan. Rupsi-Tah is one of the lines of the first immigrants to Jatinga, which I have mentioned as Rupsi: Tah was taken from Pryntah, the husband of Sintu (Rupsi) (see p. 171). Thus the present inhabitants of Jatinga are very conscious of their father or grandfather, though they strictly follow the matrilineal descent rule. From such a usage of naming a clan, the Indian officer, who gave me some information about Jatinga before I went there, made the mistaken deduction that they had changed from matrilineal to patrilineal, assuming this to have come about as a result of the influence of patrilineal tribes around Jatinga. But this is simply due to the fact, firstly, that they hold in high regard the man of the first generation, because of his great contribution; secondly, that they distinguish themselves from members of the same clan according to the descent group established at each immigration; in other words, it indicates each *iing* grouping in the village.

178 The fundamental Khasi social organization based on the matrilineal system
184 did not change at all. I could observe in Jatinga exactly the same principle in action as I had found in Sohkynduh and Kongton. The village endogamy
582 has also been well established in the present generation: there are about 20 different clans which can intermarry, and taking a spouse from an outside com-
61 munity has become very rare nowadays. Marriage patterns in relation to the *iing* structure and all its related aspects are surprisingly similar to that of the
621 communities in the Khasi Hills. The solidarity of the *iing* is even greater in Jatinga, particularly among the rich, because of the greater accumulation of wealth and greater economic activity, which also increases the authority of the *iing* as manager of considerable property—this was also the case with the Shella people. Jatinga demonstrates that in spite of colonization and of a significant change in economic activities, Khasi social organization has maintained itself intact. This situation is in contrast with the considerable social changes observed among the Garo community in colonial areas like Rinsibara and Joshipara.

621 ***Intermarriage.***

178 From the earliest period of the establishment of Jatinga up to the present,
582 some changing aspects of marriage patterns relating to intermarriages are to
563 be observed.

As I stated before, in the earlier period, the people used to bring their spouses from their homeland, but they also married neighbouring tribal peoples, namely,
563 the Zemi-Naga, the Kuki and the Cacharee of villages close to Jatinga, and
621 also the Lushai, the Bengalee, the Moslem and the Anglo-Indian who lived in Haflong, the biggest political and commercial centre in the Hills, situated

group of matrilineal and Mon-Khmer-speaking people 101
who claim as their ancestral homeland the present- 131
day United Khasi-Jaintia Hills District (within ap- 197
proximately 90° 47' and 92° 52' E. and 25° 5' and
26° 5' N.). This group includes the Jaintias (also 101
Pnar or Synteng) in the southeast, who differ from 184
the Khasis primarily in their duolocal residence pat- 162
tern and less virulent forms of sorcery. (The Hadem
in eastern Jaintia are a Kuki people.) It also includes 563
the Lyngngams (also spelled Lyngam) in the west, [91]
who practice migratory swidden agriculture and cer- [54]
tain peculiar funerary rites, and are said by Ehren- [84]
fels (1955) to be culturally intermediate between [764]
Khasis and Garos. Finally, it includes Bhois, Wars, [115]
and upland Khasis, which terms are primarily terri-
torial. Bhoi country is the north-central part of the
District, and is culturally complicated by the presence
of Mikirs, Lahungs, and Nepalis. War country spans [428]
the entire southern length of the District, so that
Wars divide into Jaintia Wars and Khasi Wars; of
these, the Khasi Wars have traditionally transmitted
property to sons as well as to daughters. The upland
center of the District is the country of the Khasis
proper, those whose culture provides the most useful
model for interpreting the variations found elsewhere.
[For general reference on all categories of Khasi cul- [113]
ture, cf. Costa 1936 and 1937; also Gurdon 1907,
especially for data on regional variations.] **Geography.** 133
The District is 5,554 square miles of hilly tableland, [131]
intricately dissected by numerous rivers, and marked
by significant ecological variation over very short
distances. The tablelands step gently downward north
from Shillong Peak, which at 6,445 feet is the highest
point in the District, and over about 55 miles ease
into the Brahmaputra valley where this is some 250
feet above sea level. To the south, the land slopes
more steeply downward for about 20 miles, and then
drops abruptly, in cliff and steep-slope formations,
to the Ganges sea-level delta that begins at its
north with Sylhet. The annual southwest mon- 132
soons drop torrential rains around Cherrapunji and
Mawsynram villages (for Cherrapunji, a record 805
inches in 1861), but then, reaching Shillong 33 miles
to the northeast, provide only about 100 inches per
year. Rainfall is again greater in Bhoi, which shares
the Brahmaputra valley climate. Climate is temperate
on the high Shillong plateau, where it seldom freezes
and never snows. To the north, climate becomes sub-
tropical, forest is jungly, and fauna abound. The cli-
mate to the south is also subtropical. [Cf. Hooker [113]
1891: chap. XXIX.] **Linguistic affiliation.** Khasi is 197
one of the major Mon-Khmer languages, related to
Mon, Khmer, Semang-Sakai, Nicobarese, and Pa-
laung-Wa. The major Khasi dialects are Khasi, Jain-
tia, and Lyngngam, to which Grierson adds War.
Further minor variations occur from village to village.
The Khasis had no script until 1842, when the roman [212]
alphabet was successfully applied to the Cherrapunji
dialect of Khasi proper. [Cf. Rabel 1961; Grierson [113]
1903-28: 2; Bareh 1962.]

pendable water supply. Villages are about two to five miles apart, and have no boundary markers. In the past, villages contained semipublic buildings and grounds: the home of the village priest (also the home of a chief if he resided in that village), the village marketplace, and tree graves, cremation grounds, or other awesome spots that were believed to be inhabited by supernatural beings. Villages today may have also one or more Christian churches, government social welfare buildings, and schools. Formerly, villages were entered through a guarded gateway; this is no longer the case, and paths feed into villages from all directions. Often several villages are nucleated into one large unit, named and also described as a "village." These were once defense units, but were so uncohesive otherwise that institutionalized rivalry obtained among the component villages. Now, they have been integrated through the agency of all-village public services, especially schools. **Housing.** The traditional Khasi house is entered through a door at the rounded end of a U-shaped ground plan, and is about 20 feet at widest extent; it is about 30 feet deep, and is elliptical or hogback in profile. Its walls are of stone blocks cemented with mud. The roof of grass thatch, supported by a bamboo frame, overhangs the walls on their outside, down to about three feet above the ground. The house is divided into two parts: the front one-third is on the ground level, floored either with stone blocks or tamped earth, and is used for storage of occupational instruments and as a shelter for poultry. The rear two-thirds is raised four feet on piles of stone blocks to a platform of planks, and is partitioned into six rooms, comprising a kitchen, areas for storage of food and water, and sleeping quarters. Furniture is minimal, and the house is totally undecorated. There are no windows, and no smoke vents. A house generally has a companion shed, walled of wood and grass matting and thatched with grass. This serves as a pigsty, but it may be partitioned also to house cows, and it may have a loft for fuel storage. Compounds often contain garden plots, and are fenced around with stone or bamboo and mud. Nowadays, the traditional house has given way to Western-style bungalows of wood and tin, especially in and around Shillong. [Cf. Mukherjee et al. 1941.]

ECONOMY. The Khasi economy is a market economy based on agriculture, and most Khasis are primary producers, sellers, middlemen, and/or providers of services in connection with markets. Khasis are often multioccupational: they produce goods for partial subsistence, and also play some part in trade. **Agriculture.** On the Shillong plateau, the major field crops are potatoes, maize, millets, and dry rice, still produced mostly through swidden farming, with a two- to three-year period of fallow, but increasingly through continuous use of a single field with the aid of ma-

16: McCormack E-4,5 (1956-1958) 1964
[P. 108A] AR7 Khasi AR7

mure and chemical fertilizers. Both level land and hillsides are cultivated by the same hand techniques: 3 × 6-foot patches are fashioned with walkways between, sods are overturned within the patches and allowed to dry, the sods are burned slowly and the ashes spread over the soil, and finally the seed is sown, either broadcast or sunk with the aid of the typical Khasi hoe. The coldest part of the upland enjoys a two-crop year, and Khasis often double crop as well. Paddy has long been found in the lowlands, in parts of Jaintia and Bhoi, the only places where the plow is found. Nowadays paddy is more and more seen in the uplands, together with a simple terracing and irrigation technology. Many upland Khasis have house gardens in which they raise a wide variety of vegetables, including pumpkins, cabbage, radishes, sweet potatoes, eggplant, and many others. Important crops in Bhoi country are paddy rice, lac, caoutchouc, cotton, bananas, and pineapples; in War, they are betel nut, pan leaf, oranges, and sugar cane. **Fishing and hunting.** Fishing is done by poisoning streams, but this is a subsistence activity only in the southern foothills. Hunting was formerly by bow and arrow or by traps, including spring guns and pitfalls, but was always primarily a sport. [Cf. Stegmiller 1925.] **Gathering.** Khasis once gathered about 150 species of wild plants, most of them for food, but some for medicine. Thrifty villagers still gather food plants, but there is no real dependence on gathering. Medicinal plants continue to be very important. **Domestic animals.** Fowl, goats, pigs, and cattle are bred both for meat and sacrifice. Milk was formerly not utilized, but is now so popular that specialists keep herds of milch cows. Pigs are used as village scavengers, but some also receive prepared food. Cattle and goats forage freely in the fields during the winter, but are herded by a communally hired herdsboy during the agricultural season. Most households keep chickens, primarily for their eggs, and a few keep ducks. A few horses are also seen. Dogs are pariahs, except for hunting dogs. Cats are popular. **Food and stimulants.** The staple food of Khasis is boiled rice, together with the dried fish which is imported from Sylhet. Boiled beef, pork, and chicken are relished, but beyond the means of most. Meals are taken twice a day, in the morning and evening, although farmers also take a midday meal in the field, and others may take tea and cold sweet potatoes or rice bread. Certain foods are taboo to certain sibs. Stimulants are extremely common, especially betel nut, which is often accompanied by a bit of tobacco. Tobacco is also smoked as cigarettes and in hookah and other pipes. Every village has one or more household taverns, where distilled rice whisky is cooked and sold by the glass and by the bottle. Imported opium had spread widely in the malarious Bhoi country, but controls instituted in the 1940s have been fairly successful. All stimulants were once taken by men, women, and

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16: McCormack E-4,5 (1956-1958) 1964
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children, but Christian influence has eradicated or driven underground the consumption by women and children. **Industrial arts.** The only industrial arts traditionally practiced in all households were a rudimentary carpentry and a simple utilitarian basketry. Other arts were few, and were practiced as village specialties: the washing and smelting of iron ore and the forging of hoes, daos, knives, swords, and cooking pots (upland Khasis); the spinning of cotton thread (Mynso village, Jaintia); the dyeing of cotton thread and the weaving of cloth (Jaintias, Bhois, Lyngngams, Wars); the spinning and weaving of Eri silk (Khyrwang and Nongtung villages, Bhoi and Jaintia); and the hand manufacture, without wheel, of painted earthenware pots (Larnai village, Jaintia). Ironworking and the production of cotton goods have nearly died out through the competition of machine-made goods. Carpentry has greatly improved. An innovation of major importance is the sewing and tailoring, on sewing machines, of ready-made garments for both sexes. [Cf. Darrah 1896; C., W. 1832.] **Trade.** Khasi villages normally contain a number of household shops operated by women. Every Khasi also lives within walking distance of several village markets that are held on successive days of the eight-day week. The limits of market intercourse for the members of any particular village can be roughly distinguished by their naming the days of their week, which are called after the active markets. The exception is the huge market at Shillong, much of which is active daily, and which serves as a magnet for Khasis from all over the hills. The traditional barter has given way to currency in all markets. The small ones contain at least some local farm produce, plus other essentials like betel nut, and the food and tea stalls which serve as centers of social intercourse. The big markets contain not only regional produce and manufactures but also products from distant parts of the hills, brought for sale by traveling middlemen. There is also substantial trade, from the hills to the valleys, in potatoes, pears, hides, lac, cotton, caoutchouc, the wood of the sal tree, Eri silk thread, limestone, coal, ivory, bay leaf, betel nut, pan leaves, bananas, sugar cane, oranges, til, turmeric, and chilies. From the plains to the hills, there is trade in dried fish, paddy rice, salt, cooking oil, kerosene, matches, tea, sugar, wheat flour, machine-made cloth, shoes, metal pots, crockery, porcelain objects, coral beads, silver, and gold. Markets are important not only as economic institutions but also as centers for recreation (including archery competitions), courtship, reaffirmation of kinship ties with distant relatives, and the dissemination of information of all kinds. [Cf. Stegmiller 1924a.] **Division of labor.** Men do the heavy work, such as clearing and burning the swidden fields, caring for cattle and goats and driving them to market, butchering and selling large cuts of beef and pork, carpentry and mining, and driving and laboring on motor vehicles. They also tailor men's

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ing from the time it consists of an elementary family until it grows to a local descent group four generations deep. [Cf. Chattopadhyay 1941.] **Kin terminology.** The terms of address given below are also terms of reference except where otherwise indicated, and are uniform for male and female speakers. They were collected in an upland Khasi village near Shillong (cf. Ehrenfels 1953 for some regional variants). 602 601 [114]

Fa	*pa*
Mo	*mei*
FaElBr	*pasan*
FaYoBr	*pakhynnah*
FaSi	*kha*
Fa youngest Si	*khaduh*
MoElSi	*meisan*
MoYoSi	*meinah*
Mo youngest Si	*meiduh*
MoElBr	*mama, kni*
MoYoBr	*bah* (ref.: *kni*)
ElBr	*bah khynnah*
Eldest Br	*kong bah*
YoBr	*bah deng*
Youngest Br	*bah duh*
ElSi	*deng*
Eldest Si	*lud, kong*
YoSi	*lud nah, lud rit*
Youngest Si	*khatduh*
MoSiSo, MoSiDa	*para* (ref.: *para ar kmie*)
FaBrSo, FaBrDa	*para* (ref.: *parakha*)
MoBrSo, MoBrDa, FaSiSo, FaSiDa	*bakha*

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY. **Mode.** According to the traditional courtship pattern, a group of young male relatives and friends made nightly visits to the house of some virgin girl in another village, appraising her through banter while she and her parents appraised them, and staying the night to avoid the dark walk home. Marriage was according to the wishes of the parents after negotiation by a go-between from the boy's side. Girls might be 15, and boys 17, years of age. Girls have now acquired freedom of movement through attending school, however. Premarital sexual play is common, and young people choose their own spouses when the girl is about 19 and the boy 21. The most common mode of marriage is elopement, for Christians and non-Christians alike, but some Christians marry in church, and some Khasis still marry according to the traditional ceremony or some variation on it. There are no preferred or prescribed marriage types, nor is there a bride price or dowry. **Form.** Monogamy is the ideal for all. **Extension of incest taboos.** Sibs are exogamous. Other prohibited marriage partners are real and classificatory FaSi and FaBr, FaBrCh, FaMo, and FaMoMo. The MoBrWi is also prohibited. Roy 584 582 562 178 836 584 583 585 184 583 581 835 [114]

household deities, and measles and smallpox deities. 776
Deities of the first two categories are simply aspects 771
of the high God or Goddess. • The earth is peopled with two great orders of land demons and water demons who cause all undesirable, unnatural, and otherwise inexplicable events, acting either on their own or as instruments in the hands of sorcerers. Apart from omens, both in nature and in dreams, 787
Khasis attach supernatural significance also to mystic 822
numbers, and to the colors white, black, and red. They hold especially important folk beliefs regarding 824
betel nut, paddy rice, gold and silver, and clothing. **Practitioners.** The two classes of religious practitioners 791
are the village or state priests and the sacrificers. 793
Both are male. They use the same divinatory techniques of reading broken eggshells and the entrails 754
of cocks, and they both sacrifice cocks, hens, goats, pigs, and cattle. Their skills are not taught to them so much as picked up by observation and confirmed by demonstrations of efficacy. A priest is elected from among the men of his sib to direct his skills to the public good until he dies, and his rewards are institutionalized and come from the village or the state. A sacrificer acts for private persons or kin groups, on call, and is rewarded by them personally with gifts in cash or in kind. The sacrificer is called upon to explain and then to ritually remedy every variety of misfortune, especially illness, though his powers are nowadays regarded with ambivalence, and he is widely expected to become a sorcerer sooner or later. • There are two major types of sor- 754
cerer. One is the ritual specialist or sacrificer who secretly turns his skills from good to evil, manipulating demons to injure a person or kin group, and acting always for himself alone out of considerations of jealousy or revenge. The other is normally a leading citizen, a woman who is so wealthy and successful that it is believed that she must keep a *thlen*, i.e. a creature which will bring her prosperity as long as she feeds it periodically with human blood. To provide this blood, the men of her household, or other males whom she bewitches with a special whisky, will indiscriminately murder anyone except a mem-
ber of her matrilineage. The Jaintias have an ana- [184]
logue to the *thlen* in their *taro*, except that the ultimate result is death from illness rather than murder. Minor witchcraft can be perpetrated by poison keepers or persons with an evil eye, who are often women. **Ceremonies.** The important traditional 843
ceremonies were the life-crisis rituals relating to 844
pregnancy and childbirth, the naming of a child, and 553
death. Lesser ceremonies related to marriage and 764
divorce, and to housebuilding. All these rituals were 585
addressed primarily to the ancestors, and they are 586
still performed in modified form by many Khasis. 342
Other rituals, which were performed by groups such 769
as villages, sibs, local descent groups, or households, 178
were addressed to the unnamed aspects of the high 782

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[For the differences between Border area, Project area and General area, see category 116 passim.]

Name of village (1)	Name of society (2)	Sponsored by (3) 474
7. Sutnga ...	(1) Credit Society.	Local people
	(2) Co-operative Trading Society.	
8. Darrang ...	Marketing Society.	Do
9. Shella ..	Trading Co-operative Society.	Do.

4.10 **Cottage Industries.**—It has already been mentioned that Village and Cottage Industries are not very popular in the district. 433

The following table shows the industries reported from the sample villages:—

TABLE B-9

Industry (1)	No. of villages reporting existence of the industries. (2)	No. of villages reporting production for sale. (3)	
Cane and bamboo works ...	9	7	322
Blacksmithy	5	5	326
Tailoring	2	2	294
Handloom	...	...	286
Weaving and Spinning ...	3	1	284
Rearing of cocoons, etc. ...	1	1	283
Rearing of lac	1	1	231
Others	2	1	

Blacksmithy and making of baskets, cane products, etc, out of cane and bamboo, are a traditional occupation Weaving and spinning of cotton, rearing of endi cocoon and weaving of endi, etc., are in vague only in the Bhoi area and the areas adjoining Kamrup and North Cachar and Mikir Hills districts. Lac rearing is found in the northern portion of the district, *i.e.*, Nongpoh area. 184

Except cane and bamboo works and blacksmithy other industries are practised in a very limited scale. There is thus a lot of scope for introducing cottage industries in the district.

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

428 to the sisters of his wife, or to her nearest relatives if there are no sisters. The rank and titles of a deceased male descend to his brother; when no brother exists, then to the male children of his mother's sisters (maternal aunts); should the maternal aunts have no male children living at the time, then to the eldest male child of his sisters. When no relatives are to be found, the property of the deceased goes to the ruler of the country; or if a man dies leaving no relative other than wife and children, *i.e.* no relatives on the mother's side, the property in this case also goes to the ruler, who, as the wife and children cannot preserve the ashes of the deceased, takes charge of them, and for so doing takes all the property also. With regard to the inhabitants of the Lower Hills at Shellá, the custom as to succession is as follows:—Property belonging to a subject of Shellá is divided into two classes—(1) Property inherited from ancestors, which descends to the nearest of kin or to the relative of a deceased person who can perform his obsequies. (2) Property acquired during the lifetime of the holder, which is inherited by the children, whose duty it is to provide for the maintenance of their mother until she re-marries or dies.'

434 465 MATERIAL CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE.—The Khásiás and the Syntengs are as a people prosperous. Common labourers, if adult males, can earn wages as high as one shilling per diem, and adult 342 females as high as eightpence. The dwellings of the well-to-do classes are generally constructed of masonry, with thatched roof and 352 plank floor, and divided into two or three rooms. The furniture consists of a bedstead (*charpái*), a seat or two (*morá*), some cooking utensils, and a few boxes. The ordinary peasants and poorer 342 classes construct their huts of stone, mud, or plank walls, with a 184 thatch or cane roof. These are fitted with wooden platforms or loose planks placed on the ground to serve as beds. The food 262 of the well-to-do classes consists of rice, fish when obtainable, fowl 434 or meat, curry, vegetables, oil, hog's lard, fermented and spirituous liquor. It may be estimated that the living expenses of an average-sized household of this class would be about Rs. 25 or £2, 10s. a month, valuing the articles of consumption at *bázár* prices. An ordinary husbandman or labourer lives on rice, dry fish, occasionally a 276 little meat, oil, or hog's lard. *Pán* leaf, betel-nut, and lime are essential to the comfort of all the hill people, who are inveterate chewers of *pán*. They commence at an early age, and are rarely seen without a *pán* leaf in their mouths; the females are quite

21: Ehrenfels E-4,5 (1950) 1953 AR7 Khasi AR7

on a historical past, different from that of the Khasi proper, the former having been ruled by the powerful, but somewhat Hinduised dynasty of the Jaintia Rajas until the Jaintia Wars of the British; the latter by small independent chiefs. Yet Jaintia social organization appears on the whole to preserve the matrilineal social structure clearer and to be less influenced by plains-acculturation, than that of the Khasi, though a few features of Brahmanical religious observances and also some traces of racial admixture are found in the immediate vicinity of Jowei, the former summer residence of the Jaintia Rajas. Stronger no doubt, than this influence, was that exercised by the British and non-Assamese Indians in the provincial capital Shillong since 1866. Methods of agriculture and other aspects of material civilization differ but little in the Jaintia- and Khasi plateau-areas.

The same cannot be said of both: the Wár-Khasi and Wár-Jaintias. Linguistically their affiliations are with the Khasi or Jaintias respectively, in the plateau-areas. Economically, however, both Wár-groups form a separate pan-leaf cultivating unit in the little accessible steep southern slopes of the Khasi- and Jaintia Hill massif. Both Wár-groups live in the environment of luscious tropical flora and fauna, sharply differentiated from the cool, barren plateau with its perennial winds and the heroic, if solitary beauty of its highland heaths, which forms the background of both the Khasi- and Jaintia plateau-groups.

The age of the Wár-Khasi and -Jaintias, as one independent economic, — and two half-independent dialectical linguistic entities, is an intricate problem. The two Wár-groups subsist on pan-leaf cultivation as a money crop, grown in the thick tree-gardens as creepers; not on food-cultivation, as do the plateau-groups, because there is insufficient space on the steep slopes, for vegetable gardens or -fields. The pan-leaf cultivators therefore depend on food, purchased from outside. The slopes seem to have been uninhabited until not long ago. Yet pan-leaf chewing is such an integral part of Khasi life, that until quite recently, and occasionally even now, a distance between two places is not measured by the number of hours used for walking, but by the number of betelnut- and pan-leaf packages, consumed on the way. Also the common benediction among Khasi expresses the wish that so and so may eat pan in the Garden of God. Yet pan-cultivation and the settlements of the Wár-people as pan-leaf cultivators in the southern slopes seem comparatively young. Pan-cultivation on the plateau is impracticable. It is therefore possible that pan was for a long time only a much valued import article from the plains, bartered against Khasi ore and iron tools, though it is now an export article from the Wár-country, brought to the markets of the plains, by both Wár-Khasi and Wár-Jaintia women and men.

According to a tradition, across which I came among the Nonglamin clan of the Nongmuker village, the ancestors of the present Wár people were on the plateau at a time when no pan-cultivation was going on in the slopes and none of the present big estates of pan-tree gardens was yet held by their present (Wár-) owners. A not distant ancestor of a Nonglamin clan-member who about two or three generations ago told the story to U Siang (one of

21: Ehrenfels E-4,5 (1950) 1953 AR7 Khasi AR7

249 173 [115] my informants at Padu), in the year 1933, is said to have begun the cultivation of yam (*shniw*) and millets (*knei*) in the then uncultivated slopes. He and his people used to be, on this account, ridiculed as monkeys (*shrieh*). The Nonglamin clan took later to pan-leaf-, and arecanut-cultivation and became one of the richest landowners of the Wár-country. Others followed and imitated them. This clan (*kur*) is now residing at Nongtalang, about ten miles east of Padu in the Wár-Jaintia slopes.

174 This possibility of a comparatively recent origin of the now economically 184 independent Wár-groups among the Khasi speaking peoples is of importance 601 to the question of some different terms in kinship terminology which the following lists will show.

184 Comments on other features in the relationship terminology, bearing 601 on sociological or historical problems of either among the four Khasi speaking groups under discussion, are being hinted at in the text of the lists itself and further discussed in Part Three of the present paper, following the lists of kinship terms.

II. The List of the Kinship Terms

(*u* is the definite article masc. gen.; *ka* — the definite article fem. gen. Both are prefixed to proper nouns and then assume the meaning and function of the English Mr. and Mrs. [or Miss] respectively.)

No.	English	Plateau Khasi	Wár Khasi	Pnár (Jaintia)	Wár Jaintia
1.	To give birth or beget:	*kha* (noun: *jyng kha*)	*kha*	*kha*	*dihun*
1/*a*.	To give birth to a girl:	*kha kynthei*	*kha kynthei*	*kha kynthai*	*dihun kynthah* (*kinthai*)
1/*b*.	To give birth to a boy:	*kha shynrang*	*kha shynrang*	*kha shynrang*	*dhun tyrma* (*tyrmai*)
1/*c*.	To give birth twins:	*kha synrap*	*kha bynrap*	*kha synrap* (or: *arngof*)	*dihun brap*
2.	Child:	*khynnah* (with *u* and *ka* respectively)	*khun* (or: *khunlung*) (*u* and *ka*)	*khyn bo* (with *u* and *ka*)	*kimbot* (with *u* and *ka*)
2 *a*.	Childhood:	*ka jinglong khunlung*	*ka jinglong khunlung*	*ka porkhynnah*	*ka hymbotlung*
3.	Puberty of a girl or boy:	*sdang samla* (or: *khynraw*)	*jan samla*	*sdang khyllud*	*khynrong darow*
3/*a*.	Marriageable girl:	*ka samla* (or: *khynraw*)	*ka samla* (or: *khynraw*)	*ka khyllud*	*ka darow*
3/*b*.	Marriageable man:	*u samla* (or: *khynraw*)	*u sahla* (or: *khynraw*)	*u khynro*	*u darow*
4.	Woman:	*ka* (or: *ka kynthei*)	*ka* (or: *ka kynthei*)	*ka kynthai*	*ka* (or: *ka kyntha rangbah*)
5.	Man:	*u* (or: *u shynrang*)	*u* (or: *u shynrang*)	*u* (or: *u chynrang*)	*u* (or: *u tyrmu rangbah*)
6.	Article of respect: *i* (instead *u* or *ka*)	for both sexes is a term of diminution: used as honorific prefix; but has a contemptuous meaning in the Jaintia dialects			
	Parents:				
7.	Mother:	*i mei* (-addressing); *kmie* (-referring)	*i mei*; — *kmie*	*ka bei*	*ka ma*
8.	Father:	*i pa* (-addressing); *kpa* (-referring)	*i pa*; — *kpa*	*u pa*: *pain*	*u pa*
9.	Siblings and maternal cousins:	*para* (-referring only)	*para*	*pain*	*para*
9/*a*.	"Brethren"; as in the phrases:	*para lum* — "Brethren Hill (tribesmen)" *para kristan* — "Christian Brethren"	— (?)	— (?)	— (?)

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No.	English	Plateau Khasi	War Khasi	Pnar (Jaintia)	War Jaintia
9/b.	Maternal cousins:	*para kur* (*kur* — clan)	— (?)	— (?)	— (?)
9/c.	Paternal cousins (and half-siblings through the father):	*para kha* (*kha* — birth, or: begetting)	— (?)	— (?)	— (?)
9/d.	Older sisters, or female cousins:	*kong* (-addressing); *kymuen* (-referring)	*ka lih*	*paiu ua kak*	*ka iak*
9/e.	Older brother, or male cousin:	*kak* (-addressing); *kymuen* (-referring)	*u lih*	*u sau*	*u iak kymba*
9/f.	Younger siblings and cousins (and other young folk):	*kep* (-addressing); *para* (referring if matriln).	*iem*	*diak*	*ko* — sister *pun* — brother
10.	Spouses:	*lok*	*lok*	*akhow*	*lok* (or: *kuang*)
10/a.	Wife:	*ka lok* "friend" (-addressing); *ka tuga* (-referring)	*ka lok; ka tuga*	*ka akhow*	*ka lok; ka kuang*
10/b.	Husband:	*u lok* (-addressing); *u tuga* (-referring)	*u lok; u tuga*	*u akhow*	*u lok; u kuang*
11.	Children:	*khun*	*khun*	*khon*	*kun*
11/a.	Daughter:	*ka khun*	*ka khun*	*ka khon*	*ka kun kynthi*
11/b.	First Daughter:	*khun nyughong* (or: *phrang*, or: *skuai*)	*khun nyughong*	*ka khon wakah* — "first"	*ka kun phrang*
11/c.	Middle or younger daughters:	*khun pdeng* (or: *kadieu*)	*khun lud*	*ka khon wabud* — "second"	—
11/d.	Youngest daughter:	*khun khaddah* (or: *bleng kpah* — "closed the womb")	*khun khyrdah*	*ka khon symbud* (or: *wabud*) — "third"	*ka kun khaddah*
11/e.	Son:	*khun*	*khun*	*khon*	*kunfyrnu*
11/f.	First son:	*khun nongkong* (or: *phrang*, or: *skua*, or: *rangbah*)	*rangbah* (or: *skua*, or: *nongkong*)	*khon wakah* — "first"	*kunfyrnu*
11/g.	Middle or younger sons:	*khun pdeng* (or: *rit* — "small, young")	*khun lud*	*khon wabud* — "second" (or: *symbud*)	*kunfyrnu phrang*
11/h.	Youngest son:	*khun khaddu*	*khun khaddu*	*khon wabud*	—

No.	English	Plateau Khasi	War Khasi	Pnar (Jaintia)	War Jaintia
	Grand parents:				
12.	Mother's mother:	*mainal*	*maikhuk*	*kei pun*	*mailiew*
12/a.	Mother's father:	*pawal*	*paukuk*	*paphew*	*mahiliew*
12/b.	Father's mother:	*mai kha* *	*kaw kha* *	*mew*	*mawem*
12/c.	Father's father:	*pawal* (or: *pa kha*) *	*pawal, paukuk*	*mak*	*mahmem*
13.	Mother's sisters (and female cousins):	*kwie* (descriptive)	(?)	(?)	(?)
13/a.	Mother's older sister:	*mai saw* (*saw* — older)	*mai saw*	*kei kuk*	*mai kung*
13/b.	Mother's younger sister:	*mai khyawuk* (*mainuk*) (*khyawuk* — younger)	*mai uuk*	*kei diuk*	*mai jiang*
14.	Mother's brothers: (and male cousins):	*kki* (descriptive)	(?) *kki* is not used, but understood by War Khasi (see sub: "Husband's or wife's father" until No. 22/a in this list).		
14/a.	Mother's older brother:	*kki* (or: *mai*) *raughuk*	*ki kuk* (*ki kuk sisa*)	*ma saw* (addressing); *kki* (referring)	*sisw kung*
14/b.	Mother's younger brother:	*khyawuk* (or: *ma khyawuk*)	*ki kuk did*	*ma diuk* (addressing)	*kkijiew, sisw diuk*
15.	Father's sisters (s. and y.):	*kia kha*	*kia kha* (older: *pa saw*, or: *kha raughuk*) (younger: *da*, or: *khyawuk*)	older: *kia saw* / younger: *sim rait*	older: *pa saw* or: *pa kung* / younger: *ngi* * *mara* *
15/a.	Father's brothers and cousins:	*kpa kha* * (descriptive)	(?)	(?)	(?)
15/b.	Father's older brother:	*pa saw*	*pa saw* or: (*ngi*) * *kuk*	*pa saw*	*pa kung*
15/c.	Father's younger brother:	*pa khyawuk*	*pa khyawuk*, or: *pa kul*, or: *ngi kuk kul*	*pa rait*	*pa jiang*

* The *kha* (*kept*) refers to the paternal side of relationship.
* *ngi* — indicates diminution and respect among Pnar (and War Khasi) like *i* among Khasi.
* *mara* — indicates descent ("coming from") among War Jaintia; like *kha* among Khasi.

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No.	English	Pinisuu Khasi	Wär Khasi	Puär (Jaintia)	Wär Jaintia
	Mother's in-laws:				
16.	Mother's sister's husband:	older: *pa sau*; younger: *pa khyuuk*	*ngi pa* (older and younger)	older: *pa kah*; younger: *pa diah*	*pa* (with *a* — *pun, jiang, diah*, accdg. age)
16/a.	Mother's brother's wife:	*dia* (older and younger)	*dia* (older and younger)	*dia*	*di*
	Father's in-laws:				
17.	Father's sister's husband:	*pakha*; address: *ma, ma-ma, di*	*bah*	*niew*	*niew man*
17/a.	Father's brother's wife:	*kmie* or: *dia* (*mei sau*, or: *mei nah*)	*nia*	*uuiruil*	*mei* (with *a* — *pun, jiang, diah*, accordg. to age)
18.	All nieces and nephews:	*khun* (with *ka* and *u*)	—	—	—
18/a.	nieces and nephews on maternal side:	*pyrsa* (or: *khun ruil* lit.: stepchild)	*para ar kmie* (with *ka* and *u*) (older — *iah*; younger — *iew*)	*pyrsa* (with *ka* and *u*) (older — *iah*; younger — *bo*)	*pyrsa* (older than Ego — *iah*; younger — *bo*) (with *ka* and *u*)
18/b.	nieces and nephews on paternal side:	*kun kha*	*bakha* (older *iah*; younger — *iew*)	*wakha* (father's sisters children: *hong wakha*, — father's brother's children: *paiu pa*)	*bakha* (with *ka* and *u*) (older) than Ego *iah*; younger — *bo*
19.	All maternal cousins and uterine siblings:	*para kur* (with *ka* and *u*) (*para* — brethren; *kur* — clan)	—	—	—
19/a.	Mother's sister's children: (marriage among them — taboo)	*para-ar-kmie* (lit.: children of two mothers)	—	—	—
20.	All paternal cousins and paternal half-siblings:	*para kha* (*para* — brethren; *kha* — begetting)	—	—	—
21.	Direct cousins:	*bakha*	—	—	—
21/a.	Mother's brother's children: (marriage with *bakha* permitted)	*bakha* (descriptive) (Ego's older — *hong* [addressing]; Ego's younger — *hep* [addressing])	*para iah* (older), (with *ka* and *u*) *para iew* (younger), (with *ka* and *u*)	*khon wakha* (with *ka* and *u*) —	*iah* (older), (with *ka* and *u*) *bo* (younger), (with *ka* and *u*)

No.	English	Plateau Khasi	War Khasi	Pnar (Jaintia)	War Jaintia
21/b.	Father's sister's children : (marriage with *bakha* permitted)	*bakha* (descriptive) (Ego's elder female — *hong* [addressing]) (Ego's elder male — *bah* [addressing]) (Ego's younger — *hep* [addressing])	*bakha ieh* (older), (with *ka* and *u*) — *bakha iem* (younger), (with *ka* and *u*)	*hong wakha* (with *ka* and *u*)	*ba kha* (with *ka* and *u*)
22.	Father's brother's children : (marriage between *para kha* [children of brothers] generally not admitted)	*para kha* (Ego's elder female — *para hong*[30] [addressing]) (Ego's elder male — *para bah*[31] (addressing]) (Ego's younger — *hep*[32] [addressing])	*ieh* (older), (with *ka* and *u*) *iem* (younger), (with *ka* and *u*)	*paiu pa* (with *ka* and *u*) —	*ba kha* (with *ka* and *u*)
23.	Grandchildren :	*khun ksiew* (with *ka* and *u*)	*ksiew* (with *ka* and *u*)	*ki ksu* (with *ka* and *u*)	*kynsow* (with *ka* and *u*)
23/a.	Daughter's children :	*ksiew* (with *ka* and *u*)	*ksiew*	*ksu*	*pai*
23/b.	Son's children :	*ksiew kha* (with *ka* and *u*)	*ksiew kha*	*ksu*	*kynsow*
24.	Greatgrand child (sometimes) :	*khun miaw*	—	*pakein ksu* (with *ka* and *u*)	—
25.	Great-great child (sometimes) :	*khun kwai*	—	—	—
	Ascending Lines :				
26.	Maternal elder relatives including uncles :	*u ki u hong* (lit. maternal uncle and elder sisters, female cousins and their in-laws)	?	?	?
27.	Female ancestors on the maternal side :	*kmie rad*	*maiduk* (with *ka* and *u*)	?	*mudian* (with *ka* and *u*) *wukdian* (with *ka* and *u*)

[30-32] *hong, bah* and *hep* are not necessarily added if addressing them.

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No.	English	Plateau Khasi	Wâr Khasi	Pnâr (Jaintia)	Wâr Jaintia
28.	Male relations in ascending maternal line (i. e. mother's, grandmother's brothers, etc.):	*khñi*	*padu*	—	—
29.	Male relations on the father's side:	*kpa rad* (with *ka* and *u*)	*pabu* (with *ka* and *u*)	?	*wohman* (with *ka* and *u*)
30.	Female relations on the father's side:	*kmia kha* (with *ka* and *u*)	*mei kha* (with *ka* and *u*)	?	*muman* (with *ka* and *u*)
31.	All matrilineal relations:	*i kur* (with *ka* and *u*)	*i kur* (with *ka* and *u*)	?	*para kur* (with *ka* and *u*)
32.	All patrilineal relations:	*i kha* (with *ka* and *u*)	*i kha* (with *ka* and *u*)		*para phra* (with *ka* and *u*)
	Relatives of the in-laws:				
33.	Husband's or wife's mother:	*kiaw*	*ñia kurim* (*kurim* — marriage); referring — *ñia*	*kurin*; addr.: *hi bei*,	*ñi*
33/*a*.	Husband's or wife's father:	*kiaw*	*khñi kurim* (*khñi* materml. uncle among plateau Khasi only)	referring: *niaw kurim*; addr.: *hi pa*	*ñiew*
33/*b*.	Husband's or wife's older sister:	*kong kynsi*	*ieh kynsi*	husband's: *ha kong kynsai*; wife's: *hi kong* (more respectful)	*bsow* (or: *bapsow*)
33/*c*.	Husband's wife's younger sister:	*kep kynsi*	*iem*	husband's: *ha bo kynsai*; wife's: *ha bo*	*bsow* (or: *bapsow*)
33/*d*.	Husband's wife's brothers (older and younger):	*kynum*	*kynum*	husband's older: *hi kong*; younger: *hi bo*; wife's older: *u kong*; younger: *u bo*	*bsow* (or: *bapsaw*)
33/*e*.	Husband's older sister's husband:	*u kong* (*kong* — generally a term for a female relative!)	*ieh kynsi*	*hi kong*	—
33/*f*.	Husband's younger sister's husband:	*kep*	*iem kynsi*	*hi bo*	—

21: Ehrenfels E-4,5 (1950) 1953 AR7 Khasi AR7

No.	English	Plateau Khasi	Wár Khasi	Pnár (Jaintia)	Wár Jaintia
33/g.	Husband's older brother's wife :	*hong kynsi*	*mynhew*	*ha hong*	*bo, bsow* (or : *bapsow*)
33/h.	Husband's younger brother's wife :	*hep kynsi*	*mynhew*	*ha bo*	*bo, bsow* (or : *bapsow*)
	Wife's in-laws (sep. designations) :				
34.	Wife's sister's husband :	*para shongkha* (lit. : "brother-in-marriage")	*para shong kha* (lit. : "brother-in-marriage")	older : *u hong* younger : *u bo*	—
35.	Wife's older brother's wife:	*hong* (followed by proper name)	—	—	—
35/a.	Wife's younger brother's wife :	*hep* (followed by proper name)	—	—	—
36.	Stepmother :	*mei nah, hmie nah*	*mei nah*	*ha beiruit* (stepfather — *u pa*)	*ha mei*
36/a.					
37.	Family :	*ha leng — ha sem* (house-stable), or : *hi khun — hi kti*, or : *ha jing — hiar — paleng*	*shi lem — shi sem*	*iung*	*shi hur — shi jaid*
38.	Clan community :	*i hur — i jaid*	*i hur — i jaid*	*hi hur*	*shi hur — shi jaid*
39.	Matrilineal clan :	*hur*	*hur*	*hur*	*hur*
40.	Nation (national) :	(*ha*) *jaid*	*jaid kynja*	—	*jaid kynja*
41.	Assamese mountain people :	*para 'riew lum* (*lum* — hill, mountain)	*para 'riew lum*	*bru lum* (*bru* — humans)	*para ju prow pdeng* (*prow* — humans)
42.	Foreigner :	*hi 'nong wei* (*shnong* — village ; *wei* — one)	—	—	—
43.	Plainspeople (contemptive) :	*dhhar*	*dhhar*	*dhhar*	*dhhar*
43/a.	Britishers :	*hi nong parang* (or : *bilat*)	*hi nong pareng*	*hi nong pareng*	*hi nong pareng*
43/b.	Indians :	*dhhar long* (*long* — black)	?	?	?
43/c.	Europeans :	*dhhar li* (*li* — white)	?	?	?

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1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

Garo Hills	117	162
Manipur	69	101
Total	4,091*	

The following information regarding the general aspect of [127] the Khasi and Jaintia Hills district, with some additions, is 133 derived from Sir William Hunter's Statistical Account of Assam. The district consists almost entirely of hills, only a very small portion lying in the plains. The slope of the hills on the southern side is very steep until a table-land is met with at an elevation of about 4,000 feet at Cherrapunji. Higher up there is another plateau at Mawphlang. This is the [361] highest portion of the hills, some villages being found at as high an elevation as close on 6,000 feet above sea level. Fifteen miles to the east of Mawphlang, and in the same range, is situated the civil station of Shillong, at an average elevation of about 4,900 feet. The elevation of the Shillong Peak, the highest hill in the district, is 6,450 feet above sea level. On the northern side of the hills are two plateaux, one between 1,000 and 2,000 feet below the level of Shillong, and another at an elevation of about 2,000 feet above sea level. In general features all these plateaux are much alike, and consist of a succession of undulating downs, broken here and there by the valleys of the larger hill streams. In the higher ranges, where 137 the hills have been denuded of forest, the country is covered 185 with short grass, which becomes longer and more rank in the 374 lower elevations. This denudation of forest has been largely 327 due to the wood being used by the Khasis for fuel for iron smelting in days gone by. The Government, however, has taken steps to protect the remaining forests from further 137 spoliation. A remarkable feature is the presence of numerous sacred groves situated generally just below the brows of the [778] hills. In these woods are to be found principally oak and rhododendron trees. The fir-tree (Pinus Khasia) is first met with on the road from Gauhati to Shillong, at Umsning, at an elevation of about 2,500 feet. In the neighbourhood of Shillong the fir grows profusely, but the finest fir-trees are to be seen

* The figures for Khasi population in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills district will be found under "Habitat."

14:Roy I-5 (no date) 1938 AR7 Khasi AR7

602 join to the *a* woman in life through only one of the primary stages in the life essence when it was sustained through the umbilical cord.

Thus the connection of the *a* group is sustained to a much longer period and greater intensity in its life-formation to the *a* woman, than the *b* son.

Hence we have the double means of sustenace of life producing, through the umbilical cord and the breast, the single group *a*, while the single connection of life-formation through the umbilical cord produces a double a+b man-woman connection with the *b* son.

Thus he stands alone in the centre and he places his *jain na ka kpoh* (the kind which springs from the same womb), that is, those of (a) group (see tables) on one side, and he places his *kha* or those connected, or sprung of, the one umbilical cord, that is, those of (b) group on the other side. On the other side is *ka rymieng ka rngiew*, the 'stature', the person from which he also derives his. Then the Khasi calls the source (*thymmei*) from which he springs, *ko kur ka rngiew* (stature, person) *ki kha na uwei u sohpet* (those connected or sprung of one umbilical cord).

602 609 156 Thus the Khasi has his house of *ki kur ki jaid* the relatives of his kind and species, and his world of *ki kha ki man*, relatives of other people's kind and species with whom they are able to propagate human life.

This interesting Khasi fabric of human relationship between man and his mother and father, [186] of the connection between a man and his fellow-

14. Roy 1-5 (no date) 1938 AR7 Khasi AR7

human beings all over the four quarters of the globe (*ehi snieh ka pyrthei*) with whom, in the world, he can give in marriage and take in marriage, shows the nature which is believed to be innate in the Khasi, and his supposed power of moulding the world. His nature is to grow and to resist, to extend and spread out. It is against his idea of life to remain narrow or limited and resourceless. He is not to be made small or made an orphan, it will not do for him and his idea of the world to '*sah khlem khun kelem kti*,' stay without kind and species, without child, without issue. A couple would even seek to separate if there are no children of the union. His idea is, so to say, 'imperialistic,' to sow and spread out. As I wrote elsewhere, "A Khasi marries men and women of all races; to his Khasi parent the issues are all one and the same without any distinction of caste or creed or colour or possessions. The children are the 'khun kha' (*khun* = child, *kha* = born, i.e. children who are born through the union of a descendant of the parent with a descendant of another parent), and these children are unified into families and are assimilated, in the Khasi idea of life, while these groups of families are traced to their mother and are made to revolve on this ancestress as the pivot of their existence."

Thus the Khasi shows :—

One one side – mother
|
Son—mother
which is, – mother
|
the son of one's own – his kinswoman

On the other side also he shows – mother
|
Son – mother
which is – Father's mother
|
the son of others his kinswoman

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

Shella

Confederacy forms a more marked endogamous community, through being cut off geographically and economically from the rest of the Khasi, and socially from the neighbouring Hindu people. 621

The Economy and the People.

Shella lies along the upper part of the Shella River and stretches upwards along the steep slope, looking down towards the Bengal plain. The climate of this part of the hills is considered to be one of the worst in tropical India for human habitation. The Bengal plain, though warmer than this area, is considered more healthy. This border land is the zone of malaria, typhoid, black fever, cholera, etc. None of the Bengalee peasants dare to live in such an area. However, it is the most fertile for products such as betel-nuts, pan-leaves, oranges, bananas and pineapples, and it also produces limestone. These people seem to prefer to settle in this zone and to enjoy its prosperity, at the expense of human lives: every year, especially between March and September, the inhabitants suffer from various fevers and dysentry and other diseaes, many of the weaker facing death. 131 132 164 433 164 648

Before the Partition of India and Pakistan, the products of Shella were carried down the Shella River to Sylhet, one of the biggest centres in East Bengal, which brought unimaginable wealth to the Shella people. Their houses were built by carpenters from Sylhet. The style and structure of these houses were exceptionally elaborate for the Khasi. They purchased vast rice fields in the plain, which used to be cultivated by Bengalee and Garo labourers engaged by them. These Khasi do not themselves know how to cultivate rice fields; they have always been managers or landowners. Their boys used to be sent to high schools and colleges in Sylhet. As a result of their trading with the Bengalee, many of them read and speak fluent Bengalee. There is no difference between their style of clothing and that of the Bengalee, though the women maintain their traditional dress in the Shella style. 177 178 434 [439] [342] [166] [464] [871] [191] [291]

They have thus been distinguished from the rest of the Khasi not only geographically, but also economically and culturally. Their personality also differs sharply from the rest of the Khasi. They are very sociable, and quick, a quality lacking among the Khasi of Sohkynduh and Kongton. They are clever enough to deal with strangers. The upland Khasi say Shella people are very cunning. This remark shows one side of these people. They had to be cunning, since they traded with the Sylhet Bengalee who were said to be the most cunning of their race. Their role in the trade and in the history of the modernization of the Hills was considerable. For centuries they represented intellectual Khasi owing to their contact with Hindu civilization, while the Hills remained in darkness. They assumed an important role when the British established an administration in the Hills, and even up to now, many leading Khasi originated from this area: for instance, Lati Hat, the first interpreter of the British Headquarters at Cherrapunjee; Jeebon Roy, who was the first Magistrate among the Khasi; Maham Sing, a lawyer and Member of the Legislative Assembly (the grandson of Jeebon Roy); Nichols Roy, Minister of Health and Prisons of the Assam Government, Member of the Legislative Assembly, and Missionary of the Church of God; R. R. Thomas (brother of Nichols Roy), Principal of the Gauhati University, etc. 157 184 648 177 178 [439]

Through constant cultural contact with Hindu, and encouraged by their economic prosperity, the Shella Khasi, like the Jaintias, have been much influenced by Hindu culture. However, this does not mean that the people of Shella adopted the Hindu beliefs. Though there is a small Hindu shrine, and some ceremonial elements were borrowed from the Hindu, most of the 177 648 771 795

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

spade or some dried fish, etc. Products such as large quantities of fruits should be sold to the Jatinga people who buy them at reasonable prices. 182

The Khasi are born traders. This must be closely related with their economic technique, such as pan cultivation which makes it impossible for them to live without trading. Hence, though they are hill people, they have had close economic contact with the peoples of the surrounding plains. At the same time, some of them have had a very similar economy to that of other tribes, such as that of Sohkynduh and of Kongton; hence they are familiar with tribal economy. On the whole, their dealings with the tribes as well as with the plains peoples are fair, though they are hard bargainers. Indeed the Khasi are quite welcomed by both sides. Thus the Khasi play an important role as intermediary between the tribes living in the hills and the Hindu (and Moslems) living in the plains.[1] 44 648

The economic contact is the most important of the many contacts between Jatinga and other tribal villages. Social contact, as appeared in intermarriages, is a rather marginal matter for the total population. Cultural contact is negligible: I only observed one indication—some fashionable tribal girls sometimes wear Khasi women's dress when they go to the Haflong bazaar. In their contact with tribes, the Jatinga Khasi speak Hindi which is the common language at Haflong bazaar for all tribes and peoples in this area. A few men of Jatinga speak some tribal language, but none of the tribal speak the Khasi language. 648 182 [191]

In spite of such great differences in culture, economy and social organization, the relationship between the Jatinga people and the tribes has remained very friendly. For instance, as I mentioned before (p. 175, note 3), the tribes lent their land to Jatinga people who were suffering from a great economic depression. Their actual behaviour also reflects such a friendly relationship. It is said that at the time of the Golden Jubilee of Jatinga in November 1955, many Zemi-Naga, Kuki, and Cacharee came and performed their dances for the celebration.

1. The important role of the Khasi as intermediary is not only in the economic field, but also in the political and cultural fields: nowadays many Khasi officers are sent to tribal areas by the Government. They are very efficient in dealing with such work, because they are used to deal with both tribal and plain peoples.

[P. 178 is blank]

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

SECTION VII.

LANGUAGE.

197 BEFORE commencing to describe the more salient features of the Khasi language, its grammar, and syntax, it seems to be of importance to show how intimately connected Khasi is with some of the languages of Further India. In the middle of the last century Logan pointed out affinity between Khasi and these languages, but it has been left to Professor Kuhn to prove this connection to demonstration. The examples of comparative vocabularies which follow are taken from Kuhn's "*Beiträge zur Sprachenkunde Hinterindiens*," Sir George Scott's "Upper Burma Gazetteer," and Sir George Campbell's lists. It will be seen from the collections of words that follow how Khasi possesses many words in common with Mon or Talaing, Khmêr, Suk, Stieng, Bahnar, Annam, Khamen-Boram, Xong, Samre, Khmu, Lemet, Palaung, and Wa. There is some correspondence, although perhaps to a lesser degree, between Khasi and the Ho-Munda languages and those of Malacca and the Nancowry language of the Nicobar Islands.

192 197 Let us now examine the table of numerals. The Khasi word for 1 is *wei*, but in the Amwi dialect of Khasi it is *mi*. In Khmu the word is *mui*, also in Suk; in Mon *mwoi* and in Xong *mui*. The word for 2 is identical in Khasi and Lemet, viz. *ar*. The word for 3, viz. *lai*, is identical in Khasi and Wa; also compare Lemet *lohe*. Khasi *saw* and Lakadong *thaw* for 4 are, however, deviating forms. In the case of 5, if we cut out the prefix *m* in the Mon word *m'sau*, we have fairly close agreement with the Khasi *sau*. In the numeral 6, if we cut out the prefix *hiu* of the Khasi (*hiu*)*riw*, and the initial *t* of Mon and Suk *t'rou*, *trou*, we have close agreement. In the Khasi words for 7 and 8 the syllable *hiu* is but a prefix. This is also probably the case in the Khasi word (*khyu*)*dai* for 9, and the *shi* in the Khasi word *shiphew*, 10, merely means one.

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NUMERALS.

—	War.	Hima or Taloing.	Bok.	Siang.	Bahour.	Assam.	Khasia Hima.	Kong.	Sunna.
1	mue	mawi	mui	mofi	mola, ming	mili	mmay	mri	mue
2	bar	ba	bar	bar	bar	bai	bar	pra	pra
3	pai	pi	pa	pii	peng	ba	pah	pa	pa
4	pum	pan	pum	pulu	pulu	bin	pun	pin	pun
5	sung	m'sun	sung	prim	(pa)ham	shin	prain	pram	pram
6	thpak	t'rua	trua	prua	(ba)trua	sau	krung	dam	kadam
7	thpai	t'pah	pha	pih	(ba)pa	bay	grui	kanui	kanui
8	thkai	-ch'am	tam	pham	(ba)ngam	tam	kati	kati	katai
9	thka	d'rait	kin	chin	(ba)sin	chin	kanaur	kaua	kaua
10	maskit	cah	chit	jumat jet	ming jii	mani chuk	sai	rai	rai

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NUMERALS.

—	Khma.	Lemet.	Palaung.	Wa.	Dialects of Khasi.				
					Khasi.	Lakadong.	Amwi.	Synteng.	Mynnar or Jirang.
1	mui	mus (mos)	lé	to	wei	bi	mi	wi	mi
2	bar	ar	ê (a)	ra (a)	ar	a	o	ar	ir
3	pe	lohe	oé	lai	lái	lôi	la	la	lei
4	pòn	pun (pon)	phun	pon	saw	thâu	siá	so	so
5	pfuong	pan	phan	hpawn (fan)	san	thân	san	san	sân
6	tal	tal	to	laiya (lia)	(hin)riw	thro	thrau	ynro	threi
7	pul	pul	phu	a-laiya (alia)	(hin)iew	(hum)thloi	ynthla	ynniaw	ynthlei
8	ti	ta	ta	s'to (su'to)	phra	humpya	humphyo	phra	humpyir
9	kash	tim	tim	s'ti (su'ti)	(khyn)dai	hunsulai	hunshia	khynde	khyndai
10	kan	kel	kon (ko)	kao	(shi)phew	shiphai	shipho	(shi)phaw	shiphi

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It will be seen that there is considerable similarity in the numerals of the different languages up to six, the correspondence being most strongly marked in the numerals 1, 2, 5, and 6. If we remember that primitive people seldom can count higher than the number of digits of one hand, the dissimilarity in the numerals, as the end of the decade is approached, is probably explained. As the different people speaking these languages gradually advanced in civilization they learned to count further; but by this time they had become in some cases like those of the Khasis, the Palaungs, and Mons, widely separated from one another. As they advanced in civilization, and found the necessity of an improved notation, they manufactured numerals which differed from one another, although they retained the first few numerals they had made use of in their days of savagery. Let us now study some extracts from Kuhn's interesting comparative vocabulary.* We find many instances of agreement. I give some examples:—

Heaven.—Palaung, *pleng*; Khmêr, *plieng* (rain); Xong, *pleng*; Khasi, *bneng*. Mynnar (Jirang) *phanliang* seems to be very near Khmêr *phlieng*, and Palaung, and Xong *pleng*.

Day (Sun).—Khmêr, *thngay*; Mon, *tngoi*; Annam, *ngay*; Lemet, *ngay pri*; Palaung, *sengei*; Khasi, *sngi*; Lakadong, *sngoi*; Kol, *singi*.

Year.—Mon, *snām*; Annam, *nam*; Stieng, *so'nam*; Bahnar, *sanam*; Khasi, *snem*.

Lightning.—Mon, *l'lí*; Khasi, *leilih*.

Stone, Rock.—Mon, *tmā*, *k'maw*; Stieng, *to'mâu*; Bahn, *tmo*, *temo*; Khmêr, *thma*; Xong, *tmo*; Palaung, *mau*; Ba, *maou*; Khasi, *maw*; Wa, *hsi-mo*, *hsi-mao*. Also compare Mynnar (Jirang) *smaw*.

Water.—Palaung, *em*; Khasi, *um*; Lakadong, *am*; Amwi, *am*; Mynnar (Jirang), *ām*; Rumai, *om*. Probably the Stieng *um*, to bathe, can be connected with the Khasi word for water.

Sea, pond, or *tank.*—Khmêr, *ping*; Khasi, *pung*.

Rice.—Mon, *sro*, paddy, seems to be in connection with Khmêr, *srur* (spoken *srau* or *srou*).* Xong *ruko* is in Palaung *rekao*, *sakao*, or *takao*. These words remind us of the Khasi

* Kuhn's "Beiträge zur Sprachenkunde Hinterindiens."

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197 192 *khaw*, which seems to be borrowed from the Shan *khaw* (*hkao hsau*).

Dog.—The common word for this animal will be found to be nearly the same in sound in many of these languages, e.g. Suk, *cho*; Stieng, *sou*; Bahnar, *ko, cho*; Annam, *cho*; Xong, *tcho*; Mi, *khmu*; Lemet, *so*; Palaung, *tsao, hsao*; Khasi, *ksew*. The Mon *khluiw* is the same as the Khasi *ksew*, if l is changed into s. The Lakadong and Synteng dialects of Khasi have *ksaw*, and Mynnar (Jirang) *ksow*.

Rat, mouse.—Mon, *kni, gni*; Stieng, *ko'nei*; Bahnar, *kone*; Khasi, *khnai*.

Swine.—Bahnar *niung* is evidently Khasi *'niang*, the abbreviated form of *sniang*.

Tiger.—Mon, *kla*; Stieng, *klāh*; Bahnar, *kla*; Khmêr, *khlā*; and Khasi, *khlā* are evidently the same. With this compare the Kol *kula, kulā, kūlā*.

Bird.—Sue, *kiem*; Mon, *g'cem, ka-tsim*; Hüei, *chiem*; Stieng, *chum*; Bahnar, Annam, *chim*; Xong, *chiem*; Palaung and Wa, *hsim*, and Khasi *sim* are clearly the same. Also compare Mynnar (Jirang), *ksem* which is very near to Mon, *g'cem*.

Fowl.—Hüei, *kat, yar*; Suk, *yer*; Bahnar, *ir*; Stieng, *iêr*; Khmu, *yer*; Lemet, *er*; Palaung, *her*, and Khasi, *siar*, abbreviated into *'iar*, are probably the same.

Fish.—The word *ka* or *kha* runs through the following languages:—Mon, Stieng, Bahnar, Annam, Khmu, Lemet, Palaung, Wa: and if we cut off the first syllable of the Khasi word for fish, *dohkha*, we find *'kha*, which is the same word as in the languages above mentioned, with an aspirate added. The Khasi *doh* merely means flesh, and the word *dohkha* is very frequently abbreviated, cf. *'kha saw, 'kha iong*.

Crab.—Mon, *kh'tām*; Khmêr, *ktām*; Khasi, *thām*. If we add the gender sign to the Khasi word, it becomes *ka thām*, and we have exact correspondence.

Woman.—Mon, *brou* or *brao*. Is this the same as the Khasi (ka) *briw*?

Child.—So, *kŏn*; Suk, *kon*; Mon, *kon*; Hüei, *kuon*; Annam, *kon*; Khmêr, *kun*; Khasi, *khun*. Compare Nancowry, *kon*.

Eye.—The word *māt, mat, māt*, runs through several of these languages, e.g. Mon, *mat*; Huei, *mat*; Stieng, *mat*; Bahnar,

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mat; Annam, *mat;* Khasi, *khmāt* (dialectic *māt*). In Nancowry compare *olmat*, eye, and *okmat*, eyebrow, and (*e*) *mat* (*hen*) *mat* (*drug*), *mat*, of the Nicobar dialects, also Semang *mat*, *met*, *med*. Kuhn remarks that the word *mat* is common for "*sight*," and "eye" all over the Malay Archipelago. It should be remarked that in the Amwi and Lakadong dialects of Khasi the word is *māt*. 192 197

Nose.—If we cut off the aspirate *kh* from the Khasi *khmut*, which thus becomes *mut*, we find some correspondence between Mon, *muh* (*mu*); Stieng (*tro*), *mŭh;* Bahnar, *muh*. Here also compare Ho *mua*, *muta;* Mundari, *mun;* Uraon, *moy*. In the Anwi and Lakadong dialects of Khasi the word is *mur-kong*.

Hand.—Xong, *ti;* Mon, *toi;* Annam, *tay*, Khmer, *te* (from *sang te*, finger); Palaung, *tae*, *tai*, and Khasi, *kti* (with prefix *k*) closely correspond. The forms *ta* and *toi* of Amwi, and Lakadong, respectively, still more closely correspond with the Mon-Khmer languages than with Khasi. Here compare Nancowry *tei* and *ti*, or *ti* of the Kol languages.

Blood.—Palaung *huam*, and Wa *nam* closely correspond with Khasi *snám*; here compare Khmêr *jhām*.

Horn.—Mon, *grang*, the horn of an animal, may be compared with the Khasi *reng*.

Far.—Distant. Bahnar, *hangai;* Annam, *ngai;* Khmêr, *chhngay;* Lemet, *sngay;* Sue *chngai* may be compared with the Khasi *jing-ngai*. Amwi *shujngoi* seems to be a closer form to the above than Khasi *jing-ngai*. But compare Mynnar (Jirang), *chngi*, which is clearly very close to Sue *chngai*, and Khmer *chhngay*.

To weep, to cry.—Mon, *yām;* Khmer, *yam;* Khmu Lemet and Palaung, *yam*, are clearly the same as Khasi *iām*, with which also may be compared Ho *yām*.

It is interesting to note that the Amwi and Lakadong dialects of Khasi, which are spoken by the people who dwell on the southern slopes of the Jaintia Hills, seem more closely to correspond with the Mon-Khmer forms than even with Khasi. The Mynnar or Jirang dialect of Khasi, spoken on the extreme north of the hills, also appears to possess some words which are very similar indeed to some of the Mon-Khmêr forms given by 197

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indeed, belong to the untranslatables of the language. We are never in want of a specific term to express the appropriate degree of any quality." To learn how to use the right adverb at the right time is one of the niceties of the language. There is a peculiarity about some of the adverbs of place which should be mentioned: e.g. *Hangto*, there (within sight); *hangne*, here; *hangta*, there (out of sight); *hangtai*, there (at some distance); *hangtei*, there (upwards); *hangthi*, there (downwards); also the interrogative adverbs *hangno*, *nangno*, whence, contain the inherent root *nga*, and it seems possible that this *nga* is the first personal pronoun I. If this is so, *hangto* would mean literally "to me there," *hangthi* "to me down there," and similarly *nangno*, *nangne* would mean "from where to me there" and "from there to me here." 193

Adverbs generally follow the words they modify, as *u'n leit mynta*=he will go now, but there are exceptions to the above rule, such as interrogative adverbs. The following come before those they modify: *tang shu*, *la dang* (as soon as, when); *kham*, *shait* (used to, ever); *pat* or *put* (yet); and *shym* (not); but *shuh* (more) goes last. Adverbs of past time are formed by prefixing *myn*, e.g. *mynhynne*, a short time ago. Adverbs of future time are formed by prefixing *la*. The particles *man*, *man la*, and *hala* denote repetition.

The Khasis are exceedingly fond of using double words* which add much to the finish and polish of a sentence. Old people especially have a predilection this way. It is one of the great difficulties of the language to learn how to use such double words correctly. The following are some examples:— [195] 193 192

NOUNS.

kajain ka nep	cloth.
ka kot ka sla	paper.
ka lynti ka syngking	road.
ka ling ka sem	house.
u babu, u phabu	babu.
u tymen u san	elder.
ka stih, ka wait	arms (lit.: shield and sword).
u badon ba em	a well to do person.
ka spah ka phew	wealth.
u kha-u-man	a relation on the father's side.

VERBS.

pynsuk-pynsain	to comfort.
ia shoh ia dat	to scuffle.

* Khasi *ktin kynnoh*.

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Verbs.

byrngem-byrsit	to threaten.
shepting-shepsmiej	to be afraid.
ihthuh-ihthaw	to be familiar.
kyrpad-kyrpon	to beg.
ia lum-ia lang	to assemble.

Adjectives.

basniw-basmeh	bad.
basmat-basting	active.
donbor-donsor	powerful.
don burom-don surom	noble.
bakhraw-batri	pertaining to a noble family.
baduk-basuk	poor, needy.
babok-basot	righteous.
bariwbha-riwmiat	wealthy.

Adverbs.

hur-hur	delicately.
hain-hain	brilliantly (red).
prum-prum, prem-prem	prominently.
rymbiaw-rymboin	shrinkingly.
nior-nior, niur-niur	shakily.
ior-ior, iar-iar	weakly.
parum-pareh	many.
sip-sip, sap-sap	having no taste.

The Mikirs appear to have borrowed a small portion of their vocabulary from the Khasis. The following are quoted as examples of possible common roots:—

	Mikir.	Khasi.
belly	*pŏk*	*kpoh.*
strike (v.)	*chŏk*	*shoh.*
father	*po*	*kpa.*
come (v.)	*cŏng*	*wain.*
rice beer	*hor*	*hiar.*
maternal uncle	*nĭ-lur*	*kni.*

197 The Lyngam dialect differs so much from the standard Khasi that some remarks regarding the former will not be out of place. Dr. Grierson, on pages 17 to 19 of his Volume II. of the "Linguistic Survey of India," has indicated some of these differences, which may be recapitulated here as follows. Some of the commonest verbs vary considerably from those used in
197 the standard dialect. There are also many minor differences of pronunciation. A man is *u breo*, not *u briew*, a son is a *u khon*,
193 not *u khun*. Standard *ng* is often represented by *nj*. Thus
194 *doinj* for *ding*, fire. A final *h* often appears as *k*, and an initial *h* as *p*. Thus, *baroh* (Standard), all, becomes in Lyngam *prok*.

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193 Standard, the Present Tense is formed by using the bare root.

The Past Tense is formed in one of five ways, viz.:—

1. By suffixing *let*, as in *ong-let*, said.
2. By suffixing lah-let, as in *dih-lah-let*, went.
3. By prefixing *lah*, and suffixing *let*, as in *lah-ong-let*, said.
4. By prefixing lah, as in *lah-kyllei*, asked.
5. By prefixing *yu* (*yng*, *ym*), as in *yu-nai*, gave; *yng-kheit*, shook; *yu-pait*, broke; *yu-jai*, fell.

The Future is formed in a very peculiar way. The Standard *yu* is inserted into the middle of the root, immediately after the first consonant. Thus *rip*, strike; *ryuip*, will strike. If the root is a compound, it is inserted between the two members, as in *pau-yu-sop*, will fill. Here observe that the Standard causative prefix *pyn* becomes *pan* in Lynngam. The Infinitive has the same form as the Future.

Dr. Grierson points out the following most noteworthy fact with reference to the formation of the Lynngam Future and Infinitive, i.e. that similar infixes occur in Malay, in the Nancowry dialect of Nicobar, and the Malacca aboriginal languages.

The prefix of the Imperative is *nei*, as in *nei-ai*, give; *nei-lam*, bring. The usual negative particle is *ji*, which is suffixed, e.g. *nan-ji* is not.

NUMERALS.

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LYNNGAM	STANDARD (KHASI).
1. *Wiew, shi*	*Wei, shi.*
2. *Ar-re* or *a-re*	*Ar.*
3. *Lai-re*	*Lai.*
4. *Saw-re*	*Saw.*
5. *San-de*	*San.*
6. *Hyrrew-re*	*Hinriw.*
7. *Hyanju-re*	*Hinniew.*
8. *Phra-re*	*Phra.*
9. *Khuadai-re*	*Khyndai.*
10. *Shi-phu*	*Shi-phew.*

The peculiarity about the Lynngam numerals is the suffix *re*, and the numeral "five" *de*. None of the other dialects of Khasi possess this peculiarity. Dr. Grierson's Volume may be

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referred to for a Lynngam Vocabulary. I make the following additions:— 192

English	Lynngam	Khasi (Standard).
Hearth	paw	ka dypei
Earthen pot	kheow	u khiw
Flesh	mim	ka doh
Spoon	jamplai	ka siang
Sleeping-room	syrkut	ka'rumpei
Drinking-gourd	longtang	u skaw
" "	longjak	u klong dih-um
Broom	shipuat	u synsar
Clothing.		
Turban	khabong jain brung	ka jain spong
Ear-ring	kurneng	ka shohshkor
Apron	shiliang	ka jymphong
Haversack	jolonjwa *	ka pla
Cap	pokhia	ka tupia
Girdle	pun-poh	u saipan
Under garment (female)	jain tongpan	ka jympin
Domestic Terms.		
Pestle	synraw	u synrei
Door	phyrdaw	ka jingkhang
Fowl house	kjor syar	ka sem siar
Portion of house in front of the hearth	nengiaw	ka nongpei
Do. behind the hearth	shangla	ka rumpei
Store-house	siang	ka ieng buh kyba
Millet	jrai	u krai
Indian corn	soh rikhaw	u riw hadem
Arum	chew	ka shiriew
Agricultural Implements.		
Spade	wakhew	u mohkhiew
Bill-hook	wait-bah	ka wait Lynngam
Do.	wait-koh	ka wait khmut
Axe	dapam	u sdi
Basket used in reaping and sowing	khyrnai	ka koh rit

* Assamese loan word, a corruption of "*jalungá.*"

13: Mukherjee E-5 (1954)1958 AR7 Khasi AR7

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SOCIAL GROUPINGS AMONG THE KHASIS OF ASSAM

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Introduction

131 611 421 [591] 192

THE Khasis, who inhabit the United Khasi and Jaintia Hills district of Assam, are matrilineal. Like the Garos, they, are matrilocal in residence. Exclusive ownership over family property is claimed by the Khasi women and the youngest daughter (*Ka-Khadduh*) who lives permanently in the house of her mother, is the custodian of the family property and the holder of religion (*Ka bat ka-niam*)[1].

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This paper deals with the social groupings, namely, the clan, sub-clan and family, of the Khasis. The materials were collected in 1954 from Mawphlang, Cherapunji and Mamluh and Mawsmai villages farther south of the Chera State.

Discussion

192 614 [562] [611]

In the language of the Khasi, the prefix *Ka* is usually used before the name of a woman or any object belonging to a woman (or considered feminine). The use of *Ka* as a prefix before the name of each social group is suggested to have bearing on Khasi matriliny. *Kur* is not a very expressive and exact term for a clan. *Kakur*, which is supposed to have sprung from the woman (*long jaid na ka kynthei*)[2] is more exact. Similarly, *Ka-K'poh* and *Ka-iing* denote the sub-clan and family respectively.

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[1] Gurdon, P. R. T., *The Khasis*, London, 1914 p. 89.

[2] Op. cit., page 82.

13:Mukherjee E-5 (1954)1958 AR7 Khasi AR7

The primal father and the mother of the members of every clan are respectively known as *U-Parad* (*U-Thawlang*) and *Ka-Meyrad* (*Ka-Iawbei*). 614 192 773

There is a large number of clans among the Khasis and some of the clan names are those of animals and trees. *Shrieh* is monkey, *tham*, a crab, and *dingdoh*, a tree ; yet they do not constitute totemic clan organization. The clan names are not even the names of the ancestress. The clans are not ancestral but rather were territorial in nature when the clansmen (*shi-Kur*) used to live in a place having a common land (*ri-kur*) and a clan ossuary (*mawbah*) where the bones of the dead clansmen were deposited. 614 551

Unlike the clans, the sub-clans (*ka-k'poh*) are ancestral. As for example, in case of the *Siem* clan of the Chera state, it is found that Ka-Khiem was the primal ancestress. Her daughter Ka-Pet had three daughters, namely, Ka-Sngi, Ka-Lngen, and Ka-Kreh each of whom is regarded as the *Ka-K' poh* (*meaning* womb) of their respective descendants who are *shi-K'poh* (the members of the same womb). And their names are the names of the three sub-clans of the *siem* clan. 613

The names of the sub-clans of some of the clans as collected from the elderly Khasi women are given below. 613 614 551

CLAN	SUB-CLAN
1. Siem	— sngi ; lngen , kreh
2. Khongsit	— yin , phai ; har ; jiram
3. Kharshiing	— iew ; mah ; sayngiar , iynean
4. Lyngdoh	— kaban ; summhir ; kamai
5. Nongrum	— tungan ; tungwi ; syngna , buhai
6. Khongrymai	— thania ; thani , barhai , lisi
7. Jaidkhar	— hazi ; haza , tuli ; tula
8. Simpilian	— eli ; mayar ; josi , emi

Family (*ka-iing*) among the Khasis is the socio-economic and religious unit. Due to matrilocal residence, the structure of the Khasi families assumes a different form. The constituent members are the grandmother, her daughters and their children. But the parmanent[1] residents are the youngest daughter (*ka-khadduh*), her husband and daughters. It takes an 596

[1] [Should read: permanent.— Analyst]

/See category 116 for numerous native terms which are used and defined in this text. These have been marked for pertinent subject categories. -- Analyst/

21: Ehrenfels E-4,5 (1950) 1953 AR7 Khasi AR7

601 Term 19 and 20 — *para kur* and *para kha*; the former for all cousins and half-siblings on the mother's and the latter for those on the father's side, show the consciousness of the matrilineal clan-affinity and the patrilineal biological relationship through their classificatory subdivision, which is also true of

Term 21, 21/*a* and 21/*b*; — the *bakha* are cross-cousins.

Term 21/*b* shows special consideration for the older paternal male cousin of the first degree, who is addressed as *bah* whilst the older maternal male cousin of the first degree is addressed as *kong*, like the older female cousins on both sides.

Term 23, 23/*a*, 23/*b*, — *ksiew* for grandchildren would appear to mean: [192] dog's children. It has, however, been pointed out to me, by Khasi friends, that the Khasi word for dog is *ksew*; not *ksiew*. The Pnár (Jaintia) pronunciation *ki ksu* for grandchildren, and the occasionally occuring designation of great-grandchildren as "cats children" (term 24) and of great-great-grandchildren as "rats children" (term 25), however, would appear rather to suggest the derivation of *khun ksiew* from *ksew* — dog, than from a meaningless separate root.

Term 24 — *khun miaw* (i. e. cats children) for great-grandchildren is used among Plateau Khasi families. BERNATZIK considers with CREDNER, E. LUNET DE LAJONQUIÈRE, MARABAILS and EICKSTEDT the possibility that [197] the name of the Meau has been derived from cats [30]. This is a hill tribe, speaking a language with some similarity to the Mon-Khmer group [31] (to which also the Khasi language belongs). The Meau are living not very far from the possible homeland of the Khasi around the region of S. China, N. Siam and Indo-China. If a parallel should here be assumed, the two complementary Khasi terms No. 23 (dogs children) and 25 (rats children) may appear to be formed on the basis of analogy with the term "cats children" as tribal self-designation. Another explanation, however, of this unusual kinship-term which was given to me by a Khasi friend, contented that each generation, seen from the ancestral parent's point of view, is as numerous as the young of the respective varieties of animals.

Term 25 — *khun knai* (rats children) comments: — see: term 24, (supra).

601 602 Term 26 — *u ñi* — *u kong* as a honorific term for the maternal uncles and the husbands of the elder sisters and elder female cousins on the maternal side, illustrates the great respect shown to male relatives on the mother's side by adding the masculine preposition *u* to the word *kong*, which generally signifies older female maternal relatives, but in this case, their husbands (comp. term 33/*e*). This usage of the term is reminiscent of the Brahmin ceremonies performed for male maternal ancestors, instead of for mothers, grandmothers, etc. It also tallies with my observations, otherwise obtained [32]

[30] BERNATZIK (1947), pp. 6, 7.

[31] BERNATZIK (1947), p. 445, though he denies the inclusion of the Meau into the Mon-Khmer group.

[32] EHRENFELS (1950), p. 34; (1951/*A*), pp. 3, 4, 5; (1951/*B*), pp. 73, 80, seq.

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614 to his own matriarchal stock, and at his death his bones
764 are deposited in the cromlech of his mother's kin. In
Jowai he neither lives nor eats in his wife's house, but
[591] visits it only after dark (p. 76). In the veneration of
ancestors, which is the foundation of the tribal piety,
769 the primal ancestress (*Ka Iāwbei*) and her brother are
211 the only persons regarded. The flat memorial stones
set up to perpetuate the memory of the dead are called
after the woman who represents the clan (*māw kynthei*,
p. 150), and the standing stones ranged behind them
are dedicated to the male kinsmen on the mother's
side.

776 In harmony with this scheme of ancestor worship,
the other spirits to whom propitiation is offered are
mainly female, though here male personages also figure
(pp. 106—109). The powers of sickness and death are
all female, and these are those most frequently wor-
shipped (p. 107). The two protectors of the household
are goddesses (p. 112), though with them is also revered
the first father of the clan, *U Thāwlang*.

793 Priestesses assist at all sacrifices, and the male
643 officiants are only their deputies (p. 121); in one
important state, Khyrim, the High Priestess and actual
head of the State is a woman, who combines in her
person sacerdotal and regal functions (p. 70).

193 The Khasi language, so far as known, is the only
member of the Mān-Khmēr family which possesses
a grammatical gender, distinguishing all nouns as
masculine and feminine; and here also the feminine
nouns immensely preponderate (p. 206). The pronouns
of the second (*mē*, *phā*) and third person (*ū*, *kā*) have
separate forms for the sexes in the singular, but in the
plural only one is used (*phī*, *kī*), and this is the plural
form of the feminine singular.

000 It may perhaps be ascribed to the pre-eminence

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wonderful mass of granite known by the name of the Kyllang Rock will be found in the section of the monograph which deals with geographical distribution. I have also added a photograph of the rock. The Syntengs have a story that when the strong west wind blows in the spring this is due to the advent of *U Kyllang*, who comes to visit his wife, the river *Umngot*, at that season: amongst the Khasis hills are all of them masculine, but to rivers is usually attributed the feminine gender. U Symper is another isolated rocky eminence rising from the Maharam plain close to the village of K'mawan. The best view of the hill is obtainable from Laitmawsiang on the path to Mawsynram. The village of Mawsmai every traveller from Therria to Cherrapunji knows. It is chiefly remarkable for a fairly large limestone cave, and its fine memorial stones. The Khasi theory to explain how the moon got its spots is, I believe, original, but is no more extraordinary than our own nursery tale about the "man in the moon." The *Sohpet Byneng* hill is the first hill of any size that the traveller sees on the Gauhati road when journeying to Shillong. It is close to Umsning Dak Bungalow. There are caves in the hill which are tenanted by bears. Strange to say, according to Khasi ideas, this is one of the highest points in the hills; in reality *Sophet Byneng* is some 2,000 ft. lower than the Shillong Peak. As mentioned elsewhere, the Khasis are very fond of dogs; so I have given their version of how the dog came to live with man. The well-known *thlen* superstition will be found fully described under the heading of "Human sacrifices." I have, however, thought the tale of sufficient interest to reproduce at length here. The story of the river Rupatylli is a pretty tale, and is just such a one as would appeal to the imagination of mountaineers like the Khasis. The Kopili story is important, in that it indicates the origin of human sacrifices in the Jaintia Hills; it also throws, perhaps, some light on the question of the use to which the flat table memorial stones were put in years gone by. The superstition about the crossing of the Kopili can be vouched for by many who have taken the journey from the Jaintia Hills to North Cachar by the Kopili route. Mawpunkyrtiang is a small village close to Cherrapunji. The weird tale about the Siem of Malyniang is the pride of the Maskut people, for in olden days their King,

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197 Professor Kuhn. Unfortunately, I had time to collect but a few words of this interesting dialect, as I arrived in the portion of the country inhabited by these people only a short time before submitting this monograph to Government. The Mynnar dialect appears to be akin to the Synteng, Lakadong, and Amwi forms of speech. The Mynnars observe also the Synteng ceremony of "*Bek-diwp-khlam*," or driving away the demon of cholera, so that although now inhabiting a part of the country a considerable distance away from that of the Syntengs, it is not unlikely that they were originally connected with the latter more closely.

Professor Kuhn comes to the conclusion that there is a distinct connection between Khasi, Mon or Talaing, Khmêr, and the other languages of Indo-China that have been mentioned, which is to be seen not only from similarities in some of the numerals, but from the convincing conformities of many other words of these languages. He goes on to add that more important than these contacts of the mono-syllabic languages of Indo-China with mono-syllabic Khasi is their affinity with the Kol, and Nancowry poly-syllabic languages and with that of the aboriginal inhabitants of Malacca, i.e. the languages of the so-called Orang-Utang, or men of the woods, Sakei, Semung, Orang-Benua, and others; and that although it is not, perhaps, permissible to derive at once from this connection the relation of the Khasi Mon-Khmêr mono-syllabic group with these poly-syllabic languages, it seems to be certain that a common substratum lies below a great portion of the Indo-Chinese languages as well as those of the Kol and Ho-Munda group. More important than connections between words is, as Dr. Grierson points out in his introduction to the Mon-Khmêr family, the order of the words in the sentence. In both Khasi and Mon
193 that order is subject, verb, object. Taking this fact in conjunc-
197 tion with the similarities of the Khasi and Mon vocabularies, we may conclude that it is proof positive of the connection between Khasi and Mon, or Talaing. In Munda, however, the order is subject, object, verb. This is a very important difference, for, as Dr. Grierson points out, "the order of words in a sentence follows the order of thought of the speaker; it follows therefore that the Mundas think in an order of ideas different

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from those of the Khasis and the Mons. Dr. Grierson comes to the same conclusion with respect to these languages as Professor Kuhn, which is as follows:—"Owing to the existence of these differences we should not be justified in assuming a common origin for the Mon-Khmêr langu..ges on the one hand, and for the Munda, Nancowry, and Malacca languages on the other. We may, however, safely assume that there is at the bottom of all these tongues a common substratum, over which there have settled layers of the speeches of other peoples, differing in different localities. Nevertheless, this substratum was so firmly established as to prevent its being entirely hidden by them, and frequent undeniable traces of it are still discernible in languages spoken in widely distant tracts of Nearer and Further India. Of what language this original substratum consisted we are not yet in a position to say. Whatever it was, it covered a wide area, larger than the area covered by many families of languages in India at the present day. Languages with this common substratum are now spoken, not only in the modern Province of Assam, in Burma, Siam, Cambodia, and Anam, but also over the whole of Central India, as far west as the Berars." Grierson, having agreed regarding the existence of this common substratum, does not finally determine whether the ancient substratum was the parent of the present Munda languages, or of the Mon-Khmêr language. He says, "It cannot have been the parent of both, but it is possible that it was the parent of neither." We are thus still in a state of uncertainty as to what was the origin of these languages. 197 193

The brief description which follows of some of the more prominent characteristics of the Khasi language is based chiefly on Sir Charles Lyall's skeleton Grammar contained in Vol. II. of Dr. Grierson's "Linguistic Survey of India." It does not pretend to be an exhaustive treatise on the language; for this students are referred to the excellent grammar compiled by the Rev. H. Roberts. 193 [14]

The Article.—There are four articles in Khasi; three in the singular, *u* (masculine), *ka* (feminine), and *i* (diminutive of both genders); and one in the plural for both genders, *ki*.

All Khasi nouns take a pronominal prefix to denote the gender, i.e. the third personal pronoun, *u* (masculine), *ka* (feminine),

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193 *i* (diminutive). The great majority of inanimate nouns are feminine, and all abstract nouns. The sun (day), *ka engi*, is feminine, the moon (month), *u Bnai*, is masculine. Sometimes the word varies in meaning according to the gender, e.g. *u ngap*, a law; *ka ngap*, honey.

Genders.—Names of mountains, stones, plants, fruits, stars, and the moon, are masculine, e.g.:—

U Lyngkop, the Kyllang rock.
U mawbrin, quartz.
U phew, potato.
U sah monster, savage.
U Ior shai, the morning star.
U Ior kulay, sun.
U Bnai, the moon.

Names of rivers, lakes, books, places, the sun, and all abstract nouns are feminine, e.g.:—

Ka wah, river.
Ka nam, lake.
Ka Bibay, book.
Ka shillong, shillong.
Ka engi, sun
Ka jingmarong, advice.

The article *i* is used either as a diminutive, as *i khadlong*, a fairy, or for denoting endearment, as *i mei*, mother.

Number.—*U*, *ka*, and *i* stand for the singular number, e.g. *u khla* (a tiger), *ka khah* (a Khasi basket), *i khun* (a child). *Ki* is the sign of the plural, as *ki nam*, the stones. *Ki* in most few instances is used honorifically, as *ki Siem*, the king, *ki khnar*, the father-in-law.

Cases are eight in number, and are denoted by prefixes. The declension of the noun *lum* (hill) is given below by way of example:—

	Singular.	Plural.
Nominative . .	*u lum*	*ki lum.*
Accusative . .	*ca u lum*	*ca ki lum.*
Instrumental . .	*da u lum*	*da ki lum.*
Dative . .	*ca, ka, or sha u lum*	*ca, ka, or sha ki lum.*
Ablative . .	*ca u lum*	*ca ki lum.*
Genitive . .	*jong u lum*	*jong ki lum.*
Locative . .	*ka u lum*	*ka ki lum.*
Vocative . .	*ka lum*	*ka phi ki lum.*

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The sign of the genitive case, *jong*, is sometimes omitted for the sake of brevity, e.g. *u kwer ope* (my dog) for *u kwer jong ope*. The preposition *la* gives also the force of the possessive case, e.g. *la ka jong ka jong* (their own). There are some nouns which change their form, or rather are abbreviated when used in the vocative case, e.g. *ka mei*, not *ka kmei* = Oh mother; *ka pa*, not *ka kpa* = Oh father. These, however, are all of them nouns showing relationships.

Pronouns.—Personal pronouns are *ope* (I), *ngi* (we), *ma* (thou, masculine), *pha* (thou, feminine), *phi*, you (masculine or feminine), *u* (he, it), *ka* (she, it), *i* (diminutive form of *u* or *ka*), and *ki* (they).

The emphatic form of the personal pronoun is formed by postfixing *ne*, e.g. *ma-ope*, *ma-u*, after a verb, but not after a preposition, e.g. *dei-ma-ope* = it is I. But *ei in ma ope* is an [illegible]

The *Reflexive Pronoun* is formed by the word *lade* (self) being suffixed to the personal pronoun, as *u leh swin in lade* = he does himself harm, or by the addition of the word *hi* (self) to the personal pronoun, as *phi hi phi ong* (you yourself).

The Relative Pronoun is formed by the suffix *ka*, added to any of the personal pronouns, as *haba*, *uba*, *hiba* (who, which).

The Demonstrative Pronoun is formed by the addition of the particles denoting the position of things with reference to the speaker, e.g. (1) near = this, *ne* (*u-ne*, *hane*, *i-ne*, *ki-ne*); (2) in sight, but further off = that, *to* (*uto*, &c.); (3) further away, but still visible = that *tai* (*u-tai*, &c.); (4) out of sight or only contemplated in the mind = that, *ta* (*u-ta*, &c.); (5) above = that, *tei* (*u-tei*, &c.); (6) below = this, *thi* (*ka-thi*, &c.); *katai-tai*, *katei-tei*, *kathi-thi* point to an object at a great distance but within sight.

The Interrogative Pronoun is the article followed by *no* or *ei* (e.g. *u-no*, *hano*, who), *u-ei*, *ka-ei* (who, which). *Ei* is often used without the "article," and *no* (which is restricted to persons) when declined, regularly drops the "article," e.g. *jong-no* whose? *ia-no*, whom? *sha-no*, to whom? What? neuter, is *eiad*, and also *kei*.

Adjectives are formed by prefixing *ka* to the root, thus *kha* goodness; *ka-kha*, good; *swin*, badness; *ka-swin*, bad. When

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193 *ba* is dropped, the word is no longer an adjective but a verb, and in some cases a noun, e.g. *uba khraw* (adj.) = big, great; *u khraw* = he becomes great. An adjective may be formed without any of the prefixes *ba*, *uba*, &c., e.g. *ka mian-tuh* = a thieving cat.

An adjective follows the noun it qualifies, and agrees with the noun it qualifies in gender and number.

Comparison.—The comparative is formed by adding *kham* before an adjective, followed by *ban ia* (than), or simply *ia*, and the *superlative* by adding such adverbs of intensity as *tam*, *ch*, *ch than*, *tam ch*, *chikaddei*, which are followed generally by *ia* or *ban ia*.

Numerals.—In Khasi the cardinal number always precedes the noun (e.g. *kai sis*, three times). The following are the first ten numerals.

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1. *Wei.*	6. *Hinrin.*
2. *Ar.*	7. *Hinnien.*
3. *Iai.*	8. *Phra.*
4. *Sap.*	9. *Khyndai.*
5. *Sam.*	10. *Shiphen.*

The word *khad* is prefixed for forming the numerals from 11 to 19, e.g. *khad-wei*, *khad-ar*, eleven, twelve, &c.

The verbal root (which never varies) may be simple or compound. The compound roots are (1) causals, formed by prefixing *pyn* to the simple root: as *iap*, die; *pyniap*, kill. (2) Frequentatives, formed by prefixing *iai*; as *iam*, weep; *iai iam*, weep continually. (3) *Inceptives*, by prefixing *man*; as *stad*, be wise; *manstad*, grow wise. (4) *Reciprocals*, by prefixing *ia*; as *ieit*, love; *ia-ieit*, love one another. (5) *Intensives*, by prefixing the particle *lyn*, *lyn*, *syn*, *tyn*. Any noun or adjective may be treated as a verbal root by means of a prefix of these five classes. Thus *kejia*, a quarrel (Hindustani loan word, *gazia*;) *ia kejia*, to quarrel with one another; *kynta*, share; *pyn-ia-kynta* (reciprocal causal), to divide between several persons. It should be mentioned with reference to the second class or frequentative verbs, that they sometimes take the prefixes, or particles as Roberts prefers to call them, *dem*, *dup*, *nang*, *shait*, *kaw* in place of *iai*, e.g. *dem-man*, to come after; *dup-teh*, to practise; *nang-wad*, to go on searching; *shait pang*, to be always ill; *kaw-kaw*, to be in the habit of devouring. There are two

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verbs for "to be," *long*, implying existence absolutely, and *don*, implying limited existence, and also meaning "to have." There is only one form of conjugation for all verbs. Tense and mood are indicated by prefixes, number and person by the subject. When the subject is a noun the pronoun is inserted before the verb. The following is the conjugation of the verb "to be" in the present, past, and future tenses :—

Present.		Past.		Future.	
Singular.	Plural.	Singular.	Plural.	Singular.	Plural.
1	2	3	4	5	6
Nga long I am	*Ngi long* We are	*Nga la long* I was	*Ngi la long* We were	*Ngan long* I shall be	*Ngin long* We shall be
Me (masc.) or *phi* (fem.) *long* Thou art	*Phi long* Ye are	*Me* or *phi la long* Thou wast	*Phi la long* Ye were	*Man* or *phan long* Thou shalt be	*Phin long* You shall be
U (masc.) or *ka* (fem.) *long* He or she is	*Ki long* They are	*U* or *ka la long* He or she was	*Ki la long* They were	*U'n* or *ka'n long* He or she will be	*Kin long* They will be

The above simple tenses are made definite or emphatic by various means. *La*, sign of the past, when added to *lah*, sign of the potential, has the sense of the pluperfect, e.g. *nga la lah long*, I had been. *Yn* abbreviated into *'n* emphasizes the future, the particle *sa* also indicates the future; *da* is the usual sign of the subjunctive mood, *lada*, *la*, *lymda*, *tad*, *yada*, *ban*, *da* are other signs of this mood. The sign of the infinitive is *ba'a*. The imperative is either (1) the simple root, or (2) the root compounded with some word such as *to*.

Participles.—The present participle is formed by prefixing *ba* to the root, e.g. *ba long*, being. The imperfect participle is formed by prefixing such words as *ba u*, *ka da*, *da kaba*, &c. The perfect participle is formed by putting such particles as *ba la*, *kaba la*, *da kaba la* before the verb. Verbal nouns of agency are formed by prefixing *nong* to the root, e.g. *u nong knia* (the sacrificer). The *Passive Voice* is formed by using the verb impersonally, and putting the subject into the Accusative case with *ia*.

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193 *Potentiality* is indicated by the verb *lah*, necessity by the verb *dei*; *dang* and *da* show the indefinite present.

The *negative* is indicated by the particles *ym*, contracted into *'m*, *shym*, and *pat*. *Ym* is put before the verb, e.g. *'ym don briew* = there is no one; with a pronoun it is contracted, e.g. *u'm wan*, he does not come. It follows the sign of the future, e.g *phi'n y'm wan*, you will not come. *Shym* and *pat* are negative particles, and are used with *negative verbs* in the past tense, e.g. *u'm shymla wan*, he did not come.

The use of the word "jing."—One of the most striking features of the language is the use of the word *jing*, which is employed to create a verbal noun out of a verb: for instance, take the verb *bam*, to eat; if we prefix *jing* we have *jingbam*, food. *Bat*, to hold; *jing-bat*, a handle. The use of the word *nong* has already been noticed under the heading "verbs." As an example of another common prefix, it may again be mentioned here. Thus, *nong-ai-jingbam* means a table servant, literally, one who gives food. Again, *nong-bat*, a holder, literally, one who holds.

Syntax.—The order of words in the sentence is usually (1) subject, (2) verb, and (3) object, in fact, the same as in English, and in this respect it differs entirely from the order in the languages derived from Sanskrit, and that of the languages of the Thibeto-Burman group, as far as I have been able to ascertain. For instance, in the Kachari or Boro language the order in the sentence is (1) subject, (2) object, (3) verb. In Khasi when emphasis is needed, however, the object occasionally precedes the verb, e.g. *ia u soh u la die*, he has sold the fruit, literally, the fruit he has sold. As stated before, adjectives follow the nouns they qualify, e.g. *u lum bajyrong*, a high mountain, literally, the hill that is high. Interrogative adverbs may either precede or follow the verb e.g. *naei phi wan*, or *phi wan naei*, where do you come from?

No account of the Khasi language would be complete without some reference to the adverbs which are so very numerous in Khasi. U Nissor Singh, in his admirable little book of "Hints on the Study of the Khasi Language," writes, "Adverbs are so numerous in the Khasi language that I shall not attempt to enumerate them all in this small book. Many of the adverbs,

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indeed, belong to the untranslatables of the language. We are never in want of a specific term to express the appropriate degree of any quality." To learn how to use the right adverb at the right time is one of the niceties of the language. There is a peculiarity about some of the adverbs of place which should be mentioned: e.g. *Hangto*, there (within sight); *hangne*, here; *hangta*, there (out of sight); *hangtai*, there (at some distance); *hangtei*, there (upwards); *hangthi*, there (downwards); also the interrogative adverbs *hangno*, *nangno*, whence, contain the inherent root *nga*, and it seems possible that this *nga* is the first personal pronoun I. If this is so, *hangto* would mean literally "to me there," *hangthi* "to me down there," and similarly *nangno*, *nangne* would mean "from where to me there" and "from there to me here." 193

Adverbs generally follow the words they modify, as *u'n leit mynta*=he will go now, but there are exceptions to the above rule, such as interrogative adverbs. The following come before those they modify: *tang shu*, *la dang* (as soon as, when); *kham*, *shait* (used to, ever); *pat* or *put* (yet); and *shym* (not); but *shuh* (more) goes last. Adverbs of past time are formed by prefixing *myn*, e.g. *mynhynne*, a short time ago. Adverbs of future time are formed by prefixing *la*. The particles *man*, *man la*, and *hala* denote repetition.

The Khasis are exceedingly fond of using double words* which add much to the finish and polish of a sentence. Old people especially have a predilection this way. It is one of the great difficulties of the language to learn how to use such double words correctly. The following are some examples:— [195] 193 192

NOUNS.

kajain ka nep	cloth.
ka kot ka sla	paper.
ka lynti ka syngking	road.
ka ling ka sem	house.
u babu, u phabu	babu.
u tymen u san	elder.
ka stih, ka wait	arms (lit.: shield and sword).
u badon ba em	a well to do person.
ka spah ka phew	wealth.
u kha-u-man	a relation on the father's side.

VERBS.

pynsuk-pynsain	to comfort.
ia shoh ia dat	to scuffle.

* Khasi *ktin kynnoh*.

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Verbs.

byrngem-byrsit	to threaten.
shepting-shepsmiej	to be afraid.
ihthuh-ihthaw	to be familiar.
kyrpad-kyrpon	to beg.
ia lum-ia lang	to assemble.

Adjectives.

basniw-basmeh	bad.
basmat-basting	active.
donbor-donsor	powerful.
don burom-don surom	noble.
bakhraw-batri	pertaining to a noble family.
baduk-basuk	poor, needy.
babok-basot	righteous.
bariwbha-riwmiat	wealthy.

Adverbs.

hur-hur	delicately.
hain-hain	brilliantly (red).
prum-prum, prem-prem	prominently.
rymbiaw-rymbsoin	shrinkingly.
nior-nior, niur-niur	shakily.
ior-ior, iar-iar	weakly.
parum-pareh	many.
sip-sip, sap-sap	having no taste.

The Mikirs appear to have borrowed a small portion of their vocabulary from the Khasis. The following are quoted as examples of possible common roots:—

	Mikir.	Khasi.
belly	*pòk*	*kpoh.*
strike (v.)	*chòk*	*shoh.*
father	*po*	*kpa.*
come (v.)	*càng*	*wain.*
rice beer	*hor*	*hiar.*
maternal uncle	*nī-lur*	*kni.*

197 The Lyngam dialect differs so much from the standard Khasi that some remarks regarding the former will not be out of place. Dr. Grierson, on pages 17 to 19 of his Volume II. of the "Linguistic Survey of India," has indicated some of these differences, which may be recapitulated here as follows. Some of the commonest verbs vary considerably from those used in
197 the standard dialect. There are also many minor differences of pronunciation. A man is *u breo*, not *u briew*, a son is a *u khon*,
193 not *u khun*. Standard *ng* is often represented by *nj*. Thus
194 *doinj* for *ding*, fire. A final *h* often appears as *k*, and an initial *b* as *p*. Thus, *baroh* (Standard), all, becomes in Lyngam *prok*.

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Standard *ei* becomes *aw*. Thus *wei*=*waw*, one; *dei*=*daw*, be necessary. The articles are frequently omitted. The pronoun *u* is used for the plural as well as the singular, instead of the Standard plural *ki*. The diminutive *i* is used with inanimate nouns. This is also sometimes the case in the Standard form.

Nouns.—The prefix of the Accusative-dative is *se* or *sa*, often contracted to *s'* instead of *ia* (Standard). The prefix of the Dative is *hanam, hnam*, or *tnam*. The Standard Dative-locative prefix *ha* is also used, and may be spelt *he* or *hy*. *Ta* or *te* are also found. For the genitive, besides the Standard *jong*, are found *ba, am-ba, am*, and *am-nam*. *Am-nam* and *am* also mean "from."

The plural sometimes takes the suffix *met*.

Adjectives.—The usual word for male is *korang*, and for "female" *konthaw*, in place of the Standard *shynrang* and *kynthei* respectively. The following are examples of comparisons:—*Re-myrriang*, good; *Mai-myrriang*, better; *U re-myrriang*, best. The Standard *tam* is also used for the superlative.

Pronouns.—The Personal Pronouns are:—

	Singular	Plural
1st Person,	*ne*	*biaw, iaw.*
2nd Person,	*mi, mei*	*phiaw.*
3rd Person,	*u, ju, u-ju*	*kiw.*

The Nominative of the pronoun of the second person singular is given once as *ba-mi*, and once as *ma-mi*. The *ma* or *ba* is the Standard emphatic prefix *ma*.

Demonstrative Pronouns appear to be *be, tei* that, and *uni*, or *nih*, this. *Be* is used as a definite article in the phrase *be jawmai*, the earthquake.

The Relative Pronoun is *u-lah*, who.

Interrogative Pronouns are *net, u-iet*, who? and *met*, what?

Verbs.—The pronoun which is the subject of a verb may either precede or follow it. Thus *ne rip*, I strike; *rip biaw*, we strike. The words meaning to be are *re, im*, and *meit* in addition to the Standard *long*. Like the Standard *don, im*, corresponding to Synteng *em*, also means to have. As in the

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193 Standard, the Present Tense is formed by using the bare root.

The Past Tense is formed in one of five ways, viz.:—

1. By suffixing *let*, as in *ong-let*, said.
2. By suffixing lah-let, as in *dih-lah-let*, went.
3. By prefixing *lah*, and suffixing *let*, as in *lah-ong-let*, said.
4. By prefixing lah, as in *lah-kyllei*, asked.
5. By prefixing *yu* (*yag*, *ym*), as in *yu-nai*, gave; *yag-kheit*, shook; *yu-pait*, broke; *yu-jai*, fell.

The Future is formed in a very peculiar way. The Standard *yu* is inserted into the middle of the root, immediately after the first consonant. Thus *rip*, strike; *ryuip*, will strike. If the root is a compound, it is inserted between the two members, as in *pau-yu-sop*, will fill. Here observe that the Standard causative prefix *pyn* becomes *pan* in Lynngam. The Infinitive has the same form as the Future.

Dr. Grierson points out the following most noteworthy fact with reference to the formation of the Lynngam Future and Infinitive, i.e. that similar infixes occur in Malay, in the Nancowry dialect of Nicobar, and the Malacca aboriginal languages.

The prefix of the Imperative is *nei*, as in *nei-ai*, give; *nei-lam*, bring. The usual negative particle is *ji*, which is suffixed, e.g. *nam-ji* is not.

NUMERALS.

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LYNNGAM	STANDARD (KHASI).
1. *Wei, shi*	*Wei, shi.*
2. *Ar-re* or *a-re*	*Ar.*
3. *Lai-re*	*Lai.*
4. *Saw-re*	*Saw.*
5. *San-de*	*San.*
6. *Hyrrew-re*	*Hiarie.*
7. *Hyanju-re*	*Hinniew.*
8. *Phra-re*	*Phra.*
9. *Khondai-re*	*Khyndai.*
10. *Shi-phu*	*Shi-phew.*

The peculiarity about the Lynngam numerals is the suffix *re*, and the numeral "five" *de*. None of the other dialects of Khasi possess this peculiarity. Dr. Grierson's Volume may be

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193 *A brief note on the Khasi language.*—It is not intended here to give a description of other than what occur to me to be same of the more prominent characteristics of the language.

The article.—There are four articles in Khasi; three in the singular, *u* (masculine), *ka* (feminine), and *i* (diminutive of both genders), and one in the plural for both genders, *ki*.

All Khasi nouns take the article as in French—the great majority of inanimate nouns are feminine and all abstract nouns. The sun (day), *ka sngi*, is feminine, the moon (month), *u b'nai*, is masculine. Sometimes the word varies in meaning according to the gender: *u ngap*, a bee *i jap*, honey.

Genders.—Names of mountains, stones, plants, fruits, stars, the moon are masculine, *e.g*:—

U kyllang, the Kyllang rock.
U mawlein, quartz.
U phan, potato.
U soh niamtra, orange.
U 'lur shai, the morning star.
U' tiw kulap, rose.
U b'nai, the moon.

Names of rivers, lakes, books, places, the sun, and all abstract nouns are feminine, *e.g.* :—

Ka wah, river.
Ka nan, lake.
Ka kitap, book.
Ka Shillong, Shillong.
Ka sngi, sun.
Ka jingsneng, advice.

The article *i* is used either as a diminutive, as *i khunlung*, a baby, or for denoting endearment, as *i mei*, mother.

Number—*u*, *ka* and *i* stand for the singular number. *Ki* is the sign of the pural, e.g., *u khla* (a tiger), *ka khoh* (a Khasi basket), *i khun* (a child). *Ki* is the sign of the plural, as *ki maw*, the stones. *Ki* in some few instances is used honorifically, as *ki Siem*, the king, *ki kthaw*, the father-in law.

Cases are eight in number, and are denoted by prefixes—the declension of the noun *lum* (hill) is given below by way of example:—

	Singular.	*Plural.*
Nominative	*u* lum	*ki* lum
Accusative	*ia* u lum	*ia* ki lum
Instrumental	*da* u lum	*da* ki lum

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	Singular.	*Plural.*
Dative	*ia, ha,* or *sha* u lum	*ia ha* or *sha* ki lum
Ablative	*na* u lum	*na* ki lum
Genitive	*jong* u lum	*jong* ki lum
Locative	*ha* u lum	*ha* ki lum
Vocative	*ko* lum	*ko* phi ki lum

The sign of the genitive case *jong* is sometimes omitted for the sake of brevity, e.g., *u ksew nga* (my dog) for *u ksew jong nga.* The preposition *la* gives also the force of the possessive case, e.g., *la ka jong ka jong* (their own). There are some nouns which change their form, or rather are abbreviated, when used in the vocative case, e.g., *ko mei,* not *ko kmie,* = Oh! mother; *ko pa,* not *ko kpa* = Oh! father. These, however, are all of them nouns showing relationships.

Pronouns.—Personal pronouns are *nga* (I), *ngi* (we), *me* (thou, masculine), *pha* (thou, feminine), *u* (he, it), *ka* (she, it) *i* dimunitive form of *u* or *ka,* and *ki* (they).

The emphatic form of the personal pronoun is formed by prefixing *ma,* e.g., *manga, ma-u* after a verb, but not after a preposition, e.g., *dei ma-nga* = it is I. But *ai ia ma-nga* is an incorrect form.

The Reflexive Pronoun is formed by the word *lade* (self) being suffixed to the personal pronouns,—as *u leh sniu ia lade* = he does himself harm, or by the addition of the word *hi* (self) to the personal pronoun,—as *phi hi phi ong* (you yourself).

The Relative Pronoun is formed by the suffixes *ba, ei, no, ta,* added to any of the personal pronouns,—as *kaba, uba, kiba* (who, which) *kaei, uei, kiei* (who, what), *kano, uno, kino* (what, who), *kuta, uta, kita* [that, what].

The Demonstrative Pronoun is formed by the addition of the particles denoting the position of things with reference to the speaker, *e.g.,* (1) near = this, *ne* (*u-ne*) *kane, i-ne, ki-ne;* [2] in sight, but further off = that, *to* (*uto,* etc.); (3) further away, but still visible = that, *tai* [*u-tai,* etc.]; [4] out of sight, or only contemplated in the mind = that, *ta* [*u-ta* etc.]; [5] above = that, *eti* [*u-tei,* etc.]; [6] below = this, *thi* [*ka-thi,* etc].

The Interrogative Pronoun is the article followed by *no* or *ki* (e.g., *u-no, kano,* who), *u-ei ka-ei* (who, which).

Adjectives are formed by prefixing *ba* to the root, thus *bha* goodness; *ba-bha* good, *sniu* badness; *ba-sniu* bad. When *ba* is dropped, the word is no longer an adjective but a verb, and in some cases a noun, e.g., *uba khrau* [adj.] = big, great; *u khrau* = he becomes great. An adjective may be formed without any of the prefixes *ba, uba,* etc.,—e.g., *ka miau-tuh* = a thieving cat.

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193 An adjective follows the noun it qualifies, and agrees with the noun it qualifies in gender and number.

Comparison.—The *Comparative* is formed by adding *kham* before an adjective, followed by *ban ia* [than], or simply *ia*; and the *superlative* by adding such adverbs of intensity, as *tam eh, eh than, tam, eh, shikaddei*, which are followed generally by *ia* or *ban ia*.

Numerals.—In Khasi the cardinal number always precedes the noun [e.g., *lai sin*, three times]. The following are the first ten numerals:—

1. Wei	6. Hinriu.
2. Ar.	7. Hinnieu.
3. Lai.	8. Phra.
4. Sau.	9. Khyndai.
5. San.	10. Shiphen.

The word *khad* is prefixed for forming the numerals from 11 to 19, e.g., *khad-wei, khad-ar*, eleven, twelve, etc.

Verbs.—The verbal root [which never varies] may be simple or compound. The compound roots are [1] *causals* formed by prefixing *pyn, pyl, kyn* to the simple root; *frequentatives* formed by prefixing *nang* [going on], *dang* still, *iai, ia* [continues to]; *inceptives* formed by prefixing *man*.

Reciprocals are formed by prefexing *ia*. There is only one form of conjugation for all verbs. Tense and mood are indicated by prefixes, number and person by the subject. When the subject is a noun, the pronoun is inserted before the verb. The following is the conjugation of the verb "to be" in the present, past, and future tenses:

Present.		Past.		Future.	
Singular.	Plural.	Singular.	Plural.	Singular.	Plural.
1	2	3	4	5	6
Nga long, I am.	*Ngi long*, we are.	*Nga la long*, I was.	*Ngi la long*, we were.	*Ngan long*, I shall be.	*Ngin long*, we shall be.
Me (mas.) or *pha* (fem.) *long*, thou art.	*Phi long*, ye are.	*Me* or *pha la long*, thou was.	*Phi la long*, ye were.	*Men* or *phan long*, thou shalt be.	*Phin long*, you shall be.
U (mas.) or *ka* (fem.) *long*, he or she is.	*Ki long*, they are.	*U* or *ka la long*, he or she was.	*Ki la long*, they were.	*U'n* or *ka'n long*, he or she will be.	*Kin long*, they will be.

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The abo simple tenses are made definite or empathic by various means. *La*, sign of the past, when added to *lah*, sign of the potential has the sense of the pluperfect, e.g., *nga la lah long*, I had been. *Yn* abbreviated into *'n* emphasises the future, the particle *sa* also indicates the future, *da* is the usual sign of the subjunctive mood, *lada*, *la*, *lymda*, *tad ynda*, *ban da* are other signs of this mood. The sign of the infinitive is *ba'n*. The imperative is either (1) the simple root, or (2) the root compounded with some word such as *to*.

Participles.—The present participle is formed by prefixing *ba* to the root, e.g., *ba long*, being. The imperfect participle is formed by prefixing such words as *ba u*, *ka da*, *da kabá*, etc. The perfect participle is formed by putting such particles as *ba la*, *haba* ', *da kaba la* before the verb. Verbal nouns of agency are formed by efixing *nong* to the root, e.g., *u nong knia* (the sacrificer).

The *Passive Voice* is formed by using the verb impersonally and putting the subject into the Accusative case with *ia*.

Potentiality is indicated by the verb *lah*, necessity by the verb *dei*; *dang* and *da* show the indefinite present.

The negative is indicated by the particles *'ym* contracted into *'m shym* and *pat*. *Ym* is put before the verb,—e.g., ' *ym don briew* = there is no one; with a pronoun it is contracted, e.g., *u'm wan*, he does not come. It follows the sign of the future, e.g., *phi'n y'm wan*, you will not come. *Shym* and *pat* are negative particles, and with *negative verbs* in the past tense,—e.g., *u'm shym la wan*, he did not come.

The use of the word "jing."—One of the most striking features of the language is the use of the word *jing*, which is employed to create an abstract noun out of a verb: for instance, take the verb *bam*, to eat; if we prefix *jing* we have *jingbam* = food. *Bat* to hold, *jing-bat*, a handle. The use of the word *nong* has already been noticed under the heading "verbs." For example of another common prefix, it may again be mentioned here. Thus, *nong-ai-jingbam* means a table-servant, literally one who gives food. Again *nong-bat*, a holder, literally one who holds.

Syntax.—The order of words in the sentence is usually (1) subject, (2) verb, and (3) object, in fact, the same as in English, and in this respect it differs entirely from the order in the languages derived from Sansrit, and that of the languages of the Thibeto-Burman group as far as I have been able to ascertain. For instance, in the Kachari or Boro language the order in the sentence is (1) subject, (2) object, (3) verb. In Khasi when emphasis is needed, however, the object occasionally precedes the verb, e.g., *ia u soh u la die*, he has sold the fruit, literally the fruit he has sold. As stated before, adjectives follow the nouns they qualify, e.g., *u lum bajrong*, a high mountain, literally, the hill that is

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193 high. Interrogative adverbs may either precede or follow the verb, e.g., *naei phi wan* or *phi wan naei*, where do you come from.[1]

121 18. *Conclusion.*—I have endeavoured to note down briefly above some of what seem to be the more prominent features of Khasi Ethnology, reserving a more detailed account of the Khasis for the monograph which is under preparation. In publishing this brief account, it is my hope that it may attract criticism by persons who are more familiar with the Khasis than myself, and it is my earnest desire that if experts who are acquainted with the Ethnology of the province of Burma and of that great country comprising the valleys of the Mekong and the Menam, find any points of resemblance between Khasi Ethnology and that of those regions, they will kindly bring these points to my notice, so that perhaps a clue may be found to the origin of the Khasis, which is at present so obscure.

[1] In the compilation of this brief notice of the Khasi language, I beg to
113 acknowledge my indebtedness to Dr. Grierson's Skeleton Khasi Grammar, the Revd. H. Robert's Khasi Grammar, and to Nissor Singh's "Hints on the Study of the Khasi language."—P. R. T. G.

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593 wedlock goes to the wife and becomes her property; but all other
428 property is inalienable, and reverts to his family, as also does his corpse after death.

771 'RELIGION.—The religion of the Khásiás is demon-worship, or a jumble of enchantments muttered by priests who are sorcerers. They invoke evil spirits as the deputies of God and the instruments
775 of His pleasure or displeasure. The Khásiás believe in metempsychosis, or the transmigration of souls. After death, human beings are transformed into monkeys, crabs, tortoises, frogs, etc. Though a future state is not denied, it is treated with absolute indifference, as beyond the sphere of responsibility; all rites, ceremonies, and observances bear reference to the welfare of mankind in this world. The spirits of their departed relatives and ancestors are invoked only in so far as they are considered to influence and have power
764 over the present life. The Khásiás burn their dead, and collect the ashes into urns, which are kept under a slab raised on four others enclosing a space. These monuments are of various kinds and sizes —one for individuals, another for a family, and another for a whole
614 clan. There is no caste system, but each clan is called after some object of nature, as the Oak clan, the Crab clan, etc., and these names entail certain restrictions beyond which intermarriage is
771 forbidden. The Khási religion may be briefly described as the practice of forms to cure diseases, and to avert misfortunes of all kinds, by means of ascertaining the name of the demon who is the author of the evil, and the kind of sacrifice necessary to appease it.

797 'CHRISTIANITY.—The Welsh Mission has been labouring amongst the Khásiás and Syntengs for thirty-two years. The Christians number about 1000 [according to the Census of 1872, the total number of native converts in the District is only 85]. There are four central stations—Cherrá, Shellá, Shillong, and Jowái —and twenty-three churches. Translations of the whole of the New Testament, and a portion of the Old, are now (1876) going to press, besides other religious books.

197 'LANGUAGE.—The definitions generally given of monosyllabic languages are far from adequate to enable us to assign to the
193 Khási tongue its position amongst the Indo-Chinese family of speech. Still, in the absence of a better terminology, it may be described as monosyllabic in the agglutinative stage. The monosyllabic element greatly predominates. By far the larger number of the compounds are mere agglutinations (in a modified

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sense) or juxtapositions of roots which have not thereby suffered either obscuration or absorption—that is to say, they are all, with a few exceptions, reducible to their constituent root words, which are still "current coin," and retain their power as independent vocables. The cases in which obscuration and "fusion" of roots have taken place are confined to—(1) the noun prefix *jong*, expressing abstract ideas; (2) the verbal prefixes *byn*, *kyn*, *lyn*, *ryn*, *syn*, *tyn*, *pyn*, *byr*, *kyr*, *lyr*, *pyr*, *syr*, *tyr*, expressing causation, intensification, and contrariety. The language is found purest at Cherrá Púnjí. The Khásiás have no written character or literature of any kind of their own. Tradition says that *all* was lost while they were yet masters of the plains, whence they were driven by a general catastrophe or deluge to their present fastnesses in the hills. The following works on the language have been published: *Khási Grammar*, *Anglo-Khási Dictionary*, *Khási Primer* (Parts I. and II., with Vocabulary),—all issued by the Calcutta School-Book Society; *Khási English Dictionary* (in preparation), and an *Anglo-Khási First Book*.

'CUSTOMS REGARDING INHERITANCE.—A Khásiá, whether married or single, if he makes his mother's house his home, is said to be earning for his *kur*, *i.e.* for his mother, or his brothers and sisters, or his mother's relatives. On his death his property goes to his mother, if living; if not, to the grandmother; if she is not living, then to his sisters; should his sisters also be dead, to his sisters' children. Should the deceased have left no sisters, the property goes to the brothers; should he have no brothers or should they be dead, the property descends to his aunts, or to their children if the aunts are not living; should the aunts have left no children, the property descends to the grandmother's or great-grandmother's sisters or children. The property of a female on her death goes to her mother, if the deceased have no children; or if the mother of the deceased is not living, the property goes to the brothers and sisters; if the sisters are dead, then their children become the heirs. If there are no such children, the property devolves as in the case of males. When a man is not living in his mother's house, but in that of his wife, he earns for his wife and children. On his death his property descends to his wife, with the exception of the ornaments and clothing worn by him during his lifetime, which go to the brothers and sisters or other relatives of the deceased. Should the deceased have been a widower, the property goes to his children, and in their absence

21: Ehrenfels E-4,5 (1950) 1953 AR7 Khasi AR7

III. Explanations

1. General

124 128 601 Most of my informants were illiterate. The spelling of the terms was checked and corrected by my English-speaking and writing Khasi- and Pnár- friends, mentioned in para one, to whom thanks are being here once more expressed. All responsibility for spelling mistakes, however, which may have slipped into this list has of course to be borne by me.

Blanks (—) or question marks (?) in one of the columns do not necessarily mean that there is no word used, by the respective group, for the particular term. They more often indicate that my informants did not use, or know, the particular term, or that I failed to enquire about it in a [114] manner sufficiently clear to my informants. This is particularly true of general terms, partly or fully corresponding to English general terms, such as parents or grand-parents, or the terms No. 9/*a* and *b*, 13, 15/*a*, 19-21, and 26, which were partly explained to me, by Khasi friends in Shillong, where I stayed some time after completion of field-work during the rainy season. Hence I could no more return for verification to the little accessible Wár-villages in the steep southern slopes. Although I am planning to utilise a future opportunity for such checking up, I am yet publishing the present results in the hope that they may thus become accessible to field-workers among other S. E.-Asiatic, and especially Austro-Asiatic speaking peoples.

193 601 128 All terms which are equal for both sexes (cf. Nos. 10, 11, 18, 19, etc.) are used with *ka* and *u* respectively. These sexdetermining preposed articles, as also the honorific *i* are specially mentioned in the list, only if this is essential for the understanding of the respective terms as in Nos. 3-5, 7, 8, or 10.

2. Special

601 Term No. 1 — to give birth or beget (*kha*) signifies also relatives on the paternal side as in *para kha* (paternal cousins No. 9/*c*), in contradistinction to *para kur*, 9/*b*, (lit.: cousins of the clan), i. e. maternal cousins, since the clan is a matrilineal unit. This usage of the word *kha* appears also [842] significantly in the terms 15/*a*, 17, 18/*b*, 20, 22, 32 and, as an integral part of the Khasi kinship terminology, renders it highly improbable that the Khasi matrilineal system could lave originated in ignorance of the biological function of the father. It is a significant feature in the matrilineal social system.

The terms 3 to 3/*b* refer to unmarried but biologically marriageable youths. [881] It will be noted that there are (and were in 1914) no indications of puberty-[584] rites for either girls or boys. There is also no child-marriage among Khasi. The use of special terms for mature, unmarried youths is therefore significant.

Term 6 — *i* as honorific article, is at the same time indicative of [428] diminution [23], which is remarkable for two reasons: (firstly) the diminution is used for the oldest and most respected family members, like the diminution

[23] NISSOR SINGH (1906), p. 83.

21: Ehrenfels E-4,5 (1950) 1953 AR7 Khasi AR7

of father in Russian (for the *tzar*, etc.), (secondly) the youngest, not the oldest, daughter performs the family rites and inherits the family-property [26]. Even in cases when there is no woman to inherit, the youngest, not the oldest son inherits [27]. Among the conservatively matrilineal Pnár (Jaintia) this term of diminution *i*, however, carries at times a somewhat contemptuous meaning, though the minorate is strongly in force also among them. The ambivalent position of this honorific term of diminution is thus significant (comp. term 9/*e* among Pnár and infra.) 601 [428] [196]

Term 7 — mother: (*i mei*) — The prefix *i* used among Khasi and Wár Khasi signifies particular reverence (supra: term 6). The classificatory character of the term has been discussed by CHATTOPADHYAY [28]. [193]

Term 9/*f* — *hep* for all younger siblings, cousins and even other young folk does not indicate the consideration which the terms 9/*d* — *hong* for older sisters and female cousins, or 9/*e* — *bah* for their male equivalents indicate. The term *san* (9/*e* among Pnár) stands here, as generally, for elder and implies a honorific meaning (comp. term 6 supra and term 13/*a* infra).

Terms 10/*a* and *b* show that husband and wife address each other by equal terms and do in no way indicate anything like an inferior position of either wives or husbands of which I did also not find any indications otherwise. It may here be mentioned that property rights even in newly established estates, vest in women and are inherited by women, — not generally men. 601 562

Term 11*d* — *ka khun khaddnh* — the youngest daughter whose important position in Khasi religious ritual, social organization and inheritance law has already been referred to sub term 6 and described in detail elsewhere [29]. The affectionate character of this term finds vivid expression in the abbreviation *ka duh*, which I heard from sisters and the father of a youngest daughter. 601 [593]

Term 13/*a* — *mei san* (mother's older sister). The word *san* (older) here has a definitely honorific character, although the *mei khynnah* — the mother's younger sister (term 13/*b*) may be the heir of Ego's ancestral property. This constellation corresponds to the peculiar significance of terms 6, 9/*d* and especially 11/*d* (supra).

Terms 13, 14, 15/*a*, 18, 18/*a*, 18/*b*, and the terms for cousins 19, 20, 21/*a*, 21/*b*, 22 show, like term 7 — mother (supra), classificatory character. The restriction on cross-cousin marriage is of different nature, according as to whether they belong to different households, or not, as has been discussed by CHATTOPADHYAY [30]. [582]

Term 16/*a* — *ñia* (mother's brother's wife) is basically the same as term 15 — *ñia kha* (father's sister) [31] though the latter is qualified by the additional term *kha*: (begetting, birth) which signifies paternal relationship (see: term No. 1).

[26] GURDON (1914), pp. 83, seq.; CANTLIE (1934), p. 11.
[27] CANTLIE (1934), p. 22.
[28] CHATTOPADHYAY (1941), pp. 25, seq.
[29] GURDON (1914), pp. 83, seq. and CANTLIE (1934), pp. 11, seq.
[30] CHATTOPADHYAY (1941), pp. 35, seq.
[31] In detail discussed by CHATTOPADHYAY (1941), p. 27.

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VERBS.

byngem-byrsit	to threaten.
shepting-shepsnij	to be afraid.
ithtuh-ithtiw	to be familiar.
kyrpad-kyrpen	to beg.
ia him-ia lang	to assemble.

ADJECTIVES.

ba-niw-bannuh	bad.
bamat-bating	active.
dunbor-dunwor	powerful.
don burom-don [illegible]	noble.
bakhraw-latri	pertaining to a noble family.
bahah-bauk	poor, needy.
bahah-bauk	righteous.
bariwbha-riwmiat	wealthy.

ADVERBS.

[illegible]	[illegible]
hain-hain	brilliantly (red).
prum-prum, prum-prum	prominently.
rynulaw-rynulain	shrinkingly.
nior-nior, nior-nior	shakily.
ior-ior, ior-ior	weakly.
parum-parah	many.
sip-sip, sap-sap	having no taste.

The Mikirs appear to have borrowed a small portion of their vocabulary from the Khasis. The following are quoted as examples of possible common roots:—

	Mikir.	Khasi.
belly	*pik*	*kpuk.*
strike (v.)	*chik*	*shuk.*
father	*pa*	*kpa.*
come (v.)	*ring*	*ring.*
raw beer	*kar*	*kiar.*
maternal uncle	*ni-lar*	*lai.*

197 The Lyngam dialect differs so much from the standard Khasi that some remarks regarding the former will not be out of place. Dr. Grierson, on pages 17 to 19 of his Volume II. of the "Linguistic Survey of India," has indicated some of these differences, which may be recapitulated here as follows. Some of the commonest verbs vary considerably from those used in the standard dialect. There are also many minor differences of
197 pronunciation. A man is a *kwa*, not a *kwiaw*, a son is a *u khon*,
193 not a *khun*. Standard *ng* is often represented by *nj*. Thus
197 *dinj* for *ding*, fire. A final *k* often appears as *h*, and an initial *k* as *p*. Thus, *kurah* (Standard), all, becomes in Lyngam *pruh*.

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Standard *ei* becomes *aw*. Thus *wei*=*waw*, one; *dei*=*daw*, be necessary. The articles are frequently omitted. The pronoun *u* is used for the plural as well as the singular, instead of the Standard plural *hi*. The diminutive *i* is used with inanimate nouns. This is also sometimes the case in the Standard form. 197 193 194

Nouns.—The prefix of the Accusative-dative is *se* or *sa*, often contracted to *s'* instead of *ia* (Standard). The prefix of the Dative is *hanam*, *hnam*, or *tnam*. The Standard Dative-locative prefix *ha* is also used, and may be spelt *he* or *hy*. *Ta* or *te* are also found. For the genitive, besides the Standard *jong*, are found *ba*, *am-ba*, *am*, and *am-nam*. *Am-nam* and *am* also mean "from." 193

The plural sometimes takes the suffix *met*.

Adjectives.—The usual word for male is *korang*, and for "female" *konthaw*, in place of the Standard *shyarang* and *kynthei* respectively. The following are examples of comparisons:—*Re-myrriang*, good; *Mai-myrriang*, better; *U re-myrriang*, best. The Standard *tam* is also used for the superlative.

Pronouns.—The Personal Pronouns are:—

	Singular	Plural
1st Person,	*se*	*biaw*, *iaw*.
2nd Person,	*mi*, *mei*	*phiaw*.
3rd Person,	*u*, *ju*, *u-ju*	*kiw*.

The Nominative of the pronoun of the second person singular is given once as *ba-mi*, and once as *ma-mi*. The *ma* or *ba* is the Standard emphatic prefix *mo*.

Demonstrative Pronouns appear to be *be*, *tei* that, and *uni*, or *nih*, this. *Be* is used as a definite article in the phrase *be jowmai*, the earthquake.

The Relative Pronoun is *u-lah*, who.

Interrogative Pronouns are *set*, *u-iet*, who? and *met*, what?

Verbs.—The pronoun which is the subject of a verb may either precede or follow it. Thus *se rip*, I strike; *rip biaw*, we strike. The words meaning to be are *re*, *im*, and *meit* in addition to the Standard *long*. Like the Standard *don*, *im*, corresponding to Synteng *em*, also means to have. As in the

773 Several Khasis claim that the devil pre-
782 scribed to their ancestors the method of sacrificing. On the other hand others maintain that in times past a man of rare size and strength came to their country. This man accomplished wonderful things, and commanded their ancestors to sacrifice and at the same time prescribed for them the method of sacrificing. Today the place
[163] of his former dwelling on a mountain near Shillong is still pointed out. Since something divine was suspected in that man, he was called u 'lei shillong (the god Shillong).

776 The Khasi believe in a highest being, whom they call u blei nongthaw (1) (the creator god).

•[194] 1. Pronounciation of Khasi (method of writing): ei is pronounced as two syllables, e - i, w is pronounced like u, aw is therefore like a - u, sh is pronounced like sch = phonetic ʃ.

Just as the ideas about this person are very hazy, so are the concepts of eternity and the soul.

775 The Khasi are not in agreement among themselves about the conception of what happens to the soul after death. Several say that after death the soul goes up in the air and becomes air and therefore exists no longer. But most of them believe that the soul exists after death and can be happy or unhappy. But this does not depend on personal guilt or sin but only on the conscientious completion of the burial ceremonies.

[631] The country in which the Khasi live is
776 divided into several districts, which were formerly ruled by several kings before the English came. [408] According to the Khasi each district

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indeed, belong to the untranslatables of the language. We are never in want of a specific term to express the appropriate degree of any quality." To learn how to use the right adverb at the right time is one of the niceties of the language. There is a peculiarity about some of the adverbs of place which should be mentioned: e.g. *Hengto*, there (within sight); *hengne*, here; *hengto*, there (out of sight); *hengtei*, there (at some distance); *hengtei*, there (upwards); *hengthi*, there (downwards); also the interrogative adverbs *hengno*, *nengno*, whence, contain the inherent root *ngo*, and it seems possible that this *ngo* is the first personal pronoun I. If this is so, *hengto* would mean literally "to me there," *hengthi* "to me down there," and similarly *nengno*, *nengno* would mean "from where to me there" and "from there to me here." 193

Adverbs generally follow the words they modify, as *u'n leit nyuiw-ba* will go now, but there are exceptions to the above rule, such as interrogative adverbs. The following come before those they modify: *long ska*, *la dang* (as soon as, when); *khem*, *ehait* (used to, ever); *pat ne pat* (yet); and *ahym* (not); but *ahah* (more) goes last. Adverbs of past time are formed by prefixing *ngo*, e.g. *ngnikyoo*, a short time ago. Adverbs of future time are formed by prefixing *la*. The particles *man*, *man la*, and *lada* denote repetition.

The Khasis are exceedingly fond of using double words* which add much to the finish and polish of a sentence. Old people especially have a predilection this way. It is one of the great difficulties of the language to learn how to use such double words correctly. The following are some examples:— [195] 193 194

Nouns.

bajem ka sap	cloth.
ka kot ka ala	paper.
ka lyoti ka synghing	road.
ka ting ka ara	house.
o lalu, o phalu	lake.
o tymen o ram	elder.
ka sih, ka wah	arms (lit.; shield and sword).
o lashu ka ma	a well to do person.
ka synh ka phew	wealth.
o bha o ema	a relation on the father's side.

Verbs.

pynneh pynmin	to comfort.
ka shah ka dat	to scoffs.

* Khasi love lyrics.

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of father in Russian (for the *tzar*, etc.), (secondly) the youngest, not the oldest, daughter performs the family rites and inherits the family-property [34]. Even in cases when there is no woman to inherit, the youngest, not the oldest son inherits [35]. Among the conservatively matrilineal Pnár (Jaintia) this term of diminution *i*, however, carries at times a somewhat contemptuous meaning, though the minorate is strongly in force also among them. The ambivalent position of this honorific term of diminution is thus significant (comp. term 9/*a* among Pnár and infra.) 601 [428] [196]

Term 7 — mother: (*i mai*) — The prefix *i* used among Khasi and Wár Khasi signifies particular reverence (supra: term 6). The classificatory character of the term has been discussed by CHATTOPADHYAY [36]. [193]

Term 9/*f* — *hep* for all younger siblings, cousins and even other young folk does not indicate the consideration which the terms 9/*d* — *hong* for older sisters and female cousins, or 9/*e* — *hah* for their male equivalents indicate. The term *saw* (9/*e* among Pnár) stands here, as generally, for elder and implies a honorific meaning (comp. term 6 supra and term 13/*a* infra).

Terms 10/*a* and *b* show that husband and wife address each other by equal terms and do in no way indicate anything like an inferior position of either wives or husbands of which I did also not find any indications otherwise. It may here be mentioned that property rights even in newly established estates, vest in women and are inherited by women, — not generally men. 601 562

Term 11/*d* — *ka khon khaddah* — the youngest daughter whose important position in Khasi religious ritual, social organization and inheritance law has already been referred to sub term 6 and described in detail elsewhere [37]. The affectionate character of this term finds vivid expression in the abbreviation *ka dah*, which I heard from sisters and the father of a youngest daughter. 601 [393]

Term 13/*a* — *mei saw* (mother's older sister). The word *saw* (older) here has a definitely honorific character, although the *mei khynnah* — the mother's younger sister (term 13/*b*) may be the heir of Ego's ancestral property. This constellation corresponds to the peculiar significance of terms 6, 9/*d* and especially 11/*d* (supra).

Terms 13, 14, 15/*a*, 18, 18/*a*, 18/*b*, and the terms for cousins 19, 20, 21/*a*, 21/*b*, 22 show, like term 7 — mother (supra), classificatory character. The restriction on cross-cousin marriage is of different nature, according as to whether they belong to different households, or not, as has been discussed by CHATTOPADHYAY [38]. [582]

Term 16/*a* — *kia* (mother's brother's wife) is basically the same as term 15 — *kia kiai* (father's sister) [39] though the latter is qualified by the additional term *khe*: (begetting, birth) which signifies paternal relationship (see: term No. 1).

[34] GURDON (1914), pp. 83, seq.; CARTLIE (1906), p. 11.
[35] CARTLIE (1906), p. 33.
[36] CHATTOPADHYAY (1941), pp. 33, seq.
[37] GURDON (1914), pp. 83, seq. and CARTLIE (1906), pp. 11, seq.
[38] CHATTOPADHYAY (1941), pp. 36, seq.
[39] In detail discussed by CHATTOPADHYAY (1941), p. 37.

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114 China thus constituted, to which the Khasis belong, was
144 in some way connected with the large linguistic family in the Indian-Peninsula once called Kolarian, but now more generally known as *Mundā*, who inhabit the hilly region of Chutia Nagpur and parts of the Satpura range in the Central Provinces. Of these tribes the principal are the Santhāls, the Mundās, and the Korkus. In physical characters they differ greatly from the Indo-Chinese Khasis, but the points of resemblance in their languages and in some of their institutions cannot be denied; and the exact nature of the relation between them is as yet one of the unsolved problems of ethnology.

114 The work of Logan was carried further by Prof.
197 Ernst Kuhn, of Munich, who in 1883 and 1889 published important contributions to our knowledge of the languages and peoples of Further India. More recently our acquaintance with the phonology of Khasi and its relatives has been still further advanced by the labours of Pater W. Schmidt, of Vienna, whose latest work, *Die Mon-Khmer Völker, ein Bindeglied zwischen Völkern Zentralasiens und Austronesiens* (Braunschweig, 1906), has established the relationship of Khasi not only to the Mōn-Khmēr languages, but also to Nicobarese and several dialects spoken by wild tribes in the Malay Peninsula.

There still remains much to be done before the speech of the Khasi nation can be considered to have been thoroughly investigated. In the *Linguistic Survey* four dialects are dealt with, the standard literary form, founded on the language of Cherrapunji, the *Pnār* or *Syuteng*, of Jowai, the *War*, spoken in the valleys on the southern face of the hills, and the *Lyngngām*, spoken in the tract adjacent to the Garos on the west. Major Gurdon (p. 203) mentions a fifth, that of Jirang

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or Mynnār, spoken in the extreme north, and there may be others. A great desideratum for linguistic purposes is a more adequate method of recording sounds, and especially differences of tone, than that adopted for the standard speech, which though sufficient for practical purposes, does not accurately represent either the quantity or the quality of the vowels, and leaves something to be desired as regards the consonants (especially those only faintly sounded or suppressed). These things, no doubt, will come in time. The immense advance which has been made in education by the Khasis during the last half-century has enabled some among them to appreciate the interesting field for exploration and study which their own country and people afford; and there is reason to hope that with European guidance the work of record will progress by the agency of indigenous students.

It remains to summarize briefly the principal distinctive features of this vigorous and sturdy race, who have preserved their independence and their ancestral institutions through many centuries in the face of the attractions offered by the alien forms of culture around them.

In the first place, their social organization presents one of the most perfect examples still surviving of matriarchal institutions, carried out with a logic and thoroughness which, to those accustomed to regard the status and authority of the father as the foundation of society, are exceedingly remarkable. Not only is the mother the head and source, and only bond of union, of the family: in the most primitive part of the hills, the Synteng country, she is the only owner of real property, and through her alone is inheritance transmitted. The father has no kinship with his children, who belong to their mother's clan; what he earns goes

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144 regards social customs, with the Khasis; but it will be noticed
211 in the chapter dealing with memorial stones that some of the
171 Naga tribes are in the habit of erecting monoliths somewhat similar in character to those of the Khasis, and that the Mikirs (who wear the Khasi sleeveless coat), erect memorial stones exactly similar to those of the Khasis. The evidence seems to suggest a theory that the Mon-Anam race, including of course the Khasis, occupied at one time a much larger area in the mountainous country to the south of the Brahmaputra in Assam than it does at present. Further references will be found to this
144 point in the section dealing with memorial stones. The fact
171 that the Ho-Mundas of Chota Nagpur also erect memorial stones and that they possess death customs very similar to those of the Khasis, has also been noticed in the same chapter. We have, therefore, the following points of similarity as regards customs between the Khasis on the one hand, certain Eastern Naga tribes, the Mikirs, and the ancient inhabitants of the Malay Peninsula on the other :—

(a) Peculiarly shaped hoe, i.e. the hoe with far projecting shoulders	1. Khasis. 2. Certain Eastern Naga tribes. 3. The ancient inhabitants of the Malay Peninsula. 4. The ancient inhabitants of Chota Nagpur (the Ho-Mundas ?).
(b) Sleeveless coat	1. Khasis. 2. Mikirs. 3. Certain Eastern Naga tribes.
(c) Memorial stones	1. Khasis. 2. Mikirs. 3. Certain Eastern Naga tribes. 4. Ho-Mundas of Chota Nagpur.

• 197 I wish to draw no definite conclusions from the above facts,
144 but they are certainly worth considering with reference to Logan's theory as stated by Peal: the theory being based on Logan's philological inquiries. Thanks to the labours of Grierson, Logan, and Kuhn in the linguistic field, we know that the languages of the Mon-Khmêr group in Burma and the Malay Peninsula are intimately connected with Khasi. I say, intimately, advisedly, for not only are roots of words seen to be similar, but the order of the words in the sentence is found to be the same, indicating that both these people think in the same order when wishing to express themselves by speech.

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SECTION III.

LAWS AND CUSTOMS.

TRIBAL ORGANIZATION.

101 [197] THE inhabitants of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills may be said to be divided into the following sections:—Khasi, Synteng or Pnar, Wár, Bhoi, and Lynngam. These divisions represent collections of people inhabiting several tracts of country and speaking dialects which, although often deriving their origin from the Khasi roots, are frequently so dissimilar to the standard language as to be almost unrecognizable. The above sections may be sub-divided as follows:—The Khasis into the inhabitants of the central high plateau, Cherra and Nongstoin, Mahafam, Mario, Nongkhlaw, and the neighbouring Siemships. The Syntengs or Pnars may be divided as follows:—Into Syntengs proper, Nongtungs, and Kharwangs; the Wárs into Wár proper, and Wár Pnar; the Bhois into Jinthongs, Mynris, Ryngkhongs, and the Khasi-Bhois, i.e. Khasis who inhabit the low country to the north of the district, which is called generally the "Bhoi." The Lynngams are a separate division. They must not be confused with the Dkos or Hanas who are Garos. It must, however, be remembered that the Jinthong, Mynri, and Ryngkhong Sub-divisions of the Bhoi division are not Khasi, but Mikir, i.e. they belong to the Bodo or Bara group. The Lynngams are half Khasis and half Garos, and the Dkos or Hanas are Garos who observe the Khasi custom of erecting memorial stones. The above tribes and sub-tribes are not strictly endogamous, nor are they strictly exogamous, but they are more endogamous than exogamous; for instance, Syntengs more often marry Syntengs than Khasis, and *vice versâ*, and it would be usually considered derogatory for a

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764 a similar custom prevalent amongst the Khyrwangs. The Nongtungs, in the Jaintia Hills, keep dead bodies sometimes as long as a month, until the *phur* or ceremonial dance has been [1335] performed. Hence they are called *Nong-tung*, or "stinkers." Amongst the Lyngams the dead body is kept for sometimes three or four months, or up to the time when a bull can be procured for a feast to the villagers. This feast is an essential, [1231] and, cattle being scarce in the Lyngam country, there is often great delay in disposing of the body. Lyngam villages at such a time are best avoided. The Lyngams of Nongsohbar bury the unburnt bones of the deceased within the village, and in front of the house occupied by the deceased when alive, the bones being placed in a hole in the ground, over which is laid a stone, a bamboo mat being nailed over the stone. A bamboo fence three or four feet high is erected round the grave. Other Lyngams bury the uncalcined bones and ashes in a gourd in the jungle near the burning-place. On their way home, the members of the clan of the deceased who have come from other villages to witness the funeral obsequies, put up a stone on the path in honour of the deceased, a turban being tied round the top of the stone. The Garos or Dkos, who live at the foot of [1211] the hills on the Kamrup border, and are called by the Assamese *Hana* (spear-men), erect memorial stones in honour of the deceased, the lower jaw-bones of sacrificial animals and other articles being hung on the stones. The stones are also swathed in cloths, and turbans are tied round the tops. The death customs of the Lyngams, and, indeed, other customs also, are partly Khasi and partly Garo, it being difficult to say that the [1197] Lyngams are more Khasi than Garo, or more Garo than Khasi in this respect; their language, however, has been found by Dr. Grierson to be a corruption of Khasi. In Nongstoin, Mawlih, and Mariaw villages, the inhabitants of which profess to be Khasis, the bones and ashes of the deceased are not collected and placed in repositories, as at Cherrapunji. At Mariaw and Nongstoin a large wooden coffin is used, painted white, with ornamentations on the outside, and standing on four legs. 764 This coffin is not burnt on the funeral pyre. In the 643 family of the chiefs of Cherra, the body of a deceased Sien is 766 subjected to the following process:—It is wrapped in a cloth

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Khasi Hills.	Jaintia Hills.
1. Lynkah (Barpani or Khawang)	Kyllao. (Suhtnga).
2. Nongkrem	Pynsing.
3. Um-long (Maolong the hat at Laban)	Maolong. (Nartiang).
4. Ranghep (Jeu-bah at Cherra) (Mawtawar in Mylliem) (Unsaw in Nongkhlaw)	Maosiang. (Jowai).
5. Shillong (Laitlyngkot)	Maoshai. (Shangpung).
6. Pomtih or Pomtiah (Mawkhar, small market)	Pynkat. (Mynso).
7. Umnih	Thym-blein.
8. Yeo-duh (Mawkhar, large market)	Ka-hat. (Jaintiapur).

In the Wár country, markets are usually held every fourth day, e.g. at Nongjri, Mawbang, Tyllap, and Shella. At Theria the market is held every Friday, and at Hat-majai, or Bholagunj, every Tuesday.

THE LYNNGAMS.

101 Although mention has been made incidentally in various
131 parts of this monograph of Lynngam customs, it has been thought necessary to give the Lynngams a separate chapter, as these people differ so very greatly from the Khasis in their manner of life, and in their customs. *Lynngam* is the Khasi name; the Garo name for the Lynngams is *Megam*. There
[341] are several *Megam* villages in the north-eastern corner of the Garo Hills district, and there is regular communication kept up between these villages and the Lynngam inhabitants of the Khasi Hills district. The Lynngams must not be confused with the *Hání* or *Námdaniya* Garos who inhabit the low hills to the north of the Khasi Hills district, and are called by the
101 Khasis *Dko*. All Lynngams claim to be Khasis, they dislike
197 being called Garos; but although it is true they speak what may be called a dialect of Khasi, and observe some of the Khasi customs, the Lynngams are more Garo than Khasi. Before
101 proceeding further, it should be stated that the Assamese of Boko call the Lynngams *Núniyá* Garos, all hill people being Garos to the Assamese of that region, without distinction

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SECTION VII.

LANGUAGE.

197 BEFORE commencing to describe the more salient features of the Khasi language, its grammar, and syntax, it seems to be of importance to show how intimately connected Khasi is with some of the languages of Further India. In the middle of the last century Logan pointed out affinity between Khasi and these languages, but it has been left to Professor Kuhn to prove this connection to demonstration. The examples of comparative vocabularies which follow are taken from Kuhn's "*Beiträge zur Sprachenkunde Hinterindiens*," Sir George Scott's "Upper Burma Gazetteer," and Sir George Campbell's lists. It will be seen from the collections of words that follow how Khasi possesses many words in common with Mon or Talaing, Khmêr, Suk, Stieng, Bahnar, Annam, Khamen-Boram, Xong, Samre, Khmu, Lemet, Palaung, and Wa. There is some correspondence, although perhaps to a lesser degree, between Khasi and the Ho-Munda languages and those of Malacca and the Nancowry language of the Nicobar Islands.

192 197 Let us now examine the table of numerals. The Khasi word for 1 is *wei*, but in the Amwi dialect of Khasi it is *mi*. In Khmu the word is *mui*, also in Suk; in Mon *mwoi* and in Xong *mui*. The word for 2 is identical in Khasi and Lemet, viz. *ar*. The word for 3, viz. *lai*, is identical in Khasi and Wa; also compare Lemet *lohe*. Khasi *saw* and Lakadong *thaw* for 4 are, however, deviating forms. In the case of 5, if we cut out the prefix *m* in the Mon word *m'sun*, we have fairly close agreement with the Khasi *sun*. In the numeral 6, if we cut out the prefix *hiu* of the Khasi (*hiu*)*riw*, and the initial *t* of Mon and Suk *t'rou*, *trou*, we have close agreement. In the Khasi words for 7 and 8 the syllable *hin* is but a prefix. This is also probably the case in the Khasi word (*khyn*)*dai* for 9, and the *shi* in the Khasi word *shiphew*, 10, merely means one.

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NUMERALS.

—	Sue.	Mon or Talaing.	Suk.	Stieng.	Bahnar.	Annam.	Khmen Boran.	Xong.	Samre.
1	mue	mwoi	mui	muôi	moin, ming	môt	muay	moi	moe
2	bar	ba	bar	bar	bar	hai	bar	pra	pra
3	poi	pi	pe	pêi	peng	ba	peh	pe	pe
4	puon	pan	puon	puôn	puôn	bôn	pon	pôn	pon
5	sung	m'sun	sung	prăm	(po)dam	năm	pram	pram	pram
6	thpat	t'rou	trou	prou	(to)trou	sau	krong	dam	kadon
7	thpol	t'pah	pho	pôh	(to)po	bay	grul	kanul	kanul
8	thkol	d'c'am	tam	pham	(to)ngam	tam	kati	kati	katai
9	thke	d'ceit	kin	sên	(to)xin	chin	kansar	kasa	katea
10	muchit	cah	chit	jemat jet	ming jit	muoi chuk	uai	rai	rai

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NUMERALS.

—	Khmu.	Lemet.	Palaung.	Wa.	Dialects of Khasi.				
					Khasi.	Lakadong.	Amwi.	Synteng.	Mynnar or Jirang.
1	mui	mus (mos)	lé	te	wei	bi	mi	wi	mi
2	bar	ar	è (a)	ra (a)	ar	a	o	ar	ir
3	pe	lohe	oé	lai	lài	lòi	la	la	lei
4	puòn	pun (pon)	phun	pen	saw	thàu	siá	so	so
5	pfuong	pan	phan	hpawn (ʼan)	san	thàn	san	san	sàn
6	tol	tal	to	laya (la)	(hin)riw	thro	thrau	ynro	threi
7	kul	pul	phu	ʼdaiya (ʼdia)	(hin)iew	(hum)thloi	ynthla	ynniaw	ynthlei
8	ti	ta	ta	ʼte (ʼaʼte)	phra	humpya	humphyo	phra	humpyir
9	kash	tim	tim	ʼti (ʼaʼti)	(khyn)dai	hunsulai	hunshia	khynde	khyndai
10	kan	kel	kon (ko)	kto	(shi)phow	shiphai	shipho	(shi)phaw	shiphi

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It will be seen that there is considerable similarity in the numerals of the different languages up to six, the correspondence being most strongly marked in the numerals 1, 2, 5, and 6. If we remember that primitive people seldom can count higher than the number of digits of one hand, the dissimilarity in the numerals, as the end of the decade is approached, is probably explained. As the different people speaking these languages gradually advanced in civilization they learned to count further; but by this time they had become in some cases like those of the Khasis, the Palaungs, and Mons, widely separated from one another. As they advanced in civilization, and found the necessity of an improved notation, they manufactured numerals which differed from one another, although they retained the first few numerals they had made use of in their days of savagery. Let us now study some extracts from Kuhn's interesting comparative vocabulary.* We find many instances of agreement. I give some examples:—

Heaven.—Palaung, *pleng*; Khmêr, *plieng* (rain); Xong, *pleng*; Khasi, *bueng*. Mynnar (Jirang) *phaslieng* seems to be very near Khmêr *phlieng*, and Palaung, and Xong *pleng*.

Day (Sun).—Khmêr, *thngay*; Mon, *tngei*; Annam, *ngay*; Lemet, *ngay pri*; Palaung, *sengei*; Khasi, *sngi*; Lakadong, *sngei*; Kol, *singi*.

Year.—Mon, *snâm*; Annam, *nam*; Stieng, *so'nam*; Bahnar, *sanam*; Khasi, *snem*.

Lightning.—Mon, *l'li*; Khasi, *leilik*.

Stone, Rock.—Mon, *tmâ*, *k'mew*; Stieng, *to'mâu*; Bahn, *tmo*, *temo*; Khmêr, *thma*; Xong, *tmo*; Palaung, *maw*; Ba, *maou*; Khasi, *mew*; Wa, *kei-mo*, *kei-mau*. Also compare Mynnar (Jirang) *smaw*.

Water.—Palaung, *ea*; Khasi, *um*; Lakadong, *ea*; Anwi, *ea*; Mynnar (Jirang), *dm*; Rumai, *um*. Probably the Stieng *um*, to bathe, can be connected with the Khasi word for water.

Sea, pond, or tank.—Khmêr, *ping*; Khasi, *pung*.

Rice.—Mon, *sru*, paddy, seems to be in connection with Khmêr, *srur* (spoken *sruu* or *srou*).* Xong *rako* is in Palaung *rakao*, *sakao*, or *takao*. These words remind us of the Khasi

* Kuhn's "Beiträge zur Sprachenkunde Hinterindiens."

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khaw, which seems to be borrowed from the Shan *khaw* (*khao khan*).

Dog.—The common word for this animal will be found to be nearly the same in sound in many of these languages, e.g. Suk, *cho*; Stieng, *sow*; Bahnar, *ko*, *cho*; Annam, *cho*; Xong, *tcho*; Mi, *khwa*; Lemet, *so*; Palaung, *tsao*, *kaso*; Khasi, *kaw*. The Mon *khloie* is the same as the Khasi *kaw*, if l is changed into s. The Lakadong and Synteng dialects of Khasi have *kaw*, and Mynnar (Jirang) *kaw*.

Rat, mouse.—Mon, *krai*, *gui*; Stieng, *ko'uei*; Bahnar, *kuo*; Khasi, *khwai*.

Swine.—Bahnar *ninny* is evidently Khasi '*ning*, the abbreviated form of *ninong*.

Tiger.—Mon, *kla*; Stieng, *kleh*; Bahnar, *kla*; Khmér, *khlâ*; and Khasi, *khlâ* are evidently the same. With this compare the Kol *kula*, *kulâ*, *khlâ*.

Bird.—Sam, *kiem*; Mon, *g'eem*, *ka-teim*; Hiri, *chiem*; Stieng, *chum*; Bahnar, Annam, *chim*; Xong, *chiem*; Palaung and Wa, *keim*, and Khasi *sim* are clearly the same. Also compare Mynnar (Jirang), *keem* which is very near to Mon, *g'eem*.

Ear.—Hiri, *kut*, *gur*; Suk, *gur*; Bahnar, *ir*; Stieng, *ûr*; Khmu, *gre*; Lemet, *er*; Palaung, *ker*, and Khasi, *eier*, abbreviated into '*ier*, are probably the same.

Fish.—The word *ka ar* *kha* runs through the following languages:—Mon, Stieng, Bahnar, Annam, Khmu, Lemet, Palaung, Wa: and if we cut off the first syllable of the Khasi word for fish, *dokkha*, we find '*kha*, which is the same word as in the languages above mentioned, with an aspirate added. The Khasi *doh* merely means flesh, and the word *dokkha* is very frequently abbreviated, cf. '*kha ooi*, '*kha iong*.

Crab.—Mon, *kâ'kiau*; Khmér, *kdau*; Khasi, *khau*. If we add the gender sign to the Khasi word, it becomes *ka khau*, and we have exact correspondence.

Woman.—Mon, *kwa* or *kwa*. Is this the same as the Khasi (*ka*) *kwai*?

Child.—Sam, *kdo*; Suk, *kou*; Mon, *kou*; Hiri, *kuou*; Annam, *kon*; Khmér, *kou*; Khasi, *khun*. Compare Nancowry, *kon*.

Eye.—The word *mât*, *mat*, *mit*, runs through several of these languages, e.g. Mon, *mat*; Hiri, *mat*; Stieng, *mat*; Bahnar,

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mat; Annam, *mat*; Khasi, *khmáit* (dialectic *mát*). In Nancowry compare *almat*, eye, and *almat*, eyebrow, and (*e*) *mat* (*hen*) *mat* (*drwy*), *mat*, of the Nicobar dialects, also Semang *mat*, *mat*, *mad*. Kuhn remarks that the word *mat* is common for "*sight*," and "*eye*" all over the Malay Archipelago. It should be remarked that in the Amwi and Lakadong dialects of Khasi the word is *mát*. 196 197

Nose.—If we cut off the aspirate *kh* from the Khasi *khmat*, which thus becomes *mat*, we find some correspondence between Mon, *mah* (*mu*); Stieng (*bro*), *mih*; Bahnar, *mah*. Here also compare Ho *mue*, *mute*; Mundari, *mue*; Uraon, *muy*. In the Amwi and Lakadong dialects of Khasi the word is *mur-long*.

Hand.—Xong, *ti*; Mon, *tei*; Annam, *tay*, Khmer, *te* (from *ang te*, finger); Palaung, *tee*, *tei*, and Khasi, *khti* (with prefix *k*) closely correspond. The forms *te* and *tei* of Amwi, and Lakadong, respectively, still more closely correspond with the Mon-Khmer languages than with Khasi. Here compare Nancowry *tei* and *ti*, or *ti* of the Kol languages.

Blood.—Palaung *koom*, and Wa *nam* closely correspond with Khasi *ooim*; here compare Khmér *jhám*.

Horn.—Mon, *grung*, the horn of an animal, may be compared with the Khasi *rung*.

Far.—Distant. Bahnar, *kengei*; Annam, *xaei*; Khmér, *chhngay*; Lemet, *mpay*; Sue *chepei* may be compared with the Khasi *jing-ngei*. Amwi *chnjingei* seems to be a closer form to the above than Khasi *jing-ngei*. But compare Mynnar (Jirang), *chengi*, which is clearly very close to Sue *chepei*, and Khmer *chhngay*.

To weep, to cry.—Mon, *gém*; Khmer, *gem*; Khmu Lemet and Palaung, *gem*, are clearly the same as Khasi *ém*, with which also may be compared Ho *gém*.

It is interesting to note that the Amwi and Lakadong dialects of Khasi, which are spoken by the people who dwell on the southern slopes of the Jaintia Hills, seem more closely to correspond with the Mon-Khmer forms than even with Khasi. The Mynnar or Jirang dialect of Khasi, spoken on the extreme north of the hills, also appears to possess some words which are very similar indeed to some of the Mon-Khmér forms given by 197

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

197 Professor Kuhn. Unfortunately, I had time to collect but a few words of this interesting dialect, as I arrived in the portion of the country inhabited by these people only a short time before submitting this monograph to Government. The Mynnar dialect appears to be akin to the Synteng, Lakadong, and Amwi forms of speech. The Mynnars observe also the Synteng ceremony of "*Beh-ding-khlam*," or driving away the demon of cholera, so that although now inhabiting a part of the country a considerable distance away from that of the Syntengs, it is not unlikely that they were originally connected with the latter more closely.

Professor Kuhn comes to the conclusion that there is a distinct connection between Khasi, Mon or Talaing, Khmêr, and the other languages of Indo-China that have been mentioned, which is to be seen not only from similarities in some of the numerals, but from the convincing conformities of many other words of these languages. He goes on to add that more important than these contacts of the mono-syllabic languages of Indo-China with mono-syllabic Khasi is their affinity with the Kol, and Nancowry poly-syllabic languages and with that of the aboriginal inhabitants of Malacca, i.e. the languages of the so-called Orang-Utang, or men of the woods, Sakei, Semung, Orang-Benua, and others; and that although it is not, perhaps, permissible to derive at once from this connection the relation of the Khasi Mon-Khmêr mono-syllabic group with these poly-syllabic languages, it seems to be certain that a common substratum lies below a great portion of the Indo-Chinese languages as well as those of the Kol and Ho-Munda group. More important than connections between words is, as Dr. Grierson points out in his introduction to the Mon-Khmêr family, the order of the words in the sentence. In both Khasi and Mon
193 that order is subject, verb, object. Taking this fact in conjunc-
197 tion with the similarities of the Khasi and Mon vocabularies, we may conclude that it is proof positive of the connection between Khasi and Mon, or Talaing. In Munda, however, the order is subject, object, verb. This is a very important difference, for, as Dr. Grierson points out, "the order of words in a sentence follows the order of thought of the speaker; it follows therefore that the Mundas think in an order of ideas different

l: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 ART Khasi ART

from those of the Khasis and the Mons. Dr. Grierson comes to the same conclusion with respect to these languages as Professor Kuhn, which is as follows:—"Owing to the existence of these differences we should not be justified in assuming a common origin for the Mon-Khmér langs. on the one hand, and for the Munda, Nancowry, and Malacca languages on the other. We may, however, safely assume that there is at the bottom of all these tongues a common substratum, over which there have settled layers of the speeches of other peoples, differing in different localities. Nevertheless, this substratum was so firmly established as to prevent its being entirely hidden by them, and frequent undeniable traces of it are still discernible in languages spoken in widely distant tracts of Nearer and Further India. Of what language this original substratum consisted we are not yet in a position to say. Whatever it was, it covered a wide area, larger than the area covered by many families of languages in India at the present day. Languages with this common substratum are now spoken, not only in the modern Province of Assam, in Burma, Siam, Cambodia, and Anam, but also over the whole of Central India, as far west as the Berars." Grierson, having agreed regarding the existence of this common substratum, does not finally determine whether the ancient substratum was the parent of the present Munda languages, or of the Mon-Khmér language. He says, "It cannot have been the parent of both, but it is possible that it was the parent of neither." We are thus still in a state of uncertainty as to what was the origin of these languages.

The brief description which follows of some of the more prominent characteristics of the Khasi language is based chiefly on Sir Charles Lyall's skeleton Grammar contained in Vol. II. of Dr. Grierson's "Linguistic Survey of India." It does not pretend to be an exhaustive treatise on the language; for this students are referred to the excellent grammar compiled by the Rev. H. Roberts.

The Article.—There are four articles in Khasi; three in the singular, *u* (masculine), *ka* (feminine), and *i* (diminutive of both genders); and one in the plural for both genders, *ki*.

All Khasi nouns take a pronominal prefix to denote the gender, i.e. the third personal pronoun, *u* (masculine), *ka* (feminine),

1:Gordon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 ABT Khasi ABT

[illegible]

Verbs.

[illegible]	to [illegible]
[illegible]	to be afraid
[illegible]	to be familiar
[illegible]	to hug
to [illegible] to hang	to [illegible]

Adjectives.

[illegible]	bad
[illegible]	active
[illegible]	powerful
[illegible]	noble
[illegible]	pertaining to a noble family
[illegible]	poor, needy
[illegible]	righteous
[illegible]	worthy

Adverbs.

[illegible]	delicately
[illegible]	brilliantly (red)
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]

The Nikhis appear to have borrowed a small portion of their vocabulary from the Khasis. The following are quoted as examples of possible common words:—

	Nikhis.	Khasis.
belly	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
father	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
the hair	[illegible]	[illegible]
national [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

The Lyngam dialect differs so much from the standard of [illegible]. Dr. Grierson, on pages 17 to 19 of his Volume III. of the "Linguistic Survey of India," has indicated some of these differences which may be recapitulated here as follows. Some of the consonants vary considerably from those used in the standard dialect. There are also many minor differences of pronunciation. A man is a [illegible], not a [illegible], a son is a [illegible], not a [illegible]. Standard *ap* is often represented by *ej*. Thus [illegible] for *ship*, etc. A final *k* often appears as *h*, and an initial *k* as *p*. Thus [illegible] becomes in Lyngam *pnah*.

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Standard *ei* becomes *ee*. Thus *mein-mee*, *met*; *dei-dee*, *be necessary*. The articles are frequently omitted. The pronoun *u* is used for the plural as well as the singular, instead of the Standard plural *ki*. The diminutive *i* is used with inanimate nouns. This is also sometimes the case in the Standard form.

Nouns.—The postfix of the Accusative-dative is *ne* or *en*, often contracted to *i* instead of *in* (Standard). The postfix of the Dative is *hooma*, *hoom*, or *hoon*. The Standard Dative-locative postfix *ha* is also used, and may be spelt *ha* or *hy*. *Ta* or *to* are also found. For the genitive, besides the Standard *jong*, are found *ha*, *ma-ha*, *um*, and *um-mum*. *Ium-mum* and *um* also mean "from."

The plural sometimes takes the suffix *mut*.

Adjectives.—The usual word for male is *hoong*, and for "female" *hoothaw*, in place of the Standard *shyoong* and *kyrhai* respectively. The following are examples of comparison:—*Ee-ngyoong*, good; *Mei-ngyoong*, better; *U ngyoong*, best. The Standard *tom* is also used for the superlative.

Pronouns.—The Personal Pronouns are:—

Singular	Plural
1st Person, *ee*	*hynin*, *mynin*.
2nd Person, *mei*, *mee*	*phinon*.
3rd Person, *u*, *ju*, *u*, *ju*	*hon*.

The Nominative of the pronoun of the second person singular is given *mee-ee* *ha-mei*, and *mee-ee* *ma-mei*. The *mee* or *ha* is the Standard emphatic postfix *ma*.

Demonstrative Pronouns appear to be *ha*, *hei* that, and *mei*, or *mih*, this. *Ee* is used as a definite article in the phrase *ee pyrmai*, the earthquake.

The Relative Pronoun is *u-hah*, who.
Interrogative Pronouns are *mei*, *u-ing*, who? and *mei*, what?

Verbs.—The pronoun which is the subject of a verb may either precede or follow it. Thus *ee nip*, I strike; *nip hynin*, we strike. The words meaning to be are *ee*, *im*, and *mait* in addition to the Standard *long*. Like the Standard *dim*, *im*, corresponding to Syiemg *ee*, also means to have. As in the

9. Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 A27 Khasi A27

194 etc., when employed at heavy labour. Very much more decent is it than the thin purse-like cloth worn by even the better class of Babus in Calcutta, which makes hardly any pretence of concealing the private parts. I can speak for the Garo women being particularly quiet and modest in their demeanour; and the young men on reaching a certain age, and until they marry, live and take their meals apart in a large house constructed for them; this is always the largest in the village, and where strangers are put up. This custom mitigates strongly against "their want of modesty", so often advanced, and proves, if anything, an advanced state of morality.

Again, in speaking of the Khasis and the looseness of their family and domestic relations, which are somewhat easy, the frequent changing of wives is not as common as might be supposed, and in the remoter villages I should say very rare. There is a very strong force which militates against its frequent practice. The men of these tribes select their wives not for beauty and delicacy, but for their well-developed forms and hard-working qualities—those who can carry heavy loads throughout the day; and the more children she begets the better for the pair: they can cultivate as these grow up a larger area, and live in greater comfort.

[195] In the *Calcutta Christian Observer*, March, 1852, is to be found one of the best papers on the Khasis, by the Rev. W. Pryse, who was attached to the Welsh Mission working both at Cherra Poonjee and Sylhet. A very good article appears in the *Calcutta Review* for 1858, vol. 27, being a review of the "Geology of the Khasi Hills, with Observations on the Meteorology and Ethnology of that District," by Thomas Oldham, Superintendent of the Geological Survey of India, a work containing much valuable and interesting matter. An Introduction to the Khasia Language, by the Rev. W. Pryse, is also included in the above review.

196 The various ways in which the word Khasi has been spelt by different writers has so little resembled every as Kassyas, Cassias, Khasawah, Kasia, etc. The most correct has been adopted by the mission at Cherra Poonjee in their printed works in the language, and adopted in this paper.

194 197 They call themselves Ki Khasi, and their country Ka Ri Khasi,* and without going out of our way to seek for a derivation of this word, may it not be derived from the Hindustani "Ghasi"—grassy; the whole of the upper lands being of this nature, in contradiction to the forest-clad valleys and slopes of the outer hills both north and south. The Khasias never pro-

* Compare "Ghi", a mountain (Tibetan).

9: Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 A87 Khasi A87

assume the hard G; and in all words of Hindustani origin this letter has the sound of K. 101 [97]

They are called by the tribes of Kúkis and Nágis on the west "Káro", the name they themselves have for the whole mass of hill people on their western side, the Gáros, though as we pass towards their confines, we find the names of local clans giving way to this general term which was not known to some of the villagers of West Nongstoin, who call the Gáros "Dikor."

The Gáro appellation for the Khásis is "Dikkil" or "Digil", and it was very interesting to find, after visiting the villages of both, that they mutually fear each other, and consequently border raids never occur. The Gáros owned that they feared the bow and arrow of their neighbour, a weapon they themselves are unacquainted with the use of.

The Khásis always point to the east as the quarter from which they emigrated, but there is very little, if any, similarity with the languages of the people now occupying the hills on that side. [178] [197]

Before entering further on the subject matter of this paper, I must request my hearers or readers to remember that having no knowledge colloquially of the Khasi language, the information I give was obtained from natives who understood either English or Hindustani well. The greater part of the information was given me by a very intelligent man, a native inspector of schools in the district; thus I hope that all errors that exist may be hereafter corrected by others who have been able to elucidate with greater exactness the meaning of their many different rites and superstitions. 115

Certainly the most striking objects of interest in the Khási Hills are the upright stone monuments that are to be seen all over the country; these, set up by the wayside, or in the villages, more frequently cutting the sky on prominent hills, with the large slabs horizontally set before them, at once recall the Druidical remains of our own island, northern France, etc., and lead one to marvel at the similarity of the custom, and to inquire its origin and design. Many who visit those hills take it at once for granted that they are the graves of illustrious men, or, after them, let the matter rest, or finally believe that the ashes of the dead, to whose memory the monoliths are erected, are buried under the flat kind of altar or dolmen seen in front. 764 211

It is always a very difficult matter to obtain information from semi-civilised people on such a subject as their religious rites, especially if the inquirer is ignorant of their language. A slight knowledge of Hindustani on the part of the Khásis villager, renders the attempt still more hopeless, and the information given quite erroneous.

IV. THE PLACE OF THE KHASI IN THE WORLD.

By

DAVID ROY

(1) The Khasi country lies in the hills of the province of Assam in North East India. Khasi clans are exogamous and matrilineal, and the Khasis speak a Mon-Khmer language.

(2) In speaking of the place of the Khasi in the world I intend to explain the Khasi's own view of his relation to other peoples of the world.*

(3) The Khasi is very conscious of his importance. He says a Khasi claims to be the centre of the world. The Khasi has acquired such a feeling of self-importance from his great confidence in himself; and this confidence he has derived from the position in which his relationship-terminology represents him as standing with respect to himself and the world around him. Or, rather, his relationship terms and language are an expression of his attitude and notions.

(4) The Khasi says—*Ka Kmain* (mother)

U Khasi (son) — *Ka Kmain* (mother)

Which (son)'s mother

Himself (male) — His sister (female)

He calls this the family. Then he says—

Ka Kmain Kha (Father's mother)

U Epa Kha (Father, Father's brother) (male) — *Ka Pia Kha* Father Father's sister (female)

* The writer of this is certainly a Khasi (Christian).

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The homeland of the Khasi is the hilly country situated in the northeast of India and known at present as the District of United Khasi and Jaintia Hills, under the Assam State Government. The area is bounded by the plains of the Kamrup and the Nowgong Districts to the north, by the Cachar Hills and East Pakistan (District of Sylhet) to the south, and by the United Mikir and North Cachar Hills Districts to the east. The Khasi and Jaintia Hills are divided politically into two subdivisions, with headquarters at Shillong for the Khasi Hills, and at Jowai for the Jaintia Hills, respectively. The peoples of both subdivisions are called "Khasi" in a broad sense, and are distinctly marked off from other neighbouring tribes and peoples by language and social structure. The population of the Khasi in the District is 363,599 (*Census of India, 1951, Assam*). Their language belongs to one of the Mon group of the Austro-Asiatic family to which the Munda in central India also belongs.[1]

Though all Khasis share fundamentally the same language and social structure, their culture, dialects, economy, social usage, and political organization vary greatly, owing to the ecological and politico-historical differences among them. The United Khasi and Jaintia Hills are much higher than the neighbouring Garo Hills. The plateau of the Khasi Hills ranges from about 4,000 feet to 6,000 feet, of which

1 The *Census of India, 1951, Assam*, makes the following remarks on their language: "Their nearest kinsmen have been discovered to be the Palaungs, a tribe inhabiting one of the Shan States to the northeast of Mandalay on the middle Salween. Later the relationship of the Khasi language has been traced not only to the Mon-Khmer language, but also to the Nicobarese and several dialects spoken by some tribes in the Malay Peninsula. In Assam, this special form of speech is only found in the Khasi and Jaintia while nearly all the other primitive languages with which it is surrounded belong to the great Bodo family. The Khasi language is the only member of the Mon-Khmer family which possesses a grammatical gender distinguishing all nouns as masculine and feminine, and here also the feminine nouns numerically preponderate."

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[P. 95]

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

necessary. The chances of acquiring a piece of land nowadays are small, except for very successful men, and usually the size of the plot is only just enough to maintain one household. When this land is passed on to the next generation, the youngest daughter will hold the title to it. This fact tends to exclude married elder sisters from the right to use the land, since it is not sufficient for more than one household. Thus the ultimogeniture succession rule seems to have developed more sharply and to have encouraged limited inheritance in conjunction with the shortage of land. 178 423 428

This tendency creates unbalance in the economy of the households within a community. It is a usual picture in Khasi villages, for the bigger and well-built houses to be occupied by the youngest daughter's family, while the elder sisters reside in poor huts. Youngest daughters are usually landowners, while their elder sisters have often to become day-labourers after their marriage, unless their husbands are capable men, or their fathers wealthy enough to give them some share of their acquired property. On the whole, the variations at present between rich and poor are considerable in a Khasi community, in comparison with that of the Garo, where the economic condition of each household in a village is more or less similar. These differences are not only a matter of economic organization but arise from the nature of each social structure. 178 184 423 428 556 [171]

The economic and social patterns of Sohkynduh and Kongton are very similar, but their dialects are slightly different: my interpreter, who came from Cherrapunje, could work quite well at Sohkynduh, but at Kongton he found some difficulty, especially with the speech of the old men, and with their religious expressions. The head man of Kongton, who was quite accustomed to the Cherra dialect, acted as an interpreter for us. Such differences in dialect in the Khasi Hills are common phenomena; it is said that every valley has its own dialect. Differences are found not only in speaking, but also, to a certain extent, in culture and in social usages. 197 [124]

22. Village Endogamy

One of the outstanding features of Khasi social organization is the predominant tendency of endogamy on the level of the village, which contrasts with the structural orientation of the Garo village exogamy. This is closely connected with the distributions of clans and the nature of the descent groups. 582 621 [171]

The Khasi population consists of a number of *kur*, matrilineal clans, whose members consider themselves to be descended from a common ancestress. The members of the same *kur* have a common 614 [765] [769]

16: McCormack E-4,5 (1956-1958) 1964
AR7 Khasi AR7
[P. 105 B]

NORTHERN UPLAND GROUPS

KHASIS*

Synonyms: Cassia, Cassyah, Kasia, Kassia, Kassiya, Kasiya, Khasia, Khasiah, Khasai, Khassia, Kassias 101

ORIENTATION. Identification and location. The term Khasi has often been applied to that entire 101
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* The account of Khasi culture, contributed by Anne F. McCormack, is based on field work during 1956-58 in the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills District. The author wishes to emphasize that her data are on the upland Khasis who inhabit the centre of the District. She gratefully acknowledges support of the field work from the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago, the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, Inc., and the Ford Foundation, for one of its Foreign Area Training Fellowships.

group of matrilineal and Mon-Khmer-speaking people who claim as their ancestral homeland the present-day United Khasi-Jaintia Hills District (within approximately 90° 47' and 92° 52' E. and 25° 5' and 26° 5' N.). This group includes the Jaintias (also Pnar or Synteng) in the southeast, who differ from the Khasis primarily in their duolocal residence pattern and less virulent forms of sorcery. (The Hadens in eastern Jaintia are a Kuki people.) It also includes the Lyngngams (also spelled Lyngngam) in the west, who practice migratory swidden agriculture and certain peculiar funerary rites, and are said by Ehrenfels (1955) to be culturally intermediate between Khasis and Garos. Finally, it includes Bhoi, War, and upland Khasis, which terms are primarily territorial. Bhoi country is the north-central part of the District, and is culturally complicated by the presence of Mikirs, Lahungs, and Nepalis. War country spans the entire southern length of the District, so that Wars divide into Jaintia Wars and Khasi Wars; of these, the Khasi Wars have traditionally transmitted property to sons as well as to daughters. The upland center of the District is the country of the Khasis proper, those whose culture provides the most useful model for interpreting the variations found elsewhere. [For general reference on all categories of Khasi culture, cf. Costa 1936 and 1937, also Gordon 1937, especially for data on regional variations.] **Geography.** The District is 5,334 square miles of hilly tableland, intricately dissected by numerous rivers, and marked by significant ecological variation over very short distances. The tablelands step gently downward north from Shillong Peak, which at 6,445 feet is the highest point in the District, and over about 35 miles ease into the Brahmaputra valley where this is some 250 feet above sea level. To the south, the land slopes more steeply downward for about 20 miles, and then drops abruptly, in cliff and steep-slope formations, to the Ganges sea-level delta that begins at its north with Sylhet. The annual southwest monsoons drop torrential rains around Cherrapunji and Mawsynram villages (for Cherrapunji, a record 805 inches in 1961), but then, reaching Shillong 35 miles to the northeast, provide only about 100 inches per year. Rainfall is again greater in Bhoi, which shares the Brahmaputra valley climate. Climate is temperate on the high Shillong plateau, where it seldom freezes and seldom snows. To the north, climate becomes subtropical; forest is jungly, and fauna abound. The climate to the south is also subtropical. [Cf. Hooker 1891, chap. XXIX.] **Linguistic affiliation.** Khasi is one of the major Mon-Khmer languages, related to Mon, Khmer, Semang-Sakai, Nicobarese, and Palaung-Wa. The major Khasi dialects are Khasi, Jaintia, and Lyngngam, to which Grierson adds War. Further minor variations occur from village to village. The Khasis had no script until 1842, when the roman alphabet was successfully applied to the Cherrapunji dialect of Khasi proper. [Cf. Rabel 1961, Grierson 1903-28: 2; March 1862.]

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20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

593 wedlock go to the wife and becomes her property; but all other
428 property is inalienable, and reverts to his family, as also does his corpse air death.

771 'RELIGION.—The religion of the Khásis is demon-worship, or a jumbled enchantments muttered by priests who are sorcerers. They invoke evil spirits as the deputies of God and the instruments
775 of His pleasure or displeasure. The Khásis believe in metempsychosis or the transmigration of souls. After death, human beings are transmuted into monkeys, crabs, tortoises, frogs, etc. Though a future state is not denied, it is treated with absolute indifference, as beyond the sphere of responsibility; all rites, ceremonies, and observances bear reference to the welfare of mankind in this world. The spirits of their departed relatives and ancestors are invoked only in so far as they are considered to influence and have power
764 over the present life. The Khásis burn their dead, and collect the ashes in urns, which are kept under a slab raised on four others enclosing space. These monuments are of various kinds and sizes —one for individuals, another for a family, and another for a whole
614 clan. There is no caste system, but each clan is called after some object common, as the Oak clan, the Crab clan, etc., and these names call certain restrictions beyond which intermarriage is
771 forbidden. The Khásí religion may be briefly described as the practice of forms to cure diseases, and to avert misfortunes of all kinds, by means of ascertaining the name of the demon who is the author of evil, and the kind of sacrifice necessary to appease it.

797 'CHRISTIANITY.—The Welsh Mission has been labouring amongst the Khásis and Syntengs for thirty-two years. The Christian number about 1000 [according to the Census of 1891, the total number of native converts in the District is only 83]. There are four central stations—Cherrá, Shillú, Shillong, and Jowai —and twenty-three churches. Translations of the whole of the New Testament, and a portion of the Old, are now (1896) going to press, besides other religious books.

197 'LANGUAGE.—The definitions generally given of monosyllabic languages are far from adequate to enable us to assign to the
193 Khásí tongue its position amongst the Indo-Chinese family of speech. Still, in the absence of a better terminology, it may be described as monosyllabic in the agglutinative stage. The monosyllabic element greatly predominates. By far the larger number of the compounds are mere agglutinations (e.g. modified

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

sense) or juxtapositions of roots which have not thereby suffered either elocution or absorption—that is to say, they are all, with a few exceptions, reducible to their constituent root words, which are still "current coin," and retain their power as independent vocables. The cases in which elocution and "fusion" of roots have taken place are confined to—(1) the noun prefix *jaw*, expressing abstract ideas; (2) the verbal prefixes *kyn*, *kyn*, *kyn*, *ryn*, *ryn*, *kyn*, *kyr*, *kyr*, *kyr*, *kyr*, *ryr*, *kyr*, expressing causation, intensification, and contrariety. The language is found purest at Cherra Punji. The Khásás have no written character or literature of any kind of their own. Tradition says that all was lost while they were yet masters of the plains, whence they were driven by a general catastrophe or deluge to their present fastnesses in the hills. The following works on the language have been published: *Khásí Grammar*, *Anglo-Khásí Dictionary*, *Khásí Primer* (Parts I. and II., with Vocabulary),—all issued by the Calcutta School-Book Society; *Khásí English Dictionary* (in preparation), and an *Anglo-Khásí First Book*.

197 193 212 173 113

"Customs regarding Inheritance.—A Khásí, whether married or single, if he makes his mother's house his home, is said to be coming for his *kor*, *i.e.* for his mother, or his brothers and sisters, or his mother's relatives. On his death his property goes to his mother, if living; if not, to the grandmother; if she is not living, then to his sisters; should his sisters also be dead, to his sisters' children. Should the deceased have left no sisters, the property goes to the brothers; should he have no brothers or should they be dead, the property descends to his aunts, or to their children if the aunts are not living; should the aunts have left no children, the property descends to the grandmother's or great-grandmother's sisters or children. The property of a female on her death goes to her mother, if she deceased have no children; or if the mother of the deceased is not living, the property goes to the brothers and sisters; if the sisters are dead, then their children become the heirs. If there are no such children, the property devolves as in the case of males. When a man is not living in his mother's house, but in that of his wife, he cares for his wife and children. On his death his property descends to his wife, with the exception of the ornaments and clothing worn by him during his lifetime, which go to the brothers and sisters or other relatives of the deceased. Should the deceased have been a widower, the property goes to his children, and in their absence

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21: Ehrenfels E-4,5 (1950) 1953 AR7 Khasi AR7

105 It will here be recalled that the Khasi are a matrilineal agricultural
[175] people, pre-litterate until the advent of the British in the sixth decade of
[197] the 19th century, organized under democratically ruling *siew*, or Khasi
princes and chieftains and speaking an Austro-Asiatic language [14]. Their
144 physical affinities are unmistakably mongoloid and quite distinct from the Assamese speaking plains-Indians, — but not from the other mountaineers of Assam, Nepal and even Burmah or China, with whom they feel to be more closely related, as with the Indian plainspeople, as some of the tribal designations in the following lists of terms for Non-Khasi testifies (comp. No. 41 as against No. 42, 43 and 43/*a-c*).

114 In the collection of the material, I was hampered by my inability to
122 pick up the Khasi language sufficiently quickly, for conversation without the help of an interpreter, but on the other hand greatly eased by generous and voluntary assistance on the part of several Khasi friends, especially U Ekiman Singh, the President, Unitarian Union, Khasi- and Jaintai Hills and his (Khasi) wife, Ka Austria [15], who offered me hospitality in their house at Maw Syn Jri, during my stay there. Dr. H. Lyngdoh, Shillong, the author of detailed accounts on Khasi religious ceremonial and institutions [16], U Jeeban Roy, a leading Pnar gentleman of Jowei in the Jaintia Hills, Ka Ellen Giri, Principal, Govt. Basic Education Training Centre, Malki, Shillong, Ka Kongmen, Shillong, and U David Roy, Prime Minister (retd.), and a number of hospitable Wär Khasi and Wär-Jaintia pan-leaf cultivators in the southern slopes of the Khasi- and Jaintia Hills, especially from the villages Mawlat and Pada, also helped me greatly in my task. My thanks are due to all of them.

101 The data, submitted and briefly described in this paper were thus
119 collected in four different areas.

1. The South-eastern corner of the Khasi-Hills (plateau-area),
2. the southern slopes of the Khasi Hills, the "Wär-Khasi country" between the Khasi plateau proper and the northern boundary of East Pakistan,
3. the central plateau of the Jaintia Hills, round its capital market Jowei, and
4. the southern slopes of the Jaintia Hills, the "Wär-Jaintia country" between these and a section of the northern boundary of East Pakistan, further to the East than area 2.

197 Slightly different Khasi dialects are spoken in these four regions, Jaintia (Pnar or "Syntong") and Wär-Jaintia being more akin to each other, similarly as Plateau-Khasi and Wär-Khasi are.

101 The Pnar or Jaintias ("Syntong" is a slightly opprobious designation,
195 used by the Plateau-Khasi for these, their eastern neighbours) look back

[14] SCHMIDT (1906).

[553] [15] So named, because Austria was much in the news at the time of her birth, during the first world war, — a fact which illustrates the Khasi peculiarity to use either all her inventories as names for children, or to adopt such, from the Khasi point of view, outlandish words like: "Ka Austria" or "Ka Mediterranean Sea" as names for their children.

[16] LYNGDOH (1937).

21: Ehrenfels E-4,5 (1950) 1953 AR7 Khasi AR7

on a historical past, different from that of the Khasi proper, the former having been ruled by the powerful, but somewhat Hinduised dynasty of the Jaintia Rajas until the Jaintia Wars of the British; the latter by small independent chiefs. Yet Jaintia social organization appears on the whole to preserve the matrilineal social structure clearer and to be less influenced by plains-acculturation, than that of the Khasi, though a few features of Brahmanical religious observances and also some traces of racial admixture are found in the immediate vicinity of Jowei, the former summer residence of the Jaintia Rajas. Stronger no doubt, than this influence, was that exercised by the British and non-Assamese Indians in the provincial capital Shillong since 1906. Methods of agriculture and other aspects of material civilization differ but little in the Jaintia- and Khasi plateau-areas.

The same cannot be said of both: the Wár-Khasi and Wár-Jaintias. Linguistically their affiliations are with the Khasi or Jaintias respectively, in the plateau-areas. Economically, however, both Wár-groups form a separate pan-leaf cultivating unit in the little accessible steep southern slopes of the Khasi- and Jaintia Hill massif. Both Wár-groups live in the environment of luscious tropical flora and fauna, sharply differentiated from the cool, barren plateau with its perennial winds and the heroic, if solitary beauty of its highland heaths, which forms the background of both the Khasi- and Jaintia plateau-groups.

The age of the Wár-Khasi and -Jaintias, as one independent economic, — and two half-independent dialectical linguistic entities, is an intricate problem. The two Wár-groups subsist on pan-leaf cultivation as a money crop, grown in the thick tree-gardens as creepers; not on food-cultivation, as do the plateau-groups, because there is insufficient space on the steep slopes, for vegetable gardens or -fields. The pan-leaf cultivators therefore depend on food, purchased from outside. The slopes seem to have been uninhabited until not long ago. Yet pan-leaf chewing is such an integral part of Khasi life, that until quite recently, and occasionally even now, a distance between two places is not measured by the number of hours used for walking, but by the number of betel-nut- and pan-leaf packages, consumed on the way. Also the common benediction among Khasi expresses the wish that so and so may eat pan in the Garden of God. Yet pan-cultivation and the settlements of the Wár-people as pan-leaf cultivators in the southern slopes seem comparatively young. Pan-cultivation on the plateau is impracticable. It is therefore possible that pan was for a long time only a much valued import article from the plains, bartered against Khasi ore and iron tools, though it is now an export article from the Wár-country, brought to the markets of the plains, by both Wár-Khasi and Wár-Jaintia women and men.

According to a tradition, across which I came among the Nonglamin clan of the Nongmaker village, the ancestors of the present Wár people were on the plateau at a time when no pan-cultivation was going on in the slopes and none of the present big estates of pan-tree gardens was yet held by their present (Wár-) owners. A not distant ancestor of a Nonglamin clan-member who about two or three generations ago told the story to U Siang (one of

601 Term 19 and 20 — *para ïur* and *para kha*; the former for all cousins and half-siblings on the mother's and the latter for those on the father's side, show the consciousness of the matrilineal clan-affinity and the patrilineal biological relationship through their classificatory subdivision, which is also true of

Term 21, 21/a and 21/b; — the *bakha* are cross-cousins.

Term 21/b shows special consideration for the older paternal male cousin of the first degree, who is addressed as *bah* whilst the older maternal male cousin of the first degree is addressed as *kong*, like the older female cousins on both sides.

[192] Term 23, 23/a, 23/b, — *kniew* for grandchildren would appear to mean: dog's children. It has, however, been pointed out to me, by Khasi friends, that the Khasi word for dog is *kaew*; not *kniew*. The Pnar (Jaintia) pronunciation *ki kaw* for grandchildren, and the occasionally occuring designation of great-grandchildren as "cats children" (term 24) and of great-great-grandchildren as "rats children" (term 25), however, would appear rather to suggest the derivation of *kkaw kniew* from *kaew* — dog, than from a meaningless separate root.

[197] Term 24 — *kkaw miaw* (i. e. cats children) for great-grandchildren is used among Plateau Khasi families. BERNATZIK considers with CREDNER, E. LUNET DE LAJONQUIÈRE, MARANDAIN and EICHSTEDT the possibility that the name of the Meau has been derived from cats[96]. This is a hill tribe, speaking a language with some similarity to the Mon-Khmer group[97] (to which also the Khasi language belongs). The Meau are living not very far from the possible homeland of the Khasi around the region of S. China, N. Siam and Indo-China. If a parallel should here be assumed, the two complementary Khasi terms No. 23 (dogs children) and 25 (rats children) may appear to be formed on the basis of analogy with the term "cats children" as tribal self-designation. Another explanation, however, of this unusual kinship-term which was given to me by a Khasi friend, contented that each generation, seen from the ancestral parent's point of view, is as numerous as the young of the respective varieties of animals.

Term 25 — *kkaw kwai* (rats children) comments: — see: term 24, (supra).

601 Term 26 — *u ki* — *u kong* as a honorific term for the maternal uncles and the husbands of the elder sisters and elder female cousins on the maternal side, illustrates the great respect shown to male relatives on the mother's side by adding the masculine preposition *u* to the word *kong*, which generally signifies older female maternal relatives, but in this case, their husbands (comp. term 31/e). This usage of the term is reminiscent of the Brahmin ceremonies performed for male maternal ancestors, instead of for mothers, grandmothers, etc. It also tallies with my observations, otherwise obtained[98]

[96] BERNATZIK (1947), pp. 6, 7.

[97] BERNATZIK (1947), p. 555, though he denies the inclusion of the Meau into the Mon-Khmer group.

[98] EHRENFELS (1950), p. 19; (1951/4), pp. 3, 4, 5; (1951/5), pp. 72, 80, etc.

G 342 space about three quarters of the width of the house, was partitioned off by mat walls. It served as a room for the married couple. The unmarried women sleep near the fireplace; the young men in the bachelor's house. Adjacent to the room of the couple, a small door opened on a small roofed veranda with a low gallery (Plate X, 3) which had no exit. The rear post was at- [531] tractively carved. According to Dalton, the Garo have a special talent for this kind of work. The space under the house piles by the lower side of [231] the slope, at the end of the house, was used for the oxen. Higher up, where they had less space, they kept the pig sty.

The Garo, like the Kachin and also other mountain tribes, have a second smaller house on their fields, frequently far distant. They live in these houses during tillage time and also to guard the crops. According to Playfair they have in more recent days even shown a tendency to abandon the village houses permanently in favor of the field huts.

They try to build the huts as high above the ground as possible in order to have a wider view, but mainly as a protection of the occupants against nocturnal attacks by elephants. To achieve this the Garo often use high trees instead of piles and build their houses into the forked branch stumps (73).

73. In Playfair, p. 6 is an excellent illustration of such a tree house (borang). These tree houses, of course, have nothing to do with primitive customs (Schurtz, ibid., p. 433; Brigham, ibid., pp. 58 et seq.).

K 101 Bordering the settlements of the Garo in the
197 east live the Khasi, who linguistically must be linked to the Palaung, Wa, and Talaing in Burma.

[195] [196] [197] [198] [199] [200] [201] [202] objects are stored while that of the west (*Lyngam blang*) was meant exclusively for sacrificial goats. There is a very big circular courtyard in front of the building where the members of the royal family as also other boys and spectators hold a ritual dance. The function is always held during the month period of May or June and the actual dates are fixed in consultation with the Chief priest (*Lolkhar*) in such a way that the first day—*Pomlah*[8] always coincides with the market day of Shillong Chota Bazar. The dates of the festival is then communicated to the in-charge of different units of his territory, through a wooden stick '*Lyrwah*' having a few knots of cane-strips, as a form of summons for attending the festival for five days at least along with subjects under their jurisdiction.

Important Functionary

[203] [204] [205] [206] [207] The responsibility of performing this ritual rests on the High-priestess (*Ka Siem Sad*) who is succeeded by her eldest daughter. Different ritual objects are procured by her, well in advance and it is obligatory on her part to join the ceremonial dancing, in which her daughter may also officiate on her behalf. U Shillong is worshipped by the chief priest while the other ceremonies are conducted by lesser priests. The musicians (*Dhaka*) besides their normal duties, take part in the worship of the ancestors and they are presented with silk turban, jacket, cloth, by the ruling family for the services rendered during the festival. The *Siem* has no special role except to supervise and evoke U Shillong for the welfare of the community. She is required to perform certain sacrifices, failing which her heir-apparent (*Siem Lyngdoh*) does the same. He along with his sister (High priestess) abstain from taking rice during the period of celebration presumably to observe the sanctity of this festival as also to ensure the successful conclusion of the function.

Ritual Sacrifices

[208] [209] [210] The festival derives its name from the sacrifice of a large number of goats some of which were supplied from the State fund and from different units of the territory. Formerly as too fifty goats were required and each unit had a specific allotment but owing to the economic difficulty that the Khasis are experiencing, the number of goats sacrificed hardly exceeds twenty-five. The goats collected from the different units are presented to the Chief at the midnight of the third day. Rice-beer, dried fish, fermented rice, betel leaves together with rum are also important ritual objects in this celebration.

Commencement of the Festival

[211] [212] The commencement of the festival was marked by the distribution of drink, fish (not dried) to the persons assembled on the occasion, in the evening of [illegible] by the Chief priest over the five piece of central hall known as *Ka sub-ka sha*

[205] [illegible]

Units	Market
1. Pomlah	Shillong Chota Bazar
2. Umri	Umrongsoi
3. Ten sub	Shillong Chota Bazar
4. Langhi	Mawsynram
5. Umjarain	Umjarain
6. Sumbong	Lower Shillong
7. Mawlong	Shillong Chota Bazar
8. Mylliem	Laitkynsew

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Khasi religion. If the marriage has been celebrated according to the *pynkhiar synjiat* rite, a *lolong* (go-between) is necessary on each side, also the *lei*, or maternal uncles of the parties, to witness the divorce. In other cases the presence of the *lolong* is unnecessary, but some acquaintances and friends as well as the relatives on both sides should witness the ceremony. The husband and the wife each bring five cowries (*shis*), or, more commonly nowadays, five pice. The wife gives her five cowries or pice to her husband, who places them with his, and then returns the five cowries or coins to his wife, together with his own five. The wife then returns the ten shells or coins to the husband who throws them on the ground. A crier (a *sing pyrtu shongi*) then goes round the village to proclaim the divorce, using the following words:—

"Kaw—hear, oh villagers, that U—— and K—— have become separated in the presence of the elders. Hei! thou, oh, young man, canst go and make love to Ka—— for she is now unmarried (*khynraw*), and thou, oh, spinster, canst make love to U——. Hei! there is no lot or hindrance from henceforth." Among the Khasis divorce must be by mutual consent, and the ceremony must take place in the open air. Until the divorce ceremony has been performed as above described, neither husband nor wife can marry again, but after it has taken place, either can remarry, but not within the family of the divorced husband or wife. In the event of a husband or wife being absent for a long period, say ten years, without any communication having been received from either of them, a divorce ceremony is performed by the relatives on his or her behalf. It is stated by U *Joshua Roy* that the rule of monogamy is not so strict for the husband as it is for the wife, he can contract an informal alliance with another woman, the only prohibition being that she must not belong to the original wife's village. Such a wife is called *ka tyngo tok*, literally, stolen wife, in contradistinction to the legally married wife (*ka tyngo kmai*). The children by the unmarried wife are called *ki khaw kliar* (children from the top). By *khlirym* from the top, is understood to mean children from the branches not from the root (*kyrpi*) of the tree. Such children cannot claim [illegible]

[illegible] See page 18, "Ka Niam Khasi." (U Joshua Roy.)

respective villages; sometimes, however, there are disputes re- 423
garding those lands between the different villages. Such dis- 692
putes are settled by the Lyngam Sirdars of villages or by the Sirdars sitting with the two Lyngskors of the Siemship. If the disputes cannot be settled by these officials to the satisfaction of the parties, the latter are taken by the Lyngskors and Sirdars to the Siem of Nongstoin, who tries the case with the aid of the State mantris.

LAWS REGARDING OTHER PROPERTY.

There is no separate law applying to personal property, as opposed to real property, amongst the Khasis. 423

DECISION OF DISPUTES.

Khasi Courts of Judicature.

In the first place a complaint is made before the Siem, 694
or chief, against a certain party or parties. The facts and 628
circumstances of the case are then detailed before the chief and his headmen, the ostensible object being to attempt to bring about a compromise between the parties. If no recon- 203
ciliation can be effected, a crier (*u nong pyrta shnong*), or in the 694
Jaintia Hills a *sangot*, is sent out to proclaim at the top of his voice the durbar which is to assemble the following evening. He proceeds to cry the durbar in the evening when all the inhabitants have returned to the village from their usual daily pursuits. With a loud premonitory yell the crier makes use of the following formula *:—

"*Kaw!* thou, a fellow-villager; thou, a fellow-creature; thou, an old man; thou, who art grown up; thou, who art young; thou, a boy; thou, a child; thou, an infant; thou, who art little; thou, who art great. *Hei!* because there is a contest. *Hei!* for to cause to sit together. *Hei!* for to cause to deliberate. *Hei!* for to give intelligence together. *Hei!* about to assemble in durbar. *Hei!* for to listen attentively. *Hei!* ye are forbidden. *Hei!* ye are stopped to draw water then

* What follows is a literal translation of the Khasi.

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203 694 not to cut firewood then; *Hei!* to go no cooking then; *Hei!* to go to work then; *Hei!* to go a journey then; *Hei!* to descend to the valley then; *Hei!* he who has a pouch. *Hei!* he who has a bag. *Hei!* now come forth. *Hei!* now appear. *Hei!* the hearing then is to be all in company. *Hei!* the listening attentively then is to be all together. *Hei!* for his own king. *Hei!* for his own lord, lest destruction has come; lest wearing away has overtaken us. *Kaw!* come forth now fellow mates."

This proclamation is called *khong shong*, and by it all are stopped from going anywhere from the village the following day. Anybody who disregards the prohibition is liable to fine. [687] 695 The following day, towards evening, all the grown-up males of the village assemble at the durbar ground, the site of which is marked in some villages by rows of flat stones, arranged in an irregular circle, upon which the durbaris sit. The proceedings are opened by one of the headmen, who makes a long speech; then others follow, touching upon all sorts of irrelevant matters, but throwing out hints, now and then, bearing on the subject of accusation. By degrees the debate waxes warmer, and the parties get nearer the point. Then the complainant and the defendant each of them throw down on the ground a turban, or a bag containing betel and pan, lime, &c., in front of the durbar. These are regarded as the pledges of the respective parties and their representatives in the suit; they receive the name of *mawlo* (hence the Khasi term *ar khong mawlo* for the two contending parties in the suit). There are pleaders on both sides called *'ior ashi*, who address the durbar in lengthy speeches, the Siem being the judge and the whole body of the durbar the jury. Witnesses are examined by the parties; in former times they were sworn on a pinch of salt placed on a sword. The most sacred and most binding form of oath, however, is sworn on a *khong* (a hollow gourd containing liquor). As, however, the latter form of oath is regarded by the Khasis as a most serious ordeal, it will be described separately. The durbar sometimes goes on for several days. At length the 695 finding of the durbar is taken, after the Siem has summed up, and sentence is pronounced, which generally consists of a fine in money, almost always accompanied by an order to the being

[illegible]

Addition, but Christian influence has confined to down underground the consumption by women and children habituated arts. The only industrial arts are [illegible] practised in all households were a cotton [illegible] company and a simple utilitarian hardware. Other arts were less low, and were practised in village specialities: the washing and washing of iron ore and the forging of iron; there, brown shrub, and coal; [illegible] pots (upland Khasis); the spinning of cotton thread (Nongpoh village, Jaintia); the dyeing of cotton thread; and the weaving of cloth (Jaintia, Khasi, Langpoh, West); the spinning and weaving of fine silk (Mawsynram and Sohagmong villages, Khasi and Jaintia); and the basal manufacture, without wheel, of painted earthenware pots (Lawar village, Jaintia). Embroidery and the production of cotton goods have much died out through the competition of machine-made goods. Carpentry has greatly improved, by introduction of major improvements in the forging and tempering, on sewing machines, of much-made pattern for both years. [illegible]

Trade. Khasi villages normally contain a number of household shops operated by women. Every Khasi also lives within walking distance of several village markets that are held on successive days of the eight-day week. The basis of market attendance for the residents of any particular village can be roughly demarcated by their running the days of their week which are called after the active markets. The exception is the large market at Shillong, much of which is active daily, and which serves as a magnet for Khasis from all over the hills. The traditional barter has given way to currency in all markets. The staple exports consist of bear some local farm produce, also other essentials like betel nut, and the food and the [illegible] which serve as sources of social amusement. The big markets contain not only imported products and manufactures but also products from distant parts of the hills, brought for sale by travelling middlemen. There is also substantial trade from the hills to the [illegible], in potatoes, pears, bidis, lac, cotton, [illegible] the wood of the tal tree, the silk thread, lime stone, coal, iron, betel leaf, betel nut, pan leaves, tamarind, major cane, oranges, [illegible] tamarind, and chillies. From the plains to the hills, there is trade in dried fish, purified rice, salt, cooking oil, kerosene, matches, tea, sugar, [illegible], flour, machine-made cloth, [illegible], metal pots, crockery, petroleum objects, coral beads, silver, and gold. Markets are important not only as economic institutions but also as centres for recreation (including archery competitions), courtship, re-affirmation of kinship ties with distant relatives, and the dissemination of information of all kinds. [illegible] Division of labour. Men do the heavy work, such as clearing and burning the swidden fields, caring for cattle and goats and driving them to market, hawking and selling large sum of land and gold, carpentry and mining, and driving and labouring on motor vehicles. Men also take much

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to his own matriarchal stock, and at his death his bones are deposited in the ossuaries of his mother's kin. In Jowai he neither lives nor eats in his wife's house, but visits it only after dark (p. 76). In the veneration of ancestors, which is the foundation of the tribal piety, the primal ancestress (*Ka Iawbei*) and her brother are the only persons regarded. The flat memorial stones set up to perpetuate the memory of the dead are called after the woman who represents the clan (*mawbiar Iyaiñei*, p. 130), and the standing stones ranged behind them are dedicated to the male kinsmen on the mother's side.

In harmony with this scheme of ancestor worship, the other spirits to whom propitiation is offered are mainly female, though here male personages also figure (pp. 108—109). The powers of sickness and death are all female, and these are those most frequently worshipped (p. 107). The two protectors of the household are goddesses (p. 112), though with them is also revered the first father of the clan, *U Thlendang*.

Priestesses assist at all sacrifices, and the male officiants are only their deputies (p. 121); in one important state, Khyrim, the High Priestess and actual head of the State is a woman, who combines in her person sacerdotal and regal functions (p. 79).

The Khasi language, so far as known, is the only member of the Mon-Khmer family which possesses a grammatical gender, distinguishing all nouns as masculine and feminine; and here also the feminine noun immensely preponderates (p. 208). The pronouns of the second (*ñi*, *phi*) and third person (*i*, *hi*) have separate forms for the sexes in the singular, but in the plural only one is used (*phi*, *ki*), and this is the plural form of the feminine singular.

It may perhaps be ascribed to the pre-eminence

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117 diviners in ancient Hellas.* This method has (with
171 much else in Khasi practice) been adopted by the
former subjects of the Khasis, the Mikirs; but it does
not appear to be prevalent among any other of the
animistic tribes within the boundaries of India.

20 The third remarkable feature of Khasi usage is the
171 custom, which prevails to this day, of setting up great
74 memorials of rough stone, of the same style and
character as the *menhirs* and *dolmens* which are found
in Western Europe, Northern Africa, and Western
Asia. It is very surprising to a visitor, unprepared
for the sight by previous information, to find himself on
arrival at the plateau in the midst of great groups of
standing and table stones exactly like those he may
have seen in Brittany, the Channel Islands, the south
of England, or the Western Isles. Unfortunately the
great earthquake of June 1897 overthrew many of the
finest of these megalithic monuments; but several still
remain, and of these Major Garden has given an excel-
lent description (pp. 144 *sqq.*), with an explanation
of the different forms which they assume and the
objects with which they are erected. Other races in
India besides the Khasis set up stone memorials; but
none, perhaps, to the same extent or with the same
systematic purpose and arrangement.

119 In conclusion, I have only to commend this work to
the consideration of all interested in the accurate and
detailed description of primitive customs. I lived
myself for many years among the Khasis, and en-
deavoured to find out what I could about them; but
much of what Major Garden records is new to me,
though the book generally agrees with what I was able-

* Called *gonoromi*: one of the last books of the Orphic cycle was entitled in *gonoromi*.

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Khasis are connected with people who inhabited the Malay Peninsula and Chota Nagpur at the time of the Stone Age.* That these people were what Logan calls the Mon-Anam may possibly be the case. Mr. Peal goes on to state, "the discovery is interesting for other reasons, it possibly amounts to a demonstration that Logan (who it is believed was the first to draw attention to the points of resemblance between the languages of the Mon-Anam or Mon-Khasis and those of the Munda and the Khasis) was correct in assuming that at one time the Mon-Anam race and influence extended from the Vindyas all over the Ganges basin, even over Assam, the northern border of the Ultra Indian Peninsula." Mr. Peal then remarks that the Eastern Naga of the Tirap, Nawatik, and Sonkay group "are strikingly like them (i.e. the Mon-Anam race), in many respects, the women being particularly robust, with pale yellow and at times ruddy cheeks." The interesting statement follows that the men wear the Khasi Mikir short-cloth coat. Under the heading of dress this will be found described as a garment which leaves the neck and arm bare, with a fringe at the bottom and with a row of tassels across the chest, the coat being fastened by frogs in front. It is a garment of a distinctive character and cannot be mistaken; it used to be worn largely by the Khasis, and is still used extensively by the Syntengs and Lyngams and by the Mikirs, and that it should have been found amongst these Eastern Naga is certainly remarkable. It is to be regretted that the investigations of the Ethnographical Survey, as at present conducted, have not extended to these Eastern Naga, who inhabit tracts either outside British territory or in very remote places on its confines, so that we are at present unable to state whether any of these tribes possess other points of affinity, as

* It is interesting to compare the remarks of M. Aymonier in his volume iii of "Le Cambodge." He writes as follows:—"Mais en Indo-Chine ou toutes parties connues, ou qui les intéressent, au Cambodge du moins, aujourd'hui comme les peuples les plus éloignés du globe, 'les traits de bouche.' Ce sont ici des lèvres de lèpre minéralisée ou de la pierre polie, dont la présence appartiennent au type repoussé au toute la terre. Diversion de ces cultes, d'où naquelle, parvenu le premier, en même d'autchoses particulières, permanent appartenir au groupe à l'Indo-Chine et à la presqu'île indonésienne. Du Kamchatka dans un premier milieu, aux antipodes, d'une communauté d'origine des populations primitives des deux presqu'îles, ou en toute geographique."

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/99 regards social customs, with the Khasis; but it will be noticed
/100 in the chapter dealing with memorial stones that some of the
/101 Naga tribes are in the habit of erecting monoliths somewhat similar in character to those of the Khasis, and that the Miklos (who wear the Khasi sleeveless coat), erect memorial stones exactly similar to those of the Khasis. The evidence seems to suggest a theory that the Mon-Khmer race, including of course the Khasis, occupied at one time a much larger area in the mountainous country to the south of the Brahmaputra in Assam than it does at present. Further references will be found to this
/102 point in the section dealing with memorial stones. The fact
/103 that the Ho-Munda of Chota Nagpur also erect memorial stones and that they possess dwelling customs very similar to those of the Khasis, has also been noticed in the same chapter. We have, therefore, the following points of similarity as regards customs between the Khasis on the one hand, certain Eastern Naga tribes, the Miklos, and the earliest inhabitants of the Malay Peninsula on the other :—

(a) Peculiarly shaped box, i.e. the box with far-projecting shoulders	1. Khasis. 2. Certain Eastern Naga tribes. 3. The earliest inhabitants of the Malay Peninsula. 4. The earliest inhabitants of Chota Nagpur (the Ho-Munda ?)
(b) Sleeveless coat	1. Khasis. 2. Miklos. 3. Certain Eastern Naga tribes.
(c) Memorial stones	1. Khasis. 2. Miklos. 3. Certain Eastern Naga tribes. 4. Ho-Munda of Chota Nagpur.

/97 I wish to draw no definite conclusions from the above facts,
/98 but they are certainly worth considering with reference to Logan's theory as stated by Peal: the theory being based on Logan's philological inquiries. Thanks to the labours of Grierson, Logan, and Kuhn in the linguistic field, we know that the languages of the Mon-Khmer group in Burma and the Malay Peninsula are intimately connected with Khasi. I say, intimately, advisedly, for not only are roots of words seen to be similar, but the order of the words in the sentence is found to be the same, indicating that both these people think in the same order when wishing to express themselves by speech,

work is done. In order to ascend to a Bhoi house, you have to climb up a notched pole. The Bhoia carries a he-goat and a fowl to *Bit-lapling* (Khasi, *Rumiow* God), the household god, when they build a new house.

VILLAGES.

Unlike the Naga and Kukis, the Khasis do not build their villages on the extreme summits of hills, but a little below the tops, generally in small depressions, in order to obtain some protection from the strong winds and storms which prevail in these hills at certain times of the year. According to the late U Jaubon Roy, it is *ensy*, or taboo, to the Khasis to build a house on the last eminence of a range of hills, this custom having perhaps arisen owing to the necessity of locating villages with reference to their defence against an enemy. Khasis build their houses fairly close together, but not so close as houses in the Bhoi and Lyngngam villages. Khasis seldom change the sites of their villages, to which they are very much attached, where, as a rule, the family tombs are standing and the *menhiras* or memorial stones. In many villages stone circles and memorial stones are to be seen which from their appearance show that the villages have been there for many generations. During the Jaintia rebellion the village of Jowai was almost entirely destroyed, but as soon as the rebellion was over the people returned to the old site and rebuilt their village. Similarly, after the earthquake, the ancient village sites were not abandoned in many cases, but the people rebuilt their houses in their former positions, although in Shillong and Cherrapunji they rebuilt the walls of the houses of wooden materials instead of stone. There is no such thing as a specially reserved area in the village for the Sirdar and the nobility, all the people, rich or poor, living together in one village, their houses being scattered about indiscriminately. To the democratic Khasi the idea of the Sirdar living apart from his people would be repugnant. In the vicinity of the Khasi villages, often just below the brow of the hill to the leeward side, are to be seen dark woods of oak

the Wáe country, it will be necessary to describe the land tenures and laws regarding land of each of these divisions separately. As land is always *jhumed* by the Bhoie and Lyngngam from year to year, customs regarding land with these people are naturally very simple. Taking land in the high plateau of the Khasi Hills first:—The lands are classified under two main divisions, (a) public and (b) private lands. The following are the different descriptions of lands in the first division:—

Ka ri Raj, or *ka ri Siem*, which are Siem's, or Crown lands. These lands are intended for the support of the Siem family, they cannot be alienated. The Siems are, however, precluded by custom from levying a land tax on persons who cultivate such lands, the relation of landlord and tenant between the latter and their chiefs being unknown.

Ka ri Lyngdoh.—These lands are for the support of the Lyngdohs or priests of the State. In some Siemships, as in Mawiong Siemship, paddy is grown on these lands from which rice is obtained for the State pujas.

Ki skoong, or village lands.—These lands are set apart to provide a supply of firewood, thatching grass, &c., and are the property of the village. The inhabitants of other villages are not allowed to enjoy the produce of such lands. Such lands can be cultivated by ryots of the village, but the latter possess only occupancy rights, and cannot transfer them.

Ki lawlynkong.—These are sacred groves, situated generally near the summit of hills, composed of oak and rhododendron trees, which are held sacred (*kynkong*), it being an offence, or *sang*, for any one to cut timber in the grove, except for cremation purposes. These groves are the property of the villages.

(b.) Private Lands. These may be subdivided into *ri-kur*, or lands which are the property of the clan, and *ri kynthi*, family, or acquired landed property. In the Khasi Hills proper a very large proportion, certainly of the high lands, is the property of the clan; for instance, the high lands at Laitkor, which are the property of the Khar kongor and Kur kulong clans, whose ancestors the large memorial stones close to the Laitkor road commemorate, also the lands of the Thang Khew clan, and many others.

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cary, as in times of trouble. These offerings take the shape of articles of food which are theoretically partaken of by the shades of the deceased ancestors, the idea of making such offerings being very similar to that of the Hindus when they offer the "*pinda*," or cake, to nine generations of ancestors, i.e. to propitiate the shades of the departed, and to obtain their help thereby. U Hormu Bai Dienghah writes that, "the real religious demand" amongst the Khasis is the *ai ban*, or giving of food to the spirits of deceased ancestors, in order that the latter may aid the living members of the clan with their help, and bless them. To honour dead ancestors is the duty of every Khasi, and he who wilfully neglects this duty, is believed, will neither receive their help, nor be defended from the influence of the numerous spirits of evil in which the Khasis believe. Amongst the Syntengs, a few days after depositing the bones in the ancestral tomb, the ceremony of feeding the spirits of the dead is performed. At this ceremony there are some families which give two pigs for each person of the family who is dead, and there are some who give one. The pigs are taken to the *lang-sang*, or puja house of the clan. Presumably, pigs are usually offered to the shades only of those members of the family whose remains have been recently deposited in the clan cromlech. In the chapter dealing with memorial stones the reader will notice how many of them are erected to the memory of deceased ancestors, and how they bear the names of such ancestors, e.g. *Ka Iawbei* (the first grandmother), *U Sniaiain*, or *U kni ranghah* (the first maternal uncle). It was the custom in former days to make offerings of food upon the flat table-stones to the spirits of the deceased ancestors, and this is still the case in places in the interior of the district. This practice, however, may be said to be largely dying out, it being now commonly the custom to make the offerings in the house, either annually, or at times when it is thought necessary to invoke the aid of the departed. Such acts of devotion may well be said to partake of the nature of worship. As has been the case in other countries, and amongst other people, it is possible that the Khasi gods of to-day are merely the spirits of glorified deceased ancestors transfigured, as has happened with some of the gods of the

being in a position to help his descendant in times of trouble. The same thought underlies the extreme reverence with which *Ka Iawbei* is regarded. Thus we see a striking point of resemblance between the Khasi ancestor-worship and the ancient Shinto cult of Japan, as described by Mr. Lafcadio Hearn. *U Swid-Nio*, or *u Kwi Blophah*, the first maternal uncle, i.e. the elder brother of *Ka Iawbei*, is also much revered. It will also be noticed under the heading of memorial stones that the great central upright monolith of the *mawbynna*, or memorial stones, is erected in his honour. The influence of the *kwi*, or mother's elder brother, in the Khasi family is very great, for it is he who is the manager on behalf of the mother, his position in the Khasi family being very similar to that of the *karta* in the Hindu joint family. It is on this account that he is so much revered, and is honoured with a stone which is larger than the other up-right memorial stones after death. It will be seen in the article dealing with "the disposal of the dead," that at Cherra, on the occasion of the bestowal of the ashes in the cremation of the clan, a part of the elaborate ceremonies consists of the preparation of two effigies called *Ka Parem* and *U Tyngkop*, intended to represent *Ka Iawbei* (the first mother) and *U Swid-Nio* (the first maternal uncle). The Wars of Nongjri have a custom peculiar to themselves. They erect small thatched houses in their compounds, which they call *ling lawid*. When they worship their ancestors they deposit offerings of food in these houses, the idea being that the ancestors will feed on the offerings. These Wars do not erect memorial stones, nor do they collect the ashes of the clan in a common sepulchre; they deposit the ashes in circular cinerarie, each family, or *ring*, possessing one. It should further be noted with reference to the Khasi custom of *ai kaw*, or giving food to the spirits of deceased ancestors, that Dr. Frazer, in his "Golden Bough," has mentioned numerous instances of fruitwine being offered to the spirits of deceased ancestors by the tribes inhabiting the Malay Archipelago. (See pages 462-463 of the "Golden Bough.") Some other points of similarity in customs have already been noticed between the Khasis and certain Malay tribes.

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a similar custom prevalent amongst the Khyrwangs. The Nongtangs, in the Jaintia Hills, keep dead bodies sometimes as long as a month, until the *plor* or ceremonial dance has been performed. Hence they are called *Nong-tang*, or "stickers." Amongst the Lyngngams the dead body is kept for sometimes three or four months, or up to the time when a bull can be procured for a feast to the villagers. This feast is an essential, and, cattle being scarce in the Lyngngam country, there is often great delay in disposing of the body. Lyngngam villages at such a time are best avoided. The Lyngngams of Nongpdhar bury the cremated bones of the deceased within the village, and in front of the house occupied by the deceased when alive, the bones being placed in a hole in the ground, over which is laid a stone, a bamboo tent being pulled over the stone. A bamboo fence three or four feet high is erected round the grave. Other Lyngngams bury the cremated bones and ashes in a gourd in the jungle near the burning-place. On their way home, the relatives of the clan of the deceased who have come from other villages to witness the funeral observation, put up a stone on the path in honour of the deceased, a turban being tied round the top of the stone. The Garos or Dkas, who live at the foot of the Hills on the Kamrup border, and are called by the Assamese *Mara* (spear-men), erect memorial stones in honour of the deceased, the horns (or heads of sacrificial animals and other articles being hung on the stones. The stones are also overlaid in white, and turbans are tied round the tops. The death ceremonies of the Lyngngams, and, indeed, other customs also, are partly Khasi and partly Garo, it being difficult to say that the Lyngngams are more Khasi than Garo, or more Garo than Khasi in this respect; their language, however, has been found by Dr. Stevenson to be a corruption of Khasi. In Nongstoin, Mawlih, and Mawlaw villages, the inhabitants of which profess to be Khasis, the bones and ashes of the deceased are not collected and placed in repositories, as at Cherrapunji. At Mawlaw and Nongstoin a large wooden coffin is used, painted white, with representations on the outside, and standing on four legs. This coffin is not burnt on the funeral pyre. In the family of the chiefs of Cherra, the body of a deceased Siem is subjected to the following process:—It is wrapped in a cloth

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KHASI CHIEFS'HOUSE
(From a photograph by Mr. Rowel)

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the Khasis long afterwards. The bones are buried in the village under a large slab of stone (cf. the Khasi stone sarcophagus), and a monolith is erected outside the village to commemorate the deceased.

KHASI MEMORIAL STONES.

Probably one of the first objects which strikes the eye of a visitor to the Khasi Hills is the very large number of monoliths, table-stones, and cromlechs that are to be met with almost everywhere in that country. Yule, Dalton, and other writers have incidentally referred to them, but, as far as is known at present, no attempt has been made to explain in any detail what is the peculiar significance of these objects to the Khasis. These stones are rightly styled memorial stones; *kynmaw*, literally "to mark with a stone," is the word in the Khasi language for "to remember." The memorial stone, in the ordinary sense of the word, is a memorial to the dead; but we have such names of places in these hills as *Mawlai*, the salt stone (the eating of salt off the blade of a sword being one of the Khasi forms of oath), *Wyanai*, the oath stone, *Mawphlang*, the gravy stone, and others. To commemorate with a stone an important event has been a constant custom amongst many people in many places, and the erection of grave-stones, to mark the spot where the remains of the dead are buried, is an almost universal practice amongst the Western nations, as indeed amongst some of the Eastern also. But the Khasi monoliths are no more grave-stones, in the sense of marking the place where the remains of the dead lie, than some of the memorials of Westminster Abbey and other fanes; the Khasi stones are cenotaphs, the remains of the dead being carefully preserved in stone sepulchres, which are often some distance apart from the memorial stones. It is proposed to treat this subject under the following heading:—

(1) A general description of the memorial stones in the Khasi Hills, showing that they are very similar in shape to monoliths, table-stones, or cromlechs in other parts of the world and of India.

(2) A comparison between Khasi memorial stones and those of the Ho-Mundas, the stones near Belgaum, those of

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the Mikir, the monoliths at Willong in the Manipur Hills, and the Dimapur monoliths.

(3) The meaning of the stones.

(4) The method of their erection.

With regard to the first heading, the stones may be divided into (a) menhirs, or vertical stones; (b) table-stones, or dolmens, and (c) stone cromlechs, or cairns, which serve the purpose of sarcophagi. Taking the different stones in order, the menhirs are large upright stones varying in height from 2 or 3 ft. to 12 or 14 ft., but in exceptional instances rising to a more considerable elevation, the great monolith at Nartiang, in the Jaintia Hills, being 27 ft. high, and 2½ ft. thick. A photograph of this stone has been included. These menhirs are erected all in one line which nearly always consists of an uneven number of stones. Three is the commonest number of menhirs, but five together are frequently to be found, and there are some instances of seven stones; at Laitkor nine stones are standing, an illustration of which [24] will be found in this book. The stones are of hard gneiss granite, or sandstone, to be met with in many places in these hills. They are rough hewn, and generally taper gradually to their tops, which are sometimes neatly rounded off. The tallest stone is usually in the middle, and is occasionally ornamented with a small stone, through the middle of which a hole has been drilled so that it may fit on the top of the other. At Nongkrem there is a centre stone with a regularly carved top, evidently intended to represent the head of a man. At Umiew, some two miles from Cherrapunji by the cart road, stand two rows of fine monoliths, each row five in number, and standing on either side of the old bridle road. All of these stones except one were thrown down by the earthquake shock of June, 1897. The centre stone, or menhir, of one of these rows was surmounted by a carved stone covering shaped like a hat, but having a rim with indented edges, the intention being evidently to represent a crown. This stone crown was riveted to the top of the large centre stone. All the stones, including the menhyrthei, or dolmen, have been very neatly hewn. They appear to be of granite. Stones with top coverings or carved heads are however rare.

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In front of the line of monoliths is a large flat table-stone resting on stone supports, the top of the uppermost plane being some 2 to 2½ ft. from the ground; this flat stone is sometimes as much as a foot or more thick. The largest table-stones are to be seen at Nartiang in the Jaintia Hills, and Laitlyngkot in the Khasi Hills. The Laitlyngkot stone measures 19½ by 12½ ft., and that at Nartiang 16½ by 14½ ft. The Laitlyngkot stone is 1 ft. 8 in. thick. Sometimes two table-stones are found parallel to one another. The table-stones are always placed towards the centre of the group, generally in front of the great central monolith. These groups of stones are usually situated alongside roads, or close to well-known lines of route, where they usually attract the attention of passers-by. They do not necessarily face in any particular direction, but are to be found fronting all points of the compass. There is nothing therefore to show that they were erected so as to face the direction of the sun-rise, or of any particular planets. We will now pass on to the numerous stone cromlechs which are to be found, frequently in proximity to the monoliths and table-stones. These stone cromlechs contain the bones of the dead, and the monoliths and table-stones are intimately connected with them, inasmuch as memorial stones to deceased ancestors are erected when the ceremony of depositing bones in the cromlechs has been completed. The cromlechs are built of blocks of stone, sometimes on stone platforms, and sometimes resting on the ground. They are frequently of considerable size. The cromlech is opened by removing one of the heavy stone slabs in front. There are no windows such as are to be seen in some of the illustrations of dolmens or cromlechs in France and Germany in Waring's book of "Stone Monuments, Tumuli, and Ornaments of Remote Ages," probably because the Khasis also wish to confine the spirits and not allow them to escape from the tomb and haunt the living. The cromlechs are generally square or oblong, but are sometimes circular in shape also. Let us now compare the Khasi monoliths with some to be found in other parts of the world. In Lord Avebury's "Prehistoric Times," Fergusson's work, and Waring's collection of plates of stone monuments there are numerous illustrations of monoliths and dolmens

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be to be found in other parts of the world, which may be said to resemble those of the Khasis in appearance; but this is by no means a matter for surprise, for, given like conditions, amongst primitive peoples, totally unconnected with one another as regards race, and living in countries far remote from one another, the results, i.e. the erection of stones as memorials of important persons, or events, are probably the same all the world over. Waring in his book gives an illustration of several lines of stone monuments with two table-stones, either in front or in rear according to the position of the photographer or draftsman in taking the picture, which would appear to be very similar to the lines of monoliths we find in the Khasi Hills. In plate XLII., fig. 6, of Waring's book, are the lines of stones to which I refer. They may be said to be almost exactly similar to the lines of Khasi memorial stones, except that the stones depicted by Waring have circles or ovals painted on them, which are said to signify that certain sacrifices of animals have been performed. Now the Khasis perform such sacrifices, but they do not mark their performance thereon on the stones. Ferguson on page 447 of his "Rude Stone Monuments" apparently refers to these stones, which are near Belgaum in the Bombay Presidency, and he is of opinion that "they were dedicated or vowed to the spirits of deceased ancestors"; further it is stated that these stones are always in uneven number, a striking point of similarity to the Khasi stones. We know, for a fact, that the Khasi memorial stones were dedicated to the same objects as those of the Belgaum stones, i.e. to the worship of ancestors; so that we have not only similarity in appearance, in construction, and invariable uneveness of number, but identity of purpose, if Ferguson's conclusion is correct. It is, however, a far cry from Shillong to Belgaum, and it may, perhaps, be thought more reasonable if we look for stones nearer at hand. Bradley Birt in his interesting book on Chota Nagpur has given a photograph of certain Ho memorial stones, which would appear to resemble greatly the Khasi monoliths, and if his photograph is carefully examined, it will be seen that there are in rear of the stones what would seem to be stone urns, very similar in appearance to the Khasi ossuaries. The funeral ceremonies of the Hos as described by Bradley

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But, viz. the cremation of the body, the collection of the ashes, their consignment to a grave, and the offering of food to the spirit of the deceased, are similar to those of the Khasis. Although not wishing to lay too much stress on what may be merely a coincidence, I think that the above similarity in death customs is well worth considering with regard to the view, based on linguistic affinity, that the Khasis and the Ho-Munduas were originally descended from a common stock, i.e. the Mon-Khmer or Mon-Annam family, as has been postulated by Logan.

But there are other tribes in Assam which erect memorial stones, e.g. the Mikirs and certain Naga tribes. The Mikirs erect memorial stones in a line, the taller stone being sometimes in the centre, as in the case of the Khasi memorial stones. Such stones are set up by the Mikirs only in memory of important personages, such as *moondaw* or leading *poondaw* (village headmen). Besides the standing stones (*long-chong*), a flat stone (*long-pol*) is also erected in honour of the deceased. I understand that the Mikir stones, like the Khasi, are mere cenotaphs, the ashes of deceased Mikirs being left at the burning places which are generally by the sides of rivers, and the memorial stones not being necessarily anywhere near the burning grounds. Unlike the Khasis, the Mikirs do not collect and carefully keep the bones in stone cairns. Before erecting memorial stones, they dig a small tank; cf. the Khasi custom of digging similar tanks (*um-lei*), before erecting memorial stones (*mawsmaw*), to those of the clan who have died unnatural deaths. As with the Khasis, feasts and entertainments are given when the stones of the Mikirs are erected; but they need not necessarily consist of uneven numbers, it appears. It is possible that the Mikirs may have obtained the custom of erecting memorial stones from their near neighbours, the Khasis.

There there is the interesting collection of stones at Willong in the Manipur Naga Hills, for a description of which I am indebted to the kindness of Colonel Maxwell, the late Political Agent and Superintendent of the State. It is said that about 300 or 400 years ago these stones were erected by the rich men of the village as memorials (probably to deceased ancestors). It is the custom of the Willong village that any person who

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wishes to erect such a stone should, with the members of his family, abstain from food; but liquor and ginger are allowed to them. Having chosen what he thinks is a suitable stone, the Naga cuts off a flake of it, returns home, and sleeps on it with a view to dreaming of the stone. If his dreams are favourable, he brings it in, otherwise not. From the day of the selection of the stone, until it is brought in and erected, he must fast. Women are taboo to him for the space of one year from the date of its erection. The custom of erecting memorial stones is not therefore peculiar to the Khasis amongst the hill tribes in Assam. An incidental reference should, I think, be made to the interesting carved monoliths at Dimapur, regarding the meaning of which there has been so much doubt. These Dimapur stones are remarkably similar in shape to the carved wooden *hima* posts of the Garos, another hill tribe speaking a language which is undoubtedly connected with the great Bodo group of languages in North Eastern India. The Garo *hima* posts, like the Khasi stones, are erected to commemorate deceased ancestors. Some of the other Naga tribes, besides the Willong Nagas, are in the habit of erecting what are called peace stones, a description of which will, we hope, be given in a subsequent Naga monograph. The object of the erection of such stones is certainly to show reverence to the memories of deceased ancestors amongst the Khasis, and Garos, and not improbably among the Nagas also.

It is only with the very greatest difficulty that it has been possible to obtain any intelligible information regarding the Khasi monoliths. Whether through feelings of delicacy in revealing the secrets of their religious system to a foreigner, or through ignorance or apathy (there being but few Khasis nowadays who observe the ancient ritual), it has been no easy task to extract information from people about these stones. As far as my information goes at present, I am inclined to classify the stones as follows:—

(a) *Mawlynti*, or *mawkjat*, the stones which are erected to serve as seats for the spirits of departed clansfolk on their way to the tomb of the clan, i.e. when their remains are carried by their relatives to the clan cromlech (see the section entitled "The Disposal of the Dead").

MEMORIAL STONES AT LAITHOR.

(From a photograph by Mrs. Murrell.)

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(3) *Mawbynna*, or *mawkam*, which are stones erected to commemorate a parent or some other near relation.

(4) *Maw-ramkai*, which are put up to mark the position of tanks or *ramkai*, the water of which is supposed to cleanse the robes and bones of those who have died unnatural deaths.

(5) *Maw-shongthiai*, or flat table-stones, often accompanied by vertical stones, which are placed in the market-places and by the side of roads to serve as seats for weary travellers. Taking the above main divisions *mawlum*, *mawlyndi*, or *mawkjet*, may be described as follows. These generally consist of three upright stones, the tallest being in the centre, and a flat table-stone being placed in front. There are, however, some cases which count more than these upright stones, as *ithmlyndi*, or *mawkjet*. In already stated, the *shnoitik* used to count these stones, *mawlyndi* (the stone of the way), or *mawkjet* (the stone of the leg) at each place at which they halted for the night on their way to deposit the bones of their deceased maternal relations in the *iha synthiar*, or *mawtnak*. The stones are called *mawkjet*, or stones of the leg, because it is supposed that the spirits of the departed sit and rest their limbs on the flat table-stones. The upright stones are not as a rule more than 2 or 4 ft. high, and are not massive like the great *mawbynna*, or memorial stones. They are to be found in great numbers all along the roads or paths which lead to the *iha synthiar*. These stones, unlike the *mawbynna*, have no names.

(6) *Mawbynna*, or *mawkam*, are erected to commemorate deceased parents or deceased ancestors, and consist of 3, 5, 7, 9, or even, in an exceptional case, 11, upright stones with flat table-stones in front. The upright stones are called *maw-shyurang*, or male stones, and the flat table-stones *maw-ky-thei*, or female stones. Turning to the plate of the Laitkor stones, it will be observed that there are nine upright stones, and one large flat table-stone in front. Counting from right to left, stone No. 5 is called *u maw kai*, or the maternal uncle's stone, and the stones to the right and left of it, *ki maw pyrsa ki para*, i.e. the stones of the maternal brothers and nephews. The table-stone is called *ka lawbei tynrai*, or *ka lawbei tymmen*, literally the grandmother of the root, or the old grandmother, in contradistinction to *ka*

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Soohei khynroo, or *ka Soohei kpah* (the grandmother of the family, or branch of the family). It frequently happens that there are two flat table-stones in front of the upright stones, the one on the left being *ka Soohei kynroo*, or the first ancestress, and the one on the right *ka Soohei kmaphah*, the grandmother of the branch of the clan to which the memorialists belong, or *ka Soohei khynroo*, the young grandmother, i.e. the grandmother of the actual family to which the memorialists belong. In olden days it used to be the custom for the clan-people to place offerings of food on the flat table-stones for the shades of the departed ancestors, and this is sometimes the case still; but now it is more frequently the custom to make these offerings in the *kingsong*, or clan puja-house. The flat table-stones are some 2 to 2½ ft. from the ground, and it is difficult to resist the impression that they were originally sacrificial stones, i.e. that animals or even human beings were actually sacrificed upon them. In connection with this theory I would refer to the interesting folk-tale about the Kopili river. It is here related that in olden days human victims were sacrificed to the Kopili goddess on the flat table-stone (*mawe-kyathei*) at a place called *Iew Kolk*, close to the Kopili river. A careful search has been made for this stone, with the result that a flat table-stone has been found near the above village, where goats are still annually sacrificed to the Kopili. The *dolui* reports that this is an ancient custom. None can remember, however, having heard that human victims were ever sacrificed there. Yet I do not think it at all unlikely that this is the stone, locally called *Myslop*, which is referred to in the folk-tale. At Jaintiapur and Nartiang, both of which places were the headquarters of the kings of Jaintia, there are very large table-stones. We know for a fact that human sacrifices used to take place at Jaintiapur. Is it possible that human beings were immolated on these table-stones? It would be unsafe to base any conclusion on the solitary folk-tale about the *Iew Kolk* table-stone; but the tale certainly furnishes food for reflection. The Khasis borrowed their religious customs largely from the Synteng inhabitants of Jaintia, and it is possible that they may have obtained the custom of erecting the table-stones from the Syntengs also, and that the stones were originally [illegible] human sacrifices.

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THE GREAT MONOLITH AT NARTIANG. [illegible]

(from a photograph by the author.)

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR? Khasi AR?

and that the latter were originally sold by both of them for sacrificing human victims. Sometimes, immediately on either side of the *mawbuh*, or large central stone, there are two much smaller stones called *mawbiang*, or the stone of the drum, and *mawkait*, the stone of the plantain; the drum being used in all religious ceremonies by the Khasis, and the plantain relating to their custom of feeding young children on plantains. The *mawsiem* must be described separately from the *mawbynna*, because they differ from them in an important particular, i.e. that the former may be erected to commemorate the father, while the latter are set up to perpetuate the memory of the ancestors on the female side of the family. *Mawsiem* consist of three upright stones and one flat table-stone in front. The large central stone is called a *maw Sharlang*, or the stone of the father, and the upright stones on either side are meant to represent the father's brothers or nephews. The flat table-stone is to *Ingkai*, i.e. the grandmother of the father, not the first grandmother of the clan, as is the case of the *mawbynna*.

(c) The *maw ambai* have already been described. They are erected to mark the sites of purificatory tanks, which have been dug so that the remains of deceased persons may be cleansed from the impurities attending an unnatural death, and to counteract the adverse influence upon the clan of *Ka Tyrut*, or the goddess of death. These stones are sometimes called *mawtyrut*.

(d) *Maw-shnghiah*, or stones upon which weary travellers rest, are to be found alongside all the principal lines of communication in the district. It may serve as an example of these stones to describe the very interesting collection of stones at Nartiang *hât*, or market. A reference is invited to the plate which gives a representation of some of the Nartiang stones. The great height of the upright stone will at once be seen; it is 27 ft. in height and 2½ ft. thick. This stone is the largest erect stone in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills at the present day, and is a very fine specimen. The upright stones and the flat table-stones at Nartiang are called "*ki maw jong Siem*." There is no separate designation for each of them. These stones are popularly supposed to have been erected long ago by two men,

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U Leh Lankor and U Mar Phalyngki, to commemorate the establishment of Nartiang market, which is called Iew Maw-long. "Lankor" is the Synteng equivalent of the Khasi *kyngkor*, or prime minister. "Mar" is a Synteng word meaning a giant, the idea amongst the people being that in the olden days there were giants in the land who performed marvellous feats of strength, e.g. the erection of the megalithic remains at Nartiang and elsewhere. A puja is performed upon a great flat stone by the *doloi* and his officers in honour of the founders of the market, but no animals are sacrificed, rice and *ryoi* (balls of rice) only being offered. In the days of the Jaintia kings only the Raja could sit upon the great flat stone; hence the name *mawjing Siem* (or Siem's stone). The great upright stone is said to have been brought by U Leh Lankor and a great number of people from Sutiang, a place near Nartiang. With reference to the Nartiang stones I would refer to my theory, formulated above, that they were originally connected with human sacrifices. It may be mentioned that at Nartiang there is a bridge constructed out of a single stone, which is also said to have been set in position by U Leh Lankor. Near Sohtinga there is a group of stones, said to have been originally thirty in number, together with *mawshaphlang*, or stones to seat the weary, which were erected to the memory of a woman, Ka Kumpatwat, who in generations past is alleged to have had no less than thirty husbands. The lady is not supposed to have been polyandrous, nor nine-lived, but to have divorced one husband after another. As she probably established a record for divorce, her descendants afterwards commemorated her in the manner described. There is another very large stone at Nongkseh, which unfortunately fell to the ground in the great earthquake shock of 1897. This stone must have stood over 20 ft. above the ground. It is called *u mawbni Siem*, the stone of the Siem's maternal uncle, and it used to form the central stone, or *mawbni*, of a line of stones. These stones belong to the clan of the house of Nongkseh, which furnishes the *wakhai*, or head sacrificer, of the Siems of Khyrim. The stones at Mawmai, which in ancient days used to be the headquarters of a Siem, are some of the best carved in the hills. At Mawrongjong, in the Jaintia sub-division, is a stone upon

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which a figure, evidently of a Hindu god has been carved, without doubt after the erection of the stone. Here we have a striking parallel case to the painted and carved monolith near Tregastel in Brittany, upon which has been carved the representation of a crucifix. There are also some carved stones near Nartiang (said to represent two women) called *nongthombor bricn*.

The Khasis say that these great stones were brought sometimes from considerable distances. After being hewn, the stones were laid on a large, wooden trolley and dragged across country by means of ropes of cane, of which plenty can be had from the Wild country on the southern side of the district, and then placed in position by means of ropes and levers. It seems little short of marvellous that these stones, which sometimes weighed many tons, were placed in position by such primitive means, especially when we consider the great trouble there was to remove one of the fallen stones at Nongbaqip lately. Nowadays only comparatively small stones are erected, which are generally hewn and erected on the spot, so that there is no necessity for any conveyance.

In conclusion, it may be remarked that the subject of the Khasi monoliths is in reality a large one, on which a great deal could be written, but owing to considerations of space it has been found necessary to compress the account within its present limits.

FESTIVITIES, SOCIETIES AND TRIBES.

Dancing forms the principal part of all the Khasi festivities, and is an important adjunct of some of their religious ceremonies. One of the greatest festivals in the Khasi Hills is the Nongkrem dance; it may be said to be as important an event to the Khasis as the *Eid ul-Fitr* festivities are to the Muhammadans.

The Nongkrem dance is really part of what is known as the *pomblang* or goat-killing ceremony, performed by the Siem of Kyrim (or Nongkrem) with the aid of his *sob-dei* (high priest) and the various *lyngdoh* (or priests) to Ka Blei Synshar (the ruling goddess), that the crops may prosper and that there may

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wonderful mass of granite known by the name of the Kylleng Rock will be found in the section of the monograph which deals with geographical distribution. I have also added a photograph of the rock. The Syntengs have a story that when the strong east wind blows in the spring this is due to the advent of U *Kylleng*, who comes to visit his wife, the river *Umngot*, at that season: amongst the Khasis hills are all of them masculine, but to rivers is usually attributed the feminine gender. U Synger is another isolated rocky eminence rising from the Mawsynram plain close to the village of K'mawsun. The best view of the hill is obtainable from Laitmawsiang on the path to Mawsynram. The village of Mawsmai every traveller from Therria to Cherrapunji knows. It is chiefly remarkable for a fairly large limestone cave, and its fine monolithic stones. The Khasi theory to explain how the moon got its spots is, I believe, original, but is no more extraordinary than our own nursery tale about the "man in the moon." The *Sohpet Byrung* hill is the first hill of any size that the traveller sees on the Gauhati road when journeying to Shillong. It is close to Umsning Dak Bungalow. There are caves in the hill which are tenanted by bears. Strange to say, according to Khasi ideas, this is one of the highest points in the hills; in reality *Sohpet Byrung* is some 2,000 ft. lower than the Shillong Peak. As mentioned elsewhere, the Khasis are very fond of dogs; so I have given their version of how the dog came to live with man. The well-known *Mawsmai* superstition will be found fully described under the heading of "Human sacrifices." I have, however, thought the tale of sufficient interest to reproduce at length here. The story of the river Repetylli is a pretty tale, and is just such a one as would appeal to the imagination of mountaineers like the Khasis. The Kopili story is important, in that it indicates the origin of human sacrifices in the Jaintia Hills; it also throws, perhaps, some light on the question of the use to which the flat table memorial stones were put in years gone by. The superstition about the crossing of the Kopili can be vouched for by many who have taken the journey from the Jaintia Hills to North Cachar by the Kopili route. Mawpunkyrtiang is a small village close to Cherrapunji. The weird tale about the Siem of Malyniang is the pride of the Maskut people, for in olden days their King,

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or difference. It is owing to these three different names being used for the same people that there has been so much confusion about Lyungams previously; e.g. at one census they were named *Synrepem*, at another they received the appellation of Garo, and at a third enumeration they were called Khasis. In Section I. the habitat of the Lyungams has been roughly defined. It is impossible to define the Lyungam country exactly, because these people are continually shifting their village sites owing to the exigencies of *jhum* cultivation, which has been described in Section II. Some of the Lyungams preserve a tradition that they originally came from the Kamrup plains. It is interesting that a people, like the Garos in so many respects, should have the same idea as the Garos as to the hills on the south bank of the Brahmaputra not always having been their abode. The Garo legend is that they dwelt for some years in the Goalpara and Kamrup plains after they descended from Thibet, and before they moved to the Garo Hills; and there is unmistakable evidence of their occupation of both districts in the shape of certain Garo villages on both banks of the Brahmaputra for some little distance up the river. If, as I suspect, the Lyungams are an offshoot of the Garos, it is, perhaps, possible that they entered the Khasi Hills much in the same way as the Garos entered the hill district to which they have given their name. The Lyungams are much darker than the Khasis, and possess the Thibeto-Burman type of feature often to a marked degree. It is not extraordinary that they should have adopted some of the Khasi customs, for the Khasis, being the stronger people, would in course of time be bound to influence them in this respect. That the Lyungams observe the matriarchate and erect (some clans) memorial stones is not peculiar, because the Garos, like the Khasis, are also a matriarchal people (to a limited degree), and the custom of erecting memorial stones is not confined to the Khasis, for other hill tribes in Assam observe the practice, e.g. certain Naga tribes and the Mikirs; and the Garos themselves put up carved posts, called *bima*, in honour of the departed. Although there is not much intermarriage between the Khasis and the Lyungams nowadays, perhaps in days gone by there was a mixture of blood, the result being the hybrid race we are now

doll is made of bamboo and this is supposed to represent either the great grandmother (the Jaubei of the sib) or the great great uncle (euidnia). They walk to the mawsian mawrukos (the ceremonial stones, ancestral stones) (36)

36. Gordon, The Khasis, p. 143, gives another description of these customs. He says: In Cherrapunji two dolls are made, called ka puron and u tyngshop. The former is supposed to represent the Jaubei, the latter the euidnia. The dancers hold these dolls in their hands.

[24] with this ancestral doll (u tyngshop). While some dance, others set up "resting stones" or "foot stones" or "road stones" (maw kjat or maw lynti) on the way to the maw bah for the spirits of the dead, where they can rest on the way to the common grave. These stones are about a meter high and stand three in a row at each place. In front of these a flat stone like a platter is placed on four small stones which form a base or feet (maw kjat, i.e., stone foot). (37)

37. Cf. Table III, Picture 3: "Foot stone or road stone" among the Khasi.

On the day on which the dance ends they arrange ka pyngrei, i.e., a marriage feast of the spirits of the deceased, who died in their youth (grown but unmarried or childless). For this they choose two poor old people a man and a woman, of small size whom they pay for this.

Table III

[illegible] Gathering the Remains and the Ashes Ceremonial Dance. Foot Stone and Head Stone.

[382] [796] One month before the coronation one liquor is poured into a hollowed-
out gourd bottle in the house of the S'iem Sd and offered before the
oldest Blei as a 'nam' (sacrifice of drink). This is done in order to in-
[361] [774] form the u Siohlia long S'iem (the spirit of the first great uncle on
the maternal side who was the first king), the ka Blei long S'iem (the
divinity who makes kings kings) and the u Blei Shillong (the god Shil-
long), that preparations are now being made for the Puja and that
they might help with them.

[776] The u Blei Shillong plays the chief part in the whole ceremony.
He enjoys great reverence among the Khasi, especially in the king-
dom Nongkrem and Syllem. Not far from Nongkrem a mountain
[41] peak rises 6,450 feet above the sea. It is the highest peak in the
Khasi Mountains; its name is "Shillong Peak." Here is the seat of
[77] the god Shillong. The story goes that a man appeared here once,
who said he /[illegible]/ had not been born but came of himself (phu long).
He also told the people that they would receive the kings, S'iem.
So the god who lives here was called u Shu long (he who is out of him-
[65] self), from which the Europeans gradually made the word Shillong
and also gave this name to the splendid mountain station in the heart
of the Khasi Mountains.

[796] [382] After the S'iem Sd has determined exactly the day of the cere-
monies, the news of this is sent out two weeks prior to the ceremony
to the village elders (Rangkah dong). This is done on the day of
the large market (iñ duh), which takes place every eight day. Two
weeks after is the pen-dong, also on the day of the large market,
which is discussed below.

The way in which the invitation is issued is interesting. A num-
[34] ber of chains about an ell long are made of bamboo rings. These are
called kynsah. One of these is sent to the oldest man of each village.
Since the Khasi formerly had no script, this bamboo chain always
served as a sign of invitation or summons to the S'iem for ceremonies,
or of danger of war or of court matters and such. The degree of ur-
gency was shown by the form of the links; in the case of great haste
the form was longish and flat, otherwise correspondingly rounder.
The sending of the kynsah to the village elders serves now as a sign
of invitation for the whole village to appear at the ceremonies and
at the same time as a demand to gather together the prescribed sacri-
[651] ficial gifts. Each of the six districts, into which the kingdom Nong-
krem is divided, must furnish a goat; each individual hut must pay a
tax (called pynthok) of one rupee and four annas in addition. Very
poor people only have to pay one anna or even only a half. The
sacrificial gifts, such as rice, various sacrificial animals, fish, brandy

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(2) *U'mid sin*, —*or departed maternal great-uncle.*
(3) *U shaw long*, —*or departed great-grandfather.*

A very striking feature of the Khasi religion is the use of the leaves of the *diengsing* (*Q. lamellata*) or Khasi oak tree. The leaves of this tree are used to cover the sacrificial knife, a sprig of the oak is implanted in the ground before the sacrifices of fowls or goats take place, an oak bough is hung up inside the house along with the jaw-bones and horns of sacrificed animals and the feathers of fowls. A great part of oak is to be found within the areas of the sacred residences of the Siem priestess of Khyrim, the custodian of the religion of the State of that name. Another feature is the use of altars of stone on certain ceremonial occasions, and no Khasi religious ceremony takes place without the use of a small gourd or *blong* from which libation are poured out to the gods. Dancing always accompanies ceremonies of any importance, *e.g.*, funeral ceremonies, the erection of memorial stones, and the great *puja* of the Siems of Nongkrem.

12. *Memorial stones.*—These are without doubt the most prominent feature connected with these people. The first thing that strikes any visitor to the Khasi and Jaintia Hills is the immense number of these stones. The latter are placed in a line, a higher one in the centre, and lower ones on each side. The centre monolith is ceremonially covered with a round flat stone. The upright stones are always in uneven numbers, being in sets of three, five, seven, or even nine stones. In front of each set of three stones is placed one horizontal stone, or *ronlioh* which rests on three or four small upright stones, the horizontal stone being raised to about one foot from the ground. If five upright stones are erected, two horizontal stones are placed in front of them, and if seven are erected three, and so on. There can be no doubt that these stones possess considerable significance, but what exactly that significance is I am at present engaged in investigating. As far as my information extends at present, I give the following explanation.

Memorial stones may be divided for the present into two classes—

(a) Stones erected by the family, or *kur*, in accordance with the Khasi custom of ancestor worship.

(b) Stones which are erected by children in honour of a deceased parent.

It should be remarked that both classes of stones are merely cenotaphs, the mausoleums of the ancestors or the parents often being nowhere near the places where the memorial stones are erected. Taking class (a) first: Supposing that five upright stones are erected and two horizontal stones as depicted in plate III.$\frac{2}{1}$

$\frac{2}{1}$ [see end plate 1 - - - - Analysis]

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Stone No. 2 , the middle is called *U Mow Kei*, i.e., the stone of the maternal uncle, Nos. 3 and 4 are called *Ki pyrsa*, *Ki pura*, i.e., the brothers or sisters, and the nephews or nieces. No. 5 is called *U Mow Kiang*, i.e., the stone of the *Jirem*, and No. 5 *U Mow Ioit*, the stone of the plantain. No. 6 is called *Ka Iaobei tyrsai*. The word *tyrsai* meaning root, *Ka Iaobei tyrsai* signifies the first maternal grandmother of the family. The above is the system of naming stones in Mawbai Raj—other systems will be described in the monograph.

Class (b).—Stones of th . class are generally, I am informed, three in number, consisting of three upright stones as shown in plate IV and a flat stone in front, as in this case of stones falling under class (a).

Here there is a marked difference in that the big stone in the middle is called *U Mow thaolong*, or the stone of the grandfather or father. Nos. 2 and 3 are the brothers or the male cousins of the father, and No. 4 is erected in honour of *Ka Iaobei*, or the grandmother of the father,—not the first ancestress of the clan, as in the case in stones falling under class (a). The post split at its top containing the jawbone of a bullock which has been sacrificed in honour of the deceased parent should be observed, *vide Fig. B*. It was formerly the custom and is still in some places the custom, to spread offerings upon the flat stones to appease the spirits of the deceased ancestors. These stones, which are only 2 to 3 feet from the ground, suggest the idea of sacrificial tables at some time or other. Stones 2, 4, and 5 in Fig. A are between 9 and 10 feet high, but there are several larger monoliths in these hills.

The description of the stones in figures A and B was given me by a man of some intelligence at Nongkrem, but many different explanations of the names, and regarding the significance of these stones, are given by other persons living in various parts of the hills, and it is not unlikely that the account I have tentatively advanced may have to be modified subsequently. The system of each clan, apparently, varies to some extent from the other, and in some cases to a very considerable degree. In the Jaintia Hills very large groups of stones are found near villages, which are thought by the Syntengs to have been merely erected by the sides of roads as *Mow-siang-thait*, or seats for weary travellers, or for persons attending markets. At one place in the Jaintia Hills memorial stones were erected to commemorate a woman, *Ka Kumpatnat*, who in generations past is said to have had thirty husbands. It may, however, be stated that no such polyandrous custom has been found at the present day. The stones are reported to be thirty in number. There are also many stones at a place on the road from Shillong to Jowai said to have been erected to commemorate those who fell in a battle between the Syntengs and one of the Khasi Siems.

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764 As mentioned before, these stones are not gravestones, they are
767 shaped, both the vertical and the horizontal stones, remarkably like
768 the pictures of menhirs and dolmens that appear in Fergusson's work
on rude stone monuments. It is a remarkable fact that Dalton mentions the existence of apparently very similar memorial stones in certain *Ho* and *Munda* villages in Chota Nagpur, and there is a drawing to be found at page 52 of Yule's Embassy to the Court of Ava of a menhirlike which is apparently very like the menhirlike or monolithic to be met with every day in these hills. It is most unfortunate that the
[212] Khasis, owing to their want of a written language in former days, possess no written records of these stones, and that the Khasis of the present day are so very vague in their ideas about them, for I am inclined to believe that the proper elucidation of this question of memorial stones may prove to be the key to the origin of these people. I therefore strongly advise that a very careful search be made for similar stones, such as I have described, in other parts of India. It is possible that the Khasis may have found monoliths erected by some prehistoric race when they arrived in the Khasi Hills, and they may have adopted the custom of erecting memorial stones by the force of example, but the use of such stones seems to fit in with the Khasi system of ancestor worship, and it is remarkable that the shapes of the stones should be so very similar to those which exist in England, Ireland and Brittany, and I believe also in Denmark and Scandinavia. Is the custom of erecting such memorial stones in any way connected with people practising the matriarchate? The whole subject is a deeply interesting one, and I hope that it may be possible to throw some light on it.

797 13. *Tabus.*—The Khasis have an elaborate system of *song*, or tabus. There are very many different kinds of *song*, but some of them are the following:—

Special tabus, at time of pregnancy.—(*a*) It is *song* for a pregnant woman to accompany a funeral procession.

(*b*) It is *song* for a woman in the first stage of pregnancy to finish any sewing which she may have commenced before she became enceinte. There is a similar prohibition regarding the finishing of the plaiting of wicker baskets.

(*c*) It is *song* for the husband of a pregnant woman to thatch the ridge of the roof of a house at such a time.

(*d*) It is *song* under similar circumstances to fix an axe or a *dao* in a handle.

Ordinary tabus.—(i) It is *song* to build a house with stone walls on all four sides.

6: Gordon G-3 (no date) 1984 AB7 Khael AB7

[End plate 2.]

8: Gurdon G-3 (no date) 1904 AR7 Khasi AR7

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909
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[End plate 2]

9: Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 AR7 Khasi AR7

nounce the hard G; and in all words of Hindustani origin this letter has the sound of K. 101 [191]

They are called by the tribes of Kúkis and Nágis on the west "Káro", the name they themselves have for the whole mass of hill people on their western side, the Gāros, though as we pass towards their confines, we find the names of local clans giving way to this general term which was not known to some of the villagers of West Nongstoin, who call the Gāros "Dēkor."

The Gāro appellation for the Khāsis is "Dikkil" or "Digil"; and it was very interesting to find, after visiting the villages of both, that they mutually fear each other, and consequently border raids never occur. The Gāros owned that they feared the bow and arrow of their neighbour, a weapon they themselves are unacquainted with the use of.

The Khāsis always point to the east as the quarter from which they emigrated, but there is very little, if any, similarity with the languages of the people now occupying the hills on that side. [178] [191]

Before entering further on the subject matter of this paper, I must request my hearers or readers to remember that having no knowledge colloquially of the Khasi language, the information I give was obtained from natives who understood either English or Hindustani well. The greater part of the information was given me by a very intelligent man, a native inspector of schools in the district; thus I hope that all errors that exist may be hereafter corrected by others who have been able to elucidate with greater exactness the meaning of their many different rites and superstitions. 115

Certainly the most striking objects of interest in the Khāsi Hills are the upright stone monuments that are to be seen all over the country; these, set up by the wayside, or in the villages, more frequently cutting the sky on prominent hills, with the large slabs horizontally set before them, at once recall the Druidical remains of our own island, northern France, etc., and lead one to marvel at the similarity of the custom, and to inquire its origin and design. Many who visit those hills take it at once for granted that they are the graves of illustrious men, or, after a vain endeavour to get some information from the coolies about them, let the matter rest, or finally believe that the ashes of the dead, to whose memory the monoliths are erected, are buried under the flat kind of altar or dolmen seen in front. 764 211

It is always a very difficult matter to obtain information from semi-civilised people on such a subject as their religious rites, especially if the inquirer is ignorant of their language. A slight knowledge of Hindustani on the part of the Khāsia villager, renders the attempt still more hopeless, and the information given quite erroneous.

9: Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 AR7 Khasi AR7

764 The tall upright stones are called "Mao bynna", from "mao",
211 a stone; "bynna", to make known, to be informed, literally a monument. They are also known by the term, "Mao shinran", the male stone, while the flat seat-like slab in front is called "Mao Kynthai", the female stone, representative of all life, being in pairs. My informant explained this by saying the monument would be imperfect without the flat stone or its female adjunct.

769 The ashes of the dead are never deposited under the horizon-
764 tal slabs always to be seen in front of the upright sets, the monu-
211 ment having no connection with funeral obsequies whatever. The monument is purely one to perpetuate the memory of a person long deceased, who, as a spirit, has watched over or brought good fortune to a descendant, his family, or clan. Wealth or
[554] renown of the deceased has no connection with the size of the monument, which may be of any dimensions, from stones a foot or two and upward, but depends on the wealth of those who erect such mementos, and on the benefits the deceased has conferred after passing into the world of spirits and demons, for, according to Khāsi belief, the spirits of the dead and demons are the cause of all joy or woe—they give riches or strike with disease and death.

These monuments are not set up facing any particular point of the compass; the front is generally selected, having reference to the site and its surroundings: thus a number set up together on a hill-top will be found facing outwards, those by the wayside facing the road; however, single sets, standing on a hill-top or rising ground, as a rule, face to the southward.

The history connected with the erection of some large slabs near Cherra Poonjee will exemplify this curious custom. One of the clans, "Kūr" in Cherra, is known as the "Nongtariang"; and many years ago died an old lady of the clan, not famous for anything in particular during her lifetime, but whose virtues appear to have been great after her demise, for after this the Nongtariang clan, from being a poor one, rose gradually to considerable wealth; she, when propitiated and called on for aid, never failed her race, and in return, after some sixty years or more, they raised to her memory five well-cut stones, which are to be seen on the west side of the road between Cherra Poonjee and Surarun, the central monolith adorned with a kind of rose cut in relief on the front face, and an ornamental disc on the apex. It would appear that she still remained the guardian spirit of her clan; they continued to prosper, and as a further token to her memory, they added in 1869 five more stones on the other side of the road, and in a line with the first set.

It may very naturally be asked how descendants possible dis-

9: Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 AR7 Khasi AR7

cover what their ancestors are doing for them, and what their views and inclinations may be as regards the amount of aid they may give. To a Khasia there is no difficulty about the matter; when in distress or requiring aid of any kind, seeking omens by the breaking of eggs (which I will hereafter describe) he appeals to and propitiates any one ancestor he may select; only one or two may promise such protection, and these it may so happen have died years ago. The benefit also conferred may be very trivial, and sufficiently acknowledged by the setting up of stones of small size; on the contrary, if great favours are conferred on the wealthy we find large monoliths forming conspicuous landmarks on many a hill-top, scattered over a large area of country, and which are mostly known to the country round by the name of the individuals who have wrought so much good in their after state. 764 769 211 [782]

These stones are never erected in pairs or in even numbers; in counting over a very large series still perfect, I found them invariably in sets of three, five, seven, or, as I have before mentioned in the case of the Nongtariang clan, in two sets, five and five, on opposite sites, to the same individual.* Even numbers are considered unfinished or imperfect. 801 211 764

A reference to the plans given, numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, will show the various arrangements in which the stones are set up, both in a segment of a circle and at right angles to each other, as in fig. 3. The most common form, however, is in line, fig. 4. Fig. 1 consisted of a circular platform raised about two feet, faced with rough stones on the front face. These three examples were observed on the hill of Lailang-kote, where the bazar is held, and I have not seen anywhere else the monoliths so arranged; in other parts of the country they are invariably set up in a straight row.

These monuments are also erected for such a reason as the following:—During the illness of a person, every kind of propitiation and exorcism either by the breaking of eggs, sacrifice of fowls, pigs, etc., and by the examination of the liver and viscera, having been made, and then failing to restore him; the sick man may vow that should he recover, he will erect a set of stones to one of his ancestors, who, it is presumed, on knowing of the intention, will do his best to save him. 764 211 [782] [787]

In setting up these slabs all members of the community are under an obligation to assist on such an occasion, and are not paid for their labour, beyond receiving in the evening a little food or liquor at the dwelling of the family who have sought the aid. The skilled workmen employed on the stone-cutting are, 764 211 476

* Three and five are the most frequent numbers met with, nine very rare I have seen eleven.

1/9 [see end charts 1-4, category 116 -- Analyst]

9: Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 AR7 Khasi AR7

however, regularly paid, as is done when cutting the stones for the funeral platform; while this work is in progress musicians are also entertained, and a continual beating of tom-toms (hand-drums) is kept up while the work is in progress.

That many of these monuments, and by far the larger number, are of great age, may be inferred from the fact that their history is quite lost.

As to their distribution, they are to be found over all the higher part of the range; the finest, certainly, in the central portion and in the vicinity of the larger villages, such as Cherra Poonjee, Juwai, Nurtiang, etc.

In Nongstoin, on the west, they gradually die out, and a few, not exceeding three or four feet in height, are to be found in the Khasia villages towards the Garo tribes, but at this limit the Langams come in, and their customs assimilate more with the former-named people. It is the same on the east and north-east of Jaintia; the stones set up are smaller and of rougher form, and by no means so numerous, yet they are to be seen in all kinds of out-of-the-way places quite overgrown with grass and jungle, where villages have not existed for years. Indications were not wanting, shewing that the country had been formerly much more populous, especially on the northern slopes of the Khasi and Janitia Hills. I have, on the other hand, never come across structures of the kind anywhere beyond the limits of Khasi-speaking people, that is, between longitude 91 deg. and 92 deg. 30 min., which includes the Jaintia Hills, the people of which part are called "Sintengs", differing in some minor points from the Khasis; the dialect is distinct, and there is so strong a type-form of likeness and expression, the two can be generally separated without inquiry. The same remarks hold good for the western side; a Khasi of the border Nongstoin villages can be told off at a glance: so strong are the great clan likenesses.

I have traversed the whole country on the east: viz., the North Cachar Hills, inhabited by tribes of Kookis and Nāgas, and had the Khasi ever occupied permanently a larger area either on the east or west, particularly the former, emigrating, as they are supposed to have done, from that side, I think we might have expected to find, occasionally, remains of their imperishable monuments. The only exception that I know of occurs on the road from Nenglo to Hangrūng, in the North Cachar Hills district, beyond Asālu, a part of the country now in the occupation of Nagas, and formerly entirely in that of Kacharis, who are Bodos or Méchis. The road lies through forest, keeping along the high spur; at about two miles from the peak of Hemeo are to be seen several large slabs of stone nearly level with the ground, one ten feet by six, covering some sort of receptacle, for the ends of the

9: Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 AR7 Khasi AR7

764 stones facing the sides are plainly visible. Near to these slabs
●211 is a platform with sides built up of rough stone, similar to those
171 about Cherra Poonjee. Now Nāgas bury their dead, and no monument is erected, the graves being dug in the village street, often at the very door of the deceased person's house, all the protection and covering being a rough one of bamboo or straight sticks interwoven and neatly pegged down all round with hooked sticks. Some tribes of Kūkis bury, others burn, but I have never observed any stones set up, or used to cover the grave. There is just a possibility that the slabs on the Hemeo ridge are the remains of an old Khāsi settlement, occupied, perhaps, for a short period when on their emigration westward.

The largest collection of huge slabs and upright stones that I have seen anywhere in the Khāsi Hills, is at Lailang-kote, the arrangement is so different in every way, that there can be little doubt that it was erected for a very different purpose, and was probably a place of meeting of the chiefs and elders of the clans. The steps to ascend it would indicate such a purpose, and we can imagine all the men of rank and influence seated around, and harangued by one of their number. I could never learn the history of this structure; although I made frequent inquiries, they could not say when or by whom it was set up. The stones, especially the large horizontal one, are of great size; this, with others, is of the granite found close by, but the hill on which the structure stands is an outlier of quartzitic sandstone, horizontally stratified, and great labour must have been expended in dragging such huge blocks into their present position; for the slope to the top of the rise, though not great, yet is quite sufficient to render such work a formidable undertaking. The weight of the largest horizontal slab was twenty tons eighteen hundredweight, and of all the stones composing its construction eighty tons. The horizontal granite slabs were unhewn, as well as the highest upright monolith, which stood eighteen feet nine inches. Eight of the upright stones out of the eleven were of sandstone. The largest slab is an irregular oval in shape, thirty feet by thirteen feet in longest and shortest axis, with a mean thickness of one foot and one-third, standing nearly five feet and a-half above the ground, and resting on ten upright unhewn pillars of granite; on the south side are four other slabs arranged close to the edge of the large one, and round all rise the eleven upright pillars; on the eastern end are two other slabs forming steps to ascend by.

I give a drawing of this very curious monument with a plan, and in an appendix the measurements of every stone, and these shew better than aught else the great massiveness of the work, and what an amount of labour these people must have expended in collecting the materials and setting them in this spot.

[see end plates 2-4, category 116 - - ~ - Analyst]

9: Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 AR7 Khasi AR7

764 I never saw the Khasis engaged in raising a stone into the
● 211 upright position, but I saw the spars which had formed a sort of
[483] cradle on which the stones forming the monument erected by the Nongtariang clan previously alluded to had been dragged from the spot where they had been quarried. They consisted of strong curved limbs of trees roughly smoothed and rounded, and would present a very small surface to friction. These stones had been taken from the side of a hill near, and had apparently been wedged out of the face of a step in the exposed sand-stone strata.

It may be as well that I should here give some account of the funeral rites of the Khasis, which will show there is no connection between them and the monuments I have been describing, and with which the other stone erections have no doubt been often confounded. In their funeral rites there is much that is wonderfully strange, and to those unacquainted with their
771 superstitions, appears unmeaning. There can be no doubt but
769 the Khasis have a very strong belief in a future state, and to say
778 that they have no religion, as has been stated by some writers, is erroneous. True, they have no temples for either worship or idols, the religion of the people is principally a demon worship, and we find the Khasi ever in communion with or in the power, as he supposes, of the spirits of those who have gone before him. While, added to these spirits of their ancestors are numberless demons, male and female, ever ready, if not propitiated, to bring evil upon himself or his undertakings, and whose power even extends over the spirits of the dead. Every dark shady wood, every stream, every conspicuous hill has its presiding demon, which in many instances gives the name to the site. Thus, the hill of Lārū, in North Jaintia, beyond Nongjinghi, is the abode of a one-legged demon, whom to see is death, but who was occasionally heard in the dense forest that clothed the northern steep face of the mountain, so said the credulous villagers of Nongtūng.

764 The dead are burnt on a funeral pyre, the logs of which are arranged very regularly, and the body lies in a sort of bed formed by them.

The calcined bones and ashes are collected and placed in an earthen vessel (small "ghara"), and are generally buried in some adjacent spot, a stone being placed over the vase for security; they do not, however, remain permanently in this place. Every family or clan has a separate receptacle for these remains, constructed in several ways, but always covered with a heavy slab of stone: these receptacles are called "Mao-bah," the great stone "Mao-shiing," a bone depository—lit., the "bone stone."

M. Schlagintweit has fallen into an error regarding the dolmen-shaped structures, and was not aware that this form is so

health, that we may increase and prosper, that we may walk securely, 782
that we may enjoy our possession in security, that we may carefully ameliorate our families, that we may increase in number. Do thou embrace us, do thou confide in us, do thou support us whilst we observe the rules and customs, that we may become numerous, that we may offer thee sacrifices. Come thou and receive us, receive us at thy feet, that we may spread out on the right and on the left. Come, confide in us; come, support us; come, envelope our spirits with thy power.*

This sacrifice is generally made by a whole Kúr or family *all related* by blood.

Appendix C.

Crawfurd's "Embassy to Siam", p. 19.—"Under ordinary circumstances so much importance is attached to the rite of burning the 764 211
dead, that if the ceremony cannot be performed soon after death, either from poverty, or from the party dying at a distance, the body is first buried, and afterwards, as soon as convenient or practicable, disinterred and consigned to the funeral pile. Of persons of distinction, a few of the bones are kept, and either preserved in urns in the houses of their relations, or buried, with little pyramidal monuments over them, in the ground adjacent to the temples. Of these monuments we saw a good number: they are small and paltry, without any inscription.

Appendix D.

W. Griffith's "Journals", p. 75.—"Close to the village are the 764
burying-places of two Singphos. These have the usual structure of the cemeteries of the tribe, the graves being covered by a high conical thatched roof. I find, from Bayfield, that they first dry their dead, preserving them in odd-shaped coffins until the drying process is completed; they then burn the body, afterwards collecting the ashes, which are finally deposited in the mounds over which the conical sheds are erected," etc., etc.

Appendix E.

Burning the Dead, etc.—"The practice of preserving dead bodies in honey has not arisen, as M. Schlagintweit states, from the extremely wet season experienced at Cherra. Bodies are burnt throughout the rains, as I have witnessed. Men of rank or wealth are treated in the above way, and are often kept thus preserved during the whole of the dry cold weather, and not burnt until a propitious time has been selected. The custom, no doubt, has been derived from its Eastern source."

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* Mr. Pryse remarks: "However devoid of sense or puerile the traditional and unwritten literature of the Khasis may be considered, the writer is not sure that he is able to elicit much more sense from many parts of the much talked of literature of the Vedas and Puranas of the Hindu sages," and he offers a specimen from the Sanhita.

9: Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 AR7 Khasi AR7

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Memoranda of Size and Height of the Stones composing the Monument at Lailangkote, Khāsi Hills (from careful measurement of same).

UPRIGHT STONES OF GRANITE.

	Cubic feet.	Total, cubic feet.
No. 1=13ft. 10in. × 4ft. 0in. × 1ft. 6in.	=83·0	
3=18ft. 9in. × 3ft. 6in. × 9in.	=49·2	
10=11ft. 2in. × 4ft. 0in. × 1ft. 0in.	=44·7	
		176.9

UPRIGHT STONES OF SANDSTONE.

2=18ft. 6in. × 3ft. 4in. × 1ft. 8in.	=104·7	
4=12ft. 6in. × 3ft. 0in. × 1ft. 8in.	= 63·8	
5= 9ft. 0in. × 3ft. 0in. × 1ft. 6in.	= 40·5	
6= 8ft. 3in. × 2ft. 4in. × 9in.	= 14·4	
7=10ft. 9in. × 4ft. 8in. × 1ft. 2in.	= 58·6	
8= 9ft. 6in. × 2ft. 9in. × 1ft. 2in.	= 30·6	
9=10ft. 9in. × 2ft. 6in. × 2ft. 2in	= 58·4	
11=12ft. 5in. × 2ft. 6in. × 1ft. 6in.	= 46·7	
		417.7
		594·6

THE LARGEST FLAT STONE OF GRANITE.

Greatest length, 30ft. 4in.; breadth, 10ft.; and mean thickness, about 1 foot: measured by co-ordinates laid off from a central line, at 2 feet apart, with the thickness at edge. Total of cubic feet in mass 329·0.

FLAT STONES ON SOUTHERN SIDE, AND THE TWO STEPS.

	Mean breadth.	Mean length.	Mean thickness.	Cubic feet.
No. 1=	6ft. 0in. ×	8ft. 4in. ×	8ft. 0in.	=33·0
2=	5ft. 8in. ×	9ft. 8in. ×	1ft. 6in.	=82·0
3=	5ft. 2in. ×	9ft. 9in. ×	1ft. 4in.	=67·0
4=	5ft. 1in ×	7ft. 2in. ×	1ft. 4in	=49·0
5=	9ft. 3in. ×	5ft. 8in. ×	1ft. 0in.	=52·0
6=	3ft. 2in. ×	5ft. 8in. ×	8in.	=12.0
				295·0 cubic feet.

The specific gravity of granite being taken at 2·6, or 163 lbs., the weight of the Lailangkote granite by experiment, we have for the weight of the largest flat stone, 329 cubic feet=tons 23 : 18 : 3 : 7; for the other six, 295 cubic feet=tons 21 : 9 : 1 : 9.

DISCUSSION.

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Dr. CHARNOCK said the "Asiatic Researches" for the year 1828 contained a short paper by a Mr. Walters on the Khāsi (Cāsias). The paper in question, which related to the village of Supar-Punji, also contained drawings of certain stone monuments; among others, four large circular stones standing together. They were only a few feet

9: Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 AR7 Khasi AR7

high, with a smooth surface, and resembled trees cut down; but it did not appear for what purpose they were used. Mr. Walters stated that the uprights and stone doors referred to in the paper were monuments to the memory of deceased rajahs and chiefs; that the upright slabs of granite were detached from the rock by means of fire; and that the dead bodies of the Khāsi are burned at an appointed place, and the ashes placed in earthen pots, which are deposited under the stones. He (Dr. Charnock) doubted the suggested derivation of the name of the tribe. If derived from the Hindústání, it could not be very ancient. The chief interest in the paper lay in the fact that the Khāsi erect these monuments at the present day.

Sir Duncan Gibb said there was a feature of some interest in the author's very interesting paper, and that was the statement that the stones of the megalithic remains described by him were obtained from quarries of sandstone not far distant from the place in which they were erected. Now, this point he looked upon as of considerable importance, because it so readily explained the comparative facility of transport of such huge masses of stone as entered into the construction of the monument described. In this country the most diverse opinions prevailed as to the locality whence the stones were obtained composing such monuments as are found at Stonehenge, Aylesbury, and other places, and he thought the author had added to the value of his paper by giving accurate details as to the locality whence the stone was obtained, composing the remarkable monuments so graphically illustrated; nevertheless, as a geologist, he should like to know from the author to what formation these sandstones belonged.

Col. A. Lane Fox thought the Institute might be congratulated upon the paper which they had just heard, which was one of the most important contributions to anthropology that had been received for some time past. It was impossible to overrate the value of the details of the manners and customs which Major Godwin Austin had given, and which were associated with the erection of these megalithic monuments at the present time. They might at some future time serve as links of evidence in interpreting the object of similar monuments in other times and places. The great problem before the Institute, he thought, was how far the builders of these monuments in our own time might be regarded as the representatives of those who erected them in the prehistoric period of Europe, or how far the monuments themselves might be regarded as survivals from the prehistoric age. The geographical distribution of these monuments, as he had before shown in the *Ethnological Journal*, was continuous, or nearly so, extending from those Kassias in the north-east of India to Central India, Persia, Asia Minor, the Crimea, along the north coast of Africa bordering the Mediterranean. They are found in Etruria, up the south and west coast of France into Britain, and as far as Denmark and Sweden. In so far as our present knowledge enabled us to judge, they were unknown in Russia proper, in Northern Asia, in Central and Southern Africa, and on the two continents of America, with the exception of Peru. Their continuous geographical distribu-

9: Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 AR7 Khasi AR7

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tion extending from our own country to the country of these Kassias was in favour of the view that their erection might be a practice handed down by them from the remotest time; and this gave great additional interest to the study of the customs of the people who built them. Evidence of great antiquity of these monuments in India was wanting; most of those examined in Central India have been found to be associated with implements of iron; but it had been shewn that iron in the soil in that country would be preserved for ages, and there was no knowing how far back the use of this metal might have extended. There was one peculiar custom which in Europe, Africa, and Russia appeared to have nearly the same geographical distribution as those monuments, and which was sometimes associated with them; he alluded to the custom of placing pieces of rags upon trees at holy wells and elsewhere as a cure for diseases, and he should like to ask Major Austin whether this custom prevailed amongst these Kassias or in their neighbourhood.

Mr. Hyde Clarke observed that Colonel Fox had just enumerated the geographical region of megalithic monuments, and this was precisely the region described in his paper on the Caucaso-Tibetans. The areas are coincident. The Khasias are seated among tribes, which have linguistic affinities with Georgian and Palæogeorgian. The present Khasias cannot, however, be considered as *in situ* in reference to the ancient migration connected with the stone monuments of the Dekkan, but are a subsequent migration. The connection of traditions between Khasias, etc., and Burmah is simply because they are obtained from a common centre in High Asia. Among the many valuable facts is that of the male and female stones, and the numbers of these are, perhaps, also male and female. The numbers three and seven signify middle. In two cases where eleven occur they are arranged as six and five. The male stones are more numerous than the female, and may have some relation to polyandrous notions. Egg divination may possibly have its metaphysical basis in the relations which exist in many languages in the form of words for eye (eage) and egg. Major Austen's testimony to the moral qualities of the hill tribes is of value. Dr. Hunter, hon. member Anthropological Institute, has pointed out in his *Rural Life in Bengal* that it is on the hill tribes we must greatly rely for the invigoration of our Indian empire.

Mr. W. C. Dendy: The great merit of this paper is that it is written by a careful observer who was an eye-witness of all which he describes; one such narrative is worth a volume of compilations. In our own region the megalith is a relic of very ancient date, the record, perhaps, of a semi-barbarous race, and all account of them is usually speculative and conjectural. In the east we learn there are kistvaens and cromlechs and dolmens of recent date, the constructors of which are yet in existence, and an inquiry into their history may elucidate by analogy some of the obscurity that has yet clouded our own megalithic monuments. Choir Gawr or Stonehenge is composed of several sorts of rock, blue stone and marble, sand and granitic: why is this variety of selection? Among Major Austen's sketches there is

9: Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 AR7 Khasi AR7

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one of a beautiful megalithic temple, and he alluded to male and female stones. May this variety of quality and colour in the stones be symbolical of idol or astral or planetary worship? In Asia, it seems, these relics are chiefly within a certain latitude forming a belt from Oceania to the Mediterranean, the zone, indeed, of the anthropomorphous simiæ; and we have accounts of the relics of Asiatic pigmies discovered in and around one of these cromlechs not remote from the Khasi Hills. Remembering the influence of climate on both mind and body, it might be interesting to inquire how far a superstitious psychology may be an ethnic trait among the less accomplished orientals.

Dr. A. Campbell, Mr. James Fergusson, Mr. J. W. Flower, Dr. Seemann, Mr. E. B. Tylor, Mr. Wake, and the Chairman, also took part in the discussion.

9, Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 AR7 Khasi AR7

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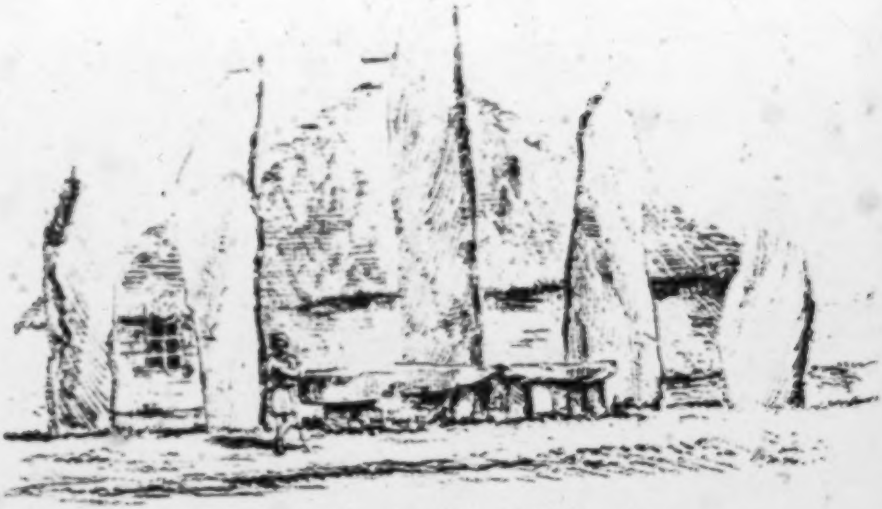
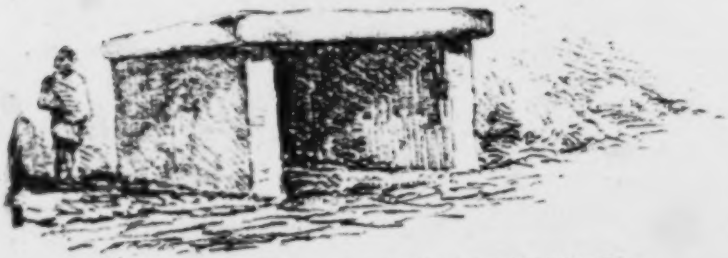


THE STONES AT MAOPLANG KHASI HILLS.



MAO-BAH & MAO SHIING BONE REPOSITORY CHERRA POONJEE

MA[illegible]SHING
SOUTH [illegible] JAINTIA HILLS

9> Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 AR7 Khasi AR7

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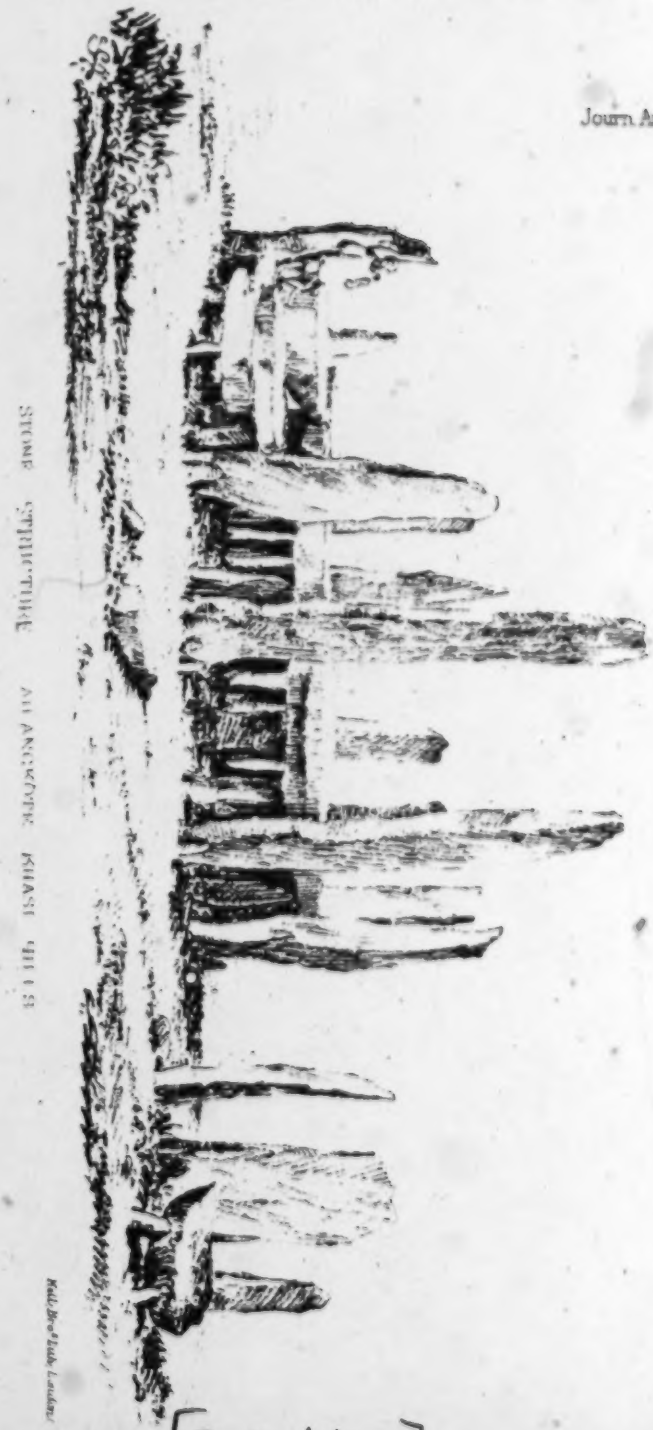

STONE STRUCTURE AT NONGKRIEM KHASI HILLS

Hall, Bros. Photo. London.

[End plate 2]

9. Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 AR7 Khasi AR7

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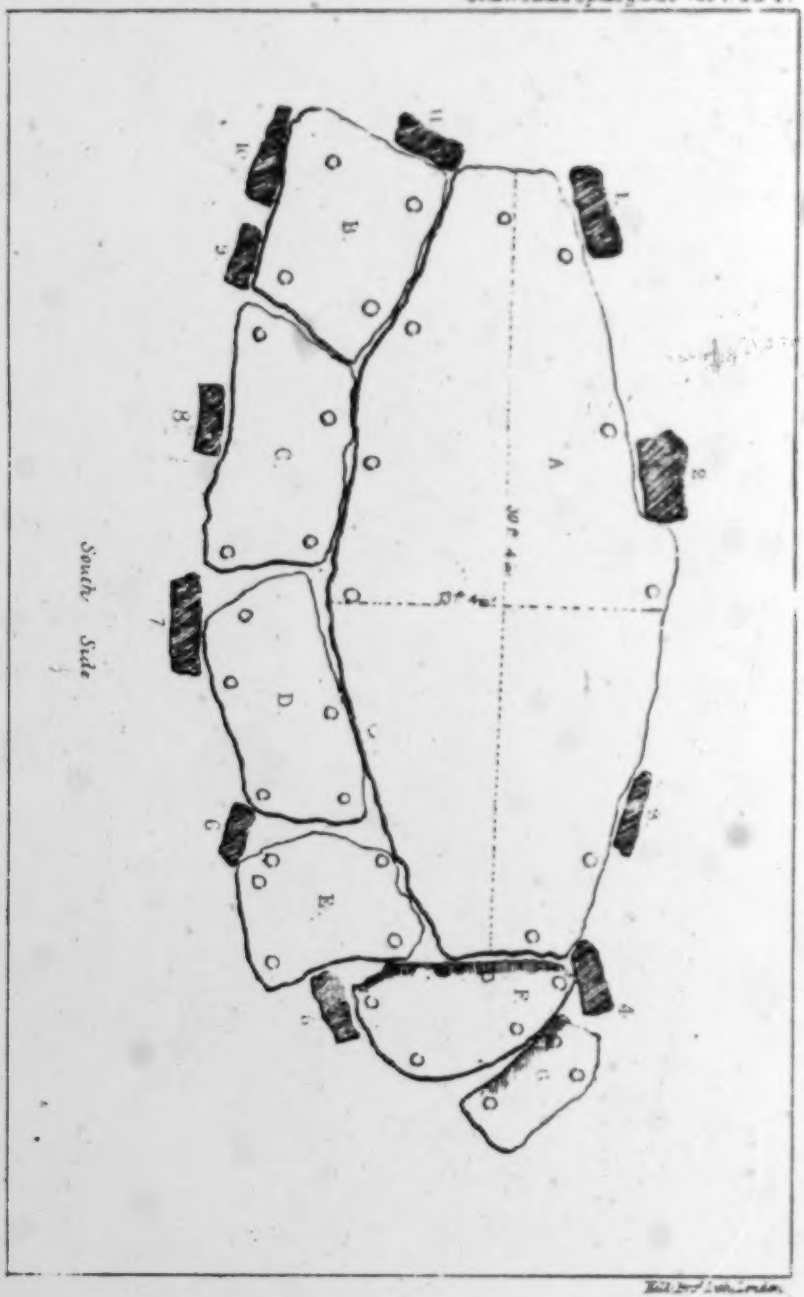

[End plate 3]

9. Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 AR7 Khasi AR7

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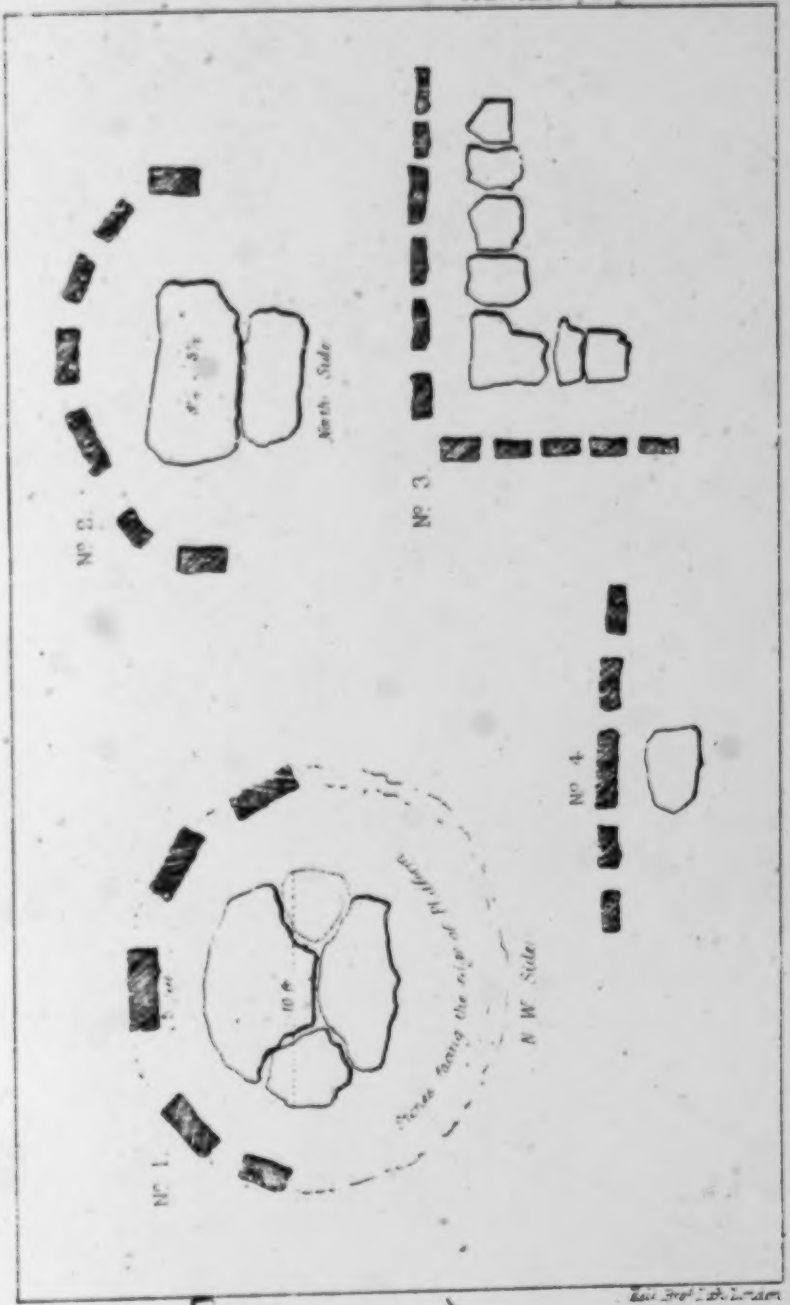


PLANS OF MONUMENTAL STONE STRUCTURES, KHASI HILLS

[End plate 4]

10:Clarke U-3 (no date)1874 AR7 Khasi AR7

133 patches of open forest, and with scattered fir trees and oaks. Though south of the Himalaya range the character of the 137 country is more like that found in the Himalayas at 4,000 feet higher elevation, and many plants, never collected in the Himalayas below 9,000 feet above sea-level, are found in the Khasi Hills between 4,500—6,000 feet. In this marvellous plateau the sub-alpine and the sub-tropical forms overlap; at the very foot of elegant palms may be gathered the identical stag's horn moss, which, in Britain, is found only on mountains. On a fir tree much resembling a scraggy Scotch-fir is seen growing the Vanda cœrulea, the king of epiphytic orchids; a gnarled oak will carry a gigantic tropical liane; the painted lady and many other British species of lepidoptera will be accompanied by gorgeous tropical papilios and by window moths eleven inches across the wing; the cuckoo and Himalayan pheasant are above, while the tiger, the wild elephant and the green python are below. Justly has Dr. Hooker observed, "I know no spot in the world more calculated to fascinate the naturalist who, while appreciating the elements of which a landscape is composed, is also keenly alive to the beauty and grandeur of tropical scenery."

211 2. Almost throughout Khasi-land, and in a less degree through the Jaintea country, monumental stones are common. They are numerous in villages in the valleys, but are specially prominent, and sometimes of gigantic size, scattered over the rounded hill-tops where they form a feature in the landscape. In all modern treatises of Archæology and Anthropology the study of monumental stones forms an important chapter. Monuments of a remarkable similarity in design are found alike in Europe, Asia, and isolated islands in the Pacific Ocean, and these are in general of such extreme antiquity that they are treated as belonging to the prehistoric age. The Khasi stone monuments have attracted already much attention; first because of their great number and size; and, secondly and chiefly, because on these hills the erection of these monuments is now in full practice. It is reasonably supposed that a careful study of the Khasi method of raising the stones, and of the traditions or customs in accordance with which they raise them, may throw some light upon more ancient monuments of the same kind, even upon Stonehenge. It has been proposed to send out a commission from England to survey these Khasi stone monuments. They are described by Dr. Hooker, in his work (Min. Journ. II. 276), also by Colonel Raban in the *Calcutta Review*, and some account has been lately given by Major Godwin-Austen in the "Journal of the Anthropological Institute," No. 2, Oct. 1871.[1] The present memoir was written

[1] [This article has been abstracted for the Gile. —Analyst]

years ago, previous to some of these published accounts, but contains several details not given by any of them.

3. The Khasi stones are of three classes, viz :—

a. The funeral pyres.

b. The kists containing the pots of ashes.

c. The monumental groups.

It is the last class (c.) which has, hitherto, nearly monopolised attention, and to which the published notices almost exclusively refer.

4. The Funeral Pyres.—When a rich man dies his body is generally reduced to ashes immediately, but his honorific cremation does not take place till some time, often a year, afterwards. In the interim the earthen jar containing his ashes is kept "under a stone" (in Khasi talk) *i.e.*, in a small temporary closed kist. For the honorific burning a pyre is prepared on which the ashes are burnt over again a very little, *pro forma*, and the great funeral feast follows.

The pyre is placed just outside the village of the deceased, on a hillock or in a clear space and near the road. The modern pyres are usually square (approximately), the sides of stone (dressed or undressed according to the means of the family) about four or five feet high, the whole of the middle filled with loose stones and earth up to the level of the walls.*

A pyre was raised about four years ago just outside the village of Mawmai close by the English main road. Many hundreds of men and women carrying from ½ cwt. to 1½ cwt. on their backs pass close by this pyre daily and a considerable per centage rest a few minutes on it. Ledges are raised on two sides, but are by no means essential to a pyre; they merely add a utility. The Khasis mean the ledges to be a convenient height to rest on with a load, and each ledge satisfies this condition, but no Khasi would dream of measuring with a two-foot rule, so as to get them the same height. So the pyre itself is meant to be a square or thereabouts. All the Khasi stonework is done in this way; they do not care to make it geometrically accurate, and consequently in my opinion little valuable result could be drawn from any accurate measurement and mapping of the stone monuments.

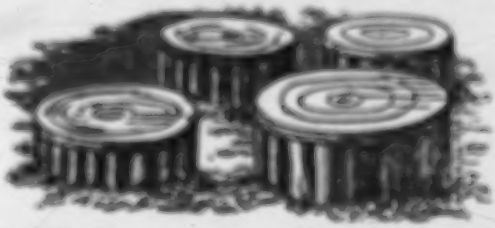
This pyre at the entrance to Mawmai is one of the most complete modern pyres. The ancient pyres were very seldom (if ever) made with hewn stones, and the Khasis state that in former times they were as often made round (*i. e.* oval) as square. Being thus originally very roughly shaped heaps of loose

* For admirable illustrations of the Khasi monuments, see "Proceedings of the Soc. Ant., Scotland," vol. i, p. 94. Fergusson's "Rude Stone Monuments," chap. viii, and "Asiatic Researches," vol. xvii, p. 368. [Ed.]

10:Clarke U-3 (no date)1874 AR7 Khasi AR7

211 764 unhewn stones, and, being used on only one occasion, they rapidly fell into complete decay. Dr. Hooker mentions that he repeatedly remarked cones of earth, clay, and pebbles, about twelve feet high, upon the hills, which appeared to be artificial. These must have been the broken down pyres.

764 5. THE KISTS CONTAINING THE POTS OF ASHES.—These consist of a circle or square of upright stones, fitting as closely as a Khasi can conveniently make them to do, with one round or square flat stone on the top. They vary in size from a few inches diameter to six or seven feet.



The circular kists are more especially used by the people of the valleys, *i. e.*, who inhabit villages at less than 3,000 feet above the sea; at Walong and Sohbar, which stand west and east of the main Government road as it steeply ascends from Sylhet, there are hundreds (I am not sure that there are not thousands) of kists of this type inside the village. The Khasis of the grassy plateau, the true Nongphlang (*i. e.*, people of the grass in Khasi language, the genuine representative type of the tribe) very commonly employ square kists.

One great feature of the Khasi sepulture is that the ashes of the families are collected from time to time. At first the ashes of a man are probably kept in a small kist. Then after a few years a great general family ceremony is held, and the ashes of the various individuals of the family are collected from the smaller kists. The ashes of all the men are collected into one earthen jar, the ashes of all the women are collected into another, and these two jars are placed in one larger kist, the jar

of women's ashes next the door, *i. e.*, the last stone closed; the reason of which is that in Khasi-land the woman is always mistress of the house. The quantity of ashes altogether is very small. 764

Each occasion of collection of family ashes is accompanied by a grand family feast, which is mainly of pig. No bones of pig could by any chance get inside the kist; that would be horror.

The stones forming the kist fit as closely as a Khasi can conveniently make them; a mouse might, however, generally get in. In the neck of each earthen jar of ashes a close-fitting stone is placed so that no animal could get at the ashes within; but this, of course, does not fit by any means air-tight, and the damp of the climate affects the ashes so much that on re-opening the kists after even a few years, for the purpose of agglomerating the family ashes, it frequently happens that no trace of ashes is found in the earthen jars.

In the descriptions of the Khasi stone monuments hitherto published, these numerous kists appear often overlooked or confounded with the horizontal monumental slab. The kists differ entirely in their object and meaning, and in being closed. So long as they contain earthen jars they cannot be mistaken; but by the continual collection of family ashes the majority of the square kists are left with one side broken down and empty, and in such a state it is sometimes impossible to determine whether the horizontal slab be a monument or the lid of an old kist, unless a family can be found to claim it as their monument. Where there are no upright monumental stones near I incline to suppose that a large majority of these doubtful remains are kists and not monuments.

6. THE MONUMENTAL GROUP.—There are two general types of monumental stones, viz., the upright slab and the horizontal slab. 211

The upright slabs are commonly grouped in threes or fives (sometimes they are seven or more); they are nearly always oblong and set up in a row with the tallest stone in the

10:Clarke U-3 (no date)1874 AR7 Khasi AR7

211 middle; annexed is a representation of a common type containing five stones.

A common height for the middle stone of such a monument will be six to ten feet, by 2-3 feet wide. The stones are sunk not very deep, say 1-2 feet, into the earth; great numbers of fallen stones are seen. Monuments of this character are often placed on the crest of the hills, and in many parts of Khasiland the landscape appears dotted over with them.

The horizontal slabs are commonly grouped in pairs. The flat slabs may be 5-10 feet long, and are rarely so exactly quadrangular, and they generally have some of the corners irregularly rounded off, and thus pass into the oval or round horizontal slab, which is also a frequent type.

The upright and horizontal slabs are often combined to form a single monument, and perhaps the commonest of all the combinations is that in which five upright slabs have two horizontal before them. The combinations adopted are, however, endless in variety. In these combinations it must be understood that the whole group of stones forms one indivisible monument, which may be the monument of one individual, a household, or a family. Families retain a history of the monuments which belong to the family, and thus in a small degree of the names of their ancestors. Such family monuments may be repaired, added to, or rebuilt from time to time. They are not necessarily placed where the family ashes are kept in kists, or near such kists; but they are usually at no great distance from the village where the family dwells.

The putting up a large stone, say one that stands fifteen feet out of the ground, is a very costly matter, and the monuments of the first class in size in the Khasi country are not very numerous; in the monuments of small stones, the number of stones is often great, I have noticed twenty-one stones in a row, no stone exceeding two feet high.

The upright slabs are (particularly when unaccompanied by any horizontal slabs) usually placed in a straight line. But frequently, where the horizontal slab is round, the upright slabs stand in the arc of a circle, and sometimes the upright slabs are placed in a curved line apparently by accident, or because the nature of the steep ground suggested such an arrangement. Two such monuments occur on the main road to Lailankote.

Major Godwin-Austen states in his article on the subject that
114 the upright slabs *always* stand in threes, fives, sevens, etc. This
801 is a mistake; to have the number of stones unequal, with the
211 central slab the tallest, is perhaps the plan adopted in forty-nine monuments out of fifty; but among the vast variety of monuments

in these hills a dozen monuments on the binary type may soon be found in which there are two equal upright slabs in the middle, and the other stones placed symmetrically on each side of them.

7. There are three kinds of rock employed by the Khasis for stone monuments, viz.:—

a. The Cherra sandstones.
b. The Shillong sandstones.
c. The granite.

Small stones are conveyed considerable distances from the place of manufacture before they are set up—large stones are not—hence the material of the monuments is determined everywhere geologically.

a. The Cherra sandstones are tertiary and cretaceous rocks spread along the southern edge of the plateau and producing the ledges which mark its abrupt termination. In the great thickness of these sandstones are many beds in which the rock occurs in large sheets with very few joints, and well-adapted for working out large slabs therefrom. The sandstone is generally very hard, but not so hard but that the Khasis can work it with their own native-made iron tools.

There is a quarry, now in full work, about half-a-mile out of the old Cherra cantonment, upon the Mamloo path, where slabs may be seen in preparation. The slabs made from the Cherra sandstones, admitting of being worked, are generally hewn pretty fairly to a shape and smoothed before being set up. The ancient monuments are, however, often made of very rough slabs.

All the well-known monuments near the old Cherra station are made of these sandstones, as also the large monuments at Mamloo, Mausmai, and Lirinow. These three monuments all stand on sheets of Cherra sandstone and the stones were cut out of the rock hard by where they now stand. The stones quarried now outside the Cherra cantonment, being for transport, are none of great size.

The Khasis also work gigantic slabs of stone for bridges. Where the span is anything under twenty feet a single slab four or five feet wide and two feet thick is thrown across; piers of enormous blocks of sandstone are raised on each side, on which the slab may rest, if there is the remotest fear that the water can, in any flood, reach the under surface of the slab. As compared with such a bridge the Khasis regard the best efforts of the English engineers as mere makeshifts. The arch at Amwee figured by Dr. Hooker is Bengali work.

b. The Shillong sandstones extend over a large area of the northern portion of the plateau: they are often more argillaceous

10:Clarke U-3 (no date)1874 AR7 Khasi AR7

135 (sometimes slaty) than the Cherra sandstones, and are geologically ancient, probably being of palæozoic age, but containing no fossils. They are generally inclined at high angles and the beds are full of joints, and do not admit of large slabs being got out of them. I know of no monument of the first class made out of 211 Shillong rocks, but slabs of six feet high are very common. They are generally obtained by splitting out with wooden wedges and are not often finished with iron tools. The monuments on the Shillong sandstone area are therefore of a much rougher character than the Cherra monuments, the stones irregular in shape, and the stones that should correspond in size only corresponding very roughly. It is often very difficult to say whether these monuments are of the regular 3-5-7 stoned type or not, but they all are designed in general accord with the two great types of upright and horizontal slabs.

135 *c.* A large area, perhaps 1,000 square miles, of the Shillong plateau, is covered with scattered blocks of granite, varying in size up to masses as large as cottages: perhaps the Kollong rock itself (figured by Hooker) might be counted as the extreme size

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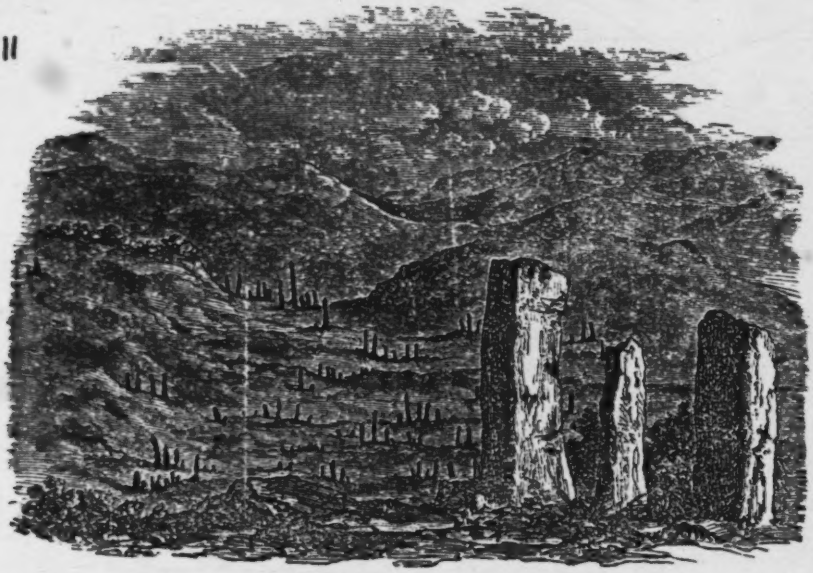


135 such blocks here reach. This granite area runs east and west through the centre (or somewhat through the northern half) of the plateau. It is of great width and continuity westward, becomes broken into isolated areas in the centre of the hills, and becomes very narrow in the Jaintea territory, finally dying out

10:Clarke U-3 (no date)1874 AR7 Khasi AR7

316 were all found within 200 yards of where they now stand, as may be inferred from the stray stone at about that distance from Stonehenge and not made use of: the small stones were probably brought a considerable distance from the greensand area in the north of the county.

316 483 8. In the setting up of these monuments the Khasis at the present day use only the simplest and most direct mechanical means. For transporting a big stone wooden rollers are placed beneath it and the stone is then drawn by a large number of men harnessed to it by rattan ropes. To set one of the slabs upright, one end is slipped into a hole dug 1-3 feet in the ground, while the other end is tugged by similar ropes. For putting one stone upon another, as in a horizontal slab monument, it is drawn up a sloping stage of bamboo, but if the slab be of great weight, a slope of earth must be constructed, up which it may be pulled. These are the present Khasi methods, and it is, of course, highly probable that similar resources were employed in ancient times. I add a more particular account of some of the larger monuments.

211 9. The monument on the Government main road, about six miles north of Cherra, not far from the village of Lirinow, stands on sheets of Cherra sandstone, out of which the slabs were cut. The tallest stones were about fifteen feet out of the ground. The five stones on the left-hand side (west) of the road were erected when I first visited the hills. The five stones on the right-hand side were erected about four years ago, the family to whom the monument belongs having determined on such an addition. The two portions form one indivisible monument, and exactly correspond, the stones being accurately worked and rounded. The two top-knots are seen in several other monuments, but must, I think, be held proof always of a very late date for their erection. At the Mausmai [531] monument a large rosette is carved on the face of the middle of the big central upright slab, which is also I presume modern work.

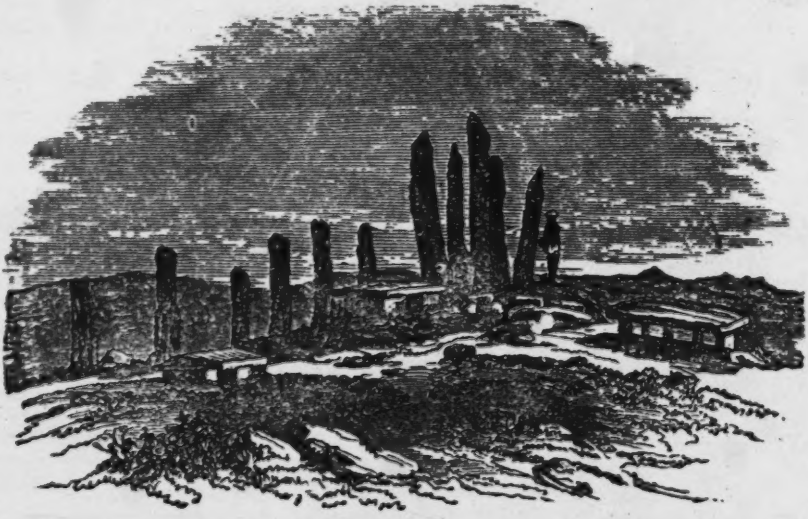
10. The monument at Mamloo village. This is, perhaps, the monument in all the hills which exhibits the largest slabs of Cherra sandstone. It stands on sheets of the same rock and there can be little doubt that the slabs were cut on the spot. It is of the (less usual) binary type.

11. The monuments at Rambrai in the west of Khasi-land. These consist of numerous horizontal and vertical slabs of no great size, the upright slabs being 4-8 feet out of the ground, but remarkable for their arrangement on a long open slope outside the village. The monuments stand all close together, collected as in a churchyard, so that it is not easy to separate

10: Clarke U-3 (no date)1874 AR7 Khasi AR7

out each monument. The upright slabs are placed mainly in ranks, the plane of each slab being parallel to a horizontal line of the sloping ground. The effect of the whole, at a little distance, is exactly that of a ruinous English church-yard. The upright and the flat slabs so exactly correspond to the two types of tombstone which were in almost universal use in England before the rise of modern ritualism, that the correspondence can hardly escape notice. It is improbable that this correspondence can be wholly accidental.

12. The monuments at Laitlankote. These are chiefly made out of a heap of granite blocks which occupy the level top of a small hill, and among them are the largest stones in the Khasai country. Some of the upright slabs are as much as 18 feet out of the ground, and the largest horizontal slab is stated by Colonel Raban, in his account, to be an irregular ellipse; major axis, 32 feet; minor axis, 15 feet; thickness, about 2 feet. It is one block of granite, and, like all the other stones here, is unhewn.



These Laitlankote monuments are collected on the level top of this hill, and (partly, perhaps, from the nature of the ground) they affect, more or less, a circular arrangement—the upright slabs being placed irregularly in arcs of circles on one side of the oval horizontal slabs. The slabs being of unhewn granite are necessarily oval and not quadrangular; but it should be remarked that, in marching from Cherra to Laitlankote, the monuments will be seen to pass quite gradually from the plane to the circular type.

At Laitlankote, the largest horizontal slab is granite: of the

10:Clarke U-3 (no date)1874 AR7 Khasi AR7

211 others, some are granite, some Shillong sandstone. Of the large upright slabs round the largest horizontal slab, half are granite, half (placed without method) are Shillong sandstone. And so with the other monuments on this hill. There is no general plan or system (so far as I can trace) in the arrangement of these monuments, as a whole.

It has been inferred from the gigantic size, circular arrangement, and rude workmanship of these Laitlankote monuments, that they are of extreme antiquity, probably the oldest in the hills. I see no sufficient grounds for such an assumption. The workmanship is no rougher than in other Khasi monuments made of granite and Shillong sandstone: the quasi-circular arrangement may be seen in hundreds of monuments: and as to the size of the stones, that proves to me, chiefly, that the Laitlankote monuments were erected when Laitlankote was a dominant and prosperous village. I do not say that the Laitlankote monuments may not be very old, but I should not be the least surprised if positive proof turned up that they had been erected within the last century.

13. The monuments at Nurtiung, figured by Dr. Hooker, and called by him, the "Nurtiung Stonehenge." Nurtiung is in the Jaintea territory, about ten miles east of the Khasi boundary. Dr. Hooker's picture is on a small scale, and gives little idea of the great extent of the Nurtiung monuments, which stand also more closely packed than I should have supposed from the picture.

This Nurtiung Stonehenge contains the largest stones of any monuments in the Shillong plateau; they are also remarkable for being of hewn granite, and further, they are not scattered about the hill tops, but placed within the sacred grove of the village, in a valley near a lake, so that they stand, mingled with large trees, in a manner which I have seen nowhere else in Khasiland.

One of the worked granite blocks is 27 feet high out of the ground, about 6 feet broad at the base, and 2½ feet thick, and is neatly shaped and dressed. This, I suppose to be the work of Bengali artizans, or of their Jaintea apprentices, possibly. There are other very large worked granite slabs; one now used as a bridge, but, perhaps, originally intended for a monument. The area at Nurtiung, thickly covered with monuments, is not less than an acre, and there are more scattered monuments around. The exciting cause for this Stonehenge is, that at Nurtiung there occurs an outlying cluster of granite blocks. None of the large stones at Nurtiung appear to have been moved many feet. The numerous monuments are all reducible to the two types of upright and horizontal slabs, as indicated in the picture of Dr. Hooker.

Until the English period, say up to 1828, it does not appear that the Hindoos penetrated much into the Khasi hills; but they did into the Jaintea hills, and I imagine that either themselves or their handicrafts reached as far as Nurtiung. There is a typical large monument of upright slabs at Jainteapore, the capital of the Jaintea plains.

14. The notes for the above account of the stone monuments of the Khasi hills were placed in the hands of Colonel McCulloch (late Governor-General's agent at Muneypoor), and I have availed myself of many suggestions which he has kindly given me in the present paper.

Discussion.

Major Godwin-Austen said, one of the most interesting points of Mr. Clarke's paper is the notice of the separation of the ashes of the men and women of a family, at certain intervals, into separate earthen pots. I may mention that the shape of the cysts is never the same in any one part of the Khasi hills; sometimes they are oblong and above ground, and sometimes they stand on a raised platform. On opening one, in a part of the country long since deserted, I found entire bones, calcined, and ornaments; these are now always taken off the body before cremation, but, evidently, in former times, were burnt with the dead. The distance the Khasis sometimes carry the monumental stones is considerable. I know of blocks of granite that have been taken into the sandstone area nearly four miles. The custom of setting up these stones is fast dying out, and some villages have given it up altogether. It is impossible to say what age some of the monoliths may be; all history of most of them is gone, and the present generation can give no account of them. The custom is one of great antiquity, I think, and there is no reason why some of the stones, now standing, may not be many hundred years old.

Mr. A. L. Lewis said, if he, as a visitor, might be allowed to make a few remarks, he would suggest that there was no reason whatever for connecting the monuments of the Khasis with those of Britain. Mr. Clarke had spoken of stones lying round Stonehenge as showing that the stones composing it had been gathered close at hand; but this was not so, as they had been brought from a distance of some miles, and there were no loose stones lying round Stonehenge, except those which had been placed there by design. That design was found running through all the British circles that he had seen; but it was certainly not found in the Khasi monuments. It was, however, found in the circles in southern India, figured by Colonel Forbes Leslie, which differed, therefore, from the Khasi monuments, and resembled those of Britain. He had pointed this out before the British Association as long ago as 1869, in a paper which would be found printed in full in the Journal of Anthropology, 1870, p. 286, and also in subsequent papers read before the Anthropological Society and Institute, and published in the proceedings.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

621 [Jatinga]

[175] This village was founded in 1905 by Khasi immigrants from the Jaintia Hills. At the entrance of the village, a bust of the founder, Lakhanbang Suchiang, [101] stands facing towards the east; it was erected on the occasion of the celebration [211] of their Golden jubilee, in November 1955. Houses are scattered along the [346] ridge of the moutain to the east and to the west; in the centre is the church. [171] All the inhabitants are Christians. Before the Partition this was one of the most modern and prosperous villages in Assam.

Jatinga provides a very interesting instance of the Khasi 'colonial' village. 101 It is surrounded by villages of the Kuki, of the Zemi-Naga, and of the Cacharee, 121 who constitute the main population of the North Cachar Hills, and who are tribes entirely different from the Khasi, in economy, social organization, language 621 and culture. Therefore, Jatinga is like an island of Khasi community. I took this village as one of my fields, because I was particularly interested to discover how far the Khasi matrilineal organization is kept up in a community thus situated, surrounded by patrilineal tribes, and considerably modernized by Christianization and economic prosperity; and I was also interested in the process of formation of a new village, in comparison with Rinsibara and Joshipara in the Garo Hills.

Formation of the Present Population of Jatinga.

The first immigrants to Jatinga.

101 The main population of Jatinga, including the founder, originated in Bataw 166 village in the Jaintia Hills, twelve miles away from Jaintiapur, the capital of the then Jaintia Rajas. This village is situated on the border of the Jaintia 175 Hills and the East Bengal plain, the location being very similar to that of Shella, as are their culture and economy. In the later part of the nineteenth 621 century, some members of Bataw village moved to Borkhala, ten miles from Silchar, one of the biggest villages of the then Cacharee king.

These immigrants who came to Borkhala stayed there about fifteen years before they came to Jatinga. Kloribon, the first daughter of the founder's sister was born there. In November 1905, some Christian Khasi left Borkhala for Jatinga, acting on information gathered from a Welsh Mission at Haflong, that the land of present Jatinga was fertile and fit for their cultivation. They 166 were the first immigrants to Jatinga. The Government record names the following three persons as the first immigrants to Jatinga: Suchiang Lakhanbang, 551 Tariang, and Suchen Munik. In fact, according to the data which I collected 614 at Jatinga, Suchiang Lakhanbang was accompanied by the following persons (the names in brackets indicate the clans):

621 his wife, Misibon (Phanwar),[1]
175 his brother, Pryntah, and Pryntah's wife, Sintu (Rupsi),
his sister, Laptho, and Laptho's husband, Munik (Suchen) with their daughter, Kloribon, and Munik's younger brother, Sain.
his friend, Tariang.

Soon after their settlement, Sain, the brother of Munik, brought his wife Tahin (Suiam) from Jaintia. Misibon brought her younger sister, Diasibon. Tariang who came with Lakhanbang afterwards called his wife, Palong. But having spent some time there, they left eventually for another place, so that

1. Misibon was a native of the Cherrapunjee area of the Khasi Hills (not of Jaintia like the others). She was a school teacher at Cherrapunjee, and later became a teacher at a school near Jaintiapur, where she married Lakhanbang.

18: Godwin-Austen G-3 (ca. 1872) 1875 AR7
Khasi AR7

[P. 37]

FURTHER NOTES *on the* RUDE STONE MONUMENTS *of the* KHASI HILL TRIBES. By Major H. H. GODWIN-AUSTEN, F.R.G.S., F.Z.S., &c., Deputy Superintendent Topographical Survey of India. [With Plates ii. and iii.]

HAVING again visited the Khasi Hills since writing my last paper, I am enabled to give some further details regarding their

18: Godwin-Austen G-3 (ca. 1872) 1875 AR7
Khasi AR7

21 rude stone monuments. At the village of Nougshai, near
[101] Shillong, are to be seen some very striking monoliths; and
[131] although they do not come up quite to the length of those at Nurtiang (noticed by Dr. Hooker in his "Himalayan Journals"), yet they are very worthy of being mentioned. They stand on
[133] the open spur just above the village, and have been worked out of the beds of the Shillong sandstone series, and some of the smaller blocks have been taken from the conglomerate beds, the lowest in the series, and which come in, in the bed of the ravine, to the north of the spur. There are a number of monuments on this site, large and small, arranged both in line and on two sides of a square; the two largest have their central monoliths—height, 24 ft. 3 in.; width, 5 ft. 6 in.; thickness, 8 in.; and height, 23 ft. 2 in.; width, 2 ft. 9 in.; thickness, 1 ft., respectively.

[126] Plate ii., which is taken from a photograph by Mr. William Robert, Assistant Surveyor in the Khasi Hills survey party, gives an excellent idea of the second largest structure, showing the very massive flat-stone, the "Mao Kynthai," in front. This structure consisted of thirteen upright stones, which could not all be brought into the field of the camera; but the six outside stones on the right are shown. Many of the slabs in the
175 adjacent monuments have been overthrown and broken quite
211 recently, perhaps by Sepoys and camp followers from the military station close by. At one time a mountain battery of Eurasian Artillery was quartered there, and I attribute the overthrow of so many of the stones in the neighbourhood to their handiwork, who would look on such amusement as a "great lark." The Sepoy (native of India) is not of a mischievous disposition; the European and half-European (uneducated) is markedly so. Thus the monument with the highest stone is imperfect, and it must, when perfect, have been a very handsome one. This is a sad pity, after the time and labour that must have been expended in its erection.

361 I did not observe any new slabs anywhere in the immediate
712 neighbourhood. Nougshai must formerly have been a large
[21] and powerful village; it stands on a naturally very strong position, and old lines of fortification are to be traced on many sides, especially on the approach from the direction of the Falls of the Umiam. These old lines of defence are on a curious system: a ditch and bank have been carried forward from the main defences from 200 to 300 yards down the ridge of the spurs, thus effectually preventing an enemy working round the hill sides below the villages.

174 This fortified site points to a state of things in these hills
712 when the relations between the large village communities or
628

18: Godwin-Austen G-3 (ca. 1872) 1875 AR7
Khasi AR7

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□26

I give a sketch of a form of cinerary meriting attention, and not hitherto noticed (Plate iii.). Several of this form may be seen on a low spur near the Bazar of Jeddo at Shillong. The cinerary is above ground, and stands on a slightly raised platform; it consists of four thick stones, about three feet high, set on edge, and capped with a heavy top-stone; and, so far, it resembles the usual form, a figure of which is given in my first paper.* The approach to all these depositories is from the eastward by several low steps, and the whole structure is enclosed on three sides by large flat slabs (in the rough) standing on end—the largest being placed round the cinerary itself, overtopping it by three to four feet, and the remainder, thence diminishing in size, stand on either side of the steps. There are about six such monuments along the ridge of the spur, and I have seen no others similar elsewhere. They have been broken into, and the front stone removed, very probably by camp followers from our regimental bazar, which is close by. There is thus a double probability of their ultimate destruction altogether, should the station be extended in that direction.

Explanation of Plates II. and III.

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Plate II.—View of megalithic monuments at Nougshai, near Shillong, Khasi Hills. From a photograph taken by Mr. W. Robert.

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Plate III.—View of rude stone cinerary and approach, at Shillong, Khasi Hills, with cairn in the distance: by the author.

Discussion.

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The President said that the paper of Lieut. de Crespigny, on the Milanows of Borneo, contained a great deal of extremely interesting information, especially in relation to their religious customs; the author, however, attempted to connect the Milanows with the inhabitants of Timor, through the similarity of their religious beliefs. He (the President) did not venture to express any opinion on this point, not having any grounds for forming one. He thought, however, that, as a general rule, evidence of identity of races, derived from the comparison of the religions of savages, must be received with caution, especially in the absence of any information as to physical resemblance. The attention that is devoted to religion arises from the interest that is taken in the subject, rather than from the value of the evidence it affords of connection with other peoples. There must always be a great liability to error in the accounts of the religious customs of savages. Inquiries into the resemblance of the arts of different people, about which there could be no mistake, were, he thought,

* Read May 1st, 1871.

18. Godwin-Austen G-3 (ca. 1872) 1875 AR 7
Khasi AR 7

[p. 40-A]

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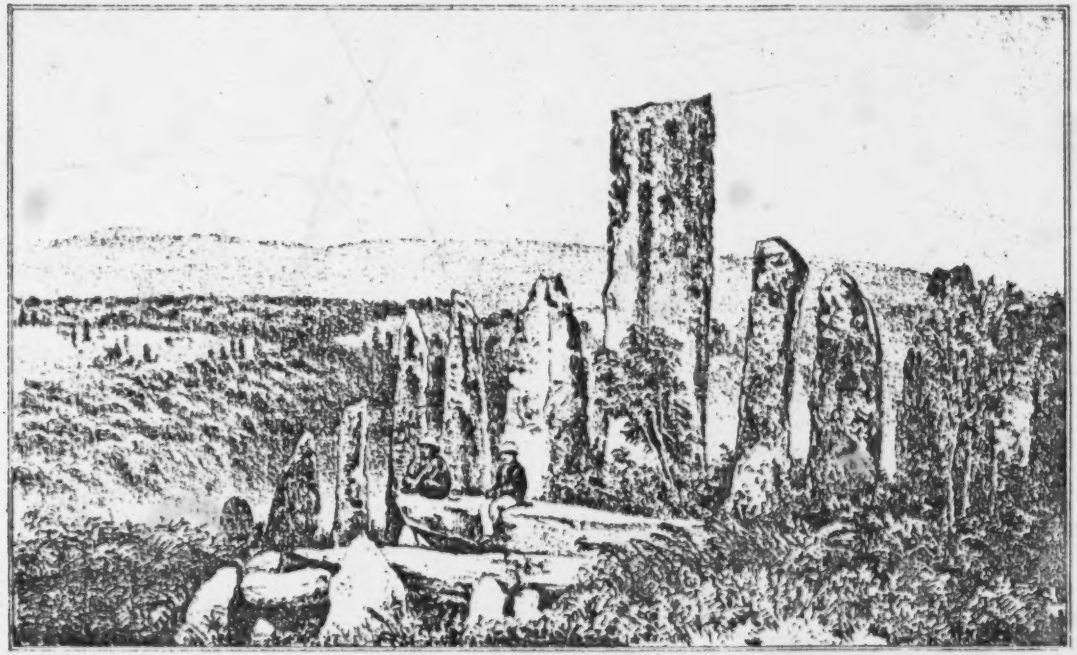

STONE MONUMENTS, NEAR SHILLONG, KHASI HILLS.

18: Godwin-Austen G-3 (ca. 1872) 1875 AR7
Khasi AR7

of more scientific value; and the vocabularies given by the author in this paper would, no doubt, be found of great use to comparative philologists. He hoped that the Institute would be favoured with some further information on the races of Borneo from Lieut. de Crespigny.

With regard to the paper by Major Godwin-Austen, he (the President) would say his communications were always welcome to the Institute. He wished that a more detailed account had been given of the intrenchment referred to. There appears to have been a great camp-building period in the life of most races, when neighbouring tribes were constantly at war, and each had its stronghold in case of attack. Such camps are conspicuous amongst the antiquities of nearly all parts of the world, and a comparison of the different sytems of defence adopted, when viewed by the knowledge of the art of castrametation which we possess, affords reliable evidence of psychic..l connections. In the early British camps of this country he had never seen any evidence of the use of flanking defence except at the entrances; but the description given by Major Austin of this earthwork appeared to indicate that something of the kind was known to these people.

1:Curdon E 1,5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

147 villages, such as Shella, Borpunji, Umniuh, and in Narpuh in
132 the Jaintia Hills.
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ORIGIN.

173 The origin of the Khasis is a very vexed question. Although it is probable that the Khasis have inhabited their present abode for at any rate a considerable period, there seems to be a fairly general belief amongst them that they originally came from elsewhere. The Rev. H. Roberts, in the introduction to his Khasi Grammar, states that "tradition, such as it is, connects them politically with the Burmese, to whose king they were up to a comparatively recent date rendering homage, by sending him an annual tribute in the shape of an axe, as an emblem merely of submission." Another tradition points out the north as the direction from which they migrated, and Sylhet as the terminus of their wanderings, from which they were ultimately driven back into their present hill fastnesses by a great flood, after a more or less peaceful occupation of that district. It was on the occasion of this great flood, the legend runs, that the Khasi lost the art of writing, the Khasi losing his book whilst he was swimming at the time of this flood, whereas the Bengali
[212] managed to preserve his. Owing to the Khasis having possessed no written character before the advent of the Welsh missionaries, there are no histories as is the case with the Ahoms of the Assam Valley, and therefore no record of their journeys.
114 Mr. Shadwell, the oldest living authority we have on the
173 Khasis, and one who has been in close touch with the people for more than half a century, mentions a tradition amongst them that they originally came into Assam from Burma *viâ* the Patkoi range, having followed the route of one of the Burmese invasions. Mr. Shadwell has heard them mention the name Patkoi as a hill they met with on their journey. All this sort of
144 thing is, however, inexpressibly vague. In the chapter dealing
173 with "Affinities" have been given some reasons for supposing that the Khasis and other tribes of the Mon-Anam family, originally occupied a large portion of the Indian continent. Where the actual cradle of the Mon-Anam race was, is as

5: Gurdon G-3 (no date) 1902 Art Inst Arch

764 As mentioned before, these stones are not gravestones, they are
769 shaped, both the vertical and the horizontal stones, remarkably like
211 the pictures of *menhirs* and *dolmens* that appear in Fergussons's work on rude stone monuments. It is a remarkable fact that Dalton mentions the existence of apparently very similar memorial stones in certain *Ho* and *Munda* villages in Chota Nagpur, and there is a drawing to be found at page 52 of Yule's Embassy to the Court of Ava of a cromlech which is apparently very like the cromlechs or *maukynthei* to be met with every day in these hills. It is most unfortunate that the
[212] Khasis, owing to their want of a written language in former days, possess no written accounts of these stones, and that the Khasis of the present day are so very vague in their ideas about them, for I am inclined to believe that the proper elucidation of this question of memorial stones may prove to be the key to the origin of these people. I therefore strongly advise that a very careful search be made for similar stones, such as I have described, in other parts of India. It is possible that the Khasis may have found monoliths erected by some prehistoric race when they arrived in the Khasi Hills, and they may have adopted the custom of erecting memorial stones by the force of example, but the use of such stones seems to fit in with the Khasi system of ancestor worship, and it is remarkable that the shapes of the stones should be so very similar to those which exist in England, Ireland and Brittany, and I believe also in Denmark and Scandinavia. Is the custom of erecting such memorial stones in any way connected with people practising the matriarchate? The whole subject is a deeply interesting one, and I hope that it may be possible to throw some light on it.

784 13. *Taboo.*—The Khasis have an elaborate system of *seng*, or taboo. There are very many different kinds of *seng*, but some of them are the following :—

Special taboo, at time of pregnancy.—(a) It is *seng* for a pregnant woman to accompany a funeral procession.

(*b*) It is *seng* for a woman in the first stage of pregnancy to finish any sewing which she may have commenced before she became *enceinte*. There is a similar prohibition regarding the finishing of the plaiting of wicker baskets.

(*c*) It is *seng* for the husband of a pregnant woman to thatch the ridge of the roof of a house at such a time.

(*d*) It is *seng* under similar circumstances to fix an axe or a *dao* in a handle.

Ordinary taboos.—(i) It is *seng* to build a house with stone walls on all four sides.

group of matrilineal and Mon-Khmer-speaking people 101
who claim as their ancestral homeland the present- 131
day United Khasi-Jaintia Hills District (within ap- 197
proximately 90° 47′ and 92° 52′ E. and 25° 5′ and
26° 5′ N.). This group includes the Jaintias (also 101
Pnar or Synteng) in the southeast, who differ from 184
the Khasis primarily in their duolocal residence pat- 162
tern and less virulent forms of sorcery. (The Hadem 563
in eastern Jaintia are a Kuki people.) It also includes
the Lyngngams (also spelled Lynngam) in the west, [59]
who practice migratory swidden agriculture and cer- [154]
tain peculiar funerary rites, and are said by Ehren- [24]
fels (1955) to be culturally intermediate between [764]
Khasis and Garos. Finally, it includes Bhois, Wars, [114]
and upland Khasis, which terms are primarily terri-
torial. Bhoi country is the north-central part of the
District, and is culturally complicated by the presence
of Mikirs, Lalungs, and Nepalis. War country spans [428]
the entire southern length of the District, so that
Wars divide into Jaintia Wars and Khasi Wars; of
these, the Khasi Wars have traditionally transmitted
property to sons as well as to daughters. The upland
center of the District is the country of the Khasis
proper, those whose culture provides the most useful
model for interpreting the variations found elsewhere.
[For general reference on all categories of Khasi cul- [113]
ture, cf. Costa 1936 and 1937; also Gurdon 1907,
especially for data on regional variations.] **Geography.** 133
The District is 5,554 square miles of hilly tableland, [131]
intricately dissected by numerous rivers, and marked
by significant ecological variation over very short
distances. The tablelands step gently downward north
from Shillong Peak, which at 6,445 feet is the highest
point in the District, and over about 55 miles ease
into the Brahmaputra valley where this is some 250
feet above sea level. To the south, the land slopes
more steeply downward for about 20 miles, and then
drops abruptly, in cliff and steep-slope formations,
to the Ganges sea-level delta that begins at its
north with Sylhet. The annual southwest mon- 132
soons drop torrential rains around Cherrapunji and
Mawryuram villages (for Cherrapunji, a record 805
inches in 1861), but then, reaching Shillong 33 miles
to the northeast, provide only about 100 inches per
year. Rainfall is again greater in Bhoi, which shares
the Brahmaputra valley climate. Climate is temperate
on the high Shillong plateau, where it seldom freezes
and never snows. To the north, climate becomes sub-
tropical, forest is jungly, and fauna abound. The cli-
mate to the south is also subtropical. [Cf. Hooker [113]
1891: chap. XXIX.] **Linguistic affiliation.** Khasi is 197
one of the major Mon-Khmer languages, related to
Mon, Khmer, Semang-Sakai, Nicobarese, and Pa-
laung-Wa. The major Khasi dialects are Khasi, Jain-
tia, and Lyngngam, to which Grierson adds War.
Further minor variations occur from village to village.
The Khasis had no script until 1842, when the roman [212]
alphabet was successfully applied to the Cherrapunji
dialect of Khasi proper. [Cf. Rabel 1961; Grierson [113]
1903-28: 2; Sareh 1962.]

19: Assam G-5 (1958) 1963 A87 Khasi A87

CHAPTER—X

Summary of main findings

125 10.1. Twenty-eight villages were selected for the purpose of the survey. Out of the 28 villages selected, 10 from Border area and 8 from Project area were selected purposively while the remaining 10 were selected at random from the entire district which is referred hereafter as general area.

166 Migration from big villages was rare but some migration was reported in respect of small villages.

164 Occurrence of Malaria, influenza and dysentery is a regular phenomenon in the area. Medical facilities were not found satisfactory and as much as 78 per cent of the villages have no dispensary within a radius of five miles. In regard to education, the facilities cannot also be said to be satisfactory for more than 60 per cent of the villages have a Lower Primary School. Transport facilities were are satisfactory and as much as 86 per cent of the villages still depend upon primitive mode of transport, namely head load. Combined with unsatisfactory form of transport, is the prevalence of unduly high cost of transport.

162 10.2. The number of the families covered by the survey was 1008 in the Border area, and 84y in the Project area and 184 in the General area. The average size of a village in the respective area is 1004, 809 and 804 families. In the Border and Project areas females out number males being respectively 1096 and 1002 females per 1,000 males as against 940 females per 1,000 males in the general area. Literacy is as high as 34 per cent in the border area and 31 per cent in the Project area but as low as 17 per cent in the general area. In all the areas literacy among females is very low.

162 The working population (earners and earning dependents) is as high as 33 per cent in the Border area, 34 per cent in the Project area and 33 per cent in the general area. While there were no cases of unemployment in the Project and General areas, 12 persons were reported unemployed from border area.

241 10.3. 21 per cent of the families in Border area are wholly agricultural, 38 per cent partly agricultural and 44 per cent independent of agriculture. The corresponding figures for the Project area are 63, 31 and 6 per cent respectively while for the General area they are 98 per cent, 29 per cent, 1 per cent respectively.

Predominantly agricultural families constitute 63, 98 and 80 per cent of the families in Border, Project and General areas respectively.

162 10.4. 31 per cent of the families in Border area, 38 per cent in Project area and 10 per cent in General area were absolutely without any land while 35 per cent, 31 per cent and 24 per cent of the families in the respective areas possessed small holding ranging from 0·01 to 2·50 acres representing 11.34 and 36 per cent of the total holding area in the respective areas. 34 per cent of the families in Border and Project areas and 41 in General area possessed medium sized holding (2 to less than 10 acres)

29: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

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sonal) or juxtapositions of roots which have not thereby suffered either abscrescence or abscription—that is to say, they are all, with a few exceptions, reducible to their constituent root words, which are still "current coin," and retain their power as independent vocables. The cases in which abscrescence and "fusion" of roots have taken place are confined to—(1) the noun prefix *jong*, expressing element ideas; (2) the verbal prefixes *kyn*, *kyn*, *kyn*, *syn*, *syn*, *syn*, *kyn*, *kyn*, *kyn*, *kyn*, *syn*, *syn*, expressing connexion, intermixture, and contrariety. The language is found purest at Chunā Punji. The Khāsās have no written character or literature of any kind of their own. Tradition says that all was lost while they were yet western of the plains, whence they were driven by a general catastrophe or deluge to their present fastnesses in the hills. The following works on the language have been published: *Khāsi Grammar*, *Anglo-Khāsi Dictionary*, *Khāsi Primer* (Parts I. and II., with Vocabulary),—all issued by the Calcutta School-Book Society; *Khāsi English Dictionary* (in preparation), and an *Anglo-Khāsi First Book*.

"Common-property Inheritance.—A Khāsiā, whether married or single, if he makes his mother's house his home, is said to be *ramong* for his *kur*, *i.e.* for his mother, or his brothers and sisters, or his mother's relatives. On his death his property goes to his mother, if living; if not, to the grandmother; if she is not living, then to his sisters; should his sisters also be dead, to his sisters' children. Should the deceased have left no sisters, the property goes to the brothers; should he have no brothers or should they be dead, the property descends to his aunts, or to their children if the aunts are not living; should the aunts have left no children, the property descends to the grandmother's or great-grandmother's sisters or children. The property of a female on her death goes to her mother, if the deceased have no children; or if the mother of the deceased is not living, the property goes to the brothers and sisters; if the sisters are dead, then their children become the heirs. If there are no such children, the property devolves as in the case of males. When a man is not living in his mother's house, but in that of his wife, he serves for his wife and children. On his death his property descends to his wife, with the exception of the ornaments and clothing worn by him during his lifetime, which go to the brothers and sisters or other relatives of the deceased. Should the deceased have been a widower, the property goes to his children, and in their absence

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

697 In addition, a total of Rs. 899 (£89, 18s.) was expended on jail buildings. The manufacturing account shows cash receipts amounting to Rs. 60, against an expenditure of Rs. 29, or a net profit of Rs. 31 (£3, 2s).

797 871 648 EDUCATIONAL STATISTICS.—The management of education in the Khási and Jáintiá Hills is entirely in the hands of the Welsh Calvinistic Mission, who first established themselves in the District about the year 1844. Though the Khásiás are naturally dull, and children are taken away from school before they have obtained more than a smattering of instruction, yet the perseverance of the missionaries has been rewarded by most satisfactory results. It is stated, in the Report of the Inspector of Schools for Assam for 1874-75, that 'a much larger proportion of the Khásiás know a little of reading, writing, and arithmetic than is the case, probably, in any other District of either Assam or Bengal.' [562] Female education, owing to the interest taken in this work by the wives of the missionaries, is also in a comparatively advanced condition. The missionary schools are largely subsidized by grants in aid from Government. The teaching is conducted in English and in Khási, the Roman character being used in both cases. [212]

The following paragraphs are compiled from the Education Report for 1874-75, above referred to. In that year the total number of schools open in the District was 73, attended by 1666 pupils. As compared with the area and the population, these figures show one school to every 84·34 square miles, and one pupil to every 85 inhabitants. As compared with the total number of males under ten years of age, the number of boys only attending school (1322) shows one scholar to every 13·1. The total expenditure on education in the same year was Rs. 17,722. 11. 3, or £1772, 5s. 5d.; towards which Government contributed Rs. 10,443. 2, fees and fines produced Rs. 218. 5. 3, while the remainder (Rs. 7051. 4) was expended by the Missionary Society from its own funds. The average cost of educating each pupil was Rs. 10. 10. 4, or £1, 1s. 3½d.

648 797 872 PRIMARY SCHOOLS.—With the exception of the schools at Cherrá Ñinji, Jowái, Shillong, and Sheliá, all the schools in the Hills may properly be classed as primary, though several are returned as middle vernacular schools. On this principle the total number of primary schools is 64, in 45 of which a little English is taught. These 64 schools had 1296 pupils on their rolls at the close of the year 1874-75, and an average daily attendance of 829, comparing

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

disfigured from the practice. Adults will chew as many as four or five betel-nuts a day, with the usual accompaniment of *pán* leaves. The estimated cost of maintaining an average family of the labouring class is about Rs. 8 or 16s. a month. 276 [434]

TOWNS: SHILLONG.—There are no towns in the usual acceptance of the word; but the chief places in the Hills, looked upon by the inhabitants as cities, are Shillong, Jowái, Cherrá Púnji, and Shellá. According to the Census of 1872, Shillong had only 1363 inhabitants, Cherrá Púnji 443, and Jowái 4502. Jowái, however, is a collection of rural hamlets, and the population of Shillong has entirely altered since the date of the Census. The latter place first became the Civil Station in 1864, in substitution for Cherrá Púnji; and when Assam was erected into an independent Province in 1874, it was selected as the permanent seat of the Local Government. The Chief-Commissioner resides there, and also the heads of all departments in the Administration. The area of the Station is 7 miles in length by 1½ to 1¾ miles in breadth. A considerable native population is already settled, and is increasing from day to day. One of the largest weekly markets is held in the *bázár*; and with a view to facilitate access to the Station, which is the sanitarium for the Province of Assam, a cart road has recently been completed to Gauhátí on the Brahmaputra, which will tend to make the place more and more important. An excellent water supply is introduced into Shillong through an aqueduct which has its source in the neighbouring hill streams, and sanitary measures are carefully enforced. Large sums of money have annually been expended on the erection of the public buildings necessary for the offices of the administration. A printing-press has been established, from which issue all the official documents and reports of the Province. The climate is excellent, the temperature being more equable than that of any other hill station in India, and therefore admirably suited to the constitution of Europeans. There is a church at Shillong, and a chaplain on the Bengal establishment officiates both there and at Gauhátí. The cantonments were occupied in 1875 by the 43d Regiment of Assam Light Infantry, with three outposts. The strength was 9 European officers, 16 native commissioned officers, 80 non-commissioned officers, 772 fighting men, and 58 paid camp followers and non-combatants; grand total, 935. The total cost, including contingencies, was Rs. 189,190, or £18,919.

632 632 648 [443] [743] [491] [365] [364] [344] [213] [132] [346] [712]

511 It is seen that the per family average annual expenditure is Rs.909·00 nP. in Border areas, Rs.1008 00 nP. in Project area and Rs.828·00 nP. in General area. The per family annual net income in the respective area being Rs.852·86 nP., Rs.988·84 nP, and Rs.949·51 nP. it follows that the budget of the average family is deficit in all the areas. [426] This deficit is usually made up either by restricting the consumption expenditure during the lean months of the agricultural year or by taking loans.

221 511 The field work of the survey was started during the month of February, *i.e.*, hardly after two months, of harvesting of winter paddy and during the harvesting period of cash crops like orange, betelnut, potatoes, etc. During this period people get money through the sale proceeds and naturally they [114] were tempted to spend comparatively higher amount on food. In fact, it was made clear during investigation that as lean months are approaching when people did not have money to purchase food articles, they used to lead a very austere life. This period is particularly very hard for the Border people because unlike people of other two areas they do not have even paddy in store. As the above figures of annual expenditure of a [128] family were calculated on the basis of information collected for one month [125] preceeding the date of investigation, in respect of food and non-food articles, and for one year in respect of miscellaneous items, there is every likelihood of the average per family expenditure on food and non-food articles being over-estimated.

128 511 As in the case of income, consumption of articles produced at home or at farm as well as those received out of the goods, services and gift and loan were valued in money terms on the basis of the local average retail prices in respect of the commodities concerned. Thus even firewood and other wild vegetables and fishes obtained by fishing were valued in terms of money. Of the total average expenditure on food, the food articles obtained in kind and consumed at home account for about 18 per cent in Border area, 53 per cent in Project area and 57 per cent in General area. Thus the share of food articles obtained in kind and consumed at home to the annual expenditure of a family is very low in Border area. This is natural because they depend almost exclusively on cash crop cultivation.

511 Out of the total expenditure, food account for about 68 per cent in Border area, 67 per cent in Project area and 73 per cent in General area. In all the areas cereals alone took the bulk of the expenditure on food, *i.e.*, 66 per cent, 75 per cent and 81 per cent in the respective areas

It is seen that expenditure on pulses, vegetables and milk are very low. In fact only a few of the Tribal villagers take pulses, milk and vegetables. Rice and fish or meat are the only items of the dishes of most of the villages.

Among non-food articles fuel and light accounted for 6 per cent in Border area, 5 per cent in Project area, and 5 per cent in General area. Khasis are heavy chewers of betelnut and this accounted for 5 per cent of total annual expenditure in border area, 4 per cent in Project area and about 3 per cent in General area while tobacco and tea in tea-stall accounted for about 5 per cent, 4 per cent and 4 per cent respectively of the total annual expenditure in the three areas. Expenditure on liquor

nure and chemical fertilizers. Both level land and hillsides are cultivated by the same hand techniques: 3 × 6-foot patches are fashioned with walkways between, sods are overturned within the patches and allowed to dry, the sods are burned slowly and the ashes spread over the soil, and finally the seed is sown, either broadcast or sunk with the aid of the typical Khasi hoe. The coldest part of the upland enjoys a two-crop year, and Khasis often double crop as well. Paddy has long been found in the lowlands, in parts of Jaintia and Bhoi, the only places where the plow is found. Nowadays paddy is more and more seen in the uplands, together with a simple terracing and irrigation technology. Many upland Khasis have house gardens in which they raise a wide variety of vegetables, including pumpkins, cabbage, radishes, sweet potatoes, eggplant, and many others. Important crops in Bhoi country are paddy rice, lac, caoutchouc, cotton, bananas, and pineapples; in War, they are betel nut, pan leaf, oranges, and sugar cane. **Fishing and hunting.** Fishing is done by poisoning streams, but this is a subsistence activity only in the southern foothills. Hunting was formerly by bow and arrow or by traps, including spring guns and pitfalls, but was always primarily a sport. [Cf. Stegmiller 1925.] **Gathering.** Khasis once gathered about 150 species of wild plants, most of them for food, but some for medicine. Thrifty villagers still gather food plants, but there is no real dependence on gathering. Medicinal plants continue to be very important. **Domestic animals.** Fowl, goats, pigs, and cattle are bred both for meat and sacrifice. Milk was formerly not utilized, but is now so popular that specialists keep herds of milch cows. Pigs are used as village scavengers, but some also receive prepared food. Cattle and goats forage freely in the fields during the winter, but are herded by a communally hired herdsboy during the agricultural season. Most households keep chickens, primarily for their eggs, and a few keep ducks. A few horses are also seen. Dogs are pariahs, except for hunting dogs. Cats are popular. **Food and stimulants.** The staple food of Khasis is boiled rice, together with the dried fish which is imported from Sylhet. Boiled beef, pork, and chicken are relished, but beyond the means of most. Meals are taken twice a day, in the morning and evening, although farmers also take a midday meal in the field, and others may take tea and cold sweet potatoes or rice bread. Certain foods are taboo to certain sibs. Stimulants are extremely common, especially betel nut, which is often accompanied by a bit of tobacco. Tobacco is also smoked as cigarettes and in hookah and other pipes. Every village has one or more household taverns, where distilled rice whisky is cooked and sold by the glass and by the bottle. Imported opium had spread widely in the malarious Bhoi country, but controls instituted in the 1940s have been fairly successful. All stimulants were once taken by men, women, and

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1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

the house of the *nongsiat*, where a *puja* is performed to some 224
local deity, before the flesh is distributed. At Shangpung, 782
when a tiger or a mithan is killed, the head is cut off, and is
carried in triumph to a hill in the neighbourhood where there [778]
is a *duwan*, or altar, at the foot of an oak tree (*dieng sning*). [776]
The head is displayed on the altar, and worship offered to
u 'lei lyngdoh, the God of the doloiship.

The Khasis make use of an ingenious species of spring gun 224
for killing game, the spring gun being laid alongside a deer 411
path in the jungle. A string stretched across the path, when touched, releases a bolt and spring, which latter impels a bamboo arrow with great force across the path. This spring gun is called *ka riam siat*. A pit-fall, with bamboo spikes at the bottom, is called *u 'liw lep*, and a trap of the pattern of the ordinary leopard trap is called *ka riam slung*. A noose attached to a long rope laid in a deer run is named *riam syrwiah*.

There is also *ka riam pap*, the principle of which is that an animal is attracted by a bait to walk on to a platform; the platform sinks under the weight of the animal, and a bolt is released which brings down a heavy roof from above weighted with stones, which crush the animal to death.

There are several means employed in snaring birds; one of 223
the most common is to smear pieces of bamboo with the gum 411
of the jack-tree, the former being tied to the branches of some wild fruit tree, upon which, when the fruit is ripe, the birds light and are caught by the bird lime. This is called *ka riam thit*. Another is a kind of spring bow made of bamboo which is laid on the ground in marshy places, such as are frequented by snipe and woodcock. This form of snare is unfortunately most common. A third is a cage into which birds are lured by means of a bait, the cage being hidden in the grass, and the entrance being so contrived that the birds can hop in but not out again. This is called *ka riam sim*.

FISHING.

Although there are some Khasis who fish with rod and line, 226
it may be said that the national method of fishing is to poison

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

231 about Rs. 30. The price of lac has risen a good deal of late
435 years. Formerly the price was about Rs. 15 to Rs. 20 a maund. The lac trade in the Jaintia Hills and in the southern portion of the Khyrim State is a valuable one. The profits, how-
426 ever, go largely to middle-men, who in the Jaintia Hills are Syntengs from Jowai, who give out advances to the Bhoi cultivators on the condition that they will be repaid in lac.
443 The Marwari merchants from the plains attend all the plains
439 markets which are frequented by the hill-men, and buy up the lac and export it to Calcutta. The whole of the lac is of the kind known as stick lac.

HUNTING.

224 The weapons used by the Khasis for hunting are bows and
[411] arrows, the latter with barbed iron heads, and spears which are used both for casting and thrusting. Before proceeding on a
[787] hunting expedition the hunters break eggs, in order to ascertain whether they will be successful or not, and to which jungle
[176] they should proceed. Offerings are also made to certain village deities, e.g. *U. Ryngkew*, *u Basa*, and *u Basa ki mrád*. A lucky day having been selected and the deities propitiated, the hunters start with a number of dogs trained to the chase, the latter being held on leashes by a party of men called *ki nong-ai-ksew*. When the dogs have picked up the scent some hunters are placed as "stops" (*ki ktem*), at points of vantage in the jungle, and the drive commences with loud shouts from the hunters, the same being continued until the object of the chase breaks into the open. The man who draws the first blood is called *u nongsiat*, and the second man who scores a hit *u nongban*. These two men get larger shares of the flesh than the others. The *nongsiat* obtains the lower half of the body of the animal, thighs and feet excepted, called *ka tdong*, and the *nongban* one of the forequarters called *ka tabla*. The other hunters obtain a string of flesh each, and each hound gets a string of flesh to itself. These hunting parties pursue deer sometimes for many miles, and are indefatigable in the chase,
224 the latter lasting occasionally more than one day. In the
782 Jaintia Hills, at the end of the chase, the quarry is carried to

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the house of the *nongsiat*, where a *puja* is performed to some 224
local deity, before the flesh is distributed. At Shangpung, 782
when a tiger or a mithan is killed, the head is cut off, and is
carried in triumph to a hill in the neighbourhood where there [778]
is a *duwan*, or altar, at the foot of an oak tree (*dieng sning*). [776]
The head is displayed on the altar, and worship offered to
u 'lei lyngdoh, the God of the doloiship.

The Khasis make use of an ingenious species of spring gun 224
for killing game, the spring gun being laid alongside a deer 411
path in the jungle. A string stretched across the path, when touched, releases a bolt and spring, which latter impels a bamboo arrow with great force across the path. This spring gun is called *ka riam siat*. A pit-fall, with bamboo spikes at the bottom, is called *u 'liw lep*, and a trap of the pattern of the ordinary leopard trap is called *ka riam slung*. A noose attached to a long rope laid in a deer run is named *riam syrwiah*.

There is also *ka riam pap*, the principle of which is that an animal is attracted by a bait to walk on to a platform; the platform sinks under the weight of the animal, and a bolt is released which brings down a heavy roof from above weighted with stones, which crush the animal to death.

There are several means employed in snaring birds; one of 223
the most common is to smear pieces of bamboo with the gum 411
of the jack-tree, the former being tied to the branches of some wild fruit tree, upon which, when the fruit is ripe, the birds light and are caught by the bird lime. This is called *ka riam thit*. Another is a kind of spring bow made of bamboo which is laid on the ground in marshy places, such as are frequented by snipe and woodcock. This form of snare is unfortunately most common. A third is a cage into which birds are lured by means of a bait, the cage being hidden in the grass, and the entrance being so contrived that the birds can hop in but not out again. This is called *ka riam sim*.

FISHING.

Although there are some Khasis who fish with rod and line, 226
it may be said that the national method of fishing is to poison

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quilt, made out of the bark of a tree, which is beaten 352
out and then carefully woven, several layers of flattened 513
bark being used before the right thickness is attained. 287
This quilt is called by the Lynngams "*Ka syllar*" (Garo *simpak*).
Food is cooked in earthen pots, but no plates are used, the broad 252
leaves of the *mariang* tree taking their place. The leaves are 415
thrown away after use, a fresh supply being required for each meal.

The Lynngams brew rice beer, they do not distil spirit; the 274
beer is brewed according to the Khasi method. Games they have 526
none, and there are no jovial archery meetings like those of the Khasis. The Lynngam methods of hunting are setting spring 224
guns and digging pitfalls for game. The people say that now the Government and the Siem of Nongstoin have prohibited both of these methods of destroying game, they no longer employ them. But I came across a pitfall for deer not long ago in the neighbourhood of a village in the Lynngam country. The people declared it to be a very old one; but this I very much doubt, and I fear that these objectionable methods of hunting are still used. The Lynngams fish to a 226
small extent with nets, but their idea of fishing, *par excellence*, is poisoning the streams, an account of which has already been given in this monograph. The Lynngams are omnivorous 262
feeders, they may be said to eat everything except dogs, snakes, the *hulok* monkey, and lizards. They like rice, when they can get it; for sometimes the out-turn of their fields does not last them more than a few months. They then have to fall back on Jobstears and millet. They eat arums largely, and for vegetables they cook wild plantains and the young shoots of bamboos and cane plants. The Lynngams are divided up into 614
exogamous clans in the same manner as the Khasis. The clans 773
are overgrown families. The Lynngams have some stories regarding the founders of these clans, of which the following is a specimen:—"A woman was asleep under a *sohbar* tree in the jungle, a flower from which fell on her, and she conceived and bore a female child who was the ancestress of the Nongsohbar clan." Some of the stories of the origins of other clans do not bear repeating. There do not appear to be any 582
hypergamous groups. As with the Khasis, it is a deadly sin to 614

won the money in the archery contest and now 527
we should have a big feast. It is full moon
now and much more beautiful during the night
than the day. Oh, we are just having a
good time." At once he swung his bunches
of leaves and hopped away. The women take
care of stirring the cooking pots. They are
not choosy about the spoon. A bamboo,
which a tired dancer might have just thrown
away, is quite adequate for this purpose.
When everything is ready, the people sit down
in groups and eat the meat. Rice brandy is
handed around. When the archers and other
guests at the festival are more than sated and
exhausted from all the dancing, they leave
the place towards morning.

It should be pointed out that contrary [262]
to their usual customs the Khasi eat no rice
at the great feast after the archery competition
but only meat, with which brandy is drunk.
There is a good deal of overindulgence in
food and drink on this occasion. (32)

32. P.F. Stegmiller, "Das Fest nach dem Pfeilschiessen" /The Feast after the Archery Contest/, Salvatoranische Mitteilungen /Salvatorian Communications/, 1910, No. 3.

4. Hunting Customs

Although there are all sorts of wild 224
animals in the Khasi hills and Jaintia hills 136
that can be hunted -- flying foxes which visit
the orange gardens during the night, jackals,
which annoy the villages with their howling,
antelopes, does, deer and wild pigs which
damage the rice fields, wild dogs, wolves,

224 bears, leopards and tigers, which seize their
136 prey not merely among the goats and calves, but also among the grown cattle, and at times are even dangerous to man; although there are lots of tasty birds -- quails, partridges, lapwings, coots and wild geese -- in spite of all this the Khasi are not actually hunters. Only when an opportunity either presents itself to catch such birds, or when a wild animal has shown itself or even caused damage in the village, then the Khasi go hunting. Exceptions occur. The Khasi who use bows and arrows from childhood on, who practise shooting conscientiously, dare to hunt bears, leopards, and tigers. [621] Today they often have guns for this purpose, but bown and arrows are always taken along.

224 When a lucky day has been determined upon
187 by egg throwing, (33) and often the hunting area

33. Dr. P.C. Becker, "Das Eierwerfen der Khasi" [Egg Throwing Among the Khasi], Anthropos, 1917-1918, pp. 494 ff.

is often determined in this way, the Khasi set
224 out with a pack of hounds. As soon as the dogs have come upon the scent of the wild animal, the Khasi begin driving it with howlings and noise. The first shooter is lucky (called u nongsiat by the Khasi) because he gets the lion's share of the prey. Whoever is the second one to hit the animal (called u nongban by the Khasi) also receives special consideration. The other shooters divide the rest of the slain animal among themselves after the hunting dogs have each been given a piece. The Khasi are very persevering on the hunt and do not bother about the time or the distance. For the efforts expended on the hunt are richly rewarded by the

triumphal procession with the slain beast through the home village. 224

A litter is prepared outside of the village of firm bamboo and decorated with palm leaves and other tree branches. In the middle of the litter a strong frame of bamboo is set up so that the spoil of the hunt (gazelle, antelope, bear, tiger, leopard, etc.) is placed on it belly down. The feet hang down stretched out. The head is held high by a forked branch, and a bunch of grass is placed in the animal's open mouth. The slain animal thus has an appearance of being alive. Arrow and bow are placed on the bier to the left and right of the animal. If the animal has been killed by a bullet, the Khasi carry the guns in their hands; if it was hit by an arrow, the first arrow which wounded it is placed in front on the bier before the animal. Then eight men lift the decorated bier with the slain animal on their shoulders and they all go towards the village with great ceremony. Blank shots announce the approach of the triumphal procession. The Khasi come from all sides. The hunters are congratulated, and all rejoice in the booty. Everybody watches the parade with pleasure. Some bring fresh rice brandy in bamboo pipes as thick as an arm; others bring betel nuts and water pipes. All this as well as other refreshments are offered the hunters. The crowd surges around the bier, and after the slain animal has been thoroughly discussed, the procession begins.

224 224 483 224

The village boys run noisily ahead. Beaters and hunters follow. Then comes the bier carried by eight men. To the left and right go the women and girls of the village, swinging branches and bunches of leaves. Shouts of joy resound. Several hundred people

224 have gathered and go either behind the bier or sit down on the edge of the road to be spectators. There is not much difference because the parade goes so slowly that it is hard to see if it is moving at all. The triumphal parade takes a full four hours to go a distance of about 800 to 900 meters. [622] Although the Khasi are never in a hurry, in this case they are the
224 slowest ever. But there is something ceremonial
533 in this and when the solo singer (the nongphawar) raises his voice in extemporaneous song, to celebrate the dead animal when the crowd answers rejoicing and shouting, assuring the singer again and again that he is doing it well and thus spurring him on to new verses, when blank cartridges are shot off and the spectators are lit up brightly by torchlight, milling around in their colorful costumes, when the rice brandy has done its share, then the climax is reached!

The solo singer goes in front of the bier,[1] but with his face always turned towards it. Gesticulating violently with his hands, he bows now to the left, now to the right; he bends his upper body now forwards, now backwards. Jumping in the air from time to time, he only shows signs of joy and praise. According to his whim and invention he sings about the animal. The crowd joins in the improvised refrain, which is sometimes a repetition of the solo song, sometimes a shout of applause.

533 The solo singer sings approximately: (34)

34. P.D. Daunderer, "Khasi-Sitten" [Khasi Customs], Missionär [Missionary] 1905, pp. 179 ff.

Solo singer: "Hey! strong mother of bears, hungrilly thou eatest thine own children!"

7 [carrying the hunters' prey-- Analyst]

533 S. : "Thou fledst into the thicket! Did that help thee?
Shyly thou retreated before the brave crowd of hunters!"
All: "Ha, ha, ho, huh!"
S. : "Quickly indeed thou retreated; quickly the pursuers pressed after thee and arrow and bow brought thee low!"
All: "Ha, ha, ho, huh!"
S. : "O mistress! Why didst thou come hither? Thou gavest thyself over to death and destruction — but we rejoice and celebrate and exult!"

Thus it continues for a long time. When one person has sung until he is hoarse, another takes his place and continues the song.

224 Exhausted from the exertions of the hunt, exhausted from the activity of the parade home, hoarse from shouting and screaming, heated from the enjoyment of brandy, the crowd drags itself to the house of the hunter who placed the first arrow or shot in the wild animal. Sacrifice is made there to the village god and the slain animal is divided up. The first shooter (u nongsiat) receives the hind quarters, the second shooter (u nongban) the front quarters of the animal.

In the Jaintia Hills the Synteng go to a hill in the neighborhood of the village when they have hunted and killed a tiger or a leopard. An altar is set up there under an oak tree and the head of the animal, which has been severed from its body, is placed on it and sacrificed to the u'lei lyngdoh (the god of the Dolloi district).

782 224

411 998 Arrow and bow are not only necessary weapons to the Khasi for hunting or pleasant sporting equipment for archery contests; Arrow and bow are also holy to him in a certain

ture and chemical fertilizers. Both level land and 241
hillsides are cultivated by the same hand techniques: 3 × 6-foot patches are fashioned with walkways between, sods are overturned within the patches and allowed to dry, the sods are burned slowly and the ashes spread over the soil, and finally the seed is sown, either broadcast or sunk with the aid of the typical Khasi hoe. The coldest part of the upland enjoys a two-crop year, and Khasis often double crop as well. Paddy has long been found in the 243
lowlands, in parts of Jaintia and Bhoi, the only 184
places where the plow is found. Nowadays paddy is 178
more and more seen in the uplands, together with a simple terracing and irrigation technology. Many 244
upland Khasis have house gardens in which they raise a wide variety of vegetables, including pumpkins, cabbage, radishes, sweet potatoes, eggplant, and many others. Important crops in Bhoi country 241
are paddy rice, lac, caoutchouc, cotton, bananas, and 184
pineapples, in War, they are betel nut, pan leaf, oranges, and sugar cane. **Fishing and hunting.** Fishing is done by poisoning streams, but this is a sub- 226
sistence activity only in the southern foothills. Hunting was formerly by bow and arrow or by traps, 224
including spring guns and pitfalls, but was always primarily a sport. [Cf. Stegmiller 1925.] **Gathering.** 222
Khasis once gathered about 150 species of wild plants, most of them for food, but some for medicine. Thrifty villagers still gather food plants, but there is [278]
no real dependence on gathering. Medicinal plants continue to be very important. **Domestic animals.** 231
Fowl, goats, pigs, and cattle are bred both for meat and sacrifice. Milk was formerly not utilized, but is [234]
now so popular that specialists keep herds of milch cows. Pigs are used as village scavengers, but some also receive prepared food. Cattle and goats forage [233]
freely in the fields during the winter, but are herded by a communally hired herdsboy during the agri- [235]
cultural season. Most households keep chickens, primarily for their eggs, and a few keep ducks. A few horses are also seen. Dogs are pariahs, except for hunting dogs. Cats are popular. **Food and stimulants.** 262
The staple food of Khasis is boiled rice, together with the dried fish which is imported from Sylhet. Boiled beef, pork, and chicken are relished, but beyond the means of most. Meals are taken twice a day, in the 264
morning and evening, although farmers also take a midday meal in the field, and others may take tea and cold sweet potatoes or rice bread. Certain foods 262
are taboo to certain sibs. Stimulants are extremely 184
common, especially betel nut, which is often accompanied by a bit of tobacco. Tobacco is also 276
smoked as cigarettes and in hookah and other pipes. Every village has one or more household taverns, 273
where distilled rice whisky is cooked and sold by the glass and by the bottle. Imported opium had spread 275
widely in the malarious Bhoi country, but controls instituted in the 1940s have been fairly successful. 276
All stimulants were once taken by men, women, and 177

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249 648 65 at Dirjiling, who reported unfavourably on them. They have since been made over to the State of Hangkim, who is responsible for their being kept clear of weeds and protected against fire. Up to the close of 1893-94 the total expenditure had been Rs. 670, or £45, 4s. 6d.

136 Game Nature.—Tigers, elephants, rhinoceros, buffaloes, antlered or wild cows, bears, leopards, wolves, jackals, foxes, wild hog, and several kinds of deer abound in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills. The expense of keeping down tigers in the shape of Government rewards amounted to £44, 10s. 6d. in 1869-70. The rate of reward now paid is Rs. 25 or £2, 10s. 6d. per head. No reward has ever been given for the destruction of venomous serpents. The number of deaths from wild beasts and snake-bite reported to the police amounted to 28 in 1866-67, 18 in 1867-68, 16 in 1868-69, and 26 in 1869-70. The small game found in the Hills consists of black partridges, hill partridges, quails, ducks, teal, snipe, and woodcocks. The *mahsir* fish is caught in the rivers. No regular trade is carried on in the skins of wild animals; and, except in the case of wild elephants, the *few* antlers are not made to contribute towards the wealth of the people.

224 648 651 Elephants.—Wild elephants are found in the lower ranges of the hills, and in the gorges opening on the valleys of the Surma and the Brahmaputra. Each State in the Khasi Hills and each dolloi-ship in the Jaintia Hills constitutes a separate hunting circle or *mahal*. In the Khasi States the conditions of elephant hunting are governed by rules framed in 1874-75 by the Chief Commissioner, and approved by the Government of India. These rules provide, (1) that the British Government will make no claim to royalty on account of elephants caught in the Khasi Hills; (2) that one half of the proceeds of the sale of each elephant caught shall be paid over to the chief whose State forms the *mahal*, and the other half retained by Government; (3) that if a chief wishes to hunt elephants on his own account, the *mahal* composed of his State shall be reserved from sale, and a special arrangement shall be made with him on the basis that half the proceeds of the hunting shall accrue to Government. A special form of hunting licence in accordance with these rules has been settled by the Chief Commissioner. In the Jaintia Hills, as being British territory, the ordinary Assam rules are in force, in accordance with which leases of the *mahals* are sold at intervals of two years to the highest bidder or

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public caution. The Assam rules, as revised in 1875-76, reserve to Government the right of pre-emption at the price of Rs. 600 (£60) in the case of every elephant captured between 8 feet and 11 feet in height. For every elephant caught that is not purchased by Government, a royalty of Rs. 100 (£10) is payable within one month after capture. Certain methods of hunting are prohibited.

Population.—Prior to 1872 no attempt had been made at a Census of the Khási and Jaintia Hills, but in 1872 the Deputy-Commissioner approximately estimated the population at 116,923 souls. In 1874, at the time of the Bengal Census, operations were set on foot in these Hills, but on a less elaborate system than in Regulation Districts. In the Khási Hills, the Census of the various petty States was effected through the chiefs; in British territory in the Jaintia Hills, the *dalbeis* conducted the enumeration; while at Shillong and other places under direct administration, the work was done by officers attached to the Deputy-Commissioner's office. The results are thus returned:—Adults—males, 39,882; and females, 22,178: total adults, 62,060. Children under twelve years of age—males, 18,611; and females, 18,547: total children, 37,158. Total males, 58,493; total females, 53,725. Grand total, 121,878; proportion of males, 48·36 per cent. The total area of the District, according to the latest returns, is 6,133 square miles, which gives an average density of 19 persons per square mile. The number of villages is 1003; the number of houses, 30,332, of which 330 are returned as of the better sort.

Religion.—Divisions of the People.—The population consists almost exclusively of aborigines, tribes and races, viz. Khásis and Synengs (who form the bulk of the inhabitants of the Khási and Jaintia Hills respectively), Whites, Garos, and Kukis. The only other dwellers in the Hills are the European officials and military officers at Shillong and Chaná Pánji, with their native servants and followers, a few Bengáli officials, and the sepoys of a regiment of native infantry. The classification of the inhabitants according to religion shows:—121,183 aborigines; 365 Hindus; 60 Mahommedans; and 128 Christians, including 22 Europeans, 8 Eurasians, and 83 native converts.

Tribal Religion.—The following sketch of the physical characteristics and customs of the Khásis has been kindly furnished to me by the Deputy-Commissioner, Colonel Rice; it is reproduced almost verbatim from his report and on his authority:—

the house of the *nongsiat*, where a *puja* is performed to some local deity, before the flesh is distributed. At Shangpung, when a tiger or a mithan is killed, the head is cut off, and is carried in triumph to a hill in the neighbourhood where there is a *duwan*, or altar, at the foot of an oak tree (*dieng sning*). The head is displayed on the altar, and worship offered to *u 'lei lyngdoh*, the God of the doloiship.

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FISHING.

Although there are some Khasis who fish with rod and line, it may be said that the national method of fishing is to poison

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226 the streams. Khasis, except the Wárs and the people of Shella, unlike the Assamese and Bengalis, do not fish with nets, nor do they use the bamboo-work device known by the Assamese as *pala* (পল) and *jakai* (জকাই). The method of fish-poisoning of the Khasis is the same as that described by Soppitt in his account of the tribes inhabiting North Cachar. The following is a description of how Khasis poison fish in the western portion of the district; it may be taken as a sample of the whole. A [824] large quantity of the bark of the tree *ka mynta* and the creeper *u khariew* is first brought to the river-side to a place on the stream a little above the pool which it is proposed to poison, where it is thoroughly beaten with sticks till the juice exudes and flows into the water, the juice being of a milky white colour. In a few minutes the fish begin to rise and splash about, and, becoming stupefied, allow themselves to be caught in the shallows. If the beating of the bark has been well carried out, many of the fish soon die and after a time float on the surface of the water. A large number of Khasis stand on the banks armed with bamboo scoops shaped like small landing nets, to catch the fish, and fish traps (*ki khowar*) Assamese *khokái* (খোকা) are laid between the stones in the rapids to secure [824] any fish that may escape the fishing party. Another fish poison is the berry *u soh lew*, the juice of which is beaten out in the same manner as described above.

226 Soppitt says, certain fish do not appear to be susceptible to 136 the poison, and not nearly the destruction takes place that is popularly supposed. The mahseer and the carp family generally do not suffer much, whereas, on the other hand, the river shark, the *bagh mas* of the Bengalis, is killed in large numbers. It is impossible, however, in the opinion of the writer, that the mahseer fry, which abound in these hill rivers in the spring and early summer months, can escape being destroyed in great numbers when the streams are frequently poisoned. In the neighbourhood of lime quarries and other large works where dynamite is used for blasting, this explosive is sometimes 226 employed for killing fish. The practice, however, has been strictly prohibited, and there have been some cases in which the offenders have been punished in the courts. Fish-poisoning is bad enough, but dynamiting is still worse, as with an effective

cartridge all the fish within a certain area are killed, none escape. When poisons are used, however, some fish are not affected by them, and others are only stupefied for the time being and afterwards recover. 226

FOOD.

The Khasi and Syntengs ordinarily take two meals a day, one in the early morning and the other in the evening, but labourers and others who have to work hard in the open take a midday meal as well, consisting of cold boiled rice wrapped in a leaf (*ka já-song*), cakes (*ki kpu*) and a tuberous root (*u solphlang*) which is eaten raw. They are fond of all kinds of meat, especially pork and beef, although some of the Syntengs, owing to Hindu influence, abstain from eating the latter. Unlike the neighbouring Naga, Garo and Kuki tribes, the Khasis abstain from the flesh of the dog. Both Bivar and Shadwell say the reason why the Khasis do not eat the flesh of the dog is because he is in a certain sense a sacred animal amongst them. There is a Khasi folk-tale relating how the dog came to be regarded as the friend of man. It is, however, quite possible that the Khasis may never have eaten the flesh of the dog from remote times, and it is nothing extraordinary that the Khasis should differ in a detail of diet from the neighbouring Thibeto-Burman tribes which are so dissimilar to them in many respects. The Khasis, except some of the Christian community and some of the people of the Mawkhar, do not use milk, butter, or ghee as articles of food. In this respect they do not differ from the Kacharis and Rabhas of the plains or the Garos of the hills. The Mongolian race in its millions as a rule does not use milk for food, although the Tibetans and some of the Turcoman tribes are exceptions. Before fowls or animals are killed for food, prayers must be said, and rice sprinkled on the body of the animal. The staple food of the Khasis is rice and dried fish. When rice cannot be obtained or is scarce, millet or Job's tears are used instead. The latter are boiled, and a sort of porridge is obtained, which is eaten either hot or cold according to fancy. Khasis eat the flesh of nearly all wild animals, they

264 262 262 825 262 [782]

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WORSHIP OF NATURAL FORCES AND OF DEITIES.

133 In the Khasi Hills, especially on the southern side, there are numerous rivers, sometimes of considerable size, which find their way to the Sylhet plains through very deep valleys, the rivers flowing through narrow channels flanked by beetling cliffs which rise to considerable altitudes. The scenery in the neighbourhood of these beautiful rivers is of the most romantic description, and the traveller might imagine himself in Switzerland were it not for the absence of the snowy ranges. Of such a description is the scenery on the banks of the river Kenchi-
823 yong, the Jádukátá * or Punatit of the plains. It is in the bed
776 of the river, a few miles below Rilang, that there is the
782 curiously-arched cavity in the rock which resembles an upturned boat, which the Khasis call *Ka lieng blei* (the god's boat), and the plains people Bashanya's ship. Near to this, on the opposite side of the river, there is a rock bearing a Persian inscription, but so defaced by the action of the water as to be impossible to decipher. Like other inhabitants of mountainous countries, the Khasis reverence the spirits of fell and fall, and
226 propitiate them with offerings at stated times. A brief descrip-
782 tion of the ceremonies which are performed at Rilang, on the
776 occasion when the annual fishing in the river Punatit takes
787 place, may be of interest. The three Siems of Nongstoin, Langrin, and Nobosohpoh each sacrifice a goat to *Ka blei sam um* (the goddess of the river) before the boatmen can cast in their nets. In former times they say the passage up the river was obstructed by the goddess, who took the form of an immense crocodile: but she was propitiated by the gift of a goat, and the boatmen were then allowed to pass up the river in their boats. Hence it became necessary for the owners of the fishery to sacrifice annually a goat each to the goddess. At the time of my visit each Siem's party erected an altar in the bed of the river, in the midst of which a bough of the Khasi oak (*dieng sning*) was planted. The goats were then decapitated, it being considered an essential that the head

* Lit.: Cut by magic.

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should be severed with one blow. As soon as the head was cut off there was a rush on the part of the sacrificers to see in which direction the head faced. If the head faced towards the north or west, it was considered an evil omen; if it faced towards the south or east, a good omen. The east is a lucky quarter amongst the Assamese also. The people ended up the proceedings by giving a long-drawn-out, deep-toned chant, or *kynhoi*. Immediately after the ceremony was concluded hundreds of boats shot out from the numerous creeks, where they had been lying, and fished the river all night, the result being an immense haul, to the delight of the Lynngams, who were seen next morning roasting the fish whole on bamboo stakes, after which they consumed them, the entrails being eaten with great gusto. Such is the worship of the goddess of the Punatit.

Similar pujas take place among the people of Wár-ding (the valley of fire) before they fish in the Khai-mara river and elsewhere in the Khasi Hills. In the Jaintia Hills there is the Synteng-worship of the Kopili river, which used to be accompanied by human sacrifices, as has been mentioned above, pp. 102-104. The Myntang river, a tributary of the Kopili, must also be annually appeased by the sacrifice of a he-goat. Numerous hills also are worshipped, or rather the spirits which are said to inhabit them. One of the best known hill godlings is the deity who is thought to inhabit the little wood close to the summit of the Shillong Peak. This deity is said to have been discovered by a man named "U Shillong," who gave his name to the Shillong Peak, and indirectly to our beautiful hill station. The Siems of Mylliem and Nongkrem reverence *U'lei Shillong*, and there are certain clans who perform periodical sacrifices to this god. Probably the origin of the superstitious reverence with which U'lei Shillong is held by the Siems of Nongkrem and Mylliem is that their fabled ancestress "Ka Pah Syntiew," of whom an account will be found in the folk-lore section, took her origin from a rock not far from the Shillong Peak in the Nongkrem direction.

Rableng Hill, which is within full view of the Shillong Peak in an easterly direction, is also said to be the abode of a minor god who is periodically propitiated by the members of the Máwthoh clan of the Khyrim State with a he-goat and a cock.

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764 wood are placed around the body, and the egg; "*u'leng kpoh*," is broken, not over the stomach of the deceased, as has been sometimes supposed, but by being thrown on the pyre in the direction of the feet of the corpse. Fire is applied to the pyre, first by the *kur*, or members of the clan, and then by the children, if any, of the [782] deceased. Another fowl, "*u'iar padat*," is sacrificed, its blood being smeared round the pyre three times, and across the corpse three times. The bier is then broken to pieces, the cloths having been removed from it previously. The eatables and the jaw-bones of the sacrificial animals are then placed at the head of the pyre. After the fowl (*u'iar padat*) has been sacrificed, the three arrows already mentioned are shot from the bow, one to the north, another to the south, and the third to the east. These arrows are called *ki 'nam tynpem*. It is, perhaps, significant that the [844] arrows which are shot at death correspond in numbers with those which are used at the time of the birth ceremony. When [782] the fire has blazed up, another goat, "*u'lang dholia*," is sacrificed. In some cases all the clothes of the deceased are burnt with the body, in others the clothes are merely held over the fire and then taken away, after which they can be used (this is only in the case of poor persons). Before leaving the burning-place the relatives and friends of the deceased place betel-nuts on the pyre and bid farewell to the deceased, saying "*Khublei khie leit tam kwai sha iing u Blei ho*" (good-bye, go and eat betel-nut in 765 the house of god). When the body has been thoroughly burnt, 764 the fire is extinguished with water, and the uncalcined bones are collected by the relatives in three trips. The collectors are not allowed to turn back and pick up a bone which has been forgotten in any one of these trips. The bones thus collected are carefully wrapped in a piece of white cloth by the female relatives, and an old member of the family throws on the ground some powdered rice from a leaf, at the same time adjuring the spirit of the deceased not to trouble the *kur*, or the family, as the funeral ceremonies have been duly performed. The party then sets out to the [226] bone repository, or *mawshieng*. In front walks one who strews along the line of route leaves of the tree known by the Khasis as *dieng shit* (the berries of which are used for fishing with), and grains of rice, all the way from the pyre to the cairn.

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quilt, made out of the bark of a tree, which is beaten 352
out and then carefully woven, several layers of flattened 513
bark being used before the right thickness is attained. 287
This quilt is called by the Lynngams "*Ka syllar*" (Garo *simpak*).
Food is cooked in earthen pots, but no plates are used, the broad 252
leaves of the *mariang* tree taking their place. The leaves are 415
thrown away after use, a fresh supply being required for each meal.

The Lynngams brew rice beer, they do not distil spirit; the 274
beer is brewed according to the Khasi method. Games they have 526
none, and there are no jovial archery meetings like those of the Khasis. The Lynngam methods of hunting are setting spring 221
guns and digging pitfalls for game. The people say that now the Government and the Siem of Nongstoin have prohibited both of these methods of destroying game, they no longer employ them. But I came across a pitfall for deer not long ago in the neighbourhood of a village in the Lynngam country. The people declared it to be a very old one; but this I very much doubt, and I fear that these objectionable methods of hunting are still used. The Lynngams fish to a 226
small extent with nets, but their idea of fishing, *par excellence*, is poisoning the streams, an account of which has already been given in this monograph. The Lynngams are omnivorous 262
feeders, they may be said to eat everything except dogs, snakes, the *hulak* monkey, and lizards. They like rice, when they can get it; for sometimes the out-turn of their fields does not last them more than a few months. They then have to fall back on Jobstears and millet. They eat arums largely, and for vegetables they cook wild plantains and the young shoots of bamboos and cane plants. The Lynngams are divided up into 614
exogamous clans in the same manner as the Khasis. The clans 773
are overgrown families. The Lynngams have some stories regarding the founders of these clans, of which the following is a specimen:—"A woman was asleep under a *sohbar* tree in the jungle, a flower from which fell on her, and she conceived and bore a female child who was the ancestress of the Nongsohbar clan." Some of the stories of the origins of other clans do not bear repeating. There do not appear to be any 582
hypergamous groups. As with the Khasis, it is a deadly sin to 614

nure and chemical fertilizers. Both level land and hillsides are cultivated by the same hand techniques: 3 × 6-foot patches are fashioned with walkways between, sods are overturned within the patches and allowed to dry, the sods are burned slowly and the ashes spread over the soil, and finally the seed is sown, either broadcast or sunk with the aid of the typical Khasi hoe. The coldest part of the upland enjoys a two-crop year, and Khasis often double crop as well. Paddy has long been found in the lowlands, in parts of Jaintia and Bhoi, the only places where the plow is found. Nowadays paddy is more and more seen in the uplands, together with a simple terracing and irrigation technology. Many upland Khasis have house gardens in which they raise a wide variety of vegetables, including pumpkins, cabbage, radishes, sweet potatoes, eggplant, and many others. Important crops in Bhoi country are paddy rice, lac, caoutchouc, cotton, bananas, and pineapples; in War, they are betel nut, pan leaf, oranges, and sugar cane. **Fishing and hunting.** Fishing is done by poisoning streams, but this is a subsistence activity only in the southern foothills. Hunting was formerly by bow and arrow or by traps, including spring guns and pitfalls, but was always primarily a sport. [Cf. Stegmiller 1925.] **Gathering.** Khasis once gathered about 150 species of wild plants, most of them for food, but some for medicine. Thrifty villagers still gather food plants, but there is no real dependence on gathering. Medicinal plants continue to be very important. **Domestic animals.** Fowl, goats, pigs, and cattle are bred both for meat and sacrifice. Milk was formerly not utilized, but is now so popular that specialists keep herds of milch cows. Pigs are used as village scavengers, but some also receive prepared food. Cattle and goats forage freely in the fields during the winter, but are herded by a communally hired herdsboy during the agricultural season. Most households keep chickens, primarily for their eggs, and a few keep ducks. A few horses are also seen. Dogs are pariahs, except for hunting dogs. Cats are popular. **Food and stimulants.** The staple food of Khasis is boiled rice, together with the dried fish which is imported from Sylhet. Boiled beef, pork, and chicken are relished, but beyond the means of most. Meals are taken twice a day, in the morning and evening, although farmers also take a midday meal in the field, and others may take tea and cold sweet potatoes or rice bread. Certain foods are taboo to certain sibs. Stimulants are extremely common, especially betel nut, which is often accompanied by a bit of tobacco. Tobacco is also smoked as cigarettes and in hookah and other pipes. Every village has one or more household taverns, where distilled rice whisky is cooked and sold by the glass and by the bottle. Imported opium had spread widely in the malarious Bhoi country, but controls instituted in the 1940s have been fairly successful. All stimulants were once taken by men, women, and

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133 they form rapids, the waters precipitating themselves down deep, rocky gorges and chasms, choked with huge boulders. Some of these gorges are very beautiful; the streams, being hemmed in between stupendous mountains and rocks covered with primeval forest, run in narrow but very deep channels swarming with fish. No islands or lakes are formed by any of the rivers, although several of them have large, deep pools. They are all unfordable during the rains.

312 UTILIZATION OF THE WATER SUPPLY.—None of the rivers are utilized as a motive power for turning machinery, although the streams on the higher plateaux might be easily turned to such an account. Their waters, however, are extensively used for the purposes of irrigation, and the hill people display great ingenuity in cutting channels or aqueducts for leading the water on to their [365] fields. It is in this manner that the Civil Station of Shillong receives its water supply. Aqueducts convey water to the houses of all the European residents; and branch channels from the main aqueduct flow through the *bázár*, and along the streets occupied [226] by the native inhabitants. No fishing towns exist in the hills; but [563] near where the rivers debouch upon the plain are some valuable fisheries, which are annually let in farm, the lessees being generally Bengálís. These fisheries yield an annual Government revenue of about £300. Embankments in order to protect the land against floods do not exist. A few embankments, or rather dams, are thrown across narrow valleys between hills, so as to create reservoirs for water. At Shillong there are a few tanks thus formed, which are both useful and ornamental.

135 MINERALS, ETC.—Coal and limestone, both of excellent quality, are found in abundance. Lower Bengal obtains nearly the whole of its lime supply from the Khásí and Jáintiá Hills. The lime is known as 'Sylhet lime,' and is obtained by quarrying from the beds of stone which line the base of the mountains along the whole length of the Sylhet boundary. The supply is literally inexhaustible. Coal out-crops at Cherrá Púnjí, Lá-ká-dong, Shellá, Máo-syn-rám, and at several other places; but as a rule it is scattered, and found in places difficult of access. The coal, however, is of excellent quality, and leaves very little ash. Stone, well adapted for building purposes, is also found. Ironstone exists almost everywhere throughout the Hills, but principally in the dependent States of Khyrim, Nongspung, Cherrá, and Mylliem. In former years the Khásiás were 000

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249 648 65 at Dárjíling, who reported unfavourably on them. They have since been made over to the Siem of Nongklao, who is responsible for their being kept clear of weeds and protected against fire. Up to the close of 1875–76 the total expenditure had been Rs. 672, or £67, 4s. 0d.

136 FERÆ NATURÆ.—Tigers, elephants, rhinoceros, buffaloes, *mithuns* or wild cows, bears, leopards, wolves, jackals, foxes, wild hog, and several kinds of deer abound in the Khási and Jáintiá Hills. The [224] [648] expense of keeping down tigers in the shape of Government rewards amounted to £44, 10s. 0d. in 1869-70. The rate of reward now paid is Rs. 25 or £2, 10s. 0d. per head. No rewards have ever been given for the destruction of venomous serpents. The number [165] of deaths from wild beasts and snake-bite reported to the police amounted to 28 in 1866-67, 18 in 1867-68, 16 in 1868-69, and 26 in 1869-70. The small game found in the Hills consists of black partridges, hill partridges, quails, ducks, teal, snipe, and woodcocks. 226 439 The *mahsir* fish is caught in the rivers. No regular trade is carried on in the skins of wild animals; and, except in the case of wild elephants, the *feræ naturæ* are not made to contribute towards the wealth of the people.

224 648 651 ELEPHANTS.—Wild elephants are found in the lower ranges of the hills, and in the gorges opening on the valleys of the Surmá and the Brahmaputra. Each State in the Khási Hills and each dolloiship in the Jáintiá Hills constitutes a separate hunting circle or *mahál*. In the Khási States the conditions of elephant hunting are governed by rules framed in 1874-75 by the Chief Commissioner, and approved by the Government of India. These rules provide, (1) that the British Government will make no claim to royalty on account of elephants caught in the Khási Hills; (2) that one half of the proceeds of the sale of each elephant caught shall be paid over to the chief whose State forms the *mahál*, and the other half retained by Government; (3) that if a chief wishes to hunt elephants on his own account, the *mahál* composed of his State shall be reserved from sale, and a special arrangement shall be made with him on the basis that half the proceeds of the hunting shall accrue to Government. A special form of hunting licence in accordance with these rules has been settled by the Chief Commissioner. In the Jáintiá Hills, as being British territory, the ordinary Assam rules are in force, in accordance with which leases of the *mahálls* are sold at intervals of two years to the highest bidder at

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[499] this manner, the males earning on an average 8 annas and the
463 females 6 annas a day. Col. Bivar writes that in 1875 the
465 wages for ordinary male labourers were 4 to 8 annas a day, and for females 2½ to 4 annas, so that the wages rates have almost doubled in the last thirty years. Contractors, however, often manage to obtain daily labour at lower rates than those paid by
482 Government. Stonemasons and skilled labourers are able to
241 get higher rates. It is easier to obtain coolies in the Khasi than in the Jaintia Hills, where a large proportion of the popu-
461 lation is employed in cultivation. The Khasis are excellent labourers, and cheerful and willing, but they at once resent bad treatment, and are then intractable and hard to manage. Khasis are averse to working in the plains in the hot-weather months.

APICULTURE.

•231 I am indebted to Mr. Rita for the following remarks on apiculture in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills.

There are two kinds of indigenous bees in the Khasi Hills, one domesticated, called *u ngap* (*apis Indica*), and the other *u lywai*, which is never domesticated, and is very pugnacious; its hives are difficult of access, being always located in very high cliffs. A few hives of a third class of bee are now-a-days to be found in and around the station of Shillong, i.e. the Italian.
[177] This bee was imported into the hills by Messrs. Dobbie and Rita, and the species became propagated in the following manner. The bees had been just established in a hive, where they had constructed a brood comb, when the hive was robbed by some Khasis for the sake of the *larvæ* it contained, which they wished to consume as food; but the queen bee escaped and established other colonies, one of which was afterwards captured by Mr. Rita, the others establishing themselves at places in the neighbourhood. The hive used by the Khasis is of a very primitive description. It is usually a hollow piece of wood, about 2½ to 3 ft. in length and 10 or 12 in. in diameter. A small door is placed at each end of the log, one for the bees to go in and out, and the other for the removal of the honey when wanted. The honey-combs are broken and the honey is

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extracted by squeezing the comb with the hand. Wax is 231
obtained by placing the comb in boiling water and allowing it to cool, when the wax floats to the surface. The Khasis do not systematically tend their bees, as they do not understand how to prevent swarming, and as the Khasi bee is a prolific swarmer, hives become weak very soon and a new hive has to be started from a captured natural swarm. The villages in which bees are regularly kept to any large extent in the Khasi and [438]
Jaintia Hills are Thied-dieng, Mawphoo, Nongwar, Mawlong, Pynter, Tyrna, and Kongthong, but most of the Wár villagers rear bees and sell the honey at the neighbouring markets. The collection of the honey of the wild bee, or *u lywai*, is a hazardous occupation, the services of some six or seven persons being required, as the combs of this bee are generally built in the crevices of precipitous rocks, and sometimes weigh more than half a maund each. When such hives are discovered the bees are driven out by the smoke of a smouldering fire lit at the foot of the rock below the hive. Two or three men get to the top of the precipice, leaving two or three of their companions at the base. One of the men on the top of the rock is then lowered down in a sling tied to a strong rope, which is made fast by his companions above to a tree or boulder. The man in the sling is supplied with material to light a torch which gives out a thick smoke, with the aid of which the bees are expelled. The man then cuts out the comb, which he places in a leather bucket or bag, which, when filled, he lowers down to the persons in waiting at the foot of the rock. The wild honey may be distinguished from that of the domestic bee by being of a reddish colour. Honey from the last-mentioned bee is gathered twice or thrice in the year, once in the autumn and once or twice in the spring; that gathered in early spring is not so matured as that collected in autumn. The flora of the [137]
Khasi Hills being so numerous, there is no necessity for providing bees with artificial food. The bees are generally able to obtain their sustenance from clover, anemonies, "golden rod," bush honeysuckle, and numerous shrubs such as andromeda, daphne, &c., which abound about Shillong. There seem to be facilities 231
for apiculture on a large scale in these hills, and certainly the 263
honey which is brought round by the Khasis for sale in

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231 Shillong is excellent, the flavour being quite as good as that
263 of English honey. Under "Miscellaneous Customs connected with Death" will be found a reference to the statement that the
[764] dead bodies of Siems used to be embalmed in honey. The existence of the custom is generally denied by Khasis, but its former prevalence is probable, as several trustworthy authors have quoted it.

HOUSES.

342 The houses of the people are cleaner than might be supposed
515 after taking into consideration the dirtiness of the clothes and persons of those who inhabit them. They are as a rule substantial thatched cottages with plank or stone walls, and raised on a plinth some 2 to 3 ft. from the ground. The only
354 window is a small opening on one side of the house, which admits but a dim light into the smoke-begrimed interior. The beams are so low that it is impossible for a person of ordinary stature to stand erect within. The fire is always burning on an earthen or stone hearth in the centre. There is no chimney, the smoke finding its exit as best it can. The firewood is placed to dry on a swinging frame above the hearth. In the
343 porch are stacked fuel and odds and ends. The pigs and calves
342 are generally kept in little houses just outside the main building. The Khasi house is oval-shaped, and is divided into three rooms, a porch, a centre room, and a retiring-room.

354 In olden days the Khasis considered nails *sang*, or taboo, and
784 only used a certain kind of timber for the fender which surrounds the hearth; but they are not so particular now-a-days. In Mawkhar, Cherrapunji, and other large villages, the walls of
342 houses are generally of stone. In Cherrapunji the houses are frequently large, but the largest house I have seen in the hills is that of the Doloi of Suhtnga in the Jaintia Hills, which measures 74 ft. in length. The house of the Siem Priestess at Smit in the Khasi Hills is another large one, being 61 ft. long by 30 ft. broad. In front of the Khasi house is a little space fenced in on two sides, but open towards the village street. The

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of them, more especially when the latter are situated in places where jungle is dense, and there is fear of attacks from wild animals. In the Lynngam village is to be seen a high bamboo platform some 20 to 30 ft. from the ground, built in the midst of the village, where the elders sit and gossip in the evening. 361

All the villages, Khasi, Wár, Lynngam and Bhoi, swarm with pigs, which run about the villages unchecked. The pigs feed on all kinds of filth, and in addition are fed upon the wort and spent wash of the brewings of country spirit, or rice beer, the latter being carefully collected and poured into wooden troughs. The pigs are of the usual black description seen in India. They thrive greatly in the Khasi villages, and frequently attain extreme obesity. 361 231 274

In the Khasi villages of the high plateaux are often nowadays potato gardens, the latter being carefully protected from the inroads of pigs, calves, and goats by dry dikes surmounted by hedges. 24 417

I noticed an interesting custom at a Bhoi village in Nongpoh of barricading the path leading to the village from the forest with bamboo palisading and bamboo *chevaux de frise* to keep out the demon of cholera. In the middle of the barricade there was a wooden door over which was nailed the skull of a monkey which had been sacrificed to this demon, which is, as amongst the Syntengs, called *khlam*. 751 776 782

FURNITURE AND HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS.

As in the case of houses, so with reference to furniture, the influence of civilization shows many changes. The Khasi of the present day who lives in Mawkhar * has a comfortable house regularly divided up into rooms in the European style with even some European articles of furniture, but owing probably to the influence of the women, he still possesses several of the articles of furniture which are to be met with in the houses of those who still observe the old style of living. Let us take the furniture of the kitchen to begin with. Above the hearth is slung by ropes of cane a swinging wooden framework 352 352 417

* Mawkhar is a suburb of Shillong, the headquarters station.

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mould. The plant[1] is watered by means of small bamboo aqueducts which are constructed along the hill-sides, the water being conducted along them often considerable distances. As in the plains, the leaves of the *pán* creeper are collected throughout the year.

The bay leaf (*'la tyrpád*, or *tezpát*) is classified in the *Agricultural Bulletin* as *Cinnamomum tamala*, and there is a note in the column of remarks that "this tree, as well as one or two others of the same genus, yields two distinct products, *tezpát* (bay leaf) and cinnamon bark." The bay leaf is gathered for export from the extensive gardens in Maharam, Malaisohmat, Mawsynram, and other Khasi States. The plants are raised from seed, although there are no regular nurseries, the young seedlings being transplanted from the jungle, where they have germinated, to regular gardens. Bay leaf gardens are cleared of jungle and weeds periodically; otherwise no care is taken of them. The leaf-gathering season is from November to March. The leaves are allowed to dry for a day or two in the sun, and then packed in large baskets for export. The gathering of bay leaf begins when the trees are about four years old.

The following are the other minor crops which are grown in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills:—

Pineapples, turmeric, ginger, pumpkins and gourds, the egg plant, chillies, sesamum, and a little sugar-cane. The arum* (*la shirie*) is also extensively grown in the hills, and forms one of the principal articles of food amongst the poorer classes; it is generally raised in rotation with potatoes, or is planted along with Job's tears. The stem of the arum is sometimes used as a vegetable, also for feeding pigs.

In the Jowai Sub-Division, notably at Nartiang, there are fairly good mangoes, which are more free from worms than those grown in the plains of Assam.

The Bhois and Lynngams cultivate lac. They plant *arhar dal*, *u landoo*, in their fields, and rear the lac insect on this plant. Last year the price of lac at Gauhati and Palasbari markets rose as high as Rs. 50 per maund of 82 lbs., it is said, but the price at the outlying markets of Singra and Boko was

* Colocasia esculenta, Beng. *Kacha*.

[1] [i.e., the pán .... Analyst]

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231 about Rs. 30. The price of lac has risen a good deal of late
435 years. Formerly the price was about Rs. 15 to Rs. 20 a maund. The lac trade in the Jaintia Hills and in the southern portion of the Khyrim State is a valuable one. The profits, how-
406 ever, go largely to middle-men, who in the Jaintia Hills are Syntengs from Jowai, who give out advances to the Bhoi cultivators on the condition that they will be repaid in lac.
443 The Marwari merchants from the plains attend all the plains
439 markets which are frequented by the hill-men, and buy up the lac and export it to Calcutta. The whole of the lac is of the kind known as stick lac.

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224 The weapons used by the Khasis for hunting are bows and arrows, the latter with barbed iron heads, and spears which are
[411] used both for casting and thrusting. Before proceeding on a
[787] hunting expedition the hunters break eggs, in order to ascertain whether they will be successful or not, and to which jungle they should proceed. Offerings are also made to certain village
[178] deities, e.g. *U. Rynglew*, *u Beem*, and *u Hasa ki mréd*. A lucky day having been selected and the deities propitiated, the hunters start with a number of dogs trained to the chase, the latter being held on leashes by a party of men called *ki nongai-beem*. When the dogs have picked up the scent some hunters are placed as "stops" (*ki ktem*), at points of vantage in the jungle, and the drive commences with loud shouts from the hunters, the game being continued until the object of the chase breaks into the open. The man who draws the first blood is called *u nongpiet*, and the second man who scores a hit *u nongbon*. These two men get larger shares of the flesh than the others. The *nongpiet* obtains the lower half of the body of the animal, thighs and feet excepted, called *ka tdong*, and the *nongbon* one of the forequarters called *ka tabla*. The other hunters obtain a string of flesh each, and each hound gets a string of flesh to itself. These hunting parties pursue deer sometimes for many miles, and are indefatigable in the chase,
224 the latter lasting occasionally more than one day. In the
782 Jaintia Hills, at the end of the chase, the quarry is carried to

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a similar custom prevalent amongst the Khyrwangs. The Nongtungs, in the Jaintia Hills, keep dead bodies sometimes as long as a month, until the *pâur* or ceremonial dance has been performed. Hence they are called *Nong-tung*, or "stinkers." Amongst the Lyungams the dead body is kept for sometimes three or four months, or up to the time when a bull can be procured for a feast to the villagers. This feast is an essential, and, cattle being scarce in the Lyungam country, there is often great delay in disposing of the body. Lyungam villages at such a time are best avoided. The Lyungams of Nongsohbar bury the unburnt bones of the deceased within the village, and in front of the house occupied by the deceased when alive, the bones being placed in a hole in the ground, over which is laid a stone, a bamboo being hewn over the stone. A bamboo fence three or four feet high is erected round the grave. Other Lyungams bury the uncalcined bones and ashes in a gourd in the jungle near the burning-place. On their way home, the members of the clan of the deceased who have come from other villages to witness the funeral obsequies, put up a stone on the path in honour of the deceased, a turban being tied round the top of the stone. The Garos or Dkos, who live at the foot of the hills on the Kamrup border, and are called by the Assamese *Hana* (spear-men), erect memorial stones in honour of the deceased, the lower jaw-bones of sacrificial animals and other articles being hung on the stones. The stones are also swathed in cloths, and turbans are tied round the tops. The death customs of the Lyungams, and, indeed, other customs also, are partly Khasi and partly Garo, it being difficult to say that the Lyungams are more Khasi than Garo, or more Garo than Khasi in this respect: their language, however, has been found by Dr. Grierson to be a corruption of Khasi. In Nongstoin, Mawlih, and Mariaw villages, the inhabitants of which profess to be Khasis, the bones and ashes of the deceased are not collected and placed in repositories, as at Cherrapunji. At Mariaw and Nongstoin a large wooden coffin is used, painted white, with ornamentations on the outside, and standing on four legs. This coffin is not burnt on the funeral pyre. In the family of the chiefs of Cherra, the body of a deceased Siem is subjected to the following process:—It is wrapped in a cloth

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wonderful mass of granite known by the name of the Kyllong Rock will be found in the section of the monograph which deals with geographical distribution. I have also added a photograph of the rock. The Syntengs have a story that when the strong west wind blows in the spring this is due to the advent of *U Kyllang*, who comes to visit his wife, the river *Umngot*, at that season: amongst the Khasis hills are all of them masculine, but to rivers is usually attributed the feminine gender. U Symper is another isolated rocky eminence rising from the Maharam plain close to the village of Kmawan. The best view of the hill is obtainable from Laitmawsiang on the path to Mawsynram. The village of Mawmai every traveller from Therria to Cherrapunji knows. It is chiefly remarkable for a fairly large limestone cave, and its fine memorial stones. The Khasi theory to explain how the moon got its spots is, I believe, original, but is no more extraordinary than our own nursery tale about the "man in the moon." The *Sohpet Byrong* hill is the first hill of any size that the traveller sees on the Gauhati road when journeying to Shillong. It is close to Umsning Dak Bungalow. There are caves in the hill which are tenanted by bears. Strange to say, according to Khasi ideas, this is one of the highest points in the hills; in reality *Sohpet Byrong* is some 2,000 ft. lower than the Shillong Peak. As mentioned elsewhere, the Khasis are very fond of dogs; so I have given their version of how the dog came to live with man. The well-known Khasi superstition will be found fully described under the heading of "Human sacrifices." I have, however, thought the tale of sufficient interest to reproduce at length here. The story of the river Rupatylli is a pretty tale, and is just such a one as would appeal to the imagination of mountaineers like the Khasis. The Kopili story is important, in that it indicates the origin of human sacrifices in the Jaintia Hills; it also throws, perhaps, some light on the question of the use to which the flat table memorial stones were put in years gone by. The superstition about the crossing of the Kopili can be vouched for by many who have taken the journey from the Jaintia Hills to North Cachar by the Kopili route. Mawpunkyrsiang is a small village close to Cherrapunji. The weird tale about the Siem of Malyriang is the pride of the Mawkut people, for in olden days their King,

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This stone is apparently some rough gem which may be picked up by the Lyngams in the river beds. A rich man amongst them, however, is one who possesses a number of metal gongs, which they call *wing*. For these they pay very high prices, Rs. 100 being quite a moderate sum for one of them. Being curious to see one of these gongs, I asked a *sirdar*, or head-man, to show me one. He replied that he would do so, but it would take time, as he always buried his gongs in the jungle for fear of thieves. Next morning he brought me a gong of bell metal, with carvings of animals engraved thereon. The gong when struck gave out a rich deep note like that of Burmese or Thibetan gongs. These gongs have a regular currency in this part of the hills, and represent to the Lyngams "Bank of England" notes. It would be interesting to try to ascertain what is their history, for no one in the Lyngam country makes them in these days. Is it possible that the Garos brought them with them when they migrated from Thibet? The gongs are well known in the Garo Hills, and I hear that when a *sirdar*, or head-man, dies his corpse is laid out upon them. They thus possess also an element of sanctity, besides being valuable for what they will fetch to the Garos or Lyngams. We may hope to hear more about them in Captain Playfair's account of the Garos.

The Lyngams do not tattoo. Their weapons are the large-headed Garo spear, the dao, and the shield. They do not usually carry bows and arrows, although there are some who possess them. They are by occupation cultivators. They sow two kinds of hill rice, red and white, on the hill-sides. They have no wet paddy cultivation, and they do not cultivate in terraces like the Nagas. They burn the jungle about February, after cutting down some of the trees and clearing away some of the debris, and then sow the paddy broadcast, without cultivating the ground in any way. They also cultivate millet and *Job's tears* in the same way. With the paddy millet are sown the first year. The egg plant, arum, ginger, turmeric, and sweet potatoes of several varieties are grown by them in a similar manner. Those that wear the lac insect plant feeder tree (Hindi *sikal doi*) in the lowest clearings, and wear the insect thereon. Some of these people, however, are prohibited by a

1:Garden E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

custom of their own from cultivating the *lendu*, in which case they plant certain other trees favourable to the growth of the lac insect. The villages are situated near their patches of cultivation in the forest. The villages are constantly shifting, owing to the necessity of burning fresh tracts of forest every two years. The houses are entirely built of bamboo, and, for such temporary structures, are very well built. In front, the houses are raised some 3 or 4 ft. from the ground on platforms, being generally built on the side of a fairly steep hill, one end of the house resting on the ground, and the other on bamboo posts. The back end of the house is sometimes some 8 or 9 ft. from the ground. At the end of the house farthest away from the village path is a platform used for sitting out in the evening, and for spreading chillies and other articles to dry. Some Lyngpun houses have only one room in which men, women, and children are all huddled together, the hearth being in the centre, and, underneath the platform, the pigs. Well-to-do people, however, possess a sitting room, where husband and wife sleep. A house I measured at Nongkhlaw village was of the following dimensions:—Length, 42 ft.; breadth, 16 ft.; height of house from the ground to the eaves, front, 9 ft.; back 18 ft. Houses are built with a portion of the thatch hanging over the eaves in front. No explanation could be given me for this. It is probably a mere custom. In some Lyngpun villages there are houses in the centre of the village where the young unmarried men sleep, where male guests are accommodated, and where the village festivities go on. These are similar to the *dekadang* or bachelors' clubhouses of the Mikirs, Garos, and Lalungs, and to the *dormitory* of the Naga. This is a custom of the Tibeto-Burman tribes in Assam, and is not a Khasi institution. There are also high platforms, some 12 ft. or 15 ft. in height, in Lyngpun villages, where the elders sit of an evening in the hot weather and take the air. Lyngpun houses and villages are usually much cleaner than the ordinary Khasi villages, and although the Lyngpun keep pigs, they do not seem to be as much as evidence as in the Khasi village. There is hardly any furniture in a Lyngpun house. The Lyngpun sleeps on a mat on the floor, and in cold weather covers himself with a [illegible]

us take such a clan mother with the name Ka Sing Lau. She has two sons and five daughters, and in addition two brothers and two sisters who are all married. Also each of the five daughters and two sisters has four children. These forty-six people live with the clan mother and form the family clan of the Lau. To these we also add the sons and brothers, the nephews and grandsons, but not their children. The latter have nothing to do with the family Lau but belong to the family clan of their wives, live with that clan and are counted in it. Likewise neither the husband of Ka Sing Lau, nor the husbands of the various daughters, sisters, nieces, and granddaughters belong here. They are all counted with their own clans, live and work with them according to Khasi custom, and only visit their wives occasionally perhaps after dark.

The entire clan-family of Lau is housed in 5 or 6 huts, which all stand next to each other in a semicircle or are built one above the other on the slope of a hill, according to the character of the land. A garden frequently surrounds them in which maize, sweet potatoes, potato-like roots of Sob-ot and Schrut, bananas and, on the southern slopes of the Khasi Mountains, also coffee, pineapples, and other fruits are cultivated. A circle of bamboo cane that is so important for building purposes, household objects, and /130/ implements surrounds the garden and huts. This bamboo cane grows up as thick as an arm to a height of 10 or 15 meters and at the same time forms a good protection against bad weather. A wall (murwha) of thrown-up earth encloses everything, forming an enclosed farm, prevents unimpeded access, and protects cattle and crops from the attacks and devastations of wild animals.

What is considered the family property of such a clan? Primarily it is the land, the gardens, the rice fields, woods, fallow mountain and grazing lands. On the southern slopes of the Khasi Mountains there are fields for the cultivation of rape, orange groves, laurel groves, plantations of betel palms and of pepper leaves which far and wide are so highly treasured for betel chewing as a source of pleasure. (2)

2. Cf. Becker, Im Stromtal des Brahmaputra, /In the River Valley of the Brahmaputra/ (Munich, 1923), pp. 307 ff.

Usually there is so much land available that the family-clan can nourish itself properly and also increase in number.

According to its size and wealth a family clan also owns a corresponding number of cows, oxen, horses, pigs, and goats. Neither the milk nor the flesh of the cows is used. They are kept for the

423 manure, and primarily for breeding, since the oxen cannot be dis-
● 23 pensed with for the cultivation of the fields, especially of the rice fields, where the soaked earth must be trampled to a slimy mush. From the fowl the eggs are particularly prized, since they find an almost daily use in the questioning of oracles in cases of misfortune and sickness. (3) Hens, pigs and goats serve for sacrificial purposes, (4)

3. P.R.T. Gurdon, The Khasis, (London 1907) pp. 221 ff.; Becker, "Das Eierwerfen der Khasi," /Egg throwing Among the Khasi/, Anthropos, Vols. 12-13 (Vienna, 1917-18), pp. 494 ff.; P.F. Stegmiller, "Aus dem religiösen Leben der Khasi" /The Religious Life of the Khasi/ Anthopos Vol. 16-17 (1921-1922), pp. 418 ff.

4. Becker, "Die Nongrem-Puja in den Khasi-Bergen" /The Nongkrem Puja in the Khasi Mountains/, Anthropos, Vol. 4, (Vienna, 1909) No. 5-6, pp. 898 ff.; Stegmiller, loc cit.

and they are also a welcome addition to rice at all festive occasions such as arrow shooting, (5) at the name giving, /131/ at weddings,

5. Becker, Im Stromtal etc., /In the Valley, etc./, pp. 298 and 387.

and at the cremation of the dead.

421 Further the various huts belong to the family property, the erec-
613 tion and maintenance of which is the work of the members of the clan, the brothers, nephews, and grandsons. The hut of the clan mother is likewise considered the center of the whole family, and its possession forms the outer sign of the dominance of the clan mother. Here she holds the family sacrifices and also keeps the special treasures. These are considered to be those things which are connected with the religious cult. Special reverence and sacrifice is due the oldest clan mother, as the original founder of the clan, and her brother in each clan family; in addition there are a series of other spirits which vary according to the family clan. The branch of the Khasi people who live in the Jaintia Mountains, the so-called Synteng, have probably pre-
78 served the old Khasi customs the most faithfully. There in the hut of the
78 clan mother are found the following utensils for the service of the divinities, who are nearly always feminine; mats, little baskets for rice, gourd bottles, a little basket made of bamboo cane and decorated with feathers, as well as antlers of deer or antelopes. The latter are fastened to the wall; they are supposed to be the seat of the

nure and chemical fertilizers. Both level land and hillsides are cultivated by the same hand techniques: 3 × 6-foot patches are fashioned with walkways between, sods are overturned within the patches and allowed to dry, the sods are burned slowly and the ashes spread over the soil, and finally the seed is sown, either broadcast or sunk with the aid of the typical Khasi hoe. The coldest part of the upland enjoys a two-crop year, and Khasis often double crop as well. Paddy has long been found in the lowlands, in parts of Jaintia and Bhoi, the only places where the plow is found. Nowadays paddy is more and more seen in the uplands, together with a simple terracing and irrigation technology. Many upland Khasis have house gardens in which they raise a wide variety of vegetables, including pumpkins, cabbage, radishes, sweet potatoes, eggplant, and many others. Important crops in Bhoi country are paddy rice, lac, caoutchouc, cotton, bananas, and pineapples, in War, they are betel nut, pan leaf, oranges, and sugar cane. **Fishing and hunting.** Fishing is done by poisoning streams, but this is a subsistence activity only in the southern foothills. Hunting was formerly by bow and arrow or by traps, including spring guns and pitfalls, but was always primarily a sport. [Cf. Stegmüller 1928.] **Gathering.** Khasis once gathered about 180 species of wild plants, most of them for food, but some for medicine. Thrifty villagers still gather food plants, but there is no real dependence on gathering. Medicinal plants continue to be very important. **Domestic animals.** Fowl, goats, pigs, and cattle are bred both for meat and sacrifice. Milk was formerly not utilized, but is now so popular that specialists keep herds of milch cows. Pigs are used as village scavengers, but some also receive prepared food. Cattle and goats forage freely in the fields during the winter, but are herded by a communally hired herdsboy during the agricultural season. Most households keep chickens, primarily for their eggs, and a few keep ducks. A few horses are also seen. Dogs are pariahs, except for hunting dogs. Cats are popular. **Food and stimulants.** The staple food of Khasis is boiled rice, together with the dried fish which is imported from Sylhet. Boiled beef, pork, and chicken are relished, but beyond the means of most. Meals are taken twice a day, in the morning and evening, although farmers also take a midday meal in the field, and others may take tea and cold sweet potatoes or rice bread. Certain foods are taboo to certain sibs. Stimulants are extremely common, especially betel nut, which is often accompanied by a bit of tobacco. Tobacco is also smoked as cigarettes and in hookah and other pipes. Every village has one or more household taverns, where distilled rice whisky is cooked and sold by the glass and by the bottle. Imported opium had spread widely in the malarious Bhoi country, but controls instituted in the 1960s have been fairly successful. All stimulants were once taken by men, women, and

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children, but Christian influence has eradicated or driven underground the consumption by women and children. **Industrial arts.** The only industrial arts traditionally practiced in all households were a rudimentary carpentry and a simple utilitarian basketry. Other arts were few, and were practiced as village specialties: the washing and smelting of iron ore and the forging of hoes, daos, knives, swords, and cooking pots (upland Khasis); the spinning of cotton thread (Mynso village, Jaintia); the dyeing of cotton thread and the weaving of cloth (Jaintias, Bhois, Lyngngams, Wars); the spinning and weaving of Eri silk (Khyrwang and Nongtung villages, Bhoi and Jaintia); and the hand manufacture, without wheel, of painted earthenware pots (Larnai village, Jaintia). Ironworking and the production of cotton goods have nearly died out through the competition of machine-made goods. Carpentry has greatly improved. An innovation of major importance is the sewing and tailoring, on sewing machines, of ready-made garments for both sexes. [Cf. Darrah 1896; C., W. 1832.] **Trade.** Khasi villages normally contain a number of household shops operated by women. Every Khasi also lives within walking distance of several village markets that are held on successive days of the eight-day week. The limits of market intercourse for the members of any particular village can be roughly distinguished by their naming the days of their week, which are called after the active markets. The exception is the huge market at Shillong, much of which is active daily, and which serves as a magnet for Khasis from all over the hills. The traditional barter has given way to currency in all markets. The small ones contain at least some local farm produce, plus other essentials like betel nut, and the food and tea stalls which serve as centers of social intercourse. The big markets contain not only regional produce and manufactures but also products from distant parts of the hills, brought for sale by traveling middlemen. There is also substantial trade, from the hills to the valleys, in potatoes, pears, hides, lac, cotton, caoutchouc, the wood of the sal tree, Eri silk thread, limestone, coal, ivory, bay leaf, betel nut, pan leaves, bananas, sugar cane, oranges, til, turmeric, and chilies. From the plains to the hills, there is trade in dried fish, paddy rice, salt, cooking oil, kerosene, matches, tea, sugar, wheat flour, machine-made cloth, shoes, metal pots, crockery, porcelain objects, coral beads, silver, and gold. Markets are important not only as economic institutions but also as centers for recreation (including archery competitions), courtship, reaffirmation of kinship ties with distant relatives, and the dissemination of information of all kinds. [Cf. Stegmiller 1924a.] **Division of labor.** Men do the heavy work, such as clearing and burning the swidden fields, caring for cattle and goats and driving them to market, butchering and selling large cuts of beef and pork, carpentry and mining, and driving and laboring on motor vehicles. They also tailor men's

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17: Banerjee E-5 (1955) 1962 AR7 Khasi AR7
Smit

778 objects are stored while that of the west (kynram blang) was meant exclusively
796 for sacrificial goats. There is a very big circular courtyard in front of the building where the members of the royal family as also other boys and spinsters
[193] hold a ritual dance. The function is always held during the moonlit period of
[443] May or June and the actual dates are fixed in consultation with the Chief priest
[202] (*Sohblei*) in such a way that the first day—*Pamtiah** always coincides with the market day of Shillong Chota Bazar. The dates of the festival is then communicated to the in-charge of different units of his territory, through a wooden stick '*kyrwoh*' having a few knots of cane-strips, as a form of summons for attending the festival for five days at Smit along with subjects under their jurisdiction.

IMPORTANT PARTICIPANT

796 The responsibility of performing this ritual rests on the High-priestess
793 (*Ka Siem Sad*) who is succeeded by her eldest daughter. Different ritual ob-
562 jects are procured by her, well in advance and it is obligatory on her part to join the ceremonial dancing, in which her daughter may also officiate on her
[769] behalf. U Shillong is worshipped by the chief priest while the other ancestors
[533] are invoked by lesser priests. The musicians (*Dhulia*) besides their normal duties, take part in the worship of the ancestors and they are presented with silk turban, jacket, cloth, by the ruling family for the services rendered during the festival. The *Siem* has no especial role except to supervise and evoke U Shillong for the welfare of the community. He is required to perform certain sacrifices, failing which his heir-apparent (*Siem kynnah*) does the same. He along with his sister (High priestess) abstain from taking rice during the period of celebration presumably to observe the sanctity of this festival as also to ensure the successful conclusion of the function.

RITUAL MATERIALS

796 The festival derives its name from the sacrifice of a large number of goats
782 some of which were supplied from the State fund and from different units of the territory. Formerly at least fifty goats were required and each unit had
• 231 a specific allotment but owing to the economic difficulty that the Khasi are experiencing, the number of goats sacrificed hardly exceeds twenty-five. The goats collected from the different units, are presented to the Chief at the midnight
[273] of the third day. Rice-beer, dried fish, fermented-rice, betel leaves together
[276] with nuts are also important ritual objects in this celebration.

DESCRIPTION OF THE FESTIVAL

796 The commencement of the festival was marked by the distribution of dried,
782 fish (suit dokha) to the persons assembled on the occasion, in the evening of *Pamtiah* (*i.e.* 21st June, 1957). This was followed by the dropping of rice-beer by the Chief priest over the fire place of central hall known as *Ka suit-ka shor*

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[805] *A week consists of eight days in Khasi Calendar the names are according to the places where markets are held in Khasi Hills.

Name	Market
1. Pamtiah	Shillong Chota Bazar.
2. Umai	Cherrapunji.
3. Yew-duh	Shillong Burra Bazar.
4. Lyngka	Barapani.
5. Kongkrem	Kongkrem.
6. Mawlong	Laban (Shillong).
7. Ryngkep	Cherrapunji Chota Bazar.
8. Shillong	Laitkyng Iaw.

17: Banerjee E-5 (1955) 1962 AR7 Khasi AR7
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796 The goats were sacrificed by his sister's eldest son (*Siem-khynnah*) and in
782 charge of respective units at the open courtyard. The priests evoked the
ancestors and ancestress and called upon them by name praying 'Oh God and
769 Goddess, I offer this sacrifice as our ancestors did. Bless the *Siem*, his family
and the people of his state. I shall beseech you again on this day after one
• 231 year. You create favourable weather by virtue of your power, bring clouds and rains to yield bumper crops and ensure a happy and prosperous life.'

On the last day (Nongkrem), a man of Mawroh clan sacrificed a pig introducing an iron spike in its left armpit. Nine pieces of meat from different parts of the pig's body were again offered to their five ancestors. The *Siem* in the presence of his *Darbar* performed the last item of festival by praying to U Shillong, when the Chief of Rynjah clan also followed in the same way for seeking the blessings of their Chief deity.

This brought the ritual to an end performed at the residence of *Siem*. The five pieces of goat's and pig's meat offered to their five ancestors, were then handed over to the in-charge of the five units considered as somewhat higher in their State organisation. They distributed them at a suitable place in their unit, making a feast as a sort of public declaration of the completion of their greatest festival for the year.

DANCING

535 Besides the ritual described above, dance with the accompaniment of music
796 formed an important aspect of this festival. A dance known as *sad-tyngkoh*
had been a regular feature for the first, second, third and fifth day. This dance
[533] has some interesting features. It has to be performed in pairs. The first pair was constituted by Chief priest and the Chief musician. Second to fifth pairs were between the Sardars of the eight units after which Siem along with an official of his council constituted the sixth pair. The subsequent pairs were formed by any two persons from the gathering. They danced only after bowing first before the Oak pillar (Rishot), then to *Siem* on the fifth day. This pairing was then not adhered to on completion of the last rite of the festival.

A second type of dance (*Ka sad mastieh*) was then performed in the courtyard by the musicians as well as by the professional dancers (nong-shad) with sword and fly-brush in the afternoon of the third day. The dance was always
[291] held in pairs first by musicians, and then dancers, who donned their traditional
[301] dress consisting of silk turban (Jainspong) decorated with feathers, coloured sleeveless coat (Jymphong) silver chains and coral necklaces. Later on they joined the procession, that went to the adjacent hill where after the completion of the ceremony of goat killing, a group dance was performed returning to the residence of *Siem* ultimately.

This dance (*sad-nokkjat*) was performed by the Siems family. It was held early in the morning of the fourth day in the central hall (Shlur) and also
[291] in the courtyard. The men put on their normal dress whereas the women
[301] dressed themselves with gold and silver crown (pansngiat), numerous silver ornaments and different coloured blouse. They dressed and braided the hairs into a knot just at the nape. The High Priestess who also danced with
[302] the membes of the Siems' family, stood in the middle of the line and chief musician stood at one end. They hold each other in hand and danced round the fire-place of the central hall (Shlur) in anti-clock-wise direction in accompaniment of music. The people assembled there, gave vent to their feeling in their customary way every time, before they resumed to make it three times. Similar performance of dances were also held in the courtyard.

on from October to December. For millets the seed is sown in April-May and reaped about six months later. Maize is usually sown in April-May and ripens in August - September. For potato, generally three crops are raised in the district ; the first is sown in December-January and harvested in April-May, the second is sown in February-March and is gathered in June-July and the third is sown in July-August and is harvested in November-December.

For oranges and betelnut the orchards are cleared of weeds twice a year. Harvesting of orange takes place from October to January. Betelnut ripens at the beginning of the year and are collected between February and May.

2.6.3 Agricultural implements.—The usual agricultural implements are a hoe, a sickle, three or four kinds of doas, a harrow, a crowbar which is used for the construction of irrigation channels, 'sierras' and winnowing baskets. Bullock drawn plough is used in wet paddy cultivation in parts of Jowai subdivision and in Bhoi area and resembles the one in use in the plains of the State.

2. 6. 4. General cultural practices.—The cultivators mostly adhere to their indigenous practices of cultivation. Rotation of crops is not widely used. Cultivation of rice is usually done by broadcasting the seeds though transplanting is also in vogue in some areas. Mixed cropping is widely practised. Cultivation by making terraces in the hill slopes is gaining popularity in the district.

2.7 Cottage Industries.—Cottage Industries, it appears, have not found very great favour among the people of the district. A few families here and there manufacture iron implements, earthenware, pottery, baskets, mats and jewellery. In striking contrast with other districts weaving of cotton clothes is rare among the Khasis. The Mikirs in Bhoi area and in areas adjoining North Cachar and Mikir Hills practice it only for their domestic consumption. At present, the Government is trying to popularise weaving in the district and this has been welcomed by the Khasis. Among other cottage industries production of eri cocoon in the northern part of the district adjoining Kamrup district and bee keeping throughout the district are worth mentioning.

2.8 The People.—The Khasis and Jaintias are a short sturdy race distinct from the neighbouring hill tribes. By nature they are hardy and laborious and in respect of manual labour, they are free from any inhibition. Side by side with the Khasis live the Mikirs, Garos and Nepalis who form respectively 7.32 percent, 3.38 percent and 3·27 per cent of the total rural population. Besides, there are plains people who are mainly concentrated in the town of Shillong. In the marketing centres of the border area there are a large number of Bengali Hindus who dominate the bulk of the trade in the border areas.

2.9 Occupation.—The greater portion of the population of the district subsists on cultivation. More than 75 percent of the rural households are predominantly agricultural. The industrious Khasi agriculturists males and females have a high regard for hard labour

and even the well to do ones do not feel anything to work as labourers in other's farms. It is almost customary among the agriculturists to work in other's farms on wage basis, when agricultural operation in one's own farm are over. This is probably an outcome of the difficult transport situation. Among the non-agriculturists and those who follow agriculture as subsidiary occupation, a large number are porters and labourers engaged in jobs like transporting of goods from place to place, collection of limestone, sand, fuel, Collieries and forests of the district also offer employment to a good number of people. Since the taking up of road programme under the plan, a large number of people are getting employment in construction of roads, etc. It is heartening to note that for construction of roads, nay for all kinds of works demanding unskilled labourers, the district locally supplies the whole labour force. People in the various local points of the district, particularly those living in higher hills are mainly engaged in trade. The Khasis are indefatigable traders and have been able to keep almost the whole of the small trade in the district in their own hands. A small proportion of the people are engaged in cottage industries such as stone cutting, brick making, bee keeping, blacksmithy, cane and bamboo works, etc.

The number of persons returned in the 1951 census under each of the eight main livelihood classes for the rural tract of the district was as follows.

TABLE 1

Number of Persons (Source 1951 Census)

Head	Male	Female	Total	P.C.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
A. Agricultural class:—				
1. Cultivators of land wholly or mainly owned and their dependents.	90,603	92,107	1,82,710	59·89
2. Cultivators of land wholly or mainly unowned and their dependents.	16,014	16,109	32,123	10·53
3. Cultivating labourers and their dependents.	14,033	14,961	28,994	9·50
4. Non-cultivating owners of land, agricultural rent receivers and their dependents.	344	562	906	·30
Sub-total	1,21,014	1,23,719	2,44,733	80·22
B. Non-agricultural class:—				
5. Production other than cultivation.	11,795	10,309	22,103	7·24
6. Commerce	3,237	4,069	7,306	2·39
7. Transport	355	264	619	·20
8. Other services and miscellaneous sources.	17,462	12,864	30,326	9.95
Sub-total	33,848	27,506	60,354	19.78
Total	..	..	3,05,087	100.00

Name of village	Name of society	Sponsored by 474
(1)	(2)	(3)
7. Sutnga ...	(1) Credit Society.	Local people
	(2) Co-operative Trading Society.	
8. Darrang ...	Marketing Society.	Do
9. Shella ..	Trading Co-operative Society.	Do.

4.10 **Cottage Industries.**—It has already been mentioned that Village 433 and Cottage Industries are not very popular in the district.

The following table shows the industries reported from the sample villages:—

TABLE B-9

Industry	No. of villages reporting existence of the industries.	No. of villages reporting production for sale.	
(1)	(2)	(3)	
Cane and bamboo works ...	9	7	322
Blacksmithy	5	5	326
Tailoring	2	2	294
Handloom	...	...	286
Weaving and Spinning ...	3	1	284
Rearing of cocoons, etc. ...	1	1	283
Rearing of lac	1	1	231
Others	2	1	

Blacksmithy and making of baskets, cane products, etc, out of cane and bamboo, are a traditional occupation. Weaving and spinning of cotton, rearing of endi cocoon and weaving of endi, etc., are in vague only in the Bhoi area and the areas adjoining Kamrup and North Cachar and Mikir Hills districts. Lac rearing is found in the northern portion of the district, *i.e.*, Nongpoh area. [184]

Except cane and bamboo works and blacksmithy other industries are practised in a very limited scale. There is thus a lot of scope for introducing cottage industries in the district.

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There is considerable trade carried on in
245 *tezpát* or bay leaves, the trees being extensively cultivated by the
439 inhabitants of the lower slopes of the hills on the Sylhet border. The finest oranges in India are also grown in groves in the same tract, the value of the trade in which is now (1876) estimated to amount
237 to £3760 per annum. Lac is gathered by the Míkírs in the Jáintiá
439 Hills, but not to any great extent. Bees are both domesticated and found wild, and an extensive trade in bees-wax is carried on,
231 the amount exported being estimated at from three hundred to four hundred *maunds* annually. The whole of the Hills, where there is
233 no forest, and where the land is not under cultivation, consists of
621 rich pasture grounds, which are held in common by the villagers
651 and pay no revenue to Government.

137 The forests of the Khásí and Jáintiá Hills do not yield much profit either to the British Government or to the chiefs. There
[648] are no reserved forests in the District; and according to the Deputy-Conservator, the total area of unreserved forest, *i.e.* of land covered
[659] with timber trees and not at present required for *júm* cultivation, is only 150 square miles. The trees found are chiefly pine, and those classified as 'mixed upper hill forests.' At an elevation of 3000 feet, the Pinus Kasia predominates over all other vegetation and forms almost pure pine forests. It is found also at lower heights, and there attains larger dimensions, but only in the case of isolated trees. The 'mixed upper hill forests' are confined to a series of sacred groves, which clothe the topmost ridge of the watershed between the valleys of the Brahmaputra and Surmá. The characteristic trees are those of a temperate vegetation, chiefly consisting of oaks, chestnuts, magnolia, Schima, Cinnamomum, Prunus, Engelhardtia, etc. There are also numerous other timber trees, including the valuable *sál* (Shorea robusta) and the rubber tree (Ficus elastica); but on the whole the Khásí Hills are remarkable for the
[648] absence of forest. Early in 1874-75 measures were taken to put a stop to the indiscriminate burning of the forests, and the Siems and
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(8) Cotton is grown on high lands and
248 slopes; it is sown in April, and becomes fit for picking by January.

311 AREA AND OUT-TURN OF CROPS.—According to the Assam Ad-
241 ministration Report for 1875-76, the area of the British portion of
648 the Khásí and Jáintiá Hills District amounts to 2160 square miles, of which only 110 are under cultivation; of the remainder, 1337 square miles are set down as cultivable, and 713 as uncultivable. The total area of the semi-independent Khásí States is given as 3997 square miles, of which 176 are under cultivation, 2561 are cultivable, and 1260 uncultivable. In another portion of the same Report, the area under various crops throughout the entire District is thus approximately estimated:—Rice, 59,880 acres; other food grains, 57,820 acres; cotton, 1076 acres; potatoes, 33,880 acres. The average out-turn of rice per acre is returned at 8 *maunds*, or nearly 6 cwt.; of other food grains, 3 *maunds*, or over 2 cwt.; of cotton, 2 *maunds*, or 1½ cwt.; of
[435] potatoes, 55 *maunds*, or nearly 40 cwt. The price of rice in 1875-76 was Rs. 4. 8 per *maund*, or 12s. 8d. a cwt., which gives Rs. 36 or £3. 12s. as the value of the rice crop obtained from one acre.

241 CONDITION OF THE PEASANTRY.—The Khásiás can scarcely be
423 considered an agricultural people, as they do not grow sufficient
433 grain for their own subsistence, and are dependent to a great extent on imports of rice from the neighbouring Districts. Ten acres is generally considered a comfortable holding for a husbandman in the position of an ordinary Bengal peasant, but scarcely any man in the Hills depends entirely upon the produce of his land for
[231] his support. In the Jáintiá Hills a cultivator's position is con-
[554] sidered to be very low if he possesses no cattle, but performs all the operations of agriculture with his own hands. In that portion of the District, five acres is all that can be cultivated with a single
[465] pair of oxen, the average being four acres. A husbandman with a holding of five acres would not be so well off as a retail shopkeeper, nor would it enable him to live as comfortably as he could on a money wage of Rs. 8 or 16s. a month. The peasantry, however, as a class are not in debt. The land is owned chiefly by small proprietors, who occupy and cultivate their hereditary fields. The relations of landlord and tenant do not exist in the Hills, and no rent is payable to any one; consequently the principle of Act x. of 1859 (the Rent Law of Bengal) has no application.

231 THE ANIMALS used in agriculture are oxen; goats and pigs are
435

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reared either for food or as articles of trade. A pair of ploughing oxen are worth about Rs. 32, or £3, 4s.; an ordinary cow, Rs. 12, or £1, 4s.; a score of kids six months old, Rs. 16, or £1, 12s.; and a score of full-grown pigs, from Rs. 100 to Rs. 160, or from £10 to £16. 231 435

THE AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS in use in the District consist of a plough, called *ka-jing-hir* in Khási, and a hoe or *kodáli*, called *u-mo-khiw*. When the cultivation is carried on by means of oxen, the plough is used, the hoe alone being used when the land is cultivated by manual labour. In the Khási Hills the use of the plough, except in a few rare cases, is entirely unknown; but in the Jáintiá Hills, oxen and ploughs are used to a greater extent. What is technically termed 'a plough' of land is equivalent to four English acres; a pair of oxen, together with the necessary implements, would represent a capital of about Rs. 40, or £4. 241 407 [435]

WAGES.—The Deputy-Commissioner reports that the price of labour in the District has more than doubled in the last ten years. The rates obtaining at present are from eightpence to one shilling a day for an ordinary labourer, and from one shilling to eighteenpence a day for a porter. An agricultural day-labourer earns sixpence, and a woman at the same work fourpence-halfpenny a day. Bricklayers, carpenters, and blacksmiths earn from a shilling to eighteenpence a day. The new Station of Shillong, the present seat of the Local Government, was established in May 1864, and since that date the demand for labour has markedly increased. The extension of the cultivation of potatoes has also had an appreciable effect on the price of labour. 178 464 465 [244]

PRICES OF FOOD GRAINS.—Of the different descriptions of rice in the markets of the District, the better sorts are imported from the neighbouring Districts of Sylhet and Kámrúp. The local produce is considered fit only for the use of the Khásiás. The price of the better descriptions depends entirely upon the distance from which the supplies come. In a distant market like that of Shillong, rice of the best quality generally sells at from 6 to 7 *sers* for the rupee, or from 16s. to 18s. 8d. per cwt.; and rice of inferior quality, which is only used by the poorer classes, at from 9 to 10 *sers* for the rupee, or from 11s. 2d. to 12s. 5d. per cwt. Little or no trade is carried on in unhusked grain. Paddy produced in the District generally sells at an average of from 15 to 16 *sers* per rupee, or from 7s. to 7s. 6d. per cwt. Indian corn, which is only grown to a small extent, is sold 435 439 243

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extent of waste land, some is cultivated in a manner resembling the *júm* system,—successive crops are grown on a patch of land till the soil is exhausted, and then another spot is selected, where the same process is repeated afresh, but without anything that can be called a *júmiá* tenure. Any renting of land is exceptional, and there are no recognised rates of rent. The Deputy-Commissioner, however, states that an ordinary rate for rented land would be from two to three shillings a year for as much land as an individual can cultivate with his own hands. 423 [427]

MANURE is generally used in raising rice and potatoes. It is seldom purchased, the dung and litter of the cattle and other animals about the house being generally utilized for the purpose. For rice fields a little less than half a ton of manure, but for potatoes upwards of two tons, is required per acre. Manure, if purchased, would cost from 2s. 7½d. to 3s. 9d. per acre for rice land, and for potato fields from 12s. to 18s. per acre. 243 244 [435]

IRRIGATION for agricultural purposes is regularly practised. Water is brought to the land by means of channels cut from the numerous hill streams in the neighbourhood of the fields. Wells and tanks are unknown. The work of irrigation by means of these channels is very easily carried on, and at a very trifling outlay. Rotation of crops is not practised in the Hills. 312

MODEL FARM.—The Shillong Model Farm, established in 1873, has not proved a success. Experiments tried with wheat give some hope that cold-weather crops may profitably be introduced into the Hills. Two new varieties of potato—'red rosebs' and 'pheasant's eye'—were successfully introduced in 1873-74; but these are not looked upon favourably by the Khásiás, as they only give one crop in the year, whereas the ordinary variety yields two crops. Several fruit-trees have been planted out, including apple, pear, cherry, nectarine, and plum; and the tables of the European residents are supplied with vegetables from the garden attached to the farm. A *Manual of Potato Cultivation* compiled by the superintendent has been translated into Assamese, and copies have been distributed among the adjoining Hill tribes. The general failure in all the agricultural experiments is attributed partly to the unfitness of the soil, and still more to the ravages of white ants and other insects peculiar to the Hills. The attempts to improve the indigenous breeds of live stock have been equally unfortunate. During the two years 1874-76 the sum of Rs. 1744 177 244 648 654 177 245 648 654 [134] [136] 231

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231 (£174, 8s.) was expended on the purchase of stock, including
648 cattle, sheep, and pigs from England. Even native cattle at the
elevation of Shillong fall off very much in the months of January
654 and February from want of forage, and the Khásiás at this season
generally drive them to lower slopes. But one of the chief objects
in keeping cattle at the farm was to obtain manure; and *mati kalái*
(Phaseolus radiatus) was grown for them, cut green, and stocked
[731] for food. On this they did very well. In 1875-76, however, cattle
disease broke out on the farm in a very virulent shape. Out of 39
cattle attacked, only 7, or 18 per cent., recovered, and the animals
imported from England all died. There was also a heavy mortality
in that year among the sheep and pigs. The following are the
financial results for the two years:—1874-75—Expenditure, Rs.
13,297. 0. 5; receipts, Rs. 309. 2. 6: deficit, Rs. 12,987. 13. 11.
1875-76—Expenditure, Rs. 11,445. 8. 6; receipts, Rs. 1036. 15. 0:
deficit, Rs. 10,408. 9. 6. Total deficit, Rs. 23,396. 7. 5, or £2339.
648 13s. In view of these figures the Chief Commissioner has deter-
mined to restrict farming operations to small experiments in irri-
654 gated *rabi* crops, and, as a measure of economy, to dispense with
the services of the superintendent. The future expenditure on the
farm will be insignificant. The establishment now (1877) consists
of a *sardár* on Rs. 50 and a *chaukidár* on Rs. 10 a month (total,
£72 a year), under the direct control of the Deputy-Conservator of
Forests; the total number of live-stock is 64 head.

731 NATURAL CALAMITIES, such as blights, floods, or droughts, are
not common in the District, although the crops in the Jáintiá Hills
sometimes suffer from insects. So far as the Deputy-Commissioner
is able to ascertain, no destruction of crops affecting the general
harvest has occurred within the experience of the present generation.
[435] During the Orissa famine of 1866-67 the maximum price of common
rice reached £1 per hundredweight, but no such distress was felt as
to require Government relief operations. The price just mentioned
was certainly equal to the rates prevalent in the famine-stricken
localities; but prices always rule high in the Hills, and afford no just
criterion of the state of affairs among the general body of the
inhabitants. Distress was only felt by a small portion of the
population, chiefly the Bengáli immigrants residing in the District,
262 who are generally a well-to-do class. The Hill people, as a rule, do
244 not eat potatoes, which they grow only for export; but in case of
439 actual famine, they might fall back upon this crop for their own food
Supply.

headquarters of the Administration. The manufacture of country spirit gives employment to a considerable number of persons, most of whom are females. At a recent census of the country stills in the district, undertaken by the district officials, the number of stills has been found to be 1,530. There must be at least one person employed at each still, so that the number of distillers is probably not less than 2,000, possibly more. The spirit is distilled both for home consumption and for purposes of sale, in some villages almost entirely for sale. In the Jaintia Hills stock-breeding and dealing in cattle provides occupation for 1,295 people, according to the last census. The cattle are reared in the Jaintia Hills and are driven down to the plains when they reach the age of maturity, where they find a ready market amongst the Sylhetis. Cattle are also driven into Shillong for sale from the Jaintia Hills. Another place for rearing cattle is the Siemship of Nongkhlaw, where there is good pasturage in the neighbourhood of Mairang. These cattle are either sold in Shillong or find their way to the Kamrup district by the old Nongkhlaw road. Cattle-breeding is an industry which is capable of expansion in these hills. There are a few carpenters to be found in Shillong and its neighbourhood. The Khasis are said by Col. Waddell to be unacquainted with the art of weaving; but the fact that a considerable weaving industry exists amongst the Khyrwang villages of the Syntengs, and at Myuso and Sohtings, has been overlooked by him. The Khyrwangs weave a special pattern of cotton and silk cloth, striped red and white. In Myuso and Sohtings similar cloths are woven, also the sleeveless coat. In former days this industry is said to have been considerable, but it has been displaced to a large extent of late years by Manchester piece goods. The number of weavers returned at the last census in the district was 533. The Khasis and Mikirs of the low country, or Bhoia as they are called, weave cotton cloths which they dye with the leaves of a plant called u soh. This is perhaps the wild indigo, or ram, of the Shan settlers in the Assam Valley. The weavers are almost always females. An important means of subsistence is road and building work; a considerable number of coolies, both male and female, are employed under Government, practically throughout the year, in

more and chemical fertilizers. Both level land and 241
hillsides are cultivated by the same hand techniques. 1 × 6-foot patches are fashioned with walkways between, soils are overturned within the patches and allowed to dry, the soils are burned slowly and the ashes spread over the soil, and finally the seed is sown, either broadcast or sown with the aid of the typical Khasi hoe. The coldest part of the upland enjoys a two-crop year, and Khasis often double
crop as well. Paddy has long been found in the 243
lowlands, in parts of Jaintia and Khasi, the only 199
places where the plow is found. Nowadays paddy is 171
more and more seen in the uplands, together with a simple terracing and irrigation technology. Many
upland Khasis have house gardens in which they 244
raise a wide variety of vegetables, including pumpkins, cabbage, radishes, sweet potatoes, eggplant, and many others. Important crops in Khasi country 241
are paddy rice, tea, cucurbitacea, cotton, bananas, and 189
pineapples, in War, they are betel nut, pan leaf, oranges, and sugar cane. **Fishing and hunting.** Fish- 226
ing is done by poisoning streams, but this is a subsistence activity only in the southern foothills. Hunting was formerly by bow and arrow or by traps, 224
including spring guns and pitfalls, but was always primarily a sport. [Cf. Stagmüller 1928.] **Gathering.** 222
Khasis once gathered about 100 species of wild plants, most of them for food, but some for medicine. Thirty villagers still gather food plants, but there is [278]
no real dependence on gathering. Medicinal plants
continue to be very important. **Domestic animals.** 231
Fowl, goats, pigs, and cattle are bred both for meat and sacrifice. Milk was formerly not utilized, but is [230]
now so popular that specialists keep herds of milch cows. Pigs are used as village scavengers, but some also receive prepared food. Cattle and goats forage [233]
freely in the fields during the winter, but are herded by a commonly hired herdsman during the agricultural season. Most households keep chickens, gen- [235]
erally for their eggs, and a few keep ducks. A few horses are also seen. Dogs are partials, except for hunting dogs. Cats are popular. **Food and stimulants.** 262
The staple food of Khasis is boiled rice, together with the dried fish which is imported from Sylhet. Boiled beef, pork, and chicken are relished, but beyond the means of most. Meals are taken twice a day, in the 264
morning and evening, although farmers also take a midday meal in the field, and others may take tea and cold sweet potatoes or rice bread. Certain foods 262
are taken to certain site. Stimulants are extremely 189
common, especially betel nut, which is often accompanied by a bit of tobacco. Tobacco is also 276
smoked as cigarettes and in hookah and other pipes. Every village has one or more household taverns, 275
where distilled rice whisky is cooked and sold by the 276
glass and by the bottle. Imported opium had spread widely in the midnineteenth Khasi country, but controls 276
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439 inhabitants of the lower slopes of the hills on the Sylhet border. The finest oranges in India are also grown in groves in the same tract, the value of the trade in which is now (1876) estimated to amount
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of anything except iron or steel, the result being that the sword is most awkward to hold, and could never have been of much use as a weapon of offence.

The same spear is used for thrusting and casting. The spear is not decorated with wool or hair like the spears of the Naga tribes, but it is nevertheless a serviceable weapon, and would be formidable in the hand of a resolute man at close quarters. The length of the spear is about 6½ feet. The shaft is generally of bamboo, although sometimes of ordinary wood. The spear heads are forged in the local smithies.

The Khasi weapon *par excellence* is the bow. Although no "Robin Hoods," the Khasis are very fair archers, and they use the bow largely for hunting. The Khasi bow (*ka synriah*) is of bamboo, and is about 5 feet in height. The longest bow in use is said to be about the height of a man, the average height amongst the Khasis being about about 5 feet 2 inches to 5 feet 6 inches. The bowstring is of split bamboo, the bamboos that are used being a *synt*, a *ishiew*, and a *sing-lisi*.

The arrows (*ki khnam*) are of two kinds: (a) the barbed-headed (*ki pilong*), and (b) the plain-headed (*ong*). Both are made out of bamboo. The first kind is used for hunting, the latter for archery matches only. Archery may be styled the Khasi national game. A description of Khasi archery will be found under the heading "Games." The feathers of the following birds are used for arrows:—Vultures, geese, cranes, cormorants, and hornbills. Arrow-heads are made of iron or steel, and are forged locally. The distance a Khasi arrow will carry, shot from the ordinary bow by a man of medium strength, is 150 to 200 yards. The Khasi shield is circular in shape, of hide, and studded with brass or silver. In former days shields of rhinoceros hide are said to have been used, but nowadays buffalo skin is used. The shields would stop an arrow or turn aside a spear or sword thrust. The present-day shield is used merely for purposes of display.

Before the advent of the British into the hills the Khasis are said to have been acquainted with the art of manufacturing gunpowder, which was prepared in the neighbourhood of Mawsynram, Kyrdi and Cherra. The gunpowder used to be

such a way that the notch can be cut directly after a knot. The purpose of the notch is to be able to set the arrow easily on the string. There are two kinds of notches: 411

1. Notches which resemble the curve of a Moorish bow. (14)

14. Illustration II, figs. 5a, 5b.

2. Notches which have an even flatness at the bottom and a point on the left and the right. (15)

15. Illustration II, figs. 6a, 6b.

Relationship of the Cut Surface to the Notch.

The large spear-shaped tips of the hunting arrows ('nam-pliang) are made with the wide flat part at right angles to the notch and thus to the string of the bow. (16)

16. Bruno Adler, op. cit., p. 607.

Markings on the Arrows.

[617] Many arrows (arrows for sport 'nam-sop) are marked with black lacquer from the end of the base of the feathering to the notch, so that the arrows of the teams can be told apart in shooting competitions. (17) [526]

17. Illustration II, fig. 6a.

Feathering the Arrows

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The Khasi have two ways of feathering:
1. Radial sewn feathering.
2. Tangential tied feathering.

411 237 Ad 1. Radial sewn feathering is the common method. Feathers are taken from geese, cranes, cormorants, Buluwar vultures and the horn bird. The feathers of the carrion vultures are used less often as they are brittle. The feathers are split along the quill (shaft), cut on the top and on the bottom and sewn onto the base. At one end the feathers are 4 millimeters wide, on the other end (towards the notch) 8 millimeters wide. The split quill is 5 centimeters, the outer flags of the feathers 7 to 8 centimeters.

411 237 531 The base consists of tinfoil and is divided variously. A strip of tinfoil (not colored) alternates with a strip of tinfoil colored red. Thus the bases have a red tinfoil strip in the middle and two red ones at each end. Or there are three in the middle and at the ends two or three red strips of tinfoil. The space in between is filled out with uncolored tinfoil (silver). The red strips of tinfoil are two millimeters wide. (18)

18. Illustration II, fig. 6a.

There are also bases of leather which is cut very fine and gilded. As in the examples just mentioned red strips of tinfoil alternate with the base that is not colored; similarly, uncolored strips of leather alternate with the gilded base. The uncolored strips of leather are 7 millimeters wide. (19)

19. Illustration II, fig. 7a.

The feathers which have been cut properly are now sewn onto the bases with uncolored natural silk, in a spiral form, (20), although

20. Illustration II, fig. 4

lightly. The stitches are made exactly and evenly throughout. Figures 7b and 8b of illustration II, though greatly enlarged show how the silken threads are put on. With a base 5 centimeters long the number of stitches is 22 to 24, with bases of 7.5 the number of stitches is 29 to 31. 411 237 531

The feathers are at right angles to the split quill on the shaft and are sewn on five together, more rarely three together.

On the underside of the base (towards the tip of the arrow) black colored pitch is smeared, to unite the cut off feather ends to the shaft of the arrow. (21)

21. Illustration II, figs. 7a, 8a.

[011] Ad. 2. Tied tangential feathering is only used still on children's arrows ('nam-phiah). A completely uncut feather is fastened lengthwise on the end of the arrow by silk or bast and the join is smeared with pitch. 411 237

Hunting arrows and arrows for sport are also used unfeathered (hunting arrows especially in the neighborhood of Lamin) and are then simply called 'nam, but if they are feathered they are called 'nam-pur. 411 526

The target is made of the soft wood of a root and is called ka sob-pdung by the Khasi. A piece of wood about 8 to 10 centimeters wide and 50 centimeters long is cut from the root, smoothed on the front side and pointed somewhat towards the ground, so that the whole thing resembles a relatively wide but short lath. This target is set up by putting the somewhat pointed end into the earth and placing two bamboo sticks behind as braces, so that the target cannot be tipped

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

There is considerable trade carried on in
845 *tejpát* or bay leaves, the trees being extensively cultivated by the
439 inhabitants of the lower slopes of the hills on the Sylhet border. The
finest oranges in India are also grown in groves in the same tract,
the value of the trade in which is now (1876) estimated to amount
• 237 to £3760 per annum. Lac is gathered by the Mikirs in the Jáintiá
439 Hills, but not to any great extent. Bees are both domesticated
and found wild, and an extensive trade in bees-wax is carried on,
231 the amount exported being estimated at from three hundred to four
hundred *maunds* annually. The whole of the Hills, where there is
233 no forest, and where the land is not under cultivation, consists of
621 rich pasture grounds, which are held in common by the villagers
651 and pay no revenue to Government.

137 The forests of the Khási and Jáintiá Hills do not yield much
profit either to the British Government or to the chiefs. There
[648] are no reserved forests in the District; and according to the Deputy-
Conservator, the total area of unreserved forest, *i.e.* of land covered
[659] with timber trees and not at present required for *jhúm* cultivation, is
only 150 square miles. The trees found are chiefly pine, and those
classified as 'mixed upper hill forests.' At an elevation of 3000
feet, the Pinus Kasia predominates over all other vegetation and
forms almost pure pine forests. It is found also at lower heights,
and there attains larger dimensions, but only in the case of isolated
trees. The 'mixed upper hill forests' are confined to a series of
sacred groves, which clothe the topmost ridge of the watershed
between the valleys of the Brahmaputra and Surmá. The characteristic trees are those of a temperate vegetation, chiefly consisting of
oaks, chestnuts, magnolia, Schima, Cinnamomum, Prunus, Engelhardtia, etc. There are also numerous other timber trees, including
the valuable *sál* (Shorea robusta) and the rubber tree (Ficus
elastica); but on the whole the Khási Hills are remarkable for the
[648] paucity of forest. Early in 1874-75 measures were taken to put a
[659] stop to the indiscriminate burning of the forests, and the Siems and
village officers were made responsible for the conservancy of the
sacred groves. These endeavours have met with some success;
but it is a very difficult thing to change the habits of a population,
or to induce uncivilised tribes to incur a small temporary inconvenience for the sake of future benefit. The total area directly
protected from fire during the year 1875-76 is returned at 3608
acres; the expenditure was Rs. 122; and in ten prosecutions for
breaches of forest rules, twenty-three persons were convicted.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

133 the highest point is the Shillong Peak, 6,445 feet, covered with scrub,
137 grassland and forests (mostly oak, rhododendron and pine trees). The Jaintia Hills are considerably lower, with much flat land; wet paddy cultivation is practised here and there where sufficient water is available. From the plateau of the Khasi Hills northwards to the Assam Brahmaputra Valley there is a gentle slope covered with thick jungle, and the southern slope towards the Bengal plain is very steep, so that

101
102
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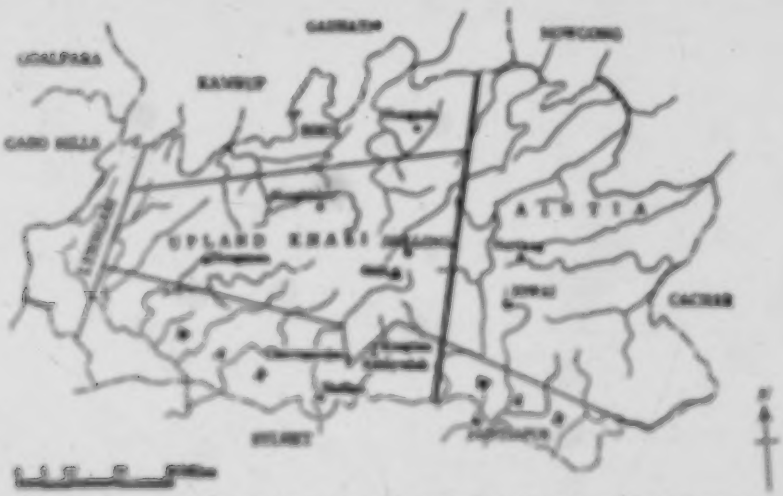

MAP. 6. — *Map of the Khasi-Jaintia Hills with Classification of Groups.*

139 the upland remained practically cut off from the plains until the
137 middle of the 19th century.

Following the geographical and ecological differences, the five
619 groups are segregated into fairly well-defined cultural areas, each
[181] developing a different economy and dialect:

[24]

1. The Jaintia[1] — associated mostly with wet rice cultivation.
2. The Khasi (upland Khasi) — practise potato cultivation with small-scale rice and maize cultivation.
3. The War — inhabit the southern slope of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills (they are called geographically the Khasi War and the Jaintia War). Due to the heavy rainfall, the soil is the most fertile in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills. The Khasi War practise jhooming of which the main yield is millet. In the lower part of this area, pan-leaf, betel-nut, and orange gardens are cultivated. The Jaintia War practise wet rice cultivation like most of the Jaintias, as well as pan-leaf cultivation.

1. They are called also the Syntong or the Pnar.

Upto now the main sources of forest revenue in the district are timber, limestone, lac, bay leaf and elephants. 13

2.6 **Agriculture.**—The greater proportion of population of the district subsist on agriculture. The staple crops raised in the district are wet and dry rice, various kinds of millets, maize, potatoes, pineapples, oranges, arecanut, betel-leaf and bay leaf. To a smaller extent they grow in the gardens round their houses vegetables, pulses and occasionally sugarcane. 24

2.6.1 **The main crops : Rice.**—While wet rice is grown in the valleys with which the hills are interspersed, dry rice is grown on the hill sides. Highland rice is seldom grown twice running on the same spot for after one crop the soil is exhausted and a fallow period of four to five years is usually allowed. Jowai subdivision is predominantly a wet rice producing area. In Shillong subdivision main wet rice pockets are the Bhoi area stretching upto the sung valley and the southern portion of the plateau, the Mylliem state, the south-western portion of the district and the southern plain portion of the district adjoining East Pakistan. Dry rice is grown more or less through out the district. While Jowai subdivision can claim self sufficiency in rice, Shillong subdivision is a deficit area and the people in this subdivision particularly those in the southern portion (border area) of the district have to depend on supplies from outside. Though there is no reliable statistics on the area under rice, a rough estimate is given elsewhere in the land utilisation table. 243

Maize and millet.—Are two important food crops of the district grown more or less throughout the district.

Potatoes are extensively grown in the higher slopes and in the lower land which are well drained. Generally two crops of potatoes are raised annually in the district. In respect of production and export of potato this district occupies the topmost position in the State of Assam. 244

Oranges, betel leaf and arecanut are most extensively grown in the southern foot of the hills, i.e. all over the border areas. Oranges are also grown in Borsihat area, in the northern portion of the district. Orange and lemon plantations extend from the foot of the hills to a height of about 1100 feet and are carried up the roadsides which mark the southern face of the high plateau. The district is an important producer of Bay-leaf which is abundantly found in the border areas of the district. Other valuable cash crops of the district are black pepper, turmeric, chillies, ginger, pineapple and various other fruits. 245

2.6.2 **Agricultural seasons.**—For wet rice, the lands which are naturally irrigated by virtue of their very location, are ploughed or hoed by about the middle of February and seed sown in May or June. Harvesting takes place in October and November. For dry rice, the land is hoed by about the middle of September, the solids are collected into little heaps and burnt and by February the land is again hoed up and the seed sown in April - May. Harvesting goes 243

426 Of the total number of loans 81 per cent in Border area, 18 per cent in Project area and 29 per cent in General area were free of interest while rate of interest for 9 per cent, 30 per cent and 60 per cent respectively of the loans in the three areas were found to be 30 per cent or more per annum which in cases ranged upto 200 per cent.

241 434 592 10.8. Farm output of 67 per cent of the families in Border area, 56 per cent of families in Project area and 60 per cent of families in General area were less than Rs. 500. a year, while 8 per cent, 30 per cent and 1 per cent of the families in the respective area earned more than Rs. 2,000.00 a year from their farms. Of the total number of farms fetching less than or Rs. 500.00 a year in Border area 33 per cent of them are medium sized farms and 4 per cent large sized farms, the corresponding proportions for Project area and General area being 21 per cent, 1 per cent, 27 per cent and 1 per cent.

24 433 10.9. In Border area the most important crops are oranges, betelnut, paddy, and betel leaf which respectively accounted for 31 per cent, 27 per cent, 19 per cent and 9 per cent of the total harvested area. In Project area paddy and orange are the most important crop which accounted respectively for 32 per cent and 3 per cent of the total harvested area. The most important crops in the General area are paddy and potato which respectively accounted for 61 per cent and 7 per cent of the total harvested area.

On the basis of data collected for all the villages investigated average yield per acre worked out at paddy 11.65 maunds, potato 21.61 maunds, oranges 3.77 lacs (3000 numbers) and betelnut 2.95 lacs (12000 numbers). These yield exhibited wide variation among the three areas.

434 592 10.10. Proportions of families with annual gross income of less than Rs. 750, Rs. 750 to less than Rs. 2,000, and above Rs. 3,000, were respectively found to be 40 per cent, 45 per cent and 6 per cent in Border area, 34 per cent, 60 per cent and 6 per cent in Project area and 45 per cent, 50 per cent and 5 per cent in General area. Average annual gross income per family worked out at Rs. 1,070.30 in Border area, Rs. 1,030.40 nP. in Project area and Rs. 860.36 nP. in General area which for predominantly agricultural and non-agricultural families respectively stood at Rs. 1,033.06 nP. and Rs. 1,161.91 nP. in Border area, Rs. 1,005.33 nP. and 1,040.36 nP. in Project area and Rs. 875.08 nP. and 700.05 nP. in General area. In all the three areas main contributors to family income were agriculture, service-professions-labour and trade accounting respectively for 44 per cent, 33 per cent and 15 per cent of the total average income in Border area, 37 per cent, 40 per cent and 9 per cent in Project area and 53 per cent, 36 per cent and 8 per cent in General area.

The net annual income per family in different income groups varied between Rs. 60 to 1,040 in Border area, between Rs. 110 to Rs. 1,500 in Project area and between Rs. 98 to Rs. 2,004 in General area. The average over all per family net annual income working out at Rs. 601 in Border area, Rs. 705 in project area and Rs. 760 in General area and the same per capita at Rs. 231 in Border area, Rs. 216 in Project area and Rs. 253 in General area.

TABLE F-3

Yield rate of some important crops

Crop		Gross area harvested (acre)	Total yield (unit below)	Quantity consumed	Quantity value (Rs. 0·00)	Quantity sold	Sale Value	Average yield per acre
(1)		(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Rainfed area :—								
a. Betel leaf	..	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
b. Betel nut	..	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
c. Oranges	..	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
d. Potato	..	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
e. Paddy	..	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
f. Millet	..	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
g. Tapioca	..	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
h. Yam	..	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
i. Cotton	..	[illegible]	..	..	...	..	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total :		[illegible]			[illegible]		[illegible]	

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TABLE F.3—*contd.*

(1)		(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Project area—								
a. Sand leaf	..	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
b. Sand nut	..	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
c. Orange	..	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
d. Prunus	..	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
e. Paddy	..	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
f. Millet	..	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
g. Tapioca	..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
h. Tea	..	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
i. Cotton	..	[illegible]	—	—	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total		[illegible]	—	—	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	—

[illegible]

[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
a. [illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
b. [illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
c. [illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
d. [illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
e. [illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
f. [illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
g. [illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
h. [illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
i. [illegible]	—	[illegible]	—	—	—	—	—
[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR? Khasi AR?

[p. 24]

SECTION II.

OCCUPATION.

24/ The greater proportion of the population subsists by cultiva-
465 tion. Cultivation of rice may be divided under two headings,
[62] high land or dry cultivation and low land or wet cultivation.
The total number of persons who subsist by agriculture
generally in the hills, is given in the last Census Report as
154,907, but the term agriculture includes the cultivation of
the potato, the orange, betel-nut and *pân*. A full description
of the different forms of agriculture will be given under the
463 heading "Agriculture." A considerable number of Khasis earn
482 their livelihood as porters, carrying potatoes to the markets on
437 the Sylhet side of the district, from whence the crop is conveyed
by means of country boats to the different places of call of
river-steamers in the Surma Valley, the steamers carrying the
potatoes to Calcutta. Potatoes are also largely carried to
Shillong by porters, where the tuber is readily bought by
Marwari merchants, who load it in carts to be conveyed by
road to Gauhati, from which station it is again shipped to
482 Calcutta and Upper Assam. Many persons are also employed in
485 carrying rice up the hill from Theria to Cherrapunji, Shillong,
[64] and on to other places. Salt is also carried by porters by
this route. Many Khasis, both male and female, live by daily
labour in this way, earning as much as eight annas, and
[62] six annas a day, respectively. The Census Report of
1901 shows some 14,000 "general labourers" in the district,
the greater number of whom are porters and coolies, both male
[55] and female, employed on road work and on building. In
Shillong the Government Offices and the printing press give
employment to a certain number of Khasis. There is also a fair
demand for Khasi domestic servants, both among the Europeans
and the Bengali and Assamese clerks who are employed at the
headquarters of the Administration.

this season, the males earning on an average 8 annas and the females 4 annas a day. Col. Dixon writes that in 1873 the wages for ordinary male labourers were 4 to 6 annas a day, and for females 2½ to 4 annas, so that the wages rates have almost doubled in the last thirty years. Contractors, however, often manage to obtain daily labour at lower rates than those paid by Government. Sonnamons and skilled labourers are able to get higher rates. It is easier to obtain coolies in the Khasi Hills than in the Jaintia Hills, where a large proportion of the population is employed in cultivation. The Khasis are excellent labourers, and cheerful and willing, but they at once resent bad treatment, and are then intractable and hard to manage. Khasis are averse to working in the plains in the hot-weather months.

APPLICATION.

I am indebted to Mr. Rita for the following remarks on apiculture in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills.

There are two kinds of indigenous bees in the Khasi Hills, one domesticated, called *u syng ngin Sulieu*, and the other *u Ipem*, which is never domesticated, and is very poisonous; its hives are difficult of access, being always located in very high cliffs. A few hives of a third class of bee are now a-days to be found in and around the station of Shillong, i.e. the Indian. This bee was imported into the hills by Messrs. Dobbie and Rita, and the species became propagated in the following manner. The bees had been just established in a hive, when they had constructed a brood comb, when the hive was robbed by some Khasis for the sake of the *honey* it contained, which they wished to consume as food; but the queen bee escaped and established other colonies, one of which was afterwards captured by Mr. Rita, the others establishing themselves at places in the neighbourhood. The hive used by the Khasis is of a very primitive description. It is usually a hollow piece of wood, about 2½ to 3 ft. in length and 10 or 12 in. in diameter. A small door is placed at each end of the log, one for the bees to go in and out, and the other for the removal of the honey when wanted. The honey-combs are broken and the honey is

played with a little wooden bar held in the hand. *Ka marpu* is an instrument much the same as the last, but is played with a bow like a violin. *Ka marpdhia* is a kind of guitar with one string, played with the fingers.

Ka tingpuri is a wooden pipe, which is played like a flageolet. *Ka lyndhia*, or *shibawiar*, are cymbals made of bell metal; *ka shiwiti*, or *ka shingpiang*, is a kind of flute made of bamboo. This instrument is played at communion ceremonies, and when the bones and ashes of a clan are collected and placed in the family tomb, or *mawbah*. This flute is not played on ordinary occasions. In the folk-lore portion of the Monograph will be found a tale regarding it. There are other kinds of flutes which are played on ordinary occasions. The Wars of the twenty-five villages in the Khyrim State make a sort of harp out of reed, which is called *ka 'ning diny phang*. The Khasis also play a *jowai* harp (*ka mang*), which is made of bamboo.

AGRICULTURE.

The Khasis are industrious cultivators, although they are behindhand in some of their methods of cultivation, (e.g. their failure to adopt the use of the plough in the greater portion of the District); they are thoroughly aware of the use of manures. Their system of burning the soil, allowing them to dry, then burning them, and raking the ashes over the soil, is much in advance of any system of natural manuring to be seen elsewhere in the Province. The Khasis use the following agricultural implements:—A large hoe (*mukhia hok*), an axe for felling trees (*ka sifai*), a large *da* for felling trees (*ka ward lyngpem*), two kinds of bill-hooks (*ka wahi pnat* and *ka wahi thmat*), a sickle (*ka ...hi*), a plough in parts of the Jaintia Hills (*ka lyngkor*), also a harrow (*ka ...ni ...*). In dealing with agriculture, the lands of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills may be divided into the following classes:—(a) Forest land, (b) wet paddy land called *hali* or *pynthor*, (c) high grass land or *ka ri lum* or *ka ri pilang*, (d) homestead land (*ka 'dew lyngki*). Forest lands are cleared by the process known as *jhuming*, the trees being felled early in the winter and allowed to lie till January or February.

I:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR? Khasi AR?

when fire is applied, logs of wood being placed at intervals of a few feet to prevent as far as possible the ashes being blown away by the wind. The lands are not hoed, nor treated any further, paddy and millet being sown broadcast, and the seeds of root crops, as well as of maize and Job's tears, being dibbled into the ground by means of small hoes. No manure, beyond the wood ashes above mentioned, is used on this class of land; there is no irrigation, and no other system of watering is resorted to. The seeds are sown generally when the first rain falls. This style of cultivation, or *jhum*, is largely resorted to by the people inhabiting the eastern and southern portions of the Jaintia Hills, e.g. the Bhoi and Lalungs, the Lyngngam and Garos of the western tracts of the district. Wet paddy land (*hali* or *pynthor*) is, as the name implies, the land where the kind of paddy which requires a great deal of water is grown. The bottoms of valleys are divided up into little compartments by means of fairly high banks corresponding to the *kamaras* *dis*, and the water is let in at will into these compartments by means of skilfully contrived irrigation channels, sometimes a mile or more in length. The soil is made into a thick paste in the Jaintia Hills by means of the plough, and in the Khasi Hills through the agency of the hoe. Droves of cattle also are driven repeatedly over the paddy-fields until the soil has acquired the right consistency. The seed is then sown broadcast in the wet soil. It is not sown first in a seedling bed and then transplanted, as in Assam and Bengal. When the plants have grown to a height of about four inches, water is let in again; then comes the weeding, which has to be done several times. When the crop is ripe, the ears are cut with a sickle (*ka sudi*) generally, so as to leave almost the entire stalk, and are left in different parts of the field. A peculiarity about the Lyngngam and the Khasis and Bhoies of the low hills, or Bhoies as they are called, is that they reckon it easy, or taboo, to use the sickle. They reap their grain by pulling the ear through the hand. The sheaves, after they are dry, are collected and threshed out on the spot, either by beating them against a [illegible] (*shah kha*), or by men and women treading them out (*lah-kha*). Cattle are not used for treading out the grain. The grain is then collected and placed in large bamboo receptacles

ii Gibson E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 ART Khasi ART

After the plants have attained the height of about 6 in., they are earthed up. When the leaves turn yellow, it is a sign that the potatoes are ripe. The different kinds of sweet potatoes grown and the yam, and another kind of esculent root—*u sukphlang* (*Dioscorea vestita Roxb.*) will be noticed under the head of "Crops."

The Khasis possess very few agricultural sayings and proverbs, but the following may be quoted as examples:—

(1) *Wet ju ei thong jingthong ne lot synshai ka ka ewiew ka.*

Do not allow plants to be planted or seeds to be sown by one who has a bad hand.

As elsewhere, there is a belief amongst the Khasis that some people's touch as regards agriculture is unlucky.

(2) *Thong diang ka lot synshai kaba ngam bnai, pa kaba ehei u bnai.*

Plant trees or sow seeds not when the moon is waning, but when it is on the wane.

(3) *Wei ka ane kha ka bneng ngingi jaw ewiet phim ne ioh jingpeng kaba.*

A red sky in the west in the evening is the sign of fine weather to-morrow.

Cf. our English proverb "a red sky in the morning is a shepherd's warning, a red sky at night is a shepherd's delight."

CROPS.

The varieties of rice found in the Khasi Hills are divided into two basic classes, one grown as a dry crop on high lands, and the other raised in valleys and hollows which are artificially irrigated from hill streams. The lowland rice is more productive than that grown on high lands, the average per acre of the former, according to the agricultural bulletin, as ascertained from the results of 417 experimental crop cuttings carried out during the fifteen years preceding the year 1906, being 11.7 maunds of paddy per acre, as against an average of 8.4 maunds per acre (resulting from 407 cuttings made during the

The slaves and other similar sacrifices to the gods of the State or divisions of the State may be said to be the communal religious duties of the Iyngkhos. The duties of Iyngkhos with reference to private persons may now be mentioned. When it is found that any two people have made an incestuous marriage, that is to say a marriage within the exogamous group of the Iyn, or clan, the parties at fault are taken before the Iyngkhos by their elsemen, who request him to sacrifice in order to ward off the injurious effects of the sang or taboo, of such a connection from the kindreds. On this occasion a pig is sacrificed to a'lei Iyngkhos and a goat to Ka Iei Iong syi. The parties at fault are then entertained. As mentioned in another place, the sin of incest admits of no expiation for the offenders themselves. In the Khyrim State, it is said by the Iyngkhos themselves, although not by the Siem or the myntries, that they are the ceremonial heirs of all the persons who die without having female heirs (ing dak). In other States such property passes to the Siem. The Iyngkhos of Nongkhrem can also take possession of the property of persons who have been found to harbour an evil spirit (jingkhi) in their houses. It appears that in such cases the house and furniture are burnt, as in the case of the Tawk-expectation in the Jaintia Hills, the Iyngkhos, however, taking possession of jewellery or anything else of value. The only practical service the Iyngkhos renders in return is to build the affected person a new house; when, indeed, we take into account the casting forth of the devil by the Iyngkhos. Mr. Jenkins, of Shangpung, in the Jaintia Hills, writes: "Such is the belief of the people in the evil spirits, that they are completely under the influence of the priests and spend large sums of money in order to secure their favour. They live in constant dread lest, by the least transgression or omission, they should offend these overlords and so bring upon themselves the wrath of the demons." The influence of the Iyngkhos over the people in the Jaintia Hills seems to be stronger than in the Khasi Hills. For instance, it came to my notice in Balang that crops cannot be cut until the Iyngkhos has seen them, in other words, until the Iyngkhos has claimed and obtained his share of the produce. In many places, however, in the Khasi Hills the Iyngkhos is much the [illegible] [illegible] of Gorham's

This cross is apparently some rough gem which may be picked up by the Lyngams in the river beds. A rich man amongst them, however, is one who possesses a number of metal gongs, which they call *wiu-g*. For these they pay very high prices, Rs. 100 being quite a moderate sum for one of them. Being curious to see one of these gongs, I asked a *sirdar*, or head-man, to show me one. He replied that he would do so, but it would take time, as he always buried his gongs in the jungle for fear of thieves. Next morning he brought me a gong of bell metal, with carvings of animals engraved thereon. The gong when struck gave out a rich deep note like that of Burmese or Tibetan gongs. These gongs have a regular currency in this part of the hills, and represent to the Lyngams "Bank of England" notes. It would be interesting to try to ascertain what is their history, for no one in the Lyngam country makes them in these days. Is it possible that the Garos brought them with them when they migrated from Thibet? The gongs are well known in the Garo Hills, and I hear that when a *sirdar*, or head-man, dies his corpse is laid out upon them. They thus possess also an element of sanctity, besides being valuable for what they will fetch to the Garos or Lyngams. We may hope to hear more about them in Captain Playfair's account of the Garos.

The Lyngams do not tattoo. Their weapons are the large-headed Garo spear, the dao, and the shield. They do not usually carry bows and arrows, although there are some who possess them. They are by occupation cultivators. They use two kinds of hill rice, red and white, on the hill-sides. They have no wet paddy cultivation, and they do not cultivate in terraces like the Naga. They burn the jungle about February, after cutting down some of the trees and clearing away some of the debris, and then sow the paddy broadcast, without cultivating the ground in any way. They also cultivate millet and *Job's tears* in the same way. With the paddy million are sown the next year. The egg plant, yams, ginger, turmeric, and sweet potatoes of several varieties are grown by them in a similar manner. Those that sow the lac insect plant feeder trees (Hindi *ankal dal*) in the forest clearings, and rear the insect thereon. Some of these people, however, are prohibited by a

1:Gordon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

custom of their own from cultivating the *dondon*, in which case they plant certain other trees favourable to the growth of the lac insect. The villages are situated near their patches of cultivation in the forest. The villages are constantly shifting, owing to the necessity of burning fresh tracts of forest every two years. The houses are entirely built of bamboo, and, for such temporary structures, are very well built. In front, the houses are raised some 3 or 4 ft. from the ground on platform, being generally built on the side of a fairly steep hill, one end of the house resting on the ground, and the other on bamboo posts. The back end of the house is sometimes some 8 or 9 ft. from the ground. At the end of the house farthest away from the village path is a platform used for sitting out in the evening, and for spreading children and other articles to dry. Some Lyngam houses have only one room in which men, women, and children are all huddled together, the hearth being in the centre, and underneath the platform, the pigs. Well-to-do people, however, possess a sleeping room, where husband and wife sleep. A house I measured at Nongkhlaw village was of the following dimensions:—Length, 42 ft.; breadth, 16 ft.; height of house from the ground to the eaves, front, 9 ft.; back 18 ft. Houses are built with a portion of the thatch hanging over the eaves in front. No explanation could be given me for this. It is probably a Garo custom. In some Lyngam villages there are houses in the centre of the village where the young unmarried men sleep, where male guests are accommodated, and where the village councillors go on. These are similar to the *dolochang* or bachelors' clubhouses of the Mikirs, Garos, and Lalungs, and to the *morung* of the Nagas. This is a custom of the Thibetan Burmans called in Assam, and is not a Khasi institution. There are also high platforms, some 12 ft. or 15 ft. in height, in Lyngam villages, where the elders sit of an evening in the hot weather and take the air. Lyngam houses and villages are usually much cleaner than the ordinary Khasi villages, and although the Lyngams keep pigs, they do not seem to be so much as children as in the Khasi villages. There is little or no furniture in a Lyngam house. The Lyngam sleeps on a mat on the floor, and in cold weather covers himself with a [illegible]

(41) to take such a clan mother with the name Ka Sing Law. She has two
57b wives and five daughters, and in addition two brothers and two sisters who are all married. Also each of the five daughters and two sisters has four children. These forty-six people live with the clan mother and form the family clan of the Law. To these we also add the wives
(42) of brothers, the nephews and grandsons, but not their children. The latter have nothing to do with the family Law but belong to the family clan of their wives, live with that clan and are counted in it. Likewise neither the husband of Ka Sing Law, nor the husbands of the various daughters, sisters, nieces, and granddaughters belong here. They are all counted with their own clans, live and work with them according to Khasi custom, and only visit their wives occasionally perhaps after dark.

(43) The entire clan-family of Law is housed in 5 or 6 huts, which all
57c stand next to each other in a semicircle or are built one above the other on the slope of a hill, according to the character of the land. A
(44) garden frequently surrounds them in which maize, sweet potatoes, potato-like roots of Sub-ut and Sohow, bananas and, on the southern slopes of the Khasi Mountains, also coffee, pineapples, and other fruits are cultivated. A circle of bamboo cane that is so important for building purposes, household objects, and /156/ implements surrounds the garden and huts. This bamboo cane grows up so thick as an arm to a height of 10 or 15 meters and at the same time forms a good protection against bad weather. A wall (mawsha) of thrown-up earth encloses everything, forming an enclosed farm, prevents unimpeded access, and protects cattle and crops from the attacks and devastations of wild animals.

(45) What is considered the family property of such a clan? Primarily it is the land, the gardens, the rice fields, woods, fallow mountain
(46) and grazing lands. On the southern slopes of the Khasi Mountains there are fields for the cultivation of rape, orange groves, betel groves, plantations of betel palms and of pepper leaves which far and wide are so highly treasured for betel chewing as a means of pleasure. (1)

1. Cf. Becker, Im Heimat des Brahmaputra, *Am the River Valley of the Brahmaputra*/ (Munich, 1959), pp. 157 ff.

(47) Usually there is so much land available that the family-clan can enrich itself properly and also increase in number.

(48) According to its size and wealth a family clan also owns a
57d corresponding number of cows, oxen, horses, pigs, and goats. Neither the milk nor the flesh of the cows is used. They are kept for the

presentation of the written statement of the chieftain and the village elders that they would have no objection to it. The avaricious renter of the divine land mentioned above was despised by all.

As concerns the holy forests, which often extend picturesquely from the highest peak down the slope and are overgrown with gnarled oaks and bright colored rhododendron, no tree may be felled there; at the most, fallen wood or wood torn down by a storm or already rotten wood may be taken. The spirits of the forest, as punishing gods, will revenge every offense. Tigers and leopards, apes, bears, and snakes enjoy an undisturbed existence here. The only case in which wood may be cut in these divine woods is for the religious cremation ceremonies of the dead. It is the custom of the Khasi to set fire often to great areas in order to fertilize the ground with the ashes of grasses, trees, and shrubs without regard for the new growth of trees, and to make potato fields there for a year or two or to grow mountain rice, millet, or something similar and then to leave the field fallow again. Thus this is a clever precautionary rule, since there might otherwise be cases when there might be no wood for cremating the dead.

(Continuation follows)

/384/ Family Property and Maternal Rights
by C. Becker S.D.S., Wittsberg

Gordon says, (10) that these holy groves were formerly the property

10. The Khasis, p. 97.

of a village. That is not always so as the following case will demonstrate. I am also relating this because it gives us a deeper look into the whole customs of the clan under discussion.

Several decades ago, a Khasi who had become a Protestant, U Jawah Shai by name, was installed as a clerk with the English government official in Jowai. In order to assure his family a better living than just his meagre salary, he yearned for land. By birth from Jongphen in the War territory, he remembered that he could obtain his aim in the neighboring village Syndai from the family clan Umlong. So one day he went thither. After the customary greetings and refreshments with a water pipe and betel nut and conversation about various indifferent matters, he mentioned his desire. "I know," he said in the polite language of even these simple central men, "I know the goodness and the good name of your clan. Mamen and the elder-

8: Gurdon G-3 (no date) 1904 AR7 Khasi AR7

—the *Slyngkop*, or porch, being flush with the ground. The *mawpoi*, or centre room, is approached by a flight of steps. There are no windows, except one, which is hung on one side to admit light and air,—this is called the *pongkoi*. Both Khasis and Syntengs, like other Indo-Chinese races, are much addicted to gambling, and drinking to excess is a national vice. Christianity has, through the agency of the Welsh Calvinistic Mission, gained a very striking extension, and may be said indeed to be leavening the whole nation. Schools are numerous, and are pretty well attended by girls as well as boys. The Christians, and those who have come under the influence of Christianity, have adopted a high standard of comfort, and their homes resemble English cottages more nearly than the huts with which one is familiar in India.

Agriculture.—The Khasis do not use the plough; they cultivate their fields with a peculiar-shaped hoe, or *mokthaw*. They cultivate rice in the valleys, the rice being seven broadcast and the fields irrigated after considerable labour. They also cultivate hill rice on the uplands, which they sow broadcast. The potato, which was introduced into the Khasi Hills by Mr. David Scott about the year 1831,[1] is extensively cultivated and forms one of the principal articles of export. *Job's-tears* (*Coix lachryma*), several kinds of millet, Indian-corn, the *Sohphlang* (*Flemingia rostata*), are also largely cultivated. The valleys on the southern slopes of the hills have extensive orange groves, the oranges, especially those grown in the neighbourhood of Shella, being famous for their quality. The betel, vine, and areca nut are also largely grown on the southern side of the hills and in the low valleys, these plantations being irrigated by elaborate systems of aqueducts. The leaf of the bay-tree (*Litsæa*) is collected, and is exported to the Sylhet plains. The Syntengs differ from the Khasis, in that they make use of the plough. Both Khasis and Syntengs are industrious cultivators, and they possess a certain rough and ready knowledge of the use of manure. A more detailed description of agriculture in these hills will be given in the monograph.

[1] Khasi and Jaintia Hills Administration Report for 1875-76 by Colonel Rice.

2. *Matriarchal customs and law of inheritance of property.*—The mother is the head of the house, and is both owner and the custodian of the family property so long as she lives. Males are owners of property amongst either Khasis or Syntengs except self-acquired property. On the death of the mother, in the case of the Khasis, the family property passes to the youngest daughter. According to some authorities, however, the property would in practice be divided amongst all the surviving daughters. Failing daughters, the property passes to the youngest sister, and failing a sister, to the youngest female cousin. The same

15: Nakane K-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

197 198 244 Besides these political and religious changes, there have been very important changes in Khasi economy, particularly by the spread of potato cultivation. Potatoes were first introduced into the Hills in 1830 by Mr. David Scott. Since then, the upland Khasi Hills have been completely planted with potatoes. This grassland seems to be very easily adapted to potato cultivation, it spread so rapidly and successfully, becoming basic economy of the people, that they hardly remember life without potatoes. Information is very scanty on what was the major cultivation before the potato. However, we may surmise that they must have practiced jhum cultivation as do the present people in War and Bhoi. Nowadays, there are no jhum fields in the uplands as there are practically no forests with which to make jhum fields. There must have been a long period of jhum cultivation, which resulted in recent ecological changes in the uplands through the exploitation of the jungle. This hypothesis might be supported by the existence of big timbers in old buildings in the Khasi Hills, as well as by the present economic techniques of the people.

197 244 241 The present potato cultivation is also a kind of shifting cultivation like jhuming, with a rotation from three years to five years. The uplands are covered with grassland, and sometimes with scanty pine trees which were also introduced by the British. For potato cultivation, the Khasi first cut branches from these pine trees, and the grassland is cultivated by the small Khasi hoe. They root out grasses with earth attached about three inches in depth and one foot square. These pieces are turned onto the cultivated surface, where fallen leaves, branches and wild grass have been spread, in such a way as to keep a space between the ground and the turned up clods of earth. The field in which the potatoes are to be planted is entirely covered in this way. The grass and leaves are set on fire in one corner of the field and this fire spreads through the middle space and burns all of the grass and branches, thus converting it into excellent manure. The potatoes are planted afterwards. Two crops of potatoes are raised generally in a year. The following year the field is shifted to another grass-growing area, leaving for a few years the last field to grow another crop of grass. This is a type of small-scale jhum cultivation. This example of the present economic method suggests that the Khasi had been jhum cultivators before potatoes were introduced. It might be indicative of the last stage of jhum cultivation when the forests are completely exhausted. Before the potatoes, they must have grown yams, maize and millet more or less in the same manner. These crops are still cultivated on a small scale along with potatoes; the yield must be very low as compared with that of the War areas, obtained through the exploitation of land. In the uplands, pan culti-

198 244 [241]

15: Nakase E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

I. Setting and Economic Background of Sohkynduh and Kongton

Sohkynduh and Kongton are villages of the Kadashinong[1] one of the areas under the Chorra Chief. The Kadashinong is situated on the southern slope of the Khasi Hills, in what is called War country. These two villages are situated at the farthest point from both Shella, the centre bordered by the plain, and Cherrapunjee, the seat of the Chorra Chief, one of the centres of the upland Khasi Hills. The people at Cherrapunjee say that these villages are one of the most backward parts of the Khasi Hills. They correspond to Rombagiri in the Garo Hills, as they lie in the innermost parts and more traditional economic and social settings have been preserved there than in other villages. These are also the reasons why I selected these villages as my field.

It is nine miles to Sohkynduh from Cherrapunjee, crossing two deep valleys towards the east. Kongton is located at the heart of the mountain ranges, ten miles from Cherrapunjee, towards the north-east. It is about twelve miles from Sohkynduh to Kongton, and the way leads through one of the most difficult passes, where even villagers seldom travel. In December, 1955, Sohkynduh was a community of 48 households (List 6), and Kongton of 62 households (List 9). The settlements of both villages are clustered in the southern depressions of a mountain, not far from the summit, a typical location of Khasi villages. Sohkynduh has poor soil, covered with plenty of pieces of stones. The yield therefore is very poor. On the other hand, Kongton, a much older village, enjoys fertile soil, and is one of the most prosperous communities in the Kadashinong.

The major economy of both villages is shifting cultivation. We have already seen, in the chapters on the Garo, the fundamental technique of "jhuming cultivation." The difference between the Garo and the Khasi shifting cultivation are to be found in two aspects: one is the nature of the crops and the other is the type of landownership. In this area, the main crop is millet, while that of the Garo is rice. Besides the shifting cultivation, the Khasi have pan-leaf gardens and sometimes pineapple gardens, though on a small scale and not in every household. The most important feature of Khasi shifting cultivation is the development of private ownership. In the tribal areas in Assam, such private ownership of the jhum field is quite an

1. Kadashinong is the name of a group of villages. Its literal meaning is "twelve villages," and it comprises the following villages: Sohkynduh, Kymmin, Shortkynny, Shortbuit, Shortsung, Kongton, Shortiang, Kyllonsohiet, Pim, Tondum, Nongpyrung, and Dongpow. (Khasi spelling follows the customary usage in Cherra Sub.)

[P. 104 A]

group of matrilineal and War-Khasi-speaking people who claim as their ancestral homeland the primitive United Khasi-Jaintia Hills District (within approximately 90° 4' and 92° 52' E, and 25° 9' and 26° 7' N.). This group includes the Jaintias (also Pnar or Syntengi) in the southeast, who differ from the Khasis primarily in their darkened residence patterns and less virulent forms of sorcery. (The Shallow to eastern Jaintia are a Bodo people.) It also includes the Lyngngams (also spelled Lyngngam) in the west, who practice migratory swidden agriculture and certain peculiar funerary rites, and are said by Gheerbrant (1955) to be culturally intermediate between Khasis and Garos. Finally, it includes Bhoi, War, and upland Khasis, which terms are primarily territorial. Bhoi country is the north-central part of the District, and is culturally complicated by the presence of Nikiri, Lalungs, and Nepalis. War country spans the entire southern length of the District, so that War divide into Jaintia War and Khasi War, of fowl. Bhoi Khasi have traditionally transmitted property to sons as well as to daughters. The upland center of the District is the country of the Khasis proper, those whose culture provides the most useful model for interpreting the variations found elsewhere.

For general reference on all categories of Khasi culture, cf. Gurdon 1908 and 1937, also Gurdon 1907, especially for data on regional variations. Geography. The District is 5,356 square miles of hilly tableland, unevenly dissected by numerous rivers, and marked by significant ecological variation over very short distances. The tablelands step gently downward north from Shillong Peak, which at 6,445 feet is the highest point in the District, and over about 35 miles east into the Brahmaputra valley where the is some 200 feet above sea level. To the south, the land slopes more steeply downward for about 20 miles, and then drops abruptly, in cliff and steep-slope formations, to the Ganges sea-level delta that begins at its north with Sylhet. The annual southwest monsoon drop torrential rains around Cherrapunji and Nongpoh villages (for Cherrapunji, a record 905 inches in 1861), but then, reaching Shillong 35 miles to the northeast, provide only about 100 inches per year. Rainfall is again greater in Bhoi, which shares the Brahmaputra valley climate. Climate is temperate on the high Shillong plateau, where it seldom freezes and never snows. To the north, climate becomes subtropical, forest is rough, and fauna abound. The climate to the south is also subtropical. (Cf. Barker 1901, chap. XXIV.) Linguistic affiliation. Khasi is one of the many Non-Khasi languages, related to War, Khasi, Jaintia-Sylhet, Nongbah, and Pnong-Wa. The major Khasi dialects are Khasi, Jaintia, and Lyngngam, to which Gurdon adds War. Further minor variations occur from village to village. The Khasis had no script until 1841, when the roman alphabet was successfully applied to the Cherrapunji dialect of Khasi proper. (Cf. Sabel 1891, Gurdon 1907-1910, Ta Hoath 1915.)

16: McCormack E-4.9 (1956-1958) 1964
[P. 107 B] AR7 Khasi AR7

[illegible] 361

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

16: McCormack E-4,5 (1956-1958) 1966
[P. 106A] AR 7 Khasi AR 7

[illegible] and chemical fertilizers. Both level land and hillsides are cultivated by the same hand techniques. 1 × 6-foot patches are fertilized with wildness leaves, soils are overturned within the patches and allowed to dry, the soils are burned slowly and the ashes spread over the soil, and finally the seed is sown, either broadcast or soils with the aid of the typical Khasi hoe. The coldest part of the upland requires a terracing, and Khasis also dibble crop as well. Potato has long been found in the highlands, in parts of Jaintia and Bhoi, the only place where the plow is found. Nowadays paddy is more and more seen in the uplands, together with a simple terracing and irrigation technology. Some upland Khasis have home gardens in which they raise a wide variety of vegetables, including pumpkins, cabbage, radishes, sweet potatoes, eggplants, and many others. Important crops in this country are paddy rice, tea, cucumbers, cotton, bananas and pineapples, in War, they are betel nut, pan leaf, oranges, and sugar cane. Fishing and hunting. Fishing is done by poisoning streams, but this is a subsistence activity only in the southern foothills. Hunting was formerly by bow and arrow or by traps, including spring guns and pitfalls, but was always primarily a sport. [illegible] Gathering. Khasis once gathered about 100 species of wild plants, most of them for food, but some for medicine. Thirty villagers still gather food plants, but there is no real dependence on gathering. Wild-food plants continue to be very important. Domestic animals. Fowl, goats, pigs, and cattle are food both for meat and sacrifice. Milk was formerly not utilized, but is now so popular that specialists keep herds of milk cows. Pigs are used as village scavengers, but sometimes receive prepared food. Cattle and goats forage freely in the fields during the winter, but are herded by a commonly hired herdsman during the agricultural season. Most households keep chickens primarily for their eggs, and a few keep ducks. A few horses are also seen. Dogs are partially, except for hunting dogs. Cats are popular. Food and stimulants. The staple food of Khasis is boiled rice, together with the dried fish which is imported from Sylhet. Boiled beef, pork, and chicken are relished, but beyond the means of most. Meals are taken twice a day, in the morning and evening, although farmers also take a midday meal in the field, and others may take tea and cold sweet potatoes or rice bread. Certain foods are taken to certain ills. Stimulants are extremely popular, especially betel nut, which is often accompanied by a bit of tobacco. Tobacco is also smoked as cigarettes and in hookah and other pipes. Every village has one or more household stills, where distilled rice whisky is cooked and sold by the glass and by the bottle. Imported spirits had spread widely in the unknown Khasi country, but efforts instituted in the 1940s have been fairly successful. All stimulants were once taken by men, women, and

children, but Christian influence has evaluated to
down underground the consumption by women and
children. Industrial arts. The only industrial arts are
domestic practiced in all households were a rude
weaver, carpentry and a simple utilitarian bamboo.
Other arts were few, and were practiced as village
specialists: the washing and smelting of iron ore and
the forging of bows, dies, knives, swords, and work-
ing gets (upland Khasi); the spinning of cotton
thread (Water village, Jaintia); the dyeing of cotton
thread and the weaving of cloth (Jaintia, Khasi,
Lyngngam, War); the spinning and weaving of Eri
silk (Khwang and Nongkrem villages, Khasi and
Jaintia); and the hand manufacture, without wheel,
of painted earthenware pots (Lawar village, Jaintia).
Indeveloping and the production of cotton goods have
much died out through the competition of machine-
made goods. Carpentry has greatly improved, by
innovation of major improvement in the sawing and
tailoring, on sewing machines, of ready-made gar-
ments for both sexes. (13 March 1966 C. W. 102)
Trade. Khasi villages normally contain a number of
household shops operated by women. Every Khasi
also lives within walking distance of several village
markets that are held on successive days of the
eight-day week. The basis of market attendance for
the members of any particular village can be roughly
distinguished by their naming the days of their week,
which are called after the active markets. The exception
was is the huge market at Shillong, much of which
is active daily, and which serves as a magnet for
Khasi from all over the hills. The traditional barter
has given way to currency in all markets. The small
ones consists of local some local farm produce, plus
other essentials like betel nut, and the betel and tea
stalls which serve as centers of social intercourse.
The big markets contain not only regional produce
and manufactures but also products from distant parts
of the hills, brought for sale by traveling middlemen.
There is also substantial trade, from the hills to the
valleys, in potatoes, pears, fishes, fat, cotton, coconut
shells, the wood of the ai tree, for silk thread, bam-
boos, coal, iron, betel leaf, betel nut, pan leaves,
turmeric, sugar cane, oranges, oil varnish, and chillies.
From the plains to the hills, there is trade in dried
fish, paddy rice salt, cooking oil, kerosene, matches,
tea, sugar, wheat flour, machine-made cloth, shoes,
metal pots, umbrellas, porcelain objects, coral beads,
silver and gold. Markets are important not only as
economic institutions but also as centers for recreation
(including archery competitions), courting, re-
affirmation of kinship ties with distant relatives, and
the dissemination of information of all kinds. (13
August 1966) Division of labor. Men do the
heavy work, such as clearing and burning the south-
ern fields, caring for cattle and goats and driving
them to market, hawking and selling large sets of
betel nut and pan, carpentry and sewing, and driving
and laboring on motor vehicles. Men also take many

[illegible] from October to December. For millet the seed is sown in April-May and reaped about six months later. Maize is usually sown in April-May and ripens in August-September. For potato, generally three crops are raised in the district; the first is sown in December-January and harvested in April-May, the second is sown in February-March and is gathered in June-July and the third is sown in July-August and is harvested in November-December.

[illegible] For oranges and bananas, the orchards are cleared of weeds twice a year. Harvesting of oranges takes place from October to January. Bananas ripen at the beginning of the year and are collected between February and May.

[illegible] 3.6.3 Agricultural implements.—The usual agricultural implements are a hoe, a sickle, axes or four kinds of dao, a harrow, a crowbar which is used for the construction of irrigation channels, 'kurwa' and winnowing baskets. Bullock drawn plough is used in wet paddy cultivation in parts of Jowai subdivision and in Mawphlang and Mawkyrwat in the plains of Jowai subdivision and in Mawphlang and Mawkyrwat the use is not in the place of the Khasi.

3.6.4. General cultural practices.—The cultivators mostly adhere to their indigenous practices of cultivation. Another of crops is not widely used. Cultivation of rice is usually done by broadcasting the seed though transplanting is also in vogue in some areas. Weed cutting is widely practised. Cultivation by making terraces in the hill slopes is gaining popularity in the district.

[illegible] 3.7 Cottage Industries.—Cottage industries in general, have not found very great favour among the people of the district. A few families here and there manufacture iron implements, earthenware, bamboo ware and dhoti, manufacture iron implements, earthenware, bamboo, cane and jewellery. In weaving women with their looms, weaving of cotton cloths is now gaining the Khasis. The Garos weave in Mawphlang and to some extent in Mawkyrwat. The Khasis weave in Mawphlang and to some extent in Mawkyrwat. The Khasis weave in Mawphlang and to some adjoining Garo Hills. Cotton and silk production is only for local domestic consumption. In general, the Government is trying to popularise weaving in the district and the Government is trying to popularise weaving in the district and the Government has been extended to the Khasis. Among other cottage industries has been extended to the Khasis. Among other cottage industries production of oil cakes in the northern part of the district adjoining Kamrup district and bee keeping throughout the district are worth mentioning.

[illegible] 3.8 The People.—The Khasis and Jaintias are a short, sturdy race distinct from the neighbouring hill tribes. By nature they are gaudy and idolatrous and in respect of manual labour, they are the lazy and idolatrous. Side by side with the Khasis live the Nikiria, Garos and Hajongs who form respectively 1.00 percent and 0.02 per cent of the total rural population. Besides, there are plains people who are mostly concentrated in the area of Mawkyrwat. In the neighbouring districts of the border area there are a large number of Bengali Hindus who dominate the life of the rural in the border area.

[illegible] 3.9 Occupation.—The general portion of the population of the district adhere to cultivation. More than 75 percent of the rural households are predominantly agricultural. The industrious Khasi agriculturists make well beside have a high regard for hard labour

and some the end to the area do not find anything to work as labourers in other's farms. It is almost necessary among the agriculturists to work in other's farms on wage basis, when agricultural operation in one's own farm are over. This is probably an outcome of the difficult transport situation. Among the non-agriculturists and those who follow agriculture as subsidiary occupation, a large number are persons and labourers engaged in jobs like transporting of goods from place to place, collection of bamboos, wood, fuel, etc. Cultivers not known of the district also offer employment to a good number of people. Since the taking up of small programmes under the plan, a large number of people are getting employment in construction of roads, etc. It is interesting to note that for construction of roads, not for all kinds of work demanding unskilled labourers, the district locally supplies the whole labour force. People in the various local pocket of the district, particularly those living in higher hills are mainly engaged in trade. The tribals are indefatigable traders and labourers able to keep almost the whole of the small trade in the district in their own hands. A small proportion of the people are engaged in cottage industries such as cotton ginning, brick making, bee keeping, blacksmithy, cane and bamboo works, etc.

The number of persons returned in the 1961 census under each of the eight main livelihood classes for the rural area of the district was as follows.

TABLE 1

Number of Persons (Source 1961 Census)

Class	Male	Female	Total	P.C.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
A. Agricultural classes				
1. Cultivators of land wholly or mainly owned and their dependents	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
2. Cultivators of land wholly or mainly owned and their dependents	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
3. Cultivating labourers and their dependents	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
4. Non-cultivating owners of land, agricultural rent receivers and their dependents	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Sub-total	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
B. Non-agricultural classes				
5. Production other than cultivation	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
6. Commerce	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
7. Transport	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
8. Other services and miscellaneous sources	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Sub-total	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]

• 246 464 **2.10 Labour and Wages.**— It has already been mentioned above that a large number of people subsist on labour—agricultural as well as non-agricultural. Owners of big orchards employ labourers for clearing of their orchards twice or thrice a year, plucking and transporting of produce to markets. Paddy cultivators with large farms engage labourers for ploughing and levelling of fields, sowing, harvesting and threshing of paddy. It should be mentioned that due to the peculiar agricultural practices prevalent in the district, the input of labourers even for paddy cultivation is higher than that in any of the plains districts of the State, which compels cultivators to hire labourers even for small paddy fields. In the case of cash crops, wages are usually paid in cash and for food crops it is paid in cash and kind more usually in kind. Wage rates for males and females are different which generally vary from Rs.1.00 to 1.25 for males and Rs.1.25 to Rs. 1.00 for females.

There are, however, numerous instances of engaging agricultural labourers at the rate of Rs. 0.50 per day. During the scarcity months the well-to-do farmers advance loans to the poorer section of the people on condition that repayment will have to be made by rendering labour on wage basis at the rate of Rs. 0.50 per day in the creditors farms whenever their services are demanded. Thus whenever their services are demanded the poor people have to work in creditor's farm even at the cost of ruining their own cultivations.

There are other instances where the labourers are paid less than usual wages. In some villages where there is dearth of work all the agricultural labourers gather together at some specified place early in the morning. The well-to-do farmers go there and through bargaining manage to engage the number of hands they want at very low rates. Similar bidding down of wages of non-agricultural labourers is also prevalent whenever demand for labour is very low.

Land utilisation and cropping

423 **2.11 Land tenure system.**—The district of United K.-J. Hills is not cadastrally surveyed and so far as land tenure is concerned, there is no rigid uniform or regular system worth the name, with the exception of those lands under the control of the State Forest Department and the Local District Council. There are different kinds of land under different systems, though for obvious reasons no reliable statistics can be gathered in respect of them. As far as land tenure system is concerned, Jowai subdivision is conspicuously different from Shillong subdivision. However, land in the whole district can be broadly placed under the following categories:—

423 **1. Rikyaat or Private land.**—They are private land belonging to certain clans or families but not to an individual according to Khasi custom. Neither Syiem nor District Council has got any power over them except the judicial powers to settle any dispute that may arise over any plot of land. The only connection is with the State Forests Department in respect of private protected forests who collects royalty from the produces of these forests if they are used for purposes of

19: Assam G-S (1958) 1963 AR7 Khasi AR7

There is another 102·21 acres of land in Subacherra in the Indo Pakistan Border which is under tea plantation since prepartition period After partition this area has fallen into India. But at present though tea plantation is still carried on, the revenue has never been collected at all since the company has gone to Pakistan. 423 651 648

There are also in Jowai subdivision 15 numbers of building land sites, mostly leased out to non Khasi individuals and institutions. They include building for churches, schools, hospitals and training classes, etc. The total area comes to 397·39 acres with a total revenue of Rs.216·84 per year. The period of the lease varies from one plot to another.

A part from land revenue, all the houses in Jowai subdivision are subjected to taxation. The rate is fixed at Rs.2 to Rs.6 per year according to the economic condition of the village. In Shillong subdivision only 31 Sirdarships which were formerly known as British Sirdarships have to pay house tax.

2.12 **Land Utilisation.**—The following table gives the area under important crops. 241 433

TABLE 2

	1958-59	
Winter rice	37,800	acres.
Maize	8,000	"
Other cereals	1,000	"
Potato	21,600	"
Chillies	350	"
Sweet potato	5,400	"
Linseed	180	"
Cotton	50	"
Tobacco	600	"
Arecanut	13,455	"
Orange	20,000	"
Betel-leaf	10,000	
Total	1,18,435	acres.

19: Assam G-3 (2006) 1965 687 (Guest) 687

3.3 **Measures so far taken.**—Since 1947, there has been constant demand from border people for relief and rehabilitation. Government undertook various measures to alleviate their difficulties. Government's attention to border problems has however, not been adequate. The common feeling of border people was that whenever the border position deteriorated due to some adverse measures adopted by East Pakistan authorities more attention was attracted, on the other hand, when the situation eased comparatively the Government's vigilance also slackened.

The various measures so far adopted by Government in border area, have been fully discussed and commented upon by the Border Rehabilitation Committee. These need no repetition here. But a few points emerging from the grievances put forward by the villagers during our investigation are noted below.

On the question of the scheme linked up with the issue of diversification of agriculture in border area, a large section of the border people skilled in the maintenance and operation of orchards are opposed to the idea of a complete switch over from cash crops to food crops in the cultivation of which they have no adequate experience. Moreover, there is the problem of getting adequate land in the vicinity for wet paddy cultivation. Indeed, having lost the market for some of the cash crops, some cultivators are trying to increase cultivation of paddy and other valuable crops on their own initiative wherever suitable land is available. But the problem of getting adequate funds for reclamation and improvement of land has stood as a serious handicap to them. Financial assistance to the needy and willing cultivators for reclamation works and taking up of more minor irrigation projects is very necessary.

As regards Government loans granted to cultivators, people complained that apart from being inadequate they are often untimely. As a result the people, needy as they are, utilise the amount for meeting their day to day consumption expenses.

There have been complaints that various improved seeds supplied by Government are of very inferior quality leading to waste of time and money of the poor people. The Department of Agriculture should not only check the quality of the seeds before issue but should also see that the seed are properly used by inexperienced cultivators who are newly taking up cultivation of these crops.

With the opening up of a few vital P. W. D. Roads transport of border products to Shillong and other places has greatly been facilitated but the problem of transporting them from remote interiors to the various local points on P. W. D. roads still remains unsolved. While during winter season these places may be negotiated by a man on foot up and down the steep gradients, during rainy seasons these tracks become slippery, the streams and rivulets are overflooded and it becomes impossible for a man to cross them, thus isolating the villages from each other leading to closure of trade and all other activities between villages. Properly planned test relief schemes for construction of feeder-roads and bridges linking up these villages, will, apart from giving some works to the people alleviate much of the difficulties of transportation of agricultural produce.

[illegible] [illegible] of [illegible]. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] 5.13 Agriculture.—The following table summarizes a few salient features of agriculture in the selected villages:—

TABLE 5.13

Crops raised and agricultural operations prevalent in the selected villages.

Name of village	Important crops raised in the village	Agricultural implements used	Manure used
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Sunshine zone.—			
1. Gondo	Bajra, groundnut, sorghum and pulses.	Dang, hoe, pegger and plough.	Yes.
2. [illegible] ..	Sorghum, groundnut and barth and and pulses.	Dang, hoe and plough	Dung
3. Lumbu-ng	Sorghum, pulses and millet ..	Dang and hoe	Yes.
4. Dormay ..	Bajra, groundnut	Dang and hoe	Yes.
5. Marubin ..	Sorghum, groundnut, bajra, black pepper and sorghum	Dang and hoe	Yes.
6. Lungthur ..	Pulses and sorghum	Dang and hoe	Yes.
7. Ghatte ..	Groundnut, groundnut and sorghum	Dang and hoe	Yes.
8. Bum ..	Pulses, millet and sorghum ..	Dang, hoe and plough	Yes.
9. Hungyo ..	Groundnut, sorghum	Dang and hoe	Yes.
10. Dhungpuj ..	Potato, groundnut and pulses	Dang, hoe and plough	Yes.
Evergreen zone.—			
1. Kiamnay ..	Pulses and maize	Dang, hoe and plough	Yes.
2. Rolling ..	Pulses and maize	Dang, hoe and plough	Dung, chemical and fertilizers.
3. Lingdem ..	Pulses, maize and millet ..	Dang, plough and hoe	Yes.
4. Pachakhamari	Pulses and green gram ..	Dang, hoe and plough	Fertilizer, dung, chemicals.
5. Mulkhe ..	Pulses and green	Dang, hoe and plough	Dung
6. Hungo ..	Pulses, maize and millet ..	Plough, hoe and dam ..	Dung and fertilizer
7. Manghamtar	Pulses, millet and green ..	Plough, hoe and dam	Dung
[illegible] ..	Groundnut, potatoes, millet and sorghum.	Dang and hoe	Yes.

Concluded.—

5. [illegible]	Paddy and [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
5. Jowar	Paddy, [illegible]	Cows, hoes and plough	[illegible]	No.
5. [illegible]	Paddy, [illegible]	Cows, hoes and plough	[illegible]	No.
6. [illegible]	Paddy, [illegible]	Cows, hoes and plough	[illegible]	No.
6. [illegible]	Paddy, [illegible]	Cows, hoes and plough	[illegible]	No.
6. [illegible]	Paddy, [illegible]	Cows, hoes and plough	[illegible]	[illegible]
7. [illegible]	Paddy, [illegible]	Cows, hoes and plough	[illegible]	[illegible]
8. [illegible]	Paddy and [illegible]	Cows, hoes and plough	[illegible]	No.
9. [illegible]	Paddy, [illegible]	Cows and hoes	[illegible]	No.
10. [illegible]	[illegible]	Cows and hoes	[illegible]	No.

This table reveals that in our region there is bias for cash crops and in the other for food crops—more or less depending upon the soil and topography of the regions. Extreme hardship occurs when there is deficiency in food production or a glut in the market of cash crops. The cash crop producers are, of course, trying to adapt their crops to the changing market conditions. With the loss of market for oranges, the people in the border areas are trying to increase their tendour production and more cultivating paddy, jowar, etc. Throughout the district, people are trying to increase wet paddy cultivation. Wherever water is available, they were at pains to convert it into a wet paddy field. Similarly, increasing interest is evident among the people in the cultivation of valuable crops like black-pepper, cardamom, etc., which have a good prospect in the border areas. It is felt that there is considerable scope for introduction of cultivation of chillies, turmeric, coffee, etc. But any new endeavour demands heavy initial investment which often is not within the reach of cultivators. Government should continue to advance adequate agricultural loans to the needy cultivators in a better planned manner.

Only 19 out of 89 villages reported use of bullock-drawn ploughs for wet paddy cultivation. But even in these villages animal power is not extensively used. Of course, in the rocky fields people have no alternative to the use of hoes and spades but in some areas particularly in the wet paddy field, bullock-drawn ploughs may profitably be utilised. It is not that the farmers do not realise the advantage of ploughing but want of funds for purchase of bullocks, etc., is reported to be the cause of continuance of the old practice. Both broadcasting and transplanting methods are in vogue in paddy cultivation the latter being a recent introduction is gaining popularity. Some farmers in the project area villages have tried line sowing but according to them it is very laborious and amounts to

It will be seen that wholly agricultural families, in Baxter area, Project area and General area are [illegible] and [illegible] p.c respectively of the total families. Classifying the wholly agricultural families and families [illegible] [illegible]
earning agriculture as principal occupation, as predominantly agricultural families-the proportion of such families for Baxter area, Project area and General area stand at [illegible] p.c, [illegible] p.c and [illegible] p.c respectively. There is a clear fall in the Baxter area the proportion of predominantly agricultural families is the lowest. The reason for this can be easily ascribed to the [illegible] received due to change of market after partition. A close study of tables [illegible] and [illegible] below and table [illegible] in the appendix will bear testimony to the fact that in Baxter area there is evidence of a shift of occupation from agriculture to non-agricultural occupations especially labour (non-agricultural).

Predominantly agricultural families have been classified into five groups:- Non-cultivating owner, owner cultivator, tenants, part-owner and part-tenants and landless agricultural labourers. The number of families and the proportion of each of these groups in the three areas are as follows:- [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

TABLE [illegible]

Classification of Professionally Agricultural Families

Item	Quetta area			Pishin area			Chaman area		
	No. of families			No. of families			No. of families		
	Professionally agricultural families	Other agricultural families	Total	Professionally agricultural families	Other agricultural families	Total	Professionally agricultural families	Other agricultural families	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
1. Non-cultivating owners	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
2. Owner-cultivators [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
3. Tenants [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
4. Part owner and part tenant [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
5. Landless agricultural labourers	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

TABLE [illegible]

Village areas			No. of families [illegible] land	Total area of holdings (Acres)	No. of the families [illegible] land	Area [illegible] (Acres)	No. of the families [illegible] [illegible]	Area [illegible] (Acres)	Area left fallow	Percentage [illegible]
(1)			(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
1. Barder area	...	...	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
2. Pargana area	...	...	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
3. General area	...	...	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

This is seen that of the unused land as least 30 per cent in Barder area, 14 per cent in Pargana area and 12 per cent in General area were left fallow.

Considering the number of families, it was found that in Barder area villages as many as 84 families had either totally leaved out or left fallow their unused land, the corresponding number for Pargana area and General area being only 9 and 1 respectively.

TABLE 24

Number of families of different occupational groups holding land of various sizes

Size of holding (acres)	No. of families				
	Wholly agricultural	Agriculture as principal occupation	Agriculture as subsidiary occupation	Subsistence of agriculture	All occupations
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1. BORDER AREA					
1. No land ...	108 (21·1)	23 (17·8)	62 (24·9)	111 (17·8)	305 (20·7)
2. Less than 1 acre ...	47 (9·2)	12 (9·3)	30 (12·0)	1 (0·2)	90 (6·1)
3. 1 to less than 5 acres	88 (17·2)	24 (18·6)	37 (14·9)	10 (1·6)	159 (10·8)
4. 5 to less than 10 acres	147 (28·7)	37 (28·7)	47 (18·9)	11 (1·8)	242 (16·4)
5. 10 acre and above ...	120 (23·4)	33 (25·6)	73 (29·3)	5 (0·8)	231 (15·7)
Total ...	512 (100·0)	129 (100·0)	249 (100·0)	138 (100·0)	1,027 (100·0)
2. (Project area)					
1. No land ...	115 (20·5)	9 (4·7)	71 (19·8)	48 (12·8)	243 (20·5)
2. Less than 1 acre ...	48 (10·1)	5 (2·6)	33 (10·3)	--	86 (7·3)
3. 1 to less than 5 acres	111 (23·3)	35 (18·4)	96 (26·8)	2 (0·5)	244 (20·6)
4. 5 to less than 10 acres	113 (23·8)	73 (38·4)	98 (27·4)	1 (0·3)	285 (24·1)
5. 10 acre and above ...	93 (19·6)	77 (40·5)	60 (16·7)	--	230 (19·4)
Total ...	474 (100·0)	190 (100·0)	358 (100·0)	51 (100·0)	1,183 (100·0)

TABLE [illegible] (contd.)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
5. General area —					
1. No land ..	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
2. Less than 1 cent ..	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
3. 1 to less than 5 cents	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]
4. 5 to less than 10 cents	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]
5. 10 cents and above	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	—	[illegible]
Total ..	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

6.33 It is significant that in all the three areas a considerable section of wholly agricultural families and families following agriculture as principal occupation are landless. On the other hand, a considerable proportion of the families with agriculture as subsidiary occupation or independent of agriculture have land of various sizes. The fact that agriculture for these families who possess sufficient land, was relegated to a subsidiary occupation or possibly made due to less return from agriculture than their attachment to it.

FRAGMENTATION

6.34 It has been observed that a large number of rural families have small holdings, the very smallness of which makes their holdings uneconomic. In addition, the holding of rural families suffer from the evils of fragmentation. Other holdings are not in compact blocks but are scattered all over and surrounded by lands in possession of others or some uncultivable waste land. Some of the fragments lie even in separate villages.

Unlike in the plains district, fragmentation here was brought about not so much by population pressure (except only in case of wet paddy field) nor intestate legislation or any other factors as would give rise to excessive fragmentation of holdings. This is because there is no enforcement regulation and the people are free to cultivate as much of the Raj land as possible for their cultivation. Fragmentation here has in this case a product of the topography of the district, for cultivable land in large compact block is not easy to get and cultivable land have to be found in isolated patches.

The extent of fragmentation is presented in the following table :

[illegible] The rural number of fragments in [illegible] holding in Sector of area [illegible] to [illegible] gives an average of [illegible] fragments per holding. In rural holdings in project area is [illegible] which gives an the average [illegible] fragments per holding, while in General area [illegible] holdings consisting of [illegible] fragments, i.e. [illegible] fragments per holding. A comparison of the above figure with the average fragments figure of [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] and [illegible] per holding in [illegible] Hills, Dhenkanal, Dhenkanal and Lakhimpur districts respectively goes to show that incidence of fragmentation in this district is higher than that in [illegible] but less than that in other districts.

It will be seen from table [illegible] at the appendix that in the small holding group (less than [illegible] acres) average number of fragments per holding is [illegible] in Sector, [illegible] in Project and [illegible] in General area. The average size in the corresponding holding group being [illegible] acres [illegible] acres and [illegible] acres, in Sector area, Project area and General area, the average size of fragments in the respective area works out at [illegible] acres, [illegible] and [illegible] acres. Similarly it will be seen that average size of fragments for medium holding group are, in Sector area [illegible] acres (average size of medium holding [illegible] acres) in Project area [illegible] acres (average size of holding [illegible] acres) and in General area [illegible] acres (average size of holding [illegible] acres) about for large holding group being [illegible] acres, [illegible] acres and [illegible] acres respectively against the average large holding size of [illegible] acres, [illegible] acres and [illegible] acres in the respective area.

PATTA

[illegible] 6.1 The operating unit in the rural agricultural sector is in most cases the family farm. Functions, enterprises, capital and general labour as regards to the agricultural operations in these farms are done through a joint effort of the family unit. Rarely permanent farm servants are maintained though employment of casual labourers are employed during the busy seasons.

[illegible] In this enquiry a farm has been defined as comprising of all agricultural land operated by a single family with or without employment of labour. The family may or may not have the right of permanent occupancy and inheritance over the farm land operated by it, and in this case the farm is distinguished from holding which comprises of such land only over which the family concerned possesses right of occupancy and inheritance.

TABLE D.4

Distribution of farms according to size

4.4 The summary distribution of farms in old Gram area is shown in the following table:—

Size of farm in acres	Sector area			Project area			General area		
	No. of farms	Total area (acres)	Average size of farm (acres)	No. of farms	Total area (acres)	Average size of farm (acres)	No. of farms	Total area (acres)	Average size of farm (acres)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Below 1 acre	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
1 - 5 acres	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	—
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	—
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	—
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

The total number of fragments in 837 holdings in Bardoli area is 2,340 giving an average of 2.80 fragments per holding. In all holdings in project area is 1,[illegible] which gives us the average 1.96 fragments per holding, while in General area 100 holdings consist of 402 fragments, i.e., 4.02 fragments per holding. A comparison of the above figures with the average fragment figures of 1.81, 1.32, 0.48 and 3.28 per holding in [illegible] Mills, Dhoring, Chhapra and Lakhapur districts respectively goes to show that fragmentation in this district is higher than that in [illegible] but less than that in other districts.

It will be seen from table [illegible] at the appendix that in the small holding group (less than 5 acres) average number of fragments per holding is 1.90 in Bardoli, 1.60 in Project and 2.01 in General area. The average size in the corresponding holding group being 1.38 acres 1.67 acres and 1.35 acres, in Bardoli area, Project area and General area, the average size of fragments in the respective area works out at [illegible] acres, [illegible] and [illegible] acres. Similarly it will be seen that average size of fragments for medium holding group are, in Bardoli area 1.41 acres (average size of medium holding [illegible] acres) in Project area 1.05 acres (average size of holding [illegible] acres) and in General area 1.01 acres (average size of holding [illegible] acres), while for large holding group being 2.11 acres, 1.[illegible] acres and [illegible] acres respectively against the average large holding size of [illegible] acres, [illegible] acres and [illegible] acres in the respective area.

FARMS

6.1 The operating unit in the rural agricultural system is in most cases the family farm. Functions, entrepreneur, capital and manual labour as regards to the agricultural operations in these farms are done through a joint effort of the family unit. Rarely permanent farm servants are maintained though employment of casual labourers are employed during the busy seasons.

In this enquiry a farm has been defined as comprising of all agricultural land operated by a single family with or without employment of labour. The family may or may not have the right of permanent occupancy and inheritance over the farm land operated by it, and in this sense the farm is distinguished from holding which comprises of such land only over which the family concerned permanent right of occupancy and inheritance.

It will be seen from the above table that the total number of farms in each of the three areas is greater than the number of holdings in the corresponding area. There are [illegible] farms in Border area [illegible], covering a total area of [illegible] acres, whereas the corresponding figure in case of holdings, as we have already seen, are [illegible] and [illegible] acres. In Project area [illegible] farms cover an area of [illegible] acres, the corresponding figures being [illegible] and [illegible] acres, while in General for holding area there are [illegible] farms which cover [illegible] acres as against [illegible] holdings covering an area of [illegible] acres. Two reasons may be ascribed to these differences. In the first place, proportions of village land are owned by people from outside and rented out to people of the village. Secondly, there are some among the right holders who cultivate only part of their land and the remaining portion is either left fallow or leased out to others. The position will be made clear from a study of subsequent tables viz., D-6 and D-7 given elsewhere in this chapter.

The average size of farms for Border area, Project area and General area respectively are 5.16 acres, [illegible] acres and [illegible] acres, which again are less than the corresponding figures of holding of [illegible] acres, 4.09 acres and [illegible] acres. The average size of farm is, however, hardly an adequate measure for judging the soundness of the farmers in as much a large proportion of cultivators ([illegible]%, [illegible]%, and [illegible]%, in Border area, Project area and General area respectively operates small size farms of less than 5 acres) exact average being 1.33 acres for Border, 1.16 acres for Project and [illegible] acres for General area and the total farm area cultivated by these cultivators constitute only 11%, 42% and [illegible]% of the total farm area in the Border area, Project area and General area respectively. In view some proportion of families operating middle-sized farms, i.e., between 5 to less than 10 acres are 41%, 40% and 42%, covering respectively 42%, [illegible]% and [illegible]% of the total farm area in the respective village groups. Proportion of families operating large sized farms, i.e., 10 acres and above in Border area, Project area and General area is respectively 19%, 4%, and 8%, possessing a comparatively bigger size of farm land amounting to 42%, [illegible] per cent and 18 per cent of the total farm land in the respective area.

6.7 The following two tables give the distribution of farms and farm areas respectively according to size and ownership.

[illegible]

TABLE [illegible]

Distribution of farmers according to size and ownership [illegible]

Size of farms	No. of farmers			
	Wholly owned	Wholly rented	Partly owned and partly rented	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
A. Sheikhan area—				
Small farms				
Less than 5 acres ...	[illegible] ([illegible])	[illegible] ([illegible])	[illegible] ([illegible])	[illegible] ([illegible])
Medium farms— 5 to less than 15 acres ...	[illegible] ([illegible])	[illegible] ([illegible])	[illegible] ([illegible])	[illegible] ([illegible])
Large farms— 15 acres & above ...	[illegible] ([illegible])	[illegible] ([illegible])	[illegible] ([illegible])	[illegible] ([illegible])
Total ...	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
B. Pragati area—				
Small farms—				
Less than 5 acres ...	[illegible] ([illegible])	[illegible] ([illegible])	[illegible] ([illegible])	[illegible] ([illegible])
Medium farms— 5 to less than 15 acres ...	[illegible] ([illegible])	[illegible] ([illegible])	[illegible] ([illegible])	[illegible] ([illegible])
Large farms— 15 acres & above ...	[illegible] ([illegible])	[illegible] ([illegible])	[illegible] ([illegible])	[illegible] ([illegible])
Total ...	[illegible] ([illegible])	[illegible] ([illegible])	[illegible] ([illegible])	[illegible] ([illegible])

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Area of farms	No. of farms			
	Wholly owned	Wholly rented	Partly owned and partly rented	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
C. Commercial crops—				
Small farms—				
Sub-class B crops—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Medium farms—				
p-c-class (iii) crops	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Large farms—				
(ii) crops B class—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

TABLE D-7

Distribution of farm area by size and type of ownership

Area in acres

Size of farms			Wholly owned	Wholly rented	Partly Owned and partly rented			Total owned area (3+4)	Total rented area (3+5)	Total (7+8)
					Owned area	Rented area	Total			
(1)			(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
A. Bordar area—										
Small farms— (less than 5 acres)	...	...	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Medium farms— (5 to less than 10 acres)	...	...	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Large— (10 acres and above)	...	...	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	...	...	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
			(100·00)	(12·07)	(4·29)	(4·97)		(91·14)	(17·86)	(100·00)

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TABLE D-7 (*concld.*)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
B. Project area—								
Small farms— (less than 3 acres)	305·12	59·39	28·67	41·58	70·65	333·59	100·87	434·46
Medium farms— (3 to less than 10 acres)	790·56	47·15	59·39	79·21	136·60	849·95	124·36	974·31
Large farms— (10 acres and above)	324·77	23·00	35·75	17·00	52·25	360·02	40·00	400·02
Total	1420·45 (78·53)	129·44 (7·16)	123·11 (6·81)	138·79 (7·80)	258·98	1543·56 (85·34)	265·23 (14·66)	1808·79 (100·00)
C. General area—								
Small farms— (less than 3 acres)	136·08	7·25	8·57	9·25	17·82	134·65	16·50	151·15
Medium farms— (3 acres to less than 10 acres)	300·07	8·00	7·73	16·86	24·37	307·80	24·86	332·66
Large farms— (10 acres and above)	38·00	—	4·00	9·00	13·00	84·00	8·00	92·00
Total	500·15 (87·90)	15·25 (2·65)	20·30 (3·53)	34·11 (5·93)	54·39 (100·00)	526·45 (91·48)	49·36 (8·57)	575·81 (100·00)

From the above tables it is evident that for all the areas in each size group small, medium and large, a high proportion of the farms (*i.e.*, in total 70 per cent in Border area, 78 per cent in Project area and 86 per cent in General area) is wholly owned and the area covered by those wholly owned farms also constitutes almost similar high proportions (*i.e.*, 79 per cent in Border area, 79 per cent in Project area and 88 per cent in General area) of the farm area available in the respective village group. Owned area under all farms amounts to 3238·66 acres (83 per cent of the total farm area) in Border area, 1543·56 acres (85 per cent) in Project area and 526·45 acres (91 per cent) in General area. Of this total owned area, in Border area nearly 95 per cent is covered by wholly owned farms and the rest by the partly owned farms. In Project area and General area respectively 92 per cent and 96 per cent of the total owned area are covered by wholly owned farms. Thus the area available for renting in Border area constitutes 17 per cent of the total farm land amounting to 675·52 acres of which 71 per cent is under wholly rented farm and 29 per cent under partly owned farm, in Project area total area available for renting constitutes 15 per cent (*i.e.*, 265·23 acres) of the total farm area of which 49 per cent and 51 per cent respectively are under wholly rented and partly owned farms while in General area 8·57 per cent (49·26 acres) of the total farm area are available for renting of which respectively 31 per cent and 69 per cent are covered by wholly rented and partly owned farms.

It is seen from Table D-7, that total rented area in Border area, Project area and General area are respectively 675·52 acres, 265·23 acres and 49·36 acres. A comparison of these figures with the figures of land leased out as in Table D-2 which are respectively 251.41 acres, 91·56 acres and 16·75 acres in the three areas, goes to show that some of the village lands taken in rent by the villagers belong to some right-holders who live outside the village.

CHAPTER VIII

Farm Output and sale

8.1 As a large majority of the family income is mainly from their farms, an attempt is made below to analyse the data collected on farm output, disposal and sale of produce. The data relate to the agricultural year March, 1957 to February, 1957. 241 433

8.2 Output: The following table sets forth some interesting data on farm output average cultivated area, etc. of cultivators by value groups.

TABLE 7-1

Number of families by Gross output group 162* 241 433

Gross output group (Rs)	Border area		Project area		General area	
	No. of families	Average cultivated area (acres)	No. of families	Average cultivated area (acres)	No. of families	Average cultivated area
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
0	50 (7)	3.12	20 (4)	1.64	2 (1)	2.25
Less than 100	177 (23)	1.87	47 (9)	1.56	10(6)	1.12
100—250	120 (16)	2.97	84(16)	1.80	39(23)	2.05
250—500	161 (21)	4.21	133(26)	2.67	51(30)	2.91
500—1000	143 (19)	8.00	158(31)	4.07	55(32)	4.41
1000—2000	71 (9)	10.52	57 (11)	6.9	13(8)	3.93
2000—3000	20 (3)	15.24	8 (2)	13.5	1	12.00
3000—4000	7 (1)	16.09	2 (1)	15.63	—	..
4000 and above	10 (1)	12.07	2	16.25	..	...
Total :—	759(100)		511(00)		171(100)	

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TABLE F-2

Number of Families

Gross output group Rs.	Border area				Project area				General area			
	Small farms	Medium farms	Large farms	Total	Small farms	Medium farms	Large farms	Total	Small farms	Medium farms	Large farms	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
0	35	12	8	50	17	3	—	20	1	1	..	2
Less than 100	145	33	1	177	41	6	..	47	9	1	..	10
100 — 250	73	45	2	120	69	14	1	84	31	8	..	39
250 — 500	60	86	15	161	95	37	3	133	32	18	1	51
500 — 1000	18	89	36	143	54	100	4	158	18	33	4	55
1000 — 2000	5	36	30	71	4	43	10	57	..	11	2	13
2000 — 3000	..	9	11	20	..	..	8	8	..	..	1	1
3000 — 4000	1	1	5	7	..	..	2	2	..	..	..	..
4000 and above	..	4	6	10	—	..	2	2	..	..	..	..

As is to be expected, large output groups are associated with higher farm size groups. It will also be seen that proportion of farms with an output of less than Rs. 500.00 per annum in Border area, Project area and General area are respectively 67 per cent, 55 per cent and 60 per cent. A joint consideration of the proportions and the size of cultivated area in the three groups indicates that the large majority of farms in Border area are less profitable than those in the other two areas though the farms in Border area are sown with very rich cash crops. This is further amplified by the fact that in Border area of the total number of farms fetching less than Rs. 500.00 a year, 35 per cent are medium sized farms and 4 per cent are large sized farms, the corresponding percentages for the Project area being 21 per cent and 1 per cent and for General area 27 per cent and 1 per cent respectively.

8.3.—The following table summarises the data on relative importance of crops, harvested area under different crops, average yeild of crops and sale proceeds, etc.

TABLE F-3
Yield rate of some important crops

Crop	Border area			Project area			General area		
	Gross farm area harvested (in acres)	Average yield per acre	Sale proceed (Rs.0.00)	Gross farm area harvested (in acre)	Average yield per acre	Sale proceed (Rs.0.00)	Gross farm area harvested (in acre)	Average yield per acre	Sale proceed (Rs.0.00)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
1. Betel leaf	298.69	17.15	15037	58.10	50.64	7867	10.50	24	486
	(9)	(kuri)	(5)	(3)	(kuri)	(8)	(2)	(kuri)	(2)
2. Arecanut	891.80	2.93	184025	13.50	4·11	4719	8r50	3.03	1098
	(97)	(luti)	(60)	(1)	(luti)	(5)	(1)	(luti)	(4)
3. Orange	1018.77	5.27	68404	52.34	16·76	5128	21.25	2·80	71
	(31)	(luti)	(23)	(3)	(luti)	(5)	(4)	(luti)	(..)
4. Potato	20.70	17.49	1118	28.31	22.77	1143	37.40	27.16	9075
	(1)	(mds)	(—)	(2)	(mds)	(1)	(7)	(mds)	(39)
5. Paddy	643.76	8.38	27609	1401.89	12.92	77243	342.75	12.60	1209
	(19)	(mds)	(6)	(82)	(mds)	(77)	(61)	(mds)	(45)
6. Millet	101.80	3·5t	370	4·10	8.78	132	22.94	6.94	737
	(3)	(mds)	(—)	(—)	(mds)	(—)	(4)	(mds)	(3)
7. Tapioca	36·25	24.41	401	..	—	..	6.75	37.04	225
	(1)	(mds)	(—)	...	—	..	(1)	(mds)	(—)
8. Yam	59.03	9.40	598	5.60	18·44	99	1.87	23.45	25
	(2)	(mds)	(—)	(..)	(mds)	(—)	(—)	(mds)	(..)
9 Others	248.68	..	16494	126·56	..	3806	109.41	..	3821
	(7)	..	(6)	(8)	..	(4)	(19)		(14)
Total	3324.48	...	3,09,496	1700.40	..	100427	561.37	..	26628
	(100)	..	(100)	(100)	..	(100)	(100)	..	(100)

N.B. (a) 1 luti=1024 nos. in the case of orange.
=6400 ,, ,, ,, betelnut.
(b) 1 Kuri=288 leaves.
(c) Potato here relates to potato hervested in winter months.

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241 311 433 **8·4—Relative importance of crops**—Total gross farm area harvested amounted to 3324.48 acres in Border area, 1700.40 acres in Project area and 561 acres in General area.

From above table it will be seen that in Border area, orange accounted for the highest proportion of harvested area, *i.e.*, 31 per cent, followed in order of importance by betel nut, paddy, betel leaf and millet which respectively accounts for 17 per cent, 19 per cent, 9 per cent and 3 per cent of the total harvested area. Other crops which account for 248.68 acres (7 per cent) includes maize, tezpata, banana, turmeric, dal, blackpepper and other fruit crops.

Considering sale proceeds, it is clear that betelnut happens to be the main earner accounting for 60 per cent of the total sale proceeds followed by orange, paddy and betel leaf which respectively account for 22 per cent, 6 per cent and 5 per cent of the total sale proceeds. Thus orange and betel leaf which in pre-partition days were the main earner-crops in the Border area have been passed to second and forth position respectively—the proportions fetched by them, particularly by betel leaf, being negligible. On other hand as there is a good market for betel nut, Border people have taken to betel nut cultivation in a more extensive scale.

241 245 311 433 It is significant that while in Border area total farm area is 3914 acres, total area harvested comes to only 3325 acres including area under mixed cropping which is in wide practice in Border area particularly for orange, betelnut, and for some other minor crops. Thus proportion of unharvested farm area emerges out to be considerable which can be accounted for the following reasons:—

(1) The farm area includes some new gardens particularly of betelnuts which usually take quite a few years to bear fruits.

[44] (2) Reportedly a large number of orange and betel-leaf gardens were not harvested at all as there was no market for them.

241 433 44 Turning our attention to Project area and General area, it will be found that paddy eclipses all other crops in as much as in the two areas it respectively covers 82 per cent and 61 per cent of the total harvested area in the respective area. In Project area paddy is followed by Betel leaf, orange, potato and betelnut in order of importance while in General area it is followed by potato, millet, orange, betel leaf and betelnut. In both the areas as will be seen from table above, almost all the crops retain their respective position in value. Considering sale proceed, in Project area, paddy occupies the highest position accounting for 77 per cent of the total sale proceeds followed by betel leaf, orange, betelnut and potato accounting respectively for 8 per cent, 5 per cent, 5 per cent and 1 per cent of the total sale proceeds. In General area, in order of importance of sale proceed paddy, potato and betelnut are worth mentioning fetching respectively 45 per cent, 30 per cent and 4 per cent of the total sale proceeds.

CHAPTER—X

Summary of main findings

125 10.1. Twenty-eight villages were selected for the purpose of the survey. Out of the 28 villages selected, 10 from Border area and 8 from Project area were selected purposively while the remaining 10 were selected at random from the entire district which is referred hereafter as general area.

166 Migration from big villages was rare but some migration was reported in respect of small villages.

164 Occurrence of Malaria, influenza and dysentery is a regular phenomenon in the area. Medical facilities were not found satisfactory and
743 as much as 78 per cent of the villages have no dispensary within a
871 radius of five miles. In regard to education, the facilities cannot also
489 be said to be unsatisfactory for more than 60 per cent of the villages
482 have a Lower Primary School. Transport facilities were not satisfactory and as much as 86 per cent of the villages still depend upon primitive mode of transport, namely head load. Correlated with outmoded form of transport, is the prevalence of unduly high cost of transport.

*162 10.2. The number of the families covered by the survey was 1006 in the Border area, and 647 in the Project area and 184 in the
161 General area. The average size of a village in the respective area is 100·6, 80·9 and 18·4 families. In the Border and Project areas females out number males being respectively 1076 and 1092 females per 1,000 males as against 940 females per 1,000 males in the general area
212 Literacy is as high as 34 per cent in the border area and 31 per cen
[562] in the Project area but as low as 17 per cent in the general area In all the areas literacy among females is very low.

*162 The working population (earners and earning dependents) is as high as 55 per cent in the Border area, 54 per cent in the Project area and 63 per
464 cent in the general area. While there were no cases of unemployment in the Project and General areas, 53 persons were reported unemployed from border area.

• 241 10.3. 51 per cent of the families in Border area are wholly agricul-
* 162 tural, 35 per cent partly agricultural and 14 per cent independent o
463 agriculture. The corresponding figures for the Project area are 61, 31 and 8 per cent respectively while for the General area they are 70 per cent, 29 per cent, 1 per cent respectively.

Predominantly agricultural families constitute 67, 76 and 90 per cent of the families in Border, Project and General areas respectively.

*162 10.4. 31 per cent of the families in Border area, 29 per cent in Project area and 10 per cent in General area were absolutely without any land while
423 25 per cent, 39 per cent and 24 per cent of the families in the respective areas possessed small holding ranging from 0·24 to 2·30 acres representing 11,24 and 26 per cent of the total holding area in the respective areas. 36 per cent of the families in Border and Project areas and 41 in General area possessed medium sized holding (3 to less than 10 acres)

accounting for 42, 54 and 58 per cent of the total holding area in the respective areas. Large holding (10 acres and above) covering 46, 22 and 16 per cent of the total holding area in the Border, Project and General areas respectively were possessed by 18, 7 and 5 per cent of the families of the respective areas. 162* 423

The average size of family holding worked out at 7.7 acres for Border area, 4·1 acres for Project area and 3·7 acres for the General area. The average size of cultivated holding per family in the three areas was found to be 5·1, 3·4 and 3·2 acres respectively.

10.5. The total number of farms in Border area, Project area and General area were respectively 759, 611 and 171 covering respectively 3914·18 acres, 1808·79 acres, and 575·81 acres, bringing the average size of farms to 5·16 acres in Border area, 3·54 acres in Project area and 2·20 acres in General area. 241 311 423

Percentage distribution of these farms and farm area by different size group is depicted in the following table.

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Size of farms (acres)	Border Area			Project Area			General area		
	P. C. of farms (farms)	P. C. of area (area)	Average Size (acres)	P. C. of farms	P. C. of area	Average size (acres) (acres)	P. C. of farms	P. C. of area	Average size (acres)
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Small farms (less than 3 acres).	44.14	11.13	1.33	54.41	24.00	1.56	53.22	26.25	1.66
2. Medium farms 3 to less than 10 acres).	41.60	42.18	5.24	39.72	53.97	4.90	42.11	57.77	4.62
3. Large farms (above 10 acres)	14.37	46.42	16.67	5.87	22.11	13.83	4.67	15.98	11.50
Total	100.00	100.00	5.16	100.00	100.00	3.55	100.00	100.00	2.20

426 Of the total number of loans 81 per cent in Border area, 18 per cent in Project area and 20 per cent in General area were free of interest while rate of interest for 9 per cent, 30 per cent and 60 per cent respectively of the loans in the three areas were found to be 20 per cent or more per annum which in cases ranged upto 200 per cent.

241 434 592 10.8. Farm output of 67 per cent of the families in Border area, 56 per cent of families in Project area and 60 per cent of families in General area were less than Rs. 500. a year, while 5 per cent, 30 per cent and 1 per cent of the families in the respective area earned more than Rs. 2,000·00 a year from their farms. Of the total number of farms fetching less than or Rs. 500.00 a year in Border area 35 per cent of them are medium sized farms and 4 per cent large sized farms, the corresponding proportions for Project area and General area being 21 per cent, 1 per cent, 27 per cent and 1 per cent.

24 433 10.9. In Border area the most important crops are oranges, betelnut, paddy, and betel leaf which respectively accounted for 31 per cent, 27 per cent, 19 per cent and 9 per cent of the total harverted area. In Project area paddy and orange are the most important crop which accounted respectively for 82 per cent and 8 per cent of the total harvested area. The most important crops in the General area are paddy and potato which respectively accounted for 61 per cent and 7 per cent of the total harvested area.

On the basis of data collected for all the villages investigated average yield per acre worked out at paddy 11.65 maunds, potato 21.61 maunds, oranges 5.77 lutis (5908 numbers) and betelnut 2.95 lutis (12980 numbers). These yield exhibited wide variation among the three areas.

434 592 10.10. Proportions of families with annual gross income of less than Rs. 750, Rs. 750 to less than Rs. 3,000, and above Rs. 3,000, were respectively found to be 49 per cent, 45 per cent and 6 per cent in Border area, 34 per cent, 60 per cent and 6 per cent in Project area and 45 per cent, 54 per cent and 1 per cent in General area. Average annual gross income per family worked out at Rs. 1,076·30 in Border area, Rs. 1,229.40 nP. in Project area and Rs. 864·36 nP. in General area which for predominantly agricultural and non-agricultural families respectively stood at Rs. 1,035·06 nP. and Rs. 1,161.91 nP. in Border area, Rs. 1,095·33 nP. and 1,644·36 nP. in Project area and Rs. 873.98 nP. and 780·84 nP. in General area. In all the three areas main contributors to family income were agriculture, service-profession-labour and trade accounting respectively for 41 per cent, 35 per cent and 15 per cent of the total average income in Border area, 37 per cent, 40 per cent and 9 per cent in Project area and 53 per cent, 36 per cent and 5 per cent in General area.

The net annual income per family in different income groups varied between Rs. 60 to 2,849 in Border area, between Rs. 110 to Rs. 3,508 in Project area and between Rs. 92 to Rs. 2,004 in General area. The average over all per family net annual income worked out at Rs. 853 in Border area, Rs. 989 in project area and Rs. 750 in General area and the same *per capita* at Rs. 231 in Border area, Rs. 215 in Project area and Rs. 153 in General area.

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

(9) Cotton is grown on high lands and
248 slopes; it is sown in April, and becomes fit for picking by January.

311 AREA AND OUT-TURN OF CROPS.—According to the Assam Administration Report for 1875-76, the area of the British portion of
241 the Khásí and Jáintiá Hills District amounts to 2160 square miles,
648 of which only 110 are under cultivation; of the remainder, 1337 square miles are set down as cultivable, and 713 as uncultivable. The total area of the semi-independent Khásí States is given as 3997 square miles, of which 176 are under cultivation, 2561 are cultivable, and 1260 uncultivable. In another portion of the same Report, the area under various crops throughout the entire District is thus approximately estimated:—Rice, 59,880 acres; other food grains, 57,820 acres; cotton, 1076 acres; potatoes, 33,880 acres. The average out-turn of rice per acre is returned at 8 *maunds*, or nearly 6 cwt.; of other food grains, 3 *maunds*, or over 2 cwt.; of cotton, 2 *maunds*, or 1½ cwt.; of
[435] potatoes, 55 *maunds*, or nearly 40 cwt. The price of rice in 1875-76 was Rs. 4. 8 per *maund*, or 12s. 8d. a cwt., which gives Rs. 36 or £3. 12s. as the value of the rice crop obtained from one acre.

241 CONDITION OF THE PEASANTRY.—The Khásiás can scarcely be
423 considered an agricultural people, as they do not grow sufficient grain for their own subsistence, and are dependent to a great
433 extent on imports of rice from the neighbouring Districts. Ten acres is generally considered a comfortable holding for a husbandman in the position of an ordinary Bengal peasant, but scarcely any man in the Hills depends entirely upon the produce of his land for
[231] his support. In the Jáintiá Hills a cultivator's position is con-
[554] sidered to be very low if he possesses no cattle, but performs all the operations of agriculture with his own hands. In that portion of the District, five acres is all that can be cultivated with a single
[465] pair of oxen, the average being four acres. A husbandman with a holding of five acres would not be so well off as a retail shopkeeper, nor would it enable him to live as comfortably as he could on a money wage of Rs. 8 or 16s. a month. The peasantry, however, as a class are not in debt. The land is owned chiefly by small proprietors, who occupy and cultivate their hereditary fields. The relations of landlord and tenant do not exist in the Hills, and no rent is payable to any one; consequently the principle of Act x. of 1859 (the Rent Law of Bengal) has no application.

231 THE ANIMALS used in agriculture are oxen; goats and pigs are
435

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

reared either for food or as articles of trade. A pair of ploughing oxen are worth about Rs. 32, or £3, 4s.; an ordinary cow, Rs. 12, or £1, 4s.; a score of kids six months old, Rs. 16, or £1, 12s.; and a score of full-grown pigs, from Rs. 100 to Rs. 160, or from £10 to £16. 231 435

THE AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS in use in the District consist of a plough, called *ka-jing-lúr* in Khásí, and a hoe or *kodáli*, called *u-mo-khiw*. When the cultivation is carried on by means of oxen, the plough is used, the hoe alone being used when the land is cultivated by manual labour. In the Khási Hills the use of the plough, except in a few rare cases, is entirely unknown; but in the Jáintiá Hills, oxen and ploughs are used to a greater extent. What is technically termed 'a plough' of land is equivalent to four English acres; a pair of oxen, together with the necessary implements, would represent a capital of about Rs. 40, or £4. 241 407 [435]

WAGES.—The Deputy-Commissioner reports that the price of labour in the District has more than doubled in the last ten years. The rates obtaining at present are from eightpence to one shilling a day for an ordinary labourer, and from one shilling to eighteenpence a day for a porter. An agricultural day-labourer earns sixpence, and a woman at the same work fourpence-halfpenny a day. Bricklayers, carpenters, and blacksmiths earn from a shilling to eighteenpence a day. The new Station of Shillong, the present seat of the Local Government, was established in May 1864, and since that date the demand for labour has markedly increased. The extension of the cultivation of potatoes has also had an appreciable effect on the price of labour. 178 464 465 [244]

PRICES OF FOOD GRAINS.—Of the different descriptions of rice in the markets of the District, the better sorts are imported from the neighbouring Districts of Sylhet and Kámrúp. The local produce is considered fit only for the use of the Khásiás. The price of the better descriptions depends entirely upon the distance from which the supplies come. In a distant market like that of Shillong, rice of the best quality generally sells at from 6 to 7 *sers* for the rupee, or from 16s. to 18s. 8d. per cwt.; and rice of inferior quality, which is only used by the poorer classes, at from 9 to 10 *sers* for the rupee, or from 11s. 2d. to 12s. 5d. per cwt. Little or no trade is carried on in unhusked grain. Paddy produced in the District generally sells at an average of from 15 to 16 *sers* per rupee, or from 7s. to 7s. 6d. per cwt. Indian corn, which is only grown to a small extent, is sold 435 439 243

21: Ehrenfels E-4,5 (1950) 1953 AR7 Khasi AR7

on a historical past, different from that of the Khasi proper, the former having been ruled by the powerful, but somewhat Hinduised dynasty of the Jaintia Rajas until the Jaintia Wars of the British; the latter by small independent chiefs. Yet Jaintia social organization appears on the whole to preserve the matrilineal social structure clearer and to be less influenced by plains-acculturation, than that of the Khasi, though a few features of Brahmanical religious observances and also some traces of racial admixture are found in the immediate vicinity of Jowei, the former summer residence of the Jaintia Rajas. Stronger no doubt, than this influence, was that exercised by the British and non-Assamese Indians in the provincial capital Shillong since 1866. Methods of agriculture and other aspects of material civilization differ but little in the Jaintia- and Khasi plateau-areas.

The same cannot be said of both: the Wár-Khasi and Wár-Jaintias. Linguistically their affiliations are with the Khasi or Jaintias respectively, in the plateau-areas. Economically, however, both Wár-groups form a separate pan-leaf cultivating unit in the little accessible steep southern slopes of the Khasi- and Jaintia Hill massif. Both Wár-groups live in the environment of luscious tropical flora and fauna, sharply differentiated from the cool, barren plateau with its perennial winds and the heroic, if solitary beauty of its highland heaths, which forms the background of both the Khasi- and Jaintia plateau-groups.

The age of the Wár-Khasi and -Jaintias, as one independent economic, — and two half-independent dialectical linguistic entities, is an intricate problem. The two Wár-groups subsist on pan-leaf cultivation as a money crop, grown in the thick tree-gardens as creepers; not on food-cultivation, as do the plateau-groups, because there is insufficient space on the steep slopes, for vegetable gardens or -fields. The pan-leaf cultivators therefore depend on food, purchased from outside. The slopes seem to have been uninhabited until not long ago. Yet pan-leaf chewing is such an integral part of Khasi life, that until quite recently, and occasionally even now, a distance between two places is not measured by the number of hours used for walking, but by the number of betelnut- and pan-leaf packages, consumed on the way. Also the common benediction among Khasi expresses the wish that so and so may eat pan in the Garden of God. Yet pan-cultivation and the settlements of the Wár-people as pan-leaf cultivators in the southern slopes seem comparatively young. Pan-cultivation on the plateau is impracticable. It is therefore possible that pan was for a long time only a much valued import article from the plains, bartered against Khasi ore and iron tools, though it is now an export article from the Wár-country, brought to the markets of the plains, by both Wár-Khasi and Wár-Jaintia women and men.

According to a tradition, across which I came among the Nonglamin clan of the Nongmuker village, the ancestors of the present Wár people were on the plateau at a time when no pan-cultivation was going on in the slopes and none of the present big estates of pan-tree gardens was yet held by their present (Wár-) owners. A not distant ancestor of a Nonglamin clan-member who about two or three generations ago told the story to U Siang (one of

273 krem. Before I could enter a hut the occupants
had to remove a man who was dead drunk. Over
352 the fireplace hangs a rack on which wood is piled
up for drying; also food provisions, rice, etc.
are kept dry here during the rainy season. Be-
hind it a rack made of sturdy beams runs straight
through the center and sometimes extends along
the sides. On it all kinds of household items
are kept. In the better houses the best dishes
of shiny, polished brass and china are displayed
here. This rack also serves as a partition be-
hind which, on the sides and at the rear wall of
the house, are the sleeping accommodations.
[356] Considering the very unprepossessing physical
appearance of the people, it is surprising how
orderly and clean the houses are kept inside.
342 In the principal towns the well-to-do have al-
ready adopted the brick building and European
comfort. With the Lynngam and the Bhoi, however,
we still find the pile dwelling (77). The houses

77. Gurdon, ibid., p. 32. There
it is mentioned (above) that in
some villages of the subdivision
of the War pile dwellings are
built because the main part of the
house rests on firm ground on the
mountain side and then extends on
piles over the slope. (Cf. the
Garo.) The same people still use
the bachelor house.

have a length from 10 to 12 meters with a veranda
which among the Lynngam is in front, among the
Bhoi in the rear of the house. These people
[241] still practise migratory agriculture and there-
fore move their flimsily constructed houses every
two or three years when they change to new fields.
It follows that the Khasi house, as described
above, represents an advanced construction method.
That in earlier days bamboo construction was

1:Gurdon E-4,5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

when fire is applied, logs of wood being placed at intervals of a few feet to prevent as far as possible the ashes being blown away by the wind. The lands are not hoed, nor treated any further, paddy and millet being sown broadcast, and the seeds of root crops, as well as of maize and Job's tears, being dibbled into the ground by means of small hoes. No manure, beyond the wood ashes above mentioned, is used on this class of land; there is no irrigation, and no other system of watering is resorted to. The seeds are sown generally when the first rain falls. This style of cultivation, or *jhum*, is largely resorted to by the people inhabiting the eastern and southern portions of the Jaintia Hills, e.g. the Bhois and Lalungs, the Lynngams and Garos of the western tracts of the district. Wet paddy land (*kali* or *pynthor*) is, as the name implies, the land where the kind of paddy which requires a great deal of water is grown. The bottoms of valleys are divided up into little compartments by means of fairly high banks corresponding to the Assamese *ális*, and the water is let in at will into these compartments by means of skilfully contrived irrigation channels, sometimes a mile or more in length. The soil is made into a thick paste in the Jaintia Hills by means of the plough, and in the Khasi Hills through the agency of the hoe. Droves of cattle also are driven repeatedly over the paddy-fields until the mud has acquired the right consistency. The seed is then sown broadcast in the wet mud. It is not sown first in a seedling bed and then transplanted, as in Assam and Bengal. When the plants have grown to a height of about four inches, water is let in again; then comes the weeding, which has to be done several times. When the crop is ripe, the ears are cut with a sickle (*ka reshi*) generally, so as to leave almost the entire stalk, and are left in different parts of the field. A peculiarity about the Lyngam and the Khasis and Mikirs of the low hills, or Bhois as they are called, is that they reckon it *sang*, or taboo, to use the sickle. They reap their grain by pulling the ear through the hand. The sheaves, after they are dry, are collected and thrashed out on the spot, either by beating them against a stone (*shok kba*), or by men and women treading them out (*iuh kba*). Cattle are not used for treading out the grain. The grain is then collected and placed in large bamboo receptacles

l: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

(*ki thiar*). The paddy-fields are not manured. The Khasis, 243
when cultivating high lands, select a clayey soil if they can. In the early part of the winter the sods are turned over with the hoe, and they are exposed to the action of the atmosphere for a period of about two months. When the sods are dry, they are placed in piles, which are generally in rows in the fields, and by means of ignited bunches of dry grass within the piles a slow fire is kept up, the piles of sods being gradually reduced to ashes. This is the "paring and burning process" used in England. The ashes so obtained are then carefully raked over the field. Sometimes other manure is also applied, but not when paddy is cultivated. The soil is now fit to receive the seed, either high-land paddy, millet, Job's tears, or other crops, as the case may be. The homestead lands are plentifully manured, and consequently, with attention, produce good crops. They are cultivated with the hoe.

The cultivation of oranges in the southern portion of the 244
district ranks equally in importance with that of the potato in 245
the northern. The orange, which is known in Calcutta as the Chhatak or Sylhet orange, comes from the warm southern slopes of the hills in this district, where it is cultivated on an extensive scale. Although oranges do best when there is considerable heat, they have been known to do well as high as 3,000 ft.; but the usual limit of elevation for the growth of oranges in this district is probably about 1,000 to 1,500 ft. The orange of the Khasi Hills has always been famous for its excellence, and Sir George Birdwood, in his introduction to the "First Letter Book of the East India Company," page 36, refers to the orange and lemon of Garhwál, Sikkim, and Khasia as having been carried by Arab traders into Syria, "whence the Crusaders helped to gradually propagate them throughout Southern Europe." Therefore, whereas the potato was im- [77]
ported, the orange would appear to be indigenous in these hills.

Nurseries.—The seeds are collected and dried by being 247
exposed to the sun. In the spring nurseries are prepared, the ground being thoroughly hoed and the soil pulverized as far as possible. The nursery is walled with stones. The seeds are then sown, a thin top layer of earth being applied. The

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

After the plants have attained the height of about 6 in., they are earthed up. When the leaves turn yellow, it is a sign that the potatoes are ripe. The different kinds of sweet potatoes grown and the yam and another kind of esculent root—*u sohphlang* (*flemingia vestita Benth.*) will be noticed under the head of "Crops." 244

The Khasis possess very few agricultural sayings and proverbs, but the following may be quoted as examples:— 241 538

(1) *Wat ju ai thung jingthung ne bet symbai ha uba sniew kti.*

Do not allow plants to be planted or seeds to be sown by one who has a bad hand. [777]

As elsewhere, there is a belief amongst the Khasis that some people's touch as regards agriculture is unlucky. [826]

(2) *Thung dieng ne bet symbai haba ngen bnai, ym haba shai u bnai.*

Plant trees or sow seeds not when the moon is waxing, but when it is on the wane.

(3) *Wei la saw bha ka bneng sepngi jan miet phin sa ioh jingrang lashai.*

A red sky in the west in the evening is the sign of fine weather to-morrow.

Cf. our English proverb "a red sky in the morning is a shepherd's warning, a red sky at night is a shepherd's delight."

CROPS.

The varieties of rice found in the Khasi Hills are divided into two main classes, one grown as a dry crop on high lands, and the other raised in valleys and hollows which are artificially irrigated from hill streams. The lowland rice is more productive than that grown on high lands, the average per acre of the former, according to the agricultural bulletin, as ascertained from the results of 817 experimental crop cuttings carried out during the fifteen years preceding the year 1898, being 11.7 maunds of paddy per acre, as against an average of 9.4 maunds per acre (resulting from 667 cuttings made during the 243 433

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

243 same period) for the latter.* The average out-turn of both
433 kinds is extremely poor, as compared with that of any description of rice grown in the plains. The rice grown in the hills is said by the Agricultural Department to be of inferior quality, the grain when cleaned being of a red colour, and extremely
244 coarse. The cultivation of potatoes is practically confined to the Khasi Hills, there being little or none in the Jaintia Hills. The normal out-turn of the summer crop sown in February and harvested in June is reported by the Agricultural Department to be five times the quantity of seed used, and that of the winter crop, sown in August and September on the land from which the summer crop has been taken, and harvested in December, twice the quantity of seed. The winter crop is raised chiefly for the purpose of obtaining seed for the spring sowings, as it is found difficult to keep potatoes from the summer crop in good condition till the following spring. The usual quantity of seed used to the acre at each sowing is about 9 maunds, so that the gross out-turn of an acre of land cultivated with potatoes during the year may be taken at 63 máunds, and the net out-turn, after deducting the quantity of seed used, at 45 maunds. The above estimate of the Agricultural Department rests chiefly on the statements of the cultivators, and has not been adequately tested by experiment.

244 Since the appearance of the potato disease in 1885-86 there
439 has been a great decrease in the area under potato cultivation. In 1881-82 the exports of potatoes from the district were as high as 126,981 maunds. From 1886-87 the exports began annually to decrease until in 1895-96 the very low figure of 8,296 maunds was reached. The figures of export for the last nine years are as follows :—

1896-97	16,726 maunds.
1897-98	7,805 "
1898-99	9,272 "
1899-00	5,422 "
1900-01	29,142 "
1901-02	38,251 "
1902-03	36,047 "
1903-04	50,990 "

* See Bulletin No. 5 of the Agricultural Department of Assam, 1898, pp. 4 and 5.

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

It will be seen that in the three years following the earthquake of 1897 the exports fell very low indeed. Since 1901 the trade has been steadily recovering, and the exports of 1904 reached half a lakh of maunds. 244 439 731

It will be observed that there has been some improvement, but the exports are still not half what they were in 1881-82. 244 There are two kinds of sweet potatoes grown in the district, the Garo potato (*u phan Karo*), which appears to have been introduced from the Garo Hills, and *u phan sawlia*, the latter being distinguished from the Garo potato by its having a red skin, the Garo potato possessing a white skin. These kinds of potato are planted on all classes of land except *hali*, they do best on jhumed and homestead lands. The yam proper (*u phan shynreh*) is also largely grown. The small plant with an edible root called by the Khasis *u sohphang* (*flemingia vestita Benth.*), is also largely grown. The roots of the plant after being peeled are eaten raw by the Khasis. As far as we know, this esculent is not cultivated in the adjoining hill districts. Job's tears (*coix lachryma-Jobi*) * are extensively grown, and 243 are planted frequently with the *sohphlang* mentioned above. This cereal forms a substitute for rice amongst the poorer cultivators. Maize or Indian corn (*u riew hadem*) is grown frequently, thriving best on homestead land, and requires heavy manuring; it is grown in rotation with potatoes. Next in importance to rice comes the millet (*u krai*), as a staple of food amongst the Khasis. There are three varieties of millets generally to be seen in the Khasi Hills:—*u 'rai-soh* (*setaria Italica*), *u 'rai-shan* (Paspalum sanguinale), and *u 'rai-truh* (Eleusine coracana). *U 'rai-shan* is cultivated in rotation with the potato, *u 'rai-soh* and *u 'rai-truh* are generally cultivated on jhumed land, where they thrive well. Millet is sometimes used instead of rice in the manufacture of spirit by the Khasis; [274] *u rymbai-ja* (*phaseolus calcaratus*), and *u rymbai ktung* (*glycine soja*) are beans which are cultivated occasionally. Khasis highly prize the fruit of the plantain, which they give to infants 245 mashed up. The following are the best known varieties:— 853 *Ka kait khún, ka kait siem, ka kait kulbuit, ka kait bamon, ka kait shyieng.*

* Khasi *u soh-riew.*

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

301 This stone is apparently some rough gem which may be picked up by the Lynngams in the river beds. A rich man amongst
556 them, however, is one who possesses a number of metal gongs,
534 which they call *wiang*. For these they pay very high prices,
436 Rs. 100 being quite a moderate sum for one of them. Being curious to see one of these gongs, I asked a *sirdar*, or head-man, to show me one. He replied that he would do so, but it would take time, as he always buried his gongs in the jungle for fear of thieves. Next morning
[531] he brought me a gong of bell metal, with carvings of animals engraved thereon. The gong when struck gave out a rich deep note like that of Burmese or Thibetan gongs. These gongs have a regular currency in this part of the hills, and represent to the Lynngams "Bank of England" notes. It would be interesting to try to ascertain what is their history, for no one in the Lynngam country makes them in these days. Is it possible that the Garos brought them with them when
534 they migrated from Thibet? The gongs are well known in the
622 Garo Hills, and I hear that when a *nokma*, or head-man, there
778 dies his corpse is laid out upon them. They thus possess also an element of sanctity, besides being valuable for what they will fetch to the Garos or Lynngams. We may hope to hear more about them in Captain Playfair's account of the Garos.

304 The Lynngams do not tattoo. Their weapons are the large-
411 headed Garo spear, the dao, and the shield. They do not usually
243 carry bows and arrows, although there are some who possess them. They are by occupation cultivators. They sow two kinds of hill rice, red and white, on the hill-sides. They have no wet paddy cultivation, and they do not cultivate in terraces like the Nagas. They burn the jungle about February, after cutting down some of the trees and clearing away some of the debris, and then sow the paddy broadcast, without cultivating the ground in any way. They also cultivate millet and Job's-tears in the same way. With the paddy chillies are sown the
241 first year. The egg plant, arum, ginger, turmeric, and sweet
231 potatoes of several varieties are grown by them in a similar
784 manner. Those that rear the lac insect plant *landoo* trees (Hindi *arhal dal*) in the forest clearings, and rear the insect thereon. Some of these people, however, are prohibited by a

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

workers and they were few in number.[1] They were particularly employed for such work as the clearing of jungle for new pan gardens in summer. 245 464

In the orange season (December to February) the number of workers increased and they were paid more: Rs. 1/8 were paid[2] for one load (one person carrying 80 pounds of oranges, from an orange garden to the railway station—about two miles). Usually a worker made three to five trips a day. Many workers from Jaintia used to come for this particular season. 245 464 465

Semi-permanent workers were engaged for wet rice fields. They were usually Hindu cultivators: since these Khasi and other tribes do not know the technique of wet cultivation, plains people like the Biharee immigrants were engaged. These workers were provided with servants' quarters where they lived with their wives and children. However, very few Jatinga households possessed rice fields. 243 464

The economic prosperity of Jatinga reached its climax during the period from 1934 to 1940. Since 1942, the orange production has been decreasing. In 1945, a serious disease attacked the orange gardens as well as the pan-leaf gardens. Besides, by depriving Jatinga, as it had Shella, of their most important markets, Dacca and Sylhet, the Partition of India and Pakistan in 1947 caused a serious economic depression in the whole region. On the other hand, because of the past prosperity, the population has rapidly increased during the last ten years. The serious economic condition of Jatinga is illustrated in the petition which was submitted by the Jatinga people when the Governor of Assam visited those areas in January 1956. It runs thus: 245 434 731 161 458

"Since the last ten years or so, with the increase of population in the village and with the loss of fertility of the soil, the people were faced with economic depression. At present they are facing acute shortage of land they have also no scope to adopt other forms of cultivation like jhuming and wet rice cultivation, etc. Moreover, there has been successive attack of Bright's disease which destroyed and wiped out all the orange and pan gardens. And as such, majority of the families have to depend for their livelihood on daily wages. . . ."

It is indeed a serious situation for them, because the Khasi do not produce staple foods, such as rice; their economy is completely dependent on the trade of their products by which they purchase their main provisions, clothes, etc. Other peoples round Jatinga, being jhum cultivators, can at least get rice and cotton: the minimum requirements, staple foods and clothing are available even in the worst conditions, so that they can at least maintain themselves though the standard of living is low. As I stated before, a few households in Jatinga possessed rice fields, but the majority had none. Recently they rented some plots of jhum field for rice cultivation from Zemi-Naga of neighbouring villages.[3] However, its yield was but a small percentage of their consumption. A few 182 434 [433] [243]

1. If they had worked in the gardens of Jatinga, they might have got more profit than from their own jhum fields. For one day's labour, they got Ans. 8/. For one month, they could earn Rs. 15 with which they could buy about 4-5 maunds of rice (one maunds paddy cost Rs. 3-4). For one year it became 50 maunds, which was impossible to produce in a jhum field by a single person's labour. [435]

2. These rates, including the figures of note 1, apply to 1956.

3. Jatinga villagers told me that Zemi-Naga were kind enough to lend them their field for a negligible rent, though they had not enough for themselves. Zemi-Naga said that they owed much to Jatinga in the past, so that now they sympathised with the condition of Jatinga, and offered some parts of their jhum field. [427] [628]

nure and chemical fertilizers. Both level land and hillsides are cultivated by the same hand techniques: 3 × 6-foot patches are fashioned with walkways between, sods are overturned within the patches and allowed to dry, the sods are burned slowly and the ashes spread over the soil, and finally the seed is sown, either broadcast or sunk with the aid of the typical Khasi hoe. The coldest part of the upland enjoys a two-crop year, and Khasis often double crop as well. Paddy has long been found in the lowlands, in parts of Jaintia and Bhoi, the only places where the plow is found. Nowadays paddy is more and more seen in the uplands, together with a simple terracing and irrigation technology. Many upland Khasis have house gardens in which they raise a wide variety of vegetables, including pumpkins, cabbage, radishes, sweet potatoes, eggplant, and many others. Important crops in Bhoi country are paddy rice, lac, caoutchouc, cotton, bananas, and pineapples; in War, they are betel nut, pan leaf, oranges, and sugar cane. **Fishing and hunting.** Fishing is done by poisoning streams, but this is a subsistence activity only in the southern foothills. Hunting was formerly by bow and arrow or by traps, including spring guns and pitfalls, but was always primarily a sport. [Cf. Stegmiller 1925.] **Gathering.** Khasis once gathered about 150 species of wild plants, most of them for food, but some for medicine. Thrifty villagers still gather food plants, but there is no real dependence on gathering. Medicinal plants continue to be very important. **Domestic animals.** Fowl, goats, pigs, and cattle are bred both for meat and sacrifice. Milk was formerly not utilized, but is now so popular that specialists keep herds of milch cows. Pigs are used as village scavengers, but some also receive prepared food. Cattle and goats forage freely in the fields during the winter, but are herded by a communally hired herdsboy during the agricultural season. Most households keep chickens, primarily for their eggs, and a few keep ducks. A few horses are also seen. Dogs are pariahs, except for hunting dogs. Cats are popular. **Food and stimulants.** The staple food of Khasis is boiled rice, together with the dried fish which is imported from Sylhet. Boiled beef, pork, and chicken are relished, but beyond the means of most. Meals are taken twice a day, in the morning and evening, although farmers also take a midday meal in the field, and others may take tea and cold sweet potatoes or rice bread. Certain foods are taboo to certain sibs. Stimulants are extremely common, especially betel nut, which is often accompanied by a bit of tobacco. Tobacco is also smoked as cigarettes and in hookah and other pipes. Every village has one or more household taverns, where distilled rice whisky is cooked and sold by the glass and by the bottle. Imported opium had spread widely in the malarious Bhoi country, but controls instituted in the 1940s have been fairly successful. All stimulants were once taken by men, women, and

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Uptill now the main sources of forest revenue in the district are timber, limestone, lac, bay leaf and elephants. 13

2.6 **Agriculture.**—The greater proportion of population of the district subsist on agriculture. The staple crops raised in the district are wet and dry rice, various kinds of millets, maize, potatoes, pineapples, oranges, arecanut, betel-leaf and bay leaf. To a smaller extent they grow in the gardens round their houses vegetables, pulses and occasionally sugarcane. 24

2.6.1 **The main crops : Rice.**—While wet rice is grown in the valleys with which the hills are intersected, dry rice is grown on the hill sides. Highland rice is seldom grown twice running on the same spot for after one crop the soil is exhausted and a fallow period of four to five years is usually allowed. Jowai subdivision is predominantly a wet rice producing area. In Shillong subdivision main wet rice pockets are the Bhoi area stretching upto the sung valley and the northern portion of the plateau, the Mylliem state, the south-western portion of the district and the southern plain portion of the district adjoining East Pakistan. Dry rice is grown more or less through out the district. While Jowai subdivision can claim self sufficiency in rice, Shillong subdivision is a deficit area and the people in this subdivision particularly those in the southern portion (border area) of the district have to depend on supplies from outside. Though there is no reliable statistices of the area under rice, a rough estimate is given elsewhere in the land utilisation table. 243

Maize and millet.—Are two important food crops of the district grown more or less throughout the district.

Potatoes are extensively grown in the higher slopes and in the lower land which are well drained. Generally two crops of potatoes are raised annually in the district. In respect of production and export of potato this district occupies the topmost position in the State of Assam. 244

Orange, betel leaf and arecanut are most extensively grown in the southern base of the hills, *i.e.* all over the border areas. Oranges are also grown in Bornihat areas, in the northern portion of the district. Orange and betelnut plantations extend from the foot of the hills to a height of about 1500 feet and are carried up the ravines which score the southern face of the high plateau. The district is an important producer of Bay-leaf which is abundantly found in the border areas of the district. Other valuable cash crops of the district are black pepper, turmeric, chillies, ginger, pineapple and various other fruits. 245

2.6.2 **Agricultural seasons.**—For wet rice, the lands which are naturally irrigated by virtue of their very location, are ploughed or hoed by about the middle of February and seed sown in May or June. Harvesting takes place in October and November. For dry rice, the land is hoed by about the middle of September, the solds are collected into little heaps and burnt and by February the land is again hoed up and the seed sown in April - May. Harvesting goes 243

on from October to December. For millets the seed is sown in April-May and reaped about six months later. Maize is usually sown in April-May and ripens in August - September. For potato, generally three crops are raised in the district ; the first is sown in December-January and harvested in April-May, the second is sown in February-March and is gathered in June-July and the third is sown in July-August and is harvested in November-December.

For oranges and betelnut the orchards are cleared of weeds twice a year. Harvesting of orange takes place from October to January. Betelnut ripens at the beginning of the year and are collected between February and May.

2.6.3 **Agricultural implements.**—The usual agricultural implements are a hoe, a sickle, three or four kinds of doas, a harrow, a crowbar which is used for the construction of irrigation channels, 'sierras' and winnowing baskets. Bullock drawn plough is used in wet paddy cultivation in parts of Jowai subdivision and in Bhoi area and resembles the one in use in the plains of the State.

2. 6. 4. **General cultural practices.**—The cultivators mostly adhere to their indigenous practices of cultivation. Rotation of crops is not widely used. Cultivation of rice is usually done by broadcasting the seeds though transplanting is also in vogue in some areas. Mixed cropping is widely practised. Cultivation by making terraces in the hill slopes is gaining popularity in the district.

2.7 **Cottage Industries.**—Cottage Industries, it appears, have not found very great favour among the people of the district. A few families here and there manufacture iron implements, earthenware, pottery, baskets, mats and jewellery. In striking contrast with other districts weaving of cotton clothes is rare among the Khasis. The Mikirs in Bhoi area and in areas adjoining North Cachar and Mikir Hills practice it only for their domestic consumption. At present, the Government is trying to popularise weaving in the district and this has been welcomed by the Khasis. Among other cottage industries production of eri cocoon in the northern part of the district adjoining Kamrup district and bee keeping throughout the district are worth mentioning.

2.8 **The People.**—The Khasis and Jaintias are a short sturdy race distinct from the neighbouring hill tribes. By nature they are hardy and laborious and in respect of manual labour, they are free from any inhibition. Side by side with the Khasis live the Mikirs, Garos and Nepalis who form respectively 7.32 percent, 3.38 percent and 3·27 per cent of the total rural population. Besides, there are plains people who are mainly concentrated in the town of Shillong. In the marketing centres of the border area there are a large number of Bengali Hindus who dominate the bulk of the trade in the border areas.

2.9 **Occupation.**—The greater portion of the population of the district subsists on cultivation. More than 75 percent of the rural households are predominantly agricultural. The industrious Khasi agriculturists males and females have a high regard for hard labour

8·5—In the following paragraphs we have reproduced the yield rates of different crops, calculated on the basis of area harvested and total produces reported by the cultivators. For assesment of correct yield rates it is necessary to conduct a scientifically designed crops cutting survey which in view of its largeness in magnitude and other complexities associated with the type of experiments, could not be fitted in with the programme of the present survey. It is admitted that the yield estimates worked out by us are proved to be subjected to the usual limitations of this type of data. 128 433

Yield

1. **Paddy.**—It will be seen from table above that average yields of paddy per acre for Border area, General area and Project area are respectively 8.38 maunds, 12.92 maunds and 12.60 maunds and for the district as a whole it comes to 11.65 maunds though there are cases where maximum yield goes to above 18 maunds per acre. Thus it is seen that the average yield is much less than the average yield for the State of Assam (plain district) which is above 18 maunds per acre. Average yield in Border area is evidently much smaller. Apart from low fertility of land, another reason for this low average is that in a number of villages selected from Border area such as Syndai, Amki and Lumshnong, there was widespread havoc to standing crops was caused by wild elephants. 243 433 [136]

2. **Potato.**—The average for the three areas comes to 21·61 maunds per acre which is in contrast to the State average of above 40 maunds per acre. Our estimate has in fact been lowered due to inclusion of a few villages in the foot hills where potatoes don't grow well, otherwise in a number of high altitude villages, yield per acre well exceeded 40 maunds. The average for Border area is rather too low. Apart from unsuitability of Border land of high altitude potatoes another reason for this low average is that during the reference year the crop suffered from widespread incidence of pests and insects. 244 433 [136]

3. **Orange.**—yield of orange in Border area, Project area and General area was found to be 5. 27 luties or 5396 numbers against 16.76 luties or 17162 numbers and 2.80 luties or 2867 numbers respectively Thus the average yield in Border area, even considering the mixed nature of some gardens is much low. The reasons are obvious. 245 433

4. **Betelnut**—Average yield per acre from Border area, Project area and General area was found to be 2.93 luties (18752 numbers), 4.11 luties (26304 numbers) ann 3.03 luties (19392 numbers) respectively bringing the average for all the three areas to 2.95 luties per arce. 249 433

5. **Betel leaf.**—Average yield per acre works out at 17·15 kuris, 50.64 kuris and 24 kuris in Border area, Project area and General area respectively. Thus in Booder area the average is much lower. This is due to the fact that most of the gardens remained unplucked for want of market for leaf.

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361 In the interior of the Hills the largest villages are mere clusters of
463 huts. The great majority of the inhabitants are employed in agriculture, but there are no data upon which a proportion of agriculturists to non-agriculturists could be based.

167 There is no immigration into the District. Both the Khásiás and
178 the Syntengs have been successful in preserving to the present day their primitive isolation, free from the interference of Hinduism. They still maintain their aboriginal forms of belief and re-
[771] ligious worship, and repudiate alike the authority of Bráhmans and
[262] the entire system of caste. To some extent, however, they have given way to Hindu prejudices in the matter of purity of food. The
[563] few Hindus to be found in the Hills are temporary residents, engaged in civil and military employ, who always contemplate returning
[441] to their own homes. The traders are for the most part natives of the Hills; for the Márwárí merchants, who penetrate into every other corner of Assam, have been able to obtain no footing in the face of Khásí competition. There is likewise no emigration from the District. The hillmen are a well-to-do and contented race, and either produce themselves or obtain by trade sufficient to satisfy
[166] their scanty wants. A certain number of both Khásiás and Syntengs proceed southwards every year to work on the tea gardens of Cáchár and Sylhet, but such absence from home is only temporary.

243 AGRICULTURE: RICE.—Thirteen different varieties of rice are cultivated in the District, of which the following is a list, giving the Khásí name as well as the description of the grain:—(1) *U-kyba-khynriam* (*u*, the masculine article, meaning 'the,' and *kyba*, noun masculine, meaning 'paddy'), brown rice with long grain; (2) *u-kyba-khynriam bai-lih*, a white rice with long grain; (3) *u-kyba la-toh*, round-grained rice; (4) *u-kyba ksai*, bearded, husked; (5) *u-kyba-dew-ba-iong*, black husked rice (literally *u* = 'the,' *kyba* = 'paddy,' *dew* = 'earth,' *ba* = 'that,' *iong* = 'black'); (6) *u-kyba-ba-lih*, white rice; (7) *u-kyba-seim*, scented rice (literally *u* = 'the,' *kyba* = 'paddy,' *seim* = 'royal'); (8) *u-kyba la-kroh*, large-grained rice; (9) *u-kyba-ba-tlang*, small-grained rice; (10) *u-kyba sa-bia*, early rice; (11) *u-kyba ra-bon*, late rice; (12) *u-kyba tang-la*, rice grown along with beans; (13) *u-kyba-ba-túh*, small rice.

Rice is cultivated in marshy fields situated near running water as well as in high lands. The first seven of the above thirteen species of rice are sown in marshy lands during the months of April and May,

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and reaped generally in November and December, although in some parts of the hills the harvesting season commences as early as October. The following is the mode of cultivation pursued. About the middle of February, the husbandman commences to prepare the land by bringing water to his fields from neighbouring streams by means of regularly-cut channels. His land is thus kept inundated for from fifteen to thirty days, in order to soften the soil, when part of the water is allowed to escape through openings made in the banks surrounding the field. The land is then ploughed, the ploughing being called *lur-snih*, and three or four days afterwards it is made to undergo a second ploughing, called *lur-kyn-roi*. The fields are then refilled with water by the same means as before, and allowed to remain covered from ten to fifteen days, when the water is again drained off. After this the land is ploughed a third and a fourth time, the ploughings being termed *lur-shat* and *lur-bet* respectively, and the soil is made as smooth as possible with the hands or a hoe (*kedili*). The seed is then scattered broadcast over the field. Transplanting is not practised in the District. When the plant has sprung up about six inches above the ground, water is introduced into the field a third time, and allowed to stand for about two months, when it is drawn off for a few days, in order that the land may be weeded. After weeding, water is again let in, and is not drained off till the crop is ripe for the sickle. The other six varieties are grown on high lands, the mode of cultivation adopted being as follows:—About the middle of September the grass on the ground to be cultivated is turned up with a little of the soil attached to the roots, and allowed to remain until about February, when the turf so dug up is collected into heaps and burnt. In March or April, according as the rains happen to be early or late, these heaps are broken up and scattered over the fields. The land is then ploughed twice, or merely dug up with a hoe, and the seed is then sown. After sowing, the plough or hoe is used to cover up the seed, which sprouts in about ten days. Showers of rain at short intervals are now looked for, but too much rain, or, on the other hand, a succession of dry days, would injure the crop. As the plant acquires strength, less anxiety is felt concerning the rainfall. About the middle of September the ears begin to appear, and in November the grain is reaped. This description of rice is never grown for more than two successive seasons on the same land. No improvement has taken place within the last twenty years in the quality of the rice grown in

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243 the District, nor do any superior kinds of cereals appear to have been substituted for inferior ones.

THE DIFFERENT STAGES OF RICE CULTIVATION, in English and Khásí, are as follow:—The blade as it first shows, *spch-u-kyba;* the blade when well above the ground, *la-thylleng-u-kyba;* the ears when first formed, *lam-mat;* the ears beginning to ripen, *byr-tem;* the ripe ears, *la-hih;* unhusked rice, *u-kyba;* husked rice, *u-khaw;* cooked rice, *ka-ja.*

262 [435] [782] THE VARIOUS SOLID AND LIQUID PREPARATIONS made from rice are the following:—(1) *U-kypu*, cakes of different kinds, sold at six or twelve for a penny, according to size. (2) *U-shirá* or *gáh-khir*, prepared by the hillmen as an offering to their deity at the conclusion of the harvest. (3) *Kadam*, fermented rice water, sold at the rate of from three-farthings to threepence per quart, according to the strength of the liquor. (4) *Ka kiad-phatika* or *ka kiad-hárak*, a kind of spirits distilled from rice, and sold at from threepence to fourpence-halfpenny per quart.

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243 OTHER CEREALS.—Indian corn, or *u-riu-ha-dem*, is grown on homestead lands. The ground is first manured, and the seed is sown about the middle of April. The crop is fit for cutting in September and October. A kind of millet seed called *u-krdi* is commonly sown with paddy on high lands. For want of more suitable land, however, this crop is often cultivated by itself on rocky slopes; and when this course is adopted, the jungle is first cut down in February and burnt. The seed is sown in April, and the crop gathered in December.

244 PULSES AND FIBRES.—Only two kinds of pulses are grown in the Hills, *u-rym-bai-ktung* and *u-rym-bai-jid*, both of which are varieties of beans. They are sown on high lands in March and April, and gathered in December. The only fibre is that made from the pine-apple stalk, which is largely used for making netted bags.

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245 [439] MISCELLANEOUS CROPS.—(1) Oranges.—There are numerous orange plantations in the neighbourhood of Cherrá Púnjí, and the fruit is exported to all parts of Bengal. In the year 1876-77 the estimated exports were 9,400,000 in number, valued at Rs. 37,600, or £3760, at the rate of Rs. 12 or £1, 4s. per three thousand. These figures show a decrease in number as compared with the estimated export twenty years ago. The trees flower in March or April, and the fruit ripens in October and the following months. In some cases the oranges are allowed to remain on the trees till March, but

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reared either for food or as articles of trade. A pair of ploughing oxen are worth about Rs. 32, or £3, 4s.; an ordinary cow, Rs. 12, or £1, 4s.; a score of kids six months old, Rs. 16, or £1, 12s.; and a score of full-grown pigs, from Rs. 100 to Rs. 160, or from £10 to £16. 231 435

THE AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS in use in the District consist of a plough, called *ka-jing-lúr* in Khási, and a hoe or *kodáli*, called *u-mo-khiáw*. When the cultivation is carried on by means of oxen, the plough is used, the hoe alone being used when the land is cultivated by manual labour. In the Khási Hills the use of the plough, except in a few rare cases, is entirely unknown; but in the Jáintiá Hills, oxen and ploughs are used to a greater extent. What is technically termed 'a plough' of land is equivalent to four English acres; a pair of oxen, together with the necessary implements, would represent a capital of about Rs. 40, or £4. 241 407 [435]

WAGES.—The Deputy-Commissioner reports that the price of labour in the District has more than doubled in the last ten years. The rates obtaining at present are from eightpence to one shilling a day for an ordinary labourer, and from one shilling to eighteenpence a day for a porter. An agricultural day-labourer earns sixpence, and a woman at the same work fourpence-halfpenny a day. Bricklayers, carpenters, and blacksmiths earn from a shilling to eighteenpence a day. The new Station of Shillong, the present seat of the Local Government, was established in May 1864, and since that date the demand for labour has markedly increased. The extension of the cultivation of potatoes has also had an appreciable effect on the price of labour. 178 464 465 [244]

PRICES OF FOOD GRAINS.—Of the different descriptions of rice in the markets of the District, the better sorts are imported from the neighbouring Districts of Sylhet and Kámrúp. The local produce is considered fit only for the use of the Khásiás. The price of the better descriptions depends entirely upon the distance from which the supplies come. In a distant market like that of Shillong, rice of the best quality generally sells at from 6 to 7 *sers* for the rupee, or from 16s. to 18s. 8d. per cwt.; and rice of inferior quality, which is only used by the poorer classes, at from 9 to 10 *sers* for the rupee, or from 11s. 2d. to 12s. 5d. per cwt. Little or no trade is carried on in unhusked grain. Paddy produced in the District generally sells at an average of from 15 to 16 *sers* per rupee, or from 7s. to 7s. 6d. per cwt. Indian corn, which is only grown to a small extent, is sold 435 439 243

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435 439 at the rate of two or three ears for a farthing; and sugar-cane, the [243] cultivation of which is also very limited, at from a little over a farthing 273 435 to three-farthings per cane. A fermented liquor called *kadam*, made from rice, is sold at from three-farthings to threepence a quart, according to strength; and a distilled spirit called *phatika*, or *kakiad-hárak*, at from threepence to fourpence-halfpenny a quart. This latter description of liquor is sometimes made very strong. No records exist by which the present prices of the above articles can [731] be compared with the rates ruling ten years ago. The maximum price of rice during the famine of 1866-67 was 5 *sers* 6 *chhatáks* for the rupee, or about £1 a hundredweight.

804 805 MEASURES, WEIGHTS, ETC.—The Hill people have no proper measurement of time or distance. If there be any standard for measuring distance, it is by the number of *pins* a man chews in the course of a journey, generally about one every half hour. In some parts of the District, land is measured by a stick called *ka dieng-nong*, varying in length from six to seven cubits. Liquids are measured in gourds of different measures, varying from half a *chhaták* to a *ser*, and also in bamboo tubes. Rice, potatoes, beans, etc. are measured in baskets, varying in size in different markets from two to eighty pounds.

805 In the Khásí Hills the inhabitants reckon eight days in the week, named as follows:—(1) Lyn-kah; (2) Nong-krem; (3) Um-long; (4) Rang-hep; (5) Shillong; (6) Pom-tih; (7) Um-nih; (8) Yeo-duh. In the Jáintiá Hills the eight days are named thus:—(1) Kyllao; (2) Pyn-sing; (3) Máo-long; (4) Máo-siang; (5) Máo-shai; (6) Pyn-kat; (7) Thym-blein; (8) Ka-hat. The Khásí months of the year, calculated by moons, are as follow:—(1) U Kylla lynkot; (2) U Rym-pang; (3) U Lyber; (4) U Laiong; (5) U Jimmang; (6) U Jilliw; (7) U Nai-túng; (8) U Nai-lar; (9) U Nai-lúr; (10) U Rysow; (11) U Nai-wing; (12) U Noh-prah.

464 423 LANDLESS LABOURING CLASSES.—There is, and always has been, a large class of labourers in the District who neither rent nor possess any land. Women and children are employed in manual out-door labour of all kinds.

423 [427] VARIETIES OF LAND TENURE can hardly be said to exist. There is nothing whatever resembling the relations between landlord and tenant throughout the Khásí Hills. The lands as a rule are either ancestral property or belong to village communities, and are cultivated under unwritten but well-understood agreements. Of the wide

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extent of waste land, some is cultivated in a manner resembling the *júm* system,—successive crops are grown on a patch of land till the soil is exhausted, and then another spot is selected, where the same process is repeated afresh, but without anything that can be called a *júmiá* tenure. Any renting of land is exceptional, and there are no recognised rates of rent. The Deputy-Commissioner, however, states that an ordinary rate for rented land would be from two to three shillings a year for as much land as an individual can cultivate with his own hands. 423 [427]

MANURE is generally used in raising rice and potatoes. It is seldom purchased, the dung and litter of the cattle and other animals about the house being generally utilized for the purpose. For rice fields a little less than half a ton of manure, but for potatoes upwards of two tons, is required per acre. Manure, if purchased, would cost from 2s. 7½d. to 3s. 9d. per acre for rice land, and for potato fields from 12s. to 18s. per acre. 243 244 [435]

IRRIGATION for agricultural purposes is regularly practised. Water is brought to the land by means of channels cut from the numerous hill streams in the neighbourhood of the fields. Wells and tanks are unknown. The work of irrigation by means of these channels is very easily carried on, and at a very trifling outlay. Rotation of crops is not practised in the Hills. 312

MODEL FARM.—The Shillong Model Farm, established in 1873, has not proved a success. Experiments tried with wheat give some hope that cold-weather crops may profitably be introduced into the Hills. Two new varieties of potato—'red roughs' and 'pheasant's eye'—were successfully introduced in 1873-74; but these are not looked upon favourably by the Khásiás, as they only give one crop in the year, whereas the ordinary variety yields two crops. Several fruit-trees have been planted out, including apple, pear, cherry, nectarine, and plum; and the tables of the European residents are supplied with vegetables from the garden attached to the farm. A *Manual of Potato Cultivation* compiled by the superintendent has been translated into Assamese, and copies have been distributed among the adjoining Hill tribes. The general failure in all the agricultural experiments is attributed partly to the unfitness of the soil, and still more to the ravages of white ants and other insects peculiar to the Hills. The attempts to improve the indigenous breeds of live stock have been equally unfortunate. During the two years 1874-76 the sum of Rs. 1744 177 244 648 654 177 245 648 654 [134] [136] 231 648 654

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supply. As the District depends so largely for its supply of rice 243
upon Sylhet and Kámrúp, the state of the markets in those places 433
exercises a greater influence on the rates in the Hills than any 439
failure of the local harvest. In the year 1858 the price of common [435]
rice is said to have risen as high as 6 *sers* for the rupee, or 18s. 8d. per cwt., in consequence of the failure of the crops in the plains.

ROADS AND MEANS OF COMMUNICATION.—The following are the 491
eight principal lines of road in the Khási and Jáintiá Hills:—(1) Road from Shillong to Gauhátí, in Kámrúp. This road has recently (1877) been opened for wheeled traffic throughout its entire length. The Deputy-Commissioner's Report for 1876-77 states that the number of passengers passing up and down may be estimated at about 800 or 1000 every month, and the number of carts already used at about 50. The *tonga dák* brings travellers up [493]
to Shillong from Gauhátí in two days by a comfortable and easy carriage service, while for natives a cheaper conveyance by bullock cart is available. At Gauhátí there is a good *dák* bungalow in charge of a *khánsámá*, where the usual accommodation provided in a hotel is to be found. The stages to Shillong are as follow:—(*a*) Gauhátí to Bornihát, 17 miles. The road is good throughout. There is a *dák* bungalow in charge of a *chaukidár* at Bornihát, where grain and rice are procurable. (*b*) Bornihát to Nongpoh, 14½ miles. The road is hilly throughout, but good. At Nongpoh, which is at an elevation of 1900 feet, there is a *dák* bungalow in charge of a *khánsámá*, from whom tea, liquors, and biscuits, etc. can be obtained. The *dák* bungalow is furnished with bedding, linen, etc. Grain and rice can be purchased in the *bázár*. (*c*) Nongpoh to Um-sning, 16½ miles. At Um-sning, elevation 2700 feet, there is a *dák* bungalow in charge of a *chaukidár*. Supplies or coolies are not procurable, but sometimes grain and rice can be purchased. (*d*) Um-sning to Um-jam, 9½ miles. At Um-jam there is a Public Works Department rest-house in charge of a *chaukidár*. Supplies or coolies are not procurable. (*e*) Um-jam to Shillong, 9½ miles, of which 6½ are a continuous ascent. At Shillong there are *dák* [485]
bungalows in the Artillery Lines, containing four separate rooms. A *khánsámá* is in attendance, and the rooms are completely furnished with bedding, linen, etc. This entire road, which has a total length of 67 miles, is as perfect a hill road as could be seen in any country, and a model of engineering skill. (2) Road running from Gauhátí across the Hills, *via* Nongklao, Máo-flang, Cherrá

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439 previous twenty years. The oranges, like the lime, were brought
648 down to Mr. Inglis' depot at Chhaták, where they were sold to
245 the dealers at the rate of about Rs. 1. 12 per 1000, or less than
434 half their present estimated price. It is stated in Mr. Allen's Report, that the Calcutta market was then chiefly supplied from the groves of Shella Púnjí and Bor Púnjí; the produce of the other villages was more perishable, and required to be sold in the neighbouring Districts. The fruit is known in Calcutta as 'Sylhet oranges.' The Bengal registration returns for 1876-77 show a total export from Sylhet of 64,505 *maunds* of 'fruit,' valued at Rs. 193,515, or £19,351.

439 The export of raw cotton appears to have greatly increased. In 1876-77 the total quantity exported was 36,000 *maunds*, valued at Rs. 216,000, or £21,600, at the rate of Rs. 6 per *maund*. Twenty years before the export had been only 12,000 *maunds*, valued at Rs. 42,000, at the rate of only Rs. 3. 8 per *maund*. The cotton is of inferior quality, with a short and woolly staple. It is chiefly consumed by the Sylhet weavers. The total registered export from that District in 1876-77 was only 4300 *maunds*, valued at Rs. 64,500,
434 at the high rate of Rs. 15 per *maund*.

439 The chief article of import now, as twenty years ago, is rice; for
[178] the hill-men have never grown sufficient for their own consumption,
[243] and the recent establishment of the Civil Station of Shillong has increased the demand. In 1876-77 the total imports of rice were estimated at 205,800 *maunds*, valued at Rs. 720,300, or £72,030, at the rate of Rs. 3. 8 per *maund*. Twenty years ago the imports were nearly as great, viz. 150,000 *maunds*; but the value was only Rs. 225,000, at the rate of Rs. 1. 8 per *maund*, or less than one-half the present value. The chief source of supply is Sylhet District, which sends its surplus to the tea gardens of Cáchár, as well as to these Hills, and also exported, in the year 1876-77, 214,000 *maunds* of rice and 433,100 *maunds* of paddy into Bengal.

The importation of fish (fresh and dried) has enormously increased. In 1876-77 the total amount was 35,900 *maunds*, valued at Rs. 215,400, or £21,540, at the rate of Rs. 6 per *maund*. Twenty years ago the value was only Rs. 20,000, but the quantity is not given. The preparation of dried fish is a flourishing industry in the adjoining District of Sylhet.

The importation of cotton cloth has increased in an almost equal proportion. The value in 1876-77 was Rs. 158,000, or £15,800, as

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of them, more especially when the latter are situated in places where jungle is dense, and there is fear of attacks from wild animals. In the Lyngam village is to be seen a high bamboo platform some 20 to 30 ft. from the ground, built in the midst of the village, where the elders sit and gossip in the evening. 361

All the villages, Khasi, Wár, Lyngam and Bhoi, swarm with pigs, which run about the villages unchecked. The pigs feed on all kinds of filth, and in addition are fed upon the wort and spent wash of the brewings of country spirit, or rice beer, the latter being carefully collected and poured into wooden troughs. The pigs are of the usual black description seen in India. They thrive greatly in the Khasi villages, and frequently attain extreme obesity. 361 231 274

In the Khasi villages of the high plateaux are often nowadays potato gardens, the latter being carefully protected from the inroads of pigs, calves, and goats by dry dikes surmounted by hedges. 244 417

I noticed an interesting custom at a Bhoi village in Nongpoh of barricading the path leading to the village from the forest with bamboo palisading and bamboo *chevaux de frise* to keep out the demon of cholera. In the middle of the barricade there was a wooden door over which was nailed the skull of a monkey which had been sacrificed to this demon, which is, as amongst the Syntengs, called *kkiaw*. 757 776 782

FURNITURE AND HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS.

As in the case of houses, so with reference to furniture, the influence of civilization shows many changes. The Khasi of the present day who lives in Mawkhar * has a comfortable house regularly divided up into rooms in the European style with even some European articles of furniture, but owing probably to the influence of the women, he still possesses several of the articles of furniture which are to be met with in the houses of those who still observe the old style of living. Let us take the furniture of the kitchen to begin with. Above the hearth is slung by ropes of cane a swinging wooden framework 352 352 417

* Mawkhar is a suburb of Shillong, the headquarters station.

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(*ki thiar*). The paddy-fields are not manured. The Khasis, 243
when cultivating high lands, select a clayey soil if they can. In the early part of the winter the sods are turned over with the hoe, and they are exposed to the action of the atmosphere for a period of about two months. When the sods are dry, they are placed in piles, which are generally in rows in the fields, and by means of ignited bunches of dry grass within the piles a slow fire is kept up, the piles of sods being gradually reduced to ashes. This is the "paring and burning process" used in England. The ashes so obtained are then carefully raked over the field. Sometimes other manure is also applied, but not when paddy is cultivated. The soil is now fit to receive the seed, either high-land paddy, millet, Job's tears, or other crops, as the case may be. The homestead lands are plentifully manured, and consequently, with attention, produce good crops. They are cultivated with the hoe.

The cultivation of oranges in the southern portion of the 244
district ranks equally in importance with that of the potato in 245
the northern. The orange, which is known in Calcutta as the Chhatak or Sylhet orange, comes from the warm southern slopes of the hills in this district, where it is cultivated on an extensive scale. Although oranges do best when there is considerable heat, they have been known to do well as high as 3,000 ft.; but the usual limit of elevation for the growth of oranges in this district is probably about 1,000 to 1,500 ft. The orange of the Khasi Hills has always been famous for its excellence, and Sir George Birdwood, in his introduction to the "First Letter Book of the East India Company," page 36, refers to the orange and lemon of Garhwál, Sikkim, and Khasia as having been carried by Arab traders into Syria, "whence the Crusaders helped to gradually propagate them throughout Southern Europe." Therefore, whereas the potato was im- [77]
ported, the orange would appear to be indigenous in these hills.

Nurseries.—The seeds are collected and dried by being 247
exposed to the sun. In the spring nurseries are prepared, the ground being thoroughly hoed and the soil pulverized as far as possible. The nursery is walled with stones. The seeds are then sown, a thin top layer of earth being applied. The

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247 nurseries are regularly watered, and are covered up with layers of leaves to ensure, as far as possible, the retention of the necessary moisture. When the plants are 3 or 4 in. high, they are transplanted to another and larger nursery, the soil of which has been previously well prepared for the reception of the young plants.

245 An orangery is prepared in the following manner:—

The shrubs, weeds and small trees are cut down, leaving only the big trees for the purpose of shade. The plants from the nurseries are planted from 6 ft. to 9 ft. apart. When they have become young trees, many of the branches of the sheltering trees mentioned above are lopped off, so as to admit the necessary amount of sunlight to the young orange trees. As the orange trees increase in size, the sheltering trees are gradually felled. The orchard requires clearing of jungle once in spring and once in autumn. The Khasis do not manure their orange trees, nor do they dig about and expose the roots. The [436] price of orange plants is from 75 to 100 plants per rupee for plants from 1 to 2 ft. in height, and from fifty to seventy-five plants per rupee for plants from 2 to 5 ft. in height. Orange trees bear fruit when from five to eight years old in ordinary soils. In very fertile soils they sometimes bear after four years. A full-grown tree yields annually as many as 1,000 438 oranges, but a larger number is not unknown. The larger portion of the produce is exported from the district to the plains, and to fruit markets at the foot of the hills such as Theria, Mawdon, and Phali-Bazar, on the Shella river, whence it finds its way to the Calcutta and Eastern Bengal markets.

244 Potatoes are raised on all classes of land, except *hali*, or wet paddy land. When the land has been properly levelled and hoed, drains are dug about the field. A cultivator (generally a female), with a basket of seed potatoes on her back and with a small hoe in her right hand, digs holes and with the left hand drops two seed-potatoes into each hole. The holes are about 6 in. in diameter, 6 in. deep, and from 6 to 9 in. apart from one another. Another woman, with a load of manure in a basket on her back, throws a little manure over the seed in the hole, and then covers both up with earth.

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After the plants have attained the height of about 6 in., they are earthed up. When the leaves turn yellow, it is a sign that the potatoes are ripe. The different kinds of sweet potatoes grown and the yam and another kind of esculent root—*u sohphlang* (*flemingia vestita Benth.*) will be noticed under the head of "Crops." 244

The Khasis possess very few agricultural sayings and proverbs, but the following may be quoted as examples:— 241 538

(1) *Wat ju ai thung jingthung ne bet symbai ha uba sniew kti.*

Do not allow plants to be planted or seeds to be sown by one who has a bad hand. [777]

As elsewhere, there is a belief amongst the Khasis that some people's touch as regards agriculture is unlucky. [826]

(2) *Thung dieng ne bet symbai haba ngen bnai, ym haba shai u bnai.*

Plant trees or sow seeds not when the moon is waxing, but when it is on the wane.

(3) *Wei la saw bha ka bneng sepngi jan miet phin sa ioh jingrang lashai.*

A red sky in the west in the evening is the sign of fine weather to-morrow.

Cf. our English proverb "a red sky in the morning is a shepherd's warning, a red sky at night is a shepherd's delight."

CROPS.

The varieties of rice found in the Khasi Hills are divided into two main classes, one grown as a dry crop on high lands, and the other raised in valleys and hollows which are artificially irrigated from hill streams. The lowland rice is more productive than that grown on high lands, the average per acre of the former, according to the agricultural bulletin, as ascertained from the results of 817 experimental crop cuttings carried out during the fifteen years preceding the year 1898, being 11.7 maunds of paddy per acre, as against an average of 9.4 maunds per acre (resulting from 667 cuttings made during the 243 433

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

243 same period) for the latter.* The average out-turn of both
433 kinds is extremely poor, as compared with that of any description of rice grown in the plains. The rice grown in the hills is said by the Agricultural Department to be of inferior quality, the grain when cleaned being of a red colour, and extremely
244 coarse. The cultivation of potatoes is practically confined to the Khasi Hills, there being little or none in the Jaintia Hills. The normal out-turn of the summer crop sown in February and harvested in June is reported by the Agricultural Department to be five times the quantity of seed used, and that of the winter crop, sown in August and September on the land from which the summer crop has been taken, and harvested in December, twice the quantity of seed. The winter crop is raised chiefly for the purpose of obtaining seed for the spring sowings, as it is found difficult to keep potatoes from the summer crop in good condition till the following spring. The usual quantity of seed used to the acre at each sowing is about 9 maunds, so that the gross out-turn of an acre of land cultivated with potatoes during the year may be taken at 63 máunds, and the net out-turn, after deducting the quantity of seed used, at 45 maunds. The above estimate of the Agricultural Department rests chiefly on the statements of the cultivators, and has not been adequately tested by experiment.

244 Since the appearance of the potato disease in 1885-86 there
439 has been a great decrease in the area under potato cultivation. In 1881-82 the exports of potatoes from the district were as high as 126,981 maunds. From 1886-87 the exports began annually to decrease until in 1895-96 the very low figure of 8,296 maunds was reached. The figures of export for the last nine years are as follows :—

1896-97	16,726 maunds.
1897-98	7,805 "
1898-99	9,272 "
1899-00	5,422 "
1900-01	29,142 "
1901-02	38,251 "
1902-03	36,047 "
1903-04	50,990 "

* See Bulletin No. 5 of the Agricultural Department of Assam, 1898, pp. 4 and 5.

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It will be seen that in the three years following the earthquake of 1897 the exports fell very low indeed. Since 1901 the trade has been steadily recovering, and the exports of 1904 reached half a lakh of maunds. 241 439 731

It will be observed that there has been some improvement, but the exports are still not half what they were in 1881-82. 244 There are two kinds of sweet potatoes grown in the district, the Garo potato (*u phan Karo*), which appears to have been introduced from the Garo Hills, and *u phan sawlia*, the latter being distinguished from the Garo potato by its having a red skin, the Garo potato possessing a white skin. These kinds of potato are planted on all classes of land except *hali*, they do best on jhumed and homestead lands. The yam proper (*u phan shynreh*) is also largely grown. The small plant with an edible root called by the Khasis *u sohphang* (*flemingia vestita Benth.*), is also largely grown. The roots of the plant after being peeled are eaten raw by the Khasis. As far as we know, this esculent is not cultivated in the adjoining hill districts. Job's tears (*coix lachryma-Jobi*) * are extensively grown, and 243 are planted frequently with the *sohphlang* mentioned above. This cereal forms a substitute for rice amongst the poorer cultivators. Maize or Indian corn (*u riew hadem*) is grown frequently, thriving best on homestead land, and requires heavy manuring; it is grown in rotation with potatoes. Next in importance to rice comes the millet (*u krai*), as a staple of food amongst the Khasis. There are three varieties of millets generally to be seen in the Khasi Hills:—*u 'rai-soh* (*setaria Italica*), *u 'rai-shan* (Paspalum sanguinale), and *u 'rai-truh* (Eleusine coracana). *U 'rai-shan* is cultivated in rotation with the potato, *u 'rai-soh* and *u 'rai-truh* are generally cultivated on jhumed land, where they thrive well. Millet is sometimes used instead of rice in the manufacture of spirit by the Khasis; [274] *u rymbai-ja* (*phaseolus calcaratus*), and *u rymbai ktung* (*glycine soja*) are beans which are cultivated occasionally. Khasis highly prize the fruit of the plantain, which they give to infants 245 mashed up. The following are the best known varieties:— 853 *Ka kait khún, ka kait siem, ka kait kulbuit, ka kait bamon, ka kait shyieng.*

* Khasi *u soh-riew.*

thereafter, the British negotiated treaties with all the Khasi states, the last treaty being signed in 1862. It was contracted that the chiefs would be subject to the authority of a resident political agent, whose duties would involve maintaining law and order, judging cases of heinous crimes, approving the popular selection of any new chief, and exercising control over certain categories of natural resources. Khasis were guaranteed noninterference in their customary way of life, and they were not then, nor are they now, taxed. Most Khasis, as opposed to Jaintias, were never an integral part of British India, but they did undergo social change as a result of British presence. To summarize Mills (n.d.): (1) The British introduced the potato, which the Khasis rapidly took up as a cash crop for marketing as far as Calcutta. The intensive specialization exhausted the soil and made for ever-poorer crops. (2) Christian missionaries made large numbers of converts, and there arose the difficult question of whether a Christian should inherit property that traditionally was earmarked for her performance of non-Christian religious rituals. (3) About 1864 the British transferred their headquarters from Cherrapunji to Shillong. When they made Shillong the capital of the entire state of Assam, non-Khasis flocked to it, land values soared, and the concept of private property became increasingly important. Khasis began to marry with members of other ethnic groups, which introduced confusion into traditional social patterns. These problems were exacerbated during World War II, when Shillong and its environs enjoyed enormous economic prosperity. One notable aftermath of this affluence has been the accelerated enrollments in schools and colleges. Hundreds of Khasis now have the B.A., M.A., and even the Ph.D. degree. • With the Independence of India in 1947, and under the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India (which was drafted by a Khasi), the United Khasi–Jaintia Hills District became a Part B, or Autonomous, Tribal Area, to be governed by a District Council composed largely of Khasis and Jaintias, and responsible not to the Legislature of Assam, but to the Governor of Assam as agent of the President of India. The native-state system and the chiefs still exist, and the District Council finds it difficult to effect legislation which is neither offensive to regional custom nor a simple blueprint of ill-fitting all-India legislation. The major political schism at this time is between Jaintias, who are accustomed to centralized authority and taxation, and Khasis, who resist the notion of taxation to support the work of a central District Council. [Cf. Gait 1926; Aitchison 1931; Bhuyan 1949; Morris 1910.]

175 619 648 [726] [651] [177] 177 648 244 439 134 797 428 635 633 167 563 423 [873] 648 642 [651] [563] [113]

SETTLEMENT PATTERN AND HOUSING. **Settlement pattern.** Khasis live sedentarily in named, nucleated, and unplanned villages which are situated just below hill summits to avoid strong winds but still be defensible, and which usually include a de-

361 [312]

Uptill now the main sources of forest revenue in the district are timber, limestone, lac, bay leaf and elephants. 13

2.6 **Agriculture.**—The greater proportion of population of the district subsist on agriculture. The staple crops raised in the district are wet and dry rice, various kinds of millets, maize, potatoes, pineapples, oranges, arecanut, betel-leaf and bay leaf. To a smaller extent they grow in the gardens round their houses vegetables, pulses and occasionally sugarcane. 24

2.6.1 **The main crops : Rice.**—While wet rice is grown in the valleys with which the hills are intersected, dry rice is grown on the hill sides. Highland rice is seldom grown twice running on the same spot for after one crop the soil is exhausted and a fallow period of four to five years is usually allowed. Jowai subdivision is predominantly a wet rice producing area. In Shillong subdivision main wet rice pockets are the Bhoi area stretching upto the sung valley and the northern portion of the plateau, the Mylliem state, the south-western portion of the district and the southern plain portion of the district adjoining East Pakistan. Dry rice is grown more or less through out the district. While Jowai subdivision can claim self sufficiency in rice, Shillong subdivision is a deficit area and the people in this subdivision particularly those in the southern portion (border area) of the district have to depend on supplies from outside. Though there is no reliable statistices of the area under rice, a rough estimate is given elsewhere in the land utilisation table. 243

Maize and millet.—are two important food crops of the district grown more or less throughout the district.

Potatoes are extensively grown in the higher slopes and in the lower land which are well drained. Generally two crops of potatoes are raised annually in the district. In respect of production and export of potato this district occupies the topmost position in the State of Assam. 244

Orange, betel leaf and arecanut are most extensively grown in the southern base of the hills, *i.e.* all over the border areas. Oranges are also grown in Bornihat areas, in the northern portion of the district. Orange and betelnut plantations extend from the foot of the hills to a height of about 1500 feet and are carried up the ravines which score the southern face of the high plateau. The district is an important producer of Bay-leaf which is abundantly found in the border areas of the district. Other valuable cash crops of the district are black pepper, turmeric, chillies, ginger, pineapple and various other fruits. 245

2.6.2 **Agricultural seasons.**—For wet rice, the lands which are naturally irrigated by virtue of their very location, are ploughed or hoed by about the middle of February and seed sown in May or June. Harvesting takes place in October and November. For dry rice, the land is hoed by about the middle of September, the solds are collected into little heaps and burnt and by February the land is again hoed up and the seed sown in April - May. Harvesting goes 243

243 on from October to December. For millets the seed is sown in April-May and reaped about six months later. Maize is usually sown in
244 April-May and ripens in August - September. For potato, generally three crops are raised in the district ; the first is sown in December-January and harvested in April-May, the second is sown in February-March and is gathered in June-July and the third is sown in July-August and is harvested in November-December.

245 For oranges and betelnut the orchards are cleared of weeds twice a year. Harvesting of orange takes place from October to January. Betelnut ripens at the beginning of the year and are collected between February and May.

241 2.6.3 **Agricultural implements.**—The usual agricultural implements are a hoe, a sickle, three or four kinds of doas, a harrow, a crowbar which is used for the construction of irrigation channels, 'sierras' and winnowing baskets. Bullock drawn plough is used in wet paddy cultivation in parts of Jowai subdivision and in Bhoi area and resembles the one in use in the plains of the State.

2. 6. 4. **General cultural practices.**—The cultivators mostly adhere to their indigenous practices of cultivation. Rotation of crops is not widely used. Cultivation of rice is usually done by broadcasting the seeds though transplanting is also in vogue in some areas. Mixed cropping is widely practised. Cultivation by making terraces in the hill slopes is gaining popularity in the district.

433 2.7 **Cottage Industries.**—Cottage Industries, it appears, have not
326 found very great favour among the people of the district. A few
[323] families here and there manufacture iron implements, earthenware,
285 pottery, baskets, mats and jewellery. In striking contrast with other
[306] districts weaving of cotton clothes is rare among the Khasis. The
286 Mikirs in Bhoi area and in areas adjoining North Cachar and Mikir
[171] Hills practice it only for their domestic consumption. At present, the
[654] Government is trying to popularise weaving in the district and this has been welcomed by the Khasis. Among other cottage industries
[231] production of eri cocoon in the northern part of the district adjoining Kamrup district and bee keeping throughout the district are worth mentioning.

142 2.8 **The People.**—The Khasis and Jaintias are a short sturdy
147 race distinct from the neighbouring hill tribes. By nature they are hardy and laborious and in respect of manual labour, they are free
441 from any inhibition. Side by side with the Khasis live the Mikirs, Garos-
563 and Nepalis who form respectively 7.32 percent, 3.38 percent and 3·27 per cent of the total rural population. Besides, there are plains people who are mainly concentrated in the town of Shillong. In the marketing centres of the border area there are large number of Bengali Hindus who dominate the bulk of the trade in the border areas.

241 2.9 **Occupation.**—The greater portion of the population of the
[433] district subsists on cultivation. More than 75 percent of the rural
[461] households are predominantly agricultural. The industrious Khasi agriculturists males and females have a high regard for hard labour

8·5—In the following paragraphs we have reproduced the yield rates of different crops, calculated on the basis of area harvested and total produces reported by the cultivators. For assesment of correct yield rates it is necessary to conduct a scientifically designed crops cutting survey which in view of its largeness in magnitude and other complexities associated with the type of experiments, could not be fitted in with the programme of the present survey. It is admitted that the yield estimates worked out by us are proved to be subjected to the usual limitations of this type of data. 128 433

Yield

1. **Paddy.**—It will be seen from table above that average yields of paddy per acre for Border area, General area and Project area are respectively 8.38 maunds, 12.92 maunds and 12.60 maunds and for the district as a whole it comes to 11.65 maunds though there are cases where maximum yield goes to above 18 maunds per acre. Thus it is seen that the average yield is much less than the average yield for the State of Assam (plain district) which is above 18 maunds per acre. Average yield in Border area is evidently much smaller. Apart from low fertility of land, another reason for this low average is that in a number of villages selected from Border area such as Syndai, Amki and Lumshnong, there was widespread havoc to standing crops was caused by wild elephants. 243 433 [136]

2. **Potato.**—The average for the three areas comes to 21·61 maunds per acre which is in contrast to the State average of above 40 maunds per acre. Our estimate has in fact been lowered due to inclusion of a few villages in the foot hills where potatoes don't grow well, otherwise in a number of high altitude villages, yield per acre well exceeded 40 maunds. The average for Border area is rather too low. Apart from unsuitability of Border land of high altitude potatoes another reason for this low average is that during the reference year the crop suffered from widespread incidence of pests and insects. 244 433 [136]

3. **Orange.**—yield of orange in Border area, Project area and General area was found to be 5. 27 luties or 5396 numbers against 16.76 luties or 17162 numbers and 2.80 luties or 2867 numbers respectively Thus the average yield in Border area, even considering the mixed nature of some gardens is much low. The reasons are obvious. 245 433

4. **Betelnut**—Average yield per acre from Border area, Project area and General area was found to be 2.93 luties (18752 numbers), 4.11 luties (26304 numbers) ann 3.03 luties (19392 numbers) respectively bringing the average for all the three areas to 2.95 luties per arce. 249 433

5. **Betel leaf.**—Average yield per acre works out at 17·15 kuris, 50.64 kuris and 24 kuris in Border area, Project area and General area respectively. Thus in Booder area the average is much lower. This is due to the fact that most of the gardens remained unplucked for want of market for leaf.

16: McCormack E-4,5 (1956-1958) 1964
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nure and chemical fertilizers. Both level land and hillsides are cultivated by the same hand techniques: 3 × 6-foot patches are fashioned with walkways between, sods are overturned within the patches and allowed to dry, the sods are burned slowly and the ashes spread over the soil, and finally the seed is sown, either broadcast or sunk with the aid of the typical Khasi hoe. The coldest part of the upland enjoys a two-crop year, and Khasis often double crop as well. Paddy has long been found in the lowlands, in parts of Jaintia and Bhoi, the only places where the plow is found. Nowadays paddy is more and more seen in the uplands, together with a simple terracing and irrigation technology. Many upland Khasis have house gardens in which they raise a wide variety of vegetables, including pumpkins, cabbage, radishes, sweet potatoes, eggplant, and many others. Important crops in Bhoi country are paddy rice, lac, caoutchouc, cotton, bananas, and pineapples; in War, they are betel nut, pan leaf, oranges, and sugar cane. **Fishing and hunting.** Fishing is done by poisoning streams, but this is a subsistence activity only in the southern foothills. Hunting was formerly by bow and arrow or by traps, including spring guns and pitfalls, but was always primarily a sport. [Cf. Stegmiller 1925.] **Gathering.** Khasis once gathered about 150 species of wild plants, most of them for food, but some for medicine. Thrifty villagers still gather food plants, but there is no real dependence on gathering. Medicinal plants continue to be very important. **Domestic animals.** Fowl, goats, pigs, and cattle are bred both for meat and sacrifice. Milk was formerly not utilized, but is now so popular that specialists keep herds of milch cows. Pigs are used as village scavengers, but some also receive prepared food. Cattle and goats forage freely in the fields during the winter, but are herded by a communally hired herdsboy during the agricultural season. Most households keep chickens, primarily for their eggs, and a few keep ducks. A few horses are also seen. Dogs are pariahs, except for hunting dogs. Cats are popular. **Food and stimulants.** The staple food of Khasis is boiled rice, together with the dried fish which is imported from Sylhet. Boiled beef, pork, and chicken are relished, but beyond the means of most. Meals are taken twice a day, in the morning and evening, although farmers also take a midday meal in the field, and others may take tea and cold sweet potatoes or rice bread. Certain foods are taboo to certain sibs. Stimulants are extremely common, especially betel nut, which is often accompanied by a bit of tobacco. Tobacco is also smoked as cigarettes and in hookah and other pipes. Every village has one or more household taverns, where distilled rice whisky is cooked and sold by the glass and by the bottle. Imported opium had spread widely in the malarious Bhoi country, but controls instituted in the 1940s have been fairly successful. All stimulants were once taken by men, women, and

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20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

243 the District, nor do any superior kinds of cereals appear to have been substituted for inferior ones.

THE DIFFERENT STAGES OF RICE CULTIVATION, in English and Khásí, are as follow:—The blade as it first shows, *spch-u-kyba;* the blade when well above the ground, *la-thylleng-u-kyba;* the ears when first formed, *lam-mat;* the ears beginning to ripen, *byr-tem;* the ripe ears, *la-hih;* unhusked rice, *u-kyba;* husked rice, *u-khaw;* cooked rice, *ka-ja.*

262 THE VARIOUS SOLID AND LIQUID PREPARATIONS made from rice
[435] are the following:—(1) *U-kypu*, cakes of different kinds, sold at six or twelve for a penny, according to size. (2) *U-shirá* or *gáh-khir*,
[782] prepared by the hillmen as an offering to their deity at the conclusion of the harvest. (3) *Kadam*, fermented rice water, sold at the rate
273 of from three-farthings to threepence per quart, according to the
435 strength of the liquor. (4) *Ka kiad-phatika* or *ka kiad-hárak*, a kind of spirits distilled from rice, and sold at from threepence to four-pence-halfpenny per quart.

243 OTHER CEREALS.—Indian corn, or *u-riu-ha-dem*, is grown on homestead lands. The ground is first manured, and the seed is sown about the middle of April. The crop is fit for cutting in September and October. A kind of millet seed called *u-krái* is commonly sown with paddy on high lands. For want of more suitable land, however, this crop is often cultivated by itself on rocky slopes; and when this course is adopted, the jungle is first cut down in February and burnt. The seed is sown in April, and the crop gathered in December.

244 PULSES AND FIBRES.—Only two kinds of pulses are grown in the Hills, *u-rym-bai-ktung* and *u-rym-bai-jú*, both of which are varieties
283 of beans. They are sown on high lands in March and April, and gathered in December. The only fibre is that made from the pine-apple stalk, which is largely used for making netted bags.

245 MISCELLANEOUS CROPS.—(1) Oranges.—There are numerous
[439] orange plantations in the neighbourhood of Cherrá Púnjí, and the fruit is exported to all parts of Bengal. In the year 1876-77 the estimated exports were 9,400,000 in number, valued at Rs. 37,600, or £3760, at the rate of Rs. 12 or £1, 4s. per three thousand. These figures show a decrease in number as compared with the estimated export twenty years ago. The trees flower in March or April, and the fruit ripens in October and the following months. In some cases the oranges are allowed to remain on the trees till March, but

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generally the gathering does not extend beyond January. As a rule, the cultivation is confined to the valleys and slopes on the southern face of the hills. (2) Pine-apples are also largely cultivated on the southern slopes, and grow to great perfection on the limestone formation. The fruit ripens in May or June, and is exported in considerable quantities. In 1876-77 the export of pine-apples was valued at Rs. 8000 or £800. (3) Potatoes are extensively grown on slopes of high land, and also in the low-lying fields where the land is well drained. The tuber was first introduced into the Hills in 1830 by Mr. Scott, who was then the Governor-General's Agent. The season for sowing commences about the middle of February when the rains set in early, and in April when they are late. The ground is dug up and carefully manured with burnt earth, and holes are dug about nine inches deep, and the same distance from each other. These holes are then partially filled in with loose earth, and a potato or two halves of one placed in each. They are then filled up with dry manure and soil. When the plant is fifteen or twenty days old, the ground about the roots is loosened and the plant earthed up, and the land is kept carefully weeded. In about four months after sowing, the crop is gathered. During the cold weather a second crop is raised, the seeds being planted in September and the tubers dug up in December. Potato cultivation has largely increased of late years in the District. In 1876-77 the exports were approximately estimated at 200,500 *maunds*, or 7480 tons, valued at Rs. 501,250 or £50,125, at the rate of Rs. 2. 8 per *maund*, or £7 per ton. (4) Sugar-cane is grown, but not to any great extent; cuttings are planted in March, and the cane ripens by November or December. (5) *Pán* is extensively cultivated, the runner being trained up trees standing in deep and shady valleys. Planting is carried on during the months of April and May, but the leaves are not fit to be gathered till the plant is two years old. (6) The *supári* or betel-nut (Areca catechu), called *u-kwai* by the Khásiás, is grown on the lower southern slopes of the hills, and, together with the *pán* leaf, is consumed in immoderate quantities by the inhabitants, who measure distance by the number of *páns* consumed on a journey. It is also exported to the plains. (7) *U-soh-phlang*, a root crop resembling a small turnip, is sown on high lands in April and gathered in September. It is a poor vegetable, but the natives of the Hills are fond of it, and eat it either raw or cooked. (8) Cotton is grown on high lands and

245 244 [439] [177] [439] 249 244 000

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reared either for food or as articles of trade. A pair of ploughing oxen are worth about Rs. 32, or £3, 4s.; an ordinary cow, Rs. 12, or £1, 4s.; a score of kids six months old, Rs. 16, or £1, 12s.; and a score of full-grown pigs, from Rs. 100 to Rs. 160, or from £10 to £16. 231 435

THE AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS in use in the District consist of a plough, called *ka-jing-lúr* in Khási, and a hoe or *kodáli*, called *u-mo-khiw*. When the cultivation is carried on by means of oxen, the plough is used, the hoe alone being used when the land is cultivated by manual labour. In the Khási Hills the use of the plough, except in a few rare cases, is entirely unknown; but in the Jáintiá Hills, oxen and ploughs are used to a greater extent. What is technically termed 'a plough' of land is equivalent to four English acres; a pair of oxen, together with the necessary implements, would represent a capital of about Rs. 40, or £4. 241 407 [435]

WAGES.—The Deputy-Commissioner reports that the price of labour in the District has more than doubled in the last ten years. The rates obtaining at present are from eightpence to one shilling a day for an ordinary labourer, and from one shilling to eighteenpence a day for a porter. An agricultural day-labourer earns sixpence, and a woman at the same work fourpence-halfpenny a day. Bricklayers, carpenters, and blacksmiths earn from a shilling to eighteenpence a day. The new Station of Shillong, the present seat of the Local Government, was established in May 1864, and since that date the demand for labour has markedly increased. The extension of the cultivation of potatoes has also had an appreciable effect on the price of labour. 178 464 465 [244]

PRICES OF FOOD GRAINS.—Of the different descriptions of rice in the markets of the District, the better sorts are imported from the neighbouring Districts of Sylhet and Kámrúp. The local produce is considered fit only for the use of the Khásiás. The price of the better descriptions depends entirely upon the distance from which the supplies come. In a distant market like that of Shillong, rice of the best quality generally sells at from 6 to 7 *sers* for the rupee, or from 16s. to 18s. 8d. per cwt.; and rice of inferior quality, which is only used by the poorer classes, at from 9 to 10 *sers* for the rupee, or from 11s. 2d. to 12s. 5d. per cwt. Little or no trade is carried on in unhusked grain. Paddy produced in the District generally sells at an average of from 15 to 16 *sers* per rupee, or from 7s. to 7s. 6d. per cwt. Indian corn, which is only grown to a small extent, is sold 435 439 243

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extent of waste land, some is cultivated in a manner resembling the *júm* system,—successive crops are grown on a patch of land till the soil is exhausted, and then another spot is selected, where the same process is repeated afresh, but without anything that can be called a *júmid* tenure. Any renting of land is exceptional, and there are no recognised rates of rent. The Deputy-Commissioner, however, states that an ordinary rate for rented land would be from two to three shillings a year for as much land as an individual can cultivate with his own hands. 423 [427]

MANURE is generally used in raising rice and potatoes. It is seldom purchased, the dung and litter of the cattle and other animals about the house being generally utilized for the purpose. For rice fields a little less than half a ton of manure, but for potatoes upwards of two tons, is required per acre. Manure, if purchased, would cost from 2s. 7½d. to 3s. 9d. per acre for rice land, and for potato fields from 12s. to 18s. per acre. 243 244 [435]

IRRIGATION for agricultural purposes is regularly practised. Water is brought to the land by means of channels cut from the numerous hill streams in the neighbourhood of the fields. Wells and tanks are unknown. The work of irrigation by means of these channels is very easily carried on, and at a very trifling outlay. Rotation of crops is not practised in the Hills. 312

MODEL FARM.—The Shillong Model Farm, established in 1873, has not proved a success. Experiments tried with wheat give some hope that cold-weather crops may profitably be introduced into the Hills. Two new varieties of potato—'red roughs' and 'pheasant's eye'—were successfully introduced in 1873-74; but these are not looked upon favourably by the Khásiás, as they only give one crop in the year, whereas the ordinary variety yields two crops. Several fruit-trees have been planted out, including apple, pear, cherry, nectarine, and plum; and the tables of the European residents are supplied with vegetables from the garden attached to the farm. A *Manual of Potato Cultivation* compiled by the superintendent has been translated into Assamese, and copies have been distributed among the adjoining Hill tribes. The general failure in all the agricultural experiments is attributed partly to the unfitness of the soil, and still more to the ravages of white ants and other insects peculiar to the Hills. The attempts to improve the indigenous breeds of live stock have been equally unfortunate. During the two years 1874-76 the sum of Rs. 1744 177 244 648 654 177 245 648 654 [134] [136] 231 648 654

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231 (£174, 8s.) was expended on the purchase of stock, including
648 cattle, sheep, and pigs from England. Even native cattle at the
654 elevation of Shillong fall off very much in the months of January and February from want of forage, and the Khásiás at this season generally drive them to lower slopes. But one of the chief objects in keeping cattle at the farm was to obtain manure; and *mati kaldi* (Phaseolus radiatus) was grown for them, cut green, and stocked
[731] for food. On this they did very well. In 1875-76, however, cattle disease broke out on the farm in a very virulent shape. Out of 39 cattle attacked, only 7, or 18 per cent., recovered, and the animals imported from England all died. There was also a heavy mortality in that year among the sheep and pigs. The following are the financial results for the two years:—1874-75—Expenditure, Rs. 13,297. 0. 5; receipts, Rs. 309. 2. 6: deficit, Rs. 12,987. 13. 11. 1875-76—Expenditure, Rs. 11,445. 8. 6; receipts, Rs. 1036. 15. 0: deficit, Rs. 10,408. 9. 6. Total deficit, Rs. 23,396. 7. 5, or £2339,
648 13s. In view of these figures the Chief Commissioner has deter-
654 mined to restrict farming operations to small experiments in irrigated *rabi* crops, and, as a measure of economy, to dispense with the services of the superintendent. The future expenditure on the farm will be insignificant. The establishment now (1877) consists of a *sardár* on Rs. 50 and a *chaukíddr* on Rs. 10 a month (total, £72 a year), under the direct control of the Deputy-Conservator of Forests; the total number of live-stock is 64 head.

731 NATURAL CALAMITIES, such as blights, floods, or droughts, are not common in the District, although the crops in the Jáintiá Hills sometimes suffer from insects. So far as the Deputy-Commissioner is able to ascertain, no destruction of crops affecting the general harvest has occurred within the experience of the present generation.
[435] During the Orissa famine of 1866-67 the maximum price of common rice reached £1 per hundredweight, but no such distress was felt as to require Government relief operations. The price just mentioned was certainly equal to the rates prevalent in the famine-stricken localities; but prices always rule high in the Hills, and afford no just criterion of the state of affairs among the general body of the inhabitants. Distress was only felt by a small portion of the population, chiefly the Bengálí immigrants residing in the District,
262 who are generally a well-to-do class. The Hill people, as a rule, do
244 not eat potatoes, which they grow only for export; but in case of actual famine, they might fall back upon this crop for their own food
439 supply.

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ESTIMATE OF EXPORTS FROM THE KHASI AND JAINTIA HILLS FOR THE YEAR 1876-77.

ARTICLES.	RATES OF VALUATION.	WEIGHT OR NUMBER.	VALUE.
	Rs.		Rs.
Tejpát or bay leaves,	2. 8 per *maund.*	26,000 *maunds.*	65,000
Betel-nuts and *pán* leaves, ...	...	...	95,600
Black pepper, . .	1. 8 per *maund.*	500 ,,	9,000
Boats, ...	...	...	7,000
Cinnamon, . . .	4. 0 per *maund.*	900 ,,	3,600
Chillies, ...	8. 0 ,,	2,600 ,,	20,800
Cotton, ...	6. 0 ,,	36,000 ,,	216,000
Fruits (jack and lime),	...	...	2,600
Garlic, ...	...	...	3,100
Hides, ...	...	...	1,200
Honey, ...	15. 0 per *maund.*	330 ,,	4,950
India-rubber, . .	40. 0 ,,	200 ,,	8,000
Iron implements, .	...	...	7,000
Limestone, . . .	300. 0 per 1000 *maunds.*	1,600,000 ,,	480,000
Oranges, ...	12. 0 per 3000.	9,400,000 No.	37,600
Potatoes, ...	2. 8 per *maund.*	200,300 *maunds.*	501,250
Pine-apples, . . .	...	...	8,000
Stick lac, ...	20. 0 per *maund.*	5,000 ,,	100,000
Timber, bamboos, and canes, . .	...	...	30,000
Turmeric, . . .	2. 0 per *maund.*	700 ,,	1,400
Bees-wax, . . .	55. 0 ,,	26 ,,	1,430
Total, .	...	...	1,603,530

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Text continued from page 238.]

This price is about the same as it was twenty years ago, but the quantity has increased fourfold. The potato was first introduced into the Hills in 1830 by Mr. David Scott, who was then the Governor-General's Agent. 'No greater boon could have been conferred upon the people.' The local trade is entirely in the hands of the Khásiás themselves, and the larger portion of the produce is despatched direct to Calcutta. According to the registration returns of river traffic in Bengal, the export of provisions (including vegetables) from Sylhet in 1876-77 was 123,108 *maunds*, valued at Rs. 369,324, or £36,932, at the rate of Rs. 3 per *maund*.

[177]
[244]

The export of oranges in 1876-77 was 9,400,000 in number, valued at Rs. 37,600, at the rate of Rs. 12 per 3000. These figures apparently show a great decrease since 1858. At that time Mr. Inglis possessed the entire monopoly of the trade, by means of the leases which he held from the Khási Chiefs of all the valuable groves. The annual produce of his groves was estimated at forty-five millions of oranges, having increased from eleven millions within the

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137 and other trees. These are the sacred groves. Here the
778 villagers worship *U ryngkew U basa*, the tutelary deity of
the village. These groves are taboo, and it is an offence to cut
[776] trees therein for any purpose other than for performing funeral
361 obsequies. The groves are generally not more than a few
137 hundred yards away from the villages. The villages of the
Syntengs are similar in character to those of the Khasis. The
245 Wár villages nestle on the hill-sides of the southern border, and
are to be seen peeping out from the green foliage with which
the southern slopes are clad. In the vicinity of, and actually
up to the houses, in the Wár villages, are to be observed large
groves of areca-nut, often twined with the *pan* creeper, and
of plantain trees, which much enhance the beauty of the scene.
Looking at a Wár village from a distance, a darker shade of
green is seen; this denotes the limits of the extensive groves
where the justly celebrated Khasi orange is grown, which is the
361 source of so much profit to these people. The houses in the
Wár villages are generally closer together than those of the
Khasis, probably owing to space being limited, and to the
[363] villages being located on the slopes of hills. Generally up the
narrow village street, and from house to house, there are rough
steep stone steps, the upper portion of a village being frequently
situated at as high an elevation as 200 to 300 ft. above the
lower. In a convenient spot in a Wár village a clear space is
to be seen neatly swept and kept free from weeds, and sur-
rounded with a stone wall, where the village tribunals sit, and
the elders meet in solemn conclave. Dances also are held here
778 on festive occasions. At Nongjri village there is a fine rubber
796 tree, under whose hollow trunk there are certain sacred stones
where the priest performs the village ceremonies.

361 The Bhoi and Lynngam villages are built in small clearings
in the forest, the houses are close together and are built often
[363] in parallel lines, a fairly broad space being reserved between
[351] the lines of houses to serve as a street. One misses the pretty
gardens of the Wár villages, for Bhois and Lynngams attempt
nothing of the sort, probably because, unlike the Khasi, a Bhoi
or Lynngam village never remains more than two or three years
in one spot; generally the villages of these people are in the
vicinity of the forest clearings, sometimes actually in the midst

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(*ki thiar*). The paddy-fields are not manured. The Khasis, when cultivating high lands, select a clayey soil if they can. In the early part of the winter the sods are turned over with the hoe, and they are exposed to the action of the atmosphere for a period of about two months. When the sods are dry, they are placed in piles, which are generally in rows in the fields, and by means of ignited bunches of dry grass within the piles a slow fire is kept up, the piles of sods being gradually reduced to ashes. This is the "paring and burning process" used in England. The ashes so obtained are then carefully raked over the field. Sometimes other manure is also applied, but not when paddy is cultivated. The soil is now fit to receive the seed, either high-land paddy, millet, Job's tears, or other crops, as the case may be. The homestead lands are plentifully manured, and consequently, with attention, produce good crops. They are cultivated with the hoe. 243

The cultivation of oranges in the southern portion of the district ranks equally in importance with that of the potato in the northern. The orange, which is known in Calcutta as the Chhatak or Sylhet orange, comes from the warm southern slopes of the hills in this district, where it is cultivated on an extensive scale. Although oranges do best when there is considerable heat, they have been known to do well as high as 3,000 ft.; but the usual limit of elevation for the growth of oranges in this district is probably about 1,000 to 1,500 ft. The orange of the Khasi Hills has always been famous for its excellence, and Sir George Birdwood, in his introduction to the "First Letter Book of the East India Company," page 36, refers to the orange and lemon of Garhwál, Sikkim, and Khasia as having been carried by Arab traders into Syria, "whence the Crusaders helped to gradually propagate them throughout Southern Europe." Therefore, whereas the potato was imported, the orange would appear to be indigenous in these hills. 244 245

Nurseries.—The seeds are collected and dried by being exposed to the sun. In the spring nurseries are prepared, the ground being thoroughly hoed and the soil pulverised as far as possible. The nursery is walled with stones. The seeds are then sown, a thin top layer of earth being applied. The 247

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247 nurseries are regularly watered, and are covered up with layers of leaves to ensure, as far as possible, the retention of the necessary moisture. When the plants are 3 or 4 in. high, they are transplanted to another and larger nursery, the soil of which has been previously well prepared for the reception of the young plants.

245 An orangery is prepared in the following manner :—

The shrubs, weeds and small trees are cut down, leaving only the big trees for the purpose of shade. The plants from the nurseries are planted from 6 ft. to 9 ft. apart. When they have become young trees, many of the branches of the sheltering trees mentioned above are lopped off, so as to admit the necessary amount of sunlight to the young orange trees. As the orange trees increase in size, the sheltering trees are gradually felled. The orchard requires clearing of jungle once in spring and once in autumn. The Khasis do not manure their orange trees, nor do they dig about and expose the roots. The [435] price of orange plants is from 75 to 100 plants per rupee for plants from 1 to 2 ft. in height, and from fifty to seventy-five plants per rupee for plants from 2 to 5 ft. in height. Orange trees bear fruit when from five to eight years old in ordinary soils. In very fertile soils they sometimes bear after four years. A full-grown tree yields annually as many as 1,000 438 oranges, but a larger number is not unknown. The larger portion of the produce is exported from the district to the plains, and to fruit markets at the foot of the hills such as Theria, Mawdon, and Phali-Bazar, on the Shella river, whence it finds its way to the Calcutta and Eastern Bengal markets.

244 Potatoes are raised on all classes of land, except *hali*, or wet paddy land. When the land has been properly levelled and hoed, drains are dug about the field. A cultivator (generally a female), with a basket of seed potatoes on her back and with a small hoe in her right hand, digs holes and with the left hand drops two seed-potatoes into each hole. The holes are about 6 in. in diameter, 6 in. deep, and from 6 to 9 in. apart from one another. Another woman, with a load of manure in a basket on her back, throws a little manure over the seed in the hole, and then covers both up with earth.

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It will be seen that in the three years following the earthquake of 1897 the exports fell very low indeed. Since 1901 the trade has been steadily recovering, and the exports of 1904 reached half a lakh of maunds. 241 437 731

It will be observed that there has been some improvement, but the exports are still not half what they were in 1881-82. 244 There are two kinds of sweet potatoes grown in the district, the Garo potato (*u phan Garo*), which appears to have been introduced from the Garo Hills, and *u phan saudia*, the latter being distinguished from the Garo potato by its having a red skin, the Garo potato possessing a white skin. These kinds of potato are planted on all classes of land except *kali*, they do best on jhumed and homestead lands. The yam proper (*u phan shyarek*) is also largely grown. The small plant with an edible root called by the Khasis *u sakphang* (*Coleus esculentus Benth.*), is also largely grown. The roots of the plant after being peeled are eaten raw by the Khasis. As far as we know, this esculent is not cultivated in the adjoining hill districts. Job's tears (*coix lachryma-Jobi*)* are extensively grown, and 243 are planted frequently with the *sakphlang* mentioned above. This cereal forms a substitute for rice amongst the poorer cultivators. Maize or Indian corn (*u rice hadem*) is grown frequently, thriving best on homestead land, and requires heavy manuring; it is grown in rotation with potatoes. Next in importance to rice comes the millet (*u krai*), as a staple of food amongst the Khasis. There are three varieties of millets generally to be seen in the Khasi Hills:—*u 'rai-sak* (*setaria Italica*), *u 'rai-shan* (Paspalum sanguinale), and *u 'rai-trah* (Eleusine coracana). *U 'rai-shan* is cultivated in rotation with the potato, *u 'rai-sak* and *u 'rai-trah* are generally cultivated on jhumed land, where they thrive well. Millet is sometimes used instead of rice in the manufacture of spirit by the Khasis; [274] *u rymbai-ja* (*phaseolus calcaratus*), and *u rymbai khang* (*glycine soja*) are beans which are cultivated occasionally. Khasis highly prize the fruit of the plantain, which they give to infants 245 853 mashed up. The following are the best known varieties:—*K'a kait khán, ka kait siem, ka kait kulbait, ka kait bamon, ka kait shyieng.*

* Khasi *u sak-rice.*

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245 The most important crop on the southern side of the hills is the orange, which has already been referred to in the paragraph dealing with agriculture.

The oranges are sold by the *spak* or 100, which is not a 100 literally, but somewhat over 3,000 oranges. Different places have different *spaks*. At Phali Hat, on the Bogapani River, the *spak* is computed as follows:—

1 Hali = 4 oranges.
8 Holis = 1 Bhar.
100 Bhars = shi spak (one hundred).
= 3,200 oranges.

At Shella the computation is slightly different, being as follows:—

1 Gai = 6 oranges.
5 Gais + 2 oranges = 32 oranges.
4 Bhars = 1 hola = 128 oranges.
27 holas + 2 bhars = shi spak (100)
= 3,520 oranges.

By another method of calculation the *spak* consists of 3,240 oranges.

[435] The price per *spak* varies from about 10 rupees in good years to Rs. 40, when the orange harvest has been a poor one.

245 The lime is also cultivated, not separately, but along with the orange. The lime can be grown with success at a higher altitude than the orange. There is extensive betel-nut and *pân* cultivation on the southern slopes of the hills. The betel-nut tree is cultivated in the same manner as in the plains, except that the trees are planted nearer to one another. The trees bear when eight to ten years old. A portion of the crop is sold just after it has been plucked; this is called u *'wái khlar*, and is for winter consumption. The remainder of the crop is kept in large baskets, which are placed in tanks containing water, the baskets being completely immersed. This kind of betel-nut is called u *'wái um*. The Khasis, like the Assamese, prefer the fresh betel-nut. They do not relish the dry *supari* so much.

The principal *pân* gardens are on the south side of the hills, *pân* not being grown on the northern slopes, except in the neighbourhood of Jirang. The *pân* creepers are raised from cuttings, the latter being planted close to the trees up which they are to be trained. The creeper is manured with leaf

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mould. The plant[1] is watered by means of small bamboo 245
aqueducts which are constructed along the hill-sides, the water [312]
being conducted along them often considerable distances. As in the plains, the leaves of the *pán* creeper are collected throughout the year.

The bay leaf (*'la tyrpád*, or *tezpát*) is classified in the *Agricultural Bulletin* as *Cinnamomum tamala*, and there is a note in the column of remarks that "this tree, as well as one or two others of the same genus, yields two distinct products, *tezpát* (bay leaf) and cinnamon bark." The bay leaf is gathered for export from the extensive gardens in Maharam, Malaisohmat, [439]
Mawsynram, and other Khasi States. The plants are raised from seed, although there are no regular nurseries, the young seedlings being transplanted from the jungle, where they have germinated, to regular gardens. Bay leaf gardens are cleared of jungle and weeds periodically; otherwise no care is taken of them. The leaf-gathering season is from November to March. The leaves are allowed to dry for a day or two in the sun, and then packed in large baskets for export. The gathering of bay leaf begins when the trees are about four years old.

The following are the other minor crops which are grown in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills:—

Pineapples, turmeric, ginger, pumpkins and gourds, the egg 249
plant, chillies, sesamum, and a little sugar-cane. The arum* [262]
(*la shirie*) is also extensively grown in the hills, and forms one of the principal articles of food amongst the poorer classes; it is generally raised in rotation with potatoes, or is planted along with Job's tears. The stem of the arum is sometimes [231]
used as a vegetable, also for feeding pigs.

In the Jowai Sub-Division, notably at Nartiang, there are fairly good mangoes, which are more free from worms than those grown in the plains of Assam.

The Bhois and Lynngams cultivate lac. They plant *arhar* 231
dal, a *landeo*, in their fields, and rear the lac insect on this 435
plant. Last year the price of lac at Gauhati and Palasbari markets rose as high as Rs. 50 per maund of 82 lbs., it is said, but the price at the outlying markets of Singra and Boko was

* Colocasia esculenta, Beng. *Kachu*. 137

[1] [i.e., the pán .... Anal, 71]

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—the *Shyngkup*, or porch, being flush with the ground. The *nengpei*, or 342
centre room, is approached by a flight of steps. There are no windows, except one, which is bored on one side to admit light and air,—this is called the *pongshai*. Both Khasis and Syntengs, like other Indo-Chinese 524
races, are much addicted to gambling, and drinking to excess is a 273
national vice. Christianity has, through the agency of the Welsh Cal- 797
vinistic Mission, gained a very striking extension, and may be said in- 177
deed to be leavening the whole nation. Schools are numerous, and are pretty well attended by girls as well as boys. The Christians, and those who have come under the influence of Christianity, have adopted a high standard of comfort, and their houses resemble English cottages more nearly than the huts with which one is familiar in India.

Agriculture.—The Khasis do not use the plough; they cultivate their 241
fields with a peculiar-shaped hoe, or *mokkhiew*. They cultivate rice in the valleys, the rice being sown broadcast and the fields irrigated often after considerable labour. They also cultivate hill rice on the uplands, which they sow broadcast. The potato, which was introduced into the [177]
Khasi Hills by Mr. David Scott about the [439]
year 1830,[1] is extensively cultivated and forms one of the principal articles of export. Job's-tears (*Coix lachryma*), several kinds of millet, Indian-corn, the *Sohphlang* (*Flemingia vestita*), are also largely cultivated. The valleys on the 245
southern slopes of the hills have extensive orange groves, the oranges, especially those grown in the neighbourhood of Shella, being famous for their quality. The betel, vine, and areca nut are also largely grown on the southern side of the hills and in the low valleys, these plantations being irrigated by elaborate systems of aqueducts. The leaf of the bay tree (*Tatyrpad*) is collected, and is exported to the Sylhet plains. The [439]
Syntengs differ from the Khasis, in that they make use of the plough. Both Khasis and Syntengs are industrious cultivators, and they possess a certain rough and ready knowledge of the uses of manure. A more detailed description of agriculture in these hills will be given in the monograph.

[1] Khasi and Jaintia Hills Administration Report for 1875-76 by Colonel Bivar.

2. *Matriarchal customs and law of inheritance of property.*—The 611
mother is the head of the house, and is both owner and the custodian of 428
the family property as long as she lives. Males can own no property amongst either Khasis or Syntengs except self-acquired property. On the death of the mother, in the case of the Khasis, the family property passes to the youngest daughter. According to some authorities, however, the property would in practice be divided amongst all the surviving daughters. Failing daughters, the property passes to the youngest niece, and failing a niece, to the youngest female cousin. The same

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

CHAPTER II

VILLAGE COMMUNITY

As models of a Khasi village community, I have taken my data for the discussion presented in this chapter from two villages situated in the Kadashinong area, Sohkynduh and Kongton, with comparative data from Shella and Jatinga villages. 121

Sohkynduh and Kongton are situated in one of the most secluded spots of the Khasi Hills and the economy is shifting cultivation, with millet as its main product. Only a few Christians are found; most of the population are pagans. Shella is situated on the southern border of the Khasi Hills, adjacent to Pakistan. Jatinga is in the North Cachar Hills, surrounded by patrilineal tribes, such as the Zemi-Naga, the Kuki and the Cacharee. The economy of both villages is pan-leaf and orange cultivation. In Shella, Hindu, Christian and pagan are found among the villagers almost in the same proportions, while the Jatinga villagers are all Christian. The two Kadashinong villages, Shella and Jatinga, differ from one another not only in their religious and economic aspects, but in overt culture, dialect and political organization as well. (Additional information concerning Shella and Jatinga is given in Appendix.) Shella and Jatinga are unique among Khasi villages and quite sophisticated, having been developed under a trading economy, with considerable contacts with other peoples, including Hindus. I selected these villages in order to ascertain how far the structural principle which operates in the Kadashinong villages can be found to act also in totally different economic and environmental situations. 621 771 [101] [245] 184 621 121

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

there are none of their descendants in Jatinga. Summing up, the first party who settled at Jatinga was composed of people of the following five clans: 166 551

1. Suchiang — Lakhanbang, his sister, Laptho, and her daughter, Kloribon, his brother, Pryntah. 614
2. Suchen — Munik and his younger brother, Sain. 621
3. Phanwar — Misibon and her younger sister, Diasibon. 175
4. Rupsi — Sintu, the wife of Pryntah.
5. Suiam — Tahin, the wife of Sain.

Among them, Suchen had no female member. Phanwar had no successor: Misibon had no issue and Diasibon did not marry. Therefore, Suchiang, Rupsi and Suiam are the oldest clans in present Jatinga. Suchiang and Rupsi especially are the dominant and richest groups among the present population.

This was the time when the railway from Gauhati to Silchar was being constructed. Some Khasi labourers were working at Haflong on the construction of the railway. After the foundation of Jatinga, these Khasi workers established marriage relations with the Khasi of Jatinga, and finally, upon completion of the railway, many of them became the inhabitants of Jatinga. The present members of the Dome and Siangshai clans are the descendants of these people, and they form a considerable number of the present inhabitants of Jatinga. Besides them, there were a few other Khasi at Haflong who were engaged in trading business. In the course of time, they also had marital relations with Jatinga people and came to Jatinga. 166 175 458 621 [499] [464]

After five years had elapsed they found that in spite of their hard work the land was not favourable to them. Many of them left Jatinga. This was the hardest period of Jatinga history.

The second migration (1919-1925).

The railway which once had been blocked was reopened in 1919. The people who had left Jatinga came back to settle there. This time the circumstances seemed to them quite favourable. The pan trees which they had planted earlier were growing and they could gather considerable produce. The village grew bigger around 1920 as a result of new immigrants from Jaintia; most of them were people from Bataw, the village of the founder. In this period, many immigrants came from Jaintia not only to Jatinga but also to Sylhet, Borkhala and other places outside the Khasi-Jaintia Hills. It seems that by this time the over-populated Jaintia realised that these areas were favourable for their new home. However, the successive waves of Jaintia immigrants to Jatinga ceased by 1925, its population having reached saturation point. [499] [245]

Orange production brought economic prosperity to the people of Jatinga. Wealthy villagers employed temporary labourers from the Jaintia Hills every year. Some of these labourers came with their families and others came individually. During their stay at Jatinga, some of them married and settled there. Hence, there are also descendants of such labourers among the present inhabitants of Jatinga. [245] [464]

Some Aspects of Descent Groups.

Throughout the history of Jatinga, immigrations have always been undertaken by a family (elementary family, siblings) or by an individual, but never by a group of clan members. Therefore, the present population is grouped in small descent groups according to each migration. Though some of them happened to have the same clan name, their history of migration and their 621 [175] [614] [166]

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

178 like the Zemi-Naga, the Cacharee and the Kuki. But after the period of
563 economic prosperity as I shall describe in the next section, the Jatinga people
621 reached a rather high level of education, while most of the neighbouring tribes
[871] remained illiterate. Their standard of living likewise improved. Fashionable girls of Jatinga who have studied at the Convent school in Shillong, and speak English and Hindi, cannot marry half-naked tribesmen who work in the jungle. They prefer to intermarry with Moslem, Panjabee or Assamese who belong to amore sophisticated community, and through whom they can enjoy urban life. Thus the orientation of the intermarriage of the people of Jatinga has changed, along with the growth of Jatinga.

It should be noted that intermarriages came mostly through the contacts at Haflong, where people used to go once a week for the bazaar, rather than through direct contacts with neighbouring villages.

Economy of Jatinga and its Relation to Neighbouring Tribes.

178 It is very interesting to find two different kinds of economy in the same
171 ecological background: Jatinga Khasi practise pan-leaf and orange cultivation
245 and depend mainly on a trading economy, while the other neighbouring tribal peoples practise jhum cultivation, almost a subsistence economy. This situation has remained unchanged for the last fifty years since the establishment of Jatinga village.

101 The first Jatinga immigrants occupied one ridge of the mountain where the present Jatinga is situated. Formerly, this land belonged to the Zemi-Naga,
245 one of the old inhabitants of the Cachar Hills, who possessed a vast jungle area for jhum cultivation. It seems that there was no objection to the Khasi occupying this small spot: it was apparently too small an area for the jhum cultivator —pan-leaf cultivation of the Khasi requires less than one twentieth of the land of the usual jhum cultivation. The Khasi who started pan-leaf cultivation were able to accumulate some capital, and after several years they started orange gardens. They had had experience of orange cultivation in their homeland, but this was the first time they had operated commercially.

245 The success of this orange cultivation was beyond their dreams. Hearing
434 of good oranges at Jatinga, many Bengalee merchants from Dacca, Sylhet,
439 Silchar and Gauhati began to come to buy them. Moreover, the village had the great advantage of being situated near the railway station. Oranges were sold by carloads. Unimaginable wealth came to the Jatinga people. Especi-
[496] ally the founder's family, including his brother's and sister's, became extraor-
[871] dinarily wealthy; their income used to be Rs. 20,000 a year. The children were sent to the school which was established in the village and some were educated at colleges in Dacca, Sylhet and Shillong. The villagers had
[362] beautiful houses built by Manipuri and Bengalee carpenters. Actually the houses of Jatinga were known as some of the best construction in Assam.

Like the Shella people, they were managers of gardens and employed workers.
245 Wealthy households used to engage several labourers annually, most of them
46 from Jaintia where the Jatinga people had originated. These workers were provided with shelter in the servant quarters of their employer's house, but they had to provide meals for themselves. They were paid daily according to the work done. They were available to other households, when their employer had no work. Some labourers were also engaged locally among the Zemi-Naga, the Cacharee and the Kuki, though not as many as among the Jaintia.
245 These local tribes were fairly well occupied by their jhum cultivation, and not
464 used to being employed as workers. Therefore, most of them were not regular

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

workers and they were few in number.[1] They were particularly employed for such work as the clearing of jungle for new pan gardens in summer. 245 464

In the orange season (December to February) the number of workers increased and they were paid more: Rs. 1/8 were paid[2] for one load (one person carring 80 pounds of oranges, from an orange garden to the railway station—about two miles). Usually a worker made three to five trips a day. Many workers from Jaintia used to come for this particular season. 245 464 465

Semi-permanent workers were engaged for wet rice fields. They were usually Hindu cultivators: since these Khasi and other tribes do not know the technique of wet cultivation, plains people like the Biharee immigrants were engaged. These workers were provided with servants' quarters where they lived with their wives and children. However, very few Jatinga households possessed rice fields. 243 464

The economic prosperity of Jatinga reached its climax during the period from 1934 to 1940. Since 1942, the orange production has been decreasing. In 1945, a serious disease attacked the orange gardens as well as the pan-leaf gardens. Besides, by depriving Jatinga, as it had Shella, of their most important markets, Dacca and Sylhet, the Partition of India and Pakistan in 1947 caused a serious economic depression in the whole region. On the other hand, because of the past prosperity, the population has rapidly increased during the last ten years. The serious economic condition of Jatinga is illustrated in the petition which was submitted by the Jatinga people when the Governor of Assam visited those areas in January 1956. It runs thus: 245 434 731 161 458

"Since the last ten years or so, with the increase of population in the village and with the loss of fertility of the soil, the people were faced with economic depression. At present they are facing acute shortage of land they have also no scope to adopt other forms of cultivation like jhuming and wet rice cultivation, etc. Moreover, there has been successive attack of Bright's disease which destroyed and wiped out all the orange and pan gardens. And as such, majority of the families have to depend for their livelihood on daily wages. . . ."

It is indeed a serious situation for them, because the Khasi do not produce staple foods, such as rice; their economy is completely dependent on the trade of their products by which they purchase their main provisions, clothes, etc. Other peoples round Jatinga, being jhum cultivators, can at least get rice and cotton: the minimum requirements, staple foods and clothing are available even in the worst conditions, so that they can at least maintain themselves though the standard of living is low. As I stated before, a few households in Jatinga possessed rice fields, but the majority had none. Recently they rented some plots of jhum field for rice cultivation from Zemi-Naga of neighbouring villages.[3] However, its yield was but a small percentage of their consumption. A few 182 434 [433] [243]

1. If they had worked in the gardens of Jatinga, they might have got more profit than from their own jhum fields. For one day's labour, they got Ans. 8/. For one month, they could earn Rs. 15 with which they could buy about 4-5 maunds of rice (one maunds paddy cost Rs. 3-4). For one year it became 50 maunds, which was impossible to produce in a jhum field by a single person's labour. [435]

2. These rates, including the figures of note 1, apply to 1956.

3. Jatinga villagers told me that Zemi-Naga were kind enough to lend them their field for a negligible rent, though they had not enough for themselves. Zemi-Naga said that they owed much to Jatinga in the past, so that now they sympathised with the condition of Jatinga, and offered some parts of their jhum field. [427] [628]

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

182 very wealthy households still maintain their former economic activities, but
434 the majority have been impoverished, becoming daily labourers for the wealthy ones or for road construction. Thus considerable internal economic differentiation has begun to appear in the community.

Though the recent economic depression brought poverty to Jatinga, the
182 standard of living is still strikingly higher than that of neighbouring tribes. Studying such economic aspects of Jatinga, I wondered at first why these
• 245 neighbouring tribes have remained as they were, except for temporary employ-
648 ment at Jatinga: why, looking at the prosperity of Jatinga, they did not adopt the way of the Jatinga people?

Indeed some of them attempted to imitate the Jatinga economy, but the results were unfortunately not favourable to them. First, both pan-leaf and orange cultivations were entirely new to the tribal peoples, and the technique was quite different from that of dry rice cultivation in the jhum field. Pan cultivation requires very delicate care which is almost impossible to manage for people who have been accustomed to the primitive jhuming cultivation. For instance, when they go into pan gardens, they have to wash themselves and put on special clean clothes in order to prevent the spread of epidemic leaf disease. Tribal people, who seldom wash their clothes, or mostly go naked, could hardly keep pan gardens. In this respect the Khasi are entirely different, having specialized in this economy for a long period, even as they believe, from time immemorial.

On the other hand, the technique of orange cultivation is much easier than that of pan-leaf, but it takes several years to obtain a yield; it requires considerable capital to begin with. For the jhum cultivators, who usually did not have cash income nor funds, it was almost impossible to start it, while the Khasi were able to raise funds from the selling of the pan-leaf. Furthermore, the
[423] management of such gardens, either pan-leaf or orange, differs also from that of the jhum field as it entirely depends on individual enterprise based on private land ownership, which is new for those tribes where the community owns the land. Therefore the possibility of starting orange gardens is restricted to special individuals among them belonging to exceptionally rich and powerful households. A few households in neighbouring villages did, in fact, start orange gardens, adopting the technique of the Jatinga people. This was around 1942 and they were expecting to have the yield around 1950. However, unfortunately, when their oranges began to come into production, orange disease started in Jatinga and spread all over these areas. Their dream therefore never came true.

Besides oranges, some of them also established gardens of bananas, jackfruits, and papaias, which were more successful than the oranges. These plantations started much earlier than oranges in this area, though not in great quantity. The products were sold to the Jatinga people who sold them again to Bengalee merchants. The question arises why were they not sold directly to Bengalee merchants, when the profit would have heen much greater.

This aspect of the market economy touches upon very interesting problems
182 concerning the relations between tribal and Hindu peoples. Such tribal peoples who live on a primitive subsistence level usually do not have direct contact
44 with the peoples of the plains. There is always an intermediary between them.
648 In this case it is the Jatinga people who know both tribal life and Hindu life. They are also in between culturally. If a tribal cultivator sells his produce to a Hindu merchant, he would most certainly be cheated by the cunning merchant, as he is quite ignorant of trade. Tribal men do deal with markets directly, but only on a small scale at Haflong bazaar, and without making a profit: it is just the exchange of their basketful of jhum produce for an iron

Uptill now the main sources of forest revenue in the district are timber, limestone, lac, bay leaf and elephants. 13

2.6 **Agriculture.**—The greater proportion of population of the distict subsist on agriculture. The staple crops raised in the district are wet and dry rice, various kinds of millets, maize, potatoes, pineapples, oranges, arecanut, betel-leaf and bay leaf. To a smaller extent they grow in the gardens round their houses vegetables, pulses and occasionally sugarcane. 24

2.6.1 **The main crops : Rice.**—While wet rice is grown in the valleys with which the hills are intersected, dry rice is grown on the hill sides. Highland rice is seldom grown twice running on the same spot for after one crop the soil is exhausted and a fallow period of four to five years is usually allowed. Jowai subdivision is predominantly a wet rice producing area. In Shillong subdivision main wet rice pockets are the Bhoi area stretching upto the sung valley and the northern portion of the plateau, the Mylliem state, the south-western portion of the district and the southern plain portion of the district adjoining East Pakistan. Dry rice is grown more or less through out the district. While Jowai subdivision can claim self sufficiency in rice, Shillong subdivision is a deficit area and the people in this subdivision particularly those in the southern portion (border area) of the district have to depend on supplies from outside. Though there is no reliable statistices of the area under rice, a rough estimate is given elsewhere in the land utilisation table. 243

Maize and millet.—are two important food crops of the district grown more or less throughout the district.

Potatoes are extensively grown in the higher slopes and in the lower land which are well drained. Generally two crops of potatoes are raised annually in the district. In respect of production and export of potato this district occupies the topmost position in the State of Assam. 244

Orange, betel leaf and arecanut are most extensively grown in the southern base of the hills, *i.e.* all over the border areas. Oranges are also grown in Bornihat areas, in the northern portion of the district. Orange and betelnut plantations extend from the foot of the hills to a height of about 1500 feet and are carried up the ravines which score the southern face of the high plateau. The district is an important producer of Bay-leaf which is abundantly found in the border areas of the district. Other valuable cash crops of the district are black pepper, turmeric, chillies, ginger, pineapple and various other fruits. 245

2.6.2 **Agricultural seasons.**—For wet rice, the lands which are naturally irrigated by virtue of their very location, are ploughed or hoed by about the middle of February and seed sown in May or June. Harvesting takes place in October and November. For dry rice, the land is hoed by about the middle of September, the solds are collected into little heaps and burnt and by February the land is again hoed up and the seed sown in April - May. Harvesting goes 243

243 on from October to December. For millets the seed is sown in April-May and reaped about six months later. Maize is usually sown in 244 April-May and ripens in August - September. For potato, generally three crops are raised in the district ; the first is sown in December-January and harvested in April-May, the second is sown in February-March and is gathered in June-July and the third is sown in July-August and is harvested in November-December.

245 For oranges and betelnut the orchards are cleared of weeds twice a year. Harvesting of orange takes place from October to January. Betelnut ripens at the beginning of the year and are collected between February and May.

241 2.6.3 **Agricultural implements.**—The usual agricultural implements are a hoe, a sickle, three or four kinds of doas, a harrow, a crowbar which is used for the construction of irrigation channels, 'sierras' and winnowing baskets. Bullock drawn plough is used in wet paddy cultivation in parts of Jowai subdivision and in Bhoi area and resembles the one in use in the plains of the State.

2. 6. 4. **General cultural practices.**—The cultivators mostly adhere to their indigenous practices of cultivation. Rotation of crops is not widely used. Cultivation of rice is usually done by broadcasting the seeds though transplanting is also in vogue in some areas. Mixed cropping is widely practised. Cultivation by making terraces in the hill slopes is gaining popularity in the district.

433 326 [323] 285 [306] 286 [171] [654] [231] 2.7 **Cottage Industries.**—Cottage Industries, it appears, have not found very great favour among the people of the district. A few families here and there manufacture iron implements, earthenware, pottery, baskets, mats and jewellery. In striking contrast with other districts weaving of cotton clothes is rare among the Khasis. The Mikirs in Bhoi area and in areas adjoining North Cachar and Mikir Hills practice it only for their domestic consumption. At present, the Government is trying to popularise weaving in the district and this has been welcomed by the Khasis. Among other cottage industries production of eri cocoon in the northern part of the district adjoining Kamrup district and bee keeping throughout the district are worth mentioning.

142 147 441 563 2.8 **The People.**—The Khasis and Jaintias are a short sturdy race distinct from the neighbouring hill tribes. By nature they are hardy and laborious and in respect of manual labour, they are free from any inhibition. Side by side with the Khasis live the Mikirs, Garos and Nepalis who form respectively 7.32 percent, 3.38 percent and 3·27 per cent of the total rural population. Besides, there are plains people who are mainly concentrated in the town of Shillong. In the marketing centres of the border area there are a large number of Bengali Hindus who dominate the bulk of the trade in the border areas.

241 [433] [461] 2.9 **Occupation.**—The greater portion of the population of the district subsists on cultivation. More than 75 percent of the rural households are predominantly agricultural. The industrious Khasi agriculturists males and females have a high regard for hard labour

CHAPTER III

The Border Area

121 131 **3. 1 Definition of Border Area.**—The term 'border areas' although very frequently used does not refer to any well demarcated area. It was, therefore, decided after a joint discussion between the Director of Statistics with the Deputy Commissioner of the district and Subdivisional Officer, Jowai, that area within 20 miles of the Indo-Pak border line would be considered as the 'border area' for the purpose of the present survey. The list of the villages falling in this area was supplied by the Deputy Commissioner and the Subdivisional Officer.

3. 2 Condition of the Border Area before partition.—The border area under review thus comprised of the southern slopes of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills and a narrow strip of plains adjoining the southern slopes running along the Pakistan border. The area extends laterally over a length of about 120 miles, roughly from Maheskhola on the west to Sonapur on the east thus covering an area of 2,400 sq. miles approximately, comprising of 454 villages inhabited by population of 74 thousands. [161]

245 311 Barring the barren and rocky top plateaus the slopes are utilised or the production of valuable cash crops on intensive scale. These slopes provide suitable soil and climate for the production crops like arecanut, tezpatta, betel-leaf, oranges; pineapples and other fruits. On account of rich yields which such plantations give to the cultivators these slopes were, more densely inhabited and intensively cultivated than would appear possible from the topography of the area. Even the most inaccessible tracts in the slopes has been converted into rich orchards, wherefrom the produce was carried by headloads over steep gradients for several miles. Due to steep gradients little other use, except some jhuming here and there, could be made of this area. [482]

439 Because of the very topography, this land had its natural connections with Sylhet district now forming part of East Pakistan. From time immemorial the area had a flourishing trade with Sylhet district. It was a two-way traffic. The cash crops found eager buyers in the people of Sylhet, from whom in turn the people in the border area obtained supplies of rice, fish, vegetables and other necessities of daily life. Thus in prepartition days they enjoyed a very prosperous and settled economy. The rich buildings in the border area villages which are now lottering away, bear eloquent testimony to the past prosperity of the border economy.

439 458 648 With the partition of the country in 1947, trade with the plains of Sylhet, now forming part of East Pakistan, was restricted. As a result the whole economy of this region was completely shattered and the countryside which once hummed with activity and abundance was over-shadowed with unemployment, poverty and despair. All the cash crops-the mainstay of the border people lost the market in East Pakistan. for want of communication facilities the produce could not be

439 East Pakistan to which the people in the border areas were entitled
648 in the strength of various trade agreements of the Government of
458 India with the authorities in Pakistan, were also scanty. The situation was still more aggravated due to the stringent measures adopted by authorities in Pakistan, on the plea of prevention of smuggling, in December, 1957 when the entire border trade virtually came to a standstill.

245 This chaos in border economy has resulted in widespread unem-
439 ployment among the border people. There being no market for the
458 produce, the owners ceased to take proper care of their orchards and plantations. As a result thousands of labourers who were employed in the
464 orchards were thrown out of employment. Similar was the condition of those who were employed in the transportation of various commoditi s such as merchandise of trade etc. A large section of the people engaged in collection of limestone were also rendered unemployed with the set back received by the trade in limestone with East Pakistan. Due to stoppage of trans-border trade, petty traders engaged in distributive trade, also suffered.

423 Many of the border people possessing paddy lands and orchards in
648 areas that are located in Pakistan had to abandon them. The following
458 table will show the amount of land lying in Pakistan belonging to the farmer in the selected villages of border area :—

TABLE A-2

Name of villages	Area of land lost through partition		
	No. of familes who possessed land in Pakistan	Area (acres)	Average per family (acres)
1. Nongjri	87	357·86	4·11
2. Shella	9	175·40	19·40
3. Bholaganj	15	108·00	7·20
4. Balat	2	13·50	6·75
5. Mawdon . .	nil	..	..
6. Lyngkhat	5	85·00	17·00
7, Darrang	16	568·75	35·55
8, Syndai	3	43·33	14·44
9, Amki	8	40·67	5·08
10. Umshnong	nil	..	..

[167] A few families who did not have any landed interest on this side
[65] of the border were reported to have migrated to Pakistan. Most of the families are even now paying tax to East Pakistan authorities even though they are not getting any returns because they do not want to lose their right on land.

241 311 433 **8·4—Relative importance of crops**—Total gross farm area harvested amounted to 3324.48 acres in Border area, 1700.40 acres in Project area and 561 acres in General area.

From above table it will be seen that in Border area, orange accounted for the highest proportion of harvested area, *i.e.*, 31 per cent, followed in order of importance by betel nut, paddy, betel leaf and millet which respectively accounts for 17 per cent, 19 per cent, 9 per cent and 3 per cent of the total harvested area. Other crops which account for 248.68 acres (7 per cent) includes maize, tezpata, banana, turmeric, dal, blackpepper and other fruit crops.

Considering sale proceeds, it is clear that betelnut happens to be the main earner accounting for 60 per cent of the total sale proceeds followed by orange, paddy and betel leaf which respectively account for 22 per cent, 6 per cent and 5 per cent of the total sale proceeds. Thus orange and betel leaf which in pre-partition days were the main earner-crops in the Border area have been passed to second and forth position respectively—the proportions fetched by them, particularly by betel leaf, being negligible. On other hand as there is a good market for betel nut, Border people have taken to betel nut cultivation in a more extensive scale.

241 245 311 433 It is significant that while in Border area total farm area is 3914 acres, total area harvested comes to only 3325 acres including area under mixed cropping which is in wide practice in Border area particularly for orange, betelnut, and for some other minor crops. Thus proportion of unharvested farm area emerges out to be considerable which can be accounted for the following reasons:—

(1) The farm area includes some new gardens particularly of betelnuts which usually take quite a few years to bear fruits.

[44] (2) Reportedly a large number of orange and betel-leaf gardens were not harvested at all as there was no market for them.

241 433 44 Turning our attention to Project area and General area, it will be found that paddy eclipses all other crops in as much as in the two areas it respectively covers 82 per cent and 61 per cent of the total harvested area in the respective area. In Project area paddy is followed by Betel leaf, orange, potato and betelnut in order of importance while in General area it is followed by potato, millet, orange, betel leaf and betelnut. In both the areas as will be seen from table above, almost all the crops retain their respective position in value. Considering sale proceed, in Project area, paddy occupies the highest position accounting for 77 per cent of the total sale proceeds followed by betel leaf, orange, betelnut and potato accounting respectively for 8 per cent, 5 per cent, 5 per cent and 1 per cent of the total sale proceeds. In General area, in order of importance of sale proceed paddy, potato and betelnut are worth mentioning fetching respectively 45 per cent, 30 per cent and 4 per cent of the total sale proceeds.

8·5—In the following paragraphs we have reproduced the yield rates of different crops, calculated on the basis of area harvested and total produces reported by the cultivators. For assesment of correct yield rates it is necessary to conduct a scientifically designed crops cutting survey which in view of its largeness in magnitude and other complexities associated with the type of experiments, could not be fitted in with the programme of the present survey. It is admitted that the yield estimates worked out by us are proved to be subjected to the usual limitations of this type of data. 128 433

Yield

1. **Paddy.**—It will be seen from table above that average yields of paddy per acre for Border area, General area and Project area are respectively 8.38 maunds, 12.92 maunds and 12.60 maunds and for the district as a whole it comes to 11.65 maunds though there are cases where maximum yield goes to above 18 maunds per acre. Thus it is seen that the average yield is much less than the average yield for the State of Assam (plain district) which is above 18 maunds per acre. Average yield in Border area is evidently much smaller. Apart from low fertility of land, another reason for this low average is that in a number of villages selected from Border area such as Syndai, Amki and Lumshnong, there was widespread havoc to standing crops was caused by wild elephants. 243 433 [136]

2. **Potato.**—The average for the three areas comes to 21·61 maunds per acre which is in contrast to the State average of above 40 maunds per acre. Our estimate has in fact been lowered due to inclusion of a few villages in the foot hills where potatoes don't grow well, otherwise in a number of high altitude villages, yield per acre well exceeded 40 maunds. The average for Border area is rather too low. Apart from unsuitability of Border land of high altitude potatoes another reason for this low average is that during the reference year the crop suffered from widespread incidence of pests and insects. 244 433 [136]

3. **Orange.**—yield of orange in Border area, Project area and General area was found to be 5. 27 luties or 5396 numbers against 16.76 luties or 17162 numbers and 2.80 luties or 2867 numbers respectively Thus the average yield in Border area, even considering the mixed nature of some gardens is much low. The reasons are obvious. 245 433

4. **Betelnut**—Average yield per acre from Border area, Project area and General area was found to be 2.93 luties (18752 numbers), 4.11 luties (26304 numbers) ann 3.03 luties (19392 numbers) respectively bringing the average for all the three areas to 2.95 luties per arce. 249 433

5. **Betel leaf.**—Average yield per acre works out at 17·15 kuris, 50.64 kuris and 24 kuris in Border area, Project area and General area respectively. Thus in Booder area the average is much lower. This is due to the fact that most of the gardens remained unplucked for want of market for leaf.

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There is considerable trade carried on in
245 *tezpát* or bay leaves, the trees being extensively cultivated by the
439 inhabitants of the lower slopes of the hills on the Sylhet border. The finest oranges in India are also grown in groves in the same tract, the value of the trade in which is now (1876) estimated to amount
237 to £3760 per annum. Lac is gathered by the Míkírs in the Jáintiá
439 Hills, but not to any great extent. Bees are both domesticated and found wild, and an extensive trade in bees-wax is carried on,
231 the amount exported being estimated at from three hundred to four hundred *maunds* annually. The whole of the Hills, where there is
233 no forest, and where the land is not under cultivation, consists of
621 rich pasture grounds, which are held in common by the villagers
651 and pay no revenue to Government.

137 The forests of the Khásí and Jáintiá Hills do not yield much profit either to the British Government or to the chiefs. There
[648] are no reserved forests in the District; and according to the Deputy-Conservator, the total area of unreserved forest, *i.e.* of land covered
[659] with timber trees and not at present required for *júm* cultivation, is only 150 square miles. The trees found are chiefly pine, and those classified as 'mixed upper hill forests.' At an elevation of 3000 feet, the Pinus Kasia predominates over all other vegetation and forms almost pure pine forests. It is found also at lower heights, and there attains larger dimensions, but only in the case of isolated trees. The 'mixed upper hill forests' are confined to a series of sacred groves, which clothe the topmost ridge of the watershed between the valleys of the Brahmaputra and Surmá. The characteristic trees are those of a temperate vegetation, chiefly consisting of oaks, chestnuts, magnolia, Schima, Cinnamomum, Prunus, Engelhardtia, etc. There are also numerous other timber trees, including the valuable *sál* (Shorea robusta) and the rubber tree (Ficus elastica); but on the whole the Khásí Hills are remarkable for the
[648] absence of forest. Early in 1874-75 measures were taken to put a stop to the indiscriminate burning of the forests, and the Siems and
[659] village officers were made responsible for the conservancy of the sacred groves. These endeavours have met with some success; but it is a very difficult thing to change the habits of a population, or to induce uncivilised tribes to incur a small temporary inconvenience for the sake of future benefit. The total area directly protected from fire during the year 1875-76 is returned at 3618 acres; the expenditure was Rs. 122; and in ten prosecutions for breaches of forest rules, twenty-three persons were convicted.

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243 the District, nor do any superior kinds of cereals appear to have been substituted for inferior ones.

THE DIFFERENT STAGES OF RICE CULTIVATION, in English and Khásí, are as follow:—The blade as it first shows, *spch-u-kyba;* the blade when well above the ground, *la-thylleng-u-kyba;* the ears when first formed, *lam-mat;* the ears beginning to ripen, *byr-tem;* the ripe ears, *la-hih;* unhusked rice, *u-kyba;* husked rice, *u-khaw;* cooked rice, *ka-ja.*

262 [435] [782] THE VARIOUS SOLID AND LIQUID PREPARATIONS made from rice are the following:—(1) *U-kypu*, cakes of different kinds, sold at six or twelve for a penny, according to size. (2) *U-shirí* or *gáh-khir*, prepared by the hillmen as an offering to their deity at the conclusion of the harvest. (3) *Kadam*, fermented rice water, sold at the rate of from three-farthings to threepence per quart, according to the strength of the liquor. (4) *Ka kiad-phatika* or *ka kiad-hárak*, a kind of spirits distilled from rice, and sold at from threepence to fourpence-halfpenny per quart.

273 435

243 OTHER CEREALS.—Indian corn, or *u-riu-ha-dem*, is grown on homestead lands. The ground is first manured, and the seed is sown about the middle of April. The crop is fit for cutting in September and October. A kind of millet seed called *u-krdi* is commonly sown with paddy on high lands. For want of more suitable land, however, this crop is often cultivated by itself on rocky slopes; and when this course is adopted, the jungle is first cut down in February and burnt. The seed is sown in April, and the crop gathered in December.

244 PULSES AND FIBRES.—Only two kinds of pulses are grown in the Hills, *u-rym-bai-ktung* and *u-rym-bai-jil*, both of which are varieties of beans. They are sown on high lands in March and April, and gathered in December. The only fibre is that made from the pine-apple stalk, which is largely used for making netted bags.

283

245 [439] MISCELLANEOUS CROPS.—(1) Oranges.—There are numerous orange plantations in the neighbourhood of Cherrá Púnjí, and the fruit is exported to all parts of Bengal. In the year 1876-77 the estimated exports were 9,400,000 in number, valued at Rs. 37,600, or £3760, at the rate of Rs. 12 or £1, 4s. per three thousand. These figures show a decrease in number as compared with the estimated export twenty years ago. The trees flower in March or April, and the fruit ripens in October and the following months. In some cases the oranges are allowed to remain on the trees till March, but

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generally the gathering does not extend beyond January. As a rule, the cultivation is confined to the valleys and slopes on the southern face of the hills. (2) Pine-apples are also largely cultivated on the southern slopes, and grow to great perfection on the limestone formation. The fruit ripens in May or June, and is exported in considerable quantities. In 1876-77 the export of pine-apples was valued at Rs. 8000 or £800. (3) Potatoes are extensively grown on slopes of high land, and also in the low-lying fields where the land is well drained. The tuber was first introduced into the Hills in 1830 by Mr. Scott, who was then the Governor-General's Agent. The season for sowing commences about the middle of February when the rains set in early, and in April when they are late. The ground is dug up and carefully manured with burnt earth, and holes are dug about nine inches deep, and the same distance from each other. These holes are then partially filled in with loose earth, and a potato or two halves of one placed in each. They are then filled up with dry manure and soil. When the plant is fifteen or twenty days old, the ground about the roots is loosened and the plant earthed up, and the land is kept carefully weeded. In about four months after sowing, the crop is gathered. During the cold weather a second crop is raised, the seeds being planted in September and the tubers dug up in December. Potato cultivation has largely increased of late years in the District. In 1876-77 the exports were approximately estimated at 200,500 *maunds*, or 7480 tons, valued at Rs. 501,250 or £50,125, at the rate of Rs. 2. 8 per *maund*, or £7 per ton. (4) Sugar-cane is grown, but not to any great extent; cuttings are planted in March, and the cane ripens by November or December. (5) *Pán* is extensively cultivated, the runner being trained up trees standing in deep and shady valleys. Planting is carried on during the months of April and May, but the leaves are not fit to be gathered till the plant is two years old. (6) The *supári* or betel-nut (Areca catechu), called *u-kwai* by the Khásiás, is grown on the lower southern slopes of the hills, and, together with the *pán* leaf, is consumed in immoderate quantities by the inhabitants, who measure distance by the number of *páns* consumed on a journey. It is also exported to the plains. (7) *U-soh-phlang*, a root crop resembling a small turnip, is sown on high lands in April and gathered in September. It is a poor vegetable, but the natives of the Hills are fond of it, and eat it either raw or cooked. (8) Cotton is grown on high lands and

245 244 [439] [177] [439] 249 244 000

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extent of waste land, some is cultivated in a manner resembling the *jum* system,—successive crops are grown on a patch of land till the soil is exhausted, and then another spot is selected, where the same process is repeated afresh, but without anything that can be called a *jumid* tenure. Any renting of land is exceptional, and there are no recognised rates of rent. The Deputy-Commissioner, however, states that an ordinary rate for rented land would be from two to three shillings a year for as much land as an individual can cultivate with his own hands. 423 [427]

MANURE is generally used in raising rice and potatoes. It is seldom purchased, the dung and litter of the cattle and other animals about the house being generally utilized for the purpose. For rice fields a little less than half a ton of manure, but for potatoes upwards of two tons, is required per acre. Manure, if purchased, would cost from 2s. 7½d. to 3s. 9d. per acre for rice land, and for potato fields from 12s. to 18s. per acre. 243 244 [435]

IRRIGATION for agricultural purposes is regularly practised. Water is brought to the land by means of channels cut from the numerous hill streams in the neighbourhood of the fields. Wells and tanks are unknown. The work of irrigation by means of these channels is very easily carried on, and at a very trifling outlay. Rotation of crops is not practised in the Hills. 312

MODEL FARM.—The Shillong Model Farm, established in 1873, has not proved a success. Experiments tried with wheat give some hope that cold-weather crops may profitably be introduced into the Hills. Two new varieties of potato—'red roughs' and 'pheasant's eye'—were successfully introduced in 1873-74; but these are not looked upon favourably by the Khásiás, as they only give one crop in the year, whereas the ordinary variety yields two crops. Several fruit-trees have been planted out, including apple, pear, cherry, nectarine, and plum; and the tables of the European residents are supplied with vegetables from the garden attached to the farm. A *Manual of Potato Cultivation* compiled by the superintendent has been translated into Assamese, and copies have been distributed among the adjoining Hill tribes. The general failure in all the agricultural experiments is attributed partly to the unfitness of the soil, and still more to the ravages of white ants and other insects peculiar to the Hills. The attempts to improve the indigenous breeds of live stock have been equally unfortunate. During the two years 1874-76 the sum of Rs. 1744 177 244 648 654 177 245 648 654 [134] [136] 231 648 654

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ESTIMATE OF EXPORTS FROM THE KHASI AND JAINTIA HILLS FOR THE YEAR 1876-77.

ARTICLES.	RATES OF VALUATION.	WEIGHT OR NUMBER.	VALUE.
	Rs.		R.
Tejpát or bay leaves,	6. 0 per maund.	[illegible] maunds.	[illegible]
Betel-nuts and *pán* leaves, ...	—	—	[illegible]
Black pepper, ...	1. 0 per maund.	[illegible] "	[illegible]
Beans, ...	—	—	[illegible]
Cinnamon, ...	4. 0 per maund.	[illegible] "	[illegible]
Chillies, ...	[illegible] "	[illegible] "	[illegible]
	—	—	[illegible]
Fruits (jack and lime),	—	—	[illegible]
Garlic, ...	—	—	[illegible]
Ginger, ...	—	—	[illegible]
Honey, ...	15. 0 per maund.	[illegible] "	[illegible]
India-rubber, . . .	[illegible] "	[illegible] "	[illegible]
Iron implements, . .	—	—	[illegible]
Limestone, ...	[illegible] 0 per [illegible] maund.	[illegible] "	[illegible]
Oranges, ...	[illegible] 0 per [illegible].	[illegible] No.	[illegible]
Potatoes, ...	2. 8 per maund.	[illegible] maunds.	[illegible]
Plum-apples, ...	—	—	[illegible]
Sticklac, ...	[illegible] 0 per maund.	[illegible] "	[illegible]
Timber, bamboos, and canes, . . .	—	—	[illegible]
Turmeric, ...	[illegible] 0 per maund.	[illegible] "	[illegible]
Bees-wax, ...	[illegible] 0 "	[illegible] "	[illegible]
Total, .	—	—	[illegible]

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Text continued from page 138.]

This price is about the same as it was twenty years ago, but the quantity has increased fourfold. The potato was first introduced into the Hills in 1830 by Mr. David Scott, who was then the Governor-General's Agent. 'No greater boon could have been conferred upon the people.' The local trade is entirely in the hands of the Khásás themselves, and the larger portion of the produce is despatched direct to Calcutta. According to the registration returns of river traffic in Bengal, the export of provisions (including vegetables) from Sylhet in 1876-77 was 123,108 *maunds*, valued at Rs. 369,324, or £36,932, at the rate of Rs. 3 per *maund*.

[177]
[244]

The export of oranges in 1876-77 was 9,400,000 in number, valued at Rs. 37,600, at the rate of Rs. 12 per 1000. These figures apparently show a great decrease since 1858. At that time Mr. Inglis possessed the entire monopoly of the trade, by means of the leases which he held from the Khásí Chiefs of all the valuable groves. The annual produce of his groves was estimated at forty-five millions of oranges, having increased from eleven millions within the

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439 previous twenty years. The oranges, like the lime, were brought
648 down to Mr. Inglis' depot at Chhaták, where they were sold to
245 the dealers at the rate of about Rs. 1. 12 per 1000, or less than
434 half their present estimated price. It is stated in Mr. Allen's Report, that the Calcutta market was then chiefly supplied from the groves of Shella Púnjí and Bor Púnjí; the produce of the other villages was more perishable, and required to be sold in the neighbouring Districts. The fruit is known in Calcutta as 'Sylhet oranges.' The Bengal registration returns for 1876-77 show a total export from Sylhet of 64,505 *maunds* of 'fruit,' valued at Rs. 193,515, or £19,251.

439 The export of raw cotton appears to have greatly increased. In 1876-77 the total quantity exported was 36,000 *maunds*, valued at Rs. 216,000, or £21,600, at the rate of Rs. 6 per *maund*. Twenty years before the export had been only 12,000 *maunds*, valued at Rs. 42,000, at the rate of only Rs. 3. 8 per *maund*. The cotton is of inferior quality, with a short and woolly staple. It is chiefly consumed by the Sylhet weavers. The total registered export from that District in 1876-77 was only 4300 *maunds*, valued at Rs. 64,500,
434 at the high rate of Rs. 15 per *maund*.

439 The chief article of import now, as twenty years ago, is rice; for
[178] the hill-men have never grown sufficient for their own consumption,
[243] and the recent establishment of the Civil Station of Shillong has increased the demand. In 1876-77 the total imports of rice were estimated at 205,800 *maunds*, valued at Rs. 720,300, or £72,030, at the rate of Rs. 3. 8 per *maund*. Twenty years ago the imports were nearly as great, viz. 150,000 *maunds*; but the value was only Rs. 225,000, at the rate of Rs. 1. 8 per *maund*, or less than one-half the present value. The chief source of supply is Sylhet District, which sends its surplus to the tea gardens of Cáchár, as well as to these Hills, and also exported, in the year 1876-77, 214,000 *maunds* of rice and 433,100 *maunds* of paddy into Bengal.

The importation of fish (fresh and dried) has enormously increased. In 1876-77 the total amount was 35,900 *maunds*, valued at Rs. 215,400, or £21,540, at the rate of Rs. 6 per *maund*. Twenty years ago the value was only Rs. 20,000, but the quantity is not given. The preparation of dried fish is a flourishing industry in the adjoining District of Sylhet.

The importation of cotton cloth has increased in an almost equal proportion. The value in 1876-77 was Rs. 158,000, or £15,800, as

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(*ki thiar*). The paddy-fields are not manured. The Khasis 243
when cultivating high lands, select a clayey soil if they can. In the early part of the winter the sods are turned over with the hoe, and they are exposed to the action of the atmosphere for a period of about two months. When the sods are dry, they are placed in piles, which are generally in rows in the fields, and by means of ignited bunches of dry grass within the piles a slow fire is kept up, the piles of sods being gradually reduced to ashes. This is the "paring and burning process" used in England. The ashes so obtained are then carefully raked over the field. Sometimes other manure is also applied, but not when paddy is cultivated. The soil is now fit to receive the seed, either high-land paddy, millet, Job's tears, or other crops, as the case may be. The homestead lands are plentifully manured, and consequently, with attention, produce good crops. They are cultivated with the hoe.

The cultivation of oranges in the southern portion of the 244
district ranks equally in importance with that of the potato in 245
the northern. The orange, which is known in Calcutta as the Chhatak or Sylhet orange, comes from the warm southern slopes of the hills in this district, where it is cultivated on an extensive scale. Although oranges do best when there is considerable heat, they have been known to do well as high as 3,000 ft.; but the usual limit of elevation for the growth of oranges in this district is probably about 1,000 to 1,500 ft. The orange of the Khasi Hills has always been famous for its excellence, and Sir George Birdwood, in his introduction to the "First Letter Book of the East India Company," page 36, refers to the orange and lemon of Garhwal, Sikkim, and Khasia as having been carried by Arab traders into Syria, "whence the Crusaders helped to gradually propagate them throughout Southern Europe." Therefore, whereas the potato was imported, the orange would appear to be indigenous in these hills. 05

Nurseries.—The seeds are collected and dried by being 247
exposed to the sun. In the spring nurseries are prepared, the ground being thoroughly hoed and the soil pulverised as far as possible. The nursery is walled with stones. The seeds are then sown, a thin top layer of earth being applied. The

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247 nurseries are regularly watered, and are covered up with layers of leaves to ensure, as far as possible, the retention of the necessary moisture. When the plants are 3 or 4 in. high, they are transplanted to another and larger nursery, the soil of which has been previously well prepared for the reception of the young plants.

245 An orangery is prepared in the following manner:—

The shrubs, weeds and small trees are cut down, leaving only the big trees for the purpose of shade. The plants from the nurseries are planted from 6 ft. to 9 ft. apart. When they have become young trees, many of the branches of the sheltering trees mentioned above are lopped off, so as to admit the necessary amount of sunlight to the young orange trees. As the orange trees increase in size, the sheltering trees are gradually felled. The orchard requires clearing of jungle once in spring and once in autumn. The Khasis do not manure their orange trees, nor do they dig about and expose the roots. The price of orange plants is from 75 to 100 plants per rupee for plants from 1 to 2 ft. in height, and from fifty to seventy-five plants per rupee for plants from 2 to 5 ft. in height. Orange trees bear fruit when from five to eight years old in ordinary soils. In very fertile soils they sometimes bear after four years. A full-grown tree yields annually as many as 1,000 oranges, but a larger number is not unknown. The larger portion of the produce is exported from the district to the plains, and to fruit markets at the foot of the hills such as Thoria, Mawdon, and Phali-Bazar, on the Shella river, whence it finds its way to the Calcutta and Eastern Bengal markets.

244 Potatoes are raised on all classes of land, except *hali*, or wet paddy land. When the land has been properly levelled and hoed, drains are dug about the field. A cultivator (generally a female), with a basket of seed potatoes on her back and with a small hoe in her right hand, digs holes and with the left hand drops two seed-potatoes into each hole. The holes are about 6 in. in diameter, 6 in. deep, and from 6 to 9 in. apart from one another. Another woman, with a load of manure in a basket on her back, throws a little manure over the seed in the hole, and then covers both up with earth.

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considering. Some of the leading characteristics of the Lynngams will now be detailed. The Lynngams are by complexion swarthy, with features of Mongolian type. The men are of middle height and the women remarkably short, both ~~sexes being~~ not nearly so robust as the Khasis, a result due probably to climatic influences, for the Lynngams live in fever-haunted jungles. The men have very little hair about the face, although a scanty moustache is sometimes seen, the hairs in the centre being carefully plucked out, the result being two tufts on either side. Beards are never seen. The women are ill-favoured, and wear very little clothing. The men wear the sleeveless coat of the Khasi and Mikir pattern, called *phong-marong*, which is made of cotton dyed red, blue, and white. This custom may have been borrowed from the Khasis. They do not grow their own cotton, but obtain it from the plains. They make their own dyes, *changlong* (red) and *hur sai-iong* (black). A cotton cloth, barely enough for purposes of decency, is tied between the legs, the ends being allowed to hang down in front and behind. Sometimes an apron is worn in front. At the present day the men wear knitted woollen caps, generally black or red, of the Nongstoin pattern (a sort of fisherman's cap), but the elderly men and head-men wear turbans. The females wear a cotton cloth about eighteen inches broad round the loins, sometimes striped red and blue, but more often only dark blue. A blue or red cloth is thrown loosely across the shoulders by unmarried girls, but married women only wear the waist-cloth, like the Garos. A cloth is tied round the head by married women, sometimes, Garo fashion. The women wear quantities of blue beads as necklaces, like their Garo sisters. They obtain the beads from the Garo markets at the foot of the hills. Brass ear-rings are worn by both sexes; the women, like the Garos, load their ears to such an extent with brass rings as to distend the lobes greatly. Silver armlets are worn by the head-men only, or by those who possess the means to give a great feast to the villagers. This is the custom of the Garo *nokmas*, or head-men. Both sexes wear bracelets. The men also wear necklaces of beads. The rich wear necklaces of cornelian and another stone which is thought by the Lynngams to be valuable. A necklace of such stones is called *u'piong blei* (god's necklace).

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(9) Cotton is grown on high lands and
248 slopes; it is sown in April, and becomes fit for picking by January.

311 241 648 Area and Out-turn of Crops.—According to the Assam Administration Report for 1875-76, the area of the British portion of the Khásí and Jáintiá Hills District amounts to 2160 square miles, of which only 110 are under cultivation; of the remainder, 1337 square miles are set down as cultivable, and 713 as uncultivable. The total area of the semi-independent Khásí States is given as 3997 square miles, of which 176 are under cultivation, 2561 are cultivable, and 1260 uncultivable. In another portion of the same Report, the area under various crops throughout the entire District is thus approximately estimated:—Rice, 59,880 acres; other food grains, 57,820 acres; cotton, 1076 acres; potatoes, 33,880 acres. The average out-turn of rice per acre is returned at 8 *maunds*, or nearly 6 cwt.; of other food grains, 3 *maunds*, or over 2 cwt.; of cotton, 1 *maund*, or 1½ cwt.; of
[435] potatoes, 55 *maunds*, or nearly 40 cwt. The price of rice in 1875-76 was Rs. 4. 8 per *maund*, or 12s. 8d. a cwt., which gives Rs. 36 or £2. 12s. as the value of the rice crop obtained from one acre.

241 423 433 Condition of the Peasantry.—The Khásás can scarcely be considered an agricultural people, as they do not grow sufficient grain for their own subsistence, and are dependent to a great extent on imports of rice from the neighbouring Districts. Ten acres is generally considered a comfortable holding for a husbandman in the position of an ordinary Bengal peasant, but scarcely any man in the Hills depends entirely upon the produce of his land for
[231] his support. In the Jáintiá Hills a cultivator's position is con-
[554] sidered to be very low if he possesses no cattle, but performs all the operations of agriculture with his own hands. In that portion of the District, five acres is all that can be cultivated with a single
[465] pair of oxen, the average being four acres. A husbandman with a holding of five acres would not be so well off as a retail shopkeeper, nor would it enable him to live as comfortably as he could on a money wage of Rs. 8 or 16s. a month. The peasantry, however, as a class are not in debt. The land is owned chiefly by small proprietors, who occupy and cultivate their hereditary fields. The relations of landlord and tenant do not exist in the Hills, and no rent is payable to any one; consequently the principle of Act x. of 1859 (the Rent Law of Bengal) has no application.

231 435 The Animals used in agriculture are oxen; goats and pigs are

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mould. The plant[1] is watered by means of small bamboo aqueducts which are constructed along the hill-sides, the water being conducted along them often considerable distances. As in the plains, the leaves of the *pán* creeper are collected throughout the year. 245 [312]

The bay leaf (*'la tyrpád*, or *tezpát*) is classified in the *Agricultural Bulletin* as *Cinnamomum tamala*, and there is a note in the column of remarks that "this tree, as well as one or two others of the same genus, yields two distinct products, *tezpát* (bay leaf) and cinnamon bark." The bay leaf is gathered for export from the extensive gardens in Maharam, Malaisohmat, Mawsynram, and other Khasi States. The plants are raised from seed, although there are no regular nurseries, the young seedlings being transplanted from the jungle, where they have germinated, to regular gardens. Bay leaf gardens are cleared of jungle and weeds periodically; otherwise no care is taken of them. The leaf-gathering season is from November to March. The leaves are allowed to dry for a day or two in the sun, and then packed in large baskets for export. The gathering of bay leaf begins when the trees are about four years old. [439]

The following are the other minor crops which are grown in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills:—

Pineapples, turmeric, ginger, pumpkins and gourds, the egg plant, chillies, sesamum, and a little sugar-cane. The arum* (*ka shirin*) is also extensively grown in the hills, and forms one of the principal articles of food amongst the poorer classes; it is generally raised in rotation with potatoes, or is planted along with Job's tears. The stem of the arum is sometimes used as a vegetable, also for feeding pigs. 249 [262] [231]

In the Jowai Sub-Division, notably at Nartiang, there are fairly good mangoes, which are more free from worms than those grown in the plains of Assam.

The Bhois and Lynngams cultivate lac. They plant *arhar dal*, *u landoo*, in their fields, and rear the lac insect on this plant. Last year the price of lac at Gauhati and Palasbari markets rose as high as Rs. 50 per maund of 82 lbs., it is said, but the price at the outlying markets of Singra and Boko was 231 435

* Colocasia esculenta, Beng. *Kachu*. 137

[1] [i.e., the pán .... Analyst]

8·5—In the following paragraphs we have reproduced the yield rates of different crops, calculated on the basis of area harvested and total produces reported by the cultivators. For assesment of correct yield rates it is necessary to conduct a scientifically designed crops cutting survey which in view of its largeness in magnitude and other complexities associated with the type of experiments, could not be fitted in with the programme of the present survey. It is admitted that the yield estimates worked out by us are proved to be subjected to the usual limitations of this type of data. 128 433

Yield

1. **Paddy.**—It will be seen from table above that average yields of paddy per acre for Border area, General area and Project area are respectively 8.38 maunds, 12.92 maunds and 12.60 maunds and for the district as a whole it comes to 11.65 maunds though there are cases where maximum yield goes to above 18 maunds per acre. Thus it is seen that the average yield is much less than the average yield for the State of Assam (plain district) which is above 18 maunds per acre. Average yield in Border area is evidently much smaller. Apart from low fertility of land, another reason for this low average is that in a number of villages selected from Border area such as Syndai, Amki and Lumshnong, there was widespread havoc to standing crops was caused by wild elephants. 243 433 [136]

2. **Potato.**—The average for the three areas comes to 21·61 maunds per acre which is in contrast to the State average of above 40 maunds per acre. Our estimate has in fact been lowered due to inclusion of a few villages in the foot hills where potatoes don't grow well, otherwise in a number of high altitude villages, yield per acre well exceeded 40 maunds. The average for Border area is rather too low. Apart from unsuitability of Border land of high altitude potatoes another reason for this low average is that during the reference year the crop suffered from widespread incidence of pests and insects. 244 433 [136]

3. **Orange.**—yield of orange in Border area, Project area and General area was found to be 5. 27 luties or 5396 numbers against 16.76 luties or 17162 numbers and 2.80 luties or 2867 numbers respectively Thus the average yield in Border area, even considering the mixed nature of some gardens is much low. The reasons are obvious. 245 433

4. **Betelnut**—Average yield per acre from Border area, Project area and General area was found to be 2.93 luties (18752 numbers), 4.11 luties (26304 numbers) ann 3.03 luties (19392 numbers) respectively bringing the average for all the three areas to 2.95 luties per arce. 249 433

5. **Betel leaf.**—Average yield per acre works out at 17·15 kuris, 50.64 kuris and 24 kuris in Border area, Project area and General area respectively. Thus in Booder area the average is much lower. This is due to the fact that most of the gardens remained unplucked for want of market for leaf.

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

The forest administration of the British Government is confined to two plantations in the neighbourhood of Shillong, for which a rent is payable in perpetuity. One of these, on the farther side of the Umkra, was originally acquired in 1871-72 for the sake of experiments in arboriculture. The rent of Rs. 50, or £5, is paid by the Forest Department; the area had been at first estimated at 580 acres, but an actual survey undertaken in 1875-76 reduced this estimate to 262·59 acres. A considerable portion is covered with Pinus Kasia, which is carefully protected. Of the exotic trees tried on this plantation, only the three following can be said to have done well: Juglans regia, Eucalyptus rostrata, and Pinus maritima. All the rest either suffered from frost in the winter, or required far more nursing than can be afforded them in forest plantations. The young trees of the indigenous oak (Quercus serrata) were also attacked by rats, who bit off great numbers just above the ground. The Spanish chestnuts did not thrive, and were removed to the model farm for trial at a higher elevation. The second plantation, on the northern slopes of the range immediately behind the Station, consists of several patches of forest, which were acquired in connection with the scheme for providing Shillong with a permanent water supply. The total rent is Rs. 375, or £37, 10s., paid from Town Improvement Funds; and the aggregate area is estimated at 796 acres. All the fields within this area that had formerly been cultivated by the Khásiás—about 80 acres in all—were sown by the Forest Department with Pinus Kasia, Quercus Griffithii, Q. serrata, and Q. fenestrata, which have succeeded well; and about 8 acres were planted with different species of Eucalyptus. Up to the close of 1875-76 the sum expended on the first of these two plantations was Rs. 742. 9. 9, or £74, 5s. 3d., and on the second, Rs. 730. 9. 6, or £73, 1s. 2d.

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A cinchona plantation was started in 1867 by the Superintendent of the Calcutta Botanical Gardens. It consists of twelve small patches of plants near Nongklao, and one near Jírang, situated at elevations varying from 3500 feet to 2000 feet. The species cultivated are Cinchona succirubra, C. officinalis, and C. micrantha. At first they were under the charge of two Khási gardeners, who each received Rs. 16 a month, or £19, 4s. a year, to weed them and keep fires out. In 1874-75 these plantations were taken charge of by the Forest Department, and specimens of the cinchona bark were submitted for analysis to the Government Quinologist

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20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

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at Dárjiling who reported unfavourably on them. They have since been made over to the Siem of Nongklao, who is responsible for their being kept clear of weeds and protected against fire. Up to the close of 1875-76 the total expenditure had been Rs. 672, or £67, 4s. 6d.

136 [224] [648] [165]

FERÆ NATURÆ.—Tigers, elephants, rhinoceros, buffaloes, *mithuns* or wild cows, bears, leopards, wolves, jackals, foxes, wild hog, and several kinds of deer abound in the Khási and Jáintiá Hills. The expense of keeping down tigers in the shape of Government rewards amounted to £44, 10s. 0d. in 1869-70. The rate of reward now paid is Rs. 25 or £2, 10s. 0d. per head. No rewards have ever been given for the destruction of venomous serpents. The number of deaths from wild beasts and snake-bite reported to the police amounted to 28 in 1866-67, 18 in 1867-68, 16 in 1868-69, and 26 in 1869-70. The small game found in the Hills consists of black partridges, hill partridges, quails, ducks, teal, snipe, and woodcocks. The *mahsir* fish is caught in the rivers. No regular trade is carried on in the skins of wild animals; and, except in the case of wild elephants, the *feræ naturæ* are not made to contribute towards the wealth of the people.

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ELEPHANTS.—Wild elephants are found in the lower ranges of the hills, and in the gorges opening on the valleys of the Surmá and the Brahmputra. Each State in the Khási Hills and each dollo-ship in the Jáintiá Hills constitutes a separate hunting circle or *mahál*. In the Khási States the conditions of elephant hunting are governed by rules framed in 1874-75 by the Chief Commissioner, and approved by the Government of India. These rules provide, (1) that the British Government will make no claim to royalty on account of elephants caught in the Khási Hills; (2) that one half of the proceeds of the sale of each elephant caught shall be paid over to the chief whose State forms the *mahál*, and the other half retained by Government; (3) that if a chief wishes to hunt elephants on his own account, the *mahál* composed of his State shall be reserved from sale, and a special arrangement shall be made with him on the basis that half the proceeds of the hunting shall accrue to Government. A special form of hunting licence in accordance with these rules has been settled by the Chief Commissioner. In the Jáintiá Hills, as being British territory, the ordinary Assam rules are in force, in accordance with which leases of the *maháls* are sold at intervals of two years to the highest bidder at

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR 7 Khasi AR 7

generally the gathering does not extend beyond January. As a rule, the cultivation is confined to the valleys and slopes on the southern face of the hills. (2) Pine-apples are also largely cultivated on the southern slopes, and grow to great perfection on the limestone formation. The fruit ripens in May or June, and is exported in considerable quantities. In 1876-77 the export of pine-apples was valued at Rs. 8000 or £800. (3) Potatoes are extensively grown on slopes of high land, and also in the low-lying fields where the land is well drained. The tuber was first introduced into the Hills in 1830 by Mr. Scott, who was then the Governor-General's Agent. The season for sowing commences about the middle of February when the rains set in early, and in April when they are late. The ground is dug up and carefully manured with burnt earth, and holes are dug about nine inches deep, and the same distance from each other. These holes are then partially filled in with loose earth, and a potato or two halves of one placed in each. They are then filled up with dry manure and soil. When the plant is fifteen or twenty days old, the ground about the roots is loosened and the plant earthed up, and the land is kept carefully weeded. In about four months after sowing, the crop is gathered. During the cold weather a second crop is raised, the seeds being planted in September and the tubers dug up in December. Potato cultivation has largely increased of late years in the District. In 1876-77 the exports were approximately estimated at 200,500 *maunds*, or 7480 tons, valued at Rs. 501,250 or £50,125, at the rate of Rs. 2. 8 per *maund*, or £7 per ton. (4) Sugar-cane is grown, but not to any great extent; cuttings are planted in March, and the cane ripens by November or December. (5) *Pân* is extensively cultivated, the runner being trained up trees standing in deep and shady valleys. Planting is carried on during the months of April and May, but the leaves are not fit to be gathered till the plant is two years old. (6) The *supâri* or betel-nut (Areca catechu), called *u-kwai* by the Khásiás, is grown on the lower southern slopes of the hills, and, together with the *pân* leaf, is consumed in immoderate quantities by the inhabitants, who measure distance by the number of *pâns* consumed on a journey. It is also exported to the plains. (7) *U-sah-phlang*, a root crop resembling a small turnip, is sown on high lands in April and gathered in September. It is a poor vegetable, but the natives of the Hills are fond of it, and eat it either raw or cooked. (8) Cotton is grown on high lands and

245 244 [439] [177] [439] 249 244 000

21: Ehrenfels E-4,5 (1950) 1953 AR7 Khasi AR7

on a historical past, different from that of the Khasi proper, the former having been ruled by the powerful, but somewhat Hinduised dynasty of the Jaintia Rajas until the Jaintia Wars of the British; the latter by small independent chiefs. Yet Jaintia social organization appears on the whole to preserve the matrilineal social structure clearer and to be less influenced by plains-acculturation, than that of the Khasi, though a few features of Brahmanical religious observances and also some traces of racial admixture are found in the immediate vicinity of Jowei, the former summer residence of the Jaintia Rajas. Stronger no doubt, than this influence, was that exercised by the British and non-Assamese Indians in the provincial capital Shillong since 1866. Methods of agriculture and other aspects of material civilization differ but little in the Jaintia- and Khasi plateau-areas.

The same cannot be said of both: the Wár-Khasi and Wár-Jaintias. Linguistically their affiliations are with the Khasi or Jaintias respectively, in the plateau-areas. Economically, however, both Wár-groups form a separate pan-leaf cultivating unit in the little accessible steep southern slopes of the Khasi- and Jaintia Hill massif. Both Wár-groups live in the environment of luscious tropical flora and fauna, sharply differentiated from the cool, barren plateau with its perennial winds and the heroic, if solitary beauty of its highland heaths, which forms the background of both the Khasi- and Jaintia plateau-groups.

The age of the Wár-Khasi and -Jaintias, as one independent economic, — and two half-independent dialectical linguistic entities, is an intricate problem. The two Wár-groups subsist on pan-leaf cultivation as a money crop, grown in the thick tree-gardens as creepers; not on food-cultivation, as do the plateau-groups, because there is insufficient space on the steep slopes, for vegetable gardens or -fields. The pan-leaf cultivators therefore depend on food, purchased from outside. The slopes seem to have been uninhabited until not long ago. Yet pan-leaf chewing is such an integral part of Khasi life, that until quite recently, and occasionally even now, a distance between two places is not measured by the number of hours used for walking, but by the number of betelnut- and pan-leaf packages, consumed on the way. Also the common benediction among Khasi expresses the wish that so and so may eat pan in the Garden of God. Yet pan-cultivation and the settlements of the Wár-people as pan-leaf cultivators in the southern slopes seem comparatively young. Pan-cultivation on the plateau is impracticable. It is therefore possible that pan was for a long time only a much valued import article from the plains, bartered against Khasi ore and iron tools, though it is now an export article from the Wár-country, brought to the markets of the plains, by both Wár-Khasi and Wár-Jaintia women and men.

According to a tradition, across which I came among the Nonglamin clan of the Nongmuker village, the ancestors of the present Wár people were on the plateau at a time when no pan-cultivation was going on in the slopes and none of the present big estates of pan-tree gardens was yet held by their present (Wár-) owners. A not distant ancestor of a Nonglamin clan-member who about two or three generations ago told the story to U Siang (one of

21: Ehrenfels E-4,5 (1950) 1953 AR7 Khasi AR7

249 173 [115] my informants at Padu), in the year 1933, is said to have begun the cultivation of yam (*shniw*) and millets (*knei*) in the then uncultivated slopes. He and his people used to be, on this account, ridiculed as monkeys (*shrieh*). The Nonglamin clan took later to pan-leaf-, and arecanut-cultivation and became one of the richest landowners of the Wár-country. Others followed and imitated them. This clan (*kur*) is now residing at Nongtalang, about ten miles east of Padu in the Wár-Jaintia slopes.

174 184 601 This possibility of a comparatively recent origin of the now economically independent Wár-groups among the Khasi speaking peoples is of importance to the question of some different terms in kinship terminology which the following lists will show.

184 601 Comments on other features in the relationship terminology, bearing on sociological or historical problems of either among the four Khasi speaking groups under discussion, are being hinted at in the text of the lists itself and further discussed in Part Three of the present paper, following the lists of kinship terms.

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262 also eat field rats and one kind of monkey (*u shrih*). The Syntengs and Lynngams are fond of tadpoles, and the Khasis consider a curry made from a kind of green frog, called *ka japieh*, a *bonne bouche*. They, however, do not eat ordinary frogs (*jakoid*). The Khasis of Mariao, Maharam, Nongstoin and some other Siemships eat the hairy caterpillar, *u'ñiang phlang*.

262 A staple food which must not be forgotten is the inner por-
252 tion of the bark of the sago palm tree, *ka tlái*, which grows wild in the forest and attains a large size. The tree is felled and the outer bark removed, the soft inner part is cut into slices, dried in the sun, pounded in a mortar and then passed through a fine bamboo sieve. A reddish flour is obtained, of sweet taste, which is boiled with rice. This flour is said to make good cakes and puddings.

262 Although the Khasis are such varied feeders, there are some
614 clans amongst them which are prohibited by the ordinance of *sang*, or taboo, from eating certain articles. The following are some instances:—

The Cherra Siem family cannot eat dried fish (*'khá-piah*); the Siem of Mylliem must not eat the gourd (*u pathâw*); a fish called *ka'khá-lani* is taboo to some of the *Siem-lih* class. Some of the War people must not eat *ka ktung* (preserved fish), and the clan *'khar-um-núid* in Khyrim is debarred from the pleasure of partaking of pork. The flesh of the sow is *sang* to the *'dkhar* clan, although that of the male pig may be eaten.

DRINK.

273 The Khasis are in the habit of regularly drinking considerable quantities either of a spirit distilled from rice or millet (*ka'iad pudka*), or of rice-beer, which is of two kinds (1) *ka'iad hiar*, (2) *ka'iad um*. Both of these are made from rice and, in some places, from millet, and the root of a plant called *u khawiang*. *Ka'iad hiar* is made by boiling the rice or millet. It is then taken out and spread over a mat, and, when it cools, fragments of the yeast (*u khawiang*) are sprinkled over it. After this it is placed in a basket, which is put in a wooden bowl. The

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quilt, made out of the bark of a tree, which is beaten 352
out and then carefully woven, several layers of flattened 513
bark being used before the right thickness is attained. 287
This quilt is called by the Lynngams "*Ka syllar*" (Garo *simpak*).
Food is cooked in earthen pots, but no plates are used, the broad 252
leaves of the *mariang* tree taking their place. The leaves are 415
thrown away after use, a fresh supply being required for each meal.

The Lynngams brew rice beer, they do not distil spirit; the 274
beer is brewed according to the Khasi method. Games they have 526
none, and there are no jovial archery meetings like those of the Khasis. The Lynngam methods of hunting are setting spring 221
guns and digging pitfalls for game. The people say that now the Government and the Siem of Nongstoin have prohibited both of these methods of destroying game, they no longer employ them. But I came across a pitfall for deer not long ago in the neighbourhood of a village in the Lynngam country. The people declared it to be a very old one; but this I very much doubt, and I fear that these objectionable methods of hunting are still used. The Lynngams fish to a 226
small extent with nets, but their idea of fishing, *par excellence*, is poisoning the streams, an account of which has already been given in this monograph. The Lynngams are omnivorous 262
feeders, they may be said to eat everything except dogs, snakes, the *hulok* monkey, and lizards. They like rice, when they can get it; for sometimes the out-turn of their fields does not last them more than a few months. They then have to fall back on Jobstears and millet. They eat arums largely, and for vegetables they cook wild plantains and the young shoots of bamboos and cane plants. The Lynngams are divided up into 614
exogamous clans in the same manner as the Khasis. The clans 773
are overgrown families. The Lynngams have some stories regarding the founders of these clans, of which the following is a specimen:—"A woman was asleep under a *sohbar* tree in the jungle, a flower from which fell on her, and she conceived and bore a female child who was the ancestress of the Nongsohbar clan." Some of the stories of the origins of other clans do not bear repeating. There do not appear to be any 582
hypergamous groups. As with the Khasis, it is a deadly sin to 614

527 clean. Others break off palm leaves and twigs from trees to decorate themselves and the place. A music ban takes care of the neces-
527 sary noise. The three pigs and goats are re-
• 252 ceived with shouts. Without much ceremony the animals are slain and now the actual festival begins: the cooking, the dancing and the eating.

The people divide into various groups. Some divide the slaughtered animals by the light of a great fire. The pieces of meat are put in one pile, the fat in another. About ten men sit around in a circle and begin to cut the meat into small cubes. These are then placed on little three-sided bamboo sticks. All the rest of the meat, such as lungs, heart, kidneys, and brains are put together in a cooking pot. [620] The girls and women sit at a third fire. They hold the fat and lard on long bamboo sticks over the fire to roast it on all sides by constant turning.
527 The rest of the men dance to the peculiar music. Each person dances alone. They hold long bamboo sticks in their right hands, and in their left hands they hold a bunch of branches from a tree or large leaves. Some make huge turbans for themselves out of rice straw. Decorated thus they hop from one foot to another, make deep bows now to the left, now to the right and alternately swing their bamboo sticks or their bunches of leaves. Others turn around in circles, beating time with their palm leaves. When the dancers are tired they take over the job of cutting the meat and cooking and the others decorate themselves for the dance. In reply to my question, what this all means, I received the following answer: "We are happy and for once we want to have a thoroughly good time. We

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shield of Cherrápunji is used as a protection from rain. 293
Those of Maharam and Mawiang are each of a peculiar pattern. 352
Smaller shields are used as protections from the sun or merely for show, and there are specially small sizes for children. Then there are the different kinds of basket (*ki* 415
khok) which are carried on the back, slung across the forehead 482
by a cane head-strap. These, again, are of different sizes. They are, however, always of the same conical shape, being round and broad-mouthed at the top and gradually tapering to a point at the bottom. A bamboo cover is used to protect the contents of the basket from rain. There is a special kind of basket made of cane or bamboo with a cover, which is used for carrying articles on a journey. These baskets, again, are of different sizes, the largest and best that the writer has seen being manufactured at Rambrai, in the south-western portion of the hills. 412
Paddy is husked in a wooden mortar by means of a heavy 415
wooden pestle. These are to be seen all over the hills. The 256
work of husking paddy is performed by the women. A bamboo sieve is sometimes used for sifting the husked rice, a winnowing fan being applied to separate the husk. The cleaned rice is exposed to the sun in a bamboo tray. Paddy is stored in a separate store-house in large circular bamboo receptacles. These hold sometimes as much as 30 maunds* of grain. Large baskets are also used for keeping paddy in. In 415
every Khasi house is to be found the net bag which is made 825
out of pineapple fibre, or of a *stein*, the Assamese *riha* 436
(Boehmeria nivea). These bags are of two sizes, the larger one for keeping cowries in, the cowrie in former days having been used instead of current coin in these hills, the smaller for the ever necessary betel-nut. *Pán* leaves are kept in a bamboo tube, and tobacco leaves in a smaller one. Lime, for eating with betel-nut, is kept in a metal box, sometimes of silver, which is made in two separate parts held together by a chain. The box is called *ka shanam*, and 415
is used all over the hills. This box is also used for 981
divination purposes, one end of it being held in the hand, and the other, by means of the chain, being allowed to swing

* The maund is 82 lbs. 304

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mould. The plant[2/1] is watered by means of small bamboo aqueducts which are constructed along the hill-sides, the water being conducted along them often considerable distances. As in the plains, the leaves of the *pân* creeper are collected throughout the year.

The bay leaf (*la tyrpâd*, or *tezpât*) is classified in the *Agricultural Bulletin* as *Cinnamomum tamala*, and there is a note in the column of remarks that "this tree, as well as one or two others of the same genus, yields two distinct products, *tezpât* (bay leaf) and cinnamon bark." The bay leaf is gathered for export from the extensive gardens in Maharam, Malaichmat, Mawsynram, and other Khasi States. The plants are raised from seed, although there are no regular nurseries, the young seedlings being transplanted from the jungle, where they have germinated, to regular gardens. Bay leaf gardens are cleared of jungle and weeds periodically; otherwise no care is taken of them. The leaf-gathering season is from November to March. The leaves are allowed to dry for a day or two in the sun, and then packed in large baskets for export. The gathering of bay leaf begins when the trees are about four years old.

The following are the other minor crops which are grown in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills:—

Pineapples, turmeric, ginger, pumpkins and gourds, the egg plant, chillies, sesamum, and a little sugar-cane. The arum* (*la shirin*) is also extensively grown in the hills, and forms one of the principal articles of food amongst the poorer classes; it is generally raised in rotation with potatoes, or is planted along with Job's tears. The stem of the arum is sometimes used as a vegetable, also for feeding pigs.

In the Jowai Sub-Division, notably at Nartiang, there are fairly good mangoes, which are more free from worms than those grown in the plains of Assam.

The Bhois and Lynngams cultivate lac. They plant *arhar dal*, *u landoo*, in their fields, and rear the lac insect on this plant. Last year the price of lac at Gauhati and Palasbari markets rose as high as Rs. 50 per maund of 82 lbs., it is said, but the price at the outlying markets of Singra and Boko was

* Colocasia esculenta, Beng. Kuchu.

2/1 [i.e., the pân ... Ans. 1/1]

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cartridge all the fish within a certain area are killed, some escape. When poisons are used, however, some fish are not affected by them, and others are only stupefied for the time being and afterwards recover.

FOOD.

The Khasi and Syntengs ordinarily take two meals a day, one in the early morning and the other in the evening, but labourers and others who have to work hard in the open take a midday meal as well, consisting of cold boiled rice wrapped in a leaf (*ka já-ang*), cakes (*ki kpu*) and a tuberous root (*u sohphlang*) which is eaten raw. They are fond of all kinds of meat, especially pork and beef, although some of the Syntengs, owing to Hindu influence, abstain from eating the latter. Unlike the neighbouring Naga, Garo and Kuki tribes, the Khasis abstain from the flesh of the dog. Both Sivas and Shadwell say the reason why the Khasis do not eat the flesh of the dog is because he is in a certain sense a sacred animal amongst them. There is a Khasi folk-tale relating how the dog came to be regarded as the friend of man. It is, however, quite possible that the Khasis may never have eaten the flesh of the dog from remote times, and it is nothing extraordinary that the Khasis should differ in a detail of diet from the neighbouring Tibeto-Burman tribes which are so dissimilar to them in many respects. The Khasis, except some of the Christian community and some of the people of the Mawkhar, do not use milk, butter, or ghee as articles of food. In this respect they do not differ from the Kachari and Rabha of the plains or the Garos of the hills. The Manipuris now in its millions as a rule, does not use milk [illegible] tribes are exceptions. Before fowls or animals are killed for food, prayers must be said, and rice sprinkled on the body of the animal. The staple food of the Khasis is rice and dried fish. When rice cannot be obtained or is scarce, millet or *Job's tears* are used instead. The latter are boiled, and a sort of porridge is obtained, which is eaten either hot or cold according to fancy. Khasis eat the flesh of nearly all wild animals, they

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262. also eat field rats and one kind of monkey (*u shrik*). The Syntengs and Lyngngams are fond of tadpoles, and the Khasis consider a curry made from a kind of green frog, called *ka jaynik*, a *lemon ki ioka*. They, however, do not eat ordinary frogs (*jakoid*). The Khasis of Marngo, Mahsawan, Nongstoin and some other Siemships eat the hairy caterpillar, *u'kiang phlang*.

262. A staple food which must not be forgotten is the inner portion of the bark of the sago palm tree, *ka tiai*, which grows wild in the forest and attains a large size. The tree is felled and the outer bark removed, the soft inner part is cut into slices, dried in the sun, pounded in a mortar and then passed through a fine bamboo sieve. A reddish flour is obtained, of sweet taste, which is boiled with rice. This flour is said to make good cakes and puddings.

262. Although the Khasis are such varied feeders, there are some clans amongst them which are prohibited by the ordinances of *ming*, or taboo, from eating certain articles. The following are some instances :—

The Chawra Sions family cannot eat dried fish (*kha pinik*); the Siems of Mylliem must not eat the gourd (*u pathaw*); a fish called *ka'kha-lasi* is taboo to some of the *Siem-lik* clans. Some of the War people must not eat *ka kiang* (preserved fish), and the clan *Khar-ma-wind* in Khyrim is debarred from the pleasure of partaking of pork. The flesh of the cow is *ming* to the *Khar* clan, although that of the male pig may be eaten.

DRINK

273 The Khasis are in the habit of regularly drinking considerable quantities either of a spirit distilled from rice or millet (*ka'ind pudhu*), or of rice-beer, which is of two kinds (1) *ka'ind kiaw*, (2) *ka'ind ses*. Both of these are made from rice and, in some places, from millet, and the root of a plant called *u khawiang*. *Ka'ind kiaw* is made by boiling the rice or millet. It is then taken out and spread over a mat, and, when it cools, fragments of the yeast (*u khawiang*) are sprinkled over it. After this it is placed in a basket, which is put in a wooden bowl. The

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The adoption of a female obviates the family dying out (*iap duh*), which to the Khasi is a very serious matter, inasmuch as there will then be no one qualified to place the bones of its members within the family tomb (*ka ka iap shiang*) and to perform the requisite funeral ceremonies. Amongst the Khasis no particular ceremonies are performed at the time of adoption; but some of the Syntengs observe a religious ceremony which consists largely of a feast to the clan-folk, at which liquor, rice, dried fish, and ginger are partaken of. Before the feast commences, each clansman is provided with a small gourd (*u blangi*) filled with liquor, a little of the latter is then thrown on the ground from the gourd, and the following words are uttered:—

"Oh, God! oh, Lord! oh, ruling King Siokoram, now the *pynrup ling* ceremony is about to be performed, let the ceremony be propitious, and let males and females (of the clan) increase in numbers, so that the clan may become great, and respected, and that intelligent male members may spring up." No such ceremony is, however, observed, it is understood, in the Nartiang and Rulang di-hinkiips.

In the case of a family being *iap duh* (extinct), the family property, according to Khasi custom, passes to the Siem. Therefore it is to the interest of the members of families to adopt a female, when such necessity arises. As there is no religious ceremony which is compulsory to the Khasis on the occasion of an adoption, perhaps we are almost justified in concluding that in former times the adoption custom did not exist, more especially as the Khasis possess a special word, *iap duh*, for describing a family the females of which have all died out; and it is affirmed that the Syntengs, for the Siems, to succeed to the property of such a family. The Syntengs custom of *'rup ling* may have been borrowed from the Hindus, when the Rajas of Jaintia became converts to that religion.

TENURE OF LAND AND LAWS REGARDING LAND.

Land in the Khasi Hills proper, i.e. land in the high plateau, is held somewhat differently from land in the Jaintia Hills and

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should be severed with one blow. As soon as the head was cut off there was a rush on the part of the sacrificers to see in which direction the head faced. If the head faced towards the north or west, it was considered an evil omen; if it faced towards the south or east, a good omen. The east is a lucky quarter amongst the Assamese also. The people ended up the proceedings by giving a long-drawn-out, deep-toned chant, or *hynkot*. Immediately after the ceremony was concluded hundreds of boats shot out from the numerous creeks, where they had been lying, and fished the river all night, the result being an immense haul, to the delight of the Lyngams, who were seen next morning roasting the fish whole on bamboo stakes, after which they consumed them, the entrails being eaten with great gusto. Such is the worship of the goddess of the Funatit.

Similar pujas take place among the people of Wir-ding (the valley of fire) before they fish in the Khai-mara river and elsewhere in the Khasi Hills. In the Jaintia Hills there is the *syntang*-worship of the Kopili river, which used to be accompanied by human sacrifices, as has been mentioned above, pp. 102-104. The Myntang river, a tributary of the Kopili, must also be annually appeased by the sacrifice of a he-goat. Numerous hills also are worshipped, or rather the spirits which are said to inhabit them. One of the best known hill godlings is the deity who is thought to inhabit the little wood close to the summit of the Shillong Peak. This deity is said to have been discovered by a man named "U Shillong," who gave his name to the Shillong Peak, and indirectly to our beautiful hill station. The Siems of Mylliem and Nongkrem reverence U'lei Shillong, and there are certain clans who perform periodical sacrifices to this god. Probably the origin of the superstitious reverence with which U'lei Shillong is held by the Siems of Nongkrem and Mylliem is that their hallowed [illegible] of which an account will be found in the folk-lore section, took her origin from a rock not far from the Shillong Peak in the Nongkrem direction.

Rabbong Hill, which is within full view of the Shillong Peak in an easterly direction, is also said to be the abode of a minor god who is periodically propitiated by the members of the Mawthoh clan of the Khyrim State with a he-goat and a cock.

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be a successful era in store for the people of the State. The goddess on this occasion may be regarded as a Khasi Demeter, although no myst rise form part of her services as at the Grecian Eleusis. The Nongkrem ceremony and dance (now held at Smit) take place in the late spring, generally in the month of May. A lucky day having been fixed, the Siem sends a ring of cane (*lyrwah*) by way of a summons to the people of every village in the State, at the same time informing them of the date of the puja, and requesting them to attend with their offerings, consisting of goats and different articles of food. In the meantime various pujas have been taking place in the house of *Ka Siem Sad*, the Siem priestess, which it would be tedious to describe in detail. The more interesting points only will be mentioned. A fortnight before the puja and dance at Smit the *sok-lôei*, or high priest, pours out libations of liquor in the *lyrwa-blong*, or place where the sacrificial goats are kept, and in front of the great post (*ôi diang ewing*, or Khasi *sak*), in the house of the Siem priestess. Dancing then takes place in front of the post. Later on the Siem, with the high priest and other attendant priests, walks with extremely slow gait to a small hill where a stone altar has been prepared, and sacrifices a cock in honour of *u'lei Shillong*, or the god of the Shillong Peak. A silver dish with powdered rice, liquor in a gourd (*ka'iad saw*), betel-nut, and some leaves of the Khasi *sak* (*diang ewing*), are also necessary adjuncts of the puja. A goat is then sacrificed, and the sacrifice is followed by a dance of twenty-two men armed with swords and shields and [illegible] they return to the house of the Siem priestess and execute another dance in the great courtyard. The Siem and certain selected persons dance in front of the *wisket lôei*, or holy post of Khasi *sak* inside the house of the Siem priestess, the dancers being entertained with dried fish and ginger. Then follows the great dance of girls and men in front of her house. The girls dance in the centre, taking such tiny steps, that the lifting of their feet from the ground is [illegible] imperceptible, the arms held down to the sides and the eyes demurely downcast. It is on this occasion that they wear the peculiar silver (and sometimes gold) crowns illustrated in the

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be placed in the family tomb. There are special taboos for certain clans, of which the following are some examples. The clan Nongtathiang cannot eat the lemon, the Khar-umnuid clan must abstain from pork, the Cherra Siem family cannot eat dried fish, and the Siem family of Mylliem taboo the pumpkin. Possibly these taboos may be relics of totemism amongst these communities. The following are some of the other taboos, although some of them are but lightly regarded now-a-days.

(i.) To build a house with stone walls on all four sides.

(ii.) To use nails in building a house.

(iii.) To use more than one kind of timber in building the hearth.

(iv.) To build a house with resinous timber. Only the Siem family can use such timber.

(v.) To cut trees from a sacred forest.

(vi.) To take or give anything with the left hand.

(vii.) To step over any one's body.

(viii.) To kill any animal or bird without first throwing rice over its body.

(ix.) To drink the milk of a cow or goat.

(x.) To talk with any one, except with one of a man's or woman's fellow-workers, when the threshing of paddy is going on.

There are the following special taboos for pregnant women.

(a) To accompany a funeral procession.

(b) To finish any sewing she may have commenced before she became enceinte. There is a similar prohibition regarding the finishing of the plaiting of wicker baskets.

(c) It is easy for the husband of a pregnant woman to thatch the village or the house so much a hand, or to fix a handle to an axe or a dao.

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quilt, made out of the bark of a tree, which is beaten out and then carefully woven, several layers of flattened bark being used before the right thickness is attained. This quilt is called by the Lyngams "*Ka sylla*" (Garo *simpak*). Food is cooked in earthen pots, but no plates are used, the broad leaves of the *mariang* tree taking their place. The leaves are thrown away after use, a fresh supply being required for each meal.

The Lyngams brew rice beer, they do not distil spirit; the beer is brewed according to the Khasi method. Games they have none, and there are no jovial archery meetings like those of the Khasis. The Lyngam methods of hunting are setting spring guns and digging pitfalls for game. The people say that now the Government and the Siem of Nongstoin have prohibited both of these methods of destroying game, they no longer employ them. But I came across a pitfall for deer not long ago in the neighbourhood of a village in the Lyngam country. The people declared it to be a very old one; but this I very much doubt, and I fear that these objectionable methods of hunting are still used. The Lyngams fish to a small extent with nets, but their idea of fishing, *par excellence*, is poisoning the streams, an account of which has already been given in this monograph. The Lyngams are omnivorous feeders, they may be said to eat everything except dogs, snakes, the *hulock* monkey, and lizards. They like rice, when they can get it; for sometimes the out-turn of their fields does not last them more than a few months. They then have to fall back on *Job's tears* and millet. They eat swans largely, and for vegetables they cook wild plantains and the young shoots of bamboos and cane plants. The Lyngams are divided up into exogamous clans in the same manner as the Khasis. These clans are everywhere families. The Lyngams have some stories regarding the founders of these clans, of which the following is a specimen:—"A woman was asleep under a *sohbar* tree in the jungle, a flower from which fell on her, and she conceived and bore a female child who was the ancestress of the Nongsohbar clan." Some of the stories of the origins of other clans do not bear repeating. There do not appear to be any hypergamous groups. As with the Khasis, it is a deadly sin to

won the money in the archery contest and now we should have a big feast. It is full moon now and much more beautiful during the night than the day. Oh, we are just having a good time." At once he swung his bunches of leaves and hopped away. The women take care of stirring the cooking pots. They are not choosy about the spoon. A bamboo, which a tired dancer might have just thrown away, is quite adequate for this purpose. When everything is ready, the people sit down in groups and eat the meat. Rice brandy is handed around. When the archers and other guests at the festival are more than sated and exhausted from all the dancing, they leave the place towards morning. 527

It should be pointed out that contrary to their usual customs the Khasi eat no rice at the great feast after the archery competition but only meat, with which brandy is drunk. There is a good deal of overindulgence in food and drink on this occasion. (32) [262]

32. P.F. Stegmiller, "Das Fest nach dem Pfeilschiessen" [The Feast after the Archery Contest], Salvatoranische Mitteilungen [Salvatorian Communications], 1910, No. 3.

4. Hunting Customs

Although there are all sorts of wild animals in the Khasi Hills and Jaintia Hills that can be hunted -- flying foxes which visit the orange gardens during the night, jackals, which annoy the villages with their howling, antelopes, does, deer and wild pigs which damage the rice fields, wild dogs, wolves, 224

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291 small kilt), and a cap which is peaked in front and which comes dow
well over the ears, called (*ka tapin ekhor*) ear cap. The dress of G
Khasi females is somewhat different from that of the Synteng, the fo
mer wears a striped cloth tied round the waist, hanging down to th
knees, and another cloth, with a fringed border, knotted on both th
shoulders to cover the bust and a narrow cloth, called *ka jymphen*, t
serve the purpose of under-clothing. A cloth knotted in front is al
worn like a cloak over shoulders. The Synteng woman wears a clot
smoothed round the body fastened above the bust and drooping dow
to the ankles. Another cloth is thrown over the shoulders, and cross
in front. Both Khasi and Synteng women wear a cloth tied over th
head, called *ka tep mukhlieh*. Up-to-date Khasi males wear knicke
292 bockers, stockings, and boots, and females chemises. On festive oc
sions, both Khasis and Syntengs, males and females, wear expensive silk
with earrings of gold or silver. There is a special dancing-dress
301 elaborate pattern. The women at festivals wear a circlet of silver wi
a spear-head ornament behind, rising 4 or 5 inches from the back
the head. Large coral beads are much valued, and necklaces of alte
nate beads of coral and gold, and sometimes of coral alone, are worn b
the chiefs and their principal followers. Such necklaces are worn b
• 262 women also on *pels* occasions. The staple diet of both Khasis a
Syntengs is rice and dried fish. They are, however, fond of all kin
of meat, especially pork. Some of the Syntengs abstain from be
[77] owing no doubt to Hindu influences. Neither Khasis nor Syntengs e
dog, which is partaken of with zest by the Nagas and the Garo tribes,
this is owing to the dog being considered by the Khasis to be the frie
of man. Neither Khasis nor Syntengs use milk, the latter bei
thought by them to be an excrement. Neither Khasis nor Synten
411 tattoo. The weapons of both Khasis and Syntengs are bows and arrow
swords and shields. The national game of the Khasis is archery, regar
ing which a detailed description will be found in paragraph 10.

The people live in regular villages on fixed sites which have
64 changed for generations,—some body appears to be somewhere in the
sites, where, as a rule, the family tombs are standing. The houses ar
342 built in the shape of a shell, the houses being divided into three compart
ments,—the *Shyngkep*, or porch, where cobs and ends, and sometime
fowls, are kept; *nongpei*, or centre room, which is used for cooking an
sitting in; and *rumpei*, or inner room, where the people sleep. Th
houses are low, with grass roofs reaching nearly to the ground, th
beams are of hewn timber, the walls are of either planks roughly hew
or of reeds or split bamboos plastered with clay. The Khasis' house
generally have boarded floors raised some feet from the ground leve

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manured chemical fertilizers. Both level land and 241
hillsides are cultivated by the same hand techniques. 3 × 6-foot patches are fashioned with walkways between; weds are overturned within the patches and allowed to dry, the weds are burned slowly and the ashes spread over the soil, and finally the soil is turned either broadcast or rank with the aid of the typical Khasi hoe. The coldest part of the upland enjoy a two-crop year, and Khasis often double
crops well. Paddy has long been found in the 243
lowlands, in parts of Jaintia and Shillong, the only 184
place where the plow is found. Nowadays paddy is 178
manured more area in the uplands, together with a side terracing and irrigation technology. Many
upland Khasis have home gardens in which they 244
raise wide variety of vegetables, including pumpkins, cabbage, radishes, sweet potatoes, eggplant, and
241
many others. Important crops in Shillong country
are rice, tea, cassava, cotton, bananas and 184
pineapples, in War, they are betel nut, pan leaf, oranges, and sugar cane. Fishing and hunting. Fish-
226
ing done by poisoning streams, but this is a subsistence activity only in the southern foothills. Hunting is formerly by bow and arrow or by traps, including spring guns and pitfalls, but was always
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primarily a sport. [Cf. Stagemeier 1958.] Gathering.
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Khasi-men gathered about 100 species of wild plantmen of them for food, but some for medicine. Thirl villagers still gather food plants, but there is
[278]
no or dependence on gathering. Medicinal plants
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seem to be very important. Domestic animals. Fowl, pigs, and cattle are bred both for meat and
[234]
milk. Milk was formerly not utilized, but is now popular that specialists keep herds of milch
[235]
cowings are used as village scavengers, but some also raise prepared food. Cattle and goats range freely the fields during the winter, but are herded
[235]
by communally hired herdsmen during the agricultu season. Most households keep chickens, gathering their eggs, and a few keep ducks. A few
262
households also own. Dogs are portable, except for hunt dogs. Cats are popular. Food and stimulants.
The rice food of Khasis is boiled rice, together with the dri fish which is imported from Indian. Boiled
beef, ch, and chicken are relished, but beyond the
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usual gaurt. Meals are taken twice a day, in the morning and evening, although farmers also take a midday meal in the field, and others may take tea
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and cold sweet potatoes or rice bread. Certain foods
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are taken to certain ales. Stimulants are extremely
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common, especially betel nut, which is often accompanied by a bit of tobacco. Tobacco is also
smoked as cigarettes and in hookah and other pipes.
Every village has one or more household taverns,
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where distilled rice whisky is smoked and sold by the
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glass and by the bottle. Imported opium had spread widely in the malarious Bhoi country, but controls
instituted in the 1960s have been fairly successful.
276
All stimulants were once taken by men, women, and
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428 to the sisters of his wife, or to her nearest relatives if there are no sisters. The rank and titles of a deceased male descend to his brother; when no brother exists, then to the male children of his mother's sisters (maternal aunts); should the maternal aunts have no male children living at the time, then to the eldest male child of his sisters. When no relatives are to be found, the property of the deceased goes to the ruler of the country; or if a man dies leaving no relative other than wife and children, *i.e.* no relatives on the mother's side, the property in this case also goes to the ruler, who, as the wife and children cannot preserve the ashes of the deceased, takes charge of them, and for so doing takes all the property also. With regard to the inhabitants of the Lower Hills at Sheilá, the custom as to succession is as follows:—Property belonging to a subject of Sheilá is divided into two classes—(1) Property inherited from ancestors, which descends to the nearest of kin or to the relative of a deceased person who can perform his obsequies. (2) Property acquired during the lifetime of the holder, which is inherited by the children, whose duty it is to provide for the maintenance of their mother until she re-marries or dies."

434 465 MATERIAL CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE.—The Khásis and the Syntengs are as a people prosperous. Common labourers, if adult males, can earn wages as high as one shilling per diem, and adult 342 females as high as eighpence. The dwellings of the well-to-do classes are generally constructed of masonry, with thatched roof and 152 plank floor, and divided into two or three rooms. The furniture consists of a bedstead (*phoyphi*), a mat or two (*mawi*), some cooking 342 utensils, and a few boxes. The ordinary peasants and poorer 184 classes construct their huts of cane, mud, or plank walls, with a thatch or cane roof. These are fitted with wooden platforms or boxes, planks placed on the ground to serve as beds. The food 262 of the well-to-do classes consists of rice, fish when obtainable, fowl 434 or meat, curry, vegetables, oil, bag's lard, fermented and spirituous liquor. It may be estimated that the living expenses of an average-sized household of this class would be about Rs. 25 or £2, 10s. a month, valuing the articles of consumption at *bázár* prices. An ordinary husbandman or labourer lives on rice, dry fish, occasionally a 276 little meat, oil, or bag's lard. *Pán* leaf, betel-nut, and lime are essential to the comfort of all the hill people, who are inveterate chewers of *pán*. They commence at an early age, and are rarely seen without a *pán* leaf in their mouths; the females are quite

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361 In the interior of the Hills the largest villages are mere clusters of
463 huts. The great majority of the inhabitants are employed in agriculture, but there are no data upon which a proportion of agriculturists to non-agriculturists could be based.

167 There is no immigration into the District. Both the Khásás and
198 the Syntengs have been successful in preserving to the present day their primitive isolation, free from the interference of Hinduism. They still maintain their aboriginal forms of belief and religious worship, and repudiate alike the authority of Bráhmans and
[771] [262] the entire system of caste. To some extent, however, they have given way to Hindu prejudices in the matter of purity of food. The
[563] few Hindus to be found in the Hills are temporary residents, engaged in civil and military employ, who always contemplate returning
[441] to their own homes. The traders are for the most part natives of the Hills; for the Márwári merchants, who penetrate into every other corner of Assam, have been able to obtain no footing in the face of Khásí competition. There is likewise no emigration from the District. The hillmen are a well-to-do and contented race, and either produce themselves or obtain by trade sufficient to satisfy
[166] their scanty wants. A certain number of both Khásás and Syntengs proceed southwards every year to work on the tea gardens of Cáchár and Sylhet, but such absence from home is only temporary.

243 AGRICULTURE: RICE.—Thirteen different varieties of rice are cultivated in the District, of which the following is a list, giving the Khásí name as well as the description of the grain:—(1) *U-kyba-khyrieew* (*u*, the masculine article, meaning 'the,' and *kyba*, meaning masculine, meaning 'paddy'), brown rice with long grain; (2) *u-kyba-khyrieew-kai-tik*, a white rice with long grain; (3) *u-kyba-kaiwit*, round-grained rice; (4) *u-kyba-kaai*, bearded, bushed; (5) *u-kyba-dew-ka-iong*, black bushed rice (literally *u* = 'the,' *kyba* = 'paddy,' *dew* = 'earth,' *ka* = 'that,' *iong* = 'black'); (6) *u-kyba-ka-tik*, white rice; (7) *u-kyba-sein*, scented rice (literally *u* = 'the,' *kyba* = 'paddy,' *sein* = 'royal'); (8) *u-kyba-ka-kwak*, large-grained rice; (9) *u-kyba-ka-diang*, small-grained rice; (10) *u-kyba-sa-kin*, early rice; (11) *u-kyba-ra-kem*, late rice; (12) *u-kyba-kang-ka*, rice grown along with beans; (13) *u-kyba-ka-tik*, small rice.

Rice is cultivated in marshy fields situated near running water as well as in high lands. The first seven of the above thirteen species of rice are sown in marshy lands during the months of April and May,

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243 the District, nor do any superior kinds of cereals appear to have been substituted for inferior ones.

THE DIFFERENT STAGES OF RICE CULTIVATION, in English and Khási, are as follow:—The blade as it first shows, *ipuh-u-kyba;* the blade when well above the ground, *la-thyllang-u-kyba;* the ears when first formed, *law-mat;* the ears beginning to ripen, *kyr-tew;* the ripe ears, *la-kik;* unhusked rice, *u-kyba;* husked rice, *u-khaw;* cooked rice, *ka-ja.*

262 [435] [782] THE VARIOUS SOLID AND LIQUID PREPARATIONS made from rice are the following:—(1) *U-kypu*, cakes of different kinds, sold at six or twelve for a penny, according to size. (2) *U-khind* or *gih-khir*, prepared by the hillmen as an offering to their deity at the conclusion of the harvest. (3) *Kindaw*, fermented rice water, sold at the rate of from three-farthings to threepence per quart, according to the strength of the liquor. (4) *Ka kind phatiks* or *ka kind-khrah*, a kind of spirits distilled from rice, and sold at from threepence to fourpence-halfpenny per quart.

273 435

243 OTHER CEREALS.—Indian corn, or *u-rie-ka-dew*, is grown on homestead lands. The ground is first manured, and the seed is sown about the middle of April. The crop is fit for cutting in September and October. A kind of millet seed called *u-krái* is commonly sown with paddy on high lands. For want of more suitable land, however, this crop is often cultivated by itself on rocky slopes; and when this course is adopted, the jungle is first cut down in February and burnt. The seed is sown in April, and the crop gathered in December.

244 PULSES AND FIBRES.—Only two kinds of pulses are grown in the Hills, *u-rym-kai-dong* and *u-rym-kai-jil*, both of which are varieties of beans. They are sown on high lands in March and April, and gathered in December. The only fibre is that made from the pine-apple stalk, which is largely used for making netted bags.

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245 [439] MISCELLANEOUS CROPS.—(1) Oranges.—There are numerous orange plantations in the neighbourhood of Cherra Pínji, and the fruit is exported to all parts of Bengal. In the year 1876-77 the estimated exports were 9,400,000 in number, valued at Rs. 37,600, or £3760, at the rate of Rs. 12 or £1, 4s. per three thousand. These figures show a decrease in number as compared with the estimated export twenty years ago. The trees flower in March or April, and the fruit ripens in October and the following months. In some cases the oranges are allowed to remain on the trees till March, but

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231 (£174, 8s.) was expended on the purchase of stock, including
648 cattle, sheep, and pigs from England. Even native cattle at the
654 elevation of Shillong fall off very much in the months of January and February from want of forage, and the Khásiás at this season generally drive them to lower slopes. But one of the chief objects in keeping cattle at the farm was to obtain manure; and *moti haldi* (Phaseolus radiatus) was grown for them, cut green, and stocked
[731] for food. On this they did very well. In 1875-76, however, cattle disease broke out on the farm in a very virulent shape. Out of 39 cattle attacked, only 7, or 18 per cent., recovered, and the animals imported from England all died. There was also a heavy mortality in that year among the sheep and pigs. The following are the financial results for the two years:—1874-75—Expenditure, Rs. 13,297. 0. 5; receipts, Rs. 309. 2. 6: deficit, Rs. 12,987. 13. 11. 1875-76—Expenditure, Rs. 11,445. 8. 6; receipts, Rs. 1036. 15. 0: deficit, Rs. 10,408. 9. 6. Total deficit, Rs. 23,396. 7. 5, or £2339.
648 13s. In view of these figures the Chief Commissioner has deter-
654 mined to restrict farming operations to small experiments in irrigated *rabi* crops, and, as a measure of economy, to dispense with the services of the superintendent. The future expenditure on the farm will be insignificant. The establishment now (1877) consists of a *sardár* on Rs. 30 and a *chaukidár* on Rs. 10 a month (total, £72 a year), under the direct control of the Deputy-Conservator of Forests; the total number of live-stock is 64 head.

731 NATURAL CALAMITIES, such as blights, floods, or droughts, are not common in the District, although the crops in the Jáintiá Hills sometimes suffer from insects. So far as the Deputy-Commissioner is able to ascertain, no destruction of crops affecting the general harvest has occurred within the experience of the present generation.
[435] During the Orissa famine of 1866-67 the maximum price of common rice reached £1 per hundredweight, but no such distress was felt as to require Government relief operations. The price just mentioned was certainly equal to the rates prevalent in the famine-stricken localities; but prices always rule high in the Hills, and afford no just criterion of the state of affairs among the general body of the inhabitants. Distress was only felt by a small portion of the population, chiefly the Bengáli immigrants residing in the District, who are generally a well-to-do class. The Hill people, as a rule, do
262 not eat potatoes, which they grow only for export; but in case of
244 actual famine, they might fall back upon this crop for their own food
439 supply.

extracted by squeezing the comb with the hand. Wax is 231
obtained by placing the comb in boiling water and allowing it to cool, when the wax floats to the surface. The Khasis do not systematically tend their bees, as they do not understand how to prevent swarming, and as the Khasi bee is a prolific swarmer, hives become weak very soon and a new hive has to be started from a captured natural swarm. The villages in which bees are regularly kept to any large extent in the Khasi and [938]
Jaintia Hills are Thied-dieng, Mawphoo, Nongwar, Mawlong, Pynter, Tyrna, and Kongthong, but most of the Wár villagers rear bees and sell the honey at the neighbouring markets. The collection of the honey of the wild bee, or *u lywai*, is a hazardous occupation, the services of some six or seven persons being required, as the combs of this bee are generally built in the crevices of precipitous rocks, and sometimes weigh more than half a maund each. When such hives are discovered the bees are driven out by the smoke of a smouldering fire lit at the foot of the rock below the hive. Two or three men get to the top of the precipice, leaving two or three of their companions at the base. One of the men on the top of the rock is then lowered down in a sling tied to a strong rope, which is made fast by his companions above to a tree or boulder. The man in the sling is supplied with material to light a torch which gives out a thick smoke, with the aid of which the bees are expelled. The man then cuts out the comb, which he places in a leather basket or bag, which, when filled, he lowers down to the persons in waiting at the foot of the rock. The wild honey may be distinguished from that of the domestic bee by being of a reddish colour. Honey from the last-mentioned bee is gathered twice or thrice in the year, once in the autumn and once or twice in the spring; that gathered in early spring is not so matured as that collected in autumn. The flora of the [939]
Khasi Hills being so numerous, there is no necessity for providing bees with artificial food. The bees are generally able to obtain their sustenance from clover, anemonies, "golden rod," bush honeysuckle, and numerous shrubs such as andromeda, daphne, &c., which abound about Shillong. There seem to be facilities 231
for apiculture on a large scale in these hills, and certainly the 263
honey which is brought round by the Khasis for sale in

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231 Shillong is excellent, the flavour being quite as good as that
• 243 of English honey. Under "Miscellaneous Customs connected
with Death" will be found a reference to the statement that the
[764] dead bodies of Siems used to be embalmed in honey. The
existence of the custom is generally denied by Khasis, but
its former prevalence is probable, as several trustworthy
authors have quoted it.

HOUSES.

342 The houses of the people are cleaner than might be supposed
515 after taking into consideration the dirtiness of the clothes and
persons of those who inhabit them. They are as a rule sub-
stantial thatched cottages with plank or stone walls, and raised
on a plinth some 2 to 3 ft. from the ground. The only
354 window is a small opening on one side of the house, which
admits but a dim light into the smoke-begrimed interior. The
beams are so low that it is impossible for a person of ordinary
stature to stand erect within. The fire is always burning on an
earthen or stone hearth in the centre. There is no chimney,
the smoke finding its exit as best it can. The firewood is
placed to dry on a swinging frame above the hearth. In the
343 porch are stacked fuel and odds and ends. The pigs and calves
342 are generally kept in little houses just outside the main
building. The Khasi house is oval-shaped, and is divided
into three rooms, a porch, a centre room, and a retiring-
room.

354 In olden days the Khasis considered nails *ong*, or taboo, and
784 only used a certain kind of timber for the frames which sur-
rounds the hearth; but they are not so particular now-a-days.
In Mawkhar, Cherrapunji, and other large villages, the walls of
342 houses are generally of stone. In Cherrapunji the houses are
frequently large, but the largest house I have seen in the hills
is that of the Doloi of Sohtinga in the Jaintia Hills, which
measures 74 ft. in length. The house of the Siem Priestess at
Smit in the Khasi Hills is another large one, being 61 ft. long
by 30 ft. broad. In front of the Khasi house is a little open-
fronted in on two sides, but open towards the village street. The

and placed in the hollowed-out trunk of a tree, *ka-shyopid*, there being a small hole with a plug at the bottom of this receptacle. Spirit is then poured into the *shyopid* until the whole body is immersed, the liquor being allowed to stand for three days. After the body has been thus steeped, the liquor is allowed to run out, and the body is washed with warm water, after which it is allowed to dry for a day. Then a quantity of lime-juice is poured in, the latter being obtained from the fresh fruit of the lime (*u sah jew*). The body is thus exposed to a process of pickling, which continues until the whole is thoroughly dry and becomes like that of a mummy. It is then placed in a coffin, which is kept in the house of the Siem family until it is time to perform the funeral obsequies. These ceremonies entail a very large amount of expense, and it sometimes happens that they cannot be completed for some years after the death of a Siem. The body of a deceased Siem according to the Cherra custom should be burnt by his successor; otherwise the latter is not Siem according to the Khasi religion. The last Siem of Cherra, U Hajon Manik, did not perform the funeral obsequies of his predecessor, U Ram Singh, and it is stated that many of his subjects did not regard him as Siem, according to the Khasi religion, in consequence. There are at the present time the corpses of two Siems of Cherra which have been preserved in the manner described above, awaiting cremation. The first Siem, U Ram Singh, died so far back as 1875, and the second, U Hajon Manik, died in 1901.

Sir Joseph Hooker and other authorities have stated that the bodies of deceased Siems of Cherra used to be embalmed in honey, and an amusing story is told regarding the necessity of exercising caution in purchasing honey from Cherra (honey being plentiful in this neighbourhood), except in the south, for fear of honey which has been used for embalming purposes being passed off on the unwary purchaser. But the members of the Siem family and the old residents deny that honey is used for this purpose nowadays, possibly in the interests of the trade. It is, however, not unlikely that honey was so utilized in days gone by, as it is a well-known agent for embalming. The bodies of priests in Burmah are said to be embalmed in honey, *vide* Yule's "Embassy to Ava."

cartridge all the fish within a certain area are killed, none escape. When poisons are used, however, some fish are not affected by them, and others are only stupefied for the time being and afterwards recover. 226

FOOD.

The Khasi and Syntengs ordinarily take two meals a day, one in the early morning and the other in the evening, but labourers and others who have to work hard in the open take a midday meal as well, consisting of cold boiled rice wrapped in a leaf (*ka já-sang*), cakes (*ki kpu*) and a tuberous root (*u sohphlang*) which is eaten raw. They are fond of all kinds of meat, especially pork and beef, although some of the Syntengs, owing to Hindu influence, abstain from eating the latter. Unlike the neighbouring Naga, Garo and Kuki tribes, the Khasis abstain from the flesh of the dog. Both Bivar and Shadwell say the reason why the Khasis do not eat the flesh of the dog is because he is in a certain sense a sacred animal amongst them. There is a Khasi folk-tale relating how the dog came to be regarded as the friend of man. It is, however, quite possible that the Khasis may never have eaten the flesh of the dog from remote times, and it is nothing extraordinary that the Khasis should differ in a detail of diet from the neighbouring Thibeto-Burman tribes which are so dissimilar to them in many respects. The Khasis, except some of the Christian community and some of the people of the Mawkhar, do not use milk, butter, or ghee as articles of food. In this respect they do not differ from the Kacharis and Rabhas of the plains or the Garos of the hills. The Mongolian race in its millions as a rule does not use milk for food, although the Tibetans and some of the Turcoman tribes are exceptions. Before fowls or animals are killed for food, prayers must be said, and rice sprinkled on the body of the animal. The staple food of the Khasis is rice and dried fish. When rice cannot be obtained or is scarce, millet or Job's tears are used instead. The latter are boiled, and a sort of porridge is obtained, which is eaten either hot or cold according to fancy. Khasis eat the flesh of nearly all wild animals, they

264 262 262 825 262 [782]

19: McCormack E-4,5 (1956-1958) 1966
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more and chemical fertilizers. Both level land and hillsides are cultivated by the same hand techniques: 3 × 6-foot patches are fashioned with walkways between, soils are overturned within the patches and allowed to dry, the soils are burned slowly and the ashes spread over the soil, and finally the seed is sown, either broadcast or sown with the aid of the typical Khasi hoe. The coldest part of the upland region a two-crop year, and Khasis often double crop as well. Paddy has long been found in the lowlands, in parts of Jaintia and Sibsi, the only places where the plow is found. Nowadays paddy is more and more seen in the uplands, together with a simple terracing and irrigation technology. Many upland Khasis have house gardens in which they raise a wide variety of vegetables, including pumpkins, cabbage, radishes, sweet potatoes, eggplants, and many others. Important crops in Sibsi country are paddy rice, tea, sarsaparilla, cotton, bananas, and pineapples, in War, they are betel nut, pan leaf, oranges, and sugar cane. **Fishing and hunting.** Fishing is done by poisoning streams, but this is a subsistence activity only in the southern foothills. Hunting was formerly by bow and arrow or by traps, including spring guns and pitfalls, but was always primarily a sport. [Cf. Stagmiller 1968.] **Gathering.** Khasis once gathered about 190 species of wild plants, most of them for food, but some for medicine. Thrifty villagers still gather food plants, but there is no real dependence on gathering. Medicinal plants continue to be very important. **Domestic animals.** Fowl, goats, pigs, and cattle are bred both for meat and sacrifice. Milk was formerly not utilized, but is now so popular that specialists keep herds of milch cows. Pigs are used as village scavengers, but sometimes receive prepared food. Cattle and goats forage freely in the fields during the winter, but are herded by a communally hired herdsman during the agricultural season. Most households keep chickens, primarily for their eggs, and a few keep ducks. A few horses are also seen. Dogs are partials, except for hunting dogs. Cats are popular. **Food and stimulants.** The staple food of Khasis is boiled rice, together with the dried fish which is imported from Sylhet. Boiled beef, pork, and chicken are relished, but beyond the means of most. Meals are taken twice a day, in the morning and evening, although farmers also take a midday meal in the field, and others may take tea and cold sweet potatoes or rice bread. Certain foods are taboo to certain sibs. Stimulants are extremely common, especially betel nut, which is often accompanied by a bit of tobacco. Tobacco is also smoked as cigarettes and in hookah and other pipes. Every village has one or more household taverns, where distilled rice whisky is cooked and sold by the glass and by the bottle. Imported opium had spread widely in the malarious Sibsi country, but controls instituted in the 1940s have been fairly successful. All stimulants were once taken by men, women, and

which are not found usually in the people of India. Hills not above normal labour, and even the Khasi clerk in the Government office is quite ready to take his turn at the hoe in his private garden. The men make excellent stonemasons and carpenters, and are ready to learn heavy carpentry and mechanical work. They are inveterate chewers of betel and the pan leaf (when they can get the latter), both men, women, and children; distances in the interior being often measured by the number of betel-nuts that are usually chewed on a journey. They are not addicted usually to the use of opium or other intoxicating drugs. They are, however, hard drinkers, and consume large quantities of spirit distilled from rice or millet. Rice beer is also manufactured; this is used not only as a beverage, but also for ceremonial purposes. Spirit drinking is confined more to the inhabitants of the high plateaux and to the people of the War country, the Bhoia and Lyngngam being content to partake of rice beer. The Mikiew who inhabit what is known as the "Bhoi" country, lying to the north of the district, consume a good deal of opium, but it must be remembered that they reside in a malarious terai country, and that the use of opium, or some other prophylactic, is probably beneficial as a prevention of fever. The Khasis, like other people of Indo-Chinese origin, are much addicted to gambling. The people, and especially those who inhabit the War country, are fond of litigation. Col. Rivet remarks, "As regards truthfulness the people do not excel, for they rarely speak the truth unless to suit their own interests." Col. Rivet might have confined this observation to the people who live in the larger centres of population, or who have been much in contact with the denizens of the plains. The inhabitants of the far interior are, as a rule, simple and straightforward people, and are quite as truthful and honest as peasants one meets in other countries. My impression is that the Khasis are not less truthful certainly than other Indian communities. McCosh, writing in 1837, speaks well of the Khasis. The following is his opinion of them:—"They are a powerful, athletic race of men, rather below the middle size, with a manliness of gait and demeanour. They are fond of their mountains, and look down with contempt upon the degenerate race of the

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262. also eat field rats and one kind of monkey (*u shi*). The Syntengs and Lyngngams are fond of tadpoles, and the Khasis consider a curry made from a kind of green frog, called *ka jaynik*, a luxury *ki ulu*. They, however, do not eat ordinary frogs (*jaboid*). The Khasis of Marias, Maharam, Nongstoin and some other Siemships eat the hairy caterpillar, *u kiang phlang*.

262. 262. A staple food which must not be forgotten is the inner portion of the bark of the sago palm tree, *ka tiki*, which grows wild in the forest and attains a large size. The tree is felled and the outer bark removed, the soft inner part is cut into slices, dried in the sun, pounded in a mortar and then passed through a fine bamboo sieve. A reddish flour is obtained, of sweet taste, which is boiled with rice. This flour is said to make good cakes and puddings.

263. 264. Although the Khasis are such varied feasters, there are some clans amongst them which are prohibited by the ordinance of *niang*, or taboo, from eating certain articles. The following are some instances:—

The Chawra Siem family cannot eat dried fish (*khi-pud*); the Siem of Mylliem must not eat the gourd (*u pathie*); a fish called *ka'khi-lawi* is taboo to some of the *Siem-lik* clans. Some of the War people must not eat *ka khang* (preserved fish), and the clan *Khar-ma-lad* in Khyrim is debarred from the pleasure of partaking of pork. The flesh of the sow is *niang* to the *Khar* clan, although that of the male pig may be eaten.

DRINK.

273. The Khasis are in the habit of regularly drinking considerable quantities either of a spirit distilled from rice or millet (*ka'iad pudhi*), or of rice-beer, which is of two kinds (1) *ka'iad kiew*, (2) *ka'iad ses*. Both of these are made from rice and, in some places, from millet, and the root of a plant called *u khawiang*. *Ka'iad kiew* is made by boiling the rice or millet. It is then taken out and spread over a mat, and, when it cools, fragments of the yeast (*u khawiang*) are sprinkled over it. After this is in placed in a basket, which is put in a wooden bowl. The

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basket is covered tightly with a cloth so as to be air-tight, and it is allowed to remain in this condition for a couple of days, during which time the liquor has oozed out into the bowl. To make *ka'iad* use the material, the rice or millet from which the *ka'iad kiar* was brewed, is made use of. It is placed in a large earthen pot and allowed to remain there for about five days to ferment, after which the liquor is strained off. *Ka'iad kiar* is said to be stronger than *ka'iad* use. The former is used frequently by distillers of country spirit for mixing with the wort so as to set up fermentation. The people of the high plateaux generally prefer rice spirit, and the Wáin of the southern slopes of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills customarily partake of it also. The Khasis of the western hills, e.g. of the Nongstoin Siemship, and the Lyngngam, Bhoin, Lalungs, and Hadems almost invariably drink rice-beer, but the Syntengs, like the Khasi splendors, drink rice-spirit. Rice-beer (*ka'iad use*) is a necessary article for practically all Khasi and Syntengs religious ceremonies of importance, it being the custom for the officiating priest to pour out libations of liquor from a hollow gourd (*u Blang*) to the gods on these occasions. As there is no Excise in the district, except within a five-mile radius of Shillong, liquor of both the above descriptions can be possessed and sold without restriction.

According to some Khasi traditions, the Khasis in ancient times used not to drink spirits, but confined themselves to rice-beer. It is only in the last couple of generations that the habit of drinking spirits has crept in, according to them. From Khasi accounts, the use of spirits is on the increase, but there is no means of testing these statements. There can be no doubt, however, that at the present time a very large amount of spirits is manufactured and consumed in the district. The spirits is distilled both for home consumption and for purposes of sale; in some villages, e.g. Mawlai and Marbisu, near Shillong, where there are fifty-nine and forty-nine stills respectively, there being a still almost in every house. Mawlai village supplies a great deal of the spirit which is drunk in Shillong, and from Marbisu spirit is carried for sale to various parts of the hills. Other large distilling centres are Cherrapunji, with forty-seven stills; Jowai, with thirty-one stills; Laitkynsew, with fifty-four stills;

274 Sangwar, thirty-one stills; and Rangthang, thirty-seven
975 stills.

From what has been stated above some idea may be gathered
279 how very large the number of stills in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills is. I am not in a position to state with any degree of accuracy what is the amount of spirit manufactured or consumed in the year, but it is very considerable. The out-turn of a Khasi still has been reckoned at from four to eight bottles per day. From this estimate, and the fact that there are 1,350 stills in the district, it may be roughly calculated what is the consumption annually. Practically the whole of the spirit is consumed within the district. The liquor which is manufactured is far stronger than the spirit distilled in the ordinary out-stills in the plains.
273 It has been stated by an expert analyst that the Khasi spirit
975 contains 60 to 80 per cent. of proof spirit, and that it possesses "an exceptionally nice flavour and taste." The usual price at which it is sold is 4 to 6 annas a quart bottle, a second quality being sometimes sold for 3 annas. It will be seen that the
[41] liquor is exceedingly cheap. A Khasi in the villages of the interior can get drunk for 2 annas,* or a quarter of an ordinary coolie's daily wage. Drunkenness prevails on every market day at Cherrapunji, Jowai, and other large hats, and on occasions when there are gatherings of the people for various purposes. This cheap but strong spirit is demoralizing the people, and some restriction of its use would be welcomed by
273 many. In the Khasi Welsh Methodist Church abstention from
999 liquor is made a condition of Church membership, but the vast number of stills and the facilities with which liquor can be obtained are a constant source of temptation to the Christian community, and cause many defections.

GAMES.

276 The Khasis have many games, but their principal game is archery, this may be said to be the national game, and is a very popular form of recreation amongst them, the sport being indulged in from about the beginning of January to the end of

* About threepence.

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having heated a lump of iron red hot in a furnace, induced the snake, at the usual signal, to open his mouth, and then threw in the red-hot lump, and so killed him. He proceeded to cut up the body, and sent pieces in every direction, with orders that the people were to eat them. Whenever the order was obeyed, the country became free of the ñiáw, but one small piece remained which no one would eat, and from this sprung a multitude of ñiáws, which infest the residents of Cherra and its neighbourhood. When a ñiáw takes up its abode in a family there is no means of getting rid of it, though it occasionally leaves of its own accord, and often follows family property that is given away or sold. The ñiáw attaches itself to property, and brings prosperity and wealth to the owners, but on the conditions that it is supplied with blood. Its craving comes on at uncertain intervals, and manifests itself by sickness, by misadventure, or by increasing poverty befalling the family that owns the property. It can only be appeased by the murder of a human being." The murderer cuts off the tips of the hair of the victim with silver scissors, also the finger nails, and extracts from the nostril a little blood caught in a bamboo tube, and offers these to the ñiáw. The murderer, who is called a nongbakhah, literally, "the hunter," before he sets out on his unholy mission, drinks a special kind of liquor called, in 'ual hang-ski-ewm (literally, liquor which has been kept for a year). This liquor, it is thought, gives the murderer courage, and the power of selecting suitable victims for the ñiáw. The nongbakhah then sets out armed with a short club, with which to slay the victim, hence his name nongbakhah, i.e. one who hunts; for it is forbidden to kill a victim on these occasions with any weapon made of iron, inasmuch as iron was the metal which proved fatal to the ñiáw. He also takes the pair of silver scissors above mentioned, a silver lancet to pierce the inside of the nostrils of the deceased, and a small bamboo or cylinder to receive the blood drawn therefrom. The nongbakhah also provides himself with rice called "u khaw dynthip," i.e. rice mixed with turmeric after certain incantations have taken place. The murderer throws a little of this rice over his intended victim, the effect of which is to stupefy the

[27]

this man and a number of followers, clothed in clean garments and wearing either white or red pagris (a black pagri not being considered a fitting head-dress on this occasion), to the house of the bride, where a feast has been prepared, and fermented rice-beer (*ka-khiel-kiar*) in gourds (*khong*) placed ready. The bride, her female attendants, and her mother and aunts have collected in the meantime, dressed in their best, wearing their jewellery, and with their heads uncovered, for it is not thought proper for the females to cover their heads on the marriage day. On the side of the bride, also, a *kniang* (go-between) has been appointed, and it is his duty to manage all the business of the marriage on behalf of her family. Some young men of the bride's party go to meet the bridegroom's contingent by way of doing them honour. When they have reached the bride's house, the *kniang* of the bridegroom enters first, followed by the bridegroom, and after him the bridegroom's party. The *kniang* then hands over the bridegroom to the maternal uncle (*kwi*) of the bride, or to the bride's father. Either of the latter then provides the bridegroom with a seat near the bride. The bride and bridegroom exchange bags of betel-nut, and where the custom of investiture of the ring is in vogue, these tokens are interchanged. The *kniangs* of the bridegroom and bride recite the marriage contract in lengthy formulae, which may be found on pages 6, 7, 8 of the late U Jaitan Roy's interesting notes on the Khasi religion. The two *kniangs* then take up, each of them, a gourd containing fermented liquor from the gourd provided by the contracting party, and give them to an old man who is versed in sacrificial lore, who solemnly mixes the contents together. Three dried fish are produced, and are placed on the floor of the house. The priest then appointed then solemnly adjures the gods in the following words :—

Hei, oh god from above; oh god from below; oh, *ka synthar*; oh god who best created man; as thou hast ordained this marriage, the ring has been given this day; thou will know; thou will hear; from the clear firmament above that . . . . have been married this day. Thou will bless them; thou will grant them prosperity; thou will show them the way; thou will show them the road, that they may be well, that they may obtain dwellings and houses,

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LANDOH CEREMONY.

This ceremony is identical with that of *Pyniar synjat*, except that the bride and bridegroom do not interchange rings, and that there is no sacrifice of the pig. The parties merely buy some pig's flesh and perform a puja with a small portion of the flesh of the legs of the animal. Amongst the poor, fish sometimes takes the place of pork at the *Iedih-biad* ceremony. The latter consists of a drinking bout mingled with sentimental sentences by a *nongbiniu* (sacrificer), the invocations and prayers being the same as at the *Pyniar synjat*. The *Landoh* and *Iedih-biad* ceremonies take the place of the more elaborate *Pyniar synjat* in most places now-a-days.

LYNGAM MARRIAGES.

The ritual observed at these marriages is described as under:—First of all a proposal is made in the following manner. A *lyngap*, or go-between, is sent, with the brother of the girl for whom a husband is required, to the house of the father of the young man (not to the house of the mother as in the case with the Khasis). If the proposal is accepted, the father of the young man kills a pig, and gives a feast to the people of the village of his father-in-law elect; also to the go-between and the *lyngap* (brother of the bride). The father of the bride then gives a similar feast. A sum of Rs. 1 each is given as a present to the go-between by the fathers of the bride and bridegroom, and the father of the bride pays from Rs. 5 to Rs. 15 to the father of the bridegroom. Further feasting occurs at the house of the father of the bride. The go-between then sacrifices a pig and two fowls at the house of the bridegroom, and afterwards performs the same sacrifice at the house of the bride. At the house of the bride, after the fowls and the pig have been sacrificed, the go-between, after drinking liquor himself, pours out some on the floor of the house and then gives some to the bride and bridegroom to drink. The killing of the fowls, the sacrifice of the pig, and the libation of liquor are essentials at a Lyngam marriage. The sacrifice of the fowls is also an essential feature

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764 house, a ceremony called "*Rih-tyngew*" is performed, which consists of driving out the devils from the house, so that they may not interfere with the peace of the spirits of the departed whilst they rest in the house, and on their journey to the tomb. All the men after they have performed this ceremony are given [675] a drink of rice-beer known as *'ied sanglah*. Another cock is sacrificed, and a small bamboo ladder of three rungs is prepared for the use of the spirits when climbing into the tomb. Rice is then thrown outside the door. The next morning they perform further sacrifices, which need not be detailed here, and let loose [763] a bull whose horns have been cased in silver. They dig two shallow tanks called *wadai*, into which is poured water supposed [764] to possess the virtue of purifying the bones of any deceased Khasiaus who have died violent or unnatural deaths, or at places far away from their homes, where it was not possible to perform their funeral ceremonies according to custom. Three vertical stones are also erected, called *mawwadai*. A bamboo with a white flag, and a plantain tree are set up; to the bamboo are attached three bamboo rings (*lyngwah*), which are supposed to act as summonses to the spirits of the departed who have not received the benefit of a proper funeral ceremony. It may be explained that this ring of bamboo or cane in the form of summons used by the Khasi chiefs to their subjects when they wish to call them before them. Then a cock, *u'lim wadai*, is sacrificed as a vicarious victim to bear the sins of the departed. When the procession reaches the *mawbjat* or *mawlyati* (the upright stones which have been erected), a goat called *u'lang mawlyati* is sacrificed. Then a bamboo is fixed to the centre one of the three upright stones, to which is attached the lower jaw-bone of one of the cattle sacrificed in the puja-house; this is called a *mawi mawlyati*. A special ceremony called *ka-lyngka-pongsei* is then performed for those of the clan who have died childless. We now come to the actual ceremony of placing the bones in the tomb of the clan. Having arrived at the tomb, the bones are washed three times in a dish (this is a Cherra custom). In Mawshai, the bones are exposed to the heat of a fire kindled on a small *jingthong*, or burning-platform. The stone door of the sinnemiem is then opened, and the bones of the female are placed in an earthen pot inside the tomb

764 Meanwhile others are completely occupied with the burning of the body. Soon the intestines pour out into the fire, whereupon they begin to sizzle. A horrible smell comes from the crackling intestines. The steam that is developing in the skull from the fire causes a violent explosion in the skull which sounds like a gunshot. After the pile of wood has burned down and the yellowish green smoke has gone, you still see in the bluish fire the outlines of the black, steaming and cooking corpse. Now the men, who are already quite drunk from rice brandy, poke around in the fire with bamboo sticks and pour liquor and oil on it, which causes the flames to blaze up again. I saw in Lamin at a cremation that the heart was left as the last thing, which was then burned by itself with great sadness on the [271] part of the crematore. The objectionable scene of cremation could not occur without an [272] excess taking of alcohol. As a conclusion a goat is sacrificed (u 'lang dhulia) on the spot and the relatives take their departure as they place betel nuts on the burned up funeral pyre with these words: khublei khie leit ban kwai ha ling u blei (god guard thee, go and eat betel nuts in the house of god!

In some places it is customary before the cremation for a man to get drunk with liquor. He then represents the devil and performs all sorts of tricks.

764 When the corpse is burned, one then col-
772 lects the remains of the bones which did not quite get burned up. (31) These are washed

31. Cf. Table III, Picture 1: Collecting the Remains and the Bones

765 ai ban ka ai sa ia me
782 ka kynrong ka hynraw ka pynkhiah ka pynsarg, dih sa ka kiad sa ka un mo!

our words and our sacrifices and out judgments and then will be: to care for thee and to nourish thee and to carry over thy bones and to care for thee in sickness and to make thee healthy. So we wish to drink the liquor and the water, is it no so! (32)

[279]

32. The water is a fermented rice water, that is variously called rice beer. The last sentence has the sense of an affirmation and of an oath.

Hoi ongew ryngkat me phi ka blei ka loubei ka nonglum nongkynshew shi khrum ka nar mo!

So hear then, o goddess, thou Jaubei, thou who has gathered us here, one and all (33) the whole sib

33. Shi khrum - actually the hollow place, the place under the house.

and stone and iron, is it not so!

764
782 As there are various customs for sacrifices, so are the ceremonies for cremation various. It is reported (34) that on the day of

34. Gurdon, The Khasi, p. 133.

cremation pigs are slaughtered by the relatives of the deceased. Those, who cannot afford to

526 meaning are placed next to each other usually
533 a nominative before the objective case (accusative--dative). These words form the frame for the words contained in the second (even lines) sayings.

The poem can be reproduced in the following way to make sense (only the even lines):

2. Let us stamp mightily so that the earth groans.
   So that it is known for certain that we have conquered.
4. Set up the bows, you brave youths!

6. Set up the bows so that the mighty victory shows.
8. Whoever dares to battle us, we will fix his comb.
10. May your mockery be sharp, the opponent must weep.
12. He must weep, his eyes weep, his nose runs.
14. Do not be sorry, comrades, it was so determined!

[522] (512) Singing in this way with mocking songs
526 to the defeated opponent, shouting and rejoicing, the crowd moves across the place of the
• 273 festival. Liquor is brought an' drunk jealously, only too zealously, so that the crowd lighted by the torches, aroused by the battle, and excited by the shouting competition, takes a wild impression. The raw, wild joy breaks forth in a deafening racket. Finally tired of the rushing around they return slowly but still shouting to their village, and scatter to their huts, still disputing violently about the happenings.

526 The end of an archery contest varies

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—the *Slyngkop*, or porch, being flush with the ground. The *ompoi*, or centre room, is approached by a flight of steps. There are no windows, except one, which is bored on one side to admit light and air,—this is called the *ponphai*. Both Khasis and Syntengs, like other Indo-Chinese races, are much addicted to gambling, and drinking to excess is a national vice. Christianity has, through the agency of the Welsh Calvinistic Mission, gained a very striking extension, and may be said indeed to be leavening the whole nation. Schools are numerous, and are pretty well attended by girls as well as boys. The Christians, and those who have come under the influence of Christianity, have adopted a high standard of comfort, and their houses resemble English cottages more nearly than the huts with which one is familiar in India.

Agriculture.—The Khasis do not use the ploughs; they cultivate their fields with a peculiar-shaped hoe, or *mukkhow*. They cultivate rice in the valleys, the rice being sown broadcast and the fields irrigated often after considerable labour. They also cultivate hill rice on the uplands, which they sow broadcast. The potato, which was introduced into the Khasi Hills by Mr. David Scott about the year 1830,[1] is extensively cultivated and forms one of the principal articles of export. *Job's-tears* (*Coix lachryma*), several kinds of millet, Indian-corn, the *Sohphlang* (*Flemingia vestita*), are also largely cultivated. The valleys on the southern slopes of the hills have extensive orange groves, the oranges, especially those grown in the neighbourhood of Shella, being famous for their quality. The betel, vine, and areca nut are also largely grown on the southern side of the hills and in the low valleys, these plantations being irrigated by elaborate systems of aqueducts. The leaf of the bay-tree (*Tejpyud*) is collected, and is exported to the Sylhet plains. The Syntengs differ from the Khasis, in that they make use of the plough. Both Khasis and Syntengs are industrious cultivators, and they possess a certain rough and ready knowledge of the use of manure. A more detailed description of agriculture in these hills will be given in the monograph.

[1] Khasi and Jaintia Hills Administration Report for 1875-76 by Colonel Evans.

2. *Matriarchal customs and law of inheritance of property.*—The mother is the head of the house, and is both owner and the custodian of the family property as long as she lives. Males can own no property amongst either Khasis or Syntengs except self-acquired property. On the death of the mother, in the case of the Khasis, the family property passes to the youngest daughter. According to some authorities, however, the property would in practice be divided amongst all the surviving daughters. Failing daughters, the property passes to the youngest sister, and failing a sister, to the youngest female cousin. The same

16: McCormack E-4,5 (1956-1958) 1964
[P. 108A] AR7 Khasi AR7

more and chemical fertilizers. Both level land and hillsides are cultivated by the same hand techniques: 3 × 6-foot patches are fashioned with walkways between, weds are overturned within the patches and allowed to dry, the weds are burned slowly and the ashes spread over the soil, and finally the seed is sown, either broadcast or sunk with the aid of the typical Khasi hoe. The coldest part of the upland causes a terracing year, and Khasis often double crop as well. Paddy has long been found in the lowlands, in parts of Jaintia and Shillong, the only places where the plow is found. Nowadays paddy is more and more seen in the uplands, together with a simple terracing and irrigation technology. Many upland Khasis have become gardens in which they raise a wide variety of vegetables, including pumpkins, cabbage, radishes, sweet potatoes, eggplant, and many others. Important crops in Shillong country are paddy rice, tea, cassava, cotton, bananas, and pineapples, in War, they are betel nut, pan leaf, oranges, and sugar cane. **Fishing and hunting.** Fishing is done by poisoning streams, but this is a subsistence activity only in the southern foothills. Hunting was formerly by bow and arrow or by traps, including spring guns and pitfalls, but was always primarily a sport. [Cf. Stagmüller 1928.] **Gathering.** Khasis once gathered about 150 species of wild plants, most of them for food, but some for medicine. Thirty villagers still gather food plants, but there is no real dependence on gathering. Medicinal plants continue to be very important. **Domestic animals.** Fowl, goats, pigs, and cattle are bred both for meat and sacrifice. Milk was formerly not utilized, but is now so popular that specialists keep herds of milch cows. Pigs are used as village scavengers, but some also receive prepared food. Cattle and goats forage freely in the fields during the winter, but are herded by a communally hired herdsboy during the agricultural season. Most households keep chickens, primarily for their eggs, and a few keep ducks. A few farmers are also seen. Dogs are periodic, except for hunting dogs. Cats are popular. **Food and stimulants.** The staple food of Khasis is boiled rice, together with the dried fish which is imported from Sylhet. Boiled beef, pork, and chicken are relished, but beyond the means of most. Meals are taken twice a day, in the morning and evening, although farmers also take a midday meal in the field, and others may take tea and cold sweet potatoes or rice bread. Certain foods are taken to outwit ills. Stimulants are extremely common, especially betel nut, which is often accompanied by a bit of tobacco. Tobacco is also smoked as cigarettes and in hookah and other pipes. Every village has one or more household taverns, where distilled rice whisky is cooked and sold by the glass and by the bottle. Imported opium had spread widely in the malarious Bhoi country, but contacts initiated in the 1940s have been fairly successful. All stimulants were once taken by men, women, and

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17: Banerjee E-5 (1955) 1962 AR? Khasi AR?
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796 objects are closed while that of the west (Lyngwan Mawlong) was meant exclusively
796 for sacrificial goats. There is a very big circular courtyard in front of the building where the members of the royal family so also other boys and spectators
[193] hold a ritual dance. The function is always held during the monsoon period of
[643] May or June and the actual dates are fixed in consultation with the Chief priest
[202] (*Sohbiar*) in such a way that the first day—*Pomtiah*[*] always coincides with the market day of Shillong Chow Bazar. The dates of the festival is then communicated to the in-charge of different units of his territory, through a wooden stick '*Kyrwah*' having a few knots of cane-strips, as a form of summons for attending the festival for five days on foot along with subjects under their jurisdiction.

Important Functionary

796 The responsibility of performing this ritual rests on the High-priestess
793 (*Ka Siem Sad*) who is succeeded by her elder daughter. Different ritual ob-
562 jects are procured by her, well in advance and it is obligatory on her part to
[964] join the ceremonial dancing, in which her daughter may also officiate on her
[533] behalf. U Shillong is worshipped by the chief priest while the other ancestors are invoked by lesser priests. The musicians (*Dhakai*) besides their sacred duties, take part in the worship of the ancestors and they are presented with silk turban, jacket, cloth, by the ruling family for the services rendered during the festival. The *Siem* has no special role except to supervise and evoke U Shillong for the welfare of the community. He is required to perform certain sacrifices, failing which his heir-apparent (*Siem Lyngdoh*) does the same. He along with his sister (High priestess) abstain from taking rice during the period of celebration presumably to observe the sanctity of this festival as also to ensure the successful conclusion of the function.

Ritual Methods

796 The festival derives its name from the sacrifice of a large number of goats
792 some of which were supplied from the State fund and from different units of
931 the territory. Formerly at least fifty goats were required and each unit had a specific allotment but owing to the economic difficulty that the Khasi are experiencing, the number of goats sacrificed hardly exceeds twenty-five. The goats collected from the different units are presented to the Chief at the midnight
[271] of the third day. Rice-beer, dried fish, fermented-rice, betel leaves together
[274] with rice are also important ritual objects in this celebration.

Description of the Festival

796 The commencement of the festival was marked by the distribution of dried
792 fish (*iaiei dokha*) to the persons participating in the sacrifice, in the evening of
Pomtiah (*i.e.* 21st June, 1957). This was followed by the dropping of rice-beer by the Chief priest over the five pieces of central hall known as *Ka sakhi shai*

[305] *Up until recently of eight days in Khasi. Calculation the season are according to the phases [illegible] were held in June (July).

Units	Bazar
1. Pomtiah	Shillong Cherra Bazar
2. Umiam	Umiamgatti
3. Iew-duh	Shillong Iewduh Bazar
4. Lyngkat	Nongpoh
5. Nongkrem	Nongkrem
6. Mawlong	Lower Mawlong
7. Nongpoh	Nongpoh Cherra Bazar
8. Mawlai	Mawlai Bazar

20: Hunter C-4 (no date) 1997 AR? Khasi AR?

243 the District, nor do any superior kinds of cereals appear to have been substituted for inferior ones.

THE DIFFERENT STAGES OF RICE CULTIVATION, in English and Khási, are as follow:—The blade as it first shows, *ghá-a-dyle*; the blade when well above the ground, *ka-dyllong-a-dyle*; the ears when first formed, *ion-mat*; the corn beginning to ripen, *ly-ram*; the ripe corn, *ka-ñá*; unhusked rice, *a-dyle*; husked rice, *a-khum*; cooked rice, *ka-ja*.

263 THE VARIOUS SOLID AND LIQUID PREPARATIONS made from rice are the following:—(a) *D'ápin*, cakes of different kinds, sold at six or twelve for a penny, according to size. (b) *D'ahrid or gilt-khi*, prepared by the hillmen as an offering to their deity at the conclusion of the harvest. (c) *Kinlow*, fermented rice water, sold at the rate of four three-farthings to threepence per quart, according to the strength of the liquor. (d) *Ka-kind-phrídlin or ka-kind-ñá-wat*, a kind of spirits distilled from rice, and sold at from threepence to fourpence-halfpenny per quart.

• 279 435

243 OTHER CEREALS.—Indian corn, or *u-ma-ka-ñiu*, is grown on homestead lands. The ground is first manured, and the seed is often sown the middle of April. The crop is fit for cutting in September and October. A kind of millet seed called *u-drú* is commonly sown with paddy on high lands. For want of more suitable land, however, this crop is often cultivated by itself on rocky slopes; and when this course is adopted, the jungle is first cut down in February and burnt. The seed is sown in April, and the crop gathered in December.

244 PULSES AND PEAS.—Only two kinds of pulses are grown in the Hills, *u-ñiu-ka-dieng* and *u-ryn-ka-ñiu*, both of which are varieties of beans. They are sown on high lands in March and April, and 233 gathered in December. The only flax is that made from the pineapple stalk, which is largely used for making natural bags.

246 MISCELLANEOUS CROPS.—(a) *Oranges.*—There are numerous orange plantations in the neighbourhood of Churra Pinji, and the 278 fruit is exported to all parts of Bengal. In the year 1878-79 the estimated exports were 9,400,000 in number, valued at Rs. 93,600, or £9,360, at the rate of Rs. 10 or £1, per thousand. These figures show a decrease in number as compared with the estimated export twenty years ago. The trees flower in March or April, and the fruit ripens in October and the following months. In some cases the oranges are allowed to remain on the trees till March, but

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR? Khasi AR?

439 at the rate of two or three annas for a farthing; and sugar-cane, the cultivation of which is also very limited, at from a little over a farthing
[293] to three farthings per cane. A fermented liquor called *kadaw*, made
• 273 from rice, is sold at from three-farthings to threepence a quart,
435 according to strength; and a distilled spirit called *phaiblin*, or *kalisal-kiwah*, at from threepence to fourpence-halfpenny a quart. This latter description of liquor is sometimes made very strong. Its records exist by which the present prices of the above articles can
[791] be compared with the rates ruling ten years ago. The maximum price of rice during the famine of 1896-97 was 5 *ser* 6 *chhatáks* for the rupee, or about £1 a hundredweight.

804 Measures, Weights, etc.—The Hill people have no proper
805 measurement of time or distance. If there be any standard for measuring distance, it is by the number of *pân* a man chews in the course of a journey, generally about one every half hour. In some parts of the District, land is measured by a stick called *ka dieng-ang*, varying in length from six to seven cubits. Liquids are measured in pounds of different measures, varying from half a *chhatáks* to a *ser*, and also in bamboo tubes. Rice, potatoes, beans, etc. are measured in baskets, varying in size in different markets from two to eighty pounds.

806 In the Khási Hills the inhabitants reckon eight days in the week, named as follows:—(1) Lyndeh; (2) Nongkrem; (3) Umlong; (4) Kongkep; (5) Shillong; (6) Pomrih; (7) Umrih; (8) Yindeh. In the Jaintia Hills the eight days are named thus:—(1) Kylim; (2) Pyrsong; (3) Mâwlong; (4) Mâwsiang; (5) Mâwshai; (6) Pyrkat; (7) Thymtiein; (8) Kotsi. The Khási months of the year, calculated by moons, are as follow:—(1) U Kylla Ipnâw; (2) U Synrong; (3) U Lyhar; (4) U Laiong; (5) U Jaintiang; (6) U Jillew; (7) U Naiwing; (8) U Naitor; (9) U Nailar; (10) U Sypaw; (11) U Naiwang; (12) U Nakynah.

444 Labourers Labourers Classes.—There is, and always has been,
423 a large class of labourers in the District who neither own nor possess any land. Women and children are employed in manual out-door labour of all kinds.

423 Tenures or Land Tenures can hardly be said to exist. There
[427] is nothing whatever resembling the relations between landlord and tenant throughout the Khási Hills. The lands as a rule are either unoccupied property or belong to village communities, and are cultivated under owners but with unwritten agreements. Of the wide

342 down /233/ toward the front in a broad curve, projects here quite a bit beyond the front of the house and covers the stone terrace before the entrance, which is supported by posts, where the occupants customarily sit during the daytime. Firewood is also piled up here at the sides. In the rear the roof ridge is very little--or not at all--curved; the general impression which the house makes through its roof form has been compared with a pig which stands with bowed head before the fodder trough. Generally speaking, the Khasi houses are not very large. I did not see any houses longer than from 6 to 9 meters and with a width of from 3 to 5 meters. However, according to Gordon (p. 30) there are sometimes houses with a length of more than 20 meters. The interior is completely dark. Sometimes a small window at the side--an innovation--or a second side entrance allows some light to filter in. From the roofed terrace one enters first an anteroom which contains at both sides provisions, potatoes, and also wood. A board wall which is closed on top by a wooden grate, where light and air can pass through, separates this anteroom from the main room; upon entering one has to walk up a few steps or climb over a high threshold. 354 In the middle, toward the rear, is the fireplace. If the owner has a distilling license from the 273 British authorities (76) the distilling vessels

76. The restriction through license to counteract a little the consumption of alcohol, exists only in the area of Shillong. Otherwise the brandy production by the Khasi is not regulated.

for the preparation of rice or millet brandy are always kept here. The people have a strong preference for alcohol and especially on bazaar days it is no rarity to see tipsy people. I observed this particularly at the bazaar in Nong-

273 krem. Before I could enter a hut the occupants had to remove a man who was dead drunk. Over
352 the fireplace hangs a rack on which wood is piled up for drying; also food provisions, rice, etc. are kept dry here during the rainy-season. Behind it a rack made of sturdy beams runs straight through the center and sometimes extends along the sides. On it all kinds of household items are kept. In the better houses the best dishes of shiny, polished brass and china are displayed here. This rack also serves as a partition behind which, on the sides and at the rear wall of the house, are the sleeping accommodations.
[352] Considering the very unprepossessing physical appearance of the people, it is surprising how orderly and clean the houses are kept inside.
342 In the principal towns the well-to-do have already adopted the brick building and European comfort. With the Lynngam and the Bhoi, however, we still find the pile dwelling (77). The houses

77. Gordon, ibid., p. 32. There it is mentioned (above) that in some villages of the subdivision of the War pile dwellings are built because the main part of the house rests on firm ground on the mountain side and then extends on piles over the slope. (Cf. the Garo.) The same people still use the bachelor house.

have a length from 10 to 12 meters with a veranda which among the Lynngam is in front, among the Bhoi in the rear of the house. These people
[241] still practise migratory agriculture and therefore move their flimsily constructed houses every two or three years when they change to new fields. It follows that the Khasi house, as described above, represents an advanced construction method. That in earlier days bamboo construction was

headquarters of the Administration. The manufacture of country spirit gives employment to a considerable number of persons, most of whom are females. At a recent census of the country stills in the district, undertaken by the district officials, the number of stills has been found to be 1,520. There must be at least one person employed at each still, so that the number of distillers is probably not less than 2,000, possibly more. The spirit is distilled both for home consumption and for purposes of sale, in some villages almost entirely for sale. In the Jaintia Hills stock-breeding and dealing in cattle provides occupation for 1,295 people, according to the last census. The cattle are reared in the Jaintia Hills and are driven down to the plains when they reach the age of maturity, where they find a ready market amongst the Sylhetis. Cattle are also driven into Shillong for sale from the Jaintia Hills. Another place for rearing cattle is the Siemship of Nongkhlaw, where there is good pasturage in the neighbourhood of Mairang. These cattle are either sold in Shillong or find their way to the Kamrup district by the old Nongkhlaw road. Cattle-breeding is an industry which is capable of expansion in these hills. There are a few carpenters to be found in Shillong and its neighbourhood. The Khasis are said by Col. Waddell to be unacquainted with the art of weaving; but the fact that a considerable weaving industry exists amongst the Khyrwang villages of the Syntengs, and at Mynso and Suhtnga, has been overlooked by him. The Khyrwangs weave a special pattern of cotton and silk cloth, striped red and white. In Mynso and Suhtnga similar cloths are woven, also the sleeveless coat. In former days this industry is said to have been considerable, but it has been displaced to a large extent of late years by Manchester piece goods. The number of weavers returned at the last census in the district was 533. The Khasis and Mikirs of the low country, or Bhois as they are called, weave cotton cloths which they dye with the leaves of a plant called u sola. This is perhaps the wild indigo, or *ram*, of the Shan settlers in the Assam Valley. The weavers are almost always females. An important means of subsistence is road and building work; a considerable number of coolies, both male and female, are employed under Government, practically throughout the year, in

of them, more especially when the latter are situated in places where jungle is dense, and there is fear of attacks from wild animals. In the Lyngngam village is to be seen a high bamboo platform some 20 to 30 ft. from the ground, built in the midst of the village, where the elders sit and gossip in the evening.

All the villages, Khasi, Wite, Lyngngam and Bhoi, swarm with pigs, which run about the villages unchecked. The pigs feed on all kinds of filth, and in addition are fed upon the wort and spent wash of the brewings of country spirit, or *ciou bour*, the latter being carefully collected and poured into wooden troughs. The pigs are of the usual black description seen in India. They thrive greatly in the Khasi villages, and frequently attain extreme obesity.

In the Khasi villages of the high plateaux are often nowadays potato gardens, the latter being carefully protected from the inroads of pigs, calves, and goats by dry dikes surmounted by hedges.

I noticed an interesting custom at a Bhoi village in Nongpoh of barricading the path leading to the village from the forest with bamboo palisading and bamboo *chevaux de frise* to keep out the demon of cholera. In the middle of the barricade there was a wooden door over which was nailed the skull of a monkey which had been sacrificed to this demon, which is, as amongst the Syntengs, called *kkiem*.

FURNITURE AND HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS.

As in the case of houses, so with reference to furniture, the influence of civilization shows many changes. The Khasi of the present day who lives in Mawkhar * has a comfortable house regularly divided up into rooms in the European style with even some European articles of furniture, but owing probably to the influence of the women, he still possesses several of the articles of furniture which are to be met with in the houses of those who still observe the old style of living. Let us take the furniture of the kitchen to begin with. Above the hearth is slung by ropes of cane a swinging wooden framework

* Mawkhar is a suburb of Shillong, the headquarters station.

It will be seen that in the three years following the earthquake of 1897 the exports fell very low indeed. Since 1901 the trade has been steadily recovering, and the exports of 1904 reached half a lakh of maunds.

It will be observed that there has been some improvement, but the *exports* are still not half what they were in 1901-02. There are two kinds of sweet potatoes grown in the district, the Garo potato (*u phaso Kasu*), which appears to have been introduced from the Garo Hills, and *u phaso sendlia*, the latter being distinguished from the Garo potato by its having a red skin, the Garo potato possessing a white skin. These kinds of potato are planted on all classes of land except *lalli*, they do best on *jhumed* and homestead lands. The yam proper (*u phaso shyrwah*) is also largely grown. The small plant with an edible root called by the Khasis *u eilphang* (*Dioscorea sativa Roxb.*), is also largely grown. The roots of the plant after being peeled are eaten raw by the Khasis. *As* far as we know, this esculent is not cultivated in the adjoining hill districts. *Jobi's* tears (*ossie lachymo-Jobi*)* are extensively grown, and are planted frequently with the *eilphang* mentioned above. This cereal forms a substitute for rice amongst the poorer cultivators. Maize or Indian corn (*u ribor hadem*) is grown frequently, thriving best on homestead land, and requires heavy manuring; it is grown in rotation with potatoes. Next in importance to rice comes the millet (*u hwai*), as a staple of food amongst the Khasis. There are three varieties of millets generally to be seen in the Khasi Hills:—*u 'rai-ash* (*setaria Italica*), *u 'rai-shoo* (Panicum sanguinale), and *u 'rai-trub* (Eleusine coracana). *U 'rai-shoo* is cultivated in rotation with the potato, *u 'rai-ash* and *u 'rai-trub* are generally cultivated on *jhumed* land, where they thrive well. Millet is sometimes used instead of rice in the manufacture of spirit by the Khasis; *u rymbai-ja* (*phaseolus calcaratus*), and *u rymbai khang* (*glycine soja*) are beans which are cultivated occasionally. Khasis highly prize the fruit of the plantain, which they give to infants mashed up. The following are the best known varieties:—*Ka hait khán, ka hait rieu, ka hait kulbeit, ka hait bamon, ka hait shyiang.*

* Khasi u ash-rieu.

basket is covered tightly with a cloth so as to be air-tight, and it is allowed to remain in this condition for a couple of days, during which time the liquor has oozed out into the bowl. To make *ka'iad* use the material, the rice or millet from which the *ka'iad kiaw* was brewed, is made use of. It is placed in a large earthen pot and allowed to remain there for about five days to ferment, after which the liquor is strained off. *Ka'iad kiaw* is said to be stronger than *ka'iad ua*. The former is used frequently by distillers of country spirit for mixing with the wort so as to set up fermentation. The people of the high plateaux generally prefer rice spirit, and the Wars of the southern slopes of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills customarily partake of it also. The Khasis of the western hills, e.g. of the Nongstoin Subdivisions, and the Lyngngam, Bhoia, Lalungs, and Hadems almost invariably drink rice-beer, but the Syntengs, like the Khasi splenders, drink rice-spirit. Rice-beer (*ka'iad ua*) is a necessary article for practically all Khasi and Syntengs religious ceremonies of importance, it being the custom for the officiating priest to pour out libations of liquor from a bottle gourd (*u Blangi*) to the gods on these occasions. As there is no Excise in the district, except within a five-mile radius of Shillong, liquor of both the above descriptions can be possessed and sold without restriction.

According to some Khasi traditions, the Khasis in ancient times used not to drink spirits, but confined themselves to rice-beer. It is only in the last couple of generations that the habit of drinking spirits has crept in, according to them. From Khasi accounts, the use of spirits is on the increase, but there is no means of testing these statements. There can be no doubt, however, that at the present time a very large amount of spirit is manufactured and consumed in the district. The spirit is distilled both for home consumption and for purposes of sale; in some villages, e.g. Mawlai and Marbiss, near Shillong, where there are fifty-nine and forty-nine stills respectively, there being a still almost in every house. Mawlai village supplies a great deal of the spirit which is drunk in Shillong, and from Marbiss spirit is carried for sale to various parts of the hills. Other large distilling centres are Cherrapunji, with forty-seven stills; Jowai, with thirty-one stills; Laitkynsew, with fifty-four stills;

1:Gordon E-4, 9 (no date) 1907 ART Khasi ART

274 Nongwar, thirty-one stills; and Bangthang, thirty-seven
933 stills.

From what has been stated above some idea may be gathered
274 how very large the number of stills in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills is. I am not in a position to state with any degree of accuracy what is the amount of spirit manufactured or consumed in the year, but it is very considerable. The out-turn of a Khasi still has been reckoned at from four to eight bottles per day. From this estimate, and the fact that there are 1,530 stills in the district, it may be roughly calculated what is the consumption annually. Practically the whole of the spirit is consumed within the district. The liquor which is manufactured is far stronger than the spirit distilled in the ordinary out-stills in the plains.
273 It has been stated by an expert analyst that the Khasi spirit
935 contains 60 to 80 per cent. of proof spirit, and that it possesses "an exceptionally nice flavour and taste." The usual price at which it is sold is 4 to 6 annas a quart bottle, a second quality being sometimes sold for 3 annas. It will be seen that the
[46,5] liquor is exceedingly cheap. A Khasi in the villages of the interior can get drunk for 2 annas,* or a quarter of an ordinary coolie's daily wage. Drunkenness prevails on every market day at Cherrapunji, Jowai, and other large hats, and on occasions when there are gatherings of the people for various purposes. This cheap but strong spirit is demoralizing the people, and some restriction of its use would be welcomed by
273 many. In the Khasi Welsh Methodist Church abstention from
937 liquor is made a condition of Church membership, but the vast number of stills and the facilities with which liquor can be obtained are a constant source of temptation to the Christian community, and cause many defections.

GAMES.

936 The Khasis have many games, but their principal game is archery, this may be said to be the national game, and is a very popular form of recreation amongst them, the sport being indulged in from about the beginning of January to the end of

* About threepence.

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quilt, made out of the bark of a tree, which is beaten out and then carefully woven, several layers of flattened bark being used before the right thickness is attained. This quilt is called by the Lyngngam "Ka-ejilar" (Khasi ka-ejiyal). Food is cooked in earthen pots, but no plates are used, the broad leaves of the surrounding trees taking their place. The leaves are thrown away after use, a fresh supply being required for each meal.

The Lyngngam have one loss, they do not distil spirits; liquor is brewed according to the Khasi method. Games they have none, and there are no social ordinary meetings like those of the Khasis. The Lyngngam methods of hunting are setting spring guns and digging pitfalls for game. The people say that now the Government and the Sirdar of Nongstoin have prohibited both of these methods of destroying game, they no longer employ them. But I came across a pitfall for deer not long ago in the neighbourhood of a village in the Lyngngam country. The people declared it to be a very old one; but this I very much doubt, and I fear that these objectionable methods of hunting are still used. The Lyngngam fish to a small extent with nets, but their idea of fishing *par excellence*, is poisoning the streams, an account of which has already been given in this monograph. The Lyngngam are omnivorous feeders, they may be said to eat everything except dogs, snakes, the hoolock monkey, and lizards. They like rice, when they can get it; for sometimes the out-turn of their fields does not last them more than a few months. They then have to fall back on Jobstears and millet. They eat arum largely, and for vegetables they cook wild plantains and the young shoots of bamboos and cane plants. The Lyngngam are divided up into exogamous clans in the same manner as the Khasis. The clans are exogamous families. The Lyngngam have some stories regarding the founders of these clans, of which the following is a specimen:—"A woman was asleep under a rubber tree in the jungle, a flower from which fell on her, and she conceived and bore a female child who was the ancestress of the Nongrubbar clan." Some of the stories of the origins of other clans do not bear repeating. There do not appear to be any hypergamous groups. As with the Khasis, it is a deadly sin to

20: Number C-6 (no date) 1997 AR? Khasi AR?

[illegible]. In addition, there are a few small buildings at Jowai, in the Jaintia Hills, which have been settled, after encroachment, under the Assam Settlement Rules for a term of ten years. In 1898-99 the total land revenue amounted to Rs. [illegible], or £[illegible], Rs., derived from 14 [illegible]. Other small items of revenue are derived from fisheries, forests, mahals, and excise. In 1898-99 the rate of the fishery mahals was Rs. [illegible], or £[illegible], [illegible]; forests produced Rs. [illegible], or £[illegible], Rs., of which Rs. [illegible] represents fees on the importation of timber from the Khasi States to the District of Sylhet. In the same year mahals yielded Rs. [illegible], or £[illegible], [illegible]; but this total includes the sale of postage and telegraph stamps, as well as the sum realized for revenue stamps. Excise produced Rs. [illegible], or £[illegible], [illegible]. The mahals are sold at the Treasury; there are no licensed vendors. The excise laws are applied only within the limits of the Stations of Shillong and Cherra Punji, and throughout the Jaintia Hills. There are no licensed distillers in the District, and the free manufacture of country spirit is permitted both in the dependent State and in British territory; what is manufactured is mainly for home consumption. In 1898-99 there were in all 18 licenses in force—4 for imported spirituous and fermented liquors, 1 each for middle and shops, 2 for ganjá, and 10 for opium. The Khásis and Syntengs are not addicted to the use of intoxicating drugs, which is confined to the people from the plains residing on British territory.

Courts, etc.—In the year 1833 there were two Magisterial and Civil Courts in the District. By 1850 the number had risen to four, which continues to the present time. The maximum distance of any village from the nearest court is 63 miles, the average distance is 23 miles. In 1833 one European official was permanently stationed in the District; in 1850, two; in 1860 and 1889, again one. In the last-mentioned year the subdivision of Jowai was opened in the Jaintia Hills; and there have since been two officers in the District, a Deputy-Commissioner at Shillong, and an Assistant at Jowai. The total number of magistrates is three. These figures, of course, are exclusive of the staff of the Local Government, which has been established at Shillong since 1874.

Police Statistics.—For police purposes, the Khási and Jaintia Hills are divided into the three following *thánás* or police circles, each two outposts:—(1) Shillong, with an outpost at Nongpoh; (2) Jowai; (3) Cherra Punji, with an outpost at Thárie-ghát, at the foot of the southern hills.

10: 99:Cornwall B-4, 9 (1954-1956) 1956
[P. 108A] AR 7 Khasi AR 7

[illegible] and chemical fertilizers. Both level land and terraces are cultivated by the same hand techniques. 241
1 = Silver patches are bordered with walkways between, seeds are overturned within the patches and allowed to dry, the seeds are burned slowly and the ashes spread over the soil, and finally the seed is sown, either broadcast or seed with the aid of the typical Khasi hoe. The coldest part of the upland raises a two-crop year, and Khasis often double crop as well. Paddy, the long been found in the lowlands, in parts of Jaintia and Khasi, the only places where the plow is found. Nowadays paddy is 243 189 178
sown and more sown in the uplands, together with a simple terracing and irrigation technology. Many upland Khasis have home gardens in which they raise a wide variety of vegetables, including pumpkins, cabbage, radishes, sweet potatoes, eggplant, and many others. Important crops in Khasi country are paddy rice, tea, cassava, cotton, bananas, and pineapples, in War, they are betel nut, jute leaf, oranges, and sugar cane. Fishing and hunting. Fishing is done by poisoning streams, but this is a subsistence activity only in the southern foothills. Hunting was formerly by bow and arrow or by traps, including spring guns and pitfalls, but was always primarily a sport. [Cf. Stoughton 1935.] Gathering. Khasis once gathered about 100 species of wild plants, most of them for food, but some for medicine. Thirty villagers still gather food plants, but there is no real dependence on gathering. Medicinal plants continue to be very important. Domestic animals. Fowl, goats, pigs, and cattle are bred both for meat and sacrifice. Milk was formerly not utilized, but is now so popular that specialists keep herds of milch cows. Pigs are used as village scavengers, but nowadays receive prepared food. Cattle and goats [illegible] herds in the hills during the winter, but are herded by a communally hired herdsman during the agricultural season. Most households keep chickens, primarily for their eggs, and a few keep ducks. A few horses are also seen. Dogs are periodic, except for hunting dogs. Cats are popular. Food and stimulants. The staple food of Khasis is boiled rice, together with the dried fish which is imported from Sylhet. Boiled beef, pork, and chicken are relished, but beyond the means of most. Meals are taken twice a day, in the morning and evening, although farmers also take a midday meal in the field, and others may take tea and cold sweet potatoes or rice bread. Certain foods are taboo to certain sibs. Stimulants are extremely common, especially betel nut, which is often accompanied by a bit of tobacco. Tobacco is also smoked as cigarettes and in hookah and other pipes. Every village has one or more household taverns, where distilled rice whisky is cooked and sold by the glass and by the bottle. Imported opium had spread widely in the malarious Blue country, but controls instituted in the 1940s have been fairly successful. All stimulants were once taken by men, women, and

(278) 231 (2.36) (2.33) (2.35) 262 264 262 189 276 275 275 276 177

I: Gordon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 ART Khasi ART

which are not found usually in the people of India. Both not slave manual labour, and even the Khasi clerk in the Government offices is quite ready to take his turn at the hoe in his potato garden. The men make excellent stonemasons and carpenters, and are ready to learn fancy carpentry and mechanical work. They are inveterate chewers of *supari* and the pan leaf (when they can get the latter), both men, women, and children; distances in the interior being often measured by the number of betel-nuts that are usually chewed on a journey. They are not addicted usually to the use of opium or other intoxicating drugs. They are, however, hard drinkers, and consume large quantities of spirit distilled from rice or millet. Rice beer is also manufactured; this is used not only as a beverage, but also for ceremonial purposes. Spirit drinking is confined more to the inhabitants of the high plateaux and to the people of the War country, the Bhoie and Lyngngam being content to partake of rice beer. The Mikiro who inhabit what is known as the "Bhoi" country, lying to the north of the district, consume a good deal of opium, but it must be remembered that they reside in a malarious *terai* country, and that the use of opium, or some other prophylactic, is probably beneficial as a preventive of fever. The Khasis, like other people of Indo-Chinese origin, are much addicted to gambling. The people, and especially those who inhabit the War country, are fond of litigation. Col. Rivar remarks, "As regards truthfulness the people do not excel, for they rarely speak the truth unless to suit their own interests." Col. Rivar might have confined this observation to the people who live in the larger centres of population, or who have been much in contact with the denizens of the plains. The inhabitants of the far interior are, as a rule, simple and straightforward people, and are quite as truthful and honest as peasants one meets in other countries. My impression is that the Khasis are not less truthful certainly than other Indian communities. McCosh, writing in 1837, speaks well of the Khasis. The following is his opinion of them:—"They are a powerful, athletic race of men, rather below the middle size, with a manliness of gait and demeanour. They are fond of their mountains, and look down with contempt upon the degenerate race of the

[the Khasi --- Angl/1]

SECTION IV.

RELIGION.

GENERAL CHARACTER OF POPULAR BELIEFS.

THE Khasis have a vague belief in a God the Creator, U *Blei Kingthaw*, although this deity, owing, no doubt, to the influence of the metriarchate, is frequently given the attribute of the feminine gender, *ei*, *Ka lei Syngkar*. The Khasis cannot, however, be said to worship the Supreme God, although it is true that they sometimes invoke him when suffering and in times of trouble. The religion of the Khasis may be described as animism or spirit-worship, or rather, the propitiation of spirits both good and evil on certain occasions, principally in times of trouble. The propitiation of these spirits is carried out either by priests (*lyngdoh*), or by old men well versed in the arts of necromancy, and as the *lyngdoh* or wise man deals with good as well as evil spirits, and, as often as not, with the good spirits of ancestors, the propitiation of these spirits may be said to partake of the nature of Shamanism. A very prominent feature of the Khasi beliefs is the propitiation of ancestors; but this will be described separately. There is a vague belief amongst the Khasi of a future state. It is believed that the spirits of the dead, whose funeral ceremonies have been duly performed, go to the heaven or garden of God, where there are groves of betel-nut trees; hence the expression for the departed, *uba ban kwai ha iing u blei* (he who is eating betel-nut in God's house), the idea of supreme happiness to the Khasi being to eat betel-nut uninterruptedly. The spirits of those whose funeral ceremonies have not been duly performed are believed to take the forms of animals, birds, or

P. 105

of the Khasi.

Just as the Khasi are unable to explain how man fell into sin, so they also cannot explain why the rooster appears as mediator between god and man. The Khasi tradition relates of the rooster: u khun ka blei uba kit ryndang ba shah ryndang na ka bynta jong ngs u briu, i.e. he who, as son of the goddess, gives his life for man, thus expiating sin through sacrifice and reconciling god.

The Khasi believe in another world and their attention is directed towards the comfort of the spirits of the dead. One of the main tasks is to give them nourishment (ai ban), which must be done, since the welfare of the living depends on the welfare of the dead. For example, if one can no longer get the corpse of the deceased because it is in a foreign country or has been consumed by wild animals, one takes his clothes at the very least and carries out the burial ceremonies with these. For only such spirits, whose burial ceremonies were performed according to usage and custom, can participate in chewing betel nuts in the garden (in the house) of god, whereas the others must wander around on earth [209] or must continue living in insects, birds, and other animals. They do not believe in hell (in the Christian sense). The greatest felicity [27K] for a Khasi is "to chew betel nuts perpetually." Therefore they conceive of heaven as the dwelling (garden or house) of god, in which only betel nuts are chewed: uba bam kwai ha iing u blei (he who chews betel nuts in the house of god).

[716] This cult of spirits, which relates to deceased relatives, is mixed with the ancestor cult. Thus the first great-grandmother of each sib (jaid) becomes a goddess (ka jaubei) and the first great-grandfather of the sib a god (u thaulang).

773 gold and silver, of gilded beads alternating
772 with real beads of coral. The women and girls also take some light refreshments along. They take care of the necessary pauses for quais (betel nuts) and smoking, for the Khasi are never in a hurry. Several coolies, who accompany the procession, carry the necessary utensils for the sacrifices on their backs in waterproof woven baskets (ka shang) with forehead straps (u star) woven of bamboo, while other coolies lead the living animals to be sacrificed: a goat and a rooster.

When everything is ready, a little band, consisting usually of only a flute player (ka 'tangmuri) and one or two drummers (ksing), begins to play and the procession moves up the mountain dancing. It proceeds slowly. From time
774] to time everybody rests and the coconut pipe (ka jingdih duma) is passed from mouth to mouth. After a bite of betel nut (quai) has been taken, the procession moves on again dancing until the top of the mountain is reached. The Khasi must be known and admired because of the quietness and cheerfulness with which they do everything. There is no hurrying and haste, no rushing back and forth and no forgetting of anything. They give themselves time for everything and therefore succeed in what they attempt.

Hopping, mincing, and skipping they reach the top. If there are Khasi oaks there, the ones who have arrived break off leaves from them and strew them on the ground. Otherwise the Khasi oak leaves are brought along from home so that they can be strewn on the ground on the top of the mountain. This makes the ground holy and consecrated to the spirits. The men now put aside the swords and the dancing brush. They begin to prepare the first ceremonial sacrifice

942 laden themselves with more than 60 to 65 pounds.

944 Many Khasi have to start during the afternoon because of the great distance to the market. They spend the night with acquaintances. In the dark [?] they march by torch light. The torches consist of several igre, i.e., very thin bamboo tube, saturated with petroleum and lighted. Or a large bamboo tube is filled with cloth that has been saturated in petroleum. The burning torches are swung in circles while the Khasi march so that only a glow is provided, but this prevents the torches from going out. The glow is quite sufficient for giving enough light for the road (foot path).

•[296] Betel nuts are chewed (4) all the way and

4. The length of the road is also measured in "betel nuts."

water pipes are smoked during the rests.

943 b) The Market Place. It is not possible
361 to talk about a definite place where the Khasi usually hold the market. This varies considerably according to the region. First of all the place chosen for the market lies outside the village. By preference they hold their markets on high ground or some such safe place. A place that has once been chosen remains the
[718] market place for that particular village. The market place is often found very close to the memorial stones, just as if the spirits of the ancestors honored there should offer aid and protection to the visitors to the market. On the southern slopes of the Khasi Mountains the market is often held on the bank of a river, for the reason that the Khasi come to these markets in boats. The market place in Mawkhlein is quite isolated. Also the one in

9: Gurdon G-3 (no date) 1904 AB? Khasi AB?

[p. 87]

JOURNAL

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101 *Note on the Khasis, Syntengs, and allied Tribes, inhabiting the Khasi and Jaintia Hills District in Assam.*—By MAJOR P. R. T. GURDON, *Superintendent of Ethnography in Assam.* (With plates III—IV).

[Read 3rd August, 1904.]

142 1. *Physical characteristics.*—The men are seldom tall; they are generally well made, and possess great strength of limb,—of leg in particular. Their features show a resemblance to those of the Japanese; their complexions are fair, noses flat, lips thick, and eyes very frequently obliquely set. The women are good-looking, of a Burman type, and are cheerful and pleasant-mannered. Children are sometimes exceedingly pretty. Khasis are inveterate chewers of *pân*,—both men, women, and children; the distances from place to place being measured by the number of betel-nuts that can be chewed on the journey. The hair of the males is shaved above the forehead pretty high up, and the remainder is gathered into a knot at the back of the head. Very few Khasis have much hair about the face. Both Khasis and Syntengs wear the sleeveless coat (*jymphong*) loin-cloth, *jain sieng* (a kind of

[276] [405] [302]

291

[illegible] and chemical fertilizers. Both local land and 241
[illegible] are cultivated by the same hand techniques.
[illegible] Khasi patches are fashioned with walkways between, [illegible] are overlayered within the patches and allowed to dry. The [illegible] are burned slowly and the ashes spread over the soil, and finally the seed is sown, either broadcast or [illegible] with the soil of the typical Khasi hoe. The outlying part of the upland [illegible] a swinging [illegible] and Khasis often [illegible] 243
[illegible] as well. Paddy has long been found in the 180
lowlands, in parts of Jaintia and Khasi, the only 178
places where the plow is found. Nowadays paddy is more and more seen in the uplands, together with a simple terracing and irrigation technology. Upland Khasis have home gardens in which they 244
raise a wide variety of vegetables, including pumpkins, cabbage, radishes, sweet potatoes, eggplants, and many others. Important crops in Khasi commons are paddy rice, tea, sugarcane, cotton, bananas and 181
pineapples, in Nor. they are betel nut, pan leaf, oranges, and sugar cane. **Fishing and hunting.** Fishing is done by processing streams, but this is a subsistence activity only in the southern lowlands. Shooting was formerly by bow and arrow or by traps, including spring guns and pitfalls, but was always primarily a sport. [illegible] **Gathering.** Khasis once gathered about 100 species of wild plants, most of them for food, but some for medicine. Twelve villagers still gather food plants, but there is no real dependence on gathering. Medicinal plants [278]
continue to be very important. **Domestic animals.** Fowl, goats, pigs, and cattle are bred both for meat and sacrifice. Milk was formerly not utilized, but is 231
now so popular that specialists keep herds of milch cows. Pigs are used as village scavengers, but some also receive prepared food. Cattle and goats range [2.34]
freely in the hills during the winter, but are herded [2.35]
by a communally hired herdsman during the agricultural season. Most households keep chickens, primarily for their eggs, and a few keep ducks. A few [2.36]
horses are also seen. Dogs are partials, except for hunting dogs. Cats are popular. **Food and stimulants.** 262
The staple food of Khasis is boiled rice, together with the dried fish which is imported from Sylhet. Boiled beef, pork, and chicken are relished, but beyond the
means of most. Meals are taken twice a day, in the 264
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smoked as cigarettes and in hookah and other pipes. Every village has one or more household taverns, 275
where distilled rice whisky is cooked and sold by the 275
glass and by the bottle. Imported opium had spread widely in the midcentury Khasi country, but controls 276
instituted in the 1940s have been fairly successful. All stimulants were once taken by men, women, and 177

children, but Christian influence has modified or drove underground the consumption by women and children. Industrial arts. The only industrial arts traditionally practiced in all households were a rude weaver; carpentry and a simple utilitarian basketry. Other arts were few, and were practiced in village specialties: the washing and smelting of iron ore and the forging of bows, darts, knives, swords, and cooking pots (upland Khasi); the spinning of cotton thread (Nongpoh village, Jaintia); the dyeing of cotton thread and the weaving of cloth (Jaintia, Khasi, Lyngngam, War); the spinning and weaving of Eri silk (Khyrwang and Sohpetang villages, Khasi and Jaintia); and the hand manufacture, without wheel, of painted earthenware pots (Lawai village, Jaintia). Handweaving and the production of cotton goods have nearly died out through the competition of machine-made goods. Carpentry has greatly improved, by innovation of major importance in the sawing and tailoring, on sewing machines, of ready-made garments for both sexes. [J.F. Dunrah 1968; C. W. 1932.] Trade. Khasi villages normally contain a number of household shops operated by women. Every Khasi also lives within walking distance of several village markets that are held on successive days of the eight-day week. The limits of market attendance for the members of any particular village can be roughly distinguished by their naming the days of their week, which are called after the active markets. The exception is the huge market at Shillong, much of which is active daily, and which serves as a magnet for Khasis from all over the hills. The traditional barter has given way to currency in all markets. The small rural markets of least some local farm produce, plus other essentials like betel nut, and the betel and tea stalls, which serve as centers of social intercourse. The big markets contain not only regional produce and manufactures but also products from distant parts of the hills, brought for sale by traveling middlemen. There is also substantial trade, from the hills to the valleys, in potatoes, pears, hides, lac, cotton, constabar, the wood of the sal tree, Eri silk thread, limestone, coal, iron, bay leaf, betel nut, pan leaves, bananas, sugar cane, oranges, oil, turmeric, and chillies. From the plains to the hills, there is trade in dried fish, paddy rice, salt, cooking oil, kerosene, matches, tea, sugar, wheat flour, machine-made cloth, shoes, metal pots, crockery, porcelain objects, coral beads, silver, and gold. Markets are important not only as economic institutions but also as centers for recreation (including archery competitions), courtship, reaffirmation of kinship ties with distant relatives, and the dissemination of information of all kinds. [Cf. Stoppelaar 1924a.] Division of labor. Men do the heavy work, such as clearing and burning the swidden fields, caring for cattle and goats and driving them to market, butchering and selling large cuts of beef and pork, carpentry and mining, and driving and laboring on motor vehicles. They also tailor men's

17: Banerjee E-5 (1955) 1962 AR7 Khasi AR7
Smit

796 objects are stored while that of the west (kyncam blang) was meant exclusively
796 for sacrificial goats. There is a very big circular courtyard in front of the building where the members of the royal family as also other boys and spinsters
[793] hold a ritual dance. The function is always held during the moonlit period of
[443] May or June and the actual dates are fixed in consultation with the Chief priest (*Sokhlei*) in such a way that the first day—*Pamtiah** always coincides with the
[202] market day of Shillong Chota Bazar. The dates of the festival is then communicated to the in-charge of different units of his territory, through a wooden stick '*Kyrwah*' having a few knots of cane-strips, as a form of summons for attending the festival for five days at Smit along with subjects under their jurisdiction.

IMPORTANT PARTICIPANT

796 The responsibility of performing this ritual rests on the High-priestess
795 (*Ka Siem Sad*) who is succeeded by her eldest daughter. Different ritual objects are procured by her, well in advance and it is obligatory on her part to
562 join the ceremonial dancing, in which her daughter may also officiate on her
[764] behalf. U Shillong is worshipped by the chief priest while the other ancestors
[533] are invoked by lesser priests. The musicians (*Dhalia*) besides their normal duties, take part in the worship of the ancestors and they are presented with silk turban, jacket, cloth, by the ruling family for the services rendered during the festival. The *Siem* has no especial role except to supervise and evoke U Shillong for the welfare of the community. He is required to perform certain sacrifices, failing which his heir-apparent (*Siem kynnah*) does the same. He along with his sister (High priestess) abstain from taking rice during the period of celebration presumably to observe the sanctity of this festival as also to ensure the successful conclusion of the function.

RITUAL MATERIALS

796 The festival derives its name from the sacrifice of a large number of goats
782 some of which were supplied from the State fund and from different units of the territory. Formerly at least fifty goats were required and each unit had
831 a specific allotment but owing to the economic difficulty that the Khasi are experiencing, the number of goats sacrificed hardly exceeds twenty-five. The goats collected from the different units, are presented to the Chief at the midnight
[273] of the third day. Rice-beer, dried fish, fermented-rice, betel leaves together
[276] with nuts are also important ritual objects in this celebration.

DESCRIPTION OF THE FESTIVAL

796 The commencement of the festival was marked by the distribution of dried
782 fish (*tuit dokha*) to the persons assembled on the occasion, in the evening of *Pamtiah* (*i.e.* 21st June, 1957). This was followed by the dropping of rice-beer by the Chief priest over the few pieces of central hall known as *Ka mih-ka shor*

[905] *A week consists of eight days in Khasi. Calendar the names are according to the places where markets are held in Khasi Hills.

	Name	Market
1.	Pamtiah	Shillong Chota Bazar.
2.	Umiar	Cherrapunji.
3.	Tim-dab	Shillong Bara Bazar.
4.	Lynglu	Sumpnut.
5.	Tongkrem	Songhrem.
6.	Mawlong	Laban (Shillong).
7.	Synghar	Cherrapunji Chota Bazar.
8.	Shillong	Laitkyrh Sub.

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

428 to the sisters of his wife, or to her nearest relatives if there are no sisters. The rank and titles of a deceased male descend to his brother; when no brother exists, then to the male children of his mother's sisters (maternal aunts); should the maternal aunts have no male children living at the time, then to the eldest male child of his sisters. When no relatives are to be found, the property of the deceased goes to the ruler of the country; or if a man dies leaving no relative other than wife and children, *i.e.* no relatives on the mother's side, the property in this case also goes to the ruler, who, as the wife and children cannot preserve the ashes of the deceased, takes charge of them, and for so doing takes all the property also. With regard to the inhabitants of the Lower Hills at Shellá, the custom as to succession is as follows:—Property belonging to a subject of Shellá is divided into two classes—(1) Property inherited from ancestors, which descends to the nearest of kin or to the relative of a deceased person who can perform his obsequies. (2) Property acquired during the lifetime of the holder, which is inherited by the children, whose duty it is to provide for the maintenance of their mother until she re-marries or dies.'

434 465 MATERIAL CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE.—The Khásás and the Syntengs are as a people prosperous. Common labourers, if adult males, can earn wages as high as one shilling per diem, and adult females as high as eighteenpence. The dwellings of the well-to-do 342 classes are generally constructed of masonry, with thatched roof and plank floor, and divided into two or three rooms. The furniture 352 consists of a bedstead (*charpái*), a mat or two (*mawf*), some cooking utensils, and a few boxes. The ordinary peasants and poorer 342 classes construct their huts of stone, mud, or plank walls, with a 184 thatch or cane roof. These are fitted with wooden platforms or loose planks placed on the ground to serve as beds. The food 262 of the well-to-do classes consists of rice, fish when obtainable, fowl 434 or meat, curry, vegetables, oil, hog's lard, fermented and spirituous liquor. It may be estimated that the living expenses of an average-sized household of this class would be about Rs. 25 or £2, 10s. a month, valuing the articles of consumption at *bázár* prices. An ordinary husbandman or labourer lives on rice, dry fish, occasionally a 276 little meat, oil, or hog's lard. *Pán* leaf, betel-nut, and lime are essential to the comfort of all the hill people, who are inveterate chewers of *pán*. They commence at an early age, and are rarely seen without a *pán* leaf in their mouths; the females are quite

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

disfigured from the practice. Adults will chew as many as four or five betel-nuts a day, with the usual accompaniment of *pân* leaves. The estimated cost of maintaining an average family of the labouring class is about Rs. 8 or 16s. a month. 276 [434]

TOWNS: SHILLONG.—There are no towns in the usual acceptance of the word; but the chief places in the Hills, looked upon by the inhabitants as cities, are Shillong, Jowâi, Cherrâ Pûnji, and Shellâ. According to the Census of 1872, Shillong had only 1363 inhabitants, Cherrâ Pûnji 443, and Jowâi 4502. Jowâi, however, is a collection of rural hamlets, and the population of Shillong has entirely altered since the date of the Census. The latter place first became the Civil Station in 1864, in substitution for Cherrâ Pûnji; and when Assam was erected into an independent Province in 1874, it was selected as the permanent seat of the Local Government. The Chief-Commissioner resides there, and also the heads of all departments in the Administration. The area of the Station is 7 miles in length by 1½ to 1¾ miles in breadth. A considerable native population is already settled, and is increasing from day to day. One of the largest weekly markets is held in the *bâzâr*; and with a view to facilitate access to the Station, which is the sanitarium for the Province of Assam, a cart road has recently been completed to Gauhâti on the Brahmaputra, which will tend to make the place more and more important. An excellent water supply is introduced into Shillong through an aqueduct which has its source in the neighbouring hill streams, and sanitary measures are carefully enforced. Large sums of money have annually been expended on the erection of the public buildings necessary for the offices of the administration. A printing-press has been established, from which issue all the official documents and reports of the Province. The climate is excellent, the temperature being more equable than that of any other hill station in India, and therefore admirably suited to the constitution of Europeans. There is a church at Shillong, and a chaplain on the Bengal establishment officiates both there and at Gauhâti. The cantonments were occupied in 1875 by the 43d Regiment of Assam Light Infantry, with three outposts. The strength was 9 European officers, 16 native commissioned officers, 80 non-commissioned officers, 772 fighting men, and 58 paid camp followers and non-combatants; grand total, 935. The total cost, including contingencies, was Rs. 189,190, or £18,919.

632 632 648 [443] [743] [491] [365] [364] [344] [213] [132] [346] [712]

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

estates. In addition, there are a few small holdings at Jowái, in the Jáintia Hills, which have been settled, after measurement, under the Assam Settlement Rules for a term of ten years. In 1876-77 the total land revenue amounted to Rs. 223, or £22, 6s., derived from 24 estates. Other small items of revenue are derived from fisheries, forests, stamps, and excise. In 1876-77 the rent of the fishery *mahál* was Rs. 3321, or £332, 2s.; forests produced Rs. 773, or £77, 6s., of which Rs. 652 represents fees on the exportation of timber from the Khási States to the District of Kámrúp. In the same year stamps yielded Rs. 16,121, or £1612, 2s.; but this total includes the sale of postage and telegraph stamps, as well as the sum credited for service stamps. Excise produced Rs. 1216, or £121, 12s. The stamps are sold at the Treasury; there are no licensed vendors. The excise laws are applied only within the limits of the Stations of Shillong and Cherrá Púnjí, and throughout the Jáintiá Hills. There are no licensed distilleries in the District, and the free manufacture of country spirit is permitted both in the dependent States and in British territory; what is manufactured is mainly for home consumption. In 1876-77 there were in all 18 licenses in force—4 for imported spirituous and fermented liquors, 1 each for *mahút* and *chandu*, 2 for *gánjá*, and 10 for opium. The Khásiás and Syntengs are not addicted to the use of intoxicating drugs, which is confined to the people from the plains residing on British territory.

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Courts, etc.—In the year 1835 there were two Magisterial and Civil Courts in the District. By 1850 the number had risen to four, which continues to the present time. The maximum distance of any village from the nearest court is 65 miles, the average distance is 25 miles. In 1835 one European official was permanently stationed in the District; in 1850, two; in 1862 and 1869, again one. In the last-mentioned year the subdivision of Jowái was opened in the Jáintiá Hills; and there have since been two officers in the District, a Deputy-Commissioner at Shillong, and an Assistant at Jowái. The total number of magistrates is three. These figures, of course, are exclusive of the staff of the Local Government, which has been established at Shillong since 1874.

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Police Statistics.—For police purposes, the Khási and Jáintiá Hills are divided into the three following *thánás* or police circles, with two outposts:—(1) Shillong, with an outpost at Nongpoh; (2) Jowái; (3) Cherrá Púnjí, with an outpost at Thária-ghát, at the foot of the southern hills.

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21: Ehrenfels E-4,5 (1950) 1953 AR7 Khasi AR7

on a historical past, different from that of the Khasi proper, the former having been ruled by the powerful, but somewhat Hinduised dynasty of the Jaintia Rajas until the Jaintia Wars of the British; the latter by small independent chiefs. Yet Jaintia social organization appears on the whole to preserve the matrilineal social structure clearer and to be less influenced by plains-acculturation, than that of the Khasi, though a few features of Brahmanical religious observances and also some traces of racial admixture are found in the immediate vicinity of Jowei, the former summer residence of the Jaintia Rajas. Stronger no doubt, than this influence, was that exercised by the British and non-Assamese Indians in the provincial capital Shillong since 1866. Methods of agriculture and other aspects of material civilization differ but little in the Jaintia- and Khasi plateau-areas. 101 175 611 184 177 144 177 241 184

The same cannot be said of both: the Wár-Khasi and Wár-Jaintias. Linguistically their affiliations are with the Khasi or Jaintias respectively, in the plateau-areas. Economically, however, both Wár-groups form a separate pan-leaf cultivating unit in the little accessible steep southern slopes of the Khasi- and Jaintia Hill massif. Both Wár-groups live in the environment of luscious tropical flora and fauna, sharply differentiated from the cool, barren plateau with its perennial winds and the heroic, if solitary beauty of its highland heaths, which forms the background of both the Khasi- and Jaintia plateau-groups. 101 [197] [131] [13]

The age of the Wár-Khasi and -Jaintias, as one independent economic, — and two half-independent dialectical linguistic entities, is an intricate problem. The two Wár-groups subsist on pan-leaf cultivation as a money crop, grown in the thick tree-gardens as creepers; not on food-cultivation, as do the plateau-groups, because there is insufficient space on the steep slopes, for vegetable gardens or -fields. The pan-leaf cultivators therefore depend on food, purchased from outside. The slopes seem to have been uninhabited until not long ago. Yet pan-leaf chewing is such an integral part of Khasi life, that until quite recently, and occasionally even now, a distance between two places is not measured by the number of hours used for walking, but by the number of betelnut- and pan-leaf packages, consumed on the way. Also the common benediction among Khasi expresses the wish that so and so may eat pan in the Garden of God. Yet pan-cultivation and the settlements of the Wár-people as pan-leaf cultivators in the southern slopes seem comparatively young. Pan-cultivation on the plateau is impracticable. It is therefore possible that pan was for a long time only a much valued import article from the plains, bartered against Khasi ore and iron tools, though it is now an export article from the Wár-country, brought to the markets of the plains, by both Wár-Khasi and Wár-Jaintia women and men. 174 249 433 184 [438] [484] [276] [576]

According to a tradition, across which I came among the Nonglamin clan of the Nongmuker village, the ancestors of the present Wár people were on the plateau at a time when no pan-cultivation was going on in the slopes and none of the present big estates of pan-tree gardens was yet held by their present (Wár-) owners. A not distant ancestor of a Nonglamin clan-member who about two or three generations ago told the story to U Siang (one of 249 173 [115]

nure and chemical fertilizers. Both level land and hillsides are cultivated by the same hand techniques: 3 × 6-foot patches are fashioned with walkways between, sods are overturned within the patches and allowed to dry, the sods are burned slowly and the ashes spread over the soil, and finally the seed is sown, either broadcast or sunk with the aid of the typical Khasi hoe. The coldest part of the upland enjoys a two-crop year, and Khasis often double crop as well. Paddy has long been found in the lowlands, in parts of Jaintia and Bhoi, the only places where the plow is found. Nowadays paddy is more and more seen in the uplands, together with a simple terracing and irrigation technology. Many upland Khasis have house gardens in which they raise a wide variety of vegetables, including pumpkins, cabbage, radishes, sweet potatoes, eggplant, and many others. Important crops in Bhoi country are paddy rice, lac, caoutchouc, cotton, bananas, and pineapples; in War, they are betel nut, pan leaf, oranges, and sugar cane. **Fishing and hunting.** Fishing is done by poisoning streams, but this is a subsistence activity only in the southern foothills. Hunting was formerly by bow and arrow or by traps, including spring guns and pitfalls, but was always primarily a sport. [Cf. Stegmiller 1925.] **Gathering.** Khasis once gathered about 150 species of wild plants, most of them for food, but some for medicine. Thrifty villagers still gather food plants, but there is no real dependence on gathering. Medicinal plants continue to be very important. **Domestic animals.** Fowl, goats, pigs, and cattle are bred both for meat and sacrifice. Milk was formerly not utilized, but is now so popular that specialists keep herds of milch cows. Pigs are used as village scavengers, but some also receive prepared food. Cattle and goats forage freely in the fields during the winter, but are herded by a communally hired herdsboy during the agricultural season. Most households keep chickens, primarily for their eggs, and a few keep ducks. A few horses are also seen. Dogs are pariahs, except for hunting dogs. Cats are popular. **Food and stimulants.** The staple food of Khasis is boiled rice, together with the dried fish which is imported from Sylhet. Boiled beef, pork, and chicken are relished, but beyond the means of most. Meals are taken twice a day, in the morning and evening, although farmers also take a midday meal in the field, and others may take tea and cold sweet potatoes or rice bread. Certain foods are taboo to certain sibs. Stimulants are extremely common, especially betel nut, which is often accompanied by a bit of tobacco. Tobacco is also smoked as cigarettes and in hookah and other pipes. Every village has one or more household taverns, where distilled rice whisky is cooked and sold by the glass and by the bottle. Imported opium had spread widely in the malarious Bhoi country, but controls instituted in the 1940s have been fairly successful. All stimulants were once taken by men, women, and

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surface soil of the hills upon which the houses are built.' Cholera is attributed to importation from the plains. 364

SANITATION.—It has already been stated that the ordinary Khási villages are absolutely destitute of any conservancy arrangements. The sanitary condition, however, of the Station of Shillong is described as 'good.' The natural drainage is excellent. Drinking water is obtained chiefly from hill streams, and on the banks of these streams conservancy regulations are enforced. The water is conducted into the town by means of an artificial water-course. Public latrines have been erected at suitable places inside the town. The staff of sweepers and *beldárs* keeps the roads and drains clean, and the surface generally free from pollution. The sanitary condition of the cantonment is reported to be very good. [164]

CHARITABLE DISPENSARY.—There is one dispensary in the Khási and Jáintiá Hills—at the Station of Shillong. It was first opened in 1872, and considerable additions have since been made to the building. During 1874 a total sum of Rs. 775. 8, or £77, 11s., was expended on new constructions and repairs, towards which the European residents subscribed Rs. 329. There is now accommodation for 10 male and 3 female patients. In that year the total number of in-door patients treated was 44, of whom 9 died, giving a death-rate of 20·45 per cent. The number of out-door patients was 529, or an average daily attendance of 7·8. Of the grand total of patients of both classes, only 31 were females. The largest number of cases are classified under the headings of fevers and constipation and colic. The total income during the year was Rs. 1598. 13. 9, or £159, 17s. 8d., of which Government contributed Rs. 300 for salaries, and an additional Rs. 300 as a special allowance. The European subscriptions amounted to Rs. 869, as compared with Rs. 33 subscribed by natives. The total expenditure was Rs. 1187. 15. 6, or £118, 16s., leaving a balance in hand of Rs. 410. 14. 3. The chief items were Rs. 480 for salaries of medical subordinates, Rs. 160 for servants' wages, and Rs. 222 for dieting of sick. There were 53 minor operations performed during the year. 743 [164]

The people of the District have no system of medicine of their own, and no native practitioners. Their sole remedies consist in divination and incantation. The only indigenous native drugs are chireta and wormwood. As stated in a previous paragraph, a small cinchona plantation was established by Government at Nongklao in 1867. 755 278 648 654

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

at Rs. 480,000, or £48,000, and the revenue derived by Government from the quarries was Rs. 67,266, or £6726. In addition, the Khási Chiefs receive a revenue from this source of more than £2000. 648 651 317

IRON.—The smelting of iron was once the chief industry in the Khási Hills, and a considerable quantity of the metal used to be exported into Sylhet, both in the crude and the manufactured state. Recently, however, this industry has almost died out, in the face of the competition of the superior article imported from England and sold in the plains at a cheaper rate. The indigenous methods of extracting, washing, and smelting the ore have been minutely described by Professor Oldham. The following description is taken from Mr. Allen's Report, dated 1858, at which date the annual export of smelted iron was estimated at 45,000 *maunds*, valued at Rs. 67,500, or £6750, at the rate of Rs. 1. 8 per *maund*: —'The ore is said to be most abundant and of the best quality in the State of Khrim, especially at the villages of Nongkrím and Noyandri. A few iron articles, such as *dáos* or hill knives, *koddlis* or mattocks, spear and arrow-heads, are manufactured by the Khási smiths in the Hills; but the greater bulk of the smelted iron is sent to the plains for sale in circular lumps weighing about 4 or 5 *sers*. These lumps, called *birá*, sell at Chhaták for from Rs. 1. 4 to Rs. 1. 6 per *maund*. The best iron, however, which is beaten into bars called *peti*, sells for from Rs. 1. 10 to Rs. 1. 12 per *maund*. Khási iron is preferred to English, in consequence of its greater malleability. It is much used by the native boat-builders of Sylhet and the neighbouring Districts to make fastenings for the timbers of their boats. When brought into the market, it is more than half dross, and it is this circumstance which renders the iron trade unprofitable. The cost of carriage from the Hills to the plains is about 6 *dannás* per *maund*; and the traders, who are all Khásiás themselves, affirm that they get an average profit of only 2 *dannás* per *maund*.' The tables of trade for 1876-77 return no smelted iron as exported from the Hills, but Rs. 7000 of iron implements exported, against nails and ironmongery imported to the value of Rs. 18,000. 178 325 439 [326] [435] [501]

THE MANUFACTURES of the District, besides iron, consist of coarse cotton and *randia* cloth, plain silver work, rude implements of husbandry, netted bags made of the fibre of the pine-apple, common pottery, and mats and baskets. With the exception of the 28 433

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

COTTON CLOTHS.

283 In the Jaintia Hills at Mynso cotton is spun into thread, and
288 weaving is carried on there, but on a limited scale. The Mynso people weave the small strips of cloth worn by the men to serve the purpose of the Assamese *lengti* or Hindi *languti*. In Suhtnga the people import cotton thread from Mynso and weave the (*ingki*) or sleeveless coat, peculiar to the district; these coats are dyed red and blue. The dark blue or black dye
824 is obtained from the leaf of a plant called *u sybu*, which
386 Mr. Rita has classified as *strobilanthus hoeditolius*, which
288 grows in the gardens round the homesteads. The leaves are dried, then reduced to powder, mixed with hot water, and the skeins of thread are steeped in the liquid. The colour is permanent. The red dye is obtained from the mixture of the dry bark of two shrubs, *ka lapyndong* (*symplocos racemosa*, Roxb.), and *ka 'larnong* (*morinda-tinctoria*, Roxb.), the latter being the same as the Assamese (আচুকাঠ) *áchukáth*. The bark is dried, then pounded, and the two sorts are mixed together and made into a paste with hot water. The skeins are steeped in this mixture for twenty-four hours, then taken out and divided, and again steeped for another twenty-four hours. The Lalungs and Bhois and Lynngams all weave cotton cloths, which are generally dyed blue, sometimes striped blue and red. The Wárs weave cotton cloths which are dyed red and yellow, the cloths being woven in checks. Mr. Darrah remarks that the cotton grown in the Jaintia Hills is said to be the best cotton produced in the province. Its thread can be more closely woven than that of other kinds. This statement, however, is not borne out by Mr. Allen writing in 1858, who says that the cotton is of inferior quality, the staple being short and woolly. The cotton cloths woven by the Bhois are called *spua*.

POTTERY.

[162] The Census Report of 1901 gave the number of persons who
323 are supported by the manufacture of pottery at 54 only. Pottery is manufactured at one place only in the Jaintia Hills,

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

211 which a figure, evidently of a Hindu god, has been carved, without
171 doubt after the erection of the stone. Here we have a striking parallel case to the painted and carved menhir near Tregastel in Brittany, upon which has been carved the representation of a crucifix. There are also some carved stones near Nartiang (said to represent two women) called *mawthawdur briew*.

211 The Khasis say that these great stones were brought sometimes from considerable distances. After being hewn,
483 the stones were laid on a large, wooden trolley and dragged
283 across country by means of ropes of cane, of which plenty can be had from the War country on the southern side of the district, and then placed in position by means of ropes and levers. It seems little short of marvellous that these stones, which sometimes weighed many tons, were placed in position by such primitive means, especially when we consider the great trouble there was to re-erect one of the fallen stones at Stonehenge lately. Nowadays only comparatively small stones are erected, which are generally hewn and erected on the spot, so that there is no necessity for any conveyance.

000 In conclusion, it may be remarked that the subject of the Khasi monoliths is in reality a large one, on which a great deal could be written, but owing to considerations of space it has been found necessary to compress the account within its present limits.

FESTIVITIES, DOMESTIC AND TRIBAL.

535 Dancing forms the principal part of all the Khasi festivities,
776 and is an important adjunct of some of their religious
796 ceremonies. One of the greatest festivals in the Khasi Hills is
789 the Nongkrem dance; it may be said to be as important an event to the Khasis as the *Beh dieng-khlam* festivities are to
782 the Syntengs.

The Nongkrem dance is really part of what is known as the *pom-blang*, or goat-killing ceremony, performed by the Siem of Khyrim (or Nongkrem) with the aid of his *soh-blei* (high priest) and the various *lyngdohs* (or priests) to Ka Blei Synshar (the ruling goddess), that the crops may prosper and that there may

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For making the string (u ksai) the Khasi split a bamboo and split a strip of it off which they smoke thoroughly. The string is uniform for bows with a circular notch; for bows with tapered points, it becomes thicker towards the ends, on which braces are cut from the bamboo knots made from one piece with the string. The kinds of bamboo used for the strings are called u spit, u skhen and u siej-lieh by the Khasi. Bast string, twisted many times, is also used for the string. The bamboo strings are smoked (see above).[1] The strings obtained thus are extremely strong and can stand great tension. With a bow of 150 centimeters the height of the arc, i.e., the span of a strung bow amounts to 10 to 12 centimeters. Often, however, the string is almost the length of the bow and no arc results. When shooting the arc is increased by tightening the string to 60 centimeters. Thus the bow is a powerful, mighty [60] sling, which sends off the arrow without any mechanism other than pulling back the string and moving back the bent bamboo. (7)

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7. Bow As, 108, b, has a bamboo string with 5 knots, the shiny side facing inward. The string is 4 millimeters wide in the middle and 7 millimeters wide at the ends. At each end there is a brace cut out of a piece with the string. The string is fastened to the indented tips by means of a threefold bamboo lace (u thri). The string and the bamboo lace are fastened by a strip of bamboo 3 millimeters wide. Illustration I, fig. 1a, height of the arc 9 centimeters,

1 [See category 116, p. 4--Analyst]

children, but Christian influence has eradicated or driven underground the consumption by women and children. **Industrial arts.** The only industrial arts traditionally practiced in all households were a rudimentary carpentry and a simple utilitarian basketry. Other arts were few, and were practiced as village specialties: the washing and smelting of iron ore and the forging of hoes, daos, knives, swords, and cooking pots (upland Khasis); the spinning of cotton thread (Mynso village, Jaintia); the dyeing of cotton thread and the weaving of cloth (Jaintias, Bhois, Lyngngams, Wars); the spinning and weaving of Eri silk (Khyrwang and Norgtung villages, Bhoi and Jaintia); and the hand manufacture, without wheel, of painted earthenware pots (Lamai village, Jaintia). Ironworking and the production of cotton goods have nearly died out through the competition of machine-made goods. Carpentry has greatly improved. An innovation of major importance is the sewing and tailoring, on sewing machines, of ready-made garments for both sexes. [Cf. Darrah 1896; C., W. 1832.] **Trade.** Khasi villages normally contain a number of household shops operated by women. Every Khasi also lives within walking distance of several village markets that are held on successive days of the eight-day week. The limits of market intercourse for the members of any particular village can be roughly distinguished by their naming the days of their week, which are called after the active markets. The exception is the huge market at Shillong, much of which is active daily, and which serves as a magnet for Khasis from all over the hills. The traditional barter has given way to currency in all markets. The small ones contain at least some local farm produce, plus other essentials like betel nut, and the food and tea stalls which serve as centers of social intercourse. The big markets contain not only regional produce and manufactures but also products from distant parts of the hills, brought for sale by traveling middlemen. There is also substantial trade, from the hills to the valleys, in potatoes, pears, hides, lac, cotton, caoutchouc, the wood of the sal tree, Eri silk thread, limestone, coal, ivory, bay leaf, betel nut, pan leaves, bananas, sugar cane, oranges, til, turmeric, and chilies. From the plains to the hills, there is trade in dried fish, paddy rice, salt, cooking oil, kerosene, matches, tea, sugar, wheat flour, machine-made cloth, shoes, metal pots, crockery, porcelain objects, coral beads, silver, and gold. Markets are important not only as economic institutions but also as centers for recreation (including archery competitions), courtship, reaffirmation of kinship ties with distant relatives, and the dissemination of information of all kinds. [Cf. Stegmiller 1924a.] **Division of labor.** Men do the heavy work, such as clearing and burning the swidden fields, caring for cattle and goats and driving them to market, butchering and selling large cuts of beef and pork, carpentry and mining, and driving and laboring on motor vehicles. They also tailor men's

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Name of village (1)	Name of society (2)	Sponsored by (3) 474
7. Sutnga ...	(1) Credit Society.	Local people
	(2) Co-operative Trading Society.	
8. Darrang ...	Marketing Society.	Do
9. Shella ..	Trading Co-operative Society.	Do.

4.10 **Cottage Industries.**—It has already been mentioned that Village and Cottage Industries are not very popular in the district. 433

The following table shows the industries reported from the sample villages:—

TABLE B-9

Industry (1)	No. of villages reporting existence of the industries. (2)	No. of villages reporting production for sale. (3)	
Cane and bamboo works ...	9	7	322
Blacksmithy	5	5	326
Tailoring	2	2	294
Handloom	...	...	286
Weaving and Spinning ...	3	1	284
Rearing of cocoons, etc. ...	1	1	283
Rearing of lac	1	1	231
Others	2	1	

Blacksmithy and making of baskets, cane products, etc, out of cane and bamboo, are a traditional occupation Weaving and spinning of cotton, rearing of endi cocoon and weaving of endi, etc., are in vague only in the Bhoi area and the areas adjoining Kamrup and North Cachar and Mikir Hills districts. Lac rearing is found in the northern portion of the district, *i.e.*, Nongpoh area. 184

Except cane and bamboo works and blacksmithy other industries are practised in a very limited scale. There is thus a lot of scope for introducing cottage industries in the district.

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

243 the District, nor do any superior kinds of cereals appear to have been substituted for inferior ones.

THE DIFFERENT STAGES OF RICE CULTIVATION, in English and Khásí, are as follow:—The blade as it first shows, *spch-u-kyba;* the blade when well above the ground, *la-thylleng-u-kyba;* the ears when first formed, *lam-mat;* the ears beginning to ripen, *byr-kem;* the ripe ears, *la-hih;* unhusked rice, *u-kyba;* husked rice, *u-khaw;* cooked rice, *ka-ja.*

262 THE VARIOUS SOLID AND LIQUID PREPARATIONS made from rice
[435] are the following:—(1) *U-kypu*, cakes of different kinds, sold at six
[782] or twelve for a penny, according to size. (2) *U-shirí* or *gáh-kh[illegible]r*, prepared by the hillmen as an offering to their deity at the conclusion
273 of the harvest. (3) *Kadam*, fermented rice water, sold at the rate
435 of from three-farthings to threepence per quart, according to the strength of the liquor. (4) *Ka kiad-phatika* or *ka kiad-hárak*, a kind of spirits distilled from rice, and sold at from threepence to fourpence-halfpenny per quart.

243 OTHER CEREALS.—Indian corn, or *u-riu-ha-dem*, is grown on homestead lands. The ground is first manured, and the seed is sown about the middle of April. The crop is fit for cutting in September and October. A kind of millet seed called *u-krdi* is commonly sown with paddy on high lands. For want of more suitable land, however, this crop is often cultivated by itself on rocky slopes; and when this course is adopted, the jungle is first cut down in February and burnt. The seed is sown in April, and the crop gathered in December.

244 PULSES AND FIBRES.—Only two kinds of pulses are grown in the Hills, *u-rym-bai-ktung* and *u-rym-bai-já*, both of which are varieties
• 283 of beans. They are sown on high lands in March and April, and gathered in December. The only fibre is that made from the pine-apple stalk, which is largely used for making netted bags.

245 MISCELLANEOUS CROPS.—(1) Oranges.—There are numerous
[439] orange plantations in the neighbourhood of Cherrá Púnjí, and the fruit is exported to all parts of Bengal. In the year 1876-77 the estimated exports were 9,400,000 in number, valued at Rs. 37,600, or £3760, at the rate of Rs. 12 or £1, 4s. per three thousand. These figures show a decrease in number as compared with the estimated export twenty years ago. The trees flower in March or April, and the fruit ripens in October and the following months. In some cases the oranges are allowed to remain on the trees till March, but

4: Stegmiller -2- M-4,5, (No date) 1925

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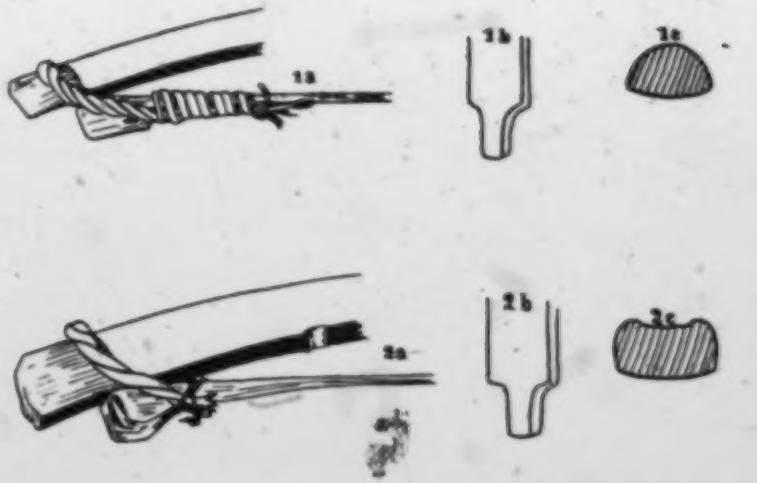

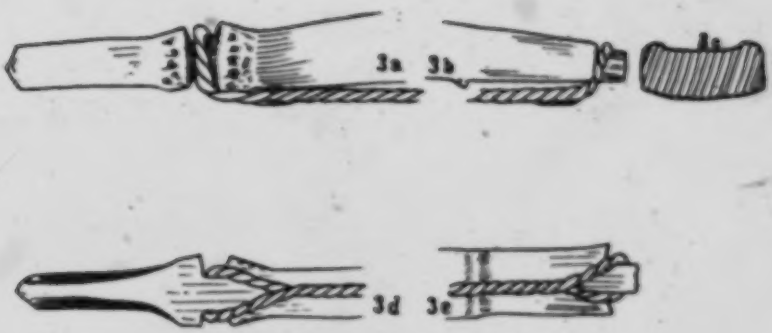

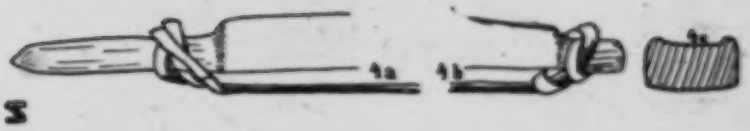

Fig. I

When a strong bamboo with many knots is found, it is cut off and split after the length has been determined. The outside of the bow in smaller bows is rounded off; (3) 411 322

3. Illustration I, fig. 1c.

for the usual bows and the larger ones almost the full half of the bamboo is taken. A little is cut off only on the sides so that the profile of the bow nearly forms a right angle. (4) In each case the shiny

4. Illustration I, figs. 2,3,4c.

outer side of the bamboo becomes the inside of the bow. The bow becomes smaller towards the ends. The ends are rounded off. Underneath one end, about 3 centimeters from the end, a notch is made, into which the string is put directly without any other means of fastening. The string remains fastened by pulling the loop taut. At the other end of the bow a peg is cut, around which the string is hung just before the bow is used. Often both ends of the bow end in a point. (5)

5. Illustration I, fig. 1, 2b.

The bow must not be kept strung but must be unstrung when left unused for a while. Stringing the bow is always done in this way. The archer takes the bow in his left hand while standing, resting on the ground the end to which the string always remains attached, and then pressing down the other end with his right hand as far as is necessary to hang the loop of the string around 411 284.

411 the peg. In many cases with bows with the
•284 points indented the string is attached by
means of a special loop of bast or split
bamboo (u thri), but it is also fastened
directly by hanging around the peg. [608]
[Illustration I. Khasi Bows. 1a, 1b, 1c, 2a,
2b, 2c, 3a, 3b, 3c, 3d, 3e, 4a, 4b, 4c].
[609] The bow is carved flat in the middle
and a strip of reed palm is wound around it so
that there is a band 12 to 15 centimeters wide
around it. The purpose of this is to provide
a surer grip, as the left hand, which carries
the bow when shooting, gets a better grip on
the ribbed foundation. In other places also,
primarily at the ends of the bow, such reed
strips are fastened and merely serve the purpose
of ornamentation.

411 When the bow is completed, it is thorough-
322 ly smoked. The smoking takes place in the hut.
In the center of the hut a fire burns constant-
ly in a hearth of earth or of stone, the smoke
of which, since there is no vent or chimney,
seeks a way out the best it can. Above the
fire a swing is set up from the ceiling on
which the wood lies for drying. The bow and
also the string are left lying on this swing
until the desired result occurs. Smoked bows
are more resistant to dampness, longer last-
ing, and considerably tougher. The smoking
has no effect on the flexibility of the bow. (6)

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6. Ethongraphic Museum Munich:
Bows As, 108, a, b, c, have 3
knots; bow As, 28, has 4 knots;
bow J has 3 knots; bow S has 5
knots; bows As, 108, a, b, c,
have a length of 119.5 centi-
meters; bow As, 28 has a length
of 144 centimeters; bow J has a

4:Stegmiller- 54-4,5(no date)1925 AR7&Hazl A17

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length of 141 centimeters; bow S has a length of 156 centimeters; bows As, a, b, c, have a breadth of 22 millimeters in the middle, and 17 millimeters at the ends; bow As, 28, has a breadth of 27 millimeters in the middle and 18 millimeters at the ends; bow J has a breadth of 25 millimeters in the middle, and 12 to 16 millimeters at the ends; bow S has a breadth of 32 millimeters in the middle, and 12 to 18 millimeters at the ends; bow S gets smaller and smaller at an even rate towards the end to which the string is attached just before the bow is shot, while it gets too high at the other end. Height of the bow in the middle is 15 millimeters, at one end 12 millimeters, at the other 17 millimeters; bow J gets smaller and smaller at an even rate towards the end where the string is attached just before the bow is shot, while at the other end it becomes too round. Height in the middle 15 millimeters, at one end 12 millimeters (in the breadth), at the other end 12 millimeters (about on the average). None of the bows has either a wrapped handgrip nor any other ornamentation.

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For making the string (u ksai) the Khasi split a bamboo and split a strip of it off which they smoke thoroughly. The string is uniform for bows with a circular notch; for bows with tapered points, it becomes thicker towards the ends, on which braces are cut from the bamboo knots made from one piece with the string. The kinds of bamboo used for the strings are called u spit, u skhen and u siej-lieh by the Khasi. Bast string, twisted many times, is also used for the string. The bamboo strings are smoked (see above).[1] The strings obtained thus are extremely strong and can stand great tension. With a bow of 150 centimeters the height of the arc, i.e., the span of a strung bow amounts to 10 to 12 centimeters. Often, however, the string is almost the length of the bow and no arc results. When shooting the arc is increased by tightening the string to 60 centimeters. Thus the bow is a powerful, mighty [610] sling, which sends off the arrow without any mechanism other than pulling back the string and moving back the bent bamboo. (7)

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7. Bow As, 108, b, has a bamboo string with 5 knots, the shiny side facing inward. The string is 4 millimeters wide in the middle and 7 millimeters wide at the ends. At each end there is a brace cut out of a piece with the string. The string is fastened to the indented tips by means of a threefold bamboo lace (u thri). The string and the bamboo lace are fastened by a strip of bamboo 3 millimeters wide. Illustration I, fig. 1a, height of the arc 9 centimeters,

1 [See category 116, p. 4--Analyst]

weight of the bow 190 grams. Bows 108, a, b, c, can scarcely have been used for sport, more probably they are children's bows, unless they were made deliberately for selling to Europeans. Bows As, 28, has a bamboo string with five knots, 3 millimeters wide in the middle and 8 millimeters wide at the ends and at both ends there are braces made out of a piece with the string. The outer shiny side of the bamboo string that is turned inward is scraped off with the exception of the ends of the string. There it is split and bent back as a covering for the brace. The string is fastened on both sides of the indented tips by means of a double bast lace. Both are held together with wire. Illustration I, fig. 2a, height of the arc 8 centimeters, weight of the bow 330 grams. Bow J has a bamboo string with two knots, 3 millimeters wide throughout without a brace. It is fastened at the pegs by hanging directly. Weight of the bow 330 grams. Illustration I, fig. 4a, 4b. Bow S has a threefold string of bast. This bast string is hung around the notch and the peg (indented tip) like a loop. The knots that tie the loop are 30 centimeters and 19 centimeters respectively from the ends. Weight of the bow is 449 grams. Illustration I, figs. 3a, 3b, 3c, 3d. Both of the bows mentioned last have no

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arc height since the strings are as long as the bows.

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The Khasi make the followings kinds of arrows:

1. Feathered arrows ('nam-pur).
2. Unfeathered arrows ('nam).

Feathered or unfeathered ones are: a) hunting arrows, b) arrows for sport. Always feathered are c) children's arrows.

Ad a) Hunting arrows (u 'nam-pliang) are about 70 centimeters long, and have tips like a spear with barbs. (8) The weight of the hunting

8. Illustration II, figs. 2a, 2b.

arrows is about 25 grams. These arrows are still poisoned nowadays.

Ad b) Arrows for sport (u 'nam-sop) are about 60 centimeters long and have round, conical iron tips. (9) Weight of the arrow for

9. Illustration II, fig. 1.

sport is about 8 grams.

Ad c) Children's arrows (u 'nam-phiah) are about 50 centimeters long, and have round points or none at all. The feathering is different from that of the other arrows (cf. the latter).

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Shafts of the Arrows

All the arrows are made of a very thin bamboo (u 'nam-long or igrâ) and smoked. When possible bamboo free of knots is used. The arrow is about 6 to 7 millimeters thick. The length of the arrow varies greatly. For the arrow and the bow must complement each other inwardly just as they belong together externally.

(10)

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Name of village (1)	Name of society (2)	Sponsored by (3)
7. Sutnga ...	(1) Credit Society.	Local people
	(2) Co-operative Trading Society.	
8. Darrang ...	Marketing Society.	Do
9. Shella ..	Trading Co-operative Society.	Do.

4.10 **Cottage Industries.**—It has already been mentioned that Village and Cottage Industries are not very popular in the district. 433

The following table shows the industries reported from the sample villages:—

TABLE B-9

Industry (1)	No. of villages reporting existence of the industries. (2)	No. of villages reporting production for sale. (3)	
Cane and bamboo works ...	9	7	322
Blacksmithy	5	5	326
Tailoring	2	2	294
Handloom	...	...	286
Weaving and Spinning ...	3	1	284
Rearing of cocoons, etc. ...	1	1	283
Rearing of lac	1	1	231
Others	2	1	

Blacksmithy and making of baskets, cane products, etc, out of cane and bamboo, are a traditional occupation Weaving and spinning of cotton, rearing of endi cocoon and weaving of endi, etc., are in vague only in the Bhoi area and the areas adjoining Kamrup and North Cachar and Mikir Hills districts. Lac rearing is found in the northern portion of the district, *i.e.*, Nongpoh area. 184

Except cane and bamboo works and blacksmithy other industries are practised in a very limited scale. There is thus a lot of scope for introducing cottage industries in the district.

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

352 blackened with the smoke of years, upon which are spread the
417 faggots of resinous fir-wood used for kindling the fire. Above this again is a wooden framework fixed on to the beams of the house, upon which all sorts of odds and ends are kept. Around
352 the fire are to be seen small wooden stools, upon which the members of the household sit. Up-to-date Khasis have cane chairs, but the women of the family, true to the conservative
415 instincts of the sex, prefer the humble stool to sit upon. Well-to-do Khasis nowadays have, in addition to the ordinary cooking vessels made of iron and earthenware, a number of brass utensils. The writer has seen in a Khasi house in Mawkhar brass drinking vessels of the pattern used in Orissa, of the description used in Manipur, and of the kind which is in vogue in Sylhet. The ordinary cultivator, however, uses a waterpot made from a gourd hollowed out for keeping water and liquor in, and drinks from a bamboo cylinder. Plates, or more properly speaking dishes, are of several kinds in the houses of the rich, the two larger ones being styled *ka pliang kynthei* (female) and *ka pliang shynrang* (male). Needless to say, the first mentioned is a larger utensil than the latter. The ordinary waterpots, *u khiew phiang kynthei* and *u khiew phiang shynrang*, are made of brass, the former being a size larger and having a wider mouth than the latter. The pot for cooking vegetables is made of iron. Another utensil is made of earthenware; this is the ordinary cooking pot used in the houses of the poor. Brass spoons of different sizes are used for stirring the contents of the different cooking utensils, also a wooden spoon.

352 In the sleeping-rooms of the well-to-do there are wooden
513 beds with mattresses and sheets and pillows, clothes being
285 hung upon clothes-racks, which in one house visited were of the same pattern as the English "towel horse." The ordinary cultivator and his wife sleep on mats made of plaited bamboo, which are spread on the bare boards of the house. There are various kinds of mats to be met with in the Khasi houses made of plaited cane, of a kind of reed, and of plaited bamboo.
293 The best kind of mat is prepared from cane. In all Khasi
352 houses are to be seen *ki knup*, or rain shields, of different sizes and sometimes of somewhat different shapes. The large

must also be sought out and hired at the markets. 443

3. The Customs of the Market

a) The Preparation for Market. The sellers of both sexes, normally carry their wares to the market themselves. They form smaller or larger groups and travel together. The wares are carried on their backs. The burden is packed according to its bulk or content. Larger objects, such as bamboo poles, beams, sugar cane, grass, and mats are carried without any covering by means of a forehead band plaited of reed grass (u star). Smaller items, such as salt or potatoes, are packed in sacks; others such as betel nuts, pepper leaves, fruit, vegetables, etc. are carried in baskets made of bamboo. The baskets are either pointed baskets which are round at the top or square baskets, which narrow to a point at the bottom but still are four feet long in size. The latter baskets are usually made with a cover, which, like the basket itself, is plaited and almost waterproof, so that flour or salt can be transported in them even during the rainy season. A round or oval object shaped like a shield, which in case of need is used as an umbrella (ka trap) and which is plaited out of bamboo, is inserted between the back and the burden (jingkit). On the one hand this object has the purpose of ameliorating the pressure of the burden and on the other hand it is pulled out in rainy weather to serve as an umbrella when it is held up against the rain by hand. [434] 443 482 438 285 443 [293]

With regard to the weight which the Khasi carry to market, the men carry about 100 and more pounds while the women seldom 482

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

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G. Khasi women of Kongton village.

H. Young Khasi women of Shella village.

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[P. 96-B]

16: McCormack E-4,5 (1956-1958) 1964
[P. 108 B] AR7 Khasi AR7

children, but Christian influence has eradicated or driven underground the consumption by women and children. **Industrial arts.** The only industrial arts traditionally practiced in all households were a rudimentary carpentry and a simple utilitarian basketry. Other arts were few, and were practiced as village specialties: the washing and smelting of iron ore and the forging of hoes, daos, knives, swords, and cooking pots (upland Khasis); the spinning of cotton thread (Mynso village, Jaintia); the dyeing of cotton thread and the weaving of cloth (Jaintias, Bhois, Lyngngams, Wars); the spinning and weaving of Eri silk (Khyrwang and Nongtung villages, Bhoi and Jaintia); and the hand manufacture, without wheel, of painted earthenware pots (Larnai village, Jaintia). Ironworking and the production of cotton goods have nearly died out through the competition of machine-made goods. Carpentry has greatly improved. An innovation of major importance is the sewing and tailoring, on sewing machines, of ready-made garments for both sexes. [Cf. Darrah 1896; C., W. 1832.] **Trade.** Khasi villages normally contain a number of household shops operated by women. Every Khasi also lives within walking distance of several village markets that are held on successive days of the eight-day week. The limits of market intercourse for the members of any particular village can be roughly distinguished by their naming the days of their week, which are called after the active markets. The exception is the huge market at Shillong, much of which is active daily, and which serves as a magnet for Khasis from all over the hills. The traditional barter has given way to currency in all markets. The small ones contain at least some local farm produce, plus other essentials like betel nut, and the food and tea stalls which serve as centers of social intercourse. The big markets contain not only regional produce and manufactures but also products from distant parts of the hills, brought for sale by traveling middlemen. There is also substantial trade, from the hills to the valleys, in potatoes, pears, hides, lac, cotton, caoutchouc, the wood of the sal tree, Eri silk thread, limestone, coal, ivory, bay leaf, betel nut, pan leaves, bananas, sugar cane, oranges, til, turmeric, and chilies. From the plains to the hills, there is trade in dried fish, paddy rice, salt, cooking oil, kerosene, matches, tea, sugar, wheat flour, machine-made cloth, shoes, metal pots, crockery, porcelain objects, coral beads, silver, and gold. Markets are important not only as economic institutions but also as centers for recreation (including archery competitions), courtship, reaffirmation of kinship ties with distant relatives, and the dissemination of information of all kinds. [Cf. Stegmiller 1924a.] **Division of labor.** Men do the heavy work, such as clearing and burning the swidden fields, caring for cattle and goats and driving them to market, butchering and selling large cuts of beef and pork, carpentry and mining, and driving and laboring on motor vehicles. They also tailor men's

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on from October to December. For millets the seed is sown in April-May and reaped about six months later. Maize is usually sown in April-May and ripens in August - September. For potato, generally three crops are raised in the district ; the first is sown in December-January and harvested in April-May, the second is sown in February-March and is gathered in June-July and the third is sown in July-August and is harvested in November-December.

For oranges and betelnut the orchards are cleared of weeds twice a year. Harvesting of orange takes place from October to January. Betelnut ripens at the beginning of the year and are collected between February and May.

2.6.3 **Agricultural implements.**—The usual agricultural implements are a hoe, a sickle, three or four kinds of doas, a harrow, a crowbar which is used for the construction of irrigation channels, 'sierras' and winnowing baskets. Bullock drawn plough is used in wet paddy cultivation in parts of Jowai subdivision and in Bhoi area and resembles the one in use in the plains of the State.

2. 6. 4. **General cultural practices.**—The cultivators mostly adhere to their indigenous practices of cultivation. Rotation of crops is not widely used. Cultivation of rice is usually done by broadcasting the seeds though transplanting is also in vogue in some areas. Mixed cropping is widely practised. Cultivation by making terraces in the hill slopes is gaining popularity in the district.

2.7 **Cottage Industries.**—Cottage Industries, it appears, have not found very great favour among the people of the district. A few families here and there manufacture iron implements, earthenware, pottery, baskets, mats and jewellery. In striking contrast with other districts weaving of cotton clothes is rare among the Khasis. The Mikirs in Bhoi area and in areas adjoining North Cachar and Mikir Hills practice it only for their domestic consumption. At present, the Government is trying to popularise weaving in the district and this has been welcomed by the Khasis. Among other cottage industries production of eri cocoon in the northern part of the district adjoining Kamrup district and bee keeping throughout the district are worth mentioning.

2.8 **The People.**—The Khasis and Jaintias are a short sturdy race distinct from the neighbouring hill tribes. By nature they are hardy and laborious and in respect of manual labour, they are free from any inhibition. Side by side with the Khasis live the Mikirs, Garos and Nepalis who form respectively 7.32 percent, 3.38 percent and 3·27 per cent of the total rural population. Besides, there are plains people who are mainly concentrated in the town of Shillong. In the marketing centres of the border area there are large number of Bengali Hindus who dominate the bulk of the trade in the border areas.

2.9 **Occupation.**—The greater portion of the population of the district subsists on cultivation. More than 75 percent of the rural households are predominantly agricultural. The industrious Khasi agriculturists males and females have a high regard for hard labour

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

Syntengs in the interior and by the Bhois and Lynngams. The 291
men in the Khasi Hills wear a cap with ear-flaps. The elderly men, or other men when smartness is desired, wear a white turban, which is fairly large and is well tied on the head. Males in the Siemship of Nongstoin and in the North-Western corner of the district wear knitted worsted caps which are often of a red colour. These are sold at Nongstoin market at about [435]
8 or 9 annas each. They are brought to Nongstoin by traders [286]
from the Synteng country, and from Shillong, where they are knitted generally by Synteng women. A small cloth is worn round the waist and between the legs, one end of which hangs down in front like a small apron. The Syntengs wear a somewhat differently shaped cap, having no ear-flaps and with a high-peaked crown. Both Khasi and Synteng caps are generally of black cloth, having, as often as not, a thick coating of grease. The old-fashioned Khasi female's dress, which is that worn by people of the cultivator class of the present day, is the following:—Next to the skin is worn a garment called *ka jympien*, which is a piece of cloth wound round the body and fastened at the loins with a kind of cloth belt, and which hangs down from the waist to the knee or a little above it. Over this is worn a long piece of cloth, sometimes of muga silk, called *ka jainsem*. This is not worn like the Assamese *mekhela* or Bengali *sari*, for it hangs loosely from the shoulders down to a little above the ankles, and is not caught in at the waist; in fact, Khasi women have no waist. It is kept in position by knotting it over both the shoulders. Over the *jainsem* another garment called *ka jain kup* is worn. This is thrown over the shoulders like a cloak, the two ends being knotted in front, it hangs loosely down the back and sides to the ankles. It is frequently of some gay colour, the fashion in Mawkhar and Cherrapunji being some pretty shade of French gray or maroon. Over the head and shoulders is worn a wrapper called *ka tap-moh-khlieh*. This, again, is frequently of some bright colour, but is often white. There is a fold in the *jainsem* which serves as a pocket for keeping odds and ends. Khasi women in cold weather wear gaiters which are often long stockings without feet, or, in the case of the poor, pieces of cloth wound round the legs like putties, or cloth gaiters. I have seen 000

I. Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

headquarters of the Administration. The manufacture of country spirit gives employment to a considerable number of persons, most of whom are females. At a recent census of the country stills in the district, undertaken by the district officials, the number of stills has been found to be 1,530. There must be at least one person employed at each still, so that the number of distillers is probably not less than 2,000, possibly more. The spirit is distilled both for home consumption and for purposes of sale, in some villages almost entirely for sale. In the Jaintia Hills stock-breeding and dealing in cattle provides occupation for 1,295 people, according to the last census. The cattle are reared in the Jaintia Hills and are driven down to the plains when they reach the age of maturity, where they find a ready market amongst the Sylhetis. Cattle are also driven into Shillong for sale from the Jaintia Hills. Another place for rearing cattle is the Siemship of Nongkhlaw, where there is good pasturage in the neighbourhood of Mairang. These cattle are either sold in Shillong or find their way to the Kamrup district by the old Nongkhlaw road. Cattle-breeding is an industry which is capable of expansion in these hills. There are a few carpenters to be found in Shillong and its neighbourhood. The Khasis are said by Col. Waddell to be unacquainted with the art of weaving; but the fact that a considerable weaving industry exists amongst the Khyrwang villages of the Syntengs, and at Mynso and Suhtnga, has been overlooked by him. The Khyrwangs weave a special pattern of cotton and silk cloth, striped red and white. In Mynso and Suhtnga similar cloths are woven, also the sleeveless coat. In former days this industry is said to have been considerable, but it has been displaced to a large extent of late years by Manchester piece goods. The number of weavers returned at the last census in the district was 533. The Khasis and Mikirs of the low country, or Bhois as they are called, weave cotton cloths which they dye with the leaves of a plant called *u noli*. This is perhaps the wild indigo, or *ram*, of the Shan settlers in the Assam Valley. The weavers are almost always females. An important means of subsistence is road and building work; a considerable number of coolies, both male and female, are employed under Government, practically throughout the year, in

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2. 6. 4. **General cultural practices.**—The cultivators mostly adhere to their indigenous practices of cultivation. Rotation of crops is not widely used. Cultivation of rice is usually done by broadcasting the seeds though transplanting is also in vogue in some areas. Mixed cropping is widely practised. Cultivation by making terraces in the hill slopes is gaining popularity in the district.

433 2.7 **Cottage Industries.**—Cottage Industries, it appears, have not
326 found very great favour among the people of the district. A few
[323] families here and there manufacture iron implements, earthenware,
285 pottery, baskets, mats and jewellery. In striking contrast with other
[306] districts weaving of cotton clothes is rare among the Khasis. The
286 Mikirs in Bhoi area and in areas adjoining North Cachar and Mikir
[171] Hills practice it only for their domestic consumption. At present, the
[654] Government is trying to popularise weaving in the district and this has been welcomed by the Khasis. Among other cottage industries
[231] production of eri cocoon in the northern part of the district adjoining Kamrup district and bee keeping throughout the district are worth mentioning.

142 2.8 **The People.**—The Khasis and Jaintias are a short sturdy
147 race distinct from the neighbouring hill tribes. By nature they are hardy and laborious and in respect of manual labour, they are free
441 from any inhibition. Side by side with the Khasis live the Mikirs, Garos-
563 and Nepalis who form respectively 7.32 percent, 3.38 percent and 3·27 per cent of the total rural population. Besides, there are plains people who are mainly concentrated in the town of Shillong. In the marketing centres of the border area there are a large number of Bengali Hindus who dominate the bulk of the trade in the border areas.

241 2.9 **Occupation.**—The greater portion of the population of the
[433] district subsists on cultivation. More than 75 percent of the rural
[46] households are predominantly agricultural. The industrious Khasi agriculturists males and females have a high regard for hard labour

Name of village (1)	Name of society (2)	Sponsored by (3)
7. Sutnga ...	(1) Credit Society.	Local people
	(2) Co-operative Trading Society.	
8. Darrang ...	Marketing Society.	Do
9. Shella ..	Trading Co-operative Society.	Do.

4.10 **Cottage Industries.**—It has already been mentioned that Village and Cottage Industries are not very popular in the district.

The following table shows the industries reported from the sample villages:—

TABLE B-9

Industry (1)	No. of villages reporting existence of the industries. (2)	No. of villages reporting production for sale. (3)
Cane and bamboo works ...	9	7
Blacksmithy	5	5
Tailoring	2	2
Handloom	...	...
Weaving and Spinning ...	3	1
Rearing of cocoons, etc. ...	1	1
Rearing of lac	1	1
Others	2	1

Blacksmithy and making of baskets, cane products, etc, out of cane and bamboo, are a traditional occupation Weaving and spinning of cotton, rearing of endi cocoon and weaving of endi, etc., are in vague only in the Bhoi area and the areas adjoining Kamrup and North Cachar and Mikir Hills districts. Lac rearing is found in the northern portion of the district, *i.e.*, Nongpoh area.

Except cane and bamboo works and blacksmithy other industries are practised in a very limited scale. There is thus a lot of scope for introducing cottage industries in the district.

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241 custom of their own from cultivating the *landoo*, in which
231 case they plant certain other trees favourable to the growth of
784 the lac insect. The villages are situated near their patches of cultivation in the forest. The villages are constantly shifting,
361 owing to the necessity of burning fresh tracts of forest every
241 two years. The houses are entirely built of bamboo, and, for such temporary structures, are very well built. In front, the
342 houses are raised some 3 or 4 ft. from the ground on platforms, being generally built on the side of a fairly steep hill, one end of the house resting on the ground, and the other on bamboo posts. The back end of the house is sometimes some 8 or 9 ft. from the ground. At the end of the house farthest away from the village path is a platform used for sitting out in the evening, and for spreading chillies and
342 other articles to dry. Some Lynngam houses have only one
354 room in which men, women, and children are all huddled
231 together, the hearth being in the centre, and, underneath the platform, the pigs. Well-to-do people, however, possess a
342 retiring room, where husband and wife sleep. A house I measured at Nongsohlar village was of the following dimensions:—Length, 42 ft.; breadth, 16 ft.; height of house from the ground to the eaves, front, 9 ft.; back 18 ft. Houses are built with a portion of the thatch hanging over the eaves in front. No explanation could be given me for this. It is probably a Garo custom. In some Lynngam villages there are houses in the centre of the village where the young unmarried men sleep, where male guests are accommodated, and where the village festivities go on. These are similar to the *dekachang* or
[171] bachelors' club-houses of the Mikirs, Garos, and Lalungs, and to the *morang* of the Nagas. This is a custom of the Thibeto-Burman tribes in Assam, and is not a Khasi institution. There
[517] are also high platforms, some 12 ft. or 15 ft. in height, in Lynngam villages, where the elders sit of an evening in the hot
[256] weather and take the air. Lynngam houses and villages are usually much cleaner than the ordinary Khasi villages, and although the Lynngams keep pigs, they do not seem to be so
352 much *en évidence* as in the Khasi village. There is little
513 or no furniture in a Lynngam house. The Lynngam sleeps on
287 a mat on the floor, and in cold weather covers himself with a

1[of the Lynngams ... (illegible)]

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quilt, made out of the bark of a tree, which is beaten 352
out and then carefully woven, several layers of flattened 513
bark being used before the right thickness is attained. 287
This quilt is called by the Lynngams "*Ka syllar*" (Garo *simpak*).
Food is cooked in earthen pots, but no plates are used, the broad 252
leaves of the *mariang* tree taking their place. The leaves are 415
thrown away after use, a fresh supply being required for each meal.

The Lynngams brew rice beer, they do not distil spirit; the 274
beer is brewed according to the Khasi method. Games they have 526
none, and there are no jovial archery meetings like those of the Khasis. The Lynngam methods of hunting are setting spring 221
guns and digging pitfalls for game. The people say that now the Government and the Siem of Nongstoin have prohibited both of these methods of destroying game, they no longer employ them. But I came across a pitfall for deer not long ago in the neighbourhood of a village in the Lynngam country. The people declared it to be a very old one: but this I very much doubt, and I fear that these objectionable methods of hunting are still used. The Lynngams fish to a 226
small extent with nets, but their idea of fishing, *par excellence*, is poisoning the streams, an account of which has already been given in this monograph. The Lynngams are omnivorous 262
feeders, they may be said to eat everything except dogs, snakes, the *hulok* monkey, and lizards. They like rice, when they can get it; for sometimes the out-turn of their fields does not last them more than a few months. They then have to fall back on Jolstears and millet. They eat arums largely, and for vegetables they cook wild plantains and the young shoots of bamboos and cane plants. The Lynngams are divided up into 614
exogamous clans in the same manner as the Khasis. The clans 773
are overgrown families. The Lynngams have some stories regarding the founders of these clans, of which the following is a specimen:—"A woman was asleep under a *sohbar* tree in the jungle, a flower from which fell on her, and she conceived and bore a female child who was the ancestress of the Nongsohbar clan." Some of the stories of the origins of other clans do not bear repeating. There do not appear to be any 582.
hypergamous groups. As with the Khasis, it is a deadly sin to 614

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the ground, and well oiled. A silver ornament, or a few rupees 524
placed at the top, reward the successful climber." A leg of mutton, or a piece of pork fixed at the top of this pole would render the pastime identical with the "greasy-pole" climbing of English villages. The following are some other Khasi games:—

Wrestling: two persons grasping each other's hands with the 526 527
fingers interlocked, and then trying to push one another down; tug-of-war with a piece of stick, the two combatants placing their feet one against the other; butting at one another like bulls, and trying to upset each other (*in tar mnai*): long jump; high jump; blind-man's buff; flying kites; pitching cowries, into a hole in the ground; a game like marbles, only played with round pebbles, and others.

MANUFACTURES.

The manufactures of the Khasis are few in number, and do 32
not seem to show any tendency to increase. On the contrary, 285
two of the most important industries, the smelting of iron ore 442
and the forging of iron implements therefrom, and the cotton-spinning industries at Mynso and Sohtnga, show signs of dying out. Ploughshares and hoes and bill-hooks can now be obtained more cheaply from the plains than from the forges in the hills, and Manchester piece goods are largely taking the place of cloths of local manufacture. The iron industry in 327
former days was an important one, and there is abundant 36
evidence that the workings were on a considerable scale, e.g. at Nongkrem and Laitlyngkot, in the shape of large granite boulders which have fallen to the ground from the sides of the hills owing to the softer rock which filled the interstices between the boulders having been worked out by the iron-workers, their process being to dig out the softer ferruginous rock, and then extract the iron ore from it by means of washing. The softer rock having been removed, the heavier portions fell by their own weight, and rolled down to the bottom of the slopes, the result being the great number of boulders to be seen near the sites of these workings.

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been denuded completely of timber, charcoal being necessary 327
for smelting, has affected the production almost as much as the presence of cheap iron in the market.

MANUFACTURE OF ERI SILK CLOTHS AND COTTON CLOTHS IN THE JAINTIA HILLS.

The number of weavers in the district at the last Census 288
was 533. This number in the Census Report is ascribed to [162]
the cotton industry, no mention being made of weavers of silk. The spinning of Eri silk thread, and weaving it into cloths is, however, a fairly considerable industry amongst the Khyrwang and Nongtung villages of the Jaintia Hills. The Nongtungs and Khyrwangs rear their own Eri worms, and spin the silk from the cocoons. The late Mr. Stack, in his admirable note on silk in Assam, says, "Throughout the whole range of the southern hills, from the Mikir country, Eri thread is in great request for weaving those striped cloths, in which the mountaineers delight," but this observation should have been confined to the Jaintia Hills portion of this district, the Khasis not weaving themselves either in silk or cotton. The Khasis obtain their silk cloths from the Assam Valley, and from the Nongtung or Khyrwang villages in Jaintia. The latter villages have given the name to the striped cloth, *ka jiin Khyrwang*, which is almost invariably worn by the Syntengs. Mr. Stack has given in detail a description of the silk industry in Assam; and it is not therefore necessary to go over the same ground here. The Khyrwang cloth is red and white, mauve and white, or chocolate and white, the cloth being worn by both men and women. The Khyrwang cloths vary in price from Rs. 5 to [435]
Rs. 25, according to size and texture. Those cloths are the handiwork of women alone, and a woman working every day [462]
regularly will take six months to manufacture a cloth valued at Rs. 25; but, as a rule, in the leisurely manner in which they work, it takes a year to complete it.

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COTTON CLOTHS.

283 In the Jaintia Hills at Mynso cotton is spun into thread, and
288 weaving is carried on there, but on a limited scale. The Mynso people weave the small strips of cloth worn by the men to serve the purpose of the Assamese *lengti* or Hindi *languti*. In Suhtnga the people import cotton thread from Mynso and weave the (*ingki*) or sleeveless coat, peculiar to the district; these coats are dyed red and blue. The dark blue or black dye
824 is obtained from the leaf of a plant called *u sybu*, which
386 Mr. Rita has classified as *strobilanthus hoeditolius*, which
288 grows in the gardens round the homesteads. The leaves are dried, then reduced to powder, mixed with hot water, and the skeins of thread are steeped in the liquid. The colour is permanent. The red dye is obtained from the mixture of the dry bark of two shrubs, *ka lapyndong* (*symplocos racemosa*, Roxb.), and *ka 'laruong* (*morinda-tinctoria*, Roxb.), the latter being the same as the Assamese (আচুকাঠ) *áchukáth*. The bark is dried, then pounded, and the two sorts are mixed together and made into a paste with hot water. The skeins are steeped in this mixture for twenty-four hours, then taken out and divided, and again steeped for another twenty-four hours. The Lalungs and Bhois and Lynngams all weave cotton cloths, which are generally dyed blue, sometimes striped blue and red. The Wars weave cotton cloths which are dyed red and yellow, the cloths being woven in checks. Mr. Darrah remarks that the cotton grown in the Jaintia Hills is said to be the best cotton produced in the province. Its thread can be more closely woven than that of other kinds. This statement, however, is not borne out by Mr. Allen writing in 1858, who says that the cotton is of inferior quality, the staple being short and woolly. The cotton cloths woven by the Bhois are called *spua*.

POTTERY.

[162] The Census Report of 1901 gave the number of persons who
323 are supported by the manufacture of pottery at 54 only. Pottery is manufactured at one place only in the Jaintia Hills,

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U DAKHOR SINGH, SIEM OF KHYRIM.

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[FRONTISPIECE]

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A GROUP OF KHASI COOLIES.

Reproduced from a sketch by the late Colonel Woodthorpe, R.E.

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P. 2-B

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KHASI CHILD.

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Khasis are connected with people who inhabited the Malay Peninsula and Chota Nagpur at the time of the Stone Age.* That these people were what Logan calls the Mon-Anam, may possibly be the case. Mr. Peal goes on to state, "the discovery is interesting for other reasons, it possibly amounts to a demonstration that Logan (who it is believed was the first to draw attention to the points of resemblance between the languages of the Mon-Anam or Mon-Khmêr and those of the Mundas and the Khasis), was correct in assuming that at one time the Mon-Anam races and influence extended from the Vindyas all over the Ganges Basin, even over Assam, the northern border of the Ultra Indian Peninsula." Mr. Peal then remarks that the Eastern Nagas of the Tirap, Namstik, and Sonkap group "are strikingly like them (i.e. the Mon-Anam races), in many respects, the women being particularly robust, with pale colour and at times rosy cheeks." The interesting statement follows that the men wear the Khasi-Mikir sleeveless coat. Under the heading of dress this will be found described as a garment which leaves the neck and arms bare, with a fringe at the bottom and with a row of tassels across the chest, the coat being fastened by frogs in front. It is a garment of a distinctive character and cannot be mistaken; it used to be worn largely by the Khasis, and is still used extensively by the Syntengs and Lynngams and by the Mikirs, and that it should have been found amongst these Eastern Nagas is certainly remarkable. It is to be regretted that the investigations of the Ethnographical Survey, as at present conducted, have not extended to these Eastern Nagas, who inhabit tracts either outside British territory or in very remote places on its confines, so that we are at present unable to state whether any of these tribes possess other points of affinity, as

412 171 144 141 144 291 171 144 211 171

* It is interesting to compare the remarks of M. Aymonier in his volume iii. of "Le Cambodge." He writes as follows:—"Mais en Indo-Chine on trouve, partout disseminé, ce que les indigènes, au Cambodge du moins, appellent, comme les peuples les plus éloignés du globe 'les traits de foudre.' Ce sont ici des haches de l'âge néolithique ou de la pierre polie, dont la plupart appartiennent au type repandu en toute la terre. D'autres de ces celtes, dits épaulés, parcequ'ils possèdent un talon d'une forme particulière, paraissent appartenir en propre à l'Indo-Chine et à la presqu'île dekkhanique. Ils fourniraient donc un premier indice, non négligeable, d'une communauté d'origine des populations primitives des deux péninsules, cis et trans gangétiques."

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171 Southern Moluccas the placenta is mixed with ashes, placed in
144 a pot, and hung on a tree; a similar custom is observed in Mandeling, on the west coast of Sumatra. This is a custom universally observed amongst the Khasis at births. Teknonomy to some extent prevails amongst some of these Malay tribes as with the Khasis. It will be seen from the above notes that there are some interesting points of affinity between the Khasis and some of the Malay tribes, and if we add that the Khasis are decidedly Malay in appearance, we cannot but wonder whether the Malays have any connection not only with the Mon-Khmêr family, but also with the Khasis, with the Ho-Mundas, and with the Naga tribes mentioned by Mr. Peal in his interesting paper published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, already referred to. We will study the strong linguistic affinities between these peoples in the section which deals with language.

M. Aymonier in "Le Cambodge" mentions the matriarchate as having been prevalent apparently amongst the primitive races of Cambodia, and notes that the ancient Chinese writers spoke of Queens in Fou-nan (Cambodia). If the Khmêrs were the ancient people of Cambodia, here we have an important landmark in common between them and the Khasis. M. Aymonier goes on to speak of priestesses, and the Cambodian taboo, *tam* or *trenam*, which Mr. Lowis, the Superintendent of Ethnography in Burma, suggests may be akin to the Khasi *sang*.

DRESS.

291 Dress may be divided into two divisions, ancient and modern. It will be convenient to take the former division first. The Khasi males of the interior wear the sleeveless coat or *jymphong*, which is a garment leaving the neck and arms bare, with a fringe at the bottom, and with a row of tassels across
[177] the chest; it is fastened by frogs in front. This coat, however, may be said to be going out of fashion in the Khasi Hills, its place being taken by coats of European pattern in the more civilized centres and by all sorts of nondescript garments in the interior. The sleeveless coat, however, is still worn by many

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Syntengs in the interior and by the Bhois and Lynngams. The 291
men in the Khasi Hills wear a cap with ear-flaps. The elderly men, or other men when smartness is desired, wear a white turban, which is fairly large and is well tied on the head. Males in the Siemship of Nongstoin and in the North-Western corner of the district wear knitted worsted caps which are often of a red colour. These are sold at Nongstoin market at about [435]
8 or 9 annas each. They are brought to Nongstoin by traders [286]
from the Synteng country, and from Shillong, where they are knitted generally by Synteng women. A small cloth is worn round the waist and between the legs, one end of which hangs down in front like a small apron. The Syntengs wear a somewhat differently shaped cap, having no ear-flaps and with a high-peaked crown. Both Khasi and Synteng caps are generally of black cloth, having, as often as not, a thick coating of grease. The old-fashioned Khasi female's dress, which is that worn by people of the cultivator class of the present day, is the following:—Next to the skin is worn a garment called *ka jympien*, which is a piece of cloth wound round the body and fastened at the loins with a kind of cloth belt, and which hangs down from the waist to the knee or a little above it. Over this is worn a long piece of cloth, sometimes of muga silk, called *ka jainsem*. This is not worn like the Assamese *mekhela* or Bengali *sari*, for it hangs loosely from the shoulders down to a little above the ankles, and is not caught in at the waist: in fact, Khasi women have no waist. It is kept in position by knotting it over both the shoulders. Over the *jainsem* another garment called *ka jain kup* is worn. This is thrown over the shoulders like a cloak, the two ends being knotted in front, it hangs loosely down the back and sides to the ankles. It is frequently of some gay colour, the fashion in Mawkhar and Cherrapunji being some pretty shade of French gray or maroon. Over the head and shoulders is worn a wrapper called *ka tap-moh-khlieh*. This, again, is frequently of some bright colour, but is often white. There is a fold in the *jainsem* which serves as a pocket for keeping odds and ends. Khasi women in cold weather wear gaiters which are often long stockings without feet, or, in the case of the poor, pieces of cloth wound round the legs like putties, or cloth gaiters. I have seen 000

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KA RIMAI SYNTENG.

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291 I have seen women at Nongstoin wearing gaiters of leaves. It was explained to me that these were worn to keep off the leeches. The Khasi women might almost be said to be excessively clothed—they wear the cloak in such a way as to hide entirely the graceful contours of the figure. The women are infinitely more decently clothed than Bengali coolie women, for instance; but their dress cannot be described as becoming or graceful, although they show taste as regards the blending of colours in their different garments.

The dress of the Synteng women is a little different. With them the *jain khrywang* takes the place of the Khasi *jainsem*, and is worn by them in the following manner:—One of the two ends is passed under one armpit and its two corners are knotted on the opposite shoulder. The other end is then wound round the body and fastened at the waist, from which it hangs half way down the calf. Over this they wear a sort of apron, generally of *muga* silk. They have the cloak and the head-wrapper just the same as the Khasi women. The Synteng striped cloth may be observed in the picture of the Synteng girl in the plate. Khasi women on festive occasions, such as [302] the annual Nongkrem puja, do not cover the head. The hair is then decked with jewellery or with flowers; but on all ordinary occasions Khasi women cover the head. Wár women, however, often have their heads uncovered.

Modern Dress.—The up-to-date Khasi male wears knicker-bockers made by a tailor, stockings, and boots; also a tailor-made coat and waistcoat, a collar without a tie, and a cloth peaked cap. The young lady of fashion dons a chemise, also often a short coat of cloth or velvet, stockings, and smart shoes. Of course she wears the *jainsem* and cloak, but occasionally she may be seen without the latter when the weather is warm. It [293] should be mentioned that the Khasi males are seldom seen without a haversack in which betel-nut, lime, and other odds [415] and ends are kept; and the female has her purse, which, however, is not visible, being concealed within the folds of her lower garment. The haversack of the men is of cloth in the high plateau and in the Bhoi country, but it is of knitted fibre in the Wár country. The Syntengs have a cloth bag, which they call *ka muna*.

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291 The Wár men dress very much the same as the neighbouring Sylheti Hindus. The Wár women, especially the Shella women, wear very pretty yellow and red checked and striped cloths. The cloak is not so frequently worn as amongst Khasis, except in cold weather. The Lynngam dress is very similar to that of the neighbouring Garos. The males wear the sleeveless coat, or *phong marong*, of cotton striped red and blue, red and white, or blue and white, fastened in the same manner as the Khasi coat and with tassels. A small cloth, generally red or blue, is tied between the legs, one end of it being allowed to hang down, as with the Khasis, like an apron in front. A round [554] cap is commonly worn; but the elderly men and people of importance wear turbans. The females wear short cloths of cotton striped red and blue, the cloth reaching just above the knee, like the Garos; married women wear no upper clothing, except in winter, when a red or blue cotton cloth is thrown loosely across the shoulders. The women wear a profusion of blue bead necklaces and brass earrings like the Garos. Unmarried girls wear a cloth tightly tied round the figure, similar to that worn by the Kacharis. A bag of cloth for odds and ends is carried by the men slung across the shoulder. It should be [554] mentioned that even in ancient times great people amongst the Khasis, like Siems, wore waist-cloths, and people of less consequence on great occasions, such as dances. The use of waist-cloths among the Khasis is on the increase, especially among those who live in Shillong and the neighbouring villages, and in Jowai and Cherrapunji.

TATTOOING.

304 None of the Khasis tattoo; the only people in the hills who tattoo are certain tribes of the Bhoi country which are really Mikir. These tattoo females on the forehead when they attain the age of puberty, a straight horizontal line being drawn from the parting of the hair down the forehead and nose. The line is one-eighth to one-quarter of an inch broad. The Lynngams occasionally tattoo a ring round the wrist of females.

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WAR WOMAN OF SHELLA.

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KHASI GIRL.

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769 171 *'iaw*, short for *kiaw* (grandmother), and *bei*, mother. *Ka Iawbei* is the primeval ancestress of the clan. She is to the Khasis what the "tribal mother" was to old Celtic and Teutonic genealogists, and we have an interesting parallel to the reverence of the Khasis for *Ka Iawbei* in the Celtic goddess Brigit, the tribal mother of the Brigantes. Later on, like Ka Iawbei, she was canonized, and became St. Bridget.*

769 578 787 776 The greater number of the flat table-stones we see in front of the standing monoliths in these hills are erected in honour of *Ka Iawbei*. In former times, it was the custom to offer food to her on these stones. In cases of family quarrels, or dissensions amongst the members of the same clan, which it is desired to bring to a peaceful settlement, it is customary to perform a sacrifice to the first mother, "*Ka Iawbei*." They first of all take an augury by breaking eggs, and if it appears from the broken egg-shells that *Ka Iawbei* is offended, they offer to her a cotton cloth, and sacrifice a hen. [534] On these occasions incantations are muttered, and a small drum, called, "*Ka 'sing ding dong*," is beaten. It is not unlikely that the Khasi household deities, *Ka lei iing*, and *Ka ksaw ka jirngam*, to whom pujas are offered for the welfare of the house, are also *Ka Iawbei* in disguise. Notwithstanding the strong influence of the matriarchate, we find that *U Thawlang*, the first father and the husband of *Ka Iawbei*, is also revered. To him on occasions of domestic trouble a cock is [291] sacrificed, and a *jymphong*, or sleeveless coat is offered. This puja is called *kaba tap Thawlang*, i.e. covering the grandfather. The following incantation to *U Thawlang* is then chanted:—"Oh, father Thawlang, who hast enabled me to be born, who hast given me my stature and my life, I have wronged thee, oh father, be not offended, for I have given thee a pledge and a sign, i.e. a red and white sleeveless coat. Do not deliver me into the power of (the goddess of) illness, I have offered thee the propitiatory cock that thou mayest carry me in thine arms, and that I may be aware of thee, my father Thawlang."

769 171 We see clearly from the above prayer that the Khasi idea is that the spirit of the deceased male ancestor is capable of

* Karl Pearson's essay on "mother age civilization."

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The bridegroom then sets out with this man and a number of followers, clothed in clean garments and wearing either white or red pagris (a black pagri not being considered a fitting head-dress on this occasion), to the house of the bride, where a feast has been prepared, and fermented rice-beer (*ka-kiad-hiar*) in gourds (*klong*) placed ready. The bride, her female attendants, and her mother and aunts have collected in the meantime, dressed in their best, wearing their jewellery, and with their heads uncovered, for it is not thought proper for the females to cover their heads on the marriage day. On the side of the bride, also, a *ksiang* (go-between) has been appointed, and it is his duty to manage all the business of the marriage on behalf of her family. Some young men of the bride's party go to meet the bridegroom's contingent by way of doing them honour. When they have reached the bride's house, the *ksiang* of the bridegroom enters first, followed by the bridegroom, and after him the bridegroom's party. The *ksiang* then hands over the bridegroom to the maternal uncle (*kni*) of the bride, or to the bride's father. Either of the latter then provides the bridegroom with a seat next the bride. The bride and bridegroom exchange bags of betel-nut, and where the custom of investiture of the ring is in vogue, these tokens are interchanged. The *ksiangs* of the bridegroom and bride recite the marriage contract in lengthy formulae, which may be found on pages 6, 7, 8 of the late U Jeebon Roy's interesting notes on the Khasi religion. The two *ksiangs* then take up, each of them, a gourd containing fermented liquor from the gourd provided by the contracting party, and give them to an old man who is versed in sacrificial lore, who solemnly mixes the contents together. Three dried fish are produced, and are placed on the floor of the house. The priest thus appointed then solemnly adjures the gods in the following words:—

Hei, oh god from above; oh god from below; oh *'lei synshar*; oh god who hast created man; as thou hast ordained this marriage, the ring has been given this day; thou wilt know; thou wilt hear; from the clear firmament above that . . . . have been married this day. Thou wilt bless them; thou wilt grant them prosperity; thou wilt show them the way; thou wilt show them the road, that they may be well, that they may obtain dwellings and houses,

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585 of a Garo marriage. The Lynngams, unlike the Garos, do not
982 observe which way the beaks of the fowls turn when they are thrown on the ground after being sacrificed. The Lynngams,
787 like the Khasis, take auguries from the entrails of the fowls and the pig. After these ceremonies are over, the Lynngam pair are allowed to cohabit. The cost of an ordinary Lynngam
585 marriage is from Rs. 30 to Rs. 40. The marriage system in
435 vogue among the Lynngams may be described as a mixture of the Khasi and Garo customs. As has already been stated,
161 the Lynngams are a mongrel breed of Khasis and Garos.

CEREMONIES ATTENDING DEATH.

764 The death customs of the Khasis are not only very elaborate, but possess a significance of their own, it is, therefore, necessary to describe them in detail; they are as follows:—

763 A member of the family bends down towards the ear of the apparently deceased person and calls him or her by name three times, to make sure that death has occurred. If no answer comes, the family laments, for it is then con-
964 cluded that the person is really dead. The body is then bathed in warm water from three earthen pots and is reverently
291 laid on a mat (*jiepung*), where it is dressed in white cloth, a peculiar feature of the dressing being that the waist-cloth and turban are folded from left to right, and not from right to left, as in the case of the living. An egg called *u'leng kpoh*
764 is placed on the stomach of the deceased, and nine fried grains, of *rim hadem*, or Indian corn, are tied round the head with a string. The rich place ear-rings in the ears and other jewellery on the body of the deceased, it being necessary that this jewellery should be specially made for the occasion, and they
[775] deck the corpse with valuable cloths. A cock, *u'iar kmed lyati* (literally the cock that scratches the way), is sacrificed, the idea being that a cock will scratch a path for the spirit to the next world. A sacrifice of a bull, or of a cow in case the deceased is a woman, (*u* or *ka masi pynsem*,) follows. Portions of the left leg of the fowl and the lower part of the jaw of the bull or cow are kept, to be placed afterwards in the *mawshieng*, or bone,

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535 women from the Wár country, wearing their picturesque dress, amongst whom was the wife of the Siem of Bohwal with her little daughter. The dance was a pretty sight, and I have [752] seldom seen such evidence of unaffected happiness as was exhibited by the people on this occasion. Dancing may be described as one of the characteristic features of Khasi life.

796 The Synteng *Beh-dieng-khlam* festival takes place annually 789 at Jowai and elsewhere in the Jaintia Hills in the deep water moon month (*u Jyllieu*, or June). *Khlam* is the Khasi word for plague or pestilence, and *beh-dieng* signifies to drive away with sticks. The festival may be described as follows:—The males rise betimes on the day fixed and beat the roof with sticks, calling upon the plague-demon to leave the house. Having done this, later on in the day they go down to the stream where the goddess "Aitan" dwells. Then poles of great length, which have been newly cut, are held across the stream. The people jump on the poles and try to break them; when they succeed in doing so, a great shout is given. After all these poles have been broken, a very large pole is fixed across the stream. The people then divide themselves into two parties, and contend for the possession of the tree. The contest, however, is a good-humoured one, and although many buffets are given and received, these are not regarded seriously, and there [291] are seldom any fights. Col. Bivar says the contending villagers, in their excitement, sometimes relapse into a state of almost complete nudity. The party which succeeds in obtaining possession of this post is supposed to gain health and prosperity [796] during the coming year. Col. Bivar remarks that the origin of this so-called ceremony is said to be that the god of thunder, "*u'lei pyrthat*," and Ka Aitan, the goddess of the stream, enjoined its performance. Many innovations, however, have crept in. People disguise themselves as giants and wild beasts, they also parade images of serpents, elephants, tigers, peacocks, [535] &c. Dancing is carried on with enthusiasm by the males, the [536] girls, clad in their best attire, remaining on-lookers. Before the meeting breaks up the males play a sort of game of hockey with wooden balls.

I: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

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U DAKHU, LYNGDAH HEAD MAN.

Reproduced from a picture by Miss Eleanor Scott O'Connor.

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considering. Some of the leading characteristics of the Lyngngams will now be detailed. The Lyngngams are by complexion swarthy, with features of Mongolian type. The men are of middle height and the women remarkably short, both sexes being not nearly so robust as the Khasis, a result due probably to climatic influences, for the Lyngngams live in fever-haunted jungles. The men have very little hair about the face, although a scanty moustache is sometimes seen, the hairs in the centre being carefully plucked out, the result being two tufts on either side. Beards are never seen. The women are ill-favoured, and wear very little clothing. The men wear the slovenly coat of the Khasi and Mikir pattern, called *phong-maromg*, which is made of cotton dyed red, blue, and white. This custom may have been borrowed from the Khasis. They do not grow their own cotton, but obtain it from the plains. They make their cloth from slaughtering (*ruid*) and *kaw* and *lang* (black). A cotton cloth, barely enough for purposes of decency, is tied between the legs, the ends being allowed to hang down in front and behind. Sometimes an apron is worn in front. At the present day the men wear knitted woollen caps, generally black or red, of the Nongstoin pattern (a sort of fisherman's cap), but the elderly men and head-men wear turbans. The females wear a cotton cloth about eighteen inches broad round the loins, sometimes striped red and blue, but more often only dark blue. A blue or red cloth is thrown loosely across the shoulders by unmarried girls, but married women only wear the waist-cloth, like the Garos. A cloth is tied round the head by married women, sometimes, Garo fashion. The women wear quantities of blue beads as necklaces, like their Garo sisters. They obtain the beads from the Garo markets at the foot of the hills. Brass ear-rings are worn by both sexes; the women, like the Garos, load their ears to such an extent with brass rings as to distend the holes greatly. Silver armlets are worn by the head-men only, or by those who possess the means to give a great feast to the villagers. This is the custom of the Garo *sokmas*, or head-men. Both sexes wear bracelets. The men also wear necklaces of beads. The rich wear necklaces of cornelian and another stone which is thought by the Lyngngams to be valuable. A necklace of such stones is called *u'pirsig bôi* (god's necklace).

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No. 4.—1904.

101 *Note on the Khasis, Syntengs, and allied Tribes, inhabiting the Khasi and Jaintia Hills District in Assam.—By* MAJOR P. R. T. GURDON, *Superintendent of Ethnography in Assam.* (With plates III—IV).

[Read 3rd August, 1904.]

102 1. *Physical characteristics.*—The men are seldom tall; they are generally well made, and possess great strength of limb,—of leg in particular. Their features show a resemblance to those of the Japanese; their complexions are fair, noses flat, lips thick, and eyes very frequently obliquely set. The women are good-looking, of a bonny type, and are cheerful and pleasant-mannered. Children are sometimes exceedingly pretty. Khasis are inveterate chewers of *pân*,—both men, women, and children; the distances from place to place being measured by the number of betel-nuts that can be chewed on the journey. The hair of the males is shaved above the forehead pretty high up, and the remainder is gathered into a knot at the back of the head. Very few Khasis have much hair about the face. Both Khasis and Syntengs wear the characteristic coat (*jymphong*) loin-cloth, *jein sliang* (a kind of

8: Gurdon G-3 (no date) 1904 AR7 Khasi AR7

291 small kilt), and a cap which is peaked in front and which comes down well over the ears, called (*ka tupia skhor*) ear cap. The dress of the Khasi females is somewhat different from that of the Synteng, the former wears a striped cloth tied round the waist, hanging down to the knees, and another cloth, with a fringed border, knotted on both the shoulders to cover the bust and a narrow cloth, called *ka jympies*, to serve the purpose of under-clothing. A cloth knotted in front is also worn like a cloak over shoulders. The Synteng woman wears a cloth smoothed round the body fastened above the bust and drooping down to the ankles. Another cloth is thrown over the shoulders, and crossed in front. Both Khasi and Synteng women wear a cloth tied over the head, called *ka tap* mokhlieh. Up-to-date Khasi males wear knicker-
292 bockers, stockings, and boots, and females chemises. On festive occasions, both Khasis and Syntengs, males and females, wear expensive silks, with earrings of gold or silver. There is a special dancing-dress of
301 elaborate pattern. The women at festivals wear a circlet of silver with a spear-head ornament behind, rising 4 or 5 inches from the back of the head. Large coral beads are much valued, and necklaces of alternate beads of coral and gold, and sometimes of coral alone, are worn by the chiefs and their principal followers. Such necklaces are worn by
262 women also on *gala* occasions. The staple diet of both Khasis and Syntengs is rice and dried fish. They are, however, fond of all kinds of meat, especially pork. Some of the Syntengs abstain from beef,
[11] owing no doubt to Hindu influences. Neither Khasis nor Syntengs eat dog, which is partaken of with zest by the Naga and the Garo tribes,—this is owing to the dog being considered by the Khasis to be the friend of man. Neither Khasis nor Syntengs use milk, the latter being thought by them to be an excrement. Neither Khasis nor Syntengs
411 tattoo. The weapons of both Khasis and Syntengs are bows and arrows, swords and shields. The national game of the Khasis is archery, regarding which a detailed description will be found in paragraph 10.

The people live in regular villages on fixed sites which have not
341 changed for generations,—and they appear to be much attached to those sites, where, as a rule, the family tombs are standing. The houses are
342 built in the shape of a shell, the houses being divided into three compartments,—the *Shyngiup*, or porch, where odds and ends, and sometimes fowls, are kept; *nongpoi*, or centre room, which is used for cooking and sitting in; and *rumpoi*, or inner room, where the people sleep. The houses are low, with grass roofs reaching nearly to the ground, the beams are of hewn timber, the walls are of either planks roughly hewn or of reeds or split bamboos plastered with clay. The Khasis' houses generally have boarded floors raised some feet from the ground level,

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

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G. Khasi women of Kongton village.

H. Young Khasi women of Sheila village.

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15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

Shella

Confederacy forms a more marked endogamous community, through being cut off geographically and economically from the rest of the Khasi, and socially from the neighbouring Hindu people. 621

The Economy and the People.

Shella lies along the upper part of the Shella River and stretches upwards along the steep slope, looking down towards the Bengal plain. The climate of this part of the hills is considered to be one of the worst in tropical India for human habitation. The Bengal plain, though warmer than this area, is considered more healthy. This border land is the zone of malaria, typhoid, black fever, cholera, etc. None of the Bengalee peasants dare to live in such an area. However, it is the most fertile for products such as betel-nuts, pan-leaves, oranges, bananas and pineapples, and it also produces limestone. These people seem to prefer to settle in this zone and to enjoy its prosperity, at the expense of human lives: every year, especially between March and September, the inhabitants suffer from various fevers and dysentry and other diseaes, many of the weaker facing death. 131 132 164 433 164 648

Before the Partition of India and Pakistan, the products of Shella were carried down the Shella River to Sylhet, one of the biggest centres in East Bengal, which brought unimaginable wealth to the Shella people. Their houses were built by carpenters from Sylhet. The style and structure of these houses were exceptionally elaborate for the Khasi. They purchased vast rice fields in the plain, which used to be cultivated by Bengalee and Garo labourers engaged by them. These Khasi do not themselves know how to cultivate rice fields; they have always been managers or landowners. Their boys used to be sent to high schools and colleges in Sylhet. As a result of their trading with the Bengalee, many of them read and speak fluent Bengalee. There is no difference between their style of clothing and that of the Bengalee, though the women maintain their traditional dress in the Shella style. 177 178 434 [439] [342] [166] [464] [871] [191] [291]

They have thus been distinguished from the rest of the Khasi not only geographically, but also economically and culturally. Their personality also differs sharply from the rest of the Khasi. They are very sociable, and quick, a quality lacking among the Khasi of Sohkynduh and Kongton. They are clever enough to deal with strangers. The upland Khasi say Shella people are very cunning. This remark shows one side of these people. They had to be cunning, since they traded with the Sylhet Bengalee who were said to be the most cunning of their race. Their role in the trade and in the history of the modernization of the Hills was considerable. For centuries they represented intellectual Khasi owing to their contact with Hindu civilization, while the Hills remained in darkness. They assumed an important role when the British established an administration in the Hills, and even up to now, many leading Khasi originated from this area: for instance, Lati Hat, the first interpreter of the British Headquarters at Cherrapunjee; Jeebon Roy, who was the first Magistrate among the Khasi; Maham Sing, a lawyer and Member of the Legislative Assembly (the grandson of Jeebon Roy); Nichols Roy, Minister of Health and Prisons of the Assam Government, Member of the Legislative Assembly, and Missionary of the Church of God; R. R. Thomas (brother of Nichols Roy), Principal of the Gauhati University, etc. 157 184 648 177 178 [439]

Through constant cultural contact with Hindu, and encouraged by their economic prosperity, the Shella Khasi, like the Jaintias, have been much influenced by Hindu culture. However, this does not mean that the people of Shella adopted the Hindu beliefs. Though there is a small Hindu shrine, and some ceremonial elements were borrowed from the Hindu, most of the 177 648 771 795

17: Banerjee E-5 (1955) 1962 AR7 Khasi AR7
Smit

796 The goats were sacrificed by his sister's eldest son (*Siem-khynnah*) and in
782 charge of respective units at the open courtyard. The priests evoked the
ancestors and ancestress and called upon them by name praying 'Oh God and
769 Goddess, I offer this sacrifice as our ancestors did. Bless the *Siem*, his family
and the people of his state. I shall beseech you again on this day after one
231 year. You create favourable weather by virtue of your power, bring clouds and rains to yield bumper crops and ensure a happy and prosperous life.'

On the last day (Nongkrem), a man of Mawroh clan sacrificed a pig introducing an iron spike in its left armpit. Nine pieces of meat from different parts of the pig's body were again offered to their five ancestors. The *Siem* in the presence of his *Darbar* performed the last item of festival by praying to U Shillong, when the Chief of Rynjah clan also followed in the same way for seeking the blessings of their Chief deity.

This brought the ritual to an end performed at the residence of *Siem*. The five pieces of goat's and pig's meat offered to their five ancestors, were then handed over to the in-charge of the five units considered as somewhat higher in their State organisation. They distributed them at a suitable place in their unit, making a feast as a sort of public declaration of the completion of their greatest festival for the year.

DANCING

535 Besides the ritual described above, dance with the accompaniment of music
796 formed an important aspect of this festival. A dance known as *sad-tyngkoh*
had been a regular feature for the first, second, third and fifth day. This dance
[533] has some interesting features. It has to be performed in pairs. The first pair was constituted by Chief priest and the Chief musician. Second to fifth pairs were between the *Sirdars* of the eight units after which *Siem* along with an official of his council constituted the sixth pair. The subsequent pairs were formed by any two persons from the gathering. They danced only after bowing first before the Oak pillar (Rishot), then to *Siem* on the fifth day. This pairing was then not adhered to on completion of the last rite of the festival.

A second type of dance (*Ka sad mastieh*) was then performed in the courtyard by the musicians as well as by the professional dancers (nong-shad) with sword and fly-brush in the afternoon of the third day. The dance was always
[291] held in pairs first by musicians, and then dancers, who donned their traditional
[301] dress consisting of silk turban (Jainspong) decorated with feathers, coloured sleeveless coat (Jymphong) silver chains and coral necklaces. Later on they joined the procession, that went to the adjacent hill where after the completion of the ceremony of goat killing, a group dance was performed returning to the residence of *Siem* ultimately.

This dance (*sad-nohkjat*) was performed by the Siems family. It was held early in the morning of the fourth day in the central hall (Shlur) and also
[291] in the courtyard. The men put on their normal dress whereas the women
[301] dressed themselves with gold and silver crown (pansngiat), numerous silver ornaments and different coloured blouse. They dressed and braided the hairs into a knot just at the nape. The High Priestess who also danced with the membes of the Siems' family, stood in the middle of the line and chief
[302] musician stood at one end. They hold each other in hand and danced round the fire-place of the central hall (Shlur) in anti-clock-wise direction in accompaniment of music. The people assembled there, gave vent to their feeling in their customary way every time, before they resumed to make it three times. Similar performance of dances were also held in the courtyard.

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

144 'ETHNOLOGY.—In order to determine the ethnological position of the Khásiás, we need dwell upon a few only of their physical characteristics, viz. those which are held to indicate that type of the human family, the Mongolian, to which they undoubtedly belong. A detailed description of their physiognomy would embrace forms and characters by no means common even to tribes occupying the hills in close proximity to them, much less referable to all branches of the Mongolian stock. These differences in detail, which may be attributed mainly to local influences, render it extremely difficult, if not absolutely impossible, to trace out the exact relation which these mountain tribes bear to each other. But the Mongolian, or to use a more comprehensive term, the Turanian, physiognomy is unmistakeable in them all—Khásiás, Jáintiás, Gáros, Míkírs, Nágás, Manipuris, etc. The chief points may be briefly stated as follows:—
142 Colour tawny or yellow, though a darker hue is not entirely
[141] unknown; nose somewhat depressed, with a peculiar conformation
[302] towards the forehead at the glabellum, which is very flat and broad; face broad, flat, and squarish, with high and rounded cheek-bones; skull globular rather than square; eyes middle-sized and black, with a yellow tinge in the eyeball; eyelids obliquely set, but less acutely than in the Chinese and other Indo-Chinese races; mouth large, with prominent though not very thick lips; hair black, thick, and worn long, the orthodox style being to tie it up in a knot at the back, varying little with sex; beard remarkably sparse, but the
141 moustache more abundant than the beard. The lower classes go
[826] bare-headed; stature low in the majority of cases; constitution strong and robust; limbs thick, short, and stout; trunk long in proportion and very broad at the waist; calves over-developed, but this is considered an element of beauty, more especially in the women, who, on the average, are fairer and handsomer than the men; carriage ungraceful.

157 'SOCIAL AND MORAL QUALITIES.—Disposition very affable, gentle, and cheerful; rather industrious, but devoid of ingenuity and mechanical skill. In the industrial arts, such as masonry, carpentry,
• 291 and agriculture, they are amenable to training. Dress amongst the lower classes is confined to a fringed jacket rudely woven of hemp, extending down as far as the thighs, and leaving the arms bare, together with a scanty covering for the loins. The more respectable classes wear a turban of coarse cotton or silk for a head-dress, and a sheet of silk thrown loosely over the shoulders, together with a long

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

strip of fine silk for the loins, a part of which hangs gracefully as low as the calves in front. No notice is here taken of what has undoubtedly been added and borrowed from their more civilised neighbours in the plains. 291

'MARRIAGE.—The marriageable age for females is from 15 to 18; for males, from 18 to 24. Matrimonial alliances are contracted either through the parents or the living representatives of the families to which the parties belong. The mode of procedure is still very primitive and unceremonious. The bridegroom, escorted by a number of friends and relatives, goes to the house of the bride, where all are feasted and lodged for the night; on the morrow he leads the bride, accompanied by a number of her relatives, to his own house, and entertains the company with dishes of boiled rice and fresh pork. After remaining there a day or two, the newly-married couple return together to the house of the wife, which becomes their future home. Marriage is dissoluble by regular divorce, for any sufficient cause, and often without any assignable reason except mutual dislike or want of issue, the latter being the most common case of all. Marriage with the Khásiás is simply a conventional arrangement, with nothing further for its object than the procreation of children; failing that, it is no longer looked upon as a contract permanently binding. Divorce is effected in the presence of eye-witnesses—the parents, or the heads of clans. Five cowries (*kaurís*) are produced by the parties and exchanged, then cast away by mutual consent, and the ceremony is over. Parties once divorced can never again contract marriage with each other, but they are at liberty to marry into other families. Polygamy, strictly so called, is not sanctioned by Khási custom. Adultery is looked upon as a serious crime. If the five cowries have not been cast away by mutual consent, both husband and wife are held to be subject to the "matrimonial demon;" and even when either dies in wedlock, the survivor is not at liberty to contract a fresh alliance until he or she pays the family a sum of money as the means of removing the surviving party from subjection to the "matrimonial demon." The husband is a stranger, so to speak, in the family he has entered, and perpetuates the race of others, not his own. The children in all questions of lineage and personal rights follow the mother. There are always two interests in the same family—that of the husband, and that of the wife. Whatever the husband may have earned or acquired in

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1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

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KHASI GIRL IN DANCING DRESS.

Reproduced from a picture by Miss Eirene Scott O'Connor.

[FACING p. 156]

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

301 plate. The hair is worn tied in a knot behind the head, but with
302 a long tail hanging down the back. Rich silk cloths are worn
535 by the girls, who present the appearance of being, if any-
[292] thing, over-clothed, or, as Yule aptly puts it, of "perfect
796 parallelograms." They wear a profusion of gold and coral
782 bead necklaces, silver and gold chains, bracelets, ear-rings of gold, and any other jewellery they can lay hands on. Not only is the whole of the family jewellery requisitioned by the fair *débutante* (it is only the unmarried girls who dance), but she borrows from her friends. The men dance round the outside of the circle, waving fly-flaps and prancing (often nowadays wear-
[534] ing huge boots) with ungainly strides. The music necessary for the dance consists of *tangmuri* (pipes), drums, and cymbals.
[292] This is *ka shad kynthei*, or the dance of the women. Then there is *ka shad mastieh*, or the dance of the men, who are gaily dressed, wearing plumes of black and white cock's feathers (*u thuiyah*) and hold swords and shields. After gyrating for some time, two men at a time rapidly approach one another and clash their swords together in mock combat. They then retire, and, after again revolving for a period, repeat the process; then other couples follow and take their place. This goes on until the dancers get tired or are told to stop.

535 The above description may be taken as applicable to all
764 the Khasi dances. Dancing forms part of the ceremony of placing the ashes in the sepulchre of the clan. Dancing also forms a part of certain ceremonies performed at markets for the prosperity of the State and for the good of trade.

535 When I was at Mawsynram, at the time of the appointment of a Siem, I witnessed a very pretty dance called *ka shad lymmoh*, performed by men who held the leafy branches of trees in their hands. This is most effective. Then
[301] followed a dance of some forty young girls, very well dressed, covered with the usual gold and coral beads and silver chains, and wearing the silver crown, or *pansngiat*. The young women danced with great spirit, and with an absence of all shyness, but still with the greatest decorum. Many of the women, spectators as well as dancers, were observed to be without the usual *tap moh khlih*, or head-cloth, the absence of which is always a sign amongst the Khasi women of merry-making. There were

764 the maw shying, the place of temporary keeping.

The second burial occurs later, when the bones are transferred from the maw shying into the maw phew. Maw phew are places for keeping the ashes of members of a narrower family circle. The bones of the male relatives are kept here as well as the bones of the female relatives, but separately from each other.

The third burial finally occurs in a very ceremonial way, when the bones from the various maw phew are transferred into the common grave of the whole sib maw bah.

[436] A Schematic Representation of the Transfer of the Bones of a Sib:

1. Burial: Cremation: maw shying — Cremation: maw shying — Cremation: maw shying — Cremation: maw shying — Cremation: maw shying
(Bones of a single dead person, male or female) (single grave)
2. Burial: maw phew — maw phew
(Bones of men and women separated) Family grave)
3. Burial: maw bah
(Bones of the men and women separated) (Sib grave)
a) First Burial (maw shying)

As soon as the cremation is over, the participants form a procession and bring the ashes or bones to the maw shying. One man hurries ahead, strewing leaves (ding shit=hot wood) alternately with grains of rice on the
764 road. Then the woman follows who carries the
292 bones. She is festively dressed and has a kind of scarf around her shoulders such as the Catholic priests wear for carrying the monstrance. In a village south of Lamin I saw

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[292] on such an occasion a scarf which was decorated with gold edges and gold fringes. Whereas the relatives following next may walk and speak as they choose, the woman dressed in the scarf, who is carrying the bones wrapped in white cloth with respect against her breast, is required to be silent, not to vary to the right or to the left, but to walk in a straight line to the maw shing [sic] as far as this is possible.

764
782 Having arrived at the place, a rooster is first sacrificed, which one calls the "guide to heaven" (u 'iar krad lynti), because he is supposed to accompany the spirit of the deceased into the other world. Afterwards three loaves of rice bread, an egg and brandy are sacrificed by the sacrificial priest (nongknia), so that the ashes may rest well here. The bones are placed in an earthern pot after they are well washed, and the jar is bound with a white linen cloth. The three loaves of bread along with the egg and the left foot of the previously sacrificed rooster are placed beside the jar in the prepared grave (if one can call the hole that) and the grave is closed with a stone. Betel nuts, pepper leaves, and lime are placed on top.

b) Second Burial (maw phew)

After a while the bones in the separate maw shying are collected, but the bones of the men and the bones of the women are kept and carried separately. In a manner similar to the above the transfer into the maw phew occurs. There the bones are laid separated in the prepared places, and the usual sacrifices of the rooster, the kpu, and the liquor are offered.

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Fig. 6 p. 18
[The village chief in his sacrificial coat and ornaments]

The spectators now go to the side, the S'iem and the Rangbahs 796
come down to the place of sacrifice, while the Soh Blei receives the 782
utensils and the sacrificial gifts and spreads them out in order on the ground. Then he takes the rooster in both hands and calls on the god Shillong with these words; "O god Shillong, thou who hast been seated since time immemorial! (ko Blei Shillong kumba la buh u long shwa!)" With a deep bow he then offers the sacrifice five times. Rooster and goat are sprinkled with water, rice, and the flour from kpu and rynsi, and are then beheaded. Then the examination of the [987]
entrails (dykhot) takes place in order to see if the sacrifice was acceptable. The way of doing that will be given below.

After the end of the sacrifice the Soh Blei and a flute player lead [535]
the sword dance; after them the S'iem and the other dancers follow [534]
in turn. Various drums are beaten alternately and flutes are played through the whole night. When night falls the goats of the S'iem and those of the various districts of the kingdom of Nongkrem are brought for the sacrifice of the next day.

The day following the great market is called ka sngi Lyngka. It 796
is the center point and climax of the whole ceremony. From early 782
in the morning the crowds pour in from all sides of the Khasi Mountains. 534

Early in the morning an unmarried girl of the royal lineage (ka 535
S'iem ba dang khynraw) dances in the house of the S'iem sād before the rishot Blei. Usually a granddaughter or nearer relative of the S'iem sād is chosen for this. Two men then take the girl in their arms and carry her with a rocking motion to the large open place in front of the iing sād.

Then the great folk dance begins. In the middle of the place musicians squat on the ground and play the drums and flutes, and strike the cymbals. The music is quite without art, only a repetition of the same monotonous tones.

The women dancers move in a rather narrow circle around the musicians. Only the unmarried girls dance. The clothes they wear 292 ●
for it are very rich and frequently very valuable. Fine cloths, usually of red, yellow, or blue silk are draped over their bodies; the upper body and arms are covered by a satin jacket. Their hair is bound to- [302]
gether in a bun behind their heads; a string hangs /facing p. 896. 301
Fig. 5.[1] Khasi Men Dancers in front of the iing sād. Phot. P. Frum. Stegmiller, S. D. S. Fig. 6. Sword Dance of the Khasi. Fig. 7. S'iem sād and S'iem of Nongkrem. / /897/ down from the bun which usually ends in three tassels. The head is covered by a golden or silver crown of fine chased work, which is topped by a bunch of feathers or a bunch of artificial flowers. Around their necks they wear chains of gold or

[1] [For illustrations, see category 116, p.116 --- Analy:]

301 silver and several in various sizes made of real corals. Their ear lobes are decorated with heavy earrings; shoes and stockings are not worn. Around their arms and wrists are massive silver rings or hoops, the latter being quite wide and in the same shape as cuffs. Fig. 10 shows the ornaments in detail. The very grand [293] women dancers usually have a servant carrying an opened umbrella behind them.

535 The Khasi dance does not have the exciting and lively motions that are characteristic of our dances. Each woman dancer with her arms hanging down at her sides and her eyes cast modestly to the ground could be considered a model of modesty. Each completes her motions alone and completely independent of the others. She continuously makes a circle around the musicians, moving sideways, forwards, or backwards. At the same time the feet are kept close together and are moved seemingly so little that the motion is scarcely visible. When a woman dancer is tired she withdraws in order to rest a bit, and then enters again into the rows of the other dancers.

Figs. 8 and 9 illustrate the above description of the Khasi woman dancers. Fig. 8 shows the girls in the dance in front of the ïing sād, of which only the front part may be seen above in the picture on the right.

535 292 At a proper distance from the girls the men dance in a wider circle around the place. They also have special clothing. Over the usual white cloth that covers the lower part of the body they wear a shirt, and over it a silk coat embroidered with many colors without sleeves which ends in a long fringe. Cf. Fig. 9 for this. A tail or [301] train of animal hair hangs down over the back. Costly coral chains decorate the breast. A bunch of artificial flowers (thuia) about 18 inches long or of black and white rooster feathers is placed in the silk turban, while the right hand holds a bunch of goat hair. The modern shoes and stockings which are now worn by many go very badly with the otherwise pretty costume.

535 The motions of the men are more lively than those of the dancing girls, but still quite relaxed. In a dawdling manner they hop from one leg to another in a childish way, without lifting their legs very much. In this way they move forward, describing a circle; at the same time they wave the bunch of hair around in the air. From time to time they stop and as a group make a bow towards the middle of the circle with a loud rejoicing shout of pleasure, while they swing the bunch of hair downwards at the same time (cf. Fig. 5).[7]

[7] [see category 11k, pp. 11-17 --- Analyst]

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Fig. 2

Fig. 3

Fig. 4

Fig 2. Drums, flutes and cymbals of the Khasi. Fig 3. Sacrificial Knives and ka wait of the Khasi. Fig. 4. Sacrificial dress of the Soh Blei (Khasi).

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Fig. 3. At the Oracle of Egg Throwing.

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Fig. 5 Khasi Girls and Men in Festive Dance Clothing.

8: Gurdon G-3 (no date) 1904 AR7 Khasi AR7

291 small kilt), and a cap which is peaked in front and which comes down well over the ears, called (*ka tupia skkor*) ear cap. The dress of the Khasi females is somewhat different from that of the Synteng, the former wears a striped cloth tied round the waist, hanging down to the knees, and another cloth, with a fringed border, knotted on both the shoulders to cover the bust and a narrow cloth, called *ka jympien*, to serve the purpose of under-clothing. A cloth knotted in front is also worn like a cloak over shoulders. The Synteng woman wears a cloth smoothed round the body fastened above the bust and drooping down to the ankles. Another cloth is thrown over the shoulders, and crossed in front. Both Khasi and Synteng women wear a cloth tied over the head, called *ka tap mokkhlieh*. Up-to-date Khasi males wear knicker-
292 bockers, stockings, and boots, and females chemises. On festive occasions, both Khasis and Syntengs, males and females, wear expensive silks, with earrings of gold or silver. There is a special dancing-dress of
301 elaborate pattern: The women at festivals wear a circlet of silver with a spear-head ornament behind, rising 4 or 5 inches from the back of the head. Large coral beads are much valued, and necklaces of alternate beads of coral and gold, and sometimes of coral alone, are worn by the chiefs and their principal followers. Such necklaces are worn by
262 women also on *gala* occasions. The staple diet of both Khasis and Syntengs is rice and dried fish. They are, however, fond of all kinds of meat, especially pork. Some of the Syntengs abstain from beef,
[171] owing no doubt to Hindu influences. Neither Khasis nor Syntengs eat dog, which is partaken of with zest by the Naga and the Garo tribes,—this is owing to the dog being considered by the Khasis to be the friend of man. Neither Khasis nor Syntengs use milk, the latter being thought by them to be an excrement. Neither Khasis nor Syntengs
411 tattoo. The weapons of both Khasis and Syntengs are bows and arrows, swords and shields. The national game of the Khasis is archery, regarding which a detailed description will be found in paragraph 10.

The people live in regular villages on fixed sites which have not
361 changed for generations,—and they appear to be much attached to these sites, where, as a rule, the family tombs are standing. The houses are
342 built in the shape of a shell, the houses being divided into three compartments,—the *Shyngkup*, or porch, where odds and ends, and sometimes fowls, are kept; *neugpei*, or centre room, which is used for cooking and sitting in; and *rumpei*, or inner room, where the people sleep. The houses are low, with grass roofs reaching nearly to the ground, the beams are of hewn timber, the walls are of either planks roughly hewn or of reeds or split bamboos plastered with clay. The Khasis' houses generally have boarded floors raised some feet from the ground level,

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I have seen
211 women at Nongpoiti wearing quivers of leaves. It was explained to me that these were worn to keep off the leeches. The Khasi women might almost be said to be ceremonialy clothed—they wear the cloak in such a way as to hide entirely the graceful contours of the figure. The women are infinitely more decently clothed than Bengali coolie women, for instance; but their dress cannot be described as becoming or graceful, although they show taste as regards the blending of colours in their different garments.

The dress of the Syntengs women is a little different. With them the *juia khrymong* takes the place of the Khasi *jaiaseu*, and is worn by them in the following manner:—One of the two ends is passed under one armpit and its two corners are knotted on the opposite shoulder. The other end is then wound round the body and fastened at the waist, from which it hangs half way down the calf. Over this they wear a sort of apron, generally of mugo silk. They have the cloak and the head-wrapper just the same as the Khasi women. The Syntengs striped cloth may be observed in the picture of the Syntengs girl in the plate. Khasi women on festive occasions, such as
[212] the annual Nongkrem puja, do not cover the head. The hair is then decked with jewellery or with flowers; but on all ordinary occasions Khasi women cover the head. Wild women, however, often have their heads uncovered.

Modern Dress.—The up-to-date Khasi male wears knickerbockers made by a tailor, stockings, and boots; also a tailor-made coat and waistcoat, a collar without a tie, and a cloth peaked cap. The young lady of fashion dons a chemise, also often a short coat of cloth or velvet, stockings, and smart shoes. Of course she wears the *jaiaseu* and cloak, but occasionally she may be seen without the latter when the weather is warm. It
[213] should be mentioned that the Khasi males are seldom seen
[214] without a haversack in which betel-nut, lime, and other odds and ends are kept; and the female has her purse, which, however, is not visible, being concealed within the folds of her lower garment. The haversack of the men is of cloth in the high plateau and in the Bhoi country, but it is of knitted fibre in the Wild country. The Syntengs have a cloth bag, which they call *ka wasa*.

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blackened with the smoke of years, upon which are spread the faggots of resinous fir-wood used for kindling the fire. Above this again is a wooden framework fixed on to the beams of the house, upon which all sorts of odds and ends are kept. Around the fire are to be seen small wooden stools, upon which the members of the household sit. Up-to-date Khasis have cane chairs, but the women of the family, true to the conservative instincts of the sex, prefer the humble stool to sit upon. Well-to-do Khasis nowadays have, in addition to the ordinary cooking vessels made of iron and earthenware, a number of brass utensils. The writer has seen in a Khasi house in Mawkhar brass drinking vessels of the pattern used in Orissa, of the description used in Manipur, and of the kind which is in vogue in Sylhet. The ordinary cultivator, however, uses a waterpot made from a gourd hollowed out for keeping water and liquor in, and drinks from a bamboo cylinder. Plates, or more properly speaking dishes, are of several kinds in the houses of the rich, the two larger ones being styled *ka pliang kynthei* (female) and *ka pliang shyrong* (male). Needless to say, the first mentioned is a larger utensil than the latter. The ordinary waterpots, *u khiew pliang kynthei* and *u khiew pliang shyrong*, are made of brass, the former being a size larger and having a wider mouth than the latter. The pot for cooking vegetables is made of iron. Another utensil is made of earthenware; this is the ordinary cooking pot used in the houses of the poor. Brass spoons of different sizes are used for stirring the contents of the different cooking utensils, also a wooden spoon.

In the sleeping-rooms of the well-to-do there are wooden beds with mattresses and sheets and pillows, clothes being hung upon clothes-racks, which in one house visited were of the same pattern as the English "towel horse." The ordinary cultivator and his wife sleep on mats made of plaited bamboo, which are spread on the bare boards of the house. There are various kinds of mats to be met with in the Khasi houses made of plaited cane, of a kind of reed, and of plaited bamboo. The best kind of mat is prepared from cane. In all Khasi houses are to be seen *ki kwap*, or rain shields, of different sizes and sometimes of somewhat different shapes. The large

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shield of Cherrapunji is used as a protection from rain. 293
Those of Maharam and Mawiang are each of a peculiar pattern. 352
Smaller shields are used as protections from the sun or merely for show, and there are specially small sizes for children. Then there are the different kinds of basket (*ki Ikok*) which are carried on the back, along across the forehead 415 482
by a cane head-strap. These, again, are of different sizes. They are, however, always of the same conical shape, being round and broad-mouthed at the top and gradually tapering to a point at the bottom. A bamboo cover is used to protect the contents of the basket from rain. There is a special kind of basket made of cane or bamboo with a cover, which is used for carrying articles on a journey. These baskets, again, are of different sizes, the largest and best that the writer has seen being manufactured at Ramhrai, in the south-western portion of the hills. Paddy is husked in a wooden mortar by means of a heavy 412
wooden pestle. These are to be seen all over the hills. The 415
work of husking paddy is performed by the women. A 256
bamboo sieve is sometimes used for sifting the husked rice, a winnowing fan being applied to separate the husk. The cleaned rice is exposed to the sun in a bamboo tray. Paddy is stored in a separate store-house in large circular bamboo receptacles. These hold sometimes as much as 30 maunds* of grain. Large baskets are also used for keeping paddy in. In 415
every Khasi house is to be found the net bag which is made 825
out of pineapple fibre, or of a *stein*, the *Assamese riha* 436
(*Boehmeria nivea*). These bags are of two sizes, the larger one for keeping cowries in, the cowrie in former days having been used instead of current coin in these hills, the smaller for the ever necessary betel-nut. *Pân* leaves are kept in a bamboo tube, and tobacco leaves in a smaller one. Lime, for eating with betel-nut, is kept in a metal box, sometimes of silver, which is made in two separate parts held together by a chain. The box is called *ka shanaw*, and 415
is used all over the hills. This box is also used for 987
divination purposes, one end of it being held in the hand, and the other, by means of the chain, being allowed to swing

* One maund is 82 lbs.

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must also be sought out and hired at the markets. 443

3. The Customs of the Market

a) The Preparation for Market. The sellers of both sexes normally carry their wares to the market themselves. They form smaller or larger groups and travel together. The wares are carried on their backs. The burden is packed according to its bulk or content. Larger objects, such as bamboo poles, beams, sugar cane, grass, and mats are carried without any covering by means of a forehead band plaited of reed grass (u star). Smaller items, such as salt or potatoes, are packed in sacks; others such as betel nuts, pepper leaves, fruit, vegetables, etc. are carried in baskets made of bamboo. The baskets are either pointed baskets which are round at the top or square baskets, which narrow to a point at the bottom but still are four feet long in size. The latter baskets are usually made with a cover, which, like the basket itself, is plaited and almost waterproof, so that flour or salt can be transported in them even during the rainy season. A round or oval object shaped like a shield, which in case of need is used as an umbrella (ka trap) and which is plaited out of bamboo, is inserted between the back and the burden (jingkit). On the one hand this object has the purpose of ameliorating the pressure of the burden and on the other hand it is pulled out in rainy weather to serve as an umbrella when it is held up against the rain by hand. [244] 443 482 438 285 443 [243]

With regard to the weight which the Khasi carry to market, the men carry about 100 and more pounds while the women seldom 482

301 silver and several in various sizes made of real corals. Their ear lobes are decorated with heavy earrings; shoes and stockings are not worn. Around their arms and wrists are massive silver rings or hoops, the latter being quite wide and in the same shape as cuffs. Fig. 10 shows the ornaments in detail. The very grand women dancers usually have a servant carrying an opened umbrella behind them.

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535 The Khasi dance does not have the exciting and lively motions that are characteristic of our dances. Each woman dancer with her arms hanging down at her sides and her eyes cast modestly to the ground could be considered a model of modesty. Each completes her motions alone and completely independent of the others. She continuously makes a circle around the musicians, moving sideways, forwards, or backwards. At the same time the feet are kept close together and are moved seemingly so little that the motion is scarcely visible. When a woman dancer is tired she withdraws in order to rest a bit, and then enters again into the rows of the other dancers.

Figs. 8 and 9 illustrate the above description of the Khasi woman dancers. Fig. 8 shows the girls in the dance in front of the ling lad, of which only the front part may be seen above in the picture on the right.

535 292 As a proper distance from the girls the men dance in a wider circle around the place. They also have special clothing. Over the usual white cloth that covers the lower part of the body they wear a shirt, and over it a silk coat embroidered with many colors without sleeves which ends in a long fringe. Cf. Fig. 9 for this. A tail or [301] tuft of animal hair hangs down over the back. Costly coral chains decorate the breast. A bunch of artificial flowers (thala) about 18 inches long or of black and white rooster feathers is placed in the silk turban, while the right hand holds a bunch of goat hair. The modern shoes and stockings which are now worn by many go very badly with the otherwise pretty costume.

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1 [see [illegible] pp. [illegible] --- [illegible]]

children, but Christian influence has eradicated or driven underground the consumption by women and children. **Industrial arts.** The only industrial arts traditionally practiced in all households were a rudimentary carpentry and a simple utilitarian basketry. Other arts were few, and were practiced as village specialties: the washing and smelting of iron ore and the forging of hoes, daos, knives, swords, and cooking pots (upland Khasis); the spinning of cotton thread (Mynso village, Jaintia); the dyeing of cotton thread and the weaving of cloth (Jaintias, Bhois, Lyngngams, Wars); the spinning and weaving of Eri silk (Khyrwang and Nongtung villages, Bhoi and Jaintia); and the hand manufacture, without wheel, of painted earthenware pots (Larnai village, Jaintia). Ironworking and the production of cotton goods have nearly died out through the competition of machine-made goods. Carpentry has greatly improved. An innovation of major importance is the sewing and tailoring, on sewing machines, of ready-made garments for both sexes. [Cf. Darrah 1896; C., W. 1832.] **Trade.** Khasi villages normally contain a number of household shops operated by women. Every Khasi also lives within walking distance of several village markets that are held on successive days of the eight-day week. The limits of market intercourse for the members of any particular village can be roughly distinguished by their naming the days of their week, which are called after the active markets. The exception is the huge market at Shillong, much of which is active daily, and which serves as a magnet for Khasis from all over the hills. The traditional barter has given way to currency in all markets. The small ones contain at least some local farm produce, plus other essentials like betel nut, and the food and tea stalls which serve as centers of social intercourse. The big markets contain not only regional produce and manufactures but also products from distant parts of the hills, brought for sale by traveling middlemen. There is also substantial trade, from the hills to the valleys, in potatoes, pears, hides, lac, cotton, caoutchouc, the wood of the sal tree, Eri silk thread, limestone, coal, ivory, bay leaf, betel nut, pan leaves, bananas, sugar cane, oranges, til, turmeric, and chikas. From the plains to the hills, there is trade in dried fish, paddy rice, salt, cooking oil, kerosene, matches, tea, sugar, wheat flour, machine-made cloth, shoes, metal pots, crockery, porcelain objects, coral beads, silver, and gold. Markets are important not only as economic institutions but also as centers for recreation (including archery competitions), courtship, reaffirmation of kinship ties with distant relatives, and the dissemination of information of all kinds. [Cf. Stoughton 1954a.] **Division of labor.** Men do the heavy work, such as clearing and burning the swidden fields, caring for cattle and goats and driving them to market, butchering and selling large cuts of beef and pork, carpentry and mining, and driving and laboring on motor vehicles. They also tailor men's

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clothing, operate the large Khasi business establishments in Shillong, and provide all civic and religious leadership. Women care for children and for the home, do the marketing, and sell dried fish, betel nut, lime, fruits, and rice breads at markets. Other tasks can be performed by either sex. **Land tenure.** Land was formerly divided into sib land and public domain. Sib land was corporately held in perpetuity, and was inalienable except by the unanimous consent of all members of the sib. The public domain was subject to usufructuary right by anyone who kept the land regularly under habitation or cultivation, with a lapse of no more than three years. Most villages grew up on public domain, and then reckoned all land inhabited or under cultivation by a village member as village land. Forests were public, except for sacred groves possessed by villages or lineage groups, and everyone was free to gather branches for fuel. Wastelands and streams were also public. By now, most public domain and village land, together with its forest cover, has been pre-empted as private property and is being rented and sold as such. Sib lands remain intact, unless the sibs agree to rent, lease, or sell. [Cf. Cantlie 1934.]

462 294 343 622 423 [178]

KIN GROUPS. **Descent.** Descent is matrilineal, and the Khasi is a member exclusively of his own matrilineage from birth to death. Adoption, which is very rare, is only within the matrilineage. **Kin groups.** The maximal matrilineage is the sib; this is a named, widely dispersed, strictly exogamous, lineage group, which claims but cannot trace its origin from a single ancestress. Sibs used to meet as corporate groups from time to time. Some sibs are linked with others in large amorphous groups that are unnamed and are defined solely by exogamy. Such a group is composed of two or more sibs, the ancestresses of which are claimed to have been either real sisters or dear friends who out of affection declared that thenceforth their descendants would be as consanguineals. The origin and function of sib-linkage is now unknown, and today the members of a sib will often disagree on whether or not their sib is linked with another. • The minimal matrilineage is the local descent group, or *ing*. This is the largest kin group that normally rallies at life crises. It is said that the *ing* formerly spanned six generations; today, it encompasses only four. If an *ing* grows to more than four generations in a single village, it segments. New houses are located at some distance from the old and the *ing* soon forgets exactly how to trace genealogical connection, except for which segment descended from a youngest sister. The term *ing* may also be applied to an extended family, an elementary family, and a house. The elementary family is the basic domestic unit in Khasi society. In any village there are likely to be one or two households which stand as sole local representatives of the lineage of the female household head. Such a household is known as an

611 [597] 614 602 [59]

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Name of village (1)	Name of society (2)	Sponsored by (3)
7. Sutnga ...	(1) Credit Society.	Local people
	(2) Co-operative Trading Society.	
8. Darrang ...	Marketing Society.	Do
9. Shella ..	Trading Co-operative Society.	Do.

4.10 **Cottage Industries.**—It has already been mentioned that Village and Cottage Industries are not very popular in the district. 433

The following table shows the industries reported from the sample villages:—

TABLE B-9

Industry (1)	No. of villages reporting existence of the industries. (2)	No. of villages reporting production for sale. (3)	
Cane and bamboo works ...	9	7	322
Blacksmithy	5	5	326
Tailoring	2	2	294
Handloom	...	...	286
Weaving and Spinning ...	3	1	284
Rearing of cocoons, etc. ...	1	1	283
Rearing of lac	1	1	231
Others	3	1	

Blacksmithy and making of baskets, cane products, etc., out of cane and bamboo, are a traditional occupation. Weaving and spinning of cotton, rearing of endi cocoon and weaving of endi, etc., are in vogue only in the Bhoi area and the areas adjoining Kamrup and North Cachar and Mikir Hills districts. Lac rearing is found in the northern portion of the district, *i.e.*, Nongpoh area. 184

Except cane and bamboo works and blacksmithy other industries are practised in a very limited scale. There is thus a lot of scope for introducing cottage industries in the district.

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JEWELLERY.

301 The Khasis, as a people, may be said to be fond of jewellery.
326 The women are specially partial to gold and coral bead necklaces. The beads are round and large, and are usually unornamented with filigree or other work. The coral is imported from
[439] Calcutta. The gold bead is not solid, but a hollow sphere filled with lac. These necklaces are worn by men as well as women, especially on gala occasions. Some of the necklaces are comparatively valuable, e.g. that in the possession of the Mylliem Siem family. The gold and coral beads are prepared locally by Khasi as well as by foreign goldsmiths. The latter derive considerable profits from the trade. The Assam Census Report of 1901 shows 133 goldsmiths in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills district, but does not distinguish between Khasis and foreigners. There are Khasi goldsmiths to be found in Mawkhar, Cherrapunji, Mawlai, and other villages. Sylheti goldsmiths are, however, more largely employed than Khasi in Mawsynram and certain other places on the south side of the hills. In Mr. Hemniker's monograph on "gold and silver wares of Assam" it is stated that the goldsmiths of Karimganj in Sylhet make specially for Khasis certain articles of jewellery, such as men's and women's earrings, &c. An article of jewellery which is believed to be peculiar to the Khasis is the silver or gold crown. This crown is worn by the young women at
301 dances, such as the annual Nongkrem dance. An illustration of one will be seen by referring to the plate. These crowns are circlets of silver or gold ornamented with filigree work. There is a peak or, strictly speaking, a spike at the back, called *u'tiew-lasubon*, which stands up some six inches above the crown. There are long ropes or tassels of silver hanging from the crown down the back. Earrings are worn both by men and women. The former affect a pattern peculiar to themselves, viz. large gold pendants of a circular or oval shape. Women wear different patterns of earrings, according to locality. An ornament which I believe is also peculiar to the Khasis is the *rupa-tylli*, or silver collar. This is a broad flat silver collar which is allowed to hang down over the neck in front, and which is secured by a fastening behind.

Silver chains are worn by men as well as by women. The men wear them round the waist like a belt, and the women hang them round their necks, the chains being allowed to depend as low as the waist. Bracelets are worn by women; these are either of gold or of silver. The Lynngam males wear bead necklaces, the beads being sometimes of cornelian gathered from the beds of the local hill streams, and sometimes of glass obtained from the plains markets of Dauara and Moiskhola. The cornelian necklaces are much prized by the Lynngams, and are called by them '*pieng blei*, or gods' necklaces. Like the Garos, the Lynngams wear as many brass earrings as possible, the lobes of the ears of the females being frequently greatly distended by their weight. These earrings are made out of brass wire obtained from the plains markets. The Lynngams wear silver armlets above the elbow and also on the wrists. It is only a man who has given a great feast who can wear silver armlets above the elbows. These armlets are taken off as a sign of mourning, but never on ordinary occasions. The Lynngams do not wear Khasi jewellery, but jewellery of a pattern to be seen in the Garo Hills. A distinctive feature of the Lynngam women is the very large number of blue bead necklaces they wear. They put on such a large number as to give them almost the appearance of wearing horse collars. These beads are obtained from the plains markets, and are of glass. Further detailed information regarding this subject can be obtained from Mr. Henniker's monograph, which contains a good plate illustrating the different articles of jewellery.

WEAPONS.

The weapons of the Khasis are swords, spears, bows and arrows, and a circular shield which was used formerly for purposes of defence. The swords are usually of wrought iron, occasionally of steel, and are forged in the local smithies. The Khasi sword is of considerable length, and possesses the peculiarity of not having a handle of different material from that which is used for the blade. In the Khasi sword the handle is never made of wood or bone, or

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

535 be a successful era in store for the people of the State. The
776 goddess on this occasion may be regarded as a Khasi Demeter,
796 although no mysteries form part of her services as at the
789 Grecian Eleusis. The Nongkrem ceremony and dance (now
782 held at Smit) take place in the late spring, generally in the month of May. A lucky day having been fixed, the Siem sends a ring of cane (*kyrwoh*) by way of a summons to the people of every village in the State, at the same time informing them of the date of the puja, and requesting them to attend with their offerings, consisting of goats and different articles of food. In the meantime various pujas have been taking place in the house of *Ka Siem Sad*, the Siem priestess, which it would be tedious to describe in detail. The more interesting points only will be mentioned. A fortnight before the puja and dance at Smit the *soh-blei*, or high priest, pours out libations of liquor in the *kyram-blang*, or place where the sacrificial goats are kept, and in front of the great post (of *dieng sning*, or Khasi oak), in the house of the Siem priestess. Dancing then takes place in front of the post. Later on the Siem, with the high priest and other attendant priests, walks with extremely slow gait to a small hill where a stone altar has been prepared, and sacrifices a cock in honour of *u'lei Shillong*, or the god of the Shillong Peak. A silver dish with powdered rice, liquor in a gourd (*ka'iad um*), betel-nut, and some leaves of the Khasi oak (*dieng sning*), are also necessary adjuncts of the puja. A goat is then sacrificed, and the sacrifice is followed by a dance of twenty-two men armed with swords and shields and chowries (fly-flaps). Having danced before the altar, the party returns to the house of the Siem priestess and executes another dance in the great courtyard. The Siem and certain selected persons dance in front of the *rishot blei*, or holy post
[261] of Khasi oak inside the house of the Siem priestess, the dancers being entertained with dried fish and ginger. Then follows the great dance of girls and men in front of her
782 house. The girls dance in the centre, taking such tiny
796 steps, that the lifting of their feet from the ground is hardly
535 perceptible, the arms held down to the sides and the eyes
301 demurely downcast. It is on this occasion that they wear the
302 peculiar silver (and sometimes gold) crowns illustrated in the

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

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KHASI GIRL IN DANCING DRESS

Reproduced from a picture by Miss Eirene Scott O'Connor.

[FACING p. 150]

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

301 plate. The hair is worn tied in a knot behind the head, but with
302 a long tail hanging down the back. Rich silk cloths are worn
535 by the girls, who present the appearance of being, if any-
[292] thing, over-clothed, or, as Yule aptly puts it, of "perfect
796 parallelograms." They wear a profusion of gold and coral
782 bead necklaces, silver and gold chains, bracelets, ear-rings of gold, and any other jewellery they can lay hands on. Not only is the whole of the family jewelery requisitioned by the fair *débutante* (it is only the unmarried girls who dance), but she borrows from her friends. The men dance round the outside of the circle, waving fly-flaps and prancing (often nowadays wear-
[534] ing huge boots) with ungainly strides. The music necessary for the dance consists of *tangmuri* (pipes), drums, and cymbals.
[292] This is *ka shad kynthei*, or the dance of the women. Then there is *ka shad mastieh*, or the dance of the men, who are gaily dressed, wearing plumes of black and white cock's feathers (*u thuiyah*) and hold swords and shields. After gyrating for some time, two men at a time rapidly approach one another and clash their swords together in mock combat. They then retire, and, after again revolving for a period, repeat the process; then other couples follow and take their place. This goes on until the dancers get tired or are told to stop.

535 The above description may be taken as applicable to all
764 the Khasi dances. Dancing forms part of the ceremony of placing the ashes in the sepulchre of the clan. Dancing also forms a part of certain ceremonies performed at markets for the prosperity of the State and for the good of trade.

535 When I was at Mawaynram, at the time of the appointment of a Sieun, I witnessed a very pretty dance called *ka shad lymmoh*, performed by men who held the leafy branches of trees in their hands. This is most effective. Then
[301] followed a dance of some forty young girls, very well dressed, covered with the usual gold and coral beads and silver chains, and wearing the silver crown, or *pansngiat*. The young women danced with great spirit, and with an absence of all shyness, but still with the greatest decorum. Many of the women, spectators as well as dancers, were observed to be without the usual *tap noh khlih*, or head-cloth, the absence of which is always a sign amongst the Khasi women of merry-making. There were

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301

U BAKHU, LYNNGAM HEAD MAN.

Reproduced from a picture by Miss Eirene Scott O'Connor.

Facing p. 142

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

considering. Some of the leading characteristics of the Lyngams will now be detailed. The Lyngams are by complexion swarthy, with features of Mongolian type. The men are of middle height and the women remarkably short, both sexes being not nearly so robust as the Khasis, a result due probably to climatic influences, for the Lyngams live in fever-haunted jungles. The men have very little hair about the face, although a scanty moustache is sometimes seen, the hairs in the centre being carefully plucked out, the result being two tufts on either side. Beards are never seen. The women are ill-favoured, and wear very little clothing. The men wear the sleeveless coat of the Khasi and Mikir pattern, called *phong-marong*, which is made of cotton dyed red, blue, and white. This custom may have been borrowed from the Khasis. They do not grow their own cotton, but obtain it from the plains. They make their own dyes, *changlong* (red) and *kur sai-iong* (black). A cotton cloth, barely enough for purposes of decency, is tied between the legs, the ends being allowed to hang down in front and behind. Sometimes an apron is worn in front. At the present day the men wear knitted woollen caps, generally black or red, of the Nongstoin pattern (a sort of fisherman's cap), but the elderly men and head-men wear turbans. The females wear a cotton cloth about eighteen inches broad round the loins, sometimes striped red and blue, but more often only dark blue. A blue or red cloth is thrown loosely across the shoulders by unmarried girls, but married women only wear the waist-cloth, like the Garos. A cloth is tied round the head by married women, sometimes, Garo fashion. The women wear quantities of blue beads as necklaces, like their Garo sisters. They obtain the beads from the Garo markets at the foot of the hills. Brass ear-rings are worn by both sexes; the women, like the Garos, load their ears to such an extent with brass rings as to distend the holes greatly. Silver armlets are worn by the head-men only, or by those who possess the means to give a great feast to the villagers. This is the custom of the Garo *nokmas*, or head-men. Both sexes wear bracelets. The men also wear necklaces of beads. The rich wear necklaces of cornelian and another stone which is thought by the Lyngams to be valuable. A necklace of such stones is called *u'piong bisi* (god's necklace).

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301 This stone is apparently some rough gum which may be picked up by the Lyngams in the river beds. A rich man amongst
556 them, however, is one who possesses a number of metal gongs,
534 which they call *wiang*. For these they pay very high prices.
436 Rs. 100 being quite a moderate sum for one of them. Being curious to see one of these gongs, I asked a *sirdar*, or head-man, to show me one. He replied that he would do so, but it would take time, as he always buried his gongs in the jungle for fear of thieves. Next morning
[531] he brought me a gong of bell metal, with carvings of animals engraved thereon. The gong when struck gave out a rich deep note like that of Burmese or Thibetan gongs. These gongs have a regular currency in this part of the hills, and represent to the Lyngams "Bank of England" notes. It would be interesting to try to ascertain what is their history, for no one in the Lyngam country makes them in these days. Is it possible that the Garos brought them with them when
534 they migrated from Thibet? The gongs are well known in the
622 Garo Hills, and I hear that when a *nokma*, or head-man, there
778 dies his corpse is laid out upon them. They thus possess also an element of sanctity, besides being valuable for what they will fetch to the Garos or Lyngams. We may hope to hear more about them in Captain Playfair's account of the Garos.

304 The Lyngams do not tattoo. Their weapons are the large-
411 headed Garo spear, the dao, and the shield. They do not usually
243 carry bows and arrows, although there are some who possess them. They are by occupation cultivators. They sow two kinds of hill rice, red and white, on the hill-sides. They have no wet paddy cultivation, and they do not cultivate in terraces like the Nagas. They burn the jungle about February, after cutting down some of the trees and clearing away some of the debris, and then sow the paddy broadcast, without cultivating the ground in any way. They also cultivate millet and Job's-tears in the same way. With the paddy *thillies* are sown the
241 next year. The egg plant, arum, ginger, turmeric, and sweet
231 potatoes of several varieties are grown by them in a similar
759 manner. Those that rear the lac-insect plant *lendoo* trees (Hindi *ankul dol*) in the forest clearings, and rear the insect thereon. Some of these people, however, are prohibited by a

The spectators now go to the side, the S'iem and the Rangbahs come down to the place of sacrifice, while the Soh Blei receives the utensils and the sacrificial gifts and spreads them out in order on the ground. Then he takes the rooster in both hands and calls on the god Shillong with these words: "O god Shillong, thou who hast been seated since time immemorial! (ho Blei Shillong kumba la buh u long shwa!)" With a deep bow he then offers the sacrifice five times. Rooster and goat are sprinkled with water, rice, and the flour from kpu and rymi, and are then beheaded. Then the examination of the entrails (dylhet) takes place in order to see if the sacrifice was acceptable. The way of doing that will be given below. 796 782 [787]

After the end of the sacrifice the Soh Blei and a flute player lead the sword dance; after them the S'iem and the other dancers follow in turn. Various drums are beaten alternately and flutes are played through the whole night. When night falls the goats of the S'iem and those of the various districts of the kingdom of Nongkrem are brought for the sacrifice of the next day. [539] [534]

The day following the great market is called ka ngi Lyngka. It is the center point and climax of the whole ceremony. From early in the morning the crowds pour in from all sides of the Khasi Mountains. 796 782 534 535

Early in the morning an unmarried girl of the royal lineage (ka S'iem ha dang khynraw) dances in the house of the S'iem sûl before the rishot Blei. Usually a granddaughter or nearer relative of the S'iem sûl is chosen for this. Two men then take the girl in their arms and carry her with a rocking motion to the large open place in front of the ling sûl.

Then the great folk dance begins. In the middle of the place musicians squat on the ground and play the drums and flutes, and strike the cymbals. The music is quite without art, only a repetition of the same monotonous tones.

The women dancers move in a rather narrow circle around the musicians. Only the unmarried girls dance. The clothes they wear for it are very rich and frequently very valuable. Fine cloths, usually of red, yellow, or blue silk are draped over their bodies; the upper body and arms are covered by a satin jacket. Their hair is bound together in a bun behind their heads; a string hangs /facing p. 896. Fig. 5: Khasi Men Dancers in front of the ling sûl. Phot. P. From. Stegmiller, S. D. S. Fig. 6. Sword Dance of the Khasi. Fig. 7. S'iem sûl and S'iem of Nongkrem. / /897/ down from the bun which usually ends in three tassels. The head is covered by a golden or silver crown of fine chased work, which is topped by a bunch of feathers or a bunch of artificial flowers. Around their necks they wear chains of gold or 292 [302] 301

[For illustrations, see category 16, p.6 --- Analy:]

301 silver and several in various sizes made of real corals. Their ear lobes are decorated with heavy earrings; shoes and stockings are not worn. Around their arms and wrists are massive silver rings or hoops, the latter being quite wide and in the same shape as cuffs. Fig. 40 shows the ornaments in detail. The very grand [293] women dancers usually have a servant carrying an opened umbrella behind them.

535 The Khasi dance does not have the exciting and lively motions that are characteristic of our dances. Each woman dancer with her arms hanging down at her sides and her eyes cast modestly to the ground could be considered a model of modesty. Each completes her motions alone and completely independent of the others. She continuously makes a circle around the musicians, moving sideways, forwards, or backwards. At the same time the feet are kept close together and are moved seemingly so little that the motion is scarcely visible. When a woman dancer is tired she withdraws in order to rest a bit, and then enters again into the rows of the other dancers.

Figs. 8 and 9 illustrate the above description of the Khasi woman dancers. Fig. 8 shows the girls in the dance in front of the ling sad, of which only the front part may be seen above in the picture on the right.

535 292 At a proper distance from the girls the men dance in a wider circle around the place. They also have special clothing. Over the usual white cloth that covers the lower part of the body they wear a shirt, and over it a silk coat embroidered with many colors without sleeves which ends in a long fringe. Cf. Fig. 9 for this. A tail or [301] tuft of animal hair hangs down over the back. Costly coral chains decorate the breast. A bunch of artificial flowers (thuia) about 18 inches long or of black and white rooster feathers is placed in the silk turban, while the right hand holds a bunch of goat hair. The modern shoes and stockings which are now worn by many go very badly with the otherwise pretty costume.

535 The motions of the men are more lively than those of the dancing girls, but still quite relaxed. In a dawdling manner they hop from one leg to another in a childish way, without lifting their legs very much. In this way they move forward, describing a circle; at the same time they wave the bunch of hair around in the air. From time to time they stop and as a group make a bow towards the middle of the circle with a loud rejoicing shout of pleasure, while they swing the bunch of hair downwards at the same time (cf. Fig. 5).[7]

7 [see category 11k, pp. 16-17 --- Analyst]

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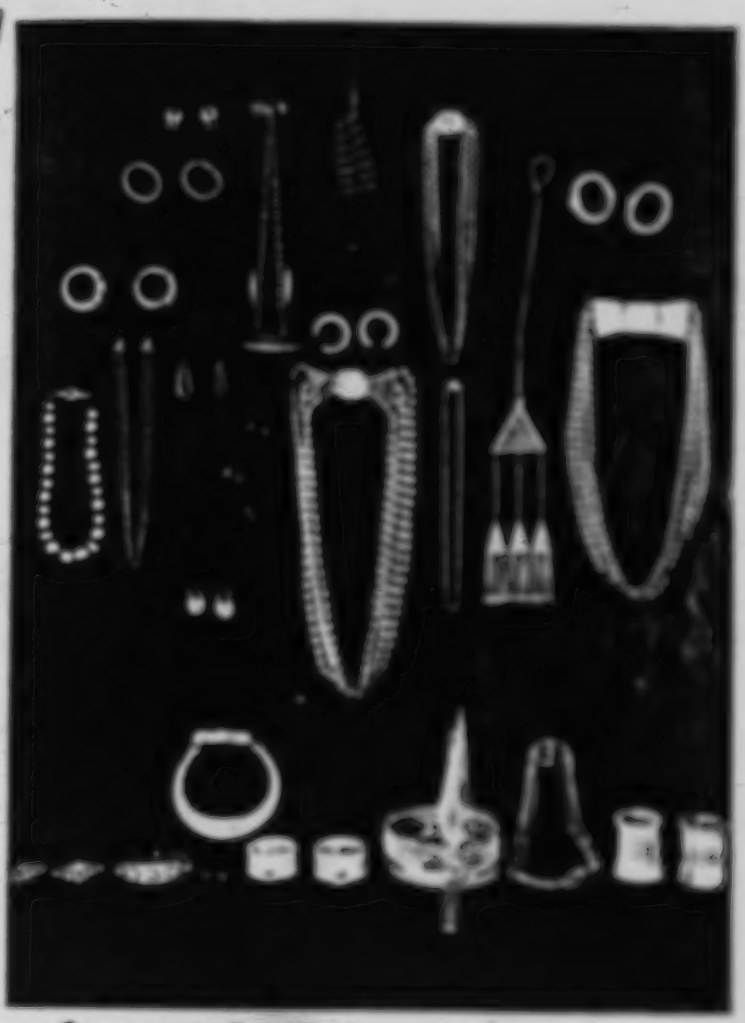

Fig. 10. Khasi Ornaments.

[72] division of the forest and of the clans. The little basket is attached to a post in the hut, the special division of the clan-family are supposed to have their dwelling there; two hazelnut twigs fastened underneath symbolize their power. The good bottles are used as containers for the sacrificial drink of rice liquor. (6)

6. Cf. Die Bongleweis-Puja, /The Bongleweis Puja/, loc cit.

[72] As treasures, which are handed down from generation to generation, [Ia] are considered the rich ornaments of gold and silver, the heavy chains of coral, and the silk scarves, which are worn by the women at dancing ceremonies.

Also those things which the family hute contain in the way of furnishings and utensils, such as baskets, mats, lances, shields, arrows and bows, and large pots for cooking and for water, earthen containers and bone plates are considered common property of the family.

[73] /1.10/ The clan mother at the time has the entire property in her hands, due to the legal and sole guardian and manager of the property. Nothing can be lost even without her permission. No part of either the movable or immovable family possessions may be sold [74] without her agreement. For the execution of the proper legal deed, as due to often ignorant of writing, she must place her fingerprint. Nothing may even be given away: that would be an insult to the clan divinity since that would not mean increasing and lessening their property but giving it away as being of no value. As a punishment for that the clan /women/ would also lose to other possessions and then live in poverty and disgrace. The individual members of the clan could sometimes be recruited for work for other clan-families as a kind of slave (mewa). But they may not be taken up in their society as they do not belong to that clan and the clan gods of that family would not permit it. Therefore if, for example, a clan-family has rice fields which they do not cultivate and would gladly give to poorer relatives, they must at least receive the smallest rice as a charge for it. This consists usually of a good bottle of rice liquor, which has the value of about 70 pfennigs to hence the household divination.

Before the clan mother gives her permission for the sale of common property, she listens to the advice of the other members of the clan. Actually according to the old tribal custom things should be so little sold as given away. It is said that in ages past the original ancestors, when the individual clans separated in division, apportioned out this their needs of field and wood, and these are supposed [75] to have their unsalable clan property (sangiin). To let it get out of one's possession would therefore be insulting the gods. However, that

Sr Gordon G-3 (no date) 1904 AR? Khasi AR?

291 small kilt), and a cap which is peaked in front and which comes down well over the ears, called (in *ngain ribor*) *sur cap*. The dress of the Khasi females is somewhat different from that of the Syntengs, the former wears a striped cloth tied round the waist, hanging down to the knees, and another cloth, with a fringed border, knotted on both the shoulders to cover the bust and a narrow cloth, called *ka jymphen*, to serve the purpose of under-clothing. A cloth knotted in front is also worn like a cloak over shoulders. The Syntengs women wear a cloth wrapped round the body fastened above the bust and dropping down to the ankles. Another cloth is thrown over the shoulders, and crossed in front. Both Khasi and Syntengs women wear a cloth tied over the head, called *ka tap mukkhieh*. Up-to-date Khasi males wear hairbrushes, stockings, and boots, and females chemises. On festive occasions, both Khasis and Syntengs, males and females, wear expensive silks, with earrings of gold or silver. There is a special dancing-dress of elaborate pattern. The women at festivals wear a circlet of silver with a cross-band crossing behind, rising 2 or 3 inches from the back of the head. Large coral beads are much valued, and necklaces of alternate beads of coral and gold, and ornaments of coral alone, are worn by the chiefs and their principal followers. Such necklaces are worn by women also on gala occasions. The staple diet of both Khasis and Syntengs is rice and dried fish. They are, however, fond of all kinds of meat, especially pork. Some of the Syntengs abstain from beef, owing no doubt to Hindu influence. Neither Khasis nor Syntengs eat dog, which is partaken of with zest by the Naga and the Garo tribes,—this is owing to the dog being considered by the Khasis to be the friend of man. Neither Khasis nor Syntengs use milk, the latter being thought by them to be an excrement. Neither Khasis nor Syntengs tattoo. The weapons of both Khasis and Syntengs are bows and arrows, swords and shields. The national game of the Khasis is archery, regarding which a detailed description will be found in paragraph 11.

The people live in regular villages on fixed sites which have not changed for generations,—and they appear to be much attached to these sites, where, as a rule, the family tombs are standing. The houses are [illegible] in number,—the *Shyngiap*, or porch, where wife and male, and sometimes female, are kept; *nongpei*, or outer room, which is used for cooking and sitting in; and *nongpei*, or inner room, where the people sleep. The houses are low, with grass roofs reaching nearly to the ground, the houses are of bare timber, the walls are of either planks roughly hewn or of reeds or split bamboos plastered with clay. The Khasis' houses generally have boarded floors raised some feet from the ground level,

(5) Gabaon G-4 (1955-1956) 1957 ABT Khan, ABT

(1) Khasi women of Kyrdyngiew village

(2) Young Khasi woman of Mawlai village

19. Banerjee E-1 (1955) 1962 AR? Khasi AR?
Smit

796 182 769 231 The goats were sacrified by his sister's eldest son (Sow-Khynnah) and in charge of respective units at the open courtyard. The priests evoked the ancestors and ancestress and called upon them by name praying 'Oh God and Goddess, I offer this sacrifice as our ancestors did. Bless the Sawa, his family and the people of his state. I shall beseech you again on this day after one year. You create favourable weather by virtue of your power, bring clouds and rains to yield bumper crops and ensure a happy and prosperous life.'

On the last day (Dongkoma), a man of Mawroh clan sacrificed a pig introducing an iron spike in its left armpit. Nine pieces of meat from different parts of the pig's body were again offered to their five ancestors. The Sawa in the presence of his *Zurter* performed the last item of festival by praying to U Shilong, when the Chief of Ryngah clan also followed in the same way for seeking the blessings of their Chief deity.

This brought the ritual to an end performed at the residence of Sawa. The five pieces of goat's and pig's meat offered to their five ancestors, were then handed over to the in-charge of the five units considered as somewhat higher in their State organisation. They distributed them at a suitable place in their unit, making a feast as a sort of public declaration of the completion of their process festival for the year.

DANCING

535 796 (532) Besides the ritual described above, dance with the accompaniment of music formed an important aspect of the festival. A dance known as *nongkhnah* had been arranged for the first, second, third and fifth day. This dance has some interesting features. It has to be performed in pairs. The first pair was constituted by Chief priest and the Chief musician. Second to fifth pair was arranged between the leaders of the right and left of the which Sawa along with an official of an council constituted the sixth pair. The subsequent pairs were formed by any two persons from the gathering. They danced only after having first bowed the Gah Mihar (Mother), that is Sun on the fifth day. This pairing was then not adhered to on completion of the last rite of the festival.

A second type of dance (*Ka nongmaiskit*) was then performed in the courtyard by the musicians as well as by the multicoloured dancers (nongshad) with [illegible] on the afternoon of the third day. The dance was always held in pairs but by musicians, and their dancers, who danced their traditional dress consisting of silk turban (*Jumpong*) decorated with feathers, coloured necklace and (*Jumpong*) silver chains and coral necklaces. Later on they joined the procession, that went to the adjacent hill where after the completion of the ceremony of goat killing, a group dance was performed returning to the residence of Sawa ultimately.

[291] [301]

This dance (*nongmaiskit*) was performed by the Sawa family. It was held early in the morning of the fourth day in the central hall (*Shiem*) and also dressed dancers with gold and silver crown (*pamrgiet*), numerous silver ornaments and different coloured blouse. They dressed and braided the hair into a knot just at the nape. The High Priestess who also danced with the member of the Sawa' family, stood in the middle of the line and chief musician stood at one end. They held each other in hand and danced round the fire-place of the central hall (*Shiem*) in anti-clock-wise direction in accompaniment of music. The people assembled there, gave vent to their feeling in their customary way every time, before they resumed to make it flow back. Similar performance of dance were also held in the courtyard.

[291] [301] [302]

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140 hills, and if one met them in the plains one would not be able to distinguish them from the ordinary Kachari or Rabha. The nose in the Khasi is somewhat depressed, the nostrils being often large and prominent. The forehead is broad and the
141 space between the eyes is often considerable. The skull may be said to be almost brachy-cephalic, the average cephalic index of 77 Khasi subjects, measured by Col. Waddell and Major Hare, I.M.S., being as high as 77·2 and 77·9, respectively. According to these data the Khasis are more brachy-cephalic than the Aryans, whose measurements appear in Crooke's tables, more brachy-cephalic than the 100 Mundas whose measurements appear in Risley's tables, more brachy-cephalic than the Dravidians, but less brachy-cephalic than the Burmans, whose measurements also appear in Crooke's tables. It would be interesting to compare some head measurements of Khasis with Japanese, but unfortunately the necessary data are not available in the case of the latter people. The Khasi head may be styled sub-brachy-cephalic. Eyes are of medium size,
142 in colour black or brown. In the Jaintia Hills hazel eyes are not uncommon, especially amongst females. Eyelids are somewhat obliquely set, but not so acutely as in the Chinese and some other Mongols. Jaws frequently are prognathous, mouth large, with sometimes rather thick lips. Hair black, straight, and
143 worn long, the hair of people who adopt the old style being caught up in a knot at the back. Some make out the hair short with the exception of a single lock at the back, which is called *u sindiroy* or *u sinbi-' ewbri* (i.e. the grandmother's lock.) The forepart of the head is often shaven. It is quite the exception to see a beard, although the moustache is not infrequently worn. The Lyngngams pull out the hairs of the moustache with the exception of a few hairs on either side of the upper lip.

PHYSICAL AND GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS.

142 The Khasis are usually short in stature, with bodies well
[149] nourished, and the males are extremely muscular. The trunk is long in proportion to the rest of the body, and broad at the waist; calves are very highly developed. The women when

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

women at Nongstoin wearing gaiters of leaves. It was explained to me that these were worn to keep off the leeches. The Khasi women might almost be said to be excessively clothed—they wear the cloak in such a way as to hide entirely the graceful contours of the figure. The women are infinitely more decently clothed than Bengali coolie women, for instance; but their dress cannot be described as becoming or graceful, although they show taste as regards the blending of colours in their different garments.

The dress of the Syntengs women is a little different. With them the *jaio khrywang* takes the place of the Khasi *jaiaseu*, and is worn by them in the following manner:—One of the two ends is passed under one armpit and its two corners are knotted on the opposite shoulder. The other end is then wound round the body and fastened at the waist, from which it hangs half way down the calf. Over this they wear a sort of apron, generally of *muga* silk. They have the cloak and the head-wrapper just the same as the Khasi women. The Syntengs striped cloth may be observed in the picture of the Syntengs girl in the plate. Khasi women on festive occasions, such as the annual Nongkrem puja, do not cover the head. The hair is then decked with jewellery or with flowers; but on all ordinary occasions Khasi women cover the head. *Wár* women, however, often have their heads uncovered.

Modern Dress.—The up-to-date Khasi male wears knickerbockers made by a tailor, stockings, and boots; also a tailor-made coat and waistcoat, a collar without a tie, and a cloth peaked cap. The young lady of fashion dons a chemise, also often a short coat of cloth or velvet, stockings, and smart shoes. Of course she wears the *jaiaseu* and cloak, but occasionally she may be seen without the latter when the weather is warm. It should be mentioned that the Khasi males are seldom seen without a haversack in which betel-nut, lime, and other odds and ends are kept; and the female has her purse, which, however, is not visible, being concealed within the folds of her lower garment. The haversack of the men is of cloth in the high plateau and in the Bhoi country, but it is of knitted fibre in the *Wár* country. The Syntengs have a cloth bag, which they call *ka nawa*.

A. Gordon Z-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

ing of which the last drop of liquor remains adhering to the spout of the gourd is the name selected for the child. Then the puja performer invokes the god to grant good luck to the child. The father takes the pot containing the placenta, after having previously placed rice flour and fermented rice therein, and waves it three times over the child, and then walks out with it through the main entrance of the house and hangs up the pot to a tree outside the village. When he returns from this duty, before he re-enters the house, another throws water over the father's feet. The father, being thus cleansed, enters, and holds the rice flour to his mouth three times. Two people then, holding the dried fish by their two ends, break them in two. The powdered turmeric mixed with rice flour and water is applied to the right foot of the father, the mother and the child receiving the same treatment. The friends and relations are then anointed, the turmeric being applied, however, to their left feet. The bow, arrows, *da*, and a *star* are carefully placed inside the inner surface of the thatch on the roof, and the ceremony is over. Rice flour is then distributed to all who are present, and the male adults are given liquor to drink. After two or three months the ears of the child are bored and ear-rings are inserted. These ear-rings are called *ki shaskhor* (i.e. the ear-rings of the great-grandmother). Mr. Jenkins mentions that the naming ceremony amongst the Syntengs is performed by the "oldest aunt," presumably on the mother's side. A basket of eggs is placed in the centre of the room, and before the ceremony begins one egg has to be broken. Then the aunt of the child takes two sticks, and, raising them to her shoulder, lets them fall to the ground. Before they fall she shouts, "What name do you give the child?" The name is mentioned, and if, on falling upon the ground, one stick crosses the other, it is a proof that the name has won the approval of the spirit. If the sticks do not fall in this position, another egg is broken and another name is chosen, and the sticks are dropped as before until they fall in the required position, when it is understood by the performers that the name is a good one. Mr. Jenkins was informed by a young man "who had renounced heathenism" that some of the more cunning women cross the sticks before lifting them, and that

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

be a successful era in store for the people of the State. The goddess on this occasion may be regarded as a Khasi Demeter, although no mysteries form part of her services as at the Grecian Eleusis. The Nongkrem ceremony and dance (now held at Smit) take place in the late spring, generally in the month of May. A lucky day having been fixed, the Siem sends a ring of cane (*kyrwah*) by way of a summons to the people of every village in the State, at the same time informing them of the date of the puja, and requesting them to attend with their offerings, consisting of goats and different articles of food. In the meantime various pujas have been taking place in the house of *Ka Siem Sad*, the Siem priestess, which it would be tedious to describe in detail. The more interesting points only will be mentioned. A fortnight before the puja and dance at Smit the *sah-blei*, or high priest, pours out libations of liquor in the *kyrwa-diang*, or place where the sacrificial goats are kept, and in front of the great post (of *diang ewing*, or Khasi oak), in the house of the Siem priestess. Dancing then takes place in front of the post. Later on the Siem, with the high priest and other attendant priests, walks with extremely slow gait to a small hill where a stone altar has been prepared, and sacrifices a cock in honour of *u'lei Shillong*, or the god of the Shillong Peak. A silver dish with powdered rice, liquor in a gourd (*ka'iad ua*), betel-nut, and some leaves of the Khasi oak (*diang ewing*) are also necessary adjuncts of the puja. A goat is then sacrificed, and the sacrifice is followed by a dance of twenty-two men armed with swords and shields and chowries (fly-flaps). Having danced before the altar, the party returns to the house of the Siem priestess and executes another dance in the great courtyard. The Siem and certain selected persons dance in front of the *riskat blei*, or holy post of Khasi oak inside the house of the Siem priestess, the dancers being entertained with dried fish and ginger. Then follows the great dance of girls and men in front of her house. The girls dance in the centre, taking such tiny steps, that the lifting of their feet from the ground is hardly perceptible, the arms held down to the sides and the eyes demurely downcast. It is on this occasion that they wear the peculiar silver (and sometimes gold) crowns illustrated in the

1:Gurdo E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

301 plate. The hair is worn tied in a knot behind the head, but with
302 a long tailhanging down the back. Rich silk clothes are worn
535 by the girls, who present the appearance of being, if anything, overdressed, or, as Yule aptly puts it, of "perfect
[312] parallelograms." They wear a profusion of gold and coral
796 bead necklaces, silver and gold chains, bracelets, ear-rings of
782 gold, andany other jewellery they can lay hands on. Not only is the wealth of the family jewellery requisitioned by the fair *dilettanti*(it is only the unmarried girls who dance), but she borrows from her friends. The men dance round the outside of the circlewaving fly-flaps and prancing (often nowadays wearing hugehoots) with ungainly strides. The music necessary
[534] for the dance consists of *tangwari* (pipes), drums, and cymbals.
[312] This is *ki shad hynthei*, or the dance of the women. Then there is *ka shad mastieh*, or the dance of the men, who are gaily dressed, wearing plumes of black and white cock's feathers (*u thngh*) and hold swords and shields. After gyrating for some time, two men at a time rapidly approach one another and clashtheir swords together in mock combat. They then retire, an, after again revolving for a period, repeat the process; then other couples follow and take their place. This goes on until thelassmen get tired or are told to stop.

535 The above description may be taken as applicable to all
764 the Khasi dances. Dancing forms part of the ceremony of placing the ashes in the sepulchre of the clan. Dancing also forms a part of certain ceremonies performed at markets for the prosperity of the State and for the good of trade.

535 When I was at Mawsynram, at the time of the appointment of a Siem, I witnessed a very pretty dance called *ka shad lyngwed*, performedby men dressed like the fairy creatures of trees in their hands. This is most effective. Then
[301] followed a dance of some forty young girls, very well dressed, covered with the usual gold and coral beads and silver chains, and wearing the silver crown, or *pomplot*. The young women danced with great spirit, and with an absence of all shyness, but still with the greatest decorum. Many of the women, spectators as well as dancers, were observed to be without the usual *tep mah bhiah*, or head-cloth, the absence of which is always a sign amongst the Khasi women of merry-making. There were

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

considering. Some of the leading characteristics of the Lyngams will now be detailed. The Lyngams are by complexion swarthy, with features of Mongolian type. The men are of middle height and the women remarkably short, both being not nearly so robust as the Khasis, a result due probably to climatic influences, for the Lyngams live in fever-haunted jungles. The men have very little hair about the face, although a scanty moustache is sometimes seen, the hairs in the centre being carefully plucked out, the result being two tufts on either side. Beards are never seen. The women are ill-favoured, and wear very little clothing. The men wear the sleeveless coat of the Khasi and Mikir pattern, called *phongmarong*, which is made of cotton dyed red, blue, and white. This custom may have been borrowed from the Khasis. They do not grow their own cotton, but obtain it from the plains. They make their own dyes, *shonglong* (red) and *kur sai-long* (black). A cotton cloth, barely enough for purposes of decency, is tied between the legs, the ends being allowed to hang down in front and behind. Sometimes an apron is worn in front. At the present day the men wear knitted woollen caps, generally black or red, of the Nongpoh pattern (a sort of fisherman's cap), but the elderly men and head-men wear turbans. The females wear a cotton cloth about eighteen inches broad round the loins, sometimes striped red and blue, but more often only dark blue. A blue or red cloth is thrown loosely across the shoulders by unmarried girls, but married women only wear the waist-cloth, like the Garos. A cloth is tied round the head by married women, sometimes, Garo fashion. The women wear quantities of blue beads as necklaces, like their Garo sisters. They obtain the beads from the Garo markets at the foot of the hills. Brass ear-rings are worn by both sexes; the women, like the Garos, load their ears to such an extent with brass rings as to distend the lobes greatly. Silver armlets are worn by the head-men only, or by those who possess the means to give a great feast to the villagers. This is the custom of the Garo *nokmas*, or head-men. Both sexes wear bracelets. The men also wear necklaces of beads. The rich wear necklaces of cornelian and another stone which is thought by the Lyngams to be valuable. A necklace of such stones is called *u'piang bhi* (god's necklace).

The spectators now go to the side, the S'iem and the Rangbaha comes down to the place of sacrifice, while the Sob Blei receives the utensils and the sacrificial gifts and spreads them out in order on the ground. Then he takes the rooster in both hands and calls on the god Shillong with these words: "O god Shillong, thou who hast been seated since time immemorial! (ko Blei Shillong kumba la buh u long ibwa!)" With a deep bow he then offers the sacrifice five times. Rooster and goat are sprinkled with water, rice, and the flour from apu and ryngi, and are then beheaded. Then the examination of the entrails (dyhbot) takes place in order to see if the sacrifice was acceptable. The way of doing that will be given below. 796 752 [797]

After the end of the sacrifice the Sob Blei and a flute player lead the sword dance, after them the S'iem and the other dancers follow in turn. Various drums are beaten alternately and flutes are played through the whole night. When night falls the goats of the S'iem and those of the various districts of the kingdom of Nongkrem are brought for the sacrifice of the next day. [534] [534]

The day following the great market is called ka ngi Lyngka. It is the center point and climax of the whole ceremony. From early in the morning the crowds pour in from all sides of the Khasi Mountains. 796 752 535 535

Early in the morning an unmarried girl of the royal lineage (ka S'iem ba dang khynraw) dances in the house of the S'iem ïïd before the ribhoi Blei. Usually a granddaughter or nearer relative of the S'iem ïïd is chosen for this. Two men then take the girl in their arms and carry her with a rocking motion to the large open place in front of the ïïng ïïd.

Then the great folk dance begins. In the middle of the place musicians squat on the ground and play the drums and flutes, and strike the cymbals. The music is quite without art, only a repetition of the same [illegible] tones.

The women dancers move in a rather narrow circle around the musicians. Only the unmarried girls dance. The clothes they wear for it are very rich and frequently very valuable. Fine cloths, usually of red, yellow, or blue silk are draped over their bodies; the upper body and arms are covered by a satin jacket. Their hair is bound together in a bun behind their heads; a string hangs /facing p. 896. Fig. 5 Khasi Men Dancers in front of the ïïng ïïd. Phot. P. Fruth. Stegmüller, S. D. S. Fig. 6. Sword Dance of the Khasi. Fig. 7. S'iem ïïd and S'iem of Nongkrem. / /897/ down from the bun which usually ends in three tassels. The head is covered by a golden or silver crown of fine chased work, which is topped by a bunch of feathers or a bunch of artificial flowers. Around their necks they wear chains of gold or 292 [302] 301

[For illustrations, see subjects 56, p.6 --- Anthy 27]

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[p. 57]

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No. 4.—1904.

101 *Note on the Khasis, Syntengs, and allied Tribes, inhabiting the Khasi and Jaintia Hills District in Assam.—By* MAJOR P. R. T. GURDON, *Superintendent of Ethnography in Assam.* (With plates III—IV).

[Read 3rd August, 1904.]

142 1. *Physical characteristics.*—The men are seldom tall; they are generally well made, and possess great strength of limb,—of leg in particular. Their features show a resemblance to those of the Japanese; their complexions are fair, noses flat, lips thick, and eyes very frequently obliquely set. The women are good-looking, of a beauty type, and are cheerful and pleasant-mannered. Children are sometimes exceedingly pretty. Khasis are inveterate chewers of *pân*,—both men, women, and children; the distances from place to place being measured by the number of betel-nuts that can be chewed on the journey. The hair of the males is shaved above the forehead pretty high up, and the remainder is gathered into a knot at the back of the head. Very few 291 Khasis have much hair about the face. Both Khasis and Syntengs wear the sleeveless coat (*jymphong*) loin-cloth, *jain shiang* (a kind of

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi
Garo AR5

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C. Iaiei-women of Emongpi village

D. Preparation of demon funeral altar at Rumbagni

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[E 30-0]

17: Banerjee E-5 (955) 1962 ART Khasi ART
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796 182 769 231

The goats were sacrificed by his sister's eldest son (*Sawa-i-lyawah*) and in charge of respective units at the open courtyard. The priests evoked the ancestors and ancestress and called upon them by name praying "Oh God and Goddess, I offer this sacrifice as our ancestors did. Bless the *Sawa*, his family and the people of his state. shall beseech you again on this day after one year. You create favourable weather by virtue of your power, bring clouds and rains to yield bumper crops and ensure a happy and prosperous life."

On the last day (Nonghi[illegible]) a man of Mawroh clan sacrificed a pig introducing an iron spike in its [illegible] throat. Nine pieces of meat from different parts of the pig's body were again offered to their five ancestors. The *Sawa* in the presence of his *Darbar* performed the last rites of festival by praying to U Shilong, when the Chief [illegible] Rymph clan also followed in the same way for seeking the blessings of their [illegible] half deep.

This brought the ritual to [illegible] end performed at the residence of *Sawa*. The five pieces of goat's and pig's meat offered to their five ancestors, were then handed over to the in-charge of the five units considered as somewhat higher in their State organisation. [illegible] distributed them as a suitable place in their unit, making a feast as a sort of public declaration of the completion of their greatest festival for the year.

Dances

535 796 [533]

Besides the ritual describe[illegible] festival, dance with the accompaniment of music formed an important aspect [illegible] the festival. A dance known as *Lai-ryngkah* had been a regular feature for [illegible] is held, second, third and fifth day. This dance has some interesting features [illegible] It has to be performed in pairs. The first pair was constituted by Chief [illegible] pairs and the Chief employed. Second to fifth pair with between the *Sawa* [illegible] of the eight units which *Sawa* along with [illegible] and the sixth pair. The subsequent pairs were [illegible] of an unmarried [illegible] to the gathering. They danced only after having formed by any two persons [illegible] with those in *Sawa* on the fifth day. This passing five before the Oak pillar (Ri[illegible]) [illegible] of the last rite of the festival.

A second type of dance (*[illegible] and mawrih*) was then performed in the courtyard by the musicians in w[illegible] on by the traditional drums (*nong-shad*) with [illegible] and tip-toes in the [illegible] of one hand only. The dance was always held in pairs first by musicians [illegible] and then dancers, who danced their traditional dress consisting of silk turb[illegible] (*Ihampong*) adorned with feathers, coloured sleeveless coat (*Iymphong*) [illegible] hair chains and coral necklaces. Later on they joined the procession, that [illegible] on to the adjacent hill where after the completion of the ceremony of goat kill[illegible], a [illegible] residence of *Sawa* ultimately.

[291] [301]

This dance (*[illegible]*) was performed by the Sawa family. It was held early in the morning of the fourth day in the central hall (*Sitar*) and also in the courtyard. The men put on their normal dress whereas the women dressed themselves with gold and silver crown (*pamrigin*), numerous silver ornaments and different coloured tissues. They dressed and braided the hairs into a knot just at the nape. The High Priestess who also danced with the members of the Sawa' family, stood in the middle of the line and chief musician stood at one end. They hold each other in hand and danced round the fire-place of the central hall (*Sitar*) in anti-clock-wise direction in accompaniment of music. The people assembled there, gave vent to their feeling in their customary way every time, before they resumed to make a dance time. Similar performance of dances were also held in the courtyard.

[291] [301] [302]

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

144 *Features.—In order to determine the ethnological position of the Khásis, we need dwell upon a few only of their physical characteristics, viz. those which are held to indicate that type of the human family, the Mongolian, to which they undoubtedly belong. A detailed description of their physiognomy would embrace forms and characters by no means common even to tribes occupying the hills in close proximity to them, much less valuable to all branches of the Mongolian stock. These differences in detail, which may be attributed mainly to local influences, render it extremely difficult, if not absolutely impossible, to trace out the exact relation which these mountain tribes bear to each other. But the Mongolian, or to use a more comprehensive term, the Turanian, physiognomy is unmistakable in them all—Khásis, Jaintiás, Garos, Nágas, Kuki, Manipuris, etc. The chief points may be briefly stated as follows:—

142 Colour tawny or yellow, though a darker hue is not entirely
[141] unknown; nose somewhat depressed, with a peculiar contraction
[302] towards the forehead at the glabellum, which is very flat and broad; face broad, flat, and squarish, with high and rounded cheek-bones; skull globular rather than square; eyes middle-sized and black, with a yellow tinge in the eyeball; eyelids obliquely set, but less acutely than in the Chinese and other Indo-Chinese races; mouth large, with prominent though not very thick lips; hair black, thick, and worn long, the orthodox style being to tie it up in a knot at the back, trying little with sex; beard remarkably sparse, but the
141 moustache more abundant than the beard. The lower classes go
[824] bare-headed; stature low in the majority of cases; constitution strong and robust; limbs thick, short, and stout; trunk long in proportion and very broad at the waist; calves over-developed, but this is considered an element of beauty, more especially in the women, who, on the average, are fairer and handsomer than the men; carriage ungraceful.

157 *Social and Moral Qualities.—Disposition very affable, gentle, and cheerful; rather industrious, but devoid of ingenuity and mechanical skill. In the industrial arts, such as masonry, carpentry,
291 and agriculture, they are amenable to training. Dress amongst the lower classes is confined to a fringed jacket rudely woven of hemp, extending down as far as the thighs, and leaving the arms bare, together with a scanty covering for the loins. The more respectable classes wear a turban of coarse cotton or silk for a head-dress, and a sheet of silk thrown loosely over the shoulders, together with a long

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR2

291 The Wáir men dress very much the same as the neighbouring Sylheti Hindus. The Wáir women, especially the Shelli-women, wear very pretty yellow and red checked and striped cloths. The cloak is not so frequently worn as amongst Khasis, except in cold weather. The Lyngam dress is very similar to that of the neighbouring Garos. The males wear the sleeveless coat, or *phong mawong*, of cotton striped red and blue, red and white, or blue and white, fastened in the same manner as the Khasi coat and with tassels. A small cloth, generally red or blue, is tied between the legs, one end of it being allowed to hang down, as with the Khasis, like an apron in front. A round cap is commonly worn; but the elderly men and people of importance wear turbans. The females wear short cloths of cotton striped red and blue, the cloth reaching just above the knee, like the Garos; married women wear no upper clothing, except in winter, when a red or blue cotton cloth is thrown loosely across the shoulders. The women wear a profusion of blue bead necklaces and brass earrings like the Garos. Unmarried girls wear a cloth tightly tied round the figure, similar to that worn by the Kachari. A bag of cloth for odds and ends is carried by the men slung across the shoulder. It should be mentioned that even in ancient times great people amongst the Khasis, like Siems, wore waist-cloths, and people of less consequence on great occasions, such as dances. The use of waist-cloths among the Khasis is on the increase, especially among those who live in Shillong and the neighbouring villages, and in Jowai and Cherrapunji.

[554]

[554]

TATTOOING.

304 None of the Khasis tattoo; the only people in the hills who tattoo are certain tribes of the Bhoi country which are really Mikir. These tattoo females on the forehead when they attain the age of puberty, a straight horizontal line being drawn from the parting of the hair down the forehead and over. The line is one-eighth to one-quarter of an inch broad. The Lyngams occasionally tattoo a ring round the wrist of females.

It Gordon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

ing of which the last drop of liquor remains adhering to the spout of the gourd is the name selected for the child. Then the puja performer invokes the god to grant good luck to the child. The father takes the pot containing the placenta, after having previously placed rice flour and fermented rice therein, and waves it three times over the child, and then walks out with it through the main entrance of the house and hangs up the pot to a tree outside the village. When he returns from this duty, before he re-enters the house, another throws water over the father's feet. The father, being thus cleansed, enters, and holds the rice flour to his mouth three times. Two people then, holding the dried fish by their two ends, break them in two. The powdered turmeric mixed with rice flour and water is applied to the right foot of the father, the mother and the child receiving the same treatment. The friends and relations are then anointed, the turmeric being applied, however, to their left feet. The bow, arrows, *da*, and a *star* are carefully placed inside the inner surface of the thatch on the roof, and the ceremony is over. Rice flour is then distributed to all who are present, and the male adults are given liquor to drink. After two or three months the ears of the child are bored and ear-rings are inserted. These ear-rings are called *ki shaskior* (i.e. the ear-rings of the great-grandmother). Mr. Jenkins mentions that the naming ceremony amongst the Syntengs is performed by the "eldest aunt," presumably on the mother's side. A basket of eggs is placed in the centre of the room, and before the ceremony begins one egg has to be broken. Then the aunt of the child takes two sticks, and, raising them to her shoulder, lets them fall to the ground. Before they fall she shouts, "What name do you give the child?" The name is mentioned, and if, on falling upon the ground, one stick [illegible] the other, it is a sign that the name has won the approval of the spirit. If the sticks do not fall in this position, another egg is broken and another name is chosen, and the sticks are dropped so before until they fall in the required position, when it is understood by the performers that the name is a good one. Mr. Jenkins was informed by a young man "who had renounced heathenism" that some of the more cunning women cross the sticks before lifting them, and that

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

301 This stone is apparently some rough gem which may be picked up by the Lyngams in the river beds. A rich man amongst
556 them, however, is one who possesses a number of metal gongs,
534 which they call *wiang*. For these they pay very high prices,
436 Rs. 100 being quite a moderate sum for one of them. Being curious to see one of these gongs, I asked a *sirdar*, or head-man, to show me one. He replied that he would do so, but it would take time, as he always buried his gongs in the jungle for fear of thieves. Next morning
[531] he brought me a gong of bell metal, with carvings of animals engraved thereon. The gong when struck gave out a rich deep note like that of Burmese or Thibetan gongs. These gongs have a regular currency in this part of the hills, and represent to the Lyngams "Bank of England" notes. It would be interesting to try to ascertain what is their history, for no one in the Lyngam country makes them in these days. Is it possible that the Garos brought them with them when
534 they migrated from Thibet? The gongs are well known in the
622 Garo Hills, and I hear that when a *nokma*, or head-man, there
778 dies his corpse is laid out upon them. They thus possess also an element of sanctity, besides being valuable for what they will fetch to the Garos or Lyngams. We may hope to hear more about them in Captain Playfair's account of the Garos.

• 304 The Lyngams do not tattoo. Their weapons are the large-
411 headed Garo spear, the dao, and the shield. They do not usually
243 carry bows and arrows, although there are some who possess them. They are by occupation cultivators. They sow two kinds of hill rice, red and white, on the hill-sides. They have no wet paddy cultivation, and they do not cultivate in terraces like the Nagas. They burn the jungle about February, after cutting down some of the trees and clearing away some of the debris, and then sow the paddy broadcast, without cultivating the ground in any way. They also cultivate millet and Job's-tears in the same way. With the paddy chillies are sown the
241 first year. The egg plant, arum, ginger, turmeric, and sweet
231 potatoes of several varieties are grown by them in a similar
754 manner. Those that rear the lac insect plant *landoo* trees (Hindi *arhal dal*) in the forest clearings, and rear the insect thereon. Some of these people, however, are prohibited by a

[illegible] from October to December. For millet the seed is sown in April-May and reaped about six months later. Maize is usually sown in April-May and ripens in August-September. For pulses, generally three crops are raised in the district; the first is sown in December-January and harvested in April-May, the second is sown in February-March and is gathered in June-July and the third is sown in July-August and is harvested in November-December.

For oilseeds and fodders the methods are almost of same nature. Harvesting of oilseeds takes place from October to January. Sowing takes place at the beginning of the year and are collected between February and May.

2.6.3 Agricultural implements.—The usual agricultural implements are a hoe, a sickle, three or four kinds of axes, a hammer, a crowbar which is used for the construction of irrigation channels, 'khorsa' and winnowing baskets. Bullock drawn plough is used in very patchy cultivation in parts of lower cultivation and in Bhui area and considerable use is made in the plains of the State.

2.6.4 General cultural practices.—The cultivators mostly adhere to their indigenous practices of cultivation. Rotation of crops is not widely used. Cultivation of rice is usually done by broadcasting the seeds though transplanting is also in vogue in some areas. Mixed cropping is widely practised. Cultivation by making terraces in the hill slopes is gaining popularity in the district.

2.7 Cottage Industries.—Cottage Industries, it appears, have not found very great favour among the people of the district. A few families here and there manufacture iron implements, earthenware, mats, baskets, rope and jewellery. In weaving, connected with other allied crafts, weaving of cotton clothes is now among the Kharis. The Kharis in Bhui area and in some adjoining North Cachar and Mikir Hills practise it only for their domestic consumption. At present, the Government is trying to popularise weaving in the district and the [illegible] have welcomed by the Kharis. Among other cottage industries production of tea leaves in the northern part of the district adjoining Karimganj district and tea growing throughout the district are worth mentioning.

2.8 The People.—The Kharis and Jaintias are a distinct ethnic group distinct from the neighbouring hill tribes. By nature they are hardy and laborious and in respect of manual labour they are free from any inhibitions. Side by side with the Kharis live the Mikirs, Garos and Nepalis who form respectively 3.32 percent, 3.38 percent and 3.75 per cent of the total rural population. Besides, there are plains people who are mostly concentrated in the town of Shillong. In the marketing centres of the border area there are a large number of Bengali Hindus who dominate the bulk of the trade in the border areas.

2.9 Occupation.—The greater portion of the population of the district subsists on cultivation. More than 75 percent of the rural households are predominantly agricultural. The industrious Khasi agriculturists males and females have a high regard for hard labour

I: Gordon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 ART Khasi ART

the War country, it will be necessary to describe the land tenures and laws regarding land of each of these divisions separately. As land is always *jhumed* by the Bhoie and Lyngngim from year to year, customs regarding land with these people are naturally very simple. Taking land in the high plateau of the Khasi Hills first:—The lands are classified under two main divisions, (a) public and (b) private lands. The following are the different descriptions of lands in the first division:—

Ka ri Raj, or *ka ri Slem*, which are Siem's, or Crown lands. These lands are intended for the support of the Siem family, and they cannot be alienated. The Siems are, however, precluded by custom from levying a land tax on persons who cultivate such lands, the relation of landlord and tenant between the latter and their chiefs being unknown.

Ka ri Lyngdoh.—These lands are for the support of the Lyngdohs or priests of the State. In some Siemships, as in Mawiong Siemship, paddy is grown on these lands from which rice is obtained for the State pujas.

Ri skong, or village lands.—These lands are set apart to provide a supply of firewood, thatching grass, &c., and are the property of the village. The inhabitants of other villages are not allowed to enjoy the produce of such lands. Such lands can be cultivated by some of the village, but the latter possess only occupancy rights, and cannot transfer them.

Ki lawbyong.—These are sacred groves, situated generally near the summit of hills, composed of oak and rhododendron trees, which are held sacred (*lawbyong*), it being an offence, or sin, for any one to cut timber in the grove, except for cremation purposes. These groves are the property of the villages.

(b.) Private Lands. These may be subdivided into *ki kur*, or lands which are the property of the clan, and *ri kynti*, family, or acquired landed property. In the Khasi Hills proper a very large proportion, certainly of the high lands, is the property of the clan; for instance, the high lands at Laitkor, which are the property of the Khar kongor and Kur kalong clans, whose ancestors the large memorial stones close to the Laitkor road commemorate, also the lands of the Thang Khew clan, and many others.

more than a thousand of them who have been converted to the Hindu religion. 162 (997)

This group of people possesses the possibility of expansion, since they have at their disposal within the area of the Khasi and Jaintia Mountains a territory of 6,822 English square miles, with only 40 persons per square mile. Although wide areas are not built up and the system of shifting fields prevents the full utilisation of the land, it is still true that with this small population figure by far the largest part of the whole population (200,761) is dependent on agriculture; trade and manufacturing only play a subordinate part. [361]

With regard to the division of the sexes, the two large religions of Assam, Hinduism and Mohammedanism, show the same proportion as in the rest of India, a lower number of women than men. But among the Khasi the women are more numerous than the men. In the Brahmaputra valley with its greater Hindu population there are only 892 women for every 1,000 men; in the Surma valley, with a greater Mohdem element, there are 937. But the situation is reversed among the Khasi, where there is a surplus of 16 women for every thousand men. The position of the women is basically different among this people. It is based on the customs and usages of maternal rights that prevail among them, which are predominantly based on primitive and which find honorable expression in possession. 562 162

I. Property Rights in the Family Property.

The great principle which governs property among the Khasi, is that all family property rests in the hands /120. A/ /Fig. 1. Khasi Girls and Women with their Carrying Baskets. Fig. 2. An Old Clan Mother in the Village Lalumthiew. / /120. B/ /Fig. 3. At the Oracle of Egg Throwing/. Fig. 5. Khasi Girls and Men in Festive Dance Clothing. / /120. C/ /Fig. 6. A Group of Spinning/ /120. D/ Fig. 4. A Holy Grove and Part of the Village Rolkeng/ /120/ of the women and not of the man. The man can never be the owner of family property, and it can never be transferred to him. He may perhaps acquire some property through his own industry and work, but even that will pass into feminine hands by the path of inheritance. The concept of family is not as narrowly drawn here as in our country. This is a question of the clan-family, the clan. The head of it is always the youngest daughter, who, even when she has become old, bears the honorable name ka kaid in the Jaintia Mountains, and in the Khasi Mountains ka Khadduh, the last, the youngest. Around her gather her nearest blood relatives, brothers and sisters, and children. For example let 421 613 576 613 576

(a) so take such a clan mother with the name Ka Sing Lan. She has two
(b) sons and five daughters, and in addition two brothers and two sisters who are all married. Also each of the five daughters and two sisters has four children. These forty-six people live with the clan mother and form the family clan of the Lan. To these we also add the sons
(b) and brothers, the nephews and grandsons, but not their children. The latter have nothing to do with the family Lan but belong to the family clan of their wives, live with that clan and are counted in it. Likewise neither the husband of Ka Sing Lan, nor the husbands of the various daughters, sisters, nieces, and granddaughters belong here. They are all counted with their own clans, live and work with them according to Khasi custom, and only visit their wives occasionally perhaps after dark.

(c) The entire clan-family of Lan is housed in 3 or 4 huts, which all
(d) stand next to each other in a semicircle or are built one above the other on the slope of a hill, according to the character of the land. A
(e) garden frequently surrounds them in which maize, sweet potatoes, potato-like roots of tuk-ur and bolsoi, bananas and, on the southern slopes of the Khasi Mountains, also coffee, pineapples, and other fruits are cultivated. A circle of bamboo cane that is so important for building purposes, household objects, and /130/ implements surrounds the garden and huts. This bamboo cane grows up so thick as an area to a height of 10 or 15 meters and at the same time forms a good protection against bad weather. A wall (nawrka) of thrown-up earth encloses everything, forming an enclosed farm, prevents unimpeded access, and protects cattle and crops from the attacks and devastations of wild animals.

(f) What is considered the family property of such a clan? Primarily
(g) is to the land, the garden, the rice fields, woods, fallow mountain and grazing lands. On the southern slopes of the Khasi Mountains there
(h) are fields for the cultivation of rape, orange groves, laurel groves, plantations of betel palms and of pepper leaves which far and wide are so highly treasured for betel chewing as a source of pleasure. (3)

3. Cf. Becker, Im Hinterland des Brahmaputra, /In the Rivers Valley of the Brahmaputra/ (Munich, 1923), pp. 107 ff.

(i) Usually there is so much land available that the family-clan can
(j) enrich itself properly and also increase in number.

(k) According to its size and wealth a family clan also owns a
(l) corresponding number of cows, oxen, horses, pigs, and goats. Neither the milk nor the flesh of the cows is used. They are kept for the

[illegible] Khasi house with [illegible] village

[illegible] Khasi house at [illegible] village

CHAPTER III

The Border Area

3.1 Definition of Border Area.—The term 'border area' although very frequently used does not refer to any well defined area. It was, therefore, decided after a joint discussion between the Director of Statistics with the Deputy Commissioner of the district and Subdivisional Officer, Jowai, that area within 20 miles of the Indo-Pak border line would be considered as the 'border area' for the purpose of the present survey. The list of the villages falling in this area was supplied by the Deputy Commissioner and the Subdivisional Officer.

3.2 Condition of the Border Area before partition.—The border area under review thus comprised of the southern slopes of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills and a narrow strip of plains adjoining the southern slopes running along the Pakistan border. The area extends between over a length of about 200 miles, roughly from Mahadeb on the east to Sonapur on the west, thus covering an area of 1,848 sq. miles approximately, comprising of 454 villages inhabited by population of 74 thousands.

Barring the barren and rocky top plateau the slopes are utilised as the production of valuable cash crops on economic scale. These slopes provide suitable soil and climate for the production crops like arecanut, mandarin, betelnut, oranges, pineapples and other fruits. On account of rich yields which such plantations give to the cultivators these slopes were more densely inhabited and intensively cultivated than would appear possible from the topography of the area. Even the most inaccessible parts in the slopes but been converted into rich orchards, wherefrom the produce was carried by headloads over steep gradients for several miles. Due to steep gradients little other use, except some grazing here and there, could be made of this area.

Because of the very topography, the land had no natural communions with further distant area lowlying part of East Pakistan. From time immemorial the area had a flourishing trade with further distant. It was a barter trade. The cash crops found eager buyers in the people of Sylhet, from whom in turn the people in the border area obtained supplies of rice, fish, vegetables and other necessities of daily life. This in proportion that they enjoyed a very prosperous and settled economy. The rich buildings in the border area villages which are now lowing away, bear eloquent testimony to the past prosperity of the border economy.

With the partition of the country in 1947, trade with the plains of Sylhet, now forming part of East Pakistan, was restricted. As a result the whole economy of this region was completely shattered and the countryside which was humming with activity and abundance was pervadedwith a gloomy poverty and despair. All the rich orchards belonging of the border people lost the market in East Pakistan. For want of communication facilities the produce could not be

TABLE [illegible] (contd.)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
5. Classified area—					
1. No land ...	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
2. Less than 1 acre ...	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
3. 1 to less than 5 acres	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]
4. 5 to less than 10 acres	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]
5. 10 acres and above	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	—	[illegible]
Total ...	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

6.5 It is significant that in all the three areas a considerable section of wholly agricultural families and families following agriculture as principal occupation are landless. On the other hand, a considerable proportion of the families with agriculture as subsidiary occupation or independent of agriculture hold land of various sizes. The fact that agriculture for those families who possess sufficient land, was reduced to a subsidiary occupation is possibly more due to less return from agriculture than their attachment to it.

FRAGMENTATION

6.6 It has been observed that a large number of rural families have small holdings, the very smallness of which render their holdings uneconomic. In addition, the holding of rural families suffer most from the evils of fragmentation. Often holdings are not in compact blocks but are scattered all over and surrounded by lands in possession of others or some uncultivable waste land. Some of the fragments lie even in separate villages.

Unlike in the plains district, fragmentation here was brought about not so much by population pressure (except only in case of wet paddy field) or inheritance holdings or each other (which in) would give rise to excessive fragmentation of holdings. This is because there is no settlement operation and the people are free to realise as much of the Raj land as possible for their cultivation. Fragmentation here is thus more a product of the topography of the district, for cultivable land in large compact block is not easy to get and cultivable land have to be found in isolated pockets.

The extent of fragmentation is revealed in the following table :

TABLE D-4

Distribution of buildings according to number of fragments.

No. of fragments	Border area: No. of buildings	Border area: Percentage	Project area: No. of buildings	Project area: Percentage	Control area: No. of buildings	Control area: Percentage
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
2	[illegible]		[illegible]		[illegible]	--
3	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]
4	[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	--
5	[illegible]		[illegible]		[illegible]	--
6	[illegible]		[illegible]		[illegible]	--
7	[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
8	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	--	--	--
9	[illegible]		[illegible]			--
10	[illegible]		--		[illegible]	--
11	[illegible]		[illegible]			--
12	[illegible]		[illegible]			--
13	[illegible]		--			--
14	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	--	--
15	[illegible]		--			--
16	[illegible]		--			--
17	[illegible]		--			--
18	--		--			--
19	[illegible]		--			--
20	[illegible]		--			--
21 & above	[illegible]		--			--
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

182
311
923

19: Accession C-5 (1956) 1963 ASF Sheet ASF

The total number of fragments in ASF holding in Zone of area is 2,540 giving an average of 9.64 fragments per holding. In [illegible] holdings in project area is [illegible] which gives on the average 2.34 fragments per holding, while in General area 165 holdings comprise of 440 fragments, i.e., 2.66 fragment per holding. A comparison of the above figures with the average fragment figures of 3.61, 4.50, 4.60 and 3.95 per holding in Mbar Hills, Dambaya, Sibangir and Lakhimpur districts respectively goes to show that incidence of fragmentation in this district is higher than that in Mbar Hills but less than that in other districts.

It will be seen from table D4.1 of the appendix that in the small holding group (less than 5 acres) average number of fragments per holding is 3.90 in Border, 3.60 in Project and 2.60 in General area. The average size in the corresponding holding group being 1.50 acres 1.67 acres and 1.55 acres in Border area, Project area and General area, the average size of fragments in the respective area works out at .40 acres, .45 and .58 acres. Similarly it will be seen that average sizes of fragments for medium holding group are, in Border area 1.61 acres (average size of medium holding 6.03 acres) in Project area 1.85 acres (average size of holding 6.05 acres) and in General area 1.51 acres (average size of holding 6.05 acres), these for large holding group being 2.21 acres, 2.06 acres and 2.49 acres respectively against the average large holding size of 18.05 acres, 16.25 acres and 12.53 acres in the respective area.

Factors

4.1 The operating unit in the rural agricultural system is in most cases the family farm. Functions, organisation, control and manual labour as regards to the agricultural operations in these farms are done through a joint effort of the family unit. Family permanent farm servants are maintained through employment of manual labourers are employed during the busy seasons.

In this enquiry a farm has been defined as comprising of all agricultural land operated by a single family with or without employment of labour. The family may or may not have the right of permanent occupancy and inheritance over the farm land operated by it, and in this case the farm is distinguished from holding which comprises of such land only over which the family exercised permanent right of occupancy and inheritance.

341
311

It will be seen from the above table that the total number of farms in each of the three areas is greater than the number of holdings in the corresponding area. There are 388 farms in Border area villages, covering a total area of 3918.18 acres, whereas the corresponding figures in case of holdings, as we have already seen, are 89y and 3166.62 acres. In Project area 311 farm cover an area of 1896.19 acres, the corresponding figures being 662 and 1991.43 acres, while in General for holding area there are 171 farms which cover 945.81 acres as against 185 holdings covering an area of 613.34 acres. Two reasons may be attributed to these differences. In the first place, proportions of village land are owned by people from outside and rented out to people of the village. Secondly, there are some among the right holders who cultivate only part of their land and the remaining portion is either left fallow or leased out to others. The position will be made clear from a study of subsequent tables viz., D-6 and D-7 given elsewhere in this chapter.

The average size of farms for Border area, Project area and General area respectively are 3.16 acres, 3.24 acres and 2.20 acres which again are less than the corresponding figures of holding of 3.19 acres, 4.19 acres and 3.38 acres. The average size of farm is, however, hardly an adequate measure for judging the conditions of the farmers in as much a large proportion of cultivators (69%, 56%, and 51%, in Border area, Project area and General area respectively operates small size farms of less than 3 acres (exact average being 1.33 acres for Border, 1.16 acres for Project and 1.66 acres for General area) and the total farm area cultivated by these cultivators constitute only 11%, 42%, and 48% of the total farm area in the Border area, Project area and General area respectively. In these areas proportion of families operating middle-sized farms, i.e., between 3 to less than 10 acres are 41%, 40%, and 42%, covering respectively 48%, 54%, and 50% of the total farm area in the respective village group. Proportion of families operating large sized farms, i.e., 10 acres and above in Border area, Project area and General area is respectively 19%, 9%, and 8%, possessing a comparatively bigger size of farm land amounting to 41%, 34 per cent and 18 per cent of the total farm land in the respective area.

6.7 The following two tables give the distribution of farms and farm areas respectively according to size and ownership.

19: Assam G-5 (1956) 1963 A87 Khasi A87

241 311 433 **8.5—Relative importance of crops**—Total gross farm area harvested amounted to 1324.00 acres in Border area, 1700.00 acres in Project area and 961 acres in General area.

From above table it will be seen that in Border area, orange accounted for the highest proportion of harvested area, i.e., 31 per cent, followed in order of importance by betel nut, paddy, betel leaf and millet which respectively accounts for 17 per cent, 13 per cent, 9 per cent and 3 per cent of the total harvested area. Other crops which account for 249.00 acres (7 per cent) includes maize, ragada, banana, turmeric, dal, blackpepper and other fruit crops.

Considering sale proceeds, it is clear that betelnut happens to be the main earner accounting for 68 per cent of the total sale proceeds followed by orange, paddy and betel leaf which respectively account for 12 per cent, 6 per cent and 3 per cent of the total sale proceeds. Thus orange and betel leaf which in proportition days were the main earner-crops in the Border area have been passed to second and forth position respectively—the proportions fetched by them, particularly by betel leaf, being negligible. On other hand as there is a good market for betel nut, Border people have taken to betel nut cultivation in a more extensive scale.

241 243 311 433 It is significant that while in Border area total farm area is 8974 acres, total area harvested comes to only 1325 acres including area under mixed cropping which is in wide practice in Border area particularly for orange, betelnut, and for some other minor crops. Thus proportion of unharvested farm area emerges out to be considerable which can be accounted for the following reasons:—

(1) The farm area includes some new gardens particularly of betelnuts which usually take quite a few years to bear fruits.

[44] (2) Reportedly a large number of orange and betel-leaf gardens were not harvested at all as there was no market for them.

241 433 441 Turning our attention to Project area and General area, it will be found that paddy eclipses all other crops in as much as in the two areas it respectively covers 62 per cent and 64 per cent of the total harvested area in the respective area. In Project area paddy is followed by betel leaf, orange, potato and betelnut in order of importance while in General area it is followed by potato, millet, orange, betel leaf and betelnut. In both the areas it will be seen from table above, almost all the crops retain their respective position in value. Considering sale proceed, in Project area, paddy occupies the highest position accounting for 77 per cent of the total sale proceeds followed by betel leaf, orange, betelnut and potato accounting respectively for 9 per cent, 3 per cent, 2 per cent and 1 per cent of the total sale proceeds. In General area, in order of importance of sale proceed paddy, potato and betelnut are worth mentioning fetching respectively 62 per cent, 30 per cent and 6 per cent of the total sale proceeds.

accounting for 42, 54 and 50 per cent of the total holding area in the respective areas. Large holding (10 acres and above) covering 44, 28 and 16 per cent of the total holding area in the Border, Project and General areas respectively were possessed by 48, 7 and 3 per cent of the families of the respective areas.

The average size of family holding worked out at 9.2 acres for Border area, 4.1 acres for Project area and 5.5 acres for the General area. The average size of cultivated holding per family in the three areas was found to be 5.1, 3.4 and 3.8 acres respectively.

10.5. The total number of farms in Border area, Project area and General area were respectively 298, 611 and 171 covering respectively 7916.10 acres, 1008.79 acres, and 573.01 acres, bringing the average size of farms to 9.16 acres in Border area, 3.94 acres in Project area and 3.00 acres in General area.

Percentage distribution of these farms and farm area by different size group is depicted in the following table

Nature of Income Tax	Budget Area			Budget Area			Closed Area		
	P.C. of Rural (Rural)	P.C. of Urban (Urban)	Average Rural (Rural)	P.C. of Rural	P.C. of Urban	Average Rural (Urban)	P.C. of Rural	P.C. of Urban	Average Rural (Rural)
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Small Income from Holding [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
2. Middle Income [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
3. Large Income [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

TABLE D-21—(contd.)

Distribution of holdings by size group (area in acres)

Size of the holding	No. of holdings	Total area under the group	Average size of the holdings	No. of the cultivated holding	Total cultivated area	Average size
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
A. Standard areas :						
1. Less than 1.0 acre ...	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
2. 1.0 or less than 1.25 acre	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
3. 1.25 " " " 2 acres	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
4. 2 " " " 3 "	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
5. 3 " " " 5 "	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Small holding	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
6. 5 holding less than 5 acres	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
7. 5 " " " 10 "	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Medium holding	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
8. 10 holding less than 30 acres	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
9. 30 " " " 50 "	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
10. 50 and above	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Large holding	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

N.B. Figures within brackets indicate percentage.

TABLE D-5

Distribution of farms according to size

6.6 The summary distribution of farms in the three areas is shown in the following table:—

Size of farms (in acres)	Rocky area			Plains area			Special area		
	No. of farms	Total area (acres)	Average size of farms (acres)	No. of farms	Total area (acres)	Average size of farms (acres)	No. of farms	Total area (acres)	Average size of farms (acres)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Below 1 acre	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
1 - 5 acres	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]			[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—
[illegible] 5 to less than 10 acres	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	—
[illegible] 10 acres and above	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
		[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	—
Total	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

TABLE D-11—(contd.)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
		(P. G.)		(P. G.)				
B. Project area—								
1. Less than 1/2 acre	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
2. 1/2 to less than 1/2 acre.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
3. 1/2 to less than 1 acre.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
4. 1 to less than 2 acres.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
5. 2 to less than 3 acres.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Small holding	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

TABLE [illegible]—(contd.)

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

TABLE [illegible]—(contd.)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
		(2.52)	(2.52)				
(2). Cultivated areas —							
1. Less than 12½ acres	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
2. 12½ or less than 125 acres	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
3. 125 or less than 1 acre	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
4. 1 or less than 5 acres	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
5. 5 or less than 7½ acres	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Small holding	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
6. 7½ or less than 15 acres	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
7. 15 or less than 30 acres	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Medium holding —	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
8. 30 or less than 75 acres	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Large holding —	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

TABLE D-41

Distribution of buildings according to size and no. of fragments

Size of buildings in WORKING HOURS	No. of fragments												
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
1. Below 1.0 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
2. 1.0 to below 2.0 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
3. 1.0 to below 3 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
4. 2 to below 3 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
5. 3 to below 4 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
6. 4 to below 5 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
7. 5 to below 10 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
8. 10 to below 15 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
9. 15 to below 20 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
10. 20 and above	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total No. of building	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total No. of fragments	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

TABLE D-4-5—(contd.)

Distribution of buildings according to size and No. of fragments

Size of buildings	No. of fragments										Total		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	11 and above	No. of buildings	Total No. of fragments	Total area under the size	Average size of fragments
A. WORKING SIZES														
1. Below 0.5 acre	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
2. 0.5 to below 0.75 acre	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
3. 0.75 to below 1 acre	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
4. 1 to below 2 acres	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
5. 2 to below 3 acres	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
6. 3 to below 5 acres	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
7. 5 to below 10 acres	—	—	[illegible]	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
8. 10 acres below 20 acres	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	—	[illegible]	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
9. 20 acres below 50 acres	—	—	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
10. 50 and above	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total No. of building	—	—	[illegible] (0.7%)	[illegible] (0.1%)	[illegible] (0.1%)	[illegible] (0.1%)	[illegible] (0.1%)	[illegible] (0.1%)	[illegible] (0.1%)		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total No. of fragments	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]			

TABLE D-41—(cont.)

Classification of buildings according to size and No. of Dwgs/room

Size of building	No. of Dwgs/room										
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
B. PROJECT AREA											
1. Below 1.5 acre	[illegible]										
2. 1.5 to below 2.5 acre	[illegible]										
3. 2.5 to below 4 acre	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
4. 4 to below 6 acre	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	—	—	—	—	—
5. 6 to below 8 "	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	—	—	—	—	—
6. 8 to below 10 "	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	—	—	—	—
7. 10 to below 12 "	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	—
8. 12 to below 15 "	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	—	[illegible]	—	[illegible]
9. 15 to below 20 "	—	—		—	—	—	—	—	[illegible]		—
10. 20 and above	—	—	—	—	—	—	[illegible]	—	—	—	[illegible]
Total No. of buildings —	[illegible] (100%)	[illegible] (100%)	[illegible] (100%)	[illegible] (100%)	[illegible] (100%)	[illegible] (100%)	[illegible] (100%)	[illegible] (100%)	[illegible] (100%)	—	[illegible] (100%)
Total No. of Dwgs/room	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]

TABLE D-41—(concld.)

Distribution of buildings according to size and No. of fragments

Size of building	No. of fragments										Total			
	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(20)	(17)	(18)	(19)	(40)	21 and above	No. of building	Total No. of fragments	Total area (sq. feet)	Average area of fragment (sq. feet)
G. PROJECT AREA														
a. Below 0.5 acre	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
b. 0.5 or below 0.6 acre	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
c. 0.6 or below 1 acre	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
d. 1 or below 2 acres	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
e. 2 or below 3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
f. 3 or below 4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
g. 4 or below 5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
h. 5 or below 10	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
i. 10 or below 15	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
j. 15 or below 20	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
k. 20 and above	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total No. of building	—	—	1 (0.4%)	—	1 (0.4%)	—	—	—	—	—	402	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total No. of fragments	—	—	18	—	24	—	—	—	—	—	—	[illegible]	—	—

[illegible]

TABLE D—41—(contd.)

Distribution of buildings according to size and No. of fragments

Size of buildings	No. of fragments										
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
C. GENERAL AREA											
1. Below 1.0 acre ...	0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
2. 1.0 to below 1.5 acre ...	0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
3. 1.5 to below 2 acre ...	0	0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
4. 2 to below 3 acre ...	10	12	6	3	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
5. 3 to below 4 acre ...	1	10	7	6	2	—	—	—	—	—	0
6. 4 to below 5 acre ...	1	14	11	9	6	—	—	—	—	—	—
7. 5 to below 10 acre ...	—	2	9	3	3	—	1	—	1	—	—
8. 10 to below 15 acre ...	—	0	4	—	—	1	—	—	—	0	—
9. 15 to below 20 acre ...	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
10. 20 and above ...	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total No. of building	11 (10.7%)	38 (37.3%)	33 (31.9%)	21 (21.0%)	11 (9.6%)	1 (0.6%)	2 (1.9%)	—	—	1 (0.6%)	—
Total No. of fragments	16	146	156	91	37	4	14			10	

TABLE D-41—(contd.)

Distribution of buildings according to size and No. of fragments

Size of building	No. of fragments								Total			
	10	12	14	16	18	20	22	24 and above	No. of building	Total No. of area of fragments within the size	Total No. of Average area of fragments	
C. Closed area												
1. Below 0.5 acre	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0 (1.00)	0	0.0	0.00
2. 0.5 to below 0.8 acre	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0 (0.[illegible])	0	0.0	0.00
3. 0.8 to below 1 acre	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0 (1.00)	0	0.0	0.00
4. 1 to below 2 acres	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0 (0.00)	0	0.0	0.00
5. 2 to below 3 acres	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0 (0.00)	0	0.0	0.00
6. 3 to below 5 acres	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0 (0.00)	0	0.0	0.00
7. 5 to below 10 acres	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0 (0.00)	0	0.0	0.00
8. 10 to below 20 acres	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0 (0.00)	0	0.0	0.00
9. 20 to below 50 acres	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0 (0.00)	0	0.0	0.00
10. 50 and above												
Total No. of building	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total No. of Fragments	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	[illegible]		

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TABLE D-51

Size of farm (1)	No. of farm (2)	Percentage (3)	Cumulative P.c. (4)	Total area covered acre (5)	Percentage (6)	Cumulative Percentage (7)	Average size of farm (8)
A. BORDER AREA							
1. Below 1/8 acre	37	3·56	3.56	0·34	0·16	0·16	0·33
2. 1/8 to 1/4 "	30	2·95	3.51	11·04	0·28	0·44	0·37
3. 1/4 to 1 "	34	3·73	7·24	43·42	2·17	2·61	0·62
4. 1 to 5 "	98	13·44	20·68	332.43	3·98	6·59	3·34
5. 5 to 7 "	109	13·03	40·18	556.78	6·42	12·48	5·10
Small farms	305	40·13	—	948·17	12·48	—	3·33
6. 7 to 9 "	147	14·81	62·10	1310·51	17·45	29·93	8·91
7. 9 to 10 "	168	22·13	82·43	1124·70	20·73	50·66	6·69
Medium farms	315	41·43	..	2435·21	42·18	..	7·74
8. 10 to 15 "	98	12·98	95·35	1367·16	24·98	75·64	13·96
9. 25 to 50 "	6	0·79	96·14	146.44	2·67	78·31	24·41
10. 50 and above	6	0·44	100·00	310·73	6·41	100·00	51·79
Large farms	109	14·57	—	1824·78	48·42	..	16·61
Total	759	100·00	..	5,407·16	100·00	..	7·10

TABLE D-5-1—(contd.)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Project areas:							
1. Below 1/8 acre	8	1·57	1·97	1·98	0·11	0·11	0·16
2. 1/8 to 1/2	6	1·17	2·74	1·98	0·11	0·33	0·32
3. 1/2 to 1	81	8·07	9·81	19·60	1·69	1·81	0·64
4. 1 to 2	119	23·29	32·10	154·54	8·14	9·86	1·30
5. 2 to 3	194	32·31	56·41	356·30	14·17	36·89	2·25
Small farms	328	64·41	..	630·10	26·42	..	1·56
6. 3 to 5	111	21·78	70·13	183·22	21·14	45·34	3·58
7. 5 to 10	91	18·00	94·13	321·69	32·18	77·49	6·39
Medium farms	208	39·82	..	974·91	53·67	..	4·60
8. 10 to 25	30	5·87	159·46	40·00	32·11	109·30	
9. 25 to 50	..	—	..	..	..	..	—
10. 50 and above	—	—	..	..	..	..	..
Large farms	30	5.86	..	400·46	32·11	..	13·35
Total—	511	100·00	..	1305·79	100·00	..	3·14

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Table D-5.1—contd.

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
C. General area.							
1. Below 1/3 acre	2	1.17	1.17	0.50	0.09	0.09	0.25
2. 1/3 to 1/2	1	0.59	1.76	0.10	0.08	0.18	0.90
3. 1/2 to 1	11	6.45	8.19	0.85	1.22	1.40	0.64
4. 1 to 2	40	23.39	31.58	36.45	9.80	11.28	1.41
5. 2 to 3	37	21.64	53.22	86.85	15.05	26.23	2.34
Small farms	91	53.22		151.15	26.25		1.66
6. 3 to 5	47	27.49	80.71	184.06	29.29	55.54	3.90
7. 5 to 10	25	14.62	95.33	164.00	28.48	84.02	6.56
Medium farms	72	42.11	176.04	348.66	57.77		4.81
8. 10 to 25	8	4.67	180.00	92.00	15.98	100.00	11.50
9. 25 to 50	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
10. 50 and above	..	...	..	..	..	..	..
Large farms	8	4.67		92.00	15.98	..	11.50
Total—	171	100.00	..	595.81	100.00	..	3.50

TABLE D-6.1

Distribution of farms according to size and ownership

Size of farm	Number of farms							
	Wholly owned	Wholly rented	Partly owned and partly rented	Total	Wholly owned	Wholly rented	Partly owned and partly rented	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Border Area								
1. Below 1/3 acre	21 (4·37)	..	...	21 (4·23)	3 (2·63)	3 (2·65)	...	6 (2.28)
2. 1/3 to 1/2 acre	27 (5·87)	1 (6·67)	..	28 (5·65)	...	2 (1·70)	..	2 (0·76)
3. 1/2 to 1 acre	53 (11·52)	..	1 (4·76)	54 (10·89)	2 (1·75)	18 (15·93)	..	20 (7·60)
4. 1 to 2 acres	58 (12·61)	1 (6·67)	5 (23·81)	64 (12·90)	13 (11·40)	20 (17·70)	2 (5·56)	35 (13·31)
5. 2 to 3 acres	59 (12·83)	2 (13·33)	3 (14·29)	64 (12·90)	19 (16·67)	18 (15·93)	4 (11·11)	41 (15·60)
Small Farms	218 (94·37)	4 (1·73)	9 (3·90)	231 (100·00)	37 (35·58)	61 (58·65)	6 (5·77)	104 (100·00)

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TABLE D-6.1—*contd.*

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
6. 3 to 5 acres	86 (18·69)	8 (53·33)	5 (23·81)	99 (19·96)	21 (18·42)	19 (16·81)	8 (22·22)	48 (18·25)
7. 5 to 10 acres	95 (20·65)	2 (13·33)	6 (28·57)	103 (20·77)	27 (23·68)	24 (21·24)	14 (38·89)	65 (24·71)
Medium Farms	181 (89·60)	10 (4·95)	11 (5·45)	202 (100·00)	48 (42·48)	43 (38·05)	22 (19·47)	113 (100·00)
8. 10 to 25 acres	53 (11·52)	1 (6·67)	1 (4·76)	55 (11·08)	26 (22·81)	9 (7·96)	8 (22·22)	43 (16·35)
9. 25 to 50 acres	4 (0·87)	...	...	4 (0·81)	2 (1·76)	..	...	2 (0·76)
10. 50 and above	4 (0·87)	..	...	4 (0·81)	1 (0·88)	..	...	1 (0·38)
Large Farms	61 (98·41)	1 (0·79)	1 (0·80)	63 (100·00)	29 (63·04)	9 (19·57)	8 (17·39)	46 (100·00)
Total: ..	460 (92·74)	15 (3·03)	21 (4·23)	496 (100·00)	114 (43·35)	113 (42·97)	36 (13·68)	263 (100·00)

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Project Area

1. Below 1/3 acre ..	..	—	1	..	—	1 (0·60)	3	4	..	7 (2·03)
2. 1/3 to 1/2 acre	—	—	—	—	..	..	5	1	...	6 (1·74)
3. 1/2 to 1 acre	—	— ..	16	..	3	19 (11·38)	9	3	..	12 (3·49)
4. 1 to 2 acres	..	—	30	3	8	41 (24·55)	52	17	9	78 (22·67)
5. 2 to 3 acres	—	—	29	1	4	34 (20·36)	51	14	15	80 (23·26)
Small Farms	..	..	76 (80·00)	4 (4·21)	15 (15·79)	95 (100·00)	120 (65·57)	39 (21·31)	24 (13·12)	183 (100·00)

TABLE D-6.1—*contd.*

(1)			(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
6. 3 to 5 acres	..	..	29	...	8	37 (22·16)	55	10	9	74 (21·51)
7. 6 to 10 acres	..	..	21	..	4	25 (14·97)	56	3	8	67 (19·19)
Medium Farms	..	..	50 (80·65)	..	12 (19·35)	62 (100·00)	111 (78·72)	13 (9·22)	17 (12·06)	141 (100·00)
8. 10 to 25 acres	..	..	9	..	1	10 (5·96)	16	2	2	20 (5·81)
9. 25 to 50 acres	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	...	..	..
Large Farms	..	..	9 (90·00)	..	1 (10·00)	10 (100·00)	16 (80·00)	2 (10·00)	2 (10·00)	20 (100·00)
Total:		..	135 (80·84)	4 (2·40)	28 (16·76)	167 (100·00)	247 (71·80)	54 (15·70)	43 (12·50)	344 (100·00)

General Area

1. Below 1/3 acre	..	—	1	...	..	1 (1·11)	1	..	—	1 (1·23)
2. 1/2 to 1/3 acre	..	..	1	—	..	1 (1·11)	..	...	..	..
3. 1/2 to 1 acre	.	.	5	1	...	6 (6·66)	5	..	..	5 (6·17)
4. 1 to 2 acres	...	..	17	1	7	25 (27·79)	12	2	1	15 (18·53)
5. 2 to 8 acres	..	..	18	..	2	20 (22·22)	15	1	1	17 (20·99)
Small Farms	..	—	(79·25)	2 (3·77)	9 (16·98)	53 (100·00)	33 (86·84)	3 (7·89)	2 (5·27)	38 (100·00)

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TABLE D-6.1—*concld.*

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
6. 3 to 5 acres	25	..	1	26 (28·89)	19	1	1	21 (25·93)
7. 5 to 10 acres	11	—	..	11 (12·22)	10	1	3	14 (17·28)
Medium .. .. —	36 (97·30)	—	1	37 (100·00)	29 (82·86)	2 (5·71)	4 (11·43)	35 (100·00)
8. 10 to 25 acres .. —	..	..	..	—	7	—	1	8 (9·88)
Large ... — —	...	..	..	—	7 (87·50)	...	1 (12·50)	8 (100·00)
Total: ..	78 (86·67)	2 (2·22)	10 (11·11)	90 (100·00)	69 (85·19)	5 (6·17)	7 (8·64)	81 (100·00)

TABLE D-7.1

Distribution of farm area by size and type of ownership

Size of farm	Area in acre: Wholly owned	Wholly rented	Partly owned and Partly rented: Owned area	Rented area	Total	Total owned area (2+4)	Total rented area (3+5)	Total (7+8)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
A. Border area								
1. Small Farms (less than 3 acres).	918.44	85.60	14.58	27.23	41.81	933.02	112.73	446.17
2. Medium farm (3 to less than 10 acres).	1206.43	243.34	34.31	86.96	121.26	1300.74	330.29	1631.23
3. Large Farms (10 acres and above	1945.18	132.26	59.00	80.25	139.25	1604.38	212.51	1816.78
Total:	3970.57 (78.45)	481.09 (12.24)	108.09 (4.20)	194.43 (4.97)	362.52	3338.44 (82.76)	675.52 (17.26)	3914.18 (100.00)

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TABLE 10-7.1—*contd.*

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
B. Project area								
1. Small Farms (less than 10 acres).	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
2. Medium Farms (5 to less than 10 acres).	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
3. Large Farms (10 acres and above).	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	—	[illegible] (100.0)	[illegible] (7.0)	[illegible] (9.0)	[illegible] (7.0)	[illegible]	[illegible] (35.5)	[illegible] (14.0)	[illegible] (100.0)
C. General area								
1. Small Farms (less than 5 acres).	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
2. Medium Farms (5 to less than 10 acres).	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
3. Large Farms (10 acres and above).	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	—	[illegible] (100.0)	[illegible] (7.0)	[illegible] (9.0)	[illegible] (9.0)	[illegible]	[illegible] (35.5)	[illegible] (9.0)	[illegible] (100.0)

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The forest administration of the British Government is confined to two plantations in the neighbourhood of Shillong, for which a rent is payable in perpetuity. One of these, on the further side of the Umkra, was originally acquired in 1871-72 for the sake of experiments in arboriculture. The rent of Rs. 50, or £5, is paid by the Forest Department; the area had been at first estimated at 580 acres, but an actual survey undertaken in 1873-76 reduced this estimate to 262·39 acres. A considerable portion is covered with Pinus Kasia, which is carefully protected. Of the exotic trees tried on this plantation, only the three following can be said to have done well: Juglans regia, Eucalyptus rostrata, and Pinus maritima. All the rest either suffered from frost in the winter, or required far more nursing than can be afforded them in forest plantations. The young trees of the indigenous oak (Quercus serrata) were also attacked by rats, who bit off great numbers just above the ground. The Spanish chestnuts did not thrive, and were removed to the model farm for trial at a higher elevation. The second plantation, on the northern slopes of the range immediately behind the Station, consists of several patches of forest, which were acquired in connection with the scheme for providing Shillong with a permanent water supply. The total rent is Rs. 375, or £37. 10s., paid from Town Improvement Funds; and the aggregate area is estimated at 796 acres. All the fields within this area that had formerly been cultivated by the Khdaifo—about 80 acres in all—were sown by the Forest Department with Pinus Kasia, Quercus Griffithii, Q. serrata, and Q. fenestrata, which have succeeded well; and about 8 acres were planted with different species of Eucalyptus. Up to the close of 1873-76 the sum expended on the first of these two plantations was Rs. 742. 9. 9, or £74. 3s. 3d., and on the second, Rs. 732. 9. 6, or £73. 12. 6d.

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A cinchona plantation was started in 1867 by the Superintendent of the Calcutta Botanical Gardens. It consists of twelve small patches of plants near Nongklon, and one near Jirang, situated at elevations varying from 3500 feet to 2000 feet. The species cultivated are Cinchona succirubra, C. officinalis, and C. micrantha. At first they were under the charge of two Khasi gardeners, who each received Rs. 16 a month, or £19. 4s. a year, to weed them and keep frost out. In 1874-75 these plantations were taken charge of by the Forest Department, and specimens of the cinchona bark were submitted for analysis to the Government Quinologist

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(9) Cotton is grown on high lands and
248 slopes; it is sown in April, and becomes fit for picking by January.

311 Area and Out-turn of Crops.—According to the Assam Administration Report for 1875-76, the area of the British portion of
241 the Khásí and Jáintiá Hills District amounts to 2160 square miles,
648 of which only 110 are under cultivation; of the remainder, 1337 square miles are set down as cultivable, and 713 as uncultivable. The total area of the semi-independent Khásí States is given as 3997 square miles, of which 176 are under cultivation, 2561 are cultivable, and 1260 uncultivable. In another portion of the same Report, the area under various crops throughout the entire District is thus approximately estimated:—Rice, 59,880 acres; other food grains, 57,820 acres; cotton, 1076 acres; potatoes, 33,880 acres. The average out-turn of rice per acre is returned at 8 *maunds*, or nearly 6 cwt.; of other food grains, 3 *maunds*, or over 2 cwt.; of cotton, 2 *maunds*, or 1½ cwt.; of
[435] potatoes, 55 *maunds*, or nearly 40 cwt. The price of rice in 1875-76 was Rs. 4 8 per *maund*, or 12s. 8d. a cwt., which gives Rs. 36 or £1. 12s. as the value of the rice crop obtained from one acre.

241 Condition of the Peasantry.—The Khásiís can scarcely be considered an agricultural people, as they do not grow sufficient
423 grain for their own subsistence, and are dependent to a great
433 extent on imports of rice from the neighbouring Districts. Ten acres is generally considered a comfortable holding for a husbandman in the position of an ordinary Bengal peasant, but scarcely any man in the Hills depends entirely upon the produce of his land for
[231] his support. In the Jáintiá Hills a cultivator's position is con-
[554] sidered to be very low if he possesses no cattle, but performs all the operations of agriculture with his own hands. In that portion of the District, five acres is all that can be cultivated with a single
[465] pair of oxen, the average being four acres. A husbandman with a holding of five acres would not be so well off as a retail shopkeeper, nor would it enable him to live as comfortably as he could on a money wage of Rs. 8 or 16s. a month. The peasantry, however, as a class are not in debt. The land is owned chiefly by small proprietors, who occupy and cultivate their hereditary fields. The relations of landlord and tenant do not exist in the Hills, and no rent is payable to any one; consequently the principle of Act x. of 1859 (the Rent Law of Bengal) has no application.

231 The Animals used in agriculture are oxen; goats and pigs are
435

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

241 when fire is applied, logs of wood being placed at intervals of a few feet to prevent as far as possible the ashes being blown away by the wind. The lands are not hoed, nor treated any further, paddy and millet being sown broadcast, and the seeds of root crops, as well as of maize and Job's tears, being dibbled into the ground by means of small hoes. No manure, beyond the wood ashes above mentioned, is used on this class of land; there is no irrigation, and no other system of watering is resorted to. The seeds are sown generally when the first rain falls. This style of cultivation, or *jhum*, is largely resorted to by the people inhabiting the eastern and southern portions of the Jaintia Hills, e.g. the Bhois and Lalungs, the Lynngams and
243 Garos of the western tracts of the district. Wet paddy land
312 (*hali* or *pynthor*) is, as the name implies, the land where the kind of paddy which requires a great deal of water is grown. The bottoms of valleys are divided up into little compartments by means of fairly high banks corresponding to the Assamese *ális*, and the water is let in at will into these compartments by means of skilfully contrived irrigation channels, sometimes a
243 mile or more in length. The soil is made into a thick paste in the Jaintia Hills by means of the plough, and in the Khasi Hills through the agency of the hoe. Droves of cattle also are driven repeatedly over the paddy-fields until the mud has acquired the right consistency. The seed is then sown broadcast in the wet mud. It is not sown first in a seedling bed and then transplanted, as in Assam and Bengal. When the plants have grown to a height of about four inches, water is let in again; then comes the weeding, which has to be done several
243 times. When the crop is ripe, the ears are cut with a sickle
784 (*ka rashi*) generally, so as to leave almost the entire stalk, and are left in different parts of the field. A peculiarity about the Lynngam and the Khasis and Mikirs of the low hills, or Bhois as they are called, is that they reckon it *sang*, or taboo, to use the sickle. They reap their grain by pulling the ear through the hand. The sheaves, after they are dry, are collected and
243 thrashed out on the spot, either by beating them against a stone (*shoh kba*), or by men and women treading them out (*iuh kba*). Cattle are not used for treading out the grain. The grain is then collected and placed in large bamboo receptacles

mould. The plant[1] is watered by means of small bamboo aqueducts which are constructed along the hill-sides, the water being conducted along them often considerable distances. As in the plains, the leaves of the *pán* creeper are collected throughout the year.

The bay leaf (*'la tyrpád*, or *tezpát*) is classified in the *Agricultural Bulletin* as *Cinnamomum tamala*, and there is a note in the column of remarks that "this tree, as well as one or two others of the same genus, yields two distinct products, *tezpát* (bay leaf) and cinnamon bark." The bay leaf is gathered for export from the extensive gardens in Maharam, Malaisohmat, Mawsynram, and other Khasi States. The plants are raised from seed, although there are no regular nurseries, the young seedlings being transplanted from the jungle, where they have germinated, to regular gardens. Bay leaf gardens are cleared of jungle and weeds periodically; otherwise no care is taken of them. The leaf-gathering season is from November to March. The leaves are allowed to dry for a day or two in the sun, and then packed in large baskets for export. The gathering of bay leaf begins when the trees are about four years old.

The following are the other minor crops which are grown in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills:—

Pineapples, turmeric, ginger, pumpkins and gourds, the egg plant, chillies, sesamum, and a little sugar-cane. The arum* (*ka shiriw*) is also extensively grown in the hills, and forms one of the principal articles of food amongst the poorer classes; it is generally raised in rotation with potatoes, or is planted along with Job's tears. The stem of the arum is sometimes used as a vegetable, also for feeding pigs.

In the Jowai Sub-Division, notably at Nartiang, there are fairly good mangoes, which are more free from worms than those grown in the plains of Assam.

The Bhois and Lynngams cultivate lac. They plant *arhar dal, u landoo*, in their fields, and rear the lac insect on this plant. Last year the price of lac at Gauhati and Palasbari markets rose as high as Rs. 50 per maund of 82 lbs., it is said, but the price at the outlying markets of Singra and Boko was

* Colocasia esculenta, Beng. *Kachu*.

[1] [i.e., the pán - - - Analyst]

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

327 Colonel Lister, writing in 1853, estimated that 20,000 maunds
439 of iron were exported from the hills in the shape of hoes to
412 the Assam Valley, and in lumps of pig iron to the Surma Valley, where it was used by boat-builders for clamps. Nowadays the smelting of iron is carried on in very few places. There are still smelting-houses at Nongkrem and Nongsprung, but these are practically the only places left where smelting of iron ore goes on; there are many forges where rough iron brought from the plains is melted down and forged into bill-hooks and hoes. Messrs. Yule and Cracroft have described the
113 native process of smelting iron, and it is only necessary to refer
114 to their papers if information is required on the subject. Yule's
327 account is a very full one, and is to be found at page 853, vol. xi. part ii. of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The system pursued, both in the extraction and in the subsequent smelting of the ore, is the same at the present day as that
327 described by Yule. Dr. Oldham, writing in 1863, says, "The quality of this Khasi iron is excellent for all such purposes as Swedish iron is now used for. The impurity of the blooms (or masses of the metal in a molten state), however, as they are sent to market, is a great objection to its use, and the waste consequent thereon renders it expensive. It would also form steel or wootz (Indian steel) of excellent quality. I have no doubt that the manufacture could be greatly improved and possibly extended." Dr. Oldham, however, goes on to remark that the manufacture of iron could not be very much extended, owing to the scanty dissemination of the ore in the rocks, and
[312] the consequent high cost of obtaining it. At present the want of any permanent supply of water prevents the natives from working for more than a few days during the year, whilst the rains are heavy, and they can readily obtain sufficient force of water for the washing of the ore from its matrix. The export of iron in any form from the district has now almost died out, only a few hoes being brought down by the Khasis from Laitdom, in Khadsawphra, to the Burdwar and Palasbari markets in the Kamrup District of the Assam Valley. Iron of English manufacture has, of course, much cheapened the market, but probably the fact that the parts of the country in the neighbourhood of the rocks which contain the metal have

thereafter, the British negotiated treaties with all the Khasi states, the last treaty being signed in 1862. It was contracted that the chiefs would be subject to the authority of a resident political agent, whose duties would involve maintaining law and order, judging cases of heinous crimes, approving the popular selection of any new chief, and exercising control over certain categories of natural resources. Khasis were guaranteed noninterference in their customary way of life, and they were not then, nor are they now, taxed. Most Khasis, as opposed to Jaintias, were never an integral part of British India, but they did undergo social change as a result of British presence. To summarize Mills (n.d.): (1) The British introduced the potato, which the Khasis rapidly took up as a cash crop for marketing as far as Calcutta. The intensive specialization exhausted the soil and made for ever-poorer crops. (2) Christian missionaries made large numbers of converts, and there arose the difficult question of whether a Christian should inherit property that traditionally was earmarked for her performance of non-Christian religious rituals. (3) About 1864 the British transferred their headquarters from Cherrapunji to Shillong. When they made Shillong the capital of the entire state of Assam, non-Khasis flocked to it, land values soared, and the concept of private property became increasingly important. Khasis began to marry with members of other ethnic groups, which introduced confusion into traditional social patterns. These problems were exacerbated during World War II, when Shillong and its environs enjoyed enormous economic prosperity. One notable aftermath of this affluence has been the accelerated enrollments in schools and colleges. Hundreds of Khasis now have the B.A., M.A., and even the Ph.D. degree. • With the Independence of India in 1947, and under the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India (which was drafted by a Khasi), the United Khasi–Jaintia Hills District became a Part B, or Autonomous, Tribal Area, to be governed by a District Council composed largely of Khasis and Jaintias, and responsible not to the Legislature of Assam, but to the Governor of Assam as agent of the President of India. The native-state system and the chiefs still exist, and the District Council finds it difficult to effect legislation which is neither offensive to regional custom nor a simple blueprint of ill-fitting all-India legislation. The major political schism at this time is between Jaintias, who are accustomed to centralized authority and taxation, and Khasis, who resist the notion of taxation to support the work of a central District Council. [Cf. Gait 1926; Aitchison 1931; Bhuyan 1949; Morris 1910.]

175 619 648 [726] [651] [177] 177 648 244 439 134 797 428 635 633 167 563 423 [873] 648 642 [651] [563] [113]

SETTLEMENT PATTERN AND HOUSING. **Settlement pattern.** Khasis live sedentarily in named, nucleated, and unplanned villages which are situated just below hill summits to avoid strong winds but still be defensible, and which usually include a de-

361 [312]

435 659 Regarding supply of foodgrains through fair price shops, the position appeared to be unsatisfactory. Complaints were heard from some villagers coming from the interior villages that they very rarely get rice from fair price shops, which are usually allotted to bigger villages, sometimes too far from the villages tagged to it. Even the people of the villages where there were fair price shops, complained that the supply of rice to these shops was inadequate and the price also was very high which in some areas was even as high as Rs. 31·00 per maund.

164 312 In a majority of the villages investigated, water supply and medical facilities were not satisfactory. Malaria, dysentery and other bowel diseases are common in this area.

743 The table above clearly shows that the medical facilities obtainable in these villages are far from satisfactory. Only 6 villages out of 28 villages have a dispensary either located in the village or within a radius of five miles. Considering the lack of communication facilities and the hilly nature of the district even five miles is often too long a distance for a patient to go to the doctor or for a doctor to attend a patient. When the doctor has to cover long distances the charges become too high. As a result the poorer sections in case of serious illness have to approach unqualified medical men when one is available or otherwise to depend upon the mercy of God. Even for quinine and other cheap medicines one has to go to a dispensary or a private medical practitioner miles away. Reportedly, the more disheartening fact is that the medical help received by the people from Government dispensaries are not often timely and adequate due to non-availability of a doctor and in-adequacy of stock of medicines.

361 364 4.4 **Sanitation.**—Though conditions of housing, sanitations, etc., of the villages are described in village notes in the appendix, it will be pertinent to make some general observations on the point. Unlike other hill tribes, the Khasis select their house sites on the hill slopes and level lands by the side of the hills as a protection from winds. From the fact that the villages are situated in the slopes one might be tempted to think that the sanitary and drainage system of the villages should be quite satisfactory. But in fact it is otherwise in many cases particularly in the case of big villages where too many families huddle up constructing their houses very close to each other thus practically converting the village into a slum. Many of the villages, due to their very location in groves surrounded by thick jungles do not get sufficient sun-light and as a result always remain damp, facilitating frequent incidence of cold and influenza. People answer the call of nature in jungles and bushes in and around the villages. Many of the villages are built on level lands full of swamps, mud and tall weeds, places which provide good breeding place for mosquitoes. Cowsheds and pig sties are built close to the residential quarters which make the villages all the more dirty. Indeed, there are villages enjoying excellent sanitation and health but in majority of the villages there remains a lot to be done for improving the sanitary, drainage systems for educating the people to make their villages more hygienic. From the Government side also, elaborate measures should be adopted to combat and eradicate malaria which is still causing [312] havoc in the district. Similarly, drinking water supply schemes should receive a high priority in a programme of development.

342 4.5 **Housing.**—Majority of the houses in the interior areas are made of thatch and bamboo with wooden planking or stone or earthen floor. Walls are plastered with mud. In higher altitudes houses are lowly roofed presumably as a protection against wind and heavy rain. Some of these houses assume the shape of a half buried cylinder. They generally have only one opening through the main door, though some of them have another in their rear end. They generally contain only two small rooms. One who is not used to such conditions wonders how the inmates, especially when there are five or six of them, could feel comfortable. Houses of the well-to-do people particularly those on the road side, are built in the modern style with C.I. roofing, plank floor, mud plastered, whitewashed

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

133 they form rapids, the waters precipitating themselves down deep, rocky gorges and chasms, choked with huge boulders. Some of these gorges are very beautiful; the streams, being hemmed in between stupendous mountains and rocks covered with primeval forest, run in narrow but very deep channels swarming with fish. No islands or lakes are formed by any of the rivers, although several of them have large, deep pools. They are all unfordable during the rains.

312 UTILIZATION OF THE WATER SUPPLY.—None of the rivers are utilized as a motive power for turning machinery, although the streams on the higher plateaux might be easily turned to such an account. Their waters, however, are extensively used for the purposes of irrigation, and the hill people display great ingenuity in cutting channels or aqueducts for leading the water on to their [365] fields. It is in this manner that the Civil Station of Shillong receives its water supply. Aqueducts convey water to the houses of all the European residents; and branch channels from the main aqueduct flow through the *bázár*, and along the streets occupied [226] by the native inhabitants. No fishing towns exist in the hills; but [563] near where the rivers debouch upon the plain are some valuable fisheries, which are annually let in farm, the lessees being generally Bengálís. These fisheries yield an annual Government revenue of about £300. Embankments in order to protect the land against floods do not exist. A few embankments, or rather dams, are thrown across narrow valleys between hills, so as to create reservoirs for water. At Shillong there are a few tanks thus formed, which are both useful and ornamental.

135 MINERALS, ETC.—Coal and limestone, both of excellent quality, are found in abundance. Lower Bengal obtains nearly the whole of its lime supply from the Khásí and Jáintiá Hills. The lime is known as 'Sylhet lime,' and is obtained by quarrying from the beds of stone which line the base of the mountains along the whole length of the Sylhet boundary. The supply is literally inexhaustible. Coal out-crops at Cherrá Púnjí, Lá-ká-dong, Shellá, Máo-syn-rám, and at several other places; but as a rule it is scattered, and found in places difficult of access. The coal, however, is of excellent quality, and leaves very little ash. Stone, well adapted for building purposes, is also found. Ironstone exists almost everywhere throughout the Hills, but principally in the dependent States of Khyrim, Nongspung, Cherrá, and Mylliem. In former years the Khásiás were

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extent of waste land, some is cultivated in a manner resembling the *júm* system,—successive crops are grown on a patch of land till the soil is exhausted, and then another spot is selected, where the same process is repeated afresh, but without anything that can be called a *júmiá* tenure. Any renting of land is exceptional, and there are no recognised rates of rent. The Deputy-Commissioner, however, states that an ordinary rate for rented land would be from two to three shillings a year for as much land as an individual can cultivate with his own hands. 423 [427]

MANURE is generally used in raising rice and potatoes. It is seldom purchased, the dung and litter of the cattle and other animals about the house being generally utilized for the purpose. For rice fields a little less than half a ton of manure, but for potatoes upwards of two tons, is required per acre. Manure, if purchased, would cost from 2s. 7½d. to 3s. 9d. per acre for rice land, and for potato fields from 12s. to 18s. per acre. 243 244 [435]

IRRIGATION for agricultural purposes is regularly practised. Water is brought to the land by means of channels cut from the numerous hill streams in the neighbourhood of the fields. Wells and tanks are unknown. The work of irrigation by means of these channels is very easily carried on, and at a very trifling outlay. Rotation of crops is not practised in the Hills. 312

MODEL FARM.—The Shillong Model Farm, established in 1873, has not proved a success. Experiments tried with wheat give some hope that cold-weather crops may profitably be introduced into the Hills. Two new varieties of potato—'red roughs' and 'pheasant's eye'—were successfully introduced in 1873-74; but these are not looked upon favourably by the Khásiás, as they only give one crop in the year, whereas the ordinary variety yields two crops. Several fruit-trees have been planted out, including apple, pear, cherry, nectarine, and plum; and the tables of the European residents are supplied with vegetables from the garden attached to the farm. A *Manual of Potato Cultivation* compiled by the superintendent has been translated into Assamese, and copies have been distributed among the adjoining Hill tribes. The general failure in all the agricultural experiments is attributed partly to the unfitness of the soil, and still more to the ravages of white ants and other insects peculiar to the Hills. The attempts to improve the indigenous breeds of live stock have been equally unfortunate. During the two years 1874-76 the sum of Rs. 1744 177 244 648 654 177 245 648 654 [134] [136] 231 648 654

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731 pre-eminently filthy villages on the Cherrá Púnjí plateau the epidemic appears to have found a fitting home, for it stayed among them for a period of nine weeks and a half. The civil surgeon reports the deaths at Cherrá Púnjí and the surrounding villages to have amounted to about 175 out of a total of 232 cases. During the year 1876-77 hooping-cough and small-pox were prevalent in an epidemic form. In the Jáintiá Hills small-pox is stated to have caused 47 deaths, chiefly during the months of June, July, and August. Some fatal cases of hooping-cough occurred among the Khási children in the village of Máokhar, near Shillong. The only two cases of cholera reported were in the Jáintiá Hills.

16 VITAL STATISTICS.—A general system of registration is not [659] attempted throughout the Khási and Jáintiá Hills District. Statistics [648] of births and deaths are only collected among the inhabitants of the Stations of Shillong and Cherrá Púnjí, and in the selected area in the vicinity of Jowái, which comprises the following seven villages: —Jowái, Nongbah, Nartiang, Mynsau, Amwí, Ralliang, and Shampúng. This selected area has a population of 12,504. Each village forms a distinctly-circumscribed community, in which the statistics are readily ascertained and reported by the *dolloi* or head-man. The returns may be regarded as extremely close to the truth, both for births and deaths; and they thus furnish an approximate statement of the health of the entire Hills. In 1874 the total number of deaths in the selected area was 351, showing a death rate of 28 per thousand; the number of births was 431, or 34·4 per thousand. The total population of all the places in which vital statistics are collected is 15,458 persons, among whom 428 deaths were recorded in 1874, showing a death-rate of 27·6 per thousand, as compared with 27·3 per thousand in the preceding year. The deaths were thus distributed—24 from cholera, 296 from fever, 38 from bowel complaints, 2 from snake-bite or wild beasts, and 68 from all other causes. The mortality from fevers was the highest recorded throughout the entire Province. On this the civil surgeon observes:—'There are few local sources of malaria in the Hills. Many of the deaths from fever were probably due to typhoid, induced by the use of impure water and by the filthy state in which the
312 people live. There is no attempt at conservancy in a Khási village.
364 In Jowái, a good specimen of the class, the lanes and pathways are
164 strewn with excrement and house refuse. Drinking water is got from wells in the heart of the village, fed by the drainage of the

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surface soil of the hills upon which the houses are built.' Cholera is attributed to importation from the plains. 364 [164]

SANITATION.—It has already been stated that the ordinary Khási villages are absolutely destitute of any conservancy arrangements. The sanitary condition, however, of the Station of Shillong is described as 'good.' The natural drainage is excellent. Drinking water is obtained chiefly from hill streams, and on the banks of these streams conservancy regulations are enforced. The water is conducted into the town by means of an artificial water-course. Public latrines have been erected at suitable places inside the town. The staff of sweepers and *beldárs* keeps the roads and drains clean, and the surface generally free from pollution. The sanitary condition of the cantonment is reported to be very good.

CHARITABLE DISPENSARY.—There is one dispensary in the Khási and Jáintiá Hills—at the Station of Shillong. It was first opened in 1872, and considerable additions have since been made to the building. During 1874 a total sum of Rs. 775. 8, or £77, 11s., was expended on new constructions and repairs, towards which the European residents subscribed Rs. 329. There is now accommodation for 10 male and 3 female patients. In that year the total number of in-door patients treated was 44, of whom 9 died, giving a death-rate of 20·45 per cent. The number of out-door patients was 529, or an average daily attendance of 7·8. Of the grand total of patients of both classes, only 31 were females. The largest number of cases are classified under the headings of fevers and constipation and colic. The total income during the year was Rs. 1598. 13. 9, or £159, 17s. 8d., of which Government contributed Rs. 300 for salaries, and an additional Rs. 300 as a special allowance. The European subscriptions amounted to Rs. 869, as compared with Rs. 33 subscribed by natives. The total expenditure was Rs. 1187. 15. 6, or £118, 16s., leaving a balance in hand of Rs. 410. 14. 3. The chief items were Rs. 480 for salaries of medical subordinates, Rs. 160 for servants' wages, and Rs. 222 for dieting of sick. There were 53 minor operations performed during the year. 743 [164]

The people of the District have no system of medicine of their own, and no native practitioners. Their sole remedies consist in divination and incantation. The only indigenous native drugs are chireta and wormwood. As stated in a previous paragraph, a small cinchona plantation was established by Government at Nongklao in 1867. 755 278 648 654

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Silver chains are worn by men as well as by women. The 301
men wear them round the waist like a belt, and the women hang them round their necks, the chains being allowed to depend as low as the waist. Bracelets are worn by women; these are either of gold or of silver. The Lynngam [321]
males wear bead necklaces, the beads being sometimes of cornelian gathered from the beds of the local hill streams, and sometimes of glass obtained from the plains markets of Damra and Moiskhola. The cornelian necklaces are much prized by the Lynngams, and are called by them *'pieng blei*, or gods' necklaces. Like the Garos, the Lynngams wear as many brass earrings as possible, the lobes of the ears of the females being frequently greatly distended by their weight. These earrings are made out of brass wire obtained from the plains markets. The Lynngams wear silver armlets above the elbow and also on the wrists. It is only a [554]
man who has given a great feast who can wear silver armlets above the elbows. These armlets are taken off as a sign of [765]
mourning, but never on ordinary occasions. The Lynngams do not wear Khasi jewellery, but jewellery of a pattern to be seen in the Garo Hills. A distinctive feature of the Lynngam women is the very large number of blue bead necklaces they wear. They put on such a large number as to give them almost the appearance of wearing horse collars. These beads are obtained from the plains markets, and are of glass. Further detailed information regarding this subject can be obtained from Mr. Henniker's monograph, which contains a good plate illustrating the different articles of jewellery.

WEAPONS.

The weapons of the Khasis are swords, spears, bows and arrows, 411
and a circular shield which was used formerly for purposes of 314
defence. The swords are usually of wrought iron, occasionally of [326]
steel, and are forged in the local smithies. The Khasi sword is of considerable length, and possesses the peculiarity of not having a handle of different material from that which is used for the blade. In the Khasi sword the handle is never made of wood or bone, or

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

411 of anything except iron or steel, the result being that the sword
314 is most awkward to hold, and could never have been of much use as a weapon of offence.

The same spear is used for thrusting and casting. The spear is not decorated with wool or hair like the spears of the Naga tribes, but it is nevertheless a serviceable weapon, and would be formidable in the hand of a resolute man at close quarters. The length of the spear is about 6½ feet. The shaft is generally of bamboo, although sometimes of ordinary wood. The spear heads are forged in the local smithies.

The Khasi weapon *par excellence* is the bow. Although no 'Robin Hoods," the Khasis are very fair archers, and they use the bow largely for hunting. The Khasi bow (*ka ryntieh*) is of bamboo, and is about 5 feet in height. The longest bow in use
[141] is said to be about the height of a man, the average height amongst the Khasis being about about 5 feet 2 inches to 5 feet 4 inches. The bowstring is of split bamboo, the bamboos that are used being *u spit*, *u shken*, and *u siej-lieh*.

The arrows (*ki khnam*) are of two kinds: (*a*) the barbed-headed (*ki pliang*), and (*b*) the plain-headed (*sop*). Both are made out of bamboo. The first kind is used for hunting,
[526] the latter for archery matches only. Archery may be styled the Khasi national game. A description of Khasi archery will be found under the heading "Games." The feathers
[825] of the following birds are used for arrows:—Vultures, geese, cranes, cormorants, and hornbills. Arrow-heads are made of iron or steel, and are forged locally. The distance a Khasi arrow will carry, shot from the ordinary bow by a man of medium strength, is 150 to 180 yards. The Khasi
[237] shield is circular in shape, of hide, and studded with brass or silver. In former days shields of rhinoceros hide are said to have been used, but nowadays buffalo skin is used. The shields would stop an arrow or turn aside a spear or sword thrust. The present-day shield is used merely for purposes of display.

389 Before the advent of the British into the hills the Khasis are said to have been acquainted with the art of manufacturing gunpowder, which was prepared in the neighbourhood of Mawsanram, Kynchi, and Cherra. The gunpowder used to be

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

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1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

the ground, and well oiled. A silver ornament, or a few rupees, 524
placed at the top, reward the successful climber." A leg of mutton, or a piece of pork fixed at the top of this pole would render the pastime identical with the "greasy-pole" climbing of English villages. The following are some other Khasi games:—

526
Wrestling; two persons grasping each other's hands with the 527
fingers interlocked, and then trying to push one another down; tug-of-war with a piece of stick, the two combatants placing their feet one against the other; butting at one another like bulls, and trying to upset each other (*ia tur masi*); long jump; high jump; blind-man's buff; flying kites; pitching cowries into a hole in the ground; a game like marbles, only played with round pebbles, and others.

MANUFACTURES.

The manufactures of the Khasis are few in number, and do 327
not seem to show any tendency to increase. On the contrary, 288
two of the most important industries, the smelting of iron ore 412
and the forging of iron implements therefrom, and the cotton-spinning industries at Mynso and Suhtnga, show signs of dying out. Ploughshares and hoes and bill-hooks can now be obtained more cheaply from the plains than from the forges in the hills, and Manchester piece goods are largely taking the place of cloths of local manufacture. The iron industry in 327
former days was an important one, and there is abundant 316
evidence that the workings were on a considerable scale, e.g. at Nongkrem and Laitlyngkot, in the shape of large granite boulders which have fallen to the ground from the sides of the hills owing to the softer rock which filled the interstices between the boulders having been worked out by the iron-workers, their process being to dig out the softer ferruginous rock, and then extract the iron ore from it by means of washing. The softer rock having been removed, the heavier portions fell by their own weight, and rolled down to the bottom of the slopes, the result being the great number of boulders to be seen near the sites of these workings.

10: Clarke U-3 (no date)1874 AR7 Khasi AR7

in these hills a dozen monuments on the binary type may soon be found in which there are two equal upright slabs in the middle, and the other stones placed symmetrically on each side of them.

7. There are three kinds of rock employed by the Khasis for stone monuments, viz.:—

a. The Cherra sandstones.
b. The Shillong sandstones.
c. The granite.

Small stones are conveyed considerable distances from the place of manufacture before they are set up—large stones are not—hence the material of the monuments is determined everywhere geologically.

a. The Cherra sandstones are tertiary and cretaceous rocks spread along the southern edge of the plateau and producing the ledges which mark its abrupt termination. In the great thickness of these sandstones are many beds in which the rock occurs in large sheets with very few joints, and well-adapted for working out large slabs therefrom. The sandstone is generally very hard, but not so hard but that the Khasis can work it with their own native-made iron tools.

There is a quarry, now in full work, about half-a-mile out of the old Cherra cantonment, upon the Mamloo path, where slabs may be seen in preparation. The slabs made from the Cherra sandstones, admitting of being worked, are generally hewn pretty fairly to a shape and smoothed before being set up. The ancient monuments are, however, often made of very rough slabs.

All the well-known monuments near the old Cherra station are made of these sandstones, as also the large monuments at Mamloo, Maurmai, and Lirinow. These three monuments all stand on sheets of Cherra sandstone and the stones were cut out of the rock hard by where they now stand. The stones quarried now outside the Cherra cantonment, being for transport, are none of great size.

The Khasis also work gigantic slabs of stone for bridges. Where the span is anything under twenty feet a single slab four or five feet wide and two feet thick is thrown across; piers of enormous blocks of sandstone are raised on each side, on which the slab may rest, if there is the remotest fear that the water can, in any flood, reach the under surface of the slab. As compared with such a bridge the Khasis regard the best efforts of the English engineers as mere makeshifts. The arch at Amwee, figured by Dr. Hooker is Bengali work.

b. The Shillong sandstones extend over a large area of the northern portion of the plateau: they are often more argillaceous

10: Clarke U-3 (no date)1874 AR7 Khasi AR7

in East Jaintia, according to the Khasis, who are good geologists. 135

These granite blocks are found on the steep hill sides and on the hill tops, the valleys between being often entirely destitute of them. The highest hills of the plateau are especially favoured with them as Nongtas (Nunklow) and Laitlankote. On the edges of the granite area and on the isolated peaks of the country, outlying heaps of granite blocks are found. Around *Jowya* (the *Jaintia* capital), the country is very uniformly at a level of about 4000-4500 feet above the sea, and not a granite block is to be seen there, nor in marching east thence, where you keep at the same level, until you reach the Ralliang hill about twelve miles east of *Jowya*, where the blocks appear again in full force all over the summit of the hill.

From these granite blocks, slabs of almost any size might be obtained, but the Khasi native iron tools will not work this granite, which is very hard, and the granite slabs used in the Khasi monuments are merely flakes obtained by heating the block with fire along a line and then pouring cold water upon it. The upright granite slabs thus frequently exhibit one convex and one concave face, as also do the horizontal slabs which are round or oval, not quadrangular. The flakes are entirely unworked in the Khasi territory, so that the granite monuments have an extreme rudeness and ruggedness about them which has been commonly supposed to indicate extreme antiquity. This I believe is altogether a mistake, but at the present time the taste of the people appears educated up to a preference for worked stones, and I have not seen any granite monument in process of construction, though I am told that many have been made within the memory of men. 316

There is an important difference in the *Jaintia* granitic monuments which are neatly worked to the approved form. The Bengali Rajahs of the plains *Jaintia* and *Jaintiapore*, have long established an influence in the hills, and Bengali workmen have thus penetrated the hills from *Jaintiapore* by *Amwee* up to *Jowya*, the hill capital, and further. The Bengali tools are able to fashion this hard granite, and the gigantic slabs, whether used for monuments or for bridges, are commonly found neatly hewn, all the way from *Jaintiapore* up to *Nartiang*, north of *Jowya*.

Large granite stones are rather more difficult to move than sandstones of the same dimensions, and the first class granite monuments are found on the spot where the granite blocks abound. Where an isolated hill was covered with large blocks, and no blocks were seen anywhere else near, this seems at once to have suggested such a hill as a suitable spot for monumental erections. In just the same way at Stonehenge the large stones

10:Clarke U-3 (no date)1874 AR7 Khasi AR7

316 were all found within 200 yards of where they now stand, as may be inferred from the stray stone at about that distance from Stonehenge and not made use of: the small stones were probably brought a considerable distance from the greensand area in the north of the county.

316 8. In the setting up of these monuments the Khasis at the
415 present day use only the simplest and most direct mechanical means. For transporting a big stone wooden rollers are placed beneath it and the stone is then drawn by a large number of men harnessed to it by rattan ropes. To set one of the slabs upright, one end is slipped into a hole dug 1-3 feet in the ground, while the other end is tugged by similar ropes. For putting one stone upon another, as in a horizontal slab monument, it is drawn up a sloping stage of bamboo, but if the slab be of great weight, a slope of earth must be constructed, up which it may be pulled. These are the present Khasi methods, and it is, of course, highly probable that similar resources were employed in ancient times. I add a more particular account of some of the larger monuments.

311 9. The monument on the Government main road, about six miles north of Cherra, not far from the village of Lirinow, stands on sheets of Cherra sandstone, out of which the slabs were cut. The tallest stones were about fifteen feet out of the ground. The five stones on the left-hand side (west) of the road were erected when I first visited the hills. The five stones on the right-hand side were erected about four years ago, the family to whom the monument belongs having determined on such an addition. The two portions form one indivisible monument, and exactly correspond, the stones being accurately worked and rounded. The two top-knots are seen in several other monuments, but must, I think, be held proof always of a very late date for their erection. At the Mausmai
[39] monument a large rosette is carved on the face of the middle of the big central upright slab, which is also I presume modern work.

10. The monument at Mamloo village. This is, perhaps, the monument in all the hills which exhibits the largest slabs of Cherra sandstone. It stands on sheets of the same rock and there can be little doubt that the slabs were cut on the spot. It is of the (less usual) binary type.

11. The monuments at Rambrai in the west of Khasi-land. These consist of numerous horizontal and vertical slabs of no great size, the upright slabs being 4-8 feet out of the ground, but remarkable for their arrangement on a long open slope outside the village. The monuments stand all close together, collected as in a churchyard, so that it is not easy to separate

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

vation is impossible because of the cold climate. In the past, Khasi economy must have remained at a very primitive stage. 178 244

Potato cultivation has been much encouraged along with the development of Shillong and the opening of the motor road to Gauhati from Shillong after the Independence of India when Shillong became the seat of the Assam Government, as well as the capital of the Khasi-Jaintia Hills. Shillong has become an important trading centre, where big merchants collect the harvests of potatoes in exchange for rice, clothes and various other goods from the Assam valley. These changes have introduced the Khasis into an active commercial economy which again has brought about various changes in their social life. Recently coal excavations have started in the upland Khasi Hills, and many Khasi become miners. 178 433 369 [244] [633] [491] [439] [316]

Thus the history of the Khasi Hills during the last hundred years has changed a great deal the picture of the Hills. However, dark corners still remain in Bhoi, War and in the area bordering on the Garo Hills. These have been kept in a vacuum between the Hindu civilization of the bordering plain and the modernization of the uplands centred in Shillong. In these areas, the people are still practising primitive jhum cultivation. I have chosen two villages in War located in one of these area as subjects of my major field-work. 178 184

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children, but Christian influence has eradicated or driven underground the consumption by women and children. **Industrial arts.** The only industrial arts traditionally practiced in all households were a rudimentary carpentry and a simple utilitarian basketry. Other arts were few, and were practiced as village specialties: the washing and smelting of iron ore and the forging of hoes, daos, knives, swords, and cooking pots (upland Khasis); the spinning of cotton thread (Mynso village, Jaintia); the dyeing of cotton thread and the weaving of cloth (Jaintias, Bhois, Lyngngams, Wars); the spinning and weaving of Eri silk (Khyrwang and Nongtung villages, Bhoi and Jaintia); and the hand manufacture, without wheel, of painted earthenware pots (Larnai village, Jaintia). Ironworking and the production of cotton goods have nearly died out through the competition of machine-made goods. Carpentry has greatly improved. An innovation of major importance is the sewing and tailoring, on sewing machines, of ready-made garments for both sexes. [Cf. Darrah 1896; C., W. 1832.] **Trade.** Khasi villages normally contain a number of household shops operated by women. Every Khasi also lives within walking distance of several village markets that are held on successive days of the eight-day week. The limits of market intercourse for the members of any particular village can be roughly distinguished by their naming the days of their week, which are called after the active markets. The exception is the huge market at Shillong, much of which is active daily, and which serves as a magnet for Khasis from all over the hills. The traditional barter has given way to currency in all markets. The small ones contain at least some local farm produce, plus other essentials like betel nut, and the food and tea stalls which serve as centers of social intercourse. The big markets contain not only regional produce and manufactures but also products from distant parts of the hills, brought for sale by traveling middlemen. There is also substantial trade, from the hills to the valleys, in potatoes, pears, hides, lac, cotton, caoutchouc, the wood of the sal tree, Eri silk thread, limestone, coal, ivory, bay leaf, betel nut, pan leaves, bananas, sugar cane, oranges, til, turmeric, and chilies. From the plains to the hills, there is trade in dried fish, paddy rice, salt, cooking oil, kerosene, matches, tea, sugar, wheat flour, machine-made cloth, shoes, metal pots, crockery, porcelain objects, coral beads, silver, and gold. Markets are important not only as economic institutions but also as centers for recreation (including archery competitions), courtship, reaffirmation of kinship ties with distant relatives, and the dissemination of information of all kinds. [Cf. Stegmiller 1924a.] **Division of labor.** Men do the heavy work, such as clearing and burning the swidden fields, caring for cattle and goats and driving them to market, butchering and selling large cuts of beef and pork, carpentry and mining, and driving and laboring on motor vehicles. They also tailor men's

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20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

The coal strata at the former place are calculated to extend over one-third of a square mile, with an average thickness of from 3 feet 6 inches to 4 feet; and the yield of the coal, if it could be worked, is estimated at 447,000 tons. At the latter spot the area of the coal-fields is computed to extend over 0·394 of a square mile, and the estimated yield of the mineral is about 1,100,000 tons. The coal at Cherrá Púnjí and at Lá-ká-dong is in quality equal to some English coals; it is quick in its action, and consequently would generate steam rapidly; it cakes well, but gives out a large amount of smoke; it is fragile and easily broken. From the absence of that definite structure which produces the planes of division known to English miners as 'backs,' or joints in the coal, it breaks into unsymmetrical pieces, and consequently does not stow well. From its composition, quick combustion, and irregular cleavage, it is estimated to be from 5 to 7 per cent. inferior to good English coal; but as a gas-producing coal it is considered superior to English produce, both as regards quality and purity of the gas. It is also calculated to yield a good quality of coke. The market value of coal found in the Khási and Jáintiá Hills cannot be given with any approach to accuracy, owing to the expense of labour in the Hills and of carriage to the plains. The Station of Shillong, which consumes coal as fuel, derives its supply from the coal beds at Máo-beh-lyrkár, 18 miles distant, and the price is as high as £3 per ton. Lá-ká-dong is within six miles of Borghát, a village on an affluent of the Surmá, which is accessible all the year round by boats of 500 maunds, or 28 tons burden; but at present only coolie-carriage is available between Lá-ká-dong and Borghát.

The following is a brief history of the mines at Cherrá Púnjí in the Khási Hills, and at Lá-ká-dong in the Jáintiá Hills:—Government holds a perpetual lease of the Cherrá Púnjí mines from the chief or Siem of Cherrá, conditionally upon the payment by Government of a royalty of two shillings and eightpence for every five tons of coal quarried and removed from the mine, and also upon the terms that the people of Cherrá shall be permitted to work the beds on their own account. In 1844 Government transferred its right to work the mine to Captain Engledue, then agent of the Peninsular and Oriental Company, for a period of twenty years; but in the following year this gentleman, with the permission of Government, made over his lease to Messrs. Gisborne & Co., of Calcutta, who worked the mine for about two years,

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

316 and in 1851 transferred their rights to Mr. W. Moran, of Calcutta.
648 The last lessee, however, preferred buying his coal to mining it; and
655 Government, seeing that the mines were not worked in a satisfactory manner, resumed the beds in 1859, and advertised them for letting. No person, however, has since come forward to work the mine. The Lá-ká-dong coal mines are the sole property of Government, which in the year 1848 leased the mining rights to Mr. B. W. Darley. This gentleman in the following year made over his lease to Messrs. Gisborne & Co., who soon afterwards transferred it to Mr. Moran. This gentleman surrendered his lease in 1859, when the mines were advertised for letting, but no one has since come forward and undertaken to work the coal. Between 1850 and 1856, while the mines were worked, about 5100 tons of coal were extracted for exportation.

In Mr. Allen's Report, dated 1858, it is stated that the coal of the Hills then found a ready sale at Dacca and elsewhere at 8 *ánnás* per *maund*; and that the average quantity exported into Bengal was about
[435] 25,000 *maunds*, valued at Rs. 12,500, or £1250. According to the local trade reports, this exportation would appear to have entirely died out; but the Bengal registration returns record 2965 *maunds* of coal, valued at Rs. 1482, or £148, at the rate of 8 *ánnás* per *maund*, as exported from Sylhet District in the year 1876-77. This supply was probably derived from the Khásí and Jáintiá Hills.

317 LIMESTONE QUARRIES.—A limestone formation prevails more or less along the whole southern face of the Khásí and Jáintiá Hills. The quarries are chiefly situated in the beds and on the banks of rivers and water-courses.

The limestone-quarrying localities in the Khásí Hills are the following twenty-six:—(1) Bha-wál; (2) Bor-syr-mai; (3) By-rang, *alias* Wáh-long; (4) Bor-púnjí; (5) Chún-jurá; (6) Dholai; (7) Dwárá; (8) Ichhámati; (9) Lúm-dih-long; (10) Lan-grin; (11) Long-long; (12) Máo-nai; (13) Máo-don; (14) Máo-kár-tillá; (15) Mohesh-kháli; (16) Máo-long; (17) No-kriá; (18) Páthériá; (19) Ram-seng-rai-skeh; (20) Soh-lai; (21) Silai; (22) Shellá; (23) Tanglá; (24) Tang-wai; (25) Um-song; (26) Um-tymá. In the Jáintiá Hills, the following seven:—(1) Chún-chhorá; (2) Lámá-pushi; (3) Lithánq; (4) Myrli Púnjí; (5) Nongthá-long; (6) Rúpnáth; (7) Rowai. The supply of limestone is literally inexhaustible. The wants of Calcutta and of the whole of Lower Bengal
648 have been satisfied from these hills from time immemorial. During
651 the year 1876-77 the estimated export was 1,600,000 *maunds*, valued
317

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

434

against Rs. 25,000, or £2,500, twenty years earlier. The supply of 439
piece-goods is derived directly from Dacca.

A curious feature in the trade of the Khásí and Jáintiá Hills is 441
the total absence of Márwárí or Jain merchants—an enterprising class, who are found everywhere else in Assam, even to the farthest corners of the Brahmaputra valley. There are a few Bengálí traders from Dacca, who do not take up a permanent residence in the Hills; but the great bulk of the business remains in the hands of the natives, who themselves reap the profits and are said to be keen at a bargain.

The principal markets at the foot of the Hills, on the Sylhet side, 443
are Bholáganj, Chhaták, Lakhát, Jaíntiápur, Jafling, Pharálbázár, Máodong, Ponatit, Sónápur, Molághul, and Lengjut. Many of these are situated within the Sylhet boundary; but they are all frequented by Khásí and Synteng traders, who spend their whole time in passing from one market village to another. The markets or *háts* are held at regular intervals of eight days (for the Khásí week consists of this number), with the object of permitting the same people to visit the different places in rotation.

CAPITAL.—Such little capital as the people possess is either 454
employed in trade or lent out upon interest. In a few cases it is hoarded and allowed to remain idle. In small loan transactions, whether articles are pledged as security or not, the interest usually charged is one *dnná* in the rupee per month, or 75 per cent. per annum. In larger transactions the rate of interest per month varies from 2 to 3 per cent. Nothing is charged in the name of interest where lands are mortgaged as security for a loan, as the land is always made over to the mortgagee in lieu thereof, and he is only bound to restore it on payment of the amount lent. In petty advances for agricultural purposes, part of the produce is given by the cultivator at something less than market rates in repayment of the amount borrowed. Limestone quarrying is the only industry in 316
the District carried on by European agency. 648

REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE.—The revenue realized from the 648
Khásí and Jáintiá Hills has increased considerably in recent years. 651
As the Khásí States are treated as semi-independent, the receipts from that portion of the District are altogether insignificant, with the exception of the dues levied from the lime quarries. The larger part of the revenue in Jáintiá is derived from the house tax. For 1835, when British authority was first established in the Khásí Hills,

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648 The last lessee, however, preferred buying his coal to mining it; and
655 Government, seeing that the mines were not worked in a satisfactory manner, resumed the beds in 1859, and advertised them for letting. No person, however, has since come forward to work the mine. The Lá-ká-dong coal mines are the sole property of Government, which in the year 1848 leased the mining rights to Mr. B. W. Darley. This gentleman in the following year made over his lease to Messrs. Gisborne & Co., who soon afterwards transferred it to Mr. Moran. This gentleman surrendered his lease in 1859, when the mines were advertised for letting, but no one has since come forward and undertaken to work the coal. Between 1850 and 1856, while the mines were worked, about 5100 tons of coal were extracted for exportation.

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648 have been satisfied from these hills from time immemorial. During
651 the year 1876-77 the estimated export was 1,600,000 *maunds*, valued
317

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

at Rs. 480,000, or £48,000, and the revenue derived by Government from the quarries was Rs. 67,266, or £6726. In addition, the Khási Chiefs receive a revenue from this source of more than £2000. 648 651 317

IRON.—The smelting of iron was once the chief industry in the Khási Hills, and a considerable quantity of the metal used to be exported into Sylhet, both in the crude and the manufactured state. Recently, however, this industry has almost died out, in the face of the competition of the superior article imported from England and sold in the plains at a cheaper rate. The indigenous methods of extracting, washing, and smelting the ore have been minutely described by Professor Oldham. The following description is taken from Mr. Allen's Report, dated 1858, at which date the annual export of smelted iron was estimated at 45,000 *maunds*, valued at Rs. 67,500, or £6750, at the rate of Rs. 1. 8 per *maund*: —'The ore is said to be most abundant and of the best quality in the State of Khyrim, especially at the villages of Nongkrím and Noyandri. A few iron articles, such as *dáos* or hill knives, *koddlis* or mattocks, spear and arrow-heads, are manufactured by the Khási smiths in the Hills; but the greater bulk of the smelted iron is sent to the plains for sale in circular lumps weighing about 4 or 5 *sers*. These lumps, called *bírú*, sell at Chhaták for from Rs. 1. 4 to Rs. 1. 6 per *maund*. The best iron, however, which is beaten into bars called *peti*, sells for from Rs. 1. 10 to Rs. 1. 12 per *maund*. Khási iron is preferred to English, in consequence of its greater malleability. It is much used by the native boat-builders of Sylhet and the neighbouring Districts to make fastenings for the timbers of their boats. When brought into the market, it is more than half dross, and it is this circumstance which renders the iron trade unprofitable. The cost of carriage from the Hills to the plains is about 6 *ánnás* per *maund*; and the traders, who are all Khásiás themselves, affirm that they get an average profit of only 2 *ánnás* per *maund*.' The tables of trade for 1876-77 return no smelted iron as exported from the Hills, but Rs. 7000 of iron implements exported, against nails and ironmongery imported to the value of Rs. 18,000. 178 325 439 [326] [435] [501]

THE MANUFACTURES of the District, besides iron, consist of coarse cotton and *randia* cloth, plain silver work, rude implements of husbandry, netted bags made of the fibre of the pine-apple, common pottery, and mats and baskets. With the exception of the 28 433

and even the well to do ones do not feel anything to work as labourers in other's farms. It is almost customary among the agriculturists to work in other's farms on wage basis, when agricultural operation in one's own farm are over. This is probably an outcome of the difficult transport situation. Among the non-agriculturists and those who follow agriculture as subsidiary occupation, a large number are porters and labourers engaged in jobs like transporting of goods from place to place, collection of limestone, sand, fuel, Collieries and forests of the district also offer employment to a good number of people. Since the taking up of road programme under the plan, a large number of people are getting employment in construction of roads, etc. It is heartening to note that for construction of roads, nay for all kinds of works demanding unskilled labourers, the district locally supplies the whole labour force. People in the various local points of the district, particularly those living in higher hills are mainly engaged in trade. The Khasis are indefatigable traders and have been able to keep almost the whole of the small trade in the district in their own hands. A small proportion of the people are engaged in cottage industries such as stone cutting, brick making, bee keeping, blacksmithy, cane and bamboo works, etc.

The number of persons returned in the 1951 census under each of the eight main livelihood classes for the rural tract of the district was as follows.

TABLE 1

Number of Persons (Source 1951 Census)

Head	Male	Female	Total	P.C.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
A. Agricultural class:—				
1. Cultivators of land wholly or mainly owned and their dependents.	90,603	92,107	1,82,710	59·89
2. Cultivators of land wholly or mainly unowned and their dependents.	16,014	16,109	32,123	10·53
3. Cultivating labourers and their dependents.	14,053	14,941	28,994	9·50
4. Non-cultivating owners of land, agricultural rent receivers and their dependents.	344	562	906	·30
Sub-total	1,21,014	1,23,719	2,44,733	80·22
B. Non-agricultural class:—				
5. Production other than cultivation.	11,794	10,309	22,103	7·24
6. Commerce	3,237	4,069	7,306	2·39
7. Transport	355	264	619	·20
8. Other services and miscellaneous sources.	17,462	12,864	30,326	9.95
Sub-total	32,848	27,506	60,354	19.788
Total	..	..	3,05,087	100.00

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

Silver chains are worn by men as well as by women. The men wear them round the waist like a belt, and the women hang them round their necks, the chains being allowed to depend as low as the waist. Bracelets are worn by women; these are either of gold or of silver. The Lynngam males wear bead necklaces, the beads being sometimes of cornelian gathered from the beds of the local hill streams, and sometimes of glass obtained from the plains markets of Damra and Moiskhola. The cornelian necklaces are much prized by the Lynngams, and are called by them *'pieng blei*, or gods' necklaces. Like the Garos, the Lynngams wear as many brass earrings as possible, the lobes of the ears of the females being frequently greatly distended by their weight. These earrings are made out of brass wire obtained from the plains markets. The Lynngams wear silver armlets above the elbow and also on the wrists. It is only a man who has given a great feast who can wear silver armlets above the elbows. These armlets are taken off as a sign of mourning, but never on ordinary occasions. The Lynngams do not wear Khasi jewellery, but jewellery of a pattern to be seen in the Garo Hills. A distinctive feature of the Lynngam women is the very large number of blue bead necklaces they wear. They put on such a large number as to give them almost the appearance of wearing horse collars. These beads are obtained from the plains markets, and are of glass. Further detailed information regarding this subject can be obtained from Mr. Henniker's monograph, which contains a good plate illustrating the different articles of jewellery.

301 [321] [554] [765]

WEAPONS.

The weapons of the Khasis are swords, spears, bows and arrows, and a circular shield which was used formerly for purposes of defence. The swords are usually of wrought iron, occasionally of steel, and are forged in the local smithies. The Khasi sword is of considerable length, and possesses the peculiarity of not having a handle of different material from that which is used for the blade. In the Khasi sword the handle is never made of wood or bone, or

411 314 [326]

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

415 like a pendulum. An explanation of this method of divination
787 will be found in the paragraph dealing with divination.

There is also a pair of squeezers used by the old and
412 toothless for breaking up betel-nut. In the houses of the
415 well-to-do is to be seen the ordinary hubble-bubble of
● 322 India. Outside the houses of cultivators are wooden troughs hollowed out of the trunks of trees, which are used either as drinking troughs for cattle or for feeding pigs. A special set of utensils is used for manufacturing liquor. The Synteng and Wár articles of furniture and utensils are the same as those of the Khasis, with different names, a remark which applies
415 also to those of the Bhois and Lynngams. Both the latter,
824 however, use leaves as plates, the Bhoi using the wild plantain and the Lynngam a large leaf called *ka 'la mariong*. The leaves are thrown away after eating, fresh leaves being gathered for each meal. The Lynngams use a quilt (*ka syllar*) made out of
513 the bark of a tree of the same name as a bed covering. This
824 tree is perhaps the same as the Garo *simpak*. In the Bhoi and Lynngam houses the swinging shelf for keeping firewood is not
417 to be seen, nor is the latter to be found amongst the sub-montane Bodo tribes in Assam.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.

534 The Khasis have not many musical instruments, and those that they possess, with one or two exceptions, are of very much the same description as those of the Assamese. There are several kinds of drums, viz. *ka nákrá*, which is a large kettle-drum made of wood having the head covered with deer-skin; *ka ksing*, which is a cylindrically-shaped drum rather smaller than the Assamese *dhol* (*ka ksing kynthei* takes its name from the fact that this drum is beaten when women, *kynthei*, dance), *ka padiah*, a small drum with a handle made of wood; *katasa*, a small circular drum. Khasi drums are nearly always made of wood, not of metal, like the drums to be seen in the monasteries of Upper Assam, or of earthenware, as in Lower Assam.

Ka duitara is a guitar with *muga* silk strings, which is

4:Stegmiller--M-4,5(no date)1925 AR7 Khasi AR7

Arrow Shooting and Hunting Customs of the Khasi
by P.F. Stegmiller, S.D.S., Apostolic Missionary
of Assam.

411

1. Arrow Shooting and Its Implements.

Corresponding to the general interest which is shown in arrow shooting, the tools that belong to this art are prepared with great skill and ability, (1) namely the bow, the arrow, and

1. Hermann Meyer, Pfeil und Bogen in Zentralbrasilien, (Leipzig, 1895), p. 16. [Bows and Arrows in Central Brazil].

the target.

411 922 A kind of bamboo with many knots is used for the Khasi bow (ka rynthieh), and it is cut out in one piece so that there are at least five knots on the bow. The length of the bow is about 1.5 meters. It is not a matter of indifference how long the bow is. The best shots claim that the bow must be made to measure and must be made shoulder height. The size of the man determines the size of the bow. (2)

2. Bruno Adler, Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie, [International Archive for Ethnography] Vol. 14, Supplement: "Der nordasiatische Pfeil", [The North Asian Arrow], p. 14: "The long arrow of the Japanese corresponds to the longest bow which we find in Asia-phenomena which are in the grossest contrast to the small figure of the Japanese."

4: Stegmiller -2- M-4,5, (No date) 1925
AR7 Khasi AR7

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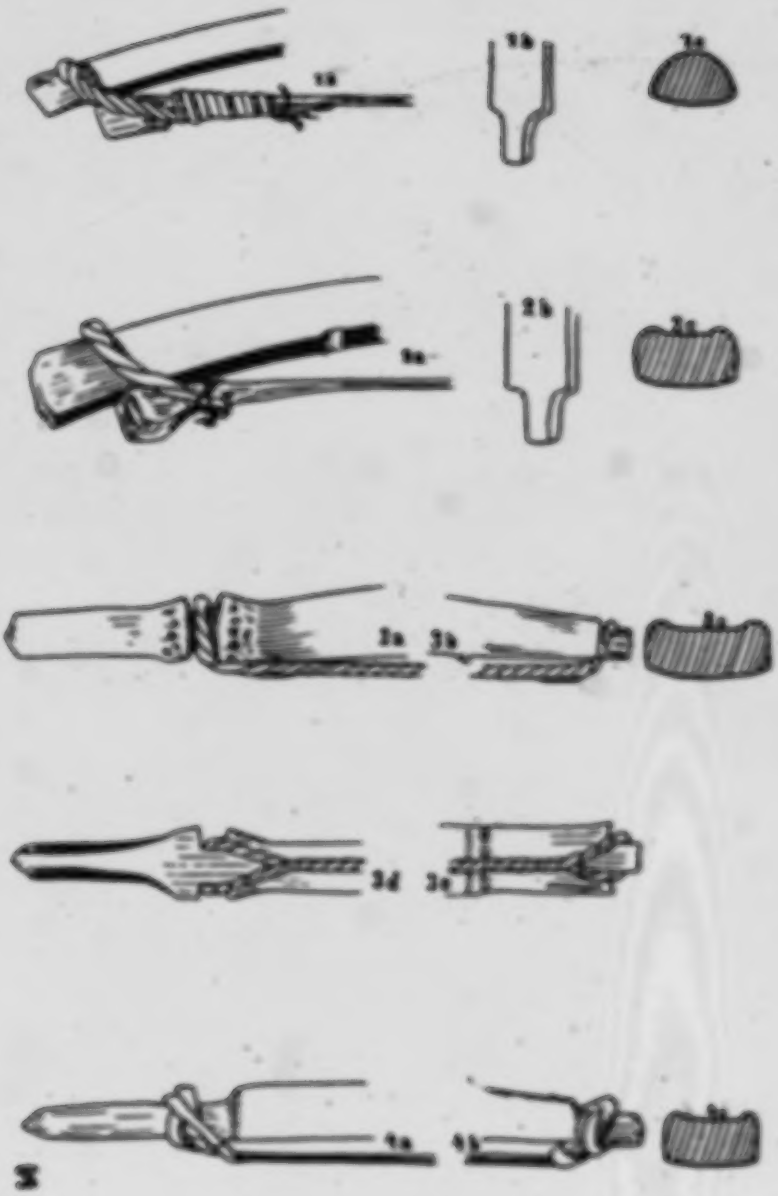

Fig. I

When a strong bamboo with many knots is found, it is cut off and split after the length has been determined. The outside of the bow in smaller bows is rounded off; (3) 411 322

3. Illustration I, fig. 1c.

for the usual bows and the larger ones almost the full half of the bamboo is taken. A little is cut off only on the sides so that the profile of the bow nearly forms a right angle. (4) In each case the shiny

4. Illustration I, figs. 2,3,4c.

outer side of the bamboo becomes the inside of the bow. The bow becomes smaller towards the ends. The ends are rounded off. Underneath one end, about 3 centimeters from the end, a notch is made, into which the string is put directly without any other means of fastening. The string remains fastened by pulling the loop taut. At the other end of the bow a peg is cut, around which the string is hung just before the bow is used. Often both ends of the bow end in a point. (5)

5. Illustration I, fig. 1, 2b.

The bow must not be kept strung but must be unstrung when left unused for a while. Stringing the bow is always done in this way. The archer takes the bow in his left hand while standing, resting on the ground the end to which the string always remains attached, and then pressing down the other end with his right hand as far as is necessary to hang the loop of the string around 411 284

411 the peg. In many cases with bows with the
284 points indented the string is attached by means of a special loop of bast or split bamboo (u thri), tut it is also fastened directly by hanging around the peg. [608] [Illustration I. Khasi Bows. 1a, 1b, 1c, 2a, 2b, 2c, 3a, 3b, 3c, 3d, 3e, 4a, 4b, 4c]. [609] The bow is carved flat in the middle and a strip of reed palm is wound around it so that there is a band 12 to 15 centimeters wide around it. The purpose of this is to provide a surer grip, as the left hand, which carries the bow when shooting, gets a better grip on the ribbed foundation. In other places also, primarily at the ends of the bow, such reed strips are fastened and merely serve the purpose of ornamentation.

411 When the bow is completed, it is thoroughly
322 smoked. The smoking takes place in the hut. In the center of the hut a fire burns constantly in a hearth of earth or of stone, the smoke of which, since there is no vent or chimney, seeks a way out the best it can. Above the fire a swing is set up from the ceiling on which the wood lies for drying. The bow and also the string are left lying on this swing until the desired result occurs. Smoked bows are more resistant to dampness, longer lasting, and considerably tougher. The smoking has no effect on the flexibility of the bow. (6)

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6. Ethongraphic Museum Munich: Bows As, 108, a, b, c, have 3 knots; bow As, 28, has 4 knots; bow J has 3 knots; bow S has 5 knots; bows As, 108, a, b, c, have a length of 119.5 centimeters; bow As, 28 has a length of 114 centimeters; bow J has a

Name of village (1)	Name of society (2)	Approximate no. (3)
7. Rabiyo ...	(1) Credit Society.	Local people
	(2) Co-operative Trading Society.	
8. Dawnong ...	Marketing Society.	Do
9. Diwlio ...	Trading Co-operative Society.	Do

6.10 **Cottage Industries.**—It has already been mentioned that Village and Cottage Industries are not very popular in the district.

The following table shows the industries operated from the sample villages:—

TABLE 6-9

Industry (1)	No. of villages reporting existence of the industries (2)	No. of villages reporting production for sale (3)
Cane and bamboo works ...	9	7
Blacksmithy	5	5
Tailoring	5	2
Handloom	—	—
Weaving and Spinning ...	9	1
Bowing of cocoons, etc. ...	1	1
Bowing of lac	1	1
Others	9	1

Blacksmithy and making of baskets, cane products, etc., out of cane and bamboo, are a traditional occupation. Weaving and spinning of cotton, rearing of silk cocoon and rearing of lac, etc., are in vogue only in the Khasi area and the areas adjoining Kamrup and North Cachar and White Hill areas of the district. Lac rearing is found in the northern portion of the district, i.e., Mawsynram area.

Cottage cane and bamboo works and blacksmithy other industries are practised to a very limited scale. There is also a lot of scope for introducing cottage industries in the district.

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

COTTON CLOTHS.

283 In the Jaintia Hills at Mynso cotton is spun into thread, and
288 weaving is carried on there, but on a limited scale. The Mynso people weave the small strips of cloth worn by the men to serve the purpose of the Assamese *lengti* or Hindi *languti*. In Suhtnga the people import cotton thread from Mynso and weave the (*ingki*) or sleeveless coat, peculiar to the district; these coats are dyed red and blue. The dark blue or black dye
824 is obtained from the leaf of a plant called *u sybu*, which
386 Mr. Rita has classified as *strobilanthus hoeditolius*, which
288 grows in the gardens round the homesteads. The leaves are dried, then reduced to powder, mixed with hot water, and the skeins of thread are steeped in the liquid. The colour is permanent. The red dye is obtained from the mixture of the dry bark of two shrubs, *ka lapyndong* (*symplocos racemosa*, Roxb.), and *ka 'larnong* (*morinda-tinctoria*, Roxb.), the latter being the same as the Assamese (আইচ্ছিথ) *ichchith*. The bark is dried, then pounded, and the two sorts are mixed together and made into a paste with hot water. The skeins are steeped in this mixture for twenty-four hours, then taken out and divided, and again steeped for another twenty-four hours. The Lalungs and Bhoi and Lynngams all weave cotton cloths, which are generally dyed blue, sometimes striped blue and red. The Wars weave cotton cloths which are dyed red and yellow, the cloths being woven in checks. Mr. Darrah remarks that the cotton grown in the Jaintia Hills is said to be the best cotton produced in the province. Its thread can be more closely woven than that of other kinds. This statement, however, is not borne out by Mr. Allen writing in 1858, who says that the cotton is of inferior quality, the staple being short and woolly. The cotton cloths woven by the Bhoi are called *epon*.

POTTERY.

[162] The Census Report of 1901 gave the number of persons who
323 are supported by the manufacture of pottery at 54 only. Pottery is manufactured at one place only in the Jaintia Hills,

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

323 **Larnai.** The Larnai potters make many of the earthen pots to be found in the Khasi houses called *khiew ranei*, or sometimes *khiew Larnai*. Mr. Gait says, "These potters use two kinds of clay mixed; one is of a dark blue colour, *'dew-iong*, and the other of a greyish colour, *'dew khluid*. These clays seem to correspond closely with the *kumár máti* and *hira máti* of the Brahmaputra Valley."

323 415 435 The clay at Larnai is well beaten out upon a hide, or upon a flat disc of wood; the women fashion the pots by hand, they do not use the potter's wheel. The pots are sun-dried and then fired. They are painted black with an infusion of a bark called *sohliya*. The Larnai potters also make flower-pots which are sold in Shillong at from 2 annas to 4 annas each, the price of the ordinary pot or *khiew ranei* varying from 2 pice to 4 annas each. A water-pot (*khiew um*) is also fashioned, which is sometimes used in the manufacture of liquor, price 4 annas to 6 annas each.

children, but Christian influence has eradicated or driven underground the consumption by women and children. **Industrial arts.** The only industrial arts traditionally practiced in all households were a rudimentary carpentry and a simple utilitarian basketry. Other arts were few, and were practiced as village specialties: the washing and smelting of iron ore and the forging of hoes, daos, knives, swords, and cooking pots (upland Khasis); the spinning of cotton thread (Mynso village, Jaintia); the dyeing of cotton thread and the weaving of cloth (Jaintias, Bhois, Lyngngams, Wars); the spinning and weaving of Eri silk (Khyrwang and Nongtung villages, Bhoi and Jaintia); and the hand manufacture, without wheel, of painted earthenware pots (Larnai village, Jaintia). Ironworking and the production of cotton goods have nearly died out through the competition of machine-made goods. Carpentry has greatly improved. An innovation of major importance is the sewing and tailoring, on sewing machines, of ready-made garments for both sexes. [Cf. Darrah 1896; C., W. 1832.] **Trade.** Khasi villages normally contain a number of household shops operated by women. Every Khasi also lives within walking distance of several village markets that are held on successive days of the eight-day week. The limits of market intercourse for the members of any particular village can be roughly distinguished by their naming the days of their week, which are called after the active markets. The exception is the huge market at Shillong, much of which is active daily, and which serves as a magnet for Khasis from all over the hills. The traditional barter has given way to currency in all markets. The small ones contain at least some local farm produce, plus other essentials like betel nut, and the food and tea stalls which serve as centers of social intercourse. The big markets contain not only regional produce and manufactures but also products from distant parts of the hills, brought for sale by traveling middlemen. There is also substantial trade, from the hills to the valleys, in potatoes, pears, hides, lac, cotton, caoutchouc, the wood of the sal tree, Eri silk thread, limestone, coal, ivory, bay leaf, betel nut, pan leaves, bananas, sugar cane, oranges, til, turmeric, and chilies. From the plains to the hills, there is trade in dried fish, paddy rice, salt, cooking oil, kerosene, matches, tea, sugar, wheat flour, machine-made cloth, shoes, metal pots, crockery, porcelain objects, coral beads, silver, and gold. Markets are important not only as economic institutions but also as centers for recreation (including archery competitions), courtship, reaffirmation of kinship ties with distant relatives, and the dissemination of information of all kinds. [Cf. Stegmüller 1924a.] **Division of labor.** Men do the heavy work, such as clearing and burning the swidden fields, caring for cattle and goats and driving them to market, butchering and selling large cuts of beef and pork, carpentry and mining, and driving and laboring on motor vehicles. They also tailor men's

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243 on from October to December. For millets the seed is sown in April-May and reaped about six months later. Maize is usually sown in
244 April-May and ripens in August - September. For potato, generally three crops are raised in the district ; the first is sown in December-January and harvested in April-May, the second is sown in February-March and is gathered in June-July and the third is sown in July-August and is harvested in November-December.

245 For oranges and betelnut the orchards are cleared of weeds twice a year. Harvesting of orange takes place from October to January. Betelnut ripens at the beginning of the year and are collected between February and May.

241 2.6.3 **Agricultural implements.**—The usual agricultural implements are a hoe, a sickle, three or four kinds of doas, a harrow, a crowbar which is used for the construction of irrigation channels, 'sierras' and winnowing baskets. Bullock drawn plough is used in wet paddy cultivation in parts of Jowai subdivision and in Bhoi area and resembles the one in use in the plains of the State.

2. 6. 4. **General cultural practices.**—The cultivators mostly adhere to their indigenous practices of cultivation. Rotation of crops is not widely used. Cultivation of rice is usually done by broadcasting the seeds though transplanting is also in vogue in some areas. Mixed cropping is widely practised. Cultivation by making terraces in the hill slopes is gaining popularity in the district.

433 2.7 **Cottage Industries.**—Cottage Industries, it appears, have not
326 found very great favour among the people of the district. A few
323 families here and there manufacture iron implements, earthenware,
285 pottery, baskets, mats and jewellery. In striking contrast with other
306 districts weaving of cotton clothes is rare among the Khasis. The
286 Mikirs in Bhoi area and in areas adjoining North Cachar and Mikir
171 Hills practice it only for their domestic consumption. At present, the
654 Government is trying to popularise weaving in the district and this
231 has been welcomed by the Khasis. Among other cottage industries production of eri cocoon in the northern part of the district adjoining Kamrup district and bee keeping throughout the district are worth mentioning.

142 2.8 **The People.**—The Khasis and Jaintias are a short sturdy
147 race distinct from the neighbouring hill tribes. By nature they are
441 hardy and laborious and in respect of manual labour, they are free
563 from any inhibition. Side by side with the Khasis live the Mikirs, Garos and Nepalis who form respectively 7.32 percent, 3.38 percent and 3·27 per cent of the total rural population. Besides, there are plains people who are mainly concentrated in the town of Shillong. In the marketing centres of the border area there are a large number of Bengali Hindus who dominate the bulk of the trade in the border areas.

241 2.9 **Occupation.**—The greater portion of the population of the
433 district subsists on cultivation. More than 75 percent of the rural
461 households are predominantly agricultural. The industrious Khasi agriculturists males and females have a high regard for hard labour

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

211 the Mikirs, the monoliths at Willong in the Manipur Hills, and
214 the Dimapur monoliths.

(3) The meaning of the stones.

(4) The method of their erection.

With regard to the first heading, the stones may be divided into (*a*) menhirs, or vertical stones; (*b*) table-stones, or dolmens, and (*c*) stone cromlechs, or cairns, which serve the purpose of *cineraria*. Taking the different stones in order, the menhirs are large upright stones varying in height from 2 or 3 ft. to 12 or 14 ft., but in exceptional instances rising to a more considerable elevation, the great monolith at Nartiang, in the Jaintia Hills, being 27 ft. high, and 2½ ft. thick. A photograph of this stone has been included. These menhirs are erected all in one line which nearly always consists of an uneven number of stones. Three is the commonest number of menhirs, but five together are frequently to be found, and there are some instances of seven stones; at Laitkor nine stones are standing, an illustration of which [324] will be found in this book. The stones are of hewn gneiss granite, or sandstone, to be met with in many places in these hills. They are rough hewn, and generally taper gradually to their tops, which are sometimes neatly rounded off. The tallest stone is usually in the middle, and is occasionally ornamented with a small stone, through the middle of which a hole has been drilled so that it may fit on the top of the other. At Nongkrem there is a centre stone with a regularly carved top, evidently intended to represent the head of a man. At Umstow, some two miles from Cherrapunji by the cart road, stood two rows of fine monoliths, each row five in number, and standing on either side of the old bridle road. All of these stones except one were thrown down by the earthquake shock of June, 1897. The centre stone, or *mawkni*, of one of these rows was surmounted by a carved stone covering shaped like a hat, but having a rim with indented edges, the intention being evidently to represent a crown. This stone crown was riveted to the top of the large centre stone. All the stones, including the *mawkynthei*, or dolmen, have been very neatly hewn. They appear to be of granite. Stones with top coverings or carved heads are however rare.

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

In former years the Khásiás were great iron-smelters, and enormous excavations in the most favourable localities for obtaining ironstone prove the extent to which this manufacture was carried on. In some places the whole surface of the ground appears to have been dug up for a depth of several feet, leaving huge boulders standing up here and there. Of late years, however, as the price of labour in the Hills has risen, the trade in iron has died away, and there is now little demand for the Khásí article, the cheaper English metal having driven it out of the market. 178 316 325

NATURAL PHENOMENA.—Many peculiar caves and caverns are found in the limestone rock formation, the most notable being the caves at Cherrá Púnji and at Rúpnáth in Amwi. At the latter place the caverns extend a great distance beneath the earth, one being imagined by the people to reach as far as China, and a Hindu legend states that a Chinese army once marched by this route to the invasion of India. In another cave, the limestone stalactites have been carved into images representing the gods of the Hindu pantheon. On the banks of the Kapilí river on the Cáchár border, at a place called Sumir, there is a hot spring, the water of which contains carbonate of lime. All the rivers in the Hills flow through gorges in certain parts of their course, the most picturesque being at Tehriá, where a small stream is compressed into deep pools among limestone rocks; and at Darrang and Borghát, where the Mangat and Mantideo rivers respectively debouch upon the plains. 133 [823]

FORESTS, ETC.—The India-rubber or caoutchouc tree is found in many forests throughout the Hills, but not in great numbers, and the supply and value of the gum has much decreased of late years. In 1870 the right of tapping the trees in the Jáintiá Hills was leased out for a sum of £36, 12s. 0d.; but by 1876 the trade had almost entirely ceased. There are some tracts of timber forest on the lower hills towards the Brahmaputra valley, but through the want of water carriage they are of no great value. Vigorous efforts are being made to preserve the forests in the higher plateaux. Owing to the habit of firing the jungle in spring prior to sowing, great waste of valuable timber has taken place; but since the country has been separated from Bengal and placed under the administration of the Chief Commissioner of Assam, attention has been given to the matter, and special areas are now being set apart for the preservation and growth of forest timber. Cinnamon grows wild in some parts of the country. There is a considerable trade carried on in 137 [314] 137 648 659 000

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

at Rs. 480,000, or £48,000, and the revenue derived by Government from the quarries was Rs. 67,266, or £6726. In addition, the Khásí Chiefs receive a revenue from this source of more than £2000. 648 651 317

IRON.—The smelting of iron was once the chief industry in the Khásí Hills, and a considerable quantity of the metal used to be exported into Sylhet, both in the crude and the manufactured state. Recently, however, this industry has almost died out, in the face of the competition of the superior article imported from England and sold in the plains at a cheaper rate. The indigenous methods of extracting, washing, and smelting the ore have been minutely described by Professor Oldham. The following description is taken from Mr. Allen's Report, dated 1858, at which date the annual export of smelted iron was estimated at 45,000 *maunds*, valued at Rs. 67,500, or £6750, at the rate of Rs. 1. 8 per *maund*: —'The ore is said to be most abundant and of the best quality in the State of Khyrim, especially at the villages of Nongkrím and Noyandri. A few iron articles, such as *dáos* or hill knives, *koddlis* or mattocks, spear and arrow-heads, are manufactured by the Khásí smiths in the Hills; but the greater bulk of the smelted iron is sent to the plains for sale in circular lumps weighing about 4 or 5 *sers*. These lumps, called *birá*, sell at Chhaták for from Rs. 1. 4 to Rs. 1. 6 per *maund*. The best iron, however, which is beaten into bars called *peti*, sells for from Rs. 1. 10 to Rs. 1. 12 per *maund*. Khásí iron is preferred to English, in consequence of its greater malleability. It is much used by the native boat-builders of Sylhet and the neighbouring Districts to make fastenings for the timbers of their boats. When brought into the market, it is more than half dross, and it is this circumstance which renders the iron trade unprofitable. The cost of carriage from the Hills to the plains is about 6 *ánnás* per *maund*; and the traders, who are all Khásiás themselves, affirm that they get an average profit of only 2 *ánnás* per *maund*.' The tables of trade for 1876-77 return no smelted iron as exported from the Hills, but Rs. 7000 of iron implements exported, against nails and ironmongery imported to the value of Rs. 18,000. 178 325 439 [326] [435] [501]

THE MANUFACTURES of the District, besides iron, consist of coarse cotton and *rundia* cloth, plain silver work, rude implements of husbandry, netted bags made of the fibre of the pine-apple, common pottery, and mats and baskets. With the exception of the 28 433

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

JEWELLERY.

301 The Khasis, as a people, may be said to be fond of jewellery. 326 The women are specially partial to gold and coral bead necklaces. The beads are round and large, and are usually unornamented with filigree or other work. The coral is imported from [439] Calcutta. The gold bead is not solid, but a hollow sphere filled with lac. These necklaces are worn by men as well as women, especially on gala occasions. Some of the necklaces are comparatively valuable, e.g. that in the possession of the Mylliem Siem family. The gold and coral beads are prepared locally by Khasi as well as by foreign goldsmiths. The latter derive considerable profits from the trade. The Assam Census Report of 1901 shows 133 goldsmiths in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills district, but does not distinguish between Khasis and foreigners. There are Khasi goldsmiths to be found in Mawkhar, Cherrapunji, Mawlai, and other villages. Sylheti goldsmiths are, however, more largely employed than Khasi in Mawsynram and certain other places on the south side of the hills. In Mr. Henniker's monograph on "gold and silver wares of Assam" it is stated that the goldsmiths of Karimganj in Sylhet make specially for Khasis certain articles of jewellery, such as men's and women's earrings, &c. An article of jewellery which is believed to be peculiar to the Khasis is the silver or gold crown. This crown is worn by the young women at 301 dances, such as the annual Nongkrem dance. An illustration of one will be seen by referring to the plate. These crowns are circlets of silver or gold ornamented with filigree work. There is a peak or, strictly speaking, a spike at the back, called *u'tiew-lasubon*, which stands up some six inches above the crown. There are long ropes or tassels of silver hanging from the crown down the back. Earrings are worn both by men and women. The former affect a pattern peculiar to themselves, viz. large gold pendants of a circular or oval shape. Women wear different patterns of earrings, according to locality. An ornament which I believe is also peculiar to the Khasis is the *rupa-tylli*, or silver collar. This is a broad flat silver collar which is allowed to hang down over the neck in front, and which is secured by a fastening behind.

Silver chains are worn by men as well as by women. The 301
men wear them round the waist like a belt, and the women hang them round their necks, the chains being allowed to depend as low as the waist. Bracelets are worn by women; these are either of gold or of silver. The Lynngam [321]
males wear bead necklaces, the beads being sometimes of cornelian gathered from the beds of the local hill streams, and sometimes of glass obtained from the plains markets of Damra and Moiskhola. The cornelian necklaces are much prized by the Lynngams, and are called by them *'pieng blei*, or gods' necklaces. Like the Garos, the Lynngams wear as many brass earrings as possible, the lobes of the ears of the females being frequently greatly distended by their weight. These earrings are made out of brass wire obtained from the plains markets. The Lynngams wear silver armlets above the elbow and also on the wrists. It is only a [554]
man who has given a great feast who can wear silver armlets above the elbows. These armlets are taken off as a sign of [765]
mourning, but never on ordinary occasions. The Lynngams do not wear Khasi jewellery, but jewellery of a pattern to be seen in the Garo Hills. A distinctive feature of the Lynngam women is the very large number of blue bead necklaces they wear. They put on such a large number as to give them almost the appearance of wearing horse collars. These beads are obtained from the plains markets, and are of glass. Further detailed information regarding this subject can be obtained from Mr. Henniker's monograph, which contains a good plate illustrating the different articles of jewellery.

WEAPONS.

The weapons of the Khasis are swords, spears, bows and arrows, 411
and a circular shield which was used formerly for purposes of 314
defence. The swords are usually of wrought iron, occasionally of [326]
steel, and are forged in the local smithies. The Khasi sword is of considerable length, and possesses the peculiarity of not having a handle of different material from that which is used for the blade. In the Khasi sword the handle is never made of wood or bone, or

4: Stegmiller - 9 - M-4,5, (No date) 1925 611

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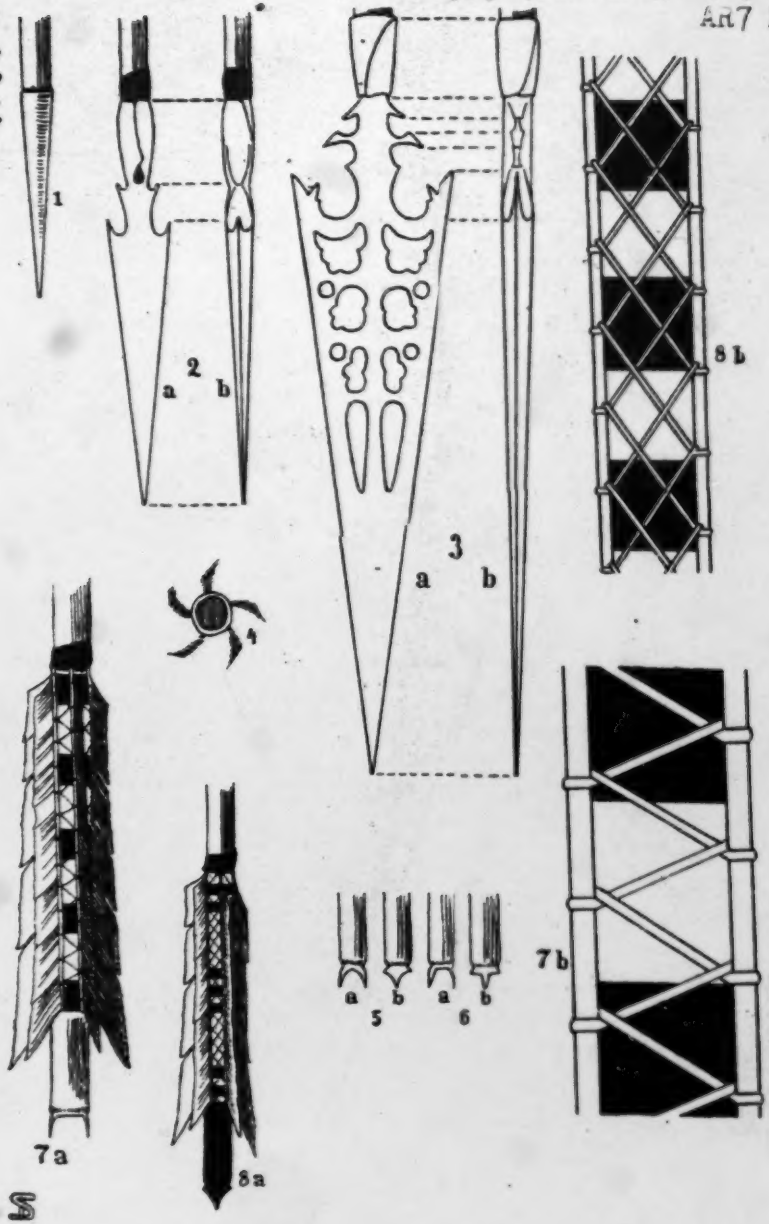

Fig. 2

Arrow Tips

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• 326 The arrow tips are made of iron in the village smithies. The tips of the hunting arrows ('nam-pliang) are flat, raised a little towards the middle and have smooth or toothed edges and two or more barbs (shaped like a spear). Length of the tip is about 9 to 15 [531] centimeters. Beautiful wrought iron arrow tips with pierced designs are also made. (13)

13. Illustration II, figs. 3a, 3b.

[526] The tips of the arrows used for sport ('nam-sop) are round and conical. Length is about 3 to 6 centimeters.

The spear-shaped arrow tips are poisoned with (ka bih) poison which the Khasi obtain from the tuber or a plant (aconitum ferox Wallich, aconite).

Attaching the Arrow Tips.

411 The arrow tips are attached in two ways:

1. either the shaft of the arrow is pointed in front and the arrow tip, which is hollow inside, is placed on it-both are joined with sealing wax;

2. or there is a separate shell of copper which connects the arrow tip with the shaft. Sealing wax is not used, since the shell acts as a clamp. Length of the shell is about 1.5 centimeters.

The Notch of the Arrow

At the tip of the opposite end a notch is cut in every arrow. The arrow is taken from a whole 'nam-long or igrâ (kind of bamboo) in

children, but Christian influence has eradicated or driven underground the consumption by women and children. **Industrial arts.** The only industrial arts traditionally practiced in all households were a rudimentary carpentry and a simple utilitarian basketry. Other arts were few, and were practiced as village specialties: the washing and smelting of iron ore and the forging of hoes, daos, knives, swords, and cooking pots (upland Khasis); the spinning of cotton thread (Mynso village, Jaintia); the dyeing of cotton thread and the weaving of cloth (Jaintias, Bhois, Lyngngams, Wars); the spinning and weaving of Eri silk (Khyrwang and Nongtung villages, Bhoi and Jaintia); and the hand manufacture, without wheel, of painted earthenware pots (Larnai village, Jaintia). Ironworking and the production of cotton goods have nearly died out through the competition of machine-made goods. Carpentry has greatly improved. An innovation of major importance is the sewing and tailoring, on sewing machines, of ready-made garments for both sexes. [Cf. Darrah 1896; C., W. 1832.] **Trade.** Khasi villages normally contain a number of household shops operated by women. Every Khasi also lives within walking distance of several village markets that are held on successive days of the eight-day week. The limits of market intercourse for the members of any particular village can be roughly distinguished by their naming the days of their week, which are called after the active markets. The exception is the huge market at Shillong, much of which is active daily, and which serves as a magnet for Khasis from all over the hills. The traditional barter has given way to currency in all markets. The small ones contain at least some local farm produce, plus other essentials like betel nut, and the food and tea stalls which serve as centers of social intercourse. The big markets contain not only regional produce and manufactures but also products from distant parts of the hills, brought for sale by traveling middlemen. There is also substantial trade, from the hills to the valleys, in potatoes, pears, hides, lac, cotton, caoutchouc, the wood of the sal tree, Eri silk thread, limestone, coal, ivory, bay leaf, betel nut, pan leaves, bananas, sugar cane, oranges, til, turmeric, and chilies. From the plains to the hills, there is trade in dried fish, paddy rice, salt, cooking oil, kerosene, matches, tea, sugar, wheat flour, machine-made cloth, shoes, metal pots, crockery, porcelain objects, coral beads, silver, and gold. Markets are important not only as economic institutions but also as centers for recreation (including archery competitions), courtship, reaffirmation of kinship ties with distant relatives, and the dissemination of information of all kinds. [Cf. Stegmüller 1924a.] **Division of labor.** Men do the heavy work, such as clearing and burning the swidden fields, caring for cattle and goats and driving them to market, butchering and selling large cuts of beef and pork, carpentry and mining, and driving and laboring on motor vehicles. They also tailor men's

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Name of village (1)	Name of society (2)	Sponsored by (3)
7. Sutnga ...	(1) Credit Society.	Local people
	(2) Co-operative Trading Society.	
8. Darrang ...	Marketing Society.	Do
9. Shella ..	Trading Co-operative Society.	Do.

4.10 **Cottage Industries.**—It has already been mentioned that Village and Cottage Industries are not very popular in the district.

The following table shows the industries reported from the sample villages:—

TABLE B-9

Industry (1)	No. of villages reporting existence of the industries. (2)	No. of villages reporting production for sale. (3)
Cane and bamboo works ...	9	7
Blacksmithy	5	5
Tailoring	2	2
Handloom	...	...
Weaving and Spinning ...	3	1
Rearing of cocoons, etc. ...	1	1
Rearing of lac	1	1
Others	2	1

Blacksmithy and making of baskets, cane products, etc., out of cane and bamboo, are a traditional occupation. Weaving and spinning of cotton, rearing of eudi cocoon and weaving of eudi, etc., are in vogue only in the Bhoi area and the areas adjoining Kamrup and North Cachar and Mikir Hills districts. Lac rearing is found in the northern portion of the district, *i.e.*, Nongpoh area.

Except cane and bamboo works and blacksmithy other industries are practised in a very limited scale. There is thus a lot of scope for introducing cottage industries in the district.

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

at Rs. 480,000, or £48,000, and the revenue derived by Government from the quarries was Rs. 63,166, or £6,316. In addition, the Khási Chiefs receive a revenue from this source of more than £1000. 698 651 317

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20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

with the exception of the

326 manufacture of iron, in which the master blacksmith often employs
462 hired labourers, the other industries are generally followed by
463 females in their own houses. No class of labourers are hereditarily
attached to any manufacture in a manner that affects their personal
freedom. The system of advancing money for manufacturing pur-
452 poses does not obtain in the Khási and Jáintiá Hills. The total
434 value of the manufactures of the District is stated to be between
£1000 and £3000 per annum. No local manufactures are carried
on by means of imported capital.

439 COMMERCE AND TRADE.—The external commerce of the Khási and Jáintiá Hills is chiefly conducted on the southern boundary, through the District of Sylhet. The total value is more considerable than might be expected, owing to the fact that these Hills practically possess the monopoly of supplying Bengal with lime, potatoes, and oranges. Other important articles of export are raw cotton, stick-lac, betel-nut and *pán* leaves, and bay leaves or *tejpát*. The exportation of iron, which was once large, has now almost ceased. The chief imports consist of rice, dried fish, cotton cloth, salt, and tobacco. On the whole, it would appear that the course of trade is about equally balanced. Trade statistics of more or less value are in existence. The earliest of such statistics are to be found in the Report of Mr. W. J. Allen, dated 1858. The information there given was based for the most part upon oral statements furnished by numerous native traders to Mr. Hudson, who then filled the office of Principal Assistant-Commissioner. It may be accepted as 'a fair representation of the state of trade in
439 the Hills' at that time. The imports and exports on the Assam
434 side were each estimated at about Rs. 15,000, or £1500. The trade with the markets in the Surmá valley was much larger. The total of the exports was valued at Rs. 700,000, or £70,000, giving a profit to the traders of Rs. 170,705, or £17,070. The chief items were:—Limestone, 1,700,000 *maunds*, valued at Rs. 306,000; potatoes, 50,000 *maunds*, value Rs. 125,000; oranges, 45,000,000 in number, value Rs. 78,750; smelted iron, 45,000 *maunds*, value Rs. 67,500; cotton, 12,000 *maunds*, value Rs. 42,000; betel-nuts, value Rs. 37,500; coal, 25,000 *maunds*, value Rs. 12,500. The total value of the imports was estimated at Rs. 350,000, or £35,000, being just one-half the value of the exports; the estimated profits are given as Rs. 44,325, or £4432. The chief items were:—Rice, 150,000 *maunds*, value Rs. 225,000; cloth of sorts, Rs. 25,000;

Garo Hills	117
Sylhet	60
Total	[illegible]*

The following information regarding the general aspect of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills district, with some additions, is derived from Sir William Hunter's Statistical Account of Assam. The district consists almost entirely of hills, only a very small portion lying in the plains. The slope of the hills on the southern side is very steep until a table-land is met with at an elevation of about 4,000 feet at Cherrapunji. Higher up there is another plateau at Mawphlang. This is the highest portion of the hills, some villages being found at as high an elevation as close on 6,000 feet above sea level. Fifteen miles to the east of Mawphlang, and in the same range, is situated the civil station of Shillong, at an average elevation of about 4,900 feet. The elevation of the Shillong Peak, the highest hill in the district, is 6,450 feet above sea level. On the northern side of the hills are two plateaux, one between 1,000 and 2,000 feet below the level of Shillong, and another at an elevation of about 2,000 feet above sea level. In general features all these plateaux are much alike, and consist of a succession of undulating downs, broken here and there by the valleys of the larger hill streams. In the higher ranges, where the hills have been denuded of forest, the country is covered with short grass, which becomes longer and more rank in the lower elevations. This denudation of forest has been largely due to the wood being used by the Khasis for fuel for iron smelting in days gone by. The Government, however, has taken steps to protect the remaining forests from further spoliation. A remarkable feature is the presence of numerous sacred groves situated generally just below the brows of the hills. In these woods are to be found principally oak and rhododendron trees. The fir-tree (Pinus Khasia) is first met with on the road from Gauhati to Shillong, at Umsing, at an elevation of about 1,500 feet. In the neighbourhood of Shillong the fir grows profusely, but the finest fir-trees are to be seen

* The figures for Khasi population in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills district will be found under "Subdivisions."

I: Garden E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

the ground and well oiled. A silver ornament, or a few rupees, placed at the top, reward the successful climber." A leg of mutton, or a piece of pork fixed at the top of this pole would render the pastime identical with the "greasy-pole" climbing of English villages. The following are some other Khasi games:—

Wrestling; two persons grasping each other's hands with the fingers interlocked, and then trying to push one another down; tug-of-war with a piece of stick, the two combatants placing their feet one against the other; butting at one another like bulls, and trying to upset each other (*in fact mere*); long jump; high jump; blind-man's buff; flying kites; pitching cowries into a hole in the ground; a game like marbles, only played with round pebbles, and others.

MANUFACTURES.

The manufactures of the Khasis are few in number, and do not seem to show any tendency to increase. On the contrary, two of the most important industries, the smelting of iron ore and the forging of iron implements therefrom, and the cotton-spinning industries at Mynso and Sohkings, show signs of dying out. Ploughshares and hoes and bill-hooks can now be obtained more cheaply from the plains than from the forges in the hills, and Manchester piece goods are largely taking the place of cloths of local manufacture. The iron industry in former days was an important one, and there is abundant evidence that the workings were on a considerable scale, e.g. at Nongkrem and Laitlyngkot, in the shape of large granite boulders which have fallen to the ground from the sides of the hills owing to the softer rock which filled the interstices between the boulders having been worked out by the iron-workers, their process being to dig out the softer ferruginous rock, and then extract the iron ore from it by means of washing. The softer rock having been removed, the heavier portions fell by their own weight, and rolled down to the bottom of the slopes, the result being the great number of boulders to be seen near the sites of these workings.

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

327 Colonel Lister, writing in 1853, estimated that 20,000 maunds
439 of iron were exported from the hills in the shape of hoes to
442 the Assam Valley, and in lumps of pig iron to the Surma Valley, where it was used by boat-builders for clamps. Nowadays the smelting of iron is carried on in very few places. There are still smelting-houses at Nongkrem and Nongpyrung, but these are practically the only places left where smelting of iron ore goes on; there are many forges where rough iron brought from the plains is melted down and forged into bill-hooks and hoes. Messrs. Yule and Craccroft have described the native process of smelting iron, and it is only necessary to refer to their papers if information is required on the subject. Yule's account is a very full one, and is to be found at page 853, vol. vi part ii. of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*. The system pursued, both in the extraction and in the subsequent smelting of the ore, is the same at the present day as that described by Yule. Dr. Oldham, writing in 1863, says, "The quality of this Khasi iron is excellent for all such purposes as Swedish iron is now used for. The impurity of the blooms (or masses of the metal in a molten state), however, as they are sent to market, is a great objection to its use, and the waste consequent thereon renders it expensive. It would also form steel or wootz (Indian steel) of excellent quality. I have no doubt that the manufacture could be greatly improved and possibly extended." Dr. Oldham, however, goes on to remark that the manufacture of iron could not be very much extended, owing to the scanty dissemination of the ore in the rocks, and the consequent high cost of obtaining it. At present the want of any permanent supply of water prevents the natives from working for more than a few days during the year, whilst the rains are heavy, and they can readily obtain sufficient force of water for the washing of the ore from its matrix. The export of iron in any form from the district has now almost died out, only a few bars being brought down by the Khasis from Lubbam, in Khubowphed, to the Burdwar and Fakshari markets in the Kamrup District of the Assam Valley. Iron of English manufacture has, of course, much cheapened the market, but probably the fact that the parts of the country in the neighbourhood of the rocks which contain the metal have

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been denuded completely of timber, charcoal being necessary for smelting, has affected the production almost as much as the presence of cheap iron in the market.

MANUFACTURE OF ERI SILK CLOTHS AND COTTON CLOTHS IN THE JAINTIA HILLS.

The number of weavers in the district at the last Census was 533. This number in the Census Report is ascribed to the cotton industry, no mention being made of weavers of silk. The spinning of Eri silk thread, and weaving it into cloths is, however, a fairly considerable industry amongst the Khyrwang and Nongtung villages of the Jaintia Hills. The Nongtungs and Khyrwangs rear their own Eri worms, and spin the silk from the cocoons. The late Mr. Stack, in his admirable note on silk in Assam, says, "Throughout the whole range of the southern hills, from the Mikir country, Eri thread is in great request for weaving those striped cloths, in which the mountaineers delight," but this observation should have been confined to the Jaintia Hills portion of this district, the Khasis not weaving themselves either in silk or cotton. The Khasis obtain their silk cloths from the Assam Valley, and from the Nongtung or Khyrwang villages in Jaintia. The latter villages have given the name to the striped cloth, *ka jiin Khyrwang*, which is almost invariably worn by the Syntengs. Mr. Stack has given in detail a description of the silk industry in Assam; and it is not therefore necessary to go over the same ground here. The Khyrwang cloth is red and white, mauve and white, or chocolate and white, the cloth being worn by both men and women. The Khyrwang cloths vary in price from Rs. 5 to Rs. 25, according to size and texture. These cloths are the handiwork of women alone, and a woman working every day regularly will take six months to manufacture a cloth valued at Rs. 25; but, as a rule, in the leisurely manner in which they work, it takes a year to complete it.

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000 which are not found usually in the people of India. He is
461 not above manual labour, and even the Khasi clerk in the
333 Government offices is quite ready to take his turn at the hoe
335 in his potato garden. The men make excellent stonemasons and carpenters, and are ready to learn fancy carpentry and
276 mechanical work. They are inveterate chewers of *supari* and
809 the pan leaf (when they can get the latter), both men, women, and children; distances in the interior being often measured by the number of betel-nuts that are usually chewed on a
273 journey. They are not addicted usually to the use of opium or other intoxicating drugs. They are, however, hard drinkers, and consume large quantities of spirit distilled from rice or millet. Rice beer is also manufactured; this is used not only as a beverage, but also for ceremonial purposes. Spirit drinking is confined more to the inhabitants of the high plateaux and to the people of the Wár country, the Bhois and Lyngams
276 being content to partake of rice beer. The Mikirs who inhabit
751 what is known as the "Bhoi" country, lying to the north of the district, consume a good deal of opium, but it must be remembered that they reside in a malarious *terai* country, and that the use of opium, or some other prophylactic, is probably
525 beneficial as a preventive of fever. The Khasis, like other people of Indo-Chinese origin, are much addicted to gambling.
577 The people, and especially those who inhabit the Wár country, are fond of litigation. Col. Bivar remarks, "As regards truthfulness the people do not excel, for they rarely speak the truth unless to suit their own interests." Col. Bivar might have confined this observation to the people who live in the larger centres of population, or who have been much in contact with the denizens of the plains. The inhabitants of the far interior are, as a rule, simple and straightforward people, and are quite as truthful and honest as peasants one meets in other countries. My impression is that the Khasis are not less truthful certainly than other Indian communities. McCosh, writing in 1837, speaks well of the Khasis. The following is his opinion of them:—"They are a powerful, athletic
[42] race of men, rather below the middle size, with a manliness of gait and demeanour. They are fond of their mountains, and look down with contempt upon the degenerate race of the

[the Khasis --- Angul 7.1]

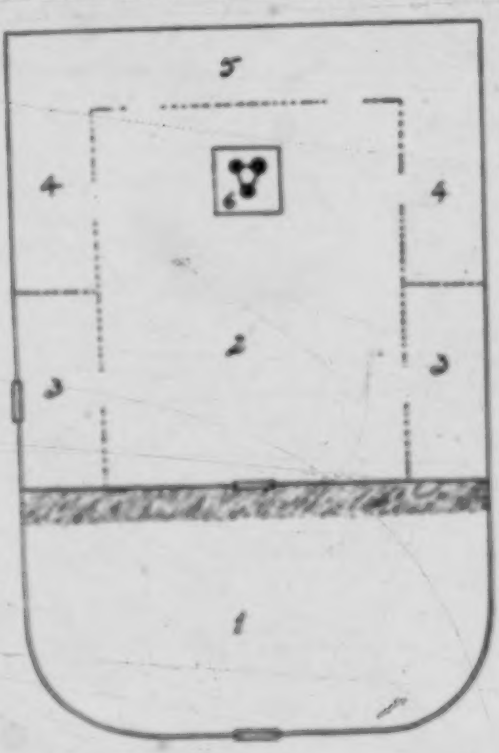
342 but for themselves. In all these cases the youngest daughter of the family who is known as the Ka Khadduh of the family must live in the old house and maintain the social and religious traditions of the family. In the village of Mawphlang we found that the houses of all the Ka Khaddubs like Ka Sadia, Ka Hosibon and others, and also the old house of the wife of U. Suburai, the myntri of the Mawphlang State, all belong to this 'U'-shaped type. This association of Ka Khaddubs and 'U' shaped huts suggests that this is the old type. The modern huts vary in their structure, some being like modern bungalows common now-a-days in Shillong.

The old Khasi house, in general, can be described as follows :—

[343] [35] Generally there is a compound in front and a pigsty at one side, the whole site being enclosed by a fencing of reed and small plants or of wooden planks or some such material. The hut as observed from outside is elliptical in front and box-shaped behind (as seen in the diagram). It is 'U'-shaped in the ground plan. The roof of the hut is sloped on the two sides and spread out like a fan, in a semi-circle, in front.

• 333 342 The material used in the construction of the hut varies. In some of the old houses the walls were found to be made of blocks of stone with mud in the interstices serving the purpose of mortar. The roof had a bamboo frame covered with thatching grass. In other old huts the walls were not entirely made of stone blocks. In some we found the front portion made entirely of stone, the lower portions of the side and of the rear walls, up to a level of two to three feet, made of stone, the remaining portions being made of wooden planks or reeds covered with mud. In some modified huts again (either they were built later or the old huts were repaired) the entire rear wall except at the base and the upper portions of the sides were made of tinplates from used cans nailed to a frame. In some huts corrugated and galvanised iron sheets have been used. The material for the roof

also varies a good deal now-a-days, some being of corrugated galvanised iron sheets and others of flat tinplate sheets instead of



Ground plan
1. Ka Kyndur; 2. Ka Nympei;
3. Ka Kynrein; 4. Ka Ring Kyndong;
5. Ka Rumpei; 6. Ka Dypei.

thatching grass. In some modified houses we found a porch added in front of the main door of the hut.

Entering the hut by the main door, the interior can be divided into two compartments, the front one which is on the ground level and the inner compartment which has a wooden floor raised to a height of about four feet supported on pillars of stone.

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461 not above manual labour, and even the Khasi clerk in the
333 Government offices is quite ready to take his turn at the hoe
335 in his potato garden. The men make excellent stonemasons and carpenters, and are ready to learn fancy carpentry and
276 mechanical work. They are inveterate chewers of *supari* and
804 the pan leaf (when they can get the latter), both men, women, and children; distances in the interior being often measured by the number of betel-nuts that are usually chewed on a
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[47] race of men, rather below the middle size, with a manliness of gait and demeanour. They are fond of their mountains, and look down with contempt upon the degenerate race of the

[the Khasis — Angly.]

headquarters of the Administration. The manufacture of country spirit gives employment to a considerable number of persons, most of whom are females. At a recent census of the country stills in the district, undertaken by the district officials, the number of stills has been found to be 1,530. There must be at least one person employed at each still, so that the number of distillers is probably not less than 2,000, possibly more. The spirit is distilled both for home consumption and for purposes of sale, in some villages almost entirely for sale. In the Jaintia Hills stock-breeding and dealing in cattle provides occupation for 1,295 people, according to the last census. The cattle are reared in the Jaintia Hills and are driven down to the plains when they reach the age of maturity, where they find a ready market amongst the Sylhetis. Cattle are also driven into Shillong for sale from the Jaintia Hills. Another place for rearing cattle is the Siemship of Nongkhlaw, where there is good pasturage in the neighbourhood of Mairang. These cattle are either sold in Shillong or find their way to the Kamrup district by the old Nongkhlaw road. Cattle-breeding is an industry which is capable of expansion in these hills. There are a few carpenters to be found in Shillong and its neighbourhood. The Khasis are said by Col. Waddell to be unacquainted with the art of weaving; but the fact that a considerable weaving industry exists amongst the Khyrwang villages of the Syntengs, and at Mynso and Suhtngs, has been overlooked by him. The Khyrwangs weave a special pattern of cotton and silk cloth, striped red and white. In Mynso and Suhtngs similar cloths are woven, also the sleeveless coat. In former days this industry is said to have been considerable, but it has been displaced to a large extent of late years by Manchester piece goods. The number of weavers returned at the last census in the district was 533. The Khasis and Mikirs of the low country, or Bhois as they are called, weave cotton cloths which they dye with the leaves of a plant called u nelli. This is perhaps the wild indigo, or *rum*, of the Shan settlers in the Assam Valley. The weavers are almost always females. An important means of subsistence is road and building work; a considerable number of coolies, both male and female, are employed under Government, practically throughout the year, in

16: McCormack E-4,5 (1956-1958) 1964
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children, but Christian influence has eradicated or driven underground the consumption by women and children. **Industrial arts.** The only industrial arts traditionally practiced in all households were a rudimentary carpentry and a simple utilitarian basketry. Other arts were few, and were practiced as village specialties: the washing and smelting of iron ore and the forging of hoes, daos, knives, swords, and cooking pots (upland Khasis); the spinning of cotton thread (Mynso village, Jaintia); the dyeing of cotton thread and the weaving of cloth (Jaintias, Bhois, Lyngngams, Wars); the spinning and weaving of Eri silk (Khyrwang and Nongrung villages, Bhoi and Jaintia); and the hand manufacture, without wheel, of painted earthenware pots (Larnai village, Jaintia). Ironworking and the production of cotton goods have nearly died out through the competition of machine-made goods. Carpentry has greatly improved. An innovation of major importance is the sewing and tailoring, on sewing machines, of ready-made garments for both sexes. [Cf. Darrah 1896; C., W. 1832.] **Trade.** Khasi villages normally contain a number of household shops operated by women. Every Khasi also lives within walking distance of several village markets that are held on successive days of the eight-day week. The limits of market intercourse for the members of any particular village can be roughly distinguished by their naming the days of their week, which are called after the active markets. The exception is the huge market at Shillong, much of which is active daily, and which serves as a magnet for Khasis from all over the hills. The traditional barter has given way to currency in all markets. The small ones contain at least some local farm produce, plus other essentials like betel nut, and the food and tea stalls which serve as centers of social intercourse. The big markets contain not only regional produce and manufactures but also products from distant parts of the hills, brought for sale by traveling middlemen. There is also substantial trade, from the hills to the valleys, in potatoes, pears, hides, lac, cotton, cardamom, the wood of the sal tree, Eri silk thread, limestone, coal, ivory, bay leaf, betel nut, pan leaves, bananas, sugar cane, oranges, til, turmeric, and chilies. From the plains to the hills, there is trade in dried fish, paddy rice, salt, cooking oil, kerosene, matches, tea, sugar, wheat flour, machine-made cloth, shawls, metal pots, crockery, porcelain objects, coral beads, silver, and gold. Markets are important not only as economic institutions but also as centers for recreation (including archery competitions), courtship, reaffirmation of kinship ties with distant relatives, and the dissemination of information of all kinds. [Cf. Stoughton 1954a.] **Division of labor.** Men do the heavy work, such as clearing and burning the swidden fields, caring for cattle and goats and driving them to market, butchering and selling large cuts of beef and pork, carpentry and mining, and driving and laboring on motor vehicles. They also tailor men's

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577 plains, jealous of their power, brave in action, and have an aversion to falsehood."

797 Khasis of the interior who have adopted Christianity are generally cleaner in their persons than the non-Christians, 177 and their women dress better than the latter and have an air 515 of self-respect about them. The houses in a Christian village 342 are also far superior, especially where there are resident European missionaries. Khasis who have become Christians often 771 take to religion with much earnestness (witness the recent 797 religious revival in these hills, which is estimated by the Welsh 794 missionaries to have added between 4,000 and 5,000 converts to Christianity), and are model Sabbatarians, it being a pleasing sight to see men, women, and children trooping to church on a Sunday dressed in their best, and with quite the Sunday expression on their faces one sees in England. It is a pleasure to hear the sound of the distant church bell on the hill-side on a Sunday evening, soon to be succeeded by the beautiful Welsh hymn tunes which, when wafted across the valleys, carry one's thoughts far away. The Welsh missionaries have done, and continue to do, an immense amount of good amongst these people. It would be an evil day for the Khasis if anything should occur to arrest the progress of the mission work in the Khasi Hills.

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION.

162 The Khasis inhabit the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, although 101 there are a few Khasi settlers in the neighbouring plains districts. The Census Report of 1901 gives the following figures of Khasi residents in the plains:—

Cachar	333
Sylhet	3,083
Goalpara	4
Kamrup	191
Darrang	10
Nowgong	29
Sibsagar	62
Lakhimpur	22
Lushai Hills..	77
North Cachar	32
Naga Hills	62

A KHASI HOUSE,
with Egg-breaker in the foreground.
(from a photograph by Mrs. Muriel.)

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231 Shillong is excellent, the flavour being quite as good as that
263 of English honey. Under "Miscellaneous Customs connected with Death" will be found a reference to the statement that the
[764] dead bodies of Siems used to be embalmed in honey. The existence of the custom is generally denied by Khasis, but its former prevalence is probable, as several trustworthy authors have quoted it.

HOUSES.

342 The houses of the people are cleaner than might be supposed
515 after taking into consideration the dirtiness of the clothes and persons of those who inhabit them. They are as a rule substantial thatched cottages with plank or stone walls, and raised on a plinth some 2 to 3 ft. from the ground. The only
354 window is a small opening on one side of the house, which admits but a dim light into the smoke-begrimed interior. The beams are so low that it is impossible for a person of ordinary stature to stand erect within. The fire is always burning on an earthen or stone hearth in the centre. There is no chimney, the smoke finding its exit as best it can. The firewood is placed to dry on a swinging frame above the hearth. In the
343 porch are stacked fuel and odds and ends. The pigs and calves
342 are generally kept in little houses just outside the main building. The Khasi house is oval-shaped, and is divided into three rooms, a porch, a centre room, and a retiring-room.

354 In olden days the Khasis considered nails *sang*, or taboo, and
784 only used a certain kind of timber for the fender which surrounds the hearth; but they are not so particular now-a-days. In Mawkhar, Cherrapunji, and other large villages, the walls of
342 houses are generally of stone. In Cherrapunji the houses are frequently large, but the largest house I have seen in the hills is that of the Doloi of Subtngs in the Jaintia Hills, which measures 74 ft. in length. The house of the Siem Priestess at Smit in the Khasi Hills is another large one, being 61 ft. long by 20 ft. broad. In front of the Khasi house is a little space fenced in on two sides, but open towards the village street. The

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342 Syntengs plaster the space in front of the house with red earth and cow-dung, this custom being probably a remnant of Hindu influences. The Khasis have some peculiar customs when they build a new house. When the house is completed they perform a ceremony, *kynjoh-hku-skain*, when they tie three pieces of dried fish to the ridge pole of the house and then jump up and try to pull them down again. Or they kill a pig, cut a piece of the flesh with the skin attached, and fix it to the ridge pole, and then endeavour to dislodge it. The Syntengs at Nartiang worship *U Biskurom* (Biswakarma) and *Ka Siem Synshar* when a house is completed, two fowls being sacrificed, one to the former, the other to the latter. The feathers of the fowls are affixed to the centre post of the house, which must be of *u dieng sniang*, a variety of the Khasi oak. The worship of a Hindu god (Biswakarma), the 776 architect of the Hindu gods, alongside the Khasi deity *Ka Siem* 177 *Synshar*, is interesting, and may be explained by the fact that 342 Nartiang was at one time the summer capital of the kings of Jaintia, who were Hindus latterly and disseminated Hindu customs largely amongst the Syntengs. Mr. Rita says that 627 amongst the Syntengs, a house, the walls of which have been 342 plastered with mud, is a sign that the householder has an enemy. The plastering no doubt is executed as a preventive of fire, arson in these hills being a common form of revenge.

342 Amongst the Khasis, when a daughter leaves her mother's house and builds a house in the mother's compound, it is considered *sang*, or taboo, for the daughter's house to be built on the right-hand side of the mother's house, it should be built either on the left hand or at the back of the mother's house.

776 In Nongstoin it is customary to worship a deity called 793 *u-ki lop* (Khasi, *u phaw*), by nailing up branches of the Khasi oak, interspersed with jaw-bones of cattle and the feathers of fowls, to the principal post, which must be of *u dieng sniang*. The Siem priestess of the Nongkrem State at Smit and the ladies of the Siem family perform a ceremonial dance before a large post of oak in the midst of the Siem priestesses' house on the occasion of the annual goat-killing ceremony. This oak post is furnished according to custom by the *lyngskor*

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776 793 or official spokesman of the Siem's Durbar. Another post of oak in this house is furnished by the people of the State.

342 177 353 The houses of the well-to-do Khasis of the present day in Mawkhar and Cherrapunji are built after the modern style with iron roofs, chimneys, glass windows and doors. In Jowai the well-to-do traders have excellent houses of the European pattern, which are as comfortable as many of the European subordinates' quarters in Shillong. Some up-to-date families in Shillong and at Cherra allow themselves muslin curtains and European furniture.

342 [324] The houses of the Pnar-Wárs are peculiar. The roof, which is thatched with the leaves of a palm called a *tyaniw*, is hog-backed and the eaves come down almost to the ground. There are three rooms in the Wár as in the Khasi house, although called by different names in the Wár dialect. The hearth is in the centre room. [361] The houses are built flush with the ground and are made of bamboo. In the Wár villages of Nongjri and 396 Umniah there are small houses erected in the compounds of 782 the ordinary dwelling-houses called *ing hynid* (spirit houses). In these houses offerings to the spirits of departed family ancestors are placed at intervals, this practice being very similar to the more ancient form of Shintoism. In some Wár villages 342 there are also separate bachelors' quarters. This custom is in accordance with that of the Naga tribes. There is no such custom amongst the Khasi Uplanders. The Wár houses are similar to those of the Pnar Wárs, except that a portion of the house is generally built on a platform, the main house resting on the hill-side and the portion on the platform projecting therefrom, the object being to obtain more space, the area for houses in the village sites being often limited owing to the steepness of the hill-sides.

The Bhoi and Lyngngam houses are practically similar, and may be described together. They are generally built on fairly high platforms of bamboo, are frequently 30 to 40 ft. in length, and are divided into various compartments in order [354] to suit the needs of the family. The hearth, which is of earth, is in the centre room. There is a platform at the back of the Lyngngam house, and in front of the Bhoi house, used for drying paddy, spreading chillies, &c., and for sitting on when the day's

work is done. In order to attend to a Bhoi house, you have to climb up a notched pole. The Bhois sacrifice a he-goat and a fowl to *Rik-kuplong* (Khasi, *Rumiew ñiej*), the household god, when they build a new house.

VILLAGES.

Unlike the Naga and Kukis, the Khasis do not build their villages on the extreme summits of hills, but a little below the top, generally in small depressions, in order to obtain some protection from the strong winds and storms which prevail in these hills at certain times of the year. According to the late U Jowlon Roy, it is *sang*, or taboo, to the Khasis to build a house on the last eminence of a range of hills, this custom having perhaps arisen owing to the necessity of locating villages with reference to their defence against an enemy. Khasis build their houses fairly close together, but not as close as houses in the Bhoi and Lyngngam villages. Khasis seldom change the sites of their villages, to which they are very much attached, where, as a rule, the family tombs are standing and the *mawbynna* or memorial stones. In many villages stone cromlechs and memorial stones are to be seen which from their appearance show that the villages have been there for many generations. During the Jaintia rebellion the village of Jowai was almost entirely destroyed, but as soon as the rebellion was over the people returned to the old site and rebuilt their village. Similarly, after the earthquake, the ancient village sites were not abandoned in many cases, but the people rebuilt their houses in their former positions, although in Shillong and Cherrapunji they rebuilt the walls of the houses of wooden materials instead of stone. There is no such thing as a specially reserved area in the village for the Siem and the nobility, all the people, rich or poor, living together in one village, their houses being scattered about indiscriminately. To the democratic Khasi the idea of the Siem living apart from his people would be repugnant. In the vicinity of the Khasi village, often just below the brow of the hill to the leeward side, are to be seen dark woods of oak

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

custom of their own from cultivating the *landoo*, in which case they plant certain other trees favourable to the growth of the lac insect. The villages are situated near their patches of cultivation in the forest. The villages are constantly shifting, owing to the necessity of burning fresh tracts of forest every two years. The houses are entirely built of bamboo, and, for such temporary structures, are very well built. In front, the houses are raised some 3 or 4 ft. from the ground on platforms, being generally built on the side of a fairly steep hill, one end of the house resting on the ground, and the other on bamboo posts. The back end of the house is sometimes some 8 or 9 ft. from the ground. At the end of the house farthest away from the village path is a platform used for sitting out in the evening, and for spreading chillies and other articles to dry. Some Lyngam houses have only one room in which men, women, and children are all huddled together, the hearth being in the centre, and, underneath the platform, the pigs. Well-to-do people, however, possess a retiring room, where husband and wife sleep. A house I measured at Nongshlar village was of the following dimensions:—Length, 42 ft.; breadth, 16 ft.; height of house from the ground to the eaves, front, 9 ft.; back 18 ft. Houses are built with a portion of the thatch hanging over the eaves in front. No explanation could be given me for this. It is probably a Garo custom. In some Lyngam villages there are houses in the centre of the village where the young unmarried men sleep, where male guests are accommodated, and where the village festivities go on. These are similar to the *dekachang* or bachelors' club-houses of the Mikirs, Garos, and Lalungs, and to the *morung* of the Nagas. This is a custom of the Thibeto-Burman tribes in Assam, and is not a Khasi institution. There are also high platforms, some 12 ft. or 15 ft. in height, in Lyngam villages, where the elders sit of an evening in the hot weather and take the air. Lyngam houses and villages are usually much cleaner than the ordinary Khasi villages, and although the Lyngams keep pigs, they do not seem to be so much *en évidence* as in the Khasi village. There is little or no furniture in a Lyngam house. The Lyngam sleeps on a mat on the floor, and in cold weather covers himself with a

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for a cremation). See table I, picture 2, "The heathen Khasi village Raliang with a "holy wood" (law kyntang) in the background."

6. Giving or taking anything at all with the left hand.
7. Stepping over the corpse of another person.
8. Killing an animal or bird without having previously strewn rice on its head.
9. Using the milk of the cow or the goat.
10. Completing all kinds of started sewing or basket weaving for pregnant women.
11. Pregnant women are not allowed to accompany any funeral procession.
12. The husband of a pregnant woman is forbidden to roof the house (straw roof) or to make a handle for a hatchet or an axe (ka wait - ka da).
13. Speaking with anyone at all as long as the threshing of the rice lasts, unless it is with the co-workers of the man or of the woman.
14. Variously the use of pork, dried fish, melons, lemons, etc. is forbidden.

784 Violating the sang is punished by the
68 deity. Thus several Khasi explained after the
342 great earthquake of June 12, 1897: "Because you built your houses of stone and fastened the planks with nails, it has so happened that everything has tumbled down, because god does not wish stone and despises nails. Formerly we too built only with wood and bamboo and used bast for making things fast and for binding, but today people have become proud and have built with stone. That is why this has happened; god

hotee stone; he does not wish any lime." (14.)

14. F.A. Minsaher, S.J.S. Die apostolische Präfektur Assam (The Apostolic Prefecture of Assam) (Rome, 1939), p. 8).

4. Egg Throwing (khat-pylleng)

The most common of all the oracles of the Khasi is egg throwing (khat-pylleng). A great deal has already been written about it. (15)

15. P. Dr. C. Becker, Das Eierwerfen der Khasi (Egg Throwing Among the Khasi), Anthropos XII-XIII (1917-1918), pp. 434-436.

I will only add here the prayer of the sacrificer a nongkhat-pylleng. It is not an actual prayer, at least the nongkhat-pylleng is not bound to any formula. The sacrificer speaks approximately thus:

Ka longsem khun ka blei, ka bamang ka bstip ka ka lah ka bslai, nga pyrkhah nga pyrdem haiar ka dienghat ka dienghsein, ka duwan ka dupat, a kynrad ngan kylli ngan

O thou egg of the oracle, thou daughter of the goddess, thou whom thou knowest and art aware of (art able to) thou commanest thou (already). I cut thee down here on the board (16)

16. Cf. Table II, Picture 1.

bughit kstem ka long shiton ka lumt ka shah ka thar ka shit ka ryang ka pisa ka lynge ka ka met a

on the oracular wood, on the altar, a mistress, I question and ponder (would like to question,

Point Burial Place

[Duly] The Village Rollong

/109 Gr/

Fig. 4. A Holy Grove and Part of the Village Kalong.

8: Gordon G-3 (no date) 1904 AR7 Khasi AR7

291 small kilt), and a cap which is peaked in front and which comes down well over the ears, called (*ka ingin ehor*) *ear cap*. The dress of the Khasi females is somewhat different from that of the Syntengs, the former wears a striped cloth tied round the waist, hanging down to the knees, and another cloth, with a fringed border, knotted on both the shoulders to cover the bust and a narrow cloth, called *ka jymphen*, to serve the purpose of under-clothing. A cloth knotted in front is also worn like a cloak over shoulders. The Syntengs women wears a cloth smoothed round the body fastened above the bust and dropping down to the ankles. Another cloth is thrown over the shoulders, and crossed in front. Both Khasi and Syntengs women wear a cloth tied over the head, called *ka tap mukhlieh*. Up-to-date Khasi males wear knickerbockers, stockings, and boots, and females chemises. On festive occasions, both Khasis and Syntengs, males and females, wear expensive silks, with earrings of gold or silver. There is a special dancing-dress of elaborate pattern. The women at festivals wear a circlet of silver with a spear-head ornament behind, rising 4 or 5 inches from the back of the head. Large coral beads are much valued, and necklaces of alternate beads of coral and gold, and sometimes of coral alone, are worn by the chief's and their principal followers. Such necklaces are worn by women also on gala occasions. The staple diet of both Khasis and Syntengs is rice and dried fish. They are, however, fond of all kinds of meat, especially pork. Some of the Syntengs abstain from beef, owing no doubt to Hindu influences. Neither Khasis nor Syntengs eat dog, which is partaken of with zest by the Naga and the Garo tribes,—this is owing to the dog being considered by the Khasis to be the friend of man. Neither Khasis nor Syntengs use milk, the latter being thought by them to be an excrement. Neither Khasis nor Syntengs tattoo. The weapons of both Khasis and Syntengs are bows and arrows, swords and shields. The national game of the Khasis is archery, regarding which a detailed description will be found in paragraph 10.

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The people live in regular villages on fixed sites which have not altered, where, as a rule, the family tombs are standing. The houses are built in the shape of a shell, the houses being divided into three compartments,—the *Shyngkup*, or porch, where axes and *dhas*, and sometimes fowls, are kept; *nongpei*, or centre room, which is used for cooking and sitting in; and *nongpei*, or inner room, where the people sleep. The houses are low, with grass roofs reaching nearly to the ground, the beams are of hewn timber, the walls are of either planks roughly hewn or of reeds or split bamboos plastered with clay. The Khasis' houses generally have beneath them raised seats fixed from the ground level,

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St Gordon G-3 (no date) 1904 AR7 Khasi AR7

—the *Nongkup*, or porch, being built with the ground. The *nongpoi*, or 342
entire room, is approached by a flight of steps. There are no windows,
except one, which is hung on one side to admit light and air,—this is
called the *ponphai*. Both Khasis and Syntengs, like other Indo-Chinese 524
room, are much addicted to gambling, and drinking to excess is a 272
national vice. Christianity has, through the agency of the Welsh Col- 191
vinistic Mission, gained a very striking extension, and may be said in- 171
deed to be becoming the whole nation. Schools are numerous, and are
pretty well attended by girls as well as boys. The Christians, and
those who have come under the influence of Christianity, have adopted
a high standard of comfort, and their houses resemble English cottages
more nearly than the huts with which one is familiar in India.

Agriculture.—The Khasis do not use the plough; they cultivate their 241
fields with a peculiar-shaped hoe, or *mokkhow*. They cultivate rice in
the valleys, the rice being sown broadcast and the fields irrigated often
after considerable labour. They also cultivate hill rice on the sylands,
which they sow broadcast. The potato, which was introduced into the 199
Khasi Hills by Mr David Scott about the 429
year 1831,[1] is extensively cultivated and forms
one of the principal articles of export. *Jaitia-*
kaw (*Coix lachryma*), several kinds of millet, Indian corn, the *Sidpi-*
lang (*Plectogyna mollis*), are also largely cultivated. The valleys on the 245
southern slopes of the hills have extensive orange groves, the oranges,
especially those grown in the neighbourhood of Shella, being famous for
their quality. The betel, vine, and areca nut are also largely grown on
the southern side of the hills and in the low valleys, these plantations
being irrigated by elaborate systems of aqueducts. The leaf of the bay-
tree (*Tejpatta*) is collected, and is exported to the Sylhet plains. The 428
Syntengs differ from the Khasis, in that they make use of the plough.
Both Khasis and Syntengs are industrious cultivators, and they possess
a certain rough and ready knowledge of the uses of manure. A more
detailed description of agriculture in these hills will be given in the
monograph.

3. *Matriarchal customs and law of inheritance of property.*—The 611
mother is the head of the house, and in both owner and the custodian of 428
the family property so long as she lives. Males can own no property
amongst either Khasis or Syntengs except self-acquired property. On
the death of the mother, in the case of the Khasis, the family property
passes to the youngest daughter. According to some authorities, how-
ever, the property would in practice be divided amongst all the survi-
ving daughters. Failing daughters, the property passes to the youngest
male, and failing a male, to the youngest female cousin. The same

[1] Hooker and Jamieson Hills Administration Report for 1831-32 by Colonel Rice.

[p.177]

THE KHASI HUTS OF MAWTHLANG

BY

RAI KHOBRA MUKHERJEE, RAI CHANDRA DUTT, SAILI. RAI CHAUDHURI, SAMIR GUPTA AND KUMARA DEBGUPTA

1[illegible] Post-Graduate students of the Department of Anthropology of the University of Calcutta are expected to do a certain amount of field work for practical training. In 1940 a Khasi village was studied by us, the students of the Post-Graduate class, as part of our training, under the guidance of Prof. K. P. Chattopadhyay, the Head of the Department of Anthropology, whom we have to thank also for the photographs used for this paper. This note on Khasi house structure is based on our work in the village of Mawphlang, the headquarters of the Khasi State of this name, in the Khasi Hills, Assam. Our studies included a survey of the village and its house types. Particular attention was paid to the structure of the old type of Khasi house.

192. Gurdon in his book on the Khasis of Assam describes the Khasi hut as elliptical in shape. But in Mawphlang we found that they can be more strictly said to be "U"-shaped, in ground plan the head of the "U" being the front, the two parallel arms the sides, and a straight line connecting the two ends of the two arms of the "U" the rear. We found this to be the type of most of the old houses of Mawphlang village. As is well known it is the custom among Khasis for the women of a family to live together, until the number of members increases so much that they cannot be provided with rooms in a single house. Then new houses are built. It is usual for a married couple with children to put up a separate

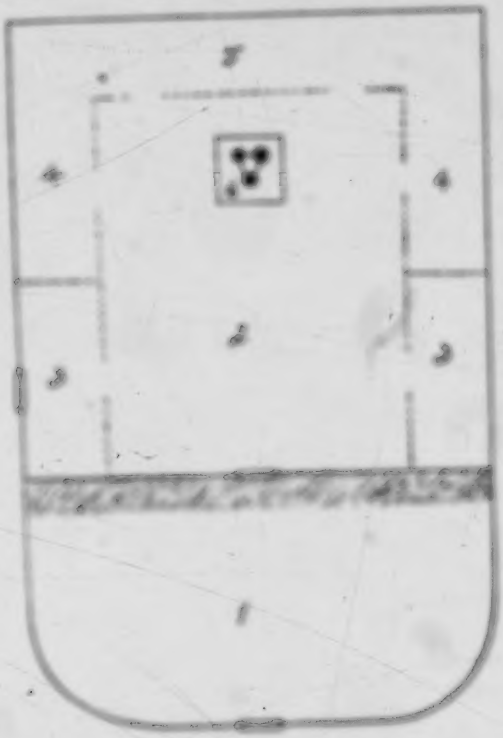
342. but for themselves. In all these cases the youngest daughter of the family who is known as the Ka Khadduh of the family must live in the old house and maintain the social and religious traditions of the family. In the village of Mawphlang we found that the houses of all the Ka Khadduhs like Ka Sadia, Ka Ilmiban and others, and also the old house of the wife of U. Sohmei, the myntri of the Mawphlang State, all belong to this "U"-shaped type. This association of Ka Khadduhs and "U" shaped huts suggests that this is the old type. The modern huts vary in their structure some being like modern bungalows common now-a-days in Shillong.

The old Khasi house, in general, can be described as follows :—

[343] [26] Generally there is a compound in front and a pigsty at one side, the whole site being enclosed by a fencing of reed and small pieces or of wooden planks or some such material. The hut as observed from outside is elliptical in front and box-shaped behind (as seen in the diagram). It is "U"-shaped in the ground plan. The roof of the hut is sloped on the two sides and spread out like a fan, in a semi-circle, in front.

343 342. The material used in the construction of the hut varies. In some of the old houses the walls were found to be made of blocks of stone with mud in the interstices serving the purpose of mortar. The roof had a bamboo frame covered with thatching grass. In other old huts the walls were not entirely made of stone blocks. In some we found the front portion made entirely of stone, the lower portions of the side and of the rear walls, up to a level of two to three feet, made of stone, the remaining portions being made of wooden planks or reeds covered with mud. In some modified huts again (either they were built later or the old huts were repaired) the entire rear wall except at the base and the upper portions of the sides were made of tinplates from used cans nailed to a frame. In some huts corrugated and galvanized iron sheets have been used. The material for the roof

also varies a good deal now-a-days, some being of corrugated galvanised iron sheets and others of flat tinplate sheets instead of



Ground plan

1. Ka Kynduh; 2. Ka Kynpaei;
3. Ka Kynmaw; 4. Ka Jing Kynsang;
5. Ka Kumpei; 6. Ka Dypei.

thatching grass. In some modified houses we found a porch added in front of the main door of the hut.

Entering the hut by the main door, the interior can be divided into two compartments, the front one which is on the ground level and the inner compartment which has a wooden floor raised to a height of about four feet supported on pillars of stone.

Construction of the frame of the Ka Kyndai

Thatching the Ka Kyndai

[Facing p. 180]

342 In some huts there is a wooden partition in between the two compartments, while in others it is absent. The front compart-

ELEVATION

1. Door; 2. Supporting pillar; 3. Battlements; 4, 5 Spaces; 6. (Spaces) 7. Walls; 8. Supporting pillar of wooden floor; 9. Outer walls.

ment on the ground floor is known in Mawphlang as Ka Kyndor, while the raised portion is known as Ka Nyngai. The Ka Kyndor is smaller than the Ka Nyngai and is roughly semi-circular in shape as it is formed of the front portion of the hut. Its floor is paved with stone or made of beaten earth. In some huts where there is a partition between the Ka Kyndor and the Ka Nyngai, there is a raised shelf in the Ka Kyndor which is really the projection of the wooden floor of the Ka Nyngai. From the Ka Kyndor the Ka Nyngai is reached by means of a few steps made of stone or a short staircase of wood. Where there is a partition between the Ka Kyndor and the Ka Nyngai there is a door in the middle of the wooden partition to enter the Ka Nyngai.

The Ka Nyngai is rectangular in shape and occupies about two-thirds of the area of the hut. The Ka Nyngai is not a single compartment but is divided into smaller compartments at its two sides and the rear by means of low wooden partitions.

342 But in some huts there are no such partitions and the demarcation is made by the pillars and beams which support the roof of the hut. The small enclosures at the two sides in the front portion are known locally as Ka Kynwin. The Ka Kynwin at the right hand side of the Ka Nympei close to the Ka Kyndor generally is used for storing water. The Ka Kynwin at the left hand side of the Ka Nympei just opposite to that for storing water is used as a larder for potatoes and other provisions. The enclosures at the rear of the Ka Nympei and those remaining at its sides are used as sleeping places. The sleeping places at the sides are known as Ka Ing Kyndong and those at the rear as Ka Rumpei. In most huts there is a window in the Ka Rumpei, high up in the back wall of the hut. In some huts there is a window in the front wall, in the Ka Kyndor. In many huts there is no window at all. Besides the main door in the Ka Kyndor, there is another door to the Ka Kynwin at the right hand side of the Ka Nympei. We were informed that in Cherra the part called Ka Kyndor is termed Ka Shyngkup, and Ka Kynwin as Ka Pyngdai.

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In the centre of the Ka Nympei there is the hearth known as Ka Dypei. It is a rectangular space, about four feet and a half in length and three feet and a half in breadth, enclosed by timbers of wood. The floor of the hearth is paved with stone and mud. In the centre of it there are three small-shaped stone pieces which are known as Mawkynrew. On the Mawkynrew there is an iron triangle known as Ka Nar to hold the pots. The space of the Ka Nympei behind the hearth and in front of the Ka Rumpei is known as Jingbakhiewja.

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Running round the edge of the Ka Nympei at a man's height there is a wooden frame supported on vertical posts; to this frame are fixed the partitions, separating the Ka Nympei from the Ka Kyndor, Ka Kynwin, Ka Ing Kyndong and Ka Rumpei. This wooden frame is known as Bahtynghan or Bahtynghu. Just above the Bahtynghan several stout beams of wood cross the house from side to side and rest on the

352 Bakiyaphan. They are known as Ukhong. The Ukhong above the Dypei are placed close to one another. A little apart from this row of Ukhongs, there is a single Ukhong parallel to the others which in some huts is hollowed out and is used as a receptacle for some household articles.

342 The frame of the roof as observed from inside consists of a central ridge pole running along the length of the hut and situated above the middle of it. From the ridge pole pairs of rafters diverge on two sides, their lower ends resting on the side walls of the hut. In front of the hut, the rafters are radially spread out from the anterior end of the ridge pole which is supported by a vertical pole known as Ript. These rafters rest on semi-circular wall at the head of the 'U'. The ridge pole and the rafters are known as Kynshi. Besides the rafters there are thinner wooden poles similarly arranged which further strengthen the frame of the roof. They are known as Ubnoh. The small rafters which are set cross-wise on the sloping Kynshi and form each series a 'U' round the ceiling are known as U Pynior. This frame for the roof is made on those huts where thatching grass is used, that is, in the old type of huts. In modern huts where corrugated or flat sheets of iron have been used instead of thatching grass such a frame is not required.

In the village of Mawphlang, we saw an old type hut, of Ka Lita repaired and re-built. At first the raised rectangular portion of the hut, the Ka Nympei, was reconstructed on a raised platform, with the frame for the roof above it. Then a semi-circular area was taken in front of the Ka Nympei about one-third the area of the inner compartment. Simultaneously with the making of the frame of the Ka Kynshor, the thatch was made in sections in bamboo frames. Then the roof of the hut was covered with these sections which were arranged in overlapping sheets (see plate). An old type Khasi hut is about thirty feet long; it is about twenty feet wide at the back.

343 Reference has been made to the usual pigsty adjoining each house. It is generally a small thatched shed with walls made of

wood and grass matting. The shed may be partitioned into two compartments one for keeping the cows and the other for keeping pigs. The upper portion of the pigsty is used for storing fuel in some houses. There is no uniformity in respect of this shed. 343

All the "U"-shaped huts found in the Mawphlang village were studied. Besides these typical "U"-shaped huts there are many other huts in the village which are rather flattened in front and can be said to belong to the flattened "U"-type. In the table given below the variations are shown in detail of the typical "U"-type huts and also of a flattened "U"-type hut belonging to Ka Lahirmon of Lyngdoh clan. It is peculiar that all these huts have their main door facing north. 342

Serial No.	Owner of the hut.	Materials used.	Partitions.
I.	Ka Shadem (Elder Sister).	Wall—Is made entirely of stone. Lower portions of sides and rear of stone. Upper portions of sides of wood, reed and wood. Upper portion of rear of thatch. Roof—Thatched entirely.	Partition between Ka Kynsiar and Ka Kynpai. No partition between Ka Kynpai and its stalls.
II.	Ka Sriw (Lyngdoh).	Wall—Wood with no outer covers of reed and thatch. Roof—Thatching grass.	No partition between Ka Kynsiar and Ka Kynpai, and between Ka Kynpai and its stalls.
III.	Ka Thiang	Wall—Planks covered with thatch. Roof—Thatched.	No partition between Ka Kynsiar and Ka Kynpai but the front Shongpiri gives it present.
IV.	Ka Pa (Lyngdoh)	Wall—Planks with outer thatchings. Very low stone wall all round, on one side. Roof—Thatched.	No partition between Ka Kynsiar and Ka Kynpai.
V.	Ka Lu (Sawi)	Wall—Low stone wall all round. Upper portions of front of reed and wood. Upper portions of side and rear of planks with outer cover of thatch. Roof—Thatched.	Partition between Ka Kynsiar and Ka Kynpai.

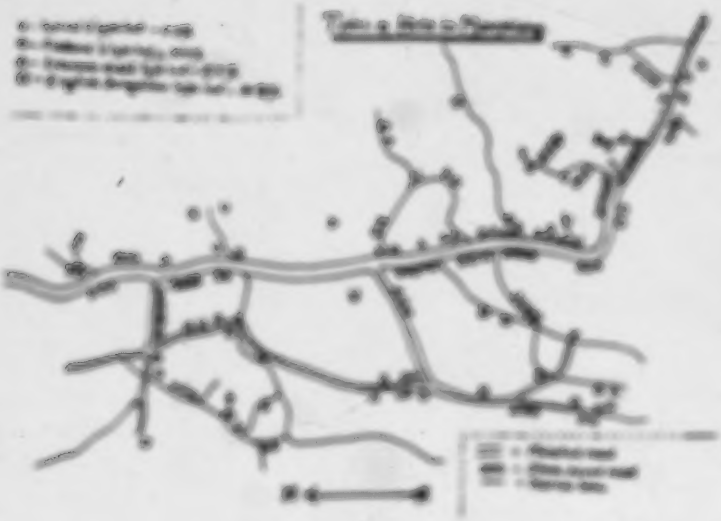
Serial No.	Owner of the hut.	Materials used.	Peculiarities.
VI.	Ka Ini (Khasi Dumpep).	Wall—Front, sides, and lower portions of rear of stone. Upper portions of rear of flat tinned sheets. Roof—Thatched.	Same as above.
VII.	Ka Ko (Lyngdoh).	Wall—Front, sides, and lower portion of rear of stone. Upper portion of rear of flat tinned sheets. Roof—Thatched.	Partition between Ka Kyndor and Ka Nyngei. In front of the main door a porch has been added,—a two-sloped tin shed resting on four wooden pillars.
VIII.	Ka Sadia (Lyngdoh).	Wall—Front and lower portions of sides and rear of room. Upper portion of left wall of flat tinned sheets. Upper portions of right wall and rear of thatch. Roof—Thatched.	No partitions.
IX.	Ka Pyn (Khasi Sawai).	Wall—Front and lower portions of sides and rear of room. Upper portions of sides of wood, bamboo, and mud. Upper portions of rear of thatch. Roof—Sloping sides of corrugated sheets. Front thatched.	Partition between Ka Kyndor and Ka Nyngei. No partition between Ka Nyngei and its underroom.
X.	Ka Kia (Lyngdoh).	Wall—Low stone walls all round. Roof—Thatched.	
XI.	Ka Kiah (Kup Thap).	Wall—Front entirely of stone. Lower portions of sides and rear of room, upper portions of planks. Roof—Flat tin plates.	Partition between Ka Kyndor and Ka Nyngei, and between Ka Nyngei and its underroom. One window in Ka Nyngei.
XII.	Ka Sirkan (Lyngdoh).	Wall—Stone all round. Roof—Corrugated tin sheets.	All the partitions present. Two windows at the head of the "U" by the two sides of the main door. One window at the back of Ka Nyngei on the left side of it.
XIII.	Ka Ka (Lyngdoh).	Wall—Lower portions of stone. Upper portions of sides of bamboo and mud. Upper portion of rear of tinned sheets. Roof—Thatched.	No partition between Ka Kyndor and Ka Nyngei.

Serial No.	Owner of the hut	Material used	Partitions
XIV.	Ka Skyrapah Lyngdoh.	Wall—Front, lower portion of stone. Upper portion of rear of ... sheets. Roof—Corrugated iron.	Partition between Ka Kyndor and Ka Kyrpen. A porch in front of hut similar to that in Ka Ri's hut.
XV.	Ka Tai Lyngdoh	Wall—Front portions of lower sides of stone. Upper sides of bamboo and mud. Some portion of rear ... sheets. Roof—Entirely of thin tinplate.	
XVI.	Ka Pahun (Khar Dohling).	Wall—Front, lower portion of stone. Upper portion of rear of flat ... sheets. Roof—Corrugated iron.	No partition between Ka Kyndor and Ka Kyrpah. No stage in Ka Kyndor to match Ka Kyrpah. A small porch in front of main door as in the hut of Ka Ka.
XVII.	Ka Dienbon (Lyngdoh.)	Wall—Lower stone all round, upper portions of corrugated iron sheet. Roof—Corrugated iron.	Small opening in the rear wall.
XVIII.	Ka Wer (Khar Wankhar).	Wall—Same as ... Roof—Same as ... iron.	
XIX.	Ka Kyrbon (Lyngdoh).	Wall—Low stone round all ... Upper portion and front of ... sheets. Type of rear of ... corrugated Roof—all tinplate.	Partition between Ka Kyndor and Ka Kyrpah. Small porch in front of main door as mentioned in some huts previously.
XX.	Ka Lotiness (Lyngdoh)	Wall—Low stone round all ... Upper portion of corrugated ... Roof Corrugated iron.	No partition between Ka Kyndor and Ka Kyrpah.

It has already been said that the Khasi house type is now changing. Some such changes have been noted in the table, such as, the addition of a porch, the ground plan of one hut changing into a flattened 'U,' and the extensive use of flat or corrugated iron sheets in place of thatch. As mentioned previously besides these typical 'U'-type huts, in many other huts the bend of the 'U' in front has been flattened but the oval roof in front is present. This is quite common. In other modified

342 huts the ground plan is entirely rectangular. In this type of huts the materials used are also different, the corrugated sheets and wooden planks being more used than blocks of stone and thatching grass. The inner apartments, however, conform to the old plan. In the market place of the village there are some houses which are two-storied, the front of the ground floor of which have been utilised for shops. These houses do not at all conform to the old 'U'-type but are square or rectangular in
342 ground plan. Near the market place there are three houses
177 of well-to-do Khasis which resemble the bungalows of Europeans of Shillong (and of the Mission house at Mawphlang) in their structure and material. In these modern houses unlike the old ones the main door faces the street. The mysir U. Suburai who is one of the well-to-do persons of Mawphlang village has his old house (that is, the old house he put up for his wife after marriage) of the 'U'-type, the description of which has been given in the preceding table under the name of the owner, the wife of U Suburai, Ka Shyengeh. But their new house which has been added to their old one in front of it is altogether of the bungalow type. This new house is entered from a porch in front, leading to the central room which is used as parlour. The mysir generally sits here with his friends, round the fire-place, which is not a Dypai but a hearth in European style. The kitchen is beyond this room. Bedrooms open from the drawing room to the sides.

342 A plan of the village showing the distribution of the various
361 types of hut in Mawphlang is given below. From the plan it
177 will be found that out of the 100 houses in the village, inhabited at present, the typical 'U'-type of huts form about 11·3 per cent.; the flattened 'U'-type about 33·0 per cent.; the intermediate type, which has totally given up the 'U'-shaped ground plan but has its interior of the old type, about 27·5 per cent. and the English bungalow type about 28·2 per cent. This data shows how rapidly the old type of Khasi hut is now changing.



342
361
177

[illegible]

[illegible]

15: Nakaso K-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

Shella

Gudabway forms a more marked endogamous community, through being cut off geographically and economically from the rest of the Khasi, and socially from the neighbouring Hindu people.

The Economy and the People.

Shella lies along the upper part of the Shella River and stretches upwards along the steep slope, looking down towards the Bengal plain. The climate of this part of the hills is considered to be one of the worst in tropical India for human habitation. The Bengal plain, though warmer than this area, is considered more healthy. This border land is the area of malaria, typhoid, black fever, cholera, etc. None of the Bengalee peasants dare to live in such an area. However, it is the most fertile for products such as betel-nuts, pathaw, oranges, bananas and pineapples, and it also produces limestone. These people seem to prefer to settle in this area and to enjoy its prosperity, at the expense of human lives every year, especially between March and September, the inhabitants suffer from various fevers and dysentry and other diseases, many of the weaker facing death.

Before the Partition of India and Pakistan, the products of Shella were carried down the Shella River to Sylhet, one of the biggest centres in East Bengal, which brought unimaginable wealth to the Shella people. Their houses were built by carpenters from Sylhet. The style and structure of these houses were exceptionally elaborate for the Khasi. They purchased vast rice fields in the plain, which used to be cultivated by Bengalee and Garo labourers engaged by them. These Khasi do not themselves know how to cultivate rice fields; they have always been managers or landowners. Their boys used to be sent to high schools and colleges in Sylhet. As a result of their trading with the Bengalee, many of them read and speak fluent Bengalee. There is no difference between their style of clothing and that of the Bengalee, though the women maintain their traditional dress in the Shella style.

They have thus been distinguished from the rest of the Khasi not only geographically, but also economically and culturally. Their personality also differs sharply from the rest of the Khasi. They are very sensible, and quick, a quality lacking among the Khasi of Sohkynduh and Kongkon. They are clever enough to deal with strangers. The upland Khasi say Shella people are very cunning. This remark shows one side of these people. They had to be cunning, since they traded with the Sylhet Bengalee who were said to be the most cunning of their race. Their role in the trade and in the history of the modernization of the Hills was considerable. For centuries they represented intellectual Khasi owing to their contact with Hindu civilization, while the Hills remained in darkness. They assumed an important role when the British established an administration in the Hills, and even up to now, many leading Khasi originated from this area, for instance, Lett Hall, the first interpreter [illegible] Magistrate among the Khasi; Mohan Ging, a lawyer and Member of the Legislative Assembly (the grandson of Jadow Roy); Nicholas Roy, Minister of Health and Prisons of the Assam Government, Member of the Legislative Assembly, and Missionary of the Church of God; R. R. Thomas (brother of Nicholas Roy), Principal of the Gauhati University, etc.

Through constant cultural contact with Hindu, and encouraged by their economic prosperity, the Shella Khasi, like the Jaintias, have been much influenced by Hindu culture. However, this does not mean that the people of Shella adopted the Hindu beliefs. Though there is a small Hindu shrine, and some ceremonial elements were borrowed from the Hindu, most of the

potable water supply. Villages are about two to 361
five miles apart, and have no boundary markers. In
the past, villages contained semipublic buildings and [944]
grounds: the home of the village priest (also the [443]
home of a chief if he resided in that village), the vil-
lage marketplace, and tree groves, cremation grounds, [778]
or other awesome spots that were believed to be [340]
inhabited by supernatural beings. Villages today may
have also one or more Christian churches, govern-
ment social welfare buildings, and schools. Formerly, [178]
villages were entered through a guarded gateway;
this is no longer the case, and paths feed into vil-
lages from all directions. Often several villages are
nucleated into one large unit, named and also de-
scribed as a "village." There were once defense units, [712]
but were so unobtrusive otherwise that institution-
alized rivalry obtained among the component vil- [628]
lages. Now, they have been integrated through the [178]
agency of all-village public services, especially [182]
schools. **Housing.** The traditional Khasi house is en- 342
tered through a door at the rounded end of a U-
shaped ground plan, and is about 20 feet at widest
extent, it is about 30 feet deep, and is elliptical or
longback in profile. Its walls are of stone blocks ce-
mented with mud. The roof of grass thatch, sup-
ported by a bamboo frame, overhangs the walls on
three outside, down to about three feet above the
ground. The house is divided into two parts: the
front one-third is on the ground level, floored either
with stone blocks or tamped earth, and is used for
storage of occupational instruments and as a shelter
for poultry. The rear two-thirds is raised four feet on
piles of stone blocks to a platform of planks, and
is partitioned into six rooms, comprising a kitchen,
areas for storage of food and water, and sleeping
quarters. Furniture is minimal, and the house is to- 352
tally undecorated. There are no windows, and no 335
smoke vents. A house generally has a companion 354
shed, walled of wood and grass matting and thatched 343
with grass. This serves as a pigsty, but it may be
partitioned also to house cows, and it may have a loft
for fuel storage. Compounds often contain garden 361
plots, and are fenced around with stone or bamboo
and mud. Nowadays, the traditional house has given 177
way to Western-style bungalows of wood and tin, 184
especially in and around Shillong. [Cf. Mukherjee et 342
al. 1943.]

ECONOMY. The Khasi economy is a market economy 241
based on agriculture, and most Khasis are primary 433
producers, sellers, middlemen, and/or providers of 443
services in connection with markets. Khasis are often [463]
multioccupational: they produce goods for partial sub-
sistence, and also play some part in trade. **Agricul-**
ture. On the Shillong plateau, the major field crops 241
are potatoes, maize, millets, and dry rice, still pro-
duced mostly through swidden farming, with a two- to
three-year period of fallow, but increasingly through
continuous use of a single field with the aid of ma-

household deities, and remedial and auxiliary deities. 776
Deities of the first two categories are simply aspects 771
of the high God or Goddess. ● The earth is peopled with two great orders of land demons and water demons who cause all undesirable, unnatural, and otherwise inexplicable events, acting either on their own or as instruments in the hands of sorcerers. Apart from caverns, both in nature and in dwellings, 767
Khasis attach supernatural significance also to seven 814
numbers, and to the colors white, black, and red. They hold especially important folk beliefs regarding 829
betel nut, paddy rice, gold and silver, and clothing.
Practitioners. The two classes of religious practitioners are the village or state priests and the sacrificers. 781
Both are male. They use the same divinatory tools, 783
experts of reading broken eggshells and the entrails 784
of cocks, and they both sacrifice cocks, hens, goats, pigs, and cattle. Their skills are not taught to them so much as picked up by observation and confirmed by demonstrations of efficacy. A priest is elected from among the men of his ab to direct his skills to the public good until he dies, and his rewards are institutionalized and come from the village or the state. A sacrificer acts for private persons or his groups, on call, and is recompensed by them personally with gifts in cash or in kind. The sacrificer is called upon to explain and then to ritually remedy every variety of misfortune, especially illness, though his powers are nowadays regarded with ambivalence, and he is widely suspected to become a sorcerer sooner or later. ● There are two major types of sorcerer. 756
One is the ritual specialist or sacrificer who secretly turns his skills from good to evil, manipulating demons to injure a person or his group, and acting always for himself alone out of considerations of jealousy or revenge. The other is normally a leading citizen, a woman who is so wealthy and successful that it is believed that she must keep a *thiw*, i.e. a creature which will bring her prosperity so long as she feeds it periodically with human blood. To provide this blood, the men of her household, or other males whom she bewitches with a special whistle, will indiscriminately murder anyone except a member of her matrilineage. The Jaintias have an analogue to the *thiw* in their *ioy*, except that the ultimate result is death from illness rather than murder. Minor witchcraft can be perpetrated by private keepers or persons with an evil eye, who are often women. [P. 112]
Ceremonies. The important traditional ceremonies were the life-crisis rituals relating to 815
pregnancy and childbirth, the naming of a child, and 816
death. Lesser ceremonies related to marriage and 817
divorce, and to housebuilding. All these rituals were 818
addressed primarily to the ancestors, and they are 819
still performed in modified form by many Khasis. ●
Other rituals, which were performed by groups such 778
as villages, sibs, local descent groups, or households, 779
were addressed to the ancestral aspects of the high 782

[illegible]

[illegible] The table shows clearly that the medical facilities [illegible] in these villages are far from satisfactory. [illegible] A village [illegible] of [illegible] villages has a dispensary within [illegible] the village or within a radius of five miles. Considering the lack of communication facilities and the hilly nature of the district even five miles is often too long a distance for a patient to go to the doctor or for a doctor to attend a patient. When the doctor has to cover long distances the charges become too high. As a result the poorer section is one of serious illness have to approach unqualified medical men which are is probably is already to depend upon the mercy of God. Even for quinine and other cheap medicines one has to go to a dispensary or a private qualified practitioner which costs. Especially the main difficulty lies is that the medical help received by the people from Government dispensaries are not often timely and adequate due to unavailability of a doctor and inadequacy of stock of medicines.

[illegible] 6.8 **Conclusion**.—Though conditions of housing, sanitation, etc., of the villages are described in village notes in the appendix, it will be [illegible] to make some general observations on the point. Unlike other hill tribes, the Khasis select their house sites on the hill slopes and level lands in the side of the hills as a protection from winds. From the fact that the villages are situated in the slopes one might be tempted to think that the sanitary and drainage system of the villages should be quite satisfactory. But in fact it is otherwise in many cases particularly in the case of big villages where too many families huddle up constructing their houses very close to each other thus practically converting the village into a slum. Many of the villages, due to their very location in groves surrounded by thick jungle do not get sufficient sunlight and as a result always remain damp, facilitating frequent incidence of cold and influenza. People assume the cult of nature in jungles and bushes to and to and the villages. Many of the villages are built on level lands full of swamps, and old old ponds, pools which provide good breeding place for mosquitoes. Cowsheds and pig sties are built close to the well-used sources which make the villages all the more dirty. Indeed, there are villages enjoying excellent sanitation and health but in majority of the villages there remains a lot to be done for improving the sanitary, drainage system, for educating the people to make their villages more hygienic. From the Government side also, adequate measures should be adopted to combat and eradicate malaria which is still raging there in the district. Sanitary, drinking water supply schemes should receive a high priority in a programme of developments.

[illegible] 6.9 **Housing**.—Majority of the houses in the hilly areas are made of thatch and bamboo with wooden planking in some or earthen floor. Walls are plastered with mud. In higher altitude houses are fairly roofed permanently on a pre-cution, spider wall and heavy rain. Some of these houses seems the shape of a half buried cylinder. Doors generally have only one opening through the main door, though some of them have another in their rear wall. Two generally centers with one small room. One who is not used to such environs wonder how the peasants, especially those from the plains of Assam, could feel comfortable. Groups of the [illegible] people particularly those on the road side, are fast in the modern style with G.I. roofing, plank floor, wall [illegible], [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] TABLE [illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] to the nature of his wife, or to her nearest relatives if there are no [illegible]. The rank and titles of a deceased male descend to his brother; when no brother exists, then to the male children of his mother's sisters (maternal cousins); should the maternal cousins have no male children living, then to the children male child of his sisters. When no relatives are to be found, the property of the deceased goes to the ruler of the country; or if a man dies leaving no relative other than wife and children, or no relatives on the mother's side, the property in this case also goes to the ruler, who, as the wife and children cannot preserve the rules of the deceased, takes charge of them, and for so doing takes all the property also. With regard to the inheritance of the Lower Ills or Shelli, the custom is as nearly as follows:—Property belonging to a subject of Shelli is divided into two classes:(1) Property inherited from ancestors, which descends to the nearest of kin or to the relatives of a deceased person who can perform his obsequies. (2) Property acquired during the lifetime of the holder, which is inherited by the children, whose duty it is to provide for the maintenance of their mother and the ceremonies at death.'

[illegible] Houses, Clothing and Food.—The Kiriisu and the Dyenegs are as a people prosperous. Common labourers, if adult males, can earn wages as high as one shilling per diem, and adult females as high as eightpence. The dwellings of the well-to-do classes are generally constructed of masonry, with flat-bed roof and plank floor, and divided into two or three rooms. The furniture consists of a bedstead (charpoi), a seat or two (peed), some cooking utensils, and a few boxes. The ordinary peasants and poorer classes construct their huts of stone, mud, or plank walls, with a thatch or tiled roof. These are lined with wooden platforms or bamboo planks placed on the ground to serve as beds. The food of the well-to-do classes consists of rice, fish when obtainable, fowl or meat, curry, vegetables, oil, bag's lard, fermented and spirituous liquors. It may be estimated that the living expenses of an average well-to-do family of this class would be about Rs. 25 or £1. per month, taking the price of consumption at Kiriisu prices. An ordinary husbandman or labourer lives on rice, dry fish, occasionally a little meat, oil, or bag's lard. Also lard, tobacco, and beer are essential to the comfort of all the hill people, who are inveterate drinkers of gin. They consumed at an early age, and are rarely seen without a gin leaf in their mouths; the females are quite

Of the sub-divisions of these people, the Khasi proper (74)--1911: 120,933--live in the Khasi

74. P.R.T. Gurdon, The Khasis (London, 1907), pp. 1 ff. about house construction pp. 30 ff.

Hills, the Kindred Systems in the Jaintia Hills. The Lyng Gam who are classified by Gurdon as half Khasi and half Garo live in the western part of the Khasi Hills, the people who inhabit the low hill country in the north of the district, which is usually called "Bhoi," are named the Bhoi. Many of them are really Nikir. My observations of the Khasi are limited to the surrounding of Shillong from where I visited the village of Mongkrem which is about 13 kilometers away (75).

75. Cf. G. Becker, Anthropos 4 (1909), pp. 932-902.

The place is located in a trough between low hills which are covered by large stone boulders. A small water course runs through the village. The huts are partly built along the slopes of the hills which surround the village. The houses (Plate X, 4) all stand on small plots of land which are separated from each other by low stone walls; a narrow passage leads to them from the front side. Sometimes this passage is completely missing, in which event one has to climb over the wall. The houses stand on foundations of layers of irregular stone boulders. The walls are made of wooden boards--sometimes of bamboo--and are covered on the outside by grass. Grass is also used for roofing. Each strand is tied individually to bamboo poles, as in Burma (not as in Bengal where it is squeezed together between bamboo poles). Especially typical is the form of the roof; it is high and steep in the middle and the roof ridge is curved. The roof slopes down

pg 90 down /231/ toward the front in a broad curve, projects here quite a bit beyond the front of the house and covers the stone terrace before the entrance, which is supported by posts, where the occupants customarily sit during the daytime. Firewood is also piled up here at the sides. In the rear the roof ridge is very little--or not at all--curved; the general impression which the house makes through its roof form has been compared with a pig which stands with bowed head before the fodder trough. Generally speaking, the Khasi houses are not very large. I did not see any houses longer than from 6 to 9 meters and with a width of from 3 to 5 meters. However, according to Gurdon (p. 30) there are sometimes houses with a length of more than 20 meters. The interior is completely dark. Sometimes a small window at the side--an innovation--or a second side entrance allows some light to filter in. From the roofed terrace one enters first an anteroom which contains at both sides provisions, potatoes, and also wood. A board wall which is closed on top by a wooden grate, where light and air can pass through, separates this anteroom from the main room; upon entering one has to walk up a few steps or climb over a high threshold. pg 204 In the middle, toward the rear, is the fireplace. If the owner has a distilling license from the pg 213 British authorities (76) the distilling vessels

76. The restriction through licenses to counteract a little the consumption of alcohol, exists only in the area of Shillong. Otherwise the brandy production by the Khasi is not regulated.

for the preparation of rice or millet brandy are always kept here. The people have a strong preference for alcohol and especially on bazaar days it is no rarity to see tipsy people. I observed this particularly at the bazaar in Nong-

area. Before I could enter a hut the occupants had to remove a man who was dead drunk. Over the fireplace hangs a rack on which wood is piled up for drying; also food provisions, rice, etc. are kept dry here during the rainy season. Behind it a rack made of sturdy beams runs straight through the center and sometimes extends along the sides. On it all kinds of household items are kept. In the better houses the best dishes of shiny, polished brass and china are displayed here. This rack also serves as a partition behind which, on the sides and at the rear wall of the house, are the sleeping accommodations. Considering the very unprepossessing physical appearance of the people, it is surprising how orderly and clean the houses are kept inside. In the principal towns the well-to-do have already adopted the brick building and European comfort. With the Lungum and the Khel, however, we still find the pile dwelling (77). The houses

77. Gordon, ibid., p. 32. There it is mentioned (above) that in some villages of the subdivision of the Nar pile dwellings are built because the main part of the house rests on firm ground on the mountain side and then extends on piles over the slope. (Cf. the Gara.) The same people still use the bachelor house.

have a length from 10 to 12 meters with a veranda which among the Lungum is in front, among the Khel in the rear of the house. These people still practice migratory agriculture and therefore move their flimsily constructed houses every two or three years when they change to new fields. It follows that the Khel house, as described above, represents an advanced construction method. That in earlier days bamboo construction was

31: Scherman--74 B-4 (no date) 1915 AFI Burma
Burmese Art & Burmese Ritual Khasi Art)

K generally used follows from a once ruling law
•342 which forbade the Khasi the use of nails for house construction as being "sang," i.e. taboo (78). It remains a question whether the Khasi

78. Gordon, pp. 30 ff. Cf. above, p. 206, fn. 1.

K house with its curved roof form reflects the
[77] building style of the Bengali, who also in other respects influenced the customs of the Khasi (79).

79. To be sure the roof ridge of the Bengal hut is evenly curved toward both sides and the entrance is from the broad side. This roof style is a distinctive architectural theme with temples and tombs of Bengal, as Monmohan Chakravarti in "Bengali Temples and Their General Characteristics" Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal 5 (Calcutta, 1909), p. 160 explains in detail. But whether the relation with the Pallava architecture of South India exists, as conjectured here on p. 167, seems to me very doubtful.

or whether the roof, sloping down in front and projecting broadly over the entrance wall must be considered as a modification of the veranda awning of the pile dwellings.

* * *

§ From the numerous types presented above is it
342 somehow possible to prove a homogenous development? /234/ Without vague hypotheses, in view of the inadequacy of the historical sources of the Indochinese ethnographical groups, a line of direction

Burma AF10
Kachin AF6
Shan AF11
Shan AF12
Shan AF13
Kachin AF7

Plate VIII (cont.)

3.

Palaung house in Panu-leung, southern Shan State of Hsamonghkam. (Burmese: Thamakan).

4.

Interior of the Palaung house Figure VIII, 3.

Plate IX

1.

Kachin house in Pita, Bhamo District.

2.

Dancing place with spirit altars before the Kachin chief's house in Moyebum, northern Shan State of North Hsenwi.

3.

Kachin chief's house with wind bell; not far from Namkhai, northern Shan State of North Hsenwi.

4.

House of the Phakial-Shan on the Dihing, near Margherita, Assam.

Plate X

1.

Abor houses (from A. Hamilton, In Abor Jungles, London, 1912).

2.

Garo house near Gauhati (Assam).

3.

Garo house, rear view of Figure X, 2.

4.

Khasi houses in Nongkrem near Shillong (Assam).

[illegible] AFI Burton
[illegible] AF 5
[illegible] AF 8
[illegible] AF 9

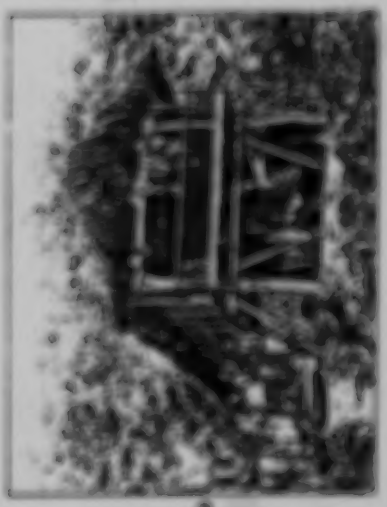


Plate X

[For description see page 99, category IX.-Analy.]

1:Gurdon E-4,5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

Shillong is excellent, the flavour being quite as good as that of English honey. Under "Miscellaneous Customs connected with Death" will be found a reference to the statement that the dead bodies of Siems used to be embalmed in honey. The existence of the custom is generally denied by Khasis, but its former prevalence is probable, as several trustworthy authors have quoted it.

HOUSES.

The houses of the people are cleaner than might be supposed after taking into consideration the dirtiness of the clothes and persons of those who inhabit them. They are as a rule substantial thatched cottages with plinth or stone walls, and raised on a plinth some 2 to 3 ft. from the ground. The only window is a small opening on one side of the house, which admits but a dim light into the smoke-begrimed interior. The houses are so low that it is impossible for a person of ordinary stature to stand erect within. The fire is always burning on an earthen or stone hearth in the centre. There is no chimney, the smoke finding its exit as best it can. The firewood is placed to dry on a swinging frame above the hearth. In the porch are stacked fuel and odds and ends. The pigs and calves are generally kept in little houses just outside the main building. The Khasi house is oval-shaped, and is divided into three rooms, a porch, a centre room, and a retiring-room.

In olden days the Khasis considered nails sang, or taboo, and only used a certain kind of timber for the feeder which surrounds the hearth; but they are not so particular now-a-days. In Mawkhar, Cherrapunji, and other large villages, the walls of houses are generally of stone. In Cherrapunji the houses are frequently large, but the largest house I have seen in the hills is that of the Doloi of Sohtinga in the Jaintia Hills, which measures 74 ft. in length. The house of the Siem Priestess at Smit in the Khasi Hills is another large one, being 61 ft. long by 30 ft. broad. In front of the Khasi house is a little open-fronted or on two sides, but open towards the village street. The

but for themselves. In all these cases the youngest daughter
342 of the family who is known as the Ka Khadduh of the family must live in the old house and maintain the social and religious traditions of the family. In the village of Mawphlang we found that the houses of all the Ka Khadduhs like Ka Sadie, Ka Ibanlon and others, and also the old house of the wife of U. Sabuni, the myntri of the Mawphlang State, all belong to this "U"-shaped type. This association of Ka Khadduhs and "U" shaped huts suggests that this is the old type. The modern huts vary in their structures some being like modern bungalows common now-a-days in Shillong.

The old Khasi house, in general, can be described as follows :—

[343] [26] Generally there is a compound in front and a pigsty at one side, the whole site being enclosed by a fencing of reed and small plants or of wooden planks or some such material. The hut as observed from outside is elliptical in front and box-shaped behind (as seen in the diagram). It is "U"-shaped in the ground plan. The roof of the hut is sloped on the two sides and spread out like a fan, in a semi-circle, in front.

333 The material used in the construction of the hut varies. In
342 some of the old houses the walls were found to be made of blocks of stone with mud in the interstices serving the purpose of mortar. The roof had a bamboo frame covered with thatching grass. In other old huts the walls were not entirely made of stone blocks. In some we found the front portion made entirely of stone, the lower portions of the side and of the rear walls, up to a level of two to three feet, made of stone, the remaining portions being made of wooden planks or reeds covered with mud. In some modified huts again (either they were built later or the old huts were repaired) the entire rear wall except at the base and the upper portions of the sides were made of bamboo frame and cane tailed to a frame. In some huts corrugated and galvanized iron sheets have been used. The material for the roof

Bahumphan. They are known as Ukhung. The Ukhung above the Dypei are placed close to one another. A little apart from this row of Ukhungs, there is a single Ukhung parallel to the others which in some huts is hollowed out and is used as a receptacle for some household articles.

The frame of the roof as observed from inside consists of a central ridge pole running along the length of the hut and situated above the middle of it. From the ridge pole pairs of rafters diverge on two sides, their lower ends resting on the side walls of the hut. In front of the hut, the rafters are radially spread out from the exterior end of the ridge pole which is supported by a vertical pole known as Bijit. These rafters rest on semi-circular wall at the bend of the "U". The ridge pole and the rafters are known as Kynshi. Besides the rafters there are thinner wooden poles similarly arranged which further strengthen the frame of the roof. They are known as Ubnah. The small rafters which are set cross-wise on the sloping Kynshi and form each series a "U" round the ceiling are known as U Pynior. This frame for the roof is made on those huts where thatching grass is used, that is, in the old type of huts. In modern huts where corrugated or flat sheets of iron have been used instead of thatching grass such a frame is not required.

In the village of Mawphlang, we saw an old type hut, of Ka Lita repaired and re-built. At first the raised rectangular portion of the hut, the Ka Nyngei, was constructed on a raised platform, with the frame for the roof above it. Then a semi-circular area was taken in front of the Ka Nyngei about one-third the area of the inner compartment. Simultaneously with the making of the frame of the Ka Kynshir, the thatch was made in sections in bamboo frames. Then the roof of the hut was covered with these sections which were arranged in overlapping sheets (see plate). An old type Khasi hut is about thirty feet long; it is about twenty feet wide at the back.

Reference has been made to the usual pigsty adjoining each house. It is generally a small thatched shed with walls made of

wood and grass matting. The shed may be partitioned into two compartments one for keeping the cows and the other for keeping pigs. The upper portion of the pigsty is used for storing fuel in some houses. There is no uniformity in respect of this shed. 343

All the "U"-shaped huts found in the Mawphlang village were studied. Besides these typical "U"-shaped huts there are many other huts in the village which are rather flattened in front and can be said to belong to the flattened "U"-type. In the table given below the variations are shown in detail of the typical "U"-type huts and size of a flattened "U"-type hut belonging to Ka Lahiemon of Lyngkhi clan. It is peculiar that all these huts have their main door facing north. 342

Serial No.	Owner of the hut	Measurements	Peculiarities
I.	Ka Shadow Ohar Khonsi.	Wall—Six feet [illegible] of stones. Lower portion of sides and side of plinth. Upper portion of sides of wood, [illegible] wood. Upper portion of roof of thatch. Roof—Thatched [illegible].	Peculiarities between the Khonsis and the Kyngdoh, the peculiarities between the Kyngdoh and the [illegible] clans.
II.	Ka Sohe Lyngdoh.	Wall—Wood with no lower [illegible] of wood and thatch. Roof—Thatching grass.	The peculiarities between the Khonsis and the Kyngdoh, and between the Kyngdoh and the [illegible] clans.
III.	Ka Thomas	Wall—Plastered with thatch. Roof—Thatched.	The peculiarities between the Khonsis and the Kyngdoh but the main Kyngdoh given in [illegible].
IV.	Ka Pre Lyngdoh	Wall—Plastered with [illegible] [illegible] wood of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. Roof—Thatched.	The peculiarities between the Khonsis and the Kyngdoh.
V.	Ka Ka Khonsi	Wall—Lower [illegible] wall of [illegible]. Upper portion of sides and [illegible] of thatch. Roof—Thatched.	Peculiarities between the Khonsis and the Kyngdoh.

possible water supply. Villages are about two to two miles apart, and have no boundary markers. In the past villages contained ceremonial buildings and grounds, the home of the village priest (also the home of a chief if he resided in that village), the village marketplace, and two groves, cremation grounds, or other sacrificial spots that were believed to be inhabited by supernatural beings. Villages today may have also one or more Christian churches, government social welfare buildings, and schools. Formerly, villages were entered through a guarded gateway; this is no longer the case, and paths lead into villages from all directions. Often several villages are incorporated into one large unit, named and also described as a "village." There were once defense units, but now no significance attaches that institution, plural residy, obtained among the components villages. Now, they have been integrated through the agency of village public services, especially schools. **Housing.** The traditional Khasi house is entered through a door at the rounded end of a T-shaped ground plan, and is about 20 feet or wider (which is about 30 feet deep) and a physical or lengthwise in profile. Its walls are of stone blocks or covered with mud. The roof of grass thatch, supported by a bamboo frame, overhangs the walls on three sides. Door to door there have been the ground. The house is divided into two parts, the front one-third is on the ground level (floored either with stone blocks or tamped earth) and is used for storage of occupational instruments and as a shelter for poultry. The rear two-thirds is raised four feet on piles of stone blocks to a platform of planks, and is partitioned into six rooms, comprising a kitchen, area for storage of food and water, and sleeping quarters. Furniture is minimal, and the house is dark, underventilated. There are no windows, and no smoke vents. A house generally has a companion shed, walled of wood and grass matting and thatched with grass. This serves as a pigsty, but it may be partitioned also to house cows, and it may have a loft for hay storage. Compounds often contain garden plots, and are fenced around with stone or bamboo and mud. Nowadays, the traditional house has given way to Westernized bungalows of wood and tin, especially in and around Shillong. (D. McKinnon et al. 1964.)

ECONOMY. The Khasi economy is a market economy, based on agriculture, and most Khasis are primary producers, artisans, middlemen, and/or providers of services in competition with markets. Khasis are also multioccupational; their produce goods for partial subsistence, and also plot some part to really lucrative ends. On the Shillong plateau, the major field crops are potatoes, beans, millets, and dry rice, and pineapple and mandarin orange. Formerly, with a hoe or three-tine pattern of hollow, but increasingly through continuous use of a single field with the aid of an

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being in a position to help his descendant in times of trouble. The same thought underlies the extreme reverence with which *Ka Iawbei* is regarded. Thus we see a striking point of resemblance between the Khasi ancestor-worship and the ancient Shinto cult of Japan, as described by Mr. Lafcadio Hearn. *U Bnid-Sin*, or *u Kni Blogbah*, the first maternal uncle, i.e. the elder brother of *Ka Iawbei*, is also much revered. It will also be noticed under the heading of memorial stones that the great central upright monolith of the *mawbynna*, or memorial stones, is erected in his honour. The influence of the *kyi*, or mother's elder brother, in the Khasi family is very great, for it is he who is the manager on behalf of the mother, his position in the Khasi family being very similar to that of the *karta* in the Hindu joint family. It is on this account that he is so much revered, and is honoured with a stone which is larger than the other up-right memorial stones after death. It will be seen in the article dealing with "the disposal of the dead," that at Cherra, on the occasion of the burial of the ashes in the cinerarium of the clan, a part of the attendant ceremonies consists of the preparation of two effigies called *Ka Pawno* and *U Tyngkop*, intended to represent *Ka Iawbei* (the first mother) and *U Bnid-Sin* (the first maternal uncle). The Wars of Nongjri have a custom peculiar to themselves. They erect small thatched houses in their compounds, which they call *sing lawid*. When they worship their ancestors they deposit offerings of food in these houses, the idea being that the ancestors will feed on the offerings. These Wars do not erect memorial stones, nor do they collect the ashes of the clan in a common sepulchre; they deposit the ashes in circular cineraria, each family, or *sing*, possessing one. It should further be noted with reference to the Khasi custom of *ai kaw*, or giving food to the spirits of deceased ancestors, that Dr. Frazer, in his "Golden Bough," has mentioned numerous instances of foodstuffs being offered to the spirits of deceased ancestors by the tribes inhabiting the Malay Archipelago. (See pages 462-463 of the "Golden Bough.") Some other points of similarity in customs have already been noticed between the Khasis and certain Malay tribes.

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five miles apart and have no boundary markers. In
the past, villages contained compatible buildings and
grounds: the house of the village priest (also the
house of a chief if he resided in that village), the vil-
lage marketplace, and two green, cremation grounds,
or other ceremonial spots that were believed to be
inhabited by supernatural beings. Villages today may
have also one or more Christian churches, govern-
ment social welfare buildings, and schools. Formerly,
villages were entered through a guarded gateway;
this is no longer the case, and paths lead into vil-
lages from all directions. Often several villages are
unclustered into one large unit, named and also de-
scribed as a "village." There were two defense units,
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al ties were obtained among the component vil-
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schools. **Housing.** The traditional Khasi house is en-
tered through a door at the rounded end of a U-
shaped ground plan, and is about 20 feet at widest
center, 6 to about 30 feet deep, and is elliptical or
hogback in profile. Its walls are of stone blocks or
covered with mud. The roof of grass thatch, sup-
ported by a bamboo frame, overhangs the walls on
two sides, down to about three feet above the
ground. The house is divided into two parts: the
front one-third is on the ground level, floored either
with stone blocks or tamped earth, and is used for
storage of occupational instruments and as a shelter
for poultry. The rear two-thirds is raised four feet on
piles of stone blocks to a platform of planks, and
is partitioned into six rooms, comprising a kitchen,
areas for storage of food and water, and sleeping
quarters. Furniture is minimal, and the house is to-
tally undecorated. There are no windows, and no
smoke vents. A house generally has a companion
shed, walled of wood and grass matting and thatched
with grass. This serves as a pigsty, but it may be
partitioned also to house cows, and it may have a loft
for fuel storage. Compounds often contain garden
plots, and are fenced around with stone or bamboo
and mud. Nowadays, the traditional house has given
way to Western-style bungalows of wood and tin,
especially in and around Shillong. [Cf. Middleton et
al. 1961.]

ECONOMY. The Khasi economy is a market economy
based on agriculture, and most Khasis are primary
producers, sellers, middlemen, and/or providers of
services in connection with markets. Khasis are often
multioccupational; they produce goods for partial sub-
sistence, and also play some part in trade. Agricul-
ture. On the Shillong plateau, the major field crops
are potatoes, maize, millets, and dry rice, still pro-
duced mostly through swidden farming, with a two to
three-year period of fallow, but increasingly through
continuous use of a single field with the aid of ma-

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disfigured from the practice. Adults will chew as many as four or five betel-nuts a day, with the usual accompaniment of *Pán* leaves. The estimated cost of maintaining an average family of the labouring class is about Rs. 8 or 16s. a month.

Towns: Shillong.—There are no towns in the usual acceptance of the word; but the chief places in the Hills, looked upon by the inhabitants as cities, are Shillong, Jowái, Cherrá Púnji, and Shellá. According to the Census of 1872, Shillong had only 1363 inhabitants, Cherrá Púnji 443, and Jowái 4502. Jowái, however, is a collection of rural hamlets, and the population of Shillong has entirely altered since the date of the Census. The latter place first became the Civil Station in 1864, in substitution for Cherrá Púnji; and when Assam was erected into an independent Province in 1874, it was selected as the permanent seat of the Local Government. The Chief-Commissioner resides there, and also the heads of all departments in the Administration. The area of the Station is 7 miles in length by 1½ to 1¾ miles in breadth. A considerable native population is already settled, and is increasing from day to day. One of the largest weekly markets is held in the *Bázár*; and with a view to facilitate access to the Station, which is the sanitarium for the Province of Assam, a cart road has recently been completed to Gauhátí on the Brahmaputra, which will tend to make the place more and more important. An excellent water supply is introduced into Shillong through an aqueduct which has its source in the neighbouring hill streams, and sanitary measures are carefully enforced. Large sums of money have annually been expended on the erection of the public buildings necessary for the offices of the administration. A printing-press has been established, from which issue all the official documents and reports of the Province. The climate is excellent, the temperature being more equable than that of any other hill station in India, and therefore admirably suited to the constitution of Europeans. There is a church at Shillong, and a chaplain on the Bengal establishment officiates both there and at Gauhátí. The cantonments were occupied in 1875 by the 43d Regiment of Assam Light Infantry, with three outposts. The strength was 9 European officers, 16 native commissioned officers, 80 non-commissioned officers, 772 fighting men, and 58 paid camp followers and non-combatants; grand total, 935. The total cost, including contingencies, was Rs. 183,190, or £18,319.

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or official quadrangle of the Siem's Durbar. Another part of each in this house is furnished by the people of the State.

The houses of the well-to-do Khasis of the present day in Mawkhar and Cherrapunji are built after the modern style with iron roofs, chimneys, glass windows and doors. In Jowai the well-to-do traders have excellent houses of the European pattern, which are as comfortable as many of the European subordinates' quarters in Shillong. Some up-to-date families in Shillong and at Cherra allow themselves muslin curtains and European furniture.

The houses of the Pnar-Wáre are peculiar. The roof, which is thatched with the leaves of a palm called a *tyrsiew*, is long-backed and the eaves come down almost to the ground. There are three rooms in the Wáre as in the Khasi house, although called by different names in the Wáre dialect. The hearth is in the centre room. The houses are built flush with the ground and are made of bamboos. In the Wáre villages of Nongpi and Umiesh there are small houses erected in the compounds of the ordinary dwelling-houses called *ing lewid* (spirit houses). In these houses offerings to the spirits of departed family ancestors are placed at intervals, this practice being very similar to the more ancient form of Shintoism. In some Wáre villages there are also separate bachelors' quarters. This custom is in accordance with that of the Naga tribes. There is no such custom amongst the Khasi Uplanders. The Wáre houses are similar to those of the Pnar Wáre, except that a portion of the house is generally built on a platform, the main house resting on the hill-side and the portion on the platform projecting therefrom, the object being to obtain more space, the area for houses in the village sites being often limited owing to the steepness of the hill-sides.

The Bhoi and Lyngam houses are practically similar, and may be described together. They are generally built on fairly high platforms of bamboo, are frequently 30 to 40 ft. in length, and are divided into various compartments in order to suit the needs of the family. The hearth, which is of earth, is in the centre room. There is a platform at the back of the Lyngam house, and in front of the Bhoi house, used for drying paddy, spreading chillies, &c., and for sitting on when the day's

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589 dition that she does not remarry; the idea being that so long as
765 the bones remain in the widow's keeping, the spirit of her husband is still with her. On this account many wives who mourn their husband's memories, and who do not contemplate remarriage, purposely keep the bones for a long time. If a
587 765 widow marries, even after the customary taboo period of one year, whilst her deceased husband's bones are still in her keeping, she is generally looked down upon. Her children by such a
[345] case perform the ceremony of handing over the bones of their father to his clan in a building specially erected for the purpose. The widow cannot enter therein, or even go near it, whilst the ceremony is proceeding, no matter whether the *ding-sang*, or the price for removing the taboo after a husband's death, has been
586 paid to the husband's clan or not. There is no evidence to show that polyandry ever existed amongst the Khasis. Unlike the Thibetans, the Khasi women seem to have contented themselves always with one husband, at any rate with one at a time. Certainly at the present day they are monandrists. Polygamy does not exist amongst the Khasis; such a practice would naturally not be in vogue amongst a people who observe the matriarchate. There are instances, however, of men having wives other than those they have regularly married, and in the Wild country children by such wives enjoy rights to their father's acquired property equally with the children by the legally
582 married wife. As the clans are strictly exogamous, a Khasi
688 cannot take a wife from his own clan; to do this would entail
764 the most disastrous religious, as well as social consequences. For to marry within the clan is the greatest sin a Khasi can commit, and would cause excommunication by his kindred and the refusal of funeral ceremonies at death, and his bones would
[115] not be allowed a resting-place in the sepulchre of the clan. To
614 give a list of all the Khasi exogamous clans would perhaps serve
582 no useful purpose, but I have prepared from information kindly furnished me by the Siems of Khyrim and Cherrapunji, a list of the clans in those States which will be found in Appendices A and B. These will suffice as examples. It will be seen from the Cherra list that the different divisions of the Diengdoh clan, viz. Lalu, Diengdoh-bah, Diengdoh-kylla, are prohibited from intermarriage; this is due to those branches of the clan being

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Village are about two to five miles apart, and have no boundary markers. In the past villages contained temporary buildings and grounds: the house of the village priest (also the house of a chief if he resided in that village), the village marketplace, and two graves, cremation grounds, or other ceremonial spots that were believed to be inhabited by supernatural beings. Villages today may have also one or more Christian churches, government social welfare buildings, and schools. Formerly, villages were entered through a guarded gateway; this is no longer the case, and paths lead into villages from all directions. Often several villages are [illegible] into one large unit, named and also described as a "village." There were once defense units, but none so conclusive otherwise that institutions shared rivalry obtained among the components villages. Now, they have been integrated through the agency of all-village public services, especially schools. Housing. The traditional Khasi house is entered through a door at the rounded end of a U-shaped ground plan, and is about 30 feet at widest extent, 6 to about 30 feet deep, and is elliptical or bagbrack in profile. Its walls are of stone blocks cemented with mud. The roof of grass thatch, supported by a bamboo frame, overhangs the walls on four outside, down to about three feet above the ground. The house is divided into two parts: the front one-third is on the ground level, floored either with stone blocks or tamped earth, and is used for storage of occupational instruments and as a shelter for poultry. The rear two-thirds is raised four feet on piles of stone blocks to a platform of planks, and is partitioned into six rooms, comprising a kitchen, areas for storage of food and water, and sleeping quarters. Furniture is minimal, and the house is totally unventilated. There are no windows, and no inner rooms. A house generally has a companion shed, walled of wood and grass matting and thatched with grass. This serves as a pigsty, but it may be permitted also to house cows, and it may have a loft for fuel storage. Compounds often contain garden plots, and are fenced around with stone or bamboo and mud. Nowadays, the traditional house has given way to Western-style bungalows of wood and tin, especially in and around Shillong. (Cf. Mukherjee et al. 1962.)

ECONOMY. The Khasi economy is a market economy based on agriculture, and most Khasis are primary producers, sellers, middlemen, and/or providers of services in connection with markets. Khasis are often multioccupational: they produce goods for partial subsistence, and also play some part in trade. Agriculture. On the Shillong plateau, the major field crops are potatoes, maize, millets, and dry rice, still produced mostly through swidden farming, with a two to three-year period of fallow, but increasingly through continuous use of a single field with the aid of ma-

[illegible] from the premises. Adults will clean as many as four or five hundred a day, with the usual accompaniment of pan leaves. The estimated cost of maintaining an average family of the labouring class is about Rs. 8 or 12s. a month. [illegible]

TOWNS: BUILDINGS.—There are no towns in the usual acceptance of the word; but the chief places in the Hills, looked upon by the inhabitants as cities, are Shillong, Jowai, Cherra Punji, and Shella. According to the Census of 1872, Shillong had only 1,874 inhabitants, Cherra Punji 203, and Jowai 1,370. Jowai, however, is a collection of mud hamlets, and the population of Shillong has certainly altered since the date of the Census. The latter place has become the Civil Station in 1874, in substitution for Cherra Punji; and when Assam was created into an independent Province in 1874, it was selected as the permanent seat of the Local Government. The Chief Commissioner resides there, and also the heads of all departments in the Administration. The area of the Station is 3 miles in length by 1½ or 1¾ miles in breadth. A considerable native population is already settled, and is increasing from day to day. One of the largest weekly markets is held in the Bazar; and with a view to facilitate access to the Station, which is the centre from the Province of Assam, a new road has recently been completed to Gauhati on the Brahmaputra, which will tend to make the place more and more important. An excellent water supply is introduced into Shillong through an aqueduct which has its source in the neighbouring hill streams, and sanitary measures are carefully enforced. Large sums of money have annually been expended on the erection of the public buildings necessary for the offices of the administration. A printing-press has been established, from which issue all the official documents and reports of the Province. The climate is excellent, the temperature being more equable than that at any other hill station in India, and therefore admirably suited to the constitution of Europeans. There is a church at Shillong, and a chaplain on the Bengal establishment; officiates both there and at Cherra. The cantonments were occupied in 1873 by the 42d Regiment of Assam Light Infantry, with three outposts. The strength was 9 European officers, 18 native commissioned officers, 80 non-commissioned officers, 770 fighting men, and 98 paid camp followers and non-combatants; grand total, 955. The total cost, including contingencies, was Rs. 187,130, or £18,713.

later, but there is a small wood near there. 643
The market place is also often found under 34'
trees, at the edge of a forest or near the
memorial stones.

c) Market Huts. Usually the market is 643
held in the open air. Green offers places 347
to sit as well as places for laying out the
wares. But in many places there are also
market halls or market huts. These are
simple halls, open on all sides, made with a
framework of bamboo poles and a roof of
straw or palm leaves. The market huts or
market halls are built with square corners
and have gabled roofs. They offer the women
sellers protection from the sun or rain only,
but no other comforts. Neither tables nor
chairs nor other arrangements for displaying
wares are there. On the side where the wind
blows these market halls are often covered
with bamboo mats.

d) Choosing the Place for Selling. 643
The choice of the place for selling is left 964
up to the seller. Yet a certain division can
be recognized at every market. This division
could be called a division according to sex.
In the middle the food stuffs are usually
sold which the women take care of. Utensils
and cattle which are the business of the men,
are sold at the edges. Therefore there is a
definite arrangement to the market which is
taken for granted by the Khasis: in the middle
the women, outside the men (there is a similar
order for the dance): in the middle the feminine
sex, outside the masculine sex. The indivi-
dual types of wares have their definite
places, although individual sellers are not
assigned definite places.

The women settle down at any place that 643
seems good to them after their arrival at the
market. They spread out in front of them the

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and other trees. These are the sacred groves. Here the villagers worship U syngkow U kong, the tutelary deity of the village. These groves are taboo, and it is an offence to cut trees therein for any purpose other than for performing funeral ceremonies. The groves are generally not more than a few hundred yards away from the villages. The villages of the Syntengs are similar in character to those of the Khasis. The War villages nestle on the hill-sides of the southern border, and are to be seen peeping out from the green foliage with which the southern slopes are clad. In the vicinity of, and actually up to the houses, in the War villages, are to be observed large groves of areca-nut, often twined with the *pan* creeper, and of plantain trees, which much enhance the beauty of the scene. Looking at a War village from a distance, a darker shade of green is seen; this denotes the limits of the extensive groves where the justly celebrated Khasi orange is grown, which is the source of so much profit to these people. The houses in the War villages are generally closer together than those of the Khasis, probably owing to space being limited, and to the villages being located on the slopes of hills. Generally up the narrow village street, and from house to house, there are rough steep stone steps, the upper portion of a village being frequently situated at as high an elevation as 200 to 300 ft. above the lower. In a convenient spot in a War village a clear space is to be seen neatly swept and kept free from weeds, and surrounded with a stone wall, where the village tribunals sit, and the elders meet in solemn conclave. Dances also are held here on festive occasions. At Nongjri village there is a fine rubber tree, under whose hollow trunk there are certain sacred stones where the priest performs the village ceremonies.

The Bhoi and Lyngngam villages are built in small clearings in the forest, the houses are close together and are built often in parallel lines, a fairly broad space being reserved between the lines of houses to serve as a street. One misses the pretty gardens of the War villages, for Bhois and Lyngngams attempt nothing of the sort, probably because, unlike the Khasi, a Bhoi or Lyngngam village never remains more than two or three years in one spot; generally the villages of these people are in the vicinity of the forest clearings, sometimes actually in the midst

[41] so take such a clan mother with the name Ka Ring Lan. She has two
[72] sons and five daughters, and in addition two brothers and two sisters who are all married. Also each of the five daughters and two sisters has four children. These forty-six people live with the clan mother and form the family clan of the Lan. To these we also add the sons
[72] and brothers, the nephews and grandsons, but not their children. The latter have nothing to do with the family Lan but belong to the family clan of their wives, live with that clan and are counted in it. Likewise neither the husband of Ka Ring Lan, nor the husbands of the various daughters, sisters, nieces, and granddaughters belong here. They are all counted with their own clans, live and work with them according to Khasi customs, and only visit their wives occasionally perhaps after dark.

63] The entire clan-family of Lan is housed in 5 or 6 huts, which all
• 157] stand next to each other in a semicircle or are built one above the other on the slope of a hill, according to the character of the land. A
[241] garden frequently surrounds them in which maize, sweet potatoes, potato-like roots of bulb-or and tubers, bananas and, on the southern slopes of the Khasi Mountains, also coffee, pineapples, and other fruits are cultivated. A circle of bamboo cane that is so important for building purposes, household objects, and /156/ implements surrounds the garden and huts. This bamboo cane grows up as thick as an arm to a height of 30 or 35 meters and at the same time forms a good protection against bad weather. A wall (mawtha) of thrown-up earth encloses everything, forming an enclosed farm, prevents unimpeded access, and protects cattle and crops from the attacks and devastations of wild animals.

What is considered the family property of such a clan? Primarily
123 it is also land, the garden, the rice fields, woods, fallow mountain and grazing lands. On the southern slopes of the Khasi Mountains there
[242] are fields for the cultivation of rape, orange groves, laurel groves, plantations of betel palms and of pepper leaves which far and wide are so highly treasured for betel chewing as a source of pleasure. (2)

2/. Cf. Becker, Im Stromtal des Brahmaputra, /In the River Valley of the Brahmaputra/ (Munich, 1952), pp. 207 ff.

[311] Usually there is so much land available that the family-clan can nourish itself properly and also increase in number

423 According to its size and wealth a family clan also owns a
231 corresponding number of cows, oxen, hens, pigs, and goats. Neither the milk nor the flesh of the cows is used. They are kept for the

but for themselves. In all these cases the youngest daughter
342 of the family who is known as the Ka Khadduh of the family
must live in the old house and maintain the social and religious
traditions of the family. In the village of Mawphlang we found
that the houses of all the Ka Khadduhs like Ka Sadia, Ka
Thaslum and others, and also the old house of the wife of
U. Sukawi, the myntri of the Mawphlang State, all belong to
this "U"-shaped type. This association of Ka Khadduhs and
"U" shaped huts suggests that this is the old type. The modern
huts vary in their structure some being like modern bungalows
common now-a-days in Shillong.

The old Khasi house, in general, can be described as
follows :—

(343) (26) Generally there is a compound in front and a pigsty on
one side, the whole site being enclosed by a fencing of reed and
small plants or of wooden planks or some such material. The
hut as observed from outside is elliptical in front and box-shaped
behind (as seen in the diagram). It is "U"-shaped in the ground
plan. The roof of the hut is sloped on the two sides and spread
out like a fan, in a semi-circle, in front.

The material used in the construction of the hut varies. In
343 some of the old houses the walls were found to be made of blocks
342 of stone with mud in the interstices serving the purpose of
mortar. The roof had a bamboo frame covered with thatching
grass. In other old huts the walls were not entirely made of
stone blocks. In some we found the front portion made entirely
of stone, the lower portions of the side and of the rear walls,
up to a level of two to three feet, made of stone, the remaining
portions being made of wooden planks or reeds covered with mud.
In some modified huts again (either they were built later or the
old huts were repaired) the entire rear wall except at the base
and the upper portions of the sides were made of tinplates from
used cans nailed to a frame. In some huts corrugated and
galvanized iron sheets have been used. The material for the roof

[illegible]

[illegible] 361

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

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of them, more especially when the latter are situated in places where jungle is dense, and there is fear of attacks from wild animals. In the Lyngpun village is to be seen a high bamboo platform some 20 to 30 ft. from the ground, built in the midst of the village, where the elders sit and gossip in the evening.

All the villages, Khasi, War, Lyngpun and Bhoi, swarm with pigs, which run about the villages unchecked. The pigs feed on all kinds of filth, and in addition are fed upon the wort and spent wash of the brewings of country spirit, or rice beer, the latter being carefully collected and poured into wooden troughs. The pigs are of the usual black description seen in India. They thrive greatly in the Khasi villages, and frequently attain extreme obesity.

In the Khasi villages of the high plateaux are often seen large potato gardens, the latter being carefully protected from the inroads of pigs, calves, and goats by dry dikes surmounted by hedges.

I noticed an interesting custom at a Bhoi village in Nongpoh of barricading the path leading to the village from the forest with bamboo palisading and bamboo *chevaux de frise* to keep out the demon of cholera. In the middle of the barricade there was a wooden door over which was nailed the skull of a monkey which had been sacrificed to this demon, which is, as amongst the Syntengs, called *Kblaw*.

FURNITURE AND HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS.

As in the case of houses, so with reference to furniture, the influence of civilisation shows many changes. The Khasi of the present day who lives in Mawkhar * has a comfortable house regularly divided up into rooms in the European style with even some European articles of furniture, but owing probably to the influence of the women, he still possesses several of the articles of furniture which are to be met with in the houses of those who still observe the old style of living. Let us take the furniture of the kitchen to begin with. Above the hearth is slung by ropes of cane a swinging wooden framework

* Mawkhar is a suburb of Shillong, the headquarters station.

1:Gordon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 A87 Khasi A87

blackened with the smoke of years, upon which are spread the faggots of resinous fir-wood used for kindling the fire. Above this again is a wooden framework fixed on to the beams of the house, upon which all sorts of odds and ends are kept. Around the fire are to be seen small wooden stools, upon which the members of the household sit. Up-to-date Khasis have cane chairs, but the women of the family, true to the conservative instincts of the sex, prefer the humble stool to sit upon. Well-to-do Khasis nowadays have, in addition to the ordinary cooking vessels made of iron and earthenware, a number of brass utensils. The writer has seen in a Khasi house in Mawkhar brass drinking vessels of the pattern used in Orissa, of the description used in Manipur, and of the kind which is in vogue in Sylhet. The ordinary cultivator, however, uses a waterpot made from a gourd hollowed out for keeping water and liquor in, and drinks from a bamboo cylinder. Plates, or more properly speaking dishes, are of several kinds in the houses of the rich, the two larger ones being styled *ka pliang kyrkhei* (female) and *ka pliang shyawang* (male). Needless to say, the first mentioned is a larger utensil than the latter. The ordinary waterpots, *u khiew pliang kyrkhei* and *u khiew pliang shyawang*, are made of brass, the former being a size larger and having a wider mouth than the latter. The pot for cooking vegetables is made of iron. Another utensil is made of earthenware; this is the ordinary cooking pot used in the houses of the poor. Brass spoons of different sizes are used for stirring the contents of the different cooking utensils, also a wooden spoon.

In the sleeping-rooms of the well-to-do there are wooden beds with mattresses and sheets and pillows, clothes being hung upon clothes-racks, which in one house visited were of the same pattern as the English "towel horse." The ordinary cultivator and his wife sleep on mats made of plaited bamboo, which are spread on the bare boards of the house. There are various kinds of mats to be met with in the Khasi houses made of plaited cane, of a kind of reed, and of plaited bamboo. The best kind of mat is prepared from cane. In all Khasi houses are to be seen *ki kwap*, or rain shields, of different sizes and sometimes of somewhat different shapes. The large

shield of Chamyong) is used as a protection from rain. Those of Mahrawan and Mawlong are each of a peculiar pattern. Smaller shields are used as protections from the sun or merely for show, and there are specially small sizes for children. Then there are the different kinds of basket (ki khak) which are carried on the back, along across the forehead by a cane head-strap. These, again, are of different sizes. They are, however, always of the same conical shape, being round and broad-mouthed at the top and gradually tapering to a point at the bottom. A bamboo cover is used to protect the contents of the basket from rain. There is a special kind of basket made of cane or bamboo with a cover, which is used for carrying articles on a journey. These baskets, again, are of different sizes, the largest and best that the writer has seen being manufactured at Raneiai, in the south-western portion of the hills. Paddy is husked in a wooden mortar by means of a heavy wooden pestle. These are to be seen all over the hills. The work of husking paddy is performed by the women. A bamboo sieve is sometimes used for sifting the husked rice, a winnowing fan being applied to separate the husk. The cleaned rice is exposed to the sun in a bamboo tray. Paddy is stored in a separate store-house in large circular bamboo receptacles. These hold sometimes as much as 30 maunds* of grain. Large baskets are also used for keeping paddy in. In every Khasi house is to be found the net bag which is made out of pineapple fibre, or of a stem, the Assamese rika (Boehmeria nivea). These bags are of two sizes, the larger one for keeping cowries in, the cowrie in former days having been used instead of current coin in these hills, the smaller for the ever necessary betel-nut. *Pân* leaves are kept in a bamboo tube, and tobacco leaves in a smaller one. Lime, for eating with betel-nut, is kept in a metal box, sometimes of silver, which is made in two separate parts held together by a chain. The box is called *ka shanam*, and is used all over the hills. This box is also used for divination purposes, one end of it being held in the hand, and the other, by means of the chain, being allowed to swing

* The maund is 82 lbs.

Gordon E-6, 9 (no date) 1907 AR? Khasi AR?

custom of their own from cultivating the *lendu*, in which case they plant certain other trees favourable to the growth of the lac insect. The villages situated near their patches of cultivation in the forest. The villages are constantly shifting, owing to the necessity of burning fresh tracts of forest every two years. The houses are entirely built of bamboo, and, for such temporary structures, are very well built. In front, the houses are raised some 5 or 6 ft. from the ground on platforms, being generally built on the side of a fairly steep hill, one end of the house resting on the ground, and the other on bamboo posts. The back end of the house is sometimes some 8 or 9 ft. from the ground. At the end of the house farthest away from the village path is a platform used for sitting out in the evening, and for spreading chillies and other articles to dry. Some Lyngam houses have only one room in which men, women, and children are all huddled together, the hearth being in the centre, and underneath the platform, the pigs. Well-to-do people, however, possess a sitting room, where husband and wife sleep. A house I measured at Nongkhlaw village was of the following dimensions:—Length, 42 ft.; breadth, 16 ft.; height of house from the ground to the eaves, front, 9 ft.; back 18 ft. Houses are built with a portion of the thatch hanging over the eaves in front. No explanation could be given me for this. It is probably a Garo custom. In some Lyngam villages there are houses in the centre of the village where the young unmarried men sleep, where male guests are accommodated, and where the village festivities go on. These are similar to the *dekachang* or bachelors' club-houses of the Mikirs, Garos, and Lalungs, and to the *morung* of the Nagas. This is a custom of the Thibet-Burman tribes in Assam, and is not a Khasi institution. There are also high platforms, some 12 ft. or 15 ft. in height, in Lyngam villages, where the elders sit of an evening in the hot weather and take the air. Lyngam houses and villages are usually much cleaner than the ordinary Khasi villages, and although the Lyngams keep pigs, they do not seem to be so much *en évidence* as in the Khasi village. There is little or no furniture in a Lyngam house. The Lyngam sleeps on a mat on the floor, and in cold weather covers himself with a

[of the Lyngams ... (no ly.)]

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

quilt, made out of the bark of a tree, which is beaten 352
out and then carefully woven, several layers of flattened 513
bark being used before the right thickness is attained. 287
This quilt is called by the Lyngams "*Ka syllar*" (Garo *simpak*).
Food is cooked in earthen pots, but no plates are used, the broad 252
leaves of the *mariang* tree taking their place. The leaves are 415
thrown away after use, a fresh supply being required for each meal.

The Lyngams brew rice beer, they do not distil spirit; the 279
beer is brewed according to the Khasi method. Games they have 526
none, and there are no jovial archery meetings like those of the Khasis. The Lyngam methods of hunting are setting spring 221
guns and digging pitfalls for game. The people say that now the Government and the Siem of Nongstoin have prohibited both of these methods of destroying game, they no longer employ them. But I came across a pitfall for deer not long ago in the neighbourhood of a village in the Lyngam country. The people declared it to be a very old one; but this I very much doubt, and I fear that these objectionable methods of hunting are still used. The Lyngams fish to a 226
small extent with nets, but their idea of fishing, *par excellence*, is poisoning the streams, an account of which has already been given in this monograph. The Lyngams are omnivorous 262
feeders, they may be said to eat everything except dogs, snakes, the *bulok* monkey, and lizards. They like rice, when they can get it; for sometimes the out-turn of their fields does not last them more than a few months. They then have to fall back on Job's-tears and millet. They eat arums largely, and for vegetables they cook wild plantains and the young shoots of bamboos and cane plants. The Lyngams are divided up into 614
exogamous clans in the same manner as the Khasis. The clans 773
are overgrown families. The Lyngams have some stories regarding the founders of these clans, of which the following is a specimen:—"A woman was asleep under a *sohbar* tree in the jungle, a flower from which fell on her, and she conceived and bore a female child who was the ancestress of the Nongsohbar clan." Some of the stories of the origins of other clans do not bear repeating. There do not appear to be any 582
hypergamous groups. As with the Khasis, it is a deadly sin to 614

342 But in some huts there are no such partitions and the demarcation is made by the pillars and beams which support the roof of the hut. The small enclosures at the two sides in the front portion are known locally as Ka Kynrein. The Ka Kynrein at the right hand side of the Ka Nympei close to the Ka Kyndur generally is used for storing water. The Ka Kynrein at the left hand side of the Ka Nympei just opposite to that for storing water is used as a larder for potatoes and other provisions. The enclosures at the rear of the Ka Nympei and those remaining at its sides are used as sleeping places. The sleeping places at the sides are known as Ka Iing Kyndong and those at the rear
342 as Ka Rumpei. In most huts there is a window in the Ka
354 Rumpei, high up in the back wall of the hut. In some huts there is a window in the front wall, in the Ka Kyndur. In many huts there is no window at all. Besides the main door in the Ka Kyndur, there is another door to the Ka Kynrein at the right hand side of the Ka Nympei. We were informed that in Cherra the part called Ka Kyndur is termed Ka Shyngkup, and Ka Kynrein as Ka Pyngkai.

In the centre of the Ka Nympei there is the hearth known as Ka Dypei. It is a rectangular space, about four feet and a half in length and three feet and a half in breadth, enclosed by fenders of wood. The floor of the hearth is paved with stone and mud. In the centre of it there are three small-shaped stone
352 pieces which are known as Mawbyrsiew. On the Mawbyrsiew there is an iron triangle known as Ka Nar to hold the pots. The space of the Ka Nympei behind the hearth and in front of the Ka Rumpei is known as Jingbuhkhiewja.

Running round the edge of the Ka Nympei at a man's height there is a wooden frame supported on vertical posts; to this frame are fixed the partitions, separating the Ka Nympei from the Ka Kyndur, Ka Kynrein, Ka Iing Kyndong and Ka Rumpei. This wooden frame is known as Bahtymphan or Bahtympha. Just above the Bahtymphan several stout beams of wood cross the house from side to side and rest on the

● 352 Babtymphan. They are known as Ukhung. The Ukhung above the Dypei are placed close to one another. A little apart from this row of Ukhungs, there is a single Ukhung parallel to the others which in some huts is hollowed out and is used as a receptacle for some household articles.

342 The frame of the roof as observed from inside consists of a central ridge pole running along the length of the hut and situated above the middle of it. From the ridge pole pairs of rafters diverge on two sides, their lower ends resting on the side walls of the hut. In front of the hut, the rafters are radially spread out from the anterior end of the ridge pole which is supported by a vertical pole known as Rijit. These rafters rest on semi-circular wall at the bend of the 'U'. The ridge pole and the rafters are known as Kynshi. Besides the rafters there are thinner wooden poles similarly arranged which further strengthen the frame of the roof. They are known as Ubnoh. The small rafters which are set cross-wise on the sloping Kynshi and form each series a 'U' round the ceilling are known as U Pyniar. This frame for the roof is made on those huts where thatching grass is used, that is, in the old type of huts. In modern huts where corrugated or flat sheets of iron have been used instead of thatching grass such a frame is not required.

In the village of Mawphlang, we saw an old type hut, of Ka Lita repaired and re-built. At first the raised rectangular portion of the hut, the Ka Nympei, was reconstructed on a raised platform, with the frame for the roof above it. Then a semi-circular area was taken in front of the Ka Nympei about one-third the area of the inner compartment. Simultaneously with the making of the frame of the Ka Kyndur, the thatch was made in sections in bamboo frames. Then the roof of the hut was covered with these sections which were arranged in overlapping sheets (see plate). An old type Khasi hut is about thirty feet long; it is about twenty feet wide at the back.

343 Reference has been made to the usual pigsty adjoining each house. It is generally a small thatched shed with walls made of

16: McCormack E-4,5 (1956-1958) 1964
[P. 107 B] AR7 Khasi AR7

pendable water supply. Villages are about two to five miles apart, and have no boundary markers. In the past, villages contained semipublic buildings and grounds: the home of the village priest (also the home of a chief if he resided in that village), the village marketplace, and tree groves, cremation grounds, or other awesome spots that were believed to be inhabited by supernatural beings. Villages today may have also one or more Christian churches, government social welfare buildings, and schools. Formerly, villages were entered through a guarded gateway, this is no longer the case, and paths feed into villages from all directions. Often several villages are nucleated into one large unit, named and also described as a "village." These were once defense units, but were so uncohesive otherwise that institutionalized rivalry obtained among the component villages. Now, they have been integrated through the agency of all-village public services, especially schools. **Housing.** The traditional Khasi house is entered through a door at the rounded end of a U-shaped ground plan, and is about 20 feet at widest extent, it is about 30 feet deep, and is elliptical or hogback in profile. Its walls are of stone blocks cemented with mud. The roof of grass thatch, supported by a bamboo frame, overhangs the walls on their outside, down to about three feet above the ground. The house is divided into two parts: the front one-third is on the ground level, floored either with stone blocks or tamped earth, and is used for storage of occupational instruments and as a shelter for poultry. The rear two-thirds is raised four feet on piles of stone blocks to a platform of planks, and is partitioned into six rooms, comprising a kitchen, areas for storage of food and water, and sleeping quarters. Furniture is minimal, and the house is totally undecorated. There are no windows, and no smoke vents. A house generally has a companion shed, walled of wood and grass matting and thatched with grass. This serves as a pigsty, but it may be partitioned also to house cows, and it may have a loft for fuel storage. Compounds often contain garden plots, and are fenced around with stone or bamboo and mud. Nowadays, the traditional house has given way to Western-style bungalows of wood and tin, especially in and around Shillong. [Cf. Mukherjee et al. 1941.]

ECONOMY. The Khasi economy is a market economy based on agriculture, and most Khasis are primary producers, sellers, middlemen, and/or providers of services in connection with markets. Khasis are often multioccupational: they produce goods for partial subsistence, and also play some part in trade. **Agriculture.** On the Shillong plateau, the major field crops are potatoes, maize, millets, and dry rice, still produced mostly through swidden farming, with a two- to three-year period of fallow, but increasingly through continuous use of a single field with the aid of ma-

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

428 to the sisters of his wife, or to her nearest relatives if there are no sisters. The rank and titles of a deceased male descend to his brother; when no brother exists, then to the male children of his mother's sisters (maternal aunts); should the maternal aunts have no male children living at the time, then to the eldest male child of his sisters. When no relatives are to be found, the property of the deceased goes to the ruler of the country; or if a man dies leaving no relative other than wife and children, *i.e.* no relatives on the mother's side, the property in this case also goes to the ruler, who, as the wife and children cannot preserve the ashes of the deceased, takes charge of them, and for so doing takes all the property also. With regard to the inhabitants of the Lower Hills at Shellá, the custom as to succession is as follows:—Property belonging to a subject of Shellá is divided into two classes—(1) Property inherited from ancestors, which descends to the nearest of kin or to the relative of a deceased person who can perform his obsequies. (2) Property acquired during the lifetime of the holder, which is inherited by the children, whose duty it is to provide for the maintenance of their mother until she re-marries or dies.'

434 465 MATERIAL CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE.—The Khásiás and the Syntengs are as a people prosperous. Common labourers, if adult males, can earn wages as high as one shilling per diem, and adult 342 females as high as eightpence. The dwellings of the well-to-do classes are generally constructed of masonry, with thatched roof and 352 plank floor, and divided into two or three rooms. The furniture consists of a bedstead (*charpái*), a seat or two (*morá*), some cooking 342 utensils, and a few boxes. The ordinary peasants and poorer 184 classes construct their huts of stone, mud, or plank walls, with a thatch or cane roof. These are fitted with wooden platforms 262 or loose planks placed on the ground to serve as beds. The food of the well-to-do classes consists of rice, fish when obtainable, fowl 434 or meat, curry, vegetables, oil, hog's lard, fermented and spirituous liquor. It may be estimated that the living expenses of an average-sized household of this class would be about Rs. 25 or £2, 10s. a month, valuing the articles of consumption at *bázár* prices. An ordinary husbandman or labourer lives on rice, dry fish, occasionally a 276 little meat, oil, or hog's lard. *Pán* leaf, betel-nut, and lime are essential to the comfort of all the hill people, who are inveterate chewers of *pán*. They commence at an early age, and are rarely seen without a *pán* leaf in their mouths; the females are quite

273 krem. Before I could enter a hut the occupants had to remove a man who was dead drunk. Over
352 the fireplace hangs a rack on which wood is piled up for drying; also food provisions, rice, etc. are kept dry here during the rainy season. Behind it a rack made of sturdy beams runs straight through the center and sometimes extends along the sides. On it all kinds of household items are kept. In the better houses the best dishes of shiny, polished brass and china are displayed here. This rack also serves as a partition behind which, on the sides and at the rear wall of the house, are the sleeping accommodations.
[356] Considering the very unprepossessing physical appearance of the people, it is surprising how orderly and clean the houses are kept inside.
342 In the principal towns the well-to-do have already adopted the brick building and European comfort. With the Lynngam and the Bhoi, however, we still find the pile dwelling (77). The houses

77. Gurdon, ibid., p. 32. There it is mentioned (above) that in some villages of the subdivision of the War pile dwellings are built because the main part of the house rests on firm ground on the mountain side and then extends on piles over the slope. (Cf. the Garo.) The same people still use the bachelor house.

have a length from 10 to 12 meters with a veranda which among the Lynngam is in front, among the Bhoi in the rear of the house. These people
[241] still practise migratory agriculture and therefore move their flimsily constructed houses every two or three years when they change to new fields. It follows that the Khasi house, as described above, represents an advanced construction method. That in earlier days bamboo construction was

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

776 793 or official spokesman of the Siem's Durbar. Another post of oak in this house is furnished by the people of the State.

342 177 353 The houses of the well-to-do Khasis of the present day in Mawkhar and Cherrapunji are built after the modern style with iron roofs, chimneys, glass windows and doors. In Jowai the well-to-do traders have excellent houses of the European pattern, which are as comfortable as many of the European subordinates' quarters in Shillong. Some up-to-date families in Shillong and at Cherra allow themselves muslin curtains and European furniture.

342 [824] The houses of the Pnar-Wárs are peculiar. The roof, which is thatched with the leaves of a palm called *u tynriew*, is hog-backed and the eaves come down almost to the ground. There are three rooms in the Wár as in the Khasi house, although called by different names in the Wár dialect. The hearth is in the centre room. [361] The houses are built flush with the ground and are made of bamboos. 346 In the Wár villages of Nongjri and Umniuh there are small houses erected in the compounds of 782 the ordinary dwelling-houses called *ieng ksuid* (spirit houses). In these houses offerings to the spirits of departed family ancestors are placed at intervals, this practice being very similar to the more ancient form of Shintoism. In some Wár villages 342 there are also separate bachelors' quarters. This custom is in accordance with that of the Naga tribes. There is no such custom amongst the Khasi Uplanders. The Wár houses are similar to those of the Pnar Wárs, except that a portion of the house is generally built on a platform, the main house resting on the hill-side and the portion on the platform projecting therefrom, the object being to obtain more space, the area for houses in the village sites being often limited owing to the steepness of the hill-sides.

The Bhoi and Lynngam houses are practically similar, and may be described together. They are generally built on fairly high platforms of bamboo, are frequently 30 to 40 ft. in length, and are divided into various compartments in order [354] to suit the needs of the family. The hearth, which is of earth, is in the centre room. There is a platform at the back of the Lynngam house, and in front of the Bhoi house, used for drying paddy, spreading chillies, &c., and for sitting on when the day's

pendable water supply. Villages are about two to five miles apart, and have no boundary markers. In the past, villages contained semipublic buildings and grounds: the home of the village priest (also the home of a chief if he resided in that village), the village marketplace, and tree groves, cremation grounds, or other awesome spots that were believed to be inhabited by supernatural beings. Villages today may have also one or more Christian churches, government social welfare buildings, and schools. Formerly, villages were entered through a guarded gateway; this is no longer the case, and paths feed into villages from all directions. Often several villages are nucleated into one large unit, named and also described as a "village." These were once defense units, but were so uncohesive otherwise that institutionalized rivalry obtained among the component villages. Now, they have been integrated through the agency of all-village public services, especially schools. **Housing.** The traditional Khasi house is entered through a door at the rounded end of a U-shaped ground plan, and is about 20 feet at widest extent, it is about 30 feet deep, and is elliptical or hogback in profile. Its walls are of stone blocks cemented with mud. The roof of grass thatch, supported by a bamboo frame, overhangs the walls on their outside, down to about three feet above the ground. The house is divided into two parts: the front one-third is on the ground level, floored either with stone blocks or tamped earth, and is used for storage of occupational instruments and as a shelter for poultry. The rear two-thirds is raised four feet on piles of stone blocks to a platform of planks, and is partitioned into six rooms, comprising a kitchen, areas for storage of food and water, and sleeping quarters. Furniture is minimal, and the house is totally undecorated. There are no windows, and no smoke vents. A house generally has a companion shed, walled of wood and grass matting and thatched with grass. This serves as a pigsty, but it may be partitioned also to house cows, and it may have a loft for fuel storage. Compounds often contain garden plots, and are fenced around with stone or bamboo and mud. Nowadays, the traditional house has given way to Western-style bungalows of wood and tin, especially in and around Shillong. [Cf. Mukherjee et al. 1941.]

361 [944] [443] [778] [346] [178] [712] [628] [178] [182] 342 352 353 354 343 351 177 184 342

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241 433 443 [463] 241

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

231 Shillong is excellent, the flavour being quite as good as that
263 of English honey. Under "Miscellaneous Customs connected with Death" will be found a reference to the statement that the
[764] dead bodies of Siems used to be embalmed in honey. The existence of the custom is generally denied by Khasis, but its former prevalence is probable, as several trustworthy authors have quoted it.

HOUSES.

342 The houses of the people are cleaner than might be supposed
515 after taking into consideration the dirtiness of the clothes and persons of those who inhabit them. They are as a rule substantial thatched cottages with plank or stone walls, and raised on a plinth some 2 to 3 ft. from the ground. The only
354 window is a small opening on one side of the house, which admits but a dim light into the smoke-begrimed interior. The beams are so low that it is impossible for a person of ordinary stature to stand erect within. The fire is always burning on an earthen or stone hearth in the centre. There is no chimney, the smoke finding its exit as best it can. The firewood is placed to dry on a swinging frame above the hearth. In the
343 porch are stacked fuel and odds and ends. The pigs and calves
342 are generally kept in little houses just outside the main building. The Khasi house is oval-shaped, and is divided into three rooms, a porch, a centre room, and a retiring-room.

354 In olden days the Khasis considered nails *sang*, or taboo, and
784 only used a certain kind of timber for the fender which surrounds the hearth; but they are not so particular now-a-days. In Mawkhar, Cherrapunji, and other large villages, the walls of
342 houses are generally of stone. In Cherrapunji the houses are frequently large, but the largest house I have seen in the hills is that of the Doloi of Suhtnga in the Jaintia Hills, which measures 74 ft. in length. The house of the Siem Priestess at Smit in the Khasi Hills is another large one, being 61 ft. long by 30 ft. broad. In front of the Khasi house is a little space fenced in on two sides, but open towards the village street. The

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342 other articles to dry. Some Lynngam houses have only one
●354 room in which men, women, and children are all huddled together, the hearth being in the centre, and, underneath the
231 platform, the pigs. Well-to-do people, however, possess a
342 retiring room, where husband and wife sleep. A house I measured at Nongsohbar village was of the following dimensions:—Length, 42 ft.; breadth, 16 ft.; height of house from the ground to the eaves, front, 9 ft.; back 18 ft. Houses are built with a portion of the thatch hanging over the eaves in front. No explanation could be given me for this. It is probably a Garo custom. In some Lynngam villages there are houses in the centre of the village where the young unmarried men sleep, where male guests are accommodated, and where the
[171] village festivities go on. These are similar to the *dekachang* or bachelors' club-houses of the Mikirs, Garos, and Lalungs, and to the *morang* of the Nagas. This is a custom of the Thibeto-Burman tribes in Assam, and is not a Khasi institution. There
[517] are also high platforms, some 12 ft. or 15 ft. in height, in Lynngam villages, where the elders sit of an evening in the hot
[356] weather and take the air. Lynngam houses and villages are usually much cleaner than the ordinary Khasi villages, and although the Lynngams keep pigs, they do not seem to be so
352 much *en évidence* as in the Khasi village. There is little
513 or no furniture in a Lynngam house. The Lynngam sleeps on
287 a mat on the floor, and in cold weather covers himself with a

342 But in some huts there are no such partitions and the demarcation is made by the pillars and beams which support the roof of the hut. The small enclosures at the two sides in the front portion are known locally as Ka Kynrein. The Ka Kynrein at the right hand side of the Ka Nympei close to the Ka Kyndur generally is used for storing water. The Ka Kynrein at the left hand side of the Ka Nympei just opposite to that for storing water is used as a larder for potatoes and other provisions. The enclosures at the rear of the Ka Nympei and those remaining at its sides are used as sleeping places. The sleeping places at the sides are known as Ka Iing Kyndong and those at the rear
342 as Ka Rumpei. In most huts there is a window in the Ka
354 Rumpei, high up in the back wall of the hut. In some huts there is a window in the front wall, in the Ka Kyndur. In many huts there is no window at all. Besides the main door in the Ka Kyndur, there is another door to the Ka Kynrein at the right hand side of the Ka Nympei. We were informed that in Cherra the part called Ka Kyndur is termed Ka Shyngkup, and Ka Kynrein as Ka Pyngshai.

In the centre of the Ka Nympei there is the hearth known as Ka Dypei. It is a rectangular space, about four feet and a half in length and three feet and a half in breadth, enclosed by fenders of wood. The floor of the hearth is paved with stone and mud. In the centre of it there are three small-shaped stone
352 pieces which are known as Mawbyrsiew. On the Mawbyrsiew there is an iron triangle known as Ka Nar to hold the pots. The space of the Ka Nympei behind the hearth and in front of the Ka Rumpei is known as Jingbuhkhiewja.

Running round the edge of the Ka Nympei at a man's height there is a wooden frame supported on vertical posts; to this frame are fixed the partitions, separating the Ka Nympei from the Ka Kyndur, Ka Kynrein, Ka Iing Kyndong and Ka Rumpei. This wooden frame is known as Bahtymphan or Bahtympha. Just above the Bahtymphan several stout beams of wood cross the house from side to side and rest on the

pendable water supply. Villages are about two to five miles apart, and have no boundary markers. In the past, villages contained semipublic buildings and grounds: the home of the village priest (also the home of a chief if he resided in that village), the village marketplace, and tree groves, cremation grounds, or other awesome spots that were believed to be inhabited by supernatural beings. Villages today may have also one or more Christian churches, government social welfare buildings, and schools. Formerly, villages were entered through a guarded gateway; this is no longer the case, and paths feed into villages from all directions. Often several villages are nucleated into one large unit, named and also described as a "village." These were once defense units, but were so uncohesive otherwise that institutionalized rivalry obtained among the component villages. Now, they have been integrated through the agency of all-village public services, especially schools. **Housing.** The traditional Khasi house is entered through a door at the rounded end of a U-shaped ground plan, and is about 20 feet at widest extent; it is about 30 feet deep, and is elliptical or hogback in profile. Its walls are of stone blocks cemented with mud. The roof of grass thatch, supported by a bamboo frame, overhangs the walls on their outside, down to about three feet above the ground. The house is divided into two parts: the front one-third is on the ground level, floored either with stone blocks or tamped earth, and is used for storage of occupational instruments and as a shelter for poultry. The rear two-thirds is raised four feet on piles of stone blocks to a platform of planks, and is partitioned into six rooms, comprising a kitchen, areas for storage of food and water, and sleeping quarters. Furniture is minimal, and the house is totally undecorated. There are no windows, and no smoke vents. A house generally has a companion shed, walled of wood and grass matting and thatched with grass. This serves as a pigsty, but it may be partitioned also to house cows, and it may have a loft for fuel storage. Compounds often contain garden plots, and are fenced around with stone or bamboo and mud. Nowadays, the traditional house has given way to Western-style bungalows of wood and tin, especially in and around Shillong. [Cf. Mukherjee et al. 1941.]

361 [944] [443] 778 [344] [178] [712] [628] [178] [182] 342 352 353 354 343 351 177 184 342

ECONOMY. The Khasi economy is a market economy based on agriculture, and most Khasis are primary producers, sellers, middlemen, and/or providers of services in connection with markets. Khasis are often multioccupational: they produce goods for partial subsistence, and also play some part in trade. **Agriculture.** On the Shillong plateau, the major field crops are potatoes, maize, millets, and dry rice, still produced mostly through swidden farming, with a two- to three-year period of fallow, but increasingly through continuous use of a single field with the aid of ma-

241 433 443 [463] 241

342 down /233/ toward the front in a broad curve, projects here quite a bit beyond the front of the house and covers the stone terrace before the entrance, which is supported by posts, where the occupants customarily sit during the daytime. Firewood is also piled up here at the sides. In the rear the roof ridge is very little--or not at all--curved; the general impression which the house makes through its roof form has been compared with a pig which stands with bowed head before the fodder trough. Generally speaking, the Khasi houses are not very large. I did not see any houses longer than from 6 to 9 meters and with a width of from 3 to 5 meters. However, according to Gurdon (p. 30) there are sometimes houses with a length of more than 20 meters. The interior is completely dark. Sometimes a small window at the side--an innovation--or a second side entrance allows some light to filter in. From the roofed terrace one enters first an anteroom which contains at both sides provisions, potatoes, and also wood. A board wall which is closed on top by a wooden grate, where light and air can pass through, separates this anteroom from the main room; upon entering one has to walk up a few steps or climb over a high threshold. [354] In the middle, toward the rear, is the fireplace. If the owner has a distilling license from the 273 British authorities (76) the distilling vessels

76. The restriction through license to counteract a little the consumption of alcohol, exists only in the area of Shillong. Otherwise the brandy production by the Khasi is not regulated.

for the preparation of rice or millet brandy are always kept here. The people have a strong preference for alcohol and especially on bazaar days it is no rarity to see tipsy people. I observed this particularly at the bazaar in Nong-

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241 custom of their own from cultivating the *landoo*, in which
231 case they plant certain other trees favourable to the growth of
784 the lac insect. The villages are situated near their patches of cultivation in the forest. The villages are constantly shifting,
361 owing to the necessity of burning fresh tracts of forest every
241 two years. The houses are entirely built of bamboo, and, for such temporary structures, are very well built. In front, the
342 houses are raised some 3 or 4 ft. from the ground on platforms, being generally built on the side of a fairly steep hill, one end of the house resting on the ground, and the other on bamboo posts. The back end of the house is sometimes some 8 or 9 ft. from the ground. At the end of the house farthest away from the village path is a platform used for sitting out in the evening, and for spreading chillies and
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• [356] weather and take the air. Lynngam houses and villages are usually much cleaner than the ordinary Khasi villages, and although the Lynngams keep pigs, they do not seem to be so
352 much *en évidence* as in the Khasi village. There is little
513 or no furniture in a Lynngam house. The Lynngam sleeps on
287 a mat on the floor, and in cold weather covers himself with a

273 krem. Before I could enter a hut the occupants
had to remove a man who was dead drunk. Over
352 the fireplace hangs a rack on which wood is piled
up for drying; also food provisions, rice, etc.
are kept dry here during the rainy season. Be-
hind it a rack made of sturdy beams runs straight
through the center and sometimes extends along
the sides. On it all kinds of household items
are kept. In the better houses the best dishes
of shiny, polished brass and china are displayed
here. This rack also serves as a partition be-
hind which, on the sides and at the rear wall of
the house, are the sleeping accommodations.
[356] Considering the very unprepossessing physical
appearance of the people, it is surprising how
orderly and clean the houses are kept inside.
342 In the principal towns the well-to-do have al-
ready adopted the brick building and European
comfort. With the Lynngam and the Bhoi, however,
we still find the pile dwelling (77). The houses

77. Gurdon, ibid., p. 32. There
it is mentioned (above) that in
some villages of the subdivision
of the War pile dwellings are
built because the main part of the
house rests on firm ground on the
mountain side and then extends on
piles over the slope. (Cf. the
Garo.) The same people still use
the bachelor house.

have a length from 10 to 12 meters with a veranda
which among the Lynngam is in front, among the
Bhoi in the rear of the house. These people
[241] still practise migratory agriculture and there-
fore move their flimsily constructed houses every
two or three years when they change to new fields.
It follows that the Khasi house, as described
above, represents an advanced construction method.
That in earlier days bamboo construction was

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[p. 24]

SECTION II.

OCCUPATION.

241 THE greater proportion of the population subsists by cultiva-
463 tion. Cultivation of rice may be divided under two headings,
[162] high land or dry cultivation and low land or wet cultivation. The total number of persons who subsist by agriculture generally in the hills, is given in the last Census Report as 154,907, but the term agriculture includes the cultivation of the potato, the orange, betel-nut and *pán*. A full description of the different forms of agriculture will be given under the
463 heading "Agriculture." A considerable number of Khasis earn
482 their livelihood as porters, carrying potatoes to the markets on
439 the Sylhet side of the district, from whence the crop is conveyed by means of country boats to the different places of call of river-steamers in the Surma Valley, the steamers carrying the potatoes to Calcutta. Potatoes are also largely carried to Shillong by porters, where the tuber is readily bought by Marwari merchants, who load it in carts to be conveyed by road to Gauhati, from which station it is again shipped to
492 Calcutta and Upper Assam. Many persons are also employed in
463 carrying rice up the hill from Theria to Cherrapunji, Shillong,
[466] and on to other places. Salt is also carried by porters by this route. Many Khasis, both male and female, live by daily labour in this way, earning as much as eight annas, and
[463] six annas a day, respectively. The Census Report of 1901 shows some 14,000 "general labourers" in the district, the greater number of whom are porters and coolies, both male
[357] and female, employed on road work and on building. In Shillong the Government Offices and the printing press give employment to a certain number of Khasis. There is also a fair demand for Khasi domestic servants, both among the Europeans and the Bengali and Assamese clerks who are employed at the headquarters of the Administration.

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101 131 563 district. The Lyngams inhabit the western portion of the Khasi Hills proper. A line drawn north and south through the village of Nongtoin may be said to form their eastern boundary, and the Kamrup and Sylhet districts their northern and southern boundaries, respectively. The people known as *Bhois* in these hills, who are many of them really Mikirs, live in the low hills to the north and north-east of the district, the term "Bhoi" being a territorial name rather than tribal. The eastern boundary of the Lyngam country may be said to form their north-western boundary. The Wárs inhabit the precipitous slopes and deep valleys to the south of the district. Their country extends along the entire southern boundary of the district to the Jadukata, or Kenchi-iong, river where the Lyngam territory may be said to commence towards the south. There are some Hadem colonies in the extreme eastern portions of the Jaintia Hills. It is these colonies which are sometimes referred to by other writers as "Kuki Colonies." They are settlers from the North Cachar Sub-division of the Cachar district within recent years. It is possible that the title Hadem may have some connection with *Hidimba*, the ancient name for the North Cachar Hills.

APPEARANCE.

142 The colour of the Khasi skin may be described as being usually brown, varying from dark to a light yellowish brown, according to locality. The complexion of the people who inhabit the uplands is of a somewhat lighter shade, and many of the women, especially those who live at Nongkrem, Laitlyngkot, Mawphlang, and other villages of the surrounding high plateaux, possess that pretty gipsy complexion that is seen in the South of Europe amongst the peasants. The people of Cherrapunji village are specially fair. The Syntengs of the Jaintia Hills are darker than the Khasi uplanders. The Wárs who live in the low valleys are frequently more swarthy than the Khasis. The Bhois have the flabby-looking yellow skin of the Mikirs, and the Lyngams are darker than the Khasis. The Lyngams are probably the darkest complexioned people in the

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Garo Hills	117	162
Manipur	69	101
Total	4,091*	

The following information regarding the general aspect of [127] the Khasi and Jaintia Hills district, with some additions, is 133 derived from Sir William Hunter's Statistical Account of Assam. The district consists almost entirely of hills, only a very small portion lying in the plains. The slope of the hills on the southern side is very steep until a table-land is met with at an elevation of about 4,000 feet at Cherrapunji. Higher up there is another plateau at Mawphlang. This is the [361] highest portion of the hills, some villages being found at as high an elevation as close on 6,000 feet above sea level. Fifteen miles to the east of Mawphlang, and in the same range, is situated the civil station of Shillong, at an average elevation of about 4,900 feet. The elevation of the Shillong Peak, the highest hill in the district, is 6,450 feet above sea level. On the northern side of the hills are two plateaux, one between 1,000 and 2,000 feet below the level of Shillong, and another at an elevation of about 2,000 feet above sea level. In general features all these plateaux are much alike, and consist of a succession of undulating downs, broken here and there by the valleys of the larger hill streams. In the higher ranges, where 137 the hills have been denuded of forest, the country is covered 185 with short grass, which becomes longer and more rank in the 374 lower elevations. This denudation of forest has been largely 327 due to the wood being used by the Khasis for fuel for iron smelting in days gone by. The Government, however, has taken steps to protect the remaining forests from further 137 spoliation. A remarkable feature is the presence of numerous [778] sacred groves situated generally just below the brows of the hills. In these woods are to be found principally oak and rhododendron trees. The fir-tree (Pinus Khasia) is first met with on the road from Gauhati to Shillong, at Umsning, at an elevation of about 2,500 feet. In the neighbourhood of Shillong the fir grows profusely, but the finest fir-trees are to be seen

* The figures for Khasi population in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills district will be found under "Habitat."

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limestone caves and underground water-courses on the southern face of the hills. This series contains coal-beds, e.g. the Cherra-field and that at Lakadong in the Jaintia Hills. Some description of the remarkable Kyllang Rock may not be out of place. Sir Joseph Hooker describes it as a dome of red granite, 5,400 feet above sea level, accessible from the north and east, but almost perpendicular to the southward where the slope is 80° for 600 feet. The elevation is said by Hooker to be 400 feet above the mean level of the surrounding ridges and 700 feet above the bottom of the valleys. The south or steepest side is encumbered with enormous detached blocks, while the north is clothed with forests containing red tree-rhododendrons and oaks. Hooker says that on its skirts grows a "white bushy rhododendron" which he found nowhere else. There is, however, a specimen of it now in the Shillong Lake garden. Numerous orchids are to be found in the Kyllang wood, notably a beautiful white one, called by the Khasis *u'tiw kyllang synrai*, which blooms in the autumn. The view from the top of the rock is very extensive, especially towards the north, where a magnificent panorama of the Himalayas is obtained in the autumn. The most remarkable phenomenon of any kind in the country is undoubtedly the enormous quantity of rain which falls at Cherrapunji.* Practically the whole of the rainfall occurs in the rains, i.e. from May to October. The remainder of the district is less rainy. The climate of the central plateau of the Shillong range is very salubrious, but the low hills in parts of the district are malarious. The effect of the different climates can at once be seen by examining the physique of the inhabitants. The Khasis who live in the high central plateaux are exceptionally healthy and strong, but those who live in the unhealthy "Bhoi country" to the north, and in the Lynngam portion to the west of the district, are often stunted and sickly. Not so, however, the Wárs who live on the southern slopes, for although their country is very hot at certain times of the year, it does not appear to be abnormally unhealthy except in certain

* The average rainfall at the Cherrapunji Police Station during the last twenty years, from figures obtained from the office of the Director of Land Records and Agriculture, has been 448 inches. The greatest rainfall registered in any one year during the period was in 1899, when it amounted to 641 inches.

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147 villages, such as Shella, Borpunji, Umniuh, and in Narpuh in
132 the Jaintia Hills.
361

ORIGIN.

173 The origin of the Khasis is a very vexed question. Although it is probable that the Khasis have inhabited their present abode for at any rate a considerable period, there seems to be a fairly general belief amongst them that they originally came from elsewhere. The Rev. H. Roberts, in the introduction to his Khasi Grammar, states that "tradition, such as it is, connects them politically with the Burmese, to whose king they were up to a comparatively recent date rendering homage, by sending him an annual tribute in the shape of an axe, as an emblem merely of submission." Another tradition points out the north as the direction from which they migrated, and Sylhet as the terminus of their wanderings, from which they were ultimately driven back into their present hill fastnesses by a great flood, after a more or less peaceful occupation of that district. It was on the occasion of this great flood, the legend runs, that the Khasi lost the art of writing, the Khasi losing his book whilst he was swimming at the time of this flood, whereas the Bengali
[212] managed to preserve his. Owing to the Khasis having possessed no written character before the advent of the Welsh missionaries, there are no histories as is the case with the Ahoms of the Assam Valley, and therefore no record of their journeys.
114 Mr. Shadwell, the oldest living authority we have on the
173 Khasis, and one who has been in close touch with the people for more than half a century, mentions a tradition amongst them that they originally came into Assam from Burma *viâ* the Patkoi range, having followed the route of one of the Burmese invasions. Mr. Shadwell has heard them mention the name Patkoi as a hill they met with on their journey. All this sort of
144 thing is, however, inexpressibly vague. In the chapter dealing
173 with "Affinities" have been given some reasons for supposing that the Khasis and other tribes of the Mon-Anam family, originally occupied a large portion of the Indian continent. Where the actual cradle of the Mon-Anam race was, is as

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776 793 or official spokesman of the Siem's Durbar. Another post of oak in this house is furnished by the people of the State.

342 177 353 The houses of the well-to-do Khasis of the present day in Mawkhar and Cherrapunji are built after the modern style with iron roofs, chimneys, glass windows and doors. In Jowai the well-to-do traders have excellent houses of the European pattern, which are as comfortable as many of the European subordinates' quarters in Shillong. Some up-to-date families in Shillong and at Cherra allow themselves muslin curtains and European furniture.

342 [824] The houses of the Pnar-Wárs are peculiar. The roof, which is thatched with the leaves of a palm called *u tynriew*, is hog-backed and the eaves come down almost to the ground. There are three rooms in the Wár as in the Khasi house, although called by different names in the Wár dialect. The hearth is in the centre room. [361] The houses are built flush with the ground and are made of bamboos. In the Wár villages of Nongjri and 346 Umniuh there are small houses erected in the compounds of 782 the ordinary dwelling-houses called *ieng ksuid* (spirit houses). In these houses offerings to the spirits of departed family ancestors are placed at intervals, this practice being very similar to the more ancient form of Shintoism. In some Wár villages 342 there are also separate bachelors' quarters. This custom is in accordance with that of the Naga tribes. There is no such custom amongst the Khasi Uplanders. The Wár houses are similar to those of the Pnar Wárs, except that a portion of the house is generally built on a platform, the main house resting on the hill-side and the portion on the platform projecting therefrom, the object being to obtain more space, the area for houses in the village sites being often limited owing to the steepness of the hill-sides.

The Bhoi and Lynngam houses are practically similar, and may be described together. They are generally built on fairly high platforms of bamboo, are frequently 30 to 40 ft. in length, and are divided into various compartments in order [354] to suit the needs of the family. The hearth, which is of earth, is in the centre room. There is a platform at the back of the Lynngam house, and in front of the Bhoi house, used for drying paddy, spreading chillies, &c., and for sitting on when the day's

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work is done. In order to ascend to a Bhoi house, you have to climb up a notched pole. The Bhois sacrifice a he-goat and a fowl to *Rèk-ànglong* (Khasi, *Ramiew iing*), the household god, when they build a new house.

VILLAGES.

Unlike the Nagas and Kukis, the Khasis do not build their villages on the extreme summits of hills, but a little below the tops, generally in small depressions, in order to obtain some protection from the strong winds and storms which prevail in these hills at certain times of the year. According to the late U Jeebon Roy, it is *sang*, or taboo, to the Khasis to build a house on the last eminence of a range of hills, this custom having perhaps arisen owing to the necessity of locating villages with reference to their defence against an enemy. Khasis build their houses fairly close together, but not as close as houses in the Bhoi and Lynngam villages. Khasis seldom change the sites of their villages, to which they are very much attached, where, as a rule, the family tombs are standing and the *mawbynna* or memorial stones. In many villages stone cromlechs and memorial stones are to be seen which from their appearance show that the villages have been there for many generations. During the Jaintia rebellion the village of Jowai was almost entirely destroyed, but as soon as the rebellion was over the people returned to the old site and rebuilt their village. Similarly, after the earthquake, the ancient village sites were not abandoned in many cases, but the people rebuilt their houses in their former positions, although in Shillong and Cherrapunji they rebuilt the walls of the houses of wooden materials instead of stone. There is no such thing as a specially reserved area in the village for the Siem and the nobility, all the people, rich or poor, living together in one village, their houses being scattered about indiscriminately. To the democratic Khasi the idea of the Siem living apart from his people would be repugnant. In the vicinity of the Khasi village, often just below the brow of the hill to the leeward side, are to be seen dark woods of oak

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137 and other trees. These are the sacred groves. Here the
778 villagers worship *U ryngkew U basa*, the tutelary deity of the village. These groves are taboo, and it is an offence to cut
[776] trees therein for any purpose other than for performing funeral
361 obsequies. The groves are generally not more than a few hundred yards away from the villages. The villages of the
137 Syntengs are similar in character to those of the Khasis. The
245 Wár villages nestle on the hill-sides of the southern border, and are to be seen peeping out from the green foliage with which the southern slopes are clad. In the vicinity of, and actually up to the houses, in the Wár villages, are to be observed large groves of areca-nut, often twined with the *pan* creeper, and of plantain trees, which much enhance the beauty of the scene. Looking at a Wár village from a distance, a darker shade of green is seen; this denotes the limits of the extensive groves where the justly celebrated Khasi orange is grown, which is the
361 source of so much profit to these people. The houses in the Wár villages are generally closer together than those of the Khasis, probably owing to space being limited, and to the villages being located on the slopes of hills. Generally up the
[363] narrow village streets and from house to house, there are rough steep stone steps, the upper portion of a village being frequently situated at as high an elevation as 200 to 300 ft. above the lower. In a convenient spot in a Wár village a clear space is to be seen neatly swept and kept free from weeds, and surrounded with a stone wall, where the village tribunals sit, and the elders meet in solemn conclave. Dances also are held here
778 on festive occasions. At Nongjri village there is a fine rubber
796 tree, under whose hollow trunk there are certain sacred stones where the priest performs the village ceremonies.

361 The Bhoi and Lynngam villages are built in small clearings in the forest, the houses are close together and are built often
[363] in parallel lines, a fairly broad space being reserved between
[351] the lines of houses to serve as a street. One misses the pretty gardens of the Wár villages, for Bhois and Lynngams attempt nothing of the sort, probably because, unlike the Khasi, a Bhoi or Lynngam village never remains more than two or three years in one spot; generally the villages of these people are in the vicinity of the forest clearings, sometimes actually in the midst

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of them, more especially when the latter are situated in places where jungle is dense, and there is fear of attacks from wild animals. In the Lynngam village is to be seen a high bamboo platform some 20 to 30 ft. from the ground, built in the midst of the village, where the elders sit and gossip in the evening. 361

All the villages, Khasi, Wár, Lynngam and Bhoi, swarm with pigs, which run about the villages unchecked. The pigs feed on all kinds of filth, and in addition are fed upon the wort and spent wash of the brewings of country spirit, or rice beer, the latter being carefully collected and poured into wooden troughs. The pigs are of the usual black description seen in India. They thrive greatly in the Khasi villages, and frequently attain extreme obesity. 361 231 274

In the Khasi villages of the high plateaux are often nowadays potato gardens, the latter being carefully protected from the inroads of pigs, calves, and goats by dry dikes surmounted by hedges. 24 417

I noticed an interesting custom at a Bhoi village in Nongpoh of barricading the path leading to the village from the forest with bamboo palisading and bamboo *chevaux de frise* to keep out the demon of cholera. In the middle of the barricade there was a wooden door over which was nailed the skull of a monkey which had been sacrificed to this demon, which is, as amongst the Syntengs, called *khlam*. 751 776 782

FURNITURE AND HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS.

As in the case of houses, so with reference to furniture, the influence of civilization shows many changes. The Khasi of the present day who lives in Mawkhar * has a comfortable house regularly divided up into rooms in the European style with even some European articles of furniture, but owing probably to the influence of the women, he still possesses several of the articles of furniture which are to be met with in the houses of those who still observe the old style of living. Let us take the furniture of the kitchen to begin with. Above the hearth is slung by ropes of cane a swinging wooden framework 352 352 417

* Mawkhar is a suburb of Shillong, the headquarters station.

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

played with a little wooden key held in the hand. *Ka maryngod* is an instrument much the same as the last, but is played with a bow like a violin. *Ka marynthing* is a kind of guitar with one string, played with the finger. 534

Ka tángmuri is a wooden pipe, which is played like a flageolet. *Ka kynsháw*, or *shákuriaw*, are cymbals made of bell metal; *ka sháráti*, or *ka shingwiang*, is a kind of flute made of bamboo. This instrument is played at cremation ceremonies, and when the bones and ashes of a clan are collected and placed in the family tomb, or *máwbah*. This flute is not played on ordinary occasions. In the folk-lore portion of the Monograph will be found a tale regarding it. There are other kinds of flutes which are played on ordinary occasions. The Wárs of the twenty-five villages in the Khyrim State make a sort of harp out of reed, which is called *ka 'sing ding phong*. The Khasis also play a Jews' harp (*ka mieng*), which is made of bamboo. [764] [361]

AGRICULTURE.

The Khasis are industrious cultivators, although they are behindhand in some of their methods of cultivation, (e.g. their failure to adopt the use of the plough in the greater portion of the district); they are thoroughly aware of the uses of manures. Their system of turning the sods, allowing them to dry, then burning them, and raking the ashes over the soil, is much in advance of any system of natural manuring to be seen elsewhere in the Province. The Khasis use the following agricultural implements:—A large hoe (*mokhíw heh*), an axe for felling trees (*u sdie*), a large da for felling trees (*ka wait lynngam*), two kinds of bill-hooks (*ka wáit prat* and *ka wáit khmut*), a sickle (*ka ráshi*), a plough in parts of the Jaintia Hills (*ka lyngkor*), also a harrow (*ka iuh moi*). In dealing with agriculture, the lands of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills may be divided into the following classes:—(*a*) Forest land, (*b*) wet paddy land called *háli* or *pynthor*, (*c*) high grass land or *ka ri lúm* or *ka ri phlang*, (*d*) homestead land (*ka 'dew kypér*). Forest lands are cleared by the process known as *jhuming*, the trees being felled early in the winter and allowed to lie till January or February, 241 412 241

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

wonderful mass of granite known by the name of the Kyllang 773
Rock will be found in the section of the monograph which 133
deals with geographical distribution. I have also added a
photograph of the rock. The Syntengs have a story that
when the strong west wind blows in the spring this is due to [823]
the advent of *U Kyllang*, who comes to visit his wife, the river
Umngot, at that season: amongst the Khasis hills are all of
them masculine, but to rivers is usually attributed the feminine [193]
gender. U Symper is another isolated rocky eminence rising
from the Maharam plain close to the village of K'mawan. The
best view of the hill is obtainable from Laitmawsiang on the
path to Mawsynram. The village of Mawsmai every traveller [361]
from Therria to Cherrapunji knows. It is chiefly remarkable for [211]
a fairly large limestone cave, and its fine memorial stones. The
Khasi theory to explain how the moon got its spots is, I believe,
original, but is no more extraordinary than our own nursery
tale about the "man in the moon." The *Sohpet Byneng* hill
is the first hill of any size that the traveller sees on the Gauhati
road when journeying to Shillong. It is close to Umsning Dak [36]
Bungalow. There are caves in the hill which are tenanted by
bears. Strange to say, according to Khasi ideas, this is one of the
highest points in the hills; in reality *Sophet Byneng* is some
2,000 ft. lower than the Shillong Peak. As mentioned elsewhere, 231
the Khasis are very fond of dogs; so I have given their version of 773
how the dog came to live with man. The well-known *thlen*
superstition will be found fully described under the heading of
"Human sacrifices." I have, however, thought the tale of suffi-
cient interest to reproduce at length here. The story of the river 773
Rupatylli is a pretty tale, and is just such a one as would 782
appeal to the imagination of mountaineers like the Khasis. 211
The Kopili story is important, in that it indicates the origin of 133
human sacrifices in the Jaintia Hills; it also throws, perhaps,
some light on the question of the use to which the flat table me-
morial stones were put in years gone by. The superstition about
the crossing of the Kopili can be vouched for by many who
have taken the journey from the Jaintia Hills to North Cachar
by the Kopili route. Mawpunkyrtiang is a small village close [361]
to Cherrapunji. The weird tale about the Siem of Malyniang 773
is the pride of the Maskut people, for in olden days their King,

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Khasi Hills.	Jaintia Hills.
1. Lynkah (Barpani or Khawang)	Kyllao. (Suhtnga).
2. Nongkrem	Pynsing.
3. Um-long (Maolong the hat at Laban)	Maolong. (Nartiang).
4. Ranghep (Jeu-bah at Cherra) (Mawtawar in Mylliem) (Unsaw in Nongkhlaw)	Maosiang. (Jowai).
5. Shillong (Laitlyngkot)	Maoshai. (Shangpung).
6. Pomtih or Pomtiah (Mawkhar, small market)	Pynkat. (Mynso).
7. Umnih	Thym-blein.
8. Yeo-duh (Mawkhar, large market)	Ka-hat. (Jaintiapur).

In the Wár country, markets are usually held every fourth day, e.g. at Nongjri, Mawbang, Tyllap, and Shella. At Theria the market is held every Friday, and at Hat-majai, or Bholagunj, every Tuesday.

THE LYNNGAMS.

101 Although mention has been made incidentally in various
131 parts of this monograph of Lynngam customs, it has been thought necessary to give the Lynngams a separate chapter, as these people differ so very greatly from the Khasis in their manner of life, and in their customs. *Lynngam* is the Khasi name: the Garo name for the Lynngams is *Megam*. There
[341] are several *Megam* villages in the north-eastern corner of the Garo Hills district, and there is regular communication kept up between these villages and the Lynngam inhabitants of the Khasi Hills district. The Lynngams must not be confused with the *Hánú* or *Námdaniya* Garos who inhabit the low hills to the north of the Khasi Hills district, and are called by the
101 Khasis *Dko*. All Lynngams claim to be Khasis, they dislike
197 being called Garos; but although it is true they speak what may be called a dialect of Khasi, and observe some of the Khasi customs, the Lynngams are more Garo than Khasi. Before
101 proceeding further, it should be stated that the Assamese of Boko call the Lynngams *Núniyá* Garos, all hill people being Gares to the Assamese of that region, without distinction

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

or difference. It is owing to these three different names being 101
used for the same people that there has been so much confusion about Lynngams previously; e.g. at one census they were named *Lynngam*, at another they received the appellation of Garo, and at a third enumeration they were called Khasis. In Section I. 131
the habitat of the Lynngams has been roughly defined. It is 361
impossible to define the Lynngam country exactly, because 173
these people are continually shifting their village sites owing to the exigencies of *jhum* cultivation, which has been described in Section II. Some of the Lynngams preserve a tradition that they originally came from the Kamrup plains. It is interesting that a people, like the Garos in so many respects, should have the same idea as the Garos as to the hills on the south bank of the Brahmaputra not always having been their abode. The Garo legend is that they dwelt for 173
some years in the Goalpara and Kamrup plains after they 361
descended from Thibet, and before they moved to the Garo 144
Hills; and there is unmistakable evidence of their occupation of both districts in the shape of certain Garo villages on both banks of the Brahmaputra for some little distance up the river. If, as I suspect, the Lynngams are an offshoot of the Garos, it is, perhaps, possible that they entered the Khasi Hills much in the same way as the Garos entered the hill district to which they have given their name. The Lynngams are much darker 142
than the Khasis, and possess the Thibeto-Burman type of 177
feature often to a marked degree. It is not extraordinary that they should have adopted some of the Khasi customs, for the Khasis, being the stronger people, would in course of time be bound to influence them in this respect. That the Lynngams 611
observe the matriarchate and erect (some clans) memorial 211
stones is not peculiar, because the Garos, like the Khasis, are 764
also a matriarchal people (to a limited degree), and the custom of erecting memorial stones is not confined to the Khasis, for other hill tribes in Assam observe the practice, e.g. certain Naga tribes and the Mikirs; and the Garos themselves put up carved posts, called *kima*, in honour of the departed. Although 582
there is not much intermarriage between the Khasis and the 101
Lynngams nowadays, perhaps in days gone by there was a 144
mixture of blood, the result being the hybrid race we are now
consider

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

241 custom of their own from cultivating the *landoo*, in which
231 case they plant certain other trees favourable to the growth of
784 the lac insect. The villages are situated near their patches of cultivation in the forest. The villages are constantly shifting,
361 owing to the necessity of burning fresh tracts of forest every
241 two years. The houses are entirely built of bamboo, and, for such temporary structures, are very well built. In front, the
342 houses are raised some 3 or 4 ft. from the ground on platforms, being generally built on the side of a fairly steep hill, one end of the house resting on the ground, and the other on bamboo posts. The back end of the house is sometimes some 8 or 9 ft. from the ground. At the end of the house farthest away from the village path is a platform used for sitting out in the evening, and for spreading chillies and
342 other articles to dry. Some Lynngam houses have only one
354 room in which men, women, and children are all huddled
231 together, the hearth being in the centre, and, underneath the platform, the pigs. Well-to-do people, however, possess a
342 retiring room, where husband and wife sleep. A house I measured at Nongsohlar village was of the following dimensions:—Length, 42 ft.; breadth, 16 ft.; height of house from the ground to the eaves, front, 9 ft.; back 18 ft. Houses are built with a portion of the thatch hanging over the eaves in front. No explanation could be given me for this. It is probably a Garo custom. In some Lynngam villages there are houses in the centre of the village where the young unmarried men sleep, where male guests are accommodated, and where the
[171] village festivities go on. These are similar to the *dekachang* or bachelors' club-houses of the Mikirs, Garos, and Lalungs, and to the *morang* of the Nagas. This is a custom of the Thibeto-Burman tribes in Assam, and is not a Khasi institution. There
[577] are also high platforms, some 12 ft. or 15 ft. in height, in Lynngam villages, where the elders sit of an evening in the hot
[356] weather and take the air. Lynngam houses and villages are usually much cleaner than the ordinary Khasi villages, and although the Lynngams keep pigs, they do not seem to be so
352 much *en évidence* as in the Khasi village. There is little
513 or no furniture in a Lynngam house. The Lynngam sleeps on
287 a mat on the floor, and in cold weather covers himself with a

Table I

Third Burial Place

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[40a] The Village Raliang

482 laden themselves with more than 80 to 85 pounds.

484 Many Khasi have to start during the afternoon because of the great distance to the market. They spend the night with acquaintances. In the dark [706] they march by torch light. The torches consist of several igra, i.e., very thin bamboo tube[4], saturated with petroleum and lighted. Or a large bamboo tube is filled with cloth that has been saturated in petroleum. The burning torches are swung in circles while the Khasi march so that only a glow is provided, but this prevents the torches from going out. The glow is quite sufficient for giving enough light for the road (foot path).

[276] Betel nuts are chewed (4) all the way and

4. The length of the road is also measured in "betel nuts."

water pipes are smoked during the rests.

443 b) The Market Place. It is not possible
●361 to talk about a definite place where the Khasi usually hold the market. This varies considerably according to the region. First of all the place chosen for the market lies outside the village. By preference they hold their markets on high ground or some such safe place. A place that has once been chosen remains the
[778] market place for that particular village. The market place is often found very close to the memorial stones, just as if the spirits of the ancestors honored there should offer aid and protection to the visitors to the market. On the southern slopes of the Khasi Mountains the market is often held on the bank of a river, for the reason that the Khasi come to these markets in boats. The market place in Mawkhlein is quite isolated. Also the one in

Laban, but there is a small wood near there. 443
The market place is also often found under 361
trees, at the edge of a forest or near the memorial stones.

c) Market Huts. Usually the market is 443
held in the open air. Grass offers places 347
to sit as well as places for laying out the wares. But in many places there are also market halls or market huts. These are simple halls, open on all sides, made with a framework of bamboo poles and a roof of straw or palm leaves. The market huts or market halls are built with square corners and have gabled roofs. They offer the women sellers protection from the sun or rain only, but no other comforts. Neither tables nor chairs nor other arrangements for displaying wares are there. On the side where the wind blows these market halls are often covered with bamboo mats.

d) Choosing the Place for Selling. 443
The choice of the place for selling is left 462
up to the seller. Yet a certain division can be recognized at every market. This division could be called a division according to sex. In the middle the food stuffs are usually sold which the women take care of. Utensils and cattle which are the business of the men, are sold at the edges. Therefore there is a definite arrangement to the market which is taken for granted by the Khasi: in the middle the women, outside the men (there is a similar order for the dance: in the middle the feminine sex, outside the masculine sex). The individual types of wares have [707] their definite places, although individual sellers are not assigned definite places.

The women settle down at any place that 443
seems good to them after their arrival at the market. They spread out in front of them the

8: Gurdon G-3 (no date) 1904 AR7 Khasi AR7

291 small kilt), and a cap which is peaked in front and which comes down well over the ears, called (*ka tupia shkor*) ear cap. The dress of the Khasi females is somewhat different from that of the Synteng, the former wears a striped cloth tied round the waist, hanging down to the knees, and another cloth, with a fringed border, knotted on both the shoulders to cover the bust and a narrow cloth, called *ka jympien*, to serve the purpose of under-clothing. A cloth knotted in front is also worn like a cloak over shoulders. The Synteng woman wears a cloth smoothed round the body fastened above the bust and drooping down to the ankles. Another cloth is thrown over the shoulders, and crossed in front. Both Khasi and Synteng women wear a cloth tied over the head, called *ka tap mohkhlieh*. Up-to-date Khasi males wear knicker-
292 bockers, stockings, and boots, and females chemises. On festive occasions, both Khasis and Syntengs, males and females, wear expensive silks, with earrings of gold or silver. There is a special dancing-dress of
301 elaborate pattern: The women at festivals wear a circlet of silver with a spear-head ornament behind, rising 4 or 5 inches from the back of the head. Large coral beads are much valued, and necklaces of alternate beads of coral and gold, and sometimes of coral alone, are worn by the chiefs and their principal followers. Such necklaces are worn by
262 women also on *gala* occasions. The staple diet of both Khasis and Syntengs is rice and dried fish. They are, however, fond of all kinds of meat, especially pork. Some of the Syntengs abstain from beef,
[177] owing no doubt to Hindu influences. Neither Khasis nor Syntengs eat dog, which is partaken of with zest by the Naga and the Garo tribes,—this is owing to the dog being considered by the Khasis to be the friend of man. Neither Khasis nor Syntengs use milk, the latter being thought by them to be an excrement. Neither Khasis nor Syntengs
411 tattoo. The weapons of both Khasis and Syntengs are bows and arrows, swords and shields. The national game of the Khasis is archery, regarding which a detailed description will be found in paragraph 10.

The people live in regular villages on fixed sites which have not
361 changed for generations,—and they appear to be much attached to these sites, where, as a rule, the family tombs are standing. The houses are
342 built in the shape of a shell, the houses being divided into three compartments,—the *Shyngkup*, or porch, where odds and ends, and sometimes fowls, are kept; *nengpei*, or centre room, which is used for cooking and sitting in; and *rumpei*, or inner room, where the people sleep. The houses are low, with grass roofs reaching nearly to the ground, the beams are of hewn timber, the walls are of either planks roughly hewn or of reeds or split bamboos plastered with clay. The Khasis' houses generally have boarded floors raised some feet from the ground level,

[p. 1]

KHASI KINSHIP AND SOCIAL ORGANISATION

BY

PROF. K P. CHATTOPADHYAY.

Introduction

114 121 In a paper on Khasi marriage rules Prof. Hodson has tried to explain the special features of the Khasi kinship terms and marriage rules on the hypothesis of a former dual division of Khasi Society, and certain new social forces which came into operation when the dual society broke up (1).

Hodson used for his work, the kinship terms noted in the Assam Census Report (2), Gurdon's work on Khasis (3) and a dictionary by U. Nissorsing. A full list of Khasi kinship terms was published by Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy shortly afterwards (4). The list is stated to have been compiled with the help of the ex- Siem of Cherra, on the genealogical method. The genealogies have not however been printed, and detailed notes are not available.

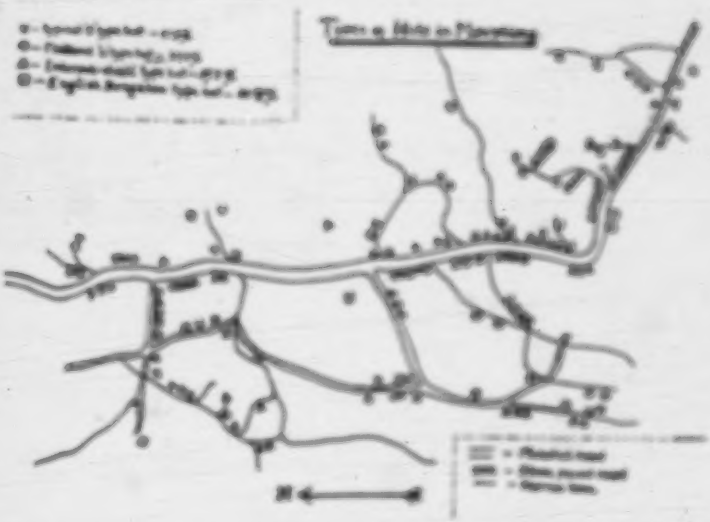
Recently the writer of this paper proceeded to the village of Mawphlang, the head-quarters of the Khasi State of this name and collected a certain amount of data to discuss this problem. The village is situated to the southwest of Shillong, at a distance of sixteen miles, and has preserved the old customs to a fair extent. It is ruled over by a lyngdoh or priest-chief, assisted by four myntris. At the time of the visit, the lyngdoh was away, suspended by the Political Agent for misgovernment, and the powers of the State were vested in the council of myntris. The senior myntri U Subu Rai, who is an old man

602 [361]

[this source has been processed for the AR7 Khasi file — Analyst.]

342 huts the ground plan is entirely rectangular. In this type of huts the materials used are also different, the corrugated sheets and wooden planks being more used than blocks of stone and thatching grass. The inner apartments, however, conform to the old plan. In the market place of the village there are some houses which are two-storied, the front of the ground floor of which have been utilised for shops. These houses do not at all conform to the old 'U'-type but are square or rectangular in
342 ground plan. Near the market place there are three houses
177 of well-to-do Khasis which resemble the bungalows of Europeans of Shillong (and of the Mission house at Mawphlang) in their structure and material. In these modern houses unlike the old ones the main door faces the street. The myntr U. Suburai who is one of the well-to-do persons of Mawphlang village has his old house (that is, the old house he put up for his wife after marriage) of the 'U'-type, the description of which has been given in the preceding table under the name of the owner, the wife of U Suburai, Ka Shyrngeh. But their new house which has been added to their old one in front of it is altogether of the bungalow type. This new house is entered from a porch in front, leading to the central room which is used as parlour. The myntri generally sits here with his friends, round the fire-place, which is not a Dypei but a hearth in European style. The kitchen is beyond this room. Bedrooms open from the drawing room to the sides.

342 A plan of the village showing the distribution of the various
●361 types of hut in Mawphlang is given below. From the plan it
177 will be found that out of the 160 houses in the village, inhabited at present, the typical 'U'-type of huts form about 11·3 per cent.; the flattened 'U'-type about 35·0 per cent.; the intermediate type, which has totally given up the 'U'-shaped ground plan but has its interior of the old type, about 27·5 per cent. and the English bungalow type about 26·2 per cent. This data shows how rapidly the old type of Khasi hut is now changing.



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15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

I. Setting and Economic Background of Sohkynduh and Kongton

361 692 [131] Sohkynduh and Kongton are villages of the Kadashinong,[1] one of the areas under the Cherra Chief. The Kadashinong is situated on the southern slope of the Khasi Hills, in what is called War country. These two villages are situated at the farthest point from both Shella, the centre bordered by the plain, and Cherrapunjee, the seat of the Cherra Chief, one of the centres of the upland Khasi Hills. The people 184 121 [171] at Cherrapunjee say that these villages are one of the most backward parts of the Khasi Hills. They correspond to Rombagiri in the Garo Hills, as they lie in the innermost parts and more traditional economic and social settings have been preserved there than in other villages. These are also the reasons why I selected those villages as my field.

361 [131] [487] It is nine miles to Sohkynduh from Cherrapunjee, crossing two deep valleys towards the east. Kongton is located at the heart of the mountain ranges, ten miles from Cherrapunjee, towards the north-east. It is about twelve miles from Sohkynduh to Kongton, and the way leads through one of the most difficult passes, where even villagers seldom travel. In December, 1955, Sohkynduh was a com- [162] munity of 48 households (List 6), and Kongton of 62 households (List 9). The settlements of both villages are clustered in the southern depressions of a mountain, not far from the summit, a typical location [134] of Khasi villages. Sohkynduh has poor soil, covered with plenty of pieces of stones. The yield therefore is very poor. On the other hand, Kongton, a much older village, enjoys fertile soil, and is one of the most prosperous communities in the Kadashinong.

241 423 [171] [241] The major economy of both villages is shifting cultivation. We have already seen, in the chapters on the Garo, the fundamental technique of "Jhuming cultivation." The differences between the Garo and the Khasi shifting cultivation are to be found in two aspects: one is the nature of the crops and the other is the type of landowner-ship. In this area, the main crop is millet, while that of the Garo is rice. Besides the shifting cultivation, the Khasi have pan-leaf gardens and sometimes pineapple gardens, though on a small scale and not in every household. The most important feature of Khasi shifting cultivation is the development of private ownership. In the tribal areas in Assam, such private ownership of the jhum field is quite an

1. Kadashinong is the name of a group of villages. Its literal meaning is "twelve villages," and it comprises the following villages: Sohkynduh, Ryummai, Mawkaoma, Mawshiet, Mawmang, Kongton, Shyntiang, Kruhiawhiar, Pilei, Tendum, Nongpriang, and Dongpaw. (Khasi spelling follows the customary usage in Cherra State.)

thereafter, the British negotiated treaties with all the Khasi states, the last treaty being signed in 1862. It was contracted that the chiefs would be subject to the authority of a resident political agent, whose duties would involve maintaining law and order, judging cases of heinous crimes, approving the popular selection of any new chief, and exercising control over certain categories of natural resources. Khasis were guaranteed noninterference in their customary way of life, and they were not then, nor are they now, taxed. Most Khasis, as opposed to Jaintias, were never an integral part of British India, but they did undergo social change as a result of British presence. To summarize Mills (n.d.): (1) The British introduced the potato, which the Khasis rapidly took up as a cash crop for marketing as far as Calcutta. The intensive specialization exhausted the soil and made for ever-poorer crops. (2) Christian missionaries made large numbers of converts, and there arose the difficult question of whether a Christian should inherit property that traditionally was earmarked for her performance of non-Christian religious rituals. (3) About 1864 the British transferred their headquarters from Cherrapunji to Shillong. When they made Shillong the capital of the entire state of Assam, non-Khasis flocked to it, land values soared, and the concept of private property became increasingly important. Khasis began to marry with members of other ethnic groups, which introduced confusion into traditional social patterns. These problems were exacerbated during World War II, when Shillong and its environs enjoyed enormous economic prosperity. One notable aftermath of this affluence has been the accelerated enrollments in schools and colleges. Hundreds of Khasis now have the B.A., M.A., and even the Ph.D. degree. • With the Independence of India in 1947, and under the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India (which was drafted by a Khasi), the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills District became a Part B, or Autonomous, Tribal Area, to be governed by a District Council composed largely of Khasis and Jaintias, and responsible not to the Legislature of Assam, but to the Governor of Assam as agent of the President of India. The native-state system and the chiefs still exist, and the District Council finds it difficult to effect legislation which is neither offensive to regional custom nor a simple blueprint of ill-fitting all-India legislation. The major political schism at this time is between Jaintias, who are accustomed to centralized authority and taxation, and Khasis, who resist the notion of taxation to support the work of a central District Council. [Cf. Gait 1926; Aitchison 1931; Bhuyan 1949; Morris 1910.]

175 619 648 [726] [651] [177] 177 648 [244] [439] [134] [797] [428] [635] [633] [167] [563] [423] [973] 648 642 [651] [563] [113]

SETTLEMENT PATTERN AND HOUSING. Settlement pattern. Khasis live sedentarily in named, nucleated, and unplanned villages which are situated just below hill summits to avoid strong winds but still be defensible, and which usually include a de-

361 • [312]

pendable water supply. Villages are about two to five miles apart, and have no boundary markers. In the past, villages contained semipublic buildings and grounds: the home of the village priest (also the home of a chief if he resided in that village), the village marketplace, and tree groves, cremation grounds, or other awesome spots that were believed to be inhabited by supernatural beings. Villages today may have also one or more Christian churches, government social welfare buildings, and schools. Formerly, villages were entered through a guarded gateway; this is no longer the case, and paths feed into villages from all directions. Often several villages are nucleated into one large unit, named and also described as a "village." These were once defense units, but were so uncohesive otherwise that institutionalized rivalry obtained among the component villages. Now, they have been integrated through the agency of all-village public services, especially schools. **Housing.** The traditional Khasi house is entered through a door at the rounded end of a U-shaped ground plan, and is about 20 feet at widest extent; it is about 30 feet deep, and is elliptical or hogback in profile. Its walls are of stone blocks cemented with mud. The roof of grass thatch, supported by a bamboo frame, overhangs the walls on their outside, down to about three feet above the ground. The house is divided into two parts: the front one-third is on the ground level, floored either with stone blocks or tamped earth, and is used for storage of occupational instruments and as a shelter for poultry. The rear two-thirds is raised four feet on piles of stone blocks to a platform of planks, and is partitioned into six rooms, comprising a kitchen, areas for storage of food and water, and sleeping quarters. Furniture is minimal, and the house is totally undecorated. There are no windows, and no smoke vents. A house generally has a companion shed, walled of wood and grass matting and thatched with grass. This serves as a pigsty, but it may be partitioned also to house cows, and it may have a loft for fuel storage. Compounds often contain garden plots, and are fenced around with stone or bamboo and mud. Nowadays, the traditional house has given way to Western-style bungalows of wood and tin, especially in and around Shillong. [Cf. Mukherjee et al. 1941.]

361 [944] [443] [778] [344] [178] [712] [628] [178] [182] 342 352 353 354 343 351 177 184 342

ECONOMY. The Khasi economy is a market economy based on agriculture, and most Khasis are primary producers, sellers, middlemen, and/or providers of services in connection with markets. Khasis are often multioccupational: they produce goods for partial subsistence, and also play some part in trade. **Agriculture.** On the Shillong plateau, the major field crops are potatoes, maize, millets, and dry rice, still produced mostly through swidden farming, with a two- to three-year period of fallow, but increasingly through continuous use of a single field with the aid of ma-

241 433 443 [463] 241

18: Godwin-Austen G-3 (ca. 1872) 1875 AR7
Khasi AR7

211 rude stone monuments. At the village of Nougshai, near
[101] Shillong, are to be seen some very striking monoliths; and
[131] although they do not come up quite to the length of those at Nurtiang (noticed by Dr. Hooker in his "Himalayan Journals"), yet they are very worthy of being mentioned. They stand on
[133] the open spur just above the village, and have been worked out of the beds of the Shillong sandstone series, and some of the smaller blocks have been taken from the conglomerate beds, the lowest in the series, and which come in, in the bed of the ravine, to the north of the spur. There are a number of monuments on this site, large and small, arranged both in line and on two sides of a square; the two largest have their central monoliths—height, 24 ft. 3 in.; width, 5 ft. 6 in.; thickness, 8 in.; and height, 23 ft. 2 in.; width, 2 ft. 9 in.; thickness, 1 ft., respectively.

[126] Plate ii., which is taken from a photograph by Mr. William Robert, Assistant Surveyor in the Khasi Hills survey party, gives an excellent idea of the second largest structure, showing the very massive flat-stone, the "Mao Kynthai," in front. This structure consisted of thirteen upright stones, which could not all be brought into the field of the camera; but the six outside
175 stones on the right are shown. Many of the slabs in the adjacent monuments have been overthrown and broken quite
211 recently, perhaps by Sepoys and camp followers from the military station close by. At one time a mountain battery of Eurasian Artillery was quartered there, and I attribute the overthrow of so many of the stones in the neighbourhood to their handiwork, who would look on such amusement as a "great lark." The Sepoy (native of India) is not of a mischievous disposition; the European and half-European (uneducated) is markedly so. Thus the monument with the highest stone is imperfect, and it must, when perfect, have been a very handsome one. This is a sad pity, after the time and labour that must have been expended in its erection.

361 I did not observe any new slabs anywhere in the immediate
712 neighbourhood. Nougshai must formerly have been a large
[211] and powerful village; it stands on a naturally very strong position, and old lines of fortification are to be traced on many sides, especially on the approach from the direction of the Falls of the Umiam. These old lines of defence are on a curious system: a ditch and bank have been carried forward from the main defences from 200 to 300 yards down the ridge of the spurs, thus effectually preventing an enemy working round the hill sides below the villages.

174 This fortified site points to a state of things in these hills
712 when the relations between the large village communities or
628

743 The table above clearly shows that the medical facilities obtainable in these villages are far from satisfactory. Only 6 villages out of 28 villages have a dispensary either located in the village or within a radius of five miles. Considering the lack of communication facilities and the hilly nature of the district even five miles is often too long a distance for a patient to go to the doctor or for a doctor to attend a patient. When the doctor has to cover long distances the charges become too high. As a result the poorer sections in case of serious illness have to approach unqualified medical men when one is available or otherwise to depend upon the mercy of God. Even for quinine and other cheap medicines one has to go to a dispensary or a private medical practitioner miles away. Reportedly, the more disheartening fact is that the medical help received by the people from Government dispensaries are not often timely and adequate due to non-availability of a doctor and in-adequacy of stock of medicines.

361 364 4.4 **Sanitation.**—Though conditions of housing, sanitations, etc., of the villages are described in village notes in the appendix, it will be pertinent to make some general observations on the point. Unlike other hill tribes, the Khasis select their house sites on the hill slopes and level lands by the side of the hills as a protection from winds. From the fact that the villages are situated in the slopes one might be tempted to think that the sanitary and drainage system of the villages should be quite satisfactory. But in fact it is otherwise in many cases particularly in the case of big villages where too many families huddle up constructing their houses very close to each other thus practically converting the village into a slum. Many of the villages, due to their very location in groves surrounded by thick jungles do not get sufficient sun-light and as a result always remain damp, facilitating frequent incidence of cold and influenza. People answer the call of nature in jungles and bushes in and around the villages. Many of the villages are built on level lands full of swamps, mud and tall weeds, places which provide good breeding place for mosquitoes. Cowsheds and pig sties are built close to the residential quarters which make the villages all the more dirty. Indeed, there are villages enjoying excellent sanitation and health but in majority of the villages there remains a lot to be done for improving the sanitary, drainage systems for educating the people to make their villages more hygienic. From the Government side also, elaborate measures should be adopted to combat and eradicate malaria which is still causing [312] havoc in the district. Similarly, drinking water supply schemes should receive a high priority in a programme of development.

342 4.5 **Housing.**—Majority of the houses in the interior areas are made of thatch and bamboo with wooden planking or stone or earthen floor. Walls are plastered with mud. In higher altitudes houses are lowly roofed presumably as a protection against wind and heavy rain. Some of these houses assume the shape of a half buried cylinder. They generally have only one opening through the main door, though some of them have another in their rear end. They generally contain only two small rooms. One who is not used to such conditions wonders how the inmates, especially when there are five or six of them, could feel comfortable. Houses of the well-to-do people particularly those on the road side, are built in the modern style with C.I. roofing, plank floor, mud plastered, whitewashed

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

361 In the interior of the Hills the largest villages are mere clusters of
463 huts. The great majority of the inhabitants are employed in agriculture, but there are no data upon which a proportion of agriculturists to non-agriculturists could be based.

167 There is no immigration into the District. Both the Khásiás and
178 the Syntengs have been successful in preserving to the present day their primitive isolation, free from the interference of Hinduism. They still maintain their aboriginal forms of belief and re-
[771] ligious worship, and repudiate alike the authority of Bráhmans and
[262] the entire system of caste. To some extent, however, they have given way to Hindu prejudices in the matter of purity of food. The
[563] few Hindus to be found in the Hills are temporary residents, engaged in civil and military employ, who always contemplate returning
[441] to their own homes. The traders are for the most part natives of the Hills; for the Márwárí merchants, who penetrate into every other corner of Assam, have been able to obtain no footing in the face of Khásí competition. There is likewise no emigration from the District. The hillmen are a well-to-do and contented race, and either produce themselves or obtain by trade sufficient to satisfy
[166] their scanty wants. A certain number of both Khásiás and Syntengs proceed southwards every year to work on the tea gardens of Cáchár and Sylhet, but such absence from home is only temporary.

243 AGRICULTURE: RICE.—Thirteen different varieties of rice are cultivated in the District, of which the following is a list, giving the Khásí name as well as the description of the grain:—(1) *U-kyba-khynriam* (*u*, the masculine article, meaning 'the,' and *kyba*, noun masculine, meaning 'paddy'), brown rice with long grain; (2) *u-kyba-khynriam bai-lih*, a white rice with long grain; (3) *u-kyba la-toh*, round-grained rice; (4) *u-kyba ksai*, bearded, husked; (5) *u-kyba-dew-ba-iong*, black husked rice (literally *u* = 'the,' *kyba* = 'paddy,' *dew* = 'earth,' *ba* = 'that,' *iong* = 'black'); (6) *u-kyba-ba-lih*, white rice; (7) *u-kyba-scim*, scented rice (literally *u* = 'the,' *kyba* = 'paddy,' *scim* = 'royal'); (8) *u-kyba la-kroh*, large-grained rice; (9) *u-kyba-ba-tlang*, small-grained rice; (10) *u-kyba sa-bia*, early rice; (11) *u-kyba ru-bon*, late rice; (12) *u-kyba tang-la*, rice grown along with beans; (13) *u-kyba-ba-túh*, small rice.

Rice is cultivated in marshy fields situated near running water as well as in high lands. The first seven of the above thirteen species of rice are sown in marshy lands during the months of April and May,

31: Scherman--71 E-4 (no date) 1915 AP1 Burma
Khasi AK7

101 Of the sub-divisions of these people, the Khasi
131 proper (74)--1911: 120,933--live in the Khasi

74. P.R.T. Gurdon, The Khasis (London, 1907), pp. 1 ff. about house construction pp. 30 ff.

Hills, the kindred Synteng in the Jaintia Hills. The Lynn Gam who are classified by Gurdon as half Khasi and half Garo live in the western part of the Khasi Hills, the people who inhabit the low hill country in the north of the district, which is usually called "Bhoi," are named the Bhoi. Many of them are really Mikir. My obser-
●361 vations of the Khasi are limited to the surrounding of Shillong from where I visited the village of Nongkrem which is about 13 kilometers away (75).

75. Cf. C. Becker, Anthropos 4 (1909), pp. 892-902.

The place is located in a trough between low hills which are covered by large stone boulders. A small water course runs through the village. The huts are partly built along the slopes of the hills which surround the village. The houses
342 (Plate X, 4) all stand on small plots of land which are separated from each other by low stone walls; a narrow passage leads to them from the front side. Sometimes this passage is completely missing, in which event one has to climb over the wall. The houses stand on foundations of layers of irregular stone boulders. The walls are made of wooden boards--sometimes of bamboo--and are covered on the outside by grass. Grass is also used for roofing. Each strand is tied individually to bamboo poles, as in Burma (not as in Bengal where it is squeezed together between bamboo poles). Especially typical is the form of the roof; it is high and steep in the middle and the roof ridge is curved. The roof slopes down

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

178 like the Zemi-Naga, the Cacharee and the Kuki. But after the period of
563 economic prosperity as I shall describe in the next section, the Jatinga people
621 reached a rather high level of education, while most of the neighbouring tribes
[871] remained illiterate. Their standard of living likewise improved. Fashionable girls of Jatinga who have studied at the Convent school in Shillong, and speak English and Hindi, cannot marry half-naked tribesmen who work in the jungle. They prefer to intermarry with Moslem, Panjabee or Assamese who belong to amore sophisticated community, and through whom they can enjoy urban life. Thus the orientation of the intermarriage of the people of Jatinga has changed, along with the growth of Jatinga.

It should be noted that intermarriages came mostly through the contacts at Haflong, where people used to go once a week for the bazaar, rather than through direct contacts with neighbouring villages.

Economy of Jatinga and its Relation to Neighbouring Tribes.

178 It is very interesting to find two different kinds of economy in the same
171 ecological background: Jatinga Khasi practise pan-leaf and orange cultivation
245 and depend mainly on a trading economy, while the other neighbouring tribal peoples practise jhum cultivation, almost a subsistence economy. This situation has remained unchanged for the last fifty years since the establishment of Jatinga village.

101 The first Jatinga immigrants occupied one ridge of the mountain where the
245 present Jatinga is situated. Formerly, this land belonged to the Zemi-Naga, one of the old inhabitants of the Cachar Hills, who possessed a vast jungle area for jhum cultivation. It seems that there was no objection to the Khasi occupying this small spot: it was apparently too small an area for the jhum cultivator —pan-leaf cultivation of the Khasi requires less than one twentieth of the land of the usual jhum cultivation. The Khasi who started pan-leaf cultivation were able to accumulate some capital, and after several years they started orange gardens. They had had experience of orange cultivation in their homeland, but this was the first time they had operated commercially.

245 The success of this orange cultivation was beyond their dreams. Hearing
434 of good oranges at Jatinga, many Bengalee merchants from Dacca, Sylhet,
439 Silchar and Gauhati began to come to buy them. Moreover, the village had the great advantage of being situated near the railway station. Oranges were
[496] sold by carloads. Unimaginable wealth came to the Jatinga people. Especi-
[871] ally the founder's family, including his brother's and sister's, became extraordinarily wealthy; their income used to be Rs. 20,000 a year. The children were sent to the school which was established in the village and some were educated at colleges in Dacca, Sylhet and Shillong. The villagers had
[362] beautiful houses built by Manipuri and Bengalee carpenters. Actually the houses of Jatinga were known as some of the best construction in Assam.

Like the Shella people, they were managers of gardens and employed workers.
245 Wealthy households used to engage several labourers annually, most of them
46 from Jaintia where the Jatinga people had originated. These workers were provided with shelter in the servant quarters of their employer's house, but they had to provide meals for themselves. They were paid daily according to the work done. They were available to other households, when their employer had no work. Some labourers were also engaged locally among the Zemi-Naga, the Cacharee and the Kuki, though not as many as among the Jaintia.
245 These local tribes were fairly well occupied by their jhum cultivation, and not
464 used to being employed as workers. Therefore, most of them were not regular

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

137 and other trees. These are the sacred groves. Here the
778 villagers worship *U ryngkew U basa*, the tutelary deity of
the village. These groves are taboo, and it is an offence to cut
[776] trees therein for any purpose other than for performing funeral
361 obsequies. The groves are generally not more than a few
hundred yards away from the villages. The villages of the
137 Syntengs are similar in character to those of the Khasis. The
245 Wár villages nestle on the hill-sides of the southern border, and
are to be seen peeping out from the green foliage with which
the southern slopes are clad. In the vicinity of, and actually
up to the houses, in the Wár villages, are to be observed large
groves of areca-nut, often twined with the *pan* creeper, and
of plantain trees, which much enhance the beauty of the scene.
Looking at a Wár village from a distance, a darker shade of
green is seen; this denotes the limits of the extensive groves
where the justly celebrated Khasi orange is grown, which is the
361 source of so much profit to these people. The houses in the
Wár villages are generally closer together than those of the
Khasis, probably owing to space being limited, and to the
[363] villages being located on the slopes of hills. Generally up the
narrow village street, and from house to house, there are rough
steep stone steps, the upper portion of a village being frequently
situated at as high an elevation as 200 to 300 ft. above the
lower. In a convenient spot in a Wár village a clear space is
to be seen neatly swept and kept free from weeds, and sur-
rounded with a stone wall, where the village tribunals sit, and
the elders meet in solemn conclave. Dances also are held here
778 on festive occasions. At Nongjri village there is a fine rubber
796 tree, under whose hollow trunk there are certain sacred stones
where the priest performs the village ceremonies.

361 The Bhoi and Lynngam villages are built in small clearings
in the forest, the houses are close together and are built often
[363] in parallel lines, a fairly broad space being reserved between
[351] the lines of houses to serve as a street. One misses the pretty
gardens of the Wár villages, for Bhois and Lynngams attempt
nothing of the sort, probably because, unlike the Khasi, a Bhoi
or Lynngam village never remains more than two or three years
in one spot; generally the villages of these people are in the
vicinity of the forest clearings, sometimes actually in the midst

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20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

disfigured from the practice. Adults will chew as many as four or five betel-nuts a day, with the usual accompaniment of *pán* leaves. The estimated cost of maintaining an average family of the labouring class is about Rs. 8 or 16s. a month. 276 [434]

TOWNS: SHILLONG.—There are no towns in the usual acceptance of the word; but the chief places in the Hills, looked upon by the inhabitants as cities, are Shillong, Jowái, Cherrá Púnjí, and Shellá. According to the Census of 1872, Shillong had only 1363 inhabitants, Cherrá Púnjí 443, and Jowái 4502. Jowái, however, is a collection of rural hamlets, and the population of Shillong has entirely altered since the date of the Census. The latter place first became the Civil Station in 1864, in substitution for Cherrá Púnjí; and when Assam was erected into an independent Province in 1874, it was selected as the permanent seat of the Local Government. The Chief-Commissioner resides there, and also the heads of all departments in the Administration. The area of the Station is 7 miles in length by 1½ to 1¾ miles in breadth. A considerable native population is already settled, and is increasing from day to day. One of the largest weekly markets is held in the *bázár*; and with a view to facilitate access to the Station, which is the sanitarium for the Province of Assam, a cart road has recently been completed to Gauháti on the Brahmaputra, which will tend to make the place more and more important. An excellent water supply is introduced into Shillong through an aqueduct which has its source in the neighbouring hill streams, and sanitary measures are carefully enforced. Large sums of money have annually been expended on the erection of the public buildings necessary for the offices of the administration. A printing-press has been established, from which issue all the official documents and reports of the Province. The climate is excellent, the temperature being more equable than that of any other hill station in India, and therefore admirably suited to the constitution of Europeans. There is a church at Shillong, and a chaplain on the Bengal establishment officiates both there and at Gauháti. The cantonments were occupied in 1875 by the 43d Regiment of Assam Light Infantry, with three outposts. The strength was 9 European officers, 16 native commissioned officers, 80 non-commissioned officers, 772 fighting men, and 58 paid camp followers and non-combatants; grand total, 935. The total cost, including contingencies, was Rs. 189,190, or £18,919.

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632 648

[443] [743] [491] [365] [364] [344] [213] [132] [346] [712]

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

731 pre-eminently filthy villages on the Cherrá Púnjí plateau the epidemic appears to have found a fitting home, for it stayed among them for a period of nine weeks and a half. The civil surgeon reports the deaths at Cherrá Púnjí and the surrounding villages to have amounted to about 175 out of a total of 232 cases. During the year 1876-77 hooping-cough and small-pox were prevalent in an epidemic form. In the Jáintiá Hills small-pox is stated to have caused 47 deaths, chiefly during the months of June, July, and August. Some fatal cases of hooping-cough occurred among the Khási children in the village of Máokhar, near Shillong. The only two cases of cholera reported were in the Jáintiá Hills.

16 VITAL STATISTICS.—A general system of registration is not [659] attempted throughout the Khási and Jáintiá Hills District. Statistics [648] of births and deaths are only collected among the inhabitants of the Stations of Shillong and Cherrá Púnjí, and in the selected area in the vicinity of Jowái, which comprises the following seven villages:—Jowái, Nongbah, Nartiang, Mynsau, Amwí, Ralliang, and Shampúng. This selected area has a population of 12,504. Each village forms a distinctly-circumscribed community, in which the statistics are readily ascertained and reported by the *dolloi* or head-man. The returns may be regarded as extremely close to the truth, both for births and deaths; and they thus furnish an approximate statement of the health of the entire Hills. In 1874 the total number of deaths in the selected area was 351, showing a death rate of 28 per thousand; the number of births was 431, or 34·4 per thousand. The total population of all the places in which vital statistics are collected is 15,458 persons, among whom 428 deaths were recorded in 1874, showing a death-rate of 27·6 per thousand, as compared with 27·3 per thousand in the preceding year. The deaths were thus distributed—24 from cholera, 296 from fever, 38 from bowel complaints, 2 from snake-bite or wild beasts, and 68 from all other causes. The mortality from fevers was the highest recorded throughout the entire Province. On this the civil surgeon observes:—'There are few local sources of malaria in the Hills. Many of the deaths from fever were probably due to typhoid, induced by the use of impure water and by the filthy state in which the people live. There is no attempt at conservancy in a Khási village. 312 In Jowái, a good specimen of the class, the lanes and pathways are 364 strewn with excrement and house refuse. Drinking water is got 164 from wells in the heart of the village, fed by the drainage of the

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

312

surface soil of the hills upon which the houses are built.' Cholera is attributed to importation from the plains. 364 [164]

SANITATION.—It has already been stated that the ordinary Khási villages are absolutely destitute of any conservancy arrangements. The sanitary condition, however, of the Station of Shillong is described as 'good.' The natural drainage is excellent. Drinking water is obtained chiefly from hill streams, and on the banks of these streams conservancy regulations are enforced. The water is conducted into the town by means of an artificial water-course. Public latrines have been erected at suitable places inside the town. The staff of sweepers and *beldárs* keeps the roads and drains clean, and the surface generally free from pollution. The sanitary condition of the cantonment is reported to be very good.

CHARITABLE DISPENSARY.—There is one dispensary in the Khási and Jáintiá Hills—at the Station of Shillong. It was first opened in 1872, and considerable additions have since been made to the building. During 1874 a total sum of Rs. 775. 8, or £77, 11s., was expended on new constructions and repairs, towards which the European residents subscribed Rs. 329. There is now accommodation for 10 male and 3 female patients. In that year the total number of in-door patients treated was 44, of whom 9 died, giving a death-rate of 20·45 per cent. The number of out-door patients was 529, or an average daily attendance of 7·8. Of the grand total of patients of both classes, only 31 were females. The largest number of cases are classified under the headings of fevers and constipation and colic. The total income during the year was Rs. 1598. 13. 9, or £159, 17s. 8d., of which Government contributed Rs. 300 for salaries, and an additional Rs. 300 as a special allowance. The European subscriptions amounted to Rs. 869, as compared with Rs. 33 subscribed by natives. The total expenditure was Rs. 1187. 15. 6, or £118, 16s., leaving a balance in hand of Rs. 410. 14. 3. The chief items were Rs. 480 for salaries of medical subordinates, Rs. 160 for servants' wages, and Rs. 222 for dieting of sick. There were 53 minor operations performed during the year. 743 [164]

The people of the District have no system of medicine of their own, and no native practitioners. Their sole remedies consist in divination and incantation. The only indigenous native drugs are chireta and wormwood. As stated in a previous paragraph, a small cinchona plantation was established by Government at Nongklao in 1867. 755 278 648 654

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

133 they form rapids, the waters precipitating themselves down deep, rocky gorges and chasms, choked with huge boulders. Some of these gorges are very beautiful; the streams, being hemmed in between stupendous mountains and rocks covered with primeval forest, run in narrow but very deep channels swarming with fish. No islands or lakes are formed by any of the rivers, although several of them have large, deep pools. They are all unfordable during the rains.

312 Utilization of the Water Supply.—None of the rivers are utilized as a motive power for turning machinery, although the streams on the higher plateaux might be easily turned to such an account. Their waters, however, are extensively used for the purposes of irrigation, and the hill people display great ingenuity in cutting channels or aqueducts for leading the water on to their fields. It is in this manner that the Civil Station of Shillong [365] receives its water supply. Aqueducts convey water to the houses of all the European residents; and branch channels from the main aqueduct flow through the *Máwár*, and along the streets occupied by the native inhabitants. No fishing towns exist in the hills; but [226] near where the rivers debouch upon the plain are some valuable [563] fisheries, which are annually let in farm, the lessees being generally Bengális. These fisheries yield an annual Government revenue of about £300. Embankments in order to protect the land against floods do not exist. A few embankments, or rather dams, are thrown across narrow valleys between hills, so as to create reservoirs for water. At Shillong there are a few tanks thus formed, which are both useful and ornamental.

135 Minerals, etc.—Coal and limestone, both of excellent quality, are found in abundance. Lower Bengal obtains nearly the whole of its lime supply from the Khásí and Jáintiá Hills. The lime is known as 'Sylhet lime,' and is obtained by quarrying from the beds of stone which line the base of the mountains along the whole length of the Sylhet boundary. The supply is literally inexhaustible. Coal out-crops at Cherrá Pínjí, Lá-ká-dong, Shellá, Máo-syn-rám, and at several other places; but as a rule it is scattered, and found in places difficult of access. The coal, however, is of excellent quality, and leaves very little ash. Stone, well adapted for building purposes, is also found. Ironstone exists almost everywhere throughout the Hills, but principally in the dependent States of Khyrim, Nongpung, Cherrá, and Myllíem. In former years the Khásás were 000

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disfigured from the practice. Adults will chew as many as four or five betel-nuts a day, with the usual accompaniment of *pân* leaves. The estimated cost of maintaining an average family of the labouring class is about Rs. 8 or 16a. a month. 276 [434]

TOWNS: SHILLONG.—There are no towns in the usual acceptance of the word; but the chief places in the Hills, looked upon by the inhabitants as cities, are Shillong, Jowai, Cherrá Pinji, and Shellá. According to the Census of 1872, Shillong had only 1363 inhabitants, Cherrá Pinji 443, and Jowai 4502. Jowai, however, is a collection of rural hamlets, and the population of Shillong has entirely altered since the date of the Census. The latter place first became the Civil Station in 1864, in substitution for Cherrá Pinji; and when Assam was erected into an independent Province in 1874, it was selected as the permanent seat of the Local Government. The Chief-Commissioner resides there, and also the heads of all departments in the Administration. The area of the Station is 7 miles in length by 1½ to 1¾ miles in breadth. A considerable native population is already settled, and is increasing from day to day. One of the largest weekly markets is held in the *Aduir*; and with a view to facilitate access to the Station, which is the sanitarium for the Province of Assam, a cart road has recently been completed to Gauhátí on the Brahmaputra, which will tend to make the place more and more important. An excellent water supply is introduced into Shillong through an aqueduct which has its source in the neighbouring hill streams, and sanitary measures are carefully enforced. Large sums of money have annually been expended on the erection of the public buildings necessary for the offices of the administration. A printing-press has been established, from which issue all the official documents and reports of the Province. The climate is excellent, the temperature being more equable than that of any other hill station in India, and therefore admirably suited to the constitution of Europeans. There is a church at Shillong, and a chaplain on the Bengal establishment officiates both there and at Gauhátí. The cantonments were occupied in 1873 by the 43d Regiment of Assam Light Infantry, with three outposts. The strength was 9 European officers, 16 native commissioned officers, 80 non-commissioned officers, 770 fighting men, and 58 paid camp followers and non-combatants; grand total, 933. The total cost, including contingencies, was Rs. 185,190, or £18,519.

632 632 648 [443] [743] [491] [365] [364] [344] [213] [132] [346] [312]

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considering. Some of the leading characteristics of the Lyngams will now be detailed. The Lyngams are by complexion swarthy, with features of Mongolian type. The men are of middle height and the women remarkably short, both sexes being not nearly so robust as the Khasis, a result due probably to climatic influences, for the Lyngams live in fever-haunted jungles. The men have very little hair about the face, although a scanty moustache is sometimes seen, the hairs in the centre being carefully plucked out, the result being two tufts on either side. Beards are never seen. The women are ill-favoured, and wear very little clothing. The men wear the sleeveless coat of the Khasi and Mikir pattern, called *phong-marong*, which is made of cotton dyed red, blue, and white. This custom may have been borrowed from the Khasis. They do not grow their own cotton, but obtain it from the plains. They make their own dyes, *changlong* (red) and *kar sai-long* (black). A cotton cloth, barely enough for purposes of decency, is tied between the legs, the ends being allowed to hang down in front and behind. Sometimes an apron is worn in front. At the present day the men wear knitted woollen caps, generally black or red, of the Nongstoin pattern (a sort of fisherman's cap), but the elderly men and head-men wear turbans. The females wear a cotton cloth about eighteen inches broad round the loins, sometimes striped red and blue, but more often only dark blue. A blue or red cloth is thrown loosely across the shoulders by unmarried girls, but married women only wear the waist-cloth, like the Garos. A cloth is tied round the head by married women, sometimes, Garo fashion. The women wear quantities of blue beads as necklaces, like their Garo sisters. They obtain the beads from the Garo markets at the foot of the hills. Brass ear-rings are worn by both sexes; the women, like the Garos, load their ears to such an extent with brass rings as to distend the holes greatly. Silver armlets are worn by the head-men only, or by those who possess the means to give a great feast to the villagers. This is the custom of the Garo *sokmas*, or head-men. Both sexes wear bracelets. The men also wear necklaces of beads. The rich wear necklaces of cornelian and another stone which is thought by the Lyngams to be valuable. A necklace of such stones is called *o'piong blei* (god's necklace).

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

vation is impossible because of the cold climate. In the past, Khasi economy must have remained at a very primitive stage. 178 244

Potato cultivation has been much encouraged along with the development of Shillong and the opening of the motor road to Gauhati from Shillong after the Independence of India when Shillong became the seat of the Assam Government, as well as the capital of the Khasi-Jaintia Hills. Shillong has become an important trading centre, where big merchants collect the harvests of potatoes in exchange for rice, clothes and various other goods from the Assam valley. These changes have introduced the Khasis into an active commercial economy which again has brought about various changes in their social life. Recently coal excavations have started in the upland Khasi Hills, and many Khasi become miners. 178 433 369 [244] [633] [491] [439] [316]

Thus the history of the Khasi Hills during the last hundred years has changed a great deal the picture of the Hills. However, dark corners still remain in Bhoi, War and in the area bordering on the Garo Hills. These have been kept in a vacuum between the Hindu civilization of the bordering plain and the modernization of the uplands centred in Shillong. In these areas, the people are still practising primitive jhum cultivation. I have chosen two villages in War located in one of these area as subjects of my major field-work. 178 184

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Garo Hills	117	162
Manipur	69	101
Total	4,091*	

The following information regarding the general aspect of [127] the Khasi and Jaintia Hills district, with some additions, is 133 derived from Sir William Hunter's Statistical Account of Assam. The district consists almost entirely of hills, only a very small portion lying in the plains. The slope of the hills on the southern side is very steep until a table-land is met with at an elevation of about 4,000 feet at Cherrapunji. Higher up there is another plateau at Mawphlang. This is the [361] highest portion of the hills, some villages being found at as high an elevation as close on 6,000 feet above sea level. Fifteen miles to the east of Mawphlang, and in the same range, is situated the civil station of Shillong, at an average elevation of about 4,900 feet. The elevation of the Shillong Peak, the highest hill in the district, is 6,450 feet above sea level. On the northern side of the hills are two plateaux, one between 1,000 and 2,000 feet below the level of Shillong, and another at an elevation of about 2,000 feet above sea level. In general features all these plateaux are much alike, and consist of a succession of undulating downs, broken here and there by the valleys of the larger hill streams. In the higher ranges, where 137 the hills have been denuded of forest, the country is covered 185 with short grass, which becomes longer and more rank in the 374 lower elevations. This denudation of forest has been largely 327 due to the wood being used by the Khasis for fuel for iron smelting in days gone by. The Government, however, has taken steps to protect the remaining forests from further 137 spoliation. A remarkable feature is the presence of numerous sacred groves situated generally just below the brows of the [778] hills. In these woods are to be found principally oak and rhododendron trees. The fir-tree (Pinus Khasia) is first met with on the road from Gauhati to Shillong, at Umsning, at an elevation of about 2,500 feet. In the neighbourhood of Shillong the fir grows profusely, but the finest fir-trees are to be seen

* The figures for Khasi population in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills district will be found under "Habitat."

headquarters of the Administration. The manufacture of country spirit gives employment to a considerable number of persons, most of whom are females. At a recent census of the country stills in the district, undertaken by the district officials, the number of stills has been found to be 1,530. There must be at least one person employed at each still, so that the number of distillers is probably not less than 2,000, possibly more. The spirit is distilled both for home consumption and for purposes of sale, in some villages almost entirely for sale. In the Jaintia Hills stock-breeding and dealing in cattle provides occupation for 1,295 people, according to the last census. The cattle are reared in the Jaintia Hills and are driven down to the plains when they reach the age of maturity, where they find a ready market amongst the Sylhetis. Cattle are also driven into Shillong for sale from the Jaintia Hills. Another place for rearing cattle is the Siemship of Nongkhlaw, where there is good pasturage in the neighbourhood of Mairang. These cattle are either sold in Shillong or find their way to the Kamrup district by the old Nongkhlaw road. Cattle-breeding is an industry which is capable of expansion in these hills. There are a few carpenters to be found in Shillong and its neighbourhood. The Khasis are said by Col. Waddell to be unacquainted with the art of weaving; but the fact that a considerable weaving industry exists amongst the Khyrwang villages of the Syntengs, and at Mynso and Suhtnga, has been overlooked by him. The Khyrwangs weave a special pattern of cotton and silk cloth, striped red and white. In Mynso and Suhtnga similar cloths are woven, also the sleeveless coat. In former days this industry is said to have been considerable, but it has been displaced to a large extent of late years by Manchester piece goods. The number of weavers returned at the last census in the district was 533. The Khasis and Mikirs of the low country, or Bhois as they are called, weave cotton cloths which they dye with the leaves of a plant called *u noli*. This is perhaps the wild indigo, or *ram*, of the Shan settlers in the Assam Valley. The weavers are almost always females. An important means of subsistence is road and building work; a considerable number of coolies, both male and female, are employed under Government, practically throughout the year, in

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COTTON CLOTHS.

283 In the Jaintia Hills at Mynso cotton is spun into thread, and
288 weaving is carried on there, but on a limited scale. The Mynso people weave the small strips of cloth worn by the men to serve the purpose of the Assamese *lengti* or Hindi *languti*. In Suhtnga the people import cotton thread from Mynso and weave the (*ingki*) or sleeveless coat, peculiar to the district; these coats are dyed red and blue. The dark blue or black dye
824 is obtained from the leaf of a plant called *u sybu*, which
386 Mr. Rita has classified as *strobilanthus hoeditolius*, which
288 grows in the gardens round the homesteads. The leaves are dried, then reduced to powder, mixed with hot water, and the skeins of thread are steeped in the liquid. The colour is permanent. The red dye is obtained from the mixture of the dry bark of two shrubs, *ka lapyndong* (*symplocos racemosa*, Roxb.), and *ka 'larnong* (*morinda-tinctoria*, Roxb.), the latter being the same as the Assamese (আচুকাঠ) *áchukáth*. The bark is dried, then pounded, and the two sorts are mixed together and made into a paste with hot water. The skeins are steeped in this mixture for twenty-four hours, then taken out and divided, and again steeped for another twenty-four hours. The Lalungs and Bhois and Lynngams all weave cotton cloths, which are generally dyed blue, sometimes striped blue and red. The Wárs weave cotton cloths which are dyed red and yellow, the cloths being woven in checks. Mr. Darrah remarks that the cotton grown in the Jaintia Hills is said to be the best cotton produced in the province. Its thread can be more closely woven than that of other kinds. This statement, however, is not borne out by Mr. Allen writing in 1858, who says that the cotton is of inferior quality, the staple being short and woolly. The cotton cloths woven by the Bhois are called *spua*.

POTTERY.

[162] The Census Report of 1901 gave the number of persons who
323 are supported by the manufacture of pottery at 54 only. Pottery is manufactured at one place only in the Jaintia Hills,

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000 credited, owing, no doubt, to the advance of Christianity and education.

CEREMONIES AND CUSTOMS ATTENDING BIRTH AND NAMING OF CHILDREN.

844 The Khasi birth ceremonies and customs are as follows:—
[784] When a child is born the umbilical cord is cut by a sharp
782 splinter of bamboo; no knife can be used on this occasion. The Mundas of Chota Nagpur similarly taboo a metal instrument for this purpose. The child is then bathed in hot water from a red earthen pot. The placenta is carefully preserved in an earthen vessel in the house till after the naming ceremony has taken place. When the umbilical cord, after being tied, falls off, a puja is performed with eggs to certain water deities (*ka blei sam-um* and *ka niangriung*),* also to a forest spirit
553 (*u'suid bri* or *u'suid khláw*). The naming ceremony of the child
386 is performed the next morning after the birth. Certain females are invited to come and pound rice in a mortar into flour. The flour when ready is placed on a bamboo winnower (*u prah*). Fermented rice is mixed with water and is placed in a gourd. Some powdered turmeric is also provided, and is kept ready in a plantain leaf, also five pieces of *'kha piah*, or dried fish. The earthen pot containing the placenta is then placed in the *nongpei*, or centre room of the house. If the child is a male, they place near him a bow and three arrows (the implements of a Khasi warrior); if a female, a *da* and *u star*, or cane
553 head-strap for carrying burdens. An elderly man, who knows
782 how to perform the naming puja, which is called by the Khasis "*kaba jer khun*," places a plantain-leaf on the floor and sprinkles some water on it. He takes the gourd in his hand and calls a god to witness. The people assembled then mention a number of names for the child, and ask the man who is performing the puja to repeat them. This he does, and at the same time pours a little liquor from the gourd on to the ground. As he goes on pouring, the liquor by degrees becomes exhausted, and finally only a few drops remain. The name at the repeat-

* A spirit which is supposed to have the power of causing a disease of the navel of a child.

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ing of which the last drop of liquor remains adhering to the spout of the gourd is the name selected for the child. Then the puja performer invokes the god to grant good luck to the child. The father takes the pot containing the placenta, after having previously placed rice flour and fermented rice therein, and waves it three times over the child, and then walks out with it through the main entrance of the house and hangs up the pot to a tree outside the village. When he returns from this duty, before he re-enters the house, another throws water over the father's feet. The father, being thus cleansed, enters, and holds the rice flour to his mouth three times. Two people then, holding the dried fish by their two ends, break them in two. The powdered turmeric mixed with rice flour and water is applied to the right foot of the father, the mother and the child receiving the same treatment. The friends and relations are then anointed, the turmeric being applied, however, to their left feet. The bow, arrows, *da*, and *u star* are carefully placed inside the inner surface of the thatch on the roof, and the ceremony is over. Rice flour is then distributed to all who are present, and the male adults are given liquor to drink. After two or three months the ears of the child are bored and ear-rings are inserted. These ear-rings are called *ki shashkor iawbei* (i.e. the ear-rings of the great-grandmother). Mr. Jenkins mentions that the naming ceremony amongst the Syntengs is performed by the "eldest aunt," presumably on the mother's side. A basket of eggs is placed in the centre of the room, and before the ceremony begins one egg has to be broken. Then the aunt of the child takes two sticks, and, raising them to her shoulder, lets them fall to the ground. Before they fall she shouts, "What name do you give the child?" The name is mentioned, and if, on falling upon the ground, one stick crosses the other, it is a proof that the name has won the approval of the spirit. If the sticks do not fall in this position, another egg is broken and another name is chosen, and the sticks are dropped as before until they fall in the required position, when it is understood by the performers that the name is a good one. Mr. Jenkins was informed by a young man "who had renounced heathenism" that some of the more cunning women cross the sticks before lifting them, and that

553 782 [386] [302] 553 304 553 [104]

children, but Christian influence has eradicated or driven underground the consumption by women and children. **Industrial arts.** The only industrial arts traditionally practiced in all households were a rudimentary carpentry and a simple utilitarian basketry. Other arts were few, and were practiced as village specialties: the washing and smelting of iron ore and the forging of hoes, daos, knives, swords, and cooking pots (upland Khasis); the spinning of cotton thread (Mynso village, Jaintia); the dyeing of cotton thread and the weaving of cloth (Jaintias, Bhois, Lyngngams, Wars); the spinning and weaving of Eri silk (Khyrwang and Nongtung villages, Bhoi and Jaintia); and the hand manufacture, without wheel, of painted earthenware pots (Larnai village, Jaintia). Ironworking and the production of cotton goods have nearly died out through the competition of machine-made goods. Carpentry has greatly improved. An innovation of major importance is the sewing and tailoring, on sewing machines, of ready-made garments for both sexes. [Cf. Darrah 1896; C., W. 1832.] **Trade.** Khasi villages normally contain a number of household shops operated by women. Every Khasi also lives within walking distance of several village markets that are held on successive days of the eight-day week. The limits of market intercourse for the members of any particular village can be roughly distinguished by their naming the days of their week, which are called after the active markets. The exception is the huge market at Shillong, much of which is active daily, and which serves as a magnet for Khasis from all over the hills. The traditional barter has given way to currency in all markets. The small ones contain at least some local farm produce, plus other essentials like betel nut, and the food and tea stalls which serve as centers of social intercourse. The big markets contain not only regional produce and manufactures but also products from distant parts of the hills, brought for sale by traveling middlemen. There is also substantial trade, from the hills to the valleys, in potatoes, pears, hides, lac, cotton, caoutchouc, the wood of the sal tree, Eri silk thread, limestone, coal, ivory, bay leaf, betel nut, pan leaves, bananas, sugar cane, oranges, til, turmeric, and chilies. From the plains to the hills, there is trade in dried fish, paddy rice, salt, cooking oil, kerosene, matches, tea, sugar, wheat flour, machine-made cloth, shoes, metal pots, crockery, porcelain objects, coral beads, silver, and gold. Markets are important not only as economic institutions but also as centers for recreation (including archery competitions), courtship, reaffirmation of kinship ties with distant relatives, and the dissemination of information of all kinds. [Cf. Stegmiller 1924a.] **Division of labor.** Men do the heavy work, such as clearing and burning the swidden fields, caring for cattle and goats and driving them to market, butchering and selling large cuts of beef and pork, carpentry and mining, and driving and laboring on motor vehicles. They also tailor men's

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411 of anything except iron or steel, the result being that the sword
314 is most awkward to hold, and could never have been of much use as a weapon of offence.

The same spear is used for thrusting and casting. The spear is not decorated with wool or hair like the spears of the Naga tribes, but it is nevertheless a serviceable weapon, and would be formidable in the hand of a resolute man at close quarters. The length of the spear is about 6½ feet. The shaft is generally of bamboo, although sometimes of ordinary wood. The spear heads are forged in the local smithies.

The Khasi weapon *par excellence* is the bow. Although no 'Robin Hoods," the Khasis are very fair archers, and they use the bow largely for hunting. The Khasi bow (*ka ryntieh*) is of bamboo, and is about 5 feet in height. The longest bow in use
[141] is said to be about the height of a man, the average height amongst the Khasis being about about 5 feet 2 inches to 5 feet 4 inches. The bowstring is of split bamboo, the bamboos that are used being *u spit*, *u shken*, and *u siej-lieh*.

The arrows (*ki khnam*) are of two kinds: (*a*) the barbed-headed (*ki pliang*), and (*b*) the plain-headed (*sop*). Both are made out of bamboo. The first kind is used for hunting,
[526] the latter for archery matches only. Archery may be styled the Khasi national game. A description of Khasi archery will be found under the heading "Games." The feathers
[825] of the following birds are used for arrows:—Vultures, geese, cranes, cormorants, and hornbills. Arrow-heads are made of iron or steel, and are forged locally. The distance a Khasi arrow will carry, shot from the ordinary bow by a man of medium strength, is 150 to 180 yards. The Khasi
[237] shield is circular in shape, of hide, and studded with brass or silver. In former days shields of rhinoceros hide are said to have been used, but nowadays buffalo skin is used. The shields would stop an arrow or turn aside a spear or sword thrust. The present-day shield is used merely for purposes of display.

389 Before the advent of the British into the hills the Khasis are said to have been acquainted with the art of manufacturing gunpowder, which was prepared in the neighbourhood of Mawsanram, Kynchi, and Cherra. The gunpowder used to be

manufactured of saltpetre, sulphur, and charcoal, the three ingredients being pounded together in a mortar. The Jaintia Rajas possessed cannon, two specimens of which are still to be seen at Jaintiapur. Their dimensions are as follows:—

Length, 9 feet; circumference in the middle, 3 feet 2 inches; diameter of the bore 3 inches. There are some old cannon also at Lyngkyrdem and at Kyndiar in the Khyrim State, of the same description as above. These cannon were captured from the Jaintia Raja by the Siem of Nongkrem. No specimens of the cannon ball used are unfortunately available. There are also small mortars, specimens of which are to be seen in the house of the Siem of Mylliem.

The weapons of the Syntengs are the same as those of the Khasis, although some of them are called by different names. At Nartiang I saw an old Khasi gun, which the people say was fired from the shoulder. I also saw a mortar of the same pattern as the one described amongst the Khasi weapons.

The Wár and Lynngam weapons are also the same, but with different names. The only weapons used by the Bhois (Mikirs) are the spear and bill-hook for cutting down jungle. Butler, writing of the Mikirs 1854, says, "Unlike any other hill tribes of whom we have any knowledge, the Mikirs seem devoid of anything approaching to a martial spirit. They are a quiet, industrious, race of cultivators, and the only weapons used by them are the spear and *da* hand-bill for cutting down jungle. It is said, after an attempt to revolt from the Assamese rule, they were made to forswear the use of arms, which is the cause of the present generation having no predilection for war."

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reared either for food or as articles of trade. A pair of ploughing oxen are worth about Rs. 32, or £3, 4s.; an ordinary cow, Rs. 12, or £1, 4s.; a score of kids six months old, Rs. 16, or £1, 12s.; and a score of full-grown pigs, from Rs. 100 to Rs. 160, or from £10 to £16. 231 435

THE AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS in use in the District consist of a plough, called *ka-jing-lúr* in Khásí, and a hoe or *kedálli*, called *u-imo-khiw*. When the cultivation is carried on by means of oxen, the plough is used, the hoe alone being used when the land is cultivated by manual labour. In the Khási Hills the use of the plough, except in a few rare cases, is entirely unknown; but in the Jáintiá Hills, oxen and ploughs are used to a greater extent. What is technically termed 'a plough' of land is equivalent to four English acres; a pair of oxen, together with the necessary implements, would represent a capital of about Rs. 40, or £4. 241 407 [435]

WAGES.—The Deputy-Commissioner reports that the price of labour in the District has more than doubled in the last ten years. The rates obtaining at present are from eightpence to one shilling a day for an ordinary labourer, and from one shilling to eighteenpence a day for a porter. An agricultural day-labourer earns sixpence, and a woman at the same work fourpence-halfpenny a day. Bricklayers, carpenters, and blacksmiths earn from a shilling to eighteenpence a day. The new Station of Shillong, the present seat of the Local Government, was established in May 1864, and since that date the demand for labour has markedly increased. The extension of the cultivation of potatoes has also had an appreciable effect on the price of labour. 178 464 465 [244]

PRICES OF FOOD GRAINS.—Of the different descriptions of rice in the markets of the District, the better sorts are imported from the neighbouring Districts of Sylhet and Kámrúp. The local produce is considered fit only for the use of the Khásiás. The price of the better descriptions depends entirely upon the distance from which the supplies come. In a distant market like that of Shillong, rice of the best quality generally sells at from 6 to 7 *sers* for the rupee, or from 16s. to 18s. 8d. per cwt.; and rice of inferior quality, which is only used by the poorer classes, at from 9 to 10 *sers* for the rupee, or from 11s. 2d. to 12s. 5d. per cwt. Little or no trade is carried on in unhusked grain. Paddy produced in the District generally sells at an average of from 15 to 16 *sers* per rupee, or from 7s. to 7s. 6d. per cwt. Indian corn, which is only grown to a small extent, is sold 435 439 243

Silver chains are worn by men as well as by women. The men wear them round the waist like a belt, and the women hang them round their necks, the chains being allowed to depend as low as the waist. Bracelets are worn by women; these are either of gold or of silver. The Lynngam males wear bead necklaces, the beads being sometimes of cornelian gathered from the beds of the local hill streams, and sometimes of glass obtained from the plains markets of Damra and Moiskhola. The cornelian necklaces are much prized by the Lynngams, and are called by them '*pieng blei*, or gods' necklaces. Like the Garos, the Lynngams wear as many brass earrings as possible, the lobes of the ears of the females being frequently greatly distended by their weight. These earrings are made out of brass wire obtained from the plains markets. The Lynngams wear silver armlets above the elbow and also on the wrists. It is only a man who has given a great feast who can wear silver armlets above the elbows. These armlets are taken off as a sign of mourning, but never on ordinary occasions. The Lynngams do not wear Khasi jewellery, but jewellery of a pattern to be seen in the Garo Hills. A distinctive feature of the Lynngam women is the very large number of blue bead necklaces they wear. They put on such a large number as to give them almost the appearance of wearing horse collars. These beads are obtained from the plains markets, and are of glass. Further detailed information regarding this subject can be obtained from Mr. Henniker's monograph, which contains a good plate illustrating the different articles of jewellery.

WEAPONS.

The weapons of the Khasis are swords, spears, bows and arrows, and a circular shield which was used formerly for purposes of defence. The swords are usually of wrought iron, occasionally of steel, and are forged in the local smithies. The Khasi sword is of considerable length, and possesses the peculiarity of not having a handle of different material from that which is used for the blade. In the Khasi sword the handle is never made of wood or bone, or

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411 of anything except iron or steel, the result being that the sword
314 is most awkward to hold, and could never have been of much use as a weapon of offence.

The same spear is used for thrusting and casting. The spear is not decorated with wool or hair like the spears of the Naga tribes, but it is nevertheless a serviceable weapon, and would be formidable in the hand of a resolute man at close quarters. The length of the spear is about 6½ feet. The shaft is generally of bamboo, although sometimes of ordinary wood. The spear heads are forged in the local smithies.

The Khasi weapon *par excellence* is the bow. Although no "Robin Hoods," the Khasis are very fair archers, and they use the bow largely for hunting. The Khasi bow (*ka synthiah*) is of bamboo, and is about 5 feet in height. The longest bow in use
[141] is said to be about the height of a man, the average height amongst the Khasis being about about 5 feet 2 inches to 5 feet 4 inches. The bowstring is of split bamboo, the bamboos that are used being *u spit*, *u shken*, and *u siej-lieh*.

The arrows (*ki khnam*) are of two kinds: (*a*) the barted-headed (*ki pliang*), and (*b*) the plain-headed (*sop*). Both are made out of bamboo. The first kind is used for hunting,
[826] the latter for archery matches only. Archery may be styled the Khasi national game. A description of Khasi archery will be found under the heading "Games." The feathers
[825] of the following birds are used for arrows:—Vultures, geese, cranes, cormorants, and hornbills. Arrow-heads are made of iron or steel, and are forged locally. The distance a Khasi arrow will carry, shot from the ordinary bow by a man of medium strength, is 150 to 180 yards. The Khasi
[237] shield is circular in shape, of hide, and studded with brass or silver. In former days shields of rhinoceros hide are said to have been used, but nowadays buffalo skin is used. The shields would stop an arrow or turn aside a spear or sword thrust. The present-day shield is used merely for purposes of display.

389 Before the advent of the British into the hills the Khasis are said to have been acquainted with the art of manufacturing gunpowder, which was prepared in the neighbourhood of Mawsanram, Kynchi, and Cherra. The gunpowder used to be

manufactured of saltpetre, sulphur, and charcoal, the three ingredients being pounded together in a mortar. The Jaintia Rajas possessed cannon, two specimens of which are still to be seen at Jaintiapur. Their dimensions are as follows:—

Length, 9 feet; circumference in the middle, 3 feet 2 inches; diameter of the bore 3 inches. There are some old cannon also at Lyngkyrdem and at Kyndiar in the Khyrim State, of the same description as above. These cannon were captured from the Jaintia Raja by the Siem of Nongkrem. No specimens of the cannon ball used are unfortunately available. There are also small mortars, specimens of which are to be seen in the house of the Siem of Mylliem.

The weapons of the Syntengs are the same as those of the Khasis, although some of them are called by different names. At Nartiang I saw an old Khasi gun, which the people say was [illegible] pattern as the one described amongst the Khasi weapons.

The Wár and Lyngam weapons are also the same, but with different names. The only weapons used by the Bhois (Mikirs) are the spear and bill-hook for cutting down jungle. Butler, writing of the Mikirs 1854, says, "Unlike any other hill tribes of whom we have any knowledge, the Mikirs seem devoid of anything approaching to a martial spirit. They are a quiet, industrious, race of cultivators, and the only weapons used by them are the spear and *da* hand-bill for cutting down jungle. It is said, after an attempt to revolt from the Assamese rule, they were made to forswear the use of arms, which is the cause of the present generation having no predilection for war."

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

about Rs. 30. The price of lac has risen a good deal of late years. Formerly the price was about Rs. 15 to Rs. 20 a maund. The lac trade in the Jaintia Hills and in the southern portion of the Khyrim State is a valuable one. The profits, however, go largely to middle-men, who in the Jaintia Hills are Syntengs from Jowai, who give out advances to the Bhoi cultivators on the condition that they will be repaid in lac. The Marwari merchants from the plains attend all the plains markets which are frequented by the hill-men, and buy up the lac and export it to Calcutta. The whole of the lac is of the kind known as stick lac.

HUNTING.

The weapons used by the Khasis for hunting are bows and arrows, the latter with barbed iron heads, and spears which are used both for casting and thrusting. Before proceeding on a hunting expedition the hunters break eggs, in order to ascertain whether they will be successful or not, and to which jungle they should proceed. Offerings are also made to certain village deities, *e.g. U. Ryngkew, u Basa*, and *u Basa ki mrád*. A lucky day having been selected and the deities propitiated, the hunters start with a number of dogs trained to the chase, the latter being held on leashes by a party of men called *ki nongai-ksew*. When the dogs have picked up the scent some hunters are placed as "stops" (*ki ktem*), at points of vantage in the jungle, and the drive commences with loud shouts from the hunters, the same being continued until the object of the chase breaks into the open. The man who draws the first blood is called *u nongsiat*, and the second man who scores a hit *u nongban*. These two men get larger shares of the flesh than the others. The *nongsiat* obtains the lower half of the body of the animal, thighs and feet excepted, called *ka tdong*, and the *nongban* one of the forequarters called *ka tabla*. The other hunters obtain a string of flesh each, and each hound gets a string of flesh to itself. These hunting parties pursue deer sometimes for many miles, and are indefatigable in the chase, the latter lasting occasionally more than one day. In the Jaintia Hills, at the end of the chase, the quarry is carried to

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

the house of the *nongpiat*, where a *puja* is performed to some local deity, before the flesh is distributed. At Shangpung, when a tiger or a mithan is killed, the head is cut off, and is carried in triumph to a hill in the neighbourhood where there is a *duwan*, or altar, at the foot of an oak tree (*diang ewing*). The head is displayed on the altar, and worship offered to *u 'lei lyngdoh*, the God of the doloinship.

The Khasis make use of an ingenious species of spring gun for killing game, the spring gun being laid alongside a deer path in the jungle. A string stretched across the path, when touched, releases a bolt and spring, which latter impels a bamboo arrow with great force across the path. This spring gun is called *ka riew siat*. A pit-fall, with bamboo spikes at the bottom, is called *u 'liw lep*, and a trap of the pattern of the ordinary leopard trap is called *ka riew slang*. A noose attached to a long rope laid in a deer run is named *riew syrwiah*.

There is also *ka riew pep*, the principle of which is that an animal is attracted by a bait to walk on to a platform; the platform sinks under the weight of the animal, and a bolt is released which brings down a heavy roof from above weighted with stones, which crush the animal to death.

There are several means employed in snaring birds; one of the most common is to smear pieces of bamboo with the gum of the jack-tree, the former being tied to the branches of some wild fruit tree, upon which, when the fruit is ripe, the birds light and are caught by the bird lime. This is called *ka riew thit*. Another is a kind of spring bow made of bamboo which is laid on the ground in marshy places, such as are frequented by snipe and woodcock. This form of snare is unfortunately most common. A third is a cage into which birds are lured by means of a bait, the cage being hidden in the grass, and the entrance being so contrived that the birds can hop in but not out again. This is called *ka riew sin*.

FISHING.

Although there are some Khasis who fish with rod and line, it may be said that the national method of fishing is to poison

1:Gordon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR? Khasi AR?

[Gil] 126 challenge. From the records available of the military operations of the Khasis against the British, the former appear to have relied principally on bows and arrows, sickles and surpins, when they fought against us at the time of our first occupation of the hills. During the Jaintia rebellion firearms were used, to some extent, by the Syntengs. The military records do not, however, disclose any peculiar battle customs as having been prevalent amongst these hill people then. Both Khasis and Syntengs seem to have fought much in the same manner as other savage hill-men have fought against a foe armed with superior weapons.

SUPERSTITIONS.

The Tiblu Superstition.

325 782 773 774 There is a superstition among the Khasis concerning a *tiblu*, a gigantic snake which requires to be appeased by the sacrifice of human victims, and for whose sake murders have even in fairly recent times been committed. The following account, the substance of which appeared in the *Assam Gazette*, in August, 1882, but to which considerable additions have been made, will illustrate this interesting superstition:—"The tradition is that there was once in a cave near Cherrapunji,* a gigantic snake, or *tiblu*, who committed great havoc among men and animals. At last one man, bolder than his fellows, took with him a herd of goats, and sat himself down by the cave, and allowed them one by one to the *tiblu*. By degrees the monster became friendly, and learnt to open his mouth at a word from the man, to receive the lump of flesh which was then thrown in. When confidence was thoroughly established, the man, acting under the advice of a god called U *Bard-sah*,† (who has as his abode a grove near Sohwong),

* This cave is at Pomblai, some five miles east of Cherrapunji, close to a great waterfall called *Jub Ko Liber*, i.e. the place where Ko Liber jumped down the precipice (for a full account of this story see footnote U of the monography), where there is a large block of stone, with some rude cave in it, known as *Dawn Thlaw*, i.e. the snake resting place.

† In another account it is said to have been U Bard-sah himself who fed the

[illegible]

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

This stone is apparently some rough gem which may be picked up by the Lyngams in the river beds. A rich man amongst them, however, is one who possesses a number of metal gongs, which they call *wiang*. For these they pay very high prices, Rs. 100 being quite a moderate sum for one of them. Being curious to see one of these gongs, I asked a *sirdar*, or head-man, to show me one. He replied that he would do so, but it would take time, as he always buried his gongs in the jungle for fear of thieves. Next morning he brought me a gong of bell metal, with carvings of animals engraved thereon. The gong when struck gave out a rich deep note like that of Burmese or Thibetan gongs. These gongs have a regular currency in this part of the hills, and represent to the Lyngams "Bank of England" notes. It would be interesting to try to ascertain what is their history, for no one in the Lyngam country makes them in these days. Is it possible that the Garos brought them with them when they migrated from Thibet? The gongs are well known in the Garo Hills, and I hear that when a *nokma*, or head-man, there dies his corpse is laid out upon them. They thus possess also an element of sanctity, besides being valuable for what they will fetch to the Garos or Lyngams. We may hope to hear more about them in Captain Playfair's account of the Garos.

The Lyngams do not tattoo. Their weapons are the large-headed Garo spear, the dao, and the shield. They do not usually carry bows and arrows, although there are some who possess them. They are by occupation cultivators. They sow two kinds of hill rice, red and white, on the hill-sides. They have no wet paddy cultivation, and they do not cultivate in terraces like the Nagas. They burn the jungle about February, after cutting down some of the trees and clearing away some of the debris, and then sow the paddy broadcast, without cultivating the ground in any way. They also cultivate millet and Johnson in the same way. With the paddy *thillim* are sown the tree yam. The egg plant, arum, ginger, turmeric, and sweet potatoes of several varieties are grown by them in a similar manner. Those that rear the lac insect plant *bandar* tree (Hindi *ankol dol*) in the forest clearings, and rear the insect thereon. Some of these people, however, are prohibited by a

2:Stegmiller-69 M-4,5(no date)1921 AR7 Khasi AR7

Table IV

Ready for the Shield Dance.

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[Dog]

Weapon Dance.

4:Stegmiller—M-4,5(no date)1925 AR7 Khasi AR7

Arrow Shooting and Hunting Customs of the Khas
by P.F. Stegmiller, S.D.S., Apostolic Missio
of Assam.

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1. Arrow Shooting and Its Implements.

Corresponding to the general interest which is shown in arrow shooting, the tools that belong to this art are prepared with great skill and ability, (1) namely the bow, the arrow, and

1. Hermann Meyer, Pfeil und Bogen in Zentralbrasilien, (Leipzig, 1895), p. 16. [Bows and Arrows in Centra Brazil].

the target.

411 922 A kind of bamboo with many knots is used for the Khasi bow (ka rynthieh), and it is cut out in one piece so that there are at least five knots on the bow. The length of the bow is about 1.5 meters. It is not a matter of indifference how long the bow is. The best shots claim that the bow must be made to measure and must be made shoulder height. The size of the man determines the size of the bow. (2)

2. Bruno Adler, Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie, [International Archive for Ethnography] Vol. 14, Supplement: "Der nordasiatische Pfeil", [The North Asian Arrow], p. 14: "The long arrow of the Japanese corresponds to the longest bow which we find in Asia-phenomena which are in the grosse contrast to the small figure of the Japanese."

4: Stegmiller -2- M-4,5, (No date) 1925

AR7 Khasi Ar7

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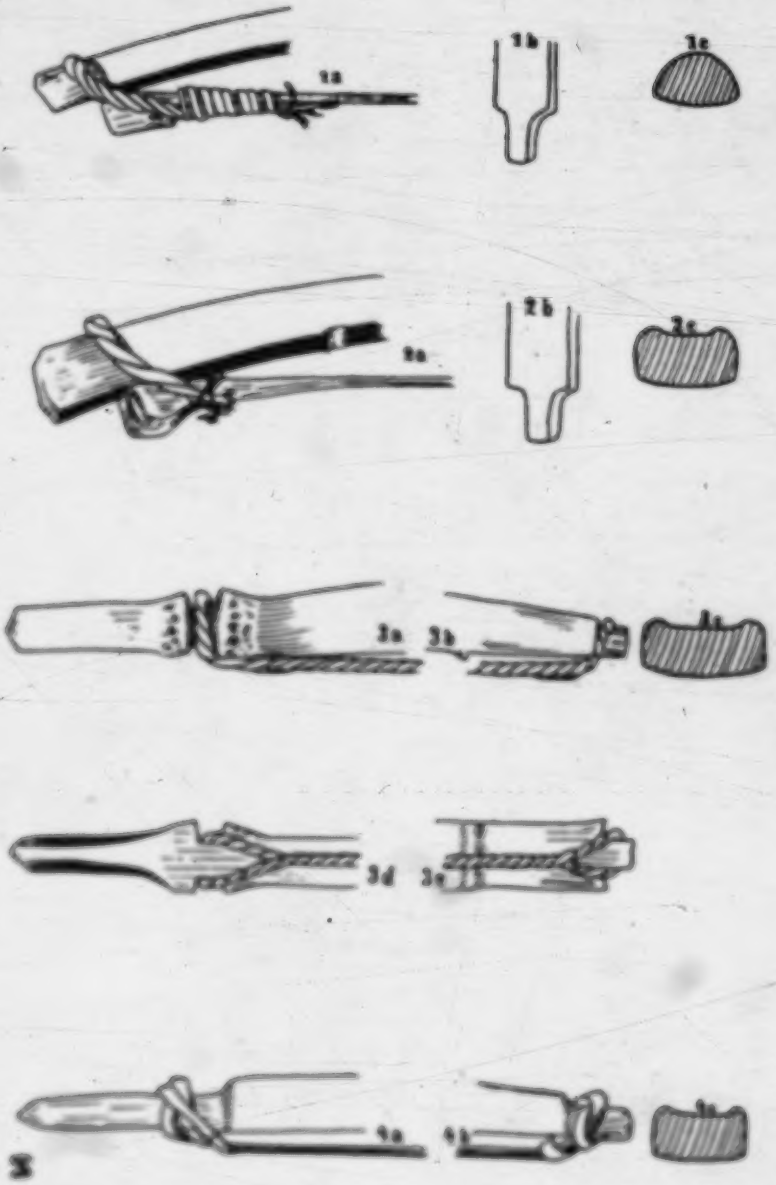

Fig. I

When a strong bamboo with many knots is found, it is cut off and split after the length has been determined. The outside of the bow in smaller bows is rounded off; (3) 411 322

3. Illustration I, fig. 1c.

for the usual bows and the larger ones almost the full half of the bamboo is taken. A little is cut off only on the sides so that the profile of the bow nearly forms a right angle. (4) In each case the shiny

4. Illustration I, figs. 2,3,4c.

outer side of the bamboo becomes the inside of the bow. The bow becomes smaller towards the ends. The ends are rounded off. Underneath one end, about 3 centimeters from the end, a notch is made, into which the string is put directly without any other means of fastening. The string remains fastened by pulling the loop taut. At the other end of the bow a peg is cut, around which the string is hung just before the bow is used. Often both ends of the bow end in a point. (5)

5. Illustration I, fig. 1, 2b.

The bow must not be kept strung but must be unstrung when left unused for a while. Stringing the bow is always done in this way. The archer takes the bow in his left hand while standing, resting on the ground the end to which the string always remains attached, and then pressing down the other end with his right hand as far as is necessary to hang the loop of the string around 411 284

411 284 the peg. In many cases with bows with the points indented the string is attached by means of a special loop of bast or split bamboo (u thri), but it is also fastened directly by hanging around the peg. [608] [Illustration I. Khasi Bows. 1a, 1b, 1c, 2a, 2b, 2c, 3a, 3b, 3c, 3d, 3e, 4a, 4b, 4c]. [609] The bow is carved flat in the middle and a strip of reed palm is wound around it so that there is a band 12 to 15 centimeters wide around it. The purpose of this is to provide a surer grip, as the left hand, which carries the bow when shooting, gets a better grip on the ribbed foundation. In other places also, primarily at the ends of the bow, such reed strips are fastened and merely serve the purpose of ornamentation.

411 322 When the bow is completed, it is thoroughly smoked. The smoking takes place in the hut. In the center of the hut a fire burns constantly in a hearth of earth or of stone, the smoke of which, since there is no vent or chimney, seeks a way out the best it can. Above the fire a swing is set up from the ceiling on which the wood lies for drying. The bow and also the string are left lying on this swing until the desired result occurs. Smoked bows are more resistant to dampness, longer lasting, and considerably tougher. The smoking has no effect on the flexibility of the bow. (6)

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o. Ethongraphic Museum Munich: Bows As, 108, a, b, c, have 3 knots; bow As, 28, has 4 knots; bow J has 3 knots; bow S has 5 knots; bows As, 108, a, b, c, have a length of 119.5 centimeters; bow As, 28 has a length of 144 centimeters; bow J has a

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length of 141 centimeters; bow S has a length of 156 centimeters; bows As, a, b, c, have a breadth of 22 millimeters in the middle, and 17 millimeters at the ends; bow As, 28, has a breadth of 27 millimeters in the middle and 18 millimeters at the ends; bow J has a breadth of 25 millimeters in the middle, and 12 to 16 millimeters at the ends; bow S has a breadth of 32 millimeters in the middle, and 12 to 18 millimeters at the ends; bow S gets smaller and smaller at an even rate towards the end to which the string is attached just before the bow is shot, while it gets too high at the other end. Height of the bow in the middle is 15 millimeters, at one end 12 millimeters, at the other 17 millimeters; bow J gets smaller and smaller at an even rate towards the end where the string is attached just before the bow is shot, while at the other end it becomes too round. Height in the middle 15 millimeters, at one end 12 millimeters (in the breadth), at the other end 12 millimeters (about on the average). None of the bows has either a wrapped handgrip nor any other ornamentation.

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For making the string (u ksai) the Khasi split a bamboo and split a strip of it off which they smoke thoroughly. The string is uniform for bows with a circular notch; for bows with tapered points, it becomes thicker towards the ends, on which braces are cut from the bamboo knots made from one piece with the string. The kinds of bamboo used for the strings are called u spit, u skhen and u siej-lieh by the Khasi. Bast string, twisted many times, is also used for the string. The bamboo strings are smoked (see above).[1] The strings obtained thus are extremely strong and can stand great tension. With a bow of 150 centimeters the height of the arc, i.e., the span of a strung bow amounts to 10 to 12 centimeters. Often, however, the string is almost the length of the bow and no arc results. When shooting the arc is increased by tightening the string to 60 centimeters. Thus the bow is a powerful, mighty [610] sling, which sends off the arrow without any mechanism other than pulling back the string and moving back the bent bamboo. (7)

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7. Bow As, 108, b, has a bamboo string with 5 knots, the shiny side facing inward. The string is 4 millimeters wide in the middle and 7 millimeters wide at the ends. At each end there is a brace cut out of a piece with the string. The string is fastened to the indented tips by means of a threefold bamboo lace (u thri). The string and the bamboo lace are fastened by a strip of bamboo 3 millimeters wide. Illustration I, fig. 1a, height of the arc 9 centimeters,

1 [See category 116, p. 4--Analyst]

weight of the bow 190 grams. Bows 108, a, b, c, can scarcely have been used for sport, more probably they are children's bows, unless they were made deliberately for selling to Europeans. Bows As, 28, has a bamboo string with five knots, 3 millimeters wide in the middle and 8 millimeters wide at the ends and at both ends there are braces made out of a piece with the string. The outer shiny side of the bamboo string that is turned inward is scraped off with the exception of the ends of the string. There it is split and bent back as a covering for the brace. The string is fastened on both sides of the indented tips by means of a double bast lace. Both are held together with wire. Illustration I, fig. 2a, height of the arc 8 centimeters, weight of the bow 330 grams. Bow J has a bamboo string with two knots, 3 millimeters wide throughout without a brace. It is fastered at the pegs by hanging directly. Weight of the bow 330 grams. Illustration I, fig. 4a, 4b. Bow S has a threefold string of bast. This bast string is hung around the notch and the peg (inderted tip) like a loop. The knots that tie the loop are 30 centimeters and 19 centimeters respectively from the ends. Weight of the bow is 449 grams. Illustration I, figs. 3a, 3b, 3c, 3d. Both of the bows mentioned last have no

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arc height since the strings are as long as the bows.

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The Khasi make the followings kinds of arrows:

1. Feathered arrows ('nam-pur).
2. Unfeathered arrows ('nam).

Feathered or unfeathered ones are: a) hunting arrows, b) arrows for sport. Always feathered are c) children's arrows.

Ad a) Hunting arrows (u 'nam-pliang) are about 70 centimeters long, and have tips like a spear with barbs. (8) The weight of the hunting

8. Illustration II, figs. 2a, 2b.

arrows is about 25 grams. These arrows are still poisoned nowadays.

Ad b) Arrows for sport (u 'nam-sop) are about 60 centimeters long and have round, conical iron tips. (9) Weight of the arrow for

9. Illustration II, fig. 1.

sport is about 8 grams.

Ad c) Children's arrows (u 'nam-phiah) are about 50 centimeters long, and have round points or none at all. The feathering is different from that of the other arrows (cf. the latter).

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Shafts of the Arrows

All the arrows are made of a very thin bamboo (u 'nam-long or igrâ) and smoked. When possible bamboo free of knots is used. The arrow is about 6 to 7 millimeters thick. The length of the arrow varies greatly. For the arrow and the bow must complement each other inwardly just as they belong together externally. (10)

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4: Stegmiller - 9 - M-4,5, (No date) 1925

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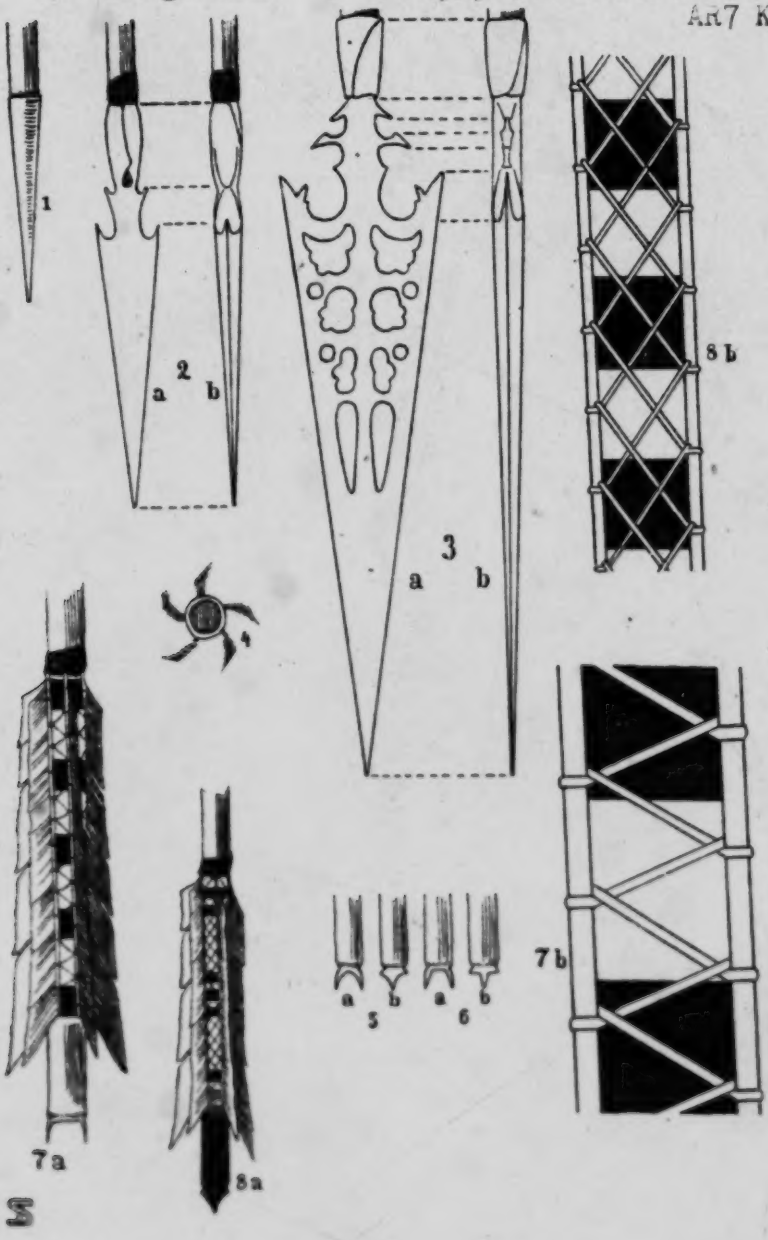

Fig. 2

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10. Dr. R. Karutz, Die afrikanischen Bogen, Pfeile und Köcher im Lübecker Museum für Völkerkunde /African Bows, Arrows and Quivers in the Lübeck Ethnological Museum/ (Lübeck, 1900) p. 219.

There is no doubt that the length of the arrow depends on the length of the bow. A large, but less flexible bow does not need so long /611/ /Illustration II. Khasi Arrows. Figs. 1, 2a, 2b, 3a, 3b, 4, 5a, 5b, 6a, 6b, 7a, 7b, 8a, 8b./ /612/ an arrow as a smaller more flexible one. The absolute length of the bow conditions the length of the arrow to the extent that usually a longer bow requires a longer arrow. (11) Arrows for sport will [526]

11. Bruno Adler, op. cit. p. 13.

float horizontally on water. (12)

12. "Weniaminoff relates (Sapiski ob ostrowan Unalaschkinskago otdjela /Notes on the Island of the Unalaska Territory/, Vol. 2, St. Petersburg, 1840) of the Aleutians that the tips of their arrows, especially the ones used in hunting beaver, have such a weight distribution that the arrow does not sink in the water in spite of the heavy shaft nor does it lie on the water, but floats upright, so that a piece almost a foot long sticks up above the surface of the water."

Arrow Tips

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326 The arrow tips are made of iron in the village smithies. The tips of the hunting arrows ('nam-pliang) are flat, raised a little towards the middle and have smooth or toothed edges and two or more barbs (shaped like a spear). Length of the tip is about 9 to 15 [531] centimeters. Beautiful wrought iron arrow tips with pierced designs are also made. (13)

13. Illustration II, figs. 3a, 3b.

[526] The tips of the arrows used for sport ('nam-sop) are round and conical. Length is about 3 to 6 centimeters.

The spear-shaped arrow tips are poisoned with (ka bih) poison which the Khasi obtain from the tuber or a plant (aconitum ferox Wallich, aconite).

Attaching the Arrow Tips.

411 The arrow tips are attached in two ways:

1. either the shaft of the arrow is pointed in front and the arrow tip, which is hollow inside, is placed on it-both are joined with sealing wax;

2. or there is a separate shell of copper which connects the arrow tip with the shaft. Sealing wax is not used, since the shell acts as a clamp. Length of the shell is about 1.5 centimeters.

The Notch of the Arrow

At the tip of the opposite end a notch is cut in every arrow. The arrow is taken from a whole 'nam-long or igrâ (kind of bamboo) in

such a way that the notch can be cut directly after a knot. The purpose of the notch is to be able to set the arrow easily on the string. There are two kinds of notches: 411

1. Notches which resemble the curve of a Moorish bow. (14)

14. Illustration II, figs. 5a, 5b.

2. Notches which have an even flatness at the bottom and a point on the left and the right. (15)

15. Illustration II, figs. 6a, 6b.

Relationship of the Cut Surface to the Notch.

The large spear-shaped tips of the hunting arrows ('nam-pliang) are made with the wide flat part at right angles to the notch and thus to the string of the bow. (16)

16. Bruno Adler, op. cit., p. 607.

Markings on the Arrows.

[613] Many arrows (arrows for sport 'nam-sop) are marked with black lacquer from the end of the base of the feathering to the notch, so that the arrows of the teams can be told apart in shooting competitions. (17) [526]

17. Illustration II, fig. 8a.

Feathering the Arrows

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The Khasi have two ways of feathering:
1. Radial sewn feathering.
2. Tangential tied feathering.

411 237 Ad 1. Radial sewn feathering is the common method. Feathers are taken from geese, cranes, cormorants, Buluwar vultures and the horn bird. The feathers of the carrion vultures are used less often as they are brittle. The feathers are split along the quill (shaft), cut on the top and on the bottom and sewn onto the base. At one end the feathers are 4 millimeters wide, on the other end (towards the notch) 8 millimeters wide. The split quill is 5 centimeters, the outer flags of the feathers 7 to 8 centimeters.

411 237 531 The base consists of tinfoil and is divided variously. A strip of tinfoil (not colored) alternates with a strip of tinfoil colored red. Thus the bases have a red tinfoil strip in the middle and two red ones at each end. Or there are three in the middle and at the ends two or three red strips of tinfoil. The space in between is filled out with uncolored tinfoil (silver). The red strips of tinfoil are two millimeters wide. (18)

18. Illustration II, fig. 8a.

There are also bases of leather which is cut very fine and gilded. As in the examples just mentioned red strips of tinfoil alternate with the base that is not colored; similarly, uncolored strips of leather alternate with the gilded base. The uncolored strips of leather are 7 millimeters wide. (19)

19. Illustration II, fig. 7a.

The feathers which have been cut properly are now sewn onto the bases with uncolored natural silk, in a spiral form, (20), although

20. Illustration II, fig. 4

lightly. The stitches are made exactly and evenly throughout. Figures 7b and 8b of illustration II, though greatly enlarged show how the silken threads are put on. With a base 5 centimeters long the number of stitches is 22 to 24, with bases of 7.5 the number of stitches is 29 to 31. 411 237 531

The feathers are at right angles to the split quill on the shaft and are sewn on five together, more rarely three together.

On the underside of the base (towards the tip of the arrow) black colored pitch is smeared, to unite the cut off feather ends to the shaft of the arrow. (21)

21. Illustration II, figs. 7a, 8a.

[614] Ad. 2. Tied tangential feathering is only used still on children's arrows ('nam-phiah). A completely uncut feather is fastened lengthwise on the end of the arrow by silk or bast and the join is smeared with pitch. 411 237

Hunting arrows and arrows for sport are also used unfeathered (hunting arrows especially in the neighborhood of Lamin) and are then simply called 'nam, but if they are feathered they are called 'nam-pur. 411 526

The target is made of the soft wood of a root and is called ka soh pdung by the Khasi. A piece of wood about 8 to 10 centimeters wide and 50 centimeters long is cut from the root, smoothed on the front side and pointed somewhat towards the ground, so that the whole thing resembles a relatively wide but short lath. This target is set up by putting the somewhat pointed end into the earth and placing two bamboo sticks behind as braces, so that the target cannot be tipped

411 over backwards by th impact of the arrows.
526 Bunches of grass of straw, u skum, are taken and fastened to a pole. The distance between the shooters and the target is quite varied, 50 to 100 meters being the usual distance. The Khasi bows can shoot an arrow a great distance with accuracy. Good shots hit the target even at a distance of 200 meters. The average shot can stand at a distance of 150 to 170 meters. Consideration is taken of younger archers, but if the distance has been established, it must be very carefully adhered to. A string is stretched along the ground which indicates exactly where the shooter must stand.

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Ways of Bending the Bow

It takes a lot of practice and especially a great deal of strength to hit a definite mark. The archer usually gets down on his right knee and grasps the bow, with his left arm stretched out, somewhat below the middle of the ribbed band and braces his thumb against the bow. He places the arrow with his right hand. The arrows shoot out on the left side of the bow. Some release the arrow between the middle finger and the index finger which is held somewhat bent. The right hand braces the end of the arrow in the notch on the string and holds it firm with the thumb and bent index finger. With the head bent a little to the left and aiming with the right eye, string and arrow are pulled at the same time and after the bow has been pulled to the correct tension, the arrow is released. (22) Only the best shots

22. Hans von Stüssi, Mit Pfeil und Bogen (With Bow and Arrow).

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achieve calm aiming and a calm posture.

Another method of bending the bow is also used a great deal. The archer takes the arrow in his right hand, places it to the left on the bow and pulls the string with his middle finger and ring finger while his thumb and index finger hold the arrow. [614a] [Table I, Khasi at an Archery Contest] [614b] Table II. Khasi at an Archery Contest]

[615] The Quiver

The quiver (ka ryngkap) is made of plaited bamboo which is covered on the outside with a very finely plaited cover of reed palm. Its shape resembles a closed umbrella. At the opening the plaited work is raised in front in the shape of an arc, and in the back it is raised in a more rounded form. On each side where the quiver curves down and around a stick is attached. Quivers are not used for shooting or hunting. The Khasi carry their arrows in their hands then. The use of quivers is restricted to dances and even this is very rare. (23) [615]

23. Ethnographic Museum, Munich, Quiver As, 106, is 57 centimeters long and 9 centimeters wide at the opening. The plaited part in front is 40 centimeters high behind 38 centimeters, and on the sides where it curves in 33.5 centimeters. The very finely plaited reed palm has 16 smooth inlays at distances of 1.3 to

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2 centimeters. On the two sticks on each of the same sides is a bamboo strip covered around with palm reed which is tied with palm reed at intervals of 3 to 5 centimeters. Weight of the quiver 220 grams.

2. Archery Contests

526 Arrows are shot on every big market day which occurs every eight days. The men and youths of a village gather together, go to the place chosen for the contest and practise industriously, because everyone wants to win in the big contest. These usually take place from January to May. Large factions develop then: village against village. The number of participants must be equally large. Each faction has its own shooting place with its own target, each next to one another. The archers by tens are placed in a line and are the same distance from the target as the string stretched on the ground indicates. Each receives three arrows for a round. The watchers and the judges are placed near the target at right angles to the archers. Both factions name their judges themselves. The latter select a fortunate day by egg throwing; (24) they choose the

24. Becker, "Das Eierwerfen der Khasi", /Egg Throwing Among the Khasi/ Anthropos, 1917-1918, pp. 494 ff.

place of the contest as well as the number of participants and the arrows to be shot. They also measure the exact distance from the target, place the string on the ground, examine the

533 S. : "Thou fledst into the thicket! Did that help thee?
Shyly thou retreated before the brave crowd of hunters!"
All: "Ha, ha, ho, huh!"
S. : "Quickly indeed thou retreated; quickly the pursuers pressed after thee and arrow and bow brought thee low!"
All: "Ha, ha, ho, huh!"
S. : "O mistress! Why didst thou come hither? Thou gavest thyself over to death and destruction — but we rejoice and celebrate and exult!"

Thus it continues for a long time. When one person has sung until he is hoarse, another takes his place and continues the song.

224 Exhausted from the exertions of the hunt, exhausted from the activity of the parade home, hoarse from shouting and screaming, heated from the enjoyment of brandy, the crowd drags itself to the house of the hunter who placed the first arrow or shot in the wild animal. Sacrifice is made there to the village god and the slain animal is divided up. The first shooter (u nongsiat) receives the hind quarters, the second shooter (u nongban) the front quarters of the animal.

In the Jaintia Hills the Synteng go to a hill in the neighborhood of the village when they have hunted and killed a tiger or a leopard. An altar is set up there under an oak tree and the head of the animal, which has been severed from its body, is placed on it and sacrificed to the u'lei lyngdoh (the god of the Dolloi district).

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Arrow and bow are not only necessary weapons to the Khasi for hunting or pleasant sporting equipment for archery contests; Arrow and bow are also holy to him in a certain-

sense. For a his entrance into life and at his departure from it both are used in the religious ceremonies. If a boy is born, a bow and three arrows are placed beside him at the name giving. (35) After various ceremonies,

35. F.F. Stegmiller, "Aus dem religiösen Leben der Shoel" (The Religious Life of the Shoel), Anthropos, 1921-1922, pp. 425 ff.

which cannot be described here, the sacrificer shows the boy the bow and three arrows, and calls upon him to become a good shooter. At the end of all the ceremonies the bow and the arrows are carefully attached to the inside of the straw roof of the hut.

It should be mentioned that at a Shoel cremation (36) a bow and three arrows are also

36. F.F. Stegmiller, loc. cit., p. 430 ff.

used. They are kept in readiness with the other ceremonial objects of the dead, while the corpse is being shown for the last time to the participants in the funeral. As soon as the fire flames up on the funeral pyre, three arrows are also shot off: one towards the north, one towards the south, and the third towards the east. The Shoel call these arrows 'sun-tipped.

Quarrels and fights are exceptional. It is most natural to the Ehsei not to disturb the peace of the markets, since the markets stand under the protection of the goddess. (Cf. The prayer in the introduction to this article.)[5] Also the memorial stones, in the shadow of which the markets are so often held, may exert some influence on the visitors to the markets, since the Ehsei imagine themselves to be protected by the spirits of their ancestors and believe that any kind of disorder at the market would be avenged by these spirits.

Nearly all the men at the market are armed. The reason for this lies in the fact that the people are thus protected on the way to the market and are safe from the attacks of the "killers" (nongetonoun), i.e., those who get out to murder people in order to dedicate their victims to the devil snake. Therefore the visitors to the market never go alone but always in groups. The men are armed with the ko wait (a chopping knife), with which they know how to defend themselves very well.

4. The Law of the Market

a) The Market Toll. All sellers who attend the market must pay a contribution on entering the market place. Only those inhabitants of the village or district in which the market is held are exempted. This market tax is paid partly in money and partly in products. In many villages it is paid only in cash. The amount of the tax laid is 2 or 3 paises, often even one anna (3--6--10 pfennigs, German peace evaluation). Only betel nuts and pepper leaves are preferred to money. In many villages everything is paid in produce, insofar as foodstuffs are concerned. The market tax collector reaches

[See category 12, pp 12--Amulet]

Sr Gordon G-3 (no date) 1904 AR7 Khasi AR7

241 small bib), and a cap which is peaked in front and which comes down well over the ears, called (in *ropin ekor*) *ear cap*. The dress of the Khasi females is somewhat different from that of the Syntengs, the former wears a striped cloth tied round the waist, hanging down to the knees, and another cloth, with a fringed border, knotted on both the shoulders to cover the bust and a narrow cloth, called *ka jymphen*, to serve the purpose of under-clothing. A cloth knotted in front is also worn like a cloak over shoulders. The Syntengs women wears a cloth manufactured round the body fastened above the bust and drooping down to the ankles. Another cloth is thrown over the shoulders, and crossed in front. Both Khasi and Syntengs women wear a cloth tied over the head, called *ka tap mukhlieh*. Upto-date Khasi males wear hunting-boots, stockings, and boots, and hunting chemises. On festive occasions, both Khasis and Syntengs, males and females, wear expensive silks, with earrings of gold or silver. There is a special dancing-dress of elaborate pattern. The women at festivals wear a circlet of silver with a spear-head ornament behind, rising 4 or 5 inches from the back of the head. Large coral beads are much valued, and necklaces of alternate beads of coral and gold, and sometimes of coral alone, are worn by the chiefs and their principal followers. Such necklaces are worn by women also on gala occasions. The staple dish of both Khasis and Syntengs is rice and dried fish. They are, however, fond of all kinds of meat, especially pork. Some of the Syntengs abstain from beef, owing no doubt to Hindu influences. Neither Khasis nor Syntengs eat dog, which is partaken of with zest by the Naga and the Garo tribes,—this is owing to the dog being considered by the Khasis to be the friend of man. Neither Khasis nor Syntengs use milk, the latter being thought by them to be an excrement. Neither Khasis nor Syntengs tattoo. The weapons of both Khasis and Syntengs are bows and arrows, swords and shields. The national game of the Khasis is archery, regarding which a detailed description will be found in paragraph 11.

The people live in regular villages on fixed sites which have not changed for generations,—often long enough for the sacred monoliths to become [illegible] sites, where, as a rule, the family tombs are standing. The houses are built in the shape of a shell, the houses being divided into three compartments,—the *Shyngiap*, or porch, where cattle and carts, and sometimes fowls, are kept; *nongpi*, or centre room, which is used for cooking and sitting in; and *nongpi*, or inner room, where the people sleep. The houses are low, with great roofs reaching nearly to the ground, the houses are of hewn timber, the walls are of either planks roughly hewn or of reeds or split bamboos plastered with clay. The Khasis' houses generally have boarded floors raised some feet from the ground level,

29: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

burning the *dewl* in the immediate neighbourhood of the village of Jowai. Suspicions of insurrection arose during the months of October and November 1860. In the beginning of January 1861 alarming reports were received from various quarters, and the first serious outbreak occurred on the 17th of that month. This was occasioned by the interference of a *dewgoi*, or native police official, with a religious ceremony then took place at the village of Jaiaing. In such ceremonies dancing with arms is held essential; and the *dewgoi* took upon himself to disarm the dancers. This was the signal for a general rising. The *thiad* or police station at Jowai was burned to the ground; the garrison of sepoys was besieged, and all show of British authority was swept away throughout the Hills. The Syenngs fought bravely for their independence, and at first were successful in cutting off several small detachments of police and sepoys. Their weapons were bows and arrows. In common with the other hill tribes of the North-East Frontier, their chief defence consisted in a series of strong stockades, one behind another; and the paths leading to their villages were thickly planted with *punjis*, or little bamboo spikes, stuck in the ground like caltrops. The battalion of sepoys stationed in the Hills was rendered ineffective by sickness. At last it was found necessary to move a regular army, including an elephant battery and two regiments of Sikhs, into the country in order to quell the revolt. Colonel Dunsford was in chief command. He was accompanied by Major Haughton, the Governor-General's Agent on the North-East Frontier, and Captain Morton, the Deputy-Commissioner of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, who acted in a political capacity. The operations were serious and harassing. The rebel chiefs were captured one by one, and the District was declared to be finally pacified in March 1861, after the rebellion had lasted for three months. The special Commission appointed under Act xi. of 1861, for the trial of [illegible] The causes of the rebellion were thus summed up by Major Haughton in an official despatch to the Government of Bengal:—"Taxation was introduced without the supervision with which such a measure should have been accompanied. It was followed up by fresh taxation and removal of other taxes, also by fiscal and other measures, which tended to disturb the minds of the people, without any counterpoise such as might have resulted from the continued presence of a European officer." The Syenngs, like the

175 648 175 648 726 [625] [796] [535] [625] [911] [712] 175 648 727 175 648 651 175 648

impossible to state, as it is to fix upon the exact tract of country from which the Aryans sprang. With reference to the Khasi branch of the Mon-Anam family, it would seem reasonable to suppose that if they are not the autochthons of a portion of the hills on the southern bank of the Brahmaputra, and if they migrated to Assam from some other country, it is not unlikely that they followed the direction of the different irruptions of foreign peoples into Assam of which we have authentic data, i.e. from south-east to north-west, as was the case with the Ahom invaders of Assam who invaded Assam from their settlements in the Shan States *viâ* the Patkoi range, the different Burmese invasions, the movements of the Khamtis and, again, the Singphos, from the country to the east of the Hukong Valley. Whether the first cousins of the Khasis, the Moas, moved to their present abode from China, whether they are the aborigines of the portion of Burma they at present occupy, or were one of the races "of Turanian origin" who, as Forbes thinks, originally occupied the valley of the Ganges before the Aryan invasion, must be left to others more qualified than myself to determine. Further, it is difficult to clear up the mystery of the survival, in an isolated position, of people like the Ho-Mundas, whose language and certain customs exhibit points of similarity with those of the Khasis, in close proximity to the Dravidian tribes and at a great distance from the Khasis, there being no people who exhibit similar characteristics inhabiting countries situated in between; but we can, I think, reasonably suppose that the Khasis are an offshoot of the Mon people of Further India in the light of the historical fact I have quoted, i.e. that the movements of races into Assam have usually, although not invariably, taken place from the east, and not from the west. The tendency for outside people to move into Assam from the east still continues.

APPENDIX.

The late Mr. S. E. Peal, F.R.G.S., in an interesting and suggestive paper published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* in 1896, drew attention to certain illustrations of

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

[114] 982 191 144

"singular shoulder-headed celts," found only in the Malay Peninsula till the year 1875, when they were also discovered in Chota Nagpur, and figured in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for June of that year. These "celts" are, as the name implies, ancient stone implements. Mr. Peal goes on to state the interesting fact that when he was at Ledo and Tikak, Naga villages, east of Makum, on the south-east frontier of the Lakhimpur district of Assam, in 1895, he found iron implements, miniature hoes, used by the Nagas, of a similar shape to the "shoulder-headed celts" which had been found in the Malay Peninsula and Chota Nagpur. Now the peculiarly shaped Khasi hoe or *so-ddiw*, a sketch of which is given, with its far projecting shoulders, is merely an enlarged edition of the Naga hoe described by Peal, and may therefore be regarded as a modern representative in iron, although on an enlarged scale, of the "shoulder-headed celts." Another interesting point is that, according to Forbes, the Burmese name for these stone celts is *so-gyo*. Now the Khasi name for the hoe is *so-ddiw*. The similarity between the two words seems very strong. Forbes says the name *so-gyo* in Burmese means "cloud or sky chain," which he interprets "thunderbolt," the popular belief there, as in other countries, being that these palæolithic implements fell from heaven. Although the Khasi name *so-ddiw* has no connection whatsoever with aerolites, it is a singular coincidence that the name for the Khasi hoe of the present day should almost exactly correspond with the Burmese name for the palæolithic implement found in Burma and the Malay Peninsula, and when it is remembered that these stone celts are of a different shape from that of the stone implements which have been found in India (with the exception of Chota Nagpur), there would seem to be some grounds for believing that the

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

Khasis are connected with people who inhabited the Malay Peninsula and Chota Nagpur at the time of the Stone Age.* That these people were what Logan calls the Mon-Anam, may possibly be the case. Mr. Peal goes on to state, "the discovery is interesting for other reasons, it possibly amounts to a demonstration that Logan (who it is believed was the first to draw attention to the points of resemblance between the languages of the Mon-Anam or Mon-Khmèr and those of the Mundas and the Khasis), was correct in assuming that at one time the Mon-Anam races and influence extended from the Vindyas all over the Ganges Basin, even over Assam, the northern border of the Ultra Indian Peninsula." Mr. Peal then remarks that the Eastern Nagas of the Tirap, Namstik, and Sonkap group "are strikingly like them (i.e. the Mon-Anam races), in many respects, the women being particularly robust, with pale colour and at times rosy cheeks." The interesting statement follows that the men wear the Khasi-Mikir sleeveless coat. Under the heading of dress this will be found described as a garment which leaves the neck and arms bare, with a fringe at the bottom and with a row of tassels across the chest, the coat being fastened by frogs in front. It is a garment of a distinctive character and cannot be mistaken; it used to be worn largely by the Khasis, and is still used extensively by the Syntengs and Lyngams and by the Mikirs, and that it should have been found amongst these Eastern Nagas is certainly remarkable. It is to be regretted that the investigations of the Ethnographical Survey, as at present conducted, have not extended to these Eastern Nagas, who inhabit tracts either outside British territory or in very remote places on its confines, so that we are at present unable to state whether any of these tribes possess other points of affinity, as

* It is interesting to compare the remarks of M. Aymonier in his volume iii. of "Le Cambodge." He writes as follows:—"Mais en Indo-Chine on trouve, partout disséminé, ce que les indigènes, au Cambodge du moins, appellent, comme les peuples les plus éloignés du globe 'les traits de foudre.' Ce sont ici des haches de l'âge néolithique ou de la pierre polie, dont la plupart appartiennent au type répandu en toute la terre. D'autres de ces celtes, dits épaulés, parce qu'ils possèdent un talon d'une forme particulière, paraissent appartenir en propre à l'Indo-Chine et à la presqu'île dekkhanique. Ils fournissaient donc un premier indice, non négligeable, d'une communauté d'origine des populations primitives des deux péninsules, cis et trans gangétique."

1: Gurdon E-4,5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

shield of Cherrapunji is used as a protection from rain. 293
Those of Maharam and Mawiang are each of a peculiar pattern. 352
Smaller shields are used as protections from the sun or merely for show, and there are specially small sizes for children. Then there are the different kinds of basket (*ki* 415
kkok) which are carried on the back, slung across the forehead 482
by a cane head-strap. These, again, are of different sizes. They are, however, always of the same conical shape, being round and broad-mouthed at the top and gradually tapering to a point at the bottom. A bamboo cover is used to protect the contents of the basket from rain. There is a special kind of basket made of cane or bamboo with a cover, which is used for carrying articles on a journey. These baskets, again, are of different sizes, the largest and best that the writer has seen being manufactured at Rambrai, in the south-western portion of the hills. 412
Paddy is husked in a wooden mortar by means of a heavy 415
wooden pestle. These are to be seen all over the hills. The 256
work of husking paddy is performed by the women. A bamboo sieve is sometimes used for sifting the husked rice, a winnowing fan being applied to separate the husk. The cleaned rice is exposed to the sun in a bamboo tray. Paddy is stored in a separate store-house in large circular bamboo receptacles. These hold sometimes as much as 30 maunds* of grain. Large baskets are also used for keeping paddy in. In 415
every Khasi house is to be found the net bag which is made 825
out of pineapple fibre, or of a *stein*, the Assamese *riha* 436
(Boehmeria nivea). These bags are of two sizes, the larger one for keeping cowries in, the cowrie in former days having been used instead of current coin in these hills, the smaller for the ever necessary betel-nut. *Pân* leaves are kept in a bamboo tube, and tobacco leaves in a smaller one. Lime, for eating with betel-nut, is kept in a metal box, sometimes of silver, which is made in two separate parts held together by a chain. The box is called *ka shanam*, and 415
is used all over the hills. This box is also used for 781
divination purposes, one end of it being held in the hand, and the other, by means of the chain, being allowed to swing

* The maund is 82 lbs. 804

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

415 like a pendulum. An explanation of this method of divination
787 will be found in the paragraph dealing with divination.

There is also a pair of squeezers used by the old and
412 toothless for breaking up betel-nut. In the houses of the
415 well-to-do is to be seen the ordinary hubble-bubble of
322 India. Outside the houses of cultivators are wooden troughs hollowed out of the trunks of trees, which are used either as drinking troughs for cattle or for feeding pigs. A special set of utensils is used for manufacturing liquor. The Synteng and War artisans of furniture and utensils are the same as those of the Khasis, with different names, a remark which applies
415 also to those of the Bhois and Lynngams. Both the latter,
824 however, use leaves as plates, the Bhoi using the wild plantain and the Lynngam a large leaf called *ka 'la mariong*. The leaves are thrown away after eating, fresh leaves being gathered for each meal. The Lynngams use a quilt (*ka syllor*) made out of
513 the bark of a tree of the same name as a bed covering. This
824 tree is perhaps the same as the Garo *simpak*. In the Bhoi and
417 Lynngam houses the swinging shelf for keeping firewood is not to be seen, nor is the latter to be found amongst the sub-montane Bodo tribes in Assam.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.

534 The Khasis have not many musical instruments, and those that they possess, with one or two exceptions, are of very much the same description as those of the Assamese. There are several kinds of drums, viz. *ka nakrá*, which is a large kettle-drum made of wood having the head covered with deer-skin; *ka kaing*, which is a cylindrically-shaped drum rather smaller than the *Assamese dhol* (*ka kaing kynthei* takes its name from the fact that this drum is beaten when women, *kynthei*, dance). *ka padiah*, a small drum with a handle made of wood; *katam*, a small circular drum. Khasi drums are nearly always made of wood, not of metal, like the drums to be seen in the monasteries of Upper Assam, or of earthenware, as in Lower Assam.

Ka dwitara is a guitar with maga silk strings, which is

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played with a little wooden key held in the hand. *Ka mariyngod* is an instrument much the same as the last, but is played with a bow like a violin. *Ka marynthing* is a kind of guitar with one string, played with the finger. 534

Ka tángmari is a wooden pipe, which is played like a flageolet. *Ka kynshiw*, or *shákuriaw*, are cymbals made of bell metal; *ka shiréti*, or *ka shingwiang*, is a kind of flute made of bamboo. This instrument is played at cremation ceremonies, and when the bones and ashes of a clan are collected and placed in the family tomb, or *máwbah*. This flute is not played on ordinary occasions. In the folk-lore portion of the Monograph will be found a tale regarding it. There are other kinds of flutes which are played on ordinary occasions. The Wárs of the twenty-five villages in the Khyrim State make a sort of harp out of reed, which is called *ka 'sing díng phong*. The Khasis also play a Jews' harp (*ka miang*), which is made of bamboo. [364] [364]

AGRICULTURE.

The Khasis are industrious cultivators, although they are behindhand in some of their methods of cultivation, (e.g. their failure to adopt the use of the plough in the greater portion of the district); they are thoroughly aware of the uses of manures. Their system of turning the sods, allowing them to dry, then burning them, and raking the ashes over the soil, is much in advance of any system of natural manuring to be seen elsewhere in the Province. The Khasis use the following agricultural implements:—A large hoe (*mukhiw hok*), an axe for felling trees (*u ádie*), a large da for felling trees (*ka wait lyngpam*), two kinds of bill-hooks (*ka wáit prat* and *ka wáit 'ñamat*), a sickle (*ka ráshi*), a plough in parts of the Jaintia Hills (*ka lyngkor*), also a harrow (*ka ñuh mei*). In dealing with agriculture, the lands of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills may be divided into the following classes:—(a) Forest land, (b) wet paddy land called *hali* or *pynthor*, (c) high grass land or *ka ri lám* or *ka ri phlang*, (d) homestead land (*ka 'dew hypér*). Forest lands are cleared by the process known as *jhuming*, the trees being felled early in the winter and allowed to lie till January or February. 241 412 241

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

the ground, and well oiled. A silver ornament, or a few rupees, placed at the top, reward the successful climber." A leg of mutton, or a piece of pork fixed at the top of this pole would render the pastime identical with the "greasy-pole" climbing of English villages. The following are some other Khasi games:— 524

Wrestling; two persons grasping each other's hands with the fingers interlocked, and then trying to push one another down; tug-of-war with a piece of stick, the two combatants placing their feet one against the other; butting at one another like bulls, and trying to upset each other (*in tur masi*); long jump; high jump; blind-man's buff; flying kites; pitching cowries into a hole in the ground; a game like marbles, only played with round pebbles, and others. 526 527

MANUFACTURES.

The manufactures of the Khasis are few in number, and do not seem to show any tendency to increase. On the contrary, two of the most important industries, the smelting of iron ore and the forging of iron implements therefrom, and the cotton-spinning industries at Mynso and Suhtnga, show signs of dying out. Ploughshares and hoes and bill-hooks can now be obtained more cheaply from the plains than from the forges in the hills, and Manchester piece goods are largely taking the place of cloths of local manufacture. The iron industry in former days was an important one, and there is abundant evidence that the workings were on a considerable scale, e.g. at Yongkroro and Laitkynghot, in the shape of large granite boulders which have fallen to the ground from the sides of the hills owing to the softer rock which filled the interstices between the boulders having been worked out by the iron-workers, their process being to dig out the softer ferruginous rock, and then extract the iron ore from it by means of washing. The softer rock having been removed, the heavier portions fell by their own weight, and rolled down to the bottom of the slopes, the result being the great number of boulders to be seen near the sites of these workings. 321 288 442 527 34

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

327 Colonel Lister, writing in 1853, estimated that 20,000 maunds
439 of iron were exported from the hills in the shape of hoes to
412 the Assam Valley, and in lumps of pig iron to the Surma Valley, where it was used by boat-builders for clamps. Nowadays the smelting of iron is carried on in very few places. There are still smelting-houses at Nongkrem and Nongsprung, but these are practically the only places left where smelting of iron ore goes on; there are many forges where rough iron brought from the plains is melted down and forged into bill-hooks and hoes. Messrs. Yule and Craeroft have described the
113 native process of smelting iron, and it is only necessary to refer
114 to their papers if information is required on the subject. Yule's
327 account is a very full one, and is to be found at page 853, vol. xi. part ii. of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The system pursued, both in the extraction and in the subsequent smelting of the ore, is the same at the present day as that
327 described by Yule. Dr. Oldham, writing in 1863, says, "The quality of this Khasi iron is excellent for all such purposes as Swedish iron is now used for. The impurity of the blooms (or masses of the metal in a molten state), however, as they are sent to market, is a great objection to its use, and the waste consequent thereon renders it expensive. It would also form steel or wootz (Indian steel) of excellent quality. I have no doubt that the manufacture could be greatly improved and possibly extended." Dr. Oldham, however, goes on to remark that the manufacture of iron could not be very much extended, owing to the scanty dissemination of the ore in the rocks, and the consequent high cost of obtaining it. At present the want
[312] of any permanent supply of water prevents the natives from working for more than a few days during the year, whilst the rains are heavy, and they can readily obtain sufficient force of water for the washing of the ore from its matrix. The export of iron in any form from the district has now almost died out, only a few lots being brought down by the Khasis from Laitkem, in Khaslawpliya, to the Bordwar and Palasbari markets in the Kamrup District of the Assam Valley. Iron of English manufacture has, of course, much cheapened the market, but probably the fact that the parts of the country in the neighbourhood of the rocks which contain the metal have

Fig. 2

Fig. 3

Fig. 4

Fig 2. Drums, flutes and cymbals of the Khasi. Fig 3. Sacrificial knives and ka wait of the Khasi. Fig. 4. Sacrificial dress of the Sah Blei (Khasi).

415

415 UTENSILS.—water containers (e.g., tanks, barrels); food and beverage containers (e.g., cans, bottles, jars); kitchen utensils (e.g., pans, dishes, bottles, bowls, ladles); containers made from special materials (e.g., gourds, baskets, earthen pots, leather bags, wooden boxes, paper cartons); chemical utensils (e.g., test tubes, flasks, retorts, vats); brewing and distilling apparatus; utensils with special functions (e.g., molds, funnels, stoves, drinking straws); etc. See also:

Heating	27	Sales vending	221
Household equipment	99	Cooperage	220
Liquids dispensers	222	Containers of	220
Tying utensils	411	Vessels	220

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291 women at Nongstoin wearing gaiters of leaves. It was explained to me that these were worn to keep off the leeches. The Khasi women might almost be said to be excessively clothed—they wear the cloak in such a way as to hide entirely the graceful contours of the figure. The women are infinitely more decently clothed than Bengali coolie women, for instance; but their dress cannot be described as becoming or graceful, although they show taste as regards the blending of colours in their different garments.

The dress of the Syntengs women is a little different. With them the *jain khrywong* takes the place of the Khasi *jainsem*, and is worn by them in the following manner:—One of the two ends is passed under one armpit and its two corners are knotted on the opposite shoulder. The other end is then wound round the body and fastened at the waist, from which it hangs half way down the calf. Over this they wear a sort of apron, generally of *muga* silk. They have the cloak and the head-wrapper just the same as the Khasi women. The Syntengs striped cloth may be observed in the picture of the Syntengs girl in the plate. Khasi women on festive occasions, such as the annual Nongkrem puja, do not cover the head. The hair is then decked with jewellery or with flowers; but on all ordinary occasions Khasi women cover the head. War women, however, often have their heads uncovered.

Modern Dress.—The up-to-date Khasi male wears knickerbockers made by a tailor, stockings, and boots; also a tailor-made coat and waistcoat, a collar without a tie, and a cloth peaked cap. The young lady of fashion dons a chemise, also often a short coat of cloth or velvet, stockings, and women's shoes. Of course she wears the *jainsem* and cloak, but occasionally she may be seen without the latter when the weather is warm. It should be mentioned that the Khasi males are seldom seen without a haversack in which betel-nut, lime, and other odds and ends are kept; and the female has her purse, which, however, is not visible, being concealed within the folds of her lower garment. The haversack of the men is of cloth in the high plateau and in the Bhoi country, but it is of knitted fibre in the War country. The Syntengs have a cloth bag, which they call *ka wasa*.

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blackened with the smoke of years, upon which are spread the faggots of resinous fir-wood used for kindling the fire. Above this again is a wooden framework fixed on to the beams of the house, upon which all sorts of odds and ends are kept. Around the fire are to be seen small wooden stools, upon which the members of the household sit. Up-to-date Khasis have cane chairs, but the women of the family, true to the conservative instincts of the sex, prefer the humble stool to sit upon. Well-to-do Khasis nowadays have, in addition to the ordinary cooking vessels made of iron and earthenware, a number of brass utensils. The writer has seen in a Khasi house in Mawkhar brass drinking vessels of the pattern used in Orissa, of the description used in Manipur, and of the kind which is in vogue in Sylhet. The ordinary cultivator, however, uses a waterpot made from a gourd hollowed out for keeping water and liquor in, and drinks from a bamboo cylinder. Plates, or more properly speaking dishes, are of several kinds in the houses of the rich, the two larger ones being styled *ka phiang kyrhai* (female) and *ka phiang shyrong* (male). Needless to say, the first mentioned is a larger utensil than the latter. The ordinary waterpots, *u khiew phiang kyrhai* and *u khiew phiang shyrong*, are made of brass, the former being a size larger and having a wider mouth than the latter. The pot for cooking vegetables is made of iron. Another utensil is made of earthenware; this is the ordinary cooking pot used in the houses of the poor. Brass spoons of different sizes are used for stirring the contents of the different cooking utensils, also a wooden spoon.

In the sleeping-rooms of the well-to-do there are wooden beds with mattresses and sheets and pillows, clothes being hung upon clothes-racks, which in one house visited were of the same pattern as the English "towel horse." The ordinary cultivator and his wife sleep on mats made of plaited bamboo, which are spread on the bare boards of the house. There are various kinds of mats to be met with in the Khasi houses made of plaited cane, of a kind of reed, and of plaited bamboo. The best kind of mat is prepared from cane. In all Khasi houses are to be seen *ki kwap*, or rain shields, of different sizes and sometimes of somewhat different shapes. The large

shield of Cherrapunji is used as a protection from rain. Those of Maharam and Mawiang are each of a peculiar pattern. Smaller shields are used as protections from the sun or merely for show, and there are specially small sizes for children. Then there are the different kinds of basket (*ki khoh*) which are carried on the back, slung across the forehead by a cane head-strap. These, again, are of different sizes. They are, however, always of the same conical shape, being round and broad-mouthed at the top and gradually tapering to a point at the bottom. A bamboo cover is used to protect the contents of the basket from rain. There is a special kind of basket made of cane or bamboo with a cover, which is used for carrying articles on a journey. These baskets, again, are of different sizes, the largest and best that the writer has seen being manufactured at Bamhni, in the south-western portion of the hills. Paddy is husked in a wooden mortar by means of a heavy wooden pestle. These are to be seen all over the hills. The work of husking paddy is performed by the women. A bamboo sieve is sometimes used for sifting the husked rice, a winnowing fan being applied to separate the husk. The cleaned rice is exposed to the sun in a bamboo tray. Paddy is stored in a separate store-house in large circular bamboo receptacles. These hold sometimes as much as 30 maunds* of grain. Large baskets are also used for keeping paddy in. In every Khasi house is to be found the net bag which is made out of pineapple fibre, or of a stem, the *Anamum vilo* (Bauhinia aiton). These bags are of two sizes, the larger one for keeping cowries in, the cowrie in former days having been used instead of current coin in these hills, the smaller for the ever necessary betel-nut. *Pân* leaves are kept in a bamboo tube, and tobacco leaves in a smaller one. Lime, for chewing with betel-nut, is kept in a metal box, sometimes of silver, which is made in two separate parts held together by a chain. The box is called *ka shanam*, and is used all over the hills. This box is also used for divination purposes, one end of it being held in the hand, and the other, by means of the chain, being allowed to swing

* The maund is 82 lbs.

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like a pendulum. An explanation of this method of divination will be found in the paragraph dealing with divination.

There is also a pair of squeezers used by the old and toothless for breaking up betel-nut. In the houses of the well-to-do is to be seen the ordinary hubble-bubble of India. Outside the houses of cultivators are wooden troughs hollowed out of the trunks of trees, which are used either as drinking troughs for cattle or for feeding pigs. A special set of utensils is used for manufacturing liquor. The Synteng and *War* articles of furniture and utensils are the same as those of the Khasis, with different names, a remark which applies also to those of the Bhois and Lyungams. Both the latter, however, use leaves as plates, the Bhoi using the wild plantain and the Lyungam a large leaf called *ka 'la mariong*. The leaves are thrown away after eating, fresh leaves being gathered for each meal. The Lyungams use a quilt (*ka syllar*) made out of the bark of a tree of the same name as a bed covering. This tree is perhaps the same as the Garo *simpok*. In the Bhoi and Lyungam houses the swinging shelf for keeping firewood is not to be seen, nor is the latter to be found amongst the submontane Bodo tribes in Assam.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.

The Khasis have not many musical instruments, and those that they possess, with one or two exceptions, are of very much the same description as those of the Assamese. There are several kinds of drums, viz. *ka nikrá*, which is a large kettle-drum made of wood having the head covered with deer-skin; *ka ksing*, which is a cylindrically-shaped drum rather smaller than the Assamese *dhol* (*ka ksing kynthei* takes its name from the fact that this drum is beaten when women, *kynthei*, dance), *ka padiah*, a small drum with a handle made of wood; *kataas*, a small circular drum. Khasi drums are nearly always made of wood, not of metal, like the drums to be seen in the monasteries of Upper Assam, or of earthenware, as in Lower Assam.

Ka dwitara is a guitar with *muga* silk strings, which is

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323 Larnai. The Larnai potters make many of the earthen pots to be found in the Khasi houses called *khiew rasai*, or sometimes *khiew Larnai*. Mr. Gait says, "These potters use two kinds of clay mixed, one is of a dark blue colour, 'dew-ieng, and the other of a greyish colour, 'dew khiwid. These clays seem to correspond closely with the *kumar mati* and *hiew mati* of the Brahmaputra Valley."

323 The clay at Larnai is well beaten out upon a hide, or upon a
415 flat disc of wood; the women fashion the pots by hand, they do
425 not use the potter's wheel. The pots are sun-dried and then fired. They are painted black with an infusion of a bark called *sohliya*. The Larnai potters also make flower-pots which are sold in Shillong at from 2 annas to 4 annas each, the price of the ordinary pot or *khiew rasai* varying from 2 pice to 4 annas each. A water-pot (*khiew um*) is also fashioned, which is sometimes used in the manufacture of liquor, price 4 annas to 6 annas each.

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quilt, made out of the bark of a tree, which is beaten out and then carefully woven, several layers of fastened bark being used before the right thickness is obtained. This quilt is called by the Lyngngam "*Ka sylhet*" (Garo *simpet*). Food is cooked in earthen pots, but no plates are used, the broad leaves of the *mawlong* tree taking their place. The leaves are thrown away after use, a fresh supply being required for each meal.

The Lyngngam have sun bears, they do not distil spirit, the bier is lowered according to the Khasi method. Games they have none, and there are no social archery meetings like those of the Khasis. The Lyngngam methods of hunting are setting spring guns and digging pitfalls for game. The people say that now the Government and the Sirdar of Nongstoin have prohibited both of these methods of destroying game, they no longer employ them. But I came across a pitfall for deer not long ago in the neighbourhood of a village in the Lyngngam country. The people declared it to be a very old one; but this I very much doubt, and I fear that these objectionable methods of hunting are still used. The Lyngngam fish to a small extent with nets, but their idea of fishing *par excellence*, is poisoning the streams, an account of which has already been given in this monograph. The Lyngngam are omnivorous feeders, they may be said to eat everything except dogs, snakes, the Indian monkey, and lizards. They like rice, when they can get it; for sometimes the outturn of their fields does not last them more than a few months. They then have to fall back on Johnson and millet. They eat arum largely, and for vegetables they cook wild plantains and the young shoots of bamboo and cane plants. The Lyngngam are divided up into exogamous clans in the same manner as the Khasis. The clans are exogamous families. The Lyngngam have some stories regarding the founders of these clans, of which the following is a specimen:—"A woman was asleep under a *sylhet* tree in the jungle, a flower from which fell on her, and she conceived and bore a female child who was the ancestress of the Nongsiddar clan." Some of the stories of the origin of other clans do not bear repeating. There do not appear to be any hypergamous groups. As with the Khasis, it is a deadly sin to

of them, more especially when the latter are situated in places where jungle is dense, and there is fear of attacks from wild animals. In the Lyngpun village is to be seen a high bamboo platform some 20 to 30 ft. from the ground, built in the midst of the village, where the elders sit and gossip in the evening.

All the villages, Khasi, War, Lyngpun and Bhoi, swarm with pigs, which run about the villages unshacked. The pigs feed on all kinds of filth, and in addition are fed upon the wort and spent wash of the brewings of country spirit, or rice beer, the latter being carefully collected and poured into wooden troughs. The pigs are of the usual black description seen in India. They thrive greatly in the Khasi villages, and frequently attain extreme obesity.

In the Khasi villages of the high plateaux are often seen large potato gardens, the latter being carefully protected from the inroads of pigs, calves, and goats by dry dikes surmounted by hedges.

I noticed an interesting custom at a Bhoi village in Nongpoh of barricading the path leading to the village from the forest with bamboo palisading and bamboo chevaux de frise to keep out the demon of cholera. In the middle of the barricade there was a wooden door over which was nailed the skull of a monkey which had been sacrificed to this demon, which is, as amongst the Syntengs, called Ikkiow.

OTHER AND MODERNIZED FURNITURE.

As in the case of houses, so with reference to furniture, the influence of civilization shows many changes. The Khasi of the present day who lives in Mawkhar * has a comfortable house regularly divided up into rooms in the European style with even some European articles of furniture, but owing probably to the influence of the women, he still possesses several of the articles of furniture which are to be met with in the houses of those who still observe the old style of living. Let us take the furniture of the kitchen to begin with. Above the hearth is slung by ropes of cane a swinging wooden framework

* Mawkhar is a suburb of Shillong, the headquarters station.

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blackened with the smoke of years, upon which are spread the faggots of resinous fir-wood used for kindling the fire. Above this again is a wooden framework fixed on to the beams of the house, upon which all sorts of odds and ends are kept. Around the fire are to be seen small wooden stools, upon which the members of the household sit. Up-to-date Khasis have cane chairs, but the women of the family, true to the conservative instincts of the sex, prefer the humble stool to sit upon. Well-to-do Khasis nowadays have, in addition to the ordinary cooking vessels made of iron and earthenware, a number of brass utensils. The writer has seen in a Khasi house in Mawkhar brass drinking vessels of the pattern used in Orissa, of the description used in Manipur, and of the kind which is in vogue in Sylhet. The ordinary cultivator, however, uses a waterpot made from a gourd hollowed out for keeping water and liquor in, and drinks from a bamboo cylinder. Plates, or more properly speaking dishes, are of several kinds in the houses of the rich, the two larger ones being styled *ka pliang kyrkhei* (female) and *ka pliang shyrong* (male). Needless to say, the first mentioned is a larger utensil than the latter. The ordinary waterpots, a *khiew pliang kyrkhei* and a *khiew pliang shyrong*, are made of brass, the former being a size larger and having a wider mouth than the latter. The pot for cooking vegetables is made of iron. Another utensil is made of earthenware; this is the ordinary cooking pot used in the houses of the poor. Brass spoons of different sizes are used for stirring the contents of the different cooking utensils, also a wooden spoon.

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like a pendulum. An explanation of this method of divination will be found in the paragraph dealing with divination.

There is also a pair of spectacles used by the old and feeble for looking up hand-out. In the houses of the well-to-do is to be seen the ordinary bubble-bubble of India. Outside the houses of cultivators are wooden troughs hollowed out of the trunks of trees, which are used either as drinking troughs for cattle or for feeding pigs. A special set of utensils is used for manufacturing liquor. The farming and War articles of furniture will utensils are the same as those of the Khasis, with different names, a remark which applies also to those of the Bhoia and Lyngnam. Both the latter, however, use leaves as plates, the Bhoi using the wild plantain and the Lyngnam a large leaf called ka ka maniang. The leaves are thrown away after eating, fresh leaves being gathered for each meal. The Lyngnam use a quilt (ka ngilar) made out of the bark of a tree of the same name as a bed covering. This tree is perhaps the same as the Gara elongata. In the Bhoi and Lyngnam houses the swinging shelf for keeping firewood is not to be seen, nor is the latter to be found amongst the sub-montane Bodo tribes in Assam.

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Ka dieiaw is a guitar with eight silk strings, which is

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should inherit the property and not men. The rule amongst the Khasis is that the youngest daughter "bokla" the religion, "ka bud ka niam." Her house is called, "ka ing sang," and it is here that the members of the family assemble to witness her performance of the family ceremonies. Here is, therefore, the largest share of the family property, because it is she whose duty it is to perform the family ceremonies, and propitiate the family ancestors. The other daughters, however, on their mother's death are entitled, each of them, to a share of their mother's property, although the youngest daughter gets the lion's share, e.g. the family jewellery, and the family house, and the greater part of what it contains. The youngest daughter cannot dispose of the house without the unanimous consent of her sisters. If the youngest daughter dies, she is succeeded by the next youngest daughter, and so on. All the daughters are bound to repair the house of the youngest daughter free of cost. In the event of the youngest daughter changing her religion, or committing an act of sang, or taboo, she loses her position in the family, and is succeeded by her next youngest sister, as in the case of a death. Failing daughters, inheritance would pass by the "knight's move" to the sister's youngest daughter, who would be succeeded by her youngest daughter, and so on. Failing sister's daughters succession would revert to the mother's sisters and their female descendants. In the Jaintia Hills the inheritance of all real property passes from mother to youngest daughter. No men in the uplands of the Jaintia Hills can possess landed property, unless it is self-acquired property. In the Jaintia Hills, if a man dies and leaves acquired property, his heir will be his mother, if alive, excluding wife, sons, and daughters. If the wife, however, undertakes not to re-marry, she will inherit half of her husband's property, which at her death will descend to her youngest daughter by him.

Amongst Khasis all property which has been acquired by a man before marriage is considered to belong to his mother; indeed it may be said to belong to the man's *lineage*, or *clan*, such property being called by Khasis, "ka mad ding hun" (the earnings of the house of the clan). After marriage, if there are children, the case is different, provided that the property

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42/ has been acquired by the man after marriage. Here the wife
428 and children would inherit the acquired property, the youngest daughter obtaining the largest share of such property on the death of the wife. If there were no daughter, the acquired property would be equally divided amongst the sons.

[127] The following examples of the Syntong law of inheritance are taken from the exhaustive diaries recorded by the late Mr. Heath, who was for some years Sub-Divisional Officer of Jowai. In the Nongkli doloship ancestral land passes from mother to her youngest daughter; again, if a youngest daughter who has no acquired dies, the next, youngest in point of age succeeds. Should such direct female succession fail, the family tree has to be looked up for the nearest branch, in which the youngest female, or her youngest female descendant, succeeds. Thus, succeeding ancestral land, the youngest daughter, or youngest female descendant of youngest female heir, is virtually heir to entailed property. If a woman dies having acquired property, her youngest daughter or youngest granddaughter of that youngest daughter succeeds to all. In default, next youngest daughter, and so on. In default of daughters, the youngest son inherits. A man can hardly, in any circumstances, possess ancestral land; his property must almost necessarily be self-acquired. If a man dies having acquired property, his heir will be his mother, if alive, excluding wife, sons, and daughters. If the wife undertakes, however, not to marry again, she will get half, which will descend to her youngest daughter by her deceased husband. The mother, who thus gets the whole or half of her son's property, leaves it to her youngest daughter, or youngest daughter of that daughter, and so on, as described above in the case of a woman leaving ancestral or acquired property. If there is no mother, the man's youngest sister stands next heir with the same right as her mother. If there is no mother or sister, then the sister's female descendants stand in the man's mother's place. If there are none of these, then the man's youngest daughter succeeds to all. Ancestral property cannot be alienated without the consent of all the heirs in the entail. A gift of self-acquired property to any amount can be made by a donor during his lifetime. Acquired property cannot, however, be left by will out of the course mentioned by

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The adoption of a female obviates the family dying out (*iap dak*), which to the Khasi is a very serious matter, inasmuch as there will then be no one qualified to place the bones of its members within the family tomb (*ka ka thep shiong mawbah*), and to perform the requisite funeral ceremonies. Amongst the Khasis no particular ceremonies are performed at the time of adoption; but some of the Syntengs observe a religious ceremony which consists largely of a feast to the clan-folk, at which liquor, rice, dried fish, and ginger are partaken of. Before the feast commences, each clansman is provided with a small gourd (*u blangi*) filled with liquor, a little of the latter is then thrown on the ground from the gourd, and the following words are uttered:—

"Oh, God! oh, Lord! oh, ruling king Binkrum, now the *pynsop ding* ceremony is about to be performed, let the ceremony be propitious, and let males and females (of the clan) increase in numbers, so that the clan may become great, and respected, and that intelligent male members may spring up." No such ceremony is, however, observed, it is understood, in the Nartiang and Rulang dolinships.

In the case of a family being *iap dak* (extinct), the family property, according to Khasi custom, passes to the Siem. Therefore it is to the interest of the members of families to adopt a female, when such necessity arises. As there is no religious ceremony which is compulsory to the Khasis on the occasion of an adoption, perhaps we are almost justified in concluding that in former times the adoption custom did not exist, more especially as the Khasis possess a special word, *iap dak*, for describing a family the females of which have all died out; and it is admittedly the custom for the Siem to succeed to the property of such a family. The Syntengs custom of *'sop ding* may have been borrowed from the Hindus, when the Rajas of Jaintia became converts to that religion.

TENURE OF LAND AND LAWS REGARDING LAND.

Land in the Khasi Hills proper, i.e. land in the high plateau, is held somewhat differently from land in the Jaintia Hills and

there than a thousand of them who have been converted to the Hindu religion.

This group of people possesses the possibility of expansion, since they have at their disposal within the area of the Khasi and Jaintia Mountains a territory of 6,022 English square miles, with only 48 persons per square mile. Although wide areas are not built up and the system of shifting fields prevents the full utilization of the land, it is still true that with this small population figure by far the largest part of the whole population (286,701) is dependent on agriculture; trade and manufacturing only play a subordinate part.

With regard to the division of the sexes, the two large religions of Assam, Hinduism and Mohammedanism, show the same proportion as in the rest of India, a lower number of women than men. But among the Khasi the women are more numerous than the men. In the Brahmaputra valley with its greater Hindu population there are only 892 women for every 1,000 men; in the Surma valley, with a greater Moslem element, there are 907. But the situation is reversed among the Khasi, where there is a surplus of 74 women for every thousand men. The position of the women is basically different among this people. It is based on the customs and usages of mamowal rights that prevail among them, which are predominantly based on possession and which find honorable expression in possession.

I. Property Rights in the Family Property.

The great principle which governs property among the Khasi, is that all family property rests in the hands /120. A/ /Fig. 1. Khasi Girls and Women with their Carrying Baskets. Fig. 2. An Old Clan Mother in the Village Lakroubiha. / /120. B/ /Fig. 3. At the Oracle of Egg Throwing/ Fig. 5. Khasi Girls and Men in Festive Dance Clothing. / /120 C/ /Fig. 4. A Group of Spinning/ /120. D/Fig. 6. A Holy Grove and Part of the Village Railing/ /120/ of the women and not of the man. The man can never be the owner of family property, and it can never be transferred to him. He may perhaps acquire some property through his own industry and work, but even that will pass into feminine hands by the path of inheritance. The concept of family is not as narrowly drawn here as in our country. This is a question of the clan-family, the clan. The head of it is always the youngest daughter, who, even when she has become old, bears the honorable name ka Iarbi in the Jaintia Mountains, and in the Khasi Mountains ka Khadduh, the last, the youngest. Around her gather her nearest blood relatives, brothers and sisters, and children. For example her

453 manure, and primarily for breeding, since the ones cannot be dis-
28 pensed with for the cultivation of the field, especially of the rice fields, where the soaked earth must be trampled to a slimy mush. From the fowl the eggs are particularly prized, since they find an almost daily use in the questioning of oracles in cases of misfortune and sickness. (3) Hens, pigs and goats serve for sacrificial purposes,(4)

3. P.R.T. Gordon, The Khasis, (London 1907) pp. 221 ff.; Becker, "Das Eierwerfen der Khasi," /Egg throwing Among the Khasi/, Anthropos, Vols. 10-12 (Vienna, 1915-18), pp. 694 ff.; P.F. Siegmüller, "Aus dem religiösen Leben der Khasi" /The Religious Life of the Khasi/ Anthropos Vol. 16-17 (1921-1922), pp. 419 ff.

4. Becker, "Die Steingrem-Feje in den Khasi-Bergen" /The Steingrem Feje in the Khasi Mountains/, Anthropos, Vol. 4, (Vienna, 1909) No. 1-6, pp. 890 ff.; Siegmüller, loc cit.

and they are also a welcome addition to rice at all festive occasions such as arrow shooting, (1) at the name giving, /12/ at weddings,

1. Becker, In Nowmai etc., /In the Valley, etc./, pp. 236 and 267.

and at the cremation of the dead.

453 Further the various huts belong to the family property, the erec-
61 tion and maintenance of which is the work of the members of the clan, the brothers, nephews, and grandsons. The hut of the clan mother is likewise considered the center of the whole family, and its possession forms the outer sign of the dominance of the clan mother. Here she holds the family sacrifices and also keeps the special treasures. These are considered to be those things which are connected with the religious cult. Special reverence and sacrifice is due the oldest clan mother, as the original founder of the clan, and her brother is each clan family; in addition there are a series of other spirits which vary according to the family clan. The branch of the Khasi people who live in the Jaintia Mountain, the so-called Synteng, have probably preserved the old Khasi customs the most faithfully. There in the hut of the
78 clan mother are found the following utensils for the service of the
79 divinities, who are nearly always feminine: mats, little baskets for rice, gourd bottles, a little basket made of bamboo cane and decorated with feathers, as well as antlers of deer or antelopes. The latter are fastened to the wall; they are supposed to be the seat of the

776 divinities of the forest and of the chase. The little basket is at-
778 tached to a post in the hut; the special divinities of the clan-
family are supposed to have their dwelling there; two bamboo
twigs fastened underneath symbolize their power. The gourd bot-
tles are used as containers for the sacrificial drink of rice liquor. (6)

6. Cf. Dai Nongkseels-Puja, /The Nongkseels Puja/, loc cit.

422 As treasures, which are handed down from generation to generation,
[Ka] are considered the rich ornaments of gold and silver, the heavy
chains of coral, and the silk scarves, which are worn by the women
at dancing ceremonies.

Also those things which the family has contain in the way of
furnishings and utensils, such as baskets, mats, lances, shields, ar-
rows and bows, and brass pots for cooking and for water, earthen
containers and brass plates are considered common property of the
family.

● 421 /130/ The clan mother at the time has the entire property in
425 her hands, she is the legal and sole guardian and manager of the prop-
428 erty. Nothing can be lost even without her permission. No part of
either the movable or immovable family possessions may be sold
without her agreement. For the execution of the proper legal deed,
as she is often ignorant of writing, she must place her fingerprint.
Nothing may ever be given away; that would be an insult to the clan
divinity since that would not mean preserving and honoring their
property but giving it away as being of no value. As a punishment
for that the clan /manom/ would also lose its other possessions and
then live in poverty and disgrace. The individual members of the
clan could sometimes be recruited for work for other clan-families
as a kind of slave (mawa). But they may not be taken up in their
society as they do not belong to that clan and the clan gods of that
family would not permit it. Therefore if, for example, a clan-
family has rice fields which they do not cultivate and would gladly give
to poorer relatives, they must at least receive the smallest rent as a
charge for it. This consists usually of a good bottle of rice liquor,
which has the value of about 70 pfennigs to hence the household
divinities.

Before the clan mother gives her permission for the sale of com-
mon property, she listens to the advice of the other members of the
clan. Actually according to the old tribal custom things should be
so little sold as given away. It is said that in ages past the original
ancestors, when the individual clans numbered as tradition, appor-
tioned out the then lands of field and wood, and there are supposed
421 to have their unsalable clan property (mawlah). To lot is got out of
425 one's possession would therefore be doubting the gods. However, that

could not prevent individuals from becoming needy through misfortune 421
e laziness and their trying to rent a part of their property for an annual 425
ayment or for a sum needed once. This is called ban die pan, liter-
lly: begging to buy. The sense of relinquishing by lending /135/ is
contained in this. For example, a field is worth 300 reichsmarks.
fty or 100 reichsmarks are accepted for it and the creditor remains
he owner of the field until the money is repaid. This type of pur-
hase occurs frequently. There are frequently traders (sunghuil)
who try to use such purchases to their own advantage. They turn over
he field to the debtor for further cultivation in return for payment in
produce of 50 to 70 per cent of the harvest. After several years the
whole field is their property. Aside from this method, it also happens
hat instead of being able to repay the money the people need still
further sums. In that case then the entire price of 300 reichsmarks is
paid and the actual purchase is considered completed; that is called
van die lot; literally: totally, completely sold. A family-clan which
gradually loses its property in this manner descends into poverty and
need. There is nothing else for it to do than to look for work else- [341]
where, to rent land or to sell the children as a kind of slaves to better
situated people. If 40 reichsmarks are paid for a child of about 10
years, he remains in the bondage of the buyer until the money can be
repaid. That happens only rarely. Besides food and the most neces-
sary clothing only one rupee is deducted annually as wage from the
purchase price; thus, practically, the child belongs to the buyer for
the duration of his life.

It is the duty of individual members of a family clan to work to- 671
gether so that the clan property will be maintained and will produce 674
the necessary amount for the maintenance of all. The clan mother
must oversee primarily that the appropriate customs and usages are
observed. She is held in high esteem by all. To do something
against her wish to offend her, to call her insulting names, or to go
so far as to strike her is considered sang (taboo), a severe crime that
causes misfortune. It is a great sin (pep) and a thoroughly great dis- 671
grace (ongkwah eh tung) for the whole clan.(7) As long as a member 681
762

7. Also considered similar crimes are selling clan property in secret, incest, desecrating burial places in a coarse manner, making use of holy grounds or woods.

/135/ of the family has committed such a crime and has not begged
pardon from the clan mother and the elders of the clan, perhaps with
the words: pardon me, I have committed an error (to mop in ngo leh

428 she does not have any daughter, the property will pass to the female descendants of sisters of Ka Long, as her elder sisters Ka Laimon and Ka Laiban have left no daughters. It is therefore necessary to distinguish carefully between an elder and a younger sister, and also similarly between sisters of the mother. The generation of the women of the same house and extended family requires to be noted with care.

The youngest daughter and heiress is termed the Ka Khadduh. As Gastlin remarks the "Ka Khadduh is the custodian of the family property, not the full heir in the sense known to other systems of law, but a limited heir. She is
[364 responsible for the performance of religious ceremonies.....; she cremates her mother, and if she be Ka Khadduh of the whole family, she puts the bones of all members in their final resting place under the stone (mawbah) of the clan. The expenses of this ceremony are considerable and for this reason she gets a larger share of property, or in some cases a piece of family property in addition and apart from her separate share. Members of the family who are unable to earn for themselves and have no children to earn for them have the right of being fed at the ing-Khadduh" (house of the heiress).

429 The management of the property is however vested in the men of the family. The ancestral property of the family of myatri U Subu R..'s mother was under the management of U Joi, in his mother's life-time; then, on the death U Joi, the next brother U Doi became manager. After U Doi, the management came to U Subu Roi. After him, the authority will pass to U Hojon, as U Sumburai is dead and then to U Nodem. Any sons of Ka Pyn and other sisters will not get any precedence over U Nodem. As the senior U Kni of the Iaughlah Kur, U Subu Roi is also the manager of the common property of the Kur.
[427] This land has been leased out to various persons and the total income is divided among the different houses of the Kur.
421 Whenever there is money to be distributed U Subu Roi calls together all the representatives of the Iaughlah houses and

divides equally. U Subu Rai explained that each house counted as a separate unit. Thus if Ka Jem, Ka Jin and all their daughters were alive, the married daughters who lived in a separate house, namely, Ka Laimon, Ka Laiban, Ka Aimon and Ka Hoimon of Ka Jem's house, and Ka Phro of Ka Jin's line, would each get a share. But Ka Jem and her Ka Khadduh Ka Aiban who lives in the mother's house would get only one share. So would Ka Jin, Ka Eirihon and the unmarried daughters of the latter. The descendants of Ka Long would get seven equal shares for distribution to each house, and not two shares first, divided later into shares corresponding to the number of daughters for Ka Jem's and Ka Jin's house. The manager does not get any share of the collections. Authority in the management of the ancestral property therefore passes from one male to another, in the extended family, and the Kur, in a manner which necessitates a clear distinction of seniority and juniority of brothers, among themselves and also of sisters with regard to brothers.

The case of succession is similar. Gordon notes that the headship in Mylliem State passes from a man to his next brother, and "failing such brothers, by the eldest of his sisters' sons; failing such nephews by the eldest of the sons of his sisters' daughters; failing such grand nephews by the eldest of the sons of his mother's sisters" and so forth in the female line. In Nongkrem, the son or similar male relative of the High Priestess becomes by delegation a Siem. The office of the High Priestess passes from a woman to her eldest surviving daughter; and failing daughters to the eldest daughter of her eldest daughter; failing daughters of her eldest daughter, to the eldest daughter of her second daughter, and so on. This is the customary line of succession, and is stated by Gordon to be "uniform in all cases" practically.

Neither levirate, nor sororate are practised by the Khasis. Widows are stated (G) quite often not to remarry if there are daughters. There is no question of the control of the property

587 of the woman by her husband. No occasion arises either of
● 421 taking his place on death, by his brother or by sister's son; or of a sister of a deceased wife being made over to a man, as is the custom among Garos, where the husband of the heiress manages the property of his wife. Among the Khasis, the widow or widower cannot normally remarry before the end of a year after the death of the husband or wife. When a year is over, a payment is made to the Kur of the deceased to remove
587 the disability. If the man or woman want to remarry before
422 the year is out, a larger sum is paid. In Mawphlang, a sum of Rs. 8-4-0 is paid at the end of the year and Rs. 11-4-0 for untimely remarriage (within the year). The payment is made to the Ka Khadduh of the deceased in each case, and a ceremony severing the relations with the dead spouse is performed. A pig is purchased with the money and it is sacrificed in the house of the Ka Khadduh by a man—usually a neighbour. If the deceased was a man, the following invocation is made:
[429] "Ha kane ka ainol ia shim sang sang bad kein sang sang ia phi. Ka ingo ym ym ben ia khmil."

Free translation :—

"On this night the released person is sacrificing to you. The wife of un-and-on (meaning the man) is hereby made pure."

The pig is then killed by thrusting an iron spike through the shoulder. It is then cooked and eaten by the people present. This mode of killing is known as "dang."

The mynsi Gongsing, whose genealogy has been noted, remarried a year after the death of his first wife Ka Bousnai. This woman died two years ago, and the ceremony for removing the bar on remarriage was performed only last year. The money was made over to an old man U Ba, who is well acquainted with the rites. He purchased a pig and killed it by the "dang" method in the compound of Ka Bousnai's mother, Ka Thwellum. The spike might be of wood or iron, stated U Rabon. I was informed by the mynsi U Babu Rai that the ceremony of

Referring to the first type, we may say that the second type results from the men of the house going out to marry women of other houses. As the men settle down in the wife's mother's house and later on set up a separate house on her land, the continuity of tradition in the house of birth is kept up by the women who remain behind.

It would however be a mistake to suppose that the bond between the members born in a house is severed on marriage. We have noted before that the house of a dead man returns eventually to his mother's house, for final deposition in the clan cemetery, or at least that of the extended household. The bond between the mother's brother and sister's children has also been noted as well as the authority exercised by the former over the extended family.

Further links between a man and his mother's Kur will appear from a study of the rules of inheritance and land tenure with regard to men. Any property that a man acquires before marriage belongs to his mother's house. Myatri U Sohn Bai, his maternal uncle, earned money before his marriage, and he purchased some land with this amount, in a village called Mawbah. It will go to his sisters and their heirs on his death. The earnings of a man after marriage, and after he has settled down in his wife's mother's house (or wife's house), among Khasis proper, generally go to the wife and daughters on death. But any gifts made by the parents at marriage have to be returned on death. Similarly, if a man has earned money after marriage, independently of his wife's capital, a part can be claimed on death by the man's mother's group.

Again, if a man returns to his mother's village after marriage, he can exercise his rights to cultivate the common land there. Every village community has its common land known as Ri Raid. As David Roy states (C9), "people can occupy a vacant land where they build their houses and cultivate. For cultivation purposes land not more than can be cultivated is taken. The occupant can sell his house and the site and the garden of

his house or paddy field or grove; but the sale does not extend to anything more than his right of occupancy.....Any site, garden or place of cultivation if abandoned, can be taken by another."

A son of a house of the village, of which the Kur is of the ancient settlers or has been given similar privileges, has the right of building a house, and of cultivating land in the Ri Raid. Reference has been made to the rare practice whereby a man brings his wife from her mother's house to his own village. In such a case he may set up a separate house on the community land, and cultivate some of it, to maintain his wife and children. The property will pass, on his death, to his daughters as usual. It will not go to his mother or sister.

(c) The man U Hariluk married twice, but did not settle down with his wife on either occasion. He built a house in Mawphlang which is his mother's ancestral village and brought each wife there. Both of them were divorced in turn and have left. If any of his wives had lived with him the house would have gone to his daughters. Now, however, the heiress is Ka Jrem, the daughter of a sister. [Genealogy I(iii)].

(d) The woman Ka Lakimon is of the old Lyngkhi clan of Mawphlang. When U Lyngon married her, he set up a house in Mawphlang and cultivated land. But on his death, the woman went away to Shillong with her children, about 10-15 years ago, selling the house and abandoning the jhum land. The son U Bulimar has recently come to Mawphlang and is working in U Subo Rai's house. If he settles down, i.e., marries and wants to set up a house, he can do so on the Ri Raid. (Genealogy IV).

(e) The foundress of the Khar Dumpep clan was a woman of the village Dumpep, and of clan Khar Dedding. She had two other sisters. One of the three sisters went to Mylliem, and another came to Mawphlang while the third remained at Dumpep as Ka Khaddah. The girl who went to Mylliem founded the Khar Sohsah Kur and the girl who came to Mawphlang founded

Khar Dumpep. These three clans—Khar Duhling, Khar Dumpep and Khar Sohnoh cannot intermarry on account of their common ancestry. U Alisem, the sister's husband of U Subu Rai is of Khar Dumpep clan and furnished me with the above details. He stated that his ancestress married a man of the old settler clans of Mawphlong and came to her husband's village. This man, being of the Khadar Kar, could build a house and cultivate land from the community holding. The property thus acquired passed to the daughters; and gradually the clan Khar Dumpep grew more numerous, and acquired rights in the Ri Raid like an old clan. [Genealogy I(c)].

(d) The family of the first wife of U Ongsing furnishes another illustration. The woman Ka Li came with her widowed mother from Cherra. The father had been a Syntong from Jowai. The girl has been married by U Ihohun, who is a member of one of the old settler clans. He has built a house for his family and made an excellent potato garden out of the common land for the maintenance of his wife and children. They will inherit it from him according to the usual Khasi mode. [Genealogy II(c)].

(e) U Roberts who is a Syntong of Jowai, and a Christian by religion (Genealogy V) came to Mawphlong in 1930-31 and after a couple of years married a non-Christian Khasi girl by Khasi rites thereby losing his membership of the church. He cultivated Ri Raid land when he stayed with his wife's mother Ka Shami [Genealogy V]. This woman is of Khar Sohno clan. One of her ancestresses, came to Mawphlong only a few generations ago, and married a man of the old clans. Her descendants have thereby obtained the privilege of cultivating Ri Raid. U Roberts has divorced his wife and no longer possesses this right. He now works as a tailor in the village, and lives with a friend near the bazaar.

(f) Gurdon has suggested that the large number of clans having Khar as the first part of the name of the Kur have originated from ancestresses who were carried off from the plains.

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While the traditions regarding the origin of Khar Dumpep and Khar Sohnob collected by me do not support the view that the ancestress came necessarily from the plains, it is clear that they support Gurdon's hypothesis that those clans are derived from ancestresses who came from or settled in certain villages. It is evident that Gurdon's hypothesis implies that the husbands of these women, who brought them home from elsewhere, could clear land and transmit such property to their daughters, although the mother of the daughters did not own any land locally. This right to clear the Ri Raid is therefore not a recent innovation.

I have noted these details here as this aspect of inheritance from males has not been clarified elsewhere. It is not meant of course that this right to clear land extended to the special clan lands or family property matrilenial of the man. As noted before the Kni manages such land and makes over the income or produce to the women who are the owners. Even in such land, however, a man has some rights. Both Gurdon and Cantlie state that a male can adopt a blood relative of the same Kur if all the female members of the particular stock are dead. He himself holds the property for life only, when the women of the line are dead. On adopting a girl of the Kur, she becomes the keeper of the property and also his successor. But "the profits of his labours in the landed property can be used for his wife and children." The inherent right of the male is brought out to a certain extent in this rule also. Such private lands are known as Ri Kynti. It may be of the family or the clan. As an example of family land may be noted the case of the forest of U Nong Sohra, the husband of Ka Jem [Genealogy I(a)]. He cleared some Ri Raid land and planted pine trees there. Only the descendants of Ka Jem can cut trees in this forest which is now practically private property of this group. But the land is essentially Ri Raid in this sense that it cannot be alienated and when all trees have been cut away, any villager will be entitled to occupy it. The Khar Shing Kur as a whole has true private lands near the village. If people of other clans want to cultivate

it, they have to arrange with the U Kni, who is in this case U Babu of Mawphlang, elder brother of the Myntri, U Mama who represents this clan on the State organisation. Payment is made in money which is distributed to the different houses of the Kur. There is, however, Ri Kynti land of another kind, individual property which can be sold absolutely. It may be noted here that no rent is paid to the State or the British Government for the Ri Raid, Ri Kynti or other lands in Mawphlang, or in general in other Khasi States. The revenue of the State is derived from tolls levied on commodities sold in market places and also from fines and other minor sources.

The fundamental social and economic unit among Khasis is therefore the family house and the extended family associated with it; the Kur represents a later stage in its expansion. Marriage sets up new relations but does not disturb this basic structure of Khasi Society.

[p. 20]

SOCIAL GROUPINGS AMONG THE KHASIS OF ASSAM

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Introduction

[19] [61] [72] [99] [95] THE Khasis, who inhabit the United Khasi and Jaintia Hills district of Assam, are matrilineal. Like the Garos, they are matrilocal in residence. Exclusive ownership over family property is claimed by the Khasi women and the youngest daughter (*Ka Khaddoh*) who lives permanently in the house of her mother, is the custodian of the family property and the holder of religion (*Ka lut ka-siawi*)[1].

[2] This paper deals with the social groupings, namely, the clan, sub-clan and family, of the Khasis. The materials were collected in 1954 from Mawphlang, Cherrapunji and Mawlah and Mawsmai villages farther south of the Chera State.

Discussion

[92] [61] [502] [61] In the language of the Khasi, the prefix *Ka* is usually used before the name of a woman or any object belonging to a woman (or considered feminine). The use of *Ka* as a prefix before the name of each social group is suggested to have bearing on Khasi matriliny. *Kur* is not a very expressive and exact term for a clan. *Kuhar*, which is supposed to have sprung from the woman (*long jaid na ka kyrkhel*)[2] is more exact. Similarly, *Ka-K'pah* and *Ka-ling* denote the sub-clan and family respectively.

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[1] Gurdon, P. R. T., *The Khasis*, London, 1914 p. 88.

[2] Op. cit., page 88.

brother (actually not likely to happen), the levirate has no sociological implication in the social structure, which is specifically related to the residence rule. The levirate seems to have a significant function only when a marriage is critical—when the husband has full rights over his residence and property. This is also another aspect where the Khasi structure shows a marked difference from that of the Ashanti and the Ila, etc.

VI. Elements of the Rule of Authority of an *Iing*

Among these successful matrial families, there are also shadows of a matrilineal order. These affect especially those men who are in the position of authority in an *iing*. Such a man, though he has an independent household with his wife and children, often visits his youngest sister's (or sister's) house, *iing* (his *iing* sw), and sometimes stays there. Such a man's attachment to his *iing* is not only social or psychological, but also often economic. The man, as authority of his natal *iing*, usually has economic control over the management, particularly so, if his *iing* has considerable property or active trading business. As husband father in his family he works for his wife and children, but often takes into consideration as well the interests of his *iing*. I found such cases especially among richer villagers in Shella and Jaitinga, where the main economic activities were based on trading.

Among the Khasi, it is quite a traditional rule of the division of labour that women engage in trading activities at markets whether on a large or small scale. Husbands may carry goods from field to market, but male members are kept away from the actual scene of the selling and buying. However, these activities on the part of the women are controlled and accounted for by their uncle or brother, or even son (or, if no male member is available, by the husband), though in many cases they form separate domestic families. The man's control over the trade appears more marked when the scale of business is large.

A man of Jaitinga, who worked in a shop in Haflong, spent his salary in keeping his wife and children, but at the same time he kept the accounts of his sister who was a professional merchant. Thus, the economy of the *iing* and that of the co-residential group are crossed by the dual role of the man. Hence, among the Khasi, residential autonomy is not always an indication of economic autonomy. However, it should be clearly understood that a man's acquired property goes to his co-residential group, not to his *iing*.

A man of authority is attached to his *iing* by the stronger ties of religious, social, and economic (management) duties as well as by

The Nayar type. The counter scheme of the Garo type: the co-residential type is "brother-sister" instead of "husband-wife." The function of both line *A* and *B* is equally strong. This type is found among the traditional Nayar (except those in North Malabar) and the Minangkabau matrilineal people.

The Khasi type. The ideal co-residential type consists of a woman with either her husband or her brother. The function of line *A* is much stronger than that of line *B*. This type is found among the Khasi, the Hopi, the Zuni, the Trobiand, the Pagai-Sumatran Malay, the Yao, etc.

The Ashanti type. The ideal co-residential type consists of a man with either his wife or his sister. The function of line *B* is much stronger than that of line *A*. This type is found among the Ashanti, the Gonacha Tonga, the Mayombe, the Tchimanda, the Papua of North Malabar, etc.

In terms of the strong function of both lines *A* and *B*, both the Garo type and the Nayar type may fall into a similar category. But as already explained, their structure basically differs from one another, and clearly appears as the counter schemes of different residential arrangements. The Nayar type shares with the Khasi a rather similar structure in terms of a descent group equated with a property group, while in the Garo type the two lines *A* and *B* of a single descent group never form an independent property unit.

If, leaving aside the Garo type, we consider the three others, the Nayar type appears again different from the rest in so far as in it, both lines fulfill an equally strong function, while in the Khasi and Ashanti types, one of the two lines is always more developed functionally than the other. The Nayar type presents the highest degree of descent group solidarity among the three. This Nayar situation might be compared with that of the traditional Chinese patrilineal systems.[1] In both social systems the structural importance of marriage is minimized: the role of a spouse is only to ensure descendants of the matrilineal (patrilineal) group. The structural importance of a husband (wife) is almost neglected, while the wife (husband) holds the paramount locus in her (his) descent line. The descent group manifests the strongest solidarity within itself, neglecting affinal relations with other groups. This principle results in the custom of the "visiting husband" in the matrilineal system, and, in the patrilineal system, in a total social shift of the wife by her complete assimilation into her husband's group, and separation from her descent group,—she has no social and personal independent locus in terms of the structure. It is an interesting fact that the most extreme scheme of highly institutionalized unilineal systems can be seen among societies of pre-industrialized high civilization. These schemes are structurally opposed to those of the system of the society

1. Fortes touches this point in his paper (Fortes, 1950, p. 208).

divination of the house and of the clans. The little basket is attached to a post in the hut, the special divination of the clan-family are supposed to have their dwelling there; two bamboo twigs fastened underneath symbolize their power. The good bottles are used as containers for the sacrificial drink of rice liquor.(5)

6. CE. Der Hinghiem-Pum./The Hinghiem Pum/, ke ri.

As treasures, which are handed down from generation to generation, are considered the rich ornaments of gold and silver, the heavy chains of coral, and the silk scarves, which are worn by the women at dancing ceremonies.

Also those things which the family has common in the way of furnishings and utensils, such as benches, mats, lances, shields, arrows and bows, and large pots for cooking and for water, earthen containers and bone plates are considered common property of the family.

/1:5b/ The clan mother or the clan has the entire property in her hands, she is the legal and sole guardian and manager of the property. Nothing can be lost even without her permission. No part of either the movable or immovable family possessions may be sold without her agreement. For the execution of the proper legal deed, as she is often ignorant of writing, she must place her fingerprint. Nothing may ever be given away- that would be an insult to the clan divinity since that would not mean treasuring and honoring their property but giving it away as being of no value. As a punishment for that the clan /manum/ would also take its other possessions and then live in poverty and disgrace. The individual members of the clan could sometimes be recruited for work for other clan-families as a kind of slave (mrem). But they may not be taken up in their society as they do not belong to that clan and the clan gods of that family would not permit it. Therefore if, for example, a clan-family has rice fields which they do not cultivate and would gladly give to poorer relatives, they must at least receive the smallest rent as a charge for it. This consists annually of a good bottle of rice liquor, which has the value of about 70 pfennigs to honor the household divinities.

Before the clan mother gives her permission for the sale of common property, she listens to the advice of the other members of the clan. Actually according to the old tribal custom things should be as little sold as given away. It is said that in ages past the original ancestors, whom the individual clans reverence as divinities, apportioned out this their lands of field and wood, and these are supposed to form their unalienable clan property (mangim). To let it get out of one's possession would therefore be insulting the gods. However, that

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monthly sit. This durbar must not be confused with the 695
electoral durbar which will be referred to later. It is 696
an executive council over which the Siem presides, and
also possesses judicial powers (for a description of a judicial 695
durbar, see page 91 of the monograph). The form of summons 694
to appear before this durbar used to be a knotted piece of
string or cane, the number of knots denoting the degree of
urgency of the summons, not a piece of pork, as one writer has
said. Pork is a luxury which is not usually distributed gratis.
The Siem manages the State business through his ministers, 644
although it is true that in some States the members of the
Siem family have been allowed a considerable share of the
State management. This latter arrangement is, however, a
departure from the ordinary rule in the Siemships, and is
regarded as unconstitutional. In some States there are village 652
headmen, styled Sirdars, who settle cases, collect labour, and 651
assess and receive for the chief the *pynsah*, which may be
literally translated as "gratification." In Nongstoin there is
an official styled *Syngkon*, who is the superior of a number of 650
village sirdars, and who acts as the Siem's deputy-governor. 651
In the Khasi Hills there is no land revenue, nor are there any 648
taxes or other imposts levied upon the cultivator's produce. 623
The land, to a great extent, is the property of the different clans
and villages, although in some instances there are estates owned
by private persons. The chief is entitled to receive the income
that arises from what are known as the *raj* or State lands only.
All that the Siem usually receives from his people in the
way of direct revenue is the State subscription, or *pynsah*,
mentioned above. Even this is supposed to be a voluntary
contribution, and it is not demanded in some States. This
tax is nominally a collection to meet the expenses of the State
entertainments, but is really a means of increasing the chief's
private income. The contributions vary in amount according
to the means of the villagers. The Siem's principal source of 649
income, however, in all the Khasi States is the toll (*khwang*), 651
which he takes from those who sell at the markets in his 443
territory. As the Khasis are great traders these tolls are often
at the larger markets fairly valuable. The chief raises no
excise revenue, the manufacture of both fermented and distilled

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614 descended from a common ancestress. There are other instances
C[illegible] of clans being connected with one another, such connection being called by the Khasis *ialik lyer*. Wherever such connection exists, intermarriage is strictly prohibited, and is considered to be *sang*. There is no custom of hypergamy. A Khasi cannot marry his maternal uncle's daughter during the lifetime
[illegible] of the maternal uncle. This is probably due to the fact that the maternal uncle, or *kni*, in a Khasi household is regarded more in the light of a father than of an uncle. His children, however, would belong to the clan of his wife, and there would, therefore, in ordinary cases be no bar to the nephew marrying one of them. Marriage with the daughters of a father's sister is not allowed during the lifetime of the father, but after the father's death there is no religious bar, although such unions are looked upon with disfavour by the Khasis. In the War country, how-
587 ever, such marriages are totally prohibited. A Khasi cannot
588 marry two sisters, but he can marry his deceased wife's sister after the expiry of one year from the wife's death, on payment of *jing sang* (price of *sang*, or taboo) to the wife's clan. A
582 Khasi cannot marry the daughter of his father's brother; she is his *pawn* like (lit. birth sister). Similarly he cannot marry the daughter of his father's paternal uncle. He can, however, marry the daughter of his mother's brother, provided that the brother is dead. This somewhat paradoxical state of affairs is explained by the fact that the children of the mother's brother belong to a different clan to that of the mother, i.e. to the mother's brother's wife's clan. The Khasi, Syntong, War, and Lyngam divisions are not strictly endogamous groups, and there is nothing to prevent intermarriage between them. For instance, it has been the custom in the Nongkhlaw Siem family to obtain husbands for the princesses of the state from the War country. There is no custom amongst the Khasis of two men exchanging daughters, i.e. each marrying his son to
[illegible] the other's daughter. Notwithstanding the existence of the matriarchate, and the fact that all ancestral property is vested in the mother, it would be a mistake to suppose that the father
593 is a nobody in the Khasi house. It is true that the *kni*, or
604 mother's elder brother, is the head of the house, but the father is the executive head of the new house, where, after children

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The adoption of a female obviates the family dying out (*iap dah*), which to the Khasi is a very serious matter, inasmuch as there will then be no one qualified to place the bones of its members within the family tomb (*ka ka iaing wawbah*), and to perform the requisite funeral ceremonies. Amongst the Khasis no particular ceremonies are performed at the time of adoption; but some of the Syntengs observe a religious ceremony which consists largely of a feast to the *clan-folk*, at which liquor, rice, dried fish, and ginger are partaken of. Before the feast commences, each clansman is provided with a small gourd (*u kiang*) filled with liquor, a little of the latter is then thrown on the ground from the gourd, and the following words are uttered:—

"Oh, God! oh, Lord! oh, ruling king Binkurem, now the *pynsiap iing* ceremony is about to be performed, let the ceremony be propitious, and let males and females (of the clan) increase in numbers, so that the clan may become great, and respected, and that intelligent male members may spring up." No such ceremony is, however, observed, it is understood, in the Nongtung and Ialiang *dolohships*.

In the case of a family being *iap dah* (extinct), the family property, according to Khasi custom, passes to the Siem. Therefore it is to the interest of the members of families to adopt a female, when such necessity arises. As there is no religious ceremony which is compulsory to the Khasis on the occasion of an adoption, perhaps we are almost justified in concluding that in former times the adoption custom did not exist, more especially as the Khasis possess a special word, *iap dah*, for describing a family the females of which have all died out; and it is admittedly the custom for the Siem to succeed to the property of such a family. The Syntengs custom of *'nap iing* may have been borrowed from the Hindus, when the Rajas of Jaintia became converts to that religion.

TENURE OF LAND AND LAWS REGARDING LAND.

Land in the Khasi Hills proper, i.e. land in the high plateau, is held somewhat differently from land in the Jaintia Hills and

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the Wiar country, it will be necessary to describe the land tenures and laws regarding land of each of these divisions separately. As land is always *jhumed* by the Khasis and Lyngngams from year to year, customs regarding land with these people are naturally very simple. Taking land in the high plateaus of the Khasi Hills first:—The lands are classified under two main divisions, (*a*) public and (*b*) private lands. The following are the different descriptions of lands in the first division:—

Ka ri Raj, or *ka ri Siem*, which are Siem's, or Crown lands. These lands are intended for the support of the Siem family, and they cannot be alienated. The Siems are, however, precluded by custom from levying a land tax on persons who cultivate such lands, the relation of landlord and tenant between the latter and their chiefs being unknown.

Ka ri Lyngdoh.—These lands are for the support of the Lyngdohs or priests of the State. In some Siemships, as in Mawiang Siemship, paddy is grown on these lands from which rice is obtained for the State pujas.

Ri shnong, or village lands.—These lands are set apart to provide a supply of firewood, thatching grass, &c., and are the property of the village. The inhabitants of other villages are not allowed to enjoy the produce of such lands. Such lands can be cultivated by ryots of the village, but the latter possess only occupancy rights, and cannot transfer them.

Ki Iawkyntang.—These are sacred groves, situated generally near the summit of hills, composed of oak and rhododendron trees, which are held sacred (*kyntang*), it being an offence, or *sang*, for any one to cut timber in the grove, except for cremation purposes. These groves are the property of the villages.

(*b*) Private Lands. These may be subdivided into *ri-bor*, or lands which are the property of the clan, and *ri kynti*, family, or acquired landed property. In the Khasi Hills proper a very large proportion, certainly of the high lands, is the property of the clan; for instance, the high lands at Laitkor, which are the property of the Khar kunger and Kur kulang clans, whose ancestors the large memorial stones close to the Laitkor road commemorate, also the lands of the Thang khew clan, and many others.

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• 123 Thang Khiew clan, and many others. It has been explained, 67 in a previous paragraph, how the clan grew out of the family. The clan lands originally, when population was sparse, were owned by families, but as the members of the family increased and a clan was formed, the lands became the property of the clan instead of the family. Such clan lands are properly demarcated by stone boundary marks. The manager of the clan lands is the *doi* (maternal uncle of the youngest daughter of the main family, or branch of the clan), whose house "*ka ring khadduh*," or last home, is the place for performing all the religious ceremonies of the clan, and is also called *ka ring-ong*. All the members of the clan are, however, entitled to share in the produce of any of the clan lands they may cultivate. No clan lands can be alienated without the consent of a majority of the whole clan.

123 *Ki Iyoti* are private lands which have been either acquired
128 by a man or woman individually, or, in the case of a woman, inherited from her mother; such lands must be entirely distinguished from the lands of the clan. In portions of the Jaintia Hills, if a man purchases a piece of land, at his death it passes to his mother, to the exclusion of his children; but in the Khasi Hills nowadays a man may leave such lands, provided they were acquired after marriage, either formally by will, or informally, to his children for their support. In land customs as well as other customs the Syntengs seem to preserve more closely than the Khasis what are probably the ancient usages of the race. It must be clearly understood, however, that all land acquired by inheritance must follow the Khasi law of entail, by which property descends from the mother to the youngest daughter, and again from the latter to her youngest daughter. Ancestral landed property must therefore be always owned by women. The male members of the family may cultivate such lands, but they must carry all the produce to the house of their mother, who will divide it amongst the members of the family. Daughters, other than youngest daughters, are entitled to maintenance from the produce of such family lands.

123 In the Jaintia Hills lands are classified as follows:—

WASTE LANDS OR UNCLAIMED PUBLIC LANDS.

(1) *Raj* lands, which used to be the property of the Raja of Jaintiapur, now the property of Government, which are assessed to land revenue.

(2) Service lands, which are lands given rent free to dolois, pawns, and other officers who carry on the administration.

(3) Village puja lands, being land the occupants of which pay rent to the doloi or lyngdoh, which are set apart in each village for purposes of worship. These lands are not assessed to revenue.

(4) Private lands held by individuals, and which have been transferred from time to time by mortgage sale or otherwise at the will of the owner. These lands are not assessed to revenue.

High lands are sub-divided into (1) Private lands, held like *kali* private lands. (2) Unclaimed land, or Government Waste.

Up till now the Government has not assessed revenue on the high lands which are its own property. Surveys have been made from time to time of the Government *Raj kali* lands in the Jaintia Hills, but the maps require bringing up to date. The revenue on such lands is assessed at an uniform rate, viz. at 10 annas a bighas, and the leases have been issued so as to expire contemporaneously. A list of service lands of dolois and others, showing the number of plots held by each official and their approximate total area in bighas, is kept in the Deputy Commissioner's Office. Puja lands are plots of lands set apart entirely for the support of the lyngdohs and other persons who perform the pujas of the doloships. These lands are generally leased out by the dolois, but in some doloships they are under the management of the lyngdohs. The occupants of the puja lands have either to present annually sacrificial animals or objects, e.g. bulls, goats, fowls, or pigs, rice, liquor, &c., or make a payment in cash. In the War country in the Jaintia Hills, orange, *pân*, and betel-nut gardens, are held as private property except in a few villages where there are some *Raj pân* gardens which have been assessed to land revenue at the same rates as Government *kali* lands. The various gardens are distinguishable by beams of boundary stones or stone cairns, by

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 ART Khasi ART

422 prominent trees on the boundary lines, or by natural boundaries such as streams.

423 In the War country to the West of Cherra, notably the country between the heights of Laitkynsew and the plains, considerable portions of the hill-sides are the property of communities known as *ensngs*. A *ensng* may be defined as a collection of families sprung from some common ancestress or ancestor. As an instance of these *ensngs* I may describe the community known as the *lei ensng* which owns land in the neighbourhood of Laitkynsew, the area owned being known as the "*ri lei ensng*," or land of the three clans. These clans are descended from three men, U Kynta, U Nohsin, and U Tangrai, it being remarkable that in this case descent is traced originally from male ancestors and not from females. The three ancestors are said to have owned a large tract of land, and they had as their abode the village of Laitmawrin close to Laitkynsew; but owing to an epidemic, or some such cause, they deserted the village of Laitmawrin and went with their families to live in some of the surrounding War villages, viz. in Tyrna, Nongkroh, Nongrwar, Mawsh, and Mawlong. The descendants of the three men above-mentioned possess a genealogical table, showing their descent from the original three founders of the *ensngs*. They claim a large tract of country lying to the south and south-east of the Laitkynsew plateau, containing not only orange gardens, but also valuable lime quarries. There are other *ensng* communities also in the neighbourhood, e.g. the *Iaiarieu phew ensng*, or sixty *ensngs*, who put forward claims to other tracts of land. The boundaries of the *ri lei ensng* are identifiable on the ground. The business of the *ensng* community is managed by a durbar, an elder or other influential person being chosen as president.

423 In the country of the Lyngngam the crop belongs to the person who cultivates it, but the land belongs to the *kur* or family. The Lyngngam villages, like those in the Khasi Siemships, do not pay any rent to the Siem. If outsiders cultivate within the areas set apart for the different Lyngngam villages, all of them, including women, have to pay eight annas each to the people of the village in whose circle they cultivate. There is usually a mutual understanding between inhabitants of Lyngngam villages that certain tracts of land belong to the

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respective villages; sometimes, however, there are disputes regarding these lands between the different villages. Such disputes are settled by the Lyngdoh Sirdars of villages or by the Sirdars sitting with the two Lyngdohs of the Siemship. If the dispute cannot be settled by these officials to the satisfaction of the parties, the latter are taken by the Lyngdohs and Sirdars to the Siem of Nongstoin, who tries the case with the aid of the State machin.

LAWS REGARDING OTHER PROPERTY.

There is no separate law applying to personal property, as opposed to real property, amongst the Khasis.

METHOD OF DISPUTES.

Khasi Courts of Judicature.

In the first place a complaint is made before the Siem, or chief, against a certain party or parties. The facts and circumstances of the case are then detailed before the chief and his headmen, the ostensible object being to attempt to bring about a compromise between the parties. If no reconciliation can be effected, a crier (*u song pyrta shaung*), or in the Jaintia Hills a *ongpet*, is sent out to proclaim at the top of his voice the durbar which is to assemble the following evening. He proceeds to cry the durbar in the evening when all the inhabitants have returned to the village from their usual daily pursuits. With a loud premonitory yell the crier makes use of the following formula:*—

"*Kum!* thou, a fellow-villager; thou, a fellow-creature; thou, an old man; thou, who art grown up; thou, who art young, thou, a boy; thou, a child; thou, an infant; thou, who art little; thou, who art great. *Hei!* because there is a content. *Hei!* for to cause to sit together. *Hei!* for to cause to deliberate. *Hei!* for to give intelligence together. *Hei!* about to assemble in durbar. *Hei!* for to listen attentively. *Hei!* ye are forbidden. *Hei!* ye are stopped to draw water then

* What follows is a literal translation of the Khasi.

(a) so take such a clan mother with the name Ka Sing Law. She has two
[2b] sons and five daughters, and in addition two brothers and two sisters who are all married. Also each of the five daughters and two sisters has four children. These forty-six people live with the clan mother and form the family clan of the Law. To these we also add the sons
[32] and brothers, the nephews and grandsons, but not their children. The latter have nothing to do with the family Law but belong to the family clan of their wives, live with that clan and are counted to it. Likewise neither the husband of Ka Sing Law, nor the husbands of the various daughters, sisters, nieces, and granddaughters belong here. They are all counted with their own clans, live and work with them according to Khasi custom, and only visit their wives occasionally perhaps after dark.

63 The entire clan-family of Law is housed in 5 or 6 huts, which all
[65] stand next to each other in a semicircle or are built one above the other on the slope of a hill, according to the character of the land. A
[30] garden frequently surrounds them in which maize, sweet potatoes, potato-like roots of lok-ot and lelsor, bananas and, on the southern slopes of the Khasi Mountains, also coffee, pineapples, and other fruits are cultivated. A circle of bamboo cane that is so important for building purposes, household objects, and /18b/ implements surrounds the garden and huts. This bamboo cane grows up so thick so as one to a height of 10 or 15 meters and at the same time forms a good protection against bad weather. A wall (mawtha) of thrown-up earth encloses everything, forming an enclosed farm, prevents unimpeded access, and protects cattle and crops from the attacks and devastations of wild animals.

• 123 What is considered the family property of such a clan? Primarily it is the land, the gardens, the rice fields, woods, fallow mountain and grazing lands. On the southern slopes of the Khasi Mountains there
[29] are fields for the cultivation of rape, orange groves, laurel groves, plantations of betel palms and of pepper leaves which far and wide are so highly treasured for betel chewing as a source of pleasure. (2)

2. Cf. Becker, Im Stromtal des Brahmaputra, /In the River Valley of the Brahmaputra/ (Munich, 1923), pp. 207 ff.

[31] Usually there is so much land available that the family-clan can nourish itself properly and also increase in number

403 According to its size and wealth a family clan also owns a
231 corresponding number of cows, oxen, hens, pigs, and goats. Neither the milk nor the flesh of the cows is used. They are kept for the

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28 manure, and primarily for breeding, since the sows cannot be dispensed with for the cultivation of the field, especially of the rice field, where the soaked earth must be trampled to a slimy mush. From the fowl the eggs are particularly prized, since they find an almost daily use in the questioning of oracles in cases of misfortune and sickness. (3) Hens, pigs and goats serve for sacrificial purposes,(4)

> 3. P.R.T. Gordon, The Khasis, (London 1907) pp. 151 ff.; Becker, "Das Eierwerfen der Khasi," /Egg throwing Among the Khasi/, Anthropos, Vols. 10-11 (Vienna, 1915-16), pp. 494 ff.; P.F. Bagguilley, "Aus dem religiösen Leben der Khasi" /The Religious Life of the Khasi/ Anthropos Vol. 16-17 (1921-1922), pp. 610 ff.
>
> 4. Becker, "Die Hongrem-Feie in den Khasi Bergen" /The Hongrem Feie in the Khasi Mountain/, Anthropos, Vol. 4, (Vienna, 1909) No. 1-4, pp. 888 ff.; Bagguilley, loc cit.

and they are also a welcome addition to rice at all festive occasions such as snow thanking, (1) at the name giving, /2.3/ at weddings,

> 1. Becker, In Nongmai ex., /In the Valley, ex./, pp. 200 and 207.

and at the cremation of the dead.

621 Further the various huts belong to the family property, the construction and maintenance of which is the work of the members of the clan, the brothers, nephews, and grandsons. The hut of the clan mother is likewise considered the centre of the whole family, and its possession forms the outer sign of the dominance of the clan mother. Here the bulk the family sacrifices and also keeps the special treasures. These are considered to be those things which are connected with the religious cult. Special reverence and sacrifice is due the oldest clan mother, as the original founder of the clan, and her brother in each clan family; in addition there are a series of other spirits which vary according to the family clan. The branch of the Khasi people who live in the Jaintia Mountains, the so-called Synteng, have probably preserved the old Khasi customs the most faithfully. There in the hut of the
78 clan mother are found the following utensils for the service of the
78 divinities, who are nearly always feminine: mats, little baskets for rice, gourd bottles, a little basket made of bamboo cane and decorated with feathers, as well as antlers of deer or antelopes. The latter are fastened to the wall: they are supposed to be the seat of the

his wife and children.

2. Holy Places of Land and Forest

A special kind of land property is still encountered in the Khasi and Jaintia Mountains. These are pieces of land and forests which are considered sang or kynsang, forbidden or holy, thus kyndiu sang, khlaw kynsang, forbidden fields, holy forest. They are also named in connection with the name god, for example, khlaw Siei, forest of the gods, which, to a certain extent, might offer the key to their purpose and meaning. The hands of man are not supposed to disturb this kind of property; this property is sacred to the gods and at the most may be used in their service.

It is not easy to trace the origin and beginnings of these reserves. But several solutions may be found in regard to sections of land. When the /136/ Catholic mission station was founded in the village of Iohelia which is located on a steep mountain slope, it was hard to find a place that was halfway suitable and big enough to build even a small dwelling on it. Finally the missionary discovered such a place somewhat outside the village. But then there was a new difficulty. The place was the cremation area for the dead and therefore was sang /taboo/. The spirits of the dead would punish every intruder severely. The people were finally persuaded to bury their dead somewhere else, but it was more difficult to find any who were ready to help with the work of the building. Even those whom the missionary finally persuaded to help still suffered heavily from the fear of the punishment of the gods and continuously one or the other of them had imaginary illnesses.

In the cases of more extensive pieces of land, the snake worshippers (thlaw), who carry on their dreadful activities in the Khasi Mountains, (9) may offer an explanation sometimes. If such a person is

9. Im Strombal des Brahmaputra, /In the River Valley of the Brahmaputra/, pp. 76ff.

convicted of murder, which he has committed in the service of the snake god in order to sacrifice the blood of the slain person to him, and if he wishes to free himself from the conviction, he can do nothing other than sell all his movable and immovable property. The latter thus becomes sang. Nobody would dare to take over the fields and gardens, to plant anything there, or to touch any fruit on that property. Thus in Cherrapunji a native Catholic was able to take

423 784 possession of a couple of orange gardens which a thien worshipper had abandoned, as the former did not believe in ghosts. (9)

9. Ibid., p. 82.

423 784 797 In the case of all these pieces of ground which are considered sang, the fear of the severe punishment of the gods prevents each owner from building. If another builds, he does not stop him, because he leaves him to the revenge of the insulted god. As may be seen from the case mentioned, the /137/ heathen are at a disadvantage in respect to their compatriots who have turned to Christianity. The latter no longer feel tied to the heathen laws, at least as far as religion is involved and no longer share their fears in many things. Impoverished Khasi Christians thus find an opportunity to acquire land in cases when it would not be possible for a Khasi who is still held captive by animistic beliefs.

But among the latter there are also disgraceful exceptions. In Nonghah, a larger village of the Jaintia Mountains with perhaps 400 huts -- therefore the name, which means large village -- several years ago a heathen observed with a jealous eye how so many pieces of the fallow fields of the gods were changed into fertile lands under the hands of the Christians. The wish grew in him to do likewise. Although he no longer had much fear of his gods, he still had to reckon with the anger and revenge of the members of his clan, if he as a heathen dared to take such a step. They were not likely to dare to do anything against Christians. Without further ado he became converted to the Methodist religion and appeared before the English government official in Jowai, the capital of the Jaintia Mountains, for the transfer of a suitable piece of land. After the revolt of the Syteng in the year 1862, the English government pronounced the whole territory of the Jaintia Mountains to be government land. They also claim the right of bestowal of all free-lying land, usually by a lease of many years. Since the government receives rent for the land, it is in its interest when applicants appear. In this case the deed of conveyance was issued and over the years a flourishing rice field was made from the land that had been useless up to now. Now that the renter was sure of his affairs, he turned his back on the Methodists in order to become a heathen again and to participate in the heathen sacrifices. But then he got into trouble. The heathen were incensed at such a game and brought serious charges before the English government official. He ruled that in the future no piece of ground of that type /138/ should be leased except upon

presentation of the written statement of the chieftain and the village elders that they would have no objection to it. The avaricious renter of the divine land mentioned above was despised by all. 423 734 797

As concerns the holy forests, which often extend picturesquely from the highest peak down the slope and are overgrown with gnarled oaks and bright colored rhododendron, no tree may be felled there; at the most, fallen wood or wood torn down by a storm or already rotten wood may be taken. The spirits of the forest, as punishing gods, will revenge every offense. Tigers and leopards, apes, bears, and snakes enjoy an undisturbed existence here. The only case in which wood may be cut in these divine woods is for the religious cremation ceremonies of the dead. It is the custom of the Khasi to set fire often to great areas in order to fertilize the ground with the ashes of grasses, trees, and shrubs without regard for the new growth of trees, and to make potato fields there for a year or two or to grow mountain rice, millet, or something similar and then to leave the field fallow again. Thus this is a clever precautionary rule, since there might otherwise be cases when there might be no wood for cremating the dead. 778 776 [368] [341]

(Continuation follows)

/306/ Family Property and Maternal Rights
by C. Becker S.D.S., Würzburg

Gurdon says, (10) that these holy groves were formerly the property of a village. That is not always so as the following case will demonstrate. I am also relating this because it grants us a deeper look into the whole customs of the clan under discussion. 779 423 613 771

10. The Khasis, p. 87.

Several decades ago, a Khasi who had become a Protestant, U Jacob Shai by name, was installed as a clerk with the English government official in Jowai. In order to assure his family a better living than just his meager salary, he yearned for land. By birth from Jongshen in the War territory, he remembered that he could obtain his aim in the neighboring village Syndai from the family clan Umlang. So one day he went thither. After the customary greetings, and refreshment with a water pipe and betel nut and conversation about various indifferent matters, he mentioned his desire. "I know," he said in the polite language of even these simple natural men, "I know the goodness and the good name of your clan /Stamm/ and the elders

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of your clan: you are glad to come to the help of others everywhere and thereby have prepared honor and fame for your whole clan /Sippe/, for your clan gods and goddesses, and for your ancestors of both sexes. You are blessed with grandchildren and great grandchildren. I rejoice in your good fortune and I wish that the gods and goddesses of your clan /Stamm/ will be favorably inclined for all times. Therefore I dare to come to you and to make a request of you: I have only one request: nga don tang kawei ka jingkyrpad! Namely, I need a piece of land, so that I can give my grandsons and granddaughters something to eat. My own field does not suffice for so many mouths. I have noticed that a piece of forest lies here /301/ unused. I have inquired to whom it belongs and the village elders said to me that it was the property of the famous family clan Umliang. I honor you, therefore, and beg you: can I receive this forest according to the law and custom of the clan?"

Questions from the clan mother and the family elders followed this speech. Finally it was clear to them what piece was meant. "That is the khlau sang, the forest of the gods," they cried. "Certainly that belongs to our clan property, but as you yourself know, we can neither rent nor sell it. We cannot and do not even dare say, cultivate the land. But we also cannot prevent you from doing it or forbid you. That piece of land is presented to the gods; they will revenge themselves on anyone who removes it from their cult; they themselves will guard over it so that no one will seize it."

This answer satisfied U Shai completely. He had no fear of the punishment of the forest gods; he had just wanted to make certain whether the family clan would put difficulties in his way or would even bring complaints before the English government. The forest was soon arable. Fire transformed the wood and the bushes, the high grasses and the vines into ashes; oranges and lemons, pineapples, and bananas were planted and after a few years the land brought in from the sale of the fruit a sum, considerable for those conditions, of 800 to 1,000 reichsmarks a year.

The family clan Umliang was still faithful to their native faith. As the other heathen did, so they observed the undertaking of U Shai with fear and anxiety. They believed the gods must bestir themselves and the forest would devour the miscreant with his family. That did not occur. It could not be avoided that in this way the belief in their gods and native customs received a jolt among the heathen and many of them went over to the viewpoint that they might also do it.

After a while a young Khasi with such advanced views married /302/ into the family clan Umliang. Meanwhile 40 years had passed. The old father U Shai was already dead. The piece of land planted by him, as it was not actually family property, according to the special customs of the War had passed on not only to the youngest daughter but also to his son Jacob U Shai and his sisters. On their side they had helped their father in the clearing of the forest. The siblings were Catholic. The young man mentioned above brought a legal complaint against the siblings before the English government official in Jowai a few years ago: the forest made arable by Jacob U Shai and transformed into a fruit orchard had been illegally acquired and is the property of the clan of his wife; he demanded a piece of the land back for the family Umliang and for the other piece a corresponding annual rent must be paid. 778 423 613 797

In reply the siblings Shai could claim that the affair was past the legal time limit. According to tribal custom the time limit on small matters was 10 years, for greater matters 30 years. In addition the main point on their side was that the piece of land in question was khlau sang, forest of the gods, and the family Umliang could not ask anything for it. For this the Shai siblings lacked witnesses, whereas the Umliangs produced several heathen witnesses for the simple declaration of the right of possession. The case was long drawn out. It was finally decided against the Shai siblings and they were declared deprived of the property. The missionary P. Benedikt Neher now concerned himself with the affair. He brought more than 100 witnesses, all clan mothers or village elders, who were ready to swear that that piece of land was a forest of the gods as long as man could remember. The English judge, whom he informed of this, decided that this was a basis for proposing a revision and change of the judgment, but the Shai siblings had lost all their money in the previous trial to pettifogging lawyers and did not have the spirit to begin again. With oriental equanimity they accepted the loss and thus the affair remained.

/303/ The case is instructive anyway, insofar as it shows that the so-called holy forests are also found in the possession of individual family clans; how they are valued by them as long as they remain faithful to their animistic views and how they are able to make their right of possession to them valid even after years.

3. Customs Concerning the Right of Inheritance

When the clan mother dies, the youngest daughter always receives the inheritance among the Khasi. If for any reason the youngest daughter cannot take possession, her next youngest sister follows. If there are 428 613

13:Mukherjee E-5 (1954)1958 AR7 Khasi AR7

of a clan some ceremonial attachment developed out of the custom of depositing the bones of the clansmen in clan ossuary and renewing the relationship between the clansmen on the ceremonial occasion of *thepmaubah* when the bones were finally transferred from *mawshieng* (ossuary of a sub-clan) to *maubah* (ossuary of a clan).

Social bond among the clansmen is due to the performance of common religious ceremonies (*phur*), worship of common deities and spirits of household (*Kwidnia*), water (*puri*) and hills (*Kwidlum*) and observance of mouring for three days for the death of clansmen with the cessation of outdoor work specially with implements.

Economic bond among them is due further to the possession of common land (*ri-kur*), which is divided into separate holdings held by families.

Sub-clan (*Ka-ki'pen*)—Unlike the clan, sub-clan has nothing to do with the regulation of marriage. Its main functions are socio-religious. Mutual interest in the welfare of the members of sub-clan evinced in the observance of *aibam** in honour of the dead grandmother, profund sentiment grown out of the former practice of depositing the bones of the dead persons of the same sub-clan in *mawshieng* and the responsibility of bearing the expenses for *thepmaubah* bind the members together.

The observance of mourning on the death of a person of the same sub-clan for three days and the consequent

*Offering of food to the spirits of the dead ancestors.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

I. Setting and Economic Background of Sohkynduh and Kongton

361 Sohkynduh and Kongton are villages of the Kadashinong,[1] one of
632 the areas under the Cherra Chief. The Kadashinong is situated on
[131] the southern slope of the Khasi Hills, in what is called War country. These two villages are situated at the farthest point from both Shella, the centre bordered by the plain, and Cherrapunjee, the seat of the
184 Cherra Chief, one of the centres of the upland Khasi Hills. The people at Cherrapunjee say that these villages are one of the most backward
121 parts of the Khasi Hills. They correspond to Rombagiri in the Garo
[171] Hills, as they lie in the innermost parts and more traditional economic and social settings have been preserved there than in other villages. These are also the reasons why I selected those villages as my field.

361 It is nine miles to Sohkynduh from Cherrapunjee, crossing two deep valleys towards the east. Kongton is located at the heart of
[131] the mountain ranges, ten miles from Cherrapunjee, towards the north-
[487] east. It is about twelve miles from Sohkynduh to Kongton, and the way leads through one of the most difficult passes, where even
[162] villagers seldom travel. In December, 1955, Sohkynduh was a community of 48 households (List 6), and Kongton of 62 households (List 9). The settlements of both villages are clustered in the southern depressions of a mountain, not far from the summit, a typical location
[134] of Khasi villages. Sohkynduh has poor soil, covered with plenty of pieces of stones. The yield therefore is very poor. On the other hand, Kongton, a much older village, enjoys fertile soil, and is one of the most prosperous communities in the Kadashinong.

241 The major economy of both villages is shifting cultivation. We have already seen, in the chapters on the Garo, the fundamental technique of "Jhuming cultivation." The differences between the
423 Garo and the Khasi shifting cultivation are to be found in two aspects: one is the nature of the crops and the other is the type of landowner-
[171] ship. In this area, the main crop is millet, while that of the Garo is
[241] rice. Besides the shifting cultivation, the Khasi have pan-leaf gardens and sometimes pineapple gardens, though on a small scale and not in every household. The most important feature of Khasi shifting cultivation is the development of private ownership. In the tribal areas in Assam, such private ownership of the jhum field is quite an

1. Kadashinong is the name of a group of villages. Its literal meaning is "twelve villages," and it comprises the following villages: Sohkynduh, Rymmai, Mawbawein, Mawshiut, Mawmang, Kongton, Shyntiang, Krohiawhiar, Pdei, Tenshun, Nongpriang, and Diengsaw. (Khasi spelling follows the customary usage in Cherra State.)

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

exception. As I pointed out in the last chapter on the Garo, private ownership started with wet cultivation. In Kongton, there are no common (village) or clan land: every piece of land is owned by some household—more precisely it is owned by the woman, the head of a household, and managed by her brother or maternal uncle. The majority of households in Kongton possesses land. Some of the richer households lend the land while some of the poorer households lease it. The rate for leases is Rs. 90/- per year for an area where one maund (80 lbs.) of millet seeds can be sown. As there is no acreage system, the measurement is by quantity of seeds, and since shifting cultivation requires a change of field every year, the rent is fixed by the year. The pan-leaf gardens, also privately owned, are never leased. When labour is required, the owner engages villagers, paying them Rs. 3/- per day.

In Sohkynduh, there are some lands called "clan land." Throughout the history of the formation of Sohkynduh village, as reconstructed from my data, can be traced some evidence of the evolution of land ownership. The first inhabitants of Sohkynduh were said to be the people belonging to the Prarian clan (See Lists 6 and 7). It seems that when the Prarian came to this site, the land already belonged to the Dkhar clan of Rymmai village, five miles north of Sohkynduh. The present distribution of land ownership confirms this story. The jhum field belonging to Sohkynduh is divided into four sections according to the locality:

1. Lum Sohkynduh
2. Sohliang
3. Mawkhalai
4. Lumpalong

One part of Lum Sohkynduh belongs to the Prarian clan. The rest of Lum Sokynduh, Sohliang and Mawkhalai belong to the Dkhar clan of Rymmai village, the management of which is in the hands of Phrensing who came from Rymmai and married a woman of Sokynduh. Lumpalong is owned by Sor (Kynshah clan, 32 of List 6) privately. The Prarian and Dkhar lands are used by their descendants respectively. The people of other clans have to pay a rent of Rs. 80/- to use these clan lands. For the land which belongs to Sor, even the people of the same clan (Kynshah) have to pay rent since this land is privately owned. Thus the land of Sohkynduh belongs partly to particular clans and partly to a private owner.

Gurdon explains the existence of the clan land in the Khasi Hills as follows:

"The clan lands originally, when population was sparse, were owned by families, but as the members of the family increased and a clan was formed, the lands became the property of the clan instead of the family. Such clan lands are properly demarcated by stone boundary marks. The manager of the clan

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

178 lands is the *kni* (maternal uncle of the youngest daughter of the main family,
423 or branch of the clan), whose house '*ka iing khadduh*,' or last house, is the place
614 for performing all the religious ceremonies of the clan, and is also called *ka iig seng*. All the members of the clan are, however, entitled to share in the produce of any of the clan lands they may cultivate. No clan lands can be alienated without the consent of a durbar of the whole clan" (Gurdon, 1914, p. 88).

178 Theoretically we can assume that the land was owned by the family
423 (precisely, *iing*, the matrilineal descent group at the lowest segmenta-
428 tion, the structure of which will be discussed later) who first claimed
614 the right to the land, and was managed by the maternal uncle of the youngest daughter, the heiress entitled to the property. In course of time, with the increase of the descent members and with fissions of the descent group, this land was inherited through the youngest daughter's line, but other members who had become segments of the main descent group had a right to use the land, so long as they remained in the same area. Newcomers who belonged to another clan were not granted the same right and had to pay rent. According to the information I was able to collect, even people of the same clan could not claim the right to use the land, unless they were the direct matrilineal descendants of the women who first owned the land. In this sense, the descent group solidarity at a lower level is much stronger than that of the Garo.

Therefore, newly possessed or purchased land is always owned by the individual family (*iing*, descent group). This Khasi conception of land ownership produces a picture of predominant private ownership of land, combined with high geographical mobility of the population (see p. 112). In such circumstances, it seems that even the land called "clan land" has been alienated or sold frequently, and has developed small holdings to suit the small segments of descent groups. In particular, when the entitled owner moved away to another area, the land was sold. For instance, in Sohkynduh, the maternal uncle of Sor (mentioned above) purchased the land indicated above about ten years ago from a family of Siem Lyngngoh who left for another village. This land was originally purchased by the Siem Lyngngoh from the Dkhar to whom the land belonged as part of the clan land.

Under this system, clan ownership of land can develop only (1) when the members of the descent group remain in the same community for a considerable period and (2) when there is sufficient land to acco-
178 modate all members. I think these are the main reasons why land-
423 holding at present among the Khasi is found to be in small descent
428 groups—in one household as in Kongton in most cases, and this I call private ownership. For the second reason, further explanation is

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

necessary. The chances of acquiring a piece of land nowadays are small, except for very successful men, and usually the size of the plot is only just enough to maintain one household. When this land is passed on to the next generation, the youngest daughter will hold the title to it. This fact tends to exclude married elder sisters from the right to use the land, since it is not sufficient for more than one household. Thus the ultimogeniture succession rule seems to have developed more sharply and to have encouraged limited inheritance in conjunction with the shortage of land. 178 423 428

This tendency creates unbalance in the economy of the households within a community. It is a usual picture in Khasi villages, for the bigger and well-built houses to be occupied by the youngest daughter's family, while the elder sisters reside in poor huts. Youngest daughters are usually landowners, while their elder sisters have often to become day-labourers after their marriage, unless their husbands are capable men, or their fathers wealthy enough to give them some share of their acquired property. On the whole, the variations at present between rich and poor are considerable in a Khasi community, in comparison with that of the Garo, where the economic condition of each household in a village is more or less similar. These differences are not only a matter of economic organization but arise from the nature of each social structure. 178 184 423 428 556 [171]

The economic and social patterns of Sohkynduh and Kongton are very similar, but their dialects are slightly different: my interpreter, who came from Cherrapunje, could work quite well at Sohkynduh, but at Kongton he found some difficulty, especially with the speech of the old men, and with their religious expressions. The head man of Kongton, who was quite accustomed to the Cherra dialect, acted as an interpreter for us. Such differences in dialect in the Khasi Hills are common phenomena; it is said that every valley has its own dialect. Differences are found not only in speaking, but also, to a certain extent, in culture and in social usages. 197 [124]

II. Village Endogamy

One of the outstanding features of Khasi social organization is the predominant tendency of endogamy on the level of the village, which contrasts with the structural orientation of the Garo village exogamy. This is closely connected with the distributions of clans and the nature of the descent groups. 582 621 [171]

The Khasi population consists of a number of *kur*, matrilineal clans, whose members consider themselves to be descended from a common ancestress. The members of the same *kur* have a common 614 [765] [769]

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

182 very wealthy households still maintain their former economic activities, but
434 the majorit have been impoverihed, becoming daily labourers for the wealthy ones or for road construction. Thus considerable internal economic differentiation has beun to appear in the community.

Thoughthe recent economic depression brought poverty to Jatinga, the
182 standard o living is still strikingly higher than that of neighbouring tribes. Studying sch economic aspects of Jatinga, I wondered at first why these
245 neighbourig tribes have remained as they were, except for temporary employ-
648 ment at Jainga: why, looking at the prosperity of Jatinga, they did not adopt the way ofhe Jatinga people?

Indeed ome of them attempted to imitate the Jatinga economy, but the results wer unfortunately not favourable to them. First, both pan-leaf and orange culvations were entirely new to the tribal peoples, and the technique was quite ifferent from that of dry rice cultivation in the jhum field. Pan cultivationrequires very delicate care which is almost impossible to manage for peoplewho have been accustomed to the primitive jhuming cultivation. For instane, when they go into pan gardens, they have to wash themselves and put o special clean clothes in order to prevent the spread of epidemic leaf diseas Tribal people, who seldom wash their clothes, or mostly go naked, could hardy keep pan gardens. In this respect the Khasi are entirely different, having speialized in this economy for a long period, even as they believe, from time immemorial.

On theother hand, the technique of orange cultivation is much easier than that of pa-leaf, but it takes several years to obtain a yield; it requires considerable capitl to begin with. For the jhum cultivators, who usually did not have cash incone nor funds, it was almost impossible to start it, while the Khasi were ableto raise funds from the selling of the pan-leaf. Furthermore, the
[423] managemnt of such gardens, either pan-leaf or orange, differs also from that of the jhun field as it entirely depends on individual enterprise based on private land ownership, which is new for those tribes where the community owns the land. Therefore the possibility of starting orange gardens is restricted to special individuals among them belonging to exceptionally rich and powerful household. A few households in neighbouring villages did, in fact, start orange gardens, adopting the technique of the Jatinga people. This was around 1942 and they were expecting to have the yield around 1950. However, unfortunately, wher their oranges began to come into production, orange disease started in Jatinga and spread all over these areas. Their dream therefore never came true.

Beside oranges, some of them also established gardens of bananas, jackfruits, and papaas, which were more successful than the oranges. These plantations started much earlier than oranges in this area, though not in great quantity. The prodicts were sold to the Jatinga people who sold them again to Bengalee merchants. The question arises why were they not sold directly to Bengalee merchants, when the profit would have heen much greater.

This aspect of the market economy touches upon very interesting problems
182 concerning the relations between tribal and Hindu peoples. Such tribal peoples who live on a primitive subsistence level usually do not have direct contact
44 with the peoples of the plains. There is always an intermediary between them.
648 In this case it is the Jatinga people who know both tribal life and Hindu life. They are also in between culturally. If a tribal cultivator sells his produce to a Hindu merchant, he would most certainly be cheated by the cunning merchant, as he is quite ignorant of trade. Tribal men do deal with markets directly, but only on a small scale at Haflong bazaar, and without making a profit: it s just the exchange of their basketful of jhum produce for an iron

thereafter, the British negotiated treaties with all the Khasi states, the last treaty being signed in 1862. It was contracted that the chiefs would be subject to the authority of a resident political agent, whose duties would involve maintaining law and order, judging cases of heinous crimes, approving the popular selection of any new chief, and exercising control over certain categories of natural resources. Khasis were guaranteed noninterference in their customary way of life, and they were not then, nor are they now, taxed. Most Khasis, as opposed to Jaintias, were never an integral part of British India, but they did undergo social change as a result of British presence. To summarize Mills (n.d.): (1) The British introduced the potato, which the Khasis rapidly took up as a cash crop for marketing as far as Calcutta. The intensive specialization exhausted the soil and made for ever-poorer crops. (2) Christian missionaries made large numbers of converts, and there arose the difficult question of whether a Christian should inherit property that traditionally was earmarked for her performance of non-Christian religious rituals. (3) About 1864 the British transferred their headquarters from Cherrapunji to Shillong. When they made Shillong the capital of the entire state of Assam, non-Khasis flocked to it, land values soared, and the concept of private property became increasingly important. Khasis began to marry with members of other ethnic groups, which introduced confusion into traditional social patterns. These problems were exacerbated during World War II, when Shillong and its environs enjoyed enormous economic prosperity. One notable aftermath of this affluence has been the accelerated enrollments in schools and colleges. Hundreds of Khasis now have the B.A., M.A., and even the Ph.D. degree. • With the Independence of India in 1947, and under the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India (which was drafted by a Khasi), the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills District became a Part B, or Autonomous, Tribal Area, to be governed by a District Council composed largely of Khasis and Jaintias, and responsible not to the Legislature of Assam, but to the Governor of Assam as agent of the President of India. The native-state system and the chiefs still exist, and the District Council finds it difficult to effect legislation which is neither offensive to regional custom nor a simple blueprint of ill-fitting all-India legislation. The major political schism at this time is between Jaintias, who are accustomed to centralized authority and taxation, and Khasis, who resist the notion of taxation to support the work of a central District Council. [Cf. Gait 1926; Aitchison 1931; Bhuyan 1949; Morris 1910.]

175 619 648 [726] [651] [177] 177 648 [244] [439] [134] [797] [428] [635] [633] [167] [563] [423] [873] 648 642 [651] [563] [113]

SETTLEMENT PATTERN AND HOUSING. **Settlement pattern.** Khasis live sedentarily in named, nucleated, and unplanned villages which are situated just below hill summits to avoid strong winds but still be defensible, and which usually include a de-

361 [312]

16: McCormack E-4,5 (1956-1958) 1964
[P 109 A] AR7 Khasi AR7

clothing, operate the large Khasi business establishments in Shillong, and provide all civic and religious leadership. Women care for children and for the home, do the marketing, and sell dried fish, betel nut, lime, fruits, and rice breads at markets. Other tasks can be performed by either sex. **Land tenure.** Land was formerly divided into sib land and public domain. Sib land was corporately held in perpetuity, and was inalienable except by the unanimous consent of all members of the sib. The public domain was subject to usufructuary right by anyone who kept the land regularly under habitation or cultivation, with a lapse of no more than three years. Most villages grew up on public domain, and then reckoned all land inhabited or under cultivation by a village member as village land. Forests were public, except for sacred groves possessed by villages or lineage groups, and everyone was free to gather branches for fuel. Wastelands and streams were also public. By now, most public domain and village land, together with its forest cover, has been pre-empted as private property and is being rented and sold as such. Sib lands remain intact, unless the sibs agree to rent, lease, or sell. [Cf. Cantlie 1934.]

462 294 443 622 423 [178]

KIN GROUPS. **Descent.** Descent is matrilineal, and the Khasi is a member exclusively of his own matrilineage from birth to death. Adoption, which is very rare, is only within the matrilineage. **Kin groups.** The maximal matrilineage is the sib; this is a named, widely dispersed, strictly exogamous, lineage group, which claims but cannot trace its origin from a single ancestress. Sibs used to meet as corporate groups from time to time. Some sibs are linked with others in large amorphous groups that are unnamed and are defined solely by exogamy. Such a group is composed of two or more sibs, the ancestresses of which are claimed to have been either real sisters or dear friends who out of affection declared that thenceforth their descendants would be as consanguineals. The origin and function of sib-linkage is now unknown, and today the members of a sib will often disagree on whether or not their sib is linked with another. • The minimal matrilineage is the local descent group, or *iing*. This is the largest kin group that normally rallies at life crises. It is said that the *iing* formerly spanned six generations; today, it encompasses only four. If an *iing* grows to more than four generations in a single village, it segments. New houses are located at some distance from the old and the *iing* soon forgets exactly how to trace genealogical connection, except for which segment descended from a youngest sister. The term *iing* may also be applied to an extended family, an elementary family, and a house. The elementary family is the basic domestic unit in Khasi society. In any village there are likely to be one or two households which stand as sole local representatives of the lineage of the female household head. Such a household is known as an

611 [597] 614 602 [59]

241 464 2·10 **Labour and Wages:** It has already been mentioned above that a large number of people subsist on labour—agricultural as well as non-agricultural. Owners of big orchards employ labourers for clearing of their orchards twice or thrice a year, plucking and transporting of produce to markets. Paddy cultivators with large farm engage labourers for ploughing and hoeing of fields, sowing, harvesting and threshing of paddy. It should be mentioned that due to the peculiar agricultural practices prevalent in the district, the input of labourer even for paddy cultivation is higher than that in any of the plains district of the State, which compels cultivators to hire 241 labourer even for small paddy fields. In the case of cash crops, wages 464 are usually paid in cash and for food crops it is paid in cash and kind more usually in kind. Wage rates for males and females are different 465 which generally vary from Rs.1.50 to 1.25 for males and Rs.1.25 to Re. 1.00 for females.

There are, however, numerous instances of engaging agricultural labourers at the rate of Re. 0.50 per day. During the scarcity months the well-to-do farmers advance loans to the poorer section of the people on condition that repayment will have to be made by rendering labour on wage basis at the rate of Re. 0.50 per day in the creditors farms whenever their services are demanded. Thus whenever their services are demanded the poor people haye to work in creditor's farm even at the cost of ruining their own cultivation.

There are other instances where the labourers are paid less then usual wages. In some villages where there is dearth of work all the agricultural labourers gather together at some specified place early in the morning. The well-to-do farmers go there and through bargaining manage to eng ge the number of hands they want at very low rates Similar bidding down of wages of non-agricultural labourers is also. prevalent whenever demand for labour is very low.

Land utilisation and cropping

423 659 2. 11 **Land tenure system.**—The district of United K-J. Hills is not cadastrally surveyed and so far as land tenure is concerned, there is no rigid unifrom or regular system worth the name, with the exception of those lands under the control of the State Forest Department and the Local District Council. There are different kinds of land under different systems, though for obvious reasons no reliabe statistics can be gathered in respect of them. As far as land tenure system is concerned, Jowai subdivision is conspicuously different from Shillong subdivision. However, land in the whole district can be broadly placed under the following categories:—

423 [692] [651] I. **Rikynti or Private land.**—They are private land belonging to certain clans or families but not to an individual according to Khasi custom. Neither Syiem nor District Couucil has got any power over them except the judicial powers to settle any dispute that may arise over any plot of land. The only connection is with the State Forests Department in respect of private protected forests who collects royalty from the produces of these forests if they are used for purposes of

trade. Rikynti are mostly found in the higher hills region—the area between War (southern portion of the district roughly the border area) and Bhoi and constitutes a major portion of the total area of land in Shillong subdivision. In Jowai subdivision private lands are very small in area, only 7,266 acres in total and they are known as 'Biniaj'. 423

II. **Raj Lands.**—They are lands belonging to nobody. It can be said to be a common property which everybody has a right to use, of course with necessary permission from 'Village Raj' in respect of Raj lands under the village or from Syiem in respect of Raj lands under the Syiem. In case of Raj lands the land continues to be in possession of one so long as he cultivates there but as soon as he ceases cultivation it reverts back to the Raj. The land which is known in the official term as unclassed State forests is also Raj land but is under the control of the District Council.

Raj lands are found every where in the district though the major portion is found in Bhoi area and in his area for purpose of cultivation permission is given to any Khasi from any part of the district, while elsewhere in the district, this is confined to the local people only.

III. **Land under Zamindars.**—In War area in both subdivisions here are some big land holders who are locally known as zamindars. There is no record of the number of such zamindaries nor the amount of land held by them. These lands provide suitable sites for cultivation of valuable cash crops like betel-nut, orange, betel-leaf, tezpata and other fruits. The petty landlords are not at all powerful nor it is customary to exploit the tenants. Generally, the landlord leases out of his land on long term basis and the rent is either fixed in cash or in kind and the rate varies according to the fertility of the soil and other conveniences from all points of view On the average the rent per year is 10% of the produce in case of betel-nut, Rs. 40·00 per acre of land per term (usually 5 to 6 years) in case of betel-leaf cultivation and for wet paddy cultivation if the land is very fertile the produce is shared in the rate 50:50 otherwise 1:2 between the landlord and the tenants. For other crops, generally the rent is negligible or nil.

IV. Besides lands under the above main three categories there are also lands which are under control and management of the State Forest Department and the District Council of United K.-J. Hills.

(*a*) **Forest reserve under Assam Forest Regulation VII, 1891.**— There are forests belonging to Government under the control of the State Forest Department. There are five numbers in total, three of them are in Shillong subdivision covering a total area 32,188 acres and two in Jowai subdivision covering an area of 76,961 acres. The total area is 1,09,149 acres, *i.e.*, 170·5 sq. miles. 423 659 648

(*b*) **Forest reserve under executive orders of Government.** These forests are also under the control of the same Department reserved for the purpose of beautification, etc. There are only five of them within the Shillong subdivision and around the town of Shillong The total area covered is 2,635 acres only, *i. e.*, about 4 sq. miles.

423 659 648 (c) **Green Blocks.**—These green forests are private forest but protected and managed by the Department for the purpose of retaining the source of water supply, etc., for the town of Shillong. They are five in number covering a total area of 2·24 sq. miles and located around the town of Shillong itself.

(d) **Private protected Forests.**—There are private forests protected by the State Government for the growth of forests, but the owner can use them provided permission is given by the Deputy Commissioner. There are 16 numbers of them scattered here and there throughout the whole of Shillong subdivision only and covering an area of more than 24·79 sq. miles.

V. In Jowai subdivision there are four blocks of land covering a total area of 44·9 sq. miles reserved for sports and games. They are under the control of the State Revenue Department.

VI. **Raj lands of unclassed State Protected Forests.**—This includes the Raj lands under the District Council mentioned in item 2 above. These forests were formerly under the control of the State Forest Department but are now transferred to the District Council. They are scattered throughout the whole of the district and cover an area of more than 73·05 sq. miles. There are altogether 52 numbers of such forests, 30 of them with an area of more than 57·05 sq. miles and are in Shillong subdivision and 22 numbers with an area of 16 sq. miles are in Jowai subdivision.

423 651 648 2.11.1. **Revenue collected by the District Council (Land Revenue System).**—(a) In Jowai subdivision all the Raj lands mentioned in item 9 above which have been brought under wet paddy cultivation are subjected to payment of annual revenue. The revenues is fixed according to the fertility of the soil. There are three classes—class I hali lands, class II hali lands and class III hali lands, and the revenue varies according to these three classes of lands from Re. 0.50 to Re. 0.87 per bigha per year. There are altogether 28,683 plots covering a total area of 19,709 acres. No such revenue exists in Shillong subdivision.

(b) In both subdivisions there are also lands under special settlement accompanied by revenue.

Shillong subdivision.—An annual revenue is collected for the building site only from Saitsohpen villages, where there are 169 holdings covering a total area of 86 acres with a total revenue of Rs. 505·72 per year.

Seven pieces of land in Burnihat used by the United Fruit Company covering a total area of 182·09 acres. The revenue collected per year is Rs. 550·81. A revenue of Rs. 2. only per year is collected from two building sites at Nongpoh station whose area is 29,861 sq ft.

Jowai subdivision.—An area of 131 acres of land in Lakadong and Satpator Dolloiship and under orange cultivation is also subjected to payment of annual revenue of Rs. 255·44.

There is another 102·21 acres of land in Subacherra in the Indo Pakistan Border which is under tea plantation since prepartition period After partition this area has fallen into India. But at present though tea plantation is still carried on, the revenue has never been collected at all since the company has gone to Pakistan. 423 651 648

There are also in Jowai subdivision 15 numbers of building land sites, mostly leased out to non-Khasi individuals and institutions. They include building for churches, schools, hospitals and training classes, etc. The total area comes to 397·39 acres with a total revenue of Rs.216·84 per year. The period of the lease varies from one plot to another.

A part from land revenue, all the houses in Jowai subdivision are subjected to taxation. The rate is fixed at Rs.2 to Rs.6 per year according to the economic condition of the village. In Shillong subdivision only 31 Sirdarships which were formerly known as British Sirdarships have to pay house tax.

2.12 **Land Utilisation.**—The following table gives the area under important crops. 241 433

TABLE 2

	1958-59	
Winter rice	37,800	acres.
Maize	8,000	"
Other cereals	1,000	"
Potato	21,600	"
Chillies	350	"
Sweet potato	5,400	"
Linseed	180	"
Cotton	50	"
Tobacco	600	"
Arecanut	13,455	"
Orange	20,000	"
Betel-leaf	10,000	
Total	1,18,435	acres.

439 East Pakistan to which the people in the border areas were entitled
648 in the strength of various trade agreements of the Government of
458 India with the authorities in Pakistan, were also scanty. The situation was still more aggravated due to the stringent measures adopted by authorities in Pakistan, on the plea of prevention of smuggling, in December, 1957 when the entire border trade virtually came to a standstill.

245 This chaos in border economy has resulted in widespread unem-
439 ployment among the border people. There being no market for the
458 produce, the owners ceased to take proper care of their orchards and plantations. As a result thousands of labourers who were employed in the
464 orchards were thrown out of employment. Similar was the condition of those who were employed in the transportation of various commodities such as merchandise of trade etc. A large section of the people engaged in collection of limestone were also rendered unemployed with the set back received by the trade in limestone with East Pakistan. Due to stoppage of trans-border trade, petty traders engaged in distributive trade, also suffered.

423 Many of the border people possessing paddy lands and orchards in
648 areas that are located in Pakistan had to abandon them. The following
458 table will show the amount of land lying in Pakistan belonging to the farmer in the selected villages of border area :—

TABLE A-2

Name of villages	Area of land lost through partition		
	No. of familes who possessed land in Pakistan	Area (acres)	Average per family (acres)
1. Nongjri	87	357·86	4·11
2. Shella	9	175·40	19·40
3. Bholaganj	15	108·00	7·20
4. Balat	2	13·50	6·75
5. Mawdon	nil	..	..
6. Lyngkhat	5	85·00	17·00
7. Darrang	16	568·75	35·55
8. Syndai	3	43·33	14·44
9. Amki	8	40·67	5·08
10. Umshnong	nil	..	..

[167] A few families who did not have any landed interest on this side
[65] of the border were reported to have migrated to Pakistan. Most of the families are even now paying tax to East Pakistan authorities even though they are not getting any returns because they do not want to lose their right on land.

It will be seen that wholly agricultural families, in Border area, Project area and General area are 51, 61 and 70 p. c. respectively of the total families. Classifying the wholly agricultural families and families pursuing agriculture as principal occupation, as predominantly agricultural families—the proportion of such families for Border area, Project area and General area stand at 68 p. c. 76 p.c. and 90 p.c. respectively. Thus it is clear that in the Border area the proportion of predominantly agricultural families is the lowest. The reason for this can be safely ascribed to the set-back received due to closure of markets after partition. A close study of tables C·10 and C.11 below and table C.11.1 at the appendix will bear testimony to the fact that in Border area there is evidence of a shift of occupation from agriculture to non-agricultural enterprise especially labour (non-agricultural). 162* 463

Predominantly agricultural families have been classified into five groups— Non-cultivating owner, owner cultivator, tenants, part-owner and part-tenants and landless agricultural labourers. The number of families and the proportion of each of these groups in the three areas are as follows— 125 241 423 427 463

*162
241
• 423
463
427

TABLE C·9

Classification of Predominantly Agricultural Families

Type	Border area			Project area			General area		
	No. of families			No. of families			No. of families		
	Shillong Sub-division	Jowai Sub-division	Total	Shillong Sub-division	Jowai Sub-division	Total	Shillong Sub-division	Jowai Sub-division	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
1. Non-cultivating owner..	25 (5·67)	6 (2·61)	31 (4·57)	.. ..	4 (1·25)	4 (0·82)	.. ..	.. ..	...
2. Owner cultivator (owning 75 per cent or more of farm land).	375 (85·52)	98 (42·61)	473 (69·66)	128 (77·58)	175 (54·01)	303 (61·98)	70 (85·37)	64 (77·11)	134 (81·21)
3. Tenant (owning less than 25 per cent of farm land).	8 (1·78)	73 (31·74)	81 (11·93)	14 (8·48)	51 (15·74)	65 (13·29)	3 (3·66)	7 (8·43)	10 (6·06)
4. Part owner and part tenant (owning between 25 per cent and 75 per cent of farm land.	7 (1·56)	19 (8·26)	26 (3·83)	11 (6·66)	21 (6·48)	36 (7·37)	1 (1·22)	5 (6·02)	10 (6·06)
5. Landless agricultural labourer.	34 (7·47)	34 (14·78)	68 (10·01)	8 (4·85)	73 (22·53)	81 (16·56)	4 (4·87)	7 (8·43)	11 (6·67)
Total ...	449 (100·00)	230 (100·00)	679 (100·00)	165 (100·00)	324 (100·00)	489 (100·00)	81 (100·00)	83 (100·00)	165 (100·00)

Apart from private lands, Raj lands possessed by a family and land possessed through settlement by District Council have been considered as 'land owned' for the purpose of this survey. Tenants usually take in rents from land-owners only those lands which are possessed by the later as private land or through settlement through District Council. A perusal of table C 9 given above will show that proportion of tenants are higher in Jowai subdivision which is due to the existence in this subdivision of some big landholders who are known as zamindars. Majority of the families shown against 'non-cultivating owner' are in fact agricultural labour families who also possess some land but due to some reason or other left it uncultivated. Among owner cultivators, tenants and part-owner and part-tenant families also there are some whose major income is derived from agricultural labour. Consideration of these two facts along with the number of landless agricultural families goes to show that the proportion of agricultural labourers in the district is rather high.

TABLE C10

Occupational distribution of families whose principal occupation is other than agriculture

principal occupation	No. of families					
	Border area		Project area		General area	
	Total	P.C. to total	Total	P.C. to total	Total	P.C. to total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1. Non-agricultural labour.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	6	[illegible]
2. Service, profession, etc.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	8	[illegible]
3. Trader.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	4	[illegible]
4. Small scale manufacture & handicraft.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	1	[illegible]
5. Poultry & dairy farming.	7	[illegible]	..	..	5	[illegible]
6. Others	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	...	...
Total ..	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

19: Assam G-5 (1958) 1963 AR7 Khasi AR7

CHAPTER VI

LAND

6.1 The total area covered by the sample villages is not available for want of relevant village records as the district is not cadastrally surveyed for settlement purposes. Having no alternative on matters of land and land utilisation pertaining to a family we had to depend entirely on the accounts given by family concerned. However, every care was taken to ensure reliability and in a number of cases accounts of land given by families were verified by actual measurements. In most cases they were found to tally approximately. To simplify matters land referred hereafter relates only to agricultural land.

HOLDING

6.2 "Holding" usually means the land over which the individual or family has permanent and heritable right of occupancy. Due to peculiar land tenure system prevailing in this district, an account of which has already been given in the introductory chapter, this definition had to be modified to fit in with the system obtaining in the district and accordingly the holding of an individual or family was meant to comprise of all lands held as private property or held under Raj System or under settlement through District Council.

The total area covered by land holdings of all sizes in the Border area, Project area and General area samples are respectively 8366.42 acres, 1891.42 acres and 613.24 acres and with 1006, 647 and 184 families in the respective sample. The average size of holding per family works out respectively at 5.3 acres, 2.9 acres, and 3.3 acres in Border area, Project area and General area and holding per head 1.40 acres, 0.63 acres and 0.70 acres respectively. The real situation on the structure of family holding, however, will be better understood from an examination of the distribution of the holdings according to their size as presented in the following table.

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TABLE-D1

Distribution of families by size of Holding Groups

Size of holding group	Border area				Project area				General area			
	No. of families	Average size of holding per family (In acres)	No. of families cultivating land	Average size of cultivated holding (acres)	No. of families	Average size of holding per family (acres)	No. of families cultivating land	Average size of cultivated holding (acres)	No. of families	Average size of holding per family (acres)	No. of families cultivating land	Average size of cultivated holding (acres)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
1 No land	300 (30·72)	..	..	...	185 (28·59)	...	...	...	19 (10·31)	..	..	..
2 Less than 1 acre ..	82 (8·13)	0·7	71	44·09	59 (9·12)	0·31	56	0·56	19 (10·31)	0·35	19	0·35
3 Less than 3 acres ..	173 (17·20)	1·10	146	1·44	190 (29·37)	1·16	187	1·64	64 (34·78)	1·81	64	1·68
4 3 to less than 10 .. acres	250 (25·64)	3·03	238	4·01	109 (16·12)	5.06	106	4·49	72 (39·13)	5·02	74	4·36
5 10 acres & above	183 (18·09)	19·35	176	11·61	64 (9·90)	13·85	44	10·57	10 (5·43)	12·33	10	9·95
Total no. of families possessing land	697 (69·28)	2·19	631	5·15	463 (71·41)	4·09	453	3·41	165 (89·67)	3·72	164	3·21
Grand Total	1006 (100·00)	3·33			647 (100·00)	2·22			184 (100·00)	3·23		

It is seen from the above table that proportion of landless families was quite high in Border area and Project area accounting for 31 and 29 per cent of the total number of families in the respective area, against 10 in the General area. Considering holdings in general and classifying them as small holdings (if less than 3 acres), medium holding (if 3 acres to less than 10 acres) and large holdings (if 10 acres and above), the proportion of families holding land in the three holding groups is found to be respectively 56 per cent, 26 per cent and 18 per cent in Border area, 67 per cent 26, per cent and 7 per cent in Project area and 55 per cent, 39 per cent and 6 per cent in General area. 1627* 592 423

Considering only the families holding land as will be evident from table D1.1 in the appendix in Border area, the proportions of families in the three holding groups, *i.e.*, small, medium and large are respectively 37%, 37% and 26% of the families holding land while for Project area they are 54%, 37% and 9% and for General area 50%, 44% and 6% respectively.

As to the area covered by the three holding groups in the Border area, Project area and General area, the small holding cover respectively 6 per cent 19 per cent and 21 per cent of the total agricultural land medium holdings cover respectively 28 per cent, 45 per cent and 59 per cent, and the large holding cover 66·32 per cent, 35·50 per cent and 20·42 per cent respectively. Thus in Border area 37 per cent of the families holding land own only 6 per cent of the total agricultural land in the villages while in Project area 54 per cent of the families own 19 per cent in the land and in General area 50 per cent of the families own 21 per cent of total land. As a result the individual holdings under the small holding group are small measuring between 0·24 acres to 2·26 acres in Border area, 0·25 acres to 2·28 acres in Project area and 0·25 acres to 2·30 acres in General area. The average size of holdings per family in the small holding group in the three areas are respectively 1·36 acres, 1·47 acres and 1·55 acres as compared with 5·63 acres, 4·95 acres and 5·02 acres in the medium holding group and 19·55 acres, 15·25 acres and 12·53 acres in large holding group. Average size of holding per family holding land in Border area, Project area and General area comes to respectively 7·70 acres, 4·09 acres and 3·72 acres. However considering cultivated holdings only as will be shown by Table D1.1 at the appendix, the above figures stand at 5·13 acres, 3.41 acres and 3·21 acres respectively crystalising the fact that a considerable portion of land is either left fallow or leased out to others.

The following table will throw light on the point.

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TABLE D2

village group	No. of families holding land	Total area of holding (acres)	No. of families renting out land	Area leased out (acres)	No. of families cultivating owned land	Area cultivated (acres)	Area left fallow	Percentage to col. 3
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
1. Border area	697	5366·42	39	251·41	631	3238·66	1876·35	34·96
2. Project area	462	1891·42	27	91·56	453	1543·56	256·30	13·55
3. General area	165	613·24	5	16·75	164	526·45	70·04	11·41

Thus it is seen that of the owned land at least 35 per cent in Border area, 14 per cent in Project area and 11 per cent in General area were left fallow.

Considering the number of families, it was found that in Border area villages as many as 66 families had either totally leased out or left fallow their owned land, the corresponding number for Project area and General area being only 9 and 1 respectively.

TABLE D3

Number of families of different occupational type holding land of various sizes

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Size of holding (acre)	No. of families: wholly agricultural	Agriculture as principal occupation	Agriculture as subsidiary occupation	Independent of agriculture	All occupations
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1. BORDER AREA					
1. No land ..	108 (21·14)	29 (17·26)	61 (33·33)	111 (77·08)	309 (30·72)
2. Less than 1 acre ..	51 (9·98)	11 (6·56)	19 (10·39)	1 (0·69)	82 (8·13)
3. 1 to less than 3 acres	88 (17·22)	30 (17·86)	37 (30·22)	18 (12·51)	173 (17·20)
4. 3 to less than 10 acre	144 (28·18)	57 (33.92)	48 (26.23)	11 (7·64)	260 (25·85)
5. 10 and above ..	120 (23·47)	41 (24·40)	18 (9·83)	3 (2·08)	182 (18·10)
Total	511 (100·00)	168 (100·00)	183 (100·00)	144 (100·00)	1006) (100·00
2. (Project area)					
2. No land	115 (29·19)	9 (9·47)	15 (13·89)	46 (92·00	185 (28·59)
2. Less than 1 acre.. ..	40 (10·15)	8 (8·43)	11 (10·18)	..	59 (9·12)
3. 1 to less than 3 acres	111 (28·17)	32 (33·68)	44 (40·74)	3 (6·00)	190 (29·33)
4. 3 to less than 10 acres	113 (28·68)	29 (30·53)	26 (24.07)	1 (2·00)	169 (26·12)
5. 10 acres and above..	15 (3·81)	17 (18·09)	12 (11·14)	..	44 (6·81)
Total ..	394 (100.00)	95 (100·00)	108 (100·00)	50 (100·00)	647 (100·00)

TABLE B3 (*contd.*)

(1)	(2)	(3)		(5)	(6)
*162 241 423 3. General area—					
1. No land	15 (11·72)	1 (2·70)	(11·76)	1 (50·00)	19 (10·33)
2. Less than 1 acre ..	9 (7·03)	4 (10·81)	5 (29·41)	1 (50.00)	19 (10·33)
3. 1 to less than 3 acres	47 (36·71)	10 (27·03)	7 (41·19)	..	64 (34·78)
4. 3 to less than 10 acres	52 (40·63)	17 (45·91)	3 (17·64)	..	72 (39·13)
5. 10 acres and above	5 (3·91)	5 (13·52)	...	... ..	10 (5·43)
Total ..	128 100·00	37 100·00	17 100·00	2 100·00	184 100·00

6.3 It is significant that in all the three areas a considerable section of wholly agricultural families and families following agriculture as principal occupation are landless. On the other hand, a considerable propertion of the families with agriculture as subsidiary occuption or independent of agriculture hold land of various sizes. The fact why agriculture for those families who possessed sufficient land, was reduced to a subsidiary occupation is possibly more due to less return from agriculture than their attachment to it.

FRAGMENTATION

182 311 423 6.4 It has been observed that a large number of rural families have small holdings, the very smallness of which render their holdings un-economic. In addition, the holding of rural families suffer most from the evils of fragmentation. Often holdings are not in compact blocks but are scattered all over and surrounded by lands in possession of others or some uncultivable waste land. Some of the fragments lie even in separate villages.

Unlike in the plains district, fragmentation here was brought about not so much by population pressure (except only in case of wet paddy field) or inheritance legislations or such other factors as would give rise to excessive fragmentation of holdings. This is because there is no settlement regulation and the people are free to reclaim as much of the Raj land as possible for their cultivation. Fragmentation here is thus more a product of the topography of the district, for cultivable land in large compact block is not easy to get and cultivable land have to be found in isolated patches.

The extent of fragmentation is presented in the following table :

TABLE D-4

Distribution of holdings according to number of fragments.

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No. of fragments	Border area: No. of holdings	Border area: Percentage	Project area: No. of holdings	Project area: Percentage	General area: No. of holdings	General area: Percentage
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1	155	22.24	189	40.91	31	18.79
2	147		122		52	..
3	122	58.68	68		45	78.79
4	83		35	53.68	22	...
5	37		23		11	..
6	44		13		1	..
7	25		4	4	2	2.42
8	30	15.35	2	..	..	..
9	11		2			..
10	7		..		1	..
11	11		2			..
12	3		1			..
13	1		..			..
14	4	3.73	1	0.86	...	..
15	1		..			..
16	1		—			..
17	..		...			..
18	..		..			..
19	1		..			..
20	2		...			—
21 & above	0		..			..
Total.. ..	697	100	462	100	195	100

311 The total number of fragments in 697 holding in Border area
423 is 2,540 giving an average of 3.64 fragments per holding, that in
182 462 holdings in project area is 1,080 which gives on the average 2.34 fragment per holding, while in General area 165 holdings comprise of 443 fragments, *i.e.*, 2.68 fragment per holding. A comparison of the above figures with the average fragment figures of 1.61, 4.50, 4.40 and 3.73 per holding in Mikir Hills, Darrang, Sibsagar and Lakhimpur districts respectively goes to show that incidence of fragmentation in this district is higher than that in Mikir Hills but less than that in other districts.

It will be seen from table D4.1 at the appendix that in the small holding group (less than 3 acres) average number of fragments per holding is 1.99 in Border, 1.60 in Project and 2.01 in General area. The average sizes in the corresponding holding group being 1.36 acres 1.47 acres and 1.55 acres, in Border area, Project area and General area, the average size of fragments in the respective area works out at ·68 acres, ·92 and ·76 acres. Similarly it will be seen that average sizes of fragments for medium holding group are, in Border area 1.61 acres (average size of medium holding 5.63 acres) in Project area 1.85 acres (averages size of holding 4.95 acres) and in General area 1.51 acres (average size of holding 5.02 acres), those for large holding group being 3.15 acres, 3.06 acres and 3.49 acres respectively against the average large holding sizes of 19.55 acres, 15.25 acres and 12.53 acres in the respective area.

FARMS

241 6.5 The operating unit in the rural agricultural system is in most
592 cases the family farm. Functions, entrepreneur, capital and manual labour as regards to the agricultural operations in these farms are done through a joint effort of the family unit. Rarely permanent farm servants are maintained though employment of casual labourers are employed during the busy seasons.

[128] In this enquiry a farm has been defined as comprising of all agricultural land operated by a single family with or without employment of labour. The family may or may not have the right of permanent occupancy and inheritance over the farm land operated by it, and in this sense the farm is distinguised from holding which comprises of such land only over which the family concerned possesses right of occupancy and inheritance.

TABLE D-6

Distribution of farms according to size and ownership

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427

Size of farms	No. of farms			
	Wholly owned	wholly rented	Partly owned and partly rented	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
A. Border area—				
Small farms				
Less than 3 acres ..	.. 255 (76.12)	65 (19.40)	15 (4.38)	335 (100·00)
Medium farms— 3 to less than 10 acres	.. 229 (72.70)	53 (16.83)	33 (10.47)	315 (100·00)
Large farms—				
10 acres & above ..	90 (82.57)	10 (9.11)	9 (9.26)	109 (100·00)
Total ..	.. 574	128	57	759
..	.. (75.66)	(16.86)	(7.51)	(100.00)
B. Project area—				
Small farm—				
Less than 3 acres	... 196 (70.50)	43 (15.47)	39 (14.03)	278 (100.00)
Medium farms—				
3 to less than 10 acres	.. 161 (78.82)	13 (6.40)	29 (14.48)	203 (100.00)
Large farms—				
10 acres & above ..	.. 26 (86.67)	2 (6.67)	2 (6.66)	30 (100.00)
Total	.. 382 (72.80)	58 (11.35)	71 (15.85)	511 (100.00)

TABLE D-6 (*concld.*)

Distributing for farms according to size and ownership

241
423
427

Size of farms	No. of farms			
	Wholly owned	Wholly rented	Partly owned and partly rented	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
C. General area—				
Small farms—				
Less than 3 acres	75	5	11	91
	(82.42)	(5.49)	(12.02)	(100.00)
Medium farms—				
3 to less than 10 acres ..	65	2	5	72
	(90.28)	(2.78)	(6.94)	(100.00)
Large farms—				
10 acres & above	7	..	1	8
	(47.50)	..	(12.50)	(100.00)
Total	147	7	17	171
	(85.96)	(4.10)	(9.94)	(100.00)

TABLE D-7

Distribution of farm area by size and type of ownership

Size of farms	Area in acres							
	Wholly owned	Wholly rented	Partly Owned and partly rented			Total owned area (2+4)	Total rented area (3+5)	Total (7+8)
			Owned area	Rented area	Total			
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
A. Border area—								
Small farm— (less than 3 acres)	318·66	85·50	14·78	27·23	42·01	333·44	112·73	446·17
Medium farms— (3 to less than 10 acres)	1206·63	263·34	94·31	86·95	181·26	1300·94	350·29	1651.23
farms— (10 acreas and above)	1545·28	132·25	59·00	80·25	139·25	1604·28	212·50	1816·78
Total	3070·57	481·09	168·09	194·43	362·52	3238·66	675·52	3914·18
	(78·45)	(12·29)	(4·29)	(4·97)		(82·74)	(17·26)	(100·00)

341
423
427

TABLE D-7 (*concld.*)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
B. Project area—								
Small farms— (less than 3 acres)	305·12	59·29	28·47	41·58	70·05	333·59	100·87	434·46
Medium farms— (3 to less than 10 acres) — --	790·56	47·15	59·39	77·21	136·60	849·95	124·36	974·31
Large farms— (10 acres and above)	324·77	23·00	35·25	17·00	52·25	360·02	40·00	400·02
Total	1420·45	129·44	123·11	135·79	258·90	1543·56	265·23	1808·79
	(78·53)	(7·16)	(6·81)	(7·50)		(85·34)	(14·66)	(100·00)
C. General area—								
Small farms— (less than 3 acres)	126·08	7·25	8·57	9·25	17·82	134·65	16·50	151·15
Medium farms— (3 acres to less than 10 acres) ...	300·07	8·00	7·73	16·86	24·57	307·80	24·86	332·66
Large farms— (10 acres and above)	80·00	—	4·00	8·00	12·00	84·00	8·00	92·00
Total	506·15	15·25	20·30	34·11	54·39	526·45	49·36	575·81
	(87·90)	(2·65)	(3·53)	(5·92)	(100·00)	(91·43)	(8·57)	(100·00)

From the above tables it is evident that for all the areas in each size group small, medium and large, a high proportion of the farms (*i.e.*, in total 76 per cent in Border area, 78 per cent in Project area and 86 per cent in General area) is wholly owned and the area covered by those wholly owned farms also constitutes almost similar high proportions (*i.e.*, 79 per cent in Border area, 79 per cent in Project area and 88 per cent in General area) of the farm area available in the respective village group. Owned area under all farms amounts to 3238·66 acres (83 per cent of the total farm area) in Border area, 1543·56 acres (85 per cent) in Project area and 526·45 acres (91 per cent) in General area. Of this total owned area, in Border area nearly 95 per cent is covered by wholly owned farms and the rest by the partly owned farms. In Project area and General area respectively 92 per cent and 96 per cent of the total owned area are covered by wholly owned farms. Thus the area available for renting in Border area constitutes 17 per cent of the total farm land amounting to 675·52 acres of which 71 per cent is under wholly rented farm and 29 per cent under partly owned farm, in Project area total area available for renting constitutes 15 per cent (*i.e.*, 265·23 acres) of the total farm area of which 49 per cent and 51 per cent respectively are under wholly rented and partly owned farms while in General area 8·57 per cent (49·26 acres) of the total farm area are available for renting of which respectively 31 per cent and 69 per cent are covered by wholly rented and partly owned farms.

It is seen from Table D-7, that total rented area in Border area, Project area and General area are respectively 675·52 acres, 265·23 acres and 49·36 acres. A comparison of these figures with the figures of land leased out as in Table D-2 which are respectively 251.41 acres, 91·56 acres and 16·75 acres in the three areas, goes to show that some of the village lands taken in rent by the villagers belong to some right-holders who live outside the village.

CHAPTER—X

Summary of main findings

125 10.1. Twenty-eight villages were selected for the purpose of the survey. Out of the 28 villages selected, 10 from Border area and 8 from Project area were selected purposively while the remaining 10 were selected at random from the entire district which is referred hereafter as general area.

166 Migration from big villages was rare but some migration was reported in respect of small villages.

164 243 871 489 482 Occurrence of Malaria, influenza and dysentery is a regular phenomenon in the area. Medical facilities were not found satisfactory and as much as 78 per cent of the villages have no dispensary within a radius of five miles. In regard to education, the facilities cannot also be said to be unsatisfactory for more than 60 per cent of the villages have a Lower Primary School. Transport facilities were not satisfactory and as much as 86 per cent of the villages still depend upon primitive mode of transport, namely head load. Correlated with outmoded form of transport, is the prevalence of unduly high cost of transport.

*162 161 10.2. The number of the families covered by the survey was 1006 in the Border area, and 647 in the Project area and 184 in the General area. The average size of a village in the respective area is 100·6, 80·9 and 18·4 families. In the Border and Project areas females out number males being respectively 1076 and 1092 females per 1,000 males as against 940 females per 1,000 males in the general area 212 Literacy is as high as 34 per cent in the border area and 31 per cen [562] in the Project area but as low as 17 per cent in the general area In all the areas literacy among females is very low.

*162 464 The working population (earners and earning dependents) is as high as 55 per cent in the Border area, 54 per cent in the Project area and 63 per cent in the general area. While there were no cases of unemployment in the Project and General areas, 53 persons were reported unemployed from border area.

241 *162 463 10.3. 51 per cent of the families in Border area are wholly agricultural, 35 per cent partly agricultural and 14 per cent independent o agriculture. The corresponding figures for the Project area are 61, 31 and 8 per cent respectively while for the General area they are 70 per cent, 29 per cent, 1 per cent respectively.

Predominantly agricultural families constitute 67, 76 and 90 per cent of the families in Border, Project and General areas respectively.

*162 423 10.4. 31 per cent of the families in Border area, 29 per cent in Project area and 10 per cent in General area were absolutely without any land while 25 per cent, 39 per cent and 24 per cent of the families in the respective areas possessed small holding ranging from 0·24 to 2·30 acres representing 11,24 and 26 per cent of the total holding area in the respective areas. 36 per cent of the families in Border and Project areas and 41 in General area possessed medium sized holding (3 to less than 10 acres)

accounting for 42, 54 and 58 per cent of the total holding area in the respective areas. Large holding (10 acres and above) covering 46, 22 and 16 per cent of the total holding area in the Border, Project and General areas respectively were possessed by 18, 7 and 5 per cent of the families of the respective areas. 162 423

The average size of family holding worked out at 7.7 acres for Border area, 4·1 acres for Project area and 3·7 acres for the General area. The average size of cultivated holding per family in the three areas was found to be 5·1, 3·4 and 3·3 acres respectively.

10.5. The total number of farms in Border area, Project area and General area were respectively 759, 611 and 171 covering respectively 3914·18 acres, 1808·79 acres, and 575·81 acres, bringing the average size of farms to 5·16 acres in Border area, 3·54 acres in Project area and 2·20 acres in General area. 241 311 423

Percentage distribution of these farms and farm area by different size group is depicted in the following table.

Form of Lesion Found	Surgical Area			Medical Area			General Area		
	P. C. of Lesions (Cases)	P. C. of Lesions (Cases)	Average Size (mm)	P. C. of Lesions	P. C. of Lesions	Average Size (mm)	P. C. of Lesions	P. C. of Lesions	Average Size (mm)
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Simple Varicosities (non-bleeding & painless)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
2. Varicose Veins & its Complications (B. Ulcers)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
3. Large Varicosities (above 10 mm)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

19: Assam G-5 (1958) 1963 AR7 Khasi AR7

10.6. Of the total of 719 farms in Border area, 76 per cent were wholly owned, 17 per cent were wholly rented and the remaining 7 per cent were partly owned and partly rented. In Project area, proportions of wholly owned, wholly rented and partly owned and partly rented farms were found to be 73 per cent, 11 per cent and 16 per cent respectively while those in General area were respectively 86 per cent, 4 per cent and 10 per cent of the total number of farms. Of the total farm area, owned area accounted for in Border area 83 per cent, in Project area 85 per cent and in General area 91 per cent of the total farm area in the respective area. Of the total owned area nearly 95 per cent in Border area, 98 per cent in Project area and 99 per cent in General area were covered by wholly owned farms and the rests by partly owned farms. Of the total rented area, in Border area, Project area and General area respectively 71 per cent, 49 per cent and 31 per cent are covered by wholly rented farms. 423 427

10.7. Out of 1066 families in Border area, 650, *i.e.* 61 per cent were indebted, average debt per family being Rs.157·34 nP. and that per indebted family being Rs. 251·25 nP. In Project area out of 647 families 332, *i.e.*, 50 per cent were indebted, average debt per family being Rs. 139·35 nP. and that per indebted family Rs.272·60 nP. In General area out of 184 families, 52, *i.e.* 28 per cent were indebted, average debt per family being Rs. 54·09 nP. and that per indebted family being Rs. 190·00 nP. of the total indebted families. Predominantly agricultural families constituted the highest proportion in all the three areas, being 78 per cent in Border area, 77 per cent in Project area and 98 per cent in General area accounting respectively for 87 per cent, 78 per cent and 99 per cent of the total amount of debt in the three areas. Majority of the loans were of small amount inasmuch as in Border area 60 per cent of the loans are of size less than Rs 200·00, average size of these loans being only Rs. 69·25 nP. In Project area 71 per cent and in General area 72 per cent of the loans are of size less than Rs. 200.00, average size of these loans being respectively Rs. 66·80 and Rs. 99·29 only. Of the total number of loans 67 per cent in Border area, 81 per cent in Project area and 90 per cent in General area were of less than 3 years standing. Majority of the loans in Border and Project areas were found to be incurred for productive purposes. In General area 53 per cent of the loans were contracted for maintenance of the family. 162* 426

Government and other professional and semiprofessional money lenders emerged out to be the predominant sources of rural credit. In Border area loans from Government constituted 82 per cent of the total number of loans accounting for 53 per cent of the total amount of loans followed by those from money lenders which worked out at 15 per cent of the total number of loans accounting for 41 per cent of the total amount of loan. In Project area and General area respectively 60 per cent and 73 per cent of the total number of loans accounting for 70 per cent and 84 per cent of the total amount of loan in the respective area were contracted from private money lenders while Government loans constituted in Project area 45 per cent and in General area 17 per cent of the total number of loans accounting respectively for 30 per cent and 61 per cent of the total amount of loans in the respective area. 426

TABLE D-I-I—(contd.)

Distribution of holdings by size group (area in acre)

Size of the holding	No. of holdings	Total area under the groups	Average size of the holdings	No. of the cultivated holding	Total cultivated area	Average size
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
A. Border area :						
1. Less than 1/3 acre... ...	20 (2·87)	4·80	24	19	4·30	0·23
2. 1/3 to less than 1/2 acre ...	10 (2·73)	6·98 (0·72)	0·37	18	6·33	0·35
3. 1/3 ,, ,, ,, 1 acre ...	43 (6·17)	26·96	0·63	34	20·53	0·60
4. 1 ,, ,, ,, 2 ,, ...	90 (12·91)	117·18 (2·18)	1·30	76	76·26	1·00
5. 2 ,, ,, ,, 3 ,, ...	83 (11·91)	187·93 (3·50)	2·26	70	133·39	1·91
Small holding	255 (36·59)	343·33 (6·40)		217	240·81	1·11
6. 2 holding less than 5 acres ...	102 (14·63)	366·87 (6·84)	3·60	89	250·81	2·82
7. 5 ,, ,, ,, 10 ,, ...	158 (22·67)	1096·87 (20·44)	9.64	149	704·27	4·73
Medium holding	260 (37·30)	1463·74 (27·28)	5·63	238	955·08	4·01
8. 10 holding less than 25 acres...	152 (21·81)	2247·00 (41·87)	14·78	146	1368·56	9·37
9. 25 ,, ,, ,, 50 ,, ...	24 (3·44)	832·60 (15·51)	34·69	24	424·46	17·69
10. 50 and above	6 (0·86)	479·25 (8·93)	79·87	6	249·75	41·63
Large holding	182 (26·11)	3558·85 (66·32)	19·55	176	2042·77	11·61
Total	697 (100·00)	5366·42 (100·00)	7·70	631	3238·66	5·13

N.B. Figures within brackets indicate percentage.

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TABLE D—1·1—(contd.)

(1)	(2)	(3)		(4)		(5)	(6)	(7)
		(P. C.)	(P. C.)					
B. Project area—								
1. Less than 1/3 acre	13	(2·81)	3·25		·25	·12	3·25	·25
2. 1/3 to less than 1/2 acre.	9	(1·95)	3·04	(1·59)	·34	·29	3·04	·34
3. 1/2 to less than 1 acre.	37	(8·01)	23·82		·64	·34	21·82	·64
4. 1 to less than 2 acres.	97	(21·00)	122·63	(6·48)	1·26	·97	117·37	1·21
5. 2 to less than 3 acres.	93	(20·13)	212·27	(11·22)	2·28	·90	189·54	2·11
Small holding	249	(53·90)	365·01	(19·29)	1·47	2·43	335·03	1·38

TABLE D-1·1—(cont.)

(1)	(2)		(3)		(4)		(5)	(6)	(7)	
6. 3 to less than 5 acres.	92	(19·91)	331·62	(17.53)	3·60	..	89	294·89	5.81	..
7. 5 to less than 10 acres.	77	(16·67)	523·60	(27·68)	6·80	..	77	451·24	5.86	...
Medium holding	169	(36·58)	855·22	(45·21)	5·06	..	166	746·13	4·49	..
8. 10 to less than 25 acres.	41	(8·87)	579·82	(30·66)	14·14	..	41	413·62	10·09	..
9. 25 less than 50 acres.	3	(·65)	91·37	(4·84)	30·61	..	3	48·78	16·26	..
Large farm ..	44	(9·52)	671·19	(35·50)	15·25	..	44	462·40	10·51	..
Total ...	462	(100·00)	1891·42	(100·00)	4·09	..	453	1543·56	3·41	

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TABLE D-1·1—(contd.)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
	(P. C.)	(P. C.)				
C. General area :—						
1. Less than 1/3 acre	3 (1·82)	·75	·25	3	·75	·25
2. 1/3 to less than 1/2 acre	2 (1·21)	1·00 (1·71)	0·50	2	·00	·50
3. 1/2 to less than 1 acre	14 (8·48)	8·76	·63	14	8·26	·59
4. 1 to less than 2 acres.	35 (21·24)	49·20 (8·02)	1·41	35	45·00	1·29
5. 2 to less than 3 acres.	29 (17·58)	66·80 (10·89)	2·30	29	62·55	2·16
Small holding	83 (50·30)	126·51 (20·63)	1·55	83	117·56	1·42
6. 3 to less than 5 acres.	45 (27·27)	174·99 (28·54)	3·89	44	160·28	3·64
7. 5 to less than 10 acres.	27 (16·36)	186·49 (30·41)	6·91	27	149·11	5·52
Medium holding —	72 (43·64)	361·48 (58·95)	5·02	71	309·39	4·35
8. 10 to less than 25 acres.	10 (6·06)	125·25 (20·42)	12·53	10	99·50	9·95
Large holding —	10 (6·06)	125·25 (20·42)	12·53	10	99·50	9·95
Total	165 (100·00)	613·24 (100·00)	3·72	164	526·45	3·21

TABLE D-3·1

No. of families of different occupational type holding land of various sizes.

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
A. Border area —					
1. O	108 (21·14)	29 (17·26)	61 (13·33)	111 (77·08)	309 (32·72)
2. Less than 1/3 acre ..	13 (2·54)	1 (0·60)	6 (3·28)	..	20 (1·98)
3. 1/3 less than 1/2 acre	14 (2·74)	1 (0·60)	4 (2·19)	..	19 (1·88)
4. 1/2 less than 1 acre ..	24 (4·70)	9 (5·36)	9 (4·92)	1 (0·69)	43 (5·27)
Less than 1 acre (Total)	51 (9·98)	11 (6·56)	19 (10·59)	1 (0·69)	82 (8·13)
5. 1 less than 2 acres ..	44 (8·61)	17 (10·12)	19 (10·38)	10 (60·94)	90 (8·95)
6. 2 less than 3 acres ..	44 (8·61)	13 (7·74)	18 (9·84)	8 (5·57)	83 (8·25)
Less than 3 acres (Total)	88 (17·22)	30 (17·86)	37 (20·22)	18 (12·51)	173 (17·20)
7. 3 less than 5 acres ..	54 (10·57)	26 (15·48)	18 (9·84)	4 (2·78)	102 (10·14)
8. 5 less than 10 acres .	90 (17·61)	31 (18·44)	30 (16·39)	7 (4·86)	158 (15·71)
Medium holding	144 (28·18)	57 (33·92)	48 (25·23)	11 (7·64)	260 (25·85)
9. 10 less than 25 acres	104 (20·85)	30 (17.86)	15 (8·19)	3 (2·08)	152 (15·11)
10. 25 less than 50 acres ..	13 (2·54)	8 (4·76)	3 (1·64)	---	24 (2·39)
11. 50 and above	3 (0·58)	3 (1·78)	..	---	6 (0·60)
Large holding	120 (23·47)	41 (24·40)	18 (9·83)	3 (2·08)	182 (18·10)
Grand Total ..	511 (100·00)	168 (100·00)	183 (100·00)	144 (100·00)	1006 (100·00)

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TABLE D-3·1—(contd.)

No. of families of different occupational type holding land of various sizes

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
B. Project area —					
1. O	115 (29·11)	9 (9·58)	15 (13·89)	46 (92·00)	185 (28·59)
2. Less than 1/3 acre ..	9 (2·28)	1 (1·06)	3 (2·78)	..	13 (2·01)
3. 1/3 less than 1/2 acre	4 (1·01)	3 (3·29)	2 (1·85)	..	9 (1·39)
4. 1/2 less than 1 acre ..	27 (6·82)	4 (4·26)	6 (5·55)	...	37 (5·72)
Less than 1 acre (Total)	40 (10·13)	8 (8·51)	11 (10·18)	.	59 (9·12)
5. 1 less than 2	64 (16·20)	13 (13·83)	19 (17·59)	1 (2·00)	97 (14·99)
6. 2 less than 3	48 (12·15)	18 (19·15)	25 (23·25)	2 (4·00)	93 (14·37)
Less than 3 acres (Total) ...	112 (28·35)	31 (32.98)	44 (40·74)	3 (6·00)	190 (29·36)
7. 3 less than 5 acres ..	60 (15·19)	18 (19·15)	14 (12·96)	..	92 (14·22)
8. 5 less than 10 acres ..	53 (13·42)	11 (11·70)	12 (11·11)	1 (2·00)	77 (11·90)
Medium holding (Total) ...	113 (28·61)	29 (30·85)	26 (47·07)	1 (2·00)	169 (26·12)
9. 10 less than 25 acre ..	14 (3·54)	16 (17·02)	11 (10·19)	..	41 (6·34)
10. 25 less than 50 acre ..	1 (0·26)	1 (1·06)	1 (0·93)	..	3 (0·47)
11. 50 and above					
Large holding (Total)	15 (3·80)	17 (18·08)	12 (11·14)	..	44 (6·81)
Grand Total ..	395(100·00.	94(100·00)	108(100·00)	50(1000·00)	917(100·00)

TABLE D-3·1—(contd)

No. of families of different occupational type holding land of various sizes.

Size of holding	Wholly Agricultural	Agriculture as Principal occupation	Agriculture as subsidiary occupation	Inpedent of agriculture	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
C. General area —					
1. O	15 (11·72)	1 (2·70)	2 (11·76)	1 (50·00)	18 (10·33)
2. Less than 1/3 acre ..	2 (1·56)	1 (2·70)	..	..	3 (1·63)
3. 1/3 less than 1/2 acre	1 (0·78)	..	..	1 (50·00)	2 (1·09)
4. 1/2 less than 1 acre ...	6 (4·69)	3 (8·11)	5 (29·41)	...	14 (7·61)
Less than 1 acre (Total)	9 (7·06)	4 (10·81)	5 (29·41)	1 (50·00)	19 (10·33)
5. 1 less than 2	27 (21·09)	4 (10·81)	4 (23·54)	..	35 (19·02)
6. 2 less than 3 acres ..	20 (15·63)	6 (16·62)	3 (17·65)	..	29 (15·76)
Less than 3 acres (Total)	47 (36·78)	10 (27·03)	7 (41·19)	..	64 (34·78)
7. 3 less than 5 acres ..	35 (27·34)	8 (21·62)	2 (11·76)	..	45 (24·46)
8. 5 less than 10 acres ..	17 (13·28)	9 (24·32)	1 (5·88)	..	27 (14·67)
Medium holding	52 (41·62)	17 (45·94)	3 (17·64)	...	72 (39·13)
9. 10 less than 25 acres	5 (3·91)	5 (13·52)	..	..	10 (5·43)
10. 25 less than 50 acres	—	..	..	—	..
11. 50 and above	..	...	..	..	..
Large holding	5 (13·91)	5 (13·52)	..	..	10 (5·43)
Grand Total ..	128(100·00)	37(100·00)	17(100·00)	2·(100·00)	184(100·00)

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TABLE D-4·1

Distribution of holdings according to size and no. of fragments

Size of holdings	No. of fragment (1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
A. BORDER AREA											
1. Below 1/3 acre	18	1	1	—	..	..	—	..	..	..	..
2. 1/3 to below 1/2 acre	14	5	..	—	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3. 1/2 to below 1 acre	21	15	5	1	1	..	—	..	..	..	..
4. 1 to below 2 acres	32	22	21	10	5	.	..	..	..	..	..
5. 2 to below 3 acres	29	14	14	9	7	..	..	..	..	..	..
6. 3 to below 5 acres	20	37	13	14	7	7	4	..	..	..	..
7. 5 to below 10 acres	6	38	34	34	17	17	3	3	3	..	2
8. 10 to below 25 acres	5	23	29	15	21	19	16	13	7	4	5
9. 25 to below 50 acres	..	2	4	..	..	..	2	4	..	2	3
10. 50 and above — —	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	1
Total No. of holding	165 (22·24)	147 (21·09)	122 (17·51)	83 (11·91)	57 (8·18)	44 (6·31)	25 (3·09)	20 (2·87)	11 (1·58)	7 (1·00)	11 (1·58)
Total No. of Fragments	155	294	366	332	285	264	175	160	99	70	121

TABLE D-4-1—(contd.)

Distribution of holdings according to size and No. of fragments

Size of holdings	No. of fragments (12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)	21 and above	Total: No. of holding	Total No. of fragments	Total area under the size	Average size of fragments
A. BORDER AREA														
1. Below 1/2 acre ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	[illegible] (3·[illegible])	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
2. 1/2 to below 1/2 acre ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	[illegible] (3·[illegible])	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
3. 1/2 to below 1 acre ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	[illegible] (5·12)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
4. 1 to below 2 acres ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	[illegible] (12·[illegible])	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
5. 2 to below 3 acres ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	[illegible] (11·[illegible])	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
6. 3 to below 5 acres ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	[illegible] (16·51)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
7. 5 to below 10 acres ..	..	..	[illegible]	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	[illegible] (33·[illegible])	613	[illegible]	[illegible]
8. 10 acres below 25 acres	..	..	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	..	..	[illegible]	..	..	[illegible] (31·[illegible])	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
9. 25 acres below 50 acres	..	..	[illegible]	..	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	..	..	..	[illegible] (3·41)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
10. 50 and above ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	[illegible]	..	[illegible] (0·[illegible])	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total No. of holding	..	..	[illegible] (3·[illegible])	[illegible] (0·[illegible])	[illegible] (0·[illegible])	[illegible] (0·[illegible])	[illegible] (0·[illegible])	[illegible] (0·[illegible])	[illegible] (0·[illegible])		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total No. of fragments	..	..	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]			

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TABLE D-41—(contd.)

Distribution of buildings according to size and No. of fragments

Size of building	No. of fragments										
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
B. PROJECT AREA											
1. Below 1/2 acre	12										
2. 1/2 to below 1 1/2 acre	4										
3. 1/2 to below 1 acre	27	9	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
4. 1 to below 2 acres	44	37	7	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
5. 2 to below 3 "	36	32	12	4	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
6. 3 to below 5 "	18	18	30	18	4	2	—	—	—	—	1
7. 5 to below 10 "	19	18	34	23	9	6	1	1	1	—	—
8. 10 to below 25 "	1	4	19	6	11	7	—	—	1	—	1
9. 25 to below 50 "	—	—		—	—	—	—	—	—		—
10. 50 and above	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1
Total No. of building —	160 (4·91)	173 (5·42)	103 (3·12)	52 (1·58)	26 (0·79)	15 (0·45)	6 (0·17)	2 (0·05)	2 (0·05)	— —	3 (0·9)
Total No. of fragments	169	244	324	147	115	79	50	6	18	—	50

TABLE D-4·1—(contd.)

Distribution of holdings according to size and No. of fragments

Size of holding	No. of fragments (16)	(15)	(14)	(13)	(12)	(11)	(10)	(9)	(8)	(7) and above	Total No. of holding	Total No. of fragments	Total area under the size	Average size of frag. (acres)
9. PROJECT AREA														
1. Below 1/2 acre	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	11	11	2·75	1·00
2. 1/2 to below 1/2 acre	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	(2·02) 9	10	3·64	0·90
3. 1/2 to below 1 acre	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	(1·65) 17	48	23·62	0·98
4. 1 to below 2 acres	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	(9·01) 97	141	110·69	0·96
5. 2 to below 3	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	(17·80) 95	189	213·57	1·15
6. 3 to below 5	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	(17·43) 95	316	329·82	1·04
7. 5 to below 10	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	(17·43) 77	347	523·40	2·12
8. 10 to below 15	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	(14·07) 41	187	379·81	2·06
9. 15 to below 20	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	(7·52) 2	12	40·87	2·06
10. 20 and above	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	(0·37) 1	12	40·87	2·06
Total No. of holding	--	--	--	1 (0·02)	--	1 (0·02)	--	--	--	--	482	1080	1899·42	2·75
Total No. of fragments	--	--	--	10	--	14	--	--	--	--	--	1080	--	--

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TABLE D—4·1—(contd.)

Distribution of holdings according to size and No. of fragments

Size of holdings	No. of fragments										
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
C. GENERAL AREA											
1. Below 1/8 acre ...	3	...	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2. 1/8 to below 1/2 acre ..	2	..	..	...	..	...	..	...	–	..	..
3. 1/2 to below 1 acre ...	8	6	..	..	–	..	..	..	..	–	..
4. 1 to below 2 acres ...	13	12	4	5	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
5. 2 to below 3 acres ..	5	12	7	3	2	..	..	..	..	..	–
6. 3 to below 5 acres ...	2	14	21	5	6	..	—	..	—	—	..
7. 5 to below 10 acres ..	—	5	9	9	2	..	2	..	1	..	..
8. 10 to below 25 acres ...	..	4	4	..	—	1	—	..	..	1	..
9. 25 to below 50 acres —	—	..	..	..	..	..	..	—	..	..	..
10. 50 and above ..	..	—	..	—	..	..	—	..	—	..	—
Total No. of holding	31 (16·79)	53 (81·52)	45 (21·27)	22 (13·33)	11 (6·66)	1 (0·61)	2 (1·21)	...	..	1 (0·61)	..
Total No. of fragments	31	100	135	75	33	6	14			10	

TABLE D-4·1—(contd.)

Distribution of holdings according to size and No. of fragments

Size of holding	No. of fragments								Total			
	12	13	14	15	16	19	20	21 and above	No of holding	Total No. of fragment	Total area under the size	Average size of fragments
C· General area												
1. Below 1/3 acre	--	--	..	--	..	...	..	..	3 (1.84)	3	0.75	0.25
2. 1/3 to below 1/2 acre	..	...	..	...	..	.	..	..	2 (0.	2	1.00	0.50
3. 1/2 to below 1 acre	..	..	--	..	..	..	..	..	14 (7.98)	20	8.70	0.43
4. 1 to below 2 acres	..	..	...	..	--	..	..	..	35 (20.86)	74	47.[illegible]0	0.64
5. 2 to below 3 acres	..	..	..	..	..	.	--	..	29 (17.79)	72	66.80	0.93
6. 3 to below 5 acres	..	..	...	..	..	..	..	..	45 (29.45)	139	174.99	1.26
7. 5 to below 10 acres	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	27 (16.56)	97	186.49	1.92
8. 10 to below 25 acres	..	--	..	..	...	..	..	..	8 (4.91)	16	125.55	3.48
9. 25 to below 50 acres												
10. 50 and above												
Total No. of holding	--	..	..	--	..	...	--	..	166	443	613.24	1.38
Total No. of Fragments.	..	..	..	--	...	..	..	..	..	443		

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TABLE D-5·1

Size of farm	No. of farm	Percentage	Cumulative P.c.	Total area covered acre	Percentage	Cumulative Percentage	Average size of farm
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
A. BORDER AREA							
1. Below 1/3 acre	27	3·56	3.56	6·34	0·16	0·16	0·23
2. 1/3 to 1/2 „	30	3·95	7.51	11·04	0·28	0·84	0·37
3. 1/2 to 1 „	74	9·75	17·26	45·61	1·17	1·61	0·62
4. 1 to 2 „	99	13·04	30·30	132.43	3·38	4·99	1·34
5. 2 to 3 „	105	13·83	44·13	250.75	6·41	11·40	2·39
Small farms	335	44·13	...	446·17	11·40	...	1·33
6. 3 to 5 „	147	19·37	63·50	526·53	13·45	24·85	3·58
7. 5 to 10 „	168	22·13	85·63	1124·70	28·73	53·58	6·69
Medium farms	315	41·50	..	1651·23	42·18	..	5·24
8. 10 to 25 „	98	12·92	98·55	1367·55	34·94	88.52	13·95
9. 25 to 50 „	6	0·79	99·34	198.48	5·07	93.59	33·98
10. 50 and above	6	0·66	100·00	250·75	6·41	100·00	50·15
Large farms	109	14·37	...	1816·78	46·42	..	16·67
Total	759	100·00	..	3914·18	100·00	..	5·16

TABLE D-5·1—(contd.)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Project areas:							
1. Below 1/3 acre	8	1·57	1·57	1·95	0·11	0·11	0·24
2. 1/3 to 1/2 ,, ...	6	1·17	2·74	1·90	0·11	0·22	0·32
3 1/2 to 1 ,, ...	31	6·07	8·81	19·69	1·09	1·31	0·64
4. 1 to 2 ,, ...	119	23·29	32·10	154·54	8·54	9·85	1·30
5. 2 to 3 ,, ...	114	22·31	54·41	256·30	14·17	24·20	2·25
Small farms	278	54·41	..	434·10	24·02	..	1·56
6. 3 to 5 ,, ...	111	21·72	78·13	383·22	21·74	45.76	3·54
7. 5 to 10 ,, ...	91	18·00	94·13	581·09	32·13	77·89	6·39
Medium farms	203	39·72	..	974·21	53·87	..	4·80
8. 10 to 25 ,, ...	30	5·87	100·00	40·00	22·11	100·00	
9. 25 to 50 ,, ...	..	...	..	..	..	..	...
10. 50 and above	...	...	..	..	..	..	..
Large farms	30	5.06	..	400·00	22·11	..	13·33
Total—	511	100·00	..	1808.79	100·00	..	3·54

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Table D-5.1—contd.

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
C. General area.							
1. Below 1/3 acre	2	1.17	1.17	0.50	0.09	0.09	0.25
2. 1/3 to 1/2 ,, ...	1	0.59	1.76	0.50	0.08	0.18	0.50
3. 1/2 to 1 ,, ...	11	6.43	8.19	0.05	1.22	1.40	0.64
4. 1 to 2 ,, ...	40	23.39	31,58	56.45	9.80	11.20	1.41
5. 2 to 3 ,, ...	37	21.64	53.22	86.65	15.05	26.25	2.34
Small farms	91	53.22		151.15	26.25		1.66
6. 3 to 5 ,, ...	47	27.49	80.71	186.66	29.29	55.54	3.59
7. 5 to 10 ,, ...	25	14.62	95.33	164.00	28.48	84.02	6.56
Medium farms	72	42.11	176.04	832.66	57.77		4.62
8. 10 to 25 ,, ...	8	4.67	100.00	92.00	15.98	100.00	11.50
9. 25 to 50 ,, ...	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
10. 50 and above	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Large farms	8	4.67		92.00	15.98	..	11.50
Total—	171	100.00	..	595.81	100.00	..	2.20

TABLE D-6.1

Distribution of farms according to size and ownership

Size of farm	Number of farms							
	Wholly owned	Wholly rented	Partly owned and partly rented	Total	Wholly owned	Wholly rented	Partly owned and partly rented	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Border Area								
1. Below 1/3 acre	21 (4·57)	..	...	21 (4·23)	3 (2·63)	3 (2·65)	...	6 (2.28)
2. 1/3 to 1/2 acre	27 (5·87)	1 (6·67)	..	28 (5·65)	...	2 (1·78)	..	2 (0·76)
3. 1/2 to 1 acre	53 (11·52)	..	1 (4·76)	54 (10·89)	2 (1·75)	18 (15·93)	..	20 (7·60)
4. 1 to 2 acres	58 (12·61)	1 (6·67)	5 (23·81)	64 (12·90)	13 (11·40)	20 (17·70)	2 (5·56)	35 (13·31)
5. 2 to 3 acres	59 (12·83)	2 (13·33)	3 (14·29)	64 (12·90)	19 (16·67)	18 (15·93)	4 (11·11)	41 (15·60)
Small Farms	218 (94·37)	4 (1·73)	9 (3·90)	231 (100·00)	37 (35·58)	61 (58·65)	6 (5·77)	104 (100·00)

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TABLE D-6.1—*contd.*

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
6. 3 to 5 acres	86 (18·69)	8 (53·33)	5 (28·81)	99 (19·96)	21 (18·42)	19 (16·81)	8 (22·22)	48 (18·25)
7. 5 to 10 acres	95 (20·65)	2 (13·33)	6 (28·57)	103 (20·77)	27 (23·68)	24 (21·24)	14 (38·89)	65 (24·71)
Medium Farms	181 (39·60)	10 (4·95)	11 (5·45)	202 (100·00)	48 (42·48)	43 (38·05)	22 (19·47)	113 (100·00)
8. 10 to 25 acres	53 (11·52)	1 (6·67)	1 (4·76)	55 (11·08)	26 (22·81)	9 (7·96)	8 (22·22)	43 (16·35)
9. 25 to 50 acres	4 (0·87)	...	...	4 (0·81)	2 (1·76)	..	...	2 (0·76)
10. 50 and above	4 (0·87)	..	...	4 (0·81)	1 (0·88)	..	...	1 (0·38)
Large Farms	61 (98·41)	1 (0·79)	1 (0·80)	63 (100·00)	29 (63·04)	9 (19·57)	8 (17·39)	46 (100·00)
Total: ..	460 (92·74)	15 (3·03)	21 (4·23)	496 (100·00)	114 (43·35)	113 (42·97)	36 (13·68)	263 (100·00)

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Project Area

1. Below 1/3 acre	..	--	1	..	--	1 (0·60)	3	4	--	7 (5·6)	
2. 1/3 to 1/2 acre	--	--	--	--	..	..	5	1	--	6 (1·9)	
3. 1/2 to 1 acre	--	--	14	..	3	17 (11·10)	9	9	..	18 (9·4)	
4. 1 to 2 acres	..	--	30	1	8	41 (24·13)	32	17	9	78 (31·67)	
5. 2 to 3 acres	--	--	29	1	4	34 (20·36)	34	14	5	87 (29·51)	
Small Farms	..	..	76 (50·00)	4 (1·11)	15 (13·72)	95 (100·00)	133 (65·57)	45 (23·33)	14 (13·17)	187 (100·00)	3// 423 447

TABLE D-A1—[illegible]

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
6. 5 to 5 acres	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
7. 5 to 10 acres	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Medium Farms	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
8. 10 to 25 acres	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
9. 25 to 50 acres	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Large Farms	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total:	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

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TABLE D-6.1—*contd.*

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
6. 2 to 5 acres	—	—	2[illegible]	—	1	26 (2[illegible])	19	1	1 (2[illegible])
7. 5 to 10 acres	—	—	12	—	—	11 (1[illegible])	10	1	8	14 (1[illegible])
Medium	—	—	—	98 (97·02)	—	1	37 (100·00)	2[illegible] (2[illegible])	2 (5·71)	4 (11·43)	35 (100·00)
8. 10 to 25 acres	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7	—	1	8 (9·88)
Large	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7 (8[illegible]·28)	—	3 (37·28)	8 (100·00)
Total	—	—	2[illegible] (3[illegible]·07)	2 (0·[illegible])	18 (1[illegible]·12)	38 (100·00)	85 (2[illegible]·11)	3 (0·17)	7 (0·[illegible])	33 (100·00)

TABLE D-7.1

Distribution of farm area by size and type of ownership

Size of farm	Area in acre: Wholly owned	Wholly rented	Partly owned and Partly rented: Owned area	Rented area	Total	Total owned area (2+4)	Total rented area (3+5)	Total (7+8)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
A. Border area								
1. Small farms (less than 3 acres).	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
2. Medium farms (3 to 5 to than 10 acres).	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
3. Large farms (10 acres and above	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	[illegible] (100.00)	[illegible] (11.18)	[illegible] (8.20)	[illegible] (2.97)	[illegible]	[illegible] (88.56)	[illegible] (11.20)	[illegible] (100.00)

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TABLE 19-7.1—*contd.*

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
B. Project area								
1. Small Farms (less than 10 acres).	305.12	59.23	28.47	41.59	70.05	393.39	100.00	434.46
2. Medium Farms (8 to less than 10 acres).	790.56	47.15	59.19	77.21	136.60	849.95	124.36	974.31
3. Large Farms (10 acres and above).	342.77	23.00	35.25	17.00	52.25	360.02	40.00	400.02
Total	1,420.45 (78.31)	129.44 (7.14)	123.11 (6.81)	135.79 (7.50)	258.90 ..	1,543.56 (85.14)	264.23 (14.66)	1808.79 (100.00)
C. General area								
1. Small Farms (less than 3 acres).	120.68	7.28	8.57	9.23	17.82	134.45	16.50	151.15
2. Medium Farms (3 to less than 10 acres).	360.97	8.00	7.73	14.66	28.37	387.90	24.66	352.44
3. Large Farms (10 acres and above).	80.00	..	4.00	8.00	12.00	84.00	8.00	92.00
Total ..	561.65 (87.06)	15.28 (2.63)	20.30 (3.35)	31.11 (5.92)	54.19	606.45 (91.31)	49.36 (8.69)	575.81 (100.00)

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TABLE F-1.1

Number of firm by Gross output group

Size of firm		Number of household in the output group											
		Less than 100	100 to 250	250 to 500	500 to 1000	1000 to 1500	1500 to 2000	2000 to 2500	2500 to 3000	3000 to 3500	3500 to 4000	4000 & above	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
Border Area:													
1. O	.	—	..	..	...	..	..	...	...	...	...	..	..
2. Less than ½ acre	1	18	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	...	..	..	21 (3·56)
3. ½ to ½ acre ...	1	19	8	2	..	..	..	...	..	..	..	..	30 (3·95)
4. ½ to 1 acre ..	5	33	29	34	1	...	...	..	...	..	..	..	70 (9·75)
5. 1 to 2 acres ..	1	37	31	24	5	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	99 (13·04)
6. 2 to 5 acres ...	1	34	24	28	12	2	1	..	..	1	...	..	105 (13·83)
Small Farm	1 (10·2)	143 (42·67)	73 (21·79)	60 (17·91)	18 (5·37)	3 (·90)	2 (·60)	.. ...	...	1 (·31)	..	..	336 (100·00)
7. 5 to 5 acres ..	1	25	39	40	19	4	3	2	..	..	..	1	147 (19·37)
8. 5 to 10 acres ...	7	8	16	27	60	24	5	5	2	..	1	3	160 (21·14)
Medium Farm	2 (3·1)	33 (10·47)	45 (14·29)	67 (21·30)	80 (25·35)	28 (8·89)	8 (2·54)	7 (2·22)	2 (·63)	..	1 (·32)	4 (1·27)	315 (100·00)

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TABLE F-1.1—*concld.*

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
9. 10 to 25 acres..	3	1	1	15	32	21	7	6	3	4	..	5	98 (12·91)
10. 25 to 50 acres	—	..	1	..	1	1	..	1	...	1	.	1	6 (0·79)
11. 50 and above	—	...	...	..	3	1	..	—	...	..	...	..	5 (0·66)
Large Farm ..	3 (2·75)	1 (·91)	2 (1·83)	15 (13·76)	36 (33·03)	23 (21·10)	7 (6·42)	8 (7·34)	3 (2·75)	5 (4·59)	... ..	6 (5·50)	109 (100·00)
Total	50 (6·59)	177 (23·32)	120 (15·81)	161 (21·21)	143 (18·84)	54 (7·11)	17 (2·24)	15 (1·98)	5 (0·66)	6 (0·79)	1 (0·13)	10 (1·32)	759 (100·00)
Total cultivated area.	196·01 (3·99)	368·65 (7·45)	485·92 (9·89)	677·68 (17·61)	1,143·86 (29·22)	593·44 (15·16)	153·53 (3·92)	234·78 (6·00)	70·00 (1·79)	104.16 (2·66)	8·50 (·23)	120·70 (3·08)	3914·18 (100·00)
Average ..	3·12	1.67	2·97	4·21	8·00	10·99	9·03	15·65	14·00	17·36	8·50	12·07	..
Project Area:													
1. 0 ..	—	..	...	...	—	...	...	..	..	..	..	..	..
2. Less than 1/3 acre.	1	3	3	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	...	..	8 (1·57)
3. 1/3 to 1/2 acre	1	4	1	—	..	...	..	..	..		..	..	6 (1·18)
4. 1/2 to 1 acre ..	3	6	12	10	..	..	.	—	..	—	..	..	31 (6·07
5. 1 to 2 acres ...	7	19	38	33	21	..	..	.	..	..	..	..	116 (22·71)
6. 2 to 3 acres ..	5	9	15	34	31	2	1	—	..	—	..	..	116 (22·71)
Small Farm ..	17 (8·17)	41 (14·93)	69 (24·88)	91 (32·45)	54 (19·42)	3 (1.08)	1 (·36)	..	..	...	..	..	278 (100·00)

7.5 to 8 acres ...	2	6	7	29	57	6	2	...	..	..	..	..	111 (21·72)
8.5 to 10 acres ...	1	..	7	8	43	28	5	..	..	—	..	..	92 (18·00)
Medium Farm	3	6	14	37	100	36	7	..	..	..	..	..	208
	(1.48)	(2·95)	(6·90)	(18·23)	(49·26)	(17·73)	(3·45)	..	..	..	..	..	(100·00)
9.10 to 25 acres	—	...	1	5	4	2	8	4	4	1	1	2	30
	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	—	..	..	..	..	(5·87)
10.20 to 30 acres	—	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	—	..	—	..	..
11.30 and above	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	—	..	..	..	..	..
Large Farm	..	..	1	3	4	2	8	4	4	1	1	2	30
	..	..	(3·33)	(10·00)	(13·33)	(6·67)	(26·67)	(13·33)	(13·33)	(3·33)	(3·33)	(6·67)	(100·00)
Total	20	47	84	133	158	41	16	4	4	1	1	2	511
	(3·91)	(9·20)	(16·44)	(26·03)	(30·92)	(8·02)	(3·13)	(0·78)	(0·78)	(0·20)	(0·20)	(0·39)	(100·00)
Total Cultivated Area	32·88	73·54	150·98	355·26	642·63	238·09	142·91	64·75	44·00	14·25	17·00	31·50	1897·79
	(1·81)	(4·07)	(8·35)	(19·61)	(35·53)	(13·16)	(7·90)	(3·57)	(2·45)	(·78)	(·94)	(1·80)	(100·00)
Average	1·64	1·56	1.80	2·67	4·07	5·81	8·93	16·19	11·00	14·25	17·00	16·25	..

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TABLE F-1.1—*concld.*

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
General Area:													
1. 0	..	—	..	..	..	..	..	..	...	..	..	..	...
2. Less than 1/3 acre	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2 (1·17)
3. 1/3 to 1/2 acre	..	..	1	..	..	..	...	..	..	..	..	..	1 (0·58)
4. 1/2 to 1 acre	..	3	5	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	11 (6·43)
5. 1 to 2 acres	1	3	16	14	6	..	..	..	..	..	...	..	40 (23·39)
6. 2 to 3 acres	..	1	9	15	12	..	..	..	..	...	...	..	37 (21·64)
Small Farm	1 (1·10)	9 (9·89)	31 (34·07)	32 (35·16)	18 (19·78)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	91 (100·00)
7. 3 to 5 acres	1	1	6	19	21	4	1	..	..	..	..	..	47 (27·49)
8. 5 to 10 acres	..	..	2	5	12	5	1	..	..	..	..	..	25 (14·62)
Medium farm	1 (1·39)	1 (1·39)	8 (11·11)	18 (25·00)	33 (45·83)	9 (12·50)	2 (2·78)	..	..	..	..	..	72 (100·00)
9. 10 to 25 acres	..	..	—	1	4	2	..	1	..	..	..	—	8 (4·68)
40. 25 to 50 acres	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
41. 50 and above	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	...	...	..	..
Large Farm	...	..	..	1 (12·50)	4 (50·00)	2 (25·00)	... ..	1 (12·50)	..	..	..	..	8 (100·00)
Total ..	2 (1·17)	10 (5·85)	39 (22·81)	51 (29·83)	55 (32·16)	11 (6·43)	2 (1·17)	1 (0·58)	..	..	..	..	171 (100·00)
Total cultivated Area	4·59 (·78)	11·24 (1·95)	80·01 (13·90)	148·68 (25·79)	242·49 (42·11)	68·56 (11·91)	9·50 (1·65)	12·00 (2·08)	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	576·01 (100·00)
Average ..	2·25	1·12	2·05	2·91	4·41	6·24	4·75	12·00	..	..	..	..	..

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(9) Cotton is grown on high lands and
248 slopes; it is sown in April, and becomes fit for picking by January.

311 Area and Out-turn of Crops.—According to the Assam Administration Report for 1875-76, the area of the British portion of
241 the Khási and Jaintia Hills District amounts to 2160 square miles,
648 of which only 110 are under cultivation; of the remainder, 1337 square miles are set down as cultivable, and 713 as uncultivable. The total area of the semi-independent Khási States is given as 3997 square miles, of which 176 are under cultivation, 2561 are cultivable, and 1260 uncultivable. In another portion of the same Report, the area under various crops throughout the entire District is thus approximately estimated:—Rice, 39,680 acres; other food grains, 33,800 acres; cotton, 1076 acres; potatoes, 33880 acres. The average out-turn of rice per acre is estimated at 8 *maunds*, or nearly 6 cwt.; of other food grains, 5 *maunds*, or over 2 cwt.; of cotton, 2 *maunds*, or 1½ cwt.; of
[435] potatoes, 55 *maunds*, or nearly 40 cwt. The price of rice in 1875-76 was Rs. 4. 8 per *maund*, or 12s. 8d. a cwt., which gives Rs. 38 or £3. 12s. as the value of the rice crop obtained from one acre.

241 Condition of the Peasantry.—The Khásis can scarcely be considered as agricultural people, as they do not grow sufficient
• 423 grain for their own subsistence, and are dependent to a great
433 extent on imports of rice from the neighbouring Districts. Ten acres is generally considered a considerable holding for a husbandman in the position of an ordinary Bengal peasant, but scarcely any man in the Hills depends entirely upon the produce of his land for
[231] his support. In the Jaintia Hills a cultivator's position is con-
[554] sidered to be very low if he possesses no cattle, but performs all the operations of agriculture with his own hands. In that portion of the District, five acres is all that can be cultivated with a single
(465) pair of oxen, the average being four acres. A husbandman with a holding of five acres would not be so well off as a retail shopkeeper, nor would it enable him to live as comfortably as he could on a money wage of Rs. 8 or 10s. a month. The peasantry, however, as a class are not in debt. The land is owned chiefly by small proprietors, who occupy and cultivate their hereditary fields. The relations of landlord and tenant do not exist in the Hills, and no rent is payable to any one; consequently the principle of Act x. of 1859 (the Rent Law of Bengal) has no application.

231 The Animals used in agriculture are oxen; goats and pigs are
435

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435 439 [293] 273 435

at the rate of two or three seers for a farthing; and sugar-cane, the cultivation of which is also very limited, at from a little over a farthing to three farthings per cane. A fermented liquor called *kadam*, made from rice, is sold at from three-farthings to threepence a quart, according to strength; and a distilled spirit called *phaikha*, or *kahlad-kawah*, at from threepence to fourpence-halfpenny a quart. This latter description of liquor is sometimes made very strong. No records exist by which the present prices of the above articles can be compared with the rates ruling ten years ago. The maximum price of rice during the famine of 1866-67 was 5 *seers* 6 *chhatáks* for the rupee, or about £1 a hundredweight.

[731]

804 805

MEASURES, WEIGHTS, ETC.—The Hill people have no proper measurement of time or distance. If there be any standard for measuring distance, it is by the number of *pána* a man chews in the course of a journey, generally about one every half hour. In some parts of the District, land is measured by a stick called *ka dingsang*, varying in length from six to seven cubits. Liquids are measured in *gundis* of different measures, varying from half a *chhaták* to a *seer*, and also in bamboo tubes. Rice, potatoes, beans, etc. are measured in baskets, varying in size in different markets from two to eighty pounds.

805

In the Khásí Hills the inhabitants reckon eight days in the week, named as follows:—(1) Lyn-kah; (2) Nong-kmen; (3) Um-long; (4) Kong-hep; (5) Shillong; (6) Pyn-ah; (7) Um-ah; (8) Yun-dah. In the Jaintia Hills the eight days are named thus:—(1) Kylim; (2) Pyn-ing; (3) Mín-long; (4) Mín-ding; (5) Mín-dhai; (6) Pyn-kat; (7) Thym-ísim; (8) Ka-kan. The Khásí months of the year, calculated by moons, are as follow:—(1) U Kylla lyndon; (2) U Rym-pang; (3) U Lyber; (4) U Laiang; (5) U Jimmung; (6) U Jillew; (7) U Nai-ning; (8) U Nai-lar; (9) U Nai-dir; (10) U Rymew; (11) U Nai-wing; (12) U Nob-pnah.

464 423

LABOURERS LOOKING CHARGE.—There is, and always has been, a large class of labourers in the District who neither own nor possess any land. Women and children are employed in manual out-door labour of all kinds.

423 [427]

VARIETIES OF LAND TENURE can hardly be said to exist. There is nothing whatever resembling the relations between landlord and tenant throughout the Khásí Hills. The lands as a rule are either uncovered property or belong to village communities, and are cultivated under unwritten but well-understood agreements. Of the wide

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extent of waste land, some is cultivated in a manner resembling the *jhum* system,—successive crops are grown on a patch of land till the soil is exhausted, and then another spot is selected, where the same process is repeated afresh, but without anything that can be called a *jhumid* tenure. Any renting of land is exceptional, and there are no recognised rates of rent. The Deputy-Commissioner, however, states that an ordinary rate for rented land would be from two to three shillings a year for as much land as an individual can cultivate with his own hands. 423 [427]

Manure is generally used in raising rice and potatoes. It is seldom purchased, the dung and litter of the cattle and other animals about the house being generally utilised for the purpose. For rice fields a little less than half a ton of manure, but for potatoes upwards of two tons, is required per acre. Manure, if purchased, would cost from 1s. 7½d. to 3s. 9d. per acre for rice land, and for potato fields from 12s. to 18s. per acre. 243 244 [435]

Irrigation for agricultural purposes is regularly practised. Water is brought to the land by means of channels cut from the numerous hill streams in the neighbourhood of the fields. Wells and tanks are unknown. The work of irrigation by means of these channels is very easily carried on, and at a very trifling outlay. Rotation of crops is not practised in the Hills. 312

Model Farm.—The Shillong Model Farm, established in 1873, has not proved a success. Experiments tried with wheat give some hope that cold-weather crops may profitably be introduced into the Hills. Two new varieties of potato—'red roughs' and 'pheasant's eye'—were successfully introduced in 1873-74; but these are not looked upon favourably by the Khásis, as they only give one crop in the year, whereas the ordinary variety yields two crops. Several fruit-trees have been planted out, including apple, pear, cherry, nectarine, and plum; and the tables of the European residents are supplied with vegetables from the garden attached to the farm. A *Manual of Potato Cultivation* compiled by the superintendent has been translated into Assamese, and copies have been distributed among the adjoining Hill tribes. The general failure in all the agricultural experiments is attributed partly to the coldness of the soil, and still more to the ravages of white ants and other insects peculiar to the Hills. The attempts to improve the indigenous breeds of live stock have been equally unfortunate. During the two years 1874-76 the sum of Rs. 1744 177 244 648 654 177 245 648 654 [134] [136] 231 648 654

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should inherit the property and not men. The rule amongst the Khasis is that the youngest daughter "holds" the religion, "ka lut ka wieu." Her house is called, "ka ding sang," and it is here that the members of the family assemble to witness her performance of the family ceremonies. Here is, therefore, the largest share of the family property, because it is she whose duty it is to perform the family ceremonies, and propitiate the family ancestors. The other daughters, however, on their mother's death are entitled, each of them, to a share of their mother's property, although the youngest daughter gets the lion's share, e.g. the family jewellery, and the family house, and the greater part of what it contains. The youngest daughter cannot dispose of the house without the unanimous consent of her sisters. If the youngest daughter dies, she is succeeded by the next youngest daughter, and so on. All the daughters are bound to repair the house of the youngest daughter free of cost. In the event of the youngest daughter changing her religion, or committing an act of sang, or taboo, she loses her position in the family, and is succeeded by her next youngest sister, as in the case of a death. Failing daughters, inheritance would pass by the "knight's move" to the sister's youngest daughter, who would be succeeded by her youngest daughter, and so on. Failing sister's daughters succession would revert to the mother's sisters and their female descendants. In the Jaintia Hills the inheritance of all real property passes from mother to youngest daughter. No men in the uplands of the Jaintia Hills can possess landed property, unless it is self-acquired property. In the Jaintia Hills, if a man dies and leaves acquired property, his heir will be his mother, if alive, excluding wife, sons, and daughters. If the wife, however, undertakes not to re-marry, she will inherit half of her husband's property, which on her death will descend to her youngest daughter by him.

Amongst Khasis all property which has been acquired by a man before marriage is considered to belong to his mother; indeed it may be said to belong to the man's ior, or clan, such property being called by Khasis, "ka mei ding ior" (the earnings of the house of the clan). After marriage, if there are children, the case is different, provided that the property

[illegible] has been acquired by the man after marriage. Here the wife and children would inherit the acquired property, the youngest daughter obtaining the largest share of such property on the death of the wife. If there were no daughter, the acquired property would be equally divided amongst the sons.

[illegible] The following examples of the Syntong law of inheritance are taken from the exhaustive diaries recorded by the late Mr. Heath, who was for some years Sub-Divisional Officer of Jowai. In the Nongkli dolooiity ancestral land passes from mother to her youngest daughter; again, if a youngest daughter who has no acquired dies, the next youngest in point of age succeeds. Should such direct female succession fail, the family tree has to be looked up for the nearest branch, in which the youngest female, or her youngest female descendant, succeeds. Thus, respecting ancestral land, the youngest daughter, or youngest female descendant of youngest female heir, is virtually heir to ancestral property. If a woman dies having acquired property, her youngest daughter or youngest granddaughter of that youngest daughter succeeds to all. In default, next youngest daughter, and so on. In default of daughters, the youngest son inherits. A man can hardly, in any circumstances, possess ancestral land; his property must almost necessarily be self-acquired. If a man dies having acquired property, his heir will be his mother, if alive, excluding wife, sons, and daughters. If the wife undertakes, however, not to marry again, she will get half, which will descend to her youngest daughter by her deceased husband. The mother, who thus gets the whole or half of her son's property, leaves it to her youngest daughter, or youngest daughter of that daughter, and so on, as described above. In the case of a woman leaving acquired property. If there is no mother, the man's youngest sister female next has with the same right as her mother. If there is no mother or sister, then the sister's female descendants stand in the man's mother's place. If there are none of these, then the woman's youngest daughter succeeds to all. Ancestral property cannot be alienated without the consent of all the heirs in the entail. A gift of self-acquired property to any amount can be made by a donor during his lifetime. Acquired property cannot, however, be left by will out of the course mentioned by

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

Thang Khiew clan, and many others. It has been explained, in a previous paragraph, how the clan grew out of the family. The clan lands originally, when population was sparse, were owned by families; but as the members of the family increased and a clan was formed, the lands became the property of the clan instead of the family. Such clan lands are properly demarcated by stone boundary marks. The manager of the clan lands is the *lei* (maternal uncle of the youngest daughter of the main family, or branch of the clan), whose house "*ka ring Khadduh*," or last home, is the place for performing all the religious ceremonies of the clan, and is also called *ka ring ong*. All the members of the clan are, however, entitled to share in the produce of any of the clan lands they may cultivate. No clan lands can be alienated without the consent of a durbar of the whole clan.

Ki Iyoti are private lands which have been either acquired by a man or woman individually, or, in the case of a woman, inherited from her mother; such lands must be entirely distinguished from the lands of the clan. In portions of the Jaintia Hills, if a man purchases a piece of land, at his death it passes to his mother, to the exclusion of his children; but in the Khasi Hills nowadays a man may leave such lands, provided they were acquired after marriage, either formally by will, or informally, to his children for their support. In land customs as well as other customs the Syntengs seem to preserve more closely than the Khasis what are probably the ancient usages of the race. It must be clearly understood, however, that all land acquired by inheritance must follow the Khasi law of entail, by which property descends from the mother to the youngest daughter and exits from the latter to her youngest daughter. Ancestral landed property must therefore be always owned by women. The male members of the family may cultivate such lands, but they must carry all the produce to the house of their mother, who will divide it amongst the members of the family. Daughters, other than youngest daughters, are entitled to maintenance from the produce of such family lands.

In the Jaintia Hills lands are classified as follows:—

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U lei lingpah—the god of wealth. This god is propitiated with a view to obtaining increased prosperity.

U Syngkew, or a *Bun skeung*, is the tutelary deity of the village. This godling is propitiated by sacrifices whenever they are thought to be necessary.

U Phoo u kyrpad is a similar godling to the above.

Then follows a list of minor deities, or, rather, evil spirits, e.g. *Ka Sih*, the malarial fever devil; *ka Khlaw*, the demon of cholera; *ka Diba*, the fever devil which is said to haunt the neighbourhood of Theriaghat.

Bivar says "the Khasi religion may be thus briefly defined as forms used to cure diseases and to avert misfortunes, by ascertaining the name of the demon, as the author of the evil, and the kind of sacrifice necessary to appease it." We may accept this description as substantially correct. In the Jaintia Hills, there is a peculiar superstition regarding a she devil, called "*ka Tiwah*," which is supposed to cause delirium in cases of fever. When such cases occur, it is believed that "*ka Tiwah*" has caused them, and inquiries are made by means of breaking eggs to find out in whose person the demon has obtained a lodgment; or sometimes the sick person is asked to reveal this. When in either of these ways the name of the person possessed by "*ka Tiwah*" is known, the sick person is taken to the house of the possessed, and ashes and bits of broken pots are cast into the enclosure, after which, if the sick person recovers, the party indicated is denounced as possessed by the demon; but if the patient dies, it is concluded that the person possessed has not been properly ascertained. If people are satisfied that some one is really possessed, they denounce the person, who is then ostracised. The only way for him to regain his position is to exorcise the demon by divesting himself of all his property. He pulls down his house, burns the materials, his [illegible] cows, pigs, and fowls are sold, the money realised by the sale being thrown away. No one dares touch this money, for fear he should become possessed by *ka Tiwah*. It will be observed that, as in the case of the *thlaw*, the demon is believed to follow the property.

Mr. Jenkins, in his interesting little work on "Life and

[illegible] division of the forest and of the clans. The little basket is attached to a post in the hut; the special divinities of the clan-family are supposed to have their dwelling there; two hazelnut twigs fastened underneath symbolize their power. The gourd bottles are used as containers for the sacrificial drink of rice liquor.(6)

6. Cf. Die Hunglawan-Puja, /The Hunglawan Puja/, loc cit.

[illegible] As treasures, which are handed down from generation to generation, are considered the rich ornaments of gold and silver, the heavy chains of coral, and the silk scarves, which are worn by the women at dancing ceremonies.

Also those things which the family hats contain in the way of furnishings and utensils, such as baskets, mats, lances, shields, arrows and bows, and brass pots for cooking and for water, earthen containers and brass plates are considered common property of the family.

[illegible] /130/ The clan mother at the time has the entire property in her hands, she is the legal and sole guardian and manager of the property. Nothing can be lent even without her permission. No part of either the movable or immovable family possession may be sold without her agreement. For the execution of the proper legal deed, as she is often ignorant of writing, she must place her fingerprint. Nothing may ever be given away: that would be an insult to the clan divinity since that would not mean treasuring and honoring their property but giving it away as being of no value. As a punishment for that the clan /members/ would also lose its other possessions and then live in poverty and disgrace. The individual members of the clan could sometimes be recruited for work for other clan-families as a kind of slave (mong). But they may not be taken up in their society as they do not belong to that clan and the clan gods of that family would not permit it. Therefore if, for example, a clan-family has rice fields which they do not cultivate and would gladly give to poorer relatives, they must at least receive the smallest rent as a pledge for it. This consists usually of a good bottle of rice liquor, which has the value of about 70 piastres to hence the household divinities.

Before the clan mother gives her permission for the sale of common property, she listens to the advice of the other members of the clan. Actually according to the old tribal custom things should be as little sold as given away. It is said that in ages past the original ancestors, when the individual clans separated as divisions, apportioned out this their lands of field and wood, and these are [illegible] to dependent unsalable clan property (mangkin). To be to get rid of [illegible] would therefore be insulting the gods. However, that

uld not prevent individuals from becoming needy through misfortune 431
laziness and their trying to rent a part of their property for an annual 425
yment or for a sum needed once. This is called han dia pan, liter-
ly: begging to buy. The sense of relinquishing by lending /133/ is
ntained in this. For example, a field is worth 300 reichsmarks.
fty or 100 reichsmarks are accepted for it and the creditor remains
e owner of the field until the money is repaid. This type of pur-
ase occurs frequently. There are frequently traders (nonghuli)
o try to use such purchases to their own advantage. They turn over
e field to the debtor for further cultivation in return for payment in
ndure of 50 to 70 per cent of the harvest. After several years the
hole field is their property. Aside from this method, it also happens
at instead of being able to repay the money the people need still
rther sums. In that case then the entire price of 300 reichsmarks is
id and the actual purchase is considered completed; that is called
n dia lut; literally: totally, completely sold. A family-clan which
adually loses its property in this manner descends into poverty and
ed. There is nothing else for it to do than to look for work else- [540]
here, to rent land or to sell the children as a kind of slaves to better
ntered people. If 40 reichsmarks are paid for a child of about 10
ars, he remains in the bondage of the buyer until the money can be
paid. That happens only rarely. Besides food and the most necess-
ry clothing only one rupee is deducted annually as wage from the
rchase price; thus, practically, the child belongs to the buyer for
e duration of his life.

It is the duty of individual members of a family clan to work to- 423
ether so that the clan property will be maintained and will produce 424
e necessary amount for the maintenance of all. The clan mother
ust counter primarily that the appropriate customs and usages are
bserved. She is held in high esteem by all. To do something
gainst her wish to offend her, to call her insulting names, or to go
far as to strike her is considered sang (taboo), a severe crime that
ntails misfortune. It is a great sin (pap) and a thoroughly great dis- 423
ace (ongrowith ch tum) for the whole clan.(7) As long as a member 424
762

7. Also considered similar crimes are selling clan property in secret, incest, desecrating burial places in a coarse manner, making use of holy grounds or woods.

136/ of the family has committed such a crime and has not begged
rdon from the clan mother and the elders of the clan, perhaps with
e words: pardon me, I have committed an error (ne mop ia nga leh

Because of her whole position as guardian of the inherited religion and customs, it is not frequent that such a woman breaks with the ancestor cult. If this does happen, it does not necessarily mean that she loses the entire property. That depends really on the position the other members of the family take. If they are all still firm heathens, who wish to have nothing to do with Christianity, they can force the clan mother to give everything up. The high respect for her is frequently so great, however, that either the whole clan or at least a part of it decides to take the same step and change religions with the clan mother. The part that remains heathen will certainly propose a division of the family property. This is also possible in other cases.

4. Division of the Family Property.

Although it is rare, the weal and woe of a family-clan can require that a family-clan be split into two clans /Clan/ and that a division of the common property be undertaken. The basis for this is if the family /Geschlecht/ becomes too big, if the elders in the family council /Rat/ are no longer united and hate and revenge threaten to destroy, if a part of the clan /Clan/ tries to seize the better fields by violence and refuses to deliver the harvest for the common need, if one branch has brought the whole clan /Sippe/ dishonor and shame by false oaths, incest, revenge, treachery or some other severe crime. Only the guilty party will be excluded from the clan /Clan/ in such cases, if he remains stubborn and impenitent. But if he begs for forgiveness with his lips and participates in the expiatory [illegible], forgiveness will not be refused him. But a certain inner tension and bad feeling often remain behind.

At the conversion to another religion, it often depends on how the clan mother and also the family elders are inclined towards the religion in question, and also on who is changing religions. If it is only brothers, sons, nephews, or grandsons, of the clan mother, a division is out of the question, since the men are not capable of inheriting. But if it is the youngest or next youngest daughter or even the sister of the clan mother, then a division of property can be undertaken. A clan mother after all is so attached to her child or her nearest blood relatives that she would not like to push them entirely away from herself unless she were completely set against the religion in question and angered. If that should be so in individual cases, the heirs concerned will still consider, whether it is not more advisable to wait to change her religion until the clan mother has closed her eyes and she then has free play. Then that which was mentioned at the conclusion of the previous section can occur.

If after discussions lasting weeks all the problems involved have been settled, the agreements decided on are finally completed with the customary ceremonial. It was mentioned above, what objects for the religious cult are to be found in the hut of the clan mother. The little basket plaited of bamboo cane, which is considered the special seat of the divine ancestors of the clan. /Clan/ is not divided. /300/ Another, similar basket is made. By sacrifice of goats and pigs, these divinities are then entreated so that a part of them may take up their dwelling in this basket for the protection of the newly constructed clan. If the sacrificial priest can announce the agreement of the deceased spirits with the division from the oracle of the entrails of the animals and by egg throwing, then this basket is brought to the new clan hut. On another day one of the two hearthut poles is then taken for the new hut with further sacrifices. Each of the two separated parties must fetch a new pole to go with the other one. In a like way the existent sacrificial utensils, such as rice baskets, mats, and gourd bottles are divided. With this ceremony the agreements made about the division of the other property are considered legally existent. Each party now goes his own way independent of the other. Certain relationships of friendship and kinship still remain in existence; however, the bar to marriage, which otherwise would make impossible the marriage between members of the same family clan without regard to the degree of relationship, is no longer in existence.

If, as the conversion of one part of the members of the clan to the Christian religion, the division of property can be accomplished legally, it is better to insist on it. The members who have become Christian are more readily protected from disadvantageous treatment. Even if they should take part of the fields for themselves in separate management, the part of the clan that remained heathen could demand this back years later. Enmity, hate, and revenge would then follow. Without the formal ceremony combined with the sacrifices mentioned a Khasi does not recognize a division as legal. Since Christians cannot participate in such a sacrificial ceremony, there is nothing to do other than to have this ceremony undertaken while those seeking to be baptized are still catechumens. Before they are accepted then into the church by baptism, the heathen cult objects that were brought into the clan hut must be removed. "To /300/ this most important ceremony, "the missionary of the Synong territory, P. Benoître Maher S. D. S., once related, "I usually went myself if it was possible for me to or sent a European sister of the Order. Thereby the ceremony acquired a great deal

[See category 16, pp 25 — Analysis]

more solemnity and had a powerful effect on the heathen and the catechumens. The basket of the gods, the two sticks, the gourd bottles, and the other objects of the cult were carried to an open place in front of the hut, placed on a pile of bamboo canes and wood and then lighted by fire. The heathen stood at a respectful distance, fearful and trembling, and expecting that the gods would revenge themselves and destroy me with fire from heaven. But nothing of the kind happened, and disappointed and thoughtful they went back to their huts. The clan hut would then be blessed and sprinkled with holy water.

In general the Christian religions strive to settle their members in a village separated from the heathen clan members, and to settle them in such a way that the separate family clans remain together when possible. The christian customs, that husband, wife, and children then live together in one family is carried out when possible but, however it is not always done without difficulties in view of the traditional customs.

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

about Rs. 30. The price of lac has risen a good deal of late years. Formerly the price was about Rs. 15 to Rs. 20 a maund. The lac trade in the Jaintia Hills and in the southern portion of the Khyrim State is a valuable one. The profits, however, go largely to middle-men, who in the Jaintia Hills are Syntengs from Jowai, who give out advances to the Bhoi cultivators on the condition that they will be repaid in lac. The Marwari merchants from the plains attend all the plains markets which are frequented by the hill-men, and buy up the lac and export it to Calcutta. The whole of the lac is of the kind known as stick lac.

HUNTING.

The weapons used by the Khasis for hunting are bows and arrows, the latter with barbed iron heads, and spears which are used both for casting and thrusting. Before proceeding on a hunting expedition the hunters break eggs, in order to ascertain whether they will be successful or not, and to which jungle they should proceed. Offerings are also made to certain village deities, *e.g. U. Ryngkew, u Ioon*, and *u Bam ki ondi*. A lucky day having been selected and the deities propitiated, the hunters start with a number of dogs trained to the chase, the latter being held on leading by a party of men called *ki sangni-kam*. When the dogs have picked up the scent some hunters are placed as "stops" (*ki ktem*), at points of vantage in the jungle, and the drive commences with loud shouts from the hunters, the same being continued until the object of the chase breaks into the open. The man who draws the first blood is called *u sangniat*, and the second man who scores a hit *u sangkon*. These two men get larger shares of the flesh than the others. The *sangniat* obtains the lower half of the body of the animal, thighs and feet excepted, called *ka tlang*, and the *sangkon* one of the forequarters called *ka tulla*. The other hunters obtain a string of flesh each, and each hound gets a string of flesh to itself. These hunting parties pursue deer sometimes for many miles, and exceedingly fatigable in the chase, the latter lasting occasionally more than one day. In the Jaintia Hills, at the end of the chase, the quarry is carried to

19: Assam G-5 (1958) 1963 A87 Chap1 A87

CHAPTER VII

Rural Indebtedness

[illegible] 7.1. As Rural indebtedness is a problem of great importance we have attempted below to crystallize the extent of indebtedness in the rural areas of the district. During investigation account was taken of all loans of which [illegible] a part was outstanding on the date of investigation.

7.2. The following table shows the number of indebted families in the three village groups :

TABLE E-1

Number of indebted families and amount of loan outstanding in the three areas

Village group	Total No. of families	No. of indebted families	% of indebted families	Amount of loan outstanding (Rs.)	Average amount outstanding per loan-fly (Rs.)	Average amount outstanding per indebted family (Rs.)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Border area	[illegible]	[illegible]	67	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Project area	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
General area	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Thus 67 per cent of the families in Border area, 58 per cent in Project area and 38 per cent in General area are indebted, the average amount outstanding per family in the corresponding area being Rs. [illegible], Rs. [illegible] and Rs. [illegible] respectively. All these prove beyond doubt the rural indebtedness in the district is high. It will be seen from a subsequent table that Government loan constitute the largest portion of the total amount of loan in these Border area villages. It will also be seen that per family indebtedness is highest in Project area. This is, however, apt to be inflated in view of the fact that from Project area, villages where intensive development activities were taken up [illegible] were selected. Villagers participated in various various kinds of loans from Project. Loans were taken both in cash and kind. Kind loans, however, were not frequent. It was found that value of kind loan constituted only 2 per cent, 19 per cent and 22 per cent of the total amount of loan in Border area, Project area and General area respectively. Kind loans are usually taken as follows :

[illegible] Firstly when agricultural produce fails to meet the annual requirements of the people they resort to grain loans. Secondly, some Government loan, particularly agricultural loan disbursed by Project area, are given partly in cash and partly in kind.

7.3. As a study of the occupational distribution of these indebted families may be useful, in the following table, indebted families are classified according to their principal occupation.

19: Assam G-5 (1958) 1963 AR7 Khasi AR7

TABLE E-2

Debtor by principal occupation

Principal occupation	Total No. of families	No. of indebted families	Amount of loan outstanding (Rs.)	Average amount outstanding per indebted family (Rs.)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
A. Border area :—				
1. Agriculture	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
2. Labour	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
3. Service, Professions, etc.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
4. Trade	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
5. Small scale manufacture and handicraft	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
6. Poultry and dairy farming, etc.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
7. Others	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
B. Project area :—				
1. Agriculture	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
2. Labour	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
3. Service, Professions, etc.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
4. Trade	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
5. Small scale manufacture and handicraft	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
6. Poultry and dairy farming, etc.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
7. Others	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

19: Assam G-5 (1958) 1963 AR7 Khasi AR7

Principal occupation	Total No. of families	No. of indebted families	Amount of loan outstanding (Rs.)	Average amount outstanding per household (Rs.)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
C. General area :—				
1. Agriculture ...	165	51	9,594	188.02
2. Labour ...	6	1	100	100.00
3. Service profession, etc.	2	...	...	...
4. Trade ...	4	...	...	...
5. Small scale manufacture and handicraft.	1	...	...	...
6. Pottery and clay forming, etc. ...	2	...	...	...
7. Others ...	...	...	...	...
Total ...	184	52	9,594	184.50

From the above table it will be seen that predominantly agricultural families constitute the highest proportion of the indebted class in all the three areas. In Border area they constitute 71 per cent of the total number of indebted families, accounting for 87 per cent of the total amount of loan. In Project area and General area these proportions were respectively 77.5 per cent, 92 per cent and 95 per cent. It is clear that in Border area, average amount of loan per family is higher of the non-agricultural class which ranges from Rs. 877.00 to Rs. 1,400.00 as. These amounts, as a matter of fact were inflated due to inclusion of a few families in such class who have very high amount of outstanding loan ranging from Rs. 6000 to Rs. 10,000 per family. Otherwise indebtedness in agricultural and non-agricultural class did not manifest any wide difference. In Project area, indebtedness among agricultural families is definitely higher than that among their counterparts in Border area and they accounted for a far proportion 92 per cent of the total amount of loan. Different occupational groups in non-agricultural class, of course, revealed among themselves wide variation in average per family indebtedness ranging from Rs. 89 to Rs. 972 per family. On the other hand, in General area, agricultural families account for almost the entire amount of loan.

Per family indebtedness taking all the families into consideration stands at, for Border area Rs. 187.34, for Project area Rs. 188.85 and for General area Rs. 50.00.

7.6. As has already been mentioned, the average debt per family worked out above does not reflect the true picture of indebtedness in the areas. The following table is illustrative.—

TABLE 5-3

Distribution of loans in different amount groups

Loan group (Rs.)	Backward area			Project area			General area		
	No. of loans	Amount (Rs.)	Average (Rs.)	No. of loans	Amount (Rs.)	Average (Rs.)	No. of loans	Amount (Rs.)	Average (Rs.)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
1. Below Rs. 100	440	13,[illegible]	[illegible]	848	41,[illegible]	[illegible]	37	403	[illegible]
	(41)	(1)		(49)	(10)		(38)	(8)	
2. Rs. 100 to below 500 ..	497	32,[illegible]	[illegible]	814	[illegible]	[illegible]	38	[illegible]	[illegible]
	(46)	(3)		(47)	(41)		(39)	(41)	

TABLE [illegible]—*concld.*

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
B. Rs. [illegible] to below [illegible] ...	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	(2)	(1)		(20)	(10)		(20)	(10)	
C. Rs. [illegible] to below 1,000 ...	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	(4)	(1)		(1)	(10)		(1)	(1)	
D. Rs. [illegible] to below 2,000 ...	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	(1)	(1)		(1)	(6)		(1)	(1)	
E. Rs. 2,000 and above ...	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	—	—
	(1)	(10)		(1)	10	—	—	—	—
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	(100)	(100)		(100)	(100)		(100)	(100)	

From the above table it is clear that majority of the loans are of small amounts. In Sunder area as many as [illegible] per cent of the loans are of size less than Rs. 500 (average Rs. [illegible]) covering only 29 per cent of the total amount of loan. The corresponding figures for Project area are 71 per cent (average Rs. [illegible]) and 27 per cent and for General area [illegible] per cent (average Rs. [illegible]) and 10 per cent. Thus in Sunder area there were [illegible] big loans ranging from Rs. [illegible] to Rs. [illegible], in Project area [illegible] big loans ranging from Rs. [illegible] to Rs. [illegible] and in General area [illegible] big loans ranging between Rs. [illegible] to Rs. [illegible] (with loan [illegible] weighs in making the average figures of per family indebtedness).

7.3 It has been observed that majority of the loans are of diminishing periodicity there in Project area and General area. The following table will be illustrative.

TABLE E-4

Period of Repaying of loans	Border area		Project area		General area	
	No. of loans	Amount of loan (Rs.)	No. of loans	Amount of loan (Rs.)	No. of loans	Amount (Rs.)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1. Less than 5 years	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
2. 5 to less than 7 years	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
3. 7 years and above	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Thus in Border area, Project area and General area respectively [illegible] per cent, [illegible] per cent and [illegible] per cent of the total number of loans in the respective area were contracted during the three years preceding the enquiry respectively covering [illegible] per cent, [illegible] per cent and [illegible] per cent of the total amount of loans in the respective area. In Border area out of [illegible] loans, [illegible] number of loans ([illegible] per cent) were of more than 5 years standing, the corresponding figures for Project area and General area being [illegible] (i.e., [illegible] per cent) and [illegible] (i.e., [illegible] per cent). A comprehensive analysis of the component parts of these loans will be found in Table E-6 at the appendix.

7.6 The purpose for which the loans were sanctioned and different sources of loans are summarised in the following table :—

TABLE 7.6

Loans by source and purpose

Source	Co-operative Agriculture bank		Other Government bank		Co-operative non Agricultural		Money lender village Mahajan		Owner of land		Others		Total	
Purpose	No.	Amount (Rs)	No.	Amount (Rs)	No.	Amount (Rs)	No.	Amount (Rs)	No.	Amount (Rs)	No.	Amount (Rs)	No.	Amount (Rs)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)
A. Border Area—														
1. Education	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2. Marriage and other social functions	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3. Normal maintenance	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
4. Purchase of draught animal	..	..	..	..	..	..	[illegible]	[illegible]	..	..	..	..	[illegible]	[illegible]

TABLE 5.C—contd.

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)
C. Purchase of land	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
															(1)	(1)
d. Fertilizer of soil, manure and other organic and other agricultural purposes	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
e. Transportation and purchase of seed, seeds and other durable and non-durable goods.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
f. Household consumption	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
g. Expenses of life	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
h. Other	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
															(11)	[illegible]
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
				(24)	(44)	(1)	(10)			(17)	(44)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(100)

TABLE 5.1—*contd.*

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)
B. Product manufacture.														
1. Elevators	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
2. Mining and other metal fuels	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
3. Fuel extraction	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
4. Holders of draught animal	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
5. Farriers of tool	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
6. Farriers of and manufacturers other implements and other implements of primitive	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
7. Farriers of and manufacturers of and other implements and other implements of primitive	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
8. Livestock complex	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
9. Engineering of tools	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
10. Other	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

TABLE 2.5—*contd.*

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)
G. General group—																
1. Education	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2. Medical and other social services	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	0	80	..	..	..	..	80	80	80
3. Public administration	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	70	6,670	0	600	..	..	270	6,070	6,340
4. Pension of Ministers and	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
5. Pensions of land	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
6. Pay bills of such employees engaged not other activities of employees	10	1,280	..	..	..	..	10	1,270	..	..	..	..	10	1,270	1,280	1,280
7. Commercial and manufacture of cut rating and other dutiable and non-dutiable goods	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
8. Miscellaneous receipts	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
9. Transfers of land	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
10. Others	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	0	1,000	..	..	..	..	0	1,000	1,000
Total	..	..	..	10	8,000	..	..	80	8,000	0	600	..	..	80	8,000	8,080
				(10)	(10)	..	..	(10)	(100)	(0)	(0)	..	..	(100)	(100)	

A glance at table above, shows that families concerned have for productive as well as reproductive purposes, the bulk of them apparently being for productive purposes. In Sorbor area out of 1081 loans, as many as [illegible] loans (79%) accounting for 48% of the total amount of loan were incurred for agricultural purposes other than purchase of land and draught animals followed by [illegible] loans (19%) accounting for 28% of the total amount for other purposes which included some Government loan such as Relief and Rehabilitation loans, etc., and other loans taken from private persons for meeting medical expenses which is considerable in Sorbor area and other occasions. Next to it in order of importance come the loans for normal maintenance and for running household expenses, the number in respective loan being [illegible] (8%) and [illegible] accounting for 7% and 12% of the total amount of loans. Individually loans for running household expenses are of biggest amount, being Rs. [illegible] on the average.

Though the majority of the loans were incurred for productive purposes, action given by the loanees during enquiry, suggest that the major portion of these loans was spent on normal maintenance. This was particularly the case with Government loans given in Sorbor area.

In Project area out of a total of [illegible] loans, [illegible] loans (10%) were contracted for agricultural purposes covering 31% of the total amount of loan, followed by loans for normal maintenance and for other purposes, number of loans in the respective categories being [illegible] (30%) and [illegible] (33%) accounting respectively for 4% and 27% of the total amount of loan.

In General area out of a total of [illegible] loans [illegible] (32%) were incurred for normal maintenance accounting for 31% of the total amount of loan. Next come the [illegible] loans contracted for agricultural purposes which accounted for 27% of the total amount of loans again followed by [illegible] loans taken for other purposes accounting for 16% of the total amount of loan.

7.7 These loans were, as will be seen from the above table, taken from various sources. In all the areas, however, Government and money lenders outstripped the other sources. In Sorbor area, for example, Government loans constitute 42% of the total number of [illegible] loans accounting for 42% of the total amount of loan, followed by loans from money lenders and Mahajans which constituted 27% of the total number of loans and covered a comparatively much higher proportion (47%) of the total amount of loans pointing to the significance of individual loans. Next to these are the loans from other sources which included friends and relatives, followed by those from owners of land.

In project area loans from private money lenders constituted 37% of total number of loans [illegible] covering a little less than [illegible] (70%) of the total amount of loan, followed by Government loans for which the corresponding figures are 27% and 20%. The remaining [illegible] of the total number of loans accounting for [illegible] of the total amount are taken in order of importance, from owner of land, Co-operative Societies and 'other' sources.

In General area out of a total of 48 loans 38 loans (79%) amounting for [illegible] of the total amount are from money lenders followed by 23 loans from Government and five loans from owners of land accounting respectively for 11 per cent and 9% of the total amount.

Thus it is seen that money lenders are still holding sway among the poor people in the rural area.

7.3 The following table summarises the position with regard to the interest borne by different parts of the rural debt. The calculation of rates of interest presents difficulties in the case of loans taken in kind or in cash on condition of selling the crop after harvest to the creditors or rendering labour at less wages at creditor's farm during busy agricultural season. In case of such loans the interest rates given here are as ascertained on the basis of the information furnished by the debtor regarding the amount of produce to be given to the creditor, or number of man-days worked on creditor's farm in repayment of principal and interest.

TABLE 5-6

Debts classified according to rate of interest

Rate of interest	No. of loans	P. C. to total no. of loans	Amount (Rs)	Percentage to total amount of loan	Average amount of loan (Rs)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Border area—					
1. Free of interest	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
2. Less than 5 per cent	4	...	[illegible]	5	[illegible]
3. 5 per cent and less than 10 per cent ...	[illegible]	9	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
4. 10 per cent and less than 15 per cent ...	[illegible]	4	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
5. 15 per cent and less than 20 per cent ...	[illegible]	4	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
6. 20 per cent and less than 30 per cent ...	[illegible]	8	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
7. 30 per cent and less than 100 per cent ...	9	2	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
8. 100 per cent and less than 300 per cent ...	[illegible]	2	[illegible]	...	[illegible]
9. 400 per cent and above ...	[illegible]	2	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	

TABLE [illegible]—*contd.*

[illegible]	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Project area—					
1. Free of interest	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
2. Less than 5 per cent	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
3. 5 per cent and less than 10 per cent	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
4. 10 per cent and less than 20 per cent	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
5. 20 per cent and less than 30 per cent	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
6. 30 per cent and less than 50 per cent	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
7. 50 per cent and less than 100 per cent	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
8. 100 per cent and less than 200 per cent	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
9. 200 per cent and above	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
General area—					
1. Free of interest	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
2. Less than 5 per cent					
3. 5 per cent and less than 10 per cent	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
4. 10 per cent and less than 20 per cent	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
5. 20 per cent and less than 30 per cent	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
6. 30 per cent and less than 50 per cent	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
7. 50 percent and less than 100 per cent	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
8. 100 per cent and less than 200 per cent	—	—	—	—	—
9. 200 per cent and above					
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

It is seen that proportion of interest free loans are [illegible] per cent in Border area accounting for [illegible]% of total amount of loan, [illegible]% in Project area which cover [illegible]% of the total amount of loan and that in General area being [illegible]% covering [illegible]% of the total amount of loan. The reason behind the unusually high proportion of interest free loans in Border area was that most of the Government loans were free of interest. That only [illegible]% of loans in Border area bear interest whereas as much as [illegible]% in Project area and [illegible]% in General area bear interest ranging were up to [illegible]%. It has been found that loans contracted from friends and relatives are free of interest, those from money lenders and other village Mahajans are usually of very high interests and so has already been mentioned in Project area and General area that constitute the major portion of the loans. It will be seen from table above that proportion of loan with interest between [illegible]—[illegible]% and [illegible]% as above [illegible] are respectively in Border area [illegible] and [illegible] and in Project area [illegible] and [illegible] and in General area [illegible] and [illegible].

5.5 The following table analyses the changes resulting in the acquisition and release of capital assets of the sample cultivator agricultural families as a result of the purchase and sale of the assets and liabilities during the period of a year:—

TABLE G-4

| | | |

Gross investment made by the families stands at Rs.[illegible], i.e., Rs.[illegible] per family in Border area, Rs.[illegible], i.e., Rs.[illegible] per family in Project area and Rs.[illegible], i.e., Rs.[illegible] per family in General area. It will be seen that in all the three areas the major portion of this investment is from opening of assets.

The investment consisting of borrowing and liquidation of assets amounts to Rs.[illegible], i.e., Rs.[illegible] per family in Border area, Rs.[illegible], i.e., Rs.[illegible] per family in Project area and Rs.[illegible], i.e., Rs.[illegible] per family in General area.

Thus in all the three disinvestment for outweighs investment with the result that a family in Border, Project and General area, on an average disinvests a sum of Rs.[illegible], Rs.[illegible] and Rs.[illegible] respectively. This net disinvestment arises largely, as is clear from table above, from the heavy rate of indebtedness among the families. Actually considering changes in assets alone there is a net increase of Rs.[illegible] per family in Border area, Rs.[illegible] in Project area and Rs.[illegible] in General area. But these increases are more than multiplied by average per family increase in indebtedness of Rs.[illegible], Rs.[illegible] and Rs.[illegible] respectively in the three areas.

[illegible] Investments in assets by various items are shown in the following table.

LP: Accom G-5 (1954) 136.5 A67 Ghani A67

511 It is seen that the per family average annual expenditure is Rs.[illegible] nP. in Border area, Rs.[illegible] nP. in Project area and Rs.[illegible] nP. in General area. The per family annual net income in the respective area betw Rs.[illegible] nP., Rs.[illegible] nP., and Rs.[illegible] nP. It follows that the budget of the average family is deficit in all the areas. This deficit is usually made up either by restricting the consumption expenditure during the lean months of the agricultural year or by taking loans.

512 The field work of the survey was started during the month of February, i.e., hardly after two months, of harvesting of winter paddy and during the harvesting period of cash crops like orange, betelnut, potatoes, etc. During this period people get money through the sale proceeds and naturally they were tempted to spend comparatively higher amount on food. In fact, it was made clear during investigation that as lean months are approaching when people did not have money to purchase food articles, they used to lead a very austere life. This period is particularly very hard for the Border people because unlike people of other two areas they do not have [illegible] paddy in store. As the above figures of annual expenditure of a family were calculated on the basis of information collected for one month preceding the date of investigation, in respect of food and non-food articles, and for one year in respect of miscellaneous items, there is every likelihood of the average per family expenditure on food and non-food articles being over-estimated.

513 As in the case of income, consumption of articles produced at home or at farm as well as those received out of the goods, services and gift and barter were valued in money terms on the basis of the local average retail prices in respect of the commodities concerned. Thus even firewood and other wild vegetables and fishes obtained by fishing were valued in terms of money. Of the total average expenditure on food, the food articles obtained in kind and consumed at home account for about 18 per cent in Border area, 13 per cent in Project area and 1[illegible] per cent in General area. Thus the share of food articles obtained in kind and consumed at home to the annual expenditure of a family is very low in Border area. This is natural because they depend almost exclusively on cash crop cultivation.

514 Out of the total expenditure, food accounts for about 68 per cent in Border area, 67 per cent in Project area and 58 per cent in General area. In all the above cases also lies the bulk of the expenditure on food, i.e., 86 per cent, 78 per cent and 81 per cent in the respective areas.

515 It is seen that expenditure on pulses, vegetables and milk are very low. In fact, only a few of the Tribal villagers take pulses, milk and vegetables. Rice and fish or meat are the only items of this dietary of most of the villagers.

516 Among non-food articles fuel and light accounted for 6 per cent in Border area, 7 per cent in Project area, and 3 per cent in General area. Beta are heavy chewers of betelnut and this accounted for 3 per cent of total annual expenditure in border area, 4 per cent in Project area and about 2 per cent in General area while tobacco and tea in normal accounted for about 2 per cent, 4 per cent and 4 per cent respectively of the total annual expenditure in the three areas. Expenditure on liquor

10.6. Of the total of [illegible] farms in Border area, [illegible] per cent were wholly owned, 17 per cent were wholly rented and the remaining 7 per cent were partly owned and partly rented. In Project area, proportions of wholly owned, wholly rented and partly owned and partly rented farms were found to be 79 per cent, 14 per cent and 06 per cent respectively while those in General area were respectively 86 per cent, 6 per cent and 10 per cent of the total number of farms. Of the total farm area, owned area accounted for in Border area 90 per cent, in Project area 96 per cent and in General area 91 per cent of the total farm area in the respective area. Of the total owned area, nearly 95 per cent in Border area, 98 per cent in Project area and 96 per cent in General area were operated by wholly owned farms and the rest by partly owned farms. Of the total rented area, in Border area, Project area and General area respectively 91 per cent, 60 per cent and 51 per cent are operated by wholly rented farms.

10.7. Out of 1000 families in Border area, 658 i.e. 65 per cent were indebted, average debt per family being Rs.[illegible] of, and [illegible] per indebted family being Rs. [illegible] of. In Project area out of [illegible] families 332 i.e. 33 per cent were indebted, average debt per family being Rs. [illegible] of and that per indebted family Rs. [illegible] of. In General area out of 186 families, 32 i.e. 17 per cent were indebted, average debt per family being Rs. [illegible] of, and that per indebted family being Rs. [illegible] of. Of the total indebted families, predominantly agricultural families constituted the highest proportion in all the three areas, being 78 per cent in Border area, 77 per cent in Project area and 80 per cent in General area accounting respectively for 67 per cent, 70 per cent and 60 per cent of the total amount of debt in the three areas. Majority of the loans were of small amount. Approach is in Border area 90 per cent of the loans are of size less than Rs. [illegible], average size of these loans being only Rs. [illegible] of. In Project area 71 per cent and in General area 73 per cent of the loans are of size less than Rs. [illegible], average size of these loans being respectively Rs. [illegible] and Rs. [illegible] only. Of the total number of loans 67 per cent in Border area, 61 per cent in Project area and 59 per cent in General area were of less than 3 years standing. Majority of the loans in Border and Project areas were found to be incurred for productive purposes. In General area 53 per cent of the loans were contracted for maintenance of the family.

Government and other professional and semi-professional money lenders emerged out to be the predominant sources of rural credit. In Border area home-Type Government accounted 62 per cent of the total number of loans accounting for 53 per cent of the total amount of loan, followed by those from money lenders which worked out to 48 per cent of the total number of loans accounting for 41 per cent of the total amount of loan. In Project area and General area respectively 67 per cent and 73 per cent of the total number of loans accounting for 58 per cent and 66 per cent of the total amount of loan in the respective area were contracted from private money lenders while Government loans constituted in Project area 48 per cent and in General area 37 per cent of the total number of loans accounting respectively for 42 per cent and 61 per cent of the total amount of loan in the respective area.

[illegible] Of the total number of farms [illegible] per cent in Border area, [illegible] per cent in Project area and [illegible] per cent in General area were free of income while rest of farmers for [illegible] per cent, [illegible] per cent and [illegible] per cent respectively of the farms in the farm area were found to be [illegible] per cent or more per annum which in case received upto [illegible] per cent.

[illegible] 10.3. Farm output of [illegible] per cent of the families in Border area, [illegible] per cent of families in Project area and [illegible] per cent of families in General area were less than Rs. [illegible] a year, while [illegible] per cent, [illegible] per cent and [illegible] per cent of the families in the respective area earned more than Rs. [illegible] a year from their farms. Of the total number of farms yielding less than or Rs. [illegible] a year in Border area [illegible] per cent of them are medium sized farms, and [illegible] per cent large sized farms, the corresponding proportions for Project area and General area being [illegible] per cent, [illegible] per cent, [illegible] per cent and [illegible] per cent.

[illegible] 10.3. In Border area the most important crops are oranges, banana, paddy, and [illegible] which respectively accounted for [illegible] per cent, [illegible] per cent, [illegible] per cent and [illegible] per cent of the total harvested area. In Project area paddy and oranges are the most important crop which accounted respectively for [illegible] per cent and [illegible] per cent of the total harvested area. The most important crops in the General area are paddy and potato which respectively accounted for [illegible] per cent and [illegible] per cent of the total harvested area.

On the basis of data collected for all the villages investigated average yield per acre worked out as paddy [illegible] maunds, potato [illegible] maunds, oranges [illegible] lacs ([illegible] numbers) and banana [illegible] lacs ([illegible] numbers). These yield exhibited wide variations among the three areas.

[illegible] 10.11. Proportions of families with annual gross income of less than Rs. [illegible], Rs. [illegible] to less than Rs. [illegible], and above Rs. [illegible] were respectively found to be [illegible] per cent, [illegible] per cent and [illegible] per cent in Border area, [illegible] per cent, [illegible] per cent and [illegible] per cent in Project area and [illegible] per cent, [illegible] per cent and [illegible] per cent in General area. Average annual gross income per family worked out to Rs. [illegible] in Border area, Rs. [illegible] in Project area and Rs. [illegible] in General area which for predominantly agricultural and semi-agricultural families respectively stood at Rs. [illegible] and Rs. [illegible] in Border area, Rs. [illegible] and [illegible] in Project area and Rs. [illegible] and [illegible] in General area. In all the three areas main contributors to family income were agriculture, service-professions/trade and trade respectively [illegible] per cent, [illegible] per cent and [illegible] per cent of the total average income in Border area, [illegible] per cent and [illegible] per cent in Project area and [illegible] per cent, [illegible] per cent and [illegible] per cent in General area.

The net annual income per family in different income groups varied between Rs. [illegible] to [illegible] in Border area, between Rs. [illegible] to Rs. [illegible] in Project area and between Rs. [illegible] to Rs. [illegible] in General area. The average net per family net annual income derived was Rs. [illegible] in Border area, Rs. [illegible] in Project area and Rs. [illegible] in General area and the ratio per capita of Rs. [illegible] in Border area, Rs. [illegible] in Project area and Rs. [illegible] in General area.

TABLE [illegible]

Distribution of loans to different economic groups

Loan groups	Rural Area				Urban Area				Combined Area			
	No. of loans	Amount (Rs. 000)		Total Rs. 000	No. of loans	Amount (Rs. 000)		Total Rs. 000	No. of loans	Amount (Rs. 000)		Total Rs. 000
		Cash	Kind			Cash	Kind			Cash	Kind	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
Below 250	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
250 to below 500	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
500 to below 750	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
750 to below 1000	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]
1000 to below 2000	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]
2000 and above	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	—	—	—
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

(Figures in parenthesis are percentages to total)

TABLE 5.4.1

Rural indebtedness classified according to the period of sounding of the loan.

Period of loan	Earlier Loans						Recent Loans						General Area					
			Secured		Unsecured				Secured		Unsecured				Secured		Unsecured	
	Total No. of loans	Total amount (Rs.)	No. of loans	Amount (Rs.)	No. of loans	Amount (Rs.)	Total No. of loans	Total amount (Rs.)	No. of loans	Amount (Rs.)	No. of loans	Amount (Rs.)	Total No. of loans	Total amount (Rs.)	No. of loans	Amount (Rs.)	No. of loans	Amount (Rs.)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)
1. [illegible]	[illegible] (9·0)	[illegible] (7·7)	[illegible]	[illegible] (10·9)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (20·0)	[illegible] (25·1)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (28·0)	[illegible] (29·1)	7	1,200	10	1,145
2. [illegible]	[illegible] (12·5)	[illegible] (9·0)	[illegible]	[illegible] (9·4)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (24·4)	[illegible] (20·0)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (20·0)	[illegible] (19·4)	10	1,700	[illegible]	1,242
3. [illegible]	[illegible] (10·0)	[illegible] (9·0)	[illegible]	[illegible] (10·0)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (10·0)	[illegible] (12·9)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (8·0)	[illegible] (9·0)	2	500	5	35
4. [illegible]	[illegible] (0·0)	[illegible] (1·1)	[illegible]	[illegible] (0·0)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (7·0)	[illegible] (9·0)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (1·0)	[illegible] (0·0)	1	[illegible]	...	...
5. [illegible]	[illegible] (20·0)	[illegible] (20·0)	[illegible]	[illegible] (20·0)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (9·0)	[illegible] (9·0)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (1·0)	[illegible] (1·0)	[illegible]	[illegible]	...	...
6. [illegible]	[illegible] (0·0)	[illegible] (20·0)	[illegible]	[illegible] (20·0)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (0·0)	[illegible] (0·0)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (0·0)	[illegible] (0·0)	1	1,000	...	...
Total	[illegible] (100·0)	[illegible] (100·0)	[illegible]	[illegible] (100·0)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (100·0)	[illegible] (100·0)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (100·0)	[illegible] (100·0)	33	1,002	31	2,924

1:Garden E-4,5 (no date) 1997 AR? Khasi AR?

[illegible] prominent town on the boundary line, or by natural boundaries such as streams.

[illegible] 92] 64 In the *Wiar* country to the West of Cherra, notably the country between the heights of Laitkynsew and the plain, considerable portions of the hill-sides are the property of communities known as *ewings*. A *ewing* may be defined as a collection of families sprung from some common ancestress or ancestor. As an instance of these *ewings* I may describe the community known as the *lai ewing* which owns land in the neighbourhood of Laitkynsew, the area owned being known as the "*ri lai ewing*," or land of the three clans. These clans are descended from three sons, U Kynta, U Nalein, and U Tangwi, it being remarkable that in this case descent is traced originally from male ancestors and not from females. The three ancestors are said to have owned a large tract of land, and they had on their abode the village of Laitnawria close to Laitkynsew; but owing to an epidemic, or some such cause, they deserted the village of Laitnawria and went with their families to live in some of the surrounding *Wiar* villages, viz. in Tyrna, Nongkroh, Nongwar, Mawsh, and Mawlong. The descendants of the three sons above-mentioned possess a genealogical table, showing their descent from the original three founders of the *ewings*. They claim a large tract of country lying to the south and south-east of the Laitkynsew plateau, containing not only orange gardens, but also valuable lime quarries. There are other *ewing* communities also in the neighbourhood, e.g. the *kiawiew phew ewing*, or sixty *ewings*, who put forward claims to other tracts of land. The boundaries of the *ri lai ewing* are identifiable on the ground. [423] The business of the *ewing* community is managed by a doctor, an elder or other influential person being chosen as president.

923 [427] 692 In the country of the Lyngngam the crop belongs to the person who cultivates it, but the land belongs to the *kur* or family. The Lyngngam villages, like those in the Khasi Siemships, do not pay any rent to the Siem. If outsiders cultivate within the areas set apart for the different Lyngngam villages, all of them, including women, have to pay eight annas each to the people of the village in whose circle they cultivate. There is usually a mutual understanding between inhabitants of Lyngngam villages that certain tracts of land belong to the

[423] she does not have any daughter, the property will pass to the female descendants of sisters of Ka Long, as her other sisters Ka Laitum and Ka Laiban have left no daughters. It is therefore necessary to distinguish carefully between an elder and a younger sister, and also similarly between sisters of the mother. The protection of the women of the same house and extended family requires to be acted with care.

The youngest daughter and heiress is termed the Ka Khadduh. As Castle remarks the "Ka Khadduh is the custodian of the family property, not the full heir in the sense known to other systems of law, but a limited heir. She is responsible for the performance of religious ceremonies..... [424] she remains her mother, and if she be Ka Khadduh of the whole family, she puts the bones of all members in their final resting place under the stone (mawbah) of the clan. The expenses of this ceremony are considerable and for this reason she gets a larger share of property, or in some cases a piece of family property in addition and apart from her separate share. Members of the family who are unable to earn for themselves and have no children to earn for them have the right of being fed at the ing-Khadduh" (house of the heiress).

[425] The management of the property is however vested in the man of the family. The ancestral property of the family of myself U Subu Rai's mother was under the management of U Joi, in his mother's life-time; then, on the death U Joi, the next brother U Doi became manager. After U Doi, the management came to U Subu Rai. After him, the authority will pass to U Hojon, as U Sumbuni is dead and then to U Nodem. Any sons of Ka Pyn and other sisters will not get any precedence over U Nodem. As the senior U Kai of the Iaughlah Kur, U Subu Rai is also the manager of the common property of the Kur. [427] This land has been leased out to various persons and the total income is divided among the different houses of the Kur. [428] Whenever there is money to be distributed U Subu Rai calls together all the representatives of the Iaughlah houses and

exception. As I pointed out in the last chapter on the Garo, private ownership started with wet cultivation. In Kongkan, there are no common (village) or clan land: every piece of land is owned by some household—more precisely it is owned by the woman, the head of a household, and managed by her brother or maternal uncle. The majority of households in Kongkan possess land. Some of the richer households lend the land while some of the poorer households lease it. The rate for leases is Rs. 50/- per year for an area where one maund (Rs 80/-) of millet seeds can be sown. As there is no acreage system, the measurement is by quantity of seeds, and since shifting cultivation requires a change of field every year, the rent is fixed by the year. The parchal gardens, also privately owned, are never leased. When labour is required, the owner engages villagers, paying them Rs. 3/- per day.

In Sohkyndiah, there are some lands called "clan land." Throughout the history of the formation of Sohkyndiah village, as reconstructed from my data, can be traced some evidence of the evolution of land ownership. The first inhabitants of Sohkyndiah were said to be the people belonging to the Pratan clan (See Lists 8 and 9). It seems that when the Pratan came to this site, the land already belonged to the Dkhar clan of Rymmai village, five miles north of Sohkyndiah. The present distribution of land ownership confirms this story. The jhum field belonging to Sohkyndiah is divided into four sections according to the locality:

1. Lum Sohkyndiah	3. Sohliang
2. Mawkhalai	4. Lumpalong

One part of Lum Sohkyndiah belongs to the Pratan clan. The rest of Lum Sohkyndiah, Sohliang and Mawkhalai belong to the Dkhar clan of Rymmai village, the management of which is in the hands of Phrassing who came from Rymmai and married a woman of Sohkyndiah. Lumpalong is owned by Sor (Kynthah clan, 32 of List 6) privately. The Pratan and Dkhar lands are used by their descendants respectively. The people of other clans have to pay a rent of Rs. 60/- to use these clan lands. For the land which belongs to Sor, even the people of the same clan (Kynthah) have to pay rent since this land is privately owned. Thus the land of Sohkyndiah belongs partly to particular clans and partly to a private owner.

Gordon explains the existence of the clan land in the Khasi Hills as follows:

"The clan lands originally, when population was sparse, were owned by families, but as the members of the family increased and a clan was formed, the lands became the property of the clan instead of the family. Such clan lands are properly demarcated by stone boundary marks. The manager of the clan

workers and they were few in number." They were particularly employed for such work as the clearing of jungle for new jum gardens in summer.

In the orange season (December to February) the number of workers increased and they were paid more: Rs. 1.8 were paid for one load (one person carrying 60 pounds of oranges) from an orange garden to the railway station—about two miles. Usually a worker made three to five trips a day. Many workers from Jatinga used to come for this particular season.

Semi-permanent workers were engaged for wet-rice fields. They were usually Hindu cultivators since those Khasi and other tribes do not know the technique of wet cultivation; plains people like the Biharee immigrants were engaged. These workers were provided with servants' quarters where they lived with their wives and children. However, very few Jatinga households possessed rice fields.

The economic prosperity of Jatinga reached its climax during the period from 1939 to 1946. Since 1946, the orange production has been decreasing. In 1945, a serious disease attacked the orange gardens as well as the pan-leaf gardens. Besides, by depriving Jatinga, as it had Shella, of their most important markets, Dacca and Sylhet, the Partition of India and Pakistan in 1947 caused a serious economic depression in the whole region. On the other hand, because of the past prosperity, the population has rapidly increased during the last ten years. The serious economic condition of Jatinga is illustrated in the petition which was submitted by the Jatinga people when the Governor of Assam visited there some in January 1948. It runs thus:

"Since the last ten years or so, with the increase of population in the village and with the loss of fertility of the soil, the people were faced with economic depression. At present they are facing more shortage of land they have also no scope to adopt other forms of cultivation like jhooming and wet rice cultivation, etc. Moreover, there has been successive attack of Bright's disease which destroyed and wiped out all the orange and pan gardens. And as such, majority of the families have to depend for their livelihood on daily wages.

It is indeed a serious situation for them, because the Khasi do not produce staple foods, such as rice; their economy is completely dependent on the trade of their products by which they purchase their main provisions, clothes, etc. Other peoples round Jatinga, being jhum cultivators, can at least get rice and cotton; the minimum requirements, staple foods and clothing are available even in the worst conditions, so that they can at least maintain themselves though the standard of living is low. As I stated before, a few households in Jatinga possessed rice fields, but the majority had none. Recently they rented some plots of jhum field for rice cultivation from Zemi-Naga of neighbouring villages.[1] However, its yield was but a small percentage of their consumption. A few

1. If they had worked in the gardens of Jatinga, they might have got more profit than from their own jhum fields. For one day's labour, they got Rs. 6/-. For one month, they could earn Rs. 13 with which they could buy about 4.5 maunds of rice (one maunds paddy cost Rs. 3-4). For one year it became 50 maunds, which was impossible to produce in a jhum field by a single person's labour.

2. These rates, including the figures of note 1, apply to 1956.

3. Jatinga villagers told me that Zemi-Naga were kind enough to lent them their field for a negligible rent, though they had not enough for themselves. Zemi-Naga said that they owed much to Jatinga in the past, so that now they sympathised with the condition of Jatinga, and offered some parts of their jhum field.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

TABLE C.9

Distribution of Predominantly Agricultural Families

Type	Quetta area			Pishin area			Chiltan area		
	No. of families			No. of families			No. of families		
	Highlands (Kalat District)	Lowlands (Kalat District)	Total	Highlands (Kalat District)	Lowlands (Kalat District)	Total	Highlands (Kalat District)	Lowlands (Kalat District)	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
1. Pastoralists [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
2. Owners cultivators [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
3. Tenants [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
4. Non owner [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
5. Landless agricultural labourers	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Apart from private lands [illegible] lands [illegible] to a family and land [illegible] through settlement by District Council have been considered as 'land owned' for the purpose of the survey. Income results take in view from landowners only those lands which are possessed by the [illegible] as private land or through estimates through District Council. A perusal of table C.1 given above will show that proportion of [illegible] are higher in Jowai subdivision which is due to the [illegible] in this subdivision of some big landholders who are known as [illegible]. Majority of the families shown against 'non-cultivating owner' are in fact agricultural labour families who also possess some land but due to some reason or other left it uncultivated. Among owner cultivators, tenants and permanent and permanent tenants are those who enjoy income is derived from agricultural labour. Combination of these two facts along with the number of landless agricultural families goes to show that the proportion of agricultural labourers in the district is rather high.

TABLE C10

Occupational distribution of families whose principal occupation is other than agriculture

Principal occupation	No. of families					
	Kadar area		Pnyut area		General area	
	Total	P.C. to total	Total	P.C. to total	Total	P.C. to total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1. Non-agricultural labour.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	0	[illegible]
2. Service, professions, etc.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	0	[illegible]
3. Trades -- -- --	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	4	[illegible]
4. Small scale manufacture & handicraft.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	1	[illegible]
5. Poultry & dairy farming.	7	[illegible]	--	--	3	[illegible]
6. Others -- -- -- --	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	--	--
Total --	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

TABLE [illegible]

Village group	No. of families holding land	Total area of holdings (acres)	No. of the villages with land	Area based on [illegible]	No. of the villages with remaining cultivable land	Area cultivable land (acres)	Area left fallow	Percentage area to col. 8
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
1. Border area	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
2. Project area	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
3. General area	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Thus it is seen that of the owned land, at least [illegible] per cent in Border area, [illegible] per cent in Project area and [illegible] per cent in General area were left fallow.

Considering the number of families, it was found that in Border area villages as many as [illegible] families had either totally leased out or left fallow their owned land, the corresponding number for Project area and General area being only [illegible] and [illegible] respectively.

TABLE [illegible]

Distribution of farmers according to size and ownership

Size of farms	No. of farmers			
	Wholly owned	Wholly rented	Partly owned and partly rented	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
A. Smallholdings				
Small farms				
Less than 5 acres	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Medium farmers				
5 to less than 15 acres	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Large farmers				
15 acres & above	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
B. Peasant farms				
Small farms				
Less than 5 acres	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Medium farmers				
5 to less than 15 acres	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Large farmers				
15 acres & above	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

TABLE [illegible] (contd.)

[illegible] according to size and ownership

Size of farms	No. of farms			
	Wholly owned	Wholly rented	Partly owned and partly rented	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
C. Commercial farms—				
Small farms—				
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Medium farms—				
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Large farms—				
[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

TABLE D-7

Distribution of farms, farm by size and type of ownership

Area in acres

Size of farms			Wholly owned	Wholly rented	Partly Owned and partly rented: Owned area	Partly Owned and partly rented: Rented area	Partly Owned and partly rented: Total	Total owned area (3+5)	Total rented area (4+6)	Total (7+8)
(1)			(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
a. Specified sample—										
Small farms (Less than 5 acres)	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Medium farms (5 to less than 10 acres)	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Large farms (10 acres and above)	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
			[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

From the above table it is evident that in all the areas in each area group south, northern and high, a high proportion of the farms (i.e., in Land [illegible] per cent in Border area, [illegible] per cent in Project area and [illegible] per cent in General area) is wholly owned and the area owned by these wholly owned farms also constitute almost similar high proportions (i.e., [illegible] per cent in Border area, [illegible] per cent in Project area and [illegible] per cent in General area) of the farm area available in the respective village group. Owned area under all farms amounts to [illegible] acres ([illegible] per cent of the total farm area) in Border area, [illegible] acres, [illegible] per cent in Project area and [illegible] acres [illegible] per cent in General area. Of the total owned area, in Border area nearly [illegible] per cent is accounted by wholly owned farms and the rest by the partly owned farms. In Project area and General area respectively [illegible] per cent and [illegible] per cent of the total owned area are owned by wholly owned farms. Thus the area available for owning in Border area constitutes [illegible] per cent of the total farm land amounting to [illegible] acres of which [illegible] per cent is under wholly owned farms and [illegible] per cent under partly owned farms. In Project area total area available for owning constitutes [illegible] per cent (i.e., [illegible] acres) of the total farm area of which [illegible] per cent and [illegible] per cent respectively are under wholly owned and partly owned farms while in General area [illegible] per cent ([illegible] acres) of the total farm area are available for owning of which respectively [illegible] per cent and [illegible] per cent are owned by wholly owned and partly owned farms.

It is seen from Table [illegible], that total tented area in Border area, Project area and General area are respectively [illegible] acres, [illegible] acres and [illegible] acres. A comparison of these figures with the figures of land leased out as in Table [illegible] which are respectively [illegible] acres, [illegible] acres and [illegible] acres in the three areas, goes to show that some of the village lands taken on rent by the villagers belong to near neighbouring villages who live outside the village.

TABLE 1x7 (*concld.*)

(1)			(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
B. Pinajoni areas—										
Small Farmers (Less than 2 acres)	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Medium Farmers (2 to 5 acres, Less than 10 acres)	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Large Farmers (10 acres and above)	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
			[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
C. Gamwali areas—										
Small Farmers (Less than 2 acres)	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Medium Farmers (2 acres to less than 10 acres)	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Large Farmers (10 acres and above)	—	—	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
			[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

29: Assam G-5 (1958) 1963 AR7 Khasi AR7

10.6. Of the total of 799 farms in Border area, 70 per cent were wholly owned, 17 per cent were wholly rented and the remaining 7 per cent were partly owned and partly rented. In Project area, proportions of wholly owned, wholly rented and partly owned and partly rented farms were found to be 73 per cent, 11 per cent and 16 per cent respectively while those in General area were respectively 86 per cent, 4 per cent and 10 per cent of the total number of farms. Of the total farm area, owned area accounted for in Border area 83 per cent, in Project area, 85 per cent and in General area 91 per cent of the total farm area in the respective area. Of the total owned area, nearly 95 per cent in Border area, 92 per cent in Project area and 90 per cent in General area were covered by wholly owned farms and the rests by partly owned farms. Of the total rented area, in Border area, Project area and General area respectively 91 per cent, 49 per cent and 51 per cent are covered by wholly rented farms. 423 427

10.7. Out of 1046 families in Border area, 650, i.e. 62 per cent were indebted, average debt per family being Rs.157·94 nP. and that per indebted family being Rs.251·25 nP. In Project area out of 441 families 332, i.e., 30 per cent were indebted, average debt per family being Rs. 120·35 nP. and that per indebted family Rs.272·60 nP. In General area out of 104 families, 32, i.e. 29 per cent were indebted, average debt per family being Rs. 54·99 nP. and that per indebted family being Rs. 189·08 nP. of the total indebted families. Predominantly agricultural families constituted the highest proportion in all the three areas, being 98 per cent in Border area, 77 per cent in Project area and 90 per cent in General area accounting respectively for 97 per cent, 78 per cent and 99 per cent of the total amount of debt in the three areas. Majority of the loans were of small amount inasmuch as in Border area 98 per cent of the loans are of size less than Rs.500·00, average size of these loans being only Rs. 69·25 nP. In Project area 71 per cent and in General area 73 per cent of the loans are of size less than Rs. 200·00, average size of these loans being respectively Rs. 66·60 and Rs. 99·20 only. Of the total number of loans 67 per cent in Border area, 61 per cent in Project area and 90 per cent in General area were of less than 3 years standing. Majority of the loans in Border and Project areas were found to be incurred for productive purposes. In General area 53 per cent of the loans were contracted for maintenance of the family. 162 426

Government and other professional and semi-professional money lenders emerged out to be the predominant sources of rural credit. In Border area loans from Government constituted 82 per cent of the total number of loans accounting for 53 per cent of the total amount of loans followed by those from money lenders which worked out at 65 per cent of the total number of loans accounting for 41 per cent of the total amount of loan. In Project area and General area respectively 60 per cent and 78 per cent of the total number of loans accounting for 30 per cent and 34 per cent of the total amount of loan in the respective area were contracted from private money lenders while Government loans constituted in Project area 40 per cent and in General area 17 per cent of the total number of loans accounting respectively for 70 per cent and 61 per cent of the total amount of loan in the respective area. 426

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TABLE D-6.1

Distribution of farms according to size and ownership

Size of farm	Number of farms							
	Wholly owned	Wholly owned	Partly owned and partly rented	Total	Wholly owned	Wholly rented	Partly owned and partly rented	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Hardar Area								
1. Below 1/2 acre	21 (4·37)	..	—	21 (4·37)	3 (7·69)	3 (7·69)	—	6 (2·38)
2. 1/2 to 1/2 acre	27 (5·62)	1 (0·47)	..	28 (5·55)	—	2 (1·28)	..	2 (0·79)
3. 1/2 to 1 acre	58 (11·20)	..	6 (2·75)	64 (10·08)	2 (5·13)	18 (11·53)	..	20 (7·94)
4. 1 to 2 acres	56 (11·64)	1 (0·47)	8 (3·67)	65 (12·86)	13 (33·33)	20 (12·82)	2 (5·26)	35 (13·89)
5. 2 to 3 acres	59 (12·26)	2 (0·93)	3 (1·37)	64 (12·66)	19 (48·72)	18 (11·54)	6 (15·79)	43 (17·06)
Small Farms	219 (45·52)	4 (1·87)	9 (4·12)	231 (45·71)	37 (94·87)	61 (39·10)	6 (15·79)	104 (41·27)

TABLE D-6.1—*contd.*

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
6. 3 to 5 acres	86 (18·69)	8 (53·33)	3 (27·91)	99 (39·96)	21 (18·42)	19 (18·81)	8 (22·22)	48 (17·25)
7. 5 to 10 acres	95 (20·65)	2 (13·33)	6 (28·57)	102 (20·77)	27 (23·68)	24 (21·24)	14 (38·89)	65 (24·71)
Medium Farms	181 (39·60)	10 (4·93)	11 (3·45)	202 (100·00)	48 (42·48)	43 (38·02)	22 (19·47)	113 (100·00)
8. 10 to 25 acres	52 (11·52)	1 (6·67)	1 (4·76)	55 (11·68)	26 (22·81)	8 (7·96)	8 (22·22)	43 (16·35)
9. 25 to 50 acres	4 (0·87)	—	—	4 (0·81)	2 (1·76)	..	—	2 (0·76)
10. 50 and above	4 (0·87)	..	—	4 (0·81)	1 (0·88)	..	—	1 (0·38)
Large Farms	61 (13·41)	1 (0·79)	1 (0·80)	63 (100·00)	29 (63·04)	9 (19·57)	8 (17·39)	46 (100·00)
Total: —	490 (92·74)	15 (3·03)	21 (4·23)	496 (100·00)	114 (43·35)	111 (42·97)	36 (13·68)	263 (100·00)

Project Area

1. Below 1/3 acre ..	--	1	..	--	1 (0·60)	3	4	..	7 (2·01)
2. 1/3 to 1/2 acre --	--	--	--	..	..	5	1	...	6 (1·74)
3. 1/2 to 1 acre --	--	16	..	3	19 (11·33)	9	3	..	12 (3·46)
4. 1 to 2 acres ..	--	30	3	8	41 (24·55)	32	17	9	78 (22·67)
5. 2 to 5 acres --	--	29	1	4	34 (20·36)	51	14	15	80 (23·26)
Small Farms ..	..	76 (30·00)	4 (4·21)	15 (15·79)	95 (100·00)	120 (65·57)	39 (21·31)	24 (13·12)	183 (100·00)

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TABLE D-6.1—*contd.*

(1)			(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
6. 3 to 5 acres	—	—	29	...	8	37 (22·16)	55	10	9	74 (21·51)
7. 6 to 10 acres	—	—	21	—	4	25 (14·97)	56	3	8	67 (19·19)
Medium Farms	..	—	50 (80·65)	—	12 (19·35)	62 (100·00)	111 (78·72)	13 (9·22)	17 (12·06)	141 (100·00)
8. 10 to 25 acres	..	—	9	..	1	10 (5·98)	16	2	2	20 (5·81)
9. 25 to 50 acres	—	..	..	..	..	..	..	...	..	..
Large Farms	—	—	9 (90·00)	..	1 (10·00)	10 (100·00)	16 (80·00)	2 (10·00)	2 (10·00)	20 (100·00)
Total:		—	135 (80·84)	4 (2.40)	28 (16·76)	167 (100·00)	247 (71·80)	54 (15·70)	43 (12·50)	344 (100·00)

General Area

1. Below 1/3 acre	1	...	..	1 (1·11)	1	..	–	1 (1·23)	
2. 1/2 to 1/3 acre	1	–	..	1 (1·11)	..	...	..	..	
3. 1/2 to 1 acre	5	1	...	6 (6·66)	5	–	..	5 (6·17)	
4. 1 to 2 acres	17	1	7	25 (27·79)	12	2	1	15 (18·52)	
5. 2 to 8 acres	18	..	2	20 (22·22)	15	1	1	17 (20·99)	
Small Farms	(79·25)	2 (3·77)	9 (16·98)	53 (100·00)	33 (62·24)	3 (7·09)	2 (5·27)	38 (100·00)	

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TABLE D-6.1—*concld.*

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
6. 3 to 5 acres	25	..	1	26 (28·89)	19	1	1	21 (25·93)
7. 5 to 10 acres	11	—	..	11 (12·22)	10	1	3	14 (17·28)
Medium	36 (97·30)	—	1	37 (100·00)	29 (82·86)	2 (5·71)	4 (11·43)	35 (100·00)
8. 10 to 25 acres	..	..	..	—	7	—	1	8 (9·88)
Large	...	..	..	—	7 (87·50)	...	1 (12·50)	8 (100·00)
Total: ..	78 (86·67)	2 (2·22)	10 (11·11)	90 (100·00)	69 (85·19)	5 (6·17)	7 (8·64)	81 (100·00)

TABLE D-7.1

Distribution of farm area by size and type of ownership

Size of farm	Area in acre					Total owned area (2+4)	Total rented area (3+5)	Total (7+8)
	Wholly owned	Wholly rented	Partly owned and Partly rented					
			Owned area	Rented area	Total			
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
A. Border area								
1. Small Farms (less than 3 acres).	318.66	85.50	14.78	21.23	42.01	333.44	112.73	446.17
2. Medium Farm (3 to less than 10 acres).	1206.63	263.34	94.31	86.96	181.26	1300.94	350.29	1651.23
3. Large Farms (10 acres and above	1545.28	132.25	59.00	80.25	139.25	1604.28	212.50	1816.78
Total:	3070.57 (78.45)	481.09 (12.29)	168.09 (4.20)	194.43 (4.97)	362.52	3238.66 (82.74)	675.52 (17.26)	3914.18 (100.00)

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TABLE 19-7.1—*concld.*

(1)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	
B. Project area								
1. Small Farms (less than 10 acres).	305.12	59·29	28·47	41·58	70.05	393.59	100.00	434.46
2. Medium Farms (8 to less than 10 acres).	790.56	47·15	59·39	77.21	136.60	849.95	124.36	974.31
3. Large Farms (10 acres and above).	342.77	23·00	35·25	17.00	52.25	360.02	40.00	400.02
Total ...	1420·45 (78·53)	129·44 (7·16)	123·11 (6·81)	135.79 (7.50)	258.90 ..	1543.56 (85.34)	265.23 (14.66)	1808.79 (100·00)
C. General area								
1. Small Farms (less than 3 acres).	126·98	7·25	8.57	9·25	17.82	134·65	16·50	151·15
2. Medium Farms (3 to less than 10 acres).	300·97	8·00	7·73	16·26	28·57	307·80	24·86	332·66
3. Large Farms (10 acres and above).	80·60	..	4·00	8·00	12·00	84·00	8·00	92·00
Total: ..	506·45 (87.80)	15·25 (2·65)	20·30 (3·53)	34·11 (5·92)	54·39	526·45 (91·43)	49·36 (8·57)	575·81 (100·00)

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

435 439 at the rate of two or three ears for a farthing; and sugar-cane, the [243] cultivation of which is also very limited, at from a little over a farthing 273 to three-farthings per cane. A fermented liquor called *kadam*, made 435 from rice, is sold at from three-farthings to threepence a quart, according to strength; and a distilled spirit called *phatika*, or *kakiad-khrak*, at from threepence to fourpence-halfpenny a quart. This latter description of liquor is sometimes made very strong. No records exist by which the present prices of the above articles can [731] be compared with the rates ruling ten years ago. The maximum price of rice during the famine of 1866-67 was 5 *sers* 6 *chhatáks* for the rupee, or about £1 a hundredweight.

804 Measures, Weights, etc.—The Hill people have no proper 805 measurement of time or distance. If there be any standard for measuring distance, it is by the number of *páns* a man chews in the course of a journey, generally about one every half hour. In some parts of the District, land is measured by a stick called *ka dieng-nong*, varying in length from six to seven cubits. Liquids are measured in gourds of different measures, varying from half a *chhaták* to a *ser*, and also in bamboo tubes. Rice, potatoes, beans, etc. are measured in baskets, varying in size in different markets from two to eighty pounds.

805 In the Khásí Hills the inhabitants reckon eight days in the week, named as follows:—(1) Lyn-kah; (2) Nong-krem; (3) Um-long; (4) Rang-hep; (5) Shillong; (6) Pom-tih; (7) Um-nih; (8) Yeo-duh. In the Jáintiá Hills the eight days are named thus:—(1) Kyllao; (2) Pyn-sing; (3) Máo-long; (4) Máo-siang; (5) Máo-shai; (6) Pyn-kat; (7) Thym-blein; (8) Ka-hat. The Khásí months of the year, calculated by moons, are as follow:—(1) U Kylla lynkot; (2) U Rym-pang; (3) U Lyber; (4) U Laiong; (5) U Jimmang; (6) U Jilliw; (7) U Nai-túng; (8) U Nai-lar; (9) U Nai-lúr; (10) U Rysow; (11) U Nai-wing; (12) U Noh-prah.

464 Landless Labouring Classes.—There is, and always has been, 423 a large class of labourers in the District who neither rent nor possess any land. Women and children are employed in manual out-door labour of all kinds.

Varieties of Land Tenure can hardly be said to exist. There 423 is nothing whatever resembling the relations between landlord and [427] tenant throughout the Khásí Hills. The lands as a rule are either ancestral property or belong to village communities, and are cultivated under unwritten but well-understood agreements. Of the wide

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

extent of waste land, some is cultivated in a manner resembling the *jhum* system,—successive crops are grown on a patch of land till the soil is exhausted, and then another spot is selected, where the same process is repeated afresh, but without anything that can be called a *jhumid* tenure. Any renting of land is exceptional, and there are no recognised rates of rent. The Deputy-Commissioner, however, states that an ordinary rate for rented land would be from two to three shillings a year for as much land as an individual can cultivate with his own hands. 423 [427]

MANURE is generally used in raising rice and potatoes. It is seldom purchased, the dung and litter of the cattle and other animals about the house being generally utilised for the purpose. For rice fields a little less than half a ton of manure, but for potatoes upwards of two tons, is required per acre. Manure, if purchased, would cost from 2s. 7½d. to 3s. 9d. per acre for rice land, and for potato fields from 12s. to 18s. per acre. 243 244 [435]

IRRIGATION for agricultural purposes is regularly practised. Water is brought to the land by means of channels cut from the numerous hill streams in the neighbourhood of the fields. Wells and tanks are unknown. The work of irrigation by means of these channels is very easily carried on, and at a very trifling outlay. Rotation of crops is not practised in the Hills. 312

MODEL FARM.—The Shillong Model Farm, established in 1873, has not proved a success. Experiments tried with wheat give some hope that cold-weather crops may profitably be introduced into the Hills. Two new varieties of potato—'red roughs' and 'pheasant's eye'—were successfully introduced in 1873-74; but these are not looked upon favourably by the Khásiás, as they only give one crop in the year, whereas the ordinary variety yields two crops. Several fruit-trees have been planted out, including apple, pear, cherry, nectarine, and plum; and the tables of the European residents are supplied with vegetables from the garden attached to the farm. A *Manual of Potato Cultivation* compiled by the superintendent has been translated into Assamese, and copies have been distributed among the adjoining Hill tribes. The general failure in all the agricultural experiments is attributed partly to the unfitness of the soil, and still more to the ravages of white ants and other insects peculiar to the Hills. The attempts to improve the indigenous breeds of live stock have been equally unfortunate. During the two years 1874-76 the sum of Rs. 1744 177 244 648 654 177 245 648 654 [134] [136] 231 648 654

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or Mynnār, spoken in the extreme north, and there may be others. A great desideratum for linguistic purposes is a more adequate method of recording sounds, and especially differences of tone, than that adopted for the standard speech, which though sufficient for practical purposes, does not accurately represent either the quantity or the quality of the vowels, and leaves something to be desired as regards the consonants (especially those only faintly sounded or suppressed). These things, no doubt, will come in time. The immense advance which has been made in education by the Khasis during the last half-century has enabled some among them to appreciate the interesting field for exploration and study which their own country and people afford; and there is reason to hope that with European guidance the work of record will progress by the agency of indigenous students.

It remains to summarize briefly the principal distinctive features of this vigorous and sturdy race, who have preserved their independence and their ancestral institutions through many centuries in the face of the attractions offered by the alien forms of culture around them.

In the first place, their social organization presents one of the most perfect examples still surviving of matriarchal institutions, carried out with a logic and thoroughness which, to those accustomed to regard the status and authority of the father as the foundation of society, are exceedingly remarkable. Not only is the mother the head and source, and only bond of union of the family: in the most primitive part of the hills, the Synteng country, she is the only owner of real property, and through her alone is inheritance transmitted. The father has no kinship with his children, who belong to their mother's clan; what he earns goes

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643 liquor being subject to no fiscal restrictions whatsoever. In a
651 few States the Siems are commencing to levy registration fees,
443 but the amounts are insignificant. Judicial fines are divided between the chief and the members of the durbar. In some States the Siems' incomes amount to a few hundreds a year only. Generally speaking, the Khasi chiefs are necessarily a very impecunious set of persons, and many of them are in-
643 debted to, comparatively speaking, large amounts. The Siem
631 is appointed from the Siem family, there being such a family in each of the fifteen Khasi States. The most important States are Khyrim, Mylliem, Cherra, Nongstoin, and Nongkhlaw. There are a few other petty States presided over by Lyngdohs, Sirdars, or Wahadadars. A fact which is of universal application is, that heirship to the Siemship lies through the female side. The customary line of succession is uniform in all cases, except in Khyrim, save that in some instances cousins rank with brothers, or are preferred to
643 grand-nephews, instead of being postponed to them. The
428 difference between the rule of succession and the rule of inheritance to real property should be noted. In the former case the sons of the eldest uterine sister inherit in order of priority of birth, although it is true that this rule has sometimes been disregarded. In cases of succession to realty, however, the inheritance goes to the youngest daughter of the deceased's mother, and after her to her youngest daughter. In successions to the Siemships, in the absence of male heirs from the eldest sister the succession passes, by what has been aptly described as the "knight's move," to the male children of the next eldest sister. In Khyrim the custom of succession is peculiar, there being a High Priestess, and heirship being
643 limited to her male relatives. Generally speaking, it would
64 appear that succession was originally controlled by a small
773 electoral body constituted of the heads (*lyngdohs*) of certain priestly clans, who, it is presumed, exercised their authority to reject candidates, when necessary, mainly on religious grounds. There has, however, been a distinct tendency towards the broadening of the elective basis. In the large State of Khyrim the number of the electoral body has been greatly increased by the inclusion of the representative headmen of certain clans but not priestly clans (*mantris*).

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586 Khasi religion. If the marriage has been celebrated according to the *pynkier synjat* rite, a *kniang* (go-between) is necessary on each side, also the *kni*, or maternal uncles of the parties, to witness the divorce. In other cases the presence of the *kniang* is unnecessary, but some acquaintances and friends as well as the relatives on both sides should witness the ceremony. The husband and the wife each bring five cowries (*shài*), or, more commonly nowadays, five pice. The wife gives her five cowries or pice to her husband, who places them with his, and then returns the five cowries or coins to his wife, together with his own five. The wife then returns the ten shells or coins to the husband who throws them on the ground. A crier (*u nong*
[203] *pyrta shnong*) then goes round the village to proclaim the divorce, using the following words:—

"Kaw—hear, oh villagers, that U—— and K—— have become separated in the presence of the elders. Hei! thou, oh, young man, canst go and make love to Ka—— for she is now unmarried (*khynraw*), and thou, oh, spinster, canst make love to U——. Hei! there is no let or hindrance from henceforth." Among the Khasis divorce must be by mutual consent,
[587] and the ceremony must take place in the open air. Until the divorce ceremony has been performed as above described, neither husband nor wife can marry again, but after it has taken place, either can remarry, but not within the family of the divorced husband or wife. In the event of a husband or wife being absent for a long period, say ten years, without any communication having been received from either of them, a divorce ceremony is performed by the relatives on his or her behalf. It is stated by U Jeebon Roy * that the rule of
575 monogamy is not so strict for the husband as it is for the wife,
428 he can contract an informal alliance with another woman, the only prohibition being that she must not belong to the original wife's village. Such a wife is called *ka tynga tuh*, literally, stolen wife, in contradistinction to the legally married wife (*ka tynga tuei*). The children by the unmarried wife are called *ki khun khiar* (children from the top). By children from the top, is understood to mean children from the branches not from the root (*trai*) of the tree. Such children cannot claim ancestral property except in the war country.

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* See page 18, "Ka Xiam Khasi." (U Jeebon Roy.)

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INHERITANCE.

428 The Khasi and Synteng laws of inheritance are practically the same, although in some of the doloiships in the Jaintia Hills there are some slight differences. The Wár law of inheritance differs greatly from that of the Khasis, and the customs of the Bhois or Mikirs, who inhabit the Bhoi doloiship of the Jaintia Hills, are totally different from those of the Khasis, thereby supplying another link in the chain of evidence in support of the conclusion that the Bhois, or, more correctly speaking, the Mikirs, are of Bodo origin, and not Khasi or Mon-Anam. The Lynngams follow the Khasi law of inheritance. It will be convenient to describe the Khasi law first, and then to pass on to the special customs in vogue in the different doloiships in the Jaintia Hills, and, finally, to describe the Wár, Bhoi and Lynngam customs.

611 The Khasi saying is, "*long jaid na ka kynthei*" (from the
562 woman sprang the clan). The Khasis, when reckoning descent count from the mother only; they speak of a family of brothers and sisters, who are the great grandchildren of one great grandmother, as *shi kpoh*, which, being literally translated, is one womb, i.e. the issue of one womb. The man is nobody. If he is a brother, *u kur*, a brother being taken to mean an uterine brother, or a cousin-german, he will be lost to the family or clan directly he marries. If he be a husband, he is looked upon merely as *u shong kha*, a begetter. In some of the Wár villages a newly married man is spoken of by the bride's family as, "*u khun ki briew*," some one else's son. It is,
593 perhaps, somewhat of a paradox under the circumstances that
764 wives should address their husbands as "*kynrad*," or lord.
611 There is, however, no gainsaying the fact that the husband, at least in theory, is a stranger in his wife's home, and it is certain that he can take no part in the rites and ceremonies of his wife's family, and that his ashes after death can find no place within the wife's family tomb, except, in certain cases, amongst
794 the Syntengs. Further, the ceremonial religion amongst Khasis,
562 especially that of the home, is in the hands of the women. It is, therefore, perhaps not to be wondered at, considering the
428 important status assigned to women by the Khasis, that women

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should inherit the property and not men. The rule amongst the Khasis is that the youngest daughter "holds" the religion, "*ka bat ka niam.*" Her house is called, "*ka iing seng,*" and it is here that the members of the family assemble to witness her performance of the family ceremonies. Hers is, therefore, the largest share of the family property, because it is she whose duty it is to perform the family ceremonies, and propitiate the family ancestors. The other daughters, however, on their mother's death are entitled, each of them, to a share of their mother's property, although the youngest daughter gets the lion's share, e.g. the family jewellery, and the family house, and the greater part of what it contains. The youngest daughter cannot dispose of the house without the unanimous consent of her sisters. If the youngest daughter dies, she is succeeded by the next youngest daughter, and so on. All the daughters are bound to repair the house of the youngest daughter free of cost. In the event of the youngest daughter changing her religion, or committing an act of *sang*, or taboo, she loses her position in the family, and is succeeded by her next youngest sister, as in the case of a death. Failing daughters, inheritance would pass by the "knight's move" to the sister's youngest daughter, who would be succeeded by her youngest daughter, and so on. Failing sister's daughters succession would revert to the mother's sisters and their female descendants. In the Jaintia Hills the inheritance of all real property passes from mother to youngest daughter. No man in the uplands of the Jaintia Hills can possess landed property, unless it is self-acquired property. In the Jaintia Hills, if a man dies and leaves acquired property, his heir will be his mother, if alive, excluding wife, sons, and daughters. If the wife, however, undertakes not to re-marry, she will inherit half of her husband's property, which at her death will descend to her youngest daughter by him.

Amongst Khasis all property which has been acquired by a man before marriage is considered to belong to his mother; indeed it may be said to belong to the man's *kur*, or clan, such property being called by Khasis, "*ka mai iing kur*" (the earnings of the house of the clan). After marriage, if there are children, the case is different, provided that the property

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421 has been acquired by the man after marriage. Here the wife
428 and children would inherit the acquired property, the youngest daughter obtaining the largest share of such property on the death of the wife. If there were no daughter, the acquired property would be equally divided amongst the sons.

[127] The following examples of the Synteng law of inheritance
428 are taken from the exhaustive diaries recorded by the late Mr. Heath, who was for some years Sub-Divisional Officer of Jowai. In the Nongkli doloiship ancestral land passes from mother to her youngest daughter; again, if a youngest daughter who has so acquired dies, the next youngest in point of age succeeds. Should such direct female succession fail, the family tree has to be looked up for the nearest branch, in which the youngest female, or her youngest female descendant, succeeds. Thus, respecting ancestral land, the youngest daughter, or youngest female descendant of youngest female heir, is virtually heir to entailed property. If a woman dies leaving acquired property, her youngest daughter or youngest granddaughter of that youngest daughter succeeds to all. In default, next youngest daughter, and so on. In default of daughters, the youngest son inherits. A man can hardly, in any circumstances, possess ancestral land; his property must almost necessarily be self-acquired. If a man dies leaving acquired property, his heir will be his mother, if alive, excluding wife, sons, and daughters. If the wife undertakes, however, not to marry again, she will get half, which will descend to her youngest daughter by her deceased husband. The mother, who thus gets the whole or half of her son's property, leaves it to her youngest daughter, or youngest daughter of that daughter, and so on, as described above in the case of a woman leaving ancestral or acquired property. If there is no mother, the man's youngest sister stands next heir with the same right as her mother. If there is no mother or sister, then the sister's female descendants stand in the man's mother's place. If there are none of these, then the man's youngest daughter succeeds to all. Ancestral property
[425] cannot be alienated without the consent of all the heirs in the entail. A gift of self-acquired property to any amount can be made by a donor during his lifetime. Acquired property cannot, however, be left by will out of the course sanctioned by

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custom. In the Amwi doloiship a widow who consents to pay the costs of her husband's funeral, provided she agrees not to re-marry, inherits half of her husband's acquired property. 428 [589]

In the War country the children inherit both ancestral and acquired property in equal shares, both males and females, with the exception that the youngest daughter is given something in addition to her share, although not such a large share of the property as amongst the Khasis. Amongst the Mikir-Bhois, i.e. the Mikirs who inhabit the Bhoi doloiship of the Jaintia Hills, the law of inheritance is totally different from that of the Khasis, for males succeed to all property, whether ancestral or acquired. Thus, if a man dies, leaving son, mother, wife, and daughters, the son takes all. If there are several sons, they divide. If there are no sons, the property goes to the nearest male heir. If a woman dies, leaving husband and children, the husband takes all. If the husband is dead, and there are sons and daughters, the former inherit. The great difference in the custom of inheritance between Khasis and Bhois is, as I have already pointed out, part of the evidence that these people are of different origin.

The Lynngam law of inheritance is the same as that of the Khasis. The youngest daughter obtains the largest share of the ancestral property, the remainder being divided between the remaining daughters. The sons do not get any share. The rule is also said to apply with regard to acquired property.

ADOPTION.

Both Khasis and Syntengs observe a custom known as *'rap iing* (an abbreviation for *ia rap iing*, literally, to help the house). This is practically adoption. If in a family the female members have died out, the male members of the family are allowed by custom to call (*khot*) a girl from some other family, to act as *ka'rap iing*, and to perform the family religious ceremonies, and therefore to inherit the family ancestral property. The female so introduced into the family then takes her place as *ka khun khadduh*, or youngest daughter, and becomes the head of the house (*ka trai iing*). The 597 428

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The
597 adoption of a female obviates the family dying out (*iap duh*),
428 which to the Khasi is a very serious matter, inasmuch as there
764 will then be no one qualified to place the bones of its members within the family tomb (*ka ba thep shieng mawbah*), and to
597 perform the requisite funeral ceremonies. Amongst the Khasis no particular ceremonies are performed at the time of
262 adoption; but some of the Syntengs observe a religious cere-
782 mony which consists largely of a feast to the clans-folk, at which liquor, rice, dried fish, and ginger are partaken of. Before the feast commences, each clansman is provided with a small gourd (*u klong*) filled with liquor, a little of the latter is then thrown on the ground from the gourd, and the following words are uttered:—

"Oh, God! oh, Lord! oh, ruling king Biskurom, now the *pynrap iing* ceremony is about to be performed, let the ceremony be propitious, and let males and females (of the clan) increase in numbers, so that the clan may become great, and respected, and that intelligent male members may spring up." No such ceremony is, however, observed, it is understood, in the Nartiang and Raliang doloiships.

597 In the case of a family being *iap duh* (extinct), the family
428 property, according to Khasi custom, passes to the Siem. Therefore it is to the interest of the members of families to
421 adopt a female, when such necessity arises. As there is no religious ceremony which is compulsory to the Khasis on the occasion of an adoption, perhaps we are almost justified in concluding that in former times the adoption custom did not exist, more especially as the Khasis possess a special word, *iap duh*, for describing a family the females of which have all died out; and it is admittedly the custom for the Siem to succeed to the
177 property of such a family. The Synteng custom of *'rap iing*
797 may have been borrowed from the Hindus, when the Rajas of Jaintia became converts to that religion.

TENURE OF LAND AND LAWS REGARDING LAND.

423 Land in the Khasi Hills proper, i.e. land in the high plateau, is held somewhat differently from land in the Jaintia Hills and

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423 Thang khiew clan, and many others. It has been explained,
614 in a previous paragraph, how the clan grew out of the family. The clan lands originally, when population was sparse, were owned by families, but as the members of the family increased and a clan was formed, the lands became the property of the clan instead of the family. Such clan lands are properly demarcated by stone boundary marks. The manager of the clan lands is the *kni* (maternal uncle of the youngest daughter of the main family, or branch of the clan), whose house "*ka iing khadduh*," or last house, is the place for performing all the religious ceremonies of the clan, and is also called *ka iing seng*. All the members of the clan are, however, entitled
[425] to share in the produce of any of the clan lands they may cultivate. No clan lands can be alienated without the consent of a durbar of the whole clan.

423 *Iki kynti* are private lands which have been either acquired
428 by a man or woman individually, or, in the case of a woman, inherited from her mother; such lands must be entirely distinguished from the lands of the clan. In portions of the Jaintia Hills, if a man purchases a piece of land, at his death it passes to his mother, to the exclusion of his children; but in the Khasi Hills nowadays a man may leave such lands, provided they were acquired after marriage, either formally by will, or informally, to his children for their support. In land customs as well as other customs the Syntengs seem to preserve more closely than the Khasis what are probably the ancient usages of the race. It must be clearly understood, however, that all land acquired by inheritance must follow the Khasi law of entail, by which property descends from the mother to the youngest daughter, and again from the latter to her youngest daughter. Ancestral landed property must therefore be always owned by women. The male members of the family may cultivate such lands, but they must carry all the produce to the house of their mother, who will divide it amongst the members of the family. Daughters, other than youngest daughters, are entitled to maintenance from the produce of such family lands.

423 In the Jaintia Hills lands are classified as follows:—

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The above and other similar sacrifices to the gods of the State or divisions of the State may be said to be the communal religious duties of the *lyngdohs*. The duties of *lyngdohs* with reference to private persons may now be mentioned. When it is found that any two people have made an incestuous marriage, that is to say a marriage within the exogamous group of the *kur*, or clan, the parties at fault are taken before the *lyngdoh* by their clansmen, who request him to sacrifice in order to ward off the injurious effects of the *sang*, or taboo, of such a connection from the kinsfolk. On this occasion a pig is sacrificed to *u'lei lyngdoh* and a goat to *ka lei long raj*. The parties at fault are then outcasted. As mentioned in another place, the sin of incest admits of no expiation for the offenders themselves. In the Khyrim State, it is said by the *lyngdohs* themselves, although not by the Siem or the myntries, that they are the reversionary legatees of all the persons who die without leaving female heirs (*iap duh*). In other Siemships such property passes to the Siem. The *lyngdoh* of Nongkrem can also take possession of the property of persons who have been found to harbour an evil spirit (*jingbih*) in their houses. It appears that in such cases the house and furniture are burnt, as in the case of the *Taroh* superstition in the Jaintia Hills, the *lyngdoh*, however, taking possession of jewellery or anything else of value. The only practical service the *lyngdoh* renders in return is to build the afflicted person a new house; unless, indeed, we take into account the casting forth of the devil by the *lyngdoh*. Mr. Jenkins, of Shangpung, in the Jaintia Hills, writes: "Such is the belief of the people in the evil spirits, that they are completely under the influence of the priests and spend large sums of money in order to secure their favour. They live in constant dread lest by the least transgression or omission they should offend these avaricious men and so bring upon themselves the wrath of the demons." The influence of the *lyngdohs* over the people in the Jaintia Hills seems to be stronger than in the Khasi Hills. For instance, it came to my notice in Raliang that crops cannot be cut until the *lyngdoh* has seen them, in other words, until the *lyngdoh* has claimed and obtained his share of the produce. In many places, however, in the Khasi Hills the *lyngdoh* is much discredited, owing, no doubt, to the advance of Christianity & education.

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765 If any stream has to be crossed, a rough bridge is made of
764 branches and grass. This trail of leaves and the bridges are intended to guide the spirit of the deceased to the cairn. The person who carries the bones is not allowed to turn round, or to the right, or to the left, but must proceed straight to the cairn. On reaching it, a *nongknia*, or sacrificer, washes the bones three times and then places them in an earthen pot, tying up the mouth with a white cloth. Then, having taken three pieces of the hard yolk of an egg, three loaves of bread, the leg of the fowl, "*u'iar krad lynti*," and the lower jaw-bones of the animals which have been sacrificed, he places them inside the cairn and shuts the door. Eatables and
765 betel-nut are then placed on the top of the cairn. Early next
787 morning the relatives and friends go to the cairn with fresh food and water, and look about for new foot-prints, the idea being
[775] that from these foot-prints they can foretell future events. This they do until the third night after the cremation. During these three nights the front door of the house formerly occupied by the deceased is never closed, it being thought that the spirit may wish to return and visit its earthly abode. The whole family is moreover *sang*, or taboo, during this period, and no manner of work can be done. When the three nights are over, it is called the *lait ia*, i.e. the days (of mourning) are passed, and three eggs are broken to ascertain what was the cause of the death. After this the family goes to bathe, and
[783] the clothes and mats in the house are washed. When this has been done, the taboo is removed and the family can go to work. After a month a pig or a fowl is sacrificed, the ceremony
782 being called "*ai bam lait bnai*." It will be observed that *three*
765 seems to be the lucky number throughout these funeral
801 ceremonies. The number seems to bear a similar significance in other matters of Khasi ritual, e.g. the pouring out of libations, which is always done three times.

587 It is *sang* or taboo for a Khasi widow to re-marry within one
428 year from the death of her husband, there is a similar prohibition for a husband re-marrying; but such *sang* can be got over by the payment of a fine to the clan of the deceased. After the expiration of one year the fine is reduced in amount. Khasi widows do not as a rule re-marry, according to U Jeebon Roy,

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587 unless they have no female children, in which case the clan
428 urges them to re-marry, so that the chain of inheritance may not be broken, inheritance amongst the Khasis always passing in the female line.

CUSTOMS IN CONNECTION WITH DEATHS BY VIOLENCE OR ACCIDENT.

766 These customs are interesting enough to deserve a separate
782 description; they are as follows:—

If a man dies by the sword, before his body can be burnt,
776 a sacrifice of a black hen must be offered to *Ka Tyrut*, the goddess of death. The bones are then placed in a stone cairn. Again they are removed, and, after eggs have been broken, are taken to a river bank and there washed. If there is no river at hand, a tank is dug for the purpose, which is called *umkoi*. There are various such *umkois* in different parts of the district, e.g. near Raliang and Nartiang. A sacrifice of a goat is offered to the god *U Syngkai Bamon*, and a sow to *Ka Ramshandi*, both of whom are evil deities. Another sow is sacrificed to *Ka Tyrut*. After this the bones are placed in another newly-built cairn. The ceremony of placing the bones in one and
[787] then removing them to another cairn is usually performed three times; but unless the auspices, as deduced from the eggs, are favourable, the relatives must go on sacrificing and removing the bones until they are so. These ceremonies having been completed, they erect a flat table-stone, or *mawkynthei*, for the ghost of the departed to sit upon, and return home, where they propitiate their ancestors with offerings of food. In the case of the murdered victims of the *thlen* superstition the same ceremonies are observed. For people who have died by drowning, or been killed by wild animals, and for women who have died in child-birth, similar pujas are
766 offered, except that a sacrifice to *U Syngkai Bamon* does not take place. In the case of one who has died at a distance from
782 his home, e.g. in a foreign country, whose body has not been burnt in accordance with custom, and whose bones have not been collected, the members of his clan, or his children, take three or five seeds or cowries (*sbai*) to a place where three roads meet. Here they summon the spirit of the departed in a loud voice,

782 The Khasi also erect little platforms with little houses from long bamboo sticks in which food is served to the spirits of the woods and fields (to serve [siang-] actually means spread out, as one spreads out a carpet or as one spreads out leaves for serving rice on).

[789] But not only through making sacrifices do the Khasi try to propitiate the devils and thereby make them harmless. They even try it with violence. Thus, as mentioned above, they drive the cholera demoness out of the house with sticks. Also during a cremation they shoot three arrows to ward off evil spirits.

There are many ways of warding off evil spirits; or, for acquiring their help words, wishes, or curses are used, as, for example, during a match of arrow shooting, the watchers who stand by the target try to keep the arrows of the opponents from hitting the target by calling on some god (ksuid) and the more they shriek, the sooner they believe they will attain their purpose. They wish to influence the arrows of the opponents.

3. Taboos (sang)

784 The sang or taboos of the Khasi also belong
782 to superstition. Sang means the same as "sacrilegiously or most strictly forbidden." This sang can be traced back to totemistic views. Sang can be something for a single person, for a house (iing) or a family, for a sib and a whole race
[587 (jaid). If a man or a woman whose spouse has
428] died remarries, the sang is transferred to the relatives of the deceased man or woman. This "inheritance" of the sang is different according to the sib. By accepting the sang the inheritors must pay 11 of a [417] kaŵ or 7 1/2 of a kaŵ or 5 1/2 of a kaŵ. By kaŵ the number 1280 is actually understood. But it means, however, that

782 But those who use nine parts take in addition to those parts mentioned above two parts of the large intestine and of the small intestine and two parts of the appendix.

It is very hard to describe the sacrificial customs of the Khasi, i.e., to describe them quite exactly, as it is made differently in many cases. And even in the same case, for example for the same sickness or the same trouble, the sacrifices are made differently. One can readily see that in the fact that some use five parts of the sacrificed animal, some even seven parts and others again nine parts. Similar differences occur all along the line. For all cases the "piece" (dykhot) and the "sour thing" (lamjew), as well as "liquor" (iad) are sacrificed.

The method of the sacrifice depends on the relatives, that is on what the custom of the sib is. The youngest daughter is the [428] heiress of the wealth, but she is also the one who is responsible for the sacrificial rites of the sib. It is her duty to preserve the sacrificial rite which was always customary in the family (ha iing). The sacrificer (u synniang) conducts himself according to her instructions. Often many sacrificers are needed, for example at a time of plague or general trouble. Since there are now not too many sacrificers who understand the matter well, many desired sacrifices are omitted. Because of that, the Khasi believe that the rooster (u siar u shan) lives again, because of that the u longduh u longsam (evil spirit) lives again, because of that the Tyrut and the Smer live again, i.e., the evil demonic influences of these spirits become influential again through the neglect of the sacrifices.

After a while a young Khasi with such advanced views married /302/ into the family clan Umliang. Meanwhile 40 years had passed. The old father U Shai was already dead. The piece of land planted by him, as it was not actually family property, according to the special customs of the War had passed on not only to the youngest daughter but also to his son Jacob U Shai and his sisters. On their side they had helped their father in the clearing of the forest. The siblings were Catholic. The young man mentioned above brought a legal complaint against the siblings before the English government official in Jowai a few years ago: the forest made arable by Jacon U Shai and transformed into a fruit orchard had been illegally acquired and is the property of the clan of his wife; he demanded a piece of the land back for the family Umliang and for the other piece a corresponding annual rent must be paid.

In reply the siblings Shai could claim that the affair was past the legal time limit. According to tribal custom the time limit on small matters was 10 years, for greater matters 30 years. In addition the main point on their side was that the piece of land in question was khlau sang, forest of the gods, and the family Umliang could not ask anything for it. For this the Shai siblings lacked witnesses, whereas the Umliangs produced several heathen witnesses for the simple declaration of the right of possession. The case was long drawn out. It was finally decided against the Shai siblings and they were declared deprived of the property. The missionary P. Benedikt Neher now concerned himself with the affair. He brought more than 100 witnesses, all clan mothers or village elders, who were ready to swear that that piece of land was a forest of the gods as long as man could remember. The English judge, whom he informed of this, decided that this was a basis for proposing a revision and change of the judgment, but the Shai siblings had lost all their money in the previous trial to petrifogging lawyers and did not have the spirit to begin again. With oriental equanimity they accepted the loss and thus the affair remained.

/303/ The case is instructive anyway, insofar as it shows that the so-called holy forests are also found in the possession of individual family clans; how they are valued by them as long as they remain faithful to their animistic views and how they are able to make their right of possession to them valid even after years.

3. Customs Concerning the Right of Inheritance

When the clan mother dies, the youngest daughter always receives the inheritance among the Khasi. If for any reason the youngest daughter cannot take possession, her next youngest sister follows. If there are

428 613 no girls, only sons, the inheritance passes to the youngest daughter of the sister of the deceased clan mother. If there are no such sisters or if they have no daughters, the nearest, youngest female relative is next in line. If she has not lived in the family clan of the deceased up to now, she must first spend at least 3 months in the hut of the clan mother in order to be able to enter into her rights and duties. In such cases usually the successor to the office is taken into the hut previously by the clan mother and prepared for the later activity. It can happen that the successor is not even 13 years old and therefore is not of age and capable of marrying. In this case the mother or a sister of the deceased clan mother manages the rule and the household until the majority of the inheritress. But even as a child the latter has the honored name mother; she is called kmie or kmie san.

The great principle, which determines all conditions of inheritance, is that the sons and husbands are excluded from all family property, which is always passed on to the girls, the female world. But what if a fellow or a man creates or acquires property? The case is possible and also occurs.

428 556 /304/ As mentioned, each person must help with the work in his own family clan in order to have a claim on care from the common property. Between sowing the rice and the harvest and other possible common labors there are still many days and weeks. Instead of [464] spending these with archery, hunting or the popular shong kai, or loafing around, a young man can earn money by cutting wood for others and carrying loads for native traders or also for Europeans, since in the mountains nearly everything has to be carried on the back. He can also do work in the fields or gardens for pay for others outside his clan or carry on a small trade by buying wares at the market such as dried fish, betel nuts, pepper leaves and such, and carrying them a few days' journey away to the markets in the interior of the mountains where these items are not otherwise available and selling them there for a profit. What the man earns in this fashion is his property and is not counted as part of the clan property. An industrious man can thus gradually earn enough money to rent a rice field. Through sale of the surplus crop, he will finally have enough so that he is able to buy a rice field himself, which is also 428 his property. If such a man dies unmarried, the inheritance passes to his mother. If he is married then he can, if he wishes, found a clan property for his family who may be poor and without property. The property will then pass to the youngest daughter and be passed on then in the usual manner of inheritance. Thus everything finally

returns to the hands of the women. 428

The following example may explain the customs involved here and further sift them out even though it scarcely throws a pleasant light on the dissensions which have been introduced among the Khasi people as a result of the divisions of the various Christian religions which are striving for their conversion.

In the village Kyndongtupér, a man had gradually acquired some 428
property for himself with 15 oxen and cows, /305/ a decent hut and 797
furnishings and 3 beautiful rice fields, large enough to sustain a family 613
clan. After his death the youngest daughter of his sister, named Ka Pliang Shai Syndūr, was considered the valid heiress. She was still under age and her mother was already dead. As a result a sister of this mother, named Ka Pliang Shai (11)took over the management

11. Pan and Syndur are Khasi names; Pliang Shai is the name of the family, clan; literal meaning: shining plate.

of the inheritance and lived with the little heiress in the clan hut. There was no doubt that the latter would receive the entire property after she reached her majority. After a while, a young Catholic, U Salomon Taruh, wooed for Syndūr's hand. Thereupon the older sib- 428
lings, a brother and a sister, both of whom belonged to the Methodist 797
Church, became enraged. In spite of all the hostility, the young girl 671
stuck to her decision, married Taruh and became Catholic. The 613
young married couple had to flee from the clan hut because of the anger of the siblings. The latter sought to have the sister disinherited, but the other relatives involved would have nothing to do with this. They were so carried away by their anger that they did what was considered a crime even in the eyes of the heathen: they drove the cattle away secretly and sold it; likewise they cleared out the clan hut and even sold two rice fields. On complaint to the competent court, Syndūr was finally granted her right; she could take over the clan hut and the family property which was meanwhile greatly diminished.

Although the Khasi who have been converted to Christianity do not need to be bound by the laws of succession in inheritance and although this is often recognized by the heathen Khasi, there is no hindrance put in their way by the Catholic Church to following their native tribal customs in this matter. The Catholic Khasi themselves do not wish to deviate from them: /306/ a dogged attachment to ancient customs and a respect for them are in their blood. Here are a few examples.

In Nongbah the Catholic clan mother ka Johanna Sunah, wife of U Andreas Tubru, died without leaving any female descendants. It would

428 have been understood if the only son U Johannes Sunah, according
797 to the ruling custom of Christians elsewhere, had claimed the con-
671 siderable inheritance of rice fields, forest, and huts. A serious ob-
613 jection would not have been expected either from the officials or the relatives. Johannes was also spoken to about it in this fashion, but in vain. He could not conquer the inner revulsion of acting against ancient tribal customs for a temporal advantage. His simple answer was: "If I am a good Catholic, God will bless me in other ways without my going against our ancient customs." And so matters stood. The whole property went to the youngest daughter of the sister of the deceased; this branch of the family was still heathen. Through industry and economy Johannes finally acquired his own household with a goodly piece of land.

The Catholic Khasi even get rid of possessions readily which they already possess if the tribal customs demand it. It happened unfortunately several years ago that both the wife of the chief teacher of the Catholic Khasi public school in Shillong, U Thomas Byllun, as well as the wife of the cook of the mission station there, U Sebastian Shiah, were both carried away by death within a short time. Both men had acquired very nice property by their industry. According to Khasi law they had no further claims on their children who were still quite small. They belonged to the clan of their deceased wives and had to be taken by them and raised. According to Khasi law, the property that they had acquired also passed to the youngest daughter. Willingly each of them handed over the children and the interim management of the property to the relatives of the deceased wives, took the few clothes and purely personal possessions /307/ with them and sought to begin again from the beginning in the rented half of a hut. To my question, whether that had been hard for them, they answered with quiet matter-of-factness: "But that is the custom among us Khasi."

It is not necessary to emphasize especially that such respect for the tribal customs has made only a favorable impression on the Khasi who are still heathen.

Gurdon relates (12) that the clan mother loses her position in the

12. The Khasis, p. 83.

family when she changes her religion, for example at her conversion to Christianity, and that the youngest daughter takes her place. The justification for this lies in the fact that she then no longer belongs to the religion and cannot offer the customary family sacrifices.

Because of her whole position as guardian of the inherited religion and 428
customs, it is not frequent that such a woman breaks with the ancestor 613
cult. If this does happen, it does not necessarily mean that she loses 797
the entire property. That depends really on the position the other 671
members of the family take. If they are all still firm heathens, who wish to have nothing to do with Christianity, they can force the clan mother to give everything up. The high respect for her is frequently so great, however, that either the whole clan or at least a part of it decides to take the same step and change religions with the clan mother. The part that remains heathen will certainly propose a division of the family property. This is also possible in other cases.

4. Division of the Family Property.

Although it is rare, the weal and woe of a family-clan can re- 613
quire that a family-clan be split into two clans /Clan/ and that a 578
division of the common property be undertaken. The basis for this is 688
if the family /Geschlecht/ becomes too big, if the elders in the family council /308/ are no longer united and hate and revenge threaten to destroy, if a part of the clan /Clan/ tries to seize the better fields by violence and refuses to deliver the harvest for the common need, if one branch has brought the whole clan /Sippe/ dishonor and shame by false oaths, incest, revenge, treachery or some other severe crime. Only the guilty party will be excluded from the clan /Clan/ in such cases, if he remains stubborn and impenitent. But if he begs for forgiveness with his lips and participates in the expiatory sacrifice, forgiveness will not be refused him. But a certain inner tension and bad feeling often remain behind.

At the conversion to another religion, it often depends on how the 797
clan mother and also the family elders are inclined towards the re- 428
ligion in question, and also on who is changing religions. If it is only 425
brothers, sons, nephews, or grandsons, of the clan mother, a division 613
is out of the question, since the men are not capable of inheriting. But if it is the youngest or next youngest daughter or even the sister of the clan mother, then a division of property can be undertaken. A clan mother after all is so attached to her child or her nearest blood relatives that she would not like to push them entirely away from herself unless she were completely set against the religion in question and angered. If that should be so in individual cases, the heiress concerned will still consider, whether it is not more advisable to wait to change her religion until the clan mother has closed her eyes and she then has free play. Then that which was mentioned at the conclusion of the previous section can occur.

8: Gurdon G-3 (no date) 1904 AR7 Khasi AR7

—the *Shyngkup*, or porch, being flush with the ground. The *nengpei*, or 342
centre room, is approached by a flight of steps. There are no windows, except one, which is bored on one side to admit light and air,—this is called the *pongshai*. Both Khasis and Syntengs, like other Indo-Chinese 524
races, are much addicted to gambling, and drinking to excess is a 273
national vice. Christianity has, through the agency of the Welsh Cal- 797
vinistic Mission, gained a very striking extension, and may be said in- 177
deed to be leavening the whole nation. Schools are numerous, and are pretty well attended by girls as well as boys. The Christians, and those who have come under the influence of Christianity, have adopted a high standard of comfort, and their houses resemble English cottages more nearly than the huts with which one is familiar in India.

Agriculture.—The Khasis do not use the plough; they cultivate their 241
fields with a peculiar-shaped hoe, or *mohkhiew*. They cultivate rice in the valleys, the rice being sown broadcast and the fields irrigated often after considerable labour. They also cultivate hill rice on the uplands, which they sow broadcast. The potato, which was introduced into the [177]
Khasi Hills by Mr. David Scott about the [439]
year 1830,[1] is extensively cultivated and forms one of the principal articles of export. Job's-tears (*Coix lachryma*), several kinds of millet, Indian-corn, the *Sohphlang* (*Flemingia vestita*), are also largely cultivated. The valleys on the 245
southern slopes of the hills have extensive orange groves, the oranges, especially those grown in the neighbourhood of Shella, being famous for their quality. The betel, vine, and areca nut are also largely grown on the southern side of the hills and in the low valleys, these plantations being irrigated by elaborate systems of aqueducts. The leaf of the bay tree (*'latyrpad*) is collected, and is exported to the Sylhet plains. The [439]
Syntengs differ from the Khasis, in that they make use of the plough. Both Khasis and Syntengs are industrious cultivators, and they possess a certain rough and ready knowledge of the uses of manure. A more detailed description of agriculture in these hills will be given in the monograph.

[1] Khasi and Jaintia Hills Administration Report for 1875-76 by Colonel Bivar.

2. *Matriarchal customs and law of inheritance of property.*—The 611
mother is the head of the house, and is both owner and the custodian of 428
the family property as long as she lives. Males can own no property amongst either Khasis or Syntengs except self-acquired property. On the death of the mother, in the case of the Khasis, the family property passes to the youngest daughter. According to some authorities, however, the property would in practice be divided amongst all the surviving daughters. Failing daughters, the property passes to the youngest niece, and failing a niece, to the youngest female cousin. The same

St Gordon G-3 (no date) 1904 AR7 Khasi AR7

611 custom prevails amongst the Syntengs. Inheritance to the post of Siem
428 (or chief) also passes through the female line, there being special customs of inheritance for each of the different chiefships.

3. The Khasis are divided into clans, or *kur*. These clans are
614 strictly exogamous. Some of these clans derive their names from animals, insects, trees or fish,—*e.g.*, the *tham* clan, *tham* meaning a crab; the *shrieh* clan, *shrieh* meaning a monkey; the *rani* clan, so called from a fish by name *rani*; the *diengdoh* clan, *diengdoh* meaning a certain tree. There are other instances also. In each instances, the clan is said to have sprung from the animal, fish, or tree, as the case may be. There thus appears to be a trace of totemism amongst the Khasis, although now-a-days their totems are not worshipped, nor do people abstain from killing, eating, or utilising them. A man when he marries does not cease to belong to the *kur* or family of his mother, but his children belong to the *kur* of the man's wife. Frequently the husband merely visits his wife at her mother's house. It is seldom the case that a man takes his wife to his own house, certainly not until several children have been born.

As might be expected, owing to the influence of the marriarchate,
562 Khasi and Synteng women enjoy a much greater share of liberty than is usually the case with the sex. Although not wishing to make any general insinuations, there can be no doubt that Khasi women enjoy considerable freedom in their sexual relations. Women do all the trading, and like their Manipuri sisters make all the bazar purchases.

4. *Ancestor worship.*—The Khasis propitiate *Ka Iawbei*, the first
769 maternal ancestress of the clan, by sacrificing a pig; they also sacrifice yearly to *U Suidnia* (the departed maternal great-uncle). Also when a family is in trouble, *U Thawlang* (the departed great-grandfather) is propitiated. Ancestors are further worshipped by the erection of memorial stones. These memorial stones will be noticed separately.

5. *Birth customs.*—At the birth the navel of a child must not be
844 severed by any instrument made of iron or steel, but by a sharp splinter of bamboo. The placenta is placed in a pot and is kept inside the house till the ceremony of naming the child takes place. As long as the placenta remains in the house, the latter is *sang*, or taboo, to anyone except the members of the family. On the day of the ceremony of naming the child, the father removes the placenta and buries it outside the house. Having done this, the feet of the father are washed with water before he re-enters the house. When the ceremony takes place, powdered rice is placed on a sieve (*u prah*) and a small bow and three arrows if the child is a male, and a *weit* (or *da*) and a star or (cane strap) (worn across the forehead when carrying a load by the Khasis), if the child is a female.

[p.19]

CHAPTER II

Descent, among Khasis, is counted through the mother; residence is also matrilocal. A woman lives with her mother from her birth until some time after her marriage. After one or two children have been born her husband may build for his family a house on the village land, in the village of the wife; this house becomes her property. The ancestral house goes to the youngest daughter. In the absence of a daughter the next youngest sister's youngest daughter becomes the heiress. Rarely, a man will take his wife to his mother's village. This case will be considered later.

A man is born, in the house of the mother's mother, or if the parents have built a separate house, in the house of his mother. He continues to live there until his marriage, when he generally goes to live in the wife's mother's house, whether it is in the same village or a different village.

The mynsi U Subu Rai married in the village of Mawphlang, where his mother also lived, and built the house, which is known as his house. It is, technically, the property of his wife Ka Shyngoh and will be inherited by Ka Dhoiben, and thereafter, by Ka Eliotina. The house of U Subu Rai's mother, Ka Jin has been inherited by Ka Eiriben, and will go in the next generation to Ka Pyn. If the latter has no daughters, the property will go to Ka Drei and failing her heiress, to Ka Flow and then to Ka Lamih. If she has no issue, it will pass to her sister Ka Lasok and so on to Ka Lajor. If Ka Lajor has no daughters, the property will go to Ka Jem's family to her youngest daughter Ka Aiben. As she has only sons, the next heiress will be Ka Symon, and if she predeceases Ka Aiben or has no daughters, the girl Ka Riwlem will inherit next. If

428 she does not have any daughter, the property will pass to the female descendants of sisters of Ka Long, as her elder sisters Ka Leimon and Ka Leiban have left no daughters. It is therefore necessary to distinguish carefully between an elder and a younger sister, and also similarly between sisters of the mother. The generation of the women of the same house and extended family requires to be noted with care.

The youngest daughter and heiress is termed the Ka Khadduh. As Gantlin remarks the "Ka Khadduh is the custodian of the family property, not the full heir in the sense known to other systems of law, but a limited heir. She is
[64 responsible for the performance of religious ceremonies.....; she cremates her mother, and if she be Ka Khadduh of the whole family, she puts the bones of all members in their final resting place under the stone (mawbah) of the clan. The expenses of this ceremony are considerable and for this reason she gets a larger share of property, or in some cases a piece of family property in addition and apart from her separate share. Members of the family who are unable to earn for themselves and have no children to earn for them have the right of being fed at the ing-Khadduh" (house of the heiress).

429 The management of the property is however vested in the men of the family. The ancestral property of the family of myatri U Subu Rai's mother was under the management of U Joi, in his mother's life-time; then, on the death U Joi, the next brother U Doi became manager. After U Doi, the management came to U Subu Rai. After him, the authority will pass to U Hojen, as U Sumbuni is dead and then to U Nodem. Any sons of Ka Pres and other sisters will not get any precedence over U Nodem. As the senior U Kni of the Iaughlah Kur, U Subu Rai is also the manager of the common property of the Kur.
[427] This land has been leased out to various persons and the total income is divided among the different houses of the Kur.
431 Whenever there is money to be distributed U Subu Rai calls together all the representatives of the Iaughlah houses and

Ik Chattopadhyay 3-4, 5 (no date) 1941 AR7 Khasi AR7

divides equally. U Subu Rai explained that each house counted as a separate unit. Thus if Ka Jem, Ka Jin and all their daughters were alive, the married daughters who lived in a separate house, namely, Ka Laimon, Ka Laibon, Ka Aimon and Ka Hoiman of Ka Jem's house, and Ka Phre of Ka Jin's line, would each get a share. But Ka Jem and her Ka Khadduh Ka Aibon who lives in the mother's house would get only one share. So would Ka Jin, Ka Eiribon and the unmarried daughters of the latter. The descendants of Ka Lung would get seven equal shares for distribution to each house, and not two shares first, divided later into shares corresponding to the number of daughters for Ka Jem's and Ka Jin's house. The manager does not get any share of the collections. Authority [429] [428] for the management of the ancestral property therefore passes from one male to another, in the extended family, and the Kur, in a manner which necessitates a clear distinction of seniority and juniority of brothers, among themselves and also of sisters with regard to brothers.

The case of succession is similar. Gurdon notes that the Siemship in Mylliem State passes from a man to his next brother, and "failing such brothers, by the eldest of his sisters' sons; failing such nephews by the eldest of the sons of his sisters' daughters; failing such grand nephews by the eldest of the sons of his mother's sisters" and so forth in the female line. In Nongkrem, the son or similar male relative of the High Priestess becomes by delegation a Siem. The office of the High Priestess passes from a woman to her eldest surviving daughter; and failing daughters to the eldest daughter of her eldest daughter; failing daughters of her eldest daughter, to the eldest daughter of her second daughter, and so on. This is the customary line of succession, and is stated by Gurdon to be "uniform in all cases" practically.

Neither levirate, nor sororate are practised by the Khasis. Widows are stated (G) quite often not to remarry if there are daughters. There is no question of the control of the property

13: Mukherjee E-5 (1954)1958 AR7 Khasi AR7

596 extended form more often when the children of the deceased sisters of *Ka-khadduh* reside there. This extension is on the mother's side and is affiliated through the extension of mother-child relationship.

Additional members like widower brothers or widowed sisters make the Khasi family a composite one.

In a Khasi family father, mother and her brother are very important. Father who is regard[1] as *Mynder* (stranger) or *Ushong kha* (begetter), has also the position of *Kynrad* (master) of the house (set-up by him). He is the executive head and the mother is the *dejure* owner of the household.

177 178 604 593 [428] Modern conditions and spread of Christianity have greatly affected the Khasi society and changed the Khasi ways of life but have failed to alter the traditional mode of inheritance even among the Christian Khasis. Another important fact which is apparent in the Khasi families, is the change of the status of the mother's brother (*Uknii*) in his sister's house. His influence has greatly been diminished due to clash with *Ka-Khadduh* (heiress). He has almost lost his control over his sister's [562] family. This has made the women exert their status to a danger point. Consequently, some amount of maladjustment in the relationship system, moral depravity and disintegration loom large in the family horizon.

596 613 Family is the core of Khasi social organization and the closeness of familial kin with the members of the sub-clan is due more to the fact that sub-clan owes its development to the family. A *Shi-K'poh* (member of sub-clan) is a secondary relative and can easily be approached for any help.

614 The functions of the above mentioned social groupings are as follows :

Clan (*Ka-Kur*)—It regulates marriage. It being a larger non-residential kin group contact between its members is infrequent. The amount of social participation needed on certain level to intensify the relationship among its members falls far short of. But nevertheless, there existed among the members

614 764

[1] [Should read: regarded.—Analyst]

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

178 lands is the *kni* (maternal uncle of the youngest daughter of the main family,
423 or branch of the clan), whose house '*ka iing khadduh*,' or last house, is the place
614 for performing all the religious ceremonies of the clan, and is also called *ka iig seng*. All the members of the clan are, however, entitled to share in the produce of any of the clan lands they may cultivate. No clan lands can be alienated without the consent of a durbar of the whole clan" (Gurdon, 1914, p. 88).

178 Theoretically we can assume that the land was owned by the family
423 (precisely, *iing*, the matrilineal descent group at the lowest segmentation, the structure of which will be discussed later) who first claimed
428 the right to the land, and was managed by the maternal uncle of the
614 youngest daughter, the heiress entitled to the property. In course of time, with the increase of the descent members and with fissions of the descent group, this land was inherited through the youngest daughter's line, but other members who had become segments of the main descent group had a right to use the land, so long as they remained in the same area. Newcomers who belonged to another clan were not granted the same right and had to pay rent. According to the information I was able to collect, even people of the same clan could not claim the right to use the land, unless they were the direct matrilineal descendants of the women who first owned the land. In this sense, the descent group solidarity at a lower level is much stronger than that of the Garo.

Therefore, newly possessed or purchased land is always owned by the individual family (*iing*, descent group). This Khasi conception of land ownership produces a picture of predominant private ownership of land, combined with high geographical mobility of the population (see p. 112). In such circumstances, it seems that even the land called "clan land" has been alienated or sold frequently, and has developed small holdings to suit the small segments of descent groups. In particular, when the entitled owner moved away to another area, the land was sold. For instance, in Sohkynduh, the maternal uncle of Sor (mentioned above) purchased the land indicated above about ten years ago from a family of Siem Lyngngoh who left for another village. This land was originally purchased by the Siem Lyngngoh from the Dkhar to whom the land belonged as part of the clan land.

Under this system, clan ownership of land can develop only (1) when the members of the descent group remain in the same community for a considerable period and (2) when there is sufficient land to acco-
178 modate all members. I think these are the main reasons why land-
423 holding at present among the Khasi is found to be in small descent groups—in one household as in Kongton in most cases, and this I call
428 private ownership. For the second reason, further explanation is

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

necessary. The chances of acquiring a piece of land nowadays are small, except for very successful men, and usually the size of the plot is only just enough to maintain one household. When this land is passed on to the next generation, the youngest daughter will hold the title to it. This fact tends to exclude married elder sisters from the right to use the land, since it is not sufficient for more than one household. Thus the ultimogeniture succession rule seems to have developed more sharply and to have encouraged limited inheritance in conjunction with the shortage of land. 178 423 428

This tendency creates unbalance in the economy of the households within a community. It is a usual picture in Khasi villages, for the bigger and well-built houses to be occupied by the youngest daughter's family, while the elder sisters reside in poor huts. Youngest daughters are usually landowners, while their elder sisters have often to become day-labourers after their marriage, unless their husbands are capable men, or their fathers wealthy enough to give them some share of their acquired property. On the whole, the variations at present between rich and poor are considerable in a Khasi community, in comparison with that of the Garo, where the economic condition of each household in a village is more or less similar. These differences are not only a matter of economic organization but arise from the nature of each social structure. 178 184 423 428 556 [171]

The economic and social patterns of Sohkynduh and Kongton are very similar, but their dialects are slightly different: my interpreter, who came from Cherrapunje, could work quite well at Sohkynduh, but at Kongton he found some difficulty, especially with the speech of the old men, and with their religious expressions. The head man of Kongton, who was quite accustomed to the Cherra dialect, acted as an interpreter for us. Such differences in dialect in the Khasi Hills are common phenomena; it is said that every valley has its own dialect. Differences are found not only in speaking, but also, to a certain extent, in culture and in social usages. 197 [124]

II. Village Endogamy

One of the outstanding features of Khasi social organization is the predominant tendency of endogamy on the level of the village, which contrasts with the structural orientation of the Garo village exogamy. This is closely connected with the distributions of clans and the nature of the descent groups. 582 621 [171]

The Khasi population consists of a number of *kur*, matrilineal clans, whose members consider themselves to be descended from a common ancestress. The members of the same *kur* have a common 614 [765] [769]

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

society? Among the matrilineal Central Bantus, Richards says that 591
the determining factor in residence at marriage is the marriage payment
or the type of goods and services which the bridegroom gives (Richards,
1950, p. 249). However, the Khasi have no such custom in the mar-
riage contract, it is therefore out of the question to explain the two
types of residence in this way. In the case of the Khasi, the determin- 182
ing factor is the type of marriage with relation to the rule of inheritance 428
and ownership of property, which is clearly related to the structure
of the *iing*. Khasi marriages can be divided into two categories i.e., 581
marriage with an heiress and with a non-heiress. Marriages with an 591
heiress must be uxorilocal. This accounts for category 1 or 3 of the 602
household pattern. On the other hand, marriages with a non-heiress 613
become neolocal and correspond to category 4 of the household unit.

IV. Marriage with the Heiress

A man married to an heiress, usually lives with his wife's parents 182
and her unmarried or divorced brothers and sisters. For a man, life 428
after marriage under such circumstances require great adjustment
and endurance. The husband's status is especially weak when a male 591
member of the wife's kin lives in the same household. The manage- 592
ment of property and all economic activities are entirely controlled 593
by the authority (wife's brother or maternal uncle) of the *iing*. The 602
husband works in the wife's field under constant supervision from 604
this authority. Both economic activities and domestic affairs are 613
always under the management of this authority. The children have
more attachment to, and are more obedient to, the maternal uncle
than to the father. The tie between the uncle and the nephew is so
strong that the father is rather like an additional member of the
household. He is the last person to be introduced to visitors. [574]

This family system is clearly reflected in the daily behaviour. 123
When we visited the Khasi household of a youngest daughter, if a 574
man (obviously the husband) came first to greet us, he always said
"please wait, my wife (or mother-in-law) is coming." And it was 592
the wife who entertained us, offering tea or pan and discussing matters 593
with us, while her husband remained silent in the corner of the room, 602
or in the next room. If her uncle or brother was there, *he* would be 604
the person who talked to us, while his niece or sister served us. In
such a case, we were seldom introduced to the husband. When I was
working at Shella, I happened to stay in such a family. I had hardly
any opportunity to talk to the husband during the two weeks of my
stay. He left the house very early in the morning and came back 592
late in the evening from the fields. While he was at home, he was 593
604

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

592 always somewhat outside the family conversation which was centred
593 on the maternal uncle and his sisters, nephews and nieces, by whom
604 I was well taken care of. This is somewhat similar to the situation amongst the Cewa and the Yao of the Central Bantus, which have what Richard calls 'the detachable husband' (Richards, 1950, pp. 233-35, 248), though the parallel is not by any means exact.

• 428 There is, therefore, inevitably an element of tension in the relations
581 between the wife's maternal uncle (including parents-in-law) and the
586 husband (son-in-law) and this tension makes the latter's life extremely uncomfortable. This awkward position is well shown in the divorce
[604] rate. At Kongton (see List 9), out of 61 couples (house-owners and
[606] their spouses), the number of persons who had experience of divorce was 33 (female 15, male 18) and those married more than twice
[592] numbered 19 (female 7, male 12). Out of 61 couples, there were only
[593] 31 in which neither husband nor wife had been divorced. In my census of Jatinga village, 70 per cent of all divorce cases were marriages to heiresses. In general, the period when divorce occurs more frequently is before a couple get children and after the wife has passed the child-bearing age. A marriage breaks up either through the action of the wife or of the husband, but generally through that of the wife. However, the state of separation which I presently describe is brought about by the husband, though later it results in a divorce from the wife. Divorce does not mean a great catastrophe for a Khasi wife, especially if she is an heiress and her husband's economic
[587] contribution is not significant. Moreover, in this society remarriage is as easy for a widow or divorcée, as it is to divorce. In the villages of Sohkynduh and Kongton, the couple who wants to divorce has only to throw a few Annas together in the presence of some witness, usually an elderly man.

581 In addition to divorce, there are many actual separations of husband
and wife, of short or long duration, when the husband runs away from
593 his wife's house to his sister's. Though it does not always end in divorce, considerable number of husbands have a strong tendency to spend most of their time at their sister's house. Khasi women often told me, "I don't know why he does not come back to my place." I have often found the husband staying at his sister's house only a few houses away from his wife's, without any particular reason. They are obliged to see each other every day whether divorced or separated. This kind of ambiguity in the marriage relation seems to have an important correlation with the Khasi social structure, combined with the village endogamy. The man and and wife have grown up together from their childhood in the same village and known each other very well. Hence their psychology cannot clearly distinguish the marriage form as a newly-established independent social relation-

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

ship. They still live in the same familiar atmosphere as before their marriage. The implications of this ambiguity in the married state are considerable. Particularly the husband's uncomfortable situation, when the wife is heiress, encourages him to take marriage less seriously. 581 593

A husband who undergoes hardship in his wife's house, finds himself as the authority in his sister's house; if he is not the authority, he can find at least a respected position as uncle or brother. In the case of a man of authority in the *iing*, the tendency for him to regard his *iing* as more important than his married life is proportionately stronger, as I will discuss later. Hence the most unstable and unsuccessful marriages are those between the heiress and the man of authority. This is one of the reasons we often find among the Khasi: a brother or an uncle, who is already married, acting nevertheless as the head to a family *(iing)* and as a member of its domestic group. This means that he is in a state of temporary separation or divorced. Among the Ashanti, a man and his wife's brother are never found as members of a common household (Fortes, 1950, p. 262), but among the Khasi, on the contrary, a man and his wife's brother are often found as members of a common household. In such cases, however, the brother has no wife, or never brings his wife to his *iing*. Therefore, a man and his wife and his sister never reside together. As far as the residence of women is concerned, the Khasi keep to the strict descent rule; two women who belong to different descent groups never live together. This point differentiates the Khasi residence pattern, in which social structure is involved, from that not only of the Ashanti but also of the Yao where the head of a descent group can bring his wife to his sister's household, though, among other members, uxorilocal marriage is the rule. These differential aspects of matrilineal systems will be discussed from a more theoretical point of view later. 581 591 592 593 602 604 613 428 [171]

In addition, should a Khasi man even succeed in spending his life with his wife's kinsmen, as soon as the wife dies, he will usually return to his *iing*, that is, to his sister's house, where he is received warmly and where he often acts as the *de facto* authorithy, as in the similar situation of divorce and separation. Thus the strong matrilineal structural principle tends to orient a man towards his own descent group, the *iing*. 602 613

The man's attachment to his *iing* is very great throughout his life. In this regard the Khasi differs from the matrilineal Negri Sembilan Malay. Among the latter, returning to the matrilineal kin is regarded by the man as an imposition rather than as the enjoyment of a legitimate privilege (see Swift, 1958, p. 157).[1] This difference 171 592 602 613 428

1. He presents this fact as one of the reasons of the durability of marriage among the Negri Sembilan. Indeed, on this precise point they differ from the Khasi where marriage is rather unstable. [581]

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

171 seems to come *firstly* from the different residential arrangement on
592 marriage: among the Negri Sembilan a man marries into his wife's
602 group, i.e. his wife's village; being thus separated from his kin, and
613 as a result of the physical absence of his wife's brother or maternal
• 428 uncle in his domestic family, he enjoys considerable rights in his wife's household—as Swift states, he is 'master in his own house.' On the other hand, since among the Khasi the man stays in the village where his mother's (or mother's successor's) house is, even after his marriage, his relation to his natal house is preserved; *secondly*, from the structural difference of organization of the descent group. Among the Khasi, the *iing* is always the centre of the descent group, based on unigeniture succession and inheritance. Hence, the core of the descent group is always found physically in a particular household, whereas among the Negri Sembilan, the descent group is *not* organized on a *household* level, but is a much wider organization, including apparently many households. Membership of an actual household and of a descent group are at different levels. To marry out and become a member of his wife's household means for the man the transfer of his household membership. Likewise, his sister's husband becomes a member of his sister's household. Thereby he becomes a secondary member of his sister's household after marriage though he keeps his memberhsip in the descent group to which his sister belongs. Among the Khasi, membership of a descent group always corresponds to membership of a particular household. The Khasi man can always demand his rights at his natal house primarily, as he is a member of that descent group. But it should be noted that he has this right only in his mother's (or mother's successor's) household, not his other sisters' (non-heiress') and mother's sisters' households (unless one of them is successor of his mother), though they may belong to the same descent group. These matri kin's households are considered as separate *iing* (strict functional descent group) from his.

586 Indeed, sometimes a man cannot find his *iing*, because his mother
613 died leaving no daughter to succeed her, or his sister died leaving
736 no successor, and his *iing* became extinct. Such a case occasionally
428 happens when a man becomes a divorcé or a widower as he is getting old. Then he has to face a serious social and economic condition. In divorcing, he has to leave everything he owned, his earnings including the house which he built, and even children . . . really he has nothing left him except his body.[1] Such a wretched man collects some timber and makes a small hut for himself, though sometimes lads who sympathize with him help him to build it. Unless he finds some woman

1. A widower has an alternative solution—to remain in his late wife's household till he marries again, though his position is not comfortable there.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

whom he can marry, he has to endure this miserable lonely life, while often in the same village his former wife is living in a well-built house with her children and her matrilineal relatives as before. Households of 3, 13 and 30 of Sohkynduh in List 6, and 23, 29, 38 and 56 of Kongton in List 9 are instances of such cases. It is really a pitiful picture to see such a man, aged and poor, living all alone. 586 613 736 428

V. Marriage with the Non-heiress

Outsiders who come to the Khasi Hills are often impressed by the Khasi husband's miserable status and express surprise at the high divorce rate. This is mostly due to exaggeration based on the marriage with the heiress. However, where a man marries a non-heiress, there are many successful marriages with paternal authority. In most of these cases a man's status as a husband and as a father is stable. First of all, the domestic residential unit is an elementary family. From the onset of the marriage the husband's labour is of great importance to his family, since a non-heiress usually has no economic background, i.e., no dowry or inherited property (see p. 105). The economic circumstances allow a man to be the *de facto* head even though whatever he earns belongs, as a rule, to his wife. A man who succeeds at the beginning of his married life is respected and honoured as father in his family for the rest of his life. By this type of marriage, the man's status is firmly established. It is therefore a more secure form of marriage than a match with an heiress. 184 428 593

In such a marriage the children love and obey their father. The management of his acquired property will be taken over by his son and the property will be handed over to his daughter. Thus the paternal authority is as well established in this form of domestic family, as in a patrilineal family. However, the great difference from a patrilineal case is that the husband/father status is not permanent as the authority of the family. Theoretically he exercises it in the absence of a male adult member of his wife's *iing* (actually founded by his contribution), in other words, till his son is grown up (see p. 12). In the next generation this will form an established *iing* in which the husband of his youngest daughter will suffer again. [613]

The household of this kind of marriage with a non-heiress actually enjoys a considerable degree of independence from the descent groups of both wife and husband. If a man who has established a matrimonial life independent of his wife's natal *iing*, is not the authority of his natal *iing*, his relation with the latter usually becomes weaker. Economic and residential factors make it possible for the men to make the considerable shift from his *iing* to his wife's *iing*, and though 592 593 613

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

178 no polygynists, though there were many personal temporary illicit
184 relations or love affairs.

It is true that even in interior villages polygyny is rapidly decreas-
595 ing. In the two villages I found only two cases of polygyny: a man with two wives in Sohkynduh (Josio in List 6, whose wives are 26 and 32), and a man with three wives in Kongton (Jubongrai in List 9, whose wives are 8, 20 and 52). These cases appeared clearly as cases of polygyny which the villagers recognized as such, speaking of them quite differently from the way they would have spoken of lovers, calling them wives and husbands. Of course, the first wife socially outranks the secondary wives, as *ka tynga trai*, and the term *ka tynga tuh* is used for the latter, as Gurdon states (1914, p. 80). The difference being that the first wife has a legal marriage ceremony while the others have not—*ka tynga tuh* means literally 'stolen wife.' About
585 the marriage ceremony, Gurdon gives a detailed discription (*ibid.*,
595 pp. 127-130) and says there are three forms of marriage ceremonies, *Pynhiarsynjat*, *Lamdoh* and *Iadih-hiad*. The first and second forms are considered the more respectable; the last one is resorted to by the very poor who cannot afford the greater expense entailed by the first two. Unfortunately, during my stay in these villages, no marriage ceremony took place, but villagers described to me what seems to be the *Iadih-hiad*, where only a fowl is sacrified, and the whole procedure is much simpler than that described by Gurdon. However, whatever the complexity and richness may be, there is a distinct line between having a ceremony and not having it, and this draws the distinction between the status of the first wife and that of the secondary wives.

• 428 Nevertheless, this distinction has more of a social bearing than the
595 legal bearing it has in a patrilineal system. Since they follow the matrilineal system, the legal distinction between the first wife and
851 the secondary wife does not affect their children's status and their property rights, at least not in the villages where I worked. The children's social locus is determined by their mother. The children (particularly the youngest daughter) have the right to inherit their father's acquired property which is automatically under their mother's ownership. If the polygynist father has acquired property by working their mother's field, or in trading on behalf of their mother, whether she be the first wife or the second, this property undoubtedly belongs to the children of that wife, not to the first wife alone. The father's physical locus at the time of his economic realisations is the decisive factor.

591 The Khasi polygynist, without bringing his wives into one house-
595 hold, alternates his residence among them, in turn or according to his temper. This practice is similar to that of the Trukese described by Goodenough (1951, p. 123), and quite different from that of the Garo

16: McCormack E-4,5 (1956-1958) 1964
AR7 Khasi AR7

[P. 106 A]

group of matrilineal and Mon-Khmer-speaking people 101
who claim as their ancestral homeland the present- 131
day United Khasi–Jaintia Hills District (within ap- 197
proximately 90° 47′ and 92° 52′ E. and 25° 5′ and
26° 5′ N.). This group includes the Jaintias (also 101
Pnar or Synteng) in the southeast, who differ from 184
the Khasis primarily in their duolocal residence pat- 162
tern and less virulent forms of sorcery. (The Hadem 563
in eastern Jaintia are a Kuki people.) It also includes
the Lyngngams (also spelled Lynngam) in the west, 59
who practice migratory swidden agriculture and cer- 154
tain peculiar funerary rites, and are said by Ehren- 24
fels (1955) to be culturally intermediate between 764
Khasis and Garos. Finally, it includes Bhois, Wars, 114
and upland Khasis, which terms are primarily terri-
torial. Bhoi country is the north-central part of the
District, and is culturally complicated by the presence
of Mikirs, Lalungs, and Nepalis. War country spans [428]
the entire southern length of the District, so that
Wars divide into Jaintia Wars and Khasi Wars; of
these, the Khasi Wars have traditionally transmitted
property to sons as well as to daughters. The upland
center of the District is the country of the Khasis
proper, those whose culture provides the most useful
model for interpreting the variations found elsewhere.
[For general reference on all categories of Khasi cul- [113]
ture, cf. Costa 1936 and 1937; also Gurdon 1907,
especially for data on regional variations.] **Geography.** 133
The District is 5,554 square miles of hilly tableland, [131]
intricately dissected by numerous rivers, and marked
by significant ecological variation over very short
distances. The tablelands step gently downward north
from Shillong Peak, which at 6,445 feet is the highest
point in the District, and over about 55 miles ease
into the Brahmaputra valley where this is some 250
feet above sea level. To the south, the land slopes
more steeply downward for about 20 miles, and then
drops abruptly, in cliff and steep-slope formations,
to the Ganges sea-level delta that begins at its
north with Sylhet. The annual southwest mon- 132
soons drop torrential rains around Cherrapunji and
Mawsynram villages (for Cherrapunji, a record 805
inches in 1861), but then, reaching Shillong 33 miles
to the northeast, provide only about 100 inches per
year. Rainfall is again greater in Bhoi, which shares
the Brahmaputra valley climate. Climate is temperate
on the high Shillong plateau, where it seldom freezes
and never snows. To the north, climate becomes sub-
tropical, forest is jungly, and fauna abound. The cli-
mate to the south is also subtropical. [Cf. Hooker [113]
1891: chap. XXIX.] **Linguistic affiliation.** Khasi is 197
one of the major Mon-Khmer languages, related to
Mon, Khmer, Semang-Sakai, Nicobarese, and Pa-
laung-Wa. The major Khasi dialects are Khasi, Jain-
tia, and Lyngngam, to which Grierson adds War.
Further minor variations occur from village to village.
The Khasis had no script until 1842, when the roman [212]
alphabet was successfully applied to the Cherrapunji
dialect of Khasi proper. [Cf. Rabel 1961; Grierson [113]
1903-28: 2; Bareh 1962.]

thereafter, the British negotiated treaties with all the Khasi states, the last treaty being signed in 1862. It was contracted that the chiefs would be subject to the authority of a resident political agent, whose duties would involve maintaining law and order, judging cases of heinous crimes, approving the popular selection of any new chief, and exercising control over certain categories of natural resources. Khasis were guaranteed noninterference in their customary way of life, and they were not then, nor are they now, taxed. Most Khasis, as opposed to Jaintias, were never an integral part of British India, but they did undergo social change as a result of British presence. To summarize Mills (n.d.): (1) The British introduced the potato, which the Khasis rapidly took up as a cash crop for marketing as far as Calcutta. The intensive specialization exhausted the soil and made for ever-poorer crops. (2) Christian missionaries made large numbers of converts, and there arose the difficult question of whether a Christian should inherit property that traditionally was earmarked for her performance of non-Christian religious rituals. (3) About 1864 the British transferred their headquarters from Cherrapunji to Shillong. When they made Shillong the capital of the entire state of Assam, non-Khasis flocked to it, land values soared, and the concept of private property became increasingly important. Khasis began to marry with members of other ethnic groups, which introduced confusion into traditional social patterns. These problems were exacerbated during World War II, when Shillong and its environs enjoyed enormous economic prosperity. One notable aftermath of this affluence has been the accelerated enrollments in schools and colleges. Hundreds of Khasis now have the B.A., M.A., and even the Ph.D. degree. • With the Independence of India in 1947, and under the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India (which was drafted by a Khasi), the United Khasi–Jaintia Hills District became a Part B, or Autonomous, Tribal Area, to be governed by a District Council composed largely of Khasis and Jaintias, and responsible not to the Legislature of Assam, but to the Governor of Assam as agent of the President of India. The native-state system and the chiefs still exist, and the District Council finds it difficult to effect legislation which is neither offensive to regional custom nor a simple blueprint of ill-fitting all-India legislation. The major political schism at this time is between Jaintias, who are accustomed to centralized authority and taxation, and Khasis, who resist the notion of taxation to support the work of a central District Council. [Cf. Gait 1926; Aitchison 1931; Bhuyan 1949; Morris 1910.]

175 619 648 [726] [651] [177] 177 648 244 439 134 797 428 635 633 167 563 423 [873] 648 642 [651] [563] [113]

SETTLEMENT PATTERN AND HOUSING. **Settlement pattern.** Khasis live sedentarily in named, nucleated, and unplanned villages which are situated just below hill summits to avoid strong winds but still be defensible, and which usually include a de-

361 [312]

says that the MoBrCh but not the FaSiCh is prohibited (1897: 2), but Gurdon says that the MoBrCh is eligible after the death of MoBr, and that FaSiCh is eligible after the death of Fa (1907: 78). Nowadays both types of marriage occur, whether the linking relative is living or dead. **Residence.** Residence is either duolocal or matrilocal under the roof of the wife's mother until the birth of one or two children. For a man married to a youngest daughter, it then continues to be matrilocal. For men married to other daughters, it becomes uxorilocal; there have also always been cases of virilocal residence, and it is now common to find neolocal residence in Shillong. For non-Christian Jaintias, it is duolocal throughout the marriage. **Domestic unit.** The domestic unit is the elementary family, though for a youngest daughter it may temporarily include also her aged mother, aged father, unmarried siblings, or divorced or widowed brothers. **Inheritance.** Traditionally, after the Khasi mother had helped each of her daughters to build and supply a house when each one married and had children, her only real obligation to help them economically was ended. Everything she possessed, excepting certain personalty that was destroyed in her cremation, was inherited by her youngest daughter. Failing daughters, a woman's property reverted to her next youngest sister's daughter. Today, this pattern is often modified by putting more property into the hands of older daughters and even sons. [Cf. Cantlie 1934; Becker 1924.] **Divorce.** A woman may effect numerous and usually brief separations from her husband by simply closing the door of her house to him, whereupon he returns to the house of his mother or youngest sister. Divorce, however, must be initiated by mutual consent. Divorce is very common, even though women resist it because they do not wish to lose a provider, and men because they do not wish to lose their children. Formerly it was accomplished by a simple ritual in the presence of witnesses, followed by public announcement by a town crier. Now, the witnesses and the public announcement have been dispensed with, and evidence for divorce consists only in the word of the parties concerned.

835 [114] [178] 591 592 428 [178] 586 586 178

SOCIOPOLITICAL ORGANIZATION. **Political organization.** The basic unit of political organization is the village, which is composed of one or more dominant local descent groups plus several others. Village government is by an assembly of all resident adult males, under the informal chairmanship of a headman elected by them from among their number. The membership of any immigrant household into a village is defined by the participation of the household's males in this assembly. Sustained membership in a village is voluntary. Khasi chiefdoms probably arose out of voluntary associations of villages, which occasionally transferred allegiance from one chief to another.

62 174 619

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

strip of fine silk for the loins, a part of which hangs gracefully as low as the calves in front. No notice is here taken of what has undoubtedly been added and borrowed from their more civilised neighbours in the plains. 291

'MARRIAGE.—The marriageable age for females is from 15 to 18; for males, from 18 to 24. Matrimonial alliances are contracted either through the parents or the living representatives of the families to which the parties belong. The mode of procedure is still very primitive and unceremonious. The bridegroom, escorted by a number of friends and relatives, goes to the house of the bride, where all are feasted and lodged for the night; on the morrow he leads the bride, accompanied by a number of her relatives, to his own house, and entertains the company with dishes of boiled rice and fresh pork. After remaining there a day or two, the newly-married couple return together to the house of the wife, which becomes their future home. Marriage is dissoluble by regular divorce, for any sufficient cause, and often without any assignable reason except mutual dislike or want of issue, the latter being the most common case of all. Marriage with the Khásiás is simply a conventional arrangement, with nothing further for its object than the procreation of children; failing that, it is no longer looked upon as a contract permanently binding. Divorce is effected in the presence of eye-witnesses—the parents, or the heads of clans. Five cowries (*kauris*) are produced by the parties and exchanged, then cast away by mutual consent, and the ceremony is over. Parties once divorced can never again contract marriage with each other, but they are at liberty to marry into other families. Polygamy, strictly so called, is not sanctioned by Khásí custom. Adultery is looked upon as a serious crime. If the five cowries have not been cast away by mutual consent, both husband and wife are held to be subject to the "matrimonial demon;" and even when either dies in wedlock, the survivor is not at liberty to contract a fresh alliance until he or she pays the family a sum of money as the means of removing the surviving party from subjection to the "matrimonial demon." The husband is a stranger, so to speak, in the family he has entered, and perpetuates the race of others, not his own. The children in all questions of lineage and personal rights follow the mother. There are always two interests in the same family—that of the husband, and that of the wife. Whatever the husband may have earned or acquired in

58 591 586 [581] 587 595 837 587 593 611 593 428

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

593 wedlock goes to the wife and becomes her property; but all other
• 428 property is inalienable, and reverts to his family, as also does his corpse after death.

771 'RELIGION.—The religion of the Khásiás is demon-worship, or a jumble of enchantments muttered by priests who are sorcerers. They invoke evil spirits as the deputies of God and the instruments
775 of His pleasure or displeasure. The Khásiás believe in metempsychosis, or the transmigration of souls. After death, human beings are transformed into monkeys, crabs, tortoises, frogs, etc. Though a future state is not denied, it is treated with absolute indifference, as beyond the sphere of responsibility; all rites, ceremonies, and observances bear reference to the welfare of mankind in this world. The spirits of their departed relatives and ancestors are invoked only in so far as they are considered to influence and have power
764 over the present life. The Khásiás burn their dead, and collect the ashes into urns, which are kept under a slab raised on four others enclosing a space. These monuments are of various kinds and sizes —one for individuals, another for a family, and another for a whole
614 clan. There is no caste system, but each clan is called after some object of nature, as the Oak clan, the Crab clan, etc., and these names entail certain restrictions beyond which intermarriage is
771 forbidden. The Khási religion may be briefly described as the practice of forms to cure diseases, and to avert misfortunes of all kinds, by means of ascertaining the name of the demon who is the author of the evil, and the kind of sacrifice necessary to appease it.

797 'CHRISTIANITY.—The Welsh Mission has been labouring amongst the Khásiás and Syntengs for thirty-two years. The Christians number about 1000 [according to the Census of 1872, the total number of native converts in the District is only 85]. There are four central stations—Cherrá, Shellá, Shillong, and Jowái —and twenty-three churches. Translations of the whole of the New Testament, and a portion of the Old, are now (1876) going to press, besides other religious books.

197 'LANGUAGE.—The definitions generally given of monosyllabic
193 languages are far from adequate to enable us to assign to the Khási tongue its position amongst the Indo-Chinese family of speech. Still, in the absence of a better terminology, it may be described as monosyllabic in the agglutinative stage. The monosyllabic element greatly predominates. By far the larger number of the compounds are mere agglutinations (in a modified

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

sense) or juxtapositions of roots which have not thereby suffered 197
either obscuration or absorption—that is to say, they are all, 193
with a few exceptions, reducible to their constituent root words, which are still "current coin," and retain their power as independent vocables. The cases in which obscuration and "fusion" of roots have taken place are confined to—(1) the noun prefix *jong*, expressing abstract ideas; (2) the verbal prefixes *byn*, *kyn*, *lyn*, *ryn*, *syn*, *tyn*, *pyn*, *byr*, *kyr*, *lyr*, *pyr*, *syr*, *tyr*, expressing causation, intensification, and contrariety. The language is found purest at Cherrá Púnjí. The Khásiás have no written character or literature of 212
any kind of their own. Tradition says that all was lost while they 173
were yet masters of the plains, whence they were driven by a general catastrophe or deluge to their present fastnesses in the hills. The following works on the language have been published: *Khási* 113
Grammar, *Anglo-Khási Dictionary*, *Khási Primer* (Parts I. and II., with Vocabulary),—all issued by the Calcutta School-Book Society; *Khási English Dictionary* (in preparation), and an *Anglo-Khási First Book*.

'CUSTOMS REGARDING INHERITANCE.—A Khásiá, whether married 428
or single, if he makes his mother's house his home, is said to be earning for his *kur*, *i.e.* for his mother, or his brothers and sisters, or his mother's relatives. On his death his property goes to his mother, if living; if not, to the grandmother; if she is not living, then to his sisters; should his sisters also be dead, to his sisters' children. Should the deceased have left no sisters, the property goes to the brothers; should he have no brothers or should they be dead, the property descends to his aunts, or to their children if the aunts are not living; should the aunts have left no children, the property descends to the grandmother's or great-grandmother's sisters or children. The property of a female on her death goes to her mother, if the deceased have no children; or if the mother of the deceased is not living, the property goes to the brothers and sisters; if the sisters are dead, then their children become the heirs. If there are no such children, the property devolves as in the case of males. When a man is not living in his mother's house, but in that of his wife, he earns for his wife and children. On his death his property descends to his wife, with the exception of the ornaments and clothing worn by him during his lifetime, which go to the brothers and sisters or other relatives of the deceased. Should the deceased have been a widower, the property goes to his children, and in their absence

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

428 to the sisters of his wife, or to her nearest relatives if there are no sisters. The rank and titles of a deceased male descend to his brother; when no brother exists, then to the male children of his mother's sisters (maternal aunts); should the maternal aunts have no male children living at the time, then to the eldest male child of his sisters. When no relatives are to be found, the property of the deceased goes to the ruler of the country; or if a man dies leaving no relative other than wife and children, *i.e.* no relatives on the mother's side, the property in this case also goes to the ruler, who, as the wife and children cannot preserve the ashes of the deceased, takes charge of them, and for so doing takes all the property also. With regard to the inhabitants of the Lower Hills at Shellá, the custom as to succession is as follows:—Property belonging to a subject of Shellá is divided into two classes—(1) Property inherited from ancestors, which descends to the nearest of kin or to the relative of a deceased person who can perform his obsequies. (2) Property acquired during the lifetime of the holder, which is inherited by the children, whose duty it is to provide for the maintenance of their mother until she re-marries or dies.'

434 465 MATERIAL CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE.—The Khásiás and the Syntengs are as a people prosperous. Common labourers, if adult males, can earn wages as high as one shilling per diem, and adult 342 females as high as eightpence. The dwellings of the well-to-do classes are generally constructed of masonry, with thatched roof and 352 plank floor, and divided into two or three rooms. The furniture consists of a bedstead (*charpái*), a seat or two (*mora*), some cooking utensils, and a few boxes. The ordinary peasants and poorer 342 classes construct their huts of stone, mud, or plank walls, with a 184 thatch or cane roof. These are fitted with wooden platforms or loose planks placed on the ground to serve as beds. The food 262 of the well-to-do classes consists of rice, fish when obtainable, fowl 434 or meat, curry, vegetables, oil, hog's lard, fermented and spirituous liquor. It may be estimated that the living expenses of an average-sized household of this class would be about Rs. 25 or £2, 10s. a month, valuing the articles of consumption at *bázár* prices. An ordinary husbandman or labourer lives on rice, dry fish, occasionally a 276 little meat, oil, or hog's lard. *Pán* leaf, betel-nut, and lime are essential to the comfort of all the hill people, who are inveterate chewers of *pán*. They commence at an early age, and are rarely seen without a *pán* leaf in their mouths; the females are quite

21: Ehrenfels E-4,5 (1950) 1953 AR7 Khasi AR7

III. Explanations

1. General

124 128 601 Most of my informants were illiterate. The spelling of the terms was checked and corrected by my English-speaking and writing Khasi- and Pnar- friends, mentioned in para one, to whom thanks are being here once more expressed. All responsibility for spelling mistakes, however, which may have slipped into this list has of course to be borne by me.

Blanks (—) or question marks (?) in one of the columns do not necessarily mean that there is no word used, by the respective group, for the particular term. They more often indicate that my informants did not use, or know, the particular term, or that I failed to enquire about it in a [114] manner sufficiently clear to my informants. This is particularly true of general terms, partly or fully corresponding to English general terms, such as parents or grand-parents, or the terms No. 9/a and b, 13, 15/a, 19-21, and 26, which were partly explained to me, by Khasi friends in Shillong, where I stayed some time after completion of field-work during the rainy season. Hence I could no more return for verification to the little accessible War-villages in the steep southern slopes. Although I am planning to utilise a future opportunity for such checking up, I am yet publishing the present results in the hope that they may thus become accessible to field-workers among other S. E.-Asiatic, and especially Austro-Asiatic speaking peoples.

193 601 128 All terms which are equal for both sexes (cf. Nos. 10, 11, 18, 19, etc.) are used with *ka* and *u* respectively. These sex-determining prepaced articles, as also the honorific *i* are specially mentioned in the list, only if this is essential for the understanding of the respective terms as in Nos. 3-5, 7, 8, or 10.

2. Special

601 Term No. 1 — to give birth or beget (*kha*) signifies also relatives on the paternal side as in *pawa kha* (paternal cousins No. 9/c), in contradistinction to *pawa kur*, 9/b, (lit. : cousins of the clan), i. e. maternal cousins, since the clan is a matrilineal unit. This usage of the word *kha* appears also [842] significantly in the terms 15/a, 17, 19/b, 20, 22, 32 and, as an integral part of the Khasi kinship terminology, renders it highly improbable that the Khasi matrilineal system could have originated in ignorance of the biological function of the father. It is a significant feature in the matrilineal social system.

The terms 3 to 3/b refer to unmarried but biologically marriageable youths. [881] It will be noted that there are (and were in 1954) no indications of puberty-[584] rites for either girls or boys. There is also no child-marriage among Khasi. The use of special terms for mature, unmarried youths is therefore significant.

Term 6 — *i* as honorific article, is at the same time indicative of [428] diminution [*], which is remarkable for two reasons: (firstly) the diminution is used for the oldest and most respected family members, like the diminution

[*] Nissen Sonoo (1956), p. 86.

21: Khrenfele E-4,5 (1950) 1953 AR7 Khasi AR7

of father in Russian (for the *tsar*, etc.), (secondly) the youngest, not the oldest, daughter performs the family rites and inherits the family-property [28]. Even in cases when there is no woman to inherit, the youngest, not the oldest son inherits [29]. Among the conservatively matrilineal Pnar (Jaintia) this term of diminution *i*, however, carries at times a somewhat contemptuous meaning, though the minorate is strongly in force also among them. The ambivalent position of this honorific term of diminution is thus significant (comp. term 9/*e* among Pnar and infra.) 601 [428] [196]

Term 7 — mother: (*i mai*) — The prefix *i* used among Khasi and War Khasi signifies particular reverence (supra: term 6). The classificatory character of the term has been discussed by CHATTOPADHYAY [30]. [193]

Term 9/*f* — *hep* for all younger siblings, cousins and even other young folk does not indicate the consideration which the terms 9/*d* — *hong* for older sisters and female cousins, or 9/*e* — *hah* for their male equivalents indicate. The term *saw* (9/*c* among Pnar) stands here, as generally, for elder and implies a honorific meaning (comp. term 6 supra and term 13/*a* infra).

Terms 10/*a* and *b* show that husband and wife address each other by equal terms and do in no way indicate anything like an inferior position of either wives or husbands of which I did also not find any indications otherwise. It may here be mentioned that property rights even in newly established estates, vest in women and are inherited by women, — not generally men. 601 562

Term 11/*d* — *ka khun khaddah* — the youngest daughter whose important position in Khasi religious ritual, social organization and inheritance law has already been referred to sub term 6 and described in detail elsewhere [31]. The affectionate character of this term finds vivid expression in the abbreviation *ka dah*, which I heard from sisters and the father of a youngest daughter. 601 [593]

Term 13/*a* — *mei saw* (mother's older sister). The word *saw* (older) here has a definitely honorific character, although the *mei khyawah* — the mother's younger sister (term 13/*b*) may be the heir of Ego's ancestral property. This constellation corresponds to the peculiar significance of terms 6, 9/*d* and especially 11/*d* (supra).

Terms 13, 14, 15/*a*, 16, 18/*a*, 19/*b*, and the terms for cousins 10, 20, 21/*a*, 21/*b*, 22 show, like term 7 — mother (supra), classificatory character. The restriction on cross-cousin marriage is of different nature, according as to whether they belong to different households, or not, as has been discussed by CHATTOPADHYAY [32]. [582]

Term 16/*a* — *dia* (mother's brother's wife) is basically the same as term 15 — *dia kha* (father's sister) [33] though the latter is qualified by the additional term *kha*: (begotting, birth) which signifies paternal relationship (see: term No. 1).

[28] GURDON (1914), pp. 83, seq.; CARTLIE (1934), p. 11.
[29] CARTLIE (1934), p. 22.
[30] CHATTOPADHYAY (1941), pp. 33, seq.
[31] GURDON (1914), pp. 83, seq. and CARTLIE (1934), pp. 11, seq.
[32] CHATTOPADHYAY (1941), pp. 36, seq.
[33] In detail discussed by CHATTOPADHYAY (1941), p. 37.

she does not have any daughter, the property will pass to the female descendants of sisters of Ka Long, as her elder sisters Ka Laimon and Ka Laiban have left no daughters. It is therefore necessary to distinguish carefully between an elder and a younger sister, and also similarly between sisters of the mother. The genealogy of the women of the same house and extended family requires to be noted with care.

The youngest daughter and heiress is termed the Ka Khadduh. As Gurdon remarks the "Ka Khadduh is the custodian of the family property, not the full heir in the sense known to other systems of law, but a limited heir. She is responsible for the performance of religious ceremonies.....; she cremates her mother, and if she be Ka Khadduh of the whole family, she puts the bones of all members in their final resting place under the stone (mawbah) of the clan. The expenses of this ceremony are considerable and for this reason she gets a larger share of property, or in some cases a piece of family property in addition and apart from her separate share. Members of the family who are unable to earn for themselves and have no children to earn for them have the right of being fed at the ing-Khadduh" (house of the heiress).

The management of the property is however vested in the men of the family. The ancestral property of the family of myself U Subu Rai's mother was under the management of U Joi, in his mother's life-time; then, on the death U Joi, the next brother U Doi became manager. After U Doi, the management came to U Subu Roi. After him, the authority will pass to U Hajon, as U Sumbarai is dead and then to U Nobon. Any sons of Ka Pyon and other sisters will not get any precedence over U Nobon. As the senior U Kai of the Iangbiah Kur, U Subu Roi is also the manager of the common property of the Kur. This land has been leased out to various persons and the total income is divided among the different houses of the Kur. Whenever there is money to be distributed U Subu Rai calls together all the representatives of the Iangbiah houses and

divides equally. U Subu Rai explained that each house counted as a separate unit. Thus if Ka Jem, Ka Jin and all their daughters were alive, the married daughters who lived in a separate house, namely, Ka Laimoo, Ka Laibon, Ka Aimon and Ka Hoimon of Ka Jem's house, and Ka Phre of Ka Jin's line, would each get a share. But Ka Jem and her Ka Khadduh Ka Aiben who lives in the mother's house would get only one share. So would Ka Jin, Ka Kiriben and the unmarried daughters of the latter. The descendants of Ka Lung would get seven equal shares for distribution to each house, and not two shares first, divided later into shares corresponding to the number of daughters for Ka Jem's and Ka Jin's house. The *manager does not get any share of the collections.* Authority in the management of the ancestral property therefore passes from one male to another, in the extended family, and the Kur, in a manner which necessitates a clear distinction of seniority and juniority of brothers, among themselves and also of sisters with regard to brothers. 421 [429] [428]

The case of succession is similar. Gordon notes that the Siemship in Mylliem State passes from a man to his next brother, and "failing such brothers, by the eldest of his sisters' sons; failing such nephews by the eldest of the sons of his sisters' daughters; failing such grand nephews by the eldest of the sons of his mother's sisters" and so forth in the female line. In Nongkrem, the son or similar male relative of the High Priestess becomes by delegation a Siem. The office of the High Priestess passes from a woman to her eldest surviving daughter; and failing daughters to the eldest daughter of her eldest daughter; failing daughters of her eldest daughter, to the eldest daughter of her second daughter, and so on. This is the customary line of succession, and is stated by Gordon to be "uniform in all cases" practically. 428 793 443

Neither levirate, nor sororate are practised by the Khasis. Widows are stated (5) quite often not to remarry if there are daughters. There is no question of the control of the property 537 421

19: Assam G-5 (1958) 1963 AR7 Khasi AR7

REPORT ON RURAL ECONOMIC SURVEY IN UNITED KHASI-JAINTIA HILLS.

CHAPTER I

Introduction

1.1 Objective.—Consequent upon restrictions on trade emerging in the border markets after partition, the economic condition of the people living in the border areas of the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills district adjoining East Pakistan, suffered a serious set back. There was demand from the people all over the border areas for adequate relief as well as rehabilitation of their shattered economy. From time to time Government took up various relief measures but, for adopting a planned programme of relief and rehabilitation in an integrated and sustained manner, the need for a comprehensive economic survey of the district with special emphasis on the border areas, came to the forefront. Accordingly at the instance of Government of Assam, the Department of Economics and Statistics addressed itself to the task of launching an economic survey in the district.

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The programme consisted of an intensive study of the conditions in selected villages and was designed to meet the following objectives:— (I) To obtain a broad picture of the rural economic conditions in the district and in particular, to provide factual data on the various aspects of agriculture and farm economics, *e. g.*, land tenure, size and distribution of agricultural holdings and farms, fragmentation, income and expenditures occupation and the like. Data should be collected also on the occupations and industries which play subsidiary roles in the economy of the district. (II) Special emphasis need be given on border areas, in order to bring to light the measure of suffering of the border people as a result of partition and to suggest various long and short term measures for ameliorating the condition of the border people. (III) The survey should adequately cover the Community Development areas also in order that it becomes possible to make an assessment of the impact of the community development programmes on the socio-economic life of the people in these areas.

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1.2 Coverage and Period.—The field work of the survey was started on 23th February, 1958 and was completed by the middle of July, 1958 thus requiring nearly four and a half months.

1.3 Design of the Survey.—For a study of border economy a purposive selection of ten villages in the border area, which were known to be important from the point of view of production and distributive trade in pre-partition days was made. Similarly for project areas a total of eight villages two from each of the four blocks in the district—where intensive development programmes were taken up, were selected. These villages were selected by the Project Officers themselves. Apart from these, a random sample of ten villages from all over the district were taken. Thus a total of 28 villages all over district—10 from border areas, 8 from project areas and 10 from general areas were selected for

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

LAMDOH CEREMONY.

This ceremony is identical with that of *Pynhiar synjat*, except that the bride and bridegroom do not interchange rings, and that there is no sacrifice of the pig. The parties merely buy some pig's flesh and perform a puja with a small portion of the flesh of the legs of the animal. Amongst the poor, fish sometimes takes the place of pork at the *Iadih-kiad* ceremony. The latter consists of a drinking bout mingled with muttered sentences by a *nongkinia* (sacrificer), the invocations and prayers being the same as at the *Pynhiar synjat*. The *Lamdoh* and *Iadih-kiad* ceremonies take the place of the more elaborate *Pynhiar synjat* in most places now-a-days.

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LYNNGAM MARRIAGES.

The ritual observed at these marriages is described as under: —First of all a proposal is made in the following manner. A *ksiang*, or go-between, is sent, with the brother of the girl for whom a husband is required, to the house of the father of the young man (not to the house of the mother as is the case with the Khasis). If the proposal is accepted, the father of the young man kills a pig, and gives a feast to the people of the village of his father-in-law elect; also to the go-between and the *borang* (brother of the bride). The father of the bride then gives a similar feast. A sum of Rs. 1 each is given as a present to the go-between by the fathers of the bride and bridegroom, and the father of the bride pays from Rs. 5 to Rs. 15 to the father of the bridegroom. Further feasting ensues at the house of the father of the bride. The go-betweens then sacrifice a pig and two fowls at the house of the bridegroom, and afterwards perform the same sacrifice at the house of the bride. At the house of the bride, after the fowls and the pig have been sacrificed, the go-between, after drinking liquor himself, pours out some on the floor of the house and then gives some to the bride and bridegroom to drink. The killing of the fowls, the sacrifice of the pig, and the libation of liquor are essentials at a Lynngam marriage. The sacrifice of the fowls is also an essential feature

584 585 574 782 [431] 585 782

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

After the plants have attained the height of about 6 in., they are earthed up. When the leaves turn yellow, it is a sign that the potatoes are ripe. The different kinds of sweet potatoes grown and the yam and another kind of esculent root—*u sohphlang* (*flemingia vestita Benth.*) will be noticed under the head of "Crops." 244

The Khasis possess very few agricultural sayings and proverbs, but the following may be quoted as examples:— 241 538

(1) *Wat ju ai thung jingthung ne bet symbai ha uba sniew kti.*

Do not allow plants to be planted or seeds to be sown by one who has a bad hand. [777]

As elsewhere, there is a belief amongst the Khasis that some people's touch as regards agriculture is unlucky. [826]

(2) *Thung dieng ne bet symbai haba ngen bnai, ym haba shai u bnai.*

Plant trees or sow seeds not when the moon is waxing, but when it is on the wane.

(3) *Wei la saw bha ka bneng sepngi jan miet phin sa ioh jingrang lashai.*

A red sky in the west in the evening is the sign of fine weather to-morrow.

Cf. our English proverb "a red sky in the morning is a shepherd's warning, a red sky at night is a shepherd's delight."

CROPS.

The varieties of rice found in the Khasi Hills are divided into two main classes, one grown as a dry crop on high lands, and the other raised in valleys and hollows which are artificially irrigated from hill streams. The lowland rice is more productive than that grown on high lands, the average per acre of the former, according to the agricultural bulletin, as ascertained from the results of 817 experimental crop cuttings carried out during the fifteen years preceding the year 1898, being 11.7 maunds of paddy per acre, as against an average of 9.4 maunds per acre (resulting from 667 cuttings made during the 243 433

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

243 same period) for the latter.* The average out-turn of both
433 kinds is extremely poor, as compared with that of any description of rice grown in the plains. The rice grown in the hills is said by the Agricultural Department to be of inferior quality, the grain when cleaned being of a red colour, and extremely
244 coarse. The cultivation of potatoes is practically confined to the Khasi Hills, there being little or none in the Jaintia Hills. The normal out-turn of the summer crop sown in February and harvested in June is reported by the Agricultural Department to be five times the quantity of seed used, and that of the winter crop, sown in August and September on the land from which the summer crop has been taken, and harvested in December, twice the quantity of seed. The winter crop is raised chiefly for the purpose of obtaining seed for the spring sowings, as it is found difficult to keep potatoes from the summer crop in good condition till the following spring. The usual quantity of seed used to the acre at each sowing is about 9 maunds, so that the gross out-turn of an acre of land cultivated with potatoes during the year may be taken at 63 maunds, and the net out-turn, after deducting the quantity of seed used, at 45 maunds. The above estimate of the Agricultural Department rests chiefly on the statements of the cultivators, and has not been adequately tested by experiment.

244 Since the appearance of the potato disease in 1885-86 there
439 has been a great decrease in the area under potato cultivation. In 1881-82 the exports of potatoes from the district were as high as 126,981 maunds. From 1886-87 the exports began annually to decrease until in 1895-96 the very low figure of 8,296 maunds was reached. The figures of export for the last nine years are as follows :—

1896-97	16,726	maunds.
1897-98	7,805	"
1898-99	9,272	"
1899-00	5,422	"
1900-01	29,142	"
1901-02	38,251	"
1902-03	36,047	"
1903-04	50,990	"

* See Bulletin No. 5 of the Agricultural Department of Assam, 1898, pp. 4 and 5.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

vation is impossible because of the cold climate. In the past, Khasi economy must have remained at a very primitive stage. 178 244

Potato cultivation has been much encouraged along with the development of Shillong and the opening of the motor road to Gauhati from Shillong after the Independence of India when Shillong became the seat of the Assam Government, as well as the capital of the Khasi-Jaintia Hills. Shillong has become an important trading centre, where big merchants collect the harvests of potatoes in exchange for rice, clothes and various other goods from the Assam valley. These changes have introduced the Khasis into an active commercial economy which again has brought about various changes in their social life. Recently coal excavations have started in the upland Khasi Hills, and many Khasi become miners. 178 433 369 [244] [633] [491] [439] [316]

Thus the history of the Khasi Hills during the last hundred years has changed a great deal the picture of the Hills. However, dark corners still remain in Bhoi, War and in the area bordering on the Garo Hills. These have been kept in a vacuum between the Hindu civilization of the bordering plain and the modernization of the uplands centred in Shillong. In these areas, the people are still practising primitive jhum cultivation. I have chosen two villages in War located in one of these area as subjects of my major field-work. 178 184

[P. 100 is blank]

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

Shella

Confederacy forms a more marked endogamous community, through being cut off geographically and economically from the rest of the Khasi, and socially from the neighbouring Hindu people. 621

The Economy and the People.

Shella lies along the upper part of the Shella River and stretches upwards along the steep slope, looking down towards the Bengal plain. The climate of this part of the hills is considered to be one of the worst in tropical India for human habitation. The Bengal plain, though warmer than this area, is considered more healthy. This border land is the zone of malaria, typhoid, black fever, cholera, etc. None of the Bengalee peasants dare to live in such an area. However, it is the most fertile for products such as betel-nuts, pan-leaves, oranges, bananas and pineapples, and it also produces limestone. These people seem to prefer to settle in this zone and to enjoy its prosperity, at the expense of human lives: every year, especially between March and September, the inhabitants suffer from various fevers and dysentry and other diseaes, many of the weaker facing death. 131 132 164 433 164 648

Before the Partition of India and Pakistan, the products of Shella were carried down the Shella River to Sylhet, one of the biggest centres in East Bengal, which brought unimaginable wealth to the Shella people. Their houses were built by carpenters from Sylhet. The style and structure of these houses were exceptionally elaborate for the Khasi. They purchased vast rice fields in the plain, which used to be cultivated by Bengalee and Garo labourers engaged by them. These Khasi do not themselves know how to cultivate rice fields; they have always been managers or landowners. Their boys used to be sent to high schools and colleges in Sylhet. As a result of their trading with the Bengalee, many of them read and speak fluent Bengalee. There is no difference between their style of clothing and that of the Bengalee, though the women maintain their traditional dress in the Shella style. 177 178 434 [439] [342] [166] [464] [871] [191] [291]

They have thus been distinguished from the rest of the Khasi not only geographically, but also economically and culturally. Their personality also differs sharply from the rest of the Khasi. They are very sociable, and quick, a quality lacking among the Khasi of Sohkynduh and Kongton. They are clever enough to deal with strangers. The upland Khasi say Shella people are very cunning. This remark shows one side of these people. They had to be cunning, since they traded with the Sylhet Bengalee who were said to be the most cunning of their race. Their role in the trade and in the history of the modernization of the Hills was considerable. For centuries they represented intellectual Khasi owing to their contact with Hindu civilization, while the Hills remained in darkness. They assumed an important role when the British established an administration in the Hills, and even up to now, many leading Khasi originated from this area: for instance, Lati Hat, the first interpreter of the British Headquarters at Cherrapunjee; Jeebon Roy, who was the first Magistrate among the Khasi; Maham Sing, a lawyer and Member of the Legislative Assembly (the grandson of Jeebon Roy); Nichols Roy, Minister of Health and Prisons of the Assam Government, Member of the Legislative Assembly, and Missionary of the Church of God; R. R. Thomas (brother of Nichols Roy), Principal of the Gauhati University, etc. 157 184 648 177 178 [439]

Through constant cultural contact with Hindu, and encouraged by their economic prosperity, the Shella Khasi, like the Jaintias, have been much influenced by Hindu culture. However, this does not mean that the people of Shella adopted the Hindu beliefs. Though there is a small Hindu shrine, and some ceremonial elements were borrowed from the Hindu, most of the 177 648 771 795

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

[Shella]

wife who lives with him. The Khasi woman lives with her mother. Some say the Khasi woman is his second wife, other say their marriage is not recognized by the public. 563

Actually, owing to the bad climate, very few non-Khasi live in this area. Besides the two non-Khasi just mentioned, there were a Bengalee tax collector and an Assamese Forest Officer, both of whom lived at Shella Bazaar. Bengalee villages are situated about five miles south of Shella. Except in the bazaar, Bengalee and Khasi have no social contact with each other, and intermarriages have been rare.

However, it is obvious that in the past the Khasi must have had many cases of intermarriage with Bengalee. Among the Khasi, there is a clan called 'Dkhar.' The term 'Dkhar' is also used for the peoples of the plains: Bengalee are called 'Dkhar' by the Khasi. They say that the Dkhar clan originated in Bengalee girls who married Khasi men and who went to live in the Hills. It is said that in older days, the Khasi often raided the Sylhet plain and kidnapped Bengalee girls as well as goods. In Bengalee records of Sylhet, Khasi appear as 'bloody Khasi.' Khasi old men say that in order to increase their population they did sometimes kidnap Bengalee girls, but that they treated these girls very nicely and kindly, no differently from their own people. Since they follow the matrilineal system, they decided to name their descendants 'Dkhar.' It is said that all the present Dkhar people are descendants of such marriages. The Dkhar are found more on the southern slopes of the Khasi Hills i.e. among the Wars. 101 563

It seems there were many reasons for the descendants by marriage between the Khasi and the Bengalee to become Khasi. First of all, it is said that in the olden days the Khasi wanted to increase the population by such marriages. At the same time, a Bengalee who married a Khasi became an outcast from his or her own society owing to the caste system, and this inevitably made them Khasi. Secondly, the Khasi were primarily grouped into the *iing*, and they considered the marriage relation as of secondary importance. Hence it was rather difficult to remove by marriage a Khasi man or woman from their native place. Thirdly, Khasi could hardly live in the plain where no betel-nut or pan-leaf gardens were available; they could not engage in rice cultivation in the plain, as the technique is entirely different from the cultivation of betel-nut or pan-leaf. Moreover, they said they could not stand the heat in the plain. Therefore, the orientation of intermarriages was always towards the Khasi community: the Khasi brought outsiders to their own land; they did not themselves leave.

Such a marked tendency on the part of the Khasi to remain attached to their own homeland, is in no way contradictory with the phenomena of their migration to places outside the Khasi Hills, owing to the exploitation of their homeland and to the increase in population. The formation of Jatinga represents such an instance; there are also the cases of modern Khasi women from sophisticated urban areas, who easily leave their homeland, after marriage with a non-Khasi; this also appears in the following data on Jatinga. 161 167 [563]

Jatinga

Jatinga is a Khasi village situated in the North Cachar Hills, three miles west from Haflong, the headquarters of the North Cachar Hills. The number of households was about sixty in February 1956. Their economy depends on the pan-leaf, orange and pineapple gardens, similar to that of the Shella people. 131 621 433

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

workers and they were few in number.[1] They were particularly employed for such work as the clearing of jungle for new pan gardens in summer. 245 464

In the orange season (December to February) the number of workers increased and they were paid more: Rs. 1/8 were paid[2] for one load (one person carrying 80 pounds of oranges, from an orange garden to the railway station—about two miles). Usually a worker made three to five trips a day. Many workers from Jaintia used to come for this particular season. 245 464 465

Semi-permanent workers were engaged for wet rice fields. They were usually Hindu cultivators: since these Khasi and other tribes do not know the technique of wet cultivation, plains people like the Bihàree immigrants were engaged. These workers were provided with servants' quarters where they lived with their wives and children. However, very few Jatinga households possessed rice fields. 243 464

The economic prosperity of Jatinga reached its climax during the period from 1934 to 1940. Since 1942, the orange production has been decreasing. In 1945, a serious disease attacked the orange gardens as well as the pan-leaf gardens. Besides, by depriving Jatinga, as it had Shella, of their most important markets, Dacca and Sylhet, the Partition of India and Pakistan in 1947 caused a serious economic depression in the whole region. On the other hand, because of the past prosperity, the population has rapidly increased during the last ten years. The serious economic condition of Jatinga is illustrated in the petition which was submitted by the Jatinga people when the Governor of Assam visited those areas in January 1956. It runs thus: 245 434 731 161 458

"Since the last ten years or so, with the increase of population in the village and with the loss of fertility of the soil, the people were faced with economic depression. At present they are facing acute shortage of land they have also no scope to adopt other forms of cultivation like jhuming and wet rice cultivation, etc. Moreover, there has been successive attack of Bright's disease which destroyed and wiped out all the orange and pan gardens. And as such, majority of the families have to depend for their livelihood on daily wages. . . ."

It is indeed a serious situation for them, because the Khasi do not produce staple foods, such as rice; their economy is completely dependent on the trade of their products by which they purchase their main provisions, clothes, etc. Other peoples round Jatinga, being jhum cultivators, can at least get rice and cotton: the minimum requirements, staple foods and clothing are available even in the worst conditions, so that they can at least maintain themselves though the standard of living is low. As I stated before, a few households in Jatinga possessed rice fields, but the majority had none. Recently they rented some plots of jhum field for rice cultivation from Zemi-Naga of neighbouring villages.[3] However, its yield was but a small percentage of their consumption. A few 182 434 [433] [243]

1. If they had worked in the gardens of Jatinga, they might have got more profit than from their own jhum fields. For one day's labour, they got Ans. 8/. For one month, they could earn Rs. 15 with which they could buy about 4-5 maunds of rice (one maunds paddy cost Rs. 3-4). For one year it became 50 maunds, which was impossible to produce in a jhum field by a single person's labour. [435

2. These rates, including the figures of note 1, apply to 1956.

3. Jatinga villagers told me that Zemi-Naga were kind enough to lend them their field for a negligible rent, though they had not enough for themselves. Zemi-Naga said that they owed much to Jatinga in the past, so that now they sympathised with the condition of Jatinga, and offered some parts of their jhum field. [427] [628]

pendable water supply. Villages are about two to five miles apart, and have no boundary markers. In the past, villages contained semipublic buildings and grounds: the home of the village priest (also the home of a chief if he resided in that village), the village marketplace, and tree groves, cremation grounds, or other awesome spots that were believed to be inhabited by supernatural beings. Villages today may have also one or more Christian churches, government social welfare buildings, and schools. Formerly, villages were entered through a guarded gateway; this is no longer the case, and paths feed into villages from all directions. Often several villages are nucleated into one large unit, named and also described as a "village." These were once defense units, but were so uncohesive otherwise that institutionalized rivalry obtained among the component villages. Now, they have been integrated through the agency of all-village public services, especially schools. **Housing.** The traditional Khasi house is entered through a door at the rounded end of a U-shaped ground plan, and is about 20 feet at widest extent; it is about 30 feet deep, and is elliptical or hogback in profile. Its walls are of stone blocks cemented with mud. The roof of grass thatch, supported by a bamboo frame, overhangs the walls on their outside, down to about three feet above the ground. The house is divided into two parts: the front one-third is on the ground level, floored either with stone blocks or tamped earth, and is used for storage of occupational instruments and as a shelter for poultry. The rear two-thirds is raised four feet on piles of stone blocks to a platform of planks, and is partitioned into six rooms, comprising a kitchen, areas for storage of food and water, and sleeping quarters. Furniture is minimal, and the house is totally undecorated. There are no windows, and no smoke vents. A house generally has a companion shed, walled of wood and grass matting and thatched with grass. This serves as a pigsty, but it may be partitioned also to house cows, and it may have a loft for fuel storage. Compounds often contain garden plots, and are fenced around with stone or bamboo and mud. Nowadays, the traditional house has given way to Western-style bungalows of wood and tin, especially in and around Shillong. [Cf. Mukherjee et al. 1941.]

ECONOMY. The Khasi economy is a market economy based on agriculture, and most Khasis are primary producers, sellers, middlemen, and/or providers of services in connection with markets. Khasis are often multioccupational: they produce goods for partial subsistence, and also play some part in trade. **Agriculture.** On the Shillong plateau, the major field crops are potatoes, maize, millets, and dry rice, still produced mostly through swidden farming, with a two- to three-year period of fallow, but increasingly through continuous use of a single field with the aid of ma-

243 on from October to December. For millets the seed is sown in April-May and reaped about six months later. Maize is usually sown in 244 April-May and ripens in August - September. For potato, generally three crops are raised in the district ; the first is sown in December-January and harvested in April-May, the second is sown in February-March and is gathered in June-July and the third is sown in July-August and is harvested in November-December.

245 For oranges and betelnut the orchards are cleared of weeds twice a year. Harvesting of orange takes place from October to January. Betelnut ripens at the beginning of the year and are collected between February and May.

241 2.6.3 **Agricultural implements.**—The usual agricultural implements are a hoe, a sickle, three or four kinds of doas, a harrow, a crowbar which is used for the construction of irrigation channels, 'sierras' and winnowing baskets. Bullock drawn plough is used in wet paddy cultivation in parts of Jowai subdivision and in Bhoi area and resembles the one in use in the plains of the State.

2. 6. 4. **General cultural practices.**—The cultivators mostly adhere to their indigenous practices of cultivation. Rotation of crops is not widely used. Cultivation of rice is usually done by broadcasting the seeds though transplanting is also in vogue in some areas. Mixed cropping is widely practised. Cultivation by making terraces in the hill slopes is gaining popularity in the district.

433 2.7 **Cottage Industries.**—Cottage Industries, it appears, have not 326 found very great favour among the people of the district. A few [323] families here and there manufacture iron implements, earthenware, [285] pottery, baskets, mats and jewellery. In striking contrast with other [306] districts weaving of cotton clothes is rare among the Khasis. The [286] Mikirs in Bhoi area and in areas adjoining North Cachar and Mikir [171] Hills practice it only for their domestic consumption. At present, the [654] Government is trying to popularise weaving in the district and this [231] has been welcomed by the Khasis. Among other cottage industries production of eri cocoon in the northern part of the district adjoining Kamrup district and bee keeping throughout the district are worth mentioning.

142 2.8 **The People.**—The Khasis and Jaintias are a short sturdy 147 race distinct from the neighbouring hill tribes. By nature they are 441 hardy and laborious and in respect of manual labour, they are free 563 from any inhibition. Side by side with the Khasis live the Mikirs, Garos and Nepalis who form respectively 7.32 percent, 3.38 percent and 3·27 per cent of the total rural population. Besides, there are plains people who are mainly concentrated in the town of Shillong. In the marketing centres of the border area there are large number of Bengali Hindus who dominate the bulk of the trade in the border areas.

241 2.9 **Occupation.**—The greater portion of the population of the [433] district subsists on cultivation. More than 75 percent of the rural [461] households are predominantly agricultural. The industrious Khasi agriculturists males and females have a high regard for hard labour

and even the well to do ones do not feel anything to work as labourers in other's farms. It is almost customary among the agriculturists to work in other's farms on wage basis, when agricultural operation in one's own farm are over. This is probably an outcome of the difficult transport situation. Among the non-agriculturists and those who follow agriculture as subsidiary occupation, a large number are porters and labourers engaged in jobs like transporting of goods from place to place, collection of limestone, sand, fuel, Collieries and forests of the district also offer employment to a good number of people. Since the taking up of road programme under the plan, a large number of people are getting employment in construction of roads, etc. It is heartening to note that for construction of roads, nay for all kinds of works demanding unskilled labourers, the district locally supplies the whole labour force. People in the various local points of the district, particularly those living in higher hills are mainly engaged in trade. The Khasis are indefatigable traders and have been able to keep almost the whole of the small trade in the district in their own hands. A small proportion of the people are engaged in cottage industries such as stone cutting, brick making, bee keeping, blacksmithy, cane and bamboo works, etc.

The number of persons returned in the 1951 census under each of the eight main livelihood classes for the rural tract of the district was as follows.

TABLE 1

Number of Persons (Source 1951 Census)

Head	Male	Female	Total	P.C.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
A. Agricultural class:—				
1. Cultivators of land wholly or mainly owned and their dependents.	90,603	92,107	1,82,710	59·89
2. Cultivators of land wholly or mainly unowned and their dependents.	16,014	16,109	32,123	10·53
3. Cultivating labourers and their dependents.	14,053	14,941	28,994	9·50
4. Non-cultivating owners of land, agricultural rent receivers and their dependents.	344	562	906	·30
Sub-total	1,21,014	1,23,719	2,44,733	80·22
B. Non-agricultural class:—				
5. Production other than cultivation.	11,791	10,309	22,103	7·24
6. Commerce	3,237	4,069	7,306	2·39
7. Transport	355	264	619	·20
8. Other services and miscellaneous sources.	17,462	12,864	30,326	9.95
Sub-total	32,848	27,506	60,354	19.788
Total	..	..	3,05,087	100.00

There is another 102·21 acres of land in Subacherra in the Indo Pakistan Border which is under tea plantation since prepartition period After partition this area has fallen into India. But at present though tea plantation is still carried on, the revenue has never been collected at all since the company has gone to Pakistan. 423 651 648

There are also in Jowai subdivision 15 numbers of building land sites, mostly leased out to non-Khasi individuals and institutions. They include building for churches, schools, hospitals and training classes, etc. The total area comes to 397·39 acres with a total revenue of Rs.216·84 per year. The period of the lease varies from one plot to another.

A part from land revenue, all the houses in Jowai subdivision are subjected to taxation. The rate is fixed at Rs.2 to Rs.6 per year according to the economic condition of the village. In Shillong subdivision only 31 Sirdarships which were formerly known as British Sirdarships have to pay house tax.

2.12 **Land Utilisation.**—The following table gives the area under important crops. 241 433

TABLE 2

	1958-59	
Winter rice	37,800	acres.
Maize	8,000	"
Other cereals	1,000	"
Potato	21,600	"
Chillies	350	"
Sweet potato	5,400	"
Linseed	180	"
Cotton	50	"
Tobacco	600	"
Arecanut	13,455	"
Orange	20,000	"
Betel-leaf	10,000	
Total	1,18,435	acres.

3.3 **Measures so far taken.**—Since 1947, there has been constant demand from border people for relief and rehabilitation. Government undertook various measures to alleviate their difficulties. Government's attention to border problem has however, not been adequate. The common feeling of border people was that whenever the border problem deteriorated due to some adverse measures adopted by East Pakistan authorities more attention was attracted, on the other hand, when the situation eased comparatively the Government's vigilance also slackened. 643 659

The various measures so far adopted by Government in border area, have been fully discussed and commented upon by the Border Rehabilitation Committee. These need no repetition here. But a few points emerging from the grievances put forward by the villagers during our investigation are noted below.

On the question of the schemes linked up with the issue of diversification of agriculture in border area, a large section of the border people skilled in the maintenance and operation of orchards are opposed to the idea of a complete switch over from cash crops to food crops in the cultivation of which they have no adequate experience. Moreover, there is the problem of getting adequate land in the vicinity for wet paddy cultivation. Indeed, having lost the market for some of the cash crops, some cultivators are trying to increase cultivation of paddy and other valuable crops on their own initiative wherever suitable land is available. But the problem of getting adequate funds for reclamation and improvement of land has stood as a serious handicap to them. Financial assistance to the needy and willing cultivators for reclamation works and taking up of more minor irrigation projects is very necessary. 178 241 433

As regards Government loans granted to cultivators, people complained that apart from being inadequate they are often untimely. As a result the people, needy as they are, utilise the amount for meeting their day to day consumption expenses. 241 651 659

There have been complaints that various improved seeds supplied by Government are of very inferior quality leading to waste of time and money of the poor people. The Department of Agriculture should not only check the quality of the seeds before issue but should also see that the seed are properly used by inexperienced cultivators who are newly taking up cultivation of these crops.

With the opening up of a few vital P. W. D. Roads transport of border products to Shillong and other places has greatly been facilitated but the problem of transporting them from remote interiors to the various local points on P. W. D. roads still remains unsolved. While during winter season these places may be negotiated by a man on foot up and down the steep gradients, during rainy seasons these tracks become slippery, the streams and rivulets are over-flooded and it becomes impossible for a man to cross them, thus isolating the villages from each other leading to cessation of trade and all other activities between villages. Properly planned test relief schemes for construction of feeder roads and bridges linking up these villages, will, apart from giving some works to the people alleviate much of the difficulties of transportation of agricultural produce. 489 491 659

Name of village (1)	Name of society (2)	Sponsored by (3)
7. Sohrai ...	(1) Credit Society.	Local people
	(2) Co-operative Trading Society.	
8. Durang ...	Marketing Society.	Do
9. Shella ...	Trading Co-operative Society.	Do.

6.10 **Cottage Industries.**—It has already been mentioned that Village and Cottage Industries are not very popular in the district.

The following table shows the industries reported from the sample villages :—

TABLE 5-9

Industry (1)	No. of villages reporting existence of the industries. (2)	No. of villages reporting production for sale. (3)
Cane and bamboo works ...	9	7
Blacksmithy	8	5
Tailoring	2	2
Handloom	—	—
Weaving and Spinning ...	3	1
Rearing of cocoons, etc. ...	1	1
Rearing of lac	1	1
Others	2	1

Blacksmithy and making of baskets, cane products, etc., out of cane and bamboo, are a traditional occupation. Weaving and spinning of cotton, rearing of muga cocoon and weaving of eudi, etc., are in vogue only in the Khasi area and the areas adjoining Kamrup and North Cachar and Mikir Hills districts. Lac rearing is found in the northern portion of the district, *i.e.*, Nongpoh area.

Except cane and bamboo works and blacksmithy other industries are practised in a very limited scale. There is thus a lot of scope for intensively encouraging industries in the district.

General area.—

1. Mawphlang	Paddy and maize	Dao, hoe and plough	Bone-meal, dung and chemical.	241
2. Jowai	Paddy, maize and betel-leaf	Dao, hoe and plough	No.	
3. Byllah	Paddy, maize, etc.	Dao, hoe and plough	No.	
4. Mawkyrwat	Paddy, maize and potato	Dao, hoe and plough	No.	
5. Amlo	Paddy, maize and millet	Dao, hoe and plough	No.	
6. Langrinang	Paddy, maize and millet	Dao, hoe and plough	Dung and bone-meal.	
7. Mawkhrit	Paddy, potato and maize	Dao, hoe and plough	Bone-meal.	
8. Kupmain	Paddy and maize	Dao, hoe and plough	No.	
9. Dawrpa	Paddy, potato and maize	Dao and hoe	No.	
10. Jowai	Tapioca, millet and orange.	Dao and hoe	No.	

This table reveals that in one region there is bias for cash crops and in the other for food crops—more or less depending upon the soil and topography of the regions. Extreme hardship occurs when there is deficiency in food production or a glut in the market of cash crops. The cash crop producers are, of course, trying to adapt their crops to the changing market conditions. With the loss of market for oranges, the people in the border areas are trying to increase their betelnut production and start cultivating paddy, potatoes, etc. Throughout the district, people are trying to increase wet paddy cultivation. Wherever water is available, they spare no pain to convert it into a wet paddy field. Similarly, increasing interest is evident among the people in the cultivation of valuable crops like black-pepper, cashewnut, etc., which have a good prospect in the border areas. It is felt that there is considerable scope for intensification of cultivation of chillies, turmeric, coffee, etc. But any new endeavour demands heavy initial investment which often is not within the reach of cultivators. Government should continue to advance adequate agricultural loans to the needy cultivators in a better planned manner. 178 241 433 458 44

Only 19 out of 28 villages reported use of bullock driven ploughs for wet paddy cultivation. But even in these villages animal power is not universally used. Of course, in the rocky fields people have no alternative to the use of hoes and spades but in some areas particularly in the wet paddy field, bullock driven ploughs may profitably be utilised. It is not that the farmers do not realise the advantage of ploughing but want of funds for purchase of bullocks, etc., is reported to be the cause of continuance of the old practice. Both broadcasting and transplanting methods are in vogue in paddy cultivation the latter being a recent introduction is gaining popularity. Some farmers in the project area villages have tried line sowing but according to them it is very laborious and amounts to 178 241

#162 125 161 621

5.2: The following table shows the classification of population by age and sex in the three areas :—

Age and Sex Composition of Population

Age Group	Border area			Project area			General area		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
1. Below 3 yrs.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (10·[illegible])	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (10·[illegible])	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (10·[illegible])
2. 3 to below 15 yrs.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (24·[illegible])	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (23·[illegible])	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (28·[illegible])
3. 15 to below 45 yrs.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (37·[illegible])	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (3[illegible]·[illegible])	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (3[illegible]·[illegible])
4. 45 yrs. & above	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (1·[illegible])	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (1·[illegible])	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (0·[illegible])
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (100·00)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (100·00)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (100·00)
No. of females per 1,000 males	—	[illegible]	—	—	—	[illegible]	—	—	[illegible]

It is seen that the population under 15 years of age in the border area, project area and general area were respectively [illegible] per cent, [illegible] per cent and [illegible] per cent of the total population in these areas, while that under age group between 15 to 45 years, constituted respectively [illegible] per cent, [illegible] per cent [illegible] per cent of the population in the three areas.

It is evident that population of females was on a whole greater than that of male in border area and project area and less in general area. The number of females per 1,000 males in border area, project area and general area were respectively [illegible], [illegible] and [illegible] against the 1951 census figure of 985 females per 1,000 males in the rural areas of the district of United K.J. Hills.

5.3: The following table shows the classification of population by religion.

TABLE G-5

#162 779

Classification of Population by Religion

Area	Tribal religion	Christianity	Hinduism	Other religion	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1. Border area	[illegible] ([illegible]·[illegible])	[illegible] (28·[illegible])	[illegible] (1[illegible]·[illegible])	[illegible] (0·[illegible])	[illegible] (100·00)
2. Project area	[illegible] (27·[illegible])	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (100·00)
3. General area	[illegible] (9[illegible]·[illegible])	[illegible] (10·[illegible])	[illegible] (0·[illegible])	[illegible]	[illegible] (100·00)

[4133] [563] Population following Hinduism and other religion in the border area comprises mostly of displaced persons from East Pakistan following trade and business as their means of livelihood, while those in the general and project areas are mainly the Nepalese who are generally engaged in cattle rearing and agriculture.

[illegible] A perusal of the table above will show that proportion of families following non-agricultural labour as principal occupation is higher in [illegible] areas. Majority of these families were formerly engaged in agriculture but due to adverse circumstances arising out of fragmentation, [illegible] were forced to take to other occupations. The adult male and normal F.M.D. units gave employment to a large section of these people. Other avenues of employment are collection and carriage of timber, woodcutting, and carving of sandalwood, etc. Traders in cultivated articles and groceries who formed the bulk of the traders in the border [illegible] were are largely the displaced persons and the Bengali people concentrated in Bhalgaon and Dalai. Others are petty traders dealing in fruits, vegetables, fish, clothes and other handicraft. Under craftsmen manufacturers, etc., comprise the lower families, blacksmiths, carpenters, etc., Commission agents, Educators, Doctors, etc., are shown as others.

[illegible] In the following table the families in the three village groups are classified according to their subsidiary occupation.

As is manifest, agriculture cannot not be the single major industry giving employment to about 3/4th of the employed persons. In Sunder area this accounts for 78 per cent of the total employed persons. Among the other industries giving employment to the rest of the employed persons come in order of importance, construction (3 per cent), trade and commerce (3 per cent), mining and quarrying (3 per cent) and manufacture such as manufacture of footwear, production of garments, other wood and stone products (3 per cent). In Pegam area, apart from agriculture which accounts for 78 per cent other industries in order of importance of employment come construction (11 per cent), service and profession, manufacture, trade and livestock (2 per cent each), and mining (4 per cent). In Central area agriculture give employment to 88 per cent of the population. Then in it come livestock mining, manufacture and forestry which account for 4 per cent and 3 per cent respectively of the total employed persons.

CHAPTER VIII

Farm Output and sale

8.1 As a large majority of the family income is mainly from their farms, an attempt is made below to analyse the data collected on farm output, disposal and sale of produce. The data relate to the agricultural year March, 1957 to February, 1957.

8.2 **Output:** The following table sets forth some interesting data on farm output average cultivated area, etc. of cultivators by value groups.

TABLE F-1

Number of families by Gross output group

Gross output group (Rs)	Sadar area		Project area		Control area	
	No. of families	Average cultivated area (acres)	No. of families	Average cultivated area (acres)	No. of families	Average cultivated area
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
0	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible] and above	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	[illegible]		[illegible]		[illegible]	

4162
241
• 433

TABLE F-2

Number of Families

Gross output group Rs.	Border area				Project area				General area			
	Small farms	Medium farms	Large farms	Total	Small farms	Medium farms	Large farms	Total	Small farms	Medium farms	Large farms	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
0	35	22	3	60	17	3	—	20	1	1	—	2
Less than 100	145	28	1	177	41	6	—	47	9	1	—	10
100 — 200	77	45	2	124	69	16	1	86	31	6	—	37
200 — 300	63	66	32	161	95	37	1	133	32	18	1	51
300 — 1000	18	79	56	149	54	100	4	158	19	38	4	61
1000 — 2000	3	24	50	77	4	42	10	57	—	11	9	20
2000 — 3000	—	9	11	20	—	—	8	8	—	—	1	1
3000 — 4000	1	1	5	7	—	—	3	3	—	—	—	—
4000 and above	—	4	6	10	—	—	2	2	—	—	—	—

As is to be expected, large output groups are associated with higher farm size groups. It will also be seen that proportion of farms with an output of less than Rs. 500.00 per annum in Border area, Project area and General area are respectively 67 per cent, 55 per cent and 60 per cent. A joint consideration of the proportions and the size of cultivated area in the three groups indicates that the large majority of farms in Border area are less profitable than those in the other two areas though the farms in Border area are sown with very rich cash crops. This is further amplified by the fact that in Border area of the total number of farms fetching less than Rs. 500.00 a year, 35 per cent are medium sized farms and 6 per cent are large sized farms, the corresponding percentages for the Project area being 23 per cent and 1 per cent and for General area 27 per cent and 1 per cent respectively.

8.3.—The following table summarises the data on relative importance of crops, harvested area under different crops, average yeild of crops and sale proceeds, etc.

TABLE F-3
Yield rate of some important crops

Crop	Border area			Projet area			General area		
	Gross farm area harvested (in acres)	Average yield per acre	Sale proceed (Rs.0.00)	Gross farm area harvested (in acre)	Average yield per acre	Sale proceed (Rs.0.00)	Gross farm area harvested (in acre)	Average yield per acre	Sale proceed (Rs.0.00)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
1. Betel leaf	298.69	17.15	15037	18.10	10.64	7867	10.50	24	496
	(9)	(kuri)	(5)	(3)	(kuri)	(5)	(3)	(kuri)	(2)
2. Arecanut	991.80	8.93	184025	13.60	4·11	4719	8r50	3.02	1048
	(37)	(huti)	(60)	(1)	(huti)	(5)	(1)	(huti)	(4)
3. Orange	1018.37	5.27	6040[illegible]	52.34	16·76	3120	21.25	2·80	71
	(31)	(huti)	(19)	(5)	(huti)	(5)	(4)	(huti)	(..)
4. Potato	20.70	17.49	1116	28.31	23.77	1148	37.40	27.16	1075
	(1)	(mds)	(—)	(3)	(mds)	(1)	(7)	(mds)	(39)
5. Paddy	443.76	8.38	17000	1431.09	12.92	77243	243.75	12.64	1209
	(19)	(mds)	(6)	(82)	(mds)	(77)	(61)	(mds)	(45)
6. Millet	101.00	3·51	370	6·10	8.78	131	22.09	6.96	717
	(3)	(mds)	(—)	(—)	(mds)	(—)	(4)	(mds)	(3)
7. Tapioca	26·25	24.41	601	..	—	..	6.75	37.00	225
	(1)	(mds)	(—)	—	—	..	(1)	(mds)	(—)
8. Yam	20.00	9.60	350	3.60	19·44	90	1.87	23.45	25
	(2)	(mds)	(—)	(..)	(mds)	(—)	(—)	(mds)	(..)
9. Others	260.08	..	10104	120·96	..	3204	129.41	..	3821
	(7)	..	(5)	(8)	..	(4)	(19)		(19)
Total	3324.45	..	[illegible]	1700.40	..	1061.27	551.27	..	[illegible]
	(100)	..	(100)	(100)	..	(100)	(100)		(100)

N.B. (a) 1 kuri=[illegible] acre, in the case of orange.
=[illegible] " " " betelnut.
(b) 1 Kuri=100 leaves.
(c) Potato here relates to potato harvested in winter months.

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8·4—Relative importance of crops—Total gross farm area harvested amounted to 3324.48 acres in Border area, 1700.40 acres in Project area and 561 acres in General area.

From above table it will be seen that in Border area, orange accounted for the highest proportion of harvested area, *i.e.*, 31 per cent, followed in order of importance by betel nut, paddy, betel leaf and millet which respectively accounts for 17 per cent, 19 per cent, 9 per cent and 3 per cent of the total harvested area. Other crops which account for 248.68 acres (7 per cent) includes maize, tezpata, banana, turmeric, dal, blackpepper and other fruit crops.

Considering sale proceeds, it is clear that betelnut happens to be the main earner accounting for 60 per cent of the total sale proceeds followed by orange, paddy and betel leaf which respectively account for 22 per cent, 6 per cent and 5 per cent of the total sale proceeds. Thus orange and betel leaf which in pre-partition days were the main earner-crops in the Border area have been passed to second and forth position respectively—the proportions fetched by them, particularly by betel leaf, being negligible. On other hand as there is a good market for betel nut, Border people have taken to betel nut cultivation in a more extensive scale.

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It is significant that while in Border area total farm area is 3914 acres, total area harvested comes to only 3325 acres including area under mixed cropping which is in wide practice in Border area particularly for orange, betelnut, and for some other minor crops. Thus proportion of unharvested farm area emerges out to be considerable which can be accounted for the following reasons:—

(1) The farm area includes some new gardens particularly of betelnuts which usually take quite a few years to bear fruits.

[44]

(2) Reportedly a large number of orange and betel-leaf gardens were not harvested at all as there was no market for them.

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Turning our attention to Project area and General area, it will be found that paddy eclipses all other crops in as much as in the two areas it respectively covers 82 per cent and 61 per cent of the total harvested area in the respective area. In Project area paddy is followed by Betel leaf, orange, potato and betelnut in order of importance while in General area it is followed by potato, millet, orange, betel leaf and betelnut. In both the areas as will be seen from table above, almost all the crops retain their respective position in value. Considering sale proceed, in Project area, paddy occupies the highest position accounting for 77 per cent of the total sale proceeds followed by betel leaf, orange, betelnut and potato accounting respectively for 8 per cent, 5 per cent, 5 per cent and 1 per cent of the total sale proceeds. In General area, in order of importance of sale proceed paddy, potato and betelnut are worth mentioning fetching respectively 45 per cent, 30 per cent and 4 per cent of the total sale proceeds.

8·5—In the following paragraphs we have reproduced the yield rates of different crops, calculated on the basis of area harvested and total produces reported by the cultivators. For assesment of correct yield rates it is necessary to conduct a scientifically designed crops cutting survey which in view of its largeness in magnitude and other complexities associated with the type of experiments, could not be fitted in with the programme of the present survey. It is admitted that the yield estimates worked out by us are proved to be subjected to the usual limitations of this type of data. 128 433

Yield

1. **Paddy.**—It will be seen from table above that average yields of paddy per acre for Border area, General area and Project area are respectively 8.38 maunds, 12.92 maunds and 12.60 maunds and for the district as a whole it comes to 11.65 maunds though there are cases where maximum yield goes to above 18 maunds per acre. Thus it is seen that the average yield is much less than the average yield for the State of Assam (plain district) which is above 18 maunds per acre. Average yield in Border area is evidently much smaller. Apart from low fertility of land, another reason for this low average is that in a number of villages selected from Border area such as Syndai, Amki and Lumshnong, there was widespread havoc to standing crops was caused by wild elephants. 243 433 [136]

2. **Potato.**—The average for the three areas comes to 21·61 maunds per acre which is in contrast to the State average of above 40 maunds per acre. Our estimate has in fact been lowered due to inclusion of a few villages in the foot hills where potatoes don't grow well, otherwise in a number of high altitude villages, yield per acre well exceeded 40 maunds. The average for Border area is rather too low. Apart from unsuitability of Border land of high altitude potatoes another reason for this low average is that during the reference year the crop suffered from widespread incidence of pests and insects. 244 433 [136]

3. **Orange.**—yield of orange in Border area, Project area and General area was found to be 5. 27 luties or 5396 numbers against 16.76 luties or 17162 numbers and 2.80 luties or 2867 numbers respectively Thus the average yield in Border area, even considering the mixed nature of some gardens is much low. The reasons are obvious. 245 433

4. **Betelnut.**—Average yield per acre from Border area, Project area and General area was found to be 2.93 luties (18752 numbers), 4.11 luties (26304 numbers) ann 3.03 luties (19392 numbers) respectively bringing the average for all the three areas to 2.95 luties per acre. 249 433

5. **Betel leaf.**—Average yield per acre works out as 17·15 kuris, 10.64 kuris and 24 kuris in Border area, Project area and General area respectively. Thus in Border area the average is much lower. This is due to the fact that most of the gardens remained unplucked for want of market for leaf.

426 Of the total number of loans 81 per cent in Border area, 18 per cent in Project area and 20 per cent in General area were free of interest while rate of interest for 9 per cent, 30 per cent and 60 per cent respectively of the loans in the three areas were found to be 20 per cent or more per annum which in cases ranged upto 200 per cent.

241 434 592 10.8. Farm output of 67 per cent of the families in Border area, 56 per cent of families in Project area and 60 per cent of families in General area wee less than Rs. 500. a year, while 5 per cent, 30 per cent and 1 per cent of the families in the respective area earned more than Rs. 2,000.00 a year from their farms. Of the total number of farms fetching less than or Rs. 500.00 a year in Border area 35 per cent of them are medium sized farms and 4 per cent large sized farms, the corresponding proportions for Project area and General area being 21 per cent, 1 per cent, 27 per cent and 1 per cent.

24 433 10.9. In Border area the most important crops are oranges, betelnut, paddy, and betel leaf which respectively accounted for 31 per cent, 27 per cent, 19 per cent and 9 per cent of the total harverted area. In Project area paddy and orange are the most important crop which accounted respectively for 82 per cent and 8 per cent of the total harvested area. The most important crops in the General area are paddy and potato which respectively accounted for 61 per cent and 7 per cent of the total harvested area.

On the basis of data collected for all the villages investigated average yield per acre worked out at paddy 11.65 maunds, potato 21.61 maunds, oanges 5.77 lutis (5908 numbers) and betelnut 2.95 lutis (12980 numbers). These yield exhibited wide variation among the three areas.

434 592 10.10. Proportions of families with annual gross income of less than Rs. 750, Rs. 750 to less than Rs. 3,000, and above Rs. 3,000, were respectively found to be 49 per cent, 45 per cent and 6 per cent in Border area, 34 per cent, 60 per cent and 6 per cent in Project area and 45 per cent, 54 per cent and 1 per cent in General area. Average annual gross income per family worked out at Rs. 1,078.50 in Border area, Rs. 1,229.40 nP. in Project area and Rs. 844.34 nP. in General area which for predominantly agricultural and non-agricultural families respectively stood at Rs. 1,025.06 nP. and Rs. 1,161.91 nP. in Border area, Rs. 1,095.33 nP. and 1,644.36 nP. in Project area and Rs. 873.98 nP. and 780.84 nP. in General area. In all the three areas main contributors to family income were agriculture, service-profession-labour and trade accounting respectively for 41 per cent, 35 per cent and 15 per cent of the total average income in Border area, 37 per cent, 40 per cent and 9 per cent in Project area and 53 per cent, 36 per cent and 5 per cent in General area.

The net annual income per family in different income groups varied between R. 60 to 2,949 in Border area, between Rs. 110 to Rs. 3,509 in Project area and between Rs. 98 to Rs. 2,004 in General area. The average over all per family net annual income worked out at Rs. [illegible] in Beder area, Rs. 989 in project area and Rs. 750 in General area and the same per capita at Rs. 231 in Border area, Rs. 216 in Project area and Rs. 053 in General area.

TABLE F-3

Yield rate of some Important crops

Crop	Gross area harvested (acre)	Total yield (unit below)	Quantity consumed	Quantity value (Rs. 0·00)	Quantity sold	Sale Value	Average yield per acre
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Border area :—							
a. Betel leaf ..	298·69(8·98)	5121·59	832·09	2953·92	4240·50	15037·00(4·94)	17·15
b. Betel nut ..	891·80(26·83)	2612·97	224·93	16988·75	23·04	184024·50(60·44)	2·93
c. Orange ..	1018·77(30·64)	5367·90	362·95	5161·15	4311·84	68404·50(22·46)	5·27
d. Potato ..	20·70(0·62)	207·04	110·07	1266·91	96·97	1117·50(—)	17·49
e. Paddy ...	20·70(19·52)	5437·75	3926·75	62356·79	1108·75	176090·50(5·78)	8·38
f. Millet ..	101·80(3·06)	363·98	343·06	6192·23	20·40	370·00(0·12)	3·57
g. Tapioca ...	30·25(1·09)	834·96	814·46	4634·28	70·50	401·37(0·13)	24·41
h. Yam ..	59·03(1·78)	554·97	475·47	3575·53	79·50	597·50(0·20)	9·38
i. Others ..	248·68(7·48)	..	..	...	..	16934·05(5·56)	39·76
Total :	3324·48			103129·56		304495·92	

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TABLE F-3—*contd.*

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Project area:—							
a. Betel leaf ..	58·10(3·42)	2943·00	152·00	428·64	2786·00	7866·50(7·86)	50·64
b. Betel nut ..	13·50(0·80)	55·45	6·22	608·56	48·23	4719·00(4·71)	4·11
c. Orange ..	52·34(3·08)	876·99	539·36	8182·09	818·13	5128·50(5·13)	16·76
d. Potato ..	28·31(1·66)	644·75	553·75	5442·50	111.80	1143·00(1·14)	22·77
e. Paddy ..	1401·60(82·44)	18112·75	12653·00	152366·20	6418·00	77243·00(77·14)	12·92
f. Millet —	4·10(0·24)	36·00	23·00	337·41	9·00	182·00(0·18)	8·78
g. Tapioca ..	—	..	...	..	—	—	..
h. Yam ..	5·60(0·33)	103·35	89·85	599·30	13·50	90·00(0·09)	18·48
i. Others ...	136·56(8·03)	...	..	4930·00	..	3805·50(3·80)	18·87
Total	1700·00(100·00)	..	..	172894·70	..	100127·58(100·00)	..

General arts:—

a. Betel leaf	..	10·50(1·87)	252·0	40·00	85·00	212·00	486·00(1·83)	24·00
b. Betel nut	..	8·50(1·57)	25·5	13·60	1360·00	12·15	1053·00(4·10)	3·09
c. Orange	...	21·25(3·79)	59·5	50·50	360·19	9·00	70·75(0·27)	2·00
d. Potato	...	37·40(6·66)	1015·3	164·82	1587·27	850·59	8673·00(30·33)	27·15
e. Paddy	—	342·75(61·06)	4321·0	3391·50	4629·05	1019·50	12305·00(43·42)	12·00
f. Millet	..	22·94(4·09)	159·3	114·75	1045·87	43·50	797·00(2·77)	6·34
g. Tapioca	..	6·75(1·20)	250·0	200·00	900·00	50·00	225·00(0·84)	37·05
h. Yam	..	1·87(0·33)	43·7	38·87	194·35	5·00	25·00(0·09)	25·45
i. Others	..	109·41(19·43)	..	—	...	...	3821·00(14·38)	...
Total :		561·37(100·00)			12710·75		26627·75(100·00)	

Unit:— a. Betel leaf in Kuri — 1 Kuri = 20 bundles, 1 bundles = 144 of leaves (approx.).
b. Betel nut in Luti — 1 Luti = 16 kani, 1 kani = 400 nos. of nuts.
c. Orange in Luti — 1 Luti = 16 khar, 1 khar = 64 nos. of oranges.
d to h-in mounds.

A.G.P 3/61 (Tribal)—400—8-:-43.

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(9) Cotton is grown on high lands and
248 slopes; it is sown in April, and becomes fit for picking by January.

311 Area and Outturn of Crops.—According to the Assam Administration Report for 1875-76, the area of the British portion of
241 the Khásí and Jáintiá Hills District amounts to 2160 square miles,
648 of which only 110 are under cultivation; of the remainder, 1337 square miles are set down as cultivable, and 713 as uncultivable. The total area of the semi-independent Khásí States is given as 3997 square miles, of which 176 are under cultivation, 2561 are cultivable, and 1260 uncultivable. In another portion of the same Report, the area under various crops throughout the entire District is thus approximately estimated:—Rice, 59,880 acres; other food grains, 37,800 acres; cotton, 1076 acres; potatoes, 33,880 acres. The average out-turn of rice per acre is estimated at 8 *maunds*, or nearly 6 cwt.; of other food grains, 3 *maunds*, or over 2 cwt.; of cotton, 1 *maund*, or 1¼ cwt.; of
[435] potatoes, 55 *maunds*, or nearly 40 cwt. The price of rice in 1875-76 was Rs. 4. 8 per *maund*, or 10s. 8d. a cwt., which gives Rs. 36 or £3. 12s. as the value of the rice crop obtained from one acre.

241 Condition of the Peasantry.—The Khásiás can scarcely be
423 considered as agricultural people, as they do not grow sufficient
• 433 grain for their own subsistence, and are dependent to a great extent on imports of rice from the neighbouring Districts. Ten acres is generally considered a comfortable holding for a husbandman in the position of an ordinary Bengal peasant, but scarcely any man in the Hills depends entirely upon the produce of his land for
[231] his support. In the Jáintiá Hills a cultivator's position is con-
[554] sidered to be very low if he possesses no cattle, but performs all the operations of agriculture with his own hands. In that portion of the District, five acres is all that can be cultivated with a single
[465] pair of oxen, the average being four acres. A husbandman with a holding of five acres would not be so well off as a retail shopkeeper, nor would it enable him to live as comfortably as he could on a money wage of Rs. 8 or 10s. a month. The peasantry, however, as a class are not in debt. The land is owned chiefly by small proprietors, who occupy and cultivate their hereditary fields. The relations of landlord and tenant do not exist in the Hills, and no rent is payable to any one; consequently the principle of Act x. of 1859 (the Rent Law of Bengal) has no application.

231 The Animals used in agriculture are oxen; goats and pigs are
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20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR? Khasi AR?

supply. As the District depends so largely for its supply of rice upon Sylhet and Kámrúp, the state of the markets in those places exercises a greater influence on the rates in the Hills than any failure of the local harvest. In the year 1898 the price of common rice is said to have risen as high as 6 *seers* for the rupee, or 180. 8d. per cwt., in consequence of the failure of the crops in the plains.

ROADS AND MEANS OF COMMUNICATION.—The following are the eight principal lines of road in the Khási and Jaintia Hills:—(1) Road from Shillong to Cherrapunji, in Khásiya. This road has recently (1877) been opened for wheeled traffic throughout its entire length. The Deputy-Commissioner's Report for 1876-77 states that the number of passengers passing up and down may be estimated at about 800 or 1000 every month, and the number of carts already used at about 130. The *dawk dák* brings travellers up to Shillong from Cherrapunji in two days by a comfortable and easy carriage service, while for natives a cheaper conveyance by bullock cart is available. At Cherrapunji there is a good *dák* bungalow in charge of a *khánsámá*, where the usual accommodation provided in a hotel is to be found. The stages to Shillong are as follow:—(2) Cherrapunji to Borsúlah, 17 miles. The road is good throughout. There is a *dák* bungalow in charge of a *chaukidár* at Borsúlah, where grain and rice are procurable. (3) Borsúlah to Nongpoh, 14½ miles. The road is hilly throughout, but good. At Nongpoh, which is at an elevation of 1500 feet, there is a *dák* bungalow in charge of a *khánsámá*, from whom tea, liquors, and biscuits, etc. can be obtained. The *dák* bungalow is furnished with bedding, linen, etc. Grain and rice can be purchased in the *bázár*. (4) Nongpoh to Umsning, 18½ miles. At Umsning, elevation 1500 feet, there is a *dák* bungalow in charge of a *chaukidár*. Supplies or coolies are not procurable, but sometimes grain and rice can be purchased. (5) Umsning to Umjam, 15½ miles. At Umjam there is a Public Works Department rest-house in charge of a *chaukidár*. Supplies or coolies are not procurable. (6) Umjam to Shillong, 15½ miles, of which 6½ are a continuous ascent. At Shillong there are *dák* bungalows in the Artillery Lines, containing four separate rooms. A *khánsámá* is in attendance, and the rooms are completely furnished with bedding, linen, etc. This entire road, which has a total length of 63 miles, is as perfect a hill road as could be seen in any country, and a model of engineering skill. (7) Road running from Cherrapunji across the Hills, via Songlúm, Mawfang, Chaná

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR? Khasi AR?

at Rs. 480,000, or £48,000, and the revenue derived by Government from the quarries was Rs. 63,266, or £6,326. In addition, the Khasi Chiefs receive a revenue from this source of more than £1000.

Iron.—The smelting of iron was once the chief industry in the Khasi Hills, and a considerable quantity of the metal used to be exported into Sylhet, both in the crude and the manufactured state. Recently, however, this industry has almost died out, in the face of the competition of the superior article imported from England and sold in the plains at a cheaper rate. The indigenous methods of extracting, washing, and smelting the ore have been minutely described by Professor Oldham. The following description is taken from Mr. Allen's Report, dated 1878, at which date the annual export of smelted iron was estimated at 43,000 *maunds*, valued at Rs. 63,500, or £6,350, at the rate of Rs. 1. 8 per *maund*:—"The ore is said to be most abundant and of the best quality in the State of Khyrim, especially at the villages of Nongkrim and Nongmaki. A few iron articles, such as *dáos* or bill knives, *kukiffs* or cutlasses, spear and arrow heads, are manufactured by the Khasi smiths in the Hills; but the greater bulk of the smelted iron is sent to the plains for sale in circular lumps weighing about 4 or 5 *seers*. These lumps, called *ilrol*, sell at Chhatak for from Rs. 1. 4 to Rs. 1. 6 per *maund*. The best iron, however, which is known into here called *pati*, sells for from Rs. 1. 10 to Rs. 1. 12 per *maund*. Khasi iron is preferred to English, in consequence of its greater malleability. It is much used by the native boat-builders of Sylhet and the neighbouring Districts to make fastenings for the timbers of their boats. When brought into the market, it is more than half drossy, and it is this circumstance which renders the iron trade unprofitable. The cost of carriage from the Hills to the plains is about 6 *annas* per *maund*; and the traders, who are all Khasiás themselves, affirm that they get an average profit of only 2 *annas* per *maund*." The tables of trade for 1876-77 return no smelted iron as exported from the Hills, but Rs. 3000 of iron implements exported, against nails and ironmongery imported to the value of Rs. 18,000.

The Manufactures of the District, besides iron, consist of coarse cotton and woollen cloth, plain silver work, rude implements of husbandry, coarse baskets made of the fibre of the pine-apple, common pottery, and mats and baskets. With the exception of the

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

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of parents undergoing considerable privations rather than deny their children education; and in many families it has become a matter of ordinary routine to send the children to school. This only refers to the younger children; for after boys have attained their fourteenth or fifteenth year, their parents grow impatient for their pecuniary assistance. It is the custom among the Khásis to inure very young children to work, so that they may earn enough to support themselves as soon as ever they can manage strap and basket. It is common for a boy to realise from ten *pies* to five *annas* a day for his parents; and it is considered sufficient sacrifice for the latter to have kept him at school up to his fourteenth year.'

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KHASI STATES.—The following is a list of the nineteen semi-independent Khási States or Democracies, with the particulars of information that are available for each, taken from the Assam Administration Report for 1875-76:—

(1) BIRWAS or WAHRAH.—Name of Siem, U Baman Singh, age in 1876, 16 years; approximate population of State, 369; estimated gross revenue—from market dues, Rs. 10; from *mílikhed* on lime quarry, Rs. 16,000—total, Rs. 16,010, or £1601; products, rice, millet, *tejpát* or bay leaves, black pepper, Piper nigrum; minerals, lime.

(2) CHHAKA or SHOKAN.—Siem, U Hájan Máik, aged 42; population, 8260; revenue—from market dues, Rs. 7000; judicial fines, Rs. 150; *milikhed* on lime quarry, Rs. 200; *zemindári* holding in Sylhet, Rs. 1500—total, Rs. 8850, or £885; products, cotton, millet, betel-nuts, *ádá*, oranges, black pepper, Piper nigrum, chillies, turmeric, ginger, and honey; manufactures, bamboo mats and bamboo baskets; minerals, lime, iron, and coal.

(3) SHELLA.—Wíhadádáru, U Jirdí, aged 29, and U Ráí Singh, aged 35, of whom the former can read and write both Khási and Bengáli a little; population, 5511; revenue—from market dues, Rs. 300; judicial fines, Rs. 400—total, Rs. 700, or £70; products, oranges, betel-nuts, and pine-apples; manufactures, bamboo mats and bamboo baskets; minerals, lime and coal.

(4) KHYREM or NONG-KREM.—Siem, U Kher Singh, aged 32; population, 20,504; revenue—from pension allowed by the British Government, Rs. 1800; market dues, Rs. 9000; judicial fines, Rs. 400; *milikhed* on lime quarry, Rs. 1900; contributions for State purposes, Rs. 1000—total, Rs. 10,100, or £1010; products, rice, cotton, millet, 'Job's tears,' caoutchouc, cinnamon, *mikhlang*

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(a kind of turnip), betel-nuts, Indian corn, *pân*, oranges, tea, potatoes, black pepper, Piper nigrum, chillies, turmeric, ginger, and honey; manufactures, cotton cloth, *eri* silk cloth, *dâo* or bill knives, *kuddâlis* or mattocks, knives, hammers, crowbars, wedges, mats, and baskets; minerals, lime, coal, and iron. 631 651 633

(5) Myllum or Mylliem.—Siem, U Hain Mâsik, aged 30; population, 12,266; revenue—from market dues, Rs. 250; State contributions, Rs. 1000; judicial fines, Rs. 205; forest rent, Rs. 15—total, Rs. 1690, or £169; products, cinnamon, sugar-cane, rice, 'Job's tears,' Indian corn, *sulphang*, ginger, and millet; manufactures, *dâos* and baskets; minerals, iron.

(6) Langrin or Langkin.—Siem, U Ber, aged 25; population, 1867; revenue—from market dues, Rs. 250; *mâlikhud* on lime quarry, Rs. 300; forest rent, Rs. 60; fisheries, Rs. 30—total, Rs. 640, or £64; products, rice, millet, chillies, turmeric, and ginger; minerals, lime and coal.

(7) Maharam.—Siem, Amthar Singh, aged 38; population, 4[illegible]; revenue—from State contributions, Rs. 400; market dues, Rs. 100; forest revenue, Rs. 55; *mâlikhud* on lime quarry, Rs. 350; judicial fines, Rs. 100—total, Rs. 1045, or £104. 10s.; products, 'Job's tears,' black pepper, Piper nigrum, chillies, bay leaves, honey, Indian corn, *sulphang*, cinnamon, cassia-bark, sugar-cane, and ginger; manufactures, *dâos*, *kuddâlis*, and hammers; minerals, iron and lime.

(8) Maoyang or Maoyong.—Siem, U Jit Singh, aged 35; population, 1238; revenue—from lime quarries, Rs. 250. 8; house tax, Rs. 9; rent of fisheries, Rs. 30; judicial fines, Rs. 100; State contributions, Rs. 50—total, Rs. 350. 8, or £35. 3; products, honey, bees-wax, cotton, rice, millet, 'Job's tears,' *sulphang*; manufactures, mats; minerals, lime.

(9) [illegible] Siem, U [illegible], aged [illegible]; population, 947; revenue—from market dues, Rs. 180; State contributions of an uncertain nature, Rs. 150—total, Rs. 330, or £33; products, potatoes, millet, chillies, turmeric, honey, and ginger; manufactures, mats; minerals, lime, coal, and iron.

(10) Malai-soi-mat or Malaiwamat.—Siem, U Shangram Singh, aged 33; population, 499; revenue from market dues, Rs. 50; *mâlikhud* on lime quarry, Rs. 750; State contributions, Rs. 50; forest revenue, Rs. 50—total, Rs. 900, or £90; products, rice, millet, 'Job's tears,' ginger, chillies, turmeric, bay leaves, betel-nuts, and oranges; manufactures, mats; minerals, lime.

631
651
• 931

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] 631
[illegible] 651
[illegible] 632

[illegible] 63
[illegible] 648
[illegible] 651

[illegible] 132

on a historical past, different from that of the Khasi groups, the former having been ruled by the powerful, but somewhat disturbed dynasty of the Jaintia Raja and the Jaintia Wars of the British; the latter by small independent chiefs. Yet Jaintia social organization appears on the whole to preserve the matrilineal social structure clearer and to be less influenced by plains-civilisations, than that of the Khasi, though a few features of Brahmanical religious observances and also some traces of social admixture are found in the immediate vicinity of Jowai, the former summer residence of the Jaintia Raja. Stronger no doubt, than this influence, was that exerted by the British and non-Assamese Indians in the provincial capital Shillong since 1866. Methods of agriculture and other aspects of material civilisation differ but little in the Jaintia and Khasi plateau-areas.

The same cannot be said of both - the War-Khasi and War-Jaintia. Linguistically their affiliations are with the Khasi or Jaintia respectively as in the plateau-areas. Economically, however, both War-groups form a separate pan-lind cultivating unit in the little accessible steep southern slopes of the Khasi and Jaintia Hill massif. Both War-groups live in the environments of bamboo-wooded flora and fauna, sharply differentiated from the wind-barren plateau with its perennial winds and the lovely, if solitary beauty of its highland bowls, which forms the background of both the Khasi and Jaintia plateau-groups.

The age of the War-Khasi and -Jaintias, as two independent economic — and two half-independent historical linguistic entities, is an intricate problem. The two War-groups subsist on pan-lind cultivation as a means only, grown in the thick two-gardens as swiddens, not as bush-cultivation, as in the plateau-groups, because there is insufficient space on the steep slopes, for vegetable gardens or fields. The pan-lind cultivators therefore depend on land, purchased from outside. The slopes seem to have been uninhabited until not long ago. Yet pan-lind chewing is such an integral part of Khasi life, that until quite recently, and occasionally even now, the distance between two places is not measured by the number of hours needed for walking, but by the number of betelnut and pan-lind packages, consumed on the way. Also the common benediction among Khasi expresses the wish that as and as many betel pan in the Garden of God. Yet pan-cultivators and the settlements of the War-people as pan-lind cultivators in the southern slopes seem comparatively young. Pan-cultivation on the plateau is impossible. It is therefore possible that pan was for a long time only a much valued import article from the plains, bartered against Khasi ore and iron [illegible] markets of the plains, by both War-Khasi and War-Jaintia women and men.

According to a tradition, across which I came among the Nongbanda clan of the Nongmaliar village, the ancestors of the present War people were on the plateau at a time when no pan-cultivation was going on in the slopes and none of the present big returns of pan-tree gardens was yet held by their present (War-) owners. It was distant ancestor of a Nongbanda clan-member who about two or three generations ago told the story to U Hang pan of

Fig. 4.

Fig. 5

Fig. 6

Fig. 6. Drums, flutes and symbols of the Khasi. Fig. 7. Sacrificial drums and the vault of the Khasi. Fig. 8. Sacrificial drum of the Khasi (Khasi).

15: Nakano E-9 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

Shella

Confederacy forms a more marked endogamous community, through being cut off geographically and economically from the rest of the Khasi, and totally from the neighbouring Hindu people.

The Economy and the People

Shella lies along the upper part of the Shella River and stretches upwards along the steep slope, looking down towards the Bengal plain. The climate of this part of the hills is considered to be one of the worst in tropical India for human habitation. The Bengal plain, though warmer than this area, is considered more healthy. This border land is the zone of malaria, typhoid, black fever, cholera, etc. None of the Bengalee peasants dare to live in such an area. However, it is the most fertile for products such as betel-nuts, pineapples, oranges, bananas and pineapples, and it also produces limestone. These people seem to prefer to settle in this area and to enjoy its prosperity, at the expense of human lives every year, especially between March and September, the inhabitants suffer from various fevers and dysentery and other diseases, many of the weaker facing death.

Before the Partition of India and Pakistan, the products of Shella were carried down the Shella River to Sylhet, one of the biggest centres in East Bengal, which brought unimaginable wealth to the Shella people. Their houses were built by carpenters from Sylhet. The style and structure of these houses were exceptionally elaborate for the Khasi. They purchased vast rice fields in the plain, which used to be cultivated by Bengalee and Garo labourers engaged by them. These Khasi do not themselves know how to cultivate rice fields; they have always been managers or landowners. Their boys used to be sent to high schools and colleges in Sylhet. As a result of their trading with the Bengalee, many of them read and speak fluent Bengalee. There is no difference between their style of clothing and that of the Bengalee, though the women maintain their traditional dress in the Shella style.

They have thus been distinguished from the rest of the Khasi not only geographically, but also economically and culturally. Their personality also differs sharply from the rest of the Khasi. They are very sociable, and quick, a quality lacking among the Khasi of Sohkpohtah and Kyngton. They are clever enough to deal with strangers. The upland Khasi say Shella people are very cunning. This remark shows one side of these people. They had to be cunning, since they traded with the Sylhet Bengalee who were said to be the most cunning of their race. Their role in the trade and in the history of the modernization of the Hills was considerable. For centuries they represented modernized Khasi owing to their contact with Hindu civilization, while the Hills remained in darkness. They assumed an important role when the British established an administration in the Hills, and rose up to now, many leading Khasi originated from Shella area. So, namely, Lall Bah, the first interpreter of the British Headquarters at Cherrapunjee; Jadhon Roy, who was the first Magistrate among the Khasi; Mohan Sing, a lawyer and Member of the Legislative Assembly (the grandson of Jadhon Roy); Nicholls Roy, Minister of Health and Prisons of the Assam Government, Member of the Legislative Assembly, and Missionary of the Church of God; R. R. Thomas (brother of Nicholls Roy), Principal of the Cachari University, etc.

Through constant cultural contact with Hindu, and encouraged by their economic prosperity, the Shella Khasi, like the Jaintias, have been much influenced by Hindu culture. However, this does not mean that the people of Shella adopted the Hindu beliefs. Though there is a small Hindu shrine, and some ceremonial elements were borrowed from the Hindu, most of the

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

178 like the Zemi-Naga, the Cachares and the Kuki. But after the period of
561 economic prosperity as I shall describe in the next section, the Jaitinga people
621 reached a rather high level of education, while most of the neighbouring tribes
remained illiterate. Their standard of living likewise improved. Fashionable
[371] girls of Jaitinga who have studied at the Convent school in Shillong, and speak English and Hindi, cannot marry half-naked tribesmen who work in the jungle. They prefer to intermarry with Moslem, Punjabee or Assamese who belong to more sophisticated community, and through whom they can enjoy urban life. Thus the orientation of the intermarriage of the people of Jaitinga has changed, along with the growth of Jaitinga.

It should be noted that intermarriages come mostly through the contacts at Shillong, where people used to go once a week for the bazaar, rather than through direct contacts with neighbouring villages.

Economy of Jaitinga and its Relation to Neighbouring Tribes.

178 It is very interesting to find two different kinds of economy in the same
171 ecological background: Jaitinga Khasi practice pan-leaf and orange cultivation
and depend mainly on a trading economy, while the other neighbouring tribal
245 peoples practice jhum cultivation, almost a subsistence economy. This situation has remained unchanged for the last fifty years since the establishment of Jaitinga village.

The first Jaitinga immigrants occupied one ridge of the mountain where the
101 present Jaitinga is situated. Formerly, this land belonged to the Zemi-Naga,
245 one of the old inhabitants of the Cachar Hills, who possessed a vast jungle area for jhum cultivation. It seems that there was no objection to the Khasi occupying this small spot; it was apparently too small an area for the jhum cultivation—pan-leaf cultivation of the Khasi requires less than one twentieth of the land of the usual jhum cultivation. The Khasi who started pan-leaf cultivation were able to accumulate some capital, and after several years they started orange gardens. They had had experience of orange cultivation in their homeland, but this was the first time they had operated commercially.

245 The success of this orange cultivation was beyond their dreams. Hearing
• 434 of good oranges at Jaitinga, many Bengalee merchants from Dacca, Sylhet,
439 Silchar and Gauhati began to come to buy them. Moreover, the village had
the great advantage of being situated near the railway station. Oranges were
[346] sold by carloads. Unimaginable wealth came to the Jaitinga people. Especi-
[371] ally the founder's family, including his brother's and sister's, became extraordinarily wealthy; their income used to be Rs. 10,000 a year. The children were sent to the school which was established in the village and some were educated at colleges in Dacca, Sylhet and Shillong. The villagers had
[342] beautiful houses built by Manipuri and Bengalee carpenters. Actually the houses of Jaitinga were known as some of the best construction in Assam.

Like the Shella people, they were managers of gardens and employed workers.
245 Wealthy households used to engage several labourers annually, most of them
46 from Jaintia where the Jaitinga people had originated. These workers were provided with shelter in the servant quarters of their employer's house, but they had to provide meals for themselves. They were paid daily according to the work done. They were available to other households, when their employer had no work. Some labourers were also engaged locally among the Zemi-Naga, the Cachares and the Kuki, though not as many as among the Jaintia.
245 These local tribes were fully well occupied by their jhum cultivation, and not
464 used to being employed as workers. Therefore, most of them were not regular

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

workers and they were few in number.[1] They were particularly employed for such work as the clearing of jungle for new pan gardens in summer. 245 464

In the orange season (December to February) the number of workers increased and they were paid more: Rs. 1/8 were paid[2] for one load (one person carrying 80 pounds of oranges, from an orange garden to the railway station—about two miles). Usually a worker made three to five trips a day. Many workers from Jaintia used to come for this particular season. 245 464 465

Semi-permanent workers were engaged for wet rice fields. They were usually Hindu cultivators: since these Khasi and other tribes do not know the technique of wet cultivation, plains people like the Biharee immigrants were engaged. These workers were provided with servants' quarters where they lived with their wives and children. However, very few Jaintiaga households possessed rice fields. 243 464

The economic prosperity of Jaintiaga reached its climax during the period from 1939 to 1945. Since 1945, the orange production has been decreasing. In 1945, a serious disease attacked the orange gardens as well as the pan-leaf gardens. Besides, by depriving Jaintiaga, as it had Shella, of their most important markets, Dacca and Sylhet, the Partition of India and Pakistan in 1947 caused a serious economic depression in the whole region. On the other hand, because of the past prosperity, the population has rapidly increased during the last ten years. The serious economic condition of Jaintiaga is illustrated in the petition which was submitted by the Jaintiaga people when the Governor of Assam visited those areas in January 1956. It runs thus: 245 434 781 161 458

"Since the last ten years or so, with the increase of population in the village and with the loss of fertility of the soil, the people were faced with economic depression. At present they are facing acute shortage of land they have also no scope to adopt other forms of cultivation like jhuming and wet rice cultivation, etc. Moreover, there has been successive attack of Bright's disease which destroyed and wiped out all the orange and pan gardens. And as such, majority of the families have to depend for their livelihood on daily wages. . . ."

It is indeed a serious situation for them, because the Khasi do not produce staple foods, such as rice; their economy is completely dependent on the trade of their products by which they purchase their main provisions, clothes, etc. Other peoples round Jaintiaga, being jhum cultivators, can at least get rice and cotton; the minimum requirements, staple foods and clothing are available even in the worst conditions, so that they can at least maintain themselves through the standard of living is low. As I stated before, a few households in Jaintiaga possessed rice fields, but the majority had none. Recently they rented some plots of jhum field for non-cultivation from Zemi-Naga of neighbouring villages.[3] However, its yield was but a small percentage of their consumption. A few 182 434 [433] [243]

1. If they had worked in the gardens of Jaintiaga, they might have got more profit than from their own jhum fields. For one day's labour, they got Ans. 6/. For one month, they could earn Rs. 15 with which they could buy about 4-5 maunds of rice (one maunds paddy cost Rs. 3-4). For one year it became 50 maunds, which was impossible to produce in a jhum field by a single person's labour. [435]

2. These rates, including the figures of note 1, apply to 1956.

3. Jaintiaga villagers told me that Zemi-Naga were kind enough to lend them their field for a negligible rent, though they had not enough for themselves. Zemi-Naga said that they owed much to Jaintiaga in the past, so that now they sympathised with the condition of Jaintiaga, and offered some parts of their jhum field. [427] [428]

15: Nakane E5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

182 very wealthy households still maintain their former economic activities, but
• 434 the majority have been impoverished, becoming daily labourers for the wealthy
ones or for rice contractors. Thus considerable internal economic differentiation has begun to appear in the community.

Though the recent economic depression brought poverty to Jaitinga, the
182 standard of living is still strikingly higher than that of neighbouring tribes.
245 Studying non-economic aspects of Jaitinga, I wondered at first why these
648 neighbouring tribes have remained as they were, except for temporary employment at Jaitinga, why, looking at the prosperity of Jaitinga, they did not adopt the way of the Jaitinga people?

Indeed some of them attempted to imitate the Jaitinga economy, but the results were unfortunately not favourable to them. First, both pan-leaf and orange cultivations were entirely new to the tribal peoples, and the technique was quite different from that of dry rice cultivation in the jhum field. Pan cultivation requires very delicate care which is almost impossible to manage for people who have been accustomed to the primitive jhuming cultivation. For instance, when they go into pan gardens, they have to wash themselves and put on special clean clothes in order to prevent the spread of epidemic leaf disease. Tribal people, who seldom wash their clothes, or mostly go naked, could hardly keep pan gardens. In this respect the Khasi are entirely different, having specialized in this economy for a long period, even as they believe, from time immemorial.

On the other hand, the technique of orange cultivation is much easier than that of pan-leaf, but it takes several years to obtain a yield, it requires considerable capital though with. For the jhum cultivators, who usually did not have cash income to fund, it was almost impossible to start it, while the Khasi were able to use funds from the selling of the pan-leaf. Furthermore, the
[423] management of such gardens, either pan-leaf or orange, differs also from that of the jhum for as it entirely depends on individual enterprise based on private land ownership, which is new for those tribes where the community owns the land. Thereby the possibility of starting orange gardens is restricted to special individuals among those belonging to exceptionally rich and powerful households. Few households in neighbouring villages did, in fact, start orange gardens, adopting the technique of the Jaitinga people. This was several years and they were waiting to have the yield around 1950. However, unfortunately, when the oranges began to come into production, orange disease started in Jaitinga and spread all over those areas. Thus dreams therefore were never true.

Besides oranges, some of them also established gardens of bananas, jackfruits, and papaias, but were more successful than the oranges. These plantations started merchant than oranges in this area, though not in great quantity. The proceeds went to the Jaitinga people who sold them again to Bengalee merchants. In question arose why were they not sold directly to Bengalee merchants, when the profit would have been much greater.

This aspect of the market economy touches upon very interesting problems
182 concerning the relations between tribal and Hindu peoples. Such tribal peoples
44 who live on a primitive subsistence level usually do not have direct contact
648 with the peoples of the plains. There is always an intermediary between them. In this case it is the Jaitinga people who have both tribal life and Hindu life. They are also in between culturally. If a tribal cultivator sells his produce to a Hindu merchant, he would most certainly be cheated by the running merchant, as he is quite ignorant of trade. Tribal men do deal with markets directly, but only on a small scale at Hafleng bazaar, and without making a profit: it is just the exchange of their handmade or jhum produce for an iron

19: Assam G-5 (1958) 1963 AR7 Khasi AR7

#162 871 125 In border area and project area the percentage of literates is worked out at 24 and 31 respectively --a comparatively high figure for a rural area. This, however, cannot be regarded as a true index of literacy in the rural area of the district for the fact that villages from border area and project area were purposively selected almost all of which by virtue of their bigness in size and location in vantage points, happened to possess at least one school for quite a long time. The average picture for the district as a whole is brought out by the percentage of literates in the general area which is only 17. A comparison of this figure with that of 1951 census for the rural areas of the district which is only 12 per cent shows that during the last eight years there has been an increase in the percentage of literacy.

As will be seen from table above the proportion of literates among males is higher than that among females throughout the district.

Economic Status

P/162 • 934 5.2: The following table shows the number of persons in the sample villages by sex and economic status.

TABLE C 5

Number of Persons by Sex and Economic Status

Economic Status	Number of persons in Hardcore area			Fringe area			Control area		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Earners	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Percentage to total population	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Earning dependents	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Percentage to total population	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Non-earning dependents	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Percentage to total population	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total population	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

From the above table it is seen that the proportion of earners in the Border area, Project area and General area are respectively 33 per cent, 45 per cent and 55 per cent of the corresponding total population. Thus each earner has to support himself and roughly one dependent. Thus the burden of dependency is not very heavy in the district. This is because of the fact that men, women and adolescents all join the labour force. Number of women engaged wholly on domestic works is few. Only in big families having a number of women, one or two of them are engaged in domestic works, otherwise the Khasi women attend to the domestic works in addition to their work in the field.

From table G 5/1 in the appendix it will be seen that respectively 4/7 per cent, 7.8 per cent and 14.2 per cent of the earners in Border area, Project area and General area are below 15 years of age.

3/6—Attempt was made to study the employment position in the selected villages. For this purpose the following definition of employed and unemployed persons was adopted.

Persons working for pay or profit on one day during a period of 30 days preceding the date of enquiry would be classified as employed. Those who did not work on any day during the last 30 days, may be employed or unemployed. The person is unemployed if—

(i) He who was without a job for the whole reference period.

(ii) Who was seeking one, and

(iii) Who was in a position to accept job if offered one.

A person is also unemployed if he did not work because of his prolonged illness, believed that no work was available, or was expecting to return to a job from which he had been indefinitely laid off.

On the other hand a person is employed if he had a job, although temporarily absent from work during the reference period due to illness, vacation, industrial dispute or being laid off temporarily. Also a person would be considered employed if he was waiting to take up a new job which he had been offered or to start a new business.

19: Assam G-5 (1958) 1963 A87 Khasi A87

CHAPTER IX

Income and Expenditure

9.1 The great majority of rural people are members of families of two or more persons sharing a common income earned mostly by joint efforts of family members and also disbursed in supplying the consumption needs of the family as a whole. An image is made below, therefore, to analyse the aspects of income and expenditure of the rural families family-wise.

9.2 It has already been mentioned that the majority (i.e., above 78 per cent) of the families of all the three areas pursued agriculture as a principal occupation. Some of these families follow cottage industries, trade, transport, labour, etc as subsidiary occupations. The rest of the families had either agriculture as subsidiary occupation or were independent of agriculture. The larger section of these families were non-agricultural labourers. The following table gives the distribution of families in different income groups

TABLE C-1

Frequency distribution of families in different income groups

Income Group No.	No. of families: Border area: Monthly agricultural labor	Border area: Non-agricultural	Border area: Total	Border area: Average annual gross income per family (Rs.)	Deccan area: Monthly agricultural labor	Deccan area: Non-agricultural	Deccan area: Total	Deccan area: Average annual gross income per family (Rs.)	Coastal area: Monthly agricultural	Coastal area: Non-agricultural	Coastal area: Total	Average annual income per family (Rs.)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
1. Below 500	—	—	1 (.5)	1 (.5)	450.00 —	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
2. 500 to below 750	6 (.3)	17 (1.0)	23 (0.8)	720.00	2 (1.0)	6 (3.0)	8 (2.1)	775.00	1 (.5)	—	1 (.5)	600.00 —
3. 750 to below 1000	100 (51.5)	73 (37.5)	173 (44.5)	880.74	60 (30.0)	9 (4.5)	69 (18.4)	847.04	19 (10.0)	5 (2.6)	24 (12.6)	876.00
4. 1000 to below 1250	57 (29.4)	40 (20.5)	97 (25.2)	1,086.04	100 (50.0)	47 (23.5)	146 (38.9)	1,124.00	18 (9.5)	5 (2.6)	23 (12.1)	1,000.00
5. 1250 to below 1500	12 (6.2)	45 (23.0)	57 (15.2)	1,400.00	11 (5.5)	62 (31.0)	73 (19.5)	1,417.00	15 (7.9)	5 (2.6)	20 (10.5)	1,400.00
6. 1500 to below 2000	10 (5.2)	47 (24.0)	57 (15.2)	1,800.00	10 (5.2)	50 (25.5)	60 (16.0)	1,800.00	10 (5.2)	5 (2.6)	15 (7.8)	1,800.00
7. 2000 to below 2500	10 (5.2)	7 (3.6)	17 (4.5)	2,400.00	8 (4.2)	11 (5.6)	19 (5.1)	2,400.00	10 (5.2)	5 (2.6)	15 (7.8)	2,400.00

TABLE C.1—*continued.*

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
9. [illegible] vs [illegible]	[illegible] (2.28)	[illegible] (1.42)	[illegible] (2.08)	[illegible]	[illegible] (4.42)	[illegible] (6.23)	[illegible] (6.41)	[illegible]	-- --			
9. [illegible] vs [illegible]	[illegible] (1.42)	[illegible] (0.41)	[illegible] (2.82)	[illegible]	[illegible] (0.14)	[illegible] (1.46)	[illegible] (2.46)	[illegible] --	[illegible] (.46)	-- --	[illegible] (.14)	[illegible]
10. [illegible] vs [illegible]	[illegible] (1.12)	[illegible] (.74)	[illegible] (.46)	[illegible]	[illegible] (.53)	[illegible] (2.45)	[illegible] (7.62)	[illegible] --	-- --	-- --	-- --	-- --
11. [illegible] vs [illegible]	[illegible] (.86)	[illegible] (1.62)	[illegible] (1.05)	[illegible] --	[illegible] (.53)	[illegible] (.45)	[illegible] (.41)	[illegible] --	-- --	-- --	-- --	-- --
12. [illegible] vs [illegible]	[illegible] (2.21)	[illegible] (0.41)	[illegible] (1.45)	[illegible] --	[illegible] (0.14)	[illegible] (10.12)	[illegible] (1.78)	[illegible] --	-- --	-- --	-- --	-- --
Total —	[illegible] (100.00)	[illegible] (100.00)	[illegible] (100.00)	[illegible] --	[illegible] (100.00)	[illegible] (100.00)	[illegible] (100.00)	[illegible] --	[illegible] (100.00)	[illegible] (100.00)	[illegible] (100.00)	--

From table above, it is difficult to judge the relative prosperity of agricultural and non-agricultural families. The annual gross income of 48 per cent of the agricultural families is less than Rs.750·00 a year while that of 87 per cent of them is below Rs.1,500 a year. Thus the remaining 13 per cent of the families only have a gross annual income of above Rs.1,500 a year. Among non-agricultural families the corresponding proportions are 32 per cent, 79 per cent and 21 per cent. Thus proportion of non-agricultural families with annual gross income less than Rs.750, is greater than the corresponding proportion of agricultural families. The petty traders, porters and other non-agricultural labourers who are economically very poor constitute this non-agricultural class. On the other hand proportion of non-agricultural families with annual gross income of more than Rs.750 exceeds the corresponding proportion for agricultural families. These non-agricultural families comprise of a good number of business men, contractors, etc., who are comparatively a bit well off than the agriculturists. 162* 434 463 592

In Project area proportion of agricultural families and non-agricultural families with annual gross income of less than Rs.750 is 36 per cent and 29 per cent respectively as against 49 per cent and 32 per cent of their respective counterpart in Border area. Proportions of families with gross income below Rs.1,500 a year is 84 per cent and 66 per cent indicating that proportions of agricultural as well as non-agricultural families with income above Rs.1,500 a year are greater than their corresponding counterparts in Border area.

In general area villages it is significant to note that proportion of agricultural families with gross annual income of over Rs.2,000 is negligible (·61 per cent) while those under Rs.750 and Rs.1,500 are 43 per cent and 93 per cent respectively.

Table below further reveals that 58 per cent of the gross income in the Border area, 54 per cent in the Project area and 86 per cent in the General area is earned by families in the income group less Rs.1,500 constituting as much as 85 per cent of the total number of families in the respective areas.

TABLE G-2

Percentage distribution of income and families in different income groups 162* 434

Annual income (Rs.)	Border area		Project area		General area	
	Families	Income earned	Families	Income earned	Families	Income earned
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1. Less than 750	84.5	58.4	80.3	53.8	93.00	85.5
2. 750 to less than 1500	18.2	19.2	14.1	22.6	7.0	14.5
3. 1500 to less than 2000	2.1	6.7	1.9	5.0	..	..
4. 2000 and above	3.2	13.7	3.7	18.6	..	..
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

19: Assam C-5 (1956) 330.5 K67 Khasi K67

Considering all the families together if we classify the families with gross annual income below Rs.750 as low income group, those between Rs.750 to less than 2,000 as medium income group and those above Rs. 2,000 as high income group, we get the following proportion of families in different areas :—

	Low income group	Medium income group	High income group	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Border area	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Project area	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
General area	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Thus we see that majority of the families are concentrated towards the medium income group in Project area and General area while proportion of medium income group families is least in Border area. Proportion of low-income group families is least in Project area and highest in Border area closely followed by General area. Thus it appears that Project area villages enjoy a comparatively better economy than Border area and General area villages.

9.3 The greater bulk of the agricultural families income is derived from sale of agricultural produce. Most of them supplement their income through non-agricultural labour while others do it through Cottage Industries, trade, etc. The Non-agricultural families derived their major income from non-agricultural enterprises. The following table shows the contribution of different components to the average annual gross income of families.

TABLE [illegible]

Components of average annual gross income per family

Source of income	Agricultural families				Non-agricultural families				All families			
	Value of produce				Value of produce				Value of produce			
	Consumed at home	Marketed	Total	%	Consumed at home	Marketed	Total	%	Consumed at home	Marketed	Total	%
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Specific source—	Rs. nP.	Rs. nP.	Rs. nP.		Rs. nP.	Rs. nP.	Rs. nP.		Rs. nP.	Rs. nP.	Rs. nP.	
1. Agriculture and forest collections	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
2. Transport and communication—												
(a) Road side transport and conveyance	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
(b) Trade	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
(c) Transport	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
3. Service, profession wages, etc.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
4. Equivalent of rents	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
5. Miscellaneous	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

* Negligible.

TABLE [illegible]—*contd.*

Division	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1. Agriculture and Allied Activities	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
2. Non-agricultural occupations—												
(a) Small scale industries and handicrafts	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
(b) Trade	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
(c) Transport	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
3. Service, professions, supply, etc.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
4. Exploitation of assets	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
5. Miscellaneous	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

TABLE [illegible]—*contd.*

Commodity group	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
	Rs. cr.	Rs. cr.	Rs. cr.		Rs. cr.	Rs. cr.	Rs. cr.		Rs. cr.	Rs. cr.	Rs. cr.	
1. Agriculture and Allied Activities	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
2. Non-agricultural sector—												
(a) Food and Agriculture and Manufacture	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
(b) Fruits	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
(c) Transport	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
3. Service, Distributive, Integrity, etc.	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]
4. Capitalisation of assets	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]
5. Miscellaneous	—	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	—	[illegible]
Total	—	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

From the above table it is seen that average annual gross income of predominantly agricultural families in Border area, Project area and General area are respectively Rs 1,[illegible], Rs 1,[illegible] and Rs [illegible]. Apparently it appears that people in the General area are poorer than those in Border area. This however cannot be said to be true. For, from a consideration of the distribution of families in table G-5 it will be seen that average income figure for Border area and Project area are in fact inflated due to existence of a number of families in higher income group.

To the income of families in Border area agriculture and Animal husbandry contribute [illegible] per cent followed by Labour-service-profession which contribute [illegible] per cent. Labour includes agricultural labour etc). Miscellaneous sources such as charity, maintenance, loan realised, etc., contribute 1 per cent. Others in order of importance are liquidation of assets, non-agricultural occupation such as trade, Cottage Industries, etc., which respectively accounts for [illegible] per cent only.

In project area main contributors are agriculture and Animal husbandry and Labour-service, profession etc., accounting for [illegible] per cent and [illegible] per cent respectively, followed by liquidation of assets and non-agricultural pursuits such as trade and cottage industries which respectively contribute [illegible] per cent and [illegible] per cent of the families total gross income.

Main contributors to family income in General area are in order of importance agriculture, Labour-service, profession, etc., non-agricultural occupation, and liquidation of assets, which respectively accounts for [illegible] per cent, [illegible] per cent, [illegible] per cent, and [illegible] per cent of the families total gross income.

It is also seen that of the total average income of families, value of items produced or kept at or home and consumed at home accounts for [illegible] per cent of the families total annual gross income in Border area, [illegible] per cent in Project area and [illegible] per cent in General area. Thus average annual cash income of an agricultural family in the three area comes to [illegible] per cent, [illegible] per cent and [illegible] per cent respectively, of the families average gross annual income, i.e., Rs [illegible], Rs [illegible] and Rs [illegible] respectively.

Components of average annual net income per family

| Village group | Type of family | Average income per family | | |

TABLE C.6—*continued*

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
B. Freight trains	6. Average freight train, km	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	7. Revenue ton-km freight	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	— —	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	—
C. Diesel-electric	5. Average freight train, km	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	6. Revenue ton-km freight	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	— —	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	—

[illegible] Considering non-agricultural families it is seen that average gross annual income per family in Border area, Project area and General area are respectively Rs. [illegible], Rs. [illegible] and Rs. [illegible] respectively. The main contributor to this income in Border area is Trade followed by Service, Technician, Labour and Agriculture and Animal husbandry. Same in Project area are Labour-Service-Technician followed by Trade, small scale manufacture and agriculture and animal husbandry. The comparatively higher average income from small scale manufacture and handicraft is due to existence of quite a good number of liquor distillers with quite a large amount of annual income. Main contributors to gross annual income of non-agricultural families in General area in order of importance are agriculture and animal husbandry, service-profession and labour. It is significant that among the non-agricultural families also agriculture and animal husbandry emerge to be the biggest contributor. This is due to the fact that in General area villages there are a large number of Nepali families whose principal occupation is cattle rearing and earned enough by selling milk, ghee, and livestock. These families were classed as non-agricultural families.

[illegible] Of the gross income, agriculturists spend a portion in their farms on items such as purchase of seed, manure, etc., cost of maintenance of livestock, wages and salaries for labourers, and transport of produce while other a and a portion on running their household expenditure such as purchase of merchandise for reselling, purchase of plants and machinery and raw materials for household enterprises, wages and salaries for employees, etc. The net annual income per family, as will be evident from table C-6, comes to Rs. [illegible] in Border area, Rs. [illegible] in Project area and Rs. [illegible] in General area. The corresponding figures for agricultural families being Rs. [illegible], Rs. [illegible], Rs. [illegible] and for non-agricultural families Rs. [illegible], Rs. [illegible] and Rs. [illegible] respectively.

The following table shows the annual expenditure of families in running their enterprises.

varied between 1.08 per cent to 2.00 per cent in the three areas. It is very likely that this figure will be an under-estimate due to the fact that people addicted to it do not like to admit so. The existence of a large number of licensed liquor distilleries - numbering upto 5 in a single village, and the brisk trade in these distilleries bear testimony to the fact that a large share of family income is drained out through liquor.

Among miscellaneous items clothing and footwear accounted for nearly 8 per cent in Barbil area, 6 per cent in Pagnet area and 5 per cent in Gerangi area. Next to it in importance is medicine and durbar which accounted for about 5 per cent of the total annual expenditure in all the three areas.

Generally speaking, the comparatively high percentage of expenditure on food and low percentages on other items like clothing, houses and in repairs, education, etc., indicates a low standard of living of the rural families in general.

9.8. It may be of some interest to know how the families belonging to different economic groups divide their income between their current living expenses and other outlays on goods and services. The picture of the family expenditure pattern is summarised in the following table.

TABLE 69

Analysis of family expenditure in different income groups

Number Items	Income group											
	Below Rs. 100	100-149	150-199	200-249	250-299	300-349	350-399	400-449	450-499	500-549	550-599	600 and above
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
1. No. of families	1	29	[illegible]	207	179	98	56	31	24	17	14	10
2. Average gross income per family ...	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
3. Average savings per family ...	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
4. Average net income per family ...	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
5. Average expenditure per family ...	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
6. Percentage of expenditure on—												
(a) Food ...	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
(b) Tea, tobacco and drugs ...		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
(c) Fuel and Lighting		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
(d) Clothing ...		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
(e) Miscellaneous ...		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

TABLE G5—*contd*

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
Employer units—												
1. No. of families		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
2. Average gross income per family	...	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
3. Average quality per family	...	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
4. Average net income per family	...	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
5. Average expenditure per family	...	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
6. Percentage of expenditure on—												
(a) Food	...	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
(b) Drink	...	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
(c) Fuel and lighting	...	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
(d) Clothing	...	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
(e) Miscellaneous	...	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

TABLE G 9—*concld*

General items												
(1)		(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
1. No. of families		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]	—	—	
2. Average gross income per family	..	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	..	[illegible]	..	..	..
3. Average value per family	..	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	..	[illegible]	..	..	..
4. Average net income per family	..	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	..	[illegible]	..	..	..
5. Average expenditure per family	..	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	..	[illegible]	..	..	..
6. Proportion of expenditure on—												
(a) Food	..	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	..	[illegible]	..	—	—
(b) Fuel, etc.	..	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	..	[illegible]	..	..	..
(c) Food and lighting	..	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	..	[illegible]	..	..	..
(d) Clothing	..	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	..	[illegible]	..	..	..
(e) Miscellaneous	..	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	..	[illegible]	..	..	..

19: Assam G-5 (1958) 1963 AR7 Khasi AR7

It is noticed that food is the largest single item of expenditure at every income level demanding about two-thirds or more of the average total all expenditure. It is significant to note that money outlays on food increase markedly at successive income level. This wide range of expenditure is the result of very low standard of food consumption in the low income groups and also possibly of increasing number of members per family in the higher income groups. 434 592 511

One striking feature revealed by the summary table of family income and expenditure given above is the average net deficit shown by the families of almost each income-group, except perhaps marginal surplus in respect of a few income-groups in the higher level. Thus for majority of the families the entire family income was not adequate on the average to meet current outlays on food and other necessities and comforts of daily living. Even the advantage of comparatively large average income was more than balanced by the larger differential increase in the family expenditure due either to their larger family size or comparatively higher standard of living or both.

436 Of the total number of loans 61 per cent in Border area, 10 per cent in Project area and 29 per cent in General area were free of interest while rate of interest for 9 per cent, 30 per cent and 60 per cent respectively of the loans in the three areas were found to be 12 per cent or more per annum which in some cases went upto 200 per cent.

241 434 592 10.8. Farm output of 97 per cent of the families in Border area, 56 per cent of families in Project area and 68 per cent of families in General area were less than Rs. 500 a year, while 6 per cent, 23 per cent and 1 per cent of the families in the respective area earned more than Rs. 2,000.00 a year from their farms. Of the total number of farms fetching less than or Rs. 500.00 a year in Border area 35 per cent of them are medium sized farms and 4 per cent large sized farms, the corresponding proportions for Project area and General area being 21 per cent, 1 per cent, 27 per cent and 1 per cent.

24 433 10.9. In Border area the most important crops are oranges, kwai nut, paddy, and betel leaf which respectively accounted for 34 per cent, 27 per cent, 19 per cent and 9 per cent of the total harvested area. In Project area paddy and oranges are the most important crop which accounted respectively for 52 per cent and 8 per cent of the total harvested area. The most important crops in the General area are paddy and potato which respectively accounted for 61 per cent and 7 per cent of the total harvested area.

On the basis of data collected for all the villages investigated average yield per here worked out at paddy 11.65 maunds, potato 21.61 maunds, oranges 5.77 lotis (2000 numbers) and betelnut 2.95 lotis (12000 numbers). These yield exhibited wide variation among the three areas.

434 592 10.10. Proportions of families with annual gross income of less than Rs. 750, Rs. 750 to less than Rs. 2,000, and above Rs. 2,000, were respectively found to be 49 per cent, 45 per cent and 6 per cent in Border area, 34 per cent, 60 per cent and 6 per cent in Project area and 45 per cent, 54 per cent and 1 per cent in General area. Average annual gross income per family worked out to Rs. 1,070.30 in Border area, Rs. 1,220.40 nP. in Project area and Rs. 904.30 nP. in General area which for predominantly agricultural and non-agricultural families respectively stood at Rs. 1,025.06 nP. and Rs. 1,161.91 nP. in Border area, Rs. 1,095.23 nP. and 1,644.36 nP. in Project area and Rs. 873.98 nP. and 780.04 nP. in General area. In all the three area main contributors to family income were agriculture, service-profession-labour and trade accounting respectively for 41 per cent, 35 per cent and 15 per cent of the total average income in Border area, 27 per cent, 40 per cent and 9 per cent in Project area and 53 per cent, 36 per cent and 5 per cent in General area.

The net annual income per family in different income groups varied between Rs. 60 to 2,049 in Border area, between Rs. 110 to Rs. 3,508 in Project area and between Rs. 93 to Rs. 2,004 in General area. The average over all per family net annual income worked out at Rs. 853 in Border area, Rs. 989 in project area and Rs. 760 in General area and the same per capita at Rs. 231 in Border area, Rs. 216 in Project area and Rs. 153 in General area.

TABLE C—0 C

Classification of population by Economic Status

Census	Age-group (years)	Rural area			Urban area			General area		
		Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
	Below 10 ...	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	10 — 15 ...	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	15 — 20 ...	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	20 — 25 ...	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Earner ...	25 — 30 ...	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	30 — 35 ...	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	35 — 40 ...	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	40 and above	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	Total ...	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
N. C. actual population		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

428 to the nearest of kin of the wife, or to her nearest relatives if there are no relatives. The rank and value of a deceased male descend to his brother; when no brother exists, then to the male children of his mother's sister (maternal aunt); should the maternal aunt have no male children living or between, then to the children of the female children of the maternal aunt. When no relatives are to be found, the property of the deceased goes to the ruler of the country; or if a man dies leaving no relatives other than wife and children, or no relatives on the mother's side, the property in this case also goes to the ruler, who, as the wife and children cannot preserve the value of the deceased, takes charge of them, and so in doing takes all the property also. With regard to the inhabitants of the Lower Hills or Shelli, the custom as to succession is as follows:—Property belonging to a subject of Shelli is divided into two classes:—(i) Property inherited from ancestors, which descends to the nearest of kin or to the relative of a deceased person who has perished by sharpness. (ii) Property acquired during the lifetime of the holder, which is inherited by the children, whose duty it is to provide for the maintenance of their mother until she is married or dies.'

* 426 448 342 152 342 180 242 434 276

WEALTH, CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE.—The Khasis and the Syntengs are as a people prosperous. Common labourers, if adult males, can earn wages as high as one shilling per diem, and adult females as high as eightpence. The dwellings of the well-to-do classes are generally constructed of masonry, with thatched roof and plank floor, and divided into two or three rooms. The furniture consists of a bedstead (*phyrphi*), a box or two (*sawdi*), some cooking utensils, and a few knives. The ordinary peasants and poorer classes construct their huts of cane, mud, or plank walls, with a thatch or cane roof. These are fitted with wooden platforms or bamboo planks placed on the ground to serve as beds. The food of the well-to-do classes consists of rice, fish when obtainable, fowl or meat, curry, vegetables, oil, hog's lard, fermented and spirituous liquor. It may be estimated that the living expenses of an average household of this class would be about Rs. 25 or £2, say, a month, valuing the articles of consumption at *bazar* prices. An ordinary husbandman or labourer lives on rice, dry fish, occasionally a little meat, oil, or hog's lard. *Betel* leaf, betel-nut, and lime are essential to the comfort of all the hill people, who are inveterate chewers of *betel*. They commence at an early age, and are rarely seen without a *betel* leaf in their mouths; the females are quite

dotted from the province. Ponies will cost as many as four or five hundred a day, with the usual accompaniment of six horses. The estimated cost of maintaining an average family of the labouring class is about Rs. 8 or 10s. a month.

Towns: Stations.—There are no towns in the usual acceptance of the word; but the chief places in the Hills, looked upon by the inhabitants as cities, are Shillong, Jowai, Cherra Pinji, and Gauhati. According to the Census of 1872, Shillong had only 1,363 inhabitants, Cherra Pinji 2,23, and Jowai 4,900. Jowai, however, is a collection of rural hamlets, and the population of Shillong has entirely altered since the date of the Census. The latter place has become the Civil Station in 1874, in substitution for Cherra Pinji; and when Assam was erected into an independent Province in 1874, it was selected as the permanent seat of the Local Government. The Chief-Commissioner resides there, and also the heads of all departments in the Administration. The area of the Station is 7 miles in length by 1½ or 2 miles in breadth. A considerable native population is already settled, and is increasing from day to day. One of the largest weekly markets in Sylhet is held in the Sahar; and with a view to facilitate access to the Station, which is the sanitarium for the Province of Assam, a cart road has recently been completed to Gauhati on the Brahmaputra, which will tend to make the place more and more important. An excellent water supply is conducted into Shillong through an aqueduct which has to assume in the neighbouring hill streams, and sanitary measures are carefully enforced. Large sums of money have annually been expended on the erection of the public buildings necessary for the offices of the administration. A printing-press has been established, from which issue all the official documents and reports of the Province. The climate is excellent, the temperature being more equable than that of any other hill station in India, and therefore admirably suited to the constitution of Europeans. There is a church at Shillong, and a chaplain on the Bengal establishment officiates both there and at Gauhati. The cantonments were occupied in 1873 by the 43d Regiment of Assam Light Infantry, with three outposts. The strength was 9 European officers, 18 native commissioned officers, 80 non-commissioned officers, 770 fighting men, and 58 paid camp followers and non-combatants; grand total, 935. The total cost, including contingencies, was Rs. 1,83,190, or £18,319.

ACCOUNT OF KHASI AND JAINTIA HILLS.

326 manufacture of iron, in which the native blacksmith often employs hired labourers, the other industries are generally followed by families in their own houses. No class of labourers are hereditarily attached to any manufacture in a manner that affects their personal freedom. The system of advancing money for manufacturing purposes does not obtain in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills. The total value of the manufactures of the District is stated to be between £[illegible] and £[illegible] per annum. No local manufactures are carried on by means of imported capital.

339 Commerce and Trade.—The external commerce of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills is chiefly conducted on the southern boundary, through the District of Sylhet. The total value is more considerable than might be expected, owing to the fact that these Hills practically possess the monopoly of supplying Bengal with lime, potatoes, and oranges. Other important articles of export are raw cotton, stick-lac, betel-nut and pan leaves, and bay leaves or tejpat. The exportation of iron, which was once large, has now almost ceased. The chief imports consist of rice, dried fish, cotton cloth, salt, and tobacco. On the whole, it would appear that the course of trade is almost equally balanced. Trade statistics of more or less value are in existence. The earliest of such statistics are to be found in the Report of Mr. W. J. Allen, dated 1858. The information there given was based for the most part upon oral statements furnished by numerous native traders to Mr. Hudson, who then filled the office of Principal Assistant-Commissioner. It may be accepted as 'a fair representation of the state of trade in the Hills' at that time. The imports and exports on the Assam side were each estimated at about Rs. 15,000, or £1,500. The trade with the markets in the Surma valley was much larger. The total of the exports was valued at Rs. 700,000, or £70,000, giving a profit to the traders of Rs. 170,705, or £17,070. The chief items were:—Limestone, 1,700,000 *maunds*, valued at Rs. 306,000; potatoes, 30,000 *maunds*, value Rs. 125,000; oranges, 45,000,000 in number, value Rs. 56,250; smelted iron, 45,000 *maunds*, value Rs. 67,500; cotton, 12,000 *maunds*, value Rs. 42,000; betel-nuts, value Rs. 37,500; coal, 25,000 *maunds*, value Rs. 12,500. The total value of the imports was estimated at Rs. 350,000, or £35,000, being just one-half the value of the exports; the estimated profits were given as Rs. 44,325, or £4432. The chief items were:—Rice, 150,000 *maunds*, value Rs. 225,000; cloth of sorts, Rs. 25,000;

lac, lead and zinc), Rs. [illegible] lac, iron manufactures, other Rs. [illegible]. For the last three years, from 1874-75 to 1876-77, detailed tables of the external commerce have been drawn up by the successive Deputy Commissioners in charge of the District. There is however, no organised system of trade registration, and the Chief Commissioner of Assam has expressed the opinion that the figures "cannot be at all valued again." The items vary greatly year by year, which is partly due to the different principles of valuation adopted. For the year 1874-75 the total exports were valued at Rs. 1,371,831, or £137,183, being just double the estimated value twenty years ago; the imports were valued at Rs. 1,559,500, or £155,950, being an increase in the same period of nearly forty-fold. The excess value of exports was Rs. 11,331, or £1,133. In 1875-76 the exports were valued at Rs. 1,501,761, or £150,176; the imports at Rs. 1,613,455, or £161,345, showing an excess on the export side of Rs. 104,306, or £10,430. The values for 1876-77, given in full on the following pages (pp. 278, 279), are quoted from the Administration Report for that year. They are based partly upon returns of trade at the ports of Hailakandi and Jiriniganj, and partly upon such approximations as could be supplied by local traders. The total value of the exports amounts to Rs. 1,603,336, or £160,333; that of the imports to Rs. 1,576,483, or £157,648, showing a balance of Rs. 27,043, or £2704, in favour of the District.

The export of limestone in 1876-77 was 1,600,000 maunds, valued at Rs. 480,000, at the rate of Rs. 300 for 1000 maunds. These figures show no increase in quantity, but a large increase in value, over the estimate of twenty years ago. The registration system of river traffic in Bengal shows a total export during 1876-77 from the two Districts of Sylhet and Cachár of 1,056,139 maunds of lime and limestone, valued at Rs. 792,108 at the rate of 12 annas per maund. The difference between these two sets of figures for the same year is very considerable. It may be partly explained by the consideration that the Bengal estimate of value includes the stone after it has been calcined and reduced to lime. The trade in limestone is chiefly in the hands of Messrs. Inglis & Co., whose depot is at Chhatáli, on the Barak river. The connection of this firm with the trade of the Khási Hills is of very long standing. The founder, Mr. Henry Inglis, was the son-in-law of

[Sentence continued on page 278.

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EXPORTS OF SUNDRY ARTICLES FROM THE KHASI AND JAINTIA HILLS FOR THE YEAR 1876-77.

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Articles.	Quantity.	Weight or measure.	Value.
	Rs. per maund.		Rs.
Rice, husked and paddy,	—	—	[illegible]
Cotton, raw,	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Cotton, of manufacture,	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Cotton, of yarn,	—	—	[illegible]
Lac, [illegible]	—	—	[illegible]
Lac, other sorts,	—	—	[illegible]
Tamarind,	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Mustard oil,	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Castor oil,	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Ginger, in pieces,	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Betel,	—	—	[illegible]
Cardamoms and ginger,	—	—	[illegible]
Cardamoms, [illegible]	—	—	[illegible]
Betel, [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Lime,	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Potatoes,	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Sugar,	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Sugar-candy,	—	—	[illegible]
Tea, [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Tea, [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Lime,	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Oranges,	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Pineapples,	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Plantains,	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Jackfruit,	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Mangoes,	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Pumpkins,	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Cucumbers,	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Brinjals,	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Bamboos,	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Bamboo, [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Bamboo, [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Bamboo, [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Bamboo, [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Bamboo, [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Bamboo, [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Bamboo, [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Bamboo, [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Bamboo, [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Bamboo, [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Bamboo, [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Bamboo, [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Bamboo, [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Bamboo, [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Bamboo, [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Bamboo, [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Bamboo, [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Bamboo, [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Bamboo, [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Bamboo, [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Bamboo, [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Bamboo, [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total,	—	—	[illegible]

[Sentence continued from page 193.]

439 Colonel Lister, who filled the office of Political Agent from 1833 to
648 1834. In 1835, when Mr. Allan drew up his Report on the Distrct, the trade built in lime and oranges was a monopoly of this Mr. Inglis. The stone is exported to Chittagong and other marts on the Surma river, where some portion is burned and made into lime, and the remainder sold in the rough. The trade name in Bengal is "Sylhet lime."

439 The export of potatoes in 1876-77 was 100,500 maunds, valued
434 at Rs. 301,650, or £30,165, at the rate of Rs. 3. 8 per maund.

[Text continued on page 199.]

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EXPORTS OF GOODS FROM THE GARO AND JAINTIA HILLS FOR THE YEAR 1876-77.

Articles.	Number of Packages.	Weight or Number.	Value.
	No.		Rs.
Cotton in the bolls	[illegible] per maund	[illegible] maunds	[illegible]
Cotton, raw, not [illegible]			
[illegible]			[illegible]
Betel nuts	[illegible] per maund	[illegible]	[illegible]
Betel leaves			[illegible]
Ginger	[illegible] per maund	[illegible]	[illegible]
Chillies	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Cinnamon	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Fruits (and dried fruits)			[illegible]
Lychis			[illegible]
Plums			[illegible]
Oranges	[illegible] per [illegible] maund	[illegible]	[illegible]
Jaintia Cassia	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Lime [illegible]			[illegible]
Cinnamon	[illegible] per [illegible] maund	[illegible]	[illegible]
Oranges	[illegible] per [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Potatoes	[illegible] per maund	[illegible]	[illegible]
Tea [illegible]			[illegible]
Betel nut	[illegible] per maund	[illegible]	[illegible]
Tobacco (manufactured and raw)			[illegible]
Turmeric	[illegible] per maund	[illegible]	[illegible]
Miscellaneous	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	—	—	[illegible]

Text continued from page 156.]

The price is about the same as it was twenty years ago, but the quantity has increased fourfold. The potato was first introduced into the Hills in 1832 by Mr. David Scott, who was then the Governor-General's Agent. "No greater boon could have been conferred upon the people." The local trade is entirely in the hands of the Khásiás themselves, and the larger portion of the produce is despatched direct to Calcutta. According to the registration returns of river traffic in Bengal, the export of provisions (including vegetables) from Sylhet in 1876-77 was 113,016 maunds, valued at Rs. 362,324, or £36,232, at the rate of Rs. 3 per maund. [177] [244]

The export of oranges in 1876-77 was 9,400,000 in number, valued at Rs. 37,600, at the rate of Rs. 12 per 1000. These figures apparently show a great decrease since 1858. At that time Mr. Inglis possessed the entire monopoly of the trade, by means of the leases which he held from the Khásiá Chiefs of all the valuable groves. The annual produce of his groves was estimated at forty-five millions of oranges, having increased from eleven millions within the

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648

previous twenty years. The oranges, like the limes, were brought down to Mr. Ingles' depôt at Chittagong, where they were sold to the dealers at the rate of about Rs. 1. 12 per cent., or less than half their present estimated price. It is stated in Mr. Allen's Report, that the Calcutta market was then chiefly supplied from the gardens of Malda Fingi and Bar Fingi; the produce of the other villages was more perishable, and required to be sold in the neighbouring Districts. The fruit is known in Calcutta as "Sylhet oranges." The Bengal registration returns for 1876-77 show a total export from Sylhet of 84,915 maunds of "fruit," valued at Rs. 125,915, or £12,591.

The export of raw cotton appears to have greatly increased. In 1876-77 the total quantity exported was 36,000 maunds, valued at Rs. 216,000, or £21,600, at the rate of Rs. 6 per maund. Twenty years before the export had been only 14,000 maunds, valued at Rs. 42,000, at the rate of only Rs. 3. 8 per maund. The cotton is of inferior quality, with a short and woolly staple. It is chiefly consumed by the Sylhet women. The total registered export from this District in 1876-77 was only 4,500 maunds, valued at Rs. 64,500, at the high rate of Rs. 14 per maund.

The chief article of import now, as twenty years ago, is rice; the hill-men have never grown sufficient for their own consumption, and the recent establishment of the Civil Station of Shillong has increased the demand. In 1876-77 the total imports of rice were estimated at 203,800 maunds, valued at Rs. 510,500, or £51,050, at the rate of Rs. 3. 8 per maund. Twenty years ago the imports were nearly as great, viz. 172,000 maunds; but the value was only Rs. 215,000, at the rate of Rs. 1. 8 per maund, or less than one half the present value. The chief source of supply to Sylhet District, which sends its surplus to the tea-gardens of Cachar, as well as to these Hills, and also exported, in the year 1876-77, 214,000 maunds of rice and 235,000 maunds of paddy into Bengal.

The importation of fish (fresh and dried) has enormously increased. In 1876-77 the total amount was 33,500 maunds, valued at Rs. 215,000, or £21,500, at the rate of Rs. 6 per maund. Twenty years ago the value was only Rs. 20,000, but the quantity is not given. The preparation of dried fish is a flourishing industry in the adjoining District of Sylhet.

The importation of cotton cloth has increased in an almost equal proportion. The value in 1876-77 was Rs. 158,000, or £15,800, as

against Rs. 25,000, or £1,500, twenty years earlier. The supply of piece-goods is derived directly from Dacca. 439

A curious feature in the trade of the Khási and Jaintia Hills is the total absence of Marwárí or Jain merchants—an enterprising class, who are found everywhere else in Assam, even in the furthest corners of the Brahmaputra valley. There are a few Bengáli traders from Dacca, who do not take up a permanent residence in the Hills; but the great bulk of the business remains in the hands of the natives, who themselves ply the profession and are said to be keen at a bargain.

The principal markets in the foot of the Hills, on the Sylhet side, are Bholágunj, Chhatak, Lakhai, Jaintiápur, Jaflong, Phulbári, Maulong, Pomrai, Sládpur, Nongkhlai, and Langpáh. Many of these are situated within the Sylhet boundary; but they are all frequented by Khási and Synteng traders, who spend their whole time in passing from one market village to another. The markets so late are held at regular intervals of eight days (for the Khási week consists of five months), with the object of persuading the same people to visit the different places in rotation.

Credit.—Such little capital as the people possess is either employed in trade or lent out upon interest. In a few cases it is hoarded and allowed to remain idle. In small loan transactions, whether articles are pledged as security or not, the interest usually charged is one *dood* in the rupee per month, or 75 per cent. per annum. In larger transactions the rate of interest per month varies from 1 to 3 per cent. Nothing is charged in the name of interest where lands are mortgaged as security for a loan, as the land is always made over to the mortgagee in lieu thereof, and he is only bound to restore it on payment of the amount lent. In petty advances for agricultural purposes, part of the produce is given by the cultivator as something less than market rates in repayment of the amount borrowed. Limestone quarrying is the only industry in the District carried on by European agency.

Revenue and Expenditure.—The revenue realised from the Khási and Jaintia Hills has increased considerably in recent years. As the Khási States are treated as semi-independent, the receipts from that portion of the District are altogether insignificant, with the exception of the dues levied from the lime quarries. The larger part of the revenue in Jaintia is derived from the house tax. For 1875, when British authority was first established in the Khási Hills,

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Syntengs in the interior and by the Bhois and Lyngngams. The men in the Khasi Hills wear a cap with ear-flaps. The elderly men, or other men when sportsmen is desired, wear a white turban, which is fairly large and is well tied on the head. Males in the Sumatriy of Nongpoiu and in the North-Western corner of the district wear knitted worsted caps which are often of a red colour. These are sold at Nongpoiu market at about 8 or 9 annas each. They are brought to Nongpoiu by traders from the Syntengs country, and from Shillong, where they are knitted generally by Syntengs women. A small cloth is worn round the waist and between the legs, one end of which hangs down in front like a small apron. The Syntengs wear a somewhat differently shaped cap, having no ear-flaps and with a high-peaked crown. Both Khasi and Syntengs caps are generally of black cloth, having, as often as not, a thick coating of grease. The old-fashioned Khasi female's dress, which is that worn by people of the cultivator class of the present day, is the following:—Next to the skin is worn a garment called *ka jymphu*, which is a piece of cloth wound round the body and fastened at the loins with a kind of cloth belt, and which hangs down from the waist to the knee or a little above it. Over this is worn a long piece of cloth, sometimes of muga silk, called *ka jaiaseu*. This is not worn like the *Assamese mekhela* or Bengali *sari*, for it hangs loosely from the shoulders down to a little above the ankles, and is not caught in at the waist: in fact, Khasi women have no waist. It is kept in position by knotting it over both the shoulders. Over the *jaiaseu* another garment called *ka jain lap* is worn. This is thrown over the shoulders like a cloak, the two ends being knotted in front, it hangs loosely down the back and sides to the ankles. It is frequently of some gay colour, the fashion in Mawkhar and Cherrapunji being some pretty shade of French gray or maroon. Over the head and shoulders is worn a wrapper called *ka tap-mak-khlieh*. This, again, is frequently of some bright colour, but is often white. There is a fold in the *jaiaseu* which serves as a pocket for keeping odds and ends. Khasi women in cold weather wear gaiters which are often long stockings without feet, or, in the case of the poor, pieces of cloth wound round the legs like puttiers, or cloth gaiters. I have seen

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277 nurseries are regularly watered, and are covered up with layers of leaves to ensure, as far as possible, the retention of the necessary moisture. When the plants are 3 or 4 in. high, they are transplanted to another and larger nursery, the soil of which has been previously well prepared for the reception of the young plants.

278 An orangery is prepared in the following manner :—

The shrubs, weeds and small trees are cut down, leaving only the big trees for the purpose of shade. The plants from the nurseries are planted from 4 ft. to 9 ft. apart. When they have become young trees, many of the branches of the sheltering trees mentioned above are lopped off, so as to admit the necessary amount of sunlight to the young orange trees. As the orange trees increase in size, the sheltering trees are gradually felled. The orchard requires clearing of jungle once in spring and once in autumn. The Khasis do not manure their orange trees, nor do they dig about and expose the roots. The price of orange plants is from 75 to 100 plants per rupee for plants from 1 to 2 ft. in height, and from fifty to seventy-five plants per rupee for plants from 2 to 5 ft. in height. Orange trees bear fruit when from five to eight years old in ordinary soils. In very fertile soils they sometimes bear after four years. A full-grown tree yields annually as many as 1,000 oranges, but a larger number is not unknown. The larger portion of the produce is exported from the district to the plains, and to fruit markets at the foot of the hills such as Theria, Mawdon, and Phali-Bazar, on the Shella river, whence it finds its way to the Calcutta and Eastern Bengal markets.

279 Potatoes are raised on all classes of land, except *kali*, or wet paddy land. When the land has been properly levelled and hoed, drains are dug about the field. A cultivator (generally a female), with a basket of seed potatoes on her back and with a small hoe in her right hand, digs holes and with the left hand drops two seed-potatoes into each hole. The holes are about 6 in. in diameter, 6 in. deep, and from 6 to 9 in. apart from one another. Another woman, with a load of manure in a basket on her back, throws a little manure over the seed in the hole, and then covers both up with earth.

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The most important crop on the southern side of the hills is the orange, which has already been referred to in the paragraph dealing with agriculture.

The oranges are sold by the *epah* or 100, which is not a 100 literally, but somewhat over 3,000 oranges. Different places have different *epahs*. At Phali Hat, on the Bogapani River, the *epah* is computed as follows:—

1 Hali = 4 oranges.
8 Halis = 1 Bhar.
100 Bhars = shi epah (one hundred).
= 3,200 oranges.

At Shella the computation is slightly different, being as follows:—

1 Gai = 6 oranges.
5 Gais + 2 oranges = 32 oranges.
4 Bhars = 1 bola = 128 oranges.
27 bolas + 2 bhars = shi epah (100)
= 3,520 oranges.

By another method of calculation the *epah* consists of 3,240 oranges.

The price per *epah* varies from about 10 rupees in good years to Rs. 40, when the orange harvest has been a poor one.

The lime is also cultivated, not separately, but along with the orange. The lime can be grown with success at a higher altitude than the orange. There is extensive betel-nut and *pân* cultivation on the southern slopes of the hills. The betel-nut tree is cultivated in the same manner as in the plains, except that the trees are planted nearer to one another. The trees bear when eight to ten years old. A portion of the crop is sold just after it has been plucked; this is called *u 'wâi khiar*, and is for winter consumption. The remainder of the crop is kept in large baskets, which are placed in tanks containing water, the baskets being completely immersed. This kind of betel-nut is called *u 'wâi sun*. The Khasis, like the Assamese, prefer the fresh betel-nut. They do not relish the dry *supârî* so much.

The principal *pân* gardens are on the south side of the hills, *pân* not being grown on the northern slopes, except in the neighbourhood of Jirang. The *pân* creepers are raised from cuttings, the latter being planted close to the trees up which they are to be trained. The creeper is manured with leaf

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mould. The plant[1] is watered by means of small bamboo aqueducts which are constructed along the hill-sides, the water being conducted along them often considerable distances. As in the plains, the leaves of the *pán* creeper are collected throughout the year. 245 [312]

The bay leaf (*'la tyrpid*, or *tezpit*) is classified in the *Agricultural Bulletin* as *Cinnamomum tenala*, and there is a note in the column of remarks that "this tree, as well as one or two others of the same genus, yields two distinct products, *tezpit* (bay leaf) and cinnamon bark." The bay leaf is gathered for export from the extensive gardens in Maharam, Malaisohmat, Mawsynram, and other Khasi States. The plants are raised from seed, although there are no regular nurseries, the young seedlings being transplanted from the jungle, where they have germinated, to regular gardens. Bay leaf gardens are cleared of jungle and weeds periodically; otherwise no care is taken of them. The leaf-gathering season is from November to March. The leaves are allowed to dry for a day or two in the sun, and then packed in large baskets for export. The gathering of bay leaf begins when the trees are about four years old. [739]

The following are the other minor crops which are grown in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills:—

Pineapples, turmeric, ginger, pumpkins and gourds, the egg plant, chillies, sesamum, and a little sugar-cane. The arum* (*la shirin*) is also extensively grown in the hills, and forms one of the principal articles of food amongst the poorer classes; it is generally raised in rotation with potatoes, or is planted along with Job's tears. The stem of the arum is sometimes used as a vegetable, also for feeding pigs. 249 [262] [231]

In the Jowai Sub-Division, notably at Nartiang, there are fairly gold mangoes, which are more free from worms than those grown in the plains of Assam.

The Bhois and Lynngams cultivate lac. They plant *erhar dal*, *u landoo*, in their fields, and rear the lac insect on this plant. Last year the price of lac at Gauhati and Palasbari markets rose as high as Rs. 50 per maund of 82 lbs., it is said, but the price at the outlying markets of Singra and Boko was 231 435

* Colocasia esculenta, Beng. Kachu. 137

1 [i.e., the pán .... Analysis]

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about Rs. 30. The price of lac has risen a good deal of late years. Formerly the price was about Rs. 15 to Rs. 20 a maund. The lac trade in the Jaintia Hills and in the southern portion of the Khyrim State is a valuable one. The profits, however, go largely to middle-men, who in the Jaintia Hills are Syntengs from Jowai, who give out advances to the Bhoi cultivators on the condition that they will be repaid in lac. The Marwari merchants from the plains attend all the plains markets which are frequented by the hill-men, and buy up the lac and export it to Calcutta. The whole of the lac is of the kind known as stick lac.

HUNTING.

The weapons used by the Khasis for hunting are bows and arrows, the latter with barbed iron heads, and spears which are used both for casting and thrusting. Before proceeding on a hunting expedition the hunters break eggs, in order to ascertain whether they will be successful or not, and to which jungle they should proceed. Offerings are also made to certain village deities, e.g. *U. Rynglew*, *u Basa*, and *u Basa ki mráď*. A lucky day having been selected and the deities propitiated, the hunters start with a number of dogs trained to the chase, the latter being held on leashes by a party of men called *ki nongai-ksew*. When the dogs have picked up the scent some hunters are placed as "stops" (*ki ktem*), at points of vantage in the jungle, and the drive commences with loud shouts from the hunters, the same being continued until the object of the chase breaks into the open. The man who draws the first blood is called *u nongsiat*, and the second man who scores a hit *u nongban*. These two men get larger shares of the flesh than the others. The *nongsiat* obtains the lower half of the body of the animal, thighs and feet excepted, called *ka tdong*, and the *nongban* one of the forequarters called *ka tabla*. The other hunters obtain a string of flesh each, and each hound gets a string of flesh to itself. These hunting parties pursue deer sometimes for many miles, and are indefatigable in the chase, the latter lasting occasionally more than one day. In the Jaintia Hills, at the end of the chase, the quarry is carried to

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274 Nongwar, thirty-one stills; and Rangthang, thirty-seven
436 stills.

From what has been stated above some idea may be gathered
274 how very large the number of stills in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills is. I am not in a position to state with any degree of accuracy what is the amount of spirit manufactured or consumed in the year, but it is very considerable. The out-turn of a Khasi still has been reckoned at from four to eight bottles per day. From this estimate, and the fact that there are 1,530 stills in the district, it may be roughly calculated what is the consumption annually. Practically the whole of the spirit is consumed within the district. The liquor which is manufactured is far stronger than the spirit distilled in the ordinary out-stills in the plains.
273 It has been stated by an expert analyst that the Khasi spirit
435 contains 60 to 80 per cent. of proof spirit, and that it possesses "an exceptionally nice flavour and taste." The usual price at which it is sold is 4 to 6 annas a quart bottle, a second quality being sometimes sold for 3 annas. It will be seen that the
[465] liquor is exceedingly cheap. A Khasi in the villages of the interior can get drunk for 2 annas,* or a quarter of an ordinary coolie's daily wage. Drunkenness prevails on every market day at Cherrapunji, Jowai, and other large hats, and on occasions when there are gatherings of the people for various purposes. This cheap but strong spirit is demoralizing the people, and some restriction of its use would be welcomed by
273 many. In the Khasi Welsh Methodist Church abstention from
997 liquor is made a condition of Church membership, but the vast number of stills and the facilities with which liquor can be obtained are a constant source of temptation to the Christian community, and cause many defections.

GAMES.

526 The Khasis have many games, but their principal game is archery, this may be said to be the national game, and is a very popular form of recreation amongst them, the sport being indulged in from about the beginning of January to the end of

* About threepence.

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been denuded completely of timber, charcoal being necessary 327
for smelting, has affected the production almost as much as the presence of cheap iron in the market.

MANUFACTURE OF ERI SILK CLOTHS AND COTTON CLOTHS IN THE JAINTIA HILLS.

The number of weavers in the district at the last Census 288
was 533. This number in the Census Report is ascribed to [162]
the cotton industry, no mention being made of weavers of silk. The spinning of Eri silk thread, and weaving it into cloths is, however, a fairly considerable industry amongst the Khyrwang and Nongtung villages of the Jaintia Hills. The Nongtungs and Khyrwangs rear their own Eri worms, and spin the silk from the cocoons. The late Mr. Stack, in his admirable note on silk in Assam, says, "Throughout the whole range of the southern hills, from the Mikir country, Eri thread is in great request for weaving those striped cloths, in which the mountaineers delight," but this observation should have been confined to the Jaintia Hills portion of this district, the Khasis not weaving themselves either in silk or cotton. The Khasis obtain their silk cloths from the Assam Valley, and from the Nongtung or Khyrwang villages in Jaintia. The latter villages have given the name to the striped cloth, *ka jáin Khyrwang*, which is almost invariably worn by the Syntengs. Mr. Stack has given in detail a description of the silk industry in Assam; and it is not therefore necessary to go over the same ground here. The Khyrwang cloth is red and white, mauve and white, or chocolate and white, the cloth being worn by both men and women. The Khyrwang cloths vary in price from Rs. 5 to [435]
Rs. 25, according to size and texture. These cloths are the [462]
handiwork of women alone, and a woman working every day regularly will take six months to manufacture a cloth valued at Rs. 25; but, as a rule, in the leisurely manner in which they work, it takes a year to complete it.

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323 Larnai. The Larnai potters make many of the earthen pots to be found in the Khasi houses called *khiew ranei*, or sometimes *khiew Larnai*. Mr. Gait says, "These potters use two kinds of clay mixed; one is of a dark blue colour, *'dew-iong*, and the other of a greyish colour, *'dew khluid*. These clays seem to correspond closely with the *kumár máti* and *hira máti* of the Brahmaputra Valley."

323 The clay at Larnai is well beaten out upon a hide, or upon a
415 flat disc of wood; the women fashion the pots by hand, they do
435 not use the potter's wheel. The pots are sun-dried and then fired. They are painted black with an infusion of a bark called *sohliya*. The Larnai potters also make flower-pots which are sold in Shillong at from 2 annas to 4 annas each, the price of the ordinary pot or *khiew ranei* varying from 2 pice to 4 annas each. A water-pot (*khiew um*) is also fashioned, which is sometimes used in the manufacture of liquor, price 4 annas to 6 annas each.

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585 that they may prosper, that they may obtain rice and fish, that
788 they may possess hundreds and thousands; thus, oh god." The priest then pours liquor on the ground three times from the gourd, counting "one, two, three." He then continues the invocation thus, "*Hei*, thou, oh mother; oh grandmother; oh maternal uncle; oh father: oh *Suid-nia;* oh younger grandmother; oh elder grandmother; oh younger grandfather; oh elder grandfather. As the flesh has fallen (on the floor, i.e. the feast has been prepared), the ring has been put on, the three strips of flesh are ready (alluding to the three dried fish already mentioned), you will all of you (ancestors) give ear, you will continue giving strength and spirit (i.e. to the married pair) that they may be well" (and so on, as written in the first invocation). He then pours out the liquor three times as before. He then adjures the Siem, the elders, and all the people who do not belong to either of the two clans, and pours out liquor three times as before. The three pieces of dried fish are first placed on the *tympan*, the high rack above the fire-place, then removed and tied to the ridge-pole of the house, amidst shouts of
585 *Ho, hoi, hoi, hoi.* The poor then sacrifice a fowl, and the
769 rich a pig without blemish (*uba tlem*), to *u Suid nia* and *ka Iaw-bei* (the spirits of deceased ancestors of the family), and present them with *dykhot*, or pieces of flesh. Two or three days afterwards, the bride, accompanied by her female relatives, pays a visit to the bridegroom at his house, and after this they go and come as they like to one another's houses.
591 After two or three children have been born, they take down the
782 pieces of dried fish from the roof and sacrifice two pigs, one on behalf of the husband and another on behalf of the wife. Then they say there can be no possible *sang*, and husband and wife use each other's things and pool their earnings, and if the husband has a house of his own, the wife can go and live with him; this, however, is not the custom amongst many of the Syntengs, who more strictly observe the principles of the
585 matriarchate. The cost of the marriage ceremonies amongst
435 Khasis, Syntengs and Wárs, may be put down at between Rs. 50 and Rs. 200 according to the position of the parties.

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of a Garo marriage. The Lynngams, unlike the Garos, do not observe which way the beaks of the fowls turn when they are thrown on the ground after being sacrificed. The Lynngams, like the Khasis, take auguries from the entrails of the fowls and the pig. After these ceremonies are over, the Lynngam pair are allowed to cohabit. The cost of an ordinary Lynngam marriage is from Rs. 30 to Rs. 40. The marriage system in vogue among the Lynngams may be described as a mixture of the Khasi and Garo customs. As has already been stated, the Lynngams are a mongrel breed of Khasis and Garos.

CEREMONIES ATTENDING DEATH.

The death customs of the Khasis are not only very elaborate, but possess a significance of their own, it is, therefore, necessary to describe them in detail; they are as follows:—

A member of the family bends down towards the ear of the apparently deceased person and calls him or her by name three times, to make sure that death has occurred. If no answer comes, the family laments, for it is then concluded that the person is really dead. The body is then bathed in warm water from three earthen pots and is reverently laid on a mat (*japung*), where it is dressed in white cloth, a peculiar feature of the dressing being that the waist-cloth and turban are folded from left to right, and not from right to left, as in the case of the living. An egg called *u'leng kpoh* is placed on the stomach of the deceased, and nine fried grains, of *riw hadem*, or Indian corn, are tied round the head with a string. The rich place ear-rings in the ears and other jewellery on the body of the deceased, it being necessary that this jewellery should be specially made for the occasion, and they deck the corpse with valuable cloths. A cock, *u'iar krad lyati* (literally the cock that scratches the way), is sacrificed, the idea being that a cock will scratch a path for the spirit to the next world. A sacrifice of a bull, or of a cow in case the deceased is a woman, (*u* or *ka masi pynsum*,) follows. Portions of the left leg of the fowl and the lower part of the jaw of the bull or cow are kept, to be placed afterwards in the *mawshieng*, or bone,

The cost of an archery contest varies [435] considerably. In general it can be said that 526 a shooter pays one anna (about 10 pfennigs, 525 peace evaluation) for each shot. All the various competitions together produce a tidy little sum, especially when the attendance is good. I have come across figures as high as 50 to 70 rupees which were got together in this way during the course of a year and were then spent at the end of the year together at a great feast after the main competition.

It is frequently the custom among the Synteng, not to collect this contribution, anna by anna; rather, a large sum, which is raised by collecting signatures, is bet with the opponent at the main shooting (the final game). This also occurs occasionally among the Khasi. (31)

31. Gurdon, The Khasis, reports on page 56 that a sum of 500 rupees was bet in the Nongkrem state in Khadar Blang at a shooting competition.

3. The Feast after the Archery Contest 527

A general feast is arranged with the money bet or saved. Everything is just as wild during this feast as during the archery competition. Several strong men go forth to fetch the pigs bought for this occasion. The living animals are tied to bamboo poles by their feet. Four men, two and two alternately, carry each a burden on their shoulders to the place of the festival. There is lively activity at that place. The men stand around huge fires and chat. Others busily arrange dishes and pots of brass --everything polished

/110/ The sale of oranges is an exception. 804
These appear on the market by the thousands. This fruit is sold by the spah, i.e., the hundred, but this is not to be taken literally. For the spah have various meanings according to the region. Thus the people on the Bogapani River (in Phali) sell according to the following system:

1 hali	equals	4 oranges
8 hali	"	1 bhar
100 bhar	"	1 spah, i.e., 3200 oranges

They are reckoned as follows in Shella:

1 gai	equal	6 oranges
5 gai and 2 oranges	"	1 bhar
4 bhar	"	1 hola
27 hola and 2 bhar	"	1 spah or 3520 oranges

The price for a spah varies from 10 to 40 rupees (tyngka), according to the amount of fruit that appears at the market. [435]

Quai leaves (tympeu) are sold according to the following scale:

2 sla	equal	1 jur
10 jur	"	1 khongshi
3 khongshi	"	1 blah
4 biah	"	1 tap
20 tap	"	1 kuri
4 kuri	"	1 shalia

But among the War the quai leaves are sold 435

435 in bundles. Each bundle is four bunches and each bunch has 48 leaves. The price for 10 to 20 bundles costs a rupee (tyngka) on the average. But when the rain stops and the dry season begins, the price climbs to 2.3 rupees and more. Four thousand to five thousand bundles of tympeu are sold daily at a well-attended market.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

workers and they were few in number.[1] They were particularly employed for such work as the clearing of jungle for new pan gardens in summer. 245 464

In the orange season (December to February) the number of workers increased and they were paid more: Rs. 1/8 were paid[2] for one load (one person carrying 80 pounds of oranges, from an orange garden to the railway station—about two miles). Usually a worker made three to five trips a day. Many workers from Jaintia used to come for this particular season. 245 464 465

Semi-permanent workers were engaged for wet rice fields. They were usually Hindu cultivators: since these Khasi and other tribes do not know the technique of wet cultivation, plains people like the Biharee immigrants were engaged. These workers were provided with servants' quarters where they lived with their wives and children. However, very few Jatinga households possessed rice fields. 243 464

The economic prosperity of Jatinga reached its climax during the period from 1934 to 1940. Since 1942, the orange production has been decreasing. In 1945, a serious disease attacked the orange gardens as well as the pan-leaf gardens. Besides, by depriving Jatinga, as it had Shella, of their most important markets, Dacca and Sylhet, the Partition of India and Pakistan in 1947 caused a serious economic depression in the whole region. On the other hand, because of the past prosperity, the population has rapidly increased during the last ten years. The serious economic condition of Jatinga is illustrated in the petition which was submitted by the Jatinga people when the Governor of Assam visited those areas in January 1956. It runs thus: 245 434 731 161 458

"Since the last ten years or so, with the increase of population in the village and with the loss of fertility of the soil, the people were faced with economic depression. At present they are facing acute shortage of land they have also no scope to adopt other forms of cultivation like jhuming and wet rice cultivation, etc. Moreover, there has been successive attack of Bright's disease which destroyed and wiped out all the orange and pan gardens. And as such, majority of the families have to depend for their livelihood on daily wages. . . ."

It is indeed a serious situation for them, because the Khasi do not produce staple foods, such as rice; their economy is completely dependent on the trade of their products by which they purchase their main provisions, clothes, etc. Other peoples round Jatinga, being jhum cultivators, can at least get rice and cotton: the minimum requirements, staple foods and clothing are available even in the worst conditions, so that they can at least maintain themselves though the standard of living is low. As I stated before, a few households in Jatinga possessed rice fields, but the majority had none. Recently they rented some plots of jhum field for rice cultivation from Zemi-Naga of neighbouring villages.[3] However, its yield was but a small percentage of their consumption. A few 182 434 [433] [243]

1. If they had worked in the gardens of Jatinga, they might have got more profit than from their own jhum fields. For one day's labour, they got Ans. 8/. For one month, they could earn Rs. 15 with which they could buy about 4-5 maunds of rice (one maunds paddy cost Rs. 3-4). For one year it became 50 maunds, which was impossible to produce in a jhum field by a single person's labour. [435]

2. These rates, including the figures of note 1, apply to 1956.

3. Jatinga villagers told me that Zemi-Naga were kind enough to lend them their field for a negligible rent, though they had not enough for themselves. Zemi-Naga said that they owed much to Jatinga in the past, so that now they sympathised with the condition of Jatinga, and offered some parts of their jhum field. [427] [628]

transported to other parts of Indian Union. The prices of some of the cash crops recorded a disproportionate fall unprecedented before. The price of orange which ruled at Rs. 20·00 to Rs. 25·00 per luti (1,024 nos.) tumbled down to Rs. 8·00 to Rs. 16·00 per luti, that of betel leaf which used to sell at Rs. 20·00 to Rs.25·00 per kuri (2,880 leaves) came down to Rs.2·00 to Rs.3·00 per kuri. Tezpata and other fruits also suffered equally. The worst of all was that even at this rock bottom price the produce was not lifted. The following figures quoted from the memorandum submitted to the Prime Minister by the Border People's Association which are claimed to have been collected from individual growers are indicative of the extent to which the border trade suffered after partition. 435 439 458

TABLE A-1

Annual export from United Khasi & Jaintia Hills to East Bengal before and after partition

(In thousand mds.)

Names	Pre-partition export	Post-partition export				
	Maunds	1948-49 maunds	1949-50 maunds	1950-51 maunds	1951-52 maunds	1955-56 maunds
1. Oranges	12,00·0	2.40·0	12.0	10.0	1.0	10.0
2. Potato	4,00·0	80·0	50.0	60.0	200.0	70.0
3. Tezpata	3,00·0	60·0				
4. Vegetables	1,00·0	40·0	15.0	10.0	70.0	10.0
5. Arecanuts	1,00·0	20·0	..	...	...	...
6. Pipul	1·7	..	...	...	...	...
7. Betel-leaves	3,20·0	64·0	3.2	2.0	160.0	80.0
8. Bam-boo, cane, timber, etc.		...	..	...	..	...
9. Spices, turmeric, chillies, pepper.	2·0	0·5	0·2	0·1	0·3	0·2
10. Fruits, Banana, plums, pine-apples, jack-fruits, pears and papaya.	1,25·0	50·0	15·0	10·0	50·0	50.0
11. Limestone	16,00.0	17,00.0	17,00.00	6,00.0	5,00.0	5,00.0

The difficulty of getting adequate supply of foodgrains and other necessities of daily life posed a serious problem. Due to communication difficulties arrangement for adequate supply of these commodities from other parts of Indian Union could not be made. The supply from 439 458

435 659 Regarding supply of foodgrains through fair price shops, the position appeared to be unsatisfactory. Complaints were heard from some villagers coming from the interior villages that they very rarely get rice from fair price shops, which are usually allotted to bigger villages, sometimes too far from the villages tagged to it. Even the people of the villages where there were fair price shops, complained that the supply of rice to these shops was inadequate and the price also was very high which in some areas was even as high as Rs. 31·00 per maund.

164 312 In a majority of the villages investigated, water supply and medical facilities were not satisfactory. Malaria, dysentery and other bowel diseases are common in this area.

8.3.—The following table summaries the data on relative importance of crops, harvested area under different crops, average yeild of crops and sale proceeds, etc.

TABLE F-3
Yield rate of some important crops

Crop	Border area			Project area			General area		
	Gross farm area harvested (in acres)	Average yield per acre	Sale proceed (Rs.0.00)	Gross farm area harvested (in acre)	Average yield per acre	Sale proceed (Rs.0.00)	Gross farm area harvested (in acre)	Average yield per acre	Sale proceed (Rs.0.00)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
1. Betel leaf	298.69	17.15	15037	58.10	50.64	7867	10.50	24	486
	(9)	(kuri)	(5)	(3)	(kuri)	(8)	(2)	(kuri)	(2)
2. Arecanut	891.80	2.93	184025	13.50	4·11	4719	8r50	3.03	1098
	(97)	(luti)	(60)	(1)	(luti)	(5)	(1)	(luti)	(4)
3. Orange	1018.77	5.27	60404	52.34	16·76	5128	21.25	2·80	71
	(31)	(luti)	(23)	(3)	(luti)	(5)	(4)	(luti)	(..)
4. Potato	20.70	17.49	1118	28.31	22.77	1143	37.40	27.16	9075
	(1)	(mds)	(—)	(2)	(mds)	(1)	(7)	(mds)	(39)
5. Paddy	643.76	8.38	27609	1401.89	12.92	77243	342.75	12.60	1209
	(19)	(mds)	(6)	(82)	(mds)	(77)	(61)	(mds)	(45)
6. Millet	101.80	3·51	370	4·10	8.78	132	22.94	6.94	737
	(3)	(mds)	(—)	(—)	(mds)	(—)	(4)	(mds)	(3)
7. Tapioca	36·25	24.41	401	..	—	..	6.75	37.08	225
	(1)	(mds)	(—)	...	—	..	(1)	(mds)	(—)
8. Yam	59.03	9.40	598	5.60	18·46	99	1.87	23.45	25
	(2)	(mds)	(—)	( )	(mds)	(—)	(—)	(mds)	(..)
9 Others	248.68	..	16404	126·56	..	3806	109.41	..	3821
	(7)	..	(6)	(3)	..	(4)	(19)		(14)
Total	3324.48	...	3,09,496	1700.40	..	100127	561.37	..	26628
	(100)	..	(100)	(100)	..	(100)	(100)		(100)

N.B. (a) 1 luti=1024 nos. in the case of orange.
=6400 ,, ,, ,, betelnut.
(b) 1 Kuri=200 leaves.
(c) Potato here relates to potato hervested in winter months.

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243 the District, nor do any superior kinds of cereals appear to have been substituted for inferior ones.

THE DIFFERENT STAGES OF RICE CULTIVATION, in English and Khásí, are as follow:—The blade as it first shows, *spch-u-kyba;* the blade when well above the ground, *la-thylleng-u-kyba;* the ears when first formed, *lam-mat;* the ears beginning to ripen, *byr-tem;* the ripe ears, *la-hih;* unhusked rice, *u-kyba;* husked rice, *u-khaw;* cooked rice, *ka-ja.*

262 THE VARIOUS SOLID AND LIQUID PREPARATIONS made from rice
[435] are the following:—(1) *U-kypu*, cakes of different kinds, sold at six
[782] or twelve for a penny, according to size. (2) *U-shirá* or *gáh-khir*, prepared by the hillmen as an offering to their deity at the conclusion of the harvest. (3) *Kadam*, fermented rice water, sold at the rate
273 of from three-farthings to threepence per quart, according to the
435 strength of the liquor. (4) *Ka kiad-phatika* or *ka kiad-hárak*, a kind of spirits distilled from rice, and sold at from threepence to fourpence-halfpenny per quart.

243 OTHER CEREALS.—Indian corn, or *u-riu-ha-dem*, is grown on homestead lands. The ground is first manured, and the seed is sown about the middle of April. The crop is fit for cutting in September and October. A kind of millet seed called *u-krti* is commonly sown with paddy on high lands. For want of more suitable land, however, this crop is often cultivated by itself on rocky slopes; and when this course is adopted, the jungle is first cut down in February and burnt. The seed is sown in April, and the crop gathered in December.

244 PULSES AND FIBRES.—Only two kinds of pulses are grown in the Hills, *u-rym-bai-ktung* and *u-rym-bai-jú*, both of which are varieties
283 of beans. They are sown on high lands in March and April, and gathered in December. The only fibre is that made from the pine-apple stalk, which is largely used for making netted bags.

245 MISCELLANEOUS CROPS.—(1) Oranges.—There are numerous
[439] orange plantations in the neighbourhood of Cherrá Púnjí, and the fruit is exported to all parts of Bengal. In the year 1876-77 the estimated exports were 9,400,000 in number, valued at Rs. 37,600, or £3760, at the rate of Rs. 12 or £1, 4s. per three thousand. These figures show a decrease in number as compared with the estimated export twenty years ago. The trees flower in March or April, and the fruit ripens in October and the following months. In some cases the oranges are allowed to remain on the trees till March, but

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(8) Cotton is grown on high lands and
248 slopes; it is sown in April, and becomes fit for picking by January.

311 Area and Out-turn of Crops.—According to the Assam Ad-
241 ministration Report for 1875-76, the area of the British portion of the Khásí and Jáintiá Hills District amounts to 2160 square miles,
648 of which only 110 are under cultivation; of the remainder, 1337 square miles are set down as cultivable, and 713 as uncultivable. The total area of the semi-independent Khásí States is given as 3997 square miles, of which 176 are under cultivation, 2561 are cultivable, and 1260 uncultivable. In another portion of the same Report, the area under various crops throughout the entire District is thus approximately estimated:—Rice, 59,880 acres; other food grains, 57,820 acres; cotton, 1076 acres; potatoes, 33,880 acres. The average out-turn of rice per acre is returned at 8 *maunds*, or nearly 6 cwt.; of other food grains, 3 *maunds*, or over 2 cwt.; of cotton, 2 *maunds*, or 1½ cwt.; of
[435] potatoes, 55 *maunds*, or nearly 40 cwt. The price of rice in 1875-76 was Rs. 4 8 per *maund*, or 12s. 8d. a cwt., which gives Rs. 36 or £3, 12s. as the value of the rice crop obtained from one acre.

241 Condition of the Peasantry.—The Khásiás can scarcely be considered an agricultural people, as they do not grow sufficient
423 grain for their own subsistence, and are dependent to a great
433 extent on imports of rice from the neighbouring Districts. Ten acres is generally considered a comfortable holding for a husbandman in the position of an ordinary Bengal peasant, but scarcely any man in the Hills depends entirely upon the produce of his land for
[231] his support. In the Jáintiá Hills a cultivator's position is con-
[554] sidered to be very low if he possesses no cattle, but performs all the operations of agriculture with his own hands. In that portion of the District, five acres is all that can be cultivated with a single
[465] pair of oxen, the average being four acres. A husbandman with a holding of five acres would not be so well off as a retail shopkeeper, nor would it enable him to live as comfortably as he could on a money wage of Rs. 8 or 16s. a month. The peasantry, however, as a class are not in debt. The land is owned chiefly by small proprietors, who occupy and cultivate their hereditary fields. The relations of landlord and tenant do not exist in the Hills, and no rent is payable to any one; consequently the principle of Act x. of 1859 (the Rent Law of Bengal) has no application.

231 The Animals used in agriculture are oxen; goats and pigs are
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reared either for food or as articles of trade. A pair of ploughing oxen are worth about Rs. 32, or £3, 4s.; an ordinary cow, Rs. 12, or £1, 4s.; a score of kids six months old, Rs. 16, or £1, 12s.; and a score of full-grown pigs, from Rs. 100 to Rs. 160, or from £10 to £16. 231 435

THE AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS in use in the District consist of a plough, called *ka-jingshir* in Khásí, and a hoe or *kodáli*, called *u-mo-khiar*. When the cultivation is carried on by means of oxen, the plough is used, the hoe alone being used when the land is cultivated by manual labour. In the Khásí Hills the use of the plough, except in a few rare cases, is entirely unknown; but in the Jáintiá Hills, oxen and ploughs are used to a greater extent. What is technically termed 'a plough' of land is equivalent to four English acres; a pair of oxen, together with the necessary implements, would represent a capital of about Rs. 40, or £4. 241 407 [435]

WAGES.—The Deputy-Commissioner reports that the price of labour in the District has more than doubled in the last ten years. The rates obtaining at present are from eightpence to one shilling a day for an ordinary labourer, and from one shilling to eighteenpence a day for a porter. An agricultural day-labourer earns sixpence, and a woman at the same work fourpence-halfpenny a day. Bricklayers, carpenters, and blacksmiths earn from a shilling to eighteenpence a day. The new Station of Shillong, the present seat of the Local Government, was established in May 1864, and since that date the demand for labour has markedly increased. The extension of the cultivation of potatoes has also had an appreciable effect on the price of labour. 178 464 465 [244]

PRICES OF FOOD GRAINS.—Of the different descriptions of rice in the markets of the District, the better sorts are imported from the neighbouring Districts of Sylhet and Káchár. The local produce is considered fit only for the use of the Khásís. The price of the better descriptions depends entirely upon the distance from which the supplies come. In a distant market like that of Shillong, rice of the best quality generally sells at from 6 to 7 *seers* for the rupee, or from 16s. to 18s. 8d. per cwt.; and rice of inferior quality, which is only used by the poorer classes, at from 9 to 10 *seers* for the rupee, or from 11s. 2d. to 12s. 5d. per cwt. Little or no trade is carried on in unhusked grain. Paddy produced in the District generally sells at an average of from 15 to 16 *seers* per rupee, or from 7s. to 7s. 6d. per cwt. Indian corn, which is only grown to a small extent, is sold 435 439 243

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435 439 at the rate of two or three ears for a farthing; and sugar-cane, the [243] cultivation of which is also very limited, at from a little over a farthing 273 to three-farthings per cane. A fermented liquor called *kadam*, made 435 from rice, is sold at from three-farthings to threepence a quart, according to strength; and a distilled spirit called *phatika*, or *kakiad-kirak*, at from threepence to fourpence-halfpenny a quart. This latter description of liquor is sometimes made very strong. No records exist by which the present prices of the above articles can [731] be compared with the rates ruling ten years ago. The maximum price of rice during the famine of 1866-67 was 5 *sers* 6 *chhatáks* for the rupee, or about £1 a hundredweight.

804 Measures, Weights, etc.—The Hill people have no proper 805 measurement of time or distance. If there be any standard for measuring distance, it is by the number of *pins* a man chews in the course of a journey, generally about one every half hour. In some parts of the District, land is measured by a stick called *ka dieng-nung*, varying in length from six to seven cubits. Liquids are measured in gourds of different measures, varying from half a *chhaták* to a *ser*, and also in bamboo tubes. Rice, potatoes, beans, etc. are measured in baskets, varying in size in different markets from two to eighty pounds.

805 In the Khási Hills the inhabitants reckon eight days in the week, named as follows:—(1) Lyn-kah; (2) Nong-krem; (3) Um-long; (4) Rang-hep; (5) Shillong; (6) Pom-tih; (7) Um-nih; (8) Yeo-duh. In the Jáintiá Hills the eight days are named thus:—(1) Kyllao; (2) Pyn-sing; (3) Máo-long; (4) Máo-siang; (5) Máo-shai; (6) Pyn-kat; (7) Thym-blein; (8) Ka-hat. The Khási months of the year, calculated by moons, are as follow:—(1) U Kylla lynkot; (2) U Rym-pang; (3) U Lyber; (4) U Laiong; (5) U Jimmang; (6) U Jilliw; (7) U Nai-ting; (8) U Nai-lar; (9) U Nai-lúr; (10) U Rysow; (11) U Nai-wing; (12) U Noh-prah.

464 Landless Labouring Classes.—There is, and always has been, 423 a large class of labourers in the District who neither rent nor possess any land. Women and children are employed in manual out-door labour of all kinds.

Varieties of Land Tenure can hardly be said to exist. There 423 is nothing whatever resembling the relations between landlord and [427] tenant throughout the Khási Hills. The lands as a rule are either ancestral property or belong to village communities, and are cultivated under unwritten but well-understood agreements. Of the wide

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extent of waste land, some is cultivated in a manner resembling the *jhum* system,—successive crops are grown on a patch of land till the soil is exhausted, and then another spot is selected, where the same process is repeated afresh, but without anything that can be called a *jhumi* tenure. Any renting of land is exceptional, and there are no recognised rates of rent. The Deputy-Commissioner, however, states that an ordinary rate for rented land would be from two to three shillings a year for as much land as an individual can cultivate with his own hands. 423 [427]

MANURE is generally used in raising rice and potatoes. It is seldom purchased, the dung and litter of the cattle and other animals about the house being generally utilized for the purpose. For rice fields a little less than half a ton of manure, but for potatoes upwards of two tons, is required per acre. Manure, if purchased, would cost from 2s. 7½d. to 3s. 9d. per acre for rice land, and for potato fields from 12s. to 18s. per acre. 243 244 [435]

IRRIGATION for agricultural purposes is regularly practised. Water is brought to the land by means of channels cut from the numerous hill streams in the neighbourhood of the fields. Wells and tanks are unknown. The work of irrigation by means of these channels is very easily carried on, and at a very trifling outlay. Rotation of crops is not practised in the Hills. 312

MODEL FARM.—The Shillong Model Farm, established in 1873, has not proved a success. Experiments tried with wheat give some hope that cold-weather crops may profitably be introduced into the Hills. Two new varieties of potato—'red rosgin' and 'pheasant's eye'—were successfully introduced in 1873-74; but these are not looked upon favourably by the Khásiás, as they only give one crop in the year, whereas the ordinary variety yields two crops. Several fruit-trees have been planted out, including apple, pear, cherry, nectarine, and plum; and the tables of the European residents are supplied with vegetables from the garden attached to the farm. A *Manual of Potato Cultivation* compiled by the superintendent has been translated into Assamese, and copies have been distributed among the adjoining Hill tribes. The general failure in all the agricultural experiments is attributed partly to the unfitness of the soil, and still more to the ravages of white ants and other insects peculiar to the Hills. The attempts to improve the indigenous breeds of live stock have been equally unfortunate. During the two years 1874-76 the sum of Rs. 1,744 177 244 647 654 177 245 647 654 [134] [136] 231 648 654

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231 (£172. 8.) was expended on the purchase of stock, including
648 cattle, sheep, and pigs from England. Even native cattle at the
654 elevation of Shillong fell off very much in the months of January and February from want of forage, and the Khásiás at this season generally drive them to lower slopes. But one of the chief objects in keeping cattle at the farm was to obtain manure; and *mati kolái* (Phaseolus radiatus) was grown for them, cut green, and stocked for food. On this they did very well. In 1875-76, however, cattle disease broke out on the farm in a very virulent shape. Out of 39 cattle stocked, only 7, or 18 per cent., recovered, and the animals imported from England all died. There was also a heavy mortality in that year among the sheep and pigs. The following are the financial results for the two years:—1874-75—Expenditure, Rs. 13,257. 0. 5; receipts, Rs. 309. 2. 6: deficit, Rs. 12,987. 13. 11. 1875-76—Expenditure, Rs. 11,225. 8. 6; receipts, Rs. 1036. 15. 0: deficit, Rs. 10,428. 9. 6. Total deficit, Rs. 23,396. 7. 5, or £2339.
[731]

648 130. In view of these figures the Chief Commissioner has determined to restrict farming operations to small experiments in irri-
654 gated *rabi* crops, and, as a measure of economy, to dispense with the services of the superintendent. The future expenditure on the farm will be insignificant. The establishment now (1877) consists of a *sardár* on Rs. 30 and a *chaukidár* on Rs. 10 a month (total, £72 a year), under the direct control of the Deputy-Conservator of Forests; the total number of live stock is 64 head.

731 NATURAL CALAMITIES, such as blights, floods, or droughts, are not common in the District, although the crops in the *Jaintiá* Hills sometimes suffer from insects. So far as the Deputy-Commissioner is able to ascertain, no destruction of crops affecting the general harvest has occurred within the experience of the present generation. During the Orissa famine of 1866-67 the maximum price of common rice reached £1 per hundredweight, but no such distress was felt as to require Government relief operations. The price just mentioned was certainly equal to the rates prevalent in the famine-stricken districts; but prices always rule high in the Hills, and afford no just criterion of the state of affairs among the general body of the inhabitants. Distress was only felt by a small portion of the population, chiefly the Bengáli immigrants residing in the District, who are generally a well-to-do class. The Hill people, as a rule, do
262 not eat potatoes, which they grow only for export; but in case of
244 actual famine, they might fall back upon this crop for their own food
439 supply.

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supply. As the District depends so largely for its supply of rice upon Sylhet and Kámrúp, the state of the markets in those places exercises a greater influence on the rates in the Hills than any failure of the local harvest. In the year 1858 the price of common rice is said to have risen as high as 6 *sers* for the rupee, or 18s. 8d. per cwt., in consequence of the failure of the crops in the plains. 243 433 439 [435]

ROADS AND MEANS OF COMMUNICATION.—The following are the eight principal lines of road in the Khási and Jáintiá Hills:—(1) Road from Shillong to Gauháti, in Kámrúp. This road has recently (1877) been opened for wheeled traffic throughout its entire length. The Deputy-Commissioner's Report for 1876-77 states that the number of passengers passing up and down may be estimated at about 800 or 1000 every month, and the number of carts already used at about 50. The *tonga dák* brings travellers up to Shillong from Gauháti in two days by a comfortable and easy carriage service, while for natives a cheaper conveyance by bullock cart is available. At Gauháti there is a good *dák* bungalow in charge of a *khánsámá*, where the usual accommodation provided in a hotel is to be found. The stages to Shillong are as follow:—(*a*) Gauháti to Bornihát, 17 miles. The road is good throughout. There is a *dák* bungalow in charge of a *chaukidár* at Bornihát, where grain and rice are procurable. (*b*) Bornihát to Nongpoh, 14½ miles. The road is hilly throughout, but good. At Nongpoh, which is at an elevation of 1900 feet, there is a *dák* bungalow in charge of a *khánsámá*, from whom tea, liquors, and biscuits, etc. can be obtained. The *dák* bungalow is furnished with bedding, linen, etc. Grain and rice can be purchased in the *bázár*. (*c*) Nongpoh to Um-sning, 16½ miles. At Um-sning, elevation 2700 feet, there is a *dák* bungalow in charge of a *chaukidár*. Supplies or coolies are not procurable, but sometimes grain and rice can be purchased. (*d*) Um-sning to Um-jam, 9½ miles. At Um-jam there is a Public Works Department rest-house in charge of a *chaukidár*. Supplies or coolies are not procurable. (*e*) Um-jam to Shillong, 9½ miles, of which 6½ are a continuous ascent. At Shillong there are *dák* bungalows in the Artillery Lines, containing four separate rooms. A *khánsámá* is in attendance, and the rooms are completely furnished with bedding, linen, etc. This entire road, which has a total length of 67 miles, is as perfect a hill road as could be seen in any country, and a model of engineering skill. (2) Road running from Gauháti across the Hills, *viâ* Nongklao, Máo-flang, Cherrá 491 [493] [485]

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The coal strata at the former place are calculated to extend over one-third of a square mile, with an average thickness of from 3 feet 6 inches to 4 feet; and the yield of the coal, if it could be worked, is estimated at 447,000 tons. At the latter spot the area of the coal-fields is computed to extend over 0·394 of a square mile, and the estimated yield of the mineral is about 1,100,000 tons. The coal at Cherrá Púnjí and at Lá-ká-dong is in quality equal to some English coals; it is quick in its action, and consequently would generate steam rapidly; it cakes well, but gives out a large amount of smoke; it is fragile and easily broken. From the absence of that definite structure which produces the planes of division known to English miners as 'backs,' or joints in the coal, it breaks into unsymmetrical pieces, and consequently does not stow well. From its composition, quick combustion, and irregular cleavage, it is estimated to be from 5 to 7 per cent. inferior to good English coal; but as a gas-producing coal it is considered superior to English produce, both as regards quality and purity of the gas. It is also calculated to yield a good quality of coke. The market value of coal found in the Khási and Jáintiá Hills cannot be given with any approach to accuracy, owing to the expense of labour in the Hills and of carriage to the plains. The Station of Shillong, which consumes coal as fuel, derives its supply from the coal beds at Máo-beh-lyrkár, 18 miles distant, and the price is as high as £3 per ton. Lá-ká-dong is within six miles of Borghát, a village on an affluent of the Surmá, which is accessible all the year round by boats of 500 maunds, or 28 tons burden; but at present only coolie-carriage is available between Lá-ká-dong and Borghát.

The following is a brief history of the mines at Cherrá Púnjí in the Khási Hills, and at Lá-ká-dong in the Jáintiá Hills:—Government holds a perpetual lease of the Cherrá Púnjí mines from the chief or Siem of Cherrá, conditionally upon the payment by Government of a royalty of two shillings and eightpence for every five tons of coal quarried and removed from the mine, and also upon the terms that the people of Cherrá shall be permitted to work the beds on their own account. In 1844 Government transferred its right to work the mine to Captain Engledue, then agent of the Peninsular and Oriental Company, for a period of twenty years; but in the following year this gentleman, with the permission of Government, made over his lease to Messrs. Gisborne & Co., of Calcutta, who worked the mine for about two years,

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

316 and in 1851 transferred their rights to Mr. W. Moran, of Calcutta.
648 The last lessee, however, preferred buying his coal to mining it; and
655 Government, seeing that the mines were not worked in a satisfactory manner, resumed the beds in 1859, and advertised them for letting. No person, however, has since come forward to work the mine. The Lá-ká-dong coal mines are the sole property of Government, which in the year 1848 leased the mining rights to Mr. B. W. Darley. This gentleman in the following year made over his lease to Messrs. Gisborne & Co., who soon afterwards transferred it to Mr. Moran. This gentleman surrendered his lease in 1859, when the mines were advertised for letting, but no one has since come forward and undertaken to work the coal. Between 1850 and 1856, while the mines were worked, about 5100 tons of coal were extracted for exportation.

In Mr. Allen's Report, dated 1858, it is stated that the coal of the Hills then found a ready sale at Dacca and elsewhere at 8 *ánnás* per *maund;* and that the average quantity exported into Bengal was about
[435] 25,000 *maunds*, valued at Rs. 12,500, or £1250. According to the local trade reports, this exportation would appear to have entirely died out; but the Bengal registration returns record 2965 *maunds* of coal, valued at Rs. 1482, or £148, at the rate of 8 *ánnás* per *maund*, as exported from Sylhet District in the year 1876-77. This supply was probably derived from the Khásí and Jáintiá Hills.

317 LIMESTONE QUARRIES.—A limestone formation prevails more or less along the whole southern face of the Khásí and Jáintiá Hills. The quarries are chiefly situated in the beds and on the banks of rivers and water-courses.

The limestone-quarrying localities in the Khásí Hills are the following twenty-six:—(1) Bha-wál; (2) Bor-syr-mai; (3) By-rang, *alias* Wáh-long; (4) Bor-púnjí; (5) Chún-jurá; (6) Dholai; (7) Dwárá; (8) Ichhámati; (9) Lúm-dih-long; (10) Lan-grin; (11) Long-long; (12) Máo-nai; (13) Máo-don; (14) Máo-kár-tillá; (15) Mohesh-kháli; (16) Máo-long; (17) No-kriá; (18) Páthériá; (19) Ram-seng-rai-skeh; (20) Soh-lai; (21) Silai; (22) Shellá; (23) Tanglá; (24) Tang-wai; (25) Um-song; (26) Um-tymá. In the Jáintiá Hills, the following seven:—(1) Chún-chhorá; (2) Lámá-pushi; (3) Litháng; (4) Myrli Púnjí; (5) Nongthá-long; (6) Rúpnáth; (7) Rowai. The supply of limestone is literally inexhaustible. The wants of Calcutta and of the whole of Lower Bengal
648 have been satisfied from these hills from time immemorial. During
651 the year 1876-77 the estimated export was 1,600,000 *maunds*, valued
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20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

at Rs. 480,000, or £48,000, and the revenue derived by Government from the quarries was Rs. 67,266, or £6726. In addition, the Khásí Chiefs receive a revenue from this source of more than £2000. 648 651 317

IRON.—The smelting of iron was once the chief industry in the Khási Hills, and a considerable quantity of the metal used to be exported into Sylhet, both in the crude and the manufactured state. Recently, however, this industry has almost died out, in the face of the competition of the superior article imported from England and sold in the plains at a cheaper rate. The indigenous methods of extracting, washing, and smelting the ore have been minutely described by Professor Oldham. The following description is taken from Mr. Allen's Report, dated 1858, at which date the annual export of smelted iron was estimated at 45,000 *maunds*, valued at Rs. 67,500, or £6750, at the rate of Rs. 1. 8 per *maund:* —'The ore is said to be most abundant and of the best quality in the State of Khyrim, especially at the villages of Nongkrím and Noyandrí. A few iron articles, such as *dáos* or hill knives, *kodálís* or mattocks, spear and arrow-heads, are manufactured by the Khásí smiths in the Hills; but the greater bulk of the smelted iron is sent to the plains for sale in circular lumps weighing about 4 or 5 *sers*. These lumps, called *bírí*, sell at Chhaták for from Rs. 1. 4 to Rs. 1. 6 per *maund*. The best iron, however, which is beaten into bars called *peti*, sells for from Rs. 1. 10 to Rs. 1. 12 per *maund*. Khási iron is preferred to English, in consequence of its greater malleability. It is much used by the native boat-builders of Sylhet and the neighbouring Districts to make fastenings for the timbers of their boats. When brought into the market, it is more than half dross, and it is this circumstance which renders the iron trade unprofitable. The cost of carriage from the Hills to the plains is about 6 *ánnás* per *maund;* and the traders, who are all Khásiás themselves, affirm that they get an average profit of only 2 *ánnás* per *maund*.' The tables of trade for 1876-77 return no smelted iron as exported from the Hills, but Rs. 7000 of iron implements exported, against nails and ironmongery imported to the value of Rs. 18,000. 178 325 439 [326] [435] [501]

THE MANUFACTURES of the District, besides iron, consist of coarse cotton and *randia* cloth, plain silver work, rude implements of husbandry, netted bags made of the fibre of the pine-apple, common pottery, and mats and baskets. With the exception of the 28 433

1. Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR1 Khasi AR1

shield of Cherrapunji is used as a protection from rain. 293
Those of Maharam and Mawiang are each of a peculiar pattern. 352
Smaller shields are used as protections from the sun or merely for show, and there are specially small sizes for children. Then there are the different kinds of basket (*ki khoh*) which are carried on the back, slung across the forehead 415 482
by a cane head-strap. These, again, are of different sizes. They are, however, always of the same conical shape, being round and broad-mouthed at the top and gradually tapering to a point at the bottom. A bamboo cover is used to protect the contents of the basket from rain. There is a special kind of basket made of cane or bamboo with a cover, which is used for carrying articles on a journey. These baskets, again, are of different sizes, the largest and best that the writer has seen being manufactured at Rambrai, in the south-western portion of the hills. 412
Paddy is husked in a wooden mortar by means of a heavy 415
wooden pestle. These are to be seen all over the hills. The 256
work of husking paddy is performed by the women. A bamboo sieve is sometimes used for sifting the husked rice, a winnowing fan being applied to separate the husk. The cleaned rice is exposed to the sun in a bamboo tray. Paddy is stored in a separate store-house in large circular bamboo receptacles. These hold sometimes as much as 30 maunds* of grain. Large baskets are also used for keeping paddy in. In 415
every Khasi house is to be found the net bag which is made 825
out of pineapple fibre, or of *u stein*, the Assamese *riha* 436
(Boehmeria nivea). These bags are of two sizes, the larger one for keeping cowries in, the cowrie in former days having been used instead of current coin in these hills, the smaller for the ever necessary betel-nut. *Pán* leaves are kept in a bamboo tube, and tobacco leaves in a smaller one. Lime, for eating with betel-nut, is kept in a metal box, sometimes of silver, which is made in two separate parts held together by a chain. The box is called *ka shanam*, and 415
is used all over the hills. This box is also used for 787
divination purposes, one end of it being held in the hand, and the other, by means of the chain, being allowed to swing

* The maund is 82 lbs. 804

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

301 This stone is apparently some rough gem which may be picked up by the Lynngams in the river beds. A rich man amongst
556 them, however, is one who possesses a number of metal gongs,
534 which they call *wiang*. For these they pay very high prices,
436 Rs. 100 being quite a moderate sum for one of them. Being curious to see one of these gongs, I asked a *sirdar*, or head-man, to show me one. He replied that he would do so, but it would take time, as he always buried his gongs in the jungle for fear of thieves. Next morning
[531] he brought me a gong of bell metal, with carvings of animals engraved thereon. The gong when struck gave out a rich deep note like that of Burmese or Thibetan gongs. These gongs have a regular currency in this part of the hills, and represent to the Lynngams "Bank of England" notes. It would be interesting to try to ascertain what is their history, for no one in the Lynngam country makes them in these days. Is it possible that the Garos brought them with them when
534 they migrated from Thibet? The gongs are well known in the
622 Garo Hills, and I hear that when a *nokma*, or head-man, there
778 dies his corpse is laid out upon them. They thus possess also an element of sanctity, besides being valuable for what they will fetch to the Garos or Lynngams. We may hope to hear more about them in Captain Playfair's account of the Garos.

304 The Lynngams do not tattoo. Their weapons are the large-
411 headed Garo spear, the dao, and the shield. They do not usually
243 carry bows and arrows, although there are some who possess them. They are by occupation cultivators. They sow two kinds of hill rice, red and white, on the hill-sides. They have no wet paddy cultivation, and they do not cultivate in terraces like the Nagas. They burn the jungle about February, after cutting down some of the trees and clearing away some of the debris, and then sow the paddy broadcast, without cultivating the ground in any way. They also cultivate millet and Job's-tears in the same way. With the paddy chillies are sown the
241 first year. The egg plant, arum, ginger, turmeric, and sweet
231 potatoes of several varieties are grown by them in a similar
784 manner. Those that rear the lac insect plant *landoo* trees (Hindi *arhal dal*) in the forest clearings, and rear the insect thereon. Some of these people, however, are prohibited by a

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in the valley and been brought in from there.

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richly decorated with paper flowers. The structure is over the head of the deceased. Shell money (sbai) is distributed to the people at this cremation.

3. Thang shan is that method of cremation, in which the expense goes still further. In addition to the above mentioned structure over the body, a baldachin of four high bamboo poles is also erected over the funeral pyre, which is kept up after the cremation. The baldachin is decorated with colored cloth or paper. Only the very eminent people and the group mother (Stammutter) are cremated in this fashion.

The wood for the cremations is always taken from a holy forest ('law kyndang). But dry wood is also always brought along from the hut, since the green wood fetched from the 'law kyndang would not burn immediately. The fire is also not lighted at the place of cremation, but one takes a firebrand from the hut.

[432] Not until all the relatives have arrived and all the preparations for the cremation are completed -- for no work may be done on the day of cremation -- is the dead man brought to the place of cremation. He is placed, fully clothed, on a bamboo bier (ka krong). At the four ends of the bier, often also at the middle of the long sides, so that there are six of them, bamboo sticks are raised upright and a white cloth is fastened around the whole or crosswise -- depending on whether the body is that of a man or a woman. Weapons,

right into the carrying baskets of the arriving sellers with little ceremony and takes as much as he can with one or two hands. 443 651

Toll is levied at the approaches to the market. Here and there is a toll hut where the people passing must pay their contribution. These receipts belong to the king in whose kingdom the market is located. These market tolls often form very good sources of income for the royal families, as the markets are held regularly and are well attended. In return for the market tolls the king must maintain the market halls (if there are any).

[709] b) Market Coercion. There is no actual market coercion. But nothing can be bought outside of the market, since the Khasi do not have any stores. Only in the larger villages are there one or two shops, which, however, do not count. These shops must all pay the "market toll" for all the articles which they sell at home with the exception of the sale of kiad, "rice liquor," which is never sold at the market.

c) Prices and Measures. The prices are based on supply and demand. They are freely determined by the sellers. It is not the custom to bargain and haggle. An exception is the price for the daily rice, which often causes quarrels. The sellers sit by their wares without shouting or praising. The visitors come to the market, look at the wares, touch them, weigh them in their hands, and finally ask about the price. 437

If the prices seems to them to be too high, they put the wares back in their places and go their way without making any remarks.

Coins are used for paying. The Khasi have the following names for the English-Indian money? 436

5:Stegmiller-23 M-4,5(no date) 1928 AR7KhasiAR7

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4 sh'ing	equal	1 kynda
5 kynda	"	1 peisa or 3 damli
4 peisa	"	1 anna
16 anna	"	1 tyngka
15 tyngka	"	1 muhor ksiar equals 20.83 gold marks

804 The following norms are valid for wares sold according to weight:

4 suka	equals	1 tula
1 1/4 tula	"	1 katsha
5 katsha	"	1 shatak
4 shatak	"	1 pauwa
4 pauwa	"	1 ser
5 ser	"	1 pusari
8 pusari	"	1 mon
27 1/2 mon	"	1 ton equals 20 hundredweight

The following norms are valid for wares which are sold according to the square foot:

4 saudong	equals	1 kanda
20 kanda	"	1 shatak
16 shatak	"	1 katha
20 katha	"	1 bigha equals 120 square feet

The following norms are in general valid for wares which are sold by the piece:

12 tylli	equals	1 dorjon
20 tylli	"	1 kuri
5 kuri	"	1 soah (hundred)
24 tau	"	1 dista
20 dista	"	1 rim
10 rim	"	1 song bah

right into the carrying baskets of the arriving sellers with little ceremony and takes as much as he can with one or two hands. 443 651

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16: McCormack E-4,5 (1956-1958) 1964
[P. 108 B] AR7 Khasi AR7

children, but Christian influence has eradicated or driven underground the consumption by women and children. **Industrial arts.** The only industrial arts traditionally practiced in all households were a rudimentary carpentry and a simple utilitarian basketry. Other arts were few, and were practiced as village specialties: the washing and smelting of iron ore and the forging of hoes, daos, knives, swords, and cooking pots (upland Khasis); the spinning of cotton thread (Mynso village, Jaintia); the dyeing of cotton thread and the weaving of cloth (Jaintias, Bhois, Lyngngams, Wars); the spinning and weaving of Eri silk (Khyrwang and Nongtung villages, Bhoi and Jaintia); and the hand manufacture, without wheel, of painted earthenware pots (Larnai village, Jaintia). Ironworking and the production of cotton goods have nearly died out through the competition of machine-made goods. Carpentry has greatly improved. An innovation of major importance is the sewing and tailoring, on sewing machines, of ready-made garments for both sexes. [Cf. Darrah 1896; C., W. 1832.] **Trade.** Khasi villages normally contain a number of household shops operated by women. Every Khasi also lives within walking distance of several village markets that are held on successive days of the eight-day week. The limits of market intercourse for the members of any particular village can be roughly distinguished by their naming the days of their week, which are called after the active markets. The exception is the huge market at Shillong, much of which is active daily, and which serves as a magnet for Khasis from all over the hills. The traditional barter has given way to currency in all markets. The small ones contain at least some local farm produce, plus other essentials like betel nut, and the food and tea stalls which serve as centers of social intercourse. The big markets contain not only regional produce and manufactures but also products from distant parts of the hills, brought for sale by traveling middlemen. There is also substantial trade, from the hills to the valleys, in potatoes, pears, hides, lac, cotton, caoutchouc, the wood of the sal tree, Eri silk thread, limestone, coal, ivory, bay leaf, betel nut, pan leaves, bananas, sugar cane, oranges, til, turmeric, and chilies. From the plains to the hills, there is trade in dried fish, paddy rice, salt, cooking oil, kerosene, matches, tea, sugar, wheat flour, machine-made cloth, shoes, metal pots, crockery, porcelain objects, coral beads, silver, and gold. Markets are important not only as economic institutions but also as centers for recreation (including archery competitions), courtship, reaffirmation of kinship ties with distant relatives, and the dissemination of information of all kinds. [Cf. Stegmiller 1924a.] **Division of labor.** Men do the heavy work, such as clearing and burning the swidden fields, caring for cattle and goats and driving them to market, butchering and selling large cuts of beef and pork, carpentry and mining, and driving and laboring on motor vehicles. They also tailor men's

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1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

extracted by squeezing the comb with the hand. Wax is 231
obtained by placing the comb in boiling water and allowing it to cool, when the wax floats to the surface. The Khasis do not systematically tend their bees, as they do not understand how to prevent swarming, and as the Khasi bee is a prolific swarmer, hives become weak very soon and a new hive has to be started from a captured natural swarm. The villages in which bees are regularly kept to any large extent in the Khasi and [438] •
Jaintia Hills are Thied-dieng, Mawphoo, Nongwar, Mawlong, Pynter, Tyrna, and Kongthong, but most of the Wár villagers rear bees and sell the honey at the neighbouring markets. The collection of the honey of the wild bee, or *u lywai*, is a hazardous occupation, the services of some six or seven persons being required, as the combs of this bee are generally built in the crevices of precipitous rocks, and sometimes weigh more than half a maund each. When such hives are discovered the bees are driven out by the smoke of a smouldering fire lit at the foot of the rock below the hive. Two or three men get to the top of the precipice, leaving two or three of their companions at the base. One of the men on the top of the rock is then lowered down in a sling tied to a strong rope, which is made fast by his companions above to a tree or boulder. The man in the sling is supplied with material to light a torch which gives out a thick smoke, with the aid of which the bees are expelled. The man then cuts out the comb, which he places in a leather bucket or bag, which, when filled, he lowers down to the persons in waiting at the foot of the rock. The wild honey may be distinguished from that of the domestic bee by being of a reddish colour. Honey from the last-mentioned bee is gathered twice or thrice in the year, once in the autumn and once or twice in the spring; that gathered in early spring is not so matured as that collected in autumn. The flora of the [137]
Khasi Hills being so numerous, there is no necessity for providing bees with artificial food. The bees are generally able to obtain their sustenance from clover, anemonies, "golden rod," bush honeysuckle, and numerous shrubs such as andromeda, daphne, &c., which abound about Shillong. There seem to be facilities 231
for apiculture on a large scale in these hills, and certainly the 263
honey which is brought round by the Khasis for sale in

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247 nurseries are regularly watered, and are covered up with layers of leaves to ensure, as far as possible, the retention of the necessary moisture. When the plants are 3 or 4 in. high, they are transplanted to another and larger nursery, the soil of which has been previously well prepared for the reception of the young plants.

245 An orangery is prepared in the following manner:—

The shrubs, weeds and small trees are cut down, leaving only the big trees for the purpose of shade. The plants from the nurseries are planted from 6 ft. to 9 ft. apart. When they have become young trees, many of the branches of the sheltering trees mentioned above are lopped off, so as to admit the necessary amount of sunlight to the young orange trees. As the orange trees increase in size, the sheltering trees are gradually felled. The orchard requires clearing of jungle once in spring and once in autumn. The Khasis do not manure their orange trees, nor do they dig about and expose the roots. The [435] price of orange plants is from 75 to 100 plants per rupee for plants from 1 to 2 ft. in height, and from fifty to seventy-five plants per rupee for plants from 2 to 5 ft. in height. Orange trees bear fruit when from five to eight years old in ordinary soils. In very fertile soils they sometimes bear after four years. A full-grown tree yields annually as many as 1,000 438 oranges, but a larger number is not unknown. The larger portion of the produce is exported from the district to the plains, and to fruit markets at the foot of the hills such as Theria, Mawdon, and Phali-Bazar, on the Shella river, whence it finds its way to the Calcutta and Eastern Bengal markets.

244 Potatoes are raised on all classes of land, except *hali*, or wet paddy land. When the land has been properly levelled and hoed, drains are dug about the field. A cultivator (generally a female), with a basket of seed potatoes on her back and with a small hoe in her right hand, digs holes and with the left hand drops two seed-potatoes into each hole. The holes are about 6 in. in diameter, 6 in. deep, and from 6 to 9 in. apart from one another. Another woman, with a load of manure in a basket on her back, throws a little manure over the seed in the hole, and then covers both up with earth.

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basket is covered tightly with a cloth so as to be air-tight, and 273
it is allowed to remain in this condition for a couple of days, during which time the liquor has oozed out into the bowl. To make *ka'iad um* the material, the rice or millet from which the *ka'iad hiar* was brewed, is made use of. It is placed in a large earthen pot and allowed to remain there for about five days to ferment, after which the liquor is strained off. *Ka'iad hiar* is said to be stronger than *ka'iad um*. The former is used frequently by distillers of country spirit for mixing with the wort so as to set up fermentation. The people of the high plateaux generally prefer rice spirit, and the Wárs of the southern slopes of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills customarily partake of it also. The Khasis of the western hills, e.g. of the Nongstoin Siemship, and the Lynngams, Bhois, Lalungs, and Hadems almost invariably drink rice-beer, but the Syntengs, like the Khasi uplanders, drink rice-spirit. Rice-beer (*ka'iad um*) is a [776]
necessary article for practically all Khasi and Synteng religious ceremonies of importance, it being the custom for the officiating priest to pour out libations of liquor from a hollow gourd (*u klong*) to the gods on these occasions. As there is no Excise in the district, except within a five-mile radius of Shillong, liquor of both the above descriptions can be possessed and sold without restriction.

According to some Khasi traditions, the Khasis in ancient times used not to drink spirits, but confined themselves to rice-beer. It is only in the last couple of generations that the habit of drinking spirits has crept in, according to them. From Khasi accounts, the use of spirits is on the increase, but there is no means of testing these statements. There can be no doubt, however, that at the present time a very large amount of spirit is manufactured and consumed in the district. The spirit is 274
distilled both for home consumption and for purposes of sale; 438
in some villages, e.g. Mawlai and Marbisu, near Shillong, where there are fifty-nine and forty-nine stills respectively, there being a still almost in every house. Mawlai village supplies a great deal of the spirit which is drunk in Shillong, and from Marbisu spirit is carried for sale to various parts of the hills. Other large distilling centres are Cherrapunji, with forty-seven stills; Jowai, with thirty-one stills; Laitkynsew, with fifty-four stills;

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274 Nongwar, thirty-one stills; and Rangthang, thirty-seven
438 stills.

From what has been stated above some idea may be gathered
274 how very large the number of stills in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills is. I am not in a position to state with any degree of accuracy what is the amount of spirit manufactured or consumed in the year, but it is very considerable. The out-turn of a Khasi still has been reckoned at from four to eight bottles per day. From this estimate, and the fact that there are 1,530 stills in the district, it may be roughly calculated what is the consumption annually. Practically the whole of the spirit is consumed within the district. The liquor which is manufactured is far stronger than the spirit distilled in the ordinary out-stills in the plains.
273 It has been stated by an expert analyst that the Khasi spirit
735 contains 60 to 80 per cent. of proof spirit, and that it possesses "an exceptionally nice flavour and taste." The usual price at which it is sold is 4 to 6 annas a quart bottle, a second quality being sometimes sold for 3 annas. It will be seen that the
[465] liquor is exceedingly cheap. A Khasi in the villages of the interior can get drunk for 2 annas,* or a quarter of an ordinary coolie's daily wage. Drunkenness prevails on every market day at Cherrapunji, Jowai, and other large hâts, and on occasions when there are gatherings of the people for various purposes. This cheap but strong spirit is demoralizing the people, and some restriction of its use would be welcomed by
273 many. In the Khasi Welsh Methodist Church abstention from
797 liquor is made a condition of Church membership, but the vast number of stills and the facilities with which liquor can be obtained are a constant source of temptation to the Christian community, and cause many defections.

GAMES.

526 The Khasis have many games, but their principal game is archery, this may be said to be the national game, and is a very popular form of recreation amongst them, the sport being indulged in from about the beginning of January to the end of

* About threepence.

443 market for pleasure, I cannot agree with the
462 view, (3) that they would consider market busi-

3. P.C. Becker, S.D.S., Salvatorianische Mitteilungen [Salvatorian Communications], 1911, No. 4, p. 60.

ness beneath their dignity, if they had a wife or a grown girl (daughter) at home, to whom they could turn over this business. Not because the men would consider the business of the market beneath their dignity, but because the market is once and for all the preferred business of the women, men stay away from the market. If men are rarely seen offering provisions for sale, they are more frequently seen bringing the provisions to the women at the market. The men only sell personally birds they have caught themselves. Thus if the buying and selling of things is the business of the Khasi women, this position is not a subordinate and shameful one but a well established and dominant one.

2. The Market Wares

443 Food provisions are the chief items at the
438 Khasi markets. Sold are: rice (khau), dried fish (doh kha), potatoes (phan), sugar cane (u pai), an edible root which is eaten raw (u soh phlang; botanical name: flemingia vestita Benth); Job's tears (u soh rieu; botanical: name coix lachryma Jobi); Italian millet (u 'rai soh, botanical name: setreria italica); blood millet (u 'rai shan, botanical name: paspalum sanguinale); spadix millet (u 'rai truh, botanical name: eleusine Coracana); Khasi beans, two kinds: (u rymbai ja, botanical name: paseolus

calcaratus) and (u rymbai ktung, botanical 945
name: glycine soja); corn (u 'rieuhadem); 938
pineapple (u soh trun); lemons (u soh myndong);
oranges (u soh niamtra); mangoes (u soh pieng);
melons (u pathau); breadfruit (u soh kpu,
botanical name: artocarpus incisa); Khasi
cherries (u soh jong, botanical name: prunus
ferrunginea); bananas (ka kait), pepper (u soh
mrit); chilis (u soh myngken); papayas (u soh
kynphor, botanical name: carica papaya); a
kind of wild potato (u soh pyrsiu); cinnamon
(ka sisia, botanical name: cinamum cassia);
nutmeg (u joi phol); ginger (u 'sieng);
honey in honeycombs (ka ngap).

Goats, sheep, and cattle are sold, sometimes alive, sometimes slaughtered in small quantities. There are many chickens on the market, especially for sacrificial purposes.

In addition things are brought for sale that are necessary for the construction of houses or the cultivation of fields, such as grass for roofing huts; cut beams, bamboo poles, bamboo plaited into lattice work, dried cow manure, spades for the fields (mokhiu); Khasi knives (ka wait); [TOL: A/A P.M. Schmidt-Festschrift. Photo: P. Fr. Stegmiller. Market Troupe. They go in groups for fear of [934]
murderers (thleng owners)] [TOL: B/A P.M. Schmidt-Festschrift. Photo: P. Fr. Stegmiller. A woman, carrying beans, on the way to the market at Cherrapunji.] [TOL: C/A P.M. Schmidt-Festschrift. Photo: P. Fr. Stegmiller. Going towards Laban to the market with potatoes. The "umbrella" is placed between the back and [935]
the burden.] [TOL: D/A P.M. Schmidt-Festscrift. Photo: P. Fr. Stegmiller. On the way to Laban to the market with sugar cane.] [TOL: E/A P.M. Schmidt-Festschrift. Photo: P. Fr. Stegmiller. Khasi traveling to the market in dugouts.]

A [See plates, category 44, pp 8-9.. Analyst]

443 [704: F]1 [F.#. Schmidt-Festschrift. Photo: P. Fr. Stegmiller. Market Place in Shillong.]
438 [704: G]1 [F.#. Schmidt-Festschrift. Photo: P. Fr. Stegmiller. Market Place in Shillong: Selling meat.] [704: H]1 [F.#. Schmidt-Festschrift. Photo: P. Fr. Stegmiller, Market Place in Shillong: round chicken coops.] [704: I]1 [F.#. Schmidt-Festschrift. Photo: P. Fr. Stegmiller. Market Place in Daukhi.] [704: J]1 [F.#. Schmidt-Festschrift. Photo: P. Fr. Stegmiller. Market Place in Laitkynsew" Material for roofing.] [705] plaited baskets in all sizes , waterproof plaited containers, carrying baskets (tanpa), bands for the forehead (u star), drinking cups of bamboo, gourd bottles, wooden mortars, water pipes made of coconuts, pipe bowls made out of clay and dried in the sun, plates and saucers of brass, cooking pots of iron, and earthern dishes; everything is the work of the Khasi.

Againtly European wares, such as loin cloths stockings, caps, combs, mirrors, mouth harmonicas, matches, and cigarettes are also seen in larger amounts.

443 At the markets of the Khasi not only food-
444 stuffs and other things necessary for life may
445 be obtained, but workers are also hired there. Whoever wishes to hire himself out goes to the market and stands around, hoping to find some kind of work for the coming (market) week. Day laborers can only be hired at the market. Therefore it is hard during the week to get any kind of a worker. It is also necessary when hiring a t the market to hire the worker for the whole "market week," i.e., until the next market day, as the coolies otherwise would have a hard time finding work and would not accept the work at all for only one or two days. The porters needed for traveling

[See photo; category [illegible], [illegible] m-if--Analyst]

must also be sought out and hired at the markets. 443

3. The Customs of the Market

a) The Preparation for Market. The sellers of both sexes normally carry their wares to the market themselves. They form smaller or larger groups and travel together. The wares are carried on their backs. The burden is packed according to its bulk or content. Larger objects, such as bamboo poles, beams, sugar cane, grass, and mats are carried without any covering by means of a forehead band plaited of reed grass (u star). Smaller items, such as salt or potatoes, are packed in sacks; others such as betel nuts, pepper leaves, fruit, vegetables, etc. are carried in baskets made of bamboo. The baskets are either pointed baskets which are round at the top or square baskets, which narrow to a point at the bottom but still are four feet long in size. The latter baskets are usually made with a cover, which, like the basket itself, is plaited and almost waterproof, so that flour or salt can be transported in them even during the rainy season. A round or oval object shaped like a shield, which in case of need is used as an umbrella (ka trap) and which is plaited out of bamboo, is inserted between the back and the burden (jingkit). On the one hand this object has the purpose of ameliorating the pressure of the burden and on the other hand it is pulled out in rainy weather to serve as an umbrella when it is held up against the rain by hand. [434] 443 482 438 285 443 [293]

With regard to the weight which the Khasi carry to market, the men carry about 100 and more pounds while the women seldom 482

children, but Christian influence has eradicated or driven underground the consumption by women and children. **Industrial arts.** The only industrial arts traditionally practiced in all households were a rudimentary carpentry and a simple utilitarian basketry. Other arts were few, and were practiced as village specialties: the washing and smelting of iron ore and the forging of hoes, daos, knives, swords, and cooking pots (upland Khasis); the spinning of cotton thread (Mynso village, Jaintia); the dyeing of cotton thread and the weaving of cloth (Jaintias, Bhois, Lyngngams, Wars); the spinning and weaving of Eri silk (Khyrwang and Nongtung villages, Bhoi and Jaintia); and the hand manufacture, without wheel, of painted earthenware pots (Larnai village, Jaintia). Ironworking and the production of cotton goods have nearly died out through the competition of machine-made goods. Carpentry has greatly improved. An innovation of major importance is the sewing and tailoring, on sewing machines, of ready-made garments for both sexes. [Cf. Darrah 1896; C., W. 1832.] **Trade.** Khasi villages normally contain a number of household shops operated by women. Every Khasi also lives within walking distance of several village markets that are held on successive days of the eight-day week. The limits of market intercourse for the members of any particular village can be roughly distinguished by their naming the days of their week, which are called after the active markets. The exception is the huge market at Shillong, much of which is active daily, and which serves as a magnet for Khasis from all over the hills. The traditional barter has given way to currency in all markets. The small ones contain at least some local farm produce, plus other essentials like betel nut, and the food and tea stalls which serve as centers of social intercourse. The big markets contain not only regional produce and manufactures but also products from distant parts of the hills, brought for sale by traveling middlemen. There is also substantial trade, from the hills to the valleys, in potatoes, pears, hides, lac, cotton, caoutchouc, the wood of the sal tree, Eri silk thread, limestone, coal, ivory, bay leaf, betel nut, pan leaves, bananas, sugar cane, oranges, til, turmeric, and chilies. From the plains to the hills, there is trade in dried fish, paddy rice, salt, cooking oil, kerosene, matches, tea, sugar, wheat flour, machine-made cloth, shoes, metal pots, crockery, porcelain objects, coral beads, silver, and gold. Markets are important not only as economic institutions but also as centers for recreation (including archery competitions), courtship, reaffirmation of kinship ties with distant relatives, and the dissemination of information of all kinds. [Cf. Stegmiller 1924a.] **Division of labor.** Men do the heavy work, such as clearing and burning the swidden fields, caring for cattle and goats and driving them to market, butchering and selling large cuts of beef and pork, carpentry and mining, and driving and laboring on motor vehicles. They also tailor men's

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21: Ehrenfels E-4,5 (1950) 1953 AR7 Khasi AR7

on a historical past, different from that of the Khasi proper, the former having been ruled by the powerful, but somewhat Hinduised dynasty of the Jaintia Rajas until the Jaintia Wars of the British; the latter by small independent chiefs. Yet Jaintia social organization appears on the whole to preserve the matrilineal social structure clearer and to be less influenced by plains-acculturation, than that of the Khasi, though a few features of Brahmanical religious observances and also some traces of racial admixture are found in the immediate vicinity of Jowei, the former summer residence of the Jaintia Rajas. Stronger no doubt, than this influence, was that exercised by the British and non-Assamese Indians in the provincial capital Shillong since 1866. Methods of agriculture and other aspects of material civilization differ but little in the Jaintia- and Khasi plateau-areas.

The same cannot be said of both: the Wár-Khasi and Wár-Jaintias. Linguistically their affiliations are with the Khasi or Jaintias respectively, in the plateau-areas. Economically, however, both Wár-groups form a separate pan-leaf cultivating unit in the little accessible steep southern slopes of the Khasi- and Jaintia Hill massif. Both Wár-groups live in the environment of luscious tropical flora and fauna, sharply differentiated from the cool, barren plateau with its perennial winds and the heroic, if solitary beauty of its highland heaths, which forms the background of both the Khasi- and Jaintia plateau-groups.

The age of the Wár-Khasi and -Jaintias, as one independent economic, — and two half-independent dialectical linguistic entities, is an intricate problem. The two Wár-groups subsist on pan-leaf cultivation as a money crop, grown in the thick tree-gardens as creepers; not on food-cultivation, as do the plateau-groups, because there is insufficient space on the steep slopes, for vegetable gardens or -fields. The pan-leaf cultivators therefore depend on food, purchased from outside. The slopes seem to have been uninhabited until not long ago. Yet pan-leaf chewing is such an integral part of Khasi life, that until quite recently, and occasionally even now, a distance between two places is not measured by the number of hours used for walking, but by the number of betelnut- and pan-leaf packages, consumed on the way. Also the common benediction among Khasi expresses the wish that so and so may eat pan in the Garden of God. Yet pan-cultivation and the settlements of the Wár-people as pan-leaf cultivators in the southern slopes seem comparatively young. Pan-cultivation on the plateau is impracticable. It is therefore possible that pan was for a long time only a much valued import article from the plains, bartered against Khasi ore and iron tools, though it is now an export article from the Wár-country, brought to the markets of the plains, by both Wár-Khasi and Wár-Jaintia women and men.

According to a tradition, across which I came among the Nonglamin clan of the Nongmuker village, the ancestors of the present Wár people were on the plateau at a time when no pan-cultivation was going on in the slopes and none of the present big estates of pan-tree gardens was yet held by their present (Wár-) owners. A not distant ancestor of a Nonglamin clan-member who about two or three generations ago told the story to U Siang (one of

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JEWELLERY.

301 The Khasis, as a people, may be said to be fond of jewellery.
326 The women are specially partial to gold and coral bead necklaces. The beads are round and large, and are usually unornamented with filigree or other work. The coral is imported from
[439] Calcutta. The gold bead is not solid, but a hollow sphere filled with lac. These necklaces are worn by men as well as women, especially on gala occasions. Some of the necklaces are comparatively valuable, e.g. that in the possession of the Mylliem Siem family. The gold and coral beads are prepared locally by Khasi as well as by foreign goldsmiths. The latter derive considerable profits from the trade. The Assam Census Report of 1901 shows 133 goldsmiths in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills district, but does not distinguish between Khasis and foreigners. There are Khasi goldsmiths to be found in Mawkhar, Cherrapunji, Mawlai, and other villages. Sylheti goldsmiths are, however, more largely employed than Khasi in Mawsynram and certain other places on the south side of the hills. In Mr. Henniker's monograph on "gold and silver wares of Assam" it is stated that the goldsmiths of Karimganj in Sylhet make specially for Khasis certain articles of jewellery, such as men's and women's earrings, &c. An article of jewellery which is believed to be peculiar to the Khasis is the silver or gold crown. This crown is worn by the young women at
301 dances, such as the annual Nongkrem dance. An illustration of one will be seen by referring to the plate. These crowns are circlets of silver or gold ornamented with filigree work. There is a peak or, strictly speaking, a spike at the back, called *u'tiew-lasubon*, which stands up some six inches above the crown. There are long ropes or tassels of silver hanging from the crown down the back. Earrings are worn both by men and women. The former affect a pattern peculiar to themselves, viz. large gold pendants of a circular or oval shape. Women wear different patterns of earrings, according to locality. An ornament which I believe is also peculiar to the Khasis is the *rupa-tylli*, or silver collar. This is a broad flat silver collar which is allowed to hang down over the neck in front, and which is secured by a fastening behind.

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SECTION II.

OCCUPATION.

241 THE greater proportion of the population subsists by cultiva-
463 tion. Cultivation of rice may be divided under two headings,
[162] high land or dry cultivation and low land or wet cultivation. The total number of persons who subsist by agriculture generally in the hills, is given in the last Census Report as 154,907, but the term agriculture includes the cultivation of the potato, the orange, betel-nut and *pán*. A full description of the different forms of agriculture will be given under the
463 heading "Agriculture." A considerable number of Khasis earn
482 their livelihood as porters, carrying potatoes to the markets on
439 the Sylhet side of the district, from whence the crop is conveyed by means of country boats to the different places of call of river-steamers in the Surma Valley, the steamers carrying the potatoes to Calcutta. Potatoes are also largely carried to Shillong by porters, where the tuber is readily bought by Marwari merchants, who load it in carts to be conveyed by road to Gauhati, from which station it is again shipped to
482 Calcutta and Upper Assam. Many persons are also employed in
463 carrying rice up the hill from Theria to Cherrapunji, Shillong,
[466] and on to other places. Salt is also carried by porters by this route. Many Khasis, both male and female, live by daily labour in this way, earning as much as eight annas, and
[162] six annas a day, respectively. The Census Report of 1901 shows some 14,000 "general labourers" in the district, the greater number of whom are porters and coolies, both male
[357] and female, employed on road work and on building. In Shillong the Government Offices and the printing press give employment to a certain number of Khasis. There is also a fair demand for Khasi domestic servants, both among the Europeans and the Bengali and Assamese clerks who are employed at the headquarters of the Administration.

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243 same period) for the latter.* The average out-turn of both
433 kinds is extremely poor, as compared with that of any description of rice grown in the plains. The rice grown in the hills is said by the Agricultural Department to be of inferior quality, the grain when cleaned being of a red colour, and extremely
244 coarse. The cultivation of potatoes is practically confined to the Khasi Hills, there being little or none in the Jaintia Hills. The normal out-turn of the summer crop sown in February and harvested in June is reported by the Agricultural Department to be five times the quantity of seed used, and that of the winter crop, sown in August and September on the land from which the summer crop has been taken, and harvested in December, twice the quantity of seed. The winter crop is raised chiefly for the purpose of obtaining seed for the spring sowings, as it is found difficult to keep potatoes from the summer crop in good condition till the following spring. The usual quantity of seed used to the acre at each sowing is about 9 maunds, so that the gross out-turn of an acre of land cultivated with potatoes during the year may be taken at 63 máunds, and the net out-turn, after deducting the quantity of seed used, at 45 maunds. The above estimate of the Agricultural Department rests chiefly on the statements of the cultivators, and has not been adequately tested by experiment.

244 Since the appearance of the potato disease in 1885-86 there
439 has been a great decrease in the area under potato cultivation. In 1881-82 the exports of potatoes from the district were as high as 126,981 maunds. From 1886-87 the exports began annually to decrease until in 1895-96 the very low figure of 8,296 maunds was reached. The figures of export for the last nine years are as follows :—

1896-97	16,726	maunds.
1897-98	7,805	"
1898-99	9,272	"
1899-00	5,422	"
1900-01	29,142	"
1901-02	38,251	"
1902-03	36,047	"
1903-04	50,990	"

* See Bulletin No. 5 of the Agricultural Department of Assam, 1898, pp. 4 and 5.

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It will be seen that in the three years following the earthquake of 1897 the exports fell very low indeed. Since 1901 the trade has been steadily recovering, and the exports of 1904 reached half a lakh of maunds. 244 439 731

It will be observed that there has been some improvement, but the exports are still not half what they were in 1881-82. 244 There are two kinds of sweet potatoes grown in the district, the Garo potato (*u phan Karo*), which appears to have been introduced from the Garo Hills, and *u phan sawlia*, the latter being distinguished from the Garo potato by its having a red skin, the Garo potato possessing a white skin. These kinds of potato are planted on all classes of land except *hali*, they do best on jhumed and homestead lands. The yam proper (*u phan shynreh*) is also largely grown. The small plant with an edible root called by the Khasis *u sohphang* (*flemingia vestita Benth.*), is also largely grown. The roots of the plant after being peeled are eaten raw by the Khasis. As far as we know, this esculent is not cultivated in the adjoining hill districts. Job's tears (*coix lachryma-Jobi*) * are extensively grown, and 243 are planted frequently with the *sohphlang* mentioned above. This cereal forms a substitute for rice amongst the poorer cultivators. Maize or Indian corn (*u riew hadem*) is grown frequently, thriving best on homestead land, and requires heavy manuring; it is grown in rotation with potatoes. Next in importance to rice comes the millet (*u krai*), as a staple of food amongst the Khasis. There are three varieties of millets generally to be seen in the Khasi Hills:—*u 'rai-soh* (*setaria Italica*), *u 'rai-shan* (Paspalum sanguinale), and *u 'rai-truh* (Eleusine coracana). *U 'rai-shan* is cultivated in rotation with the potato, *u 'rai-soh* and *u 'rai-truh* are generally cultivated on jhumed land, where they thrive well. Millet is sometimes used instead of rice in the manufacture of spirit by the Khasis; [274] *u rymbai-ja* (*phaseolus calcaratus*), and *u rymbai ktung* (*glycine soja*) are beans which are cultivated occasionally. Khasis highly prize the fruit of the plantain, which they give to infants 245 mashed up. The following are the best known varieties:— 853 *Ka kait khún, ka kait siem, ka kait kulbuit, ka kait bamon, ka kait shyieng.*

* Khasi *u soh-riew.*

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mould. The plant[1] is watered by means of small bamboo aqueducts which are constructed along the hill-sides, the water being conducted along them often considerable distances. As in the plains, the leaves of the *pán* creeper are collected throughout the year.

The bay leaf (*'la tyrpád*, or *tezpát*) is classified in the *Agricultural Bulletin* as *Cinnamomum tamala*, and there is a note in the column of remarks that "this tree, as well as one or two others of the same genus, yields two distinct products, *tezpát* (bay leaf) and cinnamon bark." The bay leaf is gathered for export from the extensive gardens in Maharam, Malaisohmat, Mawsynram, and other Khasi States. The plants are raised from seed, although there are no regular nurseries, the young seedlings being transplanted from the jungle, where they have germinated, to regular gardens. Bay leaf gardens are cleared of jungle and weeds periodically; otherwise no care is taken of them. The leaf-gathering season is from November to March. The leaves are allowed to dry for a day or two in the sun, and then packed in large baskets for export. The gathering of bay leaf begins when the trees are about four years old.

The following are the other minor crops which are grown in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills:—

Pineapples, turmeric, ginger, pumpkins and gourds, the egg plant, chillies, sesamum, and a little sugar-cane. The arum* (*ka shiriw*) is also extensively grown in the hills, and forms one of the principal articles of food amongst the poorer classes; it is generally raised in rotation with potatoes, or is planted along with Job's tears. The stem of the arum is sometimes used as a vegetable, also for feeding pigs.

In the Jowai Sub-Division, notably at Nartiang, there are fairly good mangoes, which are more free from worms than those grown in the plains of Assam.

The Bhois and Lynngams cultivate lac. They plant *arhar dal, u landoo*, in their fields, and rear the lac insect on this plant. Last year the price of lac at Gauhati and Palasbari markets rose as high as Rs. 50 per maund of 82 lbs., it is said, but the price at the outlying markets of Singra and Boko was

* Colocasia esculenta, Beng. *Kachu*.

[1] [i.e., the pán ---- Analyst]

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231 about Rs. 30. The price of lac has risen a good deal of late
435 years. Formerly the price was about Rs. 15 to Rs. 20 a maund. The lac trade in the Jaintia Hills and in the southern portion of the Khyrim State is a valuable one. The profits, how-
426 ever, go largely to middle-men, who in the Jaintia Hills are Syntengs from Jowai, who give out advances to the Bhoi cultivators on the condition that they will be repaid in lac.
443 The Marwari merchants from the plains attend all the plains
439 markets which are frequented by the hill-men, and buy up the lac and export it to Calcutta. The whole of the lac is of the kind known as stick lac.

HUNTING.

224 The weapons used by the Khasis for hunting are bows and
[411] arrows, the latter with barbed iron heads, and spears which are used both for casting and thrusting. Before proceeding on a
[787] hunting expedition the hunters break eggs, in order to ascertain whether they will be successful or not, and to which jungle
[176] they should proceed. Offerings are also made to certain village deities, e.g. *U. Ryngkew*, *u Basa*, and *u Basa ki mrád*. A lucky day having been selected and the deities propitiated, the hunters start with a number of dogs trained to the chase, the latter being held on leashes by a party of men called *ki nong-ai-ksew*. When the dogs have picked up the scent some hunters are placed as "stops" (*ki ktem*), at points of vantage in the jungle, and the drive commences with loud shouts from the hunters, the same being continued until the object of the chase breaks into the open. The man who draws the first blood is called *u nongsiat*, and the second man who scores a hit *u nongban*. These two men get larger shares of the flesh than the others. The *nongsiat* obtains the lower half of the body of the animal, thighs and feet excepted, called *ka tdong*, and the *nongban* one of the forequarters called *ka tabla*. The other hunters obtain a string of flesh each, and each hound gets a string of flesh to itself. These hunting parties pursue deer
224 sometimes for many miles, and are indefatigable in the chase,
782 the latter lasting occasionally more than one day. In the Jaintia Hills, at the end of the chase, the quarry is carried to

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327 Colonel Lister, writing in 1853, estimated that 20,000 maunds
439 of iron were exported from the hills in the shape of hoes to
412 the Assam Valley, and in lumps of pig iron to the Surma Valley, where it was used by boat-builders for clamps. Nowadays the smelting of iron is carried on in very few places. There are still smelting-houses at Nongkrem and Nongsprung, but these are practically the only places left where smelting of iron ore goes on; there are many forges where rough iron brought from the plains is melted down and forged into bill-hooks and hoes. Messrs. Yule and Cracroft have described the
113 native process of smelting iron, and it is only necessary to refer
114 to their papers if information is required on the subject. Yule's
327 account is a very full one, and is to be found at page 853, vol. xi. part ii. of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The system pursued, both in the extraction and in the subsequent smelting of the ore, is the same at the present day as that
327 described by Yule. Dr. Oldham, writing in 1863, says, "The quality of this Khasi iron is excellent for all such purposes as Swedish iron is now used for. The impurity of the blooms (or masses of the metal in a molten state), however, as they are sent to market, is a great objection to its use, and the waste consequent thereon renders it expensive. It would also form steel or wootz (Indian steel) of excellent quality. I have no doubt that the manufacture could be greatly improved and possibly extended." Dr. Oldham, however, goes on to remark that the manufacture of iron could not be very much extended, owing to the scanty dissemination of the ore in the rocks, and
[312] the consequent high cost of obtaining it. At present the want of any permanent supply of water prevents the natives from working for more than a few days during the year, whilst the rains are heavy, and they can readily obtain sufficient force of water for the washing of the ore from its matrix. The export of iron in any form from the district has now almost died out, only a few hoes being brought down by the Khasis from Laitdom, in Khadsawphra, to the Burdwar and Palasbari markets in the Kamrup District of the Assam Valley. Iron of English manufacture has, of course, much cheapened the market, but probably the fact that the parts of the country in the neighbourhood of the rocks which contain the metal have

8: Gurdon G-3 (no date) 1904 AR7 Khasi AR7

—the *Shyngkup*, or porch, being flush with the ground. The *nengpei*, or 342
centre room, is approached by a flight of steps. There are no windows, except one, which is bored on one side to admit light and air,—this is called the *pongshai*. Both Khasis and Syntengs, like other Indo-Chinese 524
races, are much addicted to gambling, and drinking to excess is a 273
national vice. Christianity has, through the agency of the Welsh Cal- 797
vinistic Mission, gained a very striking extension, and may be said in- 177
deed to be leavening the whole nation. Schools are numerous, and are pretty well attended by girls as well as boys. The Christians, and those who have come under the influence of Christianity, have adopted a high standard of comfort, and their houses resemble English cottages more nearly than the huts with which one is familiar in India.

Agriculture.—The Khasis do not use the plough; they cultivate their 241
fields with a peculiar-shaped hoe, or *mokkhiew*. They cultivate rice in the valleys, the rice being sown broadcast and the fields irrigated often after considerable labour. They also cultivate hill rice on the uplands, which they sow broadcast. The potato, which was introduced into the [177]
Khasi Hills by Mr. David Scott about the [439]
year 1830,[1] is extensively cultivated and forms one of the principal articles of export. Job's-tears (*Coix lachryma*), several kinds of millet, Indian-corn, the *Sohphlang* (*Flemingia vestita*), are also largely cultivated. The valleys on the 245
southern slopes of the hills have extensive orange groves, the oranges, especially those grown in the neighbourhood of Shella, being famous for their quality. The betel, vine, and areca nut are also largely grown on the southern side of the hills and in the low valleys, these plantations being irrigated by elaborate systems of aqueducts. The leaf of the bay tree (*'latyrpad*) is collected, and is exported to the Sylhet plains. The [439]
Syntengs differ from the Khasis, in that they make use of the plough. Both Khasis and Syntengs are industrious cultivators, and they possess a certain rough and ready knowledge of the uses of manure. A more detailed description of agriculture in these hills will be given in the monograph.

[1] Khasi and Jaintia Hills Administration Report for 1875-76 by Colonel Bivar.

2. *Matriarchal customs and law of inheritance of property.*—The 611
mother is the head of the house, and is both owner and the custodian of 428
the family property as long as she lives. Males can own no property amongst either Khasis or Syntengs except self-acquired property. On the death of the mother, in the case of the Khasis, the family property passes to the youngest daughter. According to some authorities, however, the property would in practice be divided amongst all the surviving daughters. Failing daughters, the property passes to the youngest niece, and failing a niece, to the youngest female cousin. The same

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

vation is impossible because of the cold climate. In the past, Khasi economy must have remained at a very primitive stage. 178 244

Potato cultivation has been much encouraged along with the development of Shillong and the opening of the motor road to Gauhati from Shillong after the Independence of India when Shillong became the seat of the Assam Government, as well as the capital of the Khasi-Jaintia Hills. Shillong has become an important trading centre, where big merchants collect the harvests of potatoes in exchange for rice, clothes and various other goods from the Assam valley. These changes have introduced the Khasis into an active commercial economy which again has brought about various changes in their social life. Recently coal excavations have started in the upland Khasi Hills, and many Khasi become miners. 178 433 369 [244] [633] [491] [439] [316]

Thus the history of the Khasi Hills during the last hundred years has changed a great deal the picture of the Hills. However, dark corners still remain in Bhoi, War and in the area bordering on the Garo Hills. These have been kept in a vacuum between the Hindu civilization of the bordering plain and the modernization of the uplands centred in Shillong. In these areas, the people are still practising primitive jhum cultivation. I have chosen two villages in War located in one of these area as subjects of my major field-work. 178 184

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15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

APPENDIX

SOME ADDITIONAL INFORMATION FROM SHELLA AND JATINGA

SHELLA

Shella is situated on the lowest of the southern slopes of the Khasi Hills, bordering on the Sylhet plain of East Pakistan. For centuries the people of Shella maintained close trading connections with the people of the plain, so that they have been much influenced by the Hindu. They have been to some extent divorced economically and culturally from their own people who live in the uplands and on higher part of the slopes. Actually, this is a natural result of their geographical location. From Cherrapunjee, the southern edge of the upland Khasi Hills, only a narrow footpath goes down to Shella. The altitude of Cherrapunjee is about 5,000 feet and of Shella from 500 to 1,000 feet, and the distance between them is 8 miles. The path descends very steeply and is full of hard stones. This difficulty of communication is also why the Hindu influence did not penetrate the upland Khasi, as in the case of the Jaintia Hills.[1]

This area has a unique political organization which differs from the majority of Khasi states who are traditionally ruled by the members of the Siem clan. Shella is organized as a confederation, called 'Shella Confederacy,' and consists of four local villages. The head of the village is called *wadadhar*, and is elected by the villagers every three years. The number of households of the Shella Confederacy was about 900 in January 1956. The names of the four villages and their *wadadhar* in 1956 were:

Name of village	*Name of wadadhar*
1. Shella	Devish Mohan Roy
2. Mushtoh	Ditojou Roy
3. Nongtrai	Orju Roy
4. Tyngnger	Jabuni Roy

Each village is divided into sections. For instance, Shella village has nine sections: (1) Jasir, (2) Disong, (3) Duba, (4) Jamau, (5) Nongrum, (6) Nongnong,

1. However, Shella was the only way out and the main gateway from the Khasi Hills to the plain; it was here that the British first entered the Khasi Hills. They proceeded from Shella to Cherrapunjee and made the latter headquarters of the Khasi Hills in 1833.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

Shella

Confederacy forms a more marked endogamous community, through being cut off geographically and economically from the rest of the Khasi, and socially from the neighbouring Hindu people. 621

The Economy and the People.

Shella lies along the upper part of the Shella River and stretches upwards along the steep slope, looking down towards the Bengal plain. The climate of this part of the hills is considered to be one of the worst in tropical India for human habitation. The Bengal plain, though warmer than this area, is considered more healthy. This border land is the zone of malaria, typhoid, black fever, cholera, etc. None of the Bengalee peasants dare to live in such an area. However, it is the most fertile for products such as betel-nuts, pan-leaves, oranges, bananas and pineapples, and it also produces limestone. These people seem to prefer to settle in this zone and to enjoy its prosperity, at the expense of human lives: every year, especially between March and September, the inhabitants suffer from various fevers and dysentry and other diseaes, many of the weaker facing death. 131 132 164 433 164 648

Before the Partition of India and Pakistan, the products of Shella were carried down the Shella River to Sylhet, one of the biggest centres in East Bengal, which brought unimaginable wealth to the Shella people. Their houses were built by carpenters from Sylhet. The style and structure of these houses were exceptionally elaborate for the Khasi. They purchased vast rice fields in the plain, which used to be cultivated by Bengalee and Garo labourers engaged by them. These Khasi do not themselves know how to cultivate rice fields; they have always been managers or landowners. Their boys used to be sent to high schools and colleges in Sylhet. As a result of their trading with the Bengalee, many of them read and speak fluent Bengalee. There is no difference between their style of clothing and that of the Bengalee, though the women maintain their traditional dress in the Shella style. 177 178 434 [439] 342 166 464 871 191 291

They have thus been distinguished from the rest of the Khasi not only geographically, but also economically and culturally. Their personality also differs sharply from the rest of the Khasi. They are very sociable, and quick, a quality lacking among the Khasi of Sohkynduh and Kongton. They are clever enough to deal with strangers. The upland Khasi say Shella people are very cunning. This remark shows one side of these people. They had to be cunning, since they traded with the Sylhet Bengalee who were said to be the most cunning of their race. Their role in the trade and in the history of the modernization of the Hills was considerable. For centuries they represented intellectual Khasi owing to their contact with Hindu civilization, while the Hills remained in darkness. They assumed an important role when the British established an administration in the Hills, and even up to now, many leading Khasi originated from this area: for instance, Lati Hat, the first interpreter of the British Headquarters at Cherrapunjee; Jeebon Roy, who was the first Magistrate among the Khasi; Maham Sing, a lawyer and Member of the Legislative Assembly (the grandson of Jeebon Roy); Nichols Roy, Minister of Health and Prisons of the Assam Government, Member of the Legislative Assembly, and Missionary of the Church of God; R. R. Thomas (brother of Nichols Roy), Principal of the Gauhati University, etc. 157 184 648 177 178 [439]

Through constant cultural contact with Hindu, and encouraged by their economic prosperity, the Shella Khasi, like the Jaintias, have been much influenced by Hindu culture. However, this does not mean that the people of Shella adopted the Hindu beliefs. Though there is a small Hindu shrine, and some ceremonial elements were borrowed from the Hindu, most of the 177 648 771 795

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

177 people remained non-Hindu in their basic beliefs and social customs. Hindu
648 influences are nevertheless predominant in their culture, especially in their way
771 of living which shows a practical adaptability, somewhat similar to the Japanese
795 acceptance of modern western culture without becoming Christian. In my
[797] census of Shella village, the people calling themselves 'Hindu' amount to 40 per
[162] cent of the total, but they are the recent converts to the Ramakrishna School which established a missionary station at Shella after the Partition. The Christians constitute 30 per cent of the total, most of them having been converted during the last ten years, as in the case of the Ramachrishna School.[1]
[458] The rest remain as they were, of Khasi belief. These conversions to either Ramachrishna or Christianity seem to have been encouraged by the unstable situation of the people resulting from the recent economic depression in this area.

439 The Partition of India and Pakistan in August 1947, which drew the bor-
458 derline a few miles south of Shella village, considerably upset village economy by stopping all trade with Bengal, though a limited amount of trade is allowed
648 with local people at the border. Because of this political change, all the produce of Shella gardens is rotting away for lack of markets, while all of the rice fields were taken by Pakistan. Goods now come to Shella only from the uplands, carried upon men's shoulders over the most difficult pass, which makes everything very expensive. Many families have sold their gold and other treasures, and some families are facing starvation.[2]

182 Concerning the conversion to a new religion, an interesting phenomenon
171 is to be observed. The conversion to Christianity or to Ramakrishna is mostly by individual: I found in my census that the wife and husband often belong to
592 different religions. This is a very different picture from the Garo, among whom
613 I always found that the husband and wife belonged to the same religion: the conversion of the husband to Christianity was always followed by that of the
771 wife. I think this reflects the structural differences which influence the actual relationship between the husband and wife. Among these Khasi, instead of
795 the husband and wife, the maternal uncle and his nephews and nieces are mostly of the same religion. The function of the *iing*, the most important social and religious unit, thus appears also in the conversion to a new religion, stronger than that of a domestic unit.

Intermarriage.

648 The close economic and cultural contact of the Shella people and the Bengalee
771 is not matched by social contact. The essential barrier between the two peoples is the difference of religion which dominates the entire social order in each
563 society. Though these Khasi were important traders, richer than the neighbouring Hindu peasants, they were considered by the Hindu as outcasts with whom they never shared social activities. Intermarriages were therefore very rare. In Shella village, only two exceptional cases were found in my census:

1. A Khasi woman married to a Gurka (cattle-keeper); they live at Shella Bazaar (Sholap).
2. A Khasi woman has marital relation with a Bengalee medical doctor who has resided at Disong in Shella for six years. He already has a Bengalee

1. These two entirely different missionary activities are competing with each other, and are somewhat related to the political powers within this area.
2. The state government is doing its best to provide them with additional facilities: for example, providing air transport for the transportation of oranges from Shella to Gauhati and Calcutta. However, such arrangements cannot cover the great economic loss suffered by the Shella people.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

178 like the Zemi-Naga, the Cacharee and the Kuki. But after the period of
563 economic prosperity as I shall describe in the next section, the Jatinga people
621 reached a rather high level of education, while most of the neighbouring tribes
[871] remained illiterate. Their standard of living likewise improved. Fashionable girls of Jatinga who have studied at the Convent school in Shillong, and speak English and Hindi, cannot marry half-naked tribesmen who work in the jungle. They prefer to intermarry with Moslem, Panjabee or Assamese who belong to amore sophisticated community, and through whom they can enjoy urban life. Thus the orientation of the intermarriage of the people of Jatinga has changed, along with the growth of Jatinga.

It should be noted that intermarriages came mostly through the contacts at Haflong, where people used to go once a week for the bazaar, rather than through direct contacts with neighbouring villages.

Economy of Jatinga and its Relation to Neighbouring Tribes.

178 It is very interesting to find two different kinds of economy in the same
171 ecological background: Jatinga Khasi practise pan-leaf and orange cultivation
245 and depend mainly on a trading economy, while the other neighbouring tribal peoples practise jhum cultivation, almost a subsistence economy. This situation has remained unchanged for the last fifty years since the establishment of Jatinga village.

101 The first Jatinga immigrants occupied one ridge of the mountain where the
245 present Jatinga is situated. Formerly, this land belonged to the Zemi-Naga, one of the old inhabitants of the Cachar Hills, who possessed a vast jungle area for jhum cultivation. It seems that there was no objection to the Khasi occupying this small spot: it was apparently too small an area for the jhum cultivator —pan-leaf cultivation of the Khasi requires less than one twentieth of the land of the usual jhum cultivation. The Khasi who started pan-leaf cultivation were able to accumulate some capital, and after several years they started orange gardens. They had had experience of orange cultivation in their homeland, but this was the first time they had operated commercially.

245 The success of this orange cultivation was beyond their dreams. Hearing
434 of good oranges at Jatinga, many Bengalee merchants from Dacca, Sylhet,
• 439 Silchar and Gauhati began to come to buy them. Moreover, the village had the great advantage of being situated near the railway station. Oranges were sold by carloads. Unimaginable wealth came to the Jatinga people. Especially the founder's family, including his brother's and sister's, became extraordinarily wealthy; their income used to be Rs. 20,000 a year. The children were sent to the school which was established in the village and some were educated at colleges in Dacca, Sylhet and Shillong. The villagers had beautiful houses built by Manipuri and Bengalee carpenters. Actually the houses of Jatinga were known as some of the best construction in Assam.

[496] [871] [362]

Like the Shella people, they were managers of gardens and employed workers.
245 Wealthy households used to engage several labourers annually, most of them
46 from Jaintia where the Jatinga people had originated. These workers were provided with shelter in the servant quarters of their employer's house, but they had to provide meals for themselves. They were paid daily according to the work done. They were available to other households, when their employer had no work. Some labourers were also engaged locally among the Zemi-Naga, the Cacharee and the Kuki, though not as many as among the Jaintia.
245 These local tribes were fairly well occupied by their jhum cultivation, and not
464 used to being employed as workers. Therefore, most of them were not regular

1903-28. 2, Barah 1962.] **Demography.** According to the 1951 census of India, the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills District contained 221,962 Khasis and 67,532 Syntengs, Pnars, and Jaintias (India [Republic] 1953-57). These figures, together with those for Khasis enumerated in Cachar (4,008), Mikir and North Cachar Hills (467), Lakhimpur (257), Sibsagar (270), and Darrang (211) districts, and those for Syntengs enumerated in Mikir and North Cachar District (464), yield a total of 295,224 Khasis. **History and cultural relations.** Khasis believe that they had supernatural origin in Khasi Hills (see Gait 1926: 280 for historical evidence, and Rafy 1920: 8-9 for myth, but see also Costa 1958, 1960; Gordon 1907: 10-11, and Chatterji 1953: 12). Khasi tradition also states that in early times they moved gradually from east to west, from Jaintia toward Khasi Hills, in the practice of swidden agriculture (Gotphob 1947: 97-98). The salient fact of known Khasi history, which begins generally in the mid-sixteenth century A.D. when there already existed the present-day 25 native Khasi chiefdoms, is the distinctive line of development followed by the separate kingdom of Jaintia. To the north, Jaintia was successively tributary, in part or in whole, to the Kachari kingdom (ca. 1200 A.D.), the Koch kingdom (strongest ca. 1500 A.D.), and the Ahom kingdom (strongest ca. 1700 A.D.) (Shakespear 1914: Map I). To the south, about 1500 A.D., Jaintia extended its rule over a tract of Sylhet, which was populated by Hindus and Muslims, and saw its kings fall thereafter under Brahman influence. In the early 1800s, Jaintia became involved in the fratricidal strife then prevalent in the ruling family of Manipur. In 1835, after the Jaintia king ignored British warnings not to seize British subjects for human sacrifice, Jaintia was punished by the British annexation of the Jaintia parganas in Sylhet. The Jaintia king then voluntarily turned over to the British the hills area of his domain, so that the whole of Jaintia became part of British India and, in 1860, came to be taxed as such, although the Jaintias were otherwise allowed to maintain their traditional system of village government. • By contrast, the remaining Khasi states had few formal external relations until British times. Khasis raided and traded in both the Brahmaputra and Sylhet valleys, but were basically turned inward on their own hills, where warfare between villages and between the states was apparently common. Khasis came into indirect relation with the British in 1765, when Sylhet and its markets became part of British India. In the 1790s, stepped-up Khasi raids into Sylhet caused the British to throw up a deterring line of forts along the foothills. Later, it became necessary to place an embargo on Khasi products in the Sylhet markets. In 1827, the British penetrated into western Khasi Hills by negotiating with the Khasi chief of Nongkhlaw State to build a road through his territory, linking the recently annexed Brahmaputra valley with Calcutta. For three decades

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thereafter, the British negotiated treaties with all the Khasi states, the last treaty being signed in 1862. It was contracted that the chiefs would be subject to the authority of a resident political agent, whose duties would involve maintaining law and order, judging cases of heinous crimes, approving the popular selection of any new chief, and exercising control over certain categories of natural resources. Khasis were guaranteed noninterference in their customary way of life, and they were not then, nor are they now, taxed. Most Khasis, as opposed to Jaintias, were never an integral part of British India, but they did undergo social change as a result of British presence. To summarize Mills (n.d.): (1) The British introduced the potato, which the Khasis rapidly took up as a cash crop for marketing as far as Calcutta. The intensive specialization exhausted the soil and made for ever-poorer crops. (2) Christian missionaries made large numbers of converts, and there arose the difficult question of whether a Christian should inherit property that traditionally was earmarked for her performance of non-Christian religious rituals. (3) About 1864 the British transferred their headquarters from Cherrapunji to Shillong. When they made Shillong the capital of the entire state of Assam, non-Khasis flocked to it, land values soared, and the concept of private property became increasingly important. Khasis began to marry with members of other ethnic groups, which introduced confusion into traditional social patterns. These problems were exacerbated during World War II, when Shillong and its environs enjoyed enormous economic prosperity. One notable aftermath of this affluence has been the accelerated enrollments in schools and colleges. Hundreds of Khasis now have the B.A., M.A., and even the Ph.D. degree. • With the Independence of India in 1947, and under the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India (which was drafted by a Khasi), the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills District became a Part B, or Autonomous, Tribal Area, to be governed by a District Council composed largely of Khasis and Jaintias, and responsible not to the Legislature of Assam, but to the Governor of Assam as agent of the President of India. The native-state system and the chiefs still exist, and the District Council finds it difficult to effect legislation which is neither offensive to regional custom nor a simple blueprint of ill-fitting all-India legislation. The major political schism at this time is between Jaintias, who are accustomed to centralized authority and taxation, and Khasis, who resist the notion of taxation to support the work of a central District Council. [Cf. Gait 1926; Aitchison 1931; Bhuyan 1949; Morris 1910.]

175 619 648 [726] [651] [177] 177 648 [244] [439] [134] [797] [428] [635] [633] [167] [563] [423] [973] 648 642 [651] [563] [113]

SETTLEMENT PATTERN AND HOUSING. Settlement pattern. Khasis live sedentarily in named, nucleated, and unplanned villages which are situated just below hill summits to avoid strong winds but still be defensible, and which usually include a de-

361 [312]

19: Assam G-5 (1956) 1963 A87 Khasi A87

CHAPTER III

The Border Area

121 131 **3. 1 Definition of Border Area.**—The term 'border area' although very frequently used does not refer to any well demarcated area. It was, therefore, decided after a joint discussion between the Director of Statistics with the Deputy Commissioner of the district and Subdivisional Officer, Jowai, that area within 20 miles of the Indo-Pak border line would be considered as the 'border area' for the purpose of the present survey. The list of the villages falling in this area was supplied by the Deputy Commissioner and the Subdivisional Officer.

3. 2 Condition of the Border Area before partition.—The border area under review thus consisted of the southern slopes of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills and a narrow strip of plains adjoining the southern slopes running along the Pakistan border. The area extends longitudinally over a length of about 120 miles, roughly from Mahadebbeli on the west to Sonapur on the east thus covering an area of 2,010 sq. miles approximately, comprising of 604 villages inhabited by population of 74 thousands. [161]

245 311 Barring the barren and rocky top plateaus the slopes are utilised for the production of valuable cash crops on intensive scale. These slopes provide suitable soil and climate for the production crops like areconut, betelnut, betelleaf, oranges, pineapples and other fruits. On account of rich yields which such plantations give to the cultivators these slopes were, more densely inhabited and intensively cultivated than would appear possible from the topography of the area. Even the most inaccessible tracts in the slopes has been converted into rich orchards, wherefrom the produce was carried by headloads over steep gradients for several miles. Due to steep gradients little arable land, except some jhooming here and there, could be made of this area. [482]

439 Because of the very topography, this land had its natural connections with Sylhet district now forming part of East Pakistan. From time immemorial the area had a flourishing trade with Sylhet district. It was a two-way traffic. The cash crops found eager buyers in the people of Sylhet, from whom in turn the people in the border area obtained supplies of rice, fish, vegetables and other necessities of daily life. Thus in pre-partition days they enjoyed a very prosperous and settled economy. The rich buildings in the border area villages which are now littering away, bear eloquent testimony to the past prosperity of the border economy.

439 458 648 With the partition of the country in 1947, trade with the plains of Sylhet, now forming part of East Pakistan, was obstructed. As a result the whole economy of this region was completely shattered and the countryside which once hummed with activity and abundance was over-shadowed with unemployment, poverty and despair. All the cash crops the mainstay of the border people lost the market in East Pakistan. For want of communication facilities the produce could not be

transported to other parts of Indian Union. The prices of some of the cash crops recorded a disproportionate fall as mentioned below. The price of orange which ruled at Rs. 20-00 to Rs. 25-00 per ton (1,016 kgs.) tumbled down to Rs. 3-00 to Rs. 10-00 per ton, that of betel nut which used to sell at Rs. 20-00 to Rs. 25-00 per kori (7,840 leaves) came down to Rs. 2-00 to Rs. 3-00 per kori. Tejpata and other fruits also suffered equally. The worst of all was that even at this rock bottom price the produce was not lifted. The following figures quoted from the memorandum submitted to the Prime Minister by the Border People's Association which are claimed to have been collected from individual growers are indicative of the extent to which the border trade suffered after partition.

TABLE A-6

Annual exports from United Khasi & Jaintia Hills to East Bengal before and after partition

(In thousand rupees)

Items	Pre-partition export					
	Quantity	1940-41 rupees	1945-46 rupees	1946-47 rupees	1951-52 rupees	1956-57 rupees
1. Oranges	15,000	2,000	15.0	35.0	1.0	10.0
2. Betel nut	4,500	600	30.0	60.0	200.0	70.0
3. Tejpata	3,000	600				
4. Vegetables	1,500	600	15.0	35.0	70.0	15.0
5. Arecanut	1,000	200	--	--	--	--
6. Betel	25	--	--	--	--	--
7. Betel-leaves	3,500	600	5.0	5.0	100.0	60.0
8. Bamboo, cane, rattan, etc.		--	--	--	--	--
9. Spices, turmeric, chillies, pepper.	20	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.2
10. Fruits, banana, plums, pine-apples, jackfruits, pears and papaya.	1,200	300	10.0	30.0	50.0	10.0
11. Limestone	34,000	17,000	11,000	6,000	1,000	5,000

The difficulty of getting adequate supply of foodgrains and other commodities of daily life posed a serious problem. Due to communication difficulties arrangements for adequate supply of these commodities from other parts of Indian Union could not be made. The supply from

19: Assam G-S (1958) 1963 AR7 Khasi AR7

East Pakistan to which the people in the border areas were entitled in the strength of various trade agreements of the Government of India with the authorities in Pakistan, were also scanty. The situation was still more aggravated due to the stringent measures adopted by authorities in Pakistan, on the plea of prevention of smuggling, in December, 1957 when the entire border trade virtually came to a standstill.

This chaos in border economy has resulted in widespread unemployment among the border people. There being no market for the produce, the owners ceased to take proper care of their orchards and plantations. As a result thousands of labourers who were employed in the orchards were thrown out of employment. Similar was the condition of those who were employed in the transportation of various commodities such as merchandise of trade etc. A large section of the people engaged in collection of limestone were also rendered unemployed with the set back received by the trade in limestone with East Pakistan. Due to stoppage of trans-border trade, petty traders engaged in distributive trade, also suffered.

Many of the border people possessing paddy lands and orchards in areas that are located in Pakistan had to abandon them. The following table will show the amount of land lying in Pakistan belonging to the former in the selected villages of border area :—

TABLE A-2

Name of villages	Area of land lost through partition		
	No. of families who possessed land in Pakistan	Area (acres)	Average per family (acres)
1. Mongpi	07	357·06	4·11
2. Sohlia	9	175·40	19·40
3. Shalangwi	18	130·00	7·20
4. Balay	2	19·00	0·95
5. Mawlum	nil	..	..
6. Lyngkhat	5	85·00	17·00
7. Dawang	10	330·75	33·15
8. Syndai	9	43·95	4·94
9. Arbil	8	40·17	5·02
10. Umkiang	nil	..	..

A few families who did not have any landed interest on this side of the border were reported to have migrated to Pakistan. Most of the families are even now paying tax to East Pakistan authorities even though they are not getting any returns because they do not want to lose their right on land.

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

There is considerable trade carried on in
245 *tejpát* or bay leaves, the trees being extensively cultivated by the
439 inhabitants of the lower slopes of the hills on the Sylhet border. The finest oranges in India are also grown in groves in the same tract, the value of the trade in which is now (1876) estimated to amount
237 to £3760 per annum. Lac is gathered by the Máfirs in the Jáintiá
439 Hills, but not to any great extent. Bees are both domesticated and found wild, and an extensive trade in bees-wax is carried on,
231 the amount exported being estimated at from three hundred to four hundred *maunds* annually. The whole of the Hills, where there is
233 no forest, and where the land is not under cultivation, consists of
621 rich pasture grounds, which are held in common by the villagers
651 and pay no revenue to Government.

137 The forests of the Khási and Jáintiá Hills do not yield much profit either to the British Government or to the chiefs. There
[648] are no reserved forests in the District; and according to the Deputy-Conservator, the total area of unreserved forest, *i.e.* of land covered
[659] with timber trees and not at present required for *júm* cultivation, is only 150 square miles. The trees found are chiefly pine, and those classified as 'mixed upper hill forests.' At an elevation of 3000 feet, the Pinus Kasia predominates over all other vegetation and forms almost pure pine forests. It is found also at lower heights, and there attains larger dimensions, but only in the case of isolated trees. The 'mixed upper hill forests' are confined to a series of sacred groves, which clothe the topmost ridge of the watershed between the valleys of the Brahmaputra and Surmá. The characteristic trees are those of a temperate vegetation, chiefly consisting of oaks, chestnuts, magnolia, Schima, Cinnamomum, Prunus, Engelhardtia, etc. There are also numerous other timber trees, including the valuable *sál* (Shorea robusta) and the rubber tree (Ficus elastica); but on the whole the Khási Hills are remarkable for the
[648] absence of forest. Early in 1874-75 measures were taken to put a
[659] stop to the indiscriminate burning of the forests, and the Siems and village officers were made responsible for the conservancy of the sacred groves. These endeavours have met with some success; but it is a very difficult thing to change the habits of a population, or to induce uncivilised tribes to incur a small temporary inconvenience for the sake of future benefit. The total area directly protected from fire during the year 1875-76 is returned at 3618 acres; the expenditure was Rs. 199; and in ten prosecutions for breaches of forest rules, twenty-three persons were convicted.

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249 648 65 at Dárjiling, who reported unfavourably on them. They have since been made over to the Siem of Nongklao, who is responsible for their being kept clear of weeds and protected against fire. Up to the close of 1875–76 the total expenditure had been Rs. 672, or £67, 4s. 0d.

136 FERÆ NATURÆ.—Tigers, elephants, rhinoceros, buffaloes, *mithuns* or wild cows, bears, leopards, wolves, jackals, foxes, wild hog, and several kinds of deer abound in the Khási and Jáintiá Hills. The [224] expense of keeping down tigers in the shape of Government rewards [648] amounted to £44, 10s. 0d. in 1869-70. The rate of reward now paid is Rs. 25 or £2, 10s. 0d. per head. No rewards have ever been given for the destruction of venomous serpents. The number [165] of deaths from wild beasts and snake-bite reported to the police amounted to 28 in 1866-67, 18 in 1867-68, 16 in 1868-69, and 26 in 1869-70. The small game found in the Hills consists of black partridges, hill partridges, quails, ducks, teal, snipe, and woodcocks. 226 The *mahsir* fish is caught in the rivers. No regular trade is carried 439 on in the skins of wild animals; and, except in the case of wild elephants, the *feræ naturæ* are not made to contribute towards the wealth of the people.

224 ELEPHANTS.—Wild elephants are found in the lower ranges of the hills, and in the gorges opening on the valleys of the Surmá and 648 the Brahmaputra. Each State in the Khási Hills and each dolloi- 651 ship in the Jáintiá Hills constitutes a separate hunting circle or *mahál*. In the Khási States the conditions of elephant hunting are governed by rules framed in 1874-75 by the Chief Commissioner, and approved by the Government of India. These rules provide, (1) that the British Government will make no claim to royalty on account of elephants caught in the Khási Hills; (2) that one half of the proceeds of the sale of each elephant caught shall be paid over to the chief whose State forms the *mahál*, and the other half retained by Government; (3) that if a chief wishes to hunt elephants on his own account, the *mahál* composed of his State shall be reserved from sale, and a special arrangement shall be made with him on the basis that half the proceeds of the hunting shall accrue to Government. A special form of hunting licence in accordance with these rules has been settled by the Chief Commissioner. In the Jáintiá Hills, as being British territory, the ordinary Assam rules are in force, in accordance with which leases of the *mahálls* are sold at intervals of two years to the highest bidder at

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243 the District, nor do any superior kinds of cereals appear to have been substituted for inferior ones.

THE DIFFERENT STAGES OF RICE CULTIVATION, in English and Khásí, are as follow:—The blade as it first shows, *spch-u-kyba;* the blade when well above the ground, *la-thylleng-u-kyba;* the ears when first formed, *lam-mat;* the ears beginning to ripen, *byr-tem;* the ripe ears, *la-hih;* unhusked rice, *u-kyba;* husked rice, *u-khaw;* cooked rice, *ka-ja.*

262 THE VARIOUS SOLID AND LIQUID PREPARATIONS made from rice
[435] are the following:—(1) *U-kypu*, cakes of different kinds, sold at six
[782] or twelve for a penny, according to size. (2) *U-shirí* or *gáh-khir*, prepared by the hillmen as an offering to their deity at the conclusion
273 of the harvest. (3) *Kadam*, fermented rice water, sold at the rate
435 of from three-farthings to threepence per quart, according to the strength of the liquor. (4) *Ka kiad-phatika* or *ka kiad-hárak*, a kind of spirits distilled from rice, and sold at from threepence to fourpence-halfpenny per quart.

243 OTHER CEREALS.—Indian corn, or *u-riu-ha-dem*, is grown on homestead lands. The ground is first manured, and the seed is sown about the middle of April. The crop is fit for cutting in September and October. A kind of millet seed called *u-krdi* is commonly sown with paddy on high lands. For want of more suitable land, however, this crop is often cultivated by itself on rocky slopes; and when this course is adopted, the jungle is first cut down in February and burnt. The seed is sown in April, and the crop gathered in December.

244 PULSES AND FIBRES.—Only two kinds of pulses are grown in the Hills, *u-rym-bai-ktung* and *u-rym-bai-jú*, both of which are varieties
283 of beans. They are sown on high lands in March and April, and gathered in December. The only fibre is that made from the pine-apple stalk, which is largely used for making netted bags.

245 MISCELLANEOUS CROPS.—(1) Oranges.—There are numerous
[439] orange plantations in the neighbourhood of Cherrá Púnjí, and the fruit is exported to all parts of Bengal. In the year 1876-77 the estimated exports were 9,400,000 in number, valued at Rs. 37,600, or £3760, at the rate of Rs. 12 or £1, 4s. per three thousand. These figures show a decrease in number as compared with the estimated export twenty years ago. The trees flower in March or April, and the fruit ripens in October and the following months. In some cases the oranges are allowed to remain on the trees till March, but

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generally the gathering does not extend beyond January. As a rule, the cultivation is confined to the valleys and slopes on the southern face of the hills. (2) Pine-apples are also largely cultivated on the southern slopes, and grow to great perfection on the limestone formation. The fruit ripens in May or June, and is exported in considerable quantities. In 1876-77 the export of pine-apples was valued at Rs. 8000 or £800. (3) Potatoes are extensively grown on slopes of high land, and also in the low-lying fields where the land is well drained. The tuber was first introduced into the Hills in 1830 by Mr. Scott, who was then the Governor-General's Agent. The season for sowing commences about the middle of February when the rains set in early, and in April when they are late. The ground is dug up and carefully manured with burnt earth, and holes are dug about nine inches deep, and the same distance from each other. These holes are then partially filled in with loose earth, and a potato or two halves of one placed in each. They are then filled up with dry manure and soil. When the plant is fifteen or twenty days old, the ground about the roots is loosened and the plant earthed up, and the land is kept carefully weeded. In about four months after sowing, the crop is gathered. During the cold weather a second crop is raised, the seeds being planted in September and the tubers dug up in December. Potato cultivation has largely increased of late years in the District. In 1876-77 the exports were approximately estimated at 200,500 *maunds*, or 7480 tons, valued at Rs. 501,250 or £50,125, at the rate of Rs. 2. 8 per *maund*, or £7 per ton. (4) Sugar-cane is grown, but not to any great extent; cuttings are planted in March, and the cane ripens by November or December. (5) *Pán* is extensively cultivated, the runner being trained up trees standing in deep and shady valleys. Planting is carried on during the months of April and May, but the leaves are not fit to be gathered till the plant is two years old. (6) The *supári* or betel-nut (Areca catechu), called *u-kwai* by the Khásiás, is grown on the lower southern slopes of the hills, and, together with the *pán* leaf, is consumed in immoderate quantities by the inhabitants, who measure distance by the number of *páns* consumed on a journey. It is also exported to the plains. (7) *U-soh-phlang*, a root crop resembling a small turnip, is sown on high lands in April and gathered in September. It is a poor vegetable, but the natives of the Hills are fond of it, and eat it either raw or cooked. (8) Cotton is grown on high lands and

245 244 [439] [177] [439] 249 244 000

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reared either for food or as articles of trade. A pair of ploughing oxen are worth about Rs. 32, or £3, 4s.; an ordinary cow, Rs. 12, or £1, 4s.; a score of kids six months old, Rs. 16, or £1, 12s.; and a score of full-grown pigs, from Rs. 100 to Rs. 160, or from £10 to £16. 231 435

THE AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS in use in the District consist of a plough, called *ka-jing-lúr* in Khásí, and a hoe or *kedáli*, called *u-mo-khiw*. When the cultivation is carried on by means of oxen, the plough is used, the hoe alone being used when the land is cultivated by manual labour. In the Khási Hills the use of the plough, except in a few rare cases, is entirely unknown; but in the Jáintiá Hills, oxen and ploughs are used to a greater extent. What is technically termed 'a plough' of land is equivalent to four English acres; a pair of oxen, together with the necessary implements, would represent a capital of about Rs. 40, or £4. 241 407 [435]

WAGES.—The Deputy-Commissioner reports that the price of labour in the District has more than doubled in the last ten years. The rates obtaining at present are from eightpence to one shilling a day for an ordinary labourer, and from one shilling to eighteenpence a day for a porter. An agricultural day-labourer earns sixpence, and a woman at the same work fourpence-halfpenny a day. Bricklayers, carpenters, and blacksmiths earn from a shilling to eighteenpence a day. The new Station of Shillong, the present seat of the Local Government, was established in May 1864, and since that date the demand for labour has markedly increased. The extension of the cultivation of potatoes has also had an appreciable effect on the price of labour. 178 464 465 [244]

PRICES OF FOOD GRAINS.—Of the different descriptions of rice in the markets of the District, the better sorts are imported from the neighbouring Districts of Sylhet and Kámrúp. The local produce is considered fit only for the use of the Khásiás. The price of the better descriptions depends entirely upon the distance from which the supplies come. In a distant market like that of Shillong, rice of the best quality generally sells at from 6 to 7 *sers* for the rupee, or from 16s. to 18s. 8d. per cwt.; and rice of inferior quality, which is only used by the poorer classes, at from 9 to 10 *sers* for the rupee, or from 11s. 2d. to 12s. 5d. per cwt. Little or no trade is carried on in unhusked grain. Paddy produced in the District generally sells at an average of from 15 to 16 *sers* per rupee, or from 7s. to 7s. 6d. per cwt. Indian corn, which is only grown to a small extent, is sold 435 439 243

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435 439 [243] 273 435

at the rate of two or three ears for a farthing; and sugar-cane, the cultivation of which is also very limited, at from a little over a farthing to three-farthings per cane. A fermented liquor called *kadam*, made from rice, is sold at from three-farthings to threepence a quart, according to strength; and a distilled spirit called *phatika*, or *kakiad-hárak*, at from threepence to fourpence-halfpenny a quart. This latter description of liquor is sometimes made very strong. No records exist by which the present prices of the above articles can be compared with the rates ruling ten years ago. The maximum price of rice during the famine of 1866-67 was 5 *sers* 6 *chhatáks* for the rupee, or about £1 a hundredweight.

[731]

804 805

MEASURES, WEIGHTS, ETC.—The Hill people have no proper measurement of time or distance. If there be any standard for measuring distance, it is by the number of *pins* a man chews in the course of a journey, generally about one every half hour. In some parts of the District, land is measured by a stick called *ka dieng-nong*, varying in length from six to seven cubits. Liquids are measured in gourds of different measures, varying from half a *chhaták* to a *ser*, and also in bamboo tubes. Rice, potatoes, beans, etc. are measured in baskets, varying in size in different markets from two to eighty pounds.

805

In the Khásí Hills the inhabitants reckon eight days in the week, named as follows:—(1) Lyn-kah; (2) Nong-krem; (3) Um-long; (4) Rang-hep; (5) Shillong; (6) Pom-tih; (7) Um-nih; (8) Yeo-duh. In the Jáintiá Hills the eight days are named thus:—(1) Kyllao; (2) Pyn-sing; (3) Máo-long; (4) Máo-siang; (5) Máo-shai; (6) Pyn-kat; (7) Thym-blein; (8) Ka-hat. The Khásí months of the year, calculated by moons, are as follow:—(1) U Kylla lynkot; (2) U Rym-pang; (3) U Lyber; (4) U Laiong; (5) U Jimmang; (6) U Jilliw; (7) U Nai-túng; (8) U Nai-lar; (9) U Nai-lúr; (10) U Rysow; (11) U Nai-wing; (12) U Noh-prah.

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LANDLESS LABOURING CLASSES.—There is, and always has been, a large class of labourers in the District who neither rent nor possess any land. Women and children are employed in manual out-door labour of all kinds.

423 [427]

VARIETIES OF LAND TENURE can hardly be said to exist. There is nothing whatever resembling the relations between landlord and tenant throughout the Khásí Hills. The lands as a rule are either ancestral property or belong to village communities, and are cultivated under unwritten but well-understood agreements. Of the wide

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231 (£174, 8s.) was expended on the purchase of stock, including
648 cattle, sheep, and pigs from England. Even native cattle at the
elevation of Shillong fall off very much in the months of January
654 and February from want of forage, and the Khásiás at this season
generally drive them to lower slopes. But one of the chief objects
in keeping cattle at the farm was to obtain manure; and *mati kaldi*
(Phaseolus radiatus) was grown for them, cut green, and stocked
[731] for food. On this they did very well. In 1875-76, however, cattle
disease broke out on the farm in a very virulent shape. Out of 39
cattle attacked, only 7, or 18 per cent., recovered, and the animals
imported from England all died. There was also a heavy mortality
in that year among the sheep and pigs. The following are the
financial results for the two years:—1874-75—Expenditure, Rs.
13,297. 0. 5; receipts, Rs. 309. 2. 6: deficit, Rs. 12,987. 13. 11.
1875-76—Expenditure, Rs. 11,445. 8. 6; receipts, Rs. 1036. 15. 0:
deficit, Rs. 10,408. 9. 6. Total deficit, Rs. 23,396. 7. 5, or £2339.
648 13s. In view of these figures the Chief Commissioner has deter-
mined to restrict farming operations to small experiments in irri-
654 gated *rabi* crops, and, as a measure of economy, to dispense with
the services of the superintendent. The future expenditure on the
farm will be insignificant. The establishment now (1877) consists
of a *sardár* on Rs. 50 and a *chaukidár* on Rs. 10 a month (total,
£72 a year), under the direct control of the Deputy-Conservator of
Forests; the total number of live-stock is 64 head.

731 NATURAL CALAMITIES, such as blights, floods, or droughts, are
not common in the District, although the crops in the Jáintiá Hills
sometimes suffer from insects. So far as the Deputy-Commissioner
is able to ascertain, no destruction of crops affecting the general
harvest has occurred within the experience of the present generation.
[435] During the Orissa famine of 1866-67 the maximum price of common
rice reached £1 per hundredweight, but no such distress was felt as
to require Government relief operations. The price just mentioned
was certainly equal to the rates prevalent in the famine-stricken
localities; but prices always rule high in the Hills, and afford no just
criterion of the state of affairs among the general body of the
inhabitants. Distress was only felt by a small portion of the
population, chiefly the Bengálí immigrants residing in the District,
262 who are generally a well-to-do class. The Hill people, as a rule, do
not eat potatoes, which they grow only for export; but in case of
244 actual famine, they might fall back upon this crop for their own food
439 supply.

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supply. As the District depends so largely for its supply of rice 243
upon Sylhet and Kámrúp, the state of the markets in those places 433
exercises a greater influence on the rates in the Hills than any 439
failure of the local harvest. In the year 1858 the price of common [435]
rice is said to have risen as high as 6 *sers* for the rupee, or 18s. 8d.
per cwt., in consequence of the failure of the crops in the plains.

ROADS AND MEANS OF COMMUNICATION.—The following are the 491
eight principal lines of road in the Khási and Jáintiá Hills:—(1)
Road from Shillong to Gauháti, in Kámrúp. This road has recently
(1877) been opened for wheeled traffic throughout its entire length.
The Deputy-Commissioner's Report for 1876-77 states that the
number of passengers passing up and down may be estimated
at about 800 or 1000 every month, and the number of carts
already used at about 50. The *tonga dák* brings travellers up [493]
to Shillong from Gauháti in two days by a comfortable and easy
carriage service, while for natives a cheaper conveyance by bullock
cart is available. At Gauháti there is a good *dák* bungalow in
charge of a *khánsámá*, where the usual accommodation provided
in a hotel is to be found. The stages to Shillong are as follow:—
(*a*) Gauháti to Bornihát, 17 miles. The road is good throughout.
There is a *dák* bungalow in charge of a *chaukidár* at Bornihát, where
grain and rice are procurable. (*b*) Bornihát to Nongpoh, 14½ miles.
The road is hilly throughout, but good. At Nongpoh, which is at
an elevation of 1900 feet, there is a *dák* bungalow in charge of a
khánsámá, from whom tea, liquors, and biscuits, etc. can be
obtained. The *dák* bungalow is furnished with bedding, linen, etc.
Grain and rice can be purchased in the *bázár*. (*c*) Nongpoh to
Um-sning, 16½ miles. At Um-sning, elevation 2700 feet, there is a
dák bungalow in charge of a *chaukidár*. Supplies or coolies are not
procurable, but sometimes grain and rice can be purchased. (*d*)
Um-sning to Um-jam, 9½ miles. At Um-jam there is a Public
Works Department rest-house in charge of a *chaukidár*. Supplies
or coolies are not procurable. (*e*) Um-jam to Shillong, 9½ miles, of
which 6½ are a continuous ascent. At Shillong there are *dák* [485]
bungalows in the Artillery Lines, containing four separate rooms.
A *khánsámá* is in attendance, and the rooms are completely fur-
nished with bedding, linen, etc. This entire road, which has a total
length of 67 miles, is as perfect a hill road as could be seen in any
country, and a model of engineering skill. (2) Road running
from Gauháti across the Hills, *via* Nongklao, Máo-flang, Cherrá

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at Rs. 480,000, or £48,000, and the revenue derived by Government from the quarries was Rs. 67,266, or £6726. In addition, the Khásí Chiefs receive a revenue from this source of more than £2000. 648 651 317

IRON.—The smelting of iron was once the chief industry in the Khásí Hills, and a considerable quantity of the metal used to be exported into Sylhet, both in the crude and the manufactured state. Recently, however, this industry has almost died out, in the face of the competition of the superior article imported from England and sold in the plains at a cheaper rate. The indigenous methods of extracting, washing, and smelting the ore have been minutely described by Professor Oldham. The following description is taken from Mr. Allen's Report, dated 1858, at which date the annual export of smelted iron was estimated at 45,000 *maunds*, valued at Rs. 67,500, or £6750, at the rate of Rs. 1. 8 per *maund*: —'The ore is said to be most abundant and of the best quality in the State of Khyrim, especially at the villages of Nongkrím and Noyandri. A few iron articles, such as *dáos* or hill knives, *kodális* or mattocks, spear and arrow-heads, are manufactured by the Khásí smiths in the Hills; but the greater bulk of the smelted iron is sent to the plains for sale in circular lumps weighing about 4 or 5 *sers*. These lumps, called *birú*, sell at Chhaták for from Rs. 1. 4 to Rs. 1. 6 per *maund*. The best iron, however, which is beaten into bars called *peti*, sells for from Rs. 1. 10 to Rs. 1. 12 per *maund*. Khásí iron is preferred to English, in consequence of its greater malleability. It is much used by the native boat-builders of Sylhet and the neighbouring Districts to make fastenings for the timbers of their boats. When brought into the market, it is more than half dross, and it is this circumstance which renders the iron trade unprofitable. The cost of carriage from the Hills to the plains is about 6 *ánnás* per *maund*; and the traders, who are all Khásiás themselves, affirm that they get an average profit of only 2 *ánnás* per *maund*.' The tables of trade for 1876-77 return no smelted iron as exported from the Hills, but Rs. 7000 of iron implements exported, against nails and ironmongery imported to the value of Rs. 18,000. 178 325 439 [326] [435] [501]

THE MANUFACTURES of the District, besides iron, consist of coarse cotton and *randia* cloth, plain silver work, rude implements of husbandry, netted bags made of the fibre of the pine-apple, common pottery, and mats and baskets. With the exception of the 28 433

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with the exception of the
326 manufacture of iron, in which the master blacksmith often employs
462 hired labourers, the other industries are generally followed by
463 females in their own houses. No class of labourers are hereditarily
452 attached to any manufacture in a manner that affects their personal
434 freedom. The system of advancing money for manufacturing purposes does not obtain in the Khásí and Jáintiá Hills. The total value of the manufactures of the District is stated to be between £2000 and £3000 per annum. No local manufactures are carried on by means of imported capital.

439 COMMERCE AND TRADE.—The external commerce of the Khásí and Jáintiá Hills is chiefly conducted on the southern boundary, through the District of Sylhet. The total value is more considerable than might be expected, owing to the fact that these Hills practically possess the monopoly of supplying Bengal with lime, potatoes, and oranges. Other important articles of export are raw cotton, stick-lac, betel-nut and *pán* leaves, and bay leaves or *tezpát*. The exportation of iron, which was once large, has now almost ceased. The chief imports consist of rice, dried fish, cotton cloth, salt, and tobacco. On the whole, it would appear that the course of trade is about equally balanced. Trade statistics of more or less value are in existence. The earliest of such statistics are to be found in the Report of Mr. W. J. Allen, dated 1858. The information there given was based for the most part upon oral statements furnished by numerous native traders to Mr. Hudson, who then filled the office of Principal Assistant-Commissioner. It may be accepted as 'a fair representation of the state of trade in
439 the Hills' at that time. The imports and exports on the Assam
434 side were each estimated at about Rs. 15,000, or £1500. The trade with the markets in the Surmá valley was much larger. The total of the exports was valued at Rs. 700,000, or £70,000, giving a profit to the traders of Rs. 170,705, or £17,070. The chief items were:—Limestone, 1,700,000 *maunds*, valued at Rs. 306,000; potatoes, 50,000 *maunds*, value Rs. 125,000; oranges, 45,000,000 in number, value Rs. 78,750; smelted iron, 45,000 *maunds*, value Rs. 67,500; cotton, 12,000 *maunds*, value Rs. 42,000; betel-nuts, value Rs. 37,500; coal, 25,000 *maunds*, value Rs. 12,500. The total value of the imports was estimated at Rs. 350,000, or £35,000, being just one-half the value of the exports; the estimated profits are given as Rs. 44,325, or £4432. The chief items were:—Rice, 150,000 *maunds*, value Rs. 225,000; cloth of sorts, Rs. 25,000;

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fish, fresh and dried, Rs. 20,000; salt, 2000 *maunds*, value Rs. 10,000. For the last three years, from 1874-75 to 1876-77, elaborate tables of the external commerce have been drawn up by the successive Deputy-Commissioners in charge of the District. There is, however, no organized system of trade registration, and the Chief Commissioner of Assam has expressed the opinion that the figures 'cannot be at all relied upon.' The items vary greatly year by year, which is partly due to the different principles of valuation adopted. For the year 1874-75 the total exports were valued at Rs. 1,371,830, or £137,183, being just double the estimated value twenty years ago; the imports were valued at Rs. 1,359,300, or £135,930, being an increase in the same period of nearly forty-fold. The excess value of exports was Rs. 12,530, or £1253. In 1875-76 the exports were valued at Rs. 1,721,761, or £172,176; the imports at Rs. 1,617,455, or £161,745, showing an excess on the export side of Rs. 104,306, or £10,430. The tables for 1876-77, given in full on the following pages (pp. 238, 239), are quoted from the Administration Report for that year. They are based partly upon returns of trade at the marts of Bholáganj and Jáintiápur, and partly upon such approximations as could be supplied by local traders. The total value of the exports amounts to Rs. 1,603,530, or £160,353; that of the imports to Rs. 1,576,483, or £157,648, showing a balance of Rs. 27,047, or £2704, in favour of the District.

The export of limestone in 1876-77 was 1,600,000 *maunds*, valued at Rs. 480,000, at the rate of Rs. 300 for 1000 *maunds*. These figures show no increase in quantity, but a large increase in value, over the estimates of twenty years ago. The registration system of river traffic in Bengal shows a total export during 1876-77 from the two Districts of Sylhet and Cáchár of 1,056,159 *maunds* of lime and limestone, valued at Rs. 742,118 at the rate of 12 *ánnás* per *maund*. The difference between these two sets of figures for the same year is very considerable. It may be partly explained by the consideration that the Bengal estimate of value includes the stone after it has been calcined and reduced to lime. The trade in limestone is chiefly in the hands of Messrs. Inglis & Co., whose depot is at Chhaták, on the Surmá river. The connection of this firm with the trade of the Khási Hills is of very long standing. The founder, Mr. Henry Inglis, was the son-in-law of

[*Sentence continued on page* 238.

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ESTIMATE OF IMPORTS INTO THE KHASI AND JAINTIA HILLS FOR THE YEAR 1876-77.

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ARTICLES.	RATES OF VALUATION.	WEIGHT IN *maunds*.	VALUE.
	Rs. per *maund*.		Rs.
Brass pots and pans,	...	...	14,700
Country soap,	15. 0	1,200	18,000
Churd or crushed rice,	4. 8	650	2,925
Cloth of sorts,	...	...	158,000
Coral beads,	...	...	18,100
Cows and oxen,	...	...	5,600
Castor oil,	16. 0	125	2,000
Cocoa-nut oil,	25. 0	30	750
Dál or pulse,	6. 0	1,600	9,600
Eggs,	...	...	2,000
Earthenware and glass,	...	...	800
European stores,	...	...	16,600
Fish, and dry fish,	6. 0	35,900	215,400
Ghi,	35. 0	650	22,750
Grains,	4. 0	1,300	5,200
Gold,	...	...	6,500
Kerosene oil,	22. 0	125	2,750
Molasses,	7. 0	2,800	19,600
Nails and ironmongery,	20. 0	900	18,000
Oil,	18. 0	1,700	30,600
Onions,	6. 0	800	4,800
Poultry,	...	...	12,500
Rice,	3. 8	205,800	720,300
Salt,	7. 0	12,000	84,000
Sugar,	17. 8	800	14,000
Spices,	...	...	1,000
Silver,	...	...	4,200
Sheep,	...	...	2,400
Tamarind,	8. 0	26	208
Tea and coffee,	...	...	2,300
Tobacco,	13. 0	4,800	62,400
Atta or wheat flour,	7. 0	10,000	70,000
Wines and liquors,	...	...	26,000
Miscellaneous Native goods,	...	...	2,500
Total,	...	...	1,576,483

Sentence continued from page 237.]

439 Colonel Lister, who filled the office of Political Agent from 1835 to
648 1854. In 1858, when Mr. Allen drew up his Report on the District, the trade both in lime and oranges was a monopoly of this Mr. Inglis. The stone is exported to Chhaták and other marts on the Surmá river, where some portion is burned and made into lime, and the remainder sold in the rough. The trade name in Bengal is 'Sylhet lime.'

439 The export of potatoes in 1876-77 was 200,500 *maunds*, valued
434 at Rs. 501,250, or £50,125, at the rate of Rs. 2. 8 per *maund*.

[*Text continued on page* 239.

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

ESTIMATE OF EXPORTS FROM THE KHASI AND JAINTIA HILLS FOR THE YEAR 1876-77.

ARTICLES.	RATES OF VALUATION.	WEIGHT OR NUMBER.	VALUE.
	Rs.		Rs.
Tejpát or bay leaves,	2. 8 per *maund*.	26,000 *maunds*.	65,000
Betel-nuts and *pán* leaves, ...	...	...	95,600
Black pepper, . .	1. 8 per *maund*.	500 ,,	9,000
Boats, ...	...	...	7,000
Cinnamon, . . .	4. 0 per *maund*.	900 ,,	3,600
Chillies, ...	8. 0 ,,	2,600 ,,	20,800
Cotton, ...	6. 0 ,,	36,000 ,,	216,000
Fruits (jack and lime),	...	...	2,600
Garlic, ...	...	...	3,100
Hides, ...	...	...	1,200
Honey, ...	15. 0 per *maund*.	330 ,,	4,950
India-rubber, . .	40. 0 ,,	200 ,,	8,000
Iron implements, .	...	...	7,000
Limestone, . . .	300. 0 per 1000 *maunds*.	1,600,000 ,,	480,000
Oranges, ...	12. 0 per 3000.	9,400,000 No.	37,600
Potatoes, ...	2. 8 per *maund*.	200,500 *maunds*.	501,250
Pine-apples, . . .	...	...	8,000
Stick lac, ...	20. 0 per *maund*.	5,000 ,,	100,000
Timber, bamboos, and canes, . .	...	...	30,000
Turmeric, . . .	2. 0 per *maund*.	700 ,,	1,400
Bees-wax, . . .	55. 0 ,,	26 ,,	1,430
Total, .	...	...	1,603,530

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Text continued from page 238.]

This price is about the same as it was twenty years ago, but the quantity has increased fourfold. The potato was first introduced into the Hills in 1830 by Mr. David Scott, who was then the Governor-General's Agent. 'No greater boon could have been conferred upon the people.' The local trade is entirely in the hands of the Khásiás themselves, and the larger portion of the produce is despatched direct to Calcutta. According to the registration returns of river traffic in Bengal, the export of provisions (including vegetables) from Sylhet in 1876-77 was 123,108 *maunds*, valued at Rs. 369,324, or £36,932, at the rate of Rs. 3 per *maund*.

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The export of oranges in 1876-77 was 9,400,000 in number, valued at Rs. 37,600, at the rate of Rs. 12 per 3000. These figures apparently show a great decrease since 1858. At that time Mr. Inglis possessed the entire monopoly of the trade, by means of the leases which he held from the Khásí Chiefs of all the valuable groves. The annual produce of his groves was estimated at forty-five millions of oranges, having increased from eleven millions within the

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439 previous twenty years. The oranges, like the lime, were brought
648 down to Mr. Inglis' depot at Chhaták, where they were sold to
245 the dealers at the rate of about Rs. 1. 12 per 1000, or less than
434 half their present estimated price. It is stated in Mr. Allen's Report, that the Calcutta market was then chiefly supplied from the groves of Shella Púnjí and Bor Púnjí; the produce of the other villages was more perishable, and required to be sold in the neighbouring Districts. The fruit is known in Calcutta as 'Sylhet oranges.' The Bengal registration returns for 1876-77 show a total export from Sylhet of 64,505 *maunds* of 'fruit,' valued at Rs. 193,515, or £19,351.

439 The export of raw cotton appears to have greatly increased. In 1876-77 the total quantity exported was 36,000 *maunds*, valued at Rs. 216,000, or £21,600, at the rate of Rs. 6 per *maund*. Twenty years before the export had been only 12,000 *maunds*, valued at Rs. 42,000, at the rate of only Rs. 3. 8 per *maund*. The cotton is of inferior quality, with a short and woolly staple. It is chiefly consumed by the Sylhet weavers. The total registered export from that District in 1876-77 was only 4300 *maunds*, valued at Rs. 64,500,
434 at the high rate of Rs. 15 per *maund*.

439 The chief article of import now, as twenty years ago, is rice; for
[178 the hill-men have never grown sufficient for their own consumption,
243] and the recent establishment of the Civil Station of Shillong has increased the demand. In 1876-77 the total imports of rice were estimated at 205,800 *maunds*, valued at Rs. 720,300, or £72,030, at the rate of Rs. 3. 8 per *maund*. Twenty years ago the imports were nearly as great, viz. 150,000 *maunds;* but the value was only Rs. 225,000, at the rate of Rs. 1. 8 per *maund*, or less than one-half the present value. The chief source of supply is Sylhet District, which sends its surplus to the tea gardens of Cáchár, as well as to these Hills, and also exported, in the year 1876-77, 214,000 *maunds* of rice and 433,100 *maunds* of paddy into Bengal.

The importation of fish (fresh and dried) has enormously increased. In 1876-77 the total amount was 35,900 *maunds*, valued at Rs. 215,400, or £21,540, at the rate of Rs. 6 per *maund*. Twenty years ago the value was only Rs. 20,000, but the quantity is not given. The preparation of dried fish is a flourishing industry in the adjoining District of Sylhet.

The importation of cotton cloth has increased in an almost equal proportion. The value in 1876-77 was Rs. 158,000, or £15,800, as

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against Rs. 25,000, or £2,500, twenty years earlier. The supply of 439
piece-goods is derived directly from Dacca.

A curious feature in the trade of the Khásí and Jáintiá Hills is 441
the total absence of Márwárí or Jain merchants—an enterprising class, who are found everywhere else in Assam, even to the farthest corners of the Brahmaputra valley. There are a few Bengálí traders from Dacca, who do not take up a permanent residence in the Hills; but the great bulk of the business remains in the hands of the natives, who themselves reap the profits and are said to be keen at a bargain.

The principal markets at the foot of the Hills, on the Sylhet side, 443
are Bholáganj, Chhaták, Lakhát, Jaíntiápur, Jafling, Pharálbázár, Máodong, Ponatit, Sónápur, Molághul, and Lengjut. Many of these are situated within the Sylhet boundary; but they are all frequented by Khásí and Synteng traders, who spend their whole time in passing from one market village to another. The markets or *háts* are held at regular intervals of eight days (for the Khásí week consists of this number), with the object of permitting the same people to visit the different places in rotation.

CAPITAL.—Such little capital as the people possess is either 454
employed in trade or lent out upon interest. In a few cases it is hoarded and allowed to remain idle. In small loan transactions, whether articles are pledged as security or not, the interest usually charged is one *ánná* in the rupee per month, or 75 per cent. per annum. In larger transactions the rate of interest per month varies from 2 to 3 per cent. Nothing is charged in the name of interest where lands are mortgaged as security for a loan, as the land is always made over to the mortgagee in lieu thereof, and he is only bound to restore it on payment of the amount lent. In petty advances for agricultural purposes, part of the produce is given by the cultivator at something less than market rates in repayment of the amount borrowed. Limestone quarrying is the only industry in 316
the District carried on by European agency. 648

REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE.—The revenue realized from the 648
Khásí and Jáintiá Hills has increased considerably in recent years. 651
As the Khásí States are treated as semi-independent, the receipts from that portion of the District are altogether insignificant, with the exception of the dues levied from the lime quarries. The larger part of the revenue in Jáintiá is derived from the house tax. For 1835, when British authority was first established in the Khásí Hills,

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

182 very wealthy households still maintain their former economic activities, but
434 the majority have been impoverished, becoming daily labourers for the wealthy
ones or for road construction. Thus considerable internal economic differentiation has begun to appear in the community.

Though the recent economic depression brought poverty to Jaintiya, the
182 standard of living is still strikingly higher than that of neighbouring tribes.
Studying such economic aspects of Jaintiya, I wondered at first why these
245 neighbouring tribes have remained as they were, except for temporary employ-
648 ment at Jaintiya: why, looking at the prosperity of Jaintiya, they did not adopt the way of the Jaintiya people?

Indeed some of them attempted to imitate the Jaintiya economy, but the results were unfortunately not favourable to them. First, both pan-leaf and orange cultivations were entirely new to the tribal peoples, and the technique was quite different from that of dry rice cultivation in the jhum field. Pan cultivation requires very delicate care which is almost impossible to manage for people who have been accustomed to the primitive jhumming cultivation. For instance, when they go into pan gardens, they have to wash themselves and put on special clean clothes in order to prevent the spread of epidemic leaf diseases. Tribal people, who seldom wash their clothes, or mostly go naked, could hardly keep pan gardens. In this respect the Khasi are entirely universal, having specialized in this economy for a long period, even as they believe, from time immemorial.

On the other hand, the technique of orange cultivation is much easier than that of pan-leaf, but it takes several years to obtain a yield; it requires considerable capital to begin with. For the jhum cultivators, who usually did not have cash income nor funds, it was almost impossible to start it, while the Khasi were able to raise funds from the selling of the pan-leaf. Furthermore, the
[423] management of such gardens, either pan-leaf or orange, differs also from that of the jhum field as it entirely depends on individual enterprise based on private land ownership, which is new for these tribes where the community owns the land. Therefore the possibility of starting orange gardens is restricted to special individuals among them belonging to exceptionally rich and powerful households. A few households in neighbouring villages did, in fact, start orange gardens, adopting the technique of the Jaintiya people. This was around 1941 and they were expecting to have the yield around 1950. However, unfortunately, when their oranges began to come into production, orange disease started in Jaintiya and spread all over these areas. Their dream therefore never came true.

Besides oranges, some of them also established gardens of bananas, jackfruits, and papaias, which were more successful than the oranges. These plantations started much earlier than oranges in this area, though not in great quantity. The products were sold to the Jaintiya people who sold them again to Bengalee merchants. The question arises why were they not sold directly to Bengalee merchants, when the profit would have been much greater.

This aspect of the market economy touches upon very interesting problems
182 concerning the relations between tribal and Hindu peoples. Such tribal peoples
who live on a primitive subsistence level usually do not have direct contact
• 44 with the peoples of the plains. There is always an intermediary between them.
648 In this case it is the Jaintiya people who know both tribal life and Hindu life. They are also in between culturally. If a tribal cultivator sells his produce to a Hindu merchant, he would most certainly be cheated by the cunning merchant, as he is quite ignorant of trade. Tribal men do deal with markets directly, but only on a small scale at Hadong bazaar, and without making a profit: it is just the exchange of their basketful of jhum produce for an iron

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

spade or some dried fish, etc. Products such as large quantities of fruits should be sold to the Jatinga people who buy them at reasonable prices. 182

The Khasi are born traders. This must be closely related with their economic technique, such as pan cultivation which makes it impossible for them to live without trading. Hence, though they are hill people, they have had close economic contact with the peoples of the surrounding plains. At the same time, some of them have had a very similar economy to that of other tribes, such as that of Sohkyndah and of Kongton; hence they are familiar with tribal economy. On the whole, their dealings with the tribes as well as with the plains peoples are fair, though they are hard bargainers. Indeed the Khasi are quite welcomed by both sides. Thus the Khasi play an important role as intermediary between the tribes living in the hills and the Hindu (and Muslims) living in the plains.[1] 44 • 648

The economic contact is the most important of the many contacts between Jatinga and other tribal villages. Social contact, as appeared in intermarriages, is a rather marginal matter for the total population. Cultural contact is negligible: I only observed one indication—some fashionable tribal girls sometimes wear Khasi women's dress when they go to the Haflong bazaar. In their contact with tribes, the Jatinga Khasi speak Hindi, which is the common language at Haflong bazaar for all tribes and peoples in this area. A few men of Jatinga speak some tribal language, but none of the tribal speak the Khasi language. 648 182 [191]

In spite of such great differences in culture, economy and social organization, the relationship between the Jatinga people and the tribes has remained very friendly. For instance, as I mentioned before (p. 175, note 3), the tribes lent their land to Jatinga people who were suffering from a great economic depression. Their actual behaviour also reflects such a friendly relationship. It is said that at the time of the Golden Jubilee of Jatinga in November 1955, many Zemi-Naga, Kuki, and Cacharee came and performed their dances for the celebration.

1. The important role of the Khasi as intermediary is not only in the economic field, but also in the political and cultural fields: nowadays many Khasi officers are sent to tribal areas by the Government. They are very efficient in dealing with such work, because they are used to deal with both tribal and plain peoples.

[P. 178 is blank]

General area.—

1. Mankachar	Paddy and maize	...	Dao, hoe and plough	Seeds, dung and chemical.
2. Jaua	Paddy, maize and [illegible]		Dao, hoe and plough	No.
3. Gurkeb	Paddy, maize, etc.	...	Dao, hoe and plough	No.
4. Mankachar	Paddy, maize and potato	...	Dao, hoe and plough	No.
5. Aula	Paddy, maize and millet	...	Dao, hoe and plough	No.
6. Lengrong	Paddy, maize and millet	...	Dao, hoe and plough	Dung, etc.
7. Mankhi	Paddy, potato and maize	...	Dao, hoe and plough	Seeds.
8. Lapsoli	Paddy and [illegible]	...	Dao, hoe and plough	No.
9. Dwarra	Paddy, potato and maize	...	Dao and hoe	No.
10. Jyngpor	Tapioca, [illegible], millet and [illegible]		Dao and hoe	No.

This table reveals that in one region there is bias for cash crops and in the other for food crops—more or less depending upon the soil and topography of the regions. Extreme hardship occurs when there is deficiency in food production or a glut in the market of cash crops. The cash crop producers are, of course, trying to adapt their crops to the changing market conditions. With the loss of market for oranges, the people in the border areas are trying to increase their tendour production and start cultivating paddy, potatoes, etc. Throughout the district, people are trying to increase wet paddy cultivation. Wherever water is available, they spare no pain to convert it into a wet paddy field. Similarly, increasing interest is evident among the people in the cultivation of valuable crops like black-pepper, cashewnut, etc., which have a good prospect in the border areas. It is felt that there is considerable scope for intensification of cultivation of chillies, turmeric, coffee, etc. But any new endeavour demands heavy initial investment which also is not within the reach of cultivators. Government should continue to advance adequate agricultural loans to the needy cultivators in a better planned manner.

Only 19 out of 28 villages reported use of bullock driven ploughs for wet paddy cultivation. But even in these villages animal power is not universally used. Of course, in the rocky fields people have no alternative to the use of hoes and spades but in some areas particularly in the wet paddy field, bullock driven ploughs may profitably be utilised. It is sad that the farmers do not realise the advantage of ploughing for want of funds for purchase of bullocks, etc., is reported to be the cause of continuance of the old practice. Both broadcasting and transplanting methods are in vogue in paddy cultivation the latter being a recent introduction is gaining popularity. Some farmers in the project area villages have tried line sowing but according to them it is very laborious and measures to

24/ 9/ 93 **9.6—Relative importance of crops**—Total gross farm area harvested amounted to [illegible] acres in Border area, [illegible] acres in Project area and [illegible] acres in General area.

From chart table it will be seen that in Border area, maize accounted for the highest proportion of harvested area, i.e., [illegible] per cent, followed in order of importance by hand-run paddy, hand leaf and millet which respectively accounted for [illegible] per cent, [illegible] per cent, [illegible] per cent and [illegible] per cent of the total harvested area. Other crops which accounted for [illegible] acres (1 per cent) include onion, tapioca, banana, turmeric, tea, blackpepper and other field crops.

Considering sale proceeds, it is clear that betelnut happens to be the main option accounting for [illegible] per cent of the total sale proceeds followed by orange, paddy and hand leaf which respectively account for [illegible] per cent, [illegible] per cent and [illegible] per cent of the total sale proceeds. These orange and hand leaf which in pre-partition days were the main cash-crops in the Border area have been passed on second and forth position respectively—the proportions backed by them, particularly in hand leaf, being negligible. On other hand as there is a good market for hand run, Border people have taken to hand run cultivation in a more extensive scale.

24/ 24/ 9/ 93 It is significant that while in Border area total farm area is [illegible] acres, total area harvested came to only [illegible] acres including area under mixed cropping which is in wide practice in Border area particularly for orange, betelnut, and for some other minor crops. The proportion of unharvested farm area was orange cut to be considerable which can be accounted for the following reasons:—

(1) The farm area includes some new gardens particularly of betelnuts which usually take quite a few years to bear fruits.

(2) Apparently a large number of orange and hand-leaf gardens were not harvested as all as there was no market for them.

24/ 4/ 93 Turning our attention to Project area and General area, it will be found that paddy eclipses all other crops in as much as in the two areas it respectively covers [illegible] per cent and [illegible] per cent of the total harvested area in the respective area. In Project area paddy is followed by Hand leaf, orange, potato and betelnut in order of importance while in General area it is followed by potato, millet, orange, hand leaf and betelnut. In both the areas as will be seen from table above, almost all the crops retain their relative position in value. Considering sale proceed, in Project area, paddy occupies the highest position accounting for [illegible] per cent of the total sale proceeds followed by hand leaf, orange, betelnut and potato accounting respectively for [illegible] per cent, [illegible] per cent, [illegible] per cent and [illegible] per cent of the total sale proceeds. In General area, in order of importance of sale proceed paddy, potato and betelnut are worth mentioning having respectively [illegible] per cent, [illegible] per cent and [illegible] per cent of the total sale proceeds.

this way the dance continues.

After it has become dark a hen is sacrificed in front of the house of the S'iem sūd: to the ka S'iem synshar (the queen who rules the world) and to the Biskujom, the god who instructs in the playing of flutes and other instruments. Then various drums are beaten.

Then everyone goes inside the ïing sūd. The S'iem sūd hands the Sob Blei, the first sacrificial priest, who is from the family (jaid) Rumong, a hollowed-out gourd bottle (u skaw) with rice liquor. The Sob Blei pours out the contents in front of the riabot Blei in honor of the goddess of the markets (ka Blei jeu lei hat) so that the markets will be good, remunerative, and successful; so that the roads will be good and safe and everything will be blessed; so that the kingdom itself will progress and develop. It must be remembered here that the market system is very marked among the Khasi and is the chief source of their income. After this 'suit' the same sacrificial drink is offered to the Ka Blei long S'iem, in order to receive her blessings, so that the kings will be good and may make progress. Music and dancing then lasts until day break.

II. The Sacrificial Feast

The actual ceremony begins on the day of the large market. This day itself is called pom blang (goat heads). The S'iem sūd may not eat rice for three days, only a kind of bread, which is made from rice flour. On the large open place in front of the ïing sūd the men hold their sword dance (thad wait) and guns are shot off until the S'iem sūd, the S'iem and the Rangsah (elders) come out of the ïing sūd. Following the S'iem sūd, in her slave-girl (mraw), who carries the utensils and sacrificial gifts. These are arranged by the S'iem sūd herself and consist of a banana leaf, of which however only the upper part is taken (ka sla hait), five betel nut leaves (tympew), five portions of betel nuts, as much as is usually put in the mouth at one time (swai) /996/, a kind of bread made of rice flour (kpu), for which the rice is first put in water, then taken out, dried, and pounded into flour; then ryni bread, which is also baked with pounded rice or corn, mixed with sugar and rolled into the shape of bullets; some uncooked, shelled rice (u khaw), a gourd bottle with rice liquor (u khieng) and several leaves of the Khasi oak tree. The following utensils are used: a golden or silver water container (u lung), a silver dishlike plate (ka pilang ropi). All these are now given by the S'iem sūd to the Sob Blei and in addition a rooster and a white he-goat are brought to the place

16: McCormack E-4,5 (1956-1958) 1964
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children, but Christian influence has eradicated or driven underground the consumption by women and children. **Industrial arts.** The only industrial arts traditionally practiced in all households were a rudimentary carpentry and a simple utilitarian basketry. Other arts were few, and were practiced as village specialties: the washing and smelting of iron ore and the forging of hoes, daos, knives, swords, and cooking pots (upland Khasis); the spinning of cotton thread (Mynso village, Jaintia); the dyeing of cotton thread and the weaving of cloth (Jaintias, Bhois, Lyngngams, Wars); the spinning and weaving of Eri silk (Khyrwang and Nongrung villages, Bhoi and Jaintia); and the hand manufacture, without wheel, of painted earthenware pots (Larnai village, Jaintia). Ironworking and the production of cotton goods have nearly died out through the competition of machine-made goods. Carpentry has greatly improved. An innovation of major importance is the sewing and tailoring, on sewing machines, of ready-made garments for both sexes. [Cf. Darrah 1800; C., W. 1832.] **Trade.** Khasi villages normally contain a number of household shops operated by women. Every Khasi also lives within walking distance of several village markets that are held on successive days of the eight-day week. The limits of market intercourse for the members of any particular village can be roughly distinguished by their naming the days of their week, which are called after the active markets. The exception is the huge market at Shillong, much of which is active daily, and which serves as a magnet for Khasis from all over the hills. The traditional barter has given way to currency in all markets. The small ones contain at least some local farm produce, plus other essentials like betel nut, and the food and tea stalls which serve as centers of social intercourse. The big markets contain not only regional produce and manufactures but also products from distant parts of the hills, brought for sale by traveling middlemen. There is also substantial trade, from the hills to the valleys, in potatoes, pears, hides, lac, cotton, caoutchouc, the wood of the sal tree, Eri silk thread, limestone, coal, ivory, bay leaf, betel nut, pan leaves, bananas, sugar cane, oranges, til, turmeric, and chillies. From the plains to the hills, there is trade in dried fish, paddy rice, salt, cooking oil, kerosene, matches, tea, sugar, wheat flour, machine-made cloth, shoes, metal pots, crockery, porcelain objects, coral beads, silver, and gold. Markets are important not only as economic institutions but also as centers for recreation (including archery competitions), courtship, reaffirmation of kinship ties with distant relatives, and the dissemination of information of all kinds. [Cf. Stoughton 1926a.] **Division of labor.** Men do the heavy work, such as clearing and burning the swidden fields, caring for cattle and goats and driving them to market, butchering and selling large cuts of beef and pork, carpentry and mining, and driving and laboring on motor vehicles. They also tailor men's

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on from October to December. For millets the seed is sown in April-May and reaped about six months later. Maize is usually sown in April-May and ripens in August - September. For potato, generally three crops are raised in the district ; the first is sown in December-January and harvested in April-May, the second is sown in February-March and is gathered in June-July and the third is sown in July-August and is harvested in November-December.

For oranges and betelnut the orchards are cleared of weeds twice a year. Harvesting of orange takes place from October to January. Betelnut ripens at the beginning of the year and are collected between February and May.

2.6.3 **Agricultural implements.**—The usual agricultural implements are a hoe, a sickle, three or four kinds of dosi, a harrow, a crowbar which is used for the construction of irrigation channels, 'sierras' and winnowing baskets. Bullock drawn plough is used in wet paddy cultivation in parts of Jowai subdivision and in Bhoi area and resembles the one in use in the plains of the State.

2. 6. 4. **General cultural practices.**—The cultivators mostly adhere to their indigenous practices of cultivation. Rotation of crops is not widely used. Cultivation of rice is usually done by broadcasting the seeds though transplanting is also in vogue in some areas. Mixed cropping is widely practised. Cultivation by making terraces in the hill slopes is gaining popularity in the district.

2.7 **Cottage Industries.**—Cottage Industries, it appears, have not found very great favour among the people of the district. A few families here and there manufacture iron implements, earthenware, pottery, baskets, mats and jewellery. In striking contrast with other districts weaving of cotton clothes is rare among the Khasis. The Mikirs in Bhoi area and in areas adjoining North Cachar and Mikir Hills practice it only for their domestic consumption. At present, the Government is trying to popularise weaving in the district and this has been welcomed by the Khasis. Among other cottage industries production of eri cocoon in the northern part of the district adjoining Kamrup district and bee keeping throughout the district are worth mentioning.

2.8 **The People.**—The Khasis and Jaintias are a short sturdy race distinct from the neighbouring hill tribes. By nature they are hardy and laborious and in respect of manual labour, they are free from any inhibition. Side by side with the Khasis live the Mikirs, Garos and Nepalis who form respectively 7.22 percent, 3.38 percent and 3.27 per cent of the total rural population. Besides, there are plains people who are mainly concentrated in the town of Shillong. In the marketing centres of the border area there are a large number of Bengali Hindus who dominate the bulk of the trade in the border areas.

2.9 **Occupation.**—The greater portion of the population of the district subsists on cultivation. More than 75 percent of the rural households are predominantly agricultural. The industrious Khasi agriculturists male and females have a high regard for hard labour

and even the well to do ones do not feel anything to work as labourers in other's farms. It is almost customary among the agriculturists to work in other's farms on wage basis, when agricultural operation in one's own farm are over. This is probably an outcome of the difficult transport situation. Among the non-agriculturists and those who follow agriculture as subsidiary occupation, a large number are porters and labourers engaged in jobs like transporting of goods from place to place, collection of limestone, sand, fuel, Collieries and forests of the district also offer employment to a good number of people. Since the taking up of road programme under the plan, a large number of people are getting employment in construction of roads, etc. It is heartening to note that for construction of roads, nay for all kinds of works demanding unskilled labourers, the district locally supplies the whole labour force. People in the various local points of the district, particularly those living in higher hills are mainly engaged in trade. The Khasis are indefatigable traders and have been able to keep almost the whole of the small trade in the district in their own hands. A small proportion of the people are engaged in cottage industries such as stone cutting, brick making, bee keeping, blacksmithy, cane and bamboo works, etc.

The number of persons returned in the 1951 census under each of the eight main livelihood classes for the rural tract of the district was as follows.

TABLE 1

Number of Persons (Source 1951 Census)

Head	Male	Female	Total	P.C.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
A. Agricultural class:—				
1. Cultivators of land wholly or mainly owned and their dependents.	99,683	92,107	1,82,710	59·03
2. Cultivators of land wholly or mainly unowned and their dependents.	16,014	16,109	32,123	10·53
3. Cultivating labourers and their dependents.	14,053	14,941	28,994	9·50
4. Non-cultivating owners of land, agricultural rent receivers and their dependents.	344	562	906	·30
Sub-total	1,30,014	1,23,719	2,44,733	80·22
B. Non-agricultural class:—				
5. Production other than cultivation.	11,790	10,399	22,189	7·24
6. Commerce	3,237	4,069	7,306	2·39
7. Transport	313	304	617	·20
8. Other services and miscellaneous sources.	17,602	12,324	29,926	9·81
Sub-total	32,942	27,096	60,038	19·68
Total	..	..	3,05,067	100·00

463 A perusal of the table above will show that proportion of families following non-agricultural labour as principal occupation is highest in 464 Border areas. Majority of these families were formerly engaged in [17] agriculture but due to adverse circumstances arising out of partition, one forced to take to other occupations. Test relief works and normal P. W. D. works gave employment to a large section of these people. Other avenues of employment are collection and carriage of limestone, 441 woodcutting, and carrying of merchandise, etc. Traders in stationery articles and groceries who formed the bulk of the traders in the border 433 area are largely the displaced persons and the Bengali people concentrated 563 in Bholaganj and Balat. Others are petty traders dealing in fruits, vegetables, fish, clothes and other foodstuff. Under small-scale manufacture, etc., come the liquor distillers, blacksmiths, carpenters, etc., Commission agents, fishermen, hunters, etc., are shown as others.

5.10 In the following table the families in the three village groups are classified according to their subsidiary occupation.

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361 In the interior of the Hills the largest villages are mere clusters of
463 huts. The great majority of the inhabitants are employed in agriculture, but there are no data upon which a proportion of agriculturists to non-agriculturists could be based.

167 There is no immigration into the District. Both the Khásiás and
178 the Syntengs have been successful in preserving to the present day their primitive isolation, free from the interference of Hinduism. They still maintain their aboriginal forms of belief and re-
[771] ligious worship, and repudiate alike the authority of Bráhmans and
[262] the entire system of caste. To some extent, however, they have given way to Hindu prejudices in the matter of purity of food. The
[563] few Hindus to be found in the Hills are temporary residents, engaged in civil and military employ, who always contemplate returning to their own homes. The traders are for the most part natives of the
• [441] Hills; for the Márwári merchants, who penetrate into every other corner of Assam, have been able to obtain no footing in the face of Khási competition. There is likewise no emigration from the District. The hillmen are a well-to-do and contented race, and either produce themselves or obtain by trade sufficient to satisfy
[166] their scanty wants. A certain number of both Khásiás and Syntengs proceed southwards every year to work on the tea gardens of Cáchár and Sylhet, but such absence from home is only temporary.

243 AGRICULTURE: RICE.—Thirteen different varieties of rice are cultivated in the District, of which the following is a list, giving the Khási name as well as the description of the grain:—(1) *U-kyba-khyuriow* (*u*, the masculine article, meaning 'the,' and *kyba*, noun masculine, meaning 'paddy'), brown rice with long grain; (2) *u-kyba-khyuriow bai-lik*, a white rice with long grain; (3) *u-kyba la-teb*, round-grained rice; (4) *u-kyba kasi*, bearded, husked; (5) *u-kyba-dew-ha-iong*, black husked rice (literally *u* = 'the,' *kyba* = 'paddy,' *dew* = 'earth,' *ha* = 'that,' *iong* = 'black'); (6) *u-kyba-ha-lik*, white rice; (7) *u-kyba-arim*, scented rice (literally *u* = 'the,' *kyba* = 'paddy,' *arim* = 'royal'); (8) *u-kyba la-kruk*, large-grained rice; (9) *u-kyba-ha-tiang*, small-grained rice; (10) *u-kyba sa-bin*, early rice; (11) *u-kyba ra-dem*, late rice; (12) *u-kyba tang-la*, rice grown along with beans; (13) *u-kyba-ha-tik*, small rice.

Rice is cultivated in marshy fields situated near running water as well as in high lands. The first seven of the above thirteen species of rice are sown in marshy lands during the months of April and May,

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434

against Rs. 25,000, or £2,500, twenty years earlier. The supply of 439
piece-goods is derived directly from Dacca.

A curious feature in the trade of the Khásí and Jáintiá Hills is 441
the total absence of Márwári or Jain merchants—an enterprising class, who are found everywhere else in Assam, even to the farthest corners of the Brahmaputra valley. There are a few Bengálí traders from Dacca, who do not take up a permanent residence in the Hills; but the great bulk of the business remains in the hands of the natives, who themselves reap the profits and are said to be keen at a bargain.

The principal markets at the foot of the Hills, on the Sylhet side, 443
are Bholáganj, Chhaták, Lakhát, Jaíntiápur, Jafling, Pharílbázár, Máodong, Ponatit, Sónápur, Molághul, and Lengjut. Many of these are situated within the Sylhet boundary; but they are all frequented by Khásí and Synteng traders, who spend their whole time in passing from one market village to another. The markets or *hats* are held at regular intervals of eight days (for the Khásí week consists of this number), with the object of permitting the same people to visit the different places in rotation.

CAPITAL.—Such little capital as the people possess is either 454
employed in trade or lent out upon interest. In a few cases it is hoarded and allowed to remain idle. In small loan transactions, whether articles are pledged as security or not, the interest usually charged is one *dwná* in the rupee per month, or 75 per cent. per annum. In larger transactions the rate of interest per month varies from 2 to 3 per cent. Nothing is charged in the name of interest where lands are mortgaged as security for a loan, as the land is always made over to the mortgagee in lieu thereof, and he is only bound to restore it on payment of the amount lent. In petty advances for agricultural purposes, part of the produce is given by the cultivator at something less than market rates in repayment of the amount borrowed. Limestone quarrying is the only industry in 316
the District carried on by European agency. 648

REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE.—The revenue realised from the 648
Khásí and Jáintiá Hills has increased considerably in recent years. 651
As the Khásí States are treated as semi-independent, the receipts from that portion of the District are altogether insignificant, with the exception of the dues levied from the lime quarries. The larger part of the revenue in Jáintiá is derived from the house tax. For 1835, when British authority was first established in the Khásí Hills,

4.3 **Marketing.**—The Khasis and Jaintias are market minded people. Rarely they sell their produce at the farm site. They have established markets at all vantage points of the district to which they carry over miles their produce on headload for sale. On market days it is a treat to see a stream of people with headloads coming to the market up and down hills from miles away. 442 443 [482]

Markets are held usually twice in every eight days of which one is a 'Barabazar' day which is held on every eighth day and the other is a 'Chota Bazar' day which is held two days ahead of the Barabazar day. The following table shows the marketing facilities available to the rural people in the sample villages.

Table B-7 below shows the number of markets classified according to distances from the selected villages served by them and charge per maund for transport of produces from the village to these markets. 442 443 465 489

TABLE B-7

Porterage per maund from village to market	Distance from village to market: 0 mile	Less than 5 miles	5—10 miles	Above 10 miles	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Rs.nP. Rs.nP.					
0·25 or less	7	..	..	..	7
0.26 „ 0·50	..	1	..	..	1
0·51 „ 0·75	1	1	..	..	2
0·76 „ 1·00	1	5	1	..	7
1·01 „ 1·50	..	4	7	..	11
1·51 „ 2·00	..	1	2	3	6
2·01 „ 3·00	..	1	..	6	7
3·01 „ 4·00	..	..	..	3	3
Above Rs 4·00	..	..	..	1	1
Total ..	9	13	10	13	45

No. of villages served by—		
1	market	12
2	markets	8
3	„	7
4	„	1

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231 about Rs. 30. The price of lac has risen a good deal of late
435 years. Formerly the price was about Rs. 15 to Rs. 20 a maund. The lac trade in the Jaintia Hills and in the southern portion of the Khyrim State is a valuable one. The profits, how-
426 ever, go largely to middle-men, who in the Jaintia Hills are Syntengs from Jowai, who give out advances to the Bhoi cultivators on the condition that they will be repaid in lac.
443 The Marwari merchants from the plains attend all the plains
439 markets which are frequented by the hill-men, and buy up the lac and export it to Calcutta. The whole of the lac is of the kind known as stick lac.

HUNTING.

224 The weapons used by the Khasis for hunting are bows and
[411] arrows, the latter with barbed iron heads, and spears which are used both for casting and thrusting. Before proceeding on a
[187] hunting expedition the hunters break eggs, in order to ascertain whether they will be successful or not, and to which jungle
[176] they should proceed. Offerings are also made to certain village deities, e.g. *U. Ryngkew*, *u Basa*, and *u Basa ki mrád*. A lucky day having been selected and the deities propitiated, the hunters start with a number of dogs trained to the chase, the latter being held on leashes by a party of men called *ki nong-ai-ksew*. When the dogs have picked up the scent some hunters are placed as "stops" (*ki ktem*), at points of vantage in the jungle, and the drive commences with loud shouts from the hunters, the same being continued until the object of the chase breaks into the open. The man who draws the first blood is called *u nongsiat*, and the second man who scores a hit *u nongban*. These two men get larger shares of the flesh than the others. The *nongsiat* obtains the lower half of the body of the animal, thighs and feet excepted, called *ka tdong*, and the *nongban* one of the forequarters called *ka tabla*. The other hunters obtain a string of flesh each, and each hound gets a string of flesh to itself. These hunting parties pursue deer sometimes for many miles, and are indefatigable in the chase,
224 the latter lasting occasionally more than one day. In the
782 Jaintia Hills, at the end of the chase, the quarry is carried to

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mantris sit. This durbar must not be confused with the electoral durbar which will be referred to later. It is an executive council over which the Siem presides, and also possesses judicial powers (for a description of a judicial durbar, see page 91 of the monograph). The form of summons to appear before this durbar used to be a knotted piece of string or cane, the number of knots denoting the degrees of urgency of the summons, not a piece of pork, as one writer has said. Pork is a luxury which is not usually distributed gratis. The Siem manages the State business through his *mantris*, although it is true that in some States the members of the Siem family have been allowed a considerable share of the State management. This latter arrangement is, however, a departure from the ordinary rule in the Siemships, and is regarded as unconstitutional. In some States there are village headmen, styled Sirdars, who settle cases, collect labour, and assess and receive for the chief the *pynsuk*, which may be literally translated as "gratification." In Nongstoin there is an official styled *lyngskor*, who is the superior of a number of village sirdars, and who acts as the Siem's deputy-governor. In the Khasi Hills there is no land revenue, nor are there any tithes or other imposts levied upon the cultivator's produce. The land, to a great extent, is the property of the different clans and villages, although in some instances there are estates owned by private persons. The chief is entitled to receive the income that arises from what are known as the *raj* or State lands only. All that the Siem usually receives from his people in the way of direct revenue is the State subscription, or *pynsuk*, mentioned above. Even this is supposed to be a voluntary contribution, and it is not demanded in some States. This tax is nominally a collection to meet the expenses of the State ceremonies, but is really a means of increasing the chief's private income. The contribution varies in amount according to the means of the villagers. The Siem's principal source of income, however, in all the Khasi States is the toll (*khrong*), which he takes from those who sell at the markets in his territory. As the Khasis are great traders these tolls are often at the larger markets fairly valuable. The chief raises no excise revenue, the manufacture of both fermented and distilled

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643 liquor being subject to no fiscal restrictions whatsoever. In a
651 few States the Siems are commencing to levy registration fees,
443 but the amounts are insignificant. Judicial fines are divided between the chief and the members of the durbar. In some States the Siems' incomes amount to a few hundreds a year only. Generally speaking, the Khasi chiefs are necessarily a very impecunious set of persons, and many of them are in-
643 debted to, comparatively speaking, large amounts. The Siem
631 is appointed from the Siem family, there being such a family in each of the fifteen Khasi States. The most important States are Khyrim, Myllieu, Cherra, Nongstoin, and Nongkhlaw. There are a few other petty States presided over by Lyngdohs, Sirdars, or Wahadadars. A fact which is of universal application is, that heirship to the Siemship lies through the female side. The customary line of succession is uniform in all cases, except in Khyrim, save that in some instances cousins rank with brothers, or are preferred to
643 grand-nephews, instead of being postponed to them. The
428 difference between the rule of succession and the rule of inheritance to real property should be noted. In the former case the sons of the eldest uterine sister inherit in order of priority of birth, although it is true that this rule has sometimes been disregarded. In cases of succession to realty, however, the inheritance goes to the youngest daughter of the deceased's mother, and after her to her youngest daughter. In successions to the Siemships, in the absence of male heirs from the eldest sister the succession passes, by what has been aptly described as the "knight's move," to the male children of the next eldest sister. In Khyrim the custom of succession is peculiar, there being a High Priestess, and heirship being
643 limited to her male relatives. Generally speaking, it would
614 appear that succession was originally controlled by a small
793 electoral body constituted of the heads (*lyngdohs*) of certain priestly clans, who, it is presumed, exercised their authority to reject candidates, when necessary, mainly on religious grounds. There has, however, been a distinct tendency towards the broadening of the elective basis. In the large State of Khyrim the number of the electoral body has been greatly increased by the inclusion of the representative headmen of certain dominant but non-priestly clans (mantris),

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certain dominant but non-priestly clans (*mantris*). In other States the Council has been widened by the addition to it of village headmen (*sirdars*), or the chief superintendents (*basans*) of the village markets, tolls from which constitute the chief item in the public receipts of these States. A further step towards the recognition of the public will in the nomination of a Siem has been the introduction of popular elections, at which all the adult males vote. Such popular elections were very greatly due to the views held by Colonel Bivar, who was Deputy-Commissioner of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills from 1865 to 1877. These elections have been, in many States, an innovation which is hardly in accord with public sentiment, and in many cases the voters have done no more than confirm the selection of a special electoral body. It is, however, clear that the idea of popular elections is not one with which the people are unfamiliar, e.g. in Langrim State, where all the adult males customarily vote at an election of a Siem. Popular election has also been customary in the Nobosohpoh and Bhowal States, in cases where a special electoral body has been unable to agree upon a nomination, and also in Nongspung, if a Council of five *lyngdohs*, which has in this State authority to declare who is the rightful heir, but not to disqualify him, cannot come to an unanimous decision. The Siems are appointed by an assembly, or *durbar*, which will be described later. The chiefs, having been thus chosen by the *durbar*, which is supposed by the people to be an institution of Divine origin, are styled, *ki Siem u blei*, or Siems of God. In most States the Siem is the religious as well as the secular head, e.g. in the Cherra State, where the Siem is also *lyngdoh*. In Khyrim State the Siem has sacerdotal duties to perform at different religious ceremonies, especially at the time of the annual Nongkrem dance. It is the custom for the Siem to consult the auspices with the soothsayers for the good of the State. The Siem in matters judicial acts as a judge, the whole body of the *durbar* being the jury. In olden days the Siem marched to war at the head of his army. It is not customary to recognize an heir-apparent, and the young men of the Siem family pursue the ordinary avocations of a Khasi, not comporting themselves in the least like scions of royalty. In quite

000 643 651 622 443 643 666 641 643 793 787 693 643

[which elects the Siem --Analysis]

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643 occurring in the Siemship, three *lyngdohs* and two *mantris* assemble and decide who is to be Siem. They then summon the sirdars of villages to meet them in *durbar* and obtain the approval of the latter to their nomination. If the sirdars do not approve, the combined *durbar* then decides who is to become
173 Siem. In Nongspung there is a tradition that two sisters, Ka
643 Jah and Ka Jem, came to the village of Nongspung, which was then ruled by two *lyngdohs*, and that the latter, having ascertained that the two sisters were of royal birth, married them. They then travelled to other villages and obtained the consent of the *lyngdohs* of these villages to the formation of all their villages into a State, of which Nongspung became the capital, and over which U Sngi Shaflong, the son of Ka Jem, was appointed Siem by the five principal *lyngdohs*. After some generations the lyngdoh of Mairang with his villages became subject to the Siem of Nongkhlaw, an event which finds mention in the annals of the Nongkhlaw State as the conquest of the territory of the "Black" Siem of Nongspung. Another lyngdoh was appointed in place of the one whose territory had been thus annexed.

643 In the Mawiong State the ancient custom was that six *bosans*
[443] appointed the Siem, subject to the approval of the people of the
614 Siemship. In the Nokseohpoh State there are two Siem families, the "Black" and the "White," from either of which it has apparently been the custom for the people to select a Siem, as they wished. In Mawsynram the electors of the Siem are the heads of the four principal clans in the State. On a recent occasion, the electors being equally divided regarding the appointment of a Siem, it was necessary to appeal to the people of the State. In Langrin there are, as in Maharam and Nokseohpoh, two main branches of the Siem family, i.e. the
[641] "Black" and the "White" Siems. Here there is no special electoral body; all the adults of the state have the right to vote at the election of a Siem. In Bhawal State Siems are appointed by the heads of eight clans whose decision is apparently final, provided that it is unanimous. In Malai-Sohmat a bare majority of the heads of six clans would be sufficient for the election of a Siem. Presumably both in Bhawal and Malai-Sohmat, if the electors were equally divided, there would be an appeal to the people.

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(*hylla*) the fire-brand (*lyngkot*) in order to keep themselves warm in this month, hence its name *hylla-lyngkot*. 805 132

U Rymphang, the windy month, corresponding with February.

U Lyber, March. In this month the hills are again clothed with verdure, and the grass sprouts up (*lyber*), hence the name of the month, *u Lyber*.

U Iaiong, April. This name may possibly be a corruption of *u bynai-iong*, i.e. the black moon, the changeable weather month.

U Jymmang, May. This is the month when the plant called by the Khasis *u'ieu jymmang*, or snake-plant, blooms, hence the name.

U Jyllieu. The deep water month, the word *jyllieu* meaning deep. This corresponds to June.

U ndiwng. The evil-smelling month, when the vegetation rots owing to excessive moisture. This corresponds with July.

U'ndilar. The month when the weather is supposed to become clear, *synlar*, and when the plant called *ja'nailar* blooms. This is August.

U'ndi-lur. September. The month for weeding the ground.

U Ri-siw. The month when the Autumn tints first appear, literally, when the country, *ri*, becomes red, *siw*. This is October.

U'ndi wieng. The month when cultivators fry the produce of their fields in *wieng* or earthen pots, corresponding with November.

U Nah-prih. The month when the *prih* or baskets for carrying the crops are put away (*bah nah*). Another interpretation given by Bivar is "the month of the fall of the leaf." December.

The Khasi week has the peculiarity that it almost universally consists of eight days. The reason of the eight-day week is because the markets are usually held every eighth day. The names of the days of the week are not those of planets, but of places where the principal markets are held, or used to be held, in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills. The following are the names of the days of the week and of the principal markets in the district :— 805 4/3

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Khasi Hills.	Jaintia Hills.
1. Lyngkah (Sarpani or Khawang)	Kylla. (Sohtongs).
2. Nongkrem	Pynsing.
3. Um-long (Maslong the hat at Laban)	Maslong. (Narliang).
4. Rangbah (Iew-lah at Cherra) (Mawtawar in Mylliem) (Umsaw in Nongkhlaw)	Mawiang. (Jowai).
5. Shillong (Laitlyngkot)	Mawlai. (Shangpung).
6. Pomtih or Pomtiah (Mawkhar, small market)	Pynkan. (Myum).
7. Umsh	Thym-blein.
8. Yo-dah (Mawkhar, large market)	Ka-hat. (Jaintiapur).

In the *Wár* country, markets are usually held every fourth day, e.g. at Nongjri, Mawlong, Tyllop, and Shella. At Theria the market is held every Friday, and at Hat-nagai, or Bholagunj, every Tuesday.

THE LYNGAMS.

Although mention has been made incidentally in various parts of this monograph of Lyngams customs, it has been thought necessary to give the Lyngams a separate chapter, as these people differ so very greatly from the Khasis in their manner of life, and in their customs. *Lyngam* is the Khasi name; the Garo name for the Lyngams is *Mogam*. There are several *Mogam* villages in the north-eastern corner of the Garo Hills district, and there is regular communication kept up between these villages and the Lyngam inhabitants of the Khasi Hills district. The Lyngams must not be confused with the *Bhoi* or *Nindaniya* Garos who inhabit the low hills to the north of the Khasi Hills district, and are called by the Khasis *Dôn*. All Lyngams claim to be Khasis, they dislike being called Garos; but although it is true they speak what may be called a dialect of Khasi, and observe some of the Khasi customs, the Lyngams are more Garo than Khasi. Before proceeding further, it should be stated that the *Assamese* of Boko call the Lyngams *Nicipi* Garos, all hill people being Garos to the *Assamese* of that region, without distinction

l:Gurdon E-4,5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

considering. Some of the leading characteristics of the Lynngams will now be detailed. The Lynngams are by complexion swarthy, with features of Mongolian type. The men are of middle height and the women remarkably short, both ~~sexes being~~ not nearly so robust as the Khasis, a result due probably to climatic influences, for the Lynngams live in fever-haunted jungles. The men have very little hair about the face, although a scanty moustache is sometimes seen, the hairs in the centre being carefully plucked out, the result being two tufts on either side. Beards are never seen. The women are ill-favoured, and wear very little clothing. The men wear the sleeveless coat of the Khasi and Mikir pattern, called *phongmarong*, which is made of cotton dyed red, blue, and white. This custom may have been borrowed from the Khasis. They do not grow their own cotton, but obtain it from the plains. They make their own dyes, *changlong* (red) and *kur sai-iong* (black). A cotton cloth, barely enough for purposes of decency, is tied between the legs, the ends being allowed to hang down in front and behind. Sometimes an apron is worn in front. At the present day the men wear knitted woollen caps, generally black or red, of the Nongstoin pattern (a sort of fisherman's cap), but the elderly men and head-men wear turbans. The females wear a cotton cloth about eighteen inches broad round the loins, sometimes striped red and blue, but more often only dark blue. A blue or red cloth is thrown loosely across the shoulders by unmarried girls, but married women only wear the waist-cloth, like the Garos. A cloth is tied round the head by married women, sometimes, Garo fashion. The women wear quantities of blue beads as necklaces, like their Garo sisters. They obtain the beads from the Garo markets at the foot of the hills. Brass ear-rings are worn by both sexes; the women, like the Garos, load their ears to such an extent with brass rings as to distend the lobes greatly. Silver armlets are worn by the head-men only, or by those who possess the means to give a great feast to the villagers. This is the custom of the Garo *nokmas*, or head-men. Both sexes wear bracelets. The men also wear necklaces of beads. The rich wear necklaces of cornelian and another stone which is thought by the Lynngams to be valuable. A necklace of such stones is called *u'pieng blei* (god's necklace).

[703]

The Market Life of the Khasi
(with ten original photographs by the author)
by P.F. Stegmiller, S.V.D., Munich

[101] The mountains in the northeast corner of India which lie between the valleys of the Brahmaputra and the Barak are inhabited by a [161] tribe, the Khasi, numbering about 200,000 people. Although they rarely cross the borders of their homeland and live almost cut off from their [484] neighbors, they have an active traffic amongst themselves and travel a lot. This traveling is determined by the very distinct market life of the Khasi. It is truly the pulse beat of the people. The rest of their homelife, their activities, and their private, public, and religious life. (1) Time is divided accord-

1. P.F. Stegmiller, "Aus dem religiösen Leben der Khasi" [The Religion Life of the Khasi], Anthropos, 1921-1922, pp. 485 ff.

ing to the market; the market replaces the daily newspaper and the information service; the market unites the individual villages; the market offers a living to many and for many has become a source of wealth.

How much the Khasi depend on a thriving 469 782 market may be seen in their prayers which are spoken every year at the great state sacrifices in honor of the god Shillong by the sacrificer (lyngdoh) presenting the service: "O god, Shillong! Thou who receivest this prayer, this sacrifice of goats, of fowl, of kou and rymsi (a kind of bread of rice flour or cornmeal with pounded sugar), of utensils used in the preparation, as thou has given them to the royal

rare, so that once in every year a sacrifice
can be celebrated in thy name, so that we will
live happily and be healthy and increase in
numbers, so that kings will arise, the markets
will enjoy progress and success, and the
children of the kingdom will spread out and
increase in thy name and to thy honor."

After this prayer the chief sacrificer (lyngkoh rangbah) pours rice liquor (ka kiad ua) out of a gourd bottle (u klong) into the ground in honor of the goddess of the markets (ka kiei jew lei hat) and prays thus: "Hear us, o goddess, so that the markets will be good and safe and everything be blessed, so that the kingdom will progress and develop, so (is it not so)?" (2)

2. P.F. Stegmiller, "Opfer und Opferbräuche der Khasi" [Sacrifice and Sacrificial Customs of the Khasi], Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien [Proceedings of the Vienna Anthropological Society], Vol. LIV (1924).

[Thus] Among the Khasi, the women [in the market
personnel] are so in the majority among the
selling personnel that it is tempting to con-
sider them the founders of the markets.
Since provisions form the chief articles of
the market, and these are grown by the women,
[illegible]
the market. The masculine element certainly
participates actively in the market, but only
dealing in such articles as belong to him
especially, such as dishes of iron which he has
made or goats and sheep which he has raised.
Although the men as an average only go to

443 market for pleasure. I cannot agree with the
442 view, (3) that they would consider market busi-

3. F.C. Decker, S.D.S., Salvatorianische Mitteilungen (Salvatorian Communications), 1961, Nr. 4, p. 60.

ness beneath their dignity. If they had a wife or a grown girl (daughter) at home, to whom they could turn over this business. Not because the men would consider the business of the market beneath their dignity, but because the market is once and for all the preferred business of the women, men stay away from the market. If men are rarely seen offering provisions for sale, they are more frequently seen bringing the provisions to the women at the market. The men only sell personally birds they have caught themselves. Thus if the buying and selling of things is the business of the Khasi women, this position is not a subordinate and scanty one but a well established and dominant one.

2. The Market Scene

443 Food provisions are the chief items at the
442 Khasi markets. Sold are: rice (shaw), dried fish (kon sha), potatoes (pnan), sugar cane (u kyn shiang; botanical name: Flemingia vestita Benth); Job's tears (u sah rieu; botanical name coix lacryma Jobi); Italian millet (u 'rai sno, botanical name: setaria italica); blood millet (u 'rai shan, botanical name: paspalum longiflorum); sesame millet (u 'rai trah, botanical name: eleusine Coracana); Khasi beans, two types (u symbai ja, botanical name: pseudus

calcaratum) and (u rymbai ktung, botanical name: glycine soja); corn (u 'rieuhadom); pineapple (u soh trun); lemons (u soh myndong); oranges (u soh niantre); mangoes (u soh pieng); melons (u pathau); breadfruit (u soh epu, botanical name: artocarpus incisa); Assai cherries (u soh jong, botanical name: prunus ferrunginea); bananas (ka kait), pepper (u soh krit); chilis (u soh myngkeu); papayas (u soh symphor, botanical name: carica papaya); a kind of wild potato (u soh pyrsiu); cinnamon (ka sisia, botanical name: cinamum cassia); nutmeg (u jai phoi); ginger (u 'sieng); honey in honeycombs (ka ngmo).

Goats, sheep, and cattle are sold, sometimes alive, sometimes slaughtered in small quantities. There are many chickens on the market, especially for sacrificial purposes.

In addition things are brought for sale that are necessary for the construction of houses or the cultivation of fields, such as grass for roofing huts; cut beams, bamboo poles, bamboo plaited into lattice work, dried cow manure, spades for the fields (mukhia); Khasi knives (ka wait); [Fig.: 6/7 P.A. Schmidt-Festschrift. Photo: P. Fr. Stegmiller. Market Trough. They go in groups for fear of murderers (khlang owners)] [Fig.: 5/7 P.A. Schmidt-Festschrift. Photo: P. Fr. Stegmiller. A woman, carrying beans, on the way to the market at Cherrapunji] [Fig.: 6/7 P.A. Schmidt-Festschrift. Photo: P. Fr. Stegmiller. Going towards Lebao to the market with potatoes. The "umbrella" is placed between the back and the burden] [Fig.: 5/7 P.A. Schmidt-Festschrift. Photo: P. Fr. Stegmiller. On the way to Lebao to the market with sugar cane] [Fig.: 5/7 P.A. Schmidt-Festschrift. Photo: P. Fr. Stegmiller. Khasi traveling to the market in Jaintia]

[These photos appear on pp. 7-9 -- Ed.]

[Ill.: f]. [P.W. Schmidt-Festschrift. Photo: P. Fr. Stegmiller. Market Place in Shillong.] [Ill.: g] [P.W. Schmidt-Festschrift. Photo: P. Fr. Stegmiller. Market Place in Shillong: Selling meat.] [Ill.: h] [P.W. Schmidt-Festschrift. Photo: P. Fr. Stegmiller. Market Place in Shillong: round chicken coops.] [Ill.: i] [P.W. Schmidt-Festschrift. Photo: P. Fr. Stegmiller. Market Place in Dawkhi.] [Ill.: j] [P.W. Schmidt-Festschrift. Photo: P. Fr. Stegmiller. Market Place in Laitkynsew" Material for roofing.] [105] plaited baskets in all sizes , waterproof plaited containers, carrying baskets (tapa), bands for the forehead (a star), drinking cups of bamboo, gourd bottles, wooden mortars, water pipes made of cocoanuts, pipe bowls made out of clay and dried in the sun, plates and saucers of brass, cooking pots of iron, and earthern dishes; everything is the work of the Khasi.

Recently European wares, such as loin cloths, coverings, caps, combs, mirrors, mouth harmonicas, matches, and cigarettes are also seen in larger amounts.

At the markets of the Khasi not only foodstuffs and other things necessary for life may be obtained, but workers are also hired there. Whoever wishes to hire himself out goes to the market and stands around, hoping to find some kind of work for the coming (market) week. Day laborers can only be hired at the market. Therefore it is hard during the week to get any kind of a worker. It is also necessary when hiring a t the market to hire the worker for the whole "market week," i.e., until the next market day, as the coolies otherwise would have a hard time finding work and would not accept the work at all for only one or two days. The porters needed for traveling

[The photo's [illegible] are [illegible] --Analyst]

;:Stegmiller-11 M-4,5(no date)1926 ART Khael ART

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5:Stegmiller-12 M-4,5(no date)1926 ART/Khas1ART

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[no. 9]

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5:Stegmiller-14 M-4,5(no date)1926 AR7KhasiAR7

• 443

Фото 17

5:Stegmiller-15 M-4,5(no date)1928 AR7KhasiAR7

● 443

[704 J]

must also be sought out and hired at the markets. 443

3. The Customs of the Market

a) The Preparation for Market. The sellers of both sexes normally carry their wares to the market themselves. They form smaller or larger groups and travel together. The wares are carried on their backs. The burden is packed according to its bulk or content. Larger objects such as bamboo poles, beams, sugar cane, grass, and mats are carried without any covering by means of a forehead band plaited of reed grass (u star). Smaller items, such as salt or potatoes, are packed in sacks; others such as betel nuts, pepper leaves, fruit, vegetables, etc. are carried in baskets made of bamboo. The baskets are either pointed baskets which are round at the top or square baskets, which narrow to a point at the bottom but still are four feet long in size. The latter baskets are usually made with a cover, which like the basket itself, is plaited and almost waterproof, so that flour or salt can be transported in them even during the rainy season. A round or oval object shaped like a shield, which in case of need is used as an umbrella (ka trap) and which is plaited out of bamboo, is inserted between the back and the burden (jingkit). On the one hand this object has the purpose of ameliorating the pressure of the burden and on the other hand it is pulled out in rainy weather to serve as an umbrella when it is held up against the rain by hand. [484] 443 482 438 285 443 [201]

With regard to the weight which the Khasi carry to market, the men carry about 100 and more pounds while the women seldom 482

472 laden themselves with more than 60 to 65 pounds.

474 Many Khasi have to start during the afternoon because of the great distance to the market. They spend the night with acquaintances. In the dark [706] they march by torch light. The torches consist of several igra, i.e., very thin bamboo tube, saturated with petroleum and lighted. Or a large bamboo tube is filled with cloth that has been saturated in petroleum. The burning torches are swung in circles while the Khasi march so that only a glow is provided, but this prevents the torches from going out. The glow is quite sufficient for giving enough light for the road (foot path).

[276] Betel nuts are chewed (4) all the way and

4. The length of the road is also measured in "betel nuts."

water pipes are smoked during the rests.

943 b) The Market Place. It is not possible
361 to talk about a definite place where the Khasi usually hold the market. This varies considerably according to the region. First of all the place chosen for the market lies outside the village. By preference they hold their markets on high ground or some such safe place. A place that has once been chosen remains the market place for that particular village. The market place is often found very close to the memorial stones, just as if the spirits of the ancestors honored there should offer aid and protection to the visitors to the market. On the southern slopes of the Khasi Mountains the market is often held on the bank of a river, for the reason that the Khasi come to these markets in boats. The market place in Mawkhar is quite isolated. Also the one in

Laban, but there is a small wood near there. 443
The market place is also often found under 361
trees, at the edge of a forest or near the memorial stones.

c) Market Huts. Usually the market is 443
held in the open air. Grass offers places 347
to sit as well as places for laying out the wares. But in many places there are also market halls or market huts. These are simple halls, open on all sides, made with a framework of bamboo poles and a roof of straw or palm leaves. The market huts or market halls are built with square corners and have gabled roofs. They offer the women sellers protection from the sun or rain only, but no other comforts. Neither tables nor chairs nor other arrangements for displaying wares are there. On the side where the wind blows these market halls are often covered with bamboo mats.

d) Choosing the Place for Selling. 443
The choice of the place for selling is left 462
up to the seller. Yet a certain division can be recognized at every market. This division could be called a division according to sex. In the middle the food stuffs are usually sold which the women take care of. Utensils and cattle which are the business of the men, are sold at the edges. Therefore there is a definite arrangement to the market which is taken for granted by the Khasis: in the middle the women, outside the men (there is a similar order for the dance: in the middle the feminine sex, outside the masculine sex). The individual types of wares have [illegible] definite places, although individual sellers are not assigned definite places.

The women settle down at the place that 443
seems good to them after their arrival at the market. They spread out in front of them the

food provisions which they have brought to sell. They sit close to each other and form long lines which double or treble when the market is heavily attended. There is little room for the visitors to the market, who must work their way through the wares that are spread out and through the women sellers who are sitting so close together. A woman seldom sits off to one side. Since there is no stealing at the market, sitting apart is also unnecessary, although a better view of the wares that are laid out for sale would be obtained.

The large objects, such as bamboo and beans are always set up on the outer side of the market and sold there even when the selling is managed by women (which is an exception).

c) Selecting the Time. 1. Choosing the market day. The Khasi have a week that is eight or four days long. Every eight (5) days

5. P.F. Stegmiller, "Pfeilschiessen und Jagdgebräuche der Khasi" [Arrow Shooting and Hunting Customs of the Khasi], Anthropos, 1925, pp. 613 ff.

there is a large market and every fourth day there is a small market, always at the same place. The large and the small markets are also held daily, but at different places in a certain district. In this district or defined area the market days for the various villages are so determined that they never coincide with each other, and each Khasi can attend this market or that one as he wishes. The sequence of the markets is regulated so precisely that every Khasi knows exactly where a market is being held at the moment. The days are also named from the markets that are to be held. They do not talk about a Sunday or a Wednesday, but of the

ew duh (large market) in Shillong, in Nongkren, 443 ●
n Umlong, in Mawphew, in Pomtiah, in Iamih, 705
etc. Thus each day is precisely established, and at the same time the market for the place concerned.

In the territory of the War the markets are held every fourth day in the following order: In Nongjiri, in Mawbang, in Tyllap and in Shella. Here the week days are either named according to the market days or they say: the day before the market day, the market day, the day after the market day and the day between the markets. Every Khasi in this district knows then without any doubt which day is meant.

2. Determining the time of day. As concerns the time of day during which the markets are held, no generally valid rule can be set up. This varies according to the individual places. In general from noon until late in the afternoon is the time for the chief market. The market places are usually still empty before 10 o'clock in the morning. The end is about 5 o'clock in the afternoon, if not earlier.

The duration of the markets results from what has been already said. In general [706] the duration of a large market is about six hours, while a small market lasts only about four hours.

f) Order at the Market or Market Peace. 443
Although there are no guards or other agents of 707
order on duty at the Khasi markets, the great peace and order at even the largest Khasi markets seem most pleasant to everyone. I have never heard any complaint of foodstuffs or other objects for sale being stolen. The Khasi consider the market as something holy, as something to be respected, as something that belongs to everybody, which nobody can claim for his own. Attacks on a person's life also do not occur.

443 Quarrels and fights are exceptional. It is most
778 natural to the Khasi not to disturb the peace of the markets, since the markets stand under the protection of the goddess. (Cf. The prayer in the introduction to this article.)[1] Also the memorial stones, in the shadow of which the markets are so often held, may exert some influence on the visitors to the markets, since the Khasi imagine themselves to be protected by the spirits of their ancestors and believe that any kind of disorder at the market would be avenged by these spirits.

443 Nearly all the men at the market are armed.
884 The reason for this lies in the fact that the
411 people are thus protected on the way to the market and are safe from the attacks of the "killers" (nongshonnoh), i.e., those who got out to murder people in order to dedicate their victims to the devil snake. Therefore the visitors to the market never go alone but always in groups. The men are armed with the ka wait (a chopping knife), with which they know how to defend themselves very well.

4. The Law of the Market

443 a) The Market Toll. All sellers who at-
651 tend the market must pay a contribution on entering the market place. Only those inhabitants of the village or district in which the market is held are excepted. This market tax is paid partly in money and partly in products. In many villages it is paid only in cash. The amount of the tax laid is 2 or 3 paisas, often even one anna (5--8--10 pfennigs, German peace evaluation). Only betel nuts and pepper leaves are preferred to money. In many villages everything is paid in produce, insofar as foodstuffs are concerned. The market tax collector reaches

[1] [See category 116, pp 1-2--Analyst]

right into the carrying baskets of the arriving sellers with little ceremony and takes as much as he can with one or two hands. 498 487

Toll is levied at the approaches to the market. Here and there is a toll hut where the people passing must pay their contribution. These receipts belong to the king in whose kingdom the market is located. These market tolls often form very good sources of income for the royal families, as the markets are held regularly and are well attended. In return for the market tolls the king must maintain the market halls (if there are any).

[709] b) Market Coercion. There is no actual market coercion. But nothing can be bought outside of the market, since the Khasi do not have any stores. Only in the larger villages are there one or two shops, which, however, do not count. These shops must all pay the "market toll" for all the articles which they sell at home with the exception of the sale of kiad, "rice liquor," which is never sold at the market.

c) Prices and Measures. The prices are based on supply and demand. They are freely determined by the sellers. It is not the custom to bargain and haggle. An exception is the price for the daily rice, which often causes quarrels. The sellers sit by their wares without shouting or praising. The visitors come to the market, look at the wares, touch them, weigh them in their hands, and finally ask about the price. 497

If the prices seems to them to be too high, they put the wares back in their places and go their way without making any remarks.

Coins are used for paying. The Khasi have the following names for the English-Indian money: 436

brother (actually not likely to happen), the levirate has no sociological implication in the social structure, which is specifically related to the residence rule. The levirate seems to have a significant function only when a marriage is violent—when the husband has full rights over his residence and property. This is also another aspect where the Khasi structure shows a marked difference from that of the Ashanti and the Ila, etc. 182 187

VI. Marriage or the Man as Authority of an Ing

Among these successful matrilineal families, there are also clashes of a matrilineal order. These affect especially those men who are in the position of authority in an ing. Such a man, though he has an independent household with his wife and children, often visits his youngest sister's (or niece's) house, ing (his ing sw), and sometimes stays there. Such a man's attachment to his ing is not only social or psychological, but also often economic. The man, as authority of his natal ing, usually has economic control over the management, particularly so, if his ing has considerable property or active trading business. As husband/father in his family he works for his wife and children, but often takes into consideration as well the interests of his ing. I found such cases especially among richer villagers in Mylliu and Jaintiya, where the main economic activities were based on trading. 592 599 602 619 [192]

Among the Khasi, it is quite a traditional rule of the division of labour that women engage in trading activities at markets whether on a large or small scale. Husbands may carry goods from field to market, but male members are kept away from the actual scene of the selling and buying. However, these activities on the part of the women are controlled and accounted for by their uncle or brother, or even son (or, if no male member is available, by the husband), though in many cases they form separate domestic families. The man's control over the trade appears more marked when the scale of business is large. [641] [642]

A man of Jaintiya, who worked in a shop in Shillong, spent his salary in keeping his wife and children, but at the same time he kept the accounts of his sister who was a professional merchant. Thus, the economy of the ing and that of the co-residential group are crossed by the dual role of the man. Hence, among the Khasi, co-residential autonomy is not always an indication of economic autonomy. However, it should be clearly understood that a man's acquired property goes to his co-residential group, not to his ing. [62]

A man of authority is attached to his ing by the stronger ties of religious, social and economic (management) duties as well as by

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Ashton, but Chenjiao influence has endeared to them underground the consumption by women and children. Industrial arts. The only industrial arts normally practiced in all households were a rude hunter; carpentry and a simple utilitarian leather. Other arts were few, and were practiced in village specialties: the washing and washing of iron ore and the forging of bars, fans, knives, swords, and sickles; gold (Qiaoqu), the spinning of cotton thread (Nyaw village, Jiaoxia); the dyeing of cotton thread and the weaving of cloth (Jiaoxia, Shiu, Longqiao, Yuan); the spinning and weaving of the silk (Shiwang and Xiaqiang villages, Shiu and Jiaoxia); and the hand manufacture without wheel, of pointed earthenware pots (Lamai village, Jiaoxia). Lumbering and the production of cotton goods have much declined due to the competition of machine-made goods. Carpentry has greatly improved by the introduction of major importance is the sewing and tailoring, on sewing machines, of ready-made garments for both sexes. [illegible] Trade. Khmu villages normally contain a number of household shops operated by women. Every Khmu also lives within walking distance of several village markets that are held on successive days of the eight-day week. The limits of market attendance for the members of any particular village can be roughly demarcated by their opening the days of those week, which are called after the active markets. The exception is the large market at Hoffang, much of which is active daily, and which serves as a magnet for Khmu from all over the hills. The traditional barter has given way to currency in all markets. The most often contain at least some local farm produce, plus other essentials like betel nut, and the food and tea stalls which serve as centers of social intercourse. The big markets contain not only regional produce and manufactures but also products from distant parts of the hills, brought for sale by travelling middlemen. There is also substantial trade from the hills to the valleys, in potatoes, gourd, bulbs, tea, cotton, rice-chaff, the wood of the oil tree, for silk thread, bamboo, coal, iron, tea leaf, betel nut, jute leaves, tamarind, sugar cane, oranges, of tamarind, and chillies. From the plains to the hills, there is trade in dried fish, pickle, rice salt, cooking oil, bananas, matches, tea, sugar, white liver, machine-made cloth, dyes, metal pots, needles, porcelain objects, coral beads, silver, and gold. Markets are important not only as economic institutions but also as centers for recreation (including archery competitions), courting, or alternation of leading lies with distant relatives, and for dissemination of information of all kinds. [illegible] Specialist Hills. Division of labor. Men do the heavy work, such as clearing and burning the swidden fields, caring for cattle and goats and driving them to market, hunting and selling large sum of wood and pots, carpentry and sewing, and driving and tinkering on motor vehicles. Men also raise many

clothing, operate the large Khasi business establishments in Shillong, and provide all civil and religious leadership. Women care for children and for the home, do the marketing, and sell dried fish, betel nut, lime fruits, and raw breads at markets. Other tasks can be performed by either sex. Land tenure. Land was formerly divided into ch land and public domain. Ch land was corporately held in perpetuity and was inalienable except by the unanimous consent of all members of the ch. The public domain was subject to unrestricted right by anyone who kept the land regularly under habitation or cultivation, with a lapse of no more than three years. Most villages grew up on public domain, and then enclosed all land adjacent to under cultivation by a village member as village land. Forests were public, except for sacred groves presented by villages or lineage groups, and everyone was free to gather branches for fuel. Wastelands and streams were also public. Do now most public domain and village land, together with its forest cover, has been pre-empted as private property, and a living wanted and sold as such. Ch land cannot sell, unless the ch agree to sell, lease, or mortgage. (O Gandhi 1956)

[71]

GEN (2010:17). Descent. Descent is matrilineal, and the Khasi is a member exclusively of his own matrilineage from birth to death. Adoption, which is very rare, is only within the matrilineage. Site groups. The maximal matrilineage is the ch, that is a named, widely dispersed, strictly exogamous, lineage group which claims but cannot trace its origin from a single ancestress. Ch used to meet as corporate group from time to time. Some ch are linked with others in large exogamous groups that are remembered and are defined solely by kinship. Such a group is composed of two or more ch, the ancestresses of which are claimed to have been either real sisters or close friends who out of affection declared that thereafter both their descendants would be as consanguinals. The origin and function of ch-linkage is now unknown, and today the members of a ch will often disagree on whether or not their ch is linked with another. ● The maximal matrilineage is the local descent group or ing. This is the largest kin group that normally collect at life crises. It is said that the ing formerly spanned six generations, today it encompasses only four. If an ing grows to more than four generations in a single village it segments. New houses are located at some distance from the old and the ing soon forgets exactly how to trace genealogical connection, except for which segment descended from a youngest sister. The term ing may also be applied to an extended family, an elementary family, and a house. The elementary family is the basic domestic unit in Khasi society. In any village there are likely to be one or two households which stand as ch level representatives of the lineage of the female household head. Such a household is known as an

611
[97]
610

602

[69]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

[illegible]

[illegible]—The [illegible] and [illegible] are [illegible] people. [illegible] and their produce in the farm size. They have [illegible] [illegible] of average points of the dances in which they were [illegible] their produce on [illegible] for sale. The market days is a [illegible] to an [illegible] of people with headloads moving to the market up and down hills from [illegible].

Markets are held usually twice in every eight days of which one is a 'Sunshine' day which is held on every eighth day and the other is a 'Dark Moon' day which is held two days ahead of the Sunshine day. The following table shows the marketing facilities available to the rural people in the sample villages.

Table 9.7 below shows the number of markets classified according to distances from the selected villages served by them and charge per unit for conveyance of produces from the village to these markets.

TABLE 9.7

Charge per unit from village to market	Distance from village to market: 1 mile	1 mile to 2 miles	2-10 miles	Above 10 miles	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Rural: South					
0-10 to 100	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
100 + 0-10	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
100 + 0-10	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
0-10 + 100	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
100 + 100	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
0-10 + 0-10	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
100 + 0-10	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
0-10 + 0-10	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Above 0-10	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

No. of villages served by—

1	market	[illegible]
2	markets	[illegible]
3	"	[illegible]
4	"	[illegible]

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR? Khasi AR?

dissipated from the practice. Adults will chew as many as four or five betel-nuts a day, with the usual accompaniment of pan leaves. The estimated cost of maintaining an average family of the labouring class is about Rs. 8 or 10s. a month. 276 [434]

TOWN: SHILLONG.—There are no towns in the usual acceptance of the word; but the chief places in the Hills, looked upon by the inhabitants as cities, are Shillong, Jowai, Cherrá Pinji, and Shella. According to the Census of 1891, Shillong had only 1,833 inhabitants, Cherrá Pinji 423, and Jowai 4,000. Jowai, however, is a collection of rural hamlets, and the population of Shillong has entirely altered with the date of the Census. The latter place has become the Civil Station in 1864, in substitution for Cherrá Pinji; and which house was started were an independent Province in 1874, it was selected as the permanent seat of the Local Government. The Chief Commissioner resides there, and also the heads of all departments in the Administration. The area of the Station is 3 miles in length by 1½ to 1¾ miles in breadth. A considerable native population is already settled, and is increasing from day to day. One of the largest weekly markets in Khásí is held in the Station; and with a view to facilitate access to the Station, which is the centre for the Province of Assam, a cart road has recently been completed to Gauhati on the Brahmaputra, which will tend to make the place more and more important. An excellent water supply is introduced into Shillong through an aqueduct which has its source in the neighbouring hill streams, and sanitary measures are carefully enforced. Large sums of money have annually been expended on the erection of the public buildings necessary for the offices of the administration. A printing-press has been established, from which issue all the official documents and reports of the Province. The climate is excellent, the temperature being more equable than that of any other hill station in India, and therefore admirably suited to the constitution of Europeans. There is a church at Shillong, and a chaplain on the Bengal establishment officiates both there and at Gauhati. The cantonments were occupied in 1879 by the 42d Regiment of Assam Light Infantry, with their surgeon. The strength was 3 European officers, 18 native commissioned officers, 60 non-commissioned officers, 770 fighting men, and 28 paid camp followers and non-combatants; grand total, 1,111. The total cost, including contingencies, was Rs. 1,78,000, or £17,800. 632 672 648 [34] [34] [34]

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

against Rs. 15,000, or £1,500, twenty years earlier. The supply of 439
piece-goods is derived directly from Dacca.

A curious feature in the trade of the Khásí and Jaintia Hills is 441
the total absence of Marwárí or Jain merchants—an enterprising class, who are found everywhere else in Assam, even to the furthest corners of the Brahmaputra valley. There are a few Bengáli traders from Dacca, who do not take up a permanent residence in the Hills; but the great bulk of the business remains in the hands of the natives, who themselves reap the profits and are said to be keen at a bargain.

The principal markets at the foot of the Hills, on the Sylhet side, 443
are Shillongi, Chhaták, Lakhá, Jaintiápur, Jaflong, Phaidibári, Wázúng, Pawáh, Sindipur, Shillghat, and Lengpui. Many of these are situated within the Sylhet boundary; but they are all frequented by Khásí and Syeng traders, who spend their whole time in passing from one market village to another. The markets or hát are held at regular intervals of eight days (for the Khásí week consists of this number), with the object of permitting the same people to visit the different places in rotation.

Capital.—Such little capital as the people possess is either 454
employed in trade or lent out upon interest. In a few cases it is hoarded and allowed to remain idle. In small loan transactions, whether articles are pledged as security or not, the interest usually charged is one *dand* in the rupee per month, or 25 per cent. per annum. In larger transactions the rate of interest per month varies from 2 to 3 per cent. Nothing is charged in the name of interest where lands are mortgaged as security for a loan, as the land is always made over to the mortgagee in lieu thereof, and he is only bound to restore it on payment of the amount lent. In petty advances for agricultural purposes, part of the produce is given by the cultivator at something less than market rates in repayment of the amount borrowed. Limestone quarrying is the only industry in 316
the District carried on by European agency. 648

Revenue and Expenditure.—The revenue realised from the 648
Khásí and Jaintia Hills has increased considerably in recent years. 651
As the Khásí States are treated as semi-independent, the receipts from that portion of the District are altogether insignificant, with the exception of the dues levied from the lime quarries. The larger part of the revenue in Jaintia is derived from the house tax. For 1835, when British authority was first established in the Khásí Hills,

14- McCormack R-4.5 (1954-1958) 1964
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children, but Christian influence has weakened or
drove underground the consumption by women and 276
children. Industrial arts. The only industrial arts be- 177
domestic practised in all households were a rude
weaver, carpenter, and a simple utilitarian basketry. 335
Other arts were less low, and were practised as village 285
specialties: the washing and smelting of iron ore and
the forging of hoes, dues, knives, swords, and cook- 194
ing pots (upland Khasi); the spinning of cotton
thread (Nokre village, Jaintia); the dyeing of cotton [illegible]
thread and the weaving of cloth (Jaintia, Khasi, [illegible]
Lyngngam, War); the spinning and weaving of Eri [illegible]
silk (Khwiang and Sohpetang villages, Khasi and [illegible]
Jaintia); and the hand manufacture, without wheel, [illegible]
of pointed earthenware pots (Lamet village, Jaintia).
Interweaving and the production of cotton goods have 177
much died out through the competition of machine- 178
made goods. Carpentry has greatly improved, by [illegible]
innovation of major importance in the sewing and [illegible]
tailoring, on sewing machines, of ready-made gar- [illegible]
ments for both sexes. (J. Dyrsch 1906, C. V. 1906.)
Trade. Khasi villages usually contain a number of [illegible]
household shops operated by women. Every Khasi 997
also lives within walking distance of several village [illegible]
markets that are held on successive days of the [illegible]
eight-day week. The hours of market assessment for [illegible]
the members of any particular village can be roughly
distinguished by their naming the days of their week,
which are called after the active markets. The exam-
ples is the huge market at Shillong, much of which
is active daily, and which serves as a magnet for [illegible]
Khasi from all over the hills. The traditional barter [illegible]
has given way to currency in all markets. The small [illegible]
cases contain at least some local farm produce, plus
other essentials the betel nut, and the betel and tu-
nuts which serve as centers of social intercourse. [illegible]
The big markets contain not only regional produce
and manufactures but also products from distant parts [illegible]
of the hills, brought for sale by travelling middlemen.
There is also substantial trade, from the hills to the
valleys, in potatoes, pears, betel, tea, cotton, cast-
chow, the wood of the ai tree, Eri silk thread, lime-
stone, coal, iron, lac, betel, betel nut, gun, bayan,
bamboo, rope-cane swagger, ai bamboo, and dalbo.
From the plains to the hills, there is trade in dried
fish, gudrik rice salt, cooking oil, bananas, matches,
tea, sugar, wheat flour, machine-made cloth, shoes,
metal pots, crockery, porcelain objects, coral beads,
silver, and gold. Markets are important not only as
economic institutions but also as centers for recreation (including archery competitions), courtship, re- [illegible]
affirmation of kinship ties with distant relatives, and [illegible]
the dissemination of information of all kinds. (J. [illegible]
Inspector 1906.) Division of labor. Men do the [illegible]
heavy work, such as clearing and burning the wood- [illegible]
den fields, caring for cattle and goats and driving
them to market, butchering and selling large cuts of [illegible]
beef and pork, carpentry and mining, and driving [illegible]
and laboring on motor vehicles. They also take more [illegible]

927 928 [Tol.: 17. P.M. Schmidt-Festschrift. Photo: P. Fr. Stegmiller. Market Place in Shillong.] [Tol.: 18. P.M. Schmidt-Festschrift. Photo: P. Fr. Stegmiller. Market Place in Shillong: Selling meat.] [Tol.: 19. P.M. Schmidt-Festschrift. Photo: P. Fr. Stegmiller, Market Place in Shillong: round chicken coope.] [Tol.: 17. P.M. Schmidt-Festschrift. Photo: P. Fr. Stegmiller. Market Place in Dawkhi.] [Tol.: 17. P.M. Schmidt-Festschrift. Photo: P. Fr. Stegmiller. Market Place in Laitkynsew' Material for roofing.] [Tol.] plaited baskets in all sizes , waterproof plaited containers, carrying baskets (tapa), bands for the forehead (u star), drinking cups of bamboo, gourd bottles, wooden mortars, water pipes made of cocoanuts, pipe bowls made out of clay and dried in the sun, plates and saucers of brass, cooking pots of iron, and earthern dishes; everything is the work of the Khasi.

Mostly European wares, such as loin cloths, bangles, caps, combs, mirrors, mouth harmonicas, matches, and cigarettes are also sold in larger amounts.

443 444 445 At the markets of the Khasi not only foodstuffs and other things necessary for life may be obtained, but workers are also hired there. Whoever wishes to hire himself out goes to the market and stands around, hoping to find some kind of work for the coming (market) week. Day labourers can only be hired at the market. Therefore it is hard during the week to get any kind of a worker. It is also necessary when hiring a t the market to hire the worker for the whole "market week," i.e., until the next market day, as the coolies otherwise would have a hard time finding work and would not accept the work at all for only one or two days. The porters needed for travelling [illegible]

[illegible]

7.6 The purposes for which the loans were incurred and different sources of loans are summarised in the following table :—

TABLE 7.6

Loans by source and purpose

Source	Co-operative Agriculture bank		Other Co-operative bank		Co-operative Societies		Money lender village Mahajan		Owner of land		Others		Total	
Purpose	No.	Amount (Rs)	No.	Amount (Rs)	No.	Amount (Rs)	No.	Amount (Rs)	No.	Amount (Rs)	No.	Amount (Rs)	No.	Amount (Rs)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)
A. Border Area—														
1. Education	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
2. Marriage and other social functions	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
3. Personal maintenance	—	—	—	—	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
4. Purchase of draught animal	—	—	—	—	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	—	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]

TABLE 9.2—contd.

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)
5. Purchase of land	—	—	—	—	—	0	[illegible]	—	—	0	[illegible]	—	—	0	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
6. Purchase of seed, manure and other, irrigation and other agricultural programmes.	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
7. Construction and purchase of wells, tanks and other durable and non-durable goods.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0	[illegible]	—	—	0	0	0	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
8. Therapeutic measures	—	—	—	—	0	[illegible]	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	—	0	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
9. Repayment of debt	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0	[illegible]	—	—	—	—	0	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
10. Others	—	—	—	—	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	—	[illegible]	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	—	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
				(72)	(34.1)	(1)	(18)	—	—	(13)	(41)	(3)	(5)	(7)	(4)	(34)		(100)

TABLE 5.5—*contd.*

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)
B. Project cons—														
1. Bandhs	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
2. Wastage and other social functions	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
3. Natural calamities	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
4. Erosion of cultivable land	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
5. Shortage of land	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
6. Purchase and manure, other irrigation and other agricultural inputs	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
7. Experience and practice of veg. crops and other flexible sections during growth	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
8. Conflicts and grights	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
9. Sociological data	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
10. Others	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

TABLE 5-5—contd.

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)
C. General area—																	
1. Education.	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
2. Marriage and other social functions.	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	5	[illegible]	--	--	--	--	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
3. Normal maintenance.	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	--	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
4. Purchase of draught animal	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
5. Purchase of land	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
6. Purchase of seed, manure, minor implements and other agricultural purposes.	[illegible]	[illegible]	--	--	--	--	--	[illegible]	[illegible]	--	--	--	--	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
7. Construction and purchase of cattle sheds and other durable and semi-durable goods.	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
8. Harmless exception.	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
9. Repayment of debt	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
10. Others.	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	[illegible]	[illegible]	--	--	--	--	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	--	--	--	[illegible]	[illegible]	--	--	--	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	--	--	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
				(1)	(1)	--	--	--	--	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	--	--	(100)	(100)

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ACCOUNT OF KHASI AND JAINTIA HILLS.

326 in the neighbourhood of the
462 manufacture of iron, in which the master blacksmith often employs hired labourers, the other industries are generally followed by
463 females in their own houses. No class of labourers are hereditarily attached to any manufacture in a manner that affects their personal freedom. The system of advancing money for manufacturing purposes does not obtain in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills. The total
452 value of the manufactures of the District is stated to be between
434 £[illegible] and £[illegible] per annum. No local manufactures are carried on by means of imported capital.

439 Commerce and Trade.—The external commerce of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills is chiefly conducted on the southern boundary, through the District of Sylhet. The total value is more considerable than might be expected, owing to the fact that these Hills practically possess the monopoly of supplying Bengal with lime, potatoes, and oranges. Other important articles of export are raw cotton, stick-lac, betel-nut and nuts leaves, and bay leaves or tejpat. The exportation of iron, which was once large, has now almost ceased. The chief imports consist of rice, dried fish, cotton cloth, salt, and tobacco. On the whole, it would appear that the course of trade is almost equally balanced. Trade statistics of more or less value are in existence. The outlines of such statistics are to be found in the Report of Mr. W. J. Allen, dated 1878. The information there given was based for the most part upon and statements furnished by numerous native traders to Mr. Hudson, who then filled the office of Principal Assistant-Commissioner. It may be accepted as "a fair representation of the state of trade in
439 the Hills" at that time. The imports and exports on the Assam
434 side were each estimated at about Rs. 15,000, or £1,500. The trade with the markets in the Surma valley was much larger. The total of the exports was valued at Rs. 700,000, or £70,000, giving a profit to the traders of Rs. 170,705, or £17,070. The chief items were:—Limestone, 1,500,000 maunds, valued at Rs. 300,000; potatoes, 50,000 maunds, value Rs. 125,000; oranges, 45,000,000 in number, value Rs. 78,750; smelted iron, 45,000 maunds, value Rs. 67,500; cotton, 12,000 maunds, value Rs. 42,000; betel-nuts, value Rs. 33,500; coal, 15,000 maunds, value Rs. 12,500. The total value of the imports was estimated at Rs. 350,000, or £35,000, being just one-half the value of the exports; the estimated profits are given as Rs. 44,325, or £4432. The chief items were:—Rice, 150,000 maunds, value Rs. 225,000; cloth of sorts, Rs. 25,000;

TABLE G-7

Investment in Assets

Items	Border area			Project area			General area		
	No. of farm families purchasing items	Average value of assets acquired		No. of farm families purchasing items	Average value of assets acquired		No. of farm families purchasing items	Average value of assets acquired	
		per capita (Rs.)	per family (Rs.)		per capita (Rs.)	per family (Rs.)		per capita (Rs.)	per family (Rs.)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
1. Land	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
2. Agricultural tools, etc.									
(a) Implements	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
(b) Implements and equipment	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
(c) Other									
3. Building	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
4. Furniture & fixtures	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
5. Farm & implements tools, etc. for livestock enterprises	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
6. Others	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Thus it is seen that proportion of families purchasing livestock is highest in all the three areas, followed by that purchasing agricultural tools, implements. Considering investment by items, building is conspicuous in all the three areas, contributing largely towards a net investment in assets in all the three areas. Others of importance are land and agricultural assets.

3.3. **Consumption expenditure of the family.**— The following tables show the broad pattern of the average family consumption expenditure in the three village-groups. The components of annual expenditure on food, clothing and other items of consumption which determine the standard of living of the rural families are displayed separately.

Size of average family—In Border area 6.7 members,
Project area 6.8 members and
General area 6.9 members.

against [illegible] in 1901, or [illegible] per cent, twenty years earlier. The supply of piece-goods is derived directly from Dacca.

A certain factor in the trade of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills is the total absence of Bihari or Jain merchants—an enterprising class, who are found everywhere else in Assam, even in the farthest corners of the Brahmaputra valley. There are a few Bengali traders from Dacca, who do not take up a permanent residence in the Hills; but the great bulk of the business remains in the hands of the natives, who themselves reap the profits and are said to be quite at a bargain.

The principal markets at the foot of the Hills, on the Sylhet side, are Shillong, Chhatak, Lakhib, Jaintiapur, Jaflong, Phulbari, Sherpur, Fenchuganj, Sikalpur, Sunjibari, and Longai. Many of these are situated within the Sylhet boundary; but they are all frequented by Khasi and Syntengs traders, who spend their whole time in passing from one market village to another. The markets at Jaintiapur are held at regular intervals of eight days (for the Khasi week consists of this number), with the object of permitting the same people to visit the different places in rotation.

Credit.—Such little capital as the people possess is either employed in trade or lent out upon interest. In a few cases it is hoarded and allowed to remain idle. In small loan transactions, whether articles are pledged as security or not, the interest usually charged is one anna in the rupee per month, or 75 per cent. per annum. In larger transactions the rate of interest per month varies from 2 to 3 per cent. Nothing is charged in the name of interest where lands are mortgaged as security for a loan, as the land is always made over to the mortgagee in lieu thereof, and he is only bound to account it as payment of the amount lent. In petty advances for agricultural purposes, part of the produce is given by the cultivator as something less than market rates in repayment of the amount borrowed. Limestone quarrying is the only industry in the District carried on by European agency.

Revenue and Expenditure.—The revenue realized from the Khasi and Jaintia Hills has increased considerably in recent years. As the Khasi States are treated as semi-independent, the receipts from that portion of the District are altogether insignificant, with the exception of the dues levied from the lime quarries. The larger part of the revenue in Jaintia is derived from the house tax. For 1875, when British authority was first established in the Khasi Hills,

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people remained non-Hindu in their own beliefs and social customs. Hindu influences are nevertheless predominant in their culture, especially in their way of living which shows a practical adaptability, somewhat similar to the Japanese acceptance of modern western culture without becoming Christian. In my census of Sheila village, the people calling themselves 'Hindu' amount to 40 per cent of the total, but they are the recent converts to the Ramakrishna School which established a missionary station at Sheila after the Partition. The Christians constitute 20 per cent of the total, most of them having been converted during the last ten years, as in the case of the Ramakrishna School.[1] The rest remain as they were, of Khas belief.[2] These conversions to other Ramakrishna or Christianity seem to have been encouraged by the unstable situation of the people resulting from the recent economic depression in this area.

The Partition of India and Pakistan (in August 1947), which drew the boundary a few miles south of Sheila village, considerably upset village economy by stopping all trade with Bengal, though a limited amount of trade is allowed with local people at the border. Because of this political change, all the produce of Sheila gardens is rotting away for lack of markets, while all of the rice fields were taken by Pakistan. Goods now come to Sheila only from the uplands, carried upon men's shoulders over the most difficult pass, which makes everything very expensive. Many families have sold their gold and other treasures, and some families are facing starvation.[3]

Concerning the conversion to a new religion, an interesting phenomenon is to be observed. The conversion to Christianity or to Ramakrishna is mostly by individual. I found in my census that the wife and husband often belong to different religions. This is a very different picture from the Garo, among whom I always found that the husband and wife belonged to the same religion: the conversion of the husband to Christianity was always followed by that of the wife. I think this reflects the structural differences which influence the actual relationship between the husband and wife. Among these Khas, instead of the husband and wife, the maternal uncle and his nephews and nieces are mostly of the same religion. The function of the ring, the most important social and religious unit, thus appears also in the conversion to a new religion, stronger than that of a domestic unit.

Intermarriage

The close economic and cultural contact of the Sheila people and the Bengalis is not matched by social contact. The essential barrier between the two peoples is the difference of religion which dominates the entire social order in each society. Though these Khas were important traders, rather than the neighbouring Hindu peasants, they were considered by the Hindu as outcasts with whom they never shared social activities. Intermarriages were therefore very rare. In Sheila village, only two exceptional cases were found in my census:

1. A Khas woman married to a Gurka (cattle-keeper), they live at Sheila Bazaar (Sholag).
2. A Khas woman has marital relation with a Bengalee medical doctor who has resided at Dhaing in Sheila for six years. He already has a Bengalee

1. These two entirely different missionary activities are competing with each other, and are somewhat related to the political powers within this area.

2. The state government is doing its best to provide them with additional facilities: for example, providing air transport for the transportation of oranges from Sheila to Gauhati and Calcutta. However, such arrangements cannot cover the great economic loss suffered by the Sheila people.

there are none of their descendants in Jaitinga. Summing up, the first party who settled at Jaitinga was composed of people of the following five clans:

a. Suchiang — Lakhumbang, his sister, Lapsiin, and her daughter, Khorbon, his brother, Pyntah.
b. Suchen — Hunik and his younger brother, Sain.
c. Thawnar — Shohon and her younger sister, Dawhon.
d. Rupsi — Suru, the wife of Pyntah.
e. Dainen — Tuhon, the wife of Sain.

Among them, Suchen had no female member. Thawnar had no successor. Shohon had no issue and Dawhon did not marry. Therefore, Suchiang, Rupsi and Suru are the oldest clans in present Jaitinga. Suchiang and Rupsi especially are the dominant and richest groups among the present population.

This was the time when the railway from Gauhati to Silchar was being constructed. Some Khasi labourers were working at Hadong on the construction of the railway. After the foundation of Jaitinga, these Khasi workers established marriage relations with the Khasi of Jaitinga, and finally, upon completion of the railway, many of them became the inhabitants of Jaitinga. The present members of the Dome and Sangphai clans are the descendants of these people, and they form a considerable number of the present inhabitants of Jaitinga. Besides them, there were a few other Khasi at Hadong who were engaged in trading business. In the course of time, they also had marital relations with Jaitinga people and came to Jaitinga.

After five years had elapsed they found that in spite of their hard work the land was not favourable to them. Many of them left Jaitinga. This was the hardest period of Jaitinga history.

The second migration (1919-1925).

The railway which once had been blocked was reopened in 1919. The people who had left Jaitinga came back to settle there. This time the circumstances seemed to them quite favourable. The pan tree which they had planted earlier were growing and they could gather considerable produce. The village grew bigger around 1920 as a result of new immigrants from Jaintia; most of them were people from Ihawn, the village of the founder. In this period, many immigrants came from Jaintia not only to Jaitinga but also to Sylhet, Barkhola and other places outside the Khasi-Jaintia Hills. It seems that by this time the over-populated Jaintia realised that these areas were favourable for their new home. However, the successive waves of Jaintia immigrants to Jaitinga ceased by 1925, its population having reached saturation point.

Orange production brought economic prosperity to the people of Jaitinga. Wealthy villagers employed temporary labourers from the Jaintia Hills every year. Some of these labourers came with their families and others came individually. During their stay at Jaitinga, some of them married and settled there. Hence, there are also descendants of such labourers among the present inhabitants of Jaitinga.

Some Aspects of Descent Groups.

Throughout the history of Jaitinga, immigrations have always been undertaken by a family (elementary family, siblings) or by an individual, but never by a group of clan members. Therefore, the present population is grouped in small descent groups according to each migration. Though some of them happened to have the same clan name, their history of migration and their

workers and they were few in number.[1] They were particularly employed for cultivation or for clearing of jungle for new jum gardens to increase.

In the orange season (December to February) the number of workers increased and they were paid more. Rs. 1.8 were paid[2] for one load (one person carring 80 pounds of oranges, from an orange garden to the railway station—about two miles). Usually a worker made three to five trips a day. Many workers from Jaintia used to come for this particular season.

Non-permanent workers were engaged for wet rice fields. They were usually Khasi cultivators since those Khasi and other tribes do not know the technique of wet cultivation, plains people like the Khasis immigrants were engaged. These workers were provided with servants' quarters where they lived with their wives and children. However, very few Jaintiya households possessed rice fields.

The economic prosperity of Jaintiya reached its climax during the period from 1939 to 1946. Since 1947, the orange production has been decreasing. In 1951, a serious disease attacked the orange gardens as well as the pan-leaf gardens. Besides, by dispersing Jaintiya, as it had Garos, of their most important markets, Dacca and Sylhet, the Partition of India and Pakistan in 1947 caused a serious economic depression in the whole region. On the other hand, because of the past prosperity, the population has rapidly increased during the last ten years. The serious economic condition of Jaintiya is illustrated in the petition which was submitted by the Jaintiya people when the Governor of Assam visited there even in January 1956. It runs thus:

"Since the last ten years or so, with the increase of population in the village and with the loss of fertility of the soil, the people were faced with economic depression. At present they are facing acute shortage of land they have also no scope to adopt other forms of cultivation like jhooming and wet rice cultivation etc. Moreover, there has been successive attack of Bright's disease which destroyed and wiped out all the orange and pan gardens. And as such, majority of the families have to depend for their livelihood on daily wages.

It is indeed a serious situation for them, because the Khasi do not produce staple foods, such as rice, their economy is completely dependent on the trade of their products by which they purchase their main provisions, clothes, etc. Other peoples round Jaintiya, being jhum cultivators, can at least get rice and cotton, the minimum requirements, staple foods and clothing are available even in the worst conditions, so that they can at least maintain themselves though the standard of living is low. As I stated before, a few households in Jaintiya possessed rice fields, but the majority had none. Recently they rented some plots of jhum field for rice cultivation from Zemi-Naga of neighbouring villages.[3] However, its yield was but a small percentage of their consumption. A few

1. If they had worked in the gardens of Jaintiya, they might have got more profit than from their own jhum fields. For one day's labour, they got Ans. 8. For one month, they could earn Rs. 15 with which they could buy about 4-5 maunds of rice (one maunds paddy cost Rs. 3-4). For one year it became 50 maunds, which was impossible to produce in a jhum field by a single person's labour.

2. These rates, including the figures of note 1, apply to 1956.

3. Jaintiya villagers told me that Zemi-Naga were kind enough to lend them their field for a negligible rent, though they had not enough for themselves. Zemi-Naga said that they owed much to Jaintiya in the past, so that now they sympathised with the condition of Jaintiya, and offered some parts of their jhum field.

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CHAPTER III

The Border Area

3.1 **Definition of Border Area.**—The term 'border area' although very frequently used does not refer to any well demarcated area. It was, therefore, decided after a joint discussion between the Director of Statistics with the Deputy Commissioner of the district and Subdivisional Officer, Jaccob, that area within 20 miles of the Indo-Pak border line would be considered as the 'border area' for the purpose of the present survey. The list of the villages falling in the area was supplied by the Deputy Commissioner and the Subdivisional Officer.

3.2 **Conditions of the Border Area before partition.**—The border area under review was composed of the southern slopes of the Kirtar and Jaccob Hills and a narrow strip of plains adjoining the southern slopes running along the Pakistan border. The area extends roughly over a length of about 120 miles, roughly from Mehrabpur on the east to Sonjhar on the west thus covering an area of 2,800 sq. miles approximately comprising of 484 villages inhabited by population of 24 thousands.

Barring the barren and rocky top plateau the slopes are utilized for the production of valuable cash crops on terraced decks. These slopes provide suitable soil and climate for the production crops like amrood, mangoes, bankhal, mangos, pomegrite and other fruits. On account of rich yields which such plantations give to the cultivators these slopes were more densely inhabited and intensively cultivated than would appear possible from the topography of the area. Even the most inaccessible spots in the slopes has been converted into such orchards, whereinto the produce was carried by headloads over steep gradients for several miles. Due to steep gradients little other use, except some jhuming here and there, could be made of this area.

Because of the very topography, this land had its natural connections with Sylhet district now forming part of East Pakistan. From ancient times, the area had a flourishing trade with Sylhet district. It was a transit trade. The cash crops found eager buyers in the people of Sylhet, from whom in turn the people in the border area obtained supplies of rice, fish, vegetables and other necessities of daily life. This in pre-partition days the area enjoyed a very prosperous and settled economy. The cash buildings in the border area villages which are now falling away, bear eloquent testimony to the past prosperity of the border economy.

With the partition of the country in 1947, trade with the plains of Sylhet, now forming part of East Pakistan, was reversed. As a result the whole economy of this region was completely shattered and the countryside which once hummed with activity and abundance was overshadowed with unemployment, poverty and despair. All the cash crops the majority of the border people but the market in East Pakistan. For want of communication facilities the produce could not be

compared to other parts of Indian Union. The prices of some of the food crops recorded a disproportionate fall immediately before. The price of mango which ruled at Rs. [illegible] or Rs. [illegible] per lot [illegible] fell down to Rs. [illegible] to Rs. [illegible] per lot, that of betel nut which used to sell at Rs. [illegible] to Rs. [illegible] per lot [illegible] came down to Rs. [illegible] to Rs. [illegible] per lot. Tapioca and other fruits also suffered equally. The worst of all was that even at this rock bottom price the produce was not lifted. The following figures quoted from the memorandum submitted to the Prime Minister by the Malabar People's Association which are claimed to have been collected from individual growers are indicative of the extent to which the trade had suffered after partition.

TABLE 6.5

Annual export from United Kingdom & Travancore-Cochin to Ceylon through Indian and other ports before

(In thousand cwts.)

Items	Pre-partition export	Post-partition export				
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
1. Oranges	12,000	2,000	12.0	10.0	1.0	10.0
2. Potato	6,000	80.0	30.0	60.0	300.0	70.0
3. Tapioca	3,000	60.0				
4. Vegetables	1,000	60.0	12.0	32.0	70.0	50.0
5. Arecanuts	1,000	20.0	--	--	--	--
6. Betel	2.5	--	--	--	--	--
7. Dried-fruits	2,500	50.0	3.2	2.0	100.0	80.0
8. Rice-bran, cake, husk, etc.		--	--	--	--	--
9. Spices, turmeric, chillies, pepper	2.0	0.5	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.2
10. Fruits, banana, plums, pine-apples, jack-fruits, pears and papaya.	1,200	30.0	15.0	30.0	30.0	30.0
11. Limestone	24,000	17,000	17,000.00	6,000.0	1,000.0	1,000.0

The difficulty of getting adequate supply of foodgrains and other necessities of daily life posed a serious problem. Due to communication difficulties arrangement for adequate supply of these commodities from other parts of Indian Union could not be made. The supply from

[illegible]

[illegible] East Pakistan to which the people in the border areas were entitled in the exercise of various trade agreements of the Government of India with the authorities in Pakistan, were discovered. The situation was still more aggravated due to the stringent measures adopted by authorities in Pakistan, on the plea of prevention of smuggling, in the results, [illegible] were the entire border trade actually came to a standstill.

[illegible] This class in border economy has resulted in widespread unemployment among the border people. There being no market for the produce, the owners ceased to take proper care of their orchards and plantations. As a result thousands of labourers who were employed in the orchards were thrown out of employment. Similar was the condition of those who were employed in the transportation of various commodities such as merchandise of trade etc. A large section of the people engaged in collection of timbers were also rendered unemployed with the set back received by the trade in timbers with East Pakistan. Due to stoppage of smuggling trade, petty traders engaged in distributive trade, also suffered.

[illegible] Many of the border people possessing paddy lands and orchards in areas that are located in Pakistan had to abandon them. The following table will show the amount of land lying in Pakistan belonging to the farmers in the selected villages of border area :—

TABLE A-3

Name of villages	Area of land lost through partition		
	No. of families who possessed land in Pakistan	Area (acres)	Average per family (acres)
1. Shagin	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
2. Qirfin	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
3. Shalgam	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
4. Balaj	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
5. Mandan	nil	—	—
6. Lyaghlan	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
7. Darwaq	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
8. Sunda	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
9. Anni	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
10. Chalang	nil	—	—

[illegible] A few families who did not have any landed interest on this side of the border were reported to have migrated to Pakistan. Most of the families are even now paying tax to East Pakistan authorities even though they are not getting any returns because they do not want to lose their right on land.

Economic crops—

[illegible]	Paddy and maize	Dam, hoe and plough	[illegible]	
[illegible]	Paddy, maize and [illegible]	Dam, hoe and plough	No	
[illegible]	Paddy, maize, etc.	Dam, hoe and plough	No	
[illegible]	Paddy, maize and [illegible]	Dam, hoe and plough	No	
[illegible]	Paddy, maize and millet	Dam, hoe and plough	No	
[illegible]	Paddy, maize and millet	Dam, hoe and plough	[illegible]	
[illegible]	Paddy, [illegible] and maize	Dam, hoe and plough	[illegible]	
[illegible]	Paddy and maize	Dam, hoe and plough	No	
[illegible]	Paddy, [illegible] and maize	Dam and hoe	No	
[illegible]	[illegible], maize, millet and [illegible]	Dam and hoe	No	

This table reveals that in one region there is Nao for cash crops and in the other for food crops—more or less depending upon the soil and topography of the region. Extreme hardship occurs when there is deficiency in food production or a glut in the market of cash crops. The cash crop producers are, of course, trying to adapt their crops to the changing market conditions. With the loss of market for oranges, the people in the border areas are trying to increase their foodgrain production and start cultivating paddy, pulses, etc. Throughout the district, people are trying to increase wet paddy cultivation. Wherever water is available, they spare no pain to convert it into a wet paddy field. Similarly, increasing interest is evident among the people in the cultivation of valuable crops like black-pepper, cardamom, etc., which have a good prospect in the border areas. It is felt that there is considerable scope for intensification of cultivation of chillies, turmeric, coffee, etc. But any new enterprise demands heavy initial investment which often is not within the reach of cultivators. Government should continue to advance adequate agricultural loans to the needy cultivators in a better planned manner.

Only 10 out of 20 villages reported use of bullock driven ploughs for wet paddy cultivation. But even in these villages animal power is not universally used. Of course, in the rocky fields people have no alternative to the use of hoes and spades but in some areas particularly in the wet paddy field, bullock driven ploughs may profitably be utilised. It is not that the farmers do not realise the advantage of ploughing but want of funds for purchase of bullocks, etc., is reported to be the cause of continuance of the old practice. Both broadcasting and transplanting methods are in vogue in paddy cultivation the latter being a recent introduction is gaining popularity. Some farmers in the project area villages have tried line sowing but according to them it is very laborious and amounts to

like the Zemi-Naga, the Cachares and the Kuki. But after the period of economic prosperity as I shall describe in the next section, the Jaintiya people reached a rather high level of education, while most of the neighbouring tribes remained illiterate. Their standard of living likewise improved. Fashionable girls of Jaintiya who have studied at the Convent school in Shillong, and speak English and Hindi, cannot marry half-naked tribesmen who work in the jungle. They prefer to intermarry with Bhadros, Panjabis or Assamese who belong to more sophisticated communities, and through whom they can enjoy urban life. Thus the orientation of the intermarriage of the people of Jaintiya has changed, along with the growth of Jaintiya.

It should be noted that intermarriages came mostly through the contacts at Shillong, where people used to go once a week for the bazaar, rather than through direct contacts with neighbouring villages.

Economy of Jaintiya and its Relation to Neighbouring Tribes

It is very interesting to find two different kinds of economy in the same ecological background. Jaintiya Khasi practice pan-leaf and orange cultivation and depend mainly on a trading economy, while the other neighbouring tribal peoples practice jhum cultivation, almost a subsistence economy. This situation has remained unchanged for the last fifty years since the establishment of Jaintiya village.

The first Jaintiya immigrants occupied one ridge of the mountain where the present Jaintiya is situated. Formerly, this land belonged to the Zemi-Naga, one of the old inhabitants of the Cachar Hills, who possessed a vast jungle area for jhum cultivation. It seems that there was no objection to the Khasi occupying this small spot. It was apparently too small an area for the jhum cultivation—pan-leaf cultivation of the Khasi requires less than one twentieth of the land of the usual jhum cultivation. The Khasi, who started pan-leaf cultivation were able to accumulate some capital, and after several years they started orange gardens. They had had experience of orange cultivation in their homeland, but this was the first time they had operated commercially.

The success of this orange cultivation was beyond their dreams. Hearing of good oranges at Jaintiya, many Bengalee merchants from Dacca, Sylhet, Silchar and Gauhati began to come to buy them. Moreover, the village had the great advantage of being situated near the railway station. Oranges were sold by carloads. Unimaginable wealth came to the Jaintiya people. Especially the founder's family, including his brother's and sister's, became extraordinarily wealthy; their income used to be Rs. 20,000 a year. The children were sent to the school which was established in the village and some were educated at colleges in Dacca, Sylhet and Shillong. The villagers had beautiful houses built by Manipuri and Bengalee carpenters. Actually the houses of Jaintiya were known as some of the best construction in Assam.

Like the Shella people, they were managers of gardens and employed workers. Wealthy households used to engage several labourers annually, most of them from Jaintia where the Jaintiya people had originated. These workers were provided with shelter in the servant quarters of their employer's house, but they had to provide meals for themselves. They were paid daily according to the work done. They were available to other households, when their employer had no work. Some labourers were also engaged locally among the Zemi-Naga, the Cachares and the Kuki, though not as many as among the Jaintia. These local tribes were fairly well occupied by their jhum cultivation, and not used to being employed as workers. Therefore, most of them were not regular

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

young are comely, of a buxom type, and, like the men, with highly-developed calves, the latter always being considered a beauty. The children are frequently remarkably pretty. Khasis carry very heavy burdens, it being the custom for the coolly of the country to carry a maund, or 82 lbs. weight, or even more occasionally, on his back, the load being fixed by means of a cane band which is worn across the forehead; women carry almost as heavy loads as the men. The coolies, both male and female, commonly do the journey between Cherrapunji and Shillong, or between Shillong and Jowai, in one day, carrying the heavy loads above mentioned. Each of the above journeys is some thirty miles. They carry their great loads of rice and salt from Therria to Cherrapunji, an ascent of about 4,000 feet in some three to four miles, in the day. The Khasis are probably the best porters in the north of India, and have frequently been requisitioned for transport purposes on military expeditions.

The people are cheerful in disposition, and are light-hearted by nature, and, unlike the plains people, seem to thoroughly appreciate a joke. It is pleasant to hear on the road down to Theriaghat from Cherrapunji, in the early morning the whole hillside resounding with the scraps of song and peals of laughter of the coolies, as they run nimbly down the short cuts on their way to market. The women are specially cheerful, and pass the time of day and bandy jokes with passers-by with quite an absence of reserve. The Khasis are certainly more industrious than the Assamese, are generally good-tempered, but are occasionally prone to sudden outbursts of anger, accompanied by violence. They are fond of music, and rapidly learn the hymn tunes which are taught them by the Welsh missionaries. Khasis are devoted to their offspring, and the women make excellent nurses for European children, frequently becoming much attached to their little charges. The people, like the Japanese, are fond of nature. A Khasi loves a day out in the woods, where he thoroughly enjoys himself. If he does not go out shooting or fishing, he is content to sit still and contemplate nature. He has a separate name for each of the commoner birds and flowers. He also has names for many butterflies and moths. These are traits which are not found usually in the people of India.

l: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

000 which are not found usually in the people of India. He is
461 not above manual labour, and even the Khasi clerk in the
333 Government offices is quite ready to take his turn at the hoe
335 in his potato garden. The men make excellent stonemasons and carpenters, and are ready to learn fancy carpentry and
276 mechanical work. They are inveterate chewers of *supari* and
504 the pan leaf (when they can get the latter), both men, women, and children; distances in the interior being often measured by the number of betel-nuts that are usually chewed on a
273 journey. They are not addicted usually to the use of opium or other intoxicating drugs. They are, however, hard drinkers, and consume large quantities of spirit distilled from rice or millet. Rice beer is also manufactured; this is used not only as a beverage, but also for ceremonial purposes. Spirit drinking is confined more to the inhabitants of the high plateaux and to the people of the Wár country, the Bhois and Lyngngams
276 being content to partake of rice beer. The Mikirs who inhabit
751 what is known as the "Bhoi" country, lying to the north of the district, consume a good deal of opium, but it must be remembered that they reside in a malarious *terai* country, and that the use of opium, or some other prophylactic, is probably
525 beneficial as a preventive of fever. The Khasis, like other people of Indo-Chinese origin, are much addicted to gambling.
577 The people, and especially those who inhabit the Wár country, are fond of litigation. Col. Bivar remarks, "As regards truthfulness the people do not excel, for they rarely speak the truth unless to suit their own interests." Col. Bivar might have confined this observation to the people who live in the larger centres of population, or who have been much in contact with the denizens of the plains. The inhabitants of the far interior are, as a rule, simple and straightforward people, and are quite as truthful and honest as peasants one meets in other countries. My impression is that the Khasis are not less truthful certainly than other Indian communities. McCosh, writing in 1837, speaks well of the Khasis. The following is his opinion of them:—"They are a powerful, athletic
[47] race of men, rather below the middle size, with a manliness of gai[illegible] demeanour. They are fond of their mountains, and look down with contempt upon the degenerate race of the

[the khasis - Angel]

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

[499] this manner, the males earning on an average 8 annas and the
463 females 6 annas a day. Col. Bivar writes that in 1875 the
465 wages for ordinary male labourers were 4 to 8 annas a day, and for females 2½ to 4 annas, so that the wages rates have almost doubled in the last thirty years. Contractors, however, often manage to obtain daily labour at lower rates than those paid by Government. Stonemasons and skilled labourers are able to
482 get higher rates. It is easier to obtain coolies in the Khasi
241 than in the Jaintia Hills, where a large proportion of the population is employed in cultivation. The Khasis are excellent
461 labourers, and cheerful and willing, but they at once resent bad treatment, and are then intractable and hard to manage. Khasis are averse to working in the plains in the hot-weather months.

APICULTURE.

231 I am indebted to Mr. Rita for the following remarks on apiculture in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills.

There are two kinds of indigenous bees in the Khasi Hills, one domesticated, called *u ngap* (*apis Indica*), and the other *u lywai*, which is never domesticated, and is very pugnacious; its hives are difficult of access, being always located in very high cliffs. A few hives of a third class of bee are now-a-days to be found in and around the station of Shillong, i.e. the Italian.
[177] This bee was imported into the hills by Messrs. Dobbie and Rita, and the species became propagated in the following manner. The bees had been just established in a hive, where they had constructed a brood comb, when the hive was robbed by some Khasis for the sake of the *larvæ* it contained, which they wished to consume as food; but the queen bee escaped and established other colonies, one of which was afterwards captured by Mr. Rita, the others establishing themselves at places in the neighbourhood. The hive used by the Khasis is of a very primitive description. It is usually a hollow piece of wood, about 2½ to 3 ft. in length and 10 or 12 in. in diameter. A small door is placed at each end of the log, one for the bees to go in and out, and the other for the removal of the honey when wanted. The honey-combs are broken and the honey is

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782 rich, or in a kind of coffin (shyngoid). In the first case, a steer (ox) is sacrificed, in the other case a pig (u 'niang shyngoid). The horns of the steer (u masi pyllait) are painted gold or silver. Today one does this only with gold or silver paper. Then the animal is let loose after it has been strewn with rice and sprinkled with water ('iad-um). Anybody who captures it can keep it or kill it. As soon as the animal is let loose, one calls it masi-tamrong. If one wants to set up on the cremation area bamboo poles with white cloth pieces on them as if they were flags, which is only done for the very well-to-do, a rooster (u 'iar kait) is sacrificed.

[461] Since no work may be done on the day of cremation, all the preparations must be completed, such as fetching wood from the forest ('law kyndang), erecting the funeral pyre, arranging for the necessary sacrificial animals and other sacrificial gifts, etc.

4. The Cremation (ka jingthang).

The Khasi burn their dead. At the crematory ceremony one can distinguish various classes or kinds, either according to the wood [431] which is used or according to the catafalque (scaffolding for the body or structure above the dead person) which is erected.

The methods of cremation according to the differences in the wood are:

1. The cremation, for which only uncut wood is used, that is, wood as it is found without any kind of preparation. This type of cremation is made only by the very poor (uba duk eh) who have no more relatives. There is no sacrifice made at this cremation

on from October to December. For millets the seed is sown in April-May and reaped about six months later. Maize is usually sown in April-May and ripens in August - September. For potato, generally three crops are raised in the district ; the first is sown in December-January and harvested in April-May, the second is sown in February-March and is gathered in June-July and the third is sown in July-August and is harvested in November-December.

For oranges and betelnut the orchards are cleared of weeds twice a year. Harvesting of orange takes place from October to January. Betelnut ripens at the beginning of the year and are collected between February and May.

2.6.3 **Agricultural implements.**—The usual agricultural implements are a hoe, a sickle, three or four kinds of dras, a harrow, a crowbar which is used for the construction of irrigation channels, 'sierras' and winnowing baskets. Bullock drawn plough is used in wet paddy cultivation in parts of Jowai subdivision and in Bhoi area and resembles the one in use in the plains of the State.

2. 6. 4. **General cultural practices.**—The cultivators mostly adhere to their indigenous practices of cultivation. Rotation of crops is not widely used. Cultivation of rice is usually done by broadcasting the seeds though transplanting is also in vogue in some areas. Mixed cropping is widely practised. Cultivation by making terraces in the hill slopes is gaining popularity in the district.

2.7 Cottage Industries.—Cottage Industries, it appears, have not found very great favour among the people of the district. A few families here and there manufacture iron implements, earthenware, pottery, baskets, mats and jewellery. In striking contrast with other districts weaving of cotton clothes is rare among the Khasis. The Mikirs in Bhoi area and in areas adjoining North Cachar and Mikir Hills practice it only for their domestic consumption. At present, the Government is trying to popularise weaving in the district and this has been welcomed by the Khasis. Among other cottage industries production of eri cocoon in the northern part of the district adjoining Kamrup district and bee keeping throughout the district are worth mentioning.

2.8 The People.—The Khasis and Jaintias are a short sturdy race distinct from the neighbouring hill tribes. By nature they are hardy and laborious and in respect of manual labour, they are free from any inhibition. Side by side with the Khasis live the Mikirs, Garos and Nepalis who form respectively 7.32 percent, 3.38 percent and 3·27 per cent of the total rural population. Besides, there are plains people who are mainly concentrated in the town of Shillong. In the marketing centres of the border area there are a large number of Bengali Hindus who dominate the bulk of the trade in the border areas.

2.9 Occupation.—The greater portion of the population of the district subsists on cultivation. More than 75 percent of the rural households are predominantly agricultural. The industrious Khasi agriculturists males and females have a high regard for hard labour

and even the well to do ones do not feel anything to work as labourers in other's farms. It is almost customary among the agriculturists to work in other's farms on wage basis, when agricultural operation in one's own farm are over. This is probably an outcome of the difficult transport situation. Among the non-agriculturists and those who follow agriculture as subsidiary occupation, a large number are porters and labourers engaged in jobs like transporting of goods from place to place, collection of limestone, sand, fuel, etc. Collieries and forests of the district also offer employment to a good number of people. Since the taking up of road programme under the plan, a large number of people are getting employment in construction of roads, etc. It is heartening to note that for construction of roads, nay for all kinds of works demanding unskilled labourers, the district locally supplies the whole labour force. People in the various local points of the district, particularly those living in higher hills are mainly engaged in trade. The Khasis are indefatigable traders and have been able to keep almost the whole of the small trade in the district in their own hands. A small proportion of the people are engaged in cottage industries such as stone cutting, brick making, bee keeping, blacksmithy, cane and bamboo works, etc.

The number of persons returned in the 1951 census under each of the eight main livelihood classes for the rural tract of the district was as follows.

TABLE 1

Number of Persons (Source 1951 Census)

Head	Male	Female	Total	P.C.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
A. Agricultural class:—				
1. Cultivators of land wholly or mainly owned and their dependents.	90,603	92,107	1,82,710	59·89
2. Cultivators of land wholly or mainly unowned and their dependents.	16,014	16,109	32,123	10·53
3. Cultivating labourers and their dependents.	14,053	14,941	28,994	9·50
4. Non-cultivating owners of land, agricultural rent receivers and their dependents.	344	562	906	·30
Sub-total	1,21,014	1,23,719	2,44,733	80·22
B. Non-agricultural class:—				
5. Production other than cultivation.	11,794	10,309	22,103	7·24
6. Commerce	3,237	4,069	7,306	2·39
7. Transport	355	264	619	·20
8. Other services and miscellaneous sources.	17,462	12,864	30,326	9.95
Sub-total	32,848	27,506	60,354	19.780
Total		..	3,05,087	100.00

I: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

been denuded completely of timber, charcoal being necessary 327
for smelting, has affected the production almost as much as the presence of cheap iron in the market.

MANUFACTURE OF ERI SILK CLOTHS AND COTTON CLOTHS IN THE JAINTIA HILLS.

The number of weavers in the district at the last Census 288
was 533. This number in the Census Report is ascribed to [162]
the cotton industry, no mention being made of weavers of silk. The spinning of Eri silk thread, and weaving it into cloths is, however, a fairly considerable industry amongst the Khyrwang and Nongtung villages of the Jaintia Hills. The Nongtungs and Khyrwangs rear their own Eri worms, and spin the silk from the cocoons. The late Mr. Stack, in his admirable note on silk in Assam, says, "Throughout the whole range of the southern hills, from the Mikir country, Eri thread is in great request for weaving those striped cloths, in which the mountaineers delight," but this observation should have been confined to the Jaintia Hills portion of this district, the Khasis not weaving themselves either in silk or cotton. The Khasis obtain their silk cloths from the Assam Valley, and from the Nongtung or Khyrwang villages in Jaintia. The latter villages have given the name to the striped cloth, *ka jáin Khyrwang*, which is almost invariably worn by the Syntengs. Mr. Stack has given in detail a description of the silk industry in Assam; and it is not therefore necessary to go over the same ground here. The Khyrwang cloth is red and white, mauve and white, or chocolate and white, the cloth being worn by both men and women. The Khyrwang cloths vary in price from Rs. 5 to [435]
Rs. 25, according to size and texture. These cloths are the [462]
handiwork of women alone, and a woman working every day regularly will take six months to manufacture a cloth valued at Rs. 25; but, as a rule, in the leisurely manner in which they work, it takes a year to complete it.

race, so that once in every year a sacrifice 443
can be celebrated in thy name, so that we will 782
live happily and be healthy and increase in numbers, so that kings will arise, the markets will enjoy progress and success, and the children of the kingdom will spread out and increase in thy name and to thy honor."

After this prayer the chief sacrificer (lyngdoh rangbah) pours rice liquor (ka kiad um) out of a gourd bottle (u klong) onto the ground in honor of the goddess of the markets (ka blei jeu lei hat) and prays thus: "Hear us, o goddess, so that the markets will be good and safe and everything be blessed, so that the kingdom will progress and develop,mo (is it not so)!" (2)

2. P.F. Stegmiller, "Opfer und Opferbräuche der Khasi"/Sacrifice and Sacrificial Customs of the Khasi/, Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien"/Proceedings of the Vienna Anthropological Society/, Vol. LIV (1924).

/704/ Among the Khasi, the women /The Market 443
Personnel/ are so in the majority among the 462●
selling personnel that it is tempting to consider them the founders of the markets. Since provisions form the chief articles of the market, and these are grown by the women, this may be the reason why the woman dominates the market. The masculine element certainly participates actively in the market, but only dealing in such articles as belong to him specially, such as dishes of iron which he has made or goats and sheep which he has raised. Although the men as an average only go to

443 market for pleasure, I cannot agree with the
462 view, (3) hat they would consider market busi-

3 P.C. Becker, S.D.S., Salvatorianische Mitteilungen /Salvatorian Communications/, 1911, No. 4, p. 60.

ness beneath their dignity, if they had a wife or a grown girl (daughter) at home, to whom they could turn over this business. Not because the men would consider the business of the market beneath their dignity, but because the market is once and for all the preferred business of the women, men stay away from the market. If men are rarely seen offering provisions for sale, they are more frequently seen bringing the provisions to the women at the market. The men only sell personally birds they have caught themselves. Thus if the buying and selling of things is the business of the Khasi women, this position is not a subordinate and shameful one but a well established and dominant one.

2. The Market Wares

443 Food provisions are the chief items at the
438 Khasi markets. Sold are: rice (khau), dried fish (doh kha), potatoes (phan), sugar cane (u pai), an edible root which is eaten raw (u son phlang; botanical name: flemingia vestita Benth); Job's tears (u soh rieu; botanical: name coix lachryma Jobi); Italian millet (u 'rai soh, botanical name: setreria italica); blood millet (u 'rai shan, botanical name: paspalum sanguinale); spadix millet (u 'rai truh, botanical name: eleusine Coracana); Khasi beans, two kinds: (u rymbai ja, botanical name: paseolus

Laban, but there is a small wood near there. 443
The market place is also often found under 361
trees, at the edge of a forest or near the
memorial stones.

c) Market Huts. Usually the market is 443
held in the open air. Grass offers places 347
to sit as well as places for laying out the
wares. But in many places there are also
market halls or market huts. These are
simple halls, open on all sides, made with a
framework of bamboo poles and a roof of
straw or palm leaves. The market huts or
market halls are built with square corners
and have gabled roofs. They offer the women
sellers protection from the sun or rain only,
but no other comforts. Neither tables nor
chairs nor other arrangements for displaying
wares are there. On the side where the wind
blows these market halls are often covered
with bamboo mats.

d) Choosing the Place for Selling. 443
The choice of the place for selling is left 462
up to the seller. Yet a certain division can
be recognized at every market. This division
could be called a division according to sex.
In the middle the food stuffs are usually
sold which the women take care of. Utensils
and cattle which are the business of the men,
are sold at the edges. Therefore there is a
definite arrangement to the market which is
taken for granted by the Khasi: in the middle
the women, outside the men (there is a similar
order for the dance: in the middle the feminine
sex, outside the masculine sex). The indivi-
dual types of wares have [707] their definite
places, although individual sellers are not
assigned definite places.

The women settle down at any place that 443
seems good to them after their arrival at the
market. They spread out in front of them the

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

brother (actually not likely to happen), the levirate has no sociological implication in the social structure, which is specifically related to the residence rule. The levirate seems to have a significant function only when a marriage is virilocal—when the husband has full rights over his residence and property. This is also another aspect where the Khasi structure shows a marked difference from that of the Ashanti and the Ila, etc. 182 587

VI. Marriage of the Man of Authority of an *Iing*

Among these successful marital families, there are also shadows of a matrilineal order. These affect especially those men who are in the position of authority in an *iing*. Such a man, though he has an independent household with his wife and children, often visits his youngest sister's (or niece's) house, *iing (ka iing sen)*, and sometimes stays there. Such a man's attachment to his *iing* is not only social or psychological, but also often economic. The man, as authority of his natal *iing*, usually has economic control over the management, particularly so, if his *iing* has considerable property or active trading business. As husband/father in his family he works for his wife and children, but often takes into consideration as well the interests of his *iing*. I found such cases especially among richer villagers in Shella and Jatinga, where the main economic activities were based on trading. 592 593 602 613 [182]

Among the Khasi, it is quite a traditional rule of the division of labour that women engage in trading activities at markets whether on a large or small scale. Husbands may carry goods from field to market, but male members are kept away from the actual scene of the selling and buying. However, these activities on the part of the women are controlled and accounted for by their uncle or brother, or even son (or, if no male member is available, by the husband), though in many cases they form separate domestic families. The man's control over the trade appears more marked when the scale of business is large. [443] [462]

A man of Jatinga, who worked in a shop in Haflong, spent his salary in keeping his wife and children, but at the same time he kept the accounts of his sister who was a professional merchant. Thus, the economy of the *iing* and that of the co-residential group are crossed by the dual role of the man. Hence, among the Khasi, residential autonomy is not always an indication of economic autonomy. However, it should be clearly understood that a man's acquired property goes to his co-residential group, not to his *iing*. [421]

A man of authority is attached to his *iing* by the stronger ties of religious, social and economic (management) duties as well as by

children, but Christian influence has eradicated or driven underground the consumption by women and children. **Industrial arts.** The only industrial arts traditionally practiced in all households were a rudimentary carpentry and a simple utilitarian basketry. Other arts were few, and were practiced as village specialties: the washing and smelting of iron ore and the forging of hoes, daos, knives, swords, and cooking pots (upland Khasis); the spinning of cotton thread (Mynso village, Jaintia); the dyeing of cotton thread and the weaving of cloth (Jaintias, Bhois, Lyngngams, Wars); the spinning and weaving of Eri silk (Khyrwang and Nongtung villages, Bhoi and Jaintia); and the hand manufacture, without wheel, of painted earthenware pots (Larnai village, Jaintia). Ironworking and the production of cotton goods have nearly died out through the competition of machine-made goods. Carpentry has greatly improved. An innovation of major importance is the sewing and tailoring, on sewing machines, of ready-made garments for both sexes. [Cf. Darrah 1896; C., W. 1832.] **Trade.** Khasi villages normally contain a number of household shops operated by women. Every Khasi also lives within walking distance of several village markets that are held on successive days of the eight-day week. The limits of market intercourse for the members of any particular village can be roughly distinguished by their naming the days of their week, which are called after the active markets. The exception is the huge market at Shillong, much of which is active daily, and which serves as a magnet for Khasis from all over the hills. The traditional barter has given way to currency in all markets. The small ones contain at least some local farm produce, plus other essentials like betel nut, and the food and tea stalls which serve as centers of social intercourse. The big markets contain not only regional produce and manufactures but also products from distant parts of the hills, brought for sale by traveling middlemen. There is also substantial trade, from the hills to the valleys, in potatoes, pears, hides, lac, cotton, caoutchouc, the wood of the sal tree, Eri silk thread, limestone, coal, ivory, bay leaf, betel nut, pan leaves, bananas, sugar cane, oranges, til, turmeric, and chilies. From the plains to the hills, there is trade in dried fish, paddy rice, salt, cooking oil, kerosene, matches, tea, sugar, wheat flour, machine-made cloth, shoes, metal pots, crockery, porcelain objects, coral beads, silver, and gold. Markets are important not only as economic institutions but also as centers for recreation (including archery competitions), courtship, reaffirmation of kinship ties with distant relatives, and the dissemination of information of all kinds. [Cf. Stegmiller 1924a.] **Division of labor.** Men do the heavy work, such as clearing and burning the swidden fields, caring for cattle and goats and driving them to market, butchering and selling large cuts of beef and pork, carpentry and mining, and driving and laboring on motor vehicles. They also tailor men's

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clothing, operate the large Khasi business establishments in Shillong, and provide all civic and religious leadership. Women care for children and for the home, do the marketing, and sell dried fish, betel nut, lime, fruits, and rice breads at markets. Other tasks can be performed by either sex. **Land tenure.** Land was formerly divided into sib land and public domain. Sib land was corporately held in perpetuity, and was inalienable except by the unanimous consent of all members of the sib. The public domain was subject to usufructuary right by anyone who kept the land regularly under habitation or cultivation, with a lapse of no more than three years. Most villages grew up on public domain, and then reckoned all land inhabited or under cultivation by a village member as village land. Forests were public, except for sacred groves possessed by villages or lineage groups, and everyone was free to gather branches for fuel. Wastelands and streams were also public. By now, most public domain and village land, together with its forest cover, has been pre-empted as private property and is being rented and sold as such. Sib lands remain intact, unless the sibs agree to rent, lease, or sell. [Cf. Cantlie 1934.]

462 294 343 622 423 [78]

KIN GROUPS. **Descent.** Descent is matrilineal, and the Khasi is a member exclusively of his own matrilineage from birth to death. Adoption, which is very rare, is only within the matrilineage. **Kin groups.** The maximal matrilineage is the sib; this is a named, widely dispersed, strictly exogamous, lineage group, which claims but cannot trace its origin from a single ancestress. Sibs used to meet as corporate groups from time to time. Some sibs are linked with others in large amorphous groups that are unnamed and are defined solely by exogamy. Such a group is composed of two or more sibs, the ancestresses of which are claimed to have been either real sisters or dear friends who out of affection declared that thenceforth their descendants would be as consanguineals. The origin and function of sib-linkage is now unknown, and today the members of a sib will often disagree on whether or not their sib is linked with another. • The minimal matrilineage is the local descent group, or *iing*. This is the largest kin group that normally rallies at life crises. It is said that the *iing* formerly spanned six generations; today, it encompasses only four. If an *iing* grows to more than four generations in a single village, it segments. New houses are located at some distance from the old and the *iing* soon forgets exactly how to trace genealogical connection, except for which segment descended from a youngest sister. The term *iing* may also be applied to an extended family, an elementary family, and a house. The elementary family is the basic domestic unit in Khasi society. In any village there are likely to be one or two households which stand as sole local representatives of the lineage of the female household head. Such a household is known as an

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*162 From the above table it is seen that the proportion of earners in
434 the Border area, Project area and General area are respectively 50 per
cent, 48 per cent and 55 per cent of the corresponding total population.
• 462 Thus each earner has to support himself and roughly one dependent.
Thus the burden of dependency is not very heavy in the district.
This is because of the fact that men, women and adolescents all join
the labour force. Number of women engaged wholly on domestic
works is few. Only in big families having a number of women, one
or two of them are engaged in domestic works, otherwise the Khasi
women attend to the domestic works in addition to their work in
the field.

From table C 5·1 in the appendix it will be seen that respectively 4·7 per cent, 7.8 per cent and 10.2 per cent of the earners in Border area, Project area and General area are below 15 years of age.

5·6—Attempt was made to study the employment position in the selected villages. For this purpose the following definition of employed and unemployed persons was adopted.

125 Persons working for pay or profit on one day during a
464 period of 30 days preceding the date of enquiry would be classified
as employed. Those who did not work on any day during the last
30 days, may be employed or unemployed. The person is unemployed
if—

(i) He who was without a job for the whole reference period.

(ii) Who was seeking one, and

(iii) Who was in a position to accept job if offered one.

A person is also unemployed if he did not work because of his protracted illness, believed that no work was available, or was expecting to return to a job from which he had been indefinitely laid off.

On the other hand a person is employed if he had a job, although temporarily absent from work during the reference period due to illness, vacation, industrial disputes or being laid off temporarily. Also a person would be considered employed if he was waiting to take up a new job which he had been offered or to start a new business.

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

with the exception of the
326 manufacture of iron, in which the master blacksmith often employs
462 hired labourers, the other industries are generally followed by
463 females in their own houses. No class of labourers are hereditarily
452 attached to any manufacture in a manner that affects their personal
434 freedom. The system of advancing money for manufacturing purposes does not obtain in the Khásí and Jáintiá Hills. The total value of the manufactures of the District is stated to be between £2000 and £3000 per annum. No local manufactures are carried on by means of imported capital.

439 COMMERCE AND TRADE.—The external commerce of the Khásí and Jáintiá Hills is chiefly conducted on the southern boundary, through the District of Sylhet. The total value is more considerable than might be expected, owing to the fact that these Hills practically possess the monopoly of supplying Bengal with lime, potatoes, and oranges. Other important articles of export are raw cotton, stick-lac, betel-nut and *pán* leaves, and bay leaves or *tezpát*. The exportation of iron, which was once large, has now almost ceased. The chief imports consist of rice, dried fish, cotton cloth, salt, and tobacco. On the whole, it would appear that the course of trade is about equally balanced. Trade statistics of more or less value are in existence. The earliest of such statistics are to be found in the Report of Mr. W. J. Allen, dated 1858. The information there given was based for the most part upon oral statements furnished by numerous native traders to Mr. Hudson, who then filled the office of Principal Assistant-Commissioner. It may be accepted as 'a fair representation of the state of trade in
439 the Hills' at that time. The imports and exports on the Assam
434 side were each estimated at about Rs. 15,000, or £1500. The trade with the markets in the Surmá valley was much larger. The total of the exports was valued at Rs. 700,000, or £70,000, giving a profit to the traders of Rs. 170,705, or £17,070. The chief items were:—Limestone, 1,700,000 *maunds*, valued at Rs. 306,000; potatoes, 50,000 *maunds*, value Rs. 125,000; oranges, 45,000,000 in number, value Rs. 78,750; smelted iron, 45,000 *maunds*, value Rs. 67,500; cotton, 12,000 *maunds*, value Rs. 42,000; betel-nuts, value Rs. 37,500; coal, 25,000 *maunds*, value Rs. 12,500. The total value of the imports was estimated at Rs. 350,000, or £35,000, being just one-half the value of the exports; the estimated profits are given as Rs. 44,325, or £4432. The chief items were:—Rice, 150,000 *maunds*, value Rs. 225,000; cloth of sorts, Rs. 25,000;

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

142 young are comely, of a buxom type, and, like the men, with highly-developed calves, the latter always being considered a beauty. The children are frequently remarkably pretty. Khasis carry very heavy burdens, it being the custom for the 482 cooly of the country to carry a maund, or 82 lbs. weight, or even more occasionally, on his back, the load being fixed by means of a cane band which is worn across the forehead; women carry almost as heavy loads as the men. The coolies, both male and female, commonly do the journey between Cherrapunji and Shillong, or between Shillong and Jowai, in one day, carrying the heavy loads above mentioned. Each of the above journeys is some thirty miles. They carry their great loads of rice and salt from Therria to Cherrapunji, an ascent of about 4,000 feet in some three to four miles, in the day. The Khasis are probably the best porters in the north of India, and have frequently been requisitioned for transport purposes on military expeditions.

157 The people are cheerful in disposition, and are light-hearted by nature, and, unlike the plains people, seem to 522 thoroughly appreciate a joke. It is pleasant to hear on the road down to Theriaghat from Cherrapunji, in the early morning the whole hillside resounding with the scraps of song and peals of laughter of the coolies, as they run nimbly down the short cuts on their way to market. The women are specially cheerful, and pass the time of day and bandy jokes with passers-[461] by with quite an absence of reserve. The Khasis are certainly more industrious than the Assamese, are generally good-tempered, but are occasionally prone to sudden outbursts of [533] anger, accompanied by violence. They are fond of music, and [797] rapidly learn the hymn tunes which are taught them by the Welsh missionaries. Khasis are devoted to their offspring, 593 and the women make excellent nurses for European children, ●463 frequently becoming much attached to their little charges. The people, like the Japanese, are fond of nature. A Khasi 517 loves a day out in the woods, where he thoroughly enjoys 824 himself. If he does not go out shooting or fishing, he is con-825 tent to sit still and contemplate nature. He has a separate name for each of the commoner birds and flowers. He also has names for many butterflies and moths. These are traits which are not found usually in the people of India.

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

SECTION II.

OCCUPATION.

241 THE greater proportion of the population subsists by cultiva-
463 tion. Cultivation of rice may be divided under two headings,
[162] high land or dry cultivation and low land or wet cultivation. The total number of persons who subsist by agriculture generally in the hills, is given in the last Census Report as 154,907, but the term agriculture includes the cultivation of the potato, the orange, betel-nut and *pán*. A full description of the different forms of agriculture will be given under the
463 heading "Agriculture." A considerable number of Khasis earn
482 their livelihood as porters, carrying potatoes to the markets on
439 the Sylhet side of the district, from whence the crop is conveyed by means of country boats to the different places of call of river-steamers in the Surma Valley, the steamers carrying the potatoes to Calcutta. Potatoes are also largely carried to Shillong by porters, where the tuber is readily bought by Marwari merchants, who load it in carts to be conveyed by road to Gauhati, from which station it is again shipped to
482 Calcutta and Upper Assam. Many persons are also employed in
463 carrying rice up the hill from Theria to Cherrapunji, Shillong,
[465] and on to other places. Salt is also carried by porters by this route. Many Khasis, both male and female, live by daily labour in this way, earning as much as eight annas, and
[162] six annas a day, respectively. The Census Report of 1901 shows some 14,000 "general labourers" in the district, the greater number of whom are porters and coolies, both male
[857] and female, employed on road work and on building. In Shillong the Government Offices and the printing press give employment to a certain number of Khasis. There is also a fair demand for Khasi domestic servants, both among the Europeans and the Bengali and Assamese clerks who are employed at the headquarters of the Administration.

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headquarters of the Administration. The manufacture of country spirit gives employment to a considerable number of persons, most of whom are females. At a recent census of the country stills in the district, undertaken by the district officials, the number of stills has been found to be 1,530. There must be at least one person employed at each still, so that the number of distillers is probably not less than 2,000, possibly more. The spirit is distilled both for home consumption and for purposes of sale, in some villages almost entirely for sale. In the Jaintia Hills stock-breeding and dealing in cattle provides occupation for 1,295 people, according to the last census. The cattle are reared in the Jaintia Hills and are driven down to the plains when they reach the age of maturity, where they find a ready market amongst the Sylhetis. Cattle are also driven into Shillong for sale from the Jaintia Hills. Another place for rearing cattle is the Siemship of Nongkhlaw, where there is good pasturage in the neighbourhood of Mairang. These cattle are either sold in Shillong or find their way to the Kamrup district by the old Nongkhlaw road. Cattle-breeding is an industry which is capable of expansion in these hills. There are a few carpenters to be found in Shillong and its neighbourhood. The Khasis are said by Col. Waddell to be unacquainted with the art of weaving; but the fact that a considerable weaving industry exists amongst the Khyrwang villages of the Syntengs, and at Mynso and Suhtnga, has been overlooked by him. The Khyrwangs weave a special pattern of cotton and silk cloth, striped red and white. In Mynso and Suhtnga similar cloths are woven, also the sleeveless coat. In former days this industry is said to have been considerable, but it has been displaced to a large extent of late years by Manchester piece goods. The number of weavers returned at the last census in the district was 533. The Khasis and Mikirs of the low country, or Bhois as they are called, weave cotton cloths which they dye with the leaves of a plant called *u noli*. This is perhaps the wild indigo, or *ram*, of the Shan settlers in the Assam Valley. The weavers are almost always females. An important means of subsistence is road and building work; a considerable number of coolies, both male and female, are employed under Government, practically throughout the year, in

1:Gurdon E-4,5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

[499] this manner, the males earning on an average 8 annas and the
463 females 6 annas a day. Col. Bivar writes that in 1875 the
465 wages for ordinary male labourers were 4 to 8 annas a day, and for females 2½ to 4 annas, so that the wages rates have almost doubled in the last thirty years. Contractors, however, often manage to obtain daily labour at lower rates than those paid by
482 Government. Stonemasons and skilled labourers are able to
241 get higher rates. It is easier to obtain coolies in the Khasi than in the Jaintia Hills, where a large proportion of the popu-
461 lation is employed in cultivation. The Khasis are excellent labourers, and cheerful and willing, but they at once resent bad treatment, and are then intractable and hard to manage. Khasis are averse to working in the plains in the hot-weather months.

APICULTURE.

231 I am indebted to Mr. Rita for the following remarks on apiculture in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills.

There are two kinds of indigenous bees in the Khasi Hills, one domesticated, called *u ngap* (*apis Indica*), and the other *u lyngai*, which is never domesticated, and is very pugnacious; its hives are difficult of access, being always located in very high cliffs. A few hives of a third class of bee are now-a-days to be found in and around the station of Shillong, i.e. the Italian.
[177] This bee was imported into the hills by Messrs. Dobbie and Rita, and the species became propagated in the following manner. The bees had been just established in a hive, where they had constructed a brood comb, when the hive was robbed by some Khasis for the sake of the *larvæ* it contained, which they wished to consume as food; but the queen bee escaped and established other colonies, one of which was afterwards captured by Mr. Rita, the others establishing themselves at places in the neighbourhood. The hive used by the Khasis is of a very primitive description. It is usually a hollow piece of wood, about 2½ to 3 ft. in length and 10 or 12 in. in diameter. A small door is placed at each end of the log, one for the bees to go in and out, and the other for the removal of the honey when wanted. The honey-combs are broken and the honey is

16: McCormack. E-4,5 (1956-1958) 1964
[P. 107 B] AR7 Khasi AR7

permdable water supply. Villages are about two to five miles apart, and have no boundary markers. In the past, villages contained sacrificial buildings and grounds: the house of the village priest (also the house of a chief if he resided in that village), the village marketplace, and tree groves, cremation grounds, or other awesome spots that were believed to be inhabited by supernatural beings. Villages today may have also one or more Christian churches, government social welfare buildings, and schools. Formerly, villages were entered through a guarded gateway; this is no longer the case, and paths feed into villages from all directions. Often several villages are nucleated into one large unit, named and also described as a "village." These were once defense units, but were so unorganized otherwise that institutionalized rivalry obtained among the component villages. Now, they have been integrated through the agency of all-village public services, especially schools. **Housing.** The traditional Khasi house is entered through a door at the rounded end of a U-shaped ground plan, and is about 20 feet at widest extent, it is about 30 feet deep, and is elliptical or hogback in profile. Its walls are of stone blocks cemented with mud. The roof of grass thatch, supported by a bamboo frame, overhangs the walls on three outside, down to about three feet above the ground. The house is divided into two parts: the front one-third is on the ground level, floored either with stone blocks or tamped earth, and is used for storage of occupational instruments and as a shelter for poultry. The rear two-thirds is raised four feet on piles of stone blocks to a platform of planks, and is partitioned into six rooms, comprising a kitchen, areas for storage of food and water, and sleeping quarters. Furniture is minimal, and the house is totally undecorated. There are no windows, and no smoke vents. A house generally has a companion shed, walled of wood and grass matting and thatched with grass. This serves as a pigsty, but it may be partitioned also to house cows, and it may have a loft for fuel storage. Compounds often contain garden plots, and are fenced around with stone or bamboo and mud. Nowadays, the traditional house has given way to Western-style bungalows of wood and tin, especially in and around Shillong. (Cf. Mukherjee et al. 1961.)

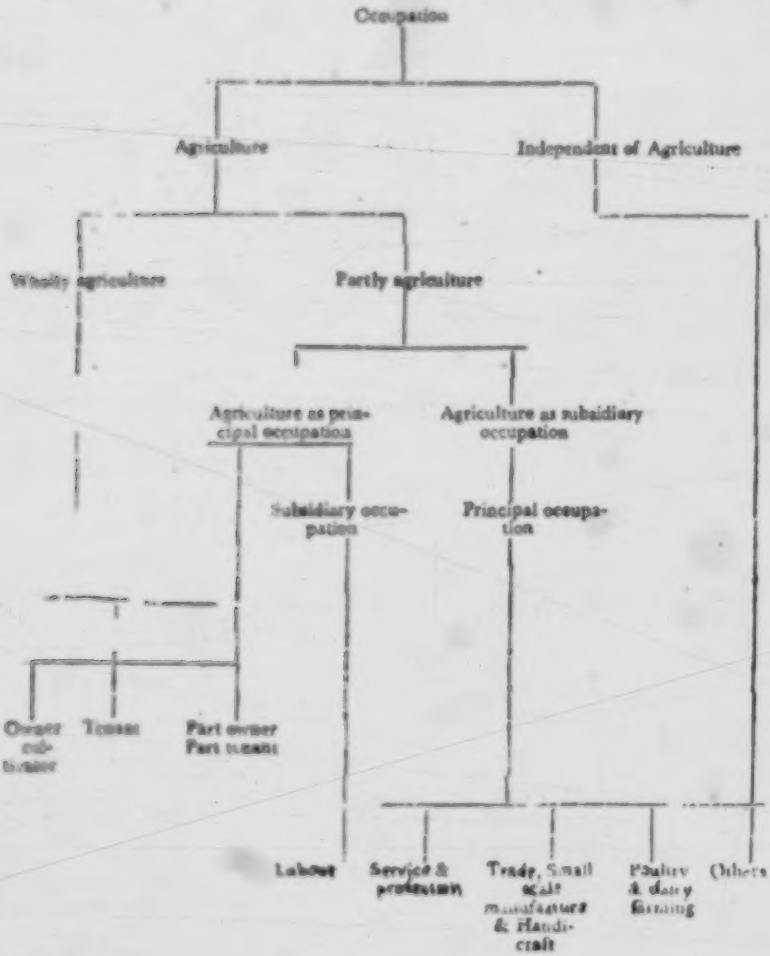
ECONOMY. The Khasi economy is a market economy based on agriculture, and most Khasis are primary producers, sellers, middlemen, and/or providers of services in connection with markets. Khasis are often multioccupational: they produce goods for partial subsistence, and also play some part in trade. Agriculture. On the Shillong plateau, the major field crops are potatoes, maize, millets, and dry rice, still produced mostly through swidden farming, with a two- to three-year period of fallow, but increasingly through continuous use of a single field with the aid of ma-

he employees who comprise over 22 per cent, 13 per cent and 9 per cent respectively. It may be noted that the large number of families who engaged agricultural labourers on daily basis as and when necessary were not classed as 'employers'. 162* 164 [125]

Occupation

3.8: In the following tables attempt has been made to depict the occupational distribution of the population. 163 125

As agriculture is the principal occupation of the majority of the villagers the following schemes of classification of occupation, has been adopted—



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Families have been classified into three main classes, *viz.* :—

(1) Wholly agricultural

(2) Partly agricultural

(*a*) Agriculture as principal occupation

(*b*) Agriculture as subsidiary occupation.

(3) Independent of Agriculture.

5.9: The following table shows the distribution of families by occupational type in the three village groups :—

TABLE C·8

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Occupational distribution of families in different village groups

Occupational type	Border area	P. C. to total no. of families (house hold)	Project area	P. C. to total no. of families	General area	P.C. to total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1. Wholly agricultural	511	50·80	394	60·90	128	69·57
2. Partly agricultural—						
(*a*) agriculture as principal occupation.	168	16·70	95	14·68	37	20·11
(*b*) agriculture as subsidiary occupation.	183	18·19	108	16·69	17	9·24
3. Independent of agriculture.	144	14·31	50	7·73	2	1·08
	1006	100·00	647	100·00	184	100·00

It will be seen that wholly agricultural families, in Border area, Project area and General area are 51, 61 and 70 p. c. respectively of the total families. Classifying the wholly agricultural families and families pursuing agriculture as principal occupation, as predominantly agricultural families—the proportion of such families for Border area, Project area and General area stand at 68 p. c. 76 p.c. and 90 p.c. respectively. Thus it is clear that in the Border area the proportion of predominantly agricultural families is the lowest. The reason for this can be safely ascribed to the set-back received due to closure of markets after partition. A close study of tables C·10 and C.11 below and table C.11.1 at the appendix will bear testimony to the fact that in Border area there is evidence of a shift of occupation from agriculture to non-agricultural enterprise especially labour (non-agricultural). 162* 463

Predominantly agricultural families have been classified into five groups— Non-cultivating owner, owner cultivator, tenants, part-owner and part-tenants and landless agricultural labourers. The number of families and the proportion of each of these groups in the three areas are as follows— 125 241 423 427 463

Apart from private lands, Raj lands possessed by a family and land possessed through settlement by District Council have been considered as 'land owned' for the purpose of this survey. Tenants usually take in rent from land-owners only those lands which are possessed by the later as private land or through settlement through District Council. A perusal of table C 9 given above will show that proportion of tenants are higher in Jowai subdivision which is due to the existence in this subdivision of some big landholders who are known as zamindars. Majority of the families shown against 'non-cultivating owner' are in fact agricultural labour families who also possess some land but due to some reason or other left it uncultivated. Among owner cultivators, tenants and part-owner and part-tenant families also there are some whose major income is derived from agricultural labour. Consideration of these two facts along with the number of landless agricultural families goes to show that the proportion of agricultural labourers in the district is rather high. 423 463 427 [125]

TABLE C1·0

Occupational distribution of families whose principal occupation is other than agriculture

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principal occupation	No. of families					
	Border area		Project area		General area	
	Total	P.C. to total	Total	P.C. to total	Total	P.C. to total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1. Non-agricultural labour.	188	57·49	70	44·30	6	31·58
2. Service, profession, etc.	34	10·40	39	24·68	3	15·79
3. Trader.	65	19·88	21	13·29	4	21,05
4. Small scale manufacture & handicraft.	23	7·03	19	12·03	1	2·56
5. Poultry & dairy farming.	7	2·14	..	..	5	26·32
6. Others	10	3·06	9	5·70	...	...
Total ..	327	100·00	158	100·00	19	100·00

463 464 [178] A perusal of the table above will show that proportion of families following non-agricultural labour as principal occupation is highest in Border areas. Majority of these families were formerly engaged in agriculture but due to adverse circumstances arising out of partition, one forced to take to other occupations. Test relief works and normal P. W. D. works gave employment to a large section of these people. Other avenues of employment are collection and carriage of limestone, 441 woodcutting, and carrying of merchandise, etc. Traders in stationery articles and groceries who formed the bulk of the traders in the border 433 area are largely the displaced persons and the Bengali people concentrated 563 in Bholaganj and Balat. Others are petty traders dealing in fruits, vegetables, fish, clothes and other foodstuff. Under small-scale manufacture, etc., come the liquor distillers, blacksmiths, carpenters, etc., Commission agents, fishermen, hunters, etc., are shown as others.

5.10 In the following table the families in the three village groups are classified according to their subsidiary occupation.

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In the border areas 25 p.c. of the predominantly agricultural families had some subsidiary occupation, the most important of which was non-agricultural labour followed as trade. Majority of (64 per cent) of the predominantly non-agricultural families has some subsidiary occupation, the most important of which is agriculture accounting for 88 per cent of such families. 162* 463

The picture for the project area is more or less the same except that among agricultural families a relatively higher proportion of families have small scale manufacture as subsidiary occupation while trading is relatively less popular.

In the general area among the agricultural families with some subsidiary occupation the majority are engaged in small scale manufacture as subsidiary occupation, labour occupying a minor place. Almost all the predominantly non-agricultural families have agriculture as subsidiary occupation.

5.11 The following table shows the distribution of employed persons according to major industry groups (according to principal occupation).

TABLE C-12

Distribution of employed persons by Industries

Name of industry	No. of persons		
	Border area	Project area	General area
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
1. Agriculture	1441 (71·94)	1225 (77·93)	498 (88·45
2. Livestock	16 (0·80)	28 (1·78)	33 (5·86)
3. Forestry, fishery, etc.	12 (0·60)	4 (0·25)	9 (1·60)
4. Mining & quarrying	111 (5·54)	9 (0·57)	..
5. Manufacture	74 (3·69)	36 (2·28)	11 (1·95)
6. Construction	170 (8·49)	170 (10·82)	3 (0·53)
7. Trade & commerce	117 (5·84)	33 (2·11)	5 (0·89)
8. Transport	33 (1·65)	6 (0·38)	..
9. Service & profession	29 (1·45)	61 (3·88)	4 (0·72)
Total	2003	1572	563

TABLE D3

Number of families of different occupational type holding land of various sizes

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Size of holding (acre)	No. of families				
	wholly agricultural	Agriculture as principal occupation	Agriculture as subsidiary occupation	Independent of agriculture	All occupations
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1. BORDER AREA					
1. No land ..	108 (21·14)	29 (17·26)	61 (33·33)	111 (77·08)	309 (30·72)
2. Less than 1 acre ..	51 (9·98)	11 (6·56)	19 (10·39)	1 (0·69)	82 (8·13)
3. 1 to less than 3 acres	88 (17·22)	30 (17·86)	37 (20·22)	18 (12·51)	173 (17·20)
4. 3 to less than 10 acre	144 (28·18)	57 (33,92)	48 (26.23)	11 (7·64)	260 (25·85)
5. 10 and above ..	120 (23·47)	41 (24·40)	18 (9·83)	3 (2·08)	182 (18·10)
Total	511 (100·00)	168 (100·00)	183 (100·00)	144 (100·00)	1006) (100·00
2. (Project area)					
2. No land	115 (29·19)	9 (9·47)	15 (13·89)	46 (92·00	185 (28·59)
2. Less than 1 acre.. ..	40 (10·15)	8 (8·43)	11 (10·18)	..	59 (9·12)
3. 1 to less than 3 acres	111 (28·17)	32 (33·68)	44 (40·74)	3 (6·00)	190 (29·33)
4. 3 to less than 10 acres	113 (28·68)	29 (30·53)	26 (24.07)	1 (2·00)	169 (26·12)
5. 10 acres and above..	15 (3·81)	17 (18·09)	12 (11·14)	..	44 (6·81)
Total ..	394 (100.00)	95 (100·00)	108 (100·00)	50 (100·00)	647 (100·00)

TABLE E-2

Debts by principal occupation

Principal occupation	Total No. of families	No. of indebted families	Amount of loan outstanding (Rs.)	Average amount outstanding per household (Rs.)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
A. Border area :—				
1. Agriculture ...	697	458	90,516	197·63
2. Labour ...	188	103	16,745	162·57
3. Service, Profession, etc. ..	84	19	28,310	1490·00
4. Trade ..	65	29	16,188	558·20
5. Small scale manufacture and handicraft ..	23	13	4,910	377·69
6. Poultry and diary, farming, etc. ..	7	3	1,200	400·00
7. Others ..	10	5	420	84·00
Total : ..	1,006	630	1,58,289	251·25
B. Project area—				
1. Agriculture ..	489	249	69,595	279·50
2. Labour ..	70	33	2,740	80·30
3. Service profession, etc.	39	17	5,755	338·53
4. Trade ..	21	8	2,035	254·38
5. Small scale manufacture and handicraft.	19	11	8,275	752·27
6. Poultry and diary farming, etc. ..	..	..	..	..
7. Others .	9	4	1,110	277·50
Total : ..	647	322	89,510	277·98

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Principal occupation	Total No. of families	No of indebted families	Amount of loan outstanding (Rs.)	Average Amount outstanding per household (Rs.)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
C. General area :—				
1. Agriculture ..	165	51	9,264	181·65
2. Labour ...	6	1	100	100·00
3. Service profession, etc.	3	..	.	..
4. Trade ..	4	.	..	..
5. Small scale manufacture and handicraft.	1	..	..	..
6. Poultry and diary farming, etc. ..	5	..	..	..
7. Others ..	...	...	..	...
Total: ..	184	52	9,364	180·08

From the above table it will be seen that predominantly agricultural families constitute the highest proportion of the indebted class in all the three areas. In Border area they constitute 73 per cent of the total number of indebted families, accounting for 57 per cent of the total amount of loan. In Project area and General area these proportions were respectively 77 per cent, 98 per cent and 99 per cent. It is clear that in Border area, average amount of loan per family is higher of the non-agricultural class which ranges from Rs. 377·69 nP to Rs. 1,490·00 nP. These averages, as a matter of fact were inflated due to inclusion of a few families in each class who have very high amount of outstanding loan ranging from Rs. 600 to Rs. 10,000 per family. Otherwise indebtedness in agricultural and non-agricultural class did not visualise any wide difference. In Project area indebtedness among agricultural families is definitely higher than that among their counterparts in Border area and they accounted for a fair proportion (78 per cent) of the total amount of loan. Different occupational groups in non-agricultural class, of course, revealed among themselves wide variation in average per family indebteness ranging from Rs. 80 to Rs. 752 per family. On the other hand, in General area, agricultural families account for almost the entire amount of loan.

Per family indebtedness taking all the families into consideration stands at, for Border area Rs. 157·34, for Project area Rs. 138·35 and for General area Rs. 50·89.

19: Assam G-5 (1958) 1963 AR7 Khasi AR7

CHAPTER IX

Income and Expenditure

434 592 9·1 The great majority of rural people are members of families of two or more persons sharing a common income earned mostly by joint efforts of family members an also disbursed in supplying the consumption needs of the family as a whole. An attempt is made below, therefore, to analyse the aspects of income and expenditure of the rural families family-wise.

434 463 592 9.2 It has already been mentioned that the majority (*i.e.*, above 75 per cent) of the families of all the three areas pursued agriculture as a principal occupation. Some of these families follow cottage industries, trade, transport, labour, etc. as subsidiary occupations. The rest of the families had either agriculture as subsidiary occupation or were independent of agriculture. The larger section of these families were non-agricultural labourers. The following table gives the distribution of families in different income groups.

TABLE G-1

Frequency distribution of families in different income groups

Income Group Rs.	No. of families: Border area: Mainly agricultural	Border area: Non-agricultural	Border area: Total	Average annual gross income per family (Rs.0.00)	Project area: Mainly agricultural	Project area: Non-agricultural	Project area: Total	Average annual gross income per family (Rs.0.00)	General area: Mainly agricultural	General area: Non-agricultural	General area: Total	Average annual income per family (Rs. 0.00)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
1. Below 100 ..	..	1 (.31)	1 (.10)	60.00 ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2. 100 to below 250	6 (.88)	17 (5.20)	23 (2.29)	208.96	7 (1.43)	6 (3.80)	13 (2.01)	193.00	1 (.61)	..	1 (.54)	128.00 ..
3. 250 to below 500	120 (17.67)	73 (22.32)	193 (19.18)	398.75	62 (12.68)	9 (5.71)	71 (10.97)	392.34	18 (10.90)	4 (21.05)	22 (11.96)	363.27
4. 500 to below 750	207 (30.49)	80 (24.46)	287 (28.53)	709.54	108 (22.09)	31 (19.62)	139 (21.48)	633.68	56 (33.94)	4 (21.05)	60 (32.61)	580.25
5. 750 to below 1000	131 (19.29)	48 (14.68)	179 (17.79)	829.89	115 (23.52)	22 (13.92)	137 (21.17)	867.55	38 (23.03)	6 (31.58)	44 (23.92)	903.48
6. 1000 to below 1500	129 (19.00)	39 (11.93)	168 (16.70)	1,188.68	122 (24.95)	38 (24.05)	160 (24.73)	1189.24	41 (24.85)	3 (15.79)	44 (23.92)	1210.64
7. 1500 to below 2000	34 (5.01)	21 (6.42)	55 (5.47)	1,687.05	40 (8.18)	11 (6.96)	51 (7.88)	1660.73	10 (6.06)	2 (10.53)	12 (6.51)	1694.50

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TABLE C·9

Classification of Predominantly Agricultural Families

Type	Border area			Project area			General area		
	No. of families			No. of families			No. of families		
	Shillong Sub-division	Jowai Sub-division	Total	Shillong Sub-division	Jowai Sub-division	Total	Shillong Sub-division	Jowai Sub-division	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
1. Non-cultivating owner..	25 (5·57)	6 (2·61)	31 (4·57)	.. ..	4 (1·23)	4 (0·82)	.. ..	.. ..	...
2. Owner cultivator (owning 75 per cent or more of farm land).	375 (83·52)	98 (42·61)	473 (69·66)	128 (77·58)	175 (54·01)	303 (61·96)	70 (85·37)	64 (77·11)	134 (81·21)
3. Tenant (owning less than 25 per cent of farm land).	8 (1·78)	73 (31·74)	81 (11·93)	14 (8·48)	51 (15·74)	65 (13·29)	3 (3·66)	7 (8·43)	10 (6·06)
4. Part owner and part tenant (owning between 25 per cent and 75 per cent of farm land.	7 (1·56)	19 (8·26)	26 (3·83)	15 (9·09)	21 (6·48)	36 (7·37)	5 (6·10)	5 (6·03)	10 (6·06)
5. Landless agricultural .. labourer.	34 (7·47)	34 (14·78)	68 (10·01)	8 (4·85)	73 (22·53)	81 (16·56)	4 (4·87)	7 (8·43)	11 (6·67)
Total ...	449 (100·00)	230 (100·00)	679 (100·00)	165 (100·00)	324 (100·00)	489 (100·00)	82 (100·00)	83 (100·00)	165 (100·00)

TABLE C-II

Predominantly agricultural families and Predominantly non-agricultural families classified according to their subsidiary occupation

Subsidiary occupation	No. of families								
	Border area			Project area			General area		
	Predominantly Agricultural	Predominantly Non-Agricultural	Total	Predominantly Agricultural	Predominantly Non-Agricultural	Total	Predominantly Agricultural	Predominantly Non-Agricultural	Total
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Agriculture	—	183 (87·56)	183 (48·54)	...	108 (93·10)	108 (51·18)	..	17 (94.44)	17 (30·90)
2. Labour	117 (69·64)	6 (2·87)	123 (32·63)	37 (38·95)	3 (2·59)	40 (18·96	7 (18·92)	1 (5·66)	8 (14·55)

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(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
. Service, profession, etc. ...	17 (10·12)	3 (1·44)	20 (5·31)	7 (7·37)	2 (1·72) 1·12	9 (4·27)	1 (2·70)	..	(1·82)
4. Trader	23 (13·69)	4 (2·87) 2.87	29 (7·69)	11 (11·58)	2 (1·72)	13 (6·16)	4 (10·81)	..	4 (7·27)
5. Small scale manufacture ..	7 (4·17)	6 (2·87)	13 (3·45)	27 (28·42)	1 (0·87)	28 (13·27)	21 (56·75)	..	21 (38·18)
6. Poultry & dairy farming ..	2 (1·19)	2 (0·96)	4 (1·06)	3 (3·16)	..	3 (1·42)	2 (5·11)	..	2 2 (3·64)
7. Others	2 (1·19)	3 (1·44)	5 (1·32)	10 (10·52)	..	10 (4·74)	2 (5·41)	..	2 (3·64)
Total number of families having some subsidiary occupation	168 (100·00)	209 (100·00)	377 (100·00)	95 (100·00)	116 (100·00)	211 (100·00)	37 (100·00)	18 (100·00)	55 (100·00)
Total number of all families ..	679	327	1006	489	158	647	165	19	184
Percentage of families having sub-sidiary occupation to total No. of families	24·74	63·00	87·48	39·43	73·42	32·61	22·42	94·74	29·89

TABLE C-1—contd.

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
9. 1000 to below 2500	19 (1.98)	16 (3.16)	52 (2.88)	81,[illegible]	12 (8.4)	30 (4.56)	58 (5.4)	8,[illegible]	-- --			
9. 2500 to below 5000	11 (1.42)	18 (3.97)	24 (1.32)	2,87[illegible]	10 (8.1)	6 (1.06)	22 (3.56)	8,[illegible]	1 (.41)	-- --	1 (.2)	[illegible]
10. 5000 to below 9500	7 (1.05)	3 (.16)	10 (.69)	3,127.5	6 (.72)	6 (1.06)	10 (1.64)	3,[illegible]	-- --	-- --	-- --	-- --
11. 9500 to below 20000	6 (.28)	3 (1.68)	11 (1.09)	5,710.21 --	1 (.20)	1 (.04)	8 (.91)	3,[illegible]	-- --	-- --	-- --	-- --
12. 20,000 & above	31 (2.21)	17 (9.50)	17 (3.18)	9,775.16 --	8 (5.1)	35 (10.3)	54 (3.70)	6,170.43 --	-- --	-- --	-- --	-- --
Total ..	679 (100.00)	177 (100.00)	1005 (100.00)	10,[illegible] --	168 (100.00)	348 (100.00)	640 (100.00)	1,[illegible] --	35 (100.00)	1 (100.00)	16 (100.00)	[illegible] --

From table above, it is difficult to judge the relative prosperity of agricultural and non-agricultural families. The annual gross income of 49 per cent of the agricultural families is less than Rs.750·00 a year while that of 87 per cent of them is below Rs.1,500 a year. Thus the remaining 13 per cent of the families only have a gross annual income of above Rs.1,500 a year. Among non-agricultural families the corresponding proportions are 52 per cent, 79 per cent and 21 per cent. Thus proportion of non-agricultural families with annual gross income less than Rs.750, is greater than the corresponding proportion of agricultural families. The petty traders, porters and other non-agricultural labourers who are necessarily very poor constitute this non-agricultural class. On the other hand proportion of non-agricultural families with annuae gross income of more than Rs.750 exceeds the corresponding proportion for agricultural families. These non-agricultural families comprise of a good number of business men, contractors, etc., who are comparatively a bit well off than the agriculturists. 162* 434 463 592

In Project area proportion of agricultural families and non-agricultural families with annual gross income of less than Rs.750 is 36 per cent and 29 per cent respectively as against 49 per cent and 52 per cent of their respective counterpart in Border area. Proportions of families with gross income below Rs.1,500 a year is 84 per cent and 66 per cent indicating that proportions of agricultural as well as non-agricultural families with income above Rs.1,500 a year are greater than their corresponding counterparts in Border area.

In general area villages it is significant to note that proportion of agricultural families with gross annual income of over Rs.2,000 is negligible (·61 per cent) while those under Rs.750 and Rs.1,500 are 45 per cent and 93 per cent respectively.

Table below further reveals that 58 per cent of the gross income in the Border area, 54 per cent in the Project area and 86 per cent in the General area is earned by families in the income group less Rs.1,500 constituting as much as 85 per cent of the total number of families in the respective areas.

TABLE G-2

162*. 434

Percentage distribution of income and families in different income groups

Annual income group (Rs.)	Border area		Project area		General area	
	Families	Income earned	Families	Income earned	Families	Income earned
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1. Less than 1500	84.5	58.4	80.3	53.8	93.00	85.5
2. 1500 to less than 3000	10.2	19.2	14.1	22.6	7.0	14.5
3. 3000 to less than 4000	2.1	6.7	1.9	5.0	..	..
4. 4000 and above	3.2	15.7	3.7	18.6	..	..
Total ..	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

CHAPTER—X

Summary of main findings

125 10.1. Twenty-eight villages were selected for the purpose of the survey. Out of the 28 villages selected, 10 from Border area and 8 from Project area were selected purposively while the remaining 10 were selected at random from the entire district which is referred hereafter as general area.

166 Migration from big villages was rare but some migration was reported in respect of small villages.

164 Occurrence of Malaria, influenza and dysentery is a regular phenomenon in the area. Medical facilities were not found satisfactory and
243 as much as 78 per cent of the villages have no dispensary within a
871 radius of five miles. In regard to education, the facilities cannot also
489 be said to be unsatisfactory for more than 60 per cent of the villages have a Lower Primary School. Transport facilities were not satisfac-
482 tory and as much as 86 per cent of the villages still depend upon primitive mode of transport, namely head load. Correlated with outmoded form of transport, is the prevalence of unduly high cost of transport.

*162 10.2. The number of the families covered by the survey was 1006 in the Border area, and 647 in the Project area and 184 in the
161 General area. The average size of a village in the respective area is 100·6, 80·9 and 18·4 families. In the Border and Project areas females out number males being respectively 1076 and 1092 females per 1,000 males as against 940 females per 1,000 males in the general area
212 Literacy is as high as 34 per cent in the border area and 31 per cen
[562] in the Project area but as low as 17 per cent in the general area In all the areas literacy among females is very low.

*162 The working population (earners and earning dependents) is as high as 55 per cent in the Border area, 54 per cent in the Project area and 63 per
464 cent in the general area. While there were no cases of unemployment in the Project and General areas, 53 persons were reported unemployed from border area.

241 10.3. 51 per cent of the families in Border area are wholly agricul-
* 162 tural, 35 per cent partly agricultural and 14 per cent independent o agriculture. The corresponding figures for the Project area are 61, 31
• 463 and 8 per cent respectively while for the General area they are 70 per cent, 29 per cent, 1 per cent respectively.

Predominantly agricultural families constitute 67, 76 and 90 per cent of the families in Border, Project and General areas respectively.

*162 10.4. 31 per cent of the families in Border area, 29 per cent in Project area and 10 per cent in General area were absolutely without any land while
423 25 per cent, 39 per cent and 24 per cent of the families in the respective areas possessed small holding ranging from 0·24 to 2·30 acres representing 11,24 and 26 per cent of the total holding area in the respective areas. 36 per cent of the families in Border and Project areas and 41 in General area possessed medium sized holding (3 to less than 10 acres)

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TABLE C—1·11

Distribution of the families by Principal and Subsidiary occupation

Subsidiary occupation (1)	Principal occupation: Agriculture (2)	Labour (3)	Service & profession (4)	Trade (5)	Small scale manufacture & handicrafts. (6)	Poultry Diary & farming, etc. (7)	Others (8)	Total (9)
A. Border area :								
1. No Subsidiary Occupation.	511 (75·26)	62 (32·98)	12 (35·29)	25 (38·46)	6 (26·09)	4 (57·14)	9 (90·00)	629 (62·52)
2. Agriculture	—	119 (63·30)	17 (50·00)	30 (46·15)	14 (60·87)	2 (28·57)	1 (10·00)	183 (18·19)
3. Labour	117 (17·24)	..	...	3 (4·62)	3 (13·04)	..	..	123 (12·23)
4. Service, profession etc.	17 (2·50)	...	..	2 (3·08)	..	1 (14·29)	..	20 (1·99)
5. Trade	23 (3·39)	1 (0·53)	3 (8·83)	2 (3·08)	—	..	..	29 (2·88)
6. Cottage Industry	7 (1·03)	5 (2·66)	1 (2·24)	..	..	..	..	13 (1·29)
7. Poultry, diary farming, etc.	2 (0·29)	...	1 (2·94)	1 (1·53)	..	..	—	4 (0·40)
8. Others	2 (0·29)	1 (0·53)	..	2 (3·08)	..	..	..	5 (0·50)
Total border area	679 (100·00)	188 (100·00)	34 (100·00)	65 (100·00)	23 (100·00)	7 (100·00)	10 (100·00)	1006 (100·00)
P. C. Total	(67·50)	(18·69)	(3·38)	(6·46)	(2·29)	(0·69)	(0·99)	(100·00)

TABLE C—11·1—(contd.)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
B. Project area :								
1. No Subsidiary occupation	394 (80·57)	22 (31·43)	9 (23·08)	..	5 (26·32)	..	6 (66·67)	436 (67·39)
2. Agriculture	..	47 (67·14)	26 (66·67)	20 (95·24)	12 (63·16)	..	3 (33·33)	108 (16·69)
3. Labour	37 (7·57)	1 (1·43)	2 (5·13)	..	..	..	..	40 (6·18)
4. Service and profession, etc	7 (7·67)	.. (1·43)	1 (2·56)	...	1 (5·26)	..	..	9 (1·39)
5. Trade	11 (2·25)	..	1 (2·56)	..	1 (5·26)	..	..	13 (2·01)
6. Cottage Industry	27 (5.52)	...	..	1 (4·76)	..	..	..	28 (4·33)
7. Poultry, diary farming, etc.	3 (0·62)	..	...	..	..	...	..	3 (0·46)
8. Others	10 (0·62)	..	..	..	..	..	..	10 (1·55)
Total project area	489 (100·00)	70 (100·00)	39 (100·00)	21 (100·00)	19 (100·00)	..	9 (100·00)	647 (100·00)
P. C. to total :	(75·58	(10·81)	(6·03)	(3·25)	(2·94)	..	(1·39)	(100·00)

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#163

TABLE C—11·1

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
C. General area :								
1. No of subsidiary occupation.	128 (77·58)	...	1 (33·33)	..	...	...	...	129 (70·11)
2. Agriculture	..	6 (100·00)	2 (66·67)	3 (75·00)	1 (100·00)	5 (100·00)	..	17 (9·24)
3. Labour	7 (4·24)	..	..	1 (25·00)	..	..	..	8 (4·35)
4. Service and profession	1 (0·61)	..	..	...	..	..	..	1 (0·54)
5. Trade	4 (2·43)	..	..	...	..	...	..	4 (2·17)
6. Cottage Industry	21 (12·72)	..	..	..	...	..	..	21 (11·41)
7. Poultry, diary farming, etc.	2 (1·21)	..	..	..	..	..	..	2 (1·09)
8. Others	2 (1·21)	..	...	..	..	..	..	2 (1·09)
Total general area	165 (100·00)	6 (100·00)	3 (100·00)	4 (100·00)	1 (100·00)	5 (100·00)	..	184 (100·00)
P. C. to total	(89·68)	(3·26)	(1·63)	(2·17)	(0·54)	(2·72)	..	(100·00)

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

361 In the interior of the Hills the largest villages are mere clusters of
• 463 huts. The great majority of the inhabitants are employed in agri-
culture, but there are no data upon which a proportion of agricul-
turists to non-agriculturists could be based.

167 There is no immigration into the District. Both the Khásiás and
178 the Syntengs have been successful in preserving to the present
day their primitive isolation, free from the interference of Hin-
[771] duism. They still maintain their aboriginal forms of belief and re-
[262] ligious worship, and repudiate alike the authority of Bráhmans and
the entire system of caste. To some extent, however, they have
given way to Hindu prejudices in the matter of purity of food. The
[563] few Hindus to be found in the Hills are temporary residents, en-
gaged in civil and military employ, who always contemplate returning
[441] to their own homes. The traders are for the most part natives of the
Hills; for the Márwárí merchants, who penetrate into every other
corner of Assam, have been able to obtain no footing in the face of
Khásí competition. There is likewise no emigration from the
District. The hillmen are a well-to-do and contented race, and
either produce themselves or obtain by trade sufficient to satisfy
[166] their scanty wants. A certain number of both Khásiás and
Syntengs proceed southwards every year to work on the tea
gardens of Cáchár and Sylhet, but such absence from home is only
temporary.

243 AGRICULTURE: RICE.—Thirteen different varieties of rice are cultivated in the District, of which the following is a list, giving the Khásí name as well as the description of the grain:—(1) *U-kyba-khynriam* (*u*, the masculine article, meaning 'the,' and *kyba*, noun masculine, meaning 'paddy'), brown rice with long grain; (2) *u-kyba-khynriam bai-lih*, a white rice with long grain; (3) *u-kyba la-toh*, round-grained rice; (4) *u-kyba ksai*, bearded, husked; (5) *u-kyba-dew-ba-iong*, black husked rice (literally *u* = 'the,' *kyba* = 'paddy,' *dew* = 'earth,' *ba* = 'that,' *iong* = 'black'); (6) *u-kyba-ba-lih*, white rice; (7) *u-kyba-seim*, scented rice (literally *u* = 'the,' *kyba* = 'paddy,' *seim* = 'royal'); (8) *u-kyba la-kroh*, large-grained rice; (9) *u-kyba-ba-tlang*, small-grained rice; (10) *u-kyba sa-bia*, early rice; (11) *u-kyba ra-bon*, late rice; (12) *u-kyba tang-la*, rice grown along with beans; (13) *u-kyba-ba-túk*, small rice.

Rice is cultivated in marshy fields situated near running water as well as in high lands. The first seven of the above thirteen species of rice are sown in marshy lands during the months of April and May,

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

with the exception of the
326 manufacture of iron, in which the master blacksmith often employs
462 hired labourers, the other industries are generally followed by
463 females in their own houses. No class of labourers are hereditarily
attached to any manufacture in a manner that affects their personal
freedom. The system of advancing money for manufacturing pur-
452 poses does not obtain in the Khásí and Jáintiá Hills. The total
434 value of the manufactures of the District is stated to be between
£2000 and £3000 per annum. No local manufactures are carried
on by means of imported capital.

439 COMMERCE AND TRADE.—The external commerce of the Khásí and Jáintiá Hills is chiefly conducted on the southern boundary, through the District of Sylhet. The total value is more considerable than might be expected, owing to the fact that these Hills practically possess the monopoly of supplying Bengal with lime, potatoes, and oranges. Other important articles of export are raw cotton, stick-lac, betel-nut and *pán* leaves, and bay leaves or *tez-pát*. The exportation of iron, which was once large, has now almost ceased. The chief imports consist of rice, dried fish, cotton cloth, salt, and tobacco. On the whole, it would appear that the course of trade is about equally balanced. Trade statistics of more or less value are in existence. The earliest of such statistics are to be found in the Report of Mr. W. J. Allen, dated 1858. The information there given was based for the most part upon oral statements furnished by numerous native traders to Mr. Hudson, who then filled the office of Principal Assistant-Commissioner. It may be accepted as 'a fair representation of the state of trade in
439 the Hills' at that time. The imports and exports on the Assam
434 side were each estimated at about Rs. 15,000, or £1500. The trade with the markets in the Surmá valley was much larger. The total of the exports was valued at Rs. 700,000, or £70,000, giving a profit to the traders of Rs. 170,705, or £17,070. The chief items were:—Limestone, 1,700,000 *maunds*, valued at Rs. 306,000; potatoes, 50,000 *maunds*, value Rs. 125,000; oranges, 45,000,000 in number, value Rs. 78,750; smelted iron, 45,000 *maunds*, value Rs. 67,500; cotton, 12,000 *maunds*, value Rs. 42,000; betel-nuts, value Rs. 37,500; coal, 25,000 *maunds*, value Rs. 12,500. The total value of the imports was estimated at Rs. 350,000, or £35,000, being just one-half the value of the exports; the estimated profits are given as Rs. 44,325, or £4432. The chief items were:—Rice, 150,000 *maunds*, value Rs. 225,000; cloth of sorts, Rs. 25,000;

443 [704: F]1 [P.W. Schmidt-Festschrift. Photo:
438 P. Fr. Stegmiller. Market Place in Shillong.]
[704: G]1 [P.W. Schmidt-Festschrift. Photo: P.
Fr. Stegmiller. Market Place in Shillong:
Selling meat.] [704: H]1 [P.W. Schmidt-Festsch-
rift. Photo: P. Fr. Stegmiller, Market Place
in Shillong: round chicken coops.] [704: I]1
[P.W. Schmidt-Festschrift. Photo: P. Fr.
Stegmiller. Market Place in Daukhi.] [704: J]1
[P.W. Schmidt-Festschrift. Photo: P. Fr. Steg-
miller. Market Place in Laitkynsew. Material
for roofing.] [705] plaited baskets in all
sizes , waterproof plaited containers, carry-
ing baskets (tappa), bands for the forehead
(u star), drinking cups of bamboo, gourd bot-
tles, wooden mortars, water pipes made of
cocoanuts, pipe bowls made out of clay and
dried in the sun, plates and saucers of brass,
cooking pots of iron, and earthern dishes;
everything is the work of the Khasi.

Recently European wares, such as loin
cloths stockings, caps, combs, mirrors,
mouth harmonicas, matches, and cigarettes are
also seen in larger amounts.

443 At the markets of the Khasi not only food-
● 464 stuffs and other things necessary for life may
445 be obtained, but workers are also hired there.
Whoever wishes to hire himself out goes to the
market and stands around, hoping to find some
kind of work for the coming (market) week.
Day laborers can only be hired at the market.
Therefore it is hard during the week to get
any kind of a worker. It is also necessary
when hiring a t the market to hire the worker
for the whole "market week," i.e., until the
next market day, as the coolies otherwise
would have a hard time finding work and would
not accept the work at all for only one or
two days. The porters needed for traveling
must also be sought out and hired at the markets.

1 [See plates, category 116, pp. 11-15--Analyst]

428 613 no girls, only sons, the inheritance passes to the youngest daughter of the sister of the deceased clan mother. If there are no such sisters or if they have no daughters, the nearest, youngest female relative is next in line. If she has not lived in the family clan of the deceased up to now, she must first spend at least 3 months in the hut of the clan mother in order to be able to enter into her rights and duties. In such cases usually the successor to the office is taken into the hut previously by the clan mother and prepared for the later activity. It can happen that the successor is not even 13 years old and therefore is not of age and capable of marrying. In this case the mother or a sister of the deceased clan mother manages the rule and the household until the majority of the inheritress. But even as a child the latter has the honored name mother; she is called kmie or kmie san.

The great principle, which determines all conditions of inheritance, is that the sons and husbands are excluded from all family property, which is always passed on to the girls, the female world. But what if a fellow or a man creates or acquires property? The case is possible and also occurs.

428 556 /304/ As mentioned, each person must help with the work in his own family clan in order to have a claim on care from the common property. Between sowing the rice and the harvest and other possible common labors there are still many days and weeks. Instead of [464] spending these with archery, hunting or the popular shong kai, or loafing around, a young man can earn money by cutting wood for others and carrying loads for native traders or also for Europeans, since in the mountains nearly everything has to be carried on the back. He can also do work in the fields or gardens for pay for others outside his clan or carry on a small trade by buying wares at the market such as dried fish, betel nuts, pepper leaves and such, and carrying them a few days' journey away to the markets in the interior of the mountains where these items are not otherwise available and selling them there for a profit. What the man earns in this fashion is his property and is not counted as part of the clan property. An industrious man can thus gradually earn enough money to rent a rice field. Through sale of the surplus crop, he will finally have enough so that he is able to buy a rice field himself, which is also 429 his property. If such a man dies unmarried, the inheritance passes to his mother. If he is married then he can, if he wishes, found a clan property for his family who may be poor and without property. The property will then pass to the youngest daughter and be passed on then in the usual manner of inheritance. Thus everything finally

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

Shella

Confederacy forms a more marked endogamous community, through being cut off geographically and economically from the rest of the Khasi, and socially from the neighbouring Hindu people. 621

The Economy and the People.

Shella lies along the upper part of the Shella River and stretches upwards along the steep slope, looking down towards the Bengal plain. The climate of this part of the hills is considered to be one of the worst in tropical India for human habitation. The Bengal plain, though warmer than this area, is considered more healthy. This border land is the zone of malaria, typhoid, black fever, cholera, etc. None of the Bengalee peasants dare to live in such an area. However, it is the most fertile for products such as betel-nuts, pan-leaves, oranges, bananas and pineapples, and it also produces limestone. These people seem to prefer to settle in this zone and to enjoy its prosperity, at the expense of human lives: every year, especially between March and September, the inhabitants suffer from various fevers and dysentry and other diseaes, many of the weaker facing death. 131 132 164 433 164 648

Before the Partition of India and Pakistan, the products of Shella were carried down the Shella River to Sylhet, one of the biggest centres in East Bengal, which brought unimaginable wealth to the Shella people. Their houses were built by carpenters from Sylhet. The style and structure of these houses were exceptionally elaborate for the Khasi. They purchased vast rice fields in the plain, which used to be cultivated by Bengalee and Garo labourers engaged by them. These Khasi do not themselves know how to cultivate rice fields; they have always been managers or landowners. Their boys used to be sent to high schools and colleges in Sylhet. As a result of their trading with the Bengalee, many of them read and speak fluent Bengalee. There is no difference between their style of clothing and that of the Bengalee, though the women maintain their traditional dress in the Shella style. 177 178 434 [439] [342] [166] [464] [871] [191] [291]

They have thus been distinguished from the rest of the Khasi not only geographically, but also economically and culturally. Their personality also differs sharply from the rest of the Khasi. They are very sociable, and quick, a quality lacking among the Khasi of Sohkynduh and Kongton. They are clever enough to deal with strangers. The upland Khasi say Shella people are very cunning. This remark shows one side of these people. They had to be cunning, since they traded with the Sylhet Bengalee who were said to be the most cunning of their race. Their role in the trade and in the history of the modernization of the Hills was considerable. For centuries they represented intellectual Khasi owing to their contact with Hindu civilization, while the Hills remained in darkness. They assumed an important role when the British established an administration in the Hills, and even up to now, many leading Khasi originated from this area: for instance, Lati Hat, the first interpreter of the British Headquarters at Cherrapunjee; Jeebon Roy, who was the first Magistrate among the Khasi; Maham Sing, a lawyer and Member of the Legislative Assembly (the grandson of Jeebon Roy); Nichols Roy, Minister of Health and Prisons of the Assam Government, Member of the Legislative Assembly, and Missionary of the Church of God; R. R. Thomas (brother of Nichols Roy), Principal of the Gauhati University, etc. 157 184 648 177 178 [439]

Through constant cultural contact with Hindu, and encouraged by their economic prosperity, the Shella Khasi, like the Jaintias, have been much influenced by Hindu culture. However, this does not mean that the people of Shella adopted the Hindu beliefs. Though there is a small Hindu shrine, and some ceremonial elements were borrowed from the Hindu, most of the 177 648 771 795

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

there are none of their descendants in Jatinga. Summing up, the first party who settled at Jatinga was composed of people of the following five clans: 166

1. Suchiang — Lakhanbang, his sister, Laptho, and her daughter, Kloribon, his brother, Pryntah. 551
2. Suchen — Munik and his younger brother, Sain. 614
3. Phanwar — Misibon and her younger sister, Diasibon. 621
4. Rupsi — Sintu, the wife of Pryntah. 175
5. Suiam — Tahin, the wife of Sain.

Among them, Suchen had no female member. Phanwar had no successor: Misibon had no issue and Diasibon did not marry. Therefore, Suchiang, Rupsi and Suiam are the oldest clans in present Jatinga. Suchiang and Rupsi especially are the dominant and richest groups among the present population.

This was the time when the railway from Gauhati to Silchar was being constructed. Some Khasi labourers were working at Haflong on the construction of the railway. After the foundation of Jatinga, these Khasi workers established marriage relations with the Khasi of Jatinga, and finally, upon completion of the railway, many of them became the inhabitants of Jatinga. The present members of the Dome and Siangshai clans are the descendants of these people, and they form a considerable number of the present inhabitants of Jatinga. Besides them, there were a few other Khasi at Haflong who were engaged in trading business. In the course of time, they also had marital relations with Jatinga people and came to Jatinga. 166 175 458 621 [499] [464]

After five years had elapsed they found that in spite of their hard work the land was not favourable to them. Many of them left Jatinga. This was the hardest period of Jatinga history.

The second migration (1919-1925).

The railway which once had been blocked was reopened in 1919. The people who had left Jatinga came back to settle there. This time the circumstances seemed to them quite favourable. The pan trees which they had planted earlier were growing and they could gather considerable produce. The village grew bigger around 1920 as a result of new immigrants from Jaintia; most of them were people from Bataw, the village of the founder. In this period, many immigrants came from Jaintia not only to Jatinga but also to Sylhet, Borkhala and other places outside the Khasi-Jaintia Hills. It seems that by this time the over-populated Jaintia realised that these areas were favourable for their new home. However, the successive waves of Jaintia immigrants to Jatinga ceased by 1925, its population having reached saturation point. [499] [245]

Orange production brought economic prosperity to the people of Jatinga. Wealthy villagers employed temporary labourers from the Jaintia Hills every year. Some of these labourers came with their families and others came individually. During their stay at Jatinga, some of them married and settled there. Hence, there are also descendants of such labourers among the present inhabitants of Jatinga. [245] [464]

Some Aspects of Descent Groups.

Throughout the history of Jatinga, immigrations have always been undertaken by a family (elementary family, siblings) or by an individual, but never by a group of clan members. Therefore, the present population is grouped in small descent groups according to each migration. Though some of them happened to have the same clan name, their history of migration and their 621 [175] [614] [166]

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

178 like the Zemi-Naga, the Cacharee and the Kuki. But after the period of
563 economic prosperity as I shall describe in the next section, the Jatinga people
621 reached a rather high level of education, while most of the neighbouring tribes
[871] remained illiterate. Their standard of living likewise improved. Fashionable girls of Jatinga who have studied at the Convent school in Shillong, and speak English and Hindi, cannot marry half-naked tribesmen who work in the jungle. They prefer to intermarry with Moslem, Panjabee or Assamese who belong to amore sophisticated community, and through whom they can enjoy urban life. Thus the orientation of the intermarriage of the people of Jatinga has changed, along with the growth of Jatinga.

It should be noted that intermarriages came mostly through the contacts at Haflong, where people used to go once a week for the bazaar, rather than through direct contacts with neighbouring villages.

Economy of Jatinga and its Relation to Neighbouring Tribes.

178 It is very interesting to find two different kinds of economy in the same
171 ecological background: Jatinga Khasi practise pan-leaf and orange cultivation
245 and depend mainly on a trading economy, while the other neighbouring tribal peoples practise jhum cultivation, almost a subsistence economy. This situation has remained unchanged for the last fifty years since the establishment of Jatinga village.

101 The first Jatinga immigrants occupied one ridge of the mountain where the
245 present Jatinga is situated. Formerly, this land belonged to the Zemi-Naga, one of the old inhabitants of the Cachar Hills, who possessed a vast jungle area for jhum cultivation. It seems that there was no objection to the Khasi occupying this small spot: it was apparently too small an area for the jhum cultivator —pan-leaf cultivation of the Khasi requires less than one twentieth of the land of the usual jhum cultivation. The Khasi who started pan-leaf cultivation were able to accumulate some capital, and after several years they started orange gardens. They had had experience of orange cultivation in their homeland, but this was the first time they had operated commercially.

245 The success of this orange cultivation was beyond their dreams. Hearing
434 of good oranges at Jatinga, many Bengalee merchants from Dacca, Sylhet,
439 Silchar and Gauhati began to come to buy them. Moreover, the village had the great advantage of being situated near the railway station. Oranges were
[496] sold by carloads. Unimaginable wealth came to the Jatinga people. Especi-
[871] ally the founder's family, including his brother's and sister's, became extraordinarily wealthy; their income used to be Rs. 20,000 a year. The children were sent to the school which was established in the village and some
[362] were educated at colleges in Dacca, Sylhet and Shillong. The villagers had beautiful houses built by Manipuri and Bengalee carpenters. Actually the houses of Jatinga were known as some of the best construction in Assam.

Like the Shella people, they were managers of gardens and employed workers.
245 Wealthy households used to engage several labourers annually, most of them
46 from Jaintia where the Jatinga people had originated. These workers were provided with shelter in the servant quarters of their employer's house, but they had to provide meals for themselves. They were paid daily according to the work done. They were available to other households, when their employer had no work. Some labourers were also engaged locally among the Zemi-Naga, the Cacharee and the Kuki, though not as many as among the Jaintia.
245 These local tribes were fairly well occupied by their jhum cultivation, and not
464 used to being employed as workers. Therefore, most of them were not regular

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

workers and they were few in number.[1] They were particularly employed for such work as the clearing of jungle for new pan gardens in summer. 245 464

In the orange season (December to February) the number of workers increased and they were paid more: Rs. 1/8 were paid[2] for one load (one person carrying 80 pounds of oranges, from an orange garden to the railway station—about two miles). Usually a worker made three to five trips a day. Many workers from Jaintia used to come for this particular season. 245 464 465

Semi-permanent workers were engaged for wet rice fields. They were usually Hindu cultivators: since these Khasi and other tribes do not know the technique of wet cultivation, plains people like the Biharee immigrants were engaged. These workers were provided with servants' quarters where they lived with their wives and children. However, very few Jatinga households possessed rice fields. 243 464

The economic prosperity of Jatinga reached its climax during the period from 1934 to 1940. Since 1942, the orange production has been decreasing. In 1945, a serious disease attacked the orange gardens as well as the pan-leaf gardens. Besides, by depriving Jatinga, as it had Shella, of their most important markets, Dacca and Sylhet, the Partition of India and Pakistan in 1947 caused a serious economic depression in the whole region. On the other hand, because of the past prosperity, the population has rapidly increased during the last ten years. The serious economic condition of Jatinga is illustrated in the petition which was submitted by the Jatinga people when the Governor of Assam visited those areas in January 1956. It runs thus: 245 434 731 161 458

"Since the last ten years or so, with the increase of population in the village and with the loss of fertility of the soil, the people were faced with economic depression. At present they are facing acute shortage of land they have also no scope to adopt other forms of cultivation like jhuming and wet rice cultivation, etc. Moreover, there has been successive attack of Bright's disease which destroyed and wiped out all the orange and pan gardens. And as such, majority of the families have to depend for their livelihood on daily wages. . . ."

It is indeed a serious situation for them, because the Khasi do not produce staple foods, such as rice; their economy is completely dependent on the trade of their products by which they purchase their main provisions, clothes, etc. Other peoples round Jatinga, being jhum cultivators, can at least get rice and cotton: the minimum requirements, staple foods and clothing are available even in the worst conditions, so that they can at least maintain themselves though the standard of living is low. As I stated before, a few households in Jatinga possessed rice fields, but the majority had none. Recently they rented some plots of jhum field for rice cultivation from Zemi-Naga of neighbouring villages.[3] However, its yield was but a small percentage of their consumption. A few 182 434 [433] [243]

1. If they had worked in the gardens of Jatinga, they might have got more profit than from their own jhum fields. For one day's labour, they got Ans. 8/. For one month, they could earn Rs. 15 with which they could buy about 4-5 maunds of rice (one maunds paddy cost Rs. 3-4). For one year it became 50 maunds, which was impossible to produce in a jhum field by a single person's labour. [435]

2. These rates, including the figures of note 1, apply to 1956.

3. Jatinga villagers told me that Zemi-Naga were kind enough to lend them their field for a negligible rent, though they had not enough for themselves. Zemi-Naga said that they owed much to Jatinga in the past, so that now they sympathised with the condition of Jatinga, and offered some parts of their jhum field. [427] [628]

and even the well to do ones do not feel anything to work as labourers in other's farms. It is almost customary among the agriculturists to work in other's farms on wage basis, when agricultural operation in one's own farm are over. This is probably an outcome of the difficult transport situation. Among the non-agriculturists and those who follow agriculture as subsidiary occupation, a large number are porters and labourers engaged in jobs like transporting of goods from place to place, collection of limestone, sand, fuel, Collieries and forests of the district also offer employment to a good number of people. Since the taking up of road programme under the plan, a large number of people are getting employment in construction of roads, etc. It is heartening to note that for construction of roads, nay for all kinds of works demanding unskilled labourers, the district locally supplies the whole labour force. People in the various local points of the district, particularly those living in higher hills are mainly engaged in trade. The Khasis are indefatigable traders and have been able to keep almost the whole of the small trade in the district in their own hands. A small proportion of the people are engaged in cottage industries such as stone cutting, brick making, bee keeping, blacksmithy, cane and bamboo works, etc.

The number of persons returned in the 1951 census under each of the eight main livelihood classes for the rural tract of the district was as follows.

TABLE 1

Number of Persons (Source 1951 Census)

Head	Male	Female	Total	P.C.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
A. Agricultural class:—				
1. Cultivators of land wholly or mainly owned and their dependents.	99,683	92,107	1,92,710	39·89
2. Cultivators of land wholly or mainly unowned and their dependents.	16,116	16,109	32,123	10·53
3. Cultivating labourers and their dependents.	14,553	14,953	29,506	9·53
4. Non-cultivating owners of land, agricultural rent receivers and their dependents.	366	542	908	·30
Subtotal	1,21,018	1,13,159	2,34,177	60·22
B. Non-agricultural class:—				
5. Production other than cultivation.	11,796	10,320	22,116	7·26
6. Commerce	3,127	4,609	7,736	2·10
7. Transport	355	264	619	·20
8. Other services and miscellaneous sources.	17,642	12,314	29,956	9,86
Subtotal	32,840	27,505	60,316	19·78
Total	..	..	3,05,007	100.00

241 464 **2.10 Labour and Wages:** It has already been mentioned above that a large number of people subsist on labour—agricultural as well as non-agricultural. Owners of big orchards employ labourers for clearing of their orchards twice or thrice a year, plucking and transporting of produce to markets. Paddy cultivators with large farm engage labourers for ploughing and hoeing of fields, sowing, harvesting and threshing of paddy. It should be mentioned that due to the peculiar agricultural practices prevalent in the district, the input of labourer even for paddy cultivation is higher than that in any of the plains district of the State, which compels cultivators to hire 241 labourer even for small paddy fields. In the case of cash crops, wages 464 are usually paid in cash and for food crops it is paid in cash and 465 kind more usually in kind. Wage rates for males and females are different which generally vary from Rs.1.50 to 1.25 for males and Rs.1.25 to Re. 1.00 for females.

There are, however, numerous instances of engaging agricultural labourers at the rate of Re. 0.50 per day. During the scarcity months the well-to-do farmers advance loans to the poorer section of the people on condition that repayment will have to be made by rendering labour on wage basis at the rate of Re. 0.50 per day in the creditors farms whenever their services are demanded. Thus whenever their services are demanded the poor people have to work in creditor's farm even at the cost of ruining their own cultivation.

There are other instances where the labourers are paid less then usual wages. In some villages where there is dearth of work all the agricultural labourers gather together at some specified place early in the morning. The well-to-do farmers go there and through bargaining manage to engage the number of hands they want at very low rates Similar bidding down of wages of non-agricultural labourers is also. prevalent whenever demand for labour is very low.

Land utilisation and cropping

423 659 **2.11 Land tenure system.**—The district of United K-J. Hills is not cadastrally surveyed and so far as land tenure is concerned, there is no rigid uniform or regular system worth the name, with the exception of those lands under the control of the State Forest Department and the Local District Council. There are different kinds of land under different systems, though for obvious reasons no reliabe statistics can be gathered in respect of them. As far as land tenure system is concerned, Jowai subdivision is conspicuously different from Shillong subdivision. However, land in the whole district can be broadly placed under the following categories:—

423 [692] [651] **1. Rilyngai or Private land.**—They are private land belonging to certain clans or families but not to an individual according to Khasi custom. Neither Sylem nor District Council has got any power over them except the judicial powers to settle any dispute that may arise over any plot of land. The only connection is with the State Forests Department in respect of private protected forests who collects royalty from the produces of these forests if they are used for purposes of

439 East Pakistan to which the people in the border areas were entitled
648 in the strength of various trade agreements of the Government of
458 India with the authorities in Pakistan, were also scarcy. The situation was still more aggravated due to the stringent measures adopted by authorities in Pakistan, on the plea of prevention of smuggling, in December, 1957 when the entire border trade virtually came to a standstill.

245 This chaos in border economy has resulted in widespread unemployment among the border people. There being no market for the
439 produce, the owners ceased to take proper care of their orchards and
458 plantations. As a result thousands of labourers who were employed in the orchards were thrown out of employment. Similar was the condition
464 of those who were employed in the transportation of various commodities such as merchandise of trade etc. A large section of the people engaged in collection of licensees were also rendered unemployed with the set back received by the trade in licences with East Pakistan. Due to stoppage of trans-border trade, petty traders engaged in distributive trade, also suffered.

423 Many of the border people possessing paddy lands and orchards in
648 areas that are located in Pakistan had to abandon them. The following
458 table will show the amount of land lying in Pakistan belonging to the farmer in the selected villages of border area :—

TABLE A-3

Name of villages	Area of land lost through partition		
	No. of families who possessed land in Pakistan	Area (acres)	Average per family (acres)
1. Hongri	91	[illegible]	[illegible]
2. Shilla	9	[illegible]	[illegible]
3. Sholagaj	18	[illegible]	[illegible]
4. Baloj	2	[illegible]	[illegible]
5. Mawdon	nil	—	—
6. Lyngbiat	1	[illegible]	[illegible]
7. Darwing	18	[illegible]	[illegible]
8. Syndai	5	[illegible]	[illegible]
9. Amkil	9	[illegible]	[illegible]
10. Umkawang	nil	—	—

167 A few families who did not have any landed interest on the side
63 of the border were reported to have migrated to Pakistan. Most of the families are even now paying tax to East Pakistan authorities even though they are not getting any income because they do not want to lose their right on land.

From the above table it is seen that the proportion of women in the Border area, Project area and General area are respectively 33 per cent, 33 per cent and 33 per cent of the corresponding total population. Thus each earner has to support himself and roughly one dependent. Thus the burden of dependency is not very heavy in the district. This is because of the fact that men, women and adolescents all join the labour force. Number of women engaged wholly on domestic work is few. Only in big families here, a number of women, one or two of them are engaged in domestic work, otherwise the Khasi women attend to the domestic works in addition to their work in the field.

From table G 2-1 in the appendix it will be seen that respectively 0.7 per cent, 1.8 per cent and 1.3 per cent of the women in border area, Project area and General area are below 15 years of age.

2.6—Attempt was made to study the employment position in the selected villages. For this purpose the following definition of employed and unemployed persons was adopted.

Persons working for pay or profit on that day during a period of 30 days preceding the date of enquiry would be classified as employed. Those who did not work on any day during the last 30 days, may be employed or unemployed. The person is unemployed if—

(i) He who was without a job for the whole reference period.

(ii) Who was seeking one, and

(iii) Who was in a position to accept job if offered one.

A person is also unemployed if he did not work because of his permanent illness, believed that no work was available, or was expecting to return to a job from which he had been indefinitely laid off.

On the other hand a person is employed if he had a job, although temporarily absent from work during the reference period due to illness, vacation, industrial dispute or being laid off temporarily. Also a person would be considered employed if he was waiting to take up a new job which he had been offered or to start a new business.

TABLE C·6

Number of Persons Employed, Unemployed and outside Labour force in the selected villages

Employment status	Border area				Project area				General area			
	Male	Female	Total	P.C. to total persons	Male	Female	Total	P.C. to total persons	Male	Female	Total	P.C. to total persons
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
1. Employed	1070	945	2015	54·94	788	788	1576	53·15	319	246	565	62·63
	(53·10)	(46·90)	(100·00)		(50·00)	(50·00)	(100·00)		(56·46)	(43·54)	(100·00)	
2. Unemployed	32	21	53	1.44	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	(60·40)	(39·61)	(100·00)									
3. Within labour force	1102	966	2068	56·38	788	788	1576	53·15	319	246	565	62·63
	(53·29)	(46·71)	(100.00)		(50·00)	(50·00)	(100·00)		(56.46)	(43.54)	(100·00)	
4. Outside labour force	568	939	1606	43.72	629	760	1389	46.85	146	191	337	37.37
	(35·37)	(58·43)	(100·00)		(45·28)	(54·72)	(100·00)		(43·32)	(56·68)	(100·00)	
Total	1670	1905	3674	100·00	1417	1548	2965	100·00	465	437	902	100·00

162*
464

*162 464 The above table speaks of the employment position in the three village groups. It will be seen that more than half of the population fall within working force the percentage for the general area being 63. As is natural in rural areas, incidence of unemployment is negligible. The few cases of reported unemployment from border areas were mainly due to inability to accept work due to protracted illness or inability to take up some new work by those persons who were engaged by some employer and recently discharged. The percentage of employed persons is however not a true index of the employment situation of the rural areas—as the incidence of under-employment is very high. For agricultural population the slack season is rather very long owing to lack of diversification of the cropping pattern. In most of the areas only one or two seasonal crops are raised each year. Labour population are even more hard hit. Considering the high percentage of labour population, work available to them is rather very small. There are instances as has been mentioned already—where labourers gather together early in the morning for work on wage basis and have to work for a wage of .50 nP. a day. The picture is even more bleak for the Border area. Orchards and plantations are being less attended and a large section of cultivators and the labourers who were formerly working there have to look for alternative work for increasing their purchasing power against the limited opportunities opened to them. The test relief schemes introduced by Government have succeeded in giving seasonal employment to those people only in a very limited scale.

5·7 The relative preponderance of different industrial status groups among the employed persons can be judged from the following:—

TABLE C·7

Industrial status	Border area		Project area		General area	
	No. of Persons	P.C. to total employed persons	No. of persons	P.C. to total employed persons	No. of persons	P.C. to total employed persons
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1. Employer	16	0·79	1	0·06	3	0·53
2. Employee	459	22·78	210	13·32	54	9·56
3. Own account worker	1540	76·43	1365	86·62	508	89·91
Total employed	2015	100·00	1576	100·00	565	100·00

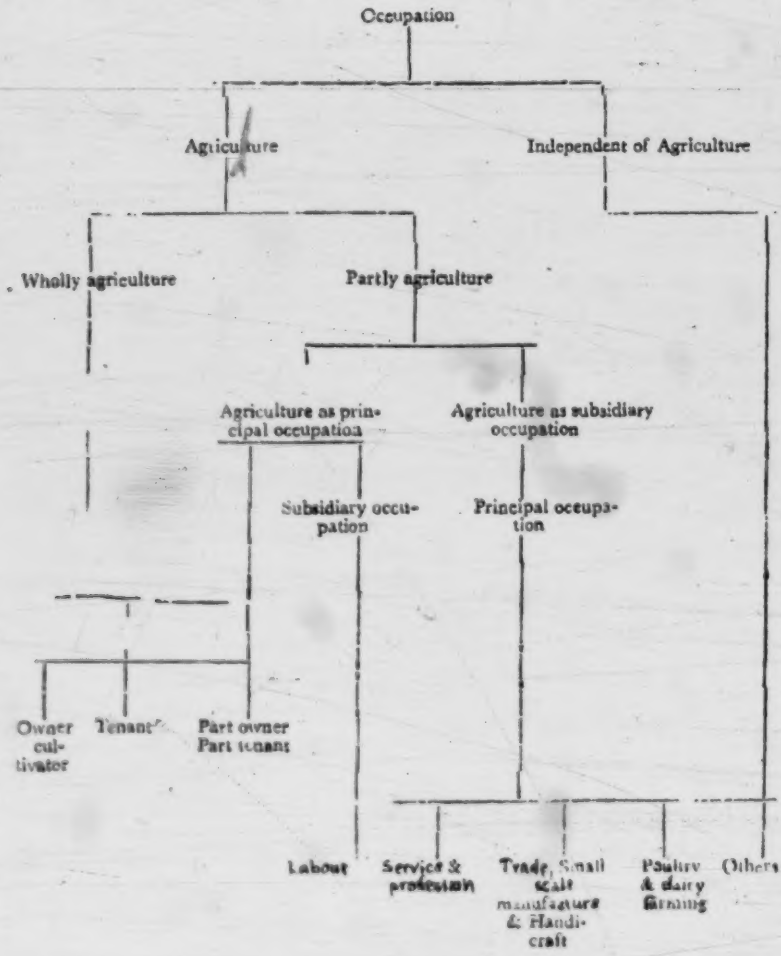
The own account workers form the largest group comprising over 76 per cent, 86 per cent and 89 per cent of the total employed persons in the Border area, Project area and General area respectively followed

by employees who comprise over 22 per cent, 13 per cent and 9 per cent respectively. It may be noted that the large number of families who engaged agricultural labourers on daily basis as and when necessary were not classed as 'employers'. 162* 464 [125]

Occupation

5.8: In the following tables attempt has been made to depict the occupational distribution of the population. 463 125

As agriculture is the principal occupation of the majority of the villagers the following schemes of classification of occupation, has been adopted—



463 A perusal of the table above will show that proportion of families following non-agricultural labour as principal occupation is highest in 464 Border areas. Majority of these families were formerly engaged in [178] agriculture but due to adverse circumstances arising out of partition, one forced to take to other occupations. Test relief works and normal P. W. D. works gave employment to a large section of these people. Other avenues of employment are collection and carriage of limestone, 441 woodcutting, and carrying of merchandise, etc. Traders in stationery articles and groceries who formed the bulk of the traders in the border 433 area are largely the displaced persons and the Bengali people concentrated 563 in Bholaganj and Balat. Others are petty traders dealing in fruits, vegetables, fish, clothes and other foodstuff. Under small-scale manufacture, etc., come the liquor distillers, blacksmiths, carpenters, etc., Commission agents, fishermen, hunters, etc., are shown as others.

5.10 In the following table the families in the three village groups are classified according to their subsidiary occupation.

*162 464 433 As is expected, agriculture comes out to be the single major industry giving employment to about 3/4th of the employed persons. In Border area this accounts for 72 per cent of the total employed persons. Among the other industries giving employment to the rest of the employed persons come in order of importance, construction (8 per cent), trade and commerce (6 per cent), mining and quarrying (6 per cent) and manufacture such as manufacture of foodstuff, production of garments, other wood and stone products (4 per cent). In Project area, apart from agriculture which accounts for 78 per cent other industries in order of importance of employment come construction (11 per cent), service and profession, manufacture, trade and livestock (2per cent each), and rearing (4 per cent). In General area agriculture gives employment to 88 per cent of the population. Next to it come livestock rearing, manufacture and forestry which account for 6 per cent and 2 per cent respectively of the total employed persons.

CHAPTER—X

Summary of main findings

125 10.1. Twenty-eight villages were selected for the purpose of the survey. Out of the 28 villages selected, 10 from Border area and 8 from Project area were selected purposively while the remaining 10 were selected at random from the entire district which is referred hereafter as general area.

166 Migration from big villages was rare but some migration was reported in respect of small villages.

164 743 871 489 482 Occurrence of Malaria, influenza and dysentery is a regular phenomenon in the area. Medical facilities were not found satisfactory and as much as 78 per cent of the villages have no dispensary within a radius of five miles. In regard to education, the facilities cannot also be said to be unsatisfactory for more than 60 per cent of the villages have a Lower Primary School. Transport facilities were not satisfactory and as much as 86 per cent of the villages still depend upon orimitive mode of transport, namely head load. Correlated with outmoded form of transport, is the prevalence of unduly high cost of transport.

*162 161 10.2. The number of the families covered by the survey was 1006 in the Border area, and 647 in the Project area and 184 in the General area. The average size of a village in the respective area is 100·6, 80·9 and 18·4 families. In the Border and Project areas females out number males being respectively 1076 and 1092 females per 1,000 males as against 940 females per 1,000 males in the general area 212 Literacy is as high as 34 per cent in the border area and 31 per cen [562] in the Project area but as low as 17 per cent in the general area In all the areas literacy among females is very low.

*162 464 The working population (earners and earning dependents) is as high as 55 per cent in the Border area, 54 per cent in the Project area and 63 per cent in the general area. While there were no cases of unemployment in the Project and General areas, 53 persons were reported unemployed from border area.

241 *162 463 10.3. 51 per cent of the families in Border area are wholly agricultural, 35 per cent partly agricultural and 14 per cent independent o agriculture. The corresponding figures for the Project area are 61, 31 and 8 per cent respectively while for the General area they are 70 per cent, 29 per cent, 1 per cent respectively.

Predominantly agricultural families constitute 67, 76 and 90 per cent of the families in Border, Project and General areas respectively.

*162 423 10.4. 31 per cent of the families in Border area, 29 per cent in Project area and 10 per cent in General area were absolutely without any land while 25 per cent, 39 per cent and 24 per cent of the families in the respective areas possessed small holding ranging from 0·24 to 2·30 acres representing 11,24 and 26 per cent of the total holding area in the respective areas. 36 per cent of the families in Border and Project areas and 41 in General area possessed medium sized holding (3 to less than 10 acres)

TABLE C—7·11

Employed persons in the three village groups classified according to Industial status :

Industrial Status	Border area				Project area				General area			
	No. of persons			P. C. to total employed persons	No. of persons			P. C. to total employed persons				P. C. to total employed persons
	Male	Female	Total		Male	Female	Total		Male	Female	Total	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
1. Employed ..	15	1	16	0.79	1	..	1		3		3	0·53
2. Employee ..	264	195	459	22·78	112	98	210	13·32	38	16	54	9·56
3. Own account worker	791	749	1540	76·43	675	690	1365	86·62	278	230	508	89·91
Total employed persons	1070	945	2015	100·00	788	788	1576	100·00	319	246	565	100·00

162 464

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

reared either for food or as articles of trade. A pair of ploughing oxen are worth about Rs. 32, or £3, 4s.; an ordinary cow, Rs. 12, or £1, 4s.; a score of kids six months old, Rs. 16, or £1, 12s.; and a score of full-grown pigs, from Rs. 100 to Rs. 160, or from £10 to £16. 231 435

THE AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS in use in the District consist of a plough, called *ka-jing-lúr* in Khásí, and a hoe or *kodáli*, called *u-mo-khiw*. When the cultivation is carried on by means of oxen, the plough is used, the hoe alone being used when the land is cultivated by manual labour. In the Khási Hills the use of the plough, except in a few rare cases, is entirely unknown; but in the Jáintiá Hills, oxen and ploughs are used to a greater extent. What is technically termed 'a plough' of land is equivalent to four English acres; a pair of oxen, together with the necessary implements, would represent a capital of about Rs. 40, or £4. 241 407 [435]

WAGES.—The Deputy-Commissioner reports that the price of labour in the District has more than doubled in the last ten years. The rates obtaining at present are from eightpence to one shilling a day for an ordinary labourer, and from one shilling to eighteenpence a day for a porter. An agricultural day-labourer earns sixpence, and a woman at the same work fourpence-halfpenny a day. Bricklayers, carpenters, and blacksmiths earn from a shilling to eighteenpence a day. The new Station of Shillong, the present seat of the Local Government, was established in May 1864, and since that date the demand for labour has markedly increased. The extension of the cultivation of potatoes has also had an appreciable effect on the price of labour. 178 464 465 [244]

PRICES OF FOOD GRAINS.—Of the different descriptions of rice in the markets of the District, the better sorts are imported from the neighbouring Districts of Sylhet and Kámrúp. The local produce is considered fit only for the use of the Khásiás. The price of the better descriptions depends entirely upon the distance from which the supplies come. In a distant market like that of Shillong, rice of the best quality generally sells at from 6 to 7 *sers* for the rupee, or from 16s. to 18s. 8d. per cwt.; and rice of inferior quality, which is only used by the poorer classes, at from 9 to 10 *sers* for the rupee, or from 11s. 2d. to 12s. 5d. per cwt. Little or no trade is carried on in unhusked grain. Paddy produced in the District generally sells at an average of from 15 to 16 *sers* per rupee, or from 7s. to 7s. 6d. per cwt. Indian corn, which is only grown to a small extent, is sold 435 439 243

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

SECTION II.

OCCUPATION.

241 THE greater proportion of the population subsists by cultiva-
463 tion. Cultivation of rice may be divided under two headings,
[162] high land or dry cultivation and low land or wet cultivation. The total number of persons who subsist by agriculture generally in the hills, is given in the last Census Report as 154,907, but the term agriculture includes the cultivation of the potato, the orange, betel-nut and *pán*. A full description of the different forms of agriculture will be given under the
463 heading "Agriculture." A considerable number of Khasis earn
482 their livelihood as porters, carrying potatoes to the markets on
439 the Sylhet side of the district, from whence the crop is conveyed by means of country boats to the different places of call of river-steamers in the Surma Valley, the steamers carrying the potatoes to Calcutta. Potatoes are also largely carried to Shillong by porters, where the tuber is readily bought by Marwari merchants, who load it in carts to be conveyed by road to Gauhati, from which station it is again shipped to
482 Calcutta and Upper Assam. Many persons are also employed in
463 carrying rice up the hill from Theria to Cherrapunji, Shillong,
[465] and on to other places. Salt is also carried by porters by this route. Many Khasis, both male and female, live by daily labour in this way, earning as much as eight annas, and
[162] six annas a day, respectively. The Census Report of 1901 shows some 14,000 "general labourers" in the district, the greater number of whom are porters and coolies, both male
[357] and female, employed on road work and on building. In Shillong the Government Offices and the printing press give employment to a certain number of Khasis. There is also a fair demand for Khasi domestic servants, both among the Europeans and the Bengali and Assamese clerks who are employed at the headquarters of the Administration.

I: Gurdon E-4,5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

headquarters of the Administration. The manufacture of country spirit gives employment to a considerable number of persons, most of whom are females. At a recent census of the country stills in the district, undertaken by the district officials, the number of stills has been found to be 1,530. There must be at least one person employed at each still, so that the number of distillers is probably not less than 2,000, possibly more. The spirit is distilled both for home consumption and for purposes of sale, in some villages almost entirely for sale. In the Jaintia Hills stock-breeding and dealing in cattle provides occupation for 1,295 people, according to the last census. The cattle are reared in the Jaintia Hills and are driven down to the plains when they reach the age of maturity, where they find a ready market amongst the Sylhetis. Cattle are also driven into Shillong for sale from the Jaintia Hills. Another place for rearing cattle is the Siemship of Nongkhlaw, where there is good pasturage in the neighbourhood of Mairang. These cattle are either sold in Shillong or find their way to the Kamrup district by the old Nongkhlaw road. Cattle-breeding is an industry which is capable of expansion in these hills. There are a few carpenters to be found in Shillong and its neighbourhood. The Khasis are said by Col. Waddell to be unacquainted with the art of weaving; but the fact that a considerable weaving industry exists amongst the Khyrwang villages of the Syntengs, and at Mynso and Suhtnga, has been overlooked by him. The Khyrwangs weave a special pattern of cotton and silk cloth, striped red and white. In Mynso and Suhtnga similar cloths are woven, also the sleeveless coat. In former days this industry is said to have been considerable, but it has been displaced to a large extent of late years by Manchester piece goods. The number of weavers returned at the last census in the district was 533. The Khasis and Mikirs of the low country, or Bhois as they are called, weave cotton cloths which they dye with the leaves of a plant called *u noli*. This is perhaps the wild indigo, or *ram*, of the Shan settlers in the Assam Valley. The weavers are almost always females. An important means of subsistence is road and building work; a considerable number of coolies, both male and female, are employed under Government, practically throughout the year, in

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

[499] this manner, the males earning on an average 8 annas and the
463 females 6 annas a day. Col. Bivar writes that in 1875 the
465 wages for ordinary male labourers were 4 to 8 annas a day, and for females 2½ to 4 annas, so that the wages rates have almost doubled in the last thirty years. Contractors, however, often manage to obtain daily labour at lower rates than those paid by Government. Stonemasons and skilled labourers are able to
482 get higher rates. It is easier to obtain coolies in the Khasi
241 than in the Jaintia Hills, where a large proportion of the popu-
461 lation is employed in cultivation. The Khasis are excellent labourers, and cheerful and willing, but they at once resent bad treatment, and are then intractable and hard to manage. Khasis are averse to working in the plains in the hot-weather months.

APICULTURE.

231 I am indebted to Mr. Rita for the following remarks on apiculture in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills.

There are two kinds of indigenous bees in the Khasi Hills, one domesticated, called *u ngap* (*apis Indica*), and the other *u lywai*, which is never domesticated, and is very pugnacious; its hives are difficult of access, being always located in very high cliffs. A few hives of a third class of bee are now-a-days to be found in and around the station of Shillong, i.e. the Italian.
[177] This bee was imported into the hills by Messrs. Dobbie and Rita, and the species became propagated in the following manner. The bees had been just established in a hive, where they had constructed a brood comb, when the hive was robbed by some Khasis for the sake of the *larvæ* it contained, which they wished to consume as food; but the queen bee escaped and established other colonies, one of which was afterwards captured by Mr. Rita, the others establishing themselves at places in the neighbourhood. The hive used by the Khasis is of a very primitive description. It is usually a hollow piece of wood, about 2½ to 3 ft. in length and 10 or 12 in. in diameter. A small door is placed at each end of the log, one for the bees to go in and out, and the other for the removal of the honey when wanted. The honey-combs are broken and the honey is

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274 Nongwar, thirty-one stills; and Rangthang, thirty-seven
438 stills.

From what has been stated above some idea may be gathered
274 how very large the number of stills in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills is. I am not in a position to state with any degree of accuracy what is the amount of spirit manufactured or consumed in the year, but it is very considerable. The out-turn of a Khasi still has been reckoned at from four to eight bottles per day. From this estimate, and the fact that there are 1,530 stills in the district, it may be roughly calculated what is the consumption annually. Practically the whole of the spirit is consumed within the district. The liquor which is manufactured is far stronger than the spirit distilled in the ordinary out-stills in the plains.
273 It has been stated by an expert analyst that the Khasi spirit
135 contains 60 to 80 per cent. of proof spirit, and that it possesses "an exceptionally nice flavour and taste." The usual price at which it is sold is 4 to 6 annas a quart bottle, a second quality being sometimes sold for 3 annas. It will be seen that the
[465] liquor is exceedingly cheap. A Khasi in the villages of the interior can get drunk for 2 annas,* or a quarter of an ordinary coolie's daily wage. Drunkenness prevails on every market day at Cherrapunji, Jowai, and other large hats, and on occasions when there are gatherings of the people for various purposes. This cheap but strong spirit is demoralizing the people, and some restriction of its use would be welcomed by
273 many. In the Khasi Welsh Methodist Church abstention from
797 liquor is made a condition of Church membership, but the vast number of stills and the facilities with which liquor can be obtained are a constant source of temptation to the Christian community, and cause many defections.

GAMES.

526 The Khasis have many games, but their principal game is archery, this may be said to be the national game, and is a very popular form of recreation amongst them, the sport being indulged in from about the beginning of January to the end of

* About threepence.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

workers and they were few in number.[1] They were particularly employed for such work as the clearing of jungle for new pan gardens in summer. 245 464

In the orange season (December to February) the number of workers increased and they were paid more: Rs. 1/8 were paid[2] for one load (one person carrying 80 pounds of oranges, from an orange garden to the railway station—about two miles). Usually a worker made three to five trips a day. Many workers from Jaintia used to come for this particular season. 245 464 465

Semi-permanent workers were engaged for wet rice fields. They were usually Hindu cultivators: since these Khasi and other tribes do not know the technique of wet cultivation, plains people like the Biharee immigrants were engaged. These workers were provided with servants' quarters where they lived with their wives and children. However, very few Jatinga households possessed rice fields. 243 464

The economic prosperity of Jatinga reached its climax during the period from 1934 to 1940. Since 1942, the orange production has been decreasing. In 1945, a serious disease attacked the orange gardens as well as the pan-leaf gardens. Besides, by depriving Jatinga, as it had Shella, of their most important markets, Dacca and Sylhet, the Partition of India and Pakistan in 1947 caused a serious economic depression in the whole region. On the other hand, because of the past prosperity, the population has rapidly increased during the last ten years. The serious economic condition of Jatinga is illustrated in the petition which was submitted by the Jatinga people when the Governor of Assam visited those areas in January 1956. It runs thus: 245 434 781 161 458

"Since the last ten years or so, with the increase of population in the village and with the loss of fertility of the soil, the people were faced with economic depression. At present they are facing acute shortage of land they have also no scope to adopt other forms of cultivation like jhuming and wet rice cultivation, etc. Moreover, there has been successive attack of Bright's disease which destroyed and wiped out all the orange and pan gardens. And as such, majority of the families have to depend for their livelihood on daily wages. . . ."

It is indeed a serious situation for them, because the Khasi do not produce staple foods, such as rice; their economy is completely dependent on the trade of their products by which they purchase their main provisions, clothes, etc. Other peoples round Jatinga, being jhum cultivators, can at least get rice and cotton: the minimum requirements, staple foods and clothing are available even in the worst conditions, so that they can at least maintain themselves though the standard of living is low. As I stated before, a few households in Jatinga possessed rice fields, but the majority had none. Recently they rented some plots of jhum field for rice cultivation from Zemi-Naga of neighbouring villages.[3] However, its yield was but a small percentage of their consumption. A few 182 434 [433] [243]

1. If they had worked in the gardens of Jatinga, they might have got more profit than from their own jhum fields. For one day's labour, they got Ans. 8/. For one month, they could earn Rs. 15 with which they could buy about 4-5 maunds of rice (one maunds paddy cost Rs. 3-4). For one year it became 50 maunds, which was impossible to produce in a jhum field by a single person's labour. [435]

2. These rates, including the figures of note 1, apply to 1956.

3. Jatinga villagers told me that Zemi-Naga were kind enough to lend them their field for a negligible rent, though they had not enough for themselves. Zemi-Naga said that they owed much to Jatinga in the past, so that now they sympathised with the condition of Jatinga, and offered some parts of their jhum field. [427] [628]

241 464 2.10 **Labour and Wages**: It has already been mentioned above that a large number of people subsist on labour—agricultural as well as non-agricultural. Owners of big orchards employ labourers for clearing of their orchards twice or thrice a year, plucking and transporting of produce to markets. Paddy cultivators with large farm engage labourers for ploughing and hoeing of fields, sowing, harvesting and threshing of paddy. It should be mentioned that due to the peculiar agricultural practices prevalent in the district, the input of labourer even for paddy cultivation is higher than that in any of the plains district of the State, which compels cultivators to hire 241 labourer even for small paddy fields. In the case of cash crops, wages 464 are usually paid in cash and for food crops it is paid in cash and 465 kind more usually in kind. Wage rates for males and females are different which generally vary from Rs.1.50 to 1.25 for males and Rs.1.25 to Re. 1.00 for females.

There are, however, numerous instances of engaging agricultural labourers at the rate of Re. 0.50 per day. During the scarcity months the well-to-do farmers advance loans to the poorer section of the people on condition that repayment will have to be made by rendering labour on wage basis at the rate of Re. 0.50 per day in the creditors farms whenever their services are demanded. Thus whenever their services are demanded the poor people have to work in creditor's farm even at the cost of ruining their own cultivation.

There are other instances where the labourers are paid less than usual wages. In some villages where there is dearth of work all the agricultural labourers gather together at some specified place early in the morning. The well-to-do farmers go there and through bargaining manage to engage the number of hands they want at very low rates. Similar bidding down of wages of non-agricultural labourers is also prevalent whenever demand for labour is very low.

Land utilisation and cropping

423 659 2.11 **Land tenure system.**—The district of United K.-J. Hills is not cadastrally surveyed and so far as land tenure is concerned, there is no rigid uniform or regular system worth the name, with the exception of those lands under the control of the State Forest Department and the Local District Council. There are different kinds of land under different systems, though for obvious reasons no reliable statistics can be gathered in respect of them. As far as land tenure system is concerned, Jowai subdivision is conspicuously different from Shillong subdivision. However, land in the whole district can be broadly placed under the following categories:—

423 [692] [657] I. **Rikyntí or Private land.**—They are private land belonging to certain clans or families but not to an individual according to Khasi custom. Neither Syiem nor District Council has got any power over them except the judicial powers to settle any dispute that may arise over any plot of land. The only connection is with the State Forests Department in respect of private protected forests who collects royalty from the produces of these forests if they are used for purposes of

4.1 **Marketing.**—The Khasis and Jaintias are market minded people. Rarely they sell their produce at the farm site. They have established markets at all vantage points of the district to which they carry over miles their produce on headload for sale. On market days it is a treat to see a stream of people with headloads coming to the market up and down hills from miles away. 442 443 [483]

Markets are held usually twice in every eight days of which one is a 'Sutabazar' day which is held on every eighth day and the other is a 'Choto Bazar' day which is held two days ahead of the Sutabazar day. The following table shows the marketing facilities available to the rural people in the sample villages.

Table B-7 below shows the number of markets classified according to distances from the selected villages served by them and charges per maund for transport of produces from the village to these markets. 442 443 465 489

TABLE B-7

Portage per maund from village to market	Distance from village to market: 0 mile	Less than 5 miles	5—10 miles	Above 10 miles	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Rs. nP. Rs. nP.					
0·00 or less	?	..	..	..	?
0·01 „ 0·50	..	1	..	..	1
0·51 „ 0·75	1	1	..	..	2
0·76 „ 1·00	1	6	1	..	7
1·01 „ 1·50	..	6	7	..	13
1·51 „ 2·00	..	3	3	3	6
2·01 „ 2·50	..	1	..	6	7
2·51 „ 3·00	..	..	..	3	3
Above Rs 3·00	..	..	..	1	1
Total ..	2	13	10	13	40

No. of villages served by—

1	market?	13
2	markets	8
3	„	7
4	„	1

465 419 The above table shows clearly that the producers have to pay heavy charges when porters are engaged which becomes inevitable particularly when the distance to market is very long or the way to the market is difficult to negotiate. The table shows that out of a total of 45 markets with which the people in the 28 selected villages use to carry on transactions, 10 are situated at a distance of 5 to 10 miles, while 13 are situated more than 10 miles away from the village. Considering the fact that transport is to be done by head load only, marketing of the agricultural produce is indeed a difficult task. The transport charges to be paid are also high. It is seen from the above table that out of the 45 markets, transport charges in as many as 11 markets work out to be higher than Rs. 2 a maund.

474 4.9 **Co-operation** - Twelve co-operative societies were met within the selected villages. Out of these as many as 7 were engaged in marketing or trading. These organisations grew up sometime earlier under direct sponsorship of Government but mostly at the initiative of the villagers themselves to meet certain situations. The following statement shows a list of the co-operative societies in the sample villages.

TABLE B-2

Name of village	Name of society	Sponsored by
(1)	(2)	(3)
1. Syndai ...	Marketing Society	Government.
2. Raitong ...	(1) Women Welfare Association.	Local people.
	(2) A Credit Co-operative Association.	
3. Nartiang ...	(1) Trading Co-operative Society.	Do.
	(2) Credit Society for the improvement of the lot of farmers.	
4. Amki ..	Marketing Society	Government
5. Parbeknilh ...	The Mulberry Garden Co-operative Society.	Local people
6. Mukynshnilh ...	Trading Co-operative Society.	Do.

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR? Khasi AR?

428 to the sisters of his wife, or to her nearest relatives if there are no sisters. The rank and titles of a deceased male descend to his brother; when no brother exists, then to the male children of his mother's sisters (maternal aunts); should the maternal aunts have no male children living at the time, then to the eldest male child of his sisters. When no relatives are to be found, the property of the deceased goes to the ruler of the country; or if a man dies leaving no relative other than wife and children, *i.e.* no relatives on the mother's side, the property in this case also goes to the ruler, who, as the wife and children cannot preserve the ashes of the deceased, takes charge of them, and for so doing takes all the property also. With regard to the inhabitants of the Lower Hills at Sheillá, the custom as to succession is as follows:—Property belonging to a subject of Sheillá is divided into two classes—(1) Property inherited from ancestors, which descends to the nearest of kin or to the relative of a deceased person who can perform his obsequies. (2) Property acquired during the lifetime of the holder, which is inherited by the children, whose duty it is to provide for the maintenance of their mother until she re-marries or dies.'

434 Material Condition of the People.—The Khásis and the
• 465 Syntengs are as a people prosperous. Common labourers, if adult males, can earn wages as high as one shilling per diem, and adult
342 females as high as eighpence. The dwellings of the well-to-do classes are generally constructed of masonry, with thatched roof and
352 plank floor, and divided into two or three rooms. The furniture consists of a bedstead (*charpái*), a seat or two (*mora*), some cooking
342 utensils, and a few boxes. The ordinary peasants and poorer
184 classes construct their huts of stone, mud, or plank walls, with a thatch or cane roof. These are fitted with wooden platforms
262 or loose planks placed on the ground to serve as beds. The food of the well-to-do classes consists of rice, fish when obtainable, fowl
434 or meat, curry, vegetables, oil, bag's lard, fermented and spirituous liquor. It may be estimated that the living expenses of an average-sized household of this class would be about Rs. 25 or £2, per a month, valuing the articles of consumption at *bázár* prices. An ordinary husbandman or labourer lives on rice, dry fish, occasionally a
276 little meat, oil, or bag's lard. *Pán* leaf, betel-nut, and lime are essential to the comfort of all the hill people, who are inveterate chewers of *pán*. They commence at an early age, and are rarely seen without a *pán* leaf in their mouths; the females are quite

20: Muster G-4 (no date) 1937 AR? Khasi AR?

(8) Cotton is grown on high lands, and
248 ripens; it is sown in April, and becomes fit for picking by January.

311 Area and Distribution of Crops.—According to the Assam Administration Report for 1899-1900, the area of the British portion of
241 the Khasi and Jaintia Hills District amounts to 2,160 square miles,
640 of which only 120 are under cultivation; of the remainder, 1,337 square miles are set down as culturable, and 703 as uncultivable. The total area of the semi-independent Khasi States is given as 3,997 square miles, of which 178 are under cultivation, 1,560 are culturable, and 1,260 uncultivable. In another portion of the same Report, the area under various crops throughout the entire District is thus approximately estimated:—Rice, 75,780 acres; other food grains, 37,800 acres; cotton, 1,038 acres; potatoes, 33,180 acres. The average outturn of rice per acre is returned at 8 maunds, or nearly 6 cwt.; of other food grains, 3 maunds, or over 2 cwt.; of cotton, 2 maunds, or 1½ cwt.; of
(4 35) potatoes, 33 maunds, or nearly 40 cwt. The price of rice in 1899-1900 was Rs. 4 8 per maund, or cwt. Rs. 2 cwt., which gives Rs. 36 or £2 10s. as the value of the rice crop obtained from one acre.

241 Condition of the Peasantry.—The Khasis can scarcely be considered as agricultural people, as they do not grow sufficient
923 grain for their own subsistence, and are dependent to a great
433 extent on imports of rice from the neighbouring Districts. Ten acres is generally considered a comfortable holding for a husbandman in the position of an ordinary Bengal peasant, but scarcely any man in the Hills depends entirely upon the produce of his land for his support. In the Jaintia Hills a cultivator's position is considered to be very low if he possesses no cattle, but performs all the operations of agriculture with his own hands. In that portion
(231) of the District, five acres is all that can be cultivated with a single
(774) pair of oxen, the average being four acres. A husbandman with a
(465) holding of five acres would not be so well off as a small shopkeeper, nor would it enable him to live as comfortably as he could on a money wage of Rs. 8 or 10 a month. The peasantry, however, as a class are not in debt. The land is owned chiefly by small proprietors, who occupy and cultivate their hereditary fields. The relations of landlord and tenant do not exist in the Hills, and no rent is payable to any one; consequently the principle of Act 8 of 1869 (the Rent Law of Bengal) has no application.

231 The domestic cattle in agriculture are oxen; goats and pigs are
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20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR? Khasi AR?

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round either for food or as articles of trade. A pair of ploughing oxen are worth about Rs. 30, or £2, 0s.; an ordinary cow, Rs. 12, or £1, 4s.; a score of kids six months old, Rs. 16, or £1, 10s.; and a score of full-grown pigs, from Rs. 100 to Rs. 160, or from £10 to £16.

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THE AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS in use in the District consist of a plough, called *kopyrtir* in Khásí, and a hoe or *dokit*, called *cowdikir*. When the cultivation is carried on by means of oxen, the plough is used, the hoe alone being used where the land is cultivated by manual labour. In the Khásí Hills the use of the plough, except in a few rare cases, is entirely unknown; but in the Jaintia Hills, oxen and ploughs are used to a greater extent. What is [495]
colloquially termed "a plough" of land is equivalent to four English acres; a pair of oxen, together with the necessary implements, would represent a capital of about Rs. 40, or £2.

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WAGES.—The Deputy-Commissioner reports that the price of labour in the District has more than doubled in the last ten years. The rates obtaining at present are from eighteen to one shilling a day for an ordinary labourer, and from one shilling to eighteen pence a day for a parrah. An agricultural day-labourer earns eighteen, and a woman at the same work fourpence-halfpenny a day. Smiths, masons, carpenters, and blacksmiths earn from a shilling to eighteen pence a day. The new Rupee of Shillong, the present seat of the Local Government, was established in May 1882, and since that date the demand for labour has markedly increased. The extension of the cultivation of potatoes has also had an appreciable [204]
effect on the price of labour.

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PRICES OF FOOD GRAINS.—Of the different descriptions of rice in the markets of the District, the better sorts are imported from the neighbouring Districts of Sylhet and Kámrúp. The local produce is considered fit only for the use of the Khásís. The price of the better descriptions depends entirely upon the distance from which the supplies come. In a dispersed market like that of Shillong, rice of the best quality generally sells at from 6 to 7 seers for the rupee, or from 16s. to 18s. 8d. per cwt.; and rice of inferior quality, which is only used by the poorer classes, at from 9 to 10 seers for the rupee, or from 11s. 6d. to 12s. 9d. per cwt. Little or no trade is carried on in unhusked grain. Paddy produced in the District generally sells at an average of from 15 to 18 seers per rupee, or from 7s. to 7s. 6d. per cwt. Indian corn, which is only grown to a small extent, is sold

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR 7 Khasi AR 7

625 In 1835, when British authority was first extended to the Khási
648 Hills, the cost of maintaining the police, from the rank of *jemádár*
465 or head constable upwards, was £45; and in 1840, £57, 16s. By
1860, when the Jáintiá Hills had been annexed, and a *thána* opened
at Jowái, the cost had risen to £480. In the year 1869 the strength
of the regular police was 149 men in the Khási Hills, and 20
additional 29 in Jáintiá.

In 1875 the police statistics of the Khási and Jáintiá Hills were
as follow:—The force consisted of 2 inspectors on a salary of
upwards of Rs. 100 a month, or £100 a year; 3 sub-inspectors and
13 head constables on a salary of less than Rs. 100 a month; and
113 constables on an average pay of Rs. 9 a month, or £10, 16s. a
year. The total pay of subordinate officers amounted to Rs. 8,340
or £834 a year; and the total pay of constables to Rs. 12,168 or
£1216, 16s. Certain contingencies brought up the aggregate expenses
to Rs. 24,563 or £2456, 13s. The total number of men of all
ranks was 131. As compared with the area and population of the
District, these figures show one man to every 16·49 square miles, or
to every 153 persons of the population, maintained at a cost of
Rs. 2, 1 or 5s. 1½d. per square mile, and of 2 *annás* 10 *pies* or 4½d.
per head of population. Of the total force, 1 officer and 13 men
were employed to guard the jail, 3 officers and 23 men to guard the
treasury and lock-up and to serve as escorts, leaving 14 officers and
77 men available for general duty.

648 Criminal Statistics.—The District of the Khási and Jáintiá Hills,
692 like the other Hill Districts of Assam, is administered by political
officers, under special rules formed under Act xxiii. of 1869. Petty
criminal cases are disposed of by the indigenous magistracy, and
only cases of a heinous character are reported to the political officers.
Similarly, civil causes are referred to arbitration, according to the
indigenous system of village *pancháyats*; and the Deputy-Commissioner
reports that this system, while affording equal justice to the
people, tends to preserve them from the evil of litigiousness.

679 In 1874 the total number of cases reported by the police to the
178 political officers was 83, as compared with 63 in the previous year.
In these 83 cases, 102 persons were arrested, of whom 72 were put
on their trial; 62 persons, or 86 per cent., were convicted, and 10
were acquitted.

Though little serious crime exists in the Hills, yet the number of
offences shows a tendency towards increase. The Report of the

465 489 The above table shows clearly that the producers have to pay heavy charges when porters are engaged which becomes inevitable particularly when the distance to market is very long or the way to the market is difficult to negotiate. The table shows that out of a total of 12 markets with which the people in the 28 selected villages use to carry on transactions, 10 are situated at a distance of 5 to 10 miles, while 13 are situated more than 10 miles away from the village. Considering the fact that transport is to be done by headload only, marketing of the agricultural produce is indeed a difficult task. The transport charges to be paid are also high. It is seen from the above table that out of the 45 markets, transport charges to as many as 11 markets work out to be higher than Rs. 2 a maund.

474 4.9 **Co-operation** - Twelve co-operative societies were met within the selected villages. Out of these as many as 7 were engaged in marketing or trading. These organisations grew up sometime earlier under direct sponsorship of Government but mostly at the initiative of the villagers themselves to meet certain situations. The following statement shows a list of the co-operative societies in the sample villages.

TABLE B-8

Name of village	Name of society	Sponsored by
(1)	(2)	(3)
1. Syndai ...	Marketing Society	Government.
2. Raitong ...	(1) Women Welfare Association.	Local people.
	(2) A Credit Co-operative Association.	
3. Nartiang ...	(1) Trading Co-operative Society.	Do.
	(2) Credit Society for the Improvement of the lot of farmers.	
6. Amki ..	Marketing Society	Government
5. Pathorkhmah ...	The Mulberry Garden Co-operative Society.	Local people
6. Mawsynram ...	Trading Co-operative Society.	Do.

Name of village (1)	Name of society (2)	Sponsored by (3)
7. Sutnga ...	(1) Credit Society.	Local people
	(2) Co-operative Trading Society.	
8. Darrang ...	Marketing Society.	Do
9. Shella ..	Trading Co-operative Society.	Do.

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4.10 **Cottage Industries.**—It has already been mentioned that Village and Cottage Industries are not very popular in the district. 433

The following table shows the industries reported from the sample villages:—

TABLE B-9

Industry (1)	No. of villages reporting existence of the industries. (2)	No. of villages reporting production for sale. (3)	
Cane and bamboo works ...	9	7	322
Blacksmithy	5	5	326
Tailoring	2	2	294
Handloom	...	...	286
Weaving and Spinning ...	3	1	284
Rearing of cocoons, etc. ...	1	1	283
Rearing of lac	1	1	231
Others	2	1	

Blacksmithy and making of baskets, cane products, etc., out of cane and bamboo, are a traditional occupation. Weaving and spinning of cotton, rearing of endi cocoon and weaving of endi, etc., are in vogue only in the Bhoi area and the areas adjoining Kamrup and North Cachar and Mikir Hills districts. Lac rearing is found in the northern portion of the district, *i.e.*, Nongpoh area. 184

Except cane and bamboo works and blacksmithy other industries are practised in a very limited scale. There is thus a lot of scope for introducing cottage industries in the district.

776 Therefore nobody dares to appropriate the ob-
782 jects that have been thrown away or even to touch
783 them. Only into the house of the S'iem and into the whole royal family can no entrance be found by the thlen, and therefore some valuable things may be given to the Khasi king. This may be connected with the fact that usually on the next morning after the above ceremony nothing more is to be found of the objects that were given away. Therefore it rarely happened in former times that anyone kept a found object from fear that it might be thlen property and he might bring the thlen devil into his house with it. But if they did take an object they found, a piece of money or such, home with them, the oracle was first asked by egg throwing whether it contained any evil, and only when this was denied and the real owner could not be found did they keep a part of it; the rest had to be used for sacrificial purposes.

The immovable property is treated the same way as the movable property. Fields which the family formerly possessed lie fallow; nobody dares to take them over or to plant anything on them.
• [476] But the whole village hastens to help the former thlen[1] owners who have lost all their property. They are given clothes and rice and helped in building a hut so that they can begin an honest life again.

c) Story of a Former Thlen Worshipper.

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593 How is all this known about the thlen,[1] many ask, if the owners try to hide their secret? An indirect answer is already given by the whole previous presentation. Then it also happens, for example, that men marry into the house of a woman who is a thlen owner. Certainly this is not always known beforehand, although real thlen

1 [devil snake; see Cat 116, pp 28 ff. --Anonyst]

9: Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 AR7 Khasi AR7

cover what their ancestors are doing for them, and what their views and inclinations may be as regards the amount of aid they may give. To a Khasia there is no difficulty about the matter; when in distress or requiring aid of any kind, seeking omens by the breaking of eggs (which I will hereafter describe) he appeals to and propitiates any one ancestor he may select; only one or two may promise such protection, and these it may so happen have died years ago. The benefit also conferred may be very trivial, and sufficiently acknowledged by the setting up of stones of small size; on the contrary, if great favours are conferred on the wealthy we find large monoliths forming conspicuous landmarks on many a hill-top, scattered over a large area of country, and which are mostly known to the country round by the name of the individuals who have wrought so much good in their after state. 764 769 211 [782]

These stones are never erected in pairs or in even numbers; in counting over a very large series still perfect, I found them invariably in sets of three, five, seven, or, as I have before mentioned in the case of the Nongtariang clan, in two sets, five and five, on opposite sites, to the same individual.* Even numbers are considered unfinished or imperfect. 801 211 764

A reference to the plans given, numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, will show the various arrangements in which the stones are set up, both in a segment of a circle and at right angles to each other, as in fig. 3. The most common form, however, is in line, fig. 4. Fig. 1 consisted of a circular platform raised about two feet, faced with rough stones on the front face. These three examples were observed on the hill of Lailang-kote, where the bazar is held, and I have not seen anywhere else the monoliths so arranged; in other parts of the country they are invariably set up in a straight row.

These monuments are also erected for such a reason as the following:—During the illness of a person, every kind of propitiation and exorcism either by the breaking of eggs, sacrifice of fowls, pigs, etc., and by the examination of the liver and viscera, having been made, and then failing to restore him; the sick man may vow that should he recover, he will erect a set of stones to one of his ancestors, who, it is presumed, on knowing of the intention, will do his best to save him. 764 211 [782] [787]

In setting up these slabs all members of the community are under an obligation to assist on such an occasion, and are not paid for their labour, beyond receiving in the evening a little food or liquor at the dwelling of the family who have sought the aid. The skilled workmen employed on the stone-cutting are, 764 211 476

* Three and five are the most frequent numbers met with, nine very rare I have seen eleven.

1/9 [See end charts 1-4, category 116 -- Analyst]

9: Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 AR7 Khasi AR7

476
764 however, regularly paid, as is done when cutting the stones for
211 the funeral platform; while this work is in progress musicians
[533] are also entertained, and a continual beating of tom-toms (hand-drums) is kept up while the work is in progress.

That many of these monuments, and by far the larger number,
764 are of great age, may be inferred from the fact that their history
211 is quite lost.
171 As to their distribution, they are to be found over all the higher part of the range; the finest, certainly, in the central portion and in the vicinity of the larger villages, such as Cherra Poonjee, Juwai, Nurtiang, etc.

In Nongstoin, on the west, they gradually die out, and a few, not exceeding three or four feet in height, are to be found in the Khasia village towards the Garo tribes, but at this limit the Langams come in, and their customs assimilate more with the former-named people. It is the same on the east and north-east of Jaintia; the stones set up are smaller and of rougher form, and by no means so numerous, yet they are to be seen in all kinds of out-of-the-way places quite overgrown with grass and jungle, where villages have not existed for years. Indications were not wanting, shewing that the country had been formerly much more populous, especially on the northern slopes of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills. I have, on the other hand, never come across structures of the kind anywhere beyond the limits of Khasi-speaking people, that is, between longitude 91 deg. and 92 deg. 30 min., which includes the Jaintia Hills, the people of which part are called "Sintengs", differing in some minor points from the Khasis; the dialect is distinct, and there is so strong a type-form of likeness and expression, the two can be generally separated without inquiry. The same remarks hold good for the western side; a Khasi of the border Nongstoin villages can be told off at a glance: so strong are the great clan likenesses.

I have traversed the whole country on the east: viz., the North Cachar Hills, inhabited by tribes of Kookis and Nāgas, and had the Khasi ever occupied permanently a larger area either on the east or west, particularly the former, emigrating, as they are supposed to have done, from that side, I think we might have expected to find, occasionally, remains of their imperishable monuments. The only exception that I know of occurs on the road from Nenglo to Hangrūng, in the North Cachar Hills district, beyond Asālua, part of the country now in the occupation of Nagas, and formerly entirely in that of Kacharis, who are Bodos or Méchis. The road lies through forest, keeping along the high spur; at about two miles from the peak of Hemeo are to be seen several large slabs of stone nearly level with the ground, one ten feet by six, covering some sort of receptacle, for the ends of the

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

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A GROUP OF KHASI COOLIES.

Reproduced from a sketch by the late Colonel Woodthorpe, R.E.

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

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1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

142 young are comely, of a buxom type, and, like the men, with highly-developed calves, the latter always being considered a beauty. The children are frequently remarkably pretty. Khasis carry very heavy burdens, it being the custom for the 482 cooly of the country to carry a maund, or 82 lbs. weight, or even more occasionally, on his back, the load being fixed by means of a cane band which is worn across the forehead; women carry almost as heavy loads as the men. The coolies, both male and female, commonly do the journey between Cherrapunji and Shillong, or between Shillong and Jowai, in one day, carrying the heavy loads above mentioned. Each of the above journeys is some thirty miles. They carry their great loads of rice and salt from Therria to Cherrapunji, an ascent of about 4,000 feet in some three to four miles, in the day. The Khasis are probably the best porters in the north of India, and have frequently been requisitioned for transport purposes on military expeditions.

157 The people are cheerful in disposition, and are light-hearted by nature, and, unlike the plains people, seem to 522 thoroughly appreciate a joke. It is pleasant to hear on the road down to Theriaghat from Cherrapunji, in the early morning the whole hillside resounding with the scraps of song and peals of laughter of the coolies, as they run nimbly down the short cuts on their way to market. The women are specially cheerful, and pass the time of day and bandy jokes with passers-[461] by with quite an absence of reserve. The Khasis are certainly more industrious than the Assamese, are generally good-tempered, but are occasionally prone to sudden outbursts of [533] anger, accompanied by violence. They are fond of music, and [797] rapidly learn the hymn tunes which are taught them by the Welsh missionaries. Khasis are devoted to their offspring, 593 and the women make excellent nurses for European children, 463 frequently becoming much attached to their little charges. The people, like the Japanese, are fond of nature. A Khasi 517 loves a day out in the woods, where he thoroughly enjoys 824 himself. If he does not go out shooting or fishing, he is con-825 tent to sit still and contemplate nature. He has a separate name for each of the commoner birds and flowers. He also has names for many butterflies and moths. These are traits which are not found usually in the people of India.

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

SECTION II.

OCCUPATION.

241 THE greater proportion of the population subsists by cultiva-
463 tion. Cultivation of rice may be divided under two headings,
[162] high land or dry cultivation and low land or wet cultivation. The total number of persons who subsist by agriculture generally in the hills, is given in the last Census Report as 154,907, but the term agriculture includes the cultivation of the potato, the orange, betel-nut and pan. A full description of the different forms of agriculture will be given under the
463 heading "Agriculture." A considerable number of Khasis earn
482 their livelihood as porters, carrying potatoes to the markets on
439 the Sylhet side of the district, from whence the crop is conveyed by means of country boats to the different places of call of river-steamers in the Surma Valley, the steamers carrying the potatoes to Calcutta. Potatoes are also largely carried to Shillong by porters, where the tuber is readily bought by Marwari merchants, who load it in carts to be conveyed by road to Gauhati, from which station it is again shipped to
482 Calcutta and Upper Assam. Many persons are also employed in
463 carrying rice up the hill from Theria to Cherrapunji, Shillong,
[466] and on to other places. Salt is also carried by porters by this route. Many Khasis, both male and female, live by daily labour in this way, earning as much as eight annas, and
[462] six annas a day, respectively. The Census Report of 1901 shows some 14,000 "general labourers" in the district, the greater number of whom are porters and coolies, both male
[857] and female, employed on road work and on building. In Shillong the Government Offices and the printing press give employment to a certain number of Khasis. There is also a fair demand for Khasi domestic servants, both among the Europeans and the Bengali and Assamese clerks who are employed at the headquarters of the Administration.

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

[499] this manner, the males earning on an average 8 annas and the
463 females 6 annas a day. Col. Bivar writes that in 1875 the
465 wages for ordinary male labourers were 4 to 8 annas a day, and for females 2½ to 4 annas, so that the wages rates have almost doubled in the last thirty years. Contractors, however, often manage to obtain daily labour at lower rates than those paid by
•482 Government. Stonemasons and skilled labourers are able to
241 get higher rates. It is easier to obtain coolies in the Khasi than in the Jaintia Hills, where a large proportion of the popu-
461 lation is employed in cultivation. The Khasis are excellent labourers, and cheerful and willing, but they at once resent bad treatment, and are then intractable and hard to manage. Khasis are averse to working in the plains in the hot-weather months.

APICULTURE.

231 I am indebted to Mr. Rita for the following remarks on apiculture in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills.

There are two kinds of indigenous bees in the Khasi Hills, one domesticated, called *u ngap* (*apis Indica*), and the other *u lyncai*, which is never domesticated, and is very pugnacious; its hives are difficult of access, being always located in very high cliffs. A few hives of a third class of bee are now-a-days to be found in and around the station of Shillong, i.e. the Italian.
[177] This bee was imported into the hills by Messrs. Dobbie and Rita, and the species became propagated in the following manner. The bees had been just established in a hive, where they had constructed a brood comb, when the hive was robbed by some Khasis for the sake of the *larvæ* it contained, which they wished to consume as food; but the queen bee escaped and established other colonies, one of which was afterwards captured by Mr. Rita, the others establishing themselves at places in the neighbourhood. The hive used by the Khasis is of a very primitive description. It is usually a hollow piece of wood, about 2½ to 3 ft. in length and 10 or 12 in. in diameter. A small door is placed at each end of the log, one for the bees to go in and out, and the other for the removal of the honey when wanted. The honey-combs are broken and the honey is

I: Gurdon E-4,5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

shield of Cherrapunji is used as a protection from rain. 293
Those of Maharam and Mawiang are each of a peculiar pattern. 352
Smaller shields are used as protections from the sun or merely for show, and there are specially small sizes for children. Then there are the different kinds of basket (*ki* 415
khoh) which are carried on the back, slung across the forehead 482
by a cane head-strap. These, again, are of different sizes. They are, however, always of the same conical shape, being round and broad-mouthed at the top and gradually tapering to a point at the bottom. A bamboo cover is used to protect the contents of the basket from rain. There is a special kind of basket made of cane or bamboo with a cover, which is used for carrying articles on a journey. These baskets, again, are of different sizes, the largest and best that the writer has seen being manufactured at Rambrai, in the south-western portion of the hills. 412
Paddy is husked in a wooden mortar by means of a heavy 415
wooden pestle. These are to be seen all over the hills. The 256
work of husking paddy is performed by the women. A bamboo sieve is sometimes used for sifting the husked rice, a winnowing fan being applied to separate the husk. The cleaned rice is exposed to the sun in a bamboo tray. Paddy is stored in a separate store-house in large circular bamboo receptacles. These hold sometimes as much as 30 maunds* of grain. Large baskets are also used for keeping paddy in. In 415
every Khasi house is to be found the net bag which is made 825
out of pineapple fibre, or of a *stein*, the Assamese *riha* 436
(Bochmeria nivea). These bags are of two sizes, the larger one for keeping cowries in, the cowrie in former days having been used instead of current coin in these hills, the smaller for the ever necessary betel-nut. *Pân* leaves are kept in a bamboo tube, and tobacco leaves in a smaller one. Lime, for eating with betel-nut, is kept in a metal box, sometimes of silver, which is made in two separate parts held together by a chain. The box is called *ka shanam*, and 415
is used all over the hills. This box is also used for 981
divination purposes, one end of it being held in the hand, and the other, by means of the chain, being allowed to swing

* The maund is 82 lbs.

304

calcaratus) and (u rymbai ktung, botanical 945
name: glycine soja); corn (u 'rieuhadem); 438
pineapple (u soh trun); lemons (u soh syndong); oranges (u soh niamtra); mangoes (u soh pieng); melons (u pathau); breadfruit (u soh kpu, botanical name: artocarpus incisa); Khasi cherries (u soh jong, botanical name: prunus ferrunginea); bananas (ka kait), pepper (u soh srit); chilis (u soh syngken); papayas (u soh kynphor, botanical name: carica papaya); a kind of wild potato (u soh pyrsiu); cinnamon (ka sisia, botanical name: cinamum cassia); nutmeg (u joi phol); ginger (u 'sieng); honey in honeycombs (ka ngap).

Goats, sheep, and cattle are sold, sometimes alive, sometimes slaughtered in small quantities. There are many chickens on the market, especially for sacrificial purposes.

In addition things are brought for sale that are necessary for the construction of houses or the cultivation of fields, such as grass for roofing huts; cut beams, bamboo poles, bamboo plaited into lattice work, dried cow manure, spades for the fields (mokhiu); Khasi knives (ka sait); [704: A]* [P.S. Schmidt-Festschrift. Photo: P. Fr. Stegmiller. Market Troupe. They go in groups for fear of murderers (thleng owners)] [704: B] [P.S. Schmidt-Festschrift. Photo: P. Fr. Stegmiller. A woman, carrying beans, on the way to the market at Cherrapunji] [704: C]* [P.S. Schmidt-Festschrift. Photo: P. Fr. Stegmiller. Going towards Laban to the market with potatoes. The "umbrella" is placed between the back and the burden.] [704: D] [P.S. Schmidt-Festschrift. Photo: P. Fr. Stegmiller. On the way to Laban to the market with sugar cane.] [704: E]* [P.S. Schmidt-Festschrift. Photo: P. Fr. Stegmiller. Khasi traveling to the market in dugouts.]

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* [See plates, category 14, pp. 7-9 ... Analyst]

5:Stegmiller--6 N-4,5(no date)1928 AR7KhasiAR7

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[A woman carrying grain on the way to the market at Cherrapunji]

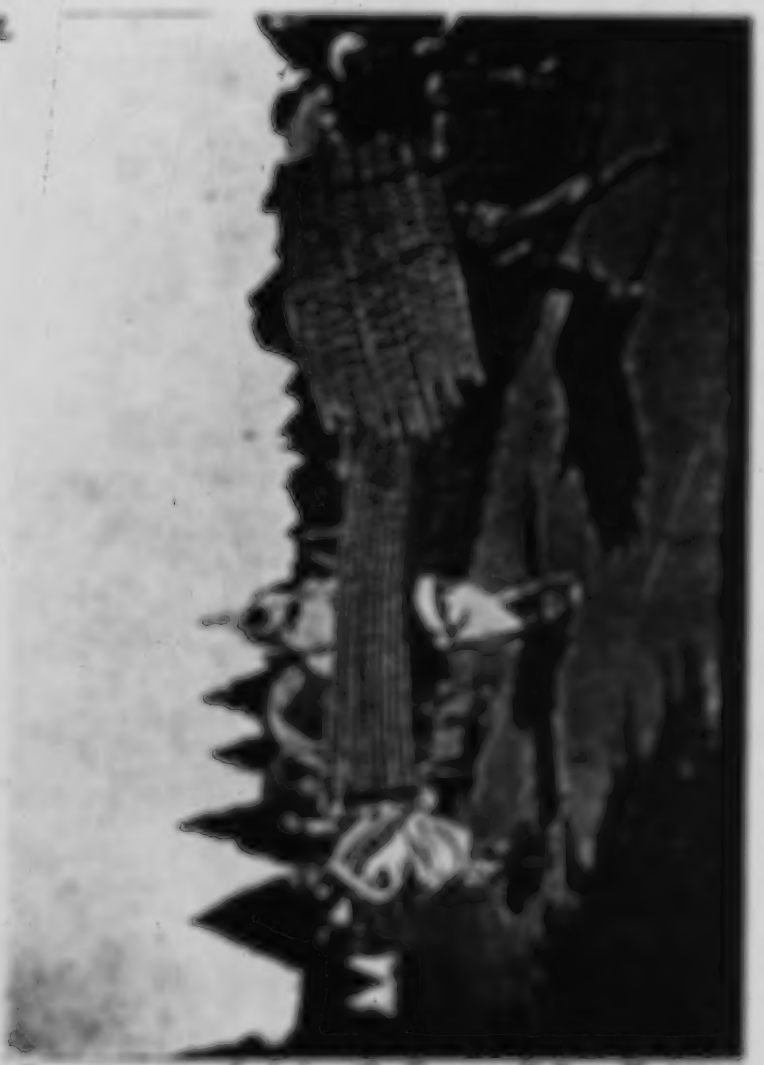
[Vol. 3]

5-Dragoller--? --,5(no date)1908 ARTGoetzl

[Going toward Lubau to the market with potatoes.]

[7014]

5:Stegmiller--[illegible] B-4,5(no date)1975 [illegible]



[illegible]

must also be sought out and hired at the markets. 443

3. The Customs of the Market

a) The Preparation for Market. The sellers of both sexes normally carry their wares to the market themselves. They form smaller or larger groups and travel together. The wares are carried on their backs. The burden is packed according to its bulk or content. Larger objects, such as bamboo poles, beans, sugar cane, grass, and mats are carried without any covering by means of a forehead band plaited of reed grass (u star). Smaller items, such as salt or potatoes, are packed in sacks; others such as betel nuts, pepper leaves, fruit, vegetables, etc. are carried in baskets made of bamboo. The baskets are either pointed baskets which are round at the top or square baskets, which narrow to a point at the bottom but still are four feet long in size. The latter baskets are usually made with a cover, which, like the basket itself, is plaited and almost waterproof, so that flour or salt can be transported in them even during the rainy season. A round or oval object shaped like a shield, which in case of need is used as an umbrella (ka trap) and which is plaited out of bamboo, is inserted between the back and the burden (jingkit). On the one hand this object has the purpose of ameliorating the pressure of the burden and on the other hand it is pulled out in rainy weather to serve as an umbrella when it is held up against the rain by hand. [484] 443 482 438 285 443 [241]

With regard to the weight which the Khasi carry to market, the men carry about 100 and more pounds while the women seldom 482

laden themselves with more than 60 to 65 pounds.

Many Khasi have to start during the afternoon because of the great distance to the market. They spend the night with acquaintances. In the dark [700] they march by torch light. The torches consist of several igra, i.e., very thin bamboo tube, saturated with petroleum and lighted. Or a large bamboo tube is filled with cloth that has been saturated in petroleum. The burning torches are swung in circles while the Khasi march so that only a glow is provided, but this prevents the torches from going out. The glow is quite sufficient for giving enough light for the road (foot path).

[256] Betel nuts are chewed (4) all the way and

4. The length of the road is also measured in "betel nuts."

water pipes are smoked during the rests.

b) The Market Place. It is not possible to talk about a definite place where the Khasi usually hold the market. This varies considerably according to the region. First of all the place chosen for the market lies outside the village. By preference they hold their markets on high ground or some such safe place. A place that has once been chosen remains the market place for that particular village. The market place is often found very close to the memorial stones, just as if the spirits of the ancestors honored there should offer aid and protection to the visitors to the market. On the southern slopes of the Khasi Mountains the market is often held on the bank of a river, for the reason that the Khasi come to these markets in boats. The market place in Mawkhar is quite isolated. Also the com

Fig. 1. Khasi Girls and Women with their Carrying Baskets.

Fig. 2. An Old Khasi Mother in the Village Lamphrai.

15. Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

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(i) Khasi woman of Kongthong village

(ii) Young Khasi woman at Thalla village

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[P. 96-B]

CHAPTER III

The Border Area

3. 1 **Definition of Border Area.**—The term 'border areas' although very frequently used does not refer to any well demarcated area. It was, therefore, decided after a joint discussion between the Director of Statistics with the Deputy Commissioner of the district and Subdivisional Officer, Jowai, that area within 20 miles of the Indo-Pak border line would be considered as the 'border area' for the purpose of the present survey. The list of the villages falling in this area was supplied by the Deputy Commissioner and the Subdivisional Officer.

3. 2 **Condition of the Border Area before partition.**—The border area under review thus comprised of the southern slopes of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills and a narrow strip of plains adjoining the southern slopes running along the Pakistan border. The area extends laterally over a length of about 120 miles, roughly from Mahashola on the west to Sonapur on the east thus covering an area of 2,400 sq. miles approximately, comprising of 454 villages inhabited by population of 74 thousands.

Barring the barren and rocky top plateau the slopes are utilised as the production of valuable cash crops on intensive scale. These slopes provide suitable soil and climate for the production crops like arecanut, betelnut, betelleaf, oranges, pineapples and other fruits. On account of rich yields which such plantations give to the cultivators these slopes were more densely inhabited and intensively cultivated than would appear possible from the topography of the area. Even the most inaccessible tracts in the slopes has been converted into rich orchards, wherefrom the produce was carried by headloads over steep gradients for several miles. Due to steep gradients little other use, except some jhooming here and there, could be made of this area.

Because of the very topography, this land had its natural connections with Sylhet district now forming part of East Pakistan. From time immemorial the area had a flourishing trade with Sylhet district. It was a two-way traffic. The cash crops found eager buyers in the people of Sylhet, from whom in turn the people in the border area obtained supplies of rice, fish, vegetables and other necessities of daily life. Thus in proportion days the area enjoyed a very prosperous and settled economy. The rich buildings in the border area villages which are now lingering away, bear eloquent testimony to the past prosperity of the border economy.

With the partition of the country in 1947, trade with the plains of Sylhet, now forming part of East Pakistan, was restricted. As a result the whole economy of this region was completely shattered and the countryside which once hummed with activity and abundance was over-shadowed with unemployment, poverty and despair. All the cash crops the mainstay of the border people lost the market in East Pakistan. For want of communication facilities the produce could not be

4.3 **Marketing.**—The Khasis and Jaintias are market minded people. Rarely they sell their produce at the farm site. They have established markets at all vantage points of the district to which they carry over miles their produce on headload for sale. On market days it is a treat to see a stream of people with headloads coming to the market up and down hills from miles away. 442 443 [482]

Markets are held usually twice in every eight days of which one is a 'Barabazar' day which is held on every eighth day and the other is a 'Chota Bazar' day which is held two days ahead of the Barabazar day. The following table shows the marketing facilities available to the rural people in the sample villages.

Table B-7 below shows the number of markets classified according to distances from the selected villages served by them and charge per maund for transport of produces from the village to these markets. 442 443 465 489

TABLE B-7

Portorage per maund from village to market	Distance from village to market: 2 miles	Less than 5 miles	5—10 miles	Above 10 miles	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Rs. As. P.					
0·50 or less ..	7	..	..	..	7
0·56 „ 0·50 ..	..	1	..	..	1
0·61 „ 0·75 ..	1	1	..	..	2
0·76 „ 1·00 ..	1	5	1	..	7
1·01 „ 1·50 ..	..	6	7	..	13
1·51 „ 2·00 ..	..	1	2	3	6
2·01 „ 2·50 ..	..	1	..	4	5
2·51 „ 3·00 ..	..	..	..	1	1
Above Rs 4·00 ..	..	..	..	5	5
Total ..	9	15	10	13	46

No. of villages served by—		
1	market	12
2	markets	6
3	„	7
4	„	1

19: Ass8 G-5 (1956) 1963 AR7 Khasi AR7

CHAPTER—X

Summary of main findings

10.1. Twenty-eight villages were selected for the purpose of the survey. Out of these 18 villages selected, 10 from Border area and 8 from Project area were selected purposively while the remaining 10 were selected at random from the entire district which is referred hereafter as general area.

Migrant from big villages was rare but some migration was reported in respect of small villages.

Occurrence of Malaria, influenza and dysentery is a regular phenomenon in the area. Medical facilities were not found satisfactory and as much as 78 per cent of the villages have no dispensary within a radius of 10 miles. In regard to education, the facilities cannot also be said to be satisfactory for more than 60 per cent of the villages have a lower Primary School. Transport facilities were not satisfactory and as much as 56 per cent of the villages still depend upon primitive mode of transport, namely head load. Correlated with outmoded fair of transport, is the prevalence of unduly high cost of transport.

10.2. The number of the families covered by the survey was 1006 in the Border area, and 942 in the Project area and 1064 in the General area. The average size of a village in the respective area is 100·6, 80·1 and 106·4 families. In the Border and Project areas females out number males being respectively 1076 and 1062 females per 1,000 males as against 940 females per 1,000 males in the general area. Literacy was high as 34 per cent in the border area and 31 per cent in the Project area but as low as 17 per cent in the general area. In all the areas literacy among females is very low.

The working population (earners and earning dependents) is as high as 53 per cent in the Border area, 54 per cent in the Project area and 60 per cent in the general area. While there were no cases of unemployment in the Project or General areas, 18 persons were reported unemployed from border area.

10.3. 1 per cent of the families in Border area are wholly agricultural, 35 per cent partly agricultural and 64 per cent independent agriculture. The corresponding figures for the Project area are 63, 34 and 3 per cent respectively while for the General area they are 98 per cent, 29 per cent and 1 per cent respectively.

Predominantly agricultural families constitute 67, 98 and 80 per cent of the families in Border, Project and General areas respectively.

10.4. 31 per cent of the families in Border area, 29 per cent in Project area and 10 per cent in General area were absolutely without any land while 25 per cent, 31 per cent and 24 per cent of the families in the respective areas possessed small holding ranging from 0·24 to 2·50 acres representing 11,24 and 30 per cent of the total holding area in the respective areas. 34 per cent of the families in Border and Project areas and 41 in General area possessed medium sized holding (3 to less than 10 acres)

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

211 which a figure, evidently of a Hindu god, has been carved, without
171 doubt after the erection of the stone. Here we have a striking parallel case to the painted and carved menhir near Tregastel in Brittany, upon which has been carved the representation of a crucifix. There are also some carved stones near Nartiang (said to represent two women) called *mouthaudar brisw*.

211 The Khasis say that these great stones were brought
• 483 sometimes from considerable distances. After being hewn, the stones were laid on a large, wooden trolley and dragged
283 across country by means of ropes of cane, of which plenty can be had from the Wár country on the southern side of the district, and then placed in position by means of ropes and levers. It seems little short of marvellous that these stones, which sometimes weighed many tons, were placed in position by such primitive means, especially when we consider the great trouble there was to re-erect one of the fallen stones at Stonehenge lately. Nowadays only comparatively small stones are erected, which are generally hewn and erected on the spot, so that there is no necessity for any conveyance.

000 In conclusion, it may be remarked that the subject of the Khasi monoliths is in reality a large one, on which a great deal could be written, but owing to considerations of space it has been found necessary to compress the account within its present limits.

FESTIVITIES, DOMESTIC AND TRIBAL.

536 Dancing forms the principal part of all the Khasi festivities,
776 and is an important adjunct of some of their religious
776 ceremonies. One of the greatest festivals in the Khasi Hills is
789 the Nongkrem dance; it may be said to be as important
782 an event to the Khasis as the *Bah diang-bdam* festivities are to the Syntengs.

The Nongkrem dance is really part of what is known as the *pomblang* or goat-killing ceremony, performed by the Siem of Khyrim (or Nongkrem) with the aid of his *sob-bdi* (high priest) and the various *lyngdoh* (or priests) to Ka Blei Synshar (the ruling goddess), that the crops may prosper and that there may

triumphal procession with the slain beast through the home village. 224

A litter is prepared outside of the village of firm bamboo and decorated with palm leaves and other tree branches. In the middle of the litter a strong frame of bamboo is set up so that the spoil of the hunt (gazelle, antelope, bear, tiger, leopard, etc.) is placed on it belly down. The feet hang down stretched out. The head is held high by a forked branch, and a bunch of grass is placed in the animal's open mouth. The slain animal thus has an appearance of being alive. Arrow and bow are placed on the bier to the left and right of the animal. If the animal has been killed by a bullet, the Khasi carry the guns in their hands; if it was hit by an arrow, the first arrow which wounded it is placed in front on the bier before the animal. Then eight men lift the decorated bier with the slain animal on their shoulders and they all go towards the village with great ceremony. Blank shots announce the approach of the triumphal procession. The Khasi come from all sides. The hunters are congratulated, and all rejoice in the booty. Everybody watches the parade with pleasure. Some bring fresh rice brandy in bamboo pipes as thick as an arm; others bring betel nuts and water pipes. This as well as other refreshments are offered the hunters. The crowd surges around the bier, and after the slain animal has been thoroughly discussed, the procession begins. 224 224 483 224

The village boys run noisily ahead. Beaters and hunters follow. Then comes the bier carried by eight men. To the left and right go the women and girls of the village, swinging branches and bunches of leaves. Shouts of joy resound. Several hundred people

9: Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 AR7 Khasi AR7

764 I never saw the Khasis engaged in raising a stone into the
211 upright position, but I saw the spars which had formed a sort of
cradle on which the stones forming the monument erected by
[453] the Nongtariang clan previously alluded to had been dragged from
the spot where they had been quarried. They consisted of strong
curved limbs of trees roughly smoothed and rounded, and would
present a very small surface to friction. These stones had been
taken from the side of a hill near, and had apparently been
wedged out of the face of a step in the exposed sand-stone strata.

It may be as well that I should here give some account of the funeral rites of the Khasis, which will show there is no connection between them and the monuments I have been describing, and with which the other stone erections have no doubt been often confounded. In their funeral rites there is much that is wonderfully strange, and to those unacquainted with their
771 superstitions, appears unmeaning. There can be no doubt but
769 the Khasis have a very strong belief in a future state, and to say
778 that they have no religion, as has been stated by some writers, is erroneous. True, they have no temples for either worship or idols, the religion of the people is principally a demon worship, and we find the Khasi ever in communion with or in the power, as he supposes, of the spirits of those who have gone before him. While, added to these spirits of their ancestors are numberless demons, male and female, ever ready, if not propitiated, to bring evil upon himself or his undertakings, and whose power even extends over the spirits of the dead. Every dark shady wood, every stream, every conspicuous hill has its presiding demon, which in many instances gives the name to the site. Thus, the hill of Lárk, in North Jaintia, beyond Nongjinghi, is the abode of a one-legged demon, whom to see is death, but who was occasionally heard in the dense forest that clothed the northern steep face of the mountain, so said the credulous villagers of Nongtáng.

764 The dead are burnt on a funeral pyre, the logs of which are arranged very regularly, and the body lies in a sort of bed formed by them.

The calcined bones and ashes are collected and placed in an earthen vessel (small "ghara"), and are generally buried in some adjacent spot, a stone being placed over the vase for security; they do not, however, remain permanently in this place. Every family or clan has a separate receptacle for these remains, constructed in several ways, but always covered with a heavy slab of stone: these receptacles are called "Mao-bah," the great stone "Mao-shiing," a bone depository—lit., the "bone stone."

M. Schlagintweit has fallen into an error regarding the dolmen-shaped structures, and was not aware that this form is so

10:Clarke U-3 (no date)1874 AR7 Khasi AR7

316 were all found within 200 yards of where they now stand, as may be inferred from the straystone at about that distance from Stonehenge and not made use of: the small stones were probably brought a considerable distance from the greensand area in the north of the county.

316 8. In the setting up of these monuments the Khasis at the
483 present day use only the simplest and most direct mechanical means. For transporting a big stone wooden rollers are placed beneath it and the stone is then drawn by a large number of men harnessed to it by rattan ropes. To set one of the slabs upright, one end is slipped into a hole dug 1-3 feet in the ground, while the other end is tugged by similar ropes. For putting one stone upon another, as in a horizontal slab monument, it is drawn up a sloping stage of bamboo, but if the slab be of great weight, a slope of earth must be constructed, up which it may be pulled. These are the present Khasi methods, and it is, of course, highly probable that similar resources were employed in ancient times. I add a more particular account of some of the larger monuments.

211 9. The monument on the Government main road, about six miles north of Cherra, not fly from the village of Lirinow, stands on sheets of Cherra sandstone, out of which the slabs were cut. The tallest stones were about fifteen feet out of the ground. The five stones on the left-hand side (west) of the road were erected when I first visited the hills. The five stones on the right-hand side were erected about four years ago, the family to whom the monument belongs having determined on such an addition. The two portions form one indivisible monument, and exactly correspond, the stones being accurately worked and rounded. The two top-knots are seen in several other monuments, but most, I think, be held proof always of a very late date for their erection. At the Mawmluh
[531] monument a large rosette is carved, on the face of the middle of the big central upright slab, which is also I presume modern work.

10. The monument at Mamloo village. This is, perhaps, the monument in all the hills which exhibits the largest slabs of Cherra sandstone. It stands on sheets of the same rock and there can be little doubt that the slabs were cut on the spot. It is of the (less usual) binary type.

11. The monuments at Rambrai in the west of Khasi-land. These consist of numerous horizontal and vertical slabs of no great size, the upright slabs being 4-8 feet out of the ground, but remarkable for their arrangement on a long open slope outside the village. The monuments stand all close together, collected as in a churchyard, so that it is not easy to expatiate

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539 in the Rupatylli channel at Dwara. She was covered with shame, and she slackened her speed and split herself up into five branches, namely, ka Umtong, ka Tuma, ka Pushna, ka Kumarjani, and ka Dwara. Umiam did this so as to hide her shame from Umngot. This is how the river Rupatylli was formed at Dwara, to be a token that Umngot had been virtuous in her contact with Umiew.*

leh khnang ba'n bih riej ia la ka jinghein barem ba khynat ka Umngot. Kumta ea long ka wah Rupatylli ka Dwara namar ka long ka dak ka jingjop ka Umngot ia ka Umiew.

The Kyrli (Kyrli).

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The Kyrli river rises in the "Block Mountains,"† and flows northwards into the Brahmaputra. It is the boundary between the country of the Syntengs and that of the Hadems.‡ Any traveller who wishes to cross this river must leave behind him the rice which he has taken for his journey, and any other food that he may have taken with him. If he does not do so, even if he crosses the river at an unforbidden point, he is liable to offer a sacrifice to the Kyrli goddess. The people offer to her three fowls and three goats outside the village, i.e. one to the goddess herself, and the other two to her sons, U Shyngkram and U Jali; and five fowls, that

Shaphang Ka Kyrli, U Shyngkram bad U Jali, ki Kor'e ainé ea.

Ka Kyrli ka long ka wah na ki him laiong bad ka tiid da artat ka ka wah Brahmaputra. Ka long ka pud ia ka ri Syntengs bad ka ri Hadem ka milingi. Una-ane a nonglait jinglait aba kwah ban jim ia kane ka wah Bim-Kyrli a dim kum ba'n lend noh ia la a khaw-synnong ka shilling wah, bad ia ki kynja jinghem barah phat, ta ym ea khan ia ka. Lada a'm da leh kumta, ba'n khan na ka jaka ka ki'ym aang rah an hap jinginghih ka ka. Ki khim-ki-hajar ia ka ka lum iki a'ar, iki hiang kawai ia ka, [illegible] U Shyngkram bad U Jali; bad ram a'ar ka ki'n ia him angwhha barah iki

* Both rivers, Umngot and Umiew, or Umiam, have their sources in or close to the Shillong Peak. The word "Rupatylli" signifies in Khasi a solid silver necklace of a peculiar shape. In order to appreciate this pretty tale thoroughly, the reader ought to view the river "Rupatylli" from the heights of Laitkynsew, or Mahadeo, whence it is to be seen glittering in the sun like a veritable rupatylli or silver necklace.

† These mountains are the high hills which lie to the east of the Jowai Sub-Division, and which form part of the boundary line between the Khasi and Jaintia Hills District and North Cachar.

‡ The word Hadem is possibly a corruption of "Hidimba," the old name for North Cachar.

they may all three feast together; this is in the case of one transgression only. But in the case of a man who has committed more than one, it is not possible to say how many goats and fowls must be sacrificed, because the river often demands offerings on account of a man's parents or relatives having crossed the river at some time or other.

From the time of the old Siem to that of U Ram Singh Siem, they used to sacrifice to this great goddess two persons during the months of November and December at the time of offering a sacrifice at Jaintiapur. After a ceremony performed by the Brahmins at Jaintiapur, the victims are led to the Mawshai (Shangpung) market, where they are allowed to take and eat anything they like. After that they conduct them to Sumer; but some say that the stone on which the victims are beheaded is situated below the village of Ka Iew Kai, near a stream which falls into the Kupli, and where there is a maw-lynthei (flat table-stone) close to that sacred river.

They place the victims on that stone, where the executioner beheads them with a terrible sword. After that they throw the dead bodies and their heads into the river. Even in the days of U Markhain (U Raj Indra Singh) "who was our contemporary," they have ceased to do so out of fear of the East India Company. The victims are known by the name of "Maghs Khara."

At that time all the people of the territory of the twelve dolois were in a great state of sgut shi khiin shi kynin, kata ka long baba long tang kawei ka lait, hinrei baba ka long kaiba shong ka lait u briew lai-lai, ngam tip ka'n long kaino biang kaino war namar baba dei ka'n wan pain ka jingkhin namar ka la khin ia ka na khlah lane na kyjat da u kyllu u kypa kano-kano ka ing lane kano-kano ka tur. Nalih ki angi ki Siem Tymmen hadah ki angi U Ram Singh Siem ia kane ka khai bah ka kynai u lai ka khraw ki khin da ki briew ar-ngit shi snam shi snam bamar u bynai ka ki puja na ar ngit ka Jaintiapur, tam, bamar u 'nii wiang bad u 'nii nohprah. Tuda ki la khin ha Jaintiapur da ki Dramon, ki ea ia lam ia ki sha ka iew Mawshai na ka iew Shangpung ka ki'n him shiwa baiha mon na kata ka iew. Nangta pat sha Sumer, kiwei pat ki ong ka u maw ka ki khrei khlah ia ki Mugs Khara u don harum ka shnong lewkai hajan kawei ka wah baba tiid sha ka Kupli—sha ka jaka ka don ka maw lynthei lawad kata ka wah kini Kumta ki sa kynriw halor kata ka maw lynthei ia ki; nangta pat wan sa u nonghirei khlah bad ka wait ka sahyrkhei, u khrei ia ki hangta. Hadin kata ki sa shai ia ki mat-ing sha um bad ia ki khlah jing ki rah da. Hinrei ka ki angi U Markhain pat U Raj Indra Singh sha ka Khyjong ngi nyata yu long shih jynta namar ka u tiang ia ka Kompani. Ia kine ki briew ka ki khia ki khat kyrteng ia ki ki Mugs Khara.

Mynkata ki kynriw shi khadar dolui angew tiang, ki ong ka ki nonghem ki da kylli shwa ia ka jaid, ki da lah ia baba kum ki kyn sunt ka'n lah

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How Do the People Accept These Facts?

a) The Fear among the People

/172 /176 A great fear of these murderers who are in the service of the thlen permeates the whole life of the Khasi; this feeling is still especially strong in the kingdoms of Cherra, Nylliem, and Nongkrem. Naturally they guard themselves well from people who are supposed to be in possession of a devil snake and they often do not even dare to speak their names out loud for fear that misfortune could befall them. Many of them are certainly known by the people; others are just guessed at. We tried very hard to get a photograph of such people who are considered to be thlen owners; but we met only with complete refusal from them. Their bad consciences probably made them fearful. I was able to photograph the house of a woman thlen worshipper in Mawsrai, several [12] miles away from Cherra. In contrast to most of the Khasi huts, indications of wealth were evident on the outside, since the [p18] hut was covered with tin. In spite of all my pleas the woman could not be prevailed upon to have herself photographed. Such an idea frightened her so that she cried out loud: "O, we are investigated so much!"

/172 /174 At night a Khasi does not readily trust himself alone outside of his hut. If he is overtaken by darkness on the way home, he may be seen hurrying towards his home, singing or calling in a loud voice from time to time to give himself courage. A single man, even if he does not have to go far from his hut to work is not likely to go without his big knife -- ka wait -- under his arm to protect himself against all possible attacks. The people usually go together (in groups)

682 on the way to or from more distant markets.
684 When they go to the even bigger markets which are several days' journey away, they only go to the markets where they have good friends along the way, where they can spend the night. Even the missionary has to endure this general feeling of fear. For example, if he has to send something from one place to another which one man could easily carry; or if he is on a journey when he might like to send on his small amount of luggage, his laundry, and food. Even if the place is only a day distant, it is not possible for him to hire one man for such an errand. There is nothing for him to do other than to hire two porters and naturally also to pay them, or to wait until a group of market people are going along the same way, to whom a single man can attach himself. If you criticize the people for the foolishness of their behavior or the inconvenience it causes, their simple answer is: "I am afraid of the nongshon noh" (killers).

682 On the other hand the people defend themselves
776 against such criminals. According to ancient Khasi justice, the killing of such a nongshoh noh is not considered murder and is not punished by death. Whoever has killed a nonshoh noh does not need to do more than he who kills a robber, namely to give 5 rupees (7 gold marks) and a pig to the S'iem (king). In the kingdom of Nongkrem the official lyngdoh has the right to confiscate all the property of those persons who are convicted for harboring an evil spirit — jingbih — in their house. The lyngdohs can keep the objects of value for themselves, while the house, including contents, is burned down. At the same time the people take justice into their own hands. In the year 1909 one of these murderers in the service of the devil snake was caught in the act in Nongkrem. Without more ado his nose was cut off and he was let go with the mark of Cain.

[703]

The Market Life of the Khasi
445 (with ten original photographs by the author)
by P.F. Stegmiller, S.V.D., Munich

[101] The mountains in the northeast corner of India which lie between the valleys of the Brahmaputra and the Barak are inhabited by a [161] tribe, the Khasi, numbering about 200,000 people. Although they rarely cross the borders of their homeland and live almost cut off from their [484] neighbors, they have an active traffic amongst themselves and travel a lot. This traveling is determined by the very distinct market life of the Khasi. It is truly the pulse beat of the people. The rest of their homelife, their activities, and their private, public, and religious life. (1) Time is divided accord-

1. P.F. Stegmiller, "Aus dem religiösen Leben der Khasi" [The Religion Life of the Khasi], Anthropos, 1921-1922, pp. 483 ff.

ing to the market; the market replaces the daily newspaper and the information service; the market unites the individual villages; the market offers a living to many and for many has become a source of wealth.

445 How much the Khasi depend on a thriving
782 market may be seen in their prayers which are spoken every year at the great state sacrifices in honor of the god Shillong by the sacrificer (lyngdoh) presenting the service: "O god, Shillong! Thou who receivest this prayer, this sacrifice of goats, of fowl, of kpu and rynai (a kind of bread of rice flour or cornmeal with pounded sugar), of utensils used in the preparation, as thou has given them to the royal

[illegible]tetue) and (u ryabel ating, botanical 943
name: glycine soja); corn (u 'riauhaam); 938
[illegible]cole (u ash trun); lemons (u ash mandong);
oranges (u ash nisantra); mangoes (u ash piang);
[illegible]alons (u petiau); breadfruit (u ash epu,
botanical name: artocarpus incisa); kheel
cherries (u ash jong, botanical name: prunus
cerrungiana); bananas (ka wait), pepper (u ash
krit); chilis (u ash ngngken); papayas (u ash
symbor, botanical name: carica papaya); a
kind of wild potato (u ash ipreis); cinnamon
(ka sirla, botanical name: cinnamum cassia);
nutmeg (u jat phol); ginger (u 'sieng);
honey in honeycombs (ka ngap).

Goats, sheep, and cattle are sold, sometimes alive, sometimes slaughtered in small quantities. There are many chickens on the market, especially for sacrificial purposes.

In addition things are brought for sale that are necessary for the construction of houses or the cultivation of fields, such as grass for roofing huts; cut bamboo; bamboo poles, bamboo plaited into lattice work, drill [illegible] nature, spades for the fields (mukhla); kheel shives (ka wait); [illegible] F.R. Schmidt-Feterstrift. Photo: P. Fr. Stagmüller. market house. They go in groups for fear of murderers (Ulang owners). [illegible] F.R. Schmidt-Feterstrift. Photo: P. Fr. Stagmüller. [illegible]
& woman, carrying baskets, on the way to the market at Garrenwali. [illegible] F.R. Schmidt-Feterstrift. Photo: P. Fr. Stagmüller. Going towards Laban to the market with potatoes. The "umbrella" is shared between the back and the burden. [illegible] F.R. Schmidt-Feterstrift. Photo: P. Fr. Stagmüller. On the way to Laban to the market with sugar cane. [illegible] F.R. Schmidt-Feterstrift. Photo: P. Fr. Stagmüller. Kheel traveling to the market in dugouts.

[illegible]

must also be sought out and hired at the markets. 983

3. The Customs of the Market

a) The Preparation for Market. The villagers of both sexes normally carry trade goods to the market themselves. They form smaller or larger groups and travel together. The women are carried on trade boats. The burden is packed according to its bulk or content. Larger objects, such as bamboo poles, beams, sugar cane, grass, and mats are carried without any covering by means of a forehead band plaited of reed grass (a strip). Smaller items, such as salt or potatoes, are packed in sacks; others such as betel nuts, pepper leaves, fruit, vegetables, etc. are carried in baskets made of bamboo. The baskets are either pointed baskets which are round at the top or square baskets, which narrow to a point at the bottom but still are four feet long in size. The latter baskets are usually made with a cover, which, like the basket itself, is plaited and almost waterproof, so that flour or salt can be transported in time even during the rainy season. A round or oval object shaped like a shield, which in case of rain is used as an umbrella (see text) and which is plaited out of bamboo, is inserted between the back and the burden (jingkit). On the one hand this object has the purpose of ameliorating the pressure of the burden and on the other hand it is pulled out in rainy weather to serve as an umbrella when it is held up against the rain by hand.

As regards to the weight which the chief carry to market, the men carry about 100 and more pounds while the women seldom

[924] 985 986 987 988 989 990 991 992 993

[182] laden themselves with more than 80 to 85 pounds.

[174] Many Khasi have to start during the afternoon because of the great distance to the market. They spend the night with acquaintances. In the dark [?] they march by torch light. The torches consist of several igra, i.e., very thin bamboo tube, saturated with petroleum and lighted. -or a large bamboo tube is filled with cloth that has been saturated in petroleum. The burning torches are swung in circles while the Khasi march so that only a glow is provided, but this prevents the torches from going out. The glow is quite sufficient for giving enough light for the road (foot path).

[176] Betel nuts are chewed (a) all the way and

(a) The length of the road is also measured in "betel nuts."

water pipes are smoked during the route.

[181] [182] b) The Market Place. It is not possible to talk about a definite place where the Khasi usually hold the market. This varies considerably according to the region. First of all the place chosen for the market lies outside the village. By preference they hold their markets on high ground or some such safe place. A place that has once been chosen remains the [178] market place for that particular village. The market place is often found very close to the memorial stones, just as if the spirits of the ancestors honored there should offer aid and protection to the visitors to the market. On the southern slopes of the Khasi Mountains the market is often held on the bank of a river, for the reason that the Khasi come to these markets in boats. The market place in which we is quite singular. Also the one in

Quarrels and fights are exceptional. It is most natural to the Khasi not to disturb the peace of the markets, since the markets stand under the protection of the goddess. (Cf. The prayer in the introduction to this article.)[8] Also the memorial stones, in the shadow of which the markets are so often held, may exert some influence on the visitors to the markets, since the Khasi imagine themselves to be protected by the spirits of their ancestors and believe that any kind of disorder at the market would be avenged by these spirits.

Nearly all the men at the market are armed. The reason for this lies in the fact that the people are thus protected on the way to the market and are safe from the attacks of the "killers" (nongshonnoh), i.e., those who get out to murder people in order to dedicate their victims to the devil snake. Therefore the visitors to the market never go alone but always in groups. The men are armed with the ka wait (a chopping knife), with which they know how to defend themselves very well.

4. The Law of the Market

a) The Market Toll. All sellers who attend the market must pay a contribution on entering the market place. Only those inhabitants of the village or district in which the market is held are excepted. This market tax is paid partly in money and partly in products. In many villages it is paid only in cash. The amount of the tax laid is 2 or 3 paises, often even one anna (3--6--10 pfennigs, German peace evaluation). Only betel nuts and pepper leaves are preferred to money. In many villages everything is paid in produce, insofar as foodstuffs are concerned. The market tax collector reaches

on a historical plan, different from that of the Khasi groups, the former having been ruled by the powerful, but somewhat Hinduized dynasty of the Jaintia Raja until the Jaintia Wars of the British, the latter by small independent chiefs. Yet Jaintia social organization appears on the whole to preserve the matrilineal social structure closer and to be less influenced by photo-conditions, than that of the Khasi, though a few features of Hindusanized religious observances and also some traces of social admixture are found in the immediate vicinity of Jowai, the former summer residence of the Jaintia Raja. Younger in death, than this influence, was that exerted by the British and non-Assamese Indians in the provincial capital Shillong since 1866. Methods of agriculture and other aspects of material civilization differ but little in the Jaintia and Khasi plateau-areas.

The same cannot be said of both : the War-Khasi and War-Jaintia. Linguistically their affiliations are with the Khasi or Jaintia respectively, as the plateau-areas. Economically, however, both War-groups form a separate pan-leaf cultivating unit in the little accessible steep southern slopes of the Khasi and Jaintia Hill massif. Both War-groups live in the environment of bamboo-roofed thatch and bamboo, sharply differentiated from the well-known plateau with its pastoral winds and the forests, if solitary beauty of its highland heights, which forms the background of both the Khasi and Jaintia plateau-groups.

The age of the War-Khasi and Jaintias, as one independent community, — and two half-independent historical linguistic entities, is an intricate problem. The two War-groups subsist on pan-leaf cultivation on a steep steep, grown in the thick tree-gardens as creepers, not on food-cultivation, as do the plateau-groups, because there is insufficient space on the steep slopes, for vegetable gardens or fields. The pan-leaf cultivation therefore depend on food, purchased from outside. The slopes seem to have been established until not long ago. Yet pan-leaf chewing is such an integral part of Khasi life, that until quite recently, and occasionally even now, a distance between two places is not measured by the number of hours needed for walking, but by the number of betelnut and pan-leaf packages, consumed on the way. Also the common benediction among Khasi expresses the wish that as and as many out pan in the Garden of God. Yet pan-cultivation and the settlements of the War-people on pan-leaf cultivation in the southern slopes seem comparatively young. Pan-cultivation on the plateau is impossible. It is therefore possible that pan was for a long time only a much valued import article from the plains, bartered against Khasi ore and iron tools, though it is not an export article from the War-country, brought to the markets of the plains, by both War-Khasi and War-Jaintia women and men.

According to a traditional lyrical which I were among the Nongkhlaw clan of Mil Nongkhlaw village, the ancestors of the present War people were on the plateau at a time when no pan-cultivation was going on in the slopes and some of the present big estates of pan-tree gardens was yet held by their present (War-) owners. A not distant ancestor of a Nongkhlaw clan-member who about ten to three generations ago with the deity to U Syang was at

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

72 2 River goddess. Many of the Syntengs regard the River Kopili
72 to this day with superstitious reverence. Some of these people
123 will not cross the river at all; others can do so after having performed a sacrifice with grain and fowls. Any traveller who wishes to cross the river must leave behind him the rice which he has taken for the journey, and any other food supplies he may have brought with him. This superstition often results in serious inconvenience to travellers between the Jaintia Hills and North Cachar, unless they have arranged for another batch of coolies to meet them on the Cachar side of the River Kopili, for the Syntengs coolies throw down their loads at the river side, and nothing will induce them to cross the river. The Kopili is propitiated by pujas in many parts of the Jaintia Hills, and at Nartiang a tank where sacrifices are regularly performed is called Ka U-ubru Kopili.

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1:Garden E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

(b) *Mawbynna*, or memorial, which are stones erected to commemorate a parent or some other near relation.

(c) *Mew-ombai*, which are put up to mark the position of tanks or *umkoi*, the water of which is supposed to cleanse the ashes and bones of those who have died unnatural deaths.

(d) *Mew-shnaphait*, or flat table-stones, often accompanied by vertical stones, which are placed in the market-places and by the side of roads to serve as seats for weary travellers. Taking the above main divisions aviation, *mawlpati*, or *mawbjat*, may be described as follows. These generally consist of three upright stones, the tallest being in the centre, and a flat table-stone being placed in front. There are, however, some cases which erect more than three upright stones, as *ithwlpati*, or *mawbjat*. As already stated, the ancients used to erect these stones, *mawlpati* (the stone of the way), or *mawbjat* (the stone of the leg) at each place at which they halted for the night on their way to deposit the bones of their deceased maternal relations in the *ulu wynthiw*, or *mawlah*. The stones are called *mawbjat*, or stones of the leg, because it is supposed that the spirits of the departed sit and rest their limbs on the flat table-stones. The upright stones are not as a rule more than 3 or 4 ft. high, and are not massive like the great *mawbynna*, or memorial stones. They are to be found in great numbers all along the roads or paths which lead to the *ulu wynthiw*. These stones, unlike the *mawbynna*, have no names.

(e) *Mawbynna*, or memorial, are erected to commemorate deceased parents or deceased ancestors, and consist of 3, 5, 7, 9, or even, in an exceptional case, 11, upright stones with flat table-stones in front. The upright stones are called *mew-ryngong*, or male stones, and the flat table-stones *mew-kyrthei*, or female stones. Turning to the plate of the Laitkor stones, it will be observed that there are nine upright stones, and one large flat table-stone in front. Counting from right to left, stone No. 5 is called *u mew kui*, or the maternal uncle's stone, and the stones to the right and left of it, *ki mew ryngong ki paw*, i.e. the stones of the maternal brothers and nephews. The table-stone is called *ka Kyrkhi Synnai*, or *ka Kyrkhi Synnoh*, literally the grandmother of the root, or the old grandmother, in contradistinction to *ka*

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and that the latter were originally used by both of them for sacrificing human victims. Sometimes, immediately on either side of the *mawbri*, or large central stone, there are two much smaller stones called *mawkhing*, or the stone of the drum, and *mawkait*, the stone of the plantain; the drum being used in all religious ceremonies by the Khasis, and the plantain relating to their custom of feeding young children on plantains. The *mawsiem* must be described separately from the *mawbynna*, because they differ from them in an important particular, i.e. that the former may be erected to commemorate the father, while the latter are set up to perpetuate the memory of the ancestors on the female side of the family. *Mawsiem* consist of three upright stones and one flat table-stone in front. The large central stone is called a *maw lhawkong*, or the stone of the father, and the upright stones on either side are meant to represent the father's brothers or nephews. The flat table-stone is *ka lyndoi*, i.e. the grandmother of the father, not the first grandmother of the clan, as is the case of the *mawbynna*.

(c) The *maw sodai* have already been described. They are erected to mark the sites of purificatory tanks, which have been dug so that the remains of deceased persons may be cleansed from the impurities attending an unnatural death, and to counteract the adverse influence upon the sites of *Ka Tyrsi*, or the goddess of death. These stones are sometimes called *mawtyrsi*.

(d) *Maw-shnglhait*, or stones upon which every traveller sits, are to be found alongside all the principal lines of communication in the district. It may serve as an example of these stones to describe the very interesting collection of stones at Nartiang *hât*, or market. A reference is invited to the plate which gives a representation of some of the Nartiang stones. The great height of the upright stone will at once be seen; it is 27 ft. in height and 2½ ft. thick. This stone is the largest erect stone in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills at the present day, and is a very fine specimen. The upright stones and the flat table-stones at Nartiang are called "*ki maw jong Siem*." There is no separate designation for each of them. These stones are popularly supposed to have been erected long ago by two men,

I: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

U Lah Lakor and U Mer Phalyngki, to commemorate the establishment of Nartiang market, which is called Iew Mawlong. "Lakor" is the Syntengu equivalent of the Khasi *lyngdoh*, or prime minister. "Mer" is a Syntengu word meaning a giant, the idea amongst the people being that in the olden days there were giants in the land who performed marvellous feats of strength, e.g. the erection of the megalithic remains at Nartiang and elsewhere. A puja is performed upon a great flat stone by the *dolui* and his officers in honour of the founders of the market, but no animals are sacrificed, rice and *opoi* (balls of rice) only being offered. In the days of the Jaintia kings only the Raja could sit upon the great flat stone; hence the name *maw jong Siem* (or Siem's stone). The great upright stone is said to have been brought by U Lah Lakor and a great number of people from Syriang, a place near Nartiang. With reference to the Nartiang stones I would refer to my theory, formulated above, that they were originally connected with human sacrifices. It may be mentioned that at Nartiang there is a bridge constructed out of a single stone, which is also said to have been set in position by U Lah Lakor. Near Sohtinga there is a group of stones, said to have been originally thirty in number, together with *maw shongthait*, or stones to rest the weary, which were erected to the memory of a woman, Ka Kempatwat, who in generations past is alleged to have had no less than *thirty* husbands. The lady is not supposed to have been polyandrous, nor sinful, but to have divorced one husband after another. As she probably established a record for divorce her descendants afterwards commemorated her in the manner described. There is another very large stone at Nongkseh, which unfortunately fell to the ground in the great earthquake-shock of 1897. This stone must have stood over 20 ft. above the ground. It is called a *mawbri Siem*, the stone of the Siem's maternal uncle, and it used to form the central stone, or *mawbri*, of a line of stones. These stones belong to the clan of the Siems of Nongkseh, which furnishes the *mahbri*, or head sacrificer, of the Siems of Khyrim. The stones at Rewmai, which in ancient days used to be the headquarters of a Siem, are some of the best carved in the hills. At Mawmyngong, in the Jaintia sub-division, is a stone upon

29: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR 7 Khasi AR 7

supply. As the District depends so largely for its supply of rice upon Sylhet and Kamrup, the rates of the markets in those places exercise a greater influence on the rates in the Hills than any failure of the local harvest. In the year 1898 the price of common rice is said to have risen as high as 8 seers for the rupee, or 18½ per cent., in consequence of the failure of the crops in the plains.

Roads and Means of Communication.—The following are the eight principal lines of road in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills:—(1) Road from Shillong to Cherrapunji, in Khasi. This road has recently (1897) been opened for wheeled traffic throughout its entire length. The Deputy-Commissioner's Report for 1896-97 states that the number of passengers passing up and down may be estimated at about five or ten every month, and the number of carts already used at about 50. The mail dâk brings coolies up to Shillong from Cherrapunji in two days by a comfortable and easy carriage service, while for native travellers or chargers by bullock cart is available. At Cherrapunji there is a good dâk bungalow in charge of a khansamah, where the usual accommodation provided in a hotel is to be found. The stages to Shillong are as follows:—(a) Cherrapunji to Sumdah, 17 miles. The road is good throughout. There is a dâk bungalow in charge of a chaukidar at Sumdah, where grain and rice are procurable. (b) Sumdah to Nongpoh, 14½ miles. The road is hilly throughout, but good. At Nongpoh, which is at an elevation of 1,500 feet, there is a dâk bungalow in charge of a khansamah, from whom tea, liquors, and biscuits, etc. can be obtained. The dâk bungalow is furnished with bedding, linen, etc. Coolies and rice can be purchased in the bazar. (c) Nongpoh to Umsning, 18½ miles. At Umsning, elevation 1,500 feet, there is a dâk bungalow in charge of a chaukidar. Supplies or coolies are not procurable, but sometimes grain and rice can be purchased. (d) Umsning to Umjata, 14½ miles. At Umjata there is a Public Works Department rest-house in charge of a chaukidar. Supplies or coolies are not procurable. (e) Umjata to Shillong, 14½ miles, of which 4½ are a metalled macadam. At Shillong there are dâk bungalows in the Artillery Lines, containing four separate rooms. A khansamah is in attendance, and the rooms are completely furnished with bedding, linen, etc. This entire road, which has a total length of 67 miles, is so perfect a hill road as could be seen in any country, and a model of engineering skill. (f) Road running from Cherrapunji across the Hills, via Sangsiar, Mawkyrwat, Cherrapunji

15: Nakane K-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

1. Setting and Economic Background of Sohkynduh and Kongton

Sohkynduh and Kongton are villages of the Kuhadhiong,[1] one of the areas under the Cherra Chief. The Kuhadhiong is situated on the southern slope of the Khasi Hills, in what is called War country. These two villages are situated at the furthest point from both Shella, the centre bordered by the plain, and Cherrapunjee, the seat of the Cherra Chief, one of the centres of the upland Khasi Hills. The people at Cherrapunjee say that these villages are one of the most backward parts of the Khasi Hills. They correspond to Rombagiri in the Garo Hills, as they lie in the innermost parts and more traditional economic and social settings have been preserved there than in other villages. These are also the reasons why I selected these villages as my field.

It is nine miles to Sohkynduh from Cherrapunjee, crossing two deep valleys towards the east. Kongton is located at the heart of the mountain ranges, ten miles from Cherrapunjee, towards the north-east. It is about twelve miles from Sohkynduh to Kongton, and the way leads through one of the most difficult passes, where even villagers seldom travel. In December, 1955, Sohkynduh was a community of 48 households (List 6), and Kongton of 62 households (List 9). The settlements of both villages are clustered in the southern depressions of a mountain, not far from the summit, a typical location of Khasi villages. Sohkynduh has poor soil, covered with plenty of pieces of stones. The yield therefore is very poor. On the other hand, Kongton, a much older village, enjoys fertile soil, and is one of the most prosperous communities in the Kuhadhiong.

The major economy of both villages is shifting cultivation. We have already seen, in the chapters on the Garo, the fundamental technique of "jhuming cultivation." The differences between the Garo and the Khasi shifting cultivation are to be found in two aspects: one in the nature of the crops and the other in the type of landownership. In this area, the main crop is millet, while that of the Garo is rice. Besides the shifting cultivation, the Khasi have pan-leaf gardens and sometimes pineapple gardens, though on a small scale and not in every household. The most important feature of Khasi shifting cultivation is the development of private ownership. In the tribal areas in Assam, such private ownership of the jhum field is quite un-

1. Kuhadhiong is the name of a group of villages. Its literal meaning is "twelve villages," and it comprises the following villages: Sohkynduh, Kymmai, Shelkamin, Shwelkut, Shwemang, Kongton, Shwelang, Kodhaiwhat, Pilai, Tmaiton, Sohpyrung, and Dongkyw. [Khasi spelling follows the customary usage in Cherra State.]

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1957 AR? Khasi AR?

APPENDIX

SOME ADDITIONAL INFORMATION FROM SHELLA AND JAITINGA

Shella

Shella is situated on the lowest of the southern slopes of the Khasi Hills, bordering on the Sylhet plain of East Pakistan. For centuries the people of Shella maintained close trading connections with the people of the plain, so that they have been much influenced by the Hindu. They have been to some extent divorced economically and culturally from their own people who live in the uplands and on higher part of the slopes. Actually, this is a natural result of their geographical location. From Cherrapunjee, the southern edge of the upland Khasi Hills, only a narrow footpath goes down to Shella. The altitude of Cherrapunjee is about 3,000 feet and of Shella from 300 to 1,000 feet, and the distance between them is 8 miles. The path descends very steeply and is full of hard stones. This difficulty of communication is also why the Hindu influence did not penetrate the upland Khasi, as in the case of the Jaintia Hills.[1]

This area has a unique political organization which differs from the majority of Khasi states who are traditionally ruled by the members of the Siem class. Shella is organized as a confederation, called 'Shella Confederacy,' and consists of four local villages. The head of the village is called sadbhar, and is elected by the villagers every three years. The number of households of the Shella Confederacy was about 300 in January 1958. The names of the four villages and their sadbhar in 1958 were:

Name of village	*Name of sadbhar*
1. Shella	Dwaish Mohan Roy
2. Shadrish	Dhanpu Roy
3. Nongtrai	Gyan Roy
4. Tyngngar	Jairam Roy

Each village is divided into sections. For instance, Shella village has seven sections: (1) Jaiti, (2) Dhang, (3) Dalia, (4) Jaiman, (5) Nongtrai, (6) Nongsong,

1. However, Shella was the only way out and the main gateway from the Khasi Hills to the plain; it was here that the British first entered the Khasi Hills. They proceeded from Shella to Cherrapunjee and made the latter headquarters of the Khasi Hills in 1833.

(1965:2); J. Barah (1962). **Demography.** According to the 1961 census of India, the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills District contained 321,962 Khasis and 97,932 Syntengs, Pnars, and Jaintias (India [Republic] 1963: 57). These figures, together with those for Khasis enumerated in Cachar (4,000), Mikir and North Cachar Hills (487), Lakhimpur (27), Sibsagar (270), and Darrang (211) districts, and those for Syntengs enumerated in Mikir and North Cachar District (404), yield a total of 398,219 Khasis. **History and cultural relations.** Khasis believe that they had supernatural origin in Khasi Hills (see Gait 1925: 89 for historical evidence, and Roy 1935: 9-3 for myth, but see also Costa 1899, 1900; Gordon 1907: 10-11, and Chatterji 1951: 12). Khasi tradition also states that in early times they moved gradually from east to west, from Jaintia toward Khasi Hills, in the practice of swidden agriculture (Campbell 1947: 97-98). The salient fact of known Khasi history, which begins generally in the mid-eighteenth century A.D. when there already existed the present-day 25 native Khasi chiefdoms, is the distinctive line of development followed by the separate kingdoms of Jaintia. To the north, Jaintia was successively tributary, in part or in whole, to the Kachari kingdom (ca. 1250 A.D.), the Koch kingdom (emerged ca. 1500 A.D.), and the Ahom kingdom (emerged ca. 1750 A.D.) (Shakespear 1914: Map 1). To the south, about 1500 A.D., Jaintia extended its rule over a tract of Sylhet, which was populated by Hindus and Muslims, and saw its kings fall thereafter under Brahman influence. In the early 1800s, Jaintia became involved in the fratricidal strife then prevalent in the ruling family of Manipur. In 1835, after the Jaintia king ignored British warnings not to seize British subjects for human sacrifice, Jaintia was punished by the British annexation of the Jaintia pergunna in Sylhet. The Jaintia king then voluntarily turned over to the British the hills-area of his domain, so that the whole of Jaintia became part of British India and, in 1908, came to be treated as such, although the Jaintias were otherwise allowed to maintain their traditional system of village government. • By contrast, the remaining Khasi states had few formal external relations until British times. Khasis raided and traded in both the Brahmaputra and Sylhet valleys, but were basically turned inward on their own hills, where warfare between villages and between the states was apparently common. Khasis came into indirect relations with the British in 1765, when Sylhet and its markets became part of British India. In the 1770s, engaged-up Khasi raids into Sylhet caused the British to drive up a defensive line of forts along the foothills. Later, it became necessary to place an embargo on Khasi goods sold in the Sylhet markets. In 1827, the British penetrated into western Khasi Hills by negotiating with the Khasi chief of Nongkhlaw Siem to build a road through his territory, linking the capital, Nongpoh, Brahmaputra valley with Calcutta. For thirty decades

20: Hunter G-6 (no date) 1897 AR? Khasi AR?

homicide), to which their own subjects are concerned. All cases of homicide, or matters involving disputes between people belonging to different States, are adjudicated upon by the British officers of the District.

In the British possessions, the principal sources of revenue are rents and royalties derived from mineral workings, such as lime and coal; rents of fisheries; and a house tax, which varies, according to situation and productiveness of the soil, from R. 1 to Rs. 5 or from 4a. to 4r. per house. A land tax is only levied in towns where the Government possesses the actual proprietary right to the soil. Again, in the Khasi States, the British Government, which undertakes the management of the natural products of the country, such as waste lands, coal, lime, etc., receives a half-share of the rents realised from these sources, the other half belonging to the native Chiefs. The other sources of revenue of the Chiefs are market fees, cesses levied occasionally for State purposes, and fines realised in the administration of justice.

Elevenue.—Our first knowledge of the Khasi Hills dates from the time when the East India Company acquired the diwani of Bengal in 1765. The adjoining District of Sylhet was included in that grant; but as the hillmen had never acknowledged any subjection to the Muhammadans, so they still remained absolutely independent of the British power. However, the necessities of commerce, arising from their monopoly of the lime quarries, from which Bengal has drawn its supply from time immemorial, soon attracted European enterprise to the country. As stated in the Appendix to the Statistical Account of Sylhet, the control of the profits of the lime trade formed in early times one of the most valuable advantages attaching to the position of the official in charge of that District. It does not appear that any Europeans had been attracted to reside in the Hills before 1815. In that year the Raja of Nongkhlaw entered into an agreement with certain European British subjects to allow a road to be made across the Hills, to connect the Surma valley with Jaintia Proper. These Europeans took up their residence at Nongkhlaw. Misunderstandings unfortunately arose, and, partly by the connivance of some of their Bengali followers, the growing discontent and apprehension were formed into a flame. On 4th April 1829 the Khiddi was to arise and massacred Lieutenant Bedingfield and Sarkies, together with some others. This led to military operations on the part of the British Government, which

3.3 **Measures so far taken.**—Since 1947, there has been continuous demand from border people for relief and rehabilitation. Government undertook various measures to alleviate their difficulties. Government's attention to border problems has however, not been adequate. The common feeling of border people was that whenever the border problem deteriorated due to some adverse measures adopted by East Pakistan authorities more attention was attracted, on the other hand, when the situation eased comparatively the Government's vigilance also slackened.

The various measures so far adopted by Government in border area, have been fully discussed and commented upon by the Border Rehabilitation Committee. These need no mention here. But a few points emerging from the interviews put forward by the villagers during our investigation are noted below.

On the question of the schemes linked up with the issue of diversification of agriculture in border area, a large section of the border people skilled in the maintenance and operation of orchards are opposed to the idea of a complete switch over from cash crops to food crops in the cultivation of which they have no adequate experience. Moreover, there is the problem of getting adequate land in the vicinity for wet paddy cultivation. Indeed, having lost the market for some of the cash crops, some cultivators are trying to increase cultivation of paddy and other suitable crops on their own initiative whenever suitable land is available. But the problem of getting adequate funds for reclamation and improvement of land has proved to a serious handicap to them. Financial assistance to the needy and willing cultivators for reclamation work and taking up of more minor irrigation projects is very necessary.

As regards Government loans granted to cultivators, people complained that apart from being inadequate they are also untimely. As a result the people, needy as they are, utilise the amount for meeting their day to day consumption expenses.

There have been complaints that various improved seeds supplied by Government are of very inferior quality leading to waste of time and money of the poor people. The Department of Agriculture should not only check the quality of the seeds before issue but should also see that the seed are properly used by inexperienced cultivators who are newly taking up cultivation of these crops.

With the opening up of a few vital P. W. D. Roads transport of border products to Shillong and other places has greatly been facilitated but the problem of transporting from from remote interior to the various local points on P. W. D. roads still remains unsolved. While during worse times these places may be negotiated by a man on foot up and down the very problems, during rainy season these roads become slippery, the arteries are overflooded and it becomes impossible for a man to cross them, thus isolating the villages from each other leading to cessation of trade and all other activities between villages. Properly planned rural relief schemes for construction of feeder roads and bridges linking up these villages, will, apart from giving some works to the people alleviate much of the difficulties of transportation of agricultural produce.

6.1 **Marketing**.—The Khasis and Jaintias are market minded people. Rarely they sell their produce at the farm site. They have established markets at all vantage points of the district to which they carry over miles their produce on headload for sale. On market days it is a treat to see a stream of people with headloads crossing to the market up and down hills from miles away.

Markets are held usually twice in every eight days of which one is a 'Sunshaw' day which is held on every eighth day and the other is a 'Chum Tamu' day which is held two days ahead of the Sunshaw day. The following table shows the marketing facilities available to the rural people in the sample villages.

Table 6.1 below shows the number of markets classified according to distances from the selected villages served by them and charge per maund for transport of produces from the village to these markets.

TABLE 6.1

Charge per maund from village to market	Distance from village to market: 5 miles	Less than 5 miles	5—10 miles	Above 10 miles	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Rs. nil. Rs. nil.					
0·00 to less	7	...	...	...	7
0·00 „ 0·05	...	1	...	...	1
0·05 „ 0·10	1	1	...	...	2
0·10 „ 0·15	1	8	1	...	2
0·15 „ 0·20	...	6	7	...	13
0·20 „ 0·25	...	1	9	2	6
0·25 „ 0·30	...	1	...	8	9
0·30 „ 0·35	...	...	...	3	3
Above Rs. 0·35	...	...	...	1	1
Total ...	9	18	17	14	58

No. of villages served by—

1	„market"	18
2	markets	8
3	„	7
4	„	1

The above table shows clearly that the producers have to pay heavy charges when porters are engaged which becomes inevitable particularly when the distance to market is very long or the way to the market is difficult or negotiate. The table shows that out of a total of 15 markets with which the people in the 28 selected villages use to carry on transactions, 10 are situated at a distance of 5 to 10 miles, while 13 are situated more than 10 miles away from the village. Considering the fact that transport is to be done by head-load only, marketing of the agricultural produce is indeed a difficult task. The transport charges to be paid are also high. It is seen from the above table that out of the 15 markets, transport charges to as many as 11 markets work out to be higher than Rs. 2 a maund.

6.9 **Co-operation** - Twelve co-operative societies were met within the selected villages. Out of these as many as 7 were engaged in marketing or trading. These organisations grew up sometime earlier under direct sponsorship of Government but mostly at the initiative of the villagers themselves to meet certain situations. The following statement shows a list of the co-operative societies in the sample villages.

TABLE B-8

Name of village	Name of society	Sponsored by
(1)	(2)	(3)
1. Syndai ...	Marketing Society	Government.
2. Raiong ...	(1) Women Welfare Association.	Local people.
	(2) A Credit Co-operative Association.	
3. Nartiang ...	(1) Trading Co-operative Society.	Do.
	(2) Credit Society for the improvement of the lot of farmers.	
4. Ambi ..	Marketing Society	Government
5. Pathaknuh ...	The Mulberry Garden Co-operative Society.	Local people
6. Mukaishnilah ...	Trading Co-operative Society.	Do.

CHAPTER—X

Summary of main findings

125 10.1. Twenty-eight villages were selected for the purpose of the survey. Out of the 28 villages selected, 10 from Border area and 9 from Project area were selected purposively while the remaining 9 were selected at random from the entire district which is selected hereafter as general area.

166 Migration from big villages was rare but some migration was reported in respect of small villages.

164 Occurrence of Malaria, influenza and dysentery is a regular phenomenon in the area. Medical facilities were not found satisfactory and
293 as much as 78 per cent of the villages have no dispensary within a
871 radius of five miles. In regard to education, the facilities cannot also
• 489 be said to be unsatisfactory for more than 60 per cent of the villages
482 have a Lower Primary School. Transport facilities were not satisfactory and as much as 96 per cent of the villages still depend upon primitive mode of transport, namely head load. Coupled with outmoded form of transport, is the prevalence of unduly high cost of transport.

*162 10.2. The number of the families covered by the survey was 1006
161 in the Border area, and 647 in the Project area and 104 in the General area. The average size of a village in the respective area is 100·6, 80·9 and 10·4 families. In the Border and Project areas females out number males being respectively 1076 and 1062 females per 1,000 males as against 940 females per 1,000 males in the general area.
212 Literacy is as high as 34 per cent in the border area and 31 per cent
[562] in the Project area but as low as 17 per cent in the general area. In all the areas literacy among females is very low.

*162 The working population (earners and earning dependents) is as high
464 as 55 per cent in the Border area, 54 per cent in the Project area and 48 per cent in the general area. While there were no cases of unemployment in the Project and General areas, 18 persons were reported unemployed from border area.

241 10.3. 51 per cent of the families in Border area are wholly agricul-
* 162 tural, 35 per cent partly agricultural and 14 per cent independent of
463 agriculture. The corresponding figures for the Project area are 61, 31 and 8 per cent respectively while for the General area they are 98 per cent, 39 per cent, 1 per cent respectively.

Predominantly agricultural families constitute 67, 90 and 96 per cent of the families in Border, Project and General areas respectively.

*162 10.4. 31 per cent of the families in Border area, 29 per cent in Project
423 area and 10 per cent in General area were absolutely without any land while 25 per cent, 39 per cent and 24 per cent of the families in the respective areas possessed small holding ranging from 0·24 to 2·50 acres representing 11,24 and 26 per cent of the total holding area in the respective areas. 36 per cent of the families in Border and Project areas and 41 in General area possessed medium sized holding (3 to less than 10 acres)

U Lah Lankor and U Mar Phalyngki, to commemorate the establishment of Nartiang market, which is called Iew Mawlong. "Lankor" is the Syntengi equivalent of the Khasi *lyngdoh*, or prime minister. "Mar" is a Syntengi word meaning a giant, the idea amongst the people being that in the olden days there were giants in the land who performed marvellous feats of strength, e.g. the erection of the megalithic remains at Nartiang and elsewhere. A puja is performed upon a great flat stone by the *dolloi* and his officers in honour of the founders of the market, but no animals are sacrificed, rice and *opoi* (balls of rice) only being offered. In the days of the Jaintia kings only the Raja could sit upon the great flat stone; hence the name *mar jong Siem* (or Siem's stone). The great upright stone is said to have been brought by U Lah Lankor and a great number of people from Syriang, a place near Nartiang. With reference to the Nartiang stones I would refer to my theory, formulated above, that they were originally connected with human sacrifices. It may be mentioned that at Nartiang there is a bridge constructed out of a single stone, which is also said to have been set in position by U Lah Lankor. Near Sohtinga there is a group of stones, said to have been originally thirty in number, together with *mawphoi*, or stones to rest the weary, which were erected to the memory of a woman, Ka Kanpatwat, who in generations past is alleged to have had no less than *thirty* husbands. The lady is not supposed to have been polyandrous, nor nine-lived, but to have divorced one husband after another. As she probably established a record for divorce, her descendants afterwards commemorated her in the manner described. There is another very large stone at Nongkseh, which unfortunately fell to the ground in the great earthquake shock of 1897. This stone must have stood over 20 ft. above the ground. It is called a *mawkai Siem*, the stone of the Siem's maternal uncle, and it used to form the central stone, or *mawkai*, of a line of stones. These stones belong to the clan of the *bneng* of Nongkseh, which furnishes the *sokhlei*, or head sacrificer, of the Siems of Khyrim. The stones at Mawmai, which in ancient days used to be the head-quarters of a Siem, are some of the best carved in the hills. At Mawrongjong, in the Jaintia sub-division, is a stone upon

had finished speaking to her, she awoke from her fit of drowsiness and found herself holding a handful of money. On her way home she pondered over what he had said to her, and her heart was full of joy that she had met a god Who had given her so much money, and who had spoken such words to her. She then constructed a bridge over that stream with a single stone, which remains till this day.* When she was about to build her house, it happened that she got married notwithstanding; she gave birth to a blind child, and died shortly afterwards. So the people called the village "Mew-pun-ka-Rytiang," or, when abbreviated, "Mawpunkyrtiang."

The Siem of Malyniang.

The Siem of Malyniang was one of those kings who, people said, was one of the "god-kings." He lived in the village of Madur, which is now in the Maskut township. There arose from the royal family of Malyniang a king whose name was Kyllong Raja. His manner was very peculiar, but he was at the same time both stern and courageous. He made up his mind to conquer the whole of the Syntengg country as well as the territory of the Siem of Shillong, in order to extend his own kingdom of Madur. This Kyllong did not require many followers when he went to war

[illegible] ka dum ka ka ki jong ka ai-'ang saim. Ta ynda ka ia wan sha ia ing, ataei ataei ka lynti ka ia pawn ka ia ka aymain da kaba kynsei ka ka ia mahon ia u kiei sha ia ai kawa ki synghu ka bad sha ia kawa kum kum ki kim. Ta kumta ka ia ring u mawpain sha dum kadiik aymia. Bad kawar ka ka dang ryhang ka u thaw ai ka ing ka lap ka ioh-synga-ioh pynkam; kumta ka sha u khun da sha matlah bad ung shibit ka lap ioh. Kumta ki ioh kan shut ka shnong Mawpain-ka-Rytiang, kata kaba kwan lynghot Mawpunkyrtiang.

Khadhaw U Siem Malyniang.

U Siem Malyniang u la long ynei o Siem ka jw kyma ka u long u kynja Siem kini. Una u la shong ka ka shnong Madur kaba long nyuta ka ka ilaka o doloi Maskut. Ha-ka jaid Siem Malyniang la mih ynei sha kyrtang U Kyllong Raja. Una u Siem sha phylla shibun ka la ka jinglong, u briew sha ah sha shlur. U la thymu ban jop ia ka ri Syntengg iarah bad ia ka ri Shillong ban pynkhraw ia la ka hima Madur. Una u Kyllong u'm donkam shibun ki nonghod bin kit ia ioh ia kamokano ka thymu, namar u long u briew sha khlain shibun bad u

* This stone bridge, situated on the Thera road about a mile below Cherra, existed up to the Earthquake of 1897, which demolished it. The large slab of stone which formed the roadway of the bridge, is, however, still to be seen lying in the bed of the stream.

III Class U-3 (no date)1576 AD? Khasi AD?

In these hills a few monuments on the binary type may even be found in which there are two equal upright slabs in the middle, and the other stones placed symmetrically on each side of them.

7. There are three kinds of rock employed by the Khasis for stone monuments, viz.:—

a. The Cherra sandstones.
b. The Shillong sandstones.
c. The granite.

Small stones are conveyed considerable distances from the place of manufacture before they are set up—large stones are not—hence the material of the monuments is determined everywhere geologically.

a. The Cherra sandstones are tertiary and continuous rocks spread along the southern edge of the plateau and producing the ledges which mark its abrupt termination. In the great thickness of these sandstones are many beds in which the rock occurs in large sheets with very few joints, and well-adapted for working out large slabs therefrom. The sandstone is generally very hard, but not so hard but that the Khasis can work it with their own native-made iron tools.

There is a quarry, now in full work, about half-a-mile out of the old Cherra cantonment, upon the Mawlai path, where slabs may be seen in preparation. The slabs made from the Cherra sandstones, admitting of being worked, are generally hewn pretty fairly to a shape and smoothed before being set up. The ancient monuments are, however, often made of very rough slabs.

All the well-known monuments near the old Cherra station are made of these sandstones, as also the large monuments at Mawlai, Mawmai, and Lirinow. These three monuments all stand on sheets of Cherra sandstone and the stones were cut out of the rock hard by where they now stand. The stones quarried now outside the Cherra cantonment, being for transport, are none of great size.

The Khasis also work gigantic slabs of stone for bridges. Where the span is anything under twenty feet a single slab four or five feet wide and two feet thick is thrown across; piers of enormous blocks of sandstone are raised on each side, on which the slab may rest, if there is the remotest fear that the water can, in any flood, reach the under surface of the slab. As compared with such a bridge the Khasis regard the best efforts of the English engineers as mere makeshifts. The arch at Amwee figured by Dr. Hooker is Bengali work.

b. The Shillong sandstones extend over a large area of the northern portion of the plateau: they are often more argillaceous

vation is impossible because of the cold climate. In the past, Khasi economy must have remained at a very primitive stage.

Potato cultivation has been much encouraged along with the development of Shillong and the opening of the motor road to Gauhati from Shillong after the Independence of India when Shillong became the seat of the Assam Government, as well as the capital of the Khasi-Jaintia Hills. Shillong has become an important trading centre, where big merchants collect the harvests of potatoes in exchange for rice, clothes and various other goods from the Assam valley. These changes have introduced the Khasis into an active commercial economy which again has brought about various changes in their social life. Recently coal excavations have started in the upland Khasi Hills, and many Khasi become miners.

Thus the history of the Khasi Hills during the last hundred years has changed a great deal the picture of the Hills. However, dark corners still remain in Bhoi, War and in the area bordering on the Garo Hills. These have been kept in a vacuum between the Hindu civilisation of the bordering plain and the modernisation of the uplands centred in Shillong. In these areas, the people are still practising primitive jhum cultivation. I have chosen two villages in War borderd in one of these area as subjects of my major field-work.

[P. 100 is blank]

[illegible] Measures on the [illegible]—From [illegible], there has been constant [illegible] from border people for relief and rehabilitation. Government [illegible] various measures to alleviate their difficulties. Government's attention to border problems has however, not been adequate. The common feeling of border people was that whenever the border problem developed due to some adverse measure adopted by Ceylon Indian authorities more attention was attracted, on the other hand, when the situation eased comparatively the Government's vigilance also slackened.

The various measures so far adopted by Government in border area, have been fully discussed and considered upon by the Border Rehabilitation Committee. These need no repetition here. But a few points emerging from the grievances put forward by the villagers during our investigation are noted below.

On the question of the villages linked up with the issue of disembarkation of agriculture in border area, a large section of the border people skilled in the maintenance and operation of orchards are opposed to the idea of a complete switch over from cash crops to food crops in the cultivation of which they have no adequate experience. Moreover, there is the problem of getting adequate land in the vicinity for such public cultivation. Indeed, having lost the market for some of the cash crops, some agriculturists are trying to increase cultivation of paddy and other suitable crops on their own initiative whenever suitable land is available. But the problem of getting adequate lands for cultivation and improvement of land has tried to a prime handicap to them. Financial assistance to the needy and willing cultivators for reclamation works and taking up of more minor irrigation projects is very necessary.

As regards Government loans granted to cultivators, people complained that 'spade loan being inadequate they are often unfairly. As a result the people, rarely as they are, utilize the amount for purposes other than due to the corruption aspects.

There have been complaints that cultivation improved seeds supplied to Government are of very inferior quality leading to waste of time and money of the poor people. The Department of Agriculture should not only check the quality of the seeds before issue but should also see that the seed are properly used by inexperienced cultivators who are newly taking up cultivation of these crops.

With the opening up of a few vital P. M. D. Roads transport of border products to Galle and other places has greatly been facilitated but the problem of transporting from farm areas to the various local points on P. M. D. roads still remains unsolved. While during winter months these places may be negotiated by a man on foot up and down the steep gradients, during rainy seasons these roads become slippery, the streams and rivulets are overflooded and it becomes impossible for a man to cross them, thus isolating the villages from each other leading to loss of trade and all other activities between villages. Properly planned rural relief schemes for construction of feeder roads and bridges linking up these villages, will, apart from giving some work to the people alleviate much of the difficulties of transportation of agricultural produce.

[illegible]

Block (1)	Name of village (2)	Figure (3)	Sub-block (4)	No. of Houses (5)
[illegible]	1. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	2. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	3. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	4. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	5. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	6. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	7. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	8. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	9. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	10. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	11. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	12. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	13. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	14. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	15. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	16. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	17. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	18. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	19. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	Total —			[illegible]

4.1 - **Natural calamities.**—The villages are free from severe natural calamities like flood, erosion, earthquake and the like. Excessive rain has endured the higher lands lacking near Chengnajen, Mawnenam, [illegible] pts. During the monsoon after heavy rains, the small streams and streams rise in spate causing communication from village to village which cause much inconvenience to the people in carrying on trade, marketing and other day to day activities.

[illegible] 142

[illegible] Educational facilities.—The following table shows the [illegible] 272

TABLE 8.6

No. of villages having the nearest school

Distance school within a radius of (in miles)	L. P.	M. S.	H. S.	Basic	Educational school
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
0	10	3	0	2	0
2	3	1	0	2	0
5	6	0	0	1	0
10	0	10	2	0	0
20	0	0	0	0	0
more than 20	0	0	0	0	10

The above table reveals that out of a total of 20 villages, 10 villages have got a Lower Primary school located within the village, 3 have got within a radius of 2 miles and 6 within a radius of 5 miles. One of the 10 villages under general area selected at random from the district, only 6 villages have got a Lower Primary school within the village, and 2 villages within 5 miles of the village. In respect of secondary education the position is far from being satisfactory as the above table will reveal.

The number of pupils on the roll of the 21 Lower Primary and Basic schools located in the 21 villages was 1,112. Thus the average number of pupils on roll per village was 56 while the average number of families per village was 42. The poverty of the villagers is the main reason for this low enrolment. Many parents would rather like their children to do gainful work or social chores at their homes, than to allow them to indulge in the non-productive enterprise of going to school.

6.7 Communication facilities.—In there are no railways, [illegible] 491 •

[illegible] the only communication facilities available to the people of the district is by road. Some of [illegible] are all-weather metalled roads where even heavy [illegible] can ply throughout the year.

[illegible]	[illegible]	G-5	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	Khasi	[illegible]

The following table summarise the situation of the sample villages, viz., communications facilities available.

TABLE [illegible]

Villages classified according to distance from the Subdivisional headquarters and from the nearest metalled road.

Distance from	0 miles	1 mile	2—[illegible] miles	11—20 miles	21—30 miles	Above 30 miles	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Subdivisional headquarters	—	1	—	1	[illegible]	4	[illegible]
Nearest metalled road	2	4	2	2	2	—	[illegible]

TABLE [illegible]

Villages classified according to type of road connecting the nearest metalled road and means of transport available

Means of transport	No. of villages							
	Type of road connecting the nearest metalled road						Just on the metalled road	Total
	Fair weather		All weather		Fair weather	All weather		
			Fair weather	All weather				
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Truck	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bus	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Jeep	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	3
Carts	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Porter	—	4	6	11	—	6	1	29
Others	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1
Total	—	—	6	12	—	6	4	33

There is no data that porter is the only means of transport of goods in 29 villages, out of the total of 33 villages covered by the survey.

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1997 AB? Khasi AB?

(2) Sub-pat-byung, literally "The Navel of the Sky." This is supposed by the Khasis to be the centre of the world, and to be the highest peak in the hills. Its real altitude, however, is only about 4000 feet. (3) Syrwa—height, 6030 feet. (4) Shillong—height, 6449 feet. (5) Dongsi—height, 6400 feet. (6) Kyi-lang-rath, one huge mass of rock, about 300 feet high, and of a rounded form—height above sea level, 5884 feet. (7) Lait-lith—height, 5800 feet. (8) Lait-dorb—height, 6000 feet. (9) Thang-nith—height, 4208 feet. (10) Nong-jong—height, 4225 feet. (11) U Shin—height, 6200 feet. (12) Shin-long—height, 5150 feet. (13) Shin-lai-long—height, 5300 feet. (14) Shin-ga-mait—height, 5800 feet. (15) Sym-par—height, 5700 feet. (16) Shin-ongi—height, 5800 feet. (17) Lait-mir-kim—height, 5313 feet. (18) Nong-ram-nin—height, 5583 feet. (19) Mis-kryn—height, 5398 feet. (20) Nong-thong—height, 5808 feet. (21) Kaith-long-napin—height, 5108. (22) Shin-lai-bah—height, 4152 feet. (23) Pator-kyi-long—height, 5133 feet.

The mountain peaks are of various forms and shapes, but generally conical, and capped by sacred groves. No roads exist to permit the ascent of carriages, but most of the hills can be ascended by beasts of burden, even without much trouble. In the eastern portion of the District the hills are covered with forest.

RIVERS.—No navigable rivers flow through the hills, the streams being all mountain torrents. On some of the large streams, however, near the point where they debouch upon the plains, small canoes are used for short distances below the rapids. The principal streams flowing south to the Surma river in Sylhet are the following:—(1) The Kyn-shi-ang, named Jaintiahi by the Bengalis in the plains; (2) the Tengli, called Mahdi in the plains; (3) the Bograh, called Bagjhdri in the plains; (4) the Sub-myng-kaw, called Dhalai in the plains; (5) the Mongli, called Pain in the plains; (6) the Mis-syb-du, called Hari in the plains; and (7) the Lukai or Lubi. The principal tributaries to the Brahmaputra are:—(1) The Kapili; (2) the Um-khan, called Bangdai in the plains; (3) the Um-iém; (4) the Um-ru, called Digru in the plains; and (5) the Ka-khri, called Kalai in the plains. All the foregoing streams have numerous feeders of their own, but none of them are of any importance.

The Khasi and Jaintia Hills are, like all mountainous countries, intricately watered, and the streams run over rocky beds, some passing through cultivated lands. As they approach the plains,

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1877 AR? Khasi AR?

dishonest from the practice. Adults will chew as many as four or five betel-nuts a day, with the usual accompaniment of pân leaves. The estimated cost of maintaining an average family of the labouring class is about Rs. 8 or 10s. a month. [276] [434]

Towns: Stations.—There are no towns in the usual acceptance of the word; but the chief places in the Hills, looked upon by the inhabitants as cities, are Shillong, Jowai, Cherrá Pinjí, and Shella. According to the Census of 1872, Shillong had only 1,363 inhabitants, Cherrá Pinjí 223, and Jowai 1,500. Jowai, however, is a collection of rural hamlets, and the population of Shillong has entirely altered since the date of the Census. The latter place has become the Civil Station in 1874, in substitution for Cherrá Pinjí; and when Assam was created into an Independent Province in 1874, it was selected as the permanent seat of the Local Government. The Chief Commissioner resides there, and also the heads of all departments in the Administration. The area of the Station is 3 miles in length by 1½ to 1¾ miles in breadth. A considerable native population is already settled, and is increasing from day to day. One of the largest weekly markets is held in the Station; and with a view to facilitate access to the Station, which is the metropolis for the Province of Assam, a cart road has recently been completed to Gauhati on the Brahmaputra, which will tend to make the place more and more important. An excellent water supply is introduced into Shillong through an aqueduct which has its source in the neighbouring hill streams, and sanitary measures are carefully enforced. Large sums of money have actually been expended on the erection of the public buildings necessary for the offices of the administration. A printing-press has been established, from which issue all the official documents and reports of the Province. The climate is excellent, the temperature being more equable than that of any other hill station in India, and therefore admirably suited to the constitution of Europeans. There is a church at Shillong, and a chaplain on the Bengal establishment officiates both there and at Gauhati. The cantonments were occupied in 1875 by the 43d Regiment of Assam Light Infantry, with three outposts. The strength was 9 European officers, 16 native commissioned officers, 80 non-commissioned officers, 771 fighting men, and 38 paid camp followers and non-combatants; grand total, 935. The total cost, including contingencies, was Rs. 189,190, or £18,919. [632] [672] [648] [44] [47] [491] [365] [367] [344] [213] [182] [344] [312]

supply. As the District depends so largely for its supply of rice upon Sylhet and Kamrup, the rates of the markets in those places exercise a greater influence on the rates in the Hills than any failure of the local harvest. In the year 1898 the price of common rice is said to have risen as high as 6 rs. for the rupee, or 16s. 8d. per cwt., in consequence of the failure of the crops in the plains.

Roads and Means of Communication.—The following are the eight principal lines of road in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills:—(1) Road from Shillong to Cherrapunji, in Khasi. This road has recently (1899) been opened for wheeled traffic throughout its entire length. The Deputy-Commissioner's Report for 1898-99 states that the number of passengers passing up and down may be estimated at about five or seven every month, and the number of carts already used at about 50. The steps dak brings travellers up to Shillong from Cherrapunji in two days by a comfortable and easy carriage service, while for natives a cheaper conveyance by bullock cart is available. At Cherrapunji there is a good dak bungalow in charge of a khansamah, where the usual accommodation provided in a hotel is to be found. The stages to Shillong are as follows:—(a) Cherrapunji to Sohra, 11 miles. The road is good throughout. There is a dak bungalow in charge of a chaukidar at Sohra, where grain and rice are procurable. (b) Sohra to Nongpoh, 14½ miles. The road is hilly throughout, but good. At Nongpoh, which is at an elevation of 1300 feet, there is a dak bungalow in charge of a khansamah, from whom tea, liquors, and biscuits, etc. can be obtained. The dak bungalow is furnished with bedding, linen, etc. Grain and rice can be purchased in the bazar. (c) Nongpoh to Umsning, 16½ miles. At Umsning, elevation 1700 feet, there is a dak bungalow in charge of a chaukidar. Supplies or coolies are not procurable, but sometimes grain and rice can be purchased. (d) Umsning to Umjan, 9½ miles. At Umjan there is a Public Works Department rest-house in charge of a chaukidar. Supplies or coolies are not procurable. (e) Umjan to Shillong, 9½ miles, of which 6½ are a continuous ascent. At Shillong there are dak bungalows in the Artillery Lines, containing four separate rooms. A khansamah is in attendance, and the rooms are completely furnished with bedding, linen, etc. This entire road, which has a total length of 61 miles, is as perfect a hill road as could be seen in any country, and a model of engineering skill. (2) Road running from Cherrapunji across the Hills, via Nongkhlaw, Mawkhrong, Chaurai

• 491 Pinji, and Thenjilah, to Shillong, in Sylhet; length, about 130 miles. Repairs to this road are effected partly by the inhabitants of the Native States, and partly by Government. (3) Cart road from Shillong to Nongkrem, 14 miles. This road has been opened for cart traffic throughout. (4) Road from Shillong, via Jowai and Thalitajan, to Jaintiapur in Sylhet; length, about 70 miles. This road is being improved from year to year, and when finished the cost may amount to £50 per mile. (5) Road to connect Shillong with the Garo Hills, opened out from Mawkhar, via Sohiong, Kyrwin, Nongkhlaw, and Nongpoh, to within 10 miles of the boundary between the two Districts; length, about 70 miles. This road is at present only a fair-weather road. It was made in 1870-71, and when completed may cost £50 a mile. (6) Road to connect Shillong with the Cachahari State of Sheld, bordering on Sylhet, from Lyngkyrwing-rah via Pomsan-ngit to Syngkhar; length, about 18 miles. This road, when completed, will be about 60 miles in length. (7) Road leading via Lait-ryngkat to Sohkrim and Chorai Pinji; length, about 10 miles. This is at present a bridle path, but may eventually be the line for a cart road to Chorai Pinji. (8) Road from Jowai, in the Jaintia Hills, to Nongkrong; length, about 12 miles. This road, when extended, will connect Jowai with the District of Nowgong in the Brahmaputra valley, and the estimated total length will be about 90 miles. Besides the above-mentioned eight roads, there are other bridle paths which facilitate access to remote places.

135 COAL MINES.—Coal exists in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills in connection with the limestone formation. As a rule the carboniferous strata are not extensive, and they are for the most part found in localities more or less inaccessible. In the Khasi Hills coal has been discovered at the eleven following places:—(1) Ryngong, altitude about 1242 feet above sea level; (2) Chorai, 4118 feet; (3) Lait-ryngkew, 4800 feet; (4) Mawlong, 600 feet; (5) Mawsmai, 1500 feet; (6) Mawryngkan, 4000 feet; (7) Mawdon, 400 feet; (8) Mawsaichand, 300 feet; (9) Mawbah-lyngkir, 5000 feet; (10) Sheld, 800 feet; (11) Thinjindih, 4400 feet. In the Jaintia Hills at the five following localities:—(1) Amwi, altitude about 3800 feet above sea level; (2) Lakadong, 2000 feet; (3) Narpuh, 500 feet; (4) Sah-ryngpih, 3500 feet; (5) Bhawmang, 4000 feet. The most extensive of the coal beds are those situated at Chorai Pinji in the Khasi Hills, and at Lakadong in the Jaintia Hills.

5:Bhagalliar--5 8-4,5(no date)1905 ART Sheet ART

[Market Scene]

[Fig. 6]

16. McCormack E-4,5 (1956-1958) 1964
[P. 108 B] AR7 Khasi AR7

children, but Christian influence has moderated or drive underground the consumption by women and children. **Industrial arts.** The only industrial arts traditionally practiced in all households were a rudimentary carpentry and a simple utilitarian basketry. Other arts were few, and were practiced as village specialties: the washing and smelting of iron ore and the forging of hoes, dars, knives, swords, and cooking pots (upland Khasis); the spinning of cotton thread (Mynsi village, Jaintia); the dyeing of cotton thread and the weaving of cloth (Jaintias, Bhoys, Longngams, Wars); the spinning and weaving of Eri silk (Khyrwang and Nongtung villages, Bhoy and Jaintia); and the hand manufacture, without wheel, of painted earthenware pots (Lamai village, Jaintia). Ironworking and the production of cotton goods have nearly died out through the competition of machine-made goods. Carpentry has greatly improved. An innovation of major importance is the sewing and tailoring, on sewing machines, of ready-made garments for both sexes. [Cf. Dutrah 1936; C., W. 1932.] **Trade.** Khasi villages normally contain a number of household shops operated by women. Every Khasi also lives within walking distance of several village markets that are held on successive days of the eight-day week. The limits of market intercourse for the members of any particular village can be roughly distinguished by their naming the days of their week, which are called after the active markets. The exception is the huge market at Shillong, much of which is active daily, and which serves as a magnet for Khasis from all over the hills. The traditional barter has given way to currency in all markets. The small ones contain at least some local farm produce, plus other essentials like betel nut, and the food and tea stalls which serve as centers of social intercourse. The big markets contain not only regional produce and manufactures but also products from distant parts of the hills, brought for sale by traveling middlemen. There is also substantial trade, from the hills to the valleys, in potatoes, pears, hides, lac, cotton, cane-chairs, the wood of the sal tree, Eri silk thread, limestone, coal, ivory, bay leaf, betel nut, pan leaves, bananas, sugar cane, oranges, oil, turmeric, and chillies. From the plains to the hills, there is trade in dried fish, paddy rice, salt, cooking oil, kerosene, matches, tea, sugar, wheat flour, machine-made cloth, shoes, metal pots, crockery, porcelain objects, coral beads, silver, and gold. Markets are important not only as economic institutions but also as centers for recreation (including archery competitions), courtship, reaffirmation of kinship ties with distant relatives, and the dissemination of information of all kinds. [Cf. Stoughton 1924a.] **Division of labor.** Men do the heavy work, such as clearing and burning the swidden fields, caring for cattle and goats and driving them to market, butchering and selling large cuts of beef and pork, carpentry and mining, and driving and laboring on motor vehicles. They also tailor men's

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20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

supply. As the District depends so largely for its supply of rice upon Sylhet and Kámrúp, the state of the markets in those places exercises a greater influence on the rates in the Hills than any failure of the local harvest. In the year 1878 the price of common rice is said to have risen as high as 6 *seers* for the rupee, or 18s. 8d. per cwt., in consequence of the failure of the crops in the plains.

ROADS AND MEANS OF COMMUNICATION.—The following are the eight principal lines of road in the Khási and Jaintia Hills:—(1) Road from Shillong to Goakhili, in Kámrúp. This road has recently (1877) been opened for wheeled traffic throughout its entire length. The Deputy-Commissioner's Report for 1876-77 states that the number of passengers passing up and down may be estimated at about 800 or 1000 every month, and the number of carts already used at about 30. The *dogs dák* brings travellers up to Shillong from Goakhili in two days by a comfortable and easy carriage service, while for natives a cheaper conveyance by bullock cart is available. At Goakhili there is a good *dák* bungalow in charge of a *khánsámá*, where the usual accommodation provided in a hotel is to be found. The stages to Shillong are as follow:—(*a*) Goakhili to Borsihdi, 17 miles. The road is good throughout. There is a *dák* bungalow in charge of a *chaukidár* at Borsihdi, where grain and rice are procurable. (*b*) Borsihdi to Nongpoh, 14½ miles. The road is hilly throughout, but good. At Nongpoh, which is at an elevation of 1300 feet, there is a *dák* bungalow in charge of a *khánsámá*, from whom tea, liquors, and biscuits, etc. can be obtained. The *dák* bungalow is furnished with bedding, linen, etc. Grain and rice can be purchased in the *bázár*. (*c*) Nongpoh to Um-ening, 18½ miles. At Um-ening, elevation 2700 feet, there is a *dák* bungalow in charge of a *chaukidár*. Supplies or coolies are not procurable, but sometimes grain and rice can be purchased. (*d*) Um-ening to Um-jam, 9½ miles. At Um-jam there is a Public Works Department rest-house in charge of a *chaukidár*. Supplies or coolies are not procurable. (*e*) Um-jam to Shillong, 9½ miles, of which 6½ are a continuous ascent. At Shillong there are *dák* bungalows in the Artillery Lines, containing four separate rooms. A *khánsámá* is in attendance, and the rooms are completely furnished with bedding, linen, etc. This entire road, which has a total length of 67 miles, is as perfect a hill road as could be seen in any country, and a model of engineering skill. (2) Road running from Goakhili across the Hills, *via* Nongkhlaw, Mawsang, Cherra

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

178 like the Zemi-Naga, the Cacharee and the Kuki. But after the period of
563 economic prosperity as I shall describe in the next section, the Jatinga people
621 reached a rather high level of education, while most of the neighbouring tribes
[871] remained illiterate. Their standard of living likewise improved. Fashionable girls of Jatinga who have studied at the Convent school in Shillong, and speak English and Hindi, cannot marry half-naked tribesmen who work in the jungle. They prefer to intermarry with Moslem, Panjabee or Assamese who belong to amore sophisticated community, and through whom they can enjoy urban life. Thus the orientation of the intermarriage of the people of Jatinga has changed, along with the growth of Jatinga.

It should be noted that intermarriages came mostly through the contacts at Haflong, where people used to go once a week for the bazaar, rather than through direct contacts with neighbouring villages.

Economy of Jatinga and its Relation to Neighbouring Tribes.

178 It is very interesting to find two different kinds of economy in the same
171 ecological background: Jatinga Khasi practise pan-leaf and orange cultivation
245 and depend mainly on a trading economy, while the other neighbouring tribal peoples practise jhum cultivation, almost a subsistence economy. This situation has remained unchanged for the last fifty years since the establishment of Jatinga village.

The first Jatinga immigrants occupied one ridge of the mountain where the
101 present Jatinga is situated. Formerly, this land belonged to the Zemi-Naga,
245 one of the old inhabitants of the Cachar Hills, who possessed a vast jungle area for jhum cultivation. It seems that there was no objection to the Khasi occupying this small spot: it was apparently too small an area for the jhum cultivator —pan-leaf cultivation of the Khasi requires less than one twentieth of the land of the usual jhum cultivation. The Khasi who started pan-leaf cultivation were able to accumulate some capital, and after several years they started orange gardens. They had had experience of orange cultivation in their homeland, but this was the first time they had operated commercially.

245 The success of this orange cultivation was beyond their dreams. Hearing
434 of good oranges at Jatinga, many Bengalee merchants from Dacca, Sylhet,
439 Silchar and Gauhati began to come to buy them. Moreover, the village had the great advantage of being situated near the railway station. Oranges were sold by cafloads. Unimaginable wealth came to the Jatinga people. Especi-
[496] ally the founder's family, including his brother's and sister's, became extraor-
[871] dinarily wealthy; their income used to be Rs. 20,000 a year. The children were sent to the school which was established in the village and some were educated at colleges in Dacca, Sylhet and Shillong. The villagers had
[362] beautiful houses built by Manipuri and Bengalee carpenters. Actually the houses of Jatinga were known as some of the best construction in Assam.

Like the Shella people, they were managers of gardens and employed workers.
245 Wealthy households used to engage several labourers annually, most of them
46 from Jaintia where the Jatinga people had originated. These workers were provided with shelter in the servant quarters of their employer's house, but they had to provide meals for themselves. They were paid daily according to the work done. They were available to other households, when their employer had no work. Some labourers were also engaged locally among the Zemi-Naga, the Cacharee and the Kuki, though not as many as among the Jaintia.
245 These local tribes were fairly well occupied by their jhum cultivation, and not
464 used to being employed as workers. Therefore, most of them were not regular

I: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

headquarters of the Administration. The manufacture of country spirit gives employment to a considerable number of persons, most of whom are females. At a recent census of the country stills in the district, undertaken by the district officials, the number of stills has been found to be 1,530. There must be at least one person employed at each still, so that the number of distillers is probably not less than 2,000, possibly more. The spirit is distilled both for home consumption and for purposes of sale, in some villages almost entirely for sale. In the Jaintia Hills stock-breeding and dealing in cattle provides occupation for 1,295 people, according to the last census. The cattle are reared in the Jaintia Hills and are driven down to the plains when they reach the age of maturity, where they find a ready market amongst the Sylhetis. Cattle are also driven into Shillong for sale from the Jaintia Hills. Another place for rearing cattle is the Siemship of Nongkhlaw, where there is good pasturage in the neighbourhood of Mairang. These cattle are either sold in Shillong or find their way to the Kamrup district by the old Nongkhlaw road. Cattle-breeding is an industry which is capable of expansion in these hills. There are a few carpenters to be found in Shillong and its neighbourhood. The Khasis are said by Col. Waddell to be unacquainted with the art of weaving; but the fact that a considerable weaving industry exists amongst the Khyrwang villages of the Syntengs, and at Mynso and Suhtnga, has been overlooked by him. The Khyrwangs weave a special pattern of cotton and silk cloth, striped red and white. In Mynso and Suhtnga similar cloths are woven, also the sleeveless coat. In former days this industry is said to have been considerable, but it has been displaced to a large extent of late years by Manchester piece goods. The number of weavers returned at the last census in the district was 533. The Khasis and Mikirs of the low country, or Bhois as they are called, weave cotton cloths which they dye with the leaves of a plant called *u noli*. This is perhaps the wild indigo, or *ram*, of the Shan settlers in the Assam Valley. The weavers are almost always females. An important means of subsistence is road and building work; a considerable number of coolies, both male and female, are employed under Government, practically throughout the year, in

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

[499] this manner, the males earning on an average 8 annas and the
463 females 6 annas a day. Col. Bivar writes that in 1875 the
465 wages for ordinary male labourers were 4 to 8 annas a day, and for females 2½ to 4 annas, so that the wages rates have almost doubled in the last thirty years. Contractors, however, often manage to obtain daily labour at lower rates than those paid by Government. Stonemasons and skilled labourers are able to
482 get higher rates. It is easier to obtain coolies in the Khasi
241 than in the Jaintia Hills, where a large proportion of the popu-
461 lation is employed in cultivation. The Khasis are excellent labourers, and cheerful and willing, but they at once resent bad treatment, and are then intractable and hard to manage. Khasis are averse to working in the plains in the hot-weather months.

APICULTURE.

231 I am indebted to Mr. Rita for the following remarks on apiculture in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills.

There are two kinds of indigenous bees in the Khasi Hills, one domesticated, called *u ngap* (*apis Indica*), and the other *u lywai*, which is never domesticated, and is very pugnacious; its hives are difficult of access, being always located in very high cliffs. A few hives of a third class of bee are now-a-days to be found in and around the station of Shillong, i.e. the Italian.
[177] This bee was imported into the hills by Messrs. Dobbie and Rita, and the species became propagated in the following manner. The bees had been just established in a hive, where they had constructed a brood comb, when the hive was robbed by some Khasis for the sake of the *larvæ* it contained, which they wished to consume as food; but the queen bee escaped and established other colonies, one of which was afterwards captured by Mr. Rita, the others establishing themselves at places in the neighbourhood. The hive used by the Khasis is of a very primitive description. It is usually a hollow piece of wood, about 2½ to 3 ft. in length and 10 or 12 in. in diameter. A small door is placed at each end of the log, one for the bees to go in and out, and the other for the removal of the honey when wanted. The honey-combs are broken and the honey is

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

there are none of their descendants in Jatinga. Summing up, the first party who settled at Jatinga was composed of people of the following five clans: 166 551

1. Suchiang — Lakhanbang, his sister, Laptho, and her daughter, Kloribon, his brother, Pryntah. 614
2. Suchen — Munik and his younger brother, Sain. 621
3. Phanwar — Misibon and her younger sister, Diasibon.
4. Rupsi — Sintu, the wife of Pryntah. 175
5. Suiam — Tahin, the wife of Sain.

Among them, Suchen had no female member. Phanwar had no successor: Misibon had no issue and Diasibon did not marry. Therefore, Suchiang, Rupsi and Suiam are the oldest clans in present Jatinga. Suchiang and Rupsi especially are the dominant and richest groups among the present population.

This was the time when the railway from Gauhati to Silchar was being constructed. Some Khasi labourers were working at Haflong on the construction of the railway. After the foundation of Jatinga, these Khasi workers established marriage relations with the Khasi of Jatinga, and finally, upon completion of the railway, many of them became the inhabitants of Jatinga. The present members of the Dome and Siangshai clans are the descendants of these people, and they form a considerable number of the present inhabitants of Jatinga. Besides them, there were a few other Khasi at Haflong who were engaged in trading business. In the course of time, they also had marital relations with Jatinga people and came to Jatinga. 166 175 458 621 [499] [464]

After five years had elapsed they found that in spite of their hard work the land was not favourable to them. Many of them left Jatinga. This was the hardest period of Jatinga history.

The second migration (1919-1925).

The railway which once had been blocked was reopened in 1919. The people who had left Jatinga came back to settle there. This time the circumstances seemed to them quite favourable. The pan trees which they had planted earlier were growing and they could gather considerable produce. The village grew bigger around 1920 as a result of new immigrants from Jaintia; most of them were people from Bataw, the village of the founder. In this period, many immigrants came from Jaintia not only to Jatinga but also to Sylhet, Borkhala and other places outside the Khasi-Jaintia Hills. It seems that by this time the over-populated Jaintia realised that these areas were favourable for their new home. However, the successive waves of Jaintia immigrants to Jatinga ceased by 1925, its population having reached saturation point. [499] [245]

Orange production brought economic prosperity to the people of Jatinga. Wealthy villagers employed temporary labourers from the Jaintia Hills every year. Some of these labourers came with their families and others came individually. During their stay at Jatinga, some of them married and settled there. Hence, there are also descendants of such labourers among the present inhabitants of Jatinga. [245] [464]

Some Aspects of Descent Groups.

Throughout the history of Jatinga, immigrations have always been undertaken by a family (elementary family, siblings) or by an individual, but never by a group of clan members. Therefore, the present population is grouped in small descent groups according to each migration. Though some of them happened to have the same clan name, their history of migration and their 621 [175] [614] [166]

and even the well to do ones do not feel anything to work as labourers in other's farms. It is almost customary among the agriculturists to work in other's farms on wage basis, when agricultural operation in one's own farm are over. This is probably an outcome of the difficult transport situation. Among the non-agriculturists and those who follow agriculture as subsidiary occupation, a large number are porters and labourers engaged in jobs like transporting of goods from place to place, collection of limestone, sand, fuel, Collieries and forests of the district also offer employment to a good number of people. Since the taking up of road programme under the plan, a large number of people are getting employment in construction of roads, etc. It is heartening to note that for construction of roads, nay for all kinds of works demanding unskilled labourers, the district locally supplies the whole labour force. People in the various local points of the district, particularly those living in higher hills are mainly engaged in trade. The Khasis are indefatigable traders and have been able to keep almost the whole of the small trade in the district in their own hands. A small proportion of the people are engaged in cottage industries such as stone cutting, brick making, bee keeping, blacksmithy, cane and bamboo works, etc.

The number of persons returned in the 1951 census under each of the eight main livelihood classes for the rural tract of the district was as follows.

TABLE 1

Number of Persons (Source 1951 Census)

Head	Male	Female	Total	P.C.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
A. Agricultural class:—				
1. Cultivators of land wholly or mainly owned and their dependents.	90,603	92,107	1,82,710	59·89
2. Cultivators of land wholly or mainly unowned and their dependents.	16,014	16,109	32,123	10·53
3. Cultivating labourers and their dependents.	14,053	14,941	28,994	9·50
4. Non-cultivating owners of land, agricultural rent receivers and their dependents.	344	562	906	·30
Sub-total	1,21,014	1,23,719	2,44,733	80·22
B. Non-agricultural class:—				
5. Production other than cultivation.	11,794	10,309	22,103	7·24
6. Commerce	3,237	4,069	7,306	2·39
7. Transport	355	264	619	·20
8. Other services and miscellaneous sources.	17,462	12,864	30,326	9.95
Sub-total	32,848	27,506	60,354	19.78
Total	..	..	3,05,087	100.00

5:Stegmiller--9 M-4,5(no date)1928 AR7KhasiAR7

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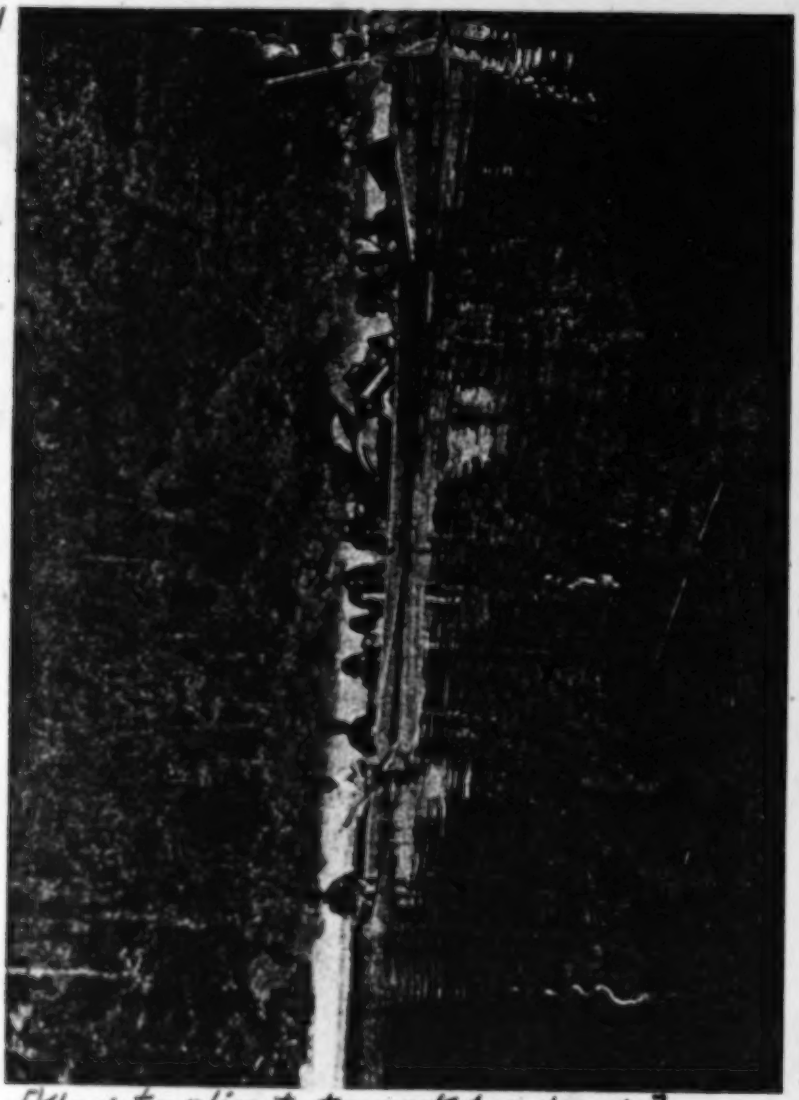

[Khasi traveling to the market in dugouts]

[704 E]

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

(2) Soh-pet-byneng, literally 'The Navel of the Sky.' This is supposed by the Khásiás to be the centre of the world, and to be the highest peak in the hills. Its real altitude, however, is only about 4000 feet. (3) Sywer—height, 6050 feet. (4) Shillong—height, 6449 feet. (5) Dingiei—height, 6400 feet. (6) Kyl-lang rock, one huge mass of stone, about 500 feet high, and of a rounded form—height above sea level, 5684 feet. (7) Láit-blih—height, 5800 feet. (8) Láit-derá—height, 6000 feet. (9) Thanjí-náth—height, 4448 feet. (10) Nong-jrong—height, 4995 feet. (11) U Mún—height, 6221 feet. (12) Máo-flang—height, 5931 feet. (13) Máo-ká-leng—height, 5900 feet. (14) Már-py-nuá—height, 5600 feet. (15) Symper—height, 5700 feet. (16) Máo-sngi—height, 5810 feet. (17) Láit-már-kán—height, 5313 feet. (18) Nong-syn-rih—height, 5585 feet. (19) Más-keyn—height, 5306 feet. (20) Nong-khrong—height, 5606 feet. (21) Kalái-long-sngún—height, 5128. (22) Máo-lih-bah—height, 4252 feet. (23) Pattar-kyl-lang—height, 5755 feet. 133

The mountain peaks are of various forms and shapes, but generally conical, and capped by sacred groves. No roads exist to permit the ascent of carriages, but most of the hills can be ascended by beasts of burden, even without made tracks. In the eastern portion of the District the hills are covered with forest. 491 137

RIVERS.—No navigable rivers flow through the hills, the streams being all mountain torrents. On some of the large streams, however, near the point where they debouch upon the plains, small canoes are used for short distances below the rapids. The principal streams flowing south to the Surmá river in Sylhet are the following:—(1) The Kyn-chi-ong, named Jádukátá by the Bengális in the plains; (2) the Tanglá, called Mukái in the plains; (3) the Bograh, called Bogápání in the plains; (4) the Soh-ryng-kew, called Dhulái in the plains; (5) the Mungát, called Pein in the plains; (6) the Mán-tyh-du, called Hári in the plains; and (7) the Luká or Lubá. The principal tributaries to the Brahmaputra are:—(1) The Kapilí; (2) the Um-khen, called Barpání in the plains; (3) the Um-iám; (4) the Um-tru, called Digru in the plains; and (5) the Ka-khri, called Kulsí in the plains. All the foregoing streams have numerous feeders of their own, but none of them are of any importance. 133 [501]

The Khásí and Jáintiá Hills are, like all mountainous countries, intricately watered, and the streams run over rocky beds, some passing through cultivated lands. As they approach the plains,

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

at Rs. 480,000, or £48,000, and the revenue derived by Government from the quarries was Rs. 67,266, or £6726. In addition, the Khási Chiefs receive a revenue from this source of more than £2000. 648 651 317

IRON.—The smelting of iron was once the chief industry in the Khási Hills, and a considerable quantity of the metal used to be exported into Sylhet, both in the crude and the manufactured state. Recently, however, this industry has almost died out, in the face of the competition of the superior article imported from England and sold in the plains at a cheaper rate. The indigenous methods of extracting, washing, and smelting the ore have been minutely described by Professor Oldham. The following description is taken from Mr. Allen's Report, dated 1858, at which date the annual export of smelted iron was estimated at 45,000 *maunds*, valued at Rs. 67,500, or £6750, at the rate of Rs. 1. 8 per *maund*: —'The ore is said to be most abundant and of the best quality in the State of Khyrim, especially at the villages of Nongkrím and Noyandri. A few iron articles, such as *dáos* or hill knives, *koddlis* or mattocks, spear and arrow-heads, are manufactured by the Khási smiths in the Hills; but the greater bulk of the smelted iron is sent to the plains for sale in circular lumps weighing about 4 or 5 *sers*. These lumps, called *birú*, sell at Chhaták for from Rs. 1. 4 to Rs. 1. 6 per *maund*. The best iron, however, which is beaten into bars called *peti*, sells for from Rs. 1. 10 to Rs. 1. 12 per *maund*. Khási iron is preferred to English, in consequence of its greater malleability. It is much used by the native boat-builders of Sylhet and the neighbouring Districts to make fastenings for the timbers of their boats. When brought into the market, it is more than half dross, and it is this circumstance which renders the iron trade unprofitable. The cost of carriage from the Hills to the plains is about 6 *ánnás* per *maund*; and the traders, who are all Khásiás themselves, affirm that they get an average profit of only 2 *ánnás* per *maund*.' The tables of trade for 1876-77 return no smelted iron as exported from the Hills, but Rs. 7000 of iron implements exported, against nails and ironmongery imported to the value of Rs. 18,000. 178 325 439 [326] [435] [501]

THE MANUFACTURES of the District, besides iron, consist of coarse cotton and *randia* cloth, plain silver work, rude implements of husbandry, netted bags made of the fibre of the pine-apple, common pottery, and mats and baskets. With the exception of the 28 433

9.4 Considering non-agricultural families it is seen that average gross annual income per family in Border area, Project area and General area are respectively Rs.1,161·91, Rs. 1,644·36 and Rs.873·98 respectively. The main contributor to this income in Border area is Trade followed by Service, Profession, Labour and Agriculture and Animal husbandry, those in Project area are Labour-Service-Profession followed by Trade, small scale manufacture and agriculture and Animal husbandry. The comparatively higher average income from small scale manufacture and handicraft is due to existence of quite a good number of liquor distillers with quite a large amount of annual income. Main contributors to gross annual income of non-agricultural families in General area in order of importance are agriculture and animal husbandry, service-profession and labour. It is significant that among the non-agricultural families also agriculture and animal husbandry emerge to be the biggest contributor. This is due to the fact that in General area villages there are a large number of Nepali families whose principal occupation is cattle rearing and earned enough by selling milk, ghee, and livestock. These families were classed as non-agricultural families. 434 592 [563]

9.5 Of the gross income, agriculturists spend a portion in their farms on items such as purchase of seed, manure, etc., cost of maintenance of livestock, wages and salaries for labourers, and transport of produce while other spend a portion on running their household enterprises such as purchase of merchandise for trading purchase of plants and machinery and raw materials for household enterprises, wages and salaries for employees, etc. The net annual income per family, as will be evident from table G-4, comes to Rs. 852·86 in Border area, Rs. 988·84 in Project area and Rs.749·51 in General area. The corresponding figures for agricultural families being Rs. 889·80, Rs. 930·70 Rs. 758·42 and for non-agricultural families Rs. 776·14, Rs.1,168·80 and Rs. 672·16 respectively. 511

The following table shows the annual expenditure of families in running their enterprises.

TABLE G-5

Current expenditure of enterprise

	Border area			Project area			General area		
	Amount	Average expenditure per family		Amount	Average expenditure per family		Amount	Average expenditure per family	
		Reporting	All families		Reporting	All families		Reporting	All families
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Agricultural families—									
1. Seed and manure ..	11,023	32·04	16·23	19·692	59·31	40·27	6,123	50·99	38·32
2. Maintenance of livestock..	3,913	73·46	5·76	5,883	38·74	12·04	2,728	29·65	16·53
3. Wages & Salaries ..	51,740	130·33	76·23	26,835	124·24	54·88	5,403	88·57	32·75
4. Cost of transport ..	10,421	93·88	15·35	1,221	55·50	2·30	820	34·17	4·97
5. Taxes & Revenue ..	1 067	10·78	1·57	1,198	6·08	2·45	315	4·37	1·91
6. Rent of land	3,947	27·80	5·81	2,313	23·36	4·73	1,051	24·44	6·37
7. Other rents and interest ..	689	68·90	1·01	4,859	59·99	9·94	278	23·17	1·68
8. Cost of raw materials .. for house hold enterprises	810	255·90	·75	385	55·00	·79	415	24·41	2·51
9. Purchase of merchandise...	9,402	427·36	13 85	11,770	1070·00	24·07	712	178·00	4·32
10. Others..	254	18·14	·37	96	13·17	·20	58	14·50	·45
Total	92,966	..	136·90	72,457	..	151·87	18,193	..	109·71

TABLE G-5—*contd.*

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Non-agricultural families—									
1. Seed and manure ..	2195	24·59	6·71	39·91	49·27	25·26	109	21·11	10·00
2. Maintenance of livestock	1694	51·69	5·06	761	29·27	4·82	208	29·80	10·[illegible]
3. Wages and salaries ..	9192	97·92	29·94	75·04	127·19	47·49	493	100·15	21·21
4. Cost of transport ..	4935	90·70	15·09	883	10·27	5·59	..	...	...
5. Taxes and Revenue ..	462	10·04	1·61	304	4·54	1·92	239	31·14	12·[illegible]
6. Rent of land	1814	23·24	3·56	347	6·94	2·19	67	11·75	2·47
7. Other rent and interest ..	657	92·06	199	18·73	88·05	10·59	13	2·17	·68
8. Cost of raw materials for household enterprise.	18708	571·36	57·49	190·55	1088·84	120·60	15	15·00	·79
9. Purchase of merchandise..	79290	1201·41	243·49	334·80	1594·29	211·90	950	315·07	50·00
10. Others..	1606	133·83	4·91	1380	276·00	8·73	..	..	..
Total	121369	..	379·64	69878	...	432·10	2068	..	108·60

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9.5 The following table analyses the changes occurring in the structure and volume of capital assets of the predominantly agricultural families as a result of the purchase and sale of the assets and liabilities during the period of a year—

TABLE G-6

	Gross investment			Disinvestment			Capital formation (+) or reduction (−)	
	Assets	Repayment of debt	Total	Assets	Borrowing	Total	—	Average per family
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
1. Border area	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
2. Project area	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
3. Control area	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Gross investment made by the families stands at Rs.40,[illegible], *i. e.*, Rs.40·0 per family in Border area, Rs.43,180, *i. e.*, Rs.64·7 per family in Project area and Rs.8,558, *i. e.*, Rs.46·5 per family in General area. It will be seen that in all the three areas, the major portion of this investment is from acquiring of assets. 511 426

Dis-investment consisting of borrowing and liquidation of assets amounts to Rs.61,444, *i. e.*, Rs.61·4 per family in Border areas, Rs.66,045., *i. e.*, Rs.102·1 per family in Project area and Rs.12,637, *i. e.*, Rs.68·6 per family in General area.

Thus in all the three dis-investment far outweights investment with the result that a family in Border, Project and General areas, on an average disinvests a sum of Rs.23·0, Rs.35·4 and Rs.22·1 respectively. This net dis-investment arises largely, as it clear from table above, from the heavy rise in indebtedness among the families. Actually considering changes in assets alone there is a net increase of Rs.18.1 per family in Border area, Rs.30·9 in Project area and Rs.10.0 in General area. But these increases are more than multiplied by average per family increase in indebtedness of Rs.41·1, Rs.66·2 and Rs.32·1 respectively in the three areas.

9·6 Investment in assets by various items are shown in the following table.

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TABLE G-7

Investment in Assets

Items	Border area			Project area			General area		
	No. of families acquiring assets	Average value of assets acquired		No of families acquiring assets	Average value of assets acquired		No. of families acquiring assets	Average value of asset acquired	
		per reporting family (Rs.)	per family (Rs.)		per reporting family (Rs.)	per family (Rs.)		per reporting family (Rs.)	per family (Rs.)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
1. Land	30	167·33	4.99	18	377·33	10·39	3	223·33	3·64
2. Agricultural assets :—									
(a) Livestock	86	34·51	2·51	70	55·07	5·96	21	54·29	6·20
(b) Implements and equipments	76	7·66	·58	45	11·51	·80	15	10·60	·86
(c) Others—									
3. Building	38	582·00	21·98	26	956·73	38·45	7	805·71	30·65
4. Furniture & fitters	19	35·79	·64	1	21·00	·03		..	..
5. Plants & machineries tools, etc. for household enterprises.	18	84·11	1·50	7	295·86	3·20	..	..	..
6. Others	12	492·00	5·87	2	37·50	1·16	..	..	..

Thus it is seen that proportion of families purchasing livestock is highest in all the three areas, followed by that purchasing agricultural tools, implements. Considering investment by items, building is conspicuous in all the three areas, contributing largely towards a net investment in assets in all the three areas. Others of importance are land and agricultural assets.

9.7. **Consumption expenditure of the family.**— The follwing tables show the broad pattern of the average family consumption expenditure in the three village-groups. The component of annual expenditure on food, clothing and other items of consumption which determine the standard of living of the rural families are depicted separately.

Size of average family—In Border area 3.7 members,
Project area 4.6 members and
General area 4.9 members.

TABLE G-8

Household Consumption Expenditure

Items	Border area				Project area				General area			
	Cash expenditure	Obtained in kind & consumed at home	Total	P.C.	Cashi expenditure	Obtained in kind and consumed at home	Total	P.C.	Cash expenditure	Obtained in kind & consumed at home	Total	P. C
	(Rs. [0·00)	(Rs. 0·00)	(Rs. 0·00)		(Rs. 0·00)	(Rs. 0·00)	(Rs.0·00)		(Rs. 0·00)	(Rs. 0·00)	(Rs. 0·00)	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
A—Food												
1. Cereals	317.61	89·90	407·51	44·82	157·44	347·90	505·34	50·15	150·43	338·17	488·60	58·99
2. Pulses	4·72	0·26	4·99	0·55	1·13	..	1·13	0·11	0·32	..	0·32	0·04
3. Vegetables	17·93	5·77	23·70	2·61	17·18	5·71	22·89	2·27	0·59	1·97	2·56	0·31
4. Fruits & Nuts ..	2·07	5·22	7·29	0·80	1·19	0·07	1·26	0·13	0.49	0·060	·55	0·07

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TABLE G-8—*contd.*

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
5. Milk & milk products. ..	10·73	4·86	15·59	1·71	8·65	2·30	10·95	1·08	8·52	5·22	5·74	0.69
6. Oil & oilseed ..	26·96	0·46	27·42	3·02	14·79	0·19	14·98	1·48	8·87	...	8·87	1·02
7. Meat ..	8·12	0·19	8·31	0·91	16·54	0·23	16·77	1·64	15·30	..	15·30	1·85
8. Fish	72·32	5·33	77·65	8.54	57·96	0·27	58·23	5·78	50·20	1·04	51·24	6·18
9. Eggs	1·31	0·25	1·56	0·17	0·63	0·04	0·67	0·07	..	...	..	...
10. Sugar.	32·73	0·44	33·17	3·65	34·11	0·01	34·12	3·39	21·06	..	21·06	2·54
11. Salt	7·64	0·05	7·69	0·85	9·27	0·01	9·28	0·92	9·29	..	9·29	1.12
Total—Food: ..	502·15	112·73	614·88	67·73	318·39	356·73	675·62	67·04	257·07	346·46	603·53	72·86
B. Non-food :												
12. Tobacco, Tea, etc. ..	44·27	1·01	45·28	4·98	37·66	..	37·66	3·73	32·10	..	32·10	3·88
13. Liquor, etc. ...	9·18	0·49	9·67	1·06	13·50	2·34	15·84	1·57	15·31	1·23	16·54	2·00
14. Fuel & light ..	23.90	27·97	51·87	5·71	16·71	31·81	48·53	4·82	11·87	28·59	40·46	4·88
15. Toilet ..	25·03	0·57	25·60	2·82	23·93	0·01	23·94	2·38	19·44	...	19·44	2·35
16. Betel nut & Betel leaf	18·71	27·50	46·21	5·08	38·44	2·04	40·48	4·02	28·31	0·12	28·43	3·43
Total—Non-food ...	121·09	57·54	178·63	19·65	130·24	36.21	166·45	16·52	107·03	29·94	136·97	16·54

TABLE G-8—*concld.*

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
C. Miscellaneous :												
17. Education and private tutor	6·34	...	6·34	0·70	11·10	..	11·10	1·10	1·00	..	1·00	0·12
18. Medicine and Doctor ..	25·08	...	25·08	2·76	30·25	...	30·25	3·00	24·23	..	24·23	2·93
19. Clothing & footwear ..	33·17	..	33·17	3·65	55·80	..	55·80	5·54	42·87	..	42·87	5·18
20. Ceremonials, sports and Amusements.	6·22	...	6·22	0·68	14·12	..	14·12	1·40	4·42	...	4·42	0·53
21. Sundry goods ..	8·17	..	8·17	0·90	4.96	...	4·96	0·49	1·75	..	1·75	0·21
22. Litigation .	1·32	..	1·32	0·14	8·04	..	8·04	0·80	..	..	...	..
23. Domestic servants ..	1·35	..	1·35	0·15	0·81	..	0.81	0·08	..	..	..	..
24. Rapair & maintenance of residential building.	10·23	...	10·23	1·13	11·81	..	11·81	1·17	5·83	..	5·83	0·70
25. Residential house building and land.	19·45	..	19·45	2·14	24·77	..	24·77	2·46	6·93	..	6·93	0.84
26. Travelling —	2·67	..	2·67	0·29	3·32	...	3·32	0·33	0·78	..	0·78	0·09
27. Rent and others ..	1·65	..	1·65	0·18	0·68	..	0·68	0·07	..	..	..	..
Total—Miscellaneous ..	115·65	..	115·65	12·72	165·66	..	165·66	16·44	87·81	...	87·81	10·60
..	738·89	170·27	909·16	100·00	614·79	392·94	1,007·73	100·00	451·91	376·40	828·31	100.00
Grand Total ..	(81·27)	(18·73)			(61·01)	(38·99)			(54·56)	(45·44)		

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511 It is seen that the per family average annual expenditure is Rs.909·00 nP. in Border areas, Rs.1008·00 nP. in Project area and Rs.828·00 nP. in General area. The per family annual net income in the respective area being Rs.852·86 nP., Rs.988·84 nP, and Rs.949·51 nP. it follows that the budget of the average family is deficit in all the areas. [426] This deficit is usually made up either by restricting the consumption expenditure during the lean months of the agricultural year or by taking loans.

221 511 The field work of the survey was started during the month of February, *i.e.*, hardly after two months, of harvesting of winter paddy and during the harvesting period of cash crops like orange, betelnut, potatoes, etc. During this period people get money through the sale proceeds and naturally they [114] were tempted to spend comparatively higher amount on food. In fact, it was made clear during investigation that as lean months are approaching when people did not have money to purchase food articles, they used to lead a very austere life. This period is particularly very hard for the Border people because unlike people of other two areas they do not have even paddy in store. As the above figures of annual expenditure of a [128] family were calculated on the basis of information collected for one month [125] preceeding the date of investigation, in respect of food and non-food articles, and for one year in respect of miscellaneous items, there is every likelihood of the average per family expenditure on food and non-food articles being over-estimated.

128 511 As in the case of income, consumption of articles produced at home or at farm as well as those received out of the goods, services and gift and loan were valued in money terms on the basis of the local average retail prices in respect of the commodities concerned. Thus even firewood and other wild vegetables and fishes obtained by fishing were valued in terms of money. Of the total average expenditure on food, the food articles obtained in kind and consumed at home account for about 18 per cent in Border area, 53 per cent in Project area and 57 per cent in General area. Thus the share of food articles obtained in kind and consumed at home to the annual expenditure of a family is very low in Border area. This is natural because they depend almost exclusively on cash crop cultivation.

511 Out of the total expenditure, food account for about 68 per cent in Border area, 67 per cent in Project area and 73 per cent in General area. In all the areas cereals alone took the bulk of the expenditure on food, *i.e.*, 66 per cent, 75 per cent and 81 per cent in the respective areas

It is seen that expenditure on pulses, vegetables and milk are very low. In fact only a few of the Tribal villagers take pulses, milk and vegetables. Rice and fish or meat are the only items of the dishes of most of the villages.

Among non-food articles fuel and light accounted for 6 per cent in Border area, 5 per cent in Project area, and 5 per cent in General area. Khasis are heavy chewers of betelnut and this accounted for 5 per cent of total annual expenditure in border area, 4 per cent in Project area and about 3 per cent in General area while tobacco and tea in tea-stall accounted for about 5 per cent, 4 per cent and 4 per cent respectively of the total annual expenditure in the three areas. Expenditure on liquor

varied between 1·06 per cent to 2·00 per cent in the three areas. It is very likely that this figure will be an under-estimate due to the fact that people addicted to it do not like to admit so. The existence of a large number of liscentiate liquor distilleries—numbering upto 5 in a single village, and the brisk trade in these distilleries bear testimony to the fact that a large share of family income is drained out through liquor. 511

Among miscellaneous items clothing and foot-wear accounted for nearly 4 per cent in Border area, 6 per cent in Project area and 5 per cent in General area. Next to it in importance is medicine and doctor which accounted for about 3 per cent of the total annual expenditure in all the three areas.

Generally speaking, the comparatively high percentage of expenditure on food and low percentages on other items like clothing, houses and its repair, education, etc., indicates a low standard of living of the rural families in general.

9.8. It may be of some interest to know how the families belonging to typical economic groups divide their incomes between their current living expenses and other outlays on goods and services. The picture of the family expenditure pattern is summarised in the following table. 434 592 511

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TABLE G 9

Analysis of family expenditure in different income groups

Border Area— (Rs.)	Income group: Below Rs. 100	100-250	250-500	500-750	750-1000	1000-1500	1500-2000	2000-2500	2500-3000	3000-3500	3500-4000	4000 and above
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
1. No. of families	1	23	193	287	179	168	55	23	24	11	10	32
2. Average gross income per family. ..	60·00	208·96	398·75	709·54	829·89	1116·68	1687·05	2139·09	2675·42	3127·50	3710·27	5276·18
3. Average outlay per family. ..	0·00	0·30	14·68	33·71	83·48	193·05	442·85	632·52	1048·04	984·09	1237·40	2427·47
4. Average net income per family. ..	60·00	208·66	384·07	675·83	746·41	923·63	1244·20	1506·57	1629·38	2143·41	2472·87	2848·71
5. Average expenditure per family. ..	62·72	245·68	451·00	690·88	889·17	1111·43	1344·69	1586·06	1639·28	1979·15	2676·18	3453·91
6. Proportion of expenditure on—												
(a) Food ..	100·00	74·59	69·51	71·03	70·83	70·07	69·93	65·78	64·62	60·12	56·55	53·65
(b) Tea, tobacco and drugs. ..		2·09	6·12	6·61	5·72	6·35	5·91	5·39	6·44	5·15	6·08	5·18
(c) Fuel and Lighting .		12·39	8·05	6·20	5·70	5·37	4·84	5·02	4·91	5·14	3·48	3·18
(c) Clothing ..		2·85	3·26	3·25	3·48	0·71	3·93	3·98	3·44	3·97	4·17	3·91
(e) Miscellaneous ..		8·08	13·06	12·91	14·27	17·50	15·39	19·83	20·59	25·60	25·74	33·98

TABLE G 9—*contd*

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
Project area —												
1. No. of families		13	71	139	137	160	51	22	18	10	2	24
2. Average gross income per family.	..	193·00	392·34	633·68	867·55	1189·24	1660·73	2103·27	2690·61	3296·90	3692·90	6170·45
3. Average outlay per family.	..	83·08	25·77	47·93	87·48	160·29	324·69	487·73	618·22	546·00	334·00	2662·42
4. Average net income per family.	..	109·92	366·57	585·75	780·07	1028·95	1336·04	1615·54	2072·39	2750·90	3358·90	3508·03
5. Average expenditure per family.	..	345·89	443·00	670·44	838·52	1113·37	1360·83	1519·14	2024·02	2386·80	3547·50	2478·79
6. Proportion of expenditure on—												
(a) Food.	..	69·62	72·66	71·83	72·49	71·76	66·98	61·29	60·32	51·38	52·35	47·27
(b) Tea, etc.	..	1·34	3·63	5·05	4·99	5·18	5·68	4·25	8·09	4·93	6·43	6·43
(c) Fuel and lighting	..	9·74	6·52	5·38	4·78	5·15	4·71	3·72	4·66	3·96	5·07	4·90
(d) Clothing	..	4·56	4·14	5·94	5·11	5·28	6·02	6·39	6·34	4·63	11·28	6·71
(e) Miscellaneous.	..	14·74	13·05	12·70	12·63	12·65	16·61	24·35	20·59	35·10	24·87	34·69

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TABLE G 9—*contd*

General Area— (1)		(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(6)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
1. No. of families		1	22	60	44	44	12		1	..	..	
2. Average gross income per family.	..	128·00	363·27	580·25	903·48	1210·64	1694·50	..	2752·00	..	..	..
3. Average outlay per family	..	36·00	28·05	53·50	103·11	177·45	348·08	..	748·00	..	..	..
4. Average net income per family.	..	92·00	335·22	526·75	800·37	1033·19	1346·42	..	2004·00	..	..	..
5. Average expenditure per family.	..	485·44	419·01	619·18	901·56	1154·92	1323·73	..	2128·36	..	..	..
6. Proportion of expenditure on—												
(a) Food.	..	71·98	68·93	73·68	74·39	75·61	69·03	...	47·64	..	:	..
(b) Tea, etc.	..	5·57	5·89	4·72	6·80	5·12	7·91	..	3·61	..	..	..
(c) Fuel and lighting	..	6·18	4·44	5·17	4.68	4·61	5·02	..	4·02	..	..	..
(d) Clothing	..	5·15	4.76	4·77	4·63	5·27	5·79	..	7·05	..	..	..
(e) Miscellaneous	..	11·12	15·98	11·66	9·50	9·29	12·25	..	37·68	..	..	..

19: Assam G-5 (1958) 1963 AR7 Khasi AR7

It is noticed that food is the largest single item of expenditure a every income level demanding about two-thirds or more of the average over all expenditure. It is significant to note that money outlays on food increase markedly at successive income level. This wide range of expenditure is the result of very low standard of food consumption in the low income groups and also possibly of increasing number of members per family in the higher income groups.

One striking feature revealed by the summary table of family income and expenditure given above is the average net deficit shown by the families of almost each income-group, except perhaps marginal surplus in respect of a few income-groups in the higher level. Thus for majority of the families the entire family income was not adequate on the average to meet current outlays on food and other necessities and comforts of daily living. Even the advantage of comparatively large average income was more than balanced by the larger differential increase in the family expenditure due either to their larger family size or comparatively higher standard of living or both.

In all the three areas investment in fixed capital was more than balanced by di-investment with the result that a family in Border area, Project area and General area on an average respectively disinvested a sum of Rs. 64, Rs. 142 and Rs. 70 during the year under reference. 511

10.11 The average annual expenditure per family worked out at Rs. 909 for Border area, Rs. 1,008 in Project area and Rs. 828 in General area. All the three areas thus have a deficit family budget.

Out of the total expenditure of the Border villages nearly 67.6 per cent was incurred on food, 3.7 in clothing, 5.7 per cent on fuel and lighting, 6.0 per cent on tea, tobacco and drugs and 2.8 per cent on medical expenses. The corresponding proportions for project area being respectively 67.0 per cent, 5.5 per cent, 4.8 per cent, 5.3 per cent, and 3.0 per cent and for General area respectively 72.9 per cent, 5.2 per cent, 4.9 per cent, 5.9 per cent and 2.9 per cent of the total average expenditure, articles obtained in kind and consumed at home accounted for 19 per cent in Border area, 19 per cent in Project area and 45 per cent in General area.

TABLE 7.1

Yield rate of some important crops

Crop		Gross area harvested (Acres)	Total yield (Metric tonnes)	Quantity consumed	Quantity value (Rs. 000)	Quantity sold	Sale Value	Average yield per acre
(1)		(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Border area :—								
a. Betel leaf	..	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
b. Betel nut	..	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
c. Oranges	..	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
d. Potato	..	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
e. Paddy	..	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
f. Millet	..	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
g. Tapioca	..	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
h. Yam	..	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
i. Cotton	..	[illegible]	..	..	..	..	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total :		[illegible]			[illegible]		[illegible]	

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TABLE F-3—*contd.*

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Project area:—							
a. Betel leaf ..	58·10(3·47)	2943·00	132·00	428·64	2786·00	7866·50(7·86)	50·64
b. Betel nut ..	13·50(0·08)	59·48	6·22	608·56	48·23	4719·00(4·71)	4·11
c. Orange ..	82·34(3·08)	876·99	599·36	8182·09	338·13	5128·50(5·13)	16·76
d. Pomelo ..	28·31(1·68)	644·75	513·75	5442·50	111.00	1143·00(1·14)	22·77
e. Paddy ..	1,481·00(88·44)	18112·72	1265·00	152364·20	6418·00	77243·00(77·14)	12·92
f. Millet ..	4·10(0·24)	36·00	23·00	337·41	9·00	132·00(0·13)	8·78
g. Tapioca ..	—	..	—	..	—	—	..
h. Yam ..	1·60(0·93)	105·35	89·85	599·38	13·50	90·00(0·09)	18·46
i. Others ..	130·38(8·05)	...	..	4930·00	..	3805·50(3·80)	18·87
Total	1700·00(100·00)	..	..	172894·70	..	100127·58(100·00)	..

General area:—

a. Betel leaf	..	10·50(1·87)	252·00	40·00	85·00	212·00	486·00(1·83)	24·00
b. Betel nut	..	8·50(1·57)	25·75	13·60	1360·00	12·15	1093·00(4·10)	3·03
c. Orange	...	21·25(3·79)	59·50	50·50	360·19	9·00	70·75(0·27)	2·80
d. Potato	...	37·40(6·66)	1015·51	164·82	1587·27	850·59	8075·00(30·33)	27·15
e. Paddy	—	342·75(61·06)	4321·00	3301·50	46320·05	1019·50	12095·00(45·42)	12·60
f. Millet	..	22·94(4·09)	159·25	114·75	1943·87	43·50	737·00(2·77)	6·94
g. Tapioca	..	6·75(1·20)	250·00	200·00	900·00	50·00	225·00(0·84)	37·03
h. Yam	..	1·87(0·33)	43·87	38·87	194·35	5·00	25·00(0·99)	23·45
i. Others	..	109·41(19·43)	...	...	...	...	3821·00(14·35)	...
Total:		561·37(100·00)			52750·75		26627·75(100·00)	

Unit:— a. Betel leaf in Kuri — 1 Kuri = 20 bundles, 1 bundles = 144 of leaves (approx.).
b. Betel nut in Luti — 1 Luti = 16 kani, 1 kani = 400 nos. of nuts.
c. Orange in Luti — 1 Luti = 16 bhar, 1 bhar = 64 nos. of oranges.
d to h-in mounds.

A.G.P 3/61 (Tribal)—400—8-2-63.

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1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

352 blackened with the smoke of years, upon which are spread the
417 faggots of resinous fir-wood used for kindling the fire. Above this again is a wooden framework fixed on to the beams of the house, upon which all sorts of odds and ends are kept. Around
352 the fire are to be seen small wooden stools, upon which the members of the household sit. Up-to-date Khasis have cane chairs, but the women of the family, true to the conservative
415 instincts of the sex, prefer the humble stool to sit upon. Well-to-do Khasis nowadays have, in addition to the ordinary cooking vessels made of iron and earthenware, a number of brass utensils. The writer has seen in a Khasi house in Mawkhar brass drinking vessels of the pattern used in Orissa, of the description used in Manipur, and of the kind which is in vogue in Sylhet. The ordinary cultivator, however, uses a waterpot made from a gourd hollowed out for keeping water and liquor in, and drinks from a bamboo cylinder. Plates, or more properly speaking dishes, are of several kinds in the houses of the rich, the two larger ones being styled *ka pliang kynthei* (female) and *ka pliang shynrang* (male). Needless to say, the first mentioned is a larger utensil than the latter. The ordinary waterpots, *u khiew phiang kynthei* and *u khiew phiang shynrang*, are made of brass, the former being a size larger and having a wider mouth than the latter. The pot for cooking vegetables is made of iron. Another utensil is made of earthenware; this is the ordinary cooking pot used in the houses of the poor. Brass spoons of different sizes are used for stirring the contents of the different cooking utensils, also a wooden spoon.

352 In the sleeping-rooms of the well-to-do there are wooden
513 beds with mattresses and sheets and pillows, clothes being
285 hung upon clothes-racks, which in one house visited were of the same pattern as the English "towel horse." The ordinary cultivator and his wife sleep on mats made of plaited bamboo, which are spread on the bare boards of the house. There are various kinds of mats to be met with in the Khasi houses made of plaited cane, of a kind of reed, and of plaited bamboo.
293 The best kind of mat is prepared from cane. In all Khasi
352 houses are to be seen *ki knup*, or rain shields, of different sizes and sometimes of somewhat different shapes. The large

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

415 like a pendulum. An explanation of this method of divination
787 will be found in the paragraph dealing with divination.

There is also a pair of squeezers used by the old and
412 toothless for breaking up betel-nut. In the houses of the
415 well-to-do is to be seen the ordinary hubble-bubble of
322 India. Outside the houses of cultivators are wooden troughs hollowed out of the trunks of trees, which are used either as drinking troughs for cattle or for feeding pigs. A special set of utensils is used for manufacturing liquor. The Synteng and Wár articles of furniture and utensils are the same as those of the Khasis, with different names, a remark which applies
415 also to those of the Bhois and Lynngams. Both the latter,
824 however, use leaves as plates, the Bhoi using the wild plantain and the Lynngam a large leaf called *ka 'la mariong*. The leaves are thrown away after eating, fresh leaves being gathered for each meal. The Lynngams use a quilt (*ka syllar*) made out of
513 the bark of a tree of the same name as a bed covering. This
824 tree is perhaps the same as the Garo *simpak*. In the Bhoi and Lynngam houses the swinging shelf for keeping firewood is not
417 to be seen, nor is the latter to be found amongst the sub-montane Bodo tribes in Assam.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.

534 The Khasis have not many musical instruments, and those that they possess, with one or two exceptions, are of very much the same description as those of the Assamese. There are several kinds of drums, viz. *ka nákrá*, which is a large kettle-drum made of wood having the head covered with deer-skin; *ka ksing*, which is a cylindrically-shaped drum rather smaller than the Assamese *dhol* (*ka ksing kynthei* takes its name from the fact that this drum is beaten when women, *kynthei*, dance), *ka padiah*, a small drum with a handle made of wood; *katasa*, a small circular drum. Khasi drums are nearly always made of wood, not of metal, like the drums to be seen in the monasteries of Upper Assam, or of earthenware, as in Lower Assam.

Ka duitara is a guitar with *muga* silk strings, which is

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241 custom of their own from cultivating the *landoo*, in which
231 case they plant certain other trees favourable to the growth of
784 the lac insect. The villages are situated near their patches of cultivation in the forest. The villages are constantly shifting,
361 owing to the necessity of burning fresh tracts of forest every
241 two years. The houses are entirely built of bamboo, and, for such temporary structures, are very well built. In front, the
342 houses are raised some 3 or 4 ft. from the ground on platforms, being generally built on the side of a fairly steep hill, one end of the house resting on the ground, and the other on bamboo posts. The back end of the house is sometimes some 8 or 9 ft. from the ground. At the end of the house farthest away from the village path is a platform used for sitting out in the evening, and for spreading chillies and
342 other articles to dry. Some Lynngam houses have only one
354 room in which men, women, and children are all huddled together, the hearth being in the centre, and, underneath the
231 platform, the pigs. Well-to-do people, however, possess a retiring room, where husband and wife sleep. A house I
342 measured at Nongsohbar village was of the following dimensions:—Length, 42 ft.; breadth, 16 ft.; height of house from the ground to the eaves, front, 9 ft.; back 18 ft. Houses are built with a portion of the thatch hanging over the eaves in front. No explanation could be given me for this. It is probably a Garo custom. In some Lynngam villages there are houses in the centre of the village where the young unmarried men sleep, where male guests are accommodated, and where the
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[577] are also high platforms, some 12 ft. or 15 ft. in height, in Lynngam villages, where the elders sit of an evening in the hot
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352 much *en évidence* as in the Khasi village. There is little
● 513 or no furniture in a Lynngam house. The Lynngam sleeps on
287 a mat on the floor, and in cold weather covers himself with a

1[of the Lynngams --- (m)(y.t)

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quilt, made out of the bark of a tree, which is beaten 352
out and then carefully woven, several layers of flattened 513
bark being used before the right thickness is attained. 287
This quilt is called by the Lyngams "*Ka syllar*" (Garo *simpak*).
Food is cooked in earthen pots, but no plates are used, the broad 252
leaves of the *mariang* tree taking their place. The leaves are 415
thrown away after use, a fresh supply being required for each meal.

The Lyngams brew rice beer, they do not distil spirit; the 274
beer is brewed according to the Khasi method. Games they have 526
none, and there are no jovial archery meetings like those of the Khasis. The Lyngam methods of hunting are setting spring 221
guns and digging pitfalls for game. The people say that now the Government and the Siem of Nongstoin have prohibited both of these methods of destroying game, they no longer employ them. But I came across a pitfall for deer not long ago in the neighbourhood of a village in the Lyngam country. The people declared it to be a very old one; but this I very much doubt, and I fear that these objectionable methods of hunting are still used. The Lyngams fish to a 226
small extent with nets, but their idea of fishing, *par excellence*, is poisoning the streams, an account of which has already been given in this monograph. The Lyngams are omnivorous 262
feeders, they may be said to eat everything except dogs, snakes, the *hulak* monkey, and lizards. They like rice, when they can get it; for sometimes the out-turn of their fields does not last them more than a few months. They then have to fall back on Jobstears and millet. They eat arums largely, and for vegetables they cook wild plantains and the young shoots of bamboos and cane plants. The Lyngams are divided up into 614
exogamous clans in the same manner as the Khasis. The clans 773
are overgrown families. The Lyngams have some stories regarding the founders of these clans, of which the following is a specimen:—"A woman was asleep under a *sohbar* tree in the jungle, a flower from which fell on her, and she conceived and bore a female child who was the ancestress of the Nongsohbar clan." Some of the stories of the origins of other clans do not bear repeating. There do not appear to be any 582
hypergamous groups. As with the Khasis, it is a deadly sin to 614

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577 plains, jealous of their power, brave in action, and have an aversion to falsehood."

797 Khasis of the interior who have adopted Christianity are
177 generally cleaner in their persons than the non-Christians,
515 and their women dress better than the latter and have an air
342 of self-respect about them. The houses in a Christian village are also far superior, especially where there are resident European missionaries. Khasis who have become Christians often
771 take to religion with much earnestness (witness the recent
797 religious revival in these hills, which is estimated by the Welsh
794 missionaries to have added between 4,000 and 5,000 converts to Christianity), and are model Sabbatarians, it being a pleasing sight to see men, women, and children trooping to church on a Sunday dressed in their best, and with quite the Sunday expression on their faces one sees in England. It is a pleasure to hear the sound of the distant church bell on the hill-side on a Sunday evening, soon to be succeeded by the beautiful Welsh hymn tunes which, when wafted across the valleys, carry one's thoughts far away. The Welsh missionaries have done, and continue to do, an immense amount of good amongst these people. It would be an evil day for the Khasis if anything should occur to arrest the progress of the mission work in the Khasi Hills.

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION.

162 The Khasis inhabit the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, although
101 there are a few Khasi settlers in the neighbouring plains districts. The Census Report of 1901 gives the following figures of Khasi residents in the plains:—

Cachar	333
Sylhet	3,083
Goalpara	4
Kamrup	191
Darrang	10
Nowgong	29
Sibsagar	62
Lakhimpur	22
Lushai Hills	77
North Cachar	32
Naga Hills	62

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231 Shillong is excellent, the flavour being quite as good as that
263 of English honey. Under "Miscellaneous Customs connected with Death" will be found a reference to the statement that the
[764] dead bodies of Siems used to be embalmed in honey. The existence of the custom is generally denied by Khasis, but its former prevalence is probable, as several trustworthy authors have quoted it.

HOUSES.

342 The houses of the people are cleaner than might be supposed
515 after taking into consideration the dirtiness of the clothes and persons of those who inhabit them. They are as a rule substantial thatched cottages with plank or stone walls, and raised on a plinth some 2 to 3 ft. from the ground. The only
354 window is a small opening on one side of the house, which admits but a dim light into the smoke-begrimed interior. The beams are so low that it is impossible for a person of ordinary stature to stand erect within. The fire is always burning on an earthen or stone hearth in the centre. There is no chimney, the smoke finding its exit as best it can. The firewood is placed to dry on a swinging frame above the hearth. In the
343 porch are stacked fuel and odds and ends. The pigs and calves
342 are generally kept in little houses just outside the main building. The Khasi house is oval-shaped, and is divided into three rooms, a porch, a centre room, and a retiring-room.

354 In olden days the Khasis considered nails *sang*, or taboo, and
784 only used a certain kind of timber for the fender which surrounds the hearth; but they are not so particular now-a-days. In Mawkhar, Cherrapunji, and other large villages, the walls of
342 houses are generally of stone. In Cherrapunji the houses are frequently large, but the largest house I have seen in the hills is that of the Doloi of Suhtnga in the Jaintia Hills, which measures 74 ft. in length. The house of the Siem Priestess at Smit in the Khasi Hills is another large one, being 61 ft. long by 30 ft. broad. In front of the Khasi house is a little space fenced in on two sides, but open towards the village street. The

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142 young are comely, of a buxom type, and, like the men, with highly-developed calves, the latter always being considered a beauty. The children are frequently remarkably pretty. Khasis carry very heavy burdens, it being the custom for the 482 cooly of the country to carry a maund, or 82 lbs. weight, or even more occasionally, on his back, the load being fixed by means of a cane band which is worn across the forehead; women carry almost as heavy loads as the men. The coolies, both male and female, commonly do the journey between Cherrapunji and Shillong, or between Shillong and Jowai, in one day, carrying the heavy loads above mentioned. Each of the above journeys is some thirty miles. They carry their great loads of rice and salt from Therria to Cherrapunji, an ascent of about 4,000 feet in some three to four miles, in the day. The Khasis are probably the best porters in the north of India, and have frequently been requisitioned for transport purposes on military expeditions.

157 The people are cheerful in disposition, and are light-522 hearted by nature, and, unlike the plains people, seem to thoroughly appreciate a joke. It is pleasant to hear on the road down to Theriaghat from Cherrapunji, in the early morning the whole hillside resounding with the scraps of song and peals of laughter of the coolies, as they run nimbly down the short cuts on their way to market. The women are specially cheerful, and pass the time of day and bandy jokes with passers-[461] by with quite an absence of reserve. The Khasis are certainly more industrious than the Assamese, are generally good-tempered, but are occasionally prone to sudden outbursts of [533] anger, accompanied by violence. They are fond of music, and [797] rapidly learn the hymn tunes which are taught them by the Welsh missionaries. Khasis are devoted to their offspring, 593 and the women make excellent nurses for European children, 463 frequently becoming much attached to their little charges. The people, like the Japanese, are fond of nature. A Khasi 517 loves a day out in the woods, where he thoroughly enjoys 824 himself. If he does not go out shooting or fishing, he is con-825 tent to sit still and contemplate nature. He has a separate name for each of the commoner birds and flowers. He also has names for many butterflies and moths. These are traits which are not found usually in the people of India.

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241 custom of their own from cultivating the *landoo*, in which
231 case they plant certain other trees favourable to the growth of
784 the lac insect. The villages are situated near their patches of cultivation in the forest. The villages are constantly shifting,
361 owing to the necessity of burning fresh tracts of forest every
241 two years. The houses are entirely built of bamboo, and, for such temporary structures, are very well built. In front, the
342 houses are raised some 3 or 4 ft. from the ground on platforms, being generally built on the side of a fairly steep hill, one end of the house resting on the ground, and the other on bamboo posts. The back end of the house is sometimes some 8 or 9 ft. from the ground. At the end of the house farthest away from the village path is a platform used for sitting out in the evening, and for spreading chillies and
342 other articles to dry. Some Lynngam houses have only one
354 room in which men, women, and children are all huddled
231 together, the hearth being in the centre, and, underneath the platform, the pigs. Well-to-do people, however, possess a retiring room, where husband and wife sleep. A house I
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526 hours. Meanwhile all the archers and many people have arrived. The judge gets up and turns to the archers, talking eagerly and spurring them on to do their best, so that they may emerge as victors in the contest. Shrieking loudly and making a noise, the archers take their places by the string lying on the ground and each pays one anna (about 10 pfennigs, peace evaluation) as a contribution. It is customary in many places to charge a larger amount. The money is collected by the judge (u-nong-khang-khnam) and kept until the end of the year. After the last contest it is spent for the "festival after the archery contest."

When the money has been paid and some liquor (ka-kiad-um) is poured on the ground, the contest begins. The archers bend their bows and each one aims and shoots as he wishes. If an arrow hits the mark, a loud cry comes from the spectators. The men jump in the air and utter cries of joy. The archer himself gets up, turns around in a circle a couple of times, jumps in the air and swings his bow, uttering
526 cries of joy continuously. Now, since first
• 522 this one and then that one hits the mark, whether it is someone in one's own faction or one of the opponents, cries of joy and rejoicings may be heard almost without interruption. The people of one's own team try to spur on each archer during his round by shouts. For example, if an archer has a black (marked) arrow, they shout: "to, to be iong be iong! i.e., hit, hit black one, black one!" In this case the opponent has the white arrows. If such an arrow goes crooked and flies past the target, they shout at it: "Phui, phui kymdat shiliang, rakaid me, u rakaid! i.e. fie, fie you fly to one side, you bungler, you

bungler!" (27) When the opponent aims and 526 522.

27. P.C. Bohnheim, "Das Pfeilshiessen der Khasi" [Arrow Shooting Among the Khasi], Salvatoranische Milleilungen [Salvatorian Communications], 1910, No. 2.

shoots they shout at him: "Bam khyndeu, bam shisp! i.e., eat earth, eat sand!" (The opponent's arrow is supposed to fly into the earth or sand). There is ample opportunity here for talking extemporaneously as the Khasi so love to do. Following the examples mentioned above they shout at the archers of their own team or of the opponents' team. At the same time I have never noticed that [578] anybody felt insulted or that quarrels and fights ever arose. If somebody feels affected by the remarks, he or one of his team tries to overtrump his opponent by a really potent remark. If that is successful everybody rejoices in the comment and the round 526 of shooting continues peacefully. When a round of ten or more archers who have each shot three or more arrows is finished, the judge enters the closed-off place and counts out loud the arrows sticking in the target. With a great hullabaloo the crowd confirms the number of hits; the opponents do the same and then the contest begins again with all the [617] action described above. When this process has been repeated often, a longer pause occurs. During this, and often during the shorter recess after each round, the women and girls hand out refreshments. The water pipe makes the rounds and no one spares praises. Thus it continues till

526 meaning are placed next to each other usually
533 a nominative before the objective case (accusative--dative). These words form the frame for the words contained in the second (even lines) sayings.

The poem can be reproduced in the following way to make sense (only the even lines):

2. Let us stamp mightily so that the earth groans.
   So that it is known for certain that we have conquered.
4. Set up the bows, you brave youths!

6. Set up the bows so that the mighty victory shows.
8. Whoever dares to battle us, we will fix his comb.
10. May your mockery be sharp, the opponent must weep.
12. He must weep, his eyes weep, his nose runs.
14. Do not be sorry, comrades, it was so determined!

•[522] [619] Singing in this way with mocking songs
526 to the defeated opponent, shouting and rejoicing, the crowd moves across the place of the
273 festival. Liquor is brought and drunk zealously, only too zealously, so that the crowd, lighted by the torches, aroused by the frenzy, and excited by the shooting competition, takes a wild impression. The raw, wild joy breaks forth in a deafening racket. Finally tired of the rushing around they return slowly but still shouting to their village, and scatter to their huts, still disputing violently about the happenings.

F26 The cost of an archery contest varies

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526 certain incantations freely referring to the many faults of the opposite side, and pours water at intervals from the bamboo in front of the target. This business lasts about two hours. Then they exhort the competitors of their respective sides, and the match commences amidst loud shouts. Every time there is a hit there are loud cheers, the competitors leaping high into the air, the umpires muttering their incantations all the while. At the end of each turn the number of hits are counted by representatives of both sides. At the close of the day the side with the greatest number of hits wins the match, the successful party returning home, dancing and shouting. The young women admirers of both sides assemble, and dispense refreshments to the competitors, taking a keen interest in the proceedings withal. Frequently large wagers
525 are made on either side. In the *Khadar Blang* portion of the
526 Nongkrem State as much as Rs. 500 are occasionally wagered on either side. In Jowai the practice is also to bet a lump sum, the amount being raised by subscription from amongst the competitors. More usual bets are, however, about one anna a head. The *song khang* khasis and the men who prepare the targets receive presents from their respective sides. The Khasi bow carries a considerable distance, an arrow shot over 180 yards being within the personal knowledge of the writer. It is believed that Khasi bows wielded by experts carry up to 200 yards. The average range may be said, however, to be 150 to 180 yards.

521 Yule mentions peg-top spinning amongst Khasi children as
197 being indigenous and not an importation, but Bivar thinks that the game is of foreign introduction. I am, however, inclined to agree with Yule that peg-top spinning is indigenous, inasmuch as this game could not have been copied from the Syllhetis or the Assamese of the plains, who do not indulge in it. As the British had only recently established themselves in the hills when Yule wrote, they would scarcely have had time or opportunity to introduce an English children's game. Khasi
524 children also play a kind of "hop Scotch" (*khyndat sada shite* and *ka tiet lib*), and Yule writes, "Another of their recreations is an old acquaintance also, which we are surprised to meet with in the Far East. A very tall, thick bamboo is planted in

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

the ground, and well oiled. A silver ornament, or a few rupees, placed at the top, reward the successful climber." A leg of mutton, or a piece of pork fixed at the top of this pole would render the pastime identical with the "greasy-pole" climbing of English villages. The following are some other Khasi games:— 524

Wrestling; two persons grasping each other's hands with the fingers interlocked, and then trying to push one another down; tug-of-war with a piece of stick, the two combatants placing their feet one against the other; butting at one another like bulls, and trying to upset each other (*ia tur masi*); long jump; high jump; blind-man's buff; flying kites; pitching cowries into a hole in the ground; a game like marbles, only played with round pebbles, and others. 526 527

MANUFACTURES.

The manufactures of the Khasis are few in number, and do not seem to show any tendency to increase. On the contrary, two of the most important industries, the smelting of iron ore and the forging of iron implements therefrom, and the cotton-spinning industries at Mynso and Suhtnga, show signs of dying out. Ploughshares and hoes and bill-hooks can now be obtained more cheaply from the plains than from the forges in the hills, and Manchester piece goods are largely taking the place of cloths of local manufacture. The iron industry in former days was an important one, and there is abundant evidence that the workings were on a considerable scale, e.g. at Nongkrem and Laitlyngkot, in the shape of large granite boulders which have fallen to the ground from the sides of the hills owing to the softer rock which filled the interstices between the boulders having been worked out by the iron-workers, their process being to dig out the softer ferruginous rock, and then extract the iron ore from it by means of washing. The softer rock having been removed, the heavier portions fell by their own weight, and rolled down to the bottom of the slopes, the result being the great number of boulders to be seen near the sites of these workings. 327 288 412 327 316

8: Gurdon G-3 (no date) 1904 AR7 Khasi AR7

—the *Shyngkup*, or porch, being flush with the ground. The *nengpei*, or 342
centre room, is approached by a flight of steps. There are no windows, except one, which is bored on one side to admit light and air,—this is called the *pongshai*. Both Khasis and Syntengs, like other Indo-Chinese 524
races, are much addicted to gambling, and drinking to excess is a 273
national vice. Christianity has, through the agency of the Welsh Cal- 197
vinistic Mission, gained a very striking extension, and may be said in- 177
deed to be leavening the whole nation. Schools are numerous, and are pretty well attended by girls as well as boys. The Christians, and those who have come under the influence of Christianity, have adopted a high standard of comfort, and their houses resemble English cottages more nearly than the huts with which one is familiar in India.

Agriculture.—The Khasis do not use the plough; they cultivate their 241
fields with a peculiar-shaped hoe, or *mokkhiew*. They cultivate rice in the valleys, the rice being sown broadcast and the fields irrigated often after considerable labour. They also cultivate hill rice on the uplands, which they sow broadcast. The potato, which was introduced into the [177]
Khasi Hills by Mr. David Scott about the [439]
year 1830,[1] is extensively cultivated and forms one of the principal articles of export. Job's-tears (*Coix lachryma*), several kinds of millet, Indian-corn, the *Sohphlang* (*Flemingia vestita*), are also largely cultivated. The valleys on the 245
southern slopes of the hills have extensive orange groves, the oranges, especially those grown in the neighbourhood of Shella, being famous for their quality. The betel, vine, and areca nut are also largely grown on the southern side of the hills and in the low valleys, these plantations being irrigated by elaborate systems of aqueducts. The leaf of the bay tree (*Tatyrpad*) is collected, and is exported to the Sylhet plains. The [439]
Syntengs differ from the Khasis, in that they make use of the plough. Both Khasis and Syntengs are industrious cultivators, and they possess a certain rough and ready knowledge of the uses of manure. A more detailed description of agriculture in these hills will be given in the monograph.

[1] Khasi and Jaintia Hills Administration Report for 1875-76 by Colonel Bivar.

2. *Matriarchal customs and law of inheritance of property.*—The 611
mother is the head of the house, and is both owner and the custodian of 428
the family property as long as she lives. Males can own no property amongst either Khasis or Syntengs except self-acquired property. On the death of the mother, in the case of the Khasis, the family property passes to the youngest daughter. According to some authorities, however, the property would in practice be divided amongst all the surviving daughters. Failing daughters, the property passes to the youngest niece, and failing a niece, to the youngest female cousin. The same

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000 which are not found usually in the people of India. He is
461 not above manual labour, and even the Khasi clerk in the
333 Government offices is quite ready to take his turn at the hoe
335 in his potato garden. The men make excellent stonemasons and carpenters, and are ready to learn fancy carpentry and
276 mechanical work. They are inveterate chewers of *supari* and
804 the pan leaf (when they can get the latter), both men, women, and children; distances in the interior being often measured by the number of betel-nuts that are usually chewed on a
273 journey. They are not addicted usually to the use of opium or other intoxicating drugs. They are, however, hard drinkers, and consume large quantities of spirit distilled from rice or millet. Rice beer is also manufactured; this is used not only as a beverage, but also for ceremonial purposes. Spirit drinking is confined more to the inhabitants of the high plateaux and to the people of the Wár country, the Bhois and Lynngams
276 being content to partake of rice beer. The Mikirs who inhabit
751 what is known as the "Bhoi" country, lying to the north of the district, consume a good deal of opium, but it must be remembered that they reside in a malarious *terai* country, and that the use of opium, or some other prophylactic, is probably
525 beneficial as a preventive of fever. The Khasis, like other people of Indo-Chinese origin, are much addicted to gambling.
577 The people, and especially those who inhabit the Wár country, are fond of litigation. Col. Bivar remarks, "As regards truthfulness the people do not excel, for they rarely speak the truth unless to suit their own interests." Col. Bivar might have confined this observation to the people who live in the larger centres of population, or who have been much in contact with the denizens of the plains. The inhabitants of the far interior are, as a rule, simple and straightforward people, and are quite as truthful and honest as peasants one meets in other countries. My impression is that the Khasis are not less truthful certainly than other Indian communities. McCosh, writing in 1837, speaks well of the Khasis. The following is his opinion of them:—"They are a powerful, athletic
[147] race of men, rather below the middle size, with a manliness of gait and demeanour. They are fond of their mountains, and look down with contempt upon the degenerate race of the

1/1 [the Khasi --- Analyst]

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a shooter pays one anna (about 10 pfennigs, 525
peace evaluation) for each shot. All the
various competitions together produce a tidy
little sum, especially when the attendance is
good. I have come across figures as high
as 50 to 70 rupees which were got together
in this way during the course of a year and
were then spent at the end of the year to-
gether at a great feast after the main com-
petition.

It is frequently the custom among the
Synteng, not to collect this contribution,
anna by anna; rather, a large sum, which is
raised by collecting signatures, is bet
with the opponent at the main shooting (the
final game). This also occurs occasionally
among the Khasi. (31)

31. Gurdon, The Khasis, reports on page 56 that a sum of 500 rupees was bet in the Nongkrem state in Khadar Blang at a shooting competition.

3. The Feast after the Archery Contest 527

A general feast is arranged with the
money bet or saved. Everything is just as
wild during this feast as during the archery
competition. Several strong men go forth to
fetch the pigs bought for this occasion. The
living animals are tied to bamboo poles by
their feet. Four men, two and two alternately,
carry each a burden on their shoulders to
the place of the festival. There is lively
activity at that place. The men stand around
huge fires and chat. Others busily arrange
dishes and pots of brass --everything polished

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

411 of anything except iron or steel, the result being that the sword
314 is most awkward to hold, and could never have been of much use as a weapon of offence.

The same spear is used for thrusting and casting. The spear is not decorated with wool or hair like the spears of the Naga tribes, but it is nevertheless a serviceable weapon, and would be formidable in the hand of a resolute man at close quarters. The length of the spear is about 6½ feet. The shaft is generally of bamboo, although sometimes of ordinary wood. The spear heads are forged in the local smithies.

The Khasi weapon *par excellence* is the bow. Although no 'Robin Hoods," the Khasis are very fair archers, and they use the bow largely for hunting. The Khasi bow (*ka ryntieh*) is of bamboo, and is about 5 feet in height. The longest bow in use
[141] is said to be about the height of a man, the average height amongst the Khasis being about about 5 feet 2 inches to 5 feet 4 inches. The bowstring is of split bamboo, the bamboos that are used being *u spit*, *u shken*, and *u siej-lieh*.

The arrows (*ki khnam*) are of two kinds: (*a*) the barbed-headed (*ki pliang*), and (*b*) the plain-headed (*sop*). Both are made out of bamboo. The first kind is used for hunting,
[526] the latter for archery matches only. Archery may be styled the Khasi national game. A description of Khasi archery will be found under the heading "Games." The feathers
[825] of the following birds are used for arrows:—Vultures, geese, cranes, cormorants, and hornbills. Arrow-heads are made of iron or steel, and are forged locally. The distance a Khasi arrow will carry, shot from the ordinary bow by a man of medium strength, is 150 to 180 yards. The Khasi
[237] shield is circular in shape, of hide, and studded with brass or silver. In former days shields of rhinoceros hide are said to have been used, but nowadays buffalo skin is used. The shields would stop an arrow or turn aside a spear or sword thrust. The present-day shield is used merely for purposes of display.

389 Before the advent of the British into the hills the Khasis are said to have been acquainted with the art of manufacturing gunpowder, which was prepared in the neighbourhood of Mawsanram, Kynchi, and Cherra. The gunpowder used to be

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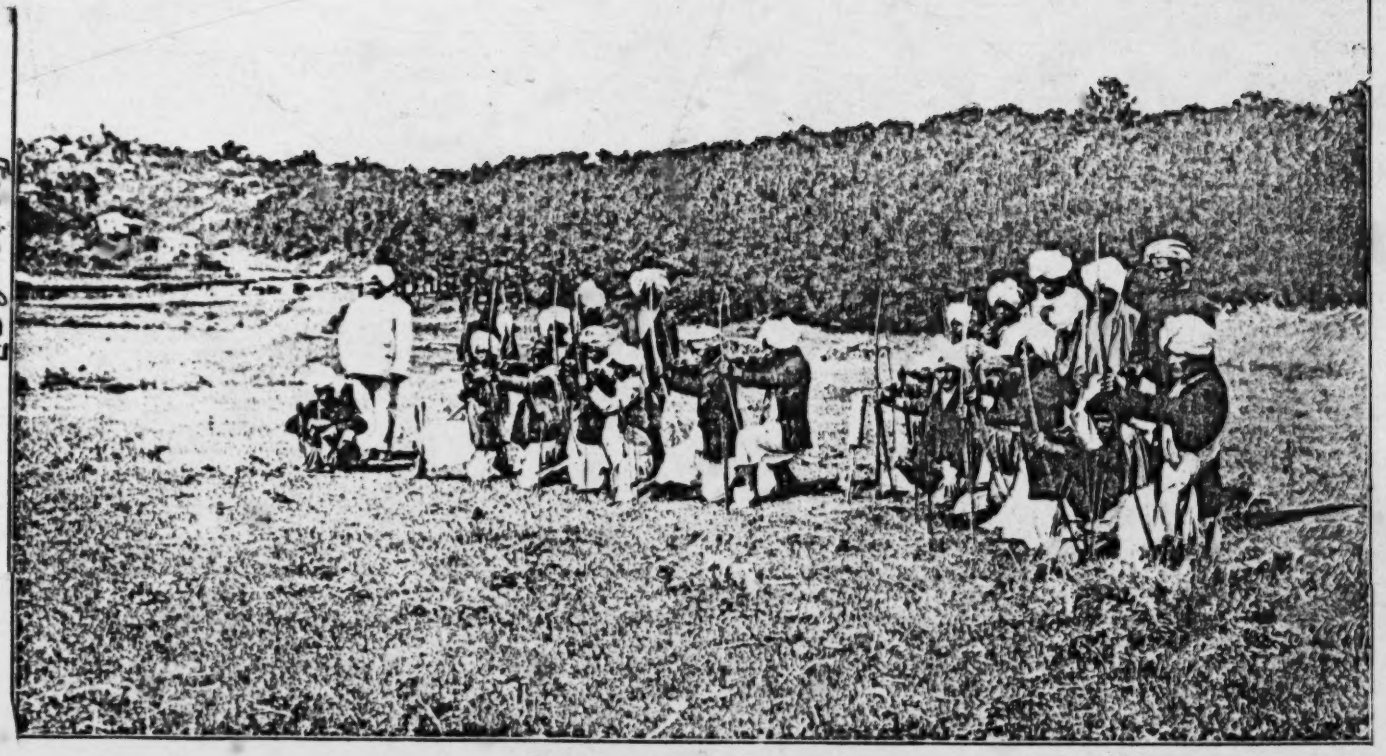

[Facing p. 54]

A KHASI ARCHERY MEETING.
(from a photograph by Mrs. Muriel.)

526

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274 Nongwar, thirty-one stills; and Rangthang, thirty-seven
438 stills.

From what has been stated above some idea may be gathered
274 how very large the number of stills in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills is. I am not in a position to state with any degree of accuracy what is the amount of spirit manufactured or consumed in the year, but it is very considerable. The out-turn of a Khasi still has been reckoned at from four to eight bottles per day. From this estimate, and the fact that there are 1,530 stills in the district, it may be roughly calculated what is the consumption annually. Practically the whole of the spirit is consumed within the district. The liquor which is manufactured is far stronger than the spirit distilled in the ordinary out-stills in the plains.
273 It has been stated by an expert analyst that the Khasi spirit
135 contains 60 to 80 per cent. of proof spirit, and that it possesses "an exceptionally nice flavour and taste." The usual price at which it is sold is 4 to 6 annas a quart bottle, a second quality being sometimes sold for 3 annas. It will be seen that the
[465] liquor is exceedingly cheap. A Khasi in the villages of the interior can get drunk for 2 annas,* or a quarter of an ordinary coolie's daily wage. Drunkenness prevails on every market day at Cherrapunji, Jowai, and other large hats, and on occasions when there are gatherings of the people for various purposes. This cheap but strong spirit is demoralizing the people, and some restriction of its use would be welcomed by
273 many. In the Khasi Welsh Methodist Church abstention from
797 liquor is made a condition of Church membership, but the vast number of stills and the facilities with which liquor can be obtained are a constant source of temptation to the Christian community, and cause many defections.

GAMES.

526 The Khasis have many games, but their principal game is archery, this may be said to be the national game, and is a very popular form of recreation amongst them, the sport being indulged in from about the beginning of January to the end of

* About threepence.

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May each year. The following is a description of a Khasi archery meeting, for the details of which I am largely indebted to U Job Solomon. By way of introduction it should be stated that the Khasis opine that arrow-shooting originated at the beginning of creation. The Khasi Eve (*Ka-mei-ka-nong-hukum*) had two sons to whom she taught the toxophilite art, at the same time she warned them never to lose their tempers over the game. At the present day villages have regular archery meetings, the men of one village challenging those of another. There are men on both sides called *nong khan khnam* (lit., he who stops the arrow). This man, by uttering spells, and reciting the shortcomings of the opposite side, is supposed to possess the power of preventing the arrows of the opposing party hitting the mark. These men also, to some extent, may be said to perform the duties of umpires. They may be styled umpires for the sake of convenience in this account. Before the match commences conditions are laid down by the umpires of both sides, such as (*a*) the day on which the contest is to take place; (*b*) the place of the meeting; (*c*) the number of arrows to be shot by each archer; (*d*) the distinguishing marks to be given to the arrows of either side; (*e*) the amounts of the stakes on each side; (*f*) the number of times the competitors are to shoot on the day of the archery meeting, and many other conditions too numerous to mention here. The targets are generally small bundles of grass called "*u skum*," about 1 ft. long by 4 in. in diameter, fastened on a small pole. Sometimes targets are made from the root of a plant called *ka soh pdung*. The distances from the point where the marksmen stand to the targets are some 40 to 50 yards. Each side has its own target, the different targets being placed in a line, and the competitors taking up their positions in a straight line at right angles to the line of fire, and facing the targets; each side in turn then shoots at its own target. Early in the morning of the day fixed for the contest the umpire of each side sits in front of his target with a hollow bamboo full of water in his hand, the bows and arrows being laid on the ground alongside the targets. The umpire then repeats all the conditions of the contest, invokes the aid of the primeval woman (*ka mei ka nong hukum*) aforesaid, goes through

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

526 certain incantations freely referring to the many faults of the opposite side, and pours water at intervals from the bamboo in front of the target. This business lasts about two hours. Then they exhort the competitors of their respective sides, and the match commences amidst loud shouts. Every time there is a hit there are loud cheers, the competitors leaping high into the air, the umpires muttering their incantations all the while. At the end of each turn the number of hits are counted by representatives of both sides. At the close of the day the side with the greatest number of hits wins the match, the successful party returning home, dancing and shouting. The young women admirers of both sides assemble, and dispense refreshments to the competitors, taking a keen interest in the proceedings withal. Frequently large wagers
525 are made on either side. In the *Khadar Blang* portion of the
526 Nongkrem State as much as Rs. 500 are occasionally wagered on either side. In Jowai the practice is also to bet a lump sum, the amount being raised by subscription from amongst the competitors. More usual bets are, however, about one anna a head. The *nong khang khnam* and the men who prepare the targets receive presents from their respective sides. The Khasi bow carries a considerable distance, an arrow shot over 180 yards being within the personal knowledge of the writer. It is believed that Khasi bows wielded by experts carry up to 200 yards. The average range may be said, however, to be 150 to 180 yards.

524 Yule mentions peg-top spinning amongst Khasi children as
177 being indigenous and not an importation, but Bivar thinks that the game is of foreign introduction. I am, however, inclined to agree with Yule that peg-top spinning is indigenous, inasmuch as this game could not have been copied from the Sylhetis or the Assamese of the plains, who do not indulge in it. As the British had only recently established themselves in the hills when Yule wrote, they would scarcely have had time or opportunity to introduce an English children's game. Khasi
524 children also play a kind of "hop Scotch" (*khyndat mala shito* and *ia tiet hile*), and Yule writes, "Another of their recreations is an old acquaintance also, which we are surprised to meet with in the Far East. A very tall, thick bamboo is planted in

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

the ground, and well oiled. A silver ornament, or a few rupees, 524
placed at the top, reward the successful climber." A leg of mutton, or a piece of pork fixed at the top of this pole would render the pastime identical with the "greasy-pole" climbing of English villages. The following are some other Khasi games:— 526

Wrestling; two persons grasping each other's hands with the 521
fingers interlocked, and then trying to push one another down; tug-of-war with a piece of stick, the two combatants placing their feet one against the other; butting at one another like bulls, and trying to upset each other (*ia tur masi*); long jump; high jump; blind-man's buff; flying kites; pitching cowries into a hole in the ground; a game like marbles, only played with round pebbles, and others.

MANUFACTURES.

The manufactures of the Khasis are few in number, and do 321
not seem to show any tendency to increase. On the contrary, 288
two of the most important industries, the smelting of iron ore 412
and the forging of iron implements therefrom, and the cotton-spinning industries at Mynso and Suhtnga, show signs of dying out. Ploughshares and hoes and bill-hooks can now be obtained more cheaply from the plains than from the forges in the hills, and Manchester piece goods are largely taking the place of cloths of local manufacture. The iron industry in 327
former days was an important one, and there is abundant 316
evidence that the workings were on a considerable scale, e.g. at Nongkrem and Laitlyngkot, in the shape of large granite boulders which have fallen to the ground from the sides of the hills owing to the softer rock which filled the interstices between the boulders having been worked out by the iron-workers, their process being to dig out the softer ferruginous rock, and then extract the iron ore from it by means of washing. The softer rock having been removed, the heavier portions fell by their own weight, and rolled down to the bottom of the slopes, the result being the great number of boulders to be seen near the sites of these workings.

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

535 women from the Wár country, wearing their picturesque dress, amongst whom was the wife of the Siem of Bohwal with her little daughter. The dance was a pretty sight, and I have [152] seldom seen such evidence of unaffected happiness as was exhibited by the people on this occasion. Dancing may be described as one of the characteristic features of Khasi life.

746 The Synteng *Beh-dieng-khlam* festival takes place annually 789 at Jowai and elsewhere in the Jaintia Hills in the deep water moon month (u *Jyllieu*, or June). *Khlam* is the Khasi word for plague or pestilence, and *beh-dieng* signifies to drive away with sticks. The festival may be described as follows:—The males rise betimes on the day fixed and beat the roof with sticks, calling upon the plague-demon to leave the house. Having done this, later on in the day they go down to the stream where the goddess "Aitan" dwells. Then poles of great length, which have been newly cut, are held across the stream. The people jump on the poles and try to break them; when they succeed in doing so, a great shout is given. After all these poles have been broken, a very large pole is fixed across the stream. The people then divide themselves into two parties, and contend for the possession of the tree. The contest, however, is a good-humoured one, and although many buffets are given and received, these are not regarded seriously, and there [291] are seldom any fights. Col. Bivar says the contending villagers, in their excitement, sometimes relapse into a state of almost complete nudity. The party which succeeds in obtaining possession of this post is supposed to gain health and prosperity [746] during the coming year. Col. Bivar remarks that the origin of this so-called ceremony is said to be that the god of thunder, "u'*lei pyrthat*," and Ka Aitan, the goddess of the stream, enjoined its performance. Many innovations, however, have crept in. People disguise themselves as giants and wild beasts, they also parade images of serpents, elephants, tigers, peacocks, [535] &c. Dancing is carried on with enthusiasm by the males, the [526] girls, clad in their best attire, remaining on-lookers. Before the meeting breaks up the males play a sort of game of hockey with wooden balls.

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

quilt, made out of the bark of a tree, which is beaten out and then carefully woven, several layers of flattened bark being used before the right thickness is attained. This quilt is called by the Lyngngams "*Ka sylliar*" (Garo *simpak*). Food is cooked in earthen pots, but no plates are used, the broad leaves of the *maciong* tree taking their place. The leaves are thrown away after use, a fresh supply being required for each meal.

The Lyngngams brew rice beer, they do not distil spirit; the beer is brewed according to the Khasi method. Games they have none, and there are no jovial archery meetings like those of the Khasis. The Lyngngam methods of hunting are setting spring guns and digging pitfalls for game. The people say that now the Government and the Siem of Nongstoin have prohibited both of these methods of destroying game, they no longer employ them. But I came across a pitfall for deer not long ago in the neighbourhood of a village in the Lyngngam country. The people declared it to be a very old one; but this I very much doubt, and I fear that these objectionable methods of hunting are still used. The Lyngngams fish to a small extent with nets, but their idea of fishing, *par excellence*, is poisoning the streams, an account of which has already been given in this monograph. The Lyngngams are omnivorous feeders, they may be said to eat everything except dogs, snakes, the *hulok* monkey, and lizards. They like rice, when they can get it; for sometimes the out-turn of their fields does not last them more than a few months. They then have to fall back on Job's tears and millet. They eat arums largely, and for vegetables they cook wild plantains and the young shoots of bamboos and cane plants. The Lyngngams are divided up into exogamous clans in the same manner as the Khasis. The clans are overgrown families. The Lyngngams have some stories regarding the founders of these clans, of which the following is a specimen:—"A woman was asleep under a *sohbar* tree in the jungle, a flower from which fell on her, and she conceived and bore a female child who was the ancestress of the Nongsohbar clan." Some of the stories of the origin of other clans do not bear repeating. There do not appear to be any hyperizamous groups. As with the Khasis, it is a deadly sin to

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arc height since the strings are as long as the bows.

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The Khasi make the following kinds of arrows:

1. Feathered arrows ('nam-pur).
2. Unfeathered arrows ('nam).

Feathered or unfeathered ones are: a) hunting arrows, b) arrows for sport. Always feathered are c) children's arrows.

Ad a) Hunting arrows (u 'nam-pliang) are about 70 centimeters long, and have tips like a spear with barbs. (8) The weight of the hunting

8. Illustration II, figs. 2a, 2b.

arrows is about 25 grams. These arrows are still poisoned nowadays.

Ad b) Arrows for sport (u 'nam-sop) are about 60 centimeters long and have round, conical iron tips. (9) Weight of the arrow for

9. Illustration II, fig. 1.

sport is about 8 grams.

Ad c) Children's arrows (u 'nam-phiah) are about 50 centimeters long, and have round points or none at all. The feathering is different from that of the other arrows (cf. the latter).

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Shafts of the Arrows

All the arrows are made of a very thin bamboo (u 'nam-long or igrâ) and smoked. When possible bamboo free of knots is used. The arrow is about 6 to 7 millimeters thick. The length of the arrow varies greatly. For the arrow and the bow must complement each other inwardly just as they belong together externally.

(10)

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• 526
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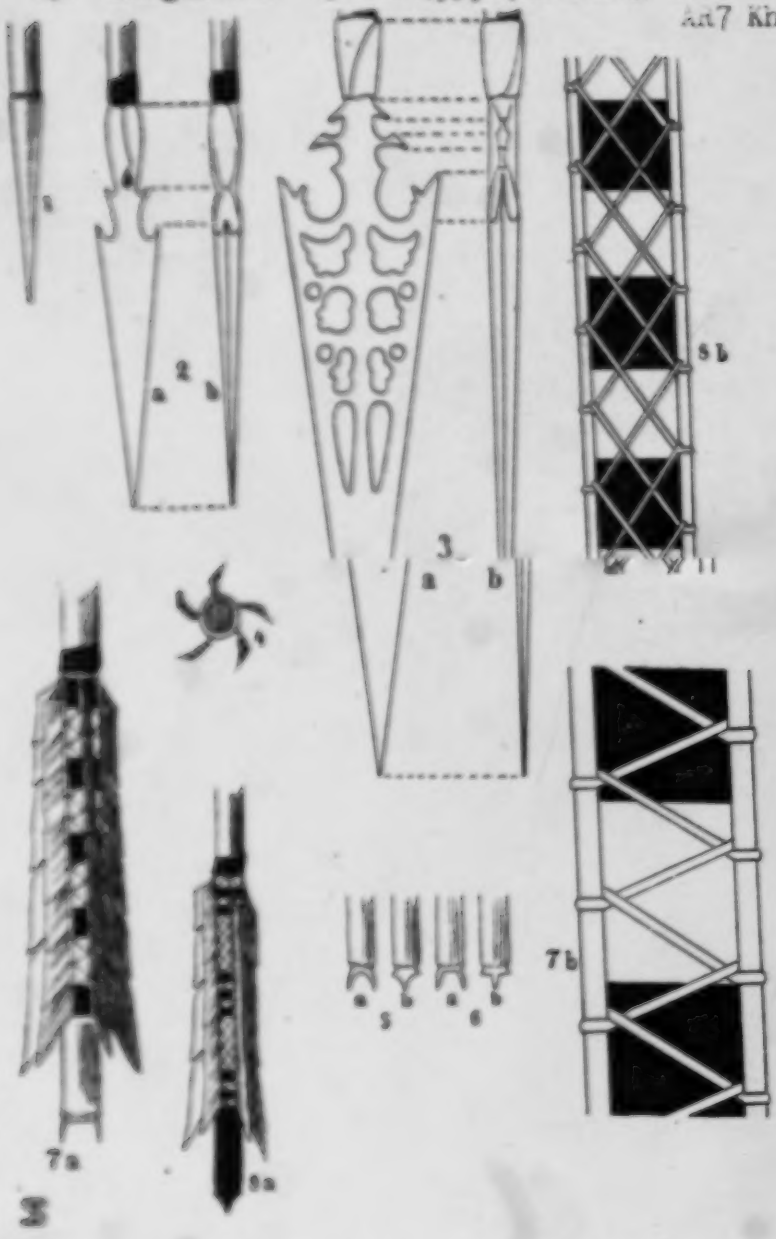

Fig. 2

10. Dr. R. Karutz, Die afrikanischen Bogen, Pfeile und Köcher im Lubecker Museum für Völkerkunde [African Bows, Arrows and Quivers in the Lübeck Ethnological Museum] (Lübeck, 1900) p. 219.

There is no doubt that the length of the arrow depends on the length of the bow. A large, but less flexible bow does not need so long [611] [Illustration II. Khasi Arrows. Figs. 1, 2a, 2b, 3a, 3b, 4, 5a, 5b, 6a, 6b, 7a, 7b, 8a, 8b.] [612] an arrow as a smaller more flexible one. The absolute length of the bow conditions the length of the arrow to the extent that usually a longer bow requires a longer arrow. (11) Arrows for sport will [526].

11. Bruno Adler, op. cit. p. 13.

float horizontally on water. (12)

12. "Veniaminoff relates (Sepiski ob ostrovah Unalaschkinskago otdela [Notes on the Island of the Unalaska Territory], vol. v, St. Petersburg, 1840) of the Aleutians that the tips of their arrows, especially the ones used in hunting beaver, have such a weight distribution that the arrow does not sink in the water in spite of the heavy shaft nor does it lie on the water, but floats upright, so that a piece almost a foot long sticks up above the surface of the water."

Arrow Tips

911 The arrow tips are made of iron in the
§26 village smithies. The tips of the hunting arrow ('nam-pling) are flat, raised a little towards the middle and have smooth or toothed edges and two or more barbs (shaped like a spear). Length of the tip is about 9 to 15
[§31] centimeters. Beautiful wrought iron arrow tips with pierced designs are also made. (13)

13. Illustration II, figs. 3a, 3b.

• [§26] The tips of the arrows used for sport ('nam-sop) are round and conical. Length is about 5 to 6 centimeters.

The spear-shaped arrow tips are poisoned with 'ka kih' poison which the Khasi obtain from the tuber of a plant (aconitum ferox Wallich, aconite).

Attaching the Arrow Tips.

911 The arrow tips are attached in two ways:

1. either the shaft of the arrow is pointed in front and the arrow tip, which is hollow inside, is placed on it-both are joined with sealing wax;

2. or there is a separate shell of copper which connects the arrow tip with the shaft. Sealing wax is not used, since the shell acts as a clamp. Length of the shell is about 3.5 centimeters.

The Notch of the Arrow

At the tip of the opposite end a notch is put in every arrow. The arrow is taken from a bamboo 'nam-long or ligâ (kind of bamboo) in

such a way that the notch can be cut directly after a knot. The purpose of the notch is to be able to set the arrow easily on the string. There are two kinds of notches: 411

1. Notches which resemble the curve of a Moorish bow. (14)

14. Illustration II, figs. 5a, 5b.

2. Notches which have an even flatness at the bottom and a point on the left and the right. (15)

15. Illustration II, figs. 6a, 6b.

Relationship of the Cut Surface to the Notch.

The large spear-shaped tips of the hunting arrows ('nam-pling) are made with the wide flat part at right angles to the notch and thus to the string of the bow. (16)

16. Bruno Adler, op. cit., p. 607.

Markings on the Arrows.

Many arrows (arrows for sport 'nam-sep) are marked with black lacquer from the end of the base of the feathering to the notch, so that the arrows of the teams can be told apart in shooting competitions. (17) [506]

17. Illustration II, fig. 6a.

Feathering the Arrows 411 AS7

The Khasi have two ways of feathering:
1. Radial even feathering.
2. Tangential tied feathering.

lightly. The stitches are made exactly and evenly throughout. Figures 7b and 8b of illustration II, though greatly enlarged show how the silken threads are put on. With a base 5 centimeters long the number of stitches is 22 to 24, with bases of 7.5 the number of stitches is 29 to 31. 411. 237 531

The feathers are at right angles to the split quill on the shaft and are sewn on five together, more rarely three together.

On the underside of the base (towards the tip of the arrow) black colored pitch is smeared, to unite the cut off feather ends to the shaft of the arrow. (21)

21. Illustration II, figs. 7a, 8a.

[614] Ad. 2. Tied tangential feathering is only used still on children's arrows ('nam-phiah). A completely uncut feather is fastened lengthwise on the end of the arrow by silk or bast and the join is smeared with pitch. 411 237

Hunting arrows and arrows for sport are also used unfeathered (hunting arrows especially in the neighborhood of Lamin) and are then simply called 'nam, but if they are feathered they are called 'nam-pur. 411 526

The target is made of the soft wood of a root and is called ka soh pdung by the Khasi. A piece of wood about 8 to 10 centimeters wide and 50 centimeters long is cut from the root, smoothed on the front side and pointed somewhat towards the ground, so that the whole thing resembles a relatively wide but short lath. This target is set up by putting the somewhat pointed end into the earth and placing two bamboo sticks behind as braces, so that the target cannot be tipped

411 over backwards by th impact of the arrows.
526 Bunches of grass of straw, u skum, are taken and fastened to a pole. The distance between the shooters and the target is quite varied, 50 to 100 meters being the usual distance. The Khasi bows can shoot an arrow a great distance with accuracy. Good shots hit the target even at a distance of 200 meters. The average shot can stand at a distance of 130 to 170 meters. Consideration is taken of younger archers, but if the distance has been established, it must be very carefully adhered to. A string is stretched along the ground which indicates exactly where the shooter must stand.

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Ways of Bending the Bow

It takes a lot of practice and especially a great deal of strength to hit a definite mark. The archer usually gets down on his right knee and grasps the bow, with his left arm stretched out, somewhat below the middle of the ribbed band and braces his thumb against the bow. He places the arrow with his right hand. The arrows shoot out on the left side of the bow. Some release the arrow between the middle finger and the index finger which is held somewhat bent. The right hand braces the end of the arrow in the notch on the string and holds it firm with the thumb and bent index finger. With the head bent a little to the left and aiming with the right eye, string and arrow are pulled at the same time and after the bow has been pulled to the correct tension, the arrow is released. (22) Only the best shots

22. Hans von Stüsei, Mit Pfeil und Bogen (With Bow and Arrow).

411

2 centimeters. On the two sticks on each of the same sides is a bamboo strip covered around with palm reed which is tied with palm reed at intervals of 3 to 5 centimeters. Weight of the quiver 220 grams.

2. Archery Contests

526 Arrows are shot on every big market day which occurs every eight days. The men and youths of a village gather together, go to the place chosen for the contest and practise industriously, because everyone wants to win in the big contest. These usually take place from January to May. Large factions develop then: village against village. The number of participants must be equally large. Each faction has its own shooting place with its own target, each next to one another. The archers by tens are placed in a line and are the same distance from the target as the string stretched on the ground indicates. Each receives three arrows for a round. The watchers and the judges are placed near the target at right angles to the archers. Both factions name their judges themselves. The latter select a fortunate day by egg throwing; (24) they choose the

24. Becker, "Das Eierwerfen der Khasi", /Egg Throwing Among the Khasi/ Anthropos, 1917-1918, pp. 494 ff.

place of the contest as well as the number of participants and the arrows to be shot. They also measure the exact distance from the target, place the string on the ground, examine the

arrows for their markings and arrange the whole contest. 526

Early in the morning on the day of the contest, each judge, accompanied by the archers and several curious people, goes to the place of the festivity. There he stands before the target, which was set up the day before. The bows and arrows are placed beside the target. The judge now proclaims aloud again 526 all the conditions of the contest. He calls 782 upon the Khasi Eve (ka-mei-ka-nong-hukum (25)

> 25. The Khasi believe that arrow shooting began with the creation of the world. For the Khasi Eve had two sons. She taught them the art of arrow shooting but warned them at the same time never to lose their tempers while playing. Gurdon, The Khasis, p.55. [772]

for her help and in a rambling speech recites all the errors of the opponents (26). While

> 26. The Khasi believe that the opponents' arrows will be kept from hitting the target by invoking the Khasi Eve and by the utterances of the judge. Gurdon, p. 55.

he is speaking thus, he pours water [616] from time to time out of a bamboo tube that was brought along in front of the target. Because of the talkativeness of the Khasi and their peculiarity of talking extemporaneously and their slowness this lasts about two hours.

526 hours. Meanwhile all the archers and many people have arrived. The judge gets up and turns to the archers, talking eagerly and spurring them on to do their best, so that they may emerge as victors in the contest. Shrieking lowaly and making a noise, the archers take their places by the string lying on the ground and each pays one anna (about 10 pfennigs, peace evaluation) as a contribution. It is customary in many places to charge a larger amount. The money is collected by the judge (u-nong-khang-khnam) and kept until the end of the year. After the last contest it is spent for the "festival after the archery contest."

When the money has been paid and some liquor (ka-kiad-um) is poured on the ground, the contest begins. The archers bend their bows and each one aims and shoots as he wishes. If an arrow hits the mark, a loud cry comes from the spectators. The men jump in the air and utter cries of joy. The archer himself gets up, turns around in a circle a couple of times, jumps in the air and swings his bow, uttering
526 cries of joy continuously. Now, since first
522 this one and then that one hits the mark, whether it is someone in one's own faction or one of the opponents, cries of joy and rejoicings may be heard almost without interruption. The people of one's own team try to spur on each archer during his round by shouts. For example, if an archer has a black (marked) arrow, they shout: "to, to ba iong ba iong! i.e., hit, hit black one, black one!" In this case the opponent has the white arrows. If such an arrow goes crooked and flies past the target, they shout at it: "Phui, phui kyndat shiliang, rakaid me, u rakaid! i.e. fie, fie you fly to one side, you bungler, yo

bungler!" (27) When the opponent aims and 526 522

27. P.C. Bohnheim, "Das Pfeilshiessen der Khasi" [Arrow Shooting Among the Khasi], Salvatoranische Milleilungen [Salvatorian Communications], 1910, No. 2.

shoots they shout at him: "Bam khyndeu, bam shiap! i.e., eat earth, eat sand!" (The opponent's arrow is supposed to fly into the earth or sand). There is ample opportunity here for talking extemporaneously as the Khasi so love to do. Following the examples mentioned above they shout at the archers of their own team or of the opponents' team. At the same time I have never noticed that [578] anybody felt insulted or that quarrels and fights ever arose. If somebody feels affected by the remarks, he or one of his team tries to overtrump his opponent by a really potent remark. If that is successful everybody rejoices in the comment and the round 526 of shooting continues peacefully. When a round of ten or more archers who have each shot three or more arrows is finished, the judge enters the closed-off place and counts out loud the arrows sticking in the target. With a great hullabaloo the crowd confirms the number of hits; the opponents do the same and then the contest begins again with all the [617] action described above. When this process has been repeated often, a longer pause occurs. During this, and often during the shorter recess after each round, the women and girls hand out refreshments. The water pipe makes the rounds and no one spares praises. Thus it continues till

•526 sunset. (28)

28. The two large photographs were taken at this late hour. One picture (Plate I) during the sunset. Notice the long shadows. The other picture (Plate II) just after sunset.

When the target is no longer easily visible because of the twilight, the shooting is stopped. The judges now announce the final result out loud, which provokes stormy applause. After the judges are remembered with presents by their own factions, the archers come together in a group. They stand one behind another in a row, each row with about four to six archers. The battling factions stand opposite each other. Waving their bows longways up and down --the men on the outside swing theirs--they march up and down on the festival place, stamping their feet in a quick rhythm. Singing and shouting they go back and forth. First one team then the other goes backwards. This kind of joyful utterance cannot actually be called singing; it is rather a quick uniformly modulated recitative uttered in an excited tone, interrupted again and again by "ha, ha, hoi, hoi" (kynha, kynhoi is the same as ha, hoi, i.e. shouting, calling). Someone or other of the victorious team makes a verse on the spur of the moment, which is about the contest, and the dancing, marching crowd repeats it noisily. Or rather after each verse they burst out with cries of joy and pleasure (ha, ha, hoi, hoi).

533 To give an example how these verses sound approximately, I will give an original text with a literal and a free translation. (29)

29. For the German translation and

the added explanations I am 533
indebted to the Khasi missionary
R.P. Dominikus Daunderer, S.D.S.,
who has been here many years and
knows the language and who very
kindly placed his experiences
in this field at my disposal.

It should be noticed in general that the [771]
content of such extemporaneous verses has a
religious slant and the language adheres to
the mysterious method of expression of magic
formulae and other formulae usual in the reli-
gious customs of the Khasi. Nevertheless, we
may not seek for either secrets or magic in
the following chant (jingphawar) just as the
Khasi do not. The solo singer (u nongphawar) 526
goes in front of the victorious team and begins: 533

1. U dieng-duh u kyndeh
The placing, the rice.
U sohbyrthit ia u pathaw.
The bur, the gourd.

2. To ngin khynniuh tyngeh.
Let us shake mightily.
Ban shon shit la ka daw.
May our matter be in easy circumstances.

Then the rest shout, swinging their bows
and stamping the earth: "ha, ha, hoi, hoi-hui!"
[618]

3. Ka syrdeng u jasieh
The fence, the meadow.
Shi kynda ka kyndad.
Four moles.

4. To pynieng ka dieng ryntieh.
Let us place upright the wood
of the bow.

• 526 Ko samila kynrad
533 Youths, o lords.

All: "ha, ha, hoi, hoi-hui!"

5. Ka syrdeng u jasieh,
The fence, the meadow.
U thylliej ka shohtkah.
The tongue, the little red
throat.

6. To pynieng ka dieng ryntieh.
Place upright the wood of the
bow.
Ban ieit ka daw bah,
So that the affair be loved,
the big one.

All: "ha, ha, hoi, hoi-hui!"

7. U narsuh, shibidi.
Iron, wire, four pieces.
U bisin ia ka syrdeng.
The snake, the fence.

8. La kynduh bad ngi.
When one battles with us.
Ngin pynkhein ia ka reng.
Then we break the horn.

All: "ha, ha, hoi, hoi-hui!"

9. U kyndeh ia u bisong.
The rice, the weasel.
Ka lengsangem halor dieng.
The hawk on the tree.

10. To lyngngeh la ka jingong.
Make your word hard,

Ba un jem ka jabieng
That the forehead may become
soft.

All: "ha, ha, hoi, hoi-hui!"

11. Ka liengsangem halor dieng.
The hawk on the tree.
U pathau u jalimut.
The gourd, the chrysanthemum.

12. Ba un jem ka jabieng.
That the forehead may become soft.
Ba un jaw ka eit mut.
That the mucous discharge from
the nose become soft.

All: "ha, ha, hoi, hoi-hui!"

13. U synret u kyndok.
The nettle, the brimstone.
U sohryngkham shi hynda.
Wild plums, four pieces.

14. Wat iam rem ko lok.
Do not weep defeated, friend.
Ba la bam hi ka pasa.
For the Pasa itself has consumed it. (30)

30. Ka pasa is probably a demoness, guardian spirit of the shooters and hunters (-hsau?). Sanskrit: pasa--string, snare (Lust).

As may be seen, such a song (jingpdiaar) is not easily understood. In the first odd lines, words that are (seemingly) without

526 meaning are placed next to each other usually
533 a nominative before the objective case (accusative--dative). These words form the frame for the words contained in the second (even lines) sayings.

The poem can be reproduced in the following way to make sense (only the even lines):

2. Let us stamp mightily so that the earth groans.
   So that it is known for certain that we have conquered.
4. Set up the bows, you brave youths!

6. Set up the bows so that the mighty victory shows.
8. Whoever dares to battle us, we will fix his comb.
10. May your mockery be sharp, the opponent must weep.
12. He must weep, his eyes weep, his nose runs.
14. Do not be sorry, comrades, it was so determined!

[522] [p.197] Singing in this way with mocking songs
526 to the defeated opponent, shouting and rejoicing, the crowd moves across the place of the
273 festival. Liquor is brought and drunk zealously, only too zealously, so that the crowd, lighted by the torches, aroused by the brandy, and excited by the shooting competition, makes a wild impression. The raw, wild joy breaks forth in a deafening racket. Finally tired of the rushing around they return slowly but still shouting to their village, and scatter to their huts, still disputing violently about the happenings.

526 The cost of an archery contest varies

The cost of an archery contest varies considerably. In general it can be said that a shooter pays one anna (about 10 pfennigs, peace evaluation) for each shot. All the various competitions together produce a tidy little sum, especially when the attendance is good. I have come across figures as high as 50 to 70 rupees which were got together in this way during the course of a year and were then spent at the end of the year together at a great feast after the main competition.

It is frequently the custom among the Synteng, not to collect this contribution, anna by anna; rather, a large sum, which is raised by collecting signatures, is bet with the opponent at the main shooting (the final game). This also occurs occasionally among the Khasi. (31)

31. Gurdon, The Khasis, reports on page 56 that a sum of 500 rupees was bet in the Nongkrem state in Khadar Blang at a shooting competition.

5. The Feast after the Archery Contest

A general feast is arranged with the money bet or saved. Everything is just as wild during this feast as during the archery competition. Several strong men go forth to fetch the pigs bought for this occasion. The living animals are tied to bamboo poles by their feet. Four men, two and two alternately, carry each a burden on their shoulders to the place of the festival. There is lively activity at that place. The men stand around huge fires and chat. Others busily arrange dishes and pots of brass --everything polished

764 When the body has been burnt, the ashes and the unskilled bones are collected by the relatives of the deceased and washed. They are then placed in a dish (*ka pliang*) which is taken to a stone repository for the bones (*mawshing*); here a further sacrifice takes place. For three days after the burning, the maternal relatives frequent the *mawshing*, where they offer articles of food for the spirit of the departed to eat, and then three eggs are broken (called *shat long lait ia*) in order to ascertain what is the cause of death. Until this egg-breaking has taken place the family is taboo. The ashes and the unskilled bones are subsequently removed from the *mawshing*, and are placed in the family *mawsiaw*, or *marbah*. On this occasion a special ceremony takes place.

767 9. *Divination by breaking eggs.*—As this is a very peculiar custom, it deserves some description. Bladwell describes it as follows:—

[168] Each case of sickness or other calamity is attributed to the influence of some evil spirit, and the first step is to ascertain what particular spirit has been at work, and for this the great institution of egg-boiling is brought into play. An expert (but not a professional) sits down before a board, in the centre of which he places an egg on a few grains of rice; after invoking the egg to speak the truth, he sweeps the rice off the board, sweeping one grain left on any spot fancy dictates. Then naming a particular spirit, he asks that if he be the cause of evil, a part of the shell of the egg may be deposited near the grain of rice; he then strikes the egg sharply on the centre of the board. This process is repeated, if necessary, till the required information is obtained. The next thing is to discover what sort of offering will be acceptable to the spirit. This is ascertained in a precisely similar way, but the desired result is often not arrived at till much time and many eggs have been expended.

I have personally witnessed this egg-breaking and can vouch for the correctness of Mr. Bladwell's description. The Khasis do nothing of what they consider to be of the least importance without breaking eggs. When a Khasi builds a new house, or before he proceeds on a journey, he always breaks eggs to see whether the building or the journey will be lucky or not. I have quoted the description of egg-breaking at length, as I am informed that there is some similar custom extant in the Assamese Hill Tracts. I hope that it will be possible to ascertain whether or not there is any similar custom in Burma.

524 10. *Khasi archery.*—Archery is a regular institution amongst the Khasis, who are very fond of it. Archery may be described as the Khasi national game. There are regular archery contests between the people of different villages, one village challenging another to shoot off a match. Certain conditions are fixed, such as the date and place of the match, the number of arrows to be shot by the archers, the distinguishing marks to be given to arrows of the two different sides, etc.,

8: Gurdon G-3 (no date) 1904 AR7 Khasi AR7

etc. The targets are of two kinds, i.e., *u skum*, which is made of a bundle of grass about 1 foot long and 4 inches in diameter, the target being fastened on to a pole; and from the root of a plant called *sohpdung*. The distance for the shooting is about 30 to 40 yards. 526

Before the shooting begins, a *nongkuia*, or sacrificer, performs a *puja* and then the shooting commences. Each archer subscribes from half to one anna, the total amount so obtained is pooled and then wagered against a similar sum subscribed by the other side. Whilst the shooting is going on the men of both sides dance and sing, and when there is a hit a great shout, or *kynkoi*, is raised. The side that wins the match, after rewarding the *nongkuia* and the man who makes the targets, buys a pig, and some liquor, which articles are partaken of by the people of the village which has won the match. In the War villages, and amongst the Syntengs, sometimes wagers of considerable sums are made in lump sums in these contests.

11. It is not intended to describe at great length the Khasi religious system, but only to note briefly regarding it at present, a full account being reserved for the monograph for the preparation of which I am collecting further information. Khasi religion is animism, or spirit worship. It may be divided into (*a*) the worship of spirits, (*b*) ancestor worship. 771

(*a*) *Spirit worship.*—The principal god amongst the Khasis is God the Creator (*U'lei Nongthaw*), who is sometimes masculine and sometimes feminine, the use of the feminine gender being no doubt due to matriarchal influence. A yearly sacrifice should be offered to this god of a cock and a goat. The cock is sacrificed as a substitute for man, it being thought that the cock, when killed, bears the sins of the man, and that by its sacrifice man will obtain redemption. How the cock came to occupy this important position in Khasi religion is not at present quite clear. Perhaps there were originally human sacrifices amongst the Khasis, and the cock nowadays takes the place of the human victim. Other gods which are worshipped are *Ka'lei long kur* (the goddess of the clan), *Ka'lei longpah* (the goddess of wealth), *U'lei um tong* (god of water). An important fact to be noted is that the Khasi gods or goddesses are never worshipped in the shape of idols in any form whatsoever. 776 782

(*b*) *Ancestor worship.*—I am inclined to think that this form of worship largely underlies the Khasi religious system. The following are some of the ancestors or ancestresses who are regularly worshipped:— 769

(1) *Ka Iawbei tymmen*,—the primeval ancestress of the family. A pig is sacrificed to her. 782

4: Stegmiller - 7- M-4,5, (No date) 1925
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[014a] Table I

4: Stegmiller - - ..-4,5, (No date) 1925
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• 526

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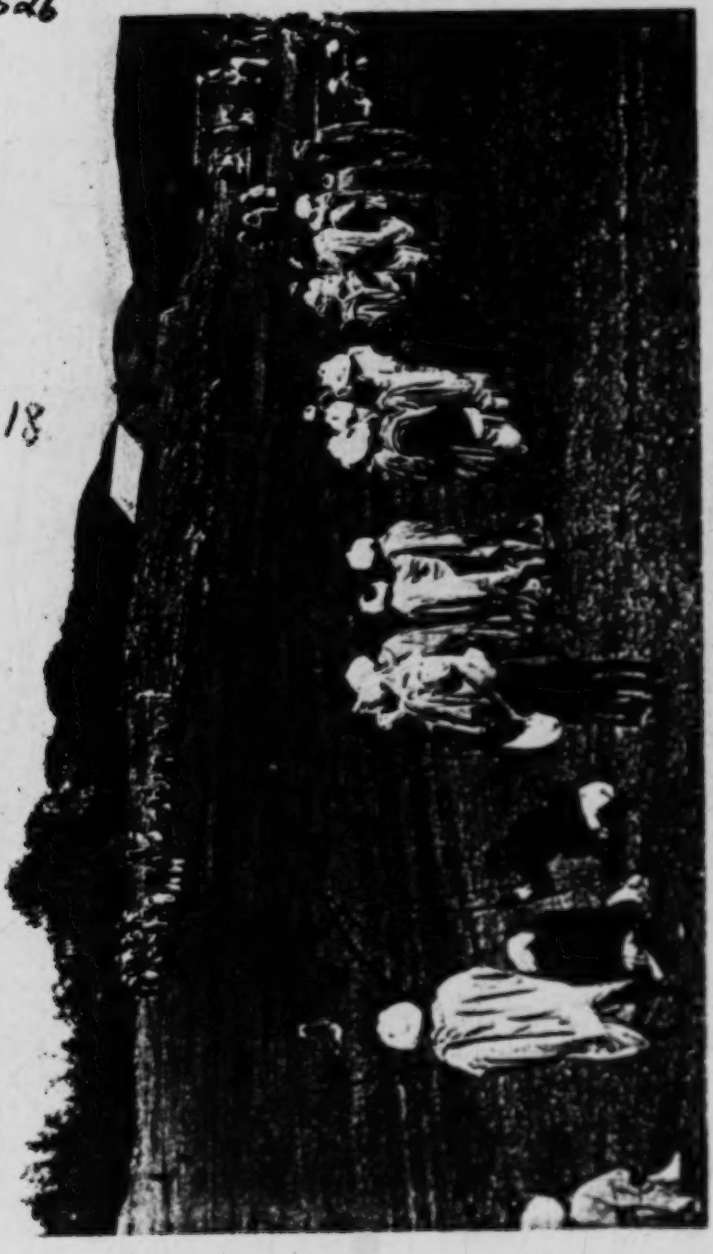

[illegible] 07 Table II

children, but Christian influence has weakened so drastically the consumption by women and children. Industrial arts. The only industrial arts traditionally practiced in all households were a male mortar; carpentry and a simple utilitarian basketry. Other arts were few, and were practiced in village specialties: the washing and smelting of iron ore and the forging of bows, darts, harrows, swords and cooking pots (upland Khasi); the spinning of cotton thread (Mawlai village, Jaintia); the dyeing of cotton thread and the weaving of cloth (Jaintia Hills, Lyngngam, War); the spinning and weaving of Eri silk (Khyrwang and Nongtrong villages, War and Jaintia); and the hand manufacture, without wheel, of painted earthenware pots (Lawai village, Jaintia). Ironworking and the production of cotton goods have nearly died out through the competition of machine-made goods. Carpentry has greatly improved, the innovation of major importance is the sewing and tailoring, on sewing machines, of ready-made garments for both sexes. [illegible] Trade. Khasi villages normally contain a number of household shops operated by women. Every Khasi also lives within walking distance of several village markets that are held on successive days of the eight-day week. The limits of market attendance for the members of any particular village can be roughly distinguished by their naming the days of their week, which are called after the active markets. The exception is the huge market at Shillong, much of which is active daily, and which serves as a magnet for Khasi from all over the hills. The traditional barter has given way to currency in all markets. The small ones contain at least some local farm produce, plus other essentials like betel nut, and the food and tea stalls which serve as centers of social intercourse. The big markets contain not only regional produce and manufactures but also products from distant parts of the hills, brought for sale by traveling middlemen. There is also substantial trade, from the hills to the valleys, in potatoes, pears, bulbs, lac, cotton, cane, chrome, the wood of the sal tree, Eri silk thread, limestone, coal, bears, bay leaf, betel nut, pan leaves, bamboo, sugar cane, oranges, tj, turmeric, and chillies. From the plains to the hills, there is trade in dried fish, paddy rice, salt, cooking oil, kerosene, matches, thread, pots, crockery, portable objects, cloth, shoes, silver, and gold. Markets are important not only as economic institutions but also as centers for recreation (including archery competitions), courting, reaffirmation of kinship ties with distant relatives, and the dissemination of information of all kinds. [illegible] Division of labor. Men do the heavy work, such as clearing and burning the swidden fields, caring for cattle and goats and driving them to market, butchering and selling large cuts of beef and pork, carpentry and mining, and driving and laboring on motor vehicles. They also take men's

Ic Gordon E-4, 9 (no date) 1937 ABT Khasi ABT

close to the wall which is farthest away from the door, the bones of the males being deposited in a pot inside the tomb nearest the door. Some close by the pot containing the bones of the males on the right, and the vessel containing those of the females on the left hand. Then offerings of food and libations of liquor are offered to the ancestors on a stone in front of the tomb. The males then perform a ceremonial dance with swords and shields, three times, and the door of the sepulchre is closed, a flag being fixed to the tomb. All the classifik then depart except three men. One of these sacrifices a cock (jaw-binding) in front of the tomb, a second sits behind the sacrifices, holding three firebrands, and a third sits behind the tomb. The man with the firebrands shakes them about, and then moves like a cock three times. The man behind the tomb listens attentively for any funeral noise within it, the superstition being that if the ceremonies detailed above have not been properly performed, the whole tomb will quake. If the three watchers are satisfied that there is no commotion within the tomb, then all is well, and they return and report the result to the classmeyple. This ceremony is called *tmeling*, or the fire test. Next morning the woman who is the head of the *lingmeny*, or pigs-house, distributes to all those who have taken part in these sacrifices the hinder portions of the sacrificial animals. She then blesses one by one the assembled classifik. The latter are not permitted by custom to go to work until after three days from the time of the ceremony, the third day being called *ka ingi lad ia*. The ceremony described above is a symbolical one. The massive stone sepulchre is regarded as a symbol of a secure place of rest for the departed spirits. If the spirits of the dead are not, however, appeased by the due performance of the ceremonies attending the burial of the deceased in the due sequence, it is believed that they roam about and leave their sepulchre on earth, and plague them with various misfortunes. It may be interesting to note here, that Mr. Mehedy, the Superintendent of Ethnography in Bengal, reports that the ashes of deceased Hos, after being sprinkled with water by means of pengal branches, are collected, dried, and placed in a new earthen pot, and kept in the house until the day of burial, which may take place, as with

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527 clean. Others break off palm leaves and twigs from trees to decorate themselves and the place. A music ban takes care of the necessary noise. The three pigs and goats are received with shouts. Without much ceremony the animals are slain and now the actual festival begins: the cooking, the dancing and the eating.

527 252

The people divide into various groups. Some divide the slaughtered animals by the light of a great fire. The pieces of meat are put in one pile, the fat in another. About ten men sit around in a circle and begin to cut the meat into small cubes. These are then placed on little three-sided bamboo sticks. All the rest of the meat, such as lungs, heart, kidneys, and brains are put together in a cooking pot. 520 The girls and women sit at a third fire. They hold the fat and lard on long bamboo sticks over the fire to roast it on all sides by constant turning. The rest of the men dance to the peculiar music. Each person dances alone. They hold long bamboo sticks in their right hands, and in their left hands they hold a bunch of branches from a tree or large leaves. Some make huge turbans for themselves out of rice straw. Decorated thus they hop from one foot to another, make deep bows now to the left, now to the right and alternately swing their bamboo sticks or their bunches of leaves. Others turn around in circles, beating time with their palm leaves. When the dancers are tired they take over the job of cutting the meat and cooking and the others decorate themselves for the dance. In reply to my question, what this all means, I received the following answer: "We are happy and for once we want to have a thoroughly good time. We

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527.

wom the money in the archery contest and now we should have a big feast. It is full moon now and much more beautiful during the night than the day. Oh, we are just having a good time." At once he swung his bunches of leaves and hopped away. The women take care of stirring the cooking pots. They are not thinking about the moon. A bamboo, which perhaps dancer might have just thrown away, is quite adequate for this purpose. When everything is ready, the people sit down in groups and eat the meat. Rice brandy is handed around. When the archers and other guests at the festival are more than satiated and exhausted from all the dancing, they leave the place towards morning.

It should be pointed out that contrary to their usual customs the Khasi eat no rice at the great feast after the archery competition but only meat, with which brandy is drunk. There is a good deal of overindulgence in food and drink on this occasion. (32)

[662]

32. P.F. Stegmiller, "Das Fest nach dem Pfeilschiessen" (The Feast after the Archery Contest), Salvatorianische Mitteilungen (Salvatorian Communications), 1910, No. 3.

b. Hunting Customs

Although there are still numerous wild animals in the Khasi hills and Jaintia hills that can be hunted -- flying foxes which visit the orange gardens during the night, jackals, which annoy the villages with their howling, antelopes, does, deer and wild pigs which damage the rice fields, wild dogs, wolves,

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1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

301 This stone is apparently some rough gem which may be picked up by the Lyngams in the river beds. A rich man amongst
556 them, however, is one who possesses a number of metal gongs,
534 which they call *wiang*. For these they pay very high prices,
414 Rs. 100 being quite a moderate sum for one of them. Being curious to see one of these gongs, I asked a *sirdar*, or head-man, to show me one. He replied that he would do so, but it would take time, as he always buried his gongs in the jungle for fear of thieves. Next morning
[534] he brought me a gong of bell metal, with carvings of animals engraved thereon. The gong when struck gave out a rich deep note like that of Burmese or Thibetan gongs. These gongs have a regular currency in this part of the hills, and represent to the Lyngams "Bank of England" notes. It would be interesting to try to ascertain what is their history, for no one in the Lyngam country makes them in these days. Is it possible that the Garos brought them with them when
534 they migrated from Thibet? The gongs are well known in the
633 Garo Hills, and I hear that when a *sokma*, or head-man, there
778 dies his corpse is laid out upon them. They thus possess also an element of sanctity, besides being valuable for what they will fetch to the Garos or Lyngams. We may hope to hear more about them in Captain Playfair's account of the Garos.

309 The Lyngams do not tattoo. Their weapons are the large-
411 headed Garo spear, the *dao*, and the shield. They do not usually
243 carry bows and arrows, although there are some who possess them. They are by occupation cultivators. They use two kinds of hill rice, red and white, on the hill-sides. They have no wet paddy cultivation, and they do not cultivate in terraces like the Naga. They burn the jungle about February, after cutting down some of the trees and clearing away some of the debris, and then sow the paddy broadcast, without cultivating the ground in any way. They also cultivate millet and *Job's tears* in the same way. With the paddy millet are sown the
241 first year. The egg plant, brinjal, ginger, turmeric, and sweet
231 potatoes of several varieties are grown by them in a similar
219 manner. Those that wear the lac insect plant *lendoo* tree (Hindi *sakal dal*) in the forest clearings, and wear the insect thereon. Some of these people, however, are prohibited by a

4: Stegmiller - 9 - M-4,5, (No date) 1925
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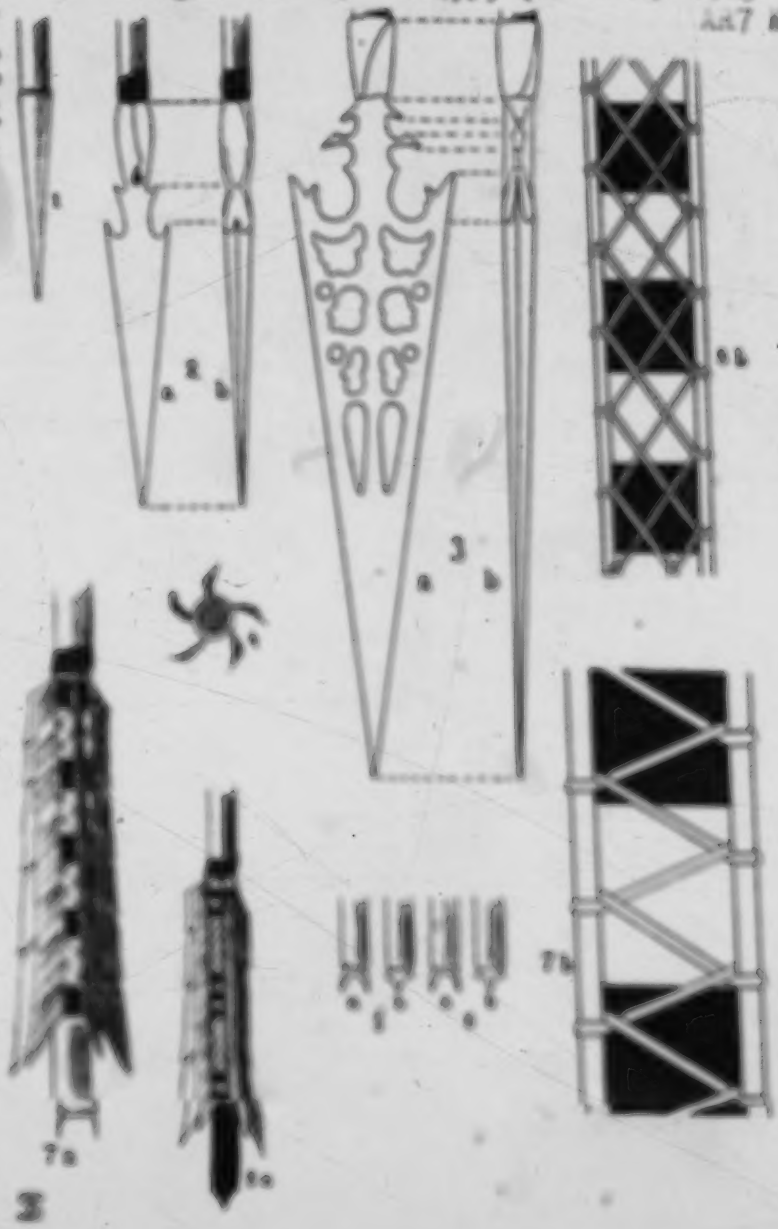

Fig. 2

Arrow Tips

411
326 The arrow tips are made of iron in the village smithies. The tips of the hunting arrows ('nam-pliang) are flat, raised a little towards the middle and have smooth or toothed edges and two or more barbs (shaped like a spear). Length of the tip is about 9 to 15 [531] centimeters. Beautiful wrought iron arrow tips with pierced designs are also made. (13)

13. Illustration II, figs. 3a, 3b.

[526] The tips of the arrows used for sport ('nam-sop) are round and conical. Length is about 5 to 6 centimeters.

The spear-shaped arrow tips are poisoned with (ka bih) poison which the Khasi obtain from the tuber of a plant (aconitum ferox Wallich, aconite).

Attaching the Arrow Tips.

411

The arrow tips are attached in two ways:

1. either the shaft of the arrow is pointed in front and the arrow tip, which is hollow inside, is placed on it-both are joined with sealing wax;

2. or there is a separate shell of copper which connects the arrow tip with the shaft. Sealing wax is not used, since the shell acts as a clamp. Length of the shell is about 1.5 centimeters.

The Notch of the Arrow

At the tip of the opposite end a notch is cut in every arrow. The arrow is taken from a whole man-long or igrâ (kind of bamboo) in

411 Adl. Radial sewn feathering is the common
237 method. Feathers are taken from geese, cranes, cormorans, Buluwar vultures and the horn bird. The feathers of the carrion vultures are used less often as they are brittle. The feathers are split along the quill (shaft), cut on the top and on the bottom and sewn onto the base. At one end the feathers are 4 millimeters wide, on the other end (towards the notch) 8 millimeters wide. The split quill is 5 centimeters, the outer flags of the feathers 7 to 8 centimeters.

411 The base consists of tinfoil and is divi-
237 ded variously. A strip of tinfoil (not colored)
•531 alternate with a strip of tinfoil colored red. Thus thebases have a red tinfoil strip in the middle ad two red ones at each end. Or there are three in the middle and at the ends two or three re strips of tinfoil. The space in between isfilled out with uncolored tinfoil (silver) The red strips of tinfoil are two millimetrs wide. (18)

18. Illustration II, fig. 6a.

There are also bases of leather which is cut veryfine and gilded. As in the examples just mentioned red strips of tinfoil alternate with thebase that is not colored; similarly, uncolore strips of leather alternate with the gilded bae.. The uncolored strips of leather are 7 millimeters wide. (19)

19. Illustration II, fig. 7a.

The feathers which have been cut properly are now sewn onto the bases with uncolored natural silk, in a spiral form, (20), although

20. Illustration II, fig. 4

4:Stegmiller-14 M-4,5(no date)1925 AR7 Khasi AR7

lightly. The stitches are made exactly and evenly throughout. Figures 7b and 8b of illustration II, though greatly enlarged show how the silken threads are put on. With a base 5 centimeters long the number of stitches is 22 to 24, with bases of 7.5 the number of stitches is 29 to 31. 411 237 531

The feathers are at right angles to the split quill on the shaft and are sewn on five together, more rarely three together.

On the underside of the base (towards the tip of the arrow) black colored pitch is smeared, to unite the cut off feather ends to the shaft of the arrow. (21)

21. Illustration II, figs. 7a, 8a.

[614] Ad. 2. Tied tangential feathering is only used still on children's arrows ('nam-phiah). A completely uncut feather is fastened lengthwise on the end of the arrow by silk or bast and the join is smeared with pitch. 411 237

Hunting arrows and arrows for sport are also used unfeathered (hunting arrows especially in the neighborhood of Lamin) and are then simply called 'nam, but if they are feathered they are called 'nam-pur. 411 526

The target is made of the soft wood of a root and is called ka sah pdung by the Khasi. A piece of wood about 8 to 10 centimeters wide and 50 centimeters long is cut from the root, smoothed on the front side and pointed somewhat towards the ground, so that the whole thing resembles a relatively wide but short lath. This target is set up by putting the somewhat pointed end into the earth and placing two bamboo sticks behind as braces, so that the target cannot be tipped

10:Clarke U-3 (no date)1874 AR7 Khasi AR7

316 were all found within 200 yards of where they now stand, as may be inferred from the stray stone at about that distance from Stonehenge and not made use of: the small stones were probably brought a considerable distance from the greensand area in the north of the county.

316 8. In the setting up of these monuments the Khasis at the 473 present day use only the simplest and most direct mechanical means. For transporting a big stone wooden rollers are placed beneath it and the stone is then drawn by a large number of men harnessed to it by rattan ropes. To set one of the slabs upright, one end is slipped into a hole dug 1-3 feet in the ground, while the other end is tugged by similar ropes. For putting one stone upon another, as in a horizontal slab monument, it is drawn up a sloping stage of bamboo, but if the slab be of great weight, a slope of earth must be constructed, up which it may be pulled. These are the present Khasi methods, and it is, of course, highly probable that similar resources were employed in ancient times. I add a more particular account of some of the larger monuments.

281 9. The monument on the Government main road, about six miles north of Cherra, not far from the village of Lirinow, stands on sheets of Cherra sandstone, out of which the slabs were cut. The tallest stones were about fifteen feet out of the ground. The five stones on the left-hand side (west) of the road were erected when I first visited the hills. The five stones on the right-hand side were erected about four years ago, the family to whom the monument belongs having determined on such an addition. The two portions form one indivisible monument, and exactly correspond, the stones being accurately worked and rounded. The two top-knots are seen in several other monuments, but must, I think, be held proof always of a very late date for their erection. At the Mawmai monument a large rosette is carved on the face of the middle of the big central upright slab, which is also I presume modern work.

10. The monument at Mawlee village. This is, perhaps, the monument in all the hills which exhibits the largest slabs of Cherra sandstone. It stands on sheets of the same rock and there can be little doubt that the slabs were cut on the spot. It is of the (less usual) binary type.

11. The monuments at Rambrai in the west of Khasi-land. These consist of numerous horizontal and vertical slabs of no great size, the upright slabs being 4-8 feet out of the ground, but remarkable for their arrangement on a long open slope outside the village. The monuments stand all close together, reflected as in a chambered, so that it is not easy to separate

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

young are comely, of a buxom type, and, like the men, with highly-developed calves, the latter always being considered a beauty. The children are frequently remarkably pretty. Khasis carry very heavy burdens, it being the custom for the cooly of the country to carry a maund, or 82 lbs. weight, or even more occasionally, on his back, the load being fixed by means of a cane band which is worn across the forehead; women carry almost as heavy loads as the men. The coolies, both male and female, commonly do the journey between Cherrapunji and Shillong, or between Shillong and Jowai, in one day, carrying the heavy loads above mentioned. Each of the above journeys is some thirty miles. They carry their great loads of rice and salt from Therria to Cherrapunji, an ascent of about 4,000 feet in some three to four miles, in the day. The Khasis are probably the best porters in the north of India, and have frequently been requisitioned for transport purposes on military expeditions.

The people are cheerful in disposition, and are light-hearted by nature, and, unlike the plains people, seem to thoroughly appreciate a joke. It is pleasant to hear on the road down to Theriaghat from Cherrapunji, in the early morning the whole hillside resounding with the scraps of song and peals of laughter of the coolies, as they run nimbly down the short cuts on their way to market. The women are specially cheerful, and pass the time of day and handy jokes with passers-by with quite an absence of reserve. The Khasis are certainly more industrious than the Assamese, are generally good-tempered, but are occasionally prone to sudden outbursts of anger, accompanied by violence. They are fond of music, and rapidly learn the hymn tunes which are taught them by the Welsh missionaries. Khasis are devoted to their offspring, and the women make excellent nurses for European children, frequently becoming much attached to their little charges. The people, like the Japanese, are fond of nature. A Khasi loves a day out in the woods, where he thoroughly enjoys himself. If he does not go out shooting or fishing, he is content to sit still and contemplate nature. He has a separate name for each of the commoner birds and flowers. He also has names for many butterflies and moths. These are traits which are not found usually in the people of India.

526 sunset. (28)

28. The two large photographs were taken at this late hour. One picture (Plate I) during the sunset. Notice the long shadows. The other picture (Plate II) just after sunset.

When the target is no longer easily visible because of the twilight, the shooting is stopped. The judges now announce the final result out loud, which provokes stormy applause. After the judges are remembered with presents by their own factions, the archers come together in a group. They stand one behind another in a row, each row with about four to six archers. The battling factions stand opposite each other. Having their bows long days up and down --the men on the outside swing theirs--they march up and down on the festival place, stamping their feet in a quick rhythm singing and shouting they go back and forth. First one team then the other goes backwards. This kind of joyful utterance cannot actually be called singing; it is rather a quick uniformly modulated recitative uttered in an excited tone, interrupted again and again by "ha, ha, hoi, hoi" (kyshu, kyshoi is the same as ha, hoi i.e. shouting, calling). Someone or other of the victorious team makes a verse on the spur of the moment, which is about the contest, and the dancing, marching crowd repeats it noisily. Or rather after each verse they burst out with cries of joy and pleasure (ha, ha, hoi, hoi).

•528 To give an example how these verses sound approximately, I will give an original text with a literal and a free translation. (29)

29. For the German translation and

the added explanations I am indebted to the Khasi missionary R.P. Dominikus Deunderer, S.D.S., who has been here many years and knows the language and who very kindly placed his experiences in this field at my disposal. 583 •

It should be noticed in general that the content of such extemporaneous verses has a religious slant and the language adheres to the mysterious method of expression of magic formulae and other formulae usual in the religious customs of the Khasi. Nevertheless, we may not seek for either secrets or magic in the following chant (jingphawar) just as the Khasi do not. The solo singer (u nongphawar) goes in front of the victorious team and begins: [771] 526 538

1. U dieng-duh u kyndeh
The placing, the rice.
U sohkyrthit ia u pathaw.
The bar, the gourd.

2. To ngin khynniuh tyngeh.
Let us shang nightly.
Ban shon shit ia ka daw.
May our matter be in easy circumstances.

Then the rest shout, swinging their bows and stamping the earth: "ha, ha, hai, hai-hui!" [518]

3. Ka syrdeng u jasieh
The fence, the meadow.
Shi kynda ka kyndad.
Four moles.

4. To synieng ka dieng ryntieh.
Let us place upright the wood of the bow.

526 Ka samila kynrad
•533 Toutha, o lords.

All: "ha, ha, hoi, hoi-duil!"

5. Ka syrdeng u jasieh.
The fence, the meadow.
U thylliej ka shubthah.
The tongue, the little red
throat.

6. To pynieng ka dieng ryntieh.
Place upright the wood of the
bow.
Ban leit ka daw bah.
So that the affair be loved,
the big one.

All: "ha, ha, hoi, hoi-duil!"

7. U marsuh, ahibidi.
Iron, wire, four pieces.
U blein ia ka syrdeng.
The snake, the fence.

8. La kyndah bad ngi.
When one battles with us.
Ngin pynkhein ia ka reng.
Then we break the horn.

All: "ha, ha, hoi, hoi-duil!"

9. U kyndah ia u biaong.
The rice, the weasel.
Ka lengsangma halor dieng.
The hawk on the tree.

10. To lynngneh ia ka jingong.
Make your word hard.

Ba un jan ka jabieng
That the forehead may become
soft.

All: "ha, ha, hoi, hoi-hoi!"

11.Ka liengrongem halor dieng.
The hawk on the tree.
U pathau u jaliaut.
The gourd, the chrysanthemum.

12.Ba un jan ka jabieng.
That the forehead may become soft.
Ba un jaw ka eit mut.
That the mucous discharge from
the nose become soft.

All: "ha, ha, hoi, hoi-hoi!"

13.U sporem u kynduk.
The nettle, the brimstone.
U sohryngkham shi kynda.
Wild plume, four pieces.

14. Mut iam rem ka iak.
Do not weep defeated, friend.
Ba la ban ki ka pase.
For the Pase itself has consumed it. (50)

50. Ka pase is probably a deamoness, guardian spirit of the shooters and hunters (-hoou?). Sanskrit pasa--string, snare (lasso).

As may be seen, such a song (jingpiaar) is not easily understood. In the first two lines, words that are (seemingly) without

526 meaning are placed next to each other usually
535 a nominative before the objective case (accusative--dative). These words form the frame for the words contained in the second (even lines) sayings.

The poem can be reproduced in the following way to make sense (only the even lines):

2. Let us stamp mightily so that the earth groans.
   So that it is known for certain that we have conquered.
4. Set up the bows, you brave youths!

8. Set up the bows so that the mighty victory shows.
6. Whoever dares to battle us, we will fix his comb.
10. May your mockery be sharp, the opponent must weep.
12. He must weep, his eyes weep, his nose runs.
14. Do not be sorry, comrades, it was so determined!

[522] 526 Singing in this way with mocking songs
273 to the defeated opponent, shouting and rejoicing, the crowd moves across the place of the festival. Liquor is brought and drunk zealously, only too zealously, so that the crowd, lighted by the torches, aroused by the brandy, and excited by the shooting competition, makes a wild impression. The raw, wild joy breaks forth in a deafening racket. Finally tired of the rushing around they return slowly but still shouting to their village, and scatter to their huts, still disputing violently about the happenings.

526 The cost of an archery contest varies

224 have gathered and go either behind the bier or sit down on the edge of the road to be spectators. There is not much difference because the parade goes so slowly that it is hard to see if it is moving at all. The triumphal parade takes a full four hours to go a distance of about 800 to 900 meters. [622] Although the Khasi are never in a hurry, in this case they are the 221 slowest ever. But there is something ceremonial 33 in this and when the solo singer (the nongphawar) raises his voice in extemporaneous song, to celebrate the dead animal when the crowd answers rejoicing and shouting, assuring the singer again and again that he is doing it well and thus spurring him on to new verses, when blank cartridges are shot off and the spectators are lit up brightly by torchlight, milling around in their colorful costumes, when the rice brandy has done its share, then the climax is reached!

The solo singer goes in front of the bier, 1 but with his face always turned towards it. Gesticulating violently with his hands, he bows now to the left, now to the right; he bends his upper body now forwards, now backwards. Jumping in the air from time to time, he only shows signs of joy and praise. According to his whim and invention he sings about the animal. The crowd joins in the improvised refrain, which is sometimes a repetition of the solo song, sometimes a shout of applause.

223 The solo singer sings approximately: (34)

34. P.D. Daunderer, "Khasi-Sitten" [Khasi Customs], Missionar [Missionary] 1905, pp. 179 ff.

Solo singer: "Hey! strong mother of bears, hungrilly thou eatest thine own children!"

7 [carrying the hunters' prey-- Analyst]

All: "Ha, ha, ho, huh!"
S : "Hey! Beautiful she-bear! Truly beautiful mother, most exalted in the circle of thirty animals!"
All: "Ha, ha, ho, ha, huh!"
S : "Now thou hast been brought to the marketplace, o mistress! To the marketplace! Hey!"
All: "Ha, ha, ho, huh!"
S : "Thou has written thy death sentence thyself, when thou tookest booty from the house of the poor!"
All: "Ha, ha, ho, ha, huh!"
S : "The pack of hounds, however, the wonderfully raging hounds and the man, the clever one, brought luck on their side!"
All: "Ha, ha, ho, huh!"
S : "The hunting demon, the spirit of the field, the household spirit! Therefore we rejoice mightily and celebrate and exult!"
All: "Ha, ha, ho, huh!" etc.

One man sang about as follows at such a triumphal procession in Laitkynsew, when an antelope was brought home:

S : "From the mountains, from the cold land thou has come to us into this land, into the kingdom of Laitkynsew!"
All: "Ha, ha, ho, huh!"
S : "Thou wast free and rejoiced in the forest, thou didst thyself well by the green grass for a goodly long time!"
All: "Ha, ha, ho, huh!"
S : "The hunters saw thee young and powerful — beautiful — in the circle of thirty animals. They went forth with arrow and bow, with gun, lead and powder!"
All: "Ha, ha, ho, huh!"

533 S. : "Thou fledest into the thicket! Did that help thee?
Shyly thou retreated before the brave crowd of hunters!"
All: "He, he, he, huh!"
S. : "Quickly indeed thou retreated; quickly the pursuers passed after thee and arrow and bow brought thee low!"
All: "He, he, he, huh!"
S. : "O mistress! Why didst thou come hither? Thou gavest thyself over to death and destruction — but we rejoice and celebrate and exult!"

Thus it continues for a long time. When one person has sung until he is hoarse, another takes his place and continues the song.

524 Exhausted from the exertions of the hunt, exhausted from the activity of the parade home, hoarse from shouting and screaming, heated from the enjoyment of brandy, the crowd drags itself to the house of the hunter who placed the first arrow or shot in the wild animal. Sacrifice is made there to the village god and the slain animal is divided up. The first shooter (a sungelot) receives the hind quarters, the second shooter (a sunghan) the front quarters of the animal.

In the Jaintia Hills the Syntengs go to a hill in the neighborhood of the village when they have hunted and killed a tiger or a leopard. An altar is set up there under an oak tree and the head of the animal, which has been severed from its body, is placed on it and sacrificed to the u'let lynghah (the god of the Dalim district).

Arrow and bow are not only necessary weapons to the Ewes for hunting or pleasant sporting equipment for archery contests; Arrow and bow are also holy to him in a certain

However, carefully paid, as is done when cutting the stones for the funeral platform; while this work is in progress numerous [illegible] are entertained, and a continual beating of tom-toms (hand-drums) is kept up while the work is in progress.

That many of these monuments, and by far the larger number, are of great age, may be inferred from the fact that their history is quite lost.

As to their distribution, they are to be found over all the higher part of the range; the front, certainly, in the central portion and in the vicinity of the larger villages, such as Cherra Pungin, Jowai, Nartiang, etc.

In Nongstoin, on the west, they gradually die out, and a few, not exceeding three or four feet in height, are to be found in the Khasia villages towards the Garo tribes, but at this limit the Lyngngam come in, and their customs assimilate more with the Garo-named people. It is the same on the east and south-east of Jaintia; the stones set up are smaller and of rougher form, and by no means so numerous, yet they are to be seen in all kinds of out-of-the-way places quite overgrown with grass and jungle, where villages have not existed for years. Indications were not wanting, showing that the country had been formerly much more populous, especially on the northern slopes of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills. I have, on the other hand, never come across structures of the kind anywhere beyond the limits of Khasi-speaking people, that is, between longitude 91 deg. and 92 deg. 30 min., which includes the Jaintia Hills, the people of which part are called "Sutonga", differing in some minor points from the Khasis; the dialect is distinct, and there is a strong a type-form of likeness and expression, the two can be generally separated without inquiry. The same remarks hold good for the western side; a Khasi of the border Nongstoin villages can be told off at a glance—so strong are the great clan likenesses.

I have traversed the whole country on the east, viz., the North Cachar Hills, inhabited by tribes of Kachis and Nagas, and had the Khasi ever occupied permanently a larger area either on the east or west, particularly the former comprising as they are supposed to have done, from that side, I think we might have expected to find occasionally remains of their imperishable monuments. The only exception that I know of occurs on the road from Rongkhi to Hangrung, in the North Cachar Hills district, beyond Asilla, a part of the country now in the occupation of Nagas, and formerly entirely in that of Kachari, who are Bodos or Bodiks. The road lies through forest, keeping along the high spur; at about two miles from the peak of Hamon are to be seen several large slabs of stone easily level with the ground, one ten feet by six, covering some sort of receptacle, for the ends of the

[illegible] chairs are placed while that of the wife (Sunrise Wang) was placed [illegible] for sacrificial goods. There is a very big circular courtyard in front of the building where the members of the royal family as also other lions and ignoble hold a royal dance. The function is always held during the seventh period of Ming or June and the actual dance are held in connection with the Chief priest (Ashiko) in such a way that the first day (Sunrise) always coincides with the market day of Ikolong (Dove Range). The dance of the festival is then announced by the exchange of different cuts of the territory, through a wooden rack 'Sunrise' having a five leaves of cowskinds as a form of numbers for attending. We trained for five days or then along with subjects under their jurisdiction.

[illegible] Ceremony

The responsibility of performing this ritual rests on the High priestess (Ex Alex Gall) who is succeeded by her elder daughter. Different ritual objects are presented to her, and in advance and a is obligatory on her part to join the ceremonial dancing, in which her daughter may also participate on her behalf. 12 Shillong is contributed by the chief priest while the other ceremony are involved to lesser priests. The musicians (Alabiki Vaddie) their sacred duties, take part in the dancing of the ceremony and they are presented with with uniform, jackets, cloth, by the ruling family for the services rendered during the festival. The Gore has an especial role except to supervise and render 1 Shillong for the welfare of the community. He is required to perform certain sacrifices, failing which his last appearance (Gore Kuwaiti) does the same. He along with the Gore (High priestess) abstain from taking sex during the period of celebration principally to observe the sanctity of the festival as also to ensure the successful conclusion of the function.

Ritual Sacrifices

The festival derives its name from the sacrifice of a large number of goats some of which were supplied from the Gore fund and from different units of the territory. Formerly at least fifty goats were required and each unit had a specific allotment but owing to the economic difficulty that the Ethnic are undergoing, the number of goats sacrificed hardly exceeds twenty-five. The goats contributed from the different units are presented to the Chief on the eve[illegible] of the ritual day. Kola-Nuts, dried fish, frankincense, lead leaves together with rum are also important ritual objects in the celebrations.

Commencement of the Festival

The commencement of the festival was marked by the distribution of meat, fish and palm wine to the persons assembled on the occasion, in the evening of Thursday(12th June, 1977). This was followed by the dropping of kola-nuts by the Chief priest and the first phase of sacred ball lasted for the whole day

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[illegible] On each morning of each day in Ebini, Ishiko, the musician consisting of the [illegible] [illegible] and a flute blow.

Date	Social
1. [illegible]	Ikolong Tuna Dance
2. [illegible]	[illegible]
3. [illegible]	Ikolong Tuna Dance
4. [illegible]	[illegible]
5. [illegible]	[illegible]
6. [illegible]	[illegible]
7. [illegible]	[illegible]
8. [illegible]	[illegible]

The pigs were sacrificed by his sister's eldest son (Ilowi-Ilyawah) and in charge of religious rites at the open courtyard. The priests evoked the spirits and ancestors and called upon them by name praying "Oh God and Goddess, I offer this sacrifice in our ancestors dish. Bless the Dove, his family and the people of his state. I shall beseech you again on this day after one year. Give us favourable weather by virtue of your power, bring clouds and rains to yield bumper crops and ensure a happy and prosperous life."

On the last day (Ilowiyawa), a man of Ilyawah clan sacrificed a pig, involving an iron spike in its left armpit. Nine pieces of meat from different parts of the pig's body were again offered to their five ancestors. The Dove as the ancestor of his Kurfor performed the last rank of Ilowiyah by praying to U Shilong, while the Chief of Ryngah clan also followed in the same way for seeking the blessings of their Chief deity.

This brought the ritual to an end performed at the residence of Dove. The five pieces of goat's and pig's meat offered to their five ancestors, were then handed over to the in-charge of the five units considered as somewhat higher in their Dove organization. They distributed them as a suitable share to their units, making a feast as a sort of public declaration of the completion of their grievous feasts for the year.

Dances

Besides the ritual described above, dance with the commencement of ceremony [illegible] of the Festival. A dance known as [illegible] Ilyawah and Ilyawah [illegible] for the five recently dead and 50 in due. This dance [illegible] Suwerjo. It has to be performed in pairs. The first pair was considered to Chief priest and the Chief musician. Beyond to fifth [illegible] of the night and in all the other days along with [illegible] of the second consecutive day and year. The subsequent pairs were [illegible] from the [illegible]. They danced only after having [illegible] on the fifth day. This passing [illegible] of the last rite of the festival.

A dance form of dance (Ka) and recently was also performed in the courtyard [illegible] the [illegible] dance (Ilong-Ilong) dress with [illegible] and [illegible] dancers, who danced their [illegible] were consisting of silk native (Ilongkiang) [illegible] with feathers, coloured [illegible] wear (Ilongkiang) other shoes and [illegible]. Later on the [illegible] the ceremony, this was to the adjacent hill where after the completion of the ceremony of goat killing, a group dance was performed, crossing to the residence of Dove ultimately.

[illegible] was performed by the Dove family. It was held early in the morning of the fourth day in the central hall (Ilkhar) and also in the courtyard. The men and women dance alternate the women [illegible] with pots and other [illegible] (passengers) numerous other occasions and different coloured [illegible]. They danced and treated the [illegible] as a feast and as the [illegible]. The High Priestess who also danced with the member of the Dove family, stood in the middle of the line and chief musician stood at one end. They held each other in hand and danced round the [illegible] of the second hall (Ilkhar) in anti-clock wise direction in [illegible] movement of music. The people assembled there, gave rest to their feeling in their customary way every time, before they resumed to make a deep [illegible]. Similar performances of music were also held in the courtyard.

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like a pendulum. An explanation of this method of divination will be found in the paragraph dealing with divination.

There is also a pair of spectacles used by the old and sensible for breaking up betel-nut. In the houses of the well-to-do is to be seen the ordinary bubble-bubble of India. Outside the houses of cultivators are wooden troughs hollowed out of the trunks of trees, which are used either as drinking troughs for cattle or for feeding pigs. A special set of utensils is used for manufacturing liquor. The Syntengs and War articles of furniture and utensils are the same as those of the Khasis, with different names, a remark which applies also to those of the Bhoi and Lyngngam. Both the latter, however, use leaves as plates, the Bhoi using the wild plantain and the Lyngngam a large leaf called *ka la maniang*. The leaves are thrown away after eating, fresh leaves being gathered for each meal. The Lyngngam use a quilt (*ka ejilar*) made out of the bark of a tree of the same name as a bed covering. This tree is perhaps the same as the Garo *sinapali*. In the Bhoi and Lyngngam houses the swinging shelf for keeping firewood is not to be seen, nor is the latter to be found amongst the submontane Bodo tribes in Assam.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.

The Khasis have not many musical instruments, and those that they possess, with one or two exceptions, are of very much the same description as those of the Assamese. There are several kinds of drums, viz. *ka nakhi*, which is a large bottle-drum made of wood having the head covered with deer-skin; *ka kaing*, which is a cylindrically-shaped drum rather smaller than the Assamese *dhol*; *ka kaing kyrdhi* takes its name from the fact that this drum is beaten when written, *kyrdhi*, drawn; *ka pudiah*, a small drum with a handle made of wood; *kathan*, a small circular drum. Khasi drums are nearly always made of wood, not of metal, like the drums to be seen in the monasteries of Upper Assam, or of earthenware, as in Lower Assam.

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played with a little wooden key held in the hand. *Ka marjong* is an instrument much the same as the last, but is played with a bow like a violin. *Ka marpatheng* is a kind of guitar with one string, played with the finger.

Ka thingpeni is a wooden pipe, which is played like a flageolet. *Ka lyndoh*, or *shibowar*, are cymbals made of bell metal; *ka shiwiti*, or *ka shingwiang*, is a kind of flute made of bamboo. This instrument is played at cremation ceremonies, and when the bones and ashes of a clan are collected and placed in the family tomb, or *mawbah*. This flute is not played on ordinary occasions. In the folk-lore portion of the Monograph will be found a tale regarding it. There are other kinds of flutes which are played on ordinary occasions. The Wars of the twenty-five villages in the Khyrim State make a sort of harp out of reed, which is called *ka 'ding diny phang*. The Khasis also play a Jews' harp (*ka mang*), which is made of bamboo.

AGRICULTURE.

The Khasis are industrious cultivators, although they are behindhand in some of their methods of cultivation, (e.g. their failure to adopt the use of the plough in the greater portion of the district); they are thoroughly aware of the uses of manures. Their system of burning the soils, allowing them to dry, then burning them, and raking the ashes over the soil, is much in advance of any system of natural manuring to be seen elsewhere in the Province. The Khasis use the following agricultural implements:—A large hoe (*maikhie hok*), an axe for felling trees (*ka sifai*), a large *da* for felling trees (*ka ward kynsum*), two kinds of bill-hooks (*ka wiid grad* and *ka wiid khmat*), a sickle (*ka sibdi*), a plough in parts of the Jaintia Hills (*ka lynghoi*), also a harrow (*ka tah mai*). In dealing with agriculture, the lands of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills may be divided into the following classes:—(*a*) Forest land, (*b*) wet paddy land called *hali* or *pynthor*, (*c*) high grass land or *ka ri kiew* or *ka ri pilieng*, (*d*) homestead land (*ka 'diw kyppi*). Forest lands are cleared by the process known as *jhuming*, the trees being felled early in the winter and allowed to lie till January or February.

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"ioo, short for *bioo* (grandmother), and *bo*, mother. *Ka Iewbei* is the primeval ancestress of the clan. She is to the Khasis what the "tribal mother" was to old Celtic and Teutonic genealogists, and we have an interesting parallel to the reverence of the Khasis for *Ka Iewbei* in the Celtic goddess Brigit, the tribal mother of the Brigantes. Later on, like Ka Iewbei, she was canonized, and became St. Bridget.*

The greater number of the flat table-stones we see in front of the standing monoliths in these hills are erected in honour of *Ka Iewbei*. In former times, it was the custom to offer food to her on these stones. In cases of family quarrels, or dissensions amongst the members of the same clan, which is in danger to bring to a peaceful settlement, it is customary to perform a sacrifice to the first mother, "*Ka Iewbei*." They first of all take an augury by breaking eggs, and if it appears from the broken egg-shells that *Ka Iewbei* is offended, they offer to her a cotton cloth, and sacrifice a hen. On these occasions invocations are muttered, and a small drum, called, "*Ka 'ding ding ding*," is beaten. It is not unlikely that the Khasi household deities, *Ka lei ding* and *Ka lawa la jingpon*, to whom pujas are offered for the welfare of the house, are also *Ka Iewbei* in disguise. Notwithstanding the strong influence of the missionaries, we find that *U Thawlang*, the first father and the husband of *Ka Iewbei*, is also revered. To him on occasions of domestic trouble a cock is sacrificed, and a *jymphong*, or shovelnose cat is offered. This puja is called *bala tap Thawlang*, i.e. covering the grandfather. The following invocation to *U Thawlang* is then chanted:—"Oh, father Thawlang, who hast enabled me to be born, who hast given me my stature and my life, I have brought thee, oh father, be not offended, for I have given thee a pledge and a sign, i.e. a red and white shovelnose cat. Do not deliver me into the power of (the goddess of) illness, I have offered thee the propitiatory—ok that thou mayest carry me in thine arms, and that I may be aware of thee, my father Thawlang."

We see clearly from the above prayer that the Khasi idea is that the spirit of the deceased male ancestor is capable of

* Rhys Powell's essay on "earliest age civilization."

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receptacle. A small basket (*ka shong*) is hung up over the head of the corpse, the basket containing pieces (*dykhot*) of the sacrificed animals. A dish containing eatables, and betel-nut, and a jar of water are placed near the head of the corpse by way of offering refreshment to the spirit of the departed. The food is given each morning and evening that the corpse remains in the house; this is called *ki ja saiet ja slap*. Each night the corpse remains in the house guns are fired, drums are beaten and fetes (*shdwiet*) are played. It is a noteworthy custom that the body is not retained in the house for an even number of nights, the usual time being three nights. If it is intended to burn the body on a masonry pyre (*jingkhawy*), a bull (*u sumi lyursh*) is sacrificed. If the body is placed in a coffin (*ka shyngwiet*), a pig named *u'slang shyngwiet* is sacrificed, and if it is intended to adorn the pyre with flags, a fowl called *u'lur hail* is sacrificed. On the day of the funeral procession pigs are sacrificed by the relatives and friends of the deceased; those who cannot afford pigs bring liquor (*ka'iad slang*), a small portion of which they pour on the funeral pyre. The coffin is laid on a bamboo bier (*ka lewng*), money being placed close to the corpse, so that the spirit of the deceased may possess the wherewithal to buy food on its journey. Cotton, or, in the case of the rich, silk cloths are tied cross-ways over the bier, if the deceased is a male, and in the form of a parallelogram, if it is a female. Before lifting the bier a handful of rice and water from a jar are thrown outside, and a goat (*u'lang said kwiid*) is sacrificed. These are preliminary ceremonies. The funeral procession then forms up and slowly passes along the way to the plaintive music of fetes (*shawit*) and the beating of drums. At intervals, in the case of the rich, salutes from guns are fired. Copper coins are also scattered along the route. On nearing the pyre the dead body is exposed to view and the pieces of flesh of the sacrificial animals, which are with the corpse, are thrown away. They make ready three baked leaves (*ki lipu*), an egg, the lower jaw-bone of the animals which have been sacrificed, the left leg of the fowl (*u'lur kwad lipuh*), a jar of water, eatables in a dish, and a bow and three arrows. A goat is then sacrificed, *u'lang sakhjiet*. The corpse is laid on the pyre, inside the coffin, if one is used, with the head to the west and the feet to the east. Logs of

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plate. The hair is worn tied in a knot behind the head, but with a long tail hanging down the back. Rich silk clothes are worn by the girls, who present the appearance of being, if anything, over-clothed, or, as Tylor aptly puts it, of "perfect parallelograms." They wear a profusion of gold and coral head-necklaces, silver and gold chains, bracelets, ear-rings of gold, and any other jewellery they can lay hands on. Not only is the whole of the family jewellery requisitioned by the fair dilettanti (it is only the unmarried girls who dance), but she borrows from her friends. The men dance round the outside of the circle, waving fly-flaps and prancing (often nowadays wearing hats hence) with majestic strides. The music accompany for the dance consists of tongpuri (pipes), drums, and cymbals. This is *ka shad kynthei*, or the dance of the women. Then there is *ka shad mantiah*, or the dance of the men, who are gaily dressed, wearing plumes of black and white cock's feathers (or fly-pipe) and hold swords and shields. After grouping for some time, two men at a time rapidly approach one another and clash their swords together in mock combat. They then retire, and, after again resuming for a period, repeat the process; then other couples follow and take their place. This goes on until the dancers get tired or are told to stop.

The above description may be taken as applicable to all the Khasi dances. Dancing forms part of the ceremony of placing the ashes in the sepulchre of the clan. Dancing also forms a part of certain ceremonies performed at markets for the prosperity of the State and for the good of trade.

When I was at Mawsynram, at the time of the appointment of a Siem, I witnessed a very pretty dance called *ka shad lyoweh*, performed by men who hold the leafy branches of trees in their hands. This is most effective. Then followed a dance of some forty young girls, very well dressed, covered with the usual gold and coral beads and silver chains, and wearing the silver crown, or pansiyiet. The young women danced with great spirit, and with an element of all rhythm, but still with the greatest decorum. Many of the women, spectators as well as dancers, were observed to be without the usual *tap* and *thlli*, or head-cloth, the absence of which is always a sign amongst the Khasi women of merry-making. There were

i.e. the Siem of Mylriang, is supposed to have been a very powerful monarch amongst the Khasis. The story of Manick Raitong is interesting, in that it explains the origin of the use of the shewati, a bamboo flute of special make which is played only at funerals. The pool of water, which was formed after U Manick and the erring queen were buried, may be connected with the Dudai, or tank, which is dug to choose the souls of those who have died violent deaths. The idea of the bamboo, which here bores that grew upside-down, springing up from the buried flute, is also to be found in the Syntong tale regarding U Lah Byndi's fishing-rod. Owing to considerations of space, I have had to curtail largely the folk-lore section. I have, however, kept the materials by me, and if at any future time there is reason to believe that the reproduction of more Khasi folk-lore is called for, I shall be glad to try to arrange that some of the other folk-tales be printed.

The Water-fall of Ka Likai.

The water-fall of Ka Likai is one of the most beautiful water-falls in the Khasi Hills. Its stream flows from a certain river from the village of Rangjirah and passes by the village of Nongriat. The fall can be seen distinctly from the village of Laitkynsew. What a beautiful fall it is when viewed in the morning. It is also a very high fall. There was in olden days in the village of Rangjirah a woman called Ka Likai. She was a poor woman who had a husband. When she had given birth to a child, the husband died. Whilst the child was yet a baby, she experienced much trouble in taking care of it on account of her poverty. After the child was able to walk, what a pleasure it was to her to see it growing, and able to play with other children. Then that woman married

Ka Kmatei ka Likai.

Ka kmatei ka Likai ka long kawei ka kmatei ka ri Khasi kaba dymmai shibun ah. Ka war tuid ka kawei ka wah ka ka shong Rangjirah kaba war long ka ka shong Nongriat. Ka kawei ka kmatei ish ban ieh-i iba ka ka shong Laitkynsew. Kaiwar ka long kaba i-dymmai kaba khmih ia ka ka ka pyrsiah. Ka long ryh kaba jong shibun ah. La-dun kawei ka kmiar ka ka shong Rangjirah kynsiei kaba kynsong ka Likai. Kano ka kmiar ka long kaba dah kad ka ia don u ngap. Ka ynda ia iba ka war i khun kynthei ym u ngap u ia ing ryh. Hynnar ka pyr ka dang long ka i khun ka ia shiyom shibun ban sumar ka ka jingiong dah jong ka. Ta ynda i ia rangiiid kawei ka ia ngwshiid ban ieh-i ia ka i khun ka i ia shiit, kad ka i ia sang ka-u ieh kii kad ki pyrsi dkynnah. Ta kawei ka

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This stone is apparently some rough gem which may be picked up by the Lyngngam in the river beds. A rich man amongst them, however, is one who possesses a number of metal gongs, which they call *ching*. For these they pay very high prices, Rs. 100 being quite a moderate sum for one of them. Being curious to see one of these gongs, I asked a *sikdar*, or headman, to show me one. He replied that he would do so, but it would take time, as he always buried his gongs in the jungle for fear of thieves. Next morning he brought me a gong of bell metal, with carvings of animals engraved thereon. The gong when struck gave out a rich deep note like that of Burmese or Thibetan gongs. These gongs have a regular currency in this part of the hills, and represent to the Lyngngam "Bank of England" notes. It would be interesting to try to ascertain what is their history, for no one in the Lyngngam country makes them in these days. Is it possible that the Garos brought them with them when they migrated from Thibet? The gongs are well known in the Garo Hills, and I hear that when a *nokma*, or head-man, dies his corpse is laid out upon them. They thus possess also an element of sanctity, besides being valuable for what they will fetch to the Garos or Lyngngam. We may hope to hear more about them in Captain Playfair's account of the Garos.

The Lyngngam do not tattoo. Their weapons are the large-headed Garo spear, the dao, and the shield. They do not usually carry bows and arrows, although there are some who possess them. They are by occupation cultivators. They use two kinds of hill rice, red and white, on the hill-sides. They have no wet paddy cultivation, and they do not cultivate in terraces like the Naga. They burn the jungle about February, after cutting down some of the trees and clearing away some of the debris, and then sow the paddy broadcast, without cultivating the ground in any way. They also cultivate millet and *Job's tears* in the same way. With the paddy *thillim* are sown the first year. The *ngi* plant, arum, ginger, turmeric, and sweet potatoes of several varieties are grown by them in a similar manner. Those that sow the lac insect plant *kendu* trees (Hindi *ankal dal*) in the forest clearings, and rear the insect thereon. Some of these people, however, are prohibited by a

and such are bought with these contributions, the balance, as with other money, is handed over to the S'iem dkl for management.

Until the approach of the actual festival, the fish sacrifice (nuid-ikhdhuk) takes places on the day called jno pendhah, on which all who appear are fed with dried fish and brandy. This is supposed to be a further announcement to the u Blei Shillong, u Sundia long Shem and ka Blei long S'iem of the imminent Poja. Twelve different kinds of drums (bong) are beaten.

Then the drum, kong thai ryngkoh, is beaten three times, and the first sacrificial priest (bah Blei) and a flute player dance. The dance, ryngkoh, will be described in more detail below. After it is finished, the kong kynthei (women drums) have a turn, to the sound of which the S'iem and the flute player (bhalia) dance three times. Usually only women dance to this drum. About the method of dancing it is sufficient to remark that in a Khasi dance the dancing persons do not touch each other, and each carries out the motions independent of the others. After the women drums are beaten, then the sword dance drum (kong mastieh) and the large drum (nakra) are beaten. Torches are carried around and doses of joy uttered nine times. Various drums, flute music, and clashes of cymbals follow, while dancing takes place. /facing p. 596. (A) Fig. 1. Drums, flutes and cymbals of the Khasi. Fig. 2 Sacrificial knives and ka wait of the Khasi. Phot. P. From. Siegmüller S. D. S. Fig. 4. Sacrificial dress of the bah Blei (Khasi). Phot. P. From. Siegmüller, S. D. S. / /facing p. 596. (B) Fig. 3 (sic?). Khasi ornaments. Phot. P. Fro. Siegmüller, S. D. S. / /595/ At the end the S'iem dances alone, while the drums and flutes are not silent the whole night through. Fig. 1 shows several Khasi drums, a flute, and cymbals which are seen missing from a dance.

The day of the large market, on which the actual ceremony begins, approaches meanwhile. On the day before -- ka ingi ottei -- the roads are swept and the place for the sacrifice of the goat put in order. As a sign of joy as to what will happen, drums are beaten again and flutes (nangmuri) played. In front of the house of the S'iem dkl, the S'iem and other men perform a sword dance. Although interesting, this dance is not very artistic. Hopping and skipping from one foot to the other, the men, one behind the other, move slowly in a circle on the open place. (cf. Fig. 6). They hold a bunch of goat hair in one hand and a sword in the other. A shout of joy is uttered from time to time, then they stop again, jump at each other two by two, and hit each other with quick blows of their swords. Each one quickly drops back again and moves in a circle again as before. In this way the dance continues.

[See illustrations, see [illegible] pp. 44-6 -- [illegible]]

The spectators now go to the side. The S'iem and the Rangbah come down to the place of sacrifice, while the Sub Blei receives the vessels and the sacrificial gifts and spreads them out in order on the ground. Then he takes the meaner in both hands and calls on the god Shillong with these words: "O god Shillong, thou who hast been seated since time immemorial! (ka Blei Shillong hombe la bah u long dwai)". With a deep bow he then offers the sacrifice five times. Rooster and goat are sprinkled with water, rice, and the flour from lyu and rynti, and are then beheaded. Then the examination of the entrails (dylliu) takes place in order to see if the sacrifice was acceptable. The way of doing that will be given below.

After the end of the sacrifice the Sub Blei and a flute player lead the sword dance, after them the S'iem and the other dancers follow in turn. Various drums are beaten alternately and flutes are played through the whole night. When night falls the goats of the S'iem and those of the various dignitaries of the kingdom of Mawphlang are brought for the sacrifice of the next day.

The day following the great market is called ka ngi Lynghu. It is the center point and climax of the whole community. From early in the morning the crowds pour in from all sides of the Khasi Mountains.

Early in the morning an unmarried girl of the royal lineage (ka S'iem ka Jing Myrnaw) dances in the house of the S'iem ñdi before the ridun Blei. Usually a granddaughter or nearer relative of the S'iem ñdi is chosen for this. Two men then take the girl in their arms and carry her with a rocking motion to the large open place in front of the ring ñdi.

Then the great folk dance begins. In the middle of the place musicians squat on the ground and play the drums and flutes, and strike the cymbals. The music is quite without art, only a repetition of the same [illegible].

The women dancers move in a rather narrow circle around the musicians. Only the unmarried girls dance. The clothes they wear for it are very rich and frequently very valuable. Fine cloths, usually of red, yellow, or blue silk are draped over their bodies the upper body and arms are covered by a satin jacket. Their hair is bound together in a bun behind their heads, a rising bunge /facing p. 108. Fig. 5 Khasi Men Dancers in front of the ring ñdi. Phot. P. From, Dingwiller, S.D.S. Fig. 6. Sword Dance of the Khasi. Fig. 7. S'iem ñdi and S'iem of Mawphlaw. / /107/ down from the bun which usually ends in three tassels. The head is covered by a golden or silver crown of fine chased work, which is topped by a bunch of feathers or a bunch of artificial flowers. Around their necks they wear chains of gold or [illegible]

Then followed the dance of the girls (Ki shad i yadat) who were also wearing dress as described above. They kept their eyes down, keeping their arms on their sides taking such a short steps with the steps, that the movements of the feet were hardly perceptible. The boys were also in their dancing dress as were by, sangdad and [illegible] with Ba-Gnak round the girls making their steps with the beatings of the drums. The music stopped from the morning would be stopped only after completion of the dance which prolonged till evening. These functions served as a good source of amusement to the people, enabling them to have a good diversion from their monotonous life and an opportunity to meet their friends and relations who assembled there from different parts of the hill.

Conclusion

From the foregoing description, it is evident that the Khasi live in a democratic set up in which the senior Quian are accorded to the Elite. A different rule is followed in the case of religious festivals. Every Khasi family entrusts the secondary work of the house to the younger daughter. The Siem's sister (Siem Sad) being the recent creation of the mother's idea, is made responsible for the observance of these ceremonies which concerns the welfare of the subjects. The people attend the festival to seek blessings of their common deity U Blei Nongthaw and thus pay tribute to the Siem's traditional influence on their loyalty to him. The rituals of festivals, instead of being performed by her (High Priestess), were conducted by the Chief Priest (Bah Sad) for which he was allotted a very important position in the celebration. The musicians were given similar status owing to the belief in the sacredness of their music. It ought to be played in proper tune otherwise the displeasure of the deity would fall on them as leading any slight departure to sin respect. For this reason, the music is considered as important as the rituals and the role of musicians were consequently given due recognition at every stage of the festival. The tradition of dipping the corpse of Dingpong into the water into the pool at the top of the hill was followed and dancers of Bah Sad consumed having received not in order since the performance of pale-dance (body paint) to the Siem. Another people of Mawkyang who had also asked to carry the head of the sacrificial animal from the hill to the sacred dance of the Siem after the sacrifice, as his predecessors were said to accompany them during the period of his sacrifice in this Siem. Each ceremony has been explained in a symbolic way through their mythology.

The most important concern of the people was to maintain their social of living together with their property and other means of subsistence. Their monotheistic life is that to might thereof the and spirit from dying and have and may in addition grant them heavenly wealth. To the people of such a lesson, they approached their god U Blei Nongthaw with gifts and sacrifices. It is not now whether he is convinced or one of their gifted sacrifice, but the important doctrine in the Khasi problems evolved due to here some priority in their worship. The offering of animals together with a yellow goat, however, revealed his wrathful and benevolent nature of the religious cult yet representation invariably with Bah Sakhi. U Blei Nongthaw revolved consequently with other Khasi ceremonies, and this fact, that of the dances would meet their requirements, enough in fighting the evil spirits before the latter have chance to cause any harm to their crops or to relate in any way the fertility of their fields.

It would be interesting to offer here about the composition of the cheng of meat from various parts of the sacrificial animal. It shed light a sort of representation by serving him with what had for their needs to be according

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lyngdoh to this god. As in the case of sacrifices to *Ka Ki Ring*, the services of a priestess are indispensable.

A *lyngdoh* is a *lyngdoh* for life. When a *lyngdoh* dies and his successor is appointed, certain rather elaborate ceremonies are observed in the Nongkrem *raj* of the Khyrim State. The funeral ceremonies of the old *lyngdoh* having been completed, the *lyngdoh* elect appoints his successor. The latter then, after performing his ablutions, proceeds, accompanied by the assembled members of the *lyngdoh* clan, to the top of the Shillong Peak. The *lyngdoh* and his clansmen advance along the road dancing, this dancing being carried on all the way from the *lyngdoh's* house to the Shillong Peak. All are clad in the distinctive Khasi dancing dress. Having reached the Peak, they pick the leaves of a tree called *ka la phiak*, which they spread on the ground. A goat and a cock are then sacrificed, the new *lyngdoh* acting as the sacrificer. There are the usual ceremonies, including branches of the Khasi *ming ar* oak. Nine portions (*dylliat*) are cut from different parts of the victim and are offered to the god of the Shillong Peak, *U bai Shillong*. The *lyngdoh* and his companions then perform libations three times to the god, and the *lyngdoh* walks backwards nine paces. The puja is then over, and they return dancing to the *lyngdoh's* house. On another day the *lyngdoh* performs a puja to *u ka Lyngdoh*, also a *Rangjah*. Undoubtedly the most interesting feature of the ceremonies on these occasions is the dancing. This dancing is carried out by the *lyngdoh* and his companions armed with sword and shield, a flying mode of goat's hair (*nyngkhiah*) being also sometimes held in one hand, a quiver of arrows being slung on the back, and a plume of black and white cock feathers (a *thrpe*) fixed to the turban. The dance is executed in a regular figure, the dancers advancing and retiring in an orderly and methodical manner, and finally clashing their swords together in mock combat. The dance of the present day is not unlikely the survival of a war dance of ancient times. The *lyngdohs* say they dance in honour of *U bai Lyngdoh*, to whom such dances are thought to be pleasing. The dance of the *lyngdohs* on these occasions may be compared with that of the Roman *salii*, who, in the month of March, performed a war dance in honour of Mars.

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a similar custom prevailed amongst the Khyrwangs. The Nongtengs, in the Jaintia Hills, keep dead bodies sometimes as long as a month, until the *plaw* or ceremonial dance has been performed. Hence they are called Nongtengs, or "stinkers." Amongst the Lyngngams the dead body is kept for sometimes three or four months, or up to the time when a bull can be purchased for a feast to the villagers. This feast is an essential, and cattle being scarce in the Lyngngam country, there is often great delay in disposing of the body. Lyngngam villages at each a time are first visited. The Lyngngams of Nongkhlaw keep the coffined bones of the deceased within the village, and in front of the house occupied by the deceased when alive, the bones being placed in a hole in the ground over which is laid a stone, a bamboo mat being spread over the stone. A bamboo fence three or four feet high is erected round the grave. Other Lyngngams keep the coffined bones and ashes in a guard in the jungle near the burning-place. On their way home, the members of the clan of the deceased who have come from other villages to witness the funeral ceremonies, put up a stone on the path by houses of the deceased, a turban being tied round the top of the stone. The Siaw or Diaw, who live at the foot of the Khasi or the Kumeng hills, and are called by the Assamese Maos (pigeon-men), erect memorial stones in honour of the deceased, the horns (or bones of sacrificial animals and other articles being hung on the stones. The stones are also ornamented in relief, and turbans are tied round the tops. The death customs of the Lyngngam, and indeed, other customs also, are partly Khasi and partly Garo, it being difficult to say that the Lyngngam are more Khasi than Garo, or more Garo than Khasi in this respect; their language, however, has been found by Dr. Stevenson to be a corruption of Khasi. In Nongtalon, Mawlih, and Mawlar villages, the inhabitants of which profess to be Khasis, the bones and ashes of the deceased are not collected and placed in repositories, as at Cherrapunji. At Mawlar and Nongtalon a large wooden coffin is used, painted white, with representations on the outside, and standing on four legs. This coffin is not burnt on the funeral pyre. In the family of the chief of Cherra, the body of a deceased Siem is disposed of in the following manner:—It is wrapped in a cloth

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the bones of males and females being kept in separate bundles wrapped in white cloth, two women of the clan reverently carrying them in their arms, holding the bundles of bones to their breasts. One female carries the bones of the males and the other those of the females. In front of these women walks an old man who scatters along the way leaves of the *diang-shit* tree and grains of rice, and when it is necessary to cross any stream or river, he ties a thread from one side of the bank to the other, this is for the spirit of the departed to cross the water. Sometimes u'mon *kshi-A*, a kind of long grass, is used instead of thread for the above purpose. On arrival at the clan puja-house, the bones of the males are laid on one bed and those of the females on another, the beds being bedecked with rich hangings. A cock, *u'iar kradlyati* (lit.: "the cock which scratches the way"), is sacrificed, this sacrifice being considered by the Khasis to be of peculiar significance. A pig, a cock, and a bull are then sacrificed, and portions of the above are offered to the spirits of the deceased. These offerings are known by the name of *ai-kam*, and are placed in a basket which is hung up in the house, together with the left thigh of the fowl and the lower jaw-bone of the bullock. A dance is performed that night, first in the house by two women, one belonging to the clan and the other an outsider, and afterwards in a specially prepared place outside the house called "*Iyngpaep*." The *shawati*, or flute, which is played at funerals is sounded, drums are beaten, and bombs are exploded. This dancing lasts from one to nine days, the limit being always an uneven number of days. At Cherra two effigies called *Ka Pieun* and *U Tyngplop* are prepared and dressed up: the former is intended to represent *Ka Iawbei*, the first ancestress, and the other *U Suidnia*, the first maternal uncle of the clan. These effigies are held in the hands of the dancers. In the meantime two lines of upright stones consisting of three each, with a table-stone in front of each line, have been set up. These are called *mawjiat* or *mawlynti*, and are intended to serve as resting-places for the spirits of the dead on their way to the tomb of the clan. These stones are generally not more than three feet in height, and must not be confounded with the larger stones or *mawbynna*. On the night before it is proposed to deposit the

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close to the wall which is farthest away from the door, the 764
bones of the males being deposited in a pot inside the tomb nearest the door. Some clans keep the pot containing the bones of the males on the right, and the vessel containing those of the females on the left hand. Then offerings of food and libations of liquor are offered to the ancestors on a stone in front of the tomb. The males then perform a ceremonial [535]
dance with swords and shields, three times, and the door of the sepulchre is closed, a flag being fixed to the tomb. All the clansfolk then depart except three men. One of these sacrifices a cock (*ier-tanding*) in front of the tomb, a second sits behind the sacrificer, holding three firebrands, and a third sits behind the tomb. The man with the firebrands shakes them about, and then crows like a cock three times. The man behind the tomb listens attentively for any fancied noise within it, the superstition being that if the ceremonies detailed above have not been properly performed, the whole tomb will quake. If the three watchers are satisfied that there is no commotion within the tomb, then all is well, and they return and report the result to the clanspeople. This ceremony is called *tanding*, or the fire test. Next morning the woman who is the head of the *iing-eang*, or puja-house, distributes to all those who have taken part in these sacrifices the hinder portions of the sacrificial animals. She then blesses one by one the assembled clans-
folk. The latter are not permitted by custom to go to [527]
work until after three days from the time of the ceremony; the third day being called *ka ingi lait ia*. The ceremony described above is a symbolical one. The massive stone sepulchre is regarded as a symbol of a secure place of rest for the departed spirits. If the spirits of the dead are not, however, appeased by the due performance of the ceremonies attending the bestowal of the remains in the clan *cinerarium*, it is believed that they roam about and haunt their relations on earth, and plague them with various misfortunes. It may be interesting
to note here, that Mr. Moberly, the Superintendent of Ethno- 764
graphy in Bengal, reports that the ashes of deceased Hos, after 171
being sprinkled with water by means of peepul branches, are collected, dried, and placed in a new earthen pot, and kept in the house until the day of burial, which may take place, as with

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211 which a figure, evidently of a Hindu god, has been carved, without
171 doubt after the erection of the stone. Here we have a striking parallel case to the painted and carved menhir near Tregastel in Brittany, upon which has been carved the representation of a crucifix. There are also some carved stones near Nartiang (said to represent two women) called nowkhandar brisw.

211 The Khasis say that these great stones were brought
483 sometimes from considerable distances. After being hewn, the stones were laid on a large, wooden trolley and dragged
283 across country by means of ropes of cane, of which plenty can be had from the Wiar country on the northern side of the district, and then placed in position by means of ropes and levers. It seems little short of marvellous that these stones, which sometimes weighed many tons, were placed in position by such primitive means, especially when we consider the great trouble there was to re-erect one of the fallen stones at Standrange lately. Nowadays only comparatively small stones are erected, which are generally hewn and erected on the spot, so that there is no necessity for any conveyance.

000 In conclusion, it may be remarked that the subject of the Khasi menhirs is in reality a large one, on which a great deal could be written, but owing to considerations of space it has been found necessary to compress the account within its present limits.

FESTIVITIES, DOMESTIC AND TRIBAL.

535 Dancing forms the principal part of all the Khasi festivities,
776 and is an important adjunct of some of their religious
786 ceremonies. One of the greatest festivals in the Khasi Hills is
789 the Nongkrem dance; it may be said to be as important
782 an event to the Khasis as the *Ilch diang-khlam* festivities are to the Syntengs.

The Nongkrem dance is really part of what is known as the *pomdiang*, or goat-killing ceremony, performed by the Siem of Khyrim (or Nongkrem) with the aid of his *ash-blei* (high priest) and the various *lyngdohs* (or priests) to Ka Blei Synshar (the ruling goddess), that the crops may prosper and that there may

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be a successful era in store for the people of the State. The goddess on this occasion may be regarded as a Khasi Demeter, although no myst rise form part of her services as at the Grecian Elusis. The Nongkrem ceremony and dance (now held at Smit) take place in the late spring, generally in the month of May. A lucky day having been fixed, the Siem sends a ring of cane (*lipwsuk*) by way of a summons to the people of every village in the State, at the same time informing them of the date of the *puja*, and requesting them to attend with their offerings, consisting of goats and different articles of food. In the meantime various *pujas* have been taking place in the house of *Ka Siem Sad*, the Siem priestess, which it would be tedious to describe in detail. The more interesting points only will be mentioned. A fortnight before the *puja* and dance at Smit the *sob-blei*, or high priest, pours out libations of liquor in the *lyrew-blong*, or place where the sacrificial goats are kept, and in front of the great post (*ri diang ewing*, or Khasi oak), in the house of the Siem priestess. Dancing then takes place in front of the post. Later on the Siem, with the high priest and other attendant priests, walks with extremely slow gait to a small hill where a stone altar has been prepared, and sacrifices a cock in honour of *u'lei Shillong*, or the god of the Shillong Peak. A silver dish with powdered rice, liquor in a gourd (*ka'ind ww*), betel-nut, and some leaves of the Khasi oak (*diang ewing*), are also necessary adjuncts of the *puja*. A goat is then sacrificed, and the sacrifice is followed by a dance of twenty-two men armed with swords and shields and *ehowrion* (*ky-dapo*). Having danced before the altar, the party returns to the house of the Siem priestess and executes another dance in the great courtyard. The Siem and certain selected persons dance in front of the *rishot blei*, or holy post of Khasi oak inside the house of the Siem priestess, the dancers being entertained with dried fish and ginger. Then follows the great dance of girls and men in front of her house. The girls dance in the centre, taking such tiny steps, that the lifting of their feet from the ground is hardly perceptible, the arms held down to the sides and the eyes demurely downcast. It is on this occasion that they wear the peculiar silver (and sometimes gold) crowns illustrated in the

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KRAIU GIRL IN DANCING DRESS

Reproduced from a picture by Miss Eileen Aurit O'Connor

[FACING p. 150]

place. The hair is worn tied in a knot behind the head, but with a long tail hanging down the back. Rich silk cloths are worn by the girls, who present the appearance of being, if anything, overdressed, or, as Yule aptly puts it, of "perfect paradisegroms." They wear a profusion of gold and coral head ornaments, silver and gold chains, bracelets, ear-rings of gold and any other jewellery they can lay hands on. Not only is the whole of the family jewellery requisitioned by the fair *dilettanti* (it is only the unmarried girls who dance), but she borrows from her friends. The men dance round the outside of the circle, waving *fly-flaps* and prancing (often nowadays wearing huge boots) with majestic strides. The music accompanying the dance consists of *tangwawi* (pipes), drums, and cymbals. This is *ka shad kyndai*, or the dance of the women. Then there is *ka shad mantich*, or the dance of the men, who are gaily dressed, wearing plumes of black and white cock's feathers (*ka thiaphi*) and bold swords and shields. After prancing for some time, two men at a time rapidly approach one another and clash their swords together in mock combat. They then retire, and, after again revolving for a period, repeat the process; then other couples follow and take their place. This goes on until the dancers get tired or are told to stop.

The above description may be taken as applicable to all the Khasi dances. Dancing forms part of the ceremony of placing the ashes in the sepulchre of the clan. Dancing also forms a part of certain ceremonies performed at markets for the prosperity of the State and for the good of trade.

When I was at Mawryngaw, at the time of the appointment of a Siem, I witnessed a very pretty dance called *ka shad lyngnah*, performed by men who held the leafy branches of trees in their hands. This is most effective. Then followed a dance of some forty young girls, very well dressed, covered with the usual gold and coral beads and silver chains, and wearing the silver crown, or *paranpiat*. The young women danced with great spirit, and with an absence of all shyness, but still with the greatest decorum. Many of the women, spectators as well as dancers, were observed to be without the usual *tap nuh lilli*, or head-cloth, the absence of which is always a sign amongst the Khasi women of merry-making. There were

women from the War country, wearing their petticoats down, amongst whom was the wife of the Siem of Bokwai with her little daughter. The dance was a pretty sight, and I have seldom seen such evidence of unalloyed happiness as was exhibited by the people on this occasion. Dancing may be described as one of the characteristic features of Khasi life.

The Syntong *Ioh-dieng-khlieu* festival takes place annually at Jowai and elsewhere in the Jaintia Hills in the deep water moon month (*i.e. Jyllieu*, or June). *Khlieu* is the Khasi word for plague or pestilence, and *ioh-dieng* signifies to drive away with sticks. The festival may be described as follows:—The males rise betimes on the day fixed and beat the roof with sticks, calling upon the plague-demon to leave the house. Having done this, later on in the day they go down to the stream where the goddess "Aitan" dwells. Then poles of great length, which have been newly cut, are held across the stream. The people jump on the poles and try to break them; when they succeed in doing so, a great shout is given. After all these poles have been broken, a very large pole is fixed across the stream. The people then divide themselves into two parties, and contend for the possession of the tree. The contest, however, is a good-humoured one, and although many buffets are given and received, these are not regarded seriously, and there are seldom any fights. Col. Sivey says the contending villagers, in their excitement, sometimes relapse into a state of almost complete nudity. The party which succeeds in obtaining possession of this post is supposed to gain health and prosperity during the coming year. Col. Sivey remarks that the origin of this so-called ceremony is said to be that the god of thunder, "*Ulei pyrthat*," and Ka Aitan, the goddess of the stream, witnessed its performance. Many innovations, however, have crept in. People disguise themselves as giants and wild beasts, they also parade images of serpents, elephants, tigers, peacocks, &c. Dancing is carried on with enthusiasm by the males, the girls, clad in their best attire, remaining on-lookers. Before the meeting breaks up the males play a sort of game of hockey with wooden balls.

768 769	Search on Spreal to Singsong Singhtai-nuff	the chiefs of the family and the old family chiefs of the deceased from the tribal house?

If the grievers now continue it, then they gather the sacrificial gifts and the sacrificial money (which is often thousands of rupees) to use them for the festivities.

Two women then go to the various sacrificial places and reverently fetch the bones that were placed there. One woman carries the bones of the male dead, the other the female ones, and both bring them to the house of the group author, where they are ceremoniously placed and decorated with flowers and beautiful cloths. Now the spirits of the dead receive nourishment (at last), in that a pig, a rooster and a steer are sacrificed. The best pieces of these animals are kept in a basket in the house for a later division among the participants. The rest is sacrificed.

768 769 Then there is dancing. (35) This cere -

35. Cf. Table III, Picture 2: Ceremonial Dance in Honor of the Deceased.

monial dance in honor of the deceased lasts either three or five or nine days, whatever seems best (and how long the collected money lasts). A place in front of the house is festively arranged and used as the place for dancing (lyapung). Music is played and liquor distributed.

768 769 On the day on which they intend to transfer the bones, the drums (ka kaing) and the kettledrums (ka nakra) are beaten, [438] the flutes (ka sharati) are blown, guns (sulai) and cannons (ka man) are shot off. An ancestral

The man is the groom of the dead young girl, the old woman the bride of the dead youth. They have the two scrubbs for the spirits' rice (ki synlakhiah ban ka ja snalap) and have them jump over the rice mortar (khlong) and the rice pestle. Then arrows are thrown as far as possible, which the two people are supposed to seize. This game of catching means the driving out of demons who surround the man ban and wish to prevent the approach to the stones. Then one strews seed rice (u kur rawai) on the road from the house to the end of the village. The two little people must now run with attire (da ki dkhrghdh) and thrash or beat the rice. This happens three times, one after another.

When it has become bright day, a handful of rice is taken from each of the relatives, as well as the contribution for defraying the costs of the whole festivities. Then they fetch an "altar he-goat" (u' lang duwan), in order to cut off its head on the village altar (ka ka duwan ka shong ka mulah). Now they make merry with drums and flags (ka keing ka lima). The children and grandchildren sit down together and greet each other solemnly, especially the "cousin" (u kha pka). Then a shield dance (mastieh) (38) is held. They

38. Cf. Table IV, Picture 1: Khasi men, ready for the shield dance.

perform three rounds. Then a he-goat is slaughtered, and all dancers with the shields bow three times before the "cousin" (u kha pka). Each of the sons of the group house (Stammhaus) does the same thing.

Now everybody rises, and someone sacrifices the scapegoat u' lang sait kauid. A

946 A
(Sm) weapon dance is performed in which the sons follow one behind the other (according to age) (39) (shad wait, i.e. weapon dance).

39. Cf. Table 24, Picture 2: Weapon dance of the Khasi at the third burial.

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948 (Sm) When the weapon dance has ended, they go in a procession (as above for the man shylang) to the mawkjet or mawlynti. Having arrived there, each of the sons slaughters a he-goat by separating the head of the animal from the body with one blow. The usual sacrifice takes place. But usually there are not a lot of he-goats slaughtered (since there is not enough money) but only one, which is then called u' long maw lynti. The retinue or escort of the sons ends here (hangne la kut ka jingleit on lynti ki khun sha).

The others continue on to the maw bah. Having arrived there, they open the door (the closure of the container for the bones). A man, who is paid for it, crows three times to represent the spirit rooster lar lap. This occurs in front of the stone. Then all the spirits who are in the cave room are awakened (kyrsiew) by someone saying:

to khle to khle la wan u khun la wan u kniwi	Stand up! Stand up! The children have come, the grandchildren have come!

Then they place the bones of the deceased inside, separated according to sex. In addition there are the sacrificial gifts: the bread and the cake, which they spread out (siang). Also morning and evening rice (i.e. cooked rice ready for eating) they place (thah —

Table III

[illegible] Gathering the Remains and the Ashes Ceremonial Dance. Foot Stone and Head Stone.

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Table IV

Ready for the Shield Dance.

Weapon Dance.

791 brought along and push the sacrificial gifts to
793 one side.

The new lyngdoh now gives the sign for the dance of joy. The men who are all in dancing clothes get up and seize the swords and dancing brushes they brought along. They place themselves one behind the other. The music begins and slowly the dancers move away from the place. Hopping and rocking from one leg to another, they move forward, forming a definite figure while doing it. Sometimes it is a circle, sometimes an eight, sometimes a spiral, which then slowly resolves itself. Now the dancers face each other in pairs. With loud cries each pair jumps at each other and they beat their swords together, uttering cries of joy which are seconded by the spectators. [Fig. 3. Egg throwing: placing rice]

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Now they arrange themselves as at the beginning and the dance begins again. Thus the dance crosses the place several times, each time the peculiar dance (shad mastiah) ending with the striking together of the swords. The new lyngdoh, who has now performed his first ceremonial sacrifice which is concluded by the sword dance, declares his veneration for the god who has commanded the sacrifice. For this purpose all the men arrange themselves in order and with the lyngdoh at the head bow three times before the (invisible) god. While they are all standing, the lyngdoh takes several steps backwards and standing repeats his bow. With this the ceremony is over.

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They arrange themselves in the order they came in. Dancing they go down the mountain to the hut of the lyngdoh. As soon as possible a new sacrifice [211] is offered to the u 'lei lyngdoh, the god of sacrificers. With this the new lyngdoh has officially begun his new office

[See category 16, p. 12 -- Analyst]

kingdom, thou hast given the sun and the moon, for reckoning the year, so that we may have Pujo once in the year, so that kings may arise, the children of the villages may increase and thrive, the children of the Khasi, the children of the Khoi, the children of the Nar, so that the sacrificial gifts may increase before the face of thine altar." (11)

11. F. Dr. Becker, S.J.S., loc. cit., p. 902 (Aarbrogue).

782 793 622 796 At these state and community sacrifices, the official lyngdohs are the chief one to appear, who together with the ruling king or chieftain and with other lyngdohs from the villages perform the sacrifices. These annual state sacrifices are introduced and performed with great ceremony. They take place in front of the house of the s' iew sad (high priestess) of the state involved. (Fig. 2) [Fig. 6. The village chief in his sacrificial coat and ornaments.]

782 796 In addition to the usual sacrificial gifts, which are grouped together on a small altar of earth and which consist of a banana leaf, betel nut leaves, pepper leaves, betel nuts, kyu and ryuni, fermented rice water in a gourd bottle, and oak leaves, there are chiefly hens and goats and at the end a pig. Goats are slaughtered in great numbers, so that the chief festival day of the state sacrifice is called pos blang (the goat heads) by the people.

782 825 796 Besides the slaughtering of the sacrificial animals, the dance plays a chief part. At these great sacrifices all the dances that are customary among the Khasi are performed: the dance [Fig] of the unmarried girls, the dance of the girls and men together, but both sexes are so placed that the men form an outer circle and the girls

[See category 16, p. 13 -- Analyst]

372 on inner circle; the dance of the men with
• 373 torches; the sword dance of the men; the shield
374 dance of the men; the dance of the men in couples; the solo dance of a girl and the solo dance of a man.

All the inhabitants of the kingdom combine for the state sacrifice. With the cheerfulness peculiar to the Khasi they watch the passage of the individual sacrifices and the dances for hours at a time. In the evening of the day of the chief festival a sacrificial meal is held, in which all the sacrificers, dancers, and spectators may participate.

b) Private Sacrifices.

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In addition to the annual large state sacrifices, other sacrifices are also offered by the Khasi. These are the usual sacrifices which arise from the needs of daily life. The following can be mentioned as such:

1. The sacrifice for questioning spirits.
2. The sacrifice at the name giving.
3. The sacrifice before every important business, for example, before the market, before planting rice, before shooting arrows, before building a hut, before a journey, etc.
4. The sacrifice of thanks after recovering health.
5. The sacrifice in cases of sickness.
6. The sacrifice at the time of death.
7. Khein Kwid (the sacrifice for finding out which spirits must be propitiated. This is a matter of finding out past errors of those already dead).
8. The sacrifice at a cremation.
9. The sacrifice at the burial of bones:

achieve calm aiming and a calm posture.

Another method of bending the bow is also used a great deal. The archer takes the arrow in his right hand, places it to the left on the bow and pulls the string with his middle finger and ring finger while his thumb and index finger hold the arrow. [Illus.] (Table I, Khasi at an Archery Contest) [Illus.] (Table II. Khasi at an Archery Contest)

[Illus.]

The Quiver

The quiver (ka ryughap) is made of plaited bamboo which is covered on the outside with a very finely plaited cover of reed palm. Its shape resembles a closed umbrella. At the opening the plaited work is raised in front in the shape of an arc, and in the back it is raised in a more rounded form. On each side where the quiver curves down and around a strap is attached. Quivers are not used for shooting or hunting. The Khasi carry their arrows in their hands then. The use of quivers is restricted to dances and even this is very rare. (25) [Fig 16].

25. Ethnographic Museum, Munich, Quiver As, 106, is 57 centimeters long and 9 centimeters wide at the opening. The plaited part in front is 40 centimeters high behind 38 centimeters, and on the sides where it curves in 33.5 centimeters. The very finely plaited reed palm has 16 smooth inlays at distances of 1.3 to

and nail are bought with these contributions, the balance, or with other money, is handed over to the S'iem ski ka mawgynnow.

Until the approach of the actual festival, the fish sacrifice (mis-dohbha) takes place on the day called jns pomdiah, on which all who appear are fed with dried fish and brandy. This is supposed to be a further announcement to the o Blei Shillong, o Sushnia lang Ilem and ka Blei lang S'iem of the imminent Pain. Twelve different kinds of drums (being) are beaten.

Then the drum, being thud rynghoh, is beaten three times, and the first sacrificial piece (bah Blei) and a flute player dance. The dance, rynghoh, will be described in more detail below. After it is finished, the being kynthei (women drum) have a turn, to the sound of which the S'iem and the flute player (duhalia) dance three times. Usually only women dance to this drum. About the method of dancing it is sufficient to remark that in a Khasi dance the dancing persons do not touch each other, and each carries out the motions independent of the others. After the women drums are beaten, then the sword dance drum (being mashieh) and the large drum (nakra) are beaten. Torches are carried around and down of joy uttered nine times. Various drums, flute music, and clashes of cymbals follow, while dancing takes place. /facing p. 596. (A) Fig. 2 Drums, flutes and cymbals of the Khasi. Fig. 3 Sacrificial knives and ka wait of the Khasi. Phot. P. From. Stegmiller S. D. S. Fig. 4. Sacrificial dress of the bah Blei (Khasi). Phot. P. From. Stegmiller. S. D. S. / /facing p. 596. (B) Fig. 10 (sic?). Khasi ornaments. Phot. P. Fro. Stegmiller. S. D. S. / /595/ At the end the S'iem dances alone, while the drums and flutes are not silent the whole night through. Fig. 2 shows several Khasi drums, a flute, and cymbals which are never missing from a dance.

The day of the large market, on which the actual ceremony begins, approaches meanwhile. On the day before -- ka wgi omni -- the roads are swept and the place for the sacrifice of the goat put in order. As a sign of joy as to what will happen, drums are beaten again and flutes (tangmet) played. In front of the house of the S'iem ski, the S'iem and other men perform a sword dance. Although interesting, this dance is not very artistic. Hopping and skipping from one foot to the other, the men, one behind the other, move slowly in a circle on the open place. (cf. Fig. 6).[4] They hold a bunch of goat hair in one hand and a sword in the other. A shout of joy is uttered from time to time, then they stop again, jump at each other two by two, and hit each other with quick blows of their swords. Each one quickly draws back again and moves in a circle again as before. In this way the dance continues.

[4] [For illustrations see category 16, pp. 14-18 --- Analyst]

The spectators now go to the side, the S'iem and the Bah-Jhaba come down to the place of sacrifice, while the Ioh Blei receives the crossbill and the sacrificial gifts and spreads them out in order on the ground. Then he takes the rooster in both hands and calls on the god Shillong with these words: "O god Shillong, thou who hast been seated above time immemorial! (he Blei Shillong hunths in Ioh a long time!)" With a deep bow he then offers the sacrifice five times. Rooster and goat are sprinkled with water, rice, and the flour from eyes and rynti, and are then beheaded. Then the examination of the entrails (Khithor) takes place to today to see if the sacrifice was acceptable. The way of doing that will be given below.

After the end of the sacrifice the Ioh Blei and a flute player lead the sword dance. After them the S'iem and the other dancers follow in turn. Various drums are beaten alternately and flutes are played through the whole night. When night falls the guests of the S'iem and those of the various dancers of the kingdom of Nongkrem are brought for the sacrifice of the new day.

The day following the great mawbah is called ha ngi Lyngka. It is the center point and climax of the whole ceremony. From early in the morning the crowds pour in from all sides of the Khasi Mountains.

Early in the morning an unmarried girl of the royal lineage (ka S'iem ha-ding khynraw) dances in the house of the S'iem ïïd before the ribbed Blei. Usually a granddaughter or nearer relative of the S'iem ïïd is chosen for this. Two men then take the girl in their arms and carry her with a rocking motion to the large open place in front of the ïïng ïïd.

Then the great folk dance begins. In the middle of the place musicians squat on the ground and play the drums and flutes, and strike the cymbals. The music is quite without art, only a repetition of the same monotonous tunes.

The women dancers move in a rather narrow circle around the musicians. Only the unmarried girls dance. The clothes they wear on it are very rich and frequently very valuable. Fine cloths, usually of red, yellow, or blue silk are draped over their bodies; the upper body and arms are covered by a satin jacket. Their hair is bound together in a bun behind their heads; as string hangs /facing p. 296.

Fig. 5. Khasi Men Dancers in front of the ïïng ïïd. Phot. P. From. Rosmüller, S. D. S. Fig. 6. Sword Dance of the Khasi. Fig. 7. S'iem ïïd and S'iem of Nongkrem. / /297// down from the bun which usually ends in three tassels. The head is covered by a golden or silver crown of fine chased work, which is topped by a bunch of feathers or a bunch of artificial flowers. Around their necks they wear chains of gold or

[For illustrations, see category 16, pg 16 --- Anuj]

[illegible] silver and nickel in various sizes made of real metals. These [illegible] are decorated with heavy earrings, rings and necklaces [illegible]. Around their arms and wrists are massive silver rings or hoops, the latter being quite wide and in the same shape as rolls. Fig. 10 shows the ornaments in detail. The very grand [illegible] dancers usually have a servant carrying an opened umbrella behind them.

The Khasi dance does not have the exciting and lively motions that are characteristic of our dances. Each woman dancer with her arms hanging down at her sides and her eyes cast modestly to the ground could be considered a model of modesty. Each corpulent her motions slow and completely independent of the others. She continuously makes a circle around the musicians, moving sideways, forwards, or backwards. At the same time the feet are kept close together and are moved seemingly so little that the motion is scarcely visible. When a woman dancer is tired she withdraws in order to rest a bit, and then enters again into the rows of the other dancers.

Fig. 8 and [illegible] illustrate the above description of the Khasi women dancers. Fig. 8 shows the girls in the dance in front of the [illegible], of which only the front part may be seen above in the picture on the right.

At a proper distance from the girls the men dance in a wider circle around the place. They also have special clothing. Over the usual white cloth that covers the lower part of the body they wear a skirt, and over it a silk coat embroidered with many colors without sleeves which ends in a long fringe. Cf. Fig. 9 for this. A tail or [illegible] of original hair hangs down over the back. Crude metal chains decorate the breast. A bunch of artificial flower (?) about 12 inches long or of black and white rooster feathers is placed in the right [illegible], while the right hand holds a bunch of goat hair. Thousands [illegible] of packings which are now worn by many go very badly with the exquisite pretty costume.

The motions of the dancers are more lively than those of the dancing girls, but still quite reserved. In a dawdling manner they hop from one leg to another in a childish way, without lifting their legs very much. In this way they move forward, describing a circle; at the same time they wave the bunch of hair around in the air. From time to time they stop and as a group make a bow towards the middle of the circle with a loud resounding shout of pleasure, while they swing the bunch of hair downwards at the same time (cf. Fig. 8).

[illegible]

Then the dance continues for hours at a time inside the noise of the music. Thousands of spectators who do not seem to get tired dancing around the great place. In the afternoon, at about three o'clock /3:00/ the dance, which plays a large part in all the religious festivities is ended. 595

Then preparations are made for the large sacrifice. In front of the house of the S'iem ïïï

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Fig. 5.

Fig. 7

Fig. 6.

Fig. 8.

G. Becker 17 M-4,5 (no date) 1909 / AR7 Khasi AR7

Phot. P. Frese, Hugumitter, K. D. K.

Phot. P. Frese, Hugumitter, K. D. K.

Fig 5. Khasi-Mädchentanz vor der *ring nid*

Fig. 9

7. Bocker--2b M-4, 5 (1910-11) 1924 AR7 Khasi AR7

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Fig. 3. At the Oracle of Egg Throwing.

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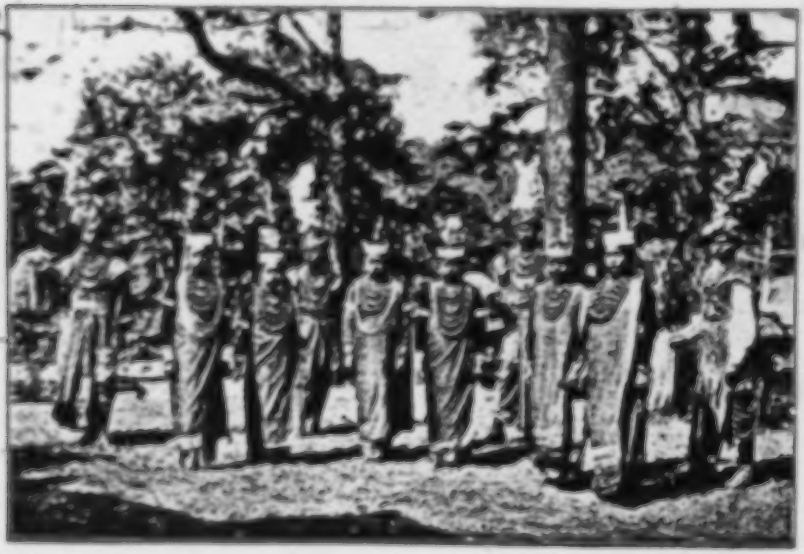

Fig. 5 Khasi Girls and Men in Festive Dance Clothing.

17: Banerjee E-5 (1955) 1962 AR7 Khasi AR7
Smit

796 The goats were sacrificed by his sister's eldest son (*Siem-khynnah*) and in
182 charge of respective units at the open courtyard. The priests evoked the
ancestors and ancestress and called upon them by name praying 'Oh God and
769 Goddess, I offer this sacrifice as our ancestors did. Bless the *Siem*, his family
and the people of his state. I shall beseech you again on this day after one
231 year. You create favourable weather by virtue of your power, bring clouds
and rains to yield bumper crops and ensure a happy and prosperous life.'

On the last day (Nongkrem), a man of Mawroh clan sacrificed a pig introducing an iron spike in its left armpit. Nine pieces of meat from different parts of the pig's body were again offered to their five ancestors. The *Siem* in the presence of his *Durbar* performed the last item of festival by praying to U Shillong, when the Chief of Rynjah clan also followed in the same way for seeking the blessings of their Chief deity.

This brought the ritual to an end performed at the residence of *Siem*. The five pieces of goat's and pig's meat offered to their five ancestors, were then handed over to the in-charge of the five units considered as somewhat higher in their State organisation. They distributed them at a suitable place in their unit, making a feast as a sort of public declaration of the completion of their greatest festival for the year.

DANCING

535 Besides the ritual described above, dance with the accompaniment of music
796 formed an important aspect of this festival. A dance known as *sad-tyngkoh*
had been a regular feature for the first, second, third and fifth day. This dance
[533] has some interesting features. It has to be performed in pairs. The first
pair was constituted by Chief priest and the Chief musician. Second to fifth
pairs were between the Sardars of the eight units after which *Siem* along with an
otarial of his council constituted the sixth pair. The subsequent pairs were formed by any two persons from the gathering. They danced only after bowing first before the Oak pillar (Rishot), then to *Siem* on the fifth day. This pairing was then not adhered to on completion of the last rite of the festival.

A second type of dance (*Ka sad mastieh*) was then performed in the courtyard by the musicians as well as by the professional dancers (nong-shad) with sword and fly-brush in the afternoon of the third day. The dance was always
[291] held in pairs first by musicians, and then dancers, who donned their traditional
[301] dress consisting of silk turban (Jainspong) decorated with feathers, coloured sleeveless coat (Jymphong) silver chains and coral necklaces. Later on they joined the procession, that went to the adjacent hill where after the completion of the ceremony of goat killing, a group dance was performed returning to the residence of *Siem* ultimately.

This dance (*sad-nohkjat*) was performed by the Siems family. It was held early in the morning of the fourth day in the central hall (Shlur) and also
[291] in the courtyard. The men put on their normal dress whereas the women
[301] dressed themselves with gold and silver crown (pansngiat), numerous silver ornaments and different coloured blouse. They dressed and braided the hairs into a knot just at the nape. The High Priestess who also danced with
[302] the membes of the Siems' family, stood in the middle of the line and chief musician stood at one end. They hold each other in hand and danced round the fire-place of the central hall (Shlur) in anti-clock-wise direction in accompaniment of music. The people assembled there, gave vent to their feeling in their customary way every time, before they resumed to make it three times. Similar performance of dances were also held in the courtyard.

17: Banerjee E-5 (1955) 1962 AR7 Khasi AR7
Smit

Then followed the dance of the girls (*Ki shad kyathei*) who were also wearing dress as described above. They kept their eyes down, keeping their arms on their sides taking such a short steps with the music, that the movement of the feet were hardly perceptable. The boys were also in their dancing dress as worn by *nongshad* and danced with fly-brush round the girls making their steps with the beatings of the drums. The music started from the morning would be stopped only after completion of the dance which prolonged till evening. These functions served as a good source of amusement to the people, enabling them to have a good diversion from their monotonous life with an opportunity to meet their friends and relations who assembled there from different parts of the hill. 535 • [534]

DISCUSSION

From the fore-going description, it is evident that the Khasi live in a democratic set up in which the secular duties are entrusted to the *Siem*. A different rule is followed in the case of religious festivals. Every Khasi family entrusts the sacredotal work of the house to the youngest daughter. The *Siem's* sister (Siem Sad) being the nearest member of his mother's clan, is made responsible for the observance of those ceremonies which concerns the welfare of the subjects. The people attend the festival to seek blessings of their supreme deity U Shillong and their presence in the *Siem's* residence indicates their loyalty to him. The rituals of the festival, instead of being performed by her (High Priestess), were conducted by the Chief Priest (Soh blei) for which he was allotted a very imporatnt position in the celebration. The musicians were given similar status owing to the belief in the sacredness of their music. It ought to be played in proper tunes otherwise the displeasure of the deity would fall on them on finding any slight departure in this respect. For this reason, the music is considered as important as the rituals and the role of musicians were consequently given due recognition at every stage of the festival. The tradition of deputing one person of Nengnong clan to sacrifice the goat at the top of the hill was followed on account of their ancestors having carried out in olden times the profession of aide-de-camp (body guard) to the *Siem*. Another person of kharhamen clan was also asked to carry the head of the sacrificial animal from the hill to the residence of the *Siem* after the worship, as his predecessors were serfs in ancient times during the period of their captivity in this State. Such incidents were found expressed in a symbolic way through their ceremonies. 182 64 796 [593] [782]

The most important concern of the people was to maintain their mode of living together with their property and other means of subsistence. They worshipped him so that he might prevent the evil spirits from doing any harm and may in addition grant them bumper crops. To be recipient of such a favour, they appeased their god U Shillong with gifts and sacrifices. It is not sure whether he is considered as one of their deified ancestors but his important position in the Khasi pantheon enabled him to have some priority in their worship. The offering of red-cock together with a yellow goat, moreover, revealed his amiable and benevolent nature as the malignant ones get representation invariably with black colours. U Shillong was invoked simultaneously with other dead ancestors, with this hope, that all the deities would pool their supernatural strength in fighting the evil spirits before the latter were able to cause any harm to their crops or to reduce in any way the fertility of their fields. 796 769 782 776 182

It would be interesting to refer here about the presentation of nine pieces of meat from various parts of the sacrificial animal. It may be a case of appeasement by serving him with some food but there seems to be something

17: Banerjee E-5 (1955) 1962 AR7 Khasi AR7
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796 magical in such gifts. The khasi deities being souls of departed members,
782 are anthropomorphic in nature, have all the qualities of an ordinary human
769 being. The worshippers believe that the deities may also loose their strength
776 in course of time which can be augmented only by offering suitable sacrifices.
182 They presented pieces of meat to transfer in them the supernatural 'power' which are concentrated or lodged in those regions of the sacrificial animal, from where they were taken out. It is a case of reciprocal help between the deity and the devotee so that on attaining their normal strength, they would fulfil their request.

796 The Khasi people while participating in the celebration gave vent to their
769 emotion through their traditional cries. It could not be definitely established
182 whether these were any indication of frightening the evil spirits but on the other hand, those were intended to cheer the *Siem*, musicians, and the respective units taking parts in the celebration. The musicians on another occassion, went round the altar three times on reaching the top of the hill. The
[644] members of the *Siem's* house similarly performed a sacred dance round the
[801] fire place of central hall (Shlur) to the same number of times. This odd number of three seemed to be an auspicious one. The exact cause for such a reverential attitude to this figure may be to pay respect to their primal ancestress (Ka Iawbei), her husband (U Thawlang) and her brother, *i.e.*, first maternal uncle (U Suidnia) who are considered highest amongst all the Khasi deities.

796 The dancing is generally taken as secular part of religious function, but the Khasi people considered them (except the last one) as sacred for the reason
535 that it is one of their methods of propitiating their deity. The people at times,
182 ascribe certain meanings to them to rationalise their thinking. The dancing invariably put the participants into ecstasy to enable them to be in communion with their supernatural beings, yet those are interpreted as a device to control the spirits inspite of its calm and quiet nature. The people even then enjoyed them with this hope that these would prevent the intruding spirits from spreading diseases. Owing to the fixation of the dates of the function at the time of sowing period, the dance of the unmarried girls may have some bearing on the promotion of fertility of the soil. The custom of allowing Khasi boys to dance round the spinsters with fly-flap in one of their hands may be to protect them from the influence of the evil spirits.

The heads of the various units adhered to the official precedence strictly before they allowed a common man to take part in the dancing. The custom of allowing two officials to dance, at a time, was in recognition to their equal status. It had become a practice to follow at every stage of their function. The presence of all the in-charge of this Siemship were essential to secure the blessings of their deity on behalf of his subjects whom they represent in official capacity in this festival. This is a suitable mechanism to foster unity and solidarity among the people of the different units which is the main aim of this celebration. This was found to be so when Khasi people from all parts of State were seem witnessing the dancing of the unmarried girls. The informant on being asked to state the reason of permitting the spinsters only in this dance, came out with an interesting fact about the ancient Khasi tradition. The dance used to offer at one time, an opportunity to the youngmen of the Royal families in selecting their brides. A betel leaf with a nut were usually thrown at a girl and the men going round them, remained as witness of this incident. This explanation received some support from the frequent utterances (*rong-rong*) by the public, expressing a desire to run away with a girl dancing with graceful style.

796 The celebration can be taken up as a solidarity rite. The performance is
182 all the more essential for the purpose of security without which the people

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

burning the dead in the immediate neighbourhood of the village of Jowái. Suspicions of insurrection arose during the months of October and November 1861. In the beginning of January 1862 alarming reports were received from various quarters, and the first serious outbreak occurred on the 17th of that month. This was occasioned by the interference of a *dárogá*, or native police official, with a religious ceremony that took place at the village of Jaiong. In such ceremonies dancing with arms is held essential; and the *dárogá* took upon himself to disarm the dancers. This was the signal for a general rising. The *thána* or police station at Jowái was burned to the ground; the garrison of sepoys was besieged, and all show of British authority was swept away throughout the Hills. The Syntengs fought bravely for their independence, and at first were successful in cutting off several small detachments of police and sepoys. Their weapons were bows and arrows. In common with the other hill tribes of the North-East Frontier, their chief defence consisted in a series of strong stockades, one behind another; and the paths leading to their villages were thickly planted with *pánjís*, or little bamboo spikes, stuck in the ground like caltrops. The battalion of sepoys stationed in the Hills was rendered inefficient by sickness. At last it was found necessary to move a regular army, including an elephant battery and two regiments of Sikhs, into the country in order to quell the revolt. Colonel Dunsford was in chief command. He was accompanied by Major Haughton, the Governor-General's Agent on the North-East Frontier, and Captain Morton, the Deputy-Commissioner of the Khásí and Jáintiá Hills, who acted in a political capacity. The operations were tedious and harassing. The rebel chiefs were captured one by one, and the District was declared to be finally pacified in March 1863, after the rebellion had lasted for fifteen months. The special Commission appointed under Act xi. of 1857, for the trial of offenders in the Jáintiá Hills, was dissolved in December 1863. The causes of the rebellion were thus summed up by Major Haughton in an official despatch to the Government of Bengal:—'Taxation was introduced without the supervision with which such a measure should have been accompanied. It was followed up by fresh taxation and rumours of other taxes, also by fiscal and other innovations, which tended to disturb the minds of the people, without any counterpoise such as might have resulted from the continued presence of a European officer.' The Syntengs, like the

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After the plants have attained the height of about 6 in., they are earthed up. When the leaves turn yellow, it is a sign that the potatoes are ripe. The different kinds of sweet potatoes grown and the yam and another kind of esculent root—*u sohphlang* (*flemingia vestita Benth.*) will be noticed under the head of "Crops." 244

The Khasis possess very few agricultural sayings and proverbs, but the following may be quoted as examples:— 241 538

(1) *Wat ju ai thung jingthung ne bet symbai ha uba sniew kti.*

Do not allow plants to be planted or seeds to be sown by one who has a bad hand. [777]

As elsewhere, there is a belief amongst the Khasis that some people's touch as regards agriculture is unlucky. [826]

(2) *Thung dieng ne bet symbai haba ngen bnai, ym haba shai u bnai.*

Plant trees or sow seeds not when the moon is waxing, but when it is on the wane.

(3) *Wei la saw bha ka bneng sepngi jan miet phin sa ioh jingrang lashai.*

A red sky in the west in the evening is the sign of fine weather to-morrow.

Cf. our English proverb "a red sky in the morning is a shepherd's warning, a red sky at night is a shepherd's delight."

CROPS.

The varieties of rice found in the Khasi Hills are divided into two main classes, one grown as a dry crop on high lands, and the other raised in valleys and hollows which are artificially irrigated from hill streams. The lowland rice is more productive than that grown on high lands, the average per acre of the former, according to the agricultural bulletin, as ascertained from the results of 817 experimental crop cuttings carried out during the fifteen years preceding the year 1898, being 11.7 maunds of paddy per acre, as against an average of 9.4 maunds per acre (resulting from 667 cuttings made during the 243 433

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773 i.e. the Siem of Malyniang, is supposed to have been a very powerful monarch amongst the Khasis. The story of Manick [534] Raitong is interesting, in that it explains the origin of the use of the *sharati*, a bamboo flute of special make which is played only at funerals. The pool of water, which was formed after U [766] Manick and the erring queen were burnt, may be connected with the *Umkoi*, or tank, which is dug to cleanse the souls of those who have died violent deaths. The idea of the bamboo, which bore leaves that grew upside-down, springing up from the buried flute, is also to be found in the Synteng tale regarding U Loh Ryndi's fishing-rod. Owing to considerations of space, I have had to curtail largely the folk-lore section. I have, however, kept the materials by me, and if at any future time there is reason to believe that the reproduction of more Khasi folk-lore is called for, I shall be glad to try to arrange that some of the other folk-tales be printed.

The Water-fall of Ka Likai.

•539 [133] The water-fall of Ka Likai is one of the most beautiful water-falls in the Khasi Hills. Its stream flows from a certain river from the village of Rangjirteh and passes by the village of Nongriat. The fall can be seen distinctly from the village of Laitkynsew. What a beautiful fall it is when viewed in the autumn. It is also a very high fall. There was in olden days in the village of Rangjirteh a woman called Ka Likai. She was a poor woman who had a husband. When she had given birth to a child, the husband died. Whilst the child was yet a baby, she experienced much trouble in taking care of it on account of her poverty. After the child was able to walk, what a pleasure it was to her to see it growing, and able to play with other children. Then that woman married

Ka Kshaid ka Likai.

Ka ksháid-ka-Likai ka long kawei ka ksháid ha ri Khasi kaba itynnad shibún eh. Ka wan tuid na kawei ka wah ha ka shnong Rangjirteh kaba wan hap ha ka shnong Nongriat. Ia kane ka ksháid lah ban ioh-i bha na ka shnong Laitkynsew. Katno ka long kaba i-tynnad lada khmih ia ka ha ka por synrái. Ka long ruh kaba jrong shibun eh. La don kawei ka briew ha ka shnong Rangjirteh hyndái kaba kyrteng ka Likai. Kane ka briew ka long kaba duk bad ka la don u tnga, te ynda la kha iwei i khun kynthei uta u tnga u la iap noh. Hamar ka por ba dang lung ita i khun ka la shitom shibún ban sumar ha ka jinglong duk jong ka. Te ynda i la nangiáid katno, ka la sngewbhá ban ioh-i ia la i khun ba i la sháit, bad ba i la nang ba'n leh kái bad ki para khynnah. Te kane ka

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

another man; but he did not love the little child, and many a time he got angry because she could not take care of him more, on account of that child.

One day when she went to carry iron ore, her husband took the child and killed it. When he had cut up the body into pieces, he prepared curry with it, and placed the curry where the mother would come and eat it. When he had finished doing so, he threw the head and the bones of the child far away, but he forgot to throw away the fingers, which he had placed in a basket where the betel-nut was kept. When the mother returned from her journey, she inquired "Where is the child?" "She has just gone somewhere, I don't know where," he said. She remained silent awhile; then she said, "Is there any rice and curry?" He said "Yes, it is ready," and went out at the same time. When she ate, she found the curry very tasty, and she thought that he had got the flesh of a young pig from some one who had performed a sacrifice. When she had finished eating, she took up the betel-nut basket, but found the fingers of her child there. She shrieked and threw herself down, and then ran to the precipice and cast herself down it. All the villagers wondered, but no one ventured to prevent her as she held a *da* in her hand. From that time the waterfall was called the "Fall of Ka Likai."

The Dingiei Hill.

Dingiei Hill is one of the highest peaks in the Khasi

briew ka la shongkurim bad uwei pat u briew; hynrei uta u'm ieit ia ita i khún, bad katno ba u la jiw sngew bitár ba ka'm lah ban khreh ba'n sumar ia u na ka bynta ita i khún. 539

Te ha kawei ka sngi ba ka leit kit nongnar, utá u tnga u la shim ia ita i khún bad u la pyniap noh. Bad haba u la ot u la shet jintah ia ka doh jong i, u la buh ruh ha ka jaka ba ka'n wan bam ka kmie; bad ynda u la dep kumta baroh u la leit bred noh ia ka khlih bad ki shyieng sha jngái, hynrei ia ki shimpriahti ba u la buh ha ka shang kwái u'm kynmáw shuh ban leit bred. Haba la wan ka kmie na kata ka jingleit ka la kylli, "hangno ka khun"? "Tip ei, u ong, shano ka leit kái myntan." Ka shu sngap noh bad ka ong "La don ja don jintah ne em" u ong, "la don," bad hamar kata ka por u leit kái noh. Te haba ka la bam ja, ka sngew bang shibún, bad ka la tharai ba u ioh doh khún sniang na kino-kino kiba kñia, bad haba ka la lah bám ja ka la shim ka shang kwái ba'n bam kwái, ka shem pynban da ki shimpriahti ita i khún bad ka la lyniar la lympat ia lade kat ba lah, bad ka la mareh sha katei ka riat bad ka la pynnoh ia lade. Kumta lyngngoh ki shnong-ki-tháw baroh bad y'm lah ba'n khang mano-mano ruh, ka bat la ka wait ha ka kti. Te nadúh kata ka por ki khot "ka ksháid-noh-ka-Likai."

U Lum Dingiei.

U lum Dingiei u long u wei u lúm uba jrong shibún ha ri 539 133

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539 [133] country, resembling in height and size the Shillong "Peak" which lies opposite and to the north of it. There are many villages on this hill belonging to the Shillong Siem. In olden days on the top of this hill grew a gigantic tree overshadowing the whole world, the name of that tree was "ka Dingiei." The Khasis came to a determination that if this tree were cut down (lit. destroyed) the world would become good and would have light, for as long as it (the tree) remained standing, the world remained dark and unfruitful. They accordingly came to an unanimous decision to fell it. When they cut (the tree) during the day and went back next morning, they found that the marks of cutting had been obliterated. Thus they cut each day, and next morning they found that the marks had disappeared. This was the case always. Then they marvelled why this thing was thus. They asked questions and they investigated; ka phreid (a very small bird) said "all this has happened because a tiger comes every night to (the foot of) the tree and licks the part of the tree which has been cut." Thereupon the men, having plied their axes and knives the whole day in cutting the tree (instead of carrying them away as usual), tied them to the incisions, with their edges pointing outwards. So when the tiger went as usual at night to lick the incisions, the sharp blades of the axes and knives cut his tongue. Thenceforth the tiger ceased to go to the tree; and as the tiger ceased

Khasi. U syrím ha kr jing jrong bad jingkhráw ia u lúm Shillong, bad u long marpyrshah jong u shaphang Shatei. Halor une u lúm don bún ki shnong hapoh u Siem Shillong. Mynhyndái halor une u lúm don kawei ka dieng kaba khráw shibún eh haduh ba ka la kah dum ia ka pyrthei baroh kawei, ka kyrteng kata ka dieng ki khot ka Dingiei. Ki khún Khasi ki la ia kut jingmut ba lada yn ioh pynduh noh ia kane ka dieng ka'n bha ka'n shái ka pyrthei, namar katba ka dang ieng, ka pyrthei ka dum bad ka'm lah ban seisoh. Kumta ki la ia ieng da kawei ka jingmut ba'n ia khet noh ia ka. Te ynda ki la pom ia ka mynsngi, ki leit pat mynstep ki shem ba la dam noh ka díen pom. Kumta ki pom biang sa ha kawei ka sngi, ynda lashái mynstep ka dam-pa-dam biang. Shu kumta barabor ka long. Hangta ki la lyngngoh, hato balei ka long kumne. Ki ia kylli ki ia tohkit; ong ka phreid (ka sim kaba rit shibun) "kane ka jinglong ba dam kumne haba phi la pom ka long namar u khla mynmiet mynmiet u wan jliah ia ka díen ba phi la pom." Te kumta ki khún bynriew ynda ki la lah pom mynsngi baroh shi sngi, mynmiet ki teh pyn-ang da ki wait ki sdí ha kata ka jaka ba ki la lah pom. Kumta u khla haba u wan mynmiet u jliah phot u thyllied haba kynduh ha kita ki syrti wait syrti sdí. Kumtah naduh kata ka por um wan shúh; bad ynda um ioh shuh ban jliah kata ka dien pom u khun bynriew, ruh kam dam shuh. Shu nangdep ka jingtrei man ka sngi hadúh

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to lick the incisions, the mark was not obliterated as before. So their work went on progressing every day until ka Dingiei fell. Thus the world received light, and cultivation throve, and there was nothing more to stand in the way of the light of the sun and the moon. It was for that reason that the name of "U Lum Dingiei" was given to the hill. Nobody knows what became of the tree, for since the time it fell its species has died out and there is no seed of it (to be found) anywhere on the earth from which it can be grown.

ba la kyllon ka Díngiei. Kumta sa shái phèr ka pyrthei bad sa manbha ka thung ka tep ka rep ka sei ynda ymdon ba shár shuh ia ka sngi ia u bnái. Namarkata ki sa ioh ban khot kyrteng ia une u lúm "u Lúm Díngiei." Ia ka jinglong kane ka Díngiei ym don ba tip eiei nadúh kata ka pór hadúh mynta, namar nadúh ba la kyllon ka iapdúh * bad ym don symbái ba kan pynmih haeihaei ha ka pyrthei hadúh kane ka sngi. 539

Concerning the Origin of the Siems of Shillong.

The Siem of Shillong is a very great and powerful chief in the Khasi Hills. He is generally known throughout the Khasi Hills as the "god king." By the term "god king" is meant that God has been pleased to give over to him the largest portion of the Khasi country, i.e. the kingdom of Shillong, to rule. If you seek for the origin of these "god kings," you will find there is great uncertainty about it. At any rate there is a tradition amongst the Khasis to the following effect. In olden days a rumour got abroad that there was a woman in a cave called Marai, which is situated near the present village of Pomlakrai, at the source of the river Umiew or Umiam. She was a young and very

Shaphang ba long U Siem Shillong.

U Siem Shillong u long uwei u Siem uba khráw shibún bad uba don bór ruh ha kane ka ri lúm Khasi. Ia une u Siem la jiw bna baroh kawei ka ri ba u long u Siem-Blei. Haba ong Siem-Blei ka mut ba U Blei u la i mon sngewbha ba'n aiti ha u ban synshár ia kawei ka bynta kaba khráw ha ri Khasi. Ha une la ái ba'n synshar ha ri Shillong. Haba wád ia ka jingsdang jong kine ki Siem Blei don shibún ka jingb'ym thikna. La kumno-kumno ka don ka jingiathu-khana kum kane kaba harum ha pydeng ki Khasi hadúh kane ka sngi. Ha kaba nyngkong eh la byna ba don kawei ka bríew ha ka krem Marái, kaba hajan ka shnong Pomlakrái mynta, ha tyllong ka wah Umiew ne Úmiám. Kata ka bríew kaba [143]

* *Iapduh* is the regular word used for a clan, and in this case a species dying out.

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539 beautiful damsel. Of the reality of the damsel's existence there is no question. Many tried to catch her, but they could not, owing to the narrowness of the cave. There came, however, a certain very clever man who went to entice her by showing her a flower called "u tiew-jalyngkteng." The damsel then came (out) near to snatch the flower, but the man went on holding back his hand until she came out into a more open place, when he seized her. He then brought her to his house and carefully tended her, and afterwards he married her. That damsel was called "*Ka Pah Syntiew*, the flower-lured one," because that man caught her by coaxing and enticing her with a flower. That man, who came from the village of Nongjri in the Bhoi country, was called the Nongjri Kongor. After she had given birth to daughters and sons, she returned to the same place whence she had been captured, and from that time forth she never came out again, however much her husband and children called and implored her. Her children increased in stature and in wisdom, and the people hearing of the wonderful origin of their mother, came from all parts of the country to look at them. The children also were very clever at showing their humility and good manners in the presence of the elders. All the people (in return) loved them and considered them to be the children of the gods, and did homage to them. It occurred to the nobles and leaders of the Shillong Raj to appoint them Siems, because

dang met samla kaba bhabríew shibún eh. Ia kaba ka don, ka don hangta barabor, bad bún ki ia pyrshang ban kem ia ka, kim lah namar ka long ka krem kaba khim. Te ynda la mih uwei u bríew uba kham sian u la leit khroh ia ka da kaba pyni da u syntíew uba ki khot u tiéw-ja-lyngkteng. Kumta katno ka bríew ka la wan hajan ba'n kynieh ia uta u syntiew, te uta u bríew u nangring da kaba pynran ia la ka kti khyndiat khyndiat hadúh ka'n da mih ha kaba kham kylluíd ka jaka, u sa kem ia ka. Hangta u la wallam sha la ieng, u ri u sumar bha ia ka, bad hadien-hadien u la shongkurim ia ka. Te la khot kyrteng ia kata ka bríew ka Pahsyntiew, namar ba uta u briew u ioh kem ia ka da kaba khroh ba pah da u syntiew. Uta u bríew u long uba na Nongjri Bhoi, bad ki jiw khot u Kongor Nongjri ia u. Te ynda ka la kha ki khún, kynthei bad shynrang, ka la leit phet sha kajuh ka jaka na kaba u la ioh kem ia ka, bad nadúh kata ka por ka'm wan shuh, la'u tnga ki khún ki leit khot leit pyrta katno-katno ruh. Kita ki khún ki la nangshait nang sian, bad ki bríew ruh, haba ki la bna ia ka jinglong kaba phylla ka jong ka kmie jong ki, ki la wan khnang na kylleng ki jaka ba'n khmih ia kita ki khynnah. Te kita ki khynnah ki la nang shibún ba'n leh rit ba'n leh don akór ha khmat ki tymmen bríew, ki bríew ruh baroh ki a ieit ia ki bad ki tharai ba ki long ki khún Blei. Kumta ki la ia ngúh ki la ia dem ia kita ki khynnah bad hadíen kata ka la jia ha ki

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(they said) the children had been born of a wonderful woman, who, it seemed very clear, was the daughter of the "god Shillong." Therefore they gladly decided to appoint them Siems in the country of Shillong (i.e. the present Khyrim and Mylliem States). The children thus became Siems, and they were called "Ki Siem-Blei" (the god kings) of Shillong.*

dohnúd kiba khráw-batri, ki tymmen-ki-san ha ka ri Shillong ban thung Siem ia ki namar ki khynnah ki long kiba la wan kha da ka briew kaba phylla shibún, kaba imat eh ba ka long ka khún u Blei Shillong. Te kumta ki la ia kut da ka mon snowbha baroh ba'n thung Siem ia ki ha ka hima Shillong, bad kumta la long Siem kita ki khynnah, ki synsháh bad ki khot ruh ia ki Siem-Blei-Siem-Shillong.

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U Loh Ryndi and Ka Lih Dohkha.

The Syntengs give the following explanation of the origin of the Siems of Suhtnga. There was a man from Wár Umwi named U Loh Ryndi. He went one day to fish in the Umwi stream. When he had caught only one fish, he returned home. He roasted the fish and placed it on the *tyngir* (a swinging shelf above the hearth). He forgot that it was there, and did not remember to eat it. The next morning he went out for a walk to the hill. When he returned home in the evening, he found his house had been swept and looked after, and that the rice had been cooked. He was much surprised at this. The next day the same thing happened. When this state of things continued to occur, he made a pretence of going for a walk to the hill and he called his dog. But he concealed himself the whole day outside the village, and when it was

U Loh Ryndi bad Ka Lih Dohkha.

Ki Synteng ki batai ia ka jinglong tynrai ki Siem Suhtnga kumne. La don u wei U Wár Umwi, uba kyrteng U Loh Ryndi, uba la leit khwái dohkha na ka Wah Umwi; te ynda la ngat tang kata kawei u la wan noh sha la ieng. Ynda u la syang u la buh noh halor tyngír ha ka ruh. Hangta u la klet bad um kynmáw shuh ban bám ia ka. Kumta ynda la-sháí mynstep u la leit kái pat sha lum, te haba u la wan noh la jan miet u la shem ia ka iing jong u ba la sár la sumar bad ka ja ba la ih. Mynkata u la lyngngoh shibún ba ka long kumne. Te kum la-sháí ka la long kumjuh. Ynda ka shu dem jailong kumne-pa-kumne la bún sín eh, ynda kumta u la leh ia lade kum u ban sa leit lúm, u da ting ia u ksew. Hinrei u la rih noh baroh shi sngi harud nong, bad ynda la poi ka por shet ja u la wan noh sha iing. Te mynba u la ioh-i ba la

* The Shillong Peak is thought to be the seat of a powerful *blei* or god who has his abode in the wood close to the top of the "Peak." Another folk-tale will be found concerning this god.

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● 539 time for cooking rice (evening), he returned home. When he saw that smoke was rising from the house, he crept up stealthily in order that he might suddenly enter the house. Finding a woman there, he said, "Who art thou?" She replied, "I am Ka Lih Dohkha. I am the fish whom thou didst catch and forget to eat." She forthwith added, "Thou must not let any one know. I have many relatives. Come, let us go and fetch them to come here." So U Loh Ryndi bade his mother take care of the house until his return from his journey. They went together and arrived at the place where he had caught her, and she jumped into the water and he remained on the dry land. After a while she returned, bringing with her her relatives, but how many of them there were is not known. They all went to the house of U Loh Ryndi. When Ka Lih Dohkha began to enter the house, and was about to cross the threshold, she saw a broom which his mother had placed on the threshold. She therefore abruptly turned back with all her relatives to the river. After that U Loh Ryndi saw in a dream that Ka Lih Dohkha had gone by the river Umwai Khyrwi to a village called Suhtnga. (Since that time all the fish have left the river up to the present day.) He accordingly went to angle for her in that stream, and when he had caught her, he found that she looked after him just the same as before. After that he married Ka Lih Dohkha and she bore him twelve daughters and a son. When the children tydem ding ha ieng u la syntiat bha biang ba un ioh rung kynsan bluit hapoh. Hynda kumta u la shem ia ka kynthei hangta. U la ong ia ka, "Phs kaei"? Ka la ong ia u, "nga long Ka Lih-dohkha, ma nga, nga long kata ka dohkha ba me la ngat bad me la klet ban bam." Ynda kumta ka la ong ia u "me wat pyntip iano iano ruh, nga don ki kur shibún eh, ngin ia leit sháw ia ki ban wan noh shane." Kumta U Loh Ryndi u la buh ia la ka kmie ban sumar ia ka iing tad ynda un wan na ka jingleit jong u. Ynda ki la ia leit ki la poi ha kata ka jaka ba u la ngat ia ka. Ynda kumta ka la sid ha ka um, u te u nang sah ha ka ryngkew. Te la shibit ka la wan pat sha u bad ka wallam lem bad ka ia ki kur, hinrei ki long katno ngut ym lah banong, bad ki la leit baroh sha ka iing U Loh Ryndi. Te mynba Ka Lih Dohkha ka la sydang rung ha iing, hamar ba kan sa jim ia ka shahksew ka la ioh-i ia u synsar ba la buh ka kmie jong u hapoh kata ka shahksew; namarkata ka la kylla din bak bad ki kur jong ka sha kata ka wah. Hadin kata U Loh Ryndi u la phohsniw, u la ioh-i ha kata ka jingphohsniw ia Ka Lih Dohkha ba ka la leit noh sha ka shnong ba ki khot ka Suhtnga ha ka Umwai-khyrwi (naduh kata la jah noh ki dohkha ba ka wah Umwi haduh mynta). Te u ruh u la leit sha kata ka wah ban khwai ia ka, bad ynda u la ngat u la shem ba ka sumar ia u kumjuh. Ynda nangta u la shongkurim bad Ka Lih Dohkha, bad u la ioh khún khadar ngut ki kynthei uwei u shynrang. Ynda la

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of U Loh Ryndi and Ka Lih Dohkha grew up, both of them returned to the stream Umwai Khyrwi. It is said that from the fishing-rod of U Loh Ryndi, which he left on the bank of the stream, there grew up bamboos, the joints and leaves of which grow upside down to the present day.

rangbah kita ki khún u Loh Ryndi bad Ka Lih Dohkha ki la leit noh baroh ar ngut ha kata ka Umwai Khyrwi. Te ki ong ba na u ryngwiang khwai jong U Loh Ryndi, harud um ba u la ieh noh, la long ki shken kiba ka mat ka long khongpong bad ka sla de kumjuh jen haduh mynta. 539

Kyllang and Symper.

Kyllang is a hill which is near the village of Mawnai in Khadsawphra, and Symper is a hill which is situated in the Siemship of Maharam. The old folks say that there are gods which inhabit these hills, which are called U Kyllang and U Symper. These gods had a quarrel for some reason that we mortals do not know. They fought by throwing mud at one another. After they had fought, once or twice, U Kyllang proved victorious. So U Symper, having been humiliated, sits quietly in his own place to this day, and U Kyllang sits very proudly because he was victorious in the fight. The holes which are like tanks in U Symper's sides remain to this day; it is said that U Kyllang made those holes during the battle.

U Kyllang* bad U Symper.

U Kyllang u long u lúm uba hajan ka shnong Mawnái ha Khadsawphra bad U Symper u dei u lúm uba long ha ri Maharam. Ha kine ki lúm ki tymmen ki jiw tharai ba don ki blei kiba shong hangto kiba kyrteng U Kyllang bad U Symper. Kine ki blei baroh ar ngut ki la ia kajia namar kano kano ka dáw kaba ngi u bynriw ngim lah ban tip. Te ki la ialeh baroh ar ngut da kaba ia khawoh ktih. Ynda ki la ialeh shi por ar por jop U Kyllang. Kumta U Symper u shong pynrit ia lade ha k. ka jaka jar-jar haduh mynta, bad U Kyllang u shong da kaba sngew khráw sngew sarong shibún ba u la jop ha ka jingialeh. Ki thlíw kiba long kum ki pukri kiba don ha ki krung u lúm Symper ki sah haduh mynta; ki ong ba la pynlong ia kito ki thlíw d. U Kyllang ha ka por ialeh. [133]

The Siem creating stone at Mawsmai.

On the outskirts of Mawsmai village, and to the west of it,

U Mawlong Siem ha Mawsmai.

Harúd 'nong Máwsmái don u wei u lúm uba shaphang 539 133

* Another version is that it was U Kyrphei, another hill in Nongspung territory, who fought with U Symper.

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539 [133] stands a hill; it is a very beautiful hill. From a distance it looks like the hump of a bull. It has big trees growing on it, as people are afraid to cut them because they believe that the god "Ryngkew" is there, who takes care of and protects the country. This hill has two names, U Mawlong Siem and U Lyngkrem. U Mawlong Siem is the smaller (peak) on the southern side, and U Lyngkrem the taller one, in which there is a cave. The 539 Mawsmai people sacrifice once 976 or twice a year according to 982 the god's demand. The Mawsmai people have, besides U Mawlong Siem, other village gods (called "Ryngkew"). The name of the one is "U Rangjadong," and the name of the other "U Ramsong." Sacri- 539 fices are offered to these two also. U Mawlong Siem is a very great and stern god. The other gods dare not engage in battle with him. He has a daughter called "Ka Khmat Kharai" (i.e. the mouth of the abyss). The god of the Umwai people fell in love with this daughter, but he was unable to obtain her in marriage, as U Mawlong Siem did not like him. It is not possible to know the exact reason why the name of U Mawlong Siem was given to him, but at any rate it appears that the name arose from the fact that in olden days before the death of a Siem there used to be heard at "Mawlong Siem" a great noise of beating of drums. The Mawsmai and the Mawmluh people used to hear it, and they attributed it to the god "Mawlong Siem," who beat the drum for his

sepngi na ka ehong. Une u lóm uba i-tynnad shibún. Ban khymih na uba jingngéi u long kum u syntai mosi kyrtong. U don ki dieng kiba khráw ki bym jiw don ba nóid ban thoh ban daiñ namar ba ki fiew ba u long U Ryngkew u blei uba eumar uba da ia ka muluk ka jaka. Ia une u lóm ki khot ar kyrteng, U Mawlong Siem bad U Lyngkrem, U Máwlong Siem u long uta uba kham lyngkot shaphang shathi, bad U Lyngkrem u long uta uba jerong eh bad uba don ka kum Pubon hapoh. Ia une U Mawlong Siem ki Máwsmái ki jiw ai jingkmia da u blang shisin ahi emem ne shi ein ar emem katba u pan. Ki Mawmluh ruh ki leh kumjuh na la ehong. Nalor une U Mawlong Siem ki Máwsmái ki don shah ki Ryngkew hajan ehgong, uwei U Rangjadong bad uwei pat U Ramsong. Ia kine ki kdia. Une U Mawlong Siem u long u blei uba khráw shibún bad uba eh. Ki para blei kim nóid ban ia leh thyma ia ki. U don kawei ka khún kaba kyrteng "Ka Khymat Kharái," u blei ki Umwái u i-bha ia ka, hinrei um lah pei namar U Máwlong Siem ém engewbha ia u. Ban tip thikna ia ka dew balei ba khot kyrteng Máwlong Siem ia u ym lah ban tip; hinrei la kumno kumno i-met ba kane ka kyrteng ka la nih namar ba synhyndái kaba yn ea iap Siem la jiw ioh engew hangta ha U Máwlong Siem ba don ka jingsawa tem kaing kaba khraw shibun. Ki Mawsmai bad ki Mawmluh ki jiw ioh engew, bad ki jiw tharai ba u blei Mawlong Siem u tem kaing ban pynshéd khún. Lei lei kaba la

children to dance to. At any rate, when this sound is heard, it never fails to portend the death of a Siem. It appears that this hill was called "Mawlong Siem" for that reason.

ioh ongew kum kata ka jingsawa ym jiw pep ia ka ban iap Siem, bad i-mat ba na kata ka daw la khot kyrteng ia une u lum Máwlong Siem.

Why there are Spots on the Moon.

In olden days there was a woman who had four children, three girls and one boy. Their names were these, Ka Sngi (sun), Ka Um (water), Ka Ding (fire), and U Bynái (moon). These four children belonged to rich gentle folk. The Moon was a wicked young man, for he began to make love to his elder sister, Ka Sngi. In the beginning the Moon was as bright as the Sun. When the Sun became aware of his bad intentions, she was very angry. She took some ashes in her hand and said to him, "do you harbour such an incestuous and wicked intention against me, your elder sister, who has taken care of you and held you in her arms, and carried you on her back like a mother does; now I will cover your brow with ashes, you wicked and shameless one; begone from the house." Then the Moon felt very much ashamed, and from that time he gave out a white light because the Sun had covered him with ashes. What we see like a cloud (on the Moon) when it is full, are the ashes which adhered from the time the Sun covered him with them. The three daughters, however, remained at home to take care of their mother, until she grew old and died.

Kumno ba la Thow dar U Bynai.

La don kawei ka briew myphyndái kaba don saw ngut ki khim, lai ngut ki kynthei bad u wei u shynrang. Ki kyrteng jong ki ki long kine, Ka Sngi, Ka Um, Ka Ding, bad U Bynái. Kine barah saw ngut ki la long ki khán riwbha khán don burom shisha shisha. Te une U Bynái u la long u briew uba riwnar, u sydang ban i-bha ia la ka hynnen, Ka Sngi. Une U Bynái ruh ha kaba mynnyngkong u long uba phyrnái ki ryngkat Ka Sngi. Te ynda ka Sngi ka la ongewthuh ia ka jingmut riwnar jong u ka la ongew bitter shibán bad ka la shim u dypei ha la ka kti bad ka la ong ia u, "da kum kane ka khm kaba sang kaba sniw phi thew ia nga ka hynnen kaba la thum la bah, la sumar sukher kum ka kynie ryngkat; mynta ngan tep da u dypei ia ka shyllangmat jong me u riwnar u khlem raiñ,—khie phet noh na iing." Te U Bynái u la ongew rem ongew raiñ shibán eh. Bad nadub kata ka por U Bynái u kylla da ka jingshái kaba lih sumar ha tep Ka Sngi da u dypei. Bad uta uba ngi ioh-i ha U Bynái kum u l'oh ha ka por ha u pyllun u long u dypei baiñ uba eah nadub ha tep Ka Sngi. Te ki sah lai ngut ki para kynthei kilu sumar ia la ka kmie ha la sydot la tymmen hadub ha kan da iap.

"Sohpet Byneng" Hill.

539 In olden days, when the earth was very young, they say that heaven and earth were very near to one another, because the navel-string of heaven drew the earth very close to it. This navel-string of heaven, resembling flesh, linked a hill near Sumer with heaven. At that time all the subjects of the Siem of Mylliem throughout his kingdom came to one decision, i.e. to sever the navel-string from that hill. After they had cut it, the navel-string became short; and, as soon as it shortened, heaven then ascended high. It was since that time that heaven became so high, and it is for that reason that they call that hill which is near Sumer "U Sohpet Byneng."

U Lúm Sohpet Byneng.

Mynhyndái mynba dang lung ka pyrthei ki ong ba ka byneng bad ka khyndew ki ia jan shibún namar ba U Sohpet Byneng u ring ia ka byneng ba'n wan kham hajan. Une U Sohpet Byneng u long kum ka doh kaba snoh na u wei u lum uba hajan Sumer bad ka snoh ruh ia ka byneng. Te mynkata ka pór ki khún ki raiot U Siem Mylliem baroh kawei ka hima ki ia ryntieh kawei ka buit ban ia ieng ba'n khet noh ia uta U Sohpet Byneng na uta u lum. Te ynda ki la ialeh ba'n khet ia u u la dykut, bad tang u shu dykut ka byneng ka la kiw theng sha jerong. Kumta ka shu jngái kumne ka byneng nadúh kata ka pór ba dykut U Sohpet Byneng nalór uta u lúm. Kane ruh ka long ka dáw namar balei ba la khot ia uta u lúm uba don hajan Sumer "U Lúm Sohpet Byneng."

How the Dog came to live with Man.

In olden days, when the world was young, all the beasts lived happily together, and they bought and sold together, and they jointly built markets. The largest market where all the beasts used to take their articles for sale was "Luri-Lura," in the Bhoi country. To that market the dog came to sell rotten peas. No animal would buy that stinking stuff. Whenever any beast passed by his stall, he used to say "Please buy this stuff." When they looked at it and smelt it, it gave out a bad odour. When many animals had collected together

Kumno u Ksew u la wan shong bad u Briew.

Mynhyndái, mynba dang lung ka pyrthei shibit, ki mrád ki mreng lái phew jaid ki ia suk ki ia lok para mrád, bad ki ju ia-die-ia-thied, ia tháw iew tháw bat ryngkat. Te ka iew kaba khráw tam eh kaba poi baroh ki lái phew mrád ba'n wallam la ki jingkhaii pateng ka long ka Iew "Luri-Lura" na ri Bhoi. Ha kata ka iew u ksew u wan die 'tung rymbái, te ym man don ba pán thied satia ia kata ka ktung. La iaid kawei ka mrád u tyrwa, "To thied kane ka ktung." Haba ka la khmih bad ka la íw, kaba iwtung pynban, la iaid kawei pat ruh shu

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near the stall of the dog, they took offence at him, and they said to him, "Why have you come to sell this evil-smelling, dirty stuff?" They then kicked his ware and trampled it under foot. The dog then complained to the principal beasts and also to the tiger, who was at that time the priest of the market. But they condemned him, saying, "You will be fined for coming to sell such dirty stuff in the market." So they acted despitefully towards him by kicking and trampling upon his wares. When the dog perceived that there was no one to give ear to his complaint, he went to man, who said, "Come and live with me, and I will arise with you to seek revenge on all the animals who have wronged you." The dog agreed and went to live with man from that time. Then man began to hunt with the assistance of the dog. The dog knows well also how to follow the tracks of the animals, because he can scent in their footprints the smell of the rotten pea stuff which they trod under foot at Luri-Lura market.

The "Thlen."

In olden days there was a market in the village of Langhiang Kongkhen, and there was a bridge sacred to the gods there. All the children of men used to frequent that heavenly market. They used to pass by shem ba ka long kumta, kaba sniew bad kaba íwtung ka jingdie jong u ksew. Te haba ki la ialang kham bún ha ka basa jong u ki la phoi ia u ksew, ki ong "balei me wan die ia ka ktung kaba íw jakhlia?" bad ki la kynjat ia ka jingdie jong u bad ki la iúh hapoh slajat. Te u ksew u la mudui ha ki para mrád kiba kham rangbah bad ha u khla uba long lyngdoh, ha kata ka iew. Pynban ki la pynrem ia u, bad ki la ong, "yn dain kuna ia me uba wan die ia ka jakhlia ha ka iew ka hat." Kumta ki la leh bein ia u da kaba iuh kaba kynjat ia kata ka ktung. Te u ksew haba u ioh-i b'ym don ba sngap ia ka jingmudui jong u, u la wan sha u bynriew, bad u bynriew u la ong "To wan shong noh bad nga nga'n ieng ryngkat bad me ba'n wád kyput ia ki lái phew mrád kiba leh bein ia me." Te kumta u ksew u la kohnguh bad u la wan shong bad u bynriew nadúh kata ka pór. Nangta sa long ka beh mrád u bynriew ryngkat bad ka jingiarap u ksew. U ksew ruh u tip ba'n búd dien ia ki mrád, namar u sngewthúh ba ka dien ka khnap ka mrád baroh ka don ka jingíw-khong ba la sah ka jingíw nadúh kata ka pór ba ki iúh ia ka ktung rymbái jong u ha ka Iew Luri-Lura.

Shaphang U Thlen.

Mynhyndái la don ka iew ha Langhiang Kongkhen, ba don ka jingkieng blei hangta. Baroh ki khún bynriw ki ia wan ha kane ka iew blei. Ki iáid lynti na Rangjirteh, kaba don ka krem u thlen uba khráw eh. Te katba ki leit sha kane ka

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539 Rangjirteh, where there is a cave which was tenanted by a gigantic "thlen." When they went to that market, as soon as they arrived at Rangjirteh they were swallowed up by the "thlen." The "thlen" did this in obedience to an order he had received. If ten people went there, five of them were swallowed up; half of them he devoured, and half of them he let go. But any one who went alone was not touched by the "thlen," for it was necessary for him to leave untouched half (of the number of those who went). When many people had been devoured, and when they saw that all the children of men would be destroyed, whether they were Khasis or plains people, they held a great durbar at Sunnai market to which both Khasis and plains people went. They considered together as to how to devise a means by which they could slay the "thlen" which had devoured the children of men. After they had deliberated for a long time they decided to adopt the following plan. In the grove that is close to Laitryngew, which is called "the grove of U Suidnoh," there was a man called "U Suidnoh." They counselled together to get "U Suidnoh" to make friends with the "thlen." This Suidnoh was a courageous man who did not care for any one. He used always to walk alone; so when he went to the "thlen," the latter did not eat him because there was no one else with him who could be let go. The people advised U Suidnoh that he should go and give the "thlen" flesh every iew blei tang shu poi ha Rangjirteh la ngúid noh u thlen. U leh kum ha kane ka rukom kat kum ka hukum ba u la ioh. Lada iáid shiphew ngut, san ngut la ngúid noh; shiteng shiteng la bám, shiteng shiteng la pyllait noh. Hinrei ia uba iáid wei briew ym bit ba'n bám. Ka dei ba'n da pyllait shiteng shiteng. Te ynda la lut than eh ki briew, ki i ruh kum ba'n sa dúh ki khún bynriew baroh, bad Khasi bad Dykhar, hangta ki la sydang ba'n lum ka dorbar bah ha ka iew Sunnai, u Dykhar u hangta u Khasi ruh hangta. Ki ia pyrkhat ba'n ioh ka buit ka lád da kumno ki lah ba'n pyniap noh ia u thlen uba la bam dúh ia u khún bynriew. Ynda ki la dorbar kham slem ki la ioh ka lád kaba biang kumne. Ha kata ka khláw hajan Laitryngew kaba ki khot 'làw Suidnoh la don uwei uba kyrteng "U Suidnoh" ki la ong ba'n pynialok ia U Suidnoh bad U Thlen. Une U Suidnoh u long uba riwnar u b'ym jiw iáid ryngkat briew. Wei briw, wei briw, u iáid. Kumta haba u leit sha U Thlen ruh u'm bám satia namar ba U Thlen hi ruh u'm jiw bám ha b'ym don jingpyllait. Ki briew ki la sylla ia U Suidnoh ba un leit ai doh ia u hala ka sngi; u ai da ki blang, ki sniang, ki massi. Haba la leh kumta kham slem U Thlen u la júh, u la ia lok bha bad "U Suidnoh." Te ynda kine ki la ia juh bha, u khún bynriew u la bythah pat ia U Suidnoh ba u'n shna shlem, bad u la shna shlem ba'n pyrsut nar-wah. Ynda u la pyrsut ia u nar hadúh ba u la sáw bha hâin u la khap na ka lawar ding bak bad katba u

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day, either goats, or pigs, or cattle. After he had done this for a long time, the "thlen" became tame, and was great friends with U Suidnoh. When both of them became very intimate thus, the children of men advised U Suidnoh to build a smelting house. So he built a smelting house and made the iron red-hot, and, holding it with a pair of tongs, took it to the "thlen." When he arrived he said to the "thlen," "Open your mouth, open your mouth, brother-in-law, here is some flesh." As soon as he opened his mouth, he threw the red-hot iron down his throat. The monster then struggled and wriggled so violently in its death agony that the earth shook as if there had been an earthquake. When U Suidnoh saw the death struggle of the "thlen," he fainted (from excitement). The quaking of the earth startled all the children of men, and they thought that something had happened. When U Suidnoh did not return home his family went to look for him, for they knew that he had gone to feed the "thlen" with red-hot iron. They found him there lying in a faint. When they had revived him, they asked him why he had fainted thus. He replied, "When I was feeding the 'thlen' with red-hot iron, he struggled and wriggled and I fainted. Come, let us go and see what has become of him." They then went and found that the "thlen" was dead. They then published abroad all over the world that the "thlen" was dead, and they convened a durbar to decide about eating dang sáw dang khluid bha u la leit lam ha U Thlen. Tang shu poi u ong "Ko kynum ang, ang, kane ka doh," bad tang u shu ang u la thep jluk ha u pydot. Hangta U Thlen u la khih u la lympat u la kyrthat u la ksaid iap hadúh ba la win ka khyndew kumba khih u jumái. Hangta U Suidnoh, haba u ioh-i ia ka jingksáid iap U Thlen, u ruh u la iaplér b'ym tip briew shúh. Te kata ka jingwin ka khyndew ka la pynkyndit ia u khún bynriew baroh ha ka pyrthei, bad ki la pyrkhat ba la jia ei ei. U Suidnoh u'm poi shúh sha la iing, te kiba ha iing jong u ki la leit wád, namar ki la tip ba u la leit ai jingbám ha U Thlen da u nar sáw: hangta ki la shem ba u la iap lér, bad ki la pynkyndit ia u bad ki la kylli ia u "Balei me iaplér kumne?" U ong, "Hamar ba nga dang ai jingbam ia U Thlen da u nar sáw ba la pyrsut bha, u la kyrthat khih lympat U Thlen bad nga la iap lér. "Ia, ia leit khymih kumno u la long." Ynda ki la ia leit khymih ki shem ba la iap U Thlen. Hangta la pynbyna hàw ia ka pyrthei baroh ba la lah iap U Thlen, bad u lùm ka dorbar ba'n bám noh ia u. Hangta ha ka dorbar ki la ia kut kumne: ki Khasi ki'n bám shiteng bad ki Dykhar ki'n bam shiteng. Ynda la ia kut kumta ha ka dorbar ki la ieng ba'n leit sei noh na ka krem, bad ki la rah halor u máwsiang. Hangta ki la ia shain ia dain ia ka doh U Thlen lyngkhot lyngkhot. Ki Dykhar na mih-ngi, namar ba ki kham bún briew ki la bám lut ia la ka bynta, kim shym pynsah ei ei, kumta ym don Thlen shúh ha pyddeng ki

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him. In the durbar they came to the following understanding, i.e. that the Khasis should eat half, and the plains people half (of the body). After they had come to this decision in the durbar, they then went to take him out of the cave, and they lifted him on to a rock. They there cut into pieces the "thlen's" carcase. The plains people from the East, being more numerous, ate up their share entirely, not leaving anything—for this reason there are no "thlens" in the plains; but the Khasis from the West, being fewer in numbers, could not eat up the whole of their share; they left a little of it. Thus, because they did not eat it all, the "thlen" has remained with them. U Suidnoh gained for himself fame and honour, which he enjoys up to the present day. The Khasis, therefore, when they find that the hair or the clothes of any one belonging to them have been cut, refer the matter to U Suidnoh, and they sacrifice to him. The Syntengs also have their "thlen," but he differs much from the Khasi "thlen." The Syntengs also believe he is a kind of serpent, and there are some families and clans who keep him and worship him like a god. They sacrifice to him a pig only; they do not propitiate him with human blood as the Khasis do.*

Dylhar. Hinrei ki Khasi, na sepngi namar ba ki kham duna briew ki'm shym lah ba'n bam lut ia la ka bynta, ki la pynsah katto katne. Kumta namar ba ki'm shym bám lut, U Thlen u dang sah. U Suidnoh u la ioh la ka nám la ka burom hadúh mynta. Namar haba ki Khasi ki shem ba la ot shniuh ne ot jáin ki pynkit halor U Suidnoh bad ki ái jingknia ia u. Ki Synteng ruh ki don la U Thlen hinrei u phér shibun na U Thlen Khasi. Ki Synteng ruh ki ngeit ba u long u kynja bysein, bad don ki iing bad ki jaid kiba jiw ri ia u bad ki mane kum u blei. Ki ai jingknia ia u tang da u sniang, hinrei kim ái da ka snám briew kumba ái ki Khasi kiba ri ia u.

* For further details regarding the Khasi superstition of the "thlen," the reader is referred to the portion of the monograph dealing with human sacrifices. It may be mentioned that the "thlen's" cave is at a place called Pom Doloi in the territory of the Siem of Cherra, where there is also a rock called "Dain Thlen" (the cutting of the "thlen"). Another version of the story explaining why there are still "thlens" in the Khasi Hills is that there was an old woman who lived at a place called Mawphu, a village in a valley to the west of Cherrapunji. This old woman forgot to eat her share of the "thlen's" flesh, the result being that the species became repropagated.

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About the river "Rupatylli" at Duwara.

In ancient times, when the world was still young, there were two river goddesses who lived on the Shillong Peak; perhaps really they were the daughters of the god of the Peak. These two wagered one against the other that each would be the first to arrive in the Sylhet plains by cutting a channel for herself. They agreed to start from Shillong Peak. One followed the channel of the Umngot, and the other that of Umiew or Umiam. The one that followed the channel of Umngot chose a soft and easy bed, and although the way was a longer one, she did not find it a trouble to go by a circuitous route. When she reached the Sylhet plains she was called "Shengurkhat," and she then flowed past Chhatak and so reached Duwara. She looked round to see where Umiam was, but she could not descry her anywhere. So out of playfulness she flowed slowly, and she formed a channel like a necklace (*rupatylli*) by way of waiting to see where Umiam was. Umiew was very proud, she felt strong enough to make the channel she chose, and although it was through the midst of hills and rocks, she cared not a bit; so she wasted time by digging through the hills and boulders. When she reached Shella, she thought she could easily beat Umngot, for the course she had taken was a very straight one. When she got a little below Shella she saw Umngot shouting for joy with foaming waves

Shaphang ka wah Rupatylli ha Duwara.

Hyndái mynba dang lung ka pyrthei la don ár ngut ki blei um kiba shong ha lúm Shillong. Lehse shisha ki long ki khún u blei Shillong. Kine ki la ia kop ba'n ia mareh ba'n ia pynpoi kloi sha ri madan Shilot da kaba ia pom mar kawei ka wah. Kumta ki la ia kut bad ki la ia mih na Shillong kawei ka Umngot bad kawei ka Umiew ne Umiám. Kata ka Umngot ka búd ia ka lynti na ba jem ba jem, la ka long kham jingngái ruh kam sngew salia ba'n iáid kyllain. Kumta ka la poi ha Shilot ba'n khot ka wah Shengurkhat bad ka iaid hadúh Shattok, bad ka poi ha Duwara. Ka khymih ia ka Umiam haei-haei-ruh, te ym ioh-i. Kumta ka la leh suki kái, ka tháw ka rupa tylli hangto ba'n long kumba sangeh ba'n ioh-i ia ka Umiám. Ka Umiew ka long kaba kham sarong, ka sngew khlain ba'n iaid na ka lynti kaba bit la ka long da ki lúm ne ki máw, ka'm suidniew, kumta ka la pynlut por ha kaba tih ia ki lúm bad ki máw. Ynda ka la poi ha Shella ka la shu mut ba'n jop ia ka Umngot namar ka lynti jong ka ka long kaba beit eh, te ynda ka la poi harum Shella khyndiat ka la ioh-i ia ka Umngot ba ka la risa da ka jingkhie dew ha ka wah Rupatylli ha Duwara. Kumta ka la sngew ráin suin bad ka la leh suki noh da kaba pynpait tynat ia lade san tylli, kawei ka Umtang; ár ka Umtarasa; lái ka Pasbiria; sáw ka wah Kumarjani; san ka wah Duwara. Kumne ka la

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539 in the Rupatylli channel at Duwara. She was covered with shame, and she slackened her speed and split herself up into five branches, namely, ka Umtong, ka Torasa, ka Pasbiria, ka Kumarjani, and ka Duwara. Umiam did this so as to hide her shame from Umngot. This is how the river Rupatylli was formed at Duwara, to be a token that Umngot had been victorious in her contest with Umiew.*

leh khnang ba'n búh rien ia la ka jingkhein burom ha khymat ka Umngot. Kumta sa long ka wah Rupatylli ha Duwara namar ka long ka dak ka jingjop ka Umngot ia ka Umiew.

The Kupli (Kopili).

539 133 484 782 The Kopili river rises in the "Black Mountains," † and flows northwards into the Brahmaputra. It is the boundary between the country of the Syntengs and that of the Hadems. ‡ Any traveller who wishes to cross this river must leave behind him the rice which he has taken for his journey, and any other food that he may have taken with him. If he does not do so, even if he crosses the river at an unforbidden point, he is liable to offer a sacrifice to the Kopili goddess. The people offer to her three fowls and three goats outside the village, i.e. one to the goddess herself, and the other two to her sons, U Shyngkram and U Jali; and five fowls, that

Shaphang Ka Kupli, U Shyngkram bad U Jali, ki Khún jong ka.

Ka Kupli ka long ka wah na ki lúm baiong bad ka túid da artet ha ka wah Brahmaputra. Ka long ka púd ia ka ri Synteng bad ka ri Hadem ha mihngi. Uno-uno u nongleit jingleit uba kwah ban jám ia kane ka wah Blei-Kupli u don kam ba'n bred noh ia la u kháw-ryneng ha shiliang wah, bad ia ki kynja jingbám baroh phar, te un sa klan ia ka. Lada u'm da leh kumta, la'u klan na ka jaka ka b'ym sang ruh un háp jingaingúh ha ka. Ki khún-ki-hajár ia ka ba lum lái s'iar, lái blang kawei ia ka, marmar uwei ia U Shyngkram bad U Jali; bad san s'iar ba ki'n ia bám sngewbha baroh lái

* Both rivers, Umngot and Umiew, or Umiam, have their sources in or close to the Shillong Peak. The word "*Rupatylli*" signifies in Khasi a solid silver necklace of a peculiar shape. In order to appreciate this pretty tale thoroughly, the reader ought to view the river "Rupatylli" from the heights of Laitkynsew, or Mahadeo, whence it is to be seen glistening in the sun like a veritable *rupatylli* or silver necklace.

† These mountains are the high hills which lie to the east of the Jowai Sub-Division, and which form part of the boundary line between the Khasi and Jaintia Hills District and North Cachar.

‡ The word Hadem is possibly a corruption of "Hidimba," the old name for North Cachar.

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they may all three feast together; this is in the case of one transgression only. But in the case of a man who has committed more than one, it is not possible to say how many goats and fowls must be sacrificed, because the river often demands offerings on account of a man's parents or relatives having crossed the river at some time or other.

From the time of the old Siem to that of U Ram Singh Siem, they used to sacrifice to this great goddess two persons during the months of November and December at the time of offering a sacrifice at Jaintiapur. After a ceremony performed by the Brahmins at Jaintiapur, the victims are led to the Mawshai (Shangpung) market, where they are allowed to take and eat anything they like. After that they conduct them to Sumer; but some say that the stone on which the victims are beheaded is situated below the village of Ka Iew Ksi, near a stream which falls into the Kopili, and where there is a *mawkynthei* (flat table-stone) close to that sacred river.

They place the victims on that stone, where the executioner beheads them with a terrible sword. After that they throw the dead bodies and their heads into the river. But in the days of U Markuhain (U Raj Indro Singh) "who was our contemporary," they have ceased to do so out of fear of the East India Company. The victims are known by the name of "Mugha Khara."

At that time all the people of the territory of the twelve dolois were in a great state of ngut shi khún shi kymie, kata ka long haba long tang kawei ka lait, hinrei haba ka'n long katba shong ka lait u briew lei-lei, ngam tip ka'n long katno blang katno siar namar haba dei ka'n wan pán ka jingkñia namar ba la klan ia ka na khlieh lane na kyjat da u kyñie u kypa kano-kano ka iing lane kano-kano ka kur. Nadúh ki sngi ki Siem Tymmen haduh ki sngi U Ram Singh Siem ia kane ka blei bah ka kymai u lei ba khraw ki kñia da ki briew ár-ngùt shi snem shi snem hamar u bynái ba ki puja ne ai ngúh ha Jaintiapur, kata, hamar u 'nái wieng bad u 'nái nohprah. Ynda ki la kñia ha Jaintiapur da ki Bramon, ki sa ia lam ia ki sha ka iew Mawshái ne ka iew Shangpung ba ki'n bám shiwa katba mon na kata ka iew. Nangta pat sha Sumer, kiwei pat ki ong ba u máw ba ki khrái khlieh ia ki Muga Khara u don harum ka shnong Iewksi hajan kawei ka wah kaba túid sha ka Kupli—sha ka jaka ba don ka máw kynthei harúd kata ka wah blei Kumta ki sa kyntiw halor kata ka maw kynthei ia ki; nangta pat wan sa u nongkhrai khlieh bad ka wait ba i-shyrkhei, u khrai ia ki hangta. Hadin kata ki sa shat ia ki met-iap sha um bad ia ki khlieh jong ki ruh de. Hinrei ha ki sngi U Markuháin ne U Raj-Indro Singh uba ha Khyjong ngi mynta ym long shúh kumta namar ba u tieng ia ka Kompani. Ia kine ki briew ba ki kñia ki khot kyrteng ia ki ki Muga Khara.

Mynkata ki bynriew shi khadár doloi sngew tieng, ki ong ba ki nongkem ki da kylli shiwa ia ka jaid, ki da leh ia lade kum ki bym mut ba'n leh

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782 terror. It is said that the victim-catchers, when they inquired about the clan (of their intended victims), conducted themselves as if they did not intend to do anything. When the people told their clan, then they caught them. When they heard that the people belonged to clans from which *kongngors* * were selected, they did not arrest them. When it was impossible to get hold of any one else, they sacrificed some of the (king's) slaves.

ei-ei-ruh, te ynda kita ki briw ia kiba ki mut ba'n kem ki la ia thuh ia la ka jaid ki sa kem ia ki. Haba ki sngew ba ki long na ka jaid kaba jiw long kongngór ki'm jiw kem. Te haba ym ioh eh ki kñia da ki mráw Siem.

The Village of Maw-pun-ka-Rytiang (Mawpunkyrtiang).

539 There was in olden days a woman called Ka Rytiang of the Siem clan. Whilst she was still a spinster, she used to go to catch fish in a stream over which there is to the present day a bridge made of a single stone, called Mawpun ka Rytiang. Whilst she was catching fish in the midst of the stream, a fit of drowsiness overtook her. At that very moment there approached her a very handsome young man, who thus addressed her: "Take this drumful of money; do not marry, and thou shalt nevertheless bear children. Thou must throw a bridge built of a single stone across this stream, thou must build thy house entirely of stone, the beams must be all of stone. Thou must spend all the money I have given thee, and if it does not suffice for thy expenditure, I shall bring more. Thou wilt remember all that I say?" She replied "yes." As soon as he

Ka shnong Mawpun-ka-Rytiang (Mawpunkyrtiang).

Te la don mynhyndái kawei ka briew kaba kyrteng ka Rytiang, ka jaid Siem. Mynba ka dangsamla ka leit tong shér na kata ka wah kaba don u Máwpún uba ki khot hadúh mynta u Máwpún ka-Rytiang. Hamar ba ka dang tong shér ha pyddeng um ka lamshoh sam thiah hangta. Hamarkata ka por la mih u wei u briew uba bhabriew shibun eh, bad u ong ha ka, "Heh kane ka tyngka shi sing nalai; te pha wat shongkurim shuh, ho; koit, ki khun pha'n ioh hi, bad pha'n pún uwei u máwpún na Shilliang sha shilliang kane ka wah, bad thaw iing ba phán shong da ki máw suda ki rijid ki rishot, kiei kiei baroh thaw da ki maw. Pha'n pynlut kane ka tyngka baroh, bad lada ym dap ruh ngán sa wallam pat. Phán kynmáw ho ia kaba nga la ong baroh." Ka ong "haoid." Te kumne-kumne, tang shu la dep kine ki ktin baroh ba u kren, ka la kyndit na kata ka jing-

* A Kongngor is one who has married a Khasi princess.

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had finished speaking to her, she awoke from her fit of drowsiness and found herself holding a drumful of money. On her way home she pondered over what he had said to her, and her heart was full of joy that she had met a god who had given her so much money, and who had spoken such words to her. She then constructed a bridge over that stream with a single stone, which remains till this day.* When she was about to build her house, it happened that she got married notwithstanding; she gave birth to a blind child, and died shortly afterwards. So the people called the village "Maw-pun-ka-Rytiang," or, when abbreviated, "Mawpunkyrtiang."

shoh samthiah, bad ka tyngka ka don ha ka kti jong ka shi-'sing nalai. Te ynda ka la wan sha la iing, artat artat ka lynti ka la puson ha la ka mynsim da kaba kymen ba ka la iashem ia u blei uba la ai katne ki tyngka bad uba la kren kum kine ki ktin. Te kumta ka la ring u máwpún uba don hadúh mynta. Bad hamar ba ka dang sydang ba'n tháw sa ka iing ka lap ba ioh tynga noh pynban; kumta ka kha u khun da uba matlah bad tang shibit ka iap noh. Kumta ki ioh ban khot ka shnong Máwpún-ka-Rytiang, lane haba kren lyngkot Mawpunkyrtiang.

The Siem of Malyniang.

The Siem of Malyniang was one of those kings who, people said, was one of the "god-kings." He lived in the village of Madur, which is now in the Maskut doloiship. There arose from the royal family of Malyniang a king whose name was Kyllong Raja. His manner was very peculiar, but he was at the same time both stern and courageous. He made up his mind to conquer the whole of the Synteng country as well as the territory of the Siem of Shillong, in order to extend his own kingdom of Madur. This Kyllong did not require many followers when he went to war

Shaphang U Siem Malyniang.

U Siem Malyniang u la long uwei u Siem ba jiw byna ba u long u kynja Siem blei. Une u la shong ha ka shnong Madur kaba long mynta ha ka ilaka u doloi Maskut. Ha ka jaid Siem Malyniang la mih uwei uba kyrteng U Kyllong Raja. Une u Siem uba phylla shibun ha la ka jinglong, u briew uba eh uba shlur. U la thymu ban jop ia ka ri Synteng baroh bad ia ka ri Shillong bán pynkhráw ia la ka hima Madur. Une u Kyllong u'm donkam shibun ki nongbud bán leit ia leh ia kanokano ka thyma, namar u long u briew uba khlain shibun bad u

* This stone bridge, situated on the Theria road about a mile below Cherra, existed up to the Earthquake of 1897, which demolished it. The large slab of stone which formed the roadway of the bridge, is, however, still to be seen lying in the bed of the stream.

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because he was a very strong man and a man whom nobody could kill, for, if he was killed he came to life again immediately. The Synteng king once chopped him up into pieces and threw his hands and feet far away, and thought he would not come to life again. Nevertheless, next morning he came to life just the same, and he stalked along all the paths and by-ways to intercept his enemies. The Synteng king was in great trouble on his account, and was at a loss for a plan how to overcome him, because, having been killed once or twice, he came to life again.

When the Synteng king had thought well over the matter, he hit on a device which he thought a very good one, by which he could ascertain by what manner of means he came to life again after having once been killed. The Synteng king's stratagem was the following. He selected the most beautiful girl in the Synteng country, he put on her ornaments of gold and of silver and royal raiment of great price, and he said to her, "All these will I give thee, and more besides, if thou canst obtain for me the secret of Kyllong Raja, and canst inform me how he brings himself to life again after being killed. Now I will send thee to the market there, and if Kyllong Raja takes a fancy to thee, and if he is willing to take thee to wife, thou wilt go, and thou wilt pretend to love him as far as is in thy power. Afterwards thou wilt inquire regarding all his secrets and wisdom, i.e. how he comes to life again after he has been killed; and after thou hast by'm jiw don uba lah ba'n pyniap ia u. La ki pyniap ruh u im pat kumne-kumne. U Siem Synteng u la pom ia u tukra-tukra, u la bred ia ki kyjat ki kti sha jingngai, bad u la tharai ba u'n ym im shuh, pynban tang la mynstep u la im hi kumjuh, u la iaid ia ki lad ki dong ban sywait ia ki nongshun. U Siem Synteng u la shitom shibun ia u bad u la duh buit ruh da kumno yn leh ba'n jop ia u, haba shi sin ar sin la pyniap u shu im pat kumjuh pakumjuh. Te haba u Siem Synteng u la pyrkhat bha u la shem kawei ka buit kaba u tharai ba ka long kaba bha tam bad kaba u lah ban tip da kano ka rukom ne ka jingstad ba u im pat haba la pyniap ia u. Ka buit jong u Siem Synteng ka la long kumne. U la shim kawei ka samla kaba bhábriew tam na ka ri Synteng baroh, u pyndeng ki jingdeng ksiar ki jingdeng rupa, bad u pynkup ki jain Siem kiba kordor eh, bad u ong ha ka "ngan ai ia pha kine baroh, bad ngan ai shuh ruh nalor kine lada pha'n ioh ia ka buit u Kyllong Raja ban iathuh ha nga da kumno u lah ban pynim pat ia lade haba pom ia u. Te mynta nga'n phah ia pha sha ieu shato, lada une u Kyllong Raja u i-bha ia pha, bad u'n shim ia-pha ban long ka tynga jong u, phan leit, bad phan leh ieit ia u katba lah. Hadin sa kylli ia ka buit ka jingstad baroh, da kumno u im pat haba la pom ruh, bad ynda pha la tip ia kita baroh sa pyntip sha nga ba nga'n sa jop ia u. Te lada pha'n leh kumta nga'n ai buskit ia pha shibun ho. Kumta u phah iew soit ia ka. Te une U Kyllong Raja u la

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found out all these things, thou wilt inform me, so that I may overcome him. Then, if thou art successful in thy mission, I will give thee a great reward." He then sent her to the market. Kyllong Raja saw her and fell in love with her, and he took her to wife and kept her at Madur. Then that damsel pretended to love him exceedingly, and she repeatedly asked him his secret, how he came to life again. Then Kyllong Raja, fancying that she really loved him, confessed all to her. He said, "My life depends upon these things. I must bathe every day and must wash my entrails" (hence the appellation of "the king who washes his inside" which they gave him), "after that I take my food, and there is no one on earth who can kill me unless he obtains possession of my entrails. Thus my life hangs only on my entrails."

When, therefore, that damsel who had become his wife had learnt all these things, she sent word to the Synteng king that he should send one of his elders, to whom she might reveal the secret of U Kyllong's existence. When the Synteng king heard this, he sent his elders to her. She then told all those things that U Kyllong had confessed to her. When the Synteng king had heard everything, he gave orders to the people to be on the watch so as to get hold of U Kyllong Raja. They found him one day bathing, with his entrails placed on one side of the bathing-place, so that afterwards he might wash them. Thereupon a man from Ralliang seized the entrails and iohih ia ka, bad u la i-bha shisha ia ka, bad u shim iaka ba'n long ka tynga jong u. U buh ia ka ha Madur. Te kata ka samla ka la leh ieit ia u shibun eh bad ka kylli byniah ia ka buit ka jingstad ba u im pat. Hangta une u Kyllong Raja, haba u iohih ba ka leh ieit shibun u phla ia kiei-kiei baroh hak-a. U ong, "Ka jing im jong-nga ka long kumne :— nga dei ban sum ha la ka sngi bad ban sait ia la ki snir (nangta la khot ia u "U Siem sait-snir"). Hadin kata ngan sa bam ja, bad y'm don manomano ba lah ban pyniap ia nga lada ki'm ioh ia ki snir. Kumta ka jing-im jong nga ka sydin tang ha ki snir hi." Kumta, ynda kata ka samla, ka tynga jong u, ka la ioh tip ia kata baroh ka phah ktin sha u Siem Synteng ba'n wan uno-uno u rangbah ba ka'n iathuh ia ka jingim bad ka jingiap u Kyllong Raja. Te u Siem Synteng ynda u la sngow ia kata ka ktin shi syndon u la phah ia la ki rangbah sha ka. Te ka la iathuh ia kiei-kiei baroh katba u Kyllong Raja u la phla. Te u Siem Synteng ynda u la tip ia kane baroh u la ai hukum ia ki briew ba ki'n khiar ban ioh ia u Kyllong Raja. Te ha kawei ka sngi ki la lap ia u ba u sum bad u la buh ia ki snir ha kata ka jaka ba u sum ba u mut ban sait ia ki. Hangta uwei u briew uba na Ralliang u la shim ia ki snir jong u bad u pom ia u ; ia kita ki snir u la pyndykut lyngkot lyngkhai bad u la ai ha ki ksew. Naduh kata ka por u Kyllong Raja u'm lah shuh ba'n im pat, bad kumta la jop ia ka Madur, la pynsakyma ia ka jaid Siem Malyniang naduh

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killed him. He cut the entrails into little pieces and gave them to the dogs. Thenceforth U Kyllong Raja was not able to come to life again. Madur was conquered, and all the members of the royal family of Malyniang were scattered from that time. Seven generations have passed since then.*

kata ka por. Te naduh kata hadúh mynta la duh hinniew kyrteng bynriw.

U Manik Raitong and his Flute.

In the northern portion of the Khasi Hills which borders on the Bhoi country there lived a man, by name U Manik. The people nicknamed him "U Manik Raitong," because he was an orphan, his parents, his brothers and sisters, and the whole of his clansfolk having died. He was very poor in addition. U Manik Raitong was filled with grief night and day. He used to weep and deeply groan on account of his orphanhood and state of beggary. He did not care about going out for a walk, or playing like his fellow youths. He used to smear himself with ashes and dust. He used to pass his days only in weeping and groaning, because he felt the strain of his misery to such an extent. He made a flute upon which to play a pathetic and mournful tune. By day he used to work as a ploughman, whenever he was called upon to do so. If nobody called him, he used to sit inactive at home, weeping and groaning and smearing his rags with dust

U Manik Raitong bad ka Sharati jong u.

La don uwei u bríw shaphang shatei ha ka ri Khasi ha khap ri Bhoi uba kyrteng U Manik. Ki bríw ki la sin ia u U Manik Raitong namar ba u long u khun swet uba la iap baroh ki kymi, ki kypa, ki hynmen, ki para bad ki kur ki jaid. U long ruh uba duk shibun. Une U Manik Raitong u dap da ki jingsngowsih synia sngi, u iam ud jilliw ha la ka mynsim namar la ka jinglong khun swet long pukir. Um jiw kwah ban iaid kai leh kai kum ki para samla; u sum da ka dypei da ka khyndew ia lade, u pynleit la ki sngi ki por tang ha ki jingud ki jingiam ba u sngowisynei ia ka pyrthei sngi ba shem shitom haduh katne. Te u la thaw kawei ka sharati ban put ka jingiam bríw bad jingriwai sngowisynei. Mynsngi mynsngi u jiw leit bylia pynlur masi haba la don ba wer, haba ym don u shong khop-khop ha la iing, u iam u ud, u sum dypei sum khyndew halor la ki jain syrdep jot. Mynmiet mynmiet u sum u sleh, u kup bha kup khuid; bad

* The above story is said to have been taken down word for word from the mouth of an old woman of the Malyniang clan who lived at Mawlong.—P.R.G.

and ashes. At night he used to bathe and dress himself well, and, after having eaten his food, he used to take his flute and play on it till morning. This was always his practice. He was a very skilful player. He had twelve principal tunes. There lived in the same village a queen. Her husband, the Siem, used to be absent from home for long intervals in connection with his public duties. One night, when the queen heard the strains of U Raitong's flute, she listened to them with very great pleasure, and she felt so much compassion for him that she arose from her couch at midnight and went to visit him. When she reached his house, she asked him to open the door, so that she might pay him a call. U Raitong said, "I can't open the door, as this is not the time to pay visits," and he went on playing his flute and dancing to the music, with tears in his eyes. Then the queen peeped through one of the chinks of the wall and saw him, and she was beside herself, and breaking open the door she entered in. Then U Raitong, having stopped playing, was annoyed that, to add to his misfortunes, this woman had come to trouble him thus. When she tried to beguile him, U Raitong admonished her and sent her away. She departed just before daybreak. U Raitong then took off his fine clothes, and putting on his rags, sprinkled himself with dust and ashes, and went to plough as was his wont. The queen, however, ensnared him by another device, and whilst the king was still away in the

ynda u la lah bam lah dih u shim ka sharati u put hadúh ban da shai. Barobor u jiw leh kumta. Ha kaba put ruh u long uba nang shibún, u don khadar jaid ki jingput kiba kongsan tam ha ka jingput jong u. Te la don ka mahadei ha kata ka shnong kaba u tynga jong ka u long u Siem Rangbah ha ka Hima. Une u Siem u leit sha Dykhar ban pyndep bun jaid ki kam Siem jong u, bad u dei ban jah slem na la iing. Kane ka mahadei ha kawei ka miet haba ka la ioh sngow ba'riew ka sharati U Raitong ka la sngowbha shibun eh ban sngap, bad haba ka la sngap ka la sngow ieit sngow-isynei ia U Raitong haduh ba ka la khie joit shiteng synia ban leit kai sha U Raitong. Te haba ka la poi tiap ha khymat ka iing jong u ka la phah plie ban wan kai. U Raitong u ong ym lah ban plie namar kam long ka por be dei ban wan kai. Kumta u put la ka jingput bad la ka jingshad nohlyngngeh pynjem ryndang jaw ummat. Te ka mahadei, haba ka la khymih na kawei ka thliew kaba pei, ka la iohih ia u; hangta lei-lei kam don pyrthei shuh haduh ba ka la kyddiah ia ki jingkhang bad ka la rung shapoh iing. Kumta U Raitong u la wai noh la ka jingput bad u sngowsih, halor ba shem kat kane ka pyrthei sngi, sa kane ruh nang wan leh ih-bein kumne. Haba ka la lam pynshoi ia u, U Raitong u la sneng ia ka bad u la phah noh ia ka, te ka la leit noh haba ka sydang ban shai pher. U Raitong u la law la ki jain bha, u la shim la ki syrdep bad u dypei ban leh kumta u jiw leh

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539 plains, she gave birth to a male child. When the Siem returned, he was much surprised to find that she had borne a child during his absence, and however much he asked her to confess, she would not do so. So the king called the elders and young men to judge the case, and when no proof was found concerning this business, the king appointed another day, when all the males (in the State) should appear, each man holding a plantain. On the appointed day, all the males of the State having appeared, the king told them all to sit in a circle and to show their plantains, and said, "We will place this child in the midst, and to whomsoever the child goes, he is his father, and the adulterer. We will beat him to death with clubs according to the law." Accordingly, when all the people sat in a circle, and the child was placed in the midst, he went to no one, and, although the king called and coaxed him much, he nevertheless refused to go. Then the king said, "Remember who is absent." All replied, "There is no one else except U Manik Raitong." The Siem replied, "Call, then, U Raitong." Some of the people said, "It is useless to call that unfortunate, who is like a dog or a cat; leave him alone, oh king." The king replied, "No, go and call him, for every man must come." So they called him, and when he arrived and the child saw him, the child laughed and followed "U Raitong." Then the people shouted that it was U Raitong who had committed adultery with the queen. The bad u la leit pynlur masi. Hinrei kane ka mahadei ka la riam ia u da kawei pat ka buit. Te katba u Siem u nangsah ha Dykhar ka la nang kha i wei i khun shinrang, bad haba u la wan u la ŝngow phylla shibun eh ba ka la ioh khun haba um don. La u kylli byniah katnokatno ruh kam phla satia. Kumta U Siem u la lum ia u tymmen u san, u khynraw khyndein, baroh ban bishar, te haba ym shem sabud ei ei shaphang kane ka kam, kumta u buh ha kawei ka sngi ba yn wan u shinrang briw baroh katba don, kin wallam bad lakait kawei-kawei man u bríw. Ynda la poi kata ka sngi, baroh ki la wan na ka hima, bad U Siem u ong, phin shong tawiar baroh, pynih la ka kait, ngin buh ia une u khunlung ha pyddeng, jar haba une u khunlung un leit uta dei u kypa bad uba klim, ia uta yn shoh tangon ha bynda iap kum ka ain ka jiw long. Kumta te haba la shong tawiar u paitbah byllin, la bah ia uta u khunlung ha pyddeng. Uta u khunlung um leit hanohano ruh, la khot la khroh. U Siem katno katno ruh um treh. "To ia ia kynmaw sa man u bym don hangne" ong U Siem. Baroh ki ong, "ym don shuh, sa tang U Raitong." "Khot te ia U Raitong," ong U Siem. Don katto katne na pyddeng uta u paitbah kiba ong. "Ym khot makna ia uba pli, uba kum u ksew, u miaw, yn nai Siem." "Em shu khot wei u kynja shinrang briw dei ban wan." Te la khot ia u, bad haba u la poi tiap uta u khunlung u khymih u sam rykhie bad u leit bud ia U Raitong. Kumta risa shar u paitbah

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king and his ministers then ordered that U Raitong should be put to death outside the village. U Raitong said, "Be pleased to prepare a funeral pyre, and I will burn myself thereon, wicked man that I am." They agreed to his request. U Raitong said to those who were preparing the funeral pyre, "When I arrive near the funeral pyre, set fire to it beforehand, and I will throw myself in, and you stand at a distance." Then U Raitong went and bathed, dressed himself well, and, taking his flute, played on it as he walked backwards to the funeral pyre; and when he arrived close to it, they lighted it as he had told them to do. He walked three times round the pyre, and then planted his flute in the earth and threw himself into the flames. The queen, too, ran quickly and threw herself on the pyre also. After U Raitong and the queen had been burned, a pool of water formed in the foundations of the pyre, and a bamboo sprang up whose leaves grew upside-down. From U Raitong's time it has become the practice to play the flute at funerals as a sign of mourning for the departed.

baroh ba U Raitong u la klim ia ka mahadei. Te U Siem bad la ki Myntri ki la ai hukum ban leit pyniap noh ia U Raitong sharud nong. Te u ong "phi da sngowbha shu thaw da la ka jingthang ngan thang hi ia lade wei nga u riwnar ruser. Kumta ki la shah ia kata ka jingpan jong u. Te U Raitong u la ong ha kita kiba thaw jingthang. "Ynda nga poi sha jan jingthang sa nang ai ding lypa ngan sa nang thang hi, pbi kynriah noh sha jingngai. Kumta U Raitong u wan sum wan sleh, u kup bha sem bha, u shim ka sharati u put, u leit da kaba iaid dadin shaduh jingthang. Te ynda u la poi ha jan ki la buh ding kumta u la ong; ynda poi ha jingthang u iaid tawiar lai sin ia ka, u sih ka sharati ha khyndew, bad u thang ia lade. Ka Mahadei ruh da kaba kyrkieh ka la mareh sha kata ka jingthang bad ka ruh ka la thang lem hangta ia lade. Kumta ynda la ing U Raitong bad kata Ka Mahadei, long da ka um ha kata ka nongrim jingthang, bad mih u shken uba long ka mat sha khongpong. Naduh U Raitong sa long ka sharati haduh mynta ban put iam briw ban pynih la ki jingsngowsih na ka bynta kiba la iap.

14:Roy I-5 (no date) 1938 AR7 Khasi AR7

12 else that we do is instinct with a *plus*; and for the student of religion or of human culture in any of its forms, to account for that *plus* is the sum and substance of his task.....Whereas, then, there is likelihood that any *a posteriori* reason existed for believing that in-breeding makes for sterility, if indeed it be true in fact at all, there might well have been an *a priori* conviction to much the same effect based simply on a fear that to tamper with the fountain-head of human vitality would somehow cause it to dry up." The Khasi stands in the world as exogamous in his rule of life, and he says '*sang bad byrsieh*', that is, endogamy is forbidden and if it should ever be committed it will render life defiled and corrupt. He says this out of the fear of the knowledge that any act of carelessness in the prohibited area of the source of human life and vitality, which is in the Khasi phrase '*long briw*' (*long* is to be or become, *briew* is man, i.e., to be or become man), will make that source of human life to dry up. So he says, 'duh I jaid I khong' (*duh*=is exterminated; *jaid*= kind, species; *khong*=root).

156 829 582 [885]

In refutation of such aspersions as that the Khasi has no rules of marriage, I shall quote the most sacred pronouncement the Khasi when two persons, the man and the woman, are initiated into that state. Calling upon the name of God the Khasi says—"*U Lei thaw briew man briw, u' Lei ne ka 'Lei synshar'*, (God who creates man and is the source of human life, God who keeps, controls, preserves), "*Hei ko Blei na jreng, Ko*

582 585 [539]

14:Roy I-5 (no date) 1938 AR7 Khasi AR7

Blei na thian, ko Lei Synshar, Ko Blei triw, man briw, kumba la hukum kumba bhu ma phi U Blei ka Blei ban long I Kha I man, kumba la pynhiar ka synjat mynta ka sgni, ba phin tip, ba phin sngew na jrong ho kyndiang ba ita I jaid bad ita I jaid ki la iapoi kha poi man ban iaroi ban ia man ban ia heh ka long kynthei ka long shynrang', Oh God from above, oh God from below, Thou God who controllest, who keepest and preservest, Thou God who createst man and the origin and source of human life,—as ordained by Thee, Oh God, U Blei (God in the male aspect), Ka Blei (God in the female aspect) that there should be *I Kha* (person to bear and give birth) *I man* (person with whom and through whom to give cause to life and to grow), as token has been brought down this day, [a ring is given], so that Thou mayest hear clearly from above, that such and such *jaid* (kind, clan) and such and such a *jaid* (kind, clan) have become joined in marriage in order to increase, in order to grow, so as to increase the state of being female and the state of being male (i. e. male and female population)." [This is said as a woman of a certain clan always marries a man of a different clan.] As I have said elsewhere, "There is no tradition among the Khasis that there was ever a time when the status of marriage did not exist among our ancestors. There is a belief among the Khasis that they were instructed in their religion and that their ceremonies and rites were delivered by God Himself to the

587 of the woman by her husband. No occasion arises either of
421 taking his place on death, by his brother or by sister's son; or of a sister of a deceased wife being made over to a man, as is the custom among Garos, where the husband of the heiress manages the property of his wife. Among the Khasis, the widow or widower cannot normally remarry before the end of a year after the death of the husband or wife. When a year is over, a payment is made to the Kur of the deceased to remove
587 the disability. If the man or woman want to remarry before
782 the year is out, a larger sum is paid. In Mawphlang, a sum of Rs. 5-4-0 is paid at the end of the year and Rs. 11-4-0 for untimely remarriage (within the year). The payment is made to the Ka Khadduh of the deceased in each case, and a ceremony severing the relation with the dead spouse is performed. A pig is purchased with the money and it is sacrificed in the house of the Ka Khadduh by a man—usually a neighbour. If the deceased was a man, the following invocation is made:
• [539] "Ha kane ka mied la shim nong sang bad knia nong sang ia phi. Ka tnga uta uta ban ia khuid."

Free translation :—

"On this night the tabooed person is sacrificing to you. The wife of so-and-so (naming the man) is hereby made pure."

The pig is then killed by thrusting an iron spike through the shoulder. It is then cooked and eaten by the people present. This mode of killing is known as "dung."

The myntri Orongsing, whose genealogy has been noted, remarried a year after the death of his first wife Ka Resimai. This woman died two years ago, and the ceremony for removing the bar on remarriage was performed only last year. The money was made over to an old man U Ru, who is well acquainted with the rites. He purchased a pig and killed it by the "dung" method in the compound of Ka Resimai's mother, Ka Sheribon. The spike might be of wood or iron, stated U Ichon. I was informed by the myntri U Subu Rai that the ceremony of

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi #R7

SECTION VI.

MISCELLANEOUS.

TERMINOLOGY.

551 The Khasis, like the Alfoors of Poso in Celebes, seem to be somewhat reluctant to utter the names of their own immediate relations, and of other people's also. Parents are very frequently called the mother of so and so (the child's name being mentioned), or the father of so and so, *cf. Ka kmi ka Wiei, U kpa u Philip.* The actual names of the parents, after falling into desuetude, are often entirely forgotten. The origin of the practice may be that the Khasis, like the Alfoors, were reluctant to mention their parents by name for fear of attracting the notice of evil spirits. The practice of *teknonymy*, however, is not confined to the Khasis or the Alfoors of Celebes (see footnote to page 412 of the "Golden Bough"). The custom is also believed to have been prevalent to some extent not long ago in some parts of Ireland.

797 179 551 The advent of the Welsh Missionaries and the partial dissemination of English education has in some cases produced rather peculiar names. I quote some instances:—

U Water Kingdom, Ka Mediterranean Sea, Ka Red Sea; U Stinkwell Boom, U Overland, Ka Brindisi, Ka Medina, Ka Mary Jane, U Mission, and Ka India.

KHASI METHOD OF CALCULATING TIME.

565 The Khasis adopt the lunar month, *u lynai*, twelve of which go to the year *ka snem*. They have no system of reckoning cycles, as is the custom with some of the Shan tribes. The following are the names of the months:—

566 *U lyllo-lynglot*, corresponding to January. This month in the Khasi Hills is the coldest in the year. The Khasis turn

8: Gurdon G-3 (no date) 1904 AR7 Khasi AR7

U Iaiong,—the cloudy changeable-weather moon, corresponding with April. 805

U Jim-maug,—the flowering moon, corresponding with May.

U Jil-la,—the deep-water moon, corresponding with June.

U Noitueg,—the bad-smelling moon, corresponding with July.

N Noilar,—the moon when a plant called the *Jatalar*, which has a red flower flourishes. This is perhaps one of the *arums*. The plant is commonly known as the snake plant.

U Noilar,—the moon for ploughing, corresponding with September. This may be also the month for courting, the word *lur* also having the meaning to woo.

U Ry-sau,—the moon when nature fades (usually becomes red) corresponding with October.

U Noiring,—the earthen-pot moon, corresponding with November.

U Nohpuk,—the moon of the fall of the leaf, corresponding with December.

The Khasi week consists generally of eight days, although in some of the *War* villages on the southern side of the hills there is a week of four days only. The days of the week are named after the markets which are held in rotation on the different days.

Khasi.	*Synteng.*
1. Lynkah.	Ky-llao.
2. Nongkrem.	Pyn-sing.
3. Um-long.	Mao-long.
4. Rang-hep.	'Iao-siang.
5. Shillong.	Macshai.
6. Pomtih.	Pynkat.
7. Um-nih.	Thym-blein.
8. Yeo-duh.	Ka-hat.

16. *Tekwanomy.*—One more interesting custom that may be noticed is the Khasi and Synteng custom of *tekwanomy*, or of parents taking the names of their children, *e.g.*, ka Kmi Ka Nari (the mother of Ka Nari), U Kpa Nihon (the father of Nihon). The taking of names thus is almost universally practiced. The actual names of the parents after falling into desuetude are often completely forgotten by the villagers. Only the names of the children are used coupled with "father of" "mother of" as explained above. The advent of the Welsh Missionaries and the partial dissemination of English education has, in some cases, produced some rather peculiar names. I quote some instances:—U Water Kingdom, Ka Mediterranean Sea, Ka Red Sea, U Shakswell Roses, U Overland, Ka Brindisi. 551 [197]

13:Mukherjee E-5 (1954)1958 AR7 Khasi AR7

The primal father and the mother of the members of every clan are respectively known as *U-Parad* (*U-Thawlang*) and *Ka-Meyrad* (*Ka-Iawbei*). 614 192 773

There is a large number of clans among the Khasis and some of the clan names are those of animals and trees. *Shrieh* is monkey, *tham*, a crab, and *dingdoh*, a tree ; yet they do not constitute totemic clan organization. The clan names are not even the names of the ancestress. The clans are not ancestral but rather were territorial in nature when the clansmen (*shi-Kur*) used to live in a place having a common land (*ri-kur*) and a clan ossuary (*mawbah*) where the bones of the dead clansmen were deposited. 614 551

Unlike the clans, the sub-clans (*ka-k'poh*) are ancestral. As for example, in case of the *Siem* clan of the Chera state, it is found that Ka-Khiem was the primal ancestress. Her daughter Ka-Pet had three daughters, namely, Ka-Sngi, Ka-Lngen, and Ka-Kreh each of whom is regarded as the *Ka-K' poh* (*meaning* womb) of their respective descendants who are *shi-K'poh* (the members of the same womb). And their names are the names of the three sub-clans of the *siem* clan. 613

The names of the sub-clans of some of the clans as collected from the elderly Khasi women are given below. 613 614 551

CLAN	SUB-CLAN
1. Siem	— sngi ; lngen , kreh
2. Khongsit	— yin , phai ; bar ; jiram
3. Kharshiing	— iew ; mah ; sayngiar , iynean
4. Lyngdoh	— kaban ; summhir ; kamai
5. Nongrum	— tungan ; tungwi ; syngna , buhai
6. Khongrymai	— thania ; thani , barhai , lisi
7. Jaidkhar	— hazi ; haza , tuli ; tula
8. Simpilisa	— eli ; mayar ; josi , emi

Family (*ka-iing*) among the Khasis is the socio-economic and religious unit. Due to matrilocal residence, the structure of the Khasi families assumes a different form. The constituent members are the grandmother, her daughters and their children. But the parmanent[1] residents are the youngest daughter (*ka-khadduh*), her husband and daughters. It takes an 596

[1] [Should read: permanent.— Analyst]

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

mother, for which unit the Khasi word *kpoh* is used. Such a group of matrilineal kin is usually confined to one domestic family or to a group of households, linked by direct extension of a main household. However, even this descent unit is not a single productive and consumer unit, though it may act as a religious unit, having common ancestral property. I shall take up this thread again at a later stage of my analysis. 613

Because of the lack of the functional lineage organization as a corporate unit, the village community becomes the significant unit as a higher level of organization than that of *kpoh*. This fact is supported by the high tendency to community endogamy which links every household of a village into a unit with considerable cohesion and solidarity. In fact the members of a village community are linked to each other in various ways by affinal or cognatic ties. 621 613 614 551 621

List 6. *House-owners and their Spouses of Sohkynduh.*

House-owner	*Kur*	*Spouse*	*Kur*
1. Ruka	Pohnong	Suro	Prarian
2. Shngiam	Pohnong	Nier	Riatam
3. U Rabi	Prarian		
4. Te	Prarian	Phaongrung	Dkhar
5. Pho	Khongriah	Ser	Dkhar
6. Dewli	Dkhar	Wen	Ksing
7. Snoh	Khongshei	Hajur	Khongsit
8. Kosimai	Dkhar	Koshon	Kongjah
9. Onti	Dkhar	Hajur	Khongsit
10. Jeid	Khonglam		
11. Jun	Khonsidir	Using	Ksing
12. Mo	Khongsidir	Kisbad	Khongshei
13. U sil	Khongsidir		
14. Rupai	Khongshei	Soli	Shrieh
15. Tngan	Khongmowpat	Tik	Prarian
16. Step	Khongmowpat	Nowel	Ksing
17. Phi	Khongsidir	Phoin	Mawpat
18. Khaila	Prarian	Sising	Masar
19. Jep	Ksing	Syndro	Dkhar
20. Khot	Shrieh	Lait	Khongshei
21. Pre	Prarian	Mon	Khongshei
22. Kam	Khonshei	Pion	Khongriah
23. Leni	Prarian	Jam	Khongjiliew
24. Shakmel	Khongngain	Jrop	Dkhar
25. Jia	Khongjiliew		
26. Jemnud	Khonglam	Josio	Riahtam
27. Kilo	Dkhar	Muta	Khonglam
28. Phimai	Riahtam	Rang	Dkhar
29. Jak	Riahtam	Babusing	Tyngsong
30. U Jin	Khonglam		
31. Kheri	Shrieh	Bising	Khonglam
32. Sor	Kynshah	Josio (26)	Riahtam

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House-owner	Kur	Spouse	Kur
33. Ke	Khongsit	Beno	Khongriah
34. Hil	Khongjliew	Mudui	Majaw
35. Erisa	Riahtam	Jen	Khongji
36. Eli	Khongsit	Khang	Khongshei
37. Ede	Khongsit	Berod	Riahtam
38. Keril	Shrieh	Kowai	Khongsit
39. He	Khongsit	Dek	Mawpat
40. Phro	Dkhar	Dakhil	Prarian
41. Shugal	Khonglam	Jran	Prarian
42. Ieitmon	Tham	Kop	Khongsidir
43. Prsiang	Khongsit	Miton	Khongngain
44. Pjah	Shirieh		
45. Lhi	Prarian		
46. Libon	Kynshah	Synbo	Dkhar
47. Kweit	Tham	Horirai	Kynshah
48. Syndon	Shirieh	Jum	Khongriah

Note: 1) 3, 13, and 30 are households the heads of which are men who have no wife or sister (mother, niece) living with them.
2) Husbands of 10, 44 and 45 died, and 25 divorced.
3) Husbands of 26 and 32 are the same man (polygynyst).

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List 7. *Numbers by* kur *of Individuals named in List 6.*

	House-owner		Spouses	Total
	Women	Men		
1. Prarian	5	1	5	11
2. Riahtam	3		3	6
3. Dkhar	5		6	11
4. Shrieh	5		1	6
5. Pohnong	2		0	2
6. Ksing	1		3	4
7. Khongsit	5		3	8
8. Khongsidir	3	1	1	5
9. Khongshei	3		3	6
10. Khongmowpat	2		2	4
11. Khonglam	3	1	2	6
12. Khongjiliew	2		1	3
13. Khongngain	1		1	2
14. Khongriah	1		3	4
15. Tham	2		0	2
16. Kynshah	2		1	3
17. Khongjah			1	1
18. Masar			1	1
19. Tygsong			1	1
20. Majaw			1	1
21. Khongji			1	1
Total	45	3	40	88

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

List 8. *Actual descent Links found among House-owners of Sohkynduh.*

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*House-owners**	*Kur*
1. 18-21-23	Prarian
2. 4-45	Prarian
3. 28-29-35	Riahtam
4. 27-40	Dkhar
5. 20-48-44-38	Shrieh
6. 33-39-43	Khongsit
7. 36-37	Khongsit
8. 11-12	Khongsidir
9. 7-22	Khongshei
10. 16-15	Khongmowpat
11. 25-34	Khongjiliew
12. 32-46	Kynshah

Note: Figures correspond to that of List 6.

List 9. *House-owners and their Spouses of Kongton.*

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House-owner	*Kur*	*Spouse*	*Kur*
1. Shra	Pohnong	Ijiro	Khongsit
2. Klur	—	•(Mahalik)	Shabong
3. Pheni	—	•(Skit)	Majaw
4. Rai	—	D(Skit) (3)	—
5. Syen	—	Shynna	Khongsit
6. Khubor	—	•(Irai)	—
7. Shngiam	—	D(Esrun)	Sohkhlet
8. Lphuin	—	Jubonrai (52, 20)	Majaw
9. Den	—	Khain	Riahtam
10. Kyrin	—	•(Ridon)	Sohkhlet
11. U Kynroi	—	D(Jat)	Khongsit
12. Sad	—	Khim	Khongwir
13. Tanghui	Khongsit	•(Kheng)	Mynrieng
14. Rihiam	—	•(Mongbah)	Majaw
15. Liti	—	Borsing	Shabong
16. Web	—	Mrit	Buhphang
17. Latem	—	•(Ring)	Shabong
18. Langdiang	—	Burma	Riahtam
19. Ribamon	—	Swar	Pohnong
20. Mo	—	Jubonrai (8, 52)	Majaw
21. Kliet	—	Nobar	—
22. Thakeit	—	D•(Bit)	—
23. U Sabur	—	•(Jling)	Shabong
24. Iut	—	•(Khyllah)	Khongji
25. Dngar	—	•(Lariang)	Khongngain
26. Duro	Majaw	Iong	Khongshei
27. Buh	—	That	Sohkhlet
28. Hima	—	Sbedar	Rangrah

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House-owner	Kur	Spouse	Kur
—	—	—	—
29. U Shai	—	Phri	Khongngain
30. Tamsa	—	*(Ramjai)	Pohnong
31. Kiun	—	Joit	Khongwir
32. Krip	—	Mok	Buhphang
33. Main	—	Soh	Dkhar
34. Pein	Rangrah	Kber	Shabong
35. Ieh	—	Kdu	—
36. Kynian	—	Hara	Shabong
37. Tied	—		
38. U Thuia	—	Phiri	Lyngdoh
39. Pata	Riahtam	D*(Biria)	Tding
40. Kit	—	Shkor	Pohnong
41. Rimai	—	D*(Piew)	—
42. Rita	—	*(Bhashon)	Kynshah
43. Ribih	—	Shamaliak	Lyngdoh
44. Git	—	Kynhei	Tding
45. Jemjani	Sohkhlet	Skin	Khongji
46. Wum	—	*(Mishon)	Shabong
47. Kror	—	Sho	Khongsit
48. Hori	Shabong	*(Brim)	Rangrah
49. Pho	—	Mlian	Khongji
50. Sho	—	Slam	Khongngain
51. Luguin	—	D*(Niew)	Lyngdoh
52. Rupa	—	Jubongrai (8, 20)	Majaw
53. Ksher	—	*(Rangsi)	Khongsit
54. Kolina	—	Poi	Majaw
55. Lak	Khongji	D*(Khyllah)	Khongshei
56. U Phin	—	*(Syaid)	Mynrieng
57. Thasi	—	Ten	Shabong
58. Dheaw	—	Dormu	Rangrah
59. Syaid	Mynrieng	D(Phin, 56)	Khongji
60. Syur	—	Kdek	Khongrymmai
61. Sur	—	*(Base)	Shabong
62. Bhik	—	D(Lar)	Majaw

Note: 1) * = dead. D = divorced.
2) House-owners of 11, 23, 29, 38 and 56 are men, and the rest are women.
3) Husband of 8, 20 and 52 are the same man (polygynist).

List 10. *Numbers by* kur *of Individuals named in List 9.*

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Kur	No. of house-owners		No. of spouses		Total
	Women	Men	Men	Women	
—	—	—	—	—	—
1. Pohnong	11	1	4		16
2. Khongsit	12	1	6		19
3. Majaw	7	1	7		15
4. Rangrah	4	1	3		8
5. Riahtam	6		2		8

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

APPENDIX

SOME ADDITIONAL INFORMATION FROM SHELLA AND JATINGA

SHELLA

Shella is situated on the lowest of the southern slopes of the Khasi Hills, bordering on the Sylhet plain of East Pakistan. For centuries the people of Shella maintained close trading connections with the people of the plain, so that they have been much influenced by the Hindu. They have been to some extent divorced economically and culturally from their own people who live in the uplands and on higher part of the slopes. Actually, this is a natural result of their geographical location. From Cherrapunjee, the southern edge of the upland Khasi Hills, only a narrow footpath goes down to Shella. The altitude of Cherrapunjee is about 5,000 feet and of Shella from 500 to 1,000 feet, and the distance between them is 8 miles. The path descends very steeply and is full of hard stones. This difficulty of communication is also why the Hindu influence did not penetrate the upland Khasi, as in the case of the Jaintia Hills.[1]

This area has a unique political organization which differs from the majority of Khasi states who are traditionally ruled by the members of the Siem clan. Shella is organized as a confederation, called 'Shella Confederacy,' and consists of four local villages. The head of the village is called *wadadhar*, and is elected by the villagers every three years. The number of households of the Shella Confederacy was about 900 in January 1956. The names of the four villages and their *wadadhar* in 1956 were:

Name of village	*Name of wadadhar*
1. Shella	Devish Mohan Roy
2. Mushtoh	Ditojou Roy
3. Nongtrai	Orju Roy
4. Tyngnger	Jabuni Roy

Each village is divided into sections. For instance, Shella village has nine sections: (1) Jasir, (2) Disong, (3) Duba, (4) Jamau, (5) Nongrum, (6) Nongnong,

1. However, Shella was the only way out and the main gateway from the Khasi Hills to the plain; it was here that the British first entered the Khasi Hills. They proceeded from Shella to Cherrapunjee and made the latter headquarters of the Khasi Hills in 1833.

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621 [Jatinga]

[175] This village was founded in 1905 by Khasi immigrants from the Jaintia Hills. [101] At the entrance of the village, a bust of the founder, Lakhanbang Suchiang, [211] stands facing towards the east; it was erected on the occasion of the celebration of their Golden jubilee, in November 1955. Houses are scattered along the [346] ridge of the moutain to the east and to the west; in the centre is the church. [771] All the inhabitants are Christians. Before the Partition this was one of the most modern and prosperous villages in Assam.

101 Jatinga provides a very interesting instance of the Khasi 'colonial' village. It is surrounded by villages of the Kuki, of the Zemi-Naga, and of the Cacharee, 121 who constitute the main population of the North Cachar Hills, and who are tribes entirely different from the Khasi, in economy, social organization, language 621 and culture. Therefore, Jatinga is like an island of Khasi community. I took this village as one of my fields, because I was particularly interested to discover how far the Khasi matrilineal organization is kept up in a community thus situated, surrounded by patrilineal tribes, and considerably modernized by Christianization and economic prosperity; and I was also interested in the process of formation of a new village, in comparison with Rinsibara and Joshipara in the Garo Hills.

Formation of the Present Population of Jatinga.

The first immigrants to Jatinga.

101 The main population of Jatinga, including the founder, originated in Bataw village in the Jaintia Hills, twelve miles away from Jaintiapur, the capital of 166 the then Jaintia Rajas. This village is situated on the border of the Jaintia 175 Hills and the East Bengal plain, the location being very similar to that of Shella, as are their culture and economy. In the later part of the nineteenth 621 century, some members of Bataw village moved to Borkhala, ten miles from Silchar, one of the biggest villages of the then Cacharee king.

These immigrants who came to Borkhala stayed there about fifteen years before they came to Jatinga. Kloribon, the first daughter of the founder's sister was born there. In November 1905, some Christian Khasi left Borkhala for Jatinga, acting on information gathered from a Welsh Mission at Haflong, that the land of present Jatinga was fertile and fit for their cultivation. They 166 were the first immigrants to Jatinga. The Government record names the following three persons as the first immigrants to Jatinga: Suchiang Lakhanbang, • 551 Tariang, and Suchen Munik. In fact, according to the data which I collected at Jatinga, Suchiang Lakhanbang was accompanied by the following persons 614 (the names in brackets indicate the clans):

621 his wife, Misibon (Phanwar),[1]
175 his brother, Pryntah, and Pryntah's wife, Sintu (Rupsi),
his sister, Laptho, and Laptho's husband, Munik (Suchen) with their daughter, Kloribon, and Munik's younger brother, Sain.
his friend, Tariang.

Soon after their settlement, Sain, the brother of Munik, brought his wife Tahin (Suiam) from Jaintia. Misibon brought her younger sister, Diasibon. Tariang who came with Lakhanbang afterwards called his wife, Palong. But having spent some time there, they left eventually for another place, so that

1. Misibon was a native of the Cherrapunjee area of the Khasi Hills (not of Jaintia like the others). She was a school teacher at Cherrapunjee, and later became a teacher at a school near Jaintiapur, where she married Lakhanbang.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

there are none of their descendants in Jatinga. Summing up, the first party who settled at Jatinga was composed of people of the following five clans: 166

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1. Suchiang — Lakhanbang, his sister, Laptho, and her daughter, Kloribon, his brother, Pryntah. 614
2. Suchen — Munik and his younger brother, Sain. 621
3. Phanwar — Misibon and her younger sister, Diasibon. 175
4. Rupsi — Sintu, the wife of Pryntah.
5. Suiam — Tahin, the wife of Sain.

Among them, Suchen had no female member. Phanwar had no successor: Misibon had no issue and Diasibon did not marry. Therefore, Suchiang, Rupsi and Suiam are the oldest clans in present Jatinga. Suchiang and Rupsi especially are the dominant and richest groups among the present population.

This was the time when the railway from Gauhati to Silchar was being constructed. Some Khasi labourers were working at Haflong on the construction of the railway. After the foundation of Jatinga, these Khasi workers established marriage relations with the Khasi of Jatinga, and finally, upon completion of the railway, many of them became the inhabitants of Jatinga. The present members of the Dome and Siangshai clans are the descendants of these people, and they form a considerable number of the present inhabitants of Jatinga. Besides them, there were a few other Khasi at Haflong who were engaged in trading business. In the course of time, they also had marital relations with Jatinga people and came to Jatinga. 166 175 458 621 [499] [464]

After five years had elapsed they found that in spite of their hard work the land was not favourable to them. Many of them left Jatinga. This was the hardest period of Jatinga history.

The second migration (1919-1925).

The railway which once had been blocked was reopened in 1919. The people who had left Jatinga came back to settle there. This time the circumstances seemed to them quite favourable. The pan trees which they had planted earlier were growing and they could gather considerable produce. The village grew bigger around 1920 as a result of new immigrants from Jaintia; most of them were people from Bataw, the village of the founder. In this period, many immigrants came from Jaintia not only to Jatinga but also to Sylhet, Borkhala and other places outside the Khasi-Jaintia Hills. It seems that by this time the over-populated Jaintia realised that these areas were favourable for their new home. However, the successive waves of Jaintia immigrants to Jatinga ceased by 1925, its population having reached saturation point. [499] [245]

Orange production brought economic prosperity to the people of Jatinga. Wealthy villagers employed temporary labourers from the Jaintia Hills every year. Some of these labourers came with their families and others came individually. During their stay at Jatinga, some of them married and settled there. Hence, there are also descendants of such labourers among the present inhabitants of Jatinga. [245] [464]

Some Aspects of Descent Groups.

Throughout the history of Jatinga, immigrations have always been undertaken by a family (elementary family, siblings) or by an individual, but never by a group of clan members. Therefore, the present population is grouped in small descent groups according to each migration. Though some of them happened to have the same clan name, their history of migration and their 621 [175] [614] [166]

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

000 credited, owing, no doubt, to the advance of Christianity and education.

CEREMONIES AND CUSTOMS ATTENDING BIRTH AND NAMING OF CHILDREN.

844 The Khasi birth ceremonies and customs are as follows:—
[784] When a child is born the umbilical cord is cut by a sharp
782 splinter of bamboo; no knife can be used on this occasion. The Mundas of Chota Nagpur similarly taboo a metal instrument for this purpose. The child is then bathed in hot water from a red earthen pot. The placenta is carefully preserved in an earthen vessel in the house till after the naming ceremony has taken place. When the umbilical cord, after being tied, falls off, a puja is performed with eggs to certain water deities (*ka blei sum-um* and *ka niangriang*),* also to a forest spirit
553 (*u'suid bri* or *u'suid khláw*). The naming ceremony of the child
386 is performed the next morning after the birth. Certain females are invited to come and pound rice in a mortar into flour. The flour when ready is placed on a bamboo winnower (*u prah*). Fermented rice is mixed with water and is placed in a gourd. Some powdered turmeric is also provided, and is kept ready in a plantain leaf, also five pieces of *'kha piah*, or dried fish. The earthen pot containing the placenta is then placed in the *nongpei*, or centre room of the house. If the child is a male, they place near him a bow and three arrows (the implements of a Khasi warrior); if a female, a *da* and *u star*, or cane
553 head-strap for carrying burdens. An elderly man, who knows
782 how to perform the naming puja, which is called by the Khasis "*kaba jer khun*," places a plantain-leaf on the floor and sprinkles some water on it. He takes the gourd in his hand and calls a god to witness. The people assembled then mention a number of names for the child, and ask the man who is performing the puja to repeat them. This he does, and at the same time pours a little liquor from the gourd on to the ground. As he goes on pouring, the liquor by degrees becomes exhausted, and finally only a few drops remain. The name at the repeat-

* A spirit which is supposed to have the power of causing a disease of the navel of a child.

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

ing of which the last drop of liquor remains adhering to the spout of the gourd is the name selected for the child. Then the puja performer invokes the god to grant good luck to the child. The father takes the pot containing the placenta, after having previously placed rice flour and fermented rice therein, and waves it three times over the child, and then walks out with it through the main entrance of the house and hangs up the pot to a tree outside the village. When he returns from this duty, before he re-enters the house, another throws water over the father's feet. The father, being thus cleansed, enters, and holds the rice flour to his mouth three times. Two people then, holding the dried fish by their two ends, break them in two. The powdered turmeric mixed with rice flour and water is applied to the right foot of the father, the mother and the child receiving the same treatment. The friends and relations are then anointed, the turmeric being applied, however, to their left feet. The bow, arrows, *da*, and *u star* are carefully placed inside the inner surface of the thatch on the roof, and the ceremony is over. Rice flour is then distributed to all who are present, and the male adults are given liquor to drink. After two or three months the ears of the child are bored and ear-rings are inserted. These ear-rings are called *ki shashkor iawbei* (i.e. the ear-rings of the great-grandmother). Mr. Jenkins mentions that the naming ceremony amongst the Syntengs is performed by the "eldest aunt," presumably on the mother's side. A basket of eggs is placed in the centre of the room, and before the ceremony begins one egg has to be broken. Then the aunt of the child takes two sticks, and, raising them to her shoulder, lets them fall to the ground. Before they fall she shouts, "What name do you give the child?" The name is mentioned, and if, on falling upon the ground, one stick crosses the other, it is a proof that the name has won the approval of the spirit. If the sticks do not fall in this position, another egg is broken and another name is chosen, and the sticks are dropped as before until they fall in the required position, when it is understood by the performers that the name is a good one. Mr. Jenkins was informed by a young man "who had renounced heathenism" that some of the more cunning women cross the sticks before lifting them, and that

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[386] [302]

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1:Gurdon E-4,5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

553 when they do this they invariably fall crossed to the ground. "They thus save their eggs, save time and trouble, get the
553 name they desire for the child. . . ." It is noteworthy that
844 the Khasis consider it necessary to preserve the placenta until the ceremony of naming the child is over, and that the pot containing the placenta is waved over the head of the child before it is removed and hung up in a tree.

844 Dr. Fraser, at page 53 *et seq.* of the "Golden Bough," when
171 dealing with the subject of sympathetic magic, refers to the navel string and the placenta as parts which are commonly believed amongst certain people to remain in sympathetic union with the body after the physical connection has been severed, and it is interesting to note that in the Babar Archipelago, between New Guinea and Celebes, the placenta is mixed with ashes and put in a small basket, which seven women, each of them armed with a sword, hang up on a tree of a peculiar kind (*citrus hystrix*). The women carry the swords for the purpose of frightening the evil spirits, otherwise the latter might get hold of the placenta and make the child sick. Mr. C. M. Pleyte, Lecturer on Indonesian Ethnology, at the Gymnasium William III. at Batavia, who has most courteously furnished me with some interesting information on this subject, states that it is especially in the Southern Moluccas that the placenta is mixed with ashes and hung in a tree. Wider spread is the custom of placing the after-birth on a small bamboo raft in a river "in order that it may be caught by crocodiles, incarnations of the ancestors, who will guard it till the person to whom it has belonged dies. Then the soul of the placenta is once more united with that of the dead man, and together they go to the realms of the dead. During lifetime the connection between men and their placentas is never withdrawn." The Khasis, although they cannot explain the meaning of the presence of the placenta at the naming ceremony, and the care with which they remove it and hang it up in a tree, are probably really actuated by the same sentiments as the inhabitants of the Southern Moluccas, i.e. they believe that there is, as Dr. Frazer puts it, a sympathetic union with the body after the physical
846 connection with the child has been severed. There is no fixed
784 period of *sang*, or taboo, after a birth, but the parents of the

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

582 marry any one belonging to your own *kur*, or clan. Unlike the
614 Khasis, however, a Lynngam can marry two sisters at a time.
595 The Lynngam marriages are arranged by *ksiangs*, or go-betweens,
584 much in the same way as Khasi marriages; but the ritual
582 observed is less elaborate, and shows a mixture of Khasi and Garo customs (see Section III.). The Lynngams intermarry
583 with the Garos. It appears that sometimes the parents of girls exact bride-money, and marriages by capture have been heard of. Both of these customs are more characteristic of the Bodo
847 tribes of the plains than of the Khasis. There are no special birth
782 customs, as with the Khasis, except that when the umbilical cord
553 falls a fowl is sacrificed, and the child is brought outside the house. Children are named without any special ceremony.
764 The death customs of the Lynngams have been described in Section III. A peculiar characteristic is the keeping of the dead body in the house for days, sometimes even for several months, before it is burnt. The putrefying corpse inside the house seems to cause these people no inconvenience, for whilst it remains there, they eat, carry on their ordinary avocations, and sleep there, regardless of what would be
771 considered by others an intolerable nuisance. The religion of these people consists of a mixture of ancestor-worship and the propitiation of the spirits of fell and fall, which are, most of them, believed to be of evil influence, as is the case with other savage
716 races. As with the people of Nongstoin, the primaeval ancestress, "*ka Law bei*," is worshipped for the welfare of the
782 clan, a sow being sacrificed to her, with a gourd of rice-beer, and leaves of the oak, or *dieng-sning* tree. The leaves of the oak are afterwards hung up inside the house, together with the jaw-bone of the pig. Sacrifices are offered to a forest demon, *U Bangjang* (a god who brings illness), by the roadside; also to *Ka Miang Bylli U Majymma*, the god of cultivation, at seed time, on the path to the forest clearing where the seed is sown. Models of paddy store-houses, baskets and agricultural implements are made, sand being used to indicate the grain. These are placed by the roadside, the skulls of the sacrificial animals and the feathers of fowls being hung up on bamboos about the place
793 where the sacrifice has been performed. There are no priests or
796 *lyngdohs*, the fathers of the hamlet performing the various ceremonies.

782

today, but await with patience the cause and the way! So much, is it not so! --

II. Religion in Various Aspects of Life.

●553 P44 782 1. Giving a Name (tap lubri tap kyrteng).

By tap lubri tap kyrteng one means the ceremony of the giving of a name to a child. In the section on sang I have already indicated the various taboos of a pregnant mother in regard to her husband.

At the birth of a child now, so the Khasi say, there are not as many ceremonies as at the death of a relative. For birth is anyhow in and of itself a feast of joy, since one is more joyful when a person enters life than when he departs from life.

[426] When a child is born, sacrifices are made on the next day (if it was born in the evening or in the night, on the following morning) and the ceremony of giving the name is performed. The sacrificer must be a relative of the child's. Among the Synteng, aunts of the child are called on by preference as executors of the sacrifice. The umbilical chord is cut off with a sharp-edged piece of bamboo and the child is bathed in warm water. The afterbirth (ka shynnai) is carefully kept in an earthern pot in the house (nongpei). Instruments are then placed at the child's side as symbols of later occupations, near a girl a knife (i wait) and a woven bamboo carrier (i star); but near a boy a bow (ka tyntieh) and three arrows (ki 'nam). The sacrificer fetches a little plate, on which he sprinkles rice meal and fills a gourd bottle (u klong) with rice brandy, which he previously mixes with water. He

553 844 782 arranges all this on a bamboo swing (u prah) and then begins the sacrifice with the following words:

Te ha sngew ko blei trai kynrad ko thaw-bynriew ko buhbynriew te ba long ka jer ba long ka thoh ban neh ka nam ban neh ka kyrteng ban long u lubri ban long ka kyrteng wei la suk la sngewbha phi ka blei ban khot da kata ka kyrteng to kein ba un long tymmen un long san un sain la ka kur la ka jaid un bad la ka khein ka bishar ha kpoh la iing mo.

Te sngew sa ka jong me u thawlang babha bamiat te wei ym don ka sang ka kyndiah te la long kynthei la long shynrang te a un long rangbah man rangbah yn sah ka nam yn sah ka kyrteng mo!

And so hear, o god and lord, o creator and maker of men! for now the name-giving and the noting-down shall occur, so that the fame may last and the name be kept, after it has pleased thee, o goddess, to name with this name. Now may it (the child) live to an old age and become great and strong in his descendants and races, and may he keep and observe the commands and justice of his family.

And so hear thou also, o thou good and beautiful Thaulang, since now for once no taboo and no difficultty exist and little woman and little man are (and a child was born), so may he become big and become a strong man and may the fame remain and the name remain preserved. Is it no so!

Meanwhile the sacrificer slowly sprinkles the brandy on the rice meal so that a dough is made. Now one seeks for the name of the child.

553
844 While he pronounces several names, he very slow-
782 ly pours the rice liquor out on the ground. The name, then, that coincides with the drop that takes the longest to free itself from the neck of the gourd bottle, is given the child. When the name is found by this method, the sacrificer makes a mark on each foot of the child with the dough mentioned above, thus giving him the name.

553 [427] But if somebody comes into the hut
844 by chance while the liquor is being poured out and says something, then a name formed from these words is given the child. Then the parents and relatives of the child must eat three times from this dough. When this is all over, the father takes the placenta, sprinkles rice meal on it and swings it three times over the head of the child. Thereupon he leaves the house and fastens the jar including the contents to a tree near the hut. Today this ceremony is seldom done exactly. Usually the father only goes in the yard and buries the placenta somewhere.

553 When the father returns, his feet are sprinkled with water ban khuid ban jhiah krat i khunlung, i.e. so that the child may stay healthy. A rice cake (u purew) which was prepared earlier is now eaten by everybody. Thereupon all the relatives sit down, the relatives of the wife on the left and the relatives of the husband on the right. A piece of the rice cake (purew) is dipped in water and the toes of all the guests are wiped with it. After the end of these ceremonies the utensils which were placed at the side of the child, the bow, the three arrows, the knife and the carrying straps, are taken away and carefully fastened to the inside of the roof of the hut.

● 553 Here are several examples of heathen Khasi names:

u Kisorai	ka Nobitri
u Rasmoni	ka Derisi
u Jaweng	ka Nimai
u Syer	ka Elimai
u Sniang	ka Korimai

The names with the article u are for the masculine sex, those with the article ka for the feminine sex.

The customs of the name giving are not the same everywhere. It is reported (23) that on

23. Gurdon, The Khasis, pp. 124-127.

such occasions a banana leaf with a pounded yellow root and five dried fish should be placed in readiness. An older man, who understands name giving (kaba jer khun), places a banana leaf on the ground and sprinkles it with water. He takes the gourd bottle in his hand and calls on god as a witness. The people gathered there then mention a lot of names, which the one offering the sacrifice must repeat. While he is saying the names, he pours rice brandy out of the gourd bottle onto the ground. The name that is said with the last drop from the gourd bottle is the name of the child.

"Or one lets two little bamboo sticks (igrñ) fall to the ground. If these remain in the formation of a cross, the name that has been spoken meanwhile is the one kept. Otherwise this is done until the desired position of the sticks occurs. But this way takes a lot of time and trouble, since it is sometimes a long time before the little bamboo sticks lie in a crossed position. Mr. Jenkins reports

553 that a Khasi told him, [428] that all kinds of nuisance and deceptions occur with this method of name giving since one likes to save time and trouble."

"The dried fish are held by each end and cut into two pieces. Finally one wipes the yellow root that has been mixed with water on the right foot of the father, the mother, and the child."

244 782 553 Among the Synteng the following items are offered in sacrifice immediately after the birth of a child: some rice meal, eggs, roots and leaves. After the child is a month old (one often waits two months) the ceremony of the name giving is performed. This is done, if not by the sister of the mother, then by the oldest man of the sib. Sacrifices are brought again at this celebration, specifically two hens and a goat.

844 The parents of a newborn child are not allowed to cross a river, nor may they wash their clothes as long as the umbilical cord is not healed, since otherwise the mountain or river devil would harm the child.

845 Twins are considered a punishment, which has been incurred by somebody in the sib for violating a taboo. If the twins are of different sex, their bones may not later be placed in the common family grave.

782 755 2. Sacrifices during the Illness of a Member of the Family.

[753] Usually sacrifices are made only for internal illnesses. Because the Khasi cannot explain the origin of these illnesses, they are of the opinion that a devil has caused them. He must be angry with the person concerned

613
[762]

connection of transaction of money (khaiuba) during the period, compulsory social participation in marriage, household worship, and funeral ritual, and the pride for the privilege in succession to *siem-ship* (chiefhood) *shipi* hold together the inner structure of the society in fulfilling its function.

Family (Ka-iing)—The functions of family centre round the :

1. performance of basic religious rites,
2. [illegible] property,
3. maintenance of social relations with the kin of *ka-Kjak* and *ka-bor*,
4. protection of familial kin.

From the above discussions it may be inferred that the social groupings of the Khasis function in different dimensions and make the individuals aware of their duties, and obligations towards each other. In the process of socialisation and enculturation of the individual they learn that the individuals, the different social groups and the community at large are inseparable.

Even from infancy a boy is infused with the idea that family comes first in regard, sub-clan second, and clan third. The kin of the family are primary relatives, and those of the sub-clan and the clan are secondary and tertiary respectively. One bow and three arrows given by a father to his son in his naming ceremony (*jerkhaw*) symbolise their relationships with the three social groups. With the first arrow man has to fight for *ski-iing* (members of the same family) and *ski-Kjak* (members of the same sub-clan), with the second for his *ski-bor* and with the third for the state.

14:Boy 1-5 (no date) 1938 AR7 Khasi AR7

59; [71] *Hynniew Trep Hynniew Skaw* (the seven roots, seven roots). These seven roots or roots were seven pairs of virgin women and men created by God to marry and they formed seven houses (families) and from these the country was filled and the rites and ceremonies were obtained. Thus the Khasi takes pride in the fact that God Himself delivered their religion and the rites and ceremonies unto them. ... The Khasi matrilineal system [illegible] idea of the union of one man with one woman. This is significant for those who consider that marriage is and has always been common to the whole human race, and it raises the question as to whether the Khasi idea is the survival of a period when the nature of paternity was not understood".

[95] [601] [559] In the sacral rites of baptism of this simple folk we find that a Khasi grandmother will not officiate in the name-giving ceremony unless in the marriage of her son with the woman to whom the child is born there has been the regular ceremony of marriage.

16: McCormack E-4,5 (1956-1958) 1964
[P. III B] AR7 Khasi AR7

household deities, and ancestor and smallpox deities. 776
Deities of the first two categories are simply aspects 771
of the high God or Creator. • The earth is peopled with two great orders of land demons and water demons who cause all undesirable, unnatural, and otherwise inexplicable events, acting either on their own or as instruments in the hands of sorcerers. Apart from omens, both in nature and in dreams, 787
Khasis attach supernatural significance also to mystic 812
numbers, and to the colors white, black, and red. They hold especially important folk beliefs regarding 824
betel nut, paddy rice, gold and silver, and clothing.
Practitioners. The two classes of religious practitioners are the village or state priests and the sacrificers. 781
Both are male. They use the same divinatory tech- 783
niques of reading broken eggshells and the entrails 754
of cocks, and they both sacrifice cocks, hens, goats, pigs, and cattle. Their skills are not taught to them so much as picked up by observation and confirmed by demonstrations of efficacy. A priest is elected from among the sons of his sib to direct his skills to [illegible] and his rewards are institutionalized and come from the village or the state. A sacrificer acts for private persons or his group, on call, and is rewarded by them personally with gifts in cash or in kind. The sacrificer is called upon to explain and then to ritually remedy every variety of misfortune, especially illness, though his powers are nowadays regarded with ambivalence, and he is widely expected to become a sorcerer sooner or later. • There are two major types of sor- 754
cerer. One is the ritual specialist or sacrificer who secretly turns his skills from good to evil, manipulating demons to injure a person or his group, and acting always for himself alone out of considerations of jealousy or revenge. The other is normally a leading citizen, a woman who is so wealthy and successful that it is believed that she must keep a shiw, i.e. a creature which will bring her prosperity so long as she feeds it periodically with human blood. To provide this blood, the sons of her household, or other males whom she bewitches with a special whisky, will indiscriminately murder anyone except a member of her matrilineage. The Jaintias have an sim- [184]
ilar belief in the shiw in their sorcerer, except that the ultimate result is death from illness rather than murder. Minor witchcraft can be perpetrated by persons hungry or persons with an evil eye, who are often women. Ceremonies. The important traditional 805
ceremonies were the life-crisis rituals relating to 806
pregnancy and childbirth, the naming of a child, and 809
death. Lesser ceremonies related to marriage and 816
divorce, and to house-building. All these rituals were 817
addressed primarily to the ancestors, and they are 818
still performed in modified form by many Khasis. 819
Other rituals, which were performed by groups such 820
as villages, sibs, local descent groups, or households, 178
were addressed to the ancestral aspects of the high 782

21: Ehrenfels E-4,5 (1950) 1953 AR7 Khasi AR7

105 It will here be recalled that the Khasi are a matrilineal agricultural
[175] people, pre-litterate until the advent of the British in the sixth decade of
[197] the 19th century, organized under democratically ruling *siem*, or Khasi princes and chieftains and speaking an Austro-Asiatic language [14]. Their
144 physical affinities are unmistakably mongoloid and quite distinct from the Assamese speaking plains-Indians, — but not from the other mountaineers of Assam, Nepal and even Burmah or China, with whom they feel to be more closely related, as with the Indian plainspeople, as some of the tribal designations in the following lists of terms for Non-Khasi testifies (comp. No. 41 as against No. 42, 43 and 43/*a-e*).

114 In the collection of the material, I was hampered by my inability to
122 pick up the Khasi language sufficiently quickly, for conversation without the help of an interpreter, but on the other hand greatly eased by generous and voluntary assistance on the part of several Khasi friends, especially U Ekiman Singh, the President, Unitarian Union, Khasi- and Jaintai Hills and his (Khasi) wife, Ka Austria [15], who offered me hospitality in their house at Maw Syn Jri, during my stay there. Dr. H. LYNGDOH, Shillong, the author of detailed accounts on Khasi religious ceremonial and institutions [16], U Jeeban Roy, a leading Pnár gentleman of Jowei in the Jaintia Hills, Ka Ellen Giri, Principal, Govt. Basic Education Training Centre, Malki, Shillong, Ka Kongmen, Shillong, and U David Roy, Prime Minister (retd.), and a number of hospitable Wár Khasi and Wár-Jaintia pan-leaf cultivators in the southern slopes of the Khasi- and Jaintia Hills, especially from the villages Mawlat and Padu, also helped me greatly in my task. My thanks are due to all of them.

101 The data, submitted and briefly described in this paper were thus
114 collected in four different areas.

1. The South-eastern corner of the Khasi-Hills (plateau-area),
2. the southern slopes of the Khasi Hills, the "Wár-Khasi country" between the Khasi plateau proper and the northern boundary of East Pakistan,
3. the central plateau of the Jaintia Hills, round its capital market Jowei, and
4. the southern slopes of the Jaintia Hills, the "Wár-Jaintia country" between these and a section of the northern boundary of East Pakistan, further to the East than area 2.

197 Slightly different Khasi dialects are spoken in these four regions, Jaintia (Pnár or "Synteng") and Wár-Jaintia being more akin to each other, similarly as Plateau-Khasi and Wár-Khasi are.

101 The Pnár or Jaintias ("Synteng" is a slightly opprobious designation,
175 used by the Plateau-Khasi for these, their eastern neighbours) look back

[14] SCHMIDT (1906).

[553] [15] So named, because Austria was much in the news at the time of her birth, during the first world war: — a fact which illustrates the Khasi peculiarity to use either ad hoc inventions as names for children, or to adopt such, from the Khasi point of view, outlandish words like: "Ka Austria" or "Ka Mediterranean Sea" as names for their children.

[16] LYNGDOH (1937).

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

291 The Wár men dress very much the same as the neighbouring Sylheti Hindus. The Wár women, especially the Sheila women, wear very pretty yellow and red checked and striped cloths. The cloak is not so frequently worn as amongst Khasis, except in cold weather. The Lynngam dress is very similar to that of the neighbouring Garos. The males wear the sleeveless coat, or *phong marong*, of cotton striped red and blue, red and white, or blue and white, fastened in the same manner as the Khasi coat and with tassels. A small cloth, generally red or blue, is tied between the legs, one end of it being allowed to hang down, as with the Khasis, like an apron in front. A round [554] cap is commonly worn; but the elderly men and people of importance wear turbans. The females wear short cloths of cotton striped red and blue, the cloth reaching just above the knee, like the Garos; married women wear no upper clothing, except in winter, when a red or blue cotton cloth is thrown loosely across the shoulders. The women wear a profusion of blue bead necklaces and brass earrings like the Garos. Unmarried girls wear a cloth tightly tied round the figure, similar to that worn by the Kacharis. A bag of cloth for odds and ends is carried by the men slung across the shoulder. It should be [554] mentioned that even in ancient times great people amongst the Khasis, like Siems, wore waist-cloths, and people of less consequence on great occasions, such as dances. The use of waist-cloths among the Khasis is on the increase, especially among those who live in Shillong and the neighbouring villages, and in Jowai and Cherrapunji.

TATTOOING.

304 None of the Khasis tattoo; the only people in the hills who tattoo are certain tribes of the Bhoi country which are really Mikir. These tattoo females on the forehead when they attain the age of puberty, a straight horizontal line being drawn from the parting of the hair down the forehead and nose. The line is one-eighth to one-quarter of an inch broad. The Lynngams occasionally tattoo a ring round the wrist of females.

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

Silver chains are worn by men as well as by women. The 301
men wear them round the waist like a belt, and the women hang them round their necks, the chains being allowed to depend as low as the waist. Bracelets are worn by women; these are either of gold or of silver. The Lynngam [321]
males wear bead necklaces, the beads being sometimes of cornelian gathered from the beds of the local hill streams, and sometimes of glass obtained from the plains markets of Damra and Moiskhola. The cornelian necklaces are much prized by the Lynngams, and are called by them *'pieng blei*, or gods' necklaces. Like the Garos, the Lynngams wear as many brass earrings as possible, the lobes of the ears of the females being frequently greatly distended by their weight. These earrings are made out of brass wire obtained from the plains markets. The Lynngams wear silver armlets above the elbow and also on the wrists. It is only a [554]
man who has given a great feast who can wear silver armlets above the elbows. These armlets are taken off as a sign of [765]
mourning, but never on ordinary occasions. The Lynngams do not wear Khasi jewellery, but jewellery of a pattern to be seen in the Garo Hills. A distinctive feature of the Lynngam women is the very large number of blue bead necklaces they wear. They put on such a large number as to give them almost the appearance of wearing horse collars. These beads are obtained from the plains markets, and are of glass. Further detailed information regarding this subject can be obtained from Mr. Henniker's monograph, which contains a good plate illustrating the different articles of jewellery.

WEAPONS.

The weapons of the Khasis are swords, spears, bows and arrows, 411
and a circular shield which was used formerly for purposes of 314
defence. The swords are usually of wrought iron, occasionally of [326]
steel, and are forged in the local smithies. The Khasi sword is of considerable length, and possesses the peculiarity of not having a handle of different material from that which is used for the blade. In the Khasi sword the handle is never made of wood or bone, or

9: Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 AR7 Khasi AR7

764 211 The tall upright stones are called "Mao bynna", from "mao", a stone; "bynna", to make known, to be informed, literally a monument. They are also known by the term, "Mao shinran", the male stone, while the flat seat-like slab in front is called "Mao Kynthai", the female stone, representative of all life, being in pairs. My informant explained this by saying the monument would be imperfect without the flat stone or its female adjunct.

769 764 211 The ashes of the dead are never deposited under the horizontal slabs always to be seen in front of the upright sets, the monument having no connection with funeral obsequies whatever. The monument is purely one to perpetuate the memory of a person long deceased, who, as a spirit, has watched over or brought good fortune to a descendant, his family, or clan. Wealth or [554] renown of the deceased has no connection with the size of the monument, which may be of any dimensions, from stones a foot or two and upward, but depends on the wealth of those who erect such mementos, and on the benefits the deceased has conferred aftar passing into the world of spirits and demons, for, according to Khāsi belief, the spirits of the dead and demons are the cause of all joy or woe—they give riches or strike with disease and death.

These monuments are not set up facing any particular point of the compass; the front is generally selected, having reference to the site and its surroundings: thus a number set up together on a hill-top will be found facing outwards, those by the wayside facing the road; however, single sets, standing on a hill-top or rising ground, as a rule, face to the southward.

The history connected with the erection of some large slabs near Cherra Poonjee will exemplify this curious custom. One of the clans, "Kūr" in Cherra, is known as the "Nongtariang"; and many years ago died an old lady of the clan, not famous for anything in particular during her lifetime, but whose virtues appear to have been great after her demise, for after this the Nongtariang clan, from being a poor one, rose gradually to considerable wealth; she, when propitiated and called on for aid, never failed her race, and in return, after some sixty years or more, they raised to her memory five well-cut stones, which are to be seen on the west side of the road between Cherra Poonjee and Surarun, the central monolith adorned with a kind of rose cut in relief on the front face, and an ornamental disc on the apex. It would appear that she still remained the guardian spirit of her clan; they continued to prosper, and as a further token to her memory, they added in 1869 five more stones on the other side of the road, and in a line with the first set.

It may very naturally be asked how descendants possibly dis-

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

(8) Cotton is grown on high lands and
248 slopes; it is sown in April, and becomes fit for picking by January.

311 AREA AND OUT-TURN OF CROPS.—According to the Assam Administration Report for 1875-76, the area of the British portion of
241 the Khásí and Jáintiá Hills District amounts to 2160 square miles,
648 of which only 110 are under cultivation; of the remainder, 1337 square miles are set down as cultivable, and 713 as uncultivable. The total area of the semi-independent Khásí States is given as 3997 square miles, of which 176 are under cultivation, 2561 are cultivable, and 1260 uncultivable. In another portion of the same Report, the area under various crops throughout the entire District is thus approximately estimated:—Rice, 59,880 acres; other food grains, 57,820 acres; cotton, 1076 acres; potatoes, 33,880 acres. The average out-turn of rice per acre is returned at 8 *maunds*, or nearly 6 cwt.; of other food grains, 3 *maunds*, or over 2 cwt.; of cotton, 2 *maunds*, or 1½ cwt.; of
[435] potatoes, 55 *maunds*, or nearly 40 cwt. The price of rice in 1875-76 was Rs. 4 8 per *maund*, or 12s. 8d. a cwt., which gives Rs. 36 or £3. 12s. as the value of the rice crop obtained from one acre.

241 CONDITION OF THE PEASANTRY.—The Khásiás can scarcely be considered an agricultural people, as they do not grow sufficient
423 grain for their own subsistence, and are dependent to a great
433 extent on imports of rice from the neighbouring Districts. Ten acres is generally considered a comfortable holding for a husbandman in the position of an ordinary Bengal peasant, but scarcely any man in the Hills depends entirely upon the produce of his land for
[231] his support. In the Jáintiá Hills a cultivator's position is con-
[554] sidered to be very low if he possesses no cattle, but performs all the operations of agriculture with his own hands. In that portion of the District, five acres is all that can be cultivated with a single
[465] pair of oxen, the average being four acres. A husbandman with a holding of five acres would not be so well off as a retail shopkeeper, nor would it enable him to live as comfortably as he could on a money wage of Rs. 8 or 16s. a month. The peasantry, however, as a class are not in debt. The land is owned chiefly by small proprietors, who occupy and cultivate their hereditary fields. The relations of landlord and tenant do not exist in the Hills, and no rent is payable to any one; consequently the principle of Act x. of 1859 (the Rent Law of Bengal) has no application.

231 THE ANIMALS used in agriculture are oxen; goats and pigs are
435

782 Gurdon (5) believes that his ka lyngdoh is with-
596
793

5. Gurdon, The Khasi, loc. cit.

out doubt a holdover from that time of the matriarchy in which a priestess also performed the sacrifices herself.

b) The Public and Ceremonial Introduction as a Lyngdoh.

793 How does a person become a lyngdoh?[1] This
782 question can also not be answered so easily.
555 This is very different in the different districts. In general it may be assumed that the lyngdoh arise from the practice of household (private) sacrifices. Since it is the duty of the woman to watch over the sacrificial ceremonies, she will introduce one of her sons to the rite of performing sacrifices that is peculiar to the family, so that he will be able to occasionally offer the sacrifice in the prescribed manner or in case of need (sickness, death, misfortune). But because the maternal uncle is usually called upon for the sacrifices, the son who has learned to offer sacrifices will have little chance to practise this art in his own family, but rather among his maternal relatives. And the other way around, people from there who know how to offer sacrifices will be called into this household. In this way the man who offers sacrifices becomes known in the neighborhood. If he has luck with his arrangements and if success crowns his efforts, the news will spread that he is an experienced sacrificer whom the spirits obey and that he knows how to seek them out, to drive them away, or to propitiate them, as the case requires. Thus it happens that such a man is called upon again and again to offer sacrifices,

7 [i.e. sacrificer--Analyst]

793 especially in touchy cases. Thus of his own ac-
782 cord he becomes a lyngdoh and the people recogniz
●555 him as such on the basis of his successes. Who-
ever is once esteemed a lyngdoh remains one for the rest of his life. Just as in our country ordinary people call a dental technician "Doctor" and a high school teacher "Professor." so the Khasi call a man who is well known for his good sacrifices their "lyngdoh," although this person would not be able to prove his right to the title officially. This way of becoming a lyngdoh is probably the usual practice in most of the cases.

793 But it is not the way everywhere. There is
782 a report from Lamin (6) that a group mother

6. Salvatorianische Mitteilungen /Salvatorian communications/, 1906 No. 6, p. 84.

/Stammesmutter/ of the lyngdohs is there. Gurdon (7) also writes about a lyngdoh tribe, from which

7. Gurdon, loc. cit.

the lyngdohs are drawn. I have never found this to happen and I have never heard of a lyngdoh group /Stamm/, or a lyngdoh sib (jaid). It could certainly happen that several sons of one and the same mother could by chance learn how to sacrifice and that they all excel in it and that they all have good luck so that these brothers are all called in as lyngdohs.

But the mother concerned has by no means become a lyngdoh group mother /Stammesmutter/ just because of that, and the sib involved has no claims to the title: Lyngdohjaid (lyngdoh group /Stamm/). Naturally the correct art of sacrificing, which is often very involved and difficult

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

301 This stone is apparently some rough gem which may be picked up by the Lynngams in the river beds. A rich man amongst
● 556 them, however, is one who possesses a number of metal gongs,
534 which they call *wiang*. For these they pay very high prices,
436 Rs. 100 being quite a moderate sum for one of them. Being curious to see one of these gongs, I asked a *sirdar*, or head-man, to show me one. He replied that he would do so, but it would take time, as he always buried his gongs in the jungle for fear of thieves. Next morning
[531] he brought me a gong of bell metal, with carvings of animals engraved thereon. The gong when struck gave out a rich deep note like that of Burmese or Thibetan gongs. These gongs have a regular currency in this part of the hills, and represent to the Lynngams "Bank of England" notes. It would be interesting to try to ascertain what is their history, for no one in the Lynngam country makes them in these days. Is it possible that the Garos brought them with them when
534 they migrated from Thibet? The gongs are well known in the
622 Garo Hills, and I hear that when a *nokma*, or head-man, there
778 dies his corpse is laid out upon them. They thus possess also an element of sanctity, besides being valuable for what they will fetch to the Garos or Lynngams. We may hope to hear more about them in Captain Playfair's account of the Garos.

304 The Lynngams do not tattoo. Their weapons are the large-
411 headed Garo spear, the dao, and the shield. They do not usually
243 carry bows and arrows, although there are some who possess them. They are by occupation cultivators. They sow two kinds of hill rice, red and white, on the hill-sides. They have no wet paddy cultivation, and they do not cultivate in terraces like the Nagas. They burn the jungle about February, after cutting down some of the trees and clearing away some of the debris, and then sow the paddy broadcast, without cultivating the ground in any way. They also cultivate millet and Job's-tears in the same way. With the paddy chillies are sown the
241 first year. The egg plant, arum, ginger, turmeric, and sweet
231 potatoes of several varieties are grown by them in a similar
784 manner. Those that rear the lac insect plant *landoo* trees (Hindi *arhal dal*) in the forest clearings, and rear the insect thereon. Some of these people, however, are prohibited by a

000 that they may also get smallpox.

776 Every Khasi is desirous of wealth. There-
556 fore they sacrifice to the demoness of wealth, ka shur, whom they fear just as much as the Synteng fear the demoness ka taro, who likewise only allows the desired wealth to come to those who revere her.

776 But all evil taken together can be caused
782 by the demoness ka ron. She is the worst of all devils in the opinion of the Synteng. The Khasi sacrifice only to her and the devil u mahet inside the hut, and not as is otherwise customary out of doors (in the courtyard of the hut).

But the Khasi have the greatest fear of the
[925] devil u thlen. He can be kept in the house by people in the form of a snake. Since he is only propitiated by human blood, it is necessary to find human sacrifices (ka 'langthoklieh). One cuts off the toenails and fingernails of the victims and these are brought with the blood of the murdered one during the night in a closed house as a sacrifice to the devil with prayers and exhortations. To get these human sacrifices, the thlen possessor must look for them with cunning or violence. Usually hired murderers are sent out, to whom one previously hands a quite special liquor 'iad-tang-snem (literally: lasts for a year). The Khasi believe that anyone who drinks this liquor is so influenced (enchanted) that he will really carry out the planned murder. When these murderers (nong-shoh-noh) are on their way or waiting in ambush to catch their victim for the thlen, they may not use any iron, because the thlen near the cave of Pomdalai near Cherrapunji was killed by a brave man named u suidnoh, when the thlen appeared there in the form of an enormous snake in order to swallow up people and animals. The victim is struck down with a stick which usually has a silver knob.

428 613 no girls, only sons, the inheritance passes to the youngest daughter of the sister of the deceased clan mother. If there are no such sisters or if they have no daughters, the nearest, youngest female relative is next in line. If she has not lived in the family clan of the deceased up to now, she must first spend at least 3 months in the hut of the clan mother in order to be able to enter into her rights and duties. In such cases usually the successor to the office is taken into the hut previously by the clan mother and prepared for the later activity. It can happen that the successor is not even 13 years old and therefore is not of age and capable of marrying. In this case the mother or a sister of the deceased clan mother manages the rule and the household until the majority of the inheritress. But even as a child the latter has the honored name mother; she is called kmie or kmie san.

The great principle, which determines all conditions of inheritance, is that the sons and husbands are excluded from all family property, which is always passed on to the girls, the female world. But what if a fellow or a man creates or acquires property? The case is possible and also occurs.

428 556 /304/ As mentioned, each person must help with the work in his own family clan in order to have a claim on care from the common property. Between sowing the rice and the harvest and other possible common labors there are still many days and weeks. Instead of [464] spending these with archery, hunting or the popular shong kai, or loafing around, a young man can earn money by cutting wood for others and carrying loads for native traders or also for Europeans, since in the mountains nearly everything has to be carried on the back. He can also do work in the fields or gardens for pay for others outside his clan or carry on a small trade by buying wares at the market such as dried fish, betel nuts, pepper leaves and such, and carrying them a few days' journey away to the markets in the interior of the mountains where these items are not otherwise available and selling them there for a profit. What the man earns in this fashion is his property and is not counted as part of the clan property. An industrious man can thus gradually earn enough money to rent a rice field. Through sale of the surplus crop, he will finally have enough so that he is able to buy a rice field himself, which is also 428 his property. If such a man dies unmarried, the inheritance passes to his mother. If he is married then he can, if he wishes, found a clan property for his family who may be poor and without property. The property will then pass to the youngest daughter and be passed on then in the usual manner of inheritance. Thus everything finally

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

necessary. The chances of acquiring a piece of land nowadays are small, except for very successful men, and usually the size of the plot is only just enough to maintain one household. When this land is passed on to the next generation, the youngest daughter will hold the title to it. This fact tends to exclude married elder sisters from the right to use the land, since it is not sufficient for more than one household. Thus the ultimogeniture succession rule seems to have developed more sharply and to have encouraged limited inheritance in conjunction with the shortage of land. 178 423 428

This tendency creates unbalance in the economy of the households within a community. It is a usual picture in Khasi villages, for the bigger and well-built houses to be occupied by the youngest daughter's family, while the elder sisters reside in poor huts. Youngest daughters are usually landowners, while their elder sisters have often to become day-labourers after their marriage, unless their husbands are capable men, or their fathers wealthy enough to give them some share of their acquired property. On the whole, the variations at present between rich and poor are considerable in a Khasi community, in comparison with that of the Garo, where the economic condition of each household in a village is more or less similar. These differences are not only a matter of economic organization but arise from the nature of each social structure. 178 184 423 428 556 [171]

The economic and social patterns of Sohkynduh and Kongton are very similar, but their dialects are slightly different: my interpreter, who came from Cherrapunje, could work quite well at Sohkynduh, but at Kongton he found some difficulty, especially with the speech of the old men, and with their religious expressions. The head man of Kongton, who was quite accustomed to the Cherra dialect, acted as an interpreter for us. Such differences in dialect in the Khasi Hills are common phenomena; it is said that every valley has its own dialect. Differences are found not only in speaking, but also, to a certain extent, in culture and in social usages. 197 [124]

II. Village Endogamy

One of the outstanding features of Khasi social organization is the predominant tendency of endogamy on the level of the village, which contrasts with the structural orientation of the Garo village exogamy. This is closely connected with the distributions of clans and the nature of the descent groups. 582 621 [171]

The Khasi population consists of a number of *kur*, matrilineal clans, whose members consider themselves to be descended from a common ancestress. The members of the same *kur* have a common 614 [765] [769]

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

INHERITANCE.

608 The Khasi and Synteng laws of inheritance are practically the same, although in some of the doloiships in the Jaintia Hills there are some slight differences. The Wár law of inheritance differs greatly from that of the Khasis, and the customs of the Bhois or Mikirs, who inhabit the Bhoi doloiship of the Jaintia Hills, are totally different from those of the Khasis, thereby supplying another link in the chain of evidence in support of the conclusion that the Bhois, or, more correctly speaking, the Mikirs, are of Bodo origin, and not Khasi or Mon-Anam. The Lyngams follow the Khasi law of inheritance. It will be convenient to describe the Khasi law first, and then to pass on to the special customs in vogue in the different doloiships in the Jaintia Hills, and, finally, to describe the Wár, Bhoi and Lyngam customs.

611 The Khasi saying is, "*long jaid na ka kyntheí*" (from the
562 woman sprang the clan). The Khasis, when reckoning descent count from the mother only; they speak of a family of brothers and sisters, who are the great grandchildren of one great grandmother, as *shi kpah*, which, being literally translated, is one womb, *i.e.* the issue of one womb. The man is *pokedy*. If he is a brother, *u kur*, a brother being taken to mean an uterine brother, or a cousin-german, he will be lost to the family or clan directly he marries. If he be a husband, he is looked upon merely as *u shong kha*, a begetter. In some of the Wár villages a newly married man is spoken of by the
593 bride's family as, "*u khun ki heiew*," some one else's son. It is,
764 perhaps, somewhat of a paradox under the circumstances that
641 wives should address their husbands as "*kyrwad*," or lord. There is, however, no gainsaying the fact that the husband, at least in theory, is a stranger in his wife's home, and it is certain that he can take no part in the rites and ceremonies of his wife's family, and that his ashes after death can find no place within the wife's family tomb, except, in certain cases, amongst
796 the Syntengs. Further, the ceremonial religion amongst Khasis,
562 especially that of the house, is in the hands of the women. It is, therefore, perhaps not to be wondered at, considering the
928 important status assigned to women by the Khasis, that women

more than a thousand of them who have been converted to the Hindu religion. 162 (397)

This group of people possesses the possibility of expansion, since they have at their disposal within the area of the Khasi and Jaintia Mountains a territory of 6,022 English square miles, with only 40 persons per square mile. Although wide areas are not built up and the system of shifting fields prevents the full utilization of the land, it is still true that with this small population figure by far the largest part of the whole population (200,781) is dependent on agriculture; trade and manufacturing only play a subordinate part. [311]

With regard to the division of the sexes, the two large religions of Assam, Hinduism and Mohammedanism, show the same proportion as in the rest of India, a lower number of women than men. But among the Khasi the women are more numerous than the men. In the Brahmaputra valley with its greater Hindu population there are only 898 women for every 1,000 men; in the Surma valley, with a greater Moslem element, there are 937. But the situation is reversed among the Khasi, where there is a surplus of 74 women for every thousand men. The position of the women is basically different among this people. It is based on the customs and usages of maternal rights that prevail among them, which are predominantly based on possession and which find honorable expression in possession. 562 162

1. Property Rights in the Family Property.

The great principle which governs property among the Khasi, is that all family property rests in the hands /120: A/ /Fig. 1. Khasi Girls and Women with their Carrying Baskets. Fig. 2. An Old Clan Mother in the Village Laitumkhra. / /120: B/ /Fig. 3. At the Oracle of Egg Throwing/. Fig. 5. Khasi Girls and Men in Festive Dance Clothing. / /120: C/ /Fig. 4. A Group of Synoeng/ /120: D/ Fig. 6. A Holy Grove and Part of the Village Raliang/ /120/ of the women and not of the man. The man can never be the owner of family property, and it can never be transferred to him. He may perhaps acquire some property through his own industry and work, but even that will pass into feminine hands by the path of inheritance. The concept of family is not as narrowly drawn here as in our country. This is a question of the clan-family, the clan. The head of it is always the youngest daughter, who, even when she has become old, bears the honorable name ka haiit in the Jaintia Mountains, and in the Khasi Mountains ka khadduh, the last, the youngest. Around her gather her nearest blood relatives, brothers and sisters, and children. For example let 421 613 592 613 592

613 bahla); and as long as the expiatory sacrifice, in the form of pigs and
613 goats, determined by the elders of the family and by the sacrificial
612 priest (lyngdoh) has not been offered, the sinning member is considered excluded from the family and the family sacrifices. But even after being accepted again a certain stain still clings to him.

But it is also the duty of the clan mother to care for the needs of
613 the members of her family clan with regard to food, clothing, and the like. She divides the fruits of the harvests according to the needs of the individual. She goes or sends to market to trade, to buy, or to sell. She takes care of the common purse and even the masculine members of the clan have to ask her for money when they wish to drink rice liquor or buy clothing. There the clan mother is generous
• [612] rather than niggardly. This dependent relationship of the men is not considered unworthy at all or shameful. It is the matriarchal form and ancient custom. Nevertheless, the position of the men in the family clan is an esteemed one. Even the name they are called by has an important sound: Rangbah, Basan (oldest ones, advisers). On them falls often the work in the field and wood or the protection of the family; bow and arrow are handed to them as cradle gifts. In the more important family matters the clan mother consults with them. At the giving of the name, during a wedding, a funeral, or cremation the clan mother steps almost completely into the background, also during quarrels and court hearings before the chief (Doloi) or king (S'iem). She is still always influential with her advice, but the actual appearance, activity and judgments is the business of the men. The smaller,
[612] everyday sacrifices she performs in the clan hut; but she can also let these /135/ be performed by her sons. At larger sacrificial ceremonies which are offered by several family clans at the same time, by whole
[779] villages or even by one of the Khasi states, only the men are active as sacrificial priests.

With regard to the husbands of the clan mother and of the feminine
613 members, they are not considered members of the family clan of the
596 women at all. They are only considered the begetters. They work and live in their own clan, participate in their sacrifices and burial places. The father has no further influence in the raising of the children, who belong entirely to the clan of the mother. But usually they have no obligation, unless the wife and children are impoverished. Even then their care comes in second place after that of members of their own
[613] clan. Nevertheless the husband is honored and is addressed by "Mr." (Syngrad) by his wife. She would consider it disgraceful to approach him impertinently. Where the property of a clan has been dissolved or Christian customs introduced, the husband lives and works together with his wife and children.

R: Garden G-3 (no date) 1904 ART Khasi ART

611 428 custom prevails amongst the Syntengs. Inheritance to the post of Siem (or chief) also passes through the female line, there being special instance of inheritance for each of the different chieftaincies.

3. The Khasis are divided into clans, or *kur*. These clans are
649 strictly exogamous. Some of these clans derive their names from animals, insects, trees or fish,—*e.g.*, the *thaw* clan, *thaw* meaning a crab; the *shrish* clan, *shrish* meaning a monkey; the *rani* clan, so called from a fish by name *rani*; the *diengdoh* clan, *diengdoh* meaning a certain tree. There are other instances also. In such instances, the clan is said to have sprung from the animal, fish, or tree, as the case may be. There thus appears to be a trace of totemism amongst the Khasis, although now-a-days their totems are not worshipped, nor do people abstain from killing, eating, or utilizing them. A man when he marries does not cease to belong to the *kur* or family of his mother, but his children belong to the *kur* of the man's wife. Frequently the husband merely visits his wife at her mother's house. It is seldom the case that a man takes his wife to his own house, certainly not until several children have been born.

As might be expected, owing to the influence of the matriarchate,
542 Khasi and Syteng women enjoy a much greater share of liberty than is usually the case with the sex. Although not wishing to make any general insinuations, there can be no doubt that Khasi women enjoy considerable freedom in their sexual relations. Women do all the trading, and like their Manipuri sisters make all the house purchases.

4. *Ancestor worship.*—The Khasis propitiate *Ka Jaiñsi*, the first
769 maternal ancestress of the clan, by sacrificing a pig; they also sacrifice yearly to *U Suidnia* (the departed maternal great-uncle). Also when a family is in trouble, *U Thaniang* (the departed great-grandfather) is propitiated. Ancestors are further worshipped by the erection of memorial stones. These memorial stones will be noticed separately.

5. *Birth customs.*—At the birth the navel of a child must not be
944 severed by any instrument made of iron or steel, but by a sharp splinter of bamboo. The placenta is placed in a pot and is kept inside the house till the ceremony of naming the child takes place. As long as the placenta remains in the house, the latter is *sang*, or taboo, to anyone except the members of the family. On the day of the ceremony of naming the child, the father removes the placenta and buries it outside the house. Having done this, the feet of the father are washed with water before he re-enters the house. When the ceremony takes place, parboiled rice is placed on a stone (*u pyrk*) and a small hoe and three arrows—[illegible] the child is a male, and a *ani* (or dao) and a star or (more usual) (which is put the forehead when marrying a lass) by the Khasis), if the child is a female.

[p.20]

SOCIAL GROUPINGS AMONG THE KHASIS OF ASSAM

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Introduction

THE Khasis, who inhabit the United Khasi and Jaintia Hills district of Assam, are matrilineal. Like the Garos, they are matrilocal in residence. Exclusive ownership over family property is claimed by the Khasi women and the youngest daughter (*Ka-Khadduh*) who lives permanently in the house of her mother, is the custodian of the family property and the holder of religion (*Ka-lai-lasiem*)[1].

This paper deals with the social groupings, namely, the clan, sub-clan and family, of the Khasis. The materials were collected in 1966 from Mawphlang, Cherapunji and Mawlieh and Mawsmai villages further south of the Cherra Dara.

Clan-system

In the language of the Khasi, the prefix *Ka* is usually used before the name of a woman or any object belonging to a woman (or considered feminine). The use of *Ka* as a prefix before the name of each social group is suggested to have bearing on Khasi matriliny. *Kur* is not a very expressive and exact term for a clan. *Kabor*, which is supposed to have sprung from the women *Long jaid ne ka Kynthiah*[2] is more exact. Similarly, *Ka-Ki'juk* and *Ka-ting* denote the sub-clan and family respectively.

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[1] Gordon, P. R. T., *The Khasis*, London, 1947, p. 66.

[2] Op. cit., page 66.

extended form more often when the children of the deceased sisters of *Ka-khadduh* reside there. This extension is on the mother's side and is affiliated through the extension of mother-child relationship.

Additional members like widower brothers or widowed sisters make the Khasi family a composite one.

In a Khasi family father, mother and her brother are very important. Father who is regarded as *Ryndar* (stranger) or *Ushong kha* (begotten), has also the position of *Ryawad* (master) of the house (set-up by him). He is the executive head and the mother is the *dajaw* owner of the household.

Modern conditions and spread of Christianity have greatly affected the Khasi society and changed the Khasi ways of life but have failed to alter the traditional mode of inheritance even among the Christian Khasis. Another important fact which is apparent in the Khasi families, is the change of the status of the mother's brother (*Ulbah*) in his sister's house. His influence has greatly been diminished due to clash with *Ka-Khadduh* (Sisters). He has almost lost his control over his sister's family. This has made the women exert their status to a danger point. Consequently, some amount of maladjustment in the relationship system, moral depravity and disintegration loom large in the family horizon.

Family is the core of Khasi social organisation and the closeness of familial kin with the members of the sub-clan is due more to the fact that sub-clan owes its development to the family. A *Sim-K'pah* (member of sub-clan) is a secondary relative and can easily be approached for any help.

The functions of the above mentioned social groupings are as follows:

Clan (*Ka-Kur*)—It regulates marriage. It being a larger non-residential kin group contact between its members is infrequent. The amount of social participation needed on certain level to intensify the relationship among its members falls far short of. But sometimes, there existed among the members

[illegible]

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

182 595 Because of the firm right of women over the residence, Khasi polygyny can never be a clearly distinguishable institution, and has no operational advantage in the social and economic fields; the situation is very similar with lovers' relations and illegal marriages. By polygyny the man achieves no additional economic advantage, nor does he increase his social status or prestige; rather the reverse, for I observed that the polygynyst was regarded as a somewhat ludicrous or tragic figure. As for the woman, she is placed slightly at a disadvantage since the husband's economic activities are not concentrated on her household. However, even many legally-married wives are separated or divorced, so that such disadvantages are not only experienced by the wives of polygynists. The social disadvantage of being secondary wife is not serious, firstly, because wives, whether first or secondary, have social and economic independence—they do not belong to the husband as in the case of patrilineal systems. Secondly, the significance attached to the legal marriage institution is not so great, so that the handicap of being the secondary wife is not severe. What is most important, furthermore, is that her slightly inferior status does in no way affect the next generation. Indeed such children, including [598] those of premarital or illegal relations, suffer no serious social dis- [951] advantage, though they are nominally distinguishable from legitimate children. From this it is clear that the effectiveness of legitimate marriage, and paternal recognition are rather limited among the Khasi.

Thus, Khasi polygyny differs greatly from the polygyny of other societies in terms of its operation and of its form. It also differs in the incentive to its practice. Among the Garo and many other societies, the practice of polygyny usually depends on a man's economic capability, but among the Khasi, it appears rather to depend on his whim. 182 Khasi husbands are notorious for their heavy drinking and 599 neglect of wife and children. Some of them told me that their earnings, 955 their children and everything they acquired go to their wife or sister, leaving them with nothing; therefore they should at least have freedom to enjoy their life. This freedom seemed to mean women and drink. I am not sure how far this explanation is true, but it seems to justify their behaviour to a certain extent. I do not mean that this is the general characteristic of the Khasi husbands, but some such tendency is to be observed. Actually I often heard wives complain of their husbands' drinking and running after women, and was asked "Are your Japanese husbands also like that?", "What is the good of having a husband?" then comes divorce . . .

182 On the contrary, women placed at an advantage by residence 562 and matrilineal inheritance, are required always to be on their best 555 behaviour. There are very strict rules governing the behaviour of Khasi women. They are supposed not to drink, smoke, or play with

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

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any man other than their husband. Women before marriage enjoy 562
a considerable freedom in love affairs, but once married these are no 593
longer tolerated. Women should be faithful wives. They should be 182
so in order to keep their husbands who have a strong tendency to 562
leave their wives. The husband of a woman who has an affair with 581
another man, will never come back to her. There is no attraction to
draw the husband, who has home at his sister's, to his wife's house 593
unless she is good and charming. Such Gurdon's remarks as "There 836
is no evidence to show that polyandry ever existed among the Khasis.
Unlike the Tibetans, the Khasi women seem to have contented them- 182
selves always with one husband, at any rate with one at a time" 562
(Gurdon, 1914, p. 77), is utterly nonsense: a Khasi woman is placed 595
in a situation which is not easy to monopolize even one husband.
Moreover, the Khasi social organization in general does not accord
to the practice of polyandry.

[P. 140 is blank]

ing from the time it consists of an elementary family until it grows to a local descent group four generations deep. [Cf. Chattopadhyay 1941.] Kin terminology. The terms of address given below are also terms of reference except where otherwise indicated, and are uniform for male and female speakers. They were collected in an upland Khasi village near Shillong (cf. Ehrenfels 1955 for some regional variants). [184]

Fa	*pa*
Mo	*mai*
FaElBr	*pasan*
FaToBr	*pakhynnah*
FaSi	*khe*
Fa youngest Si	*khadah*
MoElSi	*mriam*
MoToSi	*mrnah*
Mo youngest Si	*mridah*
MoElBr	*mama, kni*
MoToBr	*kah* (ref.: *kni*)
ElBr	*kah khynnah*
Eldest Br	*kong kah*
ToBr	*kah dong*
Youngest Br	*kah dah*
ElSi	*dong*
Eldest Si	*kad, kong*
ToSi	*kad nah, kad ra*
Youngest Si	*khadah*
MoSiSo, MoSiDa	*pawa* (ref.: *pawa ar kmar*)
FaBrSo, FaBrDa	*pawa* (ref.: *pawakha*)
MoBrSo, MoBrDa	
FaSiSo, FaSiDa	*bokha*

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY. Mode. According to the traditional courtship pattern, a group of young male relatives and friends made nightly visits to the house of some virgin girl in another village, appraising her through hearsay while she and her parents appraised them, and staying the night to avoid the dark walk home. Marriage was according to the wishes of the parents after negotiation by a go-between from the boy's side. Girls might be 15, and boys 17, years of age. Girls have now acquired freedom of movement through attending school, however. Premarital sexual play is common, and young people choose their own spouses when the girl is about 19 and the boy 21. The most common mode of marriage is elopement, for Christians and non-Christians alike, but some Christians marry in church, and some Khasis still marry according to the traditional ceremony or some variation on it. There are no preferred or prescribed marriage types, nor is there a bride price or dowry. Form. Monogamy is the ideal for all. Extension of incest taboos. Mores are exogamous. Other prohibited marriage partners are real and classificatory FaSi and FaBr, FaBrCh, FaMo, and FaMoMo. The MoBrWi is also prohibited. Rep

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17: Banerjee E-5 (1955) 1962 AR7 Khasi AR7
Smit

778 objects are stored while that of the west (kynram blang) was meant exclusively
796 for sacrificial goats. There is a very big circular courtyard in front of the building where the members of the royal family as also other boys and spinsters
[193] hold a ritual dance. The function is always held during the moonlit period of
[443] May or June and the actual dates are fixed in consultation with the Chief priest
[202] (*Sohhlei*) in such a way that the first day—*Pumtiah** always coincides with the market day of Shillong Chota Bazar. The dates of the festival is then communicated to the in-charge of different units of his territory, through a wooden stick '*kyrwoh*' having a few knots of cane-strips, as a form of summons for attending the festival for five days at Smit along with subjects under their jurisdiction.

IMPORTANT PARTICIPANT

796 The responsibility of performing this ritual rests on the High-priestess
793 (*Ka Siem Sad*) who is succeeded by her eldest daughter. Different ritual ob-
• 562 jects are procured by her, well in advance and it is obligatory on her part to
[764] join the ceremonial dancing, in which her daughter may also officiate on her
[533] behalf. U Shillong is worshipped by the chief priest while the other ancestors are invoked by lesser priests. The musicians (*Dhulia*) besides their normal duties, take part in the worship of the ancestors and they are presented with silk turban, jacket, cloth, by the ruling family for the services rendered during the festival. The *Siem* has no especial role except to supervise and evoke U Shillong for the welfare of the community. He is required to perform certain sacrifices, failing which his heir-apparent (*Siem kynsah*) does the same. He along with his sister (High priestess) abstain from taking rice during the period of celebration presumably to observe the sanctity of this festival as also to ensure the successful conclusion of the function.

RITUAL MATERIALS

796 The festival derives its name from the sacrifice of a large number of goats
782 some of which were supplied from the State fund and from different units of
831 the territory. Formerly at least fifty goats were required and each unit had a specific allotment but owing to the economic difficulty that the Khasi are experiencing, the number of goats sacrificed hardly exceeds twenty-five. The goats collected from the different units, are presented to the Chief at the midnight
[273] of the third day. Rice-beer, dried fish, fermented-rice, betel leaves together
[276] with eats are also important ritual objects in this celebration.

DESCRIPTION OF THE FESTIVAL

796 The commencement of the festival was marked by the distribution of dried
782 fish (suit dokha) to the persons assembled on the occasion, in the evening of *Pumtiah* (*i.e.* 21st June, 1957). This was followed by the dropping of rice-beer by the Chief priest over the fire place of central hall known as *Ka sub-ka ahar*

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[305] *A week consists of eight days in Khasi. Calendar the names are according to the places where markets are held in Khasi Hills.

Name	Market
1. Pumtiah	Shillong Chota Bazar.
2. Umiam	Umiamgreah.
3. Tim-dah	Shillong Police Bazar.
4. Lyngdoh	Barapani.
5. Wangkhar	Wangkhar.
6. Mawlong	Laban (Shillong).
7. Rymbai	Umsyngkai Chota Bazar.
8. Shillong	Laitkyng Sub.

CHAPTER—X

Summary of main findings

125 10.1. Twenty-eight villages were selected for the purpose of the survey. Out of the 28 villages selected, 10 from Border area and 8 from Project area were selected purposively while the remaining 10 were selected at random from the entire district which is referred hereafter as general area.

166 Migration from big villages was rare but some migration was reported in respect of small villages.

164 Occurrence of Malaria, influenza and dysentery is a regular phenomenon in the area. Medical facilities were not found satisfactory and as much as 78 per cent of the villages have no dispensary within a radius of five miles. In regard to education, the facilities cannot also be said to be unsatisfactory for more than 60 per cent of the villages have a Lower Primary School. Transport facilities were not satisfactory and as much as 86 per cent of the villages still depend upon primitive mode of transport, namely head load. Correlated with outmoded form of transport, is the prevalence of unduly high cost of transport.

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*162 10.2. The number of the families covered by the survey was 1006 in the Border area, and 647 in the Project area and 184 in the General area. The average size of a village in the respective area is 100·6, 80·9 and 18·4 families. In the Border and Project areas females out number males being respectively 1076 and 1092 females per 1,000 males as against 940 females per 1,000 males in the general area. Literacy is as high as 34 per cent in the border area and 31 per cent in the Project area but as low as 17 per cent in the general area. In all the areas literacy among females is very low.

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*162 The working population (earners and earning dependents) is as high as 55 per cent in the Border area, 54 per cent in the Project area and 63 per cent in the general area. While there were no cases of unemployment in the Project and General areas, 53 persons were reported unemployed from border area.

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241 10.3. 51 per cent of the families in Border area are wholly agricultural, 35 per cent partly agricultural and 14 per cent independent of agriculture. The corresponding figures for the Project area are 61, 31 and 8 per cent respectively while for the General area they are 70 per cent, 29 per cent, 1 per cent respectively.

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Predominantly agricultural families constitute 67, 76 and 90 per cent of the families in Border, Project and General areas respectively.

*162 10.4. 31 per cent of the families in Border area, 29 per cent in Project area and 10 per cent in General area were absolutely without any land while 25 per cent, 39 per cent and 24 per cent of the families in the respective areas possessed small holding ranging from 0·24 to 2·50 acres representing 11, 24 and 26 per cent of the total holding area in the respective areas. 34 per cent of the families in Border and Project areas and 41 in General area possessed medium sized holding (3 to less than 50 acres)

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20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

697 In addition, a total of Rs. 899 (£89, 18s.) was expended on jail buildings. The manufacturing account shows cash receipts amounting to Rs. 60, against an expenditure of Rs. 29, or a net profit of Rs. 31 (£3, 2s).

797 EDUCATIONAL STATISTICS.—The management of education in the
871 Khási and Jáintiá Hills is entirely in the hands of the Welsh Cal-
648 vinistic Mission, who first established themselves in the District about the year 1844. Though the Khásiás are naturally dull, and children are taken away from school before they have obtained more than a smattering of instruction, yet the perseverance of the missionaries has been rewarded by most satisfactory results. It is stated, in the Report of the Inspector of Schools for Assam for 1874-75, that 'a much larger proportion of the Khásiás know a little of reading, writing, and arithmetic than is the case, probably, in any other District of either Assam or Bengal.' Female education, owing to the interest taken in this work by the wives of the missionaries, is also in a comparatively advanced condition. The missionary schools are largely subsidised by grants in aid from Government. The teaching is conducted in English and in Khási, the Roman character being used in both cases.

[562]

[212]

The following paragraphs are compiled from the Education Report for 1874-75, above referred to. In that year the total number of schools open in the District was 73, attended by 1666 pupils. As compared with the area and the population, these figures show one school to every 84·34 square miles, and one pupil to every 85 inhabitants. As compared with the total number of males under ten years of age, the number of boys only attending school (1322) shows one scholar to every 13·1. The total expenditure on education in the same year was Rs. 17,722. 11. 3, or £1772, 5s. 5d.; towards which Government contributed Rs. 10,443. 1, fees and fines produced Rs. 228. 5. 3, while the remainder (Rs. 7051. 4) was expended by the Missionary Society from its own funds. The average cost of educating each pupil was Rs. 10. 10. 4, or £1, 1s. 3½d.

648 PRIMARY SCHOOLS.—With the exception of the schools at Cherrá
797 Punji, Jowai, Shillong, and Sheillá, all the schools in the Hills may
872 properly be classed as primary, though several are returned as middle vernacular schools. On this principle the total number of primary schools is 64, in 45 of which a little English is taught. These 64 schools had 1216 pupils on their rolls at the close of the year 1874-75, and an average daily attendance of 819, comparing

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR 7 Khasi AR 7

648 favourably with an average attendance of 694 in the preceding year. Of the pupils on the rolls, 132 were professed Christians, 36 Hindus, 797 and 1058 Khásiás. The total cost was Rs. 7127. 11. 6, or £712, 872 15s. 5d., towards which Government contributed Rs. 3246. The [658] average cost of each pupil was Rs. 8. 7. 7, or 17s., of which Rs. 3. 14. 7 represents the share paid by Government. The chief failure among the Khásiás is stated by the Inspector to be in arithmetic. Four primary scholarships were awarded during the year by the Deputy-Commissioner, on the recommendation of the secretary to the Mission. These scholarships are of the value of Rs. 3 a month, or £3, 12s. a year, and are tenable for two years.

MIDDLE ENGLISH SCHOOLS.—There were four schools of this 873 class during the year under report, with 397 pupils on the rolls, and an average daily attendance of 243. The total expenditure was [658] Rs. 4581. 15. 9, or £458, 4s., towards which Government contributed Rs. 1478. 8; the average cost of each pupil was Rs. 18. 13. 7, or £1, 17s. 8d.

FEMALE INSTRUCTION.—The Khási and Jáintiá Hills is the only 171 District of Assam, and one of the very few throughout all India, in 562 which female instruction can be said to exist. During 1874-75 the number of girls attending the schools increased from 242 to 344, 871 or by more than 42 per cent., showing 4·7 girls at school to every thousand of the female population, as opposed to ·4 in the Province generally. Of this number 24 were taught by Mrs. Hugh Roberts of Cherrá Pinjí, and 18 by Mrs. John Roberts of Shillá. During the year five of the girls were sent out as teachers, of whom one was placed in charge of the Shillong girls' school, which has 29 pupils.

NORMAL SCHOOL.—According to the classification adopted by the 871 Education Department, the institution at Cherrá Pinjí, under the management of the Rev. Hugh Roberts, is described as partly 648 'Government normal' and partly 'aided English.' In 1874-75 the 797 number of pupils on the rolls was 43, and the average attendance 39. There is a class of 10 girls, and of the 16 teachers turned out during the year, 5 were girls. The total cost was Rs. 4232. 6. 6, [658] almost the whole being paid by Government. The average cost of each pupil was Rs. 109. 0. 7, or £10, 19s., of which Rs. 107. 2. 11 represents the share of Government. The following paragraph, quoted from Mr. Roberts' Report, illustrates what the missionaries have effected, and also the difficulties with which they have to contend:—'Cases have been brought to my notice during the past year

21: Ehrenfels E-4,5 (1950) 1953 AR7 Khasi AR7

of father in Russia (for the *tzar*, etc.), (secondly) the youngest, not the oldest, daughter performs the family rites and inherits the family-property [24]. Even in cases when here is no woman to inherit, the youngest, not the oldest son inherits [25]. Among the conservatively matrilineal Pnár (Jaintia) this term of diminution , however, carries at times a somewhat contemptuous meaning, though the minorate is strongly in force also among them. The ambivalent position of this honorific term of diminution is thus significant (comp. term 9/*e* among Pnár and infra.) 601 [428] [196]

Term 7 — mcher : (*i mei*) — The prefix *i* used among Khasi and War Khasi signifies particular reverence (supra : term 6). The classificatory character of the tem has been discussed by CHATTOPADHYAY [26]. [193]

Term 9/*f* — *ho* for all younger siblings, cousins and even other young folk does not indicte the consideration which the terms 9/*d* — *hong* for older sisters and feale cousins, or 9/*e* — *hah* for their male equivalents indicate. The term *ao* (9/*e* among Pnár) stands here, as generally, for elder and implies a honoific meaning (comp. term 6 supra and term 13/*a* infra).

Terms 10/*a* an *b* show that husband and wife address each other by equal terms and doin no way indicate anything like an inferior position of either wives or hubands of which I did also not find any indications otherwise. It may here bementioned that property rights even in newly established estates, vest in worn and are inherited by women, — not generally men. 601 562

Term 11*d* — *h khun khadduh* — the youngest daughter whose important position in Khai religious ritual, social organization and inheritance law has already been refered to sub term 6 and described in detail elsewhere [27]. The affectionate characte of this term finds vivid expression in the abbreviation *ha duh*, which I herd from sisters and the father of a youngest daughter. 601 [593]

Term 13/*a* —*mei sau* (mother's older sister). The word *sau* (older) here has a definitel honorific character, although the *mei-khynnah* — the mother's younger sister (term 13/*b*) may be the heir of Ego's ancestral property. This constellation corresponds to the peculiar significance of terms 6, 9/*d* and especially 11/*d* (supra).

Terms 13, 14,15/*a*, 18, 18/*a*, 19/*b*, and the terms for cousins 19, 20, 21/*a*, 21/*b*, 22 show like term 7 — mother (supra), classificatory character. The restriction on cous-cousin marriage is of different nature, according as to whether they belog to different hourseholds, or not, as has been discussed by CHATTOPADHYAY [28]. [582]

Term 16/*a* —*dia* (mother's brother's wife) is basically the same as term 15 — *dia kha* (father's sister) [29] though the latter is qualified by the additional term *kha* (begetting, birth) which signifies paternal relationship (see : term No. 1).

[24] GURDON (191), pp. 83, seq ; CARTLOW (1936), p. 11.
[25] CARTLOW (193), p. 33.
[26] CHATTOPADHYAY (1941), pp. 35, seq.
[27] GURDON (191), pp. 83, seq. and CARTLOW (1936), pp. 11, seq.
[28] CHATTOPADHYAY (1941), pp. 35, seq.
[29] In detail discussed by CHATTOPADHYAY (1941), p. 37.

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

THE KHASIS

SECTION I.

HABITAT.

101 162 THE Khasis reside in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills district of Assam. They number 176,614 souls, which total is made up of:—

Khasis	107,515
Syntengs	47,883
Christian Khasis	17,125
Khasis inhabiting other districts	4,091
	176,614

131 162 563 The Khasi and Jaintia Hills district is situated between 25° 1′ and 26° 5′ North Latitude, and between 90° 47′ and 92° 52′ East Longitude. It contains an area of 6,157 square miles, with a total population at the Census of 1901 of 202,250 souls. In addition to the Khasis there are some members of Bodo tribes inhabiting parts of the district.

The Lyungam tribe appears to have been reckoned in 1901 as Khasi, there being no separate record at the last Census of these people.

101 131 [133] 563 The district is split up into two divisions, the Khasi Hills proper and the Jaintia Hills. The Khasi Hills form the western portion of the district and the Jaintia Hills the eastern. The Khasis inhabit the Khasi Hills proper, and the Syntengs, or Pnars, the Jaintia Hills. The latter hills take their name from the Rajas of Jaintia, the former rulers of this part of the country, who had as their capital Jaintiapur, a place situated at the foot of the Jaintia Hills on the southern side, which now falls within the boundaries of the Sylhet

[P.]

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

101 district. The Lynngams inhabit the western portion of the
131 Khasi Hills proper. A line drawn north and south through
563 the village of Nongstoin may be said to form their eastern boundary, and the Kamrup and Sylhet districts their northern and southern boundaries, respectively. The people known as *Bhois* in these hills, who are many of them really Mikirs, live in the low hills to the north and north-east of the district, the term "Bhoi" being a territorial name rather than tribal. The eastern boundary of the Lynngam country may be said to form their north-western boundary. The Wárs inhabit the precipitous slopes and deep valleys to the south of the district. Their country extends along the entire southern boundary of the district to the Jadukata, or Kenchi-iong, river where the Lynngam territory may be said to commence towards the south. There are some Hadem colonies in the extreme eastern portions of the Jaintia Hills. It is these colonies which are sometimes referred to by other writers as "Kuki Colonies." They are settlers from the North Cachar Sub-division of the Cachar district within recent years. It is possible that the title Hadem may have some connection with *Hidimba*, the ancient name for the North Cachar Hills.

APPEARANCE.

142 The colour of the Khasi skin may be described as being usually brown, varying from dark to a light yellowish brown, according to locality. The complexion of the people who inhabit the uplands is of a somewhat lighter shade, and many of the
[361] women, especially those who live at Nongkrem, Laitlyngkot, Mawphlang, and other villages of the surrounding high plateaux, possess that pretty gipsy complexion that is seen in the South of Europe amongst the peasants. The people of Cherrapunji village are specially fair. The Syntengs of the Jaintia Hills are darker than the Khasi uplanders. The Wárs who live in the low valleys are frequently more swarthy than the Khasis. The Bhois have the flabby-looking yellow skin of the Mikirs, and the Lynngams are darker than the Khasis. The Lynngams are probably the darkest complexioned people in the

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

377 people remained non-Hindu in their basic beliefs and social customs. Hindu
648 influences are nevertheless predominant in their culture, especially in their way
of living which shows a practical adaptability, somewhat similar to the Japanese
771 acceptance of modern western culture without becoming Christian. In my
795 census of Shella village, the people calling themselves 'Hindu' amount to 40 per
[797] cent of the total, but they are the recent converts to the Ramakrishna School
which established a missionary station at Shella after the Partition. The
[162] Christians constitute 30 per cent of the total, most of them having been converted during the last ten years, as in the case of the Ramachrishna School.[1]
The rest remain as they were, of Khasi belief. These conversions to either
[458] Ramachrishna or Christianity seem to have been encouraged by the unstable situation of the people resulting from the recent economic depression in this area.

The Partition of India and Pakistan in August 1947, which drew the bor-
439 derline a few miles south of Shella village, considerably upset village economy
458 by stopping all trade with Bengal, though a limited amount of trade is allowed
with local people at the border. Because of this political change, all the produce
648 of Shella gardens is rotting away for lack of markets, while all of the rice fields were taken by Pakistan. Goods now come to Shella only from the uplands, carried upon men's shoulders over the most difficult pass, which makes everything very expensive. Many families have sold their gold and other treasures, and some families are facing starvation.[2]

182 Concerning the conversion to a new religion, an interesting phenomenon
is to be observed. The conversion to Christianity or to Ramakrishna is mostly
171 by individual: I found in my census that the wife and husband often belong to
592 different religions. This is a very different picture from the Garo, among whom
I always found that the husband and wife belonged to the same religion: the
613 conversion of the husband to Christianity was always followed by that of the
771 wife. I think this reflects the structural differences which influence the actual
relationship between the husband and wife. Among these Khasi, instead of
795 the husband and wife, the maternal uncle and his nephews and nieces are mostly of the same religion. The function of the *iing*, the most important social and religious unit, thus appears also in the conversion to a new religion, stronger than that of a domestic unit.

Intermarriage.

648 The close economic and cultural contact of the Shella people and the Bengalee
is not matched by social contact. The essential barrier between the two peoples
771 is the difference of religion which dominates the entire social order in each
society. Though these Khasi were important traders, richer than the neigh-
563 bouring Hindu peasants, they were considered by the Hindu as outcasts with whom they never shared social activities. Intermarriages were therefore very rare. In Shella village, only two exceptional cases were found in my census:

1. A Khasi woman married to a Gurka (cattle-keeper); they live at Shella Bazaar (Sholap).
2. A Khasi woman has marital relation with a Bengalee medical doctor who has resided at Dinong in Shella for six years. He already has a Bengalee

1. These two entirely different missionary activities are competing with each other, and are somewhat related to the political powers within this area.
2. The state government is doing its best to provide them with additional facilities: for example, providing air transport for the transportation of oranges from Shella to Gauhati and Calcutta. However, such arrangements cannot cover the great economic loss suffered by the Shella people.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

[Shella]

wife who lives with him. The Khasi woman lives with her mother. Some say the Khasi woman is his second wife, other say their marriage is not recognized by the public. 563

Actually, owing to the bad climate, very few non-Khasi live in this area. Besides the two non-Khasi just mentioned, there were a Bengalee tax collector and an Assamese Forest Officer, both of whom lived at Shella Bazaar. Bengalee villages are situated about five miles south of Shella. Except in the bazaar, Bengalee and Khasi have no social contact with each other, and intermarriages have been rare.

However, it is obvious that in the past the Khasi must have had many cases of intermarriage with Bengalee. Among the Khasi, there is a clan called 'Dkhar.' The term 'Dkhar' is also used for the peoples of the plains: Bengalee are called 'Dkhar' by the Khasi. They say that the Dkhar clan originated in Bengalee girls who married Khasi men and who went to live in the Hills. It is said that in older days, the Khasi often raided the Sylhet plain and kidnapped Bengalee girls as well as goods. In Bengalee records of Sylhet, Khasi appear as 'bloody Khasi.' Khasi old men say that in order to increase their population they did sometimes kidnap Bengalee girls, but that they treated these girls very nicely and kindly, no differently from their own people. Since they follow the matrilineal system, they decided to name their descendants 'Dkhar.' It is said that all the present Dkhar people are descendants of such marriages. The Dkhar are found more on the southern slopes of the Khasi Hills i.e. among the Wars. 101 563

It seems there were many reasons for the descendants by marriage between the Khasi and the Bengalee to become Khasi. First of all, it is said that in the olden days the Khasi wanted to increase the population by such marriages. At the same time, a Bengalee who married a Khasi became an outcast from his or her own society owing to the caste system, and this inevitably made them Khasi. Secondly, the Khasi were primarily grouped into the *siang*, and they considered the marriage relation as of secondary importance. Hence it was rather difficult to remove by marriage a Khasi man or woman from their native place. Thirdly, Khasi could hardly live in the plain where no betel-nut or pan-leaf gardens were available; they could not engage in rice cultivation in the plain, as the technique is entirely diferent from the cultivation of betel-nut or pan-leaf. Moreover, they said they could not stand the heat in the plain. Therefore, the orientation of intermarriages was always towards the Khasi community: the Khasi brought outsiders to their own land; they did not themselves leave.

Such a marked tendency on the part of the Khasi to remain attached to their own homeland, is in no way contradictory with the phenomena of their migration to places outside the Khasi Hill, owing to the exploitation of their homeland and to the increase in population. The formation of Jatinga represents such an instance; there are also the cases of modern Khasi women from sophisticated urban areas, who easily leave their homeland, after marriage with a non-Khasi; this also appears in the following data on Jatinga. 161 167 [563]

Jatinga

Jatinga is a Khasi village situated in the North Cachar Hills, three miles west from Haflong, the headquarters of the North Cachar Hills. The number of households was about sixty in February 1956. Their economy depends on the pan-leaf, orange and pineapple gardens, similar to that of the Shella people. 181 621 433

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

621 descent grouping are often different. This is a very similar pattern to the
[184] mobility which I discussed in Sohkynduh and Kongton (see p. 111).

One of the outstanding features in this community is the strong paternal
178 authority, established especially in the first generation, because the father's
599 (husband's) contribution was very important in such circumstances: their
domestic units were completely independent from the *sing* either of husband
61 or wife. Some of them came with their wives, and many younger ones and
their sons brought their wives from their homeland afterwards, thus practising
621 virilocal marriage.

They have an interesting social usage which reflects the importance of the husband of the first generation. This is the addition of the name of the husband of the first generation to the matrilineal clan name in order to differentiate each particular descent group established at Jetinga within the same clan. For instance, Rupsi-Tah, Rupsi-Loh, Rupsi-Khla and Rupsi-Lati are found in the Rupsi clan. Rupsi-Tah is one of the lines of the first immigrants to Jetinga, which I have mentioned as Rupsi: Tah was taken from Pryntah, the husband of Sintu (Rupsi) (see p. 171). Thus the present inhabitants of Jetinga are very conscious of their father or grandfather, though they strictly follow the matrilineal descent rule. From such a usage of naming a clan, the Indian officer, who gave me some information about Jetinga before I went there, made the mistaken deduction that they had changed from matrilineal to patrilineal, assuming this to have come about as a result of the influence of patrilineal tribes around Jetinga. But this is simply due to the fact, firstly, that they hold in high regard the man of the first generation, because of his great contribution; secondly, that they distinguish themselves from members of the same clan according to the descent group established at each immigration; in other words, it indicates each *sing* grouping in the village.

178 The fundamental Khasi social organization based on the matrilineal system
184 did not change at all. I could observe in Jetinga exactly the same principle
in action as I had found in Sohkynduh and Kongton. The village endogamy
582 has also been well established in the present generation: there are about 20 different clans which can intermarry, and taking a spouse from an outside com-
61 munity has become very rare nowadays. Marriage patterns in relation to the
sing structure and all its related aspects are surprisingly similar to that of the
621 communities in the Khasi Hills. The solidarity of the *sing* is even greater in Jetinga, particularly among the rich, because of the greater accumulation of wealth and greater economic activity, which also increases the authority of the *sing* as manager of considerable property—this was also the case with the Shella people. Jetinga demonstrates that in spite of colonization and of a significant change in economic activities, Khasi social organization has maintained itself intact. This situation is in contrast with the considerable social changes observed among the Garo community in colonial areas like Rissalbara and Jaldapara.

621 *Intermarriage*

178 From the earliest period of the establishment of Jetinga up to the present,
582 some changing aspects of marriage patterns relating to intermarriages are to be observed.

• 563 As I stated before, in the earlier period, the people used to bring their spouses from their homeland, but they also married neighbouring tribal peoples, namely,
563 the *Zemi-Naga*, the Kuki and the Cachareo of villages close to Jetinga, and
621 also the Lushei, the Bengalee, the Moslem and the Anglo-Indian who lived in Haflong, the biggest political and commercial centre in the Hills, situated

[Jatinga]

three miles away from Jatinga. As one may expect in such a situation, quite a number of intermarriages with these peoples appear in my census of Jatinga. The resultant of these intermarriages was that when the couple and their children lived in Jatinga, they were considered to have become Khasi, otherwise they were held to be non-Khasi, whether the spouse was man or woman. This orientation of social recognition of the result of intermarriage was generally seen among Khasi in such situations, not only in the case of Jatinga. 569 621

The following are extracts of intermarriages from my genealogical table of Jatinga people. 569 591 621

A. Cases of intermarriages in which the descendants became Khasi.

1. A woman of the Dome clan married a Kuki man. All members of the present Dome clan at Jatinga are their descendants.
2. A woman of the Rymbai clan married a Kuki man as her second marriage. Their descendants are Rymbai.
3. A man of the Sutbiang clan married a Mikir woman, and lived in Jatinga. They had one daughter who married a man of the Hun clan of Jatinga. They named this woman's line 'Shadap' as one of the Khasi clans. Later this Mikir woman's sister's daughter married a man of Rupsi-Lati, and their descendants were also named 'Shadap' by the villagers. Thus Shadap clan was created by a Mikir woman who married a Khasi man of Jatinga.
4. A Khasi man married a Lushai woman and lived at Aijal, the headquarters of the Lushai Hills. They said he became Lushai. Later a man of the Pajet clan of Jatinga married his daughter from Aijal. This couple lives at Jatinga and has several children. The villagers said they have to give them a new clan name. It is under consideration.

B. Cases of intermarriages leading to the emigration of Jatinga inhabitants.

5. A man of Jatinga married a woman of Zemi-Naga as his second marriage and lives at his wife's village.
6. A woman (the daughter of the woman of Rymbai, who married a Kuki A-1) married a Moslem man and lives at Haflong.
7. A woman of Rymbai married a Panjabee and lives at Shillong. This woman is (B-6)'s mother's sister's daughter.
8. A woman of Sutgubai clan married an Assamese and lives at Gauhati.
9. A woman of Rupsi-Tah married an Anglo-Indian and has gone to the United Provinces.
10. A woman of Jatinga married a man of Zemi-Naga and went to his village.
11. A woman of Jatinga married a man of Cachareee and lived at his village some time, but she came back to Jatinga after divorcing him.

A cases belong to the earlier period when Jatinga had a shortage of population, while *B* cases, except 10 and 11, are found among the present younger generation. The population, which had increased rapidly in the last twenty years with economic prosperity, is suffering from the recent economic depression caused by the Partition as well as from the great damages done to their orange gardens and paddy gardens by tree diseases. Moreover they have an unbalanced rate of birth according to sex: females are more numerous than males. Therefore, many daughters marry out as shown in the cases of *B*. The above-cited cases are only concerned with intermarriages with non-Khasi, but there are still other women who married Khasi men and who reside outside Jatinga, as for example, at Haflong and Shillong. [161]

In the village there are still many unmarried girls without suitable spouses. In the olden days, it was less difficult to marry neighbouring tribal people, 569 621

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR? Khasi AR?

like the Zemi-Naga, the Cachares and the Riaks. But after the period of economic prosperity as I shall describe in the next section, the Jaitinga people reached a rather high level of education, while most of the neighbouring tribes remained illiterate. Their standard of living likewise improved. Fashionable girls of Jaitinga who have studied at the Convent school in Shillong, and speak English and Hindi, cannot marry half-naked tribesmen who work in the jungle. They prefer to intermarry with Bodom, Purjabee or Assamese who belong to more sophisticated community, and through whom they can enjoy urban life. Thus the orientation of the intermarriage of the people of Jaitinga has changed, along with the growth of Jaitinga.

It should be noted that intermarriages come mostly through the contacts at Hafiong, where people used to go once a week for the bazaar, rather than through direct contacts with neighbouring villages.

Economy of Jaitinga and its Relation to Neighbouring Tribes.

It is very interesting to find two different kinds of economy in the same ecological background. Jaitinga Khasi practise pan-leaf and orange cultivation and depend mainly on a trading economy, while the other neighbouring tribal peoples practise jhum cultivation, almost a subsistence economy. This situation has remained unchanged for the last fifty years since the establishment of Jaitinga village.

The first Jaitinga immigrants occupied one edge of the mountain where the present Jaitinga is situated. Formerly, this land belonged to the Zemi-Naga, one of the old inhabitants of the Cachar Hills, who possessed a vast jungle area for jhum cultivation. It seems that there was no objection to the Khasi occupying this small spot; it was apparently too small an area for the jhum cultivator —pan-leaf cultivation of the Khasi requires less than one twentieth of the land of the usual jhum cultivation. The Khasi, who started pan-leaf cultivation were able to accumulate some capital, and after several years they started orange gardens. They had had experience of orange cultivation in their homeland, but this was the first time they had operated commercially.

The success of this orange cultivation was beyond their dreams. Hearing of good oranges at Jaitinga, many Bengalee merchants from Dacca, Sylhet, Silchar and Gauhati began to come to buy them. Moreover, the village had the great advantage of being situated near the railway station. Oranges were sold by carloads. Unimaginable wealth came to the Jaitinga people. Especially the founder's family, including his brother's and sister's, became extraordinarily wealthy; their income used to be Rs. 20,000 a year. The children were sent to the school which was established in the village and some were educated at colleges in Delhi, Sylhet and Shillong. The villagers had beautiful houses built by Bhutiyas and Bengalee carpenters. Actually the houses of Jaitinga were known as some of the best construction in Assam.

Like the Sheila people, they were managers of gardens and employed workers. Wealthy households used to engage several labourers annually, most of them from Jaintia where the Jaitinga people had originated. These workers were provided with shelter in the servant quarters of their employer's house, but they had to provide meals for themselves. They were paid daily according to the work done. They were available to other households, when their employer had no work. Some labourers were also engaged locally among the Zemi-Naga, the Cachares and the Riaks, though not as many as among the Jaintia. These local tribes were fairly well occupied by their jhum cultivation, and not used to being employed as workers. Therefore, most of them were not regular

group of matrilineal and War-Khasi-speaking people who claim as their ancestral homeland the present-day United Khasi-Jaintia Hills District (within approximately 90° 6' and 92° 52' E. and 25° 7' and 26° 5' N.). This group includes the Jaintias (also Pnar or Syntengi) in the southeast, who differ from the Khasis primarily in their dualistic residence patterns and less virulent forms of sorcery. (The Shadens in eastern Jaintia are a Kuki people.) It also includes the Lyngngams (also spelled Lyngngam) in the west, who practice migratory swidden agriculture and construct peculiar funerary sites, and are said by Elwin (1935) to be culturally intermediate between Khasis and Garos. Finally, it includes Bhoiis, Wars, and upland Khasis, which terms are primarily territorial. Bhoi country is the north-central part of the District, and is culturally complicated by the presence of Nikins, Lalungs, and Nepalis. War country spans the entire southern length of the District, so that Wars divide into Jaintia Wars and Khasi Wars, of these, the Khasi Wars have traditionally transmitted property to sons as well as to daughters. The upland center of the District is the country of the Khasis proper, those whose culture provides the most useful model for interpreting the variations found elsewhere. [For general reference on all categories of Khasi culture, cf. Costa 1908 and 1927, also Gordon 1947, especially for data on regional variations.] Geography. The District is 5,356 square miles of hilly tableland, irregularly dissected by numerous rivers, and marked by significant ecological variation over very short distances. The tablelands step gently downward north from Shillong Peak, which at 6,445 feet is the highest point in the District, and over about 35 miles near into the Brahmaputra valley where this is some 300 feet above sea level. To the south, the land slopes more steeply downward for about 20 miles, and then drops abruptly, in cliff and steep-slope formations, to the Ganges-marked delta that begins at its south with Sylhet. The annual southwest monsoon drop torrential rain around Cherrapunji and Nongwanah villages (for Cherrapunji, a record 905 inches in 1861), but then, reaching Shillong 35 miles to the northeast, provide only about 100 inches per year. Rainfall is again greater in Bhoi, which shares the Brahmaputra valley climate. Climate is temperate on the high Shillong plateau, where it seldom freezes and never snows. To the north, climate becomes subtropical, forest is tangly, and burns abound. The climate to the south is also subtropical. [2 Bhadra 1901, chap. XXIX.] Linguistic affiliation. Khasi is one of the major War-Khasi languages, related to War, Khasi, Synteng-Sohai, Nongbaroh, and Pnar-Wa. The major Khasi dialects are Khasi, Jaintia, and Lyngngam, to which Greenwood adds War. Further minor variations occur from village to village. The Khasis had no script until 1841, when the roman alphabet was successfully applied to the Cherrapunji dialect of Khasi proper. [2 Sohai 1901, Greenwood 1903-10; 7 Shrath 1902.]

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16: McCormack E-4,5 (1956-1958) 1964
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1965-26. 2. Barth 1962.] **Demography.** According to the 1951 census of India, the United Khasi–Jaintia Hills District contained 221,982 Khasis and 67,532 Syntengs, Pnars, and Jaintias (India [Republic] 1952-57). These figures, together with those for Khasis enumerated in Cachar (4,005), Mikir and North Cachar Hills (467), Lakhimpur (287), Sibsagar (276), and Darrang (211) districts, and those for Syntengs enumerated in Mikir and North Cachar District (464), yield a total of 295,224 Khasis. **History and cultural relations.** Khasis believe that they had supernatural origin in Khasi Hills (see Gait 1938: 280 for historical evidence, and Rafy 1960: 8-9 for myth, but see also Costa 1959, 1960; Gordon 1907: 10-11, and Chatterji 1951: 12). Khasi tradition also states that in early times they moved gradually from east to west, from Jaintia toward Khasi Hills, in the practice of swidden agriculture (Gotphoh 1947: 97-98). The salient fact of known Khasi history, which begins generally in the mid-sixteenth century A.D. when there already existed the present-day 25 native Khasi chiefdoms, is the distinctive line of development followed by the separate kingdom of Jaintia. To the north, Jaintia was successively tributary, in part or in whole, to the Kachari kingdom (ca. 1520 A.D.), the Koch kingdom (strongest ca. 1560 A.D.), and the Ahom kingdom (strongest ca. 1700 A.D.) (Shakespear 1914: Map I). To the south, about 1500 A.D., Jaintia extended its rule over a tract of Sylhet, which was populated by Hindus and Muslims, and saw its kings fall thereafter under Brahman influence. In the early 1800s, Jaintia became involved in the fratricidal strife then prevalent in the ruling family of Manipur. In 1835, after the Jaintia king ignored British warnings not to seize British subjects for human sacrifice, Jaintia was punished by the British annexation of the Jaintia pargana in Sylhet. The Jaintia king then voluntarily turned over to the British the hills area of his domain, so that the whole of Jaintia became part of British India and, in 1860, came to be taxed as such, although the Jaintias were otherwise allowed to maintain their traditional system of village government. • By contrast, the remaining Khasi states had few formal external relations until British times. Khasis resided and traded in both the Brahmaputra and Sylhet valleys, but were basically turned inward on their own hills, where warfare between villages and between the states was apparently common. Khasis came into indirect relation with the British in 1765, when Sylhet and its markets became part of British India. In the 1790s, stepped-up Khasi raids into Sylhet caused the British to throw up a deterring line of forts along the foothills. Later, it became necessary to place an embargo on Khasi products in the Sylhet markets. In 1827, the British penetrated into western Khasi Hills by negotiating with the Khasi chief of Nongkhlaw State to build a road through his territory, linking the recently annexed Brahmaputra valley with Calcutta. For three decades

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formation, the British negotiated treaties with all the Khasi states, the last treaty being signed in 1881. It was contracted that the chiefs would be subject to the authority of a resident political agent, whose duties would involve maintaining law and order, judging cases of between citizens, approving the popular selection of any new chief, and exercising control over certain categories of natural resources. Khasis were guaranteed nonconformance to their customary way of life, and they were not then, nor are they now, taxed. Most Khasis, as opposed to Jaintias, were never an integral part of British India, but they did undergo social change as a result of British presence. To summarize Mills (n.d.): (1) The British introduced the potato, which the Khasis rapidly took up as a cash crop for marketing as far as Calcutta. The intensive speculation exhausted the soil and made for poor potato crops. (2) Christian missionaries made large numbers of converts, and there arose the difficult question of whether a Christian should inherit property that traditionally was earmarked for his predecessor of non-Christian religious rituals. (3) Since 1864 the British transferred their headquarters from Cherrapunji to Shillong. When they made Shillong the capital of the native state of Assam, non-Khasis flocked to it, land values soared, and the concept of private property became increasingly important. Khasis began to marry with members of other ethnic groups, which introduced confusion into traditional social patterns. These problems were exacerbated during World War II, when Shillong and its environs enjoyed enormous economic prosperity. One notable aftermath of this affluence has been the accelerated enrollments in schools and colleges. Hundreds of Khasis now have the B.A., M.A., and even the Ph.D. degree. • With the independence of India in 1947 and under the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India (which was drafted by a Khasi), the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills District became a Part B, or autonomous, Tribal Area, to be governed by a District Council composed largely of Khasis and Jaintias, and responsible not to the Legislature of Assam, but to the Governor of Assam as agent of the President of India. The native-state system and the chiefs and court, and the District Council finds it difficult to effect [illegible] legislation. The more political whom at this time is between Jaintias, who are accustomed to central authority and taxation, and Khasis, who resist the notion of taxation to support the work of a central District Council. (Cf. Cole 1956; Mathews 1951; Sharma 1960; Morris 1958.)

SETTLEMENT PATTERN AND HOUSING. Settlement pattern. Khasis live ordinarily in named, nucleated, and unplanned villages which are situated not below hill summits to avoid strong winds but still be defensible, and which usually include a de-

[illegible] from October to December. The cultivator the seed is sown in April-May and reaped about six months later. Maize is usually sown in [illegible] and ripens in August-September. For potato, generally three crops are raised in the District: the first is sown in December-January and harvested in April-May, the second is sown in February-March and is gathered in June-July and the third is sown in July-August and is harvested in November-December.

[illegible] For ginger and turmeric the rhizomes are stored of seed-value a year. Harvesting of ginger takes place from October to January. Seedlings ripen at the beginning of the year and are collected towards February and May.

[illegible] 3.6.3 Agricultural implements.—The usual agricultural implements are a hoe, a sickle, three or four kinds of plough, a harrow, a wooden sickle is used for the construction of irrigation channels, 'dawas' and whipping baskets. Bullock drawn plough is used in rice paddy cultivation in parts of Jaintia subdivision and in Khasi area and sometimes the use is not in the plains of the Jaintia.

[illegible] 3.6.4. General cultural properties.—The cultivators mostly adhere to their indigenous practices of agriculture. Number of crops is not usually only. Cultivation of rice is mostly done by broadcasting the seed though transplanting is also in vogue in some areas. Wheat cultivation is widely practised. Cultivation by cutting remains in the hill tracts is growing popularity in the district.

[illegible] 3.7 Cottage Industries.—Cottage Industries, in reality, have not found very good favour among the people of the district. In the [illegible] and there manufacture iron implements, earthenware, baskets, mats and pottery. In striking contrast with other districts cutting of cotton clothes is not among the Khasis. The Khasis in Shillong area and in some adjoining Garo Hills and Khasi Hills practise it only for their domestic consumption. In general, the development in cutting is practised among in the district and the [illegible] have adopted to the Khasis. Among other cottage industries production of tat canes is the northern part of the district adjoining Kamrup district and bee keeping throughout the district are mostly neglecting.

[illegible] 3.8 The People.—The Khasis and Jaintias are a distinct mostly [illegible] 1.25 million. In terms they are [illegible] Jaintias side by side with the Khasis live the Nepalis. Garos and Nepalis who have especially in the present, 3.00 percent and 3.6 per cent of the total count of population. Nepalis there are plains people who are mostly concentrated in the town of Shillong. In the neighbouring towns of the border area there are a large number of Bengali Hindus who dominate the life of the town in the border area.

[illegible] 3.8 Occupations.—The greater portion of the population of the district subsists on agriculture. More than 70 percent of the total [illegible] are predominantly agricultural. The indigenous Khasi [illegible] males and females have a high regard for hard labour

[illegible] 5.5. The following table shows the classification of population by age and sex in the three areas :—

Age and Sex Composition of Population

Age Group (y)	Border area			Project area			General area		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
0 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
1. [illegible] 2 yrs	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (10.8%)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (10.8%)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (10.1%)
2. [illegible] 10 yrs	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (24.0%)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (23.8%)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (25.0%)
3. [illegible] 60 yrs	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (57.1%)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (52.4%)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (57.1%)
4. [illegible] & above	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (1.9%)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (1.1%)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (0.7%)
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (100.0%)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (100.0%)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (100.0%)
Sex ratio (no. of females per 1,000 males)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

It is seen that the population under 10 years of age in the border area, project area and general area were respectively 21 per cent, 21 per cent and 20 per cent of the total population in these areas, while that under age group 'between 10 to 60 years' constituted respectively 52 per cent, 52 per cent 52 per cent of the population in the three areas.

It is evident that proportion of females was on a whole greater than that of male in border area and project area and much less in general area. The number of females per 1,000 males in border area, project area and general area were respectively 1,024, 1,018 and 988 against the 1971 census figure of 983 females per 1,000 males in the rural areas of the district of Uttar Pradesh India.

5.6. The following table shows the classification of population by religion.

TABLE 5.6

Classification of Population by Religion

Area	Tribal religion	Hindu faith	Muslim	Other religion	Total
1. Border area	[illegible] ([illegible]%)	[illegible] (38.7%)	[illegible] (11.1%)	[illegible] (0.4%)	[illegible] (100.0%)
2. Project area	[illegible] (27.1%)	[illegible] (38.8%)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (100.0%)
3. General area	[illegible] ([illegible]%)	[illegible] (37.6%)	[illegible] (0.9%)	[illegible]	[illegible] (100.0%)

Population following Hinduism and other religions is in a further growing proportion mostly of displaced persons from East Pakistan following Hindu and Muslim in their means of livelihood, while those in the general and project area are mostly the Tribals who are generally engaged in cattle rearing and agriculture.

A perusal of the table shows that proportion of families following non-agricultural labour as principal occupation is higher in border areas. Majority of these families were formerly engaged in agriculture but due to adverse circumstances arising out of Partition, they found it safer to take to other occupations. Tea stall vendor and normal E.W.S. units pave employment to a large section of these people. Other sources of employment are collection and carriage of bamboos, woodcutting, and carrying of merchandise, etc. Traders in customary articles and grocers who formed the bulk of the traders in the border area are largely the displaced persons and the Bengali people concentrated in Mohgaon and Balai. Others are petty traders dealing in jute, vegetables, fish, clothes and other foodstuff. Under craftsmen manufacturers, etc., come the tailors, blacksmiths, carpenters, etc., Commission agents, Educators, Doctors, etc., are shown as others.

8.19 In the following table the families in the three village groups are classified according to their subsidiary occupation.

19: Assam G.S. (1958) 296.5 A87 Gaus A87

9.8 Considering non-agricultural families it is seen that average gross annual income per family in Border area, Project area and General area are respectively Rs.[illegible], Rs. [illegible] and Rs. [illegible] respectively. The main contributor to this income in Border area is Trade followed by Service, Production, Labour and Agriculture and Animal husbandry, those in Project area are Labour-Service-Profession followed by Trade, small scale manufacture and agriculture and Animal husbandry. The comparatively higher average income from small scale manufacture and handicraft is due to existence of quite a good number of liquor distillers with quite a large amount of annual income. These contributors to gross annual income of non-agricultural families in General area in order of importance are agriculture and animal husbandry, service-profession and labour. It is significant that among the non-agricultural families also agriculture and animal husbandry emerge to be the biggest contributor. This is due to the fact that in General area villages there are a large number of Nepali families whose principal occupation is cattle rearing and earned enough by selling milk, ghee, and livestock. These families were classed as non-agricultural families.

9.9 Of the gross income, agriculturists spend a portion in their farms on items such as purchase of seed, manure, etc., cost of maintenance of livestock, wages and salaries for labourers, and transport of produce while other spend a portion on running their household activities such as purchase of merchandise for trading, purchase of plants and machinery and raw materials for household enterprises, wages and salaries for employees, etc. The net annual income per family, as will be seen from table G.8, comes to Rs. [illegible] in Border area, Rs. [illegible] in Project area and Rs. [illegible] in General area. The corresponding figures for agricultural families being Rs. [illegible], Rs. [illegible] and Rs. [illegible] and for non-agricultural families Rs. [illegible], Rs. [illegible] and Rs. [illegible] respectively.

The following table shows the annual expenditure of families in running their enterprises.

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

193 they form rapids, the waters precipitating themselves down deep, rocky gorges and chasms, choked with huge boulders. Some of these gorges are very beautiful; the streams, being borne in between stupendous mountains and rocks covered with primeval forest, run in narrow but very deep channels swarming with fish. No islands or lakes are formed by any of the rivers, although several of them have large, deep pools. They are all unfordable during the rains.

192 Utilization of the Water Supply.—Some of the rivers are utilized as a motive power for turning machinery, although the streams on the higher plateaus might be easily turned to such as streams. Their waters, however, are extensively used for the purposes of irrigation, and the hill people display great ingenuity in cutting channels or aqueducts for leading the water on to their fields. It is in this manner that the Civil Station of Shillong receives its water supply. Aqueducts convey water to the houses of all the European residents; and branch channels from the main aqueducts flow through the bazar, and along the streets occupied by the native inhabitants. No fishing towns exist in the hills; but near where the rivers debouch upon the plain are some valuable fisheries, which are usually let in farm, the leases being generally longlife. These fisheries yield an annual Government revenue of about £ [illegible]. Embankments in order to protect the land against floods are not rare. A few embankments, or rather dams, are thrown across narrow valleys between hills, so as to create reservoirs for water. At Shillong there are a few tanks thus formed, which are both useful and ornamental.

195 Minerals, etc.—Coal and limestone, both of excellent quality, are found in abundance. Lower Bengal obtains nearly the whole of its lime supply from the Khasi and Jaintia Hills. The lime is known as "Sylhet lime," and is obtained by quarrying from the beds of stone which line the base of the mountains along the whole length of the Sylhet boundary. The supply is literally inexhaustible. Coal outcrops at Chorai Pinji, Lakadong, Shella, Mawsynram, and at several other places; but as a rule it is scattered, and found in places difficult of access. The coal, however, is of excellent quality, and leaves very little ash. Stone, well adapted for building purposes, is also found. Ironstone exists almost everywhere throughout the Hills, but principally in the dependent States of Khyrim, Nongpoh, Chorai, and Mylliem. In former years the Khasis ex-

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20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

public auction. The Assam rules, as revised in 1873-76, reserve to Government the right of pre-emption at the price of Rs. 600 (£60) in the case of every elephant captured between 6 feet and 7½ feet in height. For every elephant caught that is not purchased by Government, a royalty of Rs. 100 (£10) is payable within one month after capture. Certain methods of hunting are prohibited. 224 648 651

POPULATION.—Prior to 1872 no attempt had been made at a Census of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, but in 1872 the Deputy-Commissioner approximately estimated the population at 108,403 souls. In 1872, at the time of the Bengal Census, operations were not so fast in these Hills, but on a less elaborate system than in Regulation Districts. In the Khasi Hills, the Census of the various petty States was effected through the chiefs; in British territory in the Jaintia Hills, the *dolloi* conducted the enumeration; while at Shillong and other places under direct administration, the work was done by officers attached to the Deputy-Commissioner's office. The results are thus returned:—Adults—males, 39,882; and females, 24,198: total adults, 64,080. Children under twelve years of age—males, 18,600; and females, 18,227: total children, 36,828. Total males, 58,522; total females, 42,425. Grand total, 101,847; proportion of males, 48·36 per cent. The total area of the District, according to the latest returns, is 6,133 square miles, which gives an average density of 16 persons per square mile. The number of villages is 1004; the number of houses, 21,555, of which 350 are returned as of the better class. 648 659 161 161 162

ETHNICAL DIVISIONS OF THE PEOPLE.—The population consists almost exclusively of aboriginal tribes and races, viz. Khasis and Syntengs (who form the bulk of the inhabitants of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills respectively), Bhoys, Garos, and Kukis. The only other dwellers in the Hills are the European officials and military officers at Shillong and Cherra Punji, with their native servants and followers, a few Bengali officials, and the sepoys of a regiment of native infantry. The classification of the inhabitants according to religion shows:—101,183 aboriginals; 364 Hindus; 60 Mahommedans; and 108 Christians, including 22 Europeans, 9 Eurasians, and 83 native converts. 168 162 [648] [779]

THE KHASIAS.—The following sketch of the physical characteristics and customs of the Khasis has been kindly furnished to me by the Deputy-Commissioner, Colonel Rice; it is reproduced almost verbatim from his report and on his authority:— 144

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361 In the interior of the Hills the largest villages are mere clusters of
463 huts. The great majority of the inhabitants are employed in agriculture, but there are no data upon which a proportion of agriculturists to non-agriculturists could be based.

167 There is no immigration into the District. Both the Khásás and
198 the Synteng have been successful in preserving to the present day their primitive isolation, free from the interference of Hinduism. They still maintain their aboriginal forms of belief and religious worship, and repudiate alike the authority of Brâhmans and
(77) the entire system of caste. To some extent, however, they have
(262) given way to Hindu prejudices in the matter of purity of food. The
• (563) few Hindus to be found in the Hills are temporary residents, employed in civil and military employ, who always contemplate returning to their own homes. The traders are for the most part natives of the
(941) Hills; for the Mârwâri merchants, who penetrate into every other corner of Assam, have been able to obtain no footing in the face of Khásí competition. There is likewise no emigration from the District. The Biffmen are a well-to-do and contented race, and either produce themselves or obtain by trade sufficient to satisfy
(164) their scanty wants. A certain number of both Khásás and Syntengs proceed southwards every year to work on the tea gardens of Cáchár and Sylhet, but such absence from home is only temporary.

243 AGRICULTURE: RICE.—Thirteen different varieties of rice are cultivated in the District, of which the following is a list, giving the Khásí name as well as the description of the grain:—(1) *U-Kyhe-Mynsiew* (*u*, the masculine article, meaning 'the,' and *kyhe*, rice; *mynsiew*, meaning 'paddy'), brown rice with long grain; (2) *u-Kyhe-Mynsiew-ka-dâk*, a white rice with long grain; (3) *u-Kyhe-la-ruí*, round-grained rice; (4) *u-Kyhe-thar*, hundred, hundred; (5) *u-Kyhe-dew-la-ring*, black hooked rice (literally *u* = 'the,' *kyhe* = 'paddy,' *dew* = 'earth,' *la* = 'that,' *ring* = 'black'); (6) *u-Kyhe-la-dâk*, white rice; (7) *u-Kyhe-sim*, scented rice (literally *u* = 'the,' *kyhe* = 'paddy,' *sim* = 'myrtle'); (8) *u-Kyhe-la-dwak*, large-grained rice; (9) *u-Kyhe-la-ring*, small-grained rice; (10) *u-Kyhe-ar-tim*, early rice; (11) *u-Kyhe-ra-dum*, late rice; (12) *u-Kyhe-ring-ch*, rice grown along with beans; (13) *u-Kyhe-la-dâk*, small rice.

Rice is cultivated in marshy fields situated near running water as well as in high lands. The first seven of the above thirteen species of rice are sown in marshy lands during the months of April and May,

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

work is done. In order to ascend to a Bhoi house, you have to climb up a notched pole. The Bhois sacrifice a he-goat and a fowl to *Rih-ingkong* (Khasi, *Ramiew ding*), the household god, when they build a new house.

VILLAGES.

Unlike the Nagas and Kukis, the Khasis do not build their villages on the extreme summits of hills, but a little below the top, generally in small depressions, in order to obtain some protection from the strong winds and storms which prevail in these hills at certain times of the year. According to the late U Jowlon Roy, it is *sang*, or taboo, to the Khasis to build a house on the last eminence of a range of hills, this custom having perhaps arisen owing to the necessity of locating villages with reference to their defence against an enemy. Khasis build their houses fairly close together, but not as close as houses in the Bhoi and Lyngngam villages. Khasis seldom change the sites of their villages, to which they are very much attached, where, as a rule, the family tombs are standing and the *mawbynna* or memorial stones. In many villages stone cromlechs and memorial stones are to be seen which from their appearance show that the villages have been there for many generations. During the Jaintia rebellion the village of Jowai was almost entirely destroyed, but as soon as the rebellion was over the people returned to the old site and rebuilt their village. Similarly, after the earthquake, the ancient village sites were not abandoned in many cases, but the people rebuilt their houses in their former positions, although in Shillong and Cherrapunji they rebuilt the walls of the houses of wooden materials instead of stone. There is no such thing as a specially reserved area in the village *i.e.* the Siem and the nobility, all the people, rich or poor, living together in one village, their houses being scattered about indiscriminately. To the democratic Khasi the idea of the Siem living apart from his people would be repugnant. In the vicinity of the Khasi village, often just below the brow of the hill on the leeward side, are to be seen dark woods of oak

1: McCormack E-4,5 (1956-1958) 1964
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action. In other words, a state is not a fixed territorial entity. In the early twentieth century, the most populous of the 25 chiefdoms, Khyrim, contained 7633 persons occupying 7,800 houses in 272 villages, and the least populous, Nongkhrah, contained 2 persons occupying 33 houses in 3 villages. Fifty of the chiefdoms were headed by a *sparkar* (*raja*), three by a *lyngdoh* (*priest*), six by a *siemlieh*, or one by a *wahadadar*. These leaders all had executive and judicial functions, but a chief's authority was limited in that he had to obtain the approval of his executive council before acting. The other leaders were subject to a similar limitation. A chief maintained a small police force. His main sources of revenue were market tolls, fines, and more recently, some from licenses to distill rice whisky. Succession to a ruling role in the larger states traditionally involved election by members of a lineage that had a hereditary right to chief, from among members of a lineage that had the hereditary right to rule. In British times, the electoral basis was broadened, differentially in the various states, even to the point of popular suffrage. (Cf. Ardhanari 1955, Lyngdoh 1962.) Social stratification. The three classes of lineage are the nobles, the commoners, and the slaves or servants. To stratification applies only to the recruitment to roles in the native-state system, for there is no hereditary and in a village assembly everyone has equal voice. The noble lineages have the hereditary right (if) from among their male members, who such as sage or state priest, counsellor to a chief, or electors to chief. The few lineages which today are considered as slave or servant lineages had the inherited obligation to render special services to a chief's household. There is no Khasi term for "commoner." Every lineage other than a noble or a slave lineage is a commoner lineage, and the commoner lineages are in the majority. Warfare. Warfare was opposed by the British, and little is known for certain about its traditional forms. The tribes which occupied the British were the nobleth and the people said. Traditional goals included taking heads (to other Khasis and capturing women from the Shan.

ELGIN. Home and subsequent religious. A Welsh Calvinistic Methodist missionary penetrated into Cherrapunji in 1832, and the work that he began continues to this day. His society, which has since become the Welsh Presbyterian Foreign Mission, introduced writing, village primary schools, a high school, a theological seminary, and a hospital. Competing missionaries followed, and by 1924 some 80,000 Khasis were pouring over the hearth and cult of traditional Hinduism and Islam but also of the Buddhism, Brahmo Samaj, Arya Samaj, and Theosophy. Dec. 1924. In the 1920s, missionaries of the Church of God and the Seventh Day Adventists were

could not prevent individuals from becoming needy through misfortune or laziness and their trying to rent a part of their property for an annual payment or for a sum needed once. This is called ban die pan, literally: begging to buy. The sense of relinquishing by lending /133/ is contained in this. For example, a field is worth 300 reichsmarks. Fifty or 100 reichsmarks are accepted for it and the creditor remains the owner of the field until the money is repaid. This type of purchase occurs frequently. There are frequently traders (songhsii) who try to use such purchases to their own advantage. They turn over the field to the debtor for further cultivation in return for payment in produce of 50 to 70 per cent of the harvest. After several years the whole field is their property. Aside from this method, it also happens that instead of being able to repay the money the people need still further sums. In that case then the entire price of 300 reichsmarks is paid and the actual purchase is considered completed; that is called ban die lot, literally: totally, completely sold. A family-clan which gradually loses its property in this manner descends into poverty and need. There is nothing else for it to do than to look for work elsewhere, to rent land or to sell the children as a kind of slaves to better situated people. If 40 reichsmarks are paid for a child of about 10 years, he remains in the bondage of the buyer until the money can be repaid. That happens only rarely. Besides food and the most necessary clothing only one rupee is deducted annually as wage from the purchase price: thus, practically, the child belongs to the buyer for the duration of his life.

It is the duty of individual members of a family clan to work together so that the clan property will be maintained and will produce the necessary amount for the maintenance of all. The clan mother must oversee primarily that the appropriate customs and usages are preserved. She is held in high esteem by all. To do something against her wish to offend her, to call her insulting names, or to go so far as to strike her is considered sang (taboo), a severe crime that causes misfortune. It is a great sin (peq) and a thoroughly great disgrace (ongwuth ch tam) for the whole clan.(7) As long as a member

7. Also considered similar crimes are selling clan property in secret, incest, desecrating burial places in a coarse manner, making use of holy grounds or wood.

/134/ of the family has committed such a crime and has not begged pardon from the clan mother and the elders of the clan, perhaps with the words: pardon me, I have committed an error (to map to nga leh

16: McCormack K-4,5 (1956-1958) 1964
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another. In other words, a state is not a fixed territorial entity. In the early twentieth century, the most populous of the 25 chiefdoms, Khyrim, contained 30,833 persons occupying 7,850 houses in 372 villages, and the least populous, Nongkhrai, contained 248 persons occupying 53 houses in 3 villages. Fifteen of the chiefdoms were headed by a *syiem* (chief), three by a *lyngdoh* (priest), six by a *siaw*, and one by a *wahadadar*. These leaders all had executive and judicial functions, but a chief's authority was limited in that he had to obtain the approval of his executive council before acting. The other leaders were subject to a similar limitation. A chief maintained a small police force. His major sources of revenue were market tolls, fines, and, more recently, income from licenses to distill rice whisky. Succession to a ruling role in the larger states traditionally involved election by members of a lineage that had a hereditary right to chief, from among members of a lineage that had the hereditary right to rule. In British times, the elective basis was broadened, differentially in the various states, even to the point of popular elections. (Cf. Aitchison 1931, Lyngdoh 1962.) Social stratification. The three classes of lineage are the nobles, the commoners, and the slaves or servants. This stratification applies only to the succession to office in the native-state system, for there is no hereditary power, and in a village assembly everyone has equal voice. The noble lineages have the hereditary right to fill from among their male members roles such as village or state priest, councillor to a chief, or electors of a chief. The free lineages which today are considered as slave or servant lineages had the inherited obligation to render special services to a chief's household. There is no Khasi term for "commoner." Every lineage other than a noble or a slave lineage is a commoner lineage, and the commoner lineages are in the majority. Warfare. Warfare was suppressed by the British, and little is known for certain about its traditional forms. The tactics which confronted the British were the ambush and the guerrilla raid. Traditional goals included taking heads from other Khasis and capturing women from the valleys.

RELIGION. Major and indigenous religions. A Welsh Calvinistic Methodist missionary penetrated into Cherrapunji in 1832, and the work that he began continues to this day. His society, which has since become the Welsh Presbyterian Foreign Mission, introduced writing, village primary schools, a high school, a theological seminary, and a hospital. Competing missionaries followed, and by 1914 some thirty Khasis were pouring over the tenets not only of traditional Hinduism and Islam but also of the Buddhism, Brahmo Samaj, Arya Samaj, and Theosophy (See 1914). By the 1950s, missionaries of the Church of God and the Seventh Day Adventists were

LAMDOH CEREMONY.

This ceremony is identical with that of *Pynhiar ayejat*, except that the bride and bridegroom do not interchange rings, and that there is no sacrifice of the pig. The parties merely buy some pig's flesh and perform a puja with a small portion of the flesh of the legs of the animal. Amongst the poor, fish sometimes takes the place of pork at the *Iadi-kind* ceremony. The latter consists of a drinking bout mingled with scattered sentences by a *nongkhnia* (sacrificer), the invocations and prayers being the same as at the *Pynhiar ayejat*. The *Lamdoh* and *Iadi-kind* ceremonies take the place of the more elaborate *Pynhiar ayejat* in most places now-a-days.

LYNGKAM MARRIAGE.

The ritual observed at these marriages is described as under:—First of all a proposal is made in the following manner. A *lyngap*, or go-between, is sent, with the brother of the girl for whom a husband is required, to the house of the father of the young man (not to the house of the mother as in the case with the Khasis). If the proposal is accepted, the father of the young man kills a pig, and gives a feast to the people of the village of his father-in-law elect; also to the go-between and the *lyngap* (brother of the bride). The father of the bride then gives a similar feast. A sum of Rs. 1 each is given as a present to the go-between by the fathers of the bride and bridegroom, and the father of the bride pays from Rs. 5 to Rs. 15 to the father of the bridegroom. Further feasting occurs at the house of the father of the bride. The go-between then sacrifices a pig and two fowls at the house of the bridegroom, and afterwards performs the same sacrifice at the house of the bride. At the house of the bride, after the fowls and the pig have been sacrificed, the go-between, after drinking liquor himself, pours out some on the floor of the house and then gives some to the bride and bridegroom to drink. The killing of the fowls, the sacrifice of the pig, and the libation of liquor are essentials at a Lyngkam marriage. The sacrifice of the fowls is also an essential feature

2:Stegmiller-21 M-4,5(no date)1921 AN7 Sheet AN7

784 not sei) See here the piece u dykhot (11) and
782

11. A piece of sacrificial meat.

the sour things u lanjew (12) (a strong and

12. Herbs, roots.

sweet liquor) sei (is it not sei)

[174] All relatives and acquaintances, friends and neighbors are invited to this sacrificial feast. There is a big festive meal, chiefly of meat and bacon. But before the eating begins, the rang (horn) and ngap (fork) which were laid on the "adulterer stone" before the curing of the pig are removed. At this sacrifice all the money collected before (11 or 7 1/2 or 5 1/2 of a kiw) must be completely used up, as it is forbidden to preserve any of it in house so that it will not get mixed up with the daily wage or one's earnings.

[175] The remarriage must naturally occur in another sib (jaid) if the sang is to be inherited; because otherwise the sang would remain in the family.

784 Most of the sang that occur, different according to the families or the sibs, are the following: (13)

13. Gurson, The Khasis, p. 5.

[176] 1. ~~Building a house with stone walls on all four sides.~~
2. The use of iron nails in building a house.
3. The use of more than one kind of wood in building a hearth.
4. The use of resinous wood in building a house.
5. Felling wood in a holy forest (except

[illegible]

15: Nakano E-6 (1955-1956) 1967 AR? Khasi AR?

society? Among the matrilineal Central Bantus, Richards says that the determining factor in residence at marriage is the marriage payment or the type of goods and services which the bridegroom gives (Richards, 1950, p. 149). However, the Khasi have no such custom in the marriage contract, it is therefore out of the question to explain the two types of residence in this way. In the case of the Khasi, the determining factor is the type of marriage with relation to the rule of inheritance and ownership of property, which is closely related to the structure of the sing. Khasi marriages can be divided into two categories i.e., marriage with an heiress and with a non-heiress. Marriages with an heiress must be uxorilocal. This accounts for category 1 or 3 of the household pattern. On the other hand, marriages with a non-heiress become uxorilocal and correspond to category 4 of the household unit.

IV. Relations with the Husband

A man married to an heiress, usually lives with his wife's parents and her unmarried or divorced brothers and sisters. For a man, life after marriage under such circumstances requires great adjustment and endurance. The husband's status is especially weak when a male member of the wife's kin lives in the same household. The management of property and all economic activities are entirely controlled by the authority (wife's brother or maternal uncle) of the sing. The husband works in the wife's field under constant supervision from this authority. Both economic activities and domestic affairs are always under the management of this authority. The children have more attachment to, and are more obedient to, the maternal uncle than to the father. The tie between the uncle and the nephew is so strong that the father is rather like an additional member of the household. He is the last person to be introduced to visitors.

This family system is clearly reflected in the daily behaviour. When we visited the Khasi household of a youngest daughter, if a man (obviously the husband) came first to greet us, he always said "please wait, my wife (or mother-in-law) is coming." And it was the wife who entertained us, offering tea or pan and discussing matters with us, while her husband remained silent in the corner of the room, or in the next room. If her uncle or brother was there, he would be the person who talked to us, while his niece or sister served us. In such a case, we were seldom introduced to the husband. When I was working at Shella, I happened to stay in such a family. I had hardly any opportunity to talk to the husband during the two weeks of my stay. He left the house very early in the morning and came back late in the evening from the fields. While he was at home, he was

1:Gordon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

MARRIAGE.

591 It is proposed in this section to consider marriage from its social side, the religious aspect thereof being reserved for another paragraph. The most remarkable feature of the Khasi marriage is that it is usual for the husband to live with his wife in his mother-in-law's house, and not for him to take his bride home, as is the case in other communities. This arrangement amongst the Khasis is no doubt due to the prevalence of the matriarchate. As long as the wife lives in her mother's house, all her earnings go to her mother, who expends them on the maintenance of the family. Amongst the Khasis, after one or two children are born, and if a married couple get on well together, the husband frequently removes his wife and family to a home of his own, and from the time the wife leaves her mother's house she and her husband pool their earnings, which are expended for the support of the family. Amongst 591
the Syntengs, however, and the people of Maodai, the case 576
is different, for with them the husband does not go and live in his mother-in-law's house, he only visits her there. In Jowai some people admitted to me that the husband came to his mother-in-law's house only after dark, and that he did not eat, smoke, or even partake of betel-nut there, the idea being that because none of his earnings go to support this house, therefore it is not etiquette for him to partake of food or other refreshment there. If a Syntengs house is visited, it is unusual to find the husbands of any of the married daughters there, although the sons of the family may be seen in the house when they have returned from work. Generally in the day-time you will find in a Syntengs dwelling an old crone, who is the grandmother or even the great-grandmother, of the family, also grandchildren or great-grandchildren; but the husbands of the 796
married daughters are not there. The Syntengs seem to have 69
more closely preserved the customs of the matriarchate than the Khasis, and the Syntengs claim that their *niam* or religious ceremonies are purer, i.e. that they more closely correspond to what they were in ancient times than those of the 591
Khasis. Amongst the Syntengs, occasionally, a widow is 765
allowed to keep her husband's bones after his death, on cer-

21: Khrumfeis E-4,5 (1950) 1953 AR7 Khasi AR7

on a historical past, different from that of the Khasi proper, the former having been ruled by the powerful, but somewhat Hindoised dynasty of the Jaintia Rajas until the Jaintia Wars of the British; the latter by small independent chiefs. Yet Jaintia social organization appears on the whole to preserve the matrilineal social structure clearer and to be less influenced by plains-acculturation, than that of the Khasi, though a few features of Brahmanical religious observances and also some traces of racial admixture are found in the immediate vicinity of Jowai, the former summer residence of the Jaintia Rajas. Stronger no doubt, than this influence, was that exercised by the British and non-Assamese Indians in the provincial capital Shillong since 1866. Methods of agriculture and other aspects of material civilization differ but little in the Jaintia- and Khasi plateau-areas.

The same cannot be said of both: the Wár-Khasi and Wár-Jaintias. Linguistically their affiliations are with the Khasi or Jaintias respectively, in the plateau-areas. Economically, however, both Wár-groups form a separate pan-leaf cultivating unit in the little accessible steep southern slopes of the Khasi- and Jaintia Hill massif. Both Wár-groups live in the environment of luxurious tropical flora and fauna, sharply differentiated from the cool, barren plateau with its perennial winds and the heroic, if solitary beauty of its highland heaths, which forms the background of both the Khasi- and Jaintia plateau-groups.

The age of the Wár-Khasi and -Jaintias, as one independent economic, — and two -half-independent dialectical linguistic entities, is an intricate problem. The two Wár-groups subsist on pan-leaf cultivation as a money crop, grown in the thick tree-gardens as creepers; not on food-cultivation, as do the plateau-groups, because there is insufficient space on the steep slopes, for vegetable gardens or -fields. The pan-leaf cultivators therefore depend on food, purchased from outside. The slopes seem to have been uninhabited until not long ago. Yet pan-leaf chewing is such an integral part of Khasi life, that until quite recently, and occasionally even now, a distance between two places is not measured by the number of hours used for walking, but by the number of betelnut- and pan-leaf packages, consumed on the way. Also the common benediction among Khasi expresses the wish that so and so may eat pan in the Garden of God. Yet pan-cultivation and the settlements of the Wár-people as pan-leaf cultivators in the southern slopes seem comparatively young. Pan-cultivation on the plateau is impracticable. It is therefore possible that pan was for a long time only a much valued import article from the plains, bartered against Khasi ore and iron tools, though it is now an export article from the Wár-country, brought to the markets of the plains, by both Wár-Khasi and Wár-Jaintia women and men.

According to a tradition, across which I came among the Nonglamin clan of the Nongmuker village, the ancestors of the present Wár people were on the plateau at a time when no pan-cultivation was going on in the slopes and none of the present big estates of pan-tree gardens was yet held by their present (Wár-) owners. A not distant ancestor of a Nonglamin clan-member who about two or three generations ago told the story to U Siang (one of

which are not found usually to the people of India. Shots not above mentioned below, and even the Khasi chief to the Government officer is quite ready to take his turn at the bow to his private garden. The men make excellent stonemasons and carpenters, and are ready to learn heavy carpentry and mechanical work. They are inveterate chewers of betel and the pan leaf (when they can get the latter), both men, women, and children; distances in the interior being often measured by the number of betel-nuts that are usually chewed on a journey. They are not addicted usually to the use of opium or other intoxicating drugs. They are, however, hard drinkers, and consume large quantities of spirit distilled from rice or millet. Rice beer is also manufactured; this is used not only as a beverage, but also for ceremonial purposes. Spirit drinking is confined more to the inhabitants of the high plateau and to the people of the War country, the Bhoiis and Lyngngams being content to partake of rice beer. The Wikiru who inhabit what is known as the "Bhoi" country, lying to the north of the district, consume a good deal of opium, but it must be remembered that they reside in a malarious tract country, and that the use of opium, or some other prophylactic, is probably beneficial as a preventive of fever. The Khasis, like other people of Indo-Chinese origin, are much addicted to gambling. The people, and especially those who inhabit the War country, are fond of litigation. Col. Dixon remarks, "As regards truthfulness the people do not excel, for they rarely speak the truth unless to suit their own interests." Col. Dixon might have confined this observation to the people who live in the larger centres of population, or who have been much in contact with the dwellers of the plains. The inhabitants of the far interior are, as a rule, simple and straightforward people, and are quite as truthful and honest as peasants are wont to other countries. My impression is that the Khasis are not less truthful certainly than other Indian compatriots. Mr. Cech, writing in 1907, speaks well of the Khasis. The following is his opinion of them:—"They are a powerful, athletic race of men, rather below the middle size, with a manliness of gait and demeanour. They are fond of their nationality, and look down with contempt upon the degenerate race of the

[the Khasis ---- Ind p.1]

S:Census E-6, 9 (no date) 1937 ARP Khasi ARP

577 plans, jealous of their power, have to action, and have no
[illegible] to falsehood."

[illegible] Khasis of the interior who have adopted Christianity are
[illegible] generally cleaner in their persons than the non-Christians,
[illegible] and their women dress better than the latter and have an air
[illegible] of self-respect about them. The houses in a Christian village
[illegible] are also far superior, especially where there are resident Euro-
[illegible] pean missionaries. Khasis who have become Christians often
[illegible] take to religion with such earnestness (witness the recent
[illegible] religious revival in these hills, which is estimated by the Welsh
[illegible] missionaries to have added between 4,000 and 5,000 converts to
[illegible] Christianity) and are model fathers, it being a pleasing
[illegible] sight to see men, women, and children trooping to church on
a Sunday dressed in their best, and with quite the Sunday
expression on their faces one sees in England. It is a pleasure
to hear the sound of the distant church bell on the hill-side on
a Sunday evening, soon to be succeeded by the beautiful Welsh
hymn tunes which, when wafted across the valleys, carry one's
thoughts far away. The Welsh missionaries have done, and
continue to do, an immense amount of good amongst these people.
It would be an evil day for the Khasis if anything should move
to arrest the progress of the mission work in the Khasi Hills.

[illegible]

[illegible] The Khasis inhabit the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, although
[illegible] there are a few Khasi settlers in the neighbouring plains
districts. The Census Report of 1901 gives the following
figures of Khasi residents in the plains:—

Cachar	[illegible]
Sylhet	[illegible]
Chittagong	[illegible]
Kamrup	[illegible]
Darrang	[illegible]
Nowgong	[illegible]
Sibsagar	[illegible]
Lakhimpur	[illegible]
Garo Hills	[illegible]
North Cachar	[illegible]
Naga Hills	[illegible]

bGordon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

[illegible] [illegible] ness, short for *bias* (grandmother), and *ba*, mother. *Ka Iawbei* is the primeval ancestress of the clan. She is to the Khasis what the "tribal mother" was to old Celtic and Teutonic genealogists, and we have an interesting parallel to the reverence of the Khasis for *Ka Iawbei* in the Celtic goddess Brigit, the tribal mother of the Brigantes. Later on, the Ka Iawbei, she was canonized, and became St. Bridget.*

[illegible] The greater number of the flat table-stones we see in front of the standing monoliths in these hills are erected in honour of *Ka Iawbei*. In former times, it was the custom to offer food to her on these stones. In cases of family quarrels, or dissensions amongst the members of the same clan, which is to desired to bring to a peaceful settlement, it is customary to perform a sacrifice to the first mother, "*Ka Iawbei*." They first of all take an augury by breaking eggs, and if it appears from the broken egg-shells that *Ka Iawbei* is offended, they offer to her a cotton cloth, and sacrifice a hen. [illegible] To these occasions incantations are muttered, and a small drum, called, "*Ka 'ding ding ding*," is beaten. It is not unlikely that the Khasi household deities, *Ka Iai ding* and *Ka Iaew ka jingpon*, to whom pujas are offered for the welfare of the house, are also *Ka Iawbei* in disguise. Notwithstanding the strong influence of the matriarchate, we find that U Thawlang, the first father and the husband of *Ka Iawbei*, is also revered. To him on occasions of domestic trouble a cock is sacrificed, and a *jingkong* or cloudless coat is offered. This puja is called *haba tap Thawlang*, i.e. covering the grandfather. The following incantation to U Thawlang is then chanted — "Oh, father Thawlang, who hast enabled us to be born, who hast given us my stature and my life, I have wronged thee, oh father, be not offended, for I have given thee a pledge and a sign, i.e. a red and white cloudless coat. Do not deliver us into the power of (the goddess of) illness, I have offered thee the propitiatory — ok that thou mayest carry us in thine arms, and that I may be aware of thee, my father Thawlang." [illegible] We see clearly from the above prayer that the Khasi idea is that the spirit of the deceased only becomes capable of

* Kati Dawson says on "mother age civilisation."

TRZ

a) at the mau ating (first burial),
b) at the mau phou (second burial),
c) at the mau bah (third burial).

20. The sacrifice in memory of the deceased:
a) the sacrifice at the end of a month,
b) the sacrifice at the end of a year.

These various sacrifices can be offered by the official lyngdoh as well as by other lyngdoh or even by ordinary men from the people, provided they know precisely the ritual which governs the family concerned and are guided by it.

TRZ TRZ A definite spiritual attitude is not required for any sacrifice. There is only one exception here: namely at the sacrifice for the third and last burial of the house in the mau bah. This may only be carried out if all relatives of the sib concerned are living in peace with each other. This must be established by the lyngdoh himself who is performing the sacrifice. If any kind of enmity or a quarrel is discovered by the investigation, the burial and the sacrifice that goes with it must be postponed until the condition of general peace in the family is fulfilled.

TRZ TRZ As concerns the place of the sacrifices, the areas may be divided in the following way:

1. Sacrifice is made in the hut:
at the name giving,
after recovering health.

2. Sacrifice is made in the courtyard in front of the hut:
when questioning spirits,
before important business,
in cases of sickness,
where health,
in case of death.

3. Sacrifice is made away from the house:
at a connection at the place it occurs,
at the three different burials of the house at the places where they occur,

bungler!" (27) When the opponent aims and

27. P.G. Schuhele, "Das Pfeilschiessen der Shoal" (Arrow Shooting Among the Shoal), Salvatorianische Mitteilungen (Salvatorian Communications), 1930, No. 2.

shoots they shout at him: "Ion ikpudu, ken ohimpi i.e., ent earth, ent sand" (the opponent's arrow is supposed to fly into the earth or sand). There is ample opportunity here for talking extemporaneously as the Shoal do love to do. Following the examples mentioned above they shout at the archers of their own team or of the opponents' team. At the same time I have never noticed that anybody felt insulted or that quarrels and fights ever arose. If somebody feels affected by the remarks, he or one of his team tries to overtrump his opponent by a really potent remark. If that is successful everybody rejoices in the comment and the round of shooting continues peacefully. When a round of ten or more archers who have each shot three or more arrows is finished, the judge enters the closed-off place and counts out loud the arrows sticking in the target. With a great hullabaloo the crowd confirms the number of hits; the opponents do the same and then the contest begins again with all the (27) action described above. When this process has been repeated often, a longer pause occurs. During this, and often during the shorter recess after each round, the women and girls hand out refreshments. The water pipe makes the rounds and no one spares prices. This is continued till

Because of her whole position as guardian of the inherited religion and customs, it is not frequent that such a woman breaks with the ancestor cult. If this does happen, it does not necessarily mean that she loses the entire property. That depends really on the position the other members of the family take. If they are all still firm heathens, who wish to have nothing to do with Christianity, they can force the clan mother to give everything up. The high respect for her is frequently so great, however, that either the whole clan or at least a part of it decides to take the same way and change religions with the clan mother. The part that remains heathen will certainly propose a division of the family property. This is also possible in other cases.

4. Division of the Family Property.

Although it is rare, the weal and woe of a family-clan can require that a family-clan be split into two clans /Clan/ and that a division of the common property be undertaken. The basis for this is if the family /Gwaklacks/ becomes too big, if the elders in the family council /Bib/ are no longer united and have and revenge disease to demon, if a part of the clan /Clan/ wishes to seize the heron fields by violence and refuses to deliver the harvest for the common need, if one branch has brought the whole clan /Kipps/ dishonor and shame by false oath, incest, revenge, treachery or some other severe crime. Only the guilty party will be excluded from the clan /Clan/ in such cases, if he remains stubborn and impenitent. But if he begs for forgiveness with his lips and participates in the expiatory sacrifice, forgiveness will not be refused him. But a certain bitter remorse and bad feeling often remain behind.

In the conversion to another religion, it often depends on how the clan mother and also the family elders are inclined towards the religion in question, and also on who is changing religions. If it is only brothers, sons, nephews, or grandsons, of the clan mother, a division is out of the question, since the men are not capable of inheriting. But if it is the youngest or next youngest daughter or even the dame of the clan mother, then a division of property can be undertaken. A clan mother after all is so attached to her child or her nearest blood relatives that she would not like to push them entirely away from herself unless she were completely set against the religion in question and angered. If that should be so in individual cases, the heirs concerned will still consider, whether it is not more advisable to wait to change her religion until the clan mother has closed her eyes and she then has free play. Then that which was mentioned at the conclusion of the previous section has arrived.

29: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR? Khasi AR?

291 only of fine silk for the bride, a part of which hangs gracefully on her
as the salwar in front. No notice is here taken of what has
undoubtedly been added and borrowed from their more civilized
neighbours in the plains.

58 • "Marriage. — The marriageable age for females is from 15 to
18; for males, from 18 to 24. Matrimonial alliances are con-
tracted either through the parents or the living representatives of
the families to which the parties belong. The mode of procedure
is still very primitive and unceremonious. The bridegroom,
escorted by a number of friends and relatives, goes to the house
of the bride, where all are feasted and lodged for the night; on the
morrow he leads the bride, accompanied by a number of her
relatives, to his own house, and entertains the company with dishes
of boiled rice and fresh pork. After remaining there a day or two, 591
the newly-married couple return together to the house of the wife,
which becomes their future home. Marriage is dissoluble by 596
regular divorce, for any sufficient cause, and often without any
assignable reason except mutual dislike or want of issue, the latter
being the most common case of all. Marriage with the Khasis [581]
is simply a conventional arrangement, with nothing further for its
object than the procreation of children; failing that, it is no longer
looked upon as a contract permanently binding. Divorce is effected
in the presence of eye-witnesses—the parents, or the heads of clans.
Five cowries (*kauri*) are produced by the parties and exchanged,
then cast away by mutual consent, and the ceremony is over.
Parties once divorced can never again contract marriage with 587
each other, but they are at liberty to marry into other families.
Polygamy, strictly so called, is not mentioned by Khasi women. 595
Adultery is looked upon as a serious crime. If the two cowries 597
have not been cast away by mutual consent, both husband
and wife are held to be subject to the "sacrificial dues;"
and even when either dies in outlawry, the survivor is not at 587
liberty to contract a fresh alliance until he or she pays the family
a sum of money as the means of removing the surviving party
from subjection to the "sacrificial dues." The husband is a 593
stranger, so to speak, in the family he has entered, and perpetuates 611
the race of others, not his own. The children in all questions of
lineage and personal rights follow the mother. There are always
two houses in the same family—that of the husband, and that of
the wife. Whatever the husband may have earned or acquired in 593
628

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child is a female. Up to the present time I have not discovered any trace of the crescent.

8. *Marriage ceremony.*—Marriage is a purely civil contract. The most prominent features of the Khasi marriage are the following:—

(a) The cymbiar spojat, or betrothal.

(b) The pouring out of libations of liquor to the *Jowbai* (the first national ancestress).

(c) The eating by bride and bridegroom out of the same plate.

(d) The mixing of liquor by the bridegroom, or go-between.

(e) The taking of the bride to the house of mother of the bridegroom, where a ring is placed on her finger by her mother-in-law.

9. *Divorce* can be easily obtained amongst the Khasis. Adultery, want of issue, and incompatibility of temper, are some of the more frequent causes. The usual ceremony of divorce is as follows:—The husband breaks the wife five sovereigns, or pice. The wife breaks them back to the husband, with five of her own. The man then either throws them away or breaks them over to some village elder, who throws them away. Divorce is then complete.

10. *Death, ceremonies.*—The corpse is bathed and laid on its back. A fowl's egg (*ka'ingkynsi*) is then placed on the navel. A cock (*ka' ka'ewbal*) (a fowl that scratches the way) is sacrificed. The limbs of the fowl and its feathers are placed in a bamboo basket, which is hung up over the head of the corpse. Sick people sacrifice a cow also, called *ka mait pyrsiem*. When a cow is sacrificed it is shot through the heart with an arrow. From the time of bathing the body till it is burned, offerings are offered daily; these offerings are called *ai ja mint ja sip*. It is the custom amongst some to place the corpse in a long narrow box or coffin, which has been hollowed out of the trunk of a tree; this is called *ka shynrah*. When this procedure is adopted, a small pig, which is killed by a spear (*ka mawsi*) is sacrificed. This sacrifice takes place during the night. A goat (*U long ma' bandiew* goat to wash the dead)—which is believed to be a stupefant to bear the sins of the deceased—is sacrificed. The corpse is then taken outside and placed on a bamboo bier (*ka trong*). When the *shynrah* is used it is placed inside the bier. Rope rice is scattered on the ground, and water is poured from a *kuta*. On arrival at the burning place, the bier, with the corpse in it, is placed on the pyre, or *jingthang*. The egg placed on the navel is then broken on a plank and a fowl (*Ka ma pudi*) is sacrificed. Two arrows are shot, one to the east and another to the west (this is a Khasi custom only); the arrows are intended for the protection of the spirit on its way to another world. Fire is then applied to the pyre.

14: Roy 1-5 (no date) 1938 AR7 Khasi AR7

Blei na shiw, ka Lei Synshar, Ka Blei iwiw, 582
mon briw, bunda ia bakum bunda bha mon phi 585
U Blei ka Blei ban long I Kha I man, bunda 589
ia pynkiar ka synjai sepsin ka ayni, ka phin tip,
ka phin sepsu na jrong ka lynduing ka ün I
jaid bud ün I jaid ki ia sapni kha pai man ban
iawi ban ia man ban ia kak ka long kynthei ka
long sipawang'. Oh God from above, oh God from below, Thou God who omniscient, who keepest and preservest, Thou God who createst man and the origin and source of human life,—as ordained by Thee, Oh God, U Blei (God in the male aspect), Ka Blei (God in the female aspect) that there should be *I Kha* (person to bear and give birth) *I man* (person with whom and through whom to give man to life and to grow), as token has been brought down this day, [a ring is given], so that Thou mayest hear clearly from above, that such and such *jaid* (kind, clan) and such and such a *jaid* (kind, clan) have become joined in marriage in order to increase, in order to grow, so as to increase the state of being female and the state of being male (i. e. male and female population)." [This is said as a woman of a certain clan always marries a man of a different clan.] As I have 591
said elsewhere, "There is no tradition among the 713
Khasis that there was ever a time when the status of marriage did not exist among our ancestors. There is a belief among the Khasis that they were instructed in their religion and that their ceremonies and rites were delivered by God Himself to the

14:Roy 1-5 (no date) 1938 AR7 Khasi AR7

[59] [71] *Hynniew Trep Hynniew Skum* (the seven castes, seven roots). These seven castes or roots were seven pairs of virgin women and men created by God to marry and they formed seven homes (families) and from these the country was filled and the rites and ceremonies were obtained. Thus the Khasi takes pride in the fact that God Himself delivered their religion and the rites and ceremonies unto them. ... The Khasi matrilineal system has come down through ages and with a definite idea of the union of one man with one woman. This is significant for those who consider that marriage is and has always been common to the whole human race, and it raises the question as to whether the Khasi idea is the survival of a period when the nature of paternity was not understood".

[85] [601] [551] In the sacred rites of baptism of this simple folk we find that a Khasi grandmother will not officiate in the name-giving ceremony unless in the marriage of her son with the woman to whom the child is born there has been the regular ceremony of marriage.

19: Nakano E-9 (1955-1956) 1967 AR? Khasi AR?

society? Among the matrilineal Central Bantus, Richards says that the determining factor in residence at marriage is the marriage payment or the type of goods and services which the bridegroom gives (Richards, 1950, p. 149). However, the Khasi have no such custom in the marriage contract, it is therefore out of the question to explain the two types of residence in this way. In the case of the Khasi, the determining factor is the type of marriage with relation to the rule of inheritance and ownership of property, which is closely related to the structure of the sing. Khasi marriages can be divided into two categories i.e., marriage with an heiress and with a non-heiress. Marriages with an heiress must be uxorilocal. This accounts for category 1 or 3 of the household pattern. On the other hand, marriages with a non-heiress become uxorial and correspond to category 4 of the household unit.

IV. Marriage with an Heiress

A man married to an heiress, usually lives with his wife's parents and her unmarried or divorced brothers and sisters. For a man, life after marriage under such circumstances require great adjustment and endurance. The husband's status is especially weak when a male member of the wife's kin lives in the same household. The management of property and all economic activities are entirely controlled by the authority (wife's brother or maternal uncle) of the sing. The husband works in the wife's field under constant supervision from this authority. Both economic activities and domestic affairs are always under the management of this authority. The children have more attachment to, and are more obedient to, the maternal uncle than to the father. The tie between the uncle and the nephew is so strong that the father is rather like an additional member of the household. He is the last person to be introduced to visitors.

This family system is clearly reflected in the daily behaviour. When we visited the Khasi household of a youngest daughter, if a man (obviously the husband) came first to greet us, he always said "please wait, my wife (or mother-in-law) is coming." And it was the wife who entertained us, offering tea or pan and discussing matters with us, while her husband remained silent in the corner of the room, or in the next room. If her uncle or brother was there, he would be the person who talked to us, while his niece or sister served us. In such a case, we were seldom introduced to the husband. When I was working at Shella, I happened to stay in such a family. I had hardly any opportunity to talk to the husband during the two weeks of my stay. He left the house very early in the morning and came back late in the evening from the fields. While he was at home, he was

always somewhat outside the family concentration, which was centred on the maternal uncle and his sisters, nephews and nieces, by whom I was well taken care of. This is somewhat similar to the situation amongst the Cewa and the Yao of the Central Bantus, which have what Richard calls 'the detachable husband' (Richards, 1950, pp. 232-35, 248), though the parallel is not by any means exact.

There is, therefore, inevitably an element of tension in the relations between the wife's maternal uncle (including parents-in-law) and the husband (son-in-law) and this tension makes the latter's life extremely uncomfortable. This awkward position is well shown in the divorce rate. At Kongton (see List 9), out of 60 couples (house-owners and their spouses), the number of persons who had experiences of divorce was 33 (female 15, male 18) and those married more than twice numbered 13 (female 7, male 6). Out of 60 couples, there were only 32 in which neither husband nor wife had been divorced. In my census of Jaringa village, 70 per cent of all divorce cases were marriages to Bengalis. In general, the period when divorce occurs more frequently is before a couple get children and after the wife has passed the child-bearing age. A marriage breaks up either through the action of the wife or of the husband, but generally through that of the wife. However, the state of separation which I presently describe is brought about by the husband, though later it results in a divorce from the wife. Divorce does not mean a great catastrophe for a Khasi wife, especially if she is an heiress and her husband's economic contribution is not significant. Moreover, in this society remarriage is as easy for a widow or divorcée, as it is to divorce. In the villages of Sohkynduh and Kongton, the couple who wants to divorce has only to throw a few Assam together in the presence of some witness, usually an elderly man.

In addition to divorce, there are many actual separations of husband and wife, of short or long duration, when the husband runs away from his wife's house to his sister's. Though it does not always end in divorce, considerable number of husbands have a strong tendency to spend most of their time at their sister's house. Khasi women often told me, "I don't know why he does not come back to my place." I have often found the husband staying at his sister's house only a few houses away from his wife's, without any particular reason. They are obliged to see each other every day whether divorced or separated. This kind of ambiguity in the marriage relation seems to have an important correlation with the Khasi social structure, combined with the village endogamy. The man and and wife have grown up together from their childhood in the same village and known each other very well. Hence their psychology cannot clearly distinguish the marriage form as a newly-established independent social relation.

ship. They will live in the same familiar atmosphere as before their marriage. The implications of this antiquity in the married state are considerable. Particularly the husband's uncomfortable situation, when the wife is known, encourages him to take marriage too seriously.

A husband who undergoes hardship in his wife's house, finds himself on the authority in his sister's house; if he is not the authority, he can find at least a respected position as uncle or brother. In the case of a man of authority in the ring, the tendency for him to regard his ring as more important than his married life is proportionately stronger, as I will discuss later. Hence the most unstable and unsuccessful marriages are those between the heiress and the man of authority. This is one of the reasons we often find among the Khasi a brother or an uncle, who is already married, acting nevertheless as the head to a family (ring) and as a member of its domestic group. This means that he is in a state of temporary separation or divorced. Among the Ashanti, a man and his wife's brother are never found as members of a common household (Fortes, ibid., p. 184), but among the Khasi, on the contrary, a man and his wife's brother are often found as members of a common household. In such cases, however, the brother has no wife, or never brings his wife to his ring. Therefore, a man and his wife and his sister never reside together. As far as the residence of women is concerned, the Khasi keep to the strict descent rule; two women who belong to different descent groups never live together. This point differentiates the Khasi residence pattern, in which social structure is involved, from that not only of the Ashanti but also of the Tiv where the head of a descent group can bring his wife to his sister's household, though, among other members, conjugal marriage is the rule. These differential aspects of matrilineal systems will be discussed from a more theoretical point of view later.

In addition, should a Khasi man even succeed in spending his life with his wife's kinsmen, as soon as the wife dies, he will usually return to his ring, that is, to his sister's house, where he is received warmly and where he often acts as the de facto authority, as in the similar situation of divorce and separation. Thus the strong matrilineal structural principle tends to orient a man towards his own descent group, the ring.

The man's attachment to his ring is very great throughout his life. In this regard the Khasi differ from the matrilineal Nagar families Hsieh. Among the latter, returning to the matrilineal kin is regarded by the man as an imposition rather than as the enjoyment of a legitimate privilege (see Iwata, ibid., p. 177).[1] This difference

1. He seems to have had as one of the reasons of the fluidity of marriage among the Nagar families. Indeed, on this precise point they differ from the Khasi when marriage is rather unstable.

after divorce or husband's death, the Ekuri woman stays on in her household. Indeed many divorced or widowed poor wives, whose children are still small, try their best to live and bring up their children by themselves without asking their brothers' help. Of course a mother and her small children may go back to live in her natal ward. Such cases are found particularly when the woman's ward is rich. However, during my field work, I found no cases of psychological inferiority in Ekuri women, widows or divorcees, such as we usually find in other societies. The personality of the individual seems to reflect the social structure.

Given such strong residential independence on the part of the non-heiress, economically divorced from her descent group, and situated towards sociological separation from it, the husband's economic and social contribution is handsomely rewarded by the establishment of a stable, happier, matrimonial life. In fact, as already mentioned, the divorce rate among such couples is very low contrasted with the high rate among marriages with heiresses. More accurately, I should say that divorce is more likely to occur among the latter owing to the conflict of loyalties towards spouse and ward. Therefore, when such partner has less loyalty towards his or her natal ward, the divorce rate becomes correspondingly lower. Thus, among the Ekuri, successful marriages are frequently found where there is branching off from an ward and a new ward is always established by a husband's contribution.

Ekuri men, who are well aware of this fact, prefer to marry a non-heiress, since they will then form an independent household and remain immune to pressure from their wife's kin. However, they say a poor or lazy man prefers marriage with an heiress. As Richards said of the matrilineal Central Bantus, the residence on marriage seems to be a most important index of the husband's status, though the determining factors of the residence of the Ekuri differ from those of the Bantus (see p. 109).

In the case of marriage with an heiress, when the wife dies, the husband usually returns to his ward (the youngest sister's house). But in marriage with a non-heiress the husband often remains with his children, if his children are not too small and he is not planning to marry any woman other than his late wife's younger sister. If he marries his wife's younger sister, he has the right to stay on. This kind of sororal marriage cannot take place in the case of a man married to an heiress, since a Ekuri man is not allowed to marry the late wife's elder sister. This form of sororate is found among the Ekuri, but the levirate is unknown, such as can be seen among the Ashanti and the Ibo, where a man takes his late brother's wife. Among the Ekuri, even if a widow happened to marry her late husband's

19: Nakane K-9 (1959-1964) 1967 AR? Khasi AR?

any man other than their husband. Women before marriage enjoy a considerable freedom in love affairs, but once married these are no longer tolerated. Women should be faithful wives. They should be so in order to keep their husbands who have a strong tendency to leave their wives. The husband of a woman who has an affair with another man, will never come back to her. There is no attraction to draw the husband, who has been at his sister's, to his wife's house unless she is good and charming. Such Gurdon's remarks as "There is no evidence to show that polyandry ever existed among the Khasis. Unlike the Tibetans, the Khasi women seem to have contented themselves always with one husband, at any rate with one at a time" (Gurdon, 1914, p. 77), is utterly nonsense: a Khasi woman is placed in a situation which is not easy to monopolize even one husband. However, the Khasi social organization in general does not accord to the practice of polyandry.

[P. 140 is blank]

ing from the time it consists of an elementary family until it grows to a local descent group four generations deep. (Cf. Chattopadhyay 1961.) Kin terminology. The terms of address given below are also terms of reference except where otherwise indicated, and are uniform for male and female speakers. They were collected in an upland Khasi village near Shillong (cf. Elwin[illegible] 1955 for some regional variants).

Fa	pa
Mo	mai
FaElBr	pasem
FaYoBr	pahlipasnah
FaSi	kha
Fa youngest Si	khashah
MoElSi	mariam
MoYoSi	mariah
Mo youngest Si	mariahah
MoElBr	mama, ma
MoYoBr	bah (ref., ba)
ElBr	bah khynnah
Eldest Br	kong bah
YoBr	bah dong
Youngest Br	bah dah
ElSi	dong
Eldest Si	bal, kong
YoSi	bal nah, bal ng
Youngest Si	khashah
MoElSiSo, MoElSiDa	para (ref., para or bma)
FaElBrSo, FaElBrDa	para (ref., paraha)
MoElBrSo, MoElBrDa	
FaElSiSo, FaElSiDa	haiha

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY. Mode. According to the traditional courtship pattern, a group of young male relatives and friends made nightly visits to the house of some virgin girl in another village, approaching her through bamboo while she and her parents appeared them, and staying the night to avoid the dark walk home. Marriage was according to the wishes of the parents after negotiation by a go-between from the boy's side. Girls might be 15, and boys 17 years of age. Girls have now acquired freedom of movement through attending school, however. Premarital sexual play is common, and young people choose their own spouses when the girl is about 16 and the boy 21. The most common mode of marriage is elopement, for Christians and non-Christians alike, but some Christians marry in church, and some Khasis still marry according to the traditional ceremony or some variation on it. There are no preferred or prescribed marriage types, nor is there a bride price or dowry. Form. Monogamy is the ideal for all. Extension of incest taboos. Sibs are exogamous. Other prohibited marriage partners are real and classificatory FaSi and FaBr, FaBrCh, FaSiCh, and FaSiSiCh. The MoBrWi is also prohibited. Boy

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

strip of fine silk for the loins, a part of which hangs gracefully as low as the calves in front. No notice is here taken of what has undoubtedly been added and borrowed from their more civilised neighbours in the plains. 291

MARRIAGE.—The marriageable age for females is from 15 to 18; for males, from 18 to 24. Matrimonial alliances are contracted either through the parents or the living representatives of the families to which the parties belong. The mode of procedure is still very primitive and unceremonious. The bridegroom, escorted by a number of friends and relatives, goes to the house of the bride, where all are feasted and lodged for the night; on the morrow he leads the bride, accompanied by a number of her relatives, to his own house, and entertains the company with dishes of boiled rice and fresh pork. After remaining there a day or two, the newly-married couple return together to the house of the wife, which becomes their future home. Marriage is dissoluble by regular divorce, for any sufficient cause, and often without any assignable reason except mutual dislike or want of issue, the latter being the most common case of all. Marriage with the Khásiás is simply a conventional arrangement, with nothing further for its object than the procreation of children; failing that, it is no longer looked upon as a contract permanently binding. Divorce is effected in the presence of eye-witnesses—the parents, or the heads of clans. Five cowries (*kawris*) are produced by the parties and exchanged, then cast away by mutual consent, and the ceremony is over. Parties once divorced can never again contract marriage with each other, but they are at liberty to marry into other families. Polygamy, strictly so called, is not sanctioned by Khási custom. Adultery is looked upon as a serious crime. If the five cowries have not been cast away by mutual consent, both husband and wife are held to be subject to the "matrimonial demon;" and even when either dies in wedlock, the survivor is not at liberty to contract a fresh alliance until he or she pays the family a sum of money as the means of removing the surviving party from subjection to the "matrimonial demon." The husband is a stranger, so to speak, in the family he has entered, and perpetuates the race of others, not his own. The children in all questions of lineage and personal rights follow the mother. There are always two interests in the same family—that of the husband, and that of the wife. Whatever the husband may have earned or acquired in

58 591 586 [581] 587 595 837 587 593 611 593 428

1:Gordon E-6, 5 (no date) ???? ARP Khasi ARP

SECTION III.

LAWS AND CUSTOMS.

TRIBAL ORGANIZATION.

128 [97] The inhabitants of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills may be said to be divided into the following sections:—Khasi, Syntengs or Pnar, Wáir, Bhoi, and Lyngam. These divisions represent collections of people inhabiting several tracts of country and speaking dialects which, although often deriving their origin from the Khasi roots, are frequently so dissimilar to the standard language as to be almost unrecognisable. The above sections may be sub-divided as follows:—The Khasis into the inhabitants of the central high plateau, Cherra and Nongstoin, Mahadon, Maria, Nongkhlaw, and the neighbouring Siemships. The Syntengs or Pnars may be divided as follows:—Into Syntengs proper, Nongtungs, and Khawangs; the Wáirs into Wáir proper, and Wáir Pnar; the Bhois into Jaitbongs, Myntris, Rynghbongs, and the Khasi-Bhois, *i.e.* Khasis who inhabit the low country to the north of the district, which is called generally the "Bhoi." The Lyngams are a separate division. They must not be confused with the Dkos or Hatas who are Garos. It must, however, be remembered that the Jaitbong, Myntri, and Rynghbong sub-divisions of the Bhoi division are not Khasi, but Mikir, *i.e.* they belong to the Bodo or Bara group. The Lyngams are half Khasis and half Garos, and the Dkos or Hatas are Garos who observe the Khasi custom of erecting memorial stones. The above tribes and sub-tribes are not strictly endogamous, nor are they strictly exogamous, but they are more endogamous than exogamous; for instance, Syntengs more often marry Syntengs than Khasis, and vice versâ, and it would be usually considered derogatory for a

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Khasi of the Uplands to marry a Bhoi or War woman, and a diagram to marry a Lyngdoh. These divisions are subdivided into a number of septs, taking Mr. Risley's definition of "sept" as being the largest consanguine division of the tribe. It will, however, be more convenient to speak of these septs as "clans," the word "clan" having been used in other parts of this Monograph and by other writers.

Many of the clans trace their descent from ancestresses or *hiaw* (grandmothers), who are styled *ka Ioohoi Tymmei*, lit. grandmothers of the root (i.e. the root of the tree of the clan). In some of the clans, the name of this ancestress survives; take as instances the Mylliem-ngap and Mylliem-pdah clans of the Khynriam State, the name of the ancestresses of the clans being *ka ngap* (honey, i.e. the sweet one), and *ka pdah* respectively. This tribal ancestress, as will be seen in the paragraph of the monograph dealing with ancestor-worship, is greatly revered, in fact, she may almost be said to be deified. The descendants of one ancestress of the clan, *Ka Ioohoi Tymmei*, are called *shi kur* or one clan. We then come to the division of the *kpah* or sub-clan, all the descendants of one great grandmother (*ka Ioohoi Tymmei*), being styled *shi kpah*. The next division is the *iing* (lit. house) or family. It is almost invariably the case that the grandmother, her daughters and the daughter's children, live together under one roof, the grandmother during her life-time being the head of the house. The grandmother is styled *ka Ioohoi Khynnow*, or the young grandmother, to distinguish her from the other two grandmothers, *ka Ioohoi-tymmei* and *ka Ioohoi-tymmen* who have been mentioned above. The young grandmother, her daughters and their children are said to belong to *shi iing*, one house, the word *iing* in this instance possessing amongst the Khasis the same significance as the English word *family*.

We will now see how the Khasi clan (*kur* or *jaid*) grew out of the Khasi family (*iing*). Let us take the example of the great Diengdoh clan of Cherra. Disregarding the myth that the Diengdohs are descended from a mermaid, it may be stated that there seems to be a fairly general belief amongst the Diengdohs that their first ancestress or *hiaw* came from the

Sun (probably the Sun of Justice), and the Amwong Empire-
ion. They fled to a place called Lyndengumtilli, near Lyngkye-
ion. Finding this place unsuitable as a home, the family split up into four divisions. One division returned to Jowai, where it increased and multiplied and after-wards gave into the Lais class, another went to Nongkhlaw and became the Dienglah Kylla class; another went to Shwiong and formed what is now known as the Pariong class; the fourth, after some vicissitudes of fortune, went to Sangpreah and Chorra, at which place it established the powerful Dienglahlah class, and became after-wards one of the chief semi-c or minister class of this state. I have quoted the history of the origin of the Dienglah class at some length, to show what I consider to be an example of the Khasi conception of how the class was formed, i.e. from a common ancestress, all of the class having traditions more or less of descent from some particular Kinsa or ancestress. This story moreover is remarkable as pointing to a Khasi migration from beyond the Kopili river to their present abode. The clans of the present day are nothing more or less than exogamous families, they are bound together by the religious tie of ancestor-worship in common, and of a common tribal sepulchre, except in cases of clans which have, owing to their size, split up into several sub-divisions, like the Dienglah class; each sub-division possessing their own sepulchre. Ancestor-worship in common and tribal sepulchres in common serve to indicate that the original unit was the family and not the tribe, for there would be no reason for the members of a clan to worship the same household gods and to deposit the remains of the clan members in the same tomb unless there was some strong tie, such as that of consanguinity, binding them together. It has been already mentioned that each of these clans is strictly exogamous; this again supports the family origin theory. A Khasi can commit no greater sin than to marry within the tribe. Some of the clans are prohibited moreover from intermarriage with other clans, because of such clans being of common descent. If the titles (see Appendix) are carefully examined, it will be seen that some of them bear the names of animals, such as the *Shwish* or monkey clan, the *Thaw* or crab clan, or of trees, such as the Dienglah clan (already referred to). The

In Gordon E-6, 9 (no date) INT? AR? Khasi AR?

given that she does not remarry; the idea being that so long as the house remain in the widow's keeping, the spirit of her husband is still with her. On this account many wives who revere their husband's memories and who do not contemplate remarriage, purposely keep the house for a long time. If a widow marries, even after the customary taboo period of one year, whilst her deceased husband's house are still in her keeping, she is generally looked down upon. Her children in such a case perform the ceremony of handing over the bones of their father to his clan in a building specially erected for the purpose. The widow cannot enter therein, or even go near it, whilst the ceremony is proceeding, no matter whether the *ding-sang*, or the price for removing the taboo after a husband's death, has been paid to the husband's clan or not. There is no evidence to show that polyandry ever existed amongst the Khasis. Unlike the Thibetans, the Khasi women seem to have contented themselves always with one husband, at any rate with one at a time. Certainly at the present day they are monandrists. Polygamy does not exist amongst the Khasis; such a practice would naturally not be in vogue amongst a people who observe the matriarchate. There are instances, however, of men having wives other than those they have regularly married, and in the War country children by such wives enjoy rights to their father's acquired property equally with the children by the legally married wife. As the clans are strictly exogamous, a Khasi cannot take a wife from his own clan; to do this would entail the most disastrous religious, as well as social consequences. For to marry within the clan is the greatest sin a Khasi can commit, and would cause excommunication by his kinsfolk and the refusal of funeral ceremonies at death, and his bones would not be allowed a resting place in the sepulchre of the clan. To give a list of all the Khasi exogamous clans would perhaps serve no useful purpose, but I have prepared from information, kindly furnished me by the Siems of Khyrim and Cherrapunji, a list of the clans in those States which will be found in Appendices A and B. These will suffice as examples. It will be seen from the Cherra list that the different divisions of the Dienglieh clan, viz. Lain, Dienglieh-bah, Dienglieh-kylla, are prohibited from intermarriage; this is due to these branches of the clan being

[illegible] descended from a common ancestress. There are other instances of clans being connected with one another, such connection being called by the Khasis *iaiñ bor*. Whenever such connection exists, intermarriage is strictly prohibited, and is considered to be sang. There is no custom of hypergamy. A Khasi cannot marry his maternal uncle's daughter during the lifetime of the maternal uncle. This is probably due to the fact that the maternal uncle, or *bei*, in a Khasi household is regarded more in the light of a father than of an uncle. His children, however, would belong to the clan of his wife, and these would, therefore, in ordinary case be no bar to the nephew marrying one of them. Marriage with the daughter of a father's sister is not allowed during the lifetime of the father, but after the father's death there is no religious bar, although such unions are looked upon with disfavour by the Khasis. In the War country, however, such marriages are totally prohibited. A Khasi cannot marry two sisters, but he can marry his deceased wife's sister after the expiry of one year from the wife's death, on payment of *jing sang* (price of sang, or taboo) to the wife's clan. A Khasi cannot marry the daughter of his father's brother, she is his own like (or brth sister). Similarly he cannot marry the daughter of his father's paternal uncle. He can, however, marry the daughter of his mother's brother, provided that the brother is dead. This somewhat paradoxical state of affairs is explained by the fact that the children of the mother's brother belong to a different clan to that of the mother, i.e. to the mother's brother's wife's clan. The Khasi, Syiemg, War, and Lyngam divisions are not strictly endogamous groups, and there is nothing to prevent intermarriage between them. For instance, it has been the custom in the Nongkhlaw Sima family to obtain husbands for the princesses of the state from the War country. There is no custom amongst the Khasis of two men exchanging daughters, i.e. each marrying his son to the other's daughter. Notwithstanding the existence of the matriarchate, and the fact that all ancestral property is vested in the mother, it would be a mistake to suppose that the father is a nobody in the Khasi house. It is true that the *bei*, or [illegible]'s elder brother, is the head of the house, but the father is the executive head of the new house, where, after children

Preliminaries.—A young man of marriageable age, say between seventeen or eighteen years of age and twenty-five, has upon a girl of say between thirteen and eighteen years, as likely to become a fitting partner; probably he has been acquainted with the young woman for some time before and is on more or less easy terms of intimacy with her. He mentions the name of the girl to his parents and mother and sister in the house, and they agree or disagree, as the case may be. Sometimes marriages are arranged by the parents of the young people themselves. Having agreed regarding the fitness of the bride, the young man's parents and a male representative of the family, or in some cases a man unconnected with the family, arrange matters with the parents of the bride. The latter then consult their daughter's wishes. According to the late F. Barlow Rice, the daughter usually always agrees, it is very seldom that it is necessary to bring any pressure to bear. The parents then investigate whether there is any, or what, such as clan relationship, between the young woman and her intended, in the way of the marriage. If there is found to be such kinship, they fix a date for finally arranging the marriage (*Sao-ko Tai Bhiu*). On the day appointed the bride's family consult the auguries by boiling eggs and examining fowl's entrails. If the omens are favourable well and good. Should they be unfavourable, they abandon the marriage project. There is a strong prejudice against a marriage taking place under unfavourable auguries, the belief being that such an union will be childless, that the bride will die an untimely death, or that poverty will ensue. Given favourable auguries, the parents fix a day for the marriage. It was formerly the custom for the bridegroom to provide himself beforehand with a ring, usually of silver, but, amongst the rich, of gold, which is called *ko ngjet* (hence the name of the marriage ceremony *yodaw-ngjet*), and for the bride to provide herself with a similar ring. The bridegroom used to place his ring upon the bride's finger, and the bride used to place her ring upon the bridegroom's finger; it is however believed that this custom is now nowadays. On the marriage day a man is selected from the party of the bridegroom called a *kinsay* or go-between. The bridegroom then sets out with

TOTEMS

The word *pyrsa* is one in common use amongst the Naga tribes. It seems to be a matter of doubt whether the word belongs to any of the numerous languages or dialects spoken by these tribes; but for our purposes it may be taken to mean taboo. The Khasi word *ang*, which implies an interdiction either religious or social from doing any particular thing, might have been employed; but as the word *pyrsa* is so commonly used when speaking of taboos amongst the hill tribes of this province, I have thought fit to employ it here. The word *pyrsa*, or taboo, may be held to include the Khasi *ang*. Taboos amongst the Khasis, Wars and Lyngpows may be divided into two sections; (a) general, and (b) special. Instances of general taboos have not been found amongst the Khasis, but the following taboo called *Ka ang kha* amongst the War villages of Sohbar and Nongpi is peculiar and therefore worthy of description. Its chief peculiarity is that during the time the *ang kha* continues, the inhabitants of these two villages are not allowed to associate with foreigners. This *pyrsa* takes place twice a year, in the months of June and November, and lasts for a month each time. During the *pyrsa* foreigners are not allowed to stay the night in these two villages, and the villagers must not sleep the night outside their villages. If they do not return home for the night, they are subjected to a fine. There is a prohibition against eating, smoking, or chewing betel-nut with foreigners during the period. The above is the only instance of general taboo that I have been able to find amongst the Wars, but in the Lyngpow villages there is a taboo on all outsiders at the time of the village puja. Such a taboo amongst the Lyngpows is not to be wondered at, as they have probably imbibed the notion from their Garo mothers, intermarriages between Lyngpows and Garos being common. The Garos, like other Tibeto-Burmans, have numerous taboos. There are numerous instances of special taboos among the Khasis. *Kata ahang ang*, or marrying within the *kur* or *shai*, is the most important taboo of all, and is regarded as the most serious offence a Khasi can commit. It admits of no expiation, and the house and sons of the offender cannot be visited in the [illegible]

or difference. It is owing to these three different names being used for the same people that there has been so much confusion about Lyngams previously; e.g. at one course they were named Lyngam, at another they received the appellation of Garo, and at a third conversation they were called Khasis. In Section I the habitat of the Lyngams has been roughly defined. It is impossible to define the Lyngam country exactly, because these people are continually shifting their village sites owing to the exigencies of jhum cultivation, which has been described in Section II. Some of the Lyngams preserve a tradition that they originally came from the Kamrup plains. It is interesting that a people, like the Garos in so many respects, should have the same idea as the Garos as to the hills on the south bank of the Brahmaputra not always having been their abode. The Garo legend is that they dwelt for some years in the Goalpara and Kamrup plains after they descended from Thibet, and before they moved to the Garo Hills; and there is unmistakable evidence of their occupation of both districts in the shape of certain Garo villages on both banks of the Brahmaputra for some little distance up the river. If, as I suspect, the Lyngams are an offshoot of the Garos, it is, perhaps, possible that they entered the Khasi Hills much in the same way as the Garos entered the hill district to which they have given their name. The Lyngams are much darker than the Khasis, and possess the Thibeto-Burman type of feature often to a marked degree. It is not extraordinary that they should have adopted some of the Khasi customs, for the Khasis, being the stronger people, would in course of time be bound to influence them in this respect. That the Lyngams observe the matriarchate and erect (some class) memorial stones is not peculiar, because the Garos, like the Khasis, are also a matriarchal people (to a limited degree), and the custom of erecting memorial stones is not confined to the Khasis, for other hill tribes in Assam observe the practice, e.g. certain Naga tribes and the Mikirs; and the Garos themselves put up carved posts, called bima, in honour of the departed. Although there is not much intermarriage between the Khasis and the Lyngams nowadays, perhaps in days gone by there was a mixture of blood, the result being the hybrid race we are now

quilt, made out of the bark of a tree, which is beaten out and then carefully sewn, several layers of fattened bark being used before the right thickness is attained. This quilt is called by the Lyngngam "*Ka-ngiler*" (Gara-simpah). Food is cooked in earthen pots, but no plates are used, the bread being one of the morning tree taking their place. The leaves are thrown away after use, a fresh supply being required for each meal.

The Lyngngam know rice beer, they do not distil spirits; the beer is brewed according to the Khasi method. Gamos they have none, and there are no *pnial* archery meetings like those of the Khasis. The Lyngngam methods of hunting are setting spring guns and digging pitfalls for game. The people say that now the Government and the Siem of Nongstoin have prohibited both of these methods of destroying game, they no longer employ them. But I came across a pitfall for deer not long ago in the neighbourhood of a village in the Lyngngam country. The people declared it to be a very old one; but this I very much doubt, and I fear that these objectionable methods of hunting are still used. The Lyngngam fish to a small extent with nets, but their idea of fishing, *par excellence*, is poisoning the streams, an account of which has already been given in this monograph. The Lyngngam are omnivorous feeders, they may be said to eat everything except dogs, snakes, the *hulok* monkey, and lizards. They like rice, when they can get it; for sometimes the out-turn of their fields does not last them more than a few months. They then have to fall back on *Jobstears* and millet. They eat arum largely, and for vegetables they cook wild plantains and the young shoots of bamboos and cane plants. The Lyngngam are divided up into exogamous clans in the same manner as the Khasis. The clans are overgrown families. The Lyngngam have some stories regarding the founders of these clans, of which the following is a specimen:—"A woman was asleep under a *sukhar* tree in the jungle, a flower from which fell on her, and she conceived and bore a female child who was the ancestress of the Nongsukhar clan." Some of the stories of the origins of other clans do not bear repeating. There do not appear to be any hypergamous groups. As with the Khasis, it is a deadly sin to

552, many any one belonging to your own fan, or clan. Unlike the
617 Khasis, however, a Lyngam can marry two women at a time.
The Lyngam marriages are arranged by *kinsmen* or go-betweens,
675 much in the same way as Khasi marriages; but the ritual
339 observed is less elaborate, and shows a mixture of Khasi and
346 Garo customs (see Section III). The Lyngams intermarry
with the Garos. It appears that sometimes the parents of girls
587 elect bride-money, and marriages by capture have been heard
of. Both of these customs are more characteristic of the Bodo
369 tribes of the plains than of the Khasis. There are no special birth
732 rites, as with the Khasis, except that when the umbilical cord
353 falls a fowl is sacrificed, and the child is brought outside the
house. Children are named without any special ceremony.
764 The death customs of the Lyngams have been described in
Section III. A peculiar characteristic is the keeping of the
dead body in the house for days, sometimes even for several
months, before it is buried. The putrefying corpse inside the
house seems to cause these people no inconvenience, for
while it remains there, they eat, carry on their ordinary
avocations, and sleep there, regardless of what would be
718 considered by others an intolerable nuisance. The religion of
these people consists of a mixture of ancestor-worship and the
propitiation of the spirits of hill and fall, which are, most of them,
believed to be of evil influence, as is the case with other savage
776 races. As with the people of Sangtam, the principal
782 ceremony, "*ko lam lai*," is worshipped for the welfare of the
clan, a cow being sacrificed to Ief, with a gourd of rice-beer, and
leaves of the sak, or *dimpening* tree. The leaves of the sak are
afterwards hung up inside the house, together with the jaw-bone
of the pig. Sacrifices are offered to a forest demon, *U Bangjang*
(a god who brings illness), by the roadside; also to *Ko*
Ninny Bylli U Mejpome, the god of cultivation, at seed time,
on the path to the forest clearing where the seed is sown.
Models of paddy river-leaves, baskets and agricultural imple-
ments are made, seed being used to indicate the grain. These are
placed by the roadside, the skulls of the sacrificial animals and
the feathers of fowls being hung up on bamboos about the place
793 where the sacrifice has been performed. There are no priests or
796 *lyngdoks*, the fathers of the hamlet performing the various cere-
monies.

If other alternative being made all the patterns involved have been noted, the agreement divided is so finally completed with the ceremony mentioned. It was mentioned above, what rights for the religious cult are to be found in the lot of the clan section. The little bamboo platted of bamboo cane, which is considered the special seat of the divine ancestors of the clan, /Clan/ is not divided, /Sib/ another, similar basket is made. In sacrifice of grass and pigs, these divisions are then arranged so that a part of them may take up their dwelling in this basket for the protection of the newly constructed clan. If the sacrificial priest can announce the agreement of the deceased spirits with the division from the oracle of the entrails and by egg throwing, then this basket is brought to the new clan hut. On another day one of the two bamboo poles is then taken to the new hut with further sacrifices. Each of the two separated parties must fetch a new pole to go with the other one. In a like way the existent sacrificial vessels, such as the baskets, cups, and good bowls are divided. With this ceremony the agreements made about the division of the other property are considered legally existent. Each party now goes its own way independent of the other. Certain relationships of kinship and kinship still remain in existence. However, the law of marriage, which otherwise would make impossible the marriage between members of the same family clan without regard to the degree of relationship, is no longer in existence.

If, as the conversion of one part of the members of the clan to the Christian religion, the division of property can be accomplished legally, it is better to insist on it. The members who have become Christian are more easily protected from disadvantageous treatment. Even if they should take part of the fields for themselves to separate management, the part of the clan that remained heathen could demand this back years later. Enmity, hate, and revenge would then follow. Without the formal ceremony combined with the sacrifices mentioned a Khasi does not recognize a division as legal. Since Christians cannot participate in such a sacrificial ceremony, there is nothing to do other than to have this ceremony undertaken while those seeking to be baptized are still catechumens. Before they are accepted then into the church by baptism, the heathen cult objects that were brought into the clan hut must be removed. "To /Sib/ this most important ceremony, "the missionary of the Synteng territory, P. Benedikt Heber S.D.S., once related, "I usually went myself if it was possible for me to or sent a European clerk of the Order. Thereby the ceremony acquired a great deal

[[See category 16, pp 4,5 — Analysis]]

By Gordon G-3 (no date) 1106 AB? Khoei AB?

(ii) It is sexy to use nails in fixing the timber of a house. 784

(iii) The digon, or boomerang, should be made of one kind of timber only.

(iv) To build a house with unknown timber ('nah ikhoei). Only the Khoei's family may use such timber.

(v) To cut trees from the sacred forest.

(vi) To take or give anything with the left hand.

(vii) To step over the body of any person.

(viii) To kill a fowl or a goat without throwing first rice over the body of the victim.

(ix) To drink the milk of a cow or goat.

(x) To talk with any man, except with those who are working together, when the thrashing of paddy is going on.

(xi) Not to give fire or water when anyone demands the same.

(xii) A twin birth is sexy. It is a more serious matter even than sexy if the twins are of opposite sexes.

There are rules of sexy regarding marriages within prohibited degrees of relationship, and there is a very stringent rule of sexy against marrying within the kor, or clan. Those who do this are excommunicated and their house or saloon are not allowed to be placed in the family mausoleum. To marry within the same kor, or clan, is the greatest crime a Khoei can commit. 784 281.

There are special rules of sexy affecting certain families, e.g., for the clan *Ringthibing* to eat a certain kind of leaves, for the clan *Khoeiwood* to eat pork, for the Chorus Kom's family to eat dry fish, for the family of the Kom of Wyllem to eat the pumpkin. Possibly, these taboos may be rules of totemism in these families. 784 [illegible]

14. *The Thiw superstition.*—The following sexiest account of this interesting superstition appeared on page 104, paragraph 10, of the *Amow Gazette* of the 5th August 1998. I do not think I can do better than repeat it here: "The tradition is that there was once in a cave over Chorwapuji a gigantic snake, or *Thiw*, who consumed great horse among men and animals. At last one man, bolder than his fellows, took with him a load of grain and sat himself down by the cave and offered them one by one to the Thiw. By degrees the monster became friendly, and learnt to open his mouth at a word from the man, to receive the lump of food which was then thrown in. When confidence was thoroughly established, the man heated a lump of iron red hot in a furnace, induced the snake at the usual signal, to open his mouth, and then threw in the red hot lump, and so killed him. He then cut up the body and sent pieces in every direction, with orders that the people were to eat them. Wherever the order was 773

Khar Dumpey. These three clans—Khar Dohling, Khar Dumpey and Khar Sohsah cannot intermarry on account of their common ancestry. U Kleson, the sister's husband of U Sohbah Rai is of Khar Dumpey clan and furnished me with the above details. He stated that his ancestress married a man of the old settler clans of Mawphlang and came to her husband's village. This man, being of the Khadar Kur, could build a house and cultivate land from the community holding. The property thus acquired passed to the daughters; and gradually the clan Khar Dumpey grew more numerous, and acquired rights in the Ri Raid like an old clan. [Genealogy XIII].

(d) The family of the first wife of U Gongning furnishes another illustration. The woman Ka Li came with her widowed mother from Cherra. The father had been a Syntong from Jowai. The girl has been married by U Bohan, who is a member of one of the old settler clans. He has built a house for his family and made an excellent potato garden out of the common land for the maintenance of his wife and children. They will inherit it from him according to the usual Khasi custom. [Genealogy XIII].

[77-] (e) U Roberts who is a Syntong of Jowai, and a Christian by religion (Genealogy V) came to Mawphlang in 1920-21 and after a couple of years married a non-Christian Khasi girl by Khasi rites thereby losing his membership of the church. He cultivated Ri Raid land when he stayed with his wife's mother Ka Sharai [Genealogy V]. This woman is of Khar Sohsah clan. One of her ancestresses, came to Mawphlang only a few generations ago, and married a man of the old clans. Her descendants have thereby obtained the privilege of cultivating Ri Raid. U Roberts has divorced his wife and no longer possesses this right. He now works as a tailor in the village, and lives with a friend near the bazaar.

614 (f) Gurdon has suggested that the large number of clans having Khar as the first part of the name of the Kur have originated from ancestresses who were carried off from the plains

[p. 33]

CHAPTER IV

The Khasi marriage prohibitions may now be discussed in some detail. The rules regarding levirate and sororate have already been noted. The Khasi is also exogamous with regard to his Kur. This bar extends to clans derived from the same ancestry. A Khasi cannot also marry his father's brother's daughter, or his father's father's brother's daughter. He cannot marry his mother's brother's daughter as long as this uncle is alive but may do so after the death of this relative. He cannot also marry his father's sister's daughter as long as the father is alive but may marry her after the death of his father. Gordon remarks that even then "such unions are looked upon with disfavour by Khasis. In the War country, such marriages are totally prohibited."

It has been noted in the previous chapter, that the basic unit of Khasi society is the house where the children are born and where the women stay all their lives and with which the men also are connected intimately even when they go elsewhere on marriage. It has also been observed that the authority is vested entirely in the men. The women have various rights not found in many patriloneal groups; but it would be a mistake to underestimate the position of the men in the house. The father is the head of his small family—the simple family consisting of himself, his wife and the children. He is also the person in authority over his sisters' households in matters affecting the extended family as opposed to the simple family. Although his own children, and the children born in his natal house are distinguished on accounts of their social and economic differentiation, nevertheless, they are, to a certain extent, both like children to

him. His own brothers again, are to him his successors in the permanent rights, which are linked with the house of birth. Their bones all return to the common memory of ancestral home. Apparently, this close association of the brothers with the house of birth is responsible for the rule that children of brothers cannot marry. If we formulate the prohibitions from the standpoint of the woman, we can get a clear idea of their significance.

A Khasi woman cannot marry her father's brother's son; nor even the son of this cousin. Again, a Khasi woman cannot marry her father's sister's son during the life-time of her father; but may do so after his death. As we know, the father's death and return of the bones cross the link of the children and their mother with the father's house of birth. The women who safeguard and maintain the Khasi religious traditions, will thereafter raise no objection to the marriage of a woman of their house with the father's sister's son, who is now no longer closely related and is a man of another house merely. But the case is different with the other cross-cousin. A woman cannot marry her mother's brother's son, even after the death of that uncle, without incurring odium. In the War country, such a marriage is not permissible even after the uncle's death. We know that the relation with the mother's brother is not severed either at marriage or at death. The links are maintained even after death. His bones come back and rest in the memory of the house and the clan of his women relatives. The decease of this uncle does not therefore place his son in the category of a person with whom the formerly existing bond has been broken. We may sum up the distinction as follows :—

In the case of the father's sister's son, the death of the father breaks the link between a woman and her cousin in the other house, as neither of the parents of that male cousin were born in the house or extended family of the woman. In the case of the mother's brother's son, the father of that cousin is of the woman's own house and one with whom the bond endures even

after death. In the first case the house of the male-cousin's parent will not rest in the memory of the girl's house. In the second case, the house of one parent of the male cousin will rest there.

The restrictions on cross-cousin marriage, and the difference in the two cases, bring out the importance of the house of birth and of the women who preserve the continuity of the Khasi religious traditions in this house. From the women's standpoint, the bar on intermarriage of children of sisters is absolute. Their house will rest in the same memory after death in every case. The limitations on marriage of cross-cousins, who are of different households are less strict, the degree depending on the closeness of the link with the house of birth of the women concerned.

The prohibition of marriage of parallel cousins born of two brothers is based on a similar reason. Stress is laid by men on the unity of brothers, just as the women stress the unity of sisters. The rights in property and common or practically common residence, and the custodianship of the "religion" unite the latter. The authority and other rights already noted, unite the brothers in similar fashion. They also are in a sense guardians of the "religion." It is true that they marry in different households; but the bond that links them together and with the natal house is not broken thereby. We have seen that they retain the links and rights during life. Also, on death, they all return to the house of birth, in the repository of bones, and eventually are united with all men born in their house and the houses that have preceded it, in the same Kur. (This unity of the men and separation from the women is observed in the placing of the bones for the two sexes at every stage of the bone disposal rites.) Their children will therefore be linked always to this house through the bones of their fathers.

The recognition of the permanent bond linking the members of the natal house is, therefore, here also the important factor in prohibiting intermarriage between their children.

Hodson has suggested that the prohibition of marriage of parallel cousins was the result of an earlier dual stage of Khasi

§ 82 society. He states "In a dual society the children of two brothers are commonly so closely related as to be unable to marry. This prohibition takes no straight to the dual days. It survives—because—if it does not directly promote—it does not impede the great social necessity which arises when a multiple society develops from a dual society, the necessity of giving wives to and getting wives from the new groups. The children of two brothers are called pure Kin because they are kins on the male side."

The prohibition of marriage of a woman with the father's brother's son's son is ascribed to the necessity of prohibiting "a marriage which originated and was maintained by the dual system." Hodson explains that under dual organisation and matrilineal descent a man's F.F.B.D. would be of the opposite moiety and married to a man classed as mother's brother. Among Gurs a man married his mother's brother's widow and also her daughter under the sororate system for control of property." "Kinship custom definitely forbids a marriage which is the pivot of the Gurs system which rests on the maintenance of the dual interest in the estate. This dual control would obviously be difficult to maintain against the pressure of competing groups which results from the development from a dual basis to a multiple basis." The rules regarding cross-cousin marriage are also ascribed by him to the break-up of the dual system. Hodson did not consider it necessary to distinguish the actual cross-cousin and mother's brother and father's sister from the classificatory kin of that status. He states that the distinction between the two kinds of cross-cousin marriage could not be drawn until "the dual system had ceased to operate, since so long as it flourished, the wife of the mother's brother would be the father's sister." His explanation of the prohibitions is that they "facilitate, may be intended to facilitate and may survive because they facilitate marriages with men of class other than those of the two, to which the parents belong." Hodson fails to realise that there is no evidence of preferential mating of cross-cousins in the past,

among Khasis. Even the Garos whom he cites apparently as representing a type of social organisation which the Khasis had earlier, do not encourage marriage with the father's sister's daughter. There is also no evidence that a Khasi ever married his mother's brother's widow. As I have shown earlier, the marriage prohibitions regarding cross-cousins can be explained on the basis of existing social and economic forces in Khasi society. The rule regarding exclusion of the F.B.Z.Z merely states that a woman cannot marry the son of her para Kha. It is not a new prohibition.

We may now state the reasons why a Khasi calls his father's brothers by the same term as father, and the wives of these uncles, as mother, using of course a qualifying term for seniority and juniority. As noted before, a Khasi boy or girl calls his mother's sister's children brothers and sisters. He avoids them strictly in marriage. They are not like cross-cousins, marriageable under certain circumstances. Any sexual approach towards them would have led in the old days to exile and also excommunication. The children of the father's brother are similarly excluded from the category of marriageable persons. They are like brothers and sisters, and as such are addressed as Bah, Hep and Kong. They are referred to as Para Kha. As Hodson observes, the term Para conveys, when used as a prefix, the idea of having common rights or status. It also means, when used by itself, a younger brother or sister. The term Kha refers to relation (by birth) through a male. It is used for example in the combination Bah Kha, which denotes both variaties of cross-cousins, the children of the mother's brother, as well as the father's sister. A Khasi man (and) woman has already another set of parallel cousins who are sexually tabooed. Their parents are given terms denoting the father and mother, with certain modifications. As the children of the father's brothers are also sexually tabooed, it would be natural to extend to them the terms used for the parents of the other group of non-marriageable cousins.

14:Roy I-5 (no date) 1938 AR7 Khasi AR7

For the species to increase and continue he says, Here—

The mother to bear and give birth—	—	The son of others	The aunt *ka nia kha* (father's sister)	Ia Ib

156 601 611

For the house to continue and the world to remain he says, Here—

The aunt *ka nia kha* (father's sister)	—	The son *u khun kha* (son of brother of *ka nia kha*)	The cousin *ka kakha* (daughter of *ka nia kha*) father's sister)	Ib IIa

For the person (*rapiew*) to crystalise, and the stature (*ryniong*) to remain he says, Here—

father's mother (*ka kmie kha*) —	The son *u khun kha* (son of brother of *ka nia kha*, who is grandson of *ka kmie kha* (father's mother)	The cousin *ka para kha* (daughter of father's brother)	Ib IIIa

The Khasi knows the 'sang' (*sacru*, sacred, that which is forbidden as sacred). He has experimented and therefore he says *ka sang iap* (*lit.*, that which is 'sacred' or forbidden or taboo unto death) in the case of those who committed incest in the same *jaid*, kind, species, that is, those of the *a* group. It is sacrilege. There is no greater punishment than for this sin,—a punishment so severe that the Khasi will not permit the bones of these transgressors to enter the family cairn. Similarly they regard as an act of sacrilege for children of brothers (*shi para kha*) to inter-marry. Thus the Khasi regards as 'sacred', that is, forbidden or tabooed, for those who are sprung of or connected through the same womb, and for those who are generated of and are suspended from or strung to one umbilical cord in origin, to marry. That is they regard as *sang* for the *a+b* man—woman group to marry the *b* son. [see Tables (1) & (2)].

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14:Roy 1-5 (no date) 1938 AR7 Khasi AR7

582 The Khasi knows the 'byrsieh'. The word *byr* means 'to appear', and, *sieh* means foul, thus *byrsieh* means to defile or corrupt; and '*tep*' means cover, *byrtep* means to cover, to spread over. Hence *ka byrsieh ka byrtep* means something which spreads over and makes everything foul, defiled and corrupt. Khasis regard marriage even in the case of cousins as not the right thing (*lit.*, not good), the *khun kha* (son of the son) that is the *b* son and his sister to give the seed to the house of his *kmie kha* (mother of the son, i.e. father's mother), that is, the house of the *a* group. Thus [824] no seed, e.g., seed of trees, rice, cucumber, pumkins, *shriw* or Job's tears, or millet, are taken from the children of the son by the family of the mother of that son, that is, no seed is taken from the children (*ki khun kha*) born of the son by his mother and sisters. Any seed given by these grand-children born of the brothers must be paid for if taken by his mother and sisters.

Thus Khasis do not consider that it is good for children of the brothers to marry the children of the sisters, though they are cousins, i.e. for III (a) to marry II(a). They believe that there will be misfortune and that they will not thrive. They consider it is better that the brother of II(a) marries the sister of III(a). In the case of these nearest cousins, however, they avoid such marriages so long as I (b), the father who is the uncle of II(a) is alive. [Table (3)]

Khasis do not consider it the right thing (regard it as 'bad') for the elder or younger brother of the wife to marry the elder or younger sister of

14: Roy I-5 (no date) 1938 AR7 Khasi AR7

the husband. Whichever side is *jem ka rwiang* 582
(*lit.* whose person is less strong, less able to resist the evil) will suffer death. The word *rwiang* means more than literally 'fortune.' The word *rwiang* goes with *rngiew* and the two are coupled together as *ka Rngiew ka Rwiang*. *Rngiew* is the person, the man's 'ama'. '*Rwiang*' is the encircling power produced by that person, hence *jem ka rwiang* means the power encircling the man's person becoming easy of being conquered or subdued. (*Jem* = easy, pliable.)

In a word, the Khasi's idea of himself is that he 156
stands in the middle of the world. We do not 601
find terms in the languages of peoples with the family system to express varieties of relationship to the extent that we have in the Khasi vocabulary. Some of the other languages content themselves with terms for father, mother, uncle, aunt, cousin. They have no words to differentiate the classificatory-descriptive system of terms showing relationship with mother, mother's elder and younger sistere (*mei, mei san, mei nah*); father and his elder and younger brothers (*kpa, kpa san, kap nah*) and father's brother's children (*para kha*), father's mother (*mei kha*), mother's mother (*mei rad,*) wife's brother (*kynum*), husband's brother (*kong*), and so on. We find in the Khasi sociology, departments of 156
social organization indicating the attitude towards 829
life which is peculiar to the Khasi. The terms are 601
not mere names but serve to show well-defined groups based on an idea of their special functions. As Dr. R. R. Marett says, "Exogamy, and everything 121

14:Roy I-5 (no date) 1938 AR7 Khasi AR7

else that we do is instinct with a *plus*; and for the student of religion or of human culture in any of its forms, to account for that *plus* is the sum and substance of his task.....Whereas, then, there is likelihood that any *a posteriori* reason existed for believing that in-breeding makes for sterility, if indeed it be true in fact at all, there might well have been an *a priori* conviction to much the same effect based simply on a fear that to tamper with the fountain-head of human vitality would somehow cause it to dry up." The Khasi stands in the world as exogamous in his rule of life, and he says '*sang bad byrsieh*', that is, endogamy is forbidden and if it should ever be committed it will render life defiled and corrupt. He says this out of the fear of the knowledge that any act of carelessness in the prohibited area of the source of human life and vitality, which is in the Khasi phrase '*long briw*' (*long* is to be or become, *briew* is man, i.e., to be or become man), will make that source of human life to dry up. So he says, 'duh I jaid I khong' (*duh*=is exterminated; *jaid*=kind, species; *khong*=root).

In refutation of such aspersions as that the Khasi has no rules of marriage, I shall quote the most sacred pronouncement the Khasi when two persons, the man and the woman, are initiated into that state. Calling upon the name of God the Khasi says—"*U Lei thaw briew man briw, u' Lei ne ka 'Lei synshar'*, (God who creates man and is the source of human life, God who keeps, controls, preserves), "*Hei ko Blei na jrong, Ko*

14: Roy I-5 (no date) 1938 AR7 Khasi AR7

Blei na tbian, ko Lei Synshar, Ko Blei triw, man briw, kumba la hukum kumba bhu ma phi U Blei ka Blei ban long I Kha I man, kumba la pynhiar ka synjat mynta ka sgni, ba phin tip, ba phin sngew na jrong ho kyndiang ba ita I jaid bad ita I jaid ki la iapoi kha poi man ban iaroi ban ia man ban ia heh ka long kynthei ka long shynrang', Oh God from above, oh God from below, Thou God who controllest, who keepest and preservest, Thou God who createst man and the origin and source of human life,—as ordained by Thee, Oh God, U Blei (God in the male aspect), Ka Blei (God in the female aspect) that there should be *I Kha* (person to bear and give birth) *I man* (person with whom and through whom to give cause to life and to grow), as token has been brought down this day, [a ring is given], so that Thou mayest hear clearly from above, that such and such *jaid* (kind, clan) and such and such a *jaid* (kind, clan) have become joined in marriage in order to increase, in order to grow, so as to increase the state of being female and the state of being male (i. e. male and female population)." [This is said as a woman of a certain clan always marries a man of a different clan.] As I have said elsewhere, "There is no tradition among the Khasis that there was ever a time when the status of marriage did not exist among our ancestors. There is a belief among the Khasis that they were instructed in their religion and that their ceremonies and rites were delivered by God Himself to the

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

necessary. The chances of acquiring a piece of land nowadays are small, except for very successful men, and usually the size of the plot is only just enough to maintain one household. When this land is passed on to the next generation, the youngest daughter will hold the title to it. This fact tends to exclude married elder sisters from the right to use the land, since it is not sufficient for more than one household. Thus the ultimogeniture succession rule seems to have developed more sharply and to have encouraged limited inheritance in conjunction with the shortage of land. 178 423 428

This tendency creates unbalance in the economy of the households within a community. It is a usual picture in Khasi villages, for the bigger and well-built houses to be occupied by the youngest daughter's family, while the elder sisters reside in poor huts. Youngest daughters are usually landowners, while their elder sisters have often to become day-labourers after their marriage, unless their husbands are capable men, or their fathers wealthy enough to give them some share of their acquired property. On the whole, the variations at present between rich and poor are considerable in a Khasi community, in comparison with that of the Garo, where the economic condition of each household in a village is more or less similar. These differences are not only a matter of economic organization but arise from the nature of each social structure. 178 184 423 428 556 [171]

The economic and social patterns of Sohkynduh and Kongton are very similar, but their dialects are slightly different: my interpreter, who came from Cherrapunje, could work quite well at Sohkynduh, but at Kongton he found some difficulty, especially with the speech of the old men, and with their religious expressions. The head man of Kongton, who was quite accustomed to the Cherra dialect, acted as an interpreter for us. Such differences in dialect in the Khasi Hills are common phenomena; it is said that every valley has its own dialect. Differences are found not only in speaking, but also, to a certain extent, in culture and in social usages. 197 [124]

II. Village Endogamy

One of the outstanding features of Khasi social organization is the predominant tendency of endogamy on the level of the village, which contrasts with the structural orientation of the Garo village exogamy. This is closely connected with the distributions of clans and the nature of the descent groups. 582 621 [171]

The Khasi population consists of a number of *kur*, matrilineal clans, whose members consider themselves to be descended from a common ancestress. The members of the same *kur* have a common 614 [765] [769]

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

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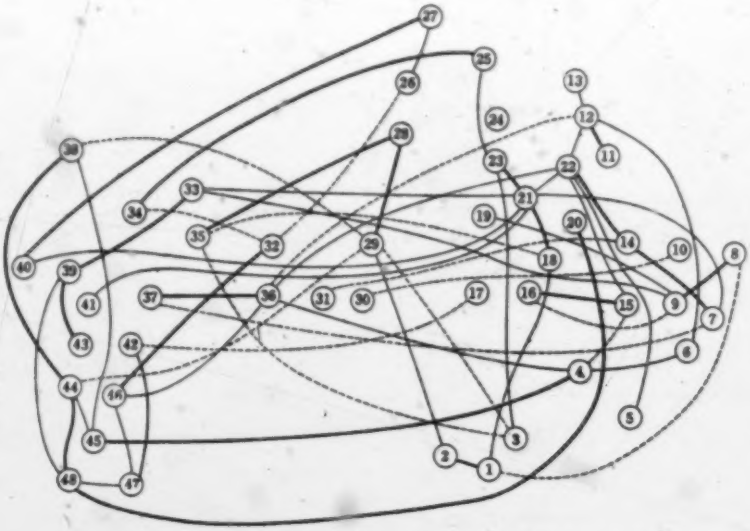

FIG. 10. — *Kinship and Household Location in Sohkynduh.*
——— Matrilineal kinships relations among household-owners;
——— Affinal relations (direct) among household-members;
- - - - - Affinal relations (indirect) among household-members.

particular two families are not restricted to one, but may be accumulated two or three, though I omitted to indicate these in Fig. 10.

582 There are some extensions of marriage relations with members
591 outside the village. In Sohkynduh, out of 88 (48 houseowners and
61 40 their husbands) 13 men and 2 women came from neighbouring
621 villages. Owing to the predominant uxorilocal arrangement, those
628 who came in from outside the village were mostly men. By these members, five different *kur*, new to Sohkynduh, were found, as shown in List 7 (17-21). Most of these outsiders came from villages inside the Kadashinong, or villages no further than a day's journey there and back. This area might be called a secondary endogamous area, and includes more than half a dozen villages. In Kongton, 20 husbands and 3 women came from neighbouring villages by their marriages. The secondary endogamous areas of Kongton and of Sohkynduh are not the same but they overlap in certain places, the surrounding areas being centred on each village. There were, by December 1955, no instances of direct marriage between these two villages.

184 There are a few exceptions to local endogamy, such as those
582 individuals who have become Christians and are educated in towns
621 like Shillong or Cherrapunjee. They usually move to a town, seeking
[795]

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

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some clerical work. However, such instances are very rare in these regions and few Christians are to be found among the people. So far as my genealogical table accounts for, only two boys from Sohkynduh, and one girl and one boy from Kongton, left for Shillong, and married there. In contrast to these exceptional cases in these villages, in the upland Khasi Hills, there are considerable changes in the composition of a village with high geographical and social mobility of population because of the spread of Christian education and urban influence.

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The people of the two villages say that marriages with outside people were not formally practised, and were only a recent tendency. However, the composition of the population of the two villages showed extensive movements of population in the past (not to urban areas, but from village to village). Such movement is attributed mostly to migration by a family rather than by an individual on marriage. This type of migration is clearly found also in the process of the formation of Jatinga village (see Appendix, Jatinga).

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The composition of the village community and the social characteristics of Sohkynduh and Kongton show very similar features of village endogamy. They seem to be typical of the traditional pattern of Khasi villages. Village endogamy is the intrinsic pattern among the Khasis. This fact can be also observed to a considerable degree in Shella and Jatinga.

[P. 116 is blank]

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

601 term *mama* for mother's brother designates as well mother's mother's
[171] brother. 3) Terms for mother's sister *(kmie)* and father's sister *(ñia)* are different; and, needless to say, father's brother is called *kpa*, not *kñi*. 4) Mother's mother *(meirad)* is differentiated from father's mother *(meikha)*, though the grandfathers on both sides are termed *parad*.

• 582 As regards cross-cousin marriage, which, as we have seen, was an
601 essential part of Garo social structure, the Khasi have no institutional
[171] arrangements. The cross-cousin distinction is indeed found in the Khasi kinship terminology. Among those who are called *para* (sibling), an additional term is applied to cross-cousins (both matrilateral and patrilateral). They are called *bakha*. However, this additional cross-cousin term should not be considered as indicating a preference
[171] for cross-cousin marriage. This is structurally different from that of the Iroquois type discussed in terms of Garo kinship terminology, in which a prescrived cross-cousin marriage is involved. The term *para* (sibling) is more often used for them than *bakha*.[1] Actually, among the Khasi there is no preference for cross-cousin marriage; indeed there are even indications to the contrary, in that marriage with the mother's brother's daughter is not allowed during the life-time of the maternal uncle. In the same way, marriage with the father's sister's daughter is not allowed during the life-time of the father.

582 In fact, the Khasi have numerous prohibitions of marriages between near kin on both paternal as well as maternal sides. The first and second parallel cousins are avoided. Those related to father within three generations are avoided. Within such a framework of marriage prohibitions, the use of a special additional term for cross-cousins is an indication of marriageable relatives within the framework of prohibition. This should not be considered to indicate a marriageable member in an active sense or a preference for cross-cousin marriage.

However, such marriages do sometimes appear in my census; for example, a man may have married a woman who is the sister of his brother's wife, or of his sister's husband. Thus sometimes between two descent groups there are more than two exchanges of men. But such relations are temporary and would terminate after one or two
582 generations. There is no structural continuity. My censuses of four Khasi villages do show some tendency to marriages between two
614 specific *kur*, but I consider this to be largely accidental. When the choice of an individual is random, but one or two *kur* are larger than the others, it will naturally follow that there will be a high frequency

[171] 1. Such use of the dual terminology is also found among the Zuni and the Trukese, (see the discussion, in pp. 154-155).

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

of marriages between these two *kur*. Such marriage arrangements cannot be regarded as constituting a cross-cousin institution. From my data of four villages it was not possible to produce any institutionalized pattern. 582 614

In general, the selection of a marital partner depends mainly on personal choice, though the authority of the *iing* (descent group) and parents should be consulted. The man proposes to the girl. The network of marriage relations among the Khasi seems in no way to follow any set principle. Every marriage is likely to be fortuitous: it is ruled simply by temporary personal liking, except for the strict rule of exogamy and the avoidance of near kin.

Exogamy is strictly kept. In the olden days breaking this rule was equivalent to being sentenced to death. Offenders had their heads shaved in a particular way and had to leave the Khasi community completely. Even now such a marriage is considered as the worst kind of sin; a Khasi Christian intellectual said to me that it was worse than homicide. I came across one couple who had broken this rule. Though they had different *kur* names, both *kur* were segments of one common *kur*. It happened in Jatinga, one of the most modern Khasi communities whose inhabitants were all Christians. The couple were not allowed to have their house inside the village. Their house was in the jungle about one mile away from the village. 178 582 614 684

Successive sororate marriage—marriage to a younger sister of the late wife—is practised, since it justifies the widower in remaining in the same household as his children after his wife's death. Otherwise, the Khasi rule demands that he should leave the house and his children in order to remarry another woman. We shall deal with this aspect again in terms of marriage. 587

II. Principle of Descent and Succession

Previously I have mentioned the *kpoh*, the matrilineal kin group with a common great grandmother. This is not, however, an institutional corporate descent group. The most important functional descent unit is called *iing*. The *iing* is the lowest order of clan segmentation, smaller than the *kpoh*—a *kpoh* may include two or more *iing*. The generation depth of an *iing* is usually two to four, in some cases an *iing* is formed only by mother and child. The Khasi consider this unit to be the most important social index for the classification of individuals. Marriages are arranged by individual *iing*, not by wider groups of kinsmen. The *iing* is the structurally significant norm. The term *iing* is also used for a house building itself, as is the *nok* of the Garo. However, the membership of the *iing*, as I shall 613

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7
Garo AR5

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tion of the matrilineal system (see Nakane, 1958/B and 1962). In comparison with the Ashanti, the Khasi or the Trobriand type gain considerable stability by sacrificing either *A* or *B* line, which is one of the possible ways of preserving the matrilineal system along with the practice of co-habitation of the married couple.

Another solution of the conflicting situation in such a society is the practice of cross-cousin marriage, as in the case of the Ashanti, which brings two conflicting factors together, the matrilineage and the family of procreation. In this case, the cross-cousin marriage tends to take place between the first cross-cousins centred around each man. Fortes states, "Cross-cousin marriage most often occurs between the children of full siblings or of uterine first cousins . . . cross-cousin marriage offers a possibility of reconciling the conflicting influences of conjugal, parental, and matrilineal kinship ties" (1950, p. 282). This is quite different from the cross-cousin marriage of the Garo, because among the latter, the cross-cousin marriage being practised as the basis of the whole structure of society, it makes no difference whether a cross-cousin is first or classificatory. In the case of the Ashanti and other matrilineal systems of a similar type, such as the Mayombe and the Kongo, it is considered most desirable to enter into a first cross-cousin marriage; classificatory cross-cousin marriage, such as among the Garo, does not make much sense. Moreover, the cases of cross-cousin marriage tend to take place among comparatively wealthy members in a society (see Rattray, 1927, Chapter XXIX). If one has no property in the Ashanti type society, then cross-cousin marriage has not much meaning. 9
[582]

The cross-cousin marriage of matrilineal systems has been often referred to as being the solution to the conflicting situations of a man as a husband and as a brother. I suggest here that this can be applied to the matrilineal system of the Ashanti type; not to those of the Khasi type where men have already given up the role of forming the central core of the matrilineage. In these societies, the solution is already given through the sacrifice of one line. There are no conflicting economic factors, though men are still in a situation of social conflict between their matrilineage and family of procreation. This hypothesis is confirmed empirically by the fact that there are no prescribed or preferential cross-cousin marriages among the Khasi, the Hopi, the Zuni, the Trukese and the Negri Sembilan Malay,[1] where a man is not in economic conflict with his matrilineage and family of procreation. His nephews are already outside his economic K
[582]

1. "In arranging marriages the preference is for someone 'near'. As cross-cousins are the nearest possible naturally a large number of these marriages occur . . . This preference, however, is not explicitly institutionalised . . ." (Swift, 1958, p. 156).

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

621 descent grouping are often different. This is a very similar pattern to the
[184] mobility which I discussed in Sohkynduh and Kongton (see p. 112).

One of the outstanding features in this community is the strong paternal
178 authority, established especially in the first generation, because the father's
593 (husband's) contribution was very important in such circumstances: their domestic units were completely independent from the *iing* either of husband
61 or wife. Some of them came with their wives, and many younger ones and their sons brought their wives from their homeland afterwards, thus practising
621 virilocal marriage.

They have an interesting social usage which reflects the importance of the husband of the first generation. This is the addition of the name of the husband of the first generation to the matrilineal clan name in order to differentiate each particular descent group established at Jatinga within the same clan. For instance, Rupsi-Tah, Rupsi-Loh, Rupsi-Khla and Rupsi-Lati are found in the Rupsi clan. Rupsi-Tah is one of the lines of the first immigrants to Jatinga, which I have mentioned as Rupsi: Tah was taken from Pryntah, the husband of Sintu (Rupsi) (see p. 171). Thus the present inhabitants of Jatinga are very conscious of their father or grandfather, though they strictly follow the matrilineal descent rule. From such a usage of naming a clan, the Indian officer, who gave me some information about Jatinga before I went there, made the mistaken deduction that they had changed from matrilineal to patrilineal, assuming this to have come about as a result of the influence of patrilineal tribes around Jatinga. But this is simply due to the fact, firstly, that they hold in high regard the man of the first generation, because of his great contribution; secondly, that they distinguish themselves from members of the same clan according to the descent group established at each immigration; in other words, it indicates each *iing* grouping in the village.

178 The fundamental Khasi social organization based on the matrilineal system did not change at all. I could observe in Jatinga exactly the same principle
184 in action as I had found in Sohkynduh and Kongton. The village endogamy has also been well established in the present generation: there are about 20 dif-
• 582 ferent clans which can intermarry, and taking a spouse from an outside com-
61 munity has become very rare nowadays. Marriage patterns in relation to the *iing* structure and all its related aspects are surprisingly similar to that of the
621 communities in the Khasi Hills. The solidarity of the *iing* is even greater in Jatinga, particularly among the rich, because of the greater accumulation of wealth and greater economic activity, which also increases the authority of the *iing* as manager of considerable property—this was also the case with the Shella people. Jatinga demonstrates that in spite of colonization and of a significant change in economic activities, Khasi social organization has maintained itself intact. This situation is in contrast with the considerable social changes observed among the Garo community in colonial areas like Rinsibara and Joshipara.

621 ### *Intermarriage.*

178 From the earliest period of the establishment of Jatinga up to the present,
582 some changing aspects of marriage patterns relating to intermarriages are to be observed.

563 As I stated before, in the earlier period, the people used to bring their spouses from their homeland, but they also married neighbouring tribal peoples, namely,
563 the Zemi-Naga, the Kuki and the Cacharee of villages close to Jatinga, and also the Lushai, the Bengalee, the Moslem and the Anglo-Indian who lived
621 in Haflong, the biggest political and commercial centre in the Hills, situated

ing from the time it consists of an elementary family until it grows to a local descent group four generations deep. [Cf. Chattopadhyay 1941.] **Kin terminology.** The terms of address given below are also terms of reference except where otherwise indicated, and are uniform for male and female speakers. They were collected in an upland Khasi village near Shillong (cf. Ehrenfels 1953 for some regional variants). [114]

Fa	*pa*
Mo	*mei*
FaElBr	*pasan*
FaYoBr	*pakhynnah*
FaSi	*kha*
Fa youngest Si	*khaduh*
MoElSi	*meisan*
MoYoSi	*meinah*
Mo youngest Si	*meiduh*
MoElBr	*mama, kni*
MoYoBr	*bah* (ref.: *kni*)
ElBr	*bah khynnah*
Eldest Br	*kong bah*
YoBr	*bah deng*
Youngest Br	*bah duh*
ElSi	*deng*
Eldest Si	*lud, kong*
YoSi	*lud nah, lud rit*
Youngest Si	*khatduh*
MoSiSo, MoSiDa	*para* (ref.: *para ar kmie*)
FaBrSo, FaBrDa	*para* (ref.: *parakha*)
MoBrSo, MoBrDa, FaSiSo, FaSiDa	*bakha*

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY. **Mode.** According to the traditional courtship pattern, a group of young male relatives and friends made nightly visits to the house of some virgin girl in another village, appraising her through banter while she and her parents appraised them, and staying the night to avoid the dark walk home. Marriage was according to the wishes of the parents after negotiation by a go-between from the boy's side. Girls might be 15, and boys 17, years of age. Girls have now acquired freedom of movement through attending school, however. Premarital sexual play is common, and young people choose their own spouses when the girl is about 19 and the boy 21. The most common mode of marriage is elopement, for Christians and non-Christians alike, but some Christians marry in church, and some Khasis still marry according to the traditional ceremony or some variation on it. There are no preferred or prescribed marriage types, nor is there a bride price or dowry. **Form.** Monogamy is the ideal for all. **Extension of incest taboos.** Sibs are exogamous. Other prohibited marriage partners are real and classificatory FaSi and FaBr, FaBrCh, FaMo, and FaMoMo. The MoBrWi is also prohibited. Roy [114]

21: Ehrenfels E-4,5 (1950) 1953 AR7 Khasi AR7

of father in Russian (for the *tzar*, etc.), (secondly) the youngest, not the oldest, daughter performs the family rites and inherits the family-property [21]. Even in cases when there is no woman to inherit, the youngest, not the oldest son inherits [22]. Among the conservatively matrilineal Pnár (Jaintia) this term of diminution *i*, however, carries at times a somewhat contemptuous meaning, though the minorate is strongly in force also among them. The ambivalent position of this honorific term of diminution is thus significant (comp. term 9/*e* among Pnár and infra.) 601 [428] [196]

Term 7 — mother: (*i mei*) — The prefix *i* used among Khasi and Wár Khasi signifies particular reverence (supra: term 6). The classificatory character of the term has been discussed by CHATTOPADHYAY [23]. [193]

Term 9/*f* — *hep* for all younger siblings, cousins and even other young folk does not indicate the consideration which the terms 9/*d* — *kong* for older sisters and female cousins, or 9/*e* — *bah* for their male equivalents indicate. The term *san* (9/*e* among Pnár) stands here, as generally, for elder and implies a honorific meaning (comp. term 6 supra and term 13/*a* infra).

Terms 10/*a* and *b* show that husband and wife address each other by equal terms and do in no way indicate anything like an inferior position of either wives or husbands of which I did also not find any indications otherwise. It may here be mentioned that property rights even in newly established estates, vest in women and are inherited by women, — not generally men. 601 562

Term 11*d* — *ka khun khadduh* — the youngest daughter whose important position in Khasi religious ritual, social organization and inheritance law has already been referred to sub term 6 and described in detail elsewhere [27]. The affectionate character of this term finds vivid expression in the abbreviation *ka duh*, which I heard from sisters and the father of a youngest daughter. 601 [593]

Term 13/*a* — *mei san* (mother's older sister). The word *san* (older) here has a definitely honorific character, although the *mei khynnah* — the mother's younger sister (term 13/*b*) may be the heir of Ego's ancestral property. This constellation corresponds to the peculiar significance of terms 6, 9/*d* and especially 11/*d* (supra).

Terms 13, 14, 15/*a*, 18, 18/*a*, 18/*b*, and the terms for cousins 19, 20, 21/*a*, 21/*b*, 22 show, like term 7 — mother (supra), classificatory character. The restriction on cross-cousin marriage is of different nature, according as to whether they belong to different households, or not, as has been discussed by CHATTOPADHYAY [28]. [582]

Term 16/*a* — *ñia* (mother's brother's wife) is basically the same as term 15 — *ñia kha* (father's sister) [29] though the latter is qualified by the additional term *kha*: (begetting, birth) which signifies paternal relationship (see: term No. 1).

[21] GURDON (1914), pp. 83, seq.; CANTLIE (1934), p. 11.
[22] CANTLIE (1934), p. 22.
[23] CHATTOPADHYAY (1941), pp. 25, seq.
[27] GURDON (1914), pp. 83, seq. and CANTLIE (1934), pp. 11, seq.
[28] CHATTOPADHYAY (1941), pp. 35, seq.
[29] In detail discussed by CHATTOPADHYAY (1941), p. 27.

21: Ehrenfels E-4,5 (1950) 1953 AR7 Khasi AR7

namely that male members of a matrilineal clan enjoy, among Khasi as among other matrilineal groups in India, a position which, far from unenviable, is a very high one in itself and doubly fortified by the respect which to the same male family member is being shown (*a*) in his capacity as the father of his children in his wife's clan (comp. term 8 of the list), and (*b*) in that of the maternal uncle (comp. terms 14, 14/*a*, 14/*b* and 26 and 28). 601 602

The terms 33/*b*, *c*, *g*, *h*, have classificatory character. 601

The term 33/*e* — *u kong* for the husband's older sister's husband is one of the exceptions of the rule that *kong* generally signifies an honoured older female relative but, as in this case, also her husband (comp. term 26).

Term 36/*a* *u pa* (father) in its usage among Pnár (Jaintia), also for stepfather is significant. A Pnár child has no legal clan-relationsihp with his/her biological father, who belongs to another (matrilineal) clan than the child and mother. Yet the honorific term *pa* is, among Pnár, also applied to a stepfather, although neither legal, nor biological but merely ideological relationship via the mother, exists between stepfather and -child. This use of the word *pa* thus seems to emphasize both, firstly the integration of the matrilineal family structure, by making an unrelated stepfather to be looked upon as father, owing to his relationship with Ego's mother and, secondly the important sociological and psychological position of the father in this matrilineal family structure which appears to go back to an old tradition among the Pnár. 601 593 [614]

Term 41 — *para 'rieu lum* [33] (Assamese hill tribals) are characteristically termed *para* (Brethren), although they are different in many respects, from the Khasi, yet considered as definitely nearer related than all other neighbours, grouped under the 601

Term 43 — *dkhar* (plainspeople) [34], — a term which varies in emotional content from contempt pure and simple to an attitude, somewhat parallel to what ordinary English usage would generally associate with the expression "continental". Marriages of Khasi girls and boys with *dkhar* do occur, though infinitely rarer than marriages of (especially educated) Khasi girls with (educated) *para 'rieu lum*, Nepalese, Gurkha or Chinese boys. One of the reasons which is usually being given for this preference for non-Indians is by no means colour-prejudice, but the taboo on either beef or pork which most *dkhar ïong* [35] (Indians, Hindus or Muslims, respectively) observe; a taboo which they generally extend to their Khasi wives, thus preventing them from enjoying two favourite Khasi national dishes. Another more psychological reason is the overbearing treatment of wives, which is generally ascribed to *dkhar ïong*, more even than to *dkhar li* [36]. It is in this connection 601 582

[33] Literally: Brethren Humans Hill.

[34] With Dkhar are here meant the plainspeople as such; — not the Khasi Dkhar (or Khar) clans which are mostly, if not always, descended from ancestresses who had been captured in the plains and brought to the Khasi Hills; comp. CHATTOPADHYAY (1941), pp. 30/31 and EHRENFELS (1950/*A*), pp. 33/34. [101]

[35] Literally: Plainspeople black.

[36] Literally: Plainspeople white.

21: Ehrenfels E-4,5 (1950) 1953 AR7 Khasi AR7

601 582 significant that the reason, given for the comparatively frequent marriages of Khasi girls with Chinese boys is not the greater physical resemblance which no doubt exists between the average Khasi and the average Chinese (Dkhar) as compared to the average non-Chinese Dkhar (Indians, Europeans, Africans, Americans and others) but the belief that Chinese husbands are less domineering in their attitudes towards their wives, than are other Dkhar.

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1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

marry any one belonging to your own *kur*, or clan. Unlike the Khasis, however, a Lyngam can marry two sisters at a time. The Lyngam marriages are arranged by *kniangs*, or go-betweens, much in the same way as Khasi marriages; but the ritual observed is less elaborate, and shows a mixture of Khasi and Garo customs (see Section III.). The Lyngams intermarry with the Garos. It appears that sometimes the parents of girls exact bride-money, and marriages by capture have been heard of. Both of these customs are more characteristic of the Bodo tribes of the plains than of the Khasis. There are no special birth customs, as with the Khasis, except that when the umbilical cord falls a fowl is sacrificed, and the child is brought outside the house. Children are named without any special ceremony. The death customs of the Lyngams have been described in Section III. A peculiar characteristic is the keeping of the dead body in the house for days, sometimes even for several months, before it is burnt. The putrefying corpse inside the house seems to cause these people no inconvenience, for whilst it remains there, they eat, carry on their ordinary avocations, and sleep there, regardless of what would be considered by others an intolerable nuisance. The religion of these people consists of a mixture of ancestor-worship and the propitiation of the spirits of fell and fall, which are, most of them, believed to be of evil influence, as is the case with other savage races. As with the people of Nongstoin, the primaeval ancestress, "*ka Iaw bei*," is worshipped for the welfare of the clan, a sow being sacrificed to her, with a gourd of rice-beer, and leaves of the oak, or *dieng-ning* tree. The leaves of the oak are afterwards hung up inside the house, together with the jaw-bone of the pig. Sacrifices are offered to a forest demon, *U Bangjang* (a god who brings illness), by the roadside; also to *Ka Miang Bylli U Majymma*, the god of cultivation, at seed time, on the path to the forest clearing where the seed is sown. Models of paddy store-houses, baskets and agricultural implements are made, sand being used to indicate the grain. These are placed by the roadside, the skulls of the sacrificial animals and the feathers of fowls being hung up on bamboos about the place where the sacrifice has been performed. There are no priests or *lyngdohs*, the fathers of the hamlet performing the various ceremonies.

16: McCormack E-4,5 (1956-1958) 1964
[P. 108 B] AR7 Khasi AR7

children, but Christian influence has eradicated or driven underground the consumption by women and children. **Industrial arts.** The only industrial arts traditionally practiced in all households were a rudimentary carpentry and a simple utilitarian basketry. Other arts were few, and were practiced as village specialties: the washing and smelting of iron ore and the forging of hoes, daos, knives, swords, and cooking pots (upland Khasis); the spinning of cotton thread (Mynso village, Jaintia); the dyeing of cotton thread and the weaving of cloth (Jaintias, Bhois, Lyngngams, Wars); the spinning and weaving of Eri silk (Khyrwang and Nongtung villages, Bhoi and Jaintia); and the hand manufacture, without wheel, of painted earthenware pots (Larnai village, Jaintia). Ironworking and the production of cotton goods have nearly died out through the competition of machine-made goods. Carpentry has greatly improved. An innovation of major importance is the sewing and tailoring, on sewing machines, of ready-made garments for both sexes. [Cf. Darrah 1896; C., W. 1832.] **Trade.** Khasi villages normally contain a number of household shops operated by women. Every Khasi also lives within walking distance of several village markets that are held on successive days of the eight-day week. The limits of market intercourse for the members of any particular village can be roughly distinguished by their naming the days of their week, which are called after the active markets. The exception is the huge market at Shillong, much of which is active daily, and which serves as a magnet for Khasis from all over the hills. The traditional barter has given way to currency in all markets. The small ones contain at least some local farm produce, plus other essentials like betel nut, and the food and tea stalls which serve as centers of social intercourse. The big markets contain not only regional produce and manufactures but also products from distant parts of the hills, brought for sale by traveling middlemen. There is also substantial trade, from the hills to the valleys, in potatoes, pears, hides, lac, cotton, caoutchouc, the wood of the sal tree, Eri silk thread, limestone, coal, ivory, bay leaf, betel nut, pan leaves, bananas, sugar cane, oranges, til, turmeric, and chilies. From the plains to the hills, there is trade in dried fish, paddy rice, salt, cooking oil, kerosene, matches, tea, sugar, wheat flour, machine-made cloth, shoes, metal pots, crockery, porcelain objects, coral beads, silver, and gold. Markets are important not only as economic institutions but also as centers for recreation (including archery competitions), courtship, reaffirmation of kinship ties with distant relatives, and the dissemination of information of all kinds. [Cf. Stegmiller 1924a.] **Division of labor.** Men do the heavy work, such as clearing and burning the swidden fields, caring for cattle and goats and driving them to market, butchering and selling large cuts of beef and pork, carpentry and mining, and driving and laboring on motor vehicles. They also tailor men's

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ing from the time it consists of an elementary family until it grows to a local descent group four generations deep. [Cf. Chattopadhyay 1941.] **Kin terminology.** The terms of address given below are also terms of reference except where otherwise indicated, and are uniform for male and female speakers. They were collected in an upland Khasi village near Shillong (cf. Ehrenfels 1953 for some regional variants). [114]

Fa	*pa*
Mo	*mei*
FaElBr	*pawan*
FaYoBr	*pakhynnah*
FaSi	*khe*
Fa youngest Si	*khadah*
MoElSi	*mesaw*
MoYoSi	*meinah*
Mo youngest Si	*meidah*
MoElBr	*mawa, kwi*
MoYoBr	*kah* (rel.: *kwi*)
ElBr	*kah khynnah*
Eldest Br	*kong kah*
YoBr	*kah dong*
Youngest Br	*kah dah*
ElSi	*dong*
Eldest Si	*kad, kong*
YoSi	*kad nah, kad ve*
Youngest Si	*khadah*
MoSiSo, MoSiDa	*pawa* (rel.: *pawa ar kwaw*)
FaBrSo, FaBrDa	*pawa* (rel.: *pawabha*)
MoBrSo, MoBrDa	
FaSiSo, FaSiDa	*bahha*

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY. **Mode.** According to the traditional courtship pattern, a group of young male relatives and friends made nightly visits to the house of some virgin girl in another village, appraising her through hunter while she and her parents appraised them, and staying the night to avoid the dark walk home. Marriage was according to the wishes of the parents after negotiation by a go-between from the boy's side. Girls might be 15, and boys 17, years of age. Girls have now acquired freedom of movement through attending school, however. Premarital sexual play is common, and young people choose their own spouses when the girl is about 19 and the boy 22. The most common mode of marriage is elopement, for Christians and non-Christians alike, but some Christians marry in church, and some Khasis still marry according to the traditional ceremony or some variation on it. There are no preferred or prescribed marriage types, nor is there a bride price or dowry. **Form.** Monogamy is the ideal for all. **Extension of incest taboos.** Sibs are exogamous. Other prohibited marriage partners are real and classificatory FaSi and FaBr, FaBrCh, FaMo, and FaMoMo. The MoBrWi is also prohibited. Boy [114]

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

[583] *Preliminaries.*—A young man of marriageable age, say between seventeen or eighteen years of age and twenty-five, fixes upon a girl of, say between thirteen and eighteen years, as likely to become a fitting partner; probably he has been acquainted with the young woman for some time before, and is on more or less easy terms of intimacy with her. He mentions the name of the girl to his parents, and uncles and aunts in the house, and they agree or disagree, as the case may be. Sometimes marriages are arranged by the parents of the young people themselves. Having agreed regarding the fitness of the bride, the young man's parents send a male representative of the family, or in some cases a man unconnected with the family, to arrange matters with the parents of the bride. The latter then ascertain their daughter's wishes. According to the late U Jeelen Roy, the daughters nearly always agree, it is very seldom that it is necessary to bring any pressure to bear. The parents then investigate whether there is any *sang*, or taboo, such as clan relationship, between the young woman and her intended, in the way of the marriage. If there is found to be no such hindrance, they fix a date for finally arranging the marriage (*baw ia kut ktien.*) On the day appointed the bride's family consult the auspices by breaking eggs and examining fowls' entrails. If the omens are favourable, well and good. Should they be unfavourable, they abandon the marriage project. There is a strong prejudice against a marriage taking place under unfavourable auspices, the belief being that such an union will be childless, that the bride will die an untimely death, or that poverty will ensue. Given favourable auspices, the parents fix a day for the marriage. It was formerly the custom for the bridegroom to provide himself beforehand with a ring, usually of silver, but, amongst the rich, of gold, which is called *ka synjat* (hence the name of the marriage ceremony *pynhiar-synjat*), and for the bride to provide herself with a similar ring. The bridegroom used to place his ring upon the bride's finger, and the bride used to place her ring upon the bridegroom's finger; it is however believed that this custom is rare nowadays. On the marriage day a man is selected from the party of the bridegroom called *u kniang*, or go-between. The bridegroom then sets out with

I: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

LAMDOH CEREMONY.

This ceremony is identical with that of *Pynhiar synjat*, except that the bride and bridegroom do not interchange rings, and that there is no sacrifice of the pig. The parties merely buy some pig's flesh and perform a puja with a small portion of the flesh of the legs of the animal. Amongst the poor, fish sometimes takes the place of pork at the *Iadih-kiad* ceremony. The latter consists of a drinking bout mingled with muttered sentences by a *nongkinia* (sacrificer), the invocations and prayers being the same as at the *Pynhiar synjat*. The *Lamdoh* and *Iadih-kiad* ceremonies take the place of the more elaborate *Pynhiar synjat* in most places now-a-days.

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LYNNGAM MARRIAGES.

The ritual observed at these marriages is described as under: —First of all a proposal is made in the following manner. A *ksiang*, or go-between, is sent, with the brother of the girl for whom a husband is required, to the house of the father of the young man (not to the house of the mother as is the case with the Khasis). If the proposal is accepted, the father of the young man kills a pig, and gives a feast to the people of the village of his father-in-law elect; also to the go-between and the *borang* (brother of the bride). The father of the bride then gives a similar feast. A sum of Rs. 1 each is given as a present to the go-between by the fathers of the bride and bridegroom, and the father of the bride pays from Rs. 5 to Rs. 15 to the father of the bridegroom. Further feasting ensues at the house of the father of the bride. The go-betweens then sacrifice a pig and two fowls at the house of the bridegroom, and afterwards perform the same sacrifice at the house of the bride. At the house of the bride, after the fowls and the pig have been sacrificed, the go-between, after drinking liquor himself, pours out some on the floor of the house and then gives some to the bride and bridegroom to drink. The killing of the fowls, the sacrifice of the pig, and the libation of liquor are essentials at a Lynngam marriage. The sacrifice of the fowls is also an essential feature

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1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

582 marry any one belonging to your own *kur*, or clan. Unlike the
614 Khasis, however, a Lynngam can marry two sisters at a time.
595 The Lynngam marriages are arranged by *ksiangs*, or go-betweens,
584 much in the same way as Khasi marriages; but the ritual
582 observed is less elaborate, and shows a mixture of Khasi and Garo customs (see Section III.). The Lynngams intermarry
583 with the Garos. It appears that sometimes the parents of girls exact bride-money, and marriages by capture have been heard of. Both of these customs are more characteristic of the Bodo
847 tribes of the plains than of the Khasis. There are no special birth
782 customs, as with the Khasis, except that when the umbilical cord
553 falls a fowl is sacrificed, and the child is brought outside the house. Children are named without any special ceremony.
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771 considered by others an intolerable nuisance. The religion of these people consists of a mixture of ancestor-worship and the propitiation of the spirits of fell and fall, which are, most of them, believed to be of evil influence, as is the case with other savage
776 races. As with the people of Nongstoin, the primaeval ancestress, "*ka Iaw bei*," is worshipped for the welfare of the
782 clan, a sow being sacrificed to her, with a gourd of rice-beer, and leaves of the oak, or *dieng-sning* tree. The leaves of the oak are afterwards hung up inside the house, together with the jaw-bone of the pig. Sacrifices are offered to a forest demon, *U Bangjang* (a god who brings illness), by the roadside; also to *Ka Miang Bylli U Majymma*, the god of cultivation, at seed time, on the path to the forest clearing where the seed is sown. Models of paddy store-houses, baskets and agricultural implements are made, sand being used to indicate the grain. These are placed by the roadside, the skulls of the sacrificial animals and the feathers of fowls being hung up on bamboos about the place
793 where the sacrifice has been performed. There are no priests or
796 *lyngdohs*, the fathers of the hamlet performing the various ceremonies.

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Fa	*pa*
Mo	*mei*
FaElBr	*pasan*
FaYoBr	*pakhynnah*
FaSi	*kha*
Fa youngest Si	*khaduh*
MoElSi	*meisan*
MoYoSi	*meinah*
Mo youngest Si	*meiduh*
MoElBr	*mama, kni*
MoYoBr	*bah* (ref.: *kni*)
ElBr	*bah khynnah*
Eldest Br	*kong bah*
YoBr	*bah deng*
Youngest Br	*bah duh*
ElSi	*deng*
Eldest Si	*lud, kong*
YoSi	*lud nah, lud rit*
Youngest Si	*khatduh*
MoSiSo, MoSiDa	*para* (ref.: *para ar kmie*)
FaBrSo, FaBrDa	*para* (ref.: *parakha*)
MoBrSo, MoBrDa, FaSiSo, FaSiDa	*bakha*

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY. **Mode.** According to the traditional courtship pattern, a group of young male relatives and friends made nightly visits to the house of some virgin girl in another village, appraising her through banter while she and her parents appraised them, and staying the night to avoid the dark walk home. Marriage was according to the wishes of the parents after negotiation by a go-between from the boy's side. Girls might be 15, and boys 17, years of age. Girls have now acquired freedom of movement through attending school, however. Premarital sexual play is common, and young people choose their own spouses when the girl is about 19 and the boy 21. The most common mode of marriage is elopement, for Christians and non-Christians alike, but some Christians marry in church, and some Khasis still marry according to the traditional ceremony or some variation on it. There are no preferred or prescribed marriage types, nor is there a bride price or dowry. **Form.** Monogamy is the ideal for all. **Extension of incest taboos.** Sibs are exogamous. Other prohibited marriage partners are real and classificatory FaSi and FaBr, FaBrCh, FaMo, and FaMoMo. The MoBrWi is also prohibited. Roy 584 582 562 178 836 584 583 585 184 583 581 835 [114]

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

Deputy-Commissioner for 1876-77 states that in that year 168 persons in all were brought before the magistrates, the most common classes of cases being theft and house trespass. In the same year 89 civil suits were instituted, of which 83 were for money claims, 2 for immoveable property, 2 for restitution of conjugal rights, and 2 in connection with religion and caste. In the Political Court there were 31 cases tried during the year, of which 13 were civil and 18 criminal. In the latter class of cases process issued against 60 persons, of whom 20 were convicted and 40 acquitted. The details of the two following cases will illustrate the condition of social life in the District. The first was a case of grievous hurt. The Siem of Myl-liem had sent four persons to fetch a man named U Dorja, who had been selected to marry the Siem's sister. While on their way the messengers were attacked by a number of persons, evidently relatives of U Dorja who were opposed to the marriage. One of them was severely beaten, and died within twelve days from pneumonia. The offenders, numbering five in all, were sentenced to pay a fine of Rs. 10 (£1) each, or in default to suffer fourteen days' imprisonment. The second case was one of oppression. It originated in a dispute about land, situated in a locality over which both the Siem of Nongklao and the Lyngdoh of Soh-iong claimed to exercise jurisdiction. The parties out of possession had gone to lay their complaint before the Siem, whereupon the Lyngdoh, with eight other persons, seized three of the complainants' kinsmen, ill-treated them, and kept them in durance with the object of having the complaint submitted to himself for adjudication. The Lyngdoh was sentenced to a fine of Rs. 50 (£5), and his companions were warned and discharged.

JAIL STATISTICS.—There are two jails in the Khási and Jáintiá Hills:—(1) The jail at Shillong, which is directly under the charge of the Deputy-Commissioner; and (2) the lock-up at Jowái, under the Assistant-Commissioner. It has been proposed to build a new jail at Shillong; the present structure consists only of bamboo huts, surrounded by a fence of the same material.

The following are the jail statistics for 1875:—Daily average number of prisoners, 40·91, of whom 1·07 were females; daily average number of sick, 1·42; number of deaths, 4, or 10 per cent. of the average daily strength. The total expenditure was Rs. 7430 (£743), or an average of Rs. 181 (£18, 2s.) per prisoner. This high rate of expenditure is due to the cost of rations at Shillong.

21: Ehrenfels E-4,5 (1950) 1953 AR7 Khasi AR7

III. Explanations

1. General

124 Most of my informants were illiterate. The spelling of the terms was
128 checked and corrected by my English-speaking and writing Khasi- and
601 Pnár- friends, mentioned in para one, to whom thanks are being here once more expressed. All responsibility for spelling mistakes, however, which may have slipped into this list has of course to be borne by me.

Blanks (—) or question marks (?) in one of the columns do not necessarily mean that there is no word used, by the respective group, for the particular term. They more often indicate that my informants did not use, or know, the particular term, or that I failed to enquire about it in a
[114] manner sufficiently clear to my informants. This is particularly true of general terms, partly or fully corresponding to English general terms, such as parents or grand-parents, or the terms No. 9/*a* and *b*, 13, 15/*a*, 19-21, and 26, which were partly explained to me, by Khasi friends in Shillong, where I stayed some time after completion of field-work during the rainy season. Hence I could no more return for verification to the little accessible Wár-villages in the steep southern slopes. Although I am planning to utilise a future opportunity for such checking up, I am yet publishing the present results in the hope that they may thus become accessible to field-workers among other S. E.-Asiatic, and especially Austro-Asiatic speaking peoples.

193 All terms which are equal for both sexes (cf. Nos. 10, 11, 18, 19, etc.)
601 are used with *ka* and *u* respectively. These sexdetermining preposed articles,
128 as also the honorific *i* are specially mentioned in the list, only if this is essential for the understanding of the respective terms as in Nos. 3-5, 7, 8, or 10.

2. Special

601 Term No. 1 — to give birth or beget (*kha*) signifies also relatives on the paternal side as in *para kha* (paternal cousins No. 9/*c*), in contradistinction to *para kur*, 9/*b*, (lit.: cousins of the clan), i. e. maternal cousins, since the clan is a matrilineal unit. This usage of the word *kha* appears also
[842] significantly in the terms 15/*a*, 17, 18/*b*, 20, 22, 32 and, as an integral part of the Khasi kinship terminology, renders it highly improbable that the Khasi matrilineal system could lave originated in ignorance of the biological function of the father. It is a significant feature in the matrilineal social system.

The terms 3 to 3/*b* refer to unmarried but biologically marriageable youths.
[881] It will be noted that there are (and were in 1914) no indications of puberty-
[584] rites for either girls or boys. There is also no child-marriage among Khasi. The use of special terms for mature, unmarried youths is therefore significant.

Term 6 — *i* as honorific article, is at the same time indicative of
[428] diminution [23], which is remarkable for two reasons: (firstly) the diminution is used for the oldest and most respected family members, like the diminution

[23] NISSOR SINGH (1906), p. 84.

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

child are prohibited by custom from crossing a stream or washing their clothes until the navel-string falls off, for fear that the child should be attacked by the demons of the hills and the vales. 846 784

The Wár birth customs are substantially the same as those of the Khasis, but there is the difference that a Wár family after a birth is *sang*, or taboo, for seven days, whereas amongst the Khasis the only prohibition is that the parents must not cross a stream or wash their clothes until they have propitiated the spirits. A twin birth is *sang*, or taboo. The Khasis argue that as there is but one *Ka Iawbei* (first ancestress), and one *U Thawlang* (first ancestor), so one child, either male or female, should be born at a time. A twin birth is accordingly regarded as a visitation from God for some *sang*, or transgression, committed by some member of the clan. When the twins are of opposite sexes the *sang* is considered to be extremely serious, the Khasi idea being that defilement has taken place within the womb. The case is treated as one of *shong kur*, or marriage within the clan, and the bones of the twins cannot be placed in the sepulchre of the clan. 844 846 845 773 [766]

There are no special birth customs amongst the Lynngams. 844
There is no trace of the *couvade* amongst the Khasis. 846

MARRIAGE.

We now come to consider marriage amongst the Khasis from a religious point of view. Shadwell has said that marriage amongst the Khasis "is purely a civil contract." This statement is not correct, for there is an elaborate religious ceremony at which God the creator, *U'lei thaw briew man briew*, the god or goddess of the State, U or *ka'lei Synshar*, and, what is probably more important, the ancestress and ancestor of the clan, *Ka Iawbei-tymmen* and *U Thawlang*, are invoked. There are three marriage ceremonies prevalent amongst the Khasis, which are (*a*) *Pynhiarsynjat*, (*b*) *Lamdoh*, and (*c*) *Iadih-kiad*, respectively. The first and second forms above mentioned are considered the more respectable; the last-named is resorted to by the very poor who cannot afford the greater expense entailed by the first two ceremonies. 845 776

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

[582] *Preliminaries.*—A young man of marriageable age, say between seventeen or eighteen years of age and twenty-five, 584 fixes upon a girl of, say between thirteen and eighteen years, as likely to become a fitting partner; probably he has been acquainted with the young woman for some time before, and is on more or less easy terms of intimacy with her. He mentions the name of the girl to his parents, and uncles and aunts in the house, and they agree or disagree, as the case may be. Sometimes marriages are arranged by the parents of the young people themselves. Having agreed regarding the fitness of the bride, the young man's parents send a male representative of the family, or in some cases a man unconnected with the family, to arrange matters with the parents of the bride. The latter then ascertain their daughter's wishes. According to the late U Jeeban Roy, the daughters nearly always agree, it is very seldom that it is necessary to bring any pressure to bear. The parents then investigate whether there is any *sang*, or taboo, such as clan relationship, between the young woman and her intended, in the way of the marriage. If there is found to be no such hindrance, they fix a date for finally 787 arranging the marriage (*bau ia kut ktien.*) On the day appointed 585 the bride's family consult the auspices by breaking eggs and 842 examining fowls' entrails. If the omens are favourable, well 735 and good. Should they be unfavourable, they abandon the 761 marriage project. There is a strong prejudice against a marriage taking place under unfavourable auspices, the belief being that such an union will be childless, that the bride will 585 die an untimely death, or that poverty will ensue. Given favourable auspices, the parents fix a day for the marriage. It was formerly the custom for the bridegroom to provide himself beforehand with a ring, usually of silver, but, amongst the rich, of gold, which is called *ka synjat* (hence the name of the marriage ceremony *pynhiar-synjat*), and for the bride to provide herself with a similar ring. The bridegroom used to place his ring upon the bride's finger, and the bride used to place her ring upon the bridegroom's finger; it is however believed that this custom is rare nowadays. On the marriage day a man is selected from the party of the bridegroom called *u ksiamg*, or go-between. The bridegroom then sets out with

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The bridegroom then sets out with this man and a number of followers, clothed in clean garments and wearing either white or red pagris (a black pagri not being considered a fitting head-dress on this occasion), to the house of the bride, where a feast has been prepared, and fermented rice-beer (*ka-kiad-hiar*) in gourds (*klong*) placed ready. The bride, her female attendants, and her mother and aunts have collected in the meantime, dressed in their best, wearing their jewellery, and with their heads uncovered, for it is not thought proper for the females to cover their heads on the marriage day. On the side of the bride, also, a *ksiang* (go-between) has been appointed, and it is his duty to manage all the business of the marriage on behalf of her family. Some young men of the bride's party go to meet the bridegroom's contingent by way of doing them honour. When they have reached the bride's house, the *ksiang* of the bridegroom enters first, followed by the bridegroom, and after him the bridegroom's party. The *ksiang* then hands over the bridegroom to the maternal uncle (*kni*) of the bride, or to the bride's father. Either of the latter then provides the bridegroom with a seat next the bride. The bride and bridegroom exchange bags of betel-nut, and where the custom of investiture of the ring is in vogue, these tokens are interchanged. The *ksiangs* of the bridegroom and bride recite the marriage contract in lengthy formulae, which may be found on pages 6, 7, 8 of the late U Jeebon Roy's interesting notes on the Khasi religion. The two *ksiangs* then take up, each of them, a gourd containing fermented liquor from the gourd provided by the contracting party, and give them to an old man who is versed in sacrificial lore, who solemnly mixes the contents together. Three dried fish are produced, and are placed on the floor of the house. The priest thus appointed then solemnly adjures the gods in the following words :—

Hei, oh god from above; oh god from below; oh *'lei synshar*; oh god who hast created man; as thou hast ordained this marriage, the ring has been given this day; thou wilt know; thou wilt hear; from the clear firmament above that . . . . have been married this day. Thou wilt bless them; thou wilt grant them prosperity; thou wilt show them the way; thou wilt show them the road, that they may be well, that they may obtain dwellings and houses,

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585 that they may prosper, that they may obtain rice and fish, that
788 they may possess hundreds and thousands; thus, oh god." The priest then pours liquor on the ground three times from the gourd, counting "one, two, three." He then continues the invocation thus, "*Hei*, thou, oh mother; oh grandmother; oh maternal uncle; oh father: oh *Suid-nia*; oh younger grandmother; oh elder grandmother; oh younger grandfather; oh elder grandfather. As the flesh has fallen (on the floor, i.e. the feast has been prepared), the ring has been put on, the three strips of flesh are ready (alluding to the three dried fish already mentioned), you will all of you (ancestors) give ear, you will continue giving strength and spirit (i.e. to the married pair) that they may be well" (and so on, as written in the first invocation). He then pours out the liquor three times as before. He then adjures the Sieu, the elders, and all the people who do not belong to either of the two clans, and pours out liquor three times as before. The three pieces of dried fish are first placed on the *tympan*, the high rack above the fire-place, then removed and tied to the ridge-pole of the house, amidst shouts of
585 *Ho, hoi, hoi, hoi.* The poor then sacrifice a fowl, and the
769 rich a pig without blemish (*uba tlem*), to *u Suid nia* and *ka Iaw-bei* (the spirits of deceased ancestors of the family), and present them with *dykhot*, or pieces of flesh. Two or three days afterwards, the bride, accompanied by her female relatives, pays a visit to the bridegroom at his house, and after this they go and come as they like to one another's houses.
591 After two or three children have been born, they take down the
782 pieces of dried fish from the roof and sacrifice two pigs, one on behalf of the husband and another on behalf of the wife. Then they say there can be no possible *sang*, and husband and wife use each other's things and pool their earnings, and if the husband has a house of his own, the wife can go and live with him; this, however, is not the custom amongst many of the Syntengs, who more strictly observe the principles of the
585 matriarchate. The cost of the marriage ceremonies amongst
435 Khasis, Syntengs and Wárs, may be put down at between Rs. 50 and Rs. 200 according to the position of the parties.

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LAMDOH CEREMONY.

This ceremony is identical with that of *Pynhiar synjat*, except that the bride and bridegroom do not interchange rings, and that there is no sacrifice of the pig. The parties merely buy some pig's flesh and perform a puja with a small portion of the flesh of the legs of the animal. Amongst the poor, fish sometimes takes the place of pork at the *Iadih-kiad* ceremony. The latter consists of a drinking bout mingled with muttered sentences by a *nongkinia* (sacrificer), the invocations and prayers being the same as at the *Pynhiar synjat*. The *Lamdoh* and *Iadih-kiad* ceremonies take the place of the more elaborate *Pynhiar synjat* in most places now-a-days.

LYNNGAM MARRIAGES.

The ritual observed at these marriages is described as under:—First of all a proposal is made in the following manner. A *ksiang*, or go-between, is sent, with the brother of the girl for whom a husband is required, to the house of the father of the young man (not to the house of the mother as is the case with the Khasis). If the proposal is accepted, the father of the young man kills a pig, and gives a feast to the people of the village of his father-in-law elect; also to the go-between and the *borang* (brother of the bride). The father of the bride then gives a similar feast. A sum of Rs. 1 each is given as a present to the go-between by the fathers of the bride and bridegroom, and the father of the bride pays from Rs. 5 to Rs. 15 to the father of the bridegroom. Further feasting ensues at the house of the father of the bride. The go-betweens then sacrifice a pig and two fowls at the house of the bridegroom, and afterwards perform the same sacrifice at the house of the bride. At the house of the bride, after the fowls and the pig have been sacrificed, the go-between, after drinking liquor himself, pours out some on the floor of the house and then gives some to the bride and bridegroom to drink. The killing of the fowls, the sacrifice of the pig, and the libation of liquor are essentials at a Lynngam marriage. The sacrifice of the fowls is also an essential feature

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

585 of a Garo marriage. The Lynngams, unlike the Garos, do not
782 observe which way the beaks of the fowls turn when they are thrown on the ground after being sacrificed. The Lynngams,
787 like the Khasis, take auguries from the entrails of the fowls and the pig. After these ceremonies are over, the Lynngam pair are allowed to cohabit. The cost of an ordinary Lynngam
585 marriage is from Rs. 30 to Rs. 40. The marriage system in
435 vogue among the Lynngams may be described as a mixture of the Khasi and Garo customs. As has already been stated,
101 the Lynngams are a mongrel breed of Khasis and Garos.

CEREMONIES ATTENDING DEATH.

764 The death customs of the Khasis are not only very elaborate, but possess a significance of their own, it is, therefore, necessary to describe them in detail; they are as follows:—

763 A member of the family bends down towards the ear of the apparently deceased person and calls him or her by name three times, to make sure that death has occurred. If no answer comes, the family laments, for it is then con-
964 cluded that the person is really dead. The body is then bathed
291 in warm water from three earthen pots and is reverently laid on a mat (*japung*), where it is dressed in white cloth, a peculiar feature of the dressing being that the waist-cloth and turban are folded from left to right, and not from right to left, as in the case of the living. An egg called *u'leng kpoh*
764 is placed on the stomach of the deceased, and nine fried grains, of *riw hadem*, or Indian corn, are tied round the head with a string. The rich place ear-rings in the ears and other jewellery on the body of the deceased, it being necessary that this jewellery should be specially made for the occasion, and they
[775] deck the corpse with valuable cloths. A cock, *u'iar kyad lynti* (literally the cock that scratches the way), is sacrificed, the idea being that a cock will scratch a path for the spirit to the next world. A sacrifice of a bull, or of a cow in case the deceased is a woman, (*u* or *ka masi pynsum*,) follows. Portions of the left leg of the fowl and the lower part of the jaw of the bull or cow are kept, to be placed afterwards in the *mawshieng*, or bone,

8: Gurdon G-3 (no date) 1904 AR7 Khasi AR7

child is a female. Up to the present time I have not discovered any trace of the *couvade.* 000 [546]

6. *Marriage ceremony.*—Marriage is a purely civil contract. The most prominent features of the Khasi marriage are the following :— [581] 585

(*a*) The *pynhiar synjat*, or betrothal.

(*b*) The pouring out of libations of liquor to *Ka Iawbei* (the first maternal ancestress).

(*c*) The eating by bride and bridegroom out of the same plate.

(*d*) The mixing of liquor by the *ksiangs*, or go-betweens.

(*e*) The taking of the bride to the house of mother of the bridegroom, where a ring is placed on her finger by her mother-in-law.

7. *Divorce* can be easily obtained amongst the Khasis. Adultery, want of issue, and incompatibility of temper, are some of the more frequent causes. The usual ceremony of divorce is as follows:—The husband hands the wife five cowries, or pice. The wife hands these back to the husband, with five of her own. The man then either throws them away or hands them over to some village elder, who throws them away. Divorce is then complete. 586

8. *Death, ceremonies.*—The corpse is bathed and laid on its back. A fowl's egg (*ka'lengkypoh*) is then placed on the navel. A cock (*ka' iarkrad lynti*=the fowl that scratches the way) is sacrificed. The limbs of the fowl and its feathers are placed in a bamboo basket, which is hung up near the head of the corpse. Rich people sacrifice a cow also, called *ka masi pynsum.* When a cow is sacrificed it is shot through the heart with an arrow. From the time of bathing the body till it is burned, offerings are offered daily; these offerings are called *ai ja miet ja step.* It is the custom amongst some to place the corpse in a long narrow box or coffin, which has been hollowed out of the trunk of a tree; this is called *ka shyngoid.* When this procedure is adopted, a small pig, which is killed by a spear (*u narsuh*) is sacrificed. This sacrifice takes place during the night. A goat (*U lang sait ksuid*=a goat to wash the devil)—which is believed to be a scapegoat to bear the sins of the deceased—is sacrificed. The corpse is then taken outside and placed on a bamboo bier (*ka krong*). When the *shyngoid* is used it is placed inside the bier. Some rice is scattered on the ground, and water is poured from a *lhota.* On arrival at the burning-place, the bier, with the corpse in it, is placed on the pyre, or *jingthang.* The egg placed on the navel is then broken on a plank and a fowl (*Ka iar padat*) is sacrificed. Two arrows are shot, one to the east and another to the west (this is a Khasi custom only); the arrows are intended for the protection of the spirit on its way to another world. Fire is then applied to the pyre. 764

14:Roy I-5 (no date) 1938 AR7 Khasi AR7

else that we do is instinct with a *plus*; and for the student of religion or of human culture in any of its forms, to account for that *plus* is the sum and substance of his task.....Whereas, then, there is likelihood that any *a posteriori* reason existed for believing that in-breeding makes for sterility, if indeed it be true in fact at all, there might well have been an *a priori* conviction to much the same effect based simply on a fear that to tamper with the fountain-head of human vitality would somehow cause it to dry up." The Khasi stands in the world as exogamous in his rule of life, and he says '*sang bad byrsieh*', that is, endogamy is forbidden and if it should ever be committed it will render life defiled and corrupt. He says this out of the fear of the knowledge that any act of carelessness in the prohibited area of the source of human life and vitality, which is in the Khasi phrase '*long briw*' (*long* is to be or become, *briew* is man, i.e., to be or become man), will make that source of human life to dry up. So he says, 'duh I jaid I khong' (*duh*=is exterminated; *jaid*= kind, species; *khong*=root).

In refutation of such aspersions as that the Khasi has no rules of marriage, I shall quote the most sacred pronouncement the Khasi when two persons, the man and the woman, are initiated into that state. Calling upon the name of God the Khasi says—"*U Lei thaw briew man briw, u' Lei ne ka 'Lei synshar'*, (God who creates man and is the source of human life, God who keeps, controls, preserves), "*Hei ko Blei na jrong, Ko*

14: Roy I-5 (no date) 1938 AR7 Khasi AR7

Blei na tbian, ko Lei Synshar, Ko Blei triw, man briw, kumba la hukum kumba bhu ma phi U Blei ka Blei ban long I Kha I man, kumba la pynhiar ka synjat mynta ka sgni, ba phin tip, ba phin sngew na jrong ho kyndiang ba ita I jaid bad ita I jaid ki la iapoi kha poi man ban iaroi ban ia man ban ia heh ka long kynthei ka long shynrang', Oh God from above, oh God from below, Thou God who controllest, who keepest and preservest, Thou God who createst man and the origin and source of human life,—as ordained by Thee, Oh God, U Blei (God in the male aspect), Ka Blei (God in the female aspect) that there should be *I Kha* (person to bear and give birth) *I man* (person with whom and through whom to give cause to life and to grow), as token has been brought down this day, [a ring is given], so that Thou mayest hear clearly from above, that such and such *jaid* (kind, clan) and such and such a *jaid* (kind, clan) have become joined in marriage in order to increase, in order to grow, so as to increase the state of being female and the state of being male (i. e. male and female population)." [This is said as a woman of a certain clan always marries a man of a different clan.] As I have said elsewhere, "There is no tradition among the Khasis that there was ever a time when the status of marriage did not exist among our ancestors. There is a belief among the Khasis that they were instructed in their religion and that their ceremonies and rites were delivered by God Himself to the

582 585 539 581 773

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

178 no polygynists, though there were many personal temporary illicit
184 relations or love affairs.

It is true that even in interior villages polygyny is rapidly decreas-
595 ing. In the two villages I found only two cases of polygyny: a man with two wives in Sohkynduh (Josio in List 6, whose wives are 26 and 32), and a man with three wives in Kongton (Jubongrai in List 9, whose wives are 8, 20 and 52). These cases appeared clearly as cases of polygyny which the villagers recognized as such, speaking of them quite differently from the way they would have spoken of lovers, calling them wives and husbands. Of course, the first wife socially outranks the secondary wives, as *ka tynga trai*, and the term *ka tynga tuh* is used for the latter, as Gurdon states (1914, p. 80). The difference being that the first wife has a legal marriage ceremony while the
• 585 others have not—*ka tynga tuh* means literally 'stolen wife.' About the marriage ceremony, Gurdon gives a detailed discription (*ibid.*,
595 pp. 127-130) and says there are three forms of marriage ceremonies, *Pynhiarsynjat*, *Lamdoh* and *Iadih-hiad*. The first and second forms are considered the more respectable; the last one is resorted to by the very poor who cannot afford the greater expense entailed by the first two. Unfortunately, during my stay in these villages, no marriage ceremony took place, but villagers described to me what seems to be the *Iadih-hiad*, where only a fowl is sacrified, and the whole procedure is much simpler than that described by Gurdon. However, whatever the complexity and richness may be, there is a distinct line between having a ceremony and not having it, and this draws the distinction between the status of the first wife and that of the secondary wives.

428 Nevertheless, this distinction has more of a social bearing than the
595 legal bearing it has in a patrilineal system. Since they follow the matrilineal system, the legal distinction between the first wife and
851 the secondary wife does not affect their children's status and their property rights, at least not in the villages where I worked. The children's social locus is determined by their mother. The children (particularly the youngest daughter) have the right to inherit their father's acquired property which is automatically under their mother's ownership. If the polygynist father has acquired property by working their mother's field, or in trading on behalf of their mother, whether she be the first wife or the second, this property undoubtedly belongs to the children of that wife, not to the first wife alone. The father's physical locus at the time of his economic realisations is the decisive factor.

591 The Khasi polygynist, without bringing his wives into one house-
595 hold, alternates his residence among them, in turn or according to his temper., This practice is similar to that of the Trukese described by Goodenough (1951, p. 123), and quite different from that of the Garo

ing from the time it consists of an elementary family until it grows to a local descent group four generations deep. [Cf. Chattopadhyay 1941.] **Kin terminology.** The terms of address given below are also terms of reference except where otherwise indicated, and are uniform for male and female speakers. They were collected in an upland Khasi village near Shillong (cf. Ehrenfels 1953 for some regional variants). 602 601 [IA]

Fa	*pa*
Mo	*mei*
FaElBr	*pasan*
FaYoBr	*pakhynnah*
FaSi	*kha*
Fa youngest Si	*khaduh*
MoElSi	*meisan*
MoYoSi	*meinah*
Mo youngest Si	*meiduh*
MoElBr	*mama, kni*
MoYoBr	*bah* (ref.: *kni*)
ElBr	*bah khynnah*
Eldest Br	*kong bah*
YoBr	*bah deng*
Youngest Br	*bah duh*
ElSi	*deng*
Eldest Si	*lud, kong*
YoSi	*lud nah, lud rit*
Youngest Si	*khatduh*
MoSiSo, MoSiDa	*para* (ref.: *para or kmie*)
FaBrSo, FaBrDa	*para* (ref.: *parakha*)
MoBrSo, MoBrDa, FaSiSo, FaSiDa	*bakha*

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY. **Mode.** According to the traditional courtship pattern, a group of young male relatives and friends made nightly visits to the house of some virgin girl in another village, appraising her through banter while she and her parents appraised them, and staying the night to avoid the dark walk home. Marriage was according to the wishes of the parents after negotiation by a go-between from the boy's side. Girls might be 15, and boys 17, years of age. Girls have now acquired freedom of movement through attending school, however. Premarital sexual play is common, and young people choose their own spouses when the girl is about 19 and the boy 21. The most common mode of marriage is elopement, for Christians and non-Christians alike, but some Christians marry in church, and some Khasis still marry according to the traditional ceremony or some variation on it. There are no preferred or prescribed marriage types, nor is there a bride price or dowry. **Form.** Monogamy is the ideal for all. **Extension of incest taboos.** Sibs are exogamous. Other prohibited marriage partners are real and classificatory FaSi and FaBr, FaBrCh, FaMo, and FaMoMo. The MoBrWi is also prohibited. Boy 584 582 569 178 836 584 585 585 184 583 581 835 [IA]

16: McCormack E-4.5 (1956-1958) 1964
[P. 111 B] AR7 Khasi AR7

household deities, and measles and smallpox deities. 776
Deities of the first two categories are simply aspects 771
of the high God or Goddess. • The earth is peopled with two great orders of land demons and water demons who cause all undesirable, unnatural, and otherwise inexplicable events, acting either on their own or as instruments in the hands of sorcerers. Apart from omens, both in nature and in dreams, 787
Khasis attach supernatural significance also to mystic 822
numbers, and to the colors white, black, and red. They hold especially important folk beliefs regarding 824
betel nut, paddy rice, gold and silver, and clothing. **Practitioners.** The two classes of religious practition- 781
ers are the village or state priests and the sacrificers. 793
Both are male. They use the same divinatory tech- 754
niques of reading broken eggshells and the entrails of cocks, and they both sacrifice cocks, hens, goats, pigs, and cattle. Their skills are not taught to them so much as picked up by observation and confirmed by demonstrations of efficacy. A priest is elected from among the men of his sib to direct his skills to the public good until he dies, and his rewards are institutionalized and come from the village or the state. A sacrificer acts for private persons or kin groups, on call, and is rewarded by them personally with gifts in cash or in kind. The sacrificer is called upon to explain and then to ritually remedy every variety of misfortune, especially illness, though his powers are nowadays regarded with ambivalence, and he is widely expected to become a sorcerer sooner or later. • There are two major types of sor- 754
cerer. One is the ritual specialist or sacrificer who secretly turns his skills from good to evil, manipulating demons to injure a person or kin group, and acting always for himself alone out of considerations of jealousy or revenge. The other is normally a leading citizen, a woman who is so wealthy and successful that it is believed that she must keep a *thlen*, i.e. a creature which will bring her prosperity as long as she feeds it periodically with human blood. To provide this blood, the men of her household, or other males whom she bewitches with a special whisky, will indiscriminately murder anyone except a mem- [184]
ber of her matrilineage. The Jaintias have an analogue to the *thlen* in their *taro*, except that the ultimate result is death from illness rather than murder. Minor witchcraft can be perpetrated by poison keepers or persons with an evil eye, who are often women. **Ceremonies.** The important traditional 843
ceremonies were the life-crisis rituals relating to 844
pregnancy and childbirth, the naming of a child, and 553
death. Lesser ceremonies related to marriage and 764
divorce, and to housebuilding. All these rituals were 585
addressed primarily to the ancestors, and they are 586
still performed in modified form by many Khasis. 342
Other rituals, which were performed by groups such 769
as villages, sibs, local descent groups, or households, 178
were addressed to the unnamed aspects of the high 782

I: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

have been born to him, his wife and children live with him. It 573
is he who faces the dangers of the jungles, and risks his life for 604
wife and children. In his wife's clan he occupies a very high place, he is second to none but *u kwi*, the maternal uncle, while in his own family circle a father and husband is nearer to his children and his wife than *u kwi*. The Khasi saying is, "*u kpo ulo lah ban ioi, u kwi ulo tang ha ka iap ka im*," which may be translated freely as, "the father bears the heat and burden of the day, the maternal uncle only comes when it is a question of life or death." The Khasi father is revered not only when living, but also after death as *U Thawlang*, and special ceremonies are performed to propitiate his shade. Further remarks on the subject of marriage will be found in the Section which deals with religion.

DIVORCE.

Divorce amongst the Khasis is common, and may occur for 586
a variety of reasons, such as adultery, barrenness, incompatibility of temperament, &c. The rule amongst the Khasis is that both parties must agree, but amongst the Wars, especially the people of Shella, the party who divorces the other without his or her consent must pay compensation, which is called *ka ngawsia*, or *ka thawn*. Amongst the Khasis it is not the custom to enforce restitution of conjugal rights; as a rule, when husband and wife cannot live together amicably, they agree to divorce one another; but occasionally it happens that either the husband or the wife will not agree to a divorce. Usually the husband would be willing to live with his wife; but when the latter consents neither to live with her husband nor to accept a divorce, a difficult situation arises, and it is in the event of such a contingency happening that the necessity of assessing *ka ngawsia*, or *ka thawn* (compensation), occurs. [517]
The latter is computed by the village elders. Parties who have been divorced cannot afterwards remarry one another, but they are at liberty to marry into other families. A woman cannot [615]
be divorced during pregnancy. The following description of the divorce ceremony is taken from U Joshua Roy's note on the

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

586 Khasi religion. If the marriage has been celebrated according to the *pynkiar synjat* rite, a *kniang* (go-between) is necessary on each side, also the *kni*, or maternal uncles of the parties, to witness the divorce. In other cases the presence of the *kniang* is unnecessary, but some acquaintances and friends as well as the relatives on both sides should witness the ceremony. The husband and the wife each bring five cowries (*sbài*), or, more commonly nowadays, five pice. The wife gives her five cowries or pice to her husband, who places them with his, and then returns the five cowries or coins to his wife, together with his own five. The wife then returns the ten shells or coins to the husband who throws them on the ground. A crier (*u nông pyrta shnong*) then goes round the village to proclaim the divorce, using the following words:—

[203] "Kaw—hear, oh villagers, that U—— and K—— have become separated in the presence of the elders. Hei! thou, oh, young man, canst go and make love to Ka—— for she is now unmarried (*khynraw*), and thou, oh, spinster, canst make love to U——. Hei! there is no let or hindrance from henceforth." Among the Khasis divorce must be by mutual consent, [587] and the ceremony must take place in the open air. Until the divorce ceremony has been performed as above described, neither husband nor wife can marry again, but after it has taken place, either can remarry, but not within the family of the divorced husband or wife. In the event of a husband or wife being absent for a long period, say ten years, without any communication having been received from either of them, a divorce ceremony is performed by the relatives on his or her behalf. It is stated by U Jeebon Roy * that the rule of 575 monogamy is not so strict for the husband as it is for the wife, 428 he can contract an informal alliance with another woman, the only prohibition being that she must not belong to the original wife's village. Such a wife is called *ka tynga tuh*, literally, stolen wife, in contradistinction to the legally married wife (*ka tynga tuai*). The children by the unmarried wife are called *ki khun khiar* (children from the top). By children from the top is understood to mean children from the branches not from the root (*trai*) of the tree. Such children cannot claim ancestral property [illegible] the wife's country.

113 * See page 18, "Ka Niam Khasi." (U Jeebon Roy.)

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

ancestral property, except in the Wár country. In the event of a divorce the mother is always allowed the custody of the children. Divorces amongst both Khasis and Syntengs are of common occurrence, the result being that the children in many cases are ignorant of even the names of their fathers. For the mother, on the other hand, the children cherish a very strong affection, all their sympathies and affections binding them closely to the mother's kin. Divorce amongst the Syntengs, though resting on the same principle as that of the Khasis, differs in detail, and must be described separately. It is as follows:—In the first place it is not necessary for both husband and wife to be consenting parties, as is the case with the Khasis. In the Nongkhlih doloiship divorce takes place before the relatives of the parties. The man has to give eight annas as a sign of the divorce, and clothes worth Rs. 3/- or Rs. 5/- to the wife. There is a similar custom in the Suhtnga and Amwi doloiships. In the Jowai doloiship the divorce takes place in the presence of a village official called *U basan*. The husband or the wife gives the *basan* an eight anna piece, the latter gives this either to the wife or to the husband, as the case may be. The *basan's* share of the eight annas is two pice, the remainder being spent on liquor. The *basan* is entitled to a further fee of one anna from the man. If a wife does not agree to accept divorce, she is entitled to receive two pieces of cloth from the husband to the value of Rs. 3/-. This compensation is called *thnem*. The divorce then takes place. If a wife wishes to divorce her husband, and the latter is unwilling, before she can obtain divorce, she must pay *thnem* to the value of the whole amount the husband has spent on her and her children during the marriage. Divorce customs in Nartiang and Nongjinghi doloiships are much the same, only the amounts tendered by the parties and that of compensation differing.

In conclusion it should be stated that the great drawback attaching to divorce in ordinary communities, i.e. the effect that it has on the lives of the children of the marriage, does not apply to the Khasis, for with them the children always live with their mother and their mother's family, which latter would be bound to maintain them in the event of a divorce.

8: Gurdon G-3 (no date) 1904 AR7 Khasi AR7

child is a female. Up to the present time I have not discovered any trace of the *couvade.* 000 [546]

6. *Marriage ceremony.*—Marriage is a purely civil contract. The most prominent features of the Khasi marriage are the following :— [581] 585

(*a*) The *pynhiar synjat*, or betrothal.

(*b*) The pouring out of libations of liquor to *Ka Iawbei* (the first maternal ancestress).

(*c*) The eating by bride and bridegroom out of the same plate.

(*d*) The mixing of liquor by the *ksiangs*, or go-betweens.

(*e*) The taking of the bride to the house of mother of the bridegroom, where a ring is placed on her finger by her mother-in-law.

7. *Divorce* can be easily obtained amongst the Khasis. Adultery, want of issue, and incompatibility of temper, are some of the more frequent causes. The usual ceremony of divorce is as follows :—The husband hands the wife five cowries, or pice. The wife hands these back to the husband, with five of her own. The man then either throws them away or hands them over to some village elder, who throws them away. Divorce is then complete. 586

8. *Death, ceremonies.*—The corpse is bathed and laid on its back. A fowl's egg (*ka'lengkypoh*) is then placed on the navel. A cock (*ka' iarkrad lynti* = the fowl that scratches the way) is sacrificed. The limbs of the fowl and its feathers are placed in a bamboo basket, which is hung up near the head of the corpse. Rich people sacrifice a cow also, called *ka masi pynsum.* When a cow is sacrificed it is shot through the heart with an arrow. From the time of bathing the body till it is burned, offerings are offered daily; these offerings are called *ai ja miet ja step.* It is the custom amongst some to place the corpse in a long narrow box or coffin, which has been hollowed out of the trunk of a tree; this is called *ka shyngoid.* When this procedure is adopted, a small pig, which is killed by a spear (*u narsuh*) is sacrificed. This sacrifice takes place during the night. A goat (*U lang sait ksuid* = a goat to wash the devil)—which is believed to be a scapegoat to bear the sins of the deceased—is sacrificed. The corpse is then taken outside and placed on a bamboo bier (*ka krong*). When the *shyngoid* is used it is placed inside the bier. Some rice is scattered on the ground, and water is poured from a *lhota.* On arrival at the burning-place, the bier, with the corpse in it, is placed on the pyre, or *jingthang.* The egg placed on the navel is then broken on a plank and a fowl (*Ka iar padat*) is sacrificed. Two arrows are shot, one to the east and another to the west (this is a Khasi custom only); the arrows are intended for the protection of the spirit on its way to another world. Fire is then applied to the pyre. 764

lk Chattopadhyay E-4, 5 (no date) 1941 AR7 Khasi AR7

removal of the bar on remarriage was also of the same kind elsewhere in the neighbouring States. Clearly, the idea of leviration or sororation is incompatible with this idea of the marriage bond continuing even after death and necessitating a ceremony to break it. It may also be noted that while the Khasis permit divorce somewhat easily, remarriage is not permitted of either party "within the family of the divorced husband or wife" (G). A Khasi cannot also marry two sisters, although he can marry irregularly, more than one woman and also the wife's sister after the decease of the wife. We can now discuss why a woman or a man refers to the brothers and sisters of the husband or wife by the kinship terms used by the spouse, qualified by a special term. When a man marries and goes to live in the house of his wife's mother, he comes in contact with unmarried sisters of the wife. But he knows that they are sexually to be avoided. He lives in the wife's mother's house only during the life time of his wife. A wife's sister is comparable to a Kur sister sexually, during this period.

But his economic relations and religious ties require that a distinction should be made between these "sisters" and the "Kur sisters." The qualifying term supplies this requirement. The woman, on the other hand, has no direct relations with her husband's brothers. She has however to keep in touch with the husband's female relatives. The bones of the husband go over to the mother's house and eventually to the clan ossuary. The husband is also a potential manager of the property of his female relatives. She has therefore to take note of the order in age of her husband's sisters. As her husband uses the terms for sisters for the sisters-in-law, it is quite natural for her to extend such usage to her husband's sisters. The brothers of the husband do not count at all so far as the woman is concerned, and she will not therefore have any special term for them. As the sisters are referred to as Para Kynsi and Hymmen Kynsi, so will the brothers of the husband be referred to by similar terms. The absence of any sexual privileges between the woman and her

14: Roy I-5 (no date) 1938 AR7 Khasi AR7

human beings all over the four quarters of the globe (*chi snieh ka pyrthei*) with whom, in the world, he can give in marriage and take in marriage, shows the nature which is believed to be innate in the Khasi, and his supposed power of moulding the world. His nature is to grow and to resist, to extend and spread out. It is against his idea of life to remain narrow or limited and resourceless. He is not to be made small or made an orphan, it will not do for him and his idea of the world to '*sah khlem khun kelem kti*,' stay without kind and species, without child, without issue. A couple would even seek to separate if there are no children of the union. His idea is, so to say, 'imperialistic,' to sow and spread out. As I wrote elsewhere, "A Khasi marries men and women of all races; to his Khasi parent the issues are all one and the same without any distinction of caste or creed or colour or possessions. The children are the 'khun kha' (*khun* = child, *kha* = born, i.e. children who are born through the union of a descendant of the parent with a descendant of another parent), and these children are unified into families and are assimilated, in the Khasi idea of life, while these groups of families are traced to their mother and are made to revolve on this ancestress as the pivot of their existence."

Thus the Khasi shows :—

One one side – mother
|
Son—mother
which is, – mother
|
the son of one's own – his kinswoman
On the other side also he shows – mother
|
Son – mother
which is – Father's mother
|
the son of others his kinswoman

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

592 always somewhat outside the family conversation which was centred
593 on the maternal uncle and his sisters, nephews and nieces, by whom
604 I was well taken care of. This is somewhat similar to the situation amongst the Cewa and the Yao of the Central Bantus, which have what Richard calls 'the detachable husband' (Richards, 1950, pp. 233-35, 248), though the parallel is not by any means exact.

428 There is, therefore, inevitably an element of tension in the relations
581 between the wife's maternal uncle (including parents-in-law) and the husband (son-in-law) and this tension makes the latter's life extremely
• 586 uncomfortable. This awkward position is well shown in the divorce rate. At Kongton (see List 9), out of 61 couples (house-owners and
[604] their spouses), the number of persons who had experience of divorce
[606] was 33 (female 15, male 18) and those married more than twice
[592] numbered 19 (female 7, male 12). Out of 61 couples, there were only 31 in which neither husband nor wife had been divorced. In my
[593] census of Jatinga village, 70 per cent of all divorce cases were marriages to heiresses. In general, the period when divorce occurs more frequently is before a couple get children and after the wife has passed the child-bearing age. A marriage breaks up either through the action of the wife or of the husband, but generally through that of the wife. However, the state of separation which I presently describe is brought about by the husband, though later it results in a divorce from the wife. Divorce does not mean a great catastrophe for a Khasi wife, especially if she is an heiress and her husband's economic
[587] contribution is not significant. Moreover, in this society remarriage is as easy for a widow or divorcée, as it is to divorce. In the villages of Sohkynduh and Kongton, the couple who wants to divorce has only to throw a few Annas together in the presence of some witness, usually an elderly man.

581 In addition to divorce, there are many actual separations of husband and wife, of short or long duration, when the husband runs away from
593 his wife's house to his sister's. Though it does not always end in divorce, considerable number of husbands have a strong tendency to spend most of their time at their sister's house. Khasi women often told me, "I don't know why he does not come back to my place." I have often found the husband staying at his sister's house only a few houses away from his wife's, without any particular reason. They are obliged to see each other every day whether divorced or separated. This kind of ambiguity in the marriage relation seems to have an important correlation with the Khasi social structure, combined with the village endogamy. The man and and wife have grown up together from their childhood in the same village and known each other very well. Hence their psychology cannot clearly distinguish the marriage form as a newly-established independent social relation-

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

171 seems to come *firstly* from the different residential arrangement on
592 marriage: among the Negri Sembilan a man marries into his wife's
602 group, i.e. his wife's village; being thus separated from his kin, and
613 as a result of the physical absence of his wife's brother or maternal
428 uncle in his domestic family, he enjoys considerable rights in his wife's household—as Swift states, he is 'master in his own house.' On the other hand, since among the Khasi the man stays in the village where his mother's (or mother's successor's) house is, even after his marriage, his relation to his natal house is preserved; *secondly*, from the structural difference of organization of the descent group. Among the Khasi, the *iing* is always the centre of the descent group, based on unigeniture succession and inheritance. Hence, the core of the descent group is always found physically in a particular household, whereas among the Negri Sembilan, the descent group is *not* organized on a *household* level, but is a much wider organization, including apparently many households. Membership of an actual household and of a descent group are at different levels. To marry out and become a member of his wife's household means for the man the transfer of his household membership. Likewise, his sister's husband becomes a member of his sister's household. Thereby he becomes a secondary member of his sister's household after marriage though he keeps his memberhsip in the descent group to which his sister belongs. Among the Khasi, membership of a descent group always corresponds to membership of a particular household. The Khasi man can always demand his rights at his natal house primarily, as he is a member of that descent group. But it should be noted that he has this right only in his mother's (or mother's successor's) household, not his other sisters' (non-heiress') and mother's sisters' households (unless one of them is successor of his mother), though they may belong to the same descent group. These matri kin's households are considered as separate *iing* (strict functional descent group) from his.

• 586 Indeed, sometimes a man cannot find his *iing*, because his mother
613 died leaving no daughter to succeed her, or his sister died leaving
736 no successor, and his *iing* became extinct. Such a case occasionally
428 happens when a man becomes a divorcé or a widower as he is getting old. Then he has to face a serious social and economic condition. In divorcing, he has to leave everything he owned, his earnings including the house which he built, and even children . . . really he has nothing left him except his body.[1] Such a wretched man collects some timber and makes a small hut for himself, though sometimes lads who sympathize with him help him to build it. Unless he finds some woman

1. A widower has an alternative solution—to remain in his late wife's household till he marries again, though his position is not comfortable there.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

whom he can marry, he has to endure this miserable lonely life, while often in the same village his former wife is living in a well-built house with her children and her matrilineal relatives as before. Households of 3, 13 and 30 of Sohkynduh in List 6, and 23, 29, 38 and 56 of Kongton in List 9 are instances of such cases. It is really a pitiful picture to see such a man, aged and poor, living all alone. 586 613 736 428

V. Marriage with the Non-heiress

Outsiders who come to the Khasi Hills are often impressed by the Khasi husband's miserable status and express surprise at the high divorce rate. This is mostly due to exaggeration based on the marriage with the heiress. However, where a man marries a non-heiress, there are many successful marriages with paternal authority. In most of these cases a man's status as a husband and as a father is stable. First of all, the domestic residential unit is an elementary family. From the onset of the marriage the husband's labour is of great importance to his family, since a non-heiress usually has no economic background, i.e., no dowry or inherited property (see p. 105). The economic circumstances allow a man to be the *de facto* head even though whatever he earns belongs, as a rule, to his wife. A man who succeeds at the beginning of his married life is respected and honoured as father in his family for the rest of his life. By this type of marriage, the man's status is firmly established. It is therefore a more secure form of marriage than a match with an heiress. 184 428 593

In such a marriage the children love and obey their father. The management of his acquired property will be taken over by his son and the property will be handed over to his daughter. Thus the paternal authority is as well established in this form of domestic family, as in a patrilineal family. However, the great difference from a patrilineal case is that the husband/father status is not permanent as the authority of the family. Theoretically he exercises it in the absence of a male adult member of his wife's *iing* (actually founded by his contribution), in other words, till his son is grown up (see p. 12). In the next generation this will form an established *iing* in which the husband of his youngest daughter will suffer again. [613]

The household of this kind of marriage with a non-heiress actually enjoys a considerable degree of independence from the descent groups of both wife and husband. If a man who has established a matrimonial life independent of his wife's natal *iing*, is not the authority of his natal *iing*, his relation with the latter usually becomes weaker. Economic and residential factors make it possible for the men to make the considerable shift from his *iing* to his wife's *iing*, and though 592 593 613

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

182 Even after divorce or husband's death, the Khasi woman stays on in her
586 household. Indeed many divorced or widowed poor wives, whose
613 children are still small, try their best to live and bring up their children
736 by themselves without asking their brothers' help. Of course a mother and her small children may go back to live in her natal *iing*. Such cases are found particularly when the woman's *iing* is rich. However, during my field work, I found no sense of psychological inferiority in Khasi women, widows or divorcées, such as we usually find in other societies. The personality of the individual seems to reflect the social structure.

182 Given such strong residential independence on the part of the
184 non-heiress, economically divorced from her descent group, and
586 oriented towards sociological separation from it, the husband's eco-
593 nomic and social contribution is handsomely rewarded by the estab-
613 lishment of a stable, happier, matrimonial life. In fact, as already mentioned, the divorce rate among such couples is very low contrasted with the high rate among marriages with heiresses. More accurately, I should say that divorce is more likely to occur among the latter owing to the conflict of loyalties towards spouse and *iing*. Therefore, when each partner has less loyalty towards his or her natal *iing*, the divorce cases become correspondingly fewer. Thus, among the Khasi, successful marriages are frequently found where there is branching off from an *iing*. And a new *iing* is always established by a husband's contribution.

182 Khasi men, who are well aware of this fact, prefer to marry a
184 non-heiress, since they will then form an independent household and
581 remain immune to pressure from their wife's kin. However, they say a poor or lazy man prefers marriage with an heiress. As Richards said of the matrilineal Central Bantus, the residence on marriage seems to be a most important index of the husband's status, though the determining factors of the residence of the Khasi differ from those of the Bantus (see p. 124).

182 In the case of marriage with an heiress, when the wife dies, the
184 husband usually returns to his *iing* (the youngest sister's house). But
587 in marriage with a non-heiress the husband often remains with his
593 children, if his children are not too small and he is not planning to
613 marry any woman other than his late wife's younger sister. If he
736 marries his wife's younger sister, he has the right to stay on. This kind of sororal marriage cannot take place in the case of a man married to an heiress, since a Khasi man is not allowed to marry the late wife's elder sister. This form of sororate is found among the Khasi, but the levirate is unknown, such as can be seen among the Ashanti
182 and the Ila, where a man takes his late brother's wife. Among
587 the Khasi, even if a widow happened to marry her late husband's

says that the MoBrCh but not the FaSiCh is prohibited (1897: 2), but Gurdon says that the MoBrCh is eligible after the death of MoBr, and that FaSiCh is eligible after the death of Fa (1907: 78). Nowadays both types of marriage occur, whether the linking relative is living or dead. **Residence.** Residence is either duolocal or matrilocal under the roof of the wife's mother until the birth of one or two children. For a man married to a youngest daughter, it then continues to be matrilocal. For men married to other daughters, it becomes uxorilocal; there have also always been cases of virilocal residence, and it is now common to find neolocal residence in Shillong. For non-Christian Jaintias, it is duolocal throughout the marriage. **Domestic unit.** The domestic unit is the elementary family, though for a youngest daughter it may temporarily include also her aged mother, aged father, unmarried siblings, or divorced or widowed brothers. **Inheritance.** Traditionally, after the Khasi mother had helped each of her daughters to build and supply a house when each one married and had children, her only real obligation to help them economically was ended. Everything she possessed, excepting certain personalty that was destroyed in her cremation, was inherited by her youngest daughter. Failing daughters, a woman's property reverted to her next youngest sister's daughter. Today, this pattern is often modified by putting more property into the hands of older daughters and even sons. [Cf. Cantlie 1934; Becker 1924.] **Divorce.** A woman may effect numerous and usually brief separations from her husband by simply closing the door of her house to him, whereupon he returns to the house of his mother or youngest sister. Divorce, however, must be initiated by mutual consent. Divorce is very common, even though women resist it because they do not wish to lose a provider, and men because they do not wish to lose their children. Formerly it was accomplished by a simple ritual in the presence of witnesses, followed by public announcement by a town crier. Now, the witnesses and the public announcement have been dispensed with, and evidence for divorce consists only in the word of the parties concerned.

835 [114] [178] 591 592 428 [178] 586 586 178

SOCIOPOLITICAL ORGANIZATION. **Political organization.** The basic unit of political organization is the village, which is composed of one or more dominant local descent groups plus several others. Village government is by an assembly of all resident adult males, under the informal chairmanship of a headman elected by them from among their number. The membership of any immigrant household into a village is defined by the participation of the household's males in this assembly. Sustained membership in a village is voluntary. Khasi chiefdoms probably arose out of voluntary associations of villages, which occasionally transferred allegiance from one chief to another.

62 174 619

household deities, and measles and smallpox deities. 776
Deities of the first two categories are simply aspects 771
of the high God or Goddess. ● The earth is peopled with two great orders of land demons and water demons who cause all undesirable, unnatural, and otherwise inexplicable events, acting either on their own or as instruments in the hands of sorcerers. Apart from omens, both in nature and in dreams, 787
Khasis attach supernatural significance also to mystic 822
numbers, and to the colors white, black, and red. They hold especially important folk beliefs regarding 824
betel nut, paddy rice, gold and silver, and clothing.
Practitioners. The two classes of religious practition- 791
ers are the village or state priests and the sacrificers. Both are male. They use the same divinatory tech- 793
niques of reading broken eggshells and the entrails 754
of cocks, and they both sacrifice cocks, hens, goats, pigs, and cattle. Their skills are not taught to them so much as picked up by observation and confirmed by demonstrations of efficacy. A priest is elected from among the men of his sib to direct his skills to the public good until he dies, and his rewards are institutionalized and come from the village or the state. A sacrificer acts for private persons or kin groups, on call, and is rewarded by them personally with gifts in cash or in kind. The sacrificer is called upon to explain and then to ritually remedy every variety of misfortune, especially illness, though his powers are nowadays regarded with ambivalence, and he is widely expected to become a sorcerer sooner or later. ● There are two major types of sor- 754
cerer. One is the ritual specialist or sacrificer who secretly turns his skills from good to evil, manipulating demons to injure a person or kin group, and acting always for himself alone out of considerations of jealousy or revenge. The other is normally a leading citizen, a woman who is so wealthy and successful that it is believed that she must keep a *thlen*, i.e. a creature which will bring her prosperity as long as she feeds it periodically with human blood. To provide this blood, the men of her household, or other males whom she bewitches with a special whisky, will indiscriminately murder anyone except a mem- [184]
ber of her matrilineage. The Jaintias have an analogue to the *thlen* in their *taro*, except that the ultimate result is death from illness rather than murder. Minor witchcraft can be perpetrated by poison keepers or persons with an evil eye, who are often women. **Ceremonies.** The important traditional 843
ceremonies were the life-crisis rituals relating to 844
pregnancy and childbirth, the naming of a child, and 553
death. Lesser ceremonies related to marriage and 764
divorce, and to housebuilding. All these rituals were 585
addressed primarily to the ancestors, and they are 586 ●
still performed in modified form by many Khasis. 342
Other rituals, which were performed by groups such 769
as villages, sibs, local descent groups, or households, 178
were addressed to the unnamed aspects of the high 782

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

strip of fine silk for the loins, a part of which hangs gracefully as low as the calves in front. No notice is here taken of what has undoubtedly been added and borrowed from their more civilised neighbours in the plains. 291

'MARRIAGE.—The marriageable age for females is from 15 to 18; for males, from 18 to 24. Matrimonial alliances are contracted either through the parents or the living representatives of the families to which the parties belong. The mode of procedure is still very primitive and unceremonious. The bridegroom, escorted by a number of friends and relatives, goes to the house of the bride, where all are feasted and lodged for the night; on the morrow he leads the bride, accompanied by a number of her relatives, to his own house, and entertains the company with dishes of boiled rice and fresh pork. After remaining there a day or two, the newly-married couple return together to the house of the wife, which becomes their future home. Marriage is dissoluble by regular divorce, for any sufficient cause, and often without any assignable reason except mutual dislike or want of issue, the latter being the most common case of all. Marriage with the Khásiás is simply a conventional arrangement, with nothing further for its object than the procreation of children; failing that, it is no longer looked upon as a contract permanently binding. Divorce is effected in the presence of eye-witnesses—the parents, or the heads of clans. Five cowries (*kauris*) are produced by the parties and exchanged, then cast away by mutual consent, and the ceremony is over. Parties once divorced can never again contract marriage with each other, but they are at liberty to marry into other families. Polygamy, strictly so called, is not sanctioned by Khási custom. Adultery is looked upon as a serious crime. If the five cowries have not been cast away by mutual consent, both husband and wife are held to be subject to the "matrimonial demon;" and even when either dies in wedlock, the survivor is not at liberty to contract a fresh alliance until he or she pays the family a sum of money as the means of removing the surviving party from subjection to the "matrimonial demon." The husband is a stranger, so to speak, in the family he has entered, and perpetuates the race of others, not his own. The children in all questions of lineage and personal rights follow the mother. There are always two interests in the same family—that of the husband, and that of the wife. Whatever the husband may have earned or acquired in

58 591 586 [581] 587 595 837 587 593 611 593 428

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

589 dition that she does not remarry; the idea being that as long as
765 the bones remain in the widow's keeping, the spirit of her husband is still with her. On this account many wives who revere their husband's memories, and who do not contemplate
587 remarriage, purposely keep the bones for a long time. If a
765 widow marries, even after the customary taboo period of one year, whilst her deceased husband's bones are still in her keeping,
[346] she is generally looked down upon. Her children in such a case perform the ceremony of handing over the bones of their father to his clan in a building specially erected for the purpose. The widow cannot enter therein, or even go near it, whilst the ceremony is proceeding, no matter whether the *jing sang*, or the price for removing the taboo after a husband's death, has been
595 paid to the husband's clan or not. There is no evidence to show that polyandry ever existed amongst the Khasis. Unlike the Thibetans, the Khasi women seem to have contented themselves always with one husband, at any rate with one at a time. Certainly at the present day they are monandrists. Polygamy does not exist amongst the Khasis; such a practice would naturally not be in vogue amongst a people who observe the matriarchate. There are instances, however, of men having wives other than those they have regularly married, and in the Wár country children by such wives enjoy rights to their father's acquired property equally with the children by the legally
582 married wife. As the clans are strictly exogamous, a Khasi
688 cannot take a wife from his own clan; to do this would entail
764 the most disastrous religious, as well as social consequences. For to marry within the clan is the greatest sin a Khasi can commit, and would cause excommunication by his kinsfolk and the refusal of funeral ceremonies at death, and his bones would
[115] not be allowed a resting-place in the sepulchre of the clan. To
614 give a list of all the Khasi exogamous clans would perhaps serve no useful purpose, but I have prepared from information, kindly
582 furnished me by the Siems of Khyrim and Cherrapunji, a list of the clans in those States which will be found in Appendices A and B. These will suffice as examples. It will be seen from the Cherra list that the different divisions of the Diengdoh clan, viz. Lalu, Diengdoh-bah, Diengdoh-kylla, are prohibited from intermarriage; this is due to those branches of the clan being

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614 descended from a common ancestress. There are other instances
582 of clans being connected with one another, such connection being called by the Khasis *iateh kur*. Whenever such connection exists, intermarriage is strictly prohibited, and is considered to be *sang*. There is no custom of hypergamy. A Khasi cannot marry his maternal uncle's daughter during the lifetime
[604] of the maternal uncle. This is probably due to the fact that the maternal uncle, or *kni*, in a Khasi household is regarded more in the light of a father than of an uncle. His children, however, would belong to the clan of his wife and there would, therefore, in ordinary cases be no bar to the nephew marrying one of them. Marriage with the daughters of a father's sister is not allowed during the lifetime of the father, but after the latter's death there is no religious ban, although such unions are looked upon with disfavour by the Khasis. In the Wár country, how-
587 ever, such marriages are totally prohibited. A Khasi cannot
582 marry two sisters, but he can marry his deceased wife's sister after the expiry of one year from the wife's death, on payment of *jing sang* (price of *sang*, or taboo) to the wife's clan. A
582 Khasi cannot marry the daughter of his father's brother; she is his *para kha* (lit. birth sister). Similarly he cannot marry the daughter of his father's paternal uncle. He can, however, marry the daughter of his mother's brother, provided that the brother is dead. This somewhat paradoxical state of affairs is explained by the fact that the children of the mother's brother belong to a different clan to that of the mother, i.e. to the mother's brother's wife's clan. The Khasi, Synteng, Wár, and Lynngam divisions are not strictly endogamous groups, and there is nothing to prevent intermarriage between them. For instance, it has been the custom in the Nongkhlaw Siem family to obtain husbands for the princesses of the state from the Wár country. There is no custom amongst the Khasis of two men exchanging daughters, i.e. each marrying his son to
[423] the other's daughter. Notwithstanding the existence of the matriarchate, and the fact that all ancestral property is vested in the mother, it would be a mistake to suppose that the father
593 is a nobody in the Khasi house. It is true that the *kni*, or
604 mother's elder brother, is the head of the house, but the father is the executive head of the new home, where, after children

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have been born to him, his wife and children live with him. It 593
is he who faces the dangers of the jungles, and risks his life for 604
wife and children. In his wife's clan he occupies a very high place, he is second to none but *u kni*, the maternal uncle, while in his own family circle a father and husband is nearer to his children and his wife than *u kni*. The Khasi saying is, "*u kpa uba lah ban iai, u kni uba tang ha ka iap ka im*," which may be translated freely as, "the father bears the heat and burden of the day, the maternal uncle only comes when it is a question of life or death." The Khasi father is revered not only when living, but also after death as *U Thawlang*, and special ceremonies are performed to propitiate his shade. Further remarks on the subject of marriage will be found in the Section which deals with religion.

DIVORCE.

Divorce amongst the Khasis is common, and may occur for 586
a variety of reasons, such as adultery, barrenness, incompatibility of temperament, &c. The rule amongst the Khasis is that both parties must agree, but amongst the Wars, especially the people of Shella, the party who divorces the other without his or her consent must pay compensation, which is called *ka mynrain*, or *ka thnem*. Amongst the Khasis it is not the custom to enforce restitution of conjugal rights; as a rule, when husband and wife cannot live together amicably, they agree to divorce one another; but occasionally it happens that either the husband or the wife will not agree to a divorce. Usually the husband would be willing to live with his wife; but when the latter consents neither to live with her husband nor to accept a divorce, a difficult situation arises, and it is in the event of such a contingency happening that the necessity of assessing *ka mynrain*, or *ka thnem* (compensation), occurs. [587]
The latter is computed by the village elders. Parties who have been divorced cannot afterwards remarry one another, but they are at liberty to marry into other families. A woman cannot [843]
be divorced during pregnancy. The following description of the divorce ceremony is taken from U Jeebon Roy's note on the

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586 Khasi religion. If the marriage has been celebrated according to the *pynhiar synjat* rite, a *ksiang* (go-between) is necessary on each side, also the *kni*, or maternal uncles of the parties, to witness the divorce. In other cases the presence of the *ksiang* is unnecessary, but some acquaintances and friends as well as the relatives on both sides should witness the ceremony. The husband and the wife each bring five cowries (*sbài*), or, more commonly nowadays, five pice. The wife gives her five cowries or pice to her husband, who places them with his, and then returns the five cowries or coins to his wife, together with his own five. The wife then returns the ten shells or coins to the husband who throws them on the ground. A crier (*u sòng*
[203] *pyrta shnong*) then goes round the village to proclaim the divorce, using the following words :—

"Kaw—hear, oh villagers, that U—— and K—— have become separated in the presence of the elders. Hei! thou, oh, young man, canst go and make love to Ka—— for she is now unmarried (*khynraw*), and thou, oh, spinster, canst make love to U——. Hei! there is no let or hindrance from henceforth." Among the Khasis divorce must be by mutual consent,
[587] and the ceremony must take place in the open air. Until the divorce ceremony has been performed as above described, neither husband nor wife can marry again, but after it has taken place, either can remarry, but not within the family of the divorced husband or wife. In the event of a husband or wife being absent for a long period, say ten years, without any communication having been received from either of them, a divorce ceremony is performed by the relatives on his or her behalf. It is stated by U Jeebon Roy * that the rule of
595 monogamy is not so strict for the husband as it is for the wife,
428 he can contract an informal alliance with another woman, the only prohibition being that she must not belong to the original wife's village. Such a wife is called *ka tynga tuh*, literally, stolen wife, in contradistinction to the legally married wife (*ka tynga tuei*). The children by the unmarried wife are called *ki khun kliar* (children from the top). By children from the top, is understood to mean children from the branches not from the root (*traj*) of the tree. Such children cannot claim ancestral property except in the wife's country.

113 * See page 18, "Ka Niam Khasi." (U Jeebon Roy.)

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765 If any stream has to be crossed, a rough bridge is made of
764 branches and grass. This trail of leaves and the bridges are intended to guide the spirit of the deceased to the cairn. The person who carries the bones is not allowed to turn round, or to the right, or to the left, but must proceed straight to the cairn. On reaching it, a *nongkaia*, or sacrificer, washes the bones three times and then places them in an earthen pot, tying up the mouth with a white cloth. Then, having taken three pieces of the hard yolk of an egg, three leaves of bread, the leg of the fowl, "*u'iar krad lynti*," and the lower jaw-bones of the animals which have been sacrificed, he places them inside the cairn and shuts the door. Eatables and
765 betel-nut are then placed on the top of the cairn. Early next
787 morning the relatives and friends go to the cairn with fresh food and water, and look about for new foot-prints, the idea being
[775] that from these foot-prints they can foretell future events. This they do until the third night after the cremation. During these three nights the front door of the house formerly occupied by the deceased is never closed, it being thought that the spirit may wish to return and visit its earthly abode. The whole family is moreover *sang*, or taboo, during this period, and no manner of work can be done. When the three nights are over, it is called the *lait ia*, i.e. the days (of mourning) are passed, and three eggs are broken to ascertain what was the cause of the death. After this the family goes to bathe, and
[783] the clothes and mats in the house are washed. When this has been done, the taboo is removed and the family can go to work. After a month a pig or a fowl is sacrificed, the ceremony
782 being called "*ai bam lait hoai*." It will be observed that *three*
765 seems to be the lucky number throughout these funeral
801 ceremonies. The number seems to bear a similar significance in other matters of Khasi ritual, e.g. the pouring out of libations, which is always done three times.

587 It is *sang* or taboo for a Khasi widow to re-marry within one
428 year from the death of her husband, there is a similar prohibition for a husband re-marrying; but such *sang* can be got over by the payment of a fine to the clan of the deceased. After the expiration of one year the fine is reduced in amount. Khasi widows do not as a rule re-marry, according to U Jeelem Roy,

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587 unless they have no female children, in which case the clan
428 urges them to re-marry, so that the chain of inheritance may not be broken, inheritance amongst the Khasis always passing in the female line.

CUSTOMS IN CONNECTION WITH DEATHS BY VIOLENCE OR ACCIDENT.

766 These customs are interesting enough to deserve a separate
782 description; they are as follows:—

776 If a man dies by the sword, before his body can be burnt, a sacrifice of a black hen must be offered to *Ka Tyrut*, the goddess of death. The bones are then placed in a stone cairn. Again they are removed, and, after eggs have been broken, are taken to a river bank and there washed. If there is no river at hand, a tank is dug for the purpose, which is called *umkoi*. There are various such *umkois* in different parts of the district, e.g. near Raliang and Nartiang. A sacrifice of a goat is offered to the god *U Syngkai Bamon*, and a sow to *Ka Ramshandi*, both of whom are evil deities. Another sow is sacrificed to *Ka Tyrut*. After this the bones are placed in another newly-built cairn. The ceremony of placing the bones in one and
[787] then removing them to another cairn is usually performed three times; but unless the auspices, as deduced from the eggs, are favourable, the relatives must go on sacrificing and removing the bones until they are so. These ceremonies having been completed, they erect a flat table-stone, or *mawkynthei*, for the ghost of the departed to sit upon, and return home, where they propitiate their ancestors with offerings of food. In the case of the murdered victims of the *thlen* superstition the same ceremonies are observed. For people who have died by drowning, or been killed by wild animals, and for women who have died in child-birth, similar pujas are
766 offered, except that a sacrifice to *U Syngkai Bamon* does not take place. In the case of one who has died at a distance from
782 his home, e.g. in a foreign country, whose body has not been burnt in accordance with custom, and whose bones have not been collected, the members of his clan, or his children, take three or five seeds or cowries (*shai*) to a place where three roads meet. Here they summon the spirit of the departed in a loud voice,

782 The Khasi also erect little platforms with little houses from long bamboo sticks in which food is served to the spirits of the woods and fields (to serve [siang-] actually means spread out, as one spreads out a carpet or as one spreads out leaves for serving rice on).

[789] But not only through making sacrifices do the Khasi try to propitiate the devils and thereby make them harmless. They even try it with violence. Thus, as mentioned above, they drive the cholera demoness out of the house with sticks. Also during a cremation they shoot three arrows to ward off evil spirits.

There are many ways of warding off evil spirits; or, for acquiring their help words, wishes, or curses are used, as, for example, during a match of arrow shooting, the watchers who stand by the target try to keep the arrows of the opponents from hitting the target by calling on some god (ksuid) and the more they shriek, the sooner they believe they will attain their purpose. They wish to influence the arrows of the opponents.

3. Taboos (sang)

784 The sang or taboos of the Khasi also belong
782 to superstition. Sang means the same as "sacrilegiously or most strictly forbidden." This sang can be traced back to totemistic views. Sang can be something for a single person, for a house (iing) or a family, for a sib and a whole race (jaid). If a man or a woman whose spouse has
•[587 921] died remarries, the sang is transferred to the relatives of the deceased man or woman. This "inheritance" of the sang is different according to the sib. By accepting the sang the inheritors must pay 11 of a [ul] kaḃ or 7 1/2 of a kaẇ or 5 1/2 of a kaẇ. By kaḃ the number 1280 is actually understood. But it means, however, that

784 not so!) See here the piece u dykhot (11) and
782

11. A piece of sacrificial meat.

the sour things u lanjew (12) (a strong and

12. Herbs, roots.

sweet liquor) not (is it not so!)

[517] All relatives and acquaintances, friends and neighbors are invited to this sacrificial feast. There is a big festive meal, chiefly of meat and bacon. But before the eating begins, the rang (horn) and ngap (fork) which were laid on the "adulterer stone" before the cursing of the pig are removed. At this sacrifice all the money collected before (11 or 7 1/2 or 5 1/2 of a kha) must be completely used up, as it is forbidden to preserve any of it in house so that it will not get mixed up with the daily wage or one's earnings.

[517] The remarriage must naturally occur in another sib (jaid) if the sang is to be inherited; because otherwise the sang would remain in the family.

784 Most of the sang that occur, different according to the families or the sibs, are the following: (13)

13. Gordon, The Khasis, p. 5.

[518] 1. Building a house with stone walls on all four sides.
2. The use of iron nails in building a house.
3. The use of more than one kind of wood in building a hearth.
4. The use of resinous wood in building a house.
5. Felling wood in a holy forest (except

divides equally. U Subu Rai explained that each house counted as a separate unit. Thus if Ka Jem, Ka Jin and all their daughters were alive, the married daughters who lived in a separate house, namely, Ka Laimon, Ka Laibon, Ka Aimon and Ka Hoiman of Ka Jem's house, and Ka Phre of Ka Jin's line, would each get a share. But Ka Jem and her Ka Khadduh Ka Aiben who lives in the mother's house would get only one share. So would Ka Jin, Ka Eiribon and the unmarried daughters of the latter. The descendants of Ka Lung would get seven equal shares for distribution to each house, and not two shares first, divided later into shares corresponding to the number of daughters for Ka Jem's and Ka Jin's house. The manager does not get any share of the collections. Authority in the management of the ancestral property therefore passes from one male to another, in the extended family, and the Kur, in a manner which necessitates a clear distinction of seniority and juniority of brothers, among themselves and also of sisters with regard to brothers. 421 [429] [428]

The case of succession is similar. Gurdon notes that the Siemship in Mylliem State passes from a man to his next brother, and "failing such brothers, by the eldest of his sisters' sons; failing such nephews by the eldest of the sons of his sisters' daughters; failing such grand nephews by the eldest of the sons of his mother's sisters" and so forth in the female line. In Nongkrem, the son or similar male relative of the High Priestess becomes by delegation a Siem. The office of the High Priestess passes from a woman to her eldest surviving daughter; and failing daughters to the eldest daughter of her eldest daughter; failing daughters of her eldest daughter, to the eldest daughter of her second daughter, and so on. This is the customary line of succession, and is stated by Gurdon to be "uniform in all cases" practically. 428 793 643

Neither levirate, nor sororate are practised by the Khasis. Widows are stated (G) quite often not to remarry if there are daughters. There is no question of the control of the property 587 421

587 421 of the woman by her husband. No occasion arises either of taking his place on death, by his brother or by sister's son; or of a sister of a deceased wife being made over to a man, as is the custom among Garos, where the husband of the heiress manages the property of his wife. Among the Khasis, the widow or widower cannot normally remarry before the end of a year after the death of the husband or wife. When a year is over, a payment is made to the Kur of the deceased to remove 587 the disability. If the man or woman want to remarry before 782 the year is out, a larger sum is paid. In Mawphlang, a sum of Rs. 5-4-0 is paid at the end of the year and Rs. 11-4-0 for untimely remarriage (within the year). The payment is made to the Ka Khadduh of the deceased in each case, and a ceremony severing the relation with the dead spouse is performed. A pig is purchased with the money and it is sacrificed in the house of the Ka Khadduh by a man—usually a neighbour. If the deceased was a man, the following invocation is made: [539] "Ha kane ka mied la shim nong sang bad knia nong sang is phi. Ka tnga uta uta ban is khuid."

Free translation :—

"On this night the tabooed person is sacrificing to you. The wife of so-and-so (naming the man) is hereby made pure."

The pig is then killed by thrusting an iron spike through the shoulder. It is then cooked and eaten by the people present. This mode of killing is known as "dung."

The myntri Orongsing, whose genealogy has been noted, remarried a year after the death of his first wife Ka Resimai. This woman died two years ago, and the ceremony for removing the bar on remarriage was performed only last year. The money was made over to an old man U Ru, who is well acquainted with the rites. He purchased a pig and killed it by the "dung" method in the compound of Ka Resimai's mother, Ka Sheribon. The spike might be of wood or iron, stated U Ichon. I was informed by the myntri U Subu Rai that the ceremony of

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removal of the bar on remarriage was also of the same kind elsewhere in the neighbouring States. Clearly, the idea of leviration or sororation is incompatible with this idea of the marriage bond continuing even after death and necessitating a ceremony to break it. It may also be noted that while the Khasis permit divorce somewhat easily, remarriage is not permitted of either party "within the family of the divorced husband or wife" (G). A Khasi cannot also marry two sisters, although he can marry irregularly, more than one woman and also the wife's sister after the decease of the wife. We can now discuss why a woman or a man refers to the brothers and sisters of the husband or wife by the kinship terms used by the spouse, qualified by a special term. When a man marries and goes to live in the house of his wife's mother, he comes in contact with unmarried sisters of the wife. But he knows that they are sexually to be avoided. He lives in the wife's mother's house only during the life time of his wife. A wife's sister is comparable to a Kur sister sexually, during this period.

But his economic relations and religious ties require that a distinction should be made between these "sisters" and the "Kur sisters." The qualifying term supplies this requirement. The woman, on the other hand, has no direct relations with her husband's brothers. She has however to keep in touch with the husband's female relatives. The bones of the husband go over to the mother's house and eventually to the clan ossuary. The husband is also a potential manager of the property of his female relatives. She has therefore to take note of the order in age of her husband's sisters. As her husband uses the terms for sisters for the sisters-in-law, it is quite natural for her to extend such usage to her husband's sisters. The brothers of the husband do not count at all so far as the woman is concerned, and she will not therefore have any special term for them. As the sisters are referred to as Para Kynsi and Hymmen Kynsi, so will the brothers of the husband be referred to by similar terms. The absence of any sexual privileges between the woman and her

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of marriages between these two *kur*. Such marriage arrangements cannot be regarded as constituting a cross-cousin institution. From my data of four villages it was not possible to produce any institutionalized pattern. 582 614

In general, the selection of a marital partner depends mainly on personal choice, though the authority of the *iing* (descent group) and parents should be consulted. The man proposes to the girl. The network of marriage relations among the Khasi seems in no way to follow any set principle. Every marriage is likely to be fortuitous: it is ruled simply by temporary personal liking, except for the strict rule of exogamy and the avoidance of near kin.

Exogamy is strictly kept. In the olden days breaking this rule was equivalent to being sentenced to death. Offenders had their heads shaved in a particular way and had to leave the Khasi community completely. Even now such a marriage is considered as the worst kind of sin; a Khasi Christian intellectual said to me that it was worse than homicide. I came across one couple who had broken this rule. Though they had different *kur* names, both *kur* were segments of one common *kur*. It happened in Jatinga, one of the most modern Khasi communities whose inhabitants were all Christians. The couple were not allowed to have their house inside the village. Their house was in the jungle about one mile away from the village. 178 582 614 684

Successive sororate marriage—marriage to a younger sister of the late wife—is practised, since it justifies the widower in remaining in the same household as his children after his wife's death. Otherwise, the Khasi rule demands that he should leave the house and his children in order to remarry another woman. We shall deal with this aspect again in terms of marriage. 587

II. Principle of Descent and Succession

Previously I have mentioned the *kpoh*, the matrilineal kin group with a common great grandmother. This is not, however, an institutional corporate descent group. The most important functional descent unit is called *iing*. The *iing* is the lowest order of clan segmentation, smaller than the *kpoh*—a *kpoh* may include two or more *iing*. The generation depth of an *iing* is usually two to four, in some cases an *iing* is formed only by mother and child. The Khasi consider this unit to be the most important social index for the classification of individuals. Marriages are arranged by individual *iing*, not by wider groups of kinsmen. The *iing* is the structurally significant norm. The term *iing* is also used for a house building itself, as is the *nok* of the Garo. However, the membership of the *iing*, as I shall 613

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592 always somewhat outside the family conversation which was centred
593 on the maternal uncle and his sisters, nephews and nieces, by whom
604 I was well taken care of. This is somewhat similar to the situation amongst the Cewa and the Yao of the Central Bantus, which have what Richard calls 'the detachable husband' (Richards, 1950, pp. 233-35, 248), though the parallel is not by any means exact.

428 There is, therefore, inevitably an element of tension in the relations
581 between the wife's maternal uncle (including parents-in-law) and the
586 husband (son-in-law) and this tension makes the latter's life extremely uncomfortable. This awkward position is well shown in the divorce
[604] rate. At Kongton (see List 9), out of 61 couples (house-owners and
[606] their spouses), the number of persons who had experience of divorce was 33 (female 15, male 18) and those married more than twice
[592] numbered 19 (female 7, male 12). Out of 61 couples, there were only
[593] 31 in which neither husband nor wife had been divorced. In my census of Jatinga village, 70 per cent of all divorce cases were marriages to heiresses. In general, the period when divorce occurs more frequently is before a couple get children and after the wife has passed the child-bearing age. A marriage breaks up either through the action of the wife or of the husband, but generally through that of the wife. However, the state of separation which I presently describe is brought about by the husband, though later it results in a divorce from the wife. Divorce does not mean a great catastrophe for a Khasi wife, especially if she is an heiress and her husband's economic
[587] contribution is not significant. Moreover, in this society remarriage is as easy for a widow or divorcée, as it is to divorce. In the villages of Sohkynduh and Kongton, the couple who wants to divorce has only to throw a few Annas together in the presence of some witness, usually an elderly man.

581 In addition to divorce, there are many actual separations of husband and wife, of short or long duration, when the husband runs away from
593 his wife's house to his sister's. Though it does not always end in divorce, considerable number of husbands have a strong tendency to spend most of their time at their sister's house. Khasi women often told me, "I don't know why he does not come back to my place." I have often found the husband staying at his sister's house only a few houses away from his wife's, without any particular reason. They are obliged to see each other every day whether divorced or separated. This kind of ambiguity in the marriage relation seems to have an important correlation with the Khasi social structure, combined with the village endogamy. The man and and wife have grown up together from their childhood in the same village and known each other very well. Hence their psychology cannot clearly distinguish the marriage form as a newly-established independent social relation-

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

Even
182 after divorce or husband's death, the Khasi woman stays on in her
586 household. Indeed many divorced or widowed poor wives, whose
613 children are still small, try their best to live and bring up their children
736 by themselves without asking their brothers' help. Of course a mother and her small children may go back to live in her natal *iing*. Such cases are found particularly when the woman's *iing* is rich. However, during my field work, I found no sense of psychological inferiority in Khasi women, widows or divorcées, such as we usually find in other societies. The personality of the individual seems to reflect the social structure.

182 Given such strong residential independence on the part of the
184 non-heiress, economically divorced from her descent group, and
586 oriented towards sociological separation from it, the husband's eco-
593 nomic and social contribution is handsomely rewarded by the estab-
613 lishment of a stable, happier, matrimonial life. In fact, as already mentioned, the divorce rate among such couples is very low contrasted with the high rate among marriages with heiresses. More accurately, I should say that divorce is more likely to occur among the latter owing to the conflict of loyalties towards spouse and *iing*. Therefore, when each partner has less loyalty towards his or her natal *iing*, the divorce cases become correspondingly fewer. Thus, among the Khasi, successful marriages are frequently found where there is branching off from an *iing*. And a new *iing* is always established by a husband's contribution.

182 Khasi men, who are well aware of this fact, prefer to marry a
184 non-heiress, since they will then form an independent household and
581 remain immune to pressure from their wife's kin. However, they say a poor or lazy man prefers marriage with an heiress. As Richards said of the matrilineal Central Bantus, the residence on marriage seems to be a most important index of the husband's status, though the determining factors of the residence of the Khasi differ from those of the Bantus (see p. 124).

182 In the case of marriage with an heiress, when the wife dies, the
184 husband usually returns to his *iing* (the youngest sister's house). But
• 587 in marriage with a non-heiress the husband often remains with his
593 children, if his children are not too small and he is not planning to
613 marry any woman other than his late wife's younger sister. If he
736 marries his wife's younger sister, he has the right to stay on. This kind of sororal marriage cannot take place in the case of a man married to an heiress, since a Khasi man is not allowed to marry the late wife's elder sister. This form of sororate is found among the Khasi, but the levirate is unknown, such as can be seen among the Ashanti
182 and the Ila, where a man takes his late brother's wife. Among
587 the Khasi, even if a widow happened to marry her late husband's

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

brother (actually not likely to happen), the levirate has no sociological implication in the social structure, which is specifically related to the residence rule. The levirate seems to have a significant function only when a marriage is virilocal—when the husband has full rights over his residence and property. This is also another aspect where the Khasi structure shows a marked difference from that of the Ashanti and the Ila, etc. 182 587

VI. Marriage of the Man of Authority of an *Iing*

Among these successful marital families, there are also shadows of a matrilineal order. These affect especially those men who are in the position of authority in an *iing*. Such a man, though he has an independent household with his wife and children, often visits his youngest sister's (or niece's) house, *iing (ka iing sen)*, and sometimes stays there. Such a man's attachment to his *iing* is not only social or psychological, but also often economic. The man, as authority of his natal *iing*, usually has economic control over the management, particularly so, if his *iing* has considerable property or active trading business. As husband/father in his family he works for his wife and children, but often takes into consideration as well the interests of his *iing*. I found such cases especially among richer villagers in Shella and Jatinga, where the main economic activities were based on trading. 592 593 602 613 [182]

Among the Khasi, it is quite a traditional rule of the division of labour that women engage in trading activities at markets whether on a large or small scale. Husbands may carry goods from field to market, but male members are kept away from the actual scene of the selling and buying. However, these activities on the part of the women are controlled and accounted for by their uncle or brother, or even son (or, if no male member is available, by the husband), though in many cases they form separate domestic families. The man's control over the trade appears more marked when the scale of business is large. [443] [462]

A man of Jatinga, who worked in a shop in Haflong, spent his salary in keeping his wife and children, but at the same time he kept the accounts of his sister who was a professional merchant. Thus, the economy of the *iing* and that of the co-residential group are crossed by the dual role of the man. Hence, among the Khasi, residential autonomy is not always an indication of economic autonomy. However, it should be clearly understood that a man's acquired property goes to his co-residential group, not to his *iing*. [421]

A man of authority is attached to his *iing* by the stronger ties of religious, social and economic (management) duties as well as by

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

strip of fine silk for the loins, a part of which hangs gracefully as low as the calves in front. No notice is here taken of what has undoubtedly been added and borrowed from their more civilised neighbours in the plains. 291

'MARRIAGE.—The marriageable age for females is from 15 to 18; for males, from 18 to 24. Matrimonial alliances are contracted either through the parents or the living representatives of the families to which the parties belong. The mode of procedure is still very primitive and unceremonious. The bridegroom, escorted by a number of friends and relatives, goes to the house of the bride, where all are feasted and lodged for the night; on the morrow he leads the bride, accompanied by a number of her relatives, to his own house, and entertains the company with dishes of boiled rice and fresh pork. After remaining there a day or two, the newly-married couple return together to the house of the wife, which becomes their future home. Marriage is dissoluble by regular divorce, for any sufficient cause, and often without any assignable reason except mutual dislike or want of issue, the latter being the most common case of all. Marriage with the Khásiás is simply a conventional arrangement, with nothing further for its object than the procreation of children; failing that, it is no longer looked upon as a contract permanently binding. Divorce is effected in the presence of eye-witnesses—the parents, or the heads of clans. Five cowries (*kauris*) are produced by the parties and exchanged, then cast away by mutual consent, and the ceremony is over. Parties once divorced can never again contract marriage with each other, but they are at liberty to marry into other families. Polygamy, strictly so called, is not sanctioned by Khási custom. Adultery is looked upon as a serious crime. If the five cowries have not been cast away by mutual consent, both husband and wife are held to be subject to the "matrimonial demon;" and even when either dies in wedlock, the survivor is not at liberty to contract a fresh alliance until he or she pays the family a sum of money as the means of removing the surviving party from subjection to the "matrimonial demon." The husband is a stranger, so to speak, in the family he has entered, and perpetuates the race of others, not his own. The children in all questions of lineage and personal rights follow the mother. There are always two interests in the same family—that of the husband, and that of the wife. Whatever the husband may have earned or acquired in

58 591 586 [581] 587 595 837 587 593 611 593 428

I: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

The above and other similar sacrifices to the gods of the State or divisions of the State may be said to be the communal religious duties of the *lyngdohs*. The duties of *lyngdohs* with reference to private persons may now be mentioned. When it is found that any two people have made an incestuous marriage, that is to say a marriage within the exogamous group of the *kur*, or clan, the parties at fault are taken before the *lyngdoh* by their clansmen, who request him to sacrifice in order to ward off the injurious effects of the *sang*, or taboo, of such a connection from the kinsfolk. On this occasion a pig is sacrificed to *u'lei lyngdoh* and a goat to *ka lei long raj*. The parties at fault are then outcasted. As mentioned in another place, the sin of incest admits of no expiation for the offenders themselves. In the Khyrim State, it is said by the *lyngdohs* themselves, although not by the Siem or the myntries, that they are the reversionary legatees of all the persons who die without leaving female heirs (*iap duh*). In other Siemships such property passes to the Siem. The *lyngdoh* of Nongkrem can also take possession of the property of persons who have been found to harbour an evil spirit (*jingbih*) in their houses. It appears that in such cases the house and furniture are burnt, as in the case of the *Taroh* superstition in the Jaintia Hills, the *lyngdoh*, however, taking possession of jewellery or anything else of value. The only practical service the *lyngdoh* renders in return is to build the afflicted person a new house; unless, indeed, we take into account the casting forth of the devil by the *lyngdoh*. Mr. Jenkins, of Shangpung, in the Jaintia Hills, writes: "Such is the belief of the people in the evil spirits, that they are completely under the influence of the priests and spend large sums of money in order to secure their favour. They live in constant dread lest by the least transgression or omission they should offend these avaricious men and so bring upon themselves the wrath of the demons." The influence of the *lyngdohs* over the people in the Jaintia Hills seems to be stronger than in the Khasi Hills. For instance, it came to my notice in Raliang that crops cannot be cut until the *lyngdoh* has seen them, in other words, until the *lyngdoh* has claimed and obtained his share of the produce. In many places, however, in the Khasi Hills the *lyngdoh* is much dis-

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

MARRIAGE.

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591 the Syntengs, however, and the people of Maoshai, the case
576 is different, for with them the husband does not go and live in his mother-in-law's house, he only visits her there. In Jowai some people admitted to me that the husband came to his mother-in-law's house only after dark, and that he did not eat, smoke, or even partake of betel-nut there, the idea being that because none of his earnings go to support this house, therefore it is not etiquette for him to partake of food or other refreshment there. If a Synteng house is visited, it is unusual to find the husbands of any of the married daughters there, although the sons of the family may be seen in the house when they have returned from work. Generally in the day-time you will find in a Synteng dwelling an old crone, who is the grandmother, or even the great-grandmother, of the family, also grandchildren or great-grandchildren; but the husbands of the
796 married daughters are not there. The Syntengs seem to have more closely preserved the customs of the matriarchate than
611 the Khasis, and the Syntengs claim that their *niam* or religious ceremonies are purer, i.e. that they more closely correspond to what they were in ancient times than those of the
589 Khasis. Amongst the Syntengs, occasionally, a widow is
765 allowed to keep her husband's bones after his death, on con-

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

589 765 dition that she does not remarry; the idea being that as long as the bones remain in the widow's keeping, the spirit of her husband is still with her. On this account many wives who revere their husband's memories, and who do not contemplate 587 765 remarriage, purposely keep the bones for a long time. If a widow marries, even after the customary taboo period of one year, whilst her deceased husband's bones are still in her keeping, [346] she is generally looked down upon. Her children in such a case perform the ceremony of handing over the bones of their father to his clan in a building specially erected for the purpose. The widow cannot enter therein, or even go near it, whilst the ceremony is proceeding, no matter whether the *jing sang*, or the price for removing the taboo after a husband's death, has been 595 paid to the husband's clan or not. There is no evidence to show that polyandry ever existed amongst the Khasis. Unlike the Thibetans, the Khasi women seem to have contented themselves always with one husband, at any rate with one at a time. Certainly at the present day they are monandrists. Polygamy does not exist amongst the Khasis; such a practice would naturally not be in vogue amongst a people who observe the matriarchate. There are instances, however, of men having wives other than those they have regularly married, and in the Wár country children by such wives enjoy rights to their father's acquired property equally with the children by the legally 582 688 764 married wife. As the clans are strictly exogamous, a Khasi cannot take a wife from his own clan; to do this would entail the most disastrous religious, as well as social consequences. For to marry within the clan is the greatest sin a Khasi can commit, and would cause excommunication by his kinsfolk and the refusal of funeral ceremonies at death, and his bones would [115] 614 582 not be allowed a resting-place in the sepulchre of the clan. To give a list of all the Khasi exogamous clans would perhaps serve no useful purpose, but I have prepared from information, kindly furnished me by the Siems of Khyrim and Cherrapunji, a list of the clans in those States which will be found in Appendices A and B. These will suffice as examples. It will be seen from the Cherra list that the different divisions of the Diengdoh clan, viz. Lalu, Diengdoh-bah, Diengdoh-kylla, are prohibited from intermarriage; this is due to those branches of the clan being

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

custom. In the Amwi doloiship a widow who consents to pay the costs of her husband's funeral, provided she agrees not to re-marry, inherits half of her husband's acquired property. 428 [589]

In the Wár country the children inherit both ancestral and acquired property in equal shares, both males and females, with the exception that the youngest daughter is given something in addition to her share, although not such a large share of the property as amongst the Khasis. Amongst the Mikir-Bhois, i.e. the Mikirs who inhabit the Bhoi doloiship of the Jaintia Hills, the law of inheritance is totally different from that of the Khasis, for males succeed to all property, whether ancestral or acquired. Thus, if a man dies, leaving son, mother, wife, and daughters, the son takes all. If there are several sons, they divide. If there are no sons, the property goes to the nearest male heir. If a woman dies, leaving husband and children, the husband takes all If the husband is dead, and there are sons and daughters, the former inherit. The great difference in the custom of inheritance between Khasis and Bhois is, as I have already pointed out, part of the evidence that these people are of different origin.

The Lynngam law of inheritance is the same as that of the Khasis. The youngest daughter obtains the largest share of the ancestral property, the remainder being divided between the remaining daughters. The sons do not get any share. The rule is also said to apply with regard to acquired property.

ADOPTION.

Both Khasis and Syntengs observe a custom known as *'rap iing* (an abbreviation for *ia rap iing*, literally, to help the house). This is practically adoption. If in a family the female members have died out, the male members of the family are allowed by custom to call (*khot*) a girl from some other family, to act as *ka'rap iing*, and to perform the family religious ceremonies, and therefore to inherit the family ancestral property. The female so introduced into the family then takes her place as *ka khun khadduh*, or youngest daughter, and becomes the head of the house (*ka trai iing*). The 597 428

clothing, operate the large Khasi business establishments in Shillong, and provide all civic and religious leadership. Women care for children and for the home, do the marketing, and sell dried fish, betel nut, lime, fruits, and rice breads at markets. Other tasks can be performed by either sex. **Land tenure.** Land was formerly divided into sib land and public domain. Sib land was corporately held in perpetuity, and was inalienable except by the unanimous consent of all members of the sib. The public domain was subject to usufructuary right by anyone who kept the land regularly under habitation or cultivation, with a lapse of no more than three years. Most villages grew up on public domain, and then reckoned all land inhabited or under cultivation by a village member as village land. Forests were public, except for sacred groves possessed by villages or lineage groups, and everyone was free to gather branches for fuel. Wastelands and streams were also public. By now, most public domain and village land, together with its forest cover, has been pre-empted as private property and is being rented and sold as such. Sib lands remain intact, unless the sibs agree to rent, lease, or sell. [Cf. Cantlie 1934.] 462 423 [178].

KIN GROUPS. **Descent.** Descent is matrilineal, and the Khasi is a member exclusively of his own matrilineage from birth to death. Adoption, which is very rare, is only within the matrilineage. **Kin groups.** The maximal matrilineage is the sib; this is a named, widely dispersed, strictly exogamous, lineage group, which claims but cannot trace its origin from a single ancestress. Sibs used to meet as corporate groups from time to time. Some sibs are linked with others in large amorphous groups that are unnamed and are defined solely by exogamy. Such a group is composed of two or more sibs, the ancestresses of which are claimed to have been either real sisters or dear friends who out of affection declared that thereafter their descendants would be as consanguineals. The origin and function of sib-linkage is now unknown, and today the members of a sib will often disagree on whether or not their sib is linked with another. • The minimal matrilineage is the local descent group, or *ing*. This is the largest kin group that normally rallies at life crises. It is said that the *ing* formerly spanned six generations; today, it encompasses only four. If an *ing* grows to more than four generations in a single village, it segments. New houses are located at some distance from the old and the *ing* soon forgets exactly how to trace genealogical connection, except for which segment descended from a youngest sister. The term *ing* may also be applied to an extended family, an elementary family, and a house. The elementary family is the basic domestic unit in Khasi society. In any village there are likely to be one or two households which stand as sole local representatives of the lineage of the female household head. Such a household is known as an 611 [897] 614 602 [59] •

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

614 to his own matriarchal stock, and at his death his bones
764 are deposited in the cromlech of his mother's kin. In
Jowai he neither lives nor eats in his wife's house, but
[591] visits it only after dark (p. 76). In the veneration of
ancestors, which is the foundation of the tribal piety,
769 the primal ancestress (*Ka Iâudei*) and her brother are
211 the only persons regarded. The flat memorial stones
set up to perpetuate the memory of the dead are called
after the woman who represents the clan (*mâw kyathei*,
p. 150), and the standing stones ranged behind them
are dedicated to the male kinsmen on the mother's
side.

776 In harmony with this scheme of ancestor worship,
the other spirits to whom propitiation is offered are
mainly female, though here male personages also figure
(pp. 106—109). The powers of sickness and death are
all female, and these are those most frequently wor-
shipped (p. 107). The two protectors of the household
are goddesses (p. 112), though with them is also revered
the first father of the clan, *U Thâwlang*.

793 Priestesses assist at all sacrifices, and the male
643 officiants are only their deputies (p. 121); in one
important state, Khyrim, the High Priestess and actual
head of the State is a woman, who combines in her
person sacerdotal and regal functions (p. 70).

195 The Khasi language, so far as known, is the only
member of the Mûn-Khmēr family which possesses
a grammatical gender, distinguishing all nouns as
masculine and feminine; and here also the feminine
nouns immensely preponderate (p. 206). The pronouns
of the second (*wē*, *phâ*) and third person (*â*, *kâ*) have
separate forms for the sexes in the singular, but in the
plural only one is used (*phi*, *ki*), and this is the plural
form of the feminine singular.

000 It may perhaps be ascribed to the pre-eminence
[the husband . . . Analyst]

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

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1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

585 768 that they may prosper, that they may obtain rice and fish, that they may possess hundreds and thousands; thou, oh god." The priest then pours liquor on the ground three times from the gourd, counting "one, two, three." He then continues the invocation thus, "*Hoi*, thou, oh mother; oh grandmother; oh maternal uncle; oh father; oh *Sidd-sin*; oh younger grandmother; oh elder grandmother; oh younger grandfather; oh elder grandfather. As the fresh has fallen (on the floor, i.e. the feast has been prepared), the ring has been put on, the three strips of flesh are ready (alluding to the three dried fish already mentioned), you will all of you (ancestors) give out, you will continue giving strength and spirit (i.e. to the married pair) that they may be well" (and so on, as written in the first invocation). He then pours out the liquor three times as before. He then adjures the Siem, the elders, and all the people who do not belong to either of the two clans, and pours out liquor three times as before. The three pieces of dried fish are first placed on the *tympan*, the high rack above the fire-place, then removed and tied to the ridge-pole of the house, amidst shouts of 585 769 *Ho, hoi, hoi, hoi*. The priest then sacrifices a fowl, and the rich a pig without blemish (also fowl), to *Sniid* sin and *Ka Iew-bri* (the spirits of deceased ancestors of the family), and present them with *dphlint*, or pieces of flesh. Two or three days afterwards, the bride, accompanied by her female relatives, pays a visit to the bridegroom at his house, and after this they go and come as they like to one another's house. 591 782 After two or three children have been born, they take down the pieces of dried fish from the roof and sacrifice two pigs, one on behalf of the husband and another on behalf of the wife. Then they say there can be no possible sang, and husband and wife use each other's things and pool their earnings, and if the husband has a house of his own, the wife can go and live with him; this, however, is not the custom amongst many of the Syntengs, who more strictly observe the principles of the 585 matriarchate. The cost of the marriage ceremonies amongst 435 Khasis, Syntengs and Wars, may be put down at between Rs. 50 and Rs. 200 according to the position of the parties.

[p. 19]

CHAPTER II

Descent, among Khasis, is counted through the mother; residence is also matrilocal. A woman lives with her mother from her birth until some time after her marriage. After one or two children have been born her husband may build for his family a house on the village land, in the village of the wife; this house becomes her property. The ancestral house goes to the youngest daughter. In the absence of a daughter the next youngest sister's youngest daughter becomes the heiress. Rarely, a man will take his wife to his mother's village. This case will be considered later.

A man is born, in the house of the mother's mother, or if the parents have built a separate house, in the house of his mother. He continues to live there until his marriage, when he generally goes to live in the wife's mother's house, whether it is in the same village or a different village.

The myntri U Soba Dai married in the village of Mawphlang, where his mother also lived, and built the house, which is known as his house. It is, technically, the property of his wife Ka Shyngoh and will be inherited by Ka Dhonlum, and thereafter, by Ka Riotima. The house of U Soba Dai's mother, Ka Jin has been inherited by Ka Riotim, and will go in the next generation to Ka Pem. If the latter has no daughters, the property will go to Ka Doni and failing her heiress, to Ka Phra and then to Ka Lamih. If she has no issue, it will pass to her sister Ka Lamih and so on to Ka Lajor. If Ka Lajor has no daughters, the property will go to Ka Joni's family to her youngest daughter Ka Aiton. As she has only sons, the next heiress will be Ka Synon, and if she predeceases Ka Aiton or has no daughters, the girl Ka Riotim will inherit next. If

his house or paddy field or grove; but the sale does not extend to anything more than his right of occupancy.....Any site, garden or plain of cultivation if abandoned, can be taken by another."

A son of a house of the village, of which the Kur is of the ancient settlers or has been given similar privileges, has the right of building a house, and of cultivating land in the Ri Raid. Reference has been made to the rule practice whereby a man brings his wife from her mother's house to his own village. In such a case he may set up a separate house on the community land, and cultivate some of it, to maintain his wife and children. The property will pass, on his death, to his daughters as usual. It will not go to his mother or sister.

(a) The man U Harilak married twice, but did not settle down with his wife on either occasion. He built a house in Mawphlang which is his mother's ancestral village and brought each wife there. Both of them were divorced in turn and have left. If any of his wives had lived with him the house would have gone to his daughters. Now, however, the heiress is Ka Jwan, the daughter of a sister. [Genealogy 1(b)].

(b) The woman Ka Lakimon is of the old Lyngdoh clan of Mawphlang. When U Lyman married her, he set up a house in Mawphlang and cultivated land. But on his death, the woman went away to Shillong with her children, about 10-15 years ago, selling the house and abandoning the jhum land. The son U Bollestar has recently come to Mawphlang and is working in U Sutu Rai's house. If he settles down, *i.e.*, marries and wants to set up a house, he can do so on the Ri Raid. (Genealogy IV).

(c) The foundress of the Khar Dumpep clan was a woman of the village Dumpep, and of clan Khar Dohling. She had two other sisters. One of the three sisters went to Mylliem, and another came to Mawphlang while the third remained at Dumpep as Ka Khadduh. The girl who went to Mylliem founded the Khar Sohtun Kur and the girl who came to Mawphlang founded

13:Mukherjee E-5 (1954)1958 ART Khasi ART

[p.205]

SOCIAL GROUPINGS AMONG THE KHASIS OF ASSAM

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Introduction

THE Khasis, who inhabit the United Khasi and Jaintia Hills district of Assam, are matrilineal. Like the Garos, they are matrilocal in residence. Exclusive ownership over family property is claimed by the Khasi women and the youngest daughter (*Ka-Khaddoh*) who lives permanently in the house of her mother, is the custodian of the family property and the holder of religion (*Ka bat ka-siewi*)[1].

This paper deals with the social groupings, namely, the clan, sub-clan and family, of the Khasis. The materials were collected in 1954 from Mawphlang, Cherapunji and Mawlah and Mawsmai villages further south of the Chera State.

Discussion

In the language of the Khasi, the prefix *Ka* is usually used before the name of a woman or any object belonging to a woman (or considered feminine). The use of *Ka* as a prefix before the name of each social group is suggested to have bearing on Khasi matriliny. *Kur* is not a very expressive and exact term for a clan. *Kabur*, which is supposed to have sprung from the woman (*long jaid na ka kpaikul*)[2] is more exact. Similarly, *Ka-Ki'pah* and *Ka-ing* denote the sub-clan and family respectively.

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[1] Gordon, P. R. T., The Khasis, London, 1914 p. 56.

[2] Op. cit., page 56.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

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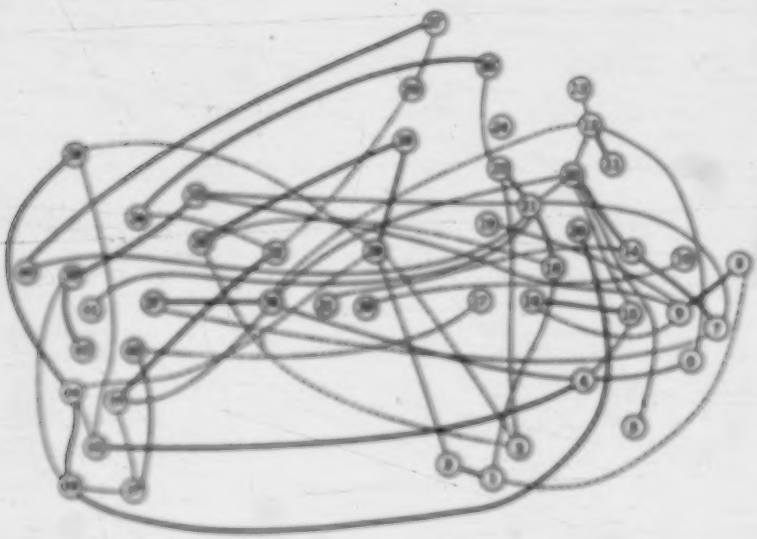

FIG. 10. — *Kinship and Household Location in Sohkynduh.*

——— Matrilineal kinship relations among household-owners;
——— Affinal relations (direct) among household-members;
- - - - - Affinal relations (indirect) among household-members.

particular two families are not restricted to one, but may be accumulated two or three, though I omitted to indicate these in Fig. 10.

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There are some extensions of marriage relations with members outside the village. In Sohkynduh, out of 88 (48 housewners and 40 their husbands) 13 men and 2 women came from neighbouring villages. Owing to the predominant uxorilocal arrangement, those who came in from outside the village were mostly men. By these members, five different *kur*, new to Sohkynduh, were found, as shown in List 7 (17-21). Most of these outsiders came from villages inside the Kadashinong, or villages no further than a day's journey there and back. This area might be called a secondary endogamous area, and includes more than half a dozen villages. In Kongton, 20 husbands and 3 women came from neighbouring villages by their marriages. The secondary endogamous areas of Kongton and of Sohkynduh are not the same but they overlap in certain places, the surrounding areas being centred on each village. There were, by December 1955, no instances of direct marriage between these two villages.

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There are a few exceptions to local endogamy, such as those individuals who have become Christians and are educated in towns like Shillong or Cherrapunjee. They usually move to a town, seeking

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

592 The Khasi domestic unit (co-residential group) can be divided into four categories:

1. Households consisting of wife, husband and their children, wife's unmarried sisters and brothers—sometimes including widowed or divorced.
2. [613] Households including all members of an *iing* (excluding their spouses from members of 1). In this type, larger households contain all the descendants of three or more generations from one woman (in this case, an *iing* corresponds to a *kpuh*).
3. [591] Households of intermediate type between 1 and 2. Husbands are supposed to live in their wife's house, but they often go back to their sister's house for meals, and sometimes sleep there. They are supposed to work in their wife's field but they might work in their mother's (sister's) field, if necessary. This tendency is especially strong among newly married couples before they have a child.
4. Households consisting of only one elementary family. This mostly happens when a man married a non-heiress.

Most Khasi households are of types 1, 3 and 4 and these three types are usually found within one village. They were found in the four villages in which I worked. It is to these dwelling units that I have given the name of house in Lists 6 and 9. Category 2, according to [178] the information of Khasis and Jaintias, was used to be found among the Jaintias, though nowadays such cases are rapidly decreasing, changing into forms 1, 3 and 4. The members of category 2 belong to an *iing*, which structurally corresponds to the *tarwad* of the Nayar, and the *parwi* of the Minangkabau.

178 Category 2 may have been practised among certain of the Khasi
184 a long time ago. Kongton people said that as recently as their father's
591 generation, there were many husbands who stayed at the mother's house after their marriage and visited the wife at night. Nowadays, visiting husbands are very unusual cases in the Khasi Hills, though such situations may occur among newly married couples before they have children. Gurdon, who wrote his book *The Khasi* in 1914, states:

"Amongst the Khasis, after one or two children are born, and if a married couple get on well together, the husband frequently removes his wife and family to a house she and her husband post their earings, which are expended for the support of the family" (p. 76).

In the Khasi Hills, the transition period between duolocal residence and neolocal or uxorilocal residence seems to have been shortened during the last forty or fifty years. This might have been effected through the influence of Christian marriages, which start cohabitation of the wife and the husband immediately after the marriage ceremony. However, in Jaitings whose inhabitants originated in the Jaintia Hills where duolocal marriage is the usual practice, there are even now many instances of a man staying at his mother's house for several

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

years after his marriage. During this period he works in his wife's 178
field, then, if the couple gets on well, they start to live together in
an independent house (non-heiress's case) or in the wife's house 184
(heiress's case). In spite of the fact that the inhabitants are all Christians, they have retained this custom.

It is difficult to determine at what date the Khasi people have 178
changed from duolocal marriage to uxorilocal marriage. However, 591 •
the present dwelling unit, with its fluid relationship between husband and wife (in fact, there are many cases of category 3), suggests a situation linked with the duolocal residence pattern. The fragmentary historical information available and the present Khasi residence pattern suggest that the duolocal arrangement may be an older pattern of marriage. When I was in Kongton there was no husband who stayed at his mother's house permanently, visiting his wife at night. The head man told me that, when he married, there were many who did not stay in the wife's house. He was the first person to settle in the wife's house. In his case, he said, he felt sympathy for his wife who had no brother who could work for her. After he had settled in his wife's house, many villagers began to follow his example.[1] When the [621]
pattern of a visiting marriage was in vogue, a village must have constituted a more compact endogamous unit. If the husband's house was in another village, a visiting marriage must have been a great inconvenience. The tendency to settle in the wife's house and work for the wife's house must have brought about a wider range of marriage contracts, such as with members of nearby villages, even though in the present form of marriage, village endogamy is much preferred as it is decidedly advantageous particularly for a husband, since he can continue his life in the same familiar environment in spite of uxorilocal marriage.

The variations in the pattern of co-residential grouping, which 592
I have classified into four categories, reflect two different themes in 593
the social structure of the Khasi. On the one hand they represent 613
different stages in the maturity of the individual families concerned. For example, a householder who starts in category 3 or 4 may end as an old man in category 1. On the other hand these variations also reflect the polar opposition between the obligations of matrilineal kinship and the obligations of parenthood; a man, in particular, has conflicting obligations towards the *ing* of his sister and the *ing* of

1. However, all the information which I collected in the upland Khasi [184]
Hills indicates that the uxorilocal residence pattern has been practised for a long time. According to stories often told by the Kongton people, they migrated from the Jaintia Hills. If these accounts are to be taken as a reflection of the real history of their migration, it would seem that the Kongton people may have kept up the Jaintia custom including the duolocal residence pattern up to recent times, while the majority of the Khasi practised uxorilocal marriage.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

592 his wife. Paternal rights are not well recognized among the Khasi.
593 The religious elements in the *iing* institution lay stress only on matri-
613 lineal solidarity. These elements tend therefore to orient each individual of the domestic unit to his or her own matrilineal kin group, the *iing*. This results in unstable relations between members of each elementary family, in other words, the marriage relation is one of the weakest.

000 This is the crucial point in matrilineal societies, and has been much discussed by anthropologists. Richards says,

> "In this balance of privileges and duties between the patrikin and the matrikin the crucial point is obviously the husband's right to determine the residence of the bride. If she and her children live in the same homestead or village as his kinsmen, his domestic authority is likely to be greater than where they remain with the wife's relative" (Richards, 1950, p. 208).

This statement is quite acceptable for those matrilineal systems which provide possibility for a man to take his wife from her matrikin to his house or village where the husband's kin are found, as in cases of the matrilineal Central Bantus, the Ashanti, the Trobriands and
• 591 the Nayar in North Malabar. However, among the Khasi, there is no such custom of removing a wife from her kin to that of her husband. Since most marriages take place inside a village, there are only two different residential arrangements: one is to take the husband to the wife's house, where he lives with his wife's parents and other matrikin; the second is for the newly married couple to establish an independent house. Among Khasi men and women the usual practice is to leave the parents' house at marriage, except in the case of the heiress (the youngest daughter). In this respect the Khasi differ again from the Nayar and the Minangkabau who form a sibling family on the basis of duolocal residence,[1] and from the Hopi, the Zuni and the Trukese who form a residential group of an extended family, based on matrilineal descent including in-marrying husbands of married females. Khasi sisters do not form a residential group after their marriage; sisters' houses are scattered over the whole village residential area, mixing with households of other descent groups (see Fig. 10 with List 8).

Then, what is the factor that makes the Khasi have two different types of residence i.e. uxorilocal and neolocal[2] within a matrilineal

1. Only the case of some traditional Jaintias (category 2) would appear to show groupings similar to those of the Nayar, however, I did not work among them, nor are there anthropological reports available for them, particularly in this respect.

2. I use 'neolocal' in terms of house-building, since they usually build a house for newly married couple in the same village where both wife's and husband's parents live—village endogamy.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

society? Among the matrilineal Central Bantus, Richards says that the determining factor in residence at marriage is the marriage payment or the type of goods and services which the bridegroom gives (Richards, 1950, p. 249). However, the Khasi have no such custom in the marriage contract, it is therefore out of the question to explain the two types of residence in this way. In the case of the Khasi, the determining factor is the type of marriage with relation to the rule of inheritance and ownership of property, which is clearly related to the structure of the *iing*. Khasi marriages can be divided into two categories i.e., marriage with an heiress and with a non-heiress. Marriages with an heiress must be uxorilocal. This accounts for category 1 or 3 of the household pattern. On the other hand, marriages with a non-heiress become neolocal and correspond to category 4 of the household unit.

IV. Marriage with the Heiress

A man married to an heiress, usually lives with his wife's parents and her unmarried or divorced brothers and sisters. For a man, life after marriage under such circumstances require great adjustment and endurance. The husband's status is especially weak when a male member of the wife's kin lives in the same household. The management of property and all economic activities are entirely controlled by the authority (wife's brother or maternal uncle) of the *iing*. The husband works in the wife's field under constant supervision from this authority. Both economic activities and domestic affairs are always under the management of this authority. The children have more attachment to, and are more obedient to, the maternal uncle than to the father. The tie between the uncle and the nephew is so strong that the father is rather like an additional member of the household. He is the last person to be introduced to visitors.

This family system is clearly reflected in the daily behaviour. When we visited the Khasi household of a youngest daughter, if a man (obviously the husband) came first to greet us, he always said "please wait, my wife (or mother-in-law) is coming." And it was the wife who entertained us, offering tea or pan and discussing matters with us, while her husband remained silent in the corner of the room, or in the next room. If her uncle or brother was there, *he* would be the person who talked to us, while his niece or sister served us. In such a case, we were seldom introduced to the husband. When I was working at Shella, I happened to stay in such a family. I had hardly any opportunity to talk to the husband during the two weeks of my stay. He left the house very early in the morning and came back late in the evening from the fields. While he was at home, he was

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

ship. They still live in the same familiar atmosphere as before their 581
marriage. The implications of this ambiguity in the married state are 593
considerable. Particularly the husband's uncomfortable situation, when the wife is heiress, encourages him to take marriage less seriously.

A husband who undergoes hardship in his wife's house, finds 581
himself as the authority in his sister's house; if he is not the authority, 591
he can find at least a respected position as uncle or brother. In the 592
case of a man of authority in the *iing*, the tendency for him to regard 593
his *iing* as more important than his married life is proportionately 602
stronger, as I will discuss later. Hence the most unstable and unsuccessful marriages are those between the heiress and the man of 604
authority. This is one of the reasons we often find among the Khasi: 613
a brother or an uncle, who is already married, acting nevertheless as 428
the head to a family *(iing)* and as a member of its domestic group. This means that he is in a state of temporary separation or divorced. Among the Ashanti, a man and his wife's brother are never found as [171]
members of a common household (Fortes, 1950, p. 262), but among the Khasi, on the contrary, a man and his wife's brother are often found as members of a common household. In such cases, however, the brother has no wife, or never brings his wife to his *iing*. Therefore, a man and his wife and his sister never reside together. As far as the residence of women is concerned, the Khasi keep to the strict descent rule; two women who belong to different descent groups never live together. This point differentiates the Khasi residence pattern, in which social structure is involved, from that not only of the Ashanti but also of the Yao where the head of a descent group can bring his wife to his sister's household, though, among other members, uxorilocal marriage is the rule. These differential aspects of matrilineal systems will be discussed from a more theoretical point of view later.

In addition, should a Khasi man even succeed in spending his life 602
with his wife's kinsmen, as soon as the wife dies, he will usually 613
return to his *iing*, that is, to his sister's house, where he is received warmly and where he often acts as the *de facto* authorithy, as in the similar situation of divorce and separation. Thus the strong matrilineal structural principle tends to orient a man towards his own descent group, the *iing*.

The man's attachment to his *iing* is very great throughout his 171
life. In this regard the Khasi differs from the matrilineal Negri 592
Sembilan Malay. Among the latter, returning to the matrilineal kin 602
is regarded by the man as an imposition rather than as the enjoyment 613
of a legitimate privilege (see Swift, 1958, p. 157).[1] This difference 428

1. He presents this fact as one of the reasons of the durability of marriage [581]
among the Negri Sembilan. Indeed, on this precise point they differ from the Khasi where marriage is rather unstable.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

178 no polygynists, though there were many personal temporary illicit
184 relations or love affairs.

It is true that even in interior villages polygyny is rapidly decreas-
595 ing. In the two villages I found only two cases of polygyny: a man with two wives in Sohkynduh (Josio in List 6, whose wives are 26 and 32, and a man with three wives in Kongton (Jubongrai in List 9, whose wives are 8, 20 and 52). These cases appeared clearly as cases of polygyny which the villagers recognized as such, speaking of them quite differently from the way they would have spoken of lovers, calling them wives and husbands. Of course, the first wife socially outranks the secondary wives, as *ka tynga trai*, and the term *ka tynga tuk* is used for the latter, as Gurdon states (1914, p. 80). The difference being that the first wife has a legal marriage ceremony while the others have not—*ka tynga tuk* means literally 'stolen wife.' About
585 the marriage ceremony, Gurdon gives a detailed discription (*ibid.*,
595 pp. 127-130) and says there are three forms of marriage ceremonies, *Pynkhiarynjat*, *Lamdoh* and *Iadih-kiad*. The first and second forms are considered the more respectable; the last one is resorted to by the very poor who cannot afford the greater expense entailed by the first two. Unfortunately, during my stay in these villages, no marriage ceremony took place, but villagers described to me what seems to be the *Iadih-kiad*, where only a fowl is sacrified, and the whole procedure is much simpler than that described by Gurdon. However, whatever the complexity and richness may be, there is a distinct line between having a ceremony and not having it, and this draws the distinction between the status of the first wife and that of the secondary wives.

428 Nevertheless, this distinction has more of a social bearing than the
595 legal bearing it has in a patrilineal system. Since they follow the
851 matrilineal system, the legal distinction between the first wife and the secondary wife does not affect their children's status and their propety rights, at least not in the villages where I worked. The children's social locus is determined by their mother. The children (particularly the youngest daughter) have the right to inherit their fathers acquired property which is automatically under their mother's ownership. If the polygynist father has acquired property by working their mother's field, or in trading on behalf of their mother, whether she be the first wife or the second, this property undoubtedly belongs to the children of that wife, not to the first wife alone. The father's physial locus at the time of his economic realisations is the decisive factor.

591 The Khasi polygynist, without bringing his wives into one house-
595 hold, alternates his residence among them, in turn or according to his tempt. This practice is similar to that of the Trukese described by Goodenough (1951, p. 123), and quite different from that of the Garo

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

which I described previously, where a man brings his secondary wives to his first wife's house in which he is acting as the head. Furthermore, sororal polygyny is prohibited, while it was prefered among the Garo in terms of wives taken from the same *makari*, though mostly not real sisters. The strong jealousy, which I observed, among the Khasi wives of a polygynist, would appear to make such polygynous marriages with closely related women practically impossible. As shown in List 6 & 9 every single one of the wives of each polygynist belongs to different *kur*, and the two secondary wives of the man of Kongton came from neighbouring villages.

These aspects of Khasi polygyny are related fundamentally to the underlying Khasi social structure. It should be remembered that every married woman has her independent household, *iing*, and that two women of different descent groups never reside together (see p. 127). The picture is one of every married woman holding a key-point in the whole network of the social system, and men fit into this network with much flexibility. The strong stability of women and the fluid nature of men in terms of residence naturally produces this form of polygyny. This analogy is also true of lovers' relations and illegal marriages. Though polygyny is a rapidly decreasing institution all over the Khasi Hills, cases of lovers' relations and illegal marriages are found to be very numerous among the Khasi, as compared with neighbouring tribes and peoples in Assam.

Throughout my discussions of various forms of Khasi marriage, I found men to be more or less in the position wittily described by one of them as "having one leg in my sister's house, the other in my wife's," except in cases of the husband/father who succeds in establishing paternal authority, as in marriages with a non-heiress. Even in the latter a man might have a period of uncertainty until his children were born and until the economic basis for his matrimonial life was firmly established. For the rest, Khasi men would be in the position of either becoming the authority of an *iing*, or swinging between their sister and their wife, which may produce more opportunities for lovers' relations. One of a man's legs is certainly always found in his sister's house, the other may rest in his wife's, but it may also rest in another woman's house. The wife being rather accustomed to his occasional absence due to his visits to his sister's house, another kind of absence does not mark any great change from the usual situation, at least not physically. Such situations occur particularly in the earlier stage of the marriage, as a sort of continuation of premarital affairs, which are quite freely practised: it is a usual custom before marriage for young men to sleep at a girl's house whom they like though they say sexual intercourse usually does not take place in such cases. This I observed in Sohkynduh and Kongton.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7
Garo AR5

 G K

of complications and variations in matrilineal systems. The matrilineal system is not a mirror of the patrilineal system; it is a different system in which more complicated mechanisms are involved. This complexity of the matrilineal system is a decided handicap when it comes to resisting radical economic changes. In order to preserve the system, a fairly stable economy is required, well-balanced in its population and resources. This may be one of the reasons for the rapid disintegration or unstability of social organization of matrilineal peoples in the world. 121 171 182 611

The difficulty of preserving in function both lines *A* and *B* is caused by residential problems—individual marriages which contradict the sibling cohesion. According to my theoretical analysis, there are four alternative ways of resolving such contradictory factors, each case being represented by actual ethnographic samples.[1] Each arrangement represents a different degree of the function of the two lines *A* and *B* in relation to the residential pattern, as following (see Fig. 13): G K 171 182 591 611

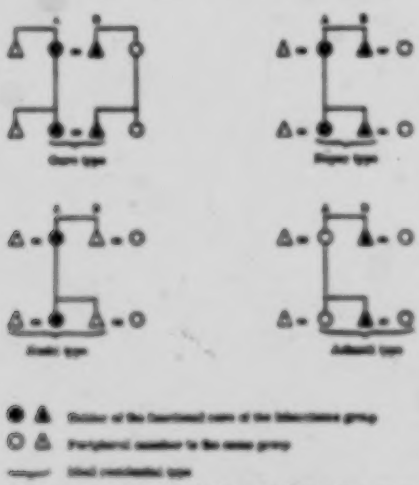

FIG. 13. — *Central Core of Matrilineages in Relation to Property Groups and Residential Groups.*

The Garo type. The co-residential type is 'husband-wife' instead of 'brother-sister.' The function of both lines *A* and *B* is equally strong. This is kept by the marriage contract between two local lines, so that it is possible to keep the function of each line against the residential separation of the two lines in one descent group. This type is found at the moment only among the Garo.

1. For this discussion I take only such major matrilineal samples for which ample documentation is available. G K [121]

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7 •
Garo AR5

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The Nayar type: The counter scheme of the Garo type: the co-residential type is 'brother-sister' instead of 'husband-wife.' The function of both line *A* and *B* is equally strong. This type is found among the traditional Nayar (except those in North Malabar) and the Minangkabau matrilineal people.

The Khasi type: The ideal co-residential type consists of a woman with either her husband or her brother. The function of line *A* is much stronger than that of line *B*. This type is found among the Khasi, the Hopi, the Zuni, the Trukese, the Negri-Sembilan Malay, the Yao, etc.

The Ashanti type: The ideal co-residential type consists of a man with either his wife or his sister. The function of line *B* is much stronger than that of line *A*. This type is found among the Ashanti, the Gwembe Tonga, the Mayombe, the Trobrianda, the Nayar of North Malabar, etc.

In terms of the strong function of both lines *A* and *B*, both the Garo type and the Nayar type may fall into a similar category. But as already explained, their structure basically differs from one another, and clearly appears as the counter schemes of different residential arrangements. The Nayar type shares with the Khasi a rather similar structure in terms of a descent group equated with a property group, while in the Garo type the two lines *A* and *B* of a single descent group never form an independent property unit.

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If, leaving aside the Garo type, we consider the three others, the Nayar type appears again different from the rest in so far as in it, both lines fulfill an equally strong function, while in the Khasi and Ashanti types, one of the two lines is always more developed functionnally than the other. The Nayar type presents the highest degree of descent group solidarity among the three. This Nayar situation might be compared with that of the traditional Chinese patrilineal systems.[1] In both social systems the structural importance of marriage is minimized: the role of a spouse is only to ensure descendants of the matrilineal (patrilineal) group. The structural importance of a husband (wife) is almost neglected, while the wife (husband) holds the paramount locus in her (his) descent line. The descent group manifests the strongest solidarity within itself, neglecting affinal relations with other groups. This principle results in the custom of the "visiting husband" in the matrilineal system; and, in the patrilineal system, in a total social shift of the wife by her complete assimilation into her husband's group, and separation from her descent group,—she has no social and personal independent locus in terms of the structure. It is an interesting fact that the most extreme scheme of highly institutionalized unilineal systems can be seen among societies of pre-industrialized high civilization. These schemes are structurally opposed to those of the system of the moiety

1. Fortes touches this point in his paper (Fortes, 1959, p. 208).

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

[Jatinge]

three miles away from Jatinga. As one may expect in such a situation, quite a number of intermarriages with these peoples appear in my census of Jatinga. The resultant of these intermarriages was that when the couple and their children lived in Jatinga, they were considered to have become Khasi; otherwise they were held to be non-Khasi, whether the spouse was man or woman. This orientation of social recognition of the result of intermarriage was generally seen among Khasi in such situations, not only in the case of Jatinga. 563 621

The following are extracts of intermarriages from my genealogical table of Jatinga people. 563 591 621

A. Cases of intermarriages in which the descendants became Khasi.

1. A woman of the Dome clan married a Kuki man. All members of the present Dome clan at Jatinga are their descendants.
2. A woman of the Rymbai clan married a Kuki man as her second marriage. Their descendants are Rymbai.
3. A man of the Suchiang clan married a Mikir woman, and lived in Jatinga. They had one daughter who married a man of the Hua clan of Jatinga. They named this woman's line 'Shadap' as one of the Khasi clans. Later this Mikir woman's sister's daughter married a man of Rupsi-Lati, and their descendants were also named 'Shadap' by the villagers. Thus Shadap clan was created by a Mikir woman who married a Khasi man of Jatinga.
4. A Khasi man married a Lushai woman and lived at Aijal, the headquarters of the Lushai Hills. They said he became Lushai. Later a man of the Pajat clan of Jatinga married his daughter from Aijal. This couple lives at Jatinga and has several children. The villagers said they have to give them a new clan name. It is under consideration.

B. Cases of intermarriages leading to the emigration of Jatinga inhabitants.

5. A man of Jatinga married a woman of Zemi-Naga as his second marriage and lives at his wife's village.
6. A woman (the daughter of the woman of Rymbai, who married a Kuki: A-2) married a Moslem man and lives at Haflong.
7. A woman of Rymbai married a Panjabee and lives at Shillong. This woman is (B-6)'s mother's sister's daughter.
8. A woman of Siangshai clan married an Assamese and lives at Gauhati.
9. A woman of Rupsi-Tah married an Anglo-Indian and has gone to the United Provinces.
10. A woman of Jatinga married a man of Zemi-Naga and went to his village.
11. A woman of Jatinga married a man of Cacharee and lived at his village some time, but she came back to Jatinga after divorcing him.

A cases belong to the earlier period when Jatinga had a shortage of population, while *B* cases, except 10 and 11, are found among the present younger generation. The population, which had increased rapidly in the last twenty years with economic prosperity, is suffering from the recent economic depression caused by the Partition as well as from the great damages done to their orange gardens and pan-leaf gardens by tree diseases. Moreover they have an unbalanced rate of birth according to sex: females are more numerous than males. Therefore, many daughters marry out as shown in the cases of *B*. The above-cited cases are only concerned with intermarriages with non-Khasi, but there are still other women who married Khasi men and who reside outside Jatinga, as for example, at Haflong and Shillong. [161]

In the village there are still many unmarried girls without suitable spouses. In the olden days, it was less difficult to marry neighbouring tribal peoples. 178 563 621

group of matrilineal and Mon-Khmer-speaking people who claim as their ancestral homeland the present-day United Khasi-Jaintia Hills District (within approximately 90° 47' and 92° 52' E. and 25° 5' and 26° 5' N.). This group includes the Jaintias (also Pnar or Synteng) in the southeast, who differ from the Khasis primarily in their duolocal residence pattern and less virulent forms of sorcery. (The Hadens in eastern Jaintia are Kuki people.) It also includes the Lyngngams (also spelled Lyngngam) in the west, who practice migratory swidden agriculture and certain peculiar funerary rites, and are said by Ehrenfels (1955) to be culturally intermediate between Khasis and Garos. Finally, it includes Bhois, Wars, and upland Khasis, which terms are primarily territorial. Bhoi country is the north-central part of the District, and is culturally complicated by the presence of Mikirs, Lalungs, and Nepalis. War country spans the entire southern length of the District, so that Wars divide into Jaintia Wars and Khasi Wars, of these, the Khasi Wars have traditionally transmitted property to sons as well as to daughters. The upland center of the District is the country of the Khasis proper, those whose culture provides the most useful model for interpreting the variations found elsewhere. [For general reference on all categories of Khasi culture, cf. Costa 1906 and 1937, also Gordon 1907, especially for data on regional variations.] Geography. The District is 5,554 square miles of hilly tableland, intricately dissected by numerous rivers, and marked by significant ecological variation over very short distances. The tableland steps gently downward north from Shillong Peak, which at 6,445 feet is the highest point in the District, and over about 35 miles runs into the Brahmaputra valley where this is some 250 feet above sea level. To the south, the land slopes more steeply downward for about 30 miles, and then drops abruptly, in cliff and steep-slope formations, to the Ganges sea-level delta that begins at its north with Sylhet. The annual southwest monsoons drop torrential rains around Cherrapunji and Mawsynram villages (for Cherrapunji, a record 905 inches in 1861), but less, reaching Shillong 33 miles to the northeast, provide only about 100 inches per year. Rainfall is again greater in Bhoi, which shares the Brahmaputra valley climate. Climate is temperate on the high Shillong plateau, where it seldom freezes and never snows. To the north, climate becomes subtropical, forest is jungle, and fauna abound. The climate to the south is also subtropical. [Cf. Hooker 1891: chap. XXIX.] Linguistic affiliation. Khasi is one of the major Mon-Khmer languages, related to Mon, Khmer, Semang-Sakai, Nicobarese, and Palaung-Wa. The major Khasi dialects are Khasi, Jaintia, and Lyngngam, to which Gowers adds War. Further minor variations occur from village to village. The Khasis had no type until 1842, when the roman alphabet was successfully applied to the Cherrapunji dialect of Khasi proper. [Cf. Sabat 1901, Gowers 1903-29: 2: 88ff. in 1902.]

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[illegible]

says that the MoBrCh but not the FaSiCh is prohibited (1897: 2), but Gurdon says that the MoBrCh is eligible after the death of MoBr, and that FaSiCh is eligible after the death of Fa (1907: 78). Nowadays both types of marriage occur, whether the linking relative is living or dead. Residence. Residence is either duolocal or matrilocal under the roof of the wife's mother until the birth of one or two children. For a man married to a youngest daughter, it then continues to be matrilocal. For men married to other daughters, it becomes uxorilocal, there have also always been cases of virilocal residence, and it is now common to find neolocal residence in Shillong. For non-Christian Jaintias, it is duolocal throughout the marriage. Domestic unit. The domestic unit is the elementary family, though for a youngest daughter it may temporarily include also her aged mother, aged father, unmarried siblings, or divorced or widowed brothers. Inheritance. Traditionally, after the Khasi mother had helped each of her daughters to build and supply a house when each one married and had children, her only real obligation to help them economically was ended. Everything she possessed, excepting certain personally that was destroyed in her cremation, was inherited by her youngest daughter. Failing daughters, a woman's property reverted to her next youngest sister's daughter. Today, this pattern is often modified by putting more property into the hands of older daughters and even sons. [Cf. Cantlie 1934, Becker 1954.] Divorce. A woman may effect numerous and usually brief separations from her husband by simply closing the door of her house to him, whereupon he returns to the house of his mother or youngest sister. Divorce, however, must be initiated by mutual consent. Divorce is very common, even though women resist it because they do not wish to lose a provider, and men because they do not wish to lose their children. Formerly it was accomplished by a simple ritual in the presence of witnesses, followed by public announcement by a town crier. Now, the witnesses and the public announcement have been dispensed with, and evidence for divorce consists only in the word of the parties concerned.

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SOCIOPOLITICAL ORGANIZATION. Political organization. The basic unit of political organization is the village, which is composed of one or more dominant local descent groups plus several others. Village government is by an assembly of all resident adult males, under the informal chairmanship of a headman elected by them from among their number. The membership of any immigrant household into a village is defined by the participation of the household's males in this assembly. Sustained membership in a village is voluntary. Khasi chieftdoms probably arose out of voluntary associations of villages, which occasionally transferred allegiance from one chief to another.

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20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

strip of fine silk for the loins, a part of which hangs gracefully as low as the calves in front. No notice is here taken of what has undoubtedly been added and borrowed from their more civilized neighbours in the plains. 291

*Marriage.—The marriageable age for females is from 15 to 18; for males, from 18 to 24. Matrimonial alliances are contracted either through the parents or the living representatives of the families to which the parties belong. The mode of procedure is still very primitive and unceremonious. The bridegroom, escorted by a number of friends and relatives, goes to the house of the bride, where all are feasted and lodged for the night; on the morrow he leads the bride, accompanied by a number of her relatives, to his own house, and entertains the company with dishes of boiled rice and fresh pork. After remaining there a day or two, the newly-married couple return together to the house of the wife, which becomes their future home. Marriage is dissoluble by regular divorce, for any sufficient cause, and often without any assignable reason except mutual dislike or want of issue, the latter being the most common case of all. Marriage with the Khásiás is simply a conventional arrangement, with nothing further for its object than the procreation of children; failing that, it is no longer looked upon as a contract permanently binding. Divorce is effected in the presence of eye-witnesses—the parents, or the heads of clans. Five cowries (*kawrie*) are produced by the parties and exchanged, then cast away by mutual consent, and the ceremony is over. Parties once divorced can never again contract marriage with each other, but they are at liberty to marry into other families. Polygamy, strictly so called, is not sanctioned by Khási custom. Adultery is looked upon as a serious crime. If the five cowries have not been cast away by mutual consent, both husband and wife are held to be subject to the "matrimonial demon;" and even when either dies in wedlock, the survivor is not at liberty to contract a fresh alliance until he or she pays the family a sum of money as the means of removing the surviving party from subjection to the "matrimonial demon." The husband is a stranger, so to speak, in the family he has entered, and perpetuates the race of others, not his own. The children in all questions of lineage and personal rights follow the mother. There are always two incomes in the same family—that of the husband, and that of the wife. Whatever the husband may have earned or acquired in

58 591 586 [581] 587 595 837 587 593 611 593 428

I: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

Khasi of the Uplands to marry a Bhoi or War woman, and 101
a disgrace to marry a Lyngam. These divisions are sub- 582
divided into a number of septs, taking Mr. Risley's definition of 614
"sept" as being the largest exogamous division of the tribe. It will, however, be more convenient to speak of these septs as "clans," the word "clan" having been used in other parts of this Monograph and by other writers.

Many of the clans trace their descent from ancestresses or 614
hiew (grandmothers), who are styled *ki Iawbei-Tynrai*, lit. grandmothers of the root (i.e. the root of the tree of the clan). In some of the clans, the name of this ancestress survives; take as instances the Mylliem-ngap and Mylliem-pdah clans of the Khyrim State, the names of the ancestresses of the clans being *ka ngap* (honey, i.e. the sweet one), and *ka pdah* respectively. [776] This tribal ancestress, as will be seen in the paragraph of the monograph dealing with ancestor-worship, is greatly reverenced, in fact, she may almost be said to be deified. The descendants of one ancestress of the clan, *Ka Iawbei Tynrai*, are called *shi kur* or one clan. We then come to the division of the *kpah* or sub-clan, all the descendants of one great grandmother (*ka Iawbei Tynrai*), being styled *shi kpah*. The next division is the *iing* (lit. house) or family. It is almost in- [512] variably the case that the grandmother, her daughters and the daughter's children, live together under one roof, the grandmother during her life-time being the head of the house. The grandmother is styled *ka Iawbei Khynraw*, or the young grandmother, to distinguish her from the other two grandmothers, *ka Iawbei-tynrai* and *ka Iawbei-tynrai* who have been mentioned above. The young grandmother, her daughters and their children are said to belong to *shi iing*, one house, the word *iing* in this instance possessing amongst the Khasis the same significance as the English word *family*.

We will now see how the Khasi clan (*kur* or *jaid*) grew out 614
of the Khasi family (*iing*). Let us take the example of the 773
great Diengdoh clan of Cherra. Disregarding the myth that the Diengdohs are descended from a mermaid, it may be stated that there seems to be a fairly general belief amongst the Diengdohs that their first ancestress or *hiew* came from the

Ik Chattopadhyay E-4, 5 (no date) 1941 AR7 Khasi AR7

for difference in sex, is applied to both. The corresponding uncle and aunt by marriage are referred to by terms which make this clear. The husband of the father's sister is a "Ma" like the mother's brother and is also referred to as "Kni." But as his position by age is unimportant, the adjective of position is lacking in his case. Similarly the mother's brother's wife and the father's sister have a common term "Nia"; but the latter has her relationship through the father clearly indicated by the additional term "Kha" which refers to kinship through a male. The mother's brother's wife is, on the contrary, an aunt by marriage. The husband of the father's sister derives his term through his wife; and the wife of the mother's brother, through her husband. The identities M.B. = F.S.H. and M.B.W. = F.S. are therefore derived indirectly and are not original. Hodson's hypothesis that they represent actual identity of kinship in an earlier dual society therefore turns out to be superfluous.

Reciprocally, a man refers to his sister's children by a term which is different from that for his own children. A woman also refers to her brother's children by this term which is different from that used for her own or her sister's children. As indicated, the M.B. as well as the F.S. are both on a parallel footing, and are practically labelled together, allowing for differences of sex.

We may say that there are, in Khasi society, two clearly recognised units. One of these is the house and household, where the men and women have been born. Inside this house group, the sisters have similar rights, actual as well as potential. As we have seen, on the death of one sister, where there is no female issue, another sister takes her place in continuing the traditional religious entity of the group. The brothers again, among themselves, take one another's place in succession, in the matter of authority, and of management of the family property. The other unit is that of the woman, her husband and the children. We may refer to it as the unit set up by marriage.

Referring to the first type, we may say that the second type results from the men of the house going out to marry women of other houses. As the sons settle down in the wife's mother's house and later on set up a separate house on her land, the continuity of tradition in the house of birth is kept up by the women who remain behind.

It would however be a mistake to suppose that the bond between the members born in a house is severed on marriage. We have noted before that the bones of a dead man return eventually to his mother's house, for final deposition in the clan cemetery, or at least that of the extended household. The bond between the mother's brother and sister's children has also been noted as well as the authority exercised by the former over the extended family.

Further links between a man and his mother's Kur will appear from a study of the rules of inheritance and land tenure with regard to men. Any property that a man acquires before marriage belongs to his mother's house. Myntri U Sohn Rai, for example, earned money before his marriage, and he purchased some land with this amount, in a village called Mawlah. It will go to his sisters and their heirs on his death. The earnings of a man after marriage, and after he has settled down in his wife's mother's house (or wife's house), among Khasis proper, generally go to the wife and daughters on death. But any gifts made by the parents at marriage have to be returned on death. Similarly, if a man has earned money after marriage, independently of his wife's capital, a part can be claimed on death by the man's mother's group.

Again, if a man returns to his mother's village after marriage, he can exercise his rights to cultivate the common land there. Every village community has its [illegible] land known as Ri Raid. As David Roy states (CN), "people can occupy a raid land where they build their houses and cultivate. For cultivation purposes land not more than can be cultivated is taken. The occupant can sell his house and the site and the garden of

[p.2] [Th] ce take each a clan member with the name Ka Ding Lan. She has two sons and five daughters, and in addition two brothers and two sisters who are all married. Also each of the five daughters and two sisters has four children. These forty-six people live with the clan mother and form the family clan of the Lan. To these we also add the sons [p.3] and brothers, the nephews and grandsons, but not their children. The latter have nothing to do with the family Lan but belong to the family clan of their wives, live with that clan and are counted to it. Likewise neither the husband of Ka Ding Lan, nor the husbands of the various daughters, sisters, sisters, and granddaughters belong here. They are all counted with their own clans, live and work with them according to Khasi custom, and only visit their wives occasionally perhaps after dark.

[p.4] The entire clan-family of Lan is housed in 4 or 6 huts, which all stand next to each other in a semicircle or are built one above the [p.5] other on the slope of a hill, according to the character of the land. A garden frequently surrounds them in which maize, sweet potatoes, [p.6] potato-like roots of Sob-ri and Sohmi, bananas and, on the southern slopes of the Khasi Mountains, also coffee, pineapples, and other fruits are cultivated. A circle of bamboo cane that is so important for building purposes, household objects, and /1.96/ implements surrounds the garden and huts. This bamboo cane grows up so thick so as are to a height of 15 or 16 meters and at the same time forms a good protection against bad weather. A wall (rumeiko) of thrown-up earth encloses everything, forming an enclosed farm, prevents unexpected access, and protects cattle and crops from the attacks and devastations of wild animals.

[p.7] What is considered the family property of such a clan? Primarily it is the land, the gardens, the rice fields, woods, fallow mountain [p.8] and grazing lands. On the southern slopes of the Khasi Mountains there are fields for the cultivation of cape, orange groves, betel groves, plantations of betel palms and of pepper leaves which far and wide are so highly treasured for betel chewing as a means of pleasure. (5)

5. Cf. Becker, Im Stromnet des Brahmaputra, /In the River Valley of the Brahmaputra/ (Munich, 1923), pp. 207 ff.

[p.9] Usually there is so much land available that the family-clan can nourish itself properly and also increase in number

[p.10] According to its size and wealth a family clan also owns a [p.11] corresponding number of cows, oxen, hens, pigs, and goats. Neither the milk nor the flesh of the cows is used. They are kept for the

absence of S, D, E, K and N, U succeeds to the office (Ne is grown up. If U is too young, a chance arises for F's husband, if F is alive, if not, for W's husband.[1] In the event that none of these males be available, finally the office is taken by F and then by W. It should be noted that the office assumed by F's husband, W's husband, F or W could have to be returned to W's son, as soon as he comes of age. These cases are considered a temporary measure to meet an emergency. 611

The Khasi follow a strict descent line, and neither a classificatory uncle (or brother) is allowed to take over the authority of the ring.[2] 611 Though if there is no successor to the property, a daughter may be 615 adopted from the nearest matrilineal descent group. Instead of the adoption of a daughter, the following steps may also be taken. The property is handed over to the nearest matrilineal descent group; or if there is a son, he may inherit his father's or mother's acquired property, but ancestral property should go to a matrilineal kin. In such cases, the particular ring actually becomes extinct: in the former case, though the property is handed over to another ring, this ring belongs to the same matrilineal line; in the latter, the property goes eventually to the son's wife and to his children, i.e. an ring of an entirely different line. The latter arrangement suggests that though the Khasi follow the strict descent line, so far as the acquired property is concerned, the child has primary rights over the mother's other matrilineal kin, as expressed by the son's right of inheritance in the absence of a daughter. In this way, the ring may become extinct by the death of the female member who has no daughter.

The Khasi consider the ring institution as the basic and most 615 important functional unit; it represents also the religious unit which keeps ancestral property and shares a common religious ceremony. This is indeed the key to the whole Khasi social organization.

III. Kinship Unit

In this section I shall deal with the relation between the ring and 572 ● or between the marital family (husband, wife and children) and the 615 ring. Among the Garo, the unit corresponds to the actual group of individuals residing within one household. Upon this point the Khasi system is more complicated since spouses of members of the ring are excluded from the ring.

1. This would only arise in cases where the husbands of F or W live in the same household as their wives.
2. In the case of succession to the chieftainship, a classificatory sister's son is taken in the absence of a direct nephew or brother.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

592 The Khasi domestic unit (co-residential group) can be divided into four categories:

1. Household consisting of wife, husband and their children, wife's unmarried sisters and brothers—sometimes including widowed or divorced.
2. Household including all members of an *ing* (including their spouses from members of 1). In this type, larger household covers all the descendants of three or more generations from one woman (in this case, an *ing* corresponds to a *kpoh*).
3. Household of intermediate type between 1 and 2. Husbands are supposed to live in their wife's house, but they often go back to their sister's house for meals, and sometimes sleep there. They are supposed to work in their wife's field but they might work in their mother's (sister's) field, if necessary. This tendency is especially strong among newly married couples before they have a child.
4. Household consisting of only one elementary family. This mostly happens when a man married a non-Khasi.

[591]

Most Khasi households are of types 1, 3 and 4 and these three types are usually found within one village. They were found in the four villages in which I worked. It is to these dwelling units that I have given the name of house in Lists 6 and 9. Category 2, according to the information of Khasis and Jaintias, was used to be found among the Jaintias, though nowadays such cases are rapidly decreasing, changing into forms 1, 3 and 4. The members of category 2 belong to an *ing*, which structurally corresponds to the *tarwad* of the Nayar, and the *pawa* of the Minangkabau.

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Category 2 may have been practised among certain of the Khasi a long time ago. Kongton people said that as recently as their father's generation, there were many husbands who stayed at the mother's house after their marriage and visited the wife at night. Nowadays, visiting husbands are very unusual cases in the Khasi Hills, though such situations may occur among newly married couples before they have children. Gordon, who wrote his book *The Khasi* in 1914, states:

> "Amongst the Khasis, after one or two children are born, and if a married couple get on well together, the husband frequently removes his wife and family to a house she and her husband post their marriage, which are expected for the support of the family" (p. 76).

In the Khasi Hills, the transition period between matrilocal residence and neolocal or uxorilocal residence seems to have been shortened during the last forty or fifty years. This might have been effected through the influence of Christian marriages, which start cohabitation of the wife and the husband immediately after the marriage ceremony. However, in Jaintiapa whose inhabitants originated in the Jaintia Hills where duolocal marriage is the usual practice, there are even now many instances of a man staying at his mother's house for several

19: Nakane K-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

years after his marriage. During this period he works in his wife's 178
field, then, if the couple gets on well, they start to live together in 184
an independent house (non-heiress's case) or in the wife's house
(heiress's case). In spite of the fact that the inhabitants are all
Christians, they have retained this custom.

It is difficult to determine at what date the Khasi people have 178
changed from duolocal marriage to uxorilocal marriage. However, 591
the present dwelling unit, with its fluid relationship between husband
and wife (in fact, there are many cases of category 3), suggests a situa-
tion linked with the duolocal residence pattern. The fragmentary
historical information available and the present Khasi residence pattern
suggest that the duolocal arrangement may be an older pattern of
marriage. When I was in Kongton there was no husband who stayed
at his mother's house permanently, visiting his wife at night. The
local man told me that, when he married, there were many who did
not stay in the wife's house. He was the first person to settle in the
wife's house. In his case, he said, he felt sympathy for his wife who
had no brother who could work for her. After he had settled in his
wife's house, many villagers began to follow his example.[1] When the [621]
pattern of a visiting marriage was in vogue, a village must have
constituted a more compact endogamous unit. If the husband's house
was in another village, a visiting marriage must have been a great
inconvenience. The tendency to settle in the wife's house and work
for the wife's house must have brought about a wider range of marriage
contracts, such as with members of nearby villages, even though in
the present form of marriage, village endogamy is much preferred as
it is decidedly advantageous particularly for a husband, since he can
continue his life in the same familiar environment in spite of uxori-
local marriage.

The variations in the pattern of co-residential grouping, which 592
I have classified into four categories, reflect two different themes in 593
the social structure of the Khasi. On the one hand they represent 613
different stages in the maturity of the individual families concerned.
For example, a householder who starts in category 3 or 4 may end as
an old man in category 1. On the other hand these variations also
reflect the polar opposition between the obligations of matrilineal
kinship and the obligations of parenthood; a man, in particular, has
conflicting obligations towards the *sing* of his sister and the *sing* of

1. However, all the information which I collected in the upland Khasi [184]
Hills indicates that the uxorilocal residence pattern has been practised for a
long time. According to stories often told by the Kongton people, they migrat-
ed from the Jaintia Hills. If these accounts are to be taken as a reflection of
the real history of their migration, it would seem that the Kongton people may
have kept up the Jaintia custom including the duolocal residence pattern up
to recent times, while the majority of the Khasi practised uxorilocal marriage.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 ART Khasi ART

his wife. Paternal rights are not well recognized among the Khasi. The religious elements in the *siang* institution lay stress only on matrilineal solidarity. These elements tend therefore to orient each individual of the domestic unit to his or her own matrilineal kin group, the *siang*. This results in unstable relations between members of each elementary family, in other words, the marriage relation is one of the weakest.

This is the crucial point in matrilineal societies, and has been much discussed by anthropologists. Richards says,

> "In this balance of privileges and duties between the partners and the matrilineal the crucial point is obviously the husband's right to determine the residence of the bride. If she and her children live in the same homestead or village as his kinsmen, his domestic authority is likely to be greater than where they remain with the wife's relatives" (Richards, *supra*, p. xvii).

This statement is quite acceptable for those matrilineal systems which provide possibility for a man to take his wife from her matrilineal to his home or village where the husband's kin are found, as in cases of the matrilineal Central Bantus, the Ashanti, the Trobriands and the Nayar in North Malabar. However, among the Khasi, there is no such custom of removing a wife from her kin to that of her husband. Since most marriages take place inside a village, there are only two different residential arrangements: one is to take the husband to the wife's house, where he lives with his wife's parents and other matrilineal, the second is for the newly married couple to establish an independent house. Among Khasi men and women the usual practice is to leave the parents' house at marriage, except in the case of the *kniemi* (the youngest daughter). In this respect the Khasi differ again from the Nayar and the Minangkabau who form a sibling family on the basis of duolocal residence,[1] and from the Hopi, the Zuni and the Trobriand who form a residential group of an extended family, based on matrilineal descent including in-marrying husbands of married females. Khasi sisters do not form a residential group after their marriage; sisters' houses are scattered over the whole village residential area, mixing with households of other descent groups (see Fig. 1, with List 3).

Then, what is the factor that makes the Khasi have two different types of residence i.e. uxorilocal and neolocal[2] within a matrilineal

1. Only the case of some traditional Javanese kinship at would appear to show groupings similar to those of the Nayar, however. Did not work among them, nor are there anthropological reports available for them, particularly in this respect.

2. I use 'neolocal' in terms of house-building, since they usually build a house for newly married couple in the same village where both wife's and husband's parents live—village endogamy.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

society? Among the matrilineal Central Bantus, Richards says that the determining factor in residence at marriage is the marriage payment or the type of goods and services which the bridegroom gives (Richards, 1950, p. 249). However, the Khasi have no such custom in the marriage contract, it is therefore out of the question to explain the two types of residence in this way. In the case of the Khasi, the determining factor in the type of marriage with relation to the rule of inheritance and ownership of property, which is closely related to the structure of the *iing*. Khasi marriages can be divided into two categories i.e., marriage with an heiress and with a non-heiress. Marriages with an heiress must be uxorilocal. This accounts for category 1 or 3 of the household pattern. On the other hand, marriages with a non-heiress become uxorilocal and correspond to category 4 of the household unit.

IV. Marriage with an Heiress

A man married to an heiress, usually lives with his wife's parents and her unmarried or divorced brothers and sisters. For a man, life after marriage under such circumstances require great adjustment and endurance. The husband's status is especially weak when a male member of the wife's kin lives in the same household. The management of property and all economic activities are entirely controlled by the authority (wife's brother or maternal uncle) of the *iing*. The husband works in the wife's field under constant supervision from this authority. Both economic activities and domestic affairs are always under the management of this authority. The children have more attachment to, and are more obedient to, the maternal uncle than to the father. The tie between the uncle and the nephew is so strong that the father is rather like an additional member of the household. He is the last person to be introduced to visitors.

This family system is clearly reflected in the daily behaviour. When we visited the Khasi household of a youngest daughter, if a man (obviously the husband) came first to greet us, he always said "please wait, my wife (or mother-in-law) is coming." And it was the wife who entertained us, offering tea or pan and discussing matters with us, while her husband remained silent in the corner of the room, or in the next room. If her uncle or brother was there, he would be the person who talked to us, while his niece or sister served us. In such a case, we were seldom introduced to the husband. When I was working at Shella, I happened to stay in such a family. I had hardly any opportunity to talk to the husband during the two weeks of my stay. He left the house very early in the morning and came back late in the evening from the fields. While he was at home, he was

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

• 592 always somewhat outside the family conversation which was centred
593 on the maternal uncle and his sisters, nephews and nieces, by whom
604 I was well taken care of. This is somewhat similar to the situation amongst the Cewa and the Yao of the Central Bantus, which have what Richard calls 'the detachable husband' (Richards, 1950, pp. 233-35, 248), though the parallel is not by any means exact.

428 There is, therefore, inevitably an element of tension in the relations
581 between the wife's maternal uncle (including parents-in-law) and the
586 husband (son-in-law) and this tension makes the latter's life extremely uncomfortable. This awkward position is well shown in the divorce
[604] rate. At Kongton (see List 9), out of 61 couples (house-owners and
[606] their spouses), the number of persons who had experience of divorce
[592] was 33 (female 15, male 18) and those married more than twice
[593] numbered 19 (female 7, male 12). Out of 61 couples, there were only 31 in which neither husband nor wife had been divorced. In my census of Jaitinga village, 70 per cent of all divorce cases were marriages to heiresses. In general, the period when divorce occurs more frequently is before a couple get children and after the wife has passed the child-bearing age. A marriage breaks up either through the action of the wife or of the husband, but generally through that of the wife. However, the state of separation which I presently describe is brought about by the husband, though later it results in a divorce from the wife. Divorce does not mean a great catastrophe for a Khasi wife, especially if she is an heiress and her husband's economic
[589] contribution is not significant. Moreover, in this society remarriage is as easy for a widow or divorcée, as it is to divorce. In the villages of Sohkynduh and Kongton, the couple who wants to divorce has only to throw a few Assam together in the presence of some witness, usually an elderly man.

591 In addition to divorce, there are many actual separations of husband
599 and wife, of short or long duration, when the husband runs away from his wife's house to his sister's. Though it does not always end in divorce, considerable number of husbands have a strong tendency to spend most of their time at their sister's house. Khasi women often said, too, "I think, know why his [illegible] wife comes [illegible] to my place." I have often found the husband staying at his sister's house only a few houses away from his wife's, without any particular reason. They are obliged to see each other every day whether divorced or separated. This kind of ambiguity in the marriage relation seems to have an important correlation with the Khasi social structure, combined with the village endogamy. The man and and wife have grown up together from their childhood in the same village and known each other very well. Hence their psychology cannot clearly distinguish the marriage form as a newly-established independent social relation-

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

ship. They still live in the same familiar atmosphere as before their marriage. The implications of this ambiguity in the married state are considerable. Particularly the husband's uncomfortable situation, when the wife is heiress, encourages him to take marriage less seriously. 581 593

A husband who undergoes hardship in his wife's house, finds himself as the authority in his sister's house; if he is not the authority, he can find at least a respected position as uncle or brother. In the case of a man of authority in the *iing*, the tendency for him to regard his *iing* as more important than his married life is proportionately stronger, as I will discuss later. Hence the most unstable and unsuccessful marriages are those between the heiress and the man of authority. This is one of the reasons we often find among the Khasi a brother or an uncle, who is already married, acting nevertheless as the head to a family *(iing)* and as a member of its domestic group. This means that he is in a state of temporary separation or divorced. Among the Ashanti, a man and his wife's brother are never found as members of a common household (Fortes, 1950, p. 260), but among the Khasi, on the contrary, a man and his wife's brother are often found as members of a common household. In such cases, however, the brother has no wife, or never brings his wife to his *iing*. Therefore, a man and his wife and his sister never reside together. As far as the residence of women is concerned, the Khasi keep to the strict descent rule; two women who belong to different descent groups never live together. This point differentiates the Khasi residence pattern, in which social structure is involved, from that not only of the Ashanti but also of the Yao where the head of a descent group can bring his wife to his sister's household, though, among other members, uxorilocal marriage is the rule. These differential aspects of matrilineal systems will be discussed from a more theoretical point of view later. 581 591 592 593 602 604 619 428 [171]

In addition, should a Khasi man even succeed in spending his life with his wife's kinsmen, as soon as the wife dies, he will usually return to his *iing*, that is, to his sister's house, where he is received warmly and where he often acts as the *de facto* authority, as in the similar situation of divorce and separation. Thus the strong matrilineal structural principle tends to orient a man towards his own descent group, the *iing*. 602 619

The man's attachment to his *iing* is very great throughout his life. In this regard the Khasi differs from the matrilineal Negri Sembilan Malay. Among the latter, returning to the matrilineal kin is regarded by the man as an imposition rather than as the enjoyment of a legitimate privilege (see Swift, 1958, p. 157).[1] This difference 171 592 602 619 428

1. He presents this fact as one of the reasons of the durability of marriage among the Negri Sembilan. Indeed, on this precise point they differ from the Khasi where marriage is rather unstable. [581]

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

171 seems to come *firstly* from the different residential arrangement on
• 592 marriage: among the Negri Sembilan a man marries into his wife's
602 group, i.e. his wife's village; being thus separated from his kin, and
619 as a result of the physical absence of his wife's brother or maternal
428 uncle in his domestic family, he enjoys considerable rights in his wife's household—as Swift states, he is 'master in his own house.' On the other hand, since among the Khasi the man stays in the village where his mother's (or mother's successor's) house is, even after his marriage, his relation to his natal house is preserved; *secondly*, from the structural difference of organization of the descent group. Among the Khasi, the *sing* is always the centre of the descent group, based on uniginiture succession and inheritance. Hence, the core of the descent group is always found physically in a particular household, whereas among the Negri Sembilan, the descent group is *not* organized on a *household* level, but in a much wider organization, including apparently many households. Membership of an actual household and of a descent group are at different levels. To marry out and become a member of his wife's household means for the man the transfer of his household membership. Likewise, his sister's husband becomes a member of his sister's household. Thereby he becomes a secondary member of his sister's household after marriage though he keeps his membership in the descent group to which his sister belongs. Among the Khasi, membership of a descent group always corresponds to membership of a particular household. The Khasi man can always demand his rights at his natal house primarily, as he is a member of that descent group. But it should be noted that he has this right only in his mother's (or mother's successor's) household, not his other sisters' (non-heiress') and mother's sisters' households (unless one of them is successor of his mother), though they may belong to the same descent group. These matri kin's households are considered as separate *sing* (strict functional descent group) from his.

586 Indeed, sometimes a man cannot find his *sing*, because his mother
619 died leaving no daughter to succeed her, or his sister died leaving
716 no successor, and his *sing* became extinct. Such a case occasionally
428 happens when a man becomes a divorcé or a widower as he is getting old. *Then he has to face a serious social and economic condition. In* divorcing, he has to leave everything he owned, his earnings including the house which he built, and even children . . . really he has nothing left him except his body.[1] Such a wretched man collects some timber and makes a small hut for himself, though sometimes lads who sympathize with him help him to build it. Unless he finds some woman

1. A widower has an alternative solution—to remain in his late wife's household till he marries again, though his position is not comfortable there.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

whom he can marry, he has to endure this miserable lonely life, while often in he same village his former wife is living in a well-built house with her children and her matrilineal relatives as before. Households of 3, 13 and 30 of Sohkynduh in List 6, and 13, 19, 38 and 56 of Kongton in List 5 are instances of such cases. It is really a pitiful picture to see such man, aged and poor, living all alone. 586 619 756 428

V. Marriage with the Non-heiress

Outsiders who come to the Khasi Hills are often impressed by the Khasi husband's miserable status and express surprise at the high divorce rate. This is mostly due to exaggeration based on the marriage with the heiress. However, where a man marries a non-heiress, there are many successful marriages with paternal authority. In most of these cases a man's status as a husband and as a father is stable. First of all, the domestic residential unit is an elementary family. From the moment of the marriage the husband's labour is of great importance to his family, since a non-heiress usually has no economic background, i.e., no dowry or inherited property (see p. 105). The economic circumstances allow a man to be the *de facto* head even though whatever he earns belongs, as a rule, to his wife. A man who succeeds at the beginning of his married life is respected and honoured as father of his family for the rest of his life. By this type of marriage, the man's status is firmly established. It is therefore a more secure form of marriage than a match with an heiress. 184 428 599

In such a marriage the children love and obey their father. The management of his acquired property will be taken over by his son and the property will be handed over to his daughter. Thus the paternal authority is as well established in this form of domestic family, as in a patrilineal family. However, the great difference from a patrilineal case is that the husband/father status is not permanent as the authority of the family. Theoretically he exercises it in the absence of a male adult member of his wife's *ring* (actually founded by his contribution), in other words, till his son is grown up (see p. 11). In the next generation this will form an established *ring* in which the husband of his youngest daughter will suffer again. [619]

The household of this kind of marriage with a non-heiress actually enjoys a considerable degree of independence from the descent groups of both wife and husband. If a man who has established a matrimonial life independent of his wife's natal *ring*, is not the authority of his natal *ring*, his relation with the latter usually becomes weaker. Economic and residential factors make it possible for the man to make the considerable shift from his *ring* to his wife's *ring*, and though 592 599 619

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

592 593 619 be clearly maintains the label of his descent group, he is at least divorced from them economically. If a father's activities were such as to permit the accumulation of wealth to be handed over to the next generation, he is always remembered with great respect and admiration by his successors and by the descendants of his wife's matrilineal line. In such a case he is looked upon as a member of his wife's descent group rather than of his mother's descent group. The best examples of this are the cases of men belonging to the first generation of Jaitinga villagers, especially that of the founder of Jaitinga. These immigrants to Jaitinga mostly accompanied their wives, who were not heiresses (as I mentioned previously, the unit of Khasi immigrants is mostly found in this kind of a couple); and most of them established successful matrimonial life with paternal authority, having been freed from the gravity of both matri-kin of wife as well as of husband.

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Not necessarily confined to such cases of immigrants, even in an ordinary situation, if husband is ready to devote himself for his wife and children, the matrimonial life mostly turns happier and well established one. For under the Khasi matrilineal system, a wife, if she is not the heiress, is normally oriented to develop surprisingly high degree of independence from her descent group, i.e. her natal *iing*, unlike women of other matrilineal societies. This fact is closely related with the unique structure of the *iing*, as already discussed.

As a woman (non-heiress) tends to keep a certain distance to her natal *iing*, her brother accordingly decreases his concern to her new household. The pressure of the authority (wife's maternal uncle or brother) of wife's natal *iing*, on such a household becomes less marked. The wife's brothers are members of her natal *iing*, not of her new established *iing*, and therefore none of them can act as an authority over her new *iing*, though they may exercise certain pressure on the sister's husband, since the sister who established the new *iing* still keeps her membership in her natal *iing*. In fact a husband actually feels pressure from his wife's brothers, the occasional visits of the authority of her natal *iing* exercise a psychological check on his whole control over her and his children. Should any serious misfortune occur in the marriage, the wife will run to her brother for consultation. Furthermore, as member of her natal *iing*, he has the right to demand the property acquired by him if his wife has no successor, since it automatically belongs to his wife unless he acquired it without cohabitation with her, or through the capital of his *iing*. However, the process of segmentation in the *iing* leads the wife to greater attachment to her husband, particularly when his economic contribution is important, and as a consequence weakens her ties with her natal *iing*.

619 The limited rights of the brother over his sister's (non-heiress)

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

brother (actually not likely to happen), the levirate has no sociological implication in the social structure, which is specifically related to the residence rule. The levirate seems to have a significant function only when a marriage is virilocal—when the husband has full rights over his residence and property. This is also another aspect where the Khasi structure shows a marked difference from that of the Ashanti and the Ila, etc. 182 587

VI. Marriage of the Man of Authority of an *Iong*

Among these successful marital families, there are also shadows of a matrilineal order. These affect especially those men who are in the position of authority in an *iong*. Such a man, though he has an independent household with his wife and children, often visits his youngest sister's (or niece's) house, *iong (ha iong ieu)*, and sometimes stays there. Such a man's attachment to his *iong* is not only social or psychological, but also often economic. The man, as authority of his natal *iong*, usually has economic control over the management, particularly so, if his *iong* has considerable property or active trading business. As husband/father in his family he works for his wife and children, but often takes into consideration as well the interests of his *iong*. I found such cases especially among richer villagers in Mylliu and Jaitinga, where the main economic activities were based on trading. 592 599 602 619 [182]

Among the Khasi, it is quite a traditional rule of the division of labour that women engage in trading activities at markets whether on a large or small scale. Husbands may carry goods from field to market, but male members are kept away from the actual scene of the selling and buying. However, these activities on the part of the women are controlled and accounted for by their uncle or brother, or even son (or, if no male member is available, by the husband), though in many cases they form separate domestic families. The man's control over the trade appears more marked when the scale of business is large. [443] [462]

A man of Jaitinga, who worked in a shop in Haflong, spent his salary in keeping his wife and children, but at the same time he kept the accounts of his sister who was a professional merchant. Thus, the economy of the *iong* and that of the co-residential group are crossed by the dual role of the man. Hence, among the Khasi, residential autonomy is not always an indication of economic autonomy. However, it should be clearly understood that a man's acquired property goes to his co-residential group, not to his *iong*. [421]

A man of authority is attached to his *iong* by the stronger ties of religious, social and economic (management) duties as well as by

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

592 593 602 613 [123]

sentiment, in spite of his forming an independent domestic unit. Such a man with two households, the family of orientation and of procreation, says "one leg is in my sister's house and the other is in my wife's," and he feels more at home in his sister's. In villages, whenever a Khasi man in such a position invited me, I was always taken to his sister's (or niece's) house, his *iing*, not to his wife's. There I was warmly welcomed with highest respect by the women of the household as the guest of their uncle (or of their brother), the head of the *iing*. Khasi men whom outsiders often regard as hopeless in their social position, thus enjoy the highest status in their *iing*.

One Khasi gentleman who occupies a fairly high post in the Government, at Haflong, leaving his wife (non-heiress) and children at Shillong, to my question "when you go to Shillong into which house do you first step," immediately replied, "As soon as I get back to Shillong, I take the way to my sister's home and there take the evening meal with them, enjoying their talk. Then I go to my wife's house where my loving children are waiting." This shows a typical Khasi man's psychology in relation to a family of orientation and of procreation. His first concern on coming back to his homeland is whether his sister and her children are well, since he is the man of authority in that *iing*. He feels much more relaxed in his sister's house where he is held in higher regard and more cared for.

I came across many similar cases. In Jaitinga and Shella, each man on returning from their work, often have their evening meal with their sisters though their wives are waiting for them. Furthermore, if they choose to do so, they sleep at their sister's house without even going back to their wife's house. This results in an unstable married life, where a wife has to face a psychological handicap caused by the occasional absence of the husband, in spite of her advantageous position in a matrilineal and uxorilocal system. Many wives worry every day over whether or not their husbands will come to their house at night. And often this concern changes into sadness and loneliness when the husband does not return for several days on end. The wife knows her husband is at his sister's house in the same village. But she has no right to fetch her husband home. As in Western social dancing, the women have to wait till their partners come. During my field work I often came across these lonely women, just waiting for their husbands, each knowing he was only a few houses away. Though these Khasi women never show their feelings of loneliness in the presence of others, I, being a female anthropologist, was often told of the sadness of their married life. The situation of these women can be more easily understood if we remember the process of the segmentation of the *iing*, which separates each married woman from her descent group, her natal *iing*.

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The Nayar type: The counter scheme of the Garo type: the co-residential type is 'brother-sister' instead of 'husband-wife.' The function of both line *A* and *B* is equally strong. This type is found among the traditional Nayar (except those in North Malabar) and the Minangkabau matrilineal people.

The Khasi type: The ideal co-residential type consists of a woman with either her husband or her brother. The function of line *A* is much stronger than that of line *B*. This type is found among the Khasi, the Hopi, the Zuni, the Trukese, the Negri-Sembilan Malay, the Yao, etc.

The Ashanti type: The ideal co-residential type consists of a man with either his wife or his sister. The function of line *B* is much stronger than that of line *A*. This type is found among the Ashanti, the Gwembe Tonga, the Mayombe, the Trobriands, the Nayar of North Malabar, etc.

In terms of the strong function of both lines *A* and *B*, both the Garo type and the Nayar type may fall into a similar category. But as already explained, their structure basically differs from one another, and clearly appears as the counter schemes of different residential arrangements. The Nayar type shares with the Khasi a rather similar structure in terms of a descent group equated with a property group, while in the Garo type the two lines *A* and *B* of a single descent group never form an independent property unit.

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If, leaving aside the Garo type, we consider the three others, the Nayar type appears again different from the rest in so far as in it, both lines fulfill an equally strong function, while in the Khasi and Ashanti types, one of the two lines is always more developed functionally than the other. The Nayar type presents the highest degree of descent group solidarity among the three. This Nayar situation might be compared with that of the traditional Chinese patrilineal systems.[1] In both social systems the structural importance of marriage is minimized: the role of a spouse is only to ensure descendants of the matrilineal (patrilineal) group. The structural importance of a husband (wife) is almost neglected, while the wife (husband) holds the paramount locus in her (his) descent line. The descent group manifests the strongest solidarity within itself, neglecting affinal relations with other groups. This principle results in the custom of the "visiting husband" in the matrilineal system and in the patrilineal system, in a total social shift of the wife by her complete assimilation into her husband's group, and separation from her descent group,—she has no social and personal independent locus in terms of the structure. It is an interesting fact that the most extreme scheme of highly institutionalized unilineal systems can be seen among societies of pre-industrialized high civilization. These schemes are structurally opposed to those of the system of the society

1. Fortes touches this point in his paper (Fortes, 1950, p. 208).

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lineage is a corporate unilineal descent group of which the members can establish demonstrable genealogical relationships to each other. According to Firth, "lineage is essentially a unilineal descent group with some corporate functions, normally related by segmentary process to other descent groups of the same type, and with them usually covering the entire society" (1957, p. 4). The Garo and the Khasi can then be said to have the lineage, but to lack its segmentary organization which normally is found in a unilineal society. Both social structures exemplify the importance of the residence as a functional unit, against the wider descent group which may be called the lineage group. K 9 171 182 619

In the case of the Garo, the localized lineage is expressed in terms of the village (or group of villages) whose land bears the name of the localized lineage. However, it is the village which acts as the functional corporate body, the economic and ritual unit, not the group of members of the localized lineage. The village theoretically consists of the members of the two localized lineages, as represented in the headman and his wife respectively. Practically, though it bears the name of a particular lineage to which the wife of the headman belongs, as also usually the majority of the inhabitants, it includes many other lineage members as well as the traditional two lineages. Therefore, the lineage is not, in this sense, an exclusive corporate unit with a ritual and economic function, though it has a theoretical framework to the structure. 9 182 619 621

In the case of the Khasi, the lineage is found only on a household scale, centred in the woman, the property owner with members having direct matrilineal kinship ties to the former, such as her brothers, elder sisters, sons and daughters, who may or may not reside in the same household—the members of the *iing*. Beyond this unit (the *iing*) one can hardly find any functional organization based on the descent system. In other words, the lineage becomes a functional unit only at the level of the household, e.g., the lowest level of segmentation of the descent group, as it lacks wider external organization by the same principle. The lineage is considered rather as a ritual conception implying exogamy, not an organized body of kin. K 182 592 619

These phenomena contrast sharply with the Hopi and the Ashanti social organization, where lineage organization has crucial importance wider than on a household level. Many factors can be considered in this connection. First of all, the locus of property and ceremonial unit are the most distinctive features. Among the Khasi, property and ceremonial units are always found in an *iing*, represented by the youngest daughter's household, while that of the Hopi and the Ashanti are in a wider lineage organization in which members of many households are usually included. The Zuni pattern seems also similar to that of the Khasi. The difference between the Khasi and Zuni lies K 9 171 182 619 592

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in the rule of inheritance; the former follows uniposture (ultimogeniture), while the latter does not. Therefore, the number of members of a Zuni household is naturally larger than that of the Khasi.[1] Against the average number of a Khasi household, four to five, that of the Zuni is seven and a half to eight persons (Kroeber, 1917, p. 104). Among the Khasi, sisters separate through marriage in every generation, leaving the youngest in their natal house; while Zuni sisters may stay together even after their marriages. Kroeber states:

> "The house belongs to the women born of the family. They come into the world, pass their lives, and within the walls they die . . . New and then a new dwelling may be built by all the females, or for a girl of the house by an enterprising husband; but in general the same walls, or reserved rooms on the same spot (*ibid.*, pp. 47-48). . . . It is true that a Zuni 'house' often contains what we should regard as two or three households, but as long as it includes only one used hearth, and all natives insist that the two or three households are a single one" (*ibid.*, p. 104).

The internal composition of the household may differ from that of the Khasi, but the household in terms of the important institutionalized unit, is very similar to the Khasi. Li An-che states that "characteristics of a joint household based on the kinship principle stand out very strikingly" (Li, 1937, p. 75). Eggan's statement brings Zuni social organization much closer to the issue. He writes, "In terms of Kroeber's table it would seem that the Zuni tend to equate a lineage with a household, except in cases of recent expansion or building off" (Eggan, 1950, p. 189). He gives a further illuminating analysis of this point:

> "We have noted that the lineage principle, . . . also provides a mechanism for the inheritance of ceremonial duties and obligations and the transmission and preservation of fetishes and other ceremonial paraphernalia. In Zuni this inheritance is phrased in terms of the household, but it is clear that it is the lineage segment born into the household that is important. This lineage segment, or at least the female line thereof, also owns land and holds it in trust for succeeding generations, to be worked by the men who marry into the household" (*ibid.*, p. 208).

Another similar equation of lineage and household, comparable to that of the Khasi and the Zuni, is found among the Trobiand. According to Goodenough (1951):

> 1. This involves not only the difference of the number of members in a household but also the relation between the members of a descent group. As already discussed, the core of the descent group among the Khasi, is the pair of siblings: the owner of the property (the youngest sister) and the authority (a brother), not the sibling group altogether (see p. 130) as happens in other matrilineal systems appearing in this discussion. In regard to the uniposture succession itself, the Garo share the same system as the Khasi, though it appears to operate differently by reason of the structural difference of organization.

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"In aboriginal times they used to be associated with most lineages a dwelling house, *iawa* (p. 93) . . . *iawa* is the corporate property of the lineage or descent line whose women live in it, but it is normally built by their husbands" (p. 98).

Here, it is clear that a household provides the major locus of a lineage. In other words, a lineage is a corporate property group with a common residence. This is also the case of the Nayar *tarwad* and the Minangkabau *parwi*, though in these cases the household excludes the spouses of its members, while with the Khasi, the Zuni, and the Trobriand the spouses (in most cases, the husbands) share the residence.

Though they may differ in scale and size from one society to another, as well as from one household to another, the functional lineage founded upon residence has then a similar range in all of these systems. For convenience sake, I tentatively term this type of lineage "household-lineage,"[1] as opposed to that of the Hopi and the Ashanti, which might be termed "segmentary-lineage."

The average number of Khasi and Garo household members is four to five, that of the Zuni seven and a half to eight as stated above, the Trobriand is eighteen (from to thirty-four in Kiriwina Island, according to Goodenough), while the Nayar range from thirty to two hundred. These differences, I think, mostly depend on the economic (and environmental) situation; they should not be regarded as structural, except for the Garo and the Khasi, which, because of the uxorilocal rule, have smaller and fairly uniform households. The wide range of variation of composition which we observe among the Trobriand and the Nayar is due in reality to economic and environmental factors: the more favorable the circumstances, the larger the unit.

The co-residential group and the property unit do not always necessarily correspond. One property group may consist of more than two independent residences. But even in such cases, the lineage is likely to be found in a group which formed a co-residential unit in the recent past, and which should be considered as marginal cases, derived from the recent fission of a group—it is a lineage in process of fission not a constant kin-group based on other organization such as we find among the Ashanti and the Hopi. Usually such a lineage ceases to function shortly after it loses its common property, which usually follows closely upon the fission of the residential unit. Then, in the course of time a once-recognized lineage group disappears into the common sea of the clan, which represents only a ritual and exogamous unit. In some cases, even this clan loses its function, as happens among the Nayar and the Minangkabau, where the lineage which

1. It should be noted that it does not mean that the lineage consists of household members, but that the lineage solidarity is found around the range of a household scale.

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corresponds (or corresponded in the near past) to the co-residential property-group itself becomes an exogamic unit, disrupting the wider unit of the clan. Structurally it can be said that in these societies a lineage cannot exercise its full function unless it has a common residence based on a property unit.

In contrast to these societies, I cannot help but think that the Ashanti and the Hopi belong to a different type. Both Fortes and Eggan lay great emphasis on the descent principle, based on the ethnographic data of the Ashanti and of the Hopi respectively. The best examples of statements concerning this issue are the accounts in which both stress their disagreement with Kroeber's argument of 1938 in favour of the priority of local residence relationships over those of descent, under the title of "Basic and secondary patterns of social structure."

Fortes states:

"A lineage cannot easily act as a corporate group if its members can never get together for the conduct of their affairs. It is not surprising therefore to find that the lineage in African societies is generally locally anchored, but it is not necessarily territorially compact or exclusive. A compact nucleus may be enough to act as the local center for a group that is widely dispersed. I think it would be agreed that lineage and locality are independently variable and how they interact depends on other factors in the social structure. As I interpret the evidence, local ties are of secondary significance, *pace* Kroeber, for local ties do not appear to give rise to structural bonds in and of themselves. There must be common political or kinship or economic or ritual interests for structural bonds to emerge. Again spatial dispersion does not immediately put an end to lineage ties or to the ramifying ties found in cognatic systems like that of the Lozi. For legal status, property, office and cult act centripetally to hold dispersed lineages together and scattered kindred" (Fortes, 1953, p. 29).

Eggan states:

"For the Hopi the kinship structure is centered primarily around the lineage; the household relationships are secondary (Eggan, 1950, p. 119) . . .

"Furthermore, it is the lineage and clan, rather than the household group, which is invested with lands and ceremonies and which is considered to own the house itself. Important as are the ties of residence and subsistence associations, they are not the key groupings for Hopi communities—nor for basics of our interpretation.

"Kroeber explicitly leaves kinship out of account in his analysis of 'basic and secondary patterns of social structure,' but in a sense kinship is more fundamental than either patterns of residence or formal grouping. Our analysis of Hopi kinship has suggested that both the household and the lineage organizations are encompassed in the kinship system. And it is clear that the kinship system is organized in terms of the lineage principle rather than in terms of residence" (*ibid.*, p. 138).

These arguments seem to me to refer more to a difference of social organization than to a theoretical contrast. On the basis of my own

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field work as well as on the accounts of various matrilineal systems. 800
I feel strongly that there must be different types of systems which may be distinguished as "household-lineage" and "segmentary-lineage". Fortes and Eggan postulate the pre-eminence of the descent principle over residence. Though this may be the case among the Ashanti and the Hopi, it does not fit the cases belonging to what I call "household-lineage" type. Firth's argument emphasizing the importance of rights to group membership being associated with locality, fits very well with the latter case. With more precision and subtlety than Kroeber, he argues that "residence by itself does not give title to descent-group membership, but land rights established by descent-group membership tend to remain operational only through residence" (Firth 1957, p. 7).

I believe there are crucial differences between these household-lineage type and segmentary-lineage type organizations. The technical process of fission into segments is similar in both types. But in the former, once a segmented group attains autonomy, the relation between the segments will easily be forgotten after a few generations, as it has no significant social implication. Among these societies, people's genealogical memory outside the residential group is surprisingly poor. This empirical fact also suggests a different structure from that of the segmentary system.

In both types of society the internal organization of a household is the same, but it differs externally. Eggan states that "Kroeber's and Parsons' statements about the lack of system in regard to Zuni kinship indicate judgement from some arbitrary standard" and adds "The concept of the lineage provides a bridge between the household and the clan" (Eggan, *ibid.*, p. 197). I cannot agree with this. In K
fact, my study of the Garo, the Khasi and the Nayar corresponds q
very well to the Zuni situation described by Kroeber and Parsons. 171
There are matrilineal systems which lack a bridge between the household and the clan. 182

Then what is it that makes the difference between the two types 592 *
of organization in similar unilineal systems? I am not sure that I can 619
provide at present effective hypotheses on this issue. Moreover, empirical facts show that the household-lineage type organization is likely to be found among more complicated societies or in a society with considerable mobility. This we gather also if we compare the village compositions of the Hopi and the Zuni. In the case of the Khasi, K
we see that there was considerable mobility in population even in [166]
remote villages, so that we easily understand that in such a condition lineage membership hardly maintained itself. This seems to agree with the view put forth by Fortes on segmentary systems. Fortes 000
says the limits of the spread or span of internal segmentation of the

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

000 Such variety in residential arrangements and such flexibility in inheritance rule complicates considerably the composition of the residential unit when a property group (residential domestic unit) grows. Richards gives an interesting illustrative description of the formation of a Bemba residential unit:

> "The Bemba bridegroom starts his married life as a stranger in his wife's village, but since his daughters remain with him for some years after marriage he builds up a grand-family composed of his daughters, their husbands, and their children. In some cases he is able to persuade his sons-in-law to remain permanently with him, while in others he is even able to keep his sons in his own village. In time some of his sister's sons, with their wives, will choose to come and settle with him, so that he will be head of a group of rather heterogeneous composition" (Richards, *ibid.*, p. 227).

Here we find a man's wife's matrilineal kin (his daughters and sons, including the daughters' descendants); his own matrilineal kin (his sisters' sons); and the third matrilineal sets (his sons' wives and his sister's sons'wives). Such a mixed composition of a residential unit may never be found among societies belonging to those types previously discussed; such residential composition would be impossible if the matrilineal principle was functioning strongly in the structure of the actual property group.

Thus, the Bemba type presents an outstanding structural difference from the other types of matrilineal systems in which the matrilineal inheritance rule was the decisive factor for the formation of the residence unit. It is clear that in the Bemba type, both a man and a woman are fairly free from the economic control of his and her matrilineal group, and their relations are somewhat like those of the husband of the Khasi type and the wife of the Ashanti type. Therefore, the conflicts between one's matrilineal group and family of procreation are minimized, particularly in the economic sphere.

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This analysis throws much light on the following remarks of Richards bearing on different aspects of the similar formation of descent groups among the Yao and the Bemba.

> "The head of a Yao village of this sort (taking his wife to his matrilineage residence) thus has authority over his wife's children and over those of his sisters, but the position of the wife's children seems to be clearly differentiated from that of the sister's children, and Mitchell speaks of a traditional hostility between them. I never saw evidence of such hostility in Bemba villages, which also often contain a man's children and his sister's children" (Richards, *ibid.*, p. 235).

This difference should really be ascribed to the structural difference between the Khasi type (the Yao) and the Bemba type. In the former the matrilineal structural force is strongly functioning in the residential group, whereas in the latter it is minimized.

177 people remained non-Hindu in their basic beliefs and social customs. Hindu
648 influences are nevertheless predominant in their culture, especially in their way
771 of living which shows a practical adaptability, somewhat similar to the Japanese
795 acceptance of modern western culture without becoming Christian. In my
[797] census of Shella village, the people calling themselves 'Hindu' amount to 40 per
[162] cent of the total, but they are the recent converts to the Ramakrishna School which established a missionary station at Shella after the Partition. The Christians constitute 30 per cent of the total, most of them having been converted during the last ten years, as in the case of the Ramakrishna School.[1] The rest remain as they were, of Khasi belief. These conversions to either
[455] Ramakrishna or Christianity seem to have been encouraged by the unstable situation of the people resulting from the recent economic depression in this area.

439 The Partition of India and Pakistan in August 1947, which drew the bor-
458 derline a few miles south of Shella village, considerably upset village economy
648 by stopping all trade with Bengal, though a limited amount of trade is allowed with local people at the border. Because of this political change, all the produce of Shella gardens is rotting away for lack of markets, while all of the rice fields were taken by Pakistan. Goods now come to Shella only from the uplands, carried upon men's shoulders over the most difficult pass, which makes everything very expensive. Many families have sold their gold and other treasures, and some families are facing starvation.[2]

182 Concerning the conversion to a new religion, an interesting phenomenon
171 is to be observed. The conversion to Christianity or to Ramakrishna is mostly
• 592 by individual. I found in my census that the wife and husband often belong to different religions. This is a very different picture from the Garo, among whom
613 I always found that the husband and wife belonged to the same religion: the
771 conversion of the husband to Christianity was always followed by that of the
795 wife. I think this reflects the structural difference which influences the actual relationship between the husband and wife. Among those Khasi, instead of the husband and wife, the maternal uncle and his nephews and nieces are mostly of the same religion. The function of the *eng*, the most important social unit religious unit, thus appears also in the conversion to a new religion, stronger than that of a domestic unit.

Intermarriage

648 The close economic and cultural contact of the Shella people and the Bengalies
771 is not matched by social contact. The essential barrier between the two peoples is the difference of religion which dominates the entire social order in such
563 society. Though these Khasi were important traders, richer than the neighbouring Hindu peasants, they were considered by the Hindu as outcasts with whom they never shared social activities. Intermarriages were therefore very rare. In Shella village, only two exceptional cases were found in my census:

1. A Khasi woman married to a Garlia (cattle-keeper), they live at Shella Bazaar (Shelaga).
2. A Khasi woman has marital relations with a Bengalee medical doctor who has resided at Dhaung in Shella for six years. He already has a Bengalee

1. These two entirely different missionary activities are competing with each other, and are somewhat related to the political powers within this area.
2. The state government is doing its best to provide them with additional facilities: for example, providing air transport for the transportation of oranges from Shella to Gauhati and Calcutta. However, such arrangements cannot cover the great economic loss suffered by the Shella people.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

TABLE-[illegible]

Distribution of families by size of building groups

Size of building group	Rural area				Urban area				General area			
	No. of families	Average size of building per family (in acres)	No. of families living in kutcha building	Average size of kutcha building (acres)	No. of families	Average size of building per family (in acres)	No. of families living in kutcha building	Average size of building of kutcha building (acres)	No. of families	Average size of building per family (acres)	No. of families living in kutcha building	Average size of kutcha building (acres)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
1. Up to 50	[illegible] (20·72)	—	—	—	[illegible] (28·35)	—	—	—	[illegible] (18·01)	—	—	—
2. 51 to 100	[illegible] (9·12)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (7·23)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (14·21)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
3. 101 to 200	[illegible] (17·00)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (20·17)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (19·70)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
4. 201 to 300	[illegible] (12·72)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (10·12)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (11·12)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
5. 301 to 400	[illegible] (8·00)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (7·12)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (7·72)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total no. of families possessing land	[illegible] (100·00)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (100·00)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible] (100·00)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Grand Total	[illegible] (100·00)	[illegible]			[illegible] (100·00)	[illegible]			[illegible] (100·00)	[illegible]		

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It is seen from the above table that proportion of landless families was quite high in Sunder area and Pojuna area numbering for 31 and 28 per cent of the total number of families in the respective area, against 19 in the General area. Considering holdings in general and classifying them as small holdings (if has their 3 acres), medium holding (3-5 acres) to be from 10 acres and large holdings (10 acres and above), the proportion of landless holding land to the three holding groups is found to be respectively 18 per cent, 28 per cent and 18 per cent in Sunder area, 27 per cent 26 per cent and 7 per cent in Pojuna area and 24 per cent, 24 per cent and 6 per cent in General area.

Considering only the landless holding land as will be evident from table 2(1) in the appendix in Sunder area the proportion of families in the three holding groups i.e. small, medium and large are respectively 32%, 31% and 36% of the landless holding land while for Pojuna area they are 34%, 42% and 9% and for General area 38%, 40% and 4% respectively.

As to the area covered by the three holding groups in the Sunder area, Pojuna area and General area, the small holding area respectively 8 per cent 19 per cent and 21 per cent of the total agricultural land medium holding area respectively 29 per cent, 52 per cent and 19 per cent and the large holding area 63.52 per cent, 29.08 per cent and 27.41 per cent respectively. Thus in Sunder area 79 per cent of the landless holding land cover only 8 per cent of the total agricultural land in the village while in Pojuna area 68 per cent of the families own 19 per cent in the land and in General area 54 per cent of the families own 21 per cent of total land. As a result the individual holding under the small holding group are small averaging between 0.54 acre to 2.16 acres in Sunder area, 0.60 acres to 2.32 acres in Pojuna area and 0.67 acres to 2.57 acres in General area. The average size of holdings per family in the small holding group in the Sunder area are respectively 2.16 acres, 1.67 acres and 1.33 acres as compared to 0.54 acre, 0.75 acre and 2.02 acres in the medium holding group and 23.92 acres, 19.02 acres and 19.02 acres in large holding group. Average size of holding per family holding land in Sunder area, Pojuna area and General area comes to respectively 2.42 acres, 2.09 acres and 2.15 acres. However considering estimated holdings only as will be seen from Table 2(1) in the appendix the above figures stand at 2.18 acres, 2.12 acres and 2.21 acres respectively considering the fact that a considerable portion of land is either left fallow or leased out to others.

The following table will throw light on the point

24

[illegible] The total number of bagasse in 687 holdings in Sample of area [illegible] to 2,340 giving an average of 3.40 bagasse per holding. So, in 943 holdings in project area is 4,[illegible] which gives an average 1.96 bagasse per holding, while in General area 145 holdings comprise of 493 bagasse, i.e. 3.40 bagasse per holding. A comparison of the above figure with the average bagasse figure of 3.07, 4.32, 4.05 and 3.05 per holding in Palar Hills, Dhanraj, Sikhagiri and Lakshmipur districts respectively goes to show that position of bagasse in the district is higher than that in Palar Hills but less than that in other districts.

It will be seen from table 24.1 on the opposite that in the small holding group (less than 2 acres) average number of bagasse per holding is 1.90 in Sample, 1.88 in Project and 2.41 in General area. The average size in the corresponding holding group being 1.50 acres 1.61 acres and 1.55 acres, in Sample area, Project area and General area the average size of bagasse in the respective area works out at [illegible] and [illegible] acres. Similarly it will be seen that average size of bagasse for medium holding group are, in Sample area 1.41 acres (average size of medium holding 4.45 acres) in Project area 1.51 acres (average size of holding 4.56 acres) and in General area 1.51 acres (average size of holding 4.56 acres), while for large holding group being 2.21 acres, 2.06 acres and 2.15 acres respectively against the average large holding size of 10.05 acres, 10.05 acres and 10.05 acres in the respective area.

Ownership

[illegible] 4.1 The operating unit in the rural agricultural sector is in most cases the family farm. Farmers, cultivators, agricultural and agricultural labour as regards to the agricultural activities in these farms are given through a joint effort of the family unit. Family [illegible] farm accounts are maintained through employment of hired labourers are employed during the busy seasons.

[illegible] In this respect a farm has been defined as consisting of all agricultural land operated by a single family with or without employment of labour. The family unit or man will have the right of possession, enjoyment and alienation over the farm land operated by it and in this sense the farm is characterised from holding which comprises of such land with non-right the family ownership possessing right of enjoyment and alienation.

TABLE D-5

Distribution of farms according to size

6.6 The summary distribution of farms in the three areas is shown in the following table :—

Size of farms (in acres)	Dundee area			Pudoor area			Ghanaul area		
	No. of farms	Total area (acres)	Average size of farm (acres)	No. of farms	Total area (acres)	Average size of farms (acres)	No. of farms	Total area (acres)	Average size of farm (acres)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Below 1 acre	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
" 2 acres	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	...	[illegible]	[illegible]	...	[illegible]	[illegible]	...
[illegible] 2 acres but less than 10 acres	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	...	[illegible]	[illegible]	...	[illegible]	[illegible]	...
10 acres and above ...	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	...	[illegible]	[illegible]	...	[illegible]	[illegible]	...
Total	[illegible] (100.00)	[illegible] (100.00)	[illegible] ...	[illegible] (100.00)	[illegible] (100.00)	[illegible] ...	[illegible] (100.00)	[illegible] (100.00)	[illegible] ...

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CHAPTER IX

Income and Expenditure

9.1 The great majority of rural people are members of families of two or more persons sharing a common income earned mostly by joint efforts of family members and also disbursed in supplying the consumption needs of the family as a whole. An attempt is made below, therefore, to analyse the aspects of income and expenditure of the rural families family-wise.

9.2 It has already been mentioned that the majority (i.e., about 72 per cent) of the families of all the three areas pursued agriculture as a principal occupation. Some of these families follow cottage industries, trade, transport, labour, etc. as subsidiary occupations. The rest of the families had either agriculture as subsidiary occupation or were independent of agriculture. The larger section of these families were non-agricultural labourers. The following table gives the distribution of families in different income groups.

TABLE C-1

Frequency distribution of families in different income groups

Income Group Rs.	No. of families											
	Sector area				Plains area				General area			
	Mainly agricultural land	Non-agricultural	Total	Average annual gross income per family (Rs. 0.00)	Mainly agricultural land	Non-agricultural	Total	Average annual gross income per family (Rs. 0.00)	Mainly agricultural	Non-agricultural	Total	Average annual gross income per family (Rs. 0.00)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
1. Below 100	—	—	1 (1.0)	1 (1.00)	(0.00) —	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
2. 100 to below 500	0 (.00)	17 (1.7)	17 (0.7)	200.00	1 (1.0)	4 (.40)	5 (.21)	(79.0)	1 (.01)	—	1 (.04)	200.00 —
3. 500 to below 1000	108 (11.4)	14 (12.2)	122 (10.8)	698.14	40 (10.40)	6 (1.5)	46 (10.4)	607.24	14 (10.00)	4 (10.5)	18 (11.14)	679.97
4. 1000 to below 1500	207 (21.8)	60 (5.2)	267 (16.1)	1,400.24	110 (28.00)	47 (10.00)	156 (17.4)	1,400.48	45 (15.4)	7 (11.5)	52 (14.4)	1,400.00
5. 1500 to below 2000	316 (33.3)	47 (14.0)	363 (31.7)	1,800.00	114 (29.2)	60 (15.00)	147 (15.1)	1,877.14	47 (16.10)	6 (11.0)	53 (15.4)	1,900.00
6. 2000 to below 2500	139 (14.6)	27 (12.5)	166 (14.5)	2,100.00	100 (25.7)	50 (12.5)	150 (15.2)	2,100.00	42 (14.0)	3 (11.5)	45 (13.8)	2,100.00
7. 2500 to below 3000	74 (7.7)	21 (6.2)	95 (7.4)	2,477.79	27 (6.9)	11 (2.8)	38 (3.9)	2,500.13	21 (6.9)	2 (11.5)	23 (7.1)	2,500.00

TABLE C.3—*concld.*

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
6. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
6. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
11. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
11. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
11. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total —	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

(3)

From table above, it is difficult to judge the relative prosperity of agricultural and non-agricultural families. The annual gross income of 69 per cent of the agricultural families is less than Rs.720-00 a year while that of 87 per cent of them is below Rs.1,000 a year. Thus the remaining 13 per cent of the families only have a gross annual income of above Rs.1,000 a year. Among non-agricultural families the corresponding proportions are 32 per cent, 78 per cent and 21 per cent. Thus proportion of non-agricultural families with annual gross income less than Rs.720, is greater than the corresponding proportion of agricultural families. The petty traders, porters and other non-agricultural labourers who are universally very poor constitute this non-agricultural class. On the other hand proportion of non-agricultural families with annual gross income of more than Rs.720 exceeds the corresponding proportion for agricultural families. These non-agricultural families comprise of a good number of business men, contractors, etc., who are comparatively a bit well off than the agriculturists.

In Project area proportion of agricultural families and non-agricultural families with annual gross income of less than Rs.720 is 35 per cent and 29 per cent respectively as against 69 per cent and 32 per cent of their respective counterpart in Border area. Proportions of families with gross income below Rs.1,000 a year is 54 per cent and 66 per cent indicating that proportions of agricultural as well as non-agricultural families with income above Rs.1,000 a year are greater than their corresponding counterparts in Border area.

In general area (villages) it is significant to note that proportion of agricultural families with gross annual income of over Rs.1,000 is negligible (01 per cent) while those under Rs.720 and Rs.1,000 are 62 per cent and 55 per cent respectively.

Table below in Other reveals that 30 per cent of the gross income in the Border area, 34 per cent in the Project area and 36 per cent in the General area is earned by families in the income group less Rs.1,000 contributing as much as 85 per cent of the total number of families in the respective areas.

TABLE G-3

Percentage distribution of income and families in different income groups

Annual income group (Rs.)	Border area		Project area		General area	
	Families	Income earned	Families	Income earned	Families	Income earned
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1. Less than 600	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
2. 600 to less than 800	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
3. 800 to less than 1000	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	—
4. 1000 and above	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	—
Total ...	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE G-8

Components of average annual gross income per family

Source of income	Agricultural families				Non-agricultural families				All families			
	Value of produce				Value of produce				Value of produce			
	Consumed at home	Marketed	Total	P.C.	Consumed at home	Marketed	Total	P.C.	Consumed at home	Marketed	Total	P.C.
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Quota area—	Rs. nP.	Rs. nP.	Rs. nP.		Rs. nP.	Rs. nP.	Rs. nP.		Rs. nP.	Rs. nP.	Rs. nP.	
1. Agriculture and forest holdings ...	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
2. Non-agricultural occupations—												
(a) Small scale manufacture and handicrafts	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
(b) Trade ...	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
(c) Transport ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
3. Service, professional wages, etc.	...	...	[illegible]	[illegible]	...	...	[illegible]	[illegible]	...	...	[illegible]	[illegible]
4. Liquidation of assets	...	...	[illegible]	[illegible]	...	...	[illegible]	[illegible]	...	...	[illegible]	[illegible]
5. Miscellaneous ...	...	...	[illegible]	[illegible]	...	...	[illegible]	[illegible]	...	...	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total ...	...	...	...	[illegible]	[illegible]	...	...	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

* Negligible

TABLE C-5—continued.

Project Area	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
	Dec.	Dec.	Dec.	Dec.	Dec.	Dec.	Dec.	Dec.	Dec.	Dec.	Dec.	Dec.
1. Applications and Federal authorizations	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
2. Environmental management—												
(a) Sewage and solid waste disposal and transportation	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
(b) Water	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
(c) Transport	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
3. Sanitary conditions, health, etc.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
4. Education of adults	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
5. Miscellaneous	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

TABLE C.6—*contd.*

General category	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
	Rs. crs.	Rs. crs.	Rs. crs.		Rs. crs.	Rs. crs.	Rs. crs.		Rs. crs.	Rs. crs.	Rs. crs.	
1. Agriculture and Allied Activities	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
2. Non-agricultural activities—												
(a) Small scale manufacturers and Handicrafts	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	...	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
(b) Trade	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
(c) Transport	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
3. Service, professions, weights, etc.	...	...	[illegible]	[illegible]	...	...	[illegible]	[illegible]	...	...	[illegible]	[illegible]
4. Liquidation of assets	...	...	[illegible]	[illegible]	...	...	[illegible]	[illegible]	...	...	[illegible]	[illegible]
5. Miscellaneous	...	...	[illegible]	[illegible]	...	...	[illegible]	[illegible]	...	...	[illegible]	...
Total	...	...	[illegible]	[illegible]	...	...	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

From the above table it is seen that average annual gross income of predominantly agricultural families in Border area, Project area and General area are respectively Rs. 1,035, Rs. 1,095 and Rs. 874. Apparently it appears that people in the General area are poorer than those in Border area. This however cannot be said to be true, for, from a consideration of the distribution of families in table G-1 it will be seen that average income figures for Border area and Project area are in fact inflated due to existence of a number of families in higher income group.

To the income of families in Border area agriculture and Animal husbandry contribute 58 per cent followed by Labour-service-profession which contribute 34 per cent (Labour includes agricultural labour also). Miscellaneous sources such as charity remittance, loan realised, etc., contribute 1 per cent. Others in order of importance are liquidation of assets, non-agricultural enterprises such as Trade, Cottage Industries, etc., which respectively account for 4 per cent, 3 ~~and~~ per cent only.

In project area main contributors are agriculture and Animal husbandry and Labour-service, profession etc.. accounting for 48 per cent and 36 per cent respectively followed by Liquidation of assets, and non-agricultural pursuits such as trade and cottage industries which respectively contribute 8 per cent and 5 per cent of the families total gross income.

Main contributors to family income in General area are in order of importance agriculture, Labour-service, profession, etc.. non-agricultural enterprise, and Liquidation of assets, which respectively accounts for 53 per cent, 36 per cent, 6 per cent, and 4 per cent of the families total gross income.

It is also seen that of the total average income of families, value of items produced at farm or at home and consumed at home account for 16 per cent of the families total annual gross income in Border area, 27 per cent in Project area and 35 per cent in General area. Thus average annual cash receipt of an agricultural family in the three areas comes to 84 per cent, 73 per cent and 65 per cent respectively, of the families average gross annual income, *i. e.*, Rs.1,035·06, Rs.1,095·33 and Rs. 873·98 respectively.

Components of average annual net income per family

Village group	Type of family	Average income per family							On Page expenses	
		Agriculture and allied fields	Non-agricultural enterprise					Total	Average expenses per family	Average net income per family
			Small scale industry, cottage and handicrafts	Trade	Services, professional and wages etc.	Livestock of income	Miscellaneous			
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
A. Barley area	1. Agricultural families.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	2. Non-agricultural families.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	..	..	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
			[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	...	...

TABLE [illegible]—[illegible]

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
B. [illegible]	2. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	3. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
			[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	—
C. [illegible]	1. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	2. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
			[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	—

5.4 Excluding non-agricultural families it is seen that average gross annual income per family in Border area, Project area and General area are respectively Rs.[illegible], Rs.[illegible] and Rs.[illegible] respectively. The main contributor to this income in Border area is Trade followed by Service, Profession, Labour and Agriculture and Animal husbandry; those in Project area are Labour-Service-Profession followed by Trade, small scale manufacture and agriculture and Animal husbandry. The comparatively higher average income from small scale manufacture and handicraft is due to existence of quite a good number of upper families with quite a large amount of annual income. This contributes to gross annual income of non-agricultural families in General area in order of importance are agriculture and animal husbandry, service-profession and labour. It is significant that among the non-agricultural families also agriculture and animal husbandry emerge to be the biggest contributor. This is due to the fact that in General area villages there are a large number of Nepali families whose principal occupation is cattle rearing and earned enough by selling milk, ghee, and livestock. These families were classed as non-agricultural families.

5.5 Of the gross income, agriculturists spend a portion in their farms on items such as purchase of seed, manure, etc., cost of maintenance of livestock, wages and salaries for labourers, and transport of produce while other spend a portion on running their household enterprises such as purchase of merchandise for trading, purchase of plants and machinery and raw materials for household enterprises, wages and salaries for employees, etc. The net annual income per family, as will be evident from table G-6, comes to Rs.[illegible] in Border area, Rs.[illegible] in Project area and Rs.[illegible] in General area. The corresponding figures for agricultural families being Rs.[illegible], Rs.[illegible] Rs.[illegible] and for non-agricultural families Rs.[illegible], Rs.1,[illegible] and Rs.[illegible] respectively.

The following table shows the annual expenditure of families in running their enterprises.

TABLE G-7

Consumption in Amount

Items	Border area			Project area			General area		
	No. of items the sample fig. items	Average value of items consumed		No. of items the sample fig. items	Average value of items consumed		No. of items the sample fig. items	Average value of items consumed	
		per capita Rs. Rs. (Rs.)	per family Rs. (Rs.)		per capita Rs. Rs. (Rs.)	per family (Rs.)		per capita Rs. Rs. (Rs.)	per family (Rs.)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
1. Food	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
2. Agricultural inputs [illegible]									
(a) Fertilizers	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
(b) Implements and equipment	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
(c) Others [illegible]									
3. Building	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
4. Furniture & fixtures	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	—	—
5. Plant & equipment tools, etc. for handicraft enterprises	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	—	—
6. Others	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	—	—

Thus it is seen that proportion of families purchasing livestock is highest in all the three areas, followed by that purchasing agricultural tools, implements. Considering investment for farm, building is conspicuous in all the three areas, contributing largely towards a net investment is seen in all the three areas. Others of importance are land and agricultural assets.

3.1. **Consumption expenditure of the family.**— The following tables show the broad pattern of the average family consumption expenditure in the three village-groups. The comparison of annual expenditure on food, clothing and other items of consumption which determine the standard of living of the rural families are displayed separately.

Size of average family—In Border area 5.7 members,
Project area 6.0 members and
General area 6.7 members.

TABLE G-8

Household Consumption Expenditure

Items	Dhaka area				Project area				Control area			
	Cash on premises	Obtained in kind & consumed at home	Total	P.C.	Cash on premises	Obtained in kind and consumed at home	Total	P.C.	Cash on premises in	Obtained in kind & consumed at home	Total	P.C.
	(Su [illegible])	(Su [illegible])	(Su [illegible])		(Su [illegible])	(Su [illegible])	(Su [illegible])		(Su [illegible])	(Su [illegible])	(Su [illegible])	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
Foodstuff	—	—										
1. Cereals	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
2. Pulses	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]
3. Vegetables	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
4. Fruits & Nuts	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

TABLE C.5—*contd.*

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
5. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
6. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]
7. Wine	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]
8. Fish	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
9. Eggs	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	—	—	—
10. Sugar	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]
11. Salt	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total—Food	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
B. Non-food :												
12. Tobacco, Dog, etc.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]
13. Liquors, etc.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
14. Fuel & light	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
15. Tolet	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]
16. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total—Non-food	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

TABLE C.6—*contd.*

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
C. Miscellaneous:												
17. Electricity and private water	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]
18. Medicine and Dispensary	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]
19. Clothing & Bedding	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]
20. Communal spare and Maintenance	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]
21. Sundry goods	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]
22. Longevity	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	—	—	—
23. Domestic servants	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	—	—	—
24. Repair & maintenance of middle-class building	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]
25. Residential house building and land	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]
26. Travelling	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]
27. Rent and others	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	—	—	—
Total—Miscellaneous	—	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]
	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Grand Total	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

varied between 1.66 per cent to 2.03 per cent in the three areas. It is very likely that this figure will be an under-estimate due to the fact that people addicted to it do not like to admit so. The existence of a large number of licensed liquor distilleries - numbering upto 8 in a single village, and the brisk trade in these distilleries bear testimony to the fact that a large share of family income is drained out through liquor.

Among miscellaneous items clothing and footwear accounted for nearly 4 per cent in Barbil area, 5 per cent in Pagari area and 5 per cent in Gaurad area. Next to it in importance is medicine and doctor which accounted for about 3 per cent of the total annual expenditure in all the three areas.

Generally speaking, the comparatively high percentage of expenditure on food and low percentages on other items like clothing, house and its repair, education, etc., indicates a low standard of living of the rural families in general.

5.6. It may be of some interest to know how the families belonging to typical economic groups divide their income between their current living expenses and other outlays on goods and services. The picture of the family expenditure pattern is summarised in the following table.

TABLE G 9

Analysis of family expenditure in different income groups

Similar features	Income group											
	Below Rs. 100	100-150	150-200	200-250	250-300	300-350	350-400	400-500	500-600	600-700	700-800	800 and above
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
1. No. of families	1	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
2. Average gross income per family	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
3. Average surplus per family	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
4. Average net income per family	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
5. Average expenditure per family	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
6. Percentage of expenditure spent—												
(a) Food	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
(b) Tea, tobacco and drugs		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
(c) Fuel and Lighting		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
(d) Clothing		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
(e) Miscellaneous		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

TABLE G 5—*contd*

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
Percent [illegible] —												
1. No. of families		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
2. Average gross income per family	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
3. Average outlay per family	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
4. Average net income per family	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
5. Average expenditure per family	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
6. Percentage of expenditure on—												
(a) Food	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
(b) Rent, etc.	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
(c) Fuel and lighting	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
(d) Clothing	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
(e) Miscellaneous	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

TABLE G 9—*contd*

Central Area— (1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
1. No. of families		1	22	68	69	44	12		1	..	..
2. Average gross income per family.	..	529·90	868·21	580·25	900·40	1210·64	1084·50	..	2752·00	..	..	..
3. Average outlay per family	..	50·40	25·05	13·00	140·11	177·45	348·00	..	740·00	..	..	..
4. Average net income per family.	..	479·50	843·22	526·75	800·37	1033·19	1340·42	..	2006·00	..	..	..
5. Average expenditure per family.	..	482·44	419·01	609·18	901·38	1136·98	1321·78	..	2329·16	..	..	..
6. Proportion of expenditure on—												
(a) Food.	..	73·92	62·91	73·05	76·58	75·51	63·69	..	97·64	..	..	..
(b) Tea, etc.	..	0·37	0·09	0·72	0·08	0·18	7·02	..	0·61	..	..	..
(c) Fuel and lighting	..	0·10	0·44	0·15	4·60	4·61	0·02	..	0·02	..	..	..
(d) Clothing	..	0·03	4·31	0·77	4·68	3·07	3·19	..	7·02	..	..	..
(e) Miscellaneous	..	11·12	33·65	13·41	9·18	9·21	12·23	..	27·69	..	..	..

19: Assam G-5 (1958) 1963 AR7 Khasi AR7

It is noticed that food is the largest single item of expenditure at every income level demanding about two-thirds or more of the average over all expenditure. It is significant to note that money outlays on food increase markedly at successive income level. This wide range of expenditure is the result of very low standard of food consumption in the low income groups and also possibly of increasing number of members per family in the higher income groups.

434
502
511

One striking feature revealed by the summary table of family income and expenditure given above is the average net deficit shown by the families of almost each income-group, except perhaps marginal surplus in respect of a few income-groups in the higher level. Thus for majority of the families the entire family income was not adequate on the average to meet current outlays on food and other necessities and comforts of daily living. Even the advantage of comparatively large average income was more than balanced by the larger differential increase in the family expenditure due either to their larger family size or comparatively higher standard of living or both.

426 Of the total number of loans 81 per cent in Border area, 18 per cent in Project area and 20 per cent in General area were free of interest while rate of interest for 9 per cent, 30 per cent and 60 per cent respectively of the loans in the three areas were found to be 20 per cent or more per annum which in cases ranged upto 200 per cent.

241 434 592 10.8. Farm output of 67 per cent of the families in Border area, 36 per cent of families in Project area and 60 per cent of families in General area were less than Rs. 500 a year, while 5 per cent, 30 per cent and 1 per cent of the families in the respective area earned more than Rs. 2,000.00 a year from their farms. Of the total number of farms fetching less than or Rs. 500.00 a year in Border area 33 per cent of them are medium sized farms and 4 per cent large sized farms, the corresponding proportions for Project area and General area being 21 per cent, 1 per cent, 27 per cent and 1 per cent.

24 433 10.9. In Border area the most important crops are oranges, betelnut, paddy, and betel leaf which respectively accounted for 31 per cent, 27 per cent, 19 per cent and 9 per cent of the total harvested area. In Project area paddy and orange are the most important crop which accounted respectively for 82 per cent and 3 per cent of the total harvested area. The most important crops in the General area are paddy and potato which respectively accounted for 61 per cent and 7 per cent of the total harvested area.

On the basis of data collected for all the villages investigated average yield per acre worked out at paddy 11.65 maunds, potato 21.61 maunds, oranges 3.77 lutis (5908 numbers) and betelnut 2.95 lutis (12980 numbers). These yield exhibited wide variation among the three areas.

434 592 10.10. Proportions of families with annual gross income of less than Rs. 750, Rs. 750 to less than Rs. 3,000, and above Rs. 3,000, were respectively found to be 49 per cent, 45 per cent and 6 per cent in Border area, 36 per cent, 60 per cent and 6 per cent in Project area and 45 per cent, 54 per cent and 1 per cent in General area. Average annual gross income per family worked out at Rs. 1,076.30 in Border area, Rs. 1,829.40 nP. in Project area and Rs. 864.36 nP. in General area which for predominantly agricultural and non-agricultural families respectively stood at Rs. 1,035.06 nP. and Rs. 1,161.91 nP. in Border area, Rs. 1,095.33 nP. and 1,644.36 nP. in Project area and Rs. 873.98 nP. and 780.84 nP. in General area. In all the three areas main contributors to family income were agriculture, service-profession-labour and trade accounting respectively for 41 per cent, 35 per cent and 15 per cent of the total average income in Border area, 37 per cent, 40 per cent and 9 per cent in Project area and 53 per cent, 36 per cent and 5 per cent in General area.

The net annual income per family in different income groups varied between Rs. 60 to 2,849 in Border area, between Rs. 110 to Rs. 3,508 in Project area and between Rs. 92 to Rs. 2,004 in General area. The average over all per family net annual income worked out at Rs. 853 in Border area, Rs. 989 in project area and Rs. 750 in General area and the same *per capita* at Rs. 231 in Border area, Rs. 215 in Project area and Rs. 153 in General area.

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TABLE F-1.1

Number of farms by Gross output group

Size of farm	Number of households in the output group												
	0	Less than 100	100 to 250	250 to 500	500 to 1000	1000 to 1500	1500 to 2000	2000 to 2500	2500 to 3000	3000 to 3500	3500 to 4000	4000 & above	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
Border Area:													
1. 0	--	--	..	..	...	..	..	...	...	..	...	..	..
2. Less than ½ acre	4	10	3	..	..	..	..	..	.	...	..	..	21 (2·56)
3. ½ to ¾ acre ..	4	19	3	2	..	..	..	...	..	..	..	..	30 (3·65)
4. ¾ to 1 acre ..	6	33	28	14	1	...	...	..	...	..	..	..	80 (9·73)
5. 1 to 2 acres ..	11	31	21	24	5	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	93 (11·04)
6. 2 to 5 acres ...	10	34	24	30	12	2	2	..	..	1	...	..	105 (12·81)
Small Farms	35 (10·43)	145 (42·67)	75 (21·79)	60 (17·91)	18 (5·37)	3 (·90)	2 (·60)	.. ..	... ...	1 (·31)	..	..	335 (100·00)
7. 5 to 5 acres ..	5	25	39	49	29	4	3	2	..	..	..	1	147 (17·27)
8. 5 to 10 acres ...	7	8	18	37	60	34	5	5	2	..	1	3	188 (22·14)
Medium Farms	12 (3·41)	33 (10·48)	45 (14·29)	86 (27·40)	89 (28·25)	38 (12·06)	8 (2·54)	7 (2·22)	2 (·63)	..	1 (·32)	4 (1·27)	315 (100·00)

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TABLE F-1.1—*contd.*

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
9. 10 to 25 acres..	3	1	4	15	12	21	7	6	3	4	..	3	92 (12·91)
10. 25 to 50 acres	–	.	1	..	1	1	..	1	...	1	.	1	6 (0·79)
11. 50 and above	–	.	...	..	3	1	..	–	...	..	...	..	5 (0·66)
Large Farm ..	3 (2·75)	1 (·91)	2 (1·83)	15 (13·76)	36 (33·03)	23 (21·10)	7 (6·42)	8 (7·34)	3 (2·75)	5 (4·59)	... ..	6 (5·50)	109 (100·00)
Total ..	50 (6·59)	177 (23·32)	120 (15·81)	161 (21·21)	143 (18·84)	54 (7·11)	17 (2·24)	15 (1·98)	5 (0·66)	6 (0·79)	1 (0·13)	10 (1·32)	759 (100·00)
Total cultivated area.	156·01 (3·99)	295·65 (7·55)	355·92 (9·09)	677·65 (17·31)	1,143·86 (29·22)	591·44 (15·10)	153·53 (3·92)	234·78 (6·00)	70·00 (1·79)	104.16 (2·66)	8·50 (·23)	120·70 (3·08)	3,914·18 (100·00)
Average ..	8·12	1.67	2·97	4·21	8·00	10·96	9·03	15·65	14·00	7·36	8·50	12·07	..
Project Area:													
1. 0 ..	–	..	...	...	–	...	...	..	..	..	..	..	..
2. Less than 1/3 acre.	1	3	3	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	...	..	8 (1·57)
3. 1/3 to 1/2 acre	1	4	1	–	..	...	..	..	..		..	..	5 (1·18)
4. 1/2 to 1 acre ..	3	6	12	10	..	..	.	–	..	–	..	..	3 (6·07
5. 1 to 2 acres ...	7	19	38	33	22	..	..	.	..	..	..	.	119 (33·28
6. 2 to 3 acres ..	5	9	15	30	32	2	1	–	..	–	..	..	114 (22·22)
Small Farm ..	17 (6·12)	41 (14·75)	69 (24·82)	93 (33·45)	54 (19·42)	3 (1.08)	1 (·36)	..	..	...	..	..	278 (100·00)

7.5 to 8 acres ...	2	6	7	29	57	8	2	..	..	..	..	..	111 (21·72)
8.5 to 10 acres ...	1	..	7	8	43	28	5	..	..	..	..	..	92 (18·00)
Medium Farm	3	6	14	37	100	36	7	..	..	..	..	..	203
	(1.48)	(2·95)	(6·90)	(18·23)	(49·26)	(17·73)	(3·45)	..	..	..	..	..	(100·00)
9.5 to 25 acres	—	...	1	3	4	2	8	4	4	1	1	2	30
	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	(5·87)
25.50 to 30 acres	—	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	—	..	—	..	..
11.50 and above	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Large Farm	..	..	1	3	4	2	8	4	4	1	1	2	30
	..	..	(3·33)	(10·00)	(13·33)	(6·67)	(26·67)	(13·33)	(13·33)	(3·33)	(3·33)	(6·67)	(100·00)
Total	20	47	84	133	158	41	16	4	4	1	1	2	511
	(3·91)	(9·20)	(16·44)	(26·02)	(30·92)	(8·02)	(3·13)	(0·78)	(0·78)	(0·20)	(0·20)	(0·39)	(100·00)
Total Cultivated Area	32·88	73·54	150·98	355·26	642·63	238·09	142·91	64·75	45·00	14·25	17·00	32·50	1803·79
	(1·81)	(4·07)	(8·35)	(19·64)	(35·53)	(13·16)	(7·90)	(3·57)	(2·45)	(·78)	(·94)	(1·80)	(100·00)
Average	1·64	1·56	1.80	2·67	4·07	5·81	8·93	16·19	11·00	14·25	17·00	16·25	..

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TABLE F-1.1—*concld.*

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
General Area:													
1. 0	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	...	..	..	..	...
2. Less than 1/3 acre ..		2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	...	..	..	2 (1·17)
3. 1/3 to 7/12 acre ..		..	1	..	..	..	...	..	..	..	..	..	1 (0·58)
4. 1/2 to 1 acre ..		3	5	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	11 (6·43)
5. 1 to 2 acres	1	3	16	14	6	..	..	..	..	..	...	..	40 (23·39)
6. 2 to 3 acres ..		1	9	15	12	..	..	..	..	...	...	..	37 (21·64)
Small Farm	1 (1·10)	9 (9·89)	31 (34·07)	32 (35·16)	18 (19·78)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	91 (100·00)
7. 3 to 5 acres	1	1	6	13	21	4	1	..	..	..	..	..	47 (27·49)
8. 5 to 10 acres	..	..	2	5	12	5	1	..	..	..	..	..	25 (14·62)
Medium farm	1 (1·39)	1 (1·39)	8 (11·11)	18 (25·00)	33 (45·83)	9 (12·50)	2 (2·78)	..	..	..	..	..	72 (100·00)
9. 10 to 25 acres	..	..	—	1	4	2	..	1	..	..	..	..	8 (4·68)
10. 25 to 50 acres	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
11. 50 and above	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	...	...	..	..
Large Farm	...	..	..	1 (12·50)	4 (50·00)	2 (25·00)	... ..	1 (12·50)	..	..	..	..	8 (100·00)
Total ..	2 (1·17)	10 (5·85)	39 (22·81)	51 (29·83)	55 (32·16)	11 (6·43)	2 (1·17)	1 (0·58)	..	..	..	..	171 (100·00)
Total cultivated Area	4·50 (·78)	11·24 (1·95)	80·01 (13·90)	148·48 (25·79)	242·49 (42·11)	68·59 (11·91)	8·50 (1·48)	12·00 (2·08)	... ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	575·81 (100·00)
Average ..	2·25	1·12	2·05	2·91	4·41	6·24	4·25	12·00	..	..	..	..	..

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

142 young are comely, of a buxom type, and, like the men, with highly-developed calves, the latter always being considered a beauty. The children are frequently remarkably pretty. Khasis carry very heavy burdens, it being the custom for the 482 cooly of the country to carry a maund, or 82 lbs. weight, or even more occasionally, on his back, the load being fixed by means of a cane band which is worn across the forehead; women carry almost as heavy loads as the men. The coolies, both male and female, commonly do the journey between Cherrapunji and Shillong, or between Shillong and Jowai, in one day, carrying the heavy loads above mentioned. Each of the above journeys is some thirty miles. They carry their great loads of rice and salt from Therria to Cherrapunji, an ascent of about 4,000 feet in some three to four miles, in the day. The Khasis are probably the best porters in the north of India, and have frequently been requisitioned for transport purposes on military expeditions.

157 The people are cheerful in disposition, and are light-hearted by nature, and, unlike the plains people, seem to 522 thoroughly appreciate a joke. It is pleasant to hear on the road down to Theriaghat from Cherrapunji, in the early morning the whole hillside resounding with the scraps of song and peals of laughter of the coolies, as they run nimbly down the short cuts on their way to market. The women are specially cheerful, and pass the time of day and bandy jokes with passers-[461] by with quite an absence of reserve. The Khasis are certainly more industrious than the Assamese, are generally good-tempered, but are occasionally prone to sudden outbursts of [533] anger, accompanied by violence. They are fond of music, and [797] rapidly learn the hymn tunes which are taught them by the Welsh missionaries. Khasis are devoted to their offspring, 593 and the women make excellent nurses for European children, 463 frequently becoming much attached to their little charges. The people, like the Japanese, are fond of nature. A Khasi 517 loves a day out in the woods, where he thoroughly enjoys 824 himself. If he does not go out shooting or fishing, he is con-825 tent to sit still and contemplate nature. He has a separate name for each of the commoner birds and flowers. He also has names for many butterflies and moths. These are traits which are not found usually in the people of India.

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

614 descended from a common ancestress. There are other instances
582 of clans being connected with one another, such connection being called by the Khasis *iateh kur*. Whenever such connection exists, intermarriage is strictly prohibited, and is considered to be *sang*. There is no custom of hypergamy. A Khasi cannot marry his maternal uncle's daughter during the lifetime
[604] of the maternal uncle. This is probably due to the fact that the maternal uncle, or *kni*, in a Khasi household is regarded more in the light of a father than of an uncle. His children, however, would belong to the clan of his wife and there would, therefore, in ordinary cases be no bar to the nephew marrying one of them. Marriage with the daughters of a father's sister is not allowed during the lifetime of the father, but after the latter's death there is no religious ban, although such unions are looked upon with disfavour by the Khasis. In the Wár country, how-
587 ever, such marriages are totally prohibited. A Khasi cannot
582 marry two sisters, but he can marry his deceased wife's sister after the expiry of one year from the wife's death, on payment of *jing sang* (price of *sang*, or taboo) to the wife's clan. A
582 Khasi cannot marry the daughter of his father's brother, she is his *para kha* (lit. birth sister). Similarly he cannot marry the daughter of his father's paternal uncle. He can, however, marry the daughter of his mother's brother, provided that the brother is dead. This somewhat paradoxical state of affairs is explained by the fact that the children of the mother's brother belong to a different clan to that of the mother, i.e. to the mother's brother's wife's clan. The Khasi, Synteng, Wár, and Lynngam divisions are not strictly endogamous groups, and there is nothing to prevent intermarriage between them. For instance, it has been the custom in the Nongkhlaw Siem family to obtain husbands for the princesses of the state from the Wár country. There is no custom amongst the Khasis of two men exchanging daughters, i.e. each marrying his son to
[423] the other's daughter. Notwithstanding the existence of the matriarchate, and the fact that all ancestral property is vested in the mother, it would be a mistake to suppose that the father
593 is a nobody in the Khasi house. It is true that the *kni*, or
604 mother's elder brother, is the head of the house, but the father is the executive head of the new home, where, after children

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

have been born to him, his wife and children live with him. It 573
is he who faces the dangers of the jungles, and risks his life for 604
wife and children. In his wife's clan he occupies a very high place, he is second to none but *u kni*, the maternal uncle, while in his own family circle a father and husband is nearer to his children and his wife than *u kni*. The Khasi saying is, "*u kpa uba lah ban iai, u kni uba tang ha ka iap ka im*," which may be translated freely as, "the father bears the heat and burden of the day, the maternal uncle only comes when it is a question of life or death." The Khasi father is revered not only when living, but also after death as *U Thawlang*, and special ceremonies are performed to propitiate his shade. Further remarks on the subject of marriage will be found in the Section which deals with religion.

DIVORCE.

Divorce amongst the Khasis is common, and may occur for 586
a variety of reasons, such as adultery, barrenness, incompatibility of temperament, &c. The rule amongst the Khasis is that both parties must agree, but amongst the Wars, especially the people of Shella, the party who divorces the other without his or her consent must pay compensation, which is called *ka myurain*, or *ka thnem*. Amongst the Khasis it is not the custom to enforce restitution of conjugal rights; as a rule, when husband and wife cannot live together amicably, they agree to divorce one another; but occasionally it happens that either the husband or the wife will not agree to a divorce. Usually the husband would be willing to live with his wife; but when the latter consents neither to live with her husband nor to accept a divorce, a difficult situation arises, and it is in the event of such a contingency happening that the necessity of assessing *ka myurain*, or *ka thnem* (compensation), occurs. [587]
The latter is computed by the village elders. Parties who have been divorced cannot afterwards remarry one another, but they are at liberty to marry into other families. A woman cannot [843]
be divorced during pregnancy. The following description of the divorce ceremony is taken from U Jeebon Roy's note on the

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

ancestral property, except in the Wár country. In the event of a divorce the mother is always allowed the custody of the children. Divorces amongst both Khasis and Syntengs are of common occurrence, the result being that the children in many cases are ignorant of even the names of their fathers. For the mother, on the other hand, the children cherish a very strong affection, all their sympathies and affections binding them closely to the mother's kin. Divorce amongst the Syntengs, though resting on the same principle as that of the Khasis, differs in detail, and must be described separately. It is as follows:—In the first place it is not necessary for both husband and wife to be consenting parties, as is the case with the Khasis. In the Nongkhlih doloiship divorce takes place before the relatives of the parties. The man has to give eight annas as a sign of the divorce, and clothes worth Rs. 3/- or Rs. 5/- to the wife. There is a similar custom in the Suhtnga and Amwi doloiships. In the Jowai doloiship the divorce takes place in the presence of a village official called *U basan*. The husband or the wife gives the *basan* an eight anna piece, the latter gives this either to the wife or to the husband, as the case may be. The *basan's* share of the eight annas is two pice, the remainder being spent on liquor. The *basan* is entitled to a further fee of one anna from the man. If a wife does not agree to accept divorce, she is entitled to receive two pieces of cloth from the husband to the value of Rs. 3/-. This compensation is called *thnem*. The divorce then takes place. If a wife wishes to divorce her husband, and the latter is unwilling, before she can obtain divorce, she must pay *thnem* to the value of the whole amount the husband has spent on her and her children during the marriage. Divorce customs in Nartiang and Nongjinghi doloiships are much the same, only the amounts tendered by the parties and that of compensation differing.

In conclusion it should be stated that the great drawback attaching to divorce in ordinary communities, i.e. the effect that it has on the lives of the children of the marriage, does not apply to the Khasis, for with them the children always live with their mother and their mother's family, which latter would be bound to maintain them in the event of a divorce.

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

INHERITANCE.

428 The Khasi and Synteng laws of inheritance are practically the same, although in some of the doloiships in the Jaintia Hills there are some slight differences. The Wár law of inheritance differs greatly from that of the Khasis, and the customs of the Bhois or Mikirs, who inhabit the Bhoi doloiship of the Jaintia Hills, are totally different from those of the Khasis, thereby supplying another link in the chain of evidence in support of the conclusion that the Bhois, or, more correctly speaking, the Mikirs, are of Bodo origin, and not Khasi or Mon-Anam. The Lynngams follow the Khasi law of inheritance. It will be convenient to describe the Khasi law first, and then to pass on to the special customs in vogue in the different doloiships in the Jaintia Hills, and, finally, to describe the Wár, Bhoi and Lynngam customs.

611 The Khasi saying is, "*long jaid na ka kynthei*" (from the
562 woman sprang the clan). The Khasis, when reckoning descent, count from the mother only; they speak of a family of brothers and sisters, who are the great grandchildren of one great grandmother, as *shi kpoh*, which, being literally translated, is one womb, i.e. the issue of one womb. The man is nobody. If he is a brother, *u kur*, a brother being taken to mean an uterine brother, or a cousin-german, he will be lost to the family or clan directly he marries. If he be a husband, he is looked upon merely as *u shong kha*, a begetter. In some of the Wár villages a newly married man is spoken of by the
593 bride's family as, "*u khun ki briew*," some one else's son. It is,
764 perhaps, somewhat of a paradox under the circumstances that wives should address their husbands as "*kynrad*," or lord.
611 There is, however, no gainsaying the fact that the husband, at least in theory, is a stranger in his wife's home, and it is certain that he can take no part in the rites and ceremonies of his wife's family, and that his ashes after death can find no place within the wife's family tomb, except, in certain cases, amongst
796 the Syntengs. Further, the ceremonial religion amongst Khasis,
562 especially that of the home, is in the hands of the women. It is, therefore, perhaps not to be wondered at, considering the
428 important status assigned to women by the Khasis, that women

776 Therefore nobody dares to appropriate the ob-
772 jects that have been thrown away or even to touch
773 them. Only into the house of the S'iem and into the whole royal family can no entrance be found by the thlen, and therefore some valuable things may be given to the Khasi king. This may be connected with the fact that usually on the next morning after the above ceremony nothing more is to be found of the objects that were given away. Therefore, it rarely happened in former times that anyone kept a found object from fear that it might be thlen property and he might bring the thlen devil into his house with it. But if they did take an object they found, a piece of money or such, home with them, the oracle was first asked by egg throwing whether it contained any evil, and only when this was denied and the real owner could not be found did they keep a part of it; the rest had to be used for sacrificial purposes.

The immovable property is treated the same way as the movable property. Fields which the family formerly possessed lie fallow; nobody dares to take them over or to plant anything on them.
[476] But the whole village hastens to help the former thlen owners who have lost all their property. They are given clothes and rice and helped in building a hut so that they can begin an honest life again.

c) Story of a Former Thlen Worshipper.

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●593 How is all this known about the thlen,[1] many ask, if the owners try to hide their secret? An indirect answer is already given by the whole previous presentation. Then it also happens, for example, that men marry into the house of a woman who is a thlen owner. Certainly this is not always known beforehand, although real thlen

[1] [devil snake; see Cat 116, pp 28 ff. --Analyst]

776 owners can only conceal this for any length of
593 time with difficulty. Now when the woman gathers the members of her household and the unsuspecting man together for the thlen sacrifice, this man dashes out from fright and tells the horrible things that he has seen. He never returns to his wife by whom he was deceived by the concealment of such an important condition and he seeks another wife.

776 [229] The accounts of previous thlen owners
682 finally give further information. I will only
783 introduce one case as it was told by one of these. I am indebted for this to the kindness of the missionary in Cherrapunji, P. Corbinian Bonheim S.V.S. who has been there many years and to whom a former thlen owner related his experiences. This he translated into our language as follows:

"Formerly we were very poor people. Then one day we found a wonderfully beautiful smooth stone on the mountain when we were chopping wood, and we brought it home and preserved it. From this time on we had good luck everywhere; every undertaking succeeded, we never had losses and our fortune increased from day to day and even at gambling we never lost. Gradually we became rich people. Thus matters continued for four or five years. Then I had a strange dream. A woman appeared to me who said to me: "Look, I have given you such great wealth, now I also demand a sacrifice of you. You should sacrifice a lang thoh khlih to me, i.e., a goat with a spotted head." The next morning I told my dream to the members of the household, and they thought that she was the goddess who was demanding the sacrifice owing to her. So we sacrificed a goat. But soon after I had a dream again and the same voice as before spoke to me again: "I have demanded ka lang thoh khlih of you and you only gave me a goat. The goat, however, that I demand,

613 bakla); and as long as the expiatory sacrifice, in the form of pigs and
698 goats, determined by the elders of the family and by the sacrificial
682 priest (lyngdoh) has not been offered, the sinning member is considered excluded from the family and the family sacrifices. But even after being accepted again a certain stain still clings to him.

613 But it is also the duty of the clan mother to care for the needs of the members of her family clan with regard to food, clothing, and the like. She divides the fruits of the harvests according to the needs of the individual. She goes or sends to market to trade, to buy, or to sell. She takes care of the common purse and even the masculine members of the clan have to ask her for money when they wish to drink rice liquor or buy clothing. There the clan mother is generous
[662] rather than niggardly. This dependent relationship of the men is not considered unworthy at all or shameful. It is the matriarchal form and ancient custom. Nevertheless, the position of the men in the family clan is an esteemed one. Even the name they are called by has an important sound: Rangbah, Basan (oldest ones, advisers). On them falls often the work in the field and wood or the protection of the family; bow and arrow are handed to them as cradle gifts. In the more important family matters the clan mother consults with them. At the giving of the name, during a wedding, a funeral, or cremation the clan mother steps almost completely into the background, also during quarrels and court hearings before the chief (Doloi) or king (S'lem). She is still always influential with her advice, but the actual appearance, activity and judgments is the business of the men. The smaller,
[782] everyday sacrifices she performs in the clan hut; but she can also let these /135/ be performed by her sons. At larger sacrificial ceremonies which are offered by several family clans at the same time, by whole
[792] villages or even by one of the Khasi states, only the men are active as sacrificial priests.

613 With regard to the husbands of the clan mother and of the feminine
596 members, they are not considered members of the family clan of the women at all. They are only considered the begetters. They work and live in their own clan, participate in their sacrifices and burial places. The father has no further influence in the raising of the children, who belong entirely to the clan of the mother. But usually they have no obligation, unless the wife and children are impoverished. Even then their care comes in second place after that of members of their own
[593] clan. Nevertheless the husband is honored and is addressed by "Mr." (kynrad) by his wife. She would consider it disgraceful to approach him impertinently. Where the property of a clan has been dissolved or Christian customs introduced, the husband lives and works together with his wife and children.

[p.25]

CHAPTER III

It is evident from the discussions in the previous chapter, that the children born in a house have to take note, as they grow up, of the seniority and juniority among the sisters of the mothers, and also of the brothers of the mother. They have however very little relation with the brothers of the father, and we have to explain why the latter are classed with the father. This point will be discussed later. Here we may note that the relative lack of importance of the father's sisters has resulted in her not receiving distinction by age in the table of Kinship terms ; it is however indicated in address. Similarly the wife of the mother's brother is also not distinguished by age.

It may however be questioned why such a distinction by age is extended to the husband of the mother's sister. As noted before, a Khasi does not set up a separate house until one or two children are born. The children who are born in the house of mother's mother, are looked after like mothers, not only by the progenitress but her sisters. While there would arise no question as to who is the actual mother, it would be normal for the children to call the mother and her sisters by the same term which would thus cover the women of that generation who live in that house. Each little child would find its mother's sister addressed as "mother" by its playmate and cousin. Hence he or she would also tend to extend the term to the mother's sister from the mother. Under such circumstances, the simplest mode of distinction would be to apply the term "mother" to the actual relation, and add qualifying adjectives for the sisters of the mother. The Khasis use for this purpose, quite appropriately, terms denoting seniority and juniority for reasons previously stated. Reciprocally, a woman uses the same terms for

her children and sister's children, using an additional term for the latter, to make the distinction clear. The mother's brother's wife, and the father's sister live elsewhere, and cannot therefore share the same kinship term with the mother. The husbands of the mother's sisters are comparable to the father, as these males are all outsiders who have married the women of the house. The actual father "U Kpa" is the husband of the actual mother "Ka Kmie" and is clearly distinguished. The others are the husbands of the "Kmie San" and "Kmie Nah." Hence they are given the labels of "Kpah San" and "Kpa Nah" or "Kpa Khynnah." They derive their kinship terms denoting "father" through their wives who are called mothers by the children—not through any sexual rights on the wife's sisters. Such sexual rights, as noted before, have no existence. Hodson is not justified in ascribing this identity of kinship terms to alleged marriage rules and sexual rights which were operative in a hypothetical earlier type of Khasi society.

The mother's brother is important to the Khasi child, and has a special name, Ma, with an adjective such as Rangbah to indicate his position among his brothers. His relation with his sister's children is different from that of the mother's sister's husbands. It is more or less formal and ceremonial. A similar relative, on the father's side of the family, is the father's sister, though her position is not so important. Nevertheless, the two relatives are comparable. The mother's brother is in charge of the management of the mother's ancestral property and helps in performing important social ceremonies for the group. The father's sister is the repository of the bones of the father's family; in her is vested the preservation of the family religious traditions. Both these relatives live in houses separate from those of the nephews and nieces concerned and are, in a sense, of other households. Each of them was born in the natal house of one of the parents. They are therefore clearly distinguished from the father, the mother, the sisters of the mother and their husbands. But a common term, allowing

13:Mukherjee E-5 (1954)1956 AR7 Khasi AR7

596 extended form more often when the children of the deceased sisters of *Ka-khadduh* reside there. This extension is on the mother's side and is affiliated through the extension of mother-child relationship.

Additional members like widower brothers or widowed sisters make the Khasi family a composite one.

In a Khasi family father, mother and her brother are very important. Father who is regard[1] as *Mynder* (stranger) or *Ushong kha* (begetter), has also the position of *Kynrad* (master) of the house (set-up by him). He is the executive head and the mother is the *dejure* owner of the household.

177 178 604 503 [428] Modern conditions and spread of Christianity have greatly affected the Khasi society and changed the Khasi ways of life but have failed to alter the traditional mode of inheritance even among the Christian Khasis. Another important fact which is apparent in the Khasi families, is the change of the status of the mother's brother (*Uknii*) in his sister's house. His influence has greatly been diminished due to clash with *Ka-Khadduh* (heiress). He has almost lost his control over his sister's [562] family. This has made the women exert their status to a danger point. Consequently, some amount of maladjustment in the relationship system, moral depravity and disintegration loom large in the family horizon.

596 613 Family is the core of Khasi social organization and the closeness of familial kin with the members of the sub-clan is due more to the fact that sub-clan owes its development to the family. A *Shi-K'poh* (member of sub-clan) is a secondary relative and can easily be approached for any help.

614 The functions of the above mentioned social groupings are as follows :

Clan (*Ka-Kur*)—It regulates marriage. It being a larger non-residential kin group contact between its members is infrequent. The amount of social participation needed on certain level to intensify the relationship among its members falls far short of. But nevertheless, there existed among the members

614 614 [1] [Should read:- regarded.—Analyst]

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

absence of A, D, E, K and N, U succeeds to the office if he is grown up. 613
If U is too young, a chance arises for F's husband, if F is alive, if not, for M's husband.[1] In the event that none of these males be available, finally the office is taken by F and then by M. It should be noted that the office assumed by F's husband, M's husband, F or M would have to be returned to M's son, as soon as he comes of age. These cases are considered a temporary measure to meet an emergency.

The Khasi follow a strict descent line, and neither a classificatory 611
uncle (or brother) is allowed to take over the authority of the *iing*,[2] 613
though if there is no successor to the property, a daughter may be adopted from the nearest matrilineal descent group. Instead of the adoption of a daughter, the following steps may also be taken. The property is handed over to the nearest matrilineal descent group; or if there is a son, he may inherit his father's or mother's acquired property, but ancestral property should go to a matrilineal kin. In such cases, the particular *iing* actually becomes extinct: in the former case, though the property is handed over to another *iing*, this *iing* belongs to the same matrilineal line; in the latter, the property goes eventually to the son's wife and to his children, i.e. an *iing* of an entirely different *kur*. The latter arrangement suggests that though the Khasi follow the strict descent line, so far as the acquired property is concerned, the child has primary rights over the mother's other matrilineal kin, as expressed by the son's right of inheritance in the absence of a daughter. In this way, the *iing* may become extinct by the death of the female member who has no daughter.

The Khasi consider the *iing* institution as the basic and most 613
important functional unit; it represents also the religious unit which keeps ancestral property and shares a common religious ceremony. This is indeed the key to the whole Khasi social organization.

III. Residential Unit

In this section I shall deal with the relation between the *iing* and 592
the domestic dwelling unit and examine the type of relation maintain- 593
ed between the marital family (husband, wife and children) and the 613
iing. Among the Garo, the *nok* corresponds to the actual group of individuals residing within one household. Upon this point the Khasi system is more complicated since spouses of members of the *iing* are excluded from the *iing*.

1. This would only arise in cases where the husbands of F or M live in the same household as their wives.
2. In the case of succession to the chieftainship, a classificatory sister's son is taken in the absence of a direct nephew or brother

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

years after his marriage. During this period he works in his wife's 178
field, then, if the couple gets on well, they start to live together in
an independent house (non-heiress's case) or in the wife's house 184
(heiress's case). In spite of the fact that the inhabitants are all Christians, they have retained this custom.

It is difficult to determine at what date the Khasi people have 178
changed from duolocal marriage to uxorilocal marriage. However, 591
the present dwelling unit, with its fluid relationship between husband and wife (in fact, there are many cases of category 3), suggests a situation linked with the duolocal residence pattern. The fragmentary historical information available and the present Khasi residence pattern suggest that the duolocal arrangement may be an older pattern of marriage. When I was in Kongton there was no husband who stayed at his mother's house permanently, visiting his wife at night. The head man told me that, when he married, there were many who did not stay in the wife's house. He was the first person to settle in the wife's house. In his case, he said, he felt sympathy for his wife who had no brother who could work for her. After he had settled in his wife's house, many villagers began to follow his example.[1] When the [621]
pattern of a visiting marriage was in vogue, a village must have constituted a more compact endogamous unit. If the husband's house was in another village, a visiting marriage must have been a great inconvenience. The tendency to settle in the wife's house and work for the wife's house must have brought about a wider range of marriage contracts, such as with members of nearby villages, even though in the present form of marriage, village endogamy is much preferred as it is decidedly advantageous particularly for a husband, since he can continue his life in the same familiar environment in spite of uxorilocal marriage.

The variations in the pattern of co-residential grouping, which 592
I have classified into four categories, reflect two different themes in 593
the social structure of the Khasi. On the one hand they represent
different stages in the maturity of the individual families concerned. 613
For example, a householder who starts in category 3 or 4 may end as an old man in category 1. On the other hand these variations also reflect the polar opposition between the obligations of matrilineal kinship and the obligations of parenthood; a man, in particular, has conflicting obligations towards the *iing* of his sister and the *iing* of

1. However, all the information which I collected in the upland Khas [184]
Hills indicates that the uxorilocal residence pattern has been practised for a long time. According to stories often told by the Kongton people, they migrated from the Jaintia Hills. If these accounts are to be taken as a reflection of the real history of their migration, it would seem that the Kongton people may have kept up the Jaintia custom including the duolocal residence pattern up to recent times, while the majority of the Khasi practised uxorilocal marriage.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

his wife. Paternal rights are not well recognized among the Khasi. The religious elements in the *iing* institution lay stress only on matrilineal solidarity. These elements tend therefore to orient each individual of the domestic unit to his or her own matrilineal kin group, the *iing*. This results in unstable relations between members of each elementary family, in other words, the marriage relation is one of the weakest.

This is the crucial point in matrilineal societies, and has been much discussed by anthropologists. Richards says,

> "In this balance of privileges and duties between the patrikin and the matrikin the crucial point is obviously the husband's right to determine the residence of the bride. If she and her children live in the same homestead or village as his kinsmen, his domestic authority is likely to be greater than where they remain with the wife's relative" (Richards, 1950, p. 208).

This statement is quite acceptable for those matrilineal systems which provide possibility for a man to take his wife from her matrikin to his house or village where the husband's kin are found, as in cases of the matrilineal Central Bantus, the Ashanti, the Trobriands and the Nayar in North Malabar. However, among the Khasi, there is no such custom of removing a wife from her kin to that of her husband. Since most marriages take place inside a village, there are only two different residential arrangements: one is to take the husband to the wife's house, where he lives with his wife's parents and other matrikin; the second is for the newly married couple to establish an independent house. Among Khasi men and women the usual practice is to leave the parents' house at marriage, except in the case of the heiress (the youngest daughter). In this respect the Khasi differ again from the Nayar and the Minangkabau who form a sibling family on the basis of duolocal residence,[1] and from the Hopi, the Zuni and the Trukese who form a residential group of an extended family, based on matrilineal descent including in-marrying husbands of married females. Khasi sisters do not form a residential group after their marriage; sisters' houses are scattered over the whole village residential area, mixing with households of other descent groups (see Fig. 10 with List 8).

Then, what is the factor that makes the Khasi have two different types of residence i.e. uxorilocal and neolocal[2] within a matrilineal

1. Only the case of some traditional Jaintias (category 2) would appear to show groupings similar to those of the Nayar, however, I did not work among them, nor are there anthropological reports available for them, particularly in this respect.

2. I use 'neolocal' in terms of house-building, since they usually build a house for newly married couple in the same village where both wife's and husband's parents live—village endogamy.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

society? Among the matrilineal Central Bantus, Richards says that 591
the determining factor in residence at marriage is the marriage payment or the type of goods and services which the bridegroom gives (Richards, 1950, p. 249). However, the Khasi have no such custom in the marriage contract, it is therefore out of the question to explain the two types of residence in this way. In the case of the Khasi, the determining factor is the type of marriage with relation to the rule of inheritance and ownership of property, which is clearly related to the structure of the *iing*. Khasi marriages can be divided into two categories i.e., marriage with an heiress and with a non-heiress. Marriages with an heiress must be uxorilocal. This accounts for category 1 or 3 of the household pattern. On the other hand, marriages with a non-heiress become neolocal and correspond to category 4 of the household unit.

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IV. Marriage with the Heiress

A man married to an heiress, usually lives with his wife's parents and her unmarried or divorced brothers and sisters. For a man, life after marriage under such circumstances require great adjustment and endurance. The husband's status is especially weak when a male member of the wife's kin lives in the same household. The management of property and all economic activities are entirely controlled by the authority (wife's brother or maternal uncle) of the *iing*. The husband works in the wife's field under constant supervision from this authority. Both economic activities and domestic affairs are always under the management of this authority. The children have more attachment to, and are more obedient to, the maternal uncle than to the father. The tie between the uncle and the nephew is so strong that the father is rather like an additional member of the household. He is the last person to be introduced to visitors. [574]

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This family system is clearly reflected in the daily behaviour. When we visited the Khasi household of a youngest daughter, if a man (obviously the husband) came first to greet us, he always said "please wait, my wife (or mother-in-law) is coming." And it was the wife who entertained us, offering tea or pan and discussing matters with us, while her husband remained silent in the corner of the room, or in the next room. If her uncle or brother was there, *he* would be the person who talked to us, while his niece or sister served us. In such a case, we were seldom introduced to the husband. When I was working at Shella, I happened to stay in such a family. I had hardly any opportunity to talk to the husband during the two weeks of my stay. He left the house very early in the morning and came back late in the evening from the fields. While he was at home, he was

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592 always somewhat outside the family conversation which was centred
593 on the maternal uncle and his sisters, nephews and nieces, by whom
604 I was well taken care of. This is somewhat similar to the situation amongst the Cewa and the Yao of the Central Bantus, which have what Richard calls 'the detachable husband' (Richards, 1950, pp. 233-35, 248), though the parallel is not by any means exact.

428 There is, therefore, inevitably an element of tension in the relations
581 between the wife's maternal uncle (including parents-in-law) and the
586 husband (son-in-law) and this tension makes the latter's life extremely uncomfortable. This awkward position is well shown in the divorce
[604] rate. At Kongton (see List 9), out of 61 couples (house-owners and
[606] their spouses), the number of persons who had experience of divorce
[592] was 33 (female 15, male 18) and those married more than twice
[593] numbered 19 (female 7, male 12). Out of 61 couples, there were only 31 in which neither husband nor wife had been divorced. In my census of Jatinga village, 70 per cent of all divorce cases were marriages to heiresses. In general, the period when divorce occurs more frequently is before a couple get children and after the wife has passed the child-bearing age. A marriage breaks up either through the action of the wife or of the husband, but generally through that of the wife. However, the state of separation which I presently describe is brought about by the husband, though later it results in a divorce from the wife. Divorce does not mean a great catastrophe for a Khasi wife, especially if she is an heiress and her husband's economic
[587] contribution is not significant. Moreover, in this society remarriage is as easy for a widow or divorcée, as it is to divorce. In the villages of Sohkynduh and Kongton, the couple who wants to divorce has only to throw a few Annas together in the presence of some witness, usually an elderly man.

581 In addition to divorce, there are many actual separations of husband
and wife, of short or long duration, when the husband runs away from
593 his wife's house to his sister's. Though it does not always end in divorce, considerable number of husbands have a strong tendency to spend most of their time at their sister's house. Khasi women often told me, "I don't know why he does not come back to my place." I have often found the husband staying at his sister's house only a few houses away from his wife's, without any particular reason. They are obliged to see each other every day whether divorced or separated. This kind of ambiguity in the marriage relation seems to have an important correlation with the Khasi social structure, combined with the village endogamy. The man and and wife have grown up together from their childhood in the same village and known each other very well. Hence their psychology cannot clearly distinguish the marriage form as a newly-established independent social relation-

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

ship. They still live in the same familiar atmosphere as before their 581
marriage. The implications of this ambiguity in the married state are 593
considerable. Particularly the husband's uncomfortable situation, when the wife is heiress, encourages him to take marriage less seriously.

A husband who undergoes hardship in his wife's house, finds 581
himself as the authority in his sister's house; if he is not the authority, 591
he can find at least a respected position as uncle or brother. In the 592
case of a man of authority in the *iing*, the tendency for him to regard 593
his *iing* as more important than his married life is proportionately 602
stronger, as I will discuss later. Hence the most unstable and unsuccessful marriages are those between the heiress and the man of 604
authority. This is one of the reasons we often find among the Khasi: 613
a brother or an uncle, who is already married, acting nevertheless as 428
the head to a family *(iing)* and as a member of its domestic group. This means that he is in a state of temporary separation or divorced. [171]
Among the Ashanti, a man and his wife's brother are never found as members of a common household (Fortes, 1950, p. 262), but among the Khasi, on the contrary, a man and his wife's brother are often found as members of a common household. In such cases, however, the brother has no wife, or never brings his wife to his *iing*. Therefore, a man and his wife and his sister never reside together. As far as the residence of women is concerned, the Khasi keep to the strict descent rule; two women who belong to different descent groups never live together. This point differentiates the Khasi residence pattern, in which social structure is involved, from that not only of the Ashanti but also of the Yao where the head of a descent group can bring his wife to his sister's household, though, among other members, uxorilocal marriage is the rule. These differential aspects of matrilineal systems will be discussed from a more theoretical point of view later.

In addition, should a Khasi man even succeed in spending his life 602
with his wife's kinsmen, as soon as the wife dies, he will usually 613
return to his *iing*, that is, to his sister's house, where he is received warmly and where he often acts as the *de facto* authorithy, as in the similar situation of divorce and separation. Thus the strong matrilineal structural principle tends to orient a man towards his own descent group, the *iing*.

The man's attachment to his *iing* is very great throughout his 171
life. In this regard the Khasi differs from the matrilineal Negri 592
Sembilan Malay. Among the latter, returning to the matrilineal kin 602
is regarded by the man as an imposition rather than as the enjoyment 613
of a legitimate privilege (see Swift, 1958, p. 157).[1] This difference 428

1. He presents this fact as one of the reasons of the durability of marriage among the Negri Sembilan. Indeed, on this precise point they differ from the Khasi where marriage is rather unstable. [581]

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

whom he can marry, he has to endure this miserable lonely life, while often in the same village his former wife is living in a well-built house with her children and her matrilineal relatives as before. Households of 3, 13 and 30 of Sohkynduh in List 6, and 23, 29, 38 and 56 of Kongton in List 9 are instances of such cases. It is really a pitiful picture to see such a man, aged and poor, living all alone. 586 613 736 428

V. Marriage with the Non-heiress

Outsiders who come to the Khasi Hills are often impressed by the Khasi husband's miserable status and express surprise at the high divorce rate. This is mostly due to exaggeration based on the marriage with the heiress. However, where a man marries a non-heiress, there are many successful marriages with paternal authority. In most of these cases a man's status as a husband and as a father is stable. First of all, the domestic residential unit is an elementary family. From the onset of the marriage the husband's labour is of great importance to his family, since a non-heiress usually has no economic background, i.e., no dowry or inherited property (see p. 105). The economic circumstances allow a man to be the *de facto* head even though whatever he earns belongs, as a rule, to his wife. A man who succeeds at the beginning of his married life is respected and honoured as father in his family for the rest of his life. By this type of marriage, the man's status is firmly established. It is therefore a more secure form of marriage than a match with an heiress. 184 428 593

In such a marriage the children love and obey their father. The management of his acquired property will be taken over by his son and the property will be handed over to his daughter. Thus the paternal authority is as well established in this form of domestic family, as in a patrilineal family. However, the great difference from a patrilineal case is that the husband/father status is not permanent as the authority of the family. Theoretically he exercises it in the absence of a male adult member of his wife's *iing* (actually founded by his contribution), in other words, till his son is grown up (see p. 12). In the next generation this will form an established *iing* in which the husband of his youngest daughter will suffer again. [613]

The household of this kind of marriage with a non-heiress actually enjoys a considerable degree of independence from the descent groups of both wife and husband. If a man who has established a matrimonial life independent of his wife's natal *iing*, is not the authority of his natal *iing*, his relation with the latter usually becomes weaker. Economic and residential factors make it possible for the men to make the considerable shift from his *iing* to his wife's *iing*, and though 592 593 613

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

592 he clearly maintains the label of his descent group, he is at least
593 divorced from them economically. If a father's activities were such
613 as to permit the accumulation of wealth to be handed over to the next generation, he is always remembered with great respect and admiration by his successors and by the descendants of his wife's matrilineal line. In such a case he is looked upon as a member of his wife's descent group rather than of his mother's descent group. The best examples of this are the cases of men belonging to the first generation of Jatinga villagers, especially that of the founder of
[166] Jatinga. These immigrants to Jatinga mostly accompanied their wives, who were not heiresses (as I mentioned previously, the unit of Khasi immigrants is mostly found in this kind of a couple); and most of them established successful matrimonial life with paternal authority, having been freed from the gravity of both matri-kin of wife as well as of husband.

Not necessarily confined to such cases of immigrants, even in an ordinary situation, if husband is ready to devote himself for his wife and children, the matrimonial life mostly turns happier and well established one. For under the Khasi matrilineal system, a wife, if she is not the heiress, is normally oriented to develop surprisingly high degree of independence from her descent group, i.e. her natal *iing*, unlike women of other matrilineal societies. This fact is closely related with the unique structure of the *iing*, as already discussed.

As a woman (non-heiress) tends to keep a certain distance to her natal *iing*, her brother accordingly decreases his concern to her new household. The pressure of the authority (wife's maternal uncle or brother) of wife's natal *iing*, on such a household becomes less marked. The wife's brothers are members of her natal *iing*, not of her new established *iing*, and therefore none of them can act as an authority over her new *iing*, though they may exercise certain pressure on the sister's husband, since the sister who established the new *iing* still keeps her membership in her natal *iing*. In fact a husband actually feels pressure from his wife's brothers; the occasional visits of the authority of her natal *iing* exercise a psychological check on his whole control over her and his children. Should any serious mischance occur in the marriage, the wife will run to her brother for consultation. Furthermore, as member of her natal *iing*, he has the right to demand the property acquired by him if his wife has no successor, since it automatically belongs to his wife unless he acquired it without cohabitation with her, or through the capital of his *iing*. However, the process of segmentation in the *iing* leads the wife to greater attachment to her husband, particularly when his economic contribution is important, and as a consequence weakens her ties with her natal *iing*.

613 The limited rights of the brother over his sister's (non-heiress)

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

182 586 613 736 Even after divorce or husband's death, the Khasi woman stays on in her household. Indeed many divorced or widowed poor wives, whose children are still small, try their best to live and bring up their children by themselves without asking their brothers' help. Of course a mother and her small children may go back to live in her natal *iing*. Such cases are found particularly when the woman's *iing* is rich. However, during my field work, I found no sense of psychological inferiority in Khasi women, widows or divorcées, such as we usually find in other societies. The personality of the individual seems to reflect the social structure.

182 184 586 593 613 Given such strong residential independence on the part of the non-heiress, economically divorced from her descent group, and oriented towards sociological separation from it, the husband's economic and social contribution is handsomely rewarded by the establishment of a stable, happier, matrimonial life. In fact, as already mentioned, the divorce rate among such couples is very low contrasted with the high rate among marriages with heiresses. More accurately, I should say that divorce is more likely to occur among the latter owing to the conflict of loyalties towards spouse and *iing*. Therefore, when each partner has less loyalty towards his or her natal *iing*, the divorce cases become correspondingly fewer. Thus, among the Khasi, successful marriages are frequently found where there is branching off from an *iing*. And a new *iing* is always established by a husband's contribution.

182 184 581 Khasi men, who are well aware of this fact, prefer to marry a non-heiress, since they will then form an independent household and remain immune to pressure from their wife's kin. However, they say a poor or lazy man prefers marriage with an heiress. As Richards said of the matrilineal Central Bantus, the residence on marriage seems to be a most important index of the husband's status, though the determining factors of the residence of the Khasi differ from those of the Bantus (see p. 124).

182 184 587 593 613 736 In the case of marriage with an heiress, when the wife dies, the husband usually returns to his *iing* (the youngest sister's house). But in marriage with a non-heiress the husband often remains with his children, if his children are not too small and he is not planning to marry any woman other than his late wife's younger sister. If he marries his wife's younger sister, he has the right to stay on. This kind of sororal marriage cannot take place in the case of a man married to an heiress, since a Khasi man is not allowed to marry the late wife's elder sister. This form of sororate is found among the Khasi, but the levirate is unknown, such as can be seen among the Ashanti and the Ila, where a man takes his late brother's wife. Among the Khasi, even if a widow happened to marry her late husband's

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15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

brother (actually not likely to happen), the levirate has no sociological implication in the social structure, which is specifically related to the residence rule. The levirate seems to have a significant function only when a marriage is virilocal—when the husband has full rights over his residence and property. This is also another aspect where the Khasi structure shows a marked difference from that of the Ashanti and the Ila, etc. 182 587

VI. Marriage of the Man of Authority of an *Iing*

Among these successful marital families, there are also shadows of a matrilineal order. These affect especially those men who are in the position of authority in an *iing*. Such a man, though he has an independent household with his wife and children, often visits his youngest sister's (or niece's) house, *iing (ka iing sen)*, and sometimes stays there. Such a man's attachment to his *iing* is not only social or psychological, but also often economic. The man, as authority of his natal *iing*, usually has economic control over the management, particularly so, if his *iing* has considerable property or active trading business. As husband/father in his family he works for his wife and children, but often takes into consideration as well the interests of his *iing*. I found such cases especially among richer villagers in Shella and Jatinga, where the main economic activities were based on trading. 592 593 602 613 [182]

Among the Khasi, it is quite a traditional rule of the division of labour that women engage in trading activities at markets whether on a large or small scale. Husbands may carry goods from field to market, but male members are kept away from the actual scene of the selling and buying. However, these activities on the part of the women are controlled and accounted for by their uncle or brother, or even son (or, if no male member is available, by the husband), though in many cases they form separate domestic families. The man's control over the trade appears more marked when the scale of business is large. [443] [462]

A man of Jatinga, who worked in a shop in Haflong, spent his salary in keeping his wife and children, but at the same time he kept the accounts of his sister who was a professional merchant. Thus, the economy of the *iing* and that of the co-residential group are crossed by the dual role of the man. Hence, among the Khasi, residential autonomy is not always an indication of economic autonomy. However, it should be clearly understood that a man's acquired property goes to his co-residential group, not to his *iing*. [421]

A man of authority is attached to his *iing* by the stronger ties of religious, social and economic (management) duties as well as by

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

592 sentiment, in spite of his forming an independent domestic unit. Such a
• 593 man with two households, the family of orientation and of procreation,
says "one leg is in my sister's house and the other is in my wife's,"
602 and he feels more at home in his sister's. In villages, whenever a
613 Khasi man in such a position invited me, I was always taken to his
[123] sister's (or niece's) house, his *iing*, not to his wife's. There I was warmly welcomed with highest respect by the women of the household as the guest of their uncle (or of their brother), the head of the *iing*. Khasi men whom outsiders often regard as hopeless in their social position, thus enjoy the highest status in their *iing*.

One Khasi gentleman who occupies a fairly high post in the Government, at Haflong, leaving his wife (non-heiress) and children at Shillong, to my question "when you go to Shillong into which house do you first step," immediately replied, "As soon as I get back to Shillong, I take the way to my sister's home and there take the evening meal with them, enjoying their talk. Then I go to my wife's house where my loving children are waiting." This shows a typical Khasi man's psychology in relation to a family of orientation and of procreation. His first concern on coming back to his homeland is whether his sister and her children are well, since he is the man of authority in that *iing*. He feels much more relaxed in his sister's house where he is held in higher regard and more cared for.

I came across many similar cases. In Jatinga and Shella, such men on returning from their work, often have their evening meal with their sisters though their wives are waiting for them. Furthermore, if they choose to do so, they sleep at their sister's house without even going back to their wife's house. This results in an unstable married life, where a wife has to face a psychological handicap caused by the occasional absence of the husband, in spite of her advantageous position in a matrilineal and uxorilocal system. Many wives worry every day over whether or not their husbands will come to their house at night. And often this concern changes into sadness and loneliness when the husband does not return for several days on end. The wife knows her husband is at his sister's house in the same village. But she has no right to fetch her husband home. As in Western social dancing, the women have to wait till their partners come. During my field work I often came across these lonely women, just waiting for their husbands, each knowing he was only a few houses
[123] away. Though these Khasi women never show their feelings of loneliness in the presence of others, I, being a female anthropologist, was often told of the sadness of their married life. The situation of these women can be more easily understood if we remember the process of the segmentation of the *iing*, which separates each married woman from her descent group, her natal *iing*.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

Thus, the marriage of a non-heiress and a man of authority also produces an unstable position for the husband in spite of his having an independent household. Therefore, the possibility of a really stable marriage is even more limited; it will occur only in the match of a non-heiress and a non-authority of the *iing*. But even these marriages cannot be free from the influence of a matrilineal social structure: the man of authority of the wife's *iing* may visit these couples now and then, curb the husband's power and remind both partners of the orientation towards the matri-kin, the *iing*, though this pressure is insignificant in comparison with that experienced by the heiress's family. Likewise, a husband now and then visits his youngest sister's house, *ka iing sen*. These constant matrilineal contacts offer husbands chances of escaping from even the slightest matrimonial tension. Whenever a Khasi man feels uneasiness, he will return to his sister's house rather than face a difficult situation with his wife. This tendency is maximised especially on the occasion of religious ceremonies, when all individuals are grouped around each *iing*.

It is apparent that the rules of the *iing* as the underlying structural pattern, function throughout the various categories of domestic unit of the Khasi community as the most important intrinsic force.

VII. Polygyny

After this long attempt at the structural analysis of marriages, I think one can theoretically predict what is the situation of polygyny among the Khasi. The theoretical framework elaborated through preceding discussions can also be tested by the empirical data in terms of polygyny.

Nowadays, the Khasi feel so strongly against polygyny that they have no knowledge even that they ever practised it. Many Khasi, in more sophisticated areas, did not believe my findings on polygyny in Sohkynduh and Kongton. I think this is due to the rapid Christianization of the Hills during the last hundred years. My interpreter, though he was not Christian, said to me in the village, "it is most regrettable to bring you to a village where we find polygyny." However, one of the ministers of the Cherra State to which the two villages belong, told me that there was no particular opposition to polygyny, though recent Christian influence gave people the idea that it was a shameful custom, and he mentioned the case of a polygynist in his area, a man who had recently died, who had had ten wives. In Jatinga whose inhabitants are all Christian, and in Shella where there has been much contact with, and influence by, Hindus, there were

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

which I described previously, where a man brings his secondary wives to his first wife's house in which he is acting as the head. Furthermore, sororal polygyny is prohibited, while it was prefered among the Garo in terms of wives taken from the same *mahari*, though mostly not real sisters. The strong jealousy, which I observed, among the Khasi wives of a polygynist, would appear to make such polygynous marriages with closely related women practically impossible. As shown in List 6 & 9 every single one of the wives of each polygynist belongs to different *kur*, and the two secondary wives of the man of Kongton came from neighbouring villages. 591 595 [171]

These aspects of Khasi polygyny are related fundamentally to the underlying Khasi social structure. It should be remembered that every married woman has her independent household, *iing*, and that two women of different descent groups never reside together (see p. 127). The picture is one of every married woman holding a key-point in the whole network of the social system, and men fit into this network with much flexibility. The strong stability of women and the fluid nature of men in terms of residence naturally produces this form of polygyny. This analogy is also true of lovers' relations and illegal marriages. Though polygyny is a rapidly decreasing institution all over the Khasi Hills, cases of lovers' relations and illegal marriages are found to be very numerous among the Khasi, as compared with neighbouring tribes and peoples in Assam. 182 591 595 613 837 [171]

Throughout my discussions of various forms of Khasi marriage, I found men to be more or less in the position wittily described by one of them as "having one leg in my sister's house, the other in my wife's," except in cases of the husband/father who succeds in establishing paternal authority, as in marriages with a non-heiress. Even in the latter a man might have a period of uncertainty until his children were born and until the economic basis for his matrimonial life was firmly established. For the rest, Khasi men would be in the position of either becoming the authority of an *iing*, or swinging between their sister and their wife, which may produce more opportunities for lovers' relations. One of a man's legs is certainly always found in his sister's house, the other may rest in his wife's, but it may also rest in another woman's house. The wife being rather accustomed to his occasional absence due to his visits to his sister's house, another kind of absence does not mark any great change from the usual situation, at least not physically. Such situations occur particularly in the earlier stage of the marriage, as a sort of continuation of premarital affairs, which are quite freely practised: it is a usual custom before marriage for young men to sleep at a girl's house whom they like though they say sexual intercourse usually does not take place in such cases. This I observed in Sohkynduh and Kongton. 182 591 593 613 836 837

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

182 Because of the firm right of women over the residence, Khasi poly-
595 gyny can never be a clearly distinguishable institution, and has no operational advantage in the social and economic fields; the situation is very similar with lovers' relations and illegal marriages. By polygyny the man achieves no additional economic advantage, nor does he increase his social status or prestige; rather the reverse, for I observed that the polygynyst was regarded as a somewhat ludicrous or tragic figure. As for the woman, she is placed slightly at a disadvantage since the husband's economic activities are not concentrated on her household. However, even many legally-married wives are separated or divorced, so that such disadvantages are not only experienced by the wives of polygynists. The social disadvantage of being secondary wife is not serious, firstly, because wives, whether first or secondary, have social and economic independence—they do not belong to the husband as in the case of patrilineal systems. Secondly, the significance attached to the legal marriage institution is not so great, so that the handicap of being the secondary wife is not severe. What is most important, furthermore, is that her slightly inferior status does in no ways affect the next generation. Indeed such children, including
[848] those of premarital or illegal relations, suffer no serious social dis-
[851] advantage, though they are nominally distinguishable from legitimate children. From this it is clear that the effectiveness of legitimate marriage, and paternal recognition are rather limited among the Khasi.

Thus, Khasi polygyny differs greatly from the polygyny of other societies in terms of its operation and of its form. It also differs in the incentive to its practice. Among the Garo and many other societies, the practice of polygyny usually depends on a man's economic capability, but among the Khasi, it appears rather to depend on his
182 whim. Khasi husbands are notorious for their heavy drinking and
593 neglect of wife and children. Some of them told me that their earnings, their children and everything they acquired go to their wife or sister,
733 leaving them with nothing; therefore they should at least have freedom to enjoy their life. This freedom seemed to mean women and drink. I am not sure how far this explanation is true, but it seems to justify their behaviour to a certain extent. I do not mean that this is the general characteristic of the Khasi husbands, but some such tendency is to be observed. Actually I often heard wives complain of their husbands' drinking and running after women, and was asked "Are your Japanese husbands also like that?", "What is the good of having a husband!" then comes divorce . . .

182 On the contrary, women placed at an advantage by residence
562 and matrilineal inheritance, are required always to be on their best behaviour. There are very strict rules governing the behaviour of
593 Khasi women. They are supposed not to drink, smoke, or play with

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

any man other than their husband. Women before marriage enjoy a considerable freedom in love affairs, but once married these are no longer tolerated. Women should be faithful wives. They should be so in order to keep their husbands who have a strong tendency to leave their wives. The husband of a woman who has an affair with another man, will never come back to her. There is no attraction to draw the husband, who has home at his sister's, to his wife's house unless she is good and charming. Such Gurdon's remarks as "There is no evidence to show that polyandry ever existed among the Khasis. Unlike the Tibetans, the Khasi women seem to have contented themselves always with one husband, at any rate with one at a time" (Gurdon, 1914, p. 77), is utterly nonsense: a Khasi woman is placed in a situation which is not easy to monopolize even one husband. Moreover, the Khasi social organization in general does not accord to the practice of polyandry.

182 562 593 182 562 581 593 836 182 562 595

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15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7 •
Garo AR5

Within such a structural framework it is quite understandable that the predominance of virilocal arrangements, coupled with male authority as husband/father, are found. All observers of these societies have noted this feature. Among the plateau Tonga and the Bemba particularly, male authority is outstanding. 000

"Men are free to move and to form their own homesteads because they acquire rights over their wives which permit them to remove these women from the protection of their kin . . . As head of the household, the husband occupies a position comparable in many respects to that which falls to men in patrilineal societies" (Colson, 1958, p. 61).

"With the marriage the husband obtains—but only for the probationary period—rights over his wife's labour, the right to control her movements, and rights to her sexually. He is the father of any children born to her, whether or not he begets them . . ." (*ibid.*, p. 101).

"So long as the household contains a married couple, it is theoretically under the authority of the husband. The wife and her children form the house, the *inganda*, but the husband is known as the *singanda*, 'the owner of the house' . . ." (*ibid.*, p. 105).

"Once the young man is admitted to the family he is free to move his wife and children to his own village should he desire to do so" (Richards, *ibid.*, p. 225).

"This is a male dominant society and, even though descent is reckoned through the mother, the wife is very much under the control of her husband even while he is an outsider in his wife's village" (*ibid.*, p. 225).

The husband/father's authority was also observed among other matrilineal systems under certain conditions, as already fully discussed in the chapters on the Garo and the Khasi, and more predominantly among societies of the Ashanti type where the residential pattern was viri-avunculocal. However, the ambilateral structure on the level of the household composition may give more opportunity to create a husband/father authority of a more stable kind, unhampered by matrilineal force. K 9 171 182 593 • 611

Furthermore, individuals are almost free from the descent principle in establishing their residence. Colson states in her account on the Tonga that a man has complete freedom to choose his residence, and residents in a single neighbourhood need not have kinship ties with one another. In the ordinary round of daily life, membership within a neighbourhood may be of more significance than membership within a matrilineal group (Colson, 1958, pp. 27-28). Oliver describes a similar situation: 000

"The out-marrying women and their children acquire provisional rights in tracts where they reside, and ultimately acquire full title to such lands" (Oliver, 1955, p. 116).

It is clear, in these societies, that there are two sets of groups on different levels: a matrilineal group membership of which is acquired

15: Makane 2-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

621 descent grouping are often different. This is a very similar pattern to the
[184] mobility which I discussed in Sohkynduh and Kongton (see p. 112).

One of the outstanding features in this community is the strong paternal
178 authority, established especially in the first generation, because the father's (husband's) contribution was very important in such circumstances: their
• 593 domestic units were completely independent from the *iing* either of husband
61 or wife. Some of them came with their wives, and many younger ones and their sons brought their wives from their homeland afterwards, thus practising
621 virilocal marriage.

They have an interesting social usage which reflects the importance of the husband of the first generation. This is the addition of the name of the husband of the first generation to the matrilineal clan name in order to differentiate each particular descent group established at Jatinga within the same clan. For instance, Rupsi-Tah, Rupsi-Loh, Rupsi-Khla and Rupsi-Lati are found in the Rupsi clan. Rupsi-Tah is one of the lines of the first immigrants to Jatinga, which I have mentioned as Rupsi: Tah was taken from Pryntah, the husband of Sintu (Rupsi) (see p. 171). Thus the present inhabitants of Jatinga are very conscious of their father or grandfather, though they strictly follow the matrilineal descent rule. From such a usage of naming a clan, the Indian officer, who gave me some information about Jatinga before I went there, made the mistaken deduction that they had changed from matrilineal to patrilineal, assuming this to have come about as a result of the influence of patrilineal tribes around Jatinga. But this is simply due to the fact, firstly, that they hold in high regard the man of the first generation, because of his great contribution; secondly, that they distinguish themselves from members of the same clan according to the descent group established at each immigration; in other words, it indicates each *iing* grouping in the village.

178 The fundamental Khasi social organization based on the matrilineal system
184 did not change at all. I could observe in Jatinga exactly the same principle in action as I had found in Sohkynduh and Kongton. The village endogamy
582 has also been well established in the present generation: there are about 20 different clans which can intermarry, and taking a spouse from an outside com-
61 munity has become very rare nowadays. Marriage patterns in relation to the *iing* structure and all its related aspects are surprisingly similar to that of the
621 communities in the Khasi Hills. The solidarity of the *iing* is even greater in Jatinga, particularly among the rich, because of the greater accumulation of wealth and greater economic activity, which also increases the authority of the *iing* as manager of considerable property—this was also the case with the Shella people. Jatinga demonstrates that in spite of colonization and of a significant change in economic activities, Khasi social organization has maintained itself intact. This situation is in contrast with the considerable social changes observed among the Garo community in colonial areas like Rinsibara and Joshipara.

621 ***Intermarriage.***

178 From the earliest period of the establishment of Jatinga up to the present,
582 some changing aspects of marriage patterns relating to intermarriages are to be observed.

563 As I stated before, in the earlier period, the people used to bring their spouses from their homeland, but they also married neighbouring tribal peoples, namely,
563 the Zemi-Naga, the Kuki and the Cacharee of villages close to Jatinga, and also the Lushai, the Bengalee, the Moslem and the Anglo-Indian who lived
621 in Haflong, the biggest political and commercial centre in the Hills, situated

17: Banerjee E-5 (1955) 1962 AR7 Khasi AR7
Smith

Then followed the dance of the girls (*Ki shad Lyngkot*) who were also wearing dress as described above. They kept their eyes down, keeping their arms on their sides taking such a short steps with the music, that the movement of the feet were hardly perceptible. The boys were also in their dancing dress as worn by *nongshad* and danced with fly-brush round the girls making their steps with the beatings of the drums. The music started from the morning would be stopped only after completion of the dance which prolonged till evening. These functions served as a good source of amusement to the people, enabling them to have a good diversion from their monotonous life with an opportunity to meet their friends and relations who assembled there from different parts of the hill.

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DISCUSSION

From the fore-going description, it is evident that the Khasi live in a democratic set up in which the secular duties are entrusted to the *Siem*. A different rule is followed in the case of religious festivals. Every Khasi family entrusts the sacredotal work of the house to the youngest daughter. The *Siem's* sister (Siem Sod) being the nearest member of his mother's clan, is made responsible for the observance of these ceremonies which concerns the welfare of the subjects. The people attend the festival to seek blessings of their supreme deity U Shillong and their presence in the *Siem's* residence indicates their loyalty to him. The rituals of the festival, instead of being performed by her (High Priestess), were conducted by the Chief Priest (Soh Sim) for which he was allotted a very important position in the celebration. The musicians were given similar status owing to the belief in the sanctities of their music. It ought to be played in proper tune otherwise the displeasure of the deity would fall on them on finding any slight departure in this respect. For this reason, the music is considered as important as the rituals and the role of musicians were consequently given due recognition at every stage of the festival. The traditions of departing one person of Nongrong clan to sacrifice the goat at the top of the hill was followed on account of their ancestors having carried out in olden times the profession of *sile-bamang* (body guard) to the *Siem*. Another person of Khartohmen clan was also asked to carry the head of the sacrificial animal from the hill to the residence of the *Siem* after the worship, as his predecessors were such in ancient times during the period of their servitude in the State. Such incidents were found expressed in a symbolic way through their ceremonies.

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The most important concern of the people was to maintain their social of living together with their property and other means of subsistence. They worshipped him so that he might prevent the evil spirits from doing any harm and may in addition grant them bumper crops. To be recipient of such a favour, they supplied their god U Shillong with gifts and sacrifices. It is not sure whether he is considered as one of their gotland ancestors but his important position in the Khasi pantheon entitled him to have some priority in their worship. The offering of *ed-ewek* together with a yellow goat, moreover, revealed his amiable and benevolent nature as the malignant ones get representation invariably with black colours. U Shillong was invoked simultaneously with other dead ancestors, with the hope, that all the deities would pool their supernatural strength in fighting the evil spirits before the latter were able to cause any harm to their crops or to pollute in any way the fertility of their fields.

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It would be interesting to refer here about the preservation of nine pieces of meat from various parts of the sacrificial animal. It may be a case of appeasement by serving him with some food but there seems to be something

17: Bonerjee E.S (1959) 1962 AR7 Khasi AR7
Smit

could not be in a position to divert their attention to the problems of large enterprises and other measures in their life. This is expressed through rituals which are maintained through tradition and transmitted from generation to generation. A proper performance of the ritual ensures prosperity.

The maternal uncle occupies a very important position in the social life of the Khasi community. He acts as a manager of the family and his opinion is always sought for in any matter of social implications. He is thus honoured and respected by all the members of the house. In spite of the matriarchal set up of their society, the men are given honourable positions in the affairs of the family. Their role has been given due recognition in their various customs and rites. The uncle (mother's brother) as also husbands in some exceptional cases, are always remembered by the living members of the house for their wisdom and sagacity. They are thus invited and are prayed by them to bestow all possible help to tide over their period of crisis. The Khasi pantheon to whom the people in general pay due reverence, are considered to have led similar life as prevalent in their present society. Thus the various rites and ceremonies that are observed, expressing clearly the duties, nature and obligations for these deities, are simply a reflection of the Khasi way of life. The general pattern of social structure has been found to be projected unconsciously through their religious worship and these celebrations are of course of great value to the local inhabitants as it re-affirms certain cultural features as characteristic of the tribe.

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20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

strip of fine silk for the loins, a part of which hangs gracefully as low as the calves in front. No notice is here taken of what has undoubtedly been added and borrowed from their more civilised neighbours in the plains. 291

MARRIAGE.—The marriageable age for females is from 15 to 18; for males, from 18 to 24. Matrimonial alliances are contracted either through the parents or the living representatives of the families to which the parties belong. The mode of procedure is still very primitive and unceremonious. The bridegroom, escorted by a number of friends and relatives, goes to the house of the bride, where all are feasted and lodged for the night; on the morrow he leads the bride, accompanied by a number of her relatives, to his own house, and entertains the company with dishes of boiled rice and fresh pork. After remaining three a day or two, the newly-married couple return together to the house of the wife, which becomes their future home. Marriage is dissoluble by regular divorce, for any sufficient cause, and often without any assignable reason except mutual dislike or want of issue, the latter being the most common case of all. Marriage with the Khásiás is simply a conventional arrangement, with nothing further for its object than the procreation of children; failing that, it is no longer looked upon as a contract permanently binding. Divorce is effected in the presence of eye-witnesses—the parents, or the heads of clans. Five cowries (*kawrie*) are produced by the parties and exchanged, then cast away by mutual consent, and the ceremony is over. Parties once divorced can never again contract marriage with each other, but they are at liberty to marry into other families. Polygamy, strictly so called, is not sanctioned by Khásiá custom. Adultery is looked upon as a serious crime. If the five cowries have not been cast away by mutual consent, both husband and wife are held to be subject to the "matrimonial demon;" and even when either dies in wedlock, the survivor is not at liberty to contract a fresh alliance until he or she pays the family a sum of money as the means of removing the surviving party from subjection to the "matrimonial demon." The husband is a stranger, so to speak, in the family he has entered, and perpetuates the race of others, not his own. The children in all questions of lineage and personal rights follow the mother. There are always two incomes in the same family—that of the husband, and that of the wife. Whatever the husband may have earned or acquired in

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20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

593 wedlock goes to the wife and becomes her property; but all other
428 property is inalienable, and reverts to his family, as also does his corpse after death.

771 'RELIGION.—The religion of the Khásiás is demon-worship, or a jumble of enchantments muttered by priests who are sorcerers. They invoke evil spirits as the deputies of God and the instruments
775 of His pleasure or displeasure. The Khásiás believe in metempsychosis, or the transmigration of souls. After death, human beings are transformed into monkeys, crabs, tortoises, frogs, etc. Though a future state is not denied, it is treated with absolute indifference, as beyond the sphere of responsibility; all rites, ceremonies, and observances bear reference to the welfare of mankind in this world. The spirits of their departed relatives and ancestors are invoked only in so far as they are considered to influence and have power
764 over the present life. The Khásiás burn their dead, and collect the ashes into urns, which are kept under a slab raised on four others enclosing a space. These monuments are of various kinds and sizes —one for individuals, another for a family, and another for a whole
614 clan. There is no caste system, but each clan is called after some object of nature, as the Oak clan, the Crab clan, etc., and these names entail certain restrictions beyond which intermarriage is
771 forbidden. The Khási religion may be briefly described as the practice of forms to cure diseases, and to avert misfortunes of all kinds, by means of ascertaining the name of the demon who is the author of the evil, and the kind of sacrifice necessary to appease it.

797 'CHRISTIANITY.—The Welsh Mission has been labouring amongst the Khásiás and Syntengs for thirty-two years. The Christians number about 1000 [according to the Census of 1872, the total number of native converts in the District is only 85]. There are four central stations—Cherrá, Shellá, Shillong, and Jowái —and twenty-three churches. Translations of the whole of the New Testament, and a portion of the Old, are now (1876) going to press, besides other religious books.

197 'LANGUAGE.—The definitions generally given of monosyllabic languages are far from adequate to enable us to assign to the
193 Khási tongue its position amongst the Indo-Chinese family of speech. Still, in the absence of a better terminology, it may be described as monosyllabic in the agglutinative stage. The monosyllabic element greatly predominates. By far the larger number of the compounds are mere agglutinations (in a modified

21: Ehrenfels E-4,5 (1950) 1953 AR7 Khasi AR7

of father in Russian (for the *tzar*, etc.), (secondly) the youngest, not the oldest, daughter performs the family rites and inherits the family-property [24]. Even in cases when there is no woman to inherit, the youngest, not the oldest son inherits [25]. Among the conservatively matrilineal Pnár (Jaintia) this term of diminution *i*, however, carries at times a somewhat contemptuous meaning, though the minorate is strongly in force also among them. The ambivalent position of this honorific term of diminution is thus significant (comp. term 9/*e* among Pnár and infra.) 601 [428] [196]

Term 7 — mother: (*i mei*) — The prefix *i* used among Khasi and Wár Khasi signifies particular reverence (supra: term 6). The classificatory character of the term has been discussed by CHATTOPADHYAY [26]. [193]

Term 9/*f* — *hep* for all younger siblings, cousins and even other young folk does not indicate the consideration which the terms 9/*d* — *kong* for older sisters and female cousins, or 9/*e* — *bah* for their male equivalents indicate. The term *san* (9/*e* among Pnár) stands here, as generally, for elder and implies a honorific meaning (comp. term 6 supra and term 13/*a* infra).

Terms 10/*a* and *b* show that husband and wife address each other by equal terms and do in no way indicate anything like an inferior position of either wives or husbands of which I did also not find any indications otherwise. It may here be mentioned that property rights even in newly established estates, vest in women and are inherited by women, — not generally men. 601 562

Term 11*d* — *ka khun khaddnh* — the youngest daughter whose important position in Khasi religious ritual, social organization and inheritance law has already been referred to sub term 6 and described in detail elsewhere [27]. The affectionate character of this term finds vivid expression in the abbreviation *ka duh*, which I heard from sisters and the father of a youngest daughter. 601 [593]

Term 13/*a* — *mei san* (mother's older sister). The word *san* (older) here has a definitely honorific character, although the *mei khynnah* — the mother's younger sister (term 13/*b*) may be the heir of Ego's ancestral property. This constellation corresponds to the peculiar significance of terms 6, 9/*d* and especially 11/*d* (supra).

Terms 13, 14, 15/*a*, 18, 18/*a*, 18/*b*, and the terms for cousins 19, 20, 21/*a*, 21/*b*, 22 show, like term 7 — mother (supra), classificatory character. The restriction on cross-cousin marriage is of different nature, according as to whether they belong to different households, or not, as has been discussed by CHATTOPADHYAY [28]. [582]

Term 16/*a* — *ñia* (mother's brother's wife) is basically the same as term 15 — *ñia kha* (father's sister) [29] though the latter is qualified by the additional term *kha*: (begetting, birth) which signifies paternal relationship (see: term No. 1).

[24] GURDON (1914), pp. 83, seq.: CANTLIE (1934), p. 11.
[25] CANTLIE (1934), p. 22.
[26] CHATTOPADHYAY (1941), pp. 25, seq.
[27] GURDON (1914), pp. 83, seq. and CANTLIE (1934), pp. 11, seq.
[28] CHATTOPADHYAY (1941), pp. 35, seq.
[29] In detail discussed by CHATTOPADHYAY (1941), p. 27.

21: Ehrenfels E-4,5 (1950) 1953 AR7 Khasi AR7

namely that male members of a matrilineal clan enjoy, among Khasi as among other matrilineal groups in India, a position which, far from unenviable, is a very high one in itself and doubly fortified by the respect which to the same male family member is being shown (*a*) in his capacity as the father of his children in his wife's clan (comp. term 8 of the list), and (*b*) in that of the maternal uncle (comp. terms 14, 14/*a*, 14/*b* and 26 and 28). 601 602

The terms 33/*b*, *c*, *g*, *h*, have classificatory character. 601

The term 33/*e* — *u kong* for the husband's older sister's husband is one of the exceptions of the rule that *kong* generally signifies an honoured older female relative but, as in this case, also her husband (comp. term 26).

Term 36/*a* *u pa* (father) in its usage among Pnár (Jaintia), also for stepfather is significant. A Pnár child has no legal clan-relationsihp with his/her biological father, who belongs to another (matrilineal) clan than the child and mother. Yet the honorific term *pa* is, among Pnár, also applied to a stepfather, although neither legal, nor biological but merely ideological relationship via the mother, exists between stepfather and -child. This use of the word *pa* thus seems to emphasize both, firstly the integration of the matrilineal family structure, by making an unrelated stepfather to be looked upon as father, owing to his relationship with Ego's mother and, secondly the important sociological and psychological position of the father in this matrilineal family structure which appears to go back to an old tradition among the Pnár. 601 5930 [614]

Term 41 — *para 'riew lum* [33] (Assamese hill tribals) are characteristically termed *para* (Brethren), although they are different in many respects, from the Khasi, yet considered as definitely nearer related than all other neighbours, grouped under the 601

Term 43 — *dkhar* (plainspeople) [34], — a term which varies in emotional content from contempt pure and simple to an attitude, somewhat parallel to what ordinary English usage would generally associate with the expression "continental". Marriages of Khasi girls and boys with *dkhar* do occur, though infinitely rarer than marriages of (especially educated) Khasi girls with (educated) *para 'riew lum*, Nepalese, Gurkha or Chinese boys. One of the reasons which is usually being given for this preference for non-Indians is by no means colour-prejudice, but the taboo on either beef or pork which most *dkhar ïong* [35] (Indians, Hindus or Muslims, respectively) observe; a taboo which they generally extend to their Khasi wives, thus preventing them from enjoying two favourite Khasi national dishes. Another more psychological reason is the overbearing treatment of wives, which is generally ascribed to *dkhar ïong*, more even than to *dkhar li* [36]. It is in this connection 601 582

[33] Literally: Brethren Humans Hill.

[34] With Dkhar are here meant the plainspeople as such; — not the Khasi Dkhar (or Khar) clans which are mostly, if not always, descended from ancestresses who had been captured in the plains and brought to the Khasi Hills; comp. CHATTOPADHYAY (1941), pp. 30/31 and EHRENFELS (1950/*A*), pp. 33/34. [101]

[35] Literally: Plainspeople black.

[36] Literally: Plainspeople white.

Ik Chattopadhyay E-4, 5 (no date) 1941 AR7 Khasi AR7

for difference in sex, is applied to both. The corresponding uncle and aunt by marriage are referred to by terms which make this clear. The husband of the father's sister is a "Ma" like the mother's brother and is also referred to as "Kni." But as his position by age is unimportant, the adjective of position is lacking in his case. Similarly the mother's brother's wife and the father's sister have a common term "Nia"; but the latter has her relationship through the father clearly indicated by the additional term "Kha" which refers to kinship through a male. The mother's brother's wife is, on the contrary, an aunt by marriage. The husband of the father's sister derives his term through his wife; and the wife of the mother's brother, through her husband. The identities M.B. = F.S.H. and M.B.W. = F.S. are therefore derived indirectly and are not original. Hodson's hypothesis that they represent actual identity of kinship in an earlier dual society therefore turns out to be superfluous.

Reciprocally, a man refers to his sister's children by a term which is different from that for his own children. A woman also refers to her brother's children by this term which is different from that used for her own or her sister's children. As indicated, the M.B. as well as the F.S. are both on a parallel footing, and are practically labelled together, allowing for differences of sex.

We may say that there are, in Khasi society, two clearly recognised units. One of these is the house and household, where the men and women have been born. Inside this house group, the sisters have similar rights, actual as well as potential. As we have seen, on the death of one sister, where there is no female issue, another sister takes her place in continuing the traditional religious entity of the group. The brothers again, among themselves, take one another's place in succession, in the matter of authority, and of management of the family property. The other unit is that of the woman, her husband and the children. We may refer to it as the unit set up by marriage.

Referring to the first type, we may say that the second type results from the men of the house going out to marry women of other houses. As the men settle down in the wife's mother's house and later on set up a separate house on her land, the continuity of tradition in the house of birth is kept up by the women who remain behind.

It would however be a mistake to suppose that the bond between the members born in a house is severed on marriage. We have noted before that the bones of a dead man return eventually to his mother's house, for final deposition in the clan cinerary, or at least that of the extended household. The bond between the mother's brother and sister's children has also been noted as well as the authority exercised by the former over the extended family.

Further links between a man and his mother's Kur will appear from a study of the rules of inheritance and land tenure with regard to men. Any property that a man acquires before marriage belongs to his mother's house. Myntri U Subu Rai, for example, earned money before his marriage, and he purchased some land with this amount, in a village called Mawbeh. It will go to his sisters and their heiresses on his death. The earnings of a man after marriage, and after he has settled down in his wife's mother's house (or wife's house), among Khasis proper, generally go to the wife and daughters on death. But any gifts made by the parents at marriage have to be returned on death. Slmilarly, if a man has earned money after marriage, independently of his wife's capital, a part can be claimed on death by the man's mother's group.

Again, if a man returns to his mother's village after marriage, he can exercise his rights to cultivate the common land there. Every village community has its common land known as Ri Raid. As David Roy states (CN), "people can occupy a raid land where they build their houses and cultivate. For cultivation purposes land not more than can be cultivated is taken. The occupant can sell his house and the site and the garden of

[p.33]

CHAPTER IV

The Khasi marriage prohibitions may now be discussed in some detail. The rules regarding levirate and sororate have already been noted. The Khasi is also exogamous with regard to his Kur. This bar extends to clans derived from the same ancestry. A Khasi cannot also marry his father's brother's daughter, or his father's father's brother's daughter. He cannot marry his mother's brother's daughter so long as this uncle is alive but may do so after the death of this relative. He cannot also marry his father's sister's daughter so long as the father is alive but may marry her after the death of his father. Gurdon remarks that even then "such unions are looked upon with disfavour by Khasis. In the War country, such marriages are totally prohibited." 582

It has been noted in the previous chapter, that the basic unit of Khasi society is the house where the children are born and where the women stay all their lives and with which the men also are connected intimately even when they go elsewhere on marriage. It has also been observed that the authority is vested entirely in the men. The women have various rights not found in many patrilocal groups; but it would be a mistake to underestimate the position of the men in the house. The father is the head of his small family—the simple family consisting of himself, his wife and the children. He is also the person in authority over his sisters' households in matters affecting the extended family as opposed to the simple family. Although his own children, and the children born in his natal house are distinguished on account of their social and economic differentiation, nevertheless, they are, to a certain extent, both like children to 582 602 [594]

13:Mukherjee E-5 (1954)1958 AR7 Khasi AR7

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[769]

cessation of transaction of money (*kheinsbai*) during the period, compulsory social participation in marriage, household worship, and funeral ritual, and the pride for the privilege in sucession to *siem-ship* (chieftain ship) hold together the inner structure of the society in fulfilling its function.

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Family (*Ka-iing*)—The functions of family centre round the :

1. performance of basic religious rites,
2. management and inheritance of family property,
3. maintenance of social relations with the kin of *ka-k'ṭoh* and *ka-kur*,
4. protection of familial kin.

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From the above discussions it may be inferred that the social groupings of the Khasis function in different dimensions and make the individuals aware of their duties, and obligations towards each other. In the process of socialization and enculturation of the individual they learn that the individuals, the different social groups and the community at large are inseparable.

Even from infancy a boy is infused with the idea that family comes first in regard, sub-clan second, and clan third. The kin of the family are primary relatives, and those of the sub-clan and the clan are secondary and tertiary respectively. [553] One bow and three arrows given by a father to his son in his naming ceremony (*jerkhun*) symbolise their relationships with the three social groups. With the first arrow man has to fight for *shi-iing* (members of the same family) and *shi-k'ṭoh* (members of the same sub-clan), with the second for his *shi-kur* and with the third for the state.

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

589 dition that she does not remarry; the idea being that as long as
765 the bones remain in the widow's keeping, the spirit of her husband is still with her. On this account many wives who revere their husband's memories, and who do not contemplate
587 remarriage, purposely keep the bones for a long time. If a
765 widow marries, even after the customary taboo period of one year, whilst her deceased husband's bones are still in her keeping,
[346] she is generally looked down upon. Her children in such a case perform the ceremony of handing over the bones of their father to his clan in a building specially erected for the purpose. The widow cannot enter therein, or even go near it, whilst the ceremony is proceeding, no matter whether the *jing sang*, or the price for removing the taboo after a husband's death, has been
595 paid to the husband's clan or not. There is no evidence to show that polyandry ever existed amongst the Khasis. Unlike the Thibetans, the Khasi women seem to have contented themselves always with one husband, at any rate with one at a time. Certainly at the present day they are monandrists. Polygamy does not exist amongst the Khasis; such a practice would naturally not be in vogue amongst a people who observe the matriarchate. There are instances, however, of men having wives other than those they have regularly married, and in the Wár country children by such wives enjoy rights to their father's acquired property equally with the children by the legally
582 married wife. As the clans are strictly exogamous, a Khasi
688 cannot take a wife from his own clan; to do this would entail
764 the most disastrous religious, as well as social consequences. For to marry within the clan is the greatest sin a Khasi can commit, and would cause excommunication by his kinsfolk and the refusal of funeral ceremonies at death, and his bones would
[115] not be allowed a resting-place in the sepulchre of the clan. To
614 give a list of all the Khasi exogamous clans would perhaps serve no useful purpose, but I have prepared from information, kindly
582 furnished me by the Siems of Khyrim and Cherrapunji, a list of the clans in those States which will be found in Appendices A and B. These will suffice as examples. It will be seen from the Cherra list that the different divisions of the Diengdoh clan, viz. Lalu, Diengdoh-bah, Diengdoh-kylla, are prohibited from intermarriage; this is due to those branches of the clan being

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

586 Khasi religion. If the marriage has been celebrated according to the *pynhiar synjat* rite, a *ksiang* (go-between) is necessary on each side, also the *kni*, or maternal uncles of the parties, to witness the divorce. In other cases the presence of the *ksiang* is unnecessary, but some acquaintances and friends as well as the relatives on both sides should witness the ceremony. The husband and the wife each bring five cowries (*sbài*), or, more commonly nowadays, five pice. The wife gives her five cowries or pice to her husband, who places them with his, and then returns the five cowries or coins to his wife, together with his own five. The wife then returns the ten shells or coins to the husband who throws them on the ground. A crier (*u nõng* [203] *pyrta shnong*) then goes round the village to proclaim the divorce, using the following words :—

"Kaw—hear, oh villagers, that U—— and K—— have become separated in the presence of the elders. Hei! thou, oh, young man, canst go and make love to Ka—— for she is now unmarried (*khynraw*), and thou, oh, spinster, canst make love to U——. Hei! there is no let or hindrance from henceforth." Among the Khasis divorce must be by mutual consent, [587] and the ceremony must take place in the open air. Until the divorce ceremony has been performed as above described, neither husband nor wife can marry again, but after it has taken place, either can remarry, but not within the family of the divorced husband or wife. In the event of a husband or wife being absent for a long period, say ten years, without any communication having been received from either of them, a divorce ceremony is performed by the relatives on his or her behalf. It is stated by U Jeebon Roy * that the rule of 595 monogamy is not so strict for the husband as it is for the wife, 428 he can contract an informal alliance with another woman, the only prohibition being that she must not belong to the original wife's village. Such a wife is called *ka tynga tuh*, literally, stolen wife, in contradistinction to the legally married wife (*ka tynga trai*). The children by the unmarried wife are called *ki khun kliar* (children from the top). By children from the top, is understood to mean children from the branches not from the root (*traj*) of the tree. Such children cannot claim ancestral property, except in the war country.

113 * See page 18, "Ka Niam Khasi." (U Jeebon Roy.)

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

Thus, the marriage of a non-heiress and a man of authority also produces an unstable position for the husband in spite of his having an independent household. Therefore, the possibility of a really stable marriage is even more limited; it will occur only in the match of a non-heiress and a non-authority of the *iing*. But even these marriages cannot be free from the influence of a matrilineal social structure: the man of authority of the wife's *iing* may visit these couples now and then, curb the husband's power and remind both partners of the orientation towards the matri-kin, the *iing*, though this pressure is insignificant in comparison with that experienced by the heiress's family. Likewise, a husband now and then visits his youngest sister's house, *ka iing sen*. These constant matrilineal contacts offer husbands chances of escaping from even the slightest matrimonial tension. Whenever a Khasi man feels uneasiness, he will return to his sister's house rather than face a difficult situation with his wife. This tendency is maximised especially on the occasion of religious ceremonies, when all individuals are grouped around each *iing*.

It is apparent that the rules of the *iing* as the underlying structural pattern, function throughout the various categories of domestic unit of the Khasi community as the most important intrinsic force.

VII. Polygyny

After this long attempt at the structural analysis of marriages, I think one can theoretically predict what is the situation of polygyny among the Khasi. The theoretical framework elaborated through preceding discussions can also be tested by the empirical data in terms of polygyny.

Nowadays, the Khasi feel so strongly against polygyny that they have no knowledge even that they ever practised it. Many Khasi, in more sophisticated areas, did not believe my findings on polygyny in Sohkynduh and Kongton. I think this is due to the rapid Christianization of the Hills during the last hundred years. My interpreter, though he was not Christian, said to me in the village, "it is most regrettable to bring you to a village where we find polygyny." However, one of the ministers of the Cherra State to which the two villages belong, told me that there was no particular opposition to polygyny, though recent Christian influence gave people the idea that it was a shameful custom, and he mentioned the case of a polygynist in his area, a man who had recently died, who had had ten wives. In Jatinga whose inhabitants are all Christian, and in Shella where there has been much contact with, and influence by, Hindus, there were

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

582 marry any one belonging to your own *kur*, or clan. Unlike the
614 Khasis, however, a Lynngam can marry two sisters at a time.
595 The Lynngam marriages are arranged by *ksiangs*, or go-betweens,
584 much in the same way as Khasi marriages; but the ritual
582 observed is less elaborate, and shows a mixture of Khasi and Garo customs (see Section III.). The Lynngams intermarry with the Garos. It appears that sometimes the parents of girls
583 exact bride-money, and marriages by capture have been heard of. Both of these customs are more characteristic of the Bodo
847 tribes of the plains than of the Khasis. There are no special birth
782 customs, as with the Khasis, except that when the umbilical cord
553 falls a fowl is sacrificed, and the child is brought outside the house. Children are named without any special ceremony.
764 The death customs of the Lynngams have been described in Section III. A peculiar characteristic is the keeping of the dead body in the house for days, sometimes even for several months, before it is burnt. The putrefying corpse inside the house seems to cause these people no inconvenience, for whilst it remains there, they eat, carry on their ordinary avocations, and sleep there, regardless of what would be
771 considered by others an intolerable nuisance. The religion of these people consists of a mixture of ancestor-worship and the propitiation of the spirits of fell and fall, which are, most of them, believed to be of evil influence, as is the case with other savage
716 races. As with the people of Nongstoin, the primaeval ancestress, "*ka Iaw bei*," is worshipped for the welfare of the
782 clan, a sow being sacrificed to her, with a gourd of rice-beer, and leaves of the oak, or *dieng-sning* tree. The leaves of the oak are afterwards hung up inside the house, together with the jaw-bone of the pig. Sacrifices are offered to a forest demon, *U Bangjang* (a god who brings illness), by the roadside; also to *Ka Miang Bylli U Majymma*, the god of cultivation, at seed time, on the path to the forest clearing where the seed is sown. Models of paddy store-houses, baskets and agricultural implements are made, sand being used to indicate the grain. These are placed by the roadside, the skulls of the sacrificial animals and the feathers of fowls being hung up on bamboos about the place
793 where the sacrifice has been performed. There are no priests or
796 *lyngdohs*, the fathers of the hamlet performing the various ceremonies.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

178 no polygynists, though there were many personal temporary illicit
184 relations or love affairs.

It is true that even in interior villages polygyny is rapidly decreas-
• 595 ing. In the two villages I found only two cases of polygyny: a man with two wives in Sohkynduh (Josio in List 6, whose wives are 26 and 32), and a man with three wives in Kongton (Jubongrai in List 9, whose wives are 8, 20 and 52). These cases appeared clearly as cases of polygyny which the villagers recognized as such, speaking of them quite differently from the way they would have spoken of lovers, calling them wives and husbands. Of course, the first wife socially outranks the secondary wives, as *ka tynga trai*, and the term *ka tynga tuh* is used for the latter, as Gurdon states (1914, p. 80). The difference being that the first wife has a legal marriage ceremony while the
585 others have not—*ka tynga tuh* means literally 'stolen wife.' About the marriage ceremony, Gurdon gives a detailed discription (*ibid.*,
595 pp. 127-130) and says there are three forms of marriage ceremonies, *Pynhiarsynjat*, *Lamdoh* and *Iadih-hiad*. The first and second forms are considered the more respectable; the last one is resorted to by the very poor who cannot afford the greater expense entailed by the first two. Unfortunately, during my stay in these villages, no marriage ceremony took place, but villagers described to me what seems to be the *Iadih-hiad*, where only a fowl is sacrified, and the whole procedure is much simpler than that described by Gurdon. However, whatever the complexity and richness may be, there is a distinct line between having a ceremony and not having it, and this draws the distinction between the status of the first wife and that of the secondary wives.

428 Nevertheless, this distinction has more of a social bearing than the legal bearing it has in a patrilineal system. Since they follow the
595 matrilineal system, the legal distinction between the first wife and
851 the secondary wife does not affect their children's status and their property rights, at least not in the villages where I worked. The children's social locus is determined by their mother. The children (particularly the youngest daughter) have the right to inherit their father's acquired property which is automatically under their mother's ownership. If the polygynist father has acquired property by working their mother's field, or in trading on behalf of their mother, whether she be the first wife or the second, this property undoubtedly belongs to the children of that wife, not to the first wife alone. The father's physical locus at the time of his economic realisations is the decisive factor.

591 The Khasi polygynist, without bringing his wives into one house-
595 hold, alternates his residence among them, in turn or according to his temper. This practice is similar to that of the Trukese described by Goodenough (1951, p. 123), and quite different from that of the Garo

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

which I described previously, where a man brings his secondary wives to his first wife's house in which he is acting as the head. Furthermore, sororal polygyny is prohibited, while it was prefered among the Garo in terms of wives taken from the same *mahari*, though mostly not real sisters. The strong jealousy, which I observed, among the Khasi wives of a polygynist, would appear to make such polygynous marriages with closely related women practically impossible. As shown in List 6 & 9 every single one of the wives of each polygynist belongs to different *kur*, and the two secondary wives of the man of Kongton came from neighbouring villages. 591 595 • [171]

These aspects of Khasi polygyny are related fundamentally to the underlying Khasi social structure. It should be remembered that every married woman has her independent household, *iing*, and that two women of different descent groups never reside together (see p. 127). The picture is one of every married woman holding a key-point in the whole network of the social system, and men fit into this network with much flexibility. The strong stability of women and the fluid nature of men in terms of residence naturally produces this form of polygyny. This analogy is also true of lovers' relations and illegal marriages. Though polygyny is a rapidly decreasing institution all over the Khasi Hills, cases of lovers' relations and illegal marriages are found to be very numerous among the Khasi, as compared with neighbouring tribes and peoples in Assam. 182 591 595 613 837 [171]

Throughout my discussions of various forms of Khasi marriage, I found men to be more or less in the position wittily described by one of them as "having one leg in my sister's house, the other in my wife's," except in cases of the husband/father who succeds in establishing paternal authority, as in marriages with a non-heiress. Even in the latter a man might have a period of uncertainty until his children were born and until the economic basis for his matrimonial life was firmly established. For the rest, Khasi men would be in the position of either becoming the authority of an *iing*, or swinging between their sister and their wife, which may produce more opportunities for lovers' relations. One of a man's legs is certainly always found in his sister's house, the other may rest in his wife's, but it may also rest in another woman's house. The wife being rather accustomed to his occasional absence due to his visits to his sister's house, another kind of absence does not mark any great change from the usual situation, at least not physically. Such situations occur particularly in the earlier stage of the marriage, as a sort of continuation of premarital affairs, which are quite freely practised: it is a usual custom before marriage for young men to sleep at a girl's house whom they like though they say sexual intercourse usually does not take place in such cases. This I observed in Sohkynduh and Kongton. 182 591 593 613 836 837

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

182 Because of the firm right of women over the residence, Khasi polygyny can never be a clearly distinguishable institution, and has no
• 595 operational advantage in the social and economic fields; the situation is very similar with lovers' relations and illegal marriages. By polygyny the man achieves no additional economic advantage, nor does he increase his social status or prestige; rather the reverse, for I observed that the polygynyst was regarded as a somewhat ludicrous or tragic figure. As for the woman, she is placed slightly at a disadvantage since the husband's economic activities are not concentrated on her household. However, even many legally-married wives are separated or divorced, so that such disadvantages are not only experienced by the wives of polygynists. The social disadvantage of being secondary wife is not serious, firstly, because wives, whether first or secondary, have social and economic independence—they do not belong to the husband as in the case of patrilineal systems. Secondly, the significance attached to the legal marriage institution is not so great, so that the handicap of being the secondary wife is not severe. What is most important, furthermore, is that her slightly inferior status does in no ways affect the next generation. Indeed such children, including
[848] those of premarital or illegal relations, suffer no serious social dis-
[851] advantage, though they are nominally distinguishable from legitimate children. From this it is clear that the effectiveness of legitimate marriage, and paternal recognition are rather limited among the Khasi.

Thus, Khasi polygyny differs greatly from the polygyny of other societies in terms of its operation and of its form. It also differs in the incentive to its practice. Among the Garo and many other societies, the practice of polygyny usually depends on a man's economic capability, but among the Khasi, it appears rather to depend on his
182 whim. Khasi husbands are notorious for their heavy drinking and
593 neglect of wife and children. Some of them told me that their earnings,
793 their children and everything they acquired go to their wife or sister, leaving them with nothing; therefore they should at least have freedom to enjoy their life. This freedom seemed to mean women and drink. I am not sure how far this explanation is true, but it seems to justify their behaviour to a certain extent. I do not mean that this is the general characteristic of the Khasi husbands, but some such tendency is to be observed. Actually I often heard wives complain of their husbands' drinking and running after women, and was asked "Are your Japanese husbands also like that?", "What is the good of having a husband!" then comes divorce . . .

182 On the contrary, women placed at an advantage by residence
562 and matrilineal inheritance, are required always to be on their best
593 behaviour. There are very strict rules governing the behaviour of Khasi women. They are supposed not to drink, smoke, or play with

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

any man other than their husband. Women before marriage enjoy a considerable freedom in love affairs, but once married these are no longer tolerated. Women should be faithful wives. They should be so in order to keep their husbands who have a strong tendency to leave their wives. The husband of a woman who has an affair with another man, will never come back to her. There is no attraction to draw the husband, who has home at his sister's, to his wife's house unless she is good and charming. Such Gurdon's remarks as "There is no evidence to show that polyandry ever existed among the Khasis. Unlike the Tibetans, the Khasi women seem to have contented themselves always with one husband, at any rate with one at a time" (Gurdon, 1914, p. 77), is utterly nonsense: a Khasi woman is placed in a situation which is not easy to monopolize even one husband. Moreover, the Khasi social organisation in general does not accord to the practice of polyandry.

192 562 593 182 562 581 595 836 182 562 595

[P. 140 is blank]

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

strip of fine silk for the loins, a part of which hangs gracefully as low as the calves in front. No notice is here taken of what has undoubtedly been added and borrowed from their more civilised neighbours in the plains. 291

'MARRIAGE.—The marriageable age for females is from 15 to 18; for males, from 18 to 24. Matrimonial alliances are contracted either through the parents or the living representatives of the families to which the parties belong. The mode of procedure is still very primitive and unceremonious. The bridegroom, escorted by a number of friends and relatives, goes to the house of the bride, where all are feasted and lodged for the night; on the morrow he leads the bride, accompanied by a number of her relatives, to his own house, and entertains the company with dishes of boiled rice and fresh pork. After remaining there a day or two, the newly-married couple return together to the house of the wife, which becomes their future home. Marriage is dissoluble by regular divorce, for any sufficient cause, and often without any assignable reason except mutual dislike or want of issue, the latter being the most common case of all. Marriage with the Khásiás is simply a conventional arrangement, with nothing further for its object than the procreation of children; failing that, it is no longer looked upon as a contract permanently binding. Divorce is effected in the presence of eye-witnesses—the parents, or the heads of clans. Five cowries (*kauris*) are produced by the parties and exchanged, then cast away by mutual consent, and the ceremony is over. Parties once divorced can never again contract marriage with each other, but they are at liberty to marry into other families. Polygamy, strictly so called, is not sanctioned by Khási custom. Adultery is looked upon as a serious crime. If the five cowries have not been cast away by mutual consent, both husband and wife are held to be subject to the "matrimonial demon;" and even when either dies in wedlock, the survivor is not at liberty to contract a fresh alliance until he or she pays the family a sum of money as the means of removing the surviving party from subjection to the "matrimonial demon." The husband is a stranger, so to speak, in the family he has entered, and perpetuates the race of others, not his own. The children in all questions of lineage and personal rights follow the mother. There are always two interests in the same family—that of the husband, and that of the wife. Whatever the husband may have earned or acquired in

58 591 586 [581] 587 595 837 587 593 611 593 428

772 preside over a whole district and are known as
773 lyngdoh rangbah (head sacrificer), are not sacrificers by profession. Thus, for example, the chief sacrificer of Lamin in the district of War is a coolie by trade and carries loads from one market to the other (Fig.1).[1] None of these sacrificers has a revered position among the people. It is rather the "fear" of them which makes them respected. For the Khasi firmly believe that the lyngdoh or even merely the ordinary sacrificers are masters over the (evil) spirits. Therefore they are very careful not to quarrel with the sacrificers, so that they will not conjure up spirits in their anger and set them on the guilty one and thus bring him to destruction.

774 The sacrificers are not actually officers
775 of sacrifices in the strict sense of the word,
776 but only representative people at the sacrifice. For the Khasi live under a matriarchy. With a sharpness of logic and with thoroughness they have probably developed and put into effect as a social organisation the most beautiful pattern of a matriarchy of anyone up to today. The mother is the head of the family, the only tie that gives the family unity; she is the sole possessor and sole owner of all property, and inheritance is only possible through her. The father has no right to the relationship of the children. These belong only to the maternal line. Even his ashes will not rest finally beside those of his wife or children, but in the grave of his mother. Whatever the father may earn or save does not belong to his children, but returns to the maternal line. It is not surprising that with such views it is also the mother who has all the spiritual power. And in reality she is in complete possession of the highest spiritual power. It is her duty to

[illegible]

772 preserve the customs of the family or sib; she
• 774 must see to it that the ancient domestic customs
773 of the household sacrifices are truly preserved; it is her duty, to keep the inherited ceremonies of the sacrifices pure and to hand them down conscientiously to the descendants. Therefore she has to arrange for the necessary sacrificial materials; she must prepare everything; she is the only one who must fast before the offering of many a sacrifice; she gives the order for the sacrifice, and she should also have to perform it herself.

But this does not happen. In reality no woman offers the sacrifice herself. (4) She is

4. With the exception of the secret sacrifices, about which, see later.

[404] represented by a male person. But he must be related to her on the maternal side. Usually a maternal uncle (kni) represents her. Such representation by a relative is always necessary, whether it be for a public or a private sacrifice. But not merely the degree of relationship must lie in the feminine line; there is still something else that must be observed for each sacrifice. Even though the duties of the sacrificers and their methods of sacrificing are very different and are arranged according to the customs and inherited usages in the family or in the sib or in the state or community, yet in one point they are all similar: namely, all the sacrificers must be assisted by a woman during the performance of the services referred to. She is simply called ka lyngdoh (the priestess). [711] Because the man must function in her name and he is only her representative at the sacrifice,

782 Gurdon (5) believes that his ka lyngdoh is with-
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5. Gurdon, The Khasi, loc. cit.

out doubt a holdover from that time of the matriarchy in which a priestess also performed the sacrifices herself.

b) The Public and Ceremonial Introduction as a Lyngdoh.

793 How does a person become a lyngdoh?[1] This
784 question can also not be answered so easily.
555 This is very different in the different districts. In general it may be assumed that the lyngdoh arise from the practice of household (private) sacrifices. Since it is the duty of the woman to watch over the sacrificial ceremonies, she will introduce one of her sons to the rite of performing sacrifices that is peculiar to the family, so that he will be able to occasionally offer the sacrifice in the prescribed manner or in case of need (sickness, death, misfortune). But because the maternal uncle is usually called upon for the sacrifices, the son who has learned to offer sacrifices will have little chance to practise this art in his own family, but rather among his maternal relatives. And the other way around, people from there who know how to offer sacrifices will be called into this household. In this way the man who offers sacrifices becomes known in the neighborhood. If he has luck with his arrangements and if success crowns his efforts, the news will spread that he is an experienced sacrificer whom the spirits obey and that he knows how to seek them out, to drive them away, or to propitiate them, as the case requires. Thus it happens that such a man is called upon again and again to offer sacrifices,
[1 Lit. sacrificer.. Analyst]

more than a thousand of them who have been converted to the Hindu religion. 162 (797)

This group of people possesses the possibility of expansion, since they have at their disposal within the area of the Khasi and Jaintia Mountains a territory of 6,022 English square miles, with only 40 persons per square mile. Although wide areas are not built up and the system of shifting fields prevents the full utilization of the land, it is still true that with this small population figure by far the largest part of the whole population (200,781) is dependent on agriculture; trade and manufacturing only play a subordinate part. [311]

With regard to the division of the sexes, the two large religions of Assam, Hinduism and Mohammedanism, show the same proportion as in the rest of India, a lesser number of women than men. But among the Khasi the women are more numerous than the men. In the Brahmaputra valley with its greater Hindu population there are only 892 women for every 1,000 men; in the Surma valley, with a greater Moslem element, there are 937. But the situation is reversed among the Khasi, where there is a surplus of 74 women for every thousand men. The position of the women is basically different among this people. It is based on the customs and usages of maternal rights that prevail among them, which are prédominantly based on possession and which find honorable expression in possession. 562 162

1. Property Rights in the Family Property.

The great principle which governs property among the Khasi, is that all family property rests in the hands /128: A/ /Fig. 1. Khasi Girls and Women with their Carrying Baskets. Fig. 2. An Old Clan Mother in the Village Laitumkhra. / /128: B/ /Fig. 3. At the Oracle of Egg Throwing/. Fig. 5. Khasi Girls and Men in Festive Dance Clothing. / /128: C/ /Fig. 4. A Group of Synteng/ /128: D/ Fig. 6. A Holy Grove and Part of the Village Raliang/ /129/ of the women and not of the man. The man can never be the owner of family property, and it can never be transferred to him. He may perhaps acquire some property through his own industry and work, but even that will pass into feminine hands by the path of inheritance. The concept of family is not as narrowly drawn here as in our country. This is a question of the clan-family, the clan. The head of it is always the youngest daughter, who, even when she has become old, bears the honorable name ka barit in the Jaintia Mountains, and in the Khasi Mountains ka khadduh, the last, the youngest. Around her gather her nearest blood relatives, brothers and sisters, and children. For example let 421 613 596 613 596

613 us take such a clan mother with the name Ka Sing Lau. She has two
59% sons and five daughters, and in addition two brothers and two sisters who are all married. Also each of the five daughters and two sisters has four children. These forty-six people live with the clan mother and form the family clan of the Lau. To these we also add the sons
[592] and brothers, the nephews and grandsons, but not their children. The latter have nothing to do with the family Lau but belong to the family clan of their wives, live with that clan and are counted in it. Likewise neither the husband of Ka Sing Lau, nor the husbands of the various daughters, sisters, nieces, and granddaughters belong here. They are all counted with their own clans, live and work with them according to Khasi custom, and only visit their wives occasionally perhaps after dark.

621 The entire clan-family of Lau is housed in 5 or 6 huts, which all
351 stand next to each other in a semicircle or are built one above the other on the slope of a hill, according to the character of the land. A
[241] garden frequently surrounds them in which maize, sweet potatoes, potato-like roots of Soh-ot and Schrut, bananas and, on the southern slopes of the Khasi Mountains, also coffee, pineapples, and other fruits are cultivated. A circle of bamboo cane that is so important for building purposes, household objects, and /130/ implements surrounds the garden and huts. This bamboo cane grows up as thick as an arm to a height of 10 or 15 meters and at the same time forms a good protection against bad weather. A wall (morscha) of thrown-up earth encloses everything, forming an enclosed farm, prevents unimpeded access, and protects cattle and crops from the attacks and devastations of wild animals.

423 What is considered the family property of such a clan? Primarily it is the land, the gardens, the rice fields, woods, fallow mountain and grazing lands. On the southern slopes of the Khasi Mountains there
[241] are fields for the cultivation of rape, orange groves, laurel groves, plantations of betel palms and of pepper leaves which far and wide are so highly treasured for betel chewing as a source of pleasure. (2)

2. Cf. Becker, Im Stromtal des Brahmaputra, /In the River Valley of the Brahmaputra/ (Munich, 1923). pp. 357 ff.

[31] Usually there is so much land available that the family-clan can nourish itself properly and also increase in number

473 According to its size and wealth a family clan also owns a
231 corresponding number of cows, oxen, hens, pigs, and goats. Neither the milk nor the flesh of the cows is used. They are kept for the

613 bakla); and as long as the expiatory sacrifice, in the form of pigs and
688 goats, determined by the elders of the family and by the sacrificial
682 priest (lyngdoh) has not been offered, the sinning member is considered excluded from the family and the family sacrifices. But even after being accepted again a certain stain still clings to him.

But it is also the duty of the clan mother to care for the needs of
613 the members of her family clan with regard to food, clothing, and the like. She divides the fruits of the harvests according to the needs of the individual. She goes or sends to market to trade, to buy, or to sell. She takes care of the common purse and even the masculine members of the clan have to ask her for money when they wish to drink rice liquor or buy clothing. There the clan mother is generous
[562] rather than niggardly. This dependent relationship of the men is not considered unworthy at all or shameful. It is the matriarchal form and ancient custom. Nevertheless, the position of the men in the family clan is an esteemed one. Even the name they are called by has an important sound: Rangbah, Basan (oldest ones, advisers). On them falls often the work in the field and wood or the protection of the family; bow and arrow are handed to them as cradle gifts. In the more important family matters the clan mother consults with them. At the giving of the name, during a wedding, a funeral, or cremation the clan mother steps almost completely into the background, also during quarrels and court hearings before the chief (Doloi) or king (S'iem). She is still always influential with her advice, but the actual appearance, activity and judgments is the business of the men. The smaller,
[782] everyday sacrifices she performs in the clan hut; but she can also let these /135/ be performed by her sons. At larger sacrificial ceremonies which are offered by several family clans at the same time, by whole
[793] villages or even by one of the Khasi states, only the men are active as sacrificial priests.

With regard to the husbands of the clan mother and of the feminine
613 members, they are not considered members of the family clan of the
596 women at all. They are only considered the begetters. They work and live in their own clan, participate in their sacrifices and burial places. The father has no further influence in the raising of the children, who belong entirely to the clan of the mother. But usually they have no obligation, unless the wife and children are impoverished. Even then their care comes in second place after that of members of their own
[593] clan. Nevertheless the husband is honored and is addressed by "Mr." (kynrad) by his wife. She would consider it disgraceful to approach him impertinently. Where the property of a clan has been dissolved or Christian customs introduced, the husband lives and works together with his wife and children.

Ib Chattopadhyay E-4, 5 (no date) 1941 AR7 Khasi AR7

it, they have to arrange with the U Kni, who is in this case U Babu of Mawphlang, elder brother of the Myntri, U Mama who represents this clan on the State organisation. Payment is made in money which is distributed to the different houses of the Kur. There is, however, Ri Kynti land of another kind, individual property which can be sold absolutely. It may be noted here that no rent is paid to the State or the British Government for the Ri Raid, Ri Kynti or other lands in Mawphlang, or in general in other Khasi States. The revenue of the State is derived from tolls levied on commodities sold in market places and also from fines and other minor sources.

596 The fundamental social and economic unit among Khasis is therefore the family house and the extended family associated with it; the Kur represents a later stage in its expansion. Marriage sets up new relations but does not disturb this basic structure of Khasi Society.

13:Mukherjee E-5 (1954)1958 AR7 Khasi AR7

The primal father and the mother of the members of every clan are respectively known as *U-Parad* (*U-Thawlang*) and *Ka-Meyrad* (*Ka-Iawbei*). 614 192 773

There is a large number of clans among the Khasis and some of the clan names are those of animals and trees. *Shrieh* is monkey, *tham*, a crab, and *dingdoh*, a tree ; yet they do not constitute totemic clan organization. The clan names are not even the names of the ancestress. The clans are not ancestral but rather were territorial in nature when the clansmen (*shi-Kur*) used to live in a place having a common land (*ri-kur*) and a clan ossuary (*mawbah*) where the bones of the dead clansmen were deposited. 614 551

Unlike the clans, the sub-clans (*ka-k'poh*) are ancestral. As for example, in case of the *Siem* clan of the Chera state, it is found that Ka-Khiem was the primal ancestress. Her daughter Ka-Pet had three daughters, namely, Ka-Sngi, Ka-Lngen, and Ka-Kreh each of whom is regarded as the *Ka-K' poh* (*meaning* womb) of their respective descendants who are *shi-K'poh* (the members of the same womb). And their names are the names of the three sub-clans of the *siem* clan. 613

The names of the sub-clans of some of the clans as collected from the elderly Khasi women are given below. 613 614 551

CLAN	SUB-CLAN
1. Siem	— sngi ; lngen , kreh
2. Khongsit	— yin , phai ; har ; jiram
3. Kharshling	— iew ; mah ; sayngiar , iynean
4. Lyngdoh	— kaban ; summhir ; kamai
5. Nongrum	— tungan ; tungwi ; syngna , buhai
6. Khongrymai	— thania ; thani , barhai , lisi
7. Jaidkhar	— hazi ; haza , tuli ; tuia
8. Simpilian	— eli ; mayar ; josi , emi

Family (*ka-iing*) among the Khasis is the socio-economic and religious unit. Due to matrilocal residence, the structure of the Khasi families assumes a different form. The constituent members are the grandmother, her daughters and their children. But the parmanent[1] residents are the youngest daughter (*ka-khadduh*), her husband and daughters. It takes an 596

[1] [Should read: permanent.— Analyst]

13: Mukherjee E-5 (1954)1958 AR7 Khasi AR7

596 extended form more often when the children of the deceased sisters of *Ka-khadduh* reside there. This extension is on the mother's side and is affiliated through the extension of mother-child relationship.

Additional members like widower brothers or widowed sisters make the Khasi family a composite one.

In a Khasi family father, mother and her brother are very important. Father who is regard[1] as *Mynder* (stranger) or *Ushong kha* (begetter), has also the position of *Kynrad* (master) of the house (set-up by him). He is the executive head and the mother is the *dejure* owner of the household.

177 178 604 593 [428] Modern conditions and spread of Christianity have greatly affected the Khasi society and changed the Khasi ways of life but have failed to alter the traditional mode of inheritance even among the Christian Khasis. Another important fact which is apparent in the Khasi families, is the change of the status of the mother's brother (*Uknii*) in his sister's house. His influence has greatly been diminished due to clash with *Ka-Khadduh* (heiress). He has almost lost his control over his sister's [562] family. This has made the women exert their status to a danger point. Consequently, some amount of maladjustment in the relationship system, moral depravity and disintegration loom large in the family horizon.

596 613 Family is the core of Khasi social organization and the closeness of familial kin with the members of the sub-clan is due more to the fact that sub-clan owes its development to the family. A *Shi-K'poh* (member of sub-clan) is a secondary relative and can easily be approached for any help.

614 The functions of the above mentioned social groupings are as follows:

Clan (*Ka-Kur*)—It regulates marriage. It being a larger non-residential kin group contact between its members is infrequent. The amount of social participation needed on certain level to intensify the relationship among its members falls far short of. But nevertheless, there existed among the members

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[1] [Should read: regarded.—Analyst]

13:Mukherjee E-5 (1954)1958 AR7 Khasi AR7

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[765]

cessation of transaction of money (*kheinsbai*) during the period, compulsory social participation in marriage, household worship, and funeral ritual, and the pride for the privilege in sucession to *siem-ship* (chieftain ship) hold together the inner structure of the society in fulfilling its function.

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Family (*Ka-iing*)—The functions of family centre round the :

1. performance of basic religious rites,
2. management and inheritance of family property,
3. maintenance of social relations with the kin of *ka-k'poh* and *ka-kur*,
4. protection of familial kin.

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From the above discussions it may be inferred that the social groupings of the Khasis function in different dimensions and make the individuals aware of their duties, and obligations towards each other. In the process of socialization and enculturation of the individual they learn that the individuals, the different social groups and the community at large are inseparable.

Even from infancy a boy is infused with the idea that family comes first in regard, sub-clan second, and clan third. The kin of the family are primary relatives, and those of the sub-clan and the clan are secondary and tertiary respectively. [553] One bow and three arrows given by a father to his son in his naming ceremony (*jerkhun*) symbolise their relationships with the three social groups. With the first arrow man has to fight for *shi-iing* (members of the same family) and *shi-k'poh* (members of the same sub-clan), with the second for his *shi-kur* and with the third for the state.

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

custom. In the Amwi doloiship a widow who consents to pay the costs of her husband's funeral, provided she agrees not to re-marry, inherits half of her husband's acquired property. 428 [589]

In the Wár country the children inherit both ancestral and acquired property in equal shares, both males and females, with the exception that the youngest daughter is given something in addition to her share, although not such a large share of the property as amongst the Khasis. Amongst the Mikir-Bhois, i.e. the Mikirs who inhabit the Bhoi doloiship of the Jaintia Hills, the law of inheritance is totally different from that of the Khasis, for males succeed to all property, whether ancestral or acquired. Thus, if a man dies, leaving son, mother, wife, and daughters, the son takes all. If there are several sons, they divide. If there are no sons, the property goes to the nearest male heir. If a woman dies, leaving husband and children, the husband takes all. If the husband is dead, and there are sons and daughters, the former inherit. The great difference in the custom of inheritance between Khasis and Bhois is, as I have already pointed out, part of the evidence that these people are of different origin.

The Lynngam law of inheritance is the same as that of the Khasis. The youngest daughter obtains the largest share of the ancestral property, the remainder being divided between the remaining daughters. The sons do not get any share. The rule is also said to apply with regard to acquired property.

ADOPTION.

Both Khasis and Syntengs observe a custom known as *'rap iing* (an abbreviation for *ia rap iing*, literally, to help the house). This is practically adoption. If in a family the female members have died out, the male members of the family are allowed by custom to call (*khot*) a girl from some other family, to act as *ka'rap iing*, and to perform the family religious ceremonies, and therefore to inherit the family ancestral property. The female so introduced into the family then takes her place as *ka khun khadduh*, or youngest daughter, and becomes the head of the house (*ka trai iing*). The 597 428

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

The
597 adoption of a female obviates the family dying out (*iap duh*),
428 which to the Khasi is a very serious matter, inasmuch as there
764 will then be no one qualified to place the bones of its members within the family tomb (*ka ba thep shieng mawbah*), and to
597 perform the requisite funeral ceremonies. Amongst the Khasis no particular ceremonies are performed at the time of
262 adoption; but some of the Syntengs observe a religious cere-
782 mony which consists largely of a feast to the clans-folk, at which liquor, rice, dried fish, and ginger are partaken of. Before the feast commences, each clansman is provided with a small gourd (*u klong*) filled with liquor, a little of the latter is then thrown on the ground from the gourd, and the following words are uttered:—

"Oh, God! oh, Lord! oh, ruling king Biskurom, now the *pynrap iing* ceremony is about to be performed, let the ceremony be propitious, and let males and females (of the clan) increase in numbers, so that the clan may become great, and respected, and that intelligent male members may spring up." No such ceremony is, however, observed, it is understood, in the Nartiang and Raliang doloiships.

597 In the case of a family being *iap duh* (extinct), the family
428 property, according to Khasi custom, passes to the Siem. Therefore it is to the interest of the members of families to
421 adopt a female, when such necessity arises. As there is no religious ceremony which is compulsory to the Khasis on the occasion of an adoption, perhaps we are almost justified in concluding that in former times the adoption custom did not exist, more especially as the Khasis possess a special word, *iap duh*, for describing a family the females of which have all died out; and it is admittedly the custom for the Siem to succeed to the
177 property of such a family. The Synteng custom of *'rap iing*
797 may have been borrowed from the Hindus, when the Rajas of Jaintia became converts to that religion.

TENURE OF LAND AND LAWS REGARDING LAND.

423 Land in the Khasi Hills proper, i.e. land in the high plateau, is held somewhat differently from land in the Jaintia Hills and

Il: Chattopadhyay E-4, 5 (no date) 1941 AR7 Khasi AR7

While the traditions regarding the origin of Khar Dumpep and Khar Sohnoh collected by me do not support the view that the ancestress came necessarily from the plains, it is clear that they support Gurdon's hypothesis that those clans are derived from ancestresses who came from or settled in certain villages. It is evident that Gurdon's hypothesis implies that the husbands of these women, who brought them home from elsewhere, could clear land and transmit such property to their daughters, although the mother of the daughters did not own any land locally. This right to clear the Ri Raid is therefore not a recent innovation.

I have noted these details here as this aspect of inheritance from males has not been clarified elsewhere. It is not meant of course that this right to clear land extended to the special clan lands or family property matrilenial of the man. As noted before the Kni manages such land and makes over the income or produce to the women who are the owners. Even in such land, however, a man has some rights. Both Gurdon and Cantlie state that a male can adopt a blood relative of the same Kur if all the female members of the particular stock are dead. He himself holds the property for life only, when the women of the line are dead. On adopting a girl of the Kur, she becomes the keeper of the property and also his successor. But "the profits of his labours in the landed property can be used for his wife and children." The inherent right of the male is brought out to a certain extent in this rule also. Such private lands are known as Ri Kynti. It may be of the family or the clan. As an example of family land may be noted the case of the forest of U Nong Sohra, the husband of Ka Jem [Genealogy I(*a*)]. He cleared some Ri Raid land and planted pine trees there. Only the descendants of Ka Jem can cut trees in this forest which is now practically private property of this group. But the land is essentially Ri Raid in this sense that it cannot be alienated and when all trees have been cut away, any villager will be entitled to occupy it. The Khar Shiing Kur as a whole has true private lands near the village. If people of other clans want to cultivate

clothing, operate the large Khasi business establishments in Shillong, and provide all civic and religious leadership. Women care for children and for the home, do the marketing, and sell dried fish, betel nut, lime, fruits, and rice breads at markets. Other tasks can be performed by either sex. **Land tenure.** Land was formerly divided into sib land and public domain. Sib land was corporately held in perpetuity, and was inalienable except by the unanimous consent of all members of the sib. The public domain was subject to usufructuary right by anyone who kept the land regularly under habitation or cultivation, with a lapse of no more than three years. Most villages grew up on public domain, and then reckoned all land inhabited or under cultivation by a village member as village land. Forests were public, except for sacred groves possessed by villages or lineage groups, and everyone was free to gather branches for fuel. Wastelands and streams were also public. By now, most public domain and village land, together with its forest cover, has been pre-empted as private property and is being rented and sold as such. Sib lands *remain intact, unless* the sibs agree to rent, lease, or sell. [Cf. Cantlie 1934.]

462 294 443 622 423 [178].

KIN GROUPS. **Descent.** Descent is matrilineal, and the Khasi is a member exclusively of his own matrilineage from birth to death. Adoption, which is very rare, is only within the matrilineage. **Kin groups.** The maximal matrilineage is the sib; this is a named, widely dispersed, strictly exogamous, lineage group, which claims but cannot trace its origin from a single ancestress. Sibs used to meet as corporate groups from time to time. Some sibs are linked with others in large amorphous groups that are unnamed and are defined solely by exogamy. Such a group is composed of two or more sibs, the ancestresses of which are claimed to have been either real sisters or dear friends who out of affection declared that thenceforth their descendants would be as consanguineals. The origin and function of sib-linkage is now unknown, and today the members of a sib will often disagree on whether or not their sib is linked with another. • The minimal matrilineage is the local descent group, or *iing*. This is the largest kin group that normally rallies at life crises. It is said that the *iing* formerly spanned six generations; today, it encompasses only four. If an *iing* grows to more than four generations in a single village, it segments. New houses are located at some distance from the old and the *iing* soon forgets exactly how to trace genealogical connection, except for which segment descended from a youngest sister. The term *iing* may also be applied to an extended family, an elementary family, and a house. The elementary family is the basic domestic unit in Khasi society. In any village there are likely to be one or two households which stand as sole local representatives of the lineage of the female household head. Such a household is known as an

611 [597] 614 602 [59]

9: Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 AR7 Khasi AR7

782 spirit of the dead, so that it may come in the capacity of a 'Ksuid', or demon, to cause pain and calamity to the family. This sacrifice is frequently repeated after a person's death, if his bones were deposited in a small repository; but if they are placed in a large one, the fear of his injuring the family is not so great, and the sacrifice is not so frequent, because 'la buh ka niam ka rukum', the religion and customs were observed regarding him."

Extract from the Rev. J. Pryse's Paper, p. 130.—"The reader is desired to observe that this form is always pronounced, when the person on pronouncing it is in the act of offering his thankofferings; hence it was thought necessary to give a few explanations of the movements of the speaker."

"*Thank Offering to Secure the Protection of the Goddess.*"

(The Khasia words are, "Ka jing-nguh pynskem ia ka blei"; the offering is made in order to secure the kind offices of the goddess in the future, rather than to acknowledge past kindness.)

"Attend, O Goddess, that thou mayest protect us all as a family,* that we may increase and prosper. O Goddess, we are now about to sacrifice a large cock, and a large horned goat, also a plaintain leaf, flour, baked rice, a heart, and a twig. Do thou, O Goddess, attend to us. I put up and cause to stand the offering for the purpose of appeasing thee, O Goddess.† O thou family-builder, I remove and drive away thirty demons, nine demons,‡ and Ka Tyrút Ka Smer,§ that I may prepare and set aright the intestines, that I may cut the throat of the cock, and sprinkle the blood upon the twig.‖ Away, thou Ka Tyrút ka Smer! I sweep away and remove thee, that I may open a clear road for the purpose of inquiring concerning the good and the evil. Thus it is proper that I should sacrifice a large horned goat. Attend thou, O Goddess, whilst I offer to thee a member and the backbone after I shall have laid it bare and made it ready.¶ Attend thou, whilst I observe and keep the rules and customs, and whilst I offer to thee a sacrifice in order that thou mayest give us

[601] * "All as a family", "barah shi kur", "ka kur", is generally used among the Khasis to signify all those who are related by blood.

† Whilst saying these words, the officer prepares the place, and causes the goat, etc., to stand by the place. (See Lev. xvi, 7.)

‡ The offerer, whilst saying this, throws some rice on the ground to pacify the evil spirits, and drive them away, lest they should desecrate the sacrifice and ceremonies. "Laipen ksuid kyndai ksuid"—here neither thirty nor nine should be regarded as the exact number, but both signify any number indefinitely great; much in like manner as the number one thousand was regarded by the Jews, and as that number is occasionally used in Scripture. The phrase, "kyndai ksuid", nine demons, seems to be an old phraseology, the exact meaning of which is not known at present; but "laipen ksuid", thirty demons, is the common phrase in use to signify an indefinitely great number—it means *all*.

§ The name of one of the most powerful and malignant demons.

‖ While speaking thus, the offerer kills the cock, and sprinkles the blood as described above.

¶ The offerer's hands are busily employed in preparing his sacrifice whilst he utters the above speech.

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[p. 3]

CHAPTER I

According to traditions preserved by the local people, the Iangblah clan were the first settlers in Mawphlang. The Lyngdohs were invited to come and settle as the Iangblahs wanted priests to perform proper worship for their village. Other clans came later and settled in the State. These old clans are known as Khadar Kur. Myntris are elected from the following four clans—Iangblah, Khar Shiing, Khar Hunai and Khar Sohlia. The above traditions of the origin of the settlement were furnished by the myntri U Subu Rai, his sister's husband U Alisson and others. The list of Khadar Kur furnished by the myntri is noted below :— 101 [124]

(1) Iangblah.	(2) Lyngdoh.	(3) Khar Shiing.
(4) Khar Hunai	(5) Khar Sohlia.	(6) Khar Phannap.
(7) Khar Kynnie.	(8) Khar Sahkhar.	(9) Marbaniang.
(10) Khar Narbi.	(11) Khar Mawphlang.	(12) Khar Syntiew.

The genealogy of myntri U Subu Rai, of myntri U Orong Singh and others are shown at the end of this chapter. In collecting kinship terms, three questions were asked of the informant : 125 601

(i). What is the relationship of B to the informant A (and of A to B). This is shown in the tables as the kinship term.

(ii). What the informant A called B (and conversely). This is shown in the tables as the term of address.

(iii). How the informant A referred to the relationship of B to C, another relative. This is shown as the term of reference.

Generally the terms for (i) and (iii) are the same. In a few instances a distinction was said to be made. Many people however do not observe such distinctions. In the list of kinship terms published by Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy, this distinction has not been made. While his list agrees with mine in many respects, there are important differences. He has noted certain identities in kinship terms, which I did not find, and which have not been noted also in the Census Report.

The kinship system of the Khasis has certain special features:

(a) There is a clear distinction drawn in the kinship terms, with regard to seniority and juniority in age between siblings. This distinction is also made in the generation above that of the speaker, with regard to the mother's sisters, and father's brothers and their spouses. It is also observed, with regard to the mother's brothers but not with regard to the father's sisters or the spouses, or their children. The distinction is however observed throughout in terms of address.

(b) A woman refers to her sister's children by the same term as a man to his brother's children; but a woman refers to her brother's children by a different term, which is applied also by her brother to her children.

(c) Certain kin are grouped together. The same term, for example is applied to the mother, step mother, the mother's sisters, and the wives of the brothers of the father. Similarly, the father, the step father, the father's brothers and the husbands of the mother's sisters are grouped together. In both cases, the actual father and mother are referred to by a term, to which adjectives denoting seniority and juniority are added for the other relatives. The mother's brother and the father's sister's husband have a common term. But the mother's brother is always distinguished by adding the adjective of age noting his position as elder or younger uncle. The father's sister's husband is not so distinguished. The sister of the father is clearly distinguished

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from the wife of mother's brother by a term denoting relationship through the father. The mother's brother's wife was stated by my informants in Mawphlang not to be denoted by the term "Kha" or "Knia Kha" which was applied only to the father's sister. She was merely Knia. 601

(d) A man and his wife applied to the brothers and sisters of the spouse, with one exception the same terms (with a term added to qualify) of relationship as for own brothers and sisters. This practice is extended also to the children of these relatives. The exception occurs with regard to the term used by a man towards his sister's husband, and by the latter to him. It is a single special term, the distinction extending to the term of address. In this case, the qualifying term 'even' is dropped in address and no distinction is then made between a sister and the wife's sister, or a brother and the husband's brother.

In order to appreciate the significance of features of Khasi Kinship, it is necessary to note in brief, the rules of descent, inheritance, and succession among the Khasis. An excellent summary of these have been given by Gurdon. The rules of inheritance and land tenure have been further elucidated by Cantlie and others in the work already mentioned. I shall illustrate essential points in the next chapter with reference to the genealogies included in this paper, and also note certain additional details which were observed by me. 601 611

Abbreviations used in the kinship table are those employed in an earlier paper. They are noted below :—

F—father.	M—mother.	B—brother.
S—sister.	Z—son.	D—daughter.
H—husband.	W—wife.	C—child.
e—elder.	y—younger.	e—elder.
m.s.—man speaking.	w.s.—woman speaking.	

The prefixes U and Ka have not been noted in the case of most of the kinship terms as superfluous.

60/ In the genealogies Ka before a name denotes a woman, and U, a man. Hence no special symbols have been used to distinguish sex. Abbreviations used are :—

[128]

d.—dead.	u.c.—not [illegible].	u.k.—not known.
d.y.—died young.	unm.—unmarried.	u.l.—not [illegible].

Unless the village of birth is stated to be otherwise, it is Mawphlang.

Relationship	Kinship term	Terms of address	Terms of reference
F.	U Kpa	I Kpa or Ka Kpa	— (u)
M.	U Khun.	Ka Khun.	—
D.	Ka Khun.	Ka Khun.	—
M.	I Mai.	I Mai.	Ka Ksain. (u)
M.s S.	Mai Ion.	Ka Mai Ion.	Ka Ksain Ion.
M.y S.	Mai Nah.	Ka Mai Nah.	Ka Ksain Nah.
y.S.s. (m.s.)	Khun Bain.	Ka Khun Bain.	—
o.S.Z. (m.s.)	Khun Bain.	Ka Khun Bain.	—
y.S.D. (m.s.)	"	"	—
o.S.D. (m.s.)	"	"	—
M.s B.	Ma Sanglah.	I Ma Sanglah.	U Mai (u)
M.y B.	Ma Khynnah.	I Ma Khynnah.	U Mai.
y.S.Z. (m.s.)	Pynn.	Ka Pynn.	—
o.Z.Z. (m.s.)	Pynn.	Ka Pynn.	—
y.S.D. (m.s.)	"	"	—
o.S.D. (m.s.)	"	"	—
M.s Z.W.	I Pin.	Ka Pin.	Pin.
M.s S.Z.	Pynn.	Ka Pynn.	—
M.y S.Z.	"	"	—
M.s S.D.	"	"	—
M.y S.D.	"	"	—
M.s S.W.	Pa Ion.	Ka Pa Ion	—

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Relationship.	Kinship term.	Term of address.	Term of reference.
S.D.	—	—	—
M. 2nd H.	Pa Khynnah.	Ko Pa Khynnah.	—
W. 1st H.C.	Khun Bah.	Ko Khun Bah.	—
M. 1st H.	Pa Sen.	Ko Pa Sen.	—
W. 2nd H.C.	Khun Bah.	Ko Khun Bah.	—

(a) Myntri U Subu Rai insisted on the form I Kpa and similar forms for certain relatives as noted. (Kpa—Pa).

(b) The kinship term and term of reference was not distinguished by younger informants.

(c) The kinship term and term of reference was not distinguished by younger informants. Two Christian informants gave the term Mama in place of Kai and Ranghah. It is the Bengali and Assamese term for the M.B.

(d) No distinction was made by age.

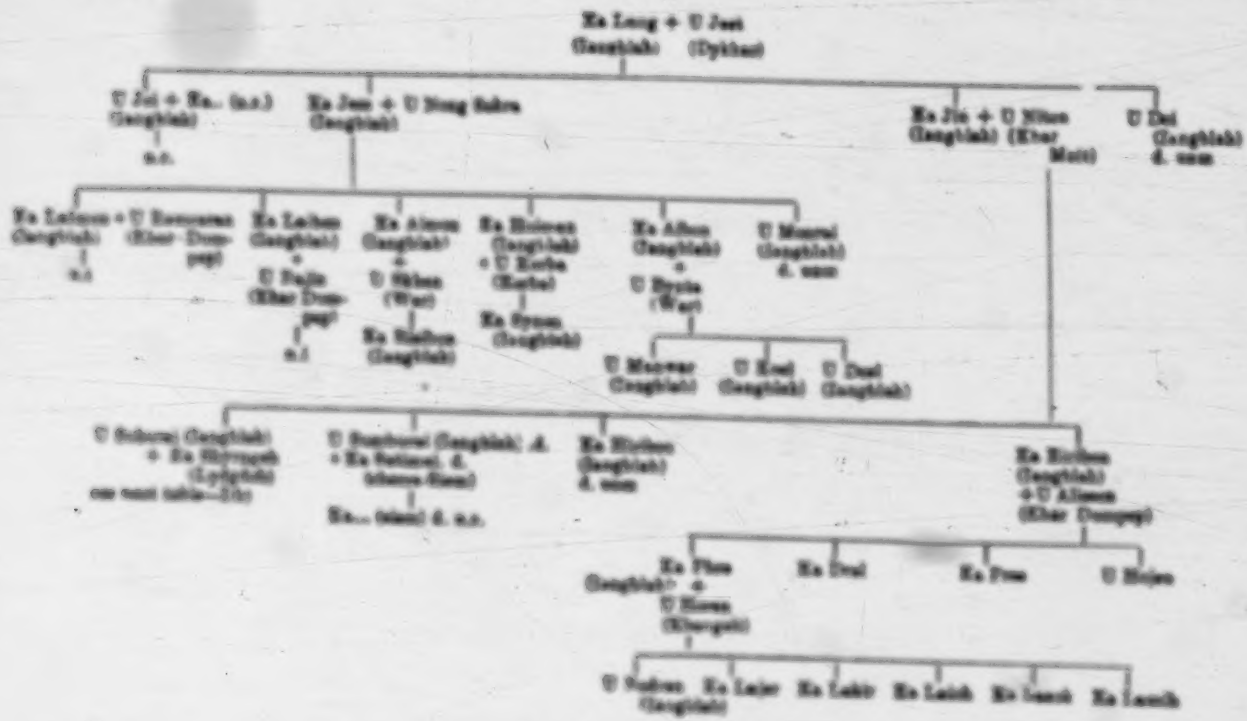
(e) No distinction by age. Younger informants said that "Kai" was also used in place of "Ma".

(f) No difference according to sex of speaker. But some of the younger informants stated Hynnam to be the kinship term in place of Bah and Kong for e.B. and e.S. and also M.S.Z. and M.S.D. if older.

(g) The older informants gave these terms. Young men and women failed to distinguish between kinship terms and those of address occasionally.

(h) The husband and wife address each other as parents of the children.

Genealogy I(a)



(a)

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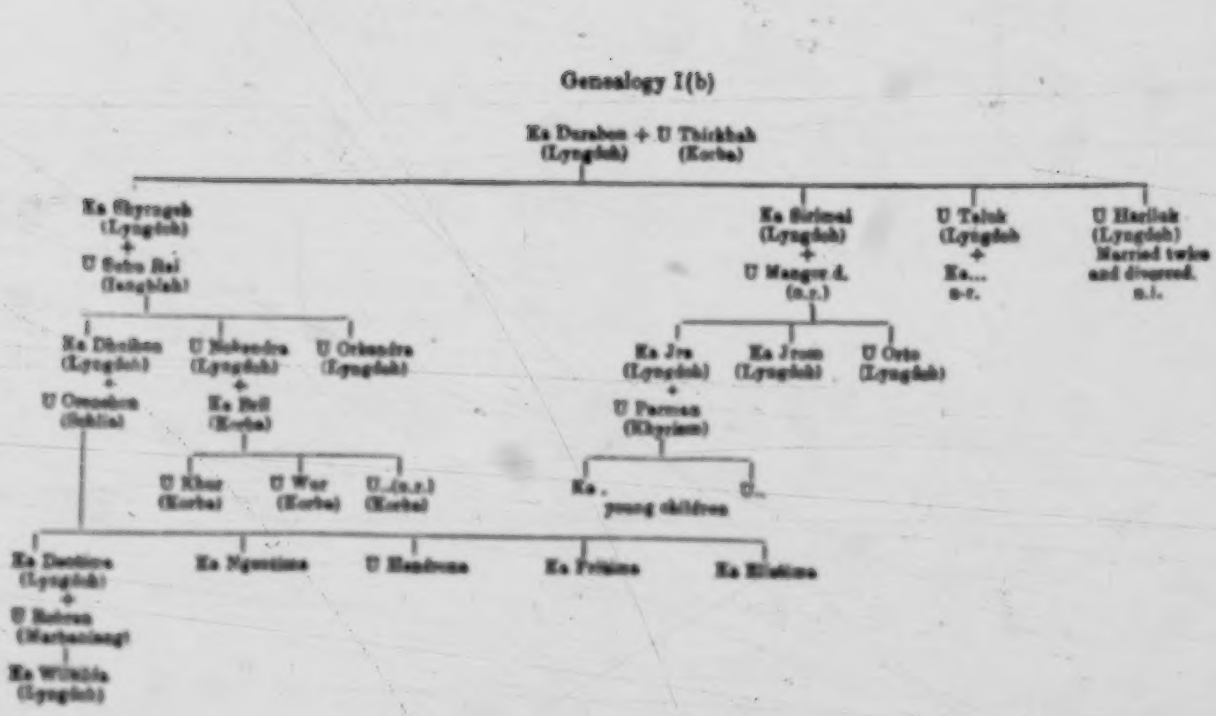
Genealogy I(b)



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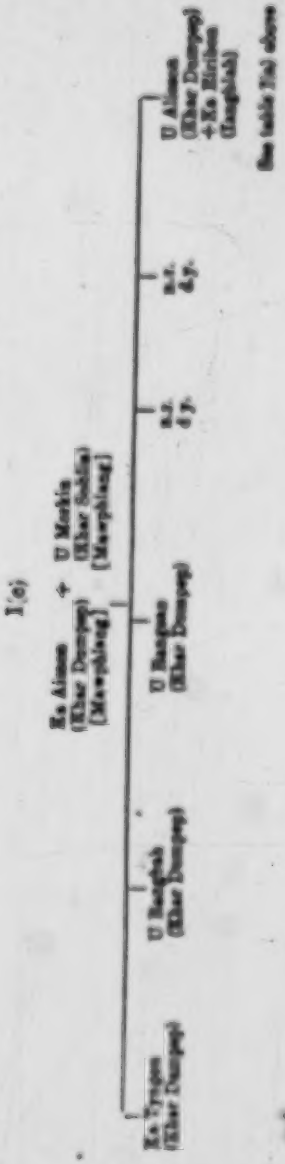
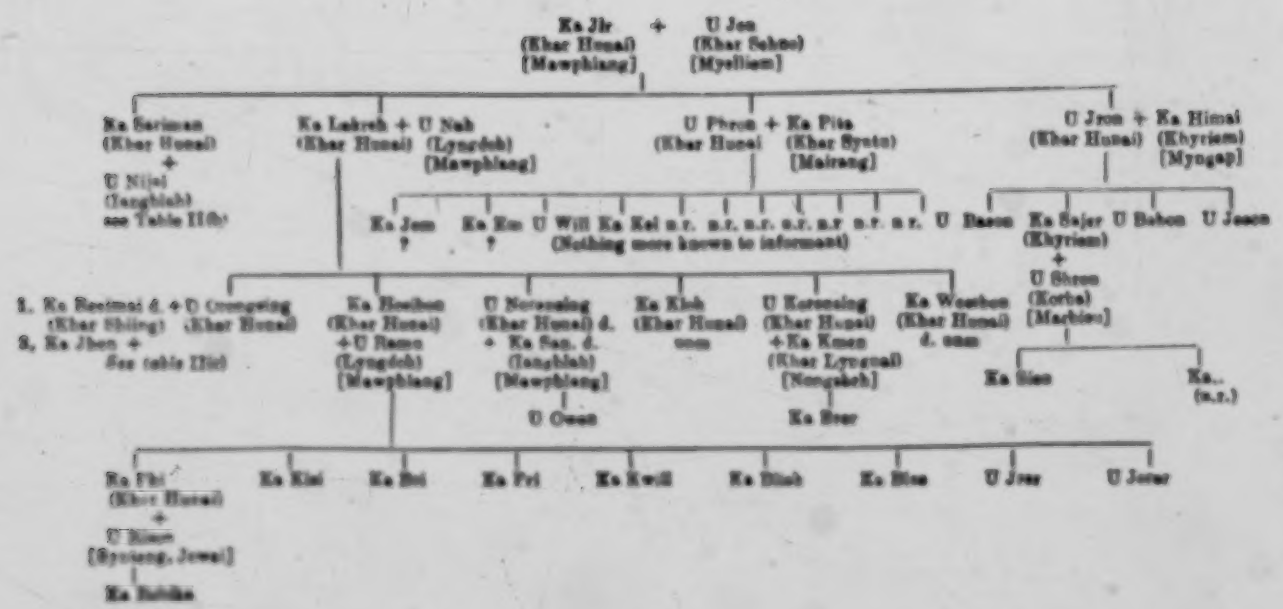
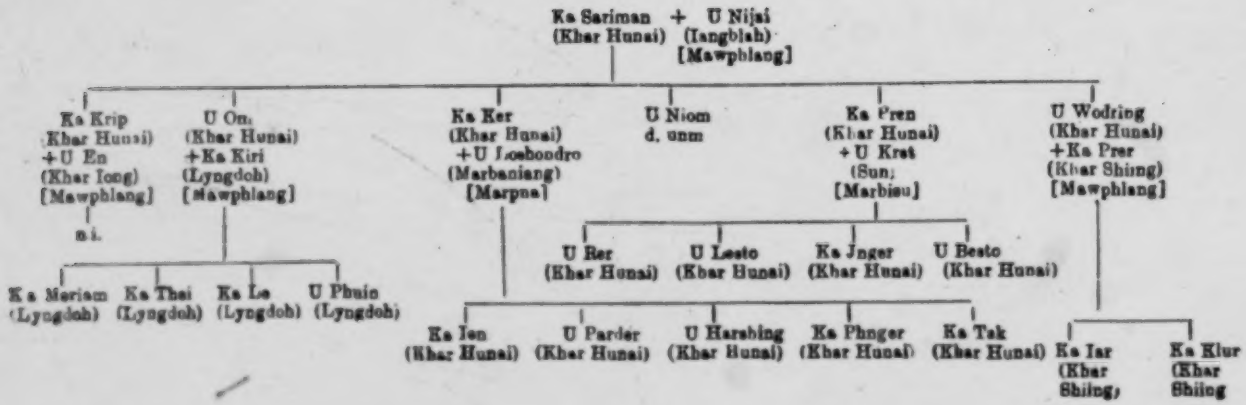

I(c)
Ka Aimon (Khar Dympep) [Mawphlang]
+
U Mawin (Khar Sohlin) [Mawphlang]
Ka Tyngon (Khar Dympep)
U Bangkah (Khar Dympep)
U Bangma (Khar Dympep)
B.S. d.y.
B.S. d.y.
U Aimon (Khar Dympep) + Ka Hirikon (Bangkah)
See table IIa) above

Ii: Chattopadhyay E-4, 5 (no date) 1941 AK7 Khasi AK7

II(a)



II(b)


Ka Sariman (Khar Hunai) + U Nijai (Iangblah) [Mawphlang]
Ka Krip (Khar Hunai) +U En (Khar Iong) [Mawphlang]
m.i.
U Om (Khar Hunai) +Ka Kiri (Lyngdoh) [Mawphlang]
Ka Meriam (Lyngdoh)
Ka Thai (Lyngdoh)
Ka Le (Lyngdoh)
U Phuin (Lyngdoh)
Ka Ker (Khar Hunai) +U Losbondro (Marbaniang) [Marpna]
U Niom d. unm
Ka Pren (Khar Hunai) +U Krat (Sun) [Marbisu]
U Wodring (Khar Hunai) +Ka Prer (Khar Shiing) [Mawphlang]
U Rer (Khar Hunai)
U Lesto (Khar Hunai)
Ka Jnger (Khar Hunai)
U Besto (Khar Hunai)
Ka Ien (Khar Hunai)
U Parder (Khar Hunai)
U Harshing (Khar Hunai)
Ka Phnger (Khar Hunai)
Ka Tak (Khar Hunai)
Ka Iar (Khar Shiing)
Ka Klur (Khar Shiing

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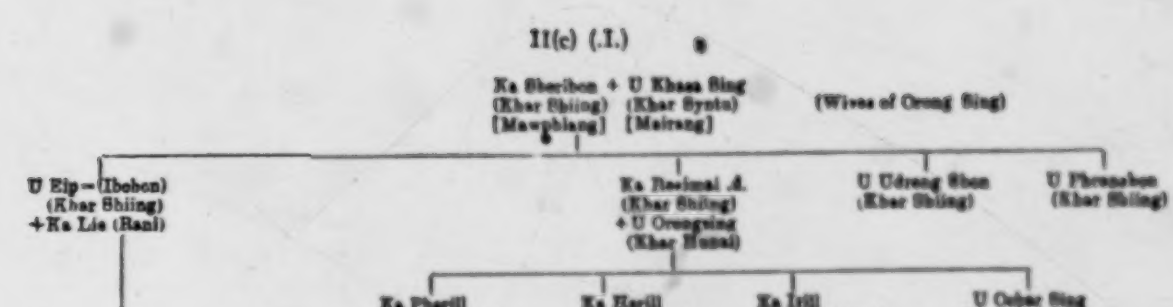
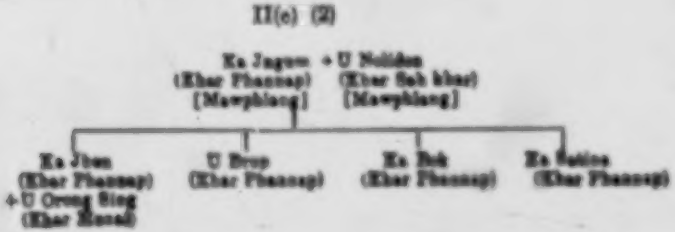
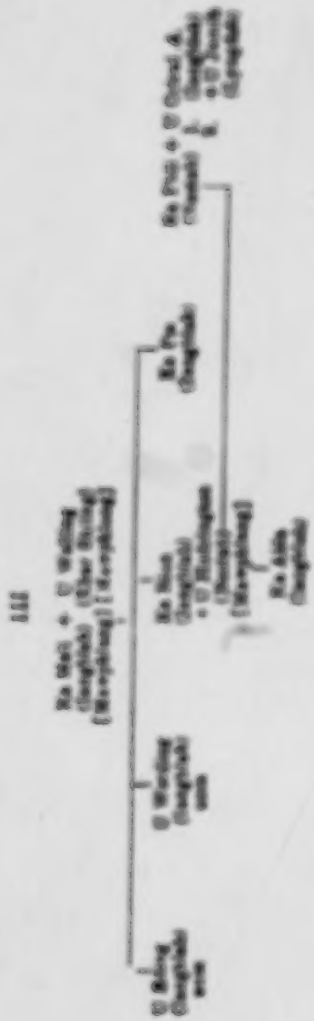
II(c) (.I.)


Ka Sheribon (Khar Shiing) [Mawphlang]
+ U Khasa Sing (Khar Synta) [Maiirang]
(Wives of Orong Sing)
U Eip – (Ibebon) (Khar Shiing) +Ka Lie (Rani)
Ka Reslnai A. (Khar Shiing) + U Orongsing (Khar Hunai)
U Udrong Shon (Khar Shiing)
U Phrenshon (Khar Shiing)
Ka Pherill (Khar Shiing)
Ka Herill (Khar Shiing)
Ka Irill (Khar Shiing)
U Ushar Sing (Khar Shiing)
Ka Erti (Rani)
U Klip (Rani)
Ka Kiti (Rani)
Ka Ini (Rani)
Ka Niti (Rani)
Ka Ili (Rani)

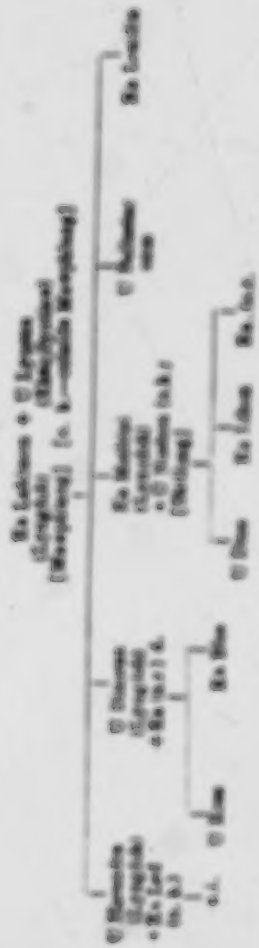
II(c) (2)


Ka Jaguw (Khar Phannap) [Mawphlang]
+ U Nolidon (Khar Sob khar) [Mawphlang]
Ka Jhon (Khar Phannap) + U Orong Sing (Khar Hunai)
U Brup (Khar Phannap)
Ka Bah (Khar Phannap)
Ka Sutiee (Khar Phannap)

601



III



IV

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removal of the bar on remarriage was also of the same kind elsewhere in the neighbouring States. Clearly, the idea of levirate or sororate is incompatible with this idea of the marriage bond continuing even after death and necessitating a ceremony to break it. It may also be noted that while the Khasis permit divorce somewhat easily, remarriage is not permitted of either party "within the family of the divorced husband or wife" (G). A Khasi cannot also marry two sisters, although he can marry irregularly, more than one woman and also the wife's sister after the decease of the wife. We can now discuss why a woman or a man refers to the brothers and sisters of the husband or wife by the kinship terms and by the spouse, qualified by a special term. When a man marries and goes to live in the house of his wife's mother, he comes in contact with unmarried sisters of the wife. But he knows that they are sexually to be avoided. He lives in the wife's mother's house only during the life time of his wife. A wife's sister is comparable to a Kur sister sexually, during this period.

But his economic relations and religious ties require that a distinction should be made between these "sisters" and the "Kur sisters." The qualifying term supplies this requirement. The woman, on the other hand, has no direct relations with her husband's brothers. She has however to keep in touch with the husband's female relatives. The bones of the husband go over to the mother's house and eventually to the clan ossuary. The husband is also a potential manager of the property of his female relatives. She has therefore to take note of the order in age of her husband's sisters. As her husband uses the terms for sisters for the sisters-in-law, it is quite natural for her to extend such usage to her husband's sisters. The brothers of the husband do not count at all so far as the woman is concerned, and she will not therefore have any special term for them. As the sisters are referred to as Para Kynsi and Hynnam Kynsi, so will the brothers of the husband be referred to by similar terms. The absence of any sexual privileges between the woman and her

[illegible] husband's brothers forms with such a terminology of kinship. [illegible] It has not however determined the terminology.

We have referred to an exception in the case of kinship terms used by a wife. The relation with his wife's brothers is quite different from that of a woman with the husband's sisters. The wife's brother is the manager of the wife's ancestral property; also the uncle has to be associated with important rites at birth and death of the children of the sister. Nevertheless, the husband has also his own position. The house that he sets up after marriage belongs to his wife as doubt; but he is the master there. As Gordon states "It is he who faces the dangers of the jungle and risks his life for wife and children. In his wife's clan he occupies a very high place, he is second to none but U Kni, the maternal uncle, while in his own family stands a father and a husband is nearer to his children and wife than U Kni. The Khasi saying is "U Kpa ulu lah ken ia, U Kni Uba tang ia ka lup ka ia" which may be translated freely as "The father bears the heat and burden of the day, the maternal uncle only comes when it is a question of life or death."

A man and his wife's brother represent the two aspects of the relationship which binds every man in Khasi society to his mother's house and to his wife's house.

Clearly, the two men, the sister's husband and the wife's brother, each have rights which are similar. Also they have close contact in many matters. Their relationship to each other is however distinct from that of brothers. Among the latter, authority depends on seniority. Between the S.H and the W.B, such a question does not arise. Each is in a position of authority, but in a different sphere. A special term is obviously

[p.28]

CHAPTER III

It is evident from the discussion in the previous chapter, that the children born in a house have to take note, as they grow up, of the seniority and juniority among the sisters of the mothers, and also of the brothers of the mother. They have however very little relation with the brothers of the father, and so have to explain why the latter are classed with the fathers. This point will be discussed here. Here we may note that the relative lack of importance of the father's sisters has resulted in her not receiving distinction by age in the table of Kinship terms; it is however followed in address. Similarly the wife of the mother's brother is also not distinguished by age.

It may however be questioned why such a distinction by age is extended to the husband of the mother's sister. As noted before, a Khasi does not set up a separate home until one or two children are born. The children who are born in the house of mother's mother, are looked after like mothers, not only by the progenitress but her sisters. While there would arise no question as to who is the actual mother, it would be normal for the children to call the mother and her sisters by the same term which would thus cover the women of that generation who live in that house. Each little child would look on mother's sister addressed as "mother" for its elements and comes. Hence, be as the young who tend to extend the term to the mother's sister from the mother. Under such circumstances, the simplest mode of distinction would be to apply the term "mother" to the actual relation, and add qualifying adjectives for the sisters of the mother. The Khasis use for this purpose, quite appropriately, terms meaning seniority and juniority for women previously stated. Reciprocally, a woman uses the same terms for

her children and sister's children, using an additional term for the latter, to make the distinction clear. The mother's brother's wife, and the father's sister live elsewhere, and cannot therefore share the same kinship term with the mother. The husbands of the mother's sisters are comparable to the father, as these unions are all outsiders who have married the women of the house. The actual father "U Kpa" is the husband of the actual mother "Ka Kmie" and is clearly distinguished. The others are the husbands of the "Kmie Sun" and "Kmie Nah." Hence they are given the labels of "Kpah Sun" and "Kpa Nah" or "Kpa Khynnah." They derive their kinship terms denoting "father" through their wives who are called mothers by the children—not through any sexual rights on the wife's sisters. Such sexual rights, as noted before, have no existence. Hodson is not justified in ascribing this identity of kinship terms to alleged marriage rules and sexual rights which were operative in a hypothetical earlier type of Khasi society.

The mother's brother is important to the Khasi child, and has a special name, Wa, with an adjective such as Rongbah to indicate his position among his brothers. His relation with his sister's children is different from that of the mother's sister's husbands. It is more or less formal and ceremonial. A similar relative, on the father's side of the family, is the father's sister, though her position is not so important. Nevertheless, the two relatives are comparable. The mother's brother is in charge of the management of the mother's ancestral property and helps in performing important social ceremonies for the group. The father's sister is the repository of the lores of the father's family; in her is vested the preservation of the family religious traditions. Both these relatives live in [illegible] and are, in a sense, of other households. Each of them was born in the natal house of one of the parents. They are therefore clearly distinguished from the father, the mother, the sisters of the mother and their husbands. But a common term, allowing

for difference in sex, is applied to both. The corresponding uncle and aunt by marriage are referred to by terms which make this clear. The husband of the father's sister is a "Ma" like the mother's brother and is also referred to as "Kni." But as his position by age is unimportant, the adjective of position is lacking in his case. Similarly the mother's brother's wife and the father's sister have a common term "Nia"; but the latter has her relationship through the father clearly indicated by the additional term "Kha" which refers to kinship through a male. The mother's brother's wife is, on the contrary, an aunt by marriage. The husband of the father's sister derives his term through his wife; and the wife of the mother's brother, through her husband. The identities M.B. = F.S.H. and M.B.W. = F.S. are therefore derived indirectly and are not original. Hodson's hypothesis that they represent actual identity of kin-ship in an earlier dual society therefore turns out to be unsound.

Reciprocally, a man refers to his sister's children by a term which is different from that for his own children. A woman also refers to her brother's children by this term which is different from that used for her own or her sister's children. As indicated, the M.B. as well as the F.S. are both on a parallel footing, and are practically labelled together, allowing for differences of sex.

We may say that there are, in Khasi society, two clearly recognized units. One of these is the house and household, where the men and women have been born. Inside this house group, the sisters have similar rights, actual as well as potential. As we have seen, on the death of one sister, another sister takes her place in continuing the female line, another sister takes her place in continuing the traditional religious entity of the group. The brothers again, among themselves, take one another's place in succession, in the matter of authority, and of management of the family property. The other unit is that of the woman, her husband and the children. We may refer to it as the unit set up by marriage.

among Khasis. Even the Garos whom he cites apparently as representing a type of social organization which the Khasis had earlier, do not encourage marriage with the father's sister's daughter. There is also no evidence that a Khasi ever married his mother's brother's widow. As I have shown earlier, the marriage prohibitions regarding cross-cousins can be explained on the basis of existing social and economic forces in Khasi society. The rule regarding exclusion of the F.B.Z.Z merely states that a woman cannot marry the son of her pure Kha. It is not a new prohibition.

We may now state the reasons why a Khasi calls his father's brothers by the same term as father, and the wives of these uncles, as mother, using of course a qualifying term for seniority and juniority. As noted before, a Khasi boy or girl calls his mother's sister's children brothers and sisters. He avoids them strictly in marriage. They are not like cross-cousins, marriageable under certain circumstances. Any sexual approach towards them would have led in the old days to exile and also excommunication. The children of the father's brother are similarly excluded from the category of marriageable persons. They are like brothers and sisters, and as such are addressed as Bah, Bay and Kong. They are referred to as Pure Kha. As Rivers observes, the term Pure conveys, when used as a prefix, the idea of having common rights or status. It also means, when used by itself, a younger brother or sister. The term Kha refers to relation (by birth) through a male. It is used for example in the combination Bah Kha, which denotes both relations of cross-cousins, the children of the mother's brother, as well as the father's sister. A Khasi man (and) woman has literally another set of parallel cousins who are sexually tabooed. Their parents are given terms denoting the father and mother, with certain modifications. As the children of the father's sisters are also sexually tabooed, it would be natural to extend to them the terms used for the parents of the other group of non-marriageable cousins.

The close connection between the social structure of the Khasis and their kinship terms, is evidenced also in the case of the other relations, by marriage. For a woman, the husband of the daughter is a son of another household, and is referred to by the term Pyrsa, used for persons of the generation below the speaker when they are of another house-unit. Her husband also follows the same rule. The son-in-law is not the son of one who is the potential successor of the speaker, in the natal house. But a distinction is necessary between the Pyrsa who is a nephew, and the son-in-law. This is furnished by the qualifying term Kurim. For the same reason, the son's wife also gets the kinship term Pyrsa Kurim. We may expect that the reciprocal kinship terms, for the mother-in-law at least, looking at the matter from the house-unit view, will be denoted by a general term of this type. This general term ought to be applicable, with qualifications, to the reciprocal woman relative of the children who are termed Pyrsa, *i.e.*, to the father's sister, and mother's brother's wife. But the terms ordinarily used across the relationship between the houses of these nephews and nieces and their aunts noted above. The terms Kaia or Nia, and Kia have come from the relationship between the houses. This aspect of these terms has been discussed in an earlier chapter. Obviously an expression like Kaia Kurim would not emphasise the fact that the mother-in-law was a woman of another household. The term Syngkon is however used to denote the mother's brother's wife alternatively, and we find that the term Syngkon Kurim is also used for a mother-in-law. Although the father's sister and the mother's brother's wife have certain common aspects, we note that only a woman related by marriage with a male relative of the *previous generation* is referred to by the term Syngkon. Thus the wife of the father's brother is occasionally referred to as Syngkon, apparently when she is not being thought of as the mother of a pure Kia. The father's sister is naturally not termed Syngkon. The usage is therefore comparable to the employment of the terms Pyrsa and

Pyrsa Kurim, for the reciprocal relations. Normally, however, the mother-in-law is referred to by a separate special term which does not stress this aspect of the relation between the two persons.

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IV. THE PLACE OF THE KHASI IN THE WORLD.

By

David Roy

(51) The Khasi country lies in the hills of the province of Assam in North East India. Khasi clans are exogamous and matrilineal, and the Khasis speak a MonKhmer language.

(52) In speaking of the place of the Khasi in the world I intend to explain the Khasi's own view of his relation to other peoples of the world.*

(53) The Khasi is very conscious of his importance. He says a Khasi claims to be the centre of the world. The Khasi has acquired such a feeling of self-importance from his great confidence in himself; and this confidence he has derived from the position in which his relationship-terminology represents him as standing with respect to himself and the world around him. Or, rather, his relationship terms and language are an expression of his attitude and notions.

(60) The Khasi says—*Ka Kmain* (mother)

U Khun (son) — *Ka Kmain* (mother)

Which too—Ka mother

Himself (male) — His sister (female)

He calls this the family. Then he says—

Ka Kmain Kha (Father's mother)

U Epa Kha (Father, Father's brother) (male) — *Ka Pia Kha* Father Father's sister (female)

[114] The writer of this is certainly in himself a Khasi (Christian).

14:Roy 1-5 (no date) 1938 AR7 Khasi AR7

He calls this the world. So a Khasi places his family on one side :— 601

Ka Kmie	*U Khaw*	*Ka Kmie*
(Mother)	(Son)	(Mother)

which consists of his mother, himself, his sister, and, the world on the other side :—

Ka Kmie Kha	*U Kpa,*	*Ka Pia Kha*
(His father's mother)	*U Kpa Kha* (Father, brother)	(His father's sister)

But he places himself again between that family and that world, and claims again :—

Ka Pia Kha	*U Khaw Kha*	*Ka Bokha*
(Father's sister.)	(Father's son) (Himself)	(Father's sister's daughter)

Then he brings in nearer to himself and claims again :—

Ka Kmie Kha Ka	*u*	*Ka Pawa Kha*
(Father's mother)	(u Khaw Kha) (Himself, Father's son.)	(Father's brother's daughter.)

Thus in the family—he stands between the mother and his sister ;—and outside in the world—His father—stands between his (the father's) mother and his (the father's) sister.

Thus in the world the Khasi stands between his mother and his sister, and between his father's mother and father's sister. 602

This happens when on the death of his uncle he stands between, and on behalf of, his sister and mother; and, on the death of his father, he stands between, and on behalf of, his father's sister and his father's sister's daughter.

On the death of his father's younger or elder brother he stands between, and, on behalf of, his father's mother and his father's brother's daughter.

14:Ray 1-5 (no date) 1938 ART Khasi ART

human beings all over the four quarters of the globe (*shi eniah ka pyrshat*) with whom, in the world, he can give in marriage and take in marriage, shows the nature which is believed to be innate in the Khasi, and his supposed power of moulding the world. His nature is to grow and to resist, to extend and spread out. It is against his idea of life to remain narrow or limited and concentrated. He is not to be made small or made an orphan, it will not do for him and his idea of the world to 'ash ikhim khaw ka ka ki,' stay without kind and species, without child, without home. A couple would even seek to separate if there are no children of the union. His idea is, so to say, 'imperialistic,' to new and spread-out. As I wrote elsewhere, "A Khasi marries men and women of all races; to his Khasi parent the issue are all one and the same without any distinction of caste or creed or colour or possessions. The children are the 'khun kha' (khun = child, kha = born, i.e. children who are born through the union of a descendant of the parent with a descendant of another parent), and these children are unified into families and are assimilated, in the Khasi idea of life, while these groups of families are bound to their mother and are made to revolve on this matriarch as the pivot of their existence."

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[illegible]
[596]
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Thus the Khasi shows :—

One one side = mother

| Son = mother

which is, = mother

| the son of such a son = his kinswomen

On the other side she he shows = mother

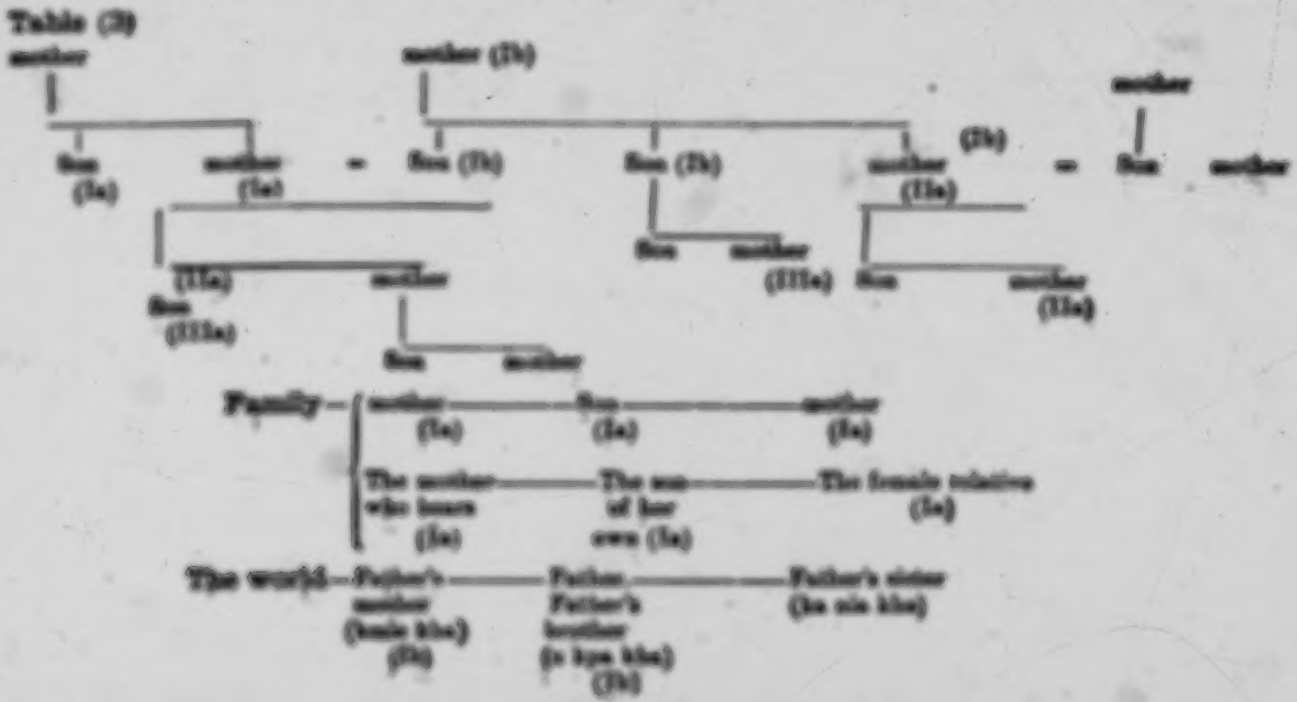
| Son = mother

which is = Father's mother

| the son of whom his kinswomen

[illegible]

In their midst the Khasi places himself always as the son of the world, thus—



14: Roy 1-5 (no date) 1938 AR7 Khasi AR7

For the species to increase and continue he says, Here—

The mother to bear and give birth—	—	The son of others	The sent *ka nin kha* (father's sister)	Ia Ib

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For the house to continue and the world to remain he says, Here—

The sent *ka nin kha* (father's sister)	—	The son *u khun kha* (son of brother of *ka nin kha*)	The cousin *ka hokha* (daughter of *ka nin kha*) father's sister)	Ib IIa

For the person (species) to crystalise, and the stairs (rysing) to remain he says, Here—

Father's mother (*ka kmie kha*) —	The son *u khun kha* (son of brother of *ka nin kha*, who is grandson of *ka kmie kha* (father's mother)	The cousin *ka pawa kha* (daughter of father's brother)	Ib IIIa

The Khasi knows the 'sang' (sacra, sacred, that which is forbidden as sacred). He has experimented and therefore he says *ka sang iap* (lit., that which is 'sacred' or forbidden or taboo unto death) in the case of those who committed incest in the same *jaid*, kind, species, that is, those of the *a* group. It is sacrilege. There is no greater punishment than for this sin,—a punishment so severe that the Khasi will not permit the bones of these transgressors to enter the family *saiw*. Similarly they regard as an act of sacrilege for children of brothers (*shi pawa kha*) to inter-marry. Thus the Khasi regards as 'sacred', that is, forbidden or tabooed, for those who are sprung of or connected through the same womb, and for those who are generated of and are suspended from or strung to one umbilical cord in origin, to marry. That is they regard as *sang* for the *a+b* man—woman group to marry the *b* son. [see Tables (1) & (2)].

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14:Roy I-5 (no date) 1938 AR7 Khasi AR7

the husband. Whichever side is *jem ka ruiang* 592
(*lit.* whose person is less strong, less able to resist the evil) will suffer death. The word *ruiang* means more than literally 'fortune.' The word *ruiang* goes with *rngiew* and the two are coupled together as *ka Rngiew ka Ruiang*. *Rngiew* is the person, the man's 'ama'. '*Ruiang*' is the encircling power produced by that person, hence *jem ka ruiang* means the power encircling the man's person becoming easy of being conquered or subdued. (*Jem* = easy, pliable.)

In a word, the Khasi's idea of himself is that he 156
stands in the middle of the world. We do not 601
find terms in the languages of peoples with the family system to express varieties of relationship to the extent that we have in the Khasi vocabulary. Some of the other languages content themselves with terms for father, mother, uncle, aunt, cousin. They have no words to differentiate the classificatory-descriptive system of terms showing relationship with mother, mother's elder and younger sisters (*mai*, *mai sem*, *mai nah*); father and his elder and younger brothers (*kpa*, *kpa sem*, *kap nah*) and father's brother's children (*para kha*), father's mother (*mei kha*), mother's mother (*mei rad*,) wife's brother (*kynam*), husband's brother (*kung*), and so on. We find in the Khasi sociology, departments of 156
social organization indicating the attitude towards 829
life which is peculiar to the Khasi. The terms are 601
not mere names but serve to show well-defined groups based on an idea of their special functions. As Dr. R. R. Marett says, "Exogamy, and everything 121

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

CHAPTER II

KINSHIP STRUCTURE AND ITS IMPLICATIONS IN VARIOUS FORMS OF MARRIAGE

I. KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY AS SELECTION OF SPOUSE

The Khasi social structure differs [illegible]ently from that of the Garo, and one of the important differentia[illegible] elements is revealed in their kinship terminology. The Khasi kinship terminology does not show the structural significance of the marriage rules except for the basic distinction between own matrilineal ki, *kur*, and non-matrilineal kin, *kha*; this distinction serves to enforce [illegible] exogamous rule. 601 [191]

All members of Ego's generation, including both maternal and paternal cousins, are classed as *pa-* (sibling), and those of Ego's child's generation as *khun*. In these two important generations, the generation principle is the basic pattern in terms of marriage. Cutting across this principle, distinctions of [illegible] (*ka* for female, *u* for male) and order of birth (old or first, young, youngest, sometimes middle is added) are to be found. For instance, *ka-para-kur* is mother's sister's daughter, *u-para-kha* is father's brother's (or sister's) son. Wife is *ka-lok*, and husband, *u-lok*. The youngest daughter is *ka-khun-khadduh*.[1]

Though the terminology of Ego's and child's generations follows the generation principle, the matrilineal structure is reflected in the following points apart from the distinction between *kur* and *kha*. 1) In the child's generation (*khun*), the matrilineal nephew and niece are termed *pyrsa* as well as *khun*, signifying the sociologically closest members of the child's generation. 2) *Kni* is the most important kinship term among the Khasi; it designates the head (and potential head) of the descent group, i.e. the mother's brother. The mother's mother's brother is also termed *kni*, just like among the Naga the [191]

1. For further instances, see U. R. Ehrenfels, [illegible]

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR? Khasi AR?

601 [171] term *mama* for mother's brother designates as well mother's mother's brother. 3) Terms for mother's sister *(kmie)* and father's sister *(kia)* are different; and, needless to say, father's brother is called *kpa*, not *kki*. 4) Mother's mother *(mawad)* is differentiated from father's mother *(mukha)*, though the grandfathers on both sides are termed *pawad*.

582 601 [171] As regards cross-cousin marriage, which, as we have seen, was an essential part of Garo social structure, the Khasi have no institutional arrangements. The cross-cousin distinction is indeed found in the Khasi kinship terminology. Among those who are called *pawa* (sibling), an additional term is applied to cross-cousins (both matrilateral and patrilateral). They are called *bakha*. However, this additional cross-cousin term should not be considered as indicating a preference for cross-cousin marriage. This is structurally different from that of the Iroquois type discussed in terms of Garo kinship terminology, in which a preferred cross-cousin marriage is involved. The term *pawa* (sibling) is more often used for them than *bakha*.[1] Actually, among the Khasi there is no preference for cross-cousin marriage; indeed there are even indications to the contrary, in that marriage with the mother's brother's daughter is not allowed during the life-time of the maternal uncle. In the same way, marriage with the father's sister's daughter is not allowed during the life-time of the father.

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582 In fact, the Khasi have numerous prohibitions of marriages between near kin on both paternal as well as maternal sides. The first and second parallel cousins are avoided. Those related to father within three generations are avoided. Within such a framework of marriage prohibitions, the use of a special additional term for cross-cousins is an indication of marriageable relations within the framework of prohibition. This should not be considered to indicate a marriageable member in an active sense or a preference for cross-cousin marriage.

However, such marriages do sometimes appear in my census, for example, a man may have married a woman who is the sister of his brother's wife, or of his sister's husband. Thus sometimes between two descent groups there are more than two exchanges of men. But such relations are temporary and would terminate after one or two generations. There is no structural continuity. My censuses of four Khasi villages do show some tendency to marriages between two specific *kur*, but I consider this to be largely accidental. When the choice of an individual is random, but one or two *kur* are larger than the others, it will naturally follow that there will be a high frequency

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1. Such use of the dual terminology is also found among the Ruri and the Trobriand, (see the discussion, in pp. 154-155).

ring from the time it consists of an elementary family until it grows to a local descent group four generations deep. (Cf. Chattopadhyay 1961.) Kin terminology. The terms of address given below are also terms of reference except where otherwise indicated, and are uniform for male and female speakers. They were collected in an upland Khasi village near Shillong (cf. Chowdhri 1961 for some regional variants).

Fa	pa
Mo	mai
FaElBr	papan
FaYoBr	pahlyneuh
FaSi	bha
Fa youngest Si	khadduh
MoElSi	mawan
MoYoSi	mawiah
Mo youngest Si	mawiduh
MoElBr	mama, lou
MoYoBr	kah (rel. lou)
ElBr	kah blynneuh
Elder Si	kong kah
YoSi	kah dong
Youngest Si	kah duh
ElSi	dong
Elder Si	kah kong
YoSi	kah nah, kah ra
Youngest Si	khadduh
MoSiSo, MoSiDa	para rel. para or lomar
FaBrSo, FaBrDa	para rel. paradhar
MoBrSo, MoBrDa, FaSiSo, FaSiDa	kaHar

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY. Made, according to the traditional courting pattern, a group of young male relatives and female male aghly visits to the house of some young girl in another village, appearing her through hagiro while she and her parents appraised them, and staying the night to avoid the dark walk home. Marriage was according to the wishes of the parents after negotiation by a go-between from the boy's side. Girls might be 15 and boys 17 years of age. Girls have now acquired freedom of movement through attending school, however. Premarital sexual play is common, and young people choose their own spouses when the girl is about 18 and the boy 21. The most common mode of marriage is elopement for Christians and non-Christians alike but some Christians marry in church and some Khasis still marry according to the traditional ceremony or some variation on it. There are no preferred or prescribed marriage types, nor is there a bride price or dowry. Form. Monogamy is the ideal for all. Extension of incest taboos. Sibs are exogamous. Other prohibited marriage partners are real and classificatory FaSi and FaSi FaBrCh, FaSiSo, and FaSiSoSo. The MoBrSi is also prohibited. Any

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Khasi Kinship Terms in four Dialects

By [illegible]

Contents

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II. The List of the Kinship Terms
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I. Introductory Remarks

Professor [illegible] (Calcutta University) published in [illegible] an analysis of Khasi kinship terms[1] based on eight genealogies which he collected in the Nongstoin area, about seven miles south-west of Shillong.[2] He discussed in this paper a previous publication by Professor Hutton[3] where special features of certain Khasi kinship terms are held to prove the pre-existence of a dual system in a one-time Khasi social order and he quotes also the late Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy's work on Khasi kinship[4] and lists of Eastern relationship terms, contained in "Census of India Reports"[5] and Khasi terms in U Nonna Sawait's "Khasi-English Dictionary"[6], P. R. T. Gurdon's monograph on the Khasi[7] and in Sir Roper Lethbridge's "Notes on Khasi Law"[8]. Discussing these previously published papers, Chattopadhyay arrives at the conclusion that Hutton's hypothesis of a dual organisation in a hypothetical former Khasi society was not justified[9].

The present paper, however, does not enter into discussion of this

[1] Chattopadhyay (1953).
[2] Ibid., p. 1.
[3] Hutton (1921).
[4] Roy (1921).
[5] McCracken (1931), pp. 74-75. The Census Report of 1951, quoted by Chattopadhyay (1953), p. 1, is not available to us at the time of writing.
[6] Nonna Sawait (1956).
[7] Gurdon (1914).
[8] Lethbridge (1939).
[9] Chattopadhyay (1953), pp. 97, 98.

Ai: Khwadala E-4,5 (1950) 1951 AR? Khasi AR?

question and mind has been compiled without knowledge of Professor Carrithers's work, and believe he very kindly sent a private copy of this work, which had not been available to me previously.

The present paper offers data on the following subjects:

1. Khasi kinship terms from the Khwdai Khasi plateau-area in the Khynriam State, about 20 to 30 miles south-east of Shillong, which are in some minor details different from the Mawphlang data, collected by Carrithers, south-west of Shillong;
2. Comparative data from the War-Khasi;
3. from the plateau-area of Jowai in the Jaintia* Hills, and
4. from the War-Jaintia;
5. Aspects of the Khasi kinship terms, with special reference to the matrilineal order of society, and to the respective position of women and men there, especially the particular consideration which the biological relationship through the father receives in kinship terminology, in spite of the emphasis on the matrilineal structure in Khasi society (comp. term No. 1 of the list and its discussion in para. 16 of the present paper, on p. 406).

The data were collected in field researches to which I was enabled by two Research Grants for comparative studies in matrilineal civilizations of India, given by the Viking Fund Inc. (now: Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research) in New York, during the periods 1949-50 and 1951-52. My gratitude to the foundation for enabling me to carry out these field researches, as well as to the University of Madras, for granting me leave for the same purpose, is here once more recorded.

My research programme was based on the first tentative working hypotheses, laid down in my book "Mother-right in India"[1], but includes also various other aspects of study which have not been pre-planned, or even considered there[2], as for instance also the present comparative study of kinship terms in areas of four Khasi dialects and their special significance to the Khasi matrilineal social system. The material was collected during a five weeks house-to-house study in the recently founded Plateau Khasi village Raw Syn Jri, during April and May 1950. This village consisted mostly of houses, owned by Khasi elder sisters and inhabited by them, with their families, after they had left the ancestral home in the main village Khawang, about one mile across the valley on the western side of the new settlement. The ancestral family houses there were in the possession of either the mother, or, if she was no more alive, the youngest daughter of the family, the *ka khon khadduh*[3].

* Jaintia, (Pnar or "Syntong") are the Khasi speaking eastern neighbours of the Khasi proper. As among the Khasi, so also among Jaintia the people in the cool plateau highlands are in many ways different from those who settled in the lowland tropical rainforests of the southern slopes, now situated just north of the East Pakistan frontier — the so-called War-country, where economy is mainly based on jum-leaf gardening.

[1] Eberhard (1951).

[2] Eberhard (1950-A), (1950-B), (1950-C), (1950-D), (1950-E), (1951-A), (1951-B).

[3] Gurdon (1914), pp. 69, seq., Carrithers (1950), p. 10.

21: Khrenfels E-4,5 (1950) 1953 AR7 Khasi AR7

my informants at Pada), in the year 1931, is said to have begun the cultivation of yam (*shrie*) and millets (*kwe*) in the then uncultivated slopes. He and his people used to be, on this account, ridiculed as monkeys (*shrieh*). The Nonglamin clan took later to pan-leaf-, and arecanut-cultivation and became one of the richest landowners of the Wár-country. Others followed and imitated them. This clan (*kur*) is now residing at Nongtalang, about ten miles east of Pada in the Wár-Jaintia slopes.

This possibility of a comparatively recent origin of the now economically independent Wár-groups among the Khasi speaking peoples is of importance to the question of some different terms in kinship terminology which the following lists will show.

Comments on other features in the relationship terminology, bearing on sociological or historical problems of either among the four Khasi speaking groups under discussion, are being hinted at in the text of the lists itself and further discussed in Part Three of the present paper, following the lists of kinship terms.

B. The Use of the Kinship Terms

(a is the definite article masc. gen.; ka — the definite article fem. gen. Both are prefixed to proper nouns and then assume the meaning and function of the English Mr. and Mrs. (or Miss) respectively.)

No.	English	Palawan Kinsmen	Wife Kinsmen	Husband Kinsmen	Wife Relatives
1.	To give birth or beget:	Sha (masc.) (pag-Sha)	Sha	Sha	Sha
1.a.	To give birth to a girl:	Sha kyaiber	Sha kyaiber	Sha kyaiber	Sha kyaiber (kyaiber)
1.b.	To give birth to a boy:	Sha shyawey	Sha shyawey	Sha shyawey	Sha kyaw (yawey)
1.c.	To give birth twice:	Sha syawji	Sha kyawji	Sha syawji (or: swaji)	Sha kaji
2.	Child:	Shyawit (with a and ka respectively)	Shaw (or: Shawkaw) (a and ka)	Shya ka (with a and ka)	Kwaka (with a and ka)
2.a.	Childhood:	Ka yaphaw Shawkaw	Ka yaphaw Shawkaw	Ka yaphyawit	Ka kwakaw
3.	Puberty of a girl or boy:	ahing sawin (or: Shyawit)	pra sawin	ahing khyiket	Shyawey dawa
3.a.	Marriageable girl:	Ka sawin (or: Shyawit)	Ka sawin (or: Shyawit)	Ka khyiket	Ka dawa
3.b.	Marriageable man:	a sawin (or: Shyawit)	a sawin (or: Shyawit)	a Shyaw	a dawa
4.	Women:	Ka (or: Ka kyaiber)	Ka (or: Ka kyaiber)	Ka kyaiber	Kaka (kyaiber-wayiber)
5.	Man:	a (or: a shyawit)	a (or: a shyawit)	a (or: a shyawey)	a (or: a kyaw-wayiber)
6.	Article of respect: a (masc.) or ka (fem.)	Ka both mean in a term of distinction: used as honorific prefix. Not has a contemptuous meaning in the plurals shown.			
	Parents:				
7.	Mother:	i ma (addressing); Pam (referring)	i ma; — Ama	Ka ka	Ka ma
8.	Father:	i pa (addressing); Apa (referring)	i pa; — Apa	a pa; pawa	a pa
9.	Siblings and maternal cousins:	pawa (referring only)	pawa	pawa	pawa
9.a.	"Brothers"; as in the phrase:	pawa ka — "Brothers Will (inclusive)" pawa kwaka — "Children Brothers"	— (?)	— (?)	— (?)

No.	English	Pitawa Ghwai	Wla Ghwai	Pala (Gawdat)	Wla Gawdat
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

No.	English	Pawaia Khasi	Wai Khasi	Pale (Jaintia)	Wiu (Jaintia)
	Grandparents				
(1)	Mother's mother	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
(1)(a)	Mother's father	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
(1)(b)	Father's mother	[illegible]*	[illegible]*	[illegible]	[illegible]
(1)(c)	Father's father	[illegible] (or [illegible])*	[illegible], [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
(2)	Mother's sisters (and female cousins)	[illegible] ([illegible])	(?)	(?)	(?)
(2)(a)	Mother's elder sister	[illegible] (or [illegible] — [illegible])	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
(2)(b)	Mother's younger sister	[illegible] ([illegible]) ([illegible] — younger)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
(3)	Mother's brothers (and male cousins)	[illegible] ([illegible])	(?) [illegible] is not used, but understood by "[illegible] or wife's father" used. [illegible] is [illegible]		
(3)(a)	Mother's elder brother	[illegible] (or [illegible]) [illegible]	[illegible] (?) [illegible] [illegible]	[illegible] ([illegible]); [illegible] ([illegible])	[illegible]
(3)(b)	Mother's younger brother	[illegible] (or [illegible]) [illegible]	[illegible] (?)	[illegible] ([illegible])	[illegible], [illegible]
(4)	Father's sisters (or wife's)	[illegible] [illegible]	[illegible] ([illegible]; [illegible] or [illegible]); [illegible] ([illegible])	[illegible]; [illegible]	[illegible]; [illegible] or [illegible]; [illegible]* [illegible]*
(4)(a)	Father's brothers and wives	[illegible] [illegible]* ([illegible])	(?)	(?)	(?)
(4)(b)	Father's elder brother	[illegible] [illegible]	[illegible] [illegible] or [illegible]* [illegible]	[illegible] [illegible]	[illegible] [illegible]
(4)(c)	Father's younger brother	[illegible] [illegible]	[illegible] ([illegible] or [illegible]) [illegible] or [illegible] [illegible]	[illegible] [illegible]	[illegible] [illegible]

* [illegible] refers to the general sense of relationship.
* [illegible] — indicates [illegible] will respect among Pale (and Wai Khasi like [illegible] among Khasi).
* [illegible] — indicates [illegible] ([illegible]) among Wiu (Jaintia), like the [illegible] among Khasi.

Table 11.1

No.	English	Pakaan Khasi	Wife Khasi	Pale (Jaintia)	Wife Jaintia
	Brother's in-laws				
11.	Brother's sister's husband	elder: jia sou; younger: jia thymmaiñ	ego jia (elder and younger)	elder: jia lum; younger: jia shuk	jia (only a — jiaw, young shuk, kindly ego)
11.a	Brother's brother's wife	Kha (elder and younger)	Kha (elder and younger)	Kha	ia
	Sister's in-laws				
11.	Sister's sister's husband	pulitu; siddiaw: sou, sou-sou, ri	bah	sister	sister sem
11.a	Sister's brother's wife	Nong ior: Kup (jaw) ion, ior: dwi (wife)	ala	sarkuli	sarkuli (only a — jiaw, young shuk, kindly ego)
12.	Wife's sisters and neighbours	Shiaw (only for wife ego)	—	—	—
12.a	sisters and neighbours on maternal side	jiaw ion: Shiaw ion; Ki: ingphiñ	jiaw ion Nong (only for wife ego) (elder — bah; younger — bah)	jiaw (only for wife ego) (elder — bah; younger — ka)	jiaw (elder Nong Kyr — bah; younger — ka) (only for wife ego)
12.b	sisters and neighbours on paternal side	Nong Shiaw	Nong (elder bah; younger — ka)	nong (father's sisters children: Nong wife — father's brother's children: jiaw jia)	Nong (only for wife ego) (elder: Nong Kyr bah; younger — ka)
13.	Wife maternal uncles and paternal siblings	jiaw ion (only for wife ego) jiaw — brothers, ion — uncle	—	—	—
13.a	Mother's sister's children (cousins among them — bibiaw)	jiaw ion Nong (Ki: children of two mothers)	—	—	—
13.	Wife paternal uncles and paternal half siblings	jiaw Nong jiaw — brothers; Nong — Nongkhiaj	—	—	—
13.	Cousin sisters	Nong	—	—	—
13.a	Mother's brother's child (Nong cousins with Nong paternal)	Nong (Nongkhiaj) Nong (elder — Kung (pithiaw)) Kyr's younger — Kyr (jiaw Nongkhiaj)	jiaw (all sisters, only for wife ego) jiaw Kyr (younger), (only for wife ego)	Nong wife (only for wife ego) —	(all sisters) (only for wife ego) Kyr (younger), (only for wife ego)

No.	English	Pattern Word	Wife Word	Pata (Jamba)	Wife Jamba
(1)	Father's sister's children (marriage with father permitted)	Nafka (description)	Nafka bili (sister), (with the suff. a)	Ang nafka (with the suff. a)	Ba kha (with the suff. a)
		(Ego's older female — Kung (abbreviating))			
		(Ego's older male — Kuli (abbreviating))	—		
		(Ego's younger — Kuji (abbreviating))	Nafka kwa (younger), (with the suff. a)		
(2)	Father's brother's children (marriage between pure Ma children of brothers generally not allowed)	para kha	ali (sister), (with the suff. a)	para pa (with the suff. a)	ba kha (with the suff. a)
		(Ego's older female — para Kung* (abbreviating))	ana (younger), (with the suff. a)	—	
		(Ego's older male — para Kuli* (abbreviating))			
		(Ego's younger — Kuji* (abbreviating))			
(3)	Grandchildren	Kha Kung (with the suff. a)	Kaka (with the suff. a)	Ki kha (with the suff. a)	Kanana (with the suff. a)
(3) b	Daughter's children	Kaka (with the suff. a)	Kaka	Ka	Ka
(3) b	Son's children	Kaka kha (with the suff. a)	Kaka kha	Ka	Kanana
(4)	Foreground child (sometimes)	Kha ansap	—	pakka ka (with the suff. a)	—
(5)	Great-great child (sometimes)	Kha Kani	—	—	—
	Generating Lines:				
(6)	Maternal elder relations including uncle	a Ki a Kung (Ki, maternal uncle and older sisters, female cousins and their children)	?	?	?
(7)	Female cousins on the maternal side	Kani ual	nauhali (with the suff. a)	?	nauhaa (with the suff. a) nauhaa (with the suff. a)

(1) (2) Kung, Kuli and Kuji are not necessarily utilized in addressing them.

No.	English	Phonetic Sheet	Wile Sheet	Pale (Jamba)	Wile (Jamba)
9.	Male relatives (in general, eg. maternal kin, i.e. mother's, grandfather, father's brothers, etc.)	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	—
9a.	Male relatives on the fa. father's side	[illegible] (with fa. and s)	[illegible] (with fa. and s)	?	[illegible] (with fa. and s)
9b.	Female relatives on the father's side	[illegible] (with fa. and s)	[illegible] (with fa. and s)	?	[illegible] (with fa. and s)
9c.	All maternal relatives	[illegible] (with fa. and s)	[illegible] (with fa. and s)	?	[illegible] (with fa. and s)
9d.	All paternal relatives	[illegible] (with fa. and s)	[illegible] (with fa. and s)		[illegible] (with fa. and s)

Relatives of the ra-form

10.	Husband's or wife's father	[illegible]	[illegible] — stem: [illegible], inflecting — [illegible]	[illegible], with: [illegible]	[illegible]
10a.	Husband's or wife's father	[illegible]	[illegible] (not standard; [illegible] among speakers [illegible] only)	inflecting: [illegible], with: [illegible]	[illegible]
10.b.	Husband's or wife's older sister	[illegible]	[illegible]	Husband's: [illegible]; wife's: [illegible] (same respondent)	[illegible]
10c.	Husband's or wife's younger sister	[illegible]	[illegible]	Husband's: [illegible]; wife's: [illegible]	[illegible]
10.d.	Husband's wife's brothers (older and younger)	[illegible]	[illegible]	Husband's older: [illegible]; younger: [illegible]; wife's older: [illegible]; younger: [illegible]	[illegible]
10.e.	Husband's older sister's husband	[illegible] — generally a term for a female relative ?)	[illegible]	[illegible]	—
10.f.	Husband's younger sister's husband	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—

No.	English	Chinese (Simp)	Wade (Simp)	Pinyin (Simplified)	Wade (Simplified)
10.g.	Husband's elder brother's wife	大嫂 (dàsǎo)	ta4-sao3	Dà sǎo	Ta, Sao (or: Saw)
10.h.	Husband's younger brother's wife	弟妇 (dìfù)	di4-fu4	Dì fù	Di, Foo (or: Fuh)

Wife's ex-family (adj. designations):

11.	Wife's sister's husband	姐夫 (jiěfū) [Zh.: "brother-in-law"]	姐夫 (jie3-fu1) [Zh.: "brother-in-law"]	elder: 姐夫 (jiěfū); younger: 妹夫 (mèifū)	—
11.f.	Wife's elder brother's wife	嫂子 (sǎozi) [followed by proper name]	—	—	—
11.h.	Wife's younger brother's wife	弟妇 (dìfù) [followed by proper name]	—	—	—
12.	Stepmother	继母, 后母	ji4-mu3, hou4-mu3	继母 (jìmǔ)	Ji-mu
12.b.	Stepfather			继父 (jìfù)	Ji-foo
13.	Family	家 (jiā) — 家庭 (jiātíng); 户 (hù); 户口 (hùkǒu); 户口本 (hùkǒuběn); 家属 (jiāshǔ)	jia1 — jia1-ting2; hu4; hu4-kou3; hu4-kou3-ben3; jia1-shu3	家 (jiā)	jia1 — jia1-ting2
14.	Clan (community)	族 (zú)	zu2	族 (zú)	zu2 — zu2-yu4
14.b.	Municipal (clan)	氏 (shì)	shi4	氏 (shì)	shi4
14.d.	Family (archaic)	族, 族人 (zúrén)	zu2, zu2-ren2	—	zu2, zu2-ren2
15.	Relatives, kinsfolk, people	亲戚, 亲属, 亲友, 亲人 (qīnqī, qīnshǔ, qīnyǒu, qīnrén)	qin1-qi1, qin1-shu3, qin1-you3, qin1-ren2	亲戚 (qīnqī); 亲属 (qīnshǔ)	Chin-chi, Chin-shoo; Chin-yo, Chin-ren
15.	Foreign	外 (wài); 外国 (wàiguó); 外人 (wàirén)	wai4; wai4-guo2; wai4-ren2	—	—
16.	Photograph (contemporary)	照片 (zhàopiàn)	zhao4-pian4	照片 (zhàopiàn)	zhao-pian
17.a.	Relatives	亲戚 (qīnqī)	qin1-qi1	亲戚 (qīnqī)	Chin-chi
17.b.	Nation	国家 (guójiā)	guo2-jia1	国	Kuo
17.c.	Compatriot	同胞 (tóngbāo)	tong2-bao1	同	Tung

III. Explanations

1. General

Most of my informants were illiterate. The spelling of the terms was checked and corrected by my English-speaking and writing Khasi- and Pnar- friends, mentioned in para one, to whom thanks are being here once more expressed. All responsibility for spelling mistakes, however, which may have slipped into this list but of course to be borne by me.

Blanks (—) or question marks (?) in one of the columns do not necessarily mean that there is no word used, by the respective group, for the particular term. They more often indicate that my informants did not use, or know, the particular term, or that I failed to enquire about it in a manner sufficiently clear to my informants. This is particularly true of general terms, partly or fully corresponding to English general terms, such as parents or grand-parents, or the terms No. 9(a) and 8, 11, 15(a), 19-20, and 26, which were partly explained to me, by Khasi friends in Shillong, where I stayed some time after completion of field-work during the rainy season. Hence I could no more return for verification to the little accessible War-villages on the steep southern slopes. Although I am planning to utilize a future opportunity for such checking up, I am yet publishing the present results in the hope that they may thus become accessible to field-workers among other S. E.-Asiatic, and especially Austro-Asiatic speaking peoples.

All terms which are equal for both sexes (cf. Nos. 10, 11, 18, 19, etc.) are used with he and a respectively. Those sex-determining prepaid articles, as also the honorific i are specially mentioned in the list, only if this is essential for the understanding of the respective terms as in Nos. 3-5, 7, 8, or 19.

2. Special

Term No. 1 — to give birth or beget (kim) signifies also relatives on the paternal side as in *kaw kim* (paternal cousin No. 5(c)), in contradistinction to *kaw kur*, 5A, (b) — cousin of the clan), i. e. maternal cousin, since the clan is a matrilineal unit. This usage of the word *kim* appears also significantly in the terms 15(a), 17, 19(A, B), 20, 25, 28 and, as an integral part of the Khasi kinship terminology, renders it highly improbable that the Khasi matrilineal system could have originated in ignorance of the biological function of the father. It is a significant feature in the matrilineal social system.

The term 1(e) 2(b) refer to unmarried but biologically marriageable youths. It will be noted that there are (and were in 1950) no indications of puberty-rites for either girls or boys. There is also no child-marriage among Khasi. The use of special terms for mature, unmarried youths is therefore significant.

Term 6 — i as honorific article, is at the same time indicative of diminution [*], which is remarkable for two reasons: (firstly) the diminution is used for the oldest and most respected family members, like the diminution

[*] Gustav Geiger (1889), p. 40.

of father in Rimmon (for the *iaw*, etc.), (usually) the youngest, not the oldest, daughter performs the family rites and inherits the family property*. Even in cases where there is no woman to inherit, the youngest, not the oldest son inherits*. Among the conservatively matriliineal Pnar (Jaintia) the term of diminution *i*, however, carries at times a somewhat contemptuous meaning, though the minority is strongly in favor also among them. The underlined position of this honorific term of diminution is thus significant (comp. term 9/e among Pnar and infra.)

Term 7 — *mother* (*i mai*) — The prefix *i* used among Khasi and War Khasi signifies particular reverence (supra: term 4). The classificatory character of the term has been discussed by Gurdonmawrat*.

Term 8/*i* — *kyi* for all younger siblings, cousins and even other young kin does not indicate the consideration which the terms 9/*i* — *kong* for elder sisters and female cousins, or 9/e — *kai* for their male equivalents indicate. The term *nai* (9/e among Pnar) stands here, as generally, for elder and implies a honorific meaning (comp. term 4 supra and term 11/e infra).

Terms 10/e and 8 show that husband and wife address each other by equal terms and do in no way indicate anything like an inferior position of either wives or husbands of which I did also not find any indications otherwise. It may here be mentioned that property rights even in newly established estates, vest in women and are inherited by women, — not generally men.

Term 11/*d* — *ka Khon Khadduh* — the youngest daughter whose important position in Khasi religious ritual, social organization and inheritance has already been referred to sub term 4 and depicted in detail elsewhere*. The affectionate character of this term finds vivid expression in the abbreviation *ka dah*, which I heard from sisters and the father of a youngest daughter.

Term 11/e — *mai nai* (mother's elder sister). The word *nai* (elder) here has a definitely honorific character, although the *mai khynnah* — the mother's younger sister (term 11/f) may be the heir of Epi's ancestral property. This constitution corresponds to the peculiar significance of terms 4, 9/d and especially 11/d (supra).

Terms 13, 14, 15/a, 16, 16/a, 19/b, and the terms for cousins 19, 20, 21/a, 21/b, 22 show, like term 7 — *mother* (supra), classificatory character. The restriction on cross-cousin marriage is of different nature, according as to whether they belong to different households, or not, as has been discussed by Gurdonmawrat*.

Term 16/a — *ka* (mother's brother's wife) is basically the same as term 15 — *ka kha* (father's sister)* though the latter is qualified by the additional term *kha* (begetting, birth) which signifies parental relationship (see: infra No. 1).

* Gordon (1934), pp. 60, seq.; Carrow (1936), p. 51.
* Carrow (1936), p. 55.
* Gurdonmawrat (1933), pp. 55, seq.
* Gordon (1934), pp. 60, seq. and Carrow (1936), pp. 51, seq.
* Gurdonmawrat (1933), pp. 55, seq.
* In small measure by Gurdonmawrat (1933), p. 57.

Terms [illegible] and [illegible] — [illegible] for and [illegible] the former for all cousins and half-siblings on the mother's and the latter for those on the father's side, show the consciousness of the matrilineal clan-affinity and the patrilineal biological relationship through their classificatory substitutes, which is also true of

Terms [illegible], [illegible] and [illegible] — the father are cross-cousins.

Term [illegible] shows special consideration for the elder paternal male cousin of the first degree, who is addressed as fak while the elder maternal male cousin of the first degree is addressed as fang, like the elder female cousins on both sides.

Terms [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] — [illegible] for grandchildren would appear to mean [illegible]'s children. It has, however, been pointed out to me, by Khasi friends, that the Khasi word for dog is [illegible] not [illegible]. The Pnar (Jaintia) pronunciation is [illegible] for grandchildren, and the occasionally occurring designation of great-grandchildren as "rara children" (term [illegible]) and of great-great-grandchildren as "rara children" (term [illegible]), however, would appear rather to suggest the derivation of [illegible] — fag, than from a meaningless separate root.

Term [illegible] — [illegible] (= rara children) for great-grandchildren is used among Pnar-speaking Khasi families. [illegible] considers with [illegible], [illegible] and [illegible] the possibility that the name of the [illegible] has been derived from rara[illegible]. This is a hill tribe, speaking a language with some similarity to the Mon-Khmer group[illegible] (to which also the Khasi language belongs). The [illegible] are living not very far from the possible homeland of the Khasi around the region of S. China, S. South and Indo-China. If a parallel should have to be assumed, the two complementary Khasi terms No. [illegible] (dogs children) and [illegible] (rara children) may appear to be formed on the basis of analogy with the term "rara children" as tribal self-designation. Another explanation, however, of this unusual kinship-term which was given to me by a Khasi friend, contended that each generation, seen from the ancestral parent's point of view, is as numerous as the young of the respective species of animals.

Term [illegible] — [illegible] (rara children) [illegible] — see — term [illegible], [illegible]

Term [illegible] — [illegible] — [illegible] fag as a humorific term for the maternal uncle and the husbands of the elder sisters and elder female cousins on the maternal side, illustrates the great respect shown to male relatives on the mother's side by adding the reverence prepositions [illegible] to the word fag, which generally signifies elder female maternal relatives, but in this case, their husbands (today, term [illegible]). This usage of the term is consistent of the Khasiens recognition preferment for male maternal ancestors, instead of the mothers, grandmothers, etc. It also tallies with my observations, otherwise obtained[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible], pp. [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible], p. [illegible], enough to denote the surname of the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible], p. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], pp. [illegible], [illegible] [illegible], pp. [illegible], [illegible], [illegible]

namely that such members of a matrilineal clan origin, among Khasi as among other matrilineal groups in India, a position which, far from unusable, is a very high one in itself and doubly hurtful by the respect which to the same male family member is being shown (a) in his capacity as the father of his children in his wife's clan (comp. term 8 of the list), and (b) in that of the maternal uncle (comp. terms 10, 10a, 10b and 9b and 9b).

The terms 10b, e.g.6, have classificatory character.

The term 10c — *u dong* for the husband's elder sister's husband is one of the exceptions of the rule that *dong* generally signifies an honoured male female relative too, so in this case, also her husband (comp. term 9).

Term 10d *u jie* (father) in its usage among Pnar (Jaintia), also for stepfather is significant. A Pnar child has no legal clan-relationship with his/her biological father, who belongs to another (matrilineal) clan than the child and mother. Yet the honorific term *jie* is, among Pnar, also applied to a stepfather, although neither legal, nor biological but merely sociological relationship via the mother, exists between stepfather and child. The use of the word *jie* thus seems to emphasize both, firstly the integration of the matrilineal family structure, by making an unrelated stepfather to be looked upon as father, owing to his relationship with Ego's mother and, secondly the important sociological and psychological position of the father in this matrilineal family structure which appears to go back to an old tradition among the Pnar.

Term 11 — *pam* 'von Ium'* (Jaintia: 11b) which are characteristically termed *pam* (Brothers), although they are different in many respects, from the Khasi, yet considered as definitely more related than all other neighbours, grouped under the.

Term 12 — *dilter* (photograph)*, — a term which varies in emotional content from contempt, pun and simple to an attitude, somewhat parallel to what ordinary English usage would generally associate with the expression 'mentaccid'. Marriages of Khasi girls and boys with *dilter* do occur, though infinitely more than marriages of (especially educated) Khasi girls with (educated) *pam* 'von Ium, Tryaiden, Garhia or Chinese boys. One of the reasons which is usually being given for this preference for non-Indians is by no means colour-prejudice, but the taboo on other half or gods which must *dilter* may* (Jaintia, Khasia or Syiemlieh, respectively) observe; a taboo which they generally extend to their Khasi wives, thus preventing them from enjoying her favourite Khasi national dishes. Another more psychological reason is the overbearing treatment of wives, which is generally ascribed to *dilter* boy, more over than to *dilter* G*. It is in this connection

* Lasaiy. (Jaintia Pnar) 1935

* With these we look except the photographs as such. — see the Khasi Chief in Khasi clan which are worth. I am always grateful for assistance who had been explained in the place and brought to Dr. Khasi Hills, comp. Gurumayum (1961), pp. 9-10 and Kaccinna (1966-8), pp. 10-24.

* Lasaiy. Photographs Mark

* Lasaiy. Photographs white

21: Khasi E-4,5 (1950) 1951 ART Khasi ART

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significant that the reason, given for the comparatively frequent marriages of Khasi girls with Chinese boys is not the greater physical resemblance which no doubt exists between the average Khasi and the average Chinese (Mongol) as compared to the average non-Chinese Other (Indians, Europeans, Africans, Americans and others) but the belief that Chinese husbands are less domineering in their attitudes towards their wives, than are other Others.

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K Chattopadhyay 1-4, 5 (no date) 1941 AR7 Khasi AR7

her children and sister's children, using an additional term for the latter, to make the distinction clear. The mother's brother's wife, and the father's sister live elsewhere, and cannot therefore share the same kinship term with the mother. The husbands of the mother's sisters are comparable to the father, as these males are all outsiders who have married the women of the house. The actual father "U Kpa" is the husband of the actual mother "Ka Kmie" and is clearly distinguished. The others are the husbands of the "Kmie San" and "Kmie Nah." Hence they are given the labels of "Kpah San" and "Kpa Nah" or "Kpa Khynnah." They derive their kinship terms denoting "father" through their wives who are called mothers by the children—not through any sexual rights on the wife's sisters. Such sexual rights, as noted before, have no existence. Hodson is not justified in ascribing this identity of kinship terms to alleged marriage rules and sexual rights which were operative in a hypothetical earlier type of Khasi society.

The mother's brother is important to the Khasi child, and has a special name, Ma, with an adjective such as Rangbah to indicate his position among his brothers. His relation with his sister's children is different from that of the mother's sister's husbands. It is more or less formal and ceremonial. A similar relative, on the father's side of the family, is the father's sister, though her position is not so important. Nevertheless, the two relatives are comparable. The mother's brother is in charge of the management of the mother's ancestral property and helps in performing important social ceremonies for the group. The father's sister is the repository of the bones of the father's family; in her is vested the preservation of the family religious traditions. Both these relatives live in houses separate from those of the nephews and nieces concerned and are, in a sense, of other households. Each of them was born in the natal house of one of the parents. They are therefore clearly distinguished from the father, the mother, the sisters of the mother and their husbands. But a common term, allowing

Referring to the first type, we may say that the second type results from the men of the house going out to marry women of other houses. As the men settle down in the wife's mother's house and later on set up a separate house on her land, the continuity of tradition in the house of birth is kept up by the women who remain behind.

It would however be a mistake to suppose that the bond between the members born in a house is severed on marriage. We have noted before that the bones of a dead man return eventually to his mother's house, for final deposition in the clan cemetery, or at least that of the extended household. The bond between the mother's brother and sister's children has also been noted as well as the authority exercised by the former over the extended family.

Further links between a man and his mother's Kur will appear from a study of the rules of inheritance and land tenure with regard to men. Any property that a man acquires before marriage belongs to his mother's house. Myatri U Sohn Rai, for example, earned money before his marriage, and he purchased some land with this amount, in a village called Mawbah. It will go to his sisters and their heirs on his death. The earnings of a man after marriage, and after he has settled down in his wife's mother's house (or wife's house), among Khasis proper, generally go to the wife and daughters on death. But any gifts made by the parents at marriage have to be returned on death. Similarly, if a man has earned money after marriage, independently of his wife's capital, a part can be claimed on death by the man's mother's group.

Again, if a man returns to his mother's village after marriage, he can exercise his rights to cultivate the common land there. Every village community has its common land known as Ri Raid. As David Roy states (CN), "people can occupy a raid land where they build their houses and cultivate. For cultivation purposes land not more than can be cultivated is taken. The occupant can sell his house and the site and the garden of

his house or paddy field or grove; but the sale does not extend to anything more than his right of occupancy.....Any site, garden or plain of cultivation if abandoned, can be taken by another."

A son of a house of the village, of which the Kur is of the ancient settlers or has been given similar privileges, has the right of building a house, and of cultivating land in the Ri Raid. Reference has been made to the case practice whereby a man brings his wife from her mother's house to his own village. In such a case he may set up a separate house on the community land, and cultivate some of it, to maintain his wife and children. The property will pass, on his death, to his daughters as usual. It will not go to his mother or sister.

(a) The man U Hortiluk married twice, but did not settle down with his wife on either occasion. He built a house in Mawphlang which is his mother's ancestral village and brought each wife there. Both of them were divorced in turn and have left. If any of his wives had lived with him the house would have gone to his daughters. Now, however, the heiress is Ka Jrem, the daughter of a sister. [Genealogy [illegible]].

(b) The woman Ka Lakimon is of the old Lyngdoh clan of Mawphlang. When U Lyman married her, he set up a house in Mawphlang and cultivated land. But on his death, the woman went away to Shillong with her children, about 10-15 years ago, selling the house and abandoning the jhum land. The son U Bellester has recently come to Mawphlang and is working in U Subu Rai's house. If he settles down, *i.e.*, marries and wants to set up a house, he can do so on the Ri Raid. (Genealogy IV).

(c) The foundress of the Khar Dumpep clan was a woman of the village Dumpep, and of clan Khar Dobling. She had two other sisters. One of the three sisters went to Mylliem, and another came to Mawphlang while the third remained at Dumpep as Ka Khadduh. The girl who went to Mylliem founded the Khar Sohnob Kur and the girl who came to Mawphlang founded

Khar Dumpep. These three clans—Khar Dohling, Khar Dumpep and Khar Sohnah colour interesting on account of their common ancestry. U Kleson, the sister's husband of U Sohn Rai is of Khar Dumpep clan and furnished me with the above details. He stated that his ancestress married a man of the old settler clans of Mawphlang and came to her husband's village. This man, being of the Khadar Kur, could build a house and cultivate land from the community holding. The property thus acquired passed to the daughters; and gradually the clan Khar Dumpep grew more numerous, and acquired rights in the Ri Raid like an old clan. [Genealogy [illegible]].

(d) The family of the first wife of U Gongsing furnishes another illustration. The woman Ka Li came with her widowed mother from Cherra. The father had been a Syiemlieh from Jowai. The girl has been married by U Bahon, who is a member of one of the old settler clans. He has built a house for his family and made an excellent potato garden out of the common land for the maintenance of his wife and children. They will inherit it from him according to the usual Khasi mode. [Genealogy [illegible]].

[illegible] (e) U Roberts who is a Syiemlieh of Jowai, and a Christian by religion (Genealogy V) came to Mawphlang in 1920-21 and after a couple of years married a non-Christian Khasi girl by Khasi rites thereby losing his membership of the church. He cultivated Ri Raid land when he stayed with his wife's mother Ka Shami [Genealogy V]. This woman is of Khar Sohno clan. One of her ancestresses, came to Mawphlang only a few generations ago, and married a man of the old clans. Her descendants have thereby obtained the privilege of cultivating Ri Raid. U Roberts has divorced his wife and no longer possesses this right. He now works as a tailor in the village, and lives with a friend near the bazaar.

6.14 (f) Gurdon has suggested that the large number of clans having Khar as the first part of the name of the Kur have originated from ancestresses who were carried off from the plains.

[p. 33]

CHAPTER IV

The Khasi marriage prohibitions may now be discussed in some detail. The rules regarding levirate and sororate have already been noted. The Khasi is also exogamous with regard to his Kur. This bar extends to clans derived from the same century. A Khasi cannot also marry his father's brother's daughter, or his father's father's brother's daughter. He cannot marry his mother's brother's daughter as long as this uncle is alive but may do so after the death of this relative. He cannot also marry his father's sister's daughter as long as the father is alive but may marry her after the death of his father. Gordon remarks that even then "such unions are looked upon with disfavour by Khasis." In the War country, such marriages are totally prohibited."

It has been noted in the previous chapter, that the basic unit of Khasi society is the house where the children are born and where the women stay all their lives and with which the men also are connected intimately even when they go elsewhere on marriage. It has also been observed that the authority is vested entirely in the men. The women have various rights not found in many patriloral groups; but it would be a mistake to underestimate the position of the men in the house. The father is the head of his small family—the simple family consisting of himself, his wife and the children. He is also the person in authority over his sisters' households in matters affecting the extended family as opposed to the simple family. Although his own children, and the children born in his natal house are distinguished on account of their social and economic differentiation, nevertheless, they are, to a certain extent, both like children to

him. His own brothers again, are to him his ancestors in the permanent rights, which are linked with the house of birth. Their bones all return to the common memory of ancestral home. Apparently, this close association of the brothers with the house of birth is responsible for the rule that children of brothers cannot marry. If we formulate the prohibitions from the standpoint of the women, we can get a clear idea of their significance.

A Khasi woman cannot marry her father's brother's son; nor even the son of this cousin. Again, a Khasi woman cannot marry her father's sister's son during the lifetime of her father; but may do so after his death. As we know, the father's death and return of the bones severs the link of the children and their mother with the father's house of birth. The women who safeguard and maintain the Khasi religious traditions, will thereafter raise no objection to the marriage of a woman of their house with the father's sister's son, who is now no longer closely related and is a man of another house merely. But the case is different with the other cross-cousin. A woman cannot marry her mother's brother's son, even after the death of that uncle, without incurring odium. In the War country, such a marriage is not permissible even after the uncle's death. We know that the relation with the mother's brother is not severed either at marriage or at death. The links are maintained even after death. His bones come back and rest in the memory of the house and the clan of his women relatives. The decease of this uncle does not therefore place his son in the category of a person with whom the formerly existing bond has been broken. We may sum up the distinction as follows :—

In the case of the father's sister's son, the death of the father breaks the link between a woman and her cousin in the other house, as neither of the parents of that male cousin were born in the house or extended family of the woman. In the case of the mother's brother's son, the father of that cousin is of the woman's own house and one with whom the bond endures even

among Khasis. Even the Garos whom he cites apparently as representing a type of social organization which the Khasis had earlier, do not encourage marriage with the father's sister's daughter. There is also no evidence that a Khasi ever married his mother's brother's widow. As I have shown earlier, the marriage prohibitions regarding cross-cousins can be explained on the basis of existing social and economic forces in Khasi society. The rule regarding exclusion of the F.B.S.S. merely states that a woman cannot marry the son of her pure Kha. It is not a new prohibition.

We may now state the reason why a Khasi calls his father's brothers by the same term as father, and the wives of these males, as mother, being of course a qualifying term for seniority and juniority. As noted before, a Khasi boy or girl calls his mother's sister's children brothers and sisters. He avoids them strictly in marriage. They are not like cross-cousins, marriageable under certain circumstances. Any sexual approach towards them would have led in the old days to exile and also excommunication. The children of the father's brother are similarly excluded from a category of marriageable persons. They are like brothers and sisters, and as such are addressed as Doh, Bay and Kong. They are referred to as Pure Kha. As Hutton observes, the term Pure conveys, when used as a prefix, the idea of having common rights or status. It also means, when used by itself, a younger brother or sister. The term Kha refers to relation (by birth) through a male. It is used for example in the combination Doh Kha, which denotes both varieties of cross-cousins, the children of the mother's brother, as well as the father's sister. A Khasi man (and) woman has clearly neither set of parallel cousins who are sexually tabooed. Their parents are given terms denoting the father and mother, with certain modifications. As the children of the father's brothers are also sexually tabooed, it would be natural to extend to them the terms used for the parents of the other group of non-marriageable cousins.

The close connection between the social structure of the Khasis and their kinship terms, is evidenced also in the case of the other relatives, by marriage. For a woman, the husband of the daughter is a son of another household, and is referred to by the term Pyrsa, used for persons of the generation below the speaker when they are of another house-unit. Her husband also follows the same rule. The son-in-law is not the son of one who is the potential successor of the speaker, in the social house. But a distinction is necessary between the Pyrsa who is a nephew, and the son-in-law. This is furnished by the qualifying term Kwrim. For the same reason, the son's wife also gets the kinship term Pyrsa Kwrim. We may expect that the reciprocal kinship term, for the mother-in-law at least, looking at the matter from the house-unit view, will be denoted by a general term of this type. This general term ought to be applicable, with qualifications, to the reciprocal woman relative of the children who are termed Pyrsa, *i.e.*, to the father's sister and mother's brother's wife. But the terms ordinarily used ignore the relationship between the houses of these nephews and nieces and their aunts noted above. The terms Kwin or Nin, and Kha have come from the relationship between the houses. This aspect of these terms has been discussed in an earlier chapter. Obviously an expression like Kwin Kwrim would not emphasise the fact that the mother-in-law was a woman of another household. The term Syngkon is however used to denote the mother's brother's wife alternatively, and we find that the term Syngkon Kwrim is also used for a mother-in-law. Although the father's sister and the mother's brother's wife have certain common aspects, we note that only a woman related by marriage with a male relative of the previous generation is referred to by the term Syngkon. Thus the wife of the father's brother is occasionally referred to as Syngkon, apparently when she is not being thought of as the mother of a pure Kha. The father's sister is naturally not termed Syngkon. The usage is therefore comparable to the employment of the terms Pyrsa and

Tyna Kawa, for the reciprocal relations. Normally, however, the mother-in-law is referred to by a separate special term which does not stress this aspect of the relation between the two persons.

[illegible]

[illegible]

* The Naga and Other Marriage Systems Compared, by [illegible]. (Man in India, Vol. [illegible], Ranchi, [illegible]).
* [illegible] Report, [illegible].
* The Khasis, by Lt.-Col. P. R. T. Gurdon, Red Kitabs, London, [illegible].
* Khasi Cooking Stones, by [illegible]. (Man in India, Vol. [illegible], September, [illegible]).
* [illegible] Lore, by [illegible], [illegible].
* The [illegible] Report, [illegible].
* The Naga, by Bruce Foylan, London.

[illegible]

[illegible]

creation of transmission of money (*khinshai*) during the period, compulsory social participation in marriage, household worship, and funeral ritual, and the pride for the privilege in succession to *sim-ukip* (chieftain ship) hold together the inner structure of the society in fulfilling its function.

[illegible]

Family (*Ka-ing*)—The functions of family centre round the :

1. performance of basic religious rites,
2. management and inheritance of family property,
3. maintenance of social relations with the kin of *ka-k'juk* and *ka-ban*,
4. protection of familial kin.

[illegible]

From the above discussions it may be inferred that the social groupings of the Khasis function in different dimensions and make the individuals aware of their duties, and obligations towards each other. In the process of socialisation and enculturation of the individual they learn that the individuals, the different social groups and the community at large are inseparable.

Even from infancy a boy is infused with the idea that family comes first in regard, sub-clan second, and clan third. The kin of the family are primary relatives, and those of the sub-clan and the clan are secondary and tertiary respectively. One bow and three arrows given by a father to his son in his naming ceremony (*jarkhan*) symbolise their relationships with the three social groups. With the first arrow man has to fight for *shi-ing* (members of the same family) and *shi-k'juk* (members of the same sub-clan), with the second for his *shi-ban* and with the third for the state.

He sails into the world. He a Khasi places his family on one side :— 601

Ka Ewin	*U Khasi*	*Ka Ewin*
(Mother)	(Son)	(Mother)

which consists of his mother, himself, his sister, and, the world on the other side :—

Ka Ewin Kha	*U Kpa,*	*Ka Pla Kha*
(His father's mother)	*U Kpa Kha* (Father, brother)	(His father's sister)

But he places himself again between that family and that world, and claims again :—

Ka Pla Kha	*U Khasi Kha*	*Ka Dabha*
(Father's sister.)	(Father's son) (Himself)	(Father's mother's daughter)

Thus he brings in counter to himself and claims again :—

Ka Ewin Kha Ma	*u*	*Ka Pura Kha*
(Father's mother)	(*u Khasi Kha*) (Himself, Father's son.)	(Father's brother's daughter.)

Thus in the family—(he stands between the mother and his sister ;—and outside in the world—(his father—stands between his (the father's) mother and his (the father's) sister.

Thus in the world the Khasi stands between his mother and his sister, and between his father's mother and father's sister. 602

This happens when on the death of his uncle he stands between, and on behalf of, his sister and mother; and, on the death of his father, he stands between, and on behalf of, his father's sister and his father's sister's daughter.

On the death of his father's younger or elder brother he stands between, and, on behalf of, his father's mother and his father's brother's daughter.

527 The Khasi's interpretation of his life is this,—"long jaid ca ka kynthei," i.e., from women sprang the kind, or species; "U kha cha ci ka rynring," i.e., it is the father who gives the stature or person. Thus, the mother produces the kind or species, and this kind 'ka jaid' springs and remains in the man's own house ('ka iaing') by his mother, and is nourished by his sister and his own, sister's child.

526 The stature or person, is produced, crystallised and is endowed with power and fortune, that is, with power to resist forces which affect a man's capacity to grow in power and in fortune, by his father, father's younger brother and father's elder brother, and by the father's nephews.

602 Thus the Khasi says all those who spring
• 526 from the same womb are his kind, '*jaid-o song*'; that is, they are forbidden as 'sacred' humans, he says, they are suckled of one and the same breast. They are 'song jaid.'

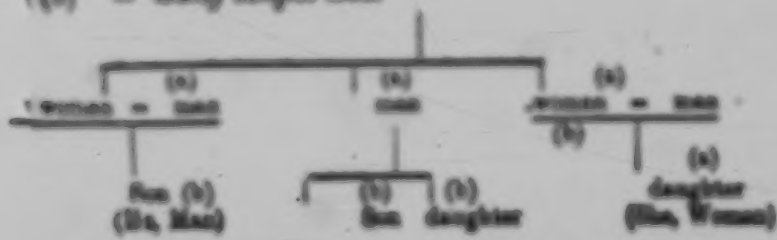
Again, he says, all who receive or derive respectively their stature from the common source
527 which gives birth to man's body—*o song*, that is,
602 they are tatooed or are marked as they come out or spring or are generated from one navel-string (umbilical cord), *u sulpet kha*. They are '*song sulpet kha*.'

(a) = *Song jaid*

Table Women

(1)

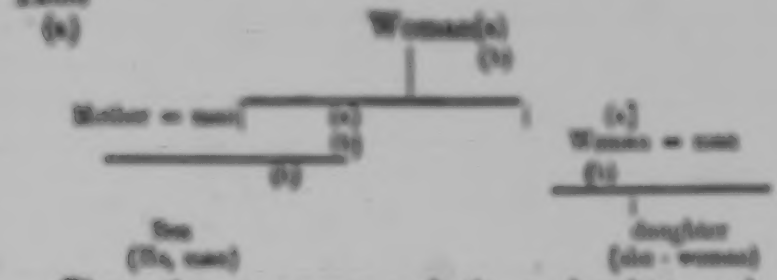
(b) = *Song sulpet kha.*



Thus the Khasi says, "I do not marry (and I cannot even think in this wise of) my own mother, my own sister. They are of the (a) group. I cannot think like that of my father's mother (kmie kha), father's sister (nie kha), father's brother (kpa kha), father's brother's children (pura kha). They are of the (b) group." On his mother's side a *sang jaid*, that is, he is *sang* or forbidden as being of the same clan, kind, species. On his father's side a *sang ralpet kha*, that is, he is *sang*, forbidden as being of the same umbilical cord. [926]

Then he finds only himself and his bakha (cousins, the children of his father's sister),—he being the son of a man born of one woman, and they the children of the sister of that person, born or whose 'sisters' were generated from one man.

Table



Thus the a woman and the a daughter and all those between these two and those after those two, join to the a woman in life through the two primary stages of life in its essence when it was sustained through the umbilical cord and later by the woman's breasts. [927]

So the a woman and the b son and all those between the two and those after those two,

16:Roy 1-9 (no date) 1939 AR? Khasi AR?

[60] *jaid* to the *a* woman in life through only one of the primary stages in the life essence when it was sustained through the umbilical cord.

Thus the connection of the *a* group is sustained to a much longer period and greater intensity in its life-formation to the *a* woman, than the *b* man.

Hence we have the double source of sustenance of life producing, through the umbilical cord and the breast, the single group *a*, while the single connection of life-formation through the umbilical cord produces a double *a* + *b* man-woman connection with the *b* man.

Thus he stands alone in the centre and he places his *jaid* on *ka kpah* (the kind which springs from the same womb), that is, those of (*a*) group (see tables) on one side, and he places his *ka* or those connected, or sprung of, the one umbilical cord, that is, those of (*b*) group on the other side. On the other side is *ka ryniang ka rngiew*, the 'stature', the person from which he also derives his. Thus the Khasi calls the source (*kynmaw*) from which he springs, *ka kur ka rngiew* (stature, person) *ki ka* as *wari u sohpat* (those connected or sprung of one umbilical cord).

[60] [60] [15] Thus the Khasi has his house of *ki kur ki jaid* the relatives of his kind and species, and his world of *ki ka ki man*, relatives of other people's kind and species with whom they are able to propagate human life.

This interesting Khasi fabric of human relationship between man and his mother and father, [66] of the connection between a man and his fellow-

human beings all over the four quarters of the globe (*phi mash ka pyrthei*) with whom, in the world, he can give in marriage and take in marriage, shows the nature which is believed to be innate in the Khasi, and his supposed power of moulding the world. His nature is to grow and to resist, to extend and spread out. It is against his idea of life to remain narrow or limited and concentrated. He is not to be made small or made an orphan, it will not do for him and his idea of the world to 'ask *khlem, khem lalem kin*,' stay without kind and species, without child, without issue. A couple would even seek to separate if there are no children of the union. His idea is, so to say, 'imperialistic,' to sow and spread out. As I wrote elsewhere, "A Khasi marries man and woman of all races; to his Khasi parent the issues are all one and the sons without any distinction of caste or creed or colour or possessions. The children are the 'khun khe' (*khun* = child, *khe* = born, i.e. children who are born through the union of a descendant of the parent with a descendant of another parent), and these children are unified into families and are assimilated, in the Khasi idea of life, while these groups of families are traced to their mother and are made to revolve on this ancestress as the pivot of their existence."

Thus the Khasi shows :—

One one side – mother
|
Son – mother
which is, – mother
|
the son of such two – his kinswomen

On the other side also he shows – mother
|
Son – mother
which is – Father's mother
|
the son of others his kinswomen

19: Nakase G-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AB7 Khasi AB7

the matrilineal descent group has a distinguished function only when there is common residence and common property.

In Kongton, among 5 different *kur* (List 10), Pohmong and Khonut accounted for the majority of the population, while the rest, seven *kur*, were more or less of equal size. On the whole the population seemed more stable than that of Sohkynduh. However, as in Sohkynduh, actual descent groups amounted to 45, many of which have the same *kur* name but could not always establish genealogical relationship with one another, nor was there any functional cohesion. I failed to reconstruct the history of the formation of these descent groups: the villagers had no memory of their past except very fragmentary information which was quite insufficient to account for their present composition. They only insisted this was a very old village in comparison with Sohkynduh and other neighbouring villages.

While I was struggling with the villagers' scant accounts of their past and fragmented kinship relations among the present households, I was struck by the poorness of the villagers' genealogical memory in comparison with that of the Garo. Suppose A, B and C, who belonged to the same property-holding descent group three generations back: A and B being sisters and C being B's daughter. If B, including her descendants, moved away from the village two generations back, the present generation of A's and C's descendants would easily lose contact and knowledge of their genealogical relationship. This fact, on the other hand, illustrates some important aspects of the Khasi social structure: the kinship relation—matrilineal descent link—is not a significant factor beyond the scale of the household (property-holding descent group), and locality is more important than matrilineal descent for the formation of the Khasi community. Through the predominant practice of endogamy on the level of the village, the small segments (found on a level of a household or a group of a few households) of various different *kur* clustered in a village are linked by affinal relations each other, by which altogether form a well knit social organization of a village community. The cohesion and solidarity of the Khasi village community is strengthened by the local endogamy not by the localized lineage organization.

In fact, in contrast with the rather loose kinship relations which link different households, the affinal relations link almost every households in the village, as shown in Fig. 10. The lines, ———, indicate marriage relations between living members of households, and the lines, - - - - -, indicate affinal relations established through dead members of present households or through spouses' kinship relations at Sohkynduh, as in November 1955. In this way, except for one household (24), members of a single household are all linked together through affinal or cognatic ties. In some cases, the affinal relations between

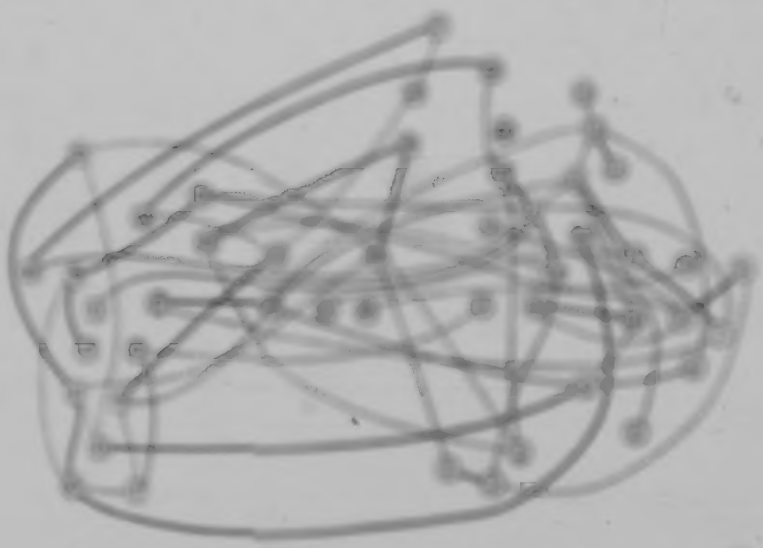


FIG. 10. — *Kinship and Household Location in Sohkhynduh.*

——— Matrilineal kindred relations among household members.
——— Affinal relations (Direct) among household members.
- - - - - Affinal relations (Indirect) among household members.

particular two families are not connected to one, but may be accommodated two or three, though I omitted to indicate these in Fig. 10.

There are some extensions of marriage relations with members outside the village. In Sohkhynduh, out of 88 (48 homeowners and 40 their husbands) 13 men and 2 women came from neighbouring villages. Owing to the predominant uxorilocal arrangement, those who came in from outside the village were mostly men. By these members, five different *kur*, new to Sohkhynduh, were found, as shown in List 7 (17-21). Most of these outsiders came from villages inside the Kudashinong, or villages no further than a day's journey there and back. This area might be called a secondary endogamous area, and includes more than half a dozen villages. In Kongtun, 20 husbands and 3 women came from neighbouring villages by their marriages. The secondary endogamous areas of Kongtun and of Sohkhynduh are not the same but they overlap in certain places, the surrounding areas being centred on each village. There were, by December 1955, no instances of direct marriage between these two villages.

There are a few exceptions to local endogamy, such as those individuals who have become Christians and are educated in towns like Shillong or Cherrapunjee. They usually move to a town, seeking

society? Among the matrilineal Central Bantus, Richards says that the determining factor in residence at marriage is the marriage payment or the type of goods and services which the bridegroom gives (Richards, 1950, p. 44). However, the Khasi have no such custom in the marriage contract, it is therefore out of the question to explain the two types of residence in this way. In the case of the Khasi, the determining factor is the type of marriage with relation to the rule of inheritance and ownership of property, which is closely related to the structure of the ring. Khasi marriages can be divided into two categories i.e., marriage with an heiress and with a non-heiress. Marriages with an heiress must be uxorilocal. This accounts for category 1 or 2 of the household pattern. On the other hand, marriages with a non-heiress become neolocal and correspond to category 4 of the household unit.

IV. Husband and his Heiress

A man married to an heiress, usually lives with his wife's parents and her unmarried or divorced brothers and sisters. For a man, life after marriage under such circumstances require great adjustment and endurance. The husband's status is especially weak when a male member of the wife's kin lives in the same household. The management of property and all economic activities are entirely controlled by the authority (wife's brother or maternal uncle) of the ring. The husband works in the wife's field under constant supervision from the authority. Both economic activities and domestic affairs are always under the management of this authority. The children have more attachment to, and are more obedient to, the maternal uncle than to the father. The tie between the uncle and the nephew is so strong that the father is rather like an additional member of the household. He is the last person to be introduced to visitors.

This family system is clearly reflected in the daily behaviour. When we visited the Khasi household of a youngest daughter, if a man (obviously the husband) came first to greet us, he always said "please wait, my wife (or mother-in-law) is coming." And it was the wife who entertained us, offering tea or pan and discussing matters with us, while her husband remained silent in the corner of the room, or in the next room. If her uncle or brother was there, he would be the person who talked to us, while his niece or sister served us. In such a case, we were seldom introduced to the husband. When I was working at Shella, I happened to stay in such a family. I had hardly any opportunity to talk to the husband during the two weeks of my stay. He left the house very early in the morning and came back late in the evening from the fields. While he was at home, he was

ship. They still live in the same familiar atmosphere as before their marriage. The implications of this ambiguity in the married state are considerable. Particularly the husband's uncomfortable situation, when the wife is known, encourages him to take marriage less seriously. 581 593

A husband who undergoes hardship in his wife's house, finds himself as the authority in his sister's house, if he is not the authority, he can find at least a respected position as uncle or brother. In the case of a man of authority in the *ring*, the tendency for him to regard his *ring* as more important than his married life is proportionately stronger, as I will discuss later. Hence the most unstable and unsuccessful marriages are those between the homos and the men of authority. This is one of the reasons we often find among the Khasi a brother or an uncle, who is already married, acting nevertheless as the head to a family (*ring*) and as a member of its domestic group. This means that he is in a state of temporary separation or divorced. Among the Ashanti, a man and his wife's brother are never found as members of a common household (Fortes, 1950, p. 261), but among the Khasi, on the contrary, a man and his wife's brother are often found as members of a common household. In such cases, however, the brother has no wife, or never brings his wife to his *ring*. Therefore, a man and his wife and his sister never reside together. As far as the residence of women is concerned, the Khasi keep to the strict descent rule; two women who belong to different descent groups never live together. This point differentiates the Khasi residence pattern, in which social structure is involved, from that not only of the Ashanti but also of the Yao where the head of a descent group can bring his wife to his sister's household, though, among other members, uxorilocal marriage is the rule. These differential aspects of matrilineal systems will be discussed from a more theoretical point of view later. 581 581 592 593 602 604 619 423 [171]

In addition, should a Khasi man even succeed in spending his life with his wife's kinsmen, as soon as the wife dies, he will usually return to his *ring*, that is, to his sister's house, where he is received warmly and where he often acts as the *de facto* authority, as in the similar situation of divorce and separation. Thus the strong matrilineal structural principle tends to orient a man towards his own descent group, the *ring*. 602 619

The man's attachment to his *ring* is very great throughout his life. In this regard the Khasi differs from the matrilineal Negri Sembilan Malay. Among the latter, returning to the matrilineal kin is regarded by the man as an imposition rather than as the enjoyment of a legitimate privilege (see Swift, 1958, p. 157).[1] This difference 171 592 602 619 428

1. He presents this fact as one of the reasons of the durability of marriage among the Negri Sembilan. Indeed, on this precise point they differ from the Khasi where marriage is rather unstable. [581]

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

171 seems to come *firstly* from the different residential arrangement on
592 marriage: among the Negri Sembilan a man marries into his wife's
• 602 group, i.e. his wife's village; being thus separated from his kin, and
619 as a result of the physical absence of his wife's brother or maternal
428 uncle in his domestic family, he enjoys considerable rights in his wife's household—as Swift states, he is 'master in his own house.' On the other hand, since among the Khasi the man stays in the village where his mother's (or mother's successor's) house is, even after his marriage, his relation to his natal house is preserved; *secondly*, from the structural difference of organization of the descent group. Among the Khasi, the *siang* is always the centre of the descent group, based on unigeniture succession and inheritance. Hence, the core of the descent group is always found physically in a particular household, whereas among the Negri Sembilan, the descent group is *not* organized on a *household* level, but is a much wider organization, including apparently many households. Membership of an actual household and of a descent group are at different levels. To marry out and become a member of his wife's household means for the man the transfer of his household membership. Likewise, his sister's husband becomes a member of his sister's household. Thereby he becomes a secondary member of his sister's household after marriage though he keeps his membership in the descent group to which his sister belongs. Among the Khasi, membership of a descent group always corresponds to membership of a particular household. The Khasi man can always demand his rights at his natal house primarily, as he is a member of that descent group. But it should be noted that he has this right only in his mother's (or mother's successor's) household, not his other sisters' (non-heiress') and mother's sisters' households (unless one of them is successor of his mother), though they may belong to the same descent group. These matri kin's households are considered as separate *siang* (strict functional descent group) from his.

586 Indeed, sometimes a man cannot find his *siang*, because his mother
619 died leaving no daughter to succeed her, or his sister died leaving
796 no successor, and his *siang* became extinct. Such a case occasionally
428 happens when a man becomes a divorcé or a widower as he is getting old. Then he has to face a serious social and economic condition. In divorcing, he has to leave everything he owned, his earnings including the house which he built, and even children . . . really he has nothing left him except his body.[1] Such a wretched man collects some timber and makes a small hut for himself, though sometimes lads who sympathize with him help him to build it. Unless he finds some woman

1. A widower has an alternative solution—to remain in his late wife's household till he marries again, though his position is not comfortable there.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

brother (actually not likely to happen), the levirate has no sociological implication in the social structure, which is specifically related to the residence rule. The levirate seems to have a significant function only when a marriage is virilocal—when the husband has full rights over his residence and property. This is also another aspect where the Khasi structure shows a marked difference from that of the Ashanti and the Ila, etc. 182 587

VI. Marriage of the Man of Authority of an *Iing*

Among these successful marital families, there are also shadows of a matrilineal order. These affect especially those men who are in the position of authority in an *iing*. Such a man, though he has an independent household with his wife and children, often visits his youngest sister's (or niece's) house, *iing (ka iing sew)*, and sometimes stays there. Such a man's attachment to his *iing* is not only social or psychological, but also often economic. The man, as authority of his natal *iing*, usually has economic control over the management, particularly so, if his *iing* has considerable property or active trading business. As husband/father in his family he works for his wife and children, but often takes into consideration as well the interests of his *iing*. I found such cases especially among richer villagers in Sheila and Jatinga, where the main economic activities were based on trading. 592 593 602 613 [182]

Among the Khasi, it is quite a traditional rule of the division of labour that women engage in trading activities at markets whether on a large or small scale. Husbands may carry goods from field to market, but male members are kept away from the actual scene of the selling and buying. However, these activities on the part of the women are controlled and accounted for by their uncle or brother, or even son (or, if no male member is available, by the husband), though in many cases they form separate domestic families. The man's control over the trade appears more marked when the scale of business is large. [443] [462]

A man of Jatinga, who worked in a shop in Haflong, spent his salary in keeping his wife and children, but at the same time he kept the accounts of his sister who was a professional merchant. Thus, the economy of the *iing* and that of the co-residential group are crossed by the dual role of the man. Hence, among the Khasi, residential autonomy is not always an indication of economic autonomy. However, it should be clearly understood that a man's acquired property goes to his co-residential group, not to his *iing*. [421]

A man of authority is attached to his *iing* by the stronger ties of religious, social and economic (management) duties as well as by

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

592 sentiment, in spite of his forming an independent domestic unit. Such a
593 man with two households, the family of orientation and of procreation,
• 602 says "one leg is in my sister's house and the other is in my wife's,"
613 and he feels more at home in his sister's. In villages, whenever a
[123] Khasi man in such a position invited me, I was always taken to his sister's (or niece's) house, his *iing*, not to his wife's. There I was warmly welcomed with highest respect by the women of the household as the guest of their uncle (or of their brother), the head of the *iing*. Khasi men whom outsiders often regard as hopeless in their social position, thus enjoy the highest status in their *iing*.

One Khasi gentleman who occupies a fairly high post in the Government, at Haflong, leaving his wife (non-heiress) and children at Shillong, to my question "when you go to Shillong into which house do you first step," immediately replied, "As soon as I get back to Shillong, I take the way to my sister's home and there take the evening meal with them, enjoying their talk. Then I go to my wife's house where my loving children are waiting." This shows a typical Khasi man's psychology in relation to a family of orientation and of procreation. His first concern on coming back to his homeland is whether his sister and her children are well, since he is the man of authority in that *iing*. He feels much more relaxed in his sister's house where he is held in higher regard and more cared for.

I came across many similar cases. In Jatinga and Sheila, such men on returning from their work, often have their evening meal with their sisters though their wives are waiting for them. Furthermore, if they choose to do so, they sleep at their sister's house without even going back to their wife's house. This results in an unstable married life, where a wife has to face a psychological handicap caused by the occasional absence of the husband, in spite of her advantageous position in a matrilineal and uxorilocal system. Many wives worry every day over whether or not their husbands will come to their house at night. And often this concern changes into sadness and loneliness when the husband does not return for several days on end. The wife knows her husband is at his sister's house in the same village. But she has no right to fetch her husband home. As in Western social dancing, the women have to wait till their partners come. During my field work I often came across these lonely women, just waiting for their husbands, each knowing he was only a few houses
[123] away. Though these Khasi women never show their feelings of loneliness in the presence of others, I, being a female anthropologist, was often told of the sadness of their married life. The situation of these women can be more easily understood if we remember the process of the segmentation of the *iing*, which separates each married woman from her descent group, her natal *iing*.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

Thus, the marriage of a non-heiress and a man of authority also produces an unstable position for the husband in spite of his having an independent household. Therefore, the possibility of a really stable marriage is even more limited; it will occur only in the match of a non-heiress and a non-authority of the *iing*. But even these marriages cannot be free from the influence of a matrilineal social structure: the man of authority of the wife's *iing* may visit these couples now and then, curb the husband's power and remind both partners of the orientation towards the matri-kin, the *iing*, though this pressure is insignificant in comparison with that experienced by the heiress's family. Likewise, a husband now and then visits his youngest sister's house, *ha iing sen*. These constant matrilineal contacts offer husbands chances of escaping from even the slightest matrimonial tension. Whenever a Khasi man feels uneasiness, he will return to his sister's house rather than face a difficult situation with his wife. This tendency is maximised especially on the occasion of religious ceremonies, when all individuals are grouped around each *iing*.

It is apparent that the rules of the *iing* as the underlying structural pattern, function throughout the various categories of domestic unit of the Khasi community as the most important intrinsic force.

VII. Polygyny

After this long attempt at the structural analysis of marriages, I think one can theoretically predict what is the situation of polygyny among the Khasi. The theoretical framework elaborated through preceding discussions can also be tested by the empirical data in terms of polygyny.

Nowadays, the Khasi feel so strongly against polygyny that they have no knowledge even that they ever practised it. Many Khasi, in more sophisticated areas, did not believe my findings on polygyny in Sohkynduh and Kongton. I think this is due to the rapid Christianization of the Hills during the last hundred years. My interpreter, though he was not Christian, said to me in the village, "it is most regrettable to bring you to a village where we find polygyny." However, one of the ministers of the Cherra State to which the two villages belong, told me that there was no particular opposition to polygyny, though recent Christian influence gave people the idea that it was a shameful custom, and he mentioned the case of a polygynist in his area, a man who had recently died, who had had ten wives. In Jatinga whose inhabitants are all Christian, and in Shella where there has been much contact with, and influence by, Hindus, there were

children, but Christian influence has eradicated or driven underground the consumption by women and children. **Industrial arts.** The only industrial arts traditionally practiced in all households were a rudimentary carpentry and a simple utilitarian basketry. Other arts were few, and were practiced as village specialties: the washing and smelting of iron ore and the forging of hoes, dacs, knives, swords, and cooking pots (upland Khasis); the spinning of cotton thread (Mynso village, Jaintia); the dyeing of cotton thread and the weaving of cloth (Jaintias, Bhoys, Lyngngams, Wars); the spinning and weaving of Eri silk (Khyrwang and Nongtung villages, Bhoi and Jaintia); and the hand manufacture, without wheel, of painted earthenware pots (Larnai village, Jaintia). Ironworking and the production of cotton goods have nearly died out through the competition of machine-made goods. Carpentry has greatly improved. An innovation of major importance is the sewing and tailoring, on sewing machines, of ready-made garments for both sexes. [Cf. Darrah 1906; C., W. 1832.] **Trade.** Khasi villages normally contain a number of household shops operated by women. Every Khasi also lives within walking distance of several village markets that are held on successive days of the eight-day week. The limits of market intercourse for the members of any particular village can be roughly distinguished by their naming the days of their week, which are called after the active markets. The exception is the huge market at Shillong, much of which is active daily, and which serves as a magnet for Khasis from all over the hills. The traditional barter has given way to currency in all markets. The small ones contain at least some local farm produce, plus other essentials like betel nut, and the food and tea stalls which serve as centers of social intercourse. The big markets contain not only regional produce and manufactures but also products from distant parts of the hills, brought for sale by traveling middlemen. There is also substantial trade, from the hills to the valleys, in potatoes, pears, hides, lac, cotton, caoutchouc, the wood of the sal tree, Eri silk thread, limestone, coal, ivory, bay leaf, betel nut, pan leaves, bananas, sugar cane, oranges, til, turmeric, and chilies. From the plains to the hills, there is trade in dried fish, paddy rice, salt, cooking oil, kerosene, matches, tea, sugar, wheat flour, machine-made cloth, shoes, metal pots, crockery, porcelain objects, coral beads, silver, and gold. Markets are important not only as economic institutions but also as centers for recreation (including archery competitions), courtship, reaffirmation of kinship ties with distant relatives, and the dissemination of information of all kinds. [Cf. Stegmiller 1924a.] **Division of labor.** Men do the heavy work, such as clearing and burning the swidden fields, caring for cattle and goats and driving them to market, butchering and selling large cuts of beef and pork, carpentry and mining, and driving and laboring on motor vehicles. They also tailor men's

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clothing, operate the large Khasi business establishments in Shillong, and provide all civic and religious leadership. Women care for children and for the home, do the marketing, and sell dried fish, betel nut, lime, fruits, and rice breads at markets. Other tasks can be performed by either sex. **Land tenure.** Land was formerly divided into sib land and public domain. Sib land was corporately held in perpetuity, and was inalienable except by the unanimous consent of all members of the sib. The public domain was subject to usufructuary right by anyone who kept the land regularly under habitation or cultivation, with a lapse of no more than three years. Most villages grew up on public domain, and then reckoned all land inhabited or under cultivation by a village member as village land. Forests were public, except for sacred groves possessed by villages or lineage groups, and everyone was free to gather branches for fuel. Wastelands and streams were also public. By now, most public domain and village land, together with its forest cover, has been pre-empted as private property and is being rented and sold as such. Sib lands remain intact, unless the sibs agree to rent, lease, or sell. [Cf. Cantlie 1934.]

462 294 543 522 423 [78]

KIN GROUPS. **Descent.** Descent is matrilineal, and the Khasi is a member exclusively of his own matrilineage from birth to death. Adoption, which is very rare, is only within the matrilineage. **Kin groups.** The maximal matrilineage is the sib; this is a named, widely dispersed, strictly exogamous, lineage group, which claims but cannot trace its origin from a single ancestress. Sibs used to meet as corporate groups from time to time. Some sibs are linked with others in large amorphous groups that are unnamed and are defined solely by exogamy. Such a group is composed of two or more sibs, the ancestresses of which are claimed to have been either real sisters or dear friends who out of affection declared that thenceforth their descendants would be as consanguineals. The origin and function of sib-linkage is now unknown, and today the members of a sib will often disagree on whether or not their sib is linked with another. • The minimal matrilineage is the local descent group, or *iing*. This is the largest kin group that normally rallies at life crises. It is said that the *iing* formerly spanned six generations; today, it encompasses only four. If an *iing* grows to more than four generations in a single village, it segments. New houses are located at some distance from the old and the *iing* soon forgets exactly how to trace genealogical connection, except for which segment descended from a youngest sister. The term *iing* may also be applied to an extended family, an elementary family, and a house. The elementary family is the basic domestic unit in Khasi society. In any village there are likely to be one or two households which stand as sole local representatives of the lineage of the female household head. Such a household is known as an

611 [597] 614 602 [59]

ing from the time it consists of an elementary family until it grows to a local descent group four generations deep. [Cf. Chattopadhyay 1941.] **Kin terminology.** The terms of address given below are also terms of reference except where otherwise indicated, and are uniform for male and female speakers. They were collected in an upland Khasi village near Shillong (cf. Ehrenfels 1953 for some regional variants). 602 601 [114]

Fa	*pa*
Mo	*mei*
FaElBr	*pasan*
FaYoBr	*pakhynnah*
FaSi	*kha*
Fa youngest Si	*khaduh*
MoElSi	*meisan*
MoYoSi	*meinah*
Mo youngest Si	*meiduh*
MoElBr	*mama, kni*
MoYoBr	*bah* (ref.: *kni*)
ElBr	*bah khynnah*
Eldest Br	*kong bah*
YoBr	*bah deng*
Youngest Br	*bah duh*
ElSi	*deng*
Eldest Si	*lud, kong*
YoSi	*lud nah, lud rit*
Youngest Si	*khatduh*
MoSiSo, MoSiDa	*para* (ref.: *para ar kmie*)
FaBrSo, FaBrDa	*para* (ref.: *parakha*)
MoBrSo, MoBrDa, FaSiSo, FaSiDa	*bakha*

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY. **Mode.** According to the traditional courtship pattern, a group of young male relatives and friends made nightly visits to the house of some virgin girl in another village, appraising her through banter while she and her parents appraised them, and staying the night to avoid the dark walk home. Marriage was according to the wishes of the parents after negotiation by a go-between from the boy's side. Girls might be 15, and boys 17, years of age. Girls have now acquired freedom of movement through attending school, however. Premarital sexual play is common, and young people choose their own spouses when the girl is about 19 and the boy 21. The most common mode of marriage is elopement, for Christians and non-Christians alike, but some Christians marry in church, and some Khasis still marry according to the traditional ceremony or some variation on it. There are no preferred or prescribed marriage types, nor is there a bride price or dowry. **Form.** Monogamy is the ideal for all. **Extension of incest taboos.** Sibs are exogamous. Other prohibited marriage partners are real and classificatory FaSi and FaBr, FaBrCh, FaMo, and FaMoMo. The MoBrWi is also prohibited. Roy 584 582 562 178 836 584 583 585 184 583 581 835 [114]

21: Ehrenfels E-4,5 (1950) 1953 AR7 Khasi AR7

601 Term 19 and 20 — *para kur* and *para kha*; the former for all cousins and half-siblings on the mother's and the latter for those on the father's side, show the consciousness of the matrilineal clan-affinity and the patrilineal biological relationship through their classificatory subdivision, which is also true of

Term 21, 21/*a* and 21/*b*; — the *bakha* are cross-cousins.

Term 21/*b* shows special consideration for the older paternal male cousin of the first degree, who is addressed as *bah* whilst the older maternal male cousin of the first degree is addressed as *kong*, like the older female cousins on both sides.

Term 23, 23/*a*, 23/*b*, — *ksiew* for grandchildren would appear to mean: [192] dog's children. It has, however, been pointed out to me, by Khasi friends, that the Khasi word for dog is *ksew*; not *ksiew*. The Pnár (Jaintia) pronunciation *ki ksu* for grandchildren, and the occasionally occuring designation of great-grandchildren as "cats children" (term 24) and of great-great-grandchildren as "rats children" (term 25), however, would appear rather to suggest the derivation of *khun ksiew* from *ksew* — dog, than from a meaningless separate root.

Term 24 — *khun miaw* (i. e. cats children) for great-grandchildren is used among Plateau Khasi families. BERNATZIK considers with CREDNER, E. LUNET DE LAJONQUIÈRE, MARABAILS and EICKSTEDT the possibility that [197] the name of the Meau has been derived from cats [30]. This is a hill tribe, speaking a language with some similarity to the Mon-Khmer group [31] (to which also the Khasi language belongs). The Meau are living not very far from the possible homeland of the Khasi around the region of S. China, N. Siam and Indo-China. If a parallel should here be assumed, the two complementary Khasi terms No. 23 (dogs children) and 25 (rats children) may appear to be formed on the basis of analogy with the term "cats children" as tribal self-designation. Another explanation, however, of this unusual kinship-term which was given to me by a Khasi friend, contented that each generation, seen from the ancestral parent's point of view, is as numerous as the young of the respective varieties of animals.

Term 25 — *khun knai* (rats children) comments: — see: term 24, (supra).

601 602 Term 26 — *u ñi* — *u kong* as a honorific term for the maternal uncles and the husbands of the elder sisters and elder female cousins on the maternal side, illustrates the great respect shown to male relatives on the mother's side by adding the masculine preposition *u* to the word *kong*, which generally signifies older female maternal relatives, but in this case, their husbands (comp. term 33/*e*). This usage of the term is reminiscent of the Brahmin ceremonies performed for male maternal ancestors, instead of for mothers, grandmothers, etc. It also tallies with my observations, otherwise obtained [32]

[30] BERNATZIK (1947), pp. 6, 7.

[31] BERNATZIK (1947), p. 445, though he denies the inclusion of the Meau into the Mon-Khmer group.

[32] EHRENFELS (1950), p. 34, (1951/*A*), pp. 3, 4, 5; (1951/*B*), pp. 73, 80, seq.

21: Ehrenfels E-4,5 (1950) 1953 AR7 Khasi AR7

namely that male members of a matrilineal clan enjoy, among Khasi as among other matrilineal groups in India, a position which, far from unenviable, is a very high one in itself and doubly fortified by the respect which to the same male family member is being shown (*a*) in his capacity as the father of his children in his wife's clan (comp. term 8 of the list), and (*b*) in that of the maternal uncle (comp. terms 14, 14/*a*, 14/*b* and 26 and 28). 601 602

The terms 33/*b*, *c*, *g*, *h*, have classificatory character. 601

The term 33/*e* — *u kong* for the husband's older sister's husband is one of the exceptions of the rule that *kong* generally signifies an honoured older female relative but, as in this case, also her husband (comp. term 26).

Term 36/*a* *u pa* (father) in its usage among Pnár (Jaintia), also for stepfather is significant. A Pnár child has no legal clan-relationsihp with his/her biological father, who belongs to another (matrilineal) clan than the child and mother. Yet the honorific term *pa* is, among Pnár, also applied to a stepfather, although neither legal, nor biological but merely ideological relationship via the mother, exists between stepfather and -child. This use of the word *pa* thus seems to emphasize both, firstly the integration of the matrilineal family structure, by making an unrelated stepfather to be looked upon as father, owing to his relationship with Ego's mother and, secondly the important sociological and psychological position of the father in this matrilineal family structure which appears to go back to an old tradition among the Pnár. 601 593 [614]

Term 41 — *para 'riew lum* [33] (Assamese hill tribals) are characteristically termed *para* (Brethren), although they are different in many respects, from the Khasi, yet considered as definitely nearer related than all other neighbours, grouped under the 601

Term 43 — *dkhar* (plainspeople) [34], — a term which varies in emotional content from contempt pure and simple to an attitude, somewhat parallel to what ordinary English usage would generally associate with the expression "continental". Marriages of Khasi girls and boys with *dkhar* do occur, though infinitely rarer than marriages of (especially educated) Khasi girls with (educated) *para 'riew lum*, Nepalese, Gurkha or Chinese boys. One of the reasons which is usually being given for this preference for non-Indians is by no means colour-prejudice, but the taboo on either beef or pork which most *dkhar ïong* [35] (Indians, Hindus or Muslims, respectively) observe; a taboo which they generally extend to their Khasi wives, thus preventing them from enjoying two favourite Khasi national dishes. Another more psychological reason is the overbearing treatment of wives, which is generally ascribed to *dkhar ïong*, more even than to *dkhar li* [36]. It is in this connection 601 582

[33] Literally: Brethren Humans Hill.

[34] With Dkhar are here meant the plainspeople as such; — not the Khasi Dkhar (or Khar) clans which are mostly, if not always, descended from ancestresses who had been captured in the plains and brought to the Khasi Hills; comp. CHATTOPADHYAY (1941), pp. 30/31 and EHRENFELS (1950/*A*), pp. 33/34. [101]

[35] Literally: Plainspeople black.

[36] Literally: Plainspeople white.

14:Roy I-5 (no date) 1938 AR7 Khasi AR7

581 [773] *Hynniew Trep Hynniew Sknm* (the seven nests, seven roots), These seven nests or roots were seven pairs of virgin women and men created by God to marry and they formed seven houses (families) and from them the country was filled and the rites and ceremonies were obtained. Thus the Khasi takes pride in the fact that God Himself delivered their religion and the rites and ceremonies unto them. ... The Khasi matrilineal system has come down through ages and with a definite idea of the union of one man with one woman. This is significant for those who consider that marriage is and has always been common to the whole human race, and it raises the question as to whether the Khasi idea is the survival of a period when the nature of paternity was not understood".

[851] [603] [553] In the sacred rites of baptism of this simple folk we find that a Khasi grandmother will not officiate in the name-giving ceremony unless in the marriage of her son with the woman to whom the child is born there has been the regular ceremony of marriage.

1:Gurdon E-4,5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

614 descended from a common ancestress. There are other instances
582 of clans being connected with one another, such connection being called by the Khasis *iateh kur*. Whenever such connection exists, intermarriage is strictly prohibited, and is considered to be *sang*. There is no custom of hypergamy. A Khasi cannot marry his maternal uncle's daughter during the lifetime
[604] of the maternal uncle. This is probably due to the fact that the maternal uncle, or *kni*, in a Khasi household is regarded more in the light of a father than of an uncle. His children, however, would belong to the clan of his wife and there would, therefore, in ordinary cases be no bar to the nephew marrying one of them. Marriage with the daughters of a father's sister is not allowed during the lifetime of the father, but after the latter's death there is no religious ban, although such unions are looked upon with disfavour by the Khasis. In the Wár country, how-
587 ever, such marriages are totally prohibited. A Khasi cannot
582 marry two sisters, but he can marry his deceased wife's sister after the expiry of one year from the wife's death, on payment of *jing sang* (price of *sang*, or taboo) to the wife's clan. A
582 Khasi cannot marry the daughter of his father's brother; she is his *para kha* (lit. birth sister). Similarly he cannot marry the daughter of his father's paternal uncle. He can, however, marry the daughter of his mother's brother, provided that the brother is dead. This somewhat paradoxical state of affairs is explained by the fact that the children of the mother's brother belong to a different clan to that of the mother, i.e. to the mother's brother's wife's clan. The Khasi, Synteng, Wár, and Lynngam divisions are not strictly endogamous groups, and there is nothing to prevent intermarriage between them. For instance, it has been the custom in the Nongkhlaw Siem family to obtain husbands for the princesses of the state from the Wár country. There is no custom amongst the Khasis of two men exchanging daughters, i.e. each marrying his son to
[423] the other's daughter. Notwithstanding the existence of the matriarchate, and the fact that all ancestral property is vested in the mother, it would be a mistake to suppose that the father
593 is a nobody in the Khasi house. It is true that the *kni*, or
604 mother's elder brother, is the head of the house, but the father is the executive head of the new home, where, after children

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have been born to him, his wife and children live with him. It 593
is he who faces the dangers of the jungles, and risks his life for 604
wife and children. In his wife's clan he occupies a very high place, he is second to none but *u kni*, the maternal uncle, while in his own family circle a father and husband is nearer to his children and his wife than *u kni*. The Khasi saying is, "*u kpa uba lah ban iai, u kni uba tang ha ka iap ka im*," which may be translated freely as, "the father bears the heat and burden of the day, the maternal uncle only comes when it is a question of life or death." The Khasi father is revered not only when living, but also after death as *U Thawlang*, and special ceremonies are performed to propitiate his shade. Further remarks on the subject of marriage will be found in the Section which deals with religion.

DIVORCE.

Divorce amongst the Khasis is common, and may occur for 586
a variety of reasons, such as adultery, barrenness, incompatibility of temperament, &c. The rule amongst the Khasis is that both parties must agree, but amongst the Wárs, especially the people of Shella, the party who divorces the other without his or her consent must pay compensation, which is called *ka mynrain*, or *ka thnem*. Amongst the Khasis it is not the custom to enforce restitution of conjugal rights; as a rule, when husband and wife cannot live together amicably, they agree to divorce one another; but occasionally it happens that either the husband or the wife will not agree to a divorce. Usually the husband would be willing to live with his wife; but when the latter consents neither to live with her husband nor to accept a divorce, a difficult situation arises, and it is in the event of such a contingency happening that the necessity of assessing *ka mynrain*, or *ka thnem* (compensation), occurs. [587]
The latter is computed by the village elders. Parties who have been divorced cannot afterwards remarry one another, but they are at liberty to marry into other families. A woman cannot [843]
be divorced during pregnancy. The following description of the divorce ceremony is taken from U Jeebon Roy's note on the

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being in a position to help his descendant in times of trouble. 761
The same thought underlies the extreme reverence with which 171
Ka Iawbei is regarded. Thus we see a striking point of resemblance between the Khasi ancestor-worship and the ancient Shinto cult of Japan, as described by Mr. Lafcadio Hearn. *U Suid-Nia*, or *u Kni Kanbah*, the first maternal uncle, i.e. the elder brother of *Ka Iawbei*, is also much revered. It will also be noticed under the healing of memorial stones that the great central upright monolith of the *máwbynna*, or memorial stones, is erected in his honour. The influence of 604
the *kni*, or mother's elder brother, in the Khasi family is very 764
great, for it is he who is the manager on behalf of the mother, 211
his position in the Khasi family being very similar to that of the *karta* in the Hindu joint family It is on this account that he is so much revered, and is honoured with a stone which is larger than the other up-right memorial stones after death. It will be seen in the article dealing with "the disposal of the dead," that at Cherra, on the occasion of the bestowal of the ashes in the cinerarium of the clan, a part of the attendant ceremonies consists of the preparation of two effigies called *Ka Puron* and *U Tyngshop*, intended to represent *Ka Iawbei* (the first mother) and *U Suid-Nia* (the first maternal uncle). The Wárs of Nongjri have a custon peculiar to themselves. 344
They erect small thatched houses in their compounds, which 769
they call *iing ksuid*. When they worship their ancestors they 211
deposit offerings of food in these houses, the idea being that 171
the ancestors will feed on the offerings. These Wárs do not erect memorial stones, nor do they collect the ashes of the clan in a common sepulchre; they deposit the ashes in circular cineraria, each family, or *iing*, possessing one. It should further be noted with reference to the Khasi custom of *ai bam*, or giving food to the spirits of deceased ancestors, that Dr. Frazer, in his "Golden Bough," has mentioned numerous instances of firstfruits being offered to the spirits of deceased ancestors by the tribes inhabiting the Malay Archipelago. (See pages 462-463 of the "Golden Bough.") Some other points of similarity in customs have already been noticed between the Khasis and certain Malay tribes.

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787 [791] case. The Khasi word for consulting the omens is *khan*, and a diviner is called a *nongkhan*. Another method of obtaining omens is by dropping two leaves into a pool of water or on a stone, the position of the leaves as they fall, either right side uppermost or upside down, signifying good or evil as the case may be; this is called *khan-sla*.

PRIESTHOOD.

793 104 The Khasi priest is usually called *Lyngdoh*, or *langdoh*; he is always appointed from the lyngdoh clan. The etymology of the word *lyngdoh* is said by certain lyngdohs of the Khyrim State to be *lang*=together and *doh*=flesh. A *lyngdoh*, or *langdoh*, is one who collects sacrificial victims, i.e. flesh for the purpose of sacrificing. It must be confessed, however, that this definition is doubtful, owing to the absence in the word *lyngdoh* of the prefix *nong* which is the sign of the agent in Khasi. Besides *lyngdohs* there are persons called *soh-blei* or *soh-sla*, who may 793 also be said to be priests. The Khasis, unlike the Hindus, have [604] no *purohit* or priest to perform the family ceremonies. Such duties fall to the lot of the head of the family or clan, who 782 carries them out generally through the agency of the *kni*, or maternal uncle. Old Khasis are frequently well versed in the details of sacrifices, and in the art of obtaining auguries by examining the viscera of sacrificial victims. Apart from family and clan sacrifices, there are the sacrifices for the good of the State or community at large; it is these sacrifices that it is the duty of the *lyngdoh* to perform. He may be said to be the priest of the communal religion, although he has certain duties in connection with offences committed against the social law of marriage, and with regard to the casting out of evil spirits from houses which may be thought to be infested with them. The lyngdohs of the Khasis may be likened to the Roman *pontifices*. 793 In the different Khasi States there is, as a rule, more 631 than one *lyngdoh*; sometimes there is quite a number of such priests, as in Nongkrem where there is a *lyngdoh* for each *raj* 793 or division of the state. There are a few Khasi States where 643 the priest altogether takes the place of the Siem, and rules the community with the help of his elders in addition to perform-

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ing of which the last drop of liquor remains adhering to the spout of the gourd is the name selected for the child. Then the puja performer invokes the god to grant good luck to the child. The father takes the pot containing the placenta, after having previously placed rice flour and fermented rice therein, and waves it three times over the child, and then walks out with it through the main entrance of the house and hangs up the pot to a tree outside the village. When he returns from this duty, before he re-enters the house, another throws water over the father's feet. The father, being thus cleansed, enters, and holds the rice flour to his mouth three times. Two people then, holding the dried fish by their two ends, break them in two. The powdered turmeric mixed with rice flour and water is applied to the right foot of the father, the mother and the child receiving the same treatment. The friends and relations are then anointed, the turmeric being applied, however, to their left feet. The bow, arrows, *da*, and *u star* are carefully placed inside the inner surface of the thatch on the roof, and the ceremony is over. Rice flour is then distributed to all who are present, and the male adults are given liquor to drink. After two or three months the ears of the child are bored and ear-rings are inserted. These ear-rings are called *ki shashkor iawbei* (i.e. the ear-rings of the great-grandmother). Mr. Jenkins mentions that the naming ceremony amongst the Syntengs is performed by the "eldest aunt," presumably on the mother's side. A basket of eggs is placed in the centre of the room, and before the ceremony begins one egg has to be broken. Then the aunt of the child takes two sticks, and, raising them to her shoulder, lets them fall to the ground. Before they fall she shouts, "What name do you give the child?" The name is mentioned, and if, on falling upon the ground, one stick crosses the other, it is a proof that the name has won the approval of the spirit. If the sticks do not fall in this position, another egg is broken and another name is chosen, and the sticks are dropped as before until they fall in the required position, when it is understood by the performers that the name is a good one. Mr. Jenkins was informed by a young man "who had renounced heathenism" that some of the more cunning women cross the sticks before lifting them, and that

553 782 [386] [302] 553 304 553 [604]

782 preserve the customs of the family or sib; she
596 must see to it that the ancient domestic customs
793 of the household sacrifices are truly preserved; it is her duty, to keep the inherited ceremonies of the sacrifices pure and to hand them down conscientiously to the descendants. Therefore she has to arrange for the necessary sacrificial materials; she must prepare everything; she is the only one who must fast before the offering of many a sacrifice; she gives the order for the sacrifice, and she should also have to perform it herself.

But this does not happen. In reality no woman offers the sacrifice herself. (4) She is

4. With the exception of the secret sacrifices, about which, see later.

• [604] represented by a male person. But he must be related to her on the maternal side. Usually a maternal uncle (kni) represents her. Such representation by a relative is always necessary, whether it be for a public or a private sacrifice. But not merely the degree of relationship must lie in the feminine line; there is still something else that must be observed for each sacrifice. Even though the duties of the sacrificers and their methods of sacrificing are very different and are arranged according to the customs and inherited usages in the family or in the sib or in the state or community, yet in one point they are all similar: namely, all the sacrificers must be assisted by a woman during the performance of the services referred to. She is simply called ka lyngdoh (the priestess). [213] Because the man must function in her name and he is only her representative at the sacrifice,

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[p.25]

CHAPTER III

It is evident from the discussions in the previous chapter, 601
that the children born in a house have to take note, as they grow 604
up, of the seniority and juniority among the sisters of the mothers, and also of the brothers of the mother. They have however very little relation with the brothers of the father, and we have to explain why the latter are classed with the father. This point will be discussed later. Here we may note that the relative lack of importance of the father's sisters has resulted in her not receiving distinction by age in the table of Kinship terms ; it is however indicated in address. Similarly the wife of the mother's brother is also not distinguished by age.

It may however be questioned why such a distinction by age is extended to the husband of the mother's sister. As noted before, a Khasi does not set up a separate house until one or two children are born. The children who are born in the house of [593]
mother's mother, are looked after like mothers, not only by the progenitress but her sisters. While there would arise no question as to who is the actual mother, it would be normal for the children to call the mother and her sisters by the same term which would thus cover the women of that generation who live in that house. Each little child would find its mother's sister addressed as "mother" by its playmate and cousin. Hence he or she would also tend to extend the term to the mother's sister from the mother. Under such circumstances, the simplest mode of distinction would be to apply the term "mother" to the actual relation, and add qualifying adjectives for the sisters of the mother. The Khasis use for this purpose, quite appropriately, terms denoting seniority and juniority for reasons previously stated. Reciprocally, a woman uses the same terms for

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601 her children and sister's children, using an additional term
604 for the latter, to make the distinction clear. The mother's brother's wife, and the father's sister live elsewhere, and cannot therefore share the same kinship term with the mother. The husbands of the mother's sisters are comparable to the father, as these males are all outsiders who have married the women
602 of the house. The actual father "U Kpa" is the husband of the actual mother "Ka Kmie" and is clearly distinguished. The others are the husbands of the "Kmie San" and "Kmie Nah." Hence they are given the labels of "Kpah San" and
[593] "Kpa Nah" or "Kpa Khynnah." They derive their kinship terms denoting "father" through their wives who are called mothers by the children—not through any sexual rights on the wife's sisters. Such sexual rights, as noted before, have no existence. Hodson is not justified in ascribing this identity of kinship terms to alleged marriage rules and sexual rights which were operative in a hypothetical earlier type of Khasi society.

601 The mother's brother is important to the Khasi child, and
604 has a special name, Ma, with an adjective such as Rangbah to indicate his position among his brothers. His relation with his sister's children is different from that of the mother's sister's husbands. It is more or less formal and ceremonial. A similar relative, on the father's side of the family, is the father's sister, though her position is not so important. Nevertheless, the two relatives are comparable. The mother's brother is in charge of the management of the mother's ancestral property and helps in performing important social ceremonies for the group. The father's sister is the repository of the bones of the father's family; in her is vested the preservation of the family religious traditions. Both these relatives live in houses separate from those of the nephews and nieces concerned and are, in a sense, of other households. Each of them was born in the natal house of one of the parents. They are therefore clearly distinguished from the father, the mother, the sisters of the mother and their husbands. But a common term, allowing

for difference in sex, is applied to both. The corresponding uncle and aunt by marriage are referred to by terms which make this clear. The husband of the father's sister is a "Ma" like the mother's brother and is also referred to as "Kni." But as his position by age is unimportant, the adjective of position is lacking in his case. Similarly the mother's brother's wife and the father's sister have a common term "Nia"; but the latter has her relationship through the father clearly indicated by the additional term "Kha" which refers to kinship through a male. The mother's brother's wife is, on the contrary, an aunt by marriage. The husband of the father's sister derives his term through his wife; and the wife of the mother's brother, through her husband. The identities M.B. = F.S.H. and M.B.W. = F.S. are therefore derived indirectly and are not original. Hodson's hypothesis that they represent actual identity of kinship in an earlier dual society therefore turns out to be superfluous.

Reciprocally, a man refers to his sister's children by a term which is different from that for his own children. A woman also refers to her brother's children by this term which is different from that used for her own or her sister's children. As indicated, the M.B. as well as the F.S. are both on a parallel footing, and are practically labelled together, allowing for differences of sex.

We may say that there are, in Khasi society, two clearly recognised units. One of these is the house and household, where the men and women have been born. Inside this house group, the sisters have similar rights, actual as well as potential. As we have seen, on the death of one sister, where there is no female issue, another sister takes her place in continuing the traditional religious entity of the group. The brothers again, among themselves, take one another's place in succession, in the matter of authority, and of management of the family property. The other unit is that of the woman, her husband and the children. We may refer to it as the unit set up by marriage.

among Khasis. Even the Garos whom he cites apparently as representing a type of social organisation which the Khasis had earlier, do not encourage marriage with the father's sister's daughter. There is also no evidence that a Khasi ever married his mother's brother's widow. As I have shown earlier, the marriage prohibitions regarding cross-cousins can be explained on the basis of existing social and economic forces in Khasi society. The rule regarding exclusion of the F.B.Z.Z merely states that a woman cannot marry the son of her para Kha. It is not a new prohibition. 582

We may now state the reasons why a Khasi calls his father's brothers by the same term as father, and the wives of these uncles, as mother, using of course a qualifying term for seniority and juniority. As noted before, a Khasi boy or girl calls his mother's sister's children brothers and sisters. He avoids them strictly in marriage. They are not like cross-cousins, marriageable under certain circumstances. Any sexual approach towards them would have led in the old days to exile and also excommunication. The children of the father's brother are similarly excluded from the category of marriageable persons. They are like brothers and sisters, and as such are addressed as Bah, Bep and Kong. They are referred to as Para Kha. As Hodson observes, the term Para conveys, when used as a prefix, the idea of having common rights or status. It also means, when used by itself, a younger brother or sister. The term Kha refers to relation (by birth) through a male. It is used for example in the combination Bah Kha, which denotes both varieties of cross-cousins, the children of the mother's brother, as well as the father's sister. A Khasi man (and) woman has already another set of parallel cousins who are sexually tabooed. Their parents are given terms denoting the father and mother, with certain modifications. As the children of the father's brothers are also sexually tabooed, it would be natural to extend to them the terms used for the parents of the other group of non-marriageable cousins. 601 602 604

extended form more often when the children of the deceased sisters of *Ka-khadduh* reside there. This extension is on the mother's side and is affiliated through the extension of mother-child relationship.

Additional members like widower brothers or widowed sisters make the Khasi family a composite one.

In a Khasi family father, mother and her brother are very important. Father who is regard[!]as *Myndar* (stranger) or *Ushong kha* (begetter), has also the position of *Kynrad* (master) of the house (set-up by him). He is the executive head and the mother is the *dejure* owner of the household.

Modern conditions and spread of Christianity have greatly affected the Khasi society and changed the Khasi ways of life but have failed to alter the traditional mode of inheritance even among the Christian Khasis. Another important fact which is apparent in the Khasi families, is the change of the status of the mother's brother (*Ukni*) in his sister's house. His influence has greatly been diminished due to clash with *Ka-Khadduh* (heiress). He has almost lost his control over his sister's family. This has made the women exert their status to a danger point. Consequently, some amount of maladjustment in the relationship system, moral depravity and disintegration loom large in the family horizon.

Family is the core of Khasi social organization and the closeness of familial kin with the members of the sub-clan is due more to the fact that sub-clan owes its development to the family. A *Shi-K'pah* (member of sub-clan) is a secondary relative and can easily be approached for any help.

The functions of the above mentioned social groupings are as follows :

Clan (*Ka-Kur*)—It regulates marriage. It being a larger non-residential kin group contact between its members is infrequent. The amount of social participation needed on certain level to intensify the relationship among its members falls far short of. But nevertheless, there existed among the members

[Should read:- regarded.—Analyst]

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

society? Among the matrilineal Central Bantus, Richards says that 591
the determining factor in residence at marriage is the marriage payment
or the type of goods and services which the bridegroom gives (Richards,
1950, p. 249). However, the Khasi have no such custom in the mar-
riage contract, it is therefore out of the question to explain the two
types of residence in this way. In the case of the Khasi, the determin- 182
ing factor is the type of marriage with relation to the rule of inheritance 428
and ownership of property, which is clearly related to the structure 581
of the *iing*. Khasi marriages can be divided into two categories i.e., 591
marriage with an heiress and with a non-heiress. Marriages with an 602
heiress must be uxorilocal. This accounts for category 1 or 3 of the 613
household pattern. On the other hand, marriages with a non-heiress
become neolocal and correspond to category 4 of the household unit.

IV. Marriage with the Heiress

A man married to an heiress, usually lives with his wife's parents 182
and her unmarried or divorced brothers and sisters. For a man, life 428
after marriage under such circumstances require great adjustment 591
and endurance. The husband's status is especially weak when a male 592
member of the wife's kin lives in the same household. The manage- 593
ment of property and all economic activities are entirely controlled 602
by the authority (wife's brother or maternal uncle) of the *iing*. The 604
husband works in the wife's field under constant supervision from 613
this authority. Both economic activities and domestic affairs are
always under the management of this authority. The children have
more attachment to, and are more obedient to, the maternal uncle
than to the father. The tie between the uncle and the nephew is so
strong that the father is rather like an additional member of the
household. He is the last person to be introduced to visitors. [574]

This family system is clearly reflected in the daily behaviour. 123
When we visited the Khasi household of a youngest daughter, if a 574
man (obviously the husband) came first to greet us, he always said 592
"please wait, my wife (or mother-in-law) is coming." And it was 593
the wife who entertained us, offering tea or pan and discussing matters 602
with us, while her husband remained silent in the corner of the room, 604
or in the next room. If her uncle or brother was there, *he* would be
the person who talked to us, while his niece or sister served us. In
such a case, we were seldom introduced to the husband. When I was
working at Shella, I happened to stay in such a family. I had hardly
any opportunity to talk to the husband during the two weeks of my
stay. He left the house very early in the morning and came back 592
late in the evening from the fields. While he was at home, he was 593
604

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

592 always somewhat outside the family conversation which was centred
593 on the maternal uncle and his sisters, nephews and nieces, by whom
• 604 I was well taken care of. This is somewhat similar to the situation amongst the Cewa and the Yao of the Central Bantus, which have what Richard calls 'the detachable husband' (Richards, 1950, pp. 233-35, 248), though the parallel is not by any means exact.

428 There is, therefore, inevitably an element of tension in the relations
581 between the wife's maternal uncle (including parents-in-law) and the
586 husband (son-in-law) and this tension makes the latter's life extremely uncomfortable. This awkward position is well shown in the divorce
[604] rate. At Kongton (see List 9), out of 61 couples (house-owners and
[606] their spouses), the number of persons who had experience of divorce was 33 (female 15, male 18) and those married more than twice
[592] numbered 19 (female 7, male 12). Out of 61 couples, there were only
[593] 31 in which neither husband nor wife had been divorced. In my census of Jatinga village, 70 per cent of all divorce cases were marriages to heiresses. In general, the period when divorce occurs more frequently is before a couple get children and after the wife has passed the child-bearing age. A marriage breaks up either through the action of the wife or of the husband, but generally through that of the wife. However, the state of separation which I presently describe is brought about by the husband, though later it results in a divorce from the wife. Divorce does not mean a great catastrophe for a Khasi wife, especially if she is an heiress and her husband's economic
[587] contribution is not significant. Moreover, in this society remarriage is as easy for a widow or divorcée, as it is to divorce. In the villages of Sohkynduh and Kongton, the couple who wants to divorce has only to throw a few Annas together in the presence of some witness, usually an elderly man.

581 In addition to divorce, there are many actual separations of husband
and wife, of short or long duration, when the husband runs away from
593 his wife's house to his sister's. Though it does not always end in divorce, considerable number of husbands have a strong tendency to spend most of their time at their sister's house. Khasi women often told me, "I don't know why he does not come back to my place." I have often found the husband staying at his sister's house only a few houses away from his wife's, without any particular reason. They are obliged to see each other every day whether divorced or separated. This kind of ambiguity in the marriage relation seems to have an important correlation with the Khasi social structure, combined with the village endogamy. The man and and wife have grown up together from their childhood in the same village and known each other very well. Hence their psychology cannot clearly distinguish the marriage form as a newly-established independent social relation-

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

ship. They still live in the same familiar atmosphere as before their marriage. The implications of this ambiguity in the married state are considerable. Particularly the husband's uncomfortable situation, when the wife is heiress, encourages him to take marriage less seriously. 581 593

A husband who undergoes hardship in his wife's house, finds himself as the authority in his sister's house; if he is not the authority, he can find at least a respected position as uncle or brother. In the case of a man of authority in the *iing*, the tendency for him to regard his *iing* as more important than his married life is proportionately stronger, as I will discuss later. Hence the most unstable and unsuccessful marriages are those between the heiress and the man of authority. This is one of the reasons we often find among the Khasi: a brother or an uncle, who is already married, acting nevertheless as the head to a family *(iing)* and as a member of its domestic group. This means that he is in a state of temporary separation or divorced. Among the Ashanti, a man and his wife's brother are never found as members of a common household (Fortes, 1950, p. 262), but among the Khasi, on the contrary, a man and his wife's brother are often found as members of a common household. In such cases, however, the brother has no wife, or never brings his wife to his *iing*. Therefore, a man and his wife and his sister never reside together. As far as the residence of women is concerned, the Khasi keep to the strict descent rule; two women who belong to different descent groups never live together. This point differentiates the Khasi residence pattern, in which social structure is involved, from that not only of the Ashanti but also of the Yao where the head of a descent group can bring his wife to his sister's household, though, among other members, uxorilocal marriage is the rule. These differential aspects of matrilineal systems will be discussed from a more theoretical point of view later. 581 591 592 593 602 604 613 428 [171]

In addition, should a Khasi man even succeed in spending his life with his wife's kinsmen, as soon as the wife dies, he will usually return to his *iing*, that is, to his sister's house, where he is received warmly and where he often acts as the *de facto* authorithy, as in the similar situation of divorce and separation. Thus the strong matrilineal structural principle tends to orient a man towards his own descent group, the *iing*. 602 613

The man's attachment to his *iing* is very great throughout his life. In this regard the Khasi differs from the matrilineal Negri Sembilan Malay. Among the latter, returning to the matrilineal kin is regarded by the man as an imposition rather than as the enjoyment of a legitimate privilege (see Swift, 1958, p. 157).[1] This difference 171 592 602 613 428

1. He presents this fact as one of the reasons of the durability of marriage among the Negri Sembilan. Indeed, on this precise point they differ from the Khasi where marriage is rather unstable. [581]

17: Banerjee E-5 (1955) 1962 AR7 Khasi AR7
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would not be in a position to divert their attention to the problems of basic amenities and other necessaries in their life. This is expressed through rituals which are maintained through tradition and transmitted from generation to generation. A proper performance of the ritual ensures prosperity. 796 182

The maternal uncle occupies a very important position in the social life of the Khasi community. He acts as a manager of the family and his opinion is always sought for in any matter of social implications. He is thus honoured and respected by all the members of the house. In spite of the matrilineal set up of their society, the men are given honourable position in the affairs of the family. Their role has been given due recognition in their various customs and rites. The uncle (mother's brother) as also husbands in some exceptional cases, are always remembered by the living members of the house for their wisdom and sagacity. They are thus deified and are prayed by them to bestow all possible help to tide over their period of crisis. The Khasi pantheons to whom the people in general pay due reverence, are considered to have led similar life as prevelent in their present society. Thus the various rites and ceremonies that are observed, expressing clearly the duties, nature and obligations for these deities, are simply a reflection of the Khasi way of life. The general pattern of social structure has been found to be projected unconsciously through their religious worship and these celebrations are of course of great value to the local inhabitants as it re-inforces certain cultural features so characteristic of this tribe. 593 604 182 769 796 182

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Il: Chattopadhyay E-4, 5 (no date) 1941 AR7 Khasi AR7

removal of the bar on remarriage was also of the same kind elsewhere in the neighbouring States. Clearly, the idea of leviration or sororation is incompatible with this idea of the marriage bond continuing even after death and necessitating a ceremony to break it. It may also be noted that while the Khasis permit divorce somewhat easily, remarriage is not permitted of either party "within the family of the divorced husband or wife" (G). A Khasi cannot also marry two sisters, although he can marry irregularly, more than one woman and also the wife's sister after the decease of the wife. We can now discuss why a woman or a man refers to the brothers and sisters of the husband or wife by the kinship terms used by the spouse, qualified by a special term. When a man marries and goes to live in the house of his wife's mother, he comes in contact with unmarried sisters of the wife. But he knows that they are sexually to be avoided. He lives in the wife's mother's house only during the life time of his wife. A wife's sister is comparable to a Kur sister sexually, during this period.

But his economic relations and religious ties require that a distinction should be made between these "sisters" and the "Kur sisters." The qualifying term supplies this requirement. The woman, on the other hand, has no direct relations with her husband's brothers. She has however to keep in touch with the husband's female relatives. The bones of the husband go over to the mother's house and eventually to the clan ossuary. The husband is also a potential manager of the property of his female relatives. She has therefore to take note of the order in age of her husband's sisters. As her husband uses the terms for sisters for the sisters-in-law, it is quite natural for her to extend such usage to her husband's sisters. The brothers of the husband do not count at all so far as the woman is concerned, and she will not therefore have any special term for them. As the sisters are referred to as Para Kynsi and Hymmen Kynsi, so will the brothers of the husband be referred to by similar terms. The absence of any sexual privileges between the woman and her

husband's brothers fits in with such a terminology of kinship. It has not however determined the terminology.

We have referred to an exception in the case of kinship terms used by a man. His relation with his wife's brothers is quite different from that of a woman with the husband's sisters. The wife's brother is the manager of the wife's ancestral property; also this uncle has to be associated with important rites at birth and death of the children of the sister. Nevertheless, the husband has also his own position. The house that he sets up after marriage belongs to his wife no doubt; but he is the master there. As Gurdon states "It is he who faces the dangers of the jungles and risks his life for wife and children. In his wife's clan he occupies a very high place, he is second to none but U Kni, the maternal uncle, while in his own family circle a father and a husband is nearer to his children and wife than U Kni. The Khasi saying is "U Kpa uba lah ban iai, U Kni Uba tang ba ka Iap ka im" which may be translated freely as "The father bears the heat and burden of the day, the maternal uncle only comes when it is a question of life or death."

A man and his wife's brother represent the two aspects of the relationship which binds every man in Khasi society to his mother's house and to his wife's house.

Clearly, the two men, the sister's husband and the wife's brother, each have rights which are similar. Also they have close contact in many matters. Their relationship to each other is however distinct from that of brothers. Among the latter, authority depends on seniority. Between the S.H and the W.B, such a question does not arise. Each is in a position of authority, but in a different sphere. A special term is obviously needed to denote this special relation, which is reciprocal.

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

GENNA.

784 The word *genna* is one in common use amongst the Naga tribes. It seems to be a matter of doubt whether the word belongs to any of the numerous languages or dialects spoken by these tribes; but for our purposes it may be taken to mean *taboo*. The Khasi word *sang*, which implies an interdiction either religious or social from doing any particular thing, might have been employed; but as the word *genna* is so commonly used when speaking of taboos amongst the hill tribes of this province, I have thought fit to employ it here. The word *genna*, or taboo, may be held to include the Khasi *sang*. Taboos amongst the Khasis, Wárs and Lynngams may be divided into
784 two sections; (*a*) general, and (*b*) special. Instances of general
609 taboo have not been found amongst the Khasis, but the follow-
688 ing taboo called *Ka sang kla* amongst the Wár villages of Sohbar and Nongjri is peculiar, and therefore worthy of description. Its chief peculiarity is that during the time the *sang kla* continues, the inhabitants of these two villages are not allowed to associate with foreigners. This *genna* takes place twice a year, in the months of June and November, and lasts for a month each time. During the *genna* foreigners are not allowed to stay the night in these two villages, and the villagers must not sleep the night outside their villages. If they do not return home for the night, they are subjected to a fine. There is a prohibition against eating, smoking, or chewing betel-nut with foreigners
784 during the period. The above is the only instance of general
609 taboo that I have been able to find amongst the Wárs, but in
582 the Lynngam villages there is a taboo on all outsiders at the time of the village pujas. Such a taboo amongst the Lynngams is not to be wondered at, as they have probably imbibed the notion from their Garo mothers, intermarriages between Lynngams and Garos being common. The Garos, like other Thibeto-Burmans, have numerous taboos. There are numerous
582 instances of special taboos among the Khasis. *Kaba*
784 *shong sang*, or marrying within the *kur* or clan, is the
783 most important taboo of all, and is regarded as the most
764 serious offence a Khasi can commit. It admits of no expiation, and the bones and ashes of the offender cannot be placed in the family tomb.

14:Roy I-5 (no date) 1938 AR7 Khasi AR7

602 join to the *a* woman in life through only one of the primary stages in the life essence when it was sustained through the umbilical cord.

Thus the connection of the *a* group is sustained to a much longer period and greater intensity in its life-formation to the *a* woman, than the *b* son.

Hence we have the double means of sustenace of life producing, through the umbilical cord and the breast, the single group *a*, while the single connection of life-formation through the umbilical cord produces a double a+b man-woman connection with the *b* son.

Thus he stands alone in the centre and he places his *jain na ka kpoh* (the kind which springs from the same womb), that is, those of (a) group (see tables) on one side, and he places his *kha* or those connected, or sprung of, the one umbilical cord, that is, those of (b) group on the other side. On the other side is *ka rynieng ka rngiew*, the 'stature', the person from which he also derives his. Then the Khasi calls the source (*thymmei*) from which he springs, *ko kur ka rngiew* (stature, person) *ki kha na uwei u sohpet* (those connected or sprung of one umbilical cord).

602 Thus the Khasi has his house of *ki kur ki jaid*
• 609 the relatives of his kind and species, and his world
156 of *ki kha ki man*, relatives of other people's kind and species with whom they are able to propagate human life.

This interesting Khasi fabric of human rela-
[186] tionship between man and his mother and father, of the connection between a man and his fellow-

14: Roy I-5 (no date) 1938 AR7 Khasi AR7

human beings all over the four quarters of the globe (*ehi snieh ka pyrthei*) with whom, in the world, he can give in marriage and take in marriage, shows the nature which is believed to be innate in the Khasi, and his supposed power of moulding the world. His nature is to grow and to resist, to extend and spread out. It is against his idea of life to remain narrow or limited and resourceless. He is not to be made small or made an orphan, it will not do for him and his idea of the world to '*sah khlem khun kelem kti*,' stay without kind and species, without child, without issue. A couple would even seek to separate if there are no children of the union. His idea is, so to say, 'imperialistic,' to sow and spread out. As I wrote elsewhere, "A Khasi marries men and women of all races; to his Khasi parent the issues are all one and the same without any distinction of caste or creed or colour or possessions. The children are the 'khun kha' (*khun* = child, *kha* = born, i.e. children who are born through the union of a descendant of the parent with a descendant of another parent), and these children are unified into families and are assimilated, in the Khasi idea of life, while these groups of families are traced to their mother and are made to revolve on this ancestress as the pivot of their existence."

Thus the Khasi shows :—

One one side – mother

Son—mother

which is, – mother

the son of one's own – his kinswoman

On the other side also he shows – mother

Son – mother

which is – Father's mother

the son of others his kinswoman

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

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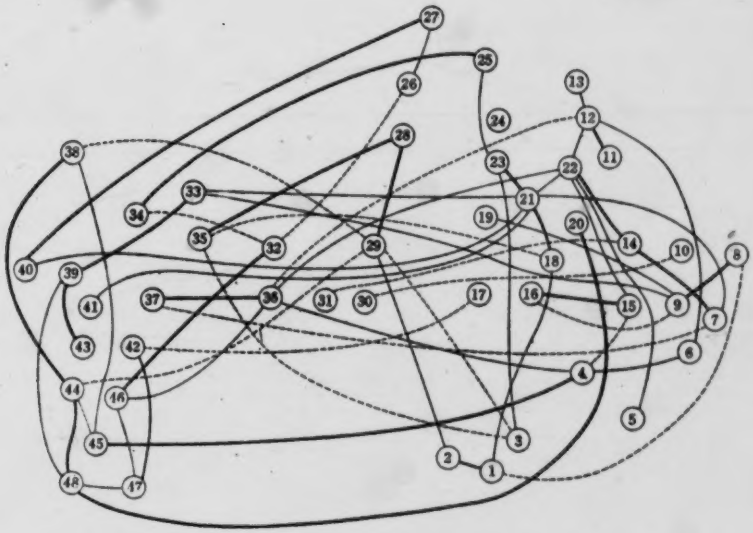

FIG. 10. — *Kinship and Household Location in Sohkynduh.*

——— Matrilineal kinships relations among household-owners;
——— Affinal relations (direct) among household-members;
- - - - - Affinal relations (indirect) among household-members.

particular two families are not restricted to one, but may be accumulated two or three, though I omitted to indicate these in Fig. 10.

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• 61
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There are some extensions of marriage relations with members outside the village. In Sohkynduh, out of 88 (48 houseowners and 40 their husbands) 13 men and 2 women came from neighbouring villages. Owing to the predominant uxorilocal arrangement, those who came in from outside the village were mostly men. By these members, five different *kur*, new to Sohkynduh, were found, as shown in List 7 (17-21). Most of these outsiders came from villages inside the Kadashinong, or villages no further than a day's journey there and back. This area might be called a secondary endogamous area, and includes more than half a dozen villages. In Kongton, 20 husbands and 3 women came from neighbouring villages by their marriages. The secondary endogamous areas of Kongton and of Sohkynduh are not the same but they overlap in certain places, the surrounding areas being centred on each village. There were, by December 1955, no instances of direct marriage between these two villages.

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There are a few exceptions to local endogamy, such as those individuals who have become Christians and are educated in towns like Shillong or Cherrapunjee. They usually move to a town, seeking

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR 7 Khasi AR 7

621 descent grouping are often different. This is a very similar pattern to the
[184] mobility which I discussed in Sohkynduh and Kongton (see p. 112).

One of the outstanding features in this community is the strong paternal authority, established especially in the first generation because the father's
178 (husband's) contribution was very important in such circumstances: their
593 domestic units were completely independent from the *iing* either of husband or wife. Some of them came with their wives, and many younger ones and
• 61 their sons brought their wives from their homeland afterwards, thus practising virilocal marriage.

621 They have an interesting social usage which reflects the importance of the husband of the first generation. This is the addition of the name of the husband of the first generation to the matrilineal clan name in order to differentiate each particular descent group established at Jatinga within the same clan. For instance, Rupsi-Tah, Rupsi-Loh, Rupsi-Khla and Rupsi-Lati are found in the Rupsi clan. Rupsi-Tah is one of the lines of the first immigrants to Jatinga, which I have mentioned as Rupsi: Tah was taken from Pryntah, the husband of Sintu (Rupsi) (see p. 171). Thus the present inhabitants of Jatinga are very conscious of their father or grandfather, though they strictly follow the matrilineal descent rule. From such a usage of naming a clan, the Indian officer, who gave me some information about Jatinga before I went there, made the mistaken deduction that they had changed from matrilineal to patrilineal, assuming this to have come about as a result of the influence of patrilineal tribes around Jatinga. But this is simply due to the fact, firstly, that they hold in high regard the man of the first generation, because of his great contribution; secondly, that they distinguish themselves from members of the same clan according to the descent group established at each immigration; in other words, it indicates each *iing* grouping in the village.

178 The fundamental Khasi social organization based on the matrilineal system
did not change at all. I could observe in Jatinga exactly the same principle
184 in action as I had found in Sohkynduh and Kongton. The village endogamy has also been well established in the present generation: there are about 20 dif-
582 ferent clans which can intermarry, and taking a spouse from an outside com-
61 munity has become very rare nowadays. Marriage patterns in relation to the *iing* structure and all its related aspects are surprisingly similar to that of the
621 communities in the Khasi Hills. The solidarity of the *iing* is even greater in Jatinga, particularly among the rich, because of the greater accumulation of wealth and greater economic activity, which also increases the authority of the *iing* as manager of considerable property—this was also the case with the Shella people. Jatinga demonstrates that in spite of colonization and of a significant change in economic activities, Khasi social organization has maintained itself intact. This situation is in contrast with the considerable social changes observed among the Garo community in colonial areas like Rinsibara and Joshipara.

621 *Intermarriage.*

178 From the earliest period of the establishment of Jatinga up to the present,
582 some changing aspects of marriage patterns relating to intermarriages are to be observed.

563 As I stated before, in the earlier period, the people used to bring their spouses from their homeland, but they also married neighbouring tribal peoples, namely,
563 the Zemi-Naga, the Kuki and the Cacharee of villages close to Jatinga, and
621 also the Lushai, the Bengalee, the Moslem and the Anglo-Indian who lived in Haflong, the biggest political and commercial centre in the Hills, situated

I: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

or Mynnār, spoken in the extreme north, and there may be others. A great desideratum for linguistic purposes is a more adequate method of recording sounds, and especially differences of tone, than that adopted for the standard speech, which though sufficient for practical purposes, does not accurately represent either the quantity or the quality of the vowels, and leaves something to be desired as regards the consonants (especially those only faintly sounded or suppressed). These things, no doubt, will come in time. The immense advance which has been made in education by the Khasis during the last half-century has enabled some among them to appreciate the interesting field for exploration and study which their own country and people afford; and there is reason to hope that with European guidance the work of record will progress by the agency of indigenous students.

It remains to summarize briefly the principal distinctive features of this vigorous and sturdy race, who have preserved their independence and their ancestral institutions through many centuries in the face of the attractions offered by the alien forms of culture around them.

In the first place, their social organization presents one of the most perfect examples still surviving of matriarchal institutions, carried out with a logic and thoroughness which, to those accustomed to regard the status and authority of the father as the foundation of society, are exceedingly remarkable. Not only is the mother the head and source, and only bond of union, of the family: in the most primitive part of the hills, the Synteng country, she is the only owner of real property, and through her alone is inheritance transmitted. The father has no kinship with his children, who belong to their mother's clan; what he earns goes

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

MARRIAGE.

591 It is proposed in this section to consider marriage from its social side, the religious aspect thereof being reserved for another paragraph. The most remarkable feature of the Khasi marriage is that it is usual for the husband to live with his wife in his mother-in-law's house, and not for him to take his bride home, as is the case in other communities. This arrangement amongst the Khasis is no doubt due to the prevalence of the matriarchate. As long as the wife lives in her mother's house, all her earnings go to her mother, who expends them on the maintenance of the family. Amongst the Khasis, after one or two children are born, and if a married couple get on well together, the husband frequently removes his wife and family to a house of his own, and from the time the wife leaves her mother's house she and her husband pool their earnings, which are expended for the support of the family. Amongst
591 the Syntengs, however, and the people of Maoshai, the case
576 is different, for with them the husband does not go and live in his mother-in-law's house, he only visits her there. In Jowai some people admitted to me that the husband came to his mother-in-law's house only after dark, and that he did not eat, smoke, or even partake of betel-nut there, the idea being that lessener none of his earnings go to support this house, therefore it is not etiquette for him to partake of food or other refreshment there. If a Syntengs house is visited, it is unusual to find the husbands of any of the married daughters there, although the sons of the family may be seen in the house when they have returned from work. Generally in the day-time you will find in a Syntengs dwelling an old crone, who is the grandmother, or even the great-grandmother, of the family, also grandchildren or great-grandchildren; but the husbands of the
796 married daughters are not there. The Syntengs seem to have
611 more closely preserved the customs of the matriarchate than the Khasis, and the Syntengs claim that their sajen or religious ceremonies are purer, i.e. that they more closely conform to what they were in ancient times than those of the
589 Khasis. Amongst the Syntengs, ceremonially, a widow is
765 allowed to keep her husband's house after his death, on cer-

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

INHERITANCE.

The Khasi and Syntengs laws of inheritance are practically the same, although in some of the doloships in the Jaintia Hills there are some slight differences. The Wár law of inheritance differs greatly from that of the Khasis, and the customs of the Bhoi or Mikirs, who inhabit the Bhoi doloship of the Jaintia Hills, are totally different from those of the Khasis, thereby supplying another link in the chain of evidence in support of the conclusion that the Bhois, or, more correctly speaking, the Mikirs, are of Bodo origin, and not Khasi or Mon-Anam. The Lyngngams follow the Khasi law of inheritance. It will be convenient to describe the Khasi law first, and then to pass on to the special customs in vogue in the different doloships in the Jaintia Hills, and, finally, to describe the Wár, Bhoi and Lyngngam customs.

The Khasi saying is, "*long jaid ua ka kyntheí*" (from the women sprang the clan). The Khasis, when reckoning descent count from the mother only; they speak of a family of brothers and sisters, who are the great grandchildren of one great grandmother, as *shi kynd*, which, being literally translated, is one womb, i.e. the issue of one womb. The man is nobody. If he is a brother, a *kur*, a brother being taken to mean an uterine brother, or a cousin-german, he will be lost to the family or clan directly he marries. If he be a husband, he is looked upon merely as a *shong kha*, a begetter. In some of the Wár villages a newly married man is spoken of by the bride's family as, "*u khun ki kniaw*," some one else's son. It is, perhaps, somewhat of a paradox under the circumstances that wives should address their husbands as "*kynrad*," or lord. There is, however, no gainsaying the fact that the husband, at least in theory, is a stranger in his wife's house, and it is certain that he can take no part in the rites and ceremonies of his wife's family, and that his ashes after death can find no place within the wife's family tomb, except, in certain cases, amongst the Syntengs. Further, the ceremonial religion amongst Khasis, especially that of the house, is in the hands of the women. It is, therefore, perhaps not to be wondered at, considering the important status assigned to women by the Khasis, that women

l: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

or difference. It is owing to these three different names being 101
used for the same people that there has been so much confusion about Lyngams previously; e.g. at one census they were named *Lyngam*, at another they received the appellation of Garo, and at a third enumeration they were called Khasis. In Section I. 131
the habitat of the Lyngams has been roughly defined. It is 361
impossible to define the Lyngam country exactly, because 173
these people are continually shifting their village sites owing to the exigencies of *jhum* cultivation, which has been described in Section II. Some of the Lyngams preserve a tradition that they originally came from the Kamrup plains. It is interesting that a people, like the Garos in so many respects, should have the same idea as the Garos as to the hills on the south bank of the Brahmaputra not always having been their abode. The Garo legend is that they dwelt for 173
some years in the Goalpara and Kamrup plains after they 361
descended from Thibet, and before they moved to the Garo 144
Hills; and there is unmistakable evidence of their occupation of both districts in the shape of certain Garo villages on both banks of the Brahmaputra for some little distance up the river. If, as I suspect, the Lyngams are an offshoot of the Garos, it is, perhaps, possible that they entered the Khasi Hills much in the same way as the Garos entered the hill district to which they have given their name. The Lyngams are much darker 142
than the Khasis, and possess the Thibeto-Burman type of 177
feature often to a marked degree. It is not extraordinary that they should have adopted some of the Khasi customs, for the Khasis, being the stronger people, would in course of time be
found to influence them in this respect. That the Lyngams 411
observe the matriarchate and erect (some clans) memorial 211
stones is not peculiar, because the Garos, like the Khasis, are 764
also a matriarchal people (to a limited degree), and the custom of erecting memorial stones is not confined to the Khasis, for other hill tribes in Assam observe the practice, e.g. certain Naga tribes and the Mikirs; and the Garos themselves put up carved posts, called *kima*, in honour of the departed. Although 582
there is not much intermarriage between the Khasis and the 101
Lyngams nowadays, perhaps in days gone by there was a 144
mixture of blood, the result being the hybrid race we are now

8: Gurdon G-3 (no date) 1904 AR7 Khasi AR7

—the *Shyngkup*, or porch, being flush with the ground. The *nengpei*, or 342
centre room, is approached by a flight of steps. There are no windows, except one, which is bored on one side to admit light and air,—this is called the *pongshai*. Both Khasis and Syntengs, like other Indo-Chinese 524
races, are much addicted to gambling, and drinking to excess is a 273
national vice. Christianity has, through the agency of the Welsh Cal- 797
vinistic Mission, gained a very striking extension, and may be said in- 177
deed to be leavening the whole nation. Schools are numerous, and are pretty well attended by girls as well as boys. The Christians, and those who have come under the influence of Christianity, have adopted a high standard of comfort, and their houses resemble English cottages more nearly than the huts with which one is familiar in India.

Agriculture.—The Khasis do not use the plough; they cultivate their 241
fields with a peculiar-shaped hoe, or *mokkhiew*. They cultivate rice in the valleys, the rice being sown broadcast and the fields irrigated often after considerable labour. They also cultivate hill rice on the uplands, which they sow broadcast. The potato, which was introduced into the [177]
Khasi Hills by Mr. David Scott about the [439]
year 1830,[1] is extensively cultivated and forms one of the principal articles of export. Job's-tears (*Coix lachryma*), several kinds of millet, Indian-corn, the *Sohphlang* (*Flemingia vestita*), are also largely cultivated. The valleys on the 245
southern slopes of the hills have extensive orange groves, the oranges, especially those grown in the neighbourhood of Shella, being famous for their quality. The betel, vine, and areca nut are also largely grown on the southern side of the hills and in the low valleys, these plantations being irrigated by elaborate systems of aqueducts. The leaf of the bay tree (*Tatyrpad*) is collected, and is exported to the Sylhet plains. The [439]
Syntengs differ from the Khasis, in that they make use of the plough. Both Khasis and Syntengs are industrious cultivators, and they possess a certain rough and ready knowledge of the uses of manure. A more detailed description of agriculture in these hills will be given in the monograph.

[1] Khasi and Jaintia Hills Administration Report for 1875-76 by Colonel Bivar.

2. *Matriarchal customs and law of inheritance of property.*—The 611
mother is the head of the house, and is both owner and the custodian of 428
the family property as long as she lives. Males can own no property amongst either Khasis or Syntengs except self-acquired property. On the death of the mother, in the case of the Khasis, the family property passes to the youngest daughter. According to some authorities, however, the property would in practice be divided amongst all the surviving daughters. Failing daughters, the property passes to the youngest niece, and failing a niece, to the youngest female cousin. The same

8: Gurdon G-3 (no date) 1904 AR7 Khasi AR7

611 428 custom prevails amongst the Syntengs. Inheritance to the post of Siem (or chief) also passes through the female line, there being special customs of inheritance for each of the different chiefships.

3. The Khasis are divided into clans, or *kur*. These clans are 614 strictly exogamous. Some of these clans derive their names from animals, insects, trees or fish,—*e.g.*, the *tham* clan, *tham* meaning a crab; the *shrieh* clan, *shrieh* meaning a monkey; the *rani* clan, so called from a fish by name *rani*; the *diengdoh* clan, *diengdoh* meaning a certain tree. There are other instances also. In each instances, the clan is said to have sprung from the animal, fish, or tree, as the case may be. There thus appears to be a trace of totemism amongst the Khasis, although now-a-days their totems are not worshipped, nor do people abstain from killing, eating, or utilizing them. A man when he marries does not cease to belong to the *kur* or family of his mother, but his children belong to the *kur* of the man's wife. Frequently the husband merely visits his wife at her mother's house. It is seldom the case that a man takes his wife to his own house, certainly not until several children have been born.

As might be expected, owing to the influence of the marriarchate, 562 Khasi and Synteng women enjoy a much greater share of liberty than is usually the case with the sex. Although not wishing to make any general insinuations, there can be no doubt that Khasi women enjoy considerable freedom in their sexual relations. Women do all the trading, and like their Manipuri sisters make all the bazar purchases.

769 4. *Ancestor worship.*—The Khasis propitiate *Ka Iawbei*, the first maternal ancestress of the clan, by sacrificing a pig; they also sacrifice yearly to *U Suidnia* (the departed maternal great-uncle). Also when a family is in trouble, *U Thawlang* (the departed great-grandfather) is propitiated. Ancestors are further worshipped by the erection of memorial stones. These memorial stones will be noticed separately.

5. *Birth customs.*—At the birth the navel of a child must not be 844 severed by any instrument made of iron or steel, but by a sharp splinter of bamboo. The placenta is placed in a pot and is kept inside the house till the ceremony of naming the child takes place. As long as the placenta remains in the house, the latter is *sang*, or taboo, to anyone except the members of the family. On the day of the ceremony of naming the child, the father removes the placenta and buries it outside the house. Having done this, the feet of the father are washed with water before he re-enters the house. When the ceremony takes place, powdered rice is placed on a sieve (*u prah*) and a small bow and three arrows if the child is a male, and a *wait* (or *da*) and a star or (cane strap) (worn across the forehead when carrying a load by the Khasis), if the child is a female.

Il: Chattopadhyay E-4, 5 (no date) 1941 AR7 Khasi AR7

from the wife of mother's brother by a term denoting relationship through the father. The mother's brother's wife was stated by my informants in Mawphlang not to be denoted by the term "Kha" or "Knia Kha" which was applied only to the father's sister. She was merely Knia. 601

(*d*) A man and his wife applied to the brothers and sisters of the spouse, with one exception the same terms (with a term added to qualify) of relationship as for own brothers and sisters. This practice is extended also to the children of these relatives. The exception occurs with regard to the term used by a man towards his sister's husband, and by the latter to him. It is a single special term, the distinction extending to the term of address. In the other cases, the qualifying term even is dropped in address and no distinction is then made between a sister and the wife's sister, or a brother and the husband's brother.

In order to appreciate the significance of features of Khasi Kinship, it is necessary to note in brief, the rules of descent, inheritance, and succession among the Khasis. An excellent summary of these have been given by Gurdon. The rules of inheritance and land tenure have been further elucidated by Cantlie and others in the work already mentioned. I shall illustrate essential points in the next chapter with reference to the genealogies included in this paper, and also note certain additional details which were observed by me. 601 611

Abbreviations used in the kinship table are those employed in an earlier paper. They are noted below :—

F—father.	M—mother.	B—brother.
S—sister.	Z—son.	D—daughter.
H—husband.	W—wife.	C—child.
e—elder.	y—younger.	o—older.
m.s.—man speaking.	w.s.—woman speaking.	

The prefixes U and Ka have not been noted in the case of most of the kinship terms as superfluous.

[p.19]

CHAPTER II

Descent, among Khasis, is counted through the mother; residence is also matrilocal. A woman lives with her mother from her birth until some time after her marriage. After one or two children have been born her husband may build for his family a house on the village land, in the village of the wife; this house becomes her property. The ancestral house goes to the youngest daughter. In the absence of a daughter the next youngest sister's youngest daughter becomes the heiress. Rarely, a man will take his wife to his mother's village. This case will be considered later. 591 [611] 428

A man is born, in the house of the mother's mother, or if the parents have built a separate house, in the house of his mother. He continues to live there until his marriage, when he generally goes to live in the wife's mother's house, whether it is in the same village or a different village.

The myntri U Subu Rai married in the village of Mawphlang, where his mother also lived, and built the house, which is known as his house. It is, technically, the property of his wife Ka Shyrngeh and will be inherited by Ka Dhuibon, and thereafter, by Ka Elistima. The house of U Subu Rai's mother, Ka Jin has been inherited by Ka Eiribon, and will go in the next generation to Ka Pres. If the latter has no daughters, the property will go to Ka Drel and failing her heiress, to Ka Phre and then to Ka Lamih. If she has no issue, it will pass to her sister Ka Lasuk and so on to Ka Lajer. If Ka Lajer has no daughters, the property will go to Ka Jem's family to her youngest daughter Ka Aibon. As she has only sons, the next heiress will be Ka Synon, and if she predeceases Ka Aibon or has no daughters, the girl Ka Risibon will inherit next. If 428

13: Mukherjee E-5 (1954)1958 AR7 Khasi AR7

[p.208]

SOCIAL GROUPINGS AMONG THE KHASIS OF ASSAM

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Introduction

131 611 421 [591] [192]

THE Khasis, who inhabit the United Khasi and Jaintia Hills district of Assam, are matrilineal. Like the Garos, they, are matrilocal in residence. Exclusive ownership over family property is claimed by the Khasi women and the youngest daughter (*Ka-Khadduh*) who lives permanently in the house of her mother, is the custodian of the family property and the holder of religion (*Ka bat ka-niam*)[1].

121

This paper deals with the social groupings, namely, the clan, sub-clan and family, of the Khasis. The materials were collected in 1954 from Mawphlang, Cherapunji and Mamluh and Mawsmai villages farther south of the Chera State.

Discussion

192 614 [562] [611]

In the language of the Khasi, the prefix *Ka* is usually used before the name of a woman or any object belonging to a woman (or considered feminine). The use of *Ka* as a prefix before the name of each social group is suggested to have bearing on Khasi matriliny. *Kur* is not a very expressive and exact term for a clan. *Kakur*, which is supposed to have sprung from the woman (*long jaid na ka kynthei*)[2] is more exact. Similarly, *Ka-K'poh* and *Ka-iing* denote the sub-clan and family respectively.

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[1] Gurdon, P. R. T., *The Khasis*, London, 1914 p. 88.

[2] Op, cit, page 82.

14:Roy I-5 (no date) 1938 AR7 Khasi AR7

IV. THE PLACE OF THE KHASI IN THE WORLD.

By

David Roy

131 The Khasi country lies in the hills of the province of Assam in North East India. Khasi clans [614] [611] are exogamous and matrilneal, and the Khasis speak a [197] MonKhmer language.

121 In speaking of the place of the Khasi in the world I intend to explain the Khasi's own view of his relation to other peoples of the world.*

829 The Khasi is very conscious of his importance. He says a Khasi claims to be the centre of the world. The Khasi has acquired such a feeling of self-importance from his great confidence in himself; and this confidence he has derived from the position in which his relationship-terminology represents him as standing with respect to himself and the world around him. Or, rather, his relationshisp terms and language are an expression of his attitude and notions.

601 The Khasi says—*Ka Kamis* (mother)

U Khun (son) — *Ka Kmis* (mother)

Which is—His mother

Himself (male) — His sister (female)

He calls this the family. Then he says—

Ka Kamis Kha (Father's mother)

U Kpa Kha (Father, Father's brother) (male) — *Ka Nia Kha* Father Father's sister (female)

[114] The writer of th is article is himself a Khasi (Christian).

14: Roy I-5 (no date) 1938 AR7 Khasi AR7

human beings all over the four quarters of the globe 156
(*ehi snieh ka pyrthei*) with whom, in the world, he 602
can give in marriage and take in marriage, shows the 609
nature which is believed to be innate in the Khasi, and 186
his supposed power of moulding the world. His nature is to grow and to resist, to extend and spread out. It is against his idea of life to remain narrow or limited and resourceless. He is not to be made small or made an orphan, it will not do for him and his idea of the world to '*sah khlem khun kelem kti*,' stay without kind and species, without child, without issue. A couple would even seek to separate if [586] there are no children of the union. His idea is, so to say, 'imperialistic,' to sow and spread out. As I wrote elsewhere, "A Khasi marries men and women of all races; to his Khasi parent the issues are all one and the same without any distinction of caste or creed or colour or possessions. The children are the 'khun kha' 611
(*khun* = child, *kha* = born, i.e. children who are born through the union of a descendant of the parent with a descendant of another parent), and these children are unified into families and are assimilated, in the Khasi idea of life, while these groups of families are traced to their mother and are made to revolve on this ancestress as the pivot of their existence."

Thus the Khasi shows :— 601 611 156

One one side – mother
|
Son—mother
which is, – mother
|
the son of one's own – his kinswoman

On the other side also he shows – mother
|
Son – mother
which is – Father's mother
|
the son of others his kinswoman

14:Roy I-5 (no date) 1938 AR7 Khasi AR7

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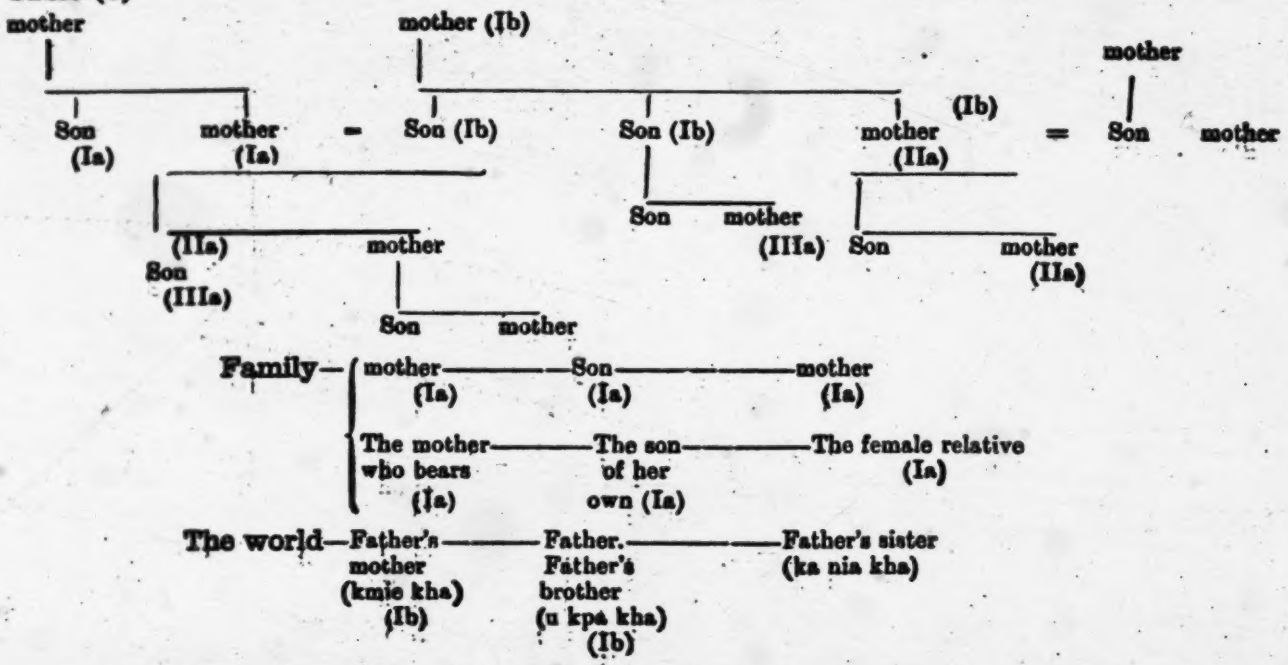
In their midst the Khasi places himself always as the son of the world, thus—

Table (3)



14: Roy I-5 (no date) 1938 AR7 Khasi AR7

For the species to increase and continue he says, Here—

The mother to bear and give birth—	—	The son of others	The aunt *ka nia kha* (father's sister)	Ia Ib

156 601 611

For the house to continue and the world to remain he says, Here—

The aunt *ka nia kha* (father's sister)	—	The son *u khun kha* (son of brother of ka nia kha)	The cousin *ka bakha* (daughter of *ka nia kha*) father's sister)	Ib IIa

For the person (*rngiew*) to crystalise, and the stature (rynieng) to remain he says, Here—

father's mother (*ka kmie kha*) —	The son *u khun kha* (son of brother of *ka nia kha*, who is grandson of *ka kmie kha* (father's mother)	The cousin *ka para kha* (daughter of father's brother)	Ib IIIa

The Khasi knows the 'sang' (*sacra*, sacred, that which is forbidden as sacred). He has experimented and therefore he says *ka sang iap* (*lit.*, that which is 'sacred' or forbidden or taboo unto death) in the case of those who committed incest in the same *jaid*, kind, species, that is, those of the *a* group. It is sacrilege. There is no greater punishment than for this sin,—a punishment so severe that the Khasi will not permit the bones of these transgressors to enter the family cairn. Similarly they regard as an act of sacrilege for children of brothers (*shi para kha*) to inter-marry. Thus the Khasi regards as 'sacred', that is, forbidden or tabooed, for those who are sprung of or connected through the same womb, and for those who are generated of and are suspended from or strung to one umbilical cord in origin, to marry. That is they regard as *sang* for the *a*+*b* man—woman group to marry the *b* son. [see Tables (1) & (2)].

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15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

absence of A, D, E, K and N, U succeeds to the office if he is grown up. 613
If U is too young, a chance arises for F's husband, if F is alive, if not, for M's husband.[1] In the event that none of these males be available, finally the office is taken by F and then by M. It should be noted that the office assumed by F's husband, M's husband, F or M would have to be returned to M's son, as soon as he comes of age. These cases are considered a temporary measure to meet an emergency.

The Khasi follow a strict descent line, and neither a classificatory 611
uncle (or brother) is allowed to take over the authority of the *iing*,[2] 613
though if there is no successor to the property, a daughter may be adopted from the nearest matrilineal descent group. Instead of the adoption of a daughter, the following steps may also be taken. The property is handed over to the nearest matrilineal descent group; or if there is a son, he may inherit his father's or mother's acquired property, but ancestral property should go to a matrilineal kin. In such cases, the particular *iing* actually becomes extinct: in the former case, though the property is handed over to another *iing*, this *iing* belongs to the same matrilineal line; in the latter, the property goes eventually to the son's wife and to his children, i.e. an *iing* of an entirely different *kur*. The latter arrangement suggests that though the Khasi follow the strict descent line, so far as the acquired property is concerned, the child has primary rights over the mother's other matrilineal kin, as expressed by the son's right of inheritance in the absence of a daughter. In this way, the *iing* may become extinct by the death of the female member who has no daughter.

The Khasi consider the *iing* institution as the basic and most 613
important functional unit; it represents also the religious unit which keeps ancestral property and shares a common religious ceremony. This is indeed the key to the whole Khasi social organization.

III. Residential Unit

In this section I shall deal with the relation between the *iing* and 592
the domestic dwelling unit and examine the type of relation maintain- 593
ed between the marital family (husband, wife and children) and the 613
iing. Among the Garo, the *nok* corresponds to the actual group of individuals residing within one household. Upon this point the Khasi system is more complicated since spouses of members of the *iing* are excluded from the *iing*.

1. This would only arise in cases where the husbands of F or M live in the same household as their wives.
2. In the case of succession to the chieftainship, a classificatory sister's son is taken in the absence of a direct nephew or brother

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

household are easily understandable in the light of the economic aspect of the fission of the *iing*. As I stated before, the non-heiress is given hardly any share of the property of her natal *iing* on her marriage (if the *iing* is rich a non-heiress and the sons may receive some part), and even if her new household happens to face serious economic difficulty, her natal *iing*, whose authority is vested in her brother, does not usually help her. This fact clearly suggests that brothers can have only limited rights over the elder sister's *iing*. 613

This is the crucial point of the Khasi matrilineal system. The *iing* is a very restricted descent group, giving opportunities to split off by those who have no right to inheritance. The *iing* has vertical continuity without expansion in collateral lines. Therefore, even the siblings of the same mother do not always form a completely constant unit of a functional descent group, since the elder sisters are oriented by their marriages to form a new *iing*, though they may retain their membership in their natal *iing*. The central core of the *iing* is the particular sibling bond between a sister (the heiress) and a brother (the authority), a pair of statuses. Other sisters are ready to leave and other brothers are fluid members, clearly differentiated in status from that particular brother (authority) and sister (heiress). This structural principle should be compared with other matrilineal descent groups, whose sibling group is based on interdependence between members of a group, not between particular persons or statuses. The structural unit of the Khasi social organization, is *not* the descent group based on sibling links, but the *iing*, though descent is the principal factor, and the limiting one, in the formation of the *iing* institution. The descent factor is delineated by the functional force of the inheritance rule through female ultimogeniture, which results in constant internal fission and segmentation in the descent group. Technically, it is very similar to the process of fission of the Garo *nok* on the unigeniture principle, though the internal structure is different. 182 611 613 [171]

The establishment of a new household by a Khasi woman with her husband, means the beginning of the establishment of a new *iing*, separated from her natal *iing* not only in residence but also sociologically. In other words, it is the process of fission and segmentation of an *iing*, matrilineal descent group. Therefore, a woman who has once established a new household independent of her natal household, will not go back to her natal house i.e. her mother's descent group, though her bond with her mother's descent group remains undiminished. Of course she may visit her natal *iing* occasionally, but in fact, much less than her husband will visit his natal *iing*. In this respect as well the Khasi manifest structural differences from the Ashanti as described by Fortes, where a mother goes back to her own matricentral household and often prefers to reside there (Fortes, 1949, p. 77). Even [171] 000

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7
Garo AR5

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I

The discussion of Parts I and II reveals that the social structure of the Garo and the Khasi differ greatly. Similarity is found only at the level of the minimum criteria of matrilineal systems: the basic succession rules of mother-daughter, mother's brother-sister's son; and the fact that property is owned by the woman, but the controlling power and authority over it are in the hands of the man.

One of the most outstanding structural differences between the two lies in the composition of a property group: the property group of the Khasi is formed by a descent group at a shallow generation depth, while that of the Garo is maintained by the cooperation of two local lines, each of which represents a localized lineage group. Hence the descent group of the former tends to have stronger solidarity, whereas the latter tends to be weakened in its solidarity.

In a broad framework, in terms of social organization, the Garo fall structurally into a category based on the moiety arrangement, in which patrilineal systems, such as the Murngin, and the Kariera, etc., are also to be found. Theoretically, this type of mechanism is operative in either matrilineal or patrilineal systems: by the exchange of men in the former and the exchange of women in the latter.

On the other hand, the Khasi system presents more outstanding features of a type which is generally accepted as belonging to matrilineal systems. However, the basic structural traits of this system may also be found among patrilineal systems, in terms of relatively stronger descent group solidarity.

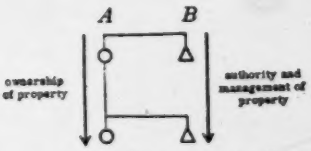

FIG. 12. — *Succession Lines of Female and Male in the Matrilineal System.*

Lines *A* and *B* may include sister-sister, and brother-brother relation respectively, also members of classificatory category; variations in these minor points depend on each matrilineal system.

Though both matrilineal and patrilinal systems may share such basic structural categories, they differ significantly in the following respects: in matrilineal systems, the ownership of property and the authority over the property group never rest in one person, as in the case of the father/husband of the patrilineal systems, and the succession to these two offices follows the female line (mother-daughter) and the male line (mother's brother-sister's son) as shown in line *A* and line *B* in Fig. 12. This duality of office-holding individuals within the succession rule is the intrinsic cause

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7
Garo AR5

of complications and variations in matrilineal systems. The matrilineal system is not a mirror of the patrilineal system; it is a different system in which more complicated mechanisms are involved. This complexity of the matrilineal system is a decided handicap when it comes to resisting radical economic changes. In order to preserve the system, a fairly stable economy is required, well-balanced in its population and resources. This may be one of the reasons for the rapid disintegration or unstability of social organization of matrilineal peoples in the world.

The difficulty of preserving in function both lines *A* and *B* is caused by residential problems—individual marriages which contradict the sibling cohesion. According to my theoretical analysis, there are four alternative ways of resolving such contradictory factors, each case being represented by actual ethnographic samples.[1] Each arrangement represents a different degree of the function of the two lines *A* and *B* in relation to the residential pattern, as following (see Fig. 13):

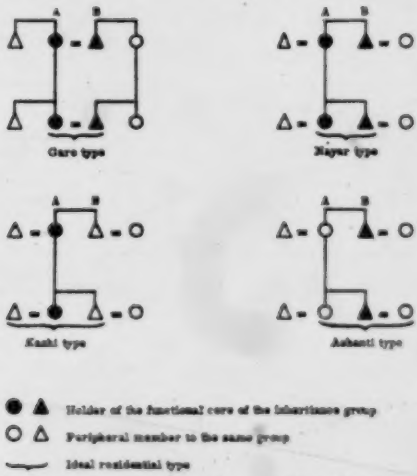

FIG. 13. — *Central Core of Matrilineages in Relation to Property Groups and Residential Groups.*

The Garo type: The co-residential type is 'husband-wife' instead of 'brother-sister.' The function of both lines *A* and *B* is equally strong. This is kept by the marriage contract between two local lines, so that it is possible to keep the function of each line against the residential separation of the two lines in one descent group. This type is found at the moment only among the Garo.

1. For this discussion I take only such major matrilineal samples for which ample documentation is available.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7 •
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The Nayar type: The counter scheme of the Garo type: the co-residential type is 'brother-sister' instead of 'husband-wife.' The function of both line *A* and *B* is equally strong. This type is found among the traditional Nayar (except those in North Malabar) and the Minangkabau matrilineal people.

The Khasi type: The ideal co-residential type consists of a woman with either her husband or her brother. The function of line *A* is much stronger than that of line *B*. This type is found among the Khasi, the Hopi, the Zuni, the Trukese, the Negri-Sembilan Malay, the Yao, etc.

The Ashanti type: The ideal co-residential type consists of a man with either his wife or his sister. The function of line *B* is much stronger than that of line *A*. This type is found among the Ashanti, the Gwembe Tonga, the Mayombe, the Trobriands, the Nayar of North Malabar, etc.

In terms of the strong function of both lines *A* and *B*, both the Garo type and the Nayar type may fall into a similar category. But as already explained, their structure basically differs from one another, and clearly appears as the counter schemes of different residential arrangements. The Nayar type shares with the Khasi a rather similar structure in terms of a descent group equated with a property group, while in the Garo type the two lines *A* and *B* of a single descent group never form an independent property unit.

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If, leaving aside the Garo type, we consider the three others, the Nayar type appears again different from the rest in so far as in it, both lines fulfill an equally strong function, while in the Khasi and Ashanti types, one of the two lines is always more developed functionnally than the other. The Nayar type presents the highest degree of descent group solidarity among the three. This Nayar situation might be compared with that of the traditional Chinese patrilineal systems.[1] In both social systems the structural importance of marriage is minimized: the role of a spouse is only to ensure descendants of the matrilineal (patrilineal) group. The structural importance of a husband (wife) is almost neglected, while the wife (husband) holds the paramount locus in her (his) descent line. The descent group manifests the strongest solidarity within itself, neglecting affinal relations with other groups. This principle results in the custom of the "visiting husband" in the matrilineal system; and, in the patrilineal system, in a total social shift of the wife by her complete assimilation into her husband's group, and separation from her descent group,—she has no social and personal independent locus in terms of the structure. It is an interesting fact that the most extreme scheme of highly institutionalized unilineal systems can be seen among societies of pre-industrialized high civilization. These schemes are structurally opposed to those of the system of the moiety

1. Fortes touches this point in his paper (Fortes, 1959, p. 208).

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arrangement, such as the Garo and the Murngin, where both wife and husband keep important social positions as representatives of each descent group.

Leaving the Garo and the Nayar types, the following discussion deals with the implications of the differences between the Khasi type and the Ashanti type. The degree of function of the two lines *A* and *B*, is related to the residential arrangement. A household of the Khasi type includes the matrilineage women and either their husbands or brothers—brother's wives are excluded as a rule. A household of the Ashanti type includes the matrilineage men and either their wives or sisters—sister's husbands are excluded as a rule. Among the Khasi as I have already explained (p. 127), a woman and her brother's wife are never found as members of a common household, while among the Ashanti, as Fortes states, a man and his wife's brother are never found as members of a common household. In the former, since a woman is the centre of the matrilineage, her husband stands socially closer to her matrilineage than she does to his—the husband shares the matrilineage dwelling, while a man being a peripheral member, his wife is excluded as a rule from his matrilineage residence (hence predominantly uxorilocal);[1] the Ashanti type examplifies exactly the opposite case (predominantly virilocal or avunculocal).

The crucial point in which lies the difference between the Khasi and Ashanti types is the rule of inheritance. In matrilineal systems, as a rule, the ancestral property is inherited by the matrilineal descent group. The starting point of the difference is really in the ways of inheritance of the *acquired property* particularly by the husband. So long as a man remains with his matrilineage members, both types show no difference. The crucial difference appears in the married life. In the Khasi type, if a man builds an independent house in which to live with his wife and children, that house and his acquired property during his matrimonial life automatically belong to and are inherited by his wife and children. On the other hand, in the Ashanti type, if a man builds an independent house in which to live with his wife and children, that house and his acquired property belong as a rule to him and are inherited by his matrilineal group, not by his wife and children. In case of divorce or death of a spouse, the difference between the Khasi and the Ashanti types appears most clearly: in the former, it is the husband who leaves, and in the latter it is the wife and children who leave. Hence the residence pattern reflects

1. Among the Yao-Cewa group, which I classify into the Khasi type, a senior brother who is selected for the position of head of a mereal family, takes his wife with him. This virilocal marriage should be considered as an exceptional case applied to only such a particular member. Such special arrangement is also found among the Nayar where duolocal arrangement is general rule.

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these rules, as the Khasi type tends to a uxorilocal arrangement, while the Ashanti type tends to a virilocal or avunculocal arrangement.[1]

In the Khasi type, the residential arrangement is the decisive factor for a man's economic achievement. The men, though they keep close social and ritual ties with their matrilineage, are divorced economically from their matrilineal descent group.[2] On the other hand, in the Ashanti type, where the matrilineal rule is the decisive factor, men keep strong social, ritual and economic ties with their descent group at the expense of the women's and children's residential mobility. However, these women are not like men of the Khasi type; as among the Ashanti, women mostly go back to their matrilineage at a late stage of their married life. In the case of the Trobriands, the wife stays all her married life at her husband's house while her sons go back to her matrilineage, and her daughters leave for their husbands' house at their marriage. This can be considered as the exact opposite of what happens in the Khasi type. The matrilineage represented by men keeps its function and solidarity at the expense of the women. There, the female line (mother-daughter) is broken, in practice, by the residential arrangement, as was broken the male line (mother's brother-sister's son) in the Khasi type. The actual tie of the Trobriand wife to her matrilineage is maintained through the presents her brothers send her, not through mother, sister or daughter. That of the Khasi husband is maintained through his youngest sister or niece, not through his brother or nephew. Thus Trobriand wives and Khasi husbands are marginal members of the matrilineage. These facts show that they sacrifice either the male (*B*) or the female (*A*) line to the co-habitation of wife and husband. Unless they have a structural arrangement like that of the Garo, the co-residence of the married couple is the crucial factor which modifies the matrilineal system.

The Ashanti manifest great unstability in this respect, since they do not like to sacrifice either line *A* or *B*, though actually line *A* is much weaker than *B*. The mother wishes to be with her daughter and son, while the mother's brother wishes to be with his sister's son, yet they do wish to have co-habitation in their marriage—combining theoretically opposed factors. This is also the case which I found among the Nayar in the transitional stage of the disintegra-

1. These arguments do not mean that all members of a society act in the same way; in any society, considerable variations in residential pattern are found in individual cases. What is important here is the model, and the orientation of ideas of the people, the pattern of which is usually followed by the majority of the people in a given society, at a given time.

2. Among the Khasi, though the authority of the *siag* may keep the account and manage his sister's property, his acquired property through his wife's field or his independent economic activity definitely go to his wife and children.

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15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7 •
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tion of the matrilineal system (see Nakane, 1958/B and 1962). In comparison with the Ashanti, the Khasi or the Trobriand type gain considerable stability by sacrificing either *A* or *B* line, which is one of the possible ways of preserving the matrilineal system along with the practice of co-habitation of the married couple.

Another solution of the conflicting situation in such a society is the practice of cross-cousin marriage, as in the case of the Ashanti, which brings two conflicting factors together, the matrilineage and the family of procreation. In this case, the cross-cousin marriage tends to take place between the first cross-cousins centred around each man. Fortes states, "Cross-cousin marriage most often occurs between the children of full siblings or of uterine first cousins . . . cross-cousin marriage offers a possibility of reconciling the conflicting influences of conjugal, parental, and matrilineal kinship ties" (1950, p. 282). This is quite different from the cross-cousin marriage of the Garo, because among the latter, the cross-cousin marriage being practised as the basis of the whole structure of society, it makes no difference whether a cross-cousin is first or classificatory. In the case of the Ashanti and other matrilineal systems of a similar type, such as the Mayombe and the Kongo, it is considered most desirable to enter into a first cross-cousin marriage; classificatory cross-cousin marriage, such as among the Garo, does not make much sense. Moreover, the cases of cross-cousin marriage tend to take place among comparatively wealthy members in a society (see Rattray, 1927, Chapter XXIX). If one has no property in the Ashanti type society, then cross-cousin marriage has not much meaning. G [582]

The cross-cousin marriage of matrilineal systems has been often referred to as being the solution to the conflicting situations of a man as a husband and as a brother. I suggest here that this can be applied to the matrilineal system of the Ashanti type; not to those of the Khasi type where men have already given up the role of forming the central core of the matrilineage. In these societies, the solution is already given through the sacrifice of one line. There are no conflicting economic factors, though men are still in a situation of social conflict between their matrilineage and family of procreation. This hypothesis is confirmed empirically by the fact that there are no prescribed or preferential cross-cousin marriages among the Khasi, the Hopi, the Zuni, the Trukese and the Negri Sembilan Malay,[1] where a man is not in economic conflict with his matrilineage and family of procreation. His nephews are already outside his economic K [582]

1. "In arranging marriages the preference is for someone 'near'. As cross-cousins are the nearest possible naturally a large number of these marriages occur . . . This preference, however, is not explicitly institutionalised . . ." (Swift, 1958, p. 136).

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR? Khasi AR? Garo AR5

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scope; due to uxorilocal marriage, they have no right over his residence and his acquired property. Naturally the maternal uncle becomes far less important than in the Ashanti type.

Among the Yao, which I classified as belonging to the Khasi type, Mitchell states that in spite of the emphasis laid on cross-cousin marriage by his informants, real or classificatory cross-cousins are found in only 15 per cent of 103 first marriages (Mitchell, 1956, p. 200). The functional importance of cross-cousin marriage among the Yao is particularly evident in the minority (headmen of villages or lineages) who practise virilocal marriage[1] in a society where a uxorilocal arrangement is the general rule; as in the case of the Ashanti, cross-cousin marriage functions as a solution to two conflicting tendencies: matrilineality and virilocality. The Trobriands, though they belong to the Ashanti type, demonstrate the same structural analogy to the Khasi type, though in reverse. Among Trobriand commoners there is no preference for cross-cousin marriage. The much discussed cross-cousin marriage of the Trobriand aristocrats should be considered as the exception, as has already been examined by Leach (1958, p. 139). In this regard the Yao and the Trobriands produce a picture somewhat similar to the Ashanti type, among the minority of society, though the general practice bears similar features with that of the Khasi type.

It has become clear that cross-cousin marriage is closely related to the type of residence, i.e. virilocality, combined with economic factors. Furthermore, the cross-cousin marriage signifies the political importance of the maternal uncle as lineage head. Thus the Khasi type and the Ashanti type represent alternative arrangements to the different locus of the core of the functional body, the matrilineal descent group.

II

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The preceding section has made clear different types of matrilineal systems as far as the *internal* structure of the descent group is concerned. This section deals with the relation of the descent group to the *external* organization.

Both the Garo and the Khasi follow a unilineal system, but they do not have what is called "segmentary lineage" organization, which has been much discussed in the African field. As generally understood,

1. Richards states: among the Yao-Cewa group, a cross-cousin marriage is likely to be found between a daughter of a head (mabi) of a descent group and his sister's son (Richards, 1950, p. 158). Mitchell states that Yao cross-cousin marriage is one of the solutions for the conflict between the principle of uxorilocal marriage and the principle of male leadership of the lineage (Mitchell, 1956, p. 144).

600 Such variety in residential arrangements and such flexibility in inheritance rule complicates considerably the composition of the residential unit when a property group (residential domestic unit) grows. Richards gives an interesting illustrative description of the formation of a Bemba residential unit:

> "The Bemba bridegroom starts his married life as a stranger in his wife's village, but since his daughters remain with him for some years after marriage he builds up a grand-family composed of his daughters, their husbands, and their children. In some cases he is able to persuade his son-in-law to remain permanently with him, while in others he is even able to keep his son in his own village. In time some of his sister's sons, with their wives, will choose to come and settle with him, so that he will be head of a group of rather heterogeneous composition" (Richards, ibid., p. 103).

Here we find a man's wife's matrilineal kin (his daughters and sons, including the daughters' descendants), his own matrilineal kin (his children's mother, his children's matrilineal uncle, their sister, and his sister's sons' wives). Such a mixed composition of a residential unit may never be found among societies belonging to those types previously discussed; such residential composition would be impossible if the matrilineal principle was functioning strongly in the structure of the actual property group.

Thus, the Bemba type presents an outstanding structural difference from the other types of matrilineal systems in which the matrilineal inheritance rule was the decisive factor for the formation of the residence unit. It is clear that in the Bemba type, both a man and a woman are fairly free from the economic control of his and her matrilineal group, and their relations are somewhat like those of the husband of the Khasi type and the wife of the Ashanti type. Therefore, the conflicts between one's matrilineal group and family of procreation are minimized, particularly in the economic sphere.

This analysis throws much light on the following remarks of Richards bearing on different aspects of the similar formation of descent groups among the Yao and the Bemba.

> "The head of a Yao village of this sort (taking his wife to his matrilineage residence) then has authority over his wife's children and over those of his sisters, but the position of the wife's children seems to be clearly differentiated from that of the sister's children, and Mitchell speaks of a traditional hostility between them. I never saw evidence of such hostility in Bemba villages, which also often contain a man's children and his sister's children" (Richards, ibid., p. 103).

This difference should really be ascribed to the structural difference between the Khasi type (the Yao) and the Bemba type. In the former the matrilineal structural force is strongly-functioning in the residential group, whereas in the latter it is minimized.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7 •
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Within such a structural framework it is quite understandable that the predominance of virilocal arrangements, coupled with male authority as husband/father, are found. All observers of these societies have noted this feature. Among the plateau Tonga and the Bemba particularly, male authority is outstanding. 000

"Men are free to move and to form their own households because they acquire rights over their wives which permit them to remove these women from the protection of their kin . . . As head of the household, the husband occupies a position comparable in many respects to that which falls to men in patrilineal societies" (Colson, 1958, p. 61).

"With the marriage the husband obtains—but only for the probationary period—rights over his wife's labour, the right to control her movements, and rights to her morally. He is the father of any children born to her, whether or not he begets them . . ." (*ibid.*, p. 101).

"So long as the household contains a married couple, it is theoretically under the authority of the husband. *The wife and her children dress the house, she cooks*, but the husband is known as the *cooper*, 'the owner of the house' . . ." (*ibid.*, p. 103).

"Once the young man is admitted to the family he is free to move his wife and children to his own village should he desire to do so" (Richards, *ibid.*, p. 113).

"This is a male dominant society and, even though descent is reckoned through the mother, the wife is very much under the control of her husband even while he is an outsider in his wife's village" (*ibid.*, p. 119).

The husband/father's authority was also observed among other matrilineal systems under certain conditions, as already fully discussed in the chapters on the Garo and the Khasi, and more predominantly among societies of the Ashanti type where the residential pattern was virilocal. However, the ambilateral structure on the level of the household composition may give more opportunity to create a husband/father authority of a more stable kind, unhampered by matrilineal force. K 4 171 182 599 611 •

Furthermore, individuals are almost free from the descent principle in establishing their residence. Colson states in her account on the Tonga that a man has complete freedom to choose his residence, and residents in a single neighbourhood need not have kinship ties with one another. In the ordinary round of daily life, membership within a neighbourhood may be of more significance than membership within a matrilineal group (Colson, 1958, pp. 27-28). Oliver describes a similar situation: 000

"The out-marrying women and their children acquire provisional rights in lands where they reside, and ultimately acquire full title to such lands" (Oliver, 1955, p. 116).

It is clear, in these societies, that there are two sets of groups on different levels: a matrilineal group membership of which is acquired

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7 •
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devices of the existing system. This does not necessarily imply that such societies have or had the same organization as other matrilineal societies, but I believe this to be an economic and historical product of the existing structure. I do not question the fact that all these societies are subject to a process of change; but it does seem unnecessary to assume that every factor which happens to be missing nowadays, did, in fact, exist in the past.

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Summing up the above discussion, the essential structural differences between the Bemba type and other matrilineal systems are found firstly in the internal structure of its property group: "ambilateral" contrasting with the "matrilineal" of the Garo, Nayar, Khasi and Ashanti types. Secondly, in the structure of the wider organization of the residential groups: the clear matrilineal principle is found to act in the composition of matrilineal groups. The focus of the matrilineal operation is quite opposite to that of the household-lineage type. In the latter the bilateral features are met with at the wider organizational level. In the Bemba type, in spite of bilateral features in the composition of the residential property group, the rigorous matrilineal group conception is found in the wider organization. Unlike the case of the segmentary-lineage type, this matrilineal group does not have necessarily a direct and actual economic basis. Perhaps the scale of the Bemba society is small enough to maintain the matrilineal social system without a definite economic basis.

In conclusion, such terms as "matrilineal" (unilineal) and "bilateral" are simply convenient labels for the preliminary classification: they should not be used as contrasting criteria for classifying social structure. The unilineal principle (matrilineal system) works differently in each given society, producing as I have observed different structures. Again, *descent* principle and *residence* (with landholdings or property) are equally important criteria for the analysis of social organization. The preeminence of either descent or residence should not be theoretically opposed in the arguments of anthropologists, for different degrees and levels of both factors are involved in each given society.

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Finally I should like to note that the five major types of matrilineal systems in relation to the internal structure of the property group, which I presented in this discussion, namely the Garo, the Nayar, the Khasi, the Ashanti and the Bemba types, give theoretical criteria for the analysis. It should not be assumed that all matrilineal systems grouped into the same type present the same structure, but that each possesses the important basic element of its type. Also a system may change from one type to another through important economic changes or migrations: for instance, from the Nayar type to the Ashanti type, or from the Ashanti type to the Bemba type.

clothing, operate the large Khasi business establishments in Shillong, and provide all civic and religious leadership. Women care for children and for the home, do the marketing, and sell dried fish, betel nut, lime, fruits, and rice breads at markets. Other tasks can be performed by either sex. **Land tenure.** Land was formerly divided into sib land and public domain. Sib land was corporately held in perpetuity, and was inalienable except by the unanimous consent of all members of the sib. The public domain was subject to usufructuary right by anyone who kept the land regularly under habitation or cultivation, with a lapse of no more than three years. Most villages grew up on public domain, and then reckoned all land inhabited or under cultivation by a village member as village land. Forests were public, except for sacred groves possessed by villages or lineage groups, and everyone was free to gather branches for fuel. Wastelands and streams were also public. By now, most public domain and village land, together with its forest cover, has been pre-empted as private property and is being rented and sold as such. Sib lands remain intact, unless the sibs agree to rent, lease, or sell. [Cf. Cantlie 1934.] 462 294 443 622 423 [78]

KIN GROUPS. **Descent.** Descent is matrilineal, and the Khasi is a member exclusively of his own matrilineage from birth to death. Adoption, which is very rare, is only within the matrilineage. **Kin groups.** The maximal matrilineage is the sib; this is a named, widely dispersed, strictly exogamous, lineage group, which claims but cannot trace its origin from a single ancestress. Sibs used to meet as corporate groups from time to time. Some sibs are linked with others in large amorphous groups that are unnamed and are defined solely by exogamy. Such a group is composed of two or more sibs, the ancestresses of which are claimed to have been either real sisters or dear friends who out of affection declared that thenceforth their descendants would be as consanguineals. The origin and function of sib-linkage is now unknown, and today the members of a sib will often disagree on whether or not their sib is linked with another. • The minimal matrilineage is the local descent group, or *ing*. This is the largest kin group that normally rallies at life crises. It is said that the *ing* formerly spanned six generations; today, it encompasses only four. If an *ing* grows to more than four generations in a single village, it segments. New houses are located at some distance from the old and the *ing* soon forgets exactly how to trace genealogical connection, except for which segment descended from a youngest sister. The term *ing* may also be applied to an extended family, an elementary family, and a house. The elementary family is the basic domestic unit in Khasi society. In any village there are likely to be one or two households which stand as sole local representatives of the lineage of the female household head. Such a household is known as an 611 [597] 614 602 [59]

17: Banerjee E-5 (1955) 1962 AR7 Khasi AR7
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THE KHASI FESTIVAL OF 'POMBLANG'

S. Banerjee

Introduction

The Khasi inhabit the upland of the central part of the United Khasi and Jaintia Hills district of Assam. They reckon descent through mother and the youngest daughter (Ka khadduh) of the house is the custodian of the ancestral property. Belief in the existence of spirits is strong among them and the causes of diseases are ascertained by taking recourse to the process of divination. They are ruled by different categories of Chief. The *Siem* is the highest official responsible for the administration of the state but a few small states are also governed by *Sirdars* with same powers as vested in the former although does not possess the same status. It is interesting to note that their priest whose rank is next to *Siem*, have also been allowed to perform this secular duties in some of the regions of the Khasi country. The Chief function through their respective council comprising elected members from different administrative units. He is rather subservient to this body as he is liable to be censured or even dismissed, if his activities are not in conformity with the Khasi traditional usage. Most of his directives are implemented through the assistance of his subordinates who are in-charge of various sections of the State. The Khasi place his grievance first to these junior officers for redress and justice, after which an appeal can be preferred to the *Siem* or any other higher officer as the case may be. One of the eminent States of the Khasi people known as Khyriem, where this festival is celebrated, consists of eight units for administrative convenience under the supervision of different grades of officials who participated in this celebration along with the *Siem* as representatives of the people.

The Khasi festival of *Pomblang* (Goat killing) described below used to be celebrated at one time in Shillong when the Khasi states of Khyriem and Mylliem were not separated. The first chief of the Khyriem state U Singh Manik shifted his headquarters to Nongkrem village after partition of the kingdom, which occured before the arrival of the British. He again moved to Langkerdem after a brief stay at the village of Lyneshing. He performed this festival as long as he was there, transferring it again to Nongkrem where he re-settled again. It was celebrated here for a long time and consequently it was named after this village. Although the ruling family had later on shifted its residence about sixty years ago to the present village Smit, during the time of U Kiur Singh, Siem, it is performed regularly as *Nongkrem dance* which was observed by the author from 21st June to 25th June, 1955.

Object of the festival

It is being held every year since the days of U Shillong who was supposed to be the founder of original Khyriem State. They celebrate it to perpetuate his memory and pay homage with a view to ensure rain, good harvest, eliminating diseases and famine. He was worshipped along with other ancestors with view to guide the present Chief in his discharge of his duties and for the welfare of the people.

The house of Siem (iing-sad) where the rites are observed, is considered sacred. It consists of a big-hall (shlur) in the centre, surrounded by rooms. One of these on the north is used as a kitchen room (iing-chetja) where ritual

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

strip of fine silk for the loins, a part of which hangs gracefully as low as the calves in front. No notice is here taken of what has undoubtedly been added and borrowed from their more civilised neighbours in the plains. 291

'MARRIAGE.—The marriageable age for females is from 15 to 18; for males, from 18 to 24. Matrimonial alliances are contracted either through the parents or the living representatives of the families to which the parties belong. The mode of procedure is still very primitive and unceremonious. The bridegroom, escorted by a number of friends and relatives, goes to the house of the bride, where all are feasted and lodged for the night; on the morrow he leads the bride, accompanied by a number of her relatives, to his own house, and entertains the company with dishes of boiled rice and fresh pork. After remaining there a day or two, the newly-married couple return together to the house of the wife, which becomes their future home. Marriage is dissoluble by regular divorce, for any sufficient cause, and often without any assignable reason except mutual dislike or want of issue, the latter being the most common case of all. Marriage with the Khásiás is simply a conventional arrangement, with nothing further for its object than the procreation of children; failing that, it is no longer looked upon as a contract permanently binding. Divorce is effected in the presence of eye-witnesses—the parents, or the heads of clans. Five cowries (*kauris*) are produced by the parties and exchanged, then cast away by mutual consent, and the ceremony is over. Parties once divorced can never again contract marriage with each other, but they are at liberty to marry into other families. Polygamy, strictly so called, is not sanctioned by Khási custom. Adultery is looked upon as a serious crime. If the five cowries have not been cast away by mutual consent, both husband and wife are held to be subject to the "matrimonial demon;" and even when either dies in wedlock, the survivor is not at liberty to contract a fresh alliance until he or she pays the family a sum of money as the means of removing the surviving party from subjection to the "matrimonial demon." The husband is a stranger, so to speak, in the family he has entered, and perpetuates the race of others, not his own. The children in all questions of lineage and personal rights follow the mother. There are always two interests in the same family—that of the husband, and that of the wife. Whatever the husband may have earned or acquired in

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21: Ehrenfels E-4,5 (1950) 1953 AR7 Khasi AR7

on a historical past, different from that of the Khasi proper, the former having been ruled by the powerful, but somewhat Hinduised dynasty of the Jaintia Rajas until the Jaintia Wars of the British; the latter by small independent chiefs. Yet Jaintia social organization appears on the whole to preserve the matrilineal social structure clearer and to be less influenced by plains-acculturation, than that of the Khasi, though a few features of Brahmanical religious observances and also some traces of racial admixture are found in the immediate vicinity of Jowei, the former summer residence of the Jaintia Rajas. Stronger no doubt, than this influence, was that exercised by the British and non-Assamese Indians in the provincial capital Shillong since 1866. Methods of agriculture and other aspects of material civilization differ but little in the Jaintia- and Khasi plateau-areas.

The same cannot be said of both: the Wár-Khasi and Wár-Jaintias. Linguistically their affiliations are with the Khasi or Jaintias respectively, in the plateau-areas. Economically, however, both Wár-groups form a separate pan-leaf cultivating unit in the little accessible steep southern slopes of the Khasi- and Jaintia Hill massif. Both Wár-groups live in the environment of luscious tropical flora and fauna, sharply differentiated from the cool, barren plateau with its perennial winds and the heroic, if solitary beauty of its highland heaths, which forms the background of both the Khasi- and Jaintia plateau-groups.

The age of the Wár-Khasi and -Jaintias, as one independent economic, — and two half-independent dialectical linguistic entities, is an intricate problem. The two Wár-groups subsist on pan-leaf cultivation as a money crop, grown in the thick tree-gardens as creepers; not on food-cultivation, as do the plateau-groups, because there is insufficient space on the steep slopes, for vegetable gardens or -fields. The pan-leaf cultivators therefore depend on food, purchased from outside. The slopes seem to have been uninhabited until not long ago. Yet pan-leaf chewing is such an integral part of Khasi life, that until quite recently, and occasionally even now, a distance between two places is not measured by the number of hours used for walking, but by the number of betelnut- and pan-leaf packages, consumed on the way. Also the common benediction among Khasi expresses the wish that so and so may eat pan in the Garden of God. Yet pan-cultivation and the settlements of the Wár-people as pan-leaf cultivators in the southern slopes seem comparatively young. Pan-cultivation on the plateau is impracticable. It is therefore possible that pan was for a long time only a much valued import article from the plains, bartered against Khasi ore and iron tools, though it is now an export article from the Wár-country, brought to the markets of the plains, by both Wár-Khasi and Wár-Jaintia women and men.

According to a tradition, across which I came among the Nonglamin clan of the Nongmuker village, the ancestors of the present Wár people were on the plateau at a time when no pan-cultivation was going on in the slopes and none of the present big estates of pan-tree gardens was yet held by their present (Wár-) owners. A not distant ancestor of a Nonglamin clan-member who about two or three generations ago told the story to U Siang (one of

more than a thousand of them who have been converted to the Hindu 162 [797]
religion.

This group of people possesses the possibility of expansion, since they have at their disposal within the area of the Khasi and Jaintia [311]
Mountains a territory of 6,022 English square miles, with only 40 persons per square mile. Although wide areas are not built up and the system of shifting fields prevents the full utilization of the land, it is still true that with this small population figure by far the largest part of the whole population (200,781) is dependent on agriculture; trade and manufacturing only play a subordinate part.

With regard to the division of the sexes, the two large religions 562
of Assam, Hinduism and Mohammedanism, show the same proportion 162
as in the rest of India, a lesser number of women than men. But among the Khasi the women are more numerous than the men. In the Brahmaputra valley with its greater Hindu population there are only 892 women for every 1,000 men; in the Surma valley, with a greater Moslem element, there are 937. But the situation is reversed among the Khasi, where there is a surplus of 74 women for every thousand men. The position of the women is basically different among this people. It is based on the customs and usages of maternal rights that prevail among them, which are predominantly based on possession and which find honorable expression in possession.

1. Property Rights in the Family Property.

The great principle which governs property among the Khasi, is 421
that all family property rests in the hands /128: A/ /Fig. 1. Khasi 613 ●
Girls and Women with their Carrying Baskets. Fig. 2. An Old Clan 596
Mother in the Village Laitumkhra. / /128: B/ /Fig. 3. At the Oracle of Egg Throwing/. Fig. 5. Khasi Girls and Men in Festive Dance Clothing. / /128: C/ /Fig. 4. A Group of Synteng/ /128: D/ Fig. 6. A Holy Grove and Part of the Village Raliang/ /129/ of the women and not of the man. The man can never be the owner of family property, and it can never be transferred to him. He may perhaps acquire some property through his own industry and work, but even that will pass into feminine hands by the path of inheritance. The concept of family is not as narrowly drawn here as in our country. This is a question of the clan-family, the clan. The head of it is always the youngest daughter, who, even when she has become old, bears the honorable name ka barit in the Jaintia Mountains, and in the Khasi Mountains ka khadduh, the last, the youngest. Around her gather her nearest 613
blood relatives, brothers and sisters, and children. For example let 596

613 us take such a clan mother with the name Ka Sing Lau. She has two
5% sons and five daughters, and in addition two brothers and two sisters who are all married. Also each of the five daughters and two sisters has four children. These forty-six people live with the clan mother and form the family clan of the Lau. To these we also add the sons
[592] and brothers, the nephews and grandsons, but not their children. The latter have nothing to do with the family Lau but belong to the family clan of their wives, live with that clan and are counted in it. Likewise neither the husband of Ka Sing Lau, nor the husbands of the various daughters, sisters, nieces, and granddaughters belong here. They are all counted with their own clans, live and work with them according to Khasi custom, and only visit their wives occasionally perhaps after dark.

621 The entire clan-family of Lau is housed in 5 or 6 huts, which all
351 stand next to each other in a semicircle or are built one above the other on the slope of a hill, according to the character of the land. A
[241] garden frequently surrounds them in which maize, sweet potatoes, potato-like roots of Soh-ot and Schrut, bananas and, on the southern slopes of the Khasi Mountains, also coffee, pineapples, and other fruits are cultivated. A circle of bamboo cane that is so important for building purposes, household objects, and /130/ implements surrounds the garden and huts. This bamboo cane grows up as thick as an arm to a height of 10 or 15 meters and at the same time forms a good protection against bad weather. A wall (morscha) of thrown-up earth encloses everything, forming an enclosed farm, prevents unimpeded access, and protects cattle and crops from the attacks and devastations of wild animals.

423 What is considered the family property of such a clan? Primarily it is the land, the gardens, the rice fields, woods, fallow mountain and grazing lands. On the southern slopes of the Khasi Mountains there
[241] are fields for the cultivation of rape, orange groves, laurel groves, plantations of betel palms and of pepper leaves which far and wide are so highly treasured for betel chewing as a source of pleasure. (2)

2. Cf. Becker, Im Stromtal des Brahmaputra, /In the River Valley of the Brahmaputra/ (Munich, 1923). pp. 357 ff.

[311] Usually there is so much land available that the family-clan can nourish itself properly and also increase in number

423 According to its size and wealth a family clan also owns a
231 corresponding number of cows, oxen, hens, pigs, and goats. Neither the milk nor the flesh of the cows is used. They are kept for the

423 manure, and primarily for breeding, since the oxen cannot be dis-
231 pensed with for the cultivation of the fields, especially of the rice fields, where the soaked earth must be trampled to a slimy mush. From the fowl the eggs are particularly prized, since they find an almost daily use in the questioning of oracles in cases of misfortune and sickness. (3) Hens, pigs and goats serve for sacrificial purposes, (4)

3. P.R.T. Gurdon, The Khasis, (London 1907) pp. 221 ff.; Becker, "Das Eierwerfen der Khasi," /Egg throwing Among the Khasi/, Anthropos, Vols. 12-13 (Vienna, 1917-18), pp. 494 ff.; P. F. Stegmiller, "Aus dem religiösen Leben der Khasi" /The Religious Life of the Khasi/ Anthopos Vol. 16-17 (1921-1922), pp. 418 ff.

4. Becker, "Die Nongrem-Puja in den Khasi-Bergen" /The Nongkrem Puja in the Khasi Mountains/, Anthropos, Vol. 4, (Vienna, 1909) No. 5-6, pp. 898 ff.; Stegmiller, loc cit.

and they are also a welcome addition to rice at all festive occasions such as arrow shooting, (5) at the name giving, /131/ at weddings,

5. Becker, Im Stromtal etc., /In the Valley, etc./, pp. 298 and 387.

and at the cremation of the dead.

421 Further the various huts belong to the family property, the erec-
613 tion and maintenance of which is the work of the members of the clan, the brothers, nephews, and grandsons. The hut of the clan mother is likewise considered the center of the whole family, and its possession forms the outer sign of the dominance of the clan mother. Here she holds the family sacrifices and also keeps the special treasures. These are considered to be those things which are connected with the religious cult. Special reverence and sacrifice is due the oldest clan mother, as the original founder of the clan, and her brother in each clan family; in addition there are a series of other spirits which vary according to the family clan. The branch of the Khasi people who live in the Jaintia Mountains, the so-called Synteng, have probably pre-
776 served the old Khasi customs the most faithfully. There in the hut of the
778 clan mother are found the following utensils for the service of the divinities, who are nearly always feminine: mats, little baskets for rice, gourd bottles, a little basket made of bamboo cane and decorated with feathers, as well as antlers of deer or antelopes. The latter are fastened to the wall: they are supposed to be the seat of the

could not prevent individuals from becoming needy through misfortune 421
or laziness and their trying to rent a part of their property for an annual 425
payment or for a sum needed once. This is called ban die pan, literally: begging to buy. The sense of relinquishing by lending /133/ is contained in this. For example, a field is worth 300 reichsmarks. Fifty or 100 reichsmarks are accepted for it and the creditor remains the owner of the field until the money is repaid. This type of purchase occurs frequently. There are frequently traders (nongkhaii) who try to use such purchases to their own advantage. They turn over the field to the debtor for further cultivation in return for payment in produce of 50 to 70 per cent of the harvest. After several years the whole field is their property. Aside from this method, it also happens that instead of being able to repay the money the people need still further sums. In that case then the entire price of 300 reichsmarks is paid and the actual purchase is considered completed; that is called ban die lut; literally: totally, completely sold. A family-clan which gradually loses its property in this manner descends into poverty and need. There is nothing else for it to do than to look for work elsewhere, to rent land or to sell the children as a kind of slaves to better [567] situated people. If 40 reichsmarks are paid for a child of about 10 years, he remains in the bondage of the buyer until the money can be repaid. That happens only rarely. Besides food and the most necessary clothing only one rupee is deducted annually as wage from the purchase price; thus, practically, the child belongs to the buyer for the duration of his life.

It is the duty of individual members of a family clan to work to- 613
gether so that the clan property will be maintained and will produce 688
the necessary amount for the maintenance of all. The clan mother must oversee primarily that the appropriate customs and usages are preserved. She is held in high esteem by all. To do something against her wish to offend her, to call her insulting names, or to go so far as to strike her is considered sang (taboo), a severe crime that causes misfortune. It is a great sin (pop) and a thoroughly great dis- 613
grace (sngewsih eh tam) for the whole clan.(7) As long as a member 688 782

7. Also considered similar crimes are selling clan property in secret, incest, desecrating burial places in a coarse manner, making use of holy grounds or woods.

/134/ of the family has committed such a crime and has not begged pardon from the clan mother and the elders of the clan, perhaps with the words: pardon me, I have committed an error (to map ia nga leh

613 bakla); and as long as the expiatory sacrifice, in the form of pigs and
688 goats, determined by the elders of the family and by the sacrificial
682 priest (lyngdoh) has not been offered, the sinning member is considered excluded from the family and the family sacrifices. But even after being accepted again a certain stain still clings to him.

But it is also the duty of the clan mother to care for the needs of
613 the members of her family clan with regard to food, clothing, and the like. She divides the fruits of the harvests according to the needs of the individual. She goes or sends to market to trade, to buy, or to sell. She takes care of the common purse and even the masculine members of the clan have to ask her for money when they wish to drink rice liquor or buy clothing. There the clan mother is generous
[662] rather than niggardly. This dependent relationship of the men is not considered unworthy at all or shameful. It is the matriarchal form and ancient custom. Nevertheless, the position of the men in the family clan is an esteemed one. Even the name they are called by has an important sound: Rangbah, Basan (oldest ones, advisers). On them falls often the work in the field and wood or the protection of the family; bow and arrow are handed to them as cradle gifts. In the more important family matters the clan mother consults with them. At the giving of the name, during a wedding, a funeral, or cremation the clan mother steps almost completely into the background, also during quarrels and court hearings before the chief (Doloi) or king (S'iem). She is still always influential with her advice, but the actual appearance, activity and judgments is the business of the men. The smaller,
[782] everyday sacrifices she performs in the clan hut; but she can also let these /135/ be performed by her sons. At larger sacrificial ceremonies which are offered by several family clans at the same time, by whole
[793] villages or even by one of the Khasi states, only the men are active as sacrificial priests.

With regard to the husbands of the clan mother and of the feminine
613 members, they are not considered members of the family clan of the
596 women at all. They are only considered the begetters. They work and live in their own clan, participate in their sacrifices and burial places. The father has no further influence in the raising of the children, who belong entirely to the clan of the mother. But usually they have no obligation, unless the wife and children are impoverished. Even then their care comes in second place after that of members of their own
[593] clan. Nevertheless the husband is honored and is addressed by "Mr." (kynrad) by his wife. She would consider it disgraceful to approach him impertinently. Where the property of a clan has been dissolved or Christian customs introduced, the husband lives and works together with his wife and children.

presentation of the written statement of the chieftain and the village elders that they would have no objection to it. The avaricious renter of the divine land mentioned above was despised by all. 423 784 797

As concerns the holy forests, which often extend picturesquely from the highest peak down the slope and are overgrown with gnarled oaks and bright colored rhododendron, no tree may be felled there; at the most, fallen wood or wood torn down by a storm or already rotten wood may be taken. The spirits of the forest, as punishing gods, will revenge every offense. Tigers and leopards, apes, bears, and snakes enjoy an undisturbed existence here. The only case in which wood may be cut in these divine woods is for the religious cremation ceremonies of the dead. It is the custom of the Khasi to set fire often to great areas in order to fertilize the ground with the ashes of grasses, trees, and shrubs without regard for the new growth of trees, and to make potato fields there for a year or two or to grow mountain rice, millet, or something similar and then to leave the field fallow again. Thus this is a clever precautionary rule, since there might otherwise be cases when there might be no wood for cremating the dead. 778 776 [764] [241]

(Continuation follows)

/300/ Family Property and Maternal Rights
by C. Becker S.D.S., Würzburg

Gurdon says, (10) that these holy groves were formerly the property of a village. That is not always so as the following case will demonstrate. I am also relating this because it grants us a deeper look into the whole customs of the clan under discussion. 779 423 613 797

10. The Khasis, p. 87.

Several decades ago, a Khasi who had become a Protestant, U Jacob Shai by name, was installed as a clerk with the English government official in Jowai. In order to assure his family a better living than just his meager salary, he yearned for land. By birth from Jongushen in the War territory, he remembered that he could obtain his aim in the neighboring village Syndai from the family clan Umliang. So one day he went thither. After the customary greetings, and refreshment with a water pipe and betel nut and conversation about various indifferent matters, he mentioned his desire. "I know," he said in the polite language of even these simple natural men, "I know the goodness and the good name of your clan /Stamm/ and the elders

778 of your clan; you are glad to come to the help of others everywhere
423 and thereby have prepared honor and fame for your whole clan /Sippe/,
613 for your clan gods and goddesses, and for your ancestors of both sexes.
797 You are blessed with grandchildren and great grandchildren. I rejoice in your good fortune and I wish that the gods and goddesses of your clan /Stamm/ will be favorably inclined for all times. Therefore I dare to come to you and to make a request of you; I have only one request: nga don tang kawei ka jingkyrpadi Namely, I need a piece of land, so that I can give my grandsons and granddaughters something to eat. My own field does not suffice for so many mouths. I have noticed that a piece of forest lies here /301/ unused. I have inquired to whom it belongs and the village elders said to me that it was the property of the famous family clan Umliang. I honor you, therefore, and beg you: can I receive this forest according to the law and custom of the clan?"

Questions from the clan mother and the family elders followed this speech. Finally it was clear to them what piece was meant. "That is the khlau sang, the forest of the gods," they cried. "Certainly that belongs to our clan property, but as you yourself know, we can neither rent nor sell it. We cannot and do not even dare say, cultivate the land. But we also cannot prevent you from doing it or forbid you. That piece of land is presented to the gods; they will revenge themselves on anyone who removes it from their cult; they themselves will guard over it so that no one will seize it."

This answer satisfied U Shai completely. He had no fear of the punishment of the forest gods; he had just wanted to make certain whether the family clan would put difficulties in his way or would even bring complaints before the English government. The forest was soon arable. Fire transformed the wood and the bushes, the high grasses and the vines into ashes; oranges and lemons, pineapples, and bananas were planted and after a few years the land brought in from the sale of the fruit a sum, considerable for those conditions, of 800 to 1,000 reichsmarks a year.

The family clan Umliang was still faithful to their native faith. As the other heathen did, so they observed the undertaking of U Shai with fear and anxiety. They believed the gods must bestir themselves and the forest would devour the miscreant with his family. That did not occur. It could not be avoided that in this way the belief in their gods and native customs received a jolt among the heathen and many of them went over to the viewpoint that they might also do it.

After a while a young Khasi with such advanced views married /302/ into the family clan Umliang. Meanwhile 40 years had passed. The old father U Shai was already dead. The piece of land planted by him, as it was not actually family property, according to the special customs of the War had passed on not only to the youngest daughter but also to his son Jacob U Shai and his sisters. On their side they had helped their father in the clearing of the forest. The siblings were Catholic. The young man mentioned above brought a legal complaint against the siblings before the English government official in Jowai a few years ago: the forest made arable by Jacon U Shai and transformed into a fruit orchard had been illegally acquired and is the property of the clan of his wife; he demanded a piece of the land back for the family Umliang and for the other piece a corresponding annual rent must be paid.

In reply the siblings Shai could claim that the affair was past the legal time limit. According to tribal custom the time limit on small matters was 10 years, for greater matters 30 years. In addition the main point on their side was that the piece of land in question was lehlan sang, forest of the gods, and the family Umliang could not ask anything for it. For this the Shai siblings lacked witnesses, whereas the Umliangs produced several heathen witnesses for the simple declaration of the right of possession. The case was long drawn out. It was finally decided against the Shai siblings and they were declared deprived of the property. The missionary P. Benedikt Neher now concerned himself with the affair. He brought more than 100 witnesses, all clan mothers or village elders, who were ready to swear that that piece of land was a forest of the gods as long as man could remember. The English judge, whom he informed of this, decided that this was a basis for proposing a revision and change of the judgment, but the Shai siblings had lost all their money in the previous trial to pettifogging lawyers and did not have the spirit to begin again. With oriental equanimity they accepted the loss and thus the affair remained.

/303/ The case is instructive anyway, insofar as it shows that the so-called holy forests are also found in the possession of individual family clans; how they are valued by them as long as they remain faithful to their animistic views and how they are able to make their right of possession to them valid even after years.

3. Customs Concerning the Right of Inheritance

When the clan mother dies, the youngest daughter always receives the inheritance among the Khasi. If for any reason the youngest daughter cannot take possession, her next youngest sister follows. If there are

428 ●613 no girls, only sons, the inheritance passes to the youngest daughter of the sister of the deceased clan mother. If there are no such sisters or if they have no daughters, the nearest, youngest female relative is next in line. If she has not lived in the family clan of the deceased up to now, she must first spend at least 3 months in the hut of the clan mother in order to be able to enter into her rights and duties. In such cases usually the successor to the office is taken into the hut previously by the clan mother and prepared for the later activity. It can happen that the successor is not even 13 years old and therefore is not of age and capable of marrying. In this case the mother or a sister of the deceased clan mother manages the rule and the household until the majority of the inheritress. But even as a child the latter has the honored name mother; she is called kmie or kmie san.

The great principle, which determines all conditions of inheritance, is that the sons and husbands are excluded from all family property, which is always passed on to the girls, the female world. But what if a fellow or a man creates or acquires property? The case is possible and also occurs.

428 556 /304/ As mentioned, each person must help with the work in his own family clan in order to have a claim on care from the common property. Between sowing the rice and the harvest and other possible common labors there are still many days and weeks. Instead of [414] spending these with archery, hunting or the popular shong kai, or loafing around, a young man can earn money by cutting wood for others and carrying loads for native traders or also for Europeans, since in the mountains nearly everything has to be carried on the back. He can also do work in the fields or gardens for pay for others outside his clan or carry on a small trade by buying wares at the market such as dried fish, betel nuts, pepper leaves and such, and carrying them a few days' journey away to the markets in the interior of the mountains where these items are not otherwise available and selling them there for a profit. What the man earns in this fashion is his property and is not counted as part of the clan property. An industrious man can thus gradually earn enough money to rent a rice field. Through sale of the surplus crop, he will finally have enough so that he is able to buy a rice field himself, which is also 428 his property. If such a man dies unmarried, the inheritance passes to his mother. If he is married then he can, if he wishes, found a clan property for his family who may be poor and without property. The property will then pass to the youngest daughter and be passed on then in the usual manner of inheritance. Thus everything finally

returns to the hands of the women. 429

The following example may explain the customs involved here and further sift them out even though it scarcely throws a pleasant light on the dimensions which have been introduced among the Khasi people as a result of the divisions of the various Christian religions which are striving for their conversion.

In the village Kyndongtupér, a man had gradually acquired some 428
property for himself with 15 oxen and cows, /306/ a decent hut and 797
furnishings and 3 beautiful rice fields, large enough to sustain a family 613
clan. After his death the youngest daughter of his sister, named Ka Pliang Shai Syndiñ, was considered the valid heiress. She was still under age and her mother was already dead. As a result a sister of this mother, named Ka Pliang Shai (1)took over the management

11. Pan and Syndur are Khasi names; Pliang Shai is the name of the family, clan; literal meaning: shining plate.

of the inheritance and lived with the little heiress in the clan hut. There was no doubt that the latter would receive the entire property after she reached her majority. After a while, a young Catholic, U Salomon Taruh, wooed for Syndiñ's hand. Thereupon the older sib- 428
lings, a brother and a sister, both of whom belonged to the Methodist 797
Church, became enraged. In spite of all the hostility, the young girl 671
stuck to her decision, married Taruh and became Catholic. The 613
young married couple had to flee from the clan hut because of the anger of the siblings. The latter sought to have the sister disinherited, but the other relatives involved would have nothing to do with this. They were so carried away by their anger that they did what was considered a crime even in the eyes of the heathen: they drove the cattle away secretly and sold it; likewise they cleared out the clan hut and even sold two rice fields. On complaint to the competent court, Syndiñ was finally granted her right: she could take over the clan hut and the family property which was meanwhile greatly diminished.

Although the Khasi who have been converted to Christianity do not need to be bound by the laws of succession in inheritance and although this is often recognized by the heathen Khasi, there is no hindrance put in their way by the Catholic Church to following their native tribal customs in this matter. The Catholic Khasi themselves do not wish to deviate from them: /306/ a dogged attachment to ancient customs and a respect for them are in their blood. Here are a few examples.

In Nongbah the Catholic clan mother ka Johanna Sunah, wife of U Andreas Tubru, died without leaving any female descendants. It would

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have been undermined if the only son U Johannes Sunah, according to the ruling custom of Christians elsewhere, had claimed the considerable inheritance of rice fields, forest, and huts. A serious objection would not have been expected either from the officials or the relatives. Johannes was also spoken to about it in this fashion, but in vain. He could not conquer the inner revulsion of acting against ancient tribal customs for a temporal advantage. His simple answer was: "If I am a good Catholic, God will bless me in other ways without my going against our ancient customs." And so matters stood. The whole property went to the youngest daughter of the sister of the deceased; this branch of the family was still heathen. Through industry and economy Johannes finally acquired his own household with a goodly piece of land.

The Catholic Khasi even get rid of possessions readily which they already possess if the tribal customs demand it. It happened unfortunately several years ago that both the wife of the chief teacher of the Catholic Khasi public school in Shillong, U Thomas Syiem, as well as the wife of the cook of the mission station there, U Sebastian Shiah, were both carried away by death within a short time. Both men had acquired very nice property by their industry. According to Khasi law they had no further claims on their children who were still quite small. They belonged to the clan of their deceased wives and had to be taken by them and raised. According to Khasi law, the property that they had acquired also passed to the youngest daughter. Willingly each of them handed over the children and the interim management of the property to the relatives of the deceased wives, took the few clothes and purely personal possessions /307/ with them and sought to begin again from the beginning in the rented half of a hut. To my question, whether that had been hard for them, they answered with quiet matter-of-fact: "But that is the custom among us Khasi."

It is not necessary to emphasize especially that such respect for the tribal customs has made only a favorable impression on the Khasi who are still heathen.

Gurdon relates (12) that the clan mother loses her position in the

12. The Khasis, p. 93.

family when she changes her religion, for example at her conversion to Christianity, and that the youngest daughter takes her place. The justification for this lies in the fact that she then no longer belongs to the religion and cannot offer the customary family sacrifices.

Because of her whole position as guardian of the inherited religion and 429
customs, it is not frequent that such a woman breaks with the ancestor 613
cult. If this does happen, it does not necessarily mean that she loses 797
the entire property. That depends really on the position the other 671
members of the family take. If they are all still firm heathens, who wish to have nothing to do with Christianity, they can force the clan mother to give everything up. The high respect for her is frequently so great, however, that either the whole clan or at least a part of it decides to take the same step and change religions with the clan mother. The part that remains heathen will certainly propose a division of the family property. This is also possible in other cases.

4. Division of the Family Property.

Although it is rare, the weal and woe of a family-clan can re- 613
quire that a family-clan be split into two clans /Clan/ and that a 578
division of the common property be undertaken. The basis for this is 688
if the family /Geschlecht/ becomes too big, if the elders in the family council /308/ are no longer united and hate and revenge threaten to destroy, if a part of the clan /Clan/ tries to seize the better fields by violence and refuses to deliver the harvest for the common need, if one branch has brought the whole clan /Sippe/ dishonor and shame by false oaths, incest, revenge, treachery or some other severe crime. Only the guilty party will be excluded from the clan /Clan/ in such cases, if he remains stubborn and impenitent. But if he begs for forgiveness with his lips and participates in the expiatory sacrifice, forgiveness will not be refused him. But a certain inner tension and bad feeling often remain behind.

At the conversion to another religion, it often depends on how the 797
clan mother and also the family elders are inclined towards the re- 428
ligion in question, and also on who is changing religions. If it is only 425
brothers, sons, nephews, or grandsons, of the clan mother, a division 613
is out of the question, since the men are not capable of inheriting. But if it is the youngest or next youngest daughter or even the sister of the clan mother, then a division of property can be undertaken. A clan mother after all is so attached to her child or her nearest blood relatives that she would not like to push them entirely away from herself unless she were completely set against the religion in question and angered. If that should be so in individual cases, the heiress concerned will still consider, whether it is not more advisable to wait to change her religion until the clan mother has closed her eyes and she then has free play. Then that which was mentioned at the conclusion of the previous section can occur.

425 613 If after discussions lasting weeks all the problems involved have been settled, the agreements decided on are finally completed with the customary ceremonial. It was mentioned above, what objects [178] for the religious cult are to be found in the hut of the clan mother. The little basket plaited of bamboo cane, which is considered the special seat of the divine ancestors of the clan. /Clan/ is not divided. /309/ Another, similar basket is made. By sacrifice of goats and pigs, these divinities are then entreated so that a part of them may take up their dwelling in this basket for the protection of the newly constructed clan. If the sacrificial priest can announce the agreement of the deceased spirits with the division from the oracle of the entrails of the animals and by egg throwing, then this basket is brought to the new clan hut. On another day one of the two bamboo poles is then taken for the new hut with further sacrifices. Each of the two separated parties must fetch a new pole to go with the other one. In a like way the existent sacrificial utensils, such as rice baskets, mats, and gourd bottles are divided. With this ceremony the agreements made about the division of the other property are considered legally existent. Each party now goes his own way independent of the other. Certain relationships of [582] friendship and kinship still remain in existence; however, the bar to marriage, which otherwise would make impossible the marriage between members of the same family clan without regard to the degree of relationship, is no longer in existence.

425 797 796 If, at the conversion of one part of the members of the clan to the Christian religion, the division of property can be accomplished legally, it is better to insist on it. The members who have become Christian are more readily protected from disadvantageous treatment. Even if they should take part of the fields for themselves in separate management, the part of the clan that remained heathen could demand this back years later. Enmity, hate, and revenge would then follow. Without the formal ceremony combined with the sacrifices mentioned a Khasi does not recognize a division as legal. Since Christians cannot participate in such a sacrificial ceremony, there is nothing to do other than to have this ceremony undertaken while those seeking to be baptized are still catechumens. Before they are accepted then into the church by baptism, the heathen cult objects that were brought into the clan hut must be removed. "To /310/ this most important ceremony, "the missionary of the Synteng territory, P. Benedikt Huber S. D. S., once related, "I usually went myself if it was possible for me to or sent a European sister of the Order. Thereby the ceremony acquired a great deal

[[See category 16, pp 4,5 — Analyst]]

The primal father and the mother of the members of every clan are respectively known as *U-Pawad* (U-Thawlang) and *Ka-Siawad* (Ka-Iawlai).

There is a large number of clans among the Khasis and some of the clan names are those of animals and trees. *Shrish* is monkey, *shaw*, a crab, and *diaphlah*, a tree; yet they do not constitute totemic clan organisation. The clan names are not even the names of the ancestors. The clans are not ancestral but rather were territorial in nature when the clansmen (*ishi-Kur*) used to live in a place having a common land (*ri-kur*) and a clan century (*mawlah*) where the bones of the dead clansmen were deposited.

Unlike the clans, the sub-clans (*ka-Ki'pah*) are ancestral. As for example, in case of the *Siaw* clan of the Chera state, it is found that Ka-Khiem was the primal ancestress. Her daughter Ka-Pet had three daughters, namely, Ka-Ingi, Ka-Lagen, and Ka-Kroh each of whom is regarded as the *Ka-Ki' pah* (meaning womb) of their respective descendants who are *shi-Ki'pah* (the members of the same womb). And their names are the names of the three sub-clans of the siaw clan.

The names of the sub-clans of some of the clans as collected from the elderly Khasi women are given below.

CLAN	SUB-CLAN
1. Siaw	= [illegible] ; [illegible] ; [illegible]
2. Khongsit	= [illegible] ; [illegible] ; [illegible] ; [illegible]
3. Khawlang	= [illegible] ; [illegible] ; [illegible] ; [illegible]
4. Lyngdoh	= [illegible] ; [illegible] ; [illegible]
5. Sangma	= [illegible] ; [illegible] ; [illegible] ; [illegible]
6. Khongwar	= [illegible] ; [illegible] ; [illegible] ; [illegible]
7. Jaitkhar	= [illegible] ; [illegible] ; [illegible]
8. Shaphrang	= [illegible] ; [illegible] ; [illegible] ; [illegible]

Family (*ka-ing*) among the Khasis is the socio-economic and religious unit. Due to matrilineal residence, the structure of the Khasi families assumes a different form. The constituent members are the grandmother, her daughters and their children. But the permanent[1] residents are the youngest daughter (*ka-khadduh*), her husband and daughters. It takes on

[1] [Should read: permanent. — Analyst]

extended form more often when the children of the deceased sisters of *Ka-Khadduh* reside there. This extension is on the mother's side and is affiliated through the extension of mother-child relationship.

Additional members like widower brothers or widowed sisters make the Khasi family a composite one.

In a Khasi family father, mother and her brother are very important. Father who is regarded as *Myndar* (stranger) or *Dabang kha* (begotten), has also the position of *Kynwad* (master) of the house (set-up by him). He is the executive head and the mother is the *dajaw* owner of the household.

Modern conditions and spread of Christianity have greatly affected the Khasi society and changed the Khasi ways of life but have failed to alter the traditional mode of inheritance even among the Christian Khasis. Another important fact which is apparent in the Khasi families, is the change of the status of the mother's brother (*Uncle*) in his sister's house. His influence has greatly been diminished due to clash with *Ka-Khadduh* (*Husband*). He has almost lost his control over his sister's family. This has made the women exert their status to a danger point. Consequently, some amount of maladjustment in the relationship system, moral depravity and disintegration been large in the family horizon.

Family in the case of Khasi social organisation and the closeness of familial kin with the members of the sub-clan is due more to the fact that sub-clan owes its development to the family. A *Dai-K'pah* (member of sub-clan) is a secondary relative and can easily be approached for any help.

The functions of the above mentioned social groupings are as follows:

Clan (*Ka-Kur*)—It regulates marriage. It being a larger non-residential kin group contact between its members is infrequent. The amount of social participation needed on certain level to intensify the relationship among its members falls far short of. But nevertheless, there existed among the members

[should read: regarded — Analyst]

of a clan some ceremonial attachment developed out of the custom of depositing the bones of the clansmen in clan ossuary and renewing the relationship between the clansmen on the ceremonial occasion of *thalmiubah* when the bones were finally transferred from *maraklang* (ossuary of a sub-clan) to *marabah* (ossuary of a clan).

Social bond among the clansmen is due to the performance of common religious ceremonies (*khar*), worship of common deities and spirits of household (*Kwishain*), water (*pur*) and hills (*Kwidhum*) and observance of mourning for three days for the death of clansmen with the cessation of outdoor work specially with implements.

Economic bond among them is due further to the possession of common land (*ri-khar*), which is divided into separate holdings held by families.

Sub-clan (*Ka-U'pun*)—Unlike the clan, sub-clan has nothing to do with the regulation of marriage. Its main functions are socio-religious. Mutual interest in the welfare of the members of sub-clan evinced in the observance of *sikaw** in honour of the dead grandmother, profound sentiment grows out of the former practice of depositing the bones of the dead persons of the same sub-clan in *maraklang* and the responsibility of bearing the expenses for *thalmiubah* bind the members together.

The observance of mourning on the death of a person of the same sub-clan for three days and the consequent

*Offering of food to the spirits of the dead ancestors.

13:Mukherjee E-5 (1954)1958 AR7 Khasi AR7

613 [765]

cessation of transaction of money (*kheimahei*) during the period, compulsory social participation in marriage, household worship, and funeral ritual, and the pride for the privilege in succession to *siem-ship* (chieftain ship) hold together the inner structure of the society in fulfilling its function.

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Family (Ka-ling)—The functions of family centre round the :

1. performance of basic religious rites,
2. management and inheritance of family property,
3. maintenance of social relations with the kin of *ka-k'jah* and *ka-bar*,
4. protection of familial kin.

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From the above discussions it may be inferred that the social groupings of the Khasis function in different dimensions and make the individuals aware of their duties, and obligations towards each other. In the process of socialisation and enculturation of the individual they learn that the individuals, the different social groups and the community at large are inseparable.

Even from infancy a boy is infused with the idea that family comes first in regard, sub-clan second, and clan third. The kin of the family are primary relatives, and those of the sub-clan and the clan are secondary and tertiary respectively. One bow and three arrows given by a father to his son in his naming ceremony (*jaikhan*) symbolise their relationships with the three social groups. With the first arrow man has to fight for *ski-ling* (members of the same family) and *ski-k'jah* (members of the same sub-clan), with the second for his *ski-bar* and with the third for the state.

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15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

614 *mawbu* (grave stone), in which the bones of all the dead members
[765] are buried. When the *mawbu* becomes full, or some members move
[769] away to a considerable distance, they provide another branch *mawbu*, creating a new *kur*.[1] Thus in course of time, every older *kur* occasionally branches off. Every branch *kur* has a different name, but can be grouped into a major *kur* thus forming a distinct exogamous group. Relationships among the minor *kur* of one major *kur* are usually known, or can be ascertained, so that marriages among these members are avoided. When the Khasi express this kind of group consciousness, they use the term *jai* (own people). For outsiders, it is difficult to know through the names of minor *kur* whether *kur* A and *kur* B are of the same group or not.

However, neither clan solidarity nor corporative activities are found among the Khasi, except in those clans which are considered of higher status, and maintain a functional position in the political or religious fields. Such are the Siem of the ruling clan and the Ringdoh of the priest clan, etc. Among commoners like the villagers of Sohkynduh and Kongton, the importance of a *kur* is confined to recognizing a common ancestress, with a common *mawbu* conception, which requires them to maintain a strict exogamous rule. But whether of major or minor *kur*, its members do not meet together or have a common leader. Actually major *kur* of which there are a considerable number all over the Khasi Hills, have no clear-cut geographical distribution. Each is scattered over a wide area, cutting across territory which includes several villages, and mixing with various other *kur*. Indeed, some of them are very widely distributed geographically and found in almost all regions of the Khasi Hills. A minor *kur* is also scattered over many different villages, though it shows more concentration than the
[621] major one. Consequently a village may be composed of small segments of more than a dozen different *kur*. Even these small segments of each *kur* found in a single village have little or no sense of kin-group solidarity, unless the members have quite close kinship ties. In many cases, though some members have the same *kur* name, their relationship may be distant, so that they cannot always reconstruct their genealogical relationship. In such a case their behaviour and attitude towards the same *kur* members and towards other *kur* members show no difference.

• 613 Individuals are not grouped actually under the name of *kur* but in a smaller group of matrilineal descendants from one great-grand-

[764] 1. The Khasi commute dead bodies, bones and ashes are usually kept in a spot near the youngest sister's house which is the centre of a functional descent group, for many years and finally placed in the *mawbu* of the *kur*. They say that these bones are to be collected and replaced into the *mawbu* every hundred years with a great ceremony. However, none of villagers are certain about the year when the last ceremony was held.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

mother, for which unit the Khasi word *kpoh* is used. Such a group of matrilineal kin is usually confined to one domestic family or to a group of households, linked by direct extension of a main household. However, even this descent unit is not a single productive and consumer unit, though it may act as a religious unit, having common ancestral property. I shall take up this thread again at a later stage of my analysis. 613

Because of the lack of the functional lineage organization as a corporate unit, the village community becomes the significant unit as a higher level of organization than that of *kpoh*. This fact is supported by the high tendency to community endogamy which links every household of a village into a unit with considerable cohesion and solidarity. In fact the members of a village community are linked to each other in various ways by affinal or cognatic ties. 621 613 614 551 621

List 6. *House-owners and their Spouses of Sokhynduh.*

House-owner	*Kur*	*Spouse*	*Kur*
1. Ruka	Pohnong	Suro	Prarian
2. Shngiam	Pohnong	Niar	Riatam
3. U Rabi	Prarian		
4. Te	Prarian	Phaongrung	Dkhar
5. Pho	Khongriah	Ser	Dkhar
6. Dewli	Dkhar	Wen	Kaing
7. Sauh	Khongshei	Hajur	Khongsit
8. Kwinnai	Dkhar	Koshen	Kongjah
9. Outti	Dkhar	Hajur	Khongsit
10. Jeid	Khonglam		
11. Jun	Khonsidir	Uaing	Kaing
12. Mo	Khongsidir	Kishad	Khongshei
13. U ail	Khongsidir		
14. Rupai	Khongshei	Soli	Shrieh
15. Tugun	Khongmowpat	Tik	Prarian
16. Step	Khongmowpat	Nowel	Kaing
17. Phi	Khongsidir	Phoin	Mawpat
18. Khaila	Prarian	Sniang	Masar
19. Jep	Kaing	Syndro	Dkhar
20. Khott	Shrieh	Lalit	Khongshei
21. Pre	Prarian	Mon	Khongshei
22. Kam	Khonshai	Pien	Khongriah
23. Lami	Prarian	Jam	Khongjilew
24. Shakmel	Khongngain	Jeep	Dkhar
25. Jin	Khongjilew		
26. Jamnoel	Khonglam	Jonin	Riahtam
27. Kilo	Dkhar	Mata	Khonglam
28. Phimai	Riahtam	Rang	Dkhar
29. Juk	Riahtam	Rabaning	Tyngseng
30. U Jin	Khonglam		
31. Khott	Shrieh	Sniang	Khonglam
32. Ser	Kynshah	Jonin (2d)	Riahtam

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

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House-owner	Kur	Spouse	Kur
—	—	—	—
33. Ke	Khongsit	Beno	Khongriah
34. Hil	Khongjliew	Mudui	Majaw
35. Erisa	Riahtam	Jen	Khongji
36. Eli	Khongsit	Khang	Khongshei
37. Ede	Khongsit	Berod	Riahtam
38. Keril	Shrieh	Kowai	Khongsit
39. He	Khongsit	Dek	Mawpat
40. Phro	Dkhar	Dakhil	Prarian
41. Shugal	Khonglam	Jran	Prarian
42. Ieitmon	Tham	Kop	Khongsidir
43. Prsiang	Khongsit	Miton	Khongngain
44. Pjah	Shirieh		
45. Lhi	Prarian		
46. Libon	Kynshah	Synbo	Dkhar
47. Kweit	Tham	Horirai	Kynshah
48. Syndon	Shirieh	Jum	Khongriah

Note 1) 3, 13, and 30 are households the heads of which are men who have no wife or sister (mother, niece) living with them.
2) Husbands of 10, 44 and 45 died, and 25 divorced.
3) Husbands of 26 and 32 are the same man (polygynyst).

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List 7. *Numbers by kur of Individuals named in List 6.*

	House-owner		Spouses	Total
	Women	Men		
	—	—	—	—
1. Prarian	5	1	5	11
2. Riahtam	3		3	6
3. Dkhar	5		6	11
4. Shrieh	5		1	6
5. Pohnong	2		0	2
6. Kaing	1		3	4
7. Khongsit	5		3	8
8. Khongsidir	3	1	1	5
9. Khongshei	3		3	6
10. Khongmawpat	2		2	4
11. Khonglam	5	1	2	6
12. Khongjliew	2		1	3
13. Khongngain	1		1	2
14. Khongriah	1		3	4
15. Tham	2		0	2
16. Kynshah	2		1	3
17. Khongjah			1	1
18. Mosar			1	1
19. Tygwong			1	1
20. Majaw			1	1
21. Khongji			1	1
Total	45	3	40	88

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List 8. *Actual descent Links found among House-owners of Sohkynduh.*

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*House-owners**	*Kur*
1. 18-21-23	Prarian
2. 4-45	Prarian
3. 28-29-35	Riahtam
4. 27-40	Dkhar
5. 20-48-44-38	Shrieh
6. 33-39-43	Khongsit
7. 36-37	Khongsit
8. 11-12	Khongsidir
9. 7-22	Khongshei
10. 16-15	Khongmowpat
11. 25-34	Khongjiliew
12. 32-46	Kynshah

Note: Figures correspond to that of List 6.

List 9. *House-owners and their Spouses of Kongton.*

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House-owner	*Kur*	*Spouse*	*Kur*
1. Shra	Pohnong	Ijiro	Khongsit
2. Klur	—	•(Mahalik)	Shabong
3. Pheni	—	•(Skit)	Majaw
4. Rai	—	D(Skit) (3)	—
5. Syem	—	Shynna	Khongsit
6. Khubor	—	•(Irai)	—
7. Shngiam	—	D(Esrun)	Sohkhlet
8. Lphuin	—	Jubonrai (32, 20)	Majaw
9. Den	—	Khain	Riahtam
10. Kyrin	—	•(Ridon)	Sohkhlet
11. U Kynrai	—	D(Jat)	Khongsit
12. Sad	—	Khim	Khongwir
13. Tanghui	Khongsit	•(Kheng)	Mynrieng
14. Rihiam	—	•(Mongbah)	Majaw
15. Liti	—	Borsing	Shabong
16. Web	—	Mrit	Buhphang
17. Latem	—	•(Ring)	Shabong
18. Langdiang	—	Burma	Riahtam
19. Ribamon	—	Swar	Pohnong
20. Mo	—	Jubonrai (8, 32)	Majaw
21. Kliet	—	Nobar	—
22. Thakeit	—	D*(Bit)	—
23. U Sabur	—	•(Jling)	Shabong
24. Iut	—	•(Khyllah)	Khongji
25. Dugar	—	•(Lariang)	Khongngain
26. Duro	Majaw	Iong	Khongshei
27. Buh	—	That	Sohkhlet
28. Hima	—	Shedar	Rangrah

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

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House-owner	Kur	Spouse	Kur
—	—	—	—
29. U Shai	—	Phri	Khongngain
30. Tamsa	—	*(Ramjai)	Pohnong
31. Kiun	—	Joit	Khongwir
32. Krip	—	Mok	Buhphang
33. Main	—	Soh	Dkhar
34. Pein	Rangrah	Kber	Shabong
35. Ieh	—	Kdu	—
36. Kynian	—	Hara	Shabong
37. Tied	—		
38. U Thuia	—	Phiri	Lyngdoh
39. Pata	Riahtam	D*(Biria)	Tding
40. Kit	—	Shkor	Pohnong
41. Rimai	—	D*(Piew)	—
42. Rita	—	*(Bhashon)	Kynshah
43. Ribih	—	Shamaliak	Lyngdoh
44. Git	—	Kynhei	Tding
45. Jemjani	Sohkhlet	Skin	Khongji
46. Wuni	—	*(Mishon)	Shabong
47. Kror	—	Sho	Khongsit
48. Hori	Shabong	*(Brim)	Rangrah
49. Pho	—	Mlian	Khongji
50. Sho	—	Slam	Khongngain
51. Luguin	—	D*(Niew)	Lyngdoh
52. Rupa	—	Jubongrai (8, 20)	Majaw
53. Ksher	—	*(Rangsi)	Khongsit
54. Kolina	—	Poi	Majaw
55. Lak	Khongji	D*(Khyllah)	Khongshei
56. U Phin	—	*(Syaid)	Mynrieng
57. Thasi	—	Ten	Shabong
58. Dheaw	—	Dormu	Rangrah
59. Syaid	Mynrieng	D(Phin, 56)	Khongji
60. Syur	—	Kdek	Khongrymmai
61. Sur	—	*(Base)	Shabong
62. Bhik	—	D(Lar)	Majaw

Note: 1) * = dead. D = divorced.
2) House-owners of 11, 23, 29, 38 and 56 are men, and the rest are women.
3) Husband of 8, 20 and 52 are the same man (polygynist).

List 10. *Numbers by kur of Individuals named in List 9.*

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Kur	No. of house-owners		No. of spouses		Total
	Women	Men	Men	Women	
—	—	—	—	—	—
1. Pohnong	11	1	4		16
2. Khongsit	12	1	6		19
3. Majaw	7	1	7		15
4. Rangrah	4	1	3		8
5. Riahtam	6		1		8

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

Kur	*No. of house-owners*		*No. of spouses*		*Total*
	Women	*Men*	*Men*	*Women*	
6. Sohkhlet	3		3		6
7. Shabong	7		10		17
8. Khongji	3	1	2	1	7
9. Mynrieng	4		1	1	6
10. Khongwir			2		2
11. Buhphong			2		2
12. Khongngain			3		3
13. Khongshei			2		2
14. Dkhar			1		1
15. Lyngdoh			2		3
16. Tding			2		2
17. Kynshah			1		1
18. Khongrymmai			1		1
Total	37	5	54	3	119

List 11. *Actual Descent Links found among House-owners of Kondong.*

House-owners	*Kur*
1. 1-7	Pohnong
2. 2-3-12	Pohnong
3. 13-18	Khongsit
4. 14-15	Khongsit
5. 17-25	Khongsit
6. 19-20	Khongsit
7. 23-24	Khongsit
8. 26-2933	Majaw
9. 27-28	Majaw
10. 31-32	Majaw
11. 36-38	Rangrah
12. 40-44	Riahtam
13. 42-43	Riahtam
14. 43-4647	Sohkhlet
15. 48-4954	Shabong
16. 59-6061	Mynrieng

Note: Numbers correspond to that of List 9.

The data I collected in Sohkynduh and Kongton show that the number of housholds that can be included in a single descent group (actual kinship ies through female members) is strikingly small, as shown in List 8(Sohkynduh) and List 11 (Kongton). The maximum number of housholds belonging to a recognizable descent group was four, and mostlytwo. Many households (19 households of Sohkynduh; 25 households o Kongton) which did not appear in List 8 and List 11,

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

• 613 formed independent descent groups by individual households, for
614 which no traceable genealogical relation with any other descent groups
621 could be established, though some of them belonged to the same *kur*. In Sohkynduh, the total 48 households were divided into 16 *kur* (according to the house-owner), and in Kongton, the total 62 households were divided into 9 *kur*, while the number of actual descent groups amount to 31 in Sohkynduh and 41 in Kongton.

This fact, I presumed, indicated a considerable mobility of the
166 population of each village community. Hence, I tried my best to
178 reconstruct the historical alignments of these descent groups, both
613 from my genealogical data and with the help of the villagers' memory.
614 The result showed that the mobility of the population over the last fifty years had been surprisingly great and complex. In Sohkynduh,
621 the Praian clan seems to be the oldest inhabitants of this village with 16 *kur* segments. Next came a family of the Ksing. The third wave was a family of Khonglam, and the fourth, Siem Lyngngoh which I mentioned previously (p. 104). The next were families of the Kynshah, many members of which had left for Nonprian village after a few years. The sixth wave was the Srieh family. All the above movements took place before the great earthquake of 1897 which shook Assam. After 1897 the movements became more intense and complicated, and involved many families of various *kur*. The villagers could not remember the order in which they came: there has been continual coming and going even up to now. At present, the Prarian, the Ksing, the Khonglam, the Kynshah and the Dkhar are the older among the 16 *kur*. However, such migrations concern usually a single family only, not a group of *kur*, and that is the typical pattern of Khasi migration. Hence, families which have the same *kur* name do not always indicate the same movements. The incentive for such migration seems to be to get land better appropriated to one's economic condition. Particularly, as I have already mentioned elsewhere (p. 105), the shortage of land seems to encourage families of elder sisters who have no share of property, to move to other areas and look for land.

Thus, many households which make up the present village are minor segments of different *kur*, or of the same *kur*, but they can hardly trace their genealogical relations to one another. A migration to a new village was not undertaken at random; it was mostly as a result of information received from neighbouring villages, or from those where friends or relatives had already settled in. Several neigh-
178 bouring villages usually dispose of more than one common market
613 where they can exchange information and developed friendships over
614 trading. The matrilineal kinship relation is no more important a
621 factor than any of the others mentioned above. Among the Khasi,

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

the matrilineal descent group has a distinguished function only when there is common residence and common property. 178

In Kongton, among 9 different *kur* (List 10), Pohnong and Khonsit accounted for the majority of the population, while the rest, seven *kur*, were more or less of equal size. On the whole the population seemed more stable than that of Sohkynduh. However, as in Sohkynduh, actual descent groups amounted to 41, many of which have the same *kur* name but could not always establish genealogical relationship with one another; nor was there any functional cohesion. I failed to reconstruct the history of the formation of these descent groups: the villagers had no memory of their past except very fragmentary information which was quite insufficient to account for their present composition. They only insisted this was a very old village in comparison with Sohkynduh and other neighbouring villages. 613 614 621 [182]

While I was struggling with the villagers' scant accounts of their past and fragmented kinship relations among the present households, I was struck by the poorness of the villagers' genealogical memory in comparison with that of the Garo. Suppose A, B and C, who belonged to the same property-holding descent group three generations back: A and B being sisters and C being B's daughter. If B, including her descendants, moved away from the village two generations back, the present generation of A's and C's descendants would easily lose contact and knowledge of their genealogical relationship. This fact, on the other hand, illustrates some important aspects of the Khasi social structure: the kinship relation—matrilineal descent link—is not a significant factor beyond the scale of the household (property-holding descent group), and locality is more important than matrilineal descent for the formation of the Khasi community. Through the predominant practice of endogamy on the level of the village, the small segments (found on a level of a household or a group of a few households) of various different *kur* clustered in a village are linked by affinal relations each other, by which altogether form a well knit social organization of a village community. The cohesion and solidarity of the Khasi village community is strengthened by the local endogamy not by the localized lineage organization. 182 613 621

In fact, in contrast with the rather loose kinship relations which link different households, the affinal relations link almost every households in the village, as shown in Fig. 10. The lines, ———, indicate marriage relations between living members of households, and the lines, - - - - -, indicate affinal relations established through dead members of present households or through spouses' kinship relations at Sohkynduh, as in November 1955. In this way, except for one household (24), members of a single household are all linked together through affinal or cognatic ties. In some cases, the affinal relations between 602 621

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

of marriages between these two *kur*. Such marriage arrangements cannot be regarded as constituting a cross-cousin institution. From my data of four villages it was not possible to produce any institutionalized pattern. 582 614

In general, the selection of a marital partner depends mainly on personal choice, though the authority of the *iing* (descent group) and parents should be consulted. The man proposes to the girl. The network of marriage relations among the Khasi seems in no way to follow any set principle. Every marriage is likely to be fortuitous: it is ruled simply by temporary personal liking, except for the strict rule of exogamy and the avoidance of near kin.

Exogamy is strictly kept. In the olden days breaking this rule was equivalent to being sentenced to death. Offenders had their heads shaved in a particular way and had to leave the Khasi community completely. Even now such a marriage is considered as the worst kind of sin; a Khasi Christian intellectual said to me that it was worse than homicide. I came across one couple who had broken this rule. Though they had different *kur* names, both *kur* were segments of one common *kur*. It happened in Jatinga, one of the most modern Khasi communities whose inhabitants were all Christians. The couple were not allowed to have their house inside the village. Their house was in the jungle about one mile away from the village. 178 582 614 684

Successive sororate marriage—marriage to a younger sister of the late wife—is practised, since it justifies the widower in remaining in the same household as his children after his wife's death. Otherwise, the Khasi rule demands that he should leave the house and his children in order to remarry another woman. We shall deal with this aspect again in terms of marriage. 587

II. Principle of Descent and Succession

Previously I have mentioned the *kpoh*, the matrilineal kin group with a common great grandmother. This is not, however, an institutional corporate descent group. The most important functional descent unit is called *iing*. The *iing* is the lowest order of clan segmentation, smaller than the *kpoh*—a *kpoh* may include two or more *iing*. The generation depth of an *iing* is usually two to four, in some cases an *iing* is formed only by mother and child. The Khasi consider this unit to be the most important social index for the classification of individuals. Marriages are arranged by individual *iing*, not by wider groups of kinsmen. The *iing* is the structurally significant norm. The term *iing* is also used for a house building itself, as is the *nok* of the Garo. However, the membership of the *iing*, as I shall 613

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

613 explain later, does not always correspond to a domestic unit, nor to a corporate production unit. At least husbands are excluded from the wives' *iing* though they share a common household. The members of an *iing* consist of a set of strictly matrilineal descendants, who have a common right over the ancestral property, are subject to a common authority and practise some joint ritual.

The membership of the *iing* is determined through the mother. The central core of the *iing* comprises two persons, one holding the authority and the other owning the property; the rule of succession is strictly matrilineal. The authority goes from mother's brother to sister's son while the property is handed down from mother to daughter. A man continues to be a member of the same *iing* all his life whether he marries or not. A woman, if she is not the heiress (the youngest daughter), will branch off after her marriage and though she herself will continue as member of her mother's *iing*, the third generation from her will form an independent *iing*. It is sometimes difficult to trace the clear line of each group, as it is formed by a process of branching off. The actual working of the *iing* may be explained as follows (see Fig. 11).

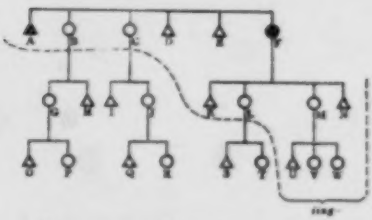

FIG. 11. — *Composition of the Members of an* Iing.

All members appearing in Fig. 11 form a *kpoh*. The dotted lines mark off members of one *iing*. F is the mother who possesses property and A is her brother who holds the authority in the *iing*. F's property is at the disposal of all members of the *iing* for funerals, and for religious ceremonies of the *iing*. But all members of the *iing* do not usually share the property, as I shall explain later in connection with the dwelling unit.

G, H, I, J, S and T are excluded from F's *iing*, but F is responsible for them if their mothers should die before their marriage. In case they loose their mother they must be fed by F, or by F's daughter, or by F's grand-daughter. The descendants of B, C and L will form respective independent *iing*, separated from F's. Thus, the position of B, C and L show the process by which an *iing* segments. F is succeeded at her death by her youngest daughter M.

On the death of A, he is succeeded in his position of authority by K. If K is too young, and D or E live in the same house as K, D or E will succeed A. Succession to the position of authority normally depends on seniority, but capability and the place of residence are also taken into account, according to circumstances. In the

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

absence of A, D, E, K and N, U succeeds to the office if he is grown up. 613
If U is too young, a chance arises for F's husband, if F is alive, if not, for M's husband.[1] In the event that none of these males be available, finally the office is taken by F and then by M. It should be noted that the office assumed by F's husband, M's husband, F or M would have to be returned to M's son, as soon as he comes of age. These cases are considered a temporary measure to meet an emergency.

The Khasi follow a strict descent line, and neither a classificatory 611
uncle (or brother) is allowed to take over the authority of the *iing*,[2] 613
though if there is no successor to the property, a daughter may be adopted from the nearest matrilineal descent group. Instead of the adoption of a daughter, the following steps may also be taken. The property is handed over to the nearest matrilineal descent group; or if there is a son, he may inherit his father's or mother's acquired property, but ancestral property should go to a matrilineal kin. In such cases, the particular *iing* actually becomes extinct: in the former case, though the property is handed over to another *iing*, this *iing* belongs to the same matrilineal line; in the latter, the property goes eventually to the son's wife and to his children, i.e. an *iing* of an entirely different *kur*. The latter arrangement suggests that though the Khasi follow the strict descent line, so far as the acquired property is concerned, the child has primary rights over the mother's other matrilineal kin, as expressed by the son's right of inheritance in the absence of a daughter. In this way, the *iing* may become extinct by the death of the female member who has no daughter.

The Khasi consider the *iing* institution as the basic and most 613
important functional unit; it represents also the religious unit which keeps ancestral property and shares a common religious ceremony. This is indeed the key to the whole Khasi social organization.

III. Residential Unit

In this section I shall deal with the relation between the *iing* and 592
the domestic dwelling unit and examine the type of relation maintain- 593
ed between the marital family (husband, wife and children) and the 613
iing. Among the Garo, the *nok* corresponds to the actual group of individuals residing within one household. Upon this point the Khasi system is more complicated since spouses of members of the *iing* are excluded from the *iing*.

1. This would only arise in cases where the husbands of F or M live in the same household as their wives.
2. In the case of succession to the chieftainship, a classificatory sister's son is taken in the absence of a direct nephew or brother

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

592 The Khasi domestic unit (co-residential group) can be divided into four categories:

1. Households consisting of wife, husband and their children, wife's unmarried sisters and brothers—sometimes including widowed or divorced.
2. [613] Households including all members of an *iing* (excluding their spouses from members of 1). In this type, larger households contain all the descendants of three or more generations from one woman (in this case, an *iing* corresponds to a *kpuh*).
3. [591] Households of intermediate type between 1 and 2. Husbands are supposed to live in their wife's house, but they often go back to their sister's house for meals, and sometimes sleep there. They are supposed to work in their wife's field but they might work in their mother's (sister's) field, if necessary. This tendency is especially strong among newly married couples before they have a child.
4. Households consisting of only one elementary family. This mostly happens when a man married a non-heiress.

Most Khasi households are of types 1, 3 and 4 and these three types are usually found within one village. They were found in the four villages in which I worked. It is to these dwelling units that I have given the name of house in Lists 6 and 9. Category 2, according to [178] the information of Khasis and Jaintias, was used to be found among the Jaintias, though nowadays such cases are rapidly decreasing, changing into forms 1, 3 and 4. The members of category 2 belong to an *iing*, which structurally corresponds to the *tarwad* of the Nayar, and the *parwi* of the Minangkabau.

178 Category 2 may have been practised among certain of the Khasi a long time ago. Kongton people said that as recently as their father's 184 generation, there were many husbands who stayed at the mother's house after their marriage and visited the wife at night. Nowadays, 591 visiting husbands are very unusual cases in the Khasi Hills, though such situations may occur among newly married couples before they have children. Gurdon, who wrote his book *The Khasi* in 1914, states:

> "Amongst the Khasis, after one or two children are born, and if a married couple get on well together, the husband frequently removes his wife and family to a house she and her husband pool their earings, which are expended for the support of the family" (p. 78).

In the Khasi Hills, the transition period between duolocal residence and neolocal or uxorilocal residence seems to have been shortened during the last forty or fifty years. This might have been effected through the influence of Christian marriages, which start cohabitation of the wife and the husband immediately after the marriage ceremony. However, in Jaitinga whose inhabitants originated in the Jaintia Hills where duolocal marriage is the usual practice, there are even now many instances of a man staying at his mother's house for several

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years after his marriage. During this period he works in his wife's 178
field, then, if the couple gets on well, they start to live together in
an independent house (non-heiress's case) or in the wife's house 184
(heiress's case). In spite of the fact that the inhabitants are all Christians, they have retained this custom.

It is difficult to determine at what date the Khasi people have 178
changed from duolocal marriage to uxorilocal marriage. However, 591
the present dwelling unit, with its fluid relationship between husband and wife (in fact, there are many cases of category 3), suggests a situation linked with the duolocal residence pattern. The fragmentary historical information available and the present Khasi residence pattern suggest that the duolocal arrangement may be an older pattern of marriage. When I was in Kongton there was no husband who stayed at his mother's house permanently, visiting his wife at night. The head man told me that, when he married, there were many who did not stay in the wife's house. He was the first person to settle in the wife's house. In his case, he said, he felt sympathy for his wife who had no brother who could work for her. After he had settled in his wife's house, many villagers began to follow his example.[1] When the [621]
pattern of a visiting marriage was in vogue, a village must have constituted a more compact endogamous unit. If the husband's house was in another village, a visiting marriage must have been a great inconvenience. The tendency to settle in the wife's house and work for the wife's house must have brought about a wider range of marriage contracts, such as with members of nearby villages, even though in the present form of marriage, village endogamy is much preferred as it is decidedly advantageous particularly for a husband, since he can continue his life in the same familiar environment in spite of uxorilocal marriage.

The variations in the pattern of co-residential grouping, which 592
I have classified into four categories, reflect two different themes in 593
the social structure of the Khasi. On the one hand they represent 613 •
different stages in the maturity of the individual families concerned. For example, a householder who starts in category 3 or 4 may end as an old man in category 1. On the other hand these variations also reflect the polar opposition between the obligations of matrilineal kinship and the obligations of parenthood; a man, in particular, has conflicting obligations towards the *sing* of his sister and the *sing* of

1. However, all the information which I collected in the upland Khasi Hills indicates that the uxorilocal residence pattern has been practised for a long time. According to stories often told by the Kongton people, they migrated from the Jaintia Hills. If these accounts are to be taken as a reflection of the real history of their migration, it would seem that the Kongton people may have kept up the Jaintia custom including the duolocal residence pattern up to recent times, while the majority of the Khasi practised uxorilocal marriage. [184]

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

592 his wife. Paternal rights are not well recognised among the Khasi.
593 The religious elements in the *sing* institution lay stress only on matri-
• 619 lineal solidarity. These elements tend therefore to orient each individual of the domestic unit to his or her own matrilineal kin group, the *sing*. This results in unstable relations between members of each elementary family, in other words, the marriage relation is one of the weakest.

000 This is the crucial point in matrilineal societies, and has been much discussed by anthropologists. Richards says,

> "In this balance of privileges and duties between the patrikin and the matrikin the crucial point is obviously the husband's right to determine the residence of the bride. If she and her children live in the same homestead or village as his kinsmen, his domestic authority is likely to be greater than where they remain with the wife's relatives" (Richards, 1950, p. 108).

This statement is quite acceptable for those matrilineal systems which provide possibility for a man to take his wife from her matrikin to his house or village where the husband's kin are found, as in cases of the matrilineal Central Bantus, the Ashanti, the Trobriands and
591 the Nayar in North Malabar. However, among the Khasi, there is no such custom of removing a wife from her kin to that of her husband. Since most marriages take place inside a village, there are only two different residential arrangements: one is to take the husband to the wife's house, where he lives with his wife's parents and other matrikin; the second is for the newly married couple to establish an independent house. Among Khasi men and women the usual practice is to leave the parents' house at marriage, except in the case of the heiress (the youngest daughter). In this respect the Khasi differ again from the Nayar and the Minangkabau who form a sibling family on the basis of duolocal residence,[1] and from the Hopi, the Zuni and the Trobriand who form a residential group of an extended family, based on matrilineal descent including in-marrying husbands of married females. Khasi sisters do not form a residential group after their marriage; sisters' houses are scattered over the whole village residential area, mixing with households of other descent groups (see Fig. 10 with List 8).

Then, what is the factor that makes the Khasi have two different types of residence i.e. uxorilocal and neolocal[2] within a matrilineal

1. Only the case of some traditional Japanese (category c) would appear to show groupings similar to those of the Nayar, however, I did not work among them, nor are there anthropological reports available for them, particularly in this respect.

2. I use 'neolocal' in terms of house-building, since they usually build a house for newly married couple in the same village where both wife's and husband's parents live—village endogamy.

19: Nakano E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

society? Among the matrilineal Central Bantus, Richards says that the determining factor in residence at marriage is the marriage payment or the type of goods and services which the bridegroom gives (Richards, 1950, p. 149). However, the Khasi have no such custom in the marriage contract, it is therefore out of the question to explain the two types of residence in this way. In the case of the Khasi, the determining factor is the type of marriage with relation to the rule of inheritance and ownership of property, which is clearly related to the structure of the *iing*. Khasi marriages can be divided into two categories i.e., marriage with an heiress and with a non-heiress. Marriages with an heiress must be uxorilocal. This accounts for category 1 or 3 of the household pattern. On the other hand, marriages with a non-heiress become neolocal and correspond to category 4 of the household unit.

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IV. Marriage with the Heiress

A man married to an heiress, usually lives with his wife's parents and her unmarried or divorced brothers and sisters. For a man, life after marriage under such circumstances require great adjustment and endurance. The husband's status is especially weak when a male member of the wife's kin lives in the same household. The management of property and all economic activities are entirely controlled by the authority (wife's brother or maternal uncle) of the *iing*. The husband works in the wife's field under constant supervision from this authority. Both economic activities and domestic affairs are always under the management of this authority. The children have more attachment to, and are more obedient to, the maternal uncle than to the father. The tie between the uncle and the nephew is so strong that the father is rather like an additional member of the household. He is the last person to be introduced to visitors.

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This family system is clearly reflected in the daily behaviour. When we visited the Khasi household of a youngest daughter, if a man (obviously the husband) came first to greet us, he always said "please wait, my wife (or mother-in-law) is coming." And it was the wife who entertained us, offering tea or pan and discussing matters with us, while her husband remained silent in the corner of the room, or in the next room. If her uncle or brother was there, he would be the person who talked to us, while his sister or sister served us. In such a case, we were seldom introduced to the husband. When I was working at Shella, I happened to stay in such a family. I had hardly any opportunity to talk to the husband during the two weeks of my stay. He left the house very early in the morning and came back late in the evening from the fields. While he was at home, he was

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ship. They still live in the same familiar atmosphere as before their marriage. The implications of this ambiguity in the married state are considerable. Particularly the husband's uncomfortable situation, when the wife is heiress, encourages him to take marriage less seriously. 581 593

A husband who undergoes hardship in his wife's house, finds himself as the authority in his sister's house; if he is not the authority, he can find at least a respected position as uncle or brother. In the case of a man of authority in the *iing*, the tendency for him to regard his *iing* as more important than his married life is proportionately stronger, as I will discuss later. Hence the most unstable and unsuccessful marriages are those between the heiress and the man of authority. This is one of the reasons we often find among the Khasi: a brother or an uncle, who is already married, acting nevertheless as the head to a family *(iing)* and as a member of its domestic group. This means that he is in a state of temporary separation or divorced. Among the Ashanti, a man and his wife's brother are never found as members of a common household (Fortes, 1950, p. 262), but among the Khasi, on the contrary, a man and his wife's brother are often found as members of a common household. In such cases, however, the brother has no wife, or never brings his wife to his *iing*. Therefore, a man and his wife and his sister never reside together. As far as the residence of women is concerned, the Khasi keep to the strict descent rule; two women who belong to different descent groups never live together. This point differentiates the Khasi residence pattern, in which social structure is involved, from that not only of the Ashanti but also of the Yao where the head of a descent group can bring his wife to his sister's household, though, among other members, uxorilocal marriage is the rule. These differential aspects of matrilineal systems will be discussed from a more theoretical point of view later. 581 591 592 593 602 604 613 428 [171]

In addition, should a Khasi man even succeed in spending his life with his wife's kinsmen, as soon as the wife dies, he will usually return to his *iing*, that is, to his sister's house, where he is received warmly and where he often acts as the *de facto* authorithy, as in the similar situation of divorce and separation. Thus the strong matrilineal structural principle tends to orient a man towards his own descent group, the *iing*. 602 613

The man's attachment to his *iing* is very great throughout his life. In this regard the Khasi differs from the matrilineal Negri Sembilan Malay. Among the latter, returning to the matrilineal kin is regarded by the man as an imposition rather than as the enjoyment of a legitimate privilege (see Swift, 1958, p. 157).[1] This difference 171 592 602 613 428

1. He presents this fact as one of the reasons of the durability of marriage among the Negri Sembilan. Indeed, on this precise point they differ from the Khasi where marriage is rather unstable. [581]

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171 592 602 • 613 428 seems to come *firstly* from the different residential arrangement on marriage: among the Nagri Sonbilan a man marries into his wife's group, i.e. his wife's village; being thus separated from his kin, and as a result of the physical absence of his wife's brother or maternal uncle in his domestic family, he enjoys considerable rights in his wife's household—as Swift states, he is 'master in his own house.' On the other hand, since among the Khasi the man stays in the village where his mother's (or mother's successor's) house is, even after his marriage, his relation to his natal house is preserved, *secondly*, from the structural difference of organisation of the descent group. Among the Khasi, the *iing* is always the centre of the descent group, based on unigeniture succession and inheritance. Hence, the core of the descent group is always found physically in a particular household, whereas among the Nagri Sonbilan, the descent group is not organised on a *household* level, but is a much wider organisation, including apparently many households. Membership of an actual household and of a descent group are at different levels. To marry out and become a member of his wife's household means for the man the transfer of his household membership. Likewise, his sister's husband becomes a member of his sister's household. Thereby he becomes a secondary member of his sister's household after marriage though he keeps his membership in the descent group to which his sister belongs. Among the Khasi, membership of a descent group always corresponds to membership of a particular household. The Khasi man can always demand his rights at his natal house primarily, as he is a member of that descent group. But it should be noted that he has this right only in his mother's (or mother's successor's) household, not his other sisters' (non-heirem') and mother's sisters' households (unless one of them is successor of his mother), though they may belong to the same descent group. These matri kin's households are considered as separate *iing* (strict functional descent groups) from his.

586 613 120 428 Indeed, sometimes a man cannot find his *iing*, because his mother died leaving no daughter to succeed her, or his sister died leaving no successor, and his *iing* became extinct. Such a case occasionally happens when a man [illegible] old. Then he has to face a serious social and economic condition. 'In divorcing, he has to leave everything he owned, his earnings including the house which he built, and even children . . . really he has nothing left him except his body.'[1] Such a wretched man collects some timber and makes a small hut for himself, though sometimes lads who sympathise with him help him to build it. Unless he finds some woman

1. A widower has an alternative solution—to remain in his late wife's household till he marries again, though his position is not comfortable there.

whom he can marry, he has to endure the miserable lonely life, while often in the same village his former wife is living in a well-built house with her children and her matrilineal relatives as before. Households of 3, 13 and 30 of Mikiyendah in List 6, and 23, 29, 38 and 38 of Kongtron in List 9 are instances of such cases. It is really a pitiful picture to see such a man, aged and poor, living all alone.

3. Marriage with the Non-khasis

Outsiders who come to the Khasi Hills are often impressed by the Khasi husband's miserable status and express surprise at the high divorce rate. This is mostly due to exaggeration based on the marriage with the Bengalis. However, when a man marries a non-khasi, there are many successful marriages with paternal authority. In most of these cases a man's status as a husband and as a father is stable. First of all, the domestic residential unit is an elementary family. From the onset of the marriage the husband's labour is of great importance to his family, since a non-khasi usually has no economic background, i.e., no dowry or inherited property (see p. 103). The economic circumstances allow a man to be the *de facto* head even though whatever he earns belongs, as a rule, to his wife. A man who succeeds at the beginning of his married life is respected and honoured as father to his family for the rest of his life. By this type of marriage, the man's status is firmly established. It is therefore a more secure form of marriage than a match with an khasi.

In such a marriage the children love and obey their father. The management of his acquired property will be taken over by his son and the property will be handed over to his daughter. Thus his paternal authority is as well established in this form of domestic family as in a patrilineal family. However, the great difference from a patrilineal case is that the husband/father status is not permanent as the authority of the family. Theoretically he exercises it in the absence of a male adult member of his wife's clan (actually founded by his descendants). In the next generation this will form an established clan in which the husband of his youngest daughter will suffer again.

The household of this kind of marriage with a non-khasi actually enjoys a considerable degree of independence from the descent groups of both wife and husband. If a man who has established a matrimonial life independent of his wife's natal clan, is not the authority of his natal clan, his relation with the latter usually becomes weaker. Economic and residential factors make it possible for the man to make the considerable shift from his clan to his wife's clan, and though

192 to closely maintain the label of his descent group, he is at least
193 divorced from them economically. If a father's activities were such
• 619 as to permit the accumulation of wealth to be handed over to the
next generation, he is always remembered with great respect and
admiration by his successors and by the descendants of his wife's
matrilineal line. In such a case he is looked upon as a member of
his wife's descent group rather than of his mother's descent group.
The best examples of this are the cases of men belonging to the first
generation of Jaintiya villagers, especially that of the founder of
[64] Jaintiya. These immigrants to Jaintiya mostly accompanied their
wives, who were not heiresses (as I mentioned previously, the out
of Khasi immigrants is hardly found in this kind of a couple), and
most of them established successful matrimonial life with parental
authority, having been freed from the gravity of both matrilines of
wife as well as of husband.

Not necessarily confined to such cases of immigrants, even in an
ordinary situation, if husband is ready to devote himself for his wife
and children, the matrimonial life mostly turns happier and well
established one. For under the Khasi matrilineal system, a wife,
if she is not the heiress, is normally oriented to develop surprisingly
high degree of independence from her descent group, i.e. her natal
ring, unlike women of other matrilineal societies. This fact is closely
related with the unique structure of the ring, as already discussed.

As a woman (non-heiress) tends to keep a certain distance to her
natal ring, her brother accordingly decreases his concern to her new
household. The presence of the authority (wife's maternal uncle or
brother) of wife's natal ring, in such a household becomes less marked.
The wife's brothers are members of her natal ring, not of her new
established ring, and therefore none of them can act as an authority
over her new ring, though they may exercise certain pressure on the
sister's husband, since the sister who established the new ring still
keeps her membership in her natal ring. In fact a husband actually
feels pressure from his wife's brothers, the occasional visits of the
authority of her natal ring exercise a psychological check on his whole
conduct, not just and his children. Already we witnessed similar
scene in the marriage, the wife will call to her brother for consultation.
Furthermore, as member of her natal ring, he has the right to
demand the property acquired by him if his wife has no successor,
since it automatically belongs to his wife unless he acquired it without
cohabitation with her, or through the capital of his ring. However,
the process of segmentation in the ring leads the wife to greater attachment
to her husband, particularly when his economic contribution is
important, and as a consequence weakens her tie with her natal ring.

619 The limited rights of the brother over his sister's (non-heiress)

household are easily understandable in the light of the economic aspect of the fission of the ring. As I stated before, the non-heiress is given hardly any share of the property of her natal ring on her marriage (if the ring is rich a non-heiress and the sons may receive some part), and even if her new household happens to face serious economic difficulty, her natal ring, whose authority is vested in her brother, does not usually help her. This fact clearly suggests that brothers can have only limited rights over the sister-sister's ring.

This is the crucial point of the Khasi matrilineal system. The ring is a very restricted descent group, giving opportunities to split off by those who have no right to inheritance. The ring has vertical continuity without expansion in collateral lines. Therefore, even the siblings of the same mother do not always form a completely constant unit of a functional descent group, since the sister-sisters are oriented by their marriages to form a new ring, though they may retain their membership in their natal ring. The central core of the ring is the particular sibling bond between a sister (the heiress) and a brother (the authority), a pair of dyadic. Other sisters are ready to leave and other brothers are first members, clearly differentiated in status from that particular brother (authority) and sister (heiress). This structural principle should be compared with other matrilineal descent groups, whose sibling group is based on interdependence between members of a group, not between particular persons or dyadic. The structural unit of the Khasi social organization, is not the descent group based on sibling links, but the ring, though descent is the principal factor, and the limiting one, in the formation of the ring institution. The descent factor is delineated by the functional force of the inheritance rule through female alimogeniture, which results in non-exact internal fission and segmentation in the descent group. Politically, it is very similar to the process of fission of the Gaya and on the segmentary principle, though the internal structure is different.

The establishment of a new household by a Khasi woman with her husband, means the beginning of the establishment of a new ring, separated from her natal ring not only in residence but also outside of an exogamous matrilineal descent group. Therefore, a woman who has once established a new household independent of her natal household, will not go back to her natal home i.e. her mother's descent group, though her bond with her mother's descent group remains undiminished. Of course she may visit her natal ring occasionally, but in fact, much less than her husband will visit his natal ring. In this respect as well the Khasi manifest structural differences from the Ashanti as described by Fortes, where a mother goes back to her own matrilineal household and often proves to reside there (Fortes, 1949, p. 75). Even

13: Nakase K-3 (1955-1956) 1967 AR? Khasi AR?

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after divorce or husband's death, the Khasi woman stays on in her household. Indeed many divorced or widowed poor wives, whose children are still small, try their best to live and bring up their children by themselves without asking their brothers' help. Of course a mother and her small children may go back to live in her natal *ring*. Such cases are found particularly when the woman's *ring* is rich. However, during my field work, I found no sense of psychological inferiority in Khasi women, widows or divorcees, such as we usually find in other societies. The personality of the individual seems to reflect the social structure.

Given such strong residential independence on the part of the non-heiress, economically divorced from her descent group, and oriented towards sociological separation from it, the husband's economic and social contribution is handsomely rewarded by the establishment of a stable, happier, matrimonial life. In fact, as already mentioned, the divorce rate among such couples is very low contrasted with the high rate among marriages with heiresses. More accurately, I should say that divorce is more likely to occur among the latter owing to the conflict of loyalties towards spouse and *ring*. Therefore, when such partner has less loyalty towards his or her natal *ring*, the divorce cases become correspondingly lower. Thus, among the Khasi, successful marriages are frequently found where there is branching off from an *ring*. And a new *ring* is always established by a husband's contribution.

Khasi men, who are well aware of this fact, prefer to marry a non-heiress, since they will then form an independent household and remain immune to pressure from their wife's kin. However, they say a poor or lazy man prefers marriage with an heiress. As Richards said of the matrilineal Central Bantus, the residence on marriage seems to be a most important index of the husband's status, though the determining factors of the residence of the Khasi differ from those of the Bantus (see p. 164).

In the case of marriage with an heiress, when the wife dies, the husband usually returns to his *ring* (the youngest sister's house). But in marriage with a non-heiress the husband often remains with his [illegible] marry any woman other than his late wife's younger sister. If he marries his wife's younger sister, he has the right to stay on. This kind of sororal marriage cannot take place in the case of a man married to an heiress, since a Khasi man is not allowed to marry the late wife's elder sister. This form of sororate is found among the Khasi, but the levirate is unknown, such as can be seen among the Ashanti and the Ila, where a man takes his late brother's wife. Among the Khasi, even if a widow happened to marry her late husband's

15: Nekese K-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR? Khasi AR?

brother (actually not likely to happen), the levirate has no sociological implication in the social structure, which is specifically related to the residence rule. The levirate seems to have a significant function only when a marriage is violent—when the husband has full rights over his residence and property. This is also another aspect where the Khasi structure shows a marked difference from that of the Ashanti and the Ibo, etc. 182 589

VI. Marriage or the Man of Authority of an Iing

Among these successful marital families, there are also shadows of a matrilineal order. These affect especially those men who are in the position of authority in an iing. Such a man, though he has an independent household with his wife and children, often visits his youngest sister's (or uncle's) house, iing (his iing ion), and sometimes stays there. Such a man's attachment to his iing is not only social or psychological, but also often economic. The man, as authority of his natal iing, usually has economic control over the management, particularly so, if his iing has considerable property or active trading business. As husband/father in his family he works for his wife and children, but often takes into consideration as well the interests of his iing. I found such cases especially among richer villagers in Shella and Jaitiaga, where the main economic activities were based on trading. 592 599 602 619 [182]

Among the Khasi, it is quite a traditional rule of the division of labour that women engage in trading activities at markets whether on a large or small scale. Husbands may carry goods from field to market, but male members are kept away from the actual scene of the selling and buying. However, these activities on the part of the women are controlled and accounted for by their uncle or brother, or even son (or, if no male member is available, by the husband), though in many cases they form separate domestic families. The man's control over the trade appears more marked when the scale of business is large. [443] [462]

A man of Jaitiaga, who worked in a shop in Shillong, spent his salary in keeping his wife and children, but at the same time he kept the accounts of his sister who was a professional merchant. Thus, the economy of the iing and that of the ea-residential group are crossed by the dual role of the man. Hence, among the Khasi, residential autonomy is not always an indicator of economic autonomy. However, it should be clearly understood that a man's acquired property goes to his ea-residential group, not to his iing. [421]

A man of authority is attached to his iing by the stronger ties of religious, social and economic (management) duties as well. They

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

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sentiment, in spite of his forming an independent domestic unit. Such a man with two households, the family of orientation and of procreation, says "one leg is in my sister's house and the other is in my wife's," and he feels more at home in his sister's. In villages, whenever a Khasi man in such a position invited me, I was always taken to his sister's (or sister's) house, his *ing*, not to his wife's. There I was warmly welcomed with highest respect by the women of the household as the guest of their uncle (or of their brother), the head of the *ing*. Khasi men whom outsiders often regard as hopeless in their social position, thus enjoy the highest status in their *ing*.

One Khasi gentleman who occupies a fairly high post in the Government, at Haflong, leaving his wife (non-Khasi) and children at Shillong, to my question "when you go to Shillong into which house do you first step," immediately replied, "As soon as I get back to Shillong, I take the way to my sister's home and there take the evening meal with them, enjoying their talk. Then I go to my wife's house where my loving children are waiting." This shows a typical Khasi man's psychology in relation to a family of orientation and of procreation. His first concern on coming back to his homeland is whether his sister and her children are well, since he is the man of authority in that *ing*. He feels much more relaxed in his sister's house where he is held in higher regard and more cared for.

I came across many similar cases. In Jaintiya and Shella, such men on returning from their work, often have their evening meal with their sisters though their wives are waiting for them. Furthermore, if they choose to do so, they sleep at their sister's house without even going back to their wife's house. This results in an unstable married life, where a wife has to face a psychological handicap caused by the occasional absence of the husband, in spite of her advantageous position in a matrilineal and uxorilocal system. Many wives worry every day over whether or not their husbands will come to their house at night. And often this concern changes into sullenness and loneliness when the husband does not return for several days on end. The wife knows her husband is at his sister's house in the same village. But she has no right to fetch her husband home. As in Western social dancing, the women have to wait till their partners come. During my field work I often came across these lonely women, just waiting for their husbands, each knowing he was only a few houses away. Though these Khasi women never show their feelings of loneliness in the presence of others, I, being a female anthropologist, was often told of the sadness of their married life. The situation of these women can be more easily understood if we remember the process of the segmentation of the *ing*, which separates each married woman from her descent group, her natal *ing*.

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15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

Thus, the marriage of a non-heiress and a man of authority also produces an unstable position for the husband in spite of his having an independent household. Therefore, the possibility of a really stable marriage is even more limited; it will occur only in the match of a non-heiress and a non-authority of the *iing*. But even these marriages cannot be free from the influence of a matrilineal social structure: the man of authority of the wife's *iing* may visit these couples now and then, curb the husband's power and remind both partners of the orientation towards the matri-kin, the *iing*, though this pressure is insignificant in comparison with that experienced by the heiress's family. Likewise, a husband now and then visits his youngest sister's house, *ka iing sw*. These constant matrilineal contacts offer husbands chances of escaping from even the slightest matrimonial tension. Whenever a Khasi man feels uneasiness, he will return to his sister's house rather than face a difficult situation with his wife. This tendency is maximized especially on the occasion of religious ceremonies, when all individuals are grouped around each *iing*.

It is apparent that the rules of the *iing* as the underlying structural pattern, function throughout the various categories of domestic unit of the Khasi community as the most important intrinsic force.

VII. Polygyny

After this long attempt at the structural analysis of marriages, I think one can theoretically predict what is the situation of polygyny among the Khasi. The theoretical framework elaborated through preceding discussions can also be tested by the empirical data in terms of polygyny.

Nowadays, the Khasi feel so strongly against polygyny that they have no knowledge even that they ever practised it. Many Khasi, in more sophisticated areas, did not believe my findings on polygyny in Sohkynroh and Kongkan. I think this is due to the rapid Christianization of the Hills during the last hundred years. My interpreter, though he was not Christian, said to me in the village, "it is most regrettable to bring you to a village where we find polygyny." However, one of the ministers of the Cherra State to which the two villages belong, told me that there was no particular opposition to polygyny, though recent Christian influence gave people the idea that it was a shameful custom, and he mentioned the case of a polygynist in his area, a man who had recently died, who had had ten wives. In Jaintiapur where inhabitants are all Christian, and in Shella where there has been much contact with, and influence by, Hindus, there were

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

which I described previously, where a man brings his secondary wives to his first wife's house in which he is acting as the head. Furthermore, sororal polygyny is prohibited, while it was preferred among the Garo in terms of wives taken from the same *mahar*, though mostly not real sisters. The strong jealousy, which I observed, among the Khasi wives of a polygynist, would appear to make such polygynous marriages with closely related women practically impossible. As shown in List 6 & 9 every single one of the wives of each polygynist belongs to different *kur*, and the two secondary wives of the man of Kongton came from neighbouring villages.

These aspects of Khasi polygyny are related fundamentally to the underlying Khasi social structure. It should be remembered that every married woman has her independent household, *iing*, and that two women of different descent groups never reside together (see p. 127). The picture is one of every married woman holding a key-point in the whole network of the social system, and men fit into this network with much flexibility. The strong stability of women and the fluid nature of men in terms of residence naturally produces this form of polygyny. This analogy is also true of lovers' relations and illegal marriages. Though polygyny is a rapidly decreasing institution all over the Khasi Hills, cases of lovers' relations and illegal marriages are found to be very numerous among the Khasi, as compared with neighbouring tribes and peoples in Assam.

Throughout my discussions of various forms of Khasi marriage, I found men to be more or less in the position wittily described by one of them as "having one leg in my sister's house, the other in my wife's," except in cases of the husband/father who succeeds in establishing paternal authority, as in marriages with a non-heiress. Even in the latter a man might have a period of uncertainty until his children were born and until the economic basis for his matrimonial life was firmly established. For the rest, Khasi men would be in the position of either becoming the authority of an *iing*, or swinging between their sister and their wife, which may produce more opportunities for lovers' relations. One of a man's legs is certainly always found in his sister's house, the other may rest in his wife's, but it may also rest in another woman's house. The wife being rather accustomed to his occasional absence due to his visits to his sister's house, another kind of absence does not mark any great change from the usual situation, at least not physically. Such situations occur particularly in the earlier stage of the marriage, as a sort of continuation of premarital affairs, which are quite freely practised; it is a usual custom before marriage for young men to sleep at a girl's house whom they like though they say sexual intercourse usually does not take place in such cases. This I observed in Sohkynduh and Kongton.

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these rules, as the Khasi type tends to a uxorilocal arrangement, while the Ashanti type tends to a virilocal or avunculocal arrangement.[1]

In the Khasi type, the residential arrangement is the decisive factor for a man's economic achievement. The men, though they keep close social and ritual ties with their matrilineage, are divorced economically from their matrilineal descent group.[2] On the other hand, in the Ashanti type, where the matrilineal rule is the decisive factor, men keep strong social, ritual and economic ties with their descent group at the expense of the women's and children's residential mobility. However, these women are not like men of the Khasi type; as among the Ashanti, women mostly go back to their matrilineage at a late stage of their married life. In the case of the Trobriands, the wife stays all her married life at her husband's house while her sons go back to her matrilineage, and her daughters leave for their husbands' house at their marriage. This can be considered as the exact opposite of what happens in the Khasi type. The matrilineage represented by men keeps its function and solidarity at the expense of the women. There, the female line (mother-daughter) is broken, in practice, by the residential arrangement, as was broken the male line (mother's brother-sister's son) in the Khasi type. The actual tie of the Trobriand wife to her matrilineage is maintained through the presents her brothers send her, not through mother, sister or daughter. That of the Khasi husband is maintained through his youngest sister or niece, not through his brother or nephew. Thus Trobriand wives and Khasi husbands are marginal members of the matrilineage. These facts show that they sacrifice either the male (*B*) or the female (*A*) line to the co-habitation of wife and husband. Unless they have a structural arrangement like that of the Garo, the co-residence of the married couple is the crucial factor which modifies the matrilineal system.

The Ashanti manifest great instability in this respect, since they do not like to sacrifice either line *A* or *B*, though actually line *A* is much weaker than *B*. The mother wishes to be with her daughter and son, while the mother's brother wishes to be with his sister's son, yet they do wish to have co-habitation in their marriage—combining theoretically opposed factors. This is also the case which I found among the Nayar in the transitional stage of the disintegra-

1. These arrangements do not mean that all members of a society act in the same way; in any society, considerable variations of residential pattern are found in individual cases. What is important here is the model, and the orientation of ideas of the people, the pattern of which is usually followed by the majority of the people in a given society, at a given time.

2. Among the Khasi, though the authority of the *cog* may keep the account and manage his sister's property, his acquired property through his wife's field or his independent economic activity definitely go to his wife and children.

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scope; due to uxorilocal marriage, they have no right over his residence and his acquired property. Naturally the maternal uncle becomes far less important than in the Ashanti type.

Among the Yao, which I classified as belonging to the Khasi type, Mitchell states that in spite of the emphasis laid on cross-cousin marriage by his informants, real or classificatory cross-cousins are found in only 15 per cent of 203 first marriages (Mitchell, 1956, p. 200). The functional importance of cross-cousin marriage among the Yao is particularly evident in the minority (headmen of villages or lineages) who practise virilocal marriage[1] in a society where a uxorilocal arrangement is the general rule; as in the case of the Ashanti, cross-cousin marriage functions as a solution to two conflicting tendencies: matrilineality and virilocality. The Trobriands, though they belong to the Ashanti type, demonstrate the same structural analogy to the Khasi type, though in reverse. Among Trobriand commoners there is no preference for cross-cousin marriage. The much discussed cross-cousin marriage of the Trobriand aristocrats should be considered as the exception as has already been examined by Leach (1956, p. 139). In this regard the Yao and the Trobriands produce a picture somewhat similar to the Ashanti type, among the minority of society, though the general practice bears similar features with that of the Khasi type.

It has become clear that cross-cousin marriage is closely related to the type of residence, i.e. virilocality, combined with economic factors. Furthermore, the cross-cousin marriage signifies the political importance of the maternal uncle as lineage head. Thus the Khasi type and the Ashanti type represent alternative arrangements to the differentiation of the core of the functional body, the matrilineal descent group.

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The preceding section has made clear different types of matrilineal systems: far as the internal structure of the descent group is concerned. The section deals with the relation of the descent group to the external organization.

Both the Garo and the Khasi follow a unilineal system, but they do not have what is called "segmentary lineage" organization, which has been much discussed in the African field. As generally understood,

1. Richards states among the Yao-Cewa group, a cross-cousin marriage is likely to be found between a daughter of a head (male) of a descent group and his sister's son (Richards, 1950, p. 159). Mitchell states that Yao cross-cousin marriage is one of the solutions for the conflict between the principle of uxorilocal marriage and the principle of male leadership of the lineage (Mitchell, 1956? 144).

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lineage is a corporate unilineal descent group of which the members can establish demonstrable genealogical relationships to each other. According to Firth, "lineage is essentially a unilineal descent group with some corporate functions, normally related by segmentary process to other descent groups of the same type, and with them usually covering the entire society" (1957, p. 4). The Garo and the Khasi can then be said to have the lineage, but to lack its segmentary organization which normally is found in a unilineal society. Both social structures complify the importance of the residence as a functional unit, against the wider descent group which may be called the lineage group. K q 171 182 619 •

In the case of the Garo, the localized lineage is expressed in terms of the village (or group of villages) whose land bears the name of the localized lineage. However, it is the village which acts as the functional corporate body, the economic and ritual unit, not the group of members of the localized lineage. The village theoretically consists of the members of the two localized lineages, as represented in the headman and his wife respectively. Practically, though it bears the name of a particular lineage to which the wife of the headman belongs, as also usually the majority of the inhabitants, it includes many other lineage members as well as the traditional two lineages. Therefore, the lineage is not, in this sense, an exclusive corporate unit with a ritual and economic function, though it gives a theoretical framework to the structure. q 182 619 621

In the case of the Khasi, the lineage is found only on a household scale, centred in the woman, the property owner with members having direct matrilineal kinship ties to the former, such as her brothers, older sisters, sons and daughters, who may or may not reside in the same household—the members of the *iing*. Beyond this unit (the *iing*) one can hardly find any functional organization based on the descent system. In other words, the lineage becomes a functional unit only at the level of the household, e.g., the lowest level of segmentation of the descent group, and it lacks wider external organization by the same principle. The clan is considered rather as a ritual conception implying company, not as an organized body of kin. K 182 592 619

These phenomena contrast sharply with the Hopi and the Ashanti social organization, where lineage organization has crucial importance wider than on a household level. Many factors can be considered in this connection. First of all, the locus of property and ceremonial unit are the most distinctive features. Among the Khasi, property and ceremonial units are always found in an *iing*, represented by the youngest daughter's household, while that of the Hopi and the Ashanti are in a wider lineage organization in which members of many households are usually included. The Zuni pattern seems also similar to that of the Khasi. The difference between the Khasi and Zuni lies K q 171 182 619 592

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in the rule of inheritance; the former follows unigeniture (ultimogeniture), while the latter does not. Therefore, the number of members of a Zuni household is naturally larger than that of the Khasi.[1] Against the average number of a Khasi household, four to five, that of the Zuni is seven and a half to eight persons (Kroeber, 1917, p. 124). Among the Khasi, sisters separate through marriage in every generation, leaving the youngest in their natal house; while Zuni sisters may stay together even after their marriages. Kroeber states:

> "The house belongs to the women born of the family. They come into the world, pass their lives, and within the walls they die . . . Now and then a new dwelling may be built by all the inmates, or for a girl of the house by an enterprising husband; but in general the same walls, or renewed ones on the same spot (*ibid.*, pp. 47-48). . . . It is true that a Zuni 'house' often contains what we should regard as two or three households, but as long as it includes only one used hearth, and all natives insist that the two or three households are a single one" (*ibid.*, p. 124).

The internal composition of the household may differ from that of the Khasi, but the household in terms of the important institutionalized unit, is very similar to the Khasi. Li An-che states that "characteristics of a joint household based on the kinship principle stand out very strikingly" (Li, 1937, p. 75). Eggan's statement brings Zuni social organization much closer to the issue. He writes, "In terms of Kroeber's table it would seem that the Zuni tend to equate a lineage with a household, except in cases of recent expansion or budding off" (Eggan, 1950, p. 189). He gives a further illuminating analysis of this point:

> "We have noted that the lineage principle, . . . also provides a mechanism for the inheritance of ceremonial duties and obligations and the transmission and preservation of fetishes and other ceremonial paraphernalia. In Zuni this inheritance is phrased in terms of the household, but it is clear that it is the lineage segment born into the household that is important. This lineage segment, or at least the female line thereof, also owns land and holds it in trust for succeeding generations, to be worked by the men who marry into the household" (*ibid.*, p. 60).

Another similar composition of lineage and household, comparable to that of the Khasi and the Zuni, is found among the Trukese. According to Goodenough (1951):

> 1. This involves not only the difference of the number of members in a household but also the relation between the members of a descent group. As already discussed, the core of the descent group among the Khasi, is the pair of siblings: the lessee of the property (the youngest sister) and the authority (a brother), not the sibling group altogether (see p. 130) as happens in other matrilineal societies appearing in this discussion. In regard to the unigeniture succession itself, the Garo share the same system as the Khasi, though it appears to operate differently by reason of the structural difference of organization.

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"In aboriginal times they used to be associated with most lineages a dwelling house, *jawa* (p. 67) . . . *jawa* is the corporate property of the lineage or descent line whose women live in it, but it is normally built by their husbands" (p. 68).

Here, it is clear that a household provides the major locus of a lineage. In other words, a lineage is a corporate property group with a common residence. This is also the case of the Nayar *tarwad* and the Minangkabau *parwi*, though in these cases the household excludes the spouses of its members, while with the Khasi, the Zuni, and the Trukese the spouses (in most cases, the husbands) share the residence.

Though they may differ in scale and size from one society to another, as well as from one household to another, the functional lineage founded upon residence has thus a similar range in all of these systems. For convenience sake, I tentatively term this type of lineage "household-lineage,"[5] as opposed to that of the Hopi and the Ashanti, which might be termed "segmentary-lineage."

The average number of Khasi and Garo household members is four to five, that of the Zuni seven and a half to eight as stated above, the Trukese is eighteen (three to thirty-four in Romonum Island, according to Goodenough), while the Nayar range from thirty to two hundred. These differences, I think, mostly depend on the economic (and environmental) situation; they should not be regarded as structural, except for the Garo and the Khasi, which, because of the uni-geniture rule, have smaller and fairly uniform households. The wide range of variation in composition which we observe among the Trukese and the Nayar is due in reality to economic and environmental factors: the more favorable the circumstances, the larger the unit.

The co-residential group and the property unit do not always necessarily correspond. One property group may consist of more than two independent residences. But even in such cases, the lineage is likely to be found in a group which formed a co-residential unit in the recent past, and which should be considered as marginal cases, derived from the recent fission of a group—it is a lineage in process of fission not a constant kin-group based on wider organization such as we find among the Ashanti and the Hopi. Usually such a lineage ceases to function shortly after it loses its common property, which usually follows closely upon the fission of the residential unit. Thus, in the course of time a once-recognized lineage group disappears into the common sea of the clan, which represents only a ritual and exogamous unit. In some cases, even this clan loses its function, as happens among the Nayar and the Minangkabau, where the lineage which

5. It should be noted that it does not mean that the lineage consists of household members, but that the lineage solidarity is found around the range of a household scale.

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corresponds (or corresponded in the near past) to the co-residential property-group itself becomes an exogamic unit, disregarding the wider unit of the clan. Structurally it can be said that in these societies a lineage cannot exercise its full function unless it has a common residence based on a property unit.

In contrast to these societies, I cannot help but think that the Ashanti and the Hopi belong to a different type. Both Fortes and Eggan lay great emphasis on the descent principle, based on the ethnographic data of the Ashanti and of the Hopi respectively. The best examples of statements concerning this issue are the accounts in which both stress their disagreement with Kroeber's argument of 1938 in favour of the priority of local residence relationships over those of descent, under the title of "Basic and secondary patterns of social structure."

Fortes states:

"A lineage cannot easily act as a corporate group if its members can never get together for the conduct of their affairs. It is not surprising therefore to find that the lineage in African societies is generally locally anchored; but it is not necessarily territorially compact or exclusive. A compact nucleus may be enough to act as the local center for a group that is widely dispersed. I think it would be agreed that lineage and locality are independently variable and how they interact depends on other factors in the social structure. As I interpret the evidence, local ties are of secondary significance, *pace* Kroeber, for local ties do not appear to give rise to structural bonds in and of themselves. There must be common political or kinship or economic or ritual interests for structural bonds to emerge. Again spatial dispersion does not immediately put an end to lineage ties or to the ramifying kin ties found in cognatic systems like that of the Lozi. For legal status, property, office and cult act contributally to hold dispersed lineages together and scattered kindred" (Fortes, 1953, p. 36).

Eggan states:

"For the Hopi the kinship structure is centered primarily around the lineage; the household relationships are secondary (Eggan, 1950, p. 113) . . .

"Furthermore, it is the lineage and clan, rather than the household group, which is intrusted with lands and ceremonies and which is considered to own the house itself. Important as are the ties of residence and subsistence associations, they are not the key groupings in Hopi estimation—or in terms of our

"Kroeber explicitly leaves kinship out of account in his analysis of 'basic and secondary patterns of social structure,' but in a sense kinship is more fundamental than either patterns of residence or formal grouping. Our analysis of Hopi kinship has suggested that both the household and the lineage organizations are encompassed in the kinship system. And it is clear that the kinship system is organized in terms of the lineage principle rather than in terms of residence" (*Ibid.*, p. 130).

These arguments seem to me to refer more to a difference of social organization than to a theoretical contrast. On the basis of my own

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field work as well as on the accounts of various matrilineal systems, I feel strongly that there must be different types of systems which may be distinguished as "household-lineage" and "segmentary-lineage". Fortes and Eggan postulate the pre-eminence of the descent principle over residence. Though this may be the case among the Ashanti and the Hopi, it does not fit the cases belonging to what I call "household-lineage" type. Firth's argument emphasizing the importance of rights to group membership being associated with locality, fits very well with the latter case. With more precision and subtlety than Kroeber, he argues that "residence by itself does not give title to descent-group membership, but land rights established by descent-group membership tend to remain operational only through residence" (Firth 1957, p. 7).

I believe there are crucial differences between these household-lineage type and segmentary-lineage type organizations. The technical process of fission into segments is similar in both types. But in the former, once a segmented group attains autonomy, the relation between the segments will easily be forgotten after a few generations, as it has no significant social implication. Among these societies, people's genealogical memory outside the residential group is surprisingly poor. This empirical fact also suggests a different structure from that of the segmentary system.

In both types of society the internal organization of a household is the same, but it differs externally. Eggan states that "Kroeber's and Parsons' statements about the lack of system in regard to Zuni kinship indicate judgement from some arbitrary standard" and adds "The concept of the lineage provides a bridge between the household and the clan" (Eggan, *ibid.*, p. 197). I cannot agree with this. In fact, my study of the Garo, the Khasi and the Nayar corresponds very well to the Zuni situation described by Kroeber and Parsons. There are matrilineal systems which lack a bridge between the household and the clan.

Then what is it that makes the difference between the two types of organization in similar unilineal systems? [illegible] on this issue. However, empirical facts show that the household-lineage type organization is likely to be found among more complicated societies or in a society with considerable mobility. This we gather also if we compare the village compositions of the Hopi and the Zuni. In the case of the Khasi, we saw that there was considerable mobility in population even in remote villages, so that we easily understand that in such a condition lineage membership hardly maintained itself. This seems to agree with the view put forth by Fortes on segmentary systems. Fortes says the limits of the spread or span of internal segmentation of the

has a striking resemblance to that of the Hopi as described by Eggan. The lineage, having segmentary structure, performs strong functions as a land ownership and religious unit. However, from Rattray's account, we understand that all grandchildren of matrilineage as well as children through the male line, are called *nana*, a term which is also applied to grandparent's generation. This means that the lineal classification does not extend beyond the second generation from Ego; such a classification corresponds to the Zuni type, but not to the Hopi type.

Coming back to the discussion of the correlation between the restricted type of kinship terminology and household lineage, we should consider another important aspect of its bilateral character. In these societies can be observed considerable bilateral tendencies reaching beyond the household-lineage. As I have made clear in the description of the Khasi, the social and economic relationship with outside members of the household are no different towards people who belong to the same descent or clan than towards those who belong to an entirely different kin-group, except as concerns directly related kindred, such as sibling and mother and children. The matrilineal group wider than the *sing* has no exclusive function at all except avoidance of marriage. In this level of organization, there is no retention of the organizing principle of the matrilineal descent system. For instance, households A, B and C are matrilineally related to each other (A is the original and B and C the outcome of the fission of A). Such matrilineal links have no exclusive features that mark them off from other households unrelated through the matrilineal descent line; actual matrilineal links are minimized in their value and function in regard to relations between households. Such characteristics of this kind of organization must be correlated with the existence of an inheritance case, in which the matrilineal rule is distorted as I mentioned elsewhere (p. 122). If there is no daughter to succeed the *sing*, the son can inherit the acquired property of the *sing*, thus creating by transmission of the property, an entirely new *sing* (of his wife), in which no matrilineal [illegible] of his father's lineage, and frequency of patrilocal arrangements as alternatives—transmission of the property on the establishment of a new property-conferred group—does not always follow the strict matrilineal line. These facts point to considerable bilateral characteristics outside the household. The relationships among households are not organized upon the matrilineal principle.

Kroeber's emphasis on the bilateral character of the Zuni society should be regarded as important in this respect.

"Upon her (Zuni woman) permanent occupancy of the house rests the matriliner custom of the tribe. But kinship is thoroughly and equally bila-

[illegible] people remained non-Hindu in their basic beliefs and social customs. Hindu influences are nevertheless predominant in their culture, especially in their way of living which shows a practical adaptability, somewhat similar to the Japanese acceptance of modern western culture without becoming Christian. In my census of Shelia village, the people calling themselves 'Hindu' amount to 91 per cent of the total, but they are the recent converts to the Ramakrishna School which established a missionary station at Shelia after the Partition. The Christians constitute 9 per cent of the total, most of them having been converted during the last ten years, as in the case of the Ramakrishna School.[illegible] The rest remain as they were, of Khasi belief. These conversions to either Ramakrishna or Christianity seem to have been encouraged by the unstable situation of the people resulting from the recent economic depression in the area.

The Partition of India and Pakistan in August 1947, which drew the boundaries a few miles south of Shelia village, considerably upset village economy by stopping all trade with Bengal, though a limited amount of trade is allowed with local people at the border. Because of this political change, all the produce of Shelia gardens is rotting away for lack of markets, while all the rice fields were taken by Pakistan. Goods are come to Shelia only from the uplands, carried upon men's shoulders over the most difficult pass, which makes everything very expensive. Many families have sold their gold and other treasures, and some families are facing starvation.[illegible]

Concerning the conversion to a new religion, an interesting phenomenon is to be observed. The conversion to Christianity or to Ramakrishna is mostly by individual. I found in my census that the wife and husband often belong to different religions. This is a very different picture from the Garo, among whom I always found that the husband and wife belonged to the same religion: the conversion of the husband to Christianity was always followed by that of the wife. I think this reflects the structural differences which influence the actual relationship between the husband and wife. Among these Khasi, instead of the husband and wife, the maternal uncle and his nephews and sons are mostly of the same religion. The function of the eng, the most important social and religious unit, thus appears also in the conversion to a new religion, stronger than that of a domestic unit.

Intermarriage

The close economic and cultural contact of the Shelia people and the Bengalis is not matched by social contact. The essential barrier between the two peoples is the difference of religion which dominates the entire social order in each society. Though these Khasi were important traders, richer than the neighbouring Hindu peasants, they were considered by the Hindu as outcasts with whom they never shared social activities. Intermarriages were therefore very

- A Khasi woman married to a Garo (cattle-keeper), they live at Shelia Bazar (Shelia).
- A Khasi woman has marital relations with a Bengalis cultural factor who has resided at Dawng in Shelia for six years. He already has a Bengalise

1. There two entirely different missionary activities are competing with each other, and are somewhat related to the political powers within this area.
2. The new government is doing its best to provide them with additional facilities, for example, providing an transport for the transportation of oranges from Shelia to Cachari and Calcutta. However, such arrangements cannot cover the great economic loss suffered by the Shelia people.

or Mynnir, spoken in the extreme north, and there may be others. A great desideratum for linguistic purposes is a more adequate method of recording sounds, and especially differences of tone, than that adopted for the standard speech, which though sufficient for practical purposes, does not accurately represent either the quantity or the quality of the vowels, and leaves something to be desired as regards the consonants (especially those only faintly sounded or suppressed). These things, no doubt, will come in time. The immense advance which has been made in education by the Khasis during the last half-century has enabled some among them to appreciate the interesting field for exploration and study which their own country and people afford; and there is reason to hope that with European guidance the work of record will progress by the agency of indigenous students.

It remains to summarise briefly the principal distinctive features of this vigorous and sturdy race, who have preserved their independence and their ancestral institutions through many centuries in the face of the attractions offered by the alien forms of culture around them.

In the first place, their social organization presents one of the most perfect examples still surviving of matriarchal institutions, carried out with a logic and thoroughness which, to those accustomed to regard the status and authority of the father as the foundation of society, are exceedingly remarkable. Not only is she mother the head and source, and only bond of union, of the family: in the most primitive part of the hills, the Syntong country, she is the only owner of real property, and through her alone is inheritance transmitted. The father has no kinship with his children, who belong to their mother's clan; what he earns goes

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to his own matriarchal stock, and at his death his bones are deposited in the cromlech of his mother's kin. In Jowai he neither lives nor eats in his wife's house, but visits it only after dark (p. 76). In the veneration of ancestors, which is the foundation of the tribal piety, the primal ancestress (*Ka Iāwbei*) and her brother are the only persons regarded. The flat memorial stones set up to perpetuate the memory of the dead are called after the woman who represents the clan (*māw kyathei*, p. 150), and the standing stones ranged behind them are dedicated to the male kinsmen on the mother's side.

In harmony with this scheme of ancestor worship, the other spirits to whom propitiation is offered are mainly female, though here male personages also figure (pp. 108—109). The powers of sickness and death are all female, and these are those most frequently worshipped (p. 107). The two protectors of the household are goddesses (p. 112), though with them is also revered the first father of the clan, *U Thāwlang*.

Priestesses assist at all sacrifices, and the male officiants are only their deputies (p. 121); in one important state, Khyrim, the High Priestess and actual head of the State is a woman, who combines in her person sacerdotal and regal functions (p. 70).

The Khasi language, so far as known, is the only member of the Mūn-Khmēr family which possesses a grammatical gender, distinguishing all nouns as masculine and feminine; and here also the feminine nouns immensely preponderate (p. 206). The pronouns of the second (*wē*, *phā*) and third person (*ū*, *kā*) have separate forms for the sexes in the singular, but in the plural only one is used (*phī*, *kī*), and this is the plural form of the feminine singular.

It may perhaps be ascribed to the pre-eminence

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262 also eat field rats and one kind of monkey (*u shrik*). The Syntengs and Lyngngams are fond of tadpoles, and the Khasis consider a curry made from a kind of green frog, called *ka japiek*, a *bonne bouche*. They, however, do not eat ordinary frogs (*jakrid*). The Khasis of Marngar, Maharam, Nongstoin and some other Siemships eat the hairy caterpillar, *u'kiang phlang*.

262 A staple food which must not be forgotten is the inner por-
252 tion of the bark of the sago palm tree, *ka tiéi*, which grows wild in the forest and attains a large size. The tree is felled and the outer bark removed, the soft inner part is cut into slices, dried in the sun, pounded in a mortar and then passed through a fine bamboo sieve. A reddish flour is obtained, of sweet taste, which is boiled with rice. This flour is said to make good cakes and puddings.

262 Although the Khasis are such varied feeders, there are some
614 clans amongst them which are prohibited by the ordinance of *sang*, or taboo, from eating certain articles. The following are some instances:—

The Cherra Siems family cannot eat dried fish (*'khá-pieh*); the Siems of Mylliem must not eat the gourd (*u pathiar*); a fish called *ka'khá-lawi* is taboo to some of the *Siem-lik* clans. Some of the Wait people must not eat *ka kiang* (preserved fish), and the clan *'khar-um-ráid* in Khyrim is debarred from the pleasure of partaking of pork. The flesh of the sow is *sang* to the *'khar* clan, although that of the male pig may be eaten.

DRINK.

273 The Khasis are in the habit of regularly drinking considerable quantities either of a spirit distilled from rice or millet (*ka'iad pudhu*), or of rice-beer, which is of two kinds (1) *ka'iad hiar*, (2) *ka'iad um*. Both of these are made from rice and, in some places, from millet, and the root of a plant called *u khawiang*. *Ka'iad hiar* is made by boiling the rice or millet. It is then taken out and spread over a mat, and, when it cools, fragments of the yeast (*u khawiang*) are sprinkled over it. After this it is placed in a basket, which is put in a wooden bowl. The

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SECTION III.

LAWS AND CUSTOMS.

TRIBAL ORGANIZATION.

[90] The inhabitants of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills may be said to
[91] be divided into the following sections:—Khasi, Syntengs or Pnars, War, Bhoi, and Lyngngam. These divisions represent collections of people inhabiting several tracts of country and speaking dialects which, although often deriving their origin from the Khasi roots, are frequently so dissimilar to the standard language as to be almost unrecognizable. The above sections may be sub-divided as follows:—The Khasis into the inhabitants of the central high plateau, Cherra and Nongstoin, Mylliem, Maria, Nongkhlaw, and the neighbouring Sumdeiga. The Syntengs or Pnars may be divided as follows:—Into Syntengs proper, Nongtungs, and Khawtungs; the Wars into War proper, and War Pnar; the Bhois into Jaitlongs, Myrsis, Synghlongs, and the Khasi-Bhois, i.e. Khasis who inhabit the low country to the north of the district, which is called generally the "Bhoi." The Lyngngam are a separate division. They must not be confused with the Bhoi or Bhoma who are Garos. It must, however, be remembered that the Jaitlong, Myrsi, and Synghlong sub-divisions of the Bhoi division are not Khasi, but Bhoi, i.e. they belong to the Bodo or Boro group. The Lyngngam are half Khasis and half Garos, and the Bhoi or
[92] Bhoma are Garos who always the Khasi custom of erecting
[93] memorial stones. The above tribes and sub-tribes are not strictly endogamous, nor are they strictly exogamous, but they are more endogamous than exogamous; for instance, syntengs more often marry syntengs than Khasis, and vice versâ, and it would be usually considered derogatory for a

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Khasi of the Uplands to marry a Khasi or War woman, and a Jaintiaman to marry a Lyngam. These divisions are subdivided into a number of septs, taking Mr. Risley's definition of "sept" as being the largest exogamous division of the tribe. It will, however, be more convenient to speak of these septs as "clans," the word "clan" having been used in other parts of this Monograph and by other writers.

Many of the clans trace their descent from ancestresses or lines (grandmothers), who are styled *ka Jowbei Tymmei*, the grandmothers of the root (i.e. the root of the tree of the clan). In some of the clans, the name of this ancestress survives; take as instances the Wyllong-ngap and Wyllong-pdah clans of the Khyrim State, the name of the ancestresses of the clans being *ka ngap* (honey, i.e. the sweet one), and *ka pdah* respectively. This tribal ancestress, as will be seen in the paragraph of the monograph dealing with ancestor-worship, is greatly reverenced, in fact, she may almost be said to be deified. The descendants of one ancestress of the clan, *Ka Jowbei Tymmei*, are called *shi kur* or one clan. We then come to the division of the *kpah* or sub-clan, all the descendants of one great grandmother (*ka Jowbei Tymmei*) being styled *shi kpah*. The next division is the *ding* (lit. house) or family. It is almost invariably the case that the grandmother, her daughters and the daughter's children, live together under one roof, the grandmother during her life-time being the head of the house. The grandmother is styled *ka Jowbei Khynnon*, or the young grandmother, to distinguish her from the other two grandmothers, *ka Jowbei tymmei* and *ka Jowbei tymmon* who have been mentioned above. The young grandmother, her daughters and their children are said to belong to *shi ding* one house, the word *ding* in this instance possessing amongst the Khasis the same significance as the English word *family*.

We will now see how the Khasi clan (*kur* or *jaid*) grew out of the Khasi family (*ding*). Let us take the example of the great Dympaiah clan of Cherra. Disregarding the myth that the Dympaiahs are descended from a mermaid, it may be stated that there seems to be a fairly general belief amongst the Dympaiahs that their first ancestress or lines came from the

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country beyond the Kopili river came so far as to say that she came from the Assam Valley) to the Jaintia Hills, where she found a husband. Legend relates that it was one of the peculiarities of this woman that she was able to accommodate herself in an earthen jar or *lalu*, which fact gave rise to the name *Lalu* by which she and her children were called by the Syntengs. The family prospered during the time when a powerful chief of the Bolsiyang clan held sway in the Jaintia Hills. On the death of this king a civil war arose, and the *Lalu* family, together with many others, had a retreat across the river Kopili. Here they lived in prosperity for some generations until a plague arose and carried off the whole family except one female, called *Ka Iaw-Iaw*, who became the sole owner of the family wealth. Many desired to marry her for her possessions, and it was owing to their importunities that she fled to Jowai to the house of a *lyngdoh* or priest. The *lyngdoh*, under pressure from his wife, tried to sell Ka Iaw-Iaw as a slave, but no one would offer more than 20 *rupees* for her (*lakhi*); this decided the *lyngdoh* to keep her. Out of gratitude for this kindness, Ka Iaw-Iaw brought her wealth from beyond the Kopili to the *lyngdoh's* house, where the son of the *lyngdoh* was given her in marriage. They lived happily for some time, when some adventurers from beyond the Kopili came to Jowai with the intention of carrying off this rich bride. The *lyngdoh*, however, having received warning of these intent, arranged for the escape of Ka Iaw-Iaw, and they fled to Sohphokkyrwan, a place near Nongkrem in the Khasi Hills, where she established a village. Here Ka Iaw-Iaw was called *Ka Iaw-Lakhi*, because she paid every man who was engaged by her in founding a market three 20 *rupees* (*lakhi*) per day for their labours. Here also she is credited with having first introduced the art of smelting iron, and she is said to have made various iron implements which she exported to the plains. She is also said to have kept a large herd of pigs which she fed in a large trough hollowed out of a *dieng-lah* tree; it is to this fact that the Dieng-lah clan owe its name. After *Ka Iaw-Lakhi* and her children had lived for some years in prosperity at Sohphokkyrwan, they were attacked by the Syenga Raja (the Siem King), U Long

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Raja (probably the Raja of Jaintia), and the Amsoong Burphoo. They fled to a place called Lyndiengumthli, near Lynghyrdem. Finding this place unsuitable as a home, the family split up into four divisions. One division returned to Jowai, where it increased and multiplied and afterwards grew into the Lalu clan, another went to Nongkhlaw and became the Dienglah Kylla clan; another went to Mawsing and formed what is now known as the Parlong clan; the fourth, after some vicissitudes of fortune, went to Sangjyrah and Chawa, at which place it established the powerful Dienglahkhah clan, and became afterwards one of the chief mantri or minister clans of this state. I have quoted the history of the origin of the Dienglah clan at some length, to show what I consider to be an example of the Khasi conception of how the clan was formed, i.e. from a common ancestress, all of the clans having traditions more or less of descent from some particular Kiaw or ancestress. This story moreover is remarkable as pointing to a Khasi migration from beyond the Kopili river to their present abode. The clans of the present day are nothing more or less than overgrown families, they are bound together by the religious tie of ancestor-worship in common, and of a common tribal sepulchre, except in cases of clans which have, owing to their size, split up into several sub-divisions, like the Dienglah clan; each sub-division possessing their own cemeteries. Ancestor-worship in common and tribal sepulchres in common serve to indicate that the original unit was the family and not the tribe, for there would be no reason for the members of a clan to worship the same household gods and to deposit the remains of the clan members in the same tomb unless there was some strong tie, such as that of consanguinity, binding them together. It has been already mentioned that each of these clans is strictly exogamous; this again supports the family origin theory. A Khasi can commit no greater sin than to marry within the tribe. Some of the clans are prohibited moreover from intermarriage with other clans, because of each clans being of common descent. If the tribes (see Appendix) are carefully examined, it will be seen that some of them bear the names of animals, such as the Shwah or monkey clan, the Phow or crab clan, or of trees, such as the Dienglah clan (already referred to). The

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674 members of these clans do not apparently regard the animals or natural objects, from which they derive their names, as totems, inasmuch as they do not abstain from killing, eating or utilizing them. The names of these objects are connected generally with some story, concerning the history of the clan, but there is no evidence to show that the clan-folk ever regarded the above animals or objects as their tribal totems. If the lists of the Khyrim and Cherra chief are examined, it will be seen what a large number bear the name of *Dikar* or its abbreviation *Khar*. The word *dikar* is that applied by a Khasi to an inhabitant of the plains. We come across names such as *Khar-mukhi*, *Khar sawali*, the first word being an abbreviation of *dikar*, and *mukhi* being the common Bengali name which occurs in Chandra Mukhi, Surya Mukhi, &c. *Sawali* (*chawali*) is the common Assamese word for a girl. The ancestresses of these tribes were plain women, carried off, no doubt, in the raids made by the Khasis over the border into Assam and Sylhet. The word *Jing* in the list of tribes is a Synteng synonym of *Iar* or *jaid* and the War word *Jiang* which will often be found in the names of the tribes of the twenty-five villages of the Khyrim State, is merely a corruption of *jing* or *ing*, the Synteng word for clan. Let us now see how the State or Khasi Nationality was forged out of a collection of these clans, how these clans obtained political power, how some clans became more powerful than others, and how a Khasi King or Hima is appointed.

STATE ORGANIZATION.

677 We have studied in the preceding chapter the formation of
678 the clan from the family, and how the former established villages. Let us now turn to the constitution of the Khasi State, which, it will be seen, has been formed, in some form or another, by the voluntary association of villages, or groups of villages. The head of the Khasi State is the Hima or chief. A Khasi state is a limited monarchy, the Hima's powers
679 being much circumscribed. According to custom, he can pre-
680 form no act of any importance without first consulting and obtaining the approval of his durbar, upon which the state

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monthly sit. This durbar must not be confused with the [97]
electoral durbar which will be referred to later. It is [97]
an executive council over which the Siem presides, and
also possesses judicial powers (for a description of a judicial [97]
durbar, see page 91 of the monograph). The form of summons [97]
to appear before this durbar used to be a knotted piece of
string or cane, the number of knots denoting the degree of
urgency of the summons, not a piece of pork, as one writer has
said. Pork is a luxury which is not usually distributed gratis.
The Siem manages the State business through his ministers, [97]
although it is true that in some States the members of the
Siem family have been allowed a considerable share of the
State management. This latter arrangement is, however, a
departure from the ordinary rule in the Sunnatiya, and is
reported as unconstitutional. In some States there are village [97]
headmen, styled Sirdars, who settle cases, collect labour, and [97]
serve and receive for the chief the *ryoud*, which may be
loosely translated as "gratification." In Nongstoin there is
an official styled *Lyngdoh*, who is the superior of a number of [97]
village sirdars, and who acts as the Siem's deputy-governor. [97]
In the Khasi Hills there is no land revenue, nor are there any [97]
tolls or other imposts levied upon the cultivator's produce. [97]
The land, to a great extent, is the property of the different clans [97]
and villages, although in some instances there are estates owned
by private persons. The chief is entitled to receive the income
that arises from what are known as the *raj* or State lands only.
All that the Siem usually receives from his people in the
way of direct revenue is the State subscription, or *ryoud*,
mentioned above. Even this is supposed to be a voluntary
contribution, and is in not demanded in some States. This
tax is nominally a collection to meet the expenses of the State
economies, but is really a means of increasing the chief's
private income. The contribution varies in amount according
to the means of the villagers. The Siem's principal source of [97]
income, however, in all the Khasi States is the toll (*khonglai*), [97]
which he takes from those who sell at the markets in his [97]
territory. In the Khasis are great traders these tolls are often
at the larger markets fairly valuable. The chief raises no
excise revenue, the manufacture of both fermented and distilled

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693 liquor being subject to no fiscal restrictions whatsoever. In a
657 few States the Siems are commencing to levy registration fees,
495 but the amounts are insignificant. Judicial fees are divided between the chief and the members of the durbar. In some States the Siems' income amount to a few hundreds a year only. Generally speaking, the Khasi chiefs are necessarily a very impecunious set of persons, and many of them are in-
693 debted to, comparatively speaking, large amounts. The Siem
631 is appointed from the Siem family, there being such a family in each of the fifteen Khasi States. The most important States are Khyrim, Mylliem, Cherra, Nongstoin, and Nongkhlaw. There are a few other petty States presided over by Lyngdohs, Sirdars, or Wahadadars. A fact which is of universal application is, that heredity is the Siemship lies through the female side. The customary line of succession is uniform in all cases, except in Khyrim, save that in some instances cousins rank with brothers, or are preferred to
683 grandmothers, instead of being postponed to them. The
928 difference between the rule of succession and the rule of inheritance to real property should be noted. In the former case the son of the oldest sister must inherit in order of priority of birth, although it is true that this rule has sometimes been disregarded. In cases of succession to realty, however, the inheritance goes to the youngest daughter of the deceased's mother, and after her to her youngest daughter. In succession to the Siemship, in the absence of male heirs from the oldest sister the succession passes, by what has been aptly described as the "knight's move," to the male children of the next oldest sister. In Khyrim the custom of succession is peculiar, there being a High Priestess, and heredity being
683 limited to her male relatives. Generally speaking, it would
● 619 appear that succession was originally controlled by a small
773 electoral body constituted of the heads (*lyngdohs*) of certain priestly clans, who it is presumed, exercised their authority in right conditions, when necessary, mainly on religious grounds. There has however been a distinct tendency towards the broadening of the electoral basis. In the large State of Khyrim the action of the electoral body has been greatly [illegible] in the influence of the representative headmen of certain clans, and not merely [illegible].

are six divisions, each of which is known as a *raj*. In each *raj* there is a *durbar*, to which are submitted for approval the elections of the heads of the *mawbri* class. These elections are subject to the approval of the Siem. The Siem, sitting with the *durbar* of the *raj* concerned, may dismiss a *lyngdoh*, *lyngdoh*, or *mawbri*, for bad conduct, or on account of physical disability, in which case another *lyngdoh*, *lyngdoh*, or *mawbri* would be appointed, as stated above. The Mylliem State originally formed a portion of the Nongkrem State, but owing to a quarrel between one of the Siems and his nephew there was a partition. In this State the electors are the heads of five *mawbri* class, eleven *nonkhors*, or heads of class, and certain *kwans* and other heads of class. A majority of the electors is sufficient for the election of a Siem. A Siem is succeeded by the eldest of his uterine brothers; failing such brothers, by the eldest of his sisters' sons; failing such nephews, by the eldest of the sons of his sisters' daughters; failing such grand-nephews, by the eldest of the sons of his mother's sisters; and, failing such first cousins, by the eldest of his male cousins on the female side, other than first cousins, those nearest in degree of relationship having prior claim. If there were no heirs male, as above, he would be succeeded by the eldest of his uterine sisters; in the absence of such sisters, by the eldest of his sister's daughters; failing such sisters, by the eldest of the daughters of his sisters' daughters; failing such grand-sisters, by the eldest of the daughters of his mother's sisters; and failing such first cousins, by the eldest of his female cousins on the female side, other than first cousins, those nearest in degree of relationship having prior claim. A female Siem would be succeeded by her eldest son, and so on. As in the Khyrim State, the first, or any other subsequent heir, may be disqualified by the electors for sufficient reason. An elector is succeeded by the eldest of his brothers; failing brothers, by the eldest of the sons of his sisters, and so on. An elector can be dismissed by the Siem, but only for good cause and with the consent of his *durbar*.

In the Nongkrem State there is a tradition that the first Siems originally came from Siamang* Dwagapor. The name

* Siamang is the Siam name for the river Brahmaputra.

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Siubong Dwapper, of the place at the foot of the Garo Hills in the Mymensing district, may be a corruption of the former. The Siems are supposed to be descended from a stag, possibly a relic of totemism in this family. In this State there is a large elected durbar consisting of 2 *mantris*, 21 *lyngdohs*, 25 *siedars*, 1 *lyngdoh*, and 1 *lessee*. The *lyngdohs* are the heads of the priestly class, by whom they are chosen. The siedars of villages are appointed by the Siem in conjunction with the adult males of the different villages. There are two *lyngdohs* and two *lessees* in the State, but one *lyngdoh* and one *lessee* only at present are members of the durbar which nominates the Siem. A *lyngdoh* is the Siem's agent for the purpose of governing a collection of villages. He is appointed by the Siem with the consent of the adult males of the villages which he is to supervise. The Siem family of Nongkhlaw, or Khadarphra, is believed to have been founded by a Syntong of the name of U Shape, who left the Jowai hills with his sister, Ka Shaphlong, because she had failed to obtain her share of the family property in Jaintia. This man is said to have purchased certain lands in Sardwar in Kamrup. Apparently he did not obtain possession of this estate, for he came up into the Khasi Hills, and finding there certain villages without a ruler, he, at the wish of the *lyngdohs* of these villages, consolidated them into a state over which he ruled as a Siem. He was succeeded by his sister's son, U Syntiew, who further extended his territories until he obtained possession of other villages. U Syntiew is said to have delegated a portion of his powers to his two sisters, Ka Jem and Ka Sangkar, who ruled at Schiong and Nongkhlaw respectively. Succeeding rulers further extended the Nongkhlaw territory. In 1829, U Tirot Singh rebelled against the East India Company and carried on for four years a successful guerilla warfare. He was finally captured and was imprisoned for life by the British Government. According to the statement of Raja Kiar Singh, it would seem that formerly the heads of five clans had the right to appoint the Siem, i.e. the heads of 3 *lyngdoh* clans and of the *Jaid Dylliar* and *Dhonglah* clans. In the Cherra State the electors are the male adults of the State, who are represented on the Siem's durbar by the *mantris* of the 12 aristocratic clans, known

[illegible]

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692 assembly in the Nongkhlaw, three lyngdohs and two mantrisnamely and decide who is to be Siem. They then summon the elders of villages to meet them in durbar and obtain the approval of the latter to their nomination. If the elders do not approve, the combined durbar then decides who is to become Siem. In Nongpyung there is a tradition that two sisters, Ka
693 Jah and Ka Jem, came to the village of Nongpyung, which was then ruled by two lyngdohs, and that the latter, having ascertained that the two sisters were of royal birth, married them. They then travelled to other villages and obtained the consent of the lyngdohs of these villages to the formation of all their villages into a State of which Nongpyung became the capital, and on which U Nagi Shadong, the son of Ka Jem, was appointed Siem by the five principal lyngdohs. After some generations the lyngdoh of Mairang with his villages became subject to the Siem of Nongkhlaw, an event which finds mention in the annals of the Nongkhlaw State as the conquest of the territory of the "Black" Siem of Nongpyung. Another lyngdoh was appointed in place of the one whose territory had been too reduced.

692 In the Mawiong State the ancient custom was that six headmen
[693] appointed the Siem subject to the approval of the people of the Nongkhlaw. In the Nongkhlaw State there are two Siem families, the "Black" and the "White," from either of which it has apparently been the custom for the people to select a Siem, as they wished. In Mawryngkneng the electors of the Siem are the heads of the four principal clans in the State. On a recent occasion, the electors being equally divided regarding the appointment of a Siem, it was necessary to appeal to the people of the State. In Langrin there are, as in Mawryngkneng and Nongkhlaw, two main branches of the Siem family, i.e. the
[694] "Black" and the "White" Siems. Here there is no special electoral body; all the adults of the state have the right to vote at the election of a Siem. In Bhowal State Siems are appointed by the heads of eight clans whose decision is apparently final, provided that it is unanimous. In Mahai-Sohmat a bare majority of the heads of six clans would be sufficient for the election of a Siem. Personally both in Bhowal and Mahai-Sohmat, if the electors were equally divided, there would be an appeal to the people.

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589 drive that she does not remarry; the idea being that so long as
765 the house remain in the widow's keeping, the spirit of her husband is still with her. On this account many wives who revere their husband's memories, and who do not contemplate remarriage, purposely keep the house for a long time. If a
587 widow marries, even after the customary taboo period of one
765 year, whilst her deceased husband's house are still in her keeping, she is generally looked down upon. Her children to such a
[Dog] case perform the ceremony of handing over the house of their father to his clan in a building specially erected for the purpose. The widow cannot enter therein, or even go near it, whilst the ceremony is proceeding, no matter whether the *ping sang*, or the price for removing the taboo after a husband's death, has been
576 paid to the husband's clan or not. There is no evidence to show that polyandry ever existed amongst the Khasis. Unlike the Tibetans, the Khasi women seem to have contented themselves always with one husband, at any rate with one at a time. Certainly at the present day they are monandrists. Polygamy does not exist amongst the Khasis; such a practice would naturally not be in vogue amongst a people who observe the matriarchate. There are instances, however, of men having wives other than those they have regularly married, and in the Wa-country children by such wives enjoy rights to their father's acquired property equally with the children by the legally
582 married wife. As the clans are strictly exogamous, a Khasi
608 cannot take a wife from his own clan; to do this would cancel
769 the most disastrous religious, as well as social consequences. For to marry within the clan is the greatest sin a Khasi can commit, and would cause excommunication by his kinsfolk and the refusal of funeral ceremonies at death, and his bones would
[Dog] not be allowed a resting place in the sepulchre of the clan. To
609 give a list of all the Khasi exogamous clans would perhaps serve
582 no useful purpose, but I have prepared from information kindly furnished me by the Siems of Khyrim and Cherrapunji, a list of the clans in those States which will be found in Appendices A and B. These will suffice as examples. It will be seen from the Cherra list that the different divisions of the Dienglieh clan, viz. Lois, Dienglieh-lah, Dienglieh-kylla, are prohibited from intermarriage; this is due to these branches of the clan being

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6.14 descended from a common ancestress. There are other instances
5.12a of clans being connected with one another, each connection being called by the Khasis *iaiek ber*. Wherever such connection exists, intermarriage is strictly prohibited, and is considered to be *mnop*. There is no custom of hypergamy. A Khasi cannot marry his maternal uncle's daughter during the lifetime
[5.09] of the maternal uncle. This is probably due to the fact that the maternal uncle, or *boi*, in a Khasi household is regarded more in the light of a father than of an uncle. His children, however, would belong to the clan of his wife, and there would, therefore, in ordinary cases be no bar to the nephew marrying one of them. Marriage with the daughters of a father's sister is not allowed during the lifetime of the father, but after the father's death there is no religious bar, although such unions are looked upon with disfavour by the Khasis. In the War country, how-
5.17 ever, such marriages are totally prohibited. A Khasi cannot
5.12 marry two sisters, but he can marry his deceased wife's sister after the expiry of one year from the wife's death, on payment of *jing ang* (price of *mnop*, or taboo) to the wife's clan. A
5.12a Khasi cannot marry the daughter of his father's brother, she is his own *ibi* (his birth sister). Similarly he cannot marry the daughter of his father's paternal uncle. He can, however, marry the daughter of his mother's brother, provided that the brother is dead. This somewhat paradoxical state of affairs is explained by the fact that the children of the mother's brother belong to a different clan to that of the mother, i.e. to the mother's brother's wife's clan. The Khasi, Syntengs, War, and Lyngam divisions are not strictly endogamous groups, and there is nothing to prevent intermarriage between them. For instance, it has been the custom in the Nongkhlaw Siem family to obtain husbands for the princesses of the state from the War country. There is no custom amongst the Khasis of two one exchanging daughters, i.e. each marrying his son to
[5.05] the other's daughter. Notwithstanding the existence of the matriarchate, and the fact that all ancestral property is vested in the mother, it would be a mistake to suppose that the father
5.13 is a nobody in the Khasi house. It is true that the *boi*, or
6.09 mother's elder brother, is the head of the house, but the father is the executive head of the new house, where, after children

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the Wiar country, it will be necessary to describe the land tenures and laws regarding land of each of these divisions separately. As land is always *jhumed* by the Bhoia and Lyngpoos from year to year, customs regarding land with these people are naturally very simple. Taking land in the high plateau of the Khasi Hills first:—The lands are classified under two main divisions, (a) public and (b) private lands. The following are the different descriptions of lands in the first division:—

Ka ri Raj, or *ka ri Sien*, which are Siem's, or Crown lands. These lands are intended for the support of the Siem family, they cannot be alienated. The Siems are, however, precluded by custom from levying a land tax on persons who cultivate such lands, the relation of landlord and tenant between the latter and their chiefs being unknown.

Ka ri Lynpdoh.—These lands are for the support of the Lynpdohs or priests of the State. In some Siemships, as in Mawiong Siemship, paddy is grown on these lands from which rice is obtained for the State pujas.

Ki shong, or village lands.—These lands are set apart to provide a supply of firewood, thatching grass, &c., and are the property of the village. The inhabitants of other villages are not allowed to enjoy the produce of such lands. Such lands can be cultivated by ryots of the village, but the latter possess only occupancy rights, and cannot transfer them.

Ki lawkynrang.—These are sacred groves, situated generally over the summit of hills, composed of oak and rhododendron trees, which are held sacred (*kynrang*); it being an offence, or sin, for any one to cut timber in the grove, except for cremation purposes. These groves are the property of the villages.

(b.) Private Lands. These may be subdivided into *ri-kur*, or lands which are the property of the clan, and *ri kynti*, family, or acquired landed property. In the Khasi Hills proper a very large proportion, certainly of the high lands, is the property of the clan; for instance, the high lands at Laitlem, which are the property of the Khar kongor and Khar kalong clans, whose ancestors the large memorial stones close to the Laitlem road commemorate, also the lands of the Tlang Khew clan, and many others.

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Thang khiew clan, and many others. It has been explained, in a previous paragraph, how the clan grew out of the family. The clan lands originally, when population was sparse, were owned by families, but as the members of the family increased and a clan was formed, the lands became the property of the clan instead of the family. Such clan lands are properly demarcated by stone boundary marks. The manager of the clan lands is the *ksi* (maternal uncle of the youngest daughter of the main family, or branch of the clan), whose house "*ka iing khadduh*," or last home, is the place for performing all the religious ceremonies of the clan, and is also called *ka iing-ung*. All the members of the clan are, however, entitled to share in the produce of any of the clan lands they may cultivate. No clan lands can be alienated without the consent of a display of the whole clan.

Ki lyngki are private lands which have been either acquired by a man or woman individually, or, in the case of a woman, inherited from her mother; such lands must be entirely distinguished from the lands of the clan. In portions of the Jaintia Hills, if a man purchases a piece of land, at his death it passes to his mother, to the exclusion of his children; but in the Khasi Hills nowadays a man may leave such lands, provided they were acquired after marriage, either formally by will, or informally, to his children for their support. In land customs as well as other customs the Syntengs seem to preserve more closely than the Khasis what are probably the ancient usages of the race. It must be clearly understood, however, that all land acquired by inheritance must follow the Khasi law of entail, by which property descends from the mother to the youngest daughter, and again from the latter to her youngest daughter. Ancestral landed property must therefore be always owned by women. The male members of the family may cultivate such lands, but they must carry all the produce to the house of their mother, who will divide it amongst the members of the family. Daughters, other than youngest daughters, are entitled to maintenance from the produce of such family lands.

In the Jaintia Hills lands are classified as follows:—

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prominent trees on the boundary lines, or by natural boundaries such as streams.

In the Wiar country to the West of Cherra, notably the country between the heights of Laitkynsew and the plains, considerable portions of the hill-sides are the property of communities known as *sengs*. A *seng* may be defined as a collection of families sprung from one common ancestress or ancestor. As an instance of these *sengs* I may describe the community known as the *lai seng* which owns land in the neighbourhood of Laitkynsew, the area owned being known as the "*ri lai seng*," or land of the three clans. These clans are descended from three men, U Kynta, U Nalem, and U Tangrai, it being remarkable that in this case descent is traced originally from male ancestors and not from females. The three ancestors are said to have owned a large tract of land, and they had on their abode the village of Laitnawrin close to Laitkynsew; but owing to an epidemic, or some such cause, they deserted the village of Laitnawrin and went with their families to live in some of the surrounding Wiar villages, viz. in Tyrna, Nongkroh, Nongwar, Mostoh, and Mawlong. The descendants of the three men above-mentioned possess a genealogical table, showing their descent from the original three founders of the *seng*. They claim a large tract of country lying to the south and south-east of the Laitkynsew plateau, containing not only *seng* gardens, but also valuable lime quarries. There are other *seng* communities also in the neighbourhood, e.g. the *Iniewiar phew seng*, or sixty *sengs*, who put forward claims to other tracts of land. The boundaries of the *ri lai seng* are identifiable on the ground. The business of the *seng* community is managed by a durbar, an elder or other influential person being chosen as president.

In the country of the Lyngngam the *seng* belongs to the person who cultivates it, but the land belongs to the *kur* or family. The Lyngngam villages, like those in the Khasi Nongkhlaw, do not pay any rent to the State. If outsiders cultivate within the area set apart for the different Lyngngam villages, all of these, including women, have to pay eight annas each to the people of the village in whose *ain* they cultivate. There is usually a mutual understanding between inhabitants of Lyngngam villages that certain tracts of land belong to the

be placed in the family tomb. There are special taboos for certain clans, of which the following are some examples. The clan Nongthilong cannot eat the lemon, the Khar-mawsiat clan must abstain from pork, the Chawra Siem family cannot eat dried fish, and the Siem family of Mylliem takes the pumpkin. Possibly these taboos may be relics of totemism amongst these communities. The following are some of the other taboos, although some of them are but lightly regarded now-a-days.

(i.) To build a house with stone walls on all four sides.

(ii.) To use nails in building a house.

(iii.) To use more than one kind of timber in building the hearth.

(iv.) To build a house with mulberry timber. Only the Siem family can use such timber.

(v.) To cut trees from a sacred forest.

(vi.) To take or give anything with the left hand.

(vii.) To step over any man's body.

(viii.) To kill any animal or bird without first throwing stones on its body.

(ix.) To drink the milk of a cow or goat.

(x.) To talk with any one, except with one of a man's or woman's fellow-workers, when the thrashing of paddy is going on.

There are the following special taboos for pregnant women.

(a) To accompany a funeral procession.

(b) To finish any sewing she may have commenced before she became enceinte. There is a similar prohibition regarding the finishing of the plaiting of wicker baskets.

(c) It is easy for the husband of a pregnant woman to thatch the ridge of the house at such a time, or to fix a handle to an axe or a dao.

quilt, made out of the bark of a tree, which is beaten out and then carefully woven, several layers of flattened bark being used before the right thickness is attained. This quilt is called by the Lyngngam "Ka-ngiler" (Khasi ka-ngiel). Food is cooked in earthen pots, but no pots are used, the bread being one of the cooking tree taking their place. The leaves are thrown away after use, a fresh supply being required for each meal.

The Lyngngam have one loom, they do not distil spirit; the loom is learned according to the Khasi method. Games they have none, and there are no social archery meetings like those of the Khasis. The Lyngngam methods of hunting are setting spring guns and digging pitfalls for game. The people say that now the Government and the State of Rangamati have prohibited both of these methods of destroying game, they no longer employ them. But I came across a pitfall for deer not long ago in the neighbourhood of a village in the Lyngngam country. The people declared it to be a very old one; but this I very much doubt, and I fear that these objectionable methods of hunting are still used. The Lyngngam fish to a small extent with nets, but their idea of fishing *par excellence*, is poisoning the stream, an account of which has already been given in this monograph. The Lyngngam are omnivorous feeders, they may be said to eat everything except dogs, snakes, the bullock monkey, and lizards. They like rice, when they can get it; for sometimes the outturn of their fields does not last them more than a few months. They then have to fall back on Jobstears and millet. They eat game largely, and for vegetables they seek wild plantains and the young shoots of bamboos and cane plants. The Lyngngam are divided up into exogamous clans in the same manner as the Khasis. The clans are matriarchal families. The Lyngngam have some stories regarding the founders of these clans, of which the following is a specimen:—"A woman was asleep under a soldier tree in the jungle, a flower from which fell on her, and she conceived and bore a female child who was the ancestress of the Nongbiliar clan." Some of the stories of the origins of other clans do not bear repeating. There do not appear to be any hypergamous groups. As with the Khasis, it is a deadly sin to

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marry any one belonging to your own *kur*, or *shem*. Unlike the Khasis, however, a Lyngam can marry two sisters at a time. The Lyngam marriages are arranged by *kainga*, or go-between, much in the same way as Khasi marriages; but the ritual observed is less elaborate, and shows a mixture of Khasi and Garo customs (see Section III.). The Lyngams intermarry with the Garos. It appears that sometimes the parents of girls elect bride-money, and marriages by capture have been heard of. Both of these customs are more characteristic of the Garo tribes of the plains than of the Khasis. There are no special birth customs, as with the Khasis, except that when the umbilical cord falls a fowl is sacrificed, and the child is brought outside the house. Children are named without any special ceremony. The death customs of the Lyngams have been described in Section III. A peculiar characteristic is the keeping of the dead body in the house for days, sometimes even for several months, before it is buried. The putrefying corpse inside the house seems to cause these people no inconvenience, for while it remains there, they eat, carry on their ordinary occupations, and sleep there, regardless of what would be considered by others an intolerable nuisance. The religion of these people consists of a mixture of ancestor-worship and the propitiation of the spirits of hill and fall, which are, most of them, believed to be of evil influence, as is the case with other savage races. As with the people of Nongstoin, the primeval ancestress, "*Ka Ioar Ioi*," is worshipped for the welfare of the clan, a cow being sacrificed to her, with a gourd of rice-beer and horns of the cow, or *dongmung* tree. The horns of the cow are afterwards hung up inside the house, together with the jaw-bone of the pig. Sacrifices are offered to a fowl-demon, *U Bongjong* (a god who brings illness), by the roadside; also to *Ka Blang Dylli U Bryngam*, the god of cultivation, at seed time, on the path to the forest clearing where the seed is sown. Models of paddy store-houses, baskets and agricultural implements are made, and being used to indicate the grain. These are placed by the roadside, the skulls of the sacrificial animals and the feathers of fowls being hung up on bamboos about the place where the sacrifice has been performed. There are no priests or *Syndahs*, the fathers of the hamlet performing the various ceremonies.

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APPENDIX A.

EXOGAMOUS CLANS IN THE CHERRA STATE.

1. [illegible]
   Intermarriage with Hapee and Myntreta clans prohibited.
2. Phanglah
   Intermarriage with Lalu, Dienglikliah and Dienglikhalla clans prohibited.
3. Dkhar
4. Dohling
5. Dulai
6. Dusai
7. Ekas
8. Myntreta
9. Jale
10. Jyrwa
11. Khar Jurein
12. " Khlem
13. " Khlong
14. " Kongor
15. " Kyor
16. " Lakki
17. " Mar
18. " Mawphlong
19. " Ma
20. " Mawl
21. " Mati
22. " Mylliem
23. " Nong
24. " Nongkhlaw
25. " Nongkhlong
26. " —
27. Khongjiri
28. " Iat
29. " Ji
30. " pih
31. " Sawng
32. " Syndon
33. " Syntiang
34. " Syndai
35. " Jaw
36. " Iar
37. " Iongkor
38. " Iyawang
39. Khong nawpar
40. " nokin
41. " ngair
42. " riat
43. " rymmai
44. " sdar
45. " shar
46. " sib
47. " sngi
48. " syn
49. " war
50. " wat
51. " war
52. Lyngkhi-Nongkwi
53. Lyndon
54. Lyngdoh
55. Magor
56. Mawbanteng
   This is one of the myntri clans of Mawsynram State
57. Mringlang
   originally from Market in the Jowai Subdivision
58. Mynsa
59. Mawlong
60. Marbah
   Formerly one of the Khadar Kurdum. Has now become extinct.
61. Mawdkhop
62. Mokkhaw
63. Myrsiang
64. Mynthong
65. Nongbri
66. Nongkynrih
   One of the myntri clans of the Khyrim State
67. Nongkah
68. Nongtron
69. Nongthiang
70. Nongrum
   One of the myntri clans of the Khyrim State

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71. Nongtariang
    These two clans cannot intermarry. Nongtariang is now one of the Khadar Kur clans in place of the Marboh clan which has become extinct.
72. Padoh
73. Paraniang
74. Pohnong
75. Prawai
76. Puria
77. Pongpyrthai
78. Rani
79. Rapthap.
80. Ryojah
    One of the myntri clans of the Khyrim State.
81. Samai
82. Shabong
83. Shangpu
84. Shrieh
    Shrieh means a monkey. Possibly totemistic
85. Siem Lyngng
86. Sohkhlet
87. Shyngpliang
88. Samer
89. Swer
90. Syiem
91. Syngai
92. Synrem
93. Thabah
94. Tham
    Thaw means a crab. Possibly totemistic
95. Tohtih
96. Umdor
97. Walang
98. Warkon
99. Khyrwang
100. Ksing

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APPENDIX B.

64 EXOGAMOUS CLANS IN THE KHYRIM STATE

1. Awri
2. Barieng
3. Bam-iew-mwit
4. Ellei
5. Ettkai
6. Dongdoh (?)
   Intermarriage with Mawar clan prohibited
7. Iakhar
8. Dampep
9. Hadem
10. Jasin
11. Khang-shri
12. Khar lajno
13. " luki
14. " longar
    Intermarriage with Nongiwai clan prohibited
15. Khar lih-khiew
    Intermarriage prohibited with Khar-umroid clan
16. Khar lomroid
17. " lind
18. " luli
19. " dint
20. " dohling
21. " dumpep
22. " ki-dint
23. " iap
24. " Kaunt
25. " Kongor
26. " Kert
27. " kynang
28. " long
29. " luni
30. " Malki
31. " Mawar
32. Khar mawlah
    Intermarriage with Khar-pomtiah clan prohibited
33. Khar mihpein
34. " mithai
35. " mudai
36. " nongai
37. " nonkhi
38. " nonti
39. " nyllem
40. " pattl
41. " pein
42. " phan
43. " phar
44. " pohkong
45. " pohshiah
46. " pomtiah
    Intermarriage with Khar mawlah clan prohibited
47. Khar pomtih
48. " pran
49. " rynji
50. " ryuta
51. " Sati
52. " shan
53. " shi-long
54. " shilot
55. " shong
56. " shrieh
57. " sohneh
58. " sngi
59. " Umroid
    Intermarriage with Khar-lihkhiew clan prohibited
60. Khar urmet
61. " War
62. Kher

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59. Gialah
60. Khong-tiemo
61. " blah
62. " lieh
63. " bellyheng
64. " ikhier
65. " dup
Intermarriage prohibited with Hongpai and Khongpaw class
70. Khong* lap
71. " ieng
72. " ji
Intermarriage with Pongrup class prohibited
73. Khong jeh
74. " lai
75. " khar
76. " kiang
77. " kih
78. " kylin
79. " kyodah
80. " lam
81. " lam
82. " tikong
83. " tiang
84. " lani
85. " mulai
86. " mawlow
87. " ater
88. " teh
89. " pilei
90. " pnam
91. " pnan
92. " ahih
93. " ating
94. " ahi
95. " angi
96. " ani
97. " ati
Intermarriage prohibited also with Lyngdoh class
98. Khong ala
99. " wila (2)
100. " thaw
101. " tiang
102. " thowa
103. " wandah (?)
104. " wet
105. " wir
106. Khriam
107. Khyuriam
108. Khyuriam
109. Khyuriam miyat
110. Khyuriam mawkawah
Intermarriage with Pongrup, Lyngdoh and Mawlah class prohibited
111. Khyuriam wahkhong
112. Kui Kalong
113. Lamin
114. Lawai
Intermarriage with Lyngdoh class prohibited
115. Lawanwkhar
116. Lingshing
117. Liting
118. Lyngdoh
119. Lyngdoh
Intermarriage with Pongrup and Mawlah class prohibited
120. Lyngiar
121. Marwing
122. Majed
123. Mawar
124. Mawar
Intermarriage with Dienglah class prohibited
125. Mawing
126. Mawphlang
127. Mawkhanh
128. Mawlah
Intermarriage with Pongrup and Lyngdoh class prohibited
129. Mawsa
130. Mawlah
131. Mawsia
132. Mokhia
133. Mawh
134. Mollum
135. Mollum mothong
136. " Ngap
137. " pdah
Intermarriage between these class prohibited also with Sohiem class
138. Mynsong
139. Nongsiej
140. Niang-ioh
141. Nonglri
Intermarriage with Nongkynrih class prohibited
142. Nonglri Partah
143. Nongbolew
144. Nong-khlieh

* The word khong has probably connection with the Syiemship word jong meaning a clan.

[illegible]

146. Kong-kyrmih
Intermarriage with Dongkhar class prohibited
147. Kong-law
Intermarriage with Khar-Sangar class prohibited
148. Kong-lyar
149. Kong-ploo
150. Kong-ploh
151. Kongrow
152. Kongpong
153. Kongkhong
154. Kongtum
155. Kongkhah
156. Pdar
157. Pdakhla
158. Pdathiar
159. Pongrong
Intermarriage with Mawlah and Lyngkhi class prohibited
160. Sumkhong
161. Suon
162. Synkhong
163. Synkong (1)
164. Synghow
165. Synjah
Intermarriage with Mawrah class prohibited
166. Synjon
167. Synkong
168. Syngngi
169. Shadong
170. Shadap
171. Singkong
172. Sohkhah
173. Sohiem
Intermarriage with Mylliemawpha. Mylliemawphah Mylliem-mitkong class prohibited
174. Sunjit
175. Sunghkong
176. Susan
177. Sutong
178. Sutkiej
179. Swej
180. Swer
181. Syrmah
182. Syntong
183. Syntong-law
184. Talong
185. Tangjon
186. Tangkong
187. Tarong
188. Tmarah
189. Tongsen
190. Tyrsah (1)
191. Tyngrong
192. Umkong
193. Umrong
194. Wallang
195. Warbah
Intermarriage with Warshong prohibited
196. Warchum
197. " jin
198. " Mylliew
199. Warmaki
200. " nok
201. " Sangpi
202. Warkhar
203. Warshong
Intermarriage with Warbah class prohibited

[illegible] marriage prevails amongst the Syntengs. Inheritance to the post of Siem (or chief) also passes through the female line, there being special sections of inheritance for each of the different chieftaincies.

3. The Khasis are divided into clans, or *kur*. These clans are strictly exogamous. Some of these clans derive their names from animals, insects, fowls or fish,—*e.g.*, the *duna* clan, *duna* meaning a crab; the *shrish* clan, *shrish* meaning a monkey; the *rani* clan, so called from a fish by name *rani*; the *dangkhi* clan, *dangkhi* meaning a certain tree. There are other instances also. In such instances, the clan is said to have sprung from the animal, fish, or tree, as the case may be. There also appears to be a trace of totemism amongst the Khasis, although now-a-days their totems are not worshipped, nor do people abstain from killing, eating, or utilizing them. A man when he marries does not seem to belong to the *kur* or family of his mother, but his children belong to the *kur* of the man's wife. Frequently the husband merely visits his wife at her mother's house. It is seldom the case that a man takes his wife to his own house, certainly not until several children have been born.

As might be expected, owing to the influence of the matriarchate, Khasi and Syntengs women enjoy a much greater share of liberty than is usually the case with the sex. Although not wishing to make any general generalizations, there can be no doubt that Khasi women enjoy considerable freedom in their social relations. Women do all the trading, and like their Manipuri sisters make all the house purchases.

4. *Ancestor worship.*—The Khasis propitiate *Ka Iaiaki*, the first maternal ancestress of the clan, by sacrificing a pig; they also sacrifice yearly to *U Suidnia* (the departed maternal great-uncle). Also when a family is in trouble, *U Thaolang* (the departed great-grandfather) is propitiated. Ancestors are further worshipped by the erection of memorial stones. These memorial stones will be noticed separately.

5. *Birth customs.*—At the birth the navel of a child must not be severed by any instrument made of iron or steel, but by a sharp splinter of bamboo. The placenta is placed in a pot and is kept inside the house till the ceremony of naming the child takes place. As long as the placenta remains in the house, the latter is *nang*, or taboo, to anyone except the members of the family. On the *day* of the ceremony of naming the child, the father removes the placenta and buries it outside the house. Having done this, the feet of the father are washed with water before he re-enters the house. When the ceremony takes place, pounded rice is placed on a sieve (*a prah*) and a small bow and three arrows—" the child is a male, and a *mait* (or *da*) and a star or (*mon strap*) (worn on the forehead when carrying a load by the Khasis), if the child is a female.

G. Gordon Gill (no date) 1000 A.D.? Khasi A.D.?

(ii) It is easy to use nails in fixing the timber of a house. 784

(iii) The digni, or beam, should be made of one kind of timber only.

(iv) To build a house with uncouth timber ('ioh ikhim'). Only the Siem's family can use such timber.

(v) To cut trees from the sacred forest.

(vi) To take or give anything with the left hand.

(vii) To step over the body of any person.

(viii) To kill a fowl or a goat without throwing first rice over the body of the victim.

(ix) To drink the milk of a cow or goat.

(x) To talk with any one, except with those who are working together, when the threshing of paddy is going on.

(xi) Not to give fire or water when anyone demands the same.

(xii) A twin birth is easy. It is a more serious matter even than easy if the twins are of opposite sexes.

There are rules of any regarding marriages within prohibited degrees of relationship, and there is a very stringent rule of any against marrying within the bar, or clan. Those who do this are excommunicated and their house or saloo are not allowed to be placed in the family monolithes. To marry within the same bar, or clan, is the greatest crime a Khasi can commit. 784 581.

There are special rules of any affecting certain families, *e.g.*, for the clan *Kingsiiliang* to eat a certain kind of leaves, for the clan *Kharwanoid* to eat pork, for the Chorra Siem's family to eat dry fish, for the family of the Siem of Mylliem to eat the pumpkin. Possibly, these taboos may be relics of totemism in these families. 784 614

14. *The Thlaw superstition.*—The following succinct account of this interesting superstition appeared on page 254, paragraph 22, of the *Assam Gazette* of the 5th August 1902. I do not think I can do better than repeat it here: "The tradition is that there was once in a cave near Cherrapunji a gigantic snake, or *Thlaw*, who committed great havoc among men and animals. At last one man, bolder than his fellows, took with him a bowl of grain and sat himself down by the cave and offered them one by one to the *Thlaw*. By degrees the monster became friendly, and learnt to open his mouth at a word from the man, to receive the lump of flesh which was then thrown in. When confidence was thoroughly established, the man heated a lump of iron red hot in a furnace, induced the snake at the usual signal, to open his mouth, and then threw in the red hot lump, and so killed him. He then cut up the body and sent pieces in every direction, with orders that the people were to eat them. Wherever the order was 773

Khar Dumpey. These three clans—Khar Dabing, Khar Dumpey and Khar Sohmik cannot intermarry on account of their common ancestry. U Kiwan, the sister's husband of U Sohn Bai is of Khar Dumpey clan and furnished me with the above details. He stated that his ancestress married a man of the old settler clans of Mawphlang and came to her husband's village. This man, being of the Khadar Kur, could build a house and cultivate land from the community holding. The property thus acquired passed to the daughters, and gradually the clan Khar Dumpey grew more numerous, and acquired rights to the Ri Raid like an old clan. [Genealogy I(c)].

(d) The family of the first wife of U Gongsing furnishes another illustration. The woman Ka Li came with her widowed mother from Cherra. The father had been a Syiemlieng from Jowai. The girl has been married by U Bahon, who is a member of one of the old settler clans. He has built a house for his family and made an excellent potato garden out of the common land for the maintenance of his wife and children. They will inherit it from him according to the usual Khasi mode. [Genealogy II(c)].

[177] (e) U Roberts who is a Syiemlieng of Jowai, and a Christian by religion (Genealogy V) came to Mawphlang in 1930-31 and after a couple of years married a non-Christian Khasi girl by Khasi rites thereby losing his membership of the church. He cultivated Ri Raid land when he stayed with his wife's mother Ka Nissi [Genealogy V]. This woman is of Khar Sohsor clan. One of her ancestresses, came to Mawphlang only a few generations ago, and married a man of the old clans. Her descendants have thereby obtained the privilege of cultivating Ri Raid. U Roberts has divorced his wife and no longer possesses this right. He now works as a tailor in the village, and lives with a friend near the bazaar.

● 454 (f) Gurdon has suggested that the large number of clans having Khar as the first part of the name of the Kur have originated from ancestresses who were carried off from the plains.

While the traditions regarding the origin of Khar Dumpong and Khar Sokoch collected by me do not support the view that the ancestors came commonly from the plains, it is clear that they support Gurdon's hypothesis that these clans are derived from ancestresses who came from or settled in certain villages. It is evident that Gurdon's hypothesis implies that the husbands of these women, who brought them home from elsewhere, could clear land and transmit such property to their daughters, although the mother of the daughters did not own any land hereby. This right to clear the Ri Kaid is therefore not a recent innovation.

I have noted these details here as this aspect of inheritance from males has not been clarified elsewhere. It is our moot of course that this right to clear land extended to the special clan lands or family property matrilineal of the male. As noted below the Kur manages such land and makes over the income or produce to the women who are the owners. Even in such land, however, a man has some rights. Both Gurdon and Gustin state that a male can adopt a blood relative of the same Kur if all the female members of the particular clank are dead. He himself holds the property for life only, when the women of the line are dead. On adopting a girl of the Kur, she becomes the keeper of the property and also his successor. But "the profits of his labour in the landed property can be used for his wife and children." The inherent right of the male is brought out to a certain extent in this rule also. Such private lands are known as Ri Kyat. It may be of the family or the clan. As an example of family land may be noted the case of the forest of U Nong Sohra, the husband of Ka Jrai [Genealogy Ind]. He cleared some Ri Kaid land and planted pine trees there. Only the descendants of Ka Jrai can cut trees in this forest which is now practically private property of this group. But the land is essentially Ri Kaid in this sense that it cannot be alienated and when all trees have been cut away, any villager will be entitled to occupy it. The Khar Shing Kur as a whole has true private lands near the village. If people of other clans want to cultivate

[p. 305]

SOCIAL GROUPINGS AMONG THE KHASIS OF ASSAM

by [illegible]

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Introduction

THE Khasis, who inhabit the United Khasi and Jaintia Hills District of Assam, are matrilineal. Like the Garos, they are matrilocal in residence. Exclusive ownership over family property is claimed by the Khasi women and the youngest daughter (*Ka Khadduh*) who lives permanently in the house of her mother, is the custodian of the family property and the holder of religion (*Ka bat ka niamt*).

This paper deals with the social groupings, namely, the clan, sub-clan and family, of the Khasis. The materials were collected in 1956 from Mawphlang, Cherapunji and Mawlaik and Mawsynai villages further south of the Cherra State.

Discussion

In the language of the Khasi, the prefix *Ka* is usually used before the name of a woman or any object belonging to a woman (or considered feminine). The use of *Ka* as a prefix before the name of each social group is suggested to have bearing on Khasi matriliny. *Kur* is not a very expressive and exact term for a clan. *Kubor*, which is supposed to have sprung from the women (*long jaid na ka kynthai*)[1] is more exact. Similarly, *Ka-Ki'pok* and *Ka-ting* denote the sub-clan and family respectively.

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[1] Gordon, P. R. T., *The Khasis*, London, 1914 p. 66.

[2] Op. cit., page 66.

The primal father and the mother of the members of every clan are respectively known as *U-Pawat* (*U-Pawdong*) and *Ka-Bapawat* (*Ka-Lawbei*).

There is a large number of clans among the Khasis and some of the clan names are those of animals and trees. Shiah is monkey clan, a crab, and *dingdoh*, a tree; yet they do not constitute totemic clan organization. The clan names are not even the names of the ancestors. The clans are not ancestral but rather were territorial in nature when the clansmen (*ubi-Kur*) used to live in a place having a common land (*ri-kur*) and a clan cemetery (*mawbah*) where the bones of the dead clansmen were deposited.

Unlike the clans, the sub-clans (*ka-K'juh*) are ancestral. As, for example, in case of the *Siem* clan of the Cleave state, it is found that Ka-Khiem was the primal ancestress. Her daughter Ka-Pet had three daughters, namely, Ka-Sngi, Ka-Langsu, and Ka-Kroh each of whom is regarded as the *Ka-K' juh* (meaning womb) of their respective descendants who are *ubi-K'juh* (the members of the same womb). And their names are the names of the three sub-clans of the siem clan.

The names of the sub-clans of some of the clans as collected from the elderly Khasi women are given below.

CLAN	SUB-CLAN
1. Siem	— Sngi ; Langsu , Kroh
2. Khongsit	— [illegible] , [illegible] ; [illegible] ; [illegible]
3. Khonbiling	— [illegible] ; [illegible] ; [illegible] , [illegible]
4. Lyngdoh	— [illegible] ; [illegible] ; [illegible]
5. Sangma	— [illegible] ; [illegible] ; [illegible] , [illegible]
6. Khongwar	— [illegible] ; [illegible] , [illegible]
7. Jaitkhar	— [illegible] ; [illegible] , [illegible]
8. Sangtiew	— [illegible] ; [illegible] , [illegible] ; [illegible]

Family (*ka-ling*) among the Khasis is the socio-economic and religious unit. Due to matrilocal residence, the structure of the Khasi family assumes a different form. The constituent members are the grandmother, her daughters and their children. But the permanent residents are the youngest daughter (*ka-khadduh*), her husband and daughters. It takes on

A [Should read: permanent. — Analyst]

extended form more often when the children of the deceased sisters of *Ka-khadduk* reside there. This extension is on the mother's side and is affiliated through the extension of mother-child relationship.

Additional members like widower brothers or widowed sisters make the Khasi family a composite one.

In a Khasi family father, mother and her brother are very important. Father who is regarded as *Ryndar* (stranger) or *Ulaong kha* (begotten), has also the position of *Kynrad* (master) of the house (set-up by him). He is the executive head and the mother is the *dajaw* owner of the household.

Modern conditions and spread of Christianity have greatly affected the Khasi society and changed the Khasi ways of life but have failed to alter the traditional mode of inheritance even among the Christian Khasis. Another important fact which is apparent in the Khasi families, is the change of the status of the mother's brother (*U'bai*) in his sister's house. His influence has greatly been diminished due to clash with *Ka-Khadduk* (*Suiong*). He has almost lost his control over his sister's family. This has made the women exert their status to a danger point. Consequently, some amount of maladjustment in the relationship system, moral depravity and disintegration loom large in the family horizon.

Family is the core of Khasi social organisation and the closeness of familial kin with the members of the sub-clan is due more to the fact that sub-clan owes its development to the family. A *Shi-K'pah* (member of sub-clan) is a secondary relative and can easily be approached for any help.

The functions of the above mentioned social groupings are as follows:

Clan (*Ka-Kur*)—It regulates marriage. It being a larger non-residential kin group contact between its members is infrequent. The amount of social participation needed on certain level to intensify the relationship among its members falls far short of. But nevertheless, there existed among the members

[should read: regarded.—Analyst]

of a clan some commercial attachment developed out of the custom of depositing the bones of the clansmen in clan cemetery and renewing the relationship between the clansmen on the ceremonial occasion of *shajanakuk* when the bones were finally transferred from *nanakhing* (cemetery of a sub-clan) to *nanakuk* (cemetery of a clan). [illegible]

Social bond among the clansmen is due to the performance of common religious ceremonies (*jhum*), worship of common deities and spirits of household (*Kumbhoi*), water (*jam*) and hills (*Kumdhoi*) and observance of mourning for three days for the death of clansmen with the cessation of outdoor work specially with implements. [illegible]

Economic bond among them is due further to the possession of common land (*ukhar*), which is divided into separate holdings held by families. [illegible]

Sub-clan (Ka-Ojam) — Unlike the clan, sub-clan has nothing to do with the regulation of marriage. Its main functions are socio-religious. Mutual interest in the welfare of the members of sub-clan evinced in the observance of *ukhar*[*] in honour of the dead grandmother, profound sentiment grown out of the former practice of depositing the bones of the dead persons of the same sub-clan in *nanakhing* and the responsibility of bearing the expenses for *shajanakuk* bind the members together. [illegible]

The observance of mourning on the death of a person of the same sub-clan for three days and the consequent [illegible]

[*]Offering of food to the spirits of the dead ancestors.

[p. 120]

IV. THE PLACE OF THE KHASI IN THE WORLD.

By

Dawn Bee

(1) The Khasi country lies in the hills of the province of Assam in North East India. Khasi clans are exogamous and matriarchal, and the Khasis speak a Mon-Khmer language.

(2) In speaking of the place of the Khasi in the world I intend to explain the Khasi's own view of his relation to other peoples of the world.*

(3) The Khasi is very conscious of his importance. He says a Khasi claims to be the centre of the world. The Khasi has acquired such a feeling of self-importance from his great confidence in himself; and this confidence he has derived from the position in which his relationship-terminology represents him as standing with respect to himself and the world around him. Or, rather, his relationship terms and language are an expression of his attitude and notions.

(4) The Khasi says—*Ka Kmain* (mother)

U Khasi (son) — *Ka Kmain* (mother)

Which is—His mother

Himself (male) — His sister (female)

He calls this the family. Then he says—

Ka Kmain Kha (Father's mother)

U Epa Kha (Father, Father's brother) (male) — *Ka Pia Kha* Father Father's sister (female)

[114] The writer of this is writing in himself a Khasi (Christian)

exception. As I pointed out in the last chapter on the Garo, private ownership started with wet cultivation. In Rongton, there are no common (village) or clan land; every piece of land is owned by some household—more precisely it is owned by the woman, the head of a household, and managed by her brother or maternal uncle. The majority of households in Rongton possess land. Some of the richer households lend the land which some of the poorer households have it. The rent for leases is Rs. [illegible] per year for an area where one maund (lit. lbs.) of millet seeds can be sown. As there is no acreage system, the measurement is by quantity of seeds, and since shifting cultivation requires a change of field every year, the rent is fixed by the year. The parchal gardens, also privately owned, are never leased. When labour is required, the owner engages villagers, paying them Rs. [illegible]/- per day.

In Sohkynduh, there are some lands called "clan land." Throughout the history of the formation of Sohkynduh village, as reconstructed from my data, can be traced some evidence of the evolution of land ownership. The first inhabitants of Sohkynduh were said to be the people belonging to the Pruiar clan (See Lists 4 and 5). It seems that when the Pruiar came to this site, the land already belonged to the Diliar clan of Rymmai village, five miles north of Sohkynduh. The present distribution of land ownership confirms this story. The jhum field belonging to Sohkynduh is divided into four sections according to the locality:

1. Lum Sohkynduh
2. Sohliang
3. Mawkhalai
4. Lumpalong

One part of Lum Sohkynduh belongs to the Pruiar clan. The rest of Lum Sohkynduh, Sohliang and Mawkhalai belong to the Diliar clan of Rymmai village, the management of which is in the hands of Phemsing who came from Rymmai and married a woman of Sohkynduh. Lumpalong is owned by Sor (Kynthah clan, 32 of List 4) privately. The Pruiar and Diliar lands are used by their descendants respectively. The people of other clans have to pay a rent of Rs. [illegible]/- to use these clan lands. For the land which belongs to Sor, even the people of the same clan (Kynthah) have to pay rent since this land is privately owned. Thus the land of Sohkynduh belongs partly to particular clans and partly to a private owner.

Gordon explains the existence of the clan land in the Khasi Hills as follows:

"The clan lands originally, when population was sparse, were owned by families, but as the members of the family increased and a clan was formed, the lands became the property of the clan instead of the family. Such clan lands are properly demarcated by stone boundary marks. The manager of the clan

178 lands in the the maternal uncle of the youngest daughter of the main family, or branch of the clan, whose house "ka-ing khadduh," or last house, is the place for performing all the religious ceremonies of the clan, and is also called ka-ing-ung. All the members of the clan are, however, entitled to share in the produce of any of the clan lands they may cultivate. No clan lands can be alienated without the consent of a further of the whole clan" (Gordon, [illegible] p. 80).

178 Theoretically we can assume that the land was owned by the family
427 (precisely, ring, the matrilineal descent group at the lowest segmentation, the structure of which will be discussed later) who first claimed
428 the right to the land, and was managed by the maternal uncle of the
429 youngest daughter, the person entitled to the property. In course of time, with the increase of the descent members and with fission of the descent group, this land was inherited through the youngest daughter's line, but other members who had become segments of the main descent group had a right to use the land, so long as they remained in the same area. Newcomers who belonged to another clan were not granted the same right and had to pay rent. According to the information I was able to collect, even people of the same clan could not claim the right to use the land, unless they were the direct matrilineal descendants of the women who first owned the land. In this sense, the descent group solidarity at a lower level is much stronger than that of the Garo.

Therefore, newly possessed or purchased land is always owned by the individual family (ring, descent group). This Khasi conception of land ownership produces a picture of predominant private ownership of land, combined with high geographical mobility of the population (see p. [illegible]). In such circumstances, it seems that even the land called "clan land" has been alienated or sold frequently, and has developed small holdings to suit the small segments of descent groups. In particular, when the entitled owner moved away to another area, the land was sold. For instance, in Sohkynlah, the maternal uncle of Sor (mentioned above) purchased the land indicated above about ten years ago from a family of Siem Lyngngoh who left for another village. This land was originally purchased by the Siem Lyngngoh from the Dkhar to whom the land belonged as part of the clan land.

Under this system, clan ownership of land can develop only (1) when the members of the descent group remain in the same community for a considerable period and (2) when there is sufficient land to accommodate all members. I think these are the main reasons why land-
178 holding at present among the Khasi is found to be in small descent
427 groups—in one household as in Kongton in most cases, and this I call
428 private ownership. For the second reason, further explanation is

necessary. The chances of acquiring a piece of land nowadays are small, except for very successful men, and usually the size of the plot is only just enough to maintain one household. When this land is passed on to the next generation, the youngest daughter will hold the title to it. This fact tends to exclude married older sisters from the right to use the land, since it is not sufficient for more than one household. Thus the ultimogeniture succession rule seems to have developed more sharply and to have encouraged limited inheritance in conjunction with the shortage of land. 178 421 428

This tendency creates unbalance in the economy of the household within a community. It is a usual picture in Khasi villages, for the bigger and well-built houses to be occupied by the youngest daughter's family, while the older sisters reside in poor huts. Youngest daughters are usually landowners, while their older sisters have often to become day-labourers after their marriage, unless their husbands are capable men, or their fathers wealthy enough to give them some share of their acquired property. On the whole, the variations at present between rich and poor are considerable in a Khasi community, in comparison with that of the Garo, where the economic condition of each household in a village is more or less similar. These differences are not only a matter of economic organization but arise from the nature of each social structure. 178 189 421 428 556 [171]

The economic and social patterns of Sohkynduh and Kongton are very similar, but their dialects are slightly different: my interpreter, who came from Cherrapunja, could work quite well at Sohkynduh, but at Kongton he found some difficulty, especially with the speech of the old men, and with their religious expressions. The headman of Kongton, who was quite accustomed to the Cherra dialect, acted as an interpreter for us. Such differences in dialect in the Khasi Hills are common phenomena, it is said that every valley has its own dialect. Differences are found not only in speaking, but also, to a certain extent, in culture and in social usages. 197 [124]

II. Village Endogamy

One of the outstanding features of Khasi social organization is the predominant tendency of endogamy on the level of the village, which contrasts with the structural orientation of the Garo village exogamy. This is closely connected with the distributions of clans and the nature of the descent groups. 582 621 [171]

The Khasi population consists of a number of *kur*, matrilineal clans, whose members consider themselves to be descended from a common ancestress. The members of the same *kur* have a common 614 • [765] [769]

614 [765] [769] mawlu (grave stone), in which the bones of all the dead members are buried. When the mawlu becomes full, or some members move away to a considerable distance, they provide another branch mawlu, creating a new *kur*.[1] Thus in course of time, every older *kur* intermittently branches off. Every branch *kur* has a different name, but can be grouped into a major *kur* thus forming a distinct exogamous group. Relationships among the minor *kur* of one major *kur* are usually known, or can be ascertained, so that marriages among these members are avoided. When the Khasi express this kind of group consciousness, they use the term *pa* (own people). For outsiders, it is difficult to know through the names of minor *kur* whether *kur* A and *kur* B are of the same group or not.

However, neither clan solidarity nor corporative activities are found among the Khasi, except in those clans which are considered of higher status, and maintain a functional position in the political or religious fields. Such are the Siem of the ruling clan and the Kingdoh of the priest clan, etc. Among commoners like the villagers of Iohkyndoh and Kongtong, the importance of a *kur* is confined to recognizing a common ancestress, with a common mawlu conception, which requires them to maintain a strict exogamous rule. But whether of major or minor *kur*, its members do not meet together or have a common leader. Actually major *kur* of which there are a considerable number all over the Khasi Hills, have no clear-cut geographical distribution. Each is scattered over a wide area, cutting across territory which includes several villages, and mixing with various other *kur*. Indeed, some of them are very widely distributed geographically and found in almost all regions of the Khasi Hills. A minor *kur* is also scattered over many different villages, though it shows more concentration than the major one. Consequently a village may be composed of small segments [621] of more than a dozen different *kur*. Even those small segments of each *kur* found in a single village have little or no sense of kin-group solidarity, unless the members have quite close kinship ties. In many cases, though some members have the same *kur* name, their relationship may be distant, so that they cannot always reconstruct their genealogical relationship. In such a case their behaviour and attitude towards the same *kur* members and towards other *kur* members show no difference.

613 Individuals are not grouped actually under the name of *kur* but in a smaller group of matrilineal descendants from one great-grand-

[764] 1. The Khasi cremate dead bodies; bones and ashes are usually kept in a spot near the youngest sister's house which is the centre of a functional descent group, for many years and finally placed in the mawlu of the *kur*. They say that these bones are to be collected and replaced into the mawlu every hundred years with a great ceremony. However, none of villagers are certain about the year when the last ceremony was held.

another, for which unit the Khasi word kpoh is used. Such a group of matrilineal ties is usually confined to one domestic family or to a group of households, linked by direct extension of a main household. However, even this descent unit is not a single production and consumer unit, though it may act as a religious unit, having common ancestral property. I shall take up this thread again at a later stage of my analysis.

Because of the lack of the functional lineage organization as a corporate unit, the village community becomes the significant unit on a higher level of organization than that of kpoh. This fact is supported by the high tendency to community endogamy which links every household of a village into a unit with considerable cohesion and solidarity. In fact the members of a village community are linked to each other in various ways by affinal or cognatic ties.

Lat 6. Khasi surnames and their Synonyms of Sohkynshah

Khasi surnames	Kur	Synonyms	Kur
1. Kular	Dohoong	Sum	Pnariah
2. Shonglum	Dohoong	Kyr	Kharum
3. U Kular	Pnariah		
4. Ur	Pnariah	Phanngroong	Dkhar
5. Phu	Khongriah	Sor	Dkhar
6. Dwah	Dkhar	Wan	Sohng
7. Sneh	Khongkhor	Dayor	Khongrah
8. Kharmen	Dkhar	Kurkhar	Songlah
9. Chyn	Dkhar	Dayor	Khongrah
10. Jyrkl	Khongkam		
11. Lyn	Khonsoiw	Lang	Sang
12. Mr	Khongsoiw	Kharul	Khongkhor
13. U ml	Khongsoiw		
14. Tyngsi	Khongkhor	Sil	Shrieh
15. Tyngsh	Khongmawgnot	Tib	Pnariah
16. Sing	Khongmawgnot	Kwall	Sohng
17. Phi	Khongsoiw	Phom	Mawjyt
18. Khasin	Pnariah	Sang	Bunor
19. Jop	Sohng	Syndon	Dkhar
20. Khrit	Shrieh	Lah	Khongkhor
21. Pyn	Pnariah	Mon	Khongkhor
22. Kam	Khonshor	Pum	Khongrah
23. Lam	Pnariah	Jam	Khongjaw
24. Shakmul	Khongmawn	Jop	Dkhar
25. Jin	Khongjaw		
26. Jamnud	Khongkam	Jam	Dkhrum
27. Kilo	Dkhar	Mula	Khongkam
28. Phamai	Dkhrum	Rang	Dkhar
29. Jah	Dkhrum	Rahsang	Tyngsong
30. U Jin	Khongkam		
31. Khori	Shrieh	Hang	Khongkam
32. Sor	Kynshah	Jam (26)	Dkhrum

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(Name omitted)	Kin	Spouse	Kin
1. [illegible]	Khongsit	Ban	Khongrish
2. [illegible]	Khongjiow	Bhaba	Majaw
3. [illegible]	Kadiram	Jan	Khongji
4. [illegible]	Khongsit	Khong	Khongdoh
5. [illegible]	Khongsit	Bend	Kadiram
6. [illegible]	Sherah	Kyrem	Khongsit
7. [illegible]	Khongsit	Ohah	Shongsit
8. [illegible]	Dhar	Dakhil	Pyrtuh
9. [illegible]	Khongdoh	Tyne	Pyrtuh
10. [illegible]	Thom	Kup	Khongsiddo
11. [illegible]	Khongsit	Mihin	Khongngain
12. [illegible]	Sherah		
13. [illegible]	Pyrtuh		
14. [illegible]	Kyrmah	Syrdar	Dhar
15. [illegible]	Thom	Shorai	Kyrmah
16. [illegible]	Sherah	Jam	Khongrish

Note: (1) [illegible] and 30 are households the heads of which are men who have no wife or spouse (mother, sister) living with them.
(2) Households of no. 29 and 30 died, and by divorced.
(3) Households of 31 and 32 are the same man (polygynous).

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List 7. Households by kin of individuals named on List 6.

	(Name omitted) Women	Men	Spouses	Total
1. Pyrtuh	8	1	3	11
2. Kadiram	3		3	6
3. Dhar	8		6	11
4. Sherah	5		1	6
5. Pohsong	4		0	4
6. Kung	1		3	4
7. Khongsit	2		3	5
8. Khongsiddo	3	0	0	3
9. Khongdoh	3		3	6
10. Khongnuwrpuil	0		0	0
11. Khongkam	3	1	0	4
12. Khongjiow	0		1	1
13. Khongngain	1		1	2
14. Khongrish	1		3	4
15. Thom	0		0	0
16. Kyrmah	0		1	1
17. Khongjah			1	1
18. Manar			1	1
19. Tyngong			1	1
20. Majaw			1	1
21. Khongji			1	1
Total	43	3	40	86

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

List 6. *Actual descent Links found among House-owners of Sohkynduh.*

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*House-owners**	*Kur*
1. 18-21-23	Prarian
2. 4-45	Prarian
3. 28-29-35	Riahtam
4. 27-40	Dkhar
5. 20-48-44-38	Shrieh
6. 33-30-43	Khongsit
7. 36-37	Khongsit
8. 11-12	Khongsidir
9. 7-22	Khongshei
10. 16-15	Khongmowpat
11. 25-34	Khongjilow
12. 31-46	Kynshah

Note: Figures correspond to that of List 6.

List 9. *House-owners and their Spouses of Kongtow.*

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House-owner	*Kur*	*Spouse*	*Kur*
1. Shra	Pohnong	Ijaw	Khongsit
2. Klur	—	*(Mahalik)	Shabong
3. Pheni	—	*(Skit)	Majaw
4. Rai	—	D(Skit) (3)	—
5. Syen	—	Shynna	Khongsit
6. Khaber	—	*(Irai)	—
7. Shnglam	—	D(Eerun)	Sohkhlet
8. Lphain	—	Juboarai (31, 20)	Majaw
9. Dwn	—	Khain	Riahtam
10. Kyrin	—	*(Ridon)	Sohkhlet
11. U Kynnic	—	D(Jat)	Khongsit
12. Sad	—	Khim	Khongwir
13. Tangkai	Khongsit	*(Kheng)	Myrtong
14. Rihnam	—	*(Mongbah)	Majaw
15. Lim	—	Borsing	Shabong
16. Wah	—	Mrit	Pohphang
17. Latem	—	*(King)	Shabong
18. Langliang	—	Burma	Riahtam
19. Rihamon	—	Swar	Pohnong
20. Mo	—	Juboarai (8, 31)	Majaw
21. Klirt	—	Nobar	—
22. Thaknit	—	D*(Bit)	—
23. U Sabur	—	*(Jing)	Shabong
24. Ipt	—	*(Khyllah)	Khongji
25. Dugar	—	*(Lariang)	Khongrgain
26. Dum	Majaw	Ing	Khongshei
27. Bah	—	Thai	Sohkhlet
28. Hima	—	Shedar	Rangrah

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

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House-owner	Kur	Spouse	Kur
—	—	—	—
29. U Shai	—	Phri	Khongngain
30. Tamsa	—	*(Ramjai)	Pohnong
31. Klum	—	Joit	Khongwir
32. Krip	—	Mok	Buhphang
33. Main	—	Soh	Dkhar
34. Prin	Rangrah	Kber	Shabong
35. Ieh	—	Kdu	—
36. Kynian	—	Hara	Shabong
37. Tiud	—		
38. U Thula	—	Phiri	Lyngdoh
39. Pata	Riahtam	D*(Biria)	Tding
40. Kit	—	Shkor	Pohnong
41. Rimai	—	D*(Piew)	—
42. Rita	—	*(Bhashon)	Kynshah
43. Ribih	—	Shamaliak	Lyngdoh
44. Git	—	Kynhei	Tding
45. Jemjani	Sohkhlet	Skin	Khongji
46. Wum	—	*(Mishon)	Shabong
47. Kror	—	Sho	Khongsit
48. Hori	Shabong	*(Brim)	Rangrah
49. Pho	—	Mlian	Khongji
50. Sho	—	Slam	Khongngain
51. Luguin	—	D*(Niew)	Lyngdoh
52. Rupa	—	Jubongrai (8, 20)	Majaw
53. Kaber	—	*(Rangsi)	Khongsit
54. Kolina	—	Poi	Majaw
55. Lak	Khongji	D*(Khyllah)	Khongshei
56. U Phin	—	*(Synid)	Myntieng
57. Thasi	—	Ten	Shabong
58. Dhaw	—	Dorma	Rangrah
59. Synid	Myntieng	D(Phin, 56)	Khongji
60. Syur	—	Kdek	Khongrymmai
61. Sur	—	*(Baw)	Shabong
62. Bhik	—	D(Lar)	Majaw

Note: 1) * = dead. D = divorced.
2) House-owners of 11, 23, 29, 38 and 56 are men, and the rest are women.
3) Husband of 8, 20 and 52 are the same man (polygynist).

List 10. *Numbers by kur of Individuals named in List 9.*

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Kur	No. of house-owners		No. of spouses		Total
	Women	Men	Men	Women	
—	—	—	—	—	—
1. Pohnong	11	1	4		16
2. Khongsit	12	1	6		19
3. Majaw	7	1	7		15
4. Rangrah	4	1	3		8
5. Riahtam	6		2		8

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

Kur	*No. of house-owners*		*No. of spouses*		*Total*
	Women	*Men*	*Men*	*Women*	
6. Sohkhlet	3		3		6
7. Shabong	7		10		17
8. Khongji	3	1	2	1	7
9. Mynrieng	4		1	1	6
10. Khongwir			2		2
11. Buhphong			2		2
12. Khongngain			3		3
13. Khongshei			2		2
14. Dkhar			1		1
15. Lyngdoh			2		3
16. Tdiing			2		2
17. Kynshah			1		1
18. Khongrymmai			1		1
Total	37	3	34	3	119

List 11. *Actual Descent Links found among House-owners of Kongton.*

House-owners	*Kur*
1. 1-7	Pohsong
2. 2-3-12	Pohnong
3. 13-18	Khongsit
4. 14-15	Khongsit
5. 17-25	Khongsit
6. 19-20	Khongsit
7. 23-24	Khongsit
8. 26-29-33	Majaw
9. 27-28	Majaw
10. 31-32	Majaw
11. 36-38	Rangrah
12. 40-44	Riahtam
13. 42-43	Riahtam
14. 45-46-47	Sohkhlet
15. 48-49-54	Shabong
16. 59-60-61	Mynrieng

Note: Numbers correspond to that of List 9.

The data I collected in Sohkynduh and Kongton show that the number of households that can be included in a single descent group (actual kinship ties through female members) is strikingly small, as shown in List 8 (Sohkynduh) and List 11 (Kongton). The maximum number of households belonging to a recognizable descent group was four, and mostly two. Many households (19 households of Sohkynduh; 25 households of Kongton) which did not appear in List 8 and List 11,

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

613 formed independent descent groups by individual households, for
614 which no traceable genealogical relation with any other descent groups
621 could be established, though some of them belonged to the same *kur*. In Sohkynduh, the total 48 households were divided into 16 *kur* (according to the house-owner), and in Kongton, the total 62 households were divided into 9 *kur*, while the number of actual descent groups amount to 31 in Sohkynduh and 41 in Kongton.

166 This fact, I presumed, indicated a considerable mobility of the
178 population of each village community. Hence, I tried my best to
613 reconstruct the historical alignments of these descent groups, both
614 from my genealogical data and with the help of the villagers' memory. The result showed that the mobility of the population over the last fifty years had been surprisingly great and complex. In Sohkynduh,
621 the Praian clan seems to be the oldest inhabitants of this village with 16 *kur* segments. Next came a family of the Ksing. The third wave was a family of Khonglam, and the fourth, Siem Lyngngoh which I mentioned previously (p. 104). The next were families of the Kynshah, many members of which had left for Nonprian village after a few years. The sixth wave was the Srieh family. All the above movements took place before the great earthquake of 1897 which shook Assam. After 1897 the movements became more intense and complicated, and involved many families of various *kur*. The villagers could not remember the order in which they came: there has been continual coming and going even up to now. At present, the Prarian, the Ksing, the Khonglam, the Kynshah and the Dkhar are the older among the 16 *kur*. However, such migrations concern usually a single family only, not a group of *kur*, and that is the typical pattern of Khasi migration. Hence, families which have the same *kur* name do not always indicate the same movements. The incentive for such migration seems to be to get land better appropriated to one's economic condition. Particularly, as I have already mentioned elsewhere (p. 105), the shortage of land seems to encourage families of elder sisters who have no share of property, to move to other areas and look for land.

Thus, many households which make up the present village are minor segments of different *kur*, or of the same *kur*, but they can hardly trace their genealogical relations to one another. A migration to a new village was not undertaken at random; it was mostly as a result of information received from neighbouring villages, or from those where friends or relatives had already settled in. Several neigh-
178 bouring villages usually dispose of more than one common market
613 where they can exchange information and developed friendships over
614 trading. The matrilineal kinship relation is no more important a
621 factor than any of the others mentioned above. Among the Khasi,

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

the matrilineal descent group has a distinguished function only when there is common residence and common property. 178

In Kongton, among 9 different *kur* (List 10), Pohnong and Khonsit accounted for the majority of the population, while the rest, seven *kur*, were more or less of equal size. On the whole the population seemed more stable than that of Sohkynduh. However, as in Sohkynduh, actual descent groups amounted to 41, many of which have the same *kur* name but could not always establish genealogical relationship with one another; nor was there any functional cohesion. I failed to reconstruct the history of the formation of these descent groups: the villagers had no memory of their past except very fragmentary information which was quite insufficient to account for their present composition. They only insisted this was a very old village in comparison with Sohkynduh and other neighbouring villages. 613 614 621 [182]

While I was struggling with the villagers' scant accounts of their past and fragmented kinship relations among the present households, I was struck by the poorness of the villagers' genealogical memory in comparison with that of the Garo. Suppose A, B and C, who belonged to the same property-holding descent group three generations back: A and B being sisters and C being B's daughter. If B, including her descendants, moved away from the village two generations back, the present generation of A's and C's descendants would easily lose contact and knowledge of their genealogical relationship. This fact, on the other hand, illustrates some important aspects of the Khasi social structure: the kinship relation—matrilineal descent link—is not a significant factor beyond the scale of the household (property-holding descent group), and locality is more important than matrilineal descent for the formation of the Khasi community. Through the predominant practice of endogamy on the level of the village, the small segments (found on a level of a household or a group of a few households) of various different *kur* clustered in a village are linked by affinal relations each other, by which altogether form a well knit social organization of a village community. The cohesion and solidarity of the Khasi village community is strengthened by the local endogamy not by the localized lineage organization. 182 613 621

In fact, in contrast with the rather loose kinship relations which link different households, the affinal relations link almost every households in the village, as shown in Fig. 10. The lines, ———, indicate marriage relations between living members of households, and the lines, - - - - -, indicate affinal relations established through dead members of present households or through spouses' kinship relations at Sohkynduh, as in November 1955. In this way, except for one household (24), members of a single household are all linked together through affinal or cognatic ties. In some cases, the affinal relations between 602 621

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

601 term *mama* for mother's brother designates as well mother's mother's
[171] brother. 3) Terms for mother's sister *(kmie)* and father's sister *(ñia)* are different; and, needless to say, father's brother is called *kpa*, not *kāiʔ*. 4) Mother's mother *(mcirad)* is differentiated from father's mother *(mcikha)*, though the grandfathers on both sides are termed *parad*.

582 As regards cross-cousin marriage, which, as we have seen, was an
601 essential part of Garo social structure, the Khasi have no institutional
[171] arrangements. The cross-cousin distinction is indeed found in the Khasi kinship terminology. Among those who are called *para* (sibling), an additional term is applied to cross-cousins (both matrilateral and patrilateral). They are called *bakha*. However, this additional cross-cousin term should not be considered as indicating a preference
[171] for cross-cousin marriage. This is structurally different from that of the Iroquois type discussed in terms of Garo kinship terminology, in which a prescrived cross-cousin marriage is involved. The term *para* (sibling) is more often used for them than *bakha*.[1] Actually, among the Khasi there is no preference for cross-cousin marriage; indeed there are even indications to the contrary, in that marriage with the mother's brother's daughter is not allowed during the life-time of the maternal uncle. In the same way, marriage with the father's sister's daughter is not allowed during the life-time of the father.

582 In fact, the Khasi have numerous prohibitions of marriages between near kin on both paternal as well as maternal sides. The first and second parallel cousins are avoided. Those related to father within three generations are avoided. Within such a framework of marriage prohibitions, the use of a special additional term for cross-cousins is an indication of marriageable relatives within the framework of prohibition. This should not be considered to indicate a marriageable member in an active sense or a preference for cross-cousin marriage.

However, such marriages do sometimes appear in my census; for example, a man may have married a woman who is the sister of his brother's wife, or of his sister's husband. Thus sometimes between two descent groups there are more than two exchanges of men. But such relations are temporary and would terminate after one or two generations. There is no structural continuity. My censuses of four
582 Khasi villages do show some tendency to marriages between two
• 614 specific *kur*, but I consider this to be largely accidental. When the choice of an individual is random, but one or two *kur* are larger than the others, it will naturally follow that there will be a high frequency

[171] 1. Such use of the dual terminology is also found among the Zuni and the Trukese, (see the discussion, in pp. 154-155).

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

of marriages between these two *kur*. Such marriage arrangements cannot be regarded as constituting a cross-cousin institution. From my data of four villages it was not possible to produce any institutionalized pattern. 582 614

In general, the selection of a marital partner depends mainly on personal choice, though the authority of the *iing* (descent group) and parents should be consulted. The man proposes to the girl. The network of marriage relations among the Khasi seems in no way to follow any set principle. Every marriage is likely to be fortuitous: it is ruled simply by temporary personal liking, except for the strict rule of exogamy and the avoidance of near kin.

Exogamy is strictly kept. In the olden days breaking this rule was equivalent to being sentenced to death. Offenders had their heads shaved in a particular way and had to leave the Khasi community completely. Even now such a marriage is considered as the worst kind of sin; a Khasi Christian intellectual said to me that it was worse than homicide. I came across one couple who had broken this rule. Though they had different *kur* names, both *kur* were segments of one common *kur*. It happened in Jatinga, one of the most modern Khasi communities whose inhabitants were all Christians. The couple were not allowed to have their house inside the village. Their house was in the jungle about one mile away from the village. 178 582 614 684

Successive sororate marriage—marriage to a younger sister of the late wife—is practised, since it justifies the widower in remaining in the same household as his children after his wife's death. Otherwise, the Khasi rule demands that he should leave the house and his children in order to remarry another woman. We shall deal with this aspect again in terms of marriage. 587

II. Principle of Descent and Succession

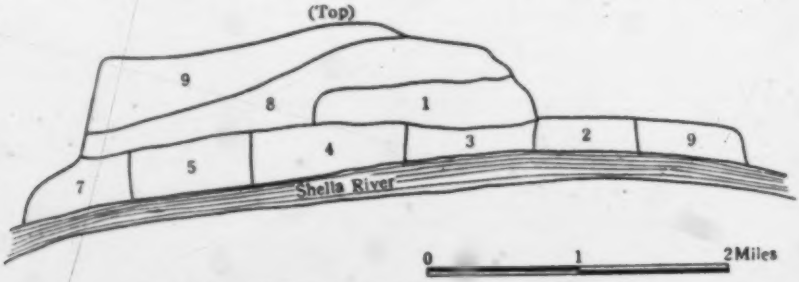
Previously I have mentioned the *kpoh*, the matrilineal kin group with a common great grandmother. This is not, however, an institutional corporate descent group. The most important functional descent unit is called *iing*. The *iing* is the lowest order of clan segmentation, smaller than the *kpoh*—a *kpoh* may include two or more *iing*. The generation depth of an *iing* is usually two to four, in some cases an *iing* is formed only by mother and child. The Khasi consider this unit to be the most important social index for the classification of individuals. Marriages are arranged by individual *iing*, not by wider groups of kinsmen. The *iing* is the structurally significant norm. The term *iing* is also used for a house building itself, as is the *nok* of the Garo. However, the membership of the *iing*, as I shall 613

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

[Shella]

621 (7) Mawrongkhong, (8) Rynsong-kanor, and (9) Sholap, as shown in Map 9.
103 In Shella village the number of households in each section ranges between 10
and 80. Such a section is called *kher*, and was supposed to be the site of house-
614 holds of segments of every *kur* (clan). It seems that Shella village was once
621 composed of nine different *kur* which could intermarry with each other. However,
nowadays, each section, as appeared in my census, has nothing to do with the
178 *kur* as such; it is simply a geographical section. According to the information
which I gathered, there had been a tendency for the same *kur* people to gather
731 within the section, before the great earthquake in 1897 brought considerable

[102]



MAP 9. — *Distribution of Sections in Shella Village.*

damages and death to this area: many of them left the village at the time and many houses changed their sites in the village when they were reconstructed.
614 For instance, the composition of Jasir section in January 1956 was as follows:
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Name of kur	*Number of houses*	*Name of kur*	*Number of houses*
1. Yuchyne	7	9. Lyngdoh	1
2. Iunei	4	10. Riang	1
3. Lorit	4	11. Nongtathiang	1
4. Synren	3	12. Loki	1
5. Ksaieng	3	13. Kanto	1
6. Nongbri	3	14. Kanti	1
7. Siem	2	15. Khelwa	1
8. Iunoi	2	16. ?	5
		Total	40

178 The people said that in Jasir, the Yuchyne was the most influential *kur*,
and must have been the original *kur* in this section. However, no clan solidarity
621 could be observed. These seven households were socially and economically
quite independent of each other, as are all other households. As a whole, the
614 importance of *kur* diminished a great deal in this village. Five households in
Jasir were reluctant to mention their *kur*; some of them did not care about
their *kur*; others were not themselves certain to which *kur* they belonged. The
kur is losing its function to a great extent. This can be ascribed to the high
degree of sophistication and mobility. However, except for one Siem woman
who came from the uplands and married a man of this village, all 15 *kur* mention-
ed above are local clans frequently found within the Shella Confederacy. In
621 this area also community endogamy was predominant. Perhaps the Shella

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

621 [Jatinga]

[175] This village was founded in 1905 by Khasi immigrants from the Jaintia Hills. At the entrance of the village, a bust of the founder, Lakhanbang Suchiang, stands facing towards the east; it was erected on the occasion of the celebration of their Golden jubilee, in November 1955. Houses are scattered along the ridge of the moutain to the east and to the west; in the centre is the church. All the inhabitants are Christians. Before the Partition this was one of the most modern and prosperous villages in Assam.

[101] [211] [346] [771]

101 Jatinga provides a very interesting instance of the Khasi 'colonial' village. It is surrounded by villages of the Kuki, of the Zemi-Naga, and of the Cacharee, who constitute the main population of the North Cachar Hills, and who are tribes entirely different from the Khasi, in economy, social organization, language and culture. Therefore, Jatinga is like an island of Khasi community. I took this village as one of my fields, because I was particularly interested to discover how far the Khasi matrilineal organization is kept up in a community thus situated, surrounded by patrilineal tribes, and considerably modernized by Christianization and economic prosperity; and I was also interested in the process of formation of a new village, in comparison with Rinsibara and Joshipara in the Garo Hills.

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Formation of the Present Population of Jatinga.

The first immigrants to Jatinga.

101 The main population of Jatinga, including the founder, originated in Bataw village in the Jaintia Hills, twelve miles away from Jaintiapur, the capital of the then Jaintia Rajas. This village is situated on the border of the Jaintia Hills and the East Bengal plain, the location being very similar to that of Shella, as are their culture and economy. In the later part of the nineteenth century, some members of Bataw village moved to Borkhala, ten miles from Silchar, one of the biggest villages of the then Cacharee king.

166 175 621

These immigrants who came to Borkhala stayed there about fifteen years before they came to Jatinga. Kloribon, the first daughter of the founder's sister was born there. In November 1905, some Christian Khasi left Borkhala for Jatinga, acting on information gathered from a Welsh Mission at Haflong, that the land of present Jatinga was fertile and fit for their cultivation. They were the first immigrants to Jatinga. The Government record names the following three persons as the first immigrants to Jatinga: Suchiang Lakhanbang, Tariang, and Suchen Munik. In fact, according to the data which I collected at Jatinga, Suchiang Lakhanbang was accompanied by the following persons (the names in brackets indicate the clans):

166 551 • 614

621 his wife, Misibon (Phanwar),[1]
175 his brother, Pryntah, and Pryntah's wife, Sintu (Rupsi),
his sister, Laptho, and Laptho's husband, Munik (Suchen) with their daughter, Kloribon, and Munik's younger brother, Sain.
his friend, Tariang.

Soon after their settlement, Sain, the brother of Munik, brought his wife Tahin (Suiam) from Jaintia. Misibon brought her younger sister, Diasibon. Tariang who came with Lakhanbang afterwards called his wife, Palong. But having spent some time there, they left eventually for another place, so that

1. Misibon was a native of the Cherrapunjee area of the Khasi Hills (not of Jaintia like the others). She was a school teacher at Cherrapunjee, and later became a teacher at a school near Jaintiapur, where she married Lakhanbang.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

there are none of their descendants in Jatinga. Summing up, the first party who settled at Jatinga was composed of people of the following five clans: 166 551

1. Suchiang — Lakhanlang, his sister, Laptho, and her daughter, Kloribon, his brotler, Pryntah. 614
2. Suchen — Munik and his younger brother, Sain. 621
3. Phanwar — Misibon and her younger sister, Diasibon. 175
4. Rupsi — Sintu, the wife of Pryntah.
5. Suiam — Tahin, the wife of Sain.

Among them, Suchen hai no female member. Phanwar had no successor: Misibon had no issue and Diasibon did not marry. Therefore, Suchiang, Rupsi and Suiam are the oldest clans in present Jatinga. Suchiang and Rupsi especially are the dominant and richest groups among the present population.

This was the time when the railway from Gauhati to Silchar was being constructed. Some Khasi labourers were working at Haflong on the construction of the railway. After the foundation of Jatinga, these Khasi workers established marriage relations with the Khasi of Jatinga, and finally, upon completion of the railway, many of them became the inhabitants of Jatinga. The present members of the Dome and Siangshai clans are the descendants of these people, and they form a considerable number of the present inhabitants of Jatinga. Besides then, there were a few other Khasi at Haflong who were engaged in trading business. In the course of time, they also had marital relations with Jatinga people and came to Jatinga. 166 175 458 621 [499] [464]

After five years had dapsed they found that in spite of their hard work the land was not favourable to them. Many of them left Jatinga. This was the hardest period of Jatinga history.

The second migration (1919-1925).

The railway which once had been blocked was reopened in 1919. The people who had left Jatinga cane back to settle there. This time the circumstances seemed to them quite favourable. The pan trees which they had planted earlier were growing and they could gather considerable produce. The village grew bigger around 1920 as a result of new immigrants from Jaintia; most of them were people from Eataw, the village of the founder. In this period, many immigrants came from Jaintia not only to Jatinga but also to Sylhet, Borkhala and other places outside the Khasi-Jaintia Hills. It seems that by this time the over-populated Jaintia realised that these areas were favourable for their new home. However, the successive waves of Jaintia immigrants to Jatinga ceased by 1925, its population having reached saturation point. [499] [245]

Orange production brought economic prosperity to the people of Jatinga. Wealthy villagers employed temporary labourers from the Jaintia Hills every year. Some of these labourers came with their families and others came individually. During their stay at Jatinga, some of them married and settled there. Hence, there are also descendants of such labourers among the present inhabitants of Jatinga. [245] [464]

Some Aspects of Descent Groups.

Throughout the history of Jatinga, immigrations have always been undertaken by a family (elementary family, siblings) or by an individual, but never by a group of clan members. Therefore, the present population is grouped in small descent groups according to each migration. Though some of them happened to have the same clan name, their history of migration and their 621 [175] [614] [166]

clothing, operate the large Khasi business establishments in Shillong, and provide all civic and religious leadership. Women care for children and for the home, do the marketing, and sell dried fish, betel nut, lime, fruits, and rice breads at markets. Other tasks can be performed by either sex. **Land tenure.** Land was formerly divided into sib land and public domain. Sib land was corporately held in perpetuity, and was inalienable except by the unanimous consent of all members of the sib. The public domain was subject to usufructuary right by anyone who kept the land regularly under habitation or cultivation, with a lapse of no more than three years. Most villages grew up on public domain, and then reckoned all land inhabited or under cultivation by a village member as village land. Forests were public, except for sacred groves possessed by villages or lineage groups, and everyone was free to gather branches for fuel. Wastelands and streams were also public. By now, most public domain and village land, together with its forest cover, has been pre-empted as private property and is being rented and sold as such. Sib lands remain intact, unless the sibs agree to rent, lease, or sell. [Cf. Cantlie 1934.]

462 294 443 622 423 [78]

KIN GROUPS. **Descent.** Descent is matrilineal, and the Khasi is a member exclusively of his own matrilineage from birth to death. Adoption, which is very rare, is only within the matrilineage. **Kin groups.** The maximal matrilineage is the sib, this is a named, widely dispersed, strictly exogamous, lineage group, which claims but cannot trace its origin from a single ancestress. Sibs used to meet as corporate groups from time to time. Some sibs are linked with others in large amorphous groups that are unnamed and are defined solely by exogamy. Such a group is composed of two or more sibs, the ancestresses of which are claimed to have been either real sisters or dear friends who out of affection declared that thenceforth their descendants would be as consanguineals. The origin and function of sib-linkage is now unknown, and today the members of a sib will often disagree on whether or not their sib is linked with another. • The minimal matrilineage is the local descent group, or *iing*. This is the largest kin group that normally rallies at life crises. It is said that the *iing* formerly spanned six generations; today, it encompasses only four. If an *iing* grows to more than four generations in a single village, it segments. New houses are located at some distance from the old and the *iing* soon forgets exactly how to trace genealogical connection, except for which segment descended from a youngest sister. The term *iing* may also be applied to an extended family, an elementary family, and a house. The elementary family is the basic domestic unit in Khasi society. In any village there are likely to be one or two households which stand as sole local representatives of the lineage of the female household head. Such a household is known as an

611 [597] 614 602 [59]

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

593 wedlock goes to the wife and becomes her property; but all other
428 property is inalienable, and reverts to his family, as also does his corpse after death.

771 'RELIGION.—The religion of the Khásiás is demon-worship, or a jumble of enchantments muttered by priests who are sorcerers. They invoke evil spirits as the deputies of God and the instruments
775 of His pleasure or displeasure. The Khásiás believe in metempsychosis, or the transmigration of souls. After death, human beings are transformed into monkeys, crabs, tortoises, frogs, etc. Though a future state is not denied, it is treated with absolute indifference, as beyond the sphere of responsibility; all rites, ceremonies, and observances bear reference to the welfare of mankind in this world. The spirits of their departed relatives and ancestors are invoked only in so far as they are considered to influence and have power
764 over the present life. The Khásiás burn their dead, and collect the ashes into urns, which are kept under a slab raised on four others enclosing a space. These monuments are of various kinds and sizes —one for individuals, another for a family, and another for a whole
614 clan. There is no caste system, but each clan is called after some object of nature, as the Oak clan, the Crab clan, etc., and these names entail certain restrictions beyond which intermarriage is
771 forbidden. The Khási religion may be briefly described as the practice of forms to cure diseases, and to avert misfortunes of all kinds, by means of ascertaining the name of the demon who is the author of the evil, and the kind of sacrifice necessary to appease it.

797 'CHRISTIANITY.—The Welsh Mission has been labouring amongst the Khásiás and Syntengs for thirty-two years. The Christians number about 1000 [according to the Census of 1872, the total number of native converts in the District is only 85]. There are four central stations—Cherrá, Shellá, Shillong, and Jowái —and twenty-three churches. Translations of the whole of the New Testament, and a portion of the Old, are now (1876) going to press, besides other religious books.

197 'LANGUAGE.—The definitions generally given of monosyllabic languages are far from adequate to enable us to assign to the
193 Khási tongue its position amongst the Indo-Chinese family of speech. Still, in the absence of a better terminology, it may be described as monosyllabic in the agglutinative stage. The monosyllabic element greatly predominates. By far the larger number of the compounds are mere agglutinations (in a modified

21: Ehrenfels E-4,5 (1950) 1953 AR7 Khasi AR7

namely that male members of a matrilineal clan enjoy, among Khasi as among other matrilineal groups in India, a position which, far from unenviable, is a very high one in itself and doubly fortified by the respect which to the same male family member is being shown (*a*) in his capacity as the father of his children in his wife's clan (comp. term 8 of the list), and (*b*) in that of the maternal uncle (comp. terms 14, 14/*a*, 14/*b* and 26 and 28). 601 602

The terms 33/*b*, *c*, *g*, *h*, have classificatory character. 601

The term 33/*e* — *u kong* for the husband's older sister's husband is one of the exceptions of the rule that *kong* generally signifies an honoured older female relative but, as in this case, also her husband (comp. term 26).

Term 36/*a* *u pa* (father) in its usage among Pnár (Jaintia), also for stepfather is significant. A Pnár child has no legal clan-relationsihp with his/her biological father, who belongs to another (matrilineal) clan than the child and mother. Yet the honorific term *pa* is, among Pnár, also applied to a stepfather, although neither legal, nor biological but merely ideological relationship via the mother, exists between stepfather and -child. This use of the word *pa* thus seems to emphasize both, firstly the integration of the matrilineal family structure, by making an unrelated stepfather to be looked upon as father, owing to his relationship with Ego's mother and, secondly the important sociological and psychological position of the father in this matrilineal family structure which appears to go back to an old tradition among the Pnár. 601 593 [614]

Term 41 — *para 'rieu lum* [33] (Assamese hill tribals) are characteristically termed *para* (Brethren), although they are different in many respects, from the Khasi, yet considered as definitely nearer related than all other neighbours, grouped under the 601

Term 43 — *dkhar* (plainspeople) [34], — a term which varies in emotional content from contempt pure and simple to an attitude, somewhat parallel to what ordinary English usage would generally associate with the expression "continental". Marriages of Khasi girls and boys with *dkhar* do occur, though infinitely rarer than marriages of (especially educated) Khasi girls with (educated) *para 'rieu lum*, Nepalese, Gurkha or Chinese boys. One of the reasons which is usually being given for this preference for non-Indians is by no means colour-prejudice, but the taboo on either beef or pork which most *dkhar ïong* [35] (Indians, Hindus or Muslims, respectively) observe; a taboo which they generally extend to their Khasi wives, thus preventing them from enjoying two favourite Khasi national dishes. Another more psychological reason is the overbearing treatment of wives, which is generally ascribed to *dkhar ïong*, more even than to *dkhar li* [36]. It is in this connection 601 582

[33] Literally: Brethren Humans Hill.

[34] With Dkhar are here meant the plainspeople as such; — not the Khasi Dkhar (or Khar) clans which are mostly, if not always, descended from ancestresses who had been captured in the plains and brought to the Khasi Hills; comp. CHATTOPADHYAY (1941), pp. 30/31 and EHRENFELS (1950/*A*), pp. 33/34. [101]

[35] Literally: Plainspeople black.

[36] Literally: Plainspeople white.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The homeland of the Khasi is the hilly country situated in the 101
northeast of India and known at present as the District of United Khasi and Jaintia Hills, under the Assam State Government. The area is bounded by the plains of the Kamrup and the Nowgong Districts to the north, by the Cachar Hills and East Pakistan (District of Sylhet) to the south, and by the United Mikir and North Cachar Hills Districts to the east. The Khasi and Jaintia Hills are divided [634]
politically into two subdivisions, with headquarters at Shillong for the Khasi Hills, and at Jowai for the Jaintia Hills, respectively. The peoples of both subdivisions are called "Khasi" in a broad sense, and are distinctly marked off from other neighbouring tribes and peoples by language and social structure. The population of the 161
Khasi in the District is 363,599 *(Census of India, 1951, Assam)*. Their language belongs to one of the Mon group of the Austro-Asiatic family 197
to which the Munda in central India also belongs.[1]

Though all Khasis share fundamentally the same language and 619
social structure, their culture, dialects, economy, social usage, and 101
political organization vary greatly, owing to the ecological and politico-historical differences among them. The United Khasi and Jaintia Hills are much higher than the neighbouring Garo Hills. The plateau 133
of the Khasi Hills ranges from about 5,000 feet to 6,000 feet, of which 137

1. The *Census of India, 1951, Assam*, makes the following remarks on their language: "Their nearest kinsmen have been discovered to be the Palaungs, a tribe inhabiting one of the Shan States to the northeast of Mandalay on the middle Salween. Later the relationship of the Khasi language has been traced not only to the Mon-Khmer language, but also to the Nicobarese and several dialects spoken by some tribes in the Malay Peninsula. In Assam, this special form of speech is only found in the Khasi and Jaintias while nearly all the other primitive languages with which it is surrounded belong to the great Bodo family. The Khasi language is the only member of the Mon-Khmer family which possesses a grammatical gender distinguishing all nouns as masculine and feminine, and here also the feminine nouns immensely preponderate."

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

133 the highest point is the Shillong Peak, 6,445 feet, covered with scrub,
137 grassland and forests (mostly oak, rhododendron and pine trees). The Jaintia Hills are considerably lower, with much flat land; wet paddy cultivation is practised here and there where sufficient water is available. From the plateau of the Khasi Hills northwards to the Assam Brahmaputra Valley there is a gentle slope covered with thick jungle, and the southern slope towards the Bengal plain is very steep, so that

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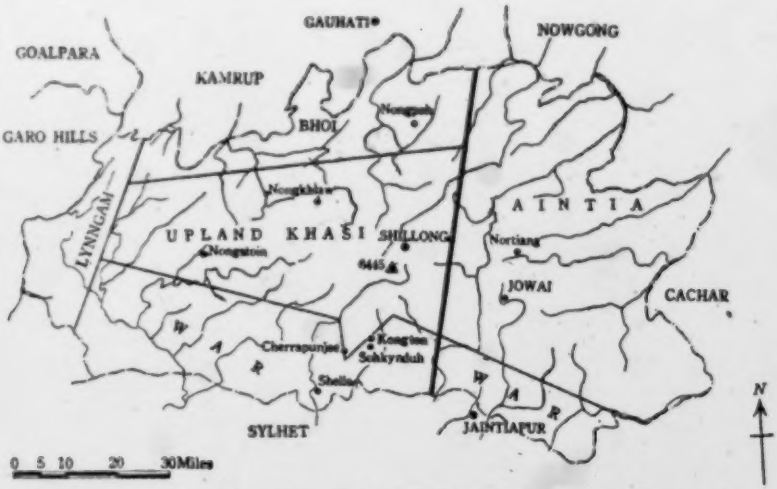

MAP. 8. — *Map of the Khasi-Jaintia Hills with Classification of Groups.*

133 the upland remained practically cut off from the plains until the
137 middle of the 19th century.

Following the geographical and ecological differences, the five
619 groups are segregated into fairly well-defined cultural areas, each
[131] developing a different economy and dialect:
[24]

1. The Jaintia[1] — associated mostly with wet rice cultivation.
2. The Khasi (upland Khasi) — practise potato cultivation with small-scale rice and maize cultivation.
3. The War — inhabit the southern slope of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills (they are called geographically the Khasi War and the Jaintia War). Due to the heavy rainfall, the soil is the most fertile in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills. The Khasi War practise jhuming of which the main yield is millet. In the lower part of this area, pan-leaf, betel-nut, and orange gardens are cultivated. The Jaintia War practise wet rice cultivation like most of the Jaintias, as well as pan-leaf cultivation.

1. They are called also the Synteng or the Pnar.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

4. The Bhoi — occupy the northern slopes of the Khasi Hills, covered with thick semi-tropical forests; they practise jhum cultivation. 619

5. The Lynngam — inhabit the western border of the Khasi Hills, near the Garo Hills. They are said to be half-Khasi and half-Garo. Their economy is similar to that of the Bhoi.

These ecological and geographical differences correspond also to 175
politico-historical differences. From the 16th century to 1835, eve
of the annexation of the Jaintia Hills to the Khasi Hills under the 648
British administration, the people of the Jaintia Hills formed part of the Hindu Jaintia kingdom, whose capital was Jaintiapur, on the border of the present East Pakistan and of the Jaintia Hills. The capital, at one time, was moved to Nortiang near Jowai in the heart of the Jaintia Hills. The Jaintia Hills were administrated by twelve governors. Such a highly developed economic system as based on wet rice cultivation, must have helped a great deal in forming a kingdom adjoining the plain. Through the common economy and political organization with the Hindus of the plain, the Hindu civilization of the Bengal plain penetrated deeply among the Jaintias, who are matrilineal hill dwellers.

On the other hand, the Khasi Hills have remained outside the histories of either Assam or Bengal. They were governed by a number of petty native chiefs: there were twenty-five chiefs ruling the Khasi Hills when the British colonial administration was established there. Most of these chiefs belonged to the Siem clan. The history of the Khasi Hills had been shrouded in darkness till the beginning of the 19th century, except for fragmentary stories such as Khasi raids on the Sylhet people.

The development of the upland Khasi Hills started with the estab- 178
lishment of its headquarters at Shillong in 1874. Since then the 648
features of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills have changed a great deal. 797
What was once a small Khasi hamlet, untouched by the light of history, has become nowadays a busy modern town where many Khasi intellectuals live, mixing with various outsiders who are engaged in official work or in business. The British administration opened the way to missionary activities, especially that of the Welsh Calvinist Methodists who set up a mission in the Hills in 1841, almost at the same time as British political influence began to make itself felt in the Khasi Hills. Along with the political penetration from Cherrapunjee [871]
(1833) to Shillong, missionaries established many institutions, includ- [743]
ing churches, schools and hospitals, etc. Christian education, bringing with it the promise of clerical positions, attracted young Khasi a great deal; and the majority of the upland Khasi have been converted to Christianity. They have become the modern intellectuals of their people.

1903-28: 2; Bareh 1962.] **Demography.** According to the 1951 census of India, the United Khasi–Jaintia Hills District contained 221,982 Khasis and 67,532 Syntengs, Pnars, and Jaintias (India [Republic] 1952-57). These figures, together with those for Khasis enumerated in Cachar (4,005), Mikir and North Cachar Hills (467), Lakhimpur (287), Sibsagar (276), and Darrang (211) districts, and those for Syntengs enumerated in Mikir and North Cachar District (464), yield a total of 295,224 Khasis. **History and cultural relations.** Khasis believe that they had supernatural origin in Khasi Hills (see Gait 1926: 260 for historical evidence, and Rafy 1920: 8-9 for myth, but see also Costa 1958, 1960; Gurdon 1907: 10-11; and Chatterji 1953: 12). Khasi tradition also states that in early times they moved gradually from east to west, from Jaintia toward Khasi Hills, in the practice of swidden agriculture (Gatphoh 1947: 97-98). The salient fact of known Khasi history, which begins generally in the mid-sixteenth century A.D. when there already existed the present-day 25 native Khasi chiefdoms, is the distinctive line of development followed by the separate kingdom of Jaintia. To the north, Jaintia was successively tributary, in part or in whole, to the Kachari kingdom (ca. 1230 A.D.), the Koch kingdom (strongest ca. 1560 A.D.), and the Ahom kingdom (strongest ca. 1700 A.D.) (Shakespear 1914: Map I). To the south, about 1500 A.D., Jaintia extended its rule over a tract of Sylhet, which was populated by Hindus and Muslims, and saw its kings fall thereafter under Brahman influence. In the early 1800s, Jaintia became involved in the fratricidal strife then prevalent in the ruling family of Manipur. In 1835, after the Jaintia king ignored British warnings not to seize British subjects for human sacrifice, Jaintia was punished by the British annexation of the Jaintia parganas in Sylhet. The Jaintia king then voluntarily turned over to the British the hills area of his domain, so that the whole of Jaintia became part of British India and, in 1860, came to be taxed as such, although the Jaintias were otherwise allowed to maintain their traditional system of village government. • By contrast, the remaining Khasi states had few formal external relations until British times. Khasis raided and traded in both the Brahmaputra and Sylhet valleys, but were basically turned inward on their own hills, where warfare between villages and between the states was apparently common. Khasis came into indirect relation with the British in 1765, when Sylhet and its markets became part of British India. In the 1790s, stepped-up Khasi raids into Sylhet caused the British to throw up a deterring line of forts along the foothills. Later, it became necessary to place an embargo on Khasi products in the Sylhet markets. In 1827, the British penetrated into western Khasi Hills by negotiating with the Khasi chief of Nongkhlaw State to build a road through his territory, linking the recently annexed Brahmaputra valley with Calcutta. For three decades

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thereafter, the British negotiated treaties with all the Khasi states, the last treaty being signed in 1862. It was contracted that the chiefs would be subject to the authority of a resident political agent, whose duties would involve maintaining law and order, judging cases of heinous crimes, approving the popular selection of any new chief, and exercising control over certain categories of natural resources. Khasis were guaranteed noninterference in their customary way of life, and they were not then, nor are they now, taxed. Most Khasis, as opposed to Jaintias, were never an integral part of British India, but they did undergo social change as a result of British presence. To summarize Mills (n.d.): (1) The British introduced the potato, which the Khasis rapidly took up as a cash crop for marketing as far as Calcutta. The intensive specialization exhausted the soil and made for ever-poorer crops. (2) Christian missionaries made large numbers of converts, and there arose the difficult question of whether a Christian should inherit property that traditionally was remarked for her performance of non-Christian religious rituals. (3) About 1864 the British transferred their headquarters from Cherrapunji to Shillong. When they made Shillong the capital of the entire state of Assam, non-Khasis flocked to it, land values soared, and the concept of private property became increasingly important. Khasis began to marry with members of other ethnic groups, which introduced confusion into traditional social patterns. These problems were exacerbated during World War II, when Shillong and its environs enjoyed enormous economic prosperity. One notable aftermath of this affluence has been the accelerated enrollments in schools and colleges. Hundreds of Khasis now have the B.A., M.A., and even the Ph.D. degree. • With the Independence of India in 1947, and under the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India (which was drafted by a Khasi), the United Khasi–Jaintia Hills District became a Part B, or Autonomous, Tribal Area, to be governed by a District Council composed largely of Khasis and Jaintias, and responsible not to the Legislature of Assam, but to the Governor of Assam as agent of the President of India. The native-state system and the chiefs still exist, and the District Council finds it difficult to effect legislation which is neither offensive to regional custom nor a simple blueprint of ill-fitting all-India legislation. The major political schism at this time is between Jaintias, who are accustomed to centralized authority and taxation, and Khasis, who resist the notion of taxation to support the work of a central District Council. [Cf. Gait 1926; Aitchison 1931; Bhuyan 1949; Morris 1910.]

175 619• 648 [726] [651] [177] 177 648 649 639 134 797 428 635 633 167 563 423 [973] 648 642 [651] [563] [113]

SETTLEMENT PATTERN AND HOUSING. **Settlement pattern.** Khasis live sedentarily in named, nucleated, and unplanned villages which are situated just below hill summits to avoid strong winds but still be defensible, and which usually include a de-

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says that the MoBrCh but not the FaSiCh is prohibited (1897: 2), but Gurdon says that the MoBrCh is eligible after the death of MoBr, and that FaSiCh is eligible after the death of Fa (1907: 78). Nowadays both types of marriage occur, whether the linking relative is living or dead. **Residence.** Residence is either duolocal or matrilocal under the roof of the wife's mother until the birth of one or two children. For a man married to a youngest daughter, it then continues to be matrilocal. For men married to other daughters, it becomes uxorilocal; there have also always been cases of virilocal residence, and it is now common to find neolocal residence in Shillong. For non-Christian Jaintias, it is duolocal throughout the marriage. **Domestic unit.** The domestic unit is the elementary family, though for a youngest daughter it may temporarily include also her aged mother, aged father, unmarried siblings, or divorced or widowed brothers. **Inheritance.** Traditionally, after the Khasi mother had helped each of her daughters to build and supply a house when each one married and had children, her only real obligation to help them economically was ended. Everything she possessed, excepting certain personalty that was destroyed in her cremation, was inherited by her youngest daughter. Failing daughters, a woman's property reverted to her next youngest sister's daughter. Today, this pattern is often modified by putting more property into the hands of older daughters and even sons. [Cf. Cantlie 1934; Becker 1924.] **Divorce.** A woman may effect numerous and usually brief separations from her husband by simply closing the door of her house to him, whereupon he returns to the house of his mother or youngest sister. Divorce, however, must be initiated by mutual consent. Divorce is very common, even though women resist it because they do not wish to lose a provider, and men because they do not wish to lose their children. Formerly it was accomplished by a simple ritual in the presence of witnesses, followed by public announcement by a town crier. Now, the witnesses and the public announcement have been dispensed with, and evidence for divorce consists only in the word of the parties concerned.

835 [114] [178] 591 592 428 [178] 586 586 178

SOCIOPOLITICAL ORGANIZATION. **Political organization.** The basic unit of political organization is the village, which is composed of one or more dominant local descent groups plus several others. Village government is by an assembly of all resident adult males, under the informal chairmanship of a headman elected by them from among their number. The membership of any immigrant household into a village is defined by the participation of the household's males in this assembly. Sustained membership in a village is voluntary. Khasi chiefdoms probably arose out of voluntary associations of villages, which occasionally transferred allegiance from one chief to another.

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16: McCormack E-4,5 (1956-1958) 1964
AR7 Khasi AR7

[P. 110B]

another. In other words, a state is not a fixed territorial entity. In the early twentieth century, the most populous of the 25 chiefdoms, Khyrim, contained 36,833 persons occupying 7,859 houses in 272 villages, and the least populous, Nongkhrai, contained 246 persons occupying 53 houses in 3 villages. Fifteen of the chiefdoms were headed by a sawm (chief), three by a lyngdoh (priest), six by a sirdar, and one by a wahadadar. These leaders all had executive and judicial functions, but a chief's authority was limited in that he had to obtain the approval of his executive council before acting. The other leaders were subject to a similar limitation. A chief maintained a small police force. His major sources of revenue were market tolls, fines, and, more recently, income from licenses to distill rice whisky. Succession to a ruling role in the larger states traditionally involved election by members of a lineage that had a hereditary right to elect, from among members of a lineage that had the hereditary right to rule. In British times, the elective basis was broadened, differentially in the various states, even to the point of popular elections. [Cf. Aitchison 1931; Lyngdoh 1962.] Social stratification. The three classes of lineage are the nobles, the commoners, and the slaves or servants. This stratification applies only to the recruitment to office in the native-state system, for there is no hereditary, and in a village assembly everyone has equal voice. The noble lineages have the hereditary right to fill from among their male members roles such as village or state priest, councilor to a chief, or electors of a chief. The few lineages which today are remembered as slave or servant lineages had the inherited obligation to render special services to a chief's household. There is no Khasi term for "commoner." Every lineage other than a noble or a slave lineage is a commoner lineage, and the commoner lineages are in the majority. Warfare. Warfare was suppressed by the British, and little is known for certain about its traditional forms. The tactics which confronted the British were the ambush and the guerrilla raid. Traditional goals included taking heads from other Khasis and capturing women from the valleys.

RELIGION. Major and indigenous religions. A Welsh Calvinistic Methodist missionary penetrated into Cherrapunji in 1832, and the work that he began continues to this day. His society, which has since become the Welsh Presbyterian Foreign Mission, introduced writing, village primary schools, a high school, a theological seminary, and a hospital. Competing missionaries followed, and by 1914 some thirty Khasis were puzzling over the tenets not only of traditional Hinduism and Islam but also of the Buddhists, Brahmo Samaj, Arya Samaj, and Unitarians. By 1914, By the 1920s, missionaries of the Church of God and the Seventh Day Adventists were

19: McCormack E-4,5 (1956-1958) 1964
[P. 110 A] AR7 Khasi AR7

says that the MoBrCh but not the FaSiCh is prohibited (1897: 2), but Gordon says that the MoBrCh is eligible after the death of MoBr, and that FaSiCh is eligible after the death of Fa (1907: 78). Nowadays both types of marriage occur, whether the linking relative is living or dead. **Residence.** Residence is either duolocal or matrilocal under the roof of the wife's mother until the birth of one or two children. For a man married to a youngest daughter, it then continues to be matrilocal. For men married to other daughters, it becomes uxorilocal; there have also always been cases of virilocal residence, and it is now common to find neolocal residence in Shillong. For non-Christian Jointias, it is duolocal throughout the marriage. **Domestic unit.** The domestic unit is the elementary family, though for a youngest daughter it may temporarily include also her aged mother, aged father, unmarried siblings, or divorced or widowed brothers. **Inheritance.** Traditionally, after the Khasi mother had helped each of her daughters to build and supply a house when each one married and had children, her only real obligation to help them economically was ended. Everything she possessed, excepting certain personally that was destroyed in her cremation, was inherited by her youngest daughter. Failing daughters, a woman's property reverted to her next youngest sister's daughter. Today, this pattern is often modified by putting more property into the hands of older daughters and even sons. [Cf. Cantlie 1934, Becker 1924.] **Divorce.** A woman may effect numerous and usually brief separations from her husband by simply closing the door of her house to him, whereupon he returns to the house of his mother or youngest sister. Divorce, however, must be initiated by mutual consent. Divorce is very common, even though women resist it because they do not wish to lose a provider, and men because they do not wish to lose their children. Formerly it was accomplished by a simple ritual in the presence of witnesses, followed by public announcement by a town crier. Now, the witnesses and the public announcement have been dispensed with, and evidence for divorce consists only in the word of the parties concerned.

895 [114] [178] 591 592 428 [178] 586 586 178

SOCIOPOLITICAL ORGANIZATION. **Political organization.** The basic unit of political organization is the village, which is composed of one or more dominant local descent groups plus several others. Village government is by an assembly of all resident adult males, under the informal chairmanship of a headman elected by them from among their number. The membership of any immigrant household into a village is defined by the participation of the household's males in this assembly. Sustained membership in a village is voluntary. Khasi chiefdoms probably arose out of voluntary associations of villages, which occasionally transferred allegiance from one chief to another.

62 174 619

16: McCormack E-4,5 (1956-1958) 1964
[P. 110B] AR7 Khasi AR7

another. In other words, a state is not a fixed territorial entity. In the early twentieth century, the most populous of the 25 chiefdoms, Khyrim, contained 30,833 persons occupying 7,859 houses in 372 villages, and the least populous, Nongkwai, contained 246 persons occupying 53 houses in 3 villages. Fifteen of the chiefdoms were headed by a *syiem* (chief), three by a *lyngdoh* (priest), six by a *sirdar*, and one by a *wahadadar*. These leaders all had executive and judicial functions, but a chief's authority was limited in that he had to obtain the approval of his executive council before acting. The other leaders were subject to a similar limitation. A chief maintained a small police force. His major sources of revenue were market tolls, fines, and, more recently, income from licenses to distill rice whisky. Succession to a ruling role in the larger states traditionally involved election by members of a lineage that had a hereditary right to elect, from among members of a lineage that had the hereditary right to rule. In British times, the elective basis was broadened, differentially in the various states, even to the point of popular elections. [Cf. Aitchison 1931; Lyngdoh 1952.] **Social stratification.** The three classes of lineage are the nobles, the commoners, and the slaves or servants. This stratification applies only to the recruitment to office in the native-state system, for there is no hypergamy, and in a village assembly everyone has equal voice. The noble lineages have the hereditary right to fill from among their male members roles such as village or state priest, councilor to a chief, or elector of a chief. The few lineages which today are remembered as slave or servant lineages had the inherited obligation to render special services to a chief's household. There is no Khasi term for "commoner." Every lineage other than a noble or a slave lineage is a commoner lineage, and the commoner lineages are in the majority. **Warfare.** Warfare was suppressed by the British, and little is known for certain about its traditional forms. The tactics which confronted the British were the ambush and the guerrilla raid. Traditional goals included taking heads from other Khasis and capturing women from the valleys.

000 175 619 620 [161] [793] [651] [666] [177] [178] 565 623 621 567 72 [177]

RELIGION. Major and indigenous religions. A Welsh Calvinistic Methodist missionary penetrated into Cherrapunji in 1832, and the work that he began continues to this day. His society, which has since become the Welsh Presbyterian Foreign Mission, introduced writing, village primary schools, a high school, a theological seminary, and a hospital. Competing missionaries followed, and by 1914 some Shillong Khasis were puzzling over the tenets not only of traditional Hinduism and Islam but also of the Buddhists, Brahmo Samaj, Arya Samaj, and Unitarians (Roy 1914). By the 1920s, missionaries of the Church of God and the Seventh Day Adventists were

797 17

782 and can now also appear at the public state and
793 community sacrifices when any basis of relationship justifies it.

This ceremonial way of introducing lyngdohs is still the custom especially in the kingdoms of Kyrim and Nongkrem.

The number of active, official lyngdohs varies according to the region. A kingdom has at least one official lyngdoh. [Fig. 4. Egg throwing: Throwing of the egg.] [Fig. 5. Egg throwing: Investigation] But the kingdom
[796] of Nongkrem, for example, has six official lyngdohs, who together with the king and with other lyngdohs from neighboring villages annually offer the great state sacrifice. (8) Even

8. P. Dr. Becker, S.D.S., "Die Nongkrempuja in den Khasibergen" [The Nongkrem Puja in the Khasi; Mountains], Anthropos, Vol. 4, (1909), p. 898.

villages often have their own official lyngdohs.

For the services which they perform for the people by offering sacrifices, they do not receive money or a present of money. Usually their trouble is rewarded by natural products, such as a hen, a bottle of rice liquor or even, though more rarely, by a pig. Obviously they always have the right to participate in the sacrificial meal.

2. The Sacrifices.

a) State Sacrifices.

161 According to the report of the last census
722 the tribe of Khasi numbers about 200,000 people.
621 (9) These are not unified under one ruler, but

9. P. Dr. C. Becker, S.D.S. Im

161

Stromtal des Brahmaputra [In the Valley of the Brahmaputra], (Aachen: Xaverius Publishing House, 1923) p. 293.

782 are divided into 10 kingdoms and 15 small states
621 (communities). In each of these kingdoms and communities an official state sacrifice is of-
782 fered each year. The smaller state units offer
776 it to the u basa shnong or to the u phan u
796 kyrpad (the tutelary god of a village), the larger one to the u 'lei Shillong (the god who has commanded the sacrifice) [218]. The purpose of this large sacrifice is to thank the revered god for the country (kingdom or community) and to beg him to make its inhabitants
782 healthy and happy. This is shown by the prayers
796 spoken at these sacrifices, namely: "O god Shillong! for thee is this prayer, this sacrifice of goat, of hen, of kpu and rynsi (a kind of bread of rice meal or cornmeal with pounded sugar), of utensils of preparation, as thou hast given them to the royal lineage, so that once in every year Puja is celebrated in thy name, so that we may live happily, be healthy and increase, so that kings will arise, so that their honor and that of the kingdom will grow and increase and the children of the kingdom will spread out to increase thy name and thy honor." (10)

10. P. Dr. C. Becker, S.D.S., "Die Nongkrempuja in den Khasibergen" [The Nongkrem Puja in the Khasi Mountains], Anthropos Vol. 4, 1909, p. 901.

In another prayer they say: "O lord, thou who hast created heaven and earth, thou hast placed a king that we may be children of his

613 us take such a clan mother with the name Ka Sing Lau. She has two
596 sons and five daughters, and in addition two brothers and two sisters who are all married. Also each of the five daughters and two sisters has four children. These forty-six people live with the clan mother and form the family clan of the Lau. To these we also add the sons
[592] and brothers, the nephews and grandsons, but not their children. The latter have nothing to do with the family Lau but belong to the family clan of their wives, live with that clan and are counted in it. Likewise neither the husband of Ka Sing Lau, nor the husbands of the various daughters, sisters, nieces, and granddaughters belong here. They are all counted with their own clans, live and work with them according to Khasi custom, and only visit their wives occasionally perhaps after dark.

621 The entire clan-family of Lau is housed in 5 or 6 huts, which all
351 stand next to each other in a semicircle or are built one above the other on the slope of a hill, according to the character of the land. A
[241] garden frequently surrounds them in which maize, sweet potatoes, potato-like roots of Soh-ot and Schrut, bananas and, on the southern slopes of the Khasi Mountains, also coffee, pineapples, and other fruits are cultivated. A circle of bamboo cane that is so important for building purposes, household objects, and /130/ implements surrounds the garden and huts. This bamboo cane grows up as thick as an arm to a height of 10 or 15 meters and at the same time forms a good protection against bad weather. A wall (morscha) of thrown-up earth encloses everything, forming an enclosed farm, prevents unimpeded access, and protects cattle and crops from the attacks and devastations of wild animals.

423 What is considered the family property of such a clan? Primarily it is the land, the gardens, the rice fields, woods, fallow mountain and grazing lands. On the southern slopes of the Khasi Mountains there
[241] are fields for the cultivation of rape, orange groves, laurel groves, plantations of betel palms and of pepper leaves which far and wide are so highly treasured for betel chewing as a source of pleasure. (2)

2. Cf. Becker, Im Stromtal des Brahmaputra, /In the River Valley of the Brahmaputra/ (Munich, 1923). pp. 357 ff.

[311] Usually there is so much land available that the family-clan can nourish itself properly and also increase in number

423 According to its size and wealth a family clan also owns a
231 corresponding number of cows, oxen, hens, pigs, and goats. Neither the milk nor the flesh of the cows is used. They are kept for the

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

CHAPTER II

VILLAGE COMMUNITY

As models of a Khasi village community, I have taken my data for the discussion presented in this chapter from two villages situated in the Kadashinong area, Sohkynduh and Kongton, with comparative data from Shella and Jatinga villages. 121

Sohkynduh and Kongton are situated in one of the most secluded spots of the Khasi Hills and the economy is shifting cultivation, with millet as its main product. Only a few Christians are found; most of the population are pagans. Shella is situated on the southern border of the Khasi Hills, adjacent to Pakistan. Jatinga is in the North Cachar Hills, surrounded by patrilineal tribes, such as the Zemi-Naga, the Kuki and the Cacharee. The economy of both villages is pan-leaf and orange cultivation. In Shella, Hindu, Christian and pagan are found among the villagers almost in the same proportions, while the Jatinga villagers are all Christian. The two Kadashinong villages, Shella and Jatinga, differ from one another not only in their religious and economic aspects, but in overt culture, dialect and political organization as well. (Additional information concerning Shella and Jatinga is given in Appendix.) Shella and Jatinga are unique among Khasi villages and quite sophisticated, having been developed under a trading economy, with considerable contacts with other peoples, including Hindus. I selected these villages in order to ascertain how far the structural principle which operates in the Kadashinong villages can be found to act also in totally different economic and environmental situations. 621 771 [101] [245] 184 621 121

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

necessary. The chances of acquiring a piece of land nowadays are 178
small, except for very successful men, and usually the size of the plot
is only just enough to maintain one household. When this land is 423
passed on to the next generation, the youngest daughter will hold the 428
title to it. This fact tends to exclude married elder sisters from the right to use the land, since it is not sufficient for more than one household. Thus the ultimogeniture succession rule seems to have developed more sharply and to have encouraged limited inheritance in conjunction with the shortage of land.

This tendency creates unbalance in the economy of the households 178
within a community. It is a usual picture in Khasi villages, for the
bigger and well-built houses to be occupied by the youngest daughter's 184
family, while the elder sisters reside in poor huts. Youngest daughters 423
are usually landowners, while their elder sisters have often to become
day-labourers after their marriage, unless their husbands are capable 428
men, or their fathers wealthy enough to give them some share of their 556
acquired property. On the whole, the variations at present between [171]
rich and poor are considerable in a Khasi community, in comparison with that of the Garo, where the economic condition of each household in a village is more or less similar. These differences are not only a matter of economic organization but arise from the nature of each social structure.

The economic and social patterns of Sohkynduh and Kongton are 197
very similar, but their dialects are slightly different: my interpreter,
who came from Cherrapunje, could work quite well at Sohkynduh, but [124]
at Kongton he found some difficulty, especially with the speech of the old men, and with their religious expressions. The head man of Kongton, who was quite accustomed to the Cherra dialect, acted as an interpreter for us. Such differences in dialect in the Khasi Hills are common phenomena; it is said that every valley has its own dialect. Differences are found not only in speaking, but also, to a certain extent, in culture and in social usages.

II. Village Endogamy

One of the outstanding features of Khasi social organization is 582
the predominant tendency of endogamy on the level of the village,
which contrasts with the structural orientation of the Garo village 621
exogamy. This is closely connected with the distributions of clans [171]
and the nature of the descent groups.

The Khasi population consists of a number of *kur*, matrilineal 614
clans, whose members consider themselves to be descended from a
common ancestress. The members of the same *kur* have a common [765]
[769]

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

614 *mauba* (grave stone), in which the bones of all the dead members
[765] are buried. When the *mauba* becomes full, or some members move
[769] away to a considerable distance, they provide another branch *mauba*, creating a new *kur*.[1] Thus in course of time, every older *kur* occasionally branches off. Every branch *kur* has a different name, but can be grouped into a major *kur* thus forming a distinct exogamous group. Relationships among the minor *kur* of one major *kur* are usually known, or can be ascertained, so that marriages among these members are avoided. When the Khasi express this kind of group consciousness, they use the term *jai* (own people). For outsiders, it is difficult to know through the names of minor *kur* whether *kur* A and *kur* B are of the same group or not.

However, neither clan solidarity nor corporative activities are found among the Khasi, except in those clans which are considered of higher status, and maintain a functional position in the political or religious fields. Such are the Siem of the ruling clan and the Ringdoh of the priest clan, etc. Among commoners like the villagers of Sohkynduh and Kongton, the importance of a *kur* is confined to recognizing a common ancestress, with a common *mauba* conception, which requires them to maintain a strict exogamous rule. But whether of major or minor *kur*, its members do not meet together or have a common leader. Actually major *kur* of which there are a considerable number all over the Khasi Hills, have no clear-cut geographical distribution. Each is scattered over a wide area, cutting across territory which includes several villages, and mixing with various other *kur*. Indeed, some of them are very widely distributed geographically and found in almost all regions of the Khasi Hills. A minor *kur* is also scattered over many different villages, though it shows more concentration than the
[621] major one. Consequently a village may be composed of small segments of more than a dozen different *kur*. Even these small segments of each *kur* found in a single village have little or no sense of kin-group solidarity, unless the members have quite close kinship ties. In many cases, though some members have the same *kur* name, their relationship may be distant, so that they cannot always reconstruct their genealogical relationship. In such a case their behaviour and attitude towards the same *kur* members and towards other *kur* members show no difference.

613 Individuals are not grouped actually under the name of *kur* but in a smaller group of matrilineal descendants from one great-grand-

[764] 1. The Khasi cremate dead bodies: bones and ashes are usually kept in a spot near the youngest sister's house which is the centre of a functional descent group, for many years and finally placed in the *mauba* of the *kur*. They say that these bones are to be collected and replaced into the *mauba* every hundred years with a great ceremony. However, none of villagers are certain about the year when the last ceremony was held.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

mother, for which unit the Khasi word *kpoh* is used. Such a group of matrilineal kin is usually confined to one domestic family or to a group of households, linked by direct extension of a main household. However, even this descent unit is not a single productive and consumer unit, though it may act as a religious unit, having common ancestral property. I shall take up this thread again at a later stage of my analysis. 613

Because of the lack of the functional lineage organization as a corporate unit, the village community becomes the significant unit as a higher level of organization than that of *kpoh*. This fact is supported by the high tendency to community endogamy which links every household of a village into a unit with considerable cohesion and solidarity. In fact the members of a village community are linked to each other in various ways by affinal or cognatic ties. 621 • 613 614 551 621

List 6. *House-owners and their Spouses of Sohkynduh.*

House-owner	*Kur*	*Spouse*	*Kur*
1. Ruka	Pohnong	Suro	Prarian
2. Shngiam	Pohnong	Nier	Riatam
3. U Rabi	Prarian		
4. Te	Prarian	Phaongrung	Dkhar
5. Pho	Khongriah	Ser	Dkhar
6. Dewli	Dkhar	Wen	Ksing
7. Snoh	Khongshei	Hajur	Khongsit
8. Kosimai	Dkhar	Koshon	Kongjah
9. Onti	Dkhar	Hajur	Khongsit
10. Jeid	Khonglam		
11. Jun	Khonsidir	Using	Ksing
12. Mo	Khongsidir	Kisbad	Khongshei
13. U sil	Khongsidir		
14. Rupai	Khongshei	Soli	Shrieh
15. Tngan	Khongmowpat	Tik	Prarian
16. Step	Khongmowpat	Nowel	Ksing
17. Phi	Khongsidir	Phoin	Mawpat
18. Khaila	Prarian	Sising	Masar
19. Jep	Ksing	Syndro	Dkhar
20. Khot	Shrieh	Lait	Khongshei
21. Pre	Prarian	Mon	Khongshei
22. Kam	Khonshei	Pion	Khongriah
23. Leni	Prarian	Jam	Khongjiliew
24. Shakmel	Khongngain	Jrop	Dkhar
25. Jia	Khongjiliew		
26. Jemnud	Khonglam	Josio	Riahtam
27. Kilo	Dkhar	Muta	Khonglam
28. Phimai	Riahtam	Rang	Dkhar
29. Jak	Riahtam	Babusing	Tyngsong
30. U Jin	Khonglam		
31. Kheri	Shrieh	Bising	Khonglam
32. Sor	Kynshah	Josio (26)	Riahtam

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

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House-owner	Kur	Spouse	Kur
33. Ke	Khongsit	Beno	Khongriah
34. Hil	Khongjliew	Mudui	Majaw
35. Erisa	Riahtam	Jen	Khongji
36. Eli	Khongsit	Khang	Khongshei
37. Ede	Khongsit	Berod	Riahtam
38. Keril	Shrieh	Kowai	Khongsit
39. He	Khongsit	Dek	Mawpat
40. Phro	Dkhar	Dakhil	Prarian
41. Shugal	Khonglam	Jran	Prarian
42. Ieitmon	Tham	Kop	Khongsidir
43. Prsiang	Khongsit	Miton	Khongngain
44. Pjah	Shirieh		
45. Lhi	Prarian		
46. Libon	Kynshah	Synbo	Dkhar
47. Kweit	Tham	Horirai	Kynshah
48. Syndon	Shirieh	Jum	Khongriah

Note: 1) 3, 13, and 30 are households the heads of which are men who have no wife or sister (mother, niece) living with them.
2) Husbands of 10, 44 and 45 died, and 25 divorced.
3) Husbands of 26 and 32 are the same man (polygynyst).

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List 7. *Numbers by* kur *of Individuals named in List 6.*

	House-owner Women	House-owner Men	Spouses	Total
1. Prarian	5	1	5	11
2. Riahtam	3		3	6
3. Dkhar	5		6	11
4. Shrieh	5		1	6
5. Pohnong	2		0	2
6. Ksing	1		3	4
7. Khongsit	5		3	8
8. Khongsidir	3	1	1	5
9. Khongshei	3		3	6
10. Khongmowpat	2		2	4
11. Khonglam	3	1	2	6
12. Khongjiliew	2		1	3
13. Khongngain	1		1	2
14. Khongriah	1		3	4
15. Tham	2		0	2
16. Kynshah	2		1	3
17. Khongjah			1	1
18. Masar			1	1
19. Tygsong			1	1
20. Majaw			1	1
21. Khongji			1	1
Total	45	3	40	88

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

List 8. *Actual descent Links found among House-owners of Sohkynduh.* 613 621 •

*House-owners**	*Kur*
1. 18-21-23	Prarian
2. 4-45	Prarian
3. 28-29-35	Riahtam
4. 27-40	Dkhar
5. 20-48-44-38	Shrieh
6. 33-39-43	Khongsit
7. 36-37	Khongsit
8. 11-12	Khongsidir
9. 7-22	Khongshei
10. 16-15	Khongmowpat
11. 25-34	Khongjiliew
12. 32-46	Kynshah

Note: Figures correspond to that of List 6.

List 9. *House-owners and their Spouses of Kongton.* 551 613 614 621

House-owner	*Kur*	*Spouse*	*Kur*
1. Shra	Pohnong	Ijiro	Khongsit
2. Klur	—	•(Mahalik)	Shabong
3. Pheni	—	•(Skit)	Majaw
4. Rai	—	D(Skit) (3)	—
5. Syen	—	Shynna	Khongsit
6. Khubor	—	•(Irai)	—
7. Shngiam	—	D(Γsrun)	Sohkhlet
8. Lphuin	—	Jubonrai (52, 20)	Majaw
9. Den	—	Khain	Riahtam
10. Kyrin	—	•(Ridon)	Sohkhlet
11. U Kynroi	—	D(Jat)	Khongsit
12. Sad	—	Khim	Khongwir
13. Tanghui	Khongsit	•(Kheng)	Mynrieng
14. Rihiam	—	•(Mongbah)	Majaw
15. Liti	—	Borsing	Shabong
16. Web	—	Mrit	Buhphang
17. Latem	—	•(Ring)	Shabong
18. Langdiang	—	Burma	Riahtam
19. Ribamon	—	Swar	Pohnong
20. Mo	—	Jubonrai (8, 52)	Majaw
21. Kliet	—	Nobar	—
22. Thakeit	—	D•(Bit)	—
23. U Sabur	—	•(Jling)	Shabong
24. Iut	—	•(Khyllah)	Khongji
25. Dngar	—	•(Lariang)	Khongngain
26. Duro	Majaw	Iong	Khongshei
27. Buh	—	That	Sohkhlet
28. Hima	—	Sbedar	Rangrah

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

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House-owner	Kur	Spouse	Kur
—	—	—	—
29. U Shai	—	Phri	Khongngain
30. Tamsa	—	*(Ramjai)	Pohnong
31. Kiun	—	Joit	Khongwir
32. Krip	—	Mok	Buhphang
33. Main	—	Soh	Dkhar
34. Pein	Rangrah	Kber	Shabong
35. Ieh	—	Kdu	—
36. Kynian	—	Hara	Shabong
37. Tied	—		
38. U Thuia	—	Phiri	Lyngdoh
39. Pata	Riahtam	D*(Biria)	Tding
40. Kit	—	Shkor	Pohnong
41. Rimai	—	D*(Piew)	—
42. Rita	—	*(Bhashon)	Kynshah
43. Ribih	—	Shamaliak	Lyngdoh
44. Git	—	Kynhei	Tding
45. Jemjani	Sohkhlet	Skin	Khongji
46. Wum	—	*(Mishon)	Shabong
47. Kror	—	Sho	Khongsit
48. Hori	Shabong	*(Brim)	Rangrah
49. Pho	—	Mlian	Khongji
50. Sho	—	Slam	Khongngain
51. Luguin	—	D*(Niew)	Lyngdoh
52. Rupa	—	Jubongrai (8, 20)	Majaw
53. Ksher	—	*(Rangsi)	Khongsit
54. Kolina	—	Poi	Majaw
55. Lak	Khongji	D*(Khyllah)	Khongshei
56. U Phin	—	*(Syaid)	Mynrieng
57. Thasi	—	Ten	Shabong
58. Dheaw	—	Dormu	Rangrah
59. Syaid	Mynrieng	D(Phin, 56)	Khongji
60. Syur	—	Kdek	Khongrymmai
61. Sur	—	*(Base)	Shabong
62. Bhik	—	D(Lar)	Majaw

Note: 1) * = dead. D = divorced.
2) House-owners of 11, 23, 29, 38 and 56 are men, and the rest are women.
3) Husband of 8, 20 and 52 are the same man (polygynist).

List 10. *Numbers by* kur *of Individuals named in List 9.*

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Kur	No. of house-owners		No. of spouses		Total
	Women	Men	Men	Women	
—	—	—	—	—	—
1. Pohnong	11	1	4		16
2. Khongsit	12	1	6		19
3. Majaw	7	1	7		15
4. Rangrah	4	1	3		8
5. Riahtam	6		2		8

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

Kur	No. of house-owners		No. of spouses		Total
	Women	Men	Men	Women	
6. Sohkhlet	3		3		6
7. Shabong	7		10		17
8. Khongji	3	1	2	1	7
9. Mynrieng	4		1	1	6
10. Khongwir			2		2
11. Buhphong			2		2
12. Khongngain			3		3
13. Khongshei			2		2
14. Dkhar			1		1
15. Lyngdoh			2		3
16. Tding			2		2
17. Kynshah			1		1
18. Khongrymmai			1		1
Total	57	5	54	3	119

List 11. *Actual Descent Links found among House-owners s/ Kontong.*

House-owners	Kur
1. 1-7	Pohnong
2. 2-3-12	Pohnong
3. 13-18	Khongsit
4. 14-15	Khongsit
5. 17-25	Khongsit
6. 19-20	Khongsit
7. 23-24	Khongsit
8. 26-29-33	Majaw
9. 27-28	Majaw
10. 31-32	Majaw
11. 36-38	Rangrah
12. 40-44	Riahtam
13. 42-43	Riahtam
14. 45-46-47	Sohkhlet
15. 48-49-54	Shabong
16. 59-60-61	Mynrieng

Note: Numbers correspond to that of List 9.

The data I collected in Sohkynduh and Kongton show that the number of households that can be included in a single descent group (actual kinship ties through female members) is strikingly small, as shown in List 8 (Sohkynduh) and List 11 (Kongton). The maximum number of households belonging to a recognizable descent group was four, and mostly two. Many households (19 households of Sohkynduh; 25 households of Kongton) which did not appear in List 8 and List 11,

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

613 formed independent descent groups by individual households, for
614 which no traceable genealogical relation with any other descent groups could be established, though some of them belonged to the same *kur*.
• 621 In Sohkynduh, the total 48 households were divided into 16 *kur* (according to the house-owner), and in Kongton, the total 62 households were divided into 9 *kur*, while the number of actual descent groups amount to 31 in Sohkynduh and 41 in Kongton.

166 This fact, I presumed, indicated a considerable mobility of the
178 population of each village community. Hence, I tried my best to reconstruct the historical alignments of these descent groups, both
613 from my genealogical data and with the help of the villagers' memory. The result showed that the mobility of the population over the last
614 fifty years had been surprisingly great and complex. In Sohkynduh, the Praian clan seems to be the oldest inhabitants of this village with
621 16 *kur* segments. Next came a family of the Ksing. The third wave was a family of Khonglam, and the fourth, Siem Lyngngoh which I mentioned previously (p. 104). The next were families of the Kynshah, many members of which had left for Nonprian village after a few years. The sixth wave was the Srieh family. All the above movements took place before the great earthquake of 1897 which shook Assam. After 1897 the movements became more intense and complicated, and involved many families of various *kur*. The villagers could not remember the order in which they came: there has been continual coming and going even up to now. At present, the Prarian, the Ksing, the Khonglam, the Kynshah and the Dkhar are the older among the 16 *kur*. However, such migrations concern usually a single family only, not a group of *kur*, and that is the typical pattern of Khasi migration. Hence, families which have the same *kur* name do not always indicate the same movements. The incentive for such migration seems to be to get land better appropriated to one's economic condition. Particularly, as I have already mentioned elsewhere (p. 105), the shortage of land seems to encourage families of elder sisters who have no share of property, to move to other areas and look for land.

Thus, many households which make up the present village are minor segments of different *kur*, or of the same *kur*, but they can hardly trace their genealogical relations to one another. A migration to a new village was not undertaken at random; it was mostly as a result of information received from neighbouring villages, or from those where friends or relatives had already settled in. Several neigh-
178 bouring villages usually dispose of more than one common market
613 where they can exchange information and developed friendships over
614 trading. The matrilineal kinship relation is no more important a
621 factor than any of the others mentioned above. Among the Khasi,

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

the matrilineal descent group has a distinguished function only when there is common residence and common property. 178

In Kongton, among 9 different *kur* (List 10), Pohnong and Khonsit accounted for the majority of the population, while the rest, seven *kur*, were more or less of equal size. On the whole the population seemed more stable than that of Sohkynduh. However, as in Sohkynduh, actual descent groups amounted to 41, many of which have the same *kur* name but could not always establish genealogical relationship with one another; nor was there any functional cohesion. I failed to reconstruct the history of the formation of these descent groups: the villagers had no memory of their past except very fragmentary information which was quite insufficient to account for their present composition. They only insisted this was a very old village in comparison with Sohkynduh and other neighbouring villages. 613 614 621 [182]

While I was struggling with the villagers' scant accounts of their past and fragmented kinship relations among the present households, I was struck by the poorness of the villagers' genealogical memory in comparison with that of the Garo. Suppose A, B and C, who belonged to the same property-holding descent group three generations back: A and B being sisters and C being B's daughter. If B, including her descendants, moved away from the village two generations back, the present generation of A's and C's descendants would easily lose contact and knowledge of their genealogical relationship. This fact, on the other hand, illustrates some important aspects of the Khasi social structure: the kinship relation—matrilineal descent link—is not a significant factor beyond the scale of the household (property-holding descent group), and locality is more important than matrilineal descent for the formation of the Khasi community. Through the predominant practice of endogamy on the level of the village, the small segments (found on a level of a household or a group of a few households) of various different *kur* clustered in a village are linked by affinal relations each other, by which altogether form a well knit social organization of a village community. The cohesion and solidarity of the Khasi village community is strengthened by the local endogamy not by the localized lineage organization. 182 613 621

In fact, in contrast with the rather loose kinship relations which link different households, the affinal relations link almost every households in the village, as shown in Fig. 10. The lines, ———, indicate marriage relations between living members of households, and the lines, - - - - -, indicate affinal relations established through dead members of present households or through spouses' kinship relations at Sohkynduh, as in November 1955. In this way, except for one household (24), members of a single household are all linked together through affinal or cognatic ties. In some cases, the affinal relations between 602 621

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

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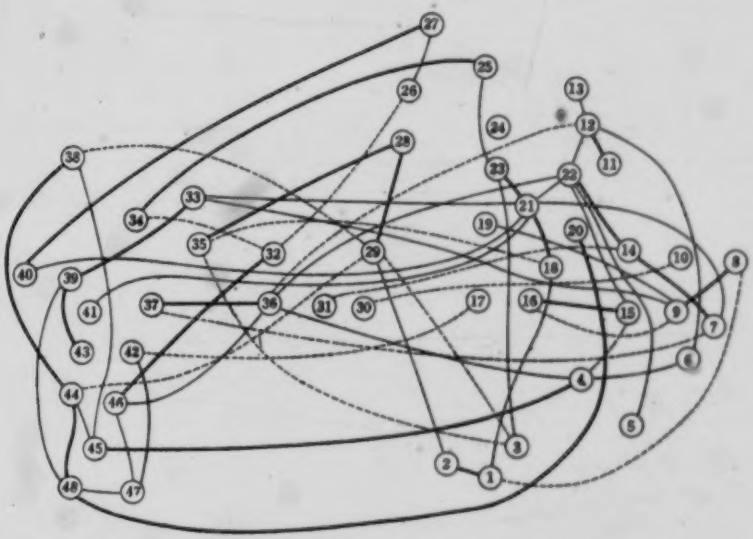

FIG. 10. — *Kinship and Household Location in Sohkynduh.*
——— Matrilineal kinships relations among household-owners;
——— Affinal relations (direct) among household-members;
- - - - - Affinal relations (indirect) among household-members.

particular two families are not restricted to one, but may be accumulated two or three, though I omitted to indicate these in Fig. 10.

582 There are some extensions of marriage relations with members
591 outside the village. In Sohkynduh, out of 88 (48 houseowners and
61 40 their husbands) 13 men and 2 women came from neighbouring
621 villages. Owing to the predominant uxorilocal arrangement, those
628 who came in from outside the village were mostly men. By these members, five different *kur*, new to Sohkynduh, were found, as shown in List 7 (17-21). Most of these outsiders came from villages inside the Kadashinong, or villages no further than a day's journey there and back. This area might be called a secondary endogamous area, and includes more than half a dozen villages. In Kongton, 20 husbands and 3 women came from neighbouring villages by their marriages. The secondary endogamous areas of Kongton and of Sohkynduh are not the same but they overlap in certain places, the surrounding areas being centred on each village. There were, by December 1955, no instances of direct marriage between these two villages.

184 There are a few exceptions to local endogamy, such as those
582 individuals who have become Christians and are educated in towns
621 like Shillong or Cherrapunjee. They usually move to a town, seeking
[795]

15: Nakane E-3 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

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[178]

some clerical work. However, such instances are very rare in these regions and few Christians are to be found among the people. So far as my genealogical table accounts for, only two boys from Sohkynduh, and one girl and one boy from Kongton, left for Shillong, and married there. In contrast to these exceptional cases in these villages, in the upland Khasi Hills, there are considerable changes in the composition of a village with high geographical and social mobility of population because of the spread of Christian education and urban influence.

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The people of the two villages say that marriages with outside people were not formally practised, and were only a recent tendency. However, the composition of the population of the two villages showed extensive movements of population in the past (not to urban areas, but from village to village). Such movement is attributed mostly to migration by a family rather than by an individual on marriage. This type of migration is clearly found also in the process of the formation of Jatinga village (see Appendix, Jatinga).

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The composition of the village community and the social characteristics of Sohkynduh and Kongton show very similar features of village endogamy. They seem to be typical of the traditional pattern of Khasi villages. Village endogamy is the intrinsic pattern among the Khasis. This fact can be also observed to a considerable degree in Shella and Jatinga.

[P. 116 is blank]

18. Mahana F.E (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

years after his marriage. During this period he works in his wife's field, then, if the couple gets on well, they start to live together in an independent house (non-heiress's case) or in the wife's house (heiress's case). In spite of the fact that the inhabitants are all Christians, they have retained this custom. 178 184

It is difficult to determine at what date the Khasi people have changed from duolocal marriage to uxorilocal marriage. However, the present dwelling unit, with its fluid relationship between husband and wife (in fact, there are many cases of category 3), suggests a situation linked with the duolocal residence pattern. The fragmentary historical information available and the present Khasi residence pattern suggest that the duolocal arrangement may be an older pattern of marriage. When I was in Kongton there was no husband who stayed at his mother's house permanently, visiting his wife at night. The head man told me that, when he married, there were many who did not stay in the wife's house. He was the first person to settle in the wife's house. In his case, he said, he felt sympathy for his wife who had no brother who could work for her. After he had settled in his wife's house, many villagers began to follow his example.[1] When the pattern of a visiting marriage was in vogue, a village must have constituted a more compact endogamous unit. If the husband's house was in another village, a visiting marriage must have been a great inconvenience. The tendency to settle in the wife's house and work for the wife's house must have brought about a wider range of marriage contracts, such as with members of nearby villages, even though in the present form of marriage, village endogamy is much preferred as it is decidedly advantageous particularly for a husband, since he can continue his life in the same familiar environment in spite of uxorilocal marriage. 178 591 [621]

The variations in the pattern of co-residential grouping, which I have classified into four categories, reflect two different themes in the social structure of the Khasi. On the one hand they represent different stages in the maturity of the individual families concerned. For example, a householder who starts in category 3 or 4 may end as an old man in category 1. On the other hand these variations also reflect the polar opposition between the obligations of matrilineal kinship and the obligations of parenthood; a man, in particular, has conflicting obligations towards the *iing* of his sister and the *iing* of 592 593 613

1. However, all the information which I collected in the upland Khas Hills indicates that the uxorilocal residence pattern has been practised for a long time. According to stories often told by the Kongton people, they migrated from the Jaintia Hills. If these accounts are to be taken as a reflection of the real history of their migration, it would seem that the Kongton people may have kept up the Jaintia custom including the duolocal residence pattern up to recent times, while the majority of the Khasi practised uxorilocal marriage. [184]

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7
Garo AR5

lineage is a corporate unilineal descent group of which the members can establish demonstrable genealogical relationships to each other. According to Firth, "lineage is essentially a unilineal descent group with some corporate functions, normally related by segmentary process to other descent groups of the same type, and with them usually covering the entire society" (1957, p. 4). The Garo and the Khasi can then be said to have the lineage, but to lack its segmentary organization which *normally* is found in a unilineal society. Both social structures exemplify the importance of the residence as a functional unit, against the wider descent group which may be called the lineage group.

In the case of the Garo, the localized lineage is expressed in terms of the village (or group of villages) whose land bears the name of the localized lineage. However, it is the village which acts as the functional corporate body, the economic and ritual unit, not the group of members of the localized lineage. The village theoretically consists of the members of the two localized lineages, as represented in the headman and his wife respectively. Practically, though it bears the name of a particular lineage to which the wife of the headman belongs, as also usually the majority of the inhabitants, it includes many other lineage members as well as the traditional two lineages. Therefore, the lineage is not, in this sense, an exclusive corporate unit with a ritual and economic function, though it gives a theoretical framework to the structure.

In the case of the Khasi, the lineage is found only on a household scale, centred in the woman, the property owner with members having direct matrilineal kinship ties to the former, such as her brothers, elder sisters, sons and daughters, who may or may not reside in the same household—the members of the *iing*. Beyond this unit (the *iing*) one can hardly find any functional organization based on the descent system. In other words, the lineage becomes a functional unit only at the level of the household, e.g., the lowest level of segmentation of the descent group, and it lacks wider external organization by the same principle. The clan is considered rather as a ritual conception implying exogamy, not as an organized body of kin.

These phenomena contrast sharply with the Hopi and the Ashanti social organization, where lineage organization has crucial importance wider than on a household level. Many factors can be considered in this connection. First of all, the locus of property and ceremonial unit are the most distinctive features. Among the Khasi, property and ceremonial units are always found in an *iing*, represented by the youngest daughter's household, while that of the Hopi and the Ashanti are in a wider lineage organization in which members of many households are usually included. The Zuni pattern seems also similar to that of the Khasi. The difference between the Khasi and Zuni lies

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

APPENDIX

SOME ADDITIONAL INFORMATION FROM SHELLA AND JATINGA

SHELLA

Shella is situated on the lowest of the southern slopes of the Khasi Hills, bordering on the Sylhet plain of East Pakistan. For centuries the people of Shella maintained close trading connections with the people of the plain, so that they have been much influenced by the Hindu. They have been to some extent divorced economically and culturally from their own people who live on the uplands and on higher part of the slopes. Actually, this is a natural result of their geographical location. From Cherrapunjee, the southern edge of the upland Khasi Hills, only a narrow footpath goes down to Shella. The altitude of Cherrapunjee is about 5,000 feet and of Shella from 500 to 1,000 feet, and the distance between them is 8 miles. The path descends very steeply and is full of hard stones. This difficulty of communication is also why the Hindu influence did not penetrate the upland Khasi, as in the case of the Jaintia Hills.[1]

101 [191] 459 191 185 487

This area has a unique political organization which differs from the majority of Khasi states who are traditionally ruled by the members of the Siem clan. Shella is organized as a confederation, called 'Shella Confederacy,' and consists of four local villages. The head of the village is called *wadadkar*, and is elected by the villagers every three years. The number of households of the Shella Confederacy was about 500 in January 1956. The names of the four villages and their *wadadkar* in 1956 were:

632 [184] 622 [103] [551]

Name of village	*Name of wadadkar*
1. Shella	Devish Mohan Roy
2. Mushish	Dinapu Roy
3. Nongtrai	Orja Roy
4. Tynggar	Jahani Roy

Each village is divided into sections. For instance, Shella village has nine sections: (1) Jaur, (2) Dieng, (3) Dobu, (4) Jamen, (5) Nongrum, (6) Nongsong,

103 621 •

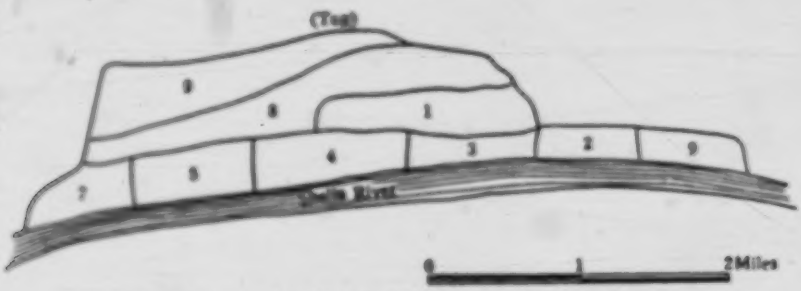
1. Moreover, Shella was the only way out and the main gateway from the Khasi Hills to the plain; it was here that the British first entered the Khasi Hills. They proceeded from Shella to Cherrapunjee and made the latter headquarters of the Khasi Hills in 1833.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

[Shella]

621 (7) Mawrong'khong, (8) Rynsong-kanor, and (9) Sholap, as shown in Map 9.
103 In Shella village the number of households in each section ranges between 10 and 80. Such a section is called *khar*, and was supposed to be the site of house-
614 holds of segments of every *kur* (clan). It seems that Shella village was once
621 composed of nine different *kur* which could intermarry with each other. However, nowadays, each section, as appeared in my census, has nothing to do with the
178 *kur* as such; it is simply a geographical section. According to the information which I gathered, there had been a tendency for the same *kur* people to gather
731 within the section, before the great earthquake in 1897 brought considerable

[102]



MAP 9. — *Distribution of Sections in Shella Village.*

damages and death to this area: many of them left the village at the time and many houses changed their sites in the village when they were reconstructed. For instance, the composition of Jasir section in January 1956 was as follows:

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621

Name of kur	*Number of houses*	*Name of kur*	*Number of houses*
1. Yuchyne	7	9. Lyngdoh	1
2. Iunei	4	10. Riang	1
3. Lorit	4	11. Nongtathiang ...	1
4. Synrem	3	12. Loki	1
5. Kasieng	3	13. Kanto	1
6. Nongbri	3	14. Kanti	1
7. Siem	2	15. Khelwa	1
8. Iunei	2	16. ?	5
		Total	40

178 The people said that in Jasir, the Yuchyne was the most influential *kur*,
621 and must have been the original *kur* in this section. However, no clan solidarity could be observed. These seven households were socially and economically
614 quite independent of each other, as are all other households. As a whole, the importance of *kur* diminished a great deal in this village. Five households in Jasir were reluctant to mention their *kur*; some of them did not care about their *kur*; others were not themselves certain to which *kur* they belonged. The *kur* is losing its function to a great extent. This can be ascribed to the high degree of sophistication and mobility. However, except for one Siem woman who came from the uplands and married a man of this village, all 15 *kur* mentioned above are local clans frequently found within the Shella Confederacy. In
621 this area also community endogamy was predominant. Perhaps the Shella

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

Shella

Confederacy forms a more marked endogamous community, through being cut off geographically and economically from the rest of the Khasi, and socially from the neighbouring Hindu people. 621

The Economy and the People.

Shella lies along the upper part of the Shella River and stretches upwards along the steep slope, looking down towards the Bengal plain. The climate of this part of the hills is considered to be one of the worst in tropical India for human habitation. The Bengal plain, though warmer than this area, is considered more healthy. This border land is the zone of malaria, typhoid, black fever, cholera, etc. None of the Bengalee peasants dare to live in such an area. However, it is the most fertile for products such as betel-nuts, pan-leaves, oranges, bananas and pineapples, and it also produces limestone. These people seem to prefer to settle in this zone and to enjoy its prosperity, at the expense of human lives: every year, especially between March and September, the inhabitants suffer from various fevers and dysentry and other diseaes, many of the weaker facing death. 131 132 164 433 164 648

Before the Partition of India and Pakistan, the products of Shella were carried down the Shella River to Sylhet, one of the biggest centres in East Bengal, which brought unimaginable wealth to the Shella people. Their houses were built by carpenters from Sylhet. The style and structure of these houses were exceptionally elaborate for the Khasi. They purchased vast rice fields in the plain, which used to be cultivated by Bengalee and Garo labourers engaged by them. These Khasi do not themselves know how to cultivate rice fields; they have always been managers or landowners. Their boys used to be sent to high schools and colleges in Sylhet. As a result of their trading with the Bengalee, many of them read and speak fluent Bengalee. There is no difference between their style of clothing and that of the Bengalee, though the women maintain their traditional dress in the Shella style. 177 178 434 [439] [342] [166] [464] [871] [191] [291]

They have thus been distinguished from the rest of the Khasi not only geographically, but also economically and culturally. Their personality also differs sharply from the rest of the Khasi. They are very sociable, and quick, a quality lacking among the Khasi of Sohkynduh and Kongton. They are clever enough to deal with strangers. The upland Khasi say Shella people are very cunning. This remark shows one side of these people. They had to be cunning, since they traded with the Sylhet Bengalee who were said to be the most cunning of their race. Their role in the trade and in the history of the modernization of the Hills was considerable. For centuries they represented intellectual Khasi owing to their contact with Hindu civilization, while the Hills remained in darkness. They assumed an important role when the British established an administration in the Hills, and even up to now, many leading Khasi originated from this area: for instance, Lati Hat, the first interpreter of the British Headquarters at Cherrapunjee; Jeebon Roy, who was the first Magistrate among the Khasi; Maham Sing, a lawyer and Member of the Legislative Assembly (the grandson of Jeebon Roy); Nichols Roy, Minister of Health and Prisons of the Assam Government, Member of the Legislative Assembly, and Missionary of the Church of God; R. R. Thomas (brother of Nichols Roy), Principal of the Gauhati University, etc. 157 184 648 177 178 [439]

Through constant cultural contact with Hindu, and encouraged by their economic prosperity, the Shella Khasi, like the Jaintias, have been much influenced by Hindu culture. However, this does not mean that the people of Shella adopted the Hindu beliefs. Though there is a small Hindu shrine, and some ceremonial elements were borrowed from the Hindu, most of the 177 648 771 795

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

[Shella]

wife who lives with him. The Khasi woman lives with her mother. Some say the Khasi woman is his second wife, other say their marriage is not recognized by the public. 563

Actually, owing to the bad climate, very few non-Khasi live in this area. Besides the two non-Khasi just mentioned, there were a Bengalee tax collector and an Assamese Forest Officer, both of whom lived at Shella Bazaar. Bengalee villages are situated about five miles south of Shella. Except in the bazaar, Bengalee and Khasi have no social contact with each other, and intermarriages have been rare.

However, it is obvious that in the past the Khasi must have had many cases of intermarriage with Bengalee. Among the Khasi, there is a clan called 'Dkhar.' The term 'Dkhar' is also used for the peoples of the plains: Bengalee are called 'Dkhar' by the Khasi. They say that the Dkhar clan originated in Bengalee girls who married Khasi men and who went to live in the Hills. It is said that in older days, the Khasi often raided the Sylhet plain and kidnapped Bengalee girls as well as goods. In Bengalee records of Sylhet, Khasi appear as 'bloody Khasi.' Khasi old men say that in order to increase their population they did sometimes kidnap Bengalee girls, but that they treated these girls very nicely and kindly, no differently from their own people. Since they follow the matrilineal system, they decided to name their descendants 'Dkhar.' It is said that all the present Dkhar people are descendants of such marriages. The Dkhar are found more on the southern slopes of the Khasi Hills i.e. among the Wars. 101 563

It seems there were many reasons for the descendants by marriage between the Khasi and the Bengalee to become Khasi. First of all, it is said that in the olden days the Khasi wanted to increase the population by such marriages. At the same time, a Bengalee who married a Khasi became an outcast from his or her own society owing to the caste system, and this inevitably made them Khasi. Secondly, the Khasi were primarily grouped into the *iing*, and they considered the marriage relation as of secondary importance. Hence it was rather difficult to remove by marriage a Khasi man or woman from their native place. Thirdly, Khasi could hardly live in the plain where no betel-nut or pan-leaf gardens were available; they could not engage in rice cultivation in the plain, as the technique is entirely different from the cultivation of betel-nut or pan-leaf. Moreover, they said they could not stand the heat in the plain. Therefore, the orientation of intermarriages was always towards the Khasi community: the Khasi brought outsiders to their own land; they did not themselves leave.

Such a marked tendency on the part of the Khasi to remain attached to their own homeland, is in no way contradictory with the phenomena of their migration to places outside the Khasi Hills, owing to the exploitation of their homeland and to the increase in population. The formation of Jatinga represents such an instance; there are also the cases of modern Khasi women from sophisticated urban areas, who easily leave their homeland, after marriage with a non-Khasi; this also appears in the following data on Jatinga. 161 167 [563]

JATINGA

Jatinga is a Khasi village situated in the North Cachar Hills, three miles west from Haflong, the headquarters of the North Cachar Hills. The number of households was about sixty in February 1956. Their economy depends on the pan-leaf, orange and pineapple gardens, similar to that of the Shella people. 131 621 433

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

621 [Jatinga]

[175] This village was founded in 1905 by Khasi immigrants from the Jaintia Hills. [101] At the entrance of the village, a bust of the founder, Lakhanbang Suchiang, [211] stands facing towards the east; it was erected on the occasion of the celebration [346] of their Golden jubilee, in November 1955. Houses are scattered along the [771] ridge of the moutain to the east and to the west; in the centre is the church. All the inhabitants are Christians. Before the Partition this was one of the most modern and prosperous villages in Assam.

101 Jatinga provides a very interesting instance of the Khasi 'colonial' village. 121 It is surrounded by villages of the Kuki, of the Zemi-Naga, and of the Cacharee, who constitute the main population of the North Cachar Hills, and who are 621 tribes entirely different from the Khasi, in economy, social organization, language and culture. Therefore, Jatinga is like an island of Khasi community. I took this village as one of my fields, because I was particularly interested to discover how far the Khasi matrilineal organization is kept up in a community thus situated, surrounded by patrilineal tribes, and considerably modernized by Christianization and economic prosperity; and I was also interested in the process of formation of a new village, in comparison with Rinsibara and Joshipara in the Garo Hills.

Formation of the Present Population of Jatinga.

The first immigrants to Jatinga.

101 The main population of Jatinga, including the founder, originated in Bataw 166 village in the Jaintia Hills, twelve miles away from Jaintiapur, the capital of the then Jaintia Rajas. This village is situated on the border of the Jaintia 175 Hills and the East Bengal plain, the location being very similar to that of Shella, as are their culture and economy. In the later part of the nineteenth 621 century, some members of Bataw village moved to Borkhala, ten miles from Silchar, one of the biggest villages of the then Cacharee king.

These immigrants who came to Borkhala stayed there about fifteen years before they came to Jatinga. Kloribon, the first daughter of the founder's sister was born there. In November 1905, some Christian Khasi left Borkhala for Jatinga, acting on information gathered from a Welsh Mission at Haflong, that the land of present Jatinga was fertile and fit for their cultivation. They were the first immigrants to Jatinga. The Government record names the 166 following three persons as the first immigrants to Jatinga: Suchiang Lakhanbang, 551 Tariang, and Suchen Munik. In fact, according to the data which I collected at Jatinga, Suchiang Lakhanbang was accompanied by the following persons 614 (the names in brackets indicate the clans):

621 his wife, Misibon (Phanwar),[1]
175 his brother, Pryntah, and Pryntah's wife, Sintu (Rupsi),
his sister, Laptho, and Laptho's husband, Munik (Suchen) with their daughter, Kloribon, and Munik's younger brother, Sain.
his friend, Tariang.

Soon after their settlement, Sain, the brother of Munik, brought his wife Tahin (Suiam) from Jaintia. Misibon brought her younger sister, Diasibon. Tariang who came with Lakhanbang afterwards called his wife, Palong. But having spent some time there, they left eventually for another place, so that

1. Misibon was a native of the Cherrapunjee area of the Khasi Hills (not of Jaintia like the others). She was a school teacher at Cherrapunjee, and later became a teacher at a school near Jaintiapur, where she married Lakhanbang.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

there are none of their descendants in Jatinga. Summing up, the first party who settled at Jatinga was composed of people of the following five clans: 166

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1. Suchiang — Lakhanbang, his sister, Laptho, and her daughter, Kloribon, his brother, Pryntah. 614
2. Suchen — Munik and his younger brother, Sain. 621
3. Phanwar — Misibon and her younger sister, Diasibon. 175
4. Rupsi — Sintu, the wife of Pryntah.
5. Suiam — Tahin, the wife of Sain.

Among them, Suchen had no female member. Phanwar had no successor: Misibon had no issue and Diasibon did not marry. Therefore, Suchiang, Rupsi and Suiam are the oldest clans in present Jatinga. Suchiang and Rupsi especially are the dominant and richest groups among the present population.

This was the time when the railway from Gauhati to Silchar was being constructed. Some Khasi labourers were working at Haflong on the construction of the railway. After the foundation of Jatinga, these Khasi workers established marriage relations with the Khasi of Jatinga, and finally, upon completion of the railway, many of them became the inhabitants of Jatinga. The present members of the Dome and Siangshai clans are the descendants of these people, and they form a considerable number of the present inhabitants of Jatinga. Besides them, there were a few other Khasi at Haflong who were engaged in trading business. In the course of time, they also had marital relations with Jatinga people and came to Jatinga. 166 175 458 621 [499] [464]

After five years had elapsed they found that in spite of their hard work the land was not favourable to them. Many of them left Jatinga. This was the hardest period of Jatinga history.

The second migration (1919-1925).

The railway which once had been blocked was reopened in 1919. The people who had left Jatinga came back to settle there. This time the circumstances seemed to them quite favourable. The pan trees which they had planted earlier were growing and they could gather considerable produce. The village grew bigger around 1920 as a result of new immigrants from Jaintia; most of them were people from Bataw, the village of the founder. In this period, many immigrants came from Jaintia not only to Jatinga but also to Sylhet, Borkhala and other places outside the Khasi-Jaintia Hills. It seems that by this time the over-populated Jaintia realised that these areas were favourable for their new home. However, the successive waves of Jaintia immigrants to Jatinga ceased by 1925, its population having reached saturation point. [499] [245]

Orange production brought economic prosperity to the people of Jatinga. Wealthy villagers employed temporary labourers from the Jaintia Hills every year. Some of these labourers came with their families and others came individually. During their stay at Jatinga, some of them married and settled there. Hence, there are also descendants of such labourers among the present inhabitants of Jatinga. [245] [464]

Some Aspects of Descent Groups.

Throughout the history of Jatinga, immigrations have always been undertaken by a family (elementary family, siblings) or by an individual, but never by a group of clan members. Therefore, the present population is grouped in small descent groups according to each migration. Though some of them happened to have the same clan name, their history of migration and their 621 [175] [614] [166]

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

621 descent grouping are often different. This is a very similar pattern to the
[184] mobility which I discussed in Sohkynduh and Kongton (see p. 112).

One of the outstanding features in this community is the strong paternal
178 authority, established especially in the first generation, because the father's
593 (husband's) contribution was very important in such circumstances: their domestic units were completely independent from the *iing* either of husband
61 or wife. Some of them came with their wives, and many younger ones and their sons brought their wives from their homeland afterwards, thus practising
621 virilocal marriage.

They have an interesting social usage which reflects the importance of the husband of the first generation. This is the addition of the name of the husband of the first generation to the matrilineal clan name in order to differentiate each particular descent group established at Jatinga within the same clan. For instance, Rupsi-Tah, Rupsi-Loh, Rupsi-Khla and Rupsi-Lati are found in the Rupsi clan. Rupsi-Tah is one of the lines of the first immigrants to Jatinga, which I have mentioned as Rupsi: Tah was taken from Pryntah, the husband of Sintu (Rupsi) (see p. 171). Thus the present inhabitants of Jatinga are very conscious of their father or grandfather, though they strictly follow the matrilineal descent rule. From such a usage of naming a clan, the Indian officer, who gave me some information about Jatinga before I went there, made the mistaken deduction that they had changed from matrilineal to patrilineal, assuming this to have come about as a result of the influence of patrilineal tribes around Jatinga. But this is simply due to the fact, firstly, that they hold in high regard the man of the first generation, because of his great contribution; secondly, that they distinguish themselves from members of the same clan according to the descent group established at each immigration; in other words, it indicates each *iing* grouping in the village.

178 The fundamental Khasi social organization based on the matrilineal system
184 did not change at all. I could observe in Jatinga exactly the same principle in action as I had found in Sohkynduh and Kongton. The village endogamy
582 has also been well established in the present generation: there are about 20 different clans which can intermarry, and taking a spouse from an outside com-
61 munity has become very rare nowadays. Marriage patterns in relation to the *iing* structure and all its related aspects are surprisingly similar to that of the
621 communities in the Khasi Hills. The solidarity of the *iing* is even greater in Jatinga, particularly among the rich, because of the greater accumulation of wealth and greater economic activity, which also increases the authority of the *iing* as manager of considerable property—this was also the case with the Shella people. Jatinga demonstrates that in spite of colonization and of a significant change in economic activities, Khasi social organization has maintained itself intact. This situation is in contrast with the considerable social changes observed among the Garo community in colonial areas like Rinsibara and Joshipara.

621 *Intermarriage.*

178 From the earliest period of the establishment of Jatinga up to the present,
582 some changing aspects of marriage patterns relating to intermarriages are to be observed.

563 As I stated before, in the earlier period, the people used to bring their spouses from their homeland, but they also married neighbouring tribal peoples, namely,
563 the Zemi-Naga, the Kuki and the Cacharee of villages close to Jatinga, and also the Lushai, the Bengalee, the Moslem and the Anglo-Indian who lived
621 in Haflong, the biggest political and commercial centre in the Hills, situated

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

[Jatinga]

three miles away from Jatinga. As one may expect in such a situation, quite a number of intermarriages with these peoples appear in my census of Jatinga. The resultant of these intermarriages was that when the couple and their children lived in Jatinga, they were considered to have become Khasi; otherwise they were held to be non-Khasi, whether the spouse was man or woman. This orientation of social recognition of the result of intermarriage was generally seen among Khasi in such situations, not only in the case of Jatinga. 563 621

The following are extracts of intermarriages from my genealogical table of Jatinga people. 563 591 621

A. Cases of intermarriages in which the descendants became Khasi.

1. A woman of the Dome clan married a Kuki man. All members of the present Dome clan at Jatinga are their descendants.
2. A woman of the Rymbai clan married a Kuki man as her second marriage. Their descendants are Rymbai.
3. A man of the Suchiang clan married a Mikir woman, and lived in Jatinga. They had one daughter who married a man of the Hua clan of Jatinga. They named this woman's line 'Shadap' as one of the Khasi clans. Later this Mikir woman's sister's daughter married a man of Rupsi-Lati, and their descendants were also named 'Shadap' by the villagers. Thus Shadap clan was created by a Mikir woman who married a Khasi man of Jatinga.
4. A Khasi man married a Lushai woman and lived at Aijal, the headquarters of the Lushai Hills. They said he became Lushai. Later a man of the Pajat clan of Jatinga married his daughter from Aijal. This couple lives at Jatinga and has several children. The villagers said they have to give them a new clan name. It is under consideration.

B. Cases of intermarriages leading to the emigration of Jatinga inhabitants.

5. A man of Jatinga married a woman of Zemi-Naga as his second marriage and lives at his wife's village.
6. A woman (the daughter of the woman of Rymbai, who married a Kuki: A-2) married a Moslem man and lives at Haflong.
7. A woman of Rymbai married a Panjabee and lives at Shillong. This woman is (B-6)'s mother's sister's daughter.
8. A woman of Siangshai clan married an Assamese and lives at Gauhati.
9. A woman of Rupsi-Tah married an Anglo-Indian and has gone to the United Provinces.
10. A woman of Jatinga married a man of Zemi-Naga and went to his village.
11. A woman of Jatinga married a man of Cacharee and lived at his village some time, but she came back to Jatinga after divorcing him.

A cases belong to the earlier period when Jatinga had a shortage of population, while *B* cases, except 10 and 11, are found among the present younger generation. The population, which had increased rapidly in the last twenty years with economic prosperity, is suffering from the recent economic depression caused by the Partition as well as from the great damages done to their orange gardens and pan-leaf gardens by tree diseases. Moreover they have an unbalanced rate of birth according to sex: females are more numerous than males. Therefore, many daughters marry out as shown in the cases of *B*. The above-cited cases are only concerned with intermarriages with non-Khasi, but there are still other women who married Khasi men and who reside outside Jatinga, as for example, at Haflong and Shillong. [161]

In the village there are still many unmarried girls without suitable spouses. In the olden days, it was less difficult to marry neighbouring tribal peoples, 178 563 621

178 like the Zemi-Naga, the Cacharee and the Kuki. But after the period of
563 economic prosperity as I shall describe in the next section, the Jatinga people
reached a rather high level of education, while most of the neighbouring tribes
• 621 remained illiterate. Their standard of living likewise improved. Fashionable
[871] girls of Jatinga who have studied at the Convent school in Shillong, and speak
English and Hindi, cannot marry half-naked tribesmen who work in the jungle.
They prefer to intermarry with Moslem, Panjabee or Assamese who belong to
amore sophisticated community, and through whom they can enjoy urban life.
Thus the orientation of the intermarriage of the people of Jatinga has changed,
along with the growth of Jatinga.

It should be noted that intermarriages came mostly through the contacts at Haflong, where people used to go once a week for the bazaar, rather than through direct contacts with neighbouring villages.

Economy of Jatinga and its Relation to Neighbouring Tribes.

178 It is very interesting to find two different kinds of economy in the same
ecological background: Jatinga Khasi practise pan-leaf and orange cultivation
171 and depend mainly on a trading economy, while the other neighbouring tribal
peoples practise jhum cultivation, almost a subsistence economy. This situa-
245 tion has remained unchanged for the last fifty years since the establishment
of Jatinga village.

The first Jatinga immigrants occupied one ridge of the mountain where the
101 present Jatinga is situated. Formerly, this land belonged to the Zemi-Naga,
245 one of the old inhabitants of the Cachar Hills, who possessed a vast jungle area
for jhum cultivation. It seems that there was no objection to the Khasi occupy-
ing this small spot: it was apparently too small an area for the jhum cultivator
—pan-leaf cultivation of the Khasi requires less than one twentieth of the land
of the usual jhum cultivation. The Khasi who started pan-leaf cultivation
were able to accumulate some capital, and after several years they started
orange gardens. They had had experience of orange cultivation in their home-
land, but this was the first time they had operated commercially.

245 The success of this orange cultivation was beyond their dreams. Hearing
of good oranges at Jatinga, many Bengalee merchants from Dacca, Sylhet,
434 Silchar and Gauhati began to come to buy them. Moreover, the village had
the great advantage of being situated near the railway station. Oranges were
439 sold by carloads. Unimaginable wealth came to the Jatinga people. Especi-
[496] ally the founder's family, including his brother's and sister's, became extraor-
dinarily wealthy; their income used to be Rs. 20,000 a year. The children
[871] were sent to the school which was established in the village and some
were educated at colleges in Dacca, Sylhet and Shillong. The villagers had
[362] beautiful houses built by Manipuri and Bengalee carpenters. Actually the
houses of Jatinga were known as some of the best construction in Assam.

Like the Shella people, they were managers of gardens and employed workers.
245 Wealthy households used to engage several labourers annually, most of them
from Jaintia where the Jatinga people had originated. These workers were
46 provided with shelter in the servant quarters of their employer's house, but
they had to provide meals for themselves. They were paid daily according to
the work done. They were available to other households, when their employer
had no work. Some labourers were also engaged locally among the Zemi-
Naga, the Cacharee and the Kuki, though not as many as among the Jaintia.
245 These local tribes were fairly well occupied by their jhum cultivation, and not
464 used to being employed as workers. Therefore, most of them were not regular

another. In other words, a state is not a fixed territorial entity. In the early twentieth century, the most populous of the 25 chiefdoms, Khyrim, contained 36,833 persons occupying 7,859 houses in 372 villages, and the least populous, Nonglwai, contained 246 persons occupying 53 houses in 3 villages. Fifteen of the chiefdoms were headed by a *syiem* (chief), three by a *lyngdoh* (priest), six by a sirdar, and one by a *wahadadar*. These leaders all had executive and judicial functions, but a chief's authority was limited in that he had to obtain the approval of his executive council before acting. The other leaders were subject to a similar limitation. A chief maintained a small police force. His major sources of revenue were market tolls, fines, and, more recently, income from licenses to distill rice whisky. Succession to a ruling role in the larger states traditionally involved election by members of a lineage that had a hereditary right to elect, from among members of a lineage that had the hereditary right to rule. In British times, the elective basis was broadened, differentially in the various states, even to the point of popular elections. [Cf. Aitchison 1931; Lyngdoh 1952.] **Social stratification.** The three classes of lineage are the nobles, the commoners, and the slaves or servants. This stratification applies only to the recruitment to office in the native-state system, for there is no hypergamy, and in a village assembly everyone has equal voice. The noble lineages have the hereditary right to fill from among their male members roles such as village or state priest, councilor to a chief, or elector of a chief. The few lineages which today are remembered as slave or servant lineages had the inherited obligation to render special services to a chief's household. There is no Khasi term for "commoner." Every lineage other than a noble or a slave lineage is a commoner lineage, and the commoner lineages are in the majority. **Warfare.** Warfare was suppressed by the British, and little is known for certain about its traditional forms. The tactics which confronted the British were the ambush and the guerrilla raid. Traditional goals included taking heads from other Khasis and capturing women from the valleys.

000 175 619 62 (161) (793) (651) (666) (177) (178) 565 623 621 567 72 (177)

RELIGION. **Major and indigenous religions.** A Welsh Calvinistic Methodist missionary penetrated into Cherrapunji in 1832, and the work that he began continues to this day. His society, which has since become the Welsh Presbyterian Foreign Mission, introduced writing, village primary schools, a high school, a theological seminary, and a hospital. Competing missionaries followed, and by 1914 some Shillong Khasis were puzzling over the tenets not only of traditional Hinduism and Islam but also of the Buddhists, Brahmo Samaj, Arya Samaj, and Unitarians (Roy 1914). By the 1920s, missionaries of the Church of God and the Seventh Day Adventists were

797 17

CHAPTER IV

Result of the survey

4.1 **Distribution of sample.**—It has already been mentioned in Chapter I that purposive selection of ten villages from border area, eight villages from the project area and a random selection of ten villages from the general area, were made for intensive investigation. 125 128

It is not our intention to devote this Chapter on the specific needs of individual villages. Some common salient features of the villages relating to the situation of the villages, diseases occurring there and marketing, communication, educational and medical facilities obtainable in those villages are briefly described below for the purpose of giving intelligence into the condition of the sample villages.

The following table shows the group-wise distribution of the sample villages, their location by thana and subdivision and the number of families inhabiting each village at the time of the survey.

TABLE B-I

Sample villages in United K. & J. Hills and their location 621

Group	Name of villages	Thana	Subdivision	No. of families
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Border area—	1. Lumshnong	Jowai	Jowai	63
	2. Amki	Dawki	Do	18
	3. Syndai	Do	Do	135
	4. Darrang	Do	Do	104
	5. Lyngkhat	Do	Do	26
	6. Nongjri	Cherra	Shillong	223
	7. Bholaganj	Do	Do	84
	8. Shella	Do	Do	236
	9. Mawdow	Do	Do	52
	10. Bajat	Do	Do	65

19: Assam G-5 (1958) 1963 AR7 Khasi AR7

621

Group (1)	Name of villages (2)	Thana (3)	Subdivision (4)	No. of families (5)
Project area —	11. Sutnga	Jowai	Jowai	127
	12. Sohkha	Dawki	Do	95
	13. Mustem	Jowai	Do	85
	14. Nartiang	Jowai	Do	161
	15. Raitong	Nongpoh	Shillong	47
	16. Umden	Do	Do	32
	17. Patharkhmah	Do	Do	22
	18. Mawphaniew	Shillong	Do	74
General area—	19. Iapmala	Jowai	Jowai	24
	20. Lamarsiang	Do	Do	25
	21. Mawkynchian	Do	Do	40
	22. Jympiat	Shillong	Shillong	7
	23. Domrya	Do	Shillong	20
	24. Mawkhli	Do	Do	16
	25. Mawlaiteng	Do	Do	20
	26. Asale	Do	Do	5
	27. Jowe	Nongpoh	Do	7
	28. Byrbeh	Do	Do	20
		Total — :		1,837

731 132 491

4.2 Natural calamities.—The villages are free from severe natural calamities like flood, erosion, earthquake and the like. Excessive rain has rendered the higher lands barren near Cherapunjee, Mawsynram, etc. During the monsoon after heavy rains, the small rivulets and streams come in spate dislocating communication from village to village which cause much inconvenience to the people in carrying on trade, marketing and other day to day activities.

19: Assam G-5 (1958) 1963 AR7 Khasi AR7

CHAPTER V

Population and Occupation

The following table shows the number of families and population of the sample villages in the different village groups.

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TABLE C-1

	Border area	Project area	General area
1	2	3	4
No. of villages	10	8	10
No. of families	1,006	647	184
No. of persons	3,674	2,965	902
Average no. of families per village.	101	81	18
Average no. of persons per village.	367·4	370·6	90·2
Average no. of persons per family.	3·6	4·6	4·9

The population in the first two groups of villages is much more than in the third group because important villages were intentionally selected from border and project areas. The figures may not truely reflect the difference in the average size of villages in these areas.

The population in the selected villages were compared with the 1951 census figures. But it was found that the two sets of figures are not strictly comparable due to changes in the names and boundaries of the villages and emigrations. A note on this study is included in the appendix. [128]

*162 125 161 621

5.2: The following table shows the classification of population by age and sex in the three areas:—

Age and Sex Composition of Population

Age Group	Border area			Project area			General area		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
1. Below 5 yrs.	293	328	621 (16·90)	299	295	594 (20·03)	77	87	164 (18·18)
2. 5 to below 15 yrs.	426	459	885 (24·09)	380	373	753 (25·40)	127	112	239 (26·50)
3. 15 to below 65 yrs.	1025	1077	2102 (57·21)	722	862	1584 (53·42)	258	236	494 (54·76)
4. 65 yrs. & above	26	40	66 (1·80)	16	18	34 (1·15)	3	2	5 (0·56)
Total	1770	1904	3674 (100·00)	1417	1548	2965 (100·00)	465	437	902 (100·00)
No. of females per 1,000 males	..	1076	..	..	..	1092	..	..	940

It is seen that the population under 15 years of age in the border area, project area and general area were respectively 41 per cent, 45 per cent and 45 per cent of the total population in these areas, while that under age group 'between 15 to 65 years', constituted respectively 57 per cent, 53 per cents 55 per cent of the population in the three areas.

It is evident that population of females was as a whole greater than that of male in border area and project area and less in general area. The number of females per 1,000 males in border area, project area and general area were respectively 1,076, 1,092 and 940 against the 1951 census figure of 983 females per 1,000 males in the rural areas of the district of United K-J. Hills.

5.3: The following table shows the classification of population by religion.

TABLE C-3

*162 779

Classification of Population by Religion

Area	Tribal religion	Christianity	Hinduism	Other religion	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1. Border area	1766 (48·07)	1410 (38·38)	483 (13·15)	15 (0.41)	3674 (100·00)
2. Project area	811 (27·35)	2013 (67.89)	141 (4.76)	0.00	2965 (100·00)
3. General area	309 (34·26)	571 (63·30)	22 (2·44)	0.00	902 (100·00)

[433 563] Population following Hinduism and other religion in the border area comprises mostly of displaced persons from East Pakistan following trade and business as their means of livelihood, while those in the general and project areas are mainly the Nepalies who are generally engaged in cattle rearing and agriculture.

19: Assam G-5 (1958) 1963 AR7 Khasi AR7

APPENDIX

Population and Occupation

No. of families and population of sample villages

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Name of village	No. of persons according to 1951 Census	No. of persons according to Present survey	Variation	No. of families according to listing Schedule	
Border Area—					
1. Bholaganj	..	313	..	84	
2. Balat	..	255	..	65	
3. Nongjri	..	805	..	223	
4. Shilla	..	830	..	236	
5. Darrang	..	490	..	104	
6. Syndai	..	378	..	135	Average size of village 100.6
7. Mawdon	..	204	..	52	
8. Lyngkhat	..	68	..	26	Average family size 3.6
9. Lumshnong	...	280	...	63	
10. Aniki	..	51	..	18	
Total ..	..	3674	...	1006	
Project Area—					
11. Sohkha	..	435	..	95	..
12. Sutnga	..	639	..	127	Average size of village 80.6
13. Mawphaniew	...	368	..	74	
14. Patharkhmah	..	134	..	28	Average family size 4.6
15. Raitong	..	233	..	47	
16. Umden	..	153	..	38	
17. Nartiang	..	576	..	164	
18. Mustem	..	419	..	85	..
Total ..	.	2965	..	647	..

Name of village	No. of persons according to 1951 Census	No. of persons according to Present survey	Variation	No. of families according to listing schedule	
General Area—					
19. Mawlaiteng	113	86	−27	20	Average size of village 18·4
20. Jympiat	87	48	−39	7	
21. Asola	29	22	−7	5	.. ..
22. Domrya	76	16	40	20	
23. Lamyrsiang	119	97	−22	29	Average family size 4.9
24. Iapmala	126	161	35	24	
25. Mawkynshian	163	159	−4	40	
26. Jowe	48	31	−17	7	
27. Byrheh	114	106	−8	20	
28. Mawkhi	49	76	27	16	
Total ..	924	902	−20	184	.. ...

N. B.—1951 census population figures are not shown against Border Area and Project Area villages. This is because of the fact that in some cases in the Census report, the different blocks of a village have been enumerated as different villages, *e.g.*, the village Sohkha has been enumerated in 1951 census as three villages, *viz.*, Sohkha Phlang, Sohkha mission, etc., while in some other cases, only one population figure has been recorded against a number of villages of which possibly one is the main village, others being its satellites and as these villages were selected without any reference to the Census Handbook, there is every likelihood of our selected villages not coinciding with Census villages. So far as migration is concerned it is very rare in big villages, particularly when they have some settled occupation but it was found through investigation that in some of the border villages due to continued adversities in their agricultural and other occupation people had to move away in search of work. Migration of some traders was reported from Bholaganj and Lyngkhat. Some Khasi families were reported to have migrated to Pakistan where they had got agricultural land. Heaviest emigration of this type was however, reported from Sohkha, a village selected from Saipung-Darrang, M. P. C. D. Block, but located near the Indo-Pak Border, where about one third of its total population was said to have migrated to Pakistan. Some families from Mawdon are said to have migrated to a nearby village due to unhealthy condition of the village. A study of population variation in General area villages given above, will show that there is a net decrease of 20 persons in the sample villages from total number of persons recorded in 1951 Census. This is accounted for by migration of people which is considerable in smaller villages particularly those depending on shifting cultivation. A few families from Mawlaiteng are said to have migrated to Mawlum a village only a few furlong away from Mawlaiteng. Migration was also reported from Lamyrsiang, Domrya, Asola, and Jowe from Byrhoh and Mawkynshian a few families were said to have left the village a few days ahead of the date of investigation for their cultivation at some distant place.

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

There is considerable trade carried on in
245 *tezpát* or bay leaves, the trees being extensively cultivated by the
439 inhabitants of the lower slopes of the hills on the Sylhet border. The finest oranges in India are also grown in groves in the same tract, the value of the trade in which is now (1876) estimated to amount
237 to £3760 per annum. Lac is gathered by the Míkírs in the Jáintiá
439 Hills, but not to any great extent. Bees are both domesticated and found wild, and an extensive trade in bees-wax is carried on,
231 the amount exported being estimated at from three hundred to four hundred *maunds* annually. The whole of the Hills, where there is
233 no forest, and where the land is not under cultivation, consists of
621 rich pasture grounds, which are held in common by the villagers
651 and pay no revenue to Government.

137 The forests of the Khásí and Jáintiá Hills do not yield much profit either to the British Government or to the chiefs. There
[648] are no reserved forests in the District; and according to the Deputy-Conservator, the total area of unreserved forest, *i.e.* of land covered
[659] with timber trees and not at present required for *júm* cultivation, is only 150 square miles. The trees found are chiefly pine, and those classified as 'mixed upper hill forests.' At an elevation of 3000 feet, the Pinus Kasia predominates over all other vegetation and forms almost pure pine forests. It is found also at lower heights, and there attains larger dimensions, but only in the case of isolated trees. The 'mixed upper hill forests' are confined to a series of sacred groves, which clothe the topmost ridge of the watershed between the valleys of the Brahmaputra and Surmá. The characteristic trees are those of a temperate vegetation, chiefly consisting of oaks, chestnuts, magnolia, Schima, Cinnamomum, Prunus, Engelhardtia, etc. There are also numerous other timber trees, including the valuable *sál* (Shorea robusta) and the rubber tree (Ficus elastica); but on the whole the Khásí Hills are remarkable for the
[648] absence of forest. Early in 1874-75 measures were taken to put a stop to the indiscriminate burning of the forests, and the Siems and
[659] village officers were made responsible for the conservancy of the sacred groves. These endeavours have met with some success; but it is a very difficult thing to change the habits of a population, or to induce uncivilised tribes to incur a small temporary inconvenience for the sake of future benefit. The total area directly protected from fire during the year 1875-76 is returned at 3618 acres; the expenditure was Rs. 122; and in ten prosecutions for breaches of forest rules, twenty-three persons were convicted.

21: Ehrenfels E-4,5 (1950) 1953 AR7 Khasi AR7

question and indeed has been compiled without knowledge of Professor CHATTOPADHYAY's work, and before he very kindly sent a private copy of this work, which had not been available to me previously.

The present paper offers data on the following subjects:

1. Khasi kinship terms from the Mawshai Khasi plateau-area in the Khyrim State, about 20 to 30 miles south-east of Shillong, which are in some minor details different from the Mawphlang data, collected by CHATTOPADHYAY, south-west of Shillong;
2. Comparative data from the Wár-Khasi;
3. from the plateau-area of Jowai in the Jaintia [10] Hills, and
4. from the Wár-Jaintia;
5. Aspects of the Khasi kinship terms, with special reference to the matrilineal order of society, and to the respective position of women and men there, especially the particular consideration which the biological relationship through the father receives in kinship terminology, in spite of the emphasis on the matrilineal structure in Khasi society (comp. term No. 1 of the list and its discussion in para 3/b of the present paper, on p. 409).

The data were collected in field researches to which I was enabled by two Research Grants for comparative studies in matrilineal civilizations of India, given by the Viking Fund Inc. (now: Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research) in New York, during the periods 1949-50 and 1951-52. My gratefulness to the foundation for enabling me to carry out these field researches, as well as to the University of Madras, for granting me Sabbathical leaves for the same purpose, is here once more recorded.

My research programme was based on the first tentative working hypothesis, laid down in my book "Mother-right in India" [11], but includes also various other aspects of study which have not been pre-planned, or even considered there [12], as for instance also the present comparative study of kinship terms in areas of four Khasi dialects and their special significance to the Khasi matrilineal social system. The material was collected during a five weeks house-to-house study in the recently founded Plateau Khasi village Maw Syn Jri, during April and May 1950. This village consisted mostly of houses, owned by Khasi elder sisters and inhabited by them, with their families, after they had left the ancestral home in the main village Kharang, about one mile across the valley on the western side of the new settlement. The ancestral family houses there were in the possession of either the mother, or, if she was no more alive, the youngest daughter of the family, the *ka khun khaddu* [13].

[10] Jaintia, (Pnár or "Syntong") are the Khasi speaking eastern neighbours of the Khasi proper. As among the Khasi, so also among Jaintia the people in the cool plateau highlands are in many ways different from those who settled in the luscious tropical rainforests of the southern slopes, now situated just north of the East Pakistan frontier: — the so-called Wár-country, where economy is mainly based on pan-leaf gardening.

[11] EHRENFELS (1941).

[12] EHRENFELS (1950/A), (1950/B), (1950/C), (1950/D), (1950/E), (1951/A), (1951/B).

[13] GEARON (1914), pp. 83, seq., CANTLIE (1936), p. 11.

mantris sit. This durbar must not be confused with the 643
electoral durbar which will be referred to later. It is 645
an executive council over which the Siem presides, and
also possesses judicial powers (for a description of a judicial [693]
durbar, see page 91 of the monograph). The form of summons [694]
to appear before this durbar used to be a knotted piece of
string or cane, the number of knots denoting the degrees of
urgency of the summons, not a piece of pork, as one writer has
said. Pork is a luxury which is not usually distributed gratis.
The Siem manages the State business through his *mantris*,
although it is true that in some States the members of the 644
Siem family have been allowed a considerable share of the
State management. This latter arrangement is, however, a
departure from the ordinary rule in the Siemships, and is
regarded as unconstitutional. In some States there are village 622
headmen, styled Sirdars, who settle cases, collect labour, and 651
assess and receive for the chief the *pynsuk*, which may be
literally translated as "gratification." In Nongstoin there is
an official styled *lyngskor*, who is the superior of a number of
village sirdars, and who acts as the Siem's deputy-governor. 644
In the Khasi Hills there is no land revenue, nor are there any 651
tithes or other imposts levied upon the cultivator's produce. 643
The land, to a great extent, is the property of the different clans [423]
and villages, although in some instances there are estates owned
by private persons. The chief is entitled to receive the income
that arises from what are known as the *raj* or State lands only.
All that the Siem usually receives from his people in the
way of direct revenue is the State subscription, or *pynsuk*,
mentioned above. Even this is supposed to be a voluntary
contribution, and it is not demanded in some States. This
tax is nominally a collection to meet the expenses of the State
ceremonies, but is really a means of increasing the chief's
private income. The contribution varies in amount according
to the means of the villagers. The Siem's principal source of 643
income, however, in all the Khasi States is the toll (*khrong*), 651
which he takes from those who sell at the markets in his 443
territory. As the Khasis are great traders these tolls are often
at the larger markets fairly valuable. The chief raises no
excise revenue, the manufacture of both fermented and distilled

I: Gurdon E-4,5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

certain dominant but non-priestly clans (*mantrin*). In other States the Council has been widened by the addition to it of village headmen (*si-dare*), or the chief superintendents (*bazaar*) of the village markets, tolls from which constitute the chief item in the public receipts of these States. A further step towards the recognition of the public will in the nomination of a Siem has been the introduction of popular elections, at which all the adult males vote. Such popular elections were very greatly due to the views held by Colonel Bivar, who was Deputy-Commissioner of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills from 1865 to 1877. These elections have been, in many States, an innovation which is hardly in accord with public sentiment, and in many cases the voters have done no more than confirm the selection of a special electoral body. It is, however, clear that the idea of popular elections is not one with which the people are unfamiliar, e.g. in Langrin State, where all the adult males customarily vote at an election of a Siem. Popular election has also been customary in the Nokmaidpoh and Bhowal States, in cases where a special electoral body has been unable to agree upon a nomination, and also in Nongpoung, if a Council of five *lyngdoh*s, which has in this State authority to declare who is the rightful heir, but not to disqualify him, cannot come to an unanimous decision. The Siems are appointed by an assembly, or *durbar*, which will be described later. The chiefs, having been thus chosen by the *durbar*, which is supposed by the people to be an institution of Divine origin, are styled, *ki Siem u Ioei*, or Siems of God. In most States the Siem is the religious as well as the secular head, e.g. in the Cherra State, where the Siem is also *lyngdoh*. In Khyrim State the Siem has sacerdotal duties to perform at different religious ceremonies, especially at the time of the annual Nongkrem dance. It is the custom for the Siem to consult the auspices with the soothsayers for the good of the State. The Siem in matters judicial acts as a judge, the whole body of the *durbar* being the jury. In olden days the Siem marched to war at the head of his army. It is not customary to recognise an heir-apparent, and the young men of the Siem family pursue the ordinary avocations of a Khasi, not comporting themselves in the least like scions of royalty. In quite

[1] Quite elects the Siem -- Analysis

1:Curzon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

Sumbong Dongpon, of the place at the foot of the Garo Hills in the Mymensing district, may be a corruption of the former. The Siems are supposed to be descended from a stag, possibly a relic of totemism in this family. In this State there is a large elected darbar consisting of 2 *mantris*, 21 *lyngdohs*, 25 *sirdars*, 1 *lyngdoh*, and 1 *lenan*. The *lyngdohs* are the heads of the priestly clans, by whom they are chosen. The sirdars of villages are appointed by the Siem in conjunction with the adult males of the different villages. There are two *lyngdohs* and two *lenans* in the State, but one *lyngdoh* and one *lenan* only at present are members of the darbar which constitutes the Siem. A *lyngdoh* is the Siem's agent for the purpose of governing a collection of villages. He is appointed by the Siem with the consent of the adult males of the villages [illegible] The royal family of Nongkhlaw, or Khadewpdon, is believed to have been founded by a Syntong of the name of U Shajer, who left the Jowai hills with his sister, Ka Shaphlong, because she had failed to obtain her share of the family property in Jaintia. This man is said to have purchased certain lands in Bardwar in Kaserup. Apparently he did not obtain possession of this estate, for he came up into the Khasi Hills, and finding there certain villages without a ruler, he, at the wish of the *lyngdohs* of these villages, consolidated them into a state over which he ruled as a Siem. He was succeeded by his sister's son, U Syntiew, who further extended his territories until he obtained possession of other villages. U Syntiew is said to have delegated a portion of his powers to his two sisters, Ka Jem and Ka Singhat, who ruled at Sohiong and Nongkhlaw respectively. Succeeding rulers further extended the Nongkhlaw territory. In 1829, U Tirot Singh rebelled against the East India Company and carried on for four years a successful guerilla warfare. He was finally captured and was imprisoned for life by the British Government. According to the statement of Raja Kiar Singh, it would seem that formerly the heads of five clans had the right to appoint the Siem, i.e. the heads of 3 *lyngdoh* clans and of the Jaid Pyrkhat and Bongdoh clans. In the Cherra State the electors are the male adults of the State, who are represented on the Siem's darbar by the mantris of the 12 aristocratic clans, known as the [illegible] darbar representative chiefs.

[illegible] The Khasi State ... Budget

I: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

an appeal to the people. Mention has been made above of States over which *lyngdohs* possess temporal as well as spiritual powers. The States of Sohiong, Mawphlang, and Lyniong may be quoted as examples. Here the *lyngdoh* is elected from the *lyngdoh* clan by all the adult males of the state. Some small States, such as Maoshu and Pomsanngut, are presided over by Sirdars, a name which has probably been introduced during the British era of supremacy in these hills. The Sirdar is elected by the adult males of the State. In Mawlong there are a Sirdar, a *lyngdoh*, and a *doloi* who govern the State. These two latter officials are elected by the people as in the case of Sirdars. In the Shella Confederacy there are four officials who are styled *Wahadadar*, the name being probably a corruption of the Persian *'ohda-dar*.* These officials are elected for periods of three years each by the people.

The Jaintia Hills, which are British territory, are divided up into twenty townships, the office being an office elected by the people, the Government reserving the right of approval or the reverse to the doloi's appointment. The dolois, under the rules for the administration of justice in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, as well as the Sirdars of the British villages in the Khasi Hills, possess certain judicial powers. They are assisted by officials known as *potors*, *basans*, and *sangots* in the performance of their duties. This administration, on the whole, works well, and its success shows the wisdom of the Government in having made use of the indigenous agency it found to hand when the Jaintia territory was annexed. In the Jaintia Hills there are also three Sirdarships, the office being filled by election as in the case of dolois.

In conclusion it should be stated that it has been attempted here to give but a brief *résumé* of the Khasi political system as it exists at the present time. The above account of the procedure at elections is based on existing usage. The procedure should not, however, be regarded as stereotyped, for it will no doubt be open to such revision as may on occasion be suggested by the legitimate evolution of tribal customs.

* Offals.

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

423 prominent trees on the boundary lines, or by natural boundaries such as streams.

423 614 In the Wár country to the West of Cherra, notably the country between the heights of Laitkynsew and the plains, considerable portions of the hill-sides are the property of communities known as *sengs*. A *seng* may be defined as a collection of families sprung from some common ancestress or ancestor. As an instance of these *sengs* I may describe the community known as the *lai seng* which owns land in the neighbourhood of Laitkynsew, the area owned being known as the "*ri lai seng*," or land of the three clans. These clans are descended from three men, U Kynta, U Nabein, and U Tangrai, it being remarkable that in this case descent is traced originally from male ancestors and not from females. The three ancestors are said to have owned a large tract of land, and they had as their abode the village of Laitmawria close to Laitkynsew; but owing to an epidemic, or some such cause, they deserted the village of Laitmawria and went with their families to live in some of the surrounding Wár villages, viz. in Tyrna, Nongkroh, Nongwar, Mastoh, and Mawlong. The descendants of the three men above-mentioned possess a genealogical table, showing their descent from the original three founders of the *sengs*. They claim a large tract of country lying to the south and south-east of the Laitkynsew plateau, containing not only orange gardens, but also valuable lime quarries. There are other *seng* communities also in the neighbourhood, e.g. the *hiuriew phew seng*, or sixty *sengs*, who put forward claims to other tracts of land. The boundaries of the *ri lai seng* are identifiable on the ground. [622] The business of the *seng* community is managed by a durbar, an elder or other influential person being chosen as president.

423 [427] 692 In the country of the Lyngams the crop belongs to the person who cultivates it, but the land belongs to the *kur* or family. The Lyngam villages, like those in the Khasi Siemships, do not pay any rent to the Siem. If outsiders cultivate within the areas set apart for the different Lyngam villages, all of them, including women, have to pay eight annas each to the people of the village in whose circle they cultivate. There is usually a mutual understanding between inhabitants of Lyngam villages, that certain tracts of land belong to the

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

considering. Some of the leading characteristics of the Lynngams will now be detailed. The Lynngams are by complexion swarthy, with features of Mongolian type. The men are of middle height and the women remarkably short, both sexes being not nearly so robust as the Khasis, a result due probably to climatic influences, for the Lynngams live in fever-haunted jungles. The men have very little hair about the face, although a scanty moustache is sometimes seen, the hairs in the centre being carefully plucked out, the result being two tufts on either side. Beards are never seen. The women are ill-favoured, and wear very little clothing. The men wear the sleeveless coat of the Khasi and Mikir pattern, called *phong-marong*, which is made of cotton dyed red, blue, and white. This custom may have been borrowed from the Khasis. They do not grow their own cotton, but obtain it from the plains. They make their own dyes, *changlong* (red) and *hur sai-iong* (black). A cotton cloth, barely enough for purposes of decency, is tied between the legs, the ends being allowed to hang down in front and behind. Sometimes an apron is worn in front. At the present day the men wear knitted woollen caps, generally black or red, of the Nongstoin pattern (a sort of fisherman's cap), but the elderly men and head-men wear turbans. The females wear a cotton cloth about eighteen inches broad round the loins, sometimes striped red and blue, but more often only dark blue. A blue or red cloth is thrown loosely across the shoulders by unmarried girls, but married women only wear the waist-cloth, like the Garos. A cloth is tied round the head by married women, sometimes, Garo fashion. The women wear quantities of blue beads as necklaces, like their Garo sisters. They obtain the beads from the Garo markets at the foot of the hills. Brass ear-rings are worn by both sexes; the women, like the Garos, load their ears to such an extent with brass rings as to distend the lobes greatly. Silver armlets are worn by the head-men only, or by those who possess the means to give a great feast to the villagers. This is the custom of the Garo *nokmas*, or head-men. Both sexes wear bracelets. The men also wear necklaces of beads. The rich wear necklaces of cornelian and another stone which is thought by the Lynngams to be valuable. A necklace of such stones is called *u'pieng blei* (god's necklace).

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

301 This stone is apparently some rough gem which may be picked up by the Lynngams in the river beds. A rich man amongst
556 them, however, is one who possesses a number of metal gongs,
534 which they call *wiang*. For these they pay very high prices,
436 Rs. 100 being quite a moderate sum for one of them. Being curious to see one of these gongs, I asked a *sirdar*, or head-man, to show me one. He replied that he would do so, but it would take time, as he always buried his gongs in the jungle for fear of thieves. Next morning
[531] he brought me a gong of bell metal, with carvings of animals engraved thereon. The gong when struck gave out a rich deep note like that of Burmese or Thibetan gongs. These gongs have a regular currency in this part of the hills, and represent to the Lynngams "Bank of England" notes. It would be interesting to try to ascertain what is their history, for no one in the Lynngam country makes them in these days. Is it possible that the Garos brought them with them when
534 they migrated from Thibet? The gongs are well known in the
● 622 Garo Hills, and I hear that when a *nokma*, or head-man, there
778 dies his corpse is laid out upon them. They thus possess also an element of sanctity, besides being valuable for what they will fetch to the Garos or Lynngams. We may hope to hear more about them in Captain Playfair's account of the Garos.

304 The Lynngams do not tattoo. Their weapons are the large-
411 headed Garo spear, the dao, and the shield. They do not usually
243 carry bows and arrows, although there are some who possess them. They are by occupation cultivators. They sow two kinds of hill rice, red and white, on the hill-sides. They have no wet paddy cultivation, and they do not cultivate in terraces like the Nagas. They burn the jungle about February, after cutting down some of the trees and clearing away some of the debris, and then sow the paddy broadcast, without cultivating the ground in any way. They also cultivate millet and Job's-tears in the same way. With the paddy chillies are sown the
241 first year. The egg plant, arum, ginger, turmeric, and sweet
231 potatoes of several varieties are grown by them in a similar
754 manner. Those that rear the lac insect plant *landoo* trees (Hindi *arhal dal*) in the forest clearings, and rear the insect thereon. Some of these people, however, are prohibited by a

3:Stegmiller-17 M-4,5(no date)1924 AR7Khasi AR7

793
622
292

Fig. 6 p. 18
[The village chief in his sacrificial coat and ornaments]

782 kingdom, thou hast given the sun and the moon,
796 for reckoning the year, so that we may have Pujs once in the year, so that kings may arise, the children of the valleys may increase and thrive, the children of the Khasi, the children of the Bhoi, the children of the War, so that the sacrificial gifts may increase before the face of thine altar." (11)

11. P. Dr. Becker, S.D.S., loc. cit., p. 902 (Anthropos).

782 At these state and community sacrifices, the
793 official lyngdohs are the chief one to appear, who together with the ruling king or chieftain
622 and with other lyngdohs from the villages perform
796 the sacrifices. These annual state sacrifices are introduced and performed with great ceremony. They take place in front of the house of the s'iem sad (high priestess) of the state involved. (Fig. 2) [Fig. 6. The village chief in his sacrificial coat and ornaments].*

782 In addition to the usual sacrificial gifts,
796 which are grouped together on a small altar of earth and which consist of a banana leaf, betel nut leaves, pepper leaves, betel nuts, kpu and rynsi, fermented rice water in a gourd bottle, and oak leaves, there are chiefly hens and goats and at the end a pig. Goats are slaughtered in great numbers, so that the chief festival day of the state sacrifice is called pom blang (the goat heads) by the people.

782 Besides the slaughtering of the sacrificial
535 animals, the dance plays a chief part. At these
796 great sacrifices all the dances that are customary among the Khasi are performed: the dance [219] of the unmarried girls, the dance of the girls and men together, but both sexes are so placed that the men form an outer circle and the girls

* [See category 116, p. 17--Analyst]

1k Chattopadhyay E-4, 5 (no date) 1941 AR7 Khasi AR7

[p. 1]

KHASI KINSHIP AND SOCIAL ORGANISATION

BY

PROF. K. P. CHATTOPADHYAY.

Introduction

114 121 In a paper on Khasi marriage rules Prof. Hodson has tried to explain the special features of the Khasi kinship terms and marriage rules on the hypothesis of a former dual division of Khasi Society, and certain new social forces which came into operation when the dual society broke up (1).

Hodson used for his work, the kinship terms noted in the Assam Census Report (2), Gurdon's work on Khasis (3) and a dictionary by U. Nissorsing. A full list of Khasi kinship terms was published by Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy shortly afterwards (4). The list is stated to have been compiled with the help of the ex- Siem of Cherra, on the genealogical method. The genealogies have not however been printed, and detailed notes are not available.

Recently the writer of this paper proceeded to the village of Mawphlang, the head-quarters of the Khasi State of this name and collected a certain amount of data to discuss this problem. The village is situated to the southwest of Shillong, at a distance of sixteen miles, and has preserved the old customs to a fair extent. It is ruled over by a lyngdoh or priest-chief, assisted by four myntris. At the time of the visit, the lyngdoh was away, suspended by the Political Agent for misgovernment, and the powers of the State were vested in the council of myntris. The senior myntri U Subu Rai, who is an old man

602 [361]

[this source has been processed for the AR7 Khasi file -- Analyst.]

Il: Chattopadhyay E-4, 5 (no date) 1941 AR7 Khasi AR7

nearly seventy years of age, spoke English a little, and kindly agreed to help by acting as introducer as well as interpreter. The Chowkidar of the bungalow, a Christian Khasi who spoke Hindi tolerably well was however our principal interpreter. Before proceeding to the village, I had studied Roberts' Khasi Grammar and also learnt simple sentences in Khasi necessary for collecting genealogies, kinship terms and connected details, like the inheritance of the ancestral house and lands. This portion of the data was collected entirely through questions and answers in Khasi; the other details were obtained with the help of myntri U Subu Rai and his friends and the Chowkidar, U Hudrington. On important points however, some checking was made, by simple questions in Khasi, which involved definite answers in the affirmative or negative. My students who had accompanied me for training in field studies, repeated some of my observations, in my presence and with my help and guidance.

My best thanks are due to Mr. K. Cantlie, Deputy Commissioner, Khasi and Jaintia Hills, for furnishing me with the letter of introduction to U Subu Rai and for other facilities. His published notes on Khasi law, especially the chapters on inheritance also proved to be of great value in carrying out the enquiries (5). In the subsequent portions of this article, references to the works of Gurdon and Cantlie, will be indicated merely by (G) and (CN) respectively.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

APPENDIX

SOME ADDITIONAL INFORMATION FROM SHELLA AND JATINGA

SHELLA

Shella is situated on the lowest of the southern slopes of the Khasi Hills, bordering on the Sylhet plain of East Pakistan. For centuries the people of Shella maintained close trading connections with the people of the plain, so that they have been much influenced by the Hindu. They have been to some extent divorced economically and culturally from their own people who live in the uplands and on higher part of the slopes. Actually, this is a natural result of their geographical location. From Cherrapunjee, the southern edge of the upland Khasi Hills, only a narrow footpath goes down to Shella. The altitude of Cherrapunjee is about 5,000 feet and of Shella from 500 to 1,000 feet, and the distance between them is 8 miles. The path descends very steeply and is full of hard stones. This difficulty of communication is also why the Hindu influence did not penetrate the upland Khasi, as in the case of the Jaintia Hills.[1]

This area has a unique political organization which differs from the majority of Khasi states who are traditionally ruled by the members of the Siem clan. Shella is organized as a confederation, called 'Shella Confederacy,' and consists of four local villages. The head of the village is called *wadadhar*, and is elected by the villagers every three years. The number of households of the Shella Confederacy was about 900 in January 1956. The names of the four villages and their *wadadhar* in 1956 were:

Name of village	*Name of wadadhar*
1. Shella	Devish Mohan Roy
2. Mushtoh	Ditojou Roy
3. Nongtrai	Orju Roy
4. Tyngnger	Jabuni Roy

Each village is divided into sections. For instance, Shella village has nine sections: (1) Jasir, (2) Disong, (3) Duba, (4) Jamau, (5) Nongrum, (6) Nongnong,

1. However, Shella was the only way out and the main gateway from the Khasi Hills to the plain; it was here that the British first entered the Khasi Hills. They proceeded from Shella to Cherrapunjee and made the latter headquarters of the Khasi Hills in 1833.

clothing, operate the large Khasi business establishments in Shillong, and provide all civic and religious leadership. Women care for children and for the home, do the marketing, and sell dried fish, betel nut, lime, fruits, and rice breads at markets. Other tasks can be performed by either sex. **Land tenure.** Land was formerly divided into sib land and public domain. Sib land was corporately held in perpetuity, and was inalienable except by the unanimous consent of all members of the sib. The public domain was subject to usufructuary right by anyone who kept the land regularly under habitation or cultivation, with a lapse of no more than three years. Most villages grew up on public domain, and then reckoned all land inhabited or under cultivation by a village member as village land. Forests were public, except for sacred groves possessed by villages or lineage groups, and everyone was free to gather branches for fuel. Wastelands and streams were also public. By now, most public domain and village land, together with its forest cover, has been pre-empted as private property and is being rented and sold as such. Sib lands remain intact, unless the sibs agree to rent, lease, or sell. [Cf. Cantlie 1934.]

462 [294] [443] [622] 423 [78]

KIN GROUPS. **Descent.** Descent is matrilineal, and the Khasi is a member exclusively of his own matrilineage from birth to death. Adoption, which is very rare, is only within the matrilineage. **Kin groups.** The maximal matrilineage is the sib; this is a named, widely dispersed, strictly exogamous, lineage group, which claims but cannot trace its origin from a single ancestress. Sibs used to meet as corporate groups from time to time. Some sibs are linked with others in large amorphous groups that are unnamed and are defined solely by exogamy. Such a group is composed of two or more sibs, the ancestresses of which are claimed to have been either real sisters or dear friends who out of affection declared that thenceforth their descendants would be as consanguineals. The origin and function of sib-linkage is now unknown, and today the members of a sib will often disagree on whether or not their sib is linked with another. • The minimal matrilineage is the local descent group, or *iing*. This is the largest kin group that normally rallies at life crises. It is said that the *iing* formerly spanned six generations; today, it encompasses only four. If an *iing* grows to more than four generations in a single village, it segments. New houses are located at some distance from the old and the *iing* soon forgets exactly how to trace genealogical connection, except for which segment descended from a youngest sister. The term *iing* may also be applied to an extended family, an elementary family, and a house. The elementary family is the basic domestic unit in Khasi society. In any village there are likely to be one or two households which stand as sole local representatives of the lineage of the female household head. Such a household is known as an

611 [597] 614 602 [59]

another. In other words, a state is not a fixed territorial entity. In the early twentieth century, the most populous of the 25 chiefdoms, Khyrim, contained 36,833 persons occupying 7,859 houses in 372 villages, and the least populous, Nonglwai, contained 246 persons occupying 53 houses in 3 villages. Fifteen of the chiefdoms were headed by a *syiem* (chief), three by a *lyngdoh* (priest), six by a sirdar, and one by a *wahadadar*. These leaders all had executive and judicial functions, but a chief's authority was limited in that he had to obtain the approval of his executive council before acting. The other leaders were subject to a similar limitation. A chief maintained a small police force. His major sources of revenue were market tolls, fines, and, more recently, income from licenses to distill rice whisky. Succession to a ruling role in the larger states traditionally involved election by members of a lineage that had a hereditary right to elect, from among members of a lineage that had the hereditary right to rule. In British times, the elective basis was broadened, differentially in the various states, even to the point of popular elections. [Cf. Aitchison 1931; Lyngdoh 1952.] **Social stratification.** The three classes of lineage are the nobles, the commoners, and the slaves or servants. This stratification applies only to the recruitment to office in the native-state system, for there is no hypergamy, and in a village assembly everyone has equal voice. The noble lineages have the hereditary right to fill from among their male members roles such as village or state priest, councilor to a chief, or elector of a chief. The few lineages which today are remembered as slave or servant lineages had the inherited obligation to render special services to a chief's household. There is no Khasi term for "commoner." Every lineage other than a noble or a slave lineage is a commoner lineage, and the commoner lineages are in the majority. **Warfare.** Warfare was suppressed by the British, and little is known for certain about its traditional forms. The tactics which confronted the British were the ambush and the guerrilla raid. Traditional goals included taking heads from other Khasis and capturing women from the valleys.

RELIGION. **Major and indigenous religions.** A Welsh Calvinistic Methodist missionary penetrated into Cherrapunji in 1832, and the work that he began continues to this day. His society, which has since become the Welsh Presbyterian Foreign Mission, introduced writing, village primary schools, a high school, a theological seminary, and a hospital. Competing missionaries followed, and by 1914 some Shillong Khasis were puzzling over the tenets not only of traditional Hinduism and Islam but also of the Buddhists, Brahmo Samaj, Arya Samaj, and Unitarians (Roy 1914). By the 1920s, missionaries of the Church of God and the Seventh Day Adventists were

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

burning the dead in the immediate neighbourhood of the village of Jowái. Suspicions of insurrection arose during the months of October and November 1861. In the beginning of January 1862 alarming reports were received from various quarters, and the first serious outbreak occurred on the 17th of that month. This was occasioned by the interference of a *dárogá*, or native police official, with a religious ceremony that took place at the village of Jalong. In such ceremonies dancing with arms is held essential; and the *dárogá* took upon himself to disarm the dancers. This was the signal for a general rising. The *thánd* or police station at Jowái was burned to the ground; the garrison of sepoys was besieged, and all show of British authority was swept away throughout the Hills. The Syntengs fought bravely for their independence, and at first were successful in cutting off several small detachments of police and sepoys. Their weapons were bows and arrows. In common with the other hill tribes of the North-East Frontier, their chief defence consisted in a series of strong stockades, one behind another; and the paths leading to their villages were thickly planted with *pánjis*, or little bamboo spikes, stuck in the ground like caltrops. The battalion of sepoys stationed in the Hills was rendered inefficient by sickness. At last it was found necessary to move a regular army, including an elephant battery and two regiments of Sikhs, into the country in order to quell the revolt. Colonel Dunsford was in chief command. He was accompanied by Major Haughton, the Governor-General's Agent on the North-East Frontier, and Captain Morton, the Deputy-Commissioner of the Khási and Jáintiá Hills, who acted in a political capacity. The operations were tedious and harassing. The rebel chiefs were captured one by one, and the District was declared to be finally pacified in March 1863, after the rebellion had lasted for fifteen months. The special Commission appointed under Act xi. of 1857, for the trial of offenders in the Jáintiá Hills, was dissolved in December 1863. The causes of the rebellion were thus summed up by Major Haughton in an official despatch to the Government of Bengal:—'Taxation was introduced without the supervision with which such a measure should have been accompanied. It was followed up by fresh taxation and rumours of other taxes, also by fiscal and other innovations, which tended to disturb the minds of the people, without any counterpoise such as might have resulted from the continued presence of a European officer.' The Syntengs, like the

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estates. In addition, there are a few small holdings at Jowái, in the Jáintia Hills, which have been settled, after measurement, under the Assam Settlement Rules for a term of ten years. In 1876-77 the total land revenue amounted to Rs. 223, or £22, 6s., derived from 24 estates. Other small items of revenue are derived from fisheries, forests, stamps, and excise. In 1876-77 the rent of the fishery *mahálls* was Rs. 3321, or £332, 2s.; forests produced Rs. 773, or £77, 6s., of which Rs. 652 represents fees on the exportation of timber from the Khási States to the District of Kámrúp. In the same year stamps yielded Rs. 16,121, or £1612, 2s.; but this total includes the sale of postage and telegraph stamps, as well as the sum credited for service stamps. Excise produced Rs. 1216, or £121, 12s. The stamps are sold at the Treasury; there are no licensed vendors. The excise laws are applied only within the limits of the Stations of Shillong and Cherrá Púnjí, and throughout the Jáintiá Hills. There are no licensed distilleries in the District, and the free manufacture of country spirit is permitted both in the dependent States and in British territory; what is manufactured is mainly for home consumption. In 1876-77 there were in all 18 licenses in force—4 for imported spirituous and fermented liquors, 1 each for *máddt* and *chandu*, 2 for *gánjá*, and 10 for opium. The Khásiás and Syntengs are not addicted to the use of intoxicating drugs, which is confined to the people from the plains residing on British territory.

COURTS, ETC.—In the year 1835 there were two Magisterial and Civil Courts in the District. By 1850 the number had risen to four, which continues to the present time. The maximum distance of any village from the nearest court is 65 miles, the average distance is 25 miles. In 1835 one European official was permanently stationed in the District; in 1850, two; in 1862 and 1869, again one. In the last-mentioned year the subdivision of Jowái was opened in the Jáintiá Hills; and there have since been two officers in the District, a Deputy-Commissioner at Shillong, and an Assistant at Jowái. The total number of magistrates is three. These figures, of course, are exclusive of the staff of the Local Government, which has been established at Shillong since 1874.

POLICE STATISTICS.—For police purposes, the Khási and Jáintiá Hills are divided into the three following *thánás* or police circles, with two outposts:—(1) Shillong, with an outpost at Nongpoh; (2) Jowái; (3) Cherrá Púnjí, with an outpost at Thária-ghát, at the foot of the southern hills.

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

625 648 465 In 1835, when British authority was first extended to the Khási Hills, the cost of maintaining the police, from the rank of *jamádár* or head constable upwards, was £45; and in 1840, £57, 16s. By 1860, when the Jáintiá Hills had been annexed, and a *thána* opened at Jowái, the cost had risen to £480. In the year 1869 the strength of the regular police was 149 men in the Khási Hills, and an additional 29 in Jáintiá.

In 1875 the police statistics of the Khási and Jáintiá Hills were as follow:—The force consisted of 2 inspectors on a salary of upwards of Rs. 100 a month, or £120 a year; 3 sub-inspectors and 13 head constables on a salary of less than Rs. 100 a month; and 113 constables on an average pay of Rs. 9 a month, or £10, 16s. a year. The total pay of subordinate officers amounted to Rs. 8340 or £834 a year; and the total pay of constables to Rs. 12,168 or £1216, 16s. Certain contingencies brought up the aggregate expenses to Rs. 24,969 or £2496, 18s. The total number of men of all ranks was 131. As compared with the area and population of the District, these figures show one man to every 16·49 square miles, or to every 153 persons of the population, maintained at a cost of Rs. 4. 1 or 8s. 1½d. per square mile, and of 2 *dandás* 10 *pies* or 4½d. per head of population. Of the total force, 1 officer and 13 men were employed to guard the jail, 3 officers and 23 men to guard the treasury and lock-up and to serve as escorts, leaving 14 officers and 77 men available for general duty.

648 692 Criminal Statistics.—The District of the Khási and Jáintiá Hills, like the other Hill Districts of Assam, is administered by political officers, under special rules framed under Act xxii. of 1869. Petty criminal cases are disposed of by the indigenous magistracy, and only cases of a heinous character are reported to the political officers. Similarly, civil causes are referred to arbitration, according to the indigenous system of village *panchyats*; and the Deputy-Commissioner reports that this system, while affording equal justice to the people, tends to preserve them from the evil of litigiousness.

674 178 In 1874 the total number of cases reported by the police to the political officers was 83, as compared with 63 in the previous year. In these 83 cases, 102 persons were arrested, of whom 71 were put on their trial; 61 persons, or 86 per cent., were convicted, and 10 were acquitted.

Though little serious crime exists in the Hills, yet the number of offences shows a tendency towards increase. The Report of the

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

683 exile (*pyrongdang par*); but if a person so possessed died, the
685 sorcerer was hurled down a precipice (*pyaseh khongpong*). The punishment for robbery and theft was the stocks (*ka pyndait diengsong*), the imposition of fetters, or a punishment known as *kuba s'ang sohmyalon*, by which the culprit was compelled to sit on a bamboo platform under which chillies were burnt. The result of such torture can be better imagined than described.

684 Incest, or *sang*, which, amongst the Khasis means cohabiting
626 with a member of a man's or woman's own clan, was punishable with exile or a fine of Rs. 550/- and one pig. It is believed by the Khasis that the evils resultant from incestuous connection are very great; the following are some of them: being struck by lightning, being killed by a tiger, dying in child-birth, &c.

DECISION OF CASES BY ORDEAL.

1.—*Water Ordeal.*

685 In ancient times the Khasis used to decide certain cases by means of water ordeal (*ka nyma ses*). Yule, writing in 1844, mentions a water ordeal, and one of my Khasi friends remembers to have seen one during his boyhood. There were two kinds of such ordeals. The first, called *ka nyma lieh*, was as follows:—The two disputants in a case would each of them fix a spear under water in some deep pool. They would then dive and catch hold of the spear. The man who remained longest under water without returning to the surface was adjudged by the Siem and durbar to have won the case. Colonel Maxwell, late Superintendent of the Manipur State, witnessed a similar ordeal in the Manipur State in the year 1903, when two Manipuris dived to the bottom of a river and held on to stones, the result being that one man, who remained under water in the most determined way, was very nearly drowned. Amongst the Khasis sometimes the supporters of the contending parties used to compel the divers to remain under water by holding them down with their spears. Another form of trial was to place two pots, each of them containing a piece of gold and a piece of silver wrapped up in cloths, in shallow water. The two contending parties

764 which is called u 'lang sait ksuid or "the
782 he-goat which washes off the devil." The meaning of this is: the he-goat is similar to the "scapegoat" which takes the sins of the deceased upon himself.

Among the poor (that is among those who only use uncut wood as well as those who use wood cut with the ka wait) there is no funeral.

Now the closest relatives start the fire and after these the children of the deceased, if there are any present, apply fire. The cloth on the upper end of the bamboo poles flame brightly and is burned up in no time. The few clothes of the deceased are also soon in flames and then the actual burning of the body begins.

If the pile of wood catches fire, a rooster u 'iar padat is sacrificed immediately. This rooster is swung three times over the funeral pyre just as one swings incense and its blood is smeared three times on the pyre. Then the "stomach egg" (leng kpoh) is broken at the head end of the funeral pyre. Then three ar-
[823] rows ('nam tympem) [433] are thrown by hand as far as one can in three directions. One to the east, one to the south, and the third to
[775] the north. But never to the west. Because according to the belief of the Khasi the west leads to the unending, thither go the souls of the dead, there lies eternity. (30)

●[624] 30. When the Khasi would like to have somebody go far away and they curse him, they speak as follows: to leit sha ban sep ka sngi shaba mih u bnai, i.e., go away where the sun sets and the moon rises!

(Go away where the pepper grows.)

It Garden E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 ART Khasi ART

Syntengs plaster the space in front of the house with red earth and cow-dung, this custom being probably a remnant of Hindu influence. The Khasis have some peculiar customs when they build a new house. When the house is completed they perform a ceremony, *kyrjoh-khe-shain*, when they tie three pieces of dried fish to the ridge pole of the house and then jump up and try to pull them down again. Or they kill a pig, cut a piece of the flesh with the skin attached, and fix it to the ridge pole, and then endeavour to dislodge it. The Syntengs at Nartiang worship *U Bishawm* (Biswakarma) and *Ka Siem Syndon* when a house is completed, two fowls being sacrificed, one to the former, the other to the latter. The feathers of the fowls are affixed to the centre post of the house, which must be of a *diang* swing, a variety of the Khasi oak. The worship of a Hindu god (Biswakarma), the architect of the Hindu gods, alongside the Khasi deity *Ka Siem Syndon*, is interesting, and may be explained by the fact that Nartiang was at one time the summer capital of the kings of Jaintia, who were Hindus latterly and disseminated Hindu customs largely amongst the Syntengs. Mr. Rita says that amongst the Syntengs, a house, the walls of which have been plastered with mud, is a sign that the householder has an enemy. The plastering no doubt is essential as a preventive of fire, arson in these hills being a common form of revenge.

Amongst the Khasis, when a daughter leaves her mother's house and builds a house in the mother's compound, it is considered *ong*, or taboo, for the daughter's house to be built on the right-hand side of the mother's house, it should be built either on the left hand or at the back of the mother's house.

In Nongpoh it is customary to worship a deity called *u Ki-i Sep* (Khasi, *u* place), by tying up branches of the Khasi oak, accompanied with *jaw-jaw* of cattle and the feathers of fowls, to the principal post, which must be of a *diang* swing. The Siem priestess of the Nongkrem State at Smit and the Sellem of the Siem family perform a ceremonial dance before a large post of oak in the midst of the Siem priestesses' house on the occasion of the annual goat-killing ceremony. This oak post is furnished according to custom by the Syngkor

l: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

respective villages; sometimes, however, there are disputes re- 423
garding those lands between the different villages. Such dis- 692
putes are settled by the Lyngam Sirdars of villages or by the Sirdars sitting with the two Lyngskors of the Siemship. If the disputes cannot be settled by these officials to the satisfaction of the parties, the latter are taken by the Lyngskors and Sirdars to the Siem of Nongstoin, who tries the case with the aid of the State mantris.

LAWS REGARDING OTHER PROPERTY.

There is no separate law applying to personal property, as opposed to real property, amongst the Khasis. 423

DECISION OF DISPUTES.

Khasi Courts of Judicature.

In the first place a complaint is made before the Siem, 694
or chief, against a certain party or parties. The facts and 628
circumstances of the case are then detailed before the chief and his headmen, the ostensible object being to attempt to bring about a compromise between the parties. If no recon- 203
ciliation can be effected, a crier (*u sang pyrta shnong*), or in the 699
Jaintia Hills a *sengat*, is sent out to proclaim at the top of his voice the durbar which is to assemble the following evening. He proceeds to cry the durbar in the evening when all the inhabitants have returned to the village from their usual daily pursuits. With a loud premonitory yell the crier makes use of the following formula *:—

"*Kaw!* thou, a fellow-villager; thou, a fellow-creature; thou, an old man; thou, who art grown up; thou, who art young; thou, a boy; thou, a child; thou, an infant; thou, who art little; thou, who art great. *Hoi!* because there is a contest. *Hoi!* for to cause to sit together. *Hoi!* for to cause to deliberate. *Hoi!* for to give intelligence together. *Hoi!* about to assemble in durbar. *Hoi!* for to listen attentively. *Hoi!* ye are forbidden. *Hoi!* ye are stopped to draw water then

* What follows is a literal translation of the Khasi.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

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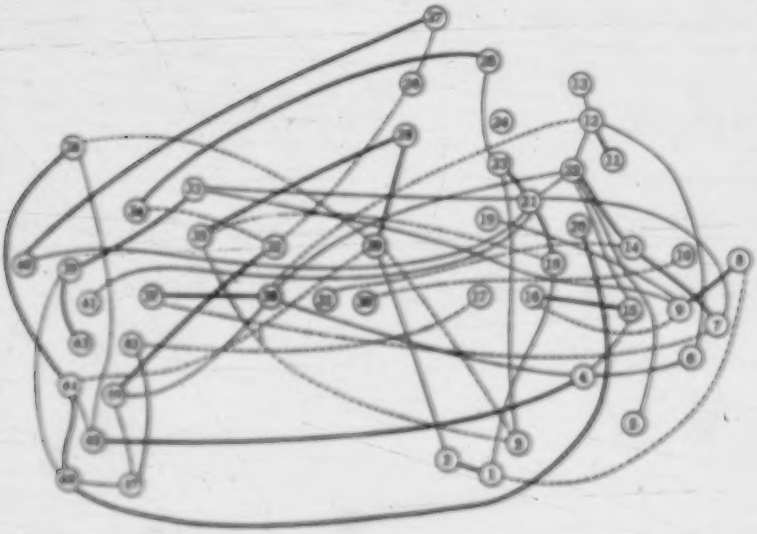

FIG. 10. — *Kinship and Household Location in Sohkynduh.*
——— Matrilineal kinships relations among household-owners;
——— Affinal relations (direct) among household-members;
- - - - - Affinal relations (indirect) among household-members.

particular two families are not restricted to one, but may be accumulated two or three, though I omitted to indicate these in Fig. 10.

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There are some extensions of marriage relations with members outside the village. In Sohkynduh, out of 88 (48 houseowners and 40 their husbands) 13 men and 1 women came from neighbouring villages. Owing to the predominant uxorilocal arrangement, those who came in from outside the village were mostly men. By these members, five different *kur*, new to Sohkynduh, were found, as shown in List 7 (17-21). Most of these outsiders came from villages inside the Kadashinong, or villages no further than a day's journey there and back. This area might be called a secondary endogamous area, and includes more than half a dozen villages. In Kongton, 20 husbands and 3 women came from neighbouring villages by their marriages. The secondary endogamous areas of Kongton and of Sohkynduh are not the same but they overlap in certain places, the surrounding areas being centred on each village. There were, by December 1955, no instances of direct marriage between these two villages.

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[795]

There are a few exceptions to local endogamy, such as those individuals who have become Christians and are educated in towns like Shillong or Cherrapunjee. They usually move to a town, seeking

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

workers and they were few in number.[1] They were particularly employed for such work as the clearing of jungle for new pan gardens in summer. 245 464

In the orange season (December to February) the number of workers increased and they were paid more: Rs. 1/8 were paid[2] for one load (one person carrying 80 pounds of oranges, from an orange garden to the railway station—about two miles). Usually a worker made three to five trips a day. Many workers from Jaintia used to come for this particular season. 245 464 465

Semi-permanent workers were engaged for wet rice fields. They were usually Hindu cultivators: since these Khasi and other tribes do not know the technique of wet cultivation, plains people like the Biharee immigrants were engaged. These workers were provided with servants' quarters where they lived with their wives and children. However, very few Jatinga households possessed rice fields. 243 464

The economic prosperity of Jatinga reached its climax during the period from 1934 to 1940. Since 1941, the orange production has been decreasing. In 1945, a serious disease attacked the orange gardens as well as the pan-leaf gardens. Besides, by depriving Jatinga, as it had Shella, of their most important markets, Dacca and Sylhet, the Partition of India and Pakistan in 1947 caused a serious economic depression in the whole region. On the other hand, because of the past prosperity, the population has rapidly increased during the last ten years. The serious economic condition of Jatinga is illustrated in the petition which was submitted by the Jatinga people when the Governor of Assam visited those areas in January 1956. It runs thus: 245 434 731 161 458

"Since the last ten years or so, with the increase of population in the village and with the loss of fertility of the soil, the people were faced with economic depression. At present they are facing acute shortage of land they have also no scope to adopt other forms of cultivation like jhuming and wet rice cultivation, etc. Moreover, there has been successive attack of Bright's disease which destroyed and wiped out all the orange and pan gardens. And as such, majority of the families have to depend for their livelihood on daily wages. . . ."

It is indeed a serious situation for them, because the Khasi do not produce staple foods, such as rice; their economy is completely dependent on the trade of their products by which they purchase their main provisions, clothes, etc. Other peoples round Jatinga, being jhum cultivators, can at least get rice and cotton: the minimum requirements, staple foods and clothing are available even in the worst conditions, so that they can at least maintain themselves though the standard of living is low. As I stated before, a few households in Jatinga possessed rice fields, but the majority had none. Recently they rented some plots of jhum field for rice cultivation from Zemi-Naga of neighbouring villages.[3] However, its yield was but a small percentage of their consumption. A few 182 434 [433] [243]

1. If they had worked in the gardens of Jatinga, they might have got more profit than from their own jhum fields. For one day's labour, they got Anr. 6/. For one month, they could earn Rs. 13 with which they could buy about 4-5 maunds of rice (one maunds paddy cost Rs. 3-4). For one year it became 50 maunds, which was impossible to produce in a jhum field by a single person's labour. [435]

2. These rates, including the figures of note 1, apply to 1956.

3. Jatinga villagers told me that Zemi-Naga were kind enough to lend them their field for a negligible rent, though they had not enough for themselves. Zemi-Naga said that they owed much to Jatinga in the past, so that now they sympathised with the condition of Jatinga, and offered some parts of their jhum field. [427] [628]

pendable water supply. Villages are about two to five miles apart, and have no boundary markers. In the past, villages contained semipublic buildings and grounds: the home of the village priest (also the home of a chief if he resided in that village), the village marketplace, and tree groves, cremation grounds, or other awesome spots that were believed to be inhabited by supernatural beings. Villages today may have also one or more Christian churches, government social welfare buildings, and schools. Formerly, villages were entered through a guarded gateway; this is no longer the case, and paths feed into villages from all directions. Often several villages are nucleated into one large unit; named and also described as a "village." These were once defense units, but were so uncohesive otherwise that institutionalized rivalry obtained among the component villages. Now, they have been integrated through the agency of all-village public services, especially schools. **Housing.** The traditional Khasi house is entered through a door at the rounded end of a U-shaped ground plan, and is about 20 feet at widest extent; it is about 30 feet deep, and is elliptical or hogback in profile. Its walls are of stone blocks cemented with mud. The roof of grass thatch, supported by a bamboo frame, overhangs the walls on their outside, down to about three feet above the ground. The house is divided into two parts: the front one-third is on the ground level, floored either with stone blocks or tamped earth, and is used for storage of occupational instruments and as a shelter for poultry. The rear two-thirds is raised four feet on piles of stone blocks to a platform of planks, and is partitioned into six rooms, comprising a kitchen, areas for storage of food and water, and sleeping quarters. Furniture is minimal, and the house is totally undecorated. There are no windows, and no smoke vents. A house generally has a companion shed, walled of wood and grass matting and thatched with grass. This serves as a pigsty, but it may be partitioned also to house cows, and it may have a loft for fuel storage. Compounds often contain garden plots, and are fenced around with stone or bamboo and mud. Nowadays, the traditional house has given way to Western-style bungalows of wood and tin, especially in and around Shillong. [Cf. Mukherjee et al. 1941.]

ECONOMY. The Khasi economy is a market economy based on agriculture, and most Khasis are primary producers, sellers, middlemen, and/or providers of services in connection with markets. Khasis are often multioccupational; they produce goods for partial subsistence, and also play some part in trade. **Agriculture.** On the Shillong plateau, the major field crops are potatoes, maize, millets, and dry rice, still produced mostly through swidden farming, with a two- to three-year period of fallow, but increasingly through continuous use of a single field with the aid of ma-

18: Godwin-Austen G-3 (ca. 1872) 1875 AR7
Khasi AR7

rude stone monuments. At the village of Nougshai, near Shillong, are to be seen some very striking monoliths; and although they do not come up quite to the length of those at Nurtiang (noticed by Dr. Hooker in his "Himalayan Journals"), yet they are very worthy of being mentioned. They stand on the open spur just above the village, and have been worked out of the beds of the Shillong sandstone series, and some of the smaller blocks have been taken from the conglomerate beds, the lowest in the series, and which come in, in the bed of the ravine, to the north of the spur. There are a number of monuments on this site, large and small, arranged both in line and on two sides of a square; the two largest have their central monoliths—height, 24 ft. 3 in.; width, 5 ft. 6 in.; thickness, 8 in.; and height, 23 ft. 2 in.; width, 2 ft. 9 in.; thickness, 1 ft., respectively.

Plate ii., which is taken from a photograph by Mr. William Robert, Assistant Surveyor in the Khasi Hills survey party, gives an excellent idea of the second largest structure, showing the very massive flat-stone, the "Mao Kynthai," in front. This structure consisted of thirteen upright stones, which could not all be brought into the field of the camera; but the six outside stones on the right are shown. Many of the slabs in the adjacent monuments have been overthrown and broken quite recently, perhaps by Sepoys and camp followers from the military station close by. At one time a mountain battery of Eurasian Artillery was quartered there, and I attribute the overthrow of so many of the stones in the neighbourhood to their handiwork, who would look on such amusement as a "great lark." The Sepoy (native of India) is not of a mischievous disposition; the European and half-European (uneducated) is markedly so. Thus the monument with the highest stone is imperfect, and it must, when perfect, have been a very handsome one. This is a sad pity, after the time and labour that must have been expended in its erection.

I did not observe any new slabs anywhere in the immediate neighbourhood. Nougshai must formerly have been a large and powerful village; it stands on a naturally very strong position, and old lines of fortification are to be traced on many sides, especially on the approach from the direction of the Falls of the Umiam. These old lines of defence are on a curious system: a ditch and bank have been carried forward from the main defences from 200 to 300 yards down the ridge of the spur, thus effectually preventing an enemy working round the hill sides below the villages.

This fortified site points to a state of things in these hills when the relations between the large village communities or

18: Godwin-Austen G-3 (ca. 1872) 1875 AR7
Khasi AR7

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clans were very much as we find them at the present day among the Nagas and Kukis, beyond and bordering our present extreme limits, viz. that of constant feud. They are now the quietest, most peaceful, and contented of all the hill people on the eastern frontier. [178]

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In my former paper I did not allude to the cairns in these hills, which I am inclined to think are works of greater age than the stone structures. The custom is one that certainly has long since been given up, for I could not obtain any satisfactory account of them. They are only to be seen on the northern side of the Khasi plateau, and Dr. Hooker, in his account of his trips to the Kollong Rock, did not fail to notice them. About Mairaug and towards Nougstoiu they are very numerous, and always stand on commanding situations. On the path leading down the grassy spur to the stone monuments previously described, near Nougshai, is a very fine large example of a cairn, about eight feet high. They are usually plain hemispherical mounds of earth; but this one is faced all round at the base with slabs of stone about four feet high; they are frequently not higher than six feet. A distant view is shown in Plate iii. [103]

Nowhere is there any trace of the earth that forms them having been excavated close by; it must, therefore, have been carried in some short distance, to avoid unsightly hollows near the structure. I should much like to have dug into one of these cairns, but was afraid to hurt the feelings of the people by doing so. They are very probably cineraries of an earlier form to those now made of stone, and this point it might be interesting to clear up.

Beyond the Khasi area no cairns are to be found, at least I had never come across any until visiting North Munipur last winter (1872—73), where, at the head of the Imphal river, on the direct road from Samaguting, are four fine cairns, all faced with large boulders. They are old, and the Nagas now living in the village near said they had been made by another clan of Nagas, who long ago had gone further north, and the site of whose village had been lately re-occupied by Kukis. [114] [101]

Mr. C. B. Clarke, in a paper read lately before your Institute, refers to the different forms of the cinerary in the Khasi Hills; but he has not quite exhausted the subject, or got farther than I did, although with regard to the disposal of the ashes of the dead he gives some farther interesting particulars. [114]

As I think that drawings are of very great interest, and better exhibit the many different forms of bone depository or cinerary that have been adopted at different periods by tribes inhabiting localities very far apart, and often quite unconnected affinitively, [126] [164]

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

253; revenue, *nil;* products, millet, oranges, betel-nuts, jack-fruit, pine-apples, chillies, and bay leaves; minerals, lime and coal. 631 651

These statistics give the following totals for the nineteen Khási States or Democracies—Population, 78,992; revenue, Rs. 49,856. 8, or £4985, 13s., of which Rs. 22,732. 8, or £2273, 5s., is derived from lime quarries. The aggregate area of these States is elsewhere returned at 3997 square miles. 433

SUBDIVISIONAL ADMINISTRATION.—The twenty-five fiscal divisions which constitute the Jáintiá Hills are regarded as forming a separate Subdivision, under the charge of an Assistant-Commissioner, whose headquarters are at the village of Jowái. This Subdivision dates from 1869, for which year the separate cost of administration is returned at £1091. The following statistics, referring only to the Jáintiá Hills, are taken from the Report of the Assistant-Commissioner for 1876-77; for the rest, all information is included in the preceding sections of this Statistical Account, which apply generally to the whole District of the Khási and Jáintiá Hills. In the year 1876-77 the total revenue of the Jowái Subdivision amounted to Rs. 12,713, or £127, 6s., of which Rs. 10,654 was derived from the house tax. The total value of the exports from the Subdivision was estimated at Rs. 197,575, or £19,757, 10s., including 16,000 *maunds* of raw cotton, valued at Rs. 120,000, and 5490 *maunds* of lac, valued at Rs. 54,900. The total value of the imports was estimated at Rs. 345,600, or £34,560, chiefly cotton and woollen cloth from Bengal, valued at Rs. 81,000; silk cloth from Assam, Rs. 25,000; 15,000 *maunds* of rice, value Rs. 60,000; 6229 bods of dried fish, value Rs. 35,344; 5287 *maunds* of salt, value Rs. 33,009; 609 *maunds* of tobacco, value Rs. 44,872. These figures are compiled from reports submitted by the police stationed at Jarsin, on the Jáintiápur road, and from information collected from the chief traders of Jowái. They show an apparent balance of trade against the Subdivision amounting to Rs. 148,025, or £14,802, 10s. The population of Jowái and the surrounding villages is 4302 souls. 63 648 651

MEDICAL ASPECTS—METEOROLOGY.—The climate of the Khási and Jáintiá Hills is mild and equable. At Shillong the thermometer within doors ranges from about 58° in December to 70° or 75° in the hottest months. Out of doors the dry bulb varies between about 38° in the cold weather and 80° in May and June. A temperature higher than 80° is seldom recorded. During the three years ending 132

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

643 liquor being subject to no fiscal restrictions whatsoever. In a
651 few States the Siems are commencing to levy registration fees,
443 but the amounts are insignificant. Judicial fines are divided between the chief and the members of the durbar. In some States the Siems' incomes amount to a few hundreds a year only. Generally speaking, the Khasi chiefs are necessarily a very impecunious set of persons, and many of them are in-
643 debted to, comparatively speaking, large amounts. The Siem
631 is appointed from the Siem family, there being such a family in each of the fifteen Khasi States. The most important States are Khyrim, Mylliem, Cherra, Nongstoin, and Nongkhlaw. There are a few other petty States presided over by Lyngdohs, Sirdars, or Wahadadars. A fact which is of universal application is, that heirship to the Siemship lies through the female side. The customary line of succession is uniform in all cases, except in Khyrim, save that in some instances cousins rank with brothers, or are preferred to
643 grand-nephews, instead of being postponed to them. The
428 difference between the rule of succession and the rule of inheritance to real property should be noted. In the former case the sons of the eldest uterine sister inherit in order of priority of birth, although it is true that this rule has sometimes been disregarded. In cases of succession to realty, however, the inheritance goes to the youngest daughter of the deceased's mother, and after her to her youngest daughter. In successions to the Siemships, in the absence of male heirs from the eldest sister the succession passes, by what has been aptly described as the "knight's move," to the male children of the next eldest sister. In Khyrim the custom of succession is peculiar, there being a High Priestess, and heirship being
643 limited to her male relatives. Generally speaking, it would
644 appear that succession was originally controlled by a small
793 electoral body constituted of the heads (*lyngdohs*) of certain priestly clans, who, it is presumed, exercised their authority to reject candidates, when necessary, mainly on religious grounds. There has, however, been a distinct tendency towards the broadening of the elective basis. In the large State of Khyrim the number of the electoral body has been greatly increased by the inclusion of the representative headmen of
certain dominant but non-priestly clans (mantris).

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643 recent years there have been instances of Siems having been summoned, like the Roman Cincinnatus, from quite humble positions, to undertake the duties of chief. We will now turn to
643 an examination of the systems in the different Siemships. In
793 the Kyrim or Nongkrem State there is a spiritual head, i.e. a High Priestess, *Ka Siem Sad*, who is responsible for the due performance of the State religious ceremonies, although, as already stated, the Siem also performs some of these duties. The temporal power here is delegated by the High Priestess to a Siem, who is her son or her nephew, or occasionally some more distant male descendant. It is the duty of an official
[645] called a *lyngskor*, who is the official spokesman of the Siem's *durbar*, to propose a new Siem to the six *lyngdohs*, or priests, and to the heads of the twenty-four *mantri* clans. The latter then decide in *durbar* whether the proposed Siem should be appointed. In the event of their disapproving of the *lyngskor's* nominations they proceed to elect another Siem. The High Priestess is appointed by the above electors, the order of succession to the post being as follows :—She is succeeded by her eldest surviving daughter; failing daughters, by the eldest daughter of her eldest daughter; failing daughters of her eldest daughter, by the eldest daughter of her second daughter, and so on. If there are no daughters or grand-daughters, as above, she is succeeded by her eldest sister. In the absence of sisters, she is succeeded by the eldest daughter of her mother's eldest sister, and so on. In this State the tradition runs that the first High Priestess was Ka Pah Syntiew, i.e. the flower-lured one. Ka Pah Syntiew was a beautiful maiden who had as her abode
[773] a cave at Marai, near Nongkrem, whence she was enticed by a men of the Mylliem-ngap clan by means of a flower. She was taken by him to be his bride, and she became not only the first High Priestess, but also the mother of the Siems of Nongkrem.* In Nongkrem the electors may disqualify the first, or any, heir to the Siemship for sufficient reason according to the Khasi religion and custom, such as bad character, physical disability, change of religion, &c. If the first heir be disqualified, the next in order must be appointed
● 631 Siem, unless he be disqualified, and so on. In this State there

* For the story in detail see the Folk-lore section of the monograph.

are six divisions, each of which is known as a *raj*. In each 631
raj there is a *durbar*, to which are submitted for approval
the elections of the heads of the *mantri* clans. These elec- 631
tions are subject to the approval of the Siem. The Siem, sitting 643
with the *durbar* of the *raj* concerned, may dismiss a *lyngdoh*, 614
lyngskor, or *mantri*, for bad conduct, or on account of physical disability, in which case another *lyngdoh*, *lyngskor*, or *mantri* would be appointed, as stated above. The Mylliem State 631
originally formed a portion of the Nongkrem State, but owing 643
to a quarrel between one of the Siems and his nephew there was a partition. In this State the electors are the heads of five *mantri* clans, eleven *matabors*, or heads of clans, and certain *basans*, and other heads of clans. A majority of the electors is sufficient for the election of a Siem. A Siem is succeeded by the eldest of his uterine brothers; failing such brothers, by the eldest of his sisters' sons; failing such nephews, by the eldest of the sons of his sisters' daughters; failing such grand-nephews, by the eldest of the sons of his mother's sisters; and, failing such first cousins, by the eldest of his male cousins on the female side, other than first cousins, those nearest in degree of relationship having prior claim. If there were no heirs male, as above, he would be succeeded by the eldest of his uterine sisters; in the absence of such sisters, by the eldest of his sister's daughters; failing such nieces, by the eldest of the daughters of his sisters' daughters; failing such grand-nieces, by the eldest of the daughters of his mother's sisters; and failing such first cousins, by the eldest of his female cousins on the female side, other than first cousins, those nearest in degree of relationship having prior claim. A female Siem would be succeeded by her eldest son, and so on. As in the Khyrim State, the first, or any other subsequent heir, may be disqualified by the electors for sufficient reason. An elector is succeeded by the eldest of his brothers; failing brothers, by the eldest of the sons of his sisters, and so on. An elector can be dismissed by the Siem, but only for good cause and with the consent of his *durbar*.

In the Nongstoin State there is a tradition that the first 643
Siem originally came from Simsong* Durgapur. The name, 773

* Simsong is the Garo name for the river Someshwari.

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643 Sushong Durgapur, of the place at the foot of the Garo Hills in
773 the Mymensing district, may be a corruption of the former. The Siems are supposed to be descended from a stag, possibly a relic of totemism in this family. In this State[7] there is a large
• 631 electoral durbar consisting of 2 *mantris*, 31 *lyngdohs*, 25
622 *sirdars*, 1 *lyngskor*, and 1 *basan*. The *lyndohs* are the heads of the priestly clans, by whom they are chosen. The sirdars of villages are appointed by the Siem in conjunction with the adult males of the different villages. There are two *lyngskors* and two *basans* in the State, but one *lyngskor* and one *basan* only at present are members of the *durbar* which
[634] nominates the Siem. A *lyngskor* is the Siem's agent for the purpose of governing a collection of villages. He is appointed by the Siem with the consent of the adult males of the villages
643 which he is to supervise. The Siem family of Nongkhlaw, or Khadsawphra, is believed to have been founded by a Synteng of the name of U Shajer, who left the Jowai hills with his sister, Ka Shaphlong, because she had failed to obtain her share of the family property in Jaintia. This man is said to have purchased certain lands in Bardwar in Kamrup. Apparently he did not obtain possession of this estate, for he came up into the Khasi Hills, and finding there certain villages without a ruler, he, at the wish of the *lyngdohs* of these villages, consolidated them into a state over which he ruled as a Siem. He was succeeded by his sister's son, U Syntiew, who further extended his territories until he obtained possession of other villages. U Syntiew is said to have delegated a portion of his powers to his two sisters, Ka Jem and Ka Sanglar, who ruled at Sohiong and Nongkhlaw respectively. Succeeding rulers
[726] further extended the Nongkhlaw territory. In 1829, U Tirot Singh rebelled against the East India Company and carried on for four years a successful guerilla warfare. He was finally captured, and was imprisoned for life by the British Govern-
643 ment. According to the statement of Raja Kine Singh, it would
631 seem that formerly the heads of five clans had the right to appoint
[614] the Siem, i.e. the heads of 3 *lyngdoh* clans and of the Jaid Dykhar, and Diengdoh clans. In the Cherra State the electors are the male adults of the State, who are represented on the State durbar by the *mantris* of the 11 aristocratic clans, known as the khadar kur, and certain representative elders.

7 [i.e. the Nongstoin State ... Analyst]

as the *khadar kur*, and certain representative elders. This State is divided for electoral purposes into the following divisions:— 643 631

I. Cherra, or Sohra, consisting of 8 villages, inclusive of Cherra, which is the capital. These villages return the heads of the 12 tribes, as well as 5 elders, as their representatives on the electoral durbar.

II. The "five" villages, or 5 tribes. This division now consists of 17 villages, which return 5 representative elders.

III. The "twelve" villages, comprising now 38 villages, which return 12 representative elders.

IV. The "four" villages, comprising now 5 villages, which return 4 elders.

V. The "sixteen" villages, which return 6 representative elders.

VI. Three villages, which return 3 and 4 sirdars and 2 elders respectively.

In this State it is the custom for a Siem to cremate the body of his predecessor. Unless he performs the cremation ceremony, he is not considered to be Siem according to the Khasi religion. U Hajon Manik Siem failed to cremate the body of his predecessor, U Ram Singh, whose remains still repose in a wooden coffin which is kept in the house of the Siem family. The remains of Siems in this state are preserved by a peculiar process of embalming which will be found described elsewhere in this monograph. U Hajon Manik died not long ago, and his body also is awaiting cremation. U Ram Singh's remains, however, have been awaiting the funeral pyre for more than thirty years; but arrangements are being made by the present Siem U Rola Singh for the cremation ceremony. The cremation of Siems in the state is attended by a very great deal of expense, a large amount of money being spent on the feasting which then takes place. 643 766

The Maharam State was ruled until 1875 by two Siems, called, respectively, the "white" and the "black" Siems. In this State originally there were five *lyngdoh* who appointed the Siems, but as in certain other States the number of the electors has been expanded by the inclusion of *mantris*, *sirdars*, and *lasous*. The electors now number seventy-two persons. There is much the same state of things in the Mariaw Siemship as regards the electorate. In Rambrai, on a vacancy 643

an appeal to the people. Mention has been made above of States over which *lyngdohs* possess temporal as well as spiritual powers. The States of Sohiong, Mawphlang, and Lyniong may be quoted as examples. Here the *lyngdoh* is elected from the *lyngdoh* clan by all the adult males of the state. Some small States, such as Maodon and Pomsaangut, are presided over by Sirdars, a name which has probably been introduced during the British era of supremacy in these hills. The Sirdar is elected by the adult males of the State. In Mawlong there are a Sirdar, a *lyngdoh*, and a *doloi* who govern the State. These two latter officials are elected by the people as in the case of Sirdars. In the Shella Confederacy there are four officials who are styled *Wahadedars*, the name being probably a corruption of the Persian *'ahda-dar*.* These officials are elected for periods of three years each by the people.

The Jaintia Hills, which are British territory, are divided up into twenty doloships, the doloi being an officer elected by the people, the Government reserving the right of approval or the reverse to the doloi's appointment. The doloiz, under the rules for the administration of justice in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, as well as the Sirdars of the British villages in the Khasi Hills, possess certain judicial powers. They are assisted by officials known as *pators*, *basans*, and *sangots* in the performance of their duties. This administration, on the whole, works well, and its success shows the wisdom of the Government in having made use of the indigenous agency it found to hand when the Jaintia territory was annexed. In the Jaintia Hills there are also three Sirdarships, the office being filled by election as in the case of doloiz.

In conclusion it should be stated that it has been attempted here to give but a brief *résumé* of the Khasi political system as it exists at the present time. The above account of the procedure at elections is based on existing usage. The procedure should not, however, be regarded as stereotyped, for it will no doubt be open to such revision as may on occasion be suggested by the legitimate evolution of tribal customs.

* Officer.

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

[791] [511] case. The Khasi word for consulting the omens is *khen*, and a diviner is called a *ronghkan*. Another method of obtaining omens is by dropping two leaves into a pool of water or on a stone, the position of the leaves as they fall, either right side uppermost or upside down, signifying good or evil as the case may be; this is called *khen-ala*.

PRIESTHOOD.

713 104 The Khasi priest is usually called *Lyngdoh*, or *lamphdoh*; he is always appointed from the lyngdoh clan. The etymology of the word *lyngdoh* is said by certain lyngdohs of the Khyrim State to be *lang*=together and *doh*=flesh. A *lyngdoh*, or *lamphdoh*, is one who collects sacrificial victims, i.e. flesh for the purpose of sacrificing. It must be confessed, however, that this definition is doubtful, owing to the absence in the word *lyngdoh* of the prefix *nong* which is the sign of the agent in Khasi. Besides *lyngdohs* there are persons called *sah-blei* or *sah-ala*, who may 793 also be said to be priests. The Khasis, unlike the Hindus, have [604] no *purohit* or priest to perform the family ceremonies. Such duties fall to the lot of the head of the family or clan, who 792 carries them out generally through the agency of the *kni*, or maternal uncle. Old Khasis are frequently well versed in the details of sacrifices, and in the art of obtaining augaries by examining the viscera of sacrificial victims. Apart from family and clan sacrifices, there are the sacrifices for the good of the state or community at large; it is these sacrifices that it is the duty of the *lyngdoh* to perform. He may be said to be the priest of the communal religion, although he has certain duties in connection with offences committed against the social law of marriage, and with regard to the casting out of evil spirits from houses which may be thought to be infested with them. The *lyngdoh-ship* of the Khasis may be likened to the Roman *pontifex*. 793 In the different Khasi States there is, as a rule, more 631 than one *lyngdoh*; sometimes there is quite a number of such priests, as in Nongkrem where there is a *lyngdoh* for each *raj* 793 or division of the state. There are a few Khasi States where [612] the priest altogether takes the place of the Siem, and rules the community with the help of his elders in addition to performing

773 Several Khasis claim that the devil pre-
782 scribed to their ancestors the method of sacrificing. On the other hand others maintain that in times past a man of rare size and strength came to their country. This man accomplished wonderful things, and commanded their ancestors to sacrifice and at the same time prescribed for them the method of sacrificing. Today the place
[163] of his former dwelling on a mountain near Shillong is still pointed out. Since something divine was suspected in that man, he was called u 'lei shillong (the god Shillong).

776 The Khasi believe in a highest being, whom they call u blei nongthaw (1) (the creator god).

[194] 1. Pronounciation of Khasi (method of writing): ei is pronounced as two syllables, e - i, w is pronounced like u, aw is therefore like a - u, sh is pronounced like sch = phonetic š.

Just as the ideas about this person are very hazy, so are the concepts of eternity and the soul.

775 The Khasi are not in agreement among themselves about the conception of what happens to the soul after death. Several say that after death the soul goes up in the air and becomes air and therefore exists no longer. But most of them believe that the soul exists after death and can be happy or unhappy. But this does not depend on personal guilt or sin but only on the conscientious completion of the burial ceremonies.

•[131] The country in which the Khasi live is
776 divided into several districts, which were formerly ruled by several kings before the English came. [106] According to the Khasi each district

/892/ The Nongkrem Puja in the Khasi Mountains (Assam) (1)

126 1. All the pictures attached to this article are prepared from photographs taken by P. Frumentius Stegmiller, S.D.S., missionary in Shillong. The photographs were in part very difficult to take as they had to be made without being observed and in some cases the day was already well advanced.

by P. Dr. C. Becker, S.D.S., Apostolic Prefect of Assam.

631 About five English miles to the east of Shillong, the chief town of the Khasi Mountains, lies the town of Nongkrem. It is the seat of the king (u S'iem) who governs the state Nongkrem of Khyrim, the largest of the 25 Khasi little states and which is partly independent (semi-independent) of the English government. Nongkrem is best 786 known for the great sacrifice, simply called Nongkrem Puja or also 782 ka Pom biang-u-S'iem Nongkrem (Slaying the goat of the S'iem of Nongkrem) which takes place there annually. This festivity offers, as little else does, an instructive insight into the religious and social views and customs of this interesting mountain people and should therefore be given a concise description, which may be divided into three parts:

I. The Preparations for the Sacrificial Feast.

II. The Sacrificial Feast.

III. The Celebration that Follows.

I. The Preparations for the Sacrificial Feast

793 Just as matriarchy prevails in the family among the Khasi so a 643 similar arrangement has been kept in the management of the Khasi state, Nongkrem. In the state the S'iem is not the actual head but a high priestess, called ka S'iem sīd. Sīd means the divinity which watches over the royal race. The temporal government is transferred by the S'iem sīd to the S'iem; he acts as her authorized agent although independent in his decisions, working with his advisers, whose advice he must obtain in matters of importance. The moneys of the kingdom

Family Property and Maternal Rights

/127/ by C. Becker S.D.S., Wurzburg

The fall of 1910 and the entire following year found the distin-
114 guished head of the Ethnographic Museum in Munich, to whom this anniversary volume is dedicated, on a research and collection trip in the extensive and inexhaustible territories of India. He was accompanied by his active wife, who served as his scientific assistant. From Burma, a mine of rich, ethnographic treasure and where the greatest part of their Indian stay was spent, their journey led the research couple into Assam, situated in the northeast of India, a country of equal significance. Assam certainly belongs politically to in-
101 terior India, but forms a bridge to interior India both ethnographically and linguistically.

Among the mountain peoples who inhabit the chain of hills which traverses the length of present-day Assam, and which separates the two largest parts of the country from each other, the Brahmaputra Valley in the north and the Surma Plain in the south, is one of the most interesting and doubtless the most advanced of the tribes, the Khasi, who inhabit the so-called Khasi and Jaintia Mountains. It
● [691] was in Shillong, the center of this area, which is now the capital of the country Assam under the English government, where towards the end of September, 1911, I first became acquainted with Professor D.L. Scherman and his wife and whose a friendship of many years
133 had its beginning. Therefore this little study will lead us to the Khasi Mountains, to its slopes overgrown with its peculiar pine trees, which receive greetings across the plains from the snow-covered peaks of the Himalayas, which are flooded by the mighty waves of the Brahmaputra River and the alternating inundations of the Surma River. Here a contented and cheerful little people live who have maintained their own special characteristics in spite of the many European influences and those of neighboring cultures.

162 /128/ Of the entire population of 243,585 souls, who form the inhabitants of the Khasi and Jaintai Mountains (1), 203,851 are Khasi.

1. The following statistical estimates are taken from the Census of India 1921, Vol. III, Assam (Shillong 1923) pp. I and II.

162
/129/ Of those, 37,852 have adopted Christianity, while the others are still adherents of ancient animistic cults, with the exception of somewhat

THE KHAS FESTIVAL OF "POWELAND"

S. Smith

Introduction

The Khas inhabit the upland of the central part of the United Khas and [illegible] of Assam. They reckon descent through mother and the youngest daughter (Ka khadduh) of the house is the custodian of the ancestral property. Belief in the supremacy of spirits is strong among them and the number of diseases are ascribed to taking revenge on the persons of divinities. They are ruled, by different categories of Chief. The Syiem is the highest official responsible for the administration of the state but a few small states are also governed by Sirdars with some powers as ruled in the former although does not possess the same status. It is interesting to note that their priests, whose rank is next to Syiem, have also been allowed to perform this [illegible] duties in some of the regions of the Khas country. The Chief function through their respective council comprising elected members from different villages, nominations. He is either subordinate to the Syiem or he is quite in the minority or even dismissed, if his activities are not in conformity with the Khas traditional usage. Most of his directives are implemented through the assistance of his subordinates who are headmen of various villages of the State. The Khas place his grievance first to these panch officers for redress and points, after which an appeal can be preferred to the Syiem or any other higher officer in the chain may be. One of the common feuds of the Khas people lies in Khyriem, where this Durbar is established, consists of eight seats for appropriation convenience under the supervision of different grades of officials who participated in the celebration drop with the help of representatives of the people.

The Khas Festival of Pnaiblam (Khas Nihar) described below used to be celebrated at one time in Shillong when the Khas state of Khyriem and Nongkhlaw were not annexed. The last chief of the Khyriem and U Singh Khasi shifted his headquarters to Nongkhlaw village after partition of the kingdom, which occurred before the arrival of the British. He spent most of his [illegible] after a brief stay in his village of Lyngkhim. He performed this festival as long as he was there, considering it sacrilegious to perform it in Nongkhlaw for a special reason. It was celebrated here for a long time subsequently it was moved after this village. Although the ruling family had been in exile for [illegible] years ago in the present village here, during the time of U Kiar Singh, Sirdar, it is performed regularly on Pnaiblam date which was observed by the author from the time of [illegible].

Events of the festival

It is being held every year from the time of U Shillong who was considered to be the founder of original Khyriem State. This celebrate is to perpetuate his memory and pay homage with a view to secure rain, good harvest, [illegible] evading diseases and famine. He was worshipped along with other ancestral [illegible] who have to guide the present Chief in his challenge of the state and for the welfare of the people.

The house of State (Ing-ma) where the rites are observed, is considered sacred. It consists of a big hall (Aitar) in the centre, surrounded by rooms. One of these on the north is used as a kitchen room (Ing-dhaja) where most

29: Number G-4 (no date) 1997 AR? Khasi AR?

STATISTICAL ACCOUNT

OF THE

KHASI AND JAINTIA HILLS.

THE District of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, called by the inhabitants Ka Ri Khasi and Ka Ri Synteng, is situated between 25° 1' 30" and 25° 8' 45" north latitude, and between 91° 0' 0" and 92° 51' 30" east longitude. It contains an approximate area of [illegible] square miles, and a population, according to the Census of 1891, of 121,848 souls. The principal town and Civil Station, which is also the headquarters of the Chief Commissioner of Assam, is Shillong, situated in 25° 34' 30" north latitude and 91° 53' 30" east longitude.

BOUNDARIES.—The Khasi and Jaintia Hills District is bounded on the north by the Districts of Kamrup and Nowgong; on the east by Northern Cachar, the Naga Hills District, and the Kapili river; on the south by Sylhet District; and on the west by the Garo Hills.

DIVISIONS.—The Khasi and Jaintia Hills constitute a Political District, removed from the jurisdiction of the ordinary Criminal, Civil, and Revenue Courts, and of the offices established under the [illegible] is vested in the Chief Commissioner of Assam, the Deputy-Commissioner of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills and his Assistants, and the native Chiefs, who are variously styled Doms, Wahadadars, Sardars, Dollois, Pulowns, and Lyngdohs. Doms, or more properly Doms, is derived from the Khasi word for "seat, life;" Wahadadar, from the Hindu term wahadar, meaning an "officer;" Lyngdoh strictly means a "sacrificial soothsayer," from the Khasi ang, "to speak," and doh, "fowl." The District is divided into three portions, —namely, British possessions in the Khasi Hills; petty dependencies

25: Photos G-4 (no date) 1897 AR? Khasi AR?

648 force in the Khasi Hills; and the Jaintia Hill country, which is
631 wholly British. The British possessions are administered under a code specially introduced for the purpose. The Khasi dependent States consist of petty democracies, presided over by chiefs called Siems, who, though taken from one family, are appointed by election; or by headmen, such as Wahadadiks, Sardars, and Lyngdohs, whose offices are absolutely elective. The appointments of all these chiefs and headmen is subject to the confirmation of the British Government, which also reserves to itself the right to remove them in case of misconduct.

The British possessions in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, which cover an aggregate area of [illegible] square miles, consist of the following Fiscal Divisions:—In the Khasi Hills—(1) Jirang; (2) Lalitlyngkot; (3) Lalitkroh; (4) Sibsong, otherwise Wahlong; (5) Longkhiding; (6) Wahkhaidait; (7) Wahsmit; (8) Mynsong; (9) Mawsmik; (10) Wahgamkynrang; (11) Nongjri; (12) Nongkynrih; (13) Nongkroh; (14) Nongwah; (15) Nongbah; (16) Nongkrem; (17) Nongkhyllem; (18) Wahsabpam; (19) Tyngsing; (20) Tyngrong; (21) Tynrai; (22) Umsiah; (23) Mawlong (Impendency); and (24) U Thynni. In the Jaintia Hills—(1) Amwi; (2) Chapdab (Kuki); (3) Dawkong; (4) Jowai; (5) Langdoh; (6) Langsoh; (7) Lakadong; (8) Mynriang (Mikir); (9) Wahdew (Kuki); (10) Wahkaji; (11) Wynsiu; (12) Nongkhlaw; (13) Nongkhlieh; (14) Nongshah; (15) Nongthaliang; (16) Nongpoh; (17) Nongriang; (18) Nongjmai; (19) Nongpyngi; (20) Amlong; (21) Rymbai; (22) Silpong (Kuki); (23) Sutnga; (24) Shilliang-mynriang; (25) Sibbi-pathar; and (26) Shangpung.

The Khasi democratic States, covering an aggregate area of [illegible] square miles (in some reports stated at [illegible] square miles), are as follows:—Presided over by Siems—(1) Bhowali, otherwise Wahkaji; (2) Chawai; (3) Khyriem; (4) Lyngkim; (5) Mukhi-sohmat; (6) [illegible]; (7) [illegible]; (8) [illegible]; (9) [illegible]; (10) [illegible]; (11) [illegible]; (12) [illegible]; (13) [illegible]; (14) Nongsohphoh; (15) Nongkhlaw; (16) Nongpyngi; (17) Nongsohsim; and (18) Rimbaibah. Presided over by Wahadadiks—(1) The Confederacy of Shella. Presided over by Sardars—(1) Umbah Nongkynmaw; (2) Jirang; (3) Mikiloing; (4) Mawdon; and (5) Nongkong. Presided over by Lyngdohs—(1) Lyngkong; (2) Mawkong; (3) Nongkynrih; and (4) Sohkong.

649 The administration in the Khasi States gives to the native Chiefs
692 independent jurisdiction in all cases, civil or criminal (except

29: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR? Khasi AR?

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of parents undergoing considerable privations rather than deny their children education; and in many families it has become a matter of ordinary routine to send the children to school. This only refers to the younger children; for after boys have attained their fourteenth or fifteenth year, their parents grow impatient for their pecuniary assistance. It is the custom among the Khásás to leave very young children to work, so that they may earn enough to support themselves as soon as ever they can manage axe and hatchet. It is common for a boy to realize from ten *pice* to five *annás* a day for his parents; and it is considered sufficient sacrifice for the latter to have kept him to school up to his fourteenth year."

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KHASI STATES.—The following is a list of the nineteen semi-independent Khásí States or Democracies, with the particulars of information that are available for each, taken from the Assam Administration Report for 1875-76:—

(1) BRAWAI, or WAHKHAI.—Name of Siem, U Simon Singh, age in 1876, 18 years; approximate population of State, 3,815; estimated gross revenue—from market dues, Rs. 10; from *mahábal* on lime quarry, Rs. 16,000—total, Rs. 16,010, or £1,600; products, rice, millet, *betel* or betel leaves, black pepper, Pyne *eigwan*; minerals, lime.

(2) CHEKHAI OR SHNONG.—Siem, U Nijon Mitsik, aged 40; population, 8,600; revenue—from market dues, Rs. 3000; judicial fees, Rs. 150; *mahábal* on lime quarry, Rs. 100; assessed holding in Sylhet, Rs. 1,500—total, Rs. 6650, or £665; products, cotton, millet, betel-nuts, *pán*, oranges, black pepper, Pyne *eigwan*, chillies, turmeric, ginger, and honey; manufactures, bamboo mats and bamboo baskets; minerals, lime, iron, and coal.

(3) SOCLA.—Wikaddiddin, U Jindi, aged 29, and U Kili Singh, aged 35, of whom the former can read and write both Khásí and Bengáli a little; population, 3,500; revenue—from market dues, Rs. [illegible]; judicial fees, Rs. [illegible]; *mahábal* fees, Rs. [illegible]; products, oranges, betel-nuts, and pine-apples; manufactures, bamboo mats and bamboo baskets; minerals, lime and coal.

(4) KYNSHI OR NONGKHAR.—Siem, U Khar Singh, aged 31; population, 10,500; revenue—from pension allowed by the British Government, Rs. 180; market dues, Rs. 3000; judicial fees, Rs. 400; *mahábal* on lime quarry, Rs. 1500; contributions for State purposes, Rs. 1000—total, Rs. 10,100, or £1010; products, rice, cotton, millet, "Jubi's tears" cucumbers, cinnamon, adjoining

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR? Khasi AR?

(c. kind of turmeric, betel-nuts, Indian corn, *pân*, oranges, lac, 631
potatoes, black pepper, Pyne nightes, chillies, turmeric, ginger, 651
and honey; manufactures, woven cloth, coal, silk cloth, *dhoti* or kilt 632
knives, *dahlis* or cutlerie, knives, hammers, crowbars, wedges,
nuts, and baskets; minerals, lime, coal, and iron.

(3) Mylliem or Mylliem.—Area, 17 Hate Mihsh, aged 30; population, 14,268; revenue—from market dues, Rs. 150; State contributions, Rs. 1000; judicial fees, Rs. 103; forest rent, Rs. 13—total, Rs. 1850, or £185; products, cinnamon, sugar-cane, rice, "Jaiti nuts," Indian corn, *salphibing*, ginger, and millet; manufactures, *dhoti* and baskets; minerals, lime.

(4) Langrin or Langrin.—Area, 17 Hate, aged 25; population, 1811; revenue—from market dues, Rs. 150; established on lime quarry, Rs. 500; forest rent, Rs. 60; fisheries, Rs. 30—total, Rs. 580, or £58; products, rice, millet, chillies, turmeric, and ginger; minerals, lime and coal.

(5) Nongkrem.—Area, Jindhar Singh, aged 38; population, 6135; revenue—from State contributions, Rs. 400; market dues, Rs. 100; forest revenue, Rs. 55; established on lime quarry, Rs. 350; judicial fees, Rs. 100—total, Rs. 1045, or £104, 10; products, "Jaiti nuts," black pepper, Pyne nightes, chillies, bay leaves, honey, Indian corn, *salphibing*, cinnamon, tamarinds, sugar-cane, and ginger; manufactures, *dhoti*, *dahlis*, and hammers; minerals, iron and lime.

(6) Mawkrai or Mawkrai.—Area, 17 Jit Singh, aged 35; population, 10,38; revenue—from lime quarries, Rs. 250, 8; forest fees, Rs. 5; rent of fisheries, Rs. 30; judicial fees, Rs. 100; State contributions, Rs. 400—total, Rs. 790, 8, or £79, 10; products, honey, forest nuts, cotton, rice, millet, "Jaiti nuts," *salphibing*; manufactures, mats; minerals, lime.

(7) Mawsynram.—Area, 17 Rammun, aged 25; population, 1317; revenue—from market dues, Rs. 180; State contributions of an uncertain nature, Rs. 150—total, Rs. 330, or £33; products, potatoes, millet, chillies, turmeric, honey, and ginger; manufactures, mats; minerals, lime, coal, and iron.

(10) Malaiwmawsai or Malaiwmawsai.—Area, 17 Shangpuo Singh, aged 35; population, 1191; revenue from market dues, Rs. 50; established on lime quarry, Rs. 150; State contributions, Rs. 50; forest revenue, Rs. 50—total, Rs. 300, or £30; products, rice, millet, "Jaiti nuts," ginger, chillies, turmeric, bay leaves, betel-nuts, and oranges; manufactures, mats; minerals, lime.

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(11) Mawlong—Siem, U Ram Singh, aged 28; population, 1326; revenue—from market dues, Rs. 25; State contributions, Rs. 100—total, Rs. 125, or £12, 10s.; products, rice, millet, "Job's tears," ginger, chillies, turmeric, sulphur, Indian corn, sugar-cane; manufactures, mats.

(12) Nongkrem or Siem-nongkrem.—Siem, U Kam, aged 28; population, 980; revenue—from market dues, Rs. 100; judicial fees, Rs. 30—total, Rs. 130, or £13; products, rice, "Job's tears," Indian corn, sulphur, potatoes; manufactures, mats.

(13) Nongkhlaw—Siem, Kiew Singh, aged 30; population, 6304; revenue—from market dues, Rs. 600; State contributions, Rs. 600; judicial fees, Rs. 30; forest dues, Rs. 600; rent of State land, Rs. 10—total, Rs. 1240, or £124; products, potatoes, rice, millet, "Job's tears," Indian corn, sulphur, cassia-bark, cinnamon; manufactures, cotton, *dolitis*, *dhu*, and cowries; minerals, lime.

(14) Nongstoin.—Siem, U Sirap Singh, aged 33 (died in 1896); population, 870; revenue, from commission on movables in Khasi Districts, Rs. 100, or £10; products, rice, potatoes, honey, beeswax; manufactures, *dhu*; minerals, iron.

(15) Nongstoin.—Siem, U Ium Singh, aged 38; population, 1764; revenue—from market dues, Rs. 1000; lime quarries, Rs. 300; State contributions, Rs. 1500; judicial fees, Rs. 1000—total, Rs. 4800, or £480; products, lac, honey, beeswax, honey, cassia-bark, tej leaves, rice, millet, "Job's tears," sugar-cane, chillies, sulphur; manufactures, earthenware, pottery, cotton cloth, *dhu*, and spades; minerals, lime and coal.

(16) Ranmaki.—Siem, U Amar Singh, aged 38, who can read and write Assamese a little; population, 1132; revenue—from market dues, Rs. 40; judicial fees, Rs. 150; forest rent, Rs. 250—total, Rs. 440, or £44; products, rice, "Job's tears," ginger, chillies, millet, and Indian corn; manufactures, cotton cloth.

(17) Jirangam.—Sardar, U Moti Singh, aged 35; population, 382; revenue, *nil*; products, rice, millet, ginger, chillies, "Job's tears," sassafras; manufactures, cotton cloth.

(18) Dwara Nongkyrdem.—Sardar, U Jaintia, aged 25; population, 378; revenue—from *mahlkhad* or lime quarry, Rs. 1680; fees for cutting timber, Rs. 35—total, Rs. 1715, or £171, 10s.; products, rice, millet, oranges, betel-nuts, *pân*, and turmeric; manufactures, small nets; minerals, lime.

(19) Mawsynram.—Sardar, U Mahur Singh, aged 25; population,

29: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR? Khasi AR?

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633; revenue, *ad.*; products, millet, oranges, betel-nuts, jack-fruit, pine-apples, chillies, and bay leaves; minerals, lime and coal.

These statistics give the following totals for the nineteen Khási States or Dependencies:—Population, 78,990; revenue, Rs. 49,836. 8, or £3,989, 13s., of which Rs. 10,332. 8, or £1,033, 9s., is derived from land revenue. The aggregate area of these States is elsewhere estimated at 3992 square miles.

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Subdivisional Administration.—The twenty-five local divisions which constitute the Jaintiá Hills are regarded as forming a separate Subdivision, under the charge of an Assistant Commissioner, whose headquarters are at the village of Jowái. This Subdivision dates from 1869, for which year the separate cost of administration is returned at £1090. The following statistics, relating only to the Jaintiá Hills, are taken from the Report of the Assistant Commissioner for 1876-77; for the rest, all information is included in the preceding sections of this Statistical Account, which apply generally to the whole District of the Khási and Jaintiá Hills. In the year 1876-77 the total revenue of the Jowái Subdivision amounted to Rs. 12,513, or £1251, 6s., of which Rs. 10,834 was derived from the house tax. The total value of the exports from the Subdivision was estimated at Rs. 116,555, or £11,655, 10s., including 16,000 maunds of raw cotton, valued at Rs. 120,000, and 3400 maunds of lac, valued at Rs. 34,000. The total value of the imports was estimated at Rs. 303,600, or £30,360, chiefly cotton and woollen cloth from Bengal, valued at Rs. 81,000; silk cloth from Assam, Rs. 25,000; 13,000 maunds of rice, value Rs. 60,000; 6029 hands of dried fish, value Rs. 35,500; 3987 maunds of salt, value Rs. 33,000; 600 maunds of tobacco, value Rs. 22,800. These figures are compiled from reports submitted by the police stations at Jowái, on the Jaintiápur road, and from information collected from the chief traders of Jowái. They show an apparent balance of trade against the Subdivision amounting to Rs. 186,605, or £18,600, 10s. The population of Jowái and the surrounding villages is 4300 souls.

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Medical Aspects—Meteorology.—The climate of the Khási and Jaintiá Hills is mild and equable. At Shillong the thermometer within doors ranges from about 58° in December to 70° or 75° in the hottest months. Out of doors the dry bulb varies between about 38° in the cold weather and 80° in May and June. A temperature higher than 80° is seldom recorded. During the three years ending

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

I. Setting and Economic Background of Sohkyndah and Kongton

361 Sohkyndah and Kongton are villages of the Kadashinong,[1] one of
692 the areas under the Cherra Chief. The Kadashinong is situated on
[131] the southern slope of the Khasi Hills, in what is called War country.
These two villages are situated at the farthest point from both Shella,
the centre bordered by the plain, and Cherrapunjee, the seat of the
184 Cherra Chief, one of the centres of the upland Khasi Hills. The people
121 at Cherrapunjee say that these villages are one of the most backward
[171] parts of the Khasi Hills. They correspond to Rombagiri in the Garo
Hills, as they lie in the innermost parts and more traditional economic
and social settings have been preserved there than in other villages.
These are also the reasons why I selected those villages as my field.

361 It is nine miles to Sohkyndah from Cherrapunjee, crossing two
[131] deep valleys towards the east. Kongton is located at the heart of
the mountain ranges, ten miles from Cherrapunjee, towards the north-
[487] east. It is about twelve miles from Sohkyndah to Kongton, and
the way leads through one of the most difficult passes, where even
[162] villagers seldom travel. In December, 1955, Sohkyndah was a com-
munity of 48 households (List 6), and Kongton of 62 households
(List 9). The settlements of both villages are clustered in the southern
depressions of a mountain, not far from the summit, a typical location
[114] of Khasi villages. Sohkyndah has poor soil, covered with plenty of
pieces of stones. The yield therefore is very poor. On the other
hand, Kongton, a much older village, enjoys fertile soil, and is one of
the most prosperous communities in the Kadashinong.

241 The major economy of both villages is shifting cultivation. We
have already seen, in the chapters on the Garo, the fundamental
technique of "jhuming cultivation." The differences between the
423 Garo and the Khasi shifting cultivation are to be found in two aspects:
[171] one is the nature of the crops and the other is the type of landowner-
[241] ship. In this area, the main crop is millet, while that of the Garo is
rice. Besides the shifting cultivation, *the Khasi have betel-leaf gardens*
and sometimes pineapple gardens, though on a small scale and not
in every household. The most important feature of Khasi shifting
cultivation is the development of private ownership. In the tribal
areas in Assam, such private ownership of the jhum field is quite an

1. Kadashinong is the name of a group of villages. Its literal meaning is "twelve villages," and it comprises the following villages: Sohkyndah, Rymmai, Mawkawem, Mawshiut, Mawmang, Kongton, Shyeriang, Krohiawhiar, Pilet, Tendum, Nongpriang, and Dongnow. (Khasi spelling follows the customary usage in Cherra State.)

15: Nakane E5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

APPENDIX

SOME ADDITIONAL INFORMATION FROM SHELLA AND JATINGA

SHELLA

Shella is situated in the lowest of the southern slopes of the Khasi Hills, bordering on the Sylet plain of East Pakistan. For centuries the people of Shella maintained close trading connections with the people of the plain, so that they have been much influenced by the Hindu. They have been to some extent divorced economically and culturally from their own people who live in the uplands and a higher part of the slopes. Actually, this is a natural result of their geographical location. From Cherrapunjee, the southern edge of the upland Khasi Hill, only a narrow footpath goes down to Shella. The altitude of Cherrapunjee is about 3,000 feet and of Shella from 300 to 1,000 feet, and the distance between them is 8 miles. The path descends very steeply and is full of hard stones. This difficulty of communication is also why the Hindu influence did not permeate the upland Khasi, as in the case of the Jaintia Hills.[1]

This area has a unique political organization which differs from the majority of Khasi states who is traditionally ruled by the members of the Siem clan. Shella is organized as confederation, called 'Shella Confederacy,' and consists of four local villages. The head of the village is called sordar, and is elected by the villagers every three years. The number of households of the Shella Confederacy was also 400 in January 1956. The names of the four villages and their sordar in 1956 were:

Name of village	Name of sordar
1. Shella	Dewish Mohan Roy
2. Mawkoh	Dibajoy Roy
3. Nongtrai	Orja Roy
4. Tyngngor	Jaiwan Roy

Each village is divided into sections. For instance, Shella village has nine sections: (1) Jaoir, (2) Dieng, (3) Dohn, (4) Jaman, (5) Nongtrai, (6) Nongsong,

1. However, Shella was the only way out and the main gateway from the Khasi Hills to the plain, it was here that the British first entered the Khasi Hills. They proceeded from Shella to Cherrapunjee and made the latter headquarters of the Khasi Hills in 1833.

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

STATISTICAL ACCOUNT

OF THE

KHASI AND JAINTIA HILLS.

THE DISTRICT OF THE KHASI AND JAINTIA HILLS, called by the inhabitants Ka Ri Khási and Ka Ri Synteng, is situated between 26° 9' 30" and 25° 8' 18" north latitude, and between 91° 5' 0" and 92° 31' 30" east longitude. It contains an approximate area of 6,133 square miles, and a population, according to the Census of 1872, of 121,838 souls. The principal town and Civil Station, which is also the headquarters of the Chief Commissioner of Assam, is Shillong, situated in 25° 34' 35" north latitude and 91° 55' 30" east longitude.

BOUNDARIES.—The Khási and Jaintia Hills District is bounded on the north by the Districts of Kamrup and Nowgong; on the east by Northern Cachár, the Naga Hills District, and the Kapili river; on the south by Sylhet District; and on the west by the Garo Hills.

JURISDICTION.—The Khási and Jaintia Hills constitute a Political District, removed from the jurisdiction of the ordinary Criminal, Civil, and Revenue Courts, and of the officers established under the General Regulations and Acts. The administration of the country is vested in the Chief Commissioner of Assam, the Deputy-Commissioner of the Khási and Jaintia Hills and his Assistants, and the native Chiefs, who are variously styled Siems, Wáhadáliás, Sardárs, Dolloiís, Pathárs, and Lyngdohs. Siem, or more properly Seim, is derived from the Khási word for 'soul, life;' Wáhadáliá, from the Hindu term ahálidár, meaning an 'officer;' Lyngdoh strictly means a 'sacrificial worshipper,' from the Khási ang, 'to speak,' and doh, 'flesh.' The District is divided into thirty provinces,—namely, British possessions in the Khási Hills; petty dependencies

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

disfigured from the practice. Adults will chew as many as four or five betel-nuts a day, with the usual accompaniment of *pán* leaves. The estimated cost of maintaining an average family of the labouring class is about Rs. 8 or 16s. a month. 876 [434]

TOWNS: SHILLONG.—There are no towns in the usual acceptance of the word; but the chief places in the Hills, looked upon by the inhabitants as cities, are Shillong, Jowai, Cherrá Punji, and Sheila. According to the Census of 1871, Shillong had only 1363 inhabitants, Cherrá Punji 443, and Jowai 4322. Jowai, however, is a collection of rural hamlets, and the population of Shillong has entirely altered since the date of the Census. The latter place first became the Civil Station in 1864, in substitution for Cherrá Punji; and when Assam was erected into an independent Province in 1874, it was selected as the permanent seat of the Local Government. The Chief Commissioner resides there, and also the heads of all departments in the Administration. The area of the Station is 7 miles in length by 1½ to 1¾ miles in breadth. A considerable native population is already settled, and is increasing from day to day. One of the largest weekly markets is held in the *Aduár*; and with a view to facilitate access to the Station, which is the sanitarium for the Province of Assam, a cart road has recently been completed to Goalpárá on the Brahmaputra, which will tend to make the place more and more important. An excellent water supply is introduced into Shillong through an aqueduct which has its source in the neighbouring hill streams, and sanitary measures are carefully enforced. Large sums of money have annually been expended on the erection of the public buildings necessary for the offices of the administration. A printing-press has been established, from which issue all the official documents and reports of the Province. The climate is excellent, the temperature being more equable than that of any other hill station in India, and therefore admirably suited to the constitution of Europeans. There is a church at Shillong, and a chaplain on the Bengal establishment officiates both there and at Goalpárá. The cantonments were occupied in 1875 by the 43d Regiment of Assam Light Infantry, with three outposts. The strength was 9 European officers, 16 native commissioned officers, 80 non-commissioned officers, 771 fighting men, and 38 paid camp followers and non-combatants; grand total, 935. The total cost, including contingencies, was Rs. 189,190, or £18,919. 632 • 632 648 [643] [743] [991] [365] [367] [349] [219] [182] [346] [712]

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

vation is impossible because of the cold climate. In the past, Khasi economy must have remained at a very primitive stage. 178 244

Potato cultivation has been much encouraged along with the development of Shillong and the opening of the motor road to Gauhati from Shillong after the Independence of India when Shillong became the seat of the Assam Government, as well as the capital of the Khasi-Jaintia Hills. Shillong has become an important trading centre, where big merchants collect the harvests of potatoes in exchange for rice, clothes and various other goods from the Assam valley. These changes have introduced the Khasis into an active commercial economy which again has brought about various changes in their social life. Recently coal excavations have started in the upland Khasi Hills, and many Khasi become miners. 178 433 369 [244] [639] [491] [439] [316]

Thus the history of the Khasi Hills during the last hundred years has changed a great deal the picture of the Hills. However, dark corners still remain in Bhoi, War and in the area bordering on the Garo Hills. These have been kept in a vacuum between the Hindu civilisation of the bordering plain and the modernization of the uplands centred in Shillong. In these areas, the people are still practising primitive jhum cultivation. I have chosen two villages in War located in one of these area as subjects of my major field-work. 178 184

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thereafter, the British negotia- ed treaties with all the 175
Khasi states, the last treaty Jaing signed in 1862. It 619
was contracted that the chief would be subject to 668
the authority of a resident political agent, whose duties 724
ties would involve maintaining law and order, judging cases of heinous crimes, approving the popular selection of any new chief, and exercising control over certain categories of natural resources. Khasis were 650
guaranteed noninterference in their customary way of life, and they were not then, or are they now, taxed. Most Khasis, as opposed to citizens, were never an integral part of British India but they did undergo 17
social change as a result of British pressure. To name Mills (n.d.): (1) The British introduced the potato, which the Khasis rapidly took up as a cash crop for marketing as far as Calcutta. The intensive speculation exhausted the of and made for soil poorer crops. (2) Christian missionaries made large numbers of converts, and the inroads over the difficult question of whether a Christian to should inherit property that traditionally was remarked for her performance of non-Christian religious rituals. (3) Almost 1864 the British transferred their headquarters from Cherrapunji to Shillong. When there made Shillong the capital of the entire state of Assam, non-Khasis flocked to it, land values went, and the concept of private property became increasingly important. Khasis began to marry with members of other ethnic groups, which introduced complications into traditional social patterns. These problems were exacerbated during World War II, when Shillong and its environs enjoyed enormous economic prosperity. One notable aftermath of this affluence has been the accelerated enrollments in schools and villages. Hundreds of Khasis now have the B.A., M.A., and even the Ph.D. degree. • With the Independence of India in 1947, and under the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India (which was drafted by a Khasi), the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills District became a Part B, or Autonomous Tribal Area, to be governed by a District Council composed largely of Khasis and Jaintias, and responsible not to the Legislature of Assam but to the Governor of Assam or of the President of India. The native-state system and the chiefs still exist, and the District Council finds a difficult to effect legislation which is sometimes at variance with customs not a simple blueprint for all-Assam all-India legislation. The major political schisms at this time is between Jaintias, who are accustomed to central authority and taxation, and Khasis, who resist the notion of taxation to support the work of a central District Council. [Cf. Gait 1906, Ahmadum 1951, Bhuyan 1949, Morris 1968]

SETTLEMENT PATTERN AND HOUSING. Settlement pattern. Khasis live endemically in natural, nucleated, and unplanned villages which are situated not below hill summits to avoid strong winds but still be defensible, and which usually include a de-

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The homeland of the Khasi is the hilly country situated in the northeast of India and known at present as the District of United Khasi and Jaintia Hills, under the Assam State Government. The area is bounded by the plains of the Kamrup and the Nowgong Districts to the north, by the Cachar Hills and East Pakistan (District of Sylhet) to the south, and by the United Mikir and North Cachar Hills Districts to the east. The Khasi and Jaintia Hills are divided politically into two subdivisions, with headquarters at Shillong for the Khasi Hills, and at Jowai for the Jaintia Hills, respectively. The peoples of both subdivisions are called "Khasi" in a broad sense, and are distinctly marked off from other neighbouring tribes and peoples by language and social structure. The population of the Khasi in the District is 363,707 (*Census of India, 1951, Assam*). Their language belongs to one of the Mon group of the Austro-Asiatic family to which the Munda in central India also belongs.[1]

Though all Khasis share fundamentally the same language and social structure, their culture, dialects, economy, social usage, and political organization vary greatly, owing to the ecological and politico-historical differences among them. The United Khasi and Jaintia Hills are much higher than the neighbouring Garo Hills. The plateau of the Khasi Hills ranges from about 5,000 feet to 6,000 feet, of which

1. The *Census of India, 1951, Assam*, makes the following remarks on their language: "Their nearest kinsmen have been discovered to be the Palaungs, a tribe inhabiting one of the Shan States to the northeast of Mandalay on the middle Salween. Later the relationship of the Khasi language has been traced not only to the Mon-Khmer language, but also to the Nicobarese and several dialects spoken by some tribes in the Malay Peninsula. In Assam, the special form of speech is only found in the Khasi and Jaintias while nearly all the other primitive languages with which it is surrounded belong to the great Bodo family. The Khasi language is the only member of the Mon-Khmer family which possesses a pronominal gender distinguishing all nouns as masculine and feminine, and here also the feminine noun commonly preponderate."

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thereafter, the British negotiated treaties with all the Khasi states, the last treaty being signed in 1862. It was contracted that the chiefs would be subject to the authority of a resident political agent, whose duties would involve maintaining law and order, judging cases of heinous crimes, approving the popular selection of any new chief, and exercising control over certain categories of natural resources. Khasis were guaranteed noninterference in their customary way of life, and they were set then, we are they now, taxed.

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West Khasis, as opposed to Jaintias, were never an integral part of British India, but they did undergo social change as a result of British presence. To summarize Mills (n.d.): (1) The British introduced the potato, which the Khasis rapidly took up as a cash crop for marketing as far as Calcutta. The intensive specialization exhausted the soil and made for even poorer crops. (2) Christian missionaries made large numbers of converts, and there arose the difficult question of whether a Christian should inherit property that traditionally was earmarked for her performance of non-Christian religious rituals. (3) About 1864 the British transferred their headquarters from Cherrapunji to Shillong. When they made Shillong the capital of the entire state of Assam, non-Khasis flocked to it, land values soared, and the concept of private property became increasingly important. Khasis began to marry with members of other ethnic groups, which introduced confusion into traditional social patterns. These problems were exacerbated during World War II, when Shillong and its environs enjoyed enormous economic prosperity. One notable aftermath of this affluence has been the accelerated enrollments in schools and colleges. Hundreds of Khasis now have the B.A., M.A., and even the Ph.D. degree. ● With the independence of India in 1947, and under the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India (which was drafted by a Khasi), the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills District became a Part B, or Autonomous, Tribal Area, to be governed by a District Council composed largely of Khasis and Jaintias, and responsible not to the Legislature of Assam, but to the Governor of Assam as agent of the President of India. The native-state system and the chiefs still exist, and the District Council finds it difficult to effect legislation which is neither offensive to regional customs nor a simple blueprint of ill-fitting all-India legislation. The chief political schism at this time is between Jaintias, who are accustomed to centralized authority and taxation, and Khasis, who resist the action of taxation to support the work of a central District Council. [Cf. Gait 1906, Aitchison 1931, Bhuyan 1940, Morris 1948.]

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Then followed the dance of the girls (6) *shad* (*jarbat*) who were also wearing dress as described above. They kept their eyes down, keeping their arms on their sides taking such a short steps with the music, that the movement of the feet were hardly perceptible. The boys were also in their dancing dress as were by *mongshad* and danced with the drum round the girls making their steps with the beatings of the drum. The music started from the morning would be stopped only after completion of the dance which prolonged till evening. These functions served as a good source of amusement to the people, enabling them to have a good diversion from their monotonous life with an opportunity to meet their friends and relations who assembled there from different parts of the hill.

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Discussion

From the foregoing description, it is evident that the Khasi line is a democratic set-up in which the senior daughters are entrusted to the Siem. A different rule is followed in the case of religious festivals. Every Khasi family entrusts the ancestral work of the house to the youngest daughter. The Siem's sister (Siem Sad) being the senior member of his mother's clan, is made responsible for the observance of these ceremonies which concern the welfare of the subjects. The people attend the festival to seek blessings of their supreme deity U Shillong and their respect to the Siem's residence indicates their loyalty to him. The rituals of the festival, instead of being performed by her (High Priestess), were conducted by the Chief Priest (Sok Mah) for which he was allotted a very important position in the celebration. The musicians were given similar status owing to the belief in the sacredness of their music. It ought to be played in proper tones otherwise the displeasure of the deity would fall on them on finding any slight departure in this respect. For this reason, the music is considered as important as the rituals and the role of musicians were consequently given due recognition at every stage of the festival. The tradition of departing the tusks of Nongrang Siem to worship the goat at the top of the hill was followed as element of their ancestors having carried out in olden times the profession of *sala-bongsh* (body guard) to the Siem. Another person of Mawkhana who was also asked to carry the head of the sacrificial animal from the hill to the residence of the Siem after the worship, as his predecessors were said to ancient times during the period of Siem captivity in the Shrs. Both children were found engrossed in a synthetic way through their attendance.

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The most important concern of the people was to maintain their social of living together with their property and other means of subsistence. They worshipped him so that he might prevent the evil spirit from doing any harm and may in addition grant them bumper crops. In lieu of such a favour, they approved their and U Shillong with gifts and sacrifices. It is not easy whether he is considered as one of their guilted ancestors, but his important position in the Khasi pantheon enabled him to have some priority in their worship. The offering of sacrificial together with a yellow goat, moreover, revealed his amiable and benevolent nature as the malignant ones get representation invariably with black animals. U Shillong was invoked simultaneously with other dead ancestors, with the hope, that all the deities would pool their supernatural strength in fighting the evil spirits before the latter were able to cause any harm to their crops or to cause in any way the fertility of their fields.

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It would be interesting to refer here about the presentation of nine plates of meat from various parts of the sacrificial animal. It may be a sign of appeasement by serving him with some food but there seems to be something

[illegible] dominant but are privately class (*mawbah*). In other States the Council has been widened by the addition to it of village headmen (*ai-dawi*), or the chief superintendents (*bamon*) of the village markets, tolls from which constitute the chief item in the public receipts of these States. A further step towards the recognition of the public will in the nomination of a Siem has been the introduction of popular elections, at which all the adult males vote. Such popular elections were very greatly due to the views held by Colonel Bivar, who was Deputy-Commissioner of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills from 1865 to 1877. These elections have been, in many States, an innovation which is hardly in accord with public sentiment, and in many cases the voters have done no more than confirm the selection of a special electoral body. It is, however, clear that the idea of popular elections is not one with which the people are unfamiliar, e.g. in Langrin State, where all the adult males customarily vote at an election of a Siem. Popular election has also been customary in the Nongkhyrh and Sharwal States, in cases where a special electoral body has been unable to agree upon a nomination, and also in Nongpoh, if a Council of five *lyngdohs*, which has in this State authority to declare who is the rightful heir, but not to disqualify him, cannot come to an unanimous decision. The Siems are appointed by an assembly, or *durbar*, which will be described later. The chiefs, having been thus chosen by the *durbar*, which is supposed by the people to be an institution of Divine origin, are styled, *ki Siem u Blei*, or Siems of God. In most States the Siem is the religious as well as the secular head, e.g. in the Cherra State, where the Siem is also *lyngdoh*. In Khyrim State the Siem has succeeded failing to perform at different religious ceremonies, especially at the time of the annual Nongkrem dance. It is the custom for the Siem to consult the employes with the authorities for the good of the State. The Siem in matters judicial acts as a judge, the whole body of the *durbar* being the jury. In olden days the Siem succeeded to rule at the head of his army. It is not customary to recognize an heir-apparent, and the young sons of the Siem family pursue the ordinary occupations of a Khasi, not comparing themselves in the least like sons of royalty. In quite

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642 convening in the Siemship, three *lyngdoh* and two *mantri* assemble and decide who is to be Siem. They then summon the sirdars of villages to meet them in *durbar* and obtain the approval of the Durbar to their nomination. If the sirdars do not approve, the combined *durbar* then decides who is to become
643 Siem. In Nongpyung there is a tradition that two sisters, Ka
644 *Sah* and Ka *Jem*, came to the village of Nongpyung, which was then ruled by two *lyngdoh*, and that the latter, having ascertained that the two sisters were of royal birth, married them. They then travelled to other villages and obtained the consent of the *lyngdoh* of these villages to the formation of all their villages into a State of which Nongpyung became the capital, and over which U Sngi Shadong, the son of Ka Jem, was appointed Siem by the five principal *lyngdoh*. After some generations the lyngdoh of Mawang with his villages became subject to the Siem of Nongkhlaw, an event which finds mention in the annals of the Nongkhlaw State as the conquest of the territory of the "Black" Siem of Nongpyung. Another lyngdoh was appointed in place of the one whose territory had been thus conquered.

645 In the Mawiong State the ancient custom was that six houses
[646] appointed the Siem subject to the approval of the people of the
647 Siemship. In the Nongkhyah State there are two Siem families, the "Black" and the "White," from either of which it has apparently been the custom for the people to select a Siem, as they wished. In Mawryngkang the electors of the Siem are the heads of the four principal clans in the State. On a recent occasion, the electors being equally divided regarding the appointment of a Siem, it was necessary to appeal to the people of the State. In Langrin there are, as in Mahsaw and Nongkhyah, two main branches of the Siem family, i.e. the
[648] "Black" and the "White" Siem. Here there is no special electoral body; all the adults of the state have the right to vote at the election of a Siem. In Bhaweal State Siems are appointed by the heads of eight clans whose decision is apparently final, provided that it is unanimous. In Malai-Sohmat a bare majority of the heads of six clans would be sufficient for the election of a Siem. Presumably both in Bhaweal and Malai-Sohmat, if the electors were equally divided, there would be an appeal to the people.

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694 members of these clans do not apparently regard the animals or natural objects, from which they derive their names, as totems, inasmuch as they do not abstain from killing, eating or utilizing them. The names of these objects are connected generally with some story, concerning the history of the clan, but there is no evidence to show that the clan-folk ever regarded the above animals or objects as their tribal totems. If the lists of the Khyrim and Cherra clans are examined, it will be seen what a large number bear the name of *Dkhar* or its abbreviation *Khar*. The word *dkhar* is that applied by a Khasi to an inhabitant of the plains. We come across names such as *Khar-maldi*, *khar sawli*, the first word being an abbreviation of *dkhar*, and *maldi* being the common Bengali name which occurs in Chandra Maldi, Surjya Maldi, &c. *Sawli* (*shawli*) is the common Assamese word for a girl. The ancestresses of these tribes were plains women, carried off, no doubt, in the raids made by the Khasis over the border into Assam and Sylhet. The word *Jing* in the list of tribes is a Synteng synonym of *Jaw* or *jaid*, and the War word *Shong*, which will often be found in the names of the tribes of the twenty-five villages of the Khyrim State, is merely a corruption of *jong* or *iong*, the Synteng word for clan. Let us now see how the State or Khasi Township was formed out of a collection of these clans, how these clans obtained political power, how some clans became more powerful than others, and how a Khasi King or Siem is appointed.

STATE ORGANIZATION.

693 We have studied in the preceding chapter the formation of
692 the clan from the family, and how the former established villages. Let us now turn to the constitution of the Khasi State, which, it will be seen, has been formed, in more than one instance, by the voluntary association of villages, or groups of villages. The head of the Khasi State is the Siem or chief. A Khasi state is a limited monarchy, the Siem's powers
695 being much circumscribed. According to custom, he can pro-
696 pose no act of any importance without first consulting and obtaining the approval of his durbar, upon which the state

[P.107A]

Formerly, the British organized tourism with all the Khasi states, the last newly being signed in 1965. It was contended that the chiefs would be subject to the authority of a resident political agent, whose duties would involve maintaining law and order, judging cases of heinous crimes, approving the popular selection of any new chief, and exercising control over certain categories of natural resources. Khasis were guaranteed noninterference in their customary way of life, and they were are free, and are they were, based. Most Khasis, as opposed to Jaintias, were never an integral part of British India, but they did undergo social change as a result of British pressure. To summarize [illegible]. (1) The British introduced the potato, which the Khasis rapidly took up as a cash crop for marketing in Sylhet or Calcutta. The potato specialization enhanced the soil and made for year-round crops. (2) Christian missionaries made large numbers of converts, and there arose the difficult question of whether a Christian should inherit property that traditionally was controlled by his non-Christian of non-Christian religious rituals. (3) Since 1866 the British transferred their headquarters from Cherrapunji to Shillong. When they made Shillong the capital of the entire state of Assam, non-Khasis flocked to a land where wanted, and the concept of private property became increasingly important. Khasis began to marry with members of other ethnic groups, which introduced confusion into traditional social patterns. These problems were exacerbated during World War II, when Shillong and its environs experiencing economic prosperity. One notable aftermath of the affluence has been the enrollment enrollments in schools and colleges. Hundreds of Khasis now have the B.A., M.A., and even the Ph.D. degree. ¶ With the independence of India in 1947, and under the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India (which was drafted by a Khasi), the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills District became a Part B, or autonomous, Tribal Area, to be governed by a District Council composed largely of Khasis and Jaintias, and responsible not to the Commissioner of Assam, but to the Governor of Assam as agent of the President of India. The entire state system and the chiefs still exist, and the District Council finds it difficult to effect legislation which is neither offensive to regional custom nor a simple blueprint of Shillong all-India legislation. The main political scheme of the time is between Jaintias, who are accustomed to control and authority and taxation, and Khasis, who want the notion of taxation to support the work of a central District Council. [illegible]

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS AND HOUSING. Settlement patterns Khasis live primarily in small, scattered, and unplanned villages which are situated not below hill streams to avoid strong winds but still be defensible, and which usually include a de-

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A [illegible] WOMAN OF [illegible]

Reproduced from a picture by Miss Diana Scott O'Connor

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INTRODUCTION.

In 1903 Sir Bampfylde Fuller, then Chief Commissioner of Assam, proposed, and the Government of India sanctioned, the preparation of a series of monographs on the more important tribes and castes of the Province, of which this volume is the first. They were to be undertaken by writers who had had special and intimate experience of the races to be described, the accounts of earlier observers being at the same time studied and incorporated; a uniform scheme of treatment was laid down which was to be adhered to in each monograph, and certain limits of size were prescribed.

Major Gurdon, the author of the following pages, who is also, as Superintendent of Ethnography in Assam, editor of the whole series, has enjoyed a long and close acquaintance with the Khasi race, whose institutions he has here undertaken to describe. Thoroughly familiar with their language, he has for three years been in charge as Deputy-Commissioner of the district where they dwell, continually moving among them, and visiting every part of the beautiful region which is called by their name. The administration of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills is an exceptionally interesting field of official responsibility. About half of the district, including the country around the capital, Shillong, is outside the limits of British India, consisting of a collection of small states in political relations, regulated by treaty, with the Government of India, which enjoy

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693 almost complete autonomy in the management of their
191 local affairs. In the remainder, called the Jaintia Hills, which became British in 1835, it has been the wise policy of the Government to maintain the indigenous system of administration through officers named *dolois*, who preside over large areas of country with very little interference. All the British portion of the hills is what is called a "Scheduled District" under Acts XIV and XV of 1874, and legislation which may be inappropriate to the conditions of the people can be, and is, excluded from operation within it. In these circumstances the administration is carried on in a manner well calculated to win the confidence and attachment of the people, who have to bear few of the burdens which press upon the population elsewhere, and, with the peace and protection guaranteed by British rule, are able to develop their institutions upon indigenous lines. It is now more than forty years since any military operations have been necessary within the hills, and the advance of the district in prosperity and civilization during the last half-century has been very striking.

177 The first contact between the British and the
698 inhabitants of the Khasi Hills followed upon the
175 acquisition by the East India Company, in consequence of the grant of the *Diwani* of Bengal in 1765, of the district of Sylhet. The Khasis were our neighbours on the north of that district, and to the north-east was the State of Jaintia,* ruled over by a chief of Khasi lineage, whose capital, Jaintiapur, was situated in the plain between the Surma river and the hills. Along this frontier the Khasis, though not averse from trade, and in possession of the quarries which furnished the chief

113 * The previous history of the Khasi State of Jaintia, so far as it can be traced, will be found related in Mr. E. A. Gait's *History of Assam* (1906), pp. 200-202.

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to his own matriarchal stock, and at his death his bones are deposited in the crombeh of his mother's kin. In Jowai he neither lives nor eats in his wife's house, but visits it only after dark (p. 76). In the veneration of ancestors, which is the foundation of the tribal piety, the primal ancestress (*Ka Iaïdei*) and her brother are the only persons regarded. The flat memorial stones set up to perpetuate the memory of the dead are called after the woman who represents the clan (*mâw Iyathei*, p. 130), and the standing stones ranged behind them are dedicated to the male kinsmen on the mother's side.

In harmony with this scheme of ancestor worship, the other spirits to whom propitiation is offered are mainly female, though here male personages also figure (pp. 108—109). The powers of sickness and death are all female, and these are those most frequently worshipped (p. 107). The two protectors of the household are goddesses (p. 112), though with them is also revered the first father of the clan, *U Thâwlang*.

Priestesses assist at all sacrifices, and the male officiants are only their deputies (p. 121); in one important state, Khyrim, the High Priestess and actual head of the State is a woman, who combines in her person sacerdotal and regal functions (p. 79).

The Khasi language, so far as known, is the only member of the Mon-Khmer family which possesses a grammatical gender, distinguishing all nouns as masculine and feminine; and here also the feminine seems immensely preponderate (p. 206). The pronouns of the second (*ní*, *phá*) and third person (*á*, *lá*) have separate forms for the sexes in the singular, but in the plural only one is used (*phí*, *lí*), and this is the plural form of the feminine singular.

It may perhaps be ascribed to the pre-eminence

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614 members of these clans do not apparently regard the animals or natural objects, from which they derive their names, as totems, inasmuch as they do not abstain from killing, eating or utilizing them. The names of these objects are connected generally with some story, concerning the history of the clan, but there is no evidence to show that the clans-folk ever regarded the above animals or objects as their tribal totems. If the lists of the Khyrim and Cherra clans are examined, it will be seen what a large number bear the name of *Dikhar* or its abbreviation *Khar*. The word *dikhar* is that applied by a Khasi to an inhabitant of the plains. We come across names such as *Khar-mukhi*, *Khar sowali*, the first word being an abbreviation of *dikhar*, and *mukhi* being the common Bengali name which occurs in Chandra Mukhi, Surjya Mukhi, &c. Sowali (*sawali*) is the common Assamese word for a girl. The ancestresses of these tribes were plains women, carried off, no doubt, in the raids made by the Khasis over the border into Assam and Sylhet. The word *Jong* in the list of tribes is a Syntengi synonym of *kur* or *juid*, and the word *Shong*, which will often be found in the names of the tribes of the twenty-five villages of the Khyrim State, is merely a corruption of *jong* or *iong*, the Syntengi word for clan. Let us now see how the State or Khasi Township was formed out of a collection of these clans, how these clans obtained political power, how some clans became more powerful than others, and how a Khasi King or Siem is appointed.

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642 the clan from the family, and how the former established villages. Let us now turn to the constitution of the Khasi State, which, it will be seen, has been formed, in more than one instance, by the voluntary association of villages, or groups of villages. The head of the Khasi State is the Siem or chief.

A Khasi state is a limited monarchy, the Siem's power
643 being much circumscribed. According to custom, he can pe-
644 form no act of any importance without first consulting and obtaining the approval of his durbar, upon which the state

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mantrie sit. This durbar must not be confused with the electoral durbar which will be referred to later. It is an executive council over which the Siem presides, and also possesses judicial powers (for a description of a judicial durbar, see page 91 of the monograph). The form of summons to appear before this durbar used to be a knotted piece of string or cane, the number of knots denoting the degree of urgency of the summons, not a piece of pork, as one writer has said. Pork is a luxury which is not usually distributed gratis. The Siem manages the State business through his *mantrie*, although it is true that in some States the members of the Siem family have been allowed a considerable share of the State management. This latter arrangement is, however, a departure from the ordinary rule in the Siemships, and is regarded as unconstitutional. In some States there are village headmen, styled *Sirdars*, who settle cases, collect labour, and assess and receive for the chief the *pynsuk*, which may be literally translated as "gratification." In Nongstoin there is an official styled *lyngdoh*, who is the superior of a number of village sirdars, and who acts as the Siem's deputy-governor. In the Khasi Hills there is no land revenue, nor are there any tithes or other imposts levied upon the cultivator's produce. The land, to a great extent, is the property of the different clans and villages, although in some instances there are estates owned by private persons. The chief is entitled to receive the income that arises from what are known as the *raj* or State lands only. All that the Siem usually receives from his people in the way of direct revenue is the State subscription, or *pynsuk*, mentioned above. Even this is supposed to be a voluntary contribution, and it is not demanded in some States. This tax is nominally a collection to meet the expenses of the State economies, but is really a means of increasing the chief's private income. The contribution varies in amount according to the means of the villagers. The Siem's principal source of income, however, in all the Khasi States is the toll (*khong*), which he takes from those who sell at the markets in his territory. As the Khasis are great traders these tolls are often at the larger markets fairly valuable. The chief raises no excise revenue, the manufacture of both fermented and distilled

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643 liquor being subject to no fiscal restrictions whatsoever. In a
651 few States the Siems are commencing to levy registration fees,
443 but the amounts are insignificant. Judicial fines are divided between the chief and the members of the durbar. In some States the Siems' incomes amount to a few hundreds a year only. Generally speaking, the Khasi chiefs are necessarily a very impecunious set of persons, and many of them are in-
643 debted to, comparatively speaking, large amounts. The Siem
631 is appointed from the Siem family, there being such a family in each of the fifteen Khasi States. The most important States are Khyrim, Mylliem, Cherra, Nongstoin, and Nongkhlaw. There are a few other petty States presided over by Lyngdoh, Sirdars, or Wahadadars. A fact which is of universal application is, that heirship to the Siemship lies through the female side. The customary line of succession is uniform in all cases, except in Khyrim, save that in some instances cousins rank with brothers, or are preferred to
643 grand-nephews, instead of being postponed to them. The
928 difference between the rule of succession and the rule of inheritance to real property should be noted. In the former case the sons of the eldest sister inherit in order of priority of birth, although it is true that this rule has sometimes been disregarded. In cases of succession to realty, however, the inheritance goes to the youngest daughter of the deceased's mother, and after her to her youngest daughter. In successions to the Siemship, in the absence of male heirs from the eldest sister the succession passes, by what has been aptly described as the "knight's move," to the male children of the next eldest sister. In Khyrim the custom of succession is peculiar, there being a High Priestess, and heirship being
643 limited to her male relatives. Generally speaking, it would
649 appear that succession was originally controlled by a small
773 electoral body constituted of the heads (*lyngdohs*) of certain priestly clans, who, it is presumed, exercised their authority to reject candidates, when necessary, mainly on religious grounds. There has, however, been a distinct tendency towards the broadening of the elective basis. In the large State of Khyrim the number of the electoral body has been greatly increased by the inclusion of the representative headmen of certain demesnes but non-priestly clans (*mantris*).

certain dominant but non-priestly clans (*mawbris*). In other States the Council has been widened by the addition to it of village headmen (*ri-dawn*), or the chief superintendents (*bawkis*) of the village markets, tolls from which constitute the chief item in the public receipts of these States. A further step towards the recognition of the public will in the nomination of a Siem has been the introduction of popular elections, at which all the adult males vote. Such popular elections were very greatly due to the views held by Colonel Bivar, who was Deputy-Commissioner of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills from 1865 to 1877. These elections have been, in many States, an innovation which is hardly in accord with public sentiment, and in many cases the voters have done no more than confirm the selection of a special electoral body. It is, however, clear that the idea of popular elections is not one with which the people are unfamiliar, e.g. in Langrin State, where all the adult males customarily vote at an election of a Siem. Popular election has also been customary in the Nobosohpoh and Bhowal States, in cases where a special electoral body has been unable to agree upon a nomination, and also in Nongpoung, if a Council of five *lyngdoh*s, which has in this State authority to declare who is the rightful heir, but not to disqualify him, cannot come to an unanimous decision. The Siems are appointed by an assembly, or *durbar*, which will be described later. The chiefs, having been thus chosen by the *durbar*, which is supposed by the people to be an institution of Divine origin, are styled, *ki Siem u Blei*, or Siems of God. In most States the Siem is the religious as well as the secular head, e.g. in the Cherra State, where the Siem is also *lyngdoh*. In Khyrim State the Siem has sacerdotal duties to perform, at different religious ceremonies, especially at the time of the annual Nongkrem dance. It is the custom for the Siem to consult the auspices with the soothsayers for the good of the State. The Siem in matters judicial acts as a judge, the whole body of the *durbar* being the jury. In olden days the Siem marched to war at the head of his army. It is not customary to recognize an heir-apparent, and the young men of the Siem family pursue the ordinary avocations of a Khasi, not comporting themselves in the least like scions of royalty. In quite

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692 recent years there have been instances of Siems having been commoned, like the Roman Cincinnatus, from quite humble positions, to undertake the duties of chief. We will now turn to
693 an examination of the systems in the different Siemships. In
793 the Kyrim or Nongkrem State there is a spiritual head, i.e. a High Priestess, *Ka Siew Sad*, who is responsible for the due performance of the State religious ceremonies, although, as already stated, the Siem also performs some of these duties. The temporal power here is delegated by the High Priestess to a Siem, who is her son, or her nephew, or occasionally some more distant male descendant. It is the duty of an official
[695] called a *lyngdoh*, who is the official spokesman of the Siem's durbar, to propose a new Siem to the six *lyngdohs*, or priests, and to the heads of the twenty-four *mawkis* clans. The latter then decide in durbar whether the proposed Siem should be appointed. In the event of their disapproving of the *lyngdoh's* nomination they proceed to elect another Siem. The High Priestess is appointed by the above electors, the order of succession to the post being as follows:—she is succeeded by her eldest surviving daughter; failing daughters, by the eldest daughter of her eldest daughter; failing daughters of her eldest daughter, by the eldest daughter of her second daughter, and so on. If there are no daughters or grand-daughters, as above, she is succeeded by her eldest sister. In the absence of sisters, she is succeeded by the eldest daughter of her mother's eldest sister, and so on. In this State the tradition runs that the first High Priestess was Ka Pah Syntiew, i.e. the flower-hand one. Ka Pah
[773] Syntiew was a beautiful maiden who had as her abode a cave at Mawsi, near Nongkrem, whence she was entoned by a man of the Mylliem-ngap clan by means of a flower. She was taken by him to be his bride, and she became not only the first High Priestess, but also the mother of the Siems of Nongkrem.* In Nongkrem the clansmen may disqualify the first, or any, heir to the Siemship for sufficient reason according to the Khasi religion and custom, such as bad character, physical disability, change of religion, &c. If the first heir be disqualified, the next in order must be appointed
692 Siem, unless he be disqualified, and so on. In this State there

* For the story in detail see the Folklore section of the monograph.

are six divisions, each of which is known as a *raj*. In each 631
raj there is a *durbar*, to which are submitted for approval
the elections of the heads of the *mawbri* class. These elec- 631
tions are subject to the approval of the Siem. The Siem, sitting 643
with the *durbar* of the *raj* concerned, may dismiss a *lyngdoh*, 644
lyngdoh, or *mawbri*, for bad conduct, or on account of physical
disability, in which case another *lyngdoh*, *lyngdoh*, or *mawbri*
would be appointed, as stated above. The Mylliem State 631
originally formed a portion of the Nongkrem State, but owing 643
to a quarrel between one of the Siems and his nephew there
was a partition. In this State the electors are the heads of five
mawbri class, eleven *sutnkhors*, or heads of clans, and certain
lyngdoh, and other heads of clans. A majority of the electors is
sufficient for the election of a Siem. A Siem is succeeded by
the eldest of his uterine brothers; failing such brothers, by the
eldest of his sisters' sons; failing such nephews, by the eldest
of the sons of his sisters' daughters; failing such grand-
nephews, by the eldest of the sons of his mother's sisters; and,
failing such first cousins, by the eldest of his male cousins on
the female side, other than first cousins, those nearest in degree
of relationship having prior claim. If there were no heirs
male, as above, he would be succeeded by the eldest of his
uterine sisters; in the absence of such sisters, by the eldest of
his sister's daughters; failing such sisters, by the eldest of the
daughters of his sisters' daughters; failing such grand-sisters,
by the eldest of the daughters of his mother's sisters; and
failing such first cousins, by the eldest of his female cousins on
the female side, other than first cousins, those nearest in degree
of relationship having prior claim. A female Siem would be
succeeded by her eldest son, and so on. As in the Khyrim
State, the first, or any other subsequent heir, may be dis-
qualified by the electors for sufficient reason. An elector is
succeeded by the eldest of his brothers; failing brothers, by the
eldest of the sons of his sisters, and so on. An elector can be
dismissed by the Siem, but only for good cause and with the
consent of his durbar.

In the Nongstoin State there is a tradition that the first 643
Siem originally came from Sumong* Dongpen. The name, 773

* Sumong is the Garo name for the river Someshwari.

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Sutung Dwejapur, of the place at the foot of the Garo Hills in the Mynsiang district, may be a corruption of the former. The Siems are supposed to be descended from a stag, possibly a relic of totemism in this family. In this State there is a large elected durbar consisting of 2 *mantris*, 21 *lyngdohs*, 25 *siadons*, 1 *lyngdoh*, and 1 *lawar*. The *lyngdohs* are the heads of the priestly clans, by whom they are chosen. The *siadons* of villages are appointed by the Siem in conjunction with the adult males of the different villages. There are two *lyngdohs* and two *lawars* in the State, but one *lyngdoh* and one *lawar* only at present are members of the durbar which nominates the Siem. A *lyngdoh* is the Siem's agent for the purpose of governing a collection of villages. He is appointed by the Siem with the consent of the adult males of the villages which he is to supervise. The Siem family of Nongkhlaw, or Khadawphra, is believed to have been founded by a Syntong of the name of U Shajer, who left the Jowai hills with his wife, Ka Shaphlang, because she had failed to obtain her share of the family property in Jaintia. This man is said to have purchased certain lands in Sordwar in Kamrup. Apparently he did not obtain possession of this estate, for he came up into the Khasi Hills, and finding there certain villages without a ruler, he, at the wish of the *lyngdohs* of these villages, consolidated them into a state over which he ruled as a Siem. He was succeeded by his sister's son, U Syntiew, who further extended his territories until he obtained possession of other villages. U Syntiew is said to have delegated a portion of his powers to his two sisters, Ka Jem and Ka Singhi, who ruled at Sohiong and Nongkhlaw respectively. Succeeding rulers further extended the Nongkhlaw territory. In 1829, U Tirot Singh rebelled against the East India Company and carried on for four years a successful guerilla warfare. He was finally captured and was imprisoned for life by the British Government. According to the statement of Raja Kiar Singh, it would seem that formerly the heads of five clans had the right to appoint the Siem, i.e. the heads of 3 *lyngdoh* clans and of the Jaid Bykhar and Mynsiah clans. In the Chiefs State the electors are the male adults of the State, who are represented on the State durbar by the members of the 12 aristocratic clans, known as the [illegible] representative clans.

[illegible] The Khasian State ... Analysis]

as the *Madan kur*, and certain representative elders. This State is divided for electoral purposes into the following divisions:—

I. Cherra, or Sohra, consisting of 8 villages, inclusive of Cherra, which is the capital. These villages return the heads of the 12 tribes, as well as 5 elders, as their representatives on the electoral durbar.

II. The "five" villages, or 5 tribes. This division now consists of 17 villages, which return 5 representative elders.

III. The "twelve" villages, comprising now 38 villages, which return 12 representative elders.

IV. The "four" villages, comprising now 5 villages, which return 4 elders.

V. The "sixteen" villages, which return 6 representative elders.

VI. Three villages, which return 3 and 4 sirdars and 2 elders respectively.

In this State it is the custom for a Siem to cremate the body of his predecessor. Unless he performs the cremation ceremony, he is not considered to be Siem according to the Khasi religion. U Hajon Manik Siem failed to cremate the body of his predecessor, U Ram Singh, whose remains still repose in a wooden coffin which is kept in the house of the Siem family. The remains of Siems in this state are preserved by a peculiar process of embalming which will be found described elsewhere in this monograph. U Hajon Manik died not long ago, and his body also is awaiting cremation. U Ram Singh's remains, however, have been awaiting the funeral pyre for more than thirty years; but arrangements are being made by the present Siem U Roba Singh for the cremation ceremony. The cremation of Siems in the state is attended by a very great deal of expense, a large amount of money being spent on the feasting which then takes place. The Maharam State was ruled until 1875 by two Siems, called, respectively, the "white" and the "black" Siems. In this State originally there were five *lyngdoh* who appointed the Siems, but as in certain other States the number of the electors has been expanded by the inclusion of *manfris*, *sirdars*, and *lessees*. The electors now number seventy-two persons. There is much the same state of things in the Mariaw Siemship as regards the electorate. In Rambrai, on a vacancy

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643 occurring in the Siemship, three *lyngdohs* and two *mantris* assemble and decide who is to be Siem. They then summon the sirdars of villages to meet them in *durbar* and obtain the approval of the latter to their nomination. If the sirdars do not approve, the combined *durbar* then decides who is to become
173 Siem. In Nongspung there is a tradition that two sisters, Ka
643 Jah and Ka Jem, came to the village of Nongspung, which was then ruled by two *lyngdohs*, and that the latter, having ascertained that the two sisters were of royal birth, married them. They then travelled to other villages and obtained the consent of the *lyngdohs* of these villages to the formation of all their villages into a State, of which Nongspung became the capital, and over which U Sugi Shaflong, the son of Ka Jem, was appointed Siem by the five principal *lyngdohs*. After some generations the lyngdoh of Mairang with his villages became subject to the Siem of Nongkhlaw, an event which finds mention in the annals of the Nongkhlaw State as the conquest of the territory of the "Black" Siem of Nongspung. Another lyngdoh was appointed in place of the one whose territory had been thus annexed.

643 In the Mawiong State the ancient custom was that six *basans*
[643] appointed the Siem, subject to the approval of the people of the
614 Siemship. In the Nobosohpoh State there are two Siem families, the "Black" and the "White," from either of which it has apparently been the custom for the people to select a Siem, as they wished. In Mawsynram the electors of the Siem are the heads of the four principal clans in the State. On a recent occasion, the electors being equally divided regarding the appointment of a Siem, it was necessary to appeal to the people of the State. In Langrin there are, as in Maharam and Nobosohpoh, two main branches of the Siem family, i.e. the
[641] "Black" and the "White" Siems. Here there is no special electoral body; all the adults of the state have the right to vote at the election of a Siem. In Bhawal State Siems are appointed by the heads of eight clans whose decision is apparently final, provided that it is unanimous. In Malai-Sohmat a bare majority of the heads of six clans would be sufficient for the election of a Siem. Presumably both in Bhawal and Malai-Sohmat, if the electors were equally divided, there would be an appeal to the people.

an appeal to the people. Mention has been made above of States over which *lyngdohs* possess temporal as well as spiritual powers. The States of Sohiong, Mawphlang, and Lyniong may be quoted as examples. Here the *lyngdoh* is elected from the *lyngdoh* clan by all the adult males of the state. Some small States, such as Maodon and Pomsanngut, are presided over by Sirdars, a name which has probably been introduced during the British era of supremacy in these hills. The Sirdar is elected by the adult males of the State. In Mawlong there are a Sirdar, a *lyngdoh*, and a *doloi* who govern the State. These two latter officials are elected by the people as in the case of Sirdars. In the Shella Confederacy there are four officials who are styled *W'ahadadars*, the name being probably a corruption of the Persian *'ahda-dar*.* These officials are elected for periods of three years each by the people.

The Jaintia Hills, which are British territory, are divided up into twenty doloiships, the doloi being an officer elected by the people, the Government reserving the right of approval or the reverse to the doloi's appointment. The dolois, under the rules for the administration of justice in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, as well as the Sirdars of the British villages in the Khasi Hills, possess certain judicial powers. They are assisted by officials known as *putors*, *basans*, and *sangots* in the performance of their duties. This administration, on the whole, works well, and its success shows the wisdom of the Government in having made use of the indigenous agency it found to hand when the Jaintia territory was annexed. In the Jaintia Hills there are also three Sirdarships, the office being filled by election as in the case of dolois.

In conclusion it should be stated that it has been attempted here to give but a brief *résumé* of the Khasi political system as it exists at the present time. The above account of the procedure at elections is based on existing usage. The procedure should not, however, be regarded as stereotyped, for it will no doubt be open to such revision as may on occasion be suggested by the legitimate evolution of tribal customs.

* Officer.

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the Wise country, it will be necessary to describe the land tenures and laws regarding land of each of these divisions separately. As land is always *jhumed* by the Bhois and Lyngngams from year to year, customs regarding land with these people are naturally very simple. Taking land in the high plateau of the Khasi Hills first:—The lands are classified under two main divisions, (*a*) public and (*b*) private lands. The following are the different descriptions of lands in the first division:—

Ka ri Siej, or *ka ri Shem*, which are Siem's, or Crown lands. These lands are intended for the support of the Siem family, they cannot be alienated. The Siems are, however, precluded by custom from levying a land tax on persons who cultivate such lands, the relation of landlord and tenant between the latter and their chiefs being unknown.

Ka ri Lyngdoh.—These lands are for the support of the Lyngdohs or priests of the State. In some Siemships, as in Mawiang Siemship, paddy is grown on these lands from which rice is obtained for the State pujas.

Ri shong, or village lands.—These lands are set apart to provide a supply of firewood, thatching grass, &c., and are the property of the village. The inhabitants of other villages are not allowed to enjoy the produce of such lands. Such lands can be cultivated by ryots of the village, but the latter possess only occupancy rights, and cannot transfer them.

Ri Sacklyntong.—These are sacred groves, situated generally near the summit of hills, composed of oak and rhododendron trees, which are held sacred (*kyntong*), it being an offence, or *sang*, for any one to cut timber in the grove, except for cremation purposes. These groves are the property of the village.

(*b*) Private Lands. These may be subdivided into *ri-bor* or lands which are the property of the clan, and *ri kynti*, family, or acquired landed property. In the Khasi Hills proper a very large proportion, certainly of the high lands, is the property of the clan; for instance, the high lands at Laitkor, which are the property of the Khar kunger and Kur kulang clans, whose ancestors the large memorial stones close to the Laitkor road commemorate, also the lands of the Thang khew clan, and many others.

[illegible]

[illegible] MEDIUM AT [illegible]

[illegible] the occasion [illegible] of [illegible] Indian temple, [illegible] of [illegible], with the consent of [illegible]

[illegible] photographed by [illegible]

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[91] case. The Khasi word for consulting the omens is *khem*, and a diviner is called a *ronphkem*. Another method of obtaining omens is by dropping two leaves into a pool of water or on a stone, the position of the leaves as they fall, either right side uppermost or upside down, signifying good or evil as the case may be; this is called *khem-ala*.

PRIESTHOOD.

[93] The Khasi priest is usually called *Lyngdoh*, or *longdoh*; he is always appointed from the lyngdoh clan. The etymology of the word *lyngdoh* is said by certain lyngdohs of the Khyrim State to be *lang*=together and *doh*=flesh. A *lyngdoh*, or *longdoh*, is one who collects sacrificial victims, i.e. flesh for the purpose of sacrificing. It must be confessed, however, that this definition is doubtful, owing to the absence in the word *lyngdoh* of the prefix *song* which is the sign of the agent in Khasi. Besides *lyngdohs* there are persons called *sah-blei* or *sah-ala*, who may also be said to be priests. The Khasis, unlike the Hindus, have no *pandit* or priest to perform the family ceremonies. Such duties fall to the lot of the head of the family or clan, who [793] [Log] [792] performs them not generally through the agency of the *bei*, or maternal uncle. Old Khasis are frequently well versed in the details of sacrifices, and in the art of obtaining augaries by examining the viscera of sacrificial victims. Apart from family and clan sacrifices, there are the sacrifices for the good of the State or community at large; it is these sacrifices that it is the duty of the *lyngdoh* to perform. He may be said to be the priest of the communal religion, although he has certain duties in connection with offences committed against the social law of marriage, and with regard to the casting out of evil spirits from houses which may be thought to be infested with them. The lyngdohs of the Khasis may be likened to the Roman *pontifices*. In the different Khasi States there is, as a rule, more [793] than one *lyngdoh*; sometimes there is quite a number of such [631] priests, as in Nongkrem where there is a *lyngdoh* for each *raj* or division of the state. There are a few Khasi States where [793] the priest altogether takes the place of the Siem, and rules the [643] community with the help of his elders in addition to perform-

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by the usual spiritual offices. The duties of lyngdohs, their methods of sacrificing, and the gods to whom they sacrifice, vary in the different districts, but there is one point in which we find agreement everywhere, i.e. that the lyngdoh must be assisted at the time of performing sacrifices by a female priestess, called *ka sob-lisi*, *ka sob-sla*, or simply *ka lyngdoh*. This female collects all the pujo articles and places them ready to the lyngdoh's hand at the time of sacrifice. He merely acts as her deputy when sacrificing. The female sob-lisi is without doubt a survival of the time when, under the matriarchate, the priestess was the agent for the performance of all religious ceremonies. Another such survival is the High Priestess of Nongkrem, who still has many religious duties to perform; not only so, but she is the actual head of the State in this township, although she delegates her temporal powers to one of her sons or nephews, who then becomes Siem. A similar survival of the ancient matriarchal religious system is the *Nong sod*, or priestess, at Mawryngkang, who, on the appointment of a new *Siem* or chief, has to assist at certain sacrifices. Here we may compare Karl Pearson's remark, when dealing with matriarchal customs, that "according to the evidence of Roman historians, not only the seers but the sacrificers among the early Teutons were women." The duties of the lyngdohs, as regards ceremonial worship, consist chiefly of sacrificing at times of epidemics of cholera, and such-like visitations of sickness (*jing ing*, below). In the Khyriim State there is a goddess of each *raj*, or division, of the state, to whom sacrifices are offered on such occasions. To the goddess are sacrificed a goat and hen, powdered rice (*u lyngi*), and a gourd of fermented liquor; the leaves of the *diang* swing, or Khasi oak, are also used at this ceremony. The *lyngdoh* is assisted by a priestess called *ka sob-sla*, who is his mother, or his sister, or niece, or some other maternal relation. It is the duty of the priestess to prepare all the sacrificial articles, and without her assistance the sacrifice cannot take place. Sacrifices are also performed by the *lyngdoh* to a *Lei Lyngdoh*, also a *Rngylow*. This used to be the tutelary deity in times of war, but in less troublous times the Khasi *lyngdoh* sacrifices to him for success in tribal or State litigation. A pig and a goat, with the usual accessories, are sacrificed by the

The above and other similar sacrifices to the gods of the State or division of the State may be said to be the communal religious duties of the *lyngdohs*. The duties of *lyngdohs* with reference to private persons may now be mentioned. When it is foreseen that any two people have made an incestuous marriage, that is to say a marriage within the exogamous group of the *kur*, or clan, the parties at fault are taken before the *lyngdoh* by their elements, who request him to sacrifice in order to ward off the injurious effects of the sang, or taboo, of such a connection from the kindreds. On this occasion a pig is sacrificed to *u'bri lyngdoh* and a goat to *ka bri long rej*. The parties at fault are then exhorted. As mentioned in another place, the sin of incest affords of no excuse for the offenders disposal. In the Khyrim State, it is said by the *lyngdohs* themselves, although not by the Siem or the syntrem, that they are the ecclesiastical heirs of all the persons who die without leaving female heirs (*ley dak*). In other States such property passes to the State. The *lyngdoh* of Nongkhrem can also take possession of the property of persons who have been found to harbour an evil spirit (*jingdoh*) in their houses. It appears that in such cases the house and furniture are burnt, as in the case of the Tawah expedition in the Jaintia Hills, the *lyngdoh*, however, taking possession of jewellery or anything else of value. The only practical service the *lyngdoh* renders in return is to build the afflicted person a new house; unless, indeed, we take into account the casting forth of the devil by the *lyngdoh*. Mr. Jenkins, of Shangpung, in the Jaintia Hills, writes: "Such is the belief of the people in the evil spirits, that they are completely under the influence of the priests and spend large sums of money in order to secure their favour. They live in constant dread lest by the least transgression or omission they should offend these avaricious men and so bring upon themselves the wrath of the demons." The influence of the *lyngdohs* over the people in the Jaintia Hills seems to be stronger than in the Khasi Hills. For instance, it came to my notice in Balieng that crops cannot be cut until the *lyngdoh* has seen them, in other words, until the *lyngdoh* has claimed and obtained his share of the produce. In many places, however, in the Khasi Hills the *lyngdoh* is much dis-

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a similar custom prevailed amongst the Khyrwangs. The Nongtongs, in the Jaintia Hills, keep dead bodies sometimes as long as a month, until the *pdaw* or ceremonial dance has been performed. Hence they are called *Nongdong*, or "stinkers." Amongst the Lyngngams the dead body is kept for sometimes three or four months, or up to the time when a bull can be procured for a feast to the villagers. This feast is so essential, and cattle being scarce in the Lyngngam country, there is often great delay in disposing of the body. Lyngngam villages of such a size are best avoided. The Lyngngams of Nongpdhar bury the cremated bones of the deceased within the village, and in front of the house occupied by the deceased when alive, the bones being placed in a hole in the ground, over which is laid a stone, a bamboo mat being rolled over the stone. A bamboo fence three or four feet high is erected round the grave. Other Lyngngams bury the uncremated bones and ashes in a grove in the jungle near the burning-place. On their way home, the members of the clan of the deceased who have come from other villages to witness the funeral ceremony, put up a stone on the path in honour of the deceased, a turban being tied round the top of the stone. The Garos or Dkas, who live at the foot of the hills on the Kamrup border, and are called by the Assamese *Mara* (spear-men), erect memorial stones in honour of the deceased, the lower jaw-bones of sacrificial animals and other articles being hung on the stones. The stones are also swathed in cloths, and turbans are tied round the tops. The death customs of the Lyngngams, and, indeed, other customs also, are partly Khasi and partly Garo, it being difficult to say that the Lyngngams are more Khasi than Garo, or more Garo than Khasi in this respect; their language, however, has been found by Dr. Grierson to be a corruption of Khasi. In Nongstoin, Mawlih, and Mawlai villages, the inhabitants of which profess to be Khasis, the bones and ashes of the deceased are not collected and placed in repositories, as at Cherrapunji. At Mawlai and Nongstoin a large wooden coffin is used, painted white, with ornamentations on the outside, and standing on four legs. This coffin is not burnt on the funeral pyre. In the family of the chiefs of Cherra, the body of a deceased Siem is subjected to the following process:—It is wrapped in a cloth

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and placed in a hollowed-out trunk of a tree, *ka-shyngrid*, 76.4
there being a small hole with a plug at the bottom of this 69.
receptacle. Spirit is then poured into the *shyngrid* until the 76.6
whole body is immersed, the liquor being allowed to stand for three days. After the body has been thus steeped, the liquor is allowed to run out, and the body is washed with warm water, after which it is allowed to dry for a day. Then a quantity of lime-juice is poured in, the latter being obtained from the fresh fruit of the lime (*u sok-jaw*). The body is thus exposed to a process of pickling, which continues until the whole is thoroughly dry and becomes like that of a mummy. It is then placed in a coffin, which is kept in the house of the Siem family until it is time to perform the funeral obsequies. These ceremonies entail a very large amount of expense, and it sometimes happens that they cannot be completed for some years after the death of a Siem. The body of a deceased Siem according to the Cherra custom should be burnt by his successor; otherwise the latter is not Siem according to the Khasi religion. The last Siem of Cherra, U Hajon Manik, did not perform the funeral obsequies of his predecessor U Ram Singh, and it is stated that many of his subjects did not regard him as Siem, according to the Khasi religion, in consequence. There are at the present time the corpses of two Siems of Cherra which have been preserved in the manner described above, awaiting cremation. The first Siem, U Ram Singh, died as far back as 1875, and the second, U Hajon Manik, died in 1901.

Sir Joseph Hooker and other authorities have stated that the 265
bodies of deceased Siems of Cherra used to be embalmed in 764
honey, and an amusing story is told regarding the necessity of 693
exercising caution in purchasing honey from Cherra (honey being plentiful in this neighbourhood), except in the comb, for fear of honey which has been used for embalming purposes being passed off on the unwary purchaser. But the members of the Siem family and the old residents deny that honey is used for this purpose nowadays, possibly in the interests of the trade. It is, however, not unlikely that honey was so utilized in days gone by, as it is a well-known agent for embalming. The bodies of priests in Burmah are said to be embalmed in honey, *vide* Yule's "Embassy to Ava."

to lick the moisture, the mark was not obliterated as before. So their work went on progressing every day until ka Dingiei fell. Thus the world received light, and cultivation throve, and there was nothing more to stand in the way of the light of the sun and the moon. It was for that reason that the name of "U Lum Dingiei" was given to the hill. Nobody knows what became of the tree, for since the time it fell its species has died out and there is no seed of it (to be found) anywhere on the earth from which it can be grown.

ba la kyllon ka Dingiei. Kumta na shei phiir ka pyrthei bad sa mashha ka thung ka ieng ka rep ka sei yuda yudon ba shir shah la ka ingi la u bnéi. Namarkata ki sa ioh ban khot kyrtong la une u lúm "u Lúm Dingiei." La ka jinglong kane ka Dingiei yu don ka lip si-ói nadúh kata ka pir hadúh myuta, namar nadúh ka la kyllon ka iapdúh* bad yu don synshái ka kan pynmih hasi-hasi ha ka pyrthei hadúh kane ka ingi.

Concerning the Origin of the Siems of Shillong.

The Siem of Shillong is a very great and powerful chief in the Khasi Hills. He is generally known throughout the Khasi Hills as the "god king." By the term "god king" is meant that God has been pleased to give over to him the largest portion of the Khasi country, i.e. the kingdom of Shillong, to rule. If you seek for the origin of these "god kings," you will find there is great uncertainty about it. At any rate there is a tradition amongst the Khasis to the following effect. In olden days a rumour got abroad that there was a woman in a cave called Marsi, which is situated near the present village of Pomlakrai, at the source of the river Umiew or Umiam. She was a young and very

Shaphang ka long U Siem Shillong.

U Siem Shillong u long uwei u Siem uba khraw shibún bad uba don bór ruh ha kane ka ri lúm Khasi. La une u Siem la jiw bna bazah kawei ka ri ba u long u Siem-Blei. Haba ong Siem-Blei ka mut ha U Blei u la i mon ongwbha ba'n aiti ha u ban synshár ia kawei ka bynta kaba khraw ha ri Khasi. Ha une la ái ba'n synshar ha ri Shillong. Haba wád ia ka jingsdang jong kine ki Siem Blei don shibún ka jingh'ym thikna. La kumno-kumno ka don ka jingiathu-khana kum kane kaba harum ha pydeng ki Khasi hadúh sane ka ingi. Ha kaba nynghong eh la byna ha don kawei ka briew ha ka krem Marsi, kaba hajan ka shnong Pomlakrái myuta, ha tyllong ka wah Umiew ne Umiám. Kata ka briew kaba

* *Iapdúh* is the regular word used for a clan, and in this case a species dying out.

/[illegible]/ The Nongkrem Puja in the Khasi Mountains (Assam) (I)

726 1. All the pictures attached to this article are prepared from photographs taken by P. Prabandhan Bagchillan, S.D.S., missionary in Shillong. The photographs were in part very difficult to take as they had to be made without being observed and in some cases the day was scarcely well observed.

by P. Dr. C. Seelen, S.D.S., Apostolic Prefect of Assam.

631 About five English miles to the east of Shillong, the chief town of the Khasi Mountains, lies the town of Nongkrem. It is the seat of the king (u S'iem) who governs the state Nongkrem of Khyrim, the largest of the 25 Khasi little states and which is partly independent (semi-independent) of the English government. Nongkrem is best known for the great sacrifice, simply called Nongkrem Puja or also ka Pom biang-u-S'iem Nongkrem (Slaying the goat of the S'iem of Nongkrem) which takes place there annually. This history offers, as little else does, an instructive insight into the religious and social views and customs of this interesting mountain people and should therefore be given a concise description, which may be divided into three parts:

726
732

I. The Preparations for the Sacrificial Feast.

II. The Sacrificial Feast.

III. The Celebration that Follows.

I. The Preparations for the Sacrificial Feast

793 Just as matriarchy prevails in the family among the Khasi so a
643 similar arrangement has been kept in the management of the Khasi state, Nongkrem. In the state the S'iem is not the actual head but a high priestess, called ka S'iem rbi. Rbi means the divinity which watches over the royal family. The temporal government is transferred by the S'iem rbi to the S'iem he rule as her authorized agent (khing) independent in his decisions working with his advisers, whose advice he must obtain in matters of importance. The ministers of the kingdom

[illegible] kept by the S'lem dêi. Everything that comes in, such as taxes, [illegible]
[illegible] contributions, or that which comes in through the administra- [illegible]
tion of justice must be given to him. He may dispose of it as he
[illegible], while the S'lem receives from him the money necessary for
paying the costs of the government.

The S'lem dêi is the sole authority in matters of religion. He
must watch over the religious sacrifices and determine the time and
place for them. /facing p. [illegible] Fig. 1.[illegible] The Sacrifice (Nongkrem
Puja) among the Khasi/ /[illegible]/ the more sacrifices are held in his
house or in front of his house, and they must be performed in his
presence. The actual S'lem is his son or nephew or even more dis-
tant male relative, who is chosen by the "more council," the Siemsia.

After the death of the S'lem dêi, the office passes to his oldest
living daughter, and lacking such to the oldest daughter of her
oldest daughter, and lacking such granddaughters to the oldest daugh-
ter, and so forth. In case there are no daughters or granddaughters,
the oldest living sister takes the office; if there are no sisters, then
the oldest daughter of the oldest sister of the mother of the deceased
S'lem dêi is the successor, and so it goes further. In this way the
office always remains within the royal lineage.

In the house of the S'lem dêi (called ka-ling dêi), which is [illegible]
one of the largest and most attractive in the Khasi Hills, there is a [illegible]
post in the middle which reaches from the floor to the ridge of the [illegible]
roof. It is called a sidar Rai (post, pillar of god) and serves at the
same time as the altar before which many sacrifices are performed.
The pillar is nothing other than the trunk of the Khasi oak (ka dieng-
ring; botanical name: castanopsis sp.), which is holy to the Khasi. [P24]
If the house of the S'lem dêi burns down, or if it is built up anew, a
new pillar must be brought. Only certain families (jaid) have the
privilege of cutting down the trees for this purpose. As soon as it is
cut down, dancing and music begins; the trunk is covered with a
cloth and carried away on a carrying frame. Hundreds of persons
participate in this. As long as the pillar is not set up, it is guarded
night and day. A person or an animal might jump over it and that
would be wrong. (Or, likewise, the trunk would be defiled and another
tree would have to be cut down. If something dreadful happens in
the kingdom, or if a danger threatens, the S'lem dêi goes with six
official sacrificial priests of the kingdom Nongkrem before the post
and offers sacrifice there in order to avert the evil.

The foregoing has to be mentioned in order to give a better
understanding of the following.

The Nongkrem Puja usually takes place in the month of May.

[See category 116, p.14 --- Analyst]

divides equally. U Saba Bai explained that each house counted as a separate unit. Thus if Ka Jem, Ka Jin and all their daughters were alive, the married daughters who lived in a separate house, namely, Ka Leimon, Ka Laiban, Ka Simon and Ka Hiniang of Ka Jem's house, and Ka Phro of Ka Jin's line, would each get a share. But Ka Jem and her Ka Khadbiah Ka Aiban who lives in the mother's house would get only one share. So would Ka Jin, Ka Kirihan and the unmarried daughters of the latter. The descendants of Ka Long would get seven equal shares for distribution to each house, and not two shares first, divided later into shares corresponding to the number of daughters for Ka Jem's and Ka Jin's house. The manager does not get any share of the collections. Authority in the management of the ancestral property therefore passes from one male to another, in the extended family, and the Kur, in a manner which necessitates a clear distinction of seniority and juniority of brothers, among themselves and also of sisters with regard to brothers.

The case of succession is similar. Gurdon notes that the Headship in Mylliem State passes from a man to his next brother, and "failing such brothers, by the eldest of his sisters' sons; failing such nephews by the eldest of the sons of his sisters' daughters; failing such grand nephews by the eldest of the sons of his mother's sisters" and so forth in the female line. In Nongkrem, the son or similar male relative of the High Priestess becomes by delegation a Siem. The office of the High Priestess passes from a woman to her eldest surviving daughter; and failing daughters to the eldest daughter of her eldest daughter; failing daughters of her eldest daughter, to the eldest daughter of her second daughter, and so on. This is the customary line of succession, and is stated by Gurdon to be "uniform in all cases" practically.

Neither levirate, nor sororate are practised by the Khasis. Widows are stated (G) quite often not to remarry if there are daughters. There is no question of the control of the property

796 magical in such gifts. The silver dance being made of departed members,
782 are anthropomorphic in nature, have all the qualities of an ordinary human
being. The worshippers believe that the dancer may also lose their strength
769 in course of time which can be augmented only by offering suitable sacrifices.
796 They presented pieces of meat to consider in their the supernatural
182 'power' which are concentrated or lodged in these regions of the sacrificial
animal, from where they were taken out. It is a case of reciprocal help between the deity and the devotee so that on attaining their normal strength, they would fulfil their request.

796 The Khasi people while participating in the celebration gave vent to their
769 emotion through their traditional songs. It could not be definitely established
whether these were any indication of frightening the evil spirits but on the other
182 hand, there were intended to cheer the dancers, musicians, and the respective units taking parts in the celebration. The musicians on another occasion, went round the altar three times in touching the top of the hill. The members of the Syiem's house similarly performed a sacred dance round the
(699) (800) the place of central hall (Iliar) in the same number of times. This odd number of time seemed to be an auspicious one. The exact cause for such a reverential attitude to this figure may be to pay respect to their primal ancestors (Ka Iawbei), her husband (U Thawlang) and her brother, i.e., first mortered uncle (U Bodthai) who are considered highest amongst all the Khasi deities.

796 The dancing is generally taken as secular part of religious functions, but the
535 Khasi people considered them (except the last one) as sacred for the reason
182 that it is one of their methods of propitiating their deity. The people at times, ascribe certain meanings to them to rationalise their thinking. The dancing invariably put the participants into ecstasy to enable them to be in communion with their supernatural beings, so these are interpreted as a device to control the sports inspite of its calm and quiet nature. The people even then enjoyed them with the hope that these would prevent the intruding spirits from spreading diseases. Owing to the fixation of the dates of the function at the time of sowing period, the dance of the unmarried girls may have some bearing on the promotion of fertility of the soil. The custom of allowing Khasi boys to dance round the spinsters with fly-flap in one of their hands may be to protect them from the influence of the evil spirits.

The heads of the various units adhered to the official precedence strictly before they allowed a common man to take part in the dancing. The custom of allowing two officers to dance, at a time, was in recognition to their equal status. It had become a practice to follow at every stage of their function. The presence of all the in-charge of this Samadhip were essential to secure the blessings of their deity on behalf of his subjects whom they represent in official capacity in this festival. This is a suitable mechanism to foster unity and solidarity among the people of the different units, which is the main aim of this celebration. This was found to be so when Khasi people from all parts of State were seen witnessing the dancing of the unmarried girls. The informant on being asked to state the reason of permitting the spinsters only in this dance, came out with an interesting fact about the ancient Khasi tradition. The dance used to offer at one time, an opportunity to the youngmen of the Royal families in selecting their brides. A betel leaf with a nut were usually thrown at a girl and the men going round them, remained as witness of this incident. This explanation received some support from the frequent utterances (mug-mug) by the public, expressing a desire to run away with a girl dancing with graceful style.

796 The celebration can be taken up as a solidarity rite. The performance is
182 all the more essential for the purpose of security without which the people

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614 members of these clans do not apparently regard the animals or natural objects, from which they derive their names, as totems, inasmuch as they do not abstain from killing, eating or utilizing them. The names of these objects are connected generally with some story, concerning the history of the clan, but there is no evidence to show that the clan-folk ever regarded the above animals or objects as their tribal totems. If the lists of the Khyrim and Cherra clans are examined, it will be seen what a large number bear the name of *Dikar* or its abbreviation *Khar*. The word *dikar* is that applied by a Khasi to an inhabitant of the plains. We come across names such as *Khar-mukki*, *khar sawli*, the first word being an abbreviation of *dikar*, and *mukki* being the common Bengali name which occurs in Chandra Mukki, Surjya Mukki, &c. *Sawali* (*shawali*) is the common Assamese word for a girl. The movements of these tribes were plains women, carried off, no doubt, in the raids made by the Khasis over the border into Assam and Sylhet. The word *Jong* in the list of tribes is a Syiemship synonym of *Iew* or *jaid*, and the Wei word *Mong*, which will often be found in the names of the tribes of the twenty-five villages of the Khyrim State, is merely a corruption of *jong* or *iong*, the Syiemship word for clan. Let us now see how the State or Khasi Township was formed out of a collection of these clans, how these clans obtained political power, how some clans became more powerful than others, and how a Khasi King or Siem is appointed.

STATE ORGANIZATION.

643 We have studied in the preceding chapter the formation of
642 the clan from the family, and how the former established villages. Let us now turn to the constitution of the Khasi State, which, it will be seen, has been formed, in more than one instance, by the voluntary association of villages, or groups of villages. The head of the Khasi State is the Siem or chief. A Khasi state is a limited monarchy, the Siem's powers
643 being much circumscribed. According to custom, he can per-
645 form no act of any importance without first consulting and obtaining the approval of his durbar, upon which the state

mantrin etc. This durbar must not be confused with the electoral durbar which will be referred to later. It is an executive council over which the Siem presides, and also possesses judicial powers (for a description of a judicial durbar, see page 91 of the monograph). The form of summons to appear before this durbar used to be a knotted piece of string or cane, the number of knots denoting the degree of urgency of the summons, not a piece of pork, as one writer has said. Pork is a luxury which is not usually distributed gratis. The Siem manages the State business through his *mantrin*, although it is true that in some States the members of the Siem family have been allowed a considerable share of the State management. This latter arrangement is, however, a departure from the ordinary rule in the Siemships, and is regarded as unconstitutional. In some States there are village headmen, styled *Sirdars*, who settle cases, collect labour, and serve and receive for the chief the *pynsah*, which may be literally translated as "gratification." In Nongstoin there is an official styled *lyngdoh*, who is the superior of a number of village sirdars, and who acts as the Siem's deputy-governor. In the Khasi Hills there is no land revenue, nor are there any tolls or other imposts levied upon the cultivator's produce. The land, to a great extent, is the property of the different clans and villages, although in some instances there are estates owned by private persons. The chief is entitled to receive the income that arises from what are known as the *raj* or State lands only. All that the Siem usually receives from his people in the way of direct revenue is the State subscription, or *pynsah*, mentioned above. Even this is supposed to be a voluntary contribution, and it is not demanded in some States. This tax is nominally a collection to meet the expenses of the State economic, but is really a means of increasing the chief's private income. The contribution varies in amount according to the means of the villagers. The Siem's principal source of income, however, in all the Khasi States is the toll (*khrong*), which he takes from those who sell at the markets in his territory. As the Khasis are great traders these tolls are often at the larger markets fairly valuable. The chief raises no excise revenue, the manufacture of both fermented and distilled

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643 recent years there have been instances of Siems having been summoned, like the Roman Cincinnatus, from quite humble positions, to undertake the duties of chief. We will now turn to
643 an examination of the systems in the different Siemships. In
793 the Kyrim or Nongkrem State there is a spiritual head, i.e. a High Priestess, *Ka Siem Sad*, who is responsible for the due performance of the State religious ceremonies, although, as already stated, the Siem also performs some of these duties. The temporal power here is delegated by the High Priestess to a Siem, who is her son or her nephew, or occasionally some more distant male descendant. It is the duty of an official
[645] called a *lyngdoh*, who is the official spokesman of the Siem's *durbar*, to propose a new Siem to the six *lyngdohs*, or priests, and to the heads of the twenty-four *mantri* clans. The latter then decide in *durbar* whether the proposed Siem should be appointed. In the event of their disapproving of the *lyngdoh's* nominations they proceed to elect another Siem. The High Priestess is appointed by the above electors, the order of succession to the post being as follows:—She is succeeded by her eldest surviving daughter; failing daughters, by the eldest daughter of her eldest daughter; failing daughters of her eldest daughter, by the eldest daughter of her second daughter, and so on. If there are no daughters or grand-daughters, as above, she is succeeded by her eldest sister. In the absence of sisters, she is succeeded by the eldest daughter of her mother's eldest sister, and so on. In this State the tradition runs that the first High Priestess was Ka Pah Syntiew, i.e. the flower-lured one. Ka Pah Syntiew was a beautiful maiden who had as her abode
[775] a cave at Marai, near Nongkrem, whence she was enticed by a man of the Mylliem-ngap clan by means of a flower. She was taken by him to be his bride, and she became not only the first High Priestess, but also the mother of the Siems of Nongkrem.* In Nongkrem the electors may disqualify the first, or any, heir to the Siemship for sufficient reason according to the Khasi religion and custom, such as bad character, physical disability, change of religion, &c. If the first heir be disqualified, the next in order must be appointed
631 Siem, unless he be disqualified, and so on. In this State there

* For the story in detail see the Folk-lore section of the monograph.

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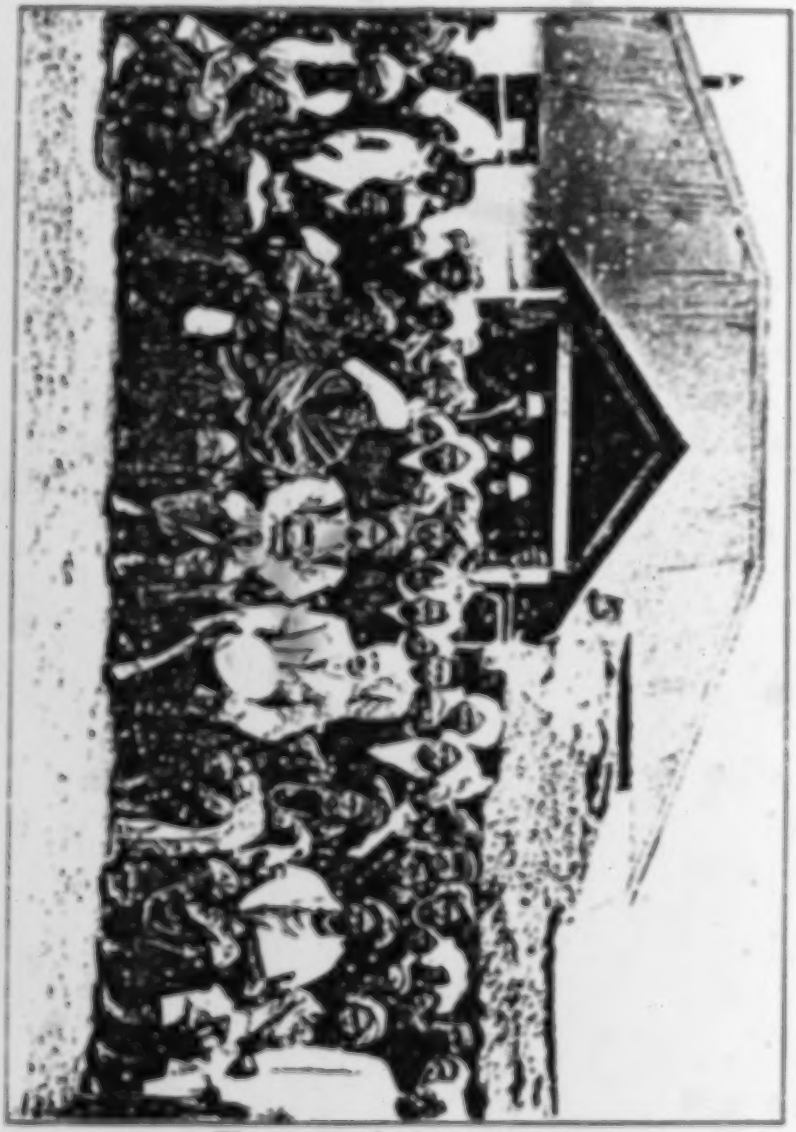

[FACING p. 92]

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643 almost complete autonomy in the management of their
101 local affairs. In the remainder, called the Jaintia Hills, which became British in 1835, it has been the wise policy of the Government to maintain the indigenous system of administration through officers named *dolois*, who preside over large areas of country with very little interference. All the British portion of the hills is what is called a "Scheduled District" under Acts XIV and XV of 1874, and legislation which may be inappropriate to the conditions of the people can be, and is, excluded from operation within it. In these circumstances the administration is carried on in a manner well calculated to win the confidence and attachment of the people, who have to bear few of the burdens which press upon the population elsewhere, and, with the peace and protection guaranteed by British rule, are able to develop their institutions upon indigenous lines. It is now more than forty years since any military operations have been necessary within the hills, and the advance of the district in prosperity and civilization during the last half-century has been very striking.

177 The first contact between the British and the
648 inhabitants of the Khasi Hills followed upon the
175 acquisition by the East India Company, in consequence of the grant of the *Dīwānī* of Bengal in 1765, of the district of Sylhet. The Khasis were our neighbours on the north of that district, and to the north-east was the State of Jaintia,* ruled over by a chief of Khasi lineage, whose capital, Jaintiapur, was situated in the plain between the Surma river and the hills. Along this frontier the Khasis, though not averse from trade, and in possession of the quarries which furnished the chief

113 * The previous history of the Khasi State of Jaintia, so far as it can be traced, will be found related in Mr. E. A. Gait's *History of Assam* (1906), pp. 253-262.

supply of lime to deltaic Bengal, were also known as 177
troublesome marauders, whose raids were a terror to the 648
inhabitants of the plains. Captain R. B. Pemberton, 175
in his Report on the Eastern Frontier (1835), mentions* an attack on Jaintia by a force under Major Henniker in 1774, supposed to have been made in retaliation for aggression by the Raja in Sylhet; and Robert Lindsay [113] who was Resident and Collector of Sylhet about 1778, has an interesting account of the hill tribes and the Raja of Jaintia in the lively narrative embodied in the "Lives of the Lindsays." † Lindsay, who made a large fortune by working the lime quarries and thus converting into cash the millions of cowries in which the land-revenue of Sylhet was paid, appears to have imagined that the Khasis, whom he calls "a tribe of independent Tartars," were in direct relations with China, and imported thence the silk cloths ‡ which they brought down for sale in the Sylhet markets. A line of forts was established along the foot of the hills to hold the mountaineers in check, and a Regulation, No. 1 of 1799, was passed declaring freedom of trade between them and Sylhet, but prohibiting the supply to them of arms and ammunition, and forbidding any one to pass the Company's frontier towards the hills with arms in his hands.

The outbreak of the first Burma War, in 1824, brought us into closer relations with the Raja of Jaintia, and in April of that year Mr. David Scott, the Governor-General's Agent on the frontier, marched through his territory from Sylhet to Assam, emerging at Raha on the Kalang river, in what is now the Nowgong district. This was the first occasion on which

* P. 211. † Vol. iii., p. 163, 177, &c.

‡ These cloths, which Lindsay calls "*moongadutties*," were really the produce of Assam, and were *dhutis* or waist-cloths of *muga* silk.

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Europeans had entered the hill territory of the Khasi tribes, and the account of the march, quoted in Pemberton's Report,* is the earliest authentic information which we possess of the institutions of the Khasi race. Dr. Buchanan-Hamilton, who spent several years at the beginning of the 19th Century in collecting information regarding the people of Eastern India, during which he lived for some time at Goalpara in the Brahmaputra Valley, confused the Khasis with the Garos, and his descriptions apply only to the latter people. The name Garo, however, is still used by the inhabitants of Kamrup in speaking of their Khasi neighbours to the South, and Hamilton only followed the local usage. In 1826 Mr. David Scott, after the expulsion of the Burmese from Assam and the occupation of that province by the Company, entered the Khasi Hills in order to negotiate for the construction of a road through the territory of the Khasi *Siem* or Chief of Nongkhlāw, which should unite Sylhet with Gauhati. A treaty was concluded with the chief, and the construction of the road began. At Cherrapunji Mr. Scott built for himself a house on the plateau which, two years later, was acquired from the Siem by exchange for land in the plains, as the site of a sanitarium.† Everything seemed to promise well, when the peace was suddenly broken by an attack made, in April 1829, by the people of Nongkhlāw on the survey party engaged in laying out the road, resulting in the massacre of two British officers and between fifty and sixty natives. This led to a general confederacy of

* Pp. 218-220. It appears from p. 219 that Mr. Scott's report is responsible for the erroneous statement (often repeated) that the mountaineers "called by us Cossyahs, denominate themselves Khyee." This second name is in fact the pronunciation current in Sylhet of the word *khāsi*, *h* being substituted for *s*, and should be written *Khāhi*.

† In Mr. Scott's time it was usual to speak of such a place as a "Sanatary."

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most of the neighbouring chiefs to resist the British, and a long and harassing war, which was not brought to a close till 1833. Cherrapunji then became the head-quarters of the Sylhet Light Infantry, whose commandant was placed in political charge of the district, including the former dominions in the hills of the Raja of Jaintia, which he voluntarily relinquished in 1835 on the confiscation of his territory in the plains.

Cherrapunji, celebrated as the place which has the greatest measured rainfall on the globe, became a popular station, and the discovery of coal there, and at several other places in the hills, attracted to it many visitors, some of whom published accounts of the country and people. The first detailed description was apparently that of the Rev. W. Lish, a Baptist missionary, which appeared in a missionary journal in 1838. In 1840 Capt. Fisher, an officer of the Survey Department, published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal * an account which showed that the leading characteristics of the Khasi race had already been apprehended; he mentions the prevalence of matriarchy or mother-kinship, notes the absence of polyandry, except in so far as its place was taken by facile divorce, describes the religion as a worship of gods of valleys and hills, draws attention to the system of augury used to ascertain the will of the gods, and gives an account of the remarkable megalithic monuments which everywhere stud the higher plateaus. He also recognizes the fact that the Khasis as a race are totally distinct from the neighbouring hill tribes. In 1841 Mr. W. Robinson, Inspector of Schools in Assam, included an account of the Khasis in a volume on that province which was printed at Calcutta. In 1844 Lieut.

* Vol. ix., pp. 833 sqq.

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4. The Bhoi — occupy the northern slopes of the Khasi Hills, covered with thick semi-tropical forests; they practise jhum cultivation. 619

5. The Lynngam — inhabit the western border of the Khasi Hills, near the Garo Hills. They are said to be half-Khasi and half-Garo. Their economy is similar to that of the Bhoi.

These ecological and geographical differences correspond also to 175
politico-historical differences. From the 16th century to 1835, eve
of the annexation of the Jaintia Hills to the Khasi Hills under the 648
British administration, the people of the Jaintia Hills formed part of the Hindu Jaintia kingdom, whose capital was Jaintiapur, on the border of the present East Pakistan and of the Jaintia Hills. The capital, at one time, was moved to Nortiang near Jowai in the heart of the Jaintia Hills. The Jaintia Hills were administrated by twelve governors. Such a highly developed economic system as based on wet rice cultivation, must have helped a great deal in forming a kingdom adjoining the plain. Through the common economy and political organization with the Hindus of the plain, the Hindu civilization of the Bengal plain penetrated deeply among the Jaintias, who are matrilineal hill dwellers.

On the other hand, the Khasi Hills have remained outside the histories of either Assam or Bengal. They were governed by a number of petty native chiefs: there were twenty-five chiefs ruling the Khasi Hills when the British colonial administration was established there. Most of these chiefs belonged to the Siem clan. The history of the Khasi Hills had been shrouded in darkness till the beginning of the 19th century, except for fragmentary stories such as Khasi raids on the Sylhet people.

The development of the upland Khasi Hills started with the estab- 178
lishment of its headquarters at Shillong in 1874. Since then the
features of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills have changed a great deal. 648
What was once a small Khasi hamlet, untouched by the light of 797
history, has become nowadays a busy modern town where many Khasi intellectuals live, mixing with various outsiders who are engaged in official work or in business. The British administration opened the way to missionary activities, especially that of the Welsh Calvinist Methodists who set up a mission in the Hills in 1841, almost at the same time as British political influence began to make itself felt in the Khasi Hills. Along with the political penetration from Cherrapunjee [871]
(1833) to Shillong, missionaries established many institutions, includ- [743]
ing churches, schools and hospitals, etc. Christian education, bringing with it the promise of clerical positions, attracted young Khasi a great deal; and the majority of the upland Khasi have been converted to Christianity. They have become the modern intellectuals of their people.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

Shella

Confederacy forms a more marked endogamous community, through being cut off geographically and economically from the rest of the Khasi, and socially from the neighbouring Hindu people. 621

The Economy and the People.

Shella lies along the upper part of the Shella River and stretches upwards along the steep slope, looking down towards the Bengal plain. The climate of this part of the hills is considered to be one of the worst in tropical India for human habitation. The Bengal plain, though warmer than this area, is considered more healthy. This border land is the zone of malaria, typhoid, black fever, choera, etc. None of the Bengalee peasants dare to live in such an area. However, it is the most fertile for products such as betel-nuts, pan-leaves, oranges, bananas and pineapples, and it also produces limestone. These people seem to prefer to settle in this zone and to enjoy its prosperity, at the expense of human lives: every year, especially between March and September, the inhabitants suffer from various fevers and dysentry and other diseaes, many of the weaker fading death. 131 132 164 433 164 648

Before the Partition of India and Pakistan, the products of Shella were carried down the Shella River to Sylhet, one of the biggest centres in East Bengal, which brought unimaginable wealth to the Shella people. Their houses were built by carpenters from Sylhet. The style and structure of these houses were exceptionaly elaborate for the Khasi. They purchased vast rice fields in the plain, which used to be cultivated by Bengalee and Garo labourers engaged by then. These Khasi do not themselves know how to cultivate rice fields; they have always been managers or landowners. Their boys used to be sent to high schools and colleges in Sylhet. As a result of their trading with the Bengalee, many of them read and speak fluent Bengalee. There is no difference between their style of clothing and that of the Bengalee, though the women maintain their traditional dress in the Shella style. 177 178 434 [439] [342] [166] [464] [871] [191] [291]

They have thus been distinguished from the rest of the Khasi not only geographically, but also economically and culturally. Their personality also differs sharply from the rest of the Khasi. They are very sociable, and quick, a quality lacking among the Khasi of Sohkynduh and Kongton. They are clever enough to deal with strangers. The upland Khasi say Shella people are very cunning. This remark shows one side of these people. They had to be cunning, since they traded with the Sylhet Bengalee who were said to be the most cunning of their race. Their role in the trade and in the history of the modernization of the Hills was considerable. For centuries they represented intellectual Khasi owing to their contact with Hindu civilization, while the Hills remained in darkness. They assumed an important role when the British established an administration in the Hills, and even up to now, many leading Khasi originated from this area: for instance, Lati Hat, the first interpreter of the British Headquarters at Cherrapunjee; Jeebon Roy, who was the first Magistrate among the Khasi; Maham Sing, a lawyer and Member of the Legislative Assembly (the grandson of Jeebon Roy); Nichols Roy, Minister of Health and Prisons of the Assam Government, Member of the Legislative Assembly, and Missionary of the Church of God; R. R. Thomas (brother of Nichols Roy), Principal of the Gauhati University, etc. 157 184 648 177 178 [439]

Through constant cultural contact with Hindu, and encouraged by their economic prosperity, the Shella Khasi, like the Jaintias, have been much influenced by Hindu culture. However, this does not mean that the people of Shella adopted the Hindu beliefs. Though there is a small Hindu shrine, and some ceremonial elements were borrowed from the Hindu, most of the 177 648 771 795

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

177 people remained non-Hindu in their basic beliefs and social customs. Hindu
• 648 influences are nevertheless predominant in their culture, especially in their way
771 of living which shows a practical adaptability, somewhat similar to the Japanese
795 acceptance of modern western culture without becoming Christian. In my
[797] census of Shella village, the people calling themselves 'Hindu' amount to 40 per
[162] cent of the total, but they are the recent converts to the Ramakrishna School
[458] which established a missionary station at Shella after the Partition. The Christians constitute 30 per cent of the total, most of them having been converted during the last ten years, as in the case of the Ramachrishna School.[1] The rest remain as they were, of Khasi belief. These conversions to either Ramachrishna or Christianity seem to have been encouraged by the unstable situation of the people resulting from the recent economic depression in this area.

439 The Partition of India and Pakistan in August 1947, which drew the bor-
458 derline a few miles south of Shella village, considerably upset village economy
648 by stopping all trade with Bengal, though a limited amount of trade is allowed with local people at the border. Because of this political change, all the produce of Shella gardens is rotting away for lack of markets, while all of the rice fields were taken by Pakistan. Goods now come to Shella only from the uplands, carried upon men's shoulders over the most difficult pass, which makes everything very expensive. Many families have sold their gold and other treasures, and some families are facing starvation.[2]

182 Concerning the conversion to a new religion, an interesting phenomenon
171 is to be observed. The conversion to Christianity or to Ramakrishna is mostly
592 by individual: I found in my census that the wife and husband often belong to different religions. This is a very different picture from the Garo, among whom
613 I always found that the husband and wife belonged to the same religion: the conversion of the husband to Christianity was always followed by that of the
771 wife. I think this reflects the structural differences which influence the actual relationship between the husband and wife. Among these Khasi, instead of
795 the husband and wife, the maternal uncle and his nephews and nieces are mostly of the same religion. The function of the *iing*, the most important social and religious unit, thus appears also in the conversion to a new religion, stronger than that of a domestic unit.

Intermarriage.

648 The close economic and cultural contact of the Shella people and the Bengalee
771 is not matched by social contact. The essential barrier between the two peoples is the difference of religion which dominates the entire social order in each society. Though these Khasi were important traders, richer than the neigh-
563 bouring Hindu peasants, they were considered by the Hindu as outcasts with whom they never shared social activities. Intermarriages were therefore very rare. In Shella village, only two exceptional cases were found in my census:

1. A Khasi woman married to a Gurka (cattle-keeper); they live at Shella Bazaar (Sholap).
2. A Khasi woman has marital relation with a Bengalee medical doctor who has resided at Disong in Shella for six years. He already has a Bengalee

1. These two entirely different missionary activities are competing with each other, and are somewhat related to the political powers within this area.
2. The state government is doing its best to provide them with additional facilities: for example, providing air transport for the transportation of oranges from Shella to Gauhati and Calcutta. However, such arrangements cannot cover the great economic loss suffered by the Shella people.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

182 very wealthy households still maintain their former economic activities, but
434 the majority have been impoverished, becoming daily labourers for the wealthy ones or for road construction. Thus considerable internal economic differentiation has begun to appear in the community.

Though the recent economic depression brought poverty to Jatinga, the
182 standard of living is still strikingly higher than that of neighbouring tribes. Studying such economic aspects of Jatinga, I wondered at first why these
245 neighbouring tribes have remained as they were, except for temporary employment at Jatinga: why, looking at the prosperity of Jatinga, they did not adopt
648 the way of the Jatinga people?

Indeed some of them attempted to imitate the Jatinga economy, but the results were unfortunately not favourable to them. First, both pan-leaf and orange cultivations were entirely new to the tribal peoples, and the technique was quite different from that of dry rice cultivation in the jhum field. Pan cultivation requires very delicate care which is almost impossible to manage for people who have been accustomed to the primitive jhuming cultivation. For instance, when they go into pan gardens, they have to wash themselves and put on special clean clothes in order to prevent the spread of epidemic leaf disease. Tribal people, who seldom wash their clothes, or mostly go naked, could hardly keep pan gardens. In this respect the Khasi are entirely different, having specialized in this economy for a long period, even as they believe, from time immemorial.

On the other hand, the technique of orange cultivation is much easier than that of pan-leaf, but it takes several years to obtain a yield; it requires considerable capital to begin with. For the jhum cultivators, who usually did not have cash income nor funds, it was almost impossible to start it, while the Khasi were able to raise funds from the selling of the pan-leaf. Furthermore, the
[423] management of such gardens, either pan-leaf or orange, differs also from that of the jhum field as it entirely depends on individual enterprise based on private land ownership, which is new for those tribes where the community owns the land. Therefore the possibility of starting orange gardens is restricted to special individuals among them belonging to exceptionally rich and powerful households. A few households in neighbouring villages did, in fact, start orange gardens, adopting the technique of the Jatinga people. This was around 1942 and they were expecting to have the yield around 1950. However, unfortunately, when their oranges began to come into production, orange disease started in Jatinga and spread all over these areas. Their dream therefore never came true.

Besides oranges, some of them also established gardens of bananas, jackfruits, and papaias, which were more successful than the oranges. These plantations started much earlier than oranges in this area, though not in great quantity. The products were sold to the Jatinga people who sold them again to Bengalee merchants. The question arises why were they not sold directly to Bengalee merchants, when the profit would have heen much greater.

This aspect of the market economy touches upon very interesting problems
182 concerning the relations between tribal and Hindu peoples. Such tribal peoples who live on a primitive subsistence level usually do not have direct contact
44 with the peoples of the plains. There is always an intermediary between them.
648 In this case it is the Jatinga people who know both tribal life and Hindu life. They are also in between culturally. If a tribal cultivator sells his produce to a Hindu merchant, he would most certainly be cheated by the cunning merchant, as he is quite ignorant of trade. Tribal men do deal with markets directly, but only on a small scale at Haflong bazaar, and without making a profit: it is just the exchange of their basketful of jhum produce for an iron

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

spade or some dried fish, etc. Products such as large quantities of fruits should be sold to the Jatinga people who buy them at reasonable prices. 182

The Khasi are born traders. This must be closely related with their economic technique, such as pan cultivation which makes it impossible for them to live without trading. Hence, though they are hill people, they have had close economic contact with the peoples of the surrounding plains. At the same time, some of them have had a very similar economy to that of other tribes, such as that of Sohkynduh and of Kongton; hence they are familiar with tribal economy. On the whole, their dealings with the tribes as well as with the plains peoples are fair, though they are hard bargainers. Indeed the Khasi are quite welcomed by both sides. Thus the Khasi play an important role as intermediary between the tribes living in the hills and the Hindu (and Moslems) living in the plains.[1] 44 648

The economic contact is the most important of the many contacts between Jatinga and other tribal villages. Social contact, as appeared in intermarriages, is a rather marginal matter for the total population. Cultural contact is negligible: I only observed one indication—some fashionable tribal girls sometimes wear Khasi women's dress when they go to the Haflong bazaar. In their contact with tribes, the Jatinga Khasi speak Hindi which is the common language at Haflong bazaar for all tribes and peoples in this area. A few men of Jatinga speak some tribal language, but none of the tribal speak the Khasi language. 648 182 [191]

In spite of such great differences in culture, economy and social organization, the relationship between the Jatinga people and the tribes has remained very friendly. For instance, as I mentioned before (p. 175, note 3), the tribes lent their land to Jatinga people who were suffering from a great economic depression. Their actual behaviour also reflects such a friendly relationship. It is said that at the time of the Golden Jubilee of Jatinga in November 1955, many Zemi-Naga, Kuki, and Cacharee came and performed their dances for the celebration.

1. The important role of the Khasi as intermediary is not only in the economic field, but also in the political and cultural fields: nowadays many Khasi officers are sent to tribal areas by the Government. They are very efficient in dealing with such work, because they are used to deal with both tribal and plain peoples.

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16: McCormack E-4,5 (1956-1958) 1964
[P. 106 B] AR7 Khasi AR7

1903-28: 2, Bareh 1962.] **Demography.** According to the 1951 census of India, the United Khasi–Jaintia Hills District contained 221,982 Khasis and 67,532 Syntengs, Pnars, and Jaintias (India [Republic] 1952-57). These figures, together with those for Khasis enumerated in Cachar (4,005), Mikir and North Cachar Hills (467), Lakhimpur (287), Sibsagar (276), and Darrang (211) districts, and those for Syntengs enumerated in Mikir and North Cachar District (464), yield a total of 295,224 Khasis. **History and cultural relations.** Khasis believe that they had supernatural origin in Khasi Hills (see Gait 1926: 260 for historical evidence, and Rafy 1920: 8-9 for myth, but see also Costa 1958, 1960; Gurdon 1907: 10-11; and Chatterji 1953: 12). Khasi tradition also states that in early times they moved gradually from east to west, from Jaintia toward Khasi Hills, in the practice of swidden agriculture (Gatphoh 1947: 97-98). The salient fact of known Khasi history, which begins generally in the mid-sixteenth century A.D. when there already existed the present-day 25 native Khasi chiefdoms, is the distinctive line of development followed by the separate kingdom of Jaintia. To the north, Jaintia was successively tributary, in part or in whole, to the Kachari kingdom (ca. 1230 A.D.), the Koch kingdom (strongest ca. 1560 A.D.), and the Ahom kingdom (strongest ca. 1700 A.D.) (Shakespear 1914: Map I). To the south, about 1500 A.D., Jaintia extended its rule over a tract of Sylhet, which was populated by Hindus and Muslims, and saw its kings fall thereafter under Brahman influence. In the early 1800s, Jaintia became involved in the fratricidal strife then prevalent in the ruling family of Manipur. In 1835, after the Jaintia king ignored British warnings not to seize British subjects for human sacrifice, Jaintia was punished by the British annexation of the Jaintia parganas in Sylhet. The Jaintia king then voluntarily turned over to the British the hills area of his domain, so that the whole of Jaintia became part of British India and, in 1860, came to be taxed as such, although the Jaintias were otherwise allowed to maintain their traditional system of village government. • By contrast, the remaining Khasi states had few formal external relations until British times. Khasis raided and traded in both the Brahmaputra and Sylhet valleys, but were basically turned inward on their own hills, where warfare between villages and between the states was apparently common. Khasis came into indirect relation with the British in 1765, when Sylhet and its markets became part of British India. In the 1790s, stepped-up Khasi raids into Sylhet caused the British to throw up a deterring line of forts along the foothills. Later, it became necessary to place an embargo on Khasi products in the Sylhet markets. In 1827, the British penetrated into western Khasi Hills by negotiating with the Khasi chief of Nongkhlaw State to build a road through his territory, linking the recently annexed Brahmaputra valley with Calcutta. For three decades

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thereafter, the British negotiated treaties with all the Khasi states, the last treaty being signed in 1862. It was contracted that the chiefs would be subject to the authority of a resident political agent, whose duties would involve maintaining law and order, judging cases of heinous crimes, approving the popular selection of any new chief, and exercising control over certain categories of natural resources. Khasis were guaranteed noninterference in their customary way of life, and they were not then, nor are they now, taxed. Most Khasis, as opposed to Jaintias, were never an integral part of British India, but they did undergo social change as a result of British presence. To summarize Mills (n.d.): (1) The British introduced the potato, which the Khasis rapidly took up as a cash crop for marketing as far as Calcutta. The intensive specialization exhausted the soil and made for ever-poorer crops. (2) Christian missionaries made large numbers of converts, and there arose the difficult question of whether a Christian should inherit property that traditionally was earmarked for her performance of non-Christian religious rituals. (3) About 1864 the British transferred their headquarters from Cherrapunji to Shillong. When they made Shillong the capital of the entire state of Assam, non-Khasis flocked to it, land values soared, and the concept of private property became increasingly important. Khasis began to marry with members of other ethnic groups, which introduced confusion into traditional social patterns. These problems were exacerbated during World War II, when Shillong and its environs enjoyed enormous economic prosperity. One notable aftermath of this affluence has been the accelerated enrollments in schools and colleges. Hundreds of Khasis now have the B.A., M.A., and even the Ph.D. degree. • With the Independence of India in 1947, and under the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India (which was drafted by a Khasi), the United Khasi–Jaintia Hills District became a Part B, or Autonomous, Tribal Area, to be governed by a District Council composed largely of Khasis and Jaintias, and responsible not to the Legislature of Assam, but to the Governor of Assam as agent of the President of India. The native-state system and the chiefs still exist, and the District Council finds it difficult to effect legislation which is neither offensive to regional custom nor a simple blueprint of ill-fitting all-India legislation. The major political schism at this time is between Jaintias, who are accustomed to centralized authority and taxation, and Khasis, who resist the notion of taxation to support the work of a central District Council. [Cf. Gait 1926; Aitchison 1931; Bhuyan 1949; Morris 1910.]

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SETTLEMENT PATTERN AND HOUSING. **Settlement pattern.** Khasis live sedentarily in named, nucleated, and unplanned villages which are situated just below hill summits to avoid strong winds but still be defensible, and which usually include a de-

361 [312]

19: Assam G-5 (1958) 1963 AR7 Khasi AR7

REPORT ON RURAL ECONOMIC SURVEY IN UNITED KHASI-JAINTIA HILLS.

CHAPTER I

Introduction

1.1 Objective.—Consequent upon restrictions on trade emerging in the border markets after partition, the economic condition of the people living in the border areas of the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills district adjoining East Pakistan, suffered a serious set back. There was demand from the people all over the border areas for adequate relief as well as rehabilitation of their shattered economy. From time to time Government took up various relief measures but, for adopting a planned programme of relief and rehabilitation in an integrated and sustained manner, the need for a comprehensive economic survey of the district with special emphasis on the border areas, came to the forefront. Accordingly at the instance of Government of Assam, the Department of Economics and Statistics addressed itself to the task of launching an economic survey in the district.

The programme consisted of an intensive study of the conditions in selected villages and was designed to meet the following objectives:— (I) To obtain a broad picture of the rural economic conditions in the district and in particular, to provide factual data on the various aspects of agriculture and farm economics, *e. g.*, land tenure, size and distribution of agricultural holdings and farms, fragmentation, income and expenditures occupation and the like. Data should be collected also on the occupations and industries which play subsidiary roles in the economy of the district. (II) Special emphasis need be given on border areas, in order to bring to light the measure of suffering of the border people as a result of partition and to suggest various long and short term measures for ameliorating the condition of the border people. (III) The survey should adequately cover the Community Development areas also in order that it becomes possible to make an assessment of the impact of the community development programmes on the socio-economic life of the people in these areas.

1.2 Coverage and Period.—The field work of the survey was started on 23th February, 1958 and was completed by the middle of July, 1958 thus requiring nearly four and a half months.

1 3 Design of the Survey.—For a study of border economy a purposive selection of ten villages in the border area, which were known to be important from the point of view of production and distributive trade in pre-partition days was made. Similarly for project areas a total of eight villages two from each of the four blocks in the district—where intensive development programmes were taken up, were selected. These villages were selected by the Project Officers themselves. Apart from these, a random sample of ten villages from all over the district were taken. Thus a total of 28 villages all over district—10 from border areas, 8 from project areas and 10 from general areas were selected for

trade. Rikynti are mostly found in the higher hills region--the area between War (southern portion of the district roughly the border area) and Bhoi and constitutes a major portion of the total area of land in Shillong subdivision. In Jowai subdivision private lands are very small in area, only 7,266 acres in total and they are known as 'Biniaj'. 423

II. **Raj Lands.**—They are lands belonging to nobody. It can be said to be a common property which everybody has a right to use, of course with necessary permission from 'Village Raj' in respect of Raj lands under the village or from Syiem in respect of Raj lands under the Syiem. In case of Raj lands the land continues to be in possession of one so long as he cultivates there but as soon as he ceases cultivation it reverts back to the Raj. The land which is known in the official term as unclassed State forests is also Raj land but is under the control of the District Council.

Raj lands are found every where in the district though the major portion is found in Bhoi area and in his area for purpose of cultivation permission is given to any Khasi from any part of the district, while elsewhere in the district, this is confined to the local people only.

III. **Land under Zamindars.**—In War area in both subdivisions here are some big land holders who are locally known as zamindars. There is no record of the number of such zamindaries nor the amount of land held by them. These lands provide suitable sites for cultivation of valuable cash crops like betel-nut, orange, betel-leaf, tezpata and other fruits. The petty landlords are not at all powerful nor it is customary to exploit the tenants. Generally, the landlord leases out of his land on long term basis and the rent is either fixed in cash or in kind and the rate varies according to the fertility of the soil and other conveniences from all points of view On the average the rent per year is 10% of the produce in case of betel-nut, Rs. 40·00 per acre of land per term (usually 5 to 6 years) in case of betel-leaf cultivation and for wet paddy cultivation if the land is very fertile the produce is shared in the rate 50 : 50 otherwise 1 : 2 between the landlord and the tenants. For other crops, generally the rent is negligible or nil.

IV. Besides lands under the above main three categories there are also lands which are under control and management of the State Forest Department and the District Council of United K.-J. Hills.

(*a*) **Forest reserve under Assam Forest Regulation VII, 1891.**— There are forests belonging to Government under the control of the State Forest Department. There are five numbers in total, three of them are in Shillong subdivision covering a total area 32,188 acres and two in Jowai subdivision covering an area of 76,961 acres. The total area is 1,09,149 acres, *i.e.*, 170·5 sq. miles. 423 659 648

(*b*) **Forest reserve under executive orders of Government.** These forests are also under the control of the same Department reserved for the purpose of beautification, etc. There are only five of them within the Shillong subdivision and around the town of Shillong The total area covered is 2,638 acres only, *i. e.*, about 4 sq. miles.

423 659 648 (c) **Green Blocks.**—These green forests are private forest but protected and managed by the Department for the purpose of retaining the source of water supply, etc., for the town of Shillong. They are five in number covering a total area of 2·24 sq. miles and located around the town of Shillong itself.

(d) **Private protected Forests.**—There are private forests protected by the State Government for the growth of forests, but the owner can use them provided permission is given by the Deputy Commissioner. There are 16 numbers of them scattered here and there throughout the whole of Shillong subdivision only and covering an area of more than 24·79 sq. miles.

V. In Jowai subdivision there are four blocks of land covering a total area of 44·9 sq. miles reserved for sports and games. They are under the control of the State Revenue Department.

VI. **Raj lands of unclassed State Protected Forests.**—This includes the Raj lands under the District Council mentioned in item 2 above. These forests were formerly under the control of the State Forest Department but are now transferred to the District Council. They are scattered throughout the whole of the district and cover an area of more than 73·05 sq. miles. There are altogether 52 numbers of such forests, 30 of them with an area of more than 57·05 sq. miles and are in Shillong subdivision and 22 numbers with an area of 16 sq. miles are in Jowai subdivision.

423 651 648 2.11.1. **Revenue collected by the District Council (Land Revenue System).**—(a) In Jowai subdivision all the Raj lands mentioned in item 9 above which have been brought under wet paddy cultivation are subjected to payment of annual revenue. The revenues is fixed according to the fertility of the soil. There are three classes—class I hali lands, class II hali lands and class III hali lands, and the revenue varies according to these three classes of lands from Re. 0.50 to Re. 0.87 per bigha per year. There are altogether 28,683 plots covering a total area of 19,709 acres. No such revenue exists in Shillong subdivision.

(b) In both subdivisions there are also lands under special settlement accompanied by revenue.

Shillong subdivision.—An annual revenue is collected for the building site only from Saitsohpen villages, where there are 169 holdings covering a total area of 86 acres with a total revenue of Rs. 505·72 per year.

Seven pieces of land in Burnihat used by the United Fruit Company covering a total area of 182·09 acres. The revenue collected per year is Rs. 550·81. A revenue of Rs. 2. only per year is collected from two building sites at Nongpoh station whose area is 29,861 sq ft.

Jowai subdivision.—An area of 131 acres of land in Lakadong and Satpator Dolloiship and under orange cultivation is also subjected to payment of annual revenue of Rs. 255·44.

There is another 102·21 acres of land in Subaeherra in the Indo Pakistan Border which is under tea plantation since prepartition period After partition this area has fallen into India. But at present though tea plantation is still carried on, the revenue has never been collected at all since the company has gone to Pakistan. 423 651 648

There are also in Jowai subdivision 15 numbers of building land sites, mostly leased out to non Khasi individuals and institutions. They include building for churches, schools, hospitals and training classes, etc. The total area comes to 397·39 acres with a total revenue of Rs.216·84 per year. The period of the lease varies from one plot to another.

A part from land revenue, all the houses in Jowai subdivision are subjected to taxation. The rate is fixed at Rs.2 to Rs.6 per year according to the economic condition of the village. In Shillong subdivision only 31 Sirdarships which were formerly known as British Sirdarships have to pay house tax.

2.12 **Land Utilisation.**—The following table gives the area under important crops. 241 433

TABLE 2

	1958-59	
Winter rice	37,800	acres.
Maize	8,000	"
Other cereals	1,000	"
Potato	21,600	"
Chillies	350	"
Sweet potato	5,400	"
Linseed	180	"
Cotton	50	"
Tobacco	600	"
Areanut	13,435	"
Orange	20,000	"
Betel-leaf	10,000	
Total	1,18,435	acres.

19: Assam G-5 (1958) 1963 AR7 Khasi AR7

CHAPTER III

The Border Area

121 131 **3. 1 Definition of Border Area.**—The term 'border areas' although very frequently used does not refer to any well demarcated area. It was, therefore, decided after a joint discussion between the Director of Statistics with the Deputy Commissioner of the district and Subdivisional Officer, Jowai, that area within 20 miles of the Indo-Pak border line would be considered as the 'border area' for the purpose of the present survey. The list of the villages falling in this area was supplied by the Deputy Commissioner and the Subdivisional Officer.

3. 2 Condition of the Border Area before partition.—The border area under review thus comprised of the southern slopes of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills and a narrow strip of plains adjoining the southern slopes running along the Pakistan border. The area extends laterally over a length of about 120 miles, roughly from Maheskhola on the west to Sonapur on the east thus covering an area of 2,400 sq. miles approximately, comprising of 454 villages inhabited by population of 74 thousands. [161]

245 311 Barring the barren and rocky top plateaus the slopes are utilised or the production of valuable cash crops on intensive scale. These slopes provide suitable soil and climate for the production crops like arecanut, tezpatta, betel-leaf, oranges; pineapples and other fruits. On account of rich yields which such plantations give to the cultivators these slopes were, more densely inhabited and intensively cultivated than would appear possible from the topography of the area. Even the most inaccessible tracts in the slopes has been converted into rich orchards, wherefrom the produce was carried by headloads over steep gradients for several miles. Due to steep gradients little other use, except some jhuming here and there, could be made of this area. [403]

439 Because of the very topography, this land had its natural connections with Sylhet district now forming part of East Pakistan. From time immemorial the area had a flourishing trade with Sylhet district. It was a two-way traffic. The cash crops found eager buyers in the people of Sylhet, from whom in turn the people in the border area obtained supplies of rice, fish, vegetables and other necessities of daily life. Thus in prepartition days they enjoyed a very prosperous and settled economy. The rich buildings in the border area villages which are now littering away, bear eloquent testimony to the past prosperity of the border economy.

439 458 648 With the partition of the country in 1947, trade with the plains of Sylhet, now forming part of East Pakistan, was restricted. As a result the whole economy of this region was completely shattered and the countryside which once hummed with activity and abundance was over-shadowed with unemployment, poverty and despair. All the cash crops the mainstay of the border people lost the market in East Pakistan. For want of communication facilities the produce could not be

439 East Pakistan to which the people in the border areas were entitled
• 648 in the strength of various trade agreements of the Government of
458 India with the authorities in Pakistan, were also scanty. The situation was still more aggravated due to the stringent measures adopted by authorities in Pakistan, on the plea of prevention of smuggling, in December, 1957 when the entire border trade virtually came to a standstill.

245 This chaos in border economy has resulted in widespread unem-
439 ployment among the border people. There being no market for the
458 produce, the owners ceased to take proper care of their orchards and plantations. As a result thousands of labourers who were employed in the
464 orchards were thrown out of employment. Similar was the condition of those who were employed in the transportation of various commodities such as merchandise of trade etc. A large section of the people engaged in collection of limestone were also rendered unemployed with the set back received by the trade in limestone with East Pakistan. Due to stoppage of trans-border trade, petty traders engaged in distributive trade, also suffered.

423 Many of the border people possessing paddy lands and orchards in
648 areas that are located in Pakistan had to abandon them. The following
458 table will show the amount of land lying in Pakistan belonging to the farmer in the selected villages of border area :—

TABLE A-2

Name of villages	Area of land lost through partition		
	No. of families who possessed land in Pakistan	Area (acres)	Average per family (acres)
1. Nongjri	27	257·05	9·11
2. Shella	9	175·40	19·49
3. Bholaganj	13	105·00	7·20
4. Balaj	2	13·00	6·75
5. Mawdon	nil	..	..
6. Lyngkhat	1	17·00	17·00
7. Darrang	16	380·75	23·55
8. Syndai	2	49·21	1,·44
9. Amki	5	60·17	5·08
10. Umshong	nil	..	..

[167] A few families who did not have any landed interest on this side
[65] of the border were reported to have migrated to Pakistan. Most of the families are even now paying tax to East Pakistan authorities even though they are not getting any returns because they do not want to lose their right on land.

19: Assam G-5 (1956) 1963 AR7 Khasi AR7

3.3 **Measures so far taken.**—Since 1947, there has been constant demand from border people for relief and rehabilitation. Government undertook various measures to alleviate their difficulties. Government's attention to border problem has however, not been adequate. The common feeling of border people was that whenever the border problem deteriorated due to some adverse measures adopted by East Pakistan authorities more attention was attracted, on the other hand, when the situation eased comparatively the Government's vigilance also slackened. 649 659

The various measures so far adopted by Government in border area, have been fully discussed and commented upon by the Border Rehabilitation Committee. These need no repetition here. But a few points emerging from the grievances put forward by the villagers during our investigation are noted below.

On the question of the schemes linked up with the issue of diversification of agriculture in border area, a large section of the border people skilled in the maintenance and operation of orchards are opposed to the idea of a complete switch over from cash crops to food crops in the cultivation of which they have no adequate experience. Moreover, there is the problem of getting adequate land in the vicinity for wet paddy cultivation. Indeed, having lost the market for some of the cash crops, some cultivators are trying to increase cultivation of paddy and other valuable crops on their own initiative wherever suitable land is available. But the problem of getting adequate funds for reclamation and improvement of land has stood as a serious handicap to them. Financial assistance to the needy and willing cultivators for reclamation works and taking up of more minor irrigation projects is very necessary. 178 241 433

As regards Government loans granted to cultivators, people complained that apart from being inadequate they are often untimely. As a result the people, needy as they are, utilise the amount for meeting their day to day consumption expenses. 241 651 659

There have been complaints that various improved seeds supplied by Government are of very inferior quality leading to waste of time and money of the poor people. The Department of Agriculture should not only check the quality of the seeds before issue but should also see that the seed are properly used by inexperienced cultivators who are newly taking up cultivation of these crops.

With the opening up of a few vital P. W. D. Roads transport of border products to Shillong and other places has greatly been facilitated but the problem of transporting them from remote interiors to the various local points on P. W. D. roads still remains unsolved. While during winter season these places may be negotiated by a man on foot up and down the steep gradients, during rainy seasons these tracks become slippery, the streams and rivulets are overflooded and it becomes impossible for a man to cross them, thus isolating the villages from each other leading to cessure of trade and all other activities between villages. Properly planned ten relief schemes for construction of feeder roads and bridges linking up these villages, will, apart from giving some works to the people alleviate much of the difficulties of transportation of agricultural produce. 489 491 659

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

[P. 203]

STATISTICAL ACCOUNT

OF THE

KHASI AND JAINTIA HILLS.

THE DISTRICT OF THE KHASI AND JAINTIA HILLS, called by the inhabitants Ka Ri Khási and Ka Ri Synteng, is situated between 26° 9′ 30″ and 25° 8′ 28″ north latitude, and between 91° 9′ 0″ and 92° 51′ 30″ east longitude. It contains an approximate area of 6157 square miles, and a population, according to the Census of 1872, of 141,838 souls. The principal town and Civil Station, which is also the headquarters of the Chief Commissioner of Assam, is Shillong, situated in 25° 32′ 39″ north latitude and 91° 55′ 32″ east longitude. 131 [101] [161] [632] [648]

BOUNDARIES.—The Khási and Jáintiá Hills District is bounded on the north by the Districts of Kámrúp and Nowgong; on the east by Northern Cáchár, the Nágá Hills District, and the Kapilí river; on the south by Sylhet District; and on the west by the Gáro Hills.

JURISDICTION.—The Khási and Jáintiá Hills constitute a Political District, removed from the jurisdiction of the ordinary Criminal, Civil, and Revenue Courts, and of the offices established under the General Regulations and Acts. The administration of the country is vested in the Chief Commissioner of Assam, the Deputy-Commissioner of the Khási and Jáintiá Hills and his Assistants, and the native Chiefs, who are variously styled Siems, Wáhadádárs, Sardárs, Dollois, Pathors, and Lyngdohs. Siem, or more properly Seim, is derived from the Khási word for 'soul, life;' Wáhadárár, from the Hindu term *uhádár*, meaning an 'officer;' Lyngdoh strictly means a 'sacrificial soothsayer,' from the Khási *eng*, 'to speak,' and *doh*, 'flesh.' The District is divided into three portions, —namely, British possessions in the Khási Hills; petty dependent 648 631

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

648 631 States in the Khási Hills; and the Jáintiá Hill country, which is wholly British. The British possessions are administered under a code specially introduced for the purpose. The Khási dependent States consist of petty democracies, presided over by chiefs called Siems, who, though taken from one family, are appointed by election; or by head-men, such as Wáhadádárs, Sardárs, and Lyngdohs, whose offices are absolutely elective. The appointment of all these chiefs and head-men is subject to the confirmation of the British Government, which also reserves to itself the right to remove them in case of misconduct.

The British possessions in the Khási and Jáintiá Hills, which cover an aggregate area of 2160 square miles, consist of the following Fiscal Divisions:—In the Khási Hills—(1) Jim-mang; (2) Láit-lyn-kot; (3) Láit-kroh; (4) Bái-rang, otherwise Wáh-long; (5) Long-ká-ding; (6) Máo-be-lár-kár; (7) Máo-smái; (8) Mynteng; (9) Máo-mlúh; (10) Máo-pun-kyr-tiang; (11) Nong-jírí; (12) Nong-lyng-kin; (13) Nong-bah; (14) Nong-riát; (15) Nong-kroh; (16) Nun-niah; (17) Rám-dáit; (18) Sáit-soh-pen; (19) Tyng-riang; (20) Tyng-rong; (21) Tyr-ná; (22) Um-niuh; (23) Mar-bisu (dependency); and (24) U Ttymá. In the Jáintiá Hills—(1) Am-wi; (2) Chap-duk (Kukí); (3) Dar-rang; (4) Jowái; (5) Lang-flút; (6) Lang-soh; (7) Lá-ká-dong; (8) Myn-riang (Mikír); (9) Mul-shoi (Kukí); (10) Más-kút; (11) Myn-sáo; (12) Nong-klih; (13) Nong-fúlút; (14) Nong-thá-long; (15) Nar-pú; (16) Nar-tiang; (17) Nong-bah; (18) Nong-jyngi; (19) Ral-liang; (20) Rym-bái; (21) Sái-pung (Kukí); (22) Soh-tyn-gah; (23) Shiliang-myn-tang; (24) Sáth-pathor; and (25) Shang-púng.

The Khási democratic States, covering an aggregate area of 3997 square miles (in some reports stated at 4490 square miles), are as follow:—Presided over by Siems—(1) Bhawál, otherwise War-bah; (2) Cherrá; (3) Khyrim; (4) Lyng-kin; (5) Malái-soh-mat; (6) Mahárám; (7) Máriao; (8) Máo-iong; (9) Máo-syn-rám; (10) Myl-liem; (11) Nong-soh-phoh; (12) Nong-klao; (13) Nongs-pung; (14) Nong-stain; and (15) Rám-brái. Presided over by Wáhadádárs—(1) The Confederacy of Shellá. Presided over by Sardárs—(1) Dwárá Nong-tyr-men; (2) Jí-rang; (3) Máolong; (4) Máo-don; and (5) Nong-long. Presided over by Lyngdohs—(1) Lyn-iong; (2) Máo-flang; (3) Nong-lywái; and (4) Soh-iong.

648 692 The administration in the Khási States gives to the native Chiefs independent jurisdiction in all cases, civil or criminal (except

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homicide), in which their own subjects are concerned. All cases of homicide, or matters involving disputes between people belonging to different States, are adjudicated upon by the British officers of the District. 648 692

In the British possessions, the principal sources of revenue are rents and royalties derived from mineral workings, such as lime and coal; rents of fisheries; and a house tax, which varies, according to situation and productiveness of the soil, from R. 1 to Rs. 2 or from 2s. to 4s. per house. A land tax is only levied in tracts where the Government possesses the actual proprietary right in the soil. Again, in the Khási States, the British Government, which undertakes the management of the natural products of the country, such as waste lands, coal, lime, etc., receives a half-share of the rents realized from these sources, the other half belonging to the native Chiefs. The other sources of revenue of the Chiefs are market dues, cesses levied occasionally for State purposes, and fines realized in the administration of justice. 648 651 [135]

HISTORY.—Our first knowledge of the Khási Hills dates from the time when the East India Company acquired the *diwání* of Bengal in 1765. The adjoining District of Sylhet was included in that grant; but as the hillmen had never acknowledged any subjection to the Muhammadans, so they still remained absolutely independent of the British power. However, the necessities of commerce, arising from their monopoly of the lime quarries, from which Bengal has drawn its supply from time immemorial, soon attracted European enterprise to the country. As stated in the Appendix to the Statistical Account of Sylhet, the control of the profits of the lime trade formed in early times one of the most valuable advantages attaching to the position of the official in charge of that District. It does not appear that any European had been attracted to reside in the Hills before 1826. In that year the Rájá of Nongklao entered into an agreement with certain European British subjects to allow a road to be made across the Hills, to connect the Surmá valley with Assam Proper. These Europeans took up their residence at Nongklao. Misunderstandings unfortunately arose, and, partly by the misconduct of some of their Bengáli followers, the growing discontent and apprehension were fanned into a flame. On 4th April 1829 the Khásiás rose in arms and massacred Lieutenants Bedingfield and Burlton, together with some sepoys. This led to military operations on the part of the British Government, which 175 648 [135] [487]

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175 continued through several cold seasons. The last of the Khási chiefs
648 did not tender his submission until 1833. In February 1835 Colonel Lister was appointed Political Agent in the Khási Hills, with his headquarters at Nongklao; and the command of the Sylhet Light Infantry battalion was also placed in his hands. The civil and military functions remained conjoined until 1854, when Mr. Hudson was deputed to Cherrá Púnjí, which had then become the administrative headquarters, with the title of Junior Assistant-Commissioner, shortly afterwards changed to the present one of Deputy-Commissioner.

The Jáintiá Hills came into British possession in 1835. In that year, as related in the Statistical Account of Sylhet District, the last Rájá of Jáintiá, Indra Singh, was deposed on the charge of complicity with certain of his tribesmen who had carried off three British subjects and barbarously immolated them at the shrine of Kálí. The portion of his territory that lay in the plains was forthwith annexed to the District of Sylhet; and the Rájá voluntarily resigned the hill portion, of which we also took possession. A pension of Rs. 500 a month, or £600 a year, was granted to the deposed Rájá for life, and he resided peaceably in Sylhet until
175 his death in 1861. When we first assumed the administration of
648 the Hills, no change was made in the indigenous revenue system,
651 which consisted simply of the payment of a he-goat once a year from each village. The Rájá had derived the greater portion of his income from his possessions in the plains. In 1860, however, a house tax was imposed, the highest limit of which was one rupee (2s.) per house. This measure of direct taxation was very obnoxious to the Syntengs. They formed irregular gatherings, at which they resolved to resist payment, or at least to refuse to pay except through their own hereditary Rájá, who was then alive. An outbreak took place in the early part of the year, but it was promptly suppressed; the people were disarmed, and matters went on much as usual. But the disarmament was imperfect, and it soon became evident that the Syntengs were profoundly disaffected to our rule. Towards the close of 1860 new taxation was introduced, in the form of judicial stamps; and the elaborate schedules of the new income tax were thrust into the hands of persons, few of whom could read the language in which they were framed. Imposts also were
175 introduced upon fisheries and the right to cut timber. Con-
764 siderable feeling had been excited by a sanitary prohibition against
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burning the dead in the immediate neighbourhood of the village of Jowái. Suspicions of insurrection arose during the months of October and November 1861. In the beginning of January 1862 alarming reports were received from various quarters, and the first serious outbreak occurred on the 17th of that month. This was occasioned by the interference of a *dárogá*, or native police official, with a religious ceremony that took place at the village of Jalong. In such ceremonies dancing with arms is held essential; and the *dárogá* took upon himself to disarm the dancers. This was the signal for a general rising. The *thánd* or police station at Jowái was burned to the ground; the garrison of sepoys was besieged, and all show of British authority was swept away throughout the Hills. The Syntengs fought bravely for their independence, and at first were successful in cutting off several small detachments of police and sepoys. Their weapons were bows and arrows. In common with the other hill tribes of the North-East Frontier, their chief defence consisted in a series of strong stockades, one behind another; and the paths leading to their villages were thickly planted with *pánjis*, or little bamboo spikes, stuck in the ground like caltrops. The battalion of sepoys stationed in the Hills was rendered inefficient by sickness. At last it was found necessary to move a regular army, including an elephant battery and two regiments of Sikhs, into the country in order to quell the revolt. Colonel Dunsford was in chief command. He was accompanied by Major Haughton, the Governor-General's Agent on the North-East Frontier, and Captain Morton, the Deputy-Commissioner of the Khásí and Jáintiá Hills, who acted in a political capacity. The operations were tedious and harassing. The rebel chiefs were captured one by one, and the District was declared to be finally pacified in March 1863, after the rebellion had lasted for fifteen months. The special Commission appointed under Act xi. of 1857, for the trial of offenders in the Jáintiá Hills, was dissolved in December 1863. The causes of the rebellion were thus summed up by Major Haughton in an official despatch to the Government of Bengal:—'Taxation was introduced without the supervision with which such a measure should have been accompanied. It was followed up by fresh taxation and rumours of other taxes, also by fiscal and other innovations, which tended to disturb the minds of the people, without any counterpoise such as might have resulted from the continued presence of a European officer.' The Syntengs, like the

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175 Khásiás, have, ever since the measures of improvement which
648 followed, remained peaceable and contented.

General Aspect of the District.—The District consists
133 almost entirely of hills, only a very small portion lying in the plains. The slope of the hills on the southern side is steep, until a table-land is met with at an elevation of about 4000 feet. Higher up there is another plateau at Máo-flang, ten miles to the eastward of which, and in the same mountain range, the Civil Station of Shillong is situated at an elevation of 4900 feet above sea level. On the northern side of the hills are two plateaux, one between 1000 and 2000 feet below the level of Shillong, and the second lower down, about 3000 feet above sea level. In general features all these plateaux are much alike, and consist of a succession of undulating downs, broken
137 here and there by the valleys of the larger hill streams. In the higher ranges, where the hills have been denuded of forest, the country is covered with short grass, which becomes longer and
[778] more rank in the lower elevations. A remarkable feature in the aspect of the country throughout the hills is the numerous sacred groves which superstition has preserved from time immemorial from the destructive hand of the woodcutter. These sacred groves contain beautiful timber-trees of various kinds, rare orchids, rhododendrons, and wild cinnamon. On the more elevated table-lands, pine trees and stunted oak are met with; and in the lower hills, in every direction, are dense forests of the usual Indian trees, containing valuable timber.

134 The geological formation is mainly granitic, with stratified rocks
135 of sandstone, limestone, and shale. The coal-beds rest on trap and metamorphic rocks. The prevailing surface soil is a red ferruginous loam.

133 Mountains.—The principal mountain ranges and highest peaks in the Khási and Jáintiá Hills are as follow:—(1) The Shillong range—height of principal peak, 6449 feet above sea level. (2) Dingiei range—principal peak, 6400 feet. (3) Máo-thad-rái-shán range—highest peak, 6297 feet. (4) Láo-syn-niá range—highest peak, 5775 feet. (5) Láit-máo-doh range—highest peak, 5377 feet. (6) Láo-ber-sát—highest peak, 5400 feet. (7) Láo-bah range—highest peak, 4464 feet. (8) Lyng-ker-dem range—highest peak, 5000 feet. (9) Lúm-baiong range—highest peak, 4646 feet. (10) Máo-syn-rám range—highest peak, 5810 feet.

The principal mountains are:—(1) Rap-leng—height, 5671 feet.

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In former years the Khásiás were great iron-smelters, and enormous excavations in the most favourable localities for obtaining ironstone prove the extent to which this manufacture was carried on. In some places the whole surface of the ground appears to have been dug up for a depth of several feet, leaving huge boulders standing up here and there. Of late years, however, as the price of labour in the Hills has risen, the trade in iron has died away, and there is now little demand for the Khásí article, the cheaper English metal having driven it out of the market. 178 316 325

NATURAL PHENOMENA.—Many peculiar caves and caverns are found in the limestone rock formation, the most notable being the caves at Cherrá Púnjí and at Rúpnáth in Amwi. At the latter place the caverns extend a great distance beneath the earth, one being imagined by the people to reach as far as China, and a Hindu legend states that a Chinese army once marched by this route to the invasion of India. In another cave, the limestone stalactites have been carved into images representing the gods of the Hindu pantheon. On the banks of the Kapilí river on the Cáchár border, at a place called Sumir, there is a hot spring, the water of which contains carbonate of lime. All the rivers in the Hills flow through gorges in certain parts of their course, the most picturesque being at Tehriá, where a small stream is compressed into deep pools among limestone rocks; and at Darrang and Borghát, where the Mangat and Mantideo rivers respectively debouch upon the plains. 133 [823]

FORESTS, ETC.—The India-rubber or caoutchouc tree is found in many forests throughout the Hills, but not in great numbers, and the supply and value of the gum has much decreased of late years. In 1870 the right of tapping the trees in the Jáintiá Hills was leased out for a sum of £36, 12s. 0d.; but by 1876 the trade had almost entirely ceased. There are some tracts of timber forest on the lower hills towards the Brahmaputra valley, but through the want of water carriage they are of no great value. Vigorous efforts are being made to preserve the forests in the higher plateaux. Owing to the habit of firing the jungle in spring prior to sowing, great waste of valuable timber has taken place; but since the country has been separated from Bengal and placed under the administration of the Chief Commissioner of Assam, attention has been given to the matter, and special areas are now being set apart for the preservation and growth of forest timber. Cinnamon grows wild in some parts of the country. There is a considerable trade carried on in 137 [314] 137 648 659 000

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There is considerable trade carried on in
245 *tezpit* or bay leaves, the trees being extensively cultivated by the
439 inhabitants of the lower slopes of the hills on the Sylhet border. The finest oranges in India are also grown in groves in the same tract, the value of the trade in which is now (1876) estimated to amount
237 to £3760 per annum. Lac is gathered by the Míkírs in the Jáintiá
439 Hills, but not to any great extent. Bees are both domesticated and found wild, and an extensive trade in bees-wax is carried on,
231 the amount exported being estimated at from three hundred to four hundred *maunds* annually. The whole of the Hills, where there is
233 no forest, and where the land is not under cultivation, consists of
621 rich pasture grounds, which are held in common by the villagers
651 and pay no revenue to Government.

The forests of the Khásí and Jáintiá Hills do not yield much
137 profit either to the British Government or to the chiefs. There
[648] are no reserved forests in the District; and according to the Deputy-Conservator, the total area of unreserved forest, *i.e.* of land covered
[659] with timber trees and not at present required for *júm* cultivation, is only 150 square miles. The trees found are chiefly pine, and those classified as 'mixed upper hill forests.' At an elevation of 3000 feet, the Pinus Kasia predominates over all other vegetation and forms almost pure pine forests. It is found also at lower heights, and there attains larger dimensions, but only in the case of isolated trees. The 'mixed upper hill forests' are confined to a series of sacred groves, which clothe the topmost ridge of the watershed between the valleys of the Brahmaputra and Surmá. The characteristic trees are those of a temperate vegetation, chiefly consisting of oaks, chestnuts, magnolia, Schima, Cinnamomum, Prunus, Engelhardtia, etc. There are also numerous other timber trees, including the valuable *sál* (Shorea robusta) and the rubber tree (Ficus elastica); but on the whole the Khásí Hills are remarkable for the
[648] absence of forest. Early in 1874-75 measures were taken to put a stop to the indiscriminate burning of the forests, and the Siems and
[659] village officers were made responsible for the conservancy of the sacred groves. These endeavours have met with some success; but it is a very difficult thing to change the habits of a population, or to induce uncivilised tribes to incur a small temporary inconvenience for the sake of future benefit. The total area directly protected from fire during the year 1875-76 is returned at 3618 acres; the expenditure was Rs. 122; and in ten prosecutions for breaches of forest rules, twenty-three persons were convicted.

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The forest administration of the British Government is confined to two plantations in the neighbourhood of Shillong, for which a rent is payable in perpetuity. One of these, on the farther side of the Umkra, was originally acquired in 1871-72 for the sake of experiments in arboriculture. The rent of Rs. 50, or £5, is paid by the Forest Department; the area had been at first estimated at 580 acres, but an actual survey undertaken in 1875-76 reduced this estimate to 262·59 acres. A considerable portion is covered with Pinus Kasia, which is carefully protected. Of the exotic trees tried on this plantation, only the three following can be said to have done well: Juglans regia, Eucalyptus rostrata, and Pinus maritima. All the rest either suffered from frost in the winter, or required far more nursing than can be afforded them in forest plantations. The young trees of the indigenous oak (Quercus serrata) were also attacked by rats, who bit off great numbers just above the ground. The Spanish chestnuts did not thrive, and were removed to the model farm for trial at a higher elevation. The second plantation, on the northern slopes of the range immediately behind the Station, consists of several patches of forest, which were acquired in connection with the scheme for providing Shillong with a permanent water supply. The total rent is Rs. 375, or £37, 10s., paid from Town Improvement Funds; and the aggregate area is estimated at 796 acres. All the fields within this area that had formerly been cultivated by the Khásiás—about 80 acres in all—were sown by the Forest Department with Pinus Kasia, Quercus Griffithii, Q. serrata, and Q. fenestrata, which have succeeded well; and about 8 acres were planted with different species of Eucalyptus. Up to the close of 1875-76 the sum expended on the first of these two plantations was Rs. 742. 9. 9, or £74, 5s. 3d., and on the second, Rs. 730. 9. 6, or £73, 1s. 2d.

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A cinchona plantation was started in 1867 by the Superintendent of the Calcutta Botanical Gardens. It consists of twelve small patches of plants near Nongklao, and one near Jírang, situated at elevations varying from 3500 feet to 2000 feet. The species cultivated are Cinchona succirubra, C. officinalis, and C. micrantha. At first they were under the charge of two Khási gardeners, who each received Rs. 16 a month, or £19, 4s. a year, to weed them and keep fires out. In 1874-75 these plantations were taken charge of by the Forest Department, and specimens of the cinchona bark were submitted for analysis to the Government Quinologist

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249 648 65 at Dárjiling, who reported unfavourably on them. They have since been made over to the Siem of Nongklao, who is responsible for their being kept clear of weeds and protected against fire. Up to the close of 1875–76 the total expenditure had been Rs. 672, or £67, 4s. 0d.

136 FERÆ NATURÆ.—Tigers, elephants, rhinoceros, buffaloes, *mithuns* or wild cows, bears, leopards, wolves, jackals, foxes, wild hog, and several kinds of deer abound in the Khásí and Jáintiá Hills. The [224] [648] expense of keeping down tigers in the shape of Government rewards amounted to £44, 10s. 0d. in 1869-70. The rate of reward now paid is Rs. 25 or £2, 10s. 0d. per head. No rewards have ever been given for the destruction of venomous serpents. The number [165] of deaths from wild beasts and snake-bite reported to the police amounted to 28 in 1866-67, 18 in 1867-68, 16 in 1868-69, and 26 in 1869-70. The small game found in the Hills consists of black partridges, hill partridges, quails, ducks, teal, snipe, and woodcocks. 226 The *mahsir* fish is caught in the rivers. No regular trade is carried 439 on in the skins of wild animals; and, except in the case of wild elephants, the *feræ naturæ* are not made to contribute towards the wealth of the people.

224 ELEPHANTS.—Wild elephants are found in the lower ranges of the hills, and in the gorges opening on the valleys of the Surmá and 648 the Brahmaputra. Each State in the Khásí Hills and each dolloi- 651 ship in the Jáintiá Hills constitutes a separate hunting circle or *mahál*. In the Khásí States the conditions of elephant hunting are governed by rules framed in 1874-75 by the Chief Commissioner, and approved by the Government of India. These rules provide, (1) that the British Government will make no claim to royalty on account of elephants caught in the Khásí Hills; (2) that one half of the proceeds of the sale of each elephant caught shall be paid over to the chief whose State forms the *mahál*, and the other half retained by Government; (3) that if a chief wishes to hunt elephants on his own account, the *mahál* composed of his State shall be reserved from sale, and a special arrangement shall be made with him on the basis that half the proceeds of the hunting shall accrue to Government. A special form of hunting licence in accordance with these rules has been settled by the Chief Commissioner. In the Jáintiá Hills, as being British territory, the ordinary Assam rules are in force, in accordance with which leases of the *maháls* are sold at intervals of two years to the highest bidder at

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public auction. The Assam rules, as revised in 1875-76, reserve to Government the right of pre-emption at the price of Rs. 600 (£60) in the case of every elephant captured between 6 feet and 7½ feet in height. For every elephant caught that is not purchased by Government, a royalty of Rs. 100 (£10) is payable within one month after capture. Certain methods of hunting are prohibited. 224 648 651

POPULATION.—Prior to 1872 no attempts had been made at a Census of the Khási and Jáintiá Hills, but in 1870 the Deputy-Commissioner approximately estimated the population at 118,925 souls. In 1872, at the time of the Bengal Census, operations were set on foot in these Hills, but on a less elaborate system than in Regulation Districts. In the Khási Hills, the Census of the various petty States was effected through the chiefs; in British territory in the Jáintiá Hills, the *dollois* conducted the enumeration; while at Shillong and other places under direct administration, the work was done by officers attached to the Deputy-Commissioner's office. The results are thus returned:—Adults—males, 39,882; and females, 44,298: total adults, 84,280. Children under twelve years of age—males, 28,611; and females, 28,947: total children, 57,558. Total males, 68,593; total females, 73,245. Grand total, 141,838; proportion of males, 48·36 per cent. The total area of the District, according to the latest returns, is 6157 square miles, which gives an average density of 23 persons per square mile. The number of villages is 1003; the number of houses, 30,557, of which 350 are returned as of the better sort. 648 659 161 161 162

ETHNICAL DIVISION OF THE PEOPLE.—The population consists almost exclusively of aboriginal tribes and races, viz. Khásiás and Syntengs (who form the bulk of the inhabitants of the Khási and Jáintiá Hills respectively), Míkirs, Gáros, and Kukís. The only other dwellers in the Hills are the European officials and military officers at Shillong and Cherrá Púnjí, with their native servants and followers, a few Bengálí officials, and the sepoys of a regiment of native infantry. The classification of the inhabitants according to religion shows:—141,283 aborigines; 365 Hindus; 62 Muhammadans; and 128 Christians, including 35 Europeans, 8 Eurasians, and 85 native converts. 563 162 [648] [779]

THE KHASIAS.—The following sketch of the physical characteristics and customs of the Khásiás has been kindly furnished to me by the Deputy-Commissioner, Colonel Bivar; it is reproduced almost verbatim from his report and on his authority:— 144

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disfigured from the practice. Adults will chew as many as four or five betel-nuts a day, with the usual accompaniment of *Pán* leaves. The estimated cost of maintaining an average family of the labouring class is about Rs. 8 or 16s. a month.

TOWNS: SHILLONG.—There are no towns in the usual acceptance of the word; but the chief places in the Hills, looked upon by the inhabitants as cities, are Shillong, Jowái, Cherrá Púnjí, and Shellá. According to the Census of 1872, Shillong had only 1363 inhabitants, Cherrá Púnjí 443, and Jowái 4502. Jowái, however, is a collection of rural hamlets, and the population of Shillong has entirely altered since the date of the Census. The latter place first became the Civil Station in 1864, in substitution for Cherrá Púnjí; and when Assam was erected into an independent Province in 1874, it was selected as the permanent seat of the Local Government. The Chief-Commissioner resides there, and also the heads of all departments in the Administration. The area of the Station is 7 miles in length by 1½ to 1¾ miles in breadth. A considerable native population is already settled, and is increasing from day to day. One of the largest weekly markets is held in the *Nizár*; and with a view to facilitate access to the Station, which is the sanitarium for the Province of Assam, a cart road has recently been completed to Gauhátí on the Brahmaputra, which will tend to make the place more and more important. An excellent water supply is introduced into Shillong through an aqueduct which has its source in the neighbouring hill streams, and sanitary measures are carefully enforced. Large sums of money have annually been expended on the erection of the public buildings necessary for the offices of the administration. A printing-press has been established, from which issue all the official documents and reports of the Province. The climate is excellent, the temperature being more equable than that of any other hill station in India, and therefore admirably suited to the constitution of Europeans. There is a church at Shillong, and a chaplain on the Bengal establishment officiates both there and at Gauhátí. The cantonments were occupied in 1875 by the 43d Regiment of Assam Light Infantry, with three outposts. The strength was 9 European officers, 16 native commissioned officers, 80 non-commissioned officers, 772 fighting men, and 58 paid camp followers and non-combatants; grand total, 935. The total cost, including contingencies, was Rs. 189,190, or £18,919.

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(9) Cotton is grown on high lands and
248 slopes; it is sown in April, and becomes fit for picking by January.

311 Area and Out-turn of Crops.—According to the Assam Ad-
241 ministration Report for 1875-76, the area of the British portion of the Khásí and Jáintiá Hills District amounts to 2160 square miles,
• 648 of which only 110 are under cultivation; of the remainder, 1337 square miles are set down as cultivable, and 713 as uncultivable. The total area of the semi-independent Khásí States is given as 3997 square miles, of which 176 are under cultivation, 2561 are cultivable, and 1260 uncultivable. In another portion of the same Report, the area under various crops throughout the entire District is thus approximately estimated:—Rice, 59,880 acres; other food grains, 57,820 acres; cotton, 1076 acres; potatoes, 33,880 acres. The average out-turn of rice per acre is returned at 8 *maunds*, or nearly 6 cwt.; of other food grains, 3 *maunds*, or over 2 cwt.; of cotton, 2 *maunds*, or 1½ cwt.; of
[435] potatoes, 55 *maunds*, or nearly 40 cwt. The price of rice in 1875-76 was Rs. 4 8 per *maund*, or 12s. 8d. a cwt., which gives Rs. 36 or £3. 12s. as the value of the rice crop obtained from one acre.

241 Condition of the Peasantry.—The Khásiás can scarcely be considered an agricultural people, as they do not grow sufficient
423 grain for their own subsistence, and are dependent to a great
433 extent on imports of rice from the neighbouring Districts. Ten acres is generally considered a comfortable holding for a husbandman in the position of an ordinary Bengal peasant, but scarcely any man in the Hills depends entirely upon the produce of his land for
[231] his support. In the Jáintiá Hills a cultivator's position is con-
[554] sidered to be very low if he possesses no cattle, but performs all the operations of agriculture with his own hands. In that portion of the District, five acres is all that can be cultivated with a single
[465] pair of oxen, the average being four acres. A husbandman with a holding of five acres would not be so well off as a retail shopkeeper, nor would it enable him to live as comfortably as he could on a money wage of Rs. 8 or 16s. a month. The peasantry, however, as a class are not in debt. The land is owned chiefly by small proprietors, who occupy and cultivate their hereditary fields. The relations of landlord and tenant do not exist in the Hills, and no rent is payable to any one; consequently the principle of Act x. of 1859 (the Rent Law of Bengal) has no application.

231 The Animals used in agriculture are oxen; goats and pigs are
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extent of waste land, some is cultivated in a manner resembling the *júm* system,—successive crops are grown on a patch of land till the soil is exhausted, and then another spot is selected, where the same process is repeated afresh, but without anything that can be called a *júmiá* tenure. Any renting of land is exceptional, and there are no recognised rates of rent. The Deputy-Commissioner, however, states that an ordinary rate for rented land would be from two to three shillings a year for as much land as an individual can cultivate with his own hands. 423 [427]

MANURE is generally used in raising rice and potatoes. It is seldom purchased, the dung and litter of the cattle and other animals about the house being generally utilized for the purpose. For rice fields a little less than half a ton of manure, but for potatoes upwards of two tons, is required per acre. Manure, if purchased, would cost from 2s. 7½d. to 3s. 9d. per acre for rice land, and for potato fields from 12s. to 18s. per acre. 243 244 [435]

IRRIGATION for agricultural purposes is regularly practised. Water is brought to the land by means of channels cut from the numerous hill streams in the neighbourhood of the fields. Wells and tanks are unknown. The work of irrigation by means of these channels is very easily carried on, and at a very trifling outlay. Rotation of crops is not practised in the Hills. 312

MODEL FARM.—The Shillong Model Farm, established in 1873, has not proved a success. Experiments tried with wheat give some hope that cold-weather crops may profitably be introduced into the Hills. Two new varieties of potato—'red roughs' and 'pheasant's eye'—were successfully introduced in 1873-74; but these are not looked upon favourably by the Khásiás, as they only give one crop in the year, whereas the ordinary variety yields two crops. Several fruit-trees have been planted out, including apple, pear, cherry, nectarine, and plum; and the tables of the European residents are supplied with vegetables from the garden attached to the farm. A *Manual of Potato Cultivation* compiled by the superintendent has been translated into Assamese, and copies have been distributed among the adjoining Hill tribes. The general failure in all the agricultural experiments is attributed partly to the unfitness of the soil, and still more to the ravages of white ants and other insects peculiar to the Hills. The attempts to improve the indigenous breeds of live stock have been equally unfortunate. During the two years 1874-76 the sum of Rs. 1744 177 244 648 654 177 245 648 654 [134] [136] 231 648 654

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231 (£174, 8s.) was expended on the purchase of stock, including
• 648 cattle, sheep, and pigs from England. Even native cattle at the
654 elevation of Shillong fall off very much in the months of January and February from want of forage, and the Khásiás at this season generally drive them to lower slopes. But one of the chief objects in keeping cattle at the farm was to obtain manure; and *mati kaldi* (Phaseolus radiatus) was grown for them, cut green, and stocked
[731] for food. On this they did very well. In 1875-76, however, cattle disease broke out on the farm in a very virulent shape. Out of 39 cattle attacked, only 7, or 18 per cent., recovered, and the animals imported from England all died. There was also a heavy mortality in that year among the sheep and pigs. The following are the financial results for the two years:—1874-75—Expenditure, Rs. 13,297. 0. 5; receipts, Rs. 309. 2. 6: deficit, Rs. 12,987. 13. 11. 1875-76—Expenditure, Rs. 11,445. 8. 6; receipts, Rs. 1036. 15. 0: deficit, Rs. 10,408. 9. 6. Total deficit, Rs. 23,396. 7. 5, or £2339,
648 13s. In view of these figures the Chief Commissioner has deter-
654 mined to restrict farming operations to small experiments in irrigated *rabi* crops, and, as a measure of economy, to dispense with the services of the superintendent. The future expenditure on the farm will be insignificant. The establishment now (1877) consists of a *sardár* on Rs. 50 and a *chaukidár* on Rs. 10 a month (total, £72 a year), under the direct control of the Deputy-Conservator of Forests; the total number of live-stock is 64 head.

731 NATURAL CALAMITIES, such as blights, floods, or droughts, are not common in the District, although the crops in the Jáintiá Hills sometimes suffer from insects. So far as the Deputy-Commissioner is able to ascertain, no destruction of crops affecting the general harvest has occurred within the experience of the present generation.
[435] During the Orissa famine of 1866-67 the maximum price of common rice reached £1 per hundredweight, but no such distress was felt as to require Government relief operations. The price just mentioned was certainly equal to the rates prevalent in the famine-stricken localities; but prices always rule high in the Hills, and afford no just criterion of the state of affairs among the general body of the inhabitants. Distress was only felt by a small portion of the population, chiefly the Bengáli immigrants residing in the District,
262 who are generally a well-to-do class. The Hill people, as a rule, do
244 not eat potatoes, which they grow only for export; but in case of actual famine, they might fall back upon this crop for their own food
439 supply.

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The coal strata at the former place are calculated to extend over one-third of a square mile, with an average thickness of from 3 feet 6 inches to 4 feet; and the yield of the coal, if it could be worked, is estimated at 447,000 tons. At the latter spot the area of the coal-fields is computed to extend over 0·394 of a square mile, and the estimated yield of the mineral is about 1,100,000 tons. The coal at Cherrá Púnji and at Lá-ká-dong is in quality equal to some English coals; it is quick in its action, and consequently would generate steam rapidly; it cakes well, but gives out a large amount of smoke; it is fragile and easily broken. From the absence of that definite structure which produces the planes of division known to English miners as 'backs,' or joints in the coal, it breaks into unsymmetrical pieces, and consequently does not stow well. From its composition, quick combustion, and irregular cleavage, it is estimated to be from 5 to 7 per cent. inferior to good English coal; but as a gas-producing coal it is considered superior to English produce, both as regards quality and purity of the gas. It is also calculated to yield a good quality of coke. The market value of coal found in the Khási and Jáintiá Hills cannot be given with any approach to accuracy, owing to the expense of labour in the Hills and of carriage to the plains. The Station of Shillong, which consumes coal as fuel, derives its supply from the coal beds at Máo-beh-lyrkár, 18 miles distant, and the price is as high as £3 per ton. Lá-ká-dong is within six miles of Borghát, a village on an affluent of the Surmá, which is accessible all the year round by boats of 500 maunds, or 28 tons burden; but at present only coolie-carriage is available between Lá-ká-dong and Borghát.

The following is a brief history of the mines at Cherrá Púnjí in the Khási Hills, and at Lá-ká-dong in the Jáintiá Hills:—Government holds a perpetual lease of the Cherrá Púnjí mines from the chief or Siem of Cherrá, conditionally upon the payment by Government of a royalty of two shillings and eightpence for every five tons of coal quarried and removed from the mine, and also upon the terms that the people of Cherrá shall be permitted to work the beds on their own account. In 1844 Government transferred its right to work the mine to Captain Engledue, then agent of the Peninsular and Oriental Company, for a period of twenty years; but in the following year this gentleman, with the permission of Government, made over his lease to Messrs. Gisborne & Co., of Calcutta, who worked the mine for about two years,

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316 and in 1851 transferred their rights to Mr. W. Moran, of Calcutta.
• 648 The last lessee, however, preferred buying his coal to mining it; and
655 Government, seeing that the mines were not worked in a satisfactory manner, resumed the beds in 1859, and advertised them for letting. No person, however, has since come forward to work the mine. The Lá-ká-dong coal mines are the sole property of Government, which in the year 1848 leased the mining rights to Mr. B. W. Darley. This gentleman in the following year made over his lease to Messrs. Gisborne & Co., who soon afterwards transferred it to Mr. Moran. This gentleman surrendered his lease in 1859, when the mines were advertised for letting, but no one has since come forward and undertaken to work the coal. Between 1850 and 1856, while the mines were worked, about 5100 tons of coal were extracted for exportation.

In Mr. Allen's Report, dated 1858, it is stated that the coal of the Hills then found a ready sale at Dacca and elsewhere at 8 *dnnás* per *maund;* and that the average quantity exported into Bengal was about
[435] 25,000 *maunds*, valued at Rs. 12,500, or £1250. According to the local trade reports, this exportation would appear to have entirely died out; but the Bengal registration returns record 2965 *maunds* of coal, valued at Rs. 1482, or £148, at the rate of 8 *dnnás* per *maund*, as exported from Sylhet District in the year 1876-77. This supply was probably derived from the Khásí and Jáintiá Hills.

317 LIMESTONE QUARRIES.—A limestone formation prevails more or less along the whole southern face of the Khásí and Jáintiá Hills. The quarries are chiefly situated in the beds and on the banks of rivers and water-courses.

The limestone-quarrying localities in the Khásí Hills are the following twenty-six:—(1) Bha-wál; (2) Bor-syr-mai; (3) By-rang, *alias* Wáh-long; (4) Bor-púnjí; (5) Chún-jurá; (6) Dholai; (7) Dwárá; (8) Ichhámati; (9) Lúm-dih-long; (10) Lan-grin; (11) Long-long; (12) Máo-nai; (13) Máo-don; (14) Máo-kár-tillá; (15) Mohesh-kháli; (16) Máo-long; (17) No-kriá; (18) Páthériá; (19) Ram-seng-rai-skeh; (20) Soh-lai; (21) Silai; (22) Shellá; (23) Tanglá; (24) Tang-wai; (25) Um-song; (26) Um-tymá. In the Jáintiá Hills, the following seven:—(1) Chún-chhorá; (2) Lámápushi; (3) Litháng; (4) Myrli Púnjí; (5) Nongthá-long; (6) Rúpnáth; (7) Rowai. The supply of limestone is literally inexhaustible. The wants of Calcutta and of the whole of Lower Bengal
648 have been satisfied from these hills from time immemorial. During
651 the year 1876-77 the estimated export was 1,600,000 *maunds*, valued
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at Rs. 480,000, or £48,000, and the revenue derived by Government from the quarries was Rs. 67,366, or £6736. In addition, the Khási Chiefs receive a revenue from this source of more than £2000.

Iron.—The smelting of iron was once the chief industry in the Khási Hills, and a considerable quantity of the metal used to be exported into Sylhet, both in the crude and the manufactured state. Recently, however, this industry has almost died out, in the face of the competition of the superior article imported from England and sold in the plains at a cheaper rate. The indigenous methods of extracting, washing, and smelting the ore have been minutely described by Professor Oldham. The following description is taken from Mr. Allen's Report, dated 1858, at which date the annual export of smelted iron was estimated at 45,000 *maunds*, valued at Rs. 67,500, or £6750, at the rate of Rs. 1. 8 per *maund*: —'The ore is said to be most abundant and of the best quality in the State of Khyrim, especially at the villages of Nongkrim and Noyandri. A few iron articles, such as *dáes* or hill knives, *kodálls* or mattocks, spear and arrow-heads, are manufactured by the Khási smiths in the Hills; but the greater bulk of the smelted iron is sent to the plains for sale in circular lumps weighing about 4 or 5 *sers*. These lumps, called *bírd*, sell at Chhaták for from Rs. 1. 4 to Rs. 1. 6 per *maund*. The best iron, however, which is beaten into bars called *pell*, sells for from Rs. 1. 10 to Rs. 1. 12 per *maund*. Khási iron is preferred to English, in consequence of its greater malleability. It is much used by the native boat-builders of Sylhet and the neighbouring Districts to make fastenings for the timbers of their boats. When brought into the market, it is more than half dross, and it is this circumstance which renders the iron trade unprofitable. The cost of carriage from the Hills to the plains is about 6 *dands* per *maund*; and the traders, who are all Khásiás themselves, affirm that they get an average profit of only 2 *dands* per *maund*.' The tables of trade for 1876-77 return no smelted iron as exported from the Hills, but Rs. 7000 of iron implements exported, against nails and ironmongery imported to the value of Rs. 18,000.

The Manufactures of the District, besides iron, consist of coarse cotton and *rendia* cloth, plain silver work, rude implements of husbandry, netted bags made of the fibre of the pine-apple, common pottery, and mats and baskets. With the exception of the

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fish, fresh and dried, Rs. 20,000; salt, 2000 *maunds*, value Rs. 10,000. For the last three years, from 1874-75 to 1876-77, elaborate tables of the external commerce have been drawn up by the successive Deputy-Commissioners in charge of the District. There is, however, no organized system of trade registration, and the Chief Commissioner of Assam has expressed the opinion that the figures 'cannot be at all relied upon.' The items vary greatly year by year, which is partly due to the different principles of valuation adopted. For the year 1874-75 the total exports were valued at Rs. 1,371,830, or £137,183, being just double the estimated value twenty years ago; the imports were valued at Rs. 1,359,300, or £135,930, being an increase in the same period of nearly forty-fold. The excess value of exports was Rs. 12,530, or £1253. In 1875-76 the exports were valued at Rs. 1,721,761, or £172,176; the imports at Rs. 1,617,455, or £161,745, showing an excess on the export side of Rs. 104,306, or £10,430. The tables for 1876-77, given in full on the following pages (pp. 238, 239), are quoted from the Administration Report for that year. They are based partly upon returns of trade at the marts of Bholíganj and Jáintiápur, and partly upon such approximations as could be supplied by local traders. The total value of the exports amounts to Rs. 1,603,530, or £160,353; that of the imports to Rs. 1,576,483, or £157,648, showing a balance of Rs. 27,047, or £2704, in favour of the District.

The export of limestone in 1876-77 was 1,600,000 *maunds*, valued at Rs. 480,000, at the rate of Rs. 300 for 1000 *maunds*. These figures show no increase in quantity, but a large increase in value, over the estimates of twenty years ago. The registration system of river traffic in Bengal shows a total export during 1876-77 from the two Districts of Sylhet and Cáchár of 1,056,159 *maunds* of lime and limestone, valued at Rs. 742,118 at the rate of 12 *dands* per *maund*. The difference between these two sets of figures for the same year is very considerable. It may be partly explained by the consideration that the Bengal estimate of value includes the stone after it has been calcined and reduced to lime. The trade in limestone is chiefly in the hands of Messrs. Inglis & Co., whose depot is at Chhatík, on the Surmá river. The connection of this firm with the trade of the Khási Hills is of very long standing. The founder, Mr. Henry Inglis, was the son-in-law of

[*Sentence continued on page* 238.

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ESTIMATE OF IMPORTS INTO THE KHASI AND JAINTIA HILLS FOR THE YEAR 1876-77.

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ARTICLES.	RATES OF VALUATION.	WEIGHT OR MEASURE.	VALUE.
	Rs. per maund.		Rs.
Brass pots and pans,	—	—	12,500
Country soap,	15. 0	1,000	18,000
Chord or crushed rice,	4. 8	650	2,503
Cloth of sorts,	—	—	138,000
Cutcl beads,	—	—	18,000
Cows and oxen,	—	—	3,600
Castor oil,	16. 0	125	2,000
Cocoa-nut oil,	25. 0	30	750
Dal or pulse,	6. 0	1,600	9,600
Eggs,	—	—	2,000
Earthenware and glass,	—	—	600
European stores,	—	—	16,600
Fish, and dry fish,	6. 0	35,000	213,400
Ghi,	35. 0	650	22,750
Grain,	4. 0	1,300	5,200
Gold,	—	—	6,500
Kerosene oil,	20. 0	125	2,750
Molasses,	7. 0	2,800	19,600
Nails and ironmongery,	30. 0	500	18,000
Oil,	18. 0	1,700	30,600
Onions,	6. 0	800	4,800
Poultry,	—	—	12,500
Rice,	3. 8	203,800	760,500
Salt,	7. 0	12,000	84,000
Sugar,	17. 8	800	14,000
Spices,	—	—	1,000
Silver,	—	—	4,000
Sheep,	—	—	6,400
Tobacco,	6. 0	40	240
Tea and coffee,	—	—	2,500
Tobacco,	13. 0	4,800	62,400
Atta or wheat flour,	7. 0	10,000	70,000
Wines and liquors,	—	—	18,000
Miscellaneous Native goods,	—	—	2,500
Total,	—	—	1,576,483

Sentence continued from page 237.]

439 Colonel Lister, who filled the office of Political Agent from 1833 to
• 648 1854. In 1858, when Mr. Allen drew up his Report on the District, the trade both in lime and oranges was a monopoly of this Mr. Inglis. The stone is exported to Chhatik and other marts on the Surma river, where some portion is burned and made into lime, and the remainder sold in the rough. The trade name in Bengal is 'Sylhet lime.'

439 The export of potatoes in 1876-77 was 200,300 maunds, valued
434 at Rs. 301,050, or £30,105, at the rate of Rs. 1. 8 per maund.

[*Text continued on page 239.*

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ESTIMATE OF EXPORTS FROM THE KHASI AND JAINTIA HILLS FOR THE YEAR 1876-77.

ARTICLES.	RATES OF VALUATION.	WEIGHT OR NUMBER.	VALUE.
	Rs.		Rs.
Tejpat or bay leaves,	2. 0 per *maund*.	18,000 *maunds*.	45,000
Betel-nuts and *pân* leaves, ...	—	—	95,600
Black pepper, . . .	1. 8 per *maund*.	500 "	9,000
Beans, ...	—	—	7,000
Cinnamon, ...	4. 0 per *maund*.	500 "	3,000
Chillies, ...	8. 0 "	2,500 "	20,000
Cotton, ...	8. 0 "	56,000 "	448,000
Fruits (jack and lime),	—	—	4,600
Garlic, ...	—	—	3,100
Hides, ...	—	—	1,800
Honey, ...	15. 0 per *maund*.	350 "	5,250
India-rubber, . . .	40. 0 "	200 "	8,000
Iron implements, . .	—	—	7,000
Limestone, ...	400. 0 per 1000 *maunds*.	1,800,000 "	180,000
Oranges, ...	12. 0 per 3000.	9,400,000 No.	37,600
Potatoes, ...	2. 8 per *maund*.	900,500 *maunds*.	300,270
Pine-apples, ...	—	—	8,000
Sesh lot, ...	20. 0 per *maund*.	5,000 "	100,000
Timber, bamboos, and canes, . . .	—	—	30,000
Turmeric, ...	2. 0 per *maund*.	500 "	1,000
Betel-nut, ...	32. 0 "	36 "	1,150
Total, .	—	—	1,609,570

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Text continued from page 138.]

This price is about the same as it was twenty years ago, but the quantity has increased fourfold. The potato was first introduced into the Hills in 1830 by Mr. David Scott, who was then the Governor-General's Agent. 'No greater boon could have been conferred upon the people.' The local trade is entirely in the hands of the Khásás themselves, and the larger portion of the produce is despatched direct to Calcutta. According to the registration returns of river traffic in Bengal, the export of provisions (including vegetables) from Sylhet in 1876-77 was 103,108 *maunds*, valued at Rs. 309,324, or £36,932, at the rate of Rs. 3 per *maund*.

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The export of oranges in 1876-77 was 9,400,000 in number, valued at Rs. 37,600, at the rate of Rs. 12 per 3000. These figures apparently show a great decrease since 1858. At that time Mr. Inglis possessed the entire monopoly of the trade, by means of the leases which he held from the Khásí Chiefs of all the valuable groves. The annual produce of his groves was estimated at forty-five millions of oranges, having increased from eleven millions within the

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439 previous twenty years. The oranges, like the lime, were brought down to Mr. Inglis' depot at Chhaták, where they were sold to
• 648 the dealers at the rate of about Rs. 1. 12 per 1000, or less than
245 half their present estimated price. It is stated in Mr. Allen's
434 Report, that the Calcutta market was then chiefly supplied from the groves of Shella Púnjí and Bor Púnjí; the produce of the other villages was more perishable, and required to be sold in the neighbouring Districts. The fruit is known in Calcutta as 'Sylhet oranges.' The Bengal registration returns for 1876-77 show a total export from Sylhet of 64,505 *maunds* of 'fruit,' valued at Rs. 193,515, or £19,351.

439 The export of raw cotton appears to have greatly increased. In 1876-77 the total quantity exported was 36,000 *maunds*, valued at Rs. 216,000, or £21,600, at the rate of Rs. 6 per *maund*. Twenty years before the export had been only 12,000 *maunds*, valued at Rs. 42,000, at the rate of only Rs. 3. 8 per *maund*. The cotton is of inferior quality, with a short and woolly staple. It is chiefly consumed by the Sylhet weavers. The total registered export from that District in 1876-77 was only 4300 *maunds*, valued at Rs. 64,500,
434 at the high rate of Rs. 15 per *maund*.

439 The chief article of import now, as twenty years ago, is rice; for
[178 the hill-men have never grown sufficient for their own consumption,
[243 and the recent establishment of the Civil Station of Shillong has increased the demand. In 1876-77 the total imports of rice were estimated at 205,800 *maunds*, valued at Rs. 720,300, or £72,030, at the rate of Rs. 3. 8 per *maund*. Twenty years ago the imports were nearly as great, viz. 150,000 *maunds*; but the value was only Rs. 225,000, at the rate of Rs. 1. 8 per *maund*, or less than one-half the present value. The chief source of supply is Sylhet District, which sends its surplus to the tea gardens of Cáchár, as well as to these Hills, and also exported, in the year 1876-77, 214,000 *maunds* of rice and 433,100 *maunds* of paddy into Bengal.

The importation of fish (fresh and dried) has enormously increased. In 1876-77 the total amount was 35,900 *maunds*, valued at Rs. 215,400, or £21,540, at the rate of Rs. 6 per *maund*. Twenty years ago the value was only Rs. 20,000, but the quantity is not given. The preparation of dried fish is a flourishing industry in the adjoining District of Sylhet.

The importation of cotton cloth has increased in an almost equal proportion. The value in 1876-77 was Rs. 158,000, or £15,800, as

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against Rs. 25,000, or £2,500, twenty years earlier. The supply of 439
piece-goods is derived directly from Dacca.

A curious feature in the trade of the Khásí and Jáintiá Hills is 441
the total absence of Márwári or Jain merchants—an enterprising class, who are found everywhere else in Assam, even to the farthest corners of the Brahmaputra valley. There are a few Bengálí traders from Dacca, who do not take up a permanent residence in the Hills; but the great bulk of the business remains in the hands of the natives, who themselves reap the profits and are said to be keen at a bargain.

The principal markets at the foot of the Hills, on the Sylhet side, 443
are Bholáganj, Chhaták, Lakhát, Jaíntiápur, Jafling, Pharálbázár, Máodong, Ponatit, Sónápur, Molághul, and Lengjut. Many of these are situated within the Sylhet boundary; but they are all frequented by Khásí and Synteng traders, who spend their whole time in passing from one market village to another. The markets or *háts* are held at regular intervals of eight days (for the Khásí week consists of this number), with the object of permitting the same people to visit the different places in rotation.

CAPITAL.—Such little capital as the people possess is either 454
employed in trade or lent out upon interest. In a few cases it is hoarded and allowed to remain idle. In small loan transactions, whether articles are pledged as security or not, the interest usually charged is one *dnná* in the rupee per month, or 75 per cent. per annum. In larger transactions the rate of interest per month varies from 2 to 3 per cent. Nothing is charged in the name of interest where lands are mortgaged as security for a loan, as the land is always made over to the mortgagee in lieu thereof, and he is only bound to restore it on payment of the amount lent. In petty advances for agricultural purposes, part of the produce is given by the cultivator at something less than market rates in repayment of the amount borrowed. Limestone quarrying is the only industry in 316
the District carried on by European agency. 648

REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE.—The revenue realized from the 648
Khásí and Jáintiá Hills has increased considerably in recent years. 651
As the Khásí States are treated as semi-independent, the receipts from that portion of the District are altogether insignificant, with the exception of the dues levied from the lime quarries. The larger part of the revenue in Jáintiá is derived from the house tax. For 1835, when British authority was first established in the Khásí Hills,

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the total revenue is returned at £77, and the expenditure at £2061. By the year 1860-61, at which date the Jáintiá Hills were included, the revenue was £2194, and the expenditure was £4151. There has since been a large increase on both sides of the account, and the District now more than pays for the cost of administration. The budget estimate for 1870-71 calculated on a revenue of £6290, and an expenditure of £7853. In 1875, according to the figures of the Deputy-Commissioner, the revenue was £13,383, and the expenditure £9692. The Assam Administration Report for 1875-76 returns the gross revenue at Rs. 108,018, or £10,801, of which only Rs. 342 was derived from the land, and the total cost of officials and police of all kinds at Rs. 64,731, or £6473, showing an apparent surplus of Rs. 43,287, or £4328. This increase of revenue is the more satisfactory, considering that the Khásiás still remain practically untaxed.

Sources of Revenue.—The main sources of revenue are the following:—(1) Mineral revenue; (2) House tax. The mineral revenue consists of the rents derived from the lime quarries, which are leased for terms of years to the highest bidder at public auction after due advertisement. All such leases have to receive the sanction of the Chief Commissioner. In 1876-77 the total revenue from lime quarries was Rs. 67,266, or £6,726, 12s., being a decrease of Rs. 7892 on the previous year. The house tax is levied throughout the whole of the Jáintiá Hills, and in the British possessions in the Khási Hills. The settlement is made with the head-man of each village, who is termed a *dolloi* or *sardár*. It is his duty to submit every year to the Deputy-Commissioner or subdivisional officer a list of the number of houses in his village, accounting for all changes since the previous assessment. Thereupon the Deputy-Commissioner or subdivisional officer makes the assessment according to the rate fixed for the village, which is either R. 1 (2s.) or Rs. 2 (4s.) per house, and submits the proceedings for the confirmation of the Chief Commissioner. In 1876-77 the house tax realized a total revenue of Rs. 13,714, or £1371, 8s., of which Rs. 10,654 came from the Jáintiá Hills. The land revenue is derived from a few petty estates lying at the foot of the Jáintiá Hills, which were transferred from the rent-roll of Sylhet District on the adjustment of the boundary between the hills and plains portion of Jáintiá. The settlement of these estates was made in 1856-57, for twenty years, in the same manner as the settlement of the other Jáintiá

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estates. In addition, there are a few small holdings at Jowái, in the Jáintia Hills, which have been settled, after measurement, under the Assam Settlement Rules for a term of ten years. In 1876-77 the total land revenue amounted to Rs. 223, or £22, 6s., derived from 24 estates. Other small items of revenue are derived from fisheries, forests, stamps, and excise. In 1876-77 the rent of the fishery *mahâls* was Rs. 3321, or £332, 2s.; forests produced Rs. 773, or £77, 6s., of which Rs. 652 represents fees on the exportation of timber from the Khási States to the District of Kámrúp. In the same year stamps yielded Rs. 16,121, or £1612, 2s.; but this total includes the sale of postage and telegraph stamps, as well as the sum credited for service stamps. Excise produced Rs. 1216, or £121, 12s. The stamps are sold at the Treasury; there are no licensed vendors. The excise laws are applied only within the limits of the Stations of Shillong and Cherrá Púnjí, and throughout the Jáintiá Hills. There are no licensed distilleries in the District, and the free manufacture of country spirit is permitted both in the dependent States and in British territory; what is manufactured is mainly for home consumption. In 1876-77 there were in all 18 licenses in force—4 for imported spirituous and fermented liquors, 1 each for *máhát* and *chandu*, 2 for *gánjá*, and 10 for opium. The Khásiás and Syntengs are not addicted to the use of intoxicating drugs, which is confined to the people from the plains residing on British territory.

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COURTS, ETC.—In the year 1835 there were two Magisterial and Civil Courts in the District. By 1850 the number had risen to four, which continues to the present time. The maximum distance of any village from the nearest court is 65 miles, the average distance is 25 miles. In 1835 one European official was permanently stationed in the District; in 1850, two; in 1862 and 1869, again one. In the last-mentioned year the subdivision of Jowái was opened in the Jáintiá Hills; and there have since been two officers in the District, a Deputy-Commissioner at Shillong, and an Assistant at Jowái. The total number of magistrates is three. These figures, of course, are exclusive of the staff of the Local Government, which has been established at Shillong since 1874.

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POLICE STATISTICS.—For police purposes, the Khási and Jáintiá Hills are divided into the three following *thánás* or police circles, with two outposts:—(1) Shillong, with an outpost at Nongpoh; (2) Jowái; (3) Cherrá Púnjí, with an outpost at Thária-ghát, at the foot of the southern hills.

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625 In 1835, when British authority was first extended to the Khásí
648 Hills, the cost of maintaining the police, from the rank of *jamádár*
465 or head constable upwards, was £45; and in 1840, £57, 16s. By 1860, when the Jáintiá Hills had been annexed, and a *thánd* opened at Jowái, the cost had risen to £480. In the year 1869 the strength of the regular police was 149 men in the Khásí Hills, and an additional 29 in Jáintiá.

In 1875 the police statistics of the Khásí and Jáintiá Hills were as follow:—The force consisted of 2 inspectors on a salary of upwards of Rs. 100 a month, or £120 a year; 3 sub-inspectors and 13 head constables on a salary of less than Rs. 100 a month; and 113 constables on an average pay of Rs. 9 a month, or £10, 16s. a year. The total pay of subordinate officers amounted to Rs. 8340 or £834 a year; and the total pay of constables to Rs. 12,168 or £1216, 16s. Certain contingencies brought up the aggregate expenses to Rs. 24,969 or £2496, 18s. The total number of men of all ranks was 131. As compared with the area and population of the District, these figures show one man to every 16·49 square miles, or to every 153 persons of the population, maintained at a cost of Rs. 4. 1 or 8s. 1½d. per square mile, and of 2 *ánnás* 10 *pies* or 4¼d. per head of population. Of the total force, 1 officer and 13 men were employed to guard the jail, 3 officers and 23 men to guard the treasury and lock-up and to serve as escorts, leaving 14 officers and 77 men available for general duty.

648 CRIMINAL STATISTICS.—The District of the Khásí and Jáintiá Hills,
692 like the other Hill Districts of Assam, is administered by political officers, under special rules framed under Act xxii. of 1869. Petty criminal cases are disposed of by the indigenous magistracy, and only cases of a heinous character are reported to the political officers. Similarly, civil causes are referred to arbitration, according to the indigenous system of village *panchâyats*; and the Deputy-Commissioner reports that this system, while affording equal justice to the people, tends to preserve them from the evil of litigiousness.

674 In 1874 the total number of cases reported by the police to the
178 political officers was 83, as compared with 63 in the previous year. In these 83 cases, 102 persons were arrested, of whom 71 were put on their trial; 61 persons, or 86 per cent., were convicted, and 10 were acquitted.

Though little serious crime exists in the Hills, yet the number of offences shows a tendency towards increase. The Report of the

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697 In addition, a total of Rs. 899 (£89, 18s.) was expended on jail buildings. The manufacturing account shows cash receipts amounting to Rs. 60, against an expenditure of Rs. 29, or a net profit of Rs. 31 (£3, 2s).

797 871 648 EDUCATIONAL STATISTICS.—The management of education in the Khási and Jáintiá Hills is entirely in the hands of the Welsh Calvinistic Mission, who first established themselves in the District about the year 1844. Though the Khásiás are naturally dull, and children are taken away from school before they have obtained more than a smattering of instruction, yet the perseverance of the missionaries has been rewarded by most satisfactory results. It is stated, in the Report of the Inspector of Schools for Assam for 1874-75, that 'a much larger proportion of the Khásiás know a little of reading, writing, and arithmetic than is the case, probably, in any other [562] District of either Assam or Bengal.' Female education, owing to the interest taken in this work by the wives of the missionaries, is also in a comparatively advanced condition. The missionary schools are largely subsidized by grants in aid from Government. The [212] teaching is conducted in English and in Khási, the Roman character being used in both cases.

The following paragraphs are compiled from the Education Report for 1874-75, above referred to. In that year the total number of schools open in the District was 73, attended by 1666 pupils. As compared with the area and the population, these figures show one school to every 84·34 square miles, and one pupil to every 85 inhabitants. As compared with the total number of males under ten years of age, the number of boys only attending school (1322) shows one scholar to every 13·1. The total expenditure on education in the same year was Rs. 17,722. 11. 3, or £1772, 5s. 5d.; towards which Government contributed Rs. 10,443. 2, fees and fines produced Rs. 228. 5. 3, while the remainder (Rs. 7051. 4) was expended by the Missionary Society from its own funds. The average cost of educating each pupil was Rs. 10. 10. 4, or £1, 1s. 3½d.

648 797 872 PRIMARY SCHOOLS.—With the exception of the schools at Cherrá Púnjí, Jowái, Shillong, and Shellá, all the schools in the Hills may properly be classed as primary, though several are returned as middle vernacular schools. On this principle the total number of primary schools is 64, in 45 of which a little English is taught. These 64 schools had 1226 pupils on their rolls at the close of the year 1874-75, and an average daily attendance of 829, comparing

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favourably with an average attendance of 694 in the preceding year. Of the pupils on the rolls, 132 were professed Christians, 36 Hindus, and 1058 Khásiás. The total cost was Rs. 7127. 11. 6, or £712, 15s. 5d., towards which Government contributed Rs. 3246. The average cost of each pupil was Rs. 8. 7. 7, or 17s., of which Rs. 3. 14. 7 represents the share paid by Government. The chief failure among the Khásiás is stated by the Inspector to be in arithmetic. Four primary scholarships were awarded during the year by the Deputy-Commissioner, on the recommendation of the secretary to the Mission. These scholarships are of the value of Rs. 3 a month, or £3, 12s. a year, and are tenable for two years.

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MIDDLE ENGLISH SCHOOLS.—There were four schools of this class during the year under report, with 397 pupils on the rolls, and an average daily attendance of 243. The total expenditure was Rs. 4581. 15. 9, or £458, 4s., towards which Government contributed Rs. 1478. 8; the average cost of each pupil was Rs. 18. 13. 7, or £1, 17s. 8d.

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FEMALE INSTRUCTION.—The Khási and Jáintiá Hills is the only District of Assam, and one of the very few throughout all India, in which female instruction can be said to exist. During 1874-75 the number of girls attending the schools increased from 242 to 344, or by more than 42 per cent., showing 4·7 girls at school to every thousand of the female population, as opposed to ·4 in the Province generally. Of this number 24 were taught by Mrs. Hugh Roberts of Cherrá Púnjí, and 18 by Mrs. John Roberts of Shellá. During the year five of the girls were sent out as teachers, of whom one was placed in charge of the Shillong girls' school, which has 29 pupils.

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NORMAL SCHOOL.—According to the classification adopted by the Education Department, the institution at Cherrá Púnjí, under the management of the Rev. Hugh Roberts, is described as partly 'Government normal' and partly 'aided English.' In 1874-75 the number of pupils on the rolls was 43, and the average attendance 39. There is a class of 10 girls, and of the 16 teachers turned out during the year, 5 were girls. The total cost was Rs. 4252. 6. 6, almost the whole being paid by Government. The average cost of each pupil was Rs. 109. 0. 7, or £10, 19s., of which Rs. 107. 2. 11 represents the share of Government. The following paragraph, quoted from Mr. Roberts' Report, illustrates what the missionaries have effected, and also the difficulties with which they have to contend:—'Cases have been brought to my notice during the past year

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648 797 871 of parents undergoing considerable privations rather than deny their children education; and in many families it has become a matter of ordinary routine to send the children to school. This only refers to the younger children; for after boys have attained their fourteenth or fifteenth year, their parents grow impatient for their pecuniary 858 assistance. It is the custom among the Khásiás to inure very young children to work, so that they may earn enough to support themselves as soon as ever they can manage strap and basket. It is common for a boy to realize from ten *pice* to five *dunds* a day for his parents; and it is considered sufficient sacrifice for the latter to have kept him at school up to his fourteenth year.'

631 651 433 KHASI STATES.—The following is a list of the nineteen semi-independent Khásí States or Democracies, with the particulars of information that are available for each, taken from the Assam Administration Report for 1875-76:—

(1) BHAWAL or WARBAH.—Name of Siem, U Baman Singh, age in 1876, 16 years; approximate population of State, 369; estimated gross revenue—from market dues, Rs. 10; from *málikánd* on lime quarry, Rs. 16,000—total, Rs. 16,010, or £1601; products, rice, millet, *tezpát* or bay leaves, black pepper, Piper nigrum; minerals, lime.

(2) CHERRA or SOHRAH.—Siem, U Hájan Mánik, aged 42; population, 8060; revenue—from market dues, Rs. 7000; judicial fines, Rs. 150; *málikánd* on lime quarry, Rs. 200; *zamindári* holding in Sylhet, Rs. 1300—total, Rs. 8650, or £865; products, cotton, millet, betel-nuts, *pán*, oranges, black pepper, Piper nigrum, chillies, turmeric, ginger, and honey; manufactures, bamboo mats and bamboo baskets; minerals, lime, iron, and coal.

(3) SHELLA.—Wáhadádárs, U Jitrái, aged 29, and U Rái Singh, aged 35, of whom the former can read and write both Khásí and Bengáli a little; population, 5511; revenue—from market dues, Rs. 300; judicial fines, Rs. 400—total, Rs. 700, or £70; products, oranges, betel-nuts, and pine-apples; manufactures, bamboo mats and bamboo baskets; minerals, lime and coal.

(4) KHYRIM or NONG-KREM.—Siem, U Kher Singh, aged 32; population, 20,504; revenue—from pension allowed by the British Government, Rs. 1800; market dues, Rs. 5000; judicial fines, Rs. 400; *málikánd* on lime quarry, Rs. 1900; contributions for State purposes, Rs. 1000—total, Rs. 10,100, or £1010; products, rice, cotton, millet, 'Job's tears,' caoutchouc, cinnamon, *sohphlang*

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253; revenue, *nil;* products, millet, oranges, betel-nuts, jack-fruit, pine-apples, chillies, and bay leaves; minerals, lime and coal. 631 651

These statistics give the following totals for the nineteen Khási States or Democracies:—Population, 78,992; revenue, Rs. 49,856. 8, or £4985, 13s., of which Rs. 22,732. 8, or £2273, 5s., is derived from lime quarries. The aggregate area of these States is elsewhere returned at 3997 square miles. 433

SUBDIVISIONAL ADMINISTRATION.—The twenty-five fiscal divisions which constitute the Jáintiá Hills are regarded as forming a separate Subdivision, under the charge of an Assistant-Commissioner, whose headquarters are at the village of Jowái. This Subdivision dates from 1869, for which year the separate cost of administration is returned at £1091. The following statistics, referring only to the Jáintiá Hills, are taken from the Report of the Assistant-Commissioner for 1876-77; for the rest, all information is included in the preceding sections of this Statistical Account, which apply generally to the whole District of the Khási and Jáintiá Hills. In the year 1876-77 the total revenue of the Jowái Subdivision amounted to Rs. 12,713, or £1271, 6s., of which Rs. 10,654 was derived from the house tax. The total value of the exports from the Subdivision was estimated at Rs. 197,575, or £19,757, 10s., including 16,000 *maunds* of raw cotton, valued at Rs. 120,000, and 5490 *maunds* of lac, valued at Rs. 54,900. The total value of the imports was estimated at Rs. 345,600, or £34,560, chiefly cotton and woollen cloth from Bengal, valued at Rs. 81,000; silk cloth from Assam, Rs. 25,000; 15,000 *maunds* of rice, value Rs. 60,000; 6229 loads of dried fish, value Rs. 35,344; 5287 *maunds* of salt, value Rs. 37,009; 609 *maunds* of tobacco, value Rs. 44,872. These figures are compiled from reports submitted by the police stationed at Jardin, on the Jáintiápur road, and from information collected from the chief traders of Jowái. They show an apparent balance of trade against the Subdivision amounting to Rs. 148,025, or £14,802, 10s. The population of Jowái and the surrounding villages is 4502 souls. 63 648 651

MEDICAL ASPECTS—METEOROLOGY.—The climate of the Khási and Jáintiá Hills is mild and equable. At Shillong the thermometer within doors ranges from about 58° in December to 70° or 75° in the hottest months. Out of doors the dry bulb varies between about 38° in the cold weather and 80° in May and June. A temperature higher than 80° is seldom recorded. During the three years ending 132

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remarkably, and there are few indigenous diseases of any kind. Malarious fevers of local origin are unknown, and cholera never prevails in the Hills except when directly imported from the plains. Notwithstanding the excessive rainfall, the climate of Cherrá Púnjí also is pleasant and salubrious. The rainfall is confined in great part to the five months from May to the end of September. For the rest of the year the weather is mild and very equable, and in the winter months almost pleasanter than that of Shillong. 164 132

Small-pox is the chief scourge amongst the Khásiás. The faces of more than half the people are seamed by the marks of this disease. Strenuous efforts have recently been made to introduce vaccination, and with some success. Within the past three years nearly 5000 children have been vaccinated. The number of vaccinations in 1876 was 1309, as compared with 1628 in the preceding year. 164 [751] [648]

Dysentery and bowel complaints generally prevail to a considerable extent; and, as at most other hill stations in India, the English residents at Shillong occasionally suffer from these diseases. Disorders of the liver are also not uncommon, usually affecting persons who have recently arrived from the plains, probably from unhealthy localities. When they have once passed through a short period of acclimatizing indisposition, most English residents at Shillong enjoy excellent health.

The *tarái* country lying along the foot of the Hills, especially on the northern side, is extremely malarious; and people passing through, especially pedestrians who travel without comforts and expose themselves to great fatigue, contract remittent fevers and agues of a severe type.

EPIDEMICS.—The following is a brief notice of some recent epidemics. Cholera made its appearance in the Hills in May 1869, travelling from the direction of Jáintiápur, on the borders of Sylhet. It only showed its presence by a few sporadic cases from time to time until the 11th July, when the disease broke out in an epidemic form among the police and in the jail. The police and the prisoners were at once moved into camp, and communication restricted as much as possible. These precautions probably had the effect of preventing the spread of the disease at Shillong. The epidemic lasted a week; it attacked twenty-four persons, of whom fifteen died. From Shillong the disease travelled southwards, the people deserting their villages as the plague broke out. In the 731

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731 pre-eminently filthy villages on the Cherrá Púnjí plateau the epidemic appears to have found a fitting home, for it stayed among them for a period of nine weeks and a half. The civil surgeon reports the deaths at Cherrá Púnjí and the surrounding villages to have amounted to about 175 out of a total of 232 cases. During the year 1876-77 hooping-cough and small-pox were prevalent in an epidemic form. In the Jáintiá Hills small-pox is stated to have caused 47 deaths, chiefly during the months of June, July, and August. Some fatal cases of hooping-cough occurred among the Khási children in the village of Máokhar, near Shillong. The only two cases of cholera reported were in the Jáintiá Hills.

16 VITAL STATISTICS.—A general system of registration is not [659] attempted throughout the Khási and Jáintiá Hills District. Statistics of births and deaths are only collected among the inhabitants of [648] the Stations of Shillong and Cherrá Púnjí, and in the selected area in the vicinity of Jowái, which comprises the following seven villages: —Jowái, Nongbah, Nartiang, Mynsau, Amwí, Ralliang, and Shampúng. This selected area has a population of 12,504. Each village forms a distinctly-circumscribed community, in which the statistics are readily ascertained and reported by the *dolloi* or head-man. The returns may be regarded as extremely close to the truth, both for births and deaths; and they thus furnish an approximate statement of the health of the entire Hills. In 1874 the total number of deaths in the selected area was 351, showing a death rate of 28 per thousand; the number of births was 431, or 34·4 per thousand. The total population of all the places in which vital statistics are collected is 15,458 persons, among whom 428 deaths were recorded in 1874, showing a death-rate of 27·6 per thousand, as compared with 27·3 per thousand in the preceding year. The deaths were thus distributed—24 from cholera, 296 from fever, 38 from bowel complaints, 2 from snake-bite or wild beasts, and 68 from all other causes. The mortality from fevers was the highest recorded throughout the entire Province. On this the civil surgeon observes:—'There are few local sources of malaria in the Hills. Many of the deaths from fever were probably due to typhoid, induced by the use of impure water and by the filthy state in which the people live. There is no attempt at conservancy in a Khási village. In Jowái, a good specimen of the class, the lanes and pathways are strewn with excrement and house refuse. Drinking water is got from wells in the heart of the village, fed by the drainage of the

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surface soil of the hills upon which the houses are built.' Cholera is attributed to importation from the plains.

SANITATION.—It has already been stated that the ordinary Khási villages are absolutely destitute of any conservancy arrangements. The sanitary condition, however, of the Station of Shillong is described as 'good.' The natural drainage is excellent. Drinking water is obtained chiefly from hill streams, and on the banks of these streams conservancy regulations are enforced. The water is conducted into the town by means of an artificial water-course. Public latrines have been erected at suitable places inside the town. The staff of sweepers and *beldárs* keeps the roads and drains clean, and the surface generally free from pollution. The sanitary condition of the cantonment is reported to be very good.

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CHARITABLE DISPENSARY.—There is one dispensary in the Khási and Jáintiá Hills—at the Station of Shillong. It was first opened in 1872, and considerable additions have since been made to the building. During 1874 a total sum of Rs. 775. 8, or £77, 11s., was expended on new constructions and repairs, towards which the European residents subscribed Rs. 329. There is now accommodation for 10 male and 3 female patients. In that year the total number of in-door patients treated was 44, of whom 9 died, giving a death-rate of 20·45 per cent. The number of out-door patients was 529, or an average daily attendance of 7·8. Of the grand total of patients of both classes, only 31 were females. The largest number of cases are classified under the headings of fevers and constipation and colic. The total income during the year was Rs. 1598. 13. 9, or £159, 17s. 8d., of which Government contributed Rs. 300 for salaries, and an additional Rs. 300 as a special allowance. The European subscriptions amounted to Rs. 869, as compared with Rs. 33 subscribed by natives. The total expenditure was Rs. 1187. 15. 6, or £118, 16s., leaving a balance in hand of Rs. 410. 14. 3. The chief items were Rs. 480 for salaries of medical subordinates, Rs. 160 for servants' wages, and Rs. 222 for dieting of sick. There were 53 minor operations performed during the year.

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The people of the District have no system of medicine of their own, and no native practitioners. Their sole remedies consist in divination and incantation. The only indigenous native drugs are chireta and wormwood. As stated in a previous paragraph, a small cinchona plantation was established by Government at Nongklao in 1867.

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REPORT ON RURAL ECONOMIC SURVEY IN UNITED KHASI-JAINTIA HILLS.

CHAPTER I

Introduction

1.1 Objective.—Consequent upon restrictions on trade emerging in the border markets after partition, the economic condition of the people living in the border areas of the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills district adjoining East Pakistan, suffered a serious set back. There was demand from the people all over the border areas for adequate relief as well as rehabilitation of their shattered economy. From time to time Government took up various relief measures but, for adopting a planned programme of relief and rehabilitation in an integrated and sustained manner, the need for a comprehensive economic survey of the district with special emphasis on the border areas, came to the forefront. Accordingly at the instance of Government of Assam, the Department of Economics and Statistics addressed itself to the task of launching an economic survey in the district.

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The programme consisted of an intensive study of the conditions in selected villages and was designed to meet the following objectives:—(I) To obtain a broad picture of the rural economic conditions in the district and in particular, to provide factual data on the various aspects of agriculture and farm economics, *e. g.*, land tenure, size and distribution of agricultural holdings and farms, fragmentation, income and expenditures occupation and the like. Data should be collected also on the occupations and industries which play subsidiary roles in the economy of the district. (II) Special emphasis need be given on border areas, in order to bring to light the measure of suffering of the border people as a result of partition and to suggest various long and short term measures for ameliorating the condition of the border people. (III) The survey should adequately cover the Community Development areas also in order that it becomes possible to make an assessment of the impact of the community development programmes on the socio-economic life of the people in these areas.

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1.2 Coverage and Period.—The field work of the survey was started on 28th February, 1958 and was completed by the middle of July, 1958 thus requiring nearly four and a half months.

1.3 Design of the Survey.—For a study of border economy a purposive selection of ten villages in the border area, which were known to be important from the point of view of production and distributive trade in pre-partition days was made. Similarly for Project areas a total of eight villages two from each of the four blocks in the district—where intensive development programmes were taken up, were selected. These villages were selected by the Project Officers themselves. Apart from these, a random sample of ten villages from all over the district were taken. Thus a total of 28 villages all over district—10 from border areas, 8 from project areas and 10 from general areas were selected for

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The forest administration of the British Government is confined to two plantations in the neighbourhood of Shillong, for which a rent is payable in perpetuity. One of these, on the farther side of the Umkra, was originally acquired in 1871-72 for the sake of experiments in arboriculture. The rent of Rs. 50, or £5, is paid by the Forest Department; the area had been at first estimated at 580 acres, but an actual survey undertaken in 1875-76 reduced this estimate to 262·59 acres. A considerable portion is covered with Pinus Kasia, which is carefully protected. Of the exotic trees tried on this plantation, only the three following can be said to have done well: Juglans regia, Eucalyptus rostrata, and Pinus maritima. All the rest either suffered from frost in the winter, or required far more nursing than can be afforded them in forest plantations. The young trees of the indigenous oak (Quercus serrata) were also attacked by rats, who bit off great numbers just above the ground. The Spanish chestnuts did not thrive, and were removed to the model farm for trial at a higher elevation. The second plantation, on the northern slopes of the range immediately behind the Station, consists of several patches of forest, which were acquired in connection with the scheme for providing Shillong with a permanent water supply. The total rent is Rs. 375, or £37, 10s., paid from Town Improvement Funds; and the aggregate area is estimated at 796 acres. All the fields within this area that had formerly been cultivated by the Khásiás—about 80 acres in all—were sown by the Forest Department with Pinus Kasia, Quercus Griffithii, Q. serrata, and Q. fenestrata, which have succeeded well; and about 8 acres were planted with different species of Eucalyptus. Up to the close of 1875-76 the sum expended on the first of these two plantations was Rs. 742. 9. 9, or £74, 5s. 3d., and on the second, Rs. 730. 9. 6, or £73, 1s. 2d.

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A cinchona plantation was started in 1867 by the Superintendent of the Calcutta Botanical Gardens. It consists of twelve small patches of plants near Nongklao, and one near Jírang, situated at elevations varying from 3500 feet to 2000 feet. The species cultivated are Cinchona succirubra, C. officinalis, and C. micrantha. At first they were under the charge of two Khási gardeners, who each received Rs. 16 a month, or £19, 4s. a year, to weed them and keep fires out. In 1874-75 these plantations were taken charge of by the Forest Department, and specimens of the cinchona bark were submitted for analysis to the Government Quinologist

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249 648 65 at Dárjiling, who reported unfavourably on them. They have since been made over to the Siem of Nongklao, who is responsible for their being kept clear of weeds and protected against fire. Up to the close of 1875–76 the total expenditure had been Rs. 672, or £67, 4s. 0d.

136 FERÆ NATURÆ.—Tigers, elephants, rhinoceros, buffaloes, *mithuns* or wild cows, bears, leopards, wolves, jackals, foxes, wild hog, and several kinds of deer abound in the Khásí and Jáintiá Hills. The [224] expense of keeping down tigers in the shape of Government rewards [648] amounted to £44, 10s. 0d. in 1869-70. The rate of reward now paid is Rs. 25 or £2, 10s. 0d. per head. No rewards have ever [165] been given for the destruction of venomous serpents. The number of deaths from wild beasts and snake-bite reported to the police amounted to 28 in 1866-67, 18 in 1867-68, 16 in 1868-69, and 26 in 1869-70. The small game found in the Hills consists of black partridges, hill partridges, quails, ducks, teal, snipe, and woodcocks. 226 The *mahsir* fish is caught in the rivers. No regular trade is carried 439 on in the skins of wild animals; and, except in the case of wild elephants, the *feræ naturæ* are not made to contribute towards the wealth of the people.

224 ELEPHANTS.—Wild elephants are found in the lower ranges of the hills, and in the gorges opening on the valleys of the Surmá and 648 the Brahmaputra. Each State in the Khásí Hills and each dolloi- 651 ship in the Jáintiá Hills constitutes a separate hunting circle or *mahál*. In the Khásí States the conditions of elephant hunting are governed by rules framed in 1874-75 by the Chief Commissioner, and approved by the Government of India. These rules provide, (1) that the British Government will make no claim to royalty on account of elephants caught in the Khásí Hills; (2) that one half of the proceeds of the sale of each elephant caught shall be paid over to the chief whose State forms the *mahál*, and the other half retained by Government; (3) that if a chief wishes to hunt elephants on his own account, the *mahál* composed of his State shall be reserved from sale, and a special arrangement shall be made with him on the basis that half the proceeds of the hunting shall accrue to Government. A special form of hunting licence in accordance with these rules has been settled by the Chief Commissioner. In the Jáintiá Hills, as being British territory, the ordinary Assam rules are in force, in accordance with which leases of the *mahál*s are sold at intervals of two years to the highest bidder at

mantris sit. This durbar must not be confused with the electoral durbar which will be referred to later. It is an executive council over which the Siem presides, and also possesses judicial powers (for a description of a judicial durbar, see page 91 of the monograph). The form of summons to appear before this durbar used to be a knotted piece of string or cane, the number of knots denoting the degrees of urgency of the summons, not a piece of pork, as one writer has said. Pork is a luxury which is not usually distributed gratis. The Siem manages the State business through his *mantris*, although it is true that in some States the members of the Siem family have been allowed a considerable share of the State management. This latter arrangement is, however, a departure from the ordinary rule in the Siemships, and is regarded as unconstitutional. In some States there are village headmen, styled Sirdars, who settle cases, collect labour, and assess and receive for the chief the *pynsuk*, which may be literally translated as "gratification." In Nongstoin there is an official styled *lyngskor*, who is the superior of a number of village sirdars, and who acts as the Siem's deputy-governor. In the Khasi Hills there is no land revenue, nor are there any tithes or other imposts levied upon the cultivator's produce. The land, to a great extent, is the property of the different clans and villages, although in some instances there are estates owned by private persons. The chief is entitled to receive the income that arises from what are known as the *raj* or State lands only. All that the Siem usually receives from his people in the way of direct revenue is the State subscription, or *pynsuk*, mentioned above. Even this is supposed to be a voluntary contribution, and it is not demanded in some States. This tax is nominally a collection to meet the expenses of the State ceremonies, but is really a means of increasing the chief's private income. The contribution varies in amount according to the means of the villagers. The Siem's principal source of income, however, in all the Khasi States is the toll (*khroog*), which he takes from those who sell at the markets in his territory. As the Khasis are great traders these tolls are often at the larger markets fairly valuable. The chief raises no excise revenue, the manufacture of both fermented and distilled

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643 liquor being subject to no fiscal restrictions whatsoever. In a
651 few States the Siems are commencing to levy registration fees,
443 but the amounts are insignificant. Judicial fines are divided between the chief and the members of the durbar. In some States the Siems' incomes amount to a few hundreds a year only. Generally speaking, the Khasi chiefs are necessarily a very impecunious set of persons, and many of them are in-
643 debted to, comparatively speaking, large amounts. The Siem
631 is appointed from the Siem family, there being such a family in each of the fifteen Khasi States. The most important States are Khyrim, Mylliem, Cherra, Nongstoin, and Nongkhlaw. There are a few other petty States presided over by Lyngdohs, Sirdars, or Wahadadars. A fact which is of universal application is, that heirship to the Siemship lies through the female side. The customary line of succession is uniform in all cases, except in Khyrim, save that in some instances cousins rank with brothers, or are preferred to
643 grand-nephews, instead of being postponed to them. The
428 difference between the rule of succession and the rule of inheritance to real property should be noted. In the former case the sons of the eldest uterine sister inherit in order of priority of birth, although it is true that this rule has sometimes been disregarded. In cases of succession to realty, however, the inheritance goes to the youngest daughter of the deceased's mother, and after her to her youngest daughter. In successions to the Siemships, in the absence of male heirs from the eldest sister the succession passes, by what has been aptly described as the "knight's move," to the male children of the next eldest sister. In Khyrim the custom of succession is peculiar, there being a High Priestess, and heirship being
643 limited to her male relatives. Generally speaking, it would
644 appear that succession was originally controlled by a small
773 electoral body constituted of the heads (*lyngdohs*) of certain priestly clans, who, it is presumed, exercised their authority to reject candidates, when necessary, mainly on religious grounds. There has, however, been a distinct tendency towards the broadening of the elective basis. In the large State of Khyrim the number of the electoral body has been greatly increased by the inclusion of the representative headmen of
certain dominant but non-priestly clans (mantris).

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certain dominant but non-priestly clans (*mantris*). In other States the Council has been widened by the addition to it of village headmen (*sirdars*), or the chief superintendents (*basnas*) of the village markets, tolls from which constitute the chief item in the public receipts of these States. A further step towards the recognition of the public will in the nomination of a Siem has been the introduction of popular elections, at which all the adult males vote. Such popular elections were very greatly due to the views held by Colonel Bivar, who was Deputy-Commissioner of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills from 1865 to 1877. These elections have been, in many States, an innovation which is hardly in accord with public sentiment, and in many cases the voters have done no more than confirm the selection of a special electoral body. It is, however, clear that the idea of popular elections is not one with which the people are unfamiliar, e.g. in Langrim State, where all the adult males customarily vote at an election of a Siem. Popular election has also been customary in the Nobosohpoh and Bhowal States, in cases where a special electoral body has been unable to agree upon a nomination, and also in Nongspung, if a Council of five *lyngdohs*, which has in this State authority to declare who is the rightful heir, but not to disqualify him, cannot come to an unanimous decision. The Siems are appointed by an assembly, or *durbar*, which will be described later. The chiefs, having been thus chosen by the *durbar*, which is supposed by the people to be an institution of Divine origin, are styled, *ki Siem u blei*, or Siems of God. In most States the Siem is the religious as well as the secular head, e.g. in the Cherra State, where the Siem is also *lyngdoh*. In Khyrim State the Siem has sacerdotal duties to perform at different religious ceremonies, especially at the time of the annual Nongkrem dance. It is the custom for the Siem to consult the auspices with the soothsayers for the good of the State. The Siem in matters judicial acts as a judge, the whole body of the *durbar* being the jury. In olden days the Siem marched to war at the head of his army. It is not customary to recognize an heir-apparent, and the young men of the Siem family pursue the ordinary avocations of a Khasi, not comporting themselves in the least like scions of royalty. In quite

[which elects the Siem -- Analysis]

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the *Wáir* country; it will be necessary to describe the land tenures 423
and laws regarding land of each of these divisions separately. As land is always jhumed by the Bhois and Lyungams from year to year, customs regarding land with these people are naturally very simple. Taking land in the high plateau of the Khasi Hills first:—The lands are classified under two main divisions, (*a*) public and (*b*) private lands. The following are the different descriptions of lands in the first division:—

Ka ri Raj, or *ka ri Siem*, which are Siem's, or Crown lands. 423
These lands are intended for the support of the Siem family, 643
they cannot be alienated. The Siems are, however, precluded 651
by custom from levying a land tax on persons who cultivate such lands, the relation of landlord and tenant between the latter and their chiefs being unknown.

Ka ri Lyngdoh.—These lands are for the support of the 423
Lyngdohs or priests of the State. In some Elaqahs, as in 712
Mawiang Siemship, paddy is grown on these lands from which rice is obtained for the State pujas.

Ri shnong, or village lands.—These lands are set apart to 423
provide a supply of firewood, thatching grass, &c., and are the 311
property of the village. The inhabitants of other villages are not allowed to enjoy the produce of such lands. Such lands can be cultivated by ryots of the village, but the latter possess only occupancy rights, and cannot transfer them.

Ki 'lawkyntang.—These are sacred groves, situated generally 423
near the summit of hills, composed of oak and rhododendron 778
trees, which are held sacred (*kyntang*), it being an offence, 137
or *sang*, for any one to cut timber in the grove, except for cremation purposes. These groves are the property of the villages.

(*b*.) Private Lands. These may be subdivided into *ri-kur* 423
or lands which are the property of the clan, and *ri kynti*, 614
family, or acquired landed property. In the Khasi Hills proper a very large proportion, certainly of the high lands, is the property of the clan; for instance, the high lands at Laitkor, which are the property of the Khar kunger and Kur kulang clans, whose ancestors the large memorial stones (211)
close to the Laitkor road commemorate, also the lands of the Thang Khew clan, and many others.

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HALI LANDS OR IRRIGATED PADDY LANDS.

(1) *Raj* lands, which used to be the property of the Raja of Jaintiapur, now the property of Government, which are assessed to land revenue. 423 651

(2) Service lands, which are lands given rent free to dolois, pators, and other officers who carry on the administration.

(3) Village puja lands, being land the occupants of which pay rent to the doloi or lyngdoh, which are set apart in each village for purposes of worship. These lands are not assessed to revenue.

(4) Private lands held by individuals, and which have been transferred from time to time by mortgage sale or otherwise at the will of the owner. These lands are not assessed to revenue.

High lands are sub-divided into (1) Private lands, held like *hali* private lands (2) Unclaimed land, or Government Waste.

Up till now the Government has not assessed revenue on the high lands which are its own property. Surveys have been made from time to time of the Government *Raj hali* lands in the Jaintia Hills, but the maps require bringing up to date. The revenue on such lands is assessed at an uniform rate, viz. at 10 annas a bigha, and the leases have been issued so as to expire contemporaneously. A list of service lands of dolois and others, showing the number of plots held by each official and their approximate total area in bighas, is kept in the Deputy Commissioner's Office. Puja lands are plots of lands set apart entirely for the support of the lyngdohs and other persons who perform the pujas of the doloiships. These lands are generally leased out by the dolois, but in some doloiships they are under the management of the lyngdohs. The occupants of the puja lands have either to present annually sacrificial animals or objects, e.g. bulls, goats, fowls, or pigs, rice, liquor, &c., or make a payment in cash. In the War country in the Jaintia Hills, orange, *pân*, and betel-nut gardens, are held as private property except in a few villages where there are some Raj *pân* gardens which have been assessed to land revenue at the same rates as Government *hali* lands. The various gardens are distinguishable by means of boundary stones or stone cairns, by 423 [651]

443 Quarrels and fights are exceptional. It is most
778 natural to the Khasi not to disturb the peace of the markets, since the markets stand under the protection of the goddess. (Cf. The prayer in the introduction to this article.)[1] Also the memorial stones, in the shadow of which the markets are so often held, may exert some influence on the visitors to the markets, since the Khasi imagine themselves to be protected by the spirits of their ancestors and believe that any kind of disorder at the market would be avenged by these spirits.

443 Nearly all the men at the market are armed.
484 The reason for this lies in the fact that the
411 people are thus protected on the way to the market and are safe from the attacks of the "killers" (nongshohnoh), i.e., those who got out to murder people in order to dedicate their victims to the devil snake. Therefore the visitors to the market never go alone but always in groups. The men are armed with the ka wait (a chopping knife), with which they know how to defend themselves very well.

4. The Law of the Market

443 a) The Market Toll. All sellers who at-
651 tend the market must pay a contribution on entering the market place. Only those inhabitants of the village or district in which the market is held are excepted. This market tax is paid partly in money and partly in products. In many villages it is paid only in cash. The amount of the tax laid is 2 or 3 paisas, often even one anna (5--8--10 pfennigs, German peace evaluation). Only betel nuts and pepper leaves are preferred to money. In many villages everything is paid in produce, insofar as foodstuffs are conserned. The market tax collector reaches

[1] [See category 116, pp 1-2--Analyst]

right into the carrying baskets of the arriving sellers with little ceremony and takes as much as he can with one or two hands. 443 651

Toll is levied at the approaches to the market. Here and there is a toll hut where the people passing must pay their contribution. These receipts belong to the king in whose kingdom the market is located. These market tolls often form very good sources of income for the royal families, as the markets are held regularly and are well attended. In return for the market tolls the king must maintain the market halls (if there are any).

[709] b) Market Coercion. There is no actual market coercion. But nothing can be bought outside of the market, since the Khasi do not have any stores. Only in the larger villages are there one or two shops, which, however, do not count. These shops must all pay the "market toll" for all the articles which they sell at home with the exception of the sale of kiad, "rice liquor," which is never sold at the market.

c) Prices and Measures. The prices are based on supply and demand. They are freely determined by the sellers. It is not the custom to bargain and haggle. An exception is the price for the daily rice, which often causes quarrels. The sellers sit by their wares without shouting or praising. The visitors come to the market, look at the wares, touch them, weigh them in their hands, and finally ask about the price. 437

If the prices seems to them to be too high, they put the wares back in their places and go their way without making any remarks.

Coins are used for paying. The Khasi have the following names for the English-Indian money: 436

782 One month before the celebration rice liquor is poured into a hollowed-
796 out gourd bottle in the house of the S'iem sad and offered before the rishot Blei as a 'suit' (sacrifice of drink). This is done in order to in-
[769] form the u Suidnia long S'iem (the spirit of the first great-uncle on
[774] the maternal side who was the first king), the ka Blei long S'iem (the divinity who makes kings kings) and the u Blei Shillong (the god Shillong), that preparations are now being made for the Puja and that they might help with them.

776 The u Blei Shillong plays the chief part in the whole ceremony. He enjoys great reverence among the Khasi, especially in the kingdom Nongkrem and Nylliem. Not far from Nongkrem a mountain
[133] peak rises 6,450 feet above the sea. It is the highest peak in the Khasi Mountains, its name is "Shillong Peak." Here is the seat of
[773] the god Shillong. The story goes that a man appeared here once, who said he /894/ had not been born but came of himself (shu long). He also told the people that they would receive the kings, S'iem. So the god who lives here was called u Shu long (he who is out of him-
[103] self), from which the Europeans gradually made the word Shillong and also gave this name to the splendid mountain station in the heart of the Khasi Mountains.

796 After the S'iem sad has determined exactly the day of the cere-
782 monies, the news of this is sent out two weeks prior to the ceremony to the village elders (Rangbah shnong). This is done on the day of the large market (jau duh), which takes place every eighth day. Two weeks after is the pom blang, also on the day of the large market, which is discussed below.

The way in which the invitation is issued is interesting. A num-
[211] ber of chains about an ell long are made of bamboo rings. These are called kyrwoh. One of these is sent to the oldest man of each village. Since the Khasi formerly had no script, this bamboo chain always served as a sign of invitation or summons to the S'iem for ceremonies, or of danger of war, or of court matters and such. The degree of urgency was shown by the form of the links; in the case of great haste the form was longish and flat, otherwise correspondingly rounder. The sending of the kyrwoh to the village elders serves now as a sign of invitation for the whole village to appear at the ceremonies and at the same time as a demand to gather together the prescribed sacri-
[651] ficial gifts. Each of the six districts, into which the kingdom Nongkrem is divided, must furnish a goat; each individual hut must pay a tax (called pynshok) of one rupee and four annas in addition. Very poor people only have to pay one anna or even only a half. The sacrificial gifts, such as rice, various sacrificial animals, fish, brandy

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it, they have to arrange with the U Kni, who is in this case U Babu of Mawphlang, elder brother of the Myntri, U Mama who represents this clan on the State organisation. Payment is made in money which is distributed to the different houses of the Kur. There is, however, Ri Kynti land of another kind, individual property which can be sold absolutely. It may be noted here that no rent is paid to the State or the British Government for the Ri Raid, Ri Kynti or other lands in Mawphlang, or in general in other Khasi States. The revenue of the State is derived from tolls levied on commodities sold in market places and also from fines and other minor sources.

The fundamental social and economic unit among Khasis is therefore the family house and the extended family associated with it; the Kur represents a later stage in its expansion. Marriage sets up new relations but does not disturb this basic structure of Khasi Society.

thereafter, the British negotiated treaties with all the Khasi states, the last treaty being signed in 1862. It was contracted that the chiefs would be subject to the authority of a resident political agent, whose duties would involve maintaining law and order, judging cases of heinous crimes, approving the popular selection of any new chief, and exercising control over certain categories of natural resources. Khasis were guaranteed noninterference in their customary way of life, and they were not then, nor are they now, taxed. Most Khasis, as opposed to Jaintias, were never an integral part of British India, but they did undergo social change as a result of British presence. To summarize Mills (n.d.): (1) The British introduced the potato, which the Khasis rapidly took up as a cash crop for marketing as far as Calcutta. The intensive specialization exhausted the soil and made for ever-poorer crops. (2) Christian missionaries made large numbers of converts, and there arose the difficult question of whether a Christian should inherit property that traditionally was earmarked for her performance of non-Christian religious rituals. (3) About 1864 the British transferred their headquarters from Cherrapunji to Shillong. When they made Shillong the capital of the entire state of Assam, non-Khasis flocked to it, land values soared, and the concept of private property became increasingly important. Khasis began to marry with members of other ethnic groups, which introduced confusion into traditional social patterns. These problems were exacerbated during World War II, when Shillong and its environs enjoyed enormous economic prosperity. One notable aftermath of this affluence has been the accelerated enrollments in schools and colleges. Hundreds of Khasis now have the B.A., M.A., and even the Ph.D. degree. • With the Independence of India in 1947, and under the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India (which was drafted by a Khasi), the United Khasi–Jaintia Hills District became a Part B, or Autonomous, Tribal Area, to be governed by a District Council composed largely of Khasis and Jaintias, and responsible not to the Legislature of Assam, but to the Governor of Assam as agent of the President of India. The native-state system and the chiefs still exist, and the District Council finds it difficult to effect legislation which is neither offensive to regional custom nor a simple blueprint of ill-fitting all-India legislation. The major political schism at this time is between Jaintias, who are accustomed to centralized authority and taxation, and Khasis, who resist the notion of taxation to support the work of a central District Council. [Cf. Gait 1926; Aitchison 1931; Bhuyan 1949; Morris 1910.]

175 619 648 [726] [651]• [177] 177 648 [244] [439] [134] [797] [428] [635] [633] [167] [563] [423] [873] 648 642 [651] [563] [113]

SETTLEMENT PATTERN AND HOUSING. **Settlement pattern.** Khasis live sedentarily in named, nucleated, and unplanned villages which are situated just below hill summits to avoid strong winds but still be defensible, and which usually include a de-

361 [312]

another. In other words, a state is not a fixed territorial entity. In the early twentieth century, the most populous of the 25 chiefdoms, Khyrim, contained 36,833 persons occupying 7,859 houses in 372 villages, and the least populous, Nonglwai, contained 246 persons occupying 53 houses in 3 villages. Fifteen of the chiefdoms were headed by a *syiem* (chief), three by a *lyngdoh* (priest), six by a sirdar, and one by a *wahadadar*. These leaders all had executive and judicial functions, but a chief's authority was limited in that he had to obtain the approval of his executive council before acting. The other leaders were subject to a similar limitation. A chief maintained a small police force. His major sources of revenue were market tolls, fines, and, more recently, income from licenses to distill rice whisky. Succession to a ruling role in the larger states traditionally involved election by members of a lineage that had a hereditary right to elect, from among members of a lineage that had the hereditary right to rule. In British times, the elective basis was broadened, differentially in the various states, even to the point of popular elections. [Cf. Aitchison 1931; Lyngdoh 1952.] **Social stratification.** The three classes of lineage are the nobles, the commoners, and the slaves or servants. This stratification applies only to the recruitment to office in the native-state system, for there is no hypergamy, and in a village assembly everyone has equal voice. The noble lineages have the hereditary right to fill from among their male members roles such as village or state priest, councilor to a chief, or elector of a chief. The few lineages which today are remembered as slave or servant lineages had the inherited obligation to render special services to a chief's household. There is no Khasi term for "commoner." Every lineage other than a noble or a slave lineage is a commoner lineage, and the commoner lineages are in the majority. **Warfare.** Warfare was suppressed by the British, and little is known for certain about its traditional forms. The tactics which confronted the British were the ambush and the guerrilla raid. Traditional goals included taking heads from other Khasis and capturing women from the valleys.

RELIGION. **Major and indigenous religions.** A Welsh Calvinistic Methodist missionary penetrated into Cherrapunji in 1832, and the work that he began continues to this day. His society, which has since become the Welsh Presbyterian Foreign Mission, introduced writing, village primary schools, a high school, a theological seminary, and a hospital. Competing missionaries followed, and by 1914 some Shillong Khasis were puzzling over the tenets not only of traditional Hinduism and Islam but also of the Buddhists, Brahmo Samaj, Arya Samaj, and Unitarians (Roy 1914). By the 1920s, missionaries of the Church of God and the Seventh Day Adventists were

241 464 2·10 **Labour and Wages:** It has already been mentioned above that a large number of people subsist on labour—agricultural as well as non-agricultural. Owners of big orchards employ labourers for clearing of their orchards twice or thrice a year, plucking and transporting of produce to markets. Paddy cultivators with large farm engage labourers for ploughing and hoeing of fields, sowing, harvesting and threshing of paddy. It should be mentioned that due to the peculiar agricultural practices prevalent in the district, the input of labourer even for paddy cultivation is higher than that in any of the plains district of the State, which compels cultivators to hire 241 labourer even for small paddy fields. In the case of cash crops, wages 464 are usually paid in cash and for food crops it is paid in cash and kind more usually in kind. Wage rates for males and females are different 465 which generally vary from Rs.1.50 to 1.25 for males and Rs.1.25 to Re. 1.00 for females.

There are, however, numerous instances of engaging agricultural labourers at the rate of Re. 0.50 per day. During the scarcity months the well-to-do farmers advance loans to the poorer section of the people on condition that repayment will have to be made by rendering labour on wage basis at the rate of Re. 0.50 per day in the creditors farms whenever their services are demanded. Thus whenever their services are demanded the poor people have to work in creditor's farm even at the cost of ruining their own cultivation.

There are other instances where the labourers are paid less then usual wages. In some villages where there is dearth of work all the agricultural labourers gather together at some specified place early in the morning. The well-to-do farmers go there and through bargaining manage to engage the number of hands they want at very low rates Similar bidding down of wages of non-agricultural labourers is also. prevalent whenever demand for labour is very low.

Land utilisation and cropping

423 659 2. 11 **Land tenure system.**—The district of United K-J. Hills is not cadastrally surveyed and so far as land tenure is concerned, there is no rigid unifrom or regular system worth the name, with the exception of those lands under the control of the State Forest Department and the Local District Council. There are different kinds of land under different systems, though for obvious reasons no reliabe statistics can be gathered in respect of them. As far as land tenure system is concerned, Jowai subdivision is conspicuously different from Shillong subdivision. However, land in the whole district can be broadly placed under the following categories:—

423 [692] [651] I. **Rikynti or Private land.**—They are private land belonging to certain clans or families but not to an individual according to Khasi custom. Neither Syiem nor District Couucil has got any power over them except the judicial powers to settle any dispute that may arise over any plot of land. The only connection is with the State Forests Department in respect of private protected forests who collects royalty from the produces of these forests if they are used for purposes of

423 659 648 (c) **Green Blocks.**—These green forests are private forest but protected and managed by the Department for the purpose of retaining the source of water supply, etc., for the town of Shillong. They are five in number covering a total area of 2·24 sq. miles and located around the town of Shillong itself.

(d) **Private protected Forests.**—There are private forests protected by the State Government for the growth of forests, but the owner can use them provided permission is given by the Deputy Commissioner. There are 16 numbers of them scattered here and there throughout the whole of Shillong subdivision only and covering an area of more than 24·79 sq. miles.

V. In Jowai subdivision there are four blocks of land covering a total area of 44·9 sq. miles reserved for sports and games. They are under the control of the State Revenue Department.

VI. **Raj lands of unclassed State Protected Forests.**—This includes the Raj lands under the District Council mentioned in item 2 above. These forests were formerly under the control of the State Forest Department but are now transferred to the District Council. They are scattered throughout the whole of the district and cover an area of more than 73·05 sq. miles. There are altogether 52 numbers of such forests, 30 of them with an area of more than 57·05 sq. miles and are in Shillong subdivision and 22 numbers with an area of 16 sq. miles are in Jowai subdivision.

423 651 648 2.11.1. **Revenue collected by the District Council (Land Revenue System).**—(a) In Jowai subdivision all the Raj lands mentioned in item 9 above which have been brought under wet paddy cultivation are subjected to payment of annual revenue. The revenues is fixed according to the fertility of the soil. There are three classes—class 1 hali lands, class 11 hali lands and class 111 hali lands, and the revenue varies according to these three classes of lands from Re. 0.50 to Re. 0.87 per bigha per year. There are altogether 28,683 plots covering a total area of 19,709 acres. No such revenue exists in Shillong subdivision.

(b) In both subdivisions there are also lands under special settlement accompanied by revenue.

Shillong subdivision.—An annual revenue is collected for the building site only from Saitsohpen villages, where there are 169 holdings covering a total area of 86 acres with a total revenue of Rs. 505·72 per year.

Seven pieces of land in Burnihat used by the United Fruit Company covering a total area of 182·09 acres. The revenue collected per year is Rs. 550·81. A revenue of Rs. 2. only per year is collected from two building sites at Nongpoh station whose area is 29,861 sq ft.

Jowai subdivision.—An area of 131 acres of land in Lakadong and Satpator Dolloiship and under orange cultivation is also subjected to payment of annual revenue of Rs. 255·44.

There is another 102·21 acres of land in Subaeherra in the Indo Pakistan Border which is under tea plantation since prepartition period. After partition this area has fallen into India. But at present though tea plantation is still carried on, the revenue has never been collected at all since the company has gone to Pakistan. 423 651 648

There are also in Jowai subdivision 15 numbers of building land sites, mostly leased out to non-Khasi individuals and institutions. They include building for churches, schools, hospitals and training classes, etc. The total area comes to 397·39 acres with a total revenue of Rs.216·84 per year. The period of the lease varies from one plot to another.

A part from land revenue, all the houses in Jowai subdivision are subjected to taxation. The rate is fixed at Rs.2 to Rs.6 per year according to the economic condition of the village. In Shillong subdivision only 31 Sirdarships which were formerly known as British Sirdarships have to pay house tax.

2.12 **Land Utilisation.**—The following table gives the area under important crops. 241 433

TABLE 2

	1958-59	
Winter rice	37,800	acres.
Maize	8,000	,,
Other cereals	1,000	,,
Potato	21,600	,,
Chillies	350	,,
Sweet potato	5,400	,,
Linseed	180	,,
Cotton	50	,,
Tobacco	600	,,
Arecanut	13,455	,,
Orange	20,000	,,
Betel-leaf	10,000	
Total	1,18,435	acres.

439 East Pakistan to which the people in the border areas were entitled
648 in the strength of various trade agreements of the Government of
458 India with the authorities in Pakistan, were also scanty. The situation was still more aggravated due to the stringent measures adopted by authorities in Pakistan, on the plea of prevention of smuggling, in December, 1957 when the entire border trade virtually came to a standstill.

245 This chaos in border economy has resulted in widespread unem-
439 ployment among the border people. There being no market for the
458 produce, the owners ceased to take proper care of their orchards and
464 plantations. As a result thousands of labourers who were employed in the orchards were thrown out of employment. Similar was the condition of those who were employed in the transportation of various commodities such as merchandise of trade etc. A large section of the people engaged in collection of limestone were also rendered unemployed with the set back received by the trade in limestone with East Pakistan. Due to stoppage of trans-border trade, petty traders engaged in distributive trade, also suffered.

423 Many of the border people possessing paddy lands and orchards in
648 areas that are located in Pakistan had to abandon them. The following
458 table will show the amount of land lying in Pakistan belonging to the farmer in the selected villages of border area :—

TABLE A-2

Name of villages	Area of land lost through partition		
	No. of familes who possessed land in Pakistan	Area (acres)	Average per family (acres)
1. Nongjri	87	357·86	4·11
2. Shella	9	175·40	19·40
3. Bholaganj	15	108·00	7·20
4. Balat	2	13·50	6·75
5. Mawdon	nil	..	..
6. Lyngkhat	5	85·00	17·00
7. Darrang	16	568·75	35·55
8. Syndai	3	43·33	14·44
9. Amki	8	40·67	5·08
10. Umshnong	nil	..	..

[167] A few families who did not have any landed interest on this side
[65] of the border were reported to have migrated to Pakistan. Most of the families are even now paying tax to East Pakistan authorities even though they are not getting any returns because they do not want to lose their right on land.

3.3 **Measures so far taken.**—Since 1947, there has been constant demand from border people for relief and rehabilitation. Government undertook various measures to alleviate their difficulties. Government's attention to border problem has however, not been adequate. The common feeling of border people was that whenever the border problem deteriorated due to some adverse measures adopted by East Pakistan authorities more attention was attracted, on the other hand, when the situation eased comparatively the Government's vigilance also slackened. 648 659

The various measures so far adopted by Government in border area, have been fully discussed and commented upon by the Border Rehabilitation Committee. These need no repetition here. But a few points emerging from the grievances put forward by the villagers during our investigation are noted below.

On the question of the schemes linked up with the issue of diversification of agriculture in border area, a large section of the border people skilled in the maintenance and operation of orchards are opposed to the idea of a complete switch over from cash crops to food crops in the cultivation of which they have no adequate experience. Moreover, there is the problem of getting adequate land in the vicinity for wet paddy cultivation. Indeed, having lost the market for some of the cash crops, some cultivators are trying to increase cultivation of paddy and other valuable crops on their own initiative wherever suitable land is available. But the problem of getting adequate funds for reclamation and improvement of land has stood as a serious handicap to them. Financial assistance to the needy and willing cultivators for reclamation works and taking up of more minor irrigation projects is very necessary. 178 241 433

As regards Government loans granted to cultivators, people complained that apart from being inadequate they are often untimely. As a result the people, needy as they are, utilise the amount for meeting their day to day consumption expenses. 241 651 659

There have been complaints that various improved seeds supplied by Government are of very inferior quality leading to waste of time and money of the poor people. The Department of Agriculture should not only check the quality of the seeds before issue but should also see that the seed are properly used by inexperienced cultivators who are newly taking up cultivation of these crops.

With the opening up of a few vital P. W. D. Roads transport of border products to Shillong and other places has greatly been facilitated but the problem of transporting them from remote interiors to the various local points on P. W. D. roads still remains unsolved. While during winter season these places may be negotiated by a man on foot up and down the steep gradients, during rainy seasons these tracks become slippery, the streams and rivulets are overflooded and it becomes impossible for a man to cross them, thus isolating the villages from each other leading to closure of trade and all other activities between villages. Properly planned test relief schemes for construction of feeder roads and bridges linking up these villages, will, apart from giving some works to the people alleviate much of the difficulties of transportation of agricultural produce. 489 491 659

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homicide), in which their own subjects are concerned. All cases of homicide, or matters involving disputes between people belonging to different States, are adjudicated upon by the British officers of the District. 648 692

In the British possessions, the principal sources of revenue are rents and royalties derived from mineral workings, such as lime and coal; rents of fisheries; and a house tax, which varies, according to situation and productiveness of the soil, from R. 1 to Rs. 2 or from 2s. to 4s. per house. A land tax is only levied in tracts where the Government possesses the actual proprietary right in the soil. Again, in the Khási States, the British Government, which undertakes the management of the natural products of the country, such as waste lands, coal, lime, etc., receives a half-share of the rents realized from these sources, the other half belonging to the native Chiefs. The other sources of revenue of the Chiefs are market dues, cesses levied occasionally for State purposes, and fines realized in the administration of justice. 648 651 [135]

HISTORY.—Our first knowledge of the Khási Hills dates from the time when the East India Company acquired the *diwání* of Bengal in 1765. The adjoining District of Sylhet was included in that grant; but as the hillmen had never acknowledged any subjection to the Muhammadans, so they still remained absolutely independent of the British power. However, the necessities of commerce, arising from their monopoly of the lime quarries, from which Bengal has drawn its supply from time immemorial, soon attracted European enterprise to the country. As stated in the Appendix to the Statistical Account of Sylhet, the control of the profits of the lime trade formed in early times one of the most valuable advantages attaching to the position of the official in charge of that District. It does not appear that any European had been attracted to reside in the Hills before 1826. In that year the Rájá of Nongklao entered into an agreement with certain European British subjects to allow a road to be made across the Hills, to connect the Surmá valley with Assam Proper. These Europeans took up their residence at Nongklao. Misunderstandings unfortunately arose, and, partly by the misconduct of some of their Bengáli followers, the growing discontent and apprehension were fanned into a flame. On 4th April 1829 the Khásiás rose in arms and massacred Lieutenants Bedingfield and Burlton, together with some sepoys. This led to military operations on the part of the British Government, which 175 648 [135] [487]

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175 continued through several cold seasons. The last of the Khásí chiefs
648 did not tender his submission until 1833. In February 1835 Colonel Lister was appointed Political Agent in the Khásí Hills, with his headquarters at Nongklao; and the command of the Sylhet Light Infantry battalion was also placed in his hands. The civil and military functions remained conjoined until 1854, when Mr. Hudson was deputed to Cherrá Púnjí, which had then become the administrative headquarters, with the title of Junior Assistant-Commissioner, shortly afterwards changed to the present one of Deputy-Commissioner.

The Jáintiá Hills came into British possession in 1835. In that year, as related in the Statistical Account of Sylhet District, the last Rájá of Jáintiá, Indra Singh, was deposed on the charge of complicity with certain of his tribesmen who had carried off three British subjects and barbarously immolated them at the shrine of Kálí. The portion of his territory that lay in the plains was forthwith annexed to the District of Sylhet; and the Rájá voluntarily resigned the hill portion, of which we also took possession. A pension of Rs. 500 a month, or £600 a year, was granted to the deposed Rájá for life, and he resided peaceably in Sylhet until
175 his death in 1861. When we first assumed the administration of
648 the Hills, no change was made in the indigenous revenue system,
651 which consisted simply of the payment of a he-goat once a year from each village. The Rájá had derived the greater portion of his income from his possessions in the plains. In 1860, however, a house tax was imposed, the highest limit of which was one rupee (2s.) per house. This measure of direct taxation was very obnoxious to the Syntengs. They formed irregular gatherings, at which they resolved to resist payment, or at least to refuse to pay except through their own hereditary Rájá, who was then alive. An outbreak took place in the early part of the year, but it was promptly suppressed; the people were disarmed, and matters went on much as usual. But the disarmament was imperfect, and it soon became evident that the Syntengs were profoundly disaffected to our rule. Towards the close of 1860 new taxation was introduced, in the form of judicial stamps; and the elaborate schedules of the new income tax were thrust into the hands of persons, few of whom could read the language in which they were framed. Imposts also were
175 introduced upon fisheries and the right to cut timber. Con-
764 siderable feeling had been excited by a sanitary prohibition against
648

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burning the dead in the immediate neighbourhood of the village of Jowái. Suspicions of insurrection arose during the months of October and November 1861. In the beginning of January 1862 alarming reports were received from various quarters, and the first serious outbreak occurred on the 17th of that month. This was occasioned by the interference of a *dárogá*, or native police official, with a religious ceremony that took place at the village of Jalong. In such ceremonies dancing with arms is held essential; and the *dárogá* took upon himself to disarm the dancers. This was the signal for a general rising. The *thánd* or police station at Jowái was burned to the ground; the garrison of sepoys was besieged, and all show of British authority was swept away throughout the Hills. The Syntengs fought bravely for their independence, and at first were successful in cutting off several small detachments of police and sepoys. Their weapons were bows and arrows. In common with the other hill tribes of the North-East Frontier, their chief defence consisted in a series of strong stockades, one behind another; and the paths leading to their villages were thickly planted with *pánjis*, or little bamboo spikes, stuck in the ground like caltrops. The battalion of sepoys stationed in the Hills was rendered inefficient by sickness. At last it was found necessary to move a regular army, including an elephant battery and two regiments of Sikhs, into the country in order to quell the revolt. Colonel Dunsford was in chief command. He was accompanied by Major Haughton, the Governor-General's Agent on the North-East Frontier, and Captain Morton, the Deputy-Commissioner of the Khási and Jáintiá Hills, who acted in a political capacity. The operations were tedious and harassing. The rebel chiefs were captured one by one, and the District was declared to be finally pacified in March 1863, after the rebellion had lasted for fifteen months. The special Commission appointed under Act xi. of 1857, for the trial of offenders in the Jáintiá Hills, was dissolved in December 1863. The causes of the rebellion were thus summed up by Major Haughton in an official despatch to the Government of Bengal:—'Taxation was introduced without the supervision with which such a measure should have been accompanied. It was followed up by fresh taxation and rumours of other taxes, also by fiscal and other innovations, which tended to disturb the minds of the people, without any counterpoise such as might have resulted from the continued presence of a European officer.' The Syntengs, like the

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There is considerable trade carried on in
245 *tezpát* or bay leaves, the trees being extensively cultivated by the
439 inhabitants of the lower slopes of the hills on the Sylhet border. The finest oranges in India are also grown in groves in the same tract, the value of the trade in which is now (1876) estimated to amount
237 to £3760 per annum. Lac is gathered by the Míkírs in the Jáintiá
439 Hills, but not to any great extent. Bees are both domesticated and found wild, and an extensive trade in bees-wax is carried on,
231 the amount exported being estimated at from three hundred to four hundred *maunds* annually. The whole of the Hills, where there is
233 no forest, and where the land is not under cultivation, consists of
621 rich pasture grounds, which are held in common by the villagers
651 and pay no revenue to Government.

137 The forests of the Khásí and Jáintiá Hills do not yield much profit either to the British Government or to the chiefs. There
[648] are no reserved forests in the District; and according to the Deputy-Conservator, the total area of unreserved forest, *i.e.* of land covered
[659] with timber trees and not at present required for *júm* cultivation, is only 150 square miles. The trees found are chiefly pine, and those classified as 'mixed upper hill forests.' At an elevation of 3000 feet, the Pinus Kasia predominates over all other vegetation and forms almost pure pine forests. It is found also at lower heights, and there attains larger dimensions, but only in the case of isolated trees. The 'mixed upper hill forests' are confined to a series of sacred groves, which clothe the topmost ridge of the watershed between the valleys of the Brahmaputra and Surmá. The characteristic trees are those of a temperate vegetation, chiefly consisting of oaks, chestnuts, magnolia, Schima, Cinnamomum, Prunus, Engelhardtia, etc. There are also numerous other timber trees, including the valuable *sál* (Shorea robusta) and the rubber tree (Ficus elastica); but on the whole the Khásí Hills are remarkable for the
[648] absence of forest. Early in 1874-75 measures were taken to put a stop to the indiscriminate burning of the forests, and the Siems and
[659] village officers were made responsible for the conservancy of the sacred groves. These endeavours have met with some success; but it is a very difficult thing to change the habits of a population, or to induce uncivilised tribes to incur a small temporary inconvenience for the sake of future benefit. The total area directly protected from fire during the year 1875-76 is returned at 3618 acres; the expenditure was Rs. 122; and in ten prosecutions for breaches of forest rules, twenty-three persons were convicted.

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249 648 65 at Dárjiling, who reported unfavourably on them. They have since been made over to the Siem of Nongkhlao, who is responsible for their being kept clear of weeds and protected against fire. Up to the close of 1875–76 the total expenditure had been Rs. 672, or £67, 4s. 0d.

136 FERÆ NATURÆ.—Tigers, elephants, rhinoceros, buffaloes, mithans or wild cows, bears, leopards, wolves, jackals, foxes, wild hog, and several kinds of deer abound in the Khási and Jáintiá Hills. The [224] [648] expense of keeping down tigers in the shape of Government rewards amounted to £44, 10s. 0d. in 1869-70. The rate of reward now paid is Rs. 25 or £2, 10s. 0d. per head. No rewards have ever [165] been given for the destruction of venomous serpents. The number of deaths from wild beasts and snake-bite reported to the police amounted to 28 in 1866-67, 18 in 1867-68, 16 in 1868-69, and 26 in 1869-70. The small game found in the Hills consists of black partridges, hill partridges, quails, ducks, teal, snipe, and woodcocks. 226 439 The *mahsir* fish is caught in the rivers. No regular trade is carried on in the skins of wild animals; and, except in the case of wild elephants, the *feræ naturæ* are not made to contribute towards the wealth of the people.

224 648 651 ELEPHANTS.—Wild elephants are found in the lower ranges of the hills, and in the gorges opening on the valleys of the Surma and the Brahmaputra. Each State in the Khási Hills and each doliship in the Jáintiá Hills constitutes a separate hunting circle or *mahál*. In the Khási States the conditions of elephant hunting are governed by rules framed in 1874-75 by the Chief Commissioner, and approved by the Government of India. These rules provide, (1) that the British Government will make no claim to royalty on account of elephants caught in the Khási Hills; (2) that one half of the proceeds of the sale of each elephant caught shall be paid over to the chief whose State forms the *mahál*, and the other half retained by Government; (3) that if a chief wishes to hunt elephants on his own account, the *mahál* composed of his State shall be reserved from sale, and a special arrangement shall be made with him on the basis that half the proceeds of the hunting shall accrue to Government. A special form of hunting licence in accordance with these rules has been settled by the Chief Commissioner. In the Jáintiá Hills, as being British territory, the ordinary Assam rules are in force, in accordance with which leases of the *mahál* are sold at intervals of two years to the highest bidder at

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public auction. The Assam rules, as revised in 1875-76, reserve to Government the right of pre-emption at the price of Rs. 600 (£60) in the case of every elephant captured between 6 feet and 7½ feet in height. For every elephant caught that is not purchased by Government, a royalty of Rs. 100 (£10) is payable within one month after capture. Certain methods of hunting are prohibited.

POPULATION.—Prior to 1871 no attempts had been made at a Census of the Khásí and Jaintia Hills, but in 1870 the Deputy-Commissioner approximately estimated the population at 118,905 souls. In 1871, at the time of the Bengal Census, operations were carried out [illegible] the Khasia Hills, but not on a [illegible] system [illegible] in Regulation Districts. In the Khásí Hills, the Census of the various petty States was effected through the chiefs; in British territory in the Jaintia Hills, the *dolóis* conducted the enumeration; while at Shillong and other places under direct administration, the work was done by officers attached to the Deputy-Commissioner's office. The results are thus returned:—Adults—males, 39,882; and females, 44,278: total adults, 84,160. Children under twelve years of age—males, 28,611; and females, 28,947: total children, 57,558. Total males, 68,493; total females, 73,225. Grand total, 141,858; proportion of males, 48·36 per cent. The total area of the District, according to the latest returns, is 6157 square miles, which gives an average density of 23 persons per square mile. The number of villages is 1003; the number of houses, 30,553, of which 330 are returned as of the better sort.

ETHNICAL DIVISION OF THE PEOPLE.—The population consists almost exclusively of aboriginal tribes and races, viz. Khásiás and Synteng (who form the bulk of the inhabitants of the Khásí and Jaintia Hills respectively), Mikirs, Garos, and Kukis. The only other dwellers in the Hills are the European officials and military officers at Shillong and Cherra Punji, with their native servants and followers, a few Bengáli officials, and the sepoys of a regiment of native infantry. The classification of the inhabitants according to religion shows:—141,283 aborigines; 365 Hindus; 60 Muhammadans; and 108 Christians, including 33 Europeans, 8 Eurasians, and 85 native converts.

THE KHASIAS.—The following sketch of the physical characteristics and customs of the Khásiás has been kindly furnished to me by the Deputy-Commissioner, Colonel Rivett; it is reproduced almost verbatim from his report and on his authority:—

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316 and in 1851 transferred their rights to Mr. W. Moran, of Calcutta.
648 The last lessee, however, preferred buying his coal to mining it; and
655 Government, seeing that the mines were not worked in a satisfactory manner, resumed the beds in 1859, and advertised them for letting. No person, however, has since come forward to work the mine. The Lá-kí-dong coal mines are the sole property of Government, which in the year 1848 leased the mining rights to Mr. B. W. Darley. This gentleman in the following year made over his lease to Messrs. Gisborne & Co., who soon afterwards transferred it to Mr. Moran. This gentleman surrendered his lease in 1859, when the mines were advertised for letting, but no one has since come forward and undertaken to work the coal. Between 1850 and 1856, while the mines were worked, about 5100 tons of coal were extracted for exportation.

In Mr. Allen's Report, dated 1858, it is stated that the coal of the Hills then found a ready sale at Dacca and elsewhere at 8 *dnnás* per *mound*; and that the average quantity exported into Bengal was about 25,000 *maunds*, valued at Rs. 12,500, or £1250. According to the [435] local trade reports, this exportation would appear to have entirely died out; but the Bengal registration returns record 2965 *maunds* of coal, valued at Rs. 1482, or £148, at the rate of 8 *dnnás* per *mound*, as exported from Sylhet District in the year 1876-77. This supply was probably derived from the Khásí and Jáintiá Hills.

317 Limestone Quarries.—A limestone formation prevails more or less along the whole southern face of the Khásí and Jáintiá Hills. The quarries are chiefly situated in the beds and on the banks of rivers and water-courses.

The limestone-quarrying localities in the Khásí Hills are the following twenty-six:—(1) Bha-wál; (2) Bor-syr-maí; (3) By-rang, *alias* Wáh-long; (4) Bor-púnjí; (5) Chún-jurá; (6) Dholai; (7) Dwárá; (8) Ichhámati; (9) Lúm-dih-long; (10) Lan-grin; (11) Long-long; (12) Máo-nai; (13) Máo-don; (14) Máo-kár-tillá; (15) Mohesh-khálí; (16) Máo-long; (17) No-kriá; (18) Páthériá; (19) Ram-seng-rai-skeh; (20) Soh-lai; (21) Silai; (22) Shellá; (23) Tanglá; (24) Tang-wai; (25) Um-song; (26) Um-tymá. In the Jáintiá Hills, the following seven:—(1) Chún-chhorá; (2) Lámápushi; (3) Lithóng; (4) Myrli Púnjí; (5) Nongthá-long; (6) Rúpnáth; (7) Rowai. The supply of limestone is literally inexhaustible. The wants of Calcutta and of the whole of Lower Bengal
648 have been satisfied from these hills from time immemorial. During
• 651 the year 1876-77 the estimated export was 1,600,000 *maunds*, valued
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at Rs. 480,000, or £48,000, and the revenue derived by Government from the quarries was Rs. 63,266, or £6,326. In addition, the Khási Chiefs receive a revenue from this source of more than £1000. 608 651 317

IRON.—The smelting of iron was once the chief industry in the Khási Hills, and a considerable quantity of the metal used to be exported into Sylhet, both in the crude and the manufactured state. Recently, however, this industry has almost died out, in the face of the competition of the superior article imported from England and sold in the plains at a cheaper rate. The indigenous methods of extracting, washing, and smelting the ore have been minutely described by Professor Oldham. The following description is taken from Mr. Allen's Report, dated 1878, at which date the annual export of smelted iron was estimated at 45,000 *maunds*, valued at Rs. 67,500, or £6750, at the rate of Rs. 1. 8 per *maund*:—'The ore is said to be most abundant and of the best quality in the State of Khyrim, especially at the villages of Nongkrim and Noyandri. A few iron articles, such as *dáos* or hill knives, *hoddis* or mattocks, spear and arrow-heads, are manufactured by the Khási smiths in the Hills; but the greater bulk of the smelted iron is sent to the plains for sale in circular lumps weighing about 4 or 5 *seers*. These lumps, called *bird*, sell at Chhatak for from Rs. 1. 4 to Rs. 1. 6 per *maund*. The best iron, however, which is beaten into bars called *pati*, sells for from Rs. 1. 10 to Rs. 1. 12 per *maund*. Khási iron is preferred to English, in consequence of its greater malleability. It is much used by the native boat-builders of Sylhet and the neighbouring Districts to make fastenings for the timbers of their boats. When brought into the market, it is more than half dross, and it is this circumstance which renders the iron trade unprofitable. The cost of carriage from the Hills to the plains is about 6 *dands* per *maund*; and the traders, who are all Khásiás themselves, allow that they get an average profit of only 2 *dands* per *maund*.' The tables of trade for 1876-77 return no smelted iron as exported from the Hills, but Rs. 7000 of iron implements exported, against nails and ironmongery imported to the value of Rs. 18,000. 178 [324] [435] [501] 125 439

THE MANUFACTURES of the District, besides iron, consist of coarse cotton and *eendie* cloth, plain silver work, rude implements of husbandry, netted bags made of the fibre of the pine-apple, common pottery, and mats and baskets. With the exception of the 28 433

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434 equine Rs. 25,000, or £2,500, twenty years earlier. The supply of 439 piece goods is derived directly from Dacca.

A curious feature in the trade of the Khásí and Jaintia Hills is 441 the usual absence of Marwari or Jain merchants—an enterprising class, who are found everywhere else in Assam, even to the farthest corners of the Brahmaputra valley. There are a few Bengáli traders from Dacca, who do not take up a permanent residence in the Hills; but the great bulk of the business remains in the hands of the natives, who themselves reap the profits and are said to be keen at a bargain.

The principal markets at the foot of the Hills, on the Sylhet side, 443 are Dholiganj, Chhatak, Lakhai, Jaintiapur, Jaflong, Phaithlaik, Mawlong, Pomrik, Shelpur, Mollighat, and Longpit. Many of these are situated within the Sylhet boundary; but they are all frequented by Khásí and Syntengi traders, who spend their whole time in passing from one market village to another. The markets or *haats* are held at regular intervals of eight days (for the Khásí week consists of this number), with the object of permitting the same people to visit the different places in rotation.

Capital.—Such little capital as the people possess is either 454 employed in trade or lent out upon interest. In a few cases it is hoarded and allowed to remain idle. In small loan transactions, whether articles are pledged as security or not, the interest usually charged is one *dinár* in the rupee per month, or 15 per cent. per annum. In larger transactions the rate of interest per month varies from 1 to 3 per cent. Nothing is charged in the name of interest where lands are mortgaged as security for a loan, as the land is always made over to the mortgagee in lieu thereof, and he is only bound to restore it on payment of the amount lent. In petty advances for agricultural purposes, part of the produce is given by the cultivator at something less than market rates in repayment of the amount borrowed. Limestone quarrying is the only industry in 316 the District carried on by European agency. 648

Revenue and Expenditure.—The revenue realized from the 648 Khásí and Jaintia Hills has increased considerably in recent years. 651 As the Khásí States are treated as semi-independent, the receipts from that portion of the District are altogether insignificant, with the exception of the dues levied from the lime quarries. The larger part of the revenue in Jaintia is derived from the house tax. For 1875, when British authority was first established in the Khásí Hills,

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the total revenue is returned at £77, and the expenditure at £1060. By the year 1860-61, in which date the Jaintia Hills were included, the revenue was £1194, and the expenditure was £1151. There has since been a large increase on both sides of the account, and the District now more than pays for the cost of administration. The budget estimate for 1890-91 calculated on a revenue of £1090, and an expenditure of £7633. In 1875, according to the figures of the Deputy-Commissioner, the revenue was £13,383, and the expenditure £9650. The Assam Administration Report for 1875-76 returns the gross revenue at Rs. 108,008, or £10,800, of which only Rs. 341 was derived from the land, and the total cost of civil and police of all kinds at Rs. 64,731, or £6473, showing an apparent surplus of Rs. 43,087, or £4308. This increase of revenue is the more satisfactory, considering that the Khasis still remain practically exempt.

Sources of Revenue.—The main sources of revenue are the following:—(1) Mineral revenue; (2) House tax. The mineral revenue consists of the rents derived from the lime quarries, which are leased for terms of years to the highest bidder at public auction after due advertisement. All such leases have to receive the sanction of the Chief Commissioner. In 1876-77 the total revenue from lime quarries was Rs. 67,266, or £6,726, 10s., being a decrease of Rs. 7630 on the previous year. The house tax is levied throughout the whole of the Jaintia Hills, and in the British possessions in the Khasi Hills. The assessment is made with the headmen of each village, who is termed a *dolloi* or *sardar*. It is his duty to submit every year to the Deputy-Commissioner or subdivisional officer a list of the number of houses in his village, accounting for all changes since the previous assessment. Thereupon the Deputy-Commissioner or subdivisional officer makes the assessment according to the rate fixed for the village, which is either R. 1 (2s.) or Rs. 2 (4s.) per house, and submits the proceedings for the confirmation of the Chief Commissioner. In 1876-77 the house tax realized a total revenue of Rs. 13,714, or £1371, 8s., of which Rs. 10,631 came from the Jaintia Hills. The land revenue is derived from a few petty estates lying at the foot of the Jaintia Hills, which were transferred from the control of Sylhet District on the adjustment of the boundary between the hills and plains portion of Jaintia. The settlement of these estates was made in 1876-77, for twenty years, in the same manner as the settlement of the other Jaintia

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estates. In addition, there are a few small holdings at Jowai, in the Jaintia Hills, which have been settled, after measurement, under the Assam Settlement Rules for a term of ten years. In 1876-77 the total land revenue amounted to Rs. 223, or £22, 6s., derived from 24 estates. Other small items of revenue are derived from fisheries, forests, stamps, and excise. In 1876-77 the rent of the fishery *mahâl* was Rs. 3321, or £332, 1s.; forests produced Rs. 773, or £77, 6s., of which Rs. 652 represents fees on the exportation of timber from the Khâsi States to the District of Kâmrûp. In the same year stamps yielded Rs. 16,121, or £1612, 1s.; but this total includes the sale of postage and telegraph stamps, as well as the sum credited for service stamps. Excise produced Rs. 1216, or £121, 12s. The stamps are sold at the Treasury; there are no licensed vendors. The excise laws are applied only within the limits of the Stations of Shillong and Cherrî Pûnjî, and throughout the Jâintiâ Hills. There are no licensed distilleries in the District, and the free manufacture of country spirit is permitted both in the dependent States and in British territory; what is manufactured is mainly for home consumption. In 1876-77 there were in all 18 licenses in force—4 for imported spirituous and fermented liquors, 1 each for *mâhûl* and *chwala*, 2 for *gânjâ*, and 10 for opium. The Khâsîs and Syntengs are not addicted to the use of intoxicating drugs, which is confined to the people from the plains residing on British territory.

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COURTS, ETC.—In the year 1835 there were two Magisterial and Civil Courts in the District. By 1850 the number had risen to four, which continues to the present time. The maximum distance of any village from the nearest court is 65 miles, the average distance is 25 miles. In 1835 one European official was permanently stationed in the District; in 1850, two; in 1862 and 1869, again one. In the last-mentioned year the subdivision of Jowai was opened in the Jâintiâ Hills; and there have since been two officers in the District, a Deputy-Commissioner at Shillong, and an Assistant at Jowai. The total number of magistrates in three. These figures, of course, are exclusive of the staff of the Local Government, which has been established at Shillong since 1874.

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POLICE STATISTICS.—For police purposes, the Khâsî and Jâintiâ Hills are divided into the three following *thânâs* or police circles, with two outposts:—(1) Shillong, with an outpost at Nongpoh; (2) Jowai; (3) Cherrî Pûnjî, with an outpost at Thâlârgâlâ, at the foot of the southern hills.

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648 797 871 of parents undergoing considerable privations rather than deny their children education; and in many families it has become a matter of ordinary routine to send the children to school. This only refers to the younger children; for after boys have attained their fourteenth or fifteenth year, their parents grow impatient for their pecuniary 858 assistance. It is the custom among the Khásiás to inure very young children to work, so that they may earn enough to support themselves as soon as ever they can manage strap and basket. It is common for a boy to realize from ten *pice* to five *dands* a day for his parents; and it is considered sufficient sacrifice for the latter to have kept him at school up to his fourteenth year.'

631 651 433 KHASI STATES.—The following is a list of the nineteen semi-independent Khási States or Democracies, with the particulars of information that are available for each, taken from the Assam Administration Report for 1875-76:—

(1) BHAWAL or WARRAIL.—Name of Siem, U Raman Singh, age in 1876, 16 years; approximate population of State, 369; estimated gross revenue—from market dues, Rs. 10; from *mélikhná* on lime quarry, Rs. 16,000—total, Rs. 16,010, or £1601; products, rice, millet, *tezpát* or bay leaves, black pepper, Piper nigrum; minerals, lime.

(2) CHERRA or SOHRAI.—Siem, U Hájan Máník, aged 42; population, 8060; revenue—from market dues, Rs. 7000; judicial fines, Rs. 150; *mélikhná* on lime quarry, Rs. 200; *semindári* holding in Sylhet, Rs. 1300—total, Rs. 8650, or £865; products, cotton, millet, betel nuts, *pán*, oranges, black pepper, Piper nigrum, chillies, turmeric, ginger, and honey; manufactures, bamboo mats and bamboo baskets; minerals, lime, iron, and coal.

(3) SHELLA.—Wihuddán, U Jírdi, aged 29, and U Rái Singh, aged 35, of whom the former can read and write both Khási and Bengáli a little; population, 5511; revenue—from market dues, Rs. 300; judicial fines, Rs. 400—total, Rs. 700, or £70; products, oranges, betel-nuts, and pine-apples; manufactures, bamboo mats and bamboo baskets; minerals, lime and coal.

(4) KHYRIM or NONG-KREM.—Siem, U Kher Singh, aged 32; population, 10,504; revenue—from pension allowed by the British Government, Rs. 1800; market dues, Rs. 9000; judicial fines, Rs. 400; *mélikhná* on lime quarry, Rs. 1800; contributions for State purposes, Rs. 1000—total, Rs. 10,100, or £1010; products, rice, cotton, millet, 'Job's tears,' cassia-bark, cinnamon, *mélikhná*

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(a kind of turnip), betel-nuts, Indian corn, *pân*, oranges, lac, potatoes, black pepper, Piper nigrum, chillies, turmeric, ginger, and honey; manufactures, cotton cloth, *eriâ* silk cloth, *dâos* or hill knives, *hoddîs* or mattocks, knives, hammers, crowbars, wedges, mats, and baskets; minerals, lime, coal, and iron. 631 651 433

(5) MYLIEH or MYL-LIEH.—Siem, U Hain Mânik, aged 32; population, 12,266; revenue—from market dues, Rs. 250; State contributions, Rs. 1200; judicial fines, Rs. 223; forest rent, Rs. 15—total, Rs. 1690, or £169; products, cinnamon, sugar-cane, rice, 'Job's tears,' Indian corn, *sohphlang*, ginger, and millet; manufactures, *dâos* and baskets; minerals, iron.

(6) LANGRIN or LYNG-KIN.—Siem, U Bor, aged 25; population, 1867; revenue—from market dues, Rs. 150; *mâhâd* on lime quarry, Rs. 700; forest rent, Rs. 60; fisheries, Rs. 50—total, Rs. 960, or £96; products, rice, millet, chillies, turmeric, and ginger; minerals, lime and coal.

(7) MAHARAM.—Siem, Amlhar Singh, aged 38; population, 6157, revenue—from State contributions, Rs. 400; market dues, Rs. 120; forest revenue, Rs. 55; *mâhâd* on lime quarry, Rs. 350; judicial fines, Rs. 120—total, Rs. 1045, or £104, 10s.; products, 'Job's tears,' black pepper, Piper nigrum, chillies, bay leaves, honey, Indian corn, *sohphlang*, cinnamon, caoutchouc, sugar-cane, and ginger; manufactures, *dâos*, *hoddîs*, and hammers; minerals, iron and lime.

(8) MAOYAND or MAO-YONG.—Siem, U Jit Singh, aged 33; population, 1238; revenue—from lime quarries, Rs. 252. 8; house tax, Rs. 9; rent of fisheries, Rs. 50; judicial fines, Rs. 100; State contributions, Rs. 90—total, Rs. 501. 8, or £50, 3s.; products, honey, bees-wax, cotton, rice, millet, 'Job's tears,' *sohphlang*; manufactures, mats; minerals, lime.

(9) MAO-SYW-RAM.—Siem, U Rammar, aged 29; population, 947; revenue—from market dues, Rs. 180; State contributions of an uncertain nature, Rs. 150—total, Rs. 330, or £33; products, potatoes, millet, chillies, turmeric, honey, and ginger; manufactures, mats; minerals, lime, coal, and iron.

(10) MALAI-SOH-MAT or MALAKHAMAT.—Siem, U Shongram Singh, aged 33; population, 299; revenue from market dues, Rs. 50; *mâhâd* on lime quarry, Rs. 750; State contributions, Rs. 50; forest revenue, Rs. 50—total, Rs. 900, or £90; products, rice, millet, 'Job's tears,' ginger, chillies, turmeric, bay leaves, betel-nuts, and oranges; manufactures, mats; minerals, lime.

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(11) MARIAO.—Siem, U Ron Singh, aged 28; population, 2306; revenue—from market dues, Rs. 25; State contributions, Rs. 100—total, Rs. 125, or £12, 10s.; products, rice, millet, 'Job's tears,' ginger, chillies, turmeric, *sohphlang*, Indian corn, sugar-cane; manufactures, mats.

(12) NOBOSOPHOH or NONG-SOH-PHOH.—Siem, U Ksan, aged 28; population, 961; revenue—from market dues, Rs. 100; judicial fines, Rs. 30—total, Rs. 130, or £13; products, rice, 'Job's tears,' Indian corn, *sohphlang*, potatoes; manufactures, mats.

(13) NONGKLAO.—Siem, Kine Singh, aged 32; population, 6924; revenue—from market dues, Rs. 600; State contributions, Rs. 800; judicial fines, Rs. 50; forest dues, Rs. 600; rent of State land, Rs. 10—total, Rs. 2060, or £206; products, potatoes, rice, millet, 'Job's tears,' Indian corn, *sohphlang*, caoutchouc, cinnamon; manufactures, cotton, *hoddlis*, *dhos*, and crowbars; minerals, lime.

(14) NONG-SPUNG.—Siem, U Step Singh, aged 53 (died in 1876); population, 871; revenue, from commission as *mauzádár* in Kámrúp District, Rs. 100, or £10; products, rice, potatoes, honey, beeswax; manufactures, *dhos*; minerals, iron.

(15) NONG-STAIN.—Siem, U Dan Singh, aged 38; population, 7763; revenue—from market dues, Rs. 1000; lime quarries, Rs. 900; State contributions, Rs. 1500; judicial fines, Rs. 1000—total, Rs. 4400, or £440; products, lac, honey, bees-wax, honey, caoutchouc, bay leaves, rice, millet, 'Job's tears,' sugar-cane, chillies, *sohphlang*; manufactures, earthenware, pottery, cotton cloth, *dhos*, and spades; minerals, lime and coal.

(16) RAM-BRAI.—Siem, U Amar Singh, aged 38, who can read and write Assamese a little; population, 1737; revenue—from market dues, Rs. 40; judicial fines, Rs. 150; forest rent, Rs. 250—total, Rs. 440, or £44; products, rice, 'Job's tears,' ginger, chillies, millet, and Indian corn; manufactures, cotton cloth.

(17) JI-RANG.—Sardár, U Moit Singh, aged 33; population, 581; revenue, *nil*; products, rice, millet, ginger, chillies, 'Job's tears,' caoutchouc; manufactures, cotton cloth.

(18) DWARA NONG-TYR-MEN.—Sardár, U Jantrai, aged 29; population, 378; revenue—from *mulikhed* on lime quarry, Rs. 1680; fees for cutting timber, Rs. 35—total, Rs. 1715, or £171, 10s.; products, rice, millet, oranges, betel-nuts, *pán*, and turmeric; manufactures, small net; minerals, lime.

(19) MAO-DOM.—Sardár, U Mohor Singh, aged 29; population,

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253; revenue, *nil;* products, millet, oranges, betel-nuts, jack-fruit, pine-apples, chillies, and bay leaves; minerals, lime and coal. 631 651 •

These statistics give the following totals for the nineteen Khási States or Democracies:—Population, 78,992; revenue, Rs. 49,856. 8, or £4985, 13s., of which Rs. 22,732. 8, or £2273, 5s., is derived from lime quarries. The aggregate area of these States is elsewhere returned at 3997 square miles. 433

SUBDIVISIONAL ADMINISTRATION.—The twenty-five fiscal divisions which constitute the Jáintiá Hills are regarded as forming a separate Subdivision, under the charge of an Assistant-Commissioner, whose headquarters are at the village of Jowái. This Subdivision dates from 1869, for which year the separate cost of administration is returned at £1091. The following statistics, referring only to the Jáintiá Hills, are taken from the Report of the Assistant-Commissioner for 1876-77; for the rest, all information is included in the preceding sections of this Statistical Account, which apply generally to the whole District of the Khási and Jáintiá Hills. In the year 1876-77 the total revenue of the Jowái Subdivision amounted to Rs. 12,713, or £1271, 6s., of which Rs. 10,654 was derived from the house tax. The total value of the exports from the Subdivision was estimated at Rs. 197,575, or £19,757, 10s., including 16,000 *maunds* of raw cotton, valued at Rs. 120,000, and 5490 *maunds* of lac, valued at Rs. 54,900. The total value of the imports was estimated at Rs. 345,600, or £34,560, chiefly cotton and woollen cloth from Bengal, valued at Rs. 81,000; silk cloth from Assam, Rs. 25,000; 15,000 *maunds* of rice, value Rs. 60,000; 6229 loads of dried fish, value Rs. 35,344; 5287 *maunds* of salt, value Rs. 37,009; 609 *maunds* of tobacco, value Rs. 44,872. These figures are compiled from reports submitted by the police stationed at Jarfin, on the Jáintiápur road, and from information collected from the chief traders of Jowái. They show an apparent balance of trade against the Subdivision amounting to Rs. 148,025, or £14,802, 10s. The population of Jowái and the surrounding villages is 4502 souls. 63 648 651

MEDICAL ASPECTS—METEOROLOGY.—The climate of the Khási and Jáintiá Hills is mild and equable. At Shillong the thermometer within doors ranges from about 58° in December to 70° or 75° in the hottest months. Out of doors the dry bulb varies between about 38° in the cold weather and 80° in May and June. A temperature higher than 80° is seldom recorded. During the three years ending 132

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REPORT ON RURAL ECONOMIC SURVEY IN UNITED KHASI-JAINTIA HILLS.

CHAPTER I

Introduction

1.1 Objective.—Consequent upon restrictions on trade emerging in the border markets after partition, the economic condition of the people living in the border areas of the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills district adjoining East Pakistan, suffered a serious set back. There was demands from the people all over the border areas for adequate relief as well as rehabilitation of their shattered economy. From time to time Government took up various relief measures but, for adopting a planned programme of relief and rehabilitation in an integrated and sustained manner, the need for a comprehensive economic survey of the district with special emphasis on the border areas, came to the forefront. Accordingly at the instance of Government of Assam, the Department of Economics and Statistics addressed itself to the task of launching an economic survey in the district.

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The programme consisted of an intensive study of the conditions in selected villages and was designed to meet the following objectives:— (I) To obtain a broad picture of the rural economic conditions in the district and in particular, to provide factual data on the various aspects of agriculture and farm economics, *e. g.*, land tenure, size and distribution of agricultural holdings and farms, fragmentation, income and expenditures occupation and the like. Data should be collected also on the occupations and industries which play subsidiary roles in the economy of the district. (II) Special emphasis need be given on border areas, in order to bring to light the measure of suffering of the border people as a result of partition and to suggest various long and short term measures for ameliorating the condition of the border people. (III) The survey should adequately cover the Community Development areas also in order that it becomes possible to make an assessment of the impact of the community development programmes on the socio-economic life of the people in these areas.

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1.2 Coverage and Period.—The field work of the survey was started on 28th February, 1958 and was completed by the middle of July, 1958 thus requiring nearly four and a half months.

1.3 Design of the Survey.—For a study of border economy a purposive selection of ten villages in the border area, which were known to be important from the point of view of production and distributive trade in pre-partition days was made. Similarly for project areas a total of eight villages two from each of the four blocks in the district—where intensive development programmes were taken up, were selected. These villages were selected by the Project Officers themselves. Apart from these, a random sample of ten villages from all over the district were taken. Thus a total of 28 villages all over district—10 from border areas, 8 from project areas and 10 from general areas were selected for

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12 654 investigation. The sample size of ten villages only out of a total 1802 villages in the general areas of the district is indeed, very small, which nevertheless had to be restricted to commensurate with the availability of time and field staff at our disposal and in consideration of the difficulty of conducting fild work in the remote interiors of a hill district, where communication facilities lack so badly.

1.4 Plan of Investigation.—Plan of investigation may be considered as consisting of two parts *viz.*—

(1) The general investigation was confined mainly to the border areas. This consisted in holding meeting of villagers in the selected villages, discusing the various important problems facing them and recording their suggestions for improving their lot. Apart from meeting the villagers, problems were also discussed with the important people of the locality.

Schedules—Schedule I.—This schedule was meant for collection of village statistics relating to various facilities offered by the village, namely—communication, health, sanitation, education, marketing, cottage industries and the like.

Schedule I.—This was the most important schedule for collection of information on the economic aspect of the families. This was canvassed in all the familes of the selected villages. The most important item on which informations were collected through this schedule were :—

Block V: Demographic particulars of household, occupational and enployment pattern.

Block VI: Household indebtedness.

Block VII: Iand-holding and farm.

Block VIII & IX: Implements and Livestock.

Block X & XI: Household expenditure.

Blook XII: Receipts and disbursement of the household.

Schedule III.—listing of household and occupation.

Special Schedule.—This was canvassed in all the households of the villages selected from Community Project areas. This was intended to collect informaion on adoption by households of various improved agricultural pratices advocated through the Community Development programme and for assessment of the extent of public participation and co-operation in developmental works. Information was also collected on agricultural asistance received by households.

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1.5 **Method of collection of data and field organisation.**—For the collection of data personal interview method was adopted. Actual investigation in the villages was done by Inspectors and Primary Investigators of the Department of Economics and Statistics. The District Statistical Officer was put directly in-charge of the investigation. He maintained general supervision, direction and control of their day-to-day work. The officers from headquarters also exercised overall supervision and inspection. Before starting the actual field work, the Director of Statistics, apart from personally visiting the border areas and selecting the villages for investigation in consultation with knowledgeable people of the locality, addressed letters to the District Council for rendering all necessary help who in turn instructed all the Members of the District Council and village Sirdars to extend their co-operation to the field staff. We take the opportunity of recording here our deep appreciation of the valuable help we received from various officials and non-officials in the conduct of the survey.

It is obvious that the success of such a survey under specially difficult situations faced in the inaccessible and backward hilly areas, entirely depends on the intellectual honesty and technical efficiency of the field staff as well as on their ability to call up the required extent of co-operation from all concerned. Though we could reasonably claim a high standard as regards the former category of requirement, the latter nevertheless presented itself as a tremendously difficult task as, the villagers—almost free from any tax or other obligation to the government—could not but receive this work with feelings of suspicion and scanned in it a device to levy some taxes or other by the government, in as much as it did involve some questions relating to land, income and expenditure, etc. It cost us a large measure of effort to keep the fiend of suspicion at bay. We had to held meetings in each village and devote considerable time to convince the people that this was in no way connected with any taxation measure.

1.6 **Interim Report.**—In view of the urgency of the border problem, particularly the setting up of Border Rehabilitation Committee for suggesting ways and means for rehabilitation of the border economy, we hastened to submit an interim report on border economy to the committee on the basis of investigation completed only in five border villages in April, 1958.

243 on from October to December. For millets the seed is sown in April-May and reaped about six months later. Maize is usually sown in
244 April-May and ripens in August - September. For potato, generally three crops are raised in the district ; the first is sown in December-January and harvested in April-May, the second is sown in February-March and is gathered in June-July and the third is sown in July-August and is harvested in November-December.

245 For oranges and betelnut the orchards are cleared of weeds twice a year. Harvesting of orange takes place from October to January. Betelnut ripens at the beginning of the year and are collected between February and May.

241 2.6.3 **Agricultural implements.**—The usual agricultural implements are a hoe, a sickle, three or four kinds of doas, a harrow, a crowbar which is used for the construction of irrigation channels, 'sierras' and winnowing baskets. Bullock drawn plough is used in wet paddy cultivation in parts of Jowai subdivision and in Bhoi area and resembles the one in use in the plains of the State.

2. 6. 4. **General cultural practices.**—The cultivators mostly adhere to their indigenous practices of cultivation. Rotation of crops is not widely used. Cultivation of rice is usually done by broadcasting the seeds though transplanting is also in vogue in some areas. Mixed cropping is widely practised. Cultivation by making terraces in the hill slopes is gaining popularity in the district.

433 2.7 **Cottage Industries.**—Cottage Industries, it appears, have not
326 found very great favour among the people of the district. A few
[323] families here and there manufacture iron implements, earthenware,
[285] pottery, baskets, mats and jewellery. In striking contrast with other
[306] districts weaving of cotton clothes is rare among the Khasis. The
[286] Mikirs in Bhoi area and in areas adjoining North Cachar and Mikir
[171] Hills practice it only for their domestic consumption. At present, the
[654] Government is trying to popularise weaving in the district and this
[231] has been welcomed by the Khasis. Among other cottage industries production of eri cocoon in the northern part of the district adjoining Kamrup district and bee keeping throughout the district are worth mentioning.

142 2.8 **The People.**—The Khasis and Jaintias are a short sturdy
147 race distinct from the neighbouring hill tribes. By nature they are
441 hardy and laborious and in respect of manual labour, they are free
563 from any inhibition. Side by side with the Khasis live the Mikirs, Garos and Nepalis who form respectively 7.32 percent, 3.38 percent and 3·27 per cent of the total rural population. Besides, there are plains people who are mainly concentrated in the town of Shillong. In the marketing centres of the border area there are a large number of Bengali Hindus who dominate the bulk of the trade in the border areas.

241 2.9 **Occupation.**—The greater portion of the population of the
[433] district subsists on cultivation. More than 75 percent of the rural
[461] households are predominantly agricultural. The industrious Khasi agriculturists males and females have a high regard for hard labour

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extent of waste land, some is cultivated in a manner resembling the *júm* system,—successive crops are grown on a patch of land till the soil is exhausted, and then another spot is selected, where the same process is repeated afresh, but without anything that can be called a *júmid* tenure. Any renting of land is exceptional, and there are no recognised rates of rent. The Deputy-Commissioner, however, states that an ordinary rate for rented land would be from two to three shillings a year for as much land as an individual can cultivate with his own hands. 423 [427]

MANURE is generally used in raising rice and potatoes. It is seldom purchased, the dung and litter of the cattle and other animals about the house being generally utilized for the purpose. For rice fields a little less than half a ton of manure, but for potatoes upwards of two tons, is required per acre. Manure, if purchased, would cost from 2s. 7½d. to 3s. 9d. per acre for rice land, and for potato fields from 12s. to 18s. per acre. 243 244 [435]

IRRIGATION for agricultural purposes is regularly practised. Water is brought to the land by means of channels cut from the numerous hill streams in the neighbourhood of the fields. Wells and tanks are unknown. The work of irrigation by means of these channels is very easily carried on, and at a very trifling outlay. Rotation of crops is not practised in the Hills. 312

MODEL FARM.—The Shillong Model Farm, established in 1873, has not proved a success. Experiments tried with wheat give some hope that cold-weather crops may profitably be introduced into the Hills. Two new varieties of potato—'red roughs' and 'pheasant's eye'—were successfully introduced in 1873-74; but these are not looked upon favourably by the Khásiás, as they only give one crop in the year, whereas the ordinary variety yields two crops. Several fruit-trees have been planted out, including apple, pear, cherry, nectarine, and plum; and the tables of the European residents are supplied with vegetables from the garden attached to the farm. A *Manual of Potato Cultivation* compiled by the superintendent has been translated into Assamese, and copies have been distributed among the adjoining Hill tribes. The general failure in all the agricultural experiments is attributed partly to the unfitness of the soil, and still more to the ravages of white ants and other insects peculiar to the Hills. The attempts to improve the indigenous breeds of live stock have been equally unfortunate. During the two years 1874-76 the sum of Rs. 1744 177 244 648 654 177 245 648 654 [134] [136] 231 648 654

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231 (£174, 8s.) was expended on the purchase of stock, including
648 cattle, sheep, and pigs from England. Even native cattle at the
elevation of Shillong fall off very much in the months of January
• 654 and February from want of forage, and the Khásiás at this season
generally drive them to lower slopes. But one of the chief objects
in keeping cattle at the farm was to obtain manure; and *mati kaldi*
(Phaseolus radiatus) was grown for them, cut green, and stocked
[731] for food. On this they did very well. In 1875-76, however, cattle
disease broke out on the farm in a very virulent shape. Out of 39
cattle attacked, only 7, or 18 per cent., recovered, and the animals
imported from England all died. There was also a heavy mortality
in that year among the sheep and pigs. The following are the
financial results for the two years:—1874-75—Expenditure, Rs.
13,297. 0. 5; receipts, Rs. 309. 2. 6: deficit, Rs. 12,987. 13. 11.
1875-76—Expenditure, Rs. 11,445. 8. 6; receipts, Rs. 1036. 15. 0:
deficit, Rs. 10,408. 9. 6. Total deficit, Rs. 23,396. 7. 5, or £2339,
648 13s. In view of these figures the Chief Commissioner has deter-
mined to restrict farming operations to small experiments in irri-
654 gated *rabi* crops, and, as a measure of economy, to dispense with
the services of the superintendent. The future expenditure on the
farm will be insignificant. The establishment now (1877) consists
of a *sardár* on Rs. 50 and a *chaukidár* on Rs. 10 a month (total,
£72 a year), under the direct control of the Deputy-Conservator of
Forests; the total number of live-stock is 64 head.

731 NATURAL CALAMITIES, such as blights, floods, or droughts, are
not common in the District, although the crops in the Jáintiá Hills
sometimes suffer from insects. So far as the Deputy-Commissioner
is able to ascertain, no destruction of crops affecting the general
harvest has occurred within the experience of the present generation.
[435] During the Orissa famine of 1866-67 the maximum price of common
rice reached £1 per hundredweight, but no such distress was felt as
to require Government relief operations. The price just mentioned
was certainly equal to the rates prevalent in the famine-stricken
localities; but prices always rule high in the Hills, and afford no just
criterion of the state of affairs among the general body of the
inhabitants. Distress was only felt by a small portion of the
population, chiefly the Bengálí immigrants residing in the District,
262 who are generally a well-to-do class. The Hill people, as a rule, do
244 not eat potatoes, which they grow only for export; but in case of
actual famine, they might fall back upon this crop for their own food
439 supply.

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surface soil of the hills upon which the houses are built.' Cholera 364
is attributed to importation from the plains. [164]

SANITATION.—It has already been stated that the ordinary Khási villages are absolutely destitute of any conservancy arrangements. The sanitary condition, however, of the Station of Shillong is described as 'good.' The natural drainage is excellent. Drinking water is obtained chiefly from hill streams, and on the banks of these streams conservancy regulations are enforced. The water is conducted into the town by means of an artificial water-course. Public latrines have been erected at suitable places inside the town. The staff of sweepers and *beldárs* keeps the roads and drains clean, and the surface generally free from pollution. The sanitary condition of the cantonment is reported to be very good.

CHARITABLE DISPENSARY.—There is one dispensary in the Khási 743
and Jáintiá Hills—at the Station of Shillong. It was first opened in 1872, and considerable additions have since been made to the building. During 1874 a total sum of Rs. 775. 8, or £77, 11s., was expended on new constructions and repairs, towards which the European residents subscribed Rs. 329. There is now accommodation for 10 male and 3 female patients. In that year the total number of in-door patients treated was 44, of whom 9 died, giving a death-rate of 20·45 per cent. The number of out-door patients was 529, or an average daily attendance of 7·8. Of the grand total of patients of both classes, only 31 were females. The largest number [164]
of cases are classified under the headings of fevers and constipation and colic. The total income during the year was Rs. 1598. 13. 9, or £159, 17s. 8d., of which Government contributed Rs. 300 for salaries, and an additional Rs. 300 as a special allowance. The European subscriptions amounted to Rs. 869, as compared with Rs. 33 subscribed by natives. The total expenditure was Rs. 1187. 15. 6, or £118, 16s., leaving a balance in hand of Rs. 410. 14. 3. The chief items were Rs. 480 for salaries of medical subordinates, Rs. 160 for servants' wages, and Rs. 222 for dieting of sick. There were 53 minor operations performed during the year.

The people of the District have no system of medicine of their own, 755
and no native practitioners. Their sole remedies consist in divination and incantation. The only indigenous native drugs are chireta and 278
wormwood. As stated in a previous paragraph, a small cinchona 648
plantation was established by Government at Nongkiao in 1867. 654.

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The coal strata at the former place are calculated to extend over one-third of a square mile, with an average thickness of from 3 feet 6 inches to 4 feet; and the yield of the coal, if it could be worked, is estimated at 447,000 tons. At the latter spot the area of the coal-fields is computed to extend over 0·394 of a square mile, and the estimated yield of the mineral is about 1,100,000 tons. The coal at Cherrá Pánji and at Lá-ká-dong is in quality equal to some English coals; it is quick in its action, and consequently would generate steam rapidly; it cakes well, but gives out a large amount of smoke; it is fragile and easily broken. From the absence of that definite structure which produces the planes of division known to English miners as 'backs,' or joints in the coal, it breaks into unsymmetrical pieces, and consequently does not stow well. From its composition, quick combustion, and irregular cleavage, it is estimated to be from 5 to 7 per cent. inferior to good English coal; but as a gas-producing coal it is considered superior to English produce, both as regards quality and purity of the gas. It is also calculated to yield a good quality of coke. The market value of coal found in the Khási and Jáintiá Hills cannot be given with any approach to accuracy, owing to the expense of labour in the Hills and of carriage to the plains. The Station of Shillong, which consumes coal as fuel, derives its supply from the coal beds at *Mio-teh-lyrkár*, 18 miles distant, and the price is as high as £3 per ton. Lá-ká-dong is within six miles of Borghát, a village on an affluent of the Surmá, which is accessible all the year round by boats of 300 maunds, or 18 tons burden; but at present only coolie-carriage is available between Lá-ká-dong and Borghát.

The following is a brief history of the mines at Cherrá Pánji in the Khási Hills, and at Lá-ká-dong in the Jáintiá Hills:—Government holds a perpetual lease of the Cherrá Pánji mines from the chief or Siem of Cherrá, conditionally upon the payment by Government of a royalty of two shillings and eightpence for every five tons of coal quarried and removed from the mine, and also upon the terms that the people of Cherrá shall be permitted to work the beds on their own account. In 1844 Government transferred its right to work the mine to Captain Engledue, then agent of the Peninsular and Oriental Company, for a period of twenty years; but in the following year this gentleman, with the permission of Government, made over his lease to Messrs. Gisborne & Co., of Calcutta, who worked the mine for about two years,

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316 and in 1851 transferred their rights to Mr. W. Mawn, of Calcutta.
648 The last lessee, however, preferred buying his coal to mining it; and
• 655 Government, seeing that the mines were not worked in a satisfactory manner, resumed the beds in 1859, and advertised them for letting. No person, however, has since come forward to work the mine. The Lá-kí-dong coal mines are the sole property of Government, which in the year 1848 leased the mining rights to Mr. B. W. Dorley. This gentleman in the following year made over his lease to Messrs. Gisborne & Co., who soon afterwards transferred it to Mr. Mawn. This gentleman surrendered his lease in 1859, when the mines were advertised for letting, but no one has since come forward and undertaken to work the coal. Between 1850 and 1856, while the mines were worked, about 5100 tons of coal were extracted for exportation.

In Mr. Allen's Report, dated 1858, it is stated that the coal of the Hills then found a ready sale at Dacca and elsewhere at 8 *annás per maund*; and that the average quantity exported into Bengal was about 25,000 *maunds*, valued at Rs. 10,500, or £1050. According to the
[435] local trade exports, this exportation would appear to have entirely died out; but the Bengal registration returns record 2563 *maunds* of coal, valued at Rs. 1282, or £128, at the rate of 8 *annás per maund*, as exported from Sylhet District in the year 1876-77. This supply was probably derived from the Khásí and Jáintiá Hills.

317 LIMESTONE QUARRIES.—A limestone formation prevails more or less along the whole southern face of the Khásí and Jáintiá Hills. The quarries are chiefly situated in the beds and on the banks of rivers and water-courses.

The limestone-quarrying localities in the Khásí Hills are the following twenty-six:—(1) Bha-rá; (2) Ber-ap-mai; (3) Ry-ang, *alias* Wih-long; (4) Ber-pingi; (5) Chóin-jorá; (6) Dhalai; (7) Dwiná; (8) Ichhámati; (9) Lóm-dih-long; (10) Lang-ám; (11) Long-long; (12) Máw-ení; (13) Máw-dow; (14) Máw-kín-ráli; (15) Mahash-khílí; (16) Máw-long; (17) Na-kaid; (18) Pítháiá; (19) Rum-sang-mi-skoh; (20) Sah-lei; (21) Sílai; (22) Shellá; (23) Tangká; (24) Tung-wai; (25) Um-sang; (26) Um-synná. In the Jáintiá Hills, the following seven:—(1) Chóin-ráhaid; (2) Lómpuhi; (3) Lithing; (4) Myth Pínjí; (5) Nangká-long; (6) Rápnáth; (7) Rowai. The supply of limestone is linearly inexhaustible. The towns of Calcutta and of the whole of Lower Bengal
648 have been satisfied from these hills from time immemorial. During
651 the year 1876-77 the estimated export was 1,600,000 *maunds*, valued
317

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648 651

cultivation. In addition, there are a few small holdings at Jowai, in the Jaintia Hills, which have been settled, after measurement, under the Assam Settlement Rules for a term of ten years. In 1876-77 the total land revenue amounted to Rs. 203, or £20, 6s., derived from 24 estates. Other small items of revenue are derived from fisheries, forests, stamps, and excise. In 1876-77 the rent of the fishery *mahâls* was Rs. 3301, or £330, 10.; forests produced Rs. 773, or £77, 6s., of which Rs. 650 represents fees on the exportation of timber from the Khâsi States to the District of Kâmrûp. In the same year stamps yielded Rs. 16,101, or £1610, 10.; but this total includes the sale of postage and telegraph stamps, as well as the sum credited for service stamps. Excise produced Rs. 1206, or £120, 10. The stamps are sold at the Treasury; there are no licensed vendors. The excise laws are applied only within the limits of the Stations of Shillong and Cherrâ Pûnjî, and throughout the Jâintiâ Hills. There are no licensed distilleries in the District, and the free manufacture of country spirit is permitted both in the dependent States and in British territory; what is manufactured is mostly for home consumption. In 1876-77 there were in all 18 licenses in force—4 for imported spirituous and fermented liquors, 1 each for *mahûl* and *chawda*, 2 for *ganjâ*, and 10 for opium. The Khâsîs and Synteng are not addicted to the use of intoxicating drugs, which is confined to the people from the plains residing on British territory.

648 655 [274] 276

COURTS, ETC.—In the year 1835 there were two Magisterial and Civil Courts in the District. By 1872 the number had risen to four, which continues to the present time. The maximum distance of any village from the nearest court is 65 miles, the average distance is 25 miles. In 1835 one European official was permanently stationed in the District; in 1872, two; in 1882 and 1889, again one. In the last-mentioned year the subdivision of Jowai was opened in the Jâintiâ Hills; and there have since been two officers in the District, a Deputy-Commissioner at Shillong, and an Assistant at Jowai. The total number of magistrates is three. These figures, of course, are exclusive of the staff of the Local Government, which has been established at Shillong since 1874.

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POLICE STATISTICS.—For police purposes, the Khâsî and Jâintiâ Hills are divided into the three following *thânâs* or police circles, with two outposts:—(1) Shillong, with an outpost at Nongpoh; (2) Jowai; (3) Cherrâ Pûnjî, with an outpost at Thâriâ-ghât, at the foot of the southern hills.

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favourably with an average attendance of 694 in the preceding year. Of the pupils on the rolls, 130 were professed Christians, 36 Hindus, and 1058 Khásis. The total cost was Rs. 7107. 11. 6, or £711. 15s. 3d., towards which Government contributed Rs. 3108. The average cost of each pupil was Rs. 8. 7. 3, or 17s., of which Rs. 3. 14. 7 represents the share paid by Government. The chief failure among the Khásis is stated by the Inspector to be in arithmetic. Four primary scholarships were awarded during the year by the Deputy-Commissioner, on the recommendation of the secretary to the Mission. These scholarships are of the value of Rs. 3 a month, or £3. 12s. a year, and are tenable for two years.

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(658)

Middle English Schools.—There were four schools of this class during the year under report, with 397 pupils on the rolls, and an average daily attendance of 243. The total expenditure was Rs. 4581. 13. 9, or £458. 4s., towards which Government contributed Rs. 1478. 8; the average cost of each pupil was Rs. 18. 13. 7, or £1. 17s. 8d.

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Female Instruction.—The Khási and Jaintia Hills is the only District of Assam, and one of the very few throughout all India, in which female instruction can be said to exist. During 1874-75 the number of girls attending the schools increased from 150 to 300, or by more than 42 per cent., showing 4·7 girls at school to every thousand of the female population, as opposed to 2 in the Province generally. Of this number 24 were taught by Mrs. Hugh Roberts of Cherra Punji, and 18 by Mrs. John Roberts of Shillong. During the year five of the girls were sent out as teachers, of whom one was placed in charge of the Shillong girls' school, which has 25 pupils.

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Normal School.—According to the classification adopted by the Education Department, the institution at Cherra Punji, under the management of the Rev. Hugh Roberts, is described as partly 'Government normal' and partly 'aided English.' In 1874-75 the number of pupils on the rolls was 43, and the average attendance 39. There is a class of 10 girls, and of the 16 teachers turned out during the year, 5 were girls. The total cost was Rs. 4132. 6. 6, almost the whole being paid by Government. The average cost of each pupil was Rs. 109. 0. 3, or £10. 19s., of which Rs. 107. 0. 11 represents the share of Government. The following paragraph, quoted from Mr. Roberts' Report, illustrates what the missionaries have effected, and also the difficulties with which they have to contend:—'Cases have been brought to my notice during the past year

2.2 **Labour and Wages.** It has already been mentioned above that a large number of people subsist on income—agricultural as well as non-agricultural. Owners of big orchards employ labourers for clearing of their orchards twice or thrice a year, plucking and transporting of produce to markets. Public institutions with large farms engage labourers for ploughing and hoeing of fields, sowing, harvesting and threshing of paddy. It should be mentioned that due to the peculiar agricultural practices prevalent in the district, the input of labourers even for paddy cultivation is higher than that in any of the plains districts of the Assam, which compels cultivators to hire labourers even for small paddy fields. In the case of cash crops, wages are usually paid in cash and for food crops it is paid in cash and kind (some results in kind). Wage rates by males and females are different which generally vary from Rs.1.00 to 1.25 for males and Rs.0.50 to Rs.0.60 for females.

There are however, numerous instances of engaging agricultural labourers at the rate of Rs.0.50 per day. During the scanty months the villagers factors advance loans to the poorer section of the people on condition that repayment will have to be made by rendering labour on wage basis at the rate of Rs 0.50 per day in the months when labour intensive work sections are demanded. Thus whenever their services are demanded the poor people have to work in cultivator's farm even at the cost of ruining their own cultivation.

There are other instances where the labourers are paid less than usual wages. In some villages where there is dearth of work all the agricultural labourers gather together at some specified place early in the morning. The cultivator farmers go there and through bargaining manner fix up the number of hands they want at very low rate. Similar trading trends of wages of non-agricultural labourers is also prevalent whenever demand for labour is very low.

Land situation and cropping

2.3 **Land tenure system.**—The district of United K.J. Hills is not substantially surveyed and so far as land tenure is concerned, there is no rigid uniform or regular system worth the name, with the exception of three tracts under the control of the two Forest Departments and the Local District Council. There are different kinds of land under different systems though for Mizoram tenure on relative grounds can be pointed to respect of them. As far as land tenure falling subdivisions, Mizoram land in the whole district can be broadly placed under the following categories:—

1. **Reserved or Private land.**—They are private land belonging to certain clans or families but not to an individual according to Khasi system. District Town and District Council has got any power over these lands the political power to settle any dispute that may arise from any piece of land. The only connection is with the Forest Department in respect of private personal house who collect mostly from the produces of these forests if they are used for purposes of

[illegible] are mostly found in the higher hills region—the area known as [illegible] portion of the district comprise the hamlet [illegible] and [illegible] constitute a major portion of the total area of land in Hilling subdivision. In Jowai subdivision private lands are very small in area, only 5,200 acres in total and they are known as 'Rong'.

II. **Raj Lands.**—They are lands belonging to nobody. It can be held to be a common property which everybody has a right to use, of course with necessary permission from 'Village Raj' in respect of Raj lands under the village or from Topon in respect of Raj lands under the Topon. In case of Raj lands the land continues to be in possession of one as long as he cultivates them but as soon as he ceases cultivation it reverts back to the Raj. The land which is known in the official term as unclaimed Raj lands is also Raj land but is under the control of the District Council.

Raj lands are found scattered whole in the district though the major portion is found in Shillong area and in Jowai area for purpose of cultivation permission is given to any Khasi from any part of the district, while elsewhere in the district, this is confined to the local people only.

III. **Land under Zamindars.**—In War area in both subdivisions there are some big land holders who are locally known as zamindars. There is no record of the number of such zamindars and the amount of land held by them. These lands provide suitable area for cultivation of valuable cash crops like betelnut, sungkha, betelleaf, ginger and other fruits. The price conditions are not so all powerful but it is necessary to enlist the tenants. Generally, the landlord hands out a few land to long term tenants and the rest is either tied up with or in kind and the rate varies according to the fertility of the soil and other considerations from all points of view. On the average, the rate per year is Rs. [illegible] of the station in case of landlord. Rs. [illegible] per acre of land per year (usually 5 to 6 years) in case of betelleaf cultivation and for non public estimation of the land is very hard the produce is shared in the ratio Rs. [illegible] otherwise 1:2 between the landlord and the tenants. For other crops, generally the rate is negligible or nil.

IV. Besides lands under the above main three categories there are also lands which are under control and management of the State Forest Department and the District Council in Control R.F. Hills.

(a) **Forest reserves under Assam Forest Regulation VII, 1891.**—[illegible] There are [illegible] in Government under the control of the State and in Shillong subdivision covering a total area [illegible] acres and [illegible] in Jowai subdivision covering an area of [illegible] acres. The total area is [illegible] acres, i.e., [illegible] sq. miles.

(b) **Forest reserves under executive orders of Government.**—These Reserves are also under the control of the State Department as usual for the purpose of [illegible], etc. There are only five of these within the Shillong subdivision and around the town of Shillong. The total area covered is [illegible] acres only, i.e., about [illegible] sq. miles.

(c) **Green Blocks.**—These green forests are private forest but protected and managed by the Department for the purpose of ensuring the source of water supply, etc., for the town of Shillong. They are five in number covering a total area of 2·26 sq. miles and located around the town of Shillong itself.

(d) **Private protected Forests.**—There are private forests protected by the State Government for the growth of forests, but the owner can use them provided permission is given by the Deputy Commissioner. There are 10 numbers of them scattered here and there throughout the whole of Shillong subdivision only and covering an area of more than 24·71 sq. miles.

V. In Jowai subdivision there are four blocks of land covering a total area of 44·9 sq. miles reserved for sports and games. They are under the control of the State Revenue Department.

VI. **Raj lands of unclassed State Protected Forests.**—This includes the Raj lands under the District Council mentioned in item 3 above. These forests were formerly under the control of the State Forest Department but are now transferred to the District Council. They are scattered throughout the whole of the district and cover an area of more than 19·95 sq. miles. There are altogether 32 numbers of such forests, 20 of them with an area of more than 17·95 sq. miles and are in Shillong subdivision and 12 numbers with an area of 18 sq. miles are in Jowai subdivision.

3.11.1. **Revenue collected by the District Council (Land Revenue System).**—(a) In Jowai subdivision all the Raj lands mentioned in item 9 above which have been brought under wet paddy cultivation are subjected to payment of annual revenue. The revenue is fixed according to the fertility of the soil. There are three classes—class I hali lands, class II hali lands and class III hali lands, and the revenue varies according to these three classes of lands from Rs. 0·50 to Rs. 0·87 per bighe per year. There are altogether 10,000 plus mountings—a total area of 10,000 acres. No cash revenue exists in Shillong subdivision.

(b) In both subdivisions there are also lands under special settlement unoccupied by revenue.

Shillong subdivision.—No annual revenue is collected for the building site only from Sutnelkyn village, where there are 100 bighas Rs. 100·10 per year.

Seven pieces of land in Burnihat used by the United Fruit Company covering a total area of 102·00 acres. The revenue collected per year is Rs. 110·85. A revenue of Rs. 2. only per year is collected from one building area at Nongpoh station whose area is 19,062 sq. ft.

Jowai subdivision.—An area of 131 acres of land in Lekhaling and Sangsiki Gallonia and under orange cultivation is also subjected to payment of annual revenue of Rs. 213·46.

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3.3 Measures so far taken.—Since 1947, there has been constant demand from border people for relief and rehabilitation. Government undertook various measures to alleviate their difficulties. Government's attention to border problem has however, not been adequate. The common feeling of border people was that whenever the border problem developed due to some adverse measure adopted by East Pakistan authorities more attention was attracted, on the other hand, when the situation eased comparatively the Government's vigilance also slackened.

The various measures so far adopted by Government in border area, have been fully discussed and commented upon by the Border Rehabilitation Committee. These need no repetition here. But a few points emerging from the discussions put forward by the villagers during our investigation are noted below.

On the question of the scheme linked up with the issue of diversification of agriculture in border area, a large section of the border people skilled in the maintenance and operation of orchards are opposed to the idea of a complete switch over from cash crops to food crops in the cultivation of which they have no adequate experience. Moreover, there is the problem of getting adequate land in the vicinity for non-public cultivation. Indeed, having lost the market for some of the cash crops, some cultivators are trying to increase cultivation of paddy and other valuable crops on their own initiative whenever suitable land is available. But the problem of getting adequate funds for reclamation and improvement of land has stood as a serious handicap to them. Financial assistance to the needy and willing cultivators for reclamation works and taking up of more minor irrigation projects is very necessary.

As regards Government loans granted to cultivators, people complained that these being inadequate they are often unfairly. As a result the people, needy as they are, suffer the misery for meeting their day to day consumption especially.

There have been complaints that various improved seeds supplied by Government are of very inferior quality leading to waste of time and money of the poor people. The Department of Agriculture should not only check the quality of the seeds before issue but should also see that the seed are properly used by unsophisticated cultivators who are newly taking up cultivation of these crops.

With the opening up of a few vital P. W. D. Roads measures of [illegible] and [illegible] villages and [illegible] have brought [illegible] local points on P. W. D. roads still remains unsolved. While during [illegible] these roads may be negotiated by a truck on fair-weather days the very problem, during rainy season these roads become slippery, the culverts are not finished and it becomes impossible for a truck to cross them, thus isolating the villages from each other leading to loss of trade and of other activities between villages. Property planned and solid schemes for construction of border roads and bridges linking up these villages will, apart from giving some relief to the people, alleviate much of the difficulties of transportation of agricultural produce.

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Regarding supply of foodgrains through fair price shops, the position appeared to be unsatisfactory. Complaints were heard from some villagers coming from the interior villages that they very rarely get rice from fair price shops, which are usually allotted to bigger villages, sometimes too far from the villages tagged to it. Even the people of the villages where there were fair price shops, complained that the supply of rice to these shops was inadequate and the price also was very high which in some areas was even as high as Rs. 21-00 per maund.

In a majority of the villages investigated, water supply and medical facilities were not satisfactory. Malaria, dysentery and other bowel diseases are common in this area.

7.6 The purposes for which the loans were incurred and different sources of loans are summarised in the following table :—

TABLE I-5

Loans by source and purpose

Source	Government Agriculture loan		Other Government loan		Co-operative Societies		Money lender village Mahajan		Owner of land		Others		Total	
Purpose	No.	Amount (Rs)	No.	Amount (Rs)	No.	Amount (Rs)	No.	Amount (Rs)	No.	Amount (Rs)	No.	Amount (Rs)	No.	Amount (Rs)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)
A. Border Area—														
1. Education	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
2. Marriage and other social functions	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
3. Social expenditure	--	--	--	--	--	--	10	15,613	1	75	6	330	18 (5)	16,018 (7)
4. Purchase of draught animal	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	600	--	--	--	--	1	600

TABLE E-5—*contd.*

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)
5. Purchase of land	..	..	3	1,500	..	..	8	3,120	..	..	4	2,500	15 (1)	7,120 (4)
6. Purchase of seed manure and minor irrigation and other agricultural purposes.	835	68,030	..	..	..	..	..	..	14	3,555	1	200	850 (79)	71,840 (63)
7. Construction and purchase of real assets and other durable and semi-durable goods.	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	2,800	..	..	1	1	8 (1)	2,801 (1)
8. Household expense	..	..	6	3,500	..	..	31	16,013	..	..	1	700	38 (3)	20,713 (18)
9. Repayment of debt	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	3,425	..	..	..	..	4	3,425 (3)
10. Others	..	..	..	..	41	10,150	..	..	62	32,945	..	..	13	2,915	116 (11)	46,010 (28)
Total	..	..	675 (72)	68,030 (61)	48 (3)	20,600 (18)	.. ..	.. (13)	1,128 (61)	69,330 (61)	19 (1)	3,970 (3)	37 (7)	60,6 (4)	1088 (100)	1,18,1[illegible] (100)

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TABLE E-5—*contd.*

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)
B. Project area—														
1. Education	—	..	..	...	—	..	1	1,000	..	...	—	..	1 (1)	1,000 (1)
2. Marriage and other social functions	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	1,100	..	..	..	..	2	1,000 (1)
3. Normal maintenance.	..	..	—	..	1	65	115	39,211	12	1,793	2	245	180 (38)	40,314 (45)
4. Purchase of draught animal ..	1	750	2	470	..	..	2	620	—	...	..	...	6 (1)	1,570 (2)
5. Purchase of land	2	480	.	—	..	..	10	3,130	..	..	..	..	12 (2)	3,530 (4)
6. Purchase of seed manure, minor irrigation and other agricultural purposes.	215	19,805	..	..	2	100	73	7,193	5	640	—	..	295 (59)	27,878 (31)
7. Construction and purchase of kutcha and other durable and non durable goods. ..	..	..	1	200	..	..	2	1,000	..	..	..	..	3 (1)	1,200 (1)
8. Livestock improvement. —	..	..	—	..	..	..	13	1,850	—	..	..	..	13 (3)	1,850 (2)
9. Repayment of debt.	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	400	..	..	..	..	1	400 (1)
10. Others.	—	..	9	1,670	3	340	45	8,165	..	..	1	297	58 (11)	10,795 (12)
Total .. .. —	218 (43)	21,135 (24)	12 (2)	2,240 (2)	6 (1)	505 (6)	252 (50)	63,001 (70)	17 (3)	2,441 (3)	3 (1)	445 (1)	508 (100)	90,457 (100)

TABLE E-5—*concld.*

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)
C. General area—														
1. Education.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	...	..
2. Marriage and other social functions.	..	..	..	...	..	..	1	60	..	..	..	..	1 (5)	60 (1)
3. Normal maintenance.	..	..	..	..	..	..	27	4,604	5	518	..	..	32 (53)	5,122 (51)
4. Purchase of draught animal ..	..	..	...	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
5. Purchase of land	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
6. Purchase of seed, manure, minor irrigations and other agricultural purposes.	10	1,084	..	..	..	..	13	2,570	..	...	..	..	19 (32)	3,254 (32)
7. Construction and purchase of real assets and other durable and semi-durable goods.	..	..	...	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
8. Household enterprise. ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	...	—	..	..	..	..	..	..
9. Repayment of debt	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	...	..	..	..	..	..
10. Others.	..	..	..	...	..	..	4	1,200	..	..	..	..	8 (13)	1,600 (16)
Total	10	1,004	..	..		...	45	8,434	5	518	..	..	60	10,036
	(17)	(11)	...	...	..	..	(75)	(84)	(0)	(5)	..	...	(100)	(100)

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In former years the Khásiás were great iron-smelters, and enormous excavations in the most favourable localities for obtaining ironstone prove the extent to which this manufacture was carried on. In some places the whole surface of the ground appears to have been dug up for a depth of several feet, leaving huge boulders standing up here and there. Of late years, however, as the price of labour in the Hills has risen, the trade in iron has died away, and there is now little demand for the Khási article, the cheaper English metal having driven it out of the market.

NATURAL PHENOMENA.—Many peculiar caves and caverns are found in the limestone rock formation, the most notable being the caves at Cherrá Púnji and at Rápnáth in Jowai. At the latter place the caverns extend a great distance beneath the earth, one being imagined by the people to reach as far as China, and a Hindu legend states that a Chinese army once marched by this route to the invasion of India. In another cave, the limestone stalactites have been carved into images representing the gods of the Hindu pantheon. On the banks of the Kapili river on the Cáchár border, at a place called Sumir, there is a hot spring, the water of which contains carbonate of lime. All the rivers in the Hills flow through gorges in certain parts of their course, the most picturesque being at Tehrié, where a small stream is compressed into deep pools among limestone rocks; and at Dawrang and Bonghát, where the Mangat and Mantideo rivers respectively issue upon the plains.

FORESTS, ETC.—The India-rubber or caoutchouc tree is found in many forests throughout the Hills, but not in great numbers, and the supply and value of the gum has much decreased of late years. In 1870 the right of tapping the trees in the Jaintia Hills was leased out for a sum of £36, 10s. 0d.; at the present time it has almost entirely ceased. There are some tracts of timber forest on the lower hills towards the Brahmaputra valley, but through the want of water carriage they are of no great value. Vigorous efforts are being made to preserve the forests in the higher plateaus. Owing to the habit of firing the jungle in spring prior to sowing, great waste of valuable timber has taken place; but since the country has been separated from Bengal and placed under the administration of the Chief Commissioner of Assam, attention has been given to the matter, and special areas are now being set apart for the preservation and growth of forest timber. Cinnamon grows wild in some parts of the country. There is a considerable trade carried on in

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There is considerable trade carried on in
245 *nipat* or bay leaves, the trees being extensively cultivated by the
439 inhabitants of the lower slopes of the hills on the Sylhet border. The finest oranges in India are also grown in groves in the same tract, the value of the trade in which is now (1876) estimated to amount
237 to £3760 per annum. Lac is gathered by the Mikirs in the Jaintia
439 Hills, but not to any great extent. Bees are both domesticated and found wild, and an extensive trade in bees-wax is carried on,
231 the amount exported being estimated at from three hundred to four hundred *maunds* annually. The whole of the Hills, where there is
233 no forest, and where the land is not under cultivation, consists of
621 rich pasture grounds, which are held in common by the villagers
651 and pay no revenue to Government.

137 The forests of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills do not yield much profit either to the British Government or to the chiefs. There
[648] are no reserved forests in the District; and according to the Deputy-Conservator, the total area of unreserved forest, *i.e.* of land covered
[659] with timber trees and not at present required for jhum cultivation, is only 150 square miles. The trees found are chiefly pine, and these classified as 'mixed upper hill forests.' At an elevation of 3000 feet, the Pinus Kasia predominates over all other vegetation and forms almost pure pine forests. It is found also at lower heights, and there attains larger dimensions, but only in the case of isolated trees. The 'mixed upper hill forests' are confined to a series of sacred groves, which clothe the topmost ridge of the wooded
[648] interior of forest. Early in 1874-75 measures were taken to put a
[659] stop to the indiscriminate burning of the forests, and the Sirdars and village officers were made responsible for the conservancy of the sacred groves. These endeavours have met with some success; but it is a very difficult thing to change the habits of a population, or to induce uncivilized tribes to incur a small temporary inconvenience for the sake of future benefit. The total area directly protected from fire during the year 1875-76 is returned as 3618 acres; the expenditure was Rs. 100; and in ten prosecutions for breaches of forest rules, twenty-three persons were convicted.

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public auction. The Assam rules, as revised in 1875-76, reserve to Government the right of pre-emption at the price of Rs. 600 (£60) in the case of every elephant captured between 8 feet and 13 feet in height. For every elephant caught that is not purchased by Government, a royalty of Rs. 100 (£10) is payable within one month after capture. Certain methods of hunting are prohibited.

POPULATION.—Prior to 1872 no attempts had been made at a Census of the Khási and Jaintia Hills, but in 1872 the Deputy-Commissioner approximately estimated the population at 116,505 souls. In 1874, at the time of the Bengal Census, operations were not so free in these Hills, but on a less elaborate system than in Regulation Districts. In the Khási Hills, the Census of the various petty States was effected through the chiefs; in British territory in the Jaintia Hills, the *dolloi* conducted the enumeration; while at Shillong and other places under direct administration, the work was done by officers attached to the Deputy-Commissioner's office. The results are thus returned:—*Adults*—males, 35,880; and females, 24,078: total adults, 61,080. Children under twelve years of age—males, 28,611; and females, 28,047: total children, 56,658. Total males, 68,553; total females, 52,125. Grand total, 121,878; proportion of males, 48·38 per cent. The total area of the District, according to the latest returns, is 6,037 square miles, which gives an average density of 23 persons per square mile. The number of villages is 1003; the number of houses, 30,555, of which 330 are returned as of the better sort.

ETHNICAL DIVISIONS OF THE PEOPLE.—The population consists almost exclusively of aboriginal tribes and races, viz. Khásis and Syntengs (who form the bulk of the inhabitants of the Khási and Jaintia Hills respectively), Bhoys, Garos, and Kukis. The only other dwellers in the Hills are the European officials and military officers at Shillong and Cherra Punji, with their native servants and followers, a few Bengáli officials, and the sepoys of a regiment of native infantry. The classification of the inhabitants according to religion shows:—121,183 aborigines; 383 Hindus; 62 Mahommedans; and 128 Christians, including 32 Europeans, 6 Eurasians, and 89 native converts.

THE KHÁSIAS.—The following sketch of the physical characteristics and customs of the Khásiás has been kindly furnished to me by the Deputy-Commissioner, Colonel Rice; it is reproduced almost verbatim from his report and on his authority:—

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731 prominently fifty villages on the Cherrá Punji plateau the epidemic appears to have found a fitting home, for it stayed among them for a period of nine weeks and a half. The civil surgeon reports the deaths in Cherrá Punji and the surrounding villages to have amounted to about 175 out of a total of 250 cases. During the year 1876-77 hooping-cough and small-pox were prevalent in an epidemic form. In the Jaintiá Hills small-pox is stated to have caused 47 deaths, chiefly during the months of June, July, and August. Some fatal cases of hooping-cough occurred among the Khási children in the village of Mikkilan, near Shillong. The only two cases of cholera reported were in the Jaintiá Hills.

16 VITAL STATISTICS.—A general system of registration is not attempted throughout the Khási and Jaintiá Hills District. Statistics
• {659 / 648} of births and deaths are only collected among the inhabitants of the Stations of Shillong and Cherrá Punji, and in the selected area in the vicinity of Jowái, which comprises the following seven villages:—Jowái, Nongkah, Nartiang, Wymon, Amwi, Rallang, and Shumping. This selected area has a population of 11,304. Each village forms a distinctly-circumscribed community, in which the statistics are readily ascertained and reported by the *dolói* or headman. The returns may be regarded as extremely close to the truth, both for births and deaths; and they thus furnish an approximate statement of the health of the entire Hills. In 1874 the total number of deaths in the selected area was 331, showing a death rate of 28 per thousand; the number of births was 431, or 34·2 per thousand. The total population of all the places in which vital statistics are collected is 15,456 persons, among whom 408 deaths were recorded in 1874, showing a death-rate of 27·6 per thousand, as compared with 27·3 per thousand in the preceding year. The deaths were thus distributed—24 from cholera, 198 from fever, 38 from bowel complaints, 2 from snake-bite or wild beasts, and 146 from all other causes. The mortality from fevers was the highest recorded throughout the entire Province. On this the civil surgeon observes:—"There are few local sources of malaria in the Hills. Many of the deaths from fever were probably due to typhoid, induced by the use of impure water and by the filthy state in which the
312 people live. There is no attempt at conservancy in a Khási village.
364 In Jowái, a good specimen of the class, the lanes and pathways are
164 strewn with excrement and house refuse. Drinking water is got from wells in the heart of the village, fed by the drainage of the

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certain dominant but non-priestly clans (*santris*). In other States the Council has been widened by the addition to it of village headmen (*sirdars*), or the chief superintendents (*basans*) of the village markets, tolls from which constitute the chief item in the public receipts of these States. A further step towards the recognition of the public will in the nomination of a Siem has been the introduction of popular elections, at which all the adult males vote. Such popular elections were very greatly due to the views held by Colonel Bivar, who was Deputy-Commissioner of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills from 1865 to 1877. These elections have been, in many States, an innovation which is hardly in accord with public sentiment, and in many cases the voters have done no more than confirm the selection of a special electoral body. It is, however, clear that the idea of popular elections is not one with which the people are unfamiliar, e.g. in Langrim State, where all the adult males customarily vote at an election of a Siem. Popular election has also been customary in the Nobosohpoh and Bhowal States, in cases where a special electoral body has been unable to agree upon a nomination, and also in Nongspung, if a Council of five *lyngdohs*, which has in this State authority to declare who is the rightful heir, but not to disqualify him, cannot come to an unanimous decision. The Siems are appointed by an assembly, or *durbar*, which will be described later. The chiefs, having been thus chosen by the *durbar*, which is supposed by the people to be an institution of Divine origin, are styled, *ki Siem u Blei*, or Siems of God. In most States the Siem is the religious as well as the secular head, e.g. in the Chevra State, where the Siem is also *lyngdoh*. In Khyrim State the Siem has sacerdotal duties to perform at different religious ceremonies, especially at the time of the annual Nongkrem dance. It is the custom for the Siem to consult the auspices with the soothsayers for the good of the State. The Siem in matters judicial acts as a judge, the whole body of the *durbar* being the jury. In olden days the Siem marched to war at the head of his army. It is not customary to recognize an heir-apparent, and the young men of the Siem family pursue the ordinary avocations of a Khasi, not comporting themselves in the least like scions of royalty. In quite

[Which acts the Siem --Analyst]

another. In other words, a state is not a fixed territorial entity. In the early twentieth century, the most populous of the 25 chiefdoms, Khyriem, contained 30,833 persons occupying 7,889 houses in 272 villages, and the least populous, Nongkhon, contained 246 persons occupying 53 houses in 3 villages. Fifteen of the chiefdoms were headed by a *syiem* (chief), three by a *lyngdoh* (priest), six by a *siemlieh*, and one by a *wahadadar*. These leaders all had executive and judicial functions, but a chief's authority was limited to that he had to obtain the approval of his executive council before acting. The other leaders were subject to a similar limitation. A chief maintained a small police force. His major sources of revenue were market tolls, fines, and, more recently, income from licenses to distill rice whisky. Succession to a ruling role in the larger states traditionally involved election by members of a lineage that had a hereditary right to elect, from among members of a lineage that had the hereditary right to rule. In British times, the elective basis was broadened, differentially in the various states, even to the point of popular elections. [Cf. Anderson 1931, Lyngdoh 1961.] **Social stratification.** The three classes of lineage are the nobles, the commoners, and the slaves or servants. This stratification applies only to the recruitment to office in the native-state system, for there is no hereditary, and in a village assembly everyone has equal voice. The noble lineages have the hereditary right to fill from among their male members roles such as village or state priest, councilor to a chief, or electors of a chief. The few lineages which today are remembered as slave or servant lineages had the inherited obligation to render special services to a chief's household. There is no Khasi term for "commoner." Every lineage other than a noble or a slave lineage is a commoner lineage, and the commoner lineages are in the majority. **Warfare.** Warfare was suppressed by the British, and little is known for certain about its traditional forms. The tactics which confronted the British were the ambush and the guerrilla raid. Traditional goals included taking heads from other Khasis and capturing women from the valleys.

RELIGION. **Major and indigenous religions.** A Welsh Calvinistic Methodist missionary penetrated into Cherrapunji in 1832, and the work that he began continues to this day. His society, which has since become the Welsh Presbyterian Foreign Mission, introduced writing, village primary schools, a high school, a theological seminary, and a hospital. Competing missionaries followed, and by 1914 some thirty-long Khasis were puzzling over the tenets not only of traditional Hinduism and Islam but also of the Buddhists, Brahmo Samaj, Arya Samaj, and Unitarians (Roy 1914). By the 1920s, ministries of the Church of God and the Seventh Day Adventists were

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work is done. In order to attend to a Bhoi house, you have to climb up a notched pole. The Bhoie sacrifice a he-goat and a fowl to *Kit-ingiong* (Khasi, *Kemiew ding*), the household god, when they build a new house.

VILLAGES.

Unlike the Naga and Kukis, the Khasis do not build their villages on the extreme summits of hills, but a little below the tops, generally in small depressions, in order to obtain some protection from the strong winds and storms which prevail in these hills at certain times of the year. According to the late U Ambon Roy, it is say, or taboo, to the Khasis to build a house on the last eminence of a range of hills, this custom having perhaps arisen owing to the necessity of locating villages with reference to their defence against an enemy. Khasis build their houses fairly close together, but not as close as houses in the Bhoi and Lyngngam villages. Khasis seldom change the site of their villages, to which they are very much attached, where, as a rule, the family tombs are standing and the *mawbynna* or memorial stones. In many villages stone *mawlehs* and memorial stones are to be seen which from their appearance show that the villages have been there for many generations. During the Jaintia rebellion the village of Jowai was almost entirely destroyed, but as soon as the rebellion was over the people returned to the old site and rebuilt their village. Similarly, after the earthquake, the ancient village sites were not abandoned in many cases, but the people rebuilt their houses in their former positions, although in Shillong and Cherrapunji they rebuilt the walls of the houses of wooden materials instead of stone. There is no such thing as a specially reserved site in the village for the Siem and the nobility, all the people, rich or poor, living together in one village, their houses being scattered about indiscriminately. To the democratic Khasi the idea of the Siem living apart from his people would be repugnant. In the vicinity of the Khasi village, often just below the brow of the hill on the leeward side, are to be seen dark woods of oak

resume to the hands of the women.

The following example may explain the customs involved here and further sift them out even though it scarcely throws a pleasant light on the dimensions which have been introduced among the Khasi people as a result of the divisions of the various Christian religions which are striving for their conversion.

In the village Kyndongupôh, a man had gradually acquired some property for himself with 15 oxen and cows, /90/ a decent hut and furnishings and 3 beautiful rice fields, large enough to remain a family clan. After his death the younger daughter of his sister, named Ka Pilang Khai Syndôh, was considered the valid heiress. She was still under age and her mother was already dead. As a result a sister of this mother, named Ka Pilang Khai (1)took over the management

11. Pan and Syndor are Khasi names. Pilang Khai is the name of the family, clan; Ikeed meaning: dining place.

of the inheritance and lived with the little heiress in the clan hut. There was no doubt that the latter would receive the entire property after she reached her majority. After a while, a young Catholic, U Salomon Tandi, wooed for Syndôh's hand. Thereupon the elder siblings, a brother and a sister, both of whom belonged to the Methodist Church, became enraged. In spite of all the hostility, the young girl stuck to her decision, married Tandi and became Catholic. The young married couple had to flee from the clan hut because of the anger of the siblings. The latter ought to have the sister disinherited, but the other relatives involved would have nothing to do with this. They were so carried away by their anger that they did what was considered a crime even in the eyes of the heathen: they drove the cattle away secretly and sold it. Likewise they cleared out the clan hut and even sold two rice fields. On complaint to the competent court, Syndôh was finally granted her right: she could take over the clan hut and the family property which was meanwhile greatly diminished.

Although the Khasi who have been converted to Christianity do not need to be bound by the laws of succession in inheritance and although this is often recognized by the heathen Khasi, there is no hindrance put in their way by the Catholic Church to following their native tribal customs in this matter. The Catholic Khasi themselves do not wish to deviate from them: /94/ a dogged attachment to ancient customs and a respect for them are in their blood. Here are a few examples.

In Nongkhi the Catholic clan mother ka Jikmon Sneh, wife of U Sudhan Tuhn, died without leaving any female descendants. It would

have been unknown if the only son U Johanna Sunah, according to the ruling canons of Christians elsewhere, had claimed the considerable inheritance of rice fields, forest, and tuna. A serious objection would not have been expected either from the officials or the relatives. Johanna was also spoken to about it in this fashion, but in vain. He could not compare the issue resultant of acting against ancient tribal customs for a temporal advantage. His simple answer was: "If I am a good Catholic, God will bless me in other ways without my going against our ancient customs." And so matters stood. The whole property went to the younger daughter of the sister of the deceased. His branch of the family was still heathen. Through industry and economy Johanna finally acquired his own household with a goodly piece of land.

The Catholic Khasi even get rid of possessions readily which they already possess if the tribal customs demand it. It happened unfortunately several years ago that both the wife of the chief teacher of the Catholic Khasi public school in Shillong, U Thomas Byllan, as well as the wife of the cook of the mission station there, U Sebastian Sinah, were both carried away by death within a short time. Both then had acquired very nice property by their industry. According to Khasi law they had no further claims on their children who were still quite small. They belonged to the clan of their deceased wives and had to be taken by them and raised. According to Khasi law, the property that they had acquired also passed to the younger daughter. Willingly each of them handed over the children and the interim management of the property to the relatives of the deceased wives, took the few clothes and purely personal possessions /90/ with them and sought to begin again from the beginning in the second half of a life. To my question, whether that had been hard for them, they answered with quiet matter-of-fairness: "But that is the custom among us Khasi."

It is not necessary to emphasize especially that such respect for the tribal customs has made only a favorable impression on the Khasi who are still heathen.

Further relates (18) that the clan mother loses her position in the

18. Tagi Khasi, p. 98.

family when she changes her religion, for example at her conversion to Christianity, and that the younger daughter takes her place. The justification for this law is the fact that she does no longer belongs to the religion and cannot offer the necessary family sacrifices.

Because of her whole position as guardian of the inherited religion and customs, it is not frequent that such a woman breaks with the ancestor cult. If this does happen, it does not necessarily mean that she loses the entire property. That depends really on the position the other members of the family take. If they are all still from heathens, who wish to have nothing to do with Christianity, they can force the clan mother to give everything up. The high respect for her is frequently so great, however, that either the whole clan or at least a part of it decides to take the same way and change religions with the clan mother. The part that remains heathen will certainly propose a division of the family property. This is also possible in other cases.

6. Division of the Family Property.

Although it is rare, the weal and woe of a family-clan can require that a family-clan be split into two clans /Clan/ and that a division of the common property be undertaken. The basis for this is if the family /Dewkhadu/ becomes too big, if the elders in the family council /Bah/ are no longer united and have and revenge threaten to destroy, if a part of the clan /Clan/ tries to seize the harvest fields by violence and refuses to deliver the harvest for the common need, if one branch has brought the whole clan /Kypo/ dishonor and shame by false oath, incest, revenge, treachery or some other severe crime. Only the guilty party will be excluded from the clan /Clan/ in such cases, if he remains stubborn and impenitent. But if he begs for forgiveness with his lips and participates in the expiatory sacrifice, forgiveness will not be refused him. But a certain inner tension and bad feeling often remain behind.

At the conversion to another religion, it often depends on how the clan mother and also the family elders are inclined towards the religion in question, and also on who is changing religions. If it is only brothers, sons, nephews, or grandsons, of the clan mother, a division is not of the question, since the men are not capable of inheriting. But if it is the youngest or next youngest daughter or even the sister of the clan mother, then a division of property can be undertaken. A clan mother after all is so attached to her child or her nearest blood relatives that she would not like to pull them entirely away from herself unless she were completely set against the religion in question and angered. If that should be so in individual cases, the heirs concerned will still consider, whether it is not more advisable to wait to change her religion until the clan mother has closed her eyes and she then has freedom. Then this wish was mentioned at the conclusion of the previous section [illegible].

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manion. The Lyngngam possess no head-hunting customs, as far as it has been possible to ascertain. These people are still wild and uncivilized. Although they do not, as a rule, give trouble, from an administrative point of view, a very serious dacoity, accompanied by murder, was committed by certain Lyngngam at an Assamese village on the outskirts of the Lyngngam country a few years ago. The victims were two Marwari merchants and their servant, as well as another man. These people were brutally murdered by the Lyngngam, and robbed of their property. The offenders were, however, successfully traced and arrested by Inspector Raj Mohan Das, and several of them suffered capital punishment, the remainder being transported for life.

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625 648 965 In 1835, when British authority was first extended to the Khásí Hills, the cost of maintaining the police, from the rank of *jowáddár* or head constable upwards, was £25; and in 1840, £35, 16s. By 1860, when the Jáinti Hills had been annexed, and a *thána* opened at Jowai, the cost had risen to £480. In the year 1869 the strength of the regular police was 149 men in the Khásí Hills, and an additional 29 in Jáinti.

In 1873 the police establishment of the Khásí and Jáinti Hills was as follows:—The force consisted of 2 inspectors on a salary of upwards of Rs. 100 a month, or £100 a year; 3 sub-inspectors and 13 head constables on a salary of less than Rs. 100 a month; and 113 constables on an average pay of Rs. 9 a month, or £10, 16s. a year. The total pay of subordinate officers amounted to Rs. 8,340 or £834 a year; and the total pay of constables to Rs. 12,168 or £1216, 16s. Certain contingencies brought up the aggregate expenses to Rs. 24,969 or £2496, 18s. The total number of men of all ranks was 132. As compared with the area and population of the District, these figures show one man to every 16·29 square miles, or to every 133 persons of the population, maintained at a cost of Rs. 2, 1 or Rs. 1,3d. per square mile, and of 2 *annas* 10 *pies* or 4½d. per head of population. Of the total force, 1 officer and 13 men were employed to guard the jail, 3 officers and 23 men to guard the treasury and lock-up and to serve as escorts, leaving 12 officers and 77 men available for general duty.

648 692 Criminal Statistics.—The District of the Khásí and Jáinti Hills, like the other Hill Districts of Assam, is administered by political officers, under special rules framed under Act xxii. of 1869. Petty criminal cases are disposed of by the indigenous magistracy, and only cases of a heinous character are reported to the political officers. Similarly, civil causes are referred to arbitration, according to the indigenous system of village *pancháyats*; and the Deputy-Commissioner reports that this system, while affording equal justice to the people, tends to preserve them from the evil of litigiousness.

• 679 172 In 1874 the total number of cases reported by the police to the political officers was 83, as compared with 63 in the previous year. In these 83 cases, 100 persons were arrested, of whom 72 were put on their trial; 60 persons, or 86 per cent., were convicted, and 10 were acquitted.

Though little serious crime exists in the Hills, yet the number of offences shows a tendency towards increase. The Report of the

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Deputy-Commissioner for 1898-99 states that in that year 178 persons in all were brought before the magistrates, the most common classes of cases being theft and house trespass. In the same year 89 civil suits were instituted, of which 83 were for money claims, 2 for immovable property, 2 for restitution of conjugal rights, and 2 in connection with religion and caste. In the Political Court there were 31 cases tried during the year, of which 13 were civil and 18 criminal. In the latter class of cases process issued against 60 persons, of whom 20 were convicted and 40 acquitted. The details of the two following cases will illustrate the condition of social life in the District. The first was a case of grievous hurt. The Siem of Mylliem had sent four persons to fetch a man named U Dorja, who had been selected to marry the Siem's sister. While on their way the messengers were attacked by a number of persons, evidently relations of U Dorja who were opposed to the marriage. One of them was severely beaten, and died within twelve days from pneumonia. The offenders, numbering five in all, were sentenced to pay a fine of Rs. 10 (£0·13) each, or in default to suffer fourteen days' imprisonment. The second case was one of oppression. It originated in a dispute about land, situated in a locality over which both the Siem of Jaintiah and the Lyngdoh of Sohiong claimed to exercise jurisdiction. The parties met of possession had gone to lay their complaint before the Siem, whereupon the Lyngdoh, with eight other persons, seized three of the complainants' labourers, ill-treated them, and kept them in durance with the object of having the complaint submitted to himself for adjudication. The Lyngdoh was sentenced to a fine of Rs. 50 (£0·3), and his companions were warned and discharged.

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JAIL STATISTICS.—There are two jails in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills—(1) The jail at Shillong, which is directly under the charge of the Deputy-Commissioner; and (2) the lock-up at Jowai, under the Assistant-Commissioner. It has been proposed to build a new jail at Shillong; the present structure consists only of bamboo huts, surrounded by a fence of the same material.

697

The following are the jail statistics for 1899:—Daily average number of prisoners, 40·91, of whom 1·91 were females; daily average number of sick, 1·40; number of deaths, 2, or 10 per cent. of the average daily strength. The total expenditure was Rs. 1,140 (£76), or an average of Rs. 28 (£1·18, 8s.) per prisoner. This high rate of expenditure is due to the cost of rations at Shillong.

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695 party to present a pig. The pig is supposed to be sacrificed
712 to a goddess, *Ka 'ki synshar*, i.e. the goddess of the State,
[774] but it is invariably eaten by the Siem and the members of the darbar. The Siem then calls out "*kumta ne khyerew*" (is it not so, young people?) The members of the darbar then reply, "*kaid kumta khnie khyerew*" (yes, it is so, young
681 ones). Sentences of fine are more often resorted to than other
697 punishments nowadays, probably because very few of the Siems possess jails for the reception of criminals. The condemned one in a criminal case frequently serves his time by working for the Siem as a menial servant. The above description, which is based on the account given by the Rev. W. Lewis, with some modifications, may be taken as the usual form of procedure of the Khasi darbar.

682 Under the heading of *decision of disputes* we may perhaps
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689 The punishment of adultery was imprisonment for life (*ka sah dain ram*), or a fine of Rs. 1,100, and one pig (*ka khadawi synh ani dah*). Whether such a heavy fine was ever paid is perhaps doubtful, and probably some other form of punishment was substituted for it. A husband finding his wife and a man in *flagrante delicto* could, as under the law of the ancients, kill both adulterer and adulteress without punishment for murder. The man, however, bound to deposit Rs. 5, and the conventional pig in the Siem's darbar. The punishment for rape (*kaba khniat tynga*) was imprisonment for life in the case of the woman being married, and a heavy fine and one pig if the
715 woman was a spinster. Arson was punishable with imprison-
688 ment for life, or a heavy fine. The punishment for causing people to be possessed by devils (*ka ba ni-dawid briew*) was

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

695 party to present a pig. The pig is supposed to be sacrificed
782 to a goddess, *Ka 'lei synthar*, i.e. the goddess of the State,
[776] but it is invariably eaten by the Siem and the members of the durbar. The Siem then calls out "*Iomto ne khyerow*" (is it not so, young people?) The members of the durbar then reply, "*Iaoid iomto khein khyerow*" (yes, it is so, young
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monies. The Lyunganas possess no head-hunting customs, so far as it has been possible to ascertain. These people are still wild and uncivilized. Although they do not, as a rule, give trouble, from an administrative point of view, a very serious dacoity, accompanied by murder, was committed by certain Lyunganas at an Assamese village on the outskirts of the Lyungan country a few years ago. The victims were two Marwari merchants and their servant, as well as another man. These people were brutally murdered by the Lyunganas, and robbed of their property. The offenders were, however, successfully traced and arrested by Inspector Raj Mohan Das, and several of them suffered capital punishment, the remainder being transported for life.

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774 of the thlen owner. It is also said of the snake
773 that it can reduce itself to the size of a thin
772 thread and therefore can easily find a place in a basket or earthern jar. Others even say that it has the power to change itself into a cat or a rooster or a stone and to stay with the owner in this form.

776 The possession of the thlen is a valuable
772 thing for the owner; for where the thlen makes
• 682 his home, it brings good fortune and wealth to the family. However, the snake only does this on the condition that it is provided with human blood. If it does not receive this, it announces itself from time to time in the family concerned during the night in a dream. If its desires are still not fulfilled, it then comes bringing sickness, misfortune, impoverishment, and the like. There is nothing that the owner can do other than satisfy or propitiate the thlen by human murder. In the night he waits for his victim alone or with another whom he has hired for this purpose. Often the thlen worshippers have a so-called nongbylla, i.e., a wage earner who shares the wealth of his master for his efforts without having to bother with other work. He goes out in ambush with his master and watches hidden from the heights of a mountain, or along the road, or at the edge of the forest to see whether anyone is coming along the way. By signs or shouts he warns his master who is waiting some distance away, and then they commit the murder together. Both are usually disguised and armed with a wooden club for killing their victim. The ordinary people call these murderers in the service of the thlen as well as the thlen worshippers in general only nongshoh noh, literally, killers. They may not use iron weapons for committing their dark deeds, as iron proved to be fatal for the thlen tribal father, as was told

776 above. The tips of the hair and the finger-
• 772 nails of the slain person are cut off with
772 silver shears; then the murderer pricks the wings of the nose with a silver lancet and catches the blood that flows out in a bamboo tube. This is called plar snan. Again no dish or iron or metal may be used for catching the blood.

). The Offering of the Sacrifice.

772 The thlen owner now asks the oracle about
776 the actual time when he should sacrifice the blood to the thlen. When this is revealed, the whole family gathers together in the hut of the thlen owner (male or female) in the dark night-time. The doors are opened and costly cloths are spread out on the floor. The blood of the slain person is poured into a brass dish or a plate (ka pliang); the hair and fingernails are placed there. One member of the family begins to strike a small drum and cries while doing it: "O uncle, o father, come forth, we have done everything to make thee satisfied, and now we have succeeded. (776) Give us thy blessing, so that we may receive health and wealth!" They say that the thlen is only seen by the members of the household of the owner. No matter what form it otherwise has while staying in the house, at the sacrifice of human blood it appears in its true form as a snake. It is supposed to crawl out of its hiding place when called upon, then stretch itself out until it has attained its full size. It approaches the platter and waits a while in front of it until the spirit of the slain person appears standing on the platter. The spirit is supposed to laugh. The snake now begins to swallow the entire form, beginning with the feet; the victim is supposed to laugh continuously. Obviously it is difficult to find out

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How Do the People Accept These Facts?

a) The Fear among the People

[72 774] A great fear of these murderers who are in the service of the thlen permeates the whole life of the Khasi; this feeling is still especially strong in the kingdoms of Cherra, Mylliem, and Nongkrem. Naturally they guard themselves well from people who are supposed to be in possession of a devil snake and they often do not even dare to speak their names out loud for fear that misfortune could befall them. Many of them are certainly known by the people; others are just guessed at. We tried very hard to get a photograph of such people who are considered to be thlen owners; but we met only with complete refusal from them. Their bad consciences probably made them fearful. I was able to photograph the house of a woman thlen worshipper in Mawsrai, several [72] miles away from Cherra. In contrast to most of the Khasi huts, indications of wealth were evident on the outside, since the [73] hut was covered with tin. In spite of all my pleas the woman could not be prevailed upon to have herself photographed. Such an idea frightened her so that she cried out loud: "O, we are investigated so much!"

[72 774] At night a Khasi does not readily trust himself alone outside of his hut. If he is overtaken by darkness on the way home, he may be seen hurrying towards his home, singing or calling in a loud voice from time to time to give himself courage. A single man, even if he does not have to go far from his hut to work is not likely to go without his big knife -- ka wait -- under his arm to protect himself against all possible attacks. The people usually go together (in groups)

674 on the way to or from more distant markets.
674 When they go to the even bigger markets which are several days' journey away, they only go to the markets where they have good friends along the way, where they can spend the night. Even the missionary has to endure this general feeling of fear. For example, if he has to send something from one place to another which one man could easily carry; or if he is on a journey when he might like to send on his small amount of luggage, his laundry, and food. Even if the place is only a day distant, it is not possible for him to hire one man for such an errand. There is nothing for him to do other than to hire two porters and naturally also to pay them, or to wait until a group of market people are going along the same way, to whom a single man can attach himself. If you criticize the people for the foolishness of their behavior or the inconvenience it causes, their simple answer is: "I am afraid of the nongshon noh" (killers).

682 On the other hand the people defend themselves
776 against such criminals. According to ancient Khasi justice, the killing of such a nongshoh noh is not considered murder and is not punished by death. Whoever has killed a nongshoh noh does not need to do more than he who kills a robber, namely to give 5 rupees (7 gold marks) and a pig to the S'iem (king). In the kingdom of Nongkrem the official lyngdoh has the right to confiscate all the property of those persons who are convicted for harboring an evil spirit -- jingbih -- in their house. The lyngdohs can keep the objects of value for themselves, while the house, including contents, is burned down. At the same time the people take justice into their own hands. In the year 1909 one of these murderers in the service of the devil snake was caught in the act in Nongkrem. Without more ado his nose was cut off and he was let go with the mark of Cain.

776 owners can only conceal this for any length of
593 time with difficulty. Now when the woman gathers the members of her household and the unsuspecting man together for the thlen sacrifice, this man dashes out from fright and tells the horrible things that he has seen. He never returns to his wife by whom he was deceived by the concealment of such an important condition and he seeks another wife.

776 [229] The accounts of previous thlen owners
• 682 finally give further information. I will only
783 introduce one case as it was told by one of these. I am indebted for this to the kindness of the missionary in Cherrapunji, P. Corbinian Bonheim S.V.S. who has been there many years and to whom a former thlen owner related his experiences. This he translated into our language as follows:

"Formerly we were very poor people. Then one day we found a wonderfully beautiful smooth stone on the mountain when we were chopping wood, and we brought it home and preserved it. From this time on we had good luck everywhere; every undertaking succeeded, we never had losses and our fortune increased from day to day and even at gambling we never lost. Gradually we became rich people. Thus matters continued for four or five years. Then I had a strange dream. A woman appeared to me who said to me: "Look, I have given you such great wealth, now I also demand a sacrifice of you. You should sacrifice a lang thoh khlih to me, i.e., a goat with a spotted head." The next morning I told my dream to the members of the household, and they thought that she was the goddess who was demanding the sacrifice owing to her. So we sacrificed a goat. But soon after I had a dream again and the same voice as before spoke to me again: "I have demanded ka lang thoh khlih of you and you only gave me a goat. The goat, however, that I demand,

776 682 783

is human blood ka snam briu!" The next morning I told my dream again and all my relatives were frightened, for they knew now that it was the thlen devil and not the goddess who made them rich. But now we had to decide what we would do: give up all our wealth and possession or fulfill the will of the thlen. We decided to do the latter. But we let week after week go by until the thlen began to threaten that he would consume our whole house. Now we went, my brother and I out stalking to see if we could murder someone. We saw a woman from our village go alone to the forest to gather wood. We crept after her and when we thought the moment was right we fell upon her with blows and beat her till she was dead. Immediately thereafter, however, we fled deeper into the forest with the intention of taking the blood from the slain woman somewhat later when we could do it undisturbed. But after a while the woman came to her senses and luckily escaped back to the village by a different way. When she arrived home she told what had happened and named the two of us brothers as her murderers. Her relatives went at once to the chief and accused us. When we now came out of our hiding place to get the blood from the woman who we supposed was dead, we found to our astonishment that she had disappeared. We hurried along the road to pursue her but we could not find her anywhere. When we came home we were told at once that a woman had luckily escaped from murderers, but that it was still questionable whether she would live. We, however, wished secretly that she would die. But the chieftain had commanded that the woman be cared for carefully. When she had so far recovered that she could come to a judicial meeting, the chieftain ordered all the inhabitants of the village to the gathering. Our hands and feet trembled, and stuttering we confessed our

776 guilt. The chieftain then said to us: "You
682 will pay the woman the entire cost of her care
783 and agree that I have your thlen driven out and that you give up your property; if you will do that, nothing more will be done to you. A hut where you can live temporarily, a cloth [230] so that you can at least cover your honor, and rice which you need will be given you by the village until you can again save something. But if you do not wish to do that then a severe punishment will be meted out to you without mercy or pity." We submitted to the judgment of the chieftain. He then had all our possessions carried away and our house burned down to the ground. And when we had moved into the hut which was built for us by the inhabitants of the village at the command of the chieftain, lo, this wonderful stone was there. We reported this to the chieftain and he took counsel with his elders as to what should now be done. They came to the conclusion that at the time of the first exorcism the lyngdoh had not given us the command to go home directly without looking around. We had looked around and therefore the thlen had come to us again. Therefore the chieftain now commanded that the expulsion and exorcism and destruction should be undertaken again. This time we went straight home without looking around and so we were then free of the thlen. We have never seen the thlen itself." This much the report of the thlen worshipper.

The Position of the English-Indian Government in Respect to these Human Sacrifices.

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But is it possible, many will ask, that such crimes can occur in a British province of the Indian Empire? Why are such things not called to the attention of the English government and why

does the government not interfere? These things are known by the English government and it did and does its best, although the Khasi Mountains still possess their independence in part. Thorough mention of this superstitious immoral custom was made in the administrative report of the government concerning the Khasi Mountains and the Jaintia Mountains of the year 1881-82. Attached to it was the decision of the head of the government of Assam at that time (Chief Commissioner), dated August 5, 1882, in which among other things he stated: "Among the cases, which received judicial treatment in this year, were three murders of quite particular heinousness: two occurred to harmless old women, one to a boy. In none of these cases was a suitable reason given, and it is believed of at least two of them that they are connected with the remarkable superstition of the thlen." After a presentation of this superstitious custom the report continues: "Many families in these mountains are known as thlen supporters or are suspected of being so and are therefore feared and avoided. Whenever a dead body is found with the marks described above (blood drawn off through the nostrils, hair, and fingernails cut off) and especially when death is not caused by a wound but by strangulation, it may be assumed with almost absolute certainty that the purpose of the murder was the propitiation of the thlen. This was observed in one of the three cases indicated; in the two others these signs could not be found; however, since there was no cause at all for a murder, it was more than probable that these two are also to be ascribed to the horrible superstition. In each of these three cases one or two persons were convicted although they might not have been the only guilty

ones; one man was hanged and the rest were sentenced to exile either of many years or for life."

There are also cases of murder in the following years in the government reports which are ascribed to the thlen superstition. Particularly noticeable and indicative was a case which occurred in the year 1890. The murder was committed only about ten miles from Shillong, the seat of the English government of Assam, about several hundred metre to one side of the government road, which leads from there to Cherrapunji. No trace of the murderers could be discovered, since the inhabitants of the nearby village did not care to appear as witnesses against them because of their superstitious fear that this would invite the revenge and anger of the thlen. They much preferred putting up with the government's sending to the village as a punishment a division of military policemen who had to be housed and maintained by the inhabitants for a whole year at a great sacrifice. These are the great difficulties with which the government has to struggle in spite of their best will: with the conditions that obtain there it is not at all difficult to have a person vanish without any trace; but if such a case of murder does come to daylight, it is still a long way to the punishment of the guilty ones because of the lack of witnesses or their refusal to testify. An improvement here can only come from the inside by a change in their religious views. At any rate it is a comfort for Europeans to know that their blood as well as the blood of any foreigner who is not a Khasi is not at all acceptable to the thlen and would not suffice to propitiate him.

[613] hostel, and so long as the expiatory sacrifice, in the form of pigs and goats, determined by the elders of the family and by the sacrificial priest (lyngdoh) has not been offered, the erring member is considered excluded from the family and the family sacrifices. But even after being accepted again a certain stain still clings to him.

[614] But it is also the duty of the clan mother to care for the needs of the members of her family clan with regard to food, clothing, and the like. She divides the fruits of the harvests according to the needs of the individual. She goes or sends to market to trade, to buy, or to sell. She takes care of the common purse and even the masculine members of the clan have to ask her for money when they wish to drink rice liquor or buy clothing. There the clan mother is generous rather than niggardly. This dependent relationship of the men is not considered unworthy at all or shameful. It is the matriarchal form and ancient custom. Nevertheless, the position of the men in the family clan is an esteemed one. Even the name they are called by has an important sound: Rangbah, Sawa (oldest uncle, adviser). On them falls often the work in the field and wood or the protection of the family; bow and arrow are handed to them as cradle gifts. In the more important family matters the clan mother consults with them. At the giving of the name, during a wedding, a funeral, or cremation the clan mother steps almost completely into the background, also during quarrels and court hearings before the chief (Dolloi) or king (U Iem). She is still always influential with her advice, but the actual appearance, activity and judgment is the business of the men. The smaller, everyday sacrifices she performs in the clan hut, but she can also let them /135/ be performed by her sons. At larger sacrificial ceremonies which are offered by several family clans at the same time, by whole villages or even by one of the Khasi states, only the men are active as sacrificial priests.

[613] Sha With regard to the husbands of the clan mother and of the feminine members, they are not considered members of the family clan of the women at all. They are only considered the begetters. They work and live in their own clan, participate in their sacrifices and burial places. The father has no further influence in the raising of the children, who belong entirely to the clan of the mother. But usually they have no obligation, unless the wife and children are impoverished. Even then their care comes in second place after that of members of their own clan. Nevertheless the husband is honored and is addressed by "Mr." (kynrad) by his wife. She would consider it disgraceful to approach him importunately. Where the property of a clan has been dissolved or Christian customs introduced, the husband lives and works together with his wife and children.

696 party to present a pig. The pig is supposed to be sacrificed
712 to a goddess, Ka ïa synshar, i.e. the goddess of the State,
[774] but it is invariably eaten by the Siem and the members of the durbar. The Siem then calls out "*hawsia ma khynrow*" (is it not so, young people?) The members of the durbar then reply, "*hawsia hawsia khim khynrow*" (yes, it is so, young
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1:Gordon E-4, 9 (no date) 1907 ART Khasi ART

683 exile (*pyrwaphang pyrt*); but if a person so possessed died, the
685 corpse was hurled down a precipice (*pyrwah khongpong*). The punishment for adultery and theft was the stocks (*ka pyndoi khongpong*), the in position of fetters, or a punishment known as *kaba dang sdengsdon*, by which the culprit was compelled to sit on a bamboo platform under which chillies were burnt. The result of such torture can be better imagined than described.

684 Incest, or sang, which, amongst the Khasis means cohabiting
686 with a member of a man's or woman's own clan, was punishable with exile or a fine of Rs. 500/- and one pig. It is believed by the Khasis that the evils resulting from incestuous association are very great; the following are some of them: being struck by lightning, being killed by a tiger, dying in childbirth, &c.

METHODS OF TRIAL BY ORDEAL.

1.—Water Ordeal.

685 In ancient times the Khasis used to decide certain cases by means of water ordeal (*ka wynna ram*). Yule, writing in 1844, mentions a water ordeal, and one of my Khasi friends remembers to have seen one during his boyhood. There were two kinds of such ordeals. The first, called *ka wynna lait*, was as follows:—The two disputants in a case would each of them fix a spear under water in some deep pool. They would then dive and catch hold of the spear. The man who remained longest under water without returning to the surface was adjudged by the Siems and elders to have won the case. Colonel Maxwell, late Superintendent of the Manipur State, witnessed a similar ordeal in the Manipur State in the year 1903, when two Manipuris dived to the bottom of a river and held on to stones, the result being that one man, who remained under water in the most determined way, was very nearly drowned. Amongst the Khasis sometimes the supporters of the contending parties used to compel the divers to remain under water by holding them down with their spears. Another form of trial was to place two pots, each of them containing a piece of gold and a piece of silver wrapped up in cloths, in shallow water. The two contending parties

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Deputy-Commissioner for 1878-79 shows that in that year 178 persons in all were brought before the magistrates, the most common classes of cases being theft and house trespass. In the same year 89 civil suits were instituted, of which 83 were for money claims, 2 for immovable property, 2 for restitution of conjugal rights, and 2 in connection with religion and caste. In the Political Court there were 32 cases tried during the year, of which 13 were civil and 18 criminal. In the latter class of cases process issued against 60 persons, of whom 20 were convicted and 40 acquitted. The details of the two following cases will illustrate the condition of social life in the District. The first was a case of grievous hurt. The Siem of Mylliem had sent four persons to fetch a man named U Dorja, who had been selected to marry the Siem's sister. While on their way the messengers were attacked by a number of persons, evidently relatives of U Dorja who were opposed to the marriage. One of them was severely beaten, and died within twelve days from pneumonia. The offenders, numbering five in all, were sentenced to pay a fine of Rs. 10 (£1) each, or in default to suffer fourteen days' imprisonment. The second case was one of oppression. It originated in a dispute about land, situated in a locality over which both the Siem of Nongkhlaw and the Lyngdoh of Sohiong claimed to exercise jurisdiction. The parties out of possession had gone to lay their complaint before the Siem, whereupon the Lyngdoh, with eight other persons, seized three of the complainants' kinsmen, ill-treated them, and kept them in durance with the object of having the complaint submitted to himself for adjudication. The Lyngdoh was sentenced to a fine of Rs. 50 (£5), and his companions were warned and discharged.

JAIL STATISTICS.—There are two jails in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills:—(1) The jail at Shillong, which is directly under the charge of the Deputy-Commissioner; and (2) the lock-up at Jowai, under the Assistant-Commissioner. It has been proposed to build a new jail at Shillong; the present structure consists only of bamboo huts, surrounded by a fence of the same material.

The following are the jail statistics for 1875:—Daily average number of prisoners, 40·50, of whom 1·07 were females; daily average number of sick, 1·40; number of deaths, 4, or 10 per cent. of the average daily strength. The total expenditure was Rs. 7430 (£743), or an average of Rs. 181 (£18, 10s.) per prisoner. This high rate of expenditure is due to the cost of rations at Shillong.

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684 Incest, or *sang*, which, amongst the Khasis means cohabiting
686 with a member of a man's or woman's own clan, was punishable with exile or a fine of Rs. 100/- and one pig. It is believed by the Khasis that the evils resultant from incestuous connection are very great; the following are some of them: being struck by lightning, being killed by a tiger, dying in childbirth, &c.

METHODS OF TRIAL IN KHASIS.

1.—Water Ordeal.

685 In ancient times the Khasis used to decide certain cases by means of water ordeal (*ka spong wah*). Yule, writing in 1844, mentions a water ordeal, and one of my Khasi friends remembers to have seen one during his boyhood. There were two kinds of such ordeals. The first, called *ka spong lah*, was as follows:—The two disputants in a case would each of them fix a spear under water in some deep pool. They would then dive and catch hold of the spear. The man who remained longest under water without returning to the surface was adjudged by the Siems and durbar to have won the case. Colonel Maxwell, late Superintendent of the Manipur State, witnessed a similar ordeal in the Manipur State in the year 1882, when two Manipuris dived to the bottom of a river and held on to stones, the result being that one man, who remained under water in the most determined way, was very nearly drowned. Amongst the Khasis sometimes the supporters of the contending parties used to compel the divers to remain under water by holding them down with their spears. Another form of trial was to place two pots, each of them containing a piece of gold and a piece of silver wrapped up in cloths, in shallow water. The two contending parties

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The above and other similar sacrifices to the gods of the State or divisions of the State may be said to be the communal religious duties of the *lyngdoh*. The duties of *lyngdoh* with reference to private persons may now be mentioned. When it is found that any two people have made an incestuous marriage, that is to say a marriage within the consanguineous group of the *kur*, or clan, the parties at fault are taken before the *lyngdoh* by their chamnon, who request him to sacrifice in order to ward off the injurious effects of the *sang*, or taboo, of such a connection from the kindred. On this occasion a pig is sacrified to *u bri lyngdoh* and a goat to *ka bri lang sng*. The parties at fault are then outcasted. As mentioned in another place, the sin of incest admits of no expiation for the offenders themselves. In the Khyrim State, it is said by the *lyngdohs* themselves, although not by the Sirn or the myntries, that they are the ceremonious legatees of all the persons who die without leaving female heirs (*ley dak*). In other Siemships such property passes to the Sirn. The *lyngdoh* of Nongkrem can also take possession of the property of persons who have been found to harbour an evil spirit (*jingdoh*) in their houses. It appears that in such cases the house and furniture are burnt, as in the case of the *Tawah* superstition in the Jaintia Hills, the *lyngdoh*, however, taking possession of jewellery or anything else of value. The only practical service the *lyngdoh* renders in return is to build the afflicted person a new house; unless, indeed, we take into account the casting forth of the devil by the *lyngdoh*. Mr. Jenkins, of Shangpung, in the Jaintia Hills, writes: "Such is the belief of the people in the evil spirits, that they are completely under the influence of the priests and spend large sums of money in order to secure their favour. They live in constant dread lest by the least transgression or omission they should offend these avaricious men and so bring upon themselves the wrath of the demons." The influence of the *lyngdohs* over the people in the Jaintia Hills seems to be stronger than in the Khasi Hills. For instance, it came to my notice in Ialiong that crops cannot be cut until the *lyngdoh* has seen them, in other words, until the *lyngdoh* has claimed and obtained his share of the produce. In many places, however, in the Khasi Hills the *lyngdoh* is much dis-

[illegible] I, during, no doubt, to the advance of Christianity and education.

14:Roy 1-5 (no date) 1938 A87 Khasi A87

For the species to increase and continue he says, Here—

The mother to bear and give birth—	—	The son of others	The sent da sin ñia (father's sister)	Ia
				Ib

For the house to continue and the world to remain he says, Here—

The sent da sin ñia (father's sister)	—	The son a ñiam ñia (son of brother of da sin ñia)	The sentie da ñiñia (daughter of da sin ñia) father's sister)	IIa
				IIb

For the person (regime) to crystallize, and the station (system) to remain he says, Here—

father's mother (da ñmin ñia) —	The son a ñiam ñia (son of brother of da sin ñia, who is grandson of da ñmin ñia (father's mother)	The sentie da para ñia (daughter of father's brother)	Ib
			IIIa

The Khasi knows the 'sang' (sacra, sacred, that which is forbidden as sacred). He has experimented and therefore he says *ñn sang iap* (lit., that which is 'sacred' or forbidden or taboo unto death) in the case of those who committed incest in the same *jaid*, kind, species, that is, those of the *a* group. It is sacrilege. There is no greater punishment than for this sin,—a punishment so severe that the Khasi will not permit the bones of these transgressors to enter the family *ñaiw*. Similarly they regard as an act of sacrilege for children of brothers (*ñki para ñka*) to inter-marry. Thus the Khasi regards as 'sacred', that is, forbidden or tabooed, for those who are sprung of or connected through the same womb, and for those who are generated of and are suspended from or strung to one umbilical cord in origin, to marry. That is they regard as *sang* for the *a+b* man—woman group to marry the *b* son. [see Tables (1) & (2)].

13: Nakao E-9 (1953-1954) 1957 AR? Khasi AR?

of marriages between these two *kur*. Such marriage arrangements cannot be regarded as constituting a cross-cousin institution. From my data of four villages it was not possible to produce any institutionalized pattern. 582 614

In general, the selection of a marital partner depends mainly on personal choice; though the authority of the *iing* (descent group) and parents should be consulted. The man proposes to the girl. The network of marriage relations among the Khasi seems in no way to follow any set principle. Every marriage is likely to be fortuitous: it is ruled simply by temporary personal liking, except for the strict rule of exogamy and the avoidance of near kin.

Exogamy is strictly kept. In the olden days breaking this rule was equivalent to being sentenced to death. Offenders had their heads shaved in a particular way and had to leave the Khasi community completely. Even now such a marriage is considered as the worst kind of sin; a Khasi Christian intellectual said to me that it was worse than homicide. I came across one couple who had broken this rule. Though they had different *kur* names, both *kur* were segments of one common *kur*. It happened in Jaitinga, one of the most modern Khasi communities whose inhabitants were all Christians. The couple were not allowed to have their house inside the village. Their house was in the jungle about one mile away from the village. 178 582 614 684

Sororate marriage—marriage to a younger sister of the late wife—is practised, since it justifies the widower in remaining in the same household as his children after his wife's death. Otherwise, the Khasi rule demands that he should leave the house and his children in order to remarry another woman. We shall deal with this aspect again in terms of marriage. 587

II. Principle of Descent and Succession

Previously I have mentioned the *kpoh*, the matrilineal kin group with a common great grandmother. This is not, however, an institutional corporate descent group. The most important functional descent unit is called *iing*. The *iing* is the lowest order of clan segmentation, smaller than the *kpoh*—a *kpoh* may include two or more *iing*. The generation depth of an *iing* is usually two to four, in some cases an *iing* is formed only by mother and child. The Khasi consider this unit to be the most important social index for the classification of individuals. Marriages are arranged by individual *iing*, not by wider groups of kinsmen. The *iing* is the structurally significant norm. The term *iing* is also used for a house building itself, as is the *nok* of the Garo. However, the membership of the *iing*, as I shall 613

party to present a pig. The pig is supposed to be sacrificed to a goddess, *Ka 'ki synthar*, i.e. the goddess of the State, but it is invariably eaten by the Siem and the members of the durbar. The Siem then calls out "*kumta ma khyawa*" (is it not so, young people?) The members of the durbar then reply, "*kaiid kumta khain khyawa*" (yes, it is so, young men). Sentences of fine are more often resorted to than other punishments nowadays, probably because very few of the Siems possess jails for the reception of criminals. The condemned one in a criminal case frequently serves his time by working for the Siem as a menial servant. The above description, which is based on the account given by the Rev. W. Lewis, with some modifications, may be taken as the usual form of procedure of the Khasi durbar.

Under the heading of *decision of disputes* we may perhaps give a short description of some of the punishments which were inflicted by the Siems and their durbars in criminal cases in ancient times. Murder was punishable by beating the culprit to death with clubs (*ki tongpu ki lyndon*). The killing, however, of a *song shah sah*, i.e. a man who seeks for human victims to sacrifice to the monster, a *thlon*, is not considered murder, even now by the Khasis, and the slayer of the *song shah sah* only has to inform the Siem and deposit Rs. 5, and one pig in the Siem's court. The slaying of a robber also is dealt with in like manner.

The punishment of adultery was imprisonment for life (*ka sah dain mar*), or a fine of Rs. 1,100, and one pig (*ka khadawi synh ewi doh*). Whether such a heavy fine was ever paid is perhaps doubtful, and probably some other form of punishment was substituted for it. A husband finding his wife and a man in *flagrante delicto* could, as under the law of the ancients, kill both adulterer and adulteress without punishment for murder. He was, however, bound to deposit Rs. 5, and the conventional pig in the Siem's durbar. The punishment for rape (*haba khaiid tyngu*) was imprisonment for life in the case of the woman being married, and a heavy fine and one pig if the woman was a spinster. Arson was punishable with imprisonment for life, or a heavy fine. The punishment for causing people to be possessed by devils (*ka ba ai-kwaid briew*) was

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 2507 AR? Khasi AR?

683 exile (*pyrangkong pat*); but if a person so punished died, the
685 sentence was limited down a penalty (*pyrnah khongpong*). The punishment for robbery and theft was the stocks (*ka pyndon khongpong*), the imposition of fetters, or a punishment known as *kaba ylang sohmynsiu*, by which the culprit was compelled to sit on a bamboo platform under which chillies were burnt. The result of such torture can be better imagined than described.

684 Incest, or sang, which, amongst the Khasis means cohabiting
686 with a member of a man's or woman's own clan, was punishable with exile or a fine of Rs. 500/- and one pig. It is believed by the Khasis that the evils resultant from incestuous connections are very great; the following are some of them: being struck by lightning, being killed by a tiger, dying in childbirth, &c.

METHOD OF TRYING CASES BY ORDEAL.

1.—*Water Ordeal.*

685 In ancient times the Khasis used to decide certain cases by means of water ordeal (*ka ryem wan*). Yule, writing in 1844, mentions a water ordeal, and one of my Khasi friends remembers to have seen one during his boyhood. There were two kinds of such ordeals. The first, called *ka ryem lah*, was as follows:—The two disputants in a case would each of them fix a spear under water in some deep pool. They would then dive and catch hold of the spear. The man who remained longest under water without returning to the surface was adjudged by the Siems and doctors to have won the case. Colonel Maxwell, late Superintendent of the Manipur State, witnessed a similar ordeal in the Manipur State in the year 1903, when two Manipuris dived to the bottom of a river and held on to stones, the result being that one man, who remained under water in the most determined way, was very nearly drowned. Amongst the Khasis sometimes the supporters of the contending parties used to compel the divers to remain under water by holding them down with their spears. Another form of trial was to place two pots, each of them containing a piece of gold and a piece of silver wrapped up in cloths, in shallow water. The two contending parties

It Gordon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

tension. The Lyngngam possess no head-hunting customs, as far as it has been possible to ascertain. These people are still wild and uncivilized. Although they do not, as a rule, give trouble, from an administrative point of view, a very serious dacoity, accompanied by murder, was committed by certain Lyngngam at an Awanese village on the outskirts of the Lyngngam country a few years ago. The victims were two Marwari merchants and their servant, as well as another man. These people were brutally murdered by the Lyngngam, and robbed of their property. The offenders were, however, successfully traced and arrested by Inspector Raj Mohan Das, and several of them suffered capital punishment, the remainder being transported for life.

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

203 694 *na* to cut firewood then; *Hei!* to go as coolies then; *Hei!* to go to work then; *Hei!* to go a journey then; *Hei!* to descend to the valley then; *Hei!* he who has a pouch. *Hei!* he who has a bag. *Hei!* now come forth. *Hei!* now appear. *Hei!* the hearing then is to be all in company. *Hei!* the listening attentively then is to be all together. *Hei!* for his own king. *Hei!* for his own lord, lest destruction has come; lest wearing away has overtaken us. *Kaw!* come forth now fellow mates."

This proclamation is called *khang shnong*, and by it all are stopped from going anywhere from the village the following day. [687] Anybody who disregards the prohibition is liable to fine. 695 The following day, towards evening, all the grown-up males of the village assemble at the durbar ground, the site of which is marked in some villages by rows of flat stones, arranged in an irregular circle, upon which the durbaris sit. The proceedings are opened by one of the headmen, who makes a long speech; then others follow, touching upon all sorts of irrelevant matters, but throwing out hints, now and then, bearing on the subject of accusation. By degrees the debate waxes warmer, and the parties get nearer the point. Then the complainant and the defendant each of them throw down on the ground a turban, or a bag containing betel and *pân*, lime, &c., in front of the durbar. These are regarded as the pledges of the respective parties and their representatives in the suit; they revive the name of *mawla* (hence the Khasi term *ar liang mawla* for the two contending parties in the suit). There are pleaders on both sides called *'riw adid*, who address the durbar in lengthy speeches, the Siem being the judge and the whole body of the durbar the jury. Witnesses are examined by the parties; in former times they were sworn on a pinch of salt placed on a sword. The most sacred and most binding form of oath, however, is sworn on a *khong* (a hollow gourd containing liquor). As, however, the latter form of oath is regarded by the Khasis as a most serious ordeal, it will be described separately. The 695 durbar sometimes goes on for several days. At length the 772 finding of the durbar is taken, after the Siem has summed up, and sentence is pronounced, which generally consists of a fine in money, almost always accompanied by an order to the losing

l: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

589 dition that she does not remarry; the idea being that as long as
765 the bones remain in the widow's keeping, the spirit of her husband is still with her. On this account many wives who revere their husband's memories, and who do not contemplate remarriage, purposely keep the bones for a long time. If a
587 widow marries, even after the customary taboo period of one
765 year, whilst her deceased husband's bones are still in her keeping, she is generally looked down upon. Her children in such a
[346] case perform the ceremony of handing over the bones of their father to his clan in a building specially erected for the purpose. The widow cannot enter therein, or even go near it, whilst the ceremony is proceeding, no matter whether the *jing sang*, or the price for removing the taboo after a husband's death, has been
595 paid to the husband's clan or not. There is no evidence to show that polyandry ever existed amongst the Khasis. Unlike the Thibetans, the Khasi women seem to have contented themselves always with one husband, at any rate with one at a time. Certainly at the present day they are monandrists.* Polygamy does not exist amongst the Khasis; such a practice would naturally not be in vogue amongst a people who observe the matriarchate. There are instances, however, of men having wives other than those they have regularly married, and in the War country children by such wives enjoy rights to their father's acquired property equally with the children by the legally
582 married wife. As the clans are strictly exogamous, a Khasi
• 688 cannot take a wife from his own clan; to do this would entail the most disastrous religious, as well as social consequences.
764 For to marry within the clan is the greatest sin a Khasi can commit, and would cause excommunication by his kinsfolk and the refusal of funeral ceremonies at death, and his bones would
[115] not be allowed a resting-place in the sepulchre of the clan. To give a list of all the Khasi exogamous clans would perhaps serve
614 no useful purpose, but I have prepared from information, kindly
582 furnished me by the Siems of Khyrim and Cherrapunji, a list of the clans in those States which will be found in Appendices A and B. These will suffice as examples. It will be seen from the Cherra list that the different divisions of the Diengdoh clan, viz. Lalu, Diengdoh-bah, Diengdoh-kylla, are prohibited from intermarriage; this is due to those branches of the clan being

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

should inherit the property and not men. The rule amongst 428
the Khasis is that the youngest daughter "holds" the religion, "*ka bat ka niam.*" Her house is called, "*ka iing seng,*" and it [796]
is here that the members of the family assemble to witness her performance of the family ceremonies. Hers is, therefore, the largest share of the family property, because it is she whose duty it is to perform the family ceremonies, and propitiate the family ancestors. The other daughters, however, on their mother's death are entitled, each of them, to a share of their mother's property, although the youngest daughter gets the lion's share, e.g. the family jewellery, and the family house, and the greater part of what it contains. The youngest [425]
daughter cannot dispose of the house without the unanimous consent of her sisters. If the youngest daughter dies, she is succeeded by the next youngest daughter, and so on. All the daughters are bound to repair the house of the youngest daughter free of cost. In the event of the youngest daughter [688]
changing her religion, or committing an act of *sang*, or taboo, she loses her position in the family, and is succeeded by her next youngest sister, as in the case of a death. Failing daughters, inheritance would pass by the "knight's move" to the sister's youngest daughter, who would be succeeded by her youngest daughter, and so on. Failing sister's daughters succession would revert to the mother's sisters and their female descendants. In the Jaintia Hills the inheritance of all real property passes from mother to youngest daughter. No man in the uplands of the Jaintia Hills can possess landed property, unless it is self-acquired property. In the Jaintia Hills, if a man dies and leaves acquired property, his heir will be his mother, if alive, excluding wife, sons, and daughters. If the wife, however, undertakes not to re-marry, she will inherit half of her husband's property, which at her death will descend to her youngest daughter by him.

Amongst Khasis all property which has been acquired by a 421
man before marriage is considered to belong to his mother; 428
indeed it may be said to belong to the man's *kur*, or clan, such property being called by Khasis, "*ka mai iing kur*" (the earnings of the house of the clan). After marriage, if there are children, the case is different, provided that the property

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

GENNA.

784 The word *genna* is one in common use amongst the Naga tribes. It seems to be a matter of doubt whether the word belongs to any of the numerous languages or dialects spoken by these tribes; but for our purposes it may be taken to mean *taboo*. The Khasi word *sang*, which implies an interdiction either religious or social from doing any particular thing, might have been employed; but as the word *genna* is so commonly used when speaking of taboos amongst the hill tribes of this province, I have thought fit to employ it here. The word *genna*, or taboo, may be held to include the Khasi *sang*. Taboos amongst the Khasis, Wárs and Lynngams may be divided into
784 two sections; (*a*) general, and (*b*) special. Instances of general
609 taboo have not been found amongst the Khasis, but the follow-
688 ing taboo called *Ka sang kla* amongst the Wár villages of Sohlar and Nongjri is peculiar, and therefore worthy of description. Its chief peculiarity is that during the time the *sang kla* continues, the inhabitants of these two villages are not allowed to associate with foreigners. This *genna* takes place twice a year, in the months of June and November, and lasts for a month each time. During the *genna* foreigners are not allowed to stay the night in these two villages, and the villagers must not sleep the night outside their villages. If they do not return home for the night, they are subjected to a fine. There is a prohibition against eating, smoking, or chewing betel-nut with foreigners
784 during the period. The above is the only instance of general
609 taboo that I have been able to find amongst the Wárs, but in
582 the Lynngam villages there is a taboo on all outsiders at the time of the village pujas. Such a taboo amongst the Lynngams is not to be wondered at, as they have probably imbibed the notion from their Garo mothers, intermarriages between Lynngams and Garos being common. The Garos, like other Thibeto-Burmans, have numerous taboos. There are numerous
582 instances of special taboos among the Khasis. *Kaba*
784 *shong sang*, or marrying within the *kur* or clan, is the
783 most important taboo of all, and is regarded as the most
764 serious offence a Khasi can commit. It admits of no expiation, and the bones and ashes of the offender cannot be placed in the family tomb.

784 for a cremation). See table I, picture 2, "The heathen Khasi village Raliang with a "holy wood" (law kyntang) in the background."

6. Giving or taking anything at all with the left hand.
7. Stepping over the corpse of another person.
8. Killing an animal or bird without having previously strewn rice on its head.
9. Using the milk of the cow or the goat.
10. Completing all kinds of started sewing or basket weaving for pregnant women.
11. Pregnant women are not allowed to accompany any funeral procession.
12. The husband of a pregnant woman is forbidden to roof the house (straw roof) or to make a handle for a hatchet or an axe (ka wait - ka da).
13. Speaking with anyone at all as long as the threshing of the rice lasts, unless it is with the co-workers of the man or of the woman.
14. Variously the use of pork, dried fish, melons, lemons, etc. is forbidden.

784 Violating the sang is punished by the
68 deity. Thus several Khasi explained after the
342 great earthquake of June 12, 1897: "Because you built your houses of stone and fastened the planks with nails, it has so happened that everything has tumbled down, because god does not wish stone and despises nails. Formerly we too built only with wood and bamboo and used bast for making things fast and for binding, but today people have become proud and have built with stone. That is why this has happened; god

784
682 hates stone; he does not wish any lime." (14)
342

14. P.A. Münzloher, S.D.S. Die apostolische Präfektur Assam [The Apostolic Prefecture of Assam] (Rome, 1899), p. 83.

4. Egg Throwing (shat-pylleng)

787 The most common of all the oracles of the
782 Khasi is egg throwing (shat-pylleng). A great deal has already been written about it. (15)

[113] 15. P. Dr. C. Becker, Das Eierwerfen der Khasi [Egg Throwing Among the Khasi] Anthropos XII-XIII (1917-1918), pp. 494-496.

I will only add here the prayer of the sacrificer u nongshat-pylleng. It is not an actual prayer, at least the nongshat-pylleng is not bound to any formula. The sacrificer speaks approximately thus:

Ko lengsam khun ka blei, ko banang ko batip ko ba lah ko baiai, nga pynthiah nga pyndem halor ka diengshat ka diengkhein, ka duwan ka dupat, a kynrad ngan kylli ngan	O thou egg of the oracle, thou daughter of the goddess, thou whom thou knowest and art aware of (art able to) thou remainest thou (stayest); I put thee down here on the board (16)

16. Cf. Table II, Picture 1. [419]

togkit katne ba long shitom ka lanot ka shoh ka ther ka shit ka syang ka pisa ka lynga ia ka met u	on the oracular wood, on the altar, o mistress, I question and ponder (would like to question,

Thus the dance continues for hours at a time amidst the noise of the music. Thousands of spectators who do not seem to get tired throng around the great place. In the afternoon, at about three o'-clock /898/ the dance, which plays a large part in all the religious festivities is ended. 535

Then preparations are made for the large sacrifice. In front of the house of the S'iem sād several boards are placed in a row beside each other, and in front of them at certain intervals twelve little heaps of loam are made. Music now plays inside of the iīng sād. All the sacrificial gifts are given to the S'iem sād in front of the rishoṭ Blei and then distributed to the sacrificers by her. These then go out of the hut to the place of the sacrifice. There are twelve of them, namely the six official sacrificial priests of the kingdom and several lyngdohs from the villages; the Soh Blei is at their head, wearing a special sacrificial coat (cf. Fig. 4).[1] while the others wear everyday clothes. Each one carries a dish in his hand with some rice, pounded flour for kpu and rynsi, betel nuts and the pepper leaf that belongs with them, a small young hen, a water container, leaves of the Khasi oak tree, as well as a small gourd bottle with rice liquor. The dish and the water container of the sacrificial priests are of ornamented brass, those of the Soh Blei of silver -- all clean and polished until gleaming. 796 782

The spectators are arranged to the right and the left of the sacrificers, so that there is a wide alleyway open through the middle of the place to the gate of the board fence which surrounds the place and the iīng sād. Several men are constantly busy keeping the crowd within these bounds. No one may come in through the gate during the whole ceremony, because the god enters here during the sacrifice - therefore the broad path must be left open. If anyone should chance to wish to come in through the gate during the performance of the sacrifice, he is driven back with loud shouts. If he dared to come in anyway, in earlier times he would have been a child of death; now the fear of the English government might protect him to a certain extent, although this could hardly be an absolute guaranty of his life because of the religious excitement of the people. [688]

The twelve now squat down on the boards placed in front of the iīng sād, the Soh Blei in the middle. Behind them the S'iem sād sits alone on the steps which lead from the iīng sād to the place of the sacrifice. Somewhat further back sits the S'iem surrounded by his Mentris and relatives (cf. Fig 7).[1] The Soh Blei sets the example in all that follows; the others watch him and copy him. While each of the sacrificers slaughters only a small hen or a goat, the Soh Blei has

[1] [For illustrations, see category 116, pp 14-18 --- Analyst]

776 divinities of the forest and of the chase. The little basket is at-
778 tached to a post in the hut; the special divinities of the clan-family are supposed to have their dwelling there; two hazelnut twigs fastened underneath symbolize their power. The gourd bottles are used as containers for the sacrificial drink of rice liquor. (6)

6. Cf. Die Nongkrem-Puja, /The Nongkrem Puja/, loc cit.

422 As treasures, which are handed down from generation to generation,
[301] are considered the rich ornaments of gold and silver, the heavy chains of coral, and the silk scarves, which are worn by the women at dancing ceremonies.

Also those things which the family huts contain in the way of furnishings and utensils, such as baskets, mats, lances, shields, arrows and bows, and brass pots for cooking and for water, earthen containers and brass plates are considered common property of the family.

421 /132/ The clan mother at the time has the entire property in
425 her hands; she is the legal and sole guardian and manager of the prop-
● 688 erty. Nothing can be lent even without her permission. No part of either the movable or immovable family possessions may be sold without her agreement. For the execution of the proper legal deed, as she is often ignorant of writing, she must place her fingerprint. Nothing may ever be given away: that would be an insult to the clan divinity since that would not mean treasuring and honoring their property but giving it away as being of no value. As a punishment for that the clan /stamm/ would also lose its other possessions and then live in poverty and disgrace. The individual members of the clan could sometimes be recruited for work for other clan-families as a kind of slave (mrau). But they may not be taken up in their society as they do not belong to that clan and the clan gods of that family would not permit it. Therefore if, for example, a clan-family has rice fields which they do not cultivate and would gladly give to poorer relatives, they must at least receive the smallest rent as a charge for it. This consists annually of a gourd bottle of rice liquor, which has the value of about 70 pfennigs to honor the household divinities.

Before the clan mother gives her permission for the sale of common property, she listens to the advice of the other members of the clan. Actually according to the old tribal custom things should be as little sold as given away. It is said that in ages past the original ancestors, whom the individual clans reverence as divinities, apportioned out this their needs of field and wood, and these are supposed
421 to form their unsalable clan property (nongrim). To let it get out of
425 one's possession would therefore be insulting the gods. However, that

could not prevent individuals from becoming needy through misfortune 421
or laziness and their trying to rent a part of their property for an annual 425
payment or for a sum needed once. This is called ban die pan, literally: begging to buy. The sense of relinquishing by lending /133/ is contained in this. For example, a field is worth 300 reichsmarks. Fifty or 100 reichsmarks are accepted for it and the creditor remains the owner of the field until the money is repaid. This type of purchase occurs frequently. There are frequently traders (nongkhaii) who try to use such purchases to their own advantage. They turn over the field to the debtor for further cultivation in return for payment in produce of 50 to 70 per cent of the harvest. After several years the whole field is their property. Aside from this method, it also happens that instead of being able to repay the money the people need still further sums. In that case then the entire price of 300 reichsmarks is paid and the actual purchase is considered completed; that is called ban die lut; literally: totally, completely sold. A family-clan which gradually loses its property in this manner descends into poverty and need. There is nothing else for it to do than to look for work elsewhere, to rent land or to sell the children as a kind of slaves to better [567] situated people. If 40 reichsmarks are paid for a child of about 10 years, he remains in the bondage of the buyer until the money can be repaid. That happens only rarely. Besides food and the most necessary clothing only one rupee is deducted annually as wage from the purchase price; thus, practically, the child belongs to the buyer for the duration of his life.

It is the duty of individual members of a family clan to work together so that the clan property will be maintained and will produce 613 688
the necessary amount for the maintenance of all. The clan mother must oversee primarily that the appropriate customs and usages are preserved. She is held in high esteem by all. To do something against her wish to offend her, to call her insulting names, or to go so far as to strike her is considered sang (taboo), a severe crime that causes misfortune. It is a great sin (pop) and a thoroughly great disgrace (sngewsih eh tam) for the whole clan (7) As long as a member 613 688 782

7. Also considered similar crimes are selling clan property in secret, incest, desecrating burial places in a coarse manner, making use of holy grounds or woods.

/134/ of the family has committed such a crime and has not begged pardon from the clan mother and the elders of the clan, perhaps with the words: pardon me, I have committed an error (to map ia nga leh

613 bakla); and as long as the expiatory sacrifice, in the form of pigs and
● 688 goats, determined by the elders of the family and by the sacrificial
682 priest (lyngdoh) has not been offered, the sinning member is considered excluded from the family and the family sacrifices. But even after being accepted again a certain stain still clings to him.

But it is also the duty of the clan mother to care for the needs of
613 the members of her family clan with regard to food, clothing, and the like. She divides the fruits of the harvests according to the needs of the individual. She goes or sends to market to trade, to buy, or to sell. She takes care of the common purse and even the masculine members of the clan have to ask her for money when they wish to drink rice liquor or buy clothing. There the clan mother is generous
[562] rather than niggardly. This dependent relationship of the men is not considered unworthy at all or shameful. It is the matriarchal form and ancient custom. Nevertheless, the position of the men in the family clan is an esteemed one. Even the name they are called by has an important sound: Rangbah, Basan (oldest ones, advisers). On them falls often the work in the field and wood or the protection of the family; bow and arrow are handed to them as cradle gifts. In the more important family matters the clan mother consults with them. At the giving of the name, during a wedding, a funeral, or cremation the clan mother steps almost completely into the background, also during quarrels and court hearings before the chief (Doloi) or king (S'iem). She is still always influential with her advice, but the actual appearance, activity and judgments is the business of the men. The smaller,
[782] everyday sacrifices she performs in the clan hut; but she can also let these /135/ be performed by her sons. At larger sacrificial ceremonies which are offered by several family clans at the same time, by whole
[793] villages or even by one of the Khasi states, only the men are active as sacrificial priests.

613 With regard to the husbands of the clan mother and of the feminine
596 members, they are not considered members of the family clan of the women at all. They are only considered the begetters. They work and live in their own clan, participate in their sacrifices and burial places. The father has no further influence in the raising of the children, who belong entirely to the clan of the mother. But usually they have no obligation, unless the wife and children are impoverished. Even then their care comes in second place after that of members of their own
[593] clan. Nevertheless the husband is honored and is addressed by "Mr." (kynrad) by his wife. She would consider it disgraceful to approach him impertinently. Where the property of a clan has been dissolved or Christian customs introduced, the husband lives and works together with his wife and children.

Because of her whole position as guardian of the inherited religion and customs, it is not frequent that such a woman breaks with the ancestor cult. If this does happen, it does not necessarily mean that she loses the entire property. That depends really on the position the other members of the family take. If they are all still firm heathens, who wish to have nothing to do with Christianity, they can force the clan mother to give everything up. The high respect for her is frequently so great, however, that either the whole clan or at least a part of it decides to take the same step and change religions with the clan mother. The part that remains heathen will certainly propose a division of the family property. This is also possible in other cases. 428 613 797 671

4. Division of the Family Property.

Although it is rare, the weal and woe of a family-clan can require that a family-clan be split into two clans /Clan/ and that a division of the common property be undertaken. The basis for this is if the family /Geschlecht/ becomes too big, if the elders in the family council /308/ are no longer united and hate and revenge threaten to destroy, if a part of the clan /Clan/ tries to seize the better fields by violence and refuses to deliver the harvest for the common need, if one branch has brought the whole clan /Sippe/ dishonor and shame by false oaths, incest, revenge, treachery or some other severe crime. Only the guilty party will be excluded from the clan /Clan/ in such cases, if he remains stubborn and impenitent. But if he begs for forgiveness with his lips and participates in the expiatory sacrifice, forgiveness will not be refused him. But a certain inner tension and bad feeling often remain behind. 613 578 688

At the conversion to another religion, it often depends on how the clan mother and also the family elders are inclined towards the religion in question, and also on who is changing religions. If it is only brothers, sons, nephews, or grandsons, of the clan mother, a division is out of the question, since the men are not capable of inheriting. But if it is the youngest or next youngest daughter or even the sister of the clan mother, then a division of property can be undertaken. A clan mother after all is so attached to her child or her nearest blood relatives that she would not like to push them entirely away from herself unless she were completely set against the religion in question and angered. If that should be so in individual cases, the heiress concerned will still consider, whether it is not more advisable to wait to change her religion until the clan mother has closed her eyes and she then has free play. Then that which was mentioned at the conclusion of the previous section can occur. 797 428 425 613

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423 prominent trees on the boundary lines, or by natural boundaries such as streams.

423 614 In the War country to the West of Cherra, notably the country between the heights of Laitkynsew and the plains, considerable portions of the hill-sides are the property of communities known as *sengs*. A *seng* may be defined as a collection of families sprung from some common ancestress or ancestor. As an instance of these *sengs* I may describe the community known as the *lai seng* which owns land in the neighbourhood of Laitkynsew, the area owned being known as the "*ri lai seng*," or land of the three clans. These clans are descended from three men, U Kynta, U Nabein, and U Tangrai, it being remarkable that in this case descent is traced originally from male ancestors and not from females. The three ancestors are said to have owned a large tract of land, and they had as their abode the village of Laitmawria close to Laitkynsew; but owing to an epidemic, or some such cause, they deserted the village of Laitmawria and went with their families to live in some of the surrounding War villages, viz. in Tyrna, Nongkroh, Nongwar, Mastoh, and Mawlong. The descendants of the three men above-mentioned possess a genealogical table, showing their descent from the original three founders of the *sengs*. They claim a large tract of country lying to the south and south-east of the Laitkynsew plateau, containing not only orange gardens, but also valuable lime quarries. There are other *seng* communities also in the neighbourhood, e.g. the *hinriew phew seng*, or sixty *sengs*, who put forward claims to other tracts of land. The boundaries of the *ri lai seng* are identifiable on the ground. [622] The business of the *seng* community is managed by a durbar, an elder or other influential person being chosen as president.

423 [427] 692 In the country of the Lynngams the crop belongs to the person who cultivates it, but the land belongs to the *kur* or family. The Lynngam villages, like those in the Khasi Siemships, do not pay any rent to the Siem. If outsiders cultivate within the areas set apart for the different Lynngam villages, all of them, including women, have to pay eight annas each to the people of the village in whose circle they cultivate. There is usually a mutual understanding between inhabitants of Lynngam villages, that certain tracts of land belong to the

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respective villages; sometimes, however, there are disputes re- 423
garding those lands between the different villages. Such dis- 692
putes are settled by the Lynngam Sirdars of villages or by the Sirdars sitting with the two Lyngskors of the Siemship. If the disputes cannot be settled by these officials to the satisfaction of the parties, the latter are taken by the Lyngskors and Sirdars to the Siem of Nongstoin, who tries the case with the aid of the State mantris.

LAWS REGARDING OTHER PROPERTY.

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There is no separate law applying to personal property, as opposed to real property, amongst the Khasis.

DECISION OF DISPUTES.

Khasi Courts of Judicature.

In the first place a complaint is made before the Siem, 694
or chief, against a certain party or parties. The facts and 628
circumstances of the case are then detailed before the chief and his headmen, the ostensible object being to attempt to bring about a compromise between the parties. If no recon- 203
ciliation can be effected, a crier (*u nong pyrta shnong*), or in the 694
Jaintia Hills a *sangot*, is sent out to proclaim at the top of his voice the durbar which is to assemble the following evening. He proceeds to cry the durbar in the evening when all the inhabitants have returned to the village from their usual daily pursuits. With a loud premonitory yell the crier makes use of the following formula *:—

"*Kaw!* thou, a fellow-villager; thou, a fellow-creature; thou, an old man; thou, who art grown up; thou, who art young; thou, a boy; thou, a child; thou, an infant; thou, who art little; thou, who art great. *Hei!* because there is a contest. *Hei!* for to cause to sit together. *Hei!* for to cause to deliberate. *Hei!* for to give intelligence together. *Hei!* about to assemble in durbar. *Hei!* for to listen attentively. *Hei!* ye are forbidden. *Hei!* ye are stopped to draw water then

* What follows is a literal translation of the Khasi.

241 464 **2.10 Labour and Wages:** It has already been mentioned above that a large number of people subsist on labour—agricultural as well as non-agricultural. Owners of big orchards employ labourers for clearing of their orchards twice or thrice a year, plucking and transporting of produce to markets. Paddy cultivators with large farm engage labourers for ploughing and hoeing of fields, sowing, harvesting and threshing of paddy. It should be mentioned that due to the peculiar agricultural practices prevalent in the district, the input of labourer even for paddy cultivation is higher than that in any of the plains district of the State, which compels cultivators to hire 241 464 465 labourer even for small paddy fields. In the case of cash crops, wages are usually paid in cash and for food crops it is paid in cash and kind more usually in kind. Wage rates for males and females are different which generally vary from Rs.1.50 to 1.25 for males and Rs.1.25 to Re. 1.00 for females.

There are, however, numerous instances of engaging agricultural labourers at the rate of Re. 0.50 per day. During the scarcity months the well-to-do farmers advance loans to the poorer section of the people on condition that repayment will have to be made by rendering labour on wage basis at the rate of Re. 0.50 per day in the creditors farms whenever their services are demanded. Thus whenever their services are demanded the poor people have to work in creditor's farm even at the cost of ruining their own cultivation.

There are other instances where the labourers are paid less then usual wages. In some villages where there is dearth of work all the agricultural labourers gather together at some specified place early in the morning. The well-to-do farmers go there and through bargaining manage to engage the number of hands they want at very low rates Similar bidding down of wages of non-agricultural labourers is also prevalent whenever demand for labour is very low.

Land utilisation and cropping

423 659 **2.11 Land tenure system.**—The district of United K. J. Hills is not cadastrally surveyed and so far as land tenure is concerned, there is no rigid unifrom or regular system worth the name, with the exception of those lands under the control of the State Forest Department and the Local District Council. There are different kinds of land under different systems, though for obvious reasons no reliabe statistics can be gathered in respect of them. As far as land tenure system is concerned, Jowai subdivision is conspicuously different from Shillong subdivision. However, land in the whole district can be broadly placed under the following categories:—

423 [692] [651] **I. Rikynti or Private land.**—They are private land belonging to certain clans or families but not to an individual according to Khasi custom. Neither Syiem nor District Council has got any power over them except the judicial powers to settle any dispute that may arise over any plot of land. The only connection is with the State Forests Department in respect of private protected forests who collects royalty from the produces of these forests if they are used for purposes of

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648 States in the Khásí Hills; and the Jáintiá Hill country, which is
631 wholly British. The British possessions are administered under a code specially introduced for the purpose. The Khási dependent States consist of petty democracies, presided over by chiefs called Siems, who, though taken from one family, are appointed by election; or by head-men, such as Wáhadádárs, Sardárs, and Lyngdohs, whose offices are absolutely elective. The appointment of all these chiefs and head-men is subject to the confirmation of the British Government, which also reserves to itself the right to remove them in case of misconduct.

The British possessions in the Khásí and Jáintiá Hills, which cover an aggregate area of 2160 square miles, consist of the following Fiscal Divisions:—In the Khásí Hills—(1) Jim-mang; (2) Láit-lyn-kot; (3) Láit-kroh; (4) Bái-rang, otherwise Wáh-long; (5) Long-ká-ding; (6) Máo-be-lár-kár; (7) Máo-smái; (8) Mynteng; (9) Máo-mlúh; (10) Máo-pun-kyr-tiang; (11) Nong-jírí; (12) Nong-lyng-kin; (13) Nong-bah; (14) Nong-riát; (15) Nong-kroh; (16) Nun-niah; (17) Rám-dáit; (18) Sáit-soh-pen; (19) Tyng-riang; (20) Tyng-rong; (21) Tyr-ná; (22) Um-niuh; (23) Mar-bisu (dependency); and (24) U Ttymá. In the Jáintiá Hills—(1) Am-wi; (2) Chap-duk (Kukí); (3) Dar-rang; (4) Jowái; (5) Lang-flút; (6) Lang-soh; (7) Lá-ká-dong; (8) Myn-riang (Mikír); (9) Mul-shoi (Kukí); (10) Más-kút; (11) Myn-sáo; (12) Nong-klih; (13) Nong-fúlút; (14) Nong-thá-long; (15) Nar-pú; (16) Nar-tiang; (17) Nong-bah; (18) Nong-jyngi; (19) Ral-liang; (20) Rým-bái; (21) Sái-pung (Kukí); (22) Soh-tyn-gah; (23) Shiliang-myn-tang; (24) Sáth-pathor; and (25) Shang-púng.

The Khásí democratic States, covering an aggregate area of 3997 square miles (in some reports stated at 4490 square miles), are as follow:—Presided over by Siems—(1) Bhawál, otherwise War-bah; (2) Cherrá; (3) Khyrim; (4) Lyng-kin; (5) Malái-soh-mat; (6) Mahárám; (7) Máriao; (8) Máo-iong; (9) Máo-syn-rám; (10) Myl-liem; (11) Nong-soh-phoh; (12) Nong-klao; (13) Nongs-pung; (14) Nong-stain; and (15) Rám-brái. Presided over by Wáhadádárs—(1) The Confederacy of Shellá. Presided over by Sardárs—(1) Dwárá Nong-tyr-men; (2) Ji-rang; (3) Máolong; (4) Máo-don; and (5) Nong-long. Presided over by Lyngdohs—(1) Lyn-iong; (2) Máo-flang; (3) Nong-lywái; and (4) Soh-iong.

648 The administration in the Khásí States gives to the native Chiefs
692 independent jurisdiction in all cases, civil or criminal (except

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homicide), in which their own subjects are concerned. All cases of homicide, or matters involving disputes between people belonging to different States, are adjudicated upon by the British officers of the District. 648 692

In the British possessions, the principal sources of revenue are rents and royalties derived from mineral workings, such as lime and coal; rents of fisheries; and a house tax, which varies, according to situation and productiveness of the soil, from R. 1 to Rs. 2 or from 2s. to 4s. per house. A land tax is only levied in tracts where the Government possesses the actual proprietary right in the soil. Again, in the Khási States, the British Government, which undertakes the management of the natural products of the country, such as waste lands, coal, lime, etc., receives a half-share of the rents realized from these sources, the other half belonging to the native Chiefs. The other sources of revenue of the Chiefs are market dues, cesses levied occasionally for State purposes, and fines realized in the administration of justice. 648 651 [135]

HISTORY.—Our first knowledge of the Khási Hills dates from the time when the East India Company acquired the *diwání* of Bengal in 1765. The adjoining District of Sylhet was included in that grant; but as the hillmen had never acknowledged any subjection to the Muhammadans, so they still remained absolutely independent of the British power. However, the necessities of commerce, arising from their monopoly of the lime quarries, from which Bengal has drawn its supply from time immemorial, soon attracted European enterprise to the country. As stated in the Appendix to the Statistical Account of Sylhet, the control of the profits of the lime trade formed in early times one of the most valuable advantages attaching to the position of the official in charge of that District. It does not appear that any European had been attracted to reside in the Hills before 1826. In that year the Rájá of Nongklao entered into an agreement with certain European British subjects to allow a road to be made across the Hills, to connect the Surmá valley with Assam Proper. These Europeans took up their residence at Nongklao. Misunderstandings unfortunately arose, and, partly by the misconduct of some of their Bengáli followers, the growing discontent and apprehension were fanned into a flame. On 4th April 1829 the Khásiás rose in arms and massacred Lieutenants Bedingfield and Burlton, together with some sepoys. This led to military operations on the part of the British Government, which 175 648 [135] [487]

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estates. In addition, there are a few small holdings at Jowái, in the Jáintia Hills, which have been settled, after measurement, under the Assam Settlement Rules for a term of ten years. In 1876-77 the total land revenue amounted to Rs. 223, or £22, 6s., derived from 24 estates. Other small items of revenue are derived from fisheries, forests, stamps, and excise. In 1876-77 the rent of the fishery *mahâls* was Rs. 3321, or £332, 2s.; forests produced Rs. 773, or £77, 6s., of which Rs. 652 represents fees on the exportation of timber from the Khási States to the District of Kámrúp. In the same year stamps yielded Rs. 16,121, or £1612, 2s.; but this total includes the sale of postage and telegraph stamps, as well as the sum credited for service stamps. Excise produced Rs. 1216, or £121, 12s. The stamps are sold at the Treasury; there are no licensed vendors. The excise laws are applied only within the limits of the Stations of Shillong and Cherrá Púnjí, and throughout the Jáintiá Hills. There are no licensed distilleries in the District, and the free manufacture of country spirit is permitted both in the dependent States and in British territory; what is manufactured is mainly for home consumption. In 1876-77 there were in all 18 licenses in force—4 for imported spirituous and fermented liquors, 1 each for *máhút* and *chandu*, 2 for *gánjá*, and 10 for opium. The Khásiás and Syntengs are not addicted to the use of intoxicating drugs, which is confined to the people from the plains residing on British territory.

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Courts, etc.—In the year 1835 there were two Magisterial and Civil Courts in the District. By 1850 the number had risen to four, which continues to the present time. The maximum distance of any village from the nearest court is 65 miles, the average distance is 25 miles. In 1835 one European official was permanently stationed in the District; in 1850, two; in 1862 and 1869, again one. In the last-mentioned year the subdivision of Jowái was opened in the Jáintiá Hills; and there have since been two officers in the District, a Deputy-Commissioner at Shillong, and an Assistant at Jowái. The total number of magistrates is three. These figures, of course, are exclusive of the staff of the Local Government, which has been established at Shillong since 1874.

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Police Statistics.—For police purposes, the Khási and Jáintiá Hills are divided into the three following *thánás* or police circles, with two outposts:—(1) Shillong, with an outpost at Nongpoh; (2) Jowái; (3) Cherrá Púnjí, with an outpost at Thária-ghát, at the foot of the southern hills.

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625 In 1835, when British authority was first extended to the Khásí
648 Hills, the cost of maintaining the police, from the rank of *jamádár*
465 or head constable upwards, was £45; and in 1840, £57, 16s. By 1860, when the Jáintiá Hills had been annexed, and a *thánd* opened at Jowái, the cost had risen to £480. In the year 1869 the strength of the regular police was 149 men in the Khásí Hills, and an additional 29 in Jáintiá.

In 1875 the police statistics of the Khásí and Jáintiá Hills were as follow:—The force consisted of 2 inspectors on a salary of upwards of Rs. 100 a month, or £120 a year; 3 sub-inspectors and 13 head constables on a salary of less than Rs. 100 a month; and 113 constables on an average pay of Rs. 9 a month, or £10, 16s. a year. The total pay of subordinate officers amounted to Rs. 8340 or £834 a year; and the total pay of constables to Rs. 12,168 or £1216, 16s. Certain contingencies brought up the aggregate expenses to Rs. 24,969 or £2496, 18s. The total number of men of all ranks was 131. As compared with the area and population of the District, these figures show one man to every 16·49 square miles, or to every 153 persons of the population, maintained at a cost of Rs. 4. 1 or 8s. 1½d. per square mile, and of 2 *dánás* 10 *pies* or 4½d. per head of population. Of the total force, 1 officer and 13 men were employed to guard the jail, 3 officers and 23 men to guard the treasury and lock-up and to serve as escorts, leaving 14 officers and 77 men available for general duty.

648 Criminal Statistics.—The District of the Khásí and Jáintiá Hills,
692 like the other Hill Districts of Assam, is administered by political officers, under special rules framed under Act xxii. of 1869. Petty criminal cases are disposed of by the indigenous magistracy, and only cases of a heinous character are reported to the political officers. Similarly, civil causes are referred to arbitration, according to the indigenous system of village *panchâyats*; and the Deputy-Commissioner reports that this system, while affording equal justice to the people, tends to preserve them from the evil of litigiousness.

674 In 1874 the total number of cases reported by the police to the
178 political officers was 83, as compared with 63 in the previous year. In these 83 cases, 102 persons were arrested, of whom 71 were put on their trial; 61 persons, or 86 per cent., were convicted, and 10 were acquitted.

Though little serious crime exists in the Hills, yet the number of offences shows a tendency towards increase. The Report of the

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mantris sit. This durbar must not be confused with the 643
electoral durbar which will be referred to later. It is 645
an executive council over which the Siem presides, and
also possesses judicial powers (for a description of a judicial [693]
durbar, see page 91 of the monograph). The form of summons [694]
to appear before this durbar used to be a knotted piece of
string or cane, the number of knots denoting the degrees of
urgency of the summons, not a piece of pork, as one writer has
said. Pork is a luxury which is not usually distributed gratis.
The Siem manages the State business through his *mantris*, 644
although it is true that in some States the members of the
Siem family have been allowed a considerable share of the
State management. This latter arrangement is, however, a
departure from the ordinary rule in the Siemships, and is
regarded as unconstitutional. In some States there are village 622
headmen, styled Sirdars, who settle cases, collect labour, and 657
assess and receive for the chief the *pynsuk*, which may be
literally translated as "gratification." In Nongstoin there is
an official styled *lyngskor*, who is the superior of a number of
village sirdars, and who acts as the Siem's deputy-governor. 644
In the Khasi Hills there is no land revenue, nor are there any 651
tithes or other imposts levied upon the cultivator's produce. 643
The land, to a great extent, is the property of the different clans [423]
and villages, although in some instances there are estates owned
by private persons. The chief is entitled to receive the income
that arises from what are known as the *raj* or State lands only.
All that the Siem usually receives from his people in the
way of direct revenue is the State subscription, or *pynsuk*,
mentioned above. Even this is supposed to be a voluntary
contribution, and it is not demanded in some States. This
tax is nominally a collection to meet the expenses of the State
ceremonies, but is really a means of increasing the chief's
private income. The contribution varies in amount according
to the means of the villagers. The Siem's principal source of 643
income, however, in all the Khasi States is the toll (*khrong*), 651
which he takes from those who sell at the markets in his 443
territory. As the Khasis are great traders these tolls are often
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There is no separate law applying to personal property, as opposed to real property, amongst the Khasis.

DECISION OF DISPUTES.

Khasi Courts of Judicature.

In the first place a complaint is made before the Siem, 694
or chief, against a certain party or parties. The facts and 628
circumstances of the case are then detailed before the chief and his headmen, the ostensible object being to attempt to bring about a compromise between the parties. If no recon- 203
ciliation can be effected, a crier (*u nong pyrta shnong*), or in the 694
Jaintia Hills a *sangot*, is sent out to proclaim at the top of his voice the durbar which is to assemble the following evening. He proceeds to cry the durbar in the evening when all the inhabitants have returned to the village from their usual daily pursuits. With a loud premonitory yell the crier makes use of the following formula *:—

"*Kaw!* thou, a fellow-villager; thou, a fellow-creature; thou, an old man; thou, who art grown up; thou, who art young; thou, a boy; thou, a child; thou, an infant; thou, who art little; thou, who art great. *Hei!* because there is a contest. *Hei!* for to cause to sit together. *Hei!* for to cause to deliberate. *Hei!* for to give intelligence together. *Hei!* about to assemble in durbar. *Hei!* for to listen attentively. *Hei!* ye are forbidden. *Hei!* ye are stopped to draw water then

* What follows is a literal translation of the Khasi.

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

203 694 not to cut firewood then; *Hei!* to go as coolies then; *Hei!* to go to work then; *Hei!* to go a journey then; *Hei!* to descend to the valley then; *Hei!* he who has a pouch. *Hei!* he who has a bag. *Hei!* now come forth. *Hei!* now appear. *Hei!* the hearing then is to be all in company. *Hei!* the listening attentively then is to be all together. *Hei!* for his own king. *Hei!* for his own lord, lest destruction has come; lest wearing away has overtaken *us*. *Kaw!* come forth now fellow mates."

This proclamation is called *khang shnong*, and by it all are stopped from going anywhere from the village the following day. [687] Anybody who disregards the prohibition is liable to fine. 695 The following day, towards evening, all the grown-up males of the village assemble at the durbar ground, the site of which is marked in some villages by rows of flat stones, arranged in an irregular circle, upon which the durbaris sit. The proceedings are opened by one of the headmen, who makes a long speech; then others follow, touching upon all sorts of irrelevant matters, but throwing out hints, now and then, bearing on the subject of accusation. By degrees the debate waxes warmer, and the parties get nearer the point. Then the complainant and the defendant each of them throw down on the ground a turban, or a bag containing betul and *pán*, lime, &c., in front of the durbar. These are regarded as the pledges of the respective parties and their representatives in the suit; they receive the name of *mamla* (hence the Khasi term *ar liang mamla* for the two contending parties in the suit). There are pleaders on both sides called *'riw said*, who address the durbar in lengthy speeches, the Siem being the judge and the whole body of the durbar the jury. Witnesses are examined by the parties; in former times they were sworn on a pinch of salt placed on a sword. The most sacred and most binding form of oath, however, is sworn on *u klong* (a hollow gourd containing liquor). As, however, the latter form of oath is regarded by the Khasis as a most serious ordeal, it will be described separately. The 695 durbar sometimes goes on for several days. At length the 982 finding of the durbar is taken, after the Siem has summed up, and sentence is pronounced, which generally consists of a fine in money, almost always accompanied by an order to the losing

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

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695 party to present a pig. The pig is supposed to be sacrificed
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[776] but it is invariably eaten by the Siem and the members of the durbar. The Siem then calls out "*kumta mo khynraw*" (is it not so, young people?) The members of the durbar then reply, "*haoid kumta khein khynraw*" (yea, it is so, young
681 ones). Sentences of fine are more often resorted to than other
697 punishments nowadays, probably because very few of the Siems possess jails for the reception of criminals. The condemned one in a criminal case frequently serves his time by working for the Siem as a menial servant. The above description, which is based on the account given by the Rev. W. Lewis, with some modifications, may be taken as the usual form of procedure of the Khasi durbar.

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782 give a short description of some of the punishments which were inflicted by the Siems and their durbars in criminal cases in ancient times. Murder was punishable by beating the culprit to death with clubs (*ki tangon ki lymban*). The killing, however, of a *nong shoh noh*, i.e. a man who seeks for human victims to sacrifice to the monster, *u thlen*, is not considered murder, even now by the Khasis, and the slayer of the *nong shoh noh* only has to inform the Siem and deposit Rs. 5, and one pig in the Siem's court. The slaying of a robber also is dealt with in like manner.

684 The punishment of adultery was imprisonment for life (*ka sah dain mur*), or a fine of Rs. 1,100, and one pig (*ka khadwei spah wei doh*). Whether such a heavy fine was ever paid is perhaps doubtful, and probably some other form of punishment was substituted for it. A husband finding his wife and a man in *flagrante delicto* could, as under the law of the ancients, kill both adulterer and adulteress without punishment for murder. He was, however, bound to deposit Rs. 5, and the conventional pig in the Siem's durbar. The punishment for rape (*kaba khniot tynga*) was imprisonment for life in the case of the woman being married, and a heavy fine and one pig if the
685 woman was a spinster. Arson was punishable with imprison-
683 ment for life, or a heavy fine. The punishment for causing people to be possessed by devils (*ka ba ai-ksuid briew*) was

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683 exile (*pyrangkang par*); but if a person so possessed died, the
685 sorcerer was hurled down a precipice (*pynnoh khongpong*). The punishment for robbery and theft was the stocks (*ka pyndait diengsong*), the imposition of fetters, or a punishment known as *kaba s'ang sohmynken*, by which the culprit was compelled to sit on a bamboo platform under which chillies were burnt. The result of such torture can be better imagined than described.

684 Incest, or *sang*, which, amongst the Khasis means cohabiting
626 with a member of a man's or woman's own clan, was punishable with exile or a fine of Rs. 550/- and one pig. It is believed by the Khasis that the evils resultant from incestuous connection are very great; the following are some of them: being struck by lightning, being killed by a tiger, dying in childbirth, &c.

DECISION OF CASES BY ORDEAL.

1.—*Water Ordeal.*

695 In ancient times the Khasis used to decide certain cases by means of water ordeal (*ka ngam um*). Yule, writing in 1844, mentions a water ordeal, and one of my Khasi friends remembers to have seen one during his boyhood. There were two kinds of such ordeals. The first, called *ka ngam ksih*, was as follows:—The two disputants in a case would each of them fix a spear under water in some deep pool. They would then dive and catch hold of the spear. The man who remained longest under water without returning to the surface was adjudged by the Siem and durbar to have won the case. Colonel Maxwell, late Superintendent of the Manipur State, witnessed a similar ordeal in the Manipur State in the year 1903, when two Manipuris dived to the bottom of a river and held on to stones, the result being that one man, who remained under water in the most determined way, was very nearly drowned. Amongst the Khasis sometimes the supporters of the contending parties used to compel the divers to remain under water by holding them down with their spears. Another form of trial was to place two pots, each of them containing a piece of gold and a piece of silver wrapped up in cloths, in shallow water. The two contending parties

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

were then directed to plunge their hands into the water and take up, each of them, one of the packets. The party who brought up a piece of gold was adjudged the victor. If both parties brought up either gold or silver, then the case was amicably settled by the Durbar, and if it was a land case, the land was equally divided between the parties. No instances of trial of cases by such ordeals have come to notice of late years. Yule, referring to water ordeals, says: "I have been told that it was lawful to use the services of practised attorneys in this mode of trial; so that long-winded lawyers have as decided a preference in these regions as they have elsewhere."

2.—*Ordeal by U Klong, or by U Klong U Khnam, in the Wár Country.*

Of all the ordeals these are the most dreaded by the Khasis. They believe that if a person swears falsely by *u klong* or *u klong u khnam*, he will die or, if he represents his family (i.e. wife and children) or his clan (*kur*), that his family and his clan will die out. Siems, Wahadadars, Lyngdohs, &c., do not order litigants, or even propose to them, to have their cases decided by this ordeal, fearing to incur blame for choosing it, owing to possible evil consequence thereafter to the parties. One of the parties must propose and the other must accept the ordeal, of their own accord and in open Court or Durbar. A gourd (*u klong*) containing fermented rice (*ka sohpoh*) is provided, and a feathered arrow with a barbed iron head is planted in the fermented rice. The following is the procedure:—

The person who wishes to take the oath brings a gourd of fermented rice, or a gourd with an arrow stuck in it, as the case may be, and makes it over to the judge, or a deputy appointed by such judge for this duty. The latter, before returning it to him, invokes the goddess as follows:—

"Come down, and bear witness, thou goddess who reignest above and below, who createst man, who placest him (on earth), who judgest the right and the wrong, who givest him being and stature, (i.e.) life. Thou goddess of the State, thou goddess of the place, who preservest the village, who preservest the State,

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

695 come down and judge. If this man's cause be unrighteous, then shall he lose his stature (being), he shall lose his age (life), he shall lose his clan, he shall lose his wife and children; only the posts of his house shall remain, only the walls of his house shall remain, only the small posts and the stones of the fireplace shall remain; he shall be afflicted with colic, he shall be racked with excruciating pains, he shall fall on the piercing arrow, he shall fall on the lacerating arrow, his dead body shall be carried off by kites, it shall be carried off by the crows, his family and his clan shall not find it; he shall become a dog, he shall become a cat, he shall creep in dung, he shall creep in urine, and he shall receive punishment at thy hands, oh, goddess, and at the hands of man. If, on the other hand, his cause be righteous (lit. *lada u kren hok*) he shall be well, he shall be prosperous, he shall live long, he shall live to be an elder, he shall rise to be a defender and preserver of his clan, he shall be a master of tens and a master of hundreds (immensely rich), and all the world shall see it. Hear, oh, goddess, thou who judgest." (The whole of this invocation is uttered while a libation is poured out from *u klong*.)

U klong is next invoked as follows:—

"Thou, *u klong*, with whose assistance—according to our religion and our custom, a man when he is born into the world is named—hear and judge. If he speaks falsely (his cause be false), his name shall be cut off (by thee) and he shall surely die."

The fermented rice is then invoked as follows:—

"Thou yeast, thou charcoal, thou rice of the plough, thou rice of the yoke, thou, too, hear and judge. If he speaks falsely, eat off his tongue, eat away his mouth."

The arrow is lastly invoked as follows:—

"Thou piercing and lacerating arrow, as thou hast been ordained by the goddess, who creates man, who appoints man to occupy a pre-eminent place in war and in controversy, do thou hear and judge. If he (i.e. the man taking the oath) speaks falsely, let him fall upon thee, let him be cut and be torn, and let him be afflicted with shooting and pricking pains." The man then takes *u klong* or, *u klong u khnam*, and holds it on his head, and while in that posture utters the same

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

invocation. *U klong* is then made over to the judge (the Siem 695
or the Sirdar as the case may be, &c.).

The person who undergoes the above ordeal wins the case, the production of evidence being unnecessary.

WAR.

Although the Khasis, unlike the Nagas, the Garos, the wild 721
Was of Burma, the Dayaks of Borneo, and other head-hunting tribes, cannot be said to have indulged in head-hunting in ancient times, as far as we know, merely for the sake of collecting heads as trophies, there seems to be some reference to a custom of head-hunting in a description of the worship of [776]
the god *u Syngkai Bámon*, one of the principal gods of war amongst the Khasis. This god is described in one of the folk tales (I have obtained it through the kindness of Dr. Roberts, [797]
the Welsh missionary at Cherrapunji) as being the deity who gives the heads of the enemy to the successful warriors. To 726
this god, as well as to *Ka Rám Shandi*, they offer a cock. 782
Before sacrifice the warriors dance round an altar, upon which are placed a plume of cock's feathers (*u thuia*), a sword, a shield, a bow, an arrow, a quiver, *pán* leaves, and flowers. After the cock has been sacrificed, they fix its head on the point of a sword and shout three times. The fixing of the cock's head on the point of a sword is said to have been symbolical of the fixing of the human head of an enemy killed in battle, on the top of the *soh-lang* tree. Mr. Shadwell, of Cherrapunji, whose memory carries him back to the time when the British first occupied the Khasi Hills, has a recollection of a Khasi dance at Cherra, round an altar, upon which the heads of some *Dykhars*, or plains people, killed in a frontier raid had been placed. The Khasis used to sacrifice to a number of other gods also for success in battle. An interesting feature of 726
the ancient combats between the people of different Siemships was the challenge. When the respective armies had arrived at a little distance from one another, they used to stop to hear each other shout the *'tien-Blei*, or challenge, to the other side. This custom was called *pyrta 'tien-Blei*, or shouting out the

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20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

Deputy-Commissioner for 1876-77 states that in that year 168 persons in all were brought before the magistrates, the most common classes of cases being theft and house trespass. In the same year 89 civil suits were instituted, of which 83 were for money claims, 2 for immoveable property, 2 for restitution of conjugal rights, and 2 in connection with religion and caste. In the Political Court there were 31 cases tried during the year, of which 13 were civil and 18 criminal. In the latter class of cases process issued against 60 persons, of whom 20 were convicted and 40 acquitted. The details of the two following cases will illustrate the condition of social life in the District. The first was a case of grievous hurt. The Siem of Myl-liem had sent four persons to fetch a man named U Dorja, who had been selected to marry the Siem's sister. While on their way the messengers were attacked by a number of persons, evidently relatives of U Dorja who were opposed to the marriage. One of them was severely beaten, and died within twelve days from pneumonia. The offenders, numbering five in all, were sentenced to pay a fine of Rs. 10 (£1) each, or in default to suffer fourteen days' imprisonment. The second case was one of oppression. It originated in a dispute about land, situated in a locality over which both the Siem of Nongklao and the Lyngdoh of Soh-iong claimed to exercise jurisdiction. The parties out of possession had gone to lay their complaint before the Siem, whereupon the Lyngdoh, with eight other persons, seized three of the complainants' kinsmen, ill-treated them, and kept them in durance with the object of having the complaint submitted to himself for adjudication. The Lyngdoh was sentenced to a fine of Rs. 50 (£5), and his companions were warned and discharged.

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JAIL STATISTICS.—There are two jails in the Khási and Jáintiá Hills:—(1) The jail at Shillong, which is directly under the charge of the Deputy-Commissioner; and (2) the lock-up at Jowái, under the Assistant-Commissioner. It has been proposed to build a new jail at Shillong; the present structure consists only of bamboo huts, surrounded by a fence of the same material.

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The following are the jail statistics for 1875:—Daily average number of prisoners, 40·91, of whom 1·07 were females; daily average number of sick, 1·42; number of deaths, 4, or 10 per cent. of the average daily strength. The total expenditure was Rs. 7430 (£743), or an average of Rs. 181 (£18, 2s.) per prisoner. This high rate of expenditure is due to the cost of rations at Shillong.

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

697 In addition, a total of Rs. 899 (£89, 18s.) was expended on jail buildings. The manufacturing account shows cash receipts amounting to Rs. 60, against an expenditure of Rs. 29, or a net profit of Rs. 31 (£3, 2s).

797 871 648 EDUCATIONAL STATISTICS.—The management of education in the Khásí and Jáintiá Hills is entirely in the hands of the Welsh Calvinistic Mission, who first established themselves in the District about the year 1844. Though the Khásiás are naturally dull, and children are taken away from school before they have obtained more than a smattering of instruction, yet the perseverance of the missionaries has been rewarded by most satisfactory results. It is stated, in the Report of the Inspector of Schools for Assam for 1874-75, that 'a much larger proportion of the Khásiás know a little of reading, writing, and arithmetic than is the case, probably, in any other [562] District of either Assam or Bengal.' Female education, owing to the interest taken in this work by the wives of the missionaries, is also in a comparatively advanced condition. The missionary schools are largely subsidized by grants in aid from Government. The [212] teaching is conducted in English and in Khásí, the Roman character being used in both cases.

The following paragraphs are compiled from the Education Report for 1874-75, above referred to. In that year the total number of schools open in the District was 73, attended by 1666 pupils. As compared with the area and the population, these figures show one school to every 84·34 square miles, and one pupil to every 85 inhabitants. As compared with the total number of males under ten years of age, the number of boys only attending school (1322) shows one scholar to every 13·1. The total expenditure on education in the same year was Rs. 17,722. 11. 3, or £1772, 5s. 5d.; towards which Government contributed Rs. 10,443. 2, fees and fines produced Rs. 228. 5. 3, while the remainder (Rs. 7051. 4) was expended by the Missionary Society from its own funds. The average cost of educating each pupil was Rs. 10. 10. 4, or £1, 1s. 3½d.

648 797 872 PRIMARY SCHOOLS.—With the exception of the schools at Cherrá Púnjí, Jowái, Shillong, and Shellá, all the schools in the Hills may properly be classed as primary, though several are returned as middle vernacular schools. On this principle the total number of primary schools is 64, in 45 of which a little English is taught. These 64 schools had 1226 pupils on their rolls at the close of the year 1874-75, and an average daily attendance of 829, comparing

pendable water supply. Villages are about two to five miles apart, and have no boundary markers. In the past, villages contained semipublic buildings and grounds: the home of the village priest (also the home of a chief if he resided in that village), the village marketplace, and tree groves, cremation grounds, or other awesome spots that were believed to be inhabited by supernatural beings. Villages today may have also one or more Christian churches, government social welfare buildings, and schools. Formerly, villages were entered through a guarded gateway; this is no longer the case, and paths feed into villages from all directions. Often several villages are nucleated into one large unit, named and also described as a "village." These were once defense units, but were so uncohesive otherwise that institutionalized rivalry obtained among the component villages. Now, they have been integrated through the agency of all-village public services, especially schools. **Housing.** The traditional Khasi house is entered through a door at the rounded end of a U-shaped ground plan, and is about 20 feet at widest extent; it is about 30 feet deep, and is elliptical or hogback in profile. Its walls are of stone blocks cemented with mud. The roof of grass thatch, supported by a bamboo frame, overhangs the walls on their outside, down to about three feet above the ground. The house is divided into two parts: the front one-third is on the ground level, floored either with stone blocks or tamped earth, and is used for storage of occupational instruments and as a shelter for poultry. The rear two-thirds is raised four feet on piles of stone blocks to a platform of planks, and is partitioned into six rooms, comprising a kitchen, areas for storage of food and water, and sleeping quarters. Furniture is minimal, and the house is totally undecorated. There are no windows, and no smoke vents. A house generally has a companion shed, walled of wood and grass matting and thatched with grass. This serves as a pigsty, but it may be partitioned also to house cows, and it may have a loft for fuel storage. Compounds often contain garden plots, and are fenced around with stone or bamboo and mud. Nowadays, the traditional house has given way to Western-style bungalows of wood and tin, especially in and around Shillong. [Cf. Mukherjee et al. 1941.]

361 [344] [443] [778] [346] [178] [712] [628] [178] [182] 342 352 353 354 343 351 177 184 342

ECONOMY. The Khasi economy is a market economy based on agriculture, and most Khasis are primary producers, sellers, middlemen, and/or providers of services in connection with markets. Khasis are often multioccupational: they produce goods for partial subsistence, and also play some part in trade. **Agriculture.** On the Shillong plateau, the major field crops are potatoes, maize, millets, and dry rice, still produced mostly through swidden farming, with a two- to three-year period of fallow, but increasingly through continuous use of a single field with the aid of ma-

241 433 443 [463] 241

18: Godwin-Austen G-3 (ca. 1872) 1875 AR7
Khasi AR7

211 rude stone monuments. At the village of Nougshai, near Shillong, are to be seen some very striking monoliths; and [101] although they do not come up quite to the length of those at [131] Nurtiang (noticed by Dr. Hooker in his "Himalayan Journals"), yet they are very worthy of being mentioned. They stand on [133] the open spur just above the village, and have been worked out of the beds of the Shillong sandstone series, and some of the smaller blocks have been taken from the conglomerate beds, the lowest in the series, and which come in, in the bed of the ravine, to the north of the spur. There are a number of monuments on this site, large and small, arranged both in line and on two sides of a square; the two largest have their central monoliths—height, 24 ft. 3 in.; width, 5 ft. 6 in.; thickness, 8 in.; and height, 23 ft. 2 in.; width, 2 ft. 9 in.; thickness, 1 ft., respectively.

[126] Plate ii., which is taken from a photograph by Mr. William Robert, Assistant Surveyor in the Khasi Hills survey party, gives an excellent idea of the second largest structure, showing the very massive flat-stone, the "Mao Kynthai," in front. This structure consisted of thirteen upright stones, which could not all be brought into the field of the camera; but the six outside stones on the right are shown. Many of the slabs in the 175 adjacent monuments have been overthrown and broken quite 211 recently, perhaps by Sepoys and camp followers from the military station close by. At one time a mountain battery of Eurasian Artillery was quartered there, and I attribute the overthrow of so many of the stones in the neighbourhood to their handiwork, who would look on such amusement as a "great lark." The Sepoy (native of India) is not of a mischievous disposition; the European and half-European (uneducated) is markedly so. Thus the monument with the highest stone is imperfect, and it must, when perfect, have been a very handsome one. This is a sad pity, after the time and labour that must have been expended in its erection.

361 I did not observe any new slabs anywhere in the immediate 712 neighbourhood. Nougshai must formerly have been a large [211] and powerful village; it stands on a naturally very strong position, and old lines of fortification are to be traced on many sides, especially on the approach from the direction of the Falls of the Umiam. These old lines of defence are on a curious system: a ditch and bank have been carried forward from the main defences from 200 to 300 yards down the ridge of the spurs, thus effectually preventing an enemy working round the hill sides below the villages.

174 This fortified site points to a state of things in these hills 712 when the relations between the large village communities or 628

18: Godwin-Austen G-3 (ca. 1872) 1875 AR7
Khasi AR7

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clans were very much as we find them at the present day among the Nagas and Kukis, beyond and bordering our present extreme limits, viz. that of constant feud. They are now the quietest, most peaceful, and contented of all the hill people on the eastern frontier. [178]

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In my former paper I did not allude to the cairns in these hills, which I am inclined to think are works of greater age than the stone structures. The custom is one that certainly has long since been given up, for I could not obtain any satisfactory account of them. They are only to be seen on the northern side of the Khasi plateau, and Dr. Hooker, in his account of his trips to the Kollong Rock, did not fail to notice them. About Mairaug and towards Nougstoin they are very numerous, and always stand on commanding situations. On the path leading down the grassy spur to the stone monuments previously described, near Nougshai, is a very fine large example of a cairn, about eight feet high. They are usually plain hemispherical mounds of earth; but this one is faced all round at the base with slabs of stone about four feet high; they are frequently not higher than six feet. A distant view is shown in Plate iii. [103]

Nowhere is there any trace of the earth that forms them having been excavated close by; it must, therefore, have been carried in some short distance, to avoid unsightly hollows near the structure. I should much like to have dug into one of these cairns, but was afraid to hurt the feelings of the people by doing so. They are very probably cineraries of an earlier form to those now made of stone, and this point it might be interesting to clear up.

Beyond the Khasi area no cairns are to be found, at least I had never come across any until visiting North Munipur last winter (1872—73), where, at the head of the Imphal river, on the direct road from Samaguting, are four fine cairns, all faced with large boulders. They are old, and the Nagas now living in the village near said they had been made by another clan of Nagas, who long ago had gone further north, and the site of whose village had been lately re-occupied by Kukis. [114] [101]

Mr. C. B. Clarke, in a paper read lately before your Institute, refers to the different forms of the cinerary in the Khasi Hills; but he has not quite exhausted the subject, or got further than I did, although with regard to the disposal of the ashes of the dead he gives some further interesting particulars. [114]

As I think that drawings are of very great interest, and better exhibit the many different forms of bone depository or cinerary that have been adopted at different periods by tribes inhabiting localities very far apart, and often quite unconnected affinitively, [126] [764]

18: Godwin-Austen G-3 (ca. 1872) 1875 AR7
Khasi AR7

of more scientific value; and the vocabularies given by the author in this paper would, no doubt, be found of great use to comparative philologists. He hoped that the Institute would be favoured with some further information on the races of Burma from Lieut. de Crespigny.

With regard to the paper by Major Godwin-Austen, he (the President) would say his communications were always welcome to the Institute. He wished that a more detailed account had been given of the intrenchment referred to. There appears to have been a great camp-building period in the life of most races, when neighbouring tribes were constantly at war, and each had its stronghold in case of attack. Such camps are conspicuous amongst the antiquities of nearly all parts of the world, and a comparison of the different systems of defence adopted, when viewed by the knowledge of the art of entrenchment which we possess, affords reliable evidence of psychical connections. In the early British camps of this country he had never seen any evidence of the use of flanking defence except at the entrance; but the description given by Major Austin of this earthwork appeared to indicate that something of the kind was known to these people.

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20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

burning the dead in the immediate neighbourhood of the village of Jowai. Suspicions of insurrection arose during the months of October and November 1862. In the beginning of January 1862 alarming reports were received from various quarters, and the first serious outbreak occurred on the 17th of that month. This was occasioned by the interference of a *dewgi*, or native police official, with a religious ceremony that took place at the village of Jaiung. In such ceremonies dancing with arms is held essential; and the *dewgi* took upon himself to disarm the dancers. This was the signal for a general rising. The *thána* or police station at Jowai was burned to the ground; the garrison of sepoys was besieged, and all show of British authority was swept away throughout the Hills. The Syntengs fought bravely for their independence, and at first were successful in cutting off several small detachments of police and sepoys. Their weapons were bows and arrows. In common with the other hill tribes of the North-East Frontier, their chief defence consisted in a series of strong stockades, one behind another; and the paths leading to their villages were thickly planted with *punjis*, or little bamboo spikes, stuck in the ground like caltrops. The battalion of sepoys stationed in the Hills was rendered inefficient by sickness. At last it was found necessary to move a regular army, including an elephant battery and two regiments of Sikhs, into the country in order to quell the revolt. Colonel Dunsford was in chief command. He was accompanied by Major Haughton, the Governor-General's Agent on the North-East Frontier, and Captain Murton, the Deputy-Commissioner of the Khási and Jaintia Hills, who acted in a political capacity. The operations were vigorous and harassing. The chief chiefs were captured one by one, and the District was declared to be finally pacified in March 1863, after the rebellion had lasted for fifteen months. The special Commission appointed under Act xi. of 1855, for the trial of offenders in the Jaintia Hills, was dissolved in December 1863. The causes of the rebellion were thus summed up by Major Haughton in an official despatch to the Government of Bengal:—'Taxation was introduced without the supervision with which such a measure should have been accompanied. It was followed up by fresh taxation and rumours of other taxes, also by facial and other mensurations, which tended to disturb the minds of the people, without any counterpoise such as might have resulted from the continued presence of a European officer.' The Syntengs, like the

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

disfigured from the practice. Adults will chew as many as four or five betel-nuts a day, with the usual accompaniment of *pán* leaves. The estimated cost of maintaining an average family of the labouring class is about Rs. 8 or 16s. a month.

TOWNS: SHILLONG.—There are no towns in the usual acceptance of the word; but the chief places in the Hills, looked upon by the inhabitants as cities, are Shillong, Jowái, Cherrá Púnjí, and Shellá. According to the Census of 1872, Shillong had only 1363 inhabitants, Cherrá Púnjí 443, and Jowái 4502. Jowái, however, is a collection of rural hamlets, and the population of Shillong has entirely altered since the date of the Census. The latter place first became the Civil Station in 1864, in substitution for Cherrá Púnjí; and when Assam was erected into an independent Province in 1874, it was selected as the permanent seat of the Local Government. The Chief-Commissioner resides there, and also the heads of all departments in the Administration. The area of the Station is 7 miles in length by 1½ to 1¾ miles in breadth. A considerable native population is already settled, and is increasing from day to day. One of the largest weekly markets is held in the *bázár*; and with a view to facilitate access to the Station, which is the sanitarium for the Province of Assam, a cart road has recently been completed to Gauhátí on the Brahmaputra, which will tend to make the place more and more important. An excellent water supply is introduced into Shillong through an aqueduct which has its source in the neighbouring hill streams, and sanitary measures are carefully enforced. Large sums of money have annually been expended on the erection of the public buildings necessary for the offices of the administration. A printing-press has been established, from which issue all the official documents and reports of the Province. The climate is excellent, the temperature being more equable than that of any other hill station in India, and therefore admirably suited to the constitution of Europeans. There is a church at Shillong, and a chaplain on the Bengal establishment officiates both there and at Gauhátí. The cantonments were occupied in 1875 by the 43d Regiment of Assam Light Infantry, with three outposts. The strength was 9 European officers, 16 native commissioned officers, 80 non-commissioned officers, 772 fighting men, and 58 paid camp followers and non-combatants; grand total, 935. The total cost, including contingencies, was Rs. 189,190, or £18,919.

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

manufactured of saltpetre, sulphur, and charcoal, the three ingredients being pounded together in a mortar. The Jaintia Rajas possessed cannon, two specimens of which are still to be seen at Jaintiapur. Their dimensions are as follows:— 389 713

Length, 9 feet; circumference in the middle, 3 feet 2 inches; diameter of the bore 3 inches. There are some old cannon also at Lyngkyrdem and at Kyndiar in the Khyrim State, of the same description as above. These cannon were captured from the Jaintia Raja by the Siem of Nongkrem. No specimens of the cannon ball used are unfortunately available. There are also small mortars, specimens of which are to be seen in the house of the Siem of Mylliem.

The weapons of the Syntengs are the same as those of the Khasis, although some of them are called by different names. At Nartiang I saw an old Khasi gun, which the people say was fired from the shoulder. I also saw a mortar of the same pattern as the one described amongst the Khasi weapons. 411

The Wár and Lynngam weapons are also the same, but with different names. The only weapons used by the Bhois (Mikirs) are the spear and bill-hook for cutting down jungle. Butler, writing of the Mikirs 1854, says, "Unlike any other hill tribes of whom we have any knowledge, the Mikirs seem devoid of anything approaching to a martial spirit. They are a quiet, industrious, race of cultivators, and the only weapons used by them are the spear and *da* hand-bill for cutting down jungle. It is said, after an attempt to revolt from the Assamese rule, they were made to forswear the use of arms, which is the cause of the present generation having no predilection for war." [181]

another. In other words, a state is not a fixed territorial entity. In the early twentieth century, the most populous of the 25 chiefdoms, Khyrim, contained 36,833 persons occupying 7,859 houses in 372 villages, and the least populous, Nonglwai, contained 246 persons occupying 53 houses in 3 villages. Fifteen of the chiefdoms were headed by a *syiem* (chief), three by a *lyngdoh* (priest), six by a sirdar, and one by a *wahadadar*. These leaders all had executive and judicial functions, but a chief's authority was limited in that he had to obtain the approval of his executive council before acting. The other leaders were subject to a similar limitation. A chief maintained a small police force. His major sources of revenue were market tolls, fines, and, more recently, income from licenses to distill rice whisky. Succession to a ruling role in the larger states traditionally involved election by members of a lineage that had a hereditary right to elect, from among members of a lineage that had the hereditary right to rule. In British times, the elective basis was broadened, differentially in the various states, even to the point of popular elections. [Cf. Aitchison 1931; Lyngdoh 1952.] **Social stratification.** The three classes of lineage are the nobles, the commoners, and the slaves or servants. This stratification applies only to the recruitment to office in the native-state system, for there is no hypergamy, and in a village assembly everyone has equal voice. The noble lineages have the hereditary right to fill from among their male members roles such as village or state priest, councilor to a chief, or elector of a chief. The few lineages which today are remembered as slave or servant lineages had the inherited obligation to render special services to a chief's household. There is no Khasi term for "commoner." Every lineage other than a noble or a slave lineage is a commoner lineage, and the commoner lineages are in the majority. **Warfare.** Warfare was suppressed by the British, and little is known for certain about its traditional forms. The tactics which confronted the British were the ambush and the guerrilla raid. Traditional goals included taking heads from other Khasis and capturing women from the valleys.

RELIGION. **Major and indigenous religions.** A Welsh Calvinistic Methodist missionary penetrated into Cherrapunji in 1832, and the work that he began continues to this day. His society, which has since become the Welsh Presbyterian Foreign Mission, introduced writing, village primary schools, a high school, a theological seminary, and a hospital. Competing missionaries followed, and by 1914 some Shillong Khasis were puzzling over the tenets not only of traditional Hinduism and Islam but also of the Buddhists, Brahmo Samaj, Arya Samaj, and Unitarians (Roy 1914). By the 1920s, missionaries of the Church of God and the Seventh Day Adventists were

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

invocation. *U klong* is then made over to the judge (the Siem 695
or the Sirdar as the case may be, &c.).

The person who undergoes the above ordeal wins the case, the production of evidence being unnecessary.

WAR.

Although the Khasis, unlike the Nagas, the Garos, the wild 721
Was of Burma, the Dayaks of Borneo, and other head-hunting tribes, cannot be said to have indulged in head-hunting in ancient times, as far as we know, merely for the sake of collecting heads as trophies, there seems to be some reference to a custom of head-hunting in a description of the worship of [776]
the god *u Syngkai Bámon*, one of the principal gods of war amongst the Khasis. This god is described in one of the folk tales (I have obtained it through the kindness of Dr. Roberts, [797]
the Welsh missionary at Cherrapunji) as being the deity who gives the heads of the enemy to the successful warriors. To this god, as well as to *Ka Rám Shandi*, they offer a cock. 726
Before sacrifice the warriors dance round an altar, upon which 782
are placed a plume of cock's feathers (*u thuia*), a sword, a shield, a bow, an arrow, a quiver, *pán* leaves, and flowers. After the cock has been sacrificed, they fix its head on the point of a sword and shout three times. The fixing of the cock's head on the point of a sword is said to have been symbolical of the fixing of the human head of an enemy killed in battle, on the top of the *soh-lang* tree. Mr. Shadwell, of Cherrapunji, whose memory carries him back to the time when the British first occupied the Khasi Hills, has a recollection of a Khasi dance at Cherra, round an altar, upon which the heads of some *Dykhars*, or plains people, killed in a frontier raid had been placed. The Khasis used to sacrifice to a number of other gods also for success in battle. An interesting feature of 726
the ancient combats between the people of different Siemships was the challenge. When the respective armies had arrived at a little distance from one another, they used to stop to hear each other shout the *'tien-Blei*, or challenge, to the other side. This custom was called *pyrta 'tien-Blei*, or shouting out the

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

usually witnessed by large crowds of spectators from all parts 782
of the Jaintia pardganas.

"Sometimes the supply of voluntary victims fell short, or 782
victims were needed for some special sacrifice promised in the 721
event of some desired occurrence, such as the birth of a son, coming to pass. On such occasions, emissaries were sent to kidnap strangers from outside the Jaintia Raj, and it was this practice that eventually led to the annexation of the country by the British. In 1821, an attempt was made to kidnap a native of Sylhet proper, and while the agents employed were punished, the Raja was warned not to allow such an atrocity to occur again. Eleven years later, however, four British subjects were kidnapped in the Nowgong district, and taken to Jaintia. Three of them were actually sacrificed, but the fourth escaped, and reported the matter to the authorities. The Raja of Jaintia was called on to deliver up the culprits, but he failed to do so, and his dominions were in consequence annexed in 1835."[1]

There seems to be an idea generally prevalent that the Raja 782
of Jaintia, owing to his conversion to Hinduism, and especially 776
owing to his having become a devotee of the goddess Kali, took 823
to sacrificing human victims; but I find that human victims were formerly sacrificed by the Jaintias to the Kopili River, which the Jaintias worshipped as a goddess. Two persons were sacrificed every year to the Kopili in the months *U' naiwing* and *U' nai prah* (November and December). They were first taken to the *hat* Mawshai, or Shang-pung market, where they were allowed to take any eatables they wished. Then they were conducted to Sumer, and thence to Ka Ieu Ksih, where a stone on the bank of a small river which falls into the Kopili is pointed out as having been the place where the victims were sacrificed to the Kopili river goddess. Others say that the sacrificial stone was situated on the bank of the Kopili River itself. A special clan in the Raliang doloiship used to carry out the executions. It seems probable that the practice of sacrificing human victims in Jaintia was of long standing, and was originally unconnected with Hinduism, although when the Royal family became converts to Hinduism, the goddess Kali may easily have taken the place of the Kopili

1/Quote from Gait, Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. I. 1898
1 -- Analyst

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

monies. The Lynngams possess no head-hunting customs, as far as it has been possible to ascertain. These people are still wild and uncivilized. Although they do not, as a rule, give trouble, from an administrative point of view, a very serious dacoity, accompanied by murder, was committed by certain Lynngams at an Assamese village on the outskirts of the Lynngam country a few years ago. The victims were two Merwari merchants and their servant, as well as another man. These people were brutally murdered by the Lynngams, and robbed of their property. The offenders were, however, successfully traced and arrested by Inspector Raj Mohan Das, and several of them suffered capital punishment, the remainder being transported for life.

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

643 Sushong Durgapur, of the place at the foot of the Garo Hills in
773 the Mymensing district, may be a corruption of the former. The Siems are supposed to be descended from a stag, possibly a relic of totemism in this family. In this State[7] there is a large
631 electoral durbar consisting of 2 *mantris*, 31 *lyngdohs*, 25
622 *sirdars*, 1 *lyngskor*, and 1 *basan*. The *lyndohs* are the heads of the priestly clans, by whom they are chosen. The sirdars of villages are appointed by the Siem in conjunction with the adult males of the different villages. There are two *lyngskors* and two *basans* in the State, but one *lyngskor* and one *basan* only at present are members of the *durbar* which nominates the Siem. A *lyngskor* is the Siem's agent for the
[634] purpose of governing a collection of villages. He is appointed by the Siem with the consent of the adult males of the villages
643 which he is to supervise. The Siem family of Nongkhlaw, or Khadsawphra, is believed to have been founded by a Synteng of the name of U Shajer, who left the Jowai hills with his sister, Ka Shaphlong, because she had failed to obtain her share of the family property in Jaintia. This man is said to have purchased certain lands in Bardwar in Kamrup. Apparently he did not obtain possession of this estate, for he came up into the Khasi Hills, and finding there certain villages without a ruler, he, at the wish of the *lyngdohs* of these villages, consolidated them into a state over which he ruled as a Siem. He was succeeded by his sister's son, U Syntiew, who further extended his territories until he obtained possession of other villages. U Syntiew is said to have delegated a portion of his powers to his two sisters, Ka Jem and Ka Sanglar, who ruled at Sohiong and Nongkhlaw respectively. Succeeding rulers
[726] further extended the Nongkhlaw territory. In 1829, U Tirut Singh rebelled against the East India Company and carried on for four years a successful guerilla warfare. He was finally captured, and was imprisoned for life by the British Govern-
643 ment. According to the statement of Raja Kine Singh, it would
631 seem that formerly the heads of five clans had the right to appoint
[614] the Siem, i.e. the heads of 3 *lyngdoh* clans and of the Jaid Dykhar, and Diengdoh clans. In the Cherra State the electors are the male adults of the State, who are represented on the State durbar by the *mantris* of the 12 aristocratic clans, known as the Khadar Kur, and certain representative elders.

7 [i.e. the Nongstoin State --- Analyst]

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

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or the Sirdar as the case may be, &c.).

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1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

[41] 726 challenge. From the records available of the military operations of the Khasis against the British, the former appear to have relied principally on bows and arrows, ambushes and surprises, when they fought against us at the time of our first occupation of the hills. During the Jaintia rebellion firearms were used, to some extent, by the Syntengs. The military records do not, however, disclose any peculiar battle customs as having been prevalent amongst those hill people then. Both Khasis and Syntengs seem to have fought much in the same manner as other savage hill-men have fought against a foe armed with superior weapons.

HUMAN SACRIFICES.

The Thlen Superstition.

825 782 773 776 There is a superstition among the Khasis concerning *thlen*, a gigantic snake which requires to be appeased by the sacrifice of human victims, and for whose sake murders have even in fairly recent times been committed. The following account, the substance of which appeared in the *Assam Gazette*, in August, 1882, but to which considerable additions have been made, will illustrate this interesting superstition:—"The tradition is that there was once in a cave near Cherrapunji,* a gigantic snake, or *thlen*, who committed great havoc among men and animals. At last one man, bolder than his fellows, took with him a herd of goats, and set himself down by the cave, and offered them one by one to the *thlen*. By degrees the monster became friendly, and learnt to open his mouth at a word from the man, to receive the lump of flesh which was then thrown in. When confidence was thoroughly established, the man, acting under the advice of a god called *U Suid-noh*,† (who has as his abode a grove near Sohrarim),

* This cave is at Pomdalai, some five miles west of Cherrapunji, close to a great waterfall called *Noh Ka Likai*, i.e. the place where Ka Likai jumped down the precipice (for a full account of this story see Section V. of the monograph), where there is a large block of stone, with some cuts over it, known as *Dain Thlen*, i.e. the snake cutting (place).

† In another account it is said to have been U Suid-noh himself who did this.

16: McCormack E-4,5 (1956-1958) 1964
AR7 Khasi AR7
[P. 106 B]

1903-28: 2; Bareh 1962.] **Demography.** According to the 1951 census of India, the United Khasi–Jaintia Hills District contained 221,982 Khasis and 67,532 Syntengs, Pnars, and Jaintias (India [Republic] 1952-57). These figures, together with those for Khasis enumerated in Cachar (4,005), Mikir and North Cachar Hills (467), Lakhimpur (287), Sibsagar (276), and Darrang (211) districts, and those for Syntengs enumerated in Mikir and North Cachar District (464), yield a total of 295,224 Khasis. **History and cultural relations.** Khasis believe that they had supernatural origin in Khasi Hills (see Gait 1926: 260 for historical evidence, and Rafy 1920: 8-9 for myth, but see also Costa 1958, 1960; Gurdon 1907: 10-11; and Chatterji 1953: 12). Khasi tradition also states that in early times they moved gradually from east to west, from Jaintia toward Khasi Hills, in the practice of swidden agriculture (Gatphoh 1947: 97-98). The salient fact of known Khasi history, which begins generally in the mid-sixteenth century A.D. when there already existed the present-day 25 native Khasi chiefdoms, is the distinctive line of development followed by the separate kingdom of Jaintia. To the north, Jaintia was successively tributary, in part or in whole, to the Kachari kingdom (ca. 1230 A.D.), the Koch kingdom (strongest ca. 1560 A.D.), and the Ahom kingdom (strongest ca. 1700 A.D.) (Shakespear 1914: Map I). To the south, about 1500 A.D., Jaintia extended its rule over a tract of Sylhet, which was populated by Hindus and Muslims, and saw its kings fall thereafter under Brahman influence. In the early 1800s, Jaintia became involved in the fratricidal strife then prevalent in the ruling family of Manipur. In 1835, after the Jaintia king ignored British warnings not to seize British subjects for human sacrifice, Jaintia was punished by the British annexation of the Jaintia parganas in Sylhet. The Jaintia king then voluntarily turned over to the British the hills area of his domain, so that the whole of Jaintia became part of British India and, in 1860, came to be taxed as such, although the Jaintias were otherwise allowed to maintain their traditional system of village government. • By contrast, the remaining Khasi states had few formal external relations until British times. Khasis raided and traded in both the Brahmaputra and Sylhet valleys, but were basically turned inward on their own hills, where warfare between villages and between the states was apparently common. Khasis came into indirect relation with the British in 1765, when Sylhet and its markets became part of British India. In the 1790s, stepped-up Khasi raids into Sylhet caused the British to throw up a deterring line of forts along the foothills. Later, it became necessary to place an embargo on Khasi products in the Sylhet markets. In 1827, the British penetrated into western Khasi Hills by negotiating with the Khasi chief of Nongkhlaw State to build a road through his territory, linking the recently annexed Brahmaputra valley with Calcutta. For three decades

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thereafter, the British negotiated treaties with all the Khasi states, the last treaty being signed in 1862. It was contracted that the chiefs would be subject to the authority of a resident political agent, whose duties would involve maintaining law and order, judging cases of heinous crimes, approving the popular selection of any new chief, and exercising control over certain categories of natural resources. Khasis were guaranteed noninterference in their customary way of life, and they were not then, nor are they now, taxed. Most Khasis, as opposed to Jaintias, were never an integral part of British India, but they did undergo social change as a result of British presence. To summarize Mills (n.d.): (1) The British introduced the potato, which the Khasis rapidly took up as a cash crop for marketing as far as Calcutta. The intensive specialization exhausted the soil and made for ever-poorer crops. (2) Christian missionaries made large numbers of converts, and there arose the difficult question of whether a Christian should inherit property that traditionally was earmarked for her performance of non-Christian religious rituals. (3) About 1864 the British transferred their headquarters from Cherrapunji to Shillong. When they made Shillong the capital of the entire state of Assam, non-Khasis flocked to it, land values soared, and the concept of private property became increasingly important. Khasis began to marry with members of other ethnic groups, which introduced confusion into traditional social patterns. These problems were exacerbated during World War II, when Shillong and its environs enjoyed enormous economic prosperity. One notable aftermath of this affluence has been the accelerated enrollments in schools and colleges. Hundreds of Khasis now have the B.A., M.A., and even the Ph.D. degree. • With the Independence of India in 1947, and under the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India (which was drafted by a Khasi), the United Khasi–Jaintia Hills District became a Part B, or Autonomous, Tribal Area, to be governed by a District Council composed largely of Khasis and Jaintias, and responsible not to the Legislature of Assam, but to the Governor of Assam as agent of the President of India. The native-state system and the chiefs still exist, and the District Council finds it difficult to effect legislation which is neither offensive to regional custom nor a simple blueprint of ill-fitting all-India legislation. The major political schism at this time is between Jaintias, who are accustomed to centralized authority and taxation, and Khasis, who resist the notion of taxation to support the work of a central District Council. [Cf. Gait 1926; Aitchison 1931; Bhuyan 1949; Morris 1910.]

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SETTLEMENT PATTERN AND HOUSING. **Settlement pattern.** Khasis live sedentarily in named, nucleated, and unplanned villages which are situated just below hill summits to avoid strong winds but still be defensible, and which usually include a de-

361 [312]

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

burning the dead in the immediate neighbourhood of the village of Jowái. Suspicions of insurrection arose during the months of October and November 1861. In the beginning of January 1862 alarming reports were received from various quarters, and the first serious outbreak occurred on the 17th of that month. This was occasioned by the interference of a *dárogá*, or native police official, with a religious ceremony that took place at the village of Jalong. In such ceremonies dancing with arms is held essential; and the *dárogá* took upon himself to disarm the dancers. This was the signal for a general rising. The *thánd* or police station at Jowái was burned to the ground; the garrison of sepoys was besieged, and all show of British authority was swept away throughout the Hills. The Syntengs fought bravely for their independence, and at first were successful in cutting off several small detachments of police and sepoys. Their weapons were bows and arrows. In common with the other hill tribes of the North-East Frontier, their chief defence consisted in a series of strong stockades, one behind another; and the paths leading to their villages were thickly planted with *pánjis*, or little bamboo spikes, stuck in the ground like caltrops. The battalion of sepoys stationed in the Hills was rendered inefficient by sickness. At last it was found necessary to move a regular army, including an elephant battery and two regiments of Sikhs, into the country in order to quell the revolt. Colonel Dunsford was in chief command. He was accompanied by Major Haughton, the Governor-General's Agent on the North-East Frontier, and Captain Morton, the Deputy-Commissioner of the Khási and Jáintiá Hills, who acted in a political capacity. The operations were tedious and harassing. The rebel chiefs were captured one by one, and the District was declared to be finally pacified in March 1863, after the rebellion had lasted for fifteen months. The special Commission appointed under Act xi. of 1857, for the trial of offenders in the Jáintiá Hills, was dissolved in December 1863. The causes of the rebellion were thus summed up by Major Haughton in an official despatch to the Government of Bengal:—'Taxation was introduced without the supervision with which such a measure should have been accompanied. It was followed up by fresh taxation and rumours of other taxes, also by fiscal and other innovations, which tended to disturb the minds of the people, without any counterpoise such as might have resulted from the continued presence of a European officer.' The Syntengs, like the

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

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1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

987 diviners in ancient Hellas.* This method has (with
171 much else in Khasi practice) been adopted by the former subjects of the Khasis, the Mikire; but it does not appear to be prevalent among any other of the animistic tribes within the boundaries of India.

211 The third remarkable feature of Khasi usage is the
171 custom, which prevails to this day, of setting up great
• 734 memorials of rough stone, of the same style and character as the *menhirs* and *cromlechs* which are found in Western Europe, Northern Africa, and Western Asia. It is very surprising to a visitor, unprepared for the sight by previous information, to find himself on arrival at the plateau in the midst of great groups of standing and table stones exactly like those he may have seen in Brittany, the Channel Islands, the south of England, or the Western Isles. Unfortunately the great earthquake of June 1897 overthrew many of the finest of these megalithic monuments; but several still remain, and of these Major Gurdon has given an excellent description (pp. 144 sqq.), with an explanation of the different forms which they assume and the objects with which they are erected. Other races in India besides the Khasis set up stone memorials; but none, perhaps, to the same extent or with the same systematic purpose and arrangement.

114 In conclusion, I have only to commend this work to the consideration of all interested in the accurate and detailed description of primitive custom. I lived myself for many years among the Khasis, and endeavoured to find out what I could about them; but much of what Major Gurdon records is new to me, though the book generally agrees with what I was able

* Called μαντικὴ: one of the lost books of the Orphic cycle was entitled τὰ μαντικά.

II Gordon E-4,5 (no date) 1907 ART Khasi ART

work is done. In order to attend to a Bhoi house, you have to climb up a notched pole. The Bhoie sacrifice a he-goat and a fowl to *Kiñ-ñaylong* (Khasi, *Kynnow ding*), the household god, when they build a new house. 342 [976] [982]

VILLAGES.

Unlike the Naga and Kukis, the Khasis do not build their villages on the extreme summits of hills, but a little below the tops, generally in small depressions, in order to obtain some protection from the strong winds and storms which prevail in these hills at certain times of the year. According to the late U Jowlem Roy, it is *mnep*, or taboo, to the Khasis to build a house on the last eminence of a range of hills, this custom having perhaps arisen owing to the necessity of locating villages with reference to their defence against an enemy. Khasis build their houses fairly close together, but not as close as houses in the Bhoi and Lyngngam villages. Khasis seldom change the sites of their villages, to which they are very much attached, where, as a rule, the family tombs are standing and the *mawbynna* or memorial stones. In many villages stone tombs and memorial stones are to be seen which from their appearance show that the villages have been there for many generations. During the Jaintia rebellion the village of *Jowai* was almost entirely destroyed, but as soon as the rebellion was over the people returned to the old site and rebuilt their village. Similarly, after the earthquake, the ancient village sites were not abandoned in many cases, but the people rebuilt their houses in their former positions, although in Shillong and Cherrapunji they rebuilt the walls of the houses of wooden materials instead of stone. There is no such thing as a specially reserved area in the village for the Siem and the nobility, all the people, rich or poor, living together in one village, their houses being scattered about indiscriminately. To the democratic Khasi the idea of the Siem living apart from his people would be repugnant. In the vicinity of the Khasi village, often just below the brow of the hill to the leeward side, are to be seen dark woods of oak

361 [135] 342 [211] [449] [731] 361 525 137 778

Garden 2-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

It will be seen that in the three years following the earthquake of 1897 the exports fell very low indeed. Since 1901 the trade has been steadily recovering, and the exports of 1904 reached half a lakh of maunds. 241 437 731

It will be observed that there has been some improvement, but the exports are still not half what they were in 1881-82. 244 There are two kinds of sweet potatoes grown in the district, the Garo potato (*u phaw Garo*), which appears to have been introduced from the Garo Hills, and *u phaw saulia*, the latter being distinguished from the Garo potato by its having a red skin, the Garo potato possessing a white skin. These kinds of potato are planted on all classes of land except *kali*, they do best on jhumed and homestead lands. The yam proper (*u phaw shyurah*) is also largely grown. The small plant with an edible root called by the Khasis *u solphang* (*Arminglia vestita Benth.*), is also largely grown. The roots of the plant after being peeled are eaten raw by the Khasis. As far as we know, this esculent is not cultivated in the adjoining hill districts. Job's tears (*coix lachryma-Jobi*)* are extensively grown, and 243 are planted frequently with the *solphlang* mentioned above. This cereal forms a substitute for rice amongst the poorer cultivators. Maize or Indian corn (*u riew hadem*) is grown frequently, thriving best on homestead land, and requires heavy manuring; it is grown in rotation with potatoes. Next in importance to rice comes the millet (*u kruí*), as a staple of food amongst the Khasis. There are three varieties of millets generally to be seen in the Khasi Hills:—*u 'rai-ash* (*setaria Italica*), *u 'rai-shaw* (Paspalum sanguinale), and *u 'rai-trah* (Eleusine coracana). *U 'rai-shaw* is cultivated in rotation with the potato, *u 'rai-ash* and *u 'rai-trah* are generally cultivated on jhumed land, where they thrive well. Millet is sometimes used instead of rice in the manufacture of spirit by the Khasis; [274] *u rymbai-ja* (*phaseolus calcaratus*), and *u rymbai khang* (*glycine soja*) are beans which are cultivated occasionally. Khasis highly prize the fruit of the plantain, which they give to infants 245 mashed up. The following are the best known varieties:— 853 *K'a kait khán, ka kait riew, ka kait bulbait, ka kait bamon, ka kait shyiang.*

* Khasi *u ash-riew.*

I: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

ing the usual spiritual offices. The duties of lyngdohs, their methods of sacrificing, and the gods to whom they sacrifice, vary in the different Siemships, but there is one point in which we find agreement everywhere, i.e. that the *lyngdoh* must be assisted at the time of performing sacrifices by a female priestess, called *ka soh-blei*, *ka soh-sla*, or simply *ka lyngdoh*. This female collects all the *puja* articles and places them ready to the *lyngdoh's* hand at the time of sacrifice. He merely acts as her deputy when sacrificing. The female *soh-blei* is without doubt a survival of the time when, under the matriarchate, the priestess was the agent for the performance of all religious ceremonies. Another such survival is the High Priestess of Nongkrem, who still has many religious duties to perform; not only so, but she is the actual head of the State in this Siemship, although she delegates her temporal powers to one of her sons or nephews, who thus becomes Siem. A similar survival of the ancient matriarchal religious system is the *Siem sad*, or priestess, at Mawsynram, who, on the appointment of a new Siem or chief, has to assist at certain sacrifices. Here we may compare Karl Pearson's remark, when dealing with matriarchal-customs, that "according to the evidence of Roman historians, not only the seers but the sacrificers among the early Teutons were women." The duties of the *lyngdohs*, as regards communal worship, consist chiefly of sacrificing at times of epidemics of cholera, and such-like visitations of sickness (*jing iap khlam*). In the Khyrim State there is a goddess of each *raj*, or division, of the state, to whom sacrifices are offered on such occasions. To the goddess are sacrificed a goat and hen, powdered rice (*u kpu*), and a gourd of fermented liquor; the leaves of the *dieng sning*, or Khasi oak, are also used at this ceremony. The *lyngdoh* is assisted by a priestess called *ka soh-sla*, who is his mother, or his sister, or niece, or some other maternal relation. It is the duty of the priestess to prepare all the sacrificial articles, and without her assistance the sacrifice cannot take place. Sacrifices are also performed by the *lyngdoh* to *u Lei Lyngdoh*, alias *u Ryngkew*. This used to be the tutelary deity in times of war, but in less troublous times the Khasi *lyngdoh* sacrifices to him for success in tribal or State litigation. A pig and a cock, with the usual accessories, are sacrificed by the

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

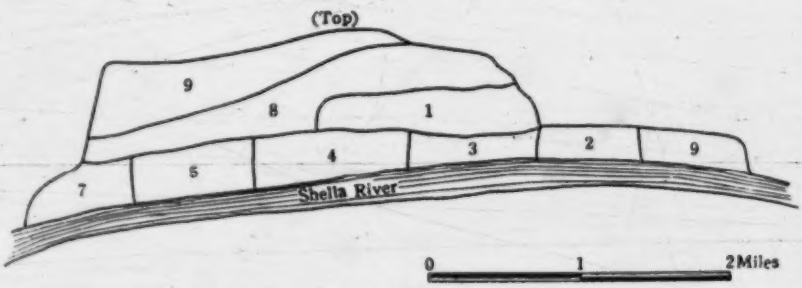
211 U Lah Laskor and U Mar Phalyngki, to commemorate the
485 establishment of Nartiang market, which is called Iew Mawlong. "Laskor" is the Synteng equivalent of the Khasi *lyngskor*, or prime minister. "Mar" is a Synteng word meaning a giant, the idea amongst the people being that in the olden days there were giants in the land who performed marvellous feats of strength, e.g. the erection of the megalithic remains at Nartiang and elsewhere. A puja is performed upon a great flat stone by the *doloi* and his officers in honour of the founders of the market, but no animals are sacrificed, rice and *rynsi* (balls of rice) only being offered. In the days of the Jaintia kings only the Raja could sit upon the great flat stone; hence the name *maw jong Siem* (or Siem's stone). The great upright stone is said to have been brought by U Lah Laskor and a great number
211 of people from Suriang, a place near Nartiang. With reference
78 to the Nartiang stones I would refer to my theory, formu-
491 lated above, that they were originally connected with human sacrifices. It may be mentioned that at Nartiang there is a bridge constructed out of a single stone, which is also said to have been set in position by U Lah Laskor. Near Suhtnga there is a group of stones, said to have been originally thirty in number, together with *maw shongthait*, or stones to seat the weary, which were erected to the memory of a woman, Ka Kampatwat, who in generations past is alleged to have had no less than *thirty* husbands. The lady is not supposed to have been polyandrous, nor nine-lived, but to have divorced one husband after another. As she probably established a record
211 for divorce, her descendants afterwards commemorated her in
[731] the manner described. There is another very large stone at Nongkseh, which unfortunately fell to the ground in the great earthquake shock of 1897. This stone must have stood over 20 ft. above the ground. It is called *u mawkni Siem*, the stone of the Siem's maternal uncle, and it used to form the central stone, or *mawkni*, of a line of stones. These stones belong to the clan of the *basans* of Nongkseh, which furnishes the *sohblei*, or head sacrificer, of the Siems of Khyrim. The stones at Mawsmai, which in ancient days used to be the head-
211 quarters of a Siem, are some of the best carved in the hills.
171 At Mawrongjong, in the Jaintia sub-division, is a stone upon

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

[Shella]

621 (7) Mawrongkhong, (8) Rynsong-kanor, and (9) Sholap, as shown in Map 9.
103 In Shella village the number of households in each section ranges between 10 and 80. Such a section is called *kher*, and was supposed to be the site of house-
614 holds of segments of every *kur* (clan). It seems that Shella village was once
621 composed of nine different *kur* which could intermarry with each other. However, nowadays, each section, as appeared in my census, has nothing to do with the
178 *kur* as such; it is simply a geographical section. According to the information which I gathered, there had been a tendency for the same *kur* people to gather
• 731 within the section, before the great earthquake in 1897 brought considerable

[102]



MAP 9. — *Distribution of Sections in Shella Village.*

damages and death to this area: many of them left the village at the time and many houses changed their sites in the village when they were reconstructed.
614 For instance, the composition of Jasir section in January 1956 was as follows:
621

Name of kur	*Number of houses*	*Name of kur*	*Number of houses*
1. Yuchyne	7	9. Lyngdoh	1
2. Iunei	4	10. Riang	1
3. Lorit	4	11. Nongtathiang	1
4. Synren	3	12. Loki	1
5. Ksaieng	3	13. Kanto	1
6. Nongbri	3	14. Kanti	1
7. Siem	2	15. Khelwa	1
8. Iunoi	2	16. ?	5
		Total	40

178 The people said that in Jasir, the Yuchyne was the most influential *kur*,
621 and must have been the original *kur* in this section. However, no clan solidarity could be observed. These seven households were socially and economically
614 quite independent of each other, as are all other households. As a whole, the importance of *kur* diminished a great deal in this village. Five households in Jasir were reluctant to mention their *kur*; some of them did not care about their *kur*; others were not themselves certain to which *kur* they belonged. The *kur* is losing its function to a great extent. This can be ascribed to the high degree of sophistication and mobility. However, except for one Siem woman who came from the uplands and married a man of this village, all 15 *kur* mentioned above are local clans frequently found within the Shella Confederacy. In
621 this area also community endogamy was predominant. Perhaps the Shella

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

workers and they were few in number.[1] They were particularly employed for such work as the clearing of jungle for new pan gardens in summer. 245 464

In the orange season (December to February) the number of workers increased and they were paid more: Rs. 1/8 were paid[2] for one load (one person carring 80 pounds of oranges, from an orange garden to the railway station—about two miles). Usually a worker made three to five trips a day. Many workers from Jaintia used to come for this particular season. 245 464 465

Semi-permanent workers were engaged for wet rice fields. They were usually Hindu cultivators: since these Khasi and other tribes do not know the technique of wet cultivation, plains people like the Biharee immigrants were engaged. These workers were provided with servants' quarters where they lived with their wives and children. However, very few Jatinga households possessed rice fields. 243 464

The economic prosperity of Jatinga reached its climax during the period from 1934 to 1940. Since 1942, the orange production has been decreasing. In 1945, a serious disease attacked the orange gardens as well as the pan-leaf gardens. Besides, by depriving Jatinga, as it had Shella, of their most important markets, Dacca and Sylhet, the Partition of India and Pakistan in 1947 caused a serious economic depression in the whole region. On the other hand, because of the past prosperity, the population has rapidly increased during the last ten years. The serious economic condition of Jatinga is illustrated in the petition which was submitted by the Jatinga people when the Governor of Assam visited those areas in January 1956. It runs thus: 245 434 731 161 458

"Since the last ten years or so, with the increase of population in the village and with the loss of fertility of the soil, the people were faced with economic depression. At present they are facing acute shortage of land they have also no scope to adopt other forms of cultivation like jhuming and wet rice cultivation, etc. Moreover, there has been successive attack of Bright's disease which destroyed and wiped out all the orange and pan gardens. And as such, majority of the families have to depend for their livelihood on daily wages. . . ."

It is indeed a serious situation for them, because the Khasi do not produce staple foods, such as rice; their economy is completely dependent on the trade of their products by which they purchase their main provisions, clothes, etc. Other peoples round Jatinga, being jhum cultivators, can at least get rice and cotton: the minimum requirements, staple foods and clothing are available even in the worst conditions, so that they can at least maintain themselves though the standard of living is low. As I stated before, a few households in Jatinga possessed rice fields, but the majority had none. Recently they rented some plots of jhum field for rice cultivation from Zemi-Naga of neighbouring villages.[3] However, its yield was but a small percentage of their consumption. A few 182 434 [433] [243]

1. If they had worked in the gardens of Jatinga, they might have got more profit than from their own jhum fields. For one day's labour, they got Ans. 8/. For one month, they could earn Rs. 15 with which they could buy about 4-5 maunds of rice (one maunds paddy cost Rs. 3-4). For one year it became 50 maunds, which was impossible to produce in a jhum field by a single person's labour. [435]

2. These rates, including the figures of note 1, apply to 1956.

3. Jatinga villagers told me that Zemi-Naga were kind enough to lend them their field for a negligible rent, though they had not enough for themselves. Zemi-Naga said that they owed much to Jatinga in the past, so that now they sympathised with the condition of Jatinga, and offered some parts of their jhum field. [427] [628]

621

Group (1)	Name of villages (2)	Thana (3)	Subdivision (4)	No. of families (5)
Project area –	11. Sutnga	Jowai	Jowai	127
	12. Sohkha	Dawki	Do	95
	13. Mustem	Jowai	Do	85
	14. Nartiang	Jowai	Do	161
	15. Raitong	Nongpoh	Shillong	47
	16. Umden	Do	Do	32
	17. Patharkhmah	Do	Do	22
	18. Mawphaniew	Shillong	Do	74
General area—	19. Iapmala	Jowai	Jowai	24
	20. Lamarsiang	Do	Do	25
	21. Mawkynchian	Do	Do	40
	22. Jympiat	Shillong	Shillong	7
	23. Domrya	Do	Shillong	20
	24. Mawkhli	Do	Do	16
	25. Mawlaiteng	Do	Do	20
	26. Asale	Do	Do	5
	27. Jowe	Nongpoh	Do	7
	28. Byrbeh	Do	Do	20
		Total — :		1,837

731
132
491

4.2 **Natural calamities.**—The villages are free from severe natural calamities like flood, erosion, earthquake and the like. Excessive rain has rendered the higher lands barren near Cherapunjee, Mawsynram, etc. During the monsoon after heavy rains, the small rivulets and streams come in spate dislocating communication from village to village which cause much inconvenience to the people in carrying on trade, marketing and other day to day activities.

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

435 439 at the rate of two or three ears for a farthing; and sugar-cane, the [243] cultivation of which is also very limited, at from a little over a farthing 273 to three-farthings per cane. A fermented liquor called ***kadam***, made 435 from rice, is sold at from three-farthings to threepence a quart, according to strength; and a distilled spirit called ***phatika***, or ***kakiad-hárak***, at from threepence to fourpence-halfpenny a quart. This latter description of liquor is sometimes made very strong. No records exist by which the present prices of the above articles can be compared with the rates ruling ten years ago. The maximum [731] price of rice during the famine of 1866-67 was 5 *sers* 6 *chhatáks* for the rupee, or about £1 a hundredweight.

804 805 MEASURES, WEIGHTS, ETC.—The Hill people have no proper measurement of time or distance. If there be any standard for measuring distance, it is by the number of *pins* a man chews in the course of a journey, generally about one every half hour. In some parts of the District, land is measured by a stick called *ka dicng-nong*, varying in length from six to sevén cubits. Liquids are measured in gourds of different measures, varying from half a *chhaták* to a *ser*, and also in bamboo tubes. Rice, potatoes, beans, etc. are measured in baskets, varying in size in different markets from two to eighty pounds.

805 In the Khásí Hills the inhabitants reckon eight days in the week, named as follows:—(1) Lyn-kah; (2) Nong-krem; (3) Um-long; (4) Rang-hep; (5) Shillong; (6) Pom-tih; (7) Um-nih; (8) Yeo-duh. In the Jáintiá Hills the eight days are named thus:—(1) Kyllao; (2) Pyn-sing; (3) Máo-long; (4) Máo-siang; (5) Máo-shai; (6) Pyn-kat; (7) Thym-blein; (8) Ka-hat. The Khásí months of the year, calculated by moons, are as follow:—(1) U Kylla lynkot; (2) U Rym-pang; (3) U Lyber; (4) U Laiong; (5) U Jimmang; (6) U Jilliw; (7) U Nai-túng; (8) U Nai-lar; (9) U Nai-lúr; (10) U Rysow; (11) U Nai-wing; (12) U Noh-prah.

464 423 LANDLESS LABOURING CLASSES.—There is, and always has been, a large class of labourers in the District who neither rent nor possess any land. Women and children are employed in manual out-door labour of all kinds.

423 [427] VARIETIES OF LAND TENURE can hardly be said to exist. There is nothing whatever resembling the relations between landlord and tenant throughout the Khásí Hills. The lands as a rule are either ancestral property or belong to village communities, and are cultivated under unwritten but well-understood agreements. Of the wide

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

231 (£174, 8s.) was expended on the purchase of stock, including
648 cattle, sheep, and pigs from England. Even native cattle at the
elevation of Shillong fall off very much in the months of January
654 and February from want of forage, and the Khásiás at this season
generally drive them to lower slopes. But one of the chief objects
in keeping cattle at the farm was to obtain manure; and *mati kaldi*
(Phaseolus radiatus) was grown for them, cut green, and stocked
[731] for food. On this they did very well. In 1875-76, however, cattle
disease broke out on the farm in a very virulent shape. Out of 39
cattle attacked, only 7, or 18 per cent., recovered, and the animals
imported from England all died. There was also a heavy mortality
in that year among the sheep and pigs. The following are the
financial results for the two years:—1874-75—Expenditure, Rs.
13,297. 0. 5; receipts, Rs. 309. 2. 6: deficit, Rs. 12,987. 13. 11.
1875-76—Expenditure, Rs. 11,445. 8. 6; receipts, Rs. 1036. 15. 0:
deficit, Rs. 10,408. 9. 6. Total deficit, Rs. 23,396. 7. 5, or £2339,
648 13s. In view of these figures the Chief Commissioner has deter-
mined to restrict farming operations to small experiments in irri-
654 gated *rabi* crops, and, as a measure of economy, to dispense with
the services of the superintendent. The future expenditure on the
farm will be insignificant. The establishment now (1877) consists
of a *sardár* on Rs. 50 and a *chaukidár* on Rs. 10 a month (total,
£72 a year), under the direct control of the Deputy-Conservator of
Forests; the total number of live-stock is 64 head.

731 NATURAL CALAMITIES, such as blights, floods, or droughts, are
not common in the District, although the crops in the Jáintiá Hills
sometimes suffer from insects. So far as the Deputy-Commissioner
is able to ascertain, no destruction of crops affecting the general
harvest has occurred within the experience of the present generation.
[435] During the Orissa famine of 1866-67 the maximum price of common
rice reached £1 per hundredweight, but no such distress was felt as
to require Government relief operations. The price just mentioned
was certainly equal to the rates prevalent in the famine-stricken
localities; but prices always rule high in the Hills, and afford no just
criterion of the state of affairs among the general body of the
inhabitants. Distress was only felt by a small portion of the
population, chiefly the Bengáli immigrants residing in the District,
262 who are generally a well-to-do class. The Hill people, as a rule, do
244 not eat potatoes, which they grow only for export; but in case of
439 actual famine, they might fall back upon this crop for their own food
supply.

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

remarkably, and there are few indigenous diseases of any kind. Malarious fevers of local origin are unknown, and cholera never prevails in the Hills except when directly imported from the plains. Notwithstanding the excessive rainfall, the climate of Cherrá Púnjí also is pleasant and salubrious. The rainfall is confined in great part to the five months from May to the end of September. For the rest of the year the weather is mild and very equable, and in the winter months almost pleasanter than that of Shillong. 164 132

Small-pox is the chief scourge amongst the Khásiás. The faces of more than half the people are seamed by the marks of this disease. Strenuous efforts have recently been made to introduce vaccination, and with some success. Within the past three years nearly 5000 children have been vaccinated. The number of vaccinations in 1876 was 1309, as compared with 1628 in the preceding year. 164 [751] [648]

Dysentery and bowel complaints generally prevail to a considerable extent; and, as at most other hill stations in India, the English residents at Shillong occasionally suffer from these diseases. Disorders of the liver are also not uncommon, usually affecting persons who have recently arrived from the plains, probably from unhealthy localities. When they have once passed through a short period of acclimatizing indisposition, most English residents at Shillong enjoy excellent health.

The *tarái* country lying along the foot of the Hills, especially on the northern side, is extremely malarious; and people passing through, especially pedestrians who travel without comforts and expose themselves to great fatigue, contract remittent fevers and agues of a severe type.

EPIDEMICS.—The following is a brief notice of some recent epidemics. Cholera made its appearance in the Hills in May 1869, travelling from the direction of Jáintiápur, on the borders of Sylhet. It only showed its presence by a few sporadic cases from time to time until the 11th July, when the disease broke out in an epidemic form among the police and in the jail. The police and the prisoners were at once moved into camp, and communication restricted as much as possible. These precautions probably had the effect of preventing the spread of the disease at Shillong. The epidemic lasted a week; it attacked twenty-four persons, of whom fifteen died. From Shillong the disease travelled southwards, the people deserting their villages as the plague broke out. In the 731

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR 7 Khasi AR 7

731 pre-eminently filthy villages on the Cherrá Púnjí plateau the epidemic appears to have found a fitting home, for it stayed among them for a period of nine weeks and a half. The civil surgeon reports the deaths at Cherrá Púnjí and the surrounding villages to have amounted to about 175 out of a total of 232 cases. During the year 1876-77 hooping-cough and small-pox were prevalent in an epidemic form. In the Jáintiá Hills small-pox is stated to have caused 47 deaths, chiefly during the months of June, July, and August. Some fatal cases of hooping-cough occurred among the Khási children in the village of Máokhar, near Shillong. The only two cases of cholera reported were in the Jáintiá Hills.

16 VITAL STATISTICS.—A general system of registration is not [659] attempted throughout the Khási and Jáintiá Hills District. Statistics [648] of births and deaths are only collected among the inhabitants of the Stations of Shillong and Cherrá Púnjí, and in the selected area in the vicinity of Jowái, which comprises the following seven villages: —Jowái, Nongbah, Nartiang, Mynsau, Amwí, Ralliang, and Shampúng. This selected area has a population of 12,504. Each village forms a distinctly-circumscribed community, in which the statistics are readily ascertained and reported by the *dolloi* or head-man. The returns may be regarded as extremely close to the truth, both for births and deaths; and they thus furnish an approximate statement of the health of the entire Hills. In 1874 the total number of deaths in the selected area was 351, showing a death rate of 28 per thousand; the number of births was 431, or 34·4 per thousand. The total population of all the places in which vital statistics are collected is 15,458 persons, among whom 428 deaths were recorded in 1874, showing a death-rate of 27·6 per thousand, as compared with 27·3 per thousand in the preceding year. The deaths were thus distributed—24 from cholera, 296 from fever, 38 from bowel complaints, 2 from snake-bite or wild beasts, and 68 from all other causes. The mortality from fevers was the highest recorded throughout the entire Province. On this the civil surgeon observes:—'There are few local sources of malaria in the Hills. Many of the deaths from fever were probably due to typhoid, induced by the use of impure water and by the filthy state in which the people live. There is no attempt at conservancy in a Khási village. In Jowái, a good specimen of the class, the lanes and pathways are strewn with excrement and house refuse. Drinking water is got from wells in the heart of the village, fed by the drainage of the

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15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

182 Because of the firm right of women over the residence, Khasi poly-
595 gyny can never be a clearly distinguishable institution, and has no operational advantage in the social and economic fields; the situation is very similar with lovers' relations and illegal marriages. By polygyny the man achieves no additional economic advantage, nor does he increase his social status or prestige; rather the reverse, for I observed that the polygynyst was regarded as a somewhat ludicrous or tragic figure. As for the woman, she is placed slightly at a disadvantage since the husband's economic activities are not concentrated on her household. However, even many legally-married wives are separated or divorced, so that such disadvantages are not only experienced by the wives of polygynists. The social disadvantage of being secondary wife is not serious, firstly, because wives, whether first or secondary, have social and economic independence—they do not belong to the husband as in the case of patrilineal systems. Secondly, the significance attached to the legal marriage institution is not so great, so that the handicap of being the secondary wife is not severe. What is most important, furthermore, is that her slightly inferior status does in no ways affect the next generation. Indeed such children, including
[848] those of premarital or illegal relations, suffer no serious social dis-
[851] advantage, though they are nominally distinguishable from legitimate children. From this it is clear that the effectiveness of legitimate marriage, and paternal recognition are rather limited among the Khasi.

Thus, Khasi polygyny differs greatly from the polygyny of other societies in terms of its operation and of its form. It also differs in the incentive to its practice. Among the Garo and many other societies, the practice of polygyny usually depends on a man's economic capability, but among the Khasi, it appears rather to depend on his
182 whim. Khasi husbands are notorious for their heavy drinking and
593 neglect of wife and children. Some of them told me that their earnings, their children and everything they acquired go to their wife or sister,
• 733 leaving them with nothing; therefore they should at least have freedom to enjoy their life. This freedom seemed to mean women and drink. I am not sure how far this explanation is true, but it seems to justify their behaviour to a certain extent. I do not mean that this is the general characteristic of the Khasi husbands, but some such tendency is to be observed. Actually I often heard wives complain of their husbands' drinking and running after women, and was asked "Are your Japanese husbands also like that?", "What is the good of having a husband!" then comes divorce . . .

182 On the contrary, women placed at an advantage by residence
562 and matrilineal inheritance, are required always to be on their best behaviour. There are very strict rules governing the behaviour of
593 Khasi women. They are supposed not to drink, smoke, or play with

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

[582] *Preliminaries.*—A young man of marriageable age, say
584 between seventeen or eighteen years of age and twenty-five, fixes upon a girl of, say between thirteen and eighteen years, as likely to become a fitting partner; probably he has been acquainted with the young woman for some time before, and is on more or less easy terms of intimacy with her. He mentions the name of the girl to his parents, and uncles and aunts in the house, and they agree or disagree, as the case may be. Sometimes marriages are arranged by the parents of the young people themselves. Having agreed regarding the fitness of the bride, the young man's parents send a male representative of the family, or in some cases a man unconnected with the family, to arrange matters with the parents of the bride. The latter then ascertain their daughter's wishes. According to the late U Jeoban Roy, the daughters nearly always agree, it is very seldom that it is necessary to bring any pressure to bear. The parents then investigate whether there is any *sang*, or taboo, such as clan relationship, between the young woman and her intended, in the way of the marriage. If there is found to be no such hindrance, they fix a date for finally
787 arranging the marriage (*ban ia kut ktien.*) On the day appointed
585 the bride's family consult the auspices by breaking eggs and
842 examining fowls' entrails. If the omens are favourable, well
735 and good. Should they be unfavourable, they abandon the
761 marriage project. There is a strong prejudice against a marriage taking place under unfavourable auspices, the belief being that such an union will be childless, that the bride will
585 die an untimely death, or that poverty will ensue. Given favourable auspices, the parents fix a day for the marriage. It was formerly the custom for the bridegroom to provide himself beforehand with a ring, usually of silver, but, amongst the rich, of gold, which is called *ka synjat* (hence the name of the marriage ceremony *pynhiar-synjat*), and for the bride to provide herself with a similar ring. The bridegroom used to place his ring upon the bride's finger, and the bride used to place her ring upon the bridegroom's finger; it is however believed that this custom is rare nowadays. On the marriage day a man is selected from the party of the bridegroom called *u ksiang*, or go-between. The bridegroom then sets out with

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

171 seems to come *firstly* from the different residential arrangement on
592 marriage: among the Negri Sembilan a man marries into his wife's
602 group, i.e. his wife's village; being thus separated from his kin, and
613 as a result of the physical absence of his wife's brother or maternal
428 uncle in his domestic family, he enjoys considerable rights in his wife's household—as Swift states, he is 'master in his own house.' On the other hand, since among the Khasi the man stays in the village where his mother's (or mother's successor's) house is, even after his marriage, his relation to his natal house is preserved; *secondly*, from the structural difference of organization of the descent group. Among the Khasi, the *iing* is always the centre of the descent group, based on unigeniture succession and inheritance. Hence, the core of the descent group is always found physically in a particular household, whereas among the Negri Sembilan, the descent group is *not* organized on a *household* level, but in a much wider organization, including apparently many households. Membership of an actual household and of a descent group are at different levels. To marry out and become a member of his wife's household means for the man the transfer of his household membership. Likewise, his sister's husband becomes a member of his sister's household. Thereby he becomes a secondary member of his sister's household after marriage though he keeps his memberhsip in the descent group to which his sister belongs. Among the Khasi, membership of a descent group always corresponds to membership of a particular household. The Khasi man can always demand his rights at his natal house primarily, as he is a member of that descent group. But it should be noted that he has this right only in his mother's (or mother's successor's) household, not his other sisters' (non-heiress') and mother's sisters' households (unless one of them is successor of his mother), though they may belong to the same descent group. These matri kin's households are considered as separate *iing* (strict functional descent group) from his.

586 Indeed, sometimes a man cannot find his *iing*, because his mother
613 died leaving no daughter to succeed her, or his sister died leaving
• 736 no successor, and his *iing* became extinct. Such a case occasionally
428 happens when a man becomes a divorcé or a widower as he is getting old. Then he has to face a serious social and economic condition. In divorcing, he has to leave everything he owned, his earnings including the house which he built, and even children . . . really he has nothing left him except his body.[1] Such a wretched man collects some timber and makes a small hut for himself, though sometimes lads who sympathize with him help him to build it. Unless he finds some woman

1. A widower has an alternative solution—to remain in his late wife's household till he marries again, though his position is not comfortable there.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

whom he can marry, he has to endure this miserable lonely life, while often in the same village his former wife is living in a well-built house with her children and her matrilineal relatives as before. Households of 3, 13 and 30 of Sohkynduh in List 6, and 23, 29, 38 and 56 of Kongton in List 9 are instances of such cases. It is really a pitiful picture to see such a man, aged and poor, living all alone. 586 613 736 • 428

V. Marriage with the Non-heiress

Outsiders who come to the Khasi Hills are often impressed by the Khasi husband's miserable status and express surprise at the high divorce rate. This is mostly due to exaggeration based on the marriage with the heiress. However, where a man marries a non-heiress, there are many successful marriages with paternal authority. In most of these cases a man's status as a husband and as a father is stable. First of all, the domestic residential unit is an elementary family. From the onset of the marriage the husband's labour is of great importance to his family, since a non-heiress usually has no economic background, i.e., no dowry or inherited property (see p. 105). The economic circumstances allow a man to be the *de facto* head even though whatever he earns belongs, as a rule, to his wife. A man who succeeds at the beginning of his married life is respected and honoured as father in his family for the rest of his life. By this type of marriage, the man's status is firmly established. It is therefore a more secure form of marriage than a match with an heiress. 184 428 599

In such a marriage the children love and obey their father. The management of his acquired property will be taken over by his son and the property will be handed over to his daughter. Thus the paternal authority is as well established in this form of domestic family, as in a patrilineal family. However, the great difference from a patrilineal case is that the husband/father status is not permanent as the authority of the family. Theoretically he exercises it in the absence of a male adult member of his wife's *iing* (actually founded by his contribution), in other words, till his son is grown up (see p. 12). In the next generation this will form an established *iing* in which the husband of his youngest daughter will suffer again. [613]

The household of this kind of marriage with a non-heiress actually enjoys a considerable degree of independence from the descent groups of both wife and husband. If a man who has established a matrimonial life independent of his wife's natal *iing*, is not the authority of his natal *iing*, his relation with the latter usually becomes weaker. Economic and residential factors make it possible for the men to make the considerable shift from his *iing* to his wife's *iing*, and though 592 599 613

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

182 586 613 736 Even after divorce or husband's death, the Khasi woman stays on in her household. Indeed many divorced or widowed poor wives, whose children are still small, try their best to live and bring up their children by themselves without asking their brothers' help. Of course a mother and her small children may go back to live in her natal *iing*. Such cases are found particularly when the woman's *iing* is rich. However, during my field work, I found no sense of psychological inferiority in Khasi women, widows or divorcées, such as we usually find in other societies. The personality of the individual seems to reflect the social structure.

182 184 586 597 613 Given such strong residential independence on the part of the non-heiress, economically divorced from her descent group, and oriented towards sociological separation from it, the husband's economic and social contribution is handsomely rewarded by the establishment of a stable, happier, matrimonial life. In fact, as already mentioned, the divorce rate among such couples is very low contrasted with the high rate among marriages with heiresses. More accurately, I should say that divorce is more likely to occur among the latter owing to the conflict of loyalties towards spouse and *iing*. Therefore, when each partner has less loyalty towards his or her natal *iing*, the divorce cases become correspondingly fewer. Thus, among the Khasi, successful marriages are frequently found where there is branching off from an *iing*. And a new *iing* is always established by a husband's contribution.

182 184 581 Khasi men, who are well aware of this fact, prefer to marry a non-heiress, since they will then form an independent household and remain immune to pressure from their wife's kin. However, they say a poor or lazy man prefers marriage with an heiress. As Richards said of the matrilineal Central Bantus, the residence on marriage seems to be a most important index of the husband's status, though the determining factors of the residence of the Khasi differ from those of the Bantus (see p. 124).

182 184 587 597 613 736 182 587 In the case of marriage with an heiress, when the wife dies, the husband usually returns to his *iing* (the youngest sister's house). But in marriage with a non-heiress the husband often remains with his children, if his children are not too small and he is not planning to marry any woman other than his late wife's younger sister. If he marries his wife's younger sister, he has the right to stay on. This kind of sororal marriage cannot take place in the case of a man married to an heiress, since a Khasi man is not allowed to marry the late wife's elder sister. This form of sororate is found among the Khasi, but the levirate is unknown, such as can be seen among the Ashanti and the Ila, where a man takes his late brother's wife. Among the Khasi, even if a widow happened to marry her late husband's

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR? Khasi AR?

4. The Bhoi — occupy the northern slopes of the Khasi Hills, covered with thick semi-tropical forests; they practise jhum cultivation. 619

5. The Lyngam — inhabit the western border of the Khasi Hills, near the Garo Hills. They are said to be half-Khasi and half-Garo. Their economy is similar to that of the Bhoi.

These ecological and geographical differences correspond also to 175
politico-historical differences. From the 16th century to 1835, eve 648
of the annexation of the Jaintia Hills to the Khasi Hills under the British administration, the people of the Jaintia Hills formed part of the Hindu Jaintia kingdom, whose capital was Jaintiapur, on the border of the present East Pakistan and of the Jaintia Hills. The capital, at one time, was moved to Nartiang near Jowai in the heart of the Jaintia Hills. The Jaintia Hills were administrated by twelve governors. Such a highly developed economic system as based on wet rice cultivation, must have helped a great deal in forming a kingdom adjoining the plain. Through the common economy and political organization with the Hindus of the plain, the Hindu civilization of the Bengal plain penetrated deeply among the Jaintias, who are matrilineal hill dwellers.

On the other hand, the Khasi Hills have remained outside the histories of either Assam or Bengal. They were governed by a number of petty native chiefs: there were twenty-five chiefs ruling the Khasi Hills when the British colonial administration was established there. Most of these chiefs belonged to the Siem clan. The history of the Khasi Hills had been shrouded in darkness till the beginning of the 19th century, except for fragmentary stories such as Khasi raids on the Sylhet people.

The development of the upland Khasi Hills started with the estab- 179
lishment of its headquarters at Shillong in 1874. Since then the 648
features of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills have changed a great deal. 797
What was once a small Khasi hamlet, untouched by the light of history, has become nowadays a busy modern town where many Khasi intellectuals live, mixing with various outsiders who are engaged in official work or in business. The British administration opened the way to missionary activities, especially that of the Welsh Calvinist Methodists who set up a mission in the Hills in 1841, almost at the same time as British political influence began to make itself felt in the Khasi Hills. Along with the political penetration from Cherrapunjee (1833) to Shillong, missionaries established many institutions, including churches, schools and hospitals, etc. Christian education, bringing with it the promise of clerical positions, attracted young Khasi a great deal; and the majority of the upland Khasi have been converted to Christianity. They have become the modern intellectuals of their people. [871] [945]

C.1 Incidence of diseases and medical facilities: 149

TABLE B-2

Incidence of diseases

Name of disease	No. of villages reporting incidence of disease		
	Border area	Project area	General area
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
(a) Malaria	0	0	0
(b) Dysentery	0	0	0
(c) Pox	0	0	0
(d) Kalazar	0	0	0
(e) Leprosy	0	0	0
(f) Typhoid	0	0	0
(g) Pneumonia	0	0	0

N.B.—Number of villages surveyed—40 in border area, 6 in Project area and 10 in General area.

As the above table shows malaria and dysentery were of common occurrence. The scourge of malaria was, however, reported to be more severe in the border area, the hill slopes of which provided suitable breeding ground for mosquitos. Next to malaria, dysentery and other bowel diseases have widespread prevalence in the district. The high incidence of these as well as various skin diseases are mainly attributed to by a lack of good water supply. Leprosy and kalazar were reported only from one village each (Jyrhah and Shella respectively).

TABLE B-3

Distribution of the villages according to distance from nearest dispensary, hospital, veterinary dispensary and nearest private licensed medical practitioner 749

	Within the village	Within 5 miles	Within 5 miles	Within 10 miles	Within 20 miles	Above 20 miles
Dispensary	0	0	0	0	0	0
Hospital	0	0	0	0	0	0
Veterinary dispensary	0	0	0	0	0	0
Private licensed medical practitioner	0	1	0	0	0	0

19: Assam C-5 (1950) 1963 A87 Khasi A87

The table above clearly shows that the media of facilities available in these villages are in less satisfactory. Only 6 villages out of 22 villages have a dispensary either located in the village or within a radius of five miles. Considering the lack of communication facilities and the hilly nature of the district even five miles is often too long a distance for a patient to go to the doctor or for a doctor to attend a patient. When the doctor has to cover long distances the charges become too high. As a result the poorer section in case of serious illness have to approach unqualified medical men when one is available or otherwise to depend upon the mercy of God. Even for quinine and other cheap medicines one has to go to a dispensary or a private medical practitioner miles away. Regrettably, the more disheartening fact is that the medical help received by the people from Government dispensaries are not often timely and adequate due to non-availability of a doctor and inadequacy of stock of medicines.

6.0 **Sanitation**.—Though conditions of housing, sanitation, etc., of the villages are described in village notes in the appendix, it will be profitable to make some general observations on the point. Unlike other hill tribes, the Khasis usually their house sites on the hill slopes and level lands in the side of the hills as a protection from winds. From the fact that the villages are situated in the slopes one might be tempted to think that the sanitary and drainage system of the villages should be quite satisfactory. But in fact it is otherwise in many cases particularly in the case of big villages where too many families huddle up constructing their houses very close to each other thus practically converting the village into a slum. Many of the villages, due to their very location in green surrounded by thick jungle do not get sufficient sunlight and as a result always remain damp, facilitating frequent incidence of cold and influenza. People suffer the evil of water in pools and bodies in and around the villages. Many of the villages are built on level lands full of swamps, and are all weak place which provide good breeding place for mosquitoes. Cowsheds and pig sties are built close to the residential quarters which make the villages all the more dirty. Indeed, there are villages in point excellent sanitation and health but in majority of the villages there remains a lot to be done for improving the sanitary, drainage systems for educating the people to make these villages more hygienic. From the Government side also, strenuous measures should be adopted to control and eradicate malaria which is still causing havoc in the district. Similarly, drinking water supply schemes should receive a high priority in a programme of development.

6.1 **Housing**.—Majority of the houses in the interior areas are made of thatch and bamboo with wooden planking to stone or earthen floor. Walls are plastered with mud to higher altitude houses are built, needed presumably as a protection against wind and heavy rain. Some of these houses attain the shape of a half burned cylinder. They generally have only one opening through the main door, though some of them have another in their rear wall. They generally contain only one small room. One who is not used to such unclean conditions, how the persons, especially when there are four to six of them, could feel comfortable. Houses of the relatively good particularly those on the road side, are built in the modern style with C.I. roofing, glass door, and windows, whitewashed

CHAPTER—X

Summary of main findings

10.1. Twenty-eight villages were selected for the purpose of the survey. Out of the 28 villages selected, 10 from Border area and 8 from Project area were selected purposively while the remaining 10 were selected at random from the entire district which is referred hereafter as general area.

Migration from big villages was rare but some migration was reported in respect of small villages.

Occurrence of Malaria, influenza and dysentery is a regular phenomenon in the area. Medical facilities were not found satisfactory and as much as 78 per cent of the villages have no dispensary within a radius of five miles. In regard to education, the facilities cannot also be said to be satisfactory for more than 60 per cent of the villages have a Lower Primary School. Transport facilities were not satisfactory and as much as 86 per cent of the villages still depend upon primitive mode of transport, namely head load. Correlated with outmoded form of transport, is the prevalence of unduly high cost of transport.

10.2. The number of the families covered by the survey was 1066 in the Border area, and 649 in the Project area and 184 in the General area. The average size of a village in the respective area is 106·6, 64·9 and 18·4 families. In the Border and Project areas females out number males being respectively 1076 and 1082 females per 1,000 males as against 948 females per 1,000 males in the general area. Literacy is as high as 34 per cent in the border area and 31 per cent in the Project area but as low as 17 per cent in the general area. In all the areas literacy among females is very low.

The working population (earners and earning dependents) is as high as 55 per cent in the Border area, 54 per cent in the Project area and 63 per cent in the general area. While there were no cases of unemployment in the Project and General areas, 13 persons were reported unemployed from border area.

10.3. 51 per cent of the families in Border area are wholly agricultural, 35 per cent partly agricultural and 14 per cent independent of agriculture. The corresponding figures for the Project area are 61, 31 and 8 per cent respectively while for the General area they are 38 per cent, 30 per cent, 1 per cent respectively.

Predominantly agricultural families constitute 67, 76 and 90 per cent of the families in Border, Project and General areas respectively.

10.4. 31 per cent of the families in Border area, 39 per cent in Project area and 10 per cent in General area were absolutely without any land while 23 per cent, 22 percent and 24 per cent of the families in the respective areas possessed small holding ranging from 0·24 to 2·50 acres representing 11.24 and 30 per cent of the total holding area in the respective areas. 36 per cent of the families in Border and Project areas and 41 in General area possessed medium sized holding (2 to less than 10 acres)

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

disfigured from the practice. Adults will chew as many as four or five betel-nuts a day, with the usual accompaniment of *pân* leaves. The estimated cost of maintaining an average family of the labouring class is about Rs. 8 or 16s. a month. 276 [434]

TOWNS: SHILLONG.—There are no towns in the usual acceptance of the word; but the chief places in the Hills, looked upon by the inhabitants as cities, are Shillong, Jowai, Cherrá Púnji, and Shellá. According to the Census of 1872, Shillong had only 1363 inhabitants, Cherrá Púnji 443, and Jowai 4302. Jowai, however, is a collection of rural hamlets, and the population of Shillong has entirely altered since the date of the Census. The latter place first 632 became the Civil Station in 1864, in substitution for Cherrá Púnji; 648 and when Assam was erected into an independent Province in 1874, it was selected as the permanent seat of the Local Government. The Chief-Commissioner resides there, and also the heads of all departments in the Administration. The area of the Station is 7 miles in length by 1½ to 1¾ miles in breadth. A considerable native population is already settled, and is increasing from day to day. One of the largest weekly markets is held in the *Aitár*; and with [443] a view to facilitate access to the Station, which is the sanitarium for [743] the Province of Assam, a cart road has recently been completed to [491] Gauhátí on the Brahmaputra, which will tend to make the place more and more important. An excellent water supply is introduced [365] into Shillong through an aqueduct which has its source in the [364] neighbouring hill streams, and sanitary measures are carefully enforced. Large sums of money have annually been expended [344] on the erection of the public buildings necessary for the offices of the administration. A printing-press has been established, [213] from which issue all the official documents and reports of the Province. The climate is excellent, the temperature being more [132] equable than that of any other hill station in India, and therefore admirably suited to the constitution of Europeans. There is a [346] church at Shillong, and a chaplain on the Bengal establishment [712] officiates both there and at Gauhátí. The cantonments were occupied in 1875 by the 43d Regiment of Assam Light Infantry, with three outposts. The strength was 9 European officers, 16 native commissioned officers, 80 non-commissioned officers, 772 fighting men, and 58 paid camp followers and non-combatants; grand total, 935. The total cost, including contingencies, was Rs. 189,190, or £18,919.

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR 7 Khasi AR 7

surface soil of the hills upon which the houses are built.' Cholera is attributed to importation from the plains. 312 364 [164]

SANITATION.—It has already been stated that the ordinary Khási villages are absolutely destitute of any conservancy arrangements. The sanitary condition, however, of the Station of Shillong is described as 'good.' The natural drainage is excellent. Drinking water is obtained chiefly from hill streams, and on the banks of these streams conservancy regulations are enforced. The water is conducted into the town by means of an artificial water-course. Public latrines have been erected at suitable places inside the town. The staff of sweepers and *bellárs* keeps the roads and drains clean, and the surface generally free from pollution. The sanitary condition of the cantonment is reported to be very good.

CHARITABLE DISPENSARY.—There is one dispensary in the Khási and Jaintia Hills—at the Station of Shillong. It was first opened in 1872, and considerable additions have since been made to the building. During 1874 a total sum of Rs. 775. 8, or £77, 11s., was expended on new constructions and repairs, towards which the European residents subscribed Rs. 329. There is now accommodation for 10 male and 3 female patients. In that year the total number of in-door patients treated was 44, of whom 9 died, giving a death-rate of 20·45 per cent. The number of out-door patients was 519, or an average daily attendance of 7·8. Of the grand total of patients of both classes, only 31 were females. The largest number of cases are classified under the headings of fevers and constipation and colic. The total income during the year was Rs. 1358. 13. 9, or £135, 17s. 8d., of which Government contributed Rs. 300 for salaries, and an additional Rs. 300 as a special allowance. The European subscriptions amounted to Rs. 869, as compared with Rs. 33 subscribed by natives. The total expenditure was Rs. 1187. 13. 6, or £118, 16s., leaving a balance in hand of Rs. 410. 14. 3. The chief items were Rs. 480 for salaries of medical subordinates, Rs. 160 for servants' wages, and Rs. 222 for dieting of sick. There were 33 minor operations performed during the year. 743 • [164]

The people of the District have no system of medicine of their own, and no native practitioners. Their sole remedies consist in divination and incantation. The only indigenous native drugs are chiretta and wormwood. As stated in a previous paragraph, a small cinchona plantation was established by Government at Nongkhlaw in 1869. 755 278 648 654

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

000 which are not found usually in the people of India. He is
461 not above manual labour, and even the Khasi clerk in the
333 Government offices is quite ready to take his turn at the hoe
335 in his potato garden. The men make excellent stonemasons and carpenters, and are ready to learn fancy carpentry and
276 mechanical work. They are inveterate chewers of *supari* and
804 the pan leaf (when they can get the latter), both men, women, and children; distances in the interior being often measured by the number of betel-nuts that are usually chewed on a
273 journey. They are not addicted usually to the use of opium or other intoxicating drugs. They are, however, hard drinkers, and consume large quantities of spirit distilled from rice or millet. Rice beer is also manufactured; this is used not only as a beverage, but also for ceremonial purposes. Spirit drinking is confined more to the inhabitants of the high plateaux and to the people of the Wár country, the Bhois and Lynngams
276 being content to partake of rice beer. The Mikirs who inhabit
751 what is known as the "Bhoi" country, lying to the north of the district, consume a good deal of opium, but it must be remembered that they reside in a malarious *terai* country, and that the use of opium, or some other prophylactic, is probably
525 beneficial as a preventive of fever. The Khasis, like other people of Indo-Chinese origin, are much addicted to gambling.
577 The people, and especially those who inhabit the Wár country, are fond of litigation. Col. Bivar remarks, "As regards truthfulness the people do not excel, for they rarely speak the truth unless to suit their own interests." Col. Bivar might have confined this observation to the people who live in the larger centres of population, or who have been much in contact with the denizens of the plains. The inhabitants of the far interior are, as a rule, simple and straightforward people, and are quite as truthful and honest as peasants one meets in other countries. My impression is that the Khasis are not less truthful certainly than other Indian communities. McCosh, writing in 1837, speaks well of the Khasis. The following is his opinion of them:—"They are a powerful, athletic
[47] race of men, rather below the middle size, with a manliness of gait and demeanour. They are fond of their mountains, and look down with contempt upon the degenerate race of the

1 [the Khasi --- Anal/ji]

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of them, more especially when the latter are situated in places where jungle is dense, and there is fear of attacks from wild animals. In the Lynngam village is to be seen a high bamboo platform some 20 to 30 ft. from the ground, built in the midst of the village, where the elders sit and gossip in the evening. 361

All the villages, Khasi, Wár, Lynngam and Bhoi, swarm with pigs, which run about the villages unchecked. The pigs feed on all kinds of filth, and in addition are fed upon the wort and spent wash of the brewings of country spirit, or rice beer, the latter being carefully collected and poured into wooden troughs. The pigs are of the usual black description seen in India. They thrive greatly in the Khasi villages, and frequently attain extreme obesity. 361 231 274

In the Khasi villages of the high plateaux are often nowadays potato gardens, the latter being carefully protected from the inroads of pigs, calves, and goats by dry dikes surmounted by hedges. 244 417

I noticed an interesting custom at a Bhoi village in Nongpoh of barricading the path leading to the village from the forest with bamboo palisading and bamboo *chevaux de frise* to keep out the demon of cholera. In the middle of the barricade there was a wooden door over which was nailed the skull of a monkey which had been sacrificed to this demon, which is, as amongst the Syntengs, called *khlam*. 757 776 782

FURNITURE AND HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS.

As in the case of houses, so with reference to furniture, the influence of civilization shows many changes. The Khasi of the present day who lives in Mawkhar * has a comfortable house regularly divided up into rooms in the European style with even some European articles of furniture, but owing probably to the influence of the women, he still possesses several of the articles of furniture which are to be met with in the houses of those who still observe the old style of living. Let us take the furniture of the kitchen to begin with. Above the hearth is slung by ropes of cane a swinging wooden framework 352 352 417

* Mawkhar is a suburb of Shillong, the headquarters station.

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

remarkably, and there are few indigenous diseases of any kind. 164
Malarious fevers of local origin are unknown, and cholera never 132
prevails in the Hills except when directly imported from the plains. Notwithstanding the excessive rainfall, the climate of Cherrá Púnjí also is pleasant and salubrious. The rainfall is confined in great part to the five months from May to the end of September. For the rest of the year the weather is mild and very equable, and in the winter months almost pleasanter than that of Shillong.

Small-pox is the chief scourge amongst the Khásiás. The faces 164
of more than half the people are seamed by the marks of this disease. Strenuous efforts have recently been made to introduce [751]
vaccination, and with some success. Within the past three years nearly 5000 children have been vaccinated. The number of [648]
vaccinations in 1876 was 1309, as compared with 1628 in the preceding year.

Dysentery and bowel complaints generally prevail to a considerable extent; and, as at most other hill stations in India, the English residents at Shillong occasionally suffer from these diseases. Disorders of the liver are also not uncommon, usually affecting persons who have recently arrived from the plains, probably from unhealthy localities. When they have once passed through a short period of acclimatizing indisposition, most English residents at Shillong enjoy excellent health.

The *tardí* country lying along the foot of the Hills, especially on the northern side, is extremely malarious; and people passing through, especially pedestrians who travel without comforts and expose themselves to great fatigue, contract remittent fevers and agues of a severe type.

EPIDEMICS.—The following is a brief notice of some recent 731
epidemics. Cholera made its appearance in the Hills in May 1869, travelling from the direction of Jáintiápur, on the borders of Sylhet. It only showed its presence by a few sporadic cases from time to time until the 11th July, when the disease broke out in an epidemic form among the police and in the jail. The police and the prisoners were at once moved into camp, and communication restricted as much as possible. These precautions probably had the effect of preventing the spread of the disease at Shillong. The epidemic lasted a week; it attacked twenty-four persons, of whom fifteen died. From Shillong the disease travelled southwards, the people deserting their villages as the plague broke out. In the

U lei longspah—the god of wealth. This god is propitiated with a view to obtaining increased prosperity.

U Ryngkew, or *u Basa shnong*, is the tutelary deity of the village. This godling is propitiated by sacrifices whenever they are thought to be necessary.

U Phan u kyrpad is a similar godling to the above.

Then follows a list of minor deities, or, rather, evil spirits, e.g. *Ka Rih*, the malarial fever devil; *ka Khlam*, the demon of cholera; *ka Duba*, the fever devil which is said to haunt the neighbourhood of Theriaghat.

Bivar says "the Khasi religion may be thus briefly defined as forms used to cure diseases and to avert misfortunes, by ascertaining the name of the demon, as the author of the evil, and the kind of sacrifice necessary to appease it." We may accept this description as substantially correct. In the Jaintia Hills, there is a peculiar superstition regarding a she devil, called "*ka Taroh*," which is supposed to cause delirium in cases of fever. When such cases occur, it is believed that "*ka Taroh*" has caused them, and inquiries are made by means of breaking eggs to find out in whose person the demon has obtained a lodgment; or sometimes the sick person is asked to reveal this. When in either of these ways the name of the person possessed by "*ka Taroh*" is known, the sick person is taken to the house of the possessed, and ashes and bits of broken pots are cast into the enclosure, after which, if the sick person recovers, the party indicated is denounced as possessed by the demon; but if the patient dies, it is concluded that the person possessed has not been properly ascertained. If people are satisfied that some one is really possessed, they denounce the person, who is then out-casted. The only way for him to regain his position is to exorcise the demon by divesting himself of all his property. He pulls down his house, burns the materials, his clothes, and all his other worldly goods. Lands, flocks, and herds are sold, the money realised by the sale being thrown away. No one dares touch this money, for fear he should become possessed by *ka Taroh*. It will be observed that, as in the case of the *thles*, the demon is believed to follow the property.

Mr. Jenkins, in his interesting little work on "Life and

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Mr. Jenkins, in his interesting little work on "Life and
753 Work in Khasia," gives a slightly different account of the
776 superstition, in that he states that it is the sick person who
826 is possessed by *ka Taroh*. The above belief is perhaps a
164 Synteng development of the Khasi *thlen* superstition. In
177 the Jaintia Hills "the small-pox" is believed to be a goddess, and is reverenced accordingly. Syntengs regard it as an honour to have had small-pox, calling the marks left by the disease the "kiss of the goddess"; the more violent the attack and the deeper the marks, the more highly honoured is the person affected. Mr. Jenkins says, "When the goddess has entered a house, and smitten any person or persons with this disease, a trough of clean water is placed outside the door, in order that every one before entering may wash their feet therein, the house being considered sacred." Mr. Rita mentions cases of women washing their hair in water used by a small-pox patient, in order that they may contract the disease, and women have been known actually to bring their little children into the house of a small-pox patient, in order that they may become infected and thus receive the kiss of the goddess. It is possible that the Syntengs, who were for some time under Hindu influences, may in their ignorance have adopted this degraded form of worship of the Hindu goddess, "Sitala Devi," who is adored as a divine mother under different names by Hindus all over India: cf., her name *mari-amman*, or mother of death, in the South of India, and the name Ai, mother, of the Assamese.

In the Khasi Hills the god of small-pox is known under the name of *u Siem ñiang thylliew*. He is not, however, appeased in any way, the people calling on two other spirits, *Thynrei* and *Sapa*, to whom a fowl or a goat is offered.

776 This section cannot be closed without some reference to the
773 household gods of the Syntengs. The legend is that in ancient times there came a woman "from the end of heaven to the borders of the country of *u Truh*" (the country of the plains people at a distance from the foot of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills). The name of the woman was Ka Taben, and she was accompanied by her children. She offered herself to *u Dkhar*, the plains man, as a household goddess, but he rejected her. She then went to the Khasis, who were ploughing their fields,

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823 Apparently no special puja is performed to U Kyllang (the
776 Kyllang Rock) nowadays.

782 The picturesque hill of Symper, which rises abruptly from the plain in the Siemship of Maharam, is visible for many miles. It is in shape not unlike the Kyllang. Symper is said to be the abode of a god called "U Symper." There is a folk-tale
[773] that Kyllang and Symper fought a great battle, and that the numerous holes in the rocks at the base of the Symper hill are evidences of their strife. At the base of Symper there is a great cave, where many cattle find shelter in rainy weather. The people of Mawsynram propitiate the god of Symper in cases of sickness by sacrificing a he-goat or a bull. Symper, like *U'lei Shillong*, is one of the minor deities of the Khasis.

Close to Shangpung, in the Jaintia Hills, there is a small hill called "*u lúm pyddieng blai lyngdoh*," where sacrifices are offered on an altar at seed time and when the corn comes into ear. This altar used to be overshadowed by a large oak tree. The tree is now dead.

823 The Wars of Nongjri worship "*u'lei lyngdoh*," the tutelary
776 deity of the village, under the spreading roots of a large rubber tree which gives its name to this village Nongjri. This village worship is performed by a village priest (*lyngdoh*) at stated intervals, or whenever it is considered necessary. There are numerous other instances of hills and rivers being regarded as the abode of godlings, but those quoted above are sufficient for purposes of illustration.

RELIGIOUS RITES AND SACRIFICES, DIVINATION.

776 The Khasis, as has been explained already, worship numerous
782 gods and goddesses. These gods and goddesses are supposed to
753 exercise good or evil influence over human beings according
787 to whether they are propitiated with sacrifices or not. They are even supposed to possess the power of life and death, over men and women, subject to the control of *u Blei Nongtháw*, God the Creator. Thus illness, for example, is thought to be caused by one or more of the spirits on account of some act or omission, and health can only be

1. Garden E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

restored by the due propitiation of the offended spirits. 776
In order to ascertain which is the offended spirit, a system 782
of divination by means of cowries, breaking eggs, or 753
examining the entrails of animals and birds, was instituted. 787
The Khasi method of obtaining auguries by examining the viscera of animals and birds may be compared with that of the Roman *haruspex*. Some description of these modes of divination has been given at the end of this chapter. The 771
Khasi religion has been described by Bivar as "demon worship, 773
or a jumble of enchantments muttered by priests who are 783
sorcerers." But even a religion which is thus unflatteringly 825
described is based on the cardinal doctrines of sin and sacrifice for sin. Tradition amongst the Khasis states that in the beginning (*mynnyngkong ka sngi*) there was no sin, heaven and earth were near each other, and man had direct intercourse with God. How man fell into sin is not stated, but it is certain that he did fall. Experts at "egg healing" never forget to repeat the formula "*nga briéw nga la pop*" (I man have sinned). The cock then appears as a mediator between God and man. The cock is styled "*u khún ka blei uba kit ryndang ba shah ryndang na ka bynta jong nga u briéw*," i.e. the son of god who lays down his neck (life) for me man. The use of the feminine *ka blei* is no doubt due to matriarchal influences. There is another prayer in which the Khasis say, "*ap jutang me u blei ieng rangbah me u briéw*" (oh god do not forget the covenant, arise oh man). The idea is that man has fallen into sins of omission and commission (*ka pop, ka lait ka let*) but that God is nevertheless expected to spare him, and to accept a substitute for him according to the covenant (*jutang*). By this covenant God is supposed to have accepted in exchange the cock as a substitute for man. How the cock came to occupy such an 771
important position, tradition is vague and self-conflicting. The 825
fact remains that the covenant of the cock is the foundation 171
of the Khasi religion. It is of interest to mention that amongst the Ahoms the tradition is that Khunlung and Khunlái brought down from heaven the *kái-chán-mung*,* or pair of heavenly fowls, and that to this day the sacrifice of the

* In Ahom *kái* = fowl, *chán* = beautiful, *mung* = country. Therefore *Kái-chán-mung* = fowl of a beautiful country (heaven).

789 strictest sense of the word. It is rather an
754 instinctive activity, which is influenced by superstition to which they have succumbed. In their opinion all misfortune and bad luck are caused by evil spirits. The chief purpose of
[782] their sacrifices is to propitiate them (khein ban khai). But they well know that it is possible to cause others harm with the help of the ksuid. Their magic consists of this and in warding off harm. The magic is not accomplished by special magicians who make a profession of it; but whoever believes he is able to harm others with the help of the devil tries it. In the same way, those who have to ward off harm of any kind hope to be able to accomplish this with the help of the devil.

● 753 If anyone has a throat ailment, whether it
755 is a tumor or only hoarseness, they believe that
776 it occurs through the influence of the devil u lasamdoh. Therefore a rooster or a pig is sacrificed in the courtyard of the person concerned. The blood of the sacrificed animal is given to the sick person to drink so that he may recover.

They do similar things when a person has a toothache or is sick with some kind of mouth ailment. This sickness is ascribed to the devil u jingbih.

753 If a child is born blind they believe that
776 adultery on the part of the father is the cause. This adultery is punished in the child by the devil u kyrdep.

The demoness ka byrdaw causes attacks of cramps, and convulsive cramps are the work of the feared demoness ka shwar.

Existent ailments are made definitely worse by the devil u thyrnrei.

Whoever goes into the forest and hears the call: kâw-hoit, kâw-hoit, should hurry away because the devil u 'suid-lynjang lives there and

776 is calling. He is, however, lame; but whoever
[753] answers the call or screams is lost, since he will be seized by the 'suid tynjang and tickled to death.

[763] If one wishes to protect oneself from a violent death, one must propitiate the demoness ka tyrut by sacrifice, because she is the original cause of this method of dying. The Khasi have a great respect for violent death as it increases the difficulties of the prescribed ceremonies of burial, even making them impossible, which would in turn deny the spirit of the departed one peace in eternity.

[775] They also live in fear of the devil u 'suid-lam-iap (the messenger of god, i.e., the executor of his commands). He leads the souls of people away into another kingdom. He is supposed to be horrible; of gigantic size, he walks around with long trailing hair seeking his victim. His teeth are as large as a ka wait (a hatchet or an axe).

[842] [413] The women are especially afraid of a devil whom they call u 'suid-um (the water devil). He has the power of attacking women and causing sterility in them, and if they are pregnant causing a miscarriage.

776 The demoness ka khlam brings cholera and the
753 demoness ka tihar brings severe colic.

They believe that they get malaria through the influence of the demoness ka rih, while in the region of Theriaghat the fever is ascribed to the demoness ka duba.

Smallpox, which is otherwise feared everywhere, is considered by the Khasi to be evidence of the favor of the god u siem niang thylliew. If there is someone in one of the huts sick with smallpox, the sick person is not only not avoided, but even healthy children are brought there, so that they may receive the "kiss of the god," i.e., that they may also get smallpox.

553 that a Khasi told him, [428] that all kinds of nuisance and deceptions occur with this method of name giving since one likes to save time and trouble."

"The dried fish are held by each end and cut into two pieces. Finally one wipes the yellow root that has been mixed with water on the right foot of the father, the mother, and the child."

844 Among the Synteng the following items are
782 offered in sacrifice immediately after the
553 birth of a child: some rice meal, eggs, roots and leaves. After the child is a month old (one often waits two months) the ceremony of the name giving is performed. This is done, if not by the sister of the mother, then by the oldest man of the sib. Sacrifices are brought again at this celebration, specifically two hens and a goat.

844 The parents of a newborn child are not allowed to cross a river, nor may they wash their clothes as long as the umbilical cord is not healed, since otherwise the mountain or river devil would harm the child.

845 Twins are considered a punishment, which has been incurred by somebody in the sib for violating a taboo. If the twins are of different sex, their bones may not later be placed in the common family grave.

782 755 2. Sacrifices during the Illness of a Member of the Family.

[753] Usually sacrifices are made only for internal illnesses. Because the Khasi cannot explain the origin of these illnesses, they are of the opinion that a devil has caused them. He must be angry with the person concerned

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764 When the body has been burnt, the ashes and the unburnt bones are collected by the relatives of the deceased and washed. They are then placed in a dish (*ka pliang*) which is taken to a stone repository for the bones (*mawkhieng*); here a further sacrifice takes place. For three days after the burning, the maternal relatives frequent the *mawkhieng*, where they offer articles of food for the spirit of the departed to eat, and then three eggs are broken (called *shat long kait ia*) in order to ascertain what is the cause of death. Until this egg-breaking has taken place the family is taboo. The ashes and the unburnt bones are subsequently removed from the *mawkhieng*, and are placed in the family mausoleum, or *maubah*. On this occasion a special ceremony takes place.

767 9. *Divination by breaking eggs.*—As this is a very peculiar custom, it deserves some description. Shadwell describes it as follows:—

● [158] Each case of sickness or other calamity is attributed to the influence of some evil spirit, and the first step is to ascertain what particular spirit has been at work, and for this the great institution of egg-boiling is brought into play. An expert (but not a professional) sits down before a board, in the centre of which he places an egg on a few grains of rice; after inviting the egg to speak the truth, he sweeps the rice off the board, excepting one grain left on any spot fancy dictates. Then naming a particular spirit, he asks that if he be the cause of evil, a part of the shell of the egg may be deposited upon the grain of rice; he then strikes the egg sharply on the centre of the board. This process is repeated, if necessary, till the required information is obtained. The next thing is to discover what sort of offering will be acceptable to the spirit. This is ascertained in a precisely similar way, but the desired result is often not arrived at till much time and many eggs have been expended.

I have personally witnessed this egg-breaking and can vouch for the correctness of Mr. Shadwell's description. The Khasis do nothing of what they consider to be of the least importance without breaking eggs. When a Khasi builds a new house, or before he proceeds on a journey, he always breaks eggs to see whether the building or the journey will be lucky or not. I have quoted the description of egg-breaking at length, as I am informed that there is some similar custom extant in the Arracan Hill Tracts. I hope that it will be possible to ascertain whether or not there is any similar custom in Burma.

526 10. *Khasi archery.*—Archery is a regular institution amongst the Khasis, who are very fond of it. Archery may be described as the Khasi national game. There are regular archery contests between the people of different villages, one village challenging another to shoot off a match. Certain conditions are fixed, such as the date and place of the match, the number of arrows to be shot by the archers, the distinguishing marks to be given to arrows of the two different sides, etc.,

9; Godwin-Austen G-8 (no date) 1872 A87 Khasi A87

tion falls is deserted by even his wife; for all conversing with him after the fact is declared would be equally outcasts. The abuse of such a custom is unlimited; private spite must enter largely into its organisation; and it becomes a ready method of ruining an individual of whom the community may be jealous, or who is obnoxious to them. The civil authorities have with success looked with disfavour on it, and done much towards breaking the custom down. The missionaries also in Jawai have, no doubt, by the establishment of their small Christian colony, done much towards the same end. This system of witchcraft does not date, I am told, from a very remote period. Names of demons are from time to time invented, or rise up, and the most formidable now is a female demon, having sway over wealth, and who is connected with the superstition "tarroo". The curse may alight on an individual in many ways, of which I give the following instances of how it acts on the community.

A person may get ill, and, as in fever, become delirious; those attending on him listen attentively to his ravings, and he may constantly take some one's name in connection with his state. This person is said to have the ear of the demoness, and to use such influence for the purpose of bewitching others.

Two persons may join in trade together, and be on the best of terms for several years; but one may have a terrible dream repeatedly, or say he has, connected with their gains; he may then accuse his partner of having obtained certain power from Tarroo.

A man, originally in poverty, rising in a very short time to be wealthy, the whole village may secretly, among themselves, point at him as having entered into a compact with this demoness; but no proof is forthcoming until some person suddenly falls ill, and apparently without cause. This sick person is questioned, and even bullied into saying that he believes the suspected person is the cause of his illness. They will proceed to throw ashes in the face of the accused, as a sign that his further acquaintance is not desired. This is a common custom, and is done to a person for other reasons, such as for stealing, or committing some heinous crime. A woman who supplants the affections of another who is a wife may have ashes thrown in her face for spoiling the husband, and is thus marked, for, of course, it is done in some public place. But, to continue, the family of the sick man next count up the number of pans that have been given by the accused during their intercourse, the number is prepared, made up into a bundle, and placed at his door during the night, and a sucking pig is killed and also left there. In the morning on the first opening of the door, the sign

9: Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 AR7 Khasi AR7

is seen by the inmates, and quite as soon by the neighbours, who collect to revile and jeer the unfortunate individual; his relations leave him; his wife, if he has one, retires to her parent's or sister's home, and in no other way can he recover his position in society save by throwing away all he possesses; cash and clothes are scattered on the road as he goes out of the village, and are picked up by those who follow; his house, I was told, is also demolished, and the thatch roof carried out and burnt in the outskirts of the place. 753 754

This paper has become much longer than I had anticipated, and I fear will exhaust the interest that there may be in it. I had intended alluding to the Kūkis, Mikirs, Garos, etc., and exhibiting drawings of their burial-grounds, but this I think may be best postponed and introduced with some notes on the extension of those tribes and the people of the northern slopes of the Khasi range of hills, if this Society should think such of sufficient interest to them. I trust also that Captain Williamson, Deputy-Commissioner of the Garo Hills, now on leave in England, will give us the benefit of the valuable information I know he has obtained regarding the manners and customs of the Garo tribes, among whom he has mixed so much and so intimately. 000

Appendix A

Paper on the Origin, Location, etc., of the Bodo, Koech, Dhimál People, by B. H. Hodgson, Esq., Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1849. Vol. xviii, pt. ii, p. 728.—"Thirteen leaves, each with a few grains of rice upon it, are placed by the exorcist in the segment of a circle before him, to represent the deities. The Ojha squatting on his hams before the leaves causes a pendulum attached to his thumb by a string to vibrate before them, repeating invocations the while. The god who has possessed the sick man is indicated by the exclusive vibration of the pendulum towards his representative leaf, which is then taken apart, and the god in question is asked what sacrifice he requires?—a buffalo, a hog, a fowl, or a duck to spare the sufferer (the Ojha best know how!) a hog, and it is forthwith vowed by the sick man and promised by the exorcist, but only paid when the former has recovered. On recovery the animal is sacrificed, and its *blood* offered to the offending deity." [113] 782

Appendix B

Calcutta Review, 1854, p. 128. Paper by the Rev. J. Pryse.—"The universal desire to immortalise the memory of their dead ancestors on earth by the erection of stone monuments, may be deemed as a faint indication of an expectation of some kind of future existence. The sacrifice for their dead, which they call 'Suid-iap', or "Ksuid-iap', that is, the ghost or demon of the dead, may be considered indicative of the same notion. The professed intention of the sacrifice is to pacify the [113]

77 a Synjeng, the lame devil who lives in the thicket and tickles people to death,
ka run, the worst of all the demonesses (only among the Syiemlieng),
a 'ouid-lum-la, the executor of the commands of god, who has to fetch the souls into the other world,
a Ulan, the devil of wealth and comfort who can only be worshipped by human sacrifice,
ka ower, a demoness who brings violent death,
ka syrti, the demoness who scratches and cuts, saws, and files (by pain in the intestines),
ka junai, the demoness of earthquakes,
ka slangrieng, the demoness who causes children's illnesses (especially in the navel),
a 'ouid briew or a 'ouid ngon, the devil who attacks people in the early morning and causes stitches in the side or hoarseness,
a 'ouid-kynte-maran, the devil who makes headaches,
a synkai hamon, an evil spirit,
ka ramhandi, a demoness.

3. Revered Powers of Nature

77 The Funstit River, to whom the kings of Mongsein, Dangrin, and Kshoontynh offer sacrifices.
the Khai-mare River among the Lur,
the Kopili River among the Syntang,
the Myntang River among the Syntang,
the Shillong Peak (mountain near Shillong),
the Jaitiang Mountain near Shillong,
the Kylling Cliff,
the Nyngar Mountain,
the mountain Pyndieng blei lynghoh near Shangpung (Jaintia).

77 2. Methods of Warding Off Evil Spirits
78

The Khasi do not practice magic in the

strictest sense of the word. It is rather an instinctive activity, which is influenced by superstition to which they have succumbed. In their opinion all misfortune and bad luck are caused by evil spirits. The chief purpose of their sacrifices is to propitiate them (khein ban khai). But they well know that it is possible to cause others harm with the help of the devil. Their magic consists of this and in warding off harm. The magic is not accomplished by special magicians who make a profession of it; but whoever believes he is able to harm others with the help of the devil tries it. In the same way, those who have to ward off harm of any kind hope to be able to accomplish this with the help of the devil.

If anyone has a throat ailment, whether it is a tumor or only hoarseness, they believe that it occurs through the influence of the devil u Lasumbah. Therefore a rooster or a pig is sacrificed in the courtyard of the person concerned. The blood of the sacrificed animal is given to the sick person to drink so that he may recover.

They do similar things when a person has a toothache or is sick with some kind of mouth ailment. This sickness is ascribed to the devil u jingkih.

If a child is born blind they believe that adultery on the part of the father is the cause. This adultery is punished in the child by the devil u kynday.

... Sickness ka Kyrsaw causes attacks of cramps, and convulsive cramps are the work of the feared demoness ka shwar.

Existent ailments are made definitely worse by the devil u thyrwei.

Whoever goes into the forest and hears the call: kaw-kuit, kaw-kuit, should hurry away because the devil u 'suid-tynjang lives there and

Then the wings of his nose are cut with a shear, or pincer of silver and the blood is drained off. In the same way the nails on the hands and feet are cut off with silver shears. Finally the dead body is thrown into an abyss. (5)

5. For further details about "Human Sacrifice Among the Khasi", see Dr. P. C. Becker, Salvatorianische Mitteilungen (Salvatorian Communications), 1909, No. 5, pp. 75 ff.

Since on the one hand many Khasi are busy trying to kill others with the help of the devil or to make them sick (ai-kwid), and on the other hand the evil spirits also harm men without being called upon, an enormous fear is thus the fruit of this superstition. From this fear comes the desire to make oneself free from the influence of evil spirits (lait-kwid) or to modify this influence by sacrifices (khai) or at least to propitiate the devil completely (khein-ban khai).

Therefore the Syntengs annually hold a large feast for driving away cholera (ka bahlenghlan). The offered sacrifices have the purpose of propitiating the feared demoness ka khlam but at the same time they also have the purpose of making the participants in the sacrifice safe against cholera (to enchant them). Gordon (6) describes this feast as follows: "In the month of June when the river is full of water, on a certain day the men go in the morning in front of the huts and strike the roofs of the huts with sticks. At the same time they call on the demoness ka khlam continuously and challenge her to leave

holds his own, he can reply: What was the good of calling me 757
in, to seek signs from eggs, when the man was past hope? I could only give you such, and say he was sure to recover.—As might be expected, the sacrificers prey on the ignorance and superstitions of the people; and it not unfrequently happens, I am told, that on one being called in, and after smashing a number of eggs, he declares that owing to previous communion with spirits in other houses, he can do nothing, and recommends that another exorcist be called in, to kill a pig or a fowl, and thus those who can afford it are made to give up as much as can be squeezed out of them.

Any member of the community, if he desires it, can learn the forms of offering, sacrifice, etc., under the instruction of those who are in the profession, and who can thus sanction and look to their due and proper performance. When they sacrifice a cow, goat, or pig, the liver is the principal part examined for omens; if it is smooth and healthy, such are good. The entrails, if full, are a propitious token; the size of the gall-bladder is another point—if small, poverty may fall on the family. Demons also are particular; some will not accept a black or coloured fowl; pure white only will suffice, and these they object often to sell.

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take medicine, especially men from outlying villages; they quite dread it, imagining that, should they take it, some spirit, wroth at not being propitiated, may alter its proportion, and thus make them much worse. I have seen a grown-up man burst into tears, and beg that medicine might not be administered, when he was lying seriously ill. They, however, soon find out the good effects of our treatment, especially that of quinine in fever, and they laugh in turn at the scruples of their more ignorant companions.

The Jaintias, or more properly, the Sintengs, on the East, are, 759
I think, more under the influence of their exorcists than are the 762.
Khasia, on the West. On certain occasions, individuals sacrifice a number of animals to different demons, and a great feast is held, to which numbers are invited. [illegible] are then arranged in large circles, each with a leaf for a plate before them, on which the meat, when dressed, is served.

There is, however, one very extraordinary custom—one, I am 759
glad to say, confined to only a few villages in the Jaintia country—called "Tarroo". The unfortunate individual who is presumed to be in league with a demon, in order to clear his character and be again admitted into the society of his kindred, must throw everything he possesses away, even to the clothes on his body, and begin life anew. A man on whom such an accusa-

9. Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 A27 Khasi A27

tion falls is deserted by even his wife; for all conversing with him after the fact is declared would be equally outcasts. The abuse of such a custom is unlimited; private spite must enter largely into its organization; and it becomes a ready method of ruining an individual of whom the community may be jealous, or who is obnoxious to them. The civil authorities have with reason looked with disfavour on it, and done much towards breaking the custom down. The missionaries also in Jowai have, no doubt, by the establishment of their small Christian colony, done much towards the same end. This system of witchcraft does not date, I am told, from a very remote period. Names of demons are from time to time invented, or rise up, and the most formidable now is a female demon, having every ever wealth, and who is connected with the superstition "lawar". The curse may alight on an individual in many ways, of which I give the following instances of how it acts on the community.

A person may get ill, and, as in fever, become delirious; those attending on him listen attentively to his ravings, and he may constantly take some one's name in connection with his state. This person is said to have the ear of the demoness, and to use such influence for the purpose of bewitching others.

Two persons may join in trade together, and be on the best of terms for several years; but one may have a terrible dream repeatedly, or may be lost, connected with their gains; he may then accuse his partner of having obtained certain power from Tawen.

A man, originally in poverty, rising in a very short time to be wealthy, the whole village may secretly, among themselves, point at him as having entered into a compact with this demoness; but no proof is forthcoming until some person suddenly falls ill, and apparently without cause. This sick person, [illegible] the suspected person in the cause of his illness. They will proceed to throw ashes in the face of the accused, as a sign that his further acquaintance is not desired. This is a common custom, and is done to a person for other reasons, such as for stealing, or committing some heinous crime. A woman who supplants the affections of another who is a wife may have ashes thrown in her face for spoiling the husband, and is thus marked, for, of course, it is done in some public place. But to continue, the family of the sick man next count up the number of pots that have been given by the accused during their intercourse, the number is prepared, made up into a bundle, and placed at his door during the night, and a sucking pig is killed and also left there. In the morning on the first opening of the door, the sign

9; Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 ART Khasi ART

is seen by the inmates, and quite as soon by the neighbours, who collect to revile and jeer the unfortunate individual; his relations leave him; his wife, if he has one, retires to her parent's or sister's house, and in no other way can he recover his position in society save by throwing away all he possesses; cash and clothes are scattered on the road as he goes out of the village, and are picked up by those who follow; his house, I was told, is also demolished, and the thatch roof carried out and burnt in the outskirts of the place.

This paper has become much longer than I had anticipated, and I fear will exhaust the interest that there may be in it. I had intended alluding to the Kákin, Mikiro, Garos, etc., and exhibiting drawings of their burial-grounds, but this I think may be best postponed and introduced with some notes on the extension of those tribes and the people of the northern slopes of the Khasi range of hills, if this Society should think such of sufficient interest to them. I trust also that Captain Williamson, Deputy-Commissioner of the Garo Hills, now on leave in England, will give us the benefit of the valuable information I know he has obtained regarding the manners and customs of the Garo tribes, among whom he has mixed so much and so intimately.

Appendix A.

Paper on the Origin, Location, etc., of the Bodo, Kooch, Dhimáll People, by B. H. Hodgson, Esq., Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1848. Vol. xviii, pt. ii, p. 739.—"Thirteen leaves, each with a few grains of rice upon it, are placed by the exorcist in the segment of a circle before him, to represent the deities. The Ojha squatting on his hams before the leaves causes a pendulum attached to his thumb by a string to oscillate before them, repeating invocations the while. The god who has possessed the sick man is indicated by the exclusive oscillation of the pendulum towards his representative leaf, which is then taken apart, and the god in question is asked what sacrifice he requires?—a buffalo, a hog, a fowl, or a duck to appease the sufferer (the Ojha best knows which). The fee, and it is forthwith owned by the sick man and promised by the exorcist, but only paid when the former has recovered. On recovery the animal is sacrificed, and its blood offered to the offending deity."

Appendix B.

Calcutta Review, 1854, p. 139. Paper by the Rev. J. Pryse.—"The universal desire to immortalize the memory of their dead ancestors on earth by the erection of stone monuments, may be deemed as a faint indication of an expectation of some kind of future existence. The sacrifice for their dead, which they call 'Sud-ing', or "Kaud-ing', that is, the ghost or demon of the dead, may be considered indicative of the same notion. The professed intention of the sacrifice is to pacify the

group of matrilineal and Mon-Khmer-speaking people who claim as their ancestral homeland the present-day United Khasi-Jaintia Hills District (within approximately 90° 4" and 92° 52" E. and 25° 7' and 26° 5' N.). This group includes the Jaintias (also Pnar or Syntengi) in the southeast, who differ from the Khasis primarily in their dualoral residence patterns and less virulent forms of sorcery. (The Bachors in eastern Jaintia are a Kuki people.) It also includes the Lyngngams (also spelled Lyngngam) in the west, who practice migratory swidden agriculture and certain peculiar funerary rites, and are said by Gheerbrik (1955) to be culturally intermediate between Khasis and Garos. Finally, it includes Bhoys, Wars, and upland Khasis, which terms are primarily territorial. Bhoy country is the north-central part of the District, and is culturally complicated by the presence of Mikirs, Lahungs, and Nepalis. War country spans the entire southern length of the District, as War divides into Jaintia War and Khasi War, of these, the Khasi Wars have traditionally transmitted property to sons as well as to daughters. The upland center of the District is the country of the Khasis proper, those whose culture provides the most useful model for interpreting the variations found elsewhere. [For general reference on all categories of Khasi culture, cf. Gurdon 1908 and 1937, also Gurdon 1907, especially for data on regional variations.] Geography. The District is 5,384 square miles of hilly tableland, intricately dissected by numerous rivers, and marked by significant ecological variation over very short distances. The tablelands step gently downward north from Shillong Peak, which at 6,449 feet is the highest point in the District, and over about 30 miles enter into the Brahmaputra valley where this is some 200 feet above sea level. To the south, the land slopes more steeply downward for about 20 miles, and then drops abruptly, in cliff and step-slope formations, to the Ganges sea-level delta that begins at its north with Sylhet. The annual southwest monsoon drop torrential rains around Cherrapunji and Mawsynram villages (for Cherrapunji, a record 905 inches in 1861), but then, reaching Shillong 30 miles to the northeast, provide only about 100 inches per year. Rainfall is again greater in Bhoy, which shares the Brahmaputra valley climate. Climate is temperate on the high Shillong plateau, where 8 months freezes and seven snows. To the north, climate becomes subtropical, forest is jungle, and fevers abound. The climate to the south is also subtropical. [Cf. Hooker 1903: chap. XXIX.] Linguistic affiliation. Khasi is one of the major Mon-Khmer languages, related to Mon, Khmer, Semang-Sakai, Nicobarese, and Pa-laung-Wa. The major Khasi dialects are Khasi, Jaintia, and Lyngngam, to which Gurdon adds War. Further minor variations occur from village to village. The Khasis had no script until 1841, when the roman alphabet was successfully applied to the Cherrapunji dialect of Khasi proper. [Cf. Sabel 1903, Gurdon 1912-20: 2; Roth 1902.]

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household deities, and remote and smaller deities. 776
Deities of the first two categories are simply aspects 771
of the high God or Goddess. • The earth is peopled with two great orders of land demons and water demons who cause all undesirable, unnatural, and otherwise inexplicable events, acting either on their own or as instruments in the hands of sorcerers.
Apart from omens, both in nature and in dreams, 757
Khasis attach supernatural significance also to mystic 812
numbers, and to the colors white, black, and red. They hold especially important folk beliefs regarding 824
betel nut, paddy rice, gold and silver, and clothing.
Practitioners. The two classes of religious practitioners are the village or state priests and the sacrificers. 781
Both are male. They use the same divinatory tech- 783
niques of reading broken eggshells and the entrails 754
of cocks, and they both sacrifice cocks, hens, goats, pigs, and cattle. These skills are not taught to them so much as picked up by observation and confirmed by demonstrations of efficacy. A priest is elected from among the men of his ab to direct his skills to the public good until he dies, and his rewards are institutionalized and come from the village or the state. A sacrificer acts for private persons or his groups, on call, and is rewarded by them personally with gifts in cash or in kind. The sacrificer is called upon to explain and then to ritually remedy every variety of misfortune, especially illness, though his powers are nevertheless regarded with ambivalence, and he is widely expected to become a sorcerer sooner or later. • There are two major types of sor- 754
cerer. One is the ritual specialist or sacrificer who secretly turns his skills from good to evil, manipulating demons to injure a person or his group, and acting always for himself alone out of considerations of jealousy or revenge. The other is normally a leading citizen, a woman who is so wealthy and successful that it is believed that she must keep a *thlaw*, i.e. a creature which will bring her prosperity so long as she feeds it periodically with human blood. To provide this blood, the men of her household, or other males whom she bewitches with a special whistle, will indiscriminately murder anyone except a member of her matrilineage. The victims have no sus- [P.]
picion to the *thlaw* in their ken, except that the ultimate result is death from illness rather than murder. Many witchcraft can be perpetrated by persons keepers or persons with an evil eye, who are often women. Ceremonies. The important traditional 825
ceremonies were the life-crisis rituals relating to 826
pregnancy and childbirth, the naming of a child, and 753
death. Lesser ceremonies related to marriage and 744
divorce, and to housebuilding. All these rituals were 777
addressed primarily to the ancestors, and they are 776
still performed in modified form by many Khasis. 775
Other rituals, which were performed by groups such 773
as villages, clns, local descent groups, or households, 774
were addressed to the unnamed aspects of the high 782

787 strictest sense of the word. It is rather an
754 instinctive activity, which is influenced by superstition to which they have succumbed. In their opinion all misfortune and bad luck are caused by evil spirits. The chief purpose of
[782] their sacrifices is to propitiate them (khein ban kha). But they well know that it is possible to cause others harm with the help of the ksuid. Their magic consists of this and in warding off harm. The magic is not accomplished by special magicians who make a profession of it; but whoever believes he is able to harm others with the help of the devil tries it. In the same way, those who have to ward off harm of any kind hope to be able to accomplish this with the help of the devil.

753 If anyone has a throat ailment, whether it
● 755 is a tumor or only hoarseness, they believe that
776 it occurs through the influence of the devil u lasamdot. Therefore a rooster or a pig is sacrificed in the courtyard of the person concerned. The blood of the sacrificed animal is given to the sick person to drink so that he may recover.

They do similar things when a person has a toothache or is sick with some kind of mouth ailment. This sickness is ascribed to the devil u jingbh.

758 If a child is born blind they believe that
776 adultery on the part of the father is the cause. This adultery is punished in the child by the devil u syrwep.

The demoness ka tyrdaw causes attacks of cramps, and convulsive cramps are the work of the feared demoness ka shwar.

Existent ailments are made definitely worse by the devil u thyrnrei.

Whoever goes into the forest and hears the call: kăw-hoit, kăw-hoit, should hurry away because the devil u 'suid-tynjang lives there and

553 that a Khasi told him, [428] that all kinds of nuisance and deceptions occur with this method of name giving since one likes to save time and trouble."

"The dried fish are held by each end and cut into two pieces. Finally one wipes the yellow root that has been mixed with water on the right foot of the father, the mother, and the child."

244 Among the Synteng the following items are
782 offered in sacrifice immediately after the
553 birth of a child: some rice meal, eggs, roots and leaves. After the child is a month old (one often waits two months) the ceremony of the name giving is performed. This is done, if not by the sister of the mother, then by the oldest man of the sib. Sacrifices are brought again at this celebration, specifically two hens and a goat.

844 The parents of a newborn child are not allowed to cross a river, nor may they wash their clothes as long as the umbilical cord is not healed, since otherwise the mountain or river devil would harm the child.

845 Twins are considered a punishment, which has been incurred by somebody in the sib for violating a taboo. If the twins are of different sex, their bones may not later be placed in the common family grave.

782
755 2. Sacrifices during the Illness of a Member of the Family.

[751] Usually sacrifices are made only for internal illnesses. Because the Khasi cannot explain the origin of these illnesses, they are of the opinion that a devil has caused them. He must be angry with the person concerned

755 782 and must now be propitiated by a sacrifice. For outside illness, for example, wounds which they have incurred by falling or hitting something, they do not make a sacrifice because the cause of the illness is known to them.

For internal sickness the sacrifice is usually made in the court area if unfavorable weather does not prevent it. What should be sacrificed is determined only by the sacrificial priest (lyngdoh). If the illness is not important, an egg is sacrificed. (24) The

24. See above, egg throwing.

sacrificing priest takes a rather large dish (ka pliang kynthei) on which he places a lattice of little bamboo sticks. Now he takes an egg, caresses it, calls it goddess (ka blei), strews it with rice and smears it with red mud. Then he throws it with all his might onto the bamboo lattice. The inside of the egg runs through the lattice into the dish. He does this with one egg after another. This egg sacrifice is performed every morning and every evening until the sick person is well again. Many make the sacrifice early before sunrise and in the evening after sunset.

If the illness is of a more serious kind, chickens are sacrificed. This is done in the following way. The sacrificial priest strews rice on the chicken's head, then places the neck of the animal on the left index finger and holds the head of the animal down with his left thumb. Then he cuts open the chicken's throat with a knife. (25) The sacrificer

25. Cf. Table II, Picture 2: Sacrifice of a Chicken among the Khasi.

782 now draws the bronchia out through the opening
755 he had made [429] and according to their position he judges whether the sick person will get well or not. (26)

26. Cf. Sacrifice of the rooster, ka jingkhia syiar.

If the illness is still worse and death is feared, then the cleverest and most experienced sacrificial priests are called. Goats and pigs, and if the sick man belongs to the well-to-do, also cows are sacrificed by these. (27) All the relatives participate in the

27. Cf. above, Khein Ksuid

sacrificial meal with the priest.

If the illness is leading towards certain death, sacrifices are made until there is no longer any sign of life. Thus the father of a sick boy in Umpling, who himself was a sacrificial priest, sacrificed the most beautiful chickens all day long until the boy died in the evening from vomiting of blood.

Among the Synteng only rice, eggs, hens, pigs, and deer, but no cows, are sacrificed. Certainly many sibs are allowed to eat the meat of cows, but they are exceptions. Of the sacrificed animals the gods (or devils) receive only some blood, some of the heart and the intestines; the rest is eaten by those present.

3. Sacrifices and Ceremonies for a Death.

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782 Without interruption -- until death occurs -- sacrifices are offered for a dying

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

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surface soil of the hills upon which the houses are built.' Cholera 364
is attributed to importation from the plains. [164]

SANITATION.—It has already been stated that the ordinary Khásí villages are absolutely destitute of any conservancy arrangements. The sanitary condition, however, of the Station of Shillong is described as 'good.' The natural drainage is excellent. Drinking water is obtained chiefly from hill streams, and on the banks of these streams conservancy regulations are enforced. The water is conducted into the town by means of an artificial water-course. Public latrines have been erected at suitable places inside the town. The staff of sweepers and *bekdárs* keeps the roads and drains clean, and the surface generally free from pollution. The sanitary condition of the cantonment is reported to be very good.

CHARITABLE DISPENSARY.—There is one dispensary in the Khásí 743
and Jaintia Hills—at the Station of Shillong. It was first opened in 1872, and considerable additions have since been made to the building. During 1874 a total sum of Rs. 773. 8, or £77. 11s., was expended on new constructions and repairs, towards which the European residents subscribed Rs. 329. There is now accommodation for 10 male and 3 female patients. In that year the total number of in-door patients treated was 44, of whom 9 died, giving a death-rate of 20·45 per cent. The number of out-door patients was 529, or an average daily attendance of 78. Of the grand total of patients of both classes, only 31 were females. The largest number [164]
of cases are classified under the headings of fevers and constipation and colic. The total income during the year was Rs. 1598. 13. 9, or £159. 17s. 8d., of which Government contributed Rs. 300 for salaries, and an additional Rs. 300 as a special allowance. The European subscriptions amounted to Rs. 869, as compared with Rs. 33 subscribed by natives. The total expenditure was Rs. 1187. 15. 6, or £118. 16s., leaving a balance in hand of Rs. 410. 14. 3. The chief items were Rs. 480 for salaries of medical subordinates, Rs. 160 for servants' wages, and Rs. 222 for dieting of sick. There were 53 minor operations performed during the year.

The people of the District have no system of medicine of their own, 755
and no native practitioners. Their sole remedies consist in divination and incantation. The only indigenous native drugs are chiretta and 278
wormwood. As stated in a previous paragraph, a small cinchona 648
plantation was established by Government at Nongkhlaw in 1863. 654

U lei longpah—the god of wealth. This god is propitiated with a view to obtaining increased prosperity.

U Byaphew, or *u Bosa shoong*, is the tutelary deity of the village. This godling is propitiated by sacrifices whenever they are thought to be necessary.

U Phon u kyrpad is a similar godling to the above.

Then follows a list of minor deities, or, rather, evil spirits, e.g. *Ka Bih*, the malarial fever devil; *ka Khlem*, the demon of cholera; *ka Duba*, the fever devil which is said to haunt the neighbourhood of Theriaghat.

Bivar says "the Khasi religion may be thus briefly defined as forms used to cure diseases and to avert misfortunes, by ascertaining the name of the demon, as the author of the evil, and the kind of sacrifice necessary to appease it." We may accept this description as substantially correct. In the Jaintia Hills, there is a peculiar superstition regarding a she devil, called "*ka Tiwah*," which is supposed to cause delirium in cases of fever. When such cases occur, it is believed that "*ka Tiwah*" has caused them, and inquiries are made by means of breaking eggs to find out in whose person the demon has obtained a lodgment; or sometimes the sick person is asked to reveal this. When in either of these ways the name of the person possessed by "*ka Tiwah*" is known, the sick person is taken to the house of the possessed, and ashes and bits of broken pots are cast into the enclosure, after which, if the sick person recovers, the party indicated is denounced as possessed by the demon; but if the patient dies, it is concluded that the person possessed has not been properly ascertained. If people are satisfied that some one is really possessed, they denounce the person, who is then cast-casted. The only way for him to regain his position is to propitiate the demon by [illegible] property. He pulls down his house, burns the materials, his clothes, and all his other worldly goods. Lands, fowls, and herds are sold, the money realised by the sale being thrown away. No one dares touch this money, for fear he should become possessed by *ka Tiwah*. It will be observed that, as in the case of the thlaw, the demon is believed to follow the property.

Mr. Jenkins, in his interesting little work on "Life and

B. Goswami-Assam G-3 (no date) 1972 A87 Khasi A87

beside his own, he can reply: What was the good of calling me in, to seek signs from eggs, when the man was past hope? I could only give you such, and say he was sure to recover.—As might be expected, the sacrificers prey on the ignorance and superstitions of the people; and it not unfrequently happens, I am told, that on one being called in, and after smashing a number of eggs, he declares that owing to previous communion with spirits in other houses, he can do nothing, and recommends that another exorcist be called in, to kill a pig or a fowl, and thus those who can afford it are made to give up as much as can be squeezed out of them. 757

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1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

825 782 ML

latter, who then falls an easy prey to the *nongshohnoh*. It is not, however, always possible to kill the victim outright for various reasons, and then the *nongshohnoh* resorts to the following subterfuge:—He cuts off a little of the hair, or the hem of the garment, of a victim, and offers these up to the *thlen*. The effect of cutting off the hair or the hem of the garment of a person by a *nongshohnoh*, to offer up to the *thlen*, is disastrous to the unfortunate victim, who soon falls ill, and gradually wastes away and dies. The *nongshohnoh* also sometimes contents himself with merely throwing stones at the victim, or with knocking at the door of his house at night, and then returns home, and, after invoking the *thlen*, informs the master that he has tried his best to secure him a prey, but has been unsuccessful. This is thought to appease the *thlen* for a time, but the demon does not remain inactive long, and soon manifests his displeasure for the failure of his keeper to supply him with human blood, by causing one of the latter's family to fall sick. The *thlen* has the power of reducing himself to the size of a thread, which renders it convenient for the *nong-ri thlen*, or *thlen* keeper, to place him for safety in an earthen pot, or in a basket which is kept in some secure place in the house. When the time for making an offering to the *thlen* comes, an hour is selected, generally at dead of night, costly cloths are spread on the floor of the house of the *thlen* keeper, all the doors are opened, and a brass plate is laid on the ground in which is deposited the blood, or the hair, or a piece of the cloth of the victim. All the family then gathers round, and an elderly member commences to beat a small drum, and invokes the *thlen*, saying, "*ko kni ko kpa* (oh, maternal uncle, father), come out, here is some food for you; we have done everything we could to satisfy you, and now we have been successful; give us thy blessing, that we may attain health and prosperity." The *thlen* then crawls out from its hiding-place and commences to expand, and when it has attained its full serpent shape, it comes near the plate and remains expectant. The spirit of the victim then appears, and stands on the plate, laughing. The *thlen* begins to swallow the figure, commencing at its feet, the victim laughing the while. By degrees the whole figure

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

[582] *Preliminaries.*—A young man of marriageable age, say between seventeen or eighteen years of age and twenty-five, 584 fixes upon a girl of, say between thirteen and eighteen years, as likely to become a fitting partner; probably he has been acquainted with the young woman for some time before and is on more or less easy terms of intimacy with her. He mentions the name of the girl to his parents, and uncles and aunts in the house, and they agree or disagree, as the case may be. Sometimes marriages are arranged by the parents of the young people themselves. Having agreed regarding the fitness of the bride, the young man's parents send a male representative of the family, or in some cases a man unconnected with the family, to arrange matters with the parents of the bride. The latter then ascertain their daughter's wishes. According to the late U Jaskon Roy, the daughters nearly always agree; it is very seldom that it is necessary to bring any pressure to bear. The parents then investigate whether there is any song, or taboo, such as close relationship, between the young woman and her intended, in the way of the marriage. If there is found to be no such hindrance, they fix a date for finally 787 arranging the marriage (*law ka lut khon*.) On the day appointed 585 the bride's family consult the augurs by looking eggs and 842 examining fowls' entrails. If the omens are favourable, well 735 and good. Should they be unfavourable, they abandon the 761 marriage project. There is a strong prejudice against a marriage taking place under unfavourable auspices, the belief being that such an union will be ill-fated, that the bride will 585 die an untimely death, or that poverty will ensue. Given favourable auspices, the parents fix a day for the marriage. It was formerly the custom for the bridegroom to provide himself beforehand with a ring, usually of silver, but, amongst the rich, of gold, which is called *ka synjat* (hence the name of the marriage ceremony *synjat-synjat*) and for the bride to provide herself with a similar ring. The bridegroom used to place his ring upon the bride's finger, and the bride used to place her ring upon the bridegroom's finger; it is however believed that this custom is rare nowadays. On the marriage day a man is selected from the party of the bridegroom called *u briang*, or go-between. The bridegroom then sets out with

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of a Garo marriage. The Lyngams, unlike the Garos, do not observe which way the heads turn when they are thrown on the ground after being sacrificed. The Lyngams, like the Khasis, take augories from the entrails of the fowls and the pig. After these ceremonies are over, the Lyngam pair are allowed to cohabit. The cost of an ordinary Lyngam marriage is from Rs. 30 to Rs. 40. The marriage system in vogue among the Lyngams may be described as a mixture of the Khasi and Garo customs. As has already been stated, the Lyngams are a mongrel breed of Khasis and Garos.

CEREMONIES ATTENDING DEATH.

The death customs of the Khasis are not only very elaborate, but possess a significance of their own, it is, therefore, necessary to describe them in detail; they are as follows:—

A member of the family bends down towards the ear of the apparently deceased person and calls him or her by name three times, to make sure that death has occurred. If no answer comes, the family laments, for it is then concluded that the person is really dead. The body is then bathed in warm water from three earthen pots and is reverently laid on a mat (*jingrai*), where it is dressed in white cloth, a peculiar feature of the dressing being that the waist-cloth and turban are folded from left to right, and not from right to left, as in the case of the living. An egg called *u'ling lyuh* is placed on the stomach of the deceased, and nine fried grains of rice (*kadon*, or Indian corn), are tied round the head with a string. The rich place ear-rings in the ears and other jewellery on the body of the deceased, it being necessary that this jewellery should be specially made for the occasion, and they deck the corpse with valuable cloths. A cock, *u'ling lyuh* (literally the cock that matches the way), is sacrificed, the idea being that a cock will scratch a path for the spirit to the next world. A sacrifice of a bull, or of a cow in case the deceased is a woman, (*u* or *ka mami pyrsem*,) follows. Portions of the left leg of the bull and the lower part of the jaw of the bull or cow are kept, to be placed afterwards in the soondhing, or tomb,

is calling. He is, however, lame; but whoever answers the call or screams is lost, since he will be seized by the 'ouid tynjong and tickled to death.

If one wishes to protect oneself from a violent death, one must propitiate the demoness ka tprut by sacrifice, because she is the original cause of this method of dying. The Ghost have a great respect for violent death as it increases the difficulties of the prescribed ceremonies of burial, even making them impossible, which would in turn deny the spirit of the departed one peace in eternity.

They also live in fear of the devil a 'ouid-lam-tay (the messenger of god, i.e., the executor of his commands). He leads the souls of people away into another kingdom. He is supposed to be horrible; of gigantic size, he walks around with long trailing hair seeking his victim. His teeth are as large as a ka wait (a hatchet or an axe).

The women are especially afraid of a devil whom they call a 'ouid-um (the water devil). He has the power of attacking women and causing sterility in them, and if they are pregnant causing a miscarriage.

The demoness ka khlam brings cholera and the demoness ka thar brings severe colic.

They believe that they get malaria through the influence of the demoness ka rih, while in the region of Thertaghat the fever is ascribed to the demoness ka duba.

Smallpox, which is otherwise feared everywhere, is considered by the Ghost to be evidence of the favor of the god a ziem niang thylliow. If there is someone in one of the huts sick with smallpox, the sick person is not only not avoided, but even healthy children are brought there, so that they may receive the "kiss of the god," i.e., that [illegible] pox.

782 now draws the brynchia out through the opening
765 he had made [127] and according to their position he judges whether the sick person will get well or not. (26)

26. Cf. Sacrifice of the rooster, Ka jingkhia sylar.

If the illness is still worse and death is feared, then the cleverest and most experienced sacrificial priests are called. Goats and pigs, and if the sick man belongs to the well-to-do, also cows are sacrificed by these. (27) All the relatives participate in the

27. Cf. above, Khata Kauid

sacrificial meal with the priest.

If the illness is leading towards certain death, sacrifices are made until there is no longer any sign of life. Thus the father of a sick boy in Dmpling, who himself was a sacrificial priest, sacrificed the most beautiful chickens all day long until the boy died in the evening from vomiting of blood.

Among the Syntang only rice, eggs, hens, pigs, and deer, but no cows, are sacrificed. Certainly many sibs are allowed to eat the meat of cows, but they are exceptions. Of the sacrificed animals the gods (or devils) receive only some blood, some of the heart and the intestines; the rest is eaten by those present.

3. Sacrifices and Ceremonies for a Death.

765
782 Without interruption -- until death occurs -- sacrifices are offered for a dying

● 78 (72) person. Whether death has occurred is determined by calling his name. If no further sign of life is observed, howling and wailing begin to announce the mourning. Tears are extremely rare.

76 The dead person is bathed and washed (pynsem-pynsleh), wrapped in his clothes and reverently placed on a bamboo mat. One is particularly careful with the limbs; for the hands and feet are stretched out completely (phynsit ki kjat ki kti) and placed straight (pynthiah beit). To indicate mourning one does not wind the dead man's turban from right to left as usual but the other way around. In the territory of Lamin one puts betel nuts, which are wrapped in pepper leaves, between the turban and the forehead. These betel nuts are placed in a row so that they look like a crown or wreath. Every morning and every evening, as long as the body is in the house, one places cooked rice and dried fish by the head of the dead man. One calls this giving ai ka ja miet ja riej (morning and evening meal).

76 How long the dead man stays in the hut
72 varies with each sib. Many are cremated on the day after death, whereas others several days later, but always the body stays an uneven number of days in the hut. A betel nut with a pepper leaf and lime is placed with the food as well as a bamboo beaker with water. Finally one puts the "stomach egg" (ka long kyah) on the stomach of the dead man (in the area of the stomach). This is the start of the actual sacrifice.

The sacrificer takes a chicken, strews rice on its head, holds it ready for killing, and says while doing this:

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KHASI BUNGLOW, PLASHEIM
(From a photograph by the author.)

[facing p. 150]

BRAHI STOMBRIKIA.

(From a photograph by Mrs. Burton.)

Fig. 6.

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or Mynnir, spoken in the extreme north, and there may be others. A great desideratum for linguistic purposes is a more adequate method of recording sounds, and especially differences of tone, than that adopted for the standard speech, which though sufficient for practical purposes, does not accurately represent either the quantity or the quality of the vowels, and leaves something to be desired as regards the consonants (especially those only faintly sounded or suppressed). These things, no doubt, will come in time. The immense advance which has been made in education by the Khasis during the last half-century has enabled some among them to appreciate the interesting field for exploration and study which their own country and people afford; and there is reason to hope that with European guidance the work of record will progress by the agency of indigenous students.

It remains to summarize briefly the principal distinctive features of this vigorous and sturdy race, who have preserved their independence and their ancestral institutions through many centuries in the face of the attractions offered by the alien forms of culture around them.

In the first place, their social organization presents one of the most perfect examples still surviving of matriarchal institutions, carried out with a logic and thoroughness which, to those accustomed to regard the status and authority of the father as the foundation of society, are exceedingly remarkable. Not only is the mother the head and source, and only bond of union of the family: in the most primitive part of the hills, the Syntengs country, she is the only owner of real property, and through her alone is inheritance transmitted. The father has no kinship with his children, who belong to their mother's clan; what he earns goes

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to his own matriarchal stock, and at his death his bones are deposited in the cromlech of his mother's kin. In Jowai he neither lives nor eats in his wife's house, but visits it only after dark (p. 76). In the veneration of ancestors, which is the foundation of the tribal piety, the primal ancestress (*Ka Iáwbei*) and her brother are the only persons regarded. The flat memorial stones set up to perpetuate the memory of the dead are called after the woman who represents the clan (*wáy kythei*, p. 150), and the standing stones ranged behind them are dedicated to the male kinsmen on the mother's side.

In harmony with this scheme of ancestor worship, the other spirits to whom propitiation is offered are mainly female, though here male personages also figure (pp. 106—109). The powers of sickness and death are all female, and these are those most frequently worshipped (p. 107). The two protectors of the household are goddesses (p. 112), though with them is also revered the first father of the clan, *U Thárlang*.

Priestesses assist at all sacrifices, and the male officiants are only their deputies (p. 121); in one important state, Khyrim, the High Priestess and actual head of the State is a woman, who combines in her person sacerdotal and regal functions (p. 70).

The Khasi language, so far as known, is the only member of the Mon-Khmér family which possesses a grammatical gender, distinguishing all nouns as masculine and feminine; and here also the feminine nouns immensely preponderate (p. 206). The pronouns of the second (*ní, phí*) and third person (*á, lá*) have separate forms for the sexes in the singular, but in the plural only one is used (*phí, lí*), and this is the plural form of the feminine singular.

It may perhaps be ascribed to the pre-eminence

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There are also syntactical agreements. We may take it as finally proved by Dr. Grierson and Professor Kuhn that the Mon-Khmér, Palaung, Wa, and Khasi languages are closely connected. In the section of the Monograph which deals with language some striking similarities between the languages of these tribes will be pointed out. We have not so far been able to discover social customs common to the Palaungs and the Khasis; this is probably due to the conversion of the Palaungs to Buddhism, the change in the religion of the people having possibly caused the abandonment of the primitive customs of the tribe. In a few years' time, if the progressive rate of conversions of Khasis to Christianity continues, probably the greater number of the Khasi social customs will have disappeared and others will have taken their place, so that it cannot be argued that because no manifest social customs can now be found common to the Khasis and the Palaungs, there is no connection between these two tribes. The strong linguistic affinity between these two peoples and the wild *Wos* of Burma points to an intimate connection between all these in the past. As knowledge of the habits of the wild *Wos* improves, it is quite possible that social customs of this tribe may be found to be held in common with the Khasis. With regard to social affinities it will be interesting to note the Palaung folk-tale of the origin of their Sawbwa, which is reproduced in Sir George Scott's Upper Burma Gazetteer. The Sawbwa, it is related, is descended from the Naga Princess Thusandi who lived in the *Nat* tank on the Mongyk hills and who laid three eggs, from one of which was born the ancestor of the Palaung Sawbwa. Here we see how the Palaung regards the egg, and it is noteworthy that the Khasis lay great stress on its potency in divination for the purposes of religious sacrifices, and that at death it is placed on the stomach of the deceased and is after-wards broken at the funeral pyre. Amongst some of the tribes of the Malay Archipelago also the *Gaji-Guru* or medicine-man "can see from the yolk of an egg, broken whilst successively counting from one to seven, from what illness a man is suffering and what has caused it." Here we have an almost exactly parallel case to the Khasi custom of egg-breaking.

In the Palaung folk-tale above referred to the importance of

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231 Shillong is excellent, the flavor being quite as good as that
243 of English honey. Under "Miscellaneous Customs connected with Death" will be found a reference to the statement that the
[N.4] dead bodies of Siems used to be embalmed in honey. The existence of the custom is generally denied by Khasis, but its former prevalence is probable, as several trustworthy authors have quoted it.

HOUSES.

342 The houses of the people are cleaner than might be supposed
515 after taking into consideration the dirtiness of the clothes and persons of those who inhabit them. They are as a rule substantial thatched cottages with plank or stone walls, and raised on a plinth some 2 to 3 ft. from the ground. The only
354 window is a small opening on one side of the house, which admits but a dim light into the smoke-begrimed interior. The houses are so low that it is impossible for a person of ordinary stature to stand erect within. The fire is always burning on an earthen or stone hearth in the centre. There is no chimney, the smoke finding its exit as best it can. The firewood is placed to dry on a swinging frame above the hearth. In the
343 porch are stacked fuel and odds and ends. The pigs and calves
342 are generally kept in little houses just outside the main building. The Khasi house is oval-shaped, and is divided into three rooms, a porch, a centre room, and a retiring-room.

359 In olden days the Khasis considered nails *ong*, or taboo, and
789 only used a certain kind of timber for the feeder which surrounds the hearth; but they are not so particular now-a-days.
342 In Mawkhar, Cherrapunji, and other large villages, the walls of houses are generally of stone. In Cherrapunji the houses are frequently large, but the largest house I have seen in the hills is that of the Doloi of Sohtinga in the Jaintia Hills, which measures 74 ft. in length. The house of the Siem Pointoon at Smit in the Khasi Hills is another large one, being 61 ft. long by 30 ft. broad. In front of the Khasi house is a little open-fronted or on two sides, but open towards the village street. The

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played with a little wooden key held in the hand. *Ka mariyod* is an instrument much the same as the last, but is played with a bow like a violin. *Ka marynthing* is a kind of guitar with one string, played with the fingers.

Ka blangwari is a wooden pipe, which is played like a flageolet. *Ka lynskiw*, or *shikwiw*, are cymbals made of bell metal; *ka shiddi*, or *ka shingwiang*, is a kind of flute made of bamboo. This instrument is played at cremation ceremonies, and when the bones and ashes of a clan are collected and placed in the family tomb, or *mawbah*. This flute is not played on ordinary occasions. In the folk-lore portion of the Monograph will be found a tale regarding it. There are other kinds of flutes which are played on ordinary occasions. The Wars of the twenty-five villages in the Khyrim State make a sort of harp out of reed, which is called *ka 'ning dieng phieng*. The Khasis also play a Jews' harp (*ka mieng*), which is made of bamboo.

AGRICULTURE.

The Khasis are industrious cultivators, although they are behindhand in some of their methods of cultivation, (e.g. their failure to adopt the use of the plough in the greater portion of the district); they are thoroughly aware of the uses of manure. Their system of turning the soil, allowing them to dry, then burning them, and raking the ashes over the soil, is much in advance of any system of natural manuring to be seen elsewhere in the Province. The Khasis use the following agricultural implements:—A large hoe (*mukhie kok*), an axe for felling trees (*u sdie*), a large do. for felling trees (*ka ward lyngpun*), two kinds of bill-hooks (*ka wait pnat* and *ka wait thmat*), a sickle (*ka sidi*), a plough in parts of the Jaintia Hills (*ka lynghor*), also a harrow (*ka ish mai*). In dealing with agriculture, the lands of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills may be divided into the following classes:—(*a*) Forest land, (*b*) wet paddy land called *kiti* or *pynthor*, (*c*) high grass land or *ka ri lum*, or *ka ri phlang*, (*d*) homestead land (*ka 'dew lyngki*). Forest lands are cleared by the process known as *jhuming*, the trees being felled early in the winter and allowed to lie till January or February,

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589 dition that she does not remarry; the idea being that as long as
965 the house remain in the widow's keeping, the spirit of her husband is still with her. On this account many wives who revere their husband's memories, and who do not contemplate remarriage, purposely keep the house for a long time. If a
587 965 widow marries, even after the customary taboo period of one year, whilst her deceased husband's house are still in her keeping, she is generally looked down upon. Her children in such a
[1] case perform the ceremony of handing over the house of their father to his clan in a building specially erected for the purpose. The widow cannot enter therein, or even go near it, whilst the ceremony is proceeding, no matter whether the *jing* *sang*, or the price for removing the taboo after a husband's death, has been
578 paid to the husband's clan or not. There is no evidence to show that polyandry ever existed amongst the Khasis. Unlike the Tibetans, the Khasi women seem to have contented themselves always with one husband, at any rate with one at a time. Certainly at the present day they are monandrists. Polygamy does not exist amongst the Khasis; such a practice would naturally not be in vogue amongst a people who observe the matriarchate. There are instances, however, of men having wives other than those they have regularly married, and in the War country children by such wives enjoy rights to their father's ancestral property equally with the children by the legally
582 married wife. As the clans are strictly exogamous, a Khasi
6.99 cannot take a wife from his own clan; to do this would entail
769 the most disastrous religious, as well as social consequences. For to marry within the clan is the greatest sin a Khasi can commit, and would mean excommunication by his kinsfolk and the refusal of funeral ceremonies at death, and his bones would
[12] not be allowed a resting place in the sepulchre of the clan. To
6.99 give a list of all the Khasi exogamous clans would perhaps serve
582 no useful purpose, but I have prepared from information, kindly furnished me by the Siems of Khyrim and Cherrapunji, a list of the clans in those States which will be found in Appendices A and B. These will suffice as examples. It will be seen from the Cherra list that the different divisions of the Dienglieh clan, viz. Lois, Dienglieh-bah, Dienglieh-kylla, are prohibited from intermarriage; this is due to these branches of the clan being

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INHERITANCE.

The Khasi and Syntengs laws of inheritance are practically the same, although in some of the dolonships in the Jaintia Hills there are some slight differences. The Wáir law of inheritance differs greatly from that of the Khasis, and the customs of the Bhoi or Mikirs, who inhabit the Bhoi dolonship of the Jaintia Hills, are totally different from those of the Khasis, thereby supplying another link in the chain of evidence in support of the conclusion that the Bhoi, or, more correctly speaking, the Mikirs, are of Indo origin, and not Khasi or Mon-Anam. The Lyngngams follow the Khasi law of inheritance. It will be convenient to describe the Khasi law first, and then to pass on to the special customs in vogue in the different dolonships in the Jaintia Hills, and, finally, to describe the Wáir, Bhoi and Lyngngam customs.

The Khasi saying is, "*Long jaid na ka kyntiei*" (from the woman sprung the clan). The Khasis, when reckoning descent, count from the mother only; they speak of a family of brothers and sisters, who are the great grandchildren of one great grandmother, as *shi kynh*, which, being literally translated, is one womb, i.e. the issue of one womb. The man is nobody. If he is a brother, a *kynsai* brother being taken to mean an uterine brother, or a *mawsi-pyrnam*, he will be lost to the family or clan directly he marries. If he be a husband, he is looked upon merely as a *dkong khu*, a beggar. In some of the Wáir villages a newly married man is spoken of by the bride's family as, "*u khun ki briew*," some one else's son. It is, perhaps, somewhat of a paradox under the circumstances that wives should address their husbands as "*kynrad*," or lord. There is, however, no gainsaying the fact that the husband, at least in theory, is a stranger in his wife's home, and it is certain that he can take no part in the rites and ceremonies of his wife's family, and that his mortal after death can find no place within the wife's family tomb, except, in certain cases, amongst the Syntengs. Further, the ceremonial religion amongst Khasis, especially that of the home, is in the hands of the women. It is therefore, perhaps not to be wondered at, considering the important status assigned to women by the Khasis, that women

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The
577 adoption of a female obviates the family dying out (*iap dak*),
428 which to the Khasi is a very serious matter, inasmuch as there
769 will then be no one qualified to place the bones of its members within the family tomb (*ka ka thep shiong mawbah*), and to perform the requisite funeral ceremonies. Amongst the
577 Khasis no particular ceremonies are performed at the time of
262 adoption; but some of the Syntengs observe a religious cere-
762 mony which consists largely of a feast to the clan-folk, at which liquor, rice, dried fish, and ginger are partaken of. Before the feast commences, each clansman is provided with a small gourd (*u blang*) filled with liquor, a little of the latter is then thrown on the ground from the gourd, and the following words are uttered:—

"Oh, God! oh, Lord! oh, ruling king Binkwrem, now the *pyrwep ding* ceremony is about to be performed, let the ceremony be propitious, and let males and females (of the clan) increase in numbers, so that the clan may become great, and respected, and that intelligent male members may spring up." No such ceremony is, however, observed, it is understood, in the Nartiang and Rulong chiefships.

577 In the case of a family being *iap dak* (extinct), the family
848 property, according to Khasi custom, passes to the Siem.
421 Therefore it is to the interest of the members of families to adopt a female, when such necessity arises. As there is no religious ceremony which is compulsory to the Khasis on the occasion of an adoption, perhaps we are almost justified in concluding that in former times the adoption custom did not exist, more especially as the Khasis possess a special word, *iap dak*, for describing a family the females of which have all died out; and it is admittedly the custom for the Siem to succeed to the
177 property of such a family. The Syntengs custom of *'rep ding*
777 may have been borrowed from the Hindus, when the Rajas of Jaintia became converts to that religion.

TENURE OF LAND AND LAWS REGARDING LAND.

423 Land in the Khasi Hills proper, i.e. land in the high plateau, is held somewhat differently from land in the Jaintia Hills and

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SECTION IV.

RELIGION.

GENERAL CHARACTER OF POPULAR BELIEFS.

The Khasis have a vague belief in a God the Creator, *U Blei Nongthaw*, although this deity, owing, no doubt, to the influence of the matriarchate, is frequently given the attribute of the feminine gender, cf., *Ka Iei Synshar*. The Khasis cannot, however, be said to worship the Supreme God, although it is true that they sometimes invoke him when sacrificing and in times of trouble. The religion of the Khasis may be described as animism or spirit-worship, or rather, the propitiation of spirits both good and evil on certain occasions, principally in times of trouble. The propitiation of these spirits is carried out either by priests (*lyngdoh*), or by old men well versed in the arts of necromancy, and as the *lyngdoh* or wise men deals with good as well as evil spirits, and, as often as not, with the good spirits of ancestors, the propitiation of these spirits may be said to partake of the nature of Shamanism. A very prominent feature of the Khasi beliefs is the propitiation of ancestors; but this will be described separately. There is a vague belief amongst the Khasi of a future state. It is believed that the spirits of the dead, whose funeral ceremonies have been duly performed, go to the house or garden of God, where there are groves of betel-nut trees; hence the expression for the departed, *uba lum kwai ha ding u blei* (he who is eating betel-nut in God's house), the idea of supreme happiness to the Khasi being to eat betel-nut uninterruptedly. The spirits of those whose funeral ceremonies have not been duly performed are believed to take the forms of animals, birds, or

776 771 772 791 793 769 775 276 764 775 764

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insects, and to roam on this earth: but this idea of transmigration of souls has been probably borrowed from the Hindus. Bivar writes that although the ideas of a Godhead are not clearly grasped, yet a supreme creator is acknowledged, and that the following is the tradition relating to the creation of man. "God in the beginning having created man, placed him on the earth, but on returning to look at him, found he had been destroyed by the evil spirit. This happened a second time, whereupon the Deity created first a dog, then a man; and the dog, who kept watch, prevented the devil from destroying the man, and the work of the Deity was thus preserved." The Khasis, apparently, do not believe in punishment after death, at least, there is no idea of hell, although the spirits of those who have died under the ban of *sang* remain uneasy, being obliged to wander about the earth in different forms, as noted above. The spirits worshipped by the Khasis are many in number, those of the Syntengs being specially numerous. The particular spirit to be propitiated is ascertained by egg-breaking. The offering acceptable to the spirit is similarly ascertained and is then made. If the particular sacrifice does not produce the result desired, a fowl is sacrificed; the entrails being then examined, an augury is drawn, and the sacrifice begins afresh. As the process of egg-breaking is believed to be peculiar* to the Khasis amongst the Assam hill tribes, a separate description of it is given in the Appendix. It should be remarked that the Khasis never symbolize their gods by means of images, their worship being offered to the spirit only. The following are some of the principal spirits worshipped by the Khasis and Syntengs, omitting the spirits of deceased ancestors such as *Ka Iawebi*, *u Thawlang*, and *u Suidnia*, which will be described under the heading of ancestor-worship.

U Ki ambok—the god of the State, who is propitiated yearly by the sacrifice of a goat and a cock.

U Ki umtiang—the god of water, used for drinking and cooking purposes. This god is similarly propitiated once a year, so that the water supply may remain pure.

* Sir Charles Lyall has pointed out that the Mikirs possess this custom; it is probably borrowed from the Khasis.

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769 sary, as in times of trouble. These offerings take the shape of articles of food which are theoretically partaken of by the shades of the deceased ancestors, the idea of making such offerings being very similar to that of the Hindus when they offer the "*pinda*," or cake, to nine generations of ancestors, i.e. to propitiate the shades of the departed, and to obtain their help thereby. U Hormu Bai Diengdoh writes that, "the real religious demand" amongst the Khasis is the *ei hem*, or giving of food to the spirits of deceased ancestors, in order that the latter may aid the living members of the clan with their help, and bless them. To honour dead ancestors is the duty of every Khasi, and he who wilfully neglects this duty, it is believed, will neither receive their help, nor be defended from the influence of the numerous spirits of evil in which the Khasis believe. Amongst the Syntengs, a few days after depositing the bones in the ancestral tomb, the ceremony of feeding the spirits of the dead is performed. At this ceremony there are some families which give two pigs for each person of the family who is dead, and there are some who give one. The pigs are taken to the *iing-ang*, or puja house of the clan. Presumably, pigs are usually offered to the shades only of
[211] those members of the family whose remains have been recently
[764] deposited in the clan cromlech. In the chapter dealing with memorial stones the reader will notice how many of them are erected to the memory of deceased ancestors, and how they bear the names of such ancestors, e.g. *Ka Iawbei* (the first grandmother), *U Suidnia*, or *U kni rangbah* (the first maternal uncle). It was the custom in former days to make offerings of food upon the flat table-stones to the spirits of the deceased ancestors, and this is still the case in places in the interior of the district. This practice, however, may be said to be largely dying out, it being now commonly the custom to make the offerings in the house, either annually, or at times when it is thought necessary to invoke the aid of the departed. Such acts of devotion may well be said to partake of the
767 nature of worship. As has been the case in other countries, and amongst other people, it is possible that the Khasi gods of to-day are merely the spirits of glorified deceased ancestors transfigured, as has happened with some of the gods of the

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Shinto Pantheon of Japan. It may be interesting to note that the ancient Shinto cult of Japan possesses some features in common with the ancestor-worship of the Khasis. Take the funeral ceremonies. With both peoples we find the dead laid out in the house, food placed before the corpse, and the funeral ceremonies taking place, accompanied by music and dancing. Mr. Lafcadio Hearn, in an interesting book on Japan, writes "that in ancient times the Japanese performed ceremonies at regular intervals at the tombs of deceased members of the family, and food and drink were then served to the spirits;" this is exactly what the Khasis used to do at their cenotaphs. This, apparently, was the practice in Japan before the "spirit tablet" had been introduced from China, when the worship of the ancestors was transferred from the tomb to the house. We have an exactly similar instance of evolution amongst the Khasis of the present day, i.e. the transfer of the ancestor cult from the flat table-stones erected in honour of deceased ancestors to the house. Last, but not least, is the idea common to both peoples, that no family or clan can prosper which does not duly perform the worship of deceased ancestors; this, as Hearn puts it, is "the fundamental idea underlying every persistent ancestor-worship, i.e. that the welfare of the living depends upon the welfare of the dead." The "Khasi Mynta," in an interesting article, notes some further points of resemblance between the methods of ancestor-worship adopted by the two peoples. The following instances may be quoted. Amongst the Japanese the spirits of those who fall in battle are said to help their fellow-warriors who are still fighting. The "Khasi Mynta" quotes a similar belief as having existed amongst the Khasis in former days. The remains of Japanese warriors who die in battle are said to be reverently taken to the warrior's home at the first opportunity. The Khasis do likewise, the clothing in default of the ashes of Khasi transport coolies, who were employed on military expeditions on the North-Eastern Frontier, having been carried home by the survivors to present to the dead man's relations, who then performed the ceremonies prescribed by custom for those who have died violent or unnatural deaths. Of all deceased ancestors the Khasis revere *Ka Iawbei* the most, the word *Iawbei* being made up of

being in a position to help his descendant in times of trouble. The same thought underlies the extreme reverence with which *Ka Iawbei* is regarded. Thus we see a striking point of resemblance between the Khasi ancestor-worship and the ancient Shinto cult of Japan, as described by Mr. Lafcadio Hearn. *U Bnah-Nin*, or a *Kni Blogbah*, the first maternal uncle, i.e. the elder brother of *Ka Iawbei*, is also much revered. It will also be noticed under the heading of memorial stones that the great central upright monolith of the *mawbynna*, or memorial stones, is erected in his honour. The influence of the *kni*, or mother's elder brother, in the Khasi family is very great, for it is he who is the manager on behalf of the mother, his position in the Khasi family being very similar to that of the *karta* in the Hindu joint family. It is on this account that he is so much revered, and is honoured with a stone which is larger than the other up-right memorial stones after death. It will be seen in the article dealing with "the disposal of the dead," that at Cherra, on the occasion of the burnt of the ashes in the cinerarium of the clan, a part of the attendant ceremonies consists of the preparation of two effigies called *Ka Pawn* and *U Tyngkop*, intended to represent *Ka Iawbei* (the first mother) and *U Bnah-Nin* (the first maternal uncle). The Wars of Nongjri have a custom peculiar to themselves. They erect small thatched houses in their compounds, which they call *sing lawid*. When they worship their ancestors they deposit offerings of food in these houses, the idea being that the ancestors will feed on the offerings. These Wars do not erect memorial stones, nor do they collect the ashes of the clan in a common sepulchre; they deposit the ashes in circular cineraria, each family, or *ling*, possessing one. It should further be noted with reference to the Khasi custom of *ai haw*, or giving food to the spirits of deceased ancestors, that Dr. Frazer, in his "Golden Bough," has mentioned numerous instances of firstfruits being offered to the spirits of deceased ancestors by the tribes inhabiting the Malay Archipelago. (See pages 462-463 of the "Golden Bough.") Some other points of similarity in customs have already been noticed between the Khasis and certain Malay tribes.

of a Garo marriage. The Lyngams, unlike the Garos, do not observe which way the backs of the fowls turn when they are thrown on the ground after being sacrificed. The Lyngams, like the Khasis, take augories from the entrails of the fowls and the pig. After these ceremonies are over, the Lyngam pair are allowed to cohabit. The cost of an ordinary Lyngam marriage is from Rs. 30 to Rs. 40. The marriage system in vogue among the Lyngams may be described as a mixture of the Khasi and Garo customs. As has already been stated, the Lyngams are a mongrel breed of Khasis and Garos.

CEREMONIES ATTENDING DEATH.

The death customs of the Khasis are not only very elaborate, but possess a significance of their own, it is, therefore, necessary to describe them in detail; they are as follows :—

A member of the family bends down towards the ear of the apparently deceased person and calls him or her by name three times, to make sure that death has occurred. If no answer comes, the family laments, for it is then concluded that the person is really dead. The body is then bathed in warm water from three earthen pots and is reverently laid on a mat (*jepung*), where it is dressed in white cloth, a peculiar feature of the dressing being that the waist-cloth and turban are folded from left to right, and not from right to left, as in the case of the living. An egg called *u'long kpah* is placed on the stomach of the deceased, and nine fried grains of *rim kadon*, or Indian corn, are tied round the head with a string. The rich place ear-rings in the ears and other jewellery on the body of the deceased, it being necessary that this jewellery should be specially made for the occasion, and they deck the corpse with valuable cloths. A cock, *u'ksu kyrad lyati* (literally the cock that scratches the way), is sacrificed, the idea being that a cock will scratch a path for the spirit to the next world. A sacrifice of a bull, or of a cow in case the deceased is a woman, (*u* or *ka mooi pynsem*,) follows. Portions of the left leg of the fowl and the lower part of the jaw of the bull or cow are kept, to be placed afterwards in the *mawshiong*, or bone,

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[illegible] and are placed around the body, and the egg, "*u'long kyrk*," is broken, not over the stomach of the deceased, as has been sometimes supposed, but by being thrown on the pyre in the direction of the feet of the corpse. Fire is applied to the pyre, first by the [illegible] or uncleans of the clan, and then by the children, if any, of the deceased. Another fowl, "*u'long pudit*," is sacrificed, its blood being smeared round the pyre three times, and across the corpse [illegible]. The law is then broken to pieces, the cloths having been removed from it previously. The sacrificial and the jaw bones of the sacrificial animals are then placed at the head of the pyre. After the fowl (*u'long pudit*) has been sacrificed, the three arrows already mentioned are shot from the bow, one to the north, another to the south, and the third to the east. These arrows are called *ki'ioma tipyrsa*. It is, perhaps, significant that the [illegible] which are shot at death correspond in numbers with those which are used at the time of the birth ceremony. When the fire has blazed up another goat, "*u'long dhalin*," is sacrificed. In some cases all the clothes of the deceased are burnt with the body, in others the clothes are merely held over the fire and then taken away, after which they can be used (this is only in the case of poor persons). Before leaving the burning place the relatives and friends of the deceased place betel-nuts on the pyre and bid farewell to the deceased, saying "*Khublei khie-bit ioma kynsi ha ing u Blei ka*" (*pushkiya, go and eat betel-nut in the house of gods*). When the body has been thoroughly burnt, the fire is extinguished with water, and the unburnt bones are collected by the relatives in three trips. The relatives are not allowed to turn back and pick up a bone which has been forgotten in any one of these trips. The bones thus collected are carefully wrapped in a piece of white cloth by the female relatives, and an old member of the family throws on the ground some powdered rice from a leaf, at the same time adjuring the spirit of the deceased not to trouble the *lyer*, or the family, or the funeral ceremonies have been duly performed. The party then sets out to the *lyer syndoh-ey*, or *mawkhiang*. In front walks one who strews along the line of route leaves of the tree known by the Khasis as *diang shi* (the leaves of which are used for fishing with), and grains of rice, all the way from the pyre to the cairn.

and throw up the seeds or cowries into the air, and when they fall to the ground they say, "*to ella ooh ka ngin ne kam ne kynshew ooh ka pdi*," come now we will collect you (the idea being that the seeds represent the bones of the deceased). Having collected the seeds, they place them on a bier and perform the service for the dead just in the same way as if a real dead body were to hand. If possible, a portion of the dead person's clothes should be burnt with the seeds in the bier, and it is with this view that the coats or cloths of Khasi coolies, who die when employed as porters on military expeditions at a distance from their homes, are brought back by their friends to give to the relatives. If a person dies of cholera, small-pox, or other such infectious or contagious disease, the body is buried, but is dug up again and burnt with all the ceremony when when fear of infection or contagion is over. In parts of the district upright stones called *mon-sadai* are erected along the line of route when the remains of a person who has met with an accidental death are brought home. This is stated to be the case in the Raschai Sirmatlip.

MISCELLANEOUS CUSTOMS IN CONNECTION WITH DEATH.

In Nongpri, a large village in the War Country, the dead body is placed on a bier near the door of the house, a turban being tied about the head, the face being left bare and turned towards the door. In some of the Shella villages a second cremation is performed, in which a bamboo frame-work represents the corpse. This second cremation takes place when the body has been disposed of without the requisite ceremonies. The bones and ashes of the dead in Shella are in some cases kept in a cavity hollowed out of a post erected for the purpose. The bones and ashes find a temporary resting-place here, but are afterwards removed to a cromlech.

At Nartiang, in the Jaintia Hills, the head of the corpse is shaved, but a tuft of hair in the middle of the head is left; this is called (*u'nioh Jowbei*), the great grandmother's lock. At Nartiang betel-nut, which has been chewed by one of the mourners, is put into the mouth of the corpse, also cooked rice. There is

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[1]6 a similar custom prevalent amongst the Khyrwings. The Nongtongs, in the Jaintia Hills, keep dead bodies sometimes as long as a month, until the *pâwa* or commercial dance has been performed. Hence they are called *Nongtong*, or "stickers." Amongst the Lyngngam the dead body is kept for sometimes three or four months, or up to the time when a bull can be procured for a feast to the villagers. This feast is an essential, and, cattle being scarce in the Lyngngam country, there is often great delay in disposing of the body. Lyngngam villages at such a time are best avoided. The Lyngngam of Nongpdhar bury the infirmer bones of the deceased within the village, and in front of the house occupied by the deceased when alive, the bones being placed in a hole in the ground, over which is laid a stone, a bamboo mat being rolled over the stone. A bamboo fence three or four feet high is erected round the grave. Other Lyngngam bury the unclaimed bones and ashes in a guard in the jungle near the burning-place. On their way home, the members of the clan of the deceased who have come from other villages to witness the funeral ceremonies, put up a stone on the path in honour of the deceased, a turban being tied round the top of the stone. The Garos or Dhas, who live at the foot of the hills on the Kamrup border, and are called by the Assamese *Mara* (spear-man), erect memorial stones in honour of the deceased, the lower jaw-bones of sacrificial animals and other articles being hung on the stones. The stones are also swathed in cloths, and turbans are tied round the tops. The death customs of the Lyngngam, and, indeed, other customs also, are partly Khasi and partly Garo, it being difficult to say that the Lyngngam are more Khasi than Garo, or more Garo than Khasi in this respect; their language, however, has been found by Dr. Grierson to be a corruption of Khasi. In Nongstoin, Mawlih, and Mariew villages, the inhabitants of which profess to be Khasis, the bones and ashes of the deceased are not collected and placed in repositories, as at Cherrapunji. At Mariew and Nongstoin a large wooden coffin is used, painted white, with ornamentations on the outside, and standing on four legs. This coffin is not burnt on the funeral pyre. In the family of the chiefs of Cherra, the body of a deceased Siem is subjected to the following process:—It is wrapped in a cloth

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and placed in the hollowed-out trunk of a tree, *ka-shyngnid*, there being a small hole with a plug at the bottom of this receptacle. Spirit is then poured into the *shyngnid* until the whole body is immersed, the liquor being allowed to stand for three days. After the body has been thus steeped, the liquor is allowed to run out, and the body is washed with warm water, after which it is allowed to dry for a day. Then a quantity of lime-juice is poured in, the latter being obtained from the fresh fruit of the lime (*u soh jaw*). The body is then exposed to a process of pickling, which continues until the whole is thoroughly dry and becomes like that of a mummy. It is then placed in a coffin, which is kept in the house of the Siem family until it is time to perform the funeral obsequies. These ceremonies entail a very large amount of expense, and it sometimes happens that they cannot be completed for some years after the death of a Siem. The body of a deceased Siem according to the Cherra custom should be burnt by his successor; otherwise the latter is not Siem according to the Khasi religion. The last Siem of Cherra, U Hajon Manik, did not perform the funeral obsequies of his predecessor U Ram Singh, and it is stated that many of his subjects did not regard him as Siem, according to the Khasi religion, in consequence. There are at the present time the corpses of two Siems of Cherra which have been preserved in the manner described above, awaiting cremation. The first Siem, U Ram Singh, died as far back as 1875, and the second, U Hajon Manik, died in 1901.

Sir Joseph Hooker and other authorities have stated that the bodies of deceased Siems of Cherra used to be embalmed in honey, and an amusing story is told regarding the necessity of exercising caution in purchasing honey from Cherra (honey being plentiful in this neighbourhood), except in the comb, for fear of honey which has been used for embalming purposes being passed off on the unwary purchaser. But the members of the Siem family and the old residents deny that honey is used for this purpose nowadays, possibly in the interests of the trade. It is, however, not unlikely that honey was so utilised in days gone by, as it is a well-known agent for embalming. The bodies of priests in Burmah are said to be embalmed in honey, *vide* Yule's "Embassy to Ava."

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THE DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD.

The collection of the unburnt bones and ashes of the deceased members of the clan and their burial in the *mawbah*, or great sepulchre of the clan, is without doubt the most important religious ceremony that the Khasis perform. That this ceremony is now but seldom celebrated, is due partly to the difficulty that exists in obtaining general agreement amongst the members of the clan, and partly to the considerable expense it entails. The information I have obtained regarding the ceremony, although differing to some extent in detail from that recorded by the late U Jorbon Rây, agrees with the latter's account as regards the main facts. The information may now be set down as follows. By way of premise it may be stated that the bones and ashes of the deceased are kept after cremation in small stone cairns, or *mawshiang*. From these small cairns the bones and ashes are removed to larger bone repositories called *mawphew*, each branch of a clan possessing a repository of its own. The ceremony attending the removal of the bones and ashes from the small cairns to the larger repository, or *mawphew*, and the ceremony attached to the removal of these remains from the *mawphew* to the sepulchre of the clan are practically the same, except that when the bones are removed to the *mawphew*, no female dancing takes place. First of all, the members of the various branches of the clan collect the bones from the different subsidiary repositories, when a ceremony called "*khot-ia-u-ber-u-kap*," which it is not necessary to describe here, is performed. The bones of the deceased males and females are kept separately, and preparations are made to bring them to the sepulchre of the clan. Before, however, anything further can be done, it must be ascertained that the members of the clan are at peace with one another and no differences exist. If all differences are settled, a sacrifiver offers up a prayer that the sins of the clan-folk may be forgiven, and then breaks eggs and sacrifices a cock to ascertain which will be a propitious day for depositing the bones in the sepulchre. A lucky day having been thus ascertained, the bones and ashes are brought to the *iing sang*, or clan puja-house,

the bones of males and females being kept in separate bundles wrapped in white cloth, two women of the clan reverently carrying them in their arms, holding the bundles of bones to their breasts. One female carries the bones of the males and the other those of the females. In front of these women walks an old man who scatters along the way beans of the *diengphlit* tree and grains of rice, and when it is necessary to cross any stream or river, he ties a thread from one side of the bank to the other, this is for the spirit of the departed to cross the water. Sometimes *u'mon tubrik*, a kind of long grass, is used instead of thread for the above purpose. On arrival at the clan *puja*-house, the bones of the males are laid on one bed and those of the females on another, the beds being bedecked with rich hangings. A cock, *u'lim kradhyati* (lit.: "the cock which scratches the way"), is sacrificed, this sacrifice being considered by the Khasis to be of peculiar significance. A pig, a cock, and a bull are then sacrificed, and portions of the slaves are offered to the spirits of the deceased. These offerings are known by the name of *u'dam*, and are placed in a basket which is hung up in the house, together with the left thigh of the fowl and the lower jaw-bone of the bullock. A dance is performed that night, first in the house by two women, one belonging to the clan and the other an outsider, and afterwards in a specially prepared place outside the house called "*lyngpong*." The *shawati*, or flute, which is played at funerals is sounded, drums are beaten, and bombs are exploded. This dancing lasts from one to nine days, the limit being always an uneven number of days. At Cherra two effigies called *Ka Pyrsa* and *U Tyngkop* are prepared and dressed up; the former is intended to represent *Ka Sawbei*, the first ancestress, and the other *U Sniaiei*, the first maternal uncle of the clan. These effigies are held in the hands of the dancers. In the meantime two lines of upright stones consisting of three each, with a table-stone in front of each line, have been set up. These are called *mawlynti* or *mawlynti*, and are intended to serve as resting-places for the spirits of the dead on their way to the tomb of the clan. These stones are generally not more than three feet in height, and must not be confounded with the larger stones or *mawbynna*. On the night before it is proposed to deposit the

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house, a ceremony called "*Ñik-kynpoo*" is performed, which consists of driving out the devils from the house, so that they may not injure with the power of the spirits of the departed whilst they are in the house, and on their journey to the tomb. All the men after they have performed this ceremony are given a drink of rice-beer known as *lad sunglik*. Another cock is sacrificed, and a small bamboo ladder of three rungs is prepared for the use of the spirits when climbing into the tomb. Rice is then thrown outside the door. The next morning they perform further sacrifices, which need not be detailed here, and let loose a bull whose horns have been cased in silver. They dig two shallow tanks called *u-sohi*, into which is poured water supposed to possess the virtue of purifying the house of any deceased clansman who have died violent or unnatural deaths, or at places far away from their homes, where it was not possible to perform their funeral ceremonies according to custom. Three vertical stones are also erected, called *maw sohi*. A bamboo with a white flag, and a plantain tree are set up; to the bamboo are attached three bamboo rings (*lyngwah*), which are supposed to act as ensignons to the spirits of the departed who have not received the benefits of a proper funeral ceremony. It may be explained that this ring of bamboo or cane is the form of ensignon used by the Khasi chiefs to their subjects when they wish to call them before them. Then a cock, *ulor sohi*, is sacrificed as a vicarious victim to bear the sins of the departed. When the procession reaches the *mawkjet* or *mawlynti* (the upright stones which have been erected), a goat called *u'long mawlynti* is sacrificed. Then a bamboo is fixed to the outer one of the three upright stones, to which is attached the lower jaw-bone of one of the cattle sacrificed in the *pujo*-house; this is called a *mawi mawlynti*. A special ceremony called *lo-lynghe-pongsi* is then performed for those of the clan who have died children. We now come to the actual ceremony of placing the bones in the tomb of the clan. Having arrived at the tomb, the bones are washed three times in a dish (this is a Cherra custom). In Mawlai, the bones are exposed to the heat of a fire kindled on a small *jingthang*, or burning-platform. The stone door of the *sinrewiem* is then opened, and the bones of the female are placed in an earthen pot inside the tomb

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close to the wall which is furthest away from the door, the bones of the males being deposited in a pot inside the tomb nearest the door. Some clans keep the pot containing the bones of the males on the right, and the vessel containing those of the females on the left hand. Then offerings of food and libations of liquor are offered to the ancestors on a stone in front of the tomb. The males then perform a ceremonial dance with swords and shields, three times, and the door of the sepulchre is closed, a flag being fixed to the tomb. All the clansfolk then depart except three men. One of these sacrificers a cock (see feeding) in front of the tomb, a second sits behind the sacrificer, holding three firebrands, and a third sits behind the tomb. The man with the firebrands shakes them about, and then moves like a cock three times. The man behind the tomb listens attentively for any hooted noise within it, the superstition being that if the ceremonies detailed above have not been properly performed, the whole tomb will quake. If the three watchers are satisfied that there is no commotion within the tomb, then all is well, and they return and report the result to the clanpeople. This ceremony is called *tandiog*, or the fire test. Next morning the woman who is the head of the *lip-ong*, or pipe-house, distributes to all those who have taken part in these sacrifices the hinder portions of the sacrificial animals. She then likewise one by one the assembled clansfolk. The latter are not permitted by custom to go to work until after three days from the time of the ceremony; the third day being called *ka ingi kait ia*. The ceremony described above is a symbolical one. The massive stone sepulchre is regarded as a symbol of a secure place of rest for the departed spirits. If the spirits of the dead are not, however, appeased by the due performance of the ceremonies attending the bestowal of the remains in the clan *ciocrocium*, it is believed that they roam about and harass their relatives on earth, and plague them with various misfortunes. It may be interesting to note here, that Mr. Mobely, the Superintendent of Ethnography in Bengal, reports that the ashes of deceased Hos, after being sprinkled with water by means of peepul branches, are collected, dried, and placed in a new earthen pot, and kept in the house until the day of burial, which may take place, as with

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the Khasis long afterwards. The bones are buried in the village under a large slab of stone (cf. the Khasi stone sarcophagus), and a monolith is erected outside the village to commemorate the deceased.

GREAT MEGALITHIC STONES.

Probably one of the first objects which strikes the eye of a visitor to the Khasi Hills is the very large number of monoliths, table-stones, and cromlechs that are to be met with almost everywhere in that country. Yule, Dalton, and other writers have incidentally referred to them, but, so far as is known at present, no attempt has been made to explain in any detail what is the peculiar significance of these objects to the Khasis. These stones are rightly styled memorial stones; *kpumem*, literally "to mark with a stone," is the word in the Khasi language for "to remember." The memorial stone, in the ordinary sense of the word, is a memorial to the dead; but we have such names of places in these hills as *Mawsiat*, the salt stone (the eating of salt off the blade of a sword being one of the Khasi forms of oath), *Mawsmai*, the oath stone, *Mawphlang*, the grassy stone, and others. To commemorate with a stone an important event has been a constant custom amongst many people in many places, and the erection of grave-stones, to mark the spot where the remains of the dead are buried, is an almost universal practice amongst the Western nations, or indeed amongst some of the Eastern also. But the Khasi monoliths are no mere grave-stones, in the sense of marking the place where the remains of the dead lie, than some of the memorials of Westminster Abbey and other fanes; the Khasi stones are cenotaphs, the remains of the dead being carefully preserved in stone sepulchres, which are often some distance apart from the memorial stones. It is proposed to treat this subject under the following heading:—

(1) A general description of the memorial stones in the Khasi Hills, showing that they are very similar in shape to monoliths, table-stones, or cromlechs in other parts of the world and of India.

(2) A comparison between Khasi memorial stones and those of the Ho-Mundas, the stones near Belgaum, those of

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the Nikter, the monoliths at Wilong in the Mawjyer Hills, and the Dim...pur monoliths.

(5) The meaning of the stones.

(6) The method of their erection.

With regard to the first heading, the stones may be divided into (a) menhirs, or vertical stones; (b) table-stones, or dolmens, and (c) stone crombolis, or cairns, which serve the purpose of cisteovin. Taking the different stones in order, the menhirs are large upright stones varying in height from 2 or 3 ft. to 12 or 14 ft., but in exceptional instances rising to a more considerable elevation, the great monolith at Nartiang, in the Jaintia Hills, being 27 ft. high, and 2½ ft. thick. A photograph of this stone has been included. These menhirs are erected all in one line which nearly always consists of an uneven number of stones. Three is the commonest number of menhirs, but five together are frequently to be found, and there are some instances of seven stones; at Laitkor nine stones are standing, an illustration of which will be found in this book. The stones are of hewn gneiss granite, or sandstone, to be met with in many places in these hills. They are rough hewn, and generally taper gradually to their tops, which are sometimes neatly rounded off. The tallest stone is usually in the middle, and is occasionally ornamented with a small stone, through the middle of which a hole has been drilled so that it may fit on the top of the other. At Nongkrem there is a centre stone with a regularly carved top, evidently intended to represent the head of a man. At Umstow, some two miles from Cherrapunji by the cart road, stood two rows of fine monoliths, each row five in number, and standing on either side of the old bridle road. All of these stones except one were thrown down by the earthquake shock of June, 1897. The centre stone, or *mawbai*, of one of these rows was surmounted by a carved stone covering shaped like a hat, but having a rim with indented edges, the intention being evidently to represent a crown. This stone crown was riveted to the top of the large centre stone. All the stones, including the *mawkynthei*, or dolmen, have been very neatly hewn. They appear to be of granite. Stones with top coverings or carved heads are however rare.

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In front of the line of menhirs is a large flat table-stone resting on stone supports, the top of the uppermost plane being some 2 to 2½ ft. from the ground; this flat stone is sometimes as much as a foot or more thick. The largest table-stones are to be seen at Nartiang in the Jaintia Hills and Laitlyngkot in the Khasi Hills. The Laitlyngkot stone measures 28½ by 15½ ft., and that at Nartiang 16½ by 14½ ft. The Laitlyngkot stone is 1 ft. 8 in. thick. Sometimes two table-stones are found parallel to one another. The table-stones are always placed towards the centre of the group, generally in front of the great central menhir. These groups of stones are usually situated alongside roads, or close to well-known lines of route, where they readily attract the attention of passers-by. They do not necessarily face in any particular direction, but are to be found fronting all points of the compass. There is nothing therefore to show that they were erected so as to face the direction of the sun-rise, or of any particular planet's. We will now pass on to the numerous stone cromlechs which are to be found, frequently in proximity to the menhirs and table-stones. These stone cromlechs contain the bones of the dead, and the menhirs and table-stones are intimately connected with them, inasmuch as memorial stones to deceased ancestors are erected when the ceremony of depositing bones in the *cistvaens* has been completed. The *cistvaens* are built of blocks of stone, sometimes on stone platforms, and sometimes resting on the ground. They are frequently of considerable size. The cromlech is opened by removing one of the heavy stone slabs in front. There are no windows such as are to be seen in some of the illustrations of dolmens or cromlechs in France and Circassia in Waring's book of "Stone Monuments, Tumuli, and Ornaments of Remote Age," probably because the Khasi idea was to confine the spirits and not allow them to escape from the tomb and haunt the living. The cromlechs are generally square or oblong, but are sometimes circular in shape also. Let us now compare the Khasi menhirs with some to be found in other parts of the world. In Lord Avebury's "Prehistoric Times," Ferguson's work, and Waring's collection of plates of stone monuments there are numerous illustrations of menhirs and dolmens

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to be found in other parts of the world, which may be said to resemble those of the Khasis in appearance; but this is by no means a matter for surprise, for, given like conditions, amongst primitive peoples, totally unconnected with one another as regards race, and living in countries far remote from one another, the results, i.e. the erection of stones as memorials of important persons, or events, are probably the same all the world over. Waring in his book gives an illustration of several lines of stone monuments with two table-stones, either in front or in rear according to the position of the photographer or draftsman in taking the picture, which would appear to be very similar to the lines of menhirs we find in the Khasi Hills. In plate XLII., fig. 6, of Waring's book, are the lines of stones to which I refer. They may be said to be almost exactly similar to the lines of Khasi memorial stones, except that the stones depicted by Waring have circles or ovals painted on them, which are said to signify that certain sacrifices of animals have been performed. Now the Khasis perform such sacrifices, but they do not mark their performance thus on the stones. Ferguson on page 447 of his "Rude Stone Monuments" apparently refers to these stones, which are near Belgaum in the Bombay Presidency, and he is of opinion that "they were dedicated or vowed to the spirits of deceased ancestors"; further it is stated that these stones are always in uneven numbers, a striking point of similarity to the Khasi stones. We know, for a fact, that the Khasi memorial stones were dedicated to the same objects as those of the Belgaum stones, i.e. to the worship of ancestors; so that we have not only similarity in appearance, in conformation, and invariable unevenness of number, but identity of purpose, if Ferguson's conclusion is correct. It is, however, a far cry from Shillong to Belgaum, and it may, perhaps, be thought more reasonable if we look for stones nearer at hand. Bradley Birt in his interesting book on Chota Nagpur has given a photograph of certain Ho memorial stones, which would appear to resemble greatly the Khasi menhirs, and if his photograph is carefully examined, it will be seen that there are in rear of the stones what would seem to be stone cairns, very similar in appearance to the Khasi *cisterns*. The funeral ceremonies of the Hos as described by Bradley

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Birt, viz. the cremation of the body, the collection of the ashes, their consignment to a grave, and the offering of food to the spirit of the deceased, are similar to those of the Khasis. Although not wishing to lay too much stress on what may be merely a coincidence, I think that the above similarity in death customs is well worth considering with regard to the view, based on linguistic affinity, that the Khasis and the Ho-Mundas were originally descended from a common stock, i.e. the Mon-Khmêr or Mon-Anam family, as has been postulated by Logan.

But there are other tribes in Assam which erect memorial stones, e.g. the Mikirs and certain Naga tribes. The Mikirs erect memorial stones in a line, the taller stone being sometimes in the centre, as in the case of the Khasi memorial stones. Such stones are set up by the Mikirs only in memory of important personages, such as *mauadars* or leading *gaonburas* (village headmen). Besides the standing stones (*long-chong*), a flat stone (*long-pok*) is also erected in honour of the deceased. I understand that the Mikir stones, like the Khasi, are mere cenotaphs, the ashes of deceased Mikirs being left at the burning places which are generally by the sides of rivers, and the memorial stones not being necessarily anywhere near the burning grounds. Unlike the Khasis, the Mikirs do not collect and carefully keep the bones in stone cairns. Before erecting memorial stones, they dig a small tank; cf. the Khasi custom of digging similar tanks (*um-doi*), before erecting memorial stones (*maw wahlu*), to those of the clan who have died unnatural deaths. As with the Khasis, feasts and entertainments are given when the stones of the Mikirs are erected; but they need not necessarily consist of uneven numbers, it appears. It is possible that the Mikirs may have obtained the custom of erecting memorial stones from their near neighbours, the Khasis.

Then there is the interesting collection of stones at Willong in the Manipur Naga Hills, for a description of which I am indebted to the kindness of Colonel Maxwell, the late Political Agent and Superintendent of the State. It is said that about 300 or 400 years ago these stones were erected by the rich men of the village as memorials (probably to deceased ancestors). It is the custom of the Willong village that any person who

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wishes to erect such a stone should, with the members of his family, abstain from food; but liquor and ginger are allowed to them. Having chosen what he thinks is a suitable stone, the Naga cuts off a flake of it, returns home, and sleeps on it with a view to dreaming of the stone. If his dreams are favourable, he brings it in, otherwise not. From the day of the selection of the stone, until it is brought in and erected, he must fast. Women are taboo to him for the space of one year from the date of its erection. The custom of erecting memorial stones is not therefore peculiar to the Khasis amongst the hill tribes in Assam. An incidental reference should, I think, be made to the interesting carved monoliths at Dimapur, regarding the meaning of which there has been so much doubt. These Dimapur stones are remarkably similar in shape to the carved wooden *kima* posts of the Garos, another hill tribe speaking a language which is undoubtedly connected with the great Boro group of languages in North Eastern India. The Garo *kima* posts, like the Khasi stones, are erected to commemorate deceased ancestors. Some of the other Naga tribes, besides the Willong Nagas, are in the habit of erecting what are called *genna* stones, a description of which will, we hope, be given in a subsequent Naga monograph. The object of the erection of such stones is certainly to show reverence to the memories of deceased ancestors amongst the Khasis, and Garos, and not improbably among the Nagas also.

It is only with the very greatest difficulty that it has been possible to obtain any intelligible information regarding the Khasi monoliths. Whether through feelings of delicacy in revealing the secrets of their religious system to a foreigner, or through ignorance or apathy (there being but few Khasis nowadays who observe the ancient ritual), it has been no easy task to extract information from people about these stones. As far as my information goes at present, I am inclined to classify the stones as follows:—

(*a*) *Mawlynti*, or *mawkjat*, the stones which are erected to serve as seats for the spirits of departed clansfolk on their way to the tomb of the clan, i.e. when their remains are carried by their relations to the clan cromlech (see the section entitled "The Disposal of the Dead").

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764 211 (*b*) *Mawbynna*, or *mawnam*, which are stones erected to commemorate a parent or some other near relation.

(*c*) *Maw-umkoi*, which are put up to mark the position of tanks or *umkoi*, the water of which is supposed to cleanse the [766] ashes and bones of those who have died unnatural deaths.

(*d*) *Maw-shongthait*, or flat table-stones, often accompanied [485] by vertical stones, which are placed in the market-places and by the side of roads to serve as seats for weary travellers. Taking the above main divisions seriatim, *mawlynti*, or *mawkjat*, may be described as follows. These generally consist of three upright stones, the tallest being in the centre, and a flat table-stone being placed in front. There are, however, some clans which erect more than three upright stones, as *mawlynti*, or *mawkjat*. As already stated, the clansfolk used to erect these stones, *mawlynti* (the stone of the way), or *mawkjat* (the stone of the leg), at each place at which they halted for the night on their way to deposit the bones of their deceased maternal relations in the clan sepulchre, or *mawbah*. The stones are called *mawkjat*, or stones of the leg, because it is supposed that the spirits of the departed sit and rest their limbs on the flat table-stones. The upright stones are not as a rule more than 3 or 4 ft. high, and are not massive like the great mawbynna, or memorial stones. They are to be found in great numbers all along the roads or paths which lead to the clan cromlechs. These stones, unlike the *mawbynna*, have no names.

769 211 (*b*) *Mawbynna*, or *mawnam*, are erected to commemorate deceased parents or deceased ancestors, and consist of 3, 5, 7, 9, or even, in an exceptional case, 11, upright stones with flat table-stones in front. The upright stones are called *maw-shynrang*, or male stones, and the flat table-stones *maw-kyathei*, or female stones. Turning to the plate of the Laitkor stones, it will be observed that there are nine upright stones, and one large flat table-stone in front. Counting from right to left, stone No. 5 is called *u maw kui*, or the maternal uncle's stone, and the stones to the right and left of it, *ki maw pyrsa ki para*, i.e. the stones of the maternal brothers and nephews. The table-stone is called *ka Iawbei tynrai*, or *ka Iawbei tymmen*, literally the grandmother of the root, or the old grandmother, in contradistinction to *ka*

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301 plate. The hair is worn tied in a knot behind the head, but with
302 a long tail hanging down the back. Rich silk cloths are worn
535 by the girls, who present the appearance of being, if any-
[232] thing, over-clothed, or, as Yule aptly puts it, of "perfect
796 parallelograms." They wear a profusion of gold and coral
782 bead necklaces, silver and gold chains, bracelets, ear-rings of gold, and any other jewellery they can lay hands on. Not only is the whole of the family jewellery requisitioned by the fair *débutante* (it is only the unmarried girls who dance), but she borrows from her friends. The men dance round the outside of the circle, waving fly-flaps and prancing (often nowadays wearing huge boots) with ungainly strides. The music necessary
[534] for the dance consists of *tangmuri* (pipes), drums, and cymbals.
[232] This is *ka shad kynthei*, or the dance of the women. Then there is *ka shad mastich*, or the dance of the men, who are gaily dressed, wearing plumes of black and white cock's feathers (*u thwiyah*) and hold swords and shields. After gyrating for some time, two men at a time rapidly approach one another and clash their swords together in mock combat. They then retire, and, after again revolving for a period, repeat the process; then other couples follow and take their place. This goes on until the dancers get tired or are told to stop.

535 The above description may be taken as applicable to all
764 the Khasi dances. Dancing forms part of the ceremony of placing the ashes in the sepulchre of the clan. Dancing also forms a part of certain ceremonies performed at markets for the prosperity of the State and for the good of trade.

535 When I was at Mawsynram, at the time of the appointment of a Siem, I witnessed a very pretty dance called *ka shad lymmah*, performed by men who held the leafy branches of trees in their hands. This is most effective. Then
[301] followed a dance of some forty young girls, very well dressed, covered with the usual gold and coral beads and silver chains, and wearing the silver crown, or *pansngiat*. The young women danced with great spirit, and with an absence of all shyness, but still with the greatest decorum. Many of the women, spectators as well as dancers, were observed to be without the usual *tap mah khlih*, or head-cloth, the absence of which is always a sign amongst the Khasi women of merry-making. There were

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GENNA.

784 The word *genna* is one in common use amongst the Naga tribes. It seems to be a matter of doubt whether the word belongs to any of the numerous languages or dialects spoken by these tribes; but for our purposes it may be taken to mean *taboo*. The Khasi word *sang*, which implies an interdiction either religious or social from doing any particular thing, might have been employed; but as the word *genna* is so commonly used when speaking of taboos amongst the hill tribes of this province, I have thought fit to employ it here. The word *genna*, or taboo, may be held to include the Khasi *sang*. Taboos amongst the Khasis, Wárs and Lynngams may be divided into
784 two sections; (*a*) general, and (*b*) special. Instances of general
609 taboo have not been found amongst the Khasis, but the follow-
686 ing taboo called *Ka sang kla* amongst the Wár villages of Sohlar and Nongjri is peculiar, and therefore worthy of description. Its chief peculiarity is that during the time the *sang kla* continues, the inhabitants of these two villages are not allowed to associate with foreigners. This *genna* takes place twice a year, in the months of June and November, and lasts for a month each time. During the *genna* foreigners are not allowed to stay the night in these two villages, and the villagers must not sleep the night outside their villages. If they do not return home for the night, they are subjected to a fine. There is a prohibition against eating, smoking, or chewing betel-nut with foreigners
784 during the period. The above is the only instance of general
609 taboo that I have been able to find amongst the Wárs, but in
582 the Lynngam villages there is a taboo on all outsiders at the time of the village pujas. Such a taboo amongst the Lynngams is not to be wondered at, as they have probably imbibed the notion from their Garo mothers, intermarriages between Lynngams and Garos being common. The Garos, like other Thibeto-Burmans, have numerous taboos. There are numerous
582 instances of special taboos among the Khasis. *Kaba*
784 *shong sang*, or marrying within the *kur* or clan, is the
783 most important taboo of all, and is regarded as the most
764 serious offence a Khasi can commit. It admits of no expiation, and the bones and ashes of the offender cannot be placed in the family tomb.

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or difference. It is owing to these three different names being 101
used for the same people that there has been so much confusion
about Lynngams previously; e.g. at one census they were named
Lynngam, at another they received the appellation of Garo, and
at a third enumeration they were called Khasis. In Section I. 131
the habitat of the Lynngams has been roughly defined. It is 361
impossible to define the Lynngam country exactly, because 173
these people are continually shifting their village sites
owing to the exigencies of *jhum* cultivation, which has been
described in Section II. Some of the Lynngams preserve
a tradition that they originally came from the Kamrup
plains. It is interesting that a people, like the Garos in so
many respects, should have the same idea as the Garos as to the
hills on the south bank of the Brahmaputra not always having
been their abode. The Garo legend is that they dwelt for 173
some years in the Goalpara and Kamrup plains after they 361
descended from Thibet, and before they moved to the Garo 144
Hills; and there is unmistakable evidence of their occupation of
both districts in the shape of certain Garo villages on both
banks of the Brahmaputra for some little distance up the river.
If, as I suspect, the Lynngams are an offshoot of the Garos, it
is, perhaps, possible that they entered the Khasi Hills much in
the same way as the Garos entered the hill district to which
they have given their name. The Lynngams are much darker 142
than the Khasis, and possess the Thibeto-Burman type of 177
feature often to a marked degree. It is not extraordinary that
they should have adopted some of the Khasi customs, for the
Khasis, being the stronger people, would in course of time be
bound to influence them in this respect. That the Lynngams 611
observe the matriarchate and erect (some clans) memorial 211
stones is not peculiar, because the Garos, like the Khasis, are 764
also a matriarchal people (to a limited degree), and the custom
of erecting memorial stones is not confined to the Khasis, for
other hill tribes in Assam observe the practice, e.g. certain
Naga tribes and the Mikirs; and the Garos themselves put up
carved posts, called *kima*, in honour of the departed. Although 582
there is not much intermarriage between the Khasis and the 101
Lynngams nowadays, perhaps in days gone by there was a 147
mixture of blood, the result being the hybrid race we are now
considering.

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582 marry any one belonging to your own *kur*, or clan. Unlike the
614 Khasis, however, a Lynngam can marry two sisters at a time.
595 The Lynngam marriages are arranged by *kaiangs*, or go-betweens,
584 much in the same way as Khasi marriages; but the ritual
582 observed is less elaborate, and shows a mixture of Khasi and Garo customs (see Section III.). The Lynngams intermarry
583 with the Garos. It appears that sometimes the parents of girls exact bride-money, and marriages by capture have been heard of. Both of these customs are more characteristic of the Bodo
847 tribes of the plains than of the Khasis. There are no special birth
782 customs, as with the Khasis, except that when the umbilical cord
553 falls a fowl is sacrificed, and the child is brought outside the house. Children are named without any special ceremony.
764 The death customs of the Lynngams have been described in Section III. A peculiar characteristic is the keeping of the dead body in the house for days, sometimes even for several months, before it is burnt. The putrefying corpse inside the house seems to cause these people no inconvenience, for whilst it remains there, they eat, carry on their ordinary avocations, and sleep there, regardless of what would be
771 considered by others an intolerable nuisance. The religion of these people consists of a mixture of ancestor-worship and the propitiation of the spirits of fell and fall, which are, most of them, believed to be of evil influence, as is the case with other savage
776 races. As with the people of Nongstoin, the primaeval ancestress, "*ka Iaw bei*," is worshipped for the welfare of the
782 clan, a sow being sacrificed to her, with a gourd of rice-beer, and leaves of the oak, or *dieng-sning* tree. The leaves of the oak are afterwards hung up inside the house, together with the jaw-bone of the pig. Sacrifices are offered to a forest demon, *U Bang-jang* (a god who brings illness), by the roadside; also to *Ka Miang Bylli U Majymma*, the god of cultivation, at seed time, on the path to the forest clearing where the seed is sown. Models of paddy store-houses, baskets and agricultural implements are made, sand being used to indicate the grain. These are placed by the roadside, the skulls of the sacrificial animals and the feathers of fowls being hung up on bamboos about the place
793 where the sacrifice has been performed. There are no priests or
796 *lyngdohs*, the fathers of the hamlet performing the various ceremonies.

763 [782] person. Whether death has occurred is determined by calling his name. If no further sign of life is observed, howling and wailing begin to announce the mourning. Tears are extremely rare.

764 The dead person is bathed and washed (pynsum-pynsleh), wrapped in his clothes and reverently placed on a bamboo mat. One is particularly careful with the limbs; for the hands and feet are stretched out completely (phyneit ki kjat ki kti) and placed straight (pynthiah beit). To indicate mourning one does not wind the dead man's turban from right to left as usual but the other way around. In the territory of Lamin one puts betel nuts, which are wrapped in pepper leaves, between the turban and the forehead. These betel nuts are placed in a row so that they look like a crown or wreath. Every morning and every evening, as long as the body is in the house, one places cooked rice and dried fish by the head of the dead man. One calls this giving ai ka ja miet ja step (morning and evening meal).

764 782 How long the dead man stays in the hut varies with each sib. Many are cremated on the day after death, whereas others several days later, but always the body stays an uneven number of days in the hut. A betel nut with a pepper leaf and lime is placed with the food as well as a bamboo beaker with water. Finally one puts the "stomach egg" (ka leng kpoh) on the stomach of the dead man (in the area of the stomach). This is the start of the actual sacrifice.

The sacrificer takes a chicken, strews rice on its head, holds it ready for killing, and says while doing this:

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[430] To sngew mo ba long u krad lynti u krad syngkieng, te ba poi hi ka sngi ka ia te wei ngam lap ia ka khein ka bishar te la pom ka tyrut ka smer la pom ka bneng ka khyndew, te kynrad sngew ho, ba men leit da ba suk da ba beit ha kpoh la ka kmie ka kiaw u nie u ma suidnia ka laubei mo?

Hear, o thou road scraper, thou path scratcher, since the day and hour have come and I can no longer get along, am with sacrifice and justice, so have the Tyrut and the Smer struck me and heaven and earth have struck me and so my lord, stop then, that thou goest in peace, right and righteousness of the stomach (in the family) in peace and harmony with the uncle and the cousins. Judge thyself, o goddess Jaubei, is it no so?

Now even though otherwise only good chickens may be used for sacrifices, in this case it does not make any difference whether the rooster (u iar krad lynti) is a fine example or not. The next best is simply taken.

If the dead man is cremated "poorly," i.e. if the relatives are not in a position to pay greater costs, only this rooster and a handful of rice is sacrificed.

If the dead man is cremated "richly," i.e. if the relatives are in a position to pay for the usual ceremonies along with numerous sacrifices, a pig is sacrificed and each of the masculine relatives must give a handful of rice which is also sacrificed immediately.

Various sacrifices are offered, according to whether the dead man is to be cremated on a base built of stone as is the case of the very

●764
782 rich, or in a kind of coffin (shyngoid). In the first case a steer (ox) is sacrificed, in the other case a pig (u 'niang shyngoid). The horns of the steer (u masi pyllait) are painted gold or silver. Today one does this only with gold or silver paper. Then the animal is let loose after it has been strewn with rice and sprinkled with water ('iad-um). Anybody who captures it can keep it or kill it. As soon as the animal is let loose, one calls it masi-tamrong. If one wants to set up on the cremation area bamboo poles with white cloth pieces on them as if they were flags, which is only done for the very well-to-do, a rooster (u 'iar kait) is sacrificed.

[461] Since no work may be done on the day of cremation, all the preparations must be completed, such as fetching wood from the forest ('law kyndang), erecting the funeral pyre, arranging for the necessary sacrificial animals and other sacrificial gifts, etc.

4. The Cremation (ka jingthang).

The Khasi burn their dead. At the crematory ceremony one can distinguish various classes or kinds, either according to the wood [431] which is used or according to the catafalque (scaffolding for the body or structure above the dead person) which is erected.

The methods of cremation according to the differences in the wood are:

1. The cremation, for which only uncut wood is used, that is, wood as it is found without any kind of preparation. This type of cremation is made only by the very poor (uba duk eh) who have no more relatives. There is no sacrifice made at this cremation

•764 (khlem dykhot).
782 2. Cremation in which the wood used is cut with a knife (da wait). Here a handful of rice is taken from the relatives (ka pynkham ka pynsoh) and a sacrifice offered, "the piece and the sour thing."

3. Cremation in which the wood used is cut clean as boards (ka lyntang). In this class the drum (ka ksing) and the kettledrum (ka dah) are beaten, guns (ka suloi) and the pipe (ka man, i.e., a cannon) are fired, sacrifices are offered, "the piece and the sour thing (u kykhot u lamjew)," an ox (u masi) and a pig (u sniang) are sacrificed. Usually the sword dance (shad wait) is also performed.

764 The method of cremation according to the differences in structure are:

1. Thang syrkhait is that type of cremation in which no kind of catafalque (structure) is used. In this case the dead person is placed on a kind of bamboo lattice work.

2. Thang lyngkhason is that form of cremation for which a catafalque is erected. The dead person is put in a kind of coffin made of young slender trees, bamboo, and boards. This coffin is covered with red cloth with decorations of silver edgings. Over the body, which one does not see, a structure is erected of flowering bushes and figures. One likes to make a peacock of wood to which paper is attached. (28) The whole thing is

28. This ceremony might have originated

•764 in the valley and been brought in from there.

[436] richly decorated with paper flowers. The structure is over the head of the deceased. Shell money (sbai) is distributed to the people at this cremation.

3. Thang shan is that method of cremation, in which the expense goes still further. In addition to the above mentioned structure over the body, a baldachin of four high bamboo poles is also erected over the funeral pyre, which is kept up after the cremation. The baldachin is decorated with colored cloth or paper. Only the very eminent people and the group mother (Stammutter) are cremated in this fashion.

The wood for the cremations is always taken from a holy forest ('law kyndang). But dry wood is also always brought along from the hut, since the green wood fetched from the 'law kyndang would not burn immediately. The fire is also not lighted at the place of cremation, but one takes a firebrand from the hut.

[432] Not until all the relatives have arrived and all the preparations for the cremation are completed — for no work may be done on the day of cremation -- is the dead man brought to the place of cremation. He is placed, fully clothed, on a bamboo bier (ka krong). At the four ends of the bier, often also at the middle of the long sides, so that there are six of them, bamboo sticks are raised upright and a white cloth is fastened around the whole or crosswise -- depending on whether the body is that of a man or a woman. Weapons,

764 a shield, bow, arrow, and knife (wait) are placed beside the man and ornaments beside a woman. All this, however, is not burned, but is taken away before the fire is lighted, with the exception of the woolen or silk cloth that is attached to the upper ends of the bamboo poles. If the corpse has received money and food, a sacrifice is offered, usually a goat. Poorer people pour a little brandy on the ground.

Now the funeral procession moves towards the place of cremation. This place is designated in each village and is usually located on the slopes near oak forests.(29) As pre-

29. Cf. Table II, Picture 3: Place of Cremation of the Khasi with a stone substructure.

viously during the night, when the dead man lay in the hut, guns are also shot off now, and if the people have wealth, paper bombs are set off. On the way copper coins are distributed to poor people. The tom-tom resounds, the eternal, monotonous beat on the large drum and the melancholy piping of the flutes (sharati). With great wailing from the mourners, in which the women relatives of the dead person excel, they finally reach the place of cremation, which is not sought out until late in the afternoon.

764 First a goat (u'lang mawkjat) is sacrificed
782 here. Then the body is lifted up on the catafalque, which has already been prepared, with his head towards the west and his feet towards the east. A rooster is now sacrificed, which they call 'iar syngkhong. If the deceases is well-to-do, a he-goat is also slaughtered,

764 which is called u 'lang sait ksuid or "the
782 he-goat which washes off the devil." The meaning of this is: the he-goat is similar to the "scapegoat" which takes the sins of the deceased upon himself.

Among the poor (that is among those who only use uncut wood as well as those who use wood cut with the ka wait) there is no funeral.

Now the closest relatives start the fire and after these the children of the deceased, if there are any present, apply fire. The cloth on the upper end of the bamboo poles flame brightly and is burned up in no time. The few clothes of the deceased are also soon in flames and then the actual burning of the body begins.

If the pile of wood catches fire, a rooster u 'iar padat is sacrificed immediately. This rooster is swung three times over the funeral pyre just as one swings incense and its blood is smeared three times on the pyre. Then the "stomach egg" (leng kpoh) is broken at the head end of the funeral pyre. Then three ar-
[823] rows ('nam tympem) [433] are thrown by hand as far as one can in three directions. One to the east, one to the south, and the third to
[775] the north. But never to the west. Because according to the belief of the Khasi the west leads to the unending, thither go the souls of the dead, there lies eternity. (30)

[626] 30. When the Khasi would like to have somebody go far away and they curse him, they speak as follows: to leit sha ban sep ka sngi shaba mih u bnai, i.e., go away where the sun sets and the moon rises!

(Go away where the pepper grows.)

ooo (Go away where the pepper grows.)

764 Meanwhile others are completely occupied with the burning of the body. Soon the intestines pour out into the fire, whereupon they begin to sizzle. A horrible smell comes from the crackling intestines. The steam that is developing in the skull from the fire causes a violent explosion in the skull which sounds like a gunshot. After the pile of wood has burned down and the yellowish green smoke has gone, you still see in the bluish fire the outlines of the black, steaming and cooking corpse. Now the men, who are already quite drunk from rice brandy, poke around in the fire with bamboo sticks and pour liquor and oil on it, which causes the flames to blaze up again. I saw in Lamin at a cremation that the heart was left as the last thing, which was then burned by itself with great sadness on the [273] part of the cremators. The objectionable scene of cremation could not occur without an [782] excess taking of alchohol. As a conclusion a goat is sacrificed (u 'lang dholia) on the spot and the relatives take their departure as they place betel nuts on the burned up funeral pyre with these words: khublei khie leit bam kwai ha iing u blei (god guard thee, go and eat betel nuts in the house of god!

In some places it is customary before the cremation for a man to get drunk with liquor. He then represents the devil and performs all sorts of tricks.

764 When the corpse is burned, one then col-
782 lects the remains of the bones which did not quite get burned up. (31) These are washed

31. Cf. Table III, Picture 1: Collecting the Remains and the Bones

●764 782 that are not burned up and the Ashes (among the Khasi).

and wrapped in a small piece of cloth and then put in an urn (jar). While a woman is doing this, a man strews rice on the ground and entreats the spirit of the deceased not to disturb his relatives who have remained behind in the world, since everything was done correctly at the cremation. When this entreaty is finished, the urn with the remains of the bones is placed under the tombstone (maw shying). The remains of poor people are also put under this stone but not in an urn. The sacrificial rice (ka japha) is also placed by the urn as food for the deceased (cf. the next section).

765 782 Early the next day they count up together the expenditures they have had. Speeches are made by the u kni u kpa (the maternal uncle) to the assembled children and grandchildren. This u kni u kpa [434] has been the priest and judge of the sib up until now. Now all business stops for three days. But on the third day they gamble (draw lots - bud pylleng) with two eggs to see who will be the leader of the sib of the deceased in the future, so that one will know to whom one should turn when sacrifices must be offered or quarrels are to be smoothed out. Thereby the present u kni u kpa speaks in relation to the deceased:

Hei ap ia ka nia ka jutang ynda ia lum ia kynshew ia u kur u para u khun ka meinah ka meisan yn sa tai ia ka khein ka bi shar yn sa long ka	So hearken unto the words of the promise! After the relatives and brothers and sisters of the mothers-in-law and aunts are gathered, we will sift

765 ai bam ka ai sa ia me
782 ka kynrong ka hyntaw
ka pynkhiah ka pynnang,
dih sa ka kiad sa ka
um mo!

our words and our sacrifices and out judgments and then will be: to care for thee and to nourish thee and to carry over thy bones and to care for thee in sickness and to make thee healthy. So we wish to drink the liquor and the water, is it no so! (32)

[273]

32. The water is a fermented rice water, that is variously called rice beer. The last sentence has the sense of an affirmation and of an oath.

Hei sngew ryngkat
ma phi ka blei ka
laubei ka nonglum
nongkynshew shi khrum
ka nar mo!

So hear then, o goddess, thou Jaubei, thou who has gathered us here, one and all (33) the whole sib

33. Shi khrum - actually the hollow place, the place under the house.

and stone and iron, is it not so!

764
782 As there are various customs for sacrifices, so are the ceremonies for cremation various. It is reported (34) that on the day of

34. Gurdon, The Khasi, p. 133.

cremation pigs are slaughtered by the relatives of the deceased. Those, who cannot afford to

764
782 sacrifice pigs, bring liquor, some of which they pour out on the funeral pyre. The coffin is raised onto a bamboo bier, and some money is placed next to the body so that the spirit of the deceased can buy food on the journey. Cotton or (in the case of rich people) silk cloths are wound around the coffin, crosswise if the deceased is a man, in the form of a square if the deceased is a woman. Before the bier is [783] raised up, one throws a handful of rice and pours a little water from a jug in front of the door and sacrifices a goat. These are purification ceremonies. The funeral procession is now arranged and slowly wends its way accompanied by a great deal of music. For rich people guns are shot off in between times. Copper coins are also strewn along the way. As the funeral pyre is approached, the corpse is placed on display and the peices of meat of the sacrificed animals which lay beside the body are thrown away. Then one arranges three loaves of baked bread, an egg, the lower jawbones of the animals which were sacrificed, the left [435] foot of the rooster (u 'iar krad lynti), a jug of water, food in a dish, and three arrows. A goat is now sacrificed. The body of the deceased is placed in the coffin, if one is used, and then lifted up on the pile of wood, with the head towards the west and the feet towards the east. Pieces of wood are now placed around the corpse, and the egg ("stomach egg") is broken, not as is often supposed over the stomach of the deceased but rather it is thrown on the pile of wood in the direction of the feet. The fire is now lighted by the kur or member of the clan and then by the children, if there are any. Another rooster (u 'iar padat) is sacrificed, the blood

764 of which is smeared three times on the pile
782 of wood. After the clothes are removed, the bier is broken into pieces. The edibles and the jawbones are now placed by the head of the deceased. After the sacrifice of the rooster the three arrows are shot off from a bow, one towards the north, another towards the south, and one towards the east. One calls these arrows the 'nam tympem. It should perhaps be mentioned that the number of arrows, which are shot off during the cremation, corresponds with the number of arrows which are used during the name giving. As soon as the fire is burning, another goat is sacrificed (lang dholia). In some cases all the clothes are burned with the body; in other cases the clothes are only held over the fire and then put aside for further use (which is the case only among the poor). Before the relatives and friends leave the place of cremation, they place betel nuts on the pile of wood and say farewell to the deceased with these words: "Khublei, go and eat betel nuts in the house of god" (according to Gurdon).

5. Burial of the Bones

764 There is a threefold burial of the bones, i.e., of the remains of the bones not burned up and of the ashes. But these burials are not varied for the wealthy, the well-to-do, or the poor, as in the case of cremation, but all the bones of the dead are buried three times in different places. The burial rite for the first or second burial is essentially the same. The rite of the third is considerably more ceremonial.

The first burial occurs immediately after the cremation near the place of cremation in

764 the maw shying, the place of temporary keeping.

The second burial occurs later, when the bones are transferred from the maw shying into the maw phew. Maw phew are places for keeping the ashes of members of a narrower family circle. The bones of the male relatives are kept here as well as the bones of the female relatives, but separately from each other.

The third burial finally occurs in a very ceremonial way, when the bones from the various maw phew are transferred into the common grave of the whole sib maw bah.

[436] A Schematic Representation of the Transfer of the Bones of a Sib:

1. Burial:	Cremation: maw shying	Cremation: maw shying	Cremation: maw shying	
		Cremation: maw shying	Cremation: maw shying	
(Bones of a single dead person, male or female)				
				(single grave)
2. Burial:	maw phew		maw phew	
(Bones of men and women separated)				Family grave)
3. Burial:		maw bah		
(Bones of the men and women separated)				(Sib grave)

a) First Burial (maw shying)

As soon as the cremation is over, the participants form a procession and bring the ashes or bones to the maw shying. One man hurries ahead, strewing leaves (ding shit:hot wood) alternately with grains of rice on the
764 road. Then the woman follows who carries the
292 bones. She is festively dressed and has a kind of scarf around her shoulders such as the Catholic priests wear for carrying the monstrance. In a village south of Lamin I saw

714 [292] on such an occasion a scarf which was decorated with gold edges and gold fringes. Whereas the relatives following next may walk and speak as they choose, the woman dressed in the scarf, who is carrying the bones wrapped in white cloth with respect against her breast, is required to be silent, not to vary to the right or to the left, but to walk in a straight line to the maw shing [sic] as far as this is possible.

714 722 Having arrived at the place, a rooster is first sacrificed, which one calls the "guide to heaven" (u 'iar krad lynti), because he is supposed to accompany the spirit of the deceased into the other world. Afterwards three loaves of rice bread, an egg and brandy are sacrificed by the sacrificial priest (nongkmia), so that the ashes may rest well here. The bones are placed in an earthern pot after they are well washed, and the jar is bound with a white linen cloth. The three loaves of bread along with the egg and the left foot of the previously sacrificed rooster are placed beside the jar in the prepared grave (if one can call the hole that) and the grave is closed with a stone. Betel nuts, pepper leaves, and lime are placed on top.

b) Second Burial (maw phew)

After a while the bones in the separate maw shying are collected, but the bones of the men and the bones of the women are kept and carried separately. In a manner similar to the above the transfer into the maw phew occurs. There the bones are laid separated in the prepared places, and the usual sacrifices of the rooster, the kpu, and the liquor are offered.

c) Third Burial (maw bah)

764 The ceremonial transfer of the bones from the various maw phew into the common sib grave maw bah is probably the most important of all the ceremonies [437] which the Khasi have. For not merely the precise and orderly fulfillment of every prescribed ceremony and custom, even the smallest, is necessary here, but also an emotional or spiritual preparation is needed, which neither occurs nor is demanded among the Khasi for anything else. This emotional or spiritual preparation consists in the requirement that all members of a whole sib must live in peace with each other, since otherwise the ceremonial transfer of the bones may not take place.

[781] If all quarrels and discords are smoothed out, this is determined with the greatest exactitude, and a sacrificer who is taken from the sib inquires by egg throwing and the sacrifice of a chicken, which day would be suitable for the ceremonial act. If the day is determined in this way, all the relatives of the dead meet together in the house of the group mother [Stammutter] (iing seng): the children, the brothers and sisters, the nephews and nieces (shi kur shi para ryngkat u khun ka meinah meisan baroh), the great uncles and the little uncles (u nie-bah u nierit). Standing, they call upon the goddess who has created the members of the whole sib and say:

764 782

Kumno? hukum phi ka blei thaw bynriew buh bynriew ba ngan ieng ka lum ka kyn shew ka thep ka tian ia u suidiap u nongiap u lor u kap	How dost thou, o goddess, wish that I stand (before thee, before thy face) to gather the hard earned, the stored up, the spirits of the dead,

764 782 baroh na tynrai ka iingseng iingkhad-duh? — the chiefs of the family and the old family chiefs of the deceased from the tribal house?

If the goddess now sanctions it, then they gather the sacrificial gifts and the sacrificial money (which is often thousands of rupees) to use them for the festivities.

Two women then go to the various maw phew and reverently fetch the bones that were placed there. One woman carries the bones of the male dead, the other the female ones, and both bring them to the house of the group mother, where they are ceremoniously placed and decorated with flowers and beautiful cloths. Now the spirits of the dead receive nourishment (ai bam), in that a pig, a rooster and a steer are sacrificed. The best pieces of these animals are kept in a basket in the house for a later division among the participants. The rest is sacrificed.

764 535 Then there is dancing. (35) This cere -

35. Cf. Table III, Picture 2: Ceremonial Dance in Honor of the Deceased.

monial dance in honor of the deceased lasts either three or five or nine days, whatever seems best (and how long the collected money lasts). A place in front of the house is festively arranged and used as the place for dancing (lympung). Music is played and liquor distributed.

764 769 On the day on which they intend to transfer the bones, the drums (ka ksing) and the kettledrums (ka nakra) are beaten, [438] the flutes (ka sharati) are blown, guns (suloi) and cannons (ka man) are shot off. An ancestral

764 769 doll is made of bamboo and this is supposed to represent either the great grandmother (the Jaubei of the sib) or the great great uncle (suidnia). They walk to the mawniam mawrukom (the ceremonial stones, ancestral stones) (36)

36. Gurdon, The Khasis, p. 141, gives another description of these customs. He says: In Cherrapunji two dolls are made, called ka puron and u tyngshop. The former is supposed to represent the Jaubei, the latter the suidnia. The dancers hold these dolls in their hands.

[211] with this ancestral doll (u tyngshop). While some dance, others set up "resting stones" or "foot stones" or "road stones" (maw kjat or maw lynti) on the way to the maw bah for the spirits of the dead, where they can rest on the way to the common grave. These stones are about a meter high and stand three in a row at each place. In front of them a flat stone like a platter is placed on four small stones which form a base or feet (maw kjat, i.e., stone foot). (37)

37. Cf. Table III, Picture 3: "Foot stone or road stone" among the Khasi.

On the day on which the dance ends they arrange ka pyngrei, i.e., a marriage feast of the spirits of the deceased, who died in their youth (grown but unmarried or childless). For this they choose two poor old people a man and a woman, of small size whom they pay for this.

764 769 The man is the groom of the dead young girl, the old woman the bride of the dead youth. They have the two scramble for the spirits' rice (ki pyniaknieh bam ka ja snaiap) and have them jump over the rice mortar (thlong) and the rice pestle. Then arrows are thrown as far as possible, which the two people are supposed to seize. This game of catching means the driving out of demons who surround the maw bah and wish to prevent the approach to the stones. Then one strews seed rice (u kaw rawai) on the road from the house to the end of the village. The two little people must now run with sticks (da ki diengduh) and thresh or beat the rice. This happens three times, one after another.

764 When it has become bright day, a handful of rice is taken from each of the relatives, as well as the contribution for defraying the [782] costs of the whole festivities. Then they fetch an "altar he-goat" (u' lang duwan), in order to cut off its head on the village altar (ha ka duwan ka shnong ka mulak). Now they make merry with drums and flags (ka ksing ka lama). The children and grandchildren sit down together and greet each other solemnly, [535] especially the "cousin" (u kha pka). Then a shield dance (mastieh) (38) is held. They

38. Cf. Table IV, Picture 1: Khasi men, ready for the shield dance.

perform three rounds. Then a he-goat is slaughtered, and all dancers with the shields bow three times before the "cousin" (u kha pka). Each of the sons of the group house (Stammhaus) does the same thing.

Now everybody rises, and someone sacrifices the scapegoat u' lang sait ksuid. A

764 A
[335] weapon dance is performed in which the sons follow one behind the other (according to age) (39) (shad wait, i.e. weapon dance).

39. Cf. Table IV, Picture 2: Weapon dance of the Khasi at the third burial.

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782 [439] When the weapon dance has ended, they go in a procession (as above for the maw shying) to the maw kjat or maw lynti. Having arrived there, each of the sons slaughters a he-goat by separating the head of the animal from the body with one blow. The usual sacrifice takes place. But usually there are not a lot of he-goats slaughtered (since there is not enough money) but only one, which is then called u' lang maw lynti. The retinue or escort of the sons ends here (hangne la kut ka jingleit on lynti ki khun kha).

The others continue on to the maw bah. Having arrived there, they open the door (the closure of the container for the bones). A man, who is paid for it, crows three times to represent the spirit rooster iar iap. This occurs in front of the stone. Then all the spirits who are in the cave room are awakened (kyrsiew) by someone saying:

to khie to khie la wan u khun la wan u ksiew!	Stand up! Stand up! The children have come, the grandchildren have come!

Then they place the bones of the deceased inside, separated according to sex. In addition there are the sacrificial gifts: the bread and the cake, which they spread out (siang). Also morning and evening rice (i.e. cooked rice ready for eating) they place (theh —

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pour out) on the stone, also betel nuts and pepper leaves and ka reng ka ngab (the jawbones of the [sacrificed] animals). The contribution (u khrong u khwang) is also added. Then the stone is closed.

Then they strike three times with a stick (sympat da ki dieng) on the stone, which they call tan ding (taken from fire), saying:

Hei nga tan ding nga tan theh ioh don uba mang uba thew u tynjuh u pan tien wat	See, I come towards the fire, see, I pour out the sacrificial gift, (40) so

40.- i.e., I perform the ceremonies faithfully.

leit khih wat leit win ap la ka khein ka bishar pyllun ho mei, ho iaw, ho nie, ho ma shi khrum ka maw ka nar!	that someone does not perhaps come and infringe and seek to demand a sacrifice. Do not disturb thyself! Be calm! and await patiently thy time of sacrifice. Is it not so, little mother, is it not so, mother-in-law, is it not so great uncle, is it not so, cousin, is it not so, all ye cousins who are under the stone!

On the next morning they figure out what everything has cost and what has been used. Then they take sacrificial liquor and say ('suit' means actually: they take it, present it, and hold it up ceremoniously):

Hei ko nie ko ma ko mei ko iaw ka suidiap	See, o uncle, see, o cousin, see, o little

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ko nongiap shi khrum [407] ka maw sngew ho la lut la sep katta to nang kyrsoi to nang kyrsih la iaid ka iew ka duwar ka kitnong ka bylla ka khaii ka pateng!

mother, see o grandmother of the deceased, o all ye dead, who are under this stone, listen! Thus and thus much we have used and given out, bless and increase it. May all our doings, all our household, all our daily wage, all our business make us happy!

Then they divide the remains of the sacrificial gifts (also the pieces of meat which were kept in the basket) and bow down and mourn all the deceased cousins and aunts. And when the sacrificial remains have been divided, they give everybody four to five rupees (five marks, sixty pfennigs to seven marks according to the peace evaluation) in addition and say:

Shim kein khun to leit long bynriew to leit man byn riew to roi to pa to long spah to man spah wei kumba nga la kha la long shisha bam don ka sang bamdon ka ma a yn sah ka nam yn sah ka rong yn sah ka ummat yn sah ka umpung mo.

So, take, my son, grow and be strong, be happy and successful; may thy wealth increase, as I conceived thee without shame and wrong; may thy reputation and thy honor endure, and also the tears and the wells (41) should endure, is it not so.

41. i.e., the descendants who will mourn thee.

Thus they do it to all the children one after the other. After three days they destroy

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the doll, whether it was (i.e. was supposed to represent) a male or a female one.

In conclusion they sacrifice a pig as a food sacrifice which they call the "doll pig" (u niang ai bam tyngshop).

After the passage of a month they sacrifice a pig again as a food sacrifice, which they call the "month pig" (u niang ai bam lait bnai).

And finally after a year they sacrifice still another pig as a food sacrifice which they call the "year pig" (u niang ai bam lait snem). (42)

42. Cf. Table I, Picture 1: Third burial place of the Khasi.

Gurdon (43) also describes this ceremony

43. Gurdon, The Khasis, p. 142.

differently, saying: "After they have arrived at the grave, the bones are washed three times in a basin (this is a custom from Cherrapunji). In Maushai the bones are exposed to the heat of a fire which has been lighted on a little platform. Then the stone door of the cinerarium is opened. The bones of the women are placed inside with the urn next to the wall which is farthest away from the door. But the bones of the men are placed next to the door. Many sibs place the bones of the men on the right side and the bones of the women on the left side. Then sacrifices of food and drink are offered the ancestors on a stone in front of the grave. The men perform a ceremonial dance with sword /440a Table I, 1. Third Burial Place. 2. the village Raliang/ 1

1 [cf. cat. 116, p. 66 -- Analyst]

Table I

Third Burial Place

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[140a] The Village Raliang

2:Stegmiller-67 M-4,5(no date)1921 AR7 Khasi AR7

Table II

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The Egg Oracle

Sacrifice of a Chicken

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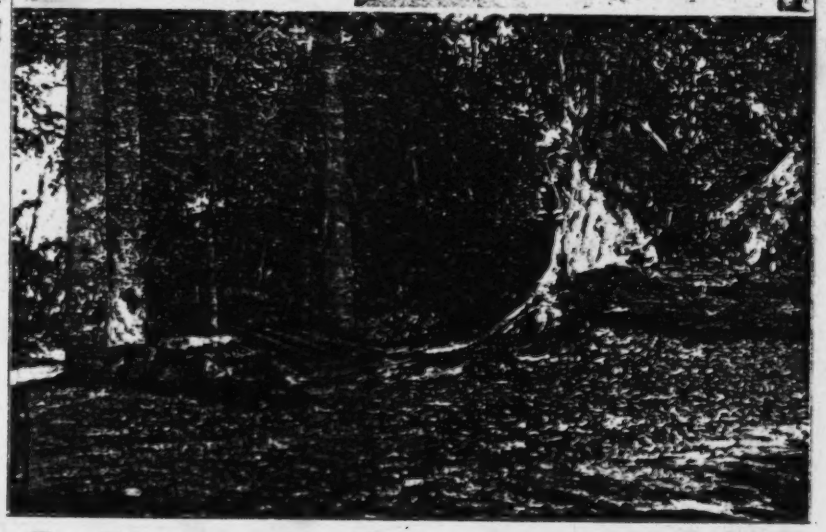

[40b] The Place of Cremation.

Table III

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[211]

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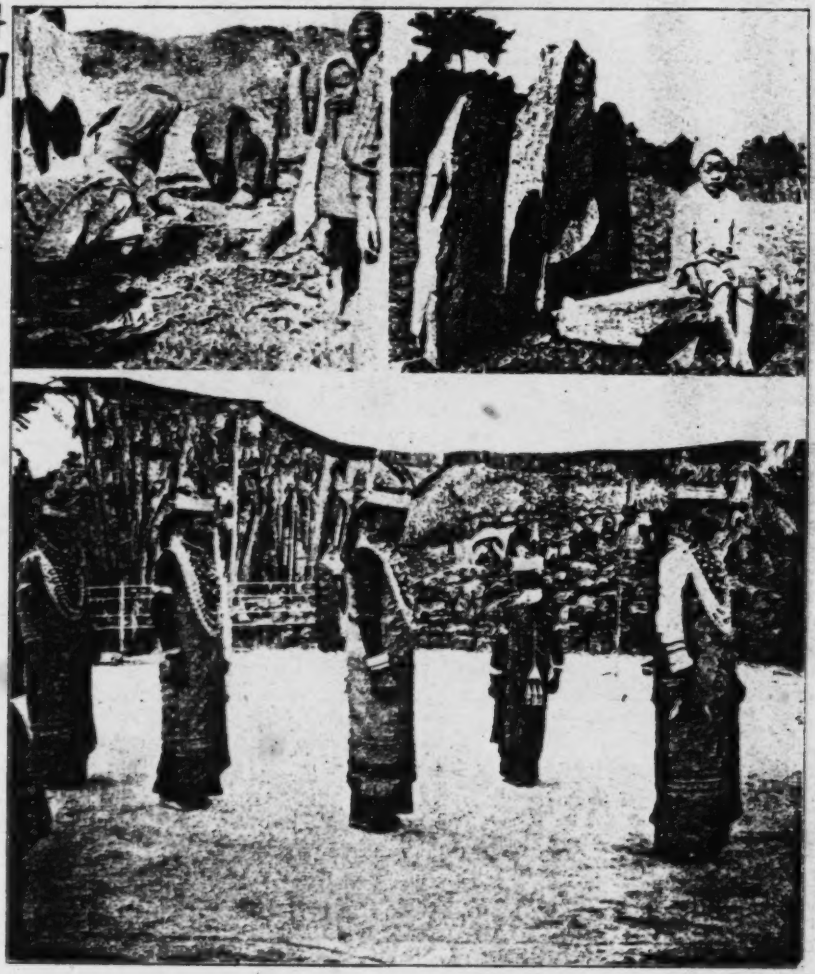

[140c] Gathering the Remains and the Ashes Ceremonial Dance. Foot Stone and Road Stone.

2:Stegmiller-70 M-4,5(no date)1921 AR7 Khasi AR7

●764 782 [440b Table II, 1. The Egg Oracle. 2. Sacrifice of a Chicken. 3. The Place of Cremation.] [440c] Table III, 1. Gathering the Remains and the Ashes. 2. Ceremonial Dance. 3. Foot Stone and Road Stone.] [440d Table IV, 1. Ready for the Shield Dance. Weapon Dance.] [441] and shield (three times), and the door of the grave is closed. Afterwards a flag is planted on the grave.

All the people go away, with the exception of three men. One of these sacrifices a rooster (iar tanding) in front of the grave, the second one sits behind the sacrificer and holds three firebrands in his hands, which he moves back and forth. This man crows three times like a rooster. The (third) man behind the grave listens most carefully to every noise that is noticed meanwhile in the grave. The belief actually exists, that if the ceremonies have not been performed properly, the grave will now tremble and move. When the three watchers are satisfied and convinced that there was no motion in the grave, they go home and report it to the relatives. This ceremony is called tan ding or the test by fire.

On the next morning, the woman who is the householder of the house of the group [Stammhaus] divides the hind quarters of the sacrificial animals among all the participants of the sacrifices. The relatives are not allowed to go to work before three days have passed. The third day is called ka sngi lait.

The whole ceremony has symbolical meaning. The massive stone grave is supposed to represent a safe place for the spirits. If, however, the departed spirits are not satisfied with the whole ceremony, they will disturb their relatives in this world."

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a) at the mau shing (first burial),
b) at the mau pheu (second burial),
c) at the mau bah (third burial).

10. The sacrifice in memory of the deceased:
a) the sacrifice at the end of a month,
b) the sacrifice at the end of a year.

These various sacrifices can be offered by the official lyngdohs as well as by other lyngdohs or even by ordinary men from the people, provided they know precisely the ritual which governs the family concerned and are guided by it.

782 A definite spiritual attitude is not required
• 764 for any sacrifice. There is only one exception
578 here: namely at the sacrifice for the third and last burial of the bones in the mau bah. This may only be carried out if all relatives of the sib concerned are living in peace with each other. This must be established by the lyngdoh himself who is performing the sacrifice. If any kind of enmity or a quarrel is discovered by the investigation, the burial and the sacrifice that goes with it must be postponed until the condition of general peace in the family is fulfilled.

782 [220] As concerns the place of the sacrifices, the areas may be divided in the following way:

1. Sacrifice is made in the hut:
at the name giving,
after recovering health.
2. Sacrifice is made in the courtyard in front of the hut:
when questioning spirits,
before important business,
in cases of sickness,
khein ksuid,
in case of death.
3. Sacrifice is made away from the house:
at a cremation at the place it occurs,
at the three different burials of the bones at the places where they occur,

sense. For at his entrance into life and at his departure from it both are used in the religious ceremonies. If a boy is born, a bow and three arrows are placed beside him at the name giving, (35) After various ceremonies, 411 778 [851]

35. P.F. Stegmiller, "Aus dem religiösen Leben der Khasi" [The Religious Life of the Khasi], Anthropos, 1921-1922, pp. 425 ff.

which cannot be described here, the sacrificer shows the boy the bow and three arrows, and calls upon him to become a good shooter. At the end of all the ceremonies the bow and the arrows are carefully attached to the inside of the straw roof of the hut.

It should be mentioned that at a Khasi cremation (36) a bow and three arrows are also 411 764

36. P.F. Stegmiller, loc. cit., p. 430 ff.

used. They are kept in readiness with the other ceremonial objects of the dead, while the corpse is being shown for the last time to the participants in the funeral. As soon as the fire flames up on the funeral pyre, three arrows are also shot off: one towards the north, one towards the south, and the third towards the east. The Khasi call these arrows 'nam-tympem.

his wife and children. 000

2. Holy Pieces of Land and Forest

A special kind of land property is still encountered in the Khasi and Jaintia Mountains. These are pieces of land and forests which are considered sang or kyntang, forbidden or holy, thus kyndeu sang, khlau kyntang, forbidden fields, holy forests. They are also named in connection with the name god, for example, khlau Blei, forest of the gods, which, to a certain extent, might offer the key to their purpose and meaning. The hands of man are not supposed to disturb this kind of property; this property is sacred to the gods and at the most may be used in their service. 423 778

It is not easy to trace the origin and beginnings of these reserves. But several solutions may be found in regard to sections of land. When the /136/ Catholic mission station was founded in the village of Schella which is located on a steep mountain slope, it was hard to find a place that was halfway suitable and big enough to build even a small dwelling on it. Finally the missionary discovered such a place somewhat outside the village. But then there was a new difficulty. The place was the cremation area for the dead and therefore was sang /taboo/. The spirits of the dead would punish every intruder severely. The people were finally persuaded to burn their dead somewhere else, but it was more difficult to find any who were ready to help with the work of the building. Even those whom the missionary finally persuaded to help still suffered heavily from the fear of the punishment of the gods and continuously one or the other of them had imaginary illnesses. [797] [764] [784]

In the cases of more extensive pieces of land, the snake worshippers (thlen), who carry on their dreadful activities in the Khasi Mountains, (8) may offer an explanation sometimes. If such a person is 423 784 [776] [782]

8. Im Stromtal des Brahmaputra, /In the River Valley of the Brahmaputra/, pp. 76ff.

convicted of murder, which he has committed in the service of the snake god in order to sacrifice the blood of the slain person to him, and if he wishes to free himself from the conviction, he can do nothing other than sell all his movable and immovable property. The latter thus becomes sang. Nobody would dare to take over the fields and gardens, to plant anything there, or to touch any fruit on that property. Thus in Cherrapunji a native Catholic was able to take

presentation of the written statement of the chieftain and the village elders that they would have no objection to it. The avaricious renter of the divine land mentioned above was despised by all. 423 784 797

As concerns the holy forests, which often extend picturesquely from the highest peak down the slope and are overgrown with gnarled oaks and bright colored rhododendron, no tree may be felled there; at the most, fallen wood or wood torn down by a storm or already rotten wood may be taken. The spirits of the forest, as punishing gods, will revenge every offense. Tigers and leopards, apes, bears, and snakes enjoy an undisturbed existence here. The only case in which wood may be cut in these divine woods is for the religious cremation ceremonies of the dead. It is the custom of the Khasi to set fire often to great areas in order to fertilize the ground with the ashes of grasses, trees, and shrubs without regard for the new growth of trees, and to make potato fields there for a year or two or to grow mountain rice, millet, or something similar and then to leave the field fallow again. Thus this is a clever precautionary rule, since there might otherwise be cases when there might be no wood for cremating the dead. 778 776 [264] [241]

(Continuation follows)

/300/ Family Property and Maternal Rights
by C. Becker S.D.S., Würzburg

Gurdon says, (10) that these holy groves were formerly the property of a village. That is not always so as the following case will demonstrate. I am also relating this because it grants us a deeper look into the whole customs of the clan under discussion. 779 423 613 797

10. The Khasis, p. 87.

Several decades ago, a Khasi who had become a Protestant, U Jacob Shai by name, was installed as a clerk with the English government official in Jowai. In order to assure his family a better living than just his meager salary, he yearned for land. By birth from Jongushen in the War territory, he remembered that he could obtain his aim in the neighboring village Syndai from the family clan Umliang. So one day he went thither. After the customary greetings, and refreshment with a water pipe and betel nut and conversation about various indifferent matters, he mentioned his desire. "I know," he said in the polite language of even these simple natural men, "I know the goodness and the good name of your clan /Stamm/ and the elders

8: Gurdon G-3 (no date) 1904 AR7 Khasi AR7

child is a female. Up to the present time I have not discovered any trace of the *couvade.* 000 [546]

6. *Marriage ceremony.*—Marriage is a purely civil contract. The most prominent features of the Khasi marriage are the following:— [581] 585

(*a*) The *pynhiar synjat*, or betrothal.

(*b*) The pouring out of libations of liquor to *Ka Iawbei* (the first maternal ancestress).

(*c*) The eating by bride and bridegroom out of the same plate.

(*d*) The mixing of liquor by the *ksiangs*, or go-betweens.

(*e*) The taking of the bride to the house of mother of the bridegroom, where a ring is placed on her finger by her mother-in-law.

7. *Divorce* can be easily obtained amongst the Khasis. Adultery, want of issue, and incompatibility of temper, are some of the more frequent causes. The usual ceremony of divorce is as follows:—The husband hands the wife five cowries, or pice. The wife hands these back to the husband, with five of her own. The man then either throws them away or hands them over to some village elder, who throws them away. Divorce is then complete. 586

8. *Death, ceremonies.*—The corpse is bathed and laid on its back. A fowl's egg (*ka'lengkypoh*) is then placed on the navel. A cock (*ka' iarkrad lynti* = the fowl that scratches the way) is sacrificed. The limbs of the fowl and its feathers are placed in a bamboo basket, which is hung up near the head of the corpse. Rich people sacrifice a cow also, called *ka masi pynsum.* When a cow is sacrificed it is shot through the heart with an arrow. From the time of bathing the body till it is burned, offerings are offered daily; these offerings are called *ai ja miet ja step.* It is the custom amongst some to place the corpse in a long narrow box or coffin, which has been hollowed out of the trunk of a tree; this is called *ka shyngoid.* When this procedure is adopted, a small pig, which is killed by a spear (*u narsuh*) is sacrificed. This sacrifice takes place during the night. A goat (*U lang sait ksuid* = a goat to wash the devil)—which is believed to be a scapegoat to bear the sins of the deceased—is sacrificed. The corpse is then taken outside and placed on a bamboo bier (*ka krong*). When the *shyngoid* is used it is placed inside the bier. Some rice is scattered on the ground, and water is poured from a *lhota.* On arrival at the burning-place, the bier, with the corpse in it, is placed on the pyre, or *jingthang.* The egg placed on the navel is then broken on a plank and a fowl (*Ka iar padat*) is sacrificed. Two arrows are shot, one to the east and another to the west (this is a Khasi custom only); the arrows are intended for the protection of the spirit on its way to another world. Fire is then applied to the pyre. 764

8: Gurdon G-3 (no date) 1904 AR / Khasi AR /

764 When the body has been burnt, the ashes and the uncalcined bones are collected by the relatives of the deceased and washed. They are then placed in a dish (*ka pliang*) which is taken to a stone repository for the bones (*mawshieng*); here a further sacrifice takes place. For three days after the burning, the maternal relatives frequent the *mawshieng*, where they offer articles of food for the spirit of the departed to eat, and then three eggs are broken (called *shat leng lait ia*) in order to ascertain what is the cause of death. Until this egg-breaking has taken place the family is taboo. The ashes and the uncalcined bones are subsequently removed from the *mawshieng*, and are placed in the family mausoleum, or *mawbah*. On this occasion a special ceremony takes place.

787 9. *Divination by breaking eggs.*—As this is a very peculiar custom, it deserves some description. Shadwell describes it as follows :—

[153] Each case of sickness or other calamity is attributed to the influence of some evil spirit, and the first step is to ascertain what particular spirit has been at work, and for this the great institution of egg-healing is brought into play. An expert (but not a professional) sits down before a board, in the centre of which he places an egg on a few grains of rice; after invoking the egg to speak the truth, he sweeps the rice off the board, excepting one grain left on any spot fancy dictates. Then naming a particular spirit, he asks that if he be the cause of evil, a part of the shell of the egg may be deposited near the grain of rice; he then strikes the egg sharply on the centre of the board. This process is repeated, if necessary, till the required information is obtained. The next thing is to discover what sort of offering will be acceptable to the spirit. This is ascertained in a precisely similar way, but the desired result is often not arrived at till much time and many eggs have been expended.

I have personally witnessed this egg-breaking and can vouch for the correctness of Mr. Shadwell's description. The Khasis do nothing of what they consider to be of the least importance without breaking eggs. When a Khasi builds a new house, or before he proceeds on a journey, he always breaks eggs to see whether the building or the journey will be lucky or not. I have quoted the description of egg-breaking at length, as I am informed that there is some similar custom extant in the Arracan Hill Tracts. I hope that it will be possible to ascertain whether or not there is any similar custom in Burma.

526 10. *Khasi archery*—Archery is a regular institution amongst the Khasis, who are very fond of it. Archery may be described as the Khasi national game. There are regular archery contests between the people of different villages, one village challenging another to shoot off a match. Certain conditions are fixed, such as the date and place of the match, the number of arrows to be shot by the archers, the distinguishing marks to be given to arrows of the two different sides, etc.,

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769 (2) *U'mid' sia*, —or departed maternal great-uncle.
(3) *U thaw lang*, —or departed great-grandfather.

824 A very striking feature of the Khasi religion is the use of the leaves
771 of the *dingsning* (*Q lanceæfolia*) or Khasi oak tree. The leaves of this tree are used to cover the sacrifical knife, a sprig of the oak is implanted in the ground before the sacrifices of fowls or goats take place, an oak bough is hung up inside the house along with the jaw-bones and horns of sacrificed animals and the feathers of fowls. A great post of oak is to be found within the *arcana* of the sacred residence of the Siem priestess of Khyrim, the custodian of the religion of the State of that name. Another feature is the use of altars of stone on certain ceremonial occasions, and no Khasi religious ceremony takes place without the use of a small gourd a *klong* from which libation are poured out to the gods. Dancing always accompanies ceremonies of any importance, *e.g.*, funeral ceremonies, the erection of memorial stones, and the great *puja* of the Siems of Nongkrem.

769 12. *Memorial stones.*—These are without doubt the most prominent
● 764 feature connected with these people. The first thing that strikes any
211 visitor to the Khasi and Jaintia Hills is the immense number of these stones. The latter are placed in a line, a higher one in the centre, and lower ones on each side. The centre monolith is occasionally covered with a round flat stone. The upright stones are always in uneven numbers, being in sets of three, five, seven, or even nine stones. In front of each set of three stones is placed one horizontal stone, or cromlech which rests on three or four small upright stones, the horizontal stone being raised to about one foot from the ground. If five upright stones are erected, two horizontal stones are placed in front of them, and if seven are erected three, and so on. There can be no doubt that these stones possess considerable significance, but what exactly that significance is I am at present engaged in investigating. As far as my information extends at present, I give the following explanation.

Memorial stones may be divided for the present into two classes—

(a) Stones erected by the family, or *kur*, in accordance with the Khasi custom of ancestor worship.

(b) Stones which are erected by children in honour of a deceased parent.

It should be remarked that both classes of stones are merely cenotaphs, the mausoleums of the ancestors or the parents often being nowhere near the places where the memorial stones are erected. Taking class (a) first: Supposing that five upright stones are erected and two horizontal stones as depicted in plate III.$\frac{1}{7}$

$\frac{1}{7}$ [see end plate 1 - - - Analyst]

Stone No. 3 in the middle is called *U Maw Kei*, i.e., the stone of the maternal uncle, Nos. 2 and 4 are called *Ki pyrus*, *Ki paw*, i.e., the brothers or sisters, and the nephews or nieces. No. 1 is called *U Maw Kiang*, i.e., the stone of the drum, and No. 5 *U Maw kuit*, the stone of the plantain. No. 6 is called *Ka Iaubei tyrsai*. The word *tyrsai* meaning root, *Ka Iaubei tyrsai* signifies the first maternal grandmother of the family. The above is the system of naming stones in Maubai Raj—other systems will be described in the monograph.

Class (b).—Stones of this class are generally, I am informed, three in number, consisting of three upright stones as shown in plate IV and a flat stone in front, as in the case of stones falling under class (a):

Here there is a marked difference in that the big stone in the middle is called *U Maw thaulong*, or the stone of the grandfather or father. Nos. 1 and 3 are the brothers or the male cousins of the father, and No. 4 is erected in honour of *Ka Iaubei*, or the grandmother of the father, —not the first ancestress of the clan, as in the case in stones falling under class (a). The post split at its top containing the jawbone of a bullock which has been sacrificed in honour of the deceased parent should be observed, *vide Fig.* B. It was formerly the custom and is still in some places the custom, to spread offerings upon the flat stones to appease the spirits of the deceased ancestors. These stones, which are only 2 to 3 feet from the ground, suggest the idea of sacrificial tables at some time or other. Stones 3, 4, and 5 in Fig. A are between 9 and 10 feet high, but there are several larger monoliths in these hills.

The description of the stones in figures A and B was given me by a man of some intelligence at Nongkrem, but many different explanations of the names, and regarding the significance of these stones, are given by other persons living in various parts of the hills, and it is not unlikely that the account I have tentatively advanced may have to be modified subsequently. The system of each clan, apparently, varies to some extent from the other, and in some cases to a very considerable degree. In the Jaintia Hills very large groups of stones are found near villages, which are thought by the Syntengs to have been merely erected by the sides of roads as *Maw-slong-thait*, or seats for weary travellers, or for persons attending markets. At one place in the Jaintia Hills memorial stones were erected to commemorate a woman, *Ka Kempatwat*, who in generations past is said to have had thirty husbands. It may, however, be stated that no such polyandrous custom has been found at the present day. The stones are reported to be thirty in number. There are also many stones at a place on the road from Shillong to Jowai said to have been erected to commemorate those who fell in a battle between the Syntengs and one of the Khasi Siems.

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764 As mentioned before, these stones are not gravestones, they are
767 shaped, both the vertical and the horizontal stones, remarkably like
28 the pictures of *menhirs* and *dolmens* that appear in Fergusson's work on rude stone monuments. It is a remarkable fact that Dalton mentions the existence of apparently very similar memorial stones in certain *Ho* and *Munda* villages in Chota Nagpur, and there is a drawing to be found at page 32 of Yule's Embassy to the Court of Ava of a *cromlech* which is apparently very like the *cromlechs* or *menhirs* to be met with every day in these hills. It is most unfortunate that the
[212] Khasis, owing to their want of a written language in former days, possess no written annals of these stones, and that the Khasis of the present day are so very vague in their ideas about them, for I am inclined to believe that the proper elucidation of this question of memorial stones may prove to be the key to the origin of these people. I therefore strongly advise that a very careful search be made for similar stones, such as I have described, in other parts of India. It is possible that the Khasis may have found monoliths erected by some prehistoric race when they arrived in the Khasi Hills, and they may have adopted the custom of erecting memorial stones by the force of example, but the use of such stones seems to fit in with the Khasi system of ancestor worship, and it is remarkable that the shapes of the stones should be so very similar to those which exist in England, Ireland and Brittany, and I believe also in Denmark and Scandinavia. Is the custom of erecting such memorial stones in any way connected with people practising the matriarchate? The whole subject is a deeply interesting one, and I hope that it may be possible to throw some light on it.

797 13. *Tabus.*—The Khasis have an elaborate system of *seng*, or tabus. There are very many different kinds of *seng*, but some of them are the following:—

Special tabus, at time of pregnancy.—(a) It is *seng* for a pregnant woman to accompany a funeral procession.

(b) It is *seng* for a woman in the first stage of pregnancy to finish any sewing which she may have commenced before she became enceinte. There is a similar prohibition regarding the finishing of the plaiting of wicker baskets.

(c) It is *seng* for the husband of a pregnant woman to thatch the ridge of the roof of a house at such a time.

(d) It is *seng* under similar circumstances to fix an axe or a dao in a handle.

Ordinary tabus.—(i) It is *seng* to build a house with stone walls on all four sides.

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PLATE III.

GURDON. J. A. S. B. Vol. LXXIII. Part, III, 1904.

[End plate 1]

8: Gurdon G-3 (no date) 1904 AR7 Khasi AR7

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[End plate 2]

nounce the hard G; and in all words of Hindustani origin this letter has the sound of K. 101 [197]

They are called by the tribes of Kúkis and Nágás on the west "Káro", the name they themselves have for the whole mass of hill people on their western side, the Gāros, though as we pass towards their confines, we find the names of local clans giving way to this general term which was not known to some of the villagers of West Nongstoin, who call the Gāros "Dékor."

The Gāro appellation for the Khāsis is "Dikkil" or "Digil"; and it was very interesting to find, after visiting the villages of both, that they mutually fear each other, and consequently border raids never occur. The Gāros owned that they feared the bow and arrow of their neighbour, a weapon they themselves are unacquainted with the use of.

The Khāsis always point to the east as the quarter from which they emigrated, but there is very little, if any, similarity with the languages of the people now occupying the hills on that side. [173] [197]

Before entering further on the subject matter of this paper, I must request my hearers or readers to remember that having no knowledge colloquially of the Khasi language, the information I give was obtained from natives who understood either English or Hindustani well. The greater part of the information was given me by a very intelligent man, a native inspector of schools in the district; thus I hope that all errors that exist may be hereafter corrected by others who have been able to elucidate with greater exactness the meaning of their many different rites and superstitions. 115

Certainly the most striking objects of interest in the Khāsi Hills are the upright stone monuments that are to be seen all over the country; these, set up by the wayside, or in the villages, more frequently cutting the sky on prominent hills, with the large slabs horizontally set before them, at once recall the Druidical remains of our own island, northern France, etc., and lead one to marvel at the similarity of the custom, and to inquire its origin and design. Many who visit those hills take it at once for granted that they are the graves of illustrious men, or, after a vain endeavour to get some information from the coolies about them, let the matter rest, or finally believe that the ashes of the dead, to whose memory the monoliths are erected, are buried under the flat kind of altar or dolmen seen in front. 764 211

It is always a very difficult matter to obtain information from semi-civilised people on such a subject as their religious rites, especially if the inquirer is ignorant of their language. A slight knowledge of Hindustani on the part of the Khāsia villager, renders the attempt still more hopeless, and the information given quite erroneous.

9: Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 AR7 Khasi AR7

764 211 The tall upright stones are called "Mao bynna", from "mao", a stone; "bynna", to make known, to be informed, literally a monument. They are also known by the term, "Mao shinran", the male stone, while the flat seat-like slab in front is called "Mao Kynthai", the female stone, representative of all life, being in pairs. My informant explained this by saying the monument would be imperfect without the flat stone or its female adjunct.

769 764 211 The ashes of the dead are never deposited under the horizontal slabs always to be seen in front of the upright sets, the monument having no connection with funeral obsequies whatever. The monument is purely one to perpetuate the memory of a person long deceased, who, as a spirit, has watched over or brought good fortune to a descendant, his family, or clan. Wealth or [554] renown of the deceased has no connection with the size of the monument, which may be of any dimensions, from stones a foot or two and upward, but depends on the wealth of those who erect such mementos, and on the benefits the deceased has conferred aftar passing into the world of spirits and demons, for, according to Khāsi belief, the spirits of the dead and demons are the cause of all joy or woe—they give riches or strike with disease and death.

These monuments are not set up facing any particular point of the compass; the front is generally selected, having reference to the site and its surroundings: thus a number set up together on a hill-top will be found facing outwards, those by the wayside facing the road; however, single sets, standing on a hill-top or rising ground, as a rule, face to the southward.

The history connected with the erection of some large slabs near Cherra Poonjee will exemplify this curious custom. One of the clans, "Kūr" in Cherra, is known as the "Nongtariang"; and many years ago died an old lady of the clan, not famous for anything in particular during her lifetime, but whose virtues appear to have been great after her demise, for after this the Nongtariang clan, from being a poor one, rose gradually to considerable wealth; she, when propitiated and called on for aid, never failed her race, and in return, after some sixty years or more, they raised to her memory five well-cut stones, which are to be seen on the west side of the road between Cherra Poonjee and Surarun, the central monolith adorned with a kind of rose cut in relief on the front face, and an ornamental disc on the apex. It would appear that she still remained the guardian spirit of her clan; they continued to prosper, and as a further token to her memory, they added in 1869 five more stones on the other side of the road, and in a line with the first set.

It may very naturally be asked how descendants possibly dis-

9: Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 AR7 Khasi AR7

cover what their ancestors are doing for them, and what their 764
views and inclinations may be as regards the amount of aid they 769
may give. To a Khasia there is no difficulty about the matter; 211
when in distress or requiring aid of any kind, seeking omens by [782]
the breaking of eggs (which I will hereafter describe) he appeals to and propitiates any one ancestor he may select; only one or two may promise such protection, and these it may so happen have died years ago. The benefit also conferred may be very trivial, and sufficiently acknowledged by the setting up of stones of small size; on the contrary, if great favours are conferred on the wealthy we find large monoliths forming conspicuous landmarks on many a hill-top, scattered over a large area of country, and which are mostly known to the country round by the name of the individuals who have wrought so much good in their after state.

These stones are never erected in pairs or in even numbers; in 801
counting over a very large series still perfect, I found them in- 211
variably in sets of three, five, seven, or, as I have before men- 764
tioned in the case of the Nongtariang clan, in two sets, five and five, on opposite sites, to the same individual.* Even numbers are considered unfinished or imperfect.

A reference to the plans given, numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, will show the various arrangements in which the stones are set up, both in a segment of a circle and at right angles to each other, as in fig. 3. The most common form, however, is in line, fig. 4. Fig. 1 consisted of a circular platform raised about two feet, faced with rough stones on the front face. These three examples were observed on the hill of Lailang-kote, where the bazar is held, and I have not seen anywhere else the monoliths so arranged; in other parts of the country they are invariably set up in a straight row.

These monuments are also erected for such a reason as the 764
following:—During the illness of a person, every kind of propi- 211
tiation and exorcism either by the breaking of eggs, sacrifice of [782]
fowls, pigs, etc., and by the examination of the liver and viscera, [787]
having been made, and then failing to restore him; the sick man may vow that should he recover, he will erect a set of stones to one of his ancestors, who, it is presumed, on knowing of the intention, will do his best to save him.

In setting up these slabs all members of the community are 764
under an obligation to assist on such an occasion, and are not 211
paid for their labour, beyond receiving in the evening a little 476
food or liquor at the dwelling of the family who have sought the aid. The skilled workmen employed on the stone-cutting are,

* Three and five are the most frequent numbers met with, nine very rare I have seen eleven.

[see end charts 1-4, category 116 -- Analyst]

9: Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 AR7 Khasi AR7

however, regularly paid, as is done when cutting the stones for the funeral platform; while this work is in progress musicians are also entertained, and a continual beating of tom-toms (hand-drums) is kept up while the work is in progress.

That many of these monuments, and by far the larger number, are of great age, may be inferred from the fact that their history is quite lost.

As to their distribution, they are to be found over all the higher part of the range; the finest, certainly, in the central portion and in the vicinity of the larger villages, such as Cherra Poonjee, Juwai, Nurtiang, etc.

In Nongstoin, on the west, they gradually die out, and a few, not exceeding three or four feet in height, are to be found in the Khasia villages towards the Garo tribes, but at this limit the Langams come in, and their customs assimilate more with the former-named people. It is the same on the east and north-east of Jaintia; the stones set up are smaller and of rougher form, and by no means so numerous, yet they are to be seen in all kinds of out-of-the-way places quite overgrown with grass and jungle, where villages have not existed for years. Indications were not wanting, shewing that the country had been formerly much more populous, especially on the northern slopes of the Khasi and Janitia Hills. I have, on the other hand, never come across structures of the kind anywhere beyond the limits of Khasi-speaking people, that is, between longitude 91 deg. and 92 deg. 30 min., which includes the Jaintia Hills, the people of which part are called "Sintengs", differing in some minor points from the Khasis; the dialect is distinct, and there is so strong a type-form of likeness and expression, the two can be generally separated without inquiry. The same remarks hold good for the western side; a Khasi of the border Nongstoin villages can be told off at a glance: so strong are the great clan likenesses.

I have traversed the whole country on the east: viz., the North Cachar Hills, inhabited by tribes of Kookis and Nāgas, and had the Khasi ever occupied permanently a larger area either on the east or west, particularly the former, emigrating, as they are supposed to have done, from that side, I think we might have expected to find, occasionally, remains of their imperishable monuments. The only exception that I know of occurs on the road from Nenglo to Hangrūng, in the North Cachar Hills district, beyond Asālu, a part of the country now in the occupation of Nagas, and formerly entirely in that of Kacharis, who are Bodos or Méchis. The road lies through forest, keeping along the high spur; at about two miles from the peak of Hemeo are to be seen several large slabs of stone nearly level with the ground, one ten feet by six, covering some sort of receptacle, for the ends of the

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764 211 171

stones facing the sides are plainly visible. Near to these slabs is a platform with sides built up of rough stone, similar to those about Cherra Poonjee. Now Nāgas bury their dead, and no monument is erected, the graves being dug in the village street, often at the very door of the deceased person's house, all the protection and covering being a rough one of bamboo or straight sticks interwoven and neatly pegged down all round with hooked sticks. Some tribes of Kūkis bury, others burn, but I have never observed any stones set up, or used to cover the grave. There is just a possibility that the slabs on the Hemeo ridge are the remains of an old Khāsi settlement, occupied, perhaps, for a short period when on their emigration westward.

The largest collection of huge slabs and upright stones that I have seen anywhere in the Khāsi Hills, is at Lailang-kote, the arrangement is so different in every way, that there can be little doubt that it was erected for a very different purpose, and was probably a place of meeting of the chiefs and elders of the clans. The steps to ascend it would indicate such a purpose, and we can imagine all the men of rank and influence seated around, and harangued by one of their number. I could never learn the history of this structure; although I made frequent inquiries, they could not say when or by whom it was set up. The stones, especially the large horizontal one, are of great size; this, with others, is of the granite found close by, but the hill on which the structure stands is an outlier of quartzitic sandstone, horizontally stratified, and great labour must have been expended in dragging such huge blocks into their present position; for the slope to the top of the rise, though not great, yet is quite sufficient to render such work a formidable undertaking. The weight of the largest horizontal slab was twenty tons eighteen hundredweight, and of all the stones composing its construction eighty tons. The horizontal granite slabs were unhewn, as well as the highest upright monolith, which stood eighteen feet nine inches. Eight of the upright stones out of the eleven were of sandstone. The largest slab is an irregular oval in shape, thirty feet by thirteen feet in longest and shortest axis, with a mean thickness of one foot and one-third, standing nearly five feet and a-half above the ground, and resting on ten upright unhewn pillars of granite; on the south side are four other slabs arranged close to the edge of the large one, and round all rise the eleven upright pillars; on the eastern end are two other slabs forming steps to ascend by.

I give a drawing[1] of this very curious monument with a plan, and in an appendix the measurements of every stone, and these shew better than aught else the great massiveness of the work, and what an amount of labour these people must have expended in collecting the materials and setting them in this spot.

[1] [see end plates 2-4, category 116 — — ~ — Analyst]

9: Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 AR7 Khasi AR7

764 211 [483] I never saw the Khasis engaged in raising a stone into the upright position, but I saw the spars which had formed a sort of cradle on which the stones forming the monument erected by the Nongtariang clan previously alluded to had been dragged from the spot where they had been quarried. They consisted of strong curved limbs of trees roughly smoothed and rounded, and would present a very small surface to friction. These stones had been taken from the side of a hill near, and had apparently been wedged out of the face of a step in the exposed sand-stone strata.

It may be as well that I should here give some account of the funeral rites of the Khasis, which will show there is no connection between them and the monuments I have been describing, and with which the other stone erections have no doubt been often confounded. In their funeral rites there is much that is wonderfully strange, and to those unacquainted with their superstitions, appears unmeaning. There can be no doubt but the Khasis have a very strong belief in a future state, and to say that they have no religion, as has been stated by some writers, is erroneous. True, they have no temples for either worship or idols, the religion of the people is principally a demon worship, and we find the Khasi ever in communion with or in the power, as he supposes, of the spirits of those who have gone before him. While, added to these spirits of their ancestors are numberless demons, male and female, ever ready, if not propitiated, to bring evil upon himself or his undertakings, and whose power even extends over the spirits of the dead. Every dark shady wood, every stream, every conspicuous hill has its presiding demon, which in many instances gives the name to the site. Thus, the hill of Lārū, in North Jaintia, beyond Nongjinghi, is the abode of a one-legged demon, whom to see is death, but who was occasionally heard in the dense forest that clothed the northern steep face of the mountain, so said the credulous villagers of Nongtūng.

771 769 778

764 The dead are burnt on a funeral pyre, the logs of which are arranged very regularly, and the body lies in a sort of bed formed by them.

The calcined bones and ashes are collected and placed in an earthen vessel (small "ghara"), and are generally buried in some adjacent spot, a stone being placed over the vase for security; they do not, however, remain permanently in this place. Every family or clan has a separate receptacle for these remains, constructed in several ways, but always covered with a heavy slab of stone: these receptacles are called "Mao-bah," the great stone "Mao-shíing," a bone depository—lit., the "bone stone."

M. Schlagintweit has fallen into an error regarding the dolmen-shaped structures, and was not aware that this form is so

9: Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 AR7 Khasi AR7

intimately connected with cremation, and that bangles and other ornaments are to be found in them. Whether such are removed from the body at the present day is a point I did not satisfactorily clear up, but which is one of interest. 764

You find the cromlech cuboidal form of four well-cut large stones on edge, closely fitted and surmounted by another horizontal one closing the structure. I give a drawing of a very large and striking one not far from the mission houses at Cherra; one of the sides of this has fallen and been removed, it is probably of great age, and the family is extinct. In other cases a number of rough stones are set up in a circle, crowned by a flat circular slab. I have also seen them of octagonal form, the sketch represents one in the south of Jawai, near the site of a deserted village, one of the side stones has fallen outwards, thus exposing the interior; in this I found several calcined bones and two bangles or wristlets of brass; this surprised me, for I was not aware that ornaments were left on the body on cremation; nor do I think they are at the present day. There were no traces of pottery either, and the bones had not been placed in a vessel as is the usual custom now. The structure was apparently of considerable age, and no village had occupied the site for many years.

A very general form at present of these bone receptacles is that of a heavy slab of stone, level with the ground, covering a cyst, which is lined with stones.

The bones are not consigned to these receptacles for some time, often a year or more after the burning of the body, and in no case until it has been ascertained that the soul of the deceased is at rest, and leading a life, or rather a new existence of happiness; should the whole of his family remain in health, this state is assumed to be attained, if, on the contrary, any member be afflicted with illness or pain, the spirit is understood to be restless and in want of something; the breaking of eggs is resorted to, and such may indicate that it is necessary to sacrifice a fowl or goats, and that the bones of the defunct be taken up and buried in another spot. Such removal, however, in the case of the most troublesome ghost is only done three times, and restless as he may be, the bones are then finally deposited in the family bone receptacle; man and wife are never deposited together; they belong to different clans, thus the ashes of children are placed in the receptacle of their mother's tribe to which they are considered to belong. I would here refer to the paper written by the Rev. J. Pryse in the *Calcutta Review* for 1854, p. 128, with his excellent description of a form of sacrifice. (Appendix B.) [113] 1

The collection of the bones into one vault, as it may be termed, is done under the impression that the souls of the departed may 764 775

1 [See category 116, pp. 137-8. — Analyst]

9: Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 AR7 Khasi AR7

764 775 all mingle together again in one large family without trouble or suffering. The idea of a member of a family being a wanderer in the other world, cut off from, and unable to join the circle of the spirits of his own clan, is most repugnant to the feelings of a Khasi or Sinteng. Thus we find every attempt is made on the death of a man in a distant village or district to lead his spirit back with his calcined bones to his native place. For instance, should he die alone on a trading expedition into North Cachar and be buried by a tribe of some other denomination, some relation, if he can afford it, will proceed to disinter and burn the remains; such will be done years after when accident may take some relative near the place. Of this I had an interesting example in my own camp when marching from the Khāsi Hills to Asālu.* While encamped at Thangnansip in North Cachar, one of my coolies (porters) came one morning and asked leave for the day for himself and some of his fellows; on asking why they wanted it at such an unusual time, when we were in the field and moving camp, he said that a relation had died in that village while on a trading speculation with dried fish and salt towards Asālu from Jawai. It appeared that the man, having got an attack of fever, had been left behind by his companions, in the hope that he would get round in a few days and then follow them; he, however, eventually died, and was buried by the Kūkis of "Kabúr." My men had with some difficulty discovered the grave (for many years had elapsed), the site of Kabúr had been changed in the interim, as is the custom of the Kukis, who seldom remain more than four years tilling the same ground, frequently not more than three, known in that part of India as "Joom cultivation"; high grass covered the old village site; the Khasia coolies, however, disinterred the remains, burnt them, and the residue was carefully preserved and sent back to Jawai, the man's native place, to be interred with the bones of his family.

When carrying the remains to the home of the deceased, not only is the greatest care bestowed on them, but the spirit is carefully considered and led onward, to prevent the possibility, as they suppose, of its wandering off the route. Leaves are occasionally plucked, and with three or four grains of rice placed on them, are deposited by the wayside as offerings. On reaching [782] a river this is done on the bank, and sometimes when such a river is large and the abode of some powerful demon, a fowl is let loose in the jungle as an offering to the titular spirit of the stream. A most curious custom exists connected with this transporting of the soul which I have seen on several occasions. The dead, they say, have not the strength or ability to wade

* In Crawfurd's embassy to Siam, we find that a similar idea prevails in that country (see Appendix C).

9: Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 AR7 Khasi AR7

through water, and if they trust themselves to it would be carried down the stream, never to be recovered. They, therefore, stretch a thread of cotton from one bank to the other, and if the breadth is great this is kept clear of the water by sticks planted in the bed of the river, and notched at the top to receive it. If the running water should be very narrow merely a stick is laid, or even a stalk of grass is considered sufficient to form a bridge for the dead man's soul. The line of thread is called the "string bridge." 764 775

On passing through some dense dark wood where it is presumed a demon may be, they think it not improbable that he may be detaining them or throwing impediments in the way, and should any of the party fall sick such is to them clearly indicated. The breaking of eggs is resorted to, or a pendulum is made by tying a stone, knife, or generally the brass box in which they keep the lime that is mixed with the betal and pan leaves, and the rite so well described by Hodgson (Appendix A) is gone through. The similarity of the Bodo or Mech custom shows how general these superstitious customs are among the tribes in this quarter. The only difference being that with the Khasi, the weight is caused to revolve in a circle should any spirit require to be propitiated, and that it should cease to revolve when the offering, either a fowl or a pig, is considered to have been accepted. 764 782

Should a Khasia lose his life in such a way that his body cannot be recovered, say by being drowned in one of the large rivers in the plains, his relations assemble on some prominent hill or rock overlooking the low country. One of the members taking some kowries (small shells used as money, Cypræa) in his hand, and, looking towards the site of the accident, shouts out the name of the deceased and calls on him to return; his spirit having been supposed to do so, they proceed to burn the cowries, which are symbolical of his bones, and any clothes of the deceased they may possess. The ashes of the cowries are then placed in the bone depository. 766

The corpse is kept in the house four or five days, occasionally longer.* In the case of chiefs of tribes, men of consequence and wealth, the body after death is preserved in honey, and kept in this way in its coffin for a very considerable period; the platform on which the body is burnt is erected during the times, and considerable expense is entailed on its construction, in cutting the stones, as well as on the expenditure of gunpowder; throughout the day explosions may be heard at irregular intervals from different quarters, now at one side, then at another to drive away [764]

* The excessive and continuous rainfall of the Khasi Hills is not the reason why the dead are preserved in honey; it would be impossible to procure it in sufficient quantity for such a purpose. *Vide* M. Schlagintweit's paper in the "Ausland", where this is stated.

[see category 116, p. 137 — Analyst]

9: Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 AR7 Khasi AR7

health, that we may increase and prosper, that we may walk securely, that we may enjoy our possession in security, that we may carefully ameliorate our families, that we may increase in number. Do thou embrace us, do thou confide in us, do thou support us whilst we observe the rules and customs, that we may become numerous, that we may offer thee sacrifices. Come thou and receive us, receive us at thy feet, that we may spread out on the right and on the left. Come, confide in us; come, support us; come, envelope our spirits with thy power.* 782

This sacrifice is generally made by a whole Kúr or family *all related* by blood.

Appendix C.

Crawfurd's "Embassy to Siam", p. 19.—"Under ordinary circumstances so much importance is attached to the rite of burning the dead, that if the ceremony cannot be performed soon after death, either from poverty, or from the party dying at a distance, the body is first buried, and afterwards, as soon as convenient or practicable, disinterred and consigned to the funeral pile. Of persons of distinction, a few of the bones are kept, and either preserved in urns in the houses of their relations, or buried, with little pyramidal monuments over them, in the ground adjacent to the temples. Of these monuments we saw a good number: they are small and paltry, without any inscription. 764 211

Appendix D.

W. Griffith's "Journals", p. 75.—"Close to the village are the burying-places of two Singphos. These have the usual structure of the cemeteries of the tribe, the graves being covered by a high conical thatched roof. I find, from Bayfield, that they first dry their dead, preserving them in odd-shaped coffins until the drying process is completed; they then burn the body, afterwards collecting the ashes, which are finally deposited in the mounds over which the conical sheds are erected," etc., etc. 764

Appendix E.

Burning the Dead, etc.—"The practice of preserving dead bodies in honey has not arisen, as M. Schlagintweit states, from the extremely wet season experienced at Cherra. Bodies are burnt throughout the rains, as I have witnessed. Men of rank or wealth are treated in the above way, and are often kept thus preserved during the whole of the dry cold weather, and not burnt until a propitious time has been selected. The custom, no doubt, has been derived from its Eastern source."

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* Mr. Pryse remarks: "However devoid of sense or puerile the traditional and unwritten literature of the Khasis may be considered, the writer is not sure that he is able to elicit much more sense from many parts of the much talked of literature of the Vedas and Puranas of the Hindu sages," and he offers a specimen from the Sanhita.

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Memoranda of Size and Height of the Stones composing the Monument at Lailangkote, Khāsi Hills (from careful measurement of same).

UPRIGHT STONES OF GRANITE.

		Cubic feet.	Total, cubic feet.
No. 1	=13ft. 10in. × 4ft. 0in. × 1ft. 6in.	=83·0	
3	=18ft. 9in. × 3ft. 6in. × 9in.	=49·2	
10	=11ft. 2in. × 4ft. 0in. × 1ft. 0in.	=44·7	
			176.9

UPRIGHT STONES OF SANDSTONE.

2	=18ft. 6in. × 3ft. 4in. × 1ft. 8in.	=104·7
4	=12ft. 6in. × 3ft. 0in. × 1ft. 8in.	= 63·8
5	= 9ft. 0in. × 3ft. 0in. × 1ft. 6in.	= 40·5
6	= 8ft. 3in. × 2ft. 4in. × 9in.	= 14·4
7	=10ft. 9in. × 4ft. 8in. × 1ft. 2in.	= 58·6
8	= 9ft. 6in. × 2ft. 9in. × 1ft. 2in.	= 30·6
9	=10ft. 9in. × 2ft. 6in. × 2ft. 2in.	= 58·4
11	=12ft. 5in. × 2ft. 6in. × 1ft. 6in.	= 46·7
		417.7
		594·6

THE LARGEST FLAT STONE OF GRANITE.

Greatest length, 30ft. 4in.; breadth, 10ft.; and mean thickness, about 1 foot: measured by co-ordinates laid off from a central line, at 2 feet apart, with the thickness at edge. Total of cubic feet in mass 329·0.

FLAT STONES ON SOUTHERN SIDE, AND THE TWO STEPS.

	Mean breadth.	Mean length.	Mean thickness.	Cubic feet.
No. 1	=6ft. 0in. ×	8ft. 4in. ×	8ft. 0in.	=33·0
2	=5ft. 8in. ×	9ft. 8in. ×	1ft. 6in.	=82·0
3	=5ft. 2in. ×	9ft. 9in. ×	1ft. 4in.	=67·0
4	=5ft. 1in ×	7ft. 2in. ×	1ft. 4in	=49·0
5	=9ft. 3in. ×	5ft. 8in. ×	1ft. 0in.	=52·0
6	=3ft. 2in. ×	5ft. 8in. ×	8in.	=12.0
				295·0 cubic feet.

The specific gravity of granite being taken at 2·6, or 163 lbs., the weight of the Lailangkote granite by experiment, we have for the weight of the largest flat stone, 329 cubic feet=tons 23 : 18 : 3 : 7; for the other six, 295 cubic feet=tons 21 : 9 : 1 : 9.

DISCUSSION.

[113] 164 211 114

Dr. CHARNOCK said the "Asiatic Researches" for the year 1828 contained a short paper by a Mr. Walters on the Khāsi (Cāsias). The paper in question, which related to the village of Supar-Punji, also contained drawings of certain stone monuments; among others, four large circular stones standing together. They were only a few feet

9: Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 AR7 Khasi AR7

high, with a smooth surface, and resembled trees cut down; but it did not appear for what purpose they were used. Mr. Walters stated that the uprights and stone doors referred to in the paper were monuments to the memory of deceased rajahs and chiefs; that the upright slabs of granite were detached from the rock by means of fire; and that the dead bodies of the Khāsi are burned at an appointed place, and the ashes placed in earthen pots, which are deposited under the stones. He (Dr. Charnock) doubted the suggested derivation of the name of the tribe. If derived from the Hindústání, it could not be very ancient. The chief interest in the paper lay in the fact that the Khāsi erect these monuments at the present day.

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Sir DUNCAN GIBB said there was a feature of some interest in the author's very interesting paper, and that was the statement that the stones of the megalithic remains described by him were obtained from quarries of sandstone not far distant from the place in which they were erected. Now, this point he looked upon as of considerable importance, because it so readily explained the comparative facility of transport of such huge masses of stone as entered into the construction of the monument described. In this country the most diverse opinions prevailed as to the locality whence the stones were obtained composing such monuments as are found at Stonehenge, Aylesbury, and other places, and he thought the author had added to the value of his paper by giving accurate details as to the locality whence the stone was obtained, composing the remarkable monuments so graphically illustrated; nevertheless, as a geologist, he should like to know from the author to what formation these sandstones belonged.

Col. A. LANE FOX thought the Institute might be congratulated upon the paper which they had just heard, which was one of the most important contributions to anthropology that had been received for some time past. It was impossible to overrate the value of the details of the manners and customs which Major Godwin Austin had given, and which were associated with the erection of these megalithic monuments at the present time. They might at some future time serve as links of evidence in interpreting the object of similar monuments in other times and places. The great problem before the Institute, he thought, was how far the builders of these monuments in our own time might be regarded as the representatives of those who erected them in the prehistoric period of Europe, or how far the monuments themselves might be regarded as survivals from the prehistoric age. The geographical distribution of these monuments, as he had before shown in the *Ethnological Journal*, was continuous, or nearly so, extending from those Kassias in the north-east of India to Central India, Persia, Asia Minor, the Crimea, along the north coast of Africa bordering the Mediterranean. They are found in Etruria, up the south and west coast of France into Britain, and as far as Denmark and Sweden. In so far as our present knowledge enabled us to judge, they were unknown in Russia proper, in Northern Asia, in Central and Southern Africa, and on the two continents of America, with the exception of Peru. Their continuous geographical distribu-

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tion extending from our own country to the country of these Kassias was in favour of the view that their erection might be a practice handed down by them from the remotest time; and this gave great additional interest to the study of the customs of the people who built them. Evidence of great antiquity of these monuments in India was wanting; most of those examined in Central India have been found to be associated with implements of iron; but it had been shewn that iron in the soil in that country would be preserved for ages, and there was no knowing how far back the use of this metal might have extended. There was one peculiar custom which in Europe, Africa, and Russia appeared to have nearly the same geographical distribution as those monuments, and which was sometimes associated with them; he alluded to the custom of placing pieces of rags upon trees at holy wells and elsewhere as a cure for diseases, and he should like to ask Major Austin whether this custom prevailed amongst these Kassias or in their neighbourhood.

Mr. Hyde Clarke observed that Colonel Fox had just enumerated the geographical region of megalithic monuments, and this was precisely the region described in his paper on the Caucaso-Tibetans. The areas are coincident. The Khasias are seated among tribes, which have linguistic affinities with Georgian and Palæogeorgian. The present Khasias cannot, however, be considered as *in situ* in reference to the ancient migration connected with the stone monuments of the Dekkan, but are a subsequent migration. The connection of traditions between Khasias, etc., and Burmah is simply because they are obtained from a common centre in High Asia. Among the many valuable facts is that of the male and female stones, and the numbers of these are, perhaps, also male and female. The numbers three and seven signify middle. In two cases where eleven occur they are arranged as six and five. The male stones are more numerous than the female, and may have some relation to polyandrous notions. Egg divination may possibly have its metaphysical basis in the relations which exist in many languages in the form of words for eye (eage) and egg. Major Austen's testimony to the moral qualities of the hill tribes is of value. Dr. Hunter, hon. member Anthropological Institute, has pointed out in his *Rural Life in Bengal* that it is on the hill tribes we must greatly rely for the invigoration of our Indian empire.

Mr. W. C. Dendy: The great merit of this paper is that it is written by a careful observer who was an eye-witness of all which he describes; one such narrative is worth a volume of compilations. In our own region the megalith is a relic of very ancient date, the record, perhaps, of a semi-barbarous race, and all account of them is usually speculative and conjectural. In the east we learn there are kistvaens and cromlechs and dolmens of recent date, the constructors of which are yet in existence, and an inquiry into their history may elucidate by analogy some of the obscurity that has yet clouded our own megalithic monuments. Choir Gawr or Stonehenge is composed of several sorts of rock, blue stone and marble, sand and granitic: why is this variety of selection? Among Major Austen's sketches there is

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one of a beautiful megalithic temple, and he alluded to male and female stones. May this variety of quality and colour in the stones be symbolical of idol or astral or planetary worship? In Asia, it seems, these relics are chiefly within a certain latitude forming a belt from Oceania to the Mediterranean, the zone, indeed, of the anthropomorphous simiæ; and we have accounts of the relics of Asiatic pigmies discovered in and around one of these cromlechs not remote from the Khasi Hills. Remembering the influence of climate on both mind and body, it might be interesting to inquire how far a superstitious psychology may be an ethnic trait among the less accomplished orientals.

Dr. A. Campbell, Mr. James Fergusson, Mr. J. W. Flower, Dr. Seemann, Mr. E. B. Tylor, Mr. Wake, and the Chairman, also took part in the discussion.

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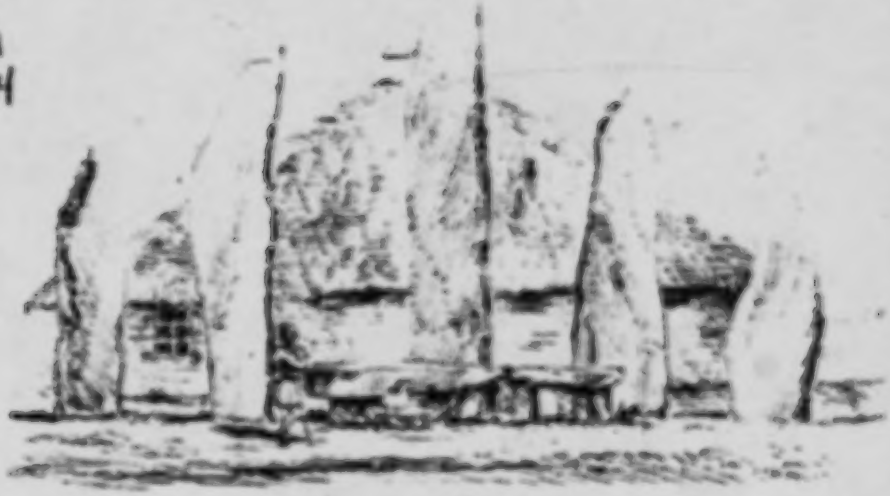

THE STONES AT MAOFLANG KHASI HILLS.

MAO-BAI'S MAO SIENG, BONE REPOSITORY, CHERRA PONJEE.

[End plate 1]

years ago, previous to some of these published accounts, but contains several details not given by any of them. 211

3. The Khasi stones are of three classes, viz :— 211 764

a. The funeral pyres.

b. The kists containing the pots of ashes.

c. The monumental groups.

It is the last class (*c.*) which has, hitherto, nearly monopolised attention, and to which the published notices almost exclusively refer.

4. The Funeral Pyres.—When a rich man dies his body is generally reduced to ashes immediately, but his honorific cremation does not take place till some time, often a year, afterwards. In the interim the earthen jar containing his ashes is kept "under a stone" (in Khasi talk) *i.e.*, in a small temporary closed kist. For the honorific burning a pyre is prepared on which the ashes are burnt over again a very little, *pro formâ*, and the great funeral feast follows.

The pyre is placed just outside the village of the deceased, on a hillock or in a clear space and near the road. The modern pyres are usually square (approximately), the sides of stone (dressed or undressed according to the means of the family) about four or five feet high, the whole of the middle filled with loose stones and earth up to the level of the walls.*

A pyre was raised about four years ago just outside the village of Mausmai close by the English main road. Many hundreds of men and women carrying from ½ cwt. to 1½ cwt. on their backs pass close by this pyre daily and a considerable per centage rest a few minutes on it. Ledges are raised on two sides, but are by no means essential to a pyre; they merely add a utility. The Khasis mean the ledges to be a convenient height to rest on with a load, and each ledge satisfies this condition, but no Khasi would dream of measuring with a two-foot rule, so as to get them the same height. So the pyre itself is meant to be a square or thereabouts. All the Khasi stonework is done in this way; they do not care to make it geometrically accurate, and consequently in my opinion little valuable result could be drawn from any accurate measurement and mapping of the stone monuments.

This pyre at the entrance to Mausmai is one of the most complete modern pyres. The ancient pyres were very seldom (if ever) made with hewn stones, and the Khasis state that in former times they were as often made round (*i. e.* oval) as square. Being thus originally very roughly shapen heaps of loose

* For admirable illustrations of the Khasi monuments, see "Proceedings of the Soc. Ant., Scotland," vol. i, p. 94. Ferguson's "Rude Stone Monuments," chap. xiii, and "Asiatic Researches," vol. xvii, p. 506. [Ed.] 113

10:Clarke U-3 (no date)1974 AR7 Khasi AR7

211 unknown stones, and, being used on only one occasion, they
● 764 rapidly fall into complete decay. Dr. Hooker mentions that he repeatedly remarked cones of earth, clay, and pebbles, about twelve feet high, upon the hills, which appeared to be artificial. These must have been the broken down pyres.

764 3. THE KISTS CONTAINING THE POTS OF ASHES.—These consist of a circle or square of upright stones, fitting as closely as a Khasi can conveniently make them to do, with one round or square flat stone on the top. They vary in size from a few inches diameter to six or seven feet.

The circular kists are more especially used by the people of the valleys, *i. e.*, who inhabit villages at less than 3,000 feet above the sea; at Walong and Sohbar, which stand west and east of the main Government road as it steeply ascends from Sylhet, there are hundreds (I am not sure that there are not thousands) of kists of this type inside the village. The Khasis of the grassy plateau, the true Nongphlang (*i. e.*, people of the grass in Khasi language, the genuine representative type of the tribe) very commonly employ square kists.

One great feature of the Khasi sepulture is that the ashes of the families are collected from time to time. At first the ashes of a man are probably kept in a small kist. Then after a few years a great general family ceremony is held, and the ashes of the various individuals of the family are collected from the smaller kists. The ashes of all the men are collected into one earthen jar, the ashes of all the women are collected into another, and these two jars are placed in one larger kist, the jar

of women's ashes until the door, i. e., the last stone closes; the reason of which is that in Khasi-land the women is always mistress of the house. The quantity of ashes altogether is very small. 764

Each occasion of collection of family ashes is accompanied by a grand family feast, which is mainly of pig. No bones of pig could by any chance get inside the kist; that would be horrid.

The stones forming the kist fit so closely as a Khasi can conveniently make them; a mouse might, however, generally get in. In the neck of each earthen jar of ashes a close-fitting stone is placed so that no animal could get at the ashes within; but this, of course, does not fit by any means air-tight, and the damp of the climate affects the ashes so much that on re-opening the kists after even a few years, for the purpose of agglomerating the family ashes, it frequently happens that no trace [illegible]

In the descriptions of the Khasi stone monuments hitherto published, these structures kists appear often overlooked or confounded with the horizontal monumental slab. The kists differ entirely in their object and meaning, and in being closed. So long as they contain earthen jars they cannot be mistaken; but by the continued collection of family ashes the majority of the square kists are left with one side broken down and empty, and in such a state it is sometimes impossible to determine whether the horizontal slab be a monument or the lid of an old kist, unless a family can be found to claim it as their monument. Where there are no upright monumental stones near I incline to suppose that a large majority of these doubtful remains are kists and not monuments.

6. Two Monumental Orders.—There are two general types of monumental stones, viz., the upright slab and the horizontal slab. 765

The upright slabs are commonly grouped in threes or fives (sometimes they are seven or more); they are nearly always oblong and set up in a row with the tallest stone in the

428 she does not have any daughter, the property will pass to the female descendants of sisters of Ka Long, as her elder sisters Ka Laimon and Ka Laiban have left no daughters. It is therefore necessary to distinguish carefully between an elder and a younger sister, and also similarly between sisters of the mother. The generation of the women of the same house and extended family requires to be noted with care.

The youngest daughter and heiress is termed the Ka Khaddah. As Cantlie remarks the "Ka Khaddah is the custodian of the family property, not the full heir in the sense known to other systems of law, but a limited heir. She is
• 429 responsible for the performance of religious ceremonies.....; she cremates her mother, and if she be Ka Khaddah of the whole family, she puts the bones of all members in their final resting place under the stone (mawbah) of the clan. The expenses of this ceremony are considerable and for this reason she gets a larger share of property, or in some cases a piece of family property in addition and apart from her separate share. Members of the family who are unable to earn for themselves and have no children to earn for them have the right of being fed at the iing-Khaddah" (house of the heiress).

429 The management of the property is however vested in the men of the family. The ancestral property of the family of myntri U Subu Rai's mother was under the management of U Joi, in his mother's life-time; then, on the death U Joi, the next brother U Doi became manager. After U Doi, the management came to U Subu Rai. After him, the authority will pass to U Hojen, as U Sombursi is dead and then to U Nodem. Any sons of Ka Pres and other sisters will not get any precedence over U Nodem. As the senior U Kni of the Iaughlah Kur, U Subu Rai is also the manager of the common property of the Kur.
[429] This land has been leased out to various persons and the total income is divided among the different houses of the Kur.
431 Whenever there is money to be distributed U Subu Rai calls together all the representatives of the Iaughlah houses and

13:Mukherjee E-5 (1954)1958 AR7 Khasi AR7

596 extended form more often when the children of the deceased sisters of *Ka-khadduh* reside there. This extension is on the mother's side and is affiliated through the extension of mother-child relationship.

Additional members like widower brothers or widowed sisters make the Khasi family a composite one.

In a Khasi family father, mother and her brother are very important. Father who is regard as *Mynder* (stranger) or *Ushong khe* (begetter), has also the position of *Kynrad* (master) of the house (set-up by him). He is the executive head and the mother is the *dajaw* owner of the household.

177 178 607 593 [428] Modern conditions and spread of Christianity have greatly affected the Khasi society and changed the Khasi ways of life but have failed to alter the traditional mode of inheritance even among the Christian Khasis. Another important fact which is apparent in the Khasi families, is the change of the status of the mother's brother (*Ukni*) in his sister's house. His influence has greatly been diminished due to clash with *Ka-Khadduh* (heiress). He has almost lost his control over his sister's [562] family. This has made the women exert their status to a danger point. Consequently, some amount of maladjustment in the relationship system, moral depravity and disintegration loom large in the family horizon.

596 613 Family is the core of Khasi social organisation and the closeness of familial kin with the members of the sub-clan is due more to the fact that sub-clan owes its development to the family. A *Shi-K'pah* (member of sub-clan) is a secondary relative and can easily be approached for any help.

614 The functions of the above mentioned social groupings are as follows:

Clan (*Ka-Kur*)—It regulates marriage. It being a larger non-residential kin group contact between its members is infrequent. The amount of social participation needed on certain level to intensify the relationship among its members falls far short of. But nevertheless, there existed among the members

614 [Should read: regarded.—Analyst]

13:Mukherjee E-5 (1954)1958 AR7 Khasi AR7

of a clan some ceremonial attachment developed out of the custom of depositing the bones of the clansmen in clan ossuary and renewing the relationship between the clansmen on the ceremonial occasion of *thepmawbah* when the bones were finally transferred from *mawshieng* (ossuary of a sub-clan) to *mawbah* (ossuary of a clan). 614 764

Social bond among the clansmen is due to the performance of common religious ceremonies (*phur*), worship of common deities and spirits of household (*Ksuidnia*), water (*puri*) and hills (*Ksuidlum*) and observance of mouring for three days for the death of clansmen with the cessation of outdoor work specially with implements. 614 [796] [776] [765]

Economic bond among them is due further to the possession of common land (*ri-kur*), which is divided into separate holdings held by families. [423]

Sub-clan *(Ka-k'pon)*—Unlike the clan, sub-clan has nothing to do with the regulation of marriage. Its main functions are socio-religious. Mutual interest in the welfare of the members of sub-clan evinced in the observance of *aibam** in honour of the dead grandmother, profund sentiment grown out of the former practice of depositing the bones of the dead persons of the same sub-clan in *mawshieng* and the responsibility of bearing the expenses for *thepmawbah* bind the members together. 613 [769]

The observance of mourning on the death of a person of the same sub-clan for three days and the consequent [765]

*Offering of food to the spirits of the dead ancestors.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

614 *mauba* (grave stone), in which the bones of all the dead members
[765] are buried. When the *mauba* becomes full, or some members move
[769] away to a considerable distance, they provide another branch *mauba*, creating a new *kur*.[1] Thus in course of time, every older *kur* occasionally branches off. Every branch *kur* has a different name, but can be grouped into a major *kur* thus forming a distinct exogamous group. Relationships among the minor *kur* of one major *kur* are usually known, or can be ascertained, so that marriages among these members are avoided. When the Khasi express this kind of group consciousness, they use the term *jai* (own people). For outsiders, it is difficult to know through the names of minor *kur* whether *kur* A and *kur* B are of the same group or not.

However, neither clan solidarity nor corporative activities are found among the Khasi, except in those clans which are considered of higher status, and maintain a functional position in the political or religious fields. Such are the Siem of the ruling clan and the Ringdoh of the priest clan, etc. Among commoners like the villagers of Sohkynduh and Kongton, the importance of a *kur* is confined to recognizing a common ancestress, with a common *mauba* conception, which requires them to maintain a strict exogamous rule. But whether of major or minor *kur*, its members do not meet together or have a common leader. Actually major *kur* of which there are a considerable number all over the Khasi Hills, have no clear-cut geographical distribution. Each is scattered over a wide area, cutting across territory which includes several villages, and mixing with various other *kur*. Indeed, some of them are very widely distributed geographically and found in almost all regions of the Khasi Hills. A minor *kur* is also scattered over many different villages, though it shows more concentration than the
[621] major one. Consequently a village may be composed of small segments of more than a dozen different *kur*. Even these small segments of each *kur* found in a single village have little or no sense of kin-group solidarity, unless the members have quite close kinship ties. In many cases, though some members have the same *kur* name, their relationship may be distant, so that they cannot always reconstruct their genealogical relationship. In such a case their behaviour and attitude towards the same *kur* members and towards other *kur* members show no difference.

613 Individuals are not grouped actually under the name of *kur* but in a smaller group of matrilineal descendants from one great-grand-

[764] 1. The Khasi cremate dead bodies: bones and ashes are usually kept in a spot near the youngest sister's house which is the centre of a functional descent group, for many years and finally placed in the *mauba* of the *kur*. They say that these bones are to be collected and replaced into the *mauba* every hundred years with a great ceremony. However, none of villagers are certain about the year when the last ceremony was held.

16: McCormack E-4,5 (1956-1958) 1964
AR7 Khasi AR7

[P. 106 A]

group of matrilineal and Mon-Khmer-speaking people who claim as their ancestral homeland the present-day United Khasi–Jaintia Hills District (within approximately 90° 47′ and 92° 52′ E. and 25° 5′ and 26° 5′ N.). This group includes the Jaintias (also Pnar or Synteng) in the southeast, who differ from the Khasis primarily in their duolocal residence pattern and less virulent forms of sorcery. (The Hadem in eastern Jaintia are a Kuki people.) It also includes the Lyngngams (also spelled Lynngam) in the west, who practice migratory swidden agriculture and certain peculiar funerary rites, and are said by Ehrenfels (1955) to be culturally intermediate between Khasis and Garos. Finally, it includes Bhois, Wars, and upland Khasis, which terms are primarily territorial. Bhoi country is the north-central part of the District, and is culturally complicated by the presence of Mikirs, Lalungs, and Nepalis. War country spans the entire southern length of the District, so that Wars divide into Jaintia Wars and Khasi Wars; of these, the Khasi Wars have traditionally transmitted property to sons as well as to daughters. The upland center of the District is the country of the Khasis proper, those whose culture provides the most useful model for interpreting the variations found elsewhere. [For general reference on all categories of Khasi culture, cf. Costa 1936 and 1937; also Gurdon 1907, especially for data on regional variations.] **Geography.** The District is 5,554 square miles of hilly tableland, intricately dissected by numerous rivers, and marked by significant ecological variation over very short distances. The tablelands step gently downward north from Shillong Peak, which at 6,445 feet is the highest point in the District, and over about 55 miles ease into the Brahmaputra valley where this is some 250 feet above sea level. To the south, the land slopes more steeply downward for about 20 miles, and then drops abruptly, in cliff and steep-slope formations, to the Ganges sea-level delta that begins at its north with Sylhet. The annual southwest monsoons drop torrential rains around Cherrapunji and Mawsynram villages (for Cherrapunji, a record 805 inches in 1861), but then, reaching Shillong 33 miles to the northeast, provide only about 100 inches per year. Rainfall is again greater in Bhoi, which shares the Brahmaputra valley climate. Climate is temperate on the high Shillong plateau, where it seldom freezes and never snows. To the north, climate becomes subtropical, forest is jungly, and fauna abound. The climate to the south is also subtropical. [Cf. Hooker 1891: chap. XXIX.] **Linguistic affiliation.** Khasi is one of the major Mon-Khmer languages, related to Mon, Khmer, Semang-Sakai, Nicobarese, and Palaung-Wa. The major Khasi dialects are Khasi, Jaintia, and Lyngngam, to which Grierson adds War. Further minor variations occur from village to village. The Khasis had no script until 1842, when the roman alphabet was successfully applied to the Cherrapunji dialect of Khasi proper. [Cf. Rabel 1961; Grierson 1903-28: 2; Bareh 1962.]

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household deities, and measles and smallpox deities. 776
Deities of the first two categories are simply aspects 771
of the high God or Goddess. • The earth is peopled with two great orders of land demons and water demons who cause all undesirable, unnatural, and otherwise inexplicable events, acting either on their own or as instruments in the hands of sorcerers. Apart from omens, both in nature and in dreams, 787
Khasis attach supernatural significance also to mystic 822
numbers, and to the colors white, black, and red. They hold especially important folk beliefs regarding 824
betel nut, paddy rice, gold and silver, and clothing. **Practitioners.** The two classes of religious practition- 791
ers are the village or state priests and the sacrificers. 793
Both are male. They use the same divinatory tech- 754
niques of reading broken eggshells and the entrails of cocks, and they both sacrifice cocks, hens, goats, pigs, and cattle. Their skills are not taught to them so much as picked up by observation and confirmed by demonstrations of efficacy. A priest is elected from among the men of his sib to direct his skills to the public good until he dies, and his rewards are institutionalized and come from the village or the state. A sacrificer acts for private persons or kin groups, on call, and is rewarded by them personally with gifts in cash or in kind. The sacrificer is called upon to explain and then to ritually remedy every variety of misfortune, especially illness, though his powers are nowadays regarded with ambivalence, and he is widely expected to become a sorcerer sooner or later. • There are two major types of sor- 754
cerer. One is the ritual specialist or sacrificer who secretly turns his skills from good to evil, manipulating demons to injure a person or kin group, and acting always for himself alone out of considerations of jealousy or revenge. The other is normally a leading citizen, a woman who is so wealthy and successful that it is believed that she must keep a *thlen*, i.e. a creature which will bring her prosperity as long as she feeds it periodically with human blood. To provide this blood, the men of her household, or other males whom she bewitches with a special whisky, will indiscriminately murder anyone except a mem- [184]
ber of her matrilineage. The Jaintias have an analogue to the *thlen* in their *taro*, except that the ultimate result is death from illness rather than murder. Minor witchcraft can be perpetrated by poison keepers or persons with an evil eye, who are often women. **Ceremonies.** The important traditional 843
ceremonies were the life-crisis rituals relating to 844
pregnancy and childbirth, the naming of a child, and 553
death. Lesser ceremonies related to marriage and 764
divorce, and to housebuilding. All these rituals were 585
addressed primarily to the ancestors, and they are 586
still performed in modified form by many Khasis. 342
Other rituals, which were performed by groups such 769
as villages, sibs, local descent groups, or households, 178
were addressed to the unnamed aspects of the high 782

God or Goddess, deities regarded as helpful in bringing prosperity, producing fertility, and so on. Rituals of this kind are no longer practiced, except for the Bedingkhlam ceremony designed to protect the Jaintia village of Jowai. Finally, the state religion of many chiefdoms was expressed in one great ceremony per year which was intended to secure ancestral blessing for a chief and his lineage, and, through this, for the entire chiefdom. The notable example, still practiced, is the Pomblang Syiem of Khyrim chiefdom. [Cf. Lyngdoh 1937; 1946; Stegmiller 1924b; Becker 1909.] **Illness and medicine.** In time of illness, a Khasi calls in a sacrificer, and possibly also a medicine man. The medicine man is an ordinary individual who has hit upon some herbal remedy for one or more ailments, who has become famous enough to be sought out and rewarded in cash, and who jealously guards the formula of his medicine until it dies with him. He and his patients tend to regard him as specially blessed. **Soul, death, and afterlife.** The universe is comprised of a heaven, the earth, and the air between. Heaven is where the souls of deceased mortals live in eternal peace, grouped sib by sib. The earth and all nature were created by God, and everything that God created has its own individual soul. There is no other great earth deity, for it was God who created the earth. The air is inhabited by the wandering souls of those dead for whom full death rites were not performed. A Khasi's potentiality for enjoying an afterlife in heaven with his ancestors depends on his receiving proper death rites at the hands of his sib mates. First, his body is cremated by his children, notably his youngest daughter, and his bones are collected and deposited temporarily in a small stone receptacle. All work stops in the village while everyone participates in the funeral. Once every several years, an entire sib gathers to witness the transfer of the bones of recently deceased sib mates from their temporary receptacles to the great sib cairn that is in the keeping of the youngest daughter, descended from the sib ancestress through a line of youngest daughters. This final ceremony covers five days, and is elaborate and expensive, but when an individual's bones are finally resting with those of his antecedents in the cairn, it is understood that his soul is finally in heaven, "eating betel nut in the house of God."

782 [178] 796 178 [113] [975] 776 [972] 764 765

BIBLIOGRAPHY. Aitchison 1931; Bareh 1962; Becker 1909, 1924; Bhuyan 1949; C., W. 1832; Cantlie 1934; Chatterji 1953; Chattopadhyay 1941; Costa 1936, 1937, 1958, 1960; Darrah 1896; Ehrenfels 1950, 1953, 1955; Gait 1926; Gatphoh 1947; Grierson 1903-28; Gurdon 1907; Hooker 1891; India (Republic) 1952-57; Lyngdoh 1937, 1946, 1952; Mills n.d.; Morris 1910; Mukherjee et al. 1941; Pugh 1951; Rabel 1961; Rafy 1920; Ropmay 1940; Roy 1897; Roy 1914; Shakespear 1914; Singh 1950; Stegmiller 1924a, 1924b, 1925.

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18: Godwin-Austen G-3 (ca. 1872) 1875 AR7
Khasi AR7

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clans were very much as we find them at the present day among the Nagas and Kukis, beyond and bordering our present extreme limits, viz. that of constant feud. They are now the quietest, most peaceful, and contented of all the hill people on the eastern frontier. [178]

In my former paper I did not allude to the cairns in these hills, which I am inclined to think are works of greater age than the stone structures. The custom is one that certainly has long since been given up, for I could not obtain any satisfactory account of them. They are only to be seen on the northern side of the Khasi plateau, and Dr. Hooker, in his account of his trips to the Kollong Rock, did not fail to notice them. About Mairaug and towards Nougstoiu they are very numerous, and always stand on commanding situations. On the path *leading down the grassy spur to the stone monuments* previously described, near Nougshai, is a very fine large example of a cairn, about eight feet high. They are usually plain hemispherical mounds of earth; but this one is faced all round at the base with slabs of stone about four feet high; they are frequently not higher than six feet. A distant view is shown in Plate iii. 172 [103]

Nowhere is there any trace of the earth that forms them having been excavated close by; it must, therefore, have been carried in some short distance, to avoid unsightly hollows near the structure. I should much like to have dug into one of these cairns, but was afraid to hurt the feelings of the people by doing so. They are very probably cineraries of an earlier form to those now made of stone, and this point it might be interesting to clear up.

Beyond the Khasi area no cairns are to be found, at least I had never come across any until visiting North Munipur last winter (1872—73), where, at the head of the Imphal river, on the direct road from Samaguting, are four fine cairns, all faced with large boulders. They are old, and the Nagas now living in the village near said they had been made by another clan of Nagas, who long ago had gone further north, and the site of whose village had been lately re-occupied by Kukis. [114] [101]

Mr. C. B. Clarke, in a paper read lately before your Institute, refers to the different forms of the cinerary in the Khasi Hills; but he has not quite exhausted the subject, or got further than I did, although with regard to the disposal of the ashes of the dead he gives some further interesting particulars. [114]

As I think that drawings are of very great interest, and better exhibit the many different forms of bone depository or cinerary that have been adopted at different periods by tribes inhabiting localities very far apart, and often quite unconnected affinitively, [126] [764]

18: Godwin-Austen G-3 (ca. 1872) 1875 AR7
Khasi AR7

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I give a sketch of a form of cinerary meriting attention, and not hitherto noticed (Plate iii.). Several of this form may be seen on a low spur near the Bazar of Jeddo at Shillong. The cinerary is above ground, and stands on a slightly raised platform; it consists of four thick stones, about three feet high, set on edge, and capped with a heavy top-stone; and, so far, it resembles the usual form, a figure of which is given in my first paper.* The approach to all these depositories is from the eastward by several low steps, and the whole structure is enclosed on three sides by large flat slabs (in the rough) standing on end—the largest being placed round the cinerary itself, overtopping it by three to four feet, and the remainder, thence diminishing in size, stand on either side of the steps. There are about six such monuments along the ridge of the spur, and I have seen no others similar elsewhere. They have been broken into, and the front stone removed, very probably by camp followers from our regimental bazar, which is close by. There is thus a double probability of their ultimate destruction altogether, should the station be extended in that direction.

Explanation of Plates II. and III.

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Plate II.—View of megalithic monuments at Nongshai, near Shillong, Khasi Hills. From a photograph taken by Mr. W. Robert.

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Plate III.—View of rude stone cinerary and approach, at Shillong, Khasi Hills, with cairn in the distance: by the author.

Discussion.

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The President said that the paper of Lieut. de Crespigny, on the Milanows of Borneo, contained a great deal of extremely interesting information, especially in relation to their religious customs; the author, however, attempted to connect the Milanows with the inhabitants of Timor, through the similarity of their religious beliefs. He (the President) did not venture to express any opinion on this point, not having any grounds for forming one. He thought, however, that, as a general rule, evidence of identity of races, derived from the comparison of the religions of savages, must be received with caution, especially in the absence of any information as to physical resemblance. The attention that is devoted to religion arises from the interest that is taken in the subject, rather than from the value of the evidence it affords of connection with other peoples. There must always be a great liability to error in the accounts of the religious customs of savages. Inquiries into the resemblance of the arts of different people, about which there could be no mistake, were, he thought,

* Read May 1st, 1871.

CINERARY AT SHILLONG, KHASI HILLS.

18: Godwin-Austen G-3 (ca. 1872) 1875 AR7
Khasi AR7
[P. 40-81]
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20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

175 continued through several cold seasons. The last of the Khásí chiefs
648 did not tender his submission until 1833. In February 1835 Colonel Lister was appointed Political Agent in the Khásí Hills, with his headquarters at Nongklao; and the command of the Sylhet Light Infantry battalion was also placed in his hands. The civil and military functions remained conjoined until 1854, when Mr. Hudson was deputed to Cherrá Púnjí, which had then become the administrative headquarters, with the title of Junior Assistant-Commissioner, shortly afterwards changed to the present one of Deputy-Commissioner.

The Jáintiá Hills came into British possession in 1835. In that year, as related in the Statistical Account of Sylhet District, the last Rájá of Jáintiá, Indra Singh, was deposed on the charge of complicity with certain of his tribesmen who had carried off three British subjects and barbarously immolated them at the shrine of Kálí. The portion of his territory that lay in the plains was forthwith annexed to the District of Sylhet; and the Rájá voluntarily resigned the hill portion, of which we also took possession. A pension of Rs. 500 a month, or £600 a year, was granted to the deposed Rájá for life, and he resided peaceably in Sylhet until
175 his death in 1861. When we first assumed the administration of
648 the Hills, no change was made in the indigenous revenue system,
651 which consisted simply of the payment of a he-goat once a year from each village. The Rájá had derived the greater portion of his income from his possessions in the plains. In 1860, however, a house tax was imposed, the highest limit of which was one rupee (2s.) per house. This measure of direct taxation was very obnoxious to the Syntengs. They formed irregular gatherings, at which they resolved to resist payment, or at least to refuse to pay except through their own hereditary Rájá, who was then alive. An outbreak took place in the early part of the year, but it was promptly suppressed; the people were disarmed, and matters went on much as usual. But the disarmament was imperfect, and it soon became evident that the Syntengs were profoundly disaffected to our rule. Towards the close of 1860 new taxation was introduced, in the form of judicial stamps; and the elaborate schedules of the new income tax were thrust into the hands of persons, few of whom could read the language in which they were framed. Imposts also were
175 introduced upon fisheries and the right to cut timber. Con-
• 764 siderable feeling had been excited by a sanitary prohibition against
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20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

burning the dead in the immediate neighbourhood of the village of Jowái. Suspicions of insurrection arose during the months of October and November 1861. In the beginning of January 1862 alarming reports were received from various quarters, and the first serious outbreak occurred on the 17th of that month. This was occasioned by the interference of a *dárogá*, or native police official, with a religious ceremony that took place at the village of Jalong. In such ceremonies dancing with arms is held essential; and the *dárogá* took upon himself to disarm the dancers. This was the signal for a general rising. The *thánd* or police station at Jowái was burned to the ground; the garrison of sepoys was besieged, and all show of British authority was swept away throughout the Hills. The Syntengs fought bravely for their independence, and at first were successful in cutting off several small detachments of police and sepoys. Their weapons were bows and arrows. In common with the other hill tribes of the North-East Frontier, their chief defence consisted in a series of strong stockades, one behind another; and the paths leading to their villages were thickly planted with *pánjis*, or little bamboo spikes, stuck in the ground like caltrops. The battalion of sepoys stationed in the Hills was rendered inefficient by sickness. At last it was found necessary to move a regular army, including an elephant battery and two regiments of Sikhs, into the country in order to quell the revolt. Colonel Dunsford was in chief command. He was accompanied by Major Haughton, the Governor-General's Agent on the North-East Frontier, and Captain Morton, the Deputy-Commissioner of the Khási and Jáintiá Hills, who acted in a political capacity. The operations were tedious and harassing. The rebel chiefs were captured one by one, and the District was declared to be finally pacified in March 1863, after the rebellion had lasted for fifteen months. The special Commission appointed under Act xi. of 1857, for the trial of offenders in the Jáintiá Hills, was dissolved in December 1863. The causes of the rebellion were thus summed up by Major Haughton in an official despatch to the Government of Bengal:—'Taxation was introduced without the supervision with which such a measure should have been accompanied. It was followed up by fresh taxation and rumours of other taxes, also by fiscal and other innovations, which tended to disturb the minds of the people, without any counterpoise such as might have resulted from the continued presence of a European officer.' The Syntengs, like the

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

593 wedlock goes to the wife and becomes her property; but all other
428 property is inalienable, and revers to his family, as also does his corpse after death.

771 'RELIGION.—The religion of the Khásiás is demon-worship, or a jumble of enchantments muttered by priests who are sorcerers. They invoke evil spirits as the deputies of God and the instruments
775 of His pleasure or displeasure. The Khásiás believe in metempsychosis, or the transmigration of souls. After death, human beings are transformed into monkeys, crabs, tortoises, frogs, etc. Though a future state is not denied, it is treated with absolute indifference, as beyond the sphere of responsibility; all rites, ceremonies, and observances bear reference to the welfare of mankind in this world. The spirits of their departed relatives and ancestors are invoked only in so far as they are considered to influence and have power
764 over the present life. The Khásiás burn their dead, and collect the ashes into urns, which are kept under a slab raised on four others enclosing a space. These monuments are of various kinds and sizes —one for individuals, another for a family, and another for a whole
614 clan. There is no caste system, but each clan is called after some object of nature, as the Oak clan, the Crab clan, etc., and these names entail certain restrictions beyond which intermarriage is
771 forbidden. The Khási religion may be briefly described as the practice of forms to cure diseases, and to avert misfortunes of all kinds, by means of ascertaining the name of the demon who is the author of the evil, and the kind of sacrifice necessary to appease it.

797 'CHRISTIANITY.—The Welsh Mission has been labouring amongst the Khásiás and Syntengs for thirty-two years. The Christians number about 1000 [according to the Census of 1872, the total number of native converts in the District is only 85]. There are four central stations—Cherrá, Shellá, Shillong, and Jowái —and twenty-three churches. Translations of the whole of the New Testament, and a portion of the Old, are now (1876) going to press, besides other religious books.

197 'LANGUAGE.—The definitions generally given of monosyllabic languages are far from adequate to enable us to assign to the
193 Khási tongue its position amongst the Indo-Chinese family of speech. Still, in the absence of a better terminology, it may be described as monosyllabic in the agglutinative stage. The monosyllabic element greatly predominates. By far the larger number of the compounds are mere agglutinations (in a modified

l: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

Silver chains are worn by men as well as by women. The 301
men wear them round the waist like a belt, and the women hang them round their necks, the chains being allowed to depend as low as the waist. Bracelets are worn by women; these are either of gold or of silver. The Lynngam [321]
males wear bead necklaces, the beads being sometimes of cornelian gathered from the beds of the local hill streams, and sometimes of glass obtained from the plains markets of Dauara and Moiskhola. The cornelian necklaces are much prized by the Lynngams, and are called by them '*pieng blei*, or gods' necklaces. Like the Garos, the Lynngams wear as many brass earrings as possible, the lobes of the ears of the females being frequently greatly distended by their weight. These earrings are made out of brass wire obtained from the plains markets. The Lynngams wear silver armlets above the elbow and also on the wrists. It is only a [554]
man who has given a great feast who can wear silver armlets above the elbows. These armlets are taken off as a sign of [765]
mourning, but never on ordinary occasions. The Lynngams do not wear Khasi jewellery, but jewellery of a pattern to be seen in the Garo Hills. A distinctive feature of the Lynngam women is the very large number of blue bead necklaces they wear. They put on such a large number as to give them almost the appearance of wearing horse collars. These beads are obtained from the plains markets, and are of glass. Further detailed information regarding this subject can be obtained from Mr. Henniker's monograph, which contains a good plate illustrating the different articles of jewellery.

WEAPONS.

The weapons of the Khasis are swords, spears, bows and arrows, 311
and a circular shield which was used formerly for purposes of 314
defence. The swords are usually of wrought iron, occasionally of [326]
steel, and are forged in the local smithies. The Khasi sword is of considerable length, and possesses the peculiarity of not having a handle of different material from that which is used for the blade. In the Khasi sword the handle is never made of wood or bone, or

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MARRIAGE.

591 It is proposed in this section to consider marriage from its social side, the religious aspect thereof being reserved for another paragraph. The most remarkable feature of the Khasi marriage is that it is usual for the husband to live with his wife in his mother-in-law's house, and not for him to take his bride home, as is the case in other communities. This arrangement amongst the Khasis is no doubt due to the prevalence of the matriarchate. As long as the wife lives in her mother's house, all her earnings go to her mother, who expends them on the maintenance of the family. Amongst the Khasis, after one or two children are born, and if a married couple get on well together, the husband frequently removes his wife and family to a house of his own, and from the time the wife leaves her mother's house she and her husband pool their earnings, which are expended for the support of the family. Amongst
591 the Syntengs, however, and the people of Maoshai, the case
576 is different, for with them the husband does not go and live in his mother-in-law's house, he only visits her there. In Jowai some people admitted to me that the husband came to his mother-in-law's house only after dark, and that he did not eat, smoke, or even partake of betel-nut there, the idea being that because none of his earnings go to support this house, therefore it is not etiquette for him to partake of food or other refreshment there. If a Synteng house is visited, it is unusual to find the husbands of any of the married daughters there, although the sons of the family may be seen in the house when they have returned from work. Generally in the day-time you will find in a Synteng dwelling an old crone, who is the grandmother, or even the great-grandmother, of the family, also grandchildren or great-grandchildren; but the husbands of the
796 married daughters are not there. The Syntengs seem to have
611 more closely preserved the customs of the matriarchate than the Khasis, and the Syntengs claim that their sions or religious ceremonies are purer, i.e. that they more closely correspond to what they were in ancient times than those of the
589 Khasis. Amongst the Syntengs, occasionally, a widow is
765 allowed to keep her husband's bones after his death, on cer-

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

589 dition that she does not remarry; the idea being that as long as
765 the bones remain in the widow's keeping, the spirit of her
husband is still with her. On this account many wives who
revere their husband's memories, and who do not contemplate
587 remarriage, purposely keep the bones for a long time. If a
965 widow marries, even after the customary taboo period of one
year, whilst her deceased husband's bones are still in her keeping,
[346] she is generally looked down upon. Her children in such a
case perform the ceremony of handing over the bones of their
father to his clan in a building specially erected for the purpose.
The widow cannot enter therein, or even go near it, whilst the
ceremony is proceeding, no matter whether the *jing sang*, or the
price for removing the taboo after a husband's death, has been
595 paid to the husband's clan or not. There is no evidence to show
that polyandry ever existed amongst the Khasis. Unlike the
Thibetans, the Khasi women seem to have contented themselves
always with one husband, at any rate with one at a time.
Certainly at the present day they are monandrists. Polygamy
does not exist amongst the Khasis; such a practice would
naturally not be in vogue amongst a people who observe the
matriarchate. There are instances, however, of men having wives
other than those they have regularly married, and in the War
country children by such wives enjoy rights to their father's
acquired property equally with the children by the legally
592 married wife. As the clans are strictly exogamous, a Khasi
688 cannot take a wife from his own clan; to do this would entail
764 the most disastrous religious, as well as social consequences.
For to marry within the clan is the greatest sin a Khasi can
commit, and would cause excommunication by his kinsfolk and
the refusal of funeral ceremonies at death, and his bones would
[115] not be allowed a resting-place in the sepulchre of the clan. To
614 give a list of all the Khasi exogamous clans would perhaps serve
no useful purpose, but I have prepared from information, kindly
582 furnished me by the Siems of Khyrim and Cherrapunji, a list of
the clans in those States which will be found in Appendices A
and B. These will suffice as examples. It will be seen from
the Cherra list that the different divisions of the Diengdoh clan,
viz. Lolu, Diengdoh-bah, Diengdoh-kylla, are prohibited from
intermarriage; this is due to those branches of the clan being

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764 wood are placed around the body, and the egg; "*u'leng kpoh*," is broken, not over the stomach of the deceased, as has been sometimes supposed, but by being thrown on the pyre in the direction of the feet of the corpse. Fire is applied to the pyre, first by the *kur*, or members of the clan, and then by the children, if any, of the [752] deceased. Another fowl, "*u'iar padat*," is sacrificed, its blood being smeared round the pyre three times, and across the corpse three times. The bier is then broken to pieces, the cloths having been removed from it previously. The eatables and the jaw-bones of the sacrificial animals are then placed at the head of the pyre. After the fowl (*u'iar padat*) has been sacrificed, the three arrows already mentioned are shot from the bow, one to the north, another to the south, and the third to the east. These arrows are called *ki 'sam tynpem*. It is, perhaps, significant that the [644] arrows which are shot at death correspond in numbers with [762] those which are used at the time of the birth ceremony. When the fire has blazed up, another goat, "*u'lang dholia*," is sacrificed. In some cases all the clothes of the deceased are burnt with the body, in others the clothes are merely held over the fire and then taken away, after which they can be used (this is only in the case of poor persons). Before leaving the burning-place the relatives and friends of the deceased place betel-nuts on the pyre and bid farewell to the deceased, saying "*Khublei khie leit* 765 *iam kwai sha iing u Blei ho*" (good-bye, go and eat betel-nut in the house of god). When the body has been thoroughly burnt, 764 the fire is extinguished with water, and the uncalcined bones are collected by the relatives in three trips. The collectors are not allowed to turn back and pick up a bone which has been forgotten in any one of these trips. The bones thus collected are carefully wrapped in a piece of white cloth by the female relatives, and an old member of the family throws on the ground some powdered rice from a leaf, at the same time adjuring the spirit of the deceased not to trouble the *kur*, or the family, as the funeral ceremonies have been duly performed. The party then sets out to the [226] bone repository, or *mawshieng*. In front walks one who strews along the line of route leaves of the tree known by the Khasis as *dieng shit* (the berries of which are used for fishing with), and grains of rice, all the way from the pyre to the cairn.

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965 If any stream has to be crossed, a rough bridge is made of
964 branches and grass. This trail of leaves and the bridge are intended to guide the spirit of the deceased to the cairn. The person who carries the bones is not allowed to turn round, or to the right, or to the left, but must proceed straight to the cairn. On reaching it, a *nongbaia*, or sacrificer, washes the bones three times and then places them in an earthen pot, tying up the mouth with a white cloth. Then, having taken three pieces of the hard yolk of an egg, three leaves of bread, the leg of the fowl, "*u'iar kynd lyeti*," and the lower jaw-bones of the animals which have been sacrificed, he places them inside the cairn and shuts the door. Betelline and
965 betel-nut are then placed on the top of the cairn. Early next
987 morning the relatives and friends go to the cairn with fresh food and water, and look about for new foot-prints, the idea being
[975] that from these foot-prints they can foretell future events. This they do until the third night after the cremation. During these three nights the front door of the house formerly occupied by the deceased is never closed, it being thought that the spirit may wish to return and visit its earthly abode. The whole family is moreover *seng*, or taboo, during this period, and no manner of work can be done. When the three nights are over, it is called the *ioit ia*, i.e. the days (of mourning) are passed, and three eggs are broken to ascertain what was the cause of the death. After this the family goes to bathe, and
[983] the clothes and mats in the house are washed. When this has been done, the taboo is removed and the family can go to
982 work. After a month a pig or a fowl is sacrificed, the ceremony being called "*ai baas ioit kynd*." It will be observed that there
965 seems to be the lucky number throughout these funeral
981 ceremonies. The number seems to bear a similar significance in other matters of Khasi ritual, e.g. the pouring out of libations, which is always done three times.

It is *seng* or taboo for a Khasi widow to re-marry within one
587 year from the death of her husband, there is a similar prohibi-
428 tion for a husband re-marrying; but such *seng* can be got over by the payment of a fine to the clan of the deceased. After the expiration of one year the fine is reduced in amount. Khasi widows do not as a rule re-marry, according to U Jashon Roy,

1: Gordon E-4, 5 (no date) 7997 AR7 Khasi AR7

and throw up the seeds or cowries into the air, and when they fall to the ground they say, "*to ella ook ba ngin ce ban ce bynshon ook ia phi*," come now we will collect you (the idea being that the seeds represent the bones of the deceased). Having collected the seeds, they place them on a bier and perform the service for the dead just in the same way as if a real dead body were to hand. If possible, a portion of the dead person's clothes should be burnt with the seeds in the bier, and it is with this view that the coats or clothes of Khasi coolies, who die when employed as porters on military expeditions at a distance from their homes, are brought back by their friends to give to the relatives. If a person dies of cholera, small-pox, or other such infectious or contagious diseases, the body is buried, but is dug up again and burnt with all the customary rites when fear of infection or contagion is over. In parts of the district upright stones called *mawsmkai* are erected along the line of route when the remains of a person who has met with an accidental death are brought home. This is stated to be the case in the Raneboi Hima[illegible]ip.

SINGHLAMPHIR CEREMONIES IN CONNECTION WITH DEATH.

In Nongjri, a large village in the War Country, the dead body is placed on a bier near the door of the house, a turban being tied about the head, the face being left bare and turned towards the door. In some of the Shella villages a second cremation is performed, in which a bamboo frame-work represents the corpse. This second cremation takes place when the body has been disposed of without the requisite ceremonies. The bones and ashes of the dead in Shella are in some cases kept in a cavity hollowed out of a post erected for the purpose. The bones and ashes find a temporary resting-place here, but are afterwards removed to a cromlech.

At Nartiang, in the Jaintia Hills, the head of the corpse is shaved, but a tuft of hair in the middle of the head is left; this is called (u'kiah Swdoi), the great grandmother's lock. At Nartiang betel-nut, which has been chewed by one of the mourners, is put into the mouth of the corpse, also cooked rice. There is

M4
M2

that are not burned up and the Ashes (among the Khasi).

and wrapped in a small piece of cloth and then put in an urn (jar). While a woman is doing this, a man strews rice on the ground and entreats the spirit of the deceased not to disturb his relatives who have remained behind in the world, since everything was done correctly at the cremation. When this entreaty is finished, the urn with the remains of the bones is placed under the tombstone (maw shying). The remains of poor people are also put under this stone but not in an urn. The sacrificial rice (ka japha) is also placed by the urn as food for the deceased (cf. the next section).

M4
M2

Early the next day they count up together the expenditures they have had. Speeches are made by the u kni u kpa (the maternal uncle) to the assembled children and grandchildren. This u kni u kpa [illegible] has been the priest and judge of the sib up until now. Now all business stops for three days. But on the third day they gamble (draw lots - bud pylleng) with two eggs to see who will be the leader of the sib of the deceased in the future, so that one will know to whom one should turn when sacrifices must be offered or quarrels are to be smoothed out. Thereby the present u kni u kpa speaks in relation to the deceased:

Hei ap la ka nia ka jutong yuda la kum la kynohew la u kur u para u khun ka mainah ka mainan ym ea tai la ka khein ka ki char ym ea long ka

So hearken unto the words of the promise! After the relatives and brothers and sisters of the mothers-in-law and aunts are gathered, we will sift

● 765 ai bam ka ai sa ia me
722 ka kynrong ka hyntaw
ka pyrkhiah ka pynnarg,
dih sa ka kiad sa ka
um mi

our words and our sacrifices and out judgments and then will be to care for thee and to nourish thee and to carry over thy bones and to care for thee in sickness and to make thee healthy. So we wish to drink the liquor and the water, is it no so! (32)

[273] 32. The water is a fermented rice water, that is variously called rice beer. The last sentence has the sense of an affirmation and of an oath.

Kei angew ryngkat
sa phi ka blei ka
laubei ka nonglum
nongkynshew shi khrum
ka nar moi

So hear then, o goddess, thou Jaubei, thou who has gathered us here, one and all (33) the whole sib

33. Shi khrum - actually the hollow place, the place under the house.

and stone and iron, is it not so!

764
722 As there are various customs for sacrifices, so are the ceremonies for cremation various. It is reported (34) that on the day of

34. Gurdon, The Khasi, p. 133.

cremation pigs are slaughtered by the relatives of the deceased. Those, who cannot afford to

of a clan some ceremonial attachment developed out of the custom of depositing the bones of the clansmen in clan ossuary and renewing the relationship between the clansmen on the ceremonial occasion of *thelpmaubah* when the bones were finally transferred from *mawshieng* (ossuary of a sub-clan) to *mawbah* (ossuary of a clan). 614 764

Social bond among the clansmen is due to the performance of common religious ceremonies (*phaw*), worship of common deities and spirits of household (*Kwaidnia*), water (*pwi*) and hills (*Kwaidlum*) and observance of mourning for three days for the death of clansmen with the cessation of outdoor work specially with implements. 614 [796] [776] [765]

Economic bond among them is due further to the possession of common land (*ri-kur*), which is divided into separate holdings held by families. [425]

Sub-clan (*Ka-k'pem*)—Unlike the clan, sub-clan has nothing to do with the regulation of marriage. Its main functions are socio-religious. Mutual interest in the welfare of the members of sub-clan evinced in the observance of *ithaw** in honour of the dead grandmother, profund sentiment grown out of the former practice of depositing the bones of the dead persons of the same sub-clan in *mawshieng* and the responsibility of bearing the expenses for *thelpmaubah* bind the members together. 613 [765]

The observance of mourning on the death of a person of the same sub-clan for three days and the consequent [765]

*Offering of food to the spirits of the dead ancestors.

613
[763]

cessation of transaction of money (*khiasbat*) during the period, compulsory social participation in marriage, household worship, and funeral ritual, and the pride for the privilege in succession to *siem-ship* (chieftain ship) hold together the inner structure of the society in fulfilling its function.

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Family (*Ka-ling*)—The functions of family centre round the :

1. performance of basic religious rites,
2. management and inheritance of family property,
3. maintenance of social relations with the kin of *ka-k'jak* and *ka-bar*,
4. protection of familial kin.

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From the above discussions it may be inferred that the social groupings of the Khasis function in different dimensions and make the individuals aware of their duties, and obligations towards each other. In the process of socialisation and enculturation of the individual they learn that the individuals, the different social groups and the community at large are inseparable.

Even from infancy a boy is infused with the idea that family comes first in regard, sub-clan second, and clan third. The kin of the family are primary relatives, and those of the sub-clan and the clan are secondary and tertiary respectively. One bow and three arrows given by a father to his son in his naming ceremony (*jaikhna*) symbolise their relationships with the three social groups. With the first arrow man has to fight for *ski-ling* (members of the same family) and *ski-k'jak* (members of the same sub-clan), with the second for his *ski-bar* and with the third for the state.

[553]

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

necessary. The chances of acquiring a piece of land nowadays are small, except for very successful men, and usually the size of the plot is only just enough to maintain one household. When this land is passed on to the next generation, the youngest daughter will hold the title to it. This fact tends to exclude married elder sisters from the right to use the land, since it is not sufficient for more than one household. Thus the ultimogeniture succession rule seems to have developed more sharply and to have encouraged limited inheritance in conjunction with the shortage of land. 178 423 428

This tendency creates unbalance in the economy of the households within a community. It is a usual picture in Khasi villages, for the bigger and well-built houses to be occupied by the youngest daughter's family, while the elder sisters reside in poor huts. Youngest daughters are usually landowners, while their elder sisters have often to become day-labourers after their marriage, unless their husbands are capable men, or their fathers wealthy enough to give them some share of their acquired property. On the whole, the variations at present between rich and poor are considerable in a Khasi community, in comparison with that of the Garo, where the economic condition of each household in a village is more or less similar. These differences are not only a matter of economic organisation but arise from the nature of each social structure. 178 184 423 428 556 [171]

The economic and social patterns of Sohkynduh and Kongton are very similar, but their dialects are slightly different: my interpreter, who came from Cherrapunje, could work quite well at Sohkynduh, but at Kongton he found some difficulty, especially with the speech of the old men, and with their religious expressions. The head man of Kongton, who was quite accustomed to the Cherra dialect, acted as an interpreter for us. Such differences in dialect in the Khasi Hills are common phenomena; it is said that every valley has its own dialect. Differences are found not only in speaking, but also, to a certain extent, in culture and in social usages. 197 [124]

II. Village Endogamy

One of the outstanding features of Khasi social organization is the predominant tendency of endogamy on the level of the village, which contrasts with the structural orientation of the Garo village exogamy. This is closely connected with the distributions of clans and the nature of the descent groups. 582 621 [171]

The Khasi population consists of a number of *kur*, matrilineal clans, whose members consider themselves to be descended from a common ancestress. The members of the same *kur* have a common 614 [765] [769]

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

614 *mawba* (grave stone), in which the bones of all the dead members
• [765] are buried. When the *mawba* becomes full, or some members move
[769] away to a considerable distance, they provide another branch *mawba*, creating a new *kur*.[1] Thus in course of time, every older *kur* occasionally branches off. Every branch *kur* has a different name, but can be grouped into a major *kur* thus forming a distinct exogamous group. Relationships among the minor *kur* of one major *kur* are usually known, or can be ascertained, so that marriages among these members are avoided. When the Khasi express this kind of group consciousness, they use the term *jai* (own people). For outsiders, it is difficult to know through the names of minor *kur* whether *kur* A and *kur* B are of the same group or not.

However, neither clan solidarity nor corporative activities are found among the Khasi, except in those clans which are considered of higher status, and maintain a functional position in the political or religious fields. Such are the Siem of the ruling clan and the Ringdoh of the priest clan, etc. Among commoners like the villagers of Sohkynduh and Kongton, the importance of a *kur* is confined to recognizing a common ancestress, with a common *mawba* conception, which requires them to maintain a strict exogamous rule. But whether of major or minor *kur*, its members do not meet together or have a common leader. Actually major *kur* of which there are a considerable number all over the Khasi Hills, have no clear-cut geographical distribution. Each is scattered over a wide area, cutting across territory which includes several villages, and mixing with various other *kur*. Indeed, some of them are very widely distributed geographically and found in almost all regions of the Khasi Hills. A minor *kur* is also scattered over many different villages, though it shows more concentration than the
[621] major one. Consequently a village may be composed of small segments of more than a dozen different *kur*. Even these small segments of each *kur* found in a single village have little or no sense of kin-group solidarity, unless the members have quite close kinship ties. In many cases, though some members have the same *kur* name, their relationship may be distant, so that they cannot always reconstruct their genealogical relationship. In such a case their behaviour and attitude towards the same *kur* members and towards other *kur* members show no difference.

613 Individuals are not grouped actually under the name of *kur* but in a smaller group of matrilineal descendants from one great-grand-

[764] 1. The Khasi cremate dead bodies; bones and ashes are usually kept in a spot near the youngest sister's house which is the centre of a functional descent group, for many years and finally placed in the *mawba* of the *kur*. They say that these bones are to be collected and replaced into the *mawba* every hundred years with a great ceremony. However, none of villagers are certain about the year when the last ceremony was held.

God or Goddess, deities regarded as helpful in bringing prosperity, producing fertility, and so on. Rituals of this kind are no longer practiced, except for the Bedinghkhlam ceremony designed to protect the Jaintia village of Jowai. Finally, the state religion of many chiefdoms was expressed in one great ceremony per year which was intended to secure ancestral blessing for a chief and his lineage, and, through this, for the entire chiefdom. The notable example, still practiced, is the Pomblang Syiem of Khyrim chiefdom. [Cf. Lyngdoh 1937; 1946; Stagmüller 1924b; Becker 1908.] **Illness and medicine.** In time of illness, a Khasi calls in a sacrificer, and possibly also a medicine man. The medicine man is an ordinary individual who has hit upon some herbal remedy for one or more ailments, who has become famous enough to be sought out and rewarded in cash, and who jealously guards the formula of his medicine until it dies with him. He and his patients tend to regard him as specially blessed. **Soul, death, and afterlife.** The universe is comprised of a heaven, the earth, and the air between. Heaven is where the souls of deceased mortals live in eternal peace, grouped ab by ab. The earth and all nature were created by God, and everything that God created has its own individual soul. There is no other great earth deity, for it was God who created the earth. The air is inhabited by the wandering souls of those dead for whom full death rites were not performed. A Khasi's potentiality for enjoying an afterlife in heaven with his ancestors depends on his receiving proper death rites at the hands of his ab mates. First, his body is cremated by his children, notably his youngest daughter, and his bones are collected and deposited temporarily in a small/three receptacle. All work stops in the village while everyone participates in the funeral. Once every several years, an entire ab gathers to witness the transfer of the bones of recently deceased ab mates from their temporary receptacles to the great ab cairn that is in the house of the youngest daughter, descended from the ab ancestress through a line of youngest daughters. This final ceremony covers five days, and is elaborate and expensive, but when an individual's bones are finally resting with those of his ancestresses in the cairn, it is understood that his soul is finally in heaven, "resting hotel out in the house of God."

782 [178] 796 178 [113] (975) 775 (972) 764 765

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113

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

as the *khadar kur* and certain representative elders. This State 643
is divided for electoral purposes into the following divisions:— 631

I. Cherra, or Sohra, consisting of 8 villages, inclusive of Cherra, which is the capital. These villages return the heads of the 12 tribes, as well as 5 elders, as their representatives on the electoral durbar.

II. The "five" villages, or 5 tribes. This division now consists of 17 vilages, which return 5 representative elders.

III. The "twelve" villages, comprising now 38 villages, which return 12 representative elders.

IV. The "four" villages, comprising now 5 villages, which return 4 elders.

V. The "sixteen" villages, which return 6 representative elders.

VI. Three villages, which return 3 and 4 sirdars and 2 elders respectively.

In this State it is the custom for a Siem to cremate the body 643
of his predecessor. Unless he performs the cremation ceremony, 766
he is not considered to be Siem according to the Khasi religion. U Hajon Manik Siem failed to cremate the body of his predecessor, U Ram Singh, whose remains still repose in a wooden coffin which is kept in the house of the Siem family. The remains of Siemsin this state are preserved by a peculiar process of embalming which will be found described elsewhere in this monograph. U Hajon Manik died not long ago, and his body also is awaiting cremation. U Ram Singh's remains, however, have been awaiting the funeral pyre for more than thirty years; but arrangements are being made by the present Siem U Roba Singh for the cremation ceremony. The cremation of Siems in the state is attended by a very great deal of expense, a large amount of money being spent on the feasting which then takes place. The Maharam State was ruled until 1875 by two Siems, 643
called, respectively, the "white" and the "black" Siems. In this State originally there were five *kpiqdoks* who appointed the Siems, but as in certain other States the number of the electors has been expanded by the inclusion of *mantris*, *sirdars*, and *lanes*. The electors now number seventy-two persons. There is much the same state of things in the Mariaw Siemship as regards the electorate. In Ranbrai, on a vacancy

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Shinto Pantheon of Japan. It may be interesting to note that the ancient Shinto cult of Japan possesses some features in common with the ancestor-worship of the Khasis. Take the funeral ceremonies. With both people we find the dead laid out in the house, food placed before the corpse, and the funeral ceremonies taking place, accompanied by music and dancing. Mr. Lafcadio Hearn, in an interesting book on Japan, writes "that in ancient times the Japanese performed ceremonies at regular intervals at the tombs of deceased members of the family, and food and drink were then served to the spirits;" this is exactly what the Khasis used to do at their cenotaphs. This, apparently, was the practice in Japan before the "spirit tablet" had been introduced from China, when the worship of the ancestors was transferred from the tomb to the home. We have an exactly similar instance of evolution amongst the Khasis of the present day, i.e. the transfer of the ancestor cult from the flat table-stones erected in honour of deceased ancestors to the home. Last, but not least, is the idea common to both people, that no family or clan can prosper which does not duly perform the worship of deceased ancestors; this, as Hearn puts it, is "the fundamental idea underlying every persistent ancestor-worship, i.e. that the welfare of the living depends upon the welfare of the dead." The "Khasi Myntu," in an interesting article, notes some further points of resemblance between the methods of ancestor-worship adopted by the two people. The following instances may be quoted. Amongst the Japanese the spirits of those who fall in battle are said to help their fellow-warriors who are still fighting. The "Khasi Myntu" quotes a similar belief as having existed amongst the Khasis in former days. The remains of Japanese warriors who die in battle are said to be reverently taken to the warrior's home at the first opportunity. The Khasis do likewise, the clothing in default of the ashes of Khasi transport coolies, who were employed on military expeditions on the North-Eastern Frontier, having been carried home by the survivors to present to the dead man's relations, who then performed the ceremonies prescribed by custom for those who have died violent or unnatural deaths. Of all deceased ancestors the Khasis revere *Ki Jowbei* the most, the word *Jowbei* being made up of

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child are prohibited by custom from crossing a stream or washing their clothes until the navel-string falls off, for fear that the child should be attacked by the demons of the hills and the vales. 846 734

The Wár birth customs are substantially the same as those of the Khasis, but there is the difference that a Wár family after a birth is *sang*, or taboo, for seven days, whereas amongst the Khasis the only prohibition is that the parents must not cross a stream or wash their clothes until they have propitiated the spirits. A twin birth is *sang*, or taboo. The Khasis argue that as there is but one *Ka Iaubei* (first ancestress), and one *U Thiwlang* (first ancestor), no one child, either male or female, should be born at a time. A twin birth is accordingly regarded as a visitation from God for some *sang*, or transgression, committed by some member of the clan. When the twins are of opposite sexes the *sang* is considered to be extremely serious, the Khasi idea being that defilement has taken place within the womb. The case is treated as one of *shong lur*, or marriage within the clan, and the bones of the twins cannot be placed in the sepulchre of the clan. 847 846 845 773 [766]

There are no special birth customs amongst the Lyngngams. 844

There is no trace of the *couvade* amongst the Khasis. 846

MARRIAGE.

We now come to consider marriage amongst the Khasis from a religious point of view. Shadwell has said that marriage amongst the Khasis "is purely a civil contract." This statement is not correct, for there is an elaborate religious ceremony at which tied the couple, *U Ioi thaw briw maw briw*, the god or goddess of the State, *U or Iaïbi Syndar*, and, what is probably more important, the ancestress and ancestor of the clan, *Ka Iaïbai-tyncum* and *U Thiwlang*, are invoked. There are three marriage ceremonies prevalent amongst the Khasis, which are (a) *Pynhiowpejat*, (b) *Lamdeh*, and (c) *Iadih-biad*, respectively. The first and second forms above mentioned are considered the more respectable; the last-named is resorted to by the very poor who cannot afford the greater expense entailed by the first two ceremonies. 775 776

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587 unless they have no female children, in which case the clan
428 urges them to re-marry, so that the chain of inheritance may not be broken, inheritance amongst the Khasis always passing in the female line.

CUSTOMS IN CONNECTION WITH DEATHS BY VIOLENCE OR ACCIDENT.

766 These customs are interesting enough to deserve a separate
782 description; they are as follows:—

If a man dies by the sword, before his body can be burnt,
776 a sacrifice of a black hen must be offered to *Ka Tyrut*, the goddess of death. The bones are then placed in a stone cairn. Again they are removed, and, after eggs have been broken, are taken to a river bank and there washed. If there is no river at hand, a tank is dug for the purpose, which is called *umkoi*. There are various such *umkois* in different parts of the district, e.g. near Raliang and Nartiang. A sacrifice of a goat is offered to the god *U Syngkai Bamon*, and a sow to *Ka Ramshandi*, both of whom are evil deities. Another sow is sacrificed to *Ka Tyrut*. After this the bones are placed in another newly-built cairn. The ceremony of placing the bones in one and
[787] then removing them to another cairn is usually performed three times; but unless the auspices, as deduced from the eggs, are favourable, the relatives must go on sacrificing and removing the bones until they are so. These ceremonies having been completed, they erect a flat table-stone, or *sawlyntheí*, for the ghost of the departed to sit upon, and return home, where they propitiate their ancestors with offerings of food. In the case of the murdered victims of the *thlen* superstition the same ceremonies are observed. For people who have died by drowning, or been killed by wild animals, and for women who have died in child-birth, similar pujas are
766 offered, except that a sacrifice to *U Syngkai Bamon* does not
782 take place. In the case of one who has died at a distance from his home, e.g. in a foreign country, whose body has not been burnt in accordance with custom, and whose bones have not been collected, the members of his clan, or his children, take three or five seeds or cowries (*shai*) to a place where three roads meet. Here they summon the spirit of the departed in a loud voice,

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and throw up the seeds or cowries into the air, and when they fall to the ground they say, "*to alle noh ba ngin sa lum sa kynshew noh ia phi*," come now we will collect you (the idea being that the seeds represent the bones of the deceased). Having collected the seeds, they place them on a bier and perform the service for the dead just in the same way as if a real dead body were to hand. If possible, a portion of the dead person's clothes should be burnt with the seeds in the bier, and it is with this view that the coats or cloths of Khasi coolies, who die when employed as porters on military expeditions at a distance from their homes, are brought back by their friends to give to the relatives. If a person dies of cholera, small-pox, or other such infectious or contagious disease, the body is buried, but is dug up again and burnt with all the customary rites when fear of infection or contagion is over. In parts of the district upright stones called *maw-umkoi* are erected along the line of route when the remains of a person who has met with an accidental death are brought home. This is stated to be the case in the Rambrai Siemship.

MISCELLANEOUS CUSTOMS IN CONNECTION WITH DEATH.

In Nongjri, a large village in the War Country, the dead body is placed on a bier near the door of the house, a turban being tied about the head, the face being left bare and turned towards the door. In some of the Shella villages a second cremation is performed, in which a bamboo frame-work represents the corpse. This second cremation takes place when the body has been disposed of without the requisite ceremonies. The bones and ashes of the dead in Shella are in some cases kept in a cavity hollowed out of a post erected for the purpose. The bones and ashes find a temporary resting-place here, but are afterwards removed to a cromlech.

At Nartiang, in the Jaintia Hills, the head of the corpse is shaved, but a tuft of hair in the middle of the head is left; this is called (*u'niah Iaubei*), the great grandmother's lock. At Nartiang betel-nut, which has been chewed by one of the mourners, is put into the mouth of the corpse, also cooked rice. There is

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764 a similar custom prevalent amongst the Khyrwangs. The Nongtungs, in the Jaintia Hills, keep dead bodies sometimes as long as a month, until the *pkur* or ceremonial dance has been [535] performed. Hence they are called *Nong-tung*, or "stinkers." Amongst the Lyngams the dead body is kept for sometimes three or four months, or up to the time when a bull can be procured for a feast to the villagers. This feast is an essential, [231] and, cattle being scarce in the Lyngam country, there is often great delay in disposing of the body. Lyngam villages at such a time are best avoided. The Lyngams of Nongsohbar bury the unburnt bones of the deceased within the village, and in front of the house occupied by the deceased when alive, the bones being placed in a hole in the ground, over which is laid a stone, a bamboo mat being nailed over the stone. A bamboo fence three or four feet high is erected round the grave. Other Lyngams bury the uncalcined bones and ashes in a gourd in the jungle near the burning-place. On their way home, the members of the clan of the deceased who have come from other villages to witness the funeral obsequies, put up a stone on the path in honour of the deceased, a turban being tied round the [211] top of the stone. The Garos or Dkos, who live at the foot of the hills on the Kamrup border, and are called by the Assamese *Hana* (spear-men), erect memorial stones in honour of the deceased, the lower jaw-bones of sacrificial animals and other articles being hung on the stones. The stones are also swathed in cloths, and turbans are tied round the tops. The death customs of the Lyngams, and, indeed, other customs also, are partly Khasi and partly Garo, it being difficult to say that the [197] Lyngams are more Khasi than Garo, or more Garo than Khasi in this respect; their language, however, has been found by Dr. Grierson to be a corruption of Khasi. In Nongstoin, Mawlih, and Mariaw villages, the inhabitants of which profess to be Khasis, the bones and ashes of the deceased are not collected and placed in repositories, as at Cherrapunji. At Mariaw and Nongstoin a large wooden coffin is used, painted white, with ornamentations on the outside, and standing on four legs. 764 This coffin is not burnt on the funeral pyre. In the 643 family of the chiefs of Cherra, the body of a deceased Siem is 766 subjected to the following process:—It is wrapped in a cloth

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and placed in the hollowed-out trunk of a tree, *ka-shyapoid*, there being a small hole with a plug at the bottom of this receptacle. Spirit is then poured into the *shyapoid* until the whole body is immersed, the liquor being allowed to stand for three days. After the body has been thus steeped, the liquor is allowed to run out, and the body is washed with warm water, after which it is allowed to dry for a day. Then a quantity of lime-juice is poured in, the latter being obtained from the fresh fruit of the lime (*u sah jew*). The body is thus exposed to a process of pickling, which continues until the whole is thoroughly dry and becomes like that of a mummy. It is then placed in a coffin, which is kept in the house of the Siem family until it is time to perform the funeral obsequies. These ceremonies entail a very large amount of expense, and it sometimes happens that they cannot be completed for some years after the death of a Siem. The body of a deceased Siem according to the Cherra custom should be burnt by his successor; otherwise the latter is not Siem according to the Khasi religion. The last Siem of Cherra, U Hajon Manik, did not perform the funeral obsequies of his predecessor, U Ram Singh, and it is stated that many of his subjects did not regard him as Siem, according to the Khasi religion, in consequence. There are at the present time the corpses of two Siems of Cherra which have been preserved in the manner described above, awaiting cremation. The first Siem, U Ram Singh, died as far back as 1875, and the second, U Hajon Manik, died in 1901.

Sir Joseph Hooker and other authorities have stated that the bodies of deceased Siems of Cherra used to be embalmed in honey, and an amusing story is told regarding the necessity of exercising caution in purchasing honey from Cherra (honey being plentiful in this neighbourhood), except in the comb, for fear of honey which has been used for embalming purposes being passed off on the unwary purchaser. But the members of the Siem family and the old residents deny that honey is used for this purpose nowadays, possibly in the interests of the trade. It is, however, not unlikely that honey was so utilised in days gone by, as it is a well-known agent for embalming. The bodies of priests in Burmah are said to be embalmed in honey, *vide* Yule's "Embassy to Ava."

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764 house, a ceremony called "*Bah-tynpew*" is performed, which consists of driving out the devils from the house, so that they may not interfere with the peace of the spirits of the departed whilst they rest in the house, and on their journey to the tomb. All the men after they have performed this ceremony are given [273] a drink of rice-beer known as *'ind sanglah*. Another cock is sacrificed, and a small bamboo ladder of three rungs is prepared for the use of the spirits when climbing into the tomb. Rice is then thrown outside the door. The next morning they perform further sacrifices, which need not be detailed here, and let loose [763] a bull whose horns have been cased in silver. They dig two shallow tanks called *wadai*, into which is poured water supposed [764] to possess the virtue of purifying the bones of any deceased chieftains who have died violent or unnatural deaths, or at places far away from their homes, where it was not possible to perform their funeral ceremonies according to custom. Three vertical stones are also erected, called *mawbadai*. A bamboo with a white flag, and a plantain tree are set up; to the bamboo are attached three bamboo rings (*lyrwah*), which are supposed to act as sunshades to the spirits of the departed who have not received the benefits of a proper funeral ceremony. It may be explained that this ring of bamboo or cane in the form of sunshade used by the Khasi chiefs to their subjects when they wish to call them before them. Then a cock, *u'lar wadai*, is sacrificed as a vicarious victim to bear the sins of the departed. When the procession reaches the *mawbjat* or *mawlynti* (the upright stones which have been erected), a goat called *u'long mawlynti* is sacrificed. Then a bamboo is fixed to the centre one of the three upright stones, to which is attached the lower jaw-bone of one of the cattle sacrificed in the puja-house; this is called a *mawi mawlynti*. A special ceremony called *ka-lynghiu-pongsi* is then performed for those of the clan who [764] have died childless. We now come to the actual ceremony of placing the bones in the tomb of the clan. Having arrived at the tomb, the bones are washed three times in a dish (this is a Chawra custom). In Mawlai, the bones are exposed to the heat of a fire kindled on a small *jingthong*, or burning-platform. The stone door of the *ciamarian* is then opened, and the bones of the female are placed in an earthen pot inside the tomb.

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764 211 (b) *Mawbynna*, or *mawnam*, which are stones erected to commemorate a parent or some other near relation.

(c) *Maw-ombei*, which are put up to mark the position of tanks or *wadoi*, the water of which is supposed to cleanse the ashes and bones of those who have died unnatural deaths.

[DW]

(d) *Maw-shongthait*, or flat table-stones, often accompanied by vertical stones, which are placed in the market-places and by the side of roads to serve as seats for weary travellers. Taking the above main divisions seriatim, *mawlynti*, or *mawbjat*, may be described as follows. These generally consist of three upright stones, the tallest being in the centre, and a flat table-stone being placed in front. There are, however, some clans which erect more than three upright stones, as *mawlynti*, or *mawbjat*. As already stated, the clansfolk used to erect these stones, *mawlynti* (the stone of the way), or *mawbjat* (the stone of the leg), at each place at which they halted for the night on their way to deposit the bones of their deceased maternal relations in the *iksu* sepulchre, or *mawbah*. The stones are called *mawbjat*, or stones of the leg, because it is supposed that the spirits of the departed sit and rest their limbs on the flat table-stones. The upright stones are not as a rule more than 3 or 4 ft. high, and are not massive like the great mawbynna, or memorial stones. They are to be found in great numbers all along the roads or paths which lead to the *iksu* sepulchre. These stones, unlike the *mawbynna*, have no names.

764 211 (b) *Mawbynna*, or *mawnam*, are erected to commemorate deceased parents or deceased ancestors, and consist of 3, 5, 7, 9, or even, in an exceptional case, 11, upright stones with flat table-stones in front. The upright stones are called *maw-shyrang*, or male stones, and the flat table-stones *maw-kyndei*, or female stones. Turning to the plate of the Laitkor stones, it will be observed that there are nine upright stones, and one large flat table-stone in front. Counting from right to left, stone No. 5 is called *u maw kni*, or the maternal uncle's stone, and the stones to the right and left of it, *ki maw pyrsa ki para*, i.e. the stones of the maternal brothers and nephews. The table-stone is called *ka Iawbei tymmei*, or *ka Iawbei tymmew*, literally the grandmother of the tent, or the old grandmother, in contradistinction to *ka*

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and that the latter were originally used by both of them for sacrificing human victims. Sometimes, immediately on either side of the *maukai*, or large central stone, there are two much smaller stones called *maukiing*, or the stone of the drum, and *maukait*, the stone of the plantain; the drum being used in all religious ceremonies by the Khasis, and the plantain relating to their custom of feeding young children on plantains. The *mawsiem* must be described separately from the *mawbynna*, because they differ from them in an important particular, i.e. that the former may be erected to commemorate the father, while the latter are set up to perpetuate the memory of the ancestors on the female side of the family. *Mawsiem* consist of three upright stones and one flat table-stone in front. The large central stone is called a *maw thawlang*, or the stone of the father, and the upright stones on either side are meant to represent the father's brothers or nephews. The flat table-stone is *ka Iewbei*, i.e. the grandfather of the father, not the first grandmother of the clan, as in the case of the *mawbynna*.

(c) The *maw wakai* have already been described. They are erected to mark the sites of purifatory tanks, which have been dug so that the remains of deceased persons may be cleansed from the impurities attending an unnatural death, and to counteract the adverse influence upon the clan of *Ka Tyrut*, or the goddess of death. These stones are sometimes called *mawtyrut*.

(d) *Maw-shaphlait*, or stones upon which weary travellers sit, are to be found alongside all the principal lines of communication in the district. It may serve as an example of these stones to describe the very interesting collection of stones at Nartiang *hât*, or market. A reference is invited to the plate which gives a representation of some of the Nartiang stones. The great height of the upright stone will at once be seen; it is 27 ft. in height and 2½ ft. thick. This stone is the largest erect stone in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills at the present day, and is a very fine specimen. The upright stones and the flat table-stones at Nartiang are called "*hi maw jong Siem*." There is no separate designation for each of them. These stones are popularly supposed to have been erected long ago by two men,

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773 i.e. the Siem of Malyniang, is supposed to have been a very powerful monarch amongst the Khasis. The story of Manick [537] Raitong is interesting, in that it explains the origin of the use of the *sharati*, a bamboo flute of special make which is played only at funerals. The pool of water, which was formed after U [538] Manick and the erring queen were burnt, may be connected with the *Umkoi*, or tank, which is dug to cleanse the souls of those who have died violent deaths. The idea of the bamboo, which bore leaves that grew upside-down, springing up from the buried flute, is also to be found in the Synteng tale regarding U Loh Ryndi's fishing-rod. Owing to considerations of space, I have had to curtail largely the folk-lore section. I have, however, kept the materials by me, and if at any future time there is reason to believe that the reproduction of more Khasi folk-lore is called for, I shall be glad to try to arrange that some of the other folk-tales be printed.

The Water-fall of Ka Likai.

539 [138] The water-fall of Ka Likai is one of the most beautiful water-falls in the Khasi Hills. Its stream flows from a certain river from the village of Rangjirteh and passes by the village of Nongriat. The fall can be seen distinctly from the village of Laitkynsew. What a beautiful fall it is when viewed in the autumn. It is also a very high fall. There was in olden days in the village of Rangjirteh a woman called Ka Likai. She was a poor woman who had a husband. When she had given birth to a child, the husband died. Whilst the child was yet a baby, she experienced much trouble in taking care of it on account of her poverty. After the child was able to walk, what a pleasure it was to her to see it growing, and able to play with other children. Then that woman married

Ka Kshaid ka Likai.

Ka ksháid-ka-Likai ka long kawei ka ksháid ha ri Khasi kaba itynnad shibún eh. Ka wan tuid na kawei ka wah ha ka shnong Rangjirteh kaba wan hap ha ka shnong Nongriat. Ia kane ka ksháid lah ban ioh-i bha na ka shnong Laitkynsew. Katno ka long kaba i-tynnad lada khmih ia ka ha ka por synrái. Ka long ruh kaba jrong shibun eh. La don kawei ka briew ha ka shnong Rangjirteh hyndái kaba kyrteng ka Likai. Kane ka briew ka long kaba duk bad ka la don u tnga, te ynda la kha iwei i khun kynthei uta u tnga u la iap noh. Hamar ka por ba dang lung ita i khun ka la shitom shibún ban sumar ha ka jinglong duk jong ka. Te ynda i la nangiáid katno, ka la sngewbhá ban ioh-i ia la i khun ba i la sháit, bad ba i la nang ba'n leh kái bad ki para khynnah. Te kane ka

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through water, and if they trust themselves to it would be carried down the stream, never to be recovered. They, therefore, stretch a thread of cotton from one bank to the other, and if the breadth is great this is kept clear of the water by sticks planted in the bed of the river, and notched at the top to receive it. If the running water should be very narrow merely a stick is laid, or even a stalk of grass is considered sufficient to form a bridge for the dead man's soul. The line of thread is called the "string bridge." 776

On passing through some dense dark wood where it is presumed a demon may be, they think it not improbable that he may be detaining them or throwing impediments in the way, and should any of the party fall sick such is to them clearly indicated. The breaking of eggs is resorted to, or a pendulum is made by tying a stone, knife, or generally the brass box in which they keep the lime that is mixed with the betel and pan leaves, and the rite so well described by Hodgson (Appendix A) is gone through. The similarity of the Bodo or Mech custom shows how general these superstitious customs are among the tribes in this quarter. The only difference being that with the Khasi, the weight is caused to revolve in a circle should any spirit require to be propitiated, and that it should cease to revolve when the offering, either a fowl or a pig, is considered to have been accepted. 772

Should a Khasia lose his life in such a way that his body cannot be recovered, say by being drowned in one of the large rivers in the plains, his relations assemble on some prominent hill or rock overlooking the low country. One of the mourners taking some kowries (small shells used as money, Cypræa) in his hand, and, looking towards the site of the accident, shouts out the name of the deceased and calls on him to return; his spirit having been supposed to do so, they proceed to burn the cowries, which are symbolical of his bones, and any clothes of the deceased they may possess. The ashes of the cowries are then placed in the bone depository. 86

The corpse is kept in the house four or five days, occasionally longer.* In the case of chiefs, men of consequence, or men of wealth, the body after death is preserved in honey, and kept in this way in its coffin for a very considerable period; the platform on which the body is burnt is erected during the times, and considerable expense is entailed on its construction, in cutting the stones, as well as on the expenditure of gunpowder; throughout the day explosions may be heard at irregular intervals from different quarters, now at one side, then at another to drive away [see category 116]

* The excessive and boisterous rainfall of the Khasi Hills is not the reason why the dead are preserved in honey; it would be impossible to procure it in sufficient quantity for such a purpose. Vide M. Schlagintweit's paper in the "Ausland", where this is stated.

[see category 116, p. 127 — Analys?]

evil spirits, who I suppose they think may be hovering about the neighbourhood. Here we find a custom the counterpart of one in Burmah, where the body of a Buddhist priest of rank is embalmed in honey, and laid in state for a long period, to be afterwards blown up with powder, together with the costly houses that been him to the place. The same custom, we find in "Crawfurd's Embassy to Siam" exists in that country.

There is some slight analogy to be traced between the funeral customs of the Khasis and Singphos, particularly in the collection of the ashes and subsequent interment. (Appendix D.)

The breaking of eggs is perhaps of all modes of seeking for an omen the most curious of all the Khasi customs, but it is by no means confined to these hill people. I am informed by Colonel McCulloch that the Kukis and some other of the numerous Hill tribes around the Manipur Valley do the same, but then it is not so commonly practised, and I never myself saw them engaged at the rite. The Garos use eggs only for sacrifice. The number broken appears unlimited, but about twenty is a common number. It depends, of course, on the means of the individuals. They use a small board about twelve inches by eight inches square, which has a projecting kind of handle with a hollow to receive the egg to be used. The position of the chips on this board indicates the luck or success to the inquiry that is sought, and only those pieces that fall within the board, outside of the egg-shell upwards, count as signs. The egg is personified and addressed after this manner: Egg! I am only a man, an ignorant and sin divine nothing; you can commune with spirits, and between man and them have intercourse. Now, say! who has done this? (in case of sickness)—who has caused this man to fall sick? If the spirit is in the house, let the signs be on the left; if out of the house, on the right. The sacrificial spite on the egg and taking some clay in his hand, smears it over, so that the outside may be distinctly seen when it is smashed. Apology is made to the egg, saying: "I do not spit on you to insult you, but to clean you and give you a colour." Then standing up he throws the egg down with all his force upon the board.

It would appear that only those pieces of egg-shell that fall to the right or left are of consequence in the matter; those that fall beyond or on the off-side of where the egg strikes are the representatives of spirits that are not implicated with the matter in hand, while those that lie on the near side show that the sickness is the cause of purely natural causes, over-eating, drinking, or exposure to heat and cold, and not through the agency of any malignant spirit; such signs are of good import, and indicate (taking a case of sickness) that the person is likely to recover.

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to his own matriarchal stock, and at his death his bones are deposited in the cromlech of his mother's kin. In Jowai he neither lives nor eats in his wife's house, but visits it only after dark (p. 76). In the veneration of ancestors, which is the foundation of the tribal piety, the primal ancestress (*Ka Iaïdei*) and her brother are the only persons regarded. The flat memorial stones set up to perpetuate the memory of the dead are called after the woman who represents the clan (*mâw kyrkhei*, p. 130), and the standing stones ranged behind them are dedicated to the male kinsmen on the mother's side.

In harmony with this scheme of ancestor worship, the other spirits to whom propitiation is offered are mainly female, though here male personages also figure (pp. 106—109). The powers of sickness and death are all female, and these are those most frequently worshipped (p. 107). The two protectors of the household are goddesses (p. 112), though with them is also revered the first father of the clan, *U Thlônlang*.

Priestesses assist at all sacrifices, and the male officiants are only their deputies (p. 122); in one important state, Khyrim, the High Priestess and actual head of the State is a woman, who combines in her person sacerdotal and regal functions (p. 79).

The Khasi language, so far as known, is the only member of the Mon-Khmer family which possesses a grammatical gender, distinguishing all nouns as masculine and feminine; and here also the feminine noun immensely preponderate (p. 206). The pronouns of the second (*nâ*, *phâ*) and third person (*i*, *ïdi*) have separate forms for the sexes in the singular, but in the plural only one is used (*phi*, *ïdi*), and this is the plural form of the feminine singular.

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Raja (probably the Raja of Jaintia), and the Amnonne Bacphoh. They fled to a place called Lyodiangmaihli, near Lynghyrdem. Finding this place unsuitable as a home, the family split up into four divisions. One division returned to Jowai, where it increased and multiplied and afterwards grew into the Lalu clan, another went to Nongkhlaw and became the Diengdoh Kylla clan; another went to Mawsing and formed what is now known as the Pariong clan; the fourth, after some vicissitudes of fortune, went to Rangiyrsah and Cherra, at which place it established the powerful Diengdohbah clan, and became afterwards one of the chief *mondi* or minister clans of this state. I have quoted the history of the origin of the Diengdoh clan at some length, to show what I consider to be an example of the Khasi conceptions of how the clan was formed, i.e. from a common ancestress, all of the clans having traditions more or less of descent from some particular *Kinsa* or ancestress. This story moreover is remarkable as pointing to a Khasi migration from beyond the Kopili river to their present abode. The clans of the present day are nothing more or less than overgrown families, they are bound together by the religious tie of ancestor-worship in common, and of a common tribal sepulchre, except in cases of clans which have, owing to their size, split up into several sub-divisions, like the Diengdoh clan; each sub-divisions possessing their own *ensiehs*. Ancestor-worship in common and tribal sepulchres in common seem to indicate that the original unit was the family and not the tribe, for there would be no reason for the members of a clan to worship the same household gods and to deposit the remains of the clan members in the same tomb unless there was some strong tie, such as that of consanguinity, binding them together. It has been already mentioned that each of these clans is strictly exogamous; this again supports the family origin theory. A Khasi can commit no greater sin than to marry within the tribe. Some of the clans are prohibited moreover from intermarriage with other clans, because of such clans being of common descent. If the titles (see Appendix) are carefully examined, it will be seen that some of them bear the names of animals, such as the *Shwiah* or monkey clan, the *Thaw* or crab clan, or of trees, such as the Diengdoh clan (already referred to). The

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SECTION IV.

RELIGION.

GENERAL CHARACTER OF POPULAR BELIEFS.

The Khasis have a vague belief in a God the Creator, U Blei Nongthaw, although this deity, owing, no doubt, to the influence of the matriarchate, is frequently given the attributes of the feminine gender, cf., Ka Ioi Syndon. The Khasis cannot, however, be said to worship the Supreme God, although it is true that they sometimes invoke him when sacrificing and in times of trouble. The religion of the Khasis may be described as animism or spirit-worship, or rather, the propitiation of spirits both good and evil on certain occasions, principally in times of trouble. The propitiation of these spirits is carried out either by priests (Iyngkhi), or by old men well versed in the arts of necromancy, and as the Iyngkhi or wise men deals with good as well as evil spirits, and, as often as not, with the good spirits of ancestors, the propitiation of these spirits may be said to partake of the nature of Shamanism. A very prominent feature of the Khasi beliefs is the propitiation of ancestors; but this will be described separately. There is a vague belief amongst the Khasi of a future state. It is believed that the spirits of the dead, whose funeral ceremonies have been duly performed, go to the heaven or garden of God, where there are groves of betel-nut trees; hence the expression for the departed, ako kon Iwei ha ding u blei (he who is eating betel-nut in God's heaven), the idea of supreme happiness to the Khasi being to eat betel-nut uninterruptedly. The spirits of those whose funeral ceremonies have not been duly performed are believed to take the forms of animals, birds, or

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775 inserts, and to remain on this earth; but this idea of transmigration
774 of souls has been probably borrowed from the Hindus. Bivar
776 writes that although the ideas of a Godhead are not clearly
[778] grasped, yet a supreme creator is acknowledged, and that the following is the tradition relating to the creation of man. "God in the beginning having created man, placed him on the
773 earth, but on returning to look at him, found he had been destroyed by the evil spirit. This happened a second time, whereupon the Deity created first a dog, then a man; and the dog, who kept watch, prevented the devil from destroying the man,
772 and the work of the Deity was thus preserved." The Khasis,
783 apparently, do not believe in punishment after death, at least,
776 there is no idea of hell, although the spirits of those who have died under the ban of any remain unhappy, being obliged to wander about the earth in different forms, as noted above. The
771 spirits worshipped by the Khasis are many in number, those of
777 the Syntengs being specially numerous. The particular spirit
780 to be propitiated is ascertained by egg-breaking. The offering acceptable to the spirit is similarly ascertained and is then made. If the particular sacrifice does not produce the result desired, a fowl is sacrificed; the entrails being then examined, an augury is drawn, and the sacrifice begins afresh. In the process of egg-breaking is believed to be peculiar * to the Khasis amongst the hill tribes, a separate description of it is given in the Appendix. It should be
[779] remarked that the Khasis never symbolise their gods by means of images, their worship being offered to the spirit only. The following are some of the principal spirits worshipped by the
• [784] Khasis and Syntengs, omitting the spirits of deceased ancestors such as *Ka Iawbi*, *u Thiaflang*, and *u Sniduin*, which will be described under the heading of ancestor-worship.

771 *U Ki Lyngdoh*—the god of the state, who is propitiated yearly
782 by the sacrifice of a goat and a cock.

U Ki Lyngpoh—the god of water, used for drinking and cooking purposes. This god is similarly propitiated once a year, so that the water supply may remain pure.

* Sir Charles Lyall has pointed out that the Bhots possess this custom; it is probably borrowed from the Khasis.

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and offered to help them with their cultivation. The Khasis also refused her, saying they were capable of managing their own cultivation, and at the same time told her to go to the country of the Bhoiu and Syntengs, i.e. the Jaintia Hills. Acting on this advice, she went to the village of Nongphylliad in the Jaintia Hills, where the people again turned a deaf ear to her. She proceeded to Mulagula village in Jaintia, at the foot of the Jaintia Hills, and ascended from thence to Ryndai, where she met a man who conducted her to the house of the Siem, who consented that she and her children should live with him. Ka Tabem then apportioned to her children various duties in the house of the Siem as follows:—Ka Baseng was to look after the young unmarried folk, and was to supervise their daily labour and to prosper their trading operations at the markets. Next Ka Basong was given a place at the foot of the king post, *tusi riskat*, and her duty was to behead young men in battle. Then came *Ka Longkhaiswaid*, alias *ka Thab-dalong*, who said, "There are no more rooms in the house for my occupation, so I will go and live in the forest, and him who turns not his coat when I meet him I will make mad." *Finally* came *U Lomsynghad*, who elected to live with his youngest sister inside the house.

There are special sacrifices offered to these household deities. The leaves of the *sning*, or Khasi oak, are wrapped round the post of the house, and a fowl is sacrificed and other formalities are observed which it would be tedious to describe in detail. The legend of the arrival of Ka Tabem with her children in the Syntengs country from a distant clime is interesting in that it perhaps indicates the possibility of the migration of these people, i.e. the Syntengs, in ancient times from some distant place to their present abode.

ANCESTOR-WORSHIP.

The Khasis not only revere the memories of deceased ancestors, but they adore them by means of offerings, which are sometimes periodical, and sometimes made when thought neces-

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nery, as in times of trouble. These offerings take the shape of articles of food which are theoretically partaken of by the shades of the deceased ancestors, the idea of making such offerings being very similar to that of the Hindus when they offer the "*pinda*," or cake, to nine generations of ancestors, i.e. to propitiate the shades of the departed, and to obtain their help thereby. U Hanun Bai Dongdoh writes that, "the real religious demand" amongst the Khasis is the *ai kaw*, or giving of food to the spirits of deceased ancestors, in order that the latter may aid the living members of the clan with their help, and bless them. To honour dead ancestors is the duty of every Khasi, and he who wilfully neglects this duty, it is believed, will neither receive their help, nor be defended from the influence of the numerous spirits of evil in which the Khasis believe. Amongst the Syntengs, a few days after depositing the bones in the ancestral tomb, the ceremony of feeding the spirits of the dead is performed. At this ceremony there are some families which give two pigs for each person of the family who is dead, and there are some who give one. The pigs are taken to the *ling-ang*, or pigs house of the clan. Presumably, pigs are usually offered to the shades only of those members of the family whose remains have been recently deposited in the clan *ronduah*. In the chapter dealing with memorial stones the reader will notice how many of them are erected to the memory of deceased ancestors, and how they bear the names of such ancestors, e.g. *Ka Iawbei* (the first grandmother), *U Kaidwin*, or *U ksi ronghah* (the first maternal uncle). It was the custom in former days to make offerings of food upon the flat table-stones to the spirits of the deceased ancestors, and this is still the case in places in the interior of the district. This practice, however, may be said to be largely dying out, it being now commonly the custom to make the offerings in the house, either annually, or at times when it is thought necessary to invoke the aid of the departed. Such acts of devotion may well be said to partake of the nature of worship. As has been the case in other countries, and amongst other people, it is possible that the Khasi gods of to-day are merely the spirits of glorified deceased ancestors transfigured, as has happened with some of the gods of the

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Shinto Pantheon of Japan. It may be interesting to note that the ancient Shinto cult of Japan possesses some features in common with the ancestor-worship of the Khasis. Take the funeral ceremonies. With both people we find the dead laid out in the house, food placed before the corpse, and the funeral ceremonies taking place, accompanied by music and dancing. Mr. Lafcadio Hearn, in an interesting book on Japan, writes "that in ancient times the Japanese performed ceremonies at regular intervals at the tombs of deceased members of the family, and food and drink were then served to the spirits;" this is exactly what the Khasis used to do at their cenotaphs. This, apparently, was the practice in Japan before the "spirit tablet" had been introduced from China, when the worship of the ancestors was transferred from the tomb to the home. We have an exactly similar instance of evolution amongst the Khasis of the present day, i.e. the transfer of the ancestor cult from the flat table-stones erected in honour of deceased ancestors to the home. Last, but not least, is the idea common to both people, that no family or clan can prosper which does not duly perform the worship of deceased ancestors; this, as Hearn puts it, is "the fundamental idea underlying every persistent ancestor-worship, i.e. that the welfare of the living depends upon the welfare of the dead." The "Khasi Mynta," in an interesting article, notes some further points of resemblance between the methods of ancestor-worship adopted by the two people. The following instances may be quoted. Amongst the Japanese the spirits of those who fall in battle are said to help their fellow-warriors who are still fighting. The "Khasi Mynta" quotes a similar belief as having existed amongst the Khasis in former days. The remains of Japanese warriors who die in battle are said to be reverently taken to the warrior's home at the first opportunity. The Khasis do likewise, the clothing in default of the ashes of Khasi transport coolies, who were employed on military expeditions on the North-Eastern Frontier, having been carried home by the survivors to present to the dead men's relations, who then performed the ceremonies prescribed by custom for those who have died violent or unnatural deaths. Of all deceased ancestors the Khasis revere *Ki Zowbei* the most, the word *Zowbei* being made up of

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'law, short for *kiaw* (grandmother), and *ka*, mother. *Ka Iawbei* is the primeval ancestress of the clan. She is to the Khasis what the "tribal mother" was to old Celtic and Teutonic genealogists, and we have an interesting parallel to the reverence of the Khasis for *Ka Iawbei* in the Celtic goddess Brigit, the tribal mother of the Brigantes. Later on, like Ka Iawbei, she was canonized, and became St. Brigid.*

The greater number of the flat table-stones we see in front of the standing monoliths in these hills are erected in honour of *Ka Iawbei*. In former times, it was the custom to offer food to her on these stones. In cases of family quarrels, or dissensions amongst the members of the same clan, which it is desired to bring to a peaceful settlement, it is customary to perform a sacrifice to the first mother, "*Ka Iawbei*." They first of all take an augury by breaking eggs, and if it appears from the broken egg-shells that *Ka Iawbei* is offended, they offer to her a white cloth, and sacrifice a hen. On these occasions incantations are muttered, and a small drum, called, "*Ka 'sing ding dong*," is beaten. It is not unlikely that the Khasi household deities, *Ka lei sing* and *Ka law ka jingpon*, to whom pujas are offered for the welfare of the house, are also *Ka Iawbei* in disguise. Notwithstanding the strong influence of the patriarchate, we find that U Thawlang, the first father and the husband of *Ka Iawbei*, is also revered. To him on occasions of domestic trouble a sack is sacrificed, and a *jingylong*, or chewdow coat, is offered. This puja is called *kata tap Thawlang*, i.e. covering the grandfather. The following incantation to U Thawlang is then chanted:—"Oh, father Thawlang, who hast enabled me to be born, who hast given me my stature and my life, I have wronged thee, oh father, by not offended, for I have given thee a pledge and a sign, i.e. a red and white chewdow coat. Do not deliver me into the power of (the goddess of) illness, I have offered thee the propitiatory—oh that thou mayest carry me in thine arms, and that I may be aware of them, my father Thawlang."

We see clearly from the above prayer that the Khasi idea is that the spirit of the deceased male ancestor is capable of

* Kurt Pearson's essay on "northern age civilization."

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being in a position to help his descendant in times of trouble. The same thought underlies the extreme reverence with which *Ka Iawbei* is regarded. Thus we see a striking point of resemblance between the Khasi ancestor-worship and the ancient Shinto cult of Japan, as described by Mr. Lafcadio Hearn. *U Smid-Sin*, or *u Kni Blongbah*, the first maternal uncle, i.e. the elder brother of *Ka Iawbei*, is also much revered. It will also be noticed under the heading of memorial stones that the great central upright monolith of the *mawbynna*, or memorial stones, is erected in his honour. The influence of the *kni*, or mother's elder brother, in the Khasi family is very great, for it is he who is the manager on behalf of the mother, his position in the Khasi family being very similar to that of the *karta* in the Hindu joint family. It is on this account that he is so much revered, and is honoured with a stone which is larger than the other up-right memorial stones after death. It will be seen in the article dealing with "the disposal of the dead," that at Cherra, on the occasion of the bestowal of the ashes in the cinerarium of the clan, a part of the attendant ceremonies consists of the preparation of two effigies called *Ka Pawa* and *U Tyngkop*, intended to represent *Ka Iawbei* (the first mother) and *U Smid-Sin* (the first maternal uncle). The Wars of Nongjri have a custom peculiar to themselves. They erect small thatched houses in their compounds, which they call *ting lawid*. When they worship their ancestors they deposit offerings of food in these houses, the idea being that the ancestors will feed on the offerings. These Wars do not erect memorial stones, nor do they collect the ashes of the clan in a common sepulchre; they deposit the ashes in circular cineraria, each family, or *ting*, possessing one. It should further be noted with reference to the Khasi custom of *ai kaw*, or giving food to the spirits of deceased ancestors, that Dr. Frazer, in his "Golden Bough," has mentioned numerous instances of foodstuffs being offered to the spirits of deceased ancestors by the tribes inhabiting the Malay Archipelago. (See pages 402-403 of the "Golden Bough.") Some other points of similarity in customs have already been noticed between the Khasis and certain Malay tribes.

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that they may prosper, that they may obtain rice and fish, that they may possess hundreds and thousands; thus, oh god." The priest then pours liquor on the ground three times from the gourd, counting "one, two, three." He then continues the invocation thus, "*Hoi*, thou, oh mother; oh grandmother; oh maternal uncle; oh father; oh *Sohdi-nin*; oh younger grandmother; oh elder grandmother; oh younger grandfather; oh elder grandfather. As the flesh has fallen (on the floor, i.e. the feast has been prepared), the ring has been put on, the three strips of flesh are ready (alluding to the three dried fish already mentioned), you will all of you (ancestors) give out, you will continue giving strength and spirit (i.e. to the married pair) that they may be well" (and so on, as written in the first invocation). He then pours out the liquor three times as before. He then adjures the Sions, the elders, and all the people who do not belong to either of the two clans, and pours out liquor three times as before. The three pieces of dried fish are first placed on the *tyngpen*, the high rack above the fire-place, then removed and tied to the ridge-pole of the house, amidst shouts of *Ho, hoi, hoi, hoi*. The priest then sacrifices a fowl, and the rich a pig without blemish (also three), to *o Sohdi-nin* and *ka Iew-lei* (the spirits of deceased ancestors of the family), and present them with *dphkhat*, or pieces of flesh. Two or three days afterwards, the bride, accompanied by her female relations, pays a visit to the bridegroom at his house, and after this they go and come as they like to one another's houses. After two or three children have been born, they take down the pieces of dried fish from the *rad* and sacrifice two pigs, one on behalf of the husband and another on behalf of the wife. Then they say there can be no possible *sang*, and husband and wife use each other's things and pool their earnings, and if the husband has a house of his own, the wife can go and live with him; this, however, is not the custom amongst many of the Syntengs, who more strictly observe the principles of the matriarchate. The cost of the marriage ceremonies amongst Khasis, Syntengs and Wars, may be put down at between Rs. 50 and Rs. 200 according to the position of the parties.

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MEMORIAL STONES AT LAITKOR.
(From a photograph by Mrs. Marrat.)

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764 211 (b) *Mawbynna*, or mawbynna, which are stones erected to commemorate a parent or some other near relation.

(c) *Maw-unkoi*, which are put up to mark the position of tanks or unkoi, the water of which is supposed to cleanse the bodies and bones of those who have died unnatural deaths.

[DLL]

(d) *Maw-slongthait*, or flat table-stones, often accompanied by vertical stones, which are placed in the market-place and by the side of roads to serve as seats for weary travellers. Taking the above main divisions seriatim, *mawlyati*, or *mawkjat*, may be described as follows. These generally consist of three upright stones, the tallest being in the centre, and a flat table-stone being placed in front. There are, however, some clans which erect more than three upright stones, as *ethwlyati*, or *mawkjat*. As already stated, the *shaulolk* used to erect these stones, *mawlyati* (the stone of the way), or *mawkjat* (the stone of the leg), at such place at which they halted for the night on their way to deposit the bones of their deceased maternal relations in the lea sepulchre, or *mawbah*. The stones are called *mawkjat*, stones of the leg, because it is supposed that the spirits of the departed sit and rest their limbs on the flat table-stones. The upright stones are not as a rule more than 3 or 4 ft. high, and are not massive like the great mawbynna, or memorial stones. They are to be found in great numbers all along the roads or paths which lead to the clan crematorium. These stones, unlike the *mawbynna*, have no names.

[HKS]

764 211 (e) *Mawbynna*, or memorial stones, are erected to commemorate deceased parents or deceased ancestors, and consist of 5, 5, 7, 9, or even, in an exceptional case, 11, [illegible] upright stones within [illegible] table-stones in front. The upright stones are called *maw-shyrang*, or male stones, and the flat table-stones *maw-kyathoi*, or female stones. Turning to the plate of the Laitkor stones, it will be observed that there are nine upright stones, and one large flat table-stone in front. Counting from right to left, stone No. 5 is called *u maw kni*, or the maternal uncle's stone, and the stones to the right and left of it, *hi maw pyrsa hi pawa*, i.e. the stones of the maternal brothers and nephews. The table-stone is called *ka kwtkoi tymmai*, or *ka kwtkoi tymmai*, literally the grandmother of the root, or the old grandmother, in contradistinction to *ka*

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Iawbei khynnur, or *ka Iawbei kpuk* (the grandmother of the family, or branch of the family). It frequently happens that there are two flat table-stones in front of the upright stones, the one on the left being *ka Iawbei tynrai*, or the first ancestress, and the one on the right *ka Iawbei longkpuk*, the grandmother of the branch of the clan to which the memorialists belong, or *ka Iawbei khynnur*, the young grandmother, i.e. the grandmother of the actual family to which the memorialists belong. In olden days it used to be the custom for the clan-people to place offerings of food on the flat table-stones for the shades of the departed ancestors, and this is sometimes the case still; but now it is more frequently the custom to make these offerings in the *diengsang*, or clan puja-house. The flat table-stones are some 2 to 2½ ft. from the ground, and it is difficult to resist the impression that they were originally sacrificial stones, i.e. that animals or even human beings were actually sacrificed upon them. In connection with this theory I would refer to the interesting folk-tale about the Kopili river. It is here related that in olden days human victims were sacrificed to the Kopili goddess on the flat table-stone (*mow-lynthei*) at a place called *Iew Kolk*, close to the Kopili river. A careful search has been made for this stone, with the result that a flat table-stone has been found near the above village, where goats are still annually sacrificed to the Kopili. The *dolui* reports that this is an ancient custom. None can remember, however, having heard that human victims were ever sacrificed there. Yet I do not think it at all unlikely that this is the stone, locally called *Myndap*, which is referred to in the [illegible] as the Khasi kingdom, with Nongkrem, Sutnga, all which places were the headquarters of the kings of Jaintia, there are very large table-stones. We know for a fact that human sacrifices used to take place at Jaintiapur. Is it possible that human beings were immolated on these table-stones? It would be unsafe to base any conclusion on the solitary folk-tale about the *Iew Kolk* table-stone; but the tale certainly furnishes food for reflection. The Khasis borrowed their religious customs largely from the Syntengs, inhabitants of Jaintia, and it is possible that they may have obtained the custom of erecting the table-stones from the Syntengs also, and that the [illegible] were originally [illegible]

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and that the latter were originally used by both of them for sacrificing human victims. Sometimes, immediately on either side of the *mawkot*, or large central stone, there are two much smaller stones called *mawbeing*, or the stone of the drum, and *mawbeit*, the stone of the plantain; the drum being used in all religious ceremonies by the Khasis, and the plantain relating to their custom of feeding young children on plantains. The *mawbeing* must be described separately from the *mawbyrnai*, because they differ from them in an important particular, i.e. that the former may be erected to commemorate the father, while the latter are set up to perpetuate the memory of the ancestors on the female side of the family. *Mawbeing* consist of three upright stones and one flat table-stone in front. The large central stone is called a *maw thawlang*, or the stone of the father, and the upright stones on either side are meant to represent the father's brothers or nephews. The flat table-stone is *ka Jowlei*, i.e. the grandmother of the father, not the first grandmother of the clan, as in the case of the *mawbyrnai*.

(c) The *maw ankoi* have already been described. They are erected to mark the sites of purificatory tanks, which have been dug so that the remains of deceased persons may be cleansed from the impurities attending an unnatural death, and to counteract the adverse influence upon the clan of *Ka Tyrut*, or the goddess of death. These stones are sometimes called *mawtyrut*.

(d) *Maw-shaphait*, or stones upon which weary travellers rest, are to be found alongside all the principal lines of communication in the district. It may serve as an example of these stones to describe the very interesting collection of stones at Nartiang *hât*, or market. A reference is invited to the plate which gives a representation of some of the Nartiang stones. The great height of the upright stone will at once be seen; it is 27 ft. in height and 2½ ft. thick. This stone is the largest erect stone in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills at the present day, and is a very fine specimen. The upright stones and the flat table-stones at Nartiang are called "*ki maw jing-thiw*." There is no separate designation for each of them. These stones are popularly supposed to have been erected long ago by two men,

of the Khasi.

Just as the Khasi are unable to explain how man fell into sin, so they also cannot explain why the rooster appears as mediator between god and man. The Khasi tradition relates of the rooster: u khun ka blei uba kit ryndang ba shah ryndang na ka bynta jong nga u briu, i.e. he who, as son of the goddess, gives his life for man, thus expiating sin through sacrifice and reconciling god.

The Khasi believe in another world and their attention is directed towards the comfort of the spirits of the dead. One of the main tasks is to give them nourishment (ai ban), which must be done, since the welfare of the living depends on the welfare of the dead. For example, if one can no longer get the corpse of the deceased because it is in a foreign country or has been consumed by wild animals, one takes his clothes at the very least and carries out the burial ceremonies with these. For only such spirits, whose burial ceremonies were performed according to usage and custom, can participate in chewing betel nuts in the garden (in the house) of god, whereas the others must wander around on earth or must continue living in insects, birds, and other animals. They do not believe in hell (in the Christian sense). The greatest felicity for a Khasi is "to chew betel nuts perpetually." Therefore they conceive of heaven as the dwelling (garden or house) of god, in which only betel nuts are chewed: uba ban kwai ha ling u blei (he who chews betel nuts in the house of god).

This cult of spirits, which relates to deceased relatives, is mixed with the ancestor cult. Thus the first great-grandmother of each sib (jaid) becomes a goddess (ka jaubei) and the first great-grandfather of the sib a god (u thaulang).

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762 sour thing (u lamjew) be sacrificed! If this goddess is insulted by any kind of error, then she must be propitiated again, and this is done by the sacrifice of a goat, of a pig, or through the sacrifice of the gourd and the gourd bottle, or (for the very poor) through the sacrifice of water which one shakes out on a brass plate (ka pliang) or on a woven plate (ka pdung). It is she also who commands that one drive away the demon or the demoness, especially the demon who helps day and night (uba rap synnia rap angi), by a sacrifice of money, a hundred or a ten, which must be brought to him.

Everything is at her command: thus the sacrifice of food which is brought the spirits (ai bam ia ki suidiap), the sacrifice of thanks which is brought the Thaulang (kaba nguh thawlang), the auguries (kaba tap ryngiew tap rywiang) or the naming of children (tap lubri tap hyrteng). For example, if a mountain devil or a river devil is supposed to be driven away, she gives the command to ask the oracle of the house first and not to make a noise. Then, however, one should take a freely chosen sacrifice, such as doves, chickens, pigs, or goats and strew them with rice and then let them run off free. Anyone who catches them may keep them.

[766] In this religion there is also something very painful and extremely difficult, namely finding out the guilt of one long since dead in order to atone for it again through sacrifice. For sometimes nothing can be found that is the reason or cause of sickness or trouble and therefore it must be the error of an ancestor that is not yet expiated. But this kind of investigation of devils is very difficult, since one cannot easily discover the connection. An experienced and worthy sacrificer who

782 Often the head of a sib (u knie u kypa) delays the sacrifice for a decade, often for a lifetime. From this comes the difficulty for the descendants of being able to sacrifice according to the ways of the sib, since the memory of their own sacrificial rites becomes lost by the years long pauses in the sacrifices. It is difficult to revive (kynroi) the method of sacrificing. Or the old people die off (or become Christians) and so the young people no longer learn which formulas they have, which invocations were customary, which parts (of the slain animal) they should take. The relationship with the ancestors [769] becomes lost and as a rule they can no longer remember everything.

When matters have progressed this far, then the Jaubei sees to it that sacrificing is not neglected by permitting the members of her sib to be plagued by the devils. Especially, she permits the devils of the mountains, the rivers, the water, and the air to make their harmful influences effective. Since illnesses always keep occurring and deaths [425] happen, etc., sacrificing never does quite die out and the religion of the Khasi which reverences spirits in the most varied ways remains in existence.

7. Prayer of Thanks after Receiving Good Health. (22)

22. Cf. also the prayer of thanks and entreaty at the end of the Nongkrem-Puja, Dr. Becker, Anthropos, IV (1909), p. 902.

Sacrifices are certainly offered chiefly in times of trouble. But the Khasi do not

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baroh na tynrai ka iingseng iingkhad-duh?	the chiefs of the family and the old family chiefs of the deceased from the tribal house?

If the goddess now sanctions it, then they gather the sacrificial gifts and the sacrificial money (which is often thousands of rupees) to use them for the festivities.

Two women then go to the various mawphew and reverently fetch the bones that were placed there. One woman carries the bones of the male dead, the other the female ones, and both bring them to the house of the group mother, where they are ceremoniously placed and decorated with flowers and beautiful cloths. Now the spirits of the dead receive nourishment (ai bam), in that a pig, a rooster and a steer are sacrificed. The best pieces of these animals are kept in a basket in the house for a later division among the participants. The rest is sacrificed.

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Then there is dancing. (35) This cere -

35. Cf. Table III, Picture 2: Ceremonial Dance in Honor of the Deceased.

monial dance in honor of the deceased lasts either three or five or nine days, whatever seems best (and how long the collected money lasts). A place in front of the house is festively arranged and used as the place for dancing (lympung). Music is played and liquor distributed.

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On the day on which they intend to transfer the bones, the drums (ka ksing) and the kettledrums (ka nakra) are beaten, [438] the flutes (ka sharati) are blown, guns (sulai) and cannons (ka man) are shot off. An ancestral

doll is made of bamboo and this is supposed to represent either the great grandmother (the Jaabet of the sib) or the great great uncle (eulinia). They walk to the mawlum mawrukor (the ceremonial stones, ancestral stones) (36)

36. Gurdon, The Khasis, p. 111, gives another description of these customs. He says: In Cherrapunji two dolls are made, called ka puron and u tyngshop. The former is supposed to represent the Jaabet, the latter the eulinia. The dancers hold these dolls in their hands.

(20) with this ancestral doll (u tyngshop). While some dance, others set up "resting stones" or "foot stones" or "road stones" (maw kjat or maw lyntl) on the way to the maw bah for the spirits of the dead, where they can rest on the way to the common grave. These stones are about a meter high and stand three in a row at each place. In front of them a flat stone like a platter is placed on four small stones which form a base or feet (maw kjat, i.e., stone foot). (37)

37. Cf. Table III, Picture 3: "Foot stone or road stone" among the Khasi.

On the day on which the dance ends they arrange ka ymwrei, i.e., a marriage feast of the spirits of the deceased, who died in their youth (grown but unmarried or childless). For this they choose two poor old people a man and a woman, of small size whom they pay for this.

The man is the groom of the dead young girl, the old woman the bride of the dead youth. They have the two scramble for the entire' rice (ki pyinkhtah tam ka ja ovalay) and have them jump over the rice mortar (thlong) and the rice pestle. Then arrows are thrown as far as possible, which the two people are supposed to swim. This game of catching means the driving out of demons who surround the new tab and wish to prevent the approach to the stones. Then one strews seed rice (u kaw rawal) on the road from the house to the end of the village. The two little people must now run with sticks (ka ki dangtuh) and thresh or beat the rice. This happens three times, one after another.

When it has become bright day, a handful of rice is taken from each of the relatives, as well as the contribution for defraying the costs of the whole festivities. Then they fetch an "alter he-goat" (a' lang dawn), in order to cut off its head on the village alter (ka ka dawn ka khung ka mulak). Now they make merry with drums and flags (ka bang ka lima). The children and grandchildren sit down together and greet each other solemnly, especially the "cousin" (u kha pka). Then a shield dance (aastiah) (38) is held. They

38. Cf. Table IV, Picture 1: Khami man, ready for the shield dance.

perform three rounds. Then a he-goat is slaughtered, and all dancers with the shields bow three times before the "cousin" (u kha pka). Each of the sons of the group house (Khamhou) does the same thing.

Now everybody rises, and someone sacrifices the sragaghat a' lang mail kauld. A

One month before the coronation rice liquor is poured into a bottleneck-
ed good vessel in the house of the S'iem-Sil and offered before the
idols Blei as a 'sacrifice of drink'. This is done in order to in-
form the a Budhia long S'iem (the spirit of the first great-uncle on
the maternal side who was the first king), the ka Blei long S'iem (the
divinity who makes kings kings) and the a Blei Skilong (the god Skil-
long), that preparations are now being made for the Pois and that
they might help with them.

The a Blei Skilong plays the chief part in the whole ceremony.
He enjoys great reverence among the Khasi, especially in the king-
dom Hongkong and Nyllem. Not far from Hongkong a mountain
peak rises 6,100 feet above the sea. It is the highest peak in the
Khasi Mountains. Its name is "Skilong Peak." There is the seat of
the god Skilong. The story goes that a man appeared here once,
who said he /116/ had not been but came of himself (ka long).
He also told the people that they could receive the kings. S'iem.
So the god who lives here was called a Ka long (he who is out of him-
self), from which the Europeans gradually made the word Skilong
and also gave this name to the splendid mountain ranges in the heart
of the Khasi Mountains.

After the S'iem-Sil has determined exactly the day of the cere-
monies, the news of this is sent out two weeks prior to the ceremony
to the village elders (Rangbah Hooing). This is done on the day of
the large market (Ch dah), which takes place every eighth day. Two
weeks after is the pom Klang, also on the day of the large market,
which is discussed below.

The way in which the invitation is issued is interesting. A num-
ber of chains about 20 ft long are made of bamboo rings. These are
called kynnah. One of these is sent to the eldest man of each village.
Since the Khasi formerly had no script, this bamboo chain always
served as a sign of invitation or summons to the S'iem for coronation,
or of danger of war, or of court matters and such. The degree of ur-
gency was shown by the form of the links, in the case of great haste
the form was length and flat, otherwise correspondingly rounder.
The sending of the kynnah to the village elders serves now as a sign
of invitation for the whole village to appear at the ceremonies and
at the same time as a demand to gather together the prescribed sacri-
ficial gifts. Each of the six dongsnis, into which the kingdom Hong-
kong is divided, must furnish a goat; each individual but must pay a
tax (called pynkuh) of six rupees and five annas in addition. Very
poor people only have to pay one anna or even only a half. The
sacrificial gifts, such as rice, various sacrificial animals, fish, brandy

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641 4'28 custom prevails amongst the Syntengs. Inheritance to the post of Siem (or chief) also passes through the female line, there being special customs of inheritance for each of the different chieftains.

649 3. The Khasis are divided into clans, or *kur*. These clans are strictly exogamous. Some of these clans derive their names from animals, insects, trees or fish,—*e.g.*, the *thaw* clan, *thaw* meaning a crab; the *shiah* clan, *shiah* meaning a monkey; the *rani* clan, so called from a fish by name *rani*; the *dienglah* clan, *dienglah* meaning a certain tree. There are other instances also. In such instances, the clan is said to have sprung from the animal, fish, or tree, as the case may be. There also appears to be a trace of totemism amongst the Khasis, although now-a-days their totems are not worshipped, nor do people abstain from killing, eating, or utilizing them. A man when he marries does not cease to belong to the *kur* or family of his mother, but his children belong to the *kur* of the man's wife. Frequently the husband merely visits his wife at her mother's house. It is seldom the case that a man takes his wife to his own house, certainly not until several children have been born.

As might be expected, owing to the influence of the matriarchate, 36.2 Khasi and Syntengs women enjoy a much greater share of liberty than is usually the case with the sex. Although not wishing to make any general statements, there can be no doubt that Khasi women enjoy considerable freedom in their social relations. Women do all the trading, and like their Bhutpori sisters make all the large purchases.

● 367 4. *Ancestor worship.*—The Khasis propitiate *Ka Jaubri*, the first maternal ancestress of the clan, by sacrificing a pig; they also sacrifice yearly to *U Suidnia* (the departed maternal great-uncle). Also when a family is in trouble, *U Thawlang* (the departed great-grandfather) is propitiated. Ancestors are further worshipped by the erection of memorial stones. These memorial stones will be noticed separately.

649 5. *Birth customs.*—At the birth the navel of a child must not be severed by any instrument made of iron or steel, but by a sharp splinter of bamboo. The placenta is placed in a pot and is kept inside the house till the ceremony of naming the child takes place. As long as the placenta remains in the house, the father is very, or taboo, to anyone except the members of the family. On the day of the ceremony of naming the child, the father removes the placenta and burns it outside the house. Having done this, the feet of the father are washed with water before he re-enters the house. When the ceremony takes place, powdered rice is placed on a stone (*u pruli*) and a small box and three cowrie [illegible] the child in a mat, and a cowrie (*ka ka*) and a star or (some stray) [illegible] the forehead when carrying a bed by the Khasis), if the child is a female.

etc. The targets are of two kinds, i.e., a drum, which is made of a 52.6
bundle of grass about 1 foot long and 8 inches in diameter, the target being fastened on to a pole; and from the root of a plant called *ahyelong*. The distance for the shooting is about 30 to 40 yards.

Before the shooting begins, a *nanghoto*, or sacrifice, performs a prayer and then the shooting commences. Each archer subscribes from half to one anas, the total amount so obtained is pooled and then wagered against a similar sum subscribed by the other side. While the shooting is going on the men of both sides dance and sing, and when there is a hit a great shout, or *kpikui*, is raised. The side that wins the match, after rewarding the *nanghoto* and the man who makes the targets, buys a pig and some liquor, which articles are partaken of by the people of the village which has won the match. In the War villages, and amongst the Sportsmen, sometimes wagers of considerable sums are made in hard cash in these contests.

51. It is not intended to describe at great length the Ewe religious system, but only to note briefly regarding it at present, a full account being reserved for the monograph for the preparation of which I am collecting further information. Ewe religion is animism, or spirit worship. It may be divided into (a) the worship of spirits, (b) ancestor worship. 73

(a) *Spirit worship.*—The principal god amongst the Ewes is God 75
the Creator (*Ta'ni Kwaghan*), who is sometimes masculine and sometimes feminine, the sex of the feminine gender being no doubt due to matriarchal influence. A yearly sacrifice should be offered to this god of a cock and a goat. The cock is sacrificed as a substitute for man, it being thought that the cock, when killed, bears the sins of the man, and that by its sacrifice man will obtain salvation. How the cock came to occupy this important position in Ewe religion is not at present quite clear. Perhaps there was originally human sacrifice amongst the Ewes, and the cock nowadays takes the place of the human victim. Other gods which are worshipped are *Ka'ni tong-ka* (the goddess of the sea), *Ka'ni kwapoli* (the goddess of wealth), *Ta'ni ava-tong* (god of water). An important fact to be noted is that the Ewe gods or goddesses are never worshipped in the shape of idols in any form whatsoever. 92.2

(b) *Ancestor worship.*—I am inclined to think that this form of 76.9
worship largely underlies the Ewe religious system. The following are some of the ancestors or ancestresses who are regularly worshipped:—

(1) *Ka Sodzi tyrant.*—the principal ancestress of the family. A pig is sacrificed to her. [illegible]

(3) *Tiwdif* sin, —*ancestral* maternal great-uncle.
(4) *U shaw* long, —*ancestral* great-grandfather.

A very striking feature of the Khasi religion is the use of the leaves of the *diengsing* (*Q. lamellata*) or Khasi oak tree. The leaves of this tree are used to cover the sacrificial knife, a sprig of the oak is implanted in the ground before the sacrifices of fowls or goats take place, an oak bough is hung up inside the house along with the jaw-bones and horns of sacrificial animals and the feathers of fowls. A great part of oak is to be found within the groves of the sacred enclosures of the Siem priestess of Khynriam, the custodian of the religion of the State of that name. Another feature is the use of altars of stone on certain ceremonial occasions, and no Khasi religious ceremony takes place without the use of a small gourd a thing from which libation are poured out to the gods. Dancing always accompanies ceremonies of any importance, e.g., funeral ceremonies, the erection of memorial stones, and the great puja of the Siems of Nongkrem.

11. *Memorial stones.*—These are without doubt the most prominent feature connected with these people. The first thing that strikes any visitor to the Khasi and Jaintia Hills is the immense number of these stones. The latter are placed in a line, a higher one in the centre, and lower ones on each side. The centre monolith is invariably covered with a round flat stone. The upright stones are always in uneven numbers, being in sets of three, five, seven, or even nine stones. In front of each set of three stones is placed one horizontal stone, or monolith which rests on three or four small upright stones, the horizontal stone being raised to about one foot from the ground. If five upright stones are erected, two horizontal stones are placed in front of them, and if seven are erected three, and so on. There can be no doubt that these stones possess considerable significance, but what exactly that significance is I am at present engaged in investigating. So far as my information extends at present, I give the following explanation.

Memorial stones may be divided for the present into two classes—

(a) Stones erected by the family, or kin, in accordance with the Khasi custom of ancestor worship.
(b) Stones which are erected by children in honour of a deceased parent.

It should be remarked that both classes of stones are merely memorials, the remembrance of the ancestors or the parents often being unknown near the places where the memorial stones are erected. Taking class (a) first:—Supposing that five upright stones are erected and two horizontal stones as depicted in plate III.

[See 2nd plate. 1 . . . Analysis]

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Stone No. 3 , the middle is called U Maw Kai, i.e., the stone of the maternal uncle, Nos. 2 and 4 are called Ki pyrsa, Ki pyrsi, i.e., the brothers or sisters, and the nephews or nieces. No. 1 is called U Maw Kiang, i.e., the stone of the dress, and No. 5 U Maw kuit, the stone of the placenta. No. 6 is called Ki Lashei Syrwi. The word Syrwi meaning root, Ki Lashei Syrwi signifies the first maternal grandfather of the family. The above is the system of naming stones in Mawlai Raj—other systems will be described in the monograph.

Class (b).—Stones of [illegible] : these are generally, I am informed, three in number, consisting of three upright stones as shown in plate IV and a flat stone in front, as in the case of stones falling under class (a) :

Here there is a marked difference in that the big stone in the middle is called U Maw thawlang, or the stone of the gaoner [illegible] or father. Nos. 2 and 3 are the brothers or the male cousins of U [illegible] father, and No. 4 is erected in honour of Ki Lashei, or the grandfather of the father, —not the first ancestress of the clan, as in the case in stones falling under class (a). The post split at its top containing the jawbone of a bullock which has been sacrificed in honour of the deceased parent should be observed, vide Fig. 2. It was formerly the custom and is still in some places the custom, to spread offerings upon the flat stones to appease the spirits of the deceased ancestors. These stones, which are only 2 to 3 feet from the ground, suggest the idea of sacrificial tables at some time or other. Stones 5, 6, and 7 in Fig. A are between 9 and 10 feet high, but there are several larger monoliths in these hills.

The description of the stones in figures A and B was given me by a man of some intelligence at Nongkrem, but many different explanations of the names, and regarding the significance of these stones, are given by other persons living in various parts of the hills, and it is not unlikely that the account I have tentatively advanced may have to be modified subsequently. The system of each clan, apparently, varies to some extent from the other, and in some cases to a very considerable degree. In the Jaintia Hills very large groups of stones are found near villages, which are thought by the Syntengs to have been merely erected by the elder of each or Mawsiang-khali, as seats for weary travellers, or for persons attending markets. At one place in the Jaintia Hills memorial stones were erected to commemorate a woman, Ki Kmynsiang, who in generations past is said to have had thirty husbands. It may, however, be stated that no such polyandrous custom has been found at the present day. The stones are reported to be thirty in number. There are also many stones at a place on the road from Shillong to Jowai said to have been erected to commemorate those who fell in a battle between the Syntengs and one of the Khasi Siems.

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As mentioned before, these stones are not gravestones, they are shaped, both the vertical and the horizontal stones, remarkably like the pictures of menhirs and dolmens that appear in Fergusson's work on rude stone monuments. It is a remarkable fact that Dalton mentions the existence of apparently very similar memorial stones in certain *Ho* and *Munda* villages in Chota Nagpur, and there is a drawing to be found at page 52 of Yule's Embassy to the Court of Ava of a cromlech which is apparently very like the cromlechs or menhirs to be met with every day in these hills. It is most unfortunate that the Khasis, owing to their want of a written language in former days, possess no written annals of these stones, and that the Khasis of the present day are so very vague in their ideas about them, for I am inclined to believe that the proper elucidation of this question of memorial stones may prove to be the key to the origin of these people. I therefore strongly advise that a very careful search be made for similar stones, such as I have described, in other parts of India. It is possible that the Khasis may have found menhirs erected by some prehistoric race when they arrived in the Khasi Hills, and they may have adopted the custom of erecting memorial stones by the force of example, but the use of such stones seems to fit in with the Khasi system of ancestor worship, and it is remarkable that the shapes of the stones should be so very similar to those which exist in England, Ireland and Brittany, and I believe also in Denmark and Scandinavia. In the custom of erecting such memorial stones in any way connected with people processing the mainmaliain? The whole subject is a deeply interesting one, and I hope that it may be possible to throw some light on it.

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11. *Tabu.*—The Khasis have an elaborate system of *ang*, or tabus. There are very many different kinds of *ang*, but some of them are the following :—

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Special tabus, at time of pregnancy.—(a) It is *ang* for a pregnant woman to accompany a funeral procession.

(b) It is *ang* for a woman in the first stage of pregnancy to finish any sewing which she may have commenced before she became enceinte. There is a similar prohibition regarding the finishing of the plaiting of wicker baskets.

(c) It is *ang* for the husband of a pregnant woman to thatch the ridge of the roof of a house at such a time.

(d) It is *ang* under similar circumstances to fix an axe or a dao in a handle.

Ordinary tabus.—(1) It is *ang* to build a house with stone walls on all four sides.

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[Fold plate II]

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[End plate 4]

The tall upright stones are called "Mau hynna", from "mau", a stone; "hynna", to make known, to be informed, literally a monument. They are also known by the term, "Mau shimmai", the male stone, while the flat seat-like slab in front is called "Mau Kyrthai", the female stone, representative of all life, being in pairs. My informant explained this by saying the monument would be imperfect without the flat stone or its female adjunct.

The ashes of the dead are never deposited under the horizontal slabs always to be seen in front of the upright sets, the monument having no connection with funeral obsequies whatever. The monument is purely one to perpetuate the memory of a person long deceased, who, as a spirit, has watched over or brought good fortune to a descendant, his family, or clan. Wealth or station of the deceased has no connection with the size of the monument, which may be of any dimensions, from stones a foot or two and upward, but depends on the wealth of those who erect such memorials, and on the benefits the deceased has conferred after passing into the world of spirits and demons, for, according to Khasi belief, the spirits of the dead and demons are the cause of all joy or woe—they give riches or strike with disease and death.

These monuments are not set up facing any particular point of the compass; the front is generally selected, having reference to the site and its surroundings: thus a number set up together on a hill-top will be found facing outwards, those by the wayside facing the road; however, single sets, standing on a hill-top or rising ground, as a rule, face to the south-west.

The history connected with the erection of some large slabs near Cherra Poonjee will exemplify this curious custom. One of the clans, "Kiar" in Cherra, is known as the "Nongtrieng", and many years ago died an old lady of the clan, not famous for anything in particular during her lifetime, but whose virtues appear to have been great after her demise, for after this the Nongtrieng clan, from being a poor one, rose gradually to considerable wealth; she, when propitiated and called on for aid, never failed her race, and in return, after some sixty years or more, they raised to her memory five wall-out stones, which are to be seen on the west side of the road between Cherra Poonjee and Sumera, the central monolith adorned with a kind of rose cut in relief on the front face, and an ornamental disc on the apex. It would appear that she still remained the guardian spirit of her clan; they continued to prosper, and as a further token to her memory, they added in 1869 five more stones on the other side of the road, and in a line with the first set.

It may very naturally be asked how demonstrate possible the

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over what their ancestors are doing for them, and what their views and inclinations may be as regards the amount of aid they may give. To a Khasia there is no difficulty also, the mother, when in distress or requiring aid of any kind, making omens by the breaking of eggs (which, I will hereafter describe) he appeals to and propitiates any one ancestor he may select; only one or two may promise such protection, and these it may so happen have died years ago. The benefit also conferred may be very trivial, and sufficiently acknowledged by the setting up of stones of small size; on the contrary, if great favours are conferred on the wealthy we find large monoliths forming conspicuous landmarks on many a hill-top, scattered over a large area of country, and which are mostly known to the country round by the name of the individuals who have wrought so much good in their after state.

These stones are never erected in pairs or in even numbers; in counting over a very large series still perfect, I found them invariably in sets of three, five, seven, or as I have before mentioned in the case of the Nongtraiong clan, in two sets, five and five, on opposite sides, to the same individual.* Even numbers are considered unfinished or imperfect.

A reference to the plans given, numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, will show the various arrangements in which the stones are set up, both in a segment of a circle and at right angles to each other, as in fig. 3. The most common form, however, is in line, fig. 4. Fig. 1 consisted of a circular platform raised about two feet, faced with rough stones on the front face. These three examples were observed on the hill of Lailung-kote, where the bazar is held, and I have not seen anywhere else the monoliths so arranged; in other parts of the country they are invariably set up in a straight row.

These monuments are also erected for such a reason as the following:—During the illness of a person, every kind of propitiation and exorcism either by the breaking of eggs, sacrifice of fowls, pigs, etc., and by the examination of the liver and viscera, having been made, and then failing to restore him; the sick man may vow that should he recover, he will erect a set of stones to one of his ancestors, who, it is presumed, on knowing of the intention, will do his best to save him.

In setting up these slabs all members of the community are under an obligation to assist on such an occasion, and are not paid for their labour, beyond receiving in the evening a little food or liquor at the dwelling of the family who have sought the aid. The skilled workmen employed on the stone-cutting are,

* Three and five are the most frequent numbers met with, also very rare I have seen eleven.

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I never saw the Khasis engaged in raising a stone into the upright position, but I saw the space which had formed a sort of cradle on which the stones forming the monument erected by the Nongtariang clan previously alluded to had been dragged from the spot where they had been quarried. They consisted of strong curved limbs of trees roughly smoothed and rounded, and would present a very small surface to friction. These stones had been taken from the side of a hill near, and had apparently been wedged out of the face of a step in the exposed sand-stone strata.

It may be as well that I should here give some account of the funeral rites of the Khasis, which will show there is no connection between them and the monuments I have been describing, and with which the other stone erections have no doubt been often confounded. In their funeral rites there is much that is wonderfully strange, and to those unacquainted with their superstitions, appears unmeaning. There can be no doubt but the Khasis have a very strong belief in a future state, and to say that they have no religion, as has been stated by some writers, is erroneous. True, they have no temples for either worship or idols, the religion of the people is principally a demon worship, and we find the Khasi ever in communion with or in the power, as he supposes, of the spirits of those who have gone before him. While, added to these spirits of their ancestors are numberless demons, male and female, ever ready, if not propitiated, to bring evil upon himself or his undertakings, and whose power even extends over the spirits of the dead. Every dark shady wood, every stream, every conspicuous hill has its presiding demon, which in many instances gives the name to the site. Thus, the hill of Lleh, in North Jaintia, beyond Nongpoh, is the abode of a one-legged demon, whom to see is death, but who was occasionally heard in the dense forest that clothed the northern steep face of the mountain, as said the credulous villagers of Nongtiang.

The dead are burnt on a funeral pyre, the logs of which are arranged very regularly, and the body lies in a sort of bed formed by them.

The calcined bones and ashes are collected and placed in an earthen vessel (small "ghara"), and are generally buried in some adjacent spot, a stone being placed over the vase for security; they do not, however, remain permanently in this place. Every family or clan has a separate receptacle for these remains, constructed in several ways, but always covered with a heavy slab of stone: these receptacles are called "Mon-bah," the great stone "Mon-shing," a bone depository—lit., the "bone stone."

M. Schlagintweit has fallen into an error regarding the dolmen-shaped structures, and was not aware that this form is an

of a clan some ceremonial structures developed out of the custom of depositing the bones of the clansmen in clan ossuary and reserving the relationship between the clansmen on the ceremonial occasion of *Shipmaskuk* when the bones were finally transferred from *mawshing* (ossuary of a sub-clan) to *mawbah* (ossuary of a clan).

Social bond among the clansmen is due to the performance of common religious ceremonies (*jiher*), worship of common deities and spirits of household (*Kwishna*), water (*jaw*) and hills (*Kwishlaw*) and observance of mourning for three days for the death of clansmen with the cessation of outdoor work specially with implements.

Economic bond among them is due further to the possession of common land (*ri-khar*), which is divided into separate holdings held by families.

Sub-clan (*Ka-Ki-jaw*)—Unlike the clan, sub-clan has nothing to do with the regulation of marriage. Its main functions are main-religious. Mutual interest in the welfare of the members of sub-clan evinced in the observance of *ishaw*[2] in honour of the dead grandmother, gradual sentiment grown out of the former practice of depositing the bones of the dead persons of the same sub-clan in *mawshing* and the responsibility of bearing the expenses for *shipmaskuk* bind the members together.

The observance of mourning on the death of a person of the same sub-clan for three days and the consequent

[2] Offering of food to the spirits of the dead ancestors.

economy. The chances of acquiring a piece of land nowadays are 176
small, except for very successful men, and usually the size of the plot
is only just enough to maintain one household. When this land is 423
passed on to the next generation, the youngest daughter will hold the
title to it. This fact tends to exclude married elder sisters from the 428
right to use the land, since it is not sufficient for more than one household. Thus the ultimogeniture succession rule seems to have developed more sharply and to have encouraged limited inheritance in conjunction with the shortage of land.

This tendency creates imbalance in the economy of the households 176
within a community. It is a usual picture in Khasi villages, for the
bigger and well-built houses to be occupied by the youngest daughter's 189
family, while the elder sisters reside in poor huts. Youngest daughters 423
are usually landowners, while their elder sisters have often to become 428
day-labourers after their marriage, unless their husbands are capable 556
men, or their fathers wealthy enough to give them some share of their
acquired property. On the whole, the variations at present between [191]
rich and poor are considerable in a Khasi community, in comparison with that of the Garo, where the economic condition of each household in a village is more or less similar. These differences are not only a matter of economic organization but arise from the nature of each social structure.

The economic and social patterns of Sohkynduh and Kongrim are 197
very similar, but their dialects are slightly different: my interpreter, [126]
who came from Cherrapunji, could work quite well at Sohkynduh, but at Kongrim he found some difficulty, especially with the speech of the old men, and with their religious expressions. The head man of Kongrim, who was quite accustomed to the Cherra dialect, acted as an interpreter for us. Such differences in dialect in the Khasi Hills are common phenomena; it is said that every valley has its own dialect. Differences are found not only in speaking, but also, to a certain extent, in culture and in social usages.

II. Village Exogamy

One of the outstanding features of Khasi social organization is 582
the predominant tendency of endogamy on the level of the village, 621
which contrasts with the structural orientation of the Garo village [171]
exogamy. This is closely connected with the distribution of clans and the nature of the descent groups.

The Khasi population consists of a number of *kur*, matrilineal 614
clans, whose members consider themselves to be descended from a [765]
common ancestress. The members of the same *kur* have a common [769]

614 [765] [769] *mawlu* (grave stone), to which the bones of all the dead members are buried. When the *mawlu* becomes full, or some members move away to a considerable distance, they provide another branch *mawlu*, creating a new *lineage*. Thus in course of time, every *clan lineage* occasionally branches off. Every branch *lineage* has a different name, but can be grouped into a major *lineage* thus forming a distinct exogamous group. Relationships among the minor *lineage* of one major *lineage* are usually known, or can be ascertained, so that marriages among these members are avoided. When the Khasi express this kind of group consciousness, they use the term *jaw* (own people). For outsiders, it is difficult to know through the names of minor *lineage* whether *lineage* A and *lineage* B are of the same group or not.

However, neither clan solidarity nor corporation activities are found among the Khasi, except in those clans which are considered of higher status, and maintain a functional position in the political or religious fields. Such are the Siem of the ruling clan and the Kingkhi of the priest clan, etc. Among commoners like the villagers of Sohkynthih and Kongton, the importance of a *lineage* is confined to recognizing a common ancestress, with a common *mawlu* concepts, which requires them to maintain a strict exogamous rule. But whether of major or minor *lineage*, its members do not meet together or have a common leader. Actually major *lineage* of which there are a considerable number all over the Khasi Hills, have no clear-cut geographical distribution. Each is scattered over a wide area, cutting across territory which includes several villages, and mixing with various other *lineage*. Indeed, some of them are very widely distributed geographically and found in almost all regions of the Khasi Hills. A minor *lineage* is also scattered over many different villages, though it shows more concentration than the major one. Consequently a village may be composed of small segments [621] of more than a dozen different *lineage*. Even these small segments of each *lineage* found in a single village have little or no sense of kin-group solidarity, unless the members have quite close kinship ties. In many cases, though some members have the same *lineage* name, their relationship may be distant, so that they cannot always reconstruct their genealogical relationship. In such a case their behaviour and attitude towards the same *lineage* members and towards other *lineage* members show no difference.

615 Individuals are not grouped actually under the name of *lineage* but in a smaller group of matrilineal descendants from one great-grand-

[766] 1. The Khasi commoners dead bodies, bones and ashes are usually kept in a spot near the younger sister's house which is the centre of a functional descent group. In many cases and finally placed in the *mawlu* of the *lineage*. They say that these bones are to be collected and replaced into the *mawlu* every hundred years with a great ceremony. Moreover, some of villagers are certain about the year when the last ceremony was held.

also active, and in the decade one U Kyrbai, a Khasi convert to Presbyterianism, left that church and founded a unique sect that blends something of Islam with something of mystical Hinduism and Christianity. The competition who most seriously threatened the dominance of the Welsh Presbyterians were the Roman Catholic missionaries who arrived in Shillong about 1886. Catholics have since opened a number of high schools, colleges, convents, and orphanages. They also established a technical school, and are now constructing a seminary. At the present time, the estimate is that there are about 100,000 Presbyterians and 30,000 Roman Catholics among Khasis. Members of other Christian sects are comparatively few; adherents to Hinduism and Islam are fewer still, comprised chiefly of Khasi women married to Hindu or Muslim men. U Kyrbai's sect is dying out, and the believers of Khasis are, according to their own term, "Khasi" in religion. (Cf. Lyngdoh 1987; Morris 1910; Rupmo 1988; Singh 1986; Pugh 1981.) Supernatural. The great deities are two, as mentioned earlier: God (U Blei) and an unnamed feminine Goddess (Ka Blei Nongsynriar Nongbdiang). God created the earth, and in the beginning instructed man in cultivation techniques and also laid down the framework of a moral order that should guide his every move if he wished to join God in heaven after death. This framework was then filled in by the first ancestors, who are therefore the authorities on the subject and are considered as the brother (the uncle) of U Thawlang (the father), and U Sutlim (the mother's brother). Very early, Goddess undertook to keep account of the numbers of human beings on earth, and this role was so important, relating as it did to the health and the multiplication of the people, that she became of major importance in the Khasi pantheon. When on least human society, God activated automatic punishments in the form of natural calamities, and man finally decided that some mediator should go and intercede with God on behalf of humans. The cult went, agreed to take upon himself the burden of human sin, and received instruction in the correct dirgeries and medical techniques for which he - said to be one of the main objects of the body. Again, over a period of time, it was the ancestors who perfected these techniques. Now, God is regarded as powerful and merciful, but passive. His punishments have then very impetus, and the expression of His mercy is exhibited in ritual. Goddess is more vaguely conceived, but is much closer to the individual. But cf. Khendoh 1988, who conceives of one double-sexed, great deity among Khasis.) Regarding ancestors, it is never clear from prayers whether supplication is to generalized ancestors or to particular last ancestors of a Khasi's own matrilineage, and such a distinction seems not to matter. There are three other categories of minor deities: those who protect places such as villages, groves, or springs,

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19: McCormack E-4,5 (1956-1958) 1964
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household deities, and remote and analyze deities. 776
Deities of the first two categories are simply aspects 771
of the high God or Goddess. • The earth is peopled with two great orders of land demons and water demons who cause all undesirable, unnatural, and otherwise inexplicable events, acting either on their own or as instruments in the hands of sorcerers.
Apart from omens, both in nature and in dreams, 787
Khasis attach supernatural significance also to mystic 812
numbers, and to the colors white, black, and red. They hold especially important folk beliefs regarding 824
betel nut, paddy rice, gold and silver, and clothing.
Practitioners. The two classes of religious practitioners are the village or state priests and the sacrificers. 781
Both are male. They use the same divinatory tech- 783
niques of reading broken eggshells and the entrails 759
of cocks, and they both sacrifice cocks, hens, goats, pigs, and cattle. Their skills are not taught to them so much as picked up by observation and confirmed by demonstrations of efficacy. A priest is elected from among the men of his ab to direct his skills to the public good until he dies, and his rewards are institutionalized and come from the village or the state. A sacrificer acts for private persons or his group, on call, and is rewarded by them personally with gifts in cash or in kind. The sacrificer is called upon to explain and then to ritually remedy every variety of misfortune, especially illness, though his powers are nowadays regarded with ambivalence, and he is widely expected to become a sorcerer
sooner or later. • There are two major types of sor- 754
cerer. One is the ritual specialist or sacrificer who secretly turns his skills from good to evil, manipulating demons to injure a person or his group, and acting always for himself alone out of considerations of jealousy or revenge. The other is normally a leading citizen, a woman who is so wealthy and successful that it is believed that she must keep a *thim*, i.e. a creature which will bring her prosperity as long as she feeds it periodically with human blood. To provide this blood, the men of her household, or other males whom she bewitches with a special whisky, will indiscriminately murder anyone except a member of her matrilineage. The jaintias have an ana- [184]
logue to the *thim* in their *iaw*, except that the ultimate result is death from illness rather than murder. Minor witchcraft can be perpetrated by poison keepers or persons with an evil eye, who are often women. Ceremonies. The important traditional 845
ceremonies were the life-crisis rituals relating to 864
pregnancy and childbirth, the naming of a child, and 853
death. Lesser ceremonies related to marriage and 744
divorce, and to housebuilding. All these rituals were 787
addressed primarily to the ancestors, and they are 784
still performed in modified form by many Khasis. 787
Other rituals, which were performed by groups such 788 •
as villages, *ables*, local descent groups, or households, 778
were addressed to the unnamed aspects of the high 782

17: Banerjee E-5 (1955) 1962 AR7 Khasi AR7
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THE KHASI FESTIVAL OF 'POMBLANG'

S. Banerjee

Introduction

The Khasi inhabit the upland of the central part of the United Khasi and Jaintia Hills district of Assam. They reckon descent through mother and the youngest daughter (Ka khadduh) of the house is the custodian of the ancestral property. Belief in the existence of spirits is strong among them and the causes of diseases are ascertained by taking recourse to the process of divination. They are ruled by different categories of Chief. The *Siem* is the highest official responsible for the administration of the state but a few small states are also governed by *Sirdars* with same powers as vested in the former although does not possess the same status. It is interesting to note that their priest whose rank is next to *Siem*, have also been allotted to perform this secular duties in some of the regions of the Khasi country. The Chief function through their respective council comprising elected members from different administrative units. He is rather subservient to this body as he is liable to be censured or even dismissed, if his activities are not in conformity with the Khasi traditional usage. Most of his directives are implemented through the assistance of his subordinates who are in-charge of various sections of the State. The Khasi place his grievance first to these junior officers for redress and justice, after which an appeal can be preferred to the *Siem* or any other higher officer as the case may be. One of the eminent States of the Khasi people known as Khyriem, where this festival is celebrated, consists of eight units for administrative convenience under the supervision of different grades of officials who participated in this celebration along with the *Siem* as representatives of the people.

The Khasi festival of *Pomblang* (Goat killing) described below used to be celebrated at one time in Shillong when the Khasi states of Khyriem and Mylliem were not separated. The first chief of the Khyriem state U Singh Manik shifted his headquarters to Noogkrem village after partition of the kingdom, which occured before the arrival of the British. He again moved to Lanekerdem after a brief stay at the villaee of Lyneshing. He performed this festival as long as he was there, transferring it again to Nongkrem where he re-settled again. It was celebrated here for a long time and consequently it was named after this village. Although the ruling family had later on shifted its residence about sixty years ago to the present village Smit, during the time of U Klur Singh, Siem, it is performed regularly as *Nongkrem dance* which was observed by the author from 21st June to 25th June, 1955.

Object of the festival

It is being held every year since the days of U Shillong who was supposed to be the founder of original Khyriem State. They celebrate it to perpetuate his memory and pay homage with a view to ensure rain, good harvest, eliminating diseases and famine. He was worshipped along with other ancestors with view to guide the present Chief in his discharge of his duties and for the welfare of the people.

The house of Siem (iing-sad) where the rites are observed, is considered sacred. It consists of a big-hall (shlur) in the centre, surrounded by rooms. One of these on the north is used as a kitchen room (iing-chetja) where ritual

778 objects are stored while that of the west (*Kyrpum blang*) was meant exclusively
796 for sacrificial goats. There is a very big circular courtyard in front of the building where the members of the royal family as also other boys and spinsters
[793] hold a ritual dance. The function is always held during the monsoon period of May or June and the actual dates are fixed in consultation with the Chief priest
[443] (*Sokhlet*) in such a way that the first day—*Pomriah*[*] always coincides with the market day of Shillong Chera Bazar. The dates of the festival is then re-
[202] communicated to the in-charge of different units of his territory, through a wooden stick '*Kyrwih*' having a few knots of cane-strips, as a form of summons for attending the festival for five days at least along with subjects under their jurisdiction.

Important Participant

796 The responsibility of performing this ritual rests on the High-priestess
793 (*Ka Siem Sad*) who is succeeded by her eldest daughter. Different ritual objects are procured by her, well in advance and it is obligatory on her part to
562 join the ceremonial dancing, in which her daughter may also officiate on her
[764] behalf. U Shillong is worshipped by the chief priest while the other ancestors
[532] are invoked by lesser priests. The musicians (*Dhulia*) besides their normal duties, take part in the worship of the ancestors and they are presented with silk turban, jacket, cloth, by the ruling family for the services rendered during the festival. The *Siem* has no especial role except to supervise and invoke U Shillong for the welfare of the community. She is required to perform various sacrifices, failing which his heir-apparent (*Siem Lyngoit*) does the same. He along with his sister (High priestess) abstain from taking rice during the period of celebration presumably to observe the sanctity of this festival as also to ensure the successful conclusion of the function.

Ritual Methods

796 The festival derives its name from the sacrifice of a large number of goats
782 some of which were supplied from the State fund and from different units of the territory. Formerly at least fifty goats were required and each unit had
231 a specific allotment but owing to the economic difficulty that the Khasi are experiencing, the number of goats sacrificed hardly exceeds twenty-five. The goats collected from the different units, are presented to the Chief at the midnight
[273] of the third day. Rice-beer, dried fish, fermented-rice, betel leaves together
[276] with nuts are also important ritual objects in this celebration.

Description of the Festival

796 The commencement of the festival was marked by the distribution of dried
782 fish (suit dokha) to the persons assembled on the occasion, in the evening of *Pomriah* (*i.e.* 21st June, 1957). This was followed by the dropping of rice-beer by the Chief priest over the five place of central hall known as *Ka sub-ka shar*

[805] *A week consists of eight days in Khasi. Calendar the names are according to the places where markets are held in Khasi Hills.

Name	Market
1. Pomriah	Shillong Chera Bazar.
2. Umai	Cherrapunji.
3. Yer-doh	Shillong Bara Bazar.
4. Lyngka	Sarongai.
5. Nongkrem	Nongkrem.
6. Mawlong	Laban (Shillong).
7. Ryngkep	Cherrapunji Chera Bazar.
8. Shillong	Ladthing Iaw.

in which no section was made except the division of the figure to the name of U Shillong, Ka Shi Long Sam and U Sohkha. Subsequently, the Chief minister (Khalai) conferred another duty Ka Syndai, by holding a yellow cock in front of meat offerings collected on a plantain leaf while his subordinates successively dressed nine times in their traditional way. Distribution of dyeing and religious figure to the people washed and the rest of the first day and the ceremonies performed on the day were repeated on the second day (Lyem).

The sacrifice of goats which was an important feature of the festival, was performed in the afternoon of the third day (Ten Jaid) on the top of an adjacent hill where the Sawdong with other members of his house, were there in a procession. The people shouted at the time which was proceeding to that place. The musicians went round the altar five or the top of the hill three in anticipation of a happy and good augury. The Chief priest facing the north, prayed to U Shillong holding a two-coloured cock in his right hand and killed it on the altar collecting its blood in a gourd vessel. The entrails of the cock were carefully examined by him and then kept on a silver plate. The Chief priest threw some grains of rice before him on the yellow goat and prayed to U Shillong holding a dish in his hand. He then passed on the implements to the Sawdong who also prayed to the deity. The Sawdong handed over the same to a man (mongong) who sacrificed the goat on behalf of the Sawdong. He collected nine pieces of meat from different parts of the goat's body (e.g. heart, lungs, liver, stomach, kidney, etc.) and handed them over to the priest. The latter cut each piece of the meat into two parts and offered them to the five ministers.* The procession returned to the Sawdong's residence when the head of the goat was brought back by a member of a Khar-Sawan clan. It was then given to the High-priestess for disposal of the same in a manner as the kind. The day's rituals were completed by performing the goat propitiation ceremony in the midst. The Chief minister stood very near the five mats in the occasion in the verandah (Longkong) of the building and called the names of different units to present their gifts, in order of their seniority. The gathering that was squatting from the courtyard shouted in their traditional way thus time on receipt of the Sawdong's ceremonies and the outside were led to the Lyngdoh for accounts any before which day were not considered fit to be sacrificed to be held on the day then.

On the evening of the fourth day (Lyngkha) betel leaves and nuts were presented to the members of the Sawdong's family by the people wishing them happiness and prosperity. The chief priest took his seat in front of the verandah on a line along with his six assistants who were on either side in a group of five facing the north. The Chief priest worshipped U Blei Shillong and Ka Shi-Long Sam and the responsibility of cooking each assistant or assistants was devolved on each assistant priest :

Asstt. Priest	Chief Priest	Asstt. Priest
1. U Dienger. 2. U Marthan. 3. U Ram Shillong. 4. Ka Phan Lum Shillong. 5. U Sohkrem.	6. U Shillong. 7. Ka Shi Long Sam.	8. U Phan Kyndiah. 9. U Shyrwang. 10. Ka Lei Dymon. 11. Ka Sam Sngi. 12. Ka Mei Symlieh.

* (1) U Blei Shillong (2) U Sohkha (3) U Kyn & U Ehn
(4) U Mukhrew Sawdong (5) U Bakri Shake

After Lingoth II—The Pawlikong Hynghoon (in Khasi) 1944. Khasi & Jaintia Hills Press, Shillong.

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The pots were sacrificed to the chief's ancestors (Sawdiyawa) and in charge of respective sects at the open courtyard. The priests evoked the ancestors and ancestors and called upon them by name praying (Ok Lord and Goddess, I offer this sacrifice to our ancestors old. Bless the Sawa, his family and the people of his state. I shall honour you again on this day after one year. This sacrifice favourable weather by virtue of your power, bring clouds and rains to yield bumper crops and ensure a happy and prosperous life.

On the last day (Dungbiyawa), a man of Mawoch clan sacrificed a pig by swallowing an iron spike in its left armpit. Nine pieces of meat from different parts of the pig's body were again offered to their five ancestors. The Sawa or the ceremony of the Further performed the last rites of festival by praying to Ju Dullong, when the Chief of Kongsit also also followed in the same way by calling the blessings of their Chief deity.

This brought the ritual to an end performed at the residence of Sawa. The five pieces of goat's and pig's meat offered to their five ancestors, were then handed over to the in-charge of the five units considered as somewhat higher in their Sawa organisation. They distributed them at a suitable place in their unit, making a feast as a social public declaration of the completion of their greatest festival for the year.

Dances

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Besides the ritual described above, dance with the accompaniment of music formed an important aspect of the festival. A dance known as [illegible] had been a regular feature for the first, second, third and fifth day. This dance has some interesting features. It has to be performed in pairs. The first pair was constituted by Chief priest and the Chief musician. Second to fifth pairs were between the leaders of the eight [illegible] which Sawa along with an elderly of the animal commanded the fifth pair. The subsequent pairs were formed by any two persons from the gathering. They danced only after having first bell-ring the Gah [illegible] (Sawa) on the fifth day. This pairing was then not allowed to an completion of the last rite of the festival.

A [illegible] of dance (*[illegible] and [illegible]*) was then performed in the courtyard by the musicians as well as by the traditional dancers (Dung-ding) with [illegible] and dyeing in the afternoon of the third day. The dance was always held in pairs first by musicians, and then dancers, who danced their traditional dance consisting of silk [illegible] (Sampung) decorated with feathers, coloured elevation and Dymphengs silver chains and coral necklaces. Later on they joined the procession, this was to the adjacent hill where after the completion of the ceremony of goat killing, a group dance was performed returning to the residence of Sawa ultimately.

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This dance (*[illegible] [illegible]*) was performed by the Sawa family. It was held early in the morning of the fourth day in the central hall (Bihar) and also in the courtyard. The men put on their normal dress whereas the women dressed themselves with gold and silver crown (*[illegible]*), numerous silver ornaments and different coloured blouse. They dressed and braided the hairs into a knot just at the nape. The High Priestess who also danced with the member of the Sawa' family, stood in the middle of the line and chief musician stood at one end. They held each other in hand and danced round the fire-place of the central hall (Bihar) in anti-clock-wise direction in accompaniment of music. The people assembled there, gave vent to their feeling in their customary way every time, before they resumed to make it three times. Similar performance of dances were also held in the courtyard.

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Then followed the dance of the [illegible] who were also wearing dress as described above. They kept their right knees, keeping their arms on their sides taking part a short dance with the music, that the movement of the feet were hardly perceptible. The boys took also in their dancing dress as were by sampled and joined with Bichwah round the girls making their days with the beatings of the drums. The music ceased from the morning would be stopped only after completion of the dance which prolonged till evening. These functions served as a good source of amusement to the people, enabling them to have a good diversion from their monotonous life with an opportunity to meet their friends and relations who assembled there from different parts of the hill.

Discussion

From the foregoing description, it is evident that the Khasi live in a community set up in which the gender duties are intended to the Sun. A different rule is followed in the case of religious festival. Every Khasi family entrusts the secondary work of the house to the youngest daughter. The Khasi's wives (Shem Sad) being the senior member of his mother's clan, is made responsible for the observance of these ceremonies which concern the welfare of the subjects. The people attend the festival to ask blessings of their ancestors dwelling in Shillong and their ancestors in the Khasi's traditional [illegible] country to him. The rituals of the festival, consisted being performed by her (High Priestess), were conducted by the Chief Priest (Sok Sad) to which he was allotted a very important position in the celebration. The musicians were given similar status owing to the belief in the sanctuary of their music. It ought to be played in proper tune otherwise the displeasure of the deity would fall on them on finding any slight departure in its respect. For this reason, the music is considered as important as the rituals and the role of musicians was consequently given due recognition at every stage of the festival. The tradition of dancing one pattern of Nongrong dies to [illegible] by the goat at the top of the hill was followed on account of this sacrifice having carried out in order [illegible] the performance of [illegible] (Sohiy goat) to the Sun. Another means of identifying dies was also called to carry the head of the sacrificial animal from the hill to the residence of the Sun after the ceremony, so his [illegible] was [illegible] to ancient times during the period of [illegible] in the West. Such [illegible] were found expressed in a symbolic way through their ceremonies.

The main important concern of the people was to maintain their [illegible] of living together with their property and other means of subsistence. They worshipped him so that he might prevent the evil spirit from doing any harm and may in addition grant them bumper crops. In lieu of such a favour, they [illegible] their and U Shillong with gifts and sacrifices. It is not sure whether he is considered as one of their gotted ancestors but his important position in the Khasi pantheon enabled him to have some priority in their worship. The offering of sacrificial together with a yellow goat, moreover, revealed his amiable and benevolent nature as the malignant ones got representation invariably with black colours. U Shillong was invoked simultaneously with other dual versions, with the hope that all the deities would pool their supernatural strength in fighting the evil spirit before the latter was able to cause any harm to their crops or to subsist in any way the fertility of their fields.

It would be interesting to offer here about the preservation of nine pieces of meat from various parts of the sacrificial animal. It may be a sign of appeasement by serving him with some food but there seems to be something

796 magical in such gifts. The Khasi deities being souls of departed members,
982 are indispensable to spirits, have all the qualities of an ordinary human
being. The worshippers believe that the deities may also have their strength
796 in terms of time which can be augmented only by offering suitable sacrifices.
774 They possess power of mind to visualize or think the supernatural
182 "power" which are concentrated or lodged in those regions of the sacrificial
animal, from where they were taken out. It is a case of reciprocal help between the deity and the devotee so that on attaining their desired strength, they would fulfil their request.

796 The Khasi people while participating in the celebration gave vent to their
707 emotion through their traditional songs. It could not be definitely established
182 whether there were any indications of frightening the evil spirits but on the other hand, there were instances in which the drum, musicians, and the non-active were taking parts in the celebration. The musicians on another occasion, were round the altar three times on reaching the top of the hill. The
(207 members of the Khasi house similarly performed a sacred dance round the
(107 five altars of sacred hall (Mawt) in the same number of times. This odd number of times seemed to be an auspicious one. The most cause for such a reverential attitude to the figure may be to pay respect to their primal ancestors (Ka Iawbaiei), her husband (U Thawlang) and her brother, i.e., the mythical male (U Suidnai) who are considered highest amongst all the Khasi deities.

796 The dancing is generally taken as secular part of religious function, but the
535 Khasi people considered them sacred. So too and so sacred for the reason
182 that it is one of their methods of propitiating their deity. The people at times, ascribe certain meanings to them to rationalize their thinking. The dancing invariably put the participants into ecstasy to enable them to be in communion with their supernatural beings, so these are interpreted as a device to control the spirits inspite of its calm and quiet nature. The people even then enjoyed them with the hope that these would prevent the intruding spirits from spreading diseases. Owing to the fixation of the dance of the function at the time of sowing period, the dance of the unmarried girls may have some bearing on the promotion of fertility of the soil. The custom of allowing Khasi boys to dance round the spinsters with fly-flap in one of their hands may be to protect them from the influence of the evil spirits.

The heads of the various units adhered to the official procedure strictly before they allowed a common man to take part in the dancing. The custom of allowing two officials to dance, at a time, was in recognition to their equal status. It had become a practice to follow at every stage of their function. The presence of all the in-charge of the Township were essential to secure the blessings of their deity on behalf of its subjects whom they represent in official capacity in the festival. This is a suitable mechanism to foster unity and solidarity among the people of the different units, which is the main aim of this celebration. This was found to be so when Khasi people from all parts of State were seen witnessing the dancing of the unmarried girls. The informant on being asked to state the reason of permitting the spinsters only in this dance, came out with an interesting fact about the ancient Khasi tradition. The dance used to offer at one time, an opportunity to the youngmen of the Royal families in selecting their brides. A betel leaf with a nut were usually thrown at a girl and the men going round them, remained as witness of this incident. This explanation received some support from the frequent utterances (mag-ong) by the public, expressing a desire to run away with a girl dancing with graceful style.

796 The celebration can be taken up as a solidarity rite. The performance is
182 all the more essential for the purpose of security without which the people

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I:Gordon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 ART Khasi ART

plates, jealous of their power, brave in action, and have an aversion to falsehood."

Khasis of the interior who have adopted Christianity are generally cleaner in their persons than the non-Christians, and their women dress better than the latter and have an air of self-respect about them. The houses in a Christian village are also far superior, especially where there are resident European missionaries. Khasis who have become Christians often take to religion with much earnestness (witness the recent religious revival in these hills, which is estimated by the Welsh missionaries to have added between 4,000 and 5,000 converts to Christianity), and are model Sabbatarians, it being a pleasing sight to see men, women, and children trooping to church on a Sunday dressed in their best, and with quite the Sunday expression on their faces one sees in England. It is a pleasure to hear the sound of the distant church bell on the hill-side on a Sunday evening, soon to be succeeded by the beautiful Welsh hymn tunes which, when wafted across the valleys, carry one's thoughts far away. The Welsh missionaries have done, and continue to do, an immense amount of good amongst these people. It would be an evil day for the Khasis if anything should occur to arrest the progress of the mission work in the Khasi Hills.

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION.

The Khasis inhabit the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, although there are a few Khasi settlers in the neighbouring plains districts. The Census Report of 1901 gives the following figures of Khasi residents in the plains:—

Cachar	383
Sylhet	3,083
Goalpara	4
Kamrup	191
Darrang	10
Nowgong	59
Sibsagar	63
Lakhimpur	112
Lushai Hills	11
North Cachar	32
Naga Hills	82

2: Gordon E-4, 5 (no cite) 1907 ART Khasi ART

SECTION IV.

RELIGION.

GENERAL CHARACTER OF POPULAR RELIGION.

The Khasis have a vague belief in a God the Creator, U Blei Nongthaw, although this deity, owing, no doubt, to the influence of the matriarchate, is frequently given the attribute of the feminine gender, cf., *Ka lei Synshar*. The Khasis cannot, however, be said to worship the Supreme God, although it is true that they sometimes invoke him when sacrificing and in times of trouble. The religion of the Khasis may be described as animism or spirit-worship, or rather, the propitiation of spirits both good and evil on certain occasions, principally in times of trouble. The propitiation of these spirits is carried out either by priests (*Ispyndeh*), or by old men well versed in the arts of ceremonary, and as the *Ispyndeh* or wise men deals with good as well as evil spirits, and, as often as not, with the good spirits of ancestors, the propitiation of these spirits may be said to partake of the nature of Shamanism. A very prominent feature of the Khasi beliefs is the propitiation of ancestors; but this will be described separately. There is a vague belief amongst the Khasi of a future state. It is believed that the spirits of the dead, whose funeral ceremonies have been duly performed, go to the house or garden of God, where there are groves of betel-nut trees; hence the expression for the departed, *ubo kum kwai ka ring u blei* (he who is eating betel-nut in God's house), the idea of supreme happiness to the Khasi being to eat betel-nut uninterruptedly. The spirits of those whose funeral ceremonies have not been duly performed are believed to take the forms of animals, birds, or

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U Iaiongpoh—the god of wealth. This god is propitiated with a view to obtaining increased prosperity.

U Syngkew, or *u Blow skoung*, is the tutelary deity of the village. This godling is propitiated by sacrifices whenever they are thought to be necessary.

U Phon u Iyrpud is a similar godling to the *skoun*.

Then follows a list of minor deities, or, rather, evil spirits, *e.g. Ka Ith*, the malarial fever devil; *ka Khloo*, the demon of cholera; *ka Duba*, the fever devil which is said to haunt the neighbourhood of Thariaghat.

Sivar says "the Khasi religion may be thus briefly defined as forms used to cure diseases and to avert misfortunes, by ascertaining the name of the demon, or the author of the evil, and the kind of sacrifice necessary to appease it." We may accept this description as substantially correct. In the Jaintia Hills, there is a peculiar superstition regarding a she devil, called "*ka Tawah*," which is supposed to cause delirium in cases of fever. When such cases occur, it is believed that "*ka Tawah*" has caused them, and inquiries are made by means of breaking eggs to find out in whose person the demon has obtained a lodgment; or sometimes the sick person is asked to reveal this. When in either of these ways the name of the person possessed by "*ka Tawah*" is known, the sick person is taken to the house of the possessed, and ashes and bits of broken pots are cast into the enclosure, after which, if the sick person recovers, the party indicated is denounced as possessed by the demon; but if the patient dies, it is concluded that the person possessed has not been properly ascertained. If people are satisfied that some one is really possessed, they denounce the person, who is then out-casted. The only way for him to regain his position is to exorcise the demon by divesting himself of all his property. He pulls down his house, burns the materials, his clothes, and all his other worldly goods. Lands, flocks, and herds are sold, the money realized by the sale being thrown away. No one dares touch this money, for fear he should become possessed by *ka Tawah*. It will be observed that, as in the case of the *thlen*, the demon is believed to follow the property.

Mr. Jenkins, in his interesting little work on "Life and

It Gordon E-4, 1 (no date) 1907 ABT Khasi ABT

restored by the due propitiation of the offended spirits. In order to ascertain which is the offended spirit, a system of divination by means of cowries, breaking eggs, or examining the entrails of animals and birds, was instituted. The Khasi method of obtaining auguries by examining the viscera of animals and birds may be compared with that of the Roman haruspex. Some description of these modes of divination has been given at the end of this chapter. The Khasi religion has been described by Rivet as "demon worship or a jumble of enchantments muttered by priests who are sorcerers." But even a religion which is thus unfavourably described is based on the cardinal doctrines of sin and sacrifice for sin. Tradition amongst the Khasis states that in the beginning (*nyngrynghong ka ingi*) there was no sin, heaven and earth were near each other, and man had direct intercourse with God. How man fell into sin is not stated, but it is certain that he did fall. Experts at "egg breaking" never forget to repeat the formula "*nga briew nga la pay*" (I man have sinned). The cock then appears as a mediator between God and man. The cock is styled "*u khlain ka khi ulu kit ryndang ka shah ryndang na ka kynta jong nga u briew*," i.e. the son of god who lays down his neck (life) for our sins. The use of the feminine *ka khi* is no doubt due to matriarchal influences. There is another prayer in which the Khasis say, "*ay jatong ne u khi iong ranghah ne u briew*" (oh god do not forget the covenant, arise oh man). The idea is that man has fallen into sins of omission and commission (*ka pay, ka kait ka ki*) but that God is nevertheless expected to spare him, and to accept a substitute for him according to the covenant (*jatong*). By this covenant God is supposed to have accepted in exchange the cock as a substitute for man. How the cock came to occupy such an important position, tradition is vague and self-conflicting. The fact remains that the covenant of the cock is the foundation of the Khasi religion. It is of interest to mention that amongst the Aboms the tradition is that Khunlong and Khunlai brought down from heaven the *khi-chin-mang*,* a pair of heavenly fowls, and that to this day the sacrifice of the

* In Abtum *khi* is fowl, *chin* is beautiful, *mang* is country. Therefore *Khichin-mang* is fowl of a beautiful country (heaven).

1:Gordon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 ART Khasi ART

fowl is considered by the Doolhais, or priest-soothsayers of the Khasis, a most important feature of the ancient Khasi ritual. But amongst the Khasis there is the difference that auguries are obtained, not from the entrails, but by examining the legs of the fowls. The Khasis are those belonging to the Tai branch, another great division of the Indo-Chinese group of the human race.

The account of the cock as thus explained shows the importance of this sacrifice to the Khasis. The large intestine of a fowl has two pea-like protuberances, one close to the other. One is symbolically called a *khi* or god, and the other is styled a *lalie* or man, they are connected by a thin membrane. Directly the bird has been disembowelled the sacrificer throws a few grains of rice on the entrails and then watches their consecutive movements. If the portion of the entrail called a *khi* moves towards that portion which represents man, it is considered good position that the god has heard the prayer of the sacrificer, but if the movement proceeds in the opposite direction, then the reverse is the case and the omen is bad. If the entrails are full and healthy, having no spots (*lyut*), or blood marks (*thang*), and if the membrane between the two protuberances has not been fractured, these are favourable signs. If the intestines are empty, wrinkled, or spotted, and the membrane mentioned above is fractured, these are bad signs. Auguries also are drawn by examining the livers, the lungs and spleens and gall bladders of pigs, goats, and cattle. If the liver of a pig is healthy and without spot, the augury is good; if the reverse, it is bad. The spleen must not be unduly distended, otherwise the omen is unfavourable and the gall bladder must not be over full. Intuitions to deduce omens from the appearance of the entrails are quoted on page 11 of Col. Hunt's Report. From the first intuition quoted by him it appears that the method of drawing the augury from the fowl differs slightly in detail from that which has been described to me by certain Khasis, but both descriptions agree in the main, and the slight dissimilarity in detail may be due to the methods of obtaining auguries varying slightly in different localities. Divination by breaking eggs and by other means, although not strictly sacrifice with the Khasis, partaken

1:Gordon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AB7 Khasi AB7

many any one belonging to your own fan, or clan. Unlike the Khasis, however, a Lyngam can marry two sisters at a time. The Lyngam marriages are arranged by friends or go-betweens, much in the same way as Khasi marriages; but the ritual observed is less elaborate, and shows a mixture of Khasi and Garo customs (see Section III.). The Lyngams intermarry with the Garos. It appears that sometimes the parents of girls elect bride-money, and marriages by capture have been heard of. Both of these customs are more characteristic of the Bodo tribes of the plains than of the Khasis. There are no special birth customs, as with the Khasis, except that when the umbilical cord falls a fowl is sacrificed, and the child is brought outside the house. Children are named without any special ceremony. The death customs of the Lyngams have been described in Section III. A peculiar characteristic is the keeping of the dead body in the house for days, sometimes even for several months, before it is burnt. The putrefying corpse inside the house seems to cause these people no inconvenience, for while it remains there, they eat, carry on their ordinary occupations, and sleep there, regardless of what would be considered by others an intolerable nuisance. The religion of these people consists of a mixture of ancestor-worship and the propitiation of the spirits of hill and fell, which are, most of them, believed to be of evil influence, as is the case with other savage races. As with the people of Nongtalaw, the primeval ancestress, "*Ka Lew-lei*," is worshipped for the welfare of the clan, a cow being sacrificed to her, with a gourd of rice-beer, and leaves of the oak, or *dieng-maing* tree. The leaves of the oak are afterwards hung up inside the house, together with the jaw-bone of the pig. Sacrifices are offered to a forest demon, *U Sangjang* (a god who brings illness), by the roadside; also to *Ka Mawsy Bylli U Majgama*, the god of cultivation, at seed time, on the path to the forest clearing where the seed is sown. Models of paddy stack-houses, baskets and agricultural implements are made, and being used to indicate the grain. These are placed by the roadside, the skulls of the sacrificial animals and the feathers of fowls being hung up on bamboos about the place where the sacrifice has been performed. There are no priests or *lyngdoh*, the fathers of the hamlet performing the various ceremonies.

2:Stegmiller-1 M-4,5(no date) 1921 ART Khasi ART

[107] The Religious Life of the Khasi

(20)

By P. F. Stegmiller, Apostolic Missionary, S.D.S., of Assam (India).

I. Religion in General

1. Gods, Spirits, Souls.
2. Methods of Warding Off Evil Spirits.
3. Taboos (sang).
4. Egg Throwing (shat-pylleng).
5. The Sacrifice of the Rooster (jinghnia sylar).
6. Discovering the Spirits that Need Appeasing (kheinkseid).
7. Prayer of Thanks after Receiving Good Health.

II. Religion in Various Phases of Life.

1. Giving a Name (tap lubri tap kyrteng).
2. Sacrifices during the Illness of a Member of the Family.
3. Sacrifices and Ceremonies at Death.
4. Cremation (ka jingthang).
5. Burial of the Bones.
   a) First Burial (maw shying).
   b) Second Burial (maw phew).
   c) Third Burial (maw bah).

I. Religion in General

1. Gods, Spirits, Souls.

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An explanation about the origin of their religion is not to be expected from the Khasi themselves. Since they do not have a system of writing, nor idols or temples, one must turn entirely to their oral traditions.

772 must be appeased by throwing eggs. If the desired
[111] effect does not occur after the sacrifice has been offered, further information is sought by observing intestines (sacrifice of rooster), and the sacrifice is offered again. At least that is what is done for sickness. The other sacrifices will be described in more detail later.

• 771 The religion of the Khasi is one that arises
114 from fear of misfortune and harm, and is active in the worship of (evil) spirits through sacrifice. This definition of mine corresponds essentially with the definitions of Sivar, (3) who

[113] 3. Sivar, Administration Report on the Khasi and Jaintia Hills District of 1875.

says: "The Khasi religion may be briefly defined as a form to cure illnesses and to ward off misfortune, by finding out [110] the name of the devil who is the original cause of the evil and to appease him by sacrifices which are necessary," and Gurdon (4) "calls the Khasi religion a cult

[113] 4. Gurdon, The Khasi (London, 1907) p. 105.

of spirits, i.e., actually rather a reconciliation of spirits, good as well as bad, by sacrifices, which are offered occasionally, especially in times of distress."

Table of Summary

776 of several gods (good and evil) who are revered by the Khasi and the Synteng.

1. ~~Good Gods:~~

u blei nongthaw, the creator god,
u 'lei longspah, the (good) god of wealth,

[711] Sacrifice and Sacrificial Customs of the Khasi by P.F. Stegmiller, S.J.S., Former Apostolic Missionary of Assam (India).

(With 6 Illustrations in the Text) 712

1. The Offerers of Sacrifices:
   a) Lyngdoh,
   b) Ceremonial introduction of the lyngdoh.

2. The Sacrifices:
   a) State Sacrifices,
   b) Private Sacrifices,
   c) Secret Sacrifices

1. The Offerers of Sacrifices.

a) Lyngdoh.

The religion of the Khasi is an (evil) 711 spirits worship, which has arisen out of fear 712 of misfortune and harm and which is carried 713 out by means of sacrifice. This definition of mine corresponds essentially with the definition of Rivar, (1) who says: "The Khasi reli-

1. Rivar, Administration Report of of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills District of 1876.

gion may be briefly defined as a form to cure illnesses and to ward off misfortune by finding out the name of the devil, who is the original cause of the evil, and by appeasing him by the necessary, sacrifices. Gurdon (2) calls "the 711 712

2. Gurdon, The Khasi (London, 1906) p. 105.

Khasi religion a cult of spirits, i.e., actually

[70] 72 rather a reconciliation of the spirits, good as well as bad, by sacrifices, which are offered occasionally, especially in times of distress.*

Undoubtedly sacrifices belong to the practice of the Khasi religion. Now who offers these sacrifices? In order to answer this question, it is necessary to differentiate between the various sacrifices that are customary among the Khasi. We find there

a) public sacrifices,
b) private sacrifices,
c) secret sacrifices,

The public sacrifices are performed by specially designated persons of the male sex (lyngdoh).

Private sacrifices can be performed by the ordinary men of the people as well as by sacrificers (lyngdoh) specifically designated for this.

Secret sacrifices are offered by anybody of the masculine or feminine sex.

72 73 The Khasi do not have priests in the actual sense of the word. There is also no caste or family from which the sacrificers would come. There is also no special school or training for beginning sacrificers. The sacrificers or lyngdoh have also no special mark of distinction. (3) To be a lyngdoh does not mean [72] having

3. Cf. P. Dr. C. Becker, Indisches Kastenwesen und christliche Religion [India Caste System and Christian Religion], (Aachen) p. 6.

a special profession. The sacrificers are ordinary people who may have any profession which they practice. Such men only appear occasionally as sacrificers. Even the chief sacrificers, who

the added explanations I am 583
indebted to the Khasi missionary
S.J. Dominikus Saunderer, S.D.S.,
who has been here many years and
knows the language and who very
kindly placed his experiences
in this field at my disposal.

It should be noticed in general that the [771]
content of such extemporaneous verses has a
religious slant and the language adheres to
the mysterious method of expression of magic
formulas and other formulas usual in the reli-
gious customs of the Khasi. Nevertheless, we
may not seek for either secrets or magic in
the following chant (jingphawar) just as the
Khasi do not. The solo singer (u nongphawar) 526
goes in front of the victorious team and begins: 538

1. U dieng-duh u kyndeh
The placing, the rice.
U sohbyrthit ia u pathaw.
The bar, the gourd.

2. To ngin khynniah tyngeh.
Let us shake nightly.
Man shon shit la ka daw.
May our matter be in easy circumstances.

Then the rest shout, swinging their bows
and stamping the earth: "ha, ha, hoi, hoi-hui!"
[618]

3. Ka syrdeng u jasieh
The fence, the meadow.
Shi kynda ka kyndad.
Four moles.

4. To pynieng ka dieng ryntieh.
Let us place upright the wood
of the bow.

8: Gurdon G-3 (no date) 1904 AR7 Khasi AR7

etc. The targets are of two kinds, i.e., a *ekum*, which is made of a bundle of grass about 1 foot long and 4 inches in diameter, the target being fastened on to a pole; and from the root of a plant called *sohpdung*. The distance for the shooting is about 30 to 40 yards. 526

Before the shooting begins, a *nongkuia*, or sacrificer, performs a *puja* and then the shooting commences. Each archer subscribes from half to one anna, the total amount so obtained is pooled and then wagered against a similar sum subscribed by the other side. Whilst the shooting is going on the men of both sides dance and sing, and when there is a hit a great shout, or *kyshai*, is raised. The side that wins the match, after rewarding the *nongkuia* and the man who makes the targets, buys a pig, and some liquor, which articles are partaken of by the people of the village which has won the match. In the War villages, and amongst the Syntengs, sometimes wagers of considerable sums are made in lump sums in these contests.

11. It is not intended to describe at great length the Khasi religious system, but only to note briefly regarding it at present, a full account being reserved for the monograph for the preparation of which I am collecting further information. Khasi religion is animism, or spirit worship. It may be divided into (*a*) the worship of spirits, (*b*) ancestor worship. 771

(*a*) *Spirit-worship.*—The principal god amongst the Khasis is God the Creator (*U'lei Nongthaw*), who is sometimes masculine and sometimes feminine, the use of the feminine gender being no doubt due to matriarchal influence. A yearly sacrifice should be offered to this god of a cock and a goat. The cock is sacrificed as a substitute for man, it being thought that the cock, when killed, bears the sins of the man, and that by its sacrifice man will obtain redemption. How the cock came to occupy this important position in Khasi religion is not at present quite clear. Perhaps there were originally human sacrifices amongst the Khasis, and the cock nowadays takes the place of the human victim. Other gods which are worshipped are *Ka'lei long kur* (the goddess of the clan), *Ka'lei lyngpoh* (the goddess of wealth), *U'lei um ting* (god of water). An important fact to be noted is that the Khasi gods or goddesses are never worshipped in the shape of idols in any form whatsoever. 776 782

(*b*) *Ancestor worship.*—I am inclined to think that this form of worship largely underlies the Khasi religious system. The following are some of the ancestors or ancestresses who are regularly worshipped:— 769

(1) *Ka Iawbri tymmen*,—the primeval ancestress of the family. A pig is sacrificed to her. 772

8: Gurdon G-3 (no date) 1904 AR7 Khasi AR7

769 (2) *U'mid' nia*, —or departed maternal great-uncle.
(3) *U thaw lang*, —or departed great-grandfather.

824 771 A very striking feature of the Khasi religion is the use of the leaves of the *diengsing* (*Q. lenceæfolia*) or Khasi oak tree. The leaves of this tree are used to cover the sacrifical knife, a sprig of the oak is implanted in the ground before the sacrifices of fowls or goats take place, an oak bough is hung up inside the house along with the jaw-bones and horns of sacrificed animals and the feathers of fowls. A great post of oak is to be found within the *arena* of the sacred residence of the Siem priestess of Khyrim, the custodian of the religion of the State of that name. Another feature is the use of altars of stone on certain ceremonial occasions, and no Khasi religious ceremony takes place without the use of a small gourd *u blong* from which libation are poured out to the gods. Dancing always accompanies ceremonies of any importance, *e.g.*, funeral ceremonies, the erection of memorial stones, and the great *puja* of the Siems of Nongkrem.

769 769 211 12. *Memorial stones.*—These are without doubt the most prominent feature connected with these people. The first thing that strikes any visitor to the Khasi and Jaintia Hills is the immense number of these stones. The latter are placed in a line, a higher one in the centre, and lower ones on each side. The centre monolith is occasionally covered with a round flat stone. The upright stones are always in uneven numbers, being in sets of three, five, seven, or even nine stones. In front of each set of three stones is placed one horizontal stone, or cromlech which rests on three or four small upright stones, the horizontal stone being raised to about one foot from the ground. If five upright stones are erected, two horizontal stones are placed in front of them, and if seven are erected three, and so on. There can be no doubt that these stones possess considerable significance, but what exactly that significance is I am at present engaged in investigating. As far as my information extends at present, I give the following explanation.

Memorial stones may be divided for the present into two classes—

(a) Stones erected by the family, or *kur*, in accordance with the Khasi custom of ancestor worship.
(b) Stones which are erected by children in honour of a deceased parent.

It should be remarked that both classes of stones are merely cenotaphs, the mausoleums of the ancestors or the parents often being nowhere near the places where the memorial stones are erected. Taking class (a) first: Supposing that five upright stones are erected and two horizontal stones as depicted in plate III. 2/1

2/1 [see end plate 1 - - - Analysis]

9: Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 AR7 Khasi AR7

764 I never saw the Khasis engaged in raising a stone into the
211 upright position, but I saw the spars which had formed a sort of
[483] cradle on which the stones forming the monument erected by the Nongtariang clan previously alluded to had been dragged from the spot where they had been quarried. They consisted of strong curved limbs of trees roughly smoothed and rounded, and would present a very small surface to friction. These stones had been taken from the side of a hill near, and had apparently been wedged out of the face of a step in the exposed sand-stone strata.

It may be as well that I should here give some account of the funeral rites of the Khasis, which will show there is no connection between them and the monuments I have been describing, and with which the other stone erections have no doubt been often confounded. In their funeral rites there is much that is wonderfully strange, and to those unacquainted with their
● 771 superstitions, appears unmeaning. There can be no doubt but
769 the Khasis have a very strong belief in a future state, and to say
778 that they have no religion, as has been stated by some writers, is erroneous. True, they have no temples for either worship or idols, the religion of the people is principally a demon worship, and we find the Khasi ever in communion with or in the power, as he supposes, of the spirits of those who have gone before him. While, added to these spirits of their ancestors are numberless demons, male and female, ever ready, if not propitiated, to bring evil upon himself or his undertakings, and whose power even extends over the spirits of the dead. Every dark shady wood, every stream, every conspicuous hill, has its presiding demon, which in many instances gives the name to the site. Thus, the hill of Lārū, in North Jaintia, beyond Nongjinghi, is the abode of a one-legged demon, whom to see is death, but who was occasionally heard in the dense forest that clothed the northern steep face of the mountain, so said the credulous villagers of Nongtāng.

764 The dead are burnt on a funeral pyre, the logs of which are arranged very regularly, and the body lies in a sort of bed formed by them.

The calcined bones and ashes are collected and placed in an earthen vessel (small "ghara"), and are generally buried in some adjacent spot, a stone being placed over the vase for security; they do not, however, remain permanently in this place. Every family or clan has a separate receptacle for these remains, constructed in several ways, but always covered with a heavy slab of stone: these receptacles are called "Mao-bah," the great stone "Mao-shiing," a bone depository—lit., the "bone stone."

M. Schlagintweit has fallen into an error regarding the dolmen-shaped structures, and was not aware that this form is so

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

CHAPTER II

VILLAGE COMMUNITY

As models of a Khasi village community, I have taken my data for the discussion presented in this chapter from two villages situated in the Kadashinong area, Sohkynduh and Kongton, with comparative data from Shella and Jatinga villages. 121

Sohkynduh and Kongton are situated in one of the most secluded spots of the Khasi Hills and the economy is shifting cultivation, with millet as its main product. Only a few Christians are found; most of the population are pagans. Shella is situated on the southern border of the Khasi Hills, adjacent to Pakistan. Jatinga is in the North Cachar Hills, surrounded by patrilineal tribes, such as the Zemi-Naga, the Kuki and the Cacharee. The economy of both villages is pan-leaf and orange cultivation. In Shella, Hindu, Christian and pagan are found among the villagers almost in the same proportions, while the Jatinga villagers are all Christian. The two Kadashinong villages, Shella and Jatinga, differ from one another not only in their religious and economic aspects, but in overt culture, dialect and political organization as well. (Additional information concerning Shella and Jatinga is given in Appendix.) Shella and Jatinga are unique among Khasi villages and quite sophisticated, having been developed under a trading economy, with considerable contacts with other peoples, including Hindus. I selected these villages in order to ascertain how far the structural principle which operates in the Kadashinong villages can be found to act also in totally different economic and environmental situations. 621 771 [101] [245] 184 621 121

[P. 101]

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

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[771]
[178]

some clerical work. However, such instances are very rare in these regions and few Christians are to be found among the people. So far as my genealogical table accounts for, only two boys from Sohkynduh, and one girl and one boy from Kongton, left for Shillong, and married there. In contrast to these exceptional cases in these villages, in the upland Khasi Hills, there are considerable changes in the composition of a village with high geographical and social mobility of population because of the spread of Christian education and urban influence.

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The people of the two villages say that marriages with outside people were not formally practised, and were only a recent tendency. However, the composition of the population of the two villages showed extensive movements of population in the past (not to urban areas, but from village to village). Such movement is attributed mostly to migration by a family rather than by an individual on marriage. This type of migration is clearly found also in the process of the formation of Jatinga village (see Appendix, Jatinga).

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The composition of the village community and the social characteristics of Sohkynduh and Kongton show very similar features of village endogamy. They seem to be typical of the traditional pattern of Khasi villages. Village endogamy is the intrinsic pattern among the Khasis. This fact can be also observed to a considerable degree in Shella and Jatinga.

[P. 116 is blank]

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

Shella

Confederacy forms a more marked endogamous community, through being cut off geographically and economically from the rest of the Khasi, and socially from the neighbouring Hindu people. 621

The Economy and the People.

Shella lies along the upper part of the Shella River and stretches upwards along the steep slope, looking down towards the Bengal plain. The climate of this part of the hills is considered to be one of the worst in tropical India for human habitation. The Bengal plain, though warmer than this area, is considered more healthy. This border land is the zone of malaria, typhoid, black fever, cholera, etc. None of the Bengalee peasants dare to live in such an area. However, it is the most fertile for products such as betel-nuts, pan-leaves, oranges, bananas and pineapples, and it also produces limestone. These people seem to prefer to settle in this zone and to enjoy its prosperity, at the expense of human lives: every year, especially between March and September, the inhabitants suffer from various fevers and dysentry and other diseaes, many of the weaker facing death. 131 132 164 433 164

Before the Partition of India and Pakistan, the products of Shella were carried down the Shella River to Sylhet, one of the biggest centres in East Bengal, which brought unimaginable wealth to the Shella people. Their houses were built by carpenters from Sylhet. The style and structure of these houses were exceptionally elaborate for the Khasi. They purchased vast rice fields in the plain, which used to be cultivated by Bengalee and Garo labourers engaged by them. These Khasi do not themselves know how to cultivate rice fields; they have always been managers or landowners. Their boys used to be sent to high schools and colleges in Sylhet. As a result of their trading with the Bengalee, many of them read and speak fluent Bengalee. There is no difference between their style of clothing and that of the Bengalee, though the women maintain their traditional dress in the Shella style. 648 177 178 434 [439] [342] [166] [464] [871] [191] [291]

They have thus been distinguished from the rest of the Khasi not only geographically, but also economically and culturally. Their personality also differs sharply from the rest of the Khasi. They are very sociable, and quick, a quality lacking among the Khasi of Sohkynduh and Kongton. They are clever enough to deal with strangers. The upland Khasi say Shella people are very cunning. This remark shows one side of these people. They had to be cunning, since they traded with the Sylhet Bengalee who were said to be the most cunning of their race. Their role in the trade and in the history of the modernization of the Hills was considerable. For centuries they represented intellectual Khasi owing to their contact with Hindu civilization, while the Hills remained in darkness. They assumed an important role when the British established an administration in the Hills, and even up to now, many leading Khasi originated from this area: for instance, Lati Hat, the first interpreter of the British Headquarters at Cherrapunjee; Jeebon Roy, who was the first Magistrate among the Khasi; Maham Sing, a lawyer and Member of the Legislative Assembly (the grandson of Jeebon Roy); Nichols Roy, Minister of Health and Prisons of the Assam Government, Member of the Legislative Assembly, and Missionary of the Church of God; R. R. Thomas (brother of Nichols Roy), Principal of the Gauhati University, etc. 157 184 648 177 178 [439]

Through constant cultural contact with Hindu, and encouraged by their economic prosperity, the Shella Khasi, like the Jaintias, have been much influenced by Hindu culture. However, this does not mean that the people of Shella adopted the Hindu beliefs. Though there is a small Hindu shrine, and some ceremonial elements were borrowed from the Hindu, most of the 177 648 771 795

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

177 people remained non-Hindu in their basic beliefs and social customs. Hindu
648 influences are nevertheless predominant in their culture, especially in their way
of living which shows a practical adaptability, somewhat similar to the Japanese
• 771 acceptance of modern western culture without becoming Christian. In my
795 census of Shella village, the people calling themselves 'Hindu' amount to 40 per
[797] cent of the total, but they are the recent converts to the Ramakrishna School
which established a missionary station at Shella after the Partition. The
[162] Christians constitute 30 per cent of the total, most of them having been converted during the last ten years, as in the case of the Ramachrishna School.[1]
[458] The rest remain as they were, of Khasi belief. These conversions to either Ramachrishna or Christianity seem to have been encouraged by the unstable situation of the people resulting from the recent economic depression in this area.

The Partition of India and Pakistan in August 1947, which drew the bor-
439 derline a few miles south of Shella village, considerably upset village economy
458 by stopping all trade with Bengal, though a limited amount of trade is allowed
with local people at the border. Because of this political change, all the produce
648 of Shella gardens is rotting away for lack of markets, while all of the rice fields were taken by Pakistan. Goods now come to Shella only from the uplands, carried upon men's shoulders over the most difficult pass, which makes everything very expensive. Many families have sold their gold and other treasures, and some families are facing starvation.[2]

182 Concerning the conversion to a new religion, an interesting phenomenon
is to be observed. The conversion to Christianity or to Ramakrishna is mostly
171 by individual: I found in my census that the wife and husband often belong to
592 different religions. This is a very different picture from the Garo, among whom
I always found that the husband and wife belonged to the same religion: the
613 conversion of the husband to Christianity was always followed by that of the
771 wife. I think this reflects the structural differences which influence the actual
relationship between the husband and wife. Among these Khasi, instead of
795 the husband and wife, the maternal uncle and his nephews and nieces are mostly of the same religion. The function of the *iing*, the most important social and religious unit, thus appears also in the conversion to a new religion, stronger than that of a domestic unit.

Intermarriage.

648 The close economic and cultural contact of the Shella people and the Bengalee
is not matched by social contact. The essential barrier between the two peoples
771 is the difference of religion which dominates the entire social order in each
society. Though these Khasi were important traders, richer than the neigh-
563 bouring Hindu peasants, they were considered by the Hindu as outcasts with whom they never shared social activities. Intermarriages were therefore very rare. In Shella village, only two exceptional cases were found in my census:

1. A Khasi woman married to a Gurka (cattle-keeper); they live at Shella Bazaar (Sholap).
2. A Khasi woman has marital relation with a Bengalee medical doctor who has resided at Disong in Shella for six years. He already has a Bengalee

1. These two entirely different missionary activities are competing with each other, and are somewhat related to the political powers within this area.
2. The state government is doing its best to provide them with additional facilities: for example, providing air transport for the transportation of oranges from Shella to Gauhati and Calcutta. However, such arrangements cannot cover the great economic loss suffered by the Shella people.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

621 [Jatinga]

[175] This village was founded in 1905 by Khasi immigrants from the Jaintia Hills. [101] At the entrance of the village, a bust of the founder, Lakhanbang Suchiang, [211] stands facing towards the east; it was erected on the occasion of the celebration [346] of their Golden jubilee, in November 1955. Houses are scattered along the ridge of the moutain to the east and to the west; in the centre is the church. [771] All the inhabitants are Christians. Before the Partition this was one of the most modern and prosperous villages in Assam.

101 Jatinga provides a very interesting instance of the Khasi 'colonial' village. It is surrounded by villages of the Kuki, of the Zemi-Naga, and of the Cacharee, 121 who constitute the main population of the North Cachar Hills, and who are tribes entirely different from the Khasi, in economy, social organization, language 621 and culture. Therefore, Jatinga is like an island of Khasi community. I took this village as one of my fields, because I was particularly interested to discover how far the Khasi matrilineal organization is kept up in a community thus situated, surrounded by patrilineal tribes, and considerably modernized by Christianization and economic prosperity; and I was also interested in the process of formation of a new village, in comparison with Rinsibara and Joshipara in the Garo Hills.

Formation of the Present Population of Jatinga.

The first immigrants to Jatinga.

101 The main population of Jatinga, including the founder, originated in Bataw 166 village in the Jaintia Hills, twelve miles away from Jaintiapur, the capital of the then Jaintia Rajas. This village is situated on the border of the Jaintia 175 Hills and the East Bengal plain, the location being very similar to that of Shella, as are their culture and economy. In the later part of the nineteenth 621 century, some members of Bataw village moved to Borkhala, ten miles from Silchar, one of the biggest villages of the then Cacharee king.

These immigrants who came to Borkhala stayed there about fifteen years before they came to Jatinga. Kloribon, the first daughter of the founder's sister was born there. In November 1905, some Christian Khasi left Borkhala for Jatinga, acting on information gathered from a Welsh Mission at Haflong, that the land of present Jatinga was fertile and fit for their cultivation. They were the first immigrants to Jatinga. The Government record names the 166 following three persons as the first immigrants to Jatinga: Suchiang Lakhanbang, 551 Tariang, and Suchen Munik. In fact, according to the data which I collected at Jatinga, Suchiang Lakhanbang was accompanied by the following persons 614 (the names in brackets indicate the clans):

621 his wife, Misibon (Phanwar),[1]
his brother, Pryntah, and Pryntah's wife, Sintu (Rupsi),
175 his sister, Laptho, and Laptho's husband, Munik (Suchen) with their daughter, Kloribon, and Munik's younger brother, Sain.
his friend, Tariang.

Soon after their settlement, Sain, the brother of Munik, brought his wife Tahin (Suiam) from Jaintia. Misibon brought her younger sister, Diasibon. Tariang who came with Lakhanbang afterwards called his wife, Palong. But having spent some time there, they left eventually for another place, so that

1. Misibon was a native of the Cherrapunjee area of the Khasi Hills (not of Jaintia like the others). She was a school teacher at Cherrapunjee, and later became a teacher at a school near Jaintiapur, where she married Lakhanbang.

also active, and in that decade one U Kyrhai, a Khasi convert to Presbyterianism, left that church and founded a unique sect that blends something of himself with something of mystical Hinduism and Christianity. The competitors who most seriously threatened the dominance of the Welsh Presbyterians were the Roman Catholic missionaries who arrived in Shillong about 1890. Catholics have since opened a number of high schools, colleges, convents, and orphanages. They also established a technical school, and are now constructing a seminary. At the present time, one estimate is that there are about 100,000 Presbyterians and 80,000 Roman Catholics among Khasis. Members of other Christian sects are comparatively few; adherents to Hinduism and Islam are fewer still, comprised chiefly of Khasi women married to Hindu or Muslim men; U Kyrhai's sect is dying out; and the balance of Khasis are, according to their own term, "Khasi" in religion. [Cf. Lyngdoh 1937; Morris 1910; Ropmay 1940; Singh 1950; Pugh 1951.] **Supernaturals.** The great deities are two, an unnamed masculine God (U Blei) and an unnamed feminine Goddess (Ka Blei Nongsynshar Nonghukum). God created the earth, and in the beginning instructed man in cultivation techniques and also laid down the framework of a moral order that should guide his every move if he wished to join God in heaven after death. This framework was then filled in by the first ancestors, who are therefore the authorities on the subject and are semideified as Ka Iawbei (the mother), U Thawlang (the father), and U Suidñia (the mother's brother). Very early, Goddess undertook to keep account of the numbers of human beings on earth, and this role was so important, relating as it did to the health and the multiplication of the people, that she became of major importance in the Khasi pantheon. When sin beset human society, God activated automatic punishments in the form of natural calamities, and man finally decided that some animal should go and intercede with God on behalf of humans. The cock went, agreed to take upon himself the burden of human sin, and received instruction in the correct divinatory and sacrificial techniques for which he would be one of the main objects of the knife. Again, over a period of time, it was the ancestors who perfected these techniques. Now, God is regarded as powerful and merciful, but passive. His punishments have their own impetus, and the expression of His mercy is solidified in ritual. Goddess is more vaguely conceived, but is much closer to the individual. [But cf. Ehrenfels 1950, who conceives of one double-sexed, great deity among Khasis.] Regarding ancestors, it is never clear from prayers whether supplication is to generalized semideities or to particular first ancestors of a Khasi's own matrilineage, and such a distinction seems not to matter. There are three other categories of minor deities: those who protect places (such as villages, groves, or springs),

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household deities, and measles and smallpox deities. 776
Deities of the first two categories are simply aspects 771
of the high God or Goddess. • The earth is peopled with two great orders of land demons and water demons who cause all undesirable, unnatural, and otherwise inexplicable events, acting either on their own or as instruments in the hands of sorcerers. Apart from omens, both in nature and in dreams, 787
Khasis attach supernatural significance also to mystic 822
numbers, and to the colors white, black, and red. They hold especially important folk beliefs regarding 824
betel nut, paddy rice, gold and silver, and clothing. **Practitioners.** The two classes of religious practitioners 791
are the village or state priests and the sacrificers. 793
Both are male. They use the same divinatory techniques of reading broken eggshells and the entrails 754
of cocks, and they both sacrifice cocks, hens, goats, pigs, and cattle. Their skills are not taught to them so much as picked up by observation and confirmed by demonstrations of efficacy. A priest is elected from among the men of his sib to direct his skills to the public good until he dies, and his rewards are institutionalized and come from the village or the state. A sacrificer acts for private persons or kin groups, on call, and is rewarded by them personally with gifts in cash or in kind. The sacrificer is called upon to explain and then to ritually remedy every variety of misfortune, especially illness, though his powers are nowadays regarded with ambivalence, and he is widely expected to become a sorcerer sooner or later. • There are two major types of sor- 754
cerer. One is the ritual specialist or sacrificer who secretly turns his skills from good to evil, manipulating demons to injure a person or kin group, and acting always for himself alone out of considerations of jealousy or revenge. The other is normally a leading citizen, a woman who is so wealthy and successful that it is believed that she must keep a *thlen*, i.e. a creature which will bring her prosperity as long as she feeds it periodically with human blood. To provide this blood, the men of her household, or other males whom she bewitches with a special whisky, will indiscriminately murder anyone except a member of her matrilineage. The Jaintias have an ana- [184]
logue to the *thlen* in their *taro*, except that the ultimate result is death from illness rather than murder. Minor witchcraft can be perpetrated by poison keepers or persons with an evil eye, who are often women. **Ceremonies.** The important traditional 843
ceremonies were the life-crisis rituals relating to 844
pregnancy and childbirth, the naming of a child, and 553
death. Lesser ceremonies related to marriage and 764
divorce, and to housebuilding. All these rituals were 585
addressed primarily to the ancestors, and they are 586
still performed in modified form by many Khasis. 342
Other rituals, which were performed by groups such 769
as villages, sibs, local descent groups, or households, 178
were addressed to the unnamed aspects of the high 782

17: Banerjee E-5 (1955) 1962 AR7 Khasi AR7
Smit

THE KHASI FESTIVAL OF 'POMBLANG'

S. Banerjee

Introduction

The Khasi inhabit the upland of the central part of the United Khasi and Jaintia Hills district of Assam. They reckon descent through mother and the youngest daughter (Ka khadduh) of the house is the custodian of the ancestral property. Belief in the existence of spirits is strong among them and the causes of diseases are ascertained by taking recourse to the process of divination. They are ruled by different categories of Chief. The *Siem* is the highest official responsible for the administration of the state but a few small states are also governed by *Sirdars* with same powers as vested in the former although does not possess the same status. It is interesting to note that their priest whose rank is next to *Siem*, have also been allotted to perform this secular duties in some of the regions of the Khasi country. The Chief function through their respective council comprising elected members from different administrative units. He is rather subservient to this body as he is liable to be censured or even dismissed, if his activities are not in conformity with the Khasi traditional usage. Most of his directives are implemented through the assistance of his subordinates who are in-charge of various sections of the State. The Khasi place his grievance first to these junior officers for redress and justice, after which an appeal can be preferred to the *Siem* or any other higher officer as the case may be. One of the eminent States of the Khasi people known as Khyriem, where this festival is celebrated, consists of eight units for administrative convenience under the supervision of different grades of officials who participated in this celebration along with the *Siem* as representatives of the people.

The Khasi festival of *Pomblang* (Goat killing) described below used to be celebrated at one time in Shillong when the Khasi states of Khyriem and Myliem were not separated. The first chief of the Khyriem state U Singh Manik shifted his headquarters to Nongkrem village after partition of the kingdom, which occured before the arrival of the British. He again moved to Langkerdem after a brief stay at the village of Lyngshing. He performed this festival as long as he was there, transferring it again to Nongkrem where he re-settled again. It was celebrated here for a long time and consequently it was named after this village. Although the ruling family had later on shifted its residence about sixty years ago to the present village Smit, during the time of U Klur Singh, Siem, it is performed regularly as *Nongkrem dance* which was observed by the author from 21st June to 25th June, 1955.

Object of the festival

It is being held every year since the days of U Shillong who was supposed to be the founder of original Khyriem State. They celebrate it to perpetuate his memory and pay homage with a view to ensure rain, good harvest, eliminating diseases and famine. He was worshipped along with other ancestors with view to guide the present Chief in his discharge of his duties and for the welfare of the people.

The house of Siem (iing-sad) where the rites are observed, is considered sacred. It consists of a big-hall (shlur) in the centre, surrounded by rooms. One of these on the north is used as a kitchen room (iing-chetja) where ritual

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

593 wedlock goes to the wife and becomes her property; but all other
428 property is inalienable, and reverts to his family, as also does his corpse after death.

771 'RELIGION.—The religion of the Khásiás is demon-worship, or a jumble of enchantments muttered by priests who are sorcerers. They invoke evil spirits as the deputies of God and the instruments
775 of His pleasure or displeasure. The Khásiás believe in metempsychosis, or the transmigration of souls. After death, human beings are transformed into monkeys, crabs, tortoises, frogs, etc. Though a future state is not denied, it is treated with absolute indifference, as beyond the sphere of responsibility; all rites, ceremonies, and observances bear reference to the welfare of mankind in this world. The spirits of their departed relatives and ancestors are invoked only in so far as they are considered to influence and have power
764 over the present life. The Khásiás burn their dead, and collect the ashes into urns, which are kept under a slab raised on four others enclosing a space. These monuments are of various kinds and sizes —one for individuals, another for a family, and another for a whole
614 clan. There is no caste system, but each clan is called after some object of nature, as the Oak clan, the Crab clan, etc., and these names entail certain restrictions beyond which intermarriage is
771 forbidden. The Khási religion may be briefly described as the practice of forms to cure diseases, and to avert misfortunes of all kinds, by means of ascertaining the name of the demon who is the author of the evil, and the kind of sacrifice necessary to appease it.

797 'CHRISTIANITY.—The Welsh Mission has been labouring amongst the Khásiás and Syntengs for thirty-two years. The Christians number about 1000 [according to the Census of 1872, the total number of native converts in the District is only 85]. There are four central stations—Cherrá, Shellá, Shillong, and Jowái —and twenty-three churches. Translations of the whole of the New Testament, and a portion of the Old, are now (1876) going to press, besides other religious books.

197 'LANGUAGE.—The definitions generally given of monosyllabic languages are far from adequate to enable us to assign to the
193 Khási tongue its position amongst the Indo-Chinese family of speech. Still, in the absence of a better terminology, it may be described as monosyllabic in the agglutinative stage. The monosyllabic element greatly predominates. By far the larger number of the compounds are mere agglutinations (in a modified

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

361 In the interior of the Hills the largest villages are mere clusters of
463 huts. The great majority of the inhabitants are employed in agriculture, but there are no data upon which a proportion of agriculturists to non-agriculturists could be based.

167 There is no immigration into the District. Both the Khásiás and
178 the Syntengs have been successful in preserving to the present day their primitive isolation, free from the interference of Hinduism. They still maintain their aboriginal forms of belief and re-
[771] ligious worship, and repudiate alike the authority of Bráhmans and
[262] the entire system of caste. To some extent, however, they have given way to Hindu prejudices in the matter of purity of food. The
[563] few Hindus to be found in the Hills are temporary residents, engaged in civil and military employ, who always contemplate returning
[441] to their own homes. The traders are for the most part natives of the Hills; for the Márwárí merchants, who penetrate into every other corner of Assam, have been able to obtain no footing in the face of Khási competition. There is likewise no emigration from the District. The hillmen are a well-to-do and contented race, and either produce themselves or obtain by trade sufficient to satisfy
[166] their scanty wants. A certain number of both Khásiás and Syntengs proceed southwards every year to work on the tea gardens of Cáchár and Sylhet, but such absence from home is only temporary.

243 AGRICULTURE: RICE.—Thirteen different varieties of rice are cultivated in the District, of which the following is a list, giving the Khásí name as well as the description of the grain:—(1) *U-kyba-khynriam* (*u*, the masculine article, meaning 'the,' and *kyba*, noun masculine, meaning 'paddy'), brown rice with long grain; (2) *u-kyba-khynriam bai-lih*, a white rice with long grain; (3) *u-kyba la-toh*, round-grained rice; (4) *u-kyba ksai*, bearded, husked; (5) *u-kyba-dew-ba-iong*, black husked rice (literally *u* = 'the,' *kyba* = 'paddy,' *dew* = 'earth,' *ba* = 'that,' *iong* = 'black'); (6) *u-kyba-ba-lih*, white rice; (7) *u-kyba-seim*, scented rice (literally *u* = 'the,' *kyba* = 'paddy,' *seim* = 'royal'); (8) *u-kyba la-kroh*, large-grained rice; (9) *u-kyba-ba-tlang*, small-grained rice; (10) *u-kyba sa-bia*, early rice; (11) *u-kyba ra-bon*, late rice; (12) *u-kyba tang-la*, rice grown along with beans; (13) *u-kyba-ba-tiih*, small rice.

Rice is cultivated in marshy fields situated near running water as well as in high lands. The first seven of the above thirteen species of rice are sown in marshy lands during the months of April and May,

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

775 insects, and to roam on this earth; but this idea of transmigration
764 of souls has been probably borrowed from the Hindus. Bivar
825 writes that although the ideas of a Godhead are not clearly grasped, yet a supreme creator is acknowledged, and that the
[776] following is the tradition relating to the creation of man. "God in the beginning having created man, placed him on the
773 earth, but on returning to look at him, found he had been destroyed by the evil spirit. This happened a second time, whereupon the Deity created first a dog, then a man; and the dog, who kept watch, prevented the devil from destroying the man,
772 and the work of the Deity was thus preserved." The Khasis,
783 apparently, do not believe in punishment after death, at least,
775 there is no idea of hell, although the spirits of those who have died under the ban of *sang* remain uneasy, being obliged to wander about the earth in different forms, as noted above. The
776 spirits worshipped by the Khasis are many in number, those of
787 the Syntengs being specially numerous. The particular spirit
782 to be propitiated is ascertained by egg-breaking. The offering acceptable to the spirit is similarly ascertained and is then made. If the particular sacrifice does not produce the result desired, a fowl is sacrificed; the entrails being then examined, an augury is drawn, and the sacrifice begins afresh. As the process of egg-breaking is believed to be peculiar * to the Khasis amongst the Assam hill tribes, a separate description of it is given in the Appendix. It should be
[778] remarked that the Khasis never symbolize their gods by means of images, their worship being offered to the spirit only. The following are some of the principal spirits worshipped by the
[769] Khasis and Syntengs, omitting the spirits of deceased ancestors such as *Ka Iawebi*, *u Thawlang*, and *u Suidnia*, which will be described under the heading of ancestor-worship.

776 *U bi mulak*—the god of the State, who is propitiated yearly
782 by the sacrifice of a goat and a cock.

U bi umtong—the god of water, used for drinking and cooking purposes. This god is similarly propitiated once a year, so that the water supply may remain pure.

* Sir Charles Lyall has pointed out that the Mikirs possess this custom; it is probably borrowed from the Khasis.

arrows for their markings and arrange the whole contest. 526

Early in the morning on the day of the contest, each judge, accompanied by the archers and several curious people, goes to the place of the festivity. There he stands before the target, which was set up the day before. The bows and arrows are placed beside the target. The judge now proclaims aloud again 526 all the conditions of the contest. He calls 782 upon the Khasi Eve (ka-mei-ka-nong-hukum (25)

25. The Khasi believe that arrow [772] shooting began with the creation of the world. For the Khasi Eve had two sons. She taught them the art of arrow shooting but warned them at the same time never to lose their tempers while playing. Gurdon, The Khasis, p.55.

for her help and in a rambling speech recites all the errors of the opponents (26). While

26. The Khasi believe that the opponents' arrows will be kept from hitting the target by invoking the Khasi Eve and by the utterances of the judge. Gurdon, p. 55.

he is speaking thus, he pours water /616/ from time to time out of a bamboo tube that was brought along in front of the target. Because of the talkativeness of the Khasi and their peculiarity of talking extemporaneously and their slowness this lasts about two hours.

God or Goddess, deities regarded as helpful in bringing prosperity, producing fertility, and so on. Rituals of this kind are no longer practiced, except for the Bedingkhlam ceremony designed to protect the Jaintia village of Jowai. Finally, the state religion of many chiefdoms was expressed in one great ceremony per year which was intended to secure ancestral blessing for a chief and his lineage, and, through this, for the entire chiefdom. The notable example, still practiced, is the Pomblang Syiem of Khyrim chiefdom. [Cf. Lyngdoh 1937; 1946; Stegmiller 1924b; Becker 1909.] **Illness and medicine.** In time of illness, a Khasi calls in a sacrificer, and possibly also a medicine man. The medicine man is an ordinary individual who has hit upon some herbal remedy for one or more ailments, who has become famous enough to be sought out and rewarded in cash, and who jealously guards the formula of his medicine until it dies with him. He and his patients tend to regard him as specially blessed. **Soul, death, and afterlife.** The universe is comprised of a heaven, the earth, and the air between. Heaven is where the souls of deceased mortals live in eternal peace, grouped sib by sib. The earth and all nature were created by God, and everything that God created has its own individual soul. There is no other great earth deity, for it was God who created the earth. The air is inhabited by the wandering souls of those dead for whom full death rites were not performed. A Khasi's potentiality for enjoying an afterlife in heaven with his ancestors depends on his receiving proper death rites at the hands of his sib mates. First, his body is cremated by his children, notably his youngest daughter, and his bones are collected and deposited temporarily in a small stone receptacle. All work stops in the village while everyone participates in the funeral. Once every several years, an entire sib gathers to witness the transfer of the bones of recently deceased sib mates from their temporary receptacles to the great sib cairn that is in the keeping of the youngest daughter, descended from the sib ancestress through a line of youngest daughters. This final ceremony covers five days, and is elaborate and expensive, but when an individual's bones are finally resting with those of his antecedents in the cairn, it is understood that his soul is finally in heaven, "eating betel nut in the house of God."

782 [178] 796 178 [113] (975) 775 (972) 764 765

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1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

526 May each year. The following is a description of a Khasi archery meeting, for the details of which I am largely indebted to U Job Solomon. By way of introduction it should be stated 526 that the Khasis opine that arrow-shooting originated at the 773 beginning of creation. The Khasi Eve (*Ka-mei-ka-nong-hukum*) had two sons to whom she taught the toxophilite art, at the same time she warned them never to lose their tempers over the game. At the present day villages have regular 526 archery meetings, the men of one village challenging those of another. There are men on both sides called *nong khan khnam* (lit., he who stops the arrow). This man, by uttering spells, and reciting the shortcomings of the opposite side, is supposed to possess the power of preventing the arrows of the opposing party hitting the mark. These men also, to some extent, may be said to perform the duties of umpires. They may be styled umpires for the sake of convenience in this account. Before the match commences conditions are laid down by the umpires of both sides, such as (*a*) the day on which the contest is to take place; (*b*) the place of the meeting; (*c*) the number of arrows to be shot by each archer; (*d*) the distinguishing marks to be given to the arrows of either side; (*e*) the amounts of the stakes on each side; (*f*) the number of times the competitors are to shoot on the day of the archery meeting, and many other conditions too numerous to mention here. The targets are generally small bundles of grass called "*u skum*," about 1 ft. long by 4 in. in diameter, fastened on a small pole. Sometimes targets are made from the root of a plant called *ka soh pdung*. The distances from the point where the marksmen stand to the targets are some 40 to 50 yards. Each side has its own target, the different targets being placed in a line, and the competitors taking up their positions in a straight line at right angles to the line of fire, and facing the targets; each side in turn then shoots at its own target. Early in the morning of the day fixed for the contest the umpire of each side sits in front of his target with a hollow bamboo full of water in his hand, the bows and arrows being laid on the ground alongside the targets. The umpire then repeats all the conditions of the contest, invokes the aid of the primeval woman (*ka mei ka nong hukum*) aforesaid, goes through

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Khasi of the Uplands to marry a Bhoi or Wár woman, and 101
a disgrace to marry a Lynngam. These divisions are sub- 582
divided into a number of septs, taking Mr. Risley's definition of 614
"sept" as being the largest exogamous division of the tribe. It will, however, be more convenient to speak of these septs as "clans," the word "clan" having been used in other parts of this Monograph and by other writers.

Many of the clans trace their descent from ancestresses or 614
kiaw (grandmothers), who are styled *ki Iawbei-Tynrai*, lit. grandmothers of the root (i.e. the root of the tree of the clan). In some of the clans, the name of this ancestress survives; take as instances the Mylliem-ngap and Mylliem-pdah clans of the Khyrim State, the names of the ancestresses of the clans being *ka ngap* (honey, i.e. the sweet one), and *ka pdah* respectively. [776] This tribal ancestress, as will be seen in the paragraph of the monograph dealing with ancestor-worship, is greatly reverenced, in fact, she may almost be said to be deified. The descendants of one ancestress of the clan, *Ka Iawbei Tynrai*, are called *shi kur* or one clan. We then come to the division of the *kpoh* or sub-clan, all the descendants of one great grandmother (*ka Iawbei Tymmen*), being styled *shi kpoh*. The next division is the *iing* (lit. house) or family. It is almost in- [592] variably the case that the grandmother, her daughters and the daughter's children, live together under one roof, the grandmother during her life-time being the head of the house. The grandmother is styled *ka Iawbei Khynraw*, or the young grandmother, to distinguish her from the other two grandmothers, *ka Iawbei-tynrai* and *ka Iawbei-tymmen* who have been mentioned above. The young grandmother, her daughters and their children are said to belong to *shi iing*, one house, the word *iing* in this instance possessing amongst the Khasis the same significance as the English word *family*.

We will now see how the Khasi clan (*kur* or *jaid*) grew out 614
of the Khasi family (*iing*). Let us take the example of the 773
great Diengdoh clan of Cherra. Disregarding the myth that the Diengdohs are descended from a mermaid, it may be stated that there seems to be a fairly general belief amongst the Diengdohs that their first ancestress or *kiaw* came from the

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

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country beyond the Kopili river (some go so far as to say that she came from the Assam Valley), to the Jaintia Hills, where she found a husband. Legend relates that it was one of the peculiarities of this woman that she was able to accommodate herself in an earthen jar or *lalu*, which fact gave rise to the name *Lalu* by which she and her children were called by the Syntengs. The family prospered during the time when a powerful chief of the Malngiang clan held sway in the Jaintia Hills. On the death of this king a civil war arose, and the *Lalu* family, together with many others, beat a retreat across the river Kopili. Here they lived in prosperity for some generations until a plague arose and carried off the whole family except one female, called *Ka Iaw-Iaw*, who became the sole owner of the family wealth. Many desired to marry her for her possessions, and it was owing to their importunities that she fled to Jowai to the house of a *lyngdoh* or priest. The *lyngdoh*, under pressure from his wife, tried to sell Ka Iaw-Iaw as a slave, but no one would offer more than 20 *cowries* for her (*shi-bli*); this decided the *lyngdoh* to keep her. Out of gratitude for this kindness, Ka Iaw-Iaw brought her wealth from beyond the Kopili to the *lyngdoh's* house, when the son of the lyngdoh was given her in marriage. They lived happily for some time, when some adventurers from beyond the Kopili came to Jowai with the intention of carrying off this rich bride. The lyngdoh, however, having received warning of their intent, arranged for the escape of Ka Iaw-Iaw, and they fled to Sohphohkynrum, a place near Nongkrem in the Khasi Hills, where she established a village. Here Ka Iaw-Iaw was called *Ka Iaw-shibdi*, because she paid every man who was engaged by her in founding a market there 20 cowries (*shi-bdi*) per day for their labours. Here also she is credited with having first introduced the art of smelting iron, and she is said to have made various iron implements which she exported to the plains. She is also said to have kept a huge herd of pigs which she fed in a large trough hollowed out of a *diengdoh* tree; it is to this fact that the Diengdoh clan owes its name. After *Ka Iaw-shibdi* and her children had lived for some years in prosperity at Sohphohkynrum, they were attacked by the Swarga Raja (the Ahom King), U Iong

Raja (probably the Raja of Jaintia), and the Assamese Barphukan. They fled to a place called Lyndiangumthli, near Lyngkyrdem. Finding this place unsuitable as a home, the family split up into four divisions. One division returned to Jowai, where it increased and multiplied and afterwards grew into the Lalu clan, another went to Nongkhlaw and became the Diengdoh Kylla clan; another went to Mawiong and formed what is now known as the Parisong clan; the fourth, after some vicissitudes of fortune, went to Rangjyrteh and Cherra, at which place it established the powerful Diengdohbah clan, and became afterwards one of the chief *mantri* or minister clans of this state. I have quoted the history of the origin of the Diengdoh clan at some length, to show what I consider to be an example of the Khasi conceptions of how the clan was formed, i.e. from a common ancestress, all of the clans having traditions more or less of descent from some particular *Kiaw* or ancestress. This story moreover is remarkable as pointing to a Khasi migration from beyond the Kopili river to their present abode. The clans of the present day are nothing more or less than overgrown families, they are bound together by the religious tie of ancestor-worship in common, and of a common tribal sepulchre, except in cases of clans which have, owing to their size, split up into several sub-divisions, like the Diengdoh clan; such sub-divisions possessing their own cromlechs. Ancestor-worship in common and tribal sepulchres in common seem to indicate that the original unit was the family and not the tribe, for there would be no reason for the members of a clan to worship the same household gods and to deposit the remains of the clan members in the same tomb unless there was some strong tie, such as that of consanguinity, binding them together. It has been already mentioned that each of these clans is strictly exogamous; this again supports the family origin theory. A Khasi can commit no greater sin than to marry within the tribe. Some of the clans are prohibited moreover from intermarriage with other clans, because of such clans being of common descent. If the titles (see Appendix) are carefully examined, it will be seen that some of them bear the names of animals, such as the *Shnich* or monkey clan, the *Thaw* or crab clan, or of trees, such as the Diengdoh clan (already referred to). The

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643 recent years there have been instances of Siems having been summoned, like the Roman Cincinnatus, from quite humble positions, to undertake the duties of chief. We will now turn to
643 an examination of the systems in the different Siemships. In
793 the Kyrim or Nongkrem State there is a spiritual head, i.e. a High Priestess, *Ka Siem Sad*, who is responsible for the due performance of the State religious ceremonies, although, as already stated, the Siem also performs some of these duties. The temporal power here is delegated by the High Priestess to a Siem, who is her son or her nephew, or occasionally some more distant male descendant. It is the duty of an official
[645] called a *lyngkor*, who is the official spokesman of the Siem's *durbar*, to propose a new Siem to the six *lyngdohs*, or priests, and to the heads of the twenty-four *mantri* clans. The latter then decide in *durbar* whether the proposed Siem should be appointed. In the event of their disapproving of the *lyngkor's* nominations they proceed to elect another Siem. The High Priestess is appointed by the above electors, the order of succession to the post being as follows:—She is succeeded by her eldest surviving daughter; failing daughters, by the eldest daughter of her eldest daughter; failing daughters of her eldest daughter, by the eldest daughter of her second daughter, and so on. If there are no daughters or grand-daughters, as above, she is succeeded by her eldest sister. In the absence of sisters, she is succeeded by the eldest daughter of her mother's eldest sister, and so on. In this State the tradition runs that the first High Priestess was Ka Pah Syntiew, i.e. the flower-lured one. Ka Pah Syntiew was a beautiful maiden who had as her abode
[773] a cave at Marsi, near Nongkrem, whence she was enticed by a man of the Mylliem-ngap clan by means of a flower. She was taken by him to be his bride, and she became not only the first High Priestess, but also the mother of the Siems of Nongkrem.* In Nongkrem the electors may disqualify the first, or any, heir to the Siemship for sufficient reason according to the Khasi religion and custom, such as bad character, physical disability, change of religion, &c. If the first heir be disqualified, the next in order must be appointed
631 Siem, unless he be disqualified, and so on. In this State there

* For the story in detail see the Folk-lore section of the monograph.

are six divisions, each of which is known as a *raj*. In each 631
raj there is a *durbar*, to which are submitted for approval
the elections of the heads of the *mantri* clans. These elec- 631
tions are subject to the approval of the Siem. The Siem, sitting 643
with the *durbar* of the *raj* concerned, may dismiss a *lyngdoh*, 614
lyngskor, or *mantri*, for bad conduct, or on account of physical disability, in which case another *lyngdoh*, *lyngskor*, or *mantri* would be appointed, as stated above. The Mylliem State 631
originally formed a portion of the Nongkrem State, but owing 643
to a quarrel between one of the Siems and his nephew there was a partition. In this State the electors are the heads of five *mantri* clans, eleven *matabors*, or heads of clans, and certain *lasans*, and other heads of clans. A majority of the electors is sufficient for the election of a Siem. A Siem is succeeded by the eldest of his uterine brothers; failing such brothers, by the eldest of his sisters' sons; failing such nephews, by the eldest of the sons of his sisters' daughters; failing such grand-nephews, by the eldest of the sons of his mother's sisters; and, failing such first cousins, by the eldest of his male cousins on the female side, other than first cousins, those nearest in degree of relationship having prior claim. If there were no heirs male, as above, he would be succeeded by the eldest of his uterine sisters; in the absence of such sisters, by the eldest of his sister's daughters; failing such nieces, by the eldest of the daughters of his sisters' daughters; failing such grand-nieces, by the eldest of the daughters of his mother's sisters; and failing such first cousins, by the eldest of his female cousins on the female side, other than first cousins, those nearest in degree of relationship having prior claim. A female Siem would be succeeded by her eldest son, and so on. As in the Khyrim State, the first, or any other subsequent heir, may be disqualified by the electors for sufficient reason. An elector is succeeded by the eldest of his brothers; failing brothers, by the eldest of the sons of his sisters, and so on. An elector can be dismissed by the Siem, but only for good cause and with the consent of his *durbar*.

In the Nongstoin State there is a tradition that the first 643
Siem originally came from Simsong* Durgapur. The name, 773

* Simsong is the Garo name for the river Someshwari.

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643 Sushong Durgapur, of the place at the foot of the Garo Hills in
773 the Mymensing district, may be a corruption of the formen
The Siems are supposed to be descended from a stag, possibly a
relic of totemism in this family. In this State[7] there is a large
631 electoral durbar consisting of 2 *mantris*, 31 *lyngdohs*, 25
622 *sirdars*, 1 *lyngskor*, and 1 *basan*. The *lyndohs* are the
heads of the priestly clans, by whom they are chosen. The
sirdars of villages are appointed by the Siem in conjunction
with the adult males of the different villages. There are two
lyngskors and two *basans* in the State, but one *lyngskor* and one
basan only at present are members of the *durbar* which
nominates the Siem. A *lyngskor* is the Siem's agent for the
[634] purpose of governing a collection of villages. He is appointed
by the Siem with the consent of the adult males of the villages
643 which he is to supervise. The Siem family of Nongkhlaw, or
Khadsawphra, is believed to have been founded by a Synteng
of the name of U Shajer, who left the Jowai hills with his
sister, Ka Shaphlong, because she had failed to obtain her share
of the family property in Jaintia. This man is said to have
purchased certain lands in Bardwar in Kamrup. Apparently
he did not obtain possession of this estate, for he came up into
the Khasi Hills, and finding there certain villages without a
ruler, he, at the wish of the *lyngdohs* of these villages, con-
solidated them into a state over which he ruled as a Siem. He
was succeeded by his sister's son, U Syntiew, who further
extended his territories until he obtained possession of other
villages. U Syntiew is said to have delegated a portion of his
powers to his two sisters, Ka Jem and Ka Sanglar, who ruled
at Sohiong and Nongkhlaw respectively. Succeeding rulers
[726] further extended the Nongkhlaw territory. In 1829, U Tirut
Singh rebelled against the East India Company and carried on
for four years a successful guerilla warfare. He was finally
captured, and was imprisoned for life by the British Govern-
643 ment. According to the statement of Raja Kine Singh, it would
631 seem that formerly the heads of five clans had the right to appoint
[614] the Siem, i.e. the heads of 3 *lyngdoh* clans and of the Jaid
Dykhar, and Diengdoh clans. In the Cherra State the electors
are the male adults of the State, who are represented on the
State durbar by the *mantris* of the 12 aristocratic clans, known
as the Khadar Kur, and certain representative elders.

7 [i.e. the Nongstoin State --- Analyst]

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[441] 726 challenge. From the records available of the military operations of the Khasis against the British, the former appear to have relied principally on bows and arrows, ambushes and surprises, when they fought against us at the time of our first occupation of the hills. During the Jaintia rebellion firearms were used, to some extent, by the Syntengs. The military records do not, however, disclose any peculiar battle customs as having been prevalent amongst those hill people then. Both Khasis and Syntengs seem to have fought much in the same manner as other savage hill-men have fought against a foe armed with superior weapons.

HUMAN SACRIFICES.

The Thlen Superstition.

825 782 773 776 There is a superstition among the Khasis concerning *thlen*, a gigantic snake which requires to be appeased by the sacrifice of human victims, and for whose sake murders have even in fairly recent times been committed. The following account, the substance of which appeared in the *Assam Gazette*, in August, 1882, but to which considerable additions have been made, will illustrate this interesting superstition:—"The tradition is that there was once in a cave near Cherrapunji,* a gigantic snake, or *thlen*, who committed great havoc among men and animals. At last one man, bolder than his fellows, took with him a herd of goats, and set himself down by the cave, and offered them one by one to the *thlen*. By degrees the monster became friendly, and learnt to open his mouth at a word from the man, to receive the lump of flesh which was then thrown in. When confidence was thoroughly established, the man, acting under the advice of a god called *U Suid-noh*,† (who has as his abode a grove near Sohrarim),

* This cave is at Pomdalai, some five miles west of Cherrapunji, close to a great waterfall called *Noh Ka Likai*, i.e. the place where Ka Likai jumped down the precipice (for a full account of this story see Section V. of the monograph), where there is a large block of stone, with some cuts over it, known as *Dain Thlen*, i.e. the snake cutting (place).

† In another account it is said to have been U Suid-noh himself who did this.

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having heated a lump of iron red hot in a furnace, induced the snake, at the usual signal, to open his mouth, and then threw in the red-hot lump, and so killed him. He proceeded to cut up the body, and sent pieces in every direction, with orders that the people were to eat them. Wherever the order was obeyed, the country became free of the *thlen*, but one small piece remained which no one would eat, and from this sprang a multitude of *thlens*, which infest the residents of Cherra and its neighbourhood. When a *thlen* takes up its abode in a family there is no means of getting rid of it, though it occasionally leaves of its own accord, and often follows family property that is given away or sold. The *thlen* attaches itself to property, and brings prosperity and wealth to the owners, but on the condition that it is supplied *with blood*. Its craving comes on at uncertain intervals, and manifests itself by sickness, by misadventure, or by increasing poverty befalling the family that owns the property. It can only be appeased by the murder of a human being." The murderer cuts off the tips of the hair of the victim with silver scissors, also the finger nails, and extracts from the nostril a little blood caught in a bamboo tube, and offers these to the *thlen*. The murderer, who is called *u nongshohnoh*, literally, "the beater," before he sets out on his unholy mission, drinks a special kind of liquor called, *ka 'iad tang-shi-snem* (literally, liquor which has been kept for a year). This liquor, it is thought, gives the murderer courage, and the power of selecting suitable victims for the *thlen*. The *nongshohnoh* then sets out armed with a short club, with which to slay the victim, hence his name *nongshohnoh*, i.e. one who beats; for it is forbidden to kill a victim on these occasions with any weapon made of iron, inasmuch as iron was the metal which proved fatal to the *thlen*. He also takes the pair of silver scissors above mentioned, a silver lancet to pierce the inside of the nostrils of the deceased, and a small bamboo or cylinder to receive the blood drawn therefrom. The *nongshohnoh* also provides himself with rice called "*u 'khaw tyndep*," i.e. rice mixed with turmeric after certain incantations have taken place. The murderer throws a little of this rice over his intended victim, the effect of which is to stupefy the

825 782 773 776 825 782 776 [273]

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775 insects, and to roam on this earth; but this idea of transmigration
764 of souls has been probably borrowed from the Hindus. Bivar
825 writes that although the ideas of a Godhead are not clearly grasped, yet a supreme creator is acknowledged, and that the
[776] following is the tradition relating to the creation of man. "God in the beginning having created man, placed him on the
773 earth, but on returning to look at him, found he had been destroyed by the evil spirit. This happened a second time, whereupon the Deity created first a dog, then a man; and the dog, who kept watch, prevented the devil from destroying the man,
772 and the work of the Deity was thus preserved." The Khasis,
783 apparently, do not believe in punishment after death, at least,
775 there is no idea of hell, although the spirits of those who have died under the ban of *sang* remain uneasy, being obliged to wander about the earth in different forms, as noted above. The
776 spirits worshipped by the Khasis are many in number, those of
787 the Syntengs being specially numerous. The particular spirit to be propitiated is ascertained by egg-breaking. The offering
782 acceptable to the spirit is similarly ascertained and is then made. If the particular sacrifice does not produce the result desired, a fowl is sacrificed; the entrails being then examined, an augury is drawn, and the sacrifice begins afresh. As the process of egg-breaking is believed to be peculiar * to the Khasis amongst the Assam hill tribes, a separate description of it is given in the Appendix. It should be
[778] remarked that the Khasis never symbolize their gods by means of images, their worship being offered to the spirit only. The following are some of the principal spirits worshipped by the
[769] Khasis and Syntengs, omitting the spirits of deceased ancestors such as *Ka Iawebi*, *u Thawlang*, and *u Suidnia*, which will be described under the heading of ancestor-worship.

776 *U'lei mulak*—the god of the State, who is propitiated yearly
782 by the sacrifice of a goat and a cock.

U'lei umtong—the god of water, used for drinking and cooking purposes. This god is similarly propitiated once a year, so that the water supply may remain pure.

* Sir Charles Lyall has pointed out that the Mikirs possess this custom; it is probably borrowed from the Khasis.

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Mr. Jenkins, in his interesting little work on "Life and
753 Work in Khasia," gives a slightly different account of the
776 superstition, in that he states that it is the sick person who
826 is possessed by *ka Taroh*. The above belief is perhaps a
164 Synteng development of the Khasi *thlen* superstition. In
177 the Jaintia Hills "the small-pox" is believed to be a goddess, and is reverenced accordingly. Syntengs regard it as an honour to have had small-pox, calling the marks left by the disease the "kiss of the goddess"; the more violent the attack and the deeper the marks, the more highly honoured is the person affected. Mr. Jenkins says, "When the goddess has entered a house, and smitten any person or persons with this disease, a trough of clean water is placed outside the door, in order that every one before entering may wash their feet therein, the house being considered sacred." Mr. Rita mentions cases of women washing their hair in water used by a small-pox patient, in order that they may contract the disease, and women have been known actually to bring their little children into the house of a small-pox patient, in order that they may become infected and thus receive the kiss of the goddess. It is possible that the Syntengs, who were for some time under Hindu influences, may in their ignorance have adopted this degraded form of worship of the Hindu goddess, "Sitala Devi," who is adored as a divine mother under different names by Hindus all over India: cf., her name *mari-amman*, or mother of death, in the South of India, and the name Āi, mother, of the Assamese.

In the Khasi Hills the god of small-pox is known under the name of *u Siem ñiang thylliew*. He is not, however, appeased in any way, the people calling on two other spirits, *Thynrei* and *Sapa*, to whom a fowl or a goat is offered.

776 This section cannot be closed without some reference to the
● 773 household gods of the Syntengs. The legend is that in ancient times there came a woman "from the end of heaven to the borders of the country of *u Truh*" (the country of the plains people at a distance from the foot of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills). The name of the woman was Ka Taben, and she was accompanied by her children. She offered herself to *u Dkhar*, the plains man, as a household goddess, but he rejected her. She then went to the Khasis, who were ploughing their fields,

and offered to help them with their cultivation. The Khasis also refused her, saying they were capable of managing their own cultivation, and at the same time told her to go to the country of the Bhois and Syntengs, i.e. the Jaintia Hills. Acting on this advice, she went to the village of Nongphyllud in the Jaintia Hills, where the people again turned a deaf ear to her. She proceeded to Mulagula village in Jaintia, at the foot of the Jaintia Hills, and ascended from thence to Rymbai, where she met a man who conducted her to the house of the Siem, who consented that she and her children should live with him. Ka Taben then apportioned to her children various duties in the house of the Siem as follows:—Ka Rasong was to look after the young unmarried folk, and was to supervise their daily labour and to prosper their trading operations at the markets. Next Ka Rasong was given a place at the foot of the king post, *trai rishot*, and her duty was to befriend young men in battle. Then came *Ka Longkhuinruid*, alias *ka Thab-bulong*, who said, "There are no more rooms in the house for my occupation, so I will go and live in the forest, and him who turns not his coat when I meet him I will make mad." Finally came *U Lamsymphud*, who elected to live with his youngest sister inside the house.

There are special sacrifices offered to these household deities. The leaves of the *sning*, or Khasi oak, are wrapped round the post of the house, and a fowl is sacrificed and other formalities are observed which it would be tedious to describe in detail. The legend of the arrival of Ka Taben with her children in the Synteng country from a distant clime is interesting in that it perhaps indicates the possibility of the migration of these people, i.e. the Syntengs, in ancient times from some distant place to their present abode.

ANCESTOR-WORSHIP.

The Khasis not only revere the memories of deceased ancestors, but they adore them by means of offerings, which are sometimes periodical, and sometimes made when thought neces-

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should be severed with one blow. As soon as the head was cut 226
off there was a rush on the part of the sacrificers to see in 782
which direction the head faced. If the head faced towards the 776
north or west, it was considered an evil omen; if it faced towards 787
the south or east, a good omen. The east is a lucky quarter [823]
amongst the Assamese also. The people ended up the proceed-
ings by giving a long-drawn-out, deep-toned chant, or *kynhoi*. [171]
Immediately after the ceremony was concluded hundreds of boats shot out from the numerous creeks, where they had been lying, and fished the river all night, the result being an immense haul, to the delight of the Lynngams, who were seen next morning roasting the fish whole on bamboo stakes, after which they consumed them, the entrails being eaten with great [262]
gusto. Such is the worship of the goddess of the Punatit.

Similar pujas take place among the people of Wár-ding (the 823
valley of fire) before they fish in the Khai-mara river and else- 782
where in the Khasi Hills. In the Jaintia Hills there is the 776
Synteng-worship of the Kopili river, which used to be accompanied by human sacrifices, as has been mentioned above, pp. 102-104. The Myntang river, a tributary of the Kopili, must also be annually appeased by the sacrifice of a he-goat. Numerous hills also are worshipped, or rather the spirits which are said to inhabit them. One of the best known hill godlings is the deity who is thought to inhabit the little wood close to the summit of the Shillong Peak. This deity is said to have been discovered by a man named "U Shillong," who gave his name to the Shillong Peak, and indirectly to our beautiful hill station. The Siems of Mylliem and Nongkrem reverence *U'lei Shillong*, and there are certain clans who perform periodical sacrifices to this god. Probably the origin of the superstitious reverence with which U'lei Shillong is held by the Siems of Nongkrem [773]
and Mylliem is that their fabled ancestress "Ka Pah Syntiew," of whom an account will be found in the folk-lore section, took her origin from a rock not far from the Shillong Peak in the Nongkrem direction.

Rableng Hill, which is within full view of the Shillong Peak in an easterly direction, is also said to be the abode of a minor god who is periodically propitiated by the members of the Máwthoh clan of the Khyrim State with a he-goat and a cock.

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823 Apparently no special puja is performed to U Kyllang (the
776 Kyllang Rock) nowadays.

782 The picturesque hill of Symper, which rises abruptly from the plain in the Siemship of Maharam, is visible for many miles. It is in shape not unlike the Kyllang. Symper is said to be the abode of a god called "U Symper." There is a folk-tale
[773] that Kyllang and Symper fought a great battle, and that the numerous holes in the rocks at the base of the Symper hill are evidences of their strife. At the base of Symper there is a great cave, where many cattle find shelter in rainy weather. The people of Mawsynram propitiate the god of Symper in cases of sickness by sacrificing a he-goat or a bull. Symper, like *U'lei Shillong*, is one of the minor deities of the Khasis.

Close to Shangpung, in the Jaintia Hills, there is a small hill called "*u lúm pyddieng blai lyngdoh*," where sacrifices are offered on an altar at seed time and when the corn comes into ear. This altar used to be overshadowed by a large oak tree. The tree is now dead.

823 The Wars of Nongjri worship "*u'leị lyngdoh*," the tutelary
776 deity of the village, under the spreading roots of a large rubber tree which gives its name to this village Nongjri. This village worship is performed by a village priest (*lyngdoh*) at stated intervals, or whenever it is considered necessary. There are numerous other instances of hills and rivers being regarded as the abode of godlings, but those quoted above are sufficient for purposes of illustration.

RELIGIOUS RITES AND SACRIFICES, DIVINATION.

776 The Khasis, as has been explained already, worship numerous
782 gods and goddesses. These gods and goddesses are supposed to
753 exercise good or evil influence over human beings according
787 to whether they are propitiated with sacrifices or not. They are even supposed to possess the power of life and death, over men and women, subject to the control of *u Blei Nongthúw*, God the Creator. Thus illness, for example, is thought to be caused by one or more of the spirits on account of some act or omission, and health can only be

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restored by the due propitiation of the offended spirits. 776
In order to ascertain which is the offended spirit, a system 782
of divination by means of cowries, breaking eggs, or 753
examining the entrails of animals and birds, was instituted. 787
The Khasi method of obtaining auguries by examining the viscera of animals and birds may be compared with that of the Roman *haruspex*. Some description of these modes of divination has been given at the end of this chapter. The 771
Khasi religion has been described by Bivar as "demon worship, 773
or a jumble of enchantments muttered by priests who are 783
sorcerers." But even a religion which is thus unflatteringly 825
described is based on the cardinal doctrines of sin and sacrifice for sin. Tradition amongst the Khasis states that in the beginning (*mynnyngkong ka sngi*) there was no sin, heaven and earth were near each other, and man had direct intercourse with God. How man fell into sin is not stated, but it is certain that he did fall. Experts at "egg healing" never forget to repeat the formula "*nga briéw nga la pop*" (I man have sinned). The cock then appears as a mediator between God and man. The cock is styled "*u khún ka blei uba kit ryndang ba shah ryndang na ka bynta jong nga u briéw*," i.e. the son of god who lays down his neck (life) for me man. The use of the feminine *ka blei* is no doubt due to matriarchal influences. There is another prayer in which the Khasis say, "*ap jutang me u blei ieng rangbah me u briéw*" (oh god do not forget the covenant, arise oh man). The idea is that man has fallen into sins of omission and commission (*ka pop, ka lait ka let*) but that God is nevertheless expected to spare him, and to accept a substitute for him according to the covenant (*jutang*). By this covenant God is supposed to have accepted in exchange the cock as a substitute for man. How the cock came to occupy such an 771
important position, tradition is vague and self-conflicting. The 825
fact remains that the covenant of the cock is the foundation 171
of the Khasi religion. It is of interest to mention that amongst the Ahoms the tradition is that Khunlung and Khunlái brought down from heaven the *kái-chán-mung*,* or pair of heavenly fowls, and that to this day the sacrifice of the

* In Ahom *kái* = fowl, *chán* = beautiful, *mung* = country. Therefore *Kái-chán-mung* = fowl of a beautiful country (heaven).

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child are prohibited by custom from crossing a stream or washing their clothes until the navel-string falls off, for fear that the child should be attacked by the demons of the hills and the vales. 846 784

The Wár birth customs are substantially the same as those of the Khasis, but there is the difference that a Wár family after a birth is *sang*, or taboo, for seven days, whereas amongst the Khasis the only prohibition is that the parents must not cross a stream or wash their clothes until they have propitiated the spirits. A twin birth is *sang*, or taboo. The Khasis argue that as there is but one *Ka Iawbei* (first ancestress), and one *U Thawlang* (first ancestor), so one child, either male or female, should be born at a time. A twin birth is accordingly regarded as a visitation from God for some *sang*, or transgression, committed by some member of the clan. When the twins are of opposite sexes the *sang* is considered to be extremely serious, the Khasi idea being that defilement has taken place within the womb. The case is treated as one of *shong kur*, or marriage within the clan, and the bones of the twins cannot be placed in the sepulchre of the clan. 844 846 845 773 [766]

There are no special birth customs amongst the Lynngams. 844

There is no trace of the *couvade* amongst the Khasis. 846

MARRIAGE.

We now come to consider marriage amongst the Khasis from a religious point of view. Shadwell has said that marriage amongst the Khasis "is purely a civil contract." This statement is not correct, for there is an elaborate religious ceremony at which God the creator, *U'lei thaw briew man briew*, the god or goddess of the State, U or *ka'lei Synshar*, and, what is probably more important, the ancestress and ancestor of the clan, *Ka Iawbei-tymmen* and *U Thawlang*, are invoked. There are three marriage ceremonies prevalent amongst the Khasis, which are (*a*) *Pynhiarsynjat*, (*b*) *Lamdoh*, and (*c*) *Iadih-kiad*, respectively. The first and second forms above mentioned are considered the more respectable; the last-named is resorted to by the very poor who cannot afford the greater expense entailed by the first two ceremonies. 555 776

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769 *Iawbei khynraw*, or *ka Iawbei kpoh* (the grandmother of the
211 family, or branch of the family). It frequently happens that there are two flat table-stones in front of the upright stones, the one on the left being *ka Iawbei tynrai*, or the first ancestress, and the one on the right *ka Iawbei longkpoh*, the grandmother of the branch of the clan to which the memorialists belong, or *ka Iawbei khynraw*, the young grandmother, i.e. the grandmother of the actual family to which the memorialists belong. In olden days it used to be the custom for the clans-
[782] people to place offerings of food on the flat table-stones for the shades of the departed ancestors, and this is sometimes the case still; but now it is more frequently the custom to make these offerings in the *iing-seng*, or clan puja-house. The flat table-stones are some 2 to 2½ ft. from the ground, and it is difficult to resist the impression that they were originally sacrificial stones, i.e. that animals or even human beings were actually
773 sacrificed upon them. In connection with this theory I would
782 refer to the interesting folk-tale about the Kopili river. It is
211 here related that in olden days human victims were sacrificed to the Kopili goddess on the flat table-stone (*maw-kynthei*) at a place called *Iew Ksih*, close to the Kopili river. A careful search has been made for this stone, with the result that a flat table-stone has been found near the above village, where goats are still annually sacrificed to the Kopili. The *doloi* reports that this is an ancient custom. None can remember, however, having heard that human victims were ever sacrificed there. Yet I do not think it at all unlikely that this is the stone, locally called *Mynlep*, which is referred to in the folk-tale. At Jaintiapur and Nartiang, both of which places were the headquarters of the kings of Jaintia, there are very large table-stones. We know for a fact that human sacrifices used to take place at Jaintiapur. Is it possible that human beings were immolated on these table-stones? It would be unsafe to base any conclusion on the solitary folk-tale about the *Iew Ksih* table-stone; but the tale certainly furnishes food for reflection. The Khasis borrowed their
[177] religious customs largely from the Synteng inhabitants of
782 Jaintia, and it is possible that they may have obtained the
211 custom of erecting the table-stones from the Syntengs also,
769 and that the latter were originally used by both of them for sacrificing human victims.

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SECTION V.

FOLK-TALES, TRADITIONS AND SUPERSTITIONS.

FOLK-TALES.

773 THE Khasis possess a considerable amount of folk-lore. The
128 tales which will be found reproduced in the original Khasi have been obtained from a collection which was in the possession of the Rev. Dr. Roberts, of Cherrapunji, who very kindly placed it at my disposal. The translations are by U Nissor Singh, Sub-Inspector of Schools, and the author of a Khasi English Dictionary as well as certain other educational works in that language. Dr. Roberts's collections would fill a book; so I have selected only a few of what I consider typical tales. At the instance of Sir Charles Lyall, I have given the Khasi and English side by side. The stories will speak for themselves,
133 but I add a few explanatory notes. The water-fall of Ka Likai
773 is a magnificent cascade in the rainy season; it can best be viewed from the heights of Laitkynsew. The water-fall is situated close to the village of Nongriat, which is approached by a succession of stone steps from the village of Tyrna, just below the Cherrapunji Laitkynsew bridle-path. "Dingiei," which is mentioned in the second tale, is the high hill to be seen on the right-hand side of the Shillong-Cherrapunji road soon after leaving Shillong. The highest point of the range is over 6,000 ft. The third tale contains the well-known story of Ka Pah Syntiew, the fabled ancestress of the Khyrim and Mylliem Siem families. The cave where Ka Pah Syntiew is said to have made her abode is still to be seen in the neighbourhood of Nongkrem. The story of the origin of the Siems of Suhtnga, who afterwards became the Rajas of Jaintiapur, is a well-known tale in the Jaintia Hills. A description of the

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wonderful mass of granite known by the name of the Kyllang Rock will be found in the section of the monograph which deals with geographical distribution. I have also added a photograph of the rock. The Syntengs have a story that when the strong west wind blows in the spring this is due to the advent of *U Kyllang*, who comes to visit his wife, the river *Umngot*, at that season: amongst the Khasis hills are all of them masculine, but to rivers is usually attributed the feminine gender. U Symper is another isolated rocky eminence rising from the Maharam plain close to the village of K'mawan. The best view of the hill is obtainable from Laitmawsiang on the path to Mawsynram. The village of Mawsmai every traveller from Therria to Cherrapunji knows. It is chiefly remarkable for a fairly large limestone cave, and its fine memorial stones. The Khasi theory to explain how the moon got its spots is, I believe, original, but is no more extraordinary than our own nursery tale about the "man in the moon." The *Sohpet Byneng* hill is the first hill of any size that the traveller sees on the Gauhati road when journeying to Shillong. It is close to Umsning Dak Bungalow. There are caves in the hill which are tenanted by bears. Strange to say, according to Khasi ideas, this is one of the highest points in the hills; in reality *Sophet Byneng* is some 2,000 ft. lower than the Shillong Peak. As mentioned elsewhere, the Khasis are very fond of dogs; so I have given their version of how the dog came to live with man. The well-known *thlen* superstition will be found fully described under the heading of "Human sacrifices." I have, however, thought the tale of sufficient interest to reproduce at length here. The story of the river Rupatylli is a pretty tale, and is just such a one as would appeal to the imagination of mountaineers like the Khasis. The Kopili story is important, in that it indicates the origin of human sacrifices in the Jaintia Hills; it also throws, perhaps, some light on the question of the use to which the flat table memorial stones were put in years gone by. The superstition about the crossing of the Kopili can be vouched for by many who have taken the journey from the Jaintia Hills to North Cachar by the Kopili route. Mawpunkyrtiang is a small village close to Cherrapunji. The weird tale about the Siem of Malyniang is the pride of the Maskut people, for in olden days their King,

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773 i.e. the Siem of Malyniang, is supposed to have been a very powerful monarch amongst the Khasis. The story of Manick [534] Raitong is interesting, in that it explains the origin of the use of the *sharati*, a bamboo flute of special make which is played only at funerals. The pool of water, which was formed after U [766] Manick and the erring queen were burnt, may be connected with the *Umkoi*, or tank, which is dug to cleanse the souls of those who have died violent deaths. The idea of the bamboo, which bore leaves that grew upside-down, springing up from the buried flute, is also to be found in the Synteng tale regarding U Loh Ryndi's fishing-rod. Owing to considerations of space, I have had to curtail largely the folk-lore section. I have, however, kept the materials by me, and if at any future time there is reason to believe that the reproduction of more Khasí folk-lore is called for, I shall be glad to try to arrange that some of the other folk-tales be printed.

The Water-fall of Ka Likai.

539 The water-fall of Ka Likai is one of the most beautiful water- [133] falls in the Khasi Hills. Its stream flows from a certain river from the village of Rangjirteh and passes by the village of Nongriat. The fall can be seen distinctly from the village of Laitkynsew. What a beautiful fall it is when viewed in the autumn. It is also a very high fall. There was in olden days in the village of Rangjirteh a woman called Ka Likai. She was a poor woman who had a husband. When she had given birth to a child, the husband died. Whilst the child was yet a baby, she experienced much trouble in taking care of it on account of her poverty. After the child was able to walk, what a pleasure it was to her to see it growing, and able to play with other children. Then that woman married

Ka Kshaid ka Likai.

Ka ksháid-ka-Likai ka long kawei ka ksháid ha ri Khasi kaba itynnad shibún eh. Ka wan tuid na kawei ka wah ha ka shnong Rangjirteh kaba wan hap ha ka shnong Nongriat. Ia kane ka ksháid lah ban ioh-i bha na ka shnong Laitkynsew. Katno ka long kaba i-tynnad lada khmih ia ka ha ka por synrái. Ka long ruh kaba jrong shibun eh. La don kawei ka briew ha ka shnong Rangjirteh hyndái kaba kyrteng ka Likai. Kane ka briew ka long kaba duk bad ka la don u tnga, te ynda la kha iwei i khun kynthei uta u tnga u la iap noh. Hamar ka por ba dang lung ita i khun ka la shitom shibún ban sumar ha ka jinglong duk jong ka. Te ynda i la nangiáid katno, ka la sngewbhá ban ioh-i ia la i khun ba i la sháit, bad ba i la nang ba'n leh kái bad ki para khynnah. Te kane ka

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quilt, made out of the bark of a tree, which is beaten 352
out and then carefully woven, several layers of flattened 513
bark being used before the right thickness is attained. 287
This quilt is called by the Lynngams "*Ka syllar*" (Garo *simpak*).
Food is cooked in earthen pots, but no plates are used, the broad 252
leaves of the *mariang* tree taking their place. The leaves are 415
thrown away after use, a fresh supply being required for each meal.

The Lynngams brew rice beer, they do not distil spirit; the 274
beer is brewed according to the Khasi method. Games they have 526
none, and there are no jovial archery meetings like those of the Khasis. The Lynngam methods of hunting are setting spring 224
guns and digging pitfalls for game. The people say that now the Government and the Siem of Nongstoin have prohibited both of these methods of destroying game, they no longer employ them. But I came across a pitfall for deer not long ago in the neighbourhood of a village in the Lynngam country. The people declared it to be a very old one; but this I very much doubt, and I fear that these objectionable methods of hunting are still used. The Lynngams fish to a 226
small extent with nets, but their idea of fishing, *par excellence*, is poisoning the streams, an account of which has already been given in this monograph. The Lynngams are omnivorous 262
feeders, they may be said to eat everything except dogs, snakes, the *hulak* monkey, and lizards. They like rice, when they can get it; for sometimes the out-turn of their fields does not last them more than a few months. They then have to fall back on Jolstears and millet. They eat arums largely, and for vegetables they cook wild plantains and the young shoots of bamboos and cane plants. The Lynngams are divided up into 614
exogamous clans in the same manner as the Khasis. The clans 773
are overgrown families. The Lynngams have some stories regarding the founders of these clans, of which the following is a specimen:—"A woman was asleep under a *sohbar* tree in the jungle, a flower from which fell on her, and she conceived and bore a female child who was the ancestress of the Nongsohbar clan." Some of the stories of the origins of other clans do not bear repeating. There do not appear to be any 582
hypergamous groups. As with the Khasis, it is a deadly sin to 614

773 782 Several Khasis claim that the devil prescribed to their ancestors the method of sacrificing. On the other hand others maintain that in times past a man of rare size and strength came to their country. This man accomplished wonderful things, and commanded their ancestors to sacrifice and at the same time prescribed for them the method of sacrificing. Today the place [103] of his former dwelling on a mountain near Shillong is still pointed out. Since something divine was suspected in that man, he was called u 'lei shillong (the god Shillong).

776 The Khasi believe in a highest being, whom they call u blei nongthaw (1) (the creator god).

[194] 1. Pronounciation of Khasi (method of writing): ei is pronounced as two syllables, e - i, w is pronounced like u, aw is therefore like a - u, sh is pronounced like sch = phonetic š.

Just as the ideas about this person are very hazy, so are the concepts of eternity and the soul.

775 The Khasi are not in agreement among themselves about the conception of what happens to the soul after death. Several say that after death the soul goes up in the air and becomes air and therefore exists no longer. But most of them believe that the soul exists after death and can be happy or unhappy. But this does not depend on personal guilt or sin but only on the conscientious completion of the burial ceremonies.

[631] 776 The country in which the Khasi live is divided into several districts, which were formerly ruled by several kings before the English came. [408] According to the Khasi each district

776 has its own tutelary god on whom they confer the name of the district.

Villages have their own tutelary gods, families have their tutelary gods, even individual people have their guardian gods, to whom they occasionally bring a sacrifice.

The Khasi and Synteng also honor gods who are not thought of as tutelary gods but as dispensers of purely material favors, as, for example, u 'lei longspah (god of wealth) and u'lei umtong (the god of water which is used for cooking and drinking). (2)

2. Cf. (below, p. 410) the summarized table of some of the good and evil gods who are honored by the Khasi and the Synteng.

But in general the Khasi believe that the gods or spirits are evil spirits, whom they then designate with the name ksuid (devil).

782 They believe that their country is full of such ksuid. The chief task of the Khasi is to pacify them. They try by all means to put them in a good mood, and to appease them by sacrifice. It is fear which incites them to their religious activities, not respect or actual reverence. For the Khasi are convinced that it was formerly better. They relate that in the beginning [773] heaven and earth were near together, that people could consort directly with u blei nongthaw the creator god, and that there was still no sin at that time. Now, however, man is sinful and no one offering a sacrifice forgets to pronounce the formula: nga briu nga la pop (I, man, have sinned). Thus the concept sin is one of the bases of the Khasi religion. The other basis is sacrifice. There is no doubt that sin and sacrifice make up the basic thoughts of the religious views

782 sacrifice — that is the murder itself.

3. to describe the offering of the sacrifice.

Following from this, several questions arise of their own accord, namely:

1. How do the people accept these facts?
   a) the fear among the people,
   b) the liberation from thlen,
   c) story of former thlen possessors.

2. The position of the English-Indian government to these human sacrifices?

* 773 776 782

1. The Thlen Legend

About five miles west of Cherrapungi, (15)

15. The following accounts are taken from the article "Menschenopfer unter den Khasi" [Human Sacrifice Among the Khasi] by Dr. C. Becker, S.D.S., Salvatorianische Mitteilungen [Salvatorian Communications] 1909, No. 5, pp. 75 ff.

near the great waterfall Noh ka Likai, there is the cave Pomialai, about which an old Khasi legend is concerned. The dwelling place of an enormous snake —called u thlen — which caused great destruction among men and animals was once here. People had to pass here to go to market; half of them were regularly swallowed by the thlen, the others could continue their way peacefully. It was a rule for the thlen, only to consume half the number of people or animals that came by. After many people had lost their lives in this fashion, the Khasi one day held a large meeting, a darbar, with the inhabitants of the valleys, to consider how they could

773 remedy this great misfortune. A brave man named
776 Suidnoh volunteered to cause a change. He be-
782 gan to drive goats, pigs, and cattle to the thlen to give them to the snake to eat. After he had done this for quite some time, the thlen became quite tame and trusting. One day Suidnoh brought along a piece of glowing hot iron which he held with a tongs. He ordered the snake to open its mouth so that he could give it a piece of meat. The snake believed him, opened its mouth and Suidnoh quickly thrust the glowing hot iron in its throat so that the snake burst with horrible writhings. In another gathering it was decided to cut the snake into two pieces: the inhabitants of the valley were supposed to eat one half, the Khasi the other half. Since the former are very numerous, it was easy for them to manage their portion; but the Khasi could not quite master their share and left some of it. Others say that in the village Maupho, west of Cherrapunji, an old woman forgot to eat up her share. In short the Khasi did not quite get rid of their share and so it came about that the snake could grow again and he still lives among them up to the present day.

[22] 2. The Preparations for the Sacrifice

However the thlen is no longer the public waylayer of previous times. He has withdrawn into the interior of the houses; also he no longer is in just one place, but may be found in several. There are certain families that are considered possessors of such a devil snake and are known as such among the people. They are simply called the Hongri thlen, owners of a thlen. The thlen is cared for and secretly kept by the owner very carefully in a safe place. It is only supposed to be seen by members of the household

776 of the thlen owner. It is also said of the snake
773 that it can reduce itself to the size of a thin
782 thread and therefore can easily find a place in a basket or earthern jar. Others even say that it has the power to change itself into a cat or a rooster or a stone and to stay with the owner in this form.

776 The possession of the thlen[1] is a valuable
782 thing for the owner; for where the thlen makes
682 his home, it brings good fortune and wealth to the family. However, the snake only does this on the condition that it is provided with human blood. If it does not receive this, it announces itself from time to time in the family concerned during the night in a dream. If its desires are still not fulfilled, it then comes bringing sickness, misfortune, impoverishment, and the like. There is nothing that the owner can do other than satisfy or propitiate the thlen by human murder. In the night he waits for his victim alone or with another whom he has hired for this purpose. Often the thlen worshippers have a so-called nongbylla, i.e., a wage earner who shares the wealth of his master for his efforts without having to bother with other work. He goes out in ambush with his master and watches hidden from the heights of a mountain, or along the road, or at the edge of the forest to see whether anyone is coming along the way. By signs or shouts he warns his master who is waiting some distance away, and then they commit the murder together. Both are usually disguised and armed with a wooden club for killing their victim. The ordinary people call these murderers in the service of the thlen as well as the thlen worshippers in general only nongshoh noh, literally, killers. They may not use iron weapons for committing their dark deeds, as iron proved to be fatal for the thlen tribal father, as was told

[1 [a dead snake, see category 116, pp. 29-81--Analyst]

782 One month before the celebration rice liquor is poured into a hollowed-
796 out gourd bottle in the house of the S'iem sad and offered before the rishot Blei as a 'suit' (sacrifice of drink). This is done in order to in-
[769] form the u Suidnia long S'iem (the spirit of the first great-uncle on
[774] the maternal side who was the first king), the ka Blei long S'iem (the divinity who makes kings kings) and the u Blei Shillong (the god Shillong), that preparations are now being made for the Puja and that they might help with them.

776 The u Blei Shillong plays the chief part in the whole ceremony. He enjoys great reverence among the Khasi, especially in the kingdom Nongkrem and Nylliem. Not far from Nongkrem a mountain
[133] peak rises 6,450 feet above the sea. It is the highest peak in the Khasi Mountains; its name is "Shillong Peak." Here is the seat of
[773] the god Shillong. The story goes that a man appeared here once, who said he /894/ had not been born but came of himself (shu long). He also told the people that they would receive the kings, S'iem. So the god who lives here was called u Shu long (he who is out of him-
[163] self), from which the Europeans gradually made the word Shillong and also gave this name to the splendid mountain station in the heart of the Khasi Mountains.

796 After the S'iem sad has determined exactly the day of the cere-
782 monies, the news of this is sent out two weeks prior to the ceremony to the village elders (Rangbah shnong). This is done on the day of the large market (jeu duh), which takes place every eighth day. Two weeks after is the pom blang, also on the day of the large market, which is discussed below.

The way in which the invitation is issued is interesting. A num-
[211] ber of chains about an ell long are made of bamboo rings. These are called kyrwoh. One of these is sent to the oldest man of each village. Since the Khasi formerly had no script, this bamboo chain always served as a sign of invitation or summons to the S'iem for ceremonies, or of danger of war, or of court matters and such. The degree of urgency was shown by the form of the links; in the case of great haste the form was longish and flat, otherwise correspondingly rounder. The sending of the kyrwoh to the village elders serves now as a sign of invitation for the whole village to appear at the ceremonies and at the same time as a demand to gather together the prescribed sacri-
[651] ficial gifts. Each of the six districts, into which the kingdom Nongkrem is divided, must furnish a goat; each individual hut must pay a tax (called pynshok) of one rupee and four annas in addition. Very poor people only have to pay one anna or even only a half. The sacrificial gifts, such as rice, various sacrificial animals, fish, brandy

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(ii) It is *sang* to use nails in fixing the timber of a house. 784

(iii) The *dypei*, or hearth, should be made of one kind of timber only.

(iv) To build a house with resinous timber (*'seh khlein*). Only the Siem's family can use such timber.

(v) To cut trees from the sacred forest.

(vi) To take or give anything with the left hand.

(vii) To step over the body of any person.

(viii) To kill a fowl or a goat without throwing first rice over the body of the victim.

(ix) To drink the milk of a cow or goat.

(x) To talk with any one, except with those who are working together, when the thrashing of paddy is going on.

(xi) Not to give fire or water when anyone demands the same.

(xii) A twin birth is *sang*. It is a more serious matter even than *sang* if the twins are of opposite sexes.

There are rules of *sang* regarding marriages within prohibited 784
degrees of relationship, and there is a very stringent rule of *sang* 582
against marrying within the *kur*, or clan. Those who do this are excommunicated and their bones or ashes are not allowed to be placed in the family mausoleum. To marry within the same *kur*, or clan, is the greatest crime a Khasi can commit.

There are special rules of *sang* affecting certain families, *e.g.*, for 784
the clan *Nongtathiang* to eat a certain kind of lemon, for the clan 614
Kharumnuid to eat pork, for the Cherra Siem's family to eat dry fish, for the family of the Siem of Mylliem to eat the pumpkin. Possibly, these taboos may be relics of totemism in these families.

14. *The Thlen superstition.*—The following succinct account of this 773
interesting superstition appeared on page 254, paragraph 20, of the *Assam Gazette* of the 5th August 1882. I do not think I can do better than repeat it here: "The tradition is that there was once in a cave near Cherrapunji a gigantic snake, or *Thlen*, who committed great havoc among men and animals. At last one man, bolder than his fellows, took with him a herd of goats and set himself down by the cave and offered them one by one to the *Thlen*. By degrees the monster became friendly, and learnt to open his mouth at a word from the man, to receive the lump of flesh which was then thrown in. When confidence was thoroughly established, the man heated a lump of iron red hot in a furnace, induced the snake at the usual signal, to open his mouth, and then threw in the red hot lump, and so killed him. He then cut up the body and sent pieces in every direction, with orders that the people were to eat them. Wherever the order was

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773 obeyed, the country became free of the *Thlen*: but one small piece remained which no one would eat, and from this sprang a multitude of *Thlens*, which infest the residents of Cherra and its neighbourhood. When a *Thlen* takes up its abode in a family there is no means of getting rid of it, though it occasionally leaves of its own accord, and often follows property of the family when given away or sold. The *Thlen* attaches itself to wealth, and brings prosperity and wealth to the family, but on the condition that it is supplied *with blood*. Its craving comes on at uncertain intervals: and manifests itself by sickness among the family, by misadventure, or increasing poverty. It can only be appeased by the murder of a human being. The murderer takes the hair, the tips of the fingers, and a little blood from the nostril, caught in a bamboo tube, and offers these to the *Thlen*. The belief is that the demon then appears in the form of a snake and devours the body of the murdered person, which is materialised from the portions thus offered. After this, its craving is satisfied for a time, and the affairs of that house prosper. Many families in these hills are known or suspected to be *Ri-thlen*, or keepers of a *Thlen*, and are dreaded and avoided in consequence. Whenever a dead body is found with the marks above described on it (and particularly if it is with no wound, and death has been caused by twisting the neck), it may be presumed with almost absolute certainty that the object of the murder was to appease a *Thlen*."

[171] It may be stated that, as far as I am aware in Assam, this superstition is peculiar to the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, and it is not to be met with amongst any of the other hill-tribes of the province. It would be specially interesting to learn whether there are any traces of a similar superstition amongst any of the tribes of Burma and Further India. The *Thlen* superstition is probably of a very ancient origin. It may be said to take the place amongst the Khasis of the head-hunting custom amongst the Nagas. The *Thlen* superstition is still deeprooted-amongst the people here, in many portions of the country the Khasis being afraid to walk out after dark for fear of being attacked by *nongshohnohs*, or persons who are searching for victims to sacrifice to the *Thlen*.

805 15. *Calculation of time.*—The Khasis adopt the lunar month. The names of the lunar months have been extracted from Colonel Bivar's report below. I am not certain whether all Colonel Bivar's explanations of meanings of the names of the months are correct:

U Kylla-lyn-kot,—the wood-burning moon, corresponding with January.

U Rympang,—the windy moon, corresponding with February.

U Lyber,—the seed-sowing moon, corresponding with March.

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The primal father and the mother of the members of every clan are respectively known as *U-Parad* (*U-Thawlang*) and *Ka-Meyrad* (*Ka-Iawbei*). 614 192 773

There is a large number of clans among the Khasis and some of the clan names are those of animals and trees. *Shrieh* is monkey, *tham*, a crab, and *dingdoh*, a tree ; yet they do not constitute totemic clan organization. The clan names are not even the names of the ancestress. The clans are not ancestral but rather were territorial in nature when the clansmen (*shi-Kur*) used to live in a place having a common land (*ri-kur*) and a clan ossuary (*mawbah*) where the bones of the dead clansmen were deposited. 614 551

Unlike the clans, the sub-clans (*ka-k'poh*) are ancestral. As for example, in case of the *Siem* clan of the Chera state, it is found that Ka-Khiem was the primal ancestress. Her daughter Ka-Pet had three daughters, namely, Ka-Sngi, Ka-Lngen, and Ka-Kreh each of whom is regarded as the *Ka-K' poh* (*meaning* womb) of their respective descendants who are *shi-K'poh* (the members of the same womb). And their names are the names of the three sub-clans of the *siem* clan. 613

The names of the sub-clans of some of the clans as collected from the elderly Khasi women are given below. 613 614 551

CLAN	SUB-CLAN
1. Siem	— sngi ; lngen , kreh
2. Khongsit	— yin , phai ; bar ; jiram
3. Kharshiing	— iew ; mah ; sayngiar , iynsan
4. Lyngdoh	— kaban ; summhir ; kamai
5. Nongrum	— tungan ; tungwi ; syngna , buhai
6. Khongrymai	— thania ; thani , barhai , lisi
7. Jaidkhar	— hasi ; haza , tuli ; tula
8. Simpilian	— eli ; meyar ; josi , emi

Family (*ka-iing*) among the Khasis is the socio-economic and religious unit. Due to matrilocal residence, the structure of the Khasi families assumes a different form. The constituent members are the grandmother, her daughters and their children. But the parmanent residents are the youngest daughter (*ka-khaddah*), her husband and daughters. It takes an 596

[Should read: permanent.— Analyst]

14: Roy I-5 (no date) 1938 AR7 Khasi AR7

Blei na thian, ko Lei Synshar, Ko Blei triw, man briw, kumba la hukum kumba bhu ma phi U Blei ka Blei ban long I Kha I man, kumba la pynhiar ka synjat mynta ka sgni, ba phin tip, ba phin sngew na jrong ho kyndiang ba ita I jaid bad ita I jaid ki la iapoi kha poi man ban iaroi ban ia man ban ia heh ka long kynthei ka long shynrang', Oh God from above, oh God from below, Thou God who controllest, who keepest and preservest, Thou God who createst man and the origin and source of human life,—as ordained by Thee, Oh God, U Blei (God in the male aspect), Ka Blei (God in the female aspect) that there should be *I Kha* (person to bear and give birth) *I man* (person with whom and through whom to give cause to life and to grow), as token has been brought down this day, [a ring is given], so that Thou mayest hear clearly from above, that such and such *jaid* (kind, clan) and such and such a *jaid* (kind, clan) have become joined in marriage in order to increase, in order to grow, so as to increase the state of being female and the state of being male (i. e. male and female population)." [This is said as a woman of a certain clan always marries a man of a different clan.] As I have said elsewhere, "There is no tradition among the Khasis that there was ever a time when the status of marriage did not exist among our ancestors. There is a belief among the Khasis that they were instructed in their religion and that their ceremonies and rites were delivered by God Himself to the

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581 [773] *Hynniew Trep Hynniew Sknm* (the seven nests, seven roots), These seven nests or roots were seven pairs of virgin women and men created by God to marry and they formed seven houses (families) and from them the country was filled and the rites and ceremonies were obtained. Thus the Khasi takes pride in the fact that God Himself delivered their religion and the rites and ceremonies unto them. ... The Khasi matrilineal system has come down through ages and with a definite idea of the union of one man with one woman. This is significant for those who consider that marriage is and has always been common to the whole human race, and it raises the question as to whether the Khasi idea is the survival of a period when the nature of paternity was not understood".

[851] [603] [553] In the sacred rites of baptism of this simple folk we find that a Khasi grandmother will not officiate in the name-giving ceremony unless in the marriage of her son with the woman to whom the child is born there has been the regular ceremony of marriage.

also active, and in that decade one U Kyrhai, a Khasi 797
convert to Presbyterianism, left that church and
founded a unique sect that blends something of him-
self with something of mystical Hinduism and Chris-
tianity. The competitors who most seriously threat-
ened the dominance of the Welsh Presbyterians were
the Roman Catholic missionaries who arrived in Shil-
long about 1890. Catholics have since opened a num-
ber of high schools, colleges, convents, and orphan-
ages. They also established a technical school, and
are now constructing a seminary. At the present time, 779
one estimate is that there are about 100,000 Presby-
terians and 80,000 Roman Catholics among Khasis. [162]
Members of other Christian sects are comparatively
few; adherents to Hinduism and Islam are fewer still,
comprised chiefly of Khasi women married to Hindu
or Muslim men; U Kyrhai's sect is dying out; and
the balance of Khasis are, according to their own
term, "Khasi" in religion. [Cf. Lyngdoh 1937; Morris [113]
1910; Ropmay 1940; Singh 1950; Pugh 1951.] **Super-**
naturals. The great deities are two, an unnamed 776
masculine God (U Blei) and an unnamed feminine
Goddess (Ka Blei Nongsynshar Nonghukum). God 771
created the earth, and in the beginning instructed 773
man in cultivation techniques and also laid down
the framework of a moral order that should guide his
every move if he wished to join God in heaven after
death. This framework was then filled in by the first
ancestors, who are therefore the authorities on the
subject and are semideified as Ka Iawbei (the moth-
er), U Thawlang (the father), and U Suidñia (the
mother's brother). Very early, Goddess undertook to
keep account of the numbers of human beings on
earth, and this role was so important, relating as it
did to the health and the multiplication of the peo-
ple, that she became of major importance in the
Khasi pantheon. When sin beset human society, God
activated automatic punishments in the form of nat-
ural calamities, and man finally decided that some
animal should go and intercede with God on behalf
of humans. The cock went, agreed to take upon him-
self the burden of human sin, and received instruction
in the correct divinatory and sacrificial techniques
for which he would be one of the main objects of
the knife. Again, over a period of time, it was the
ancestors who perfected these techniques. Now, God
is regarded as powerful and merciful, but passive.
His punishments have their own impetus, and the ex-
pression of His mercy is solidified in ritual. Goddess
is more vaguely conceived, but is much closer to the
individual. [But cf. Ehrenfels 1950, who conceives of [114]
one double-sexed, great deity among Khasis.] Regard- 776
ing ancestors, it is never clear from prayers whether 771
supplication is to generalized semideities or to par-
ticular first ancestors of a Khasi's own matrilineage, [769]
and such a distinction seems not to matter. There are
three other categories of minor deities: those who
protect places (such as villages, groves, or springs),

773 Several Khasis claim that the devil pre-
782 scribed to their ancestors the method of sacrificing. On the other hand others maintain that in times past a man of rare size and strength came to their country. This man accomplished wonderful things, and commanded their ancestors to sacrifice and at the same time prescribed for them the method of sacrificing. Today the place
[103] of his former dwelling on a mountain near Shillong is still pointed out. Since something divine was suspected in that man, he was called u 'lei shillong (the god Shillong).

776 The Khasi believe in a highest being, whom they call u blei nongthaw (1) (the creator god).

[194] 1. Pronounciation of Khasi (method of writing): ei is pronounced as two syllables, e - i, w is pronounced like u, aw is therefore like a - u, sh is pronounced like sch = phonetic š.

Just as the ideas about this person are very hazy, so are the concepts of eternity and the soul.

●775 The Khasi are not in agreement among themselves about the conception of what happens to the soul after death. Several say that after death the soul goes up in the air and becomes air and therefore exists no longer. But most of them believe that the soul exists after death and can be happy or unhappy. But this does not depend on personal guilt or sin but only on the conscientious completion of the burial ceremonies.

[631] The country in which the Khasi live is
776 divided into several districts, which were formerly ruled by several kings before the English came. [408] According to the Khasi each district

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SECTION IV.

RELIGION.

GENERAL CHARACTER OF POPULAR BELIEFS.

THE Khasis have a vague belief in a God the Creator, *U Blei Nong-thaw*, although this deity, owing, no doubt, to the influences of the matriarchate, is frequently given the attribute of the feminine gender, cf., *Ka lei Synshar*. The Khasis cannot, however, be said to worship the Supreme God, although it is true that they sometimes invoke him when sacrificing and in times of trouble. The religion of the Khasis may be described as animism or spirit-worship, or rather, the propitiation of spirits both good and evil on certain occasions, principally in times of trouble. The propitiation of these spirits is carried out either by priests (*lyngdohs*), or by old men well versed in the arts of necromancy, and as the *lyngdoh* or wise man deals with good as well as evil spirits, and, as often as not, with the good spirits of ancestors, the propitiation of these spirits may be said to partake of the nature of Shamanism. A very prominent feature of the Khasi beliefs is the propitiation of ancestors; but this will be described separately. There is a vague belief amongst the Khasi of a future state. It is believed that the spirits of the dead, whose funeral ceremonies have been duly performed, go to the house or garden of God, where there are groves of betel-nut trees; hence the expression for the departed, *uba bam kwai ha iing u blei* (he who is eating betel-nut in God's house), the idea of supreme happiness to the Khasi being to eat betel-nut uninterruptedly. The spirits of those whose funeral ceremonies have not been duly performed are believed to take the forms of animals, birds, or

776 771 782 791 793 769 775 276 764 775 764

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insects, and to roam on this earth; but this idea of transmigration of souls has been probably borrowed from the Hindus. Bivar writes that although the ideas of a Godhead are not clearly grasped, yet a supreme creator is acknowledged, and that the following is the tradition relating to the creation of man. "God in the beginning having created man, placed him on the earth, but on returning to look at him, found he had been destroyed by the evil spirit. This happened a second time, whereupon the Deity created first a dog, then a man; and the dog, who kept watch, prevented the devil from destroying the man, and the work of the Deity was thus preserved." The Khasis, apparently, do not believe in punishment after death, at least, there is no idea of hell, although the spirits of those who have died under the ban of *sang* remain uneasy, being obliged to wander about the earth in different forms, as noted above. The spirits worshipped by the Khasis are many in number, those of the Syntengs being specially numerous. The particular spirit to be propitiated is ascertained by egg-breaking. The offering acceptable to the spirit is similarly ascertained and is then made. If the particular sacrifice does not produce the result desired, a fowl is sacrificed; the entrails being then examined, an augury is drawn, and the sacrifice begins afresh. As the process of egg-breaking is believed to be peculiar * to the Khasis amongst the Assam hill tribes, a separate description of it is given in the Appendix. It should be remarked that the Khasis never symbolize their gods by means of images, their worship being offered to the spirit only. The following are some of the principal spirits worshipped by the Khasis and Syntengs, omitting the spirits of deceased ancestors such as *Ka Iawebi*, *u Thawlang*, and *u Suidnia*, which will be described under the heading of ancestor-worship.

Ulei mulak—the god of the State, who is propitiated yearly by the sacrifice of a goat and a cock.

Ulei umtong—the god of water, used for drinking and cooking purposes. This god is similarly propitiated once a year, so that the water supply may remain pure.

* Sir Charles Lyall has pointed out that the Mikirs possess this custom; it is probably borrowed from the Khasis.

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585 of a Garo marriage. The Lynngams, unlike the Garos, do not
782 observe which way the beaks of the fowls turn when they are thrown on the ground after being sacrificed. The Lynngams,
787 like the Khasis, take auguries from the entrails of the fowls and the pig. After these ceremonies are over, the Lynngam pair are allowed to cohabit. The cost of an ordinary Lynngam
585 marriage is from Rs. 30 to Rs. 40. The marriage system in
435 vogue among the Lynngams may be described as a mixture of the Khasi and Garo customs. As has already been stated,
101 the Lynngams are a mongrel breed of Khasis and Garos.

CEREMONIES ATTENDING DEATH.

764 The death customs of the Khasis are not only very elaborate, but possess a significance of their own, it is, therefore, necessary to describe them in detail; they are as follows:—

763 A member of the family bends down towards the ear of the apparently deceased person and calls him or her by name three times, to make sure that death has occurred. If no answer comes, the family laments, for it is then con-
764 cluded that the person is really dead. The body is then bathed
291 in warm water from three earthen pots and is reverently laid on a mat (*japung*), where it is dressed in white cloth, a peculiar feature of the dressing being that the waist-cloth and turban are folded from left to right, and not from right to left, as in the case of the living. An egg called *u'leng kpoh*
764 is placed on the stomach of the deceased, and nine fried grains, of *riw hadem*, or Indian corn, are tied round the head with a string. The rich place ear-rings in the ears and other jewellery on the body of the deceased, it being necessary that this jewellery should be specially made for the occasion, and they
[775] deck the corpse with valuable cloths. A cock, *u'iar krad lynti* (literally the cock that scratches the way), is sacrificed, the idea being that a cock will scratch a path for the spirit to the next world. A sacrifice of a bull, or of a cow in case the deceased is a woman, (*u* or *ka masi pynsum*,) follows. Portions of the left leg of the fowl and the lower part of the jaw of the bull or cow are kept, to be placed afterwards in the *mawshieng*, or bone,

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765 If any stream has to be crossed, a rough bridge is made of
764 branches and grass. This trail of leaves and the bridges are intended to guide the spirit of the deceased to the cairn. The person who carries the bones is not allowed to turn round, or to the right, or to the left, but must proceed straight to the cairn. On reaching it, a *nongknia*, or sacrificer, washes the bones three times and then places them in an earthen pot, tying up the mouth with a white cloth. Then, having taken three pieces of the hard yolk of an egg, three loaves of bread, the leg of the fowl, "*u'iar krad lynti*," and the lower jaw-bones of the animals which have been sacrificed, he places them inside the cairn and shuts the door. Eatables and
765 betel-nut are then placed on the top of the cairn. Early next
787 morning the relatives and friends go to the cairn with fresh food and water, and look about for new foot-prints, the idea being
[775] that from these foot-prints they can foretell future events. This they do until the third night after the cremation. During these three nights the front door of the house formerly occupied by the deceased is never closed, it being thought that the spirit may wish to return and visit its earthly abode. The whole family is moreover *sang*, or taboo, during this period, and no manner of work can be done. When the three nights are over, it is called the *lait ia*, i.e. the days (of mourning) are passed, and three eggs are broken to ascertain what was the cause of the death. After this the family goes to bathe, and
[783] the clothes and mats in the house are washed. When this has been done, the taboo is removed and the family can go to work. After a month a pig or a fowl is sacrificed, the ceremony
782 being called "*ai bam lait bnai*." It will be observed that *three*
765 seems to be the lucky number throughout these funeral
801 ceremonies. The number seems to bear a similar significance in other matters of Khasi ritual, e.g. the pouring out of libations, which is always done three times.

587 It is *sang* or taboo for a Khasi widow to re-marry within one
428 year from the death of her husband, there is a similar prohibition for a husband re-marrying; but such *sang* can be got over by the payment of a fine to the clan of the deceased. After the expiration of one year the fine is reduced in amount. Khasi widows do not as a rule re-marry, according to U Jeebon Roy,

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the bones of males and females being kept in separate bundles wrapped in white cloth, two women of the clan reverently carrying them in their arms, holding the bundles of bones to their breasts. One female carries the bones of the males and the other those of the females. In front of these women walks an old man who scatters along the way leaves of the *dieng-shit* tree and grains of rice, and when it is necessary to cross any stream or river, he ties a thread from one side of the bank to the other, this is for the spirit of the departed to cross the water. Sometimes *u'nam tohrih*, a kind of long grass, is used instead of thread for the above purpose. On arrival at the clan puja-house, the bones of the males are laid on one bed and those of the females on another, the beds being bedecked with rich hangings. A cock, *u'iar kradlynti* (lit.: "the cock which scratches the way"), is sacrificed, this sacrifice being considered by the Khasis to be of peculiar significance. A pig, a cock, and a bull are then sacrificed, and portions of the above are offered to the spirits of the deceased. These offerings are known by the name of *ai-bam*, and are placed in a basket which is hung up in the house, together with the left thigh of the fowl and the lower jaw-bone of the bullock. A dance is performed that night, first in the house by two women, one belonging to the clan and the other an outsider, and afterwards in a specially prepared place outside the house called "*lympung*." The *sharati*, or flute, which is played at funerals is sounded, drums are beaten, and bombs are exploded. This dancing lasts from one to nine days, the limit being always an uneven number of days. At Cherra two effigies called *Ka Puron* and *U Tyngshop* are prepared and dressed up; the former is intended to represent *Ka Iawbei*, the first ancestress, and the other *U Suidnia*, the first maternal uncle of the clan. These effigies are held in the hands of the dancers. In the meantime two lines of upright stones consisting of three each, with a table stone in front of each line, have been set up. These are called *mawkjat* or *mawlynti*, and are intended to serve as resting-places for the spirits of the dead on their way to the tomb of the clan. These stones are generally not more than three feet in height, and must not be confounded with the larger stones or *mawbynna*. On the night before it is proposed to deposit the

782 of the Khasi.

Just as the Khasi are unable to explain how man fell into sin, so they also cannot explain why the rooster appears as mediator between god and man. The Khasi tradition relates of the rooster: u khun ka blei uba kit ryndang ba shah ryndang na ka bynta jong nga u briu, i.e. he who, as son of the goddess, gives his life for man, thus expiating sin through sacrifice and reconciling god.

769 775 The Khasi believe in another world and their attention is directed towards the comfort of the spirits of the dead. One of the main tasks is to give them nourishment (ai bam), which must be done, since the welfare of the living depends on the welfare of the dead. For example, if one can no longer get the corpse of the deceased because it is in a foreign country or has been consumed by wild animals, one takes his clothes at the very least and carries out the burial ceremonies with these. For only such spirits, whose burial ceremonies were performed according to usage and custom, can participate in chewing betel nuts in the garden (in the house) of god, whereas the others must wander around on earth [409] or must continue living in insects, birds, and other animals. They do not believe in hell (in the Christian sense). The greatest felicity [276] for a Khasi is "to chew betel nuts perpetually." Therefore they conceive of heaven as the dwelling (garden or house) of god, in which only betel nuts are chewed: uba bam kwai ha iing u blei (he who chews betel nuts in the house of god).

[776] This cult of spirits, which relates to deceased relatives, is mixed with the ancestor cult. Thus the first great-grandmother of each sib (jaid) becomes a goddess (ka jaubei) and the first great-grandfather of the sib a god (u thaulang).

776 is calling. He is, however, lame; but whoever
[753] answers the call or screams is lost, since he will be seized by the 'suid tynjang and tickled to death.

[763] If one wi hes to protect oneself from a violent death, one must propitiate the demoness ka tyrut by sacrifice, because she is the original cause of this method of dying. The Khasi have a great respect for violent death as it increases the difficulties of the prescribed ceremonies of burial, even making them impossible, which would in turn deny the spirit of the departed one peace in eternity.

[775] They also live in fear of the devil u 'suid-lam-iap (the messenger of god, i.e., the executor of his commands). He leads the souls of people away into another kingdom. He is supposed to be horrible; of gigantic size, he walks around with long trailing hair seeking his victim. His teeth are as large as a ka wait (a hatchet or an axe).

[842] [413] The women are especially afraid of a devil whom they call u 'suid-um (the water devil). He has the power of attacking women and causing sterility in them, and if they are pregnant causing a miscarriage.

776 The demoness ka khlam brings cholera and the
753 demoness ka tihar brings severe colic.

They believe that they get malaria through the influence of the demoness ka rih, while in the region of Theriaghat the fever is ascribed to the demoness ka duba.

Smallpox, which is otherwise feared everywhere, is considered by the Khasi to be evidence of the favor of the god u siem niang thylliew. If there is someone in one of the huts sick with smallpox, the sick person is not only not avoided, but even healthy children are brought there, so that they may also get smallpox.

764 which is called u 'lang sait ksuid or "the
782 he-goat which washes off the devil." The meaning of this is: the he-goat is similar to the "scapegoat" which takes the sins of the deceased upon himself.

Among the poor (that is among those who only use uncut wood as well as those who use wood cut with the ka wait) there is no funeral.

Now the closest relatives start the fire and after these the children of the deceased, if there are any present, apply fire. The cloth on the upper end of the bamboo poles flame brightly and is burned up in no time. The few clothes of the deceased are also soon in flames and then the actual burning of the body begins.

If the pile of wood catches fire, a rooster u 'iar padat is sacrificed immediately. This rooster is swung three times over the funeral pyre just as one swings incense and its blood is smeared three times on the pyre. Then the "stomach egg" (leng kpoh) is broken at the head end of the funeral pyre. Then three ar-
[823] rows ('nam tympem) [433] are thrown by hand as far as one can in three directions. One to the east, one to the south, and the third to
[775] the north. But never to the west. Because according to the belief of the Khasi the west leads to the unending, thither go the souls of the dead, there lies eternity. (30)

[626] 30. When the Khasi would like to have somebody go far away and they curse him, they speak as follows: to leit sha ban sep ka sngi shaba mih u bnai, i.e., go away where the sun sets and the moon rises!

(Go away where the poppy grows.)

9: Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 AR7 Khasi AR7

intimately connected with cremation, and that bangles and other ornaments are to be found in them. Whether such are removed from the body at the present day is a point I did not satisfactorily clear up, but which is one of interest. 764

You find the cromlech cuboidal form of four well-cut large stones on edge, closely fitted and surmounted by another horizontal one closing the structure. I give a drawing of a very large and striking one not far from the mission houses at Cherra; one of the sides of this has fallen and been removed, it is probably of great age, and the family is extinct. In other cases a number of rough stones are set up in a circle, crowned by a flat circular slab. I have also seen them of octagonal form, the sketch represents one in the south of Jawai, near the site of a deserted village, one of the side stones has fallen outwards, thus exposing the interior; in this I found several calcined bones and two bangles or wristlets of brass; this surprised me, for I was not aware that ornaments were left on the body on cremation; nor do I think they are at the present day. There were no traces of pottery either, and the bones had not been placed in a vessel as is the usual custom now. The structure was apparently of considerable age, and no village had occupied the site for many years.

A very general form at present of these bone receptacles is that of a heavy slab of stone, level with the ground, covering a cyst, which is lined with stones.

The bones are not consigned to these receptacles for some time, often a year or more after the burning of the body, and in no case until it has been ascertained that the soul of the deceased is at rest, and leading a life, or rather a new existence of happiness; should the whole of his family remain in health, this state is assumed to be attained, if, on the contrary, any member be afflicted with illness or pain, the spirit is understood to be restless and in want of something; the breaking of eggs is resorted to, and such may indicate that it is necessary to sacrifice a fowl or goats, and that the bones of the defunct be taken up and buried in another spot. Such removal, however, in the case of the most troublesome ghost is only done three times, and restless as he may be, the bones are then finally deposited in the family bone receptacle; man and wife are never deposited together; they belong to different clans, thus the ashes of children are placed in the receptacle of their mother's tribe to which they are considered to belong. I would here refer to the paper written by the Rev. J. Pryse in the *Calcutta Review* for 1854, p. 128, with his excellent description of a form of sacrifice. (Appendix B.) [113] ⁂

The collection of the bones into one vault, as it may be termed, is done under the impression that the souls of the departed may 764 775

⁂ [See category 186, pp. 137-8. — Analyst]

9: Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 AR? Khasi AR?

764 775 all mingle together again in one large family without trouble or suffering. The idea of a member of a family being a wanderer in the other world, cut off from, and unable to join the circle of the spirits of his own clan, is most repugnant to the feelings of a Khasi or Sinteng. Thus we find every attempt is made on the death of a man in a distant village or district to lead his spirit back with his calcined bones to his native place. For instance, should he die alone on a trading expedition into North Cachar and be buried by a tribe of some other denomination, some relation, if he can afford it, will proceed to disinter and burn the remains; such will be done years after when accident may take some relative near the place. Of this I had an interesting example in my own camp when marching from the Khasi Hills to Asālu.* While encamped at Thaganagin in North Cachar one of my coolies (porters) came one morning and asked leave for the day for himself and some of his fellows; on asking why they wanted it at such an unusual time, when we were in the field and moving camp, he said that a relation had died in that village while on a trading speculation with dried fish and salt towards Asālu from Jawai. It appeared that the man, having got an attack of fever, had been left behind by his companions, in the hope that he would get round in a few days and then follow them; he, however, eventually died, and was buried by the Kūkis of "Kabūr." My men had with some difficulty discovered the grave (for many years had elapsed), the site of Kabūr had been changed in the interim, as is the custom of the Kukis, who seldom remain more than four years tilling the same ground, frequently not more than three, known in that part of India as "Joom cultivation"; high grass covered the old village site; the Khasia coolies, however, disinterred the remains, burnt them, and the residue was carefully preserved and sent back to Jawai, the man's native place, to be interred with the bones of his family.

When carrying the remains to the home of the deceased, not only is the greatest care bestowed on them, but the spirit is carefully considered and led onward, to prevent the possibility, as they suppose, of its wandering off the route. Leaves are occasionally plucked, and with three or four grains of rice placed on them, are deposited by the wayside as offerings. On reaching [782] a river this is done on the bank, and sometimes when such a river is large and the abode of some powerful demon, a fowl is let loose in the jungle as an offering to the titular spirit of the stream. A most curious custom exists connected with this transporting of the soul which I have seen on several occasions. The dead, they say, have not the strength or ability to wade

* In Crawford's embassy to Siam, we find that a similar idea prevails in that country (see Appendix C).

9: Gorkhi-Assam G-3 (no date) 1872 A87 Khasi A87

through water, and if they trust themselves to it would be carried down the stream, never to be recovered. They, therefore, stretch a thread of cotton from one bank to the other, and if the breadth is great this is kept clear of the water by sticks planted in the bed of the river, and notched at the top to receive it. If the running water should be very narrow merely a stick is laid, or even a stalk of grass is considered sufficient to form a bridge for the dead man's soul. The line of thread is called the "string bridge." 764 775

On passing through some dense dark wood where it is presumed a demon may be, they think it not improbable that he may be detaining them or throwing impediments in the way, and should any of the party fall sick such is to them clearly indicated. The breaking of eggs is resorted to, or a pendulum is made by tying a stone, knife, or generally the brass box in which they keep the lime that is mixed with the betel and pan leaves, and the 764 782

The similarity of the Bodo or Mech customs shows how general these superstitious customs are among the tribes in this quarter. The only difference being that with the Khasi, the weight is caused to revolve in a circle should any spirit require to be propitiated, and that it should cease to revolve when the offering, either a fowl or a pig, is considered to have been accepted.

Should a Khasia lose his life in such a way that his body cannot be recovered, say by being drowned in one of the large rivers in the plains, his relations assemble on some prominent hill or rock overlooking the low country. One of the members taking some kowries (small shells used as money, Cypræa) in his hand, and, looking towards the site of the accident, shouts out the name of the deceased and calls on him to return; his spirit having been supposed to do so, they proceed to burn the cowries, which are symbolical of his bones, and any clothes of the deceased they may possess. The ashes of the cowries are then placed in the bone depository. 766

The corpse is kept in the house four or five days, occasionally longer.* In the case of chiefs of tribes, men of consequence and wealth, the body after death is preserved in honey, and kept in this way in its coffin for a very considerable period; the platform on which the body is burnt is erected during the times, and considerable expense is entailed on its construction, in cutting the stones, as well as on the expenditure of gunpowder; throughout the day explosions may be heard at irregular intervals from different quarters, now at one side, then at another to drive away [144]

* The excessive and continuous rainfall of the Khasi Hills is not the reason why the dead are preserved in honey; it would be impossible to procure it in sufficient quantity for such a purpose. Vide M. Sahagiatowski's paper in the "Ambassadeur", where this is stated.

[Not a category title, p. 137 — Analyse?]

16: McCormack E-4,5 (1956-1958) 1964
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[P. 112 A]

God or Goddess, deities regarded as helpful in bringing prosperity, producing fertility, and so on. Rituals of this kind are no longer practiced, except for the Bedingkhlam ceremony designed to protect the Jaintia village of Jowai. Finally, the state religion of many chiefdoms was expressed in one great ceremony per year which was intended to secure ancestral blessing for a chief and his lineage, and, through this, for the entire chiefdom. The notable example, still practiced, is the Pnimblang System of Khynriam chiefdom. [Cf. Lyngdoh 1937, 1940, Stoppelbein 1960, Becker 1966.] Shaman and medicine. In time of illness, a Khasi calls in a sacrificer, and possibly also a medicine man. The medicine man is an ordinary individual who has hit upon some herbal remedy for one or more ailments, who has become famous enough to be sought out and rewarded in cash, and who jealously guards the formula of his medicine until it dies with him. He and his patients tend to regard him as specially blessed. Soul, death, and afterlife. The universe is comprised of a heaven, the earth, and the air between. Heaven is where the souls of deceased mortals live in eternal peace, grouped ab by ab. The earth and all nature were created by God, and everything that God created has its own individual soul. There is no other great earth deity, for it was God who created the earth. The air is inhabited by the wandering souls of those dead for whom full death rites were not performed. A Khasi's potentiality for enjoying an afterlife in heaven with his ancestors depends on his receiving proper death rites at the hands of his ab mates. First, his body is cremated by his children, notably his youngest daughter, and his bones are collected and deposited temporarily in a small stone receptacle. All work stops in the village while everyone participates in the funeral. Once every several years, an entire ab gathers to witness the transfer of the bones of recently deceased ab mates from their temporary receptacles to the great ab cairn that is in the house of the youngest daughter, descended from the ab ancestress through a line of youngest daughters. This final ceremony covers five days, and is elaborate and expensive, but when an individual's bones are finally resting with those of his antecedents in the cairn, it is understood that his soul is finally in heaven, "resting level not in the house of God."

782 [178]
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[113] (978)
775 (972)
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593 wedlock goes to the wife and becomes her property; but all other
428 property is inalienable, and reverts to his family, as also does his corpse after death.

771 'RELIGION.—The religion of the Khásiás is demon-worship, or a jumble of enchantments muttered by priests who are sorcerers. They invoke evil spirits as the deputies of God and the instruments
• 775 of His pleasure or displeasure. The Khásiás believe in metempsychosis, or the transmigration of souls. After death, human beings are transformed into monkeys, crabs, tortoises, frogs, etc. Though a future state is not denied, it is treated with absolute indifference, as beyond the sphere of responsibility; all rites, ceremonies, and observances bear reference to the welfare of mankind in this world. The spirits of their departed relatives and ancestors are invoked only in so far as they are considered to influence and have power
764 over the present life. The Khásiás burn their dead, and collect the ashes into urns, which are kept under a slab raised on four others enclosing a space. These monuments are of various kinds and sizes —one for individuals, another for a family, and another for a whole
614 clan. There is no caste system, but each clan is called after some object of nature, as the Oak clan, the Crab clan, etc., and these names entail certain restrictions beyond which intermarriage is
771 forbidden. The Khási religion may be briefly described as the practice of forms to cure diseases, and to avert misfortunes of all kinds, by means of ascertaining the name of the demon who is the author of the evil, and the kind of sacrifice necessary to appease it.

797 'CHRISTIANITY.—The Welsh Mission has been labouring amongst the Khásiás and Syntengs for thirty-two years. The Christians number about 1000 [according to the Census of 1872, the total number of native converts in the District is only 85]. There are four central stations—Cherrá, Shellá, Shillong, and Jowái —and twenty-three churches. Translations of the whole of the New Testament, and a portion of the Old, are now (1876) going to press, besides other religious books.

197 'LANGUAGE.—The definitions generally given of monosyllabic languages are far from adequate to enable us to assign to the
193 Khási tongue its position amongst the Indo-Chinese family of speech. Still, in the absence of a better terminology, it may be described as monosyllabic in the agglutinative stage. The monosyllabic element greatly predominates. By far the larger number of the compounds are mere agglutinations (in a modified

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614 to his own matriarchal stock, and at his death his bones
764 are deposited in the cromlech of his mother's kin. In
Jowai he neither lives nor eats in his wife's house, but
[591] visits it only after dark (p. 76). In the veneration of
ancestors, which is the foundation of the tribal piety,
769 the primal ancestress (*Ka Iāwbei*) and her brother are
211 the only persons regarded. The flat memorial stones set up to perpetuate the memory of the dead are called after the woman who represents the clan (*māw kynthei*, p. 150), and the standing stones ranged behind them are dedicated to the male kinsmen on the mother's side.

776 In harmony with this scheme of ancestor worship, the other spirits to whom propitiation is offered are mainly female, though here male personages also figure (pp. 106—109). The powers of sickness and death are all female, and these are those most frequently worshipped (p. 107). The two protectors of the household are goddesses (p. 112), though with them is also revered the first father of the clan, *U Thāwlang*.

793 Priestesses assist at all sacrifices, and the male
643 officiants are only their deputies (p. 121); in one important state, Khyrim, the High Priestess and actual head of the State is a woman, who combines in her person sacerdotal and regal functions (p. 70).

195 The Khasi language, so far as known, is the only member of the Mōn-Khmēr family which possesses a grammatical gender, distinguishing all nouns as masculine and feminine; and here also the feminine nouns immensely preponderate (p. 206). The pronouns of the second (*mē*, *phā*) and third person (*ū*, *kā*) have separate forms for the sexes in the singular, but in the plural only one is used (*phī*, *kī*), and this is the plural form of the feminine singular.

000 It may perhaps be ascribed to the pre-eminence

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342 Syntengs plaster the space in front of the house with red earth and cow-dung, this custom being probably a remnant of Hindu influences. The Khasis have some peculiar customs when they build a new house. When the house is completed they perform a ceremony, *kynjoh-hka-skain*, when they tie three pieces of dried fish to the ridge pole of the house and then jump up and try to pull them down again. Or they kill a pig, cut a piece of the flesh with the skin attached, and fix it to the ridge pole, and then endeavour to dislodge it. The Syntengs at Nartiang worship *U Biskurom* (Biswakarma) and *Ka Siem Synshar* when a house is completed, two fowls being sacrificed, one to the former, the other to the latter. The feathers of the fowls are affixed to the centre post of the house, which must be of *u dieng sning*, a variety of the Khasi oak. The worship of a Hindu god (Biswakarma), the 776 architect of the Hindu gods, alongside the Khasi deity *Ka Siem* 177 *Synshar*, is interesting, and may be explained by the fact that 342 Nartiang was at one time the summer capital of the kings of Jaintia, who were Hindus latterly and disseminated Hindu customs largely amongst the Syntengs. Mr. Rita says that 627 amongst the Syntengs, a house, the walls of which have been 342 plastered with mud, is a sign that the householder has an enemy. The plastering no doubt is executed as a preventive of fire, arson in these hills being a common form of revenge.

342 Amongst the Khasis, when a daughter leaves her mother's house and builds a house in the mother's compound, it is considered *sang*, or taboo, for the daughter's house to be built on the right-hand side of the mother's house, it should be built either on the left hand or at the back of the mother's house.

776 In Nongstoin it is customary to worship a deity called 793 *u'lei lap* (Khasi, *u phan*), by nailing up branches of the Khasi oak, interspersed with jaw-bones of cattle and the feathers of fowls, to the principal post, which must be of *u dieng sning*. The Siem priestess of the Nongkrem State at Smit and the ladies of the Siem family perform a ceremonial dance before a large post of oak in the midst of the Siem priestesses' house on the occasion of the annual goat-killing ceremony. This oak post is furnished according to custom by the *lyngskor*

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776 793 or official spokesman of the Siem's Durbar. Another post of oak in this house is furnished by the people of the State.

342 177 353 The houses of the well-to-do Khasis of the present day in Mawkhar and Cherrapunji are built after the modern style with iron roofs, chimneys, glass windows and doors. In Jowai the well-to-do traders have excellent houses of the European pattern, which are as comfortable as many of the European subordinates' quarters in Shillong. Some up-to-date families in Shillong and at Cherra allow themselves muslin curtains and European furniture.

342 [824] The houses of the Pnar-Wárs are peculiar. The roof, which is thatched with the leaves of a palm called *u tynriew*, is hog-backed and the eaves come down almost to the ground. There are three rooms in the Wár as in the Khasi house, although called by different names in the Wár dialect. The hearth is in the centre room. [361] The houses are built flush with the ground and are made of bamboos. In the Wár villages of Nongjri and 346 Umniuh there are small houses erected in the compounds of 782 the ordinary dwelling-houses called *ieng ksuid* (spirit houses). In these houses offerings to the spirits of departed family ancestors are placed at intervals, this practice being very similar to the more ancient form of Shintoism. In some Wár villages 342 there are also separate bachelors' quarters. This custom is in accordance with that of the Naga tribes. There is no such custom amongst the Khasi Uplanders. The Wár houses are similar to those of the Pnar Wárs, except that a portion of the house is generally built on a platform, the main house resting on the hill-side and the portion on the platform projecting therefrom, the object being to obtain more space, the area for houses in the village sites being often limited owing to the steepness of the hill-sides.

The Bhoi and Lynngam houses are practically similar, and may be described together. They are generally built on fairly high platforms of bamboo, are frequently 30 to 40 ft. in length, and are divided into various compartments in order [354] to suit the needs of the family. The hearth, which is of earth, is in the centre room. There is a platform at the back of the Lynngam house, and in front of the Bhoi house, used for drying paddy, spreading chillies, &c., and for sitting on when the day's

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work is done. In order to ascend to a Bhoi house, you have to climb up a notched pole. The Bhois sacrifice a he-goat and a fowl to *Rèk-ànglong* (Khasi, *Ramiew iing*), the household god, when they build a new house.

VILLAGES.

Unlike the Nagas and Kukis, the Khasis do not build their villages on the extreme summits of hills, but a little below the tops, generally in small depressions, in order to obtain some protection from the strong winds and storms which prevail in these hills at certain times of the year. According to the late U Jeebon Roy, it is *sang*, or taboo, to the Khasis to build a house on the last eminence of a range of hills, this custom having perhaps arisen owing to the necessity of locating villages with reference to their defence against an enemy. Khasis build their houses fairly close together, but not as close as houses in the Bhoi and Lynngam villages. Khasis seldom change the sites of their villages, to which they are very much attached, where, as a rule, the family tombs are standing and the *mawbynna* or memorial stones. In many villages stone cromlechs and memorial stones are to be seen which from their appearance show that the villages have been there for many generations. During the Jaintia rebellion the village of Jowai was almost entirely destroyed, but as soon as the rebellion was over the people returned to the old site and rebuilt their village. Similarly, after the earthquake, the ancient village sites were not abandoned in many cases, but the people rebuilt their houses in their former positions, although in Shillong and Cherrapunji they rebuilt the walls of the houses of wooden materials instead of stone. There is no such thing as a specially reserved area in the village for the Siem and the nobility, all the people, rich or poor, living together in one village, their houses being scattered about indiscriminately. To the democratic Khasi the idea of the Siem living apart from his people would be repugnant. In the vicinity of the Khasi village, often just below the brow of the hill to the leeward side, are to be seen dark woods of oak

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137 and other trees. These are the sacred groves. Here the
778 villagers worship *U ryngkew U basa*, the tutelary deity of the village. These groves are taboo, and it is an offence to cut
[776] trees therein for any purpose other than for performing funeral
361 obsequies. The groves are generally not more than a few hundred yards away from the villages. The villages of the
137 Syntengs are similar in character to those of the Khasis. The
245 Wár villages nestle on the hill-sides of the southern border, and are to be seen peeping out from the green foliage with which the southern slopes are clad. In the vicinity of, and actually up to the houses, in the Wár villages, are to be observed large groves of areca-nut, often twined with the *pan* creeper, and of plantain trees, which much enhance the beauty of the scene. Looking at a Wár village from a distance, a darker shade of green is seen; this denotes the limits of the extensive groves where the justly celebrated Khasi orange is grown, which is the
361 source of so much profit to these people. The houses in the Wár villages are generally closer together than those of the Khasis, probably owing to space being limited, and to the
[363] villages being located on the slopes of hills. Generally up the narrow village street, and from house to house, there are rough steep stone steps, the upper portion of a village being frequently situated at as high an elevation as 200 to 300 ft. above the lower. In a convenient spot in a Wár village a clear space is to be seen neatly swept and kept free from weeds, and surrounded with a stone wall, where the village tribunals sit, and the elders meet in solemn conclave. Dances also are held here
778 on festive occasions. At Nongjri village there is a fine rubber
796 tree, under whose hollow trunk there are certain sacred stones where the priest performs the village ceremonies.

361 The Bhoi and Lynngam villages are built in small clearings in the forest, the houses are close together and are built often
[363] in parallel lines, a fairly broad space being reserved between
[351] the lines of houses to serve as a street. One misses the pretty gardens of the Wár villages, for Bhois and Lynngams attempt nothing of the sort, probably because, unlike the Khasi, a Bhoi or Lynngam village never remains more than two or three years in one spot; generally the villages of these people are in the vicinity of the forest clearings, sometimes actually in the midst

of them, more especially when the latter are situated in places where jungle is dense, and there is fear of attacks from wild animals. In the Lynngam village is to be seen a high bamboo platform some 20 to 30 ft. from the ground, built in the midst of the village, where the elders sit and gossip in the evening. 361

All the villages, Khasi, Wár, Lynngam and Bhoi, swarm with pigs, which run about the villages unchecked. The pigs feed on all kinds of filth, and in addition are fed upon the wort and spent wash of the brewings of country spirit, or rice beer, the latter being carefully collected and poured into wooden troughs. The pigs are of the usual black description seen in India. They thrive greatly in the Khasi villages, and frequently attain extreme obesity. 361 231 274

In the Khasi villages of the high plateaux are often nowadays potato gardens, the latter being carefully protected from the inroads of pigs, calves, and goats by dry dikes surmounted by hedges. 244 417

I noticed an interesting custom at a Bhoi village in Nongpoh of barricading the path leading to the village from the forest with bamboo palisading and bamboo *chevaux de frise* to keep out the demon of cholera. In the middle of the barricade there was a wooden door over which was nailed the skull of a monkey which had been sacrificed to this demon, which is, as amongst the Syntengs, called *khlam*. 757 776 782

FURNITURE AND HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS.

As in the case of houses, so with reference to furniture, the influence of civilization shows many changes. The Khasi of the present day who lives in Mawkhar * has a comfortable house regularly divided up into rooms in the European style with even some European articles of furniture, but owing probably to the influence of the women, he still possesses several of the articles of furniture which are to be met with in the houses of those who still observe the old style of living. Let us take the furniture of the kitchen to begin with. Above the hearth is slung by ropes of cane a swinging wooden framework 352 352 417

* Mawkhar is a suburb of Shillong, the headquarters station.

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231 about Rs. 30. The price of lac has risen a good deal of late
435 years. Formerly the price was about Rs. 15 to Rs. 20 a maund. The lac trade in the Jaintia Hills and in the southern portion of the Khyrim State is a valuable one. The profits, how-
426 ever, go largely to middle-men, who in the Jaintia Hills are Syntengs from Jowai, who give out advances to the Bhoi cultivators on the condition that they will be repaid in lac.
443 The Marwari merchants from the plains attend all the plains
439 markets which are frequented by the hill-men, and buy up the lac and export it to Calcutta. The whole of the lac is of the kind known as stick lac.

HUNTING.

224 The weapons used by the Khasis for hunting are bows and
[411] arrows, the latter with barbed iron heads, and spears which are used both for casting and thrusting. Before proceeding on a
[187] hunting expedition the hunters break eggs, in order to ascertain whether they will be successful or not, and to which jungle they should proceed. Offerings are also made to certain village
[176] deities, e.g. *U. Ryngkew*, *u Basa*, and *u Basa ki mrád*. A lucky day having been selected and the deities propitiated, the hunters start with a number of dogs trained to the chase, the latter being held on leashes by a party of men called *ki nongai-ksew*. When the dogs have picked up the scent some hunters are placed as "stops" (*ki ktem*), at points of vantage in the jungle, and the drive commences with loud shouts from the hunters, the same being continued until the object of the chase breaks into the open. The man who draws the first blood is called *u nongsiat*, and the second man who scores a hit *u nongban*. These two men get larger shares of the flesh than the others. The *nongsiat* obtains the lower half of the body of the animal, thighs and feet excepted, called *ka tdong*, and the *nongban* one of the forequarters called *ka tabla*. The other hunters obtain a string of flesh each, and each hound gets a string of flesh to itself. These hunting parties pursue deer sometimes for many miles, and are indefatigable in the chase,
224 the latter lasting occasionally more than one day. In the
782 Jaintia Hills, at the end of the chase, the quarry is carried to

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the house of the *nongsiat*, where a *puja* is performed to some 224
local deity, before the flesh is distributed. At Shangpung, 782
when a tiger or a mithan is killed, the head is cut off, and is
carried in triumph to a hill in the neighbourhood where there [778]
is a *duwan*, or altar, at the foot of an oak tree (*dieng sning*). [776]
The head is displayed on the altar, and worship offered to
u 'lei lyngdoh, the God of the doloiship.

The Khasis make use of an ingenious species of spring gun 224
for killing game, the spring gun being laid alongside a deer 411
path in the jungle. A string stretched across the path, when touched, releases a bolt and spring, which latter impels a bamboo arrow with great force across the path. This spring gun is called *ka riam siat*. A pit-fall, with bamboo spikes at the bottom, is called *u 'liw lep*, and a trap of the pattern of the ordinary leopard trap is called *ka riam slung*. A noose attached to a long rope laid in a deer run is named *riam syrwiah*.

There is also *ka riam pap*, the principle of which is that an animal is attracted by a bait to walk on to a platform; the platform sinks under the weight of the animal, and a bolt is released which brings down a heavy roof from above weighted with stones, which crush the animal to death.

There are several means employed in snaring birds; one of 223
the most common is to smear pieces of bamboo with the gum 411
of the jack-tree, the former being tied to the branches of some wild fruit tree, upon which, when the fruit is ripe, the birds light and are caught by the bird lime. This is called *ka riam thit*. Another is a kind of spring bow made of bamboo which is laid on the ground in marshy places, such as are frequented by snipe and woodcock. This form of snare is unfortunately most common. A third is a cage into which birds are lured by means of a bait, the cage being hidden in the grass, and the entrance being so contrived that the birds can hop in but not out again. This is called *ka riam sim*.

FISHING.

Although there are some Khasis who fish with rod and line, 226
it may be said that the national method of fishing is to poison

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Khasi of the Uplands to marry a Bhoi or Wár woman, and 101
a disgrace to marry a Lynngam. These divisions are sub- 582
divided into a number of septs, taking Mr. Risley's definition of 614
"sept" as being the largest exogamous division of the tribe. It will, however, be more convenient to speak of these septs as "clans," the word "clan" having been used in other parts of this Monograph and by other writers.

Many of the clans trace their descent from ancestresses or 614
kiaw (grandmothers), who are styled *ki Iawbei-Tynrai*, lit. grandmothers of the root (i.e. the root of the tree of the clan). In some of the clans, the name of this ancestress survives; take as instances the Mylliem-ngap and Mylliem-pdah clans of the Khyrim State, the names of the ancestresses of the clans being *ka ngap* (honey, i.e. the sweet one), and *ka pdah* respectively. [776]
This tribal ancestress, as will be seen in the paragraph of the monograph dealing with ancestor-worship, is greatly reverenced, in fact, she may almost be said to be deified. The descendants of one ancestress of the clan, *Ka Iawbei Tynrai*, are called *shi kur* or one clan. We then come to the division of the *kpoh* or sub-clan, all the descendants of one great grandmother (*ka Iawbei Tymmen*), being styled *shi kpoh*. The next division is the *iing* (lit. house) or family. It is almost in- [592]
variably the case that the grandmother, her daughters and the daughter's children, live together under one roof, the grandmother during her life-time being the head of the house. The grandmother is styled *ka Iawbei Khynraw*, or the young grandmother, to distinguish her from the other two grandmothers, *ka Iawbei-tynrai* and *ka Iawbei-tymmen* who have been mentioned above. The young grandmother, her daughters and their children are said to belong to *shi iing*, one house, the word *iing* in this instance possessing amongst the Khasis the same significance as the English word *family*.

We will now see how the Khasi clan (*kur* or *jaid*) grew out 614
of the Khasi family (*iing*). Let us take the example of the 773
great Diengdoh clan of Cherra. Disregarding the myth that the Diengdohs are descended from a mermaid, it may be stated that there seems to be a fairly general belief amongst the Diengdohs that their first ancestress or *kiaw* came from the

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695 party to present a pig. The pig is supposed to be sacrificed
782 to a goddess, *Ka 'lei synshar*, i.e. the goddess of the State,
[776] but it is invariably eaten by the Siem and the members of the durbar. The Siem then calls out "*kumta mo khynraw*" (is it not so, young people?) The members of the durbar then reply, "*haoid kumta khein khynraw*" (yea, it is so, young
681 ones). Sentences of fine are more often resorted to than other
697 punishments nowadays, probably because very few of the Siems possess jails for the reception of criminals. The condemned one in a criminal case frequently serves his time by working for the Siem as a menial servant. The above description, which is based on the account given by the Rev. W. Lewis, with some modifications, may be taken as the usual form of procedure of the Khasi durbar.

682 Under the heading of decision of disputes we may perhaps
782 give a short description of some of the punishments which were inflicted by the Siems and their durbars in criminal cases in ancient times. Murder was punishable by beating the culprit to death with clubs (*ki tungon ki lymban*). The killing, however, of a *nong shoh noh*, i.e. a man who seeks for human victims to sacrifice to the monster, *u thlen*, is not considered murder, even now by the Khasis, and the slayer of the *nong shoh noh* only has to inform the Siem and deposit Rs. 5, and one pig in the Siem's court. The slaying of a robber also is dealt with in like manner.

684 The punishment of adultery was imprisonment for life (*ka sah dain mur*), or a fine of Rs. 1,100, and one pig (*ka khadwei spah wei doh*). Whether such a heavy fine was ever paid is perhaps doubtful, and probably some other form of punishment was substituted for it. A husband finding his wife and a man in *flagrante delicto* could, as under the law of the ancients, kill both adulterer and adulteress without punishment for murder. He was, however, bound to deposit Rs. 5, and the conventional pig in the Siem's durbar. The punishment for rape (*kaba khniot tynga*) was imprisonment for life in the case of the woman being married, and a heavy fine and one pig if the
685 woman was a spinster. Arson was punishable with imprison-
683 ment for life, or a heavy fine. The punishment for causing people to be possessed by devils (*ka ba ai-ksuid briew*) was

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invocation. *U klong* is then made over to the judge (the Siem 695
or the Sirdar as the case may be, &c.).

The person who undergoes the above ordeal wins the case, the production of evidence being unnecessary.

WAR.

Although the Khasis, unlike the Nagas, the Garos, the wild 721
Was of Burma, the Dayaks of Borneo, and other head-hunting tribes, cannot be said to have indulged in head-hunting in ancient times, as far as we know, merely for the sake of collecting heads as trophies, there seems to be some reference to a custom of head-hunting in a description of the worship of [776] ●
the god *u Syngkai Bámon*, one of the principal gods of war amongst the Khasis. This god is described in one of the folk tales (I have obtained it through the kindness of Dr. Roberts, [797]
the Welsh missionary at Cherrapunji) as being the deity who gives the heads of the enemy to the successful warriors. To 726
this god, as well as to *Ka Rám Shandi*, they offer a cock. 782
Before sacrifice the warriors dance round an altar, upon which are placed a plume of cock's feathers (*u thuia*), a sword, a shield, a bow, an arrow, a quiver, *pán* leaves, and flowers. After the cock has been sacrificed, they fix its head on the point of a sword and shout three times. The fixing of the cock's head on the point of a sword is said to have been symbolical of the fixing of the human head of an enemy killed in battle, on the top of the *soh-lang* tree. Mr. Shadwell, of Cherrapunji, whose memory carries him back to the time when the British first occupied the Khasi Hills, has a recollection of a Khasi dance at Cherra, round an altar, upon which the heads of some *Dykhars*, or plains people, killed in a frontier raid had been placed. The Khasis used to sacrifice to a number of other gods also for success in battle. An interesting feature of 726
the ancient combats between the people of different Siemships was the challenge. When the respective armies had arrived at a little distance from one another, they used to stop to hear each other shout the *'lien-Blei*, or challenge, to the other side. This custom was called *pyrta 'lien-Blei*, or shouting out the

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[41] 726 challenge. From the records available of the military operations of the Khasis against the British, the former appear to have relied principally on bows and arrows, ambushes and surprises, when they fought against us at the time of our first occupation of the hills. During the Jaintia rebellion firearms were used, to some extent, by the Syntengs. The military records do not, however, disclose any peculiar battle customs as having been prevalent amongst those hill people then. Both Khasis and Syntengs seem to have fought much in the same manner as other savage hill-men have fought against a foe armed with superior weapons.

HUMAN SACRIFICES.

The Thlen Superstition.

825 782 773 776 There is a superstition among the Khasis concerning *thlen*, a gigantic snake which requires to be appeased by the sacrifice of human victims, and for whose sake murders have even in fairly recent times been committed. The following account, the substance of which appeared in the *Assam Gazette*, in August, 1882, but to which considerable additions have been made, will illustrate this interesting superstition:—"The tradition is that there was once in a cave near Cherrapunji,* a gigantic snake, or *thlen*, who committed great havoc among men and animals. At last one man, bolder than his fellows, took with him a herd of goats, and set himself down by the cave, and offered them one by one to the *thlen*. By degrees the monster became friendly, and learnt to open his mouth at a word from the man, to receive the lump of flesh which was then thrown in. When confidence was thoroughly established, the man, acting under the advice of a god called *U Suid-noh*,† (who has as his abode a grove near Sohrarim),

* This cave is at Pomdalai, some five miles west of Cherrapunji, close to a great waterfall called *Noh Ka Likai*, i.e. the place where Ka Likai jumped down the precipice (for a full account of this story see Section V. of the monograph), where there is a large block of stone, with some cuts over it, known as *Dain Thlen*, i.e. the snake cutting (place).

† In another account it is said to have been U Suid-noh himself who did this.

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having heated a lump of iron red hot in a furnace, induced 525
the snake, at the usual signal, to open his mouth, and then 782
threw in the red-hot lump, and so killed him. He proceeded 773
to cut up the body, and sent pieces in every direction, with 776
orders that the people were to eat them. Wherever the order was obeyed, the country became free of the *thlen*, but one small piece remained which no one would eat, and from this sprang a multitude of *thlens*, which infest the residents of Cherra and its neighbourhood. When a *thlen* takes up its 825
abode in a family there is no means of getting rid of it, though 782
it occasionally leaves of its own accord, and often follows 776
family property that is given away or sold. The *thlen* attaches itself to property, and brings prosperity and wealth to the owners, but on the condition that it is supplied with blood. Its craving comes on at uncertain intervals, and manifests itself by sickness, by misadventure, or by increasing poverty befalling the family that owns the property. It can only be appeased by the murder of a human being." The murderer cuts off the tips of the hair of the victim with silver scissors, also the finger nails, and extracts from the nostril a little blood caught in a bamboo tube, and offers these to the *thlen*. The murderer, who is called *u nongshohnoh*, literally, "the beater," before he sets out on his unholy mission, [273]
drinks a special kind of liquor called, *ka 'iad tang-shi-snem* (literally, liquor which has been kept for a year). This liquor, it is thought, gives the murderer courage, and the power of selecting suitable victims for the *thlen*. The *nongshohnoh* then sets out armed with a short club, with which to slay the victim, hence his name *nongshohnoh*, i.e. one who beats; for it is forbidden to kill a victim on these occasions with any weapon made of iron, inasmuch as iron was the metal which proved fatal to the *thlen*. He also takes the pair of silver scissors above mentioned, a silver lancet to pierce the inside of the nostrils of the deceased, and a small bamboo or cylinder to receive the blood drawn therefrom. The *nongshohnoh* also provides himself with rice called "*u 'khaw tyndep*," i.e. rice mixed with turmeric after certain incantations have taken place. The murderer throws a little of this rice over his intended victim, the effect of which is to stupefy the

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latter, who then falls an easy prey to the *nongkohnoh*. It is not, however, always possible to kill the victim outright for various reasons, and then the *nongkohnoh* resorts to the following subterfuge:—He cuts off a little of the hair, or the hem of the garment, of a victim, and offers these up to the *thlen*. The effect of cutting off the hair or the hem of the garment of a person by a *nongkohnoh*, to offer up to the *thlen*, is disastrous to the unfortunate victim, who soon falls ill, and gradually wastes away and dies. The *nongkohnoh* also sometimes contents himself with merely throwing stones at the victim, or with knocking at the door of his house at night, and then returns home, and, after invoking the *thlen*, informs the master that he has tried his best to secure him a prey, but has been unsuccessful. This is thought to appease the *thlen* for a time, but the demon does not remain inactive long, and soon manifests his displeasure for the failure of his keeper to supply him with human blood, by causing one of the latter's family to fall sick. The *thlen* has the power of reducing himself to the size of a thread, which renders it convenient for the *nong-ri thlen*, or *thlen* keeper, to place him for safety in an earthen pot, or in a basket which is kept in some secure place in the house. When the time for making an offering to the *thlen* comes, an hour is selected, generally at dead of night, costly cloths are spread on the floor of the house of the *thlen* keeper, all the doors are opened, and a brass plate is laid on the ground in which is deposited the blood, or the hair, or a piece of the cloth of the victim. All the family then gathers round, and an elderly member commences to beat a small drum, and invokes the *thlen*, saying, "*ko kai ko kpa* (oh, maternal uncle, father), come out, here is some food for you; we have done everything we could to satisfy you, and now we have been successful; give us thy blessing, that we may attain health and prosperity." The *thlen* then crawls out from its hiding-place and commences to expand, and when it has attained its full serpent shape, it comes near the plate and remains expectant. The spirit of the victim then appears, and stands on the plate, laughing. The *thlen* begins to swallow the figure, commencing at its feet, the victim laughing the while. By degrees the whole figure

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is disposed of by the box constrictor. If the spirit be that of a person from whom the hair, or a piece of his or her cloth, has been cut, directly the *thlen* has swallowed the spirit, the person expires. Many families in these hills are known, or suspected, to be keepers of a *thlen*, and are dreaded or avoided in consequence. This superstition is deep-rooted amongst these people, and even nowadays, in places like Shillong or Cherrapunji, Khasis are afraid to walk alone after dark, for fear of being attacked by a *nongkhnah*. In order to drive away the *thlen* from a house or family all the money, ornaments, and property of that house or family must be thrown away, as is the case with persons possessed by the demon *Ka Tarah*, in the Jaintia Hills. None dare touch any of the property, for fear that the *thlen* should follow it. It is believed that a *thlen* can never enter the Siem's or chief's clan, or the Siem's house; it follows, therefore, that the property of the *thlen* keeper can be appropriated by the Siem. A Mohammedan servant, not long ago in Shillong, fell a victim to the charms of a Khasi girl, and went to live with her. He told the following story to one of his fellow-servants, which may be set down here to show that the *thlen* superstition is by no means dying out. In the course of his married life he came to know that the mother of his Khasi wife kept in the house what he called a *bhut* (devil). He asked his wife many, many times to allow him to see the *bhut*, but she was obdurate; however, after a long time, and after extracting many promises from him not to tell, she confided to him the secret, and took him to the corner of the house, and showed him a little box in which was coiled a tiny snake, like the hair spring of a watch. She passed her hands over it, and it grew in size, till at last it became a huge cobra, with hood erected. The husband, terrified, begged his wife to lay the spirit. She passed her hands down its body, and it gradually shrank within its box.

It may be stated that the greater number of the Khasis, especially in certain Siemships, viz. Cherra, Nongkrem, and Mylliem, still regard the *thlen*, and the persons who are thought to keep *thlens*, with the very greatest awe, and that they will not utter even the names of the latter for fear some ill may befall

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them. The superstition is probably of very ancient origin, and it is possible that the Khasi sacrifices to the *thlen* demon may be connected with the primæval serpent-worship which characterized the Cambodians, which Forbes says was "undoubtedly the earliest religion of the Mons." But it must be remembered that snake-worship is of very ancient origin, not only in Further India, but also in the nearer peninsula, where the serpent race or Nagas, who may have given their name to the town of Nagpur, were long held in superstitious reverence. Mr. Gait, in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. i. of 1898, gives some account of the human sacrifices of the Jaintias or Syntengs. He writes as follows:—

"It appears that human sacrifices were offered annually on the Sixth day in the month of Ashwin (Sukla paksha) at the sacred *pitha*, in the Faljur pargana. They were also occasionally offered at the shrine of Jainteswari, at Nijpat, i.e. at Jaintiapur, the capital of the country. As stated in the *Haft Iqlim* to have been the case in Koch Behar, so also in Jaintia, persons frequently voluntarily came forward as victims. This they generally did by appearing before the Raja on the last day of Shravan, and declaring that the goddess had called them. After due inquiry, if the would-be victim, or *Bhoge khawa*, were deemed suitable, it was customary for the Raja to present him with a golden anklet, and to give him permission to live as he chose, and to do whatever he pleased, compensation for any damage done by him being paid from the royal treasury. But this enjoyment of these privileges was very short. On the Navami day of the Durga Puja, the *Bhoge khawa*, after bathing and purifying himself, was dressed in new attire, daubed with red sandal-wood and vermilion, and bedecked with garlands. Thus arrayed, the victim sat on a raised dais in front of the goddess, and spent some time in meditation (*japa*), and in uttering *mantras*. Having done this, he made a sign with his finger, and the executioner, after uttering the usual sacrificial *mantras*, cut off his head, which was placed before the goddess on a golden plate. The lungs were cooked and eaten by such *Kandra Yogis* as were present, and it is said that the royal family partook of a small quantity of rice cooked in the blood of the victim. The ceremony was

usually witnessed by large crowds of spectators from all parts of the Jaintia pargganas.

"Sometimes the supply of voluntary victims fell short, or victims were needed for some special sacrifice promised in the event of some desired occurrence, such as the birth of a son, coming to pass. On such occasions, emissaries were sent to kidnap strangers from outside the Jaintia Raj, and it was this practice that eventually led to the annexation of the country by the British. In 1821, an attempt was made to kidnap a native of Sylhet proper, and while the agents employed were punished, the Raja was warned not to allow such an atrocity to occur again. Eleven years later, however, four British subjects were kidnapped in the Nowgong district, and taken to Jaintia. Three of them were actually sacrificed, but the fourth escaped, and reported the matter to the authorities. The Raja of Jaintia was called on to deliver up the culprits, but he failed to do so, and his dominions were in consequence annexed in 1835."[1]

There seems to be an idea generally prevalent that the Raja of Jaintia, owing to his conversion to Hinduism, and especially owing to his having become a devotee of the goddess Kali, took to sacrificing human victims; but I find that human victims were formerly sacrificed by the Jaintias to the Kopili River, which the Jaintias worshipped as a goddess. Two persons were sacrificed every year to the Kopili in the months *U' naiving* and *U' nai prah* (November and December). They were first taken to the *hat* Mawshai, or Shang-pung market, where they were allowed to take any eatables they wished. Then they were conducted to Sumer, and thence to Ka Iew Ksih, where a stone on the bank of a small river which falls into the Kopili is pointed out as having been the place where the victims were sacrificed to the Kopili river goddess. Others say that the sacrificial stone was situated on the bank of the Kopili River itself. A special clan in the Rallang doloiship used to carry out the executions. It seems probable that the practice of sacrificing human victims in Jaintia was of long standing, and was originally unconnected with Hinduism, although when the Royal family became converts to Hinduism, the goddess Kali may easily have taken the place of the Kopili

[1] Quote from Gait, History of Assam, Secretary of State for India, Calcutta, 1905

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River goddess. Many of the Syntengs regard the River Kopili to this day with superstitious reverence. Some of these people will not cross the river at all, others can do so after having performed a sacrifice with goats and fowls. Any traveller who wishes to cross the river must leave behind him the rice which he has taken for the journey, and any other food supplies he may have brought with him. This superstition often results in serious inconvenience to travellers between the Jaintia Hills and North Cachar, unless they have arranged for another batch of coolies to meet them on the Cachar side of the River Kopili, for the Syntengs coolies throw down their loads at the river side, and nothing will induce them to cross the river. The Kopili is propitiated by pujas in many parts of the Jaintia Hills, and at Nartiang a tank where sacrifices are regularly performed is called Ka Umkoi Kopili.

SECTION IV.

RELIGION.

GENERAL CHARACTER OF POPULAR BELIEFS.

THE Khasis have a vague belief in a God the Creator, *U Blei Nongthaw*, although this deity, owing, no doubt, to the influence of the metriarchate, is frequently given the attribute of the feminine gender, *ei*, *Ka lei Synshar*. The Khasis cannot, however, be said to worship the Supreme God, although it is true that they sometimes invoke him when sacrificing and in times of trouble. The religion of the Khasis may be described as animism or spirit-worship, or rather, the propitiation of spirits both good and evil on certain occasions, principally in times of trouble. The propitiation of these spirits is carried out either by priests (*lyngdohs*), or by old men well versed in the arts of necromancy, and as the *lyngdoh* or wise man deals with good as well as evil spirits, and, so often as not, with the good spirits of ancestors, the propitiation of these spirits may be said to partake of the nature of Shamanism. A very prominent feature of the Khasi beliefs is the propitiation of ancestors; but this will be described separately. There is a vague belief amongst the Khasi of a future state. It is believed that the spirits of the dead, whose funeral ceremonies have been duly performed, go to the heaven or garden of God, where there are graves of betel-nut trees; hence the expression for the departed, *ubo kum lyoei ka ding u blei* (he who is eating betel-nut in God's heaven), the idea of supreme happiness to the Khasi being to eat betel-nut uninterruptedly. The spirits of those whose funeral ceremonies have not been duly performed are believed to take the forms of animals, birds, or

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775 insects, and to roam on this earth; but this idea of transmigration
774 of souls has been probably borrowed from the Hindus. Bivar
825 writes that although the ideas of a Godhead are not clearly grasped, yet a supreme creator is acknowledged, and that the
[776] following is the tradition relating to the creation of man. "God in the beginning having created man, placed him on the
773 earth, but on returning to look at him, found he had been destroyed by the evil spirit. This happened a second time, whereupon the Deity created first a dog, then a man; and the dog, who kept watch, prevented the devil from destroying the man,
772 and the work of the Deity was thus preserved." The Khasis,
783 apparently, do not believe in punishment after death, at least
775 there is no idea of hell, although the spirits of those who have died under the ban of *ang* remain unhappy, being obliged to wander about the earth in different forms, as noted above. The
771 spirits worshipped by the Khasis are many in number, those of
767 the Syntengs being specially numerous. The particular spirit
769 to be propitiated is ascertained by egg-breaking. The offering acceptable to the spirit is similarly ascertained and is then made. If the particular sacrifice does not produce the result desired, a fowl is sacrificed; the entrails being then examined, an augury is drawn, and the sacrifice begins afresh. As the process of egg-breaking is believed to be peculiar * to the Khasis amongst the Assam hill tribes, a separate description of it is given in the Appendix. It should be
[771] remarked that the Khasis never symbolize their gods by means of images, their worship being offered to the spirit only. The following are some of the principal spirits worshipped by the
[769] Khasis and Syntengs, omitting the spirits of deceased ancestors such as *Ka Iawbi*, a *Thombong*, and a *Suidnia*, which will be described under the heading of ancestor-worship.

771 *U Blei nongthaw*—the god of the State, who is propitiated yearly
772 by the sacrifice of a goat and a cock.

U Blei umtiang—the god of water, used for drinking and cooking purposes. This god is similarly propitiated once a year, so that the water supply may remain pure.

* Sir Charles Lyall has pointed out that the Mikirs possess this custom; it is probably borrowed from the Khasis.

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U lei longspah—the god of wealth. This god is propitiated with a view to obtaining increased prosperity.

U Ryngkew, or *u Basa shneng*, is the tutelary deity of the village. This godling is propitiated by sacrifices whenever they are thought to be necessary.

U Phan u kyrpud is a similar godling to the above.

Then follows a list of minor deities, or, rather, evil spirits, e.g. *Ka Bik*, the malarial fever devil; *ka Khlam*, the demon of cholera; *ka Duba*, the fever devil which is said to haunt the neighbourhood of Theriaghat.

Bivar says "the Khasi religion may be thus briefly defined as forms used to cure diseases and to avert misfortunes, by ascertaining the name of the demon, as the author of the evil, and the kind of sacrifice necessary to appease it." We may accept this description as substantially correct. In the Jaintia Hills, there is a peculiar superstition regarding a she devil, called "*ka Tarah*," which is supposed to cause delirium in cases of fever. When such cases occur, it is believed that "*ka Tarah*" has caused them, and inquiries are made by means of breaking eggs to find out in whose person the demon has obtained a lodgment; or sometimes the sick person is asked to reveal this. When in either of these ways the name of the person possessed by "*ka Tarah*" is known, the sick person is taken to the house of the possessed, and ashes and bits of broken pots are cast into the enclosure, after which, if the sick person recovers, the party indicated is denounced as possessed by the demon; but if the patient dies, it is concluded that the person possessed has not been properly ascertained. If people are satisfied that some one is really possessed, they denounce the person, who is then cut-casted. The only way for him to regain his position is to exorcise the demon by divesting himself of all his property. He pulls down his house, burns the materials, his clothes, and all his other worldly goods. Lands, flocks, and herds are sold, the money realized by the sale being thrown away. No one dares touch this money, for fear he should become possessed by *ka Tarah*. It will be observed that, as in the case of the *ddiu*, the demon is believed to follow the property.

Mr. Jenkins, in his interesting little work on "Life and

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Mr. Jenkins, in his interesting little work on "Life and
753 Work in Khasia," gives a slightly different account of the
● 796 superstition, in that he states that it is the sick person who
826 is possessed by *ka Turok*. The above belief is perhaps a
164 Synteng development of the Khasi *thiew* superstition. In
177 the Jaintia Hills "the small-pox" is believed to be a goddess, and is reverenced accordingly. Syntengs regard it as an honour to have had small-pox, calling the marks left by the disease the "kiss of the goddess"; the more violent the attack and the deeper the marks, the more highly honoured is the person affected. Mr. Jenkins says, "When the goddess has entered a house, and smitten any person or persons with this disease, a trough of clean water is placed outside the door, in order that every one before entering may wash their feet therein, the house being considered sacred." Mr. Rita mentions cases of women washing their hair in water used by a small-pox patient, in order that they may contract the disease, and women have been known actually to bring their little children into the house of a small-pox patient, in order that they may become infected and thus receive the kiss of the goddess. It is possible that the Syntengs, who were for some time under Hindu influences, may in their ignorance have adopted this degraded form of worship of the Hindu goddess, "Sitala Devi," who is adored as a divine mother under different names by Hindus all over India: cf., her name *mari-amman*, or mother of death, in the South of India, and the name Ai, mother, of the Assamese.

In the Khasi Hills the god of small-pox is known under the name of *u Sirm Siang thylliew*. He is not, however, appeased in any way, the people calling on two other spirits, *Thgnevi* and *Sapa*, to whom a fowl or a goat is offered.

This section cannot be closed without some reference to the
776 household gods of the Syntengs. The legend is that in ancient
775 times there came a woman "from the end of heaven to the borders of the country of *u Trok*" (the country of the plains people at a distance from the foot of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills). The name of the woman was Ka Teben, and she was accompanied by her children. She offered herself to *u Dikhar*, the plains man, as a household goddess, but he rejected her. She then went to the Khasis, who were ploughing their fields,

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and offered to help them with their cultivation. The Khasis also refused her, saying they were capable of managing their own cultivation, and at the same time told her to go to the country of the Bhois and Syntengs, i.e. the Jaintia Hills. Acting on this advice, she went to the village of Nongphyllud in the Jaintia Hills, where the people again turned a deaf ear to her. She proceeded to Mulagula village in Jaintia, at the foot of the Jaintia Hills, and ascended from thence to Rymbai, where she met a man who conducted her to the house of the Siem, who consented that she and her children should live with him. Ka Taben then apportioned to her children various duties in the house of the Siem as follows:—Ka Rasong was to look after the young unmarried folk, and was to supervise their daily labour and to prosper their trading operations at the markets. Next Ka Rasong was given a place at the foot of the king post, *trai riskot*, and her duty was to befriend young men in battle. Then came *Ka Longkhuinruid*, alias *ka Thab-bulong*, who said, "There are no more rooms in the house for my occupation, so I will go and live in the forest, and him who turns not his coat when I meet him I will make mad." Finally came *U Lamsymphud*, who elected to live with his youngest sister inside the house.

There are special sacrifices offered to these household deities. The leaves of the *sning*, or Khasi oak, are wrapped round the post of the house, and a fowl is sacrificed and other formalities are observed which it would be tedious to describe in detail. The legend of the arrival of Ka Taben with her children in the Synteng country from a distant clime is interesting in that it perhaps indicates the possibility of the migration of these people, i.e. the Syntengs, in ancient times from some distant place to their present abode.

ANCESTOR-WORSHIP.

The Khasis not only revere the memories of deceased ancestors, but they adore them by means of offerings, which are sometimes periodical, and sometimes made when thought neces-

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769 sary, as in times of trouble. These offerings take the shape of articles of food which are theoretically partaken of by the shades of the deceased ancestors, the idea of making such offerings being very similar to that of the Hindus when they offer the "*pinda*," or cake, to nine generations of ancestors, i.e. to propitiate the shades of the departed, and to obtain their help thereby. U Hormu Rai Diengdoh writes that, "the real religious demand" amongst the Khasis is the *ai bam*, or giving of food to the spirits of deceased ancestors, in order that the latter may aid the living members of the clan with their help, and bless them. To honour dead ancestors is the duty of every Khasi, and he who wilfully neglects this duty, it is believed, will neither receive their help, nor be defended from the influence of the numerous spirits of evil in which the Khasis believe. Amongst the Syntengs, a few days after depositing the bones in the ancestral tomb, the ceremony of feeding the spirits of the dead is performed. At this ceremony there are some families which give two pigs for each person of the family who is dead, and there are some who give one. The pigs are taken to the *iing-seng*, or puja house of the clan. Presumably, pigs are usually offered to the shades only of
[211] these members of the family whose remains have been recently
[764] deposited in the clan cromlech. In the chapter dealing with memorial stones the reader will notice how many of them are erected to the memory of deceased ancestors, and how they bear the names of such ancestors, e.g. *Ka Iawbei* (the first grandmother), *U Snidnia*, or *U kni rangbah* (the first maternal uncle). It was the custom in former days to make offerings of food upon the flat table-stones to the spirits of the deceased ancestors, and this is still the case in places in the interior of the district. This practice, however, may be said to be largely dying out, it being now commonly the custom to make the offerings in the house, either annually, or at times when it is thought necessary to invoke the aid of the departed. Such acts of devotion may well be said to partake of the
769 nature of worship. As has been the case in other countries,
171 and amongst other people, it is possible that the Khasi gods of
776 to-day are merely the spirits of glorified deceased ancestors transfigured, as has happened with some of the gods of the

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Shinto Pantheon of Japan. It may be interesting to note that the ancient Shinto cult of Japan possesses some features in common with the ancestor-worship of the Khasis. Take the funeral ceremonies. With both people we find the dead laid out in the house, food placed before the corpse, and the funeral ceremonies taking place, accompanied by music and dancing. Mr. Lafcadio Hearn, in an interesting book on Japan, writes "that in ancient times the Japanese performed ceremonies at regular intervals at the tombs of deceased members of the family, and food and drink were then served to the spirits;" this is exactly what the Khasis used to do at their cenotaphs. This, apparently, was the practice in Japan before the "spirit tablet" had been introduced from China, when the worship of the ancestors was transferred from the tomb to the home. We have an exactly similar instance of evolution amongst the Khasis of the present day, i.e. the transfer of the ancestor cult from the flat table-stones erected in honour of deceased ancestors to the home. Last, but not least, is the idea common to both people, that no family or clan can prosper which does not duly perform the worship of deceased ancestors; this, as Hearn puts it, is "the fundamental idea underlying every persistent ancestor-worship, i.e. that the welfare of the living depends upon the welfare of the dead." The "Khasi Mynta," in an interesting article, notes some further points of resemblance between the methods of ancestor-worship adopted by the two people. The following instances may be quoted. Amongst the Japanese the spirits of those who fall in battle are said to help their fellow-warriors who are still fighting. The "Khasi Mynta" quotes a similar belief as having existed amongst the Khasis in former days. The remains of Japanese warriors who die in battle are said to be reverently taken to the warrior's home at the first opportunity. The Khasis do likewise, the clothing in default of the ashes of Khasi transport coolies, who were employed on military expeditions on the North-Eastern Frontier, having been carried home by the survivors to present to the dead men's relations, who then performed the ceremonies prescribed by custom for those who have died violent or unnatural deaths. Of all deceased ancestors the Khasis revere Ka *Iowbei* the most, the word *Iowbei* being made up of

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769 171 *'iaw*, short for *kiaw* (grandmother), and *bei*, mother. *Ka Iawbei* is the primeval ancestress of the clan. She is to the Khasis what the "tribal mother" was to old Celtic and Teutonic genealogists, and we have an interesting parallel to the reverence of the Khasis for *Ka Iawbei* in the Celtic goddess Brigit, the tribal mother of the Brigantes. Later on, like Ka Iawbei, she was canonized, and became St. Bridget.*

769 578 787 776 The greater number of the flat table-stones we see in front of the standing monoliths in these hills are erected in honour of *Ka Iawbei*. In former times, it was the custom to offer food to her on these stones. In cases of family quarrels, or dissensions amongst the members of the same clan, which it is desired to bring to a peaceful settlement, it is customary to perform a sacrifice to the first mother, "*Ka Iawbei*." They first of all take an augury by breaking eggs, and if it appears from the broken egg-shells that *Ka Iawbei* is offended, they offer to her a cotton cloth, and sacrifice a hen. [534] On these occasions incantations are muttered, and a small drum, called, "*Ka 'sing ding dong*," is beaten. It is not unlikely that the Khasi household deities, *Ka lei iing*, and *Ka ksaw ka jirngam*, to whom pujas are offered for the welfare of the house, are also *Ka Iawbei* in disguise. Notwithstanding the strong influence of the matriarchate, we find that *U Thawlang*, the first father and the husband of *Ka Iawbei*, is also revered. To him on occasions of domestic trouble a cock is [291] sacrificed, and a *jymphong*, or sleeveless coat is offered. This puja is called *kaba tap Thawlang*, i.e. covering the grandfather. The following incantation to *U Thawlang* is then chanted:—

"Oh, father Thawlang, who hast enabled me to be born, who hast given me my stature and my life, I have wronged thee, oh father, be not offended, for I have given thee a pledge and a sign, i.e. a red and white sleeveless coat. Do not deliver me into the power of (the goddess of) illness, I have offered thee the propitiatory cock that thou mayest carry me in thine arms, and that I may be aware of thee, my father Thawlang."

769 171 We see clearly from the above prayer that the Khasi idea is that the spirit of the deceased male ancestor is capable of

* Karl Pearson's essay on "mother age civilization."

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WORSHIP OF NATURAL FORCES AND OF DEITIES.

133 In the Khasi Hills, especially on the southern side, there are numerous rivers, sometimes of considerable size, which find their way to the Sylhet plains through very deep valleys, the rivers flowing through narrow channels flanked by beetling cliffs which rise to considerable altitudes. The scenery in the neighbourhood of these beautiful rivers is of the most romantic description, and the traveller might imagine himself in Switzerland were it not for the absence of the snowy ranges. Of such a description is the scenery on the banks of the river Kenchi-
823 yong, the Jálukáti * or Punatit of the plains. It is in the bed
776 of the river, a few miles below Rilang, that there is the
782 curiously-arched cavity in the rock which resembles an upturned boat which the Khasis call *Ka lieng blei* (the god's boat), and the plains people Baslanya's ship. Near to this, on the opposite side of the river, there is a rock bearing a Persian inscription, but so defaced by the action of the water as to be impossible to decipher. Like other inhabitants of mountainous countries, the Khasis reverence the spirits of fell and fall, and
226 propitiate them with offerings at stated times. A brief descrip-
782 tion of the ceremonies which are performed at Rilang, on the
776 occasion when the annual fishing in the river Punatit takes
787 place, may be of interest. The three Siems of Nongstoin, Langrin, and Nobosohpoh each sacrifice a goat to *Ka blei sam um* (the goddess of the river) before the boatmen can cast in their nets. In former times they say the passage up the river was obstructed by the goddess, who took the form of an immense crocodile: but she was propitiated by the gift of a goat, and the boatmen were then allowed to pass up the river in their boats. Hence it became necessary for the owners of the fishery to sacrifice annually a goat each to the goddess. At the time of my visit each Siem's party erected an altar in the bed of the river, in the midst of which a bough of the Khasi oak (*dieng sning*) was planted. The goats were then decapitated, it being considered an essential that the head

* Lit.: Cut by magic.

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should be severed with one blow. As soon as the head was cut off there was a rush on the part of the sacrificers to see in which direction the head faced. If the head faced towards the north or west, it was considered an evil omen; if it faced towards the south or east, a good omen. The east is a lucky quarter amongst the Assamese also. The people ended up the proceedings by giving a long-drawn-out, deep-toned chant, or *kynhoi*. Immediately after the ceremony was concluded hundreds of boats shot out from the numerous creeks, where they had been lying, and fished the river all night, the result being an immense haul, to the delight of the Lynngams, who were seen next morning roasting the fish whole on bamboo stakes, after which they consumed them, the entrails being eaten with great gusto. Such is the worship of the goddess of the Punatit.

Similar pujas take place among the people of Wár-ding (the valley of fire) before they fish in the Khai-mara river and elsewhere in the Khasi Hills. In the Jaintia Hills there is the Synteng-worship of the Kopili river, which used to be accompanied by human sacrifices, as has been mentioned above, pp. 102-104. The Myntang river, a tributary of the Kopili, must also be annually appeased by the sacrifice of a he-goat. Numerous hills also are worshipped, or rather the spirits which are said to inhabit them. One of the best known hill godlings is the deity who is thought to inhabit the little wood close to the summit of the Shillong Peak. This deity is said to have been discovered by a man named "U Shillong," who gave his name to the Shillong Peak, and indirectly to our beautiful hill station. The Siems of Mylliem and Nongkrem reverence *U'lei Shillong*, and there are certain clans who perform periodical sacrifices to this god. Probably the origin of the superstitious reverence with which U'lei Shillong is held by the Siems of Nongkrem and Mylliem is that their fabled ancestress "Ka Pah Syntiew," of whom an account will be found in the folk-lore section, took her origin from a rock not far from the Shillong Peak in the Nongkrem direction.

Rableng Hill, which is within full view of the Shillong Peak in an easterly direction, is also said to be the abode of a minor god who is periodically propitiated by the members of the Máwthoh clan of the Khyrim State with a he-goat and a cock.

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823 Apparently no special puja is performed to U Kyllang (the
776 Kyllang Rock) nowadays.

782 The picturesque hill of Symper, which rises abruptly from the plain in the Siemship of Maharam, is visible for many miles. It is in shape not unlike the Kyllang. Symper is said to be the abode of a god called "U Symper." There is a folk-tale [773] that Kyllang and Symper fought a great battle, and that the numerous holes in the rocks at the base of the Symper hill are evidences of their strife. At the base of Symper there is a great cave, where many cattle find shelter in rainy weather. The people of Mawsynram propitiate the god of Symper in cases of sickness by sacrificing a he-goat or a bull. Symper, like *U'lei Shillong*, is one of the minor deities of the Khasis.

Close to Shangpung, in the Jaintia Hills, there is a small hill called "*u lúm pyddieng blai lyngdoh*," where sacrifices are offered on an altar at seed time and when the corn comes into ear. This altar used to be overshadowed by a large oak tree. The tree is now dead.

823 The Wars of Nongjri worship "*u'lei lyngdoh*," the tutelary
776 deity of the village, under the spreading roots of a large rubber tree which gives its name to this village Nongjri. This village worship is performed by a village priest (*lyngdoh*) at stated intervals, or whenever it is considered necessary. There are numerous other instances of hills and rivers being regarded as the abode of godlings, but those quoted above are sufficient for purposes of illustration.

RELIGIOUS RITES AND SACRIFICES, DIVINATION.

776 The Khasis, as has been explained already, worship numerous
782 gods and goddesses. These gods and goddesses are supposed to
753 exercise good or evil influence over human beings according
787 to whether they are propitiated with sacrifices or not. They are even supposed to possess the power of life and death, over men and women, subject to the control of *u Blei Nongthár*, God the Creator. Thus illness, for example, is thought to be caused by one or more of the spirits on account of some act or omission, and health can only be

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restored by the due propitiation of the offended spirits. 776
In order to ascertain which is the offended spirit, a system 782
of divination by means of cowries, breaking eggs, or 753
examining the entrails of animals and birds, was instituted. 787
The Khasi method of obtaining auguries by examining the viscera of animals and birds may be compared with that of the Roman *haruspex*. Some description of these modes of divination has been given at the end of this chapter. The 771
Khasi religion has been described by Bivar as "demon worship, 773
or a jumble of enchantments muttered by priests who are 783
sorcerers." But even a religion which is thus unflatteringly 825
described is based on the cardinal doctrines of sin and sacrifice for sin. Tradition amongst the Khasis states that in the beginning (*mynnyngkong ka sngi*) there was no sin, heaven and earth were near each other, and man had direct intercourse with God. How man fell into sin is not stated, but it is certain that he did fall. Experts at "egg healing" never forget to repeat the formula "*nga briéw nga la pop*" (I man have sinned). The cock then appears as a mediator between God and man. The cock is styled "*u khún ka blei uba kit ryndang ba shah ryndang na ka bynta jong nga u briéw*," i.e. the son of god who lays down his neck (life) for me man. The use of the feminine *ka blei* is no doubt due to matriarchal influences. There is another prayer in which the Khasis say, "*ap jutang me u blei ieng rangbah me u briéw*" (oh god do not forget the covenant, arise oh man). The idea is that man has fallen into sins of omission and commission (*ka pop, ka lait ka let*) but that God is nevertheless expected to spare him, and to accept a substitute for him according to the covenant (*jutang*). By this covenant God is supposed to have accepted in exchange the cock as a substitute for man. How the cock came to occupy such an 771
important position, tradition is vague and self-conflicting. The 825
fact remains that the covenant of the cock is the foundation 171
of the Khasi religion. It is of interest to mention that amongst the Ahoms the tradition is that Khunlung and Khunlái brought down from heaven the *kái-chán-mung*,* or pair of heavenly fowls, and that to this day the sacrifice of the

* In Ahom *kái* = fowl, *chán* = beautiful, *mung* = country. Therefore *Kái-chán-mung* = fowl of a beautiful country (heaven).

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ing the usual spiritual offices. The duties of lyngdohs, their methods of sacrificing, and the gods to whom they sacrifice, vary in the different Siemships, but there is one point in which we find agreement everywhere, i.e. that the *lyngdoh* must be assisted at the time of performing sacrifices by a female priestess, called *ka soh-blei*, *ka soh-sla*, or simply *ka lyngdoh*. This female collects all the *puja* articles and places them ready to the *lyngdoh's* hand at the time of sacrifice. He merely acts as her deputy when sacrificing. The female *soh-blei* is without doubt a survival of the time when, under the matriarchate, the priestess was the agent for the performance of all religious ceremonies. Another such survival is the High Priestess of Nongkrem, who still has many religious duties to perform; not only so, but she is the actual head of the State in this Siemship, although she delegates her temporal powers to one of her sons or nephews, who thus becomes Siem. A similar survival of the ancient matriarchal religious system is the *Siem sad*, or priestess, at Mawsynram, who, on the appointment of a new Siem or chief, has to assist at certain sacrifices. Here we may compare Karl Pearson's remark, when dealing with matriarchal-customs, that "according to the evidence of Roman historians, not only the seers but the sacrificers among the early Teutons were women." The duties of the *lyngdohs*, as regards communal worship, consist chiefly of sacrificing at times of epidemics of cholera, and such-like visitations of sickness (*jing iap khlam*). In the Khyrim State there is a goddess of each *raj*, or division, of the state, to whom sacrifices are offered on such occasions. To the goddess are sacrificed a goat and hen, powdered rice (*u kpu*), and a gourd of fermented liquor; the leaves of the *dieng sning*, or Khasi oak, are also used at this ceremony. The *lyngdoh* is assisted by a priestess called *ka soh-sla*, who is his mother, or his sister, or niece, or some other maternal relation. It is the duty of the priestess to prepare all the sacrificial articles, and without her assistance the sacrifice cannot take place. Sacrifices are also performed by the *lyngdoh* to *u Lei Lyngdoh*, alias *u Ryngkew*. This used to be the tutelary deity in times of war, but in less troublous times the Khasi *lyngdoh* sacrifices to him for success in tribal or State litigation. A pig and a cock, with the usual accessories, are sacrificed by the

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793 *lyngdoh* to this god. As in the case of sacrifices to *Ka lei*
776 *Raj*, the services of a priestess are indispensable.

A *lyngdoh* is a *lyngdoh* for life. When a lyngdoh dies and
793 his successor is appointed, certain rather elaborate ceremonies
535 are observed in the Nongkrem *raj* of the Khyrim State. The
782 funeral ceremonies of the old *lyngdoh* having been completed, the *lyngdoh* clan appoints his successor. The latter then, after performing his ablutions proceeds, accompanied by the assembled members of the *lyngdoh* clan, to the top of the Shillong Peak. The lyngdoh and his clansmen advance along the road dancing, this dancing being carried on all the way from the *lyngdoh's* house to the Shillong Peak. All are clad in the distinctive Khasi dancing dress. Having reached the Peak, they pick the leaves of a tree called *ka 'la phiah*, which they spread on the ground. A goat and a cock are then sacrificed, the new *lyngdoh* acting as the sacrificer. There are the usual accessories, including branches of the Khasi *sning* or oak. Nine portions (*dykhot*) are cut from different parts of the victims and are offered to the god of the Shillong Peak, *U lei Shillong*. The *lyngdoh* and his companions then perform obeisance three times to the god, and the lyngdoh walks backwards some paces. The puja is then over, and they return dancing to the lyngdoh's house. On another day the *lyngdoh* performs a puja to *u lei Lyngdoh*, alias *u Ramjah*. Undoubtedly the most interesting feature of the ceremonies on these occasions is the dancing. This dancing is carried out by the *lyngdoh* and his companions armed with sword and shield, a fly-flap made of goat's hair (*symphiah*) being also sometimes held in one hand, a quiver of arrows being slung on the back, and a plume of black and white cocks' feathers (*u thuya*) fixed in the turban. The dance is executed in a regular figure, the dancers advancing and retiring in an orderly and methodical manner, and finally clashing their swords together in mock combat. The dance of the present day is not unlikely the survival of a war dance of ancient times. The lyngdohs say they dance in honour of *U lei Lyngdoh*, to whom such dances are thought to be pleasing. The dance of the lyngdohs on these occasions may be compared with that of the Roman *salii*, who, in the month of March, performed a war dance in honour of Mars.

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The above and other similar sacrifices to the gods of the State divisions of the State may be said to be the communal igious duties of the *lyngdohs*. The duties of *lyngdohs* with ference to private persons may now be mentioned. When it found that any two people have made an incestuous marriage, at is to say a marriage within the exogamous group of the r, or clan, the parties at fault are taken before the *lyngdoh* their clansmen, who request him to sacrifice in order to rd off the injurious effects of the *sang*, or taboo, of such a nection from the kinsfolk. On this occasion a pig is rificed to *u'lei lyngdoh* and a goat to *ka lei long roj*. The rties at fault are then outcasted. As mentioned in another ce, the sin of incest admits of no expiation for the offenders mselves. In the Khyrim State, it is said by the *lyngdohs* mselves, although not by the Siem or the myntries, that y are the reversionary legatees of all the persons who without leaving female heirs (*iap duh*). In other Siem-ps such property passes to the Siem. The *lyngdoh* of Nong-em can also take possession of the property of persons who ve been found to harbour an evil spirit (*jingbih*) in their uses. It appears that in such cases the house and furniture burnt, as in the case of the *Tarok* superstition in the Jaintia lls, the *lyngdoh*, however, taking possession of jewellery or thing else of value. The only practical service the *lyngdoh* ders in return is to build the afflicted person a new house; ess, indeed, we take into account the casting forth of the il by the *lyngdoh*. Mr. Jenkins, of Shangpung, in the ntia Hills, writes: "Such is the belief of the people in the l spirits, that they are completely under the influence of the ests and spend large sums of money in order to secure their our. They live in constant dread lest by the least trans-ssion or omission they should offend these avaricious men l so bring upon themselves the wrath of the demons." The uence of the *lyngdohs* over the people in the Jaintia Hills ms to be stronger than in the Khasi Hills. For instance, ame to my notice in Raliang that crops cannot be cut until *lyngdoh* has seen them, in other words, until the *lyngdoh* claimed and obtained his share of the produce. In many ces, however, in the Khasi Hills the *lyngdoh* is much dis-d, owing, no doubt, to the advance of Christianity education.

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hild are prohibited by custom from crossing a stream or wash- 846
g their clothes until the navel-string falls off, for fear that 784
e child should be attacked by the demons of the hills and the
ales.

The Wár birth customs are substantially the same as those 844
f the Khasis, but there is the difference that a Wár family 846
fter a birth is *sang*, or taboo, for seven days, whereas amongst
e Khasis the only prohibition is that the parents must not
ross a stream or wash their clothes until they have propitiated
e spirits. A twin birth is *sang*, or taboo. The Khasis argue 845
at as there is but one *Ka Iarbei* (first ancestress), and one 773
Thiarlang (first ancestor), no one child, either male or female,
ould be born at a time. A twin birth is accordingly regarded
a visitation from God for some *sang*, or transgression, com-
itted by some member of the clan. When the twins are of
pposite sexes the *sang* is considered to be extremely serious,
e Khasi idea being that defilement has taken place within
e womb. The case is treated as one of *shong bar*, or marriage [766]
ithin the clan, and the bones of the twins cannot be placed in
e sepulchre of the clan.

There are no special birth customs amongst the Lyngngam. 544
There is no trace of the *couvade* amongst the Khasis. 546

MARRIAGE.

We now come to consider marriage amongst the Khasis from 555
religious point of view. Shadwell has said that marriage 776
mongst the Khasis "is purely a civil contract." This state-
ent is not correct, for there is an elaborate religious ceremony
which tied the creator, *U Blei thaw briw man briw*, the god
goddess of the State, *U or ka Ki Syngkar*, and, what is pro-
bly more important, the ancestress and ancestor of the clan,
Iarbei-lymmew and *U Thiarlang*, are invoked. There are
ree marriage ceremonies prevalent amongst the Khasis, which
e (*a*) *Pynkhreynjat*, (*b*) *Lamdok*, and (*c*) *Iedik-kiad*, respec-
vely. The first and second forms above mentioned are
nsidered the more respectable; the last-named is resorted to
the very poor who cannot afford the greater expense entailed
the first two ceremonies.

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587 unless they have no female children, in which case the clan
428 urges them to re-marry, so that the chain of inheritance may not be broken, inheritance amongst the Khasis always passing in the female line.

CUSTOMS IN CONNECTION WITH DEATHS BY VIOLENCE OR ACCIDENT.

766 These customs are interesting enough to deserve a separate
782 description; they are as follows:—

If a man dies by the sword, before his body can be burnt,
776 a sacrifice of a black hen must be offered to *Ka Tyrut*, the goddess of death. The bones are then placed in a stone cairn. Again they are removed, and, after eggs have been broken, are taken to a river bank and there washed. If there is no river at hand, a tank is dug for the purpose, which is called *wakoi*. There are various such *wakoie* in different parts of the district, e.g. near Raliang and Nartiang. A sacrifice of a goat is offered to the god *U Syngkoi Bamon*, and a sow to *Ka Ramshandi*, both of whom are evil deities. Another sow is sacrificed to *Ka Tyrut*. After this the bones are placed in another newly-built cairn. The ceremony of placing the bones in one and
[787] then removing them to another cairn is usually performed three times; but unless the auspices, as deduced from the eggs, are favourable, the relatives must go on sacrificing and removing the bones until they are so. These ceremonies having been completed, they erect a flat table-stone, or *mawkyntoi*, for the ghost of the departed to sit upon, and return home, where they propitiate their ancestors with offerings of food. In the case of the murdered victims of the *tikar* superstition the same ceremonies are observed. For people who have died by drowning, or been killed by wild animals, and for women who have died in child-birth, similar pujas are
766 offered, except that a sacrifice to *U Syngkoi Bamon* does not
782 take place. In the case of one who has died at a distance from his home, e.g. in a foreign country, whose body has not been burnt in accordance with custom, and whose bones have not been collected, the members of his clan, or his children, take three or five seeds or cowries (*shei*) to a place where three roads meet. Here they summon the spirit of the departed in a loud voice,

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the bones of males and females being kept in separate bundles 764
wrapped in white cloth, two women of the clan reverently carrying them in their arms, holding the bundles of bones to their breasts. One female carries the bones of the males and the other those of the females. In front of these women walks an 764
old man who scatters along the way leaves of the *diengphit* tree 792
and grains of rice, and when it is necessary to cross any stream or [775]
river, he ties a thread from one side of the bank to the other, this is for the spirit of the departed to cross the water. Sometimes u'nam *tokrik*, a kind of long grass, is used instead of thread for the above purpose. On arrival at the clan puja-house, the bones of the males are laid on one bed and those of the females on another, the beds being bedecked with rich hangings. A cock, *u'iar kredlynti* (lit.: "the cock which scratches the way"), is sacrificed, this sacrifice being considered by the Khasis to be of peculiar significance. A pig, a cock, and a bull are then sacrificed, and portions of the above are offered to the spirits of the deceased. These offerings are known by the name of *ai-kaw*, and are placed in a basket which is hung up in the house, together with the left thigh of the fowl and the lower jaw-bone of the bullock. A dance is performed that night, first [535]
in the house by two women, one belonging to the clan and the other an outsider, and afterwards in a specially prepared place outside the house called "*lympung*." The *shareti*, or flute, which is played at funerals is sounded, drums are beaten, and bombs are exploded. This dancing lasts from one to nine days, the limit being always an uneven number of days. At Cherra two effigies called *Ka Pieun* and *U Tyngskop* are prepared and [776]
dressed up; the former is intended to represent *Ka Iaiabei*, the first ancestress, and the other *U Suidnio*, the first maternal uncle of the clan. These effigies are held in the hands of the dancers. In the meantime two lines of upright stones consisting of three each, with a table-stone in front of each line, have been set up. These are called *mawijat* or 764
mawlynti, and are intended to serve as resting-places for the spirits of the dead on their way to the tomb of the clan. These stones are generally not more than three feet in height, and must not be confounded with the larger stones or *mawbynna*. On the night before it is proposed to deposit the

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211 which a figure, evidently of a Hindu god, has been carved, without
171 doubt after the erection of the stone. Here we have a striking parallel case to the painted and carved menhir near Tregastel in Brittany, upon which has been carved the representation of a crucifix. There are also some carved stones near Nartiang (said to represent two women) called *mowthawdur briew*.

211 The Khasis say that these great stones were brought
413 sometimes from considerable distances. After being hewn, the stones were laid on a large, wooden trolley and dragged
213 across country by means of ropes of cane, of which plenty can be had from the Wár country on the southern side of the district, and then placed in position by means of ropes and levers. It seems little short of marvellous that these stones, which sometimes weighed many tons, were placed in position by such primitive means, especially when we consider the great trouble there was to re-erect one of the fallen stones at Stonehenge lately. Nowadays only comparatively small stones are erected, which are generally hewn and erected on the spot, so that there is no necessity for any conveyance.

000 In conclusion, it may be remarked that the subject of the Khasi monoliths is in reality a large one, on which a great deal could be written, but owing to considerations of space it has been found necessary to compress the account within its present limits.

FESTIVITIES, DOMESTIC AND TRIBAL.

535 Dancing forms the principal part of all the Khasi festivities,
• 776 and is an important adjunct of some of their religious
776 ceremonies. One of the greatest festivals in the Khasi Hills is
789 the Nongkrem dance; it may be said to be as important an event to the Khasis as the *Beh dieng-khlam* festivities are to
782 the Syntengs.

The Nongkrem dance is really part of what is known as the *pam-blang*, or goat-killing ceremony, performed by the Siem of Khyrim (or Nongkrem) with the aid of his *soh-blei* (high priest) and the various *lyngdohs* (or priests) to Ka Blei Synshar (the ruling goddess), that the crops may prosper and that there may

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535 be a successful era in store for the people of the State. The
776 goddess on this occasion may be regarded as a Khasi Demeter,
796 although no mysteries form part of her services as at the
789 Grecian Eleusis. The Nongkrem ceremony and dance (now
782 held at Smit) take place in the late spring, generally in the month of May. A lucky day having been fixed, the Siem sends a ring of cane (*kyrwuh*) by way of a summons to the people of every village in the State, at the same time informing them of the date of the puja, and requesting them to attend with their offerings, consisting of goats and different articles of food. In the meantime various pujas have been taking place in the house of *Ka Siem Sad*, the Siem priestess, which it would be tedious to describe in detail. The more interesting points only will be mentioned. A fortnight before the puja and dance at Smit the *ach-blei*, or high priest, pours out libations of liquor in the *kyrwu-blang*, or place where the sacrificial goats are kept, and in front of the great post (*of diang swing*, or Khasi oak), in the house of the Siem priestess. Dancing then takes place in front of the post. Later on the Siem, with the high priest and other attendant priests, walks with extremely slow gait to a small hill where a stone altar has been prepared, and sacrifices a cock in honour of *u'lei Shillong*, or the god of the Shillong Peak. A silver dish with powdered rice, liquor in a gourd (*ka'iad ue*), betel-nut, and some leaves of the Khasi oak (*diang swing*), are also necessary adjuncts of the puja. A goat is then sacrificed, and the sacrifice is followed by a dance of twenty-two men armed with swords and shields and chowries (fly-flaps). Having danced before the altar, the party returns to the house of the Siem priestess and executes another dance in the great courtyard. The Siem and certain selected persons dance in front of the *ri-khot blei*, or holy post
[214] of Khasi oak inside the house of the Siem priestess, the dancers being entertained with dried fish and ginger. Then follows the great dance of girls and men in front of her
782 house. The girls dance in the centre, taking such tiny
796 steps, that the lifting of their feet from the ground is hardly
535 perceptible, the arms held down to the sides and the eyes
301 demurely downcast. It is on this occasion that they wear the
302 peculiar silver (and sometimes gold) crowns illustrated in the

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535 women from the West country, wearing their picturesque dress, amongst whom was the wife of the Siem of Bohwal with her little daughter. The dance was a pretty sight, and I have seldom seen such evidence of unalloyed happiness as was exhibited by the people on this occasion. Dancing may be described as one of the characteristic features of Khasi life.

536 The Syntung *Beh-diang-khlaw* festival takes place annually 539 at *Jowai* and elsewhere in the *Jaintia Hills* in the deep water moon month (*a Pyllion*, or *June*). *Khlaw* is the Khasi word for plague or pestilence, and *beh-diang* signifies to drive away with sticks. The festival may be described as follows:—The males rise betimes on the day fixed and beat the roof with sticks, calling upon the plague-demon to leave the house. Having done this, later on in the day they go down to the stream where the goddess "Aitan" dwells. Then poles of great length, which have been newly cut, are held across the stream. The people jump on the poles and try to break them; when they succeed in doing so, a great shout is given. After all these poles have been broken, a very large pole is fixed across the stream. The people then divide themselves into two parties, and contend for the possession of the tree. The contest, however, is a good-humoured one, and although many buffets are given and received, these are not regarded seriously, and there are seldom any fights. Col. Bivar says the contending villagers, in their excitement, sometimes relapse into a state of almost complete nudity. The party which succeeds in obtaining possession of this post is supposed to gain health and prosperity during the coming year. Col. Bivar remarks that the origin of this so-called sportsman is said to be that the god of thunder "*Wei pyrdiel*," and Ka Aitan, the goddess of the stream, enjoyed its performance. Many innovations, however, have crept in. People disguise themselves as giants and wild beasts, they also parade images of serpents, elephants, tigers, peacocks, &c. Dancing is carried on with enthusiasm by the males, the girls, clad in their best attire, remaining on-lookers. Before the meeting breaks up the males play a sort of game of hockey with wooden balls.

539 (25) mounts a hill; it is a very beautiful hill. From a distance it looks like the hump of a bull. It has big trees growing on it, so people are afraid to cut them because they believe that the god "Ryngkew" is there, who takes care of and protects the country. This hill has two names, U Mawlong Siem and U Lyngkrem. U Mawlong Siem is the smaller (peak) on the southern side, and U Lyngkrem the taller one, in which there is a cave. The Mawsmai people sacrifice once or twice a year according to the god's demand. The Mawsmai people have, besides U Mawlong Siem, other village gods called "Ryngkew". The name of the one is "U Rangjalong," and the name of the other "U Rumsong." Sacrifices are offered to these two also. U Mawlong Siem is a very great and strong god. The other gods dare not engage in battle with him. He has a daughter called "Ka Khmat Khmat" (i.e. the mouth of the river). The god of the Mawsmai people fell in love with this daughter, but he was unable to obtain her in marriage, as U Mawlong Siem did not 539 (26) 539 (27) 539 (28) know the exact reason why the name of U Mawlong Siem was given to him, but at any rate it appears that the name arose from the fact that in olden days before the death of a Siem there used to be heard at "Mawlong Siem" a great noise of beating of drums. The Mawsmai and the Mawmluh people used to hear it, and they attributed it to the god "Mawlong Siem," who beat the drum for his engagi ne ka shong. Um o lim ska i-synnad-shlem. Ban khymih na ska jingngi o long ban o synnai mmai kynong. U don ki dong kiba khaw ki bym jw don ka nid ban thah ban dait ramar ba ki daw ba o long U Ryngkew o kini ska ramar ska da ia ka mulah ka jaka. Ia ma o lim ki khat ar kynong, U Mawlong Siem bad U Lyngkrem, U Mawlong Siem o long ska ska khaw lyngkh shughong shathi, bad U Lyngkrem o long ska ska jawng ah bad ska don ka kwin Pahon lapah. Ia ma U Mawlong Siem ki Mawsmai ki jw ri jingkhim da o khang shiem shi mam ne shi ar mam kaiba o pan. Ki Mawmluh ruh ki lah kumjah na ia shong. Naiar ma U Mawlong Siem ki Mawsmai ki don shah ki Ryngkew kajan shjong, ewai U Rangjalong bad ewai pat U Rumsong. Ia kma ki ska. Um U Mawlong Siem o long o kini ska khaw shiem bad ska ah. Ki pam kini kim nid ban ia lah thymm ia ki. U don dawai ka shim kaba kynong "Ka Khymat Khmat," o kini ki Ymwai o ishia ia ka, kimai um lah pat ramar U Mawlong Siem ma ngawkhia ia o. Ban shai kynong Mawlong Siem ia o ym lah ban ap, kimai ia kumma kumma i-mat ka kam ka kynong ka ia mih ramar ka myndyndai kaba ym ne ing Siem ia jw lah ongew kangka ka U Mawlong Siem ka don ka jingmawa ism kaing kaba khaw shiem. Ki Mawmai bad ki Mawmluh ki jw lah ongew, bad ki jw thawi ka o kini Mawlong Siem o ism kaing ban pyrshai khim. Lei ki kaba ia-

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572 marry any one belonging to your own *bar*, or clan. Unlike the
617 Khasis, however, a Lyngam can marry two sisters at a time.
575 The Lyngam marriages are arranged by *kaiongs*, or go-betweens,
579 much in the same way as Khasi marriages; but the ritual
576 observed is less elaborate, and shows a mixture of Khasi and Garo customs (see Section III.). The Lyngam intermarry
583 with the Garos. It appears that sometimes the parents of girls exact bride-money, and marriages by capture have been heard of. Both of these customs are more characteristic of the Bodo-tribes of the plains than of the Khasis. There are no special birth
587 customs, as with the Khasis, except that when the umbilical cord
588 falls a fowl is sacrificed, and the child is brought outside the house. Children are named without any special ceremony.
594 The death customs of the Lyngams have been described in Section III. A peculiar characteristic is the keeping of the dead body in the house for days, sometimes even for several months, before it is buried. The putrefying corpse inside the house seems to cause these people no inconvenience, for while it remains there, they eat, carry on their ordinary occupations, and sleep there, regardless of what would be
598 considered by others as intolerable nuisance. The religion of these people consists of a mixture of ancestor-worship and the propitiation of the spirits of hill and hill, which are, most of them, believed to be of evil influence, as is the case with other savage tribes. As with the people of Kongthaim, the "primeval
• 706 ancestress," *Ka Ksan Ian*, is worshipped for the welfare of the
708 clan, a cow being sacrificed to her, with a gourd of rice-beer, and leaves of the oak, or *diengpaing* tree. The leaves of the oak are afterwards hung up inside the house, together with the jaw-bone of the pig. [illegible] *jing* (a god who brings illness), by the roadside; also to *Ka Miang Bylli U Bujpawar*, the god of cultivation, at seed time, on the path to the forest clearing where the seed is sown. Models of paddy store-houses, baskets and agricultural implements are made, and being used to indicate the grain. These are placed by the roadside, the skulls of the sacrificial animals and the feathers of fowls being hung up on bamboos about the place
713 where the sacrifice has been performed. There are no priests or
714 *Lyngdohs*, the fathers of the hamlet performing the sacrifice cere-

773 Several Khasis claim that the devil pre-
782 scribed to their ancestors the method of sacrificing. On the other hand others maintain that in times past a man of rare size and strength came to their country. This man accomplished wonderful things, and commanded their ancestors to sacrifice and at the same time prescribed for them the method of sacrificing. Today the place
[103] of his former dwelling on a mountain near Shillong is still pointed out. Since something divine was suspected in that man, he was called u 'lei shillong (the god Shillong).

●774 The Khasi believe in a highest being, whom they call u blei nongthaw (1) (the creator god).

[104] 1. Pronounciation of Khasi (method of writing): ei is pronounced as two syllables, e - i, w is pronounced like u, aw is therefore like a - u, sh is pronounced like sch = phonetic š.

Just as the ideas about this person are very hazy, so are the concepts of eternity and the soul.

775 The Khasi are not in agreement among themselves about the conception of what happens to the soul after death. Several say that after death the soul goes up in the air and becomes air and therefore exists no longer. But most of them believe that the soul exists after death and [illegible] depend on personal guilt or sin but only on the conscientious completion of the burial ceremonies.

[63] The country in which the Khasi live is
776 divided into several districts, which were formerly ruled by several kings before the English came. [105] According to the Khasi each district

77% has its own tutelary god on whom they confer the name of the district.

Villages have their own tutelary gods, families have their tutelary gods, even individual people have their guardian gods, to whom they occasionally bring a sacrifice.

The Khasi and Syteng also honor gods who are not thought of as tutelary gods but as dispensers of purely material favors, as, for example, u 'lei longsjah (god of wealth) and u'lei untong (the god of water which is used for cooking and drinking). (2)

2. Cf. (below, p. 410) the summarized table of some of the good and evil gods who are honored by the Khasi and the Syteng.

But in general the Khasi believe that the gods or spirits are evil spirits, whom they then designate with the name kouid (devil).

78% They believe that their country is full of such kouid. The chief task of the Khasi is to pacify them. They try by all means to put them in a good mood, and to appease them by sacrifice. It is fear which incites them to their religious activities, not respect or actual reverence. For the Khasi are convinced that it was formerly better. They relate that in the beginning (79%) heaven and earth were near together, that people could concert directly with u blei nongthaw the creator god, and that there was still no sin at that time. Now, however, man is sinful and no one offering a sacrifice forgets to pronounce the formula: nga brin nga la pop (I, man, have sinned). Thus the concept sin is one of the bases of the Khasi religion. The other basis is sacrifice. There is no doubt that sin and sacrifice make up the basic thoughts of the religious views

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of the Khasi.

Just as the Khasi are unable to explain how man fell into sin, so they also cannot explain why the rooster appears as mediator between god and man. The Khasi tradition relates of the rooster: u khun ka blei uba kit ryndang ba shah ryndang na ka bynta jong nga u briu, i.e. he who, as son of the goddess, gives his life for man, thus expiating sin through sacrifice and reconciling god.

The Khasi believe in another world and their attention is directed towards the comfort of the spirits of the dead. One of the main tasks is to give them nourishment (ai ban), which must be done, since the welfare of the living depends on the welfare of the dead. For example, if one can no longer get the corpse of the deceased because it is in a foreign country or has been consumed by wild animals, one takes his clothes at the very least and carries out the burial ceremonies with these. For only such spirits, whose burial ceremonies were performed according to usage and custom, can participate in chewing betel nuts in the garden (in the house) of god, whereas the others must wander around on earth [109] or must continue living in insects, birds, and other animals. They do not believe in hell (in the Christian sense). The greatest felicity [110] for a Khasi is "to chew betel nuts perpetually." Therefore they conceive of heaven as the dwelling (garden or house) of god, in which only betel nuts are chewed: uba ban kwai ha iing u blei (he who chews betel nuts in the house of god).

[114] This cult of spirits, which relates to deceased relatives, is mixed with the ancestor cult. Thus the first great-grandmother of each sib (jaid) becomes a goddess (ka jaibei) and the first great-grandfather of the sib a god (u thaslang).

776 Finally other earthly things are deified,
778 and the cult of spirits increases in objects.
782 If there is an unusually formed mountain anywhere, sacrifices are brought to it, since a kwid lives there. And the spirit who inhabits the mountain is soon combined with the mountain itself, and then the mountain is worshipped and sacrifices are brought to it. The same thing happens with rivers. How easily a river god can be insulted and made angry by fishing or by crossing over to the other bank! Therefore the first thing to do is to bring the river god a sacrifice. The Khasi never make a picture, neither of stone nor of wood, which is supposed to represent their gods, but nevertheless they revere many powers of nature and phenomena of nature, and it is difficult to differentiate the extent to which the mountain or river is worshipped and the extent to which sacrifice is made to the spirit of the mountain or the river.

In everything that one calls bad luck or misfortune the Khasi see the work of evil spirits: in the bad harvest, in flood, in sickness. The spirits live in the primeval forest, in the steep inaccessible cliffs, in the rushing river, in the green tree. They come through the air in all weather. They give the tiger strength, the snake poison, the thicket fever, and they lurk in cholera for their victim.

782 These are the reasons for the many sacrifices and sacrificial customs of the Khasi all of which are only to bring about the reconciliation of the angered spirits. Prayers also occur during individual sacrificial scenes which one can conceive of as prayers of thanks or of praise, but these are exceptions.

The sacrifices are performed either by sacrificial priests (lyngdoh) or by old men who have experience. First one seeks out the spirit who

782 must be appeased by throwing eggs. If the desired
[781] effect does not occur after the sacrifice has been offered, further information is sought by observing intestines (sacrifice of rooster), and the sacrifice is offered again. At least that is what is done for sickness. The other sacrifices will be described in more detail later.

771 The religion of the Khasi is one that arises
114 from fear of misfortune and harm, and is active in the worship of (evil) spirits through sacrifice. This definition of mine corresponds essentially with the definitions of Bivar, (3) who

[113] 3. Bivar, Administration Report on the Khasi and Jaintia Hills District of 1876.

says: "The Khasi religion may be briefly defined as a form to cure illnesses and to ward off misfortune, by finding out [410] the name of the devil who is the original cause of the evil and to appease him by sacrifices which are necessary," and Gurdon (4) "calls the Khasi religion a cult

[113] 4. Gurdon, The Khasi (London, 1907) p. 105.

of spirits, i.e., actually rather a reconciliation of spirits, good as well as bad, by sacrifices, which are offered occasionally, especially in times of distress."

Table of Summary

• 776 of several gods (good and evil) who are revered by the Khasi and the Synteng.

1. Good Gods:

u blei nongthaw, the creator god,
u 'lei longspah, the (good) god of wealth,

776 u 'lei umtong, the god of water that is used for cooking and drinking,
u 'lei shillong, the god who commanded sacrifice,
u sim shillong ramjah, the highest god of the Synteng,
ka maidolong, the highest goddess of the Synteng,
u sim synriang, the son of the above who was born in a wonderful, supernatural way,
ka ram-ew, the goddess of earth,
ka puron, one of the first feminine deities of the Khasi, who is supposed to represent the first maternal ancestor,
u phan suid iap, one of the ancestor spirits who is invoked for blessing of the living and the dead,
u phan long siem, the household god of a king,
ka longkha, the goddess of marriage,
ka 'leikhuri, the household goddess of a certain sib of the Khasi,
u 'suid nia, the spirit of the first maternal great-uncle of a sib,
ka blei long-s'iem, the goddess who makes kings kings,
ka s'iem-synshar, the goddess who rules the world,
u biskurom, the god who teaches the playing of flutes and of other musical instruments,
ka blei-jew-lei-hat, the goddess of the market places,
u 'lei pyrthat, the god of thunder,
ka 'lei aitan, the goddess of the river,
ka 'lei iing, the household goddess,
ka ksaw ka jirngam, the goddess who brings luck, especially in the hunt,
u rynkew shnong, the tutelary god of a village,
u basa shnong, the tutelary god of a village,
u phan u kyrpad, the tutelary god of a village,
ka longkur, the tutelary goddess of a sib,

776 ka 'lei-sad 'lei-sunom, the tutelary goddess of a royal family,
ka 'leikhyrdop 'leikharai, the goddess who guards the entrance to the village in time of war,
ka 'lei-muluk, the goddess who guards the state or village,
ka sad, the goddess who guards the royal families,
ka ram-shandi, the goddess who inspires the people in time of war.

[411] 2. Evil Gods

u siem khylliew, the god of smallpox,
ka duba, the fever demoness in and around Thriagat,
ka rih, the demoness of malaria fever,
ka khlam, the demoness of cholera,
ka tyrut, the demoness who causes violent death,
u mahet, a devil to whom one offers sacrifices only inside a house,
ka byrdam, the demoness who causes attacks of cramps,
u kyrter, the devil who causes blindness,
u lasamkhh, the devil who causes swelling of the joints and hoarseness,
u jingbih-u lasam, the devil who causes sickness of the mouth and of the teeth,
ka tihar, the demoness who causes severe colic,
ka shwar, the demoness who causes convulsive cramps,
ka shuar, the demoness of wealth,
u thynrai, the devil who always makes illnesses worse,
ka shur, the demoness of wealth (only among the Khasi),
ka taro, the demoness of wealth (only among the Synteng),
u 'suid-um, the devil of water who attacks the women and causes sterility and miscarriage,

776 u tynjang, the lame devil who lives in the thicket and tickles people to death,
ka ron, the worst of all the demonesses (only among the Synteng),
u 'suid-lam-iap, the executor of the commands of god, who has to fetch the souls into the other world,
u thlen, the devil of wealth and comfort who can only be worshipped by human sacrifice,
ka smer, a demoness who brings violent death,
ka syrti, the demoness who scratches and cuts, saws, and files (by pain in the intestines),
ka jumai, the demoness of earthquakes,
ka niangriang, the demoness who causes children's illnesses (especially in the navel),
u 'suid briew or u 'suid ngon, the devil who attacks people in the early morning and causes stitches in the side or hoarseness,
u 'suid-kynta-maram, the devil who makes headaches,
u synkai bamon, an evil spirit,
ka ramshandi, a demoness.

3. Revered Powers of Nature:

778 The Punatit River, to whom the kings of Mongstoin, Dangrin, and Nobosohpoh offer sacrifices.
the Khai-mara River among the War,
the Kopili River among the Synteng,
the Myntang River among the Synteng,
the Shillong Peak (mountain near Shillong),
the Sohbleng Mountain near Shillong, [412]
the Kyllong Cliffs,
the Symper Mountain,
the mountain Pyddieng blei lyngdoh near Shangpung (Jaintia).

779 754 2. Methods of Warding Off Evil Spirits

The Khasi do not practise magic in the

789 strictest sense of the word. It is rather an
754 instinctive activity, which is influenced by superstition to which they have succumbed. In their opinion all misfortune and bad luck are caused by evil spirits. The chief purpose of
[782] their sacrifices is to propitiate them (khein ban khai). But they well know that it is possible to cause others harm with the help of the ksuid. Their magic consists of this and in warding off harm. The magic is not accomplished by special magicians who make a profession of it; but whoever believes he is able to harm others with the help of the devil tries it. In the same way, those who have to ward off harm of any kind hope to be able to accomplish this with the help of the devil.

753 If anyone has a throat ailment, whether it
755 is a tumor or only hoarseness, they believe that
776 it occurs through the influence of the devil u lasamdoh. Therefore a rooster or a pig is sacrificed in the courtyard of the person concerned. The blood of the sacrificed animal is given to the sick person to drink so that he may recover.

They do similar things when a person has a toothache or is sick with some kind of mouth ailment. This sickness is ascribed to the devil u jingbih.

753 If a child is born blind they believe that
776 adultery on the part of the father is the cause. This adultery is punished in the child by the devil u kyrdap.

The demoness ka byrdaw causes attacks of cramps, and convulsive cramps are the work of the feared demoness ka shwar.

Existent ailments are made definitely worse by the devil u thyrnrei.

Whoever goes into the forest and hears the call: kăw-hoit, kăw-hoit, should hurry away because the devil u 'suid-tynjang lives there and

● 776 is calling. He is, however, lame; but whoever
[753] answers the call or screams is lost, since he will be seized by the 'suid tynjang and tickled to death.

[763] If one wishes to protect oneself from a violent death, one must propitiate the demoness ka tyrut by sacrifice, because she is the original cause of this method of dying. The Khasi have a great respect for violent death as it increases the difficulties of the prescribed ceremonies of burial, even making them impossible, which would in turn deny the spirit of the departed one peace in eternity.

[775] They also live in fear of the devil u 'suid-lam-iap (the messenger of god, i.e., the executor of his commands). He leads the souls of people away into another kingdom. He is supposed to be horrible; of gigantic size, he walks around with long trailing hair seeking his victim. His teeth are as large as a ka wait (a hatchet or an axe).

[842] [413] The women are especially afraid of a devil whom they call u 'suid-um (the water devil). He has the power of attacking women and causing sterility in them, and if they are pregnant causing a miscarriage.

776 The demoness ka khlam brings cholera and the
753 demoness ka tihar brings severe colic.

They believe that they get malaria through the influence of the demoness ka rih, while in the region of Theriaghat the fever is ascribed to the demoness ka duba.

Smallpox, which is otherwise feared everywhere, is considered by the Khasi to be evidence of the favor of the god u siem niang thylliew. If there is someone in one of the huts sick with smallpox, the sick person is not only not avoided, but even healthy children are brought there, so that they may receive the "kiss of the god," i.e., that they may also get smallpox.

that they may also get smallpox.

776 Every Khasi is desirous of wealth. Therefore they sacrifice to the demoness of wealth, ka shur, whom they fear just as much as the Synteng fear the demoness ka taro, who likewise only allows the desired wealth to come to those who revere her.

But all evil taken together can be caused by the demoness ka ron. She is the worst of all devils in the opinion of the Synteng. The Khasi sacrifice only to her and the devil u mahet inside the hut, and not as is otherwise customary out of doors (in the courtyard of the hut).

But the Khasi have the greatest fear of the devil u thlen. He can be kept in the house by people in the form of a snake. Since he is only propitiated by human blood, it is necessary to find human sacrifices (ka 'langthoklieh). One cuts off the toenails and fingernails of the victims and these are brought with the blood of the murdered one during the night in a closed house as a sacrifice to the devil with prayers and exhortations. To get these human sacrifices, the thlen possessor must look for them with cunning or violence. Usually hired murderers are sent out, to whom one previously hands a quite special liquor 'iad-tang-snem (literally: lasts for a year). The Khasi believe that anyone who drinks this liquor is so influenced (enchanted) that he will really carry out the planned murder. When these murderers (nong-shoh-noh) are on their way or waiting in ambush to catch their victim for the thlen, they may not use any iron, because the thlen near the cave of Pomdalai near Cherrapunji was killed by a brave man named u suidnoh, when the thlen appeared there in the form of an enormous snake in order to swallow up people and animals. The victim is struck down with a stick which usually has a silver knob.

● 776 782 Then the wings of his nose are cut with a shear, or pincer of silver and the blood is drained off. In the same way the nails on the hands and feet are cut off with silver shears. Finally the dead body is thrown into an abyss. (5)

[113] 5. For further details about "Human Sacrifice Among the Khasi", see Dr. P. C. Becker, Salvatorianische Mitteilungen [Salvatorian Communications], 1909, No. 5, pp. 75 ff.

754 782 [114] Since on the one hand many Khasi are busy trying to kill others with the help of the devil or to make them sick (ai-ksuid), and on the other hand the evil spirits also harm men without being called upon, an enormous fear is thus the fruit of this superstition. From this fear comes the desire to make oneself free from the influence of evil spirits (lait-ksud) or to modify this influence by sacrifices khad) or at least to propitiate the devil competely (khein-ban khai).

796 Therefore the Syneng annually hold a large feast for driving awaycholera (ka behdiengkhlam). [782] The offered sacrificeshave the purpose or propitiating the fearel demoness ka khlam but at the same time they also have the purpose of making the participants in the sacrifice safe against cholera (to enhant them). Gurdon (6)

6. Gurdon, The Khasis.

describes this feast as follows: "In the month of June when the river is full of water, on a certain day the men go in the morning in front of the huts and strike the roofs of the huts with sticks. At the same time they call on the demoness ka khlam continuously and challenge her to leave

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Yn sa ioh ka khiah ka nang, ieng rangbah u bynriew joit suk me u blei lyngngai weng ka thoah ka tar ka kjab ka star.

We receive the sublime and the possible. Quickly rise up, mani Well satisfied be thou, o god! Take away the faults, the stains, the band and the sling.

Ong ym pat shong ka dur da kumta khadei dang kumwei du, kiew da ka thoh da ka tar da ka brain da ka briah da ka kjab da ka star, katta mo blei tray kynrad, kuri-ei nga pynsum nga pynsleh nga pyntang nga pynpung ha ka umthwei umlyngiam, ban kiew ka syrti ka jumai ban um ka ryndang ha khmat ka duwan ka dupat ban nang ka korbar ka sorbar mo?

Say: the picture does not yet appear thus, rather different, is it not so! Raise thyself from the great stains and from the great faults and from all the little stains and spots, from sling and band and then, is it not so, o god and master, it is in vain! I wash and bathe and make pipes of water and scooped-out wells in the eddy and in the depths, so that ka syrtieh (19)

[78]

19. Ka syrtieh is a demoness, who cuts and scratches and files and saws, i.e., through inner pains.

and ka Jumai (20) may

[78]

20. Ka jumai is the demoness of earthquakes.

arise, so that the throat may dissolve (bleed to death) before the visage of the

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Snan syiar, hei nga dkhat sohpet shynnai ban na.g ka korbar ka sorbar, kane de ka deng de ka kup ka ryndia ka muka ka iarong ka muna ho, jei dong tam dong lait ban lait ka jot ka rem no?

alter, so that the counsel be good, is it not so?

Thou blood of the rooster, hurrah! Look, I tear out its navel, the intestines, so that the counsel be good. This here is the jewelry, this the garment, this the silk, this the purse and the net, is it not so? Look, here is the tube for gathering, here the tube for escaping from destruction and guilt is it not so?

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6. Discovering the Spirits that Need Appeasing (khainkeuid).

Khein keuid means the seeking for or the discovering of the insult to the goddess which sells (die) man through suffering to the pain-causer (keuid). The demon cannot harm man if the goddess does not stand for it and allow it. The guilt of man plays no part in this (in and of itself). The Khasi say that in their religion there is only one goddess, the "Giver of Orders" (ka nongbuksum). She commands that a phan u sypyad [illegible] should be, that a suid-nia of Jaubei should be found-who is the spirit of the first [illegible] internal uncle of the sib, in this case he is supposed to be the "intercessor" with the Jaubei). Or she herself chooses a means, that is supposed to be "god." for example, as she herself becomes the goddess of wealth or the goddess of the curse. This goddess gives the command for the sacrifices: That the piece (u dykhot) and the

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sour thing (a lamjew) be sacrificed! If this goddess is insulted by any kind of error, then she must be propitiated again, and this is done by the sacrifice of a goat, of a pig, or through the sacrifice of the gourd and the gourd bottle, or (for the very poor) through the sacrifice of water which one shakes out on a brass plate (ka pliang) or on a woven plate (ka pdung). It is she also who commands that one drive away the demon or the demoness, especially the demon who helps day and night (uba rap synnia rap angi), by a sacrifice of money, a hundred or a ten, which must be brought to him.

Everything is at her command: thus the sacrifice of food which is brought the spirits (ai tam ia ki sulidiap), the sacrifice of thanks which is brought the Thaulang (kaba ngah thawlang), the augaries (kaba tap synglew tap syelang) or the naming of children (tap lahri tap hyrteng). For example, if a mountain devil or a river devil is supposed to be driven away, she gives the command to ask the oracle of the house first and not to make a noise. Then, however, one should take a freely chosen sacrifice, such as doves, chickens, pigs, or goats and strew them with rice and then let them run off free. Anyone who catches them may keep them.

[140] In this religion there is also something very painful and extremely difficult, namely finding out the guilt of one long since dead in order to atone for it again through sacrifice. For sometimes nothing can be found that is the reason or cause of sickness or trouble and therefore it must be the error of an ancestor that is not yet expiated. But this kind of investigation of devils is very difficult, since one cannot easily discover the connection. An experienced and worthy sacrifice who

understands how to interpret the signs of the goddess must take this case in hand.

If the goddess Jaubei was insulted by an offense, a goat must be sacrificed to her. This goat must be beautiful, it must be white, it must be full-grown, but still virginal. The sacrifice is brought into the front courtyard. On the altar, which is usually prepared of loam or earth, (21) the sacrificial gifts are

21. By "altar" (ka dawan) the Khasi means everything on which he offers his sacrifices, whether it be a stone, or a banana leaf, a heap of loam, or an altar made of earth.

now spread out: bread(kpu), cake (rynai), gourds (u along), young oak shoots (u sning ka laliar), uncooked rice (u khaw) and fermented rice water (ka sapoh). Now the goat's head is cut off with one blow. The dead animal is cut up and the separate pieces needed for the sacrifice are placed in readiness. There are various ways of sacrificing. Some take five such pieces, others seven, and again others take nine pieces. But what is taken for the sacrifice, must [424] come from the inside of the animal (napoh krem ka kypoh, i.e., from the stomach cavity). Those who use five pieces take something from the liver, something from the heart, something from the lung, something from the kidneys, and something from the loin (of meat, the part that runs along the spinal marrow).

Those who use seven parts for the sacrifice take the above mentioned parts and in addition some of the spleen and some of the small intestine.

161 Stromtal des Brahmaputra [In the Valley of the Brahmaputra], (Aachen: Xaverius Publishing House, 1923) p. 293.

784 are divided into 10 kingdoms and 15 small states
621 (communities). In each of these kingdoms and communities an official state sacrifice is of-
783 fered each year. The smaller state units offer
776 it to the u bass shnong or to the u phan u
796 kyrpad (the tutelary god of a village), the larger one to the u 'lei Shillong (the god who has commanded the sacrifice) [218]. The purpose of this large sacrifice is to thank the revered god for the country (kingdom or community) and to beg him to make its inhabitants
782 healthy and happy. This is shown by the prayers
796 spoken at these sacrifices, namely: "O god Shillong! for thee is this prayer, this sacrifice of goat, of hen, of kpu and rynsi (a kind of bread of rice meal or cornmeal with pounded sugar), of utensils of preparation, as thou hast given them to the royal lineage, so that once in every year Puja is celebrated in thy name, so that we may live happily, be healthy and increase, so that kings will arise, so that their honor and that of the kingdom will grow and increase and the children of the kingdom will spread out to increase thy name and thy honor." (10)

10. P. Dr. C. Becker, S.D.S., "Die Nongkrempuja in den Khasibergen" [The Nongkrem Puja in the Khasi Mountains], Anthropos Vol. 4, 1909, p. 901.

In another prayer they say: "O lord, thou who hast created heaven and earth, thou hast placed a king that we may be children of his

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sacrifice — that is the murder itself.

3. to describe the offering of the sacrifice.

Following from this, several questions arise of their own accord, namely:

1. How do the people accept these facts?
   a) the fear among the people,
   b) the liberation from thlen,
   c) story of former thlen possessors.

2. The position of the English-Indian government to these human sacrifices?

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1. The Thlen Legend

About five miles west of Cherrapunji, (15)

15. The following accounts are taken from the article "Menschenopfer unter den Khasi" [Human Sacrifice Among the Khasi] by Dr. C. Becker, S.D.S., Salvatorianische Mitteilungen [Salvatorian Communications] 1909, No. 5, pp. 75 ff.

near the great waterfall Noh ka Likai, there is the cave Pomdalai, about which an old Khasi legend is concerned. The dwelling place of an enormous snake —called u thlen — which caused great destruction among men and animals was once here. People had to pass here to go to market; half of them were regularly swallowed by the thlen, the others could continue their way peacefully. It was a rule for the thlen, only to consume half the number of people or animals that came by. After many people had lost their lives in this fashion, the Khasi one day held a large meeting, a darbar, with the inhabitants of the valleys, to consider how they could

773 remedy this great misfortune. A brave man named
776 Suidnoh volunteered to cause a change. He be-
782 gan to drive goats, pigs, and cattle to the Thlen to give them to the snake to eat. After he had done this for quite some time, the Thlen became quite tame and trusting. One day Suidnoh brought along a piece of glowing hot iron which he held with a tongs. He ordered the snake to open its mouth so that he could give it a piece of meat. The snake believed him, opened its mouth and Suidnoh quickly thrust the glowing hot iron in its throat so that the snake burst with horrible writhings. In another gathering it was decided to cut the snake into two pieces: the inhabitants of the valley were supposed to eat one half, the Khasi the other half. Since the former are very numerous, it was easy for them to manage their portion; but the Khasi could not quite master their share and left some of it. Others say that in the village Mawphu, west of Cherrapunji, an old woman forgot to eat up her share. In short the Khasi did not quite get rid of their share and so it came about that the snake could grow again and he still lives among them up to the present day.

2. The Preparations for the Sacrifice

However the Thlen is no longer the public waylayer of previous times. He has withdrawn into the interior of the houses; also he no longer is in just one place, but may be found in several. There are certain families that are considered possessors of such a devil snake and are known as such among the people. They are simply called the Bongri Thlen, owners of a Thlen. The Thlen is cared for and secretly kept by the owner very carefully in a safe place. It is only supposed to be seen by members of the household

774 of the thlen owner. It is also said of the tribe
775 that it can reduce itself to the size of a thin
776 thread and therefore can easily find a place in a basket or earthen jar. Others even say that it has the power to change itself into a cat or a rooster or a stone and to stay with the owner in this form.

774 The possession of the thlen is a valuable
775 thing for the owner; for where the thlen makes
776 his home, it brings good fortune and wealth to the family. However, the snake only does this on the condition that it is provided with human blood. If it does not receive this, it announces itself from time to time in the family concerned during the night in a dream. If its desires are still not fulfilled, it then comes bringing sickness, misfortune, impoverishment, and the like. There is nothing that the owner can do other than satisfy or propitiate the thlen by human murder. In the night he waits for his victim alone or with another whom he has hired for this purpose. Often the thlen worshippers have a so-called nongbylle, i.e., a wage earner who shares the wealth of his master for his efforts without having to bother with other work. He goes out in ambush with his master and watches hidden from the heights of a mountain, or along the road, or at the edge of the forest to see whether anyone is coming along the way. By signs or shouts he warns his master who is waiting some distance away, and then they commit the murder together. Both are usually disguised and armed with a wooden club for killing their victim. The ordinary people call these murderers in the service of the thlen as well as the thlen worshippers in general only nongshoh mih, literally, killers. They may not use iron weapons for committing their dark deeds, as iron proved to be fatal for the thlen tribal father, as was told

[illegible]

● 776 above. The tips of the hair and the finger-
772 nails of the slain person are cut off with
773 silver shears; then the murderer pricks the wings of the nose with a silver lancet and catches the blood that flows out in a bamboo tube. This is called pjar sman. Again no dish or iron or metal may be used for catching the blood.

3. The Offering of the Sacrifice.

772 The talen owner now asks the oracle about
776 the actual time when he should sacrifice the blood to the talen. When this is revealed, the whole family gathers together in the hut of the talen owner (male or female) in the dark night-time. The doors are opened and costly clothes are spread out on the floor. The blood of the slain person is poured into a brass dish or a plate (ka pilang); the hair and fingernails are placed there. One member of the family begins to strike a small drum and cries while doing it: "O uncle, o father, come forth, we have done everything to make thee satisfied, and now we have succeeded. (776) Give us thy blessing, so that we may receive health and wealth!" They say that the talen is only seen by the members of the household of the owner. No matter what form it otherwise has while staying in the house, at the sacrifice of human blood it appears in its true form as a snake. It is supposed to crawl out of its hiding place when called upon, then stretch itself out until it has attained its full size. It approaches the platter and waits a while in front of it until the spirit of the slain person appears standing on the platter. The spirit is supposed to laugh. The snake now begins to swallow the entire form, beginning with the feet; the victim is supposed to laugh continuously. Obviously it is difficult to find out

772 anything more certain and exact about activities
• 774 that are carried on in complete seclusion. The
devil snake is satisfied again after receiving
the sacrifice, and now pours forth a plenitude
of good luck and wealth over the house.

Substitute sacrifice: Naturally it is not always easy to find a human sacrifice. In this case the thlen owner tries to help himself in another way. He sets out to catch at least some of the hair or the clothing of somebody or other and to sacrifice this to the devil snake. This means an evil fate for those, to whom the hair or the bit of cloth belongs, for the belief exists among the Khasi that the person concerned will become sick soon thereafter, will languish and die or at the very least misfortune and poverty will come to him. They are therefore very much on their guard that nothing of that sort will come into the hands of a thlen adherent. For example, if someone loses a hair, he is extremely careful to throw it into the fire at once and thus destroy it before a thlen owner can appropriate it. If the thlen owner cannot get hold of anything at all, he at least satisfies himself by throwing stones at a victim or knocking on strange doors during the night. He then calls upon the thlen to tell him that he has done his best to get booty for him but that unfortunately he was unsuccessful. The devil snake is supposed to be satisfied with this for a time until he again makes his desire for human blood known. Many heathen, on the other hand, try to get well when they are sick by putting themselves under the protection of the thlen. They give the thlen owner some of their hair, pieces of clothing, and a corresponding gift of money or food as a sacrifice for the thlen--at thlen--in order to acquire their health again.

How Do the People Accept These Facts?

a) The Fear among the People

[147] [148] A great fear of these murderers who are in the service of the Ulem permeates the whole life of the Ehael; this feeling is still especially strong in the kingdoms of Dagara, Wallen, and Bongbrem. Naturally they guard themselves well from people who are supposed to be in possession of a devil snake and they often do not even dare to speak their names out loud for fear that misfortune could befall them. Many of them are certainly known by the people; others are just guessed at. We tried very hard to get a photograph of such people who are considered to be Ulem owners; but we met only with complete refusal from them. Their bad consciences probably made them fearful. I was able to photograph the house of a woman Ulem worshipper in Mawerel, several [147] miles away from Dagara. In contrast to most of the Ehael huts, indications of wealth were evident on the outside, since the hut was covered with tin. In spite of all my pleas the woman could not be prevailed upon to have herself photographed. Such an idea frightened her so that she cried out loud: "O, we are investigated so much!"

[148] [149] At night a Ehael does not really trust himself alone outside of his hut. If he is overtaken by darkness on the way home, he may be seen hurrying towards his home, singing or calling in a loud voice from time to time to give himself courage. A single man, even if he does not have to go far from his hut to work is not likely to go without his big knife -- Ba wait -- under his arm to protect himself against all possible attacks. The people usually go together (in groups)

on the way to or from more distant markets. When they go to the even bigger markets which are several days' journey away, they only go to the markets where they have good friends along the way, where they can spend the night. Even the missionary has to endure this general feeling of fear. For example, if he has to send something from one place to another which one man could easily carry; or if he is on a journey when he might like to send on his small amount of luggage, his laundry, and food. Even if the place is only a day distant, it is not possible for him to hire one man for [illegible] an errand. There is nothing for him to do other than to hire two porters and naturally also to pay them, or to wait until a group of market people are going along the same way, to whom a single man can attach himself. If you criticize the people for the foolishness of their behavior or the inconvenience it causes, their simple answer is: "I am afraid of the mongahon nuh" (killers).

In the other hand the people defend themselves against such criminals. According to ancient Khasi justice, the killing of such a mongahon nuh is not considered murder and is not punished by death. Whoever has killed a mongahon nuh does not need to do more than he who kills a rubber, namely to give 5 rupees (7 gold marks) and a pig to the Blen (king). In the kingdom of Mongkrem the official lyngdoh has the right to confiscate all the property of those persons who are convicted for harboring an evil spirit -- jingkhi -- in their house. The lyngdoh can keep the objects of value for themselves, while the house, including contents, is burned down. At the same time the people take justice into their own hands. In the year 1903 one of these murderers in the service of the devil snake was caught in the act in Mongkrem. Without more ado his head was cut off and he was left to go with the current of Khar.

776 off and he was let go with the mark of Cain.

b) Liberation from the Thlen.

776 It also happens that people who revered a
778 thlen and sacrificed to it wish to free themselves
779 from its power and sever all connections with it. This is called pynsud noh ia u thlen, which means throwing away, exposing the thlen. However this is connected with a great sacrifice for the family concerned. To get free of the thlen, there is no other way than to give up all their possessions. House and contents must be burned down; money and objects of value of all kinds thrown away and even the household animals must be given up. This takes place with the observance of a certain ceremony which is performed by the lyngdoh of a village with the participation of men designated by the S'iem (Khasi king). The sacrificer (lyngdoh) first asks the oracle about the place, mountains, etc., where the thlen goods should be taken. When that is found out, the ones who were the thlen owners go with the lyngdoh and the men named, as well as with a crowd of spectators to the place that has been determined upon. All the movable goods, including clothes, that belong to the ones who wish to be free, are brought here. The lyngdoh speaks an oath and then commands the thlen owners, who have been deprived of all their property down to their naked skins, to return to the village directly without looking around. Then the rest of the spectators leave. This occurs during the night. It is the superstition of the people that the devil snake is inwardly joined with property and follows it. Whoever should appropriate it therefore would also be in the power of the devil snake. The snake would climb on him as the expression says (kin u thlen ha ki).

● 77% Therefore nobody dares to appropriate the ob-
774 jects that have been thrown away or even to touch
173 these. Only into the house of the S'iem and into the whole royal family can no entrance be found by the thlen, and therefore some valuable things may be given to the Khasi king. This may be connected with the fact that usually on the next morning after the above ceremony nothing more is to be found of the objects that were given away. Therefore it rarely happened in former times that anyone kept a found object from fear that it might be thlen property and he might bring the thlen devil into his house with it. But if they did take an object they found, a piece of money or such, home with them, the oracle was first asked by egg throwing whether it contained any evil, and only when this was denied and the real owner could not be found did they keep a part of it; the rest had to be used for sacrificial purposes.

The immovable property is treated the same way as the movable property. Fields which the family formerly possessed lie fallow; nobody dares to take them over or to plant anything on them.
[774] But the whole village hastens to help the former thlen owners who have lost all their property. They are given clothes and rice and helped in building a hut so that they can begin an honest life again.

c) Story of a Former Thlen Worshipper.

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773 How is all this known about the thlen, many ask, if the owners try to hide their secret? An indirect answer is already given by the whole previous presentation. Then it also happens, for example, that one marry into the house of a woman who is a thlen owner. Certainly this is not always known beforehand, although real thlen
[Cont'd over; see ref no. pp 218 ff. --Ed.]

776 owners can only conceal this for any length of
773 time with difficulty. Now when the woman gathers the members of her household and the unsuspecting man together for the thlen sacrifice, this man dashes out from fright and tells the horrible things that he has seen. He never returns to his wife by whom he was deceived by the concealment of such an important condition and he seeks another wife.

776 /777/ The accounts of previous thlen owners
772 finally give further information. I will only
773 introduce one case as it was told by one of these. I am indebted for this to the kindness of the missionary in Cherrapunji, P. Corbinian Boehein S.V.D. who has been there many years and to whom a former thlen owner related his experiences. This he translated into our language as follows:

"Formerly we were very poor people. Then one day we found a wonderfully beautiful smooth stone on the mountain when we were chopping wood, and we brought it home and preserved it. From this time on we had good luck everywhere; every undertaking succeeded, we never had losses and our fortune increased from day to day and even at gambling we never lost. Gradually we became rich people. This matters continued for four or five years. Then I had a strange dream. A woman appeared to me who said to me: "Look, I have given you such great wealth, now I also demand a sacrifice of you. You should sacrifice a long thoh khlih to me, i.e., a goat with a spotted head." The next morning I told my dream to the members of the household, and they thought that she was the goddess who was demanding the sacrifice owing to her. So we sacrificed a goat. But soon after I had a dream again and the same voice, as before spoke to me again: "I have demanded a long thoh khlih of you and you only gave me a goat. The goat, however, that I demand,

• 776 is human blood ka maan brisi" The next morning
682 I told my dream again and all my relatives were
783 frightened, for they knew now that it was the thlen devil and not the goddess who made them rich. But now we had to decide what we would do: give up all our wealth and possession or fulfill the will of the thlen. We decided to do the latter. But we let week after week go by until the thlen began to threaten that he would consume our whole house. Now we went, my brother and I out stalking to see if we could murder someone. We saw a woman from our village go alone to the forest to gather wood. We crept after her and when we thought the moment was right we fell upon her with blows and beat her till she was dead. Immediately thereafter, however, we fled deeper into the forest with the intention of taking the blood from the slain woman somewhat later when we could do it undisturbed. But after a while the woman came to her senses and luckily escaped back to the village by a different way. When she arrived home she told what had happened and named the two of us brothers as her murderers. Her relatives went at once to the chief and accused us. When we now came out of our hiding place to get the blood from the woman who we supposed was dead, we found to our astonishment that she had disappeared. We hurried along the road to pursue her but we could not find her anywhere. When we came home we were told at once that a woman had luckily escaped from murderers, but that it was still questionable whether she would live. We, however, wished secretly that she would die. But the chieftain had commanded that the woman be cared for carefully. When she had so far recovered that she could come to a judicial meeting, the chieftain ordered all the inhabitants of the village to the gathering. Our hands and feet trembled, and stuttering we confessed our

• 776 guilt. The chieftain then said to us: "You
682 will pay the woman the entire cost of her care
783 and agree that I have your thlen driven out and that you give up your property; if you will do that, nothing more will be done to you. A hut where you can live temporarily, a cloth [230] so that you can at least cover your honor, and rice which you need will be given you by the village until you can again save something. But if you do not wish to do that then a severe punishment will be meted out to you without mercy or pity." We submitted to the judgment of the chieftain. We then had all our possessions carried away and our house burned down to the ground. And when we had moved into the hut which was built for us by the inhabitants of the village at the command of the chieftain, lo, this wonderful stone was there. We reported this to the chieftain and he took counsel with his elders as to what should now be done. They came to the conclusion that at the time of the first exorcism the lyngdoh had not given us the command to go home directly without looking around. We had looked around and therefore the thlen had come to us again. Therefore the chieftain now commanded that the expulsion and exorcism and destruction should be undertaken again. This time we went straight home without looking around and so we were then free of the thlen. We have never seen the thlen itself." This much the report of the thlen worshipper.

The Position of the English-Indian Government in Respect to these Human Sacrifices.

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But is it possible, many will ask, that such crimes can occur in a British province of the Indian Empire? Why are such things not called to the attention of the English government and why

387 One month before the celebration rice liquor is poured into a hollow
796 out gourd bottle in the house of the S'iem ïSñ and offered before the
rishor Blei as a 'mrit' (sacrifice of drink). This is done in order to in-
form the u Suidnia long S'iem (the spirit of the first great-uncle on
[36] the maternal side who was the first king), the ka Blei long S'iem (the
[72] divinity who makes kings kings) and the u Blei Shillong (the god Shil
long), that preparations are now being made for the Puja and that
they might help with them.

776 The u Blei Shillong plays the chief part in the whole ceremony.
He enjoys great reverence among the Khasi, especially in the king-
doms Nongkrem and Nylliem. Not far from Nongkrem a mountain
[41] peak rises 6,450 feet above the sea. It is the highest peak in the
Khasi Mountains. Its name is "Shillong Peak." Here is the seat of
[77] the god Shillong. The story goes that a man appeared here once,
who said he /SIK/ had not been born but came of himself (phu long).
He also told the people that they would receive the kings, S'iem.
So the god who lives here was called u Shu long (he who is out of his
[35] self), from which the Europeans gradually made the word Shillong
and also gave this name to the splendid mountain station in the heart
of the Khasi Mountains.

796 After the S'iem ïSñ has determined exactly the day of the cere-
302 monies, the news of this is sent out two weeks prior to the ceremony
to the village elders (Rangkah dieng). This is done on the day of
the large market (ïñu duly), which takes place every eighth day. Two
weeks after is the pem dieng, also on the day of the large market,
which is discussed below.

The way in which the invitation is issued is interesting. A num-
[10] ber of chains about an ell long are made of bamboo rings. These are
called k'rwah. One of these is sent to the oldest man of each village.
Since the Khasi formerly had no script, this bamboo chain always
served as a sign of invitation or summons to the S'iem for ceremonies
or of danger of war, or of court matters and such. The degree of ur-
gency was shown by the form of the links: in the case of great haste
the form was length and flat, otherwise correspondingly rounder.
The sending of the k'rwah to the village elders serves now as a sign
of invitation for the whole village to appear at the ceremonies and
at the same time as a demand to gather together the prescribed sacri-
[41] ficial gifts. Each of the six divisions, into which the kingdom Nong-
khrem is divided, must furnish a goat, each individual but must pay a
tax (called pynthuk) of six rupees and four annas in addition. Very
poor people only have to pay one anna or even only a half. The

[78] this way the dance continues.

[79] After it has become dark a hen is sacrificed in front of the house of the S'iem ïdi: to the ka S'iem synkar (the queen who rules the world) and to the Bishuram, the god who instructs in the playing of flutes and other instruments. Then various drums are beaten.

[80] Then everyone goes inside the ïing ïdi. The S'iem ïdi hands the Soh Blei, the first sacrificial priest, who is from the family (jaid) Ramsong, a hollowed-out gourd bottle (u skaw) with rice liquor. The Soh Blei pours out the contents in front of the richot Blei in honor of the goddess of the markets (ka Blei jaw lei hat) so that the markets will be good, remunerative, and successful; so that the roads will be good and safe and everything will be blessed; so that the kingdom itself will progress and develop. It must be remembered here that the market system is very marked among the Khasi and is the chief source of their income. After this "toast" the same sacrificial drink is offered to the Ka Blei long S'iem, in order to receive her blessings, so that the kings will be good and may make progress. Music and dancing then lasts until day-break.

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II. The Sacrificial Feast

The actual ceremony begins on the day of the large market. This day itself is called pyr-iïong (great health). The S'iem ïdi may not eat rice for three days, only a kind of bread, which is made from rice flour. On the large open place in front of the ïing ïdi the men hold their sword dance (thad wait) and guns are shot off until the S'iem ïdi, the S'iem and the Rungsh (ribbon) come out of the ïing ïdi. Following the S'iem ïdi, is her slave-girl (mraw), who carries the utensils and sacrificial gifts. These are arranged by the S'iem ïdi herself and consist of a banana leaf, of which however only the upper part is taken (ka da kait), five betel nut leaves (pynpaw), five portions of betel nuts, as much as is usually put in the mouth at one time (pawi) /0:0/, a kind of bread made of rice flour (kpu), for which the rice is first put in water, then taken out, dried, and pounded into flour; then ryndi bread, which is also baked with pounded rice or corn, mixed with sugar and rolled into the shape of ballets; some uncooked, shelled rice (u khaw), a gourd bottle with rice liquor (u klong) and several leaves of the Khasi oak tree. The following utensils are used: a golden or silver water container (u long), a silver dishlike plate (ka pilong rupa). All these are now given by the S'iem ïdi to the Soh Blei and in addition a rooster and a white fowl are brought to the place

413 manure, and primarily for breeding, since the oxen cannot be dis-
28 pensed with for the cultivation of the field, especially of the rice field, where the soaked earth must be trampled to a slimy mush. From the fowl the eggs are particularly prized, since they find an almost daily use in the questioning of oracles in cases of misfortune and sickness. (3) Hence, pigs and goats serve for sacrificial purposes,(4)

3. P.R.T. Gordon, The Khasis, (London 1907) pp. 221 ff.; Becker, "Das Eierwerfen der Khasi," /Egg throwing Among the Khasi/, Anthropos, Vols. 12-13 (Vienna, 1917-18), pp. 494 ff.; P.F. Stegmüller, "Aus dem religiösen Leben der Khasi" /The Religious Life of the Khasi/ Anthropos Vol. 16-17 (1921-1922), pp. 410 ff.

4. Becker, "Die Siangrem-Puja in den Khasi-Bergen" /The Siangrem Puja in the Khasi Mountains/, Anthropos, Vol. 4, (Vienna, 1909) No. 5-6, pp. 990 ff.; Stegmüller, loc cit.

and they are also a welcome addition to rice at all festive occasions such as arrow shooting, (5) at the name giving, /12/ at weddings,

5. Becker, Im Stammes etc., /In the Valley, etc./, pp. 298 and 307.

and at the cremation of the dead.

421 Further the various huts belong to the family property, the erec-
613 tion and maintenance of which is the work of the members of the clan, the brothers, nephews, and grandsons. The hut of the clan mother is likewise considered the center of the whole family, and its possession forms the outer sign of the dominance of the clan mother. Here she holds the family sacrifices and also keeps the special treasures. There are considered to be those things which are connected with the religious cult. Special reverence and sacrifice is due the oldest clan mother, as the original founder of the clan, and her brother in each clan family; in addition there are a series of other spirits which vary according to the family clan. The branch of the Khasi people who live in the Jaintia Mountains, the so-called Syntong, have probably pre-
78 served the old Khasi customs the most faithfully. There in the hut of the
78 clan mother are found the following utensils for the service of the divination, who are nearly always feminine: mats, little baskets for rice, gourd bottles, a little basket made of bamboo cane and decorated with feathers, as well as antlers of deer or antelopes. The latter are fastened to the walls; they are supposed to be the seat of the

776 divinities of the forest and of the chase. The little basket is at-
778 tached to a post in the hut; the special divinities of the clan-family are supposed to have their dwelling there; two bamboo twigs fastened underneath symbolize their power. The good bottles are used as containers for the sacrificial drink of rice liquor.(6)

6. Cf. Dur Nongkrem-Puja,/The Nongkrem Puja/, loc cit.

422 As treasures, which are handed down from generation to generation,
[Dur] are considered the rich ornaments of gold and silver, the heavy chains of coral, and the silk scarves, which are worn by the women at dancing ceremonies.

Also those things which the family has contain in the way of furnishings and utensils, such as baskets, mats, lances, shields, arrows and bows, and brass pots for cooking and for water, earthen containers and brass plates are considered common property of the family.

921 /138/ The clan mother at the time has the entire property in
925 her hands; she is the legal and sole guardian and manager of the pro-
928 perty. Nothing can be lost even without her permission. No part of either the movable or immovable family possessions may be sold without her agreement. For the execution of the proper legal deed, as she is often ignorant of writing, she must place her fingerprint. Nothing may ever be given away; that would be an insult to the clan divinity since that would not mean treasuring and honoring their property but giving it away as being of no value. As a punishment for that the clan /Kanna/ would also lose its other possessions and then live in poverty and disgrace. The individual members of the clan could sometimes be recruited for work for other clan-families as a kind of slave (mraw). But they may not be taken up in their society as they do not belong to that clan and the clan gods of that family would not permit it. Therefore if, for example, a clan-family has rice fields which they do not cultivate and would gladly give to poorer relatives, they must at least receive the smallest rent as a charge for it. This consists annually of a good bottle of rice liquor, which has the value of about 70 pfennigs to honor the household divinities.

Before the clan mother gives her permission for the sale of common property, she listens to the advice of the other members of the clan. Actually according to the old tribal custom things should be so little sold or given away. It is said that in ages past the original ancestors, when the individual clan separated as disciples, apportioned out this their needs of field and wood, and these are supposed
921 to form their unsalable clan property (sangiang). To let it go out of
925 the clan's possession would therefore be insulting the gods. However, that

his wife and children.

5. Holy Places of Land and Forest

A special kind of land property is still encountered in the Khasi and Jaintia Mountains. These are pieces of land and forests which are considered sang or kynrang, forbidden or holy, thus kyndiñ sang, Khlaw kynrang, forbidden fields, holy forests. They are also named in connection with the name god, for example, Khlaw Blei, forest of the gods, which, to a certain extent, might offer the key to their purpose and meaning. The hands of man are not supposed to disturb this kind of property; this property is sacred to the gods and at the most may be used in their service.

It is not easy to trace the origin and beginnings of these reserves, but several solutions may be found in regard to sections of land. When the /106/ Catholic mission station was founded in the village of Sohsilla which is located on a steep mountain slope, it was hard to find a place that was halfway suitable and big enough to build even a small dwelling on it. Finally the missionary discovered such a place somewhat outside the village. But then there was a new difficulty. The place was the cremation area for the dead and therefore was sang /taboo/. The spirits of the dead would punish every intruder severely. The people were finally persuaded to burn their dead somewhere else, but it was more difficult to find any who were ready to help with the work of the building. Even those whom the missionary finally persuaded to help still suffered heavily from the fear of the punishment of the gods and continuously one or the other of them had imaginary illnesses.

In the cases of more extensive pieces of land, the shaka workiyyam (Shiem), who carry on their dreadful activities in the Khasi Mountains, (9) may offer an explanation sometimes. If such a person is

6. Sir Reverend Jan Brakmayerra, /In the River Valley of the Brakmayerra/, pp. 165f.

convicted of murder, which he has committed in the service of the shaka god in order to sacrifice the blood of the slain person to him, and if he wishes to free himself from the conviction, he can do nothing other than sell all his movable and immovable property. The latter thus becomes sang. Nobody would dare to take over the fields and gardens, to plant anything there, or to touch any fruit on that property. Thus in Cherrapunji a native Catholic was able to take

presentation of the written statement of the chiefdom and the village elders that they would have no objection to it. The overbrim rocks of the divine land mentioned above was despised by all.

As concerns the holy forests, which often extend picturesquely from the highest peak down the slope and are overgrown with gnarled vine and bright colored dendrobium, no tree may be felled there; or the trees, fallen wood or wood torn down by a storm or already rotten wood may be taken. The spirits of the forest, as punishing gods, will revenge every offense. Tigers and leopards, apes, bears, and snakes enjoy an undisturbed existence here. The only case in which wood may be cut in these divine woods is for the religious cremation ceremonies of the dead. It is the custom of the Khasi to set fire often to great areas in order to fertilize the ground with the ashes of grasses, trees, and shrubs without regard for the new growth of trees, and to make potato fields there for a year or two or to grow mountain rice, millet, or something similar and then to leave the field fallow again. Thus this is a clever precautionary rule, since there might otherwise be cases when there might be no wood for cremating the dead.

(Conversation follows)

/304/ Family Property and Maternal Rights
by C. Decker S.D.S., Wimbong

Gordon says, (10) that these holy groves were formerly the property

10. The Khasis, p. 87.

of a village. That is not always so as the following case will demonstrate. I am also relating this because it gives us a deeper look into the whole customs of the clan under discussion.

Several decades ago, a Khasi who had become a Protestant, U Jaroh Khasi by name, was employed as a clerk with the English government official in Jowai. In order to secure his family a better living than just his meager salary, he yearned for land. By birth from Jongsohen in the War territory, he remembered that he could obtain his aim in the neighboring village Syndai from the family clan Umliang. In one day he were riches. After the customary greetings and refreshment with a water pipe and betel nut and conversation about various indifferent matters, he mentioned his desire. "I know," he said in the polite language of even these simple natural men, "I have the goodness and the good name of your clan 'Khatrin' and the elder

Dr Gordon G-3 (no date) 1904 AR? Khasi AR?

etc. The targets are of two kinds, i.e., a *shem*, which is made of a bundle of *grass* about 1 foot long and 4 inches in diameter, the target being fastened on to a pole; and from the root of a plant called *ashphong*. The distance for the shooting is about 30 to 40 yards. 526

Before the shooting begins, a *nongkhnia*, or *mawlian*, performs a *puja* and then the shooting commences. Each archer subscribes from half to one anna, the total amount so obtained is pooled and then wagered against a similar sum subscribed by the other side. Whilst the shooting is going on the men of both sides dance and sing, and when there is a hit a great shout, or *kyrkor*, is raised. The side that wins the match, after rewarding the *nongkhnia* and the man who makes the targets, buys a pig, and some liquor, which articles are partaken of by the people of the village which has won the match. In the War villages, and amongst the Syntengs, sometimes wagers of considerable sums are made to long runs in these contests.

12. It is not intended to describe at great length the Khasi religious system, but only to note briefly regarding it at present, a full account being reserved for the monograph for the preparation of which I am collecting further information. Khasi religion is animism, or spirit worship. It may be divided into (*a*) the worship of spirits, (*b*) ancestor worship. 771

(*a*) *Spirit worship.*—The principal god amongst the Khasis is God the Creator (U'lai *Kingthiaw*), who is sometimes masculine and sometimes feminine, the use of the feminine gender being no doubt due to matriarchal influence. A yearly sacrifice should be offered to this god of a cock and a goat. The cock is sacrificed as a substitute for man, it being thought that the cock, when killed, bears the sins of the man, and that by its sacrifice man will obtain redemption. How the cock came to occupy this important position in Khasi religion is not at present quite clear. Perhaps there was originally human sacrifice amongst the Khasis, and the cock nowadays takes the place of the human victim. Other gods which are worshipped are *Ka'ni long ka* (the goddess of the sun), *Ka'ni lyngkot* (the goddess of wealth), *U'lai um tuy* (god of water). An important fact to be noted is that the Khasi gods or goddesses are never worshipped in the shape of idols in any form whatsoever. 772 ● 773

(*b*) *Ancestor worship.*—I am inclined to think that this form of worship largely embodies the Khasi religious system. The following are some of the ancestors or ancestresses who are regularly worshipped:— 769

(1) *Ka Sadei iparem*,—the primeval ancestress of the family. A pig is sacrificed to her. [772]

of a clan some ceremonial attachment developed out of the custom of depositing the bones of the clansmen in clan ossuary and renewing the relationship between the clansmen on the ceremonial occasion of *thymmaduk* when the bones were finally transferred from *mawbiang* (ossuary of a sub-clan) to *marabak* (ossuary of a clan). [614] [616]

Social bond among the clansmen is due to the performance of common religious ceremonies (*jhur*), worship of common deities and spirits of household (*Kwaidwis*), water (*jhuri*) and hills (*Kwaidhum*) and observance of mourning for three days for the death of clansmen with the cessation of outdoor work specially with implements. [614] [796] [776] [768]

Economic bond among them is due further to the possession of common land (*ri-khur*), which is divided into separate holdings held by families. [425]

Sub-clan (*Ka-Kpam*) – Unlike the clan, sub-clan has nothing to do with the regulation of marriage. Its main functions are socio-religious. Mutual interest in the welfare of the members of sub-clan evinced in the observance of *ednow** in honour of the dead grandmother, profound sentiment grown out of the former practice of depositing the bones of the dead persons of the same sub-clan in *mawbiang* and the responsibility of bearing the expenses for *thymmaduk* bind the members together. [613] [765]

The observance of mourning on the death of a person of the same sub-clan for three days and the consequent [768]

*Offering of food to the spirits of the dead ancestors.

also active, and in that decade one U Kyrhai, a Khasi convert to Presbyterianism, left that church and founded a unique sect that blends something of himself with something of mystical Hinduism and Christianity. The competitors who most seriously threatened the dominance of the Welsh Presbyterians were the Roman Catholic missionaries who arrived in Shillong about 1890. Catholics have since opened a number of high schools, colleges, convents, and orphanages. They also established a technical school, and are now constructing a seminary. At the present time, one estimate is that there are about 100,000 Presbyterians and 80,000 Roman Catholics among Khasis. Members of other Christian sects are comparatively few; adherents to Hinduism and Islam are fewer still, comprised chiefly of Khasi women married to Hindu or Muslim men; U Kyrhai's sect is dying out; and the balance of Khasis are, according to their own term, "Khasi" in religion. [Cf. Lyngdoh 1937; Morris 1910; Ropmay 1940; Singh 1950; Pugh 1951.] Supernatural. The great deities are two, an unnamed masculine God (U Blei) and an unnamed feminine Goddess (Ka Blei Nongsynshar Nonghukum). God created the earth, and in the beginning instructed man in cultivation techniques and also laid down the framework of a moral order that should guide his every move if he wished to join God in heaven after death. This framework was then filled in by the first ancestors, who are therefore the authorities on the subject and are semideified as Ka Iawbei (the mother), U Thawlang (the father), and U Suidñia (the mother's brother). Very early, Goddess undertook to keep account of the numbers of human beings on earth, and this role was so important, relating as it did to the health and the multiplication of the people, that she became of major importance in the Khasi pantheon. When sin beset human society, God activated automatic punishments in the form of natural calamities, and man finally decided that some animal should go and intercede with God on behalf of humans. The cock went, agreed to take upon himself the burden of human sin, and received instruction in the correct divinatory and sacrificial techniques for which he would be one of the main objects of the knife. Again, over a period of time, it was the ancestors who perfected these techniques. Now, God is regarded as powerful and merciful, but passive. His punishments have their own impetus, and the expression of His mercy is solidified in ritual. Goddess is more vaguely conceived, but is much closer to the individual. [But cf. Ehrenfels 1950, who conceives of one double-sexed, great deity among Khasis.] Regarding ancestors, it is never clear from prayers whether supplication is to generalized semideities or to particular first ancestors of a Khasi's own matrilineage, and such a distinction seems not to matter. There are three other categories of minor deities: those who protect places (such as villages, groves, or springs),

797 779 [162] [113] 776 771 773 [114] 776 771 [769]

household deities, and remedial and analgesic deities. 776
Deities of the first two categories are simply aspects of the high God or Goddess. • The earth is peopled with two great orders of land demons and water demons who cause all undesirable, unnatural, and otherwise inexplicable events, acting either on their own or as instruments in the hands of sorcerers. 771
Apart from omens, both in nature and in dreams, 787
Khasis attach supernatural significance also to mystic 782
numbers, and to the colors white, black, and red. 784
They hold especially important folk beliefs regarding betel nut, paddy rice, gold and silver, and clothing.
Practitioners. The two classes of religious practitioners are the village or state priests and the sacrificers. 781
Both are male. They use the same divinatory tech- 783
niques of reading broken eggshells and the entrails 784
of cocks, and they both sacrifice cocks, hens, goats, pigs, and cattle. These skills are not taught to them so much as picked up by observation and confirmed by demonstrations of efficacy. A priest is elected from among the men of his sib to direct his skills to the public good until he dies, and his rewards are institutionalized and come from the village or the state. A sacrificer acts for private persons or kin groups, on call, and is rewarded by them personally with gifts in cash or in kind. The sacrificer is called upon to explain and then to ritually remedy every variety of misfortune, especially illness, though his powers are nowadays regarded with ambivalence, and he is widely expected to become a sorcerer sooner or later. • There are two major types of sor- 754
cerer. One is the ritual specialist or sacrificer who secretly turns his skills from good to evil, manipulating demons to injure a person or kin group, and acting always for himself alone out of considerations of jealousy or revenge. The other is normally a leading citizen, a woman who is so wealthy and successful that it is believed that she must keep a thlen, i.e. a creature which will bring her prosperity as long as she feeds it periodically with human blood. To provide this blood, the men of her household, or other males whom she bewitches with a special whisky, will indiscriminately murder anyone except a mem- [184]
ber of her matrilineage. The Jaintias have an ana-
logue to the thlen in their tiwe, except that the ultimate result is death from illness rather than murder. Minor witchcraft can be perpetrated by poison keepers or persons with an evil eye, who are often women. Ceremonies. The important traditional 845
ceremonies were the life-crisis rituals relating to 844
pregnancy and childbirth, the naming of a child, and 755
death. Lesser ceremonies related to marriage and 764
divorce, and to housebuilding. All these rituals were [illegible]
addressed primarily to the ancestors, and they are [illegible]
still performed in modified form by many Khasis. [illegible]
Other rituals, which were performed by groups such 178
as villages, sibs, local descent groups, or households, 782
were addressed to the unnamed aspects of the high

Then followed the dance of the girls (G *dual* I *yadhi*) who were also wearing dress as described above. They kept their eyes down, keeping their arms on their sides taking such a close steps with the music, that the movements of the feet were hardly perceptible. The boys were also in their dancing dress as were by *mangshal* and danced with fly-brush round the girls making their steps with the beatings of the drums. The music started from the morning equal be stopped only after completion of the dance which prolonged till evening. These functions served as a good source of amusement to the people, enabling them to have a good diversion from their monotonous life with an opportunity to meet their friends and relations who assembled there from different parts of the hill.

Discussion

From the foregoing description, it is evident that the Khasi live in a democratic set up in which the senior dames are entrusted to the Siem. A different rule is followed in the case of religious festivals. Every Khasi family entrusts the secondary work of the house to the youngest daughter. The Siem's sister (Siem Sad) being the senior member of his mother's clan, is made responsible for the observance of these ceremonies which concern the welfare of the subjects. The people attend the festival to seek blessings of their supreme deity U Shillong and their presence in the Siem's residence indicates their loyalty to him. The rituals of the festival, ritual of being performed by her (High Priestess), were conducted by the Chief Priest (Sok Mah) for which he was allotted a very important position in the celebration. The musicians were given similar status owing to the belief in the sanctions of their music. It ought to be played in proper tunes otherwise the displeasure of the deity would fall on them on finding any slight departure in this respect. For this reason, the music is considered as important as the rituals and the role of musicians were consequently given due recognition at every stage of the festival. The tradition of dipping one pieces of Dongpong skin to sacrifice the goat at the top of the hill was followed on account of this ornament having carried out in olden times the profession of *ada-lawang* (body guard) to the Siem. Another pieces of blackcloth was also asked to carry the head of the sacrificial animal from the hill to the residence of the Siem after the worship, as his predecessors were such in ancient times during the period of their captivity in the Siem. Such incidents were found expressed in a symbolic way through their ceremonies.

The most important concern of the people was to maintain their unity of living together with their property and other objects of subsistence. They worshipped him so that he might prevent the evil spirit from doing any harm and may in addition grant them bumper crops. To be one part of such a favour, they approached their god U Shillong with gifts and sacrifices. It is not very whether he is considered as one of these defied ancestors but his important position in the Khasi pantheon enabled him to have some priority in their worship. The offering of red-cock together with a yellow goat, moreover, revealed his amiable and benevolent nature as the malignant ones get representation invariably with black colours. U Shillong was invoked simultaneously with other dead ancestors, with this hope, that all the deities would pool their supernatural strength in fighting the evil spirits before the latter were able to cause any harm to their crops or to reduce in any way the fertility of their fields.

It would be interesting to refer here about the presentation of nine pieces of meat from various parts of the sacrificial animal. It may be a case of appeasement by serving him with some food but there seems to be something

796 [illegible] 782 [illegible] 796 [illegible] 782

The Khasi people while participating in the celebration gave vent to their emotion through their traditional songs. It could not be definitely established whether these were any indication of frightening the evil spirits but on the other hand, these were intended to cheer the hosts, musicians, and the participating units taking parts in the celebration. The musicians on another occasion, were found the after-dress (nots on) covering the top of the hill. The members of the Syiem's house similarly performed a sacred dance round the fire place of sacrificial hall (Mihan) in the same number of times. This odd number of times seemed to be an auspicious one. The most cause for such a ceremonial attitude to this figure may be to pay respect to their primal ancestress (Ka Iawbei), her husband (U Thawlang) and her brother, i.e., five mentioned units (U Sudhua) who are considered highest amongst all the Khasi deities.

796 535 782

The dancing is primarily taken as secular part of religious function, but the Khasi people considered these (except the last one) as sacred for the reason that it is one of their methods of propitiating their deity. The people at times, ascribe certain meanings to them to rationalise their thinking. The dancing invariably put the participants into ecstasy to enable them to be in communion with their supernatural beings, yet these are interpreted as a device to control the spirits inspite of its calm and quiet nature. The people even then enjoyed them with the hope that these would prevent the invading spirits from spreading disease. Owing to the fixation of the date of the function at the time of sowing period, the dance of the unmarried girls may have some bearing on the promotion of fertility of the soil. The custom of allowing Khasi boys to dance round the spectators with fly-flap in one of their hands may be to protect them from the influence of the evil spirits.

The heads of the various units adhered to the official precedence strictly before they allowed a common man to take part in the dancing. The custom of allowing two officials to dance, at a time, was in recognition to their equal status. It had become a practice to follow at every stage of their function. The presence of all the in-charge of the township were essential to ensure the blessings of their deity on behalf of his subjects whom they represent in official capacity in this festival. This is a suitable mechanism to foster unity and solidarity among the people of the different units, which is the main aim of this celebration. This was found to be so when Khasi people from all parts of State were seen witnessing the dancing of the unmarried girls. The informant on being asked to state the reason of permitting the spectators only to the dance, came out with an interesting fact about the ancient Khasi tradition. The dance used to offer at one time, an opportunity to the youngmen of the Royal families in selecting their brides. A betel leaf with a nut were usually thrown at a girl and the man going round them, remained as witness of this incident. This explanation received some support from the frequent utterance (*ring-ring*) by the public, expressing a desire to run away with a girl dancing with graceful style.

796 782

The celebration can be taken up as a solidarity rite. The performance is all the more essential for the purpose of security without which the people

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After the plants have attained the height of about 6 in., they are earthed up. When the leaves turn yellow, it is a sign that the potatoes are ripe. The different kinds of sweet potatoes grown and the yam and another kind of esculent root—*u sukphlang* (*Amorphophallus campanulatus Roxb.*) will be noticed under the head of "Crops."

The Khasis possess very few agricultural sayings and proverbs, but the following may be quoted as examples:—

(1) *Wei ju ai thang jingthang ne lei synshai ka ulu ainor ka.*

Do not allow plants to be planted or seeds to be sown by one who has a bad hand.

As elsewhere, there is a belief amongst the Khasis that some people's touch as regards agriculture is unlucky.

(2) *Thang diang ne lei synshai haba ngam hmai, ym haba shai u hmai.*

Plant trees or sow seeds not when the moon is waxing, but when it is on the wane.

(3) *Wei ka saw kha ka hmang ngmuji jan saint phin ne ish jingrymu lashai.*

A red sky in the west in the evening is the sign of fine weather to-morrow.

Cf. our English proverb "a red sky in the morning is a shepherd's warning, a red sky at night is a shepherd's delight."

CROPS.

The varieties of rice found in the Khasi Hills are divided into two main classes, one grown as a dry crop on high lands, and the other raised in valleys and hollows which are artificially irrigated from hill streams. The lowland rice is more productive than that grown on high lands, the average per acre of the former, according to the agricultural bulletin, as ascertained from the results of 817 experimental crop cuttings carried out during the fifteen years preceding the year 1896, being 11.7 maunds of paddy per acre, as against an average of 9.4 maunds per acre (resulting from 667 cuttings made during the

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Garo Hills	...	137
Sylhet	...	60
Total	...	6,661*

The following information regarding the general aspect of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills district, with some additions, is derived from Sir William Hunter's Statistical Account of Assam. The district consists almost entirely of hills, only a very small portion lying in the plains. The slope of the hills on the southern side is very steep until a table-land is met with at an elevation of about 4,000 feet at Cherrapunji. Higher up there is another plateau at Mawphlang. This is the highest portion of the hills, some villages being found at as high an elevation as close on 6,000 feet above sea level. Fifteen miles to the east of Mawphlang, and in the same range, is situated the civil station of Shillong, at an average elevation of about 4,900 feet. The elevation of the Shillong Peak, the highest hill in the district, is 6,450 feet above sea level. On the northern side of the hills are two plateaus, one between 1,000 and 2,000 feet below the level of Shillong, and another at an elevation of about 2,000 feet above sea level. In general features all these plateaus are south slides, and consist of a succession of undulating downs, broken here and there by the valleys of the larger hill streams. In the higher ranges, where the hills have been denuded of forest, the country is covered with short grass, which becomes longer and more rank in the lower elevations. This denudation of forest has been largely due to the wood being used by the Khasis for fuel for iron smelting in days gone by. The Government, however, has taken steps to protect the remaining forests from further spoliation. A remarkable feature is the presence of numerous sacred groves situated generally just below the brows of the hills. In these woods are to be found principally oak and rhododendron trees. The fir-tree (Pinus Khasia) is first met with on the road from Gauhati to Shillong, at Umsning, at an elevation of about 2,500 feet. In the neighbourhood of Shillong the fir grows profusely, but the finest fir-trees are to be seen

* The figures for Khasi population in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills district will be found under "Habitat."

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work is done. In order to extend to a Bhoi house, you have to finish up a notched pole. The Bhoia sacrifice a he-goat and a fowl to *Kli-doplong* (Khasi, *Kimiow ding*), the household god, when they build a new house.

VILLAGES

Unlike the Naga and Kukis, the Khasis do not build their villages on the extreme summits of hills, but a little below the tops, generally in small depressions, in order to obtain some protection from the strong winds and storms which prevail in these hills at certain times of the year. According to the late U Arabon Roy, it is easy, or taboo, to the Khasis to build a house on the last eminence of a range of hills, this custom having perhaps arisen owing to the necessity of locating villages with reference to their defence against an enemy. Khasis build their houses fairly close together, but not as close as houses in the Bhoi and Lyngngam villages. Khasis seldom change the sites of their villages, to which they are very much attached, where, as a rule, the family tombs are standing and the *mawbynna* or memorial stones. In many villages stone tombs be and memorial stones are to be seen which from their appearance show that the villages have been there for many generations. During the Jaintia rebellion the village of Jowai was almost entirely destroyed, but as soon as the rebellion was over the people returned to the old site and rebuilt their village. Similarly, after the earthquake, the ancient village sites were not abandoned in many cases, but the people rebuilt their houses in their former positions, although in Shillong and Cherrapunji they rebuilt the walls of the houses of wooden materials instead of stone. There is no such thing as a specially reserved area in the village for the Siem and the nobility, all the people, rich or poor, living together in one village, their houses being scattered about indiscriminately. To the democratic Khasi the idea of the Siem living apart from his people would be repugnant. In the vicinity of the Khasi village, often just below the brow of the hill to the leeward side, are to be seen dark woods of oak

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and other trees. These are the sacred groves. Here the villagers worship U *syngkor* U *bon*, the tutelary deity of the village. These groves are taboo, and it is an offence to cut trees therein for any purpose other than for performing funeral ceremonies. The groves are generally not more than a few hundred yards away from the villages. The villages of the Syntengs are similar in character to those of the Khasis. The War villages settle on the hill-sides of the southern border, and are to be seen peeping out from the green foliage with which the southern slopes are clad. In the vicinity of, and actually up to the houses, in the War villages, are to be observed large groves of areca-nut, often twined with the *pan* creeper, and of plantain trees, which much enhance the beauty of the scene. Looking at a War village from a distance, a darker shade of green is seen; this denotes the limits of the extensive groves where the justly celebrated Khasi orange is grown, which is the source of so much profit to these people. The houses in the War villages are generally closer together than those of the Khasis, probably owing to space being limited, and to the villages being located on the slopes of hills. Generally up the narrow village street, and from house to house, there are rough stony stone steps, the upper portion of a village being frequently situated at so high an elevation as [illegible] to 300 ft. above the lower. In a convenient spot in a War village a clear space is to be seen neatly swept and kept free from weeds, and surrounded with a stone wall, where the village tribunals sit, and the elders meet in solemn conclave. Dances also are held here on festive occasions. At Nongpi village there is a fine rubber tree, under whose hollow trunk there are certain sacred stones where the priest performs the village ceremonies.

The Bhoi and Lyngam villages are built in small clearings in the forest, the houses are close together and are built often in parallel lines, a fairly broad space being reserved between the lines of houses to serve as a street. One misses the pretty gardens of the War villages, for Bhois and Lyngams attempt nothing of the sort, probably because, unlike the Khasi, a Bhoi or Lyngam village never remains more than two or three years in one spot; generally the villages of these people are in the vicinity of the forest clearings, sometimes actually in the midst

the house of the *nongsiat*, where a *puja* is performed to some local deity, before the flesh is distributed. At Shangpung, when a tiger or a mithan is killed, the head is cut off, and is carried in triumph to a hill in the neighbourhood where there is a *diewon*, or altar, at the foot of an oak tree (*diang sniaj*). The head is displayed on the altar, and worship offered to a *'lei lyngdoh*, the God of the dolmichip.

The Khasis make use of an ingenious species of spring gun for killing game, the spring gun being laid alongside a deer path in the jungle. A string stretched across the path, when touched, releases a bolt and spring, which latter impels a bamboo arrow with great force across the path. This spring gun is called *ka riem sniat*. A pit-fall, with bamboo spikes at the bottom, is called *u 'lier lep*, and a trap of the pattern of the ordinary leopard trap is called *ka riem sleng*. A noose attached to a long rope laid in a deer run is named *riem epwiah*.

There is also *ka riem pay*, the principle of which is that an animal is attracted by a bait to walk on to a platform; the platform sinks under the weight of the animal, and a bolt is released which brings down a heavy roof from above weighted with stones, which crush the animal to death.

There are several means employed in snaring birds; one of the most common is to smear pieces of bamboo with the gum of the jack-tree, the former being tied to the branches of some wild fruit tree, upon which, when the fruit is ripe, the birds light and are caught by the bird lime. This is called *ka riem thiar*. Another is a kind of spring bow made of bamboo which is laid on the ground in marshy places, such as are frequented by snipe and woodcock. This form of snare is unfortunately most common. A third is a cage into which birds are lured by means of a bait, the cage being hidden in the grass, and the entrance being so contrived that the birds can hop in but not out again. This is called *ka riem sim*.

FISHING.

Although there are some Khasis who fish with rod and line, it may be said that the national method of fishing is to poison

the War country, it will be necessary to describe the land tenures and laws regarding land of each of these divisions separately. As land is always *jhumed* by the Bhoia and Lyngpoos from year to year, customs regarding land with these people are naturally very simple. Taking land in the high plateau of the Khasi Hills first.—The lands are classified under two main divisions, (a) public and (b) private lands. The following are the different descriptions of lands in the first division:—

Ka ri Raj, or ka ri Sion, which are State's, or Crown lands. These lands are intended for the support of the Sion family, and they cannot be alienated. The Sions are, however, precluded by custom from levying a land tax on persons who cultivate such lands, the relation of landlord and tenant between the latter and their chiefs being unknown.

Ka ri Lyngdoh.—These lands are for the support of the Lyngdohs or priests of the State. In some Siemships, as in Mawiang Siemship, paddy is grown on these lands from which rice is obtained for the State pujas.

Ki shnong, or village lands.—These lands are set apart to provide a supply of firewood, thatching grass, &c., and are the property of the village. The inhabitants of other villages are not allowed to enjoy the produce of such lands. Such lands can be cultivated by ryots of the village, but the latter possess only occupancy rights, and cannot transfer them.

Ki lawkyntang.—These are sacred groves, situated generally near the summit of hills, composed of oak and rhododendron trees, which are held sacred (*kyntang*), it being an offence, or *sang*, for any one to cut timber in the grove, except for cremation purposes. These groves are the property of the villages.

(b.) Private Lands. These may be subdivided into *ri-kur*, or lands which are the property of the clan, and *ri kynti*, family, or acquired landed property. In the Khasi Hills proper a very large proportion, certainly of the high lands, is the property of the clan; for instance, the high lands at Laitkor, which are the property of the Khar kunger and Kur kulaing clans, whose ancestors the large memorial stones close to the Laitkor road commemorate, also the lands of the Thang Khew clan, and many others.

1:Gordon E-6, 5 (no date) 1907 AR? Khasi AR?

775 men, and to remain on this earth; but this idea of transmigration
776 of souls has been probably borrowed from the Hindus. Rowe
777 writes that although the ideas of a Godhead are not clearly
grasped, yet a supreme creator is acknowledged, and that the
[778] following is the tradition relating to the creation of man.
"God in the beginning having created man, placed him on the
779 earth, but on returning to look at him, found he had been
destroyed by the evil spirit. This happened a second time,
whereupon the Deity created first a dog, then a man; and the dog,
who kept watch, prevented the devil from destroying the man,
780 and the work of the Deity was thus preserved." The Khasis,
781 apparently, do not believe in punishment after death, at least,
782 there is no idea of hell, although the spirits of those who have
died under the ban of many remain unsaved, being obliged to
wander about the earth in different forms, as noted above. The
783 spirits worshipped by the Khasis are many in number, those of
784 the syntengs being specially numerous. The particular spirit
785 to be propitiated is ascertained by egg-breaking. The offering
acceptable to the spirit is similarly ascertained and is
then made. If the particular sacrifice does not produce
the result desired, a fowl is sacrificed; the entrails being
then examined, an augury is drawn, and the sacrifice begins
afresh. As the process of egg-breaking is believed to be
peculiar * to the Khasis except the Jowai hill tribes, a separate
[787] description of it is given in the Appendix. It should be
remarked that the Khasis never symbolize their gods by means
of images, their worship being offered to the spirit only. The
following are some of the principal spirits worshipped by the
[788] Khasis and syntengs, omitting the spirits of deceased
ancestors such as *Ka Iawbei*, *u Thiaroing*, and *u Suidnia*,
which will be described under the heading of ancestor-worship.

789 *U Ki sodi*—the god of the state, who is propitiated yearly
790 by the sacrifice of a goat and a cock.

U Ki sutnongkar god of water, used for drinking and
cooking purposes. This god is similarly propitiated once a
year, so that the water supply may remain pure.

* Sir Charles Lyall has pointed out that the Mikirs possess this
custom; it is probably borrowed from the Khasis.

Ir Gordon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

This stone is apparently some rough gem which may be picked up by the Lyngams in the river beds. A rich man amongst them, however, is one who possesses a number of metal gongs, which they call *ching*. For these they pay very high prices, Rs. 100 being quite a moderate sum for one of them. Being curious to see one of these gongs, I asked a *sirdar*, or head-man, to show me one. He replied that he would do so, but it would take time, as he always buried his gongs in the jungle for fear of thieves. Next morning he brought me a gong of bell metal, with carvings of animals engraved thereon. The gong when struck gave out a rich deep note like that of Burmese or Thibetan gongs. These gongs have a regular currency in this part of the hills, and represent to the Lyngams "Bank of England" notes. It would be interesting to try to ascertain what is their history, for no one in the Lyngam country makes them in these days. Is it possible that the Garos brought them with them when they migrated from Thibet? The gongs are well known in the Garo Hills, and I hear that when a *nokma*, or head-man, dies his corpse is laid out upon them. They thus possess also an element of sanctity, besides being valuable for what they will fetch to the Garos or Lyngams. We may hope to hear more about them in Captain Playfair's account of the Garos.

The Lyngams do not tattoo. Their weapons are the large-bladed Garo spear, the dao, and the shield. They do not usually carry bows and arrows, although there are some who possess them. They are by occupation cultivators. They sow two kinds of hill rice, red and white, on the hill-sides. They have no wet paddy cultivation, and they do not cultivate in terraces like the Naga. They burn the jungle about February, after cutting down some of the trees and clearing away some of the debris, and then sow the paddy broadcast, without cultivating the ground in any way. They also cultivate millet and Job's-tears in the same way. With the paddy chillies are sown the first year. The egg plant, arum, ginger, turmeric, and sweet potatoes of several varieties are grown by them in a similar manner. Those that rear the lac insect plant *landoo* trees (Hindi *arhal dal*) in the forest clearings, and rear the insect thereon. Some of these people, however, are prohibited by a

Finally other earthly things are deified, and the cult of spirits increases in objects. If there is an unusually formed mountain anywhere, sacrifices are brought to it, since a kwald lives there. And the spirit who inhabits the mountain is soon combined with the mountain itself, and then the mountain is worshipped and sacrifices are brought to it. The same thing happens with rivers. How easily a river god can be insulted and made angry by fishing or by crossing over to the other bank! Therefore the first thing to do is to bring the river god a sacrifice. The Khasi never make a picture, neither of stone nor of wood, which is supposed to represent their gods, but nevertheless they revere many powers of nature and phenomena of nature, and it is difficult to differentiate the extent to which the mountain or river is worshipped and the extent to which sacrifice is made to the spirit of the mountain or the river.

In everything that one calls bad luck or misfortune the Khasi see the work of evil spirits: in the bad harvest, in flood, in sickness. The spirits live in the primeval forest, in the steep inaccessible cliffs, in the rushing river, in the green tree. They come through the air in all weather. They give the tiger strength, the snake poison, the thicket fever, and they lurk in cholera for their victim.

These are the reasons for the many sacrifices and sacrificial customs of the Khasi all of which are only to bring about the reconciliation of the angered spirits. Prayers also occur during individual sacrificial scenes which one can conceive of as prayers of thanks or of praise, but these are exceptions.

The sacrifices are performed either by sacrificial priests (lyngdoh) or by old men who have experience. First one seeks out the spirit who

776 u tynjang, the lame devil who lives in the thicket and tickles people to death,
ka rum, the worst of all the demonesses (only among the Synteng),
u 'suid-lam-iaj, the executor of the commands of god, who has to fetch the souls into the other world,
u thlon, the devil of wealth and comfort who can only be worshipped by human sacrifice,
ka ssar, a demoness who brings violent death,
ka syrti, the demoness who scratches and cuts, saws, and files (by pain in the intestines),
ka junai, the demoness of earthquakes,
ka niangriang, the demoness who causes children's illnesses (especially in the navel),
u 'suid briew or u 'suid ngon, the devil who attacks people in the early morning and causes stitches in the side or hoarseness,
u 'suid-kynta-maran, the devil who makes headaches,
u synkai bamon, an evil spirit,
ka ramshandi, a demoness.

3. Revered Powers of Nature:

778 The Punatit River, to whom the kings of Mougstoin, Dangrin, and Nobosohpoh offer sacrifices.
the Khai-mara River among the Lar,
the Kopili River among the Synteng,
the Myntang River among the Synteng,
the Shillong Peak (mountain near Shillong),
the Nableng Mountain near Shillong, [12]
the Kyllong Cliffs,
the Symper Mountain,
the mountain Pyddieng blei lyngdoh near Shangpung (Jaintia).

777 754 2. Methods of Warding Off Evil Spirits

The Khasi do not practise magic in the

533 S. : "Thou fledst into the thicket! Did that help thee?
Shyly thou retreated before the brave crowd of hunters!"
All: "Ha, ha, ho, huh!"
S. : "Quickly indeed thou retreated; quickly the pursuers pressed after thee and arrow and bow brought thee low;"
All: "Ha, ha, ho, huh!"
S. : "O mistress! Why didst thou come hither? Thou gavest thyself over to death and destruction — but we rejoice and celebrate and exult!"

Thus it continues for a long time. When one person has sung until he is hoarse, another takes his place and continues the song.

224 Exhausted from the exertions of the hunt, exhausted from the activity of the parade home, hoarse from shouting and screaming, heated from the enjoyment of brandy, the crowd drags itself to the house of the hunter who placed the first arrow or shot in the wild animal. Sacrifice is made there to the village god and the slain animal is divided up. The first shooter (u nongsiat) receives the hind quarters, the second shooter (u nongban) the front quarters of the animal.

In the Jaintia Hills the Synteng go to a hill in the neighborhood of the village when they have hunted and killed a tiger or a leopard. An altar is set up there under an oak tree and the head of the animal, which has been severed from its body, is placed on it and sacrificed to the u'lei lyngdoh (the god of the Dolloi district).

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• 778 Arrow and bow are not only necessary weapons to the Khasi for hunting or pleasant sporting equipment for archery contests; Arrow and bow are also holy to him in a certain

sense. For a his entrance into life and at his departure from it both are used in the religious ceremonies. If a boy is born, a bow and three arrows are placed beside him at the name giving. (35) After various ceremonies,

35. F.F. Stagmüller, "Aus dem religiösen Leben der Khasi" [The Religious Life of the Khasi], Anthropos, 1921-1922, pp. 425 ff.

which cannot be described here, the sacrificer shows the boy the bow and three arrows, and calls upon him to become a good shooter. At the end of all the ceremonies the bow and the arrows are carefully attached to the inside of the straw roof of the hut.

It should be mentioned that at a Khasi cremation (36) a bow and three arrows are also

36. F.F. Stagmüller, loc. cit., p. 430 ff.

used. They are kept in readiness with the other ceremonial objects of the dead, while the corpse is being shown for the last time to the participants in the funeral. As soon as the fire flames up on the funeral pyre, three arrows are also shot off: one towards the north, one towards the south, and the third towards the east. The Khasi call these arrows 'nam-tyrpem.

W2 laden themselves with more than 60 to 65 pounds.

W4 Many Khasi have to start during the afternoon because of the great distance to the market. They spend the night with acquaintances. In the dark they march by torch light. The torches consist of several igra, i.e., very thin bamboo tube, saturated with petroleum and lighted. Or a large bamboo tube is filled with cloth that has been saturated in petroleum. The burning torches are swung in circles while the Khasi march so that only a glow is provided, but this prevents the torches from going out. The glow is quite sufficient for giving enough light for the road (foot path).

[216] Betel nuts are chewed all the way and

4. The length of the road is also measured in "betel nuts."

water pipes are smoked during the rests.

W3 W1 b) The Market Place. It is not possible to talk about a definite place where the Khasi usually hold the market. This varies considerably according to the region. First of all the place chosen for the market lies outside the village. By preference they hold their markets on high ground or some such safe place. A place that has once been chosen remains the [118] market place for that particular village. The market place is often found very close to the memorial stones, just as if the spirits of the ancestors honored there should offer aid and protection to the visitors to the market. On the southern slopes of the Khasi Mountains the market is often held on the bank of a river, for the reason that the Khasi come to these markets in boats. The market place in Mawkhar is quite isolated. Also the one in

eu duh (large market) in Shillong, in Nongkrem, in Umlong, in Rangkheu, in Pomtiah, in Iamih, etc. Thus each day is precisely established, and at the same time the market for the place concerned. 443 805

In the territory of the War the markets are held every fourth day in the following order: In Nongjiri, in Maubang, in Tyllap and in Shella. Here the week days are either named according to the market days or they say: the day before the market day, the market day, the day after the market day and the day between the markets. Every Khasi in this district knows then without any doubt which day is meant.

2. Determining the time of day. As concerns the time of day during which the markets are held, no generally valid rule can be set up. This varies according to the individual places. In general from noon until late in the afternoon is the time for the chief market. The market places are usually still empty before 10 o'clock in the morning. The end is about 5 o'clock in the afternoon, if not earlier.

The duration of the markets results from what has been already said. In general [706] the duration of a large market is about six hours, while a small market lasts only about four hours.

f) Order at the Market or Market Peace. 443 918 Although there are no guards or other agents of order on duty at the Khasi markets, the great peace and order at even the largest Khasi markets seem most pleasant to everyone. I have never heard any complaint of foodstuffs or other objects for sale being stolen. The Khasi consider the market as something holy, as something to be respected, as something that belongs to everybody, which nobody can claim for his own. Attacks on a person's life also do not occur.

443 Quarrels and fights are exceptional. It is most
•778 natural to the Khasi not to disturb the peace of the markets, since the markets stand under the protection of the goddess. (Cf. The prayer in the introduction to this article.)[1] Also the memorial stones, in the shadow of which the markets are so often held, may exert some influence on the visitors to the markets, since the Khasi imagine themselves to be protected by the spirits of their ancestors and believe that any kind of disorder at the market would be avenged by these spirits.

443 Nearly all the men at the market are armed.
484 The reason for this lies in the fact that the
411 people are thus protected on the way to the market and are safe from the attacks of the "killers" (nongshohnoh), i.e., those who got out to murder people in order to dedicate their victims to the devil snake. Therefore the visitors to the market never go alone but always in groups. The men are armed with the ka wait (a chopping knife), with which they know how to defend themselves very well.

4. The Law of the Market

443 a) The Market Toll. All sellers who at-
651 tend the market must pay a contribution on entering the market place. Only those inhabitants of the village or district in which the market is held are excepted. This market tax is paid partly in money and partly in products. In many villages it is paid only in cash. The amount of the tax laid is 2 or 3 paisas, often even one anna (5--8--10 pfennigs, German peace evaluation). Only betel nuts and pepper leaves are preferred to money. In many villages everything is paid in produce, insofar as foodstuffs are concerned. The market tax collector reaches

[1] [See Satapathy 116, pp 1-2--Analyst]

are kept by the S'iem sīd. Everything that comes in, such as taxes, market contributions, or that which comes in through the administration of justice must be given to her. She may dispose of it as she sees best, while the S'iem receives from her the money necessary for paying the costs of the government. 793 643

The S'iem sīd is the sole authority in matters of religion. She must watch over the religious sacrifices and determine the time and place for them; /facing p. 892 Fig. 1.$\frac{2}{1}$ The Sacrifice (Nongkrem Puja) among the Khasi/ /893/ the state sacrifices are held in her house or in front of her house, and they must be performed in her presence. The actual S'iam is her son or nephew or even more distant male relative, who is chosen by the "state council," the Mentris.

After the death of the S'iem sīd, this office passes to her oldest living daughter, and lacking such to the eldest daughter of her eldest daughter, and lacking such granddaughters to the oldest daughter, and so forth. In case there are no daughters or granddaughters, the oldest living sister takes the office; if there are no sisters, then the oldest daughter of the oldest sister of the mother of the deceased S'iem sīd is the successor, and so it goes further. In this way the office always remains within the royal lineage.

In the house of the S'iem sīd (called ka-iīng sīd), which is one of the largest and most attractive in the Khasi Hills, there is a post in the middle which reaches from the floor to the ridge of the roof. It is called u rishot Biei (post, pillar of god) and serves at the same time as the altar before which many sacrifices are performed. The pillar is nothing other than the trunk of the Khasi oak (ka dieng sning; botanical name: castanopsis sp.), which is holy to the Khasi. If the house of the S'iem sīd burns down, or if it is built up anew, a new pillar must be brought. Only certain families (jaid) have the privilege of cutting down the trees for this purpose. As soon as it is cut down, dancing and music begin; the trunk is covered with a cloth and carried away on a carrying frame. Hundreds of persons participate in this. As long as the pillar is not set up, it is guarded night and day. A person or an animal might jump over it and that would be sang (= taboo); the trunk would be defiled and another tree would have to be cut down. If something dreadful happens in the kingdom, or if a danger threatens, the S'iem sīd goes with six official sacrificial priests of the kingdom Nongkrem before the post and offers sacrifice there in order to avert the evil. 778 782 796 [824]

The foregoing has to be mentioned in order to give a better understanding of the following. 796

The Nongkrem Puja usually takes place in the month of May. 782

[See category 116, p.14 --- Analyst]

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Fig. 6. A Holy Grove and Part of the Village Raliang.

423 manure, and primarily for breeding, since the oxen cannot be dis-
23 pensed with for the cultivation of the fields, especially of the rice fields, where the soaked earth must be trampled to a slimy mush. From the fowl the eggs are particularly prized, since they find an almost daily use in the questioning of oracles in cases of misfortune and sickness. (3) Hens, pigs and goats serve for sacrificial purposes, (4)

3. P.R.T. Gurdon, The Khasis, (London 1907) pp. 221 ff.; Becker, "Das Eierwerfen der Khasi," /Egg throwing Among the Khasi/, Anthropos, Vols. 12-13 (Vienna, 1917-18), pp. 494 ff.; P.F. Stegmiller, "Aus dem religiösen Leben der Khasi" /The Religious Life of the Khasi/ Anthopos Vol. 16-17 (1921-1922), pp. 418 ff.

4. Becker, "Die Nongrem-Puja in den Khasi-Bergen" /The Nongkrem Puja in the Khasi Mountains/, Anthropos, Vol. 4, (Vienna, 1909) No. 5-6, pp. 898 ff.; Stegmiller, loc cit.

and they are also a welcome addition to rice at all festive occasions such as arrow shooting, (5) at the name giving, /131/ at weddings,

5. Becker, Im Stromtal etc., /In the Valley, etc./, pp. 298 and 387.

and at the cremation of the dead.

421 Further the various huts belong to the family property, the erec-
613 tion and maintenance of which is the work of the members of the clan, the brothers, nephews, and grandsons. The hut of the clan mother is likewise considered the center of the whole family, and its possession forms the outer sign of the dominance of the clan mother. Here she holds the family sacrifices and also keeps the special treasures. These are considered to be those things which are connected with the religious cult. Special reverence and sacrifice is due the oldest clan mother, as the original founder of the clan, and her brother in each clan family; in addition there are a series of other spirits which vary according to the family clan. The branch of the Khasi people who live in the Jaintia Mountains, the so-called Synteng, have probably pre-
76 served the old Khasi customs the most faithfully. There in the hut of the
78 clan mother are found the following utensils for the service of the divinities, who are nearly always feminine: mats, little baskets for rice, gourd bottles, a little basket made of bamboo cane and decorated with feathers, as well as antlers of deer or antelopes. The latter are fastened to the wall: they are supposed to be the seat of the

776 divinities of the forest and of the chase. The little basket is at-
778 tached to a post in the hut; the special divinities of the clan-family are supposed to have their dwelling there; two hazelnut twigs fastened underneath symbolize their power. The gourd bottles are used as containers for the sacrificial drink of rice liquor. (6)

6. Cf. Die Nongkrem-Puja, /The Nongkrem Puja/, loc cit.

422 As treasures, which are handed down from generation to generation,
[301] are considered the rich ornaments of gold and silver, the heavy chains of coral, and the silk scarves, which are worn by the women at dancing ceremonies.

Also those things which the family huts contain in the way of furnishings and utensils, such as baskets, mats, lances, shields, arrows and bows, and brass pots for cooking and for water, earthen containers and brass plates are considered common property of the family.

421 /132/ The clan mother at the time has the entire property in
425 her hands; she is the legal and sole guardian and manager of the prop-
688 erty. Nothing can be lent even without her permission. No part of either the movable or immovable family possessions may be sold without her agreement. For the execution of the proper legal deed, as she is often ignorant of writing, she must place her fingerprint. Nothing may ever be given away: that would be an insult to the clan divinity since that would not mean treasuring and honoring their property but giving it away as being of no value. As a punishment for that the clan /stamm/ would also lose its other possessions and then live in poverty and disgrace. The individual members of the clan could sometimes be recruited for work for other clan-families as a kind of slave (mrau). But they may not be taken up in their society as they do not belong to that clan and the clan gods of that family would not permit it. Therefore if, for example, a clan-family has rice fields which they do not cultivate and would gladly give to poorer relatives, they must at least receive the smallest rent as a charge for it. This consists annually of a gourd bottle of rice liquor, which has the value of about 70 pfennigs to honor the household divinities.

Before the clan mother gives her permission for the sale of common property, she listens to the advice of the other members of the clan. Actually according to the old tribal custom things should be as little sold as given away. It is said that in ages past the original ancestors, whom the individual clans reverence as divinities, apportioned out this their needs of field and wood, and these are supposed
421 to form their unsalable clan property (nongrim). To let it get out of
425 one's possession would therefore be insulting the gods. However, that

his wife and children. ooo

2. Holy Pieces of Land and Forest

A special kind of land property is still encountered in the Khasi and Jaintia Mountains. These are pieces of land and forests which are considered sang or kyntang, forbidden or holy, thus kyndeu sang, khlau kyntang, forbidden fields, holy forests. They are also named in connection with the name god, for example, khlau Blei, forest of the gods, which, to a certain extent, might offer the key to their purpose and meaning. The hands of man are not supposed to disturb this kind of property; this property is sacred to the gods and at the most may be used in their service. 423 778

It is not easy to trace the origin and beginnings of these reserves. But several solutions may be found in regard to sections of land. When the /136/ Catholic mission station was founded in the village of Schella which is located on a steep mountain slope, it was hard to find a place that was halfway suitable and big enough to build even a small dwelling on it. Finally the missionary discovered such a place somewhat outside the village. But then there was a new difficulty. The place was the cremation area for the dead and therefore was sang /taboo/. The spirits of the dead would punish every intruder severely. The people were finally persuaded to burn their dead somewhere else, but it was more difficult to find any who were ready to help with the work of the building. Even those whom the missionary finally persuaded to help still suffered heavily from the fear of the punishment of the gods and continuously one or the other of them had imaginary illnesses. [797] [764] [784]

In the cases of more extensive pieces of land, the snake worshippers (thlen), who carry on their dreadful activities in the Khasi Mountains, (8) may offer an explanation sometimes. If such a person is 423 784 [776] [782]

8. Im Stromtal des Brahmaputra, /In the River Valley of the Brahmaputra/, pp. 76ff.

convicted of murder, which he has committed in the service of the snake god in order to sacrifice the blood of the slain person to him, and if he wishes to free himself from the conviction, he can do nothing other than sell all his movable and immovable property. The latter thus becomes sang. Nobody would dare to take over the fields and gardens, to plant anything there, or to touch any fruit on that property. Thus in Cherrapunji a native Catholic was able to take

presentation of the written statement of the chieftain and the village elders that they would have no objection to it. The avaricious renter of the divine land mentioned above was despised by all. 423 734 797

As concerns the holy forests, which often extend picturesquely from the highest peak down the slope and are overgrown with gnarled oaks and bright colored rhododendron, no tree may be felled there; at the most, fallen wood or wood torn down by a storm or already rotten wood may be taken. The spirits of the forest, as punishing gods, will revenge every offense. Tigers and leopards, apes, bears, and snakes enjoy an undisturbed existence here. The only case in which wood may be cut in these divine woods is for the religious cremation ceremonies of the dead. It is the custom of the Khasi to set fire often to great areas in order to fertilize the ground with the ashes of grasses, trees, and shrubs without regard for the new growth of trees, and to make potato fields there for a year or two or to grow mountain rice, millet, or something similar and then to leave the field fallow again. Thus this is a clever precautionary rule, since there might otherwise be cases when there might be no wood for cremating the dead. 778 776 [164] [341]

(Continuation follows)

/300/ Family Property and Maternal Rights
by C. Becker S.D.S., Würzburg

Gurdon says, (10) that these holy groves were formerly the property of a village. That is not always so as the following case will demonstrate. I am also relating this because it grants us a deeper look into the whole customs of the clan under discussion. 778 423 613 797

10. The Khasis, p. 87.

Several decades ago, a Khasi who had become a Protestant, U Jacob Shai by name, was installed as a clerk with the English government official in Jowai. In order to assure his family a better living than just his meager salary, he yearned for land. By birth from Jongushen in the War territory, he remembered that he could obtain his aim in the neighboring village Syndai from the family clan Umliang. So one day he went thither. After the customary greetings, and refreshment with a water pipe and betel nut and conversation about various indifferent matters, he mentioned his desire. "I know," he said in the polite language of even these simple natural men, "I know the goodness and the good name of your clan /Stamm/ and the elders

778 of your clan; you are glad to come to the help of others everywhere
423 and thereby have prepared honor and fame for your whole clan /Sippe/,
613 for your clan gods and goddesses, and for your ancestors of both sexes.
797 You are blessed with grandchildren and great grandchildren. I rejoice in your good fortune and I wish that the gods and goddesses of your clan /Stamm/ will be favorably inclined for all times. Therefore I dare to come to you and to make a request of you; I have only one request: nga don tang kawei ka jingkyrpad! Namely, I need a piece of land, so that I can give my grandsons and granddaughters something to eat. My own field does not suffice for so many mouths. I have noticed that a piece of forest lies here /301/ unused. I have inquired to whom it belongs and the village elders said to me that it was the property of the famous family clan Umliang. I honor you, therefore, and beg you: can I receive this forest according to the law and custom of the clan?"

Questions from the clan mother and the family elders followed this speech. Finally it was clear to them what piece was meant. "That is the khlau sang, the forest of the gods," they cried. "Certainly that belongs to our clan property, but as you yourself know, we can neither rent nor sell it. We cannot and do not even dare say, cultivate the land. But we also cannot prevent you from doing it or forbid you. That piece of land is presented to the gods; they will revenge themselves on anyone who removes it from their cult; they themselves will guard over it so that no one will seize it."

This answer satisfied U Shai completely. He had no fear of the punishment of the forest gods; he had just wanted to make certain whether the family clan would put difficulties in his way or would even bring complaints before the English government. The forest was soon arable. Fire transformed the wood and the bushes, the high grasses and the vines into ashes; oranges and lemons, pineapples, and bananas were planted and after a few years the land brought in from the sale of the fruit a sum, considerable for those conditions, of 800 to 1,000 reichsmarks a year.

The family clan Umliang was still faithful to their native faith. As the other heathen did, so they observed the undertaking of U Shai with fear and anxiety. They believed the gods must bestir themselves and the forest would devour the miscreant with his family. That did not occur. It could not be avoided that in this way the belief in their gods and native customs received a jolt among the heathen and many of them went over to the viewpoint that they might also do it.

After a while a young Khasi with such advanced views married /302/ into the famly clan Umliang. Meanwhile 40 years had passed. The old father U Slai was already dead. The piece of land planted by him, as it was not actually family property, according to the special customs of the War had passed on not only to the youngest daughter but also to his son Jacob U Shai and his sisters. On their side they had helped their father in the clearing of the forest. The siblings were Catholic. The young man mentioned above brought a legal complaint against the siblings before the English government official in Jowai a few years ago: the forest made arable by Jacon U Shai and transformed into a fruit orchard had been illegally acquired and is the property of the clan of his wife; he demanded a piece of the land back for the family Umliang and for the other piece a corresponding annual rent must be paid. 778 423 613 797

In reply the siblings Shai could claim that the affair was past the legal time limit. According to tribal custom the time limit on small matters was 10 years, for greater matters 30 years. In addition the main point on their side was that the piece of land in question was khlau sang, forest of the gods, and the family Umliang could not ask anything for it. For this the Shai siblings lacked witnesses, whereas the Umliangs produced several heathen witnesses for the simple declaration of the right of possession. The case was long drawn out. It was finally decided against the Shai siblings and they were declared deprived of the property. The missionary P. Benedikt Neher now concerned himself with the affair. He brought more than 100 witnesses, all clan mothers or village elders, who were ready to swear that that piece of land was a forest of the gods as long as man could remember. The English judge, whom he informed of this, decided that this was a basis for proposing a revision and change of the judgment, but the Shai siblings had lost all their money in the previous trial to pettifogging lawyers and did not have the spirit to begin again. With oriental equanimity they accepted the loss and thus the affair remained.

/303/ The case is instructive anyway, insofar as it shows that the so-called holy forests are also found in the possession of individual family clans; how they are valued by them as long as they remain faithful to their animistic views and how they are able to make their right of possession to them valid even after years.

3. Customs Concerning the Right of Inheritance

When the clan mother dies, the youngest daughter always receives the inheritance among the Khasi. If for any reason the youngest daughter cannot take possession, her next youngest sister follows. If there are 426 613

425 613 If after discussions lasting weeks all the problems involved have been settled, the agreements decided on are finally completed with the customary ceremonial. It was mentioned above, what objects [178] for the religious cult are to be found in the hut of the clan mother.[1] The little basket plaited of bamboo cane, which is considered the special seat of the divine ancestors of the clan. /Clan/ is not divided. /309/ Another, similar basket is made. By sacrifice of goats and pigs, these divinities are then entreated so that a part of them may take up their dwelling in this basket for the protection of the newly constructed clan. If the sacrificial priest can announce the agreement of the deceased spirits with the division from the oracle of the entrails of the animals and by egg throwing, then this basket is brought to the new clan hut. On another day one of the two hazelnut poles is then taken for the new hut with further sacrifices. Each of the two separated parties must fetch a new pole to go with the other one. In a like way the existent sacrificial utensils, such as rice baskets, mats, and gourd bottles are divided. With this ceremony the agreements made about the division of the other property are considered legally existent. Each party now goes his own way independent of the other. Certain relationships of [582] friendship and kinship still remain in existence; however, the bar to marriage, which otherwise would make impossible the marriage between members of the same family clan without regard to the degree of relationship, is no longer in existence.

425 797 796 If, at the conversion of one part of the members of the clan to the Christian religion, the division of property can be accomplished legally, it is better to insist on it. The members who have become Christian are more readily protected from disadvantageous treatment. Even if they should take part of the fields for themselves in separate management, the part of the clan that remained heathen could demand this back years later. Enmity, hate, and revenge would then follow. Without the formal ceremony combined with the sacrifices mentioned a Khasi does not recognize a division as legal. Since Christians cannot participate in such a sacrificial ceremony, there is nothing to do other than to have this ceremony undertaken while those seeking to be baptized are still catechumens. Before they are accepted then into the church by baptism, the heathen cult objects that were brought into the clan hut must be removed. "To /310/ this most important ceremony, "the missionary of the Synteng territory, P. Benedikt Neher S.D.S., once related, "I usually went myself if it was possible for me to or sent a European sister of the Order. Thereby the ceremony acquired a great deal

[1] [See category 116, pp. 4,5 — Analyst]

9: Godwin-Austen G-3 (no date) 1872 AR7 Khasi AR7

764 I never saw the Khasis engaged in raising a stone into the
211 upright position, but I saw the spars which had formed a sort of
[483] cradle on which the stones forming the monument erected by the Nongtariang clan previously alluded to had been dragged from the spot where they had been quarried. They consisted of strong curved limbs of trees roughly smoothed and rounded, and would present a very small surface to friction. These stones had been taken from the side of a hill near, and had apparently been wedged out of the face of a step in the exposed sand-stone strata.

It may be as well that I should here give some account of the funeral rites of the Khasis, which will show there is no connection between them and the monuments I have been describing, and with which the other stone erections have no doubt been often confounded. In their funeral rites there is much that is wonderfully strange, and to those unacquainted with their
771 superstitions, appears unmeaning. There can be no doubt but
769 the Khasis have a very strong belief in a future state, and to say
• 778 that they have no religion, as has been stated by some writers, is erroneous. True, they have no temples for either worship or idols, the religion of the people is principally a demon worship, and we find the Khasi ever in communion with or in the power, as he supposes, of the spirits of those who have gone before him. While, added to these spirits of their ancestors are numberless demons, male and female, ever ready, if not propitiated, to bring evil upon himself or his undertakings, and whose power even extends over the spirits of the dead. Every dark shady wood, every stream, every conspicuous hill has its presiding demon, which in many instances gives the name to the site. Thus, the hill of Lārū, in North Jaintia, beyond Nongjinghi, is the abode of a one-legged demon, whom to see is death, but who was occasionally heard in the dense forest that clothed the northern steep face of the mountain, so said the credulous villagers of Nongtūng.

.764 The dead are burnt on a funeral pyre, the logs of which are arranged very regularly, and the body lies in a sort of bed formed by them.

The calcined bones and ashes are collected and placed in an earthen vessel (small "ghara"), and are generally buried in some adjacent spot, a stone being placed over the vase for security; they do not, however, remain permanently in this place. Every family or clan has a separate receptacle for these remains, constructed in several ways, but always covered with a heavy slab of stone: these receptacles are called "Mao-bah," the great stone "Mao-shíing," a bone depository—lit., the "bone stone."

M. Schlagintweit has fallen into an error regarding the dolmen-shaped structures, and was not aware that this form is so

pendable water supply. Villages are about two to five miles apart, and have no boundary markers. In the past, villages contained semipublic buildings and grounds: the home of the village priest (also the home of a chief if he resided in that village), the village marketplace, and tree groves, cremation grounds, or other awesome spots that were believed to be inhabited by supernatural beings. Villages today may have also one or more Christian churches, government social welfare buildings, and schools. Formerly, villages were entered through a guarded gateway; this is no longer the case, and paths feed into villages from all directions. Often several villages are nucleated into one large unit, named and also described as a "village." These were once defense units, but were so uncohesive otherwise that institutionalized rivalry obtained among the component villages. Now, they have been integrated through the agency of all-village public services, especially schools. **Housing.** The traditional Khasi house is entered through a door at the rounded end of a U-shaped ground plan, and is about 20 feet at widest extent; it is about 30 feet deep, and is elliptical or hogback in profile. Its walls are of stone blocks cemented with mud. The roof of grass thatch, supported by a bamboo frame, overhangs the walls on their outside down to about three feet above the ground. The house is divided into two parts: the front one-third is on the ground level, floored either with stone blocks or tamped earth, and is used for storage of occupational instruments and as a shelter for poultry. The rear two-thirds is raised four feet on piles of stone blocks to a platform of planks, and is partitioned into six rooms, comprising a kitchen, areas for storage of food and water, and sleeping quarters. Furniture is minimal, and the house is totally undecorated. There are no windows, and no smoke vents. A house generally has a companion shed, walled of wood and grass matting and thatched with grass. This serves as a pigsty, but it may be partitioned also to house cows, and it may have a loft for fuel storage. Compounds often contain garden plots, and are fenced around with stone or bamboo and mud. Nowadays, the traditional house has given way to Western-style bungalows of wood and tin, especially in and around Shillong. [Cf. Mukherjee et al. 1941.]

ECONOMY. The Khasi economy is a market economy based on agriculture, and most Khasis are primary producers, sellers, middlemen, and/or providers of services in connection with markets. Khasis are often multioccupational: they produce goods for partial subsistence, and also play some part in trade. **Agriculture.** On the Shillong plateau, the major field crops are potatoes, maize, millets, and dry rice, still produced mostly through swidden farming, with a two- to three-year period of fallow, but increasingly through continuous use of a single field with the aid of ma-

17: Banerjee E-5 (1955) 1962 AR7 Khasi AR7
Smit

THE KHASI FESTIVAL OF 'POMBLANG'

S. BANERJEE

INTRODUCTION

The Khasi inhabit the upland of the central part of the United Khasi and Jaintia Hills district of Assam. They reckon descent through mother and the youngest daughter (Ka khadduh) of the house is the custodian of the ancestral property. Belief in the existence of spirits is strong among them and the causes of diseases are ascertained by taking recourse to the process of divination. They are ruled by different categories of Chief. The *Siem* is the highest official responsible for the administration of the state but a few small states are also governed by *Sirdars* with same powers as vested in the former although does not possess the same status. It is interesting to note that their priest whose rank is next to *Siem*, have also been allotted to perform this secular duties in some of the regions of the Khasi country. The Chief function through their respective council comprising elected members from different administrative units. He is rather subservient to this body as he is liable to be censured or even dismissed, if his activities are not in conformity with the Khasi traditional usage. Most of his directives are implemented through the assistance of his subordinates who are in-charge of various sections of the State. The Khasi place his grievance first to these junior officers for redress and justice, after which an appeal can be preferred to the *Siem* or any other higher officer as the case may be. One of the eminent States of the Khasi people known as Khyriem, where this festival is celebrated, consists of eight units for administrative convenience under the supervision of different grades of officials who participated in this celebration along with the *Siem* as representatives of the people.

The Khasi festival of *Pomblang* (Goat killing) described below used to be celebrated at one time in Shillong when the Khasi states of Khyriem and Myliem were not separated. The first chief of the Khyriem state U Singh Manik shifted his headquarters to Nongkrem village after partition of the kingdom, which occured before the arrival of the British. He again moved to Langkerdem after a brief stay at the village of Lyneshing. He performed this festival as long as he was there, transferring it again to Nongkrem where he re-settled again. It was celebrated here for a long time and consequently it was named after this village. Although the ruling family had later on shifted its residence about sixty years ago to the present village Smit, during the time of U Klur Singh, Siem, it is performed regularly as *Nongkrem dance* which was observed by the author from 21st June to 25th June, 1955.

OBJECT OF THE FESTIVAL

It is being held every year since the days of U Shillong who was supposed to be the founder of original Khyriem State. They celebrate it to perpetuate his memory and pay homage with a view to ensure rain, good harvest, eliminating diseases and famine. He was worshipped along with other ancestors with view to guide the present Chief in his discharge of his duties and for the welfare of the people.

The house of Siem (iing-sad) where the rites are observed, is considered sacred. It consists of a big-hall (shlur) in the centre, surrounded by rooms. One of these on the north is used as a kitchen room (iing-chetja) where ritual

17: Banerjee E-5 (1955) 1'62 AR7 Khasi AR7
Smit

778 objects are stored while that of the wet (kynram blang) was meant exclusively
796 for sacrificial goats. There is a very big circular courtyard in front of the building where the members of the royal family as also other boys and spinsters
[793] hold a ritual dance. The function is always held during the moonlit period of
[443] May or June and the actual dates are fixed in consultation with the Chief priest
[202] (*Sohblei*) in such a way that the first day—*Pamtiah** always coincides with the market day of Shillong Chota Bazar. The dates of the festival is then communicated to the in-charge of different units of his territory, through a wooden stick '*kyrwoh*' having a few knots of cane-strips, as a form of summons for attending the festival for five days at Smit along with subjects under their jurisdiction.

IMPORTANT PARTICIPANT

796 The responsibility of performing this ritual rests on the High-priestess
793 (*Ka Siem Sad*) who is succeeded by her eldest daughter. Different ritual objects are procured by her, well in advance and it is obligatory on her part to
562 join the ceremonial dancing, in which her daughter may also officiate on her
[769] behalf. U Shillong is worshipped by the chief priest while the other ancestors
[533] are invoked by lesser priests. The musicians (*Dhulia*) besides their normal duties, take part in the worship of the ancestors and they are presented with silk turban, jacket, cloth, by the ruling family for the services rendered during the festival. The *Siem* has no especial role except to supervise and evoke U Shillong for the welfare of the community. He is required to perform certain sacrifices, failing which his heir-apparent (*Siem kynnah*) does the same. He along with his sister (High priestess) abstain from taking rice during the period of celebration presumably to observe the sanctity of this festival as also to ensure the successful conclusion of the function.

RITUAL MATERIALS

796 The festival derives its name from the sacrifice of a large number of goats
782 some of which were supplied from the State fund and from different units of
231 the territory. Formerly at least fifty goats were required and each unit had a specific allotment but owing to the economic difficulty that the Khasi are experiencing, the number of goats sacrificed hardly exceeds twenty-five. The goats collected from the different units, are presented to the Chief at the midnight
[273] of the third day. Rice-beer, dried fish, fermented-rice, betel leaves together
[276] with nuts are also important ritual objects in this celebration.

DESCRIPTION OF THE FESTIVAL

796 The commencement of the festival was marked by the distribution of dried,
782 fish (suit dokha) to the persons assembled on the occasion, in the evening of *Pamtiah* (*i.e.* 21st June, 1957). This was followed by the dropping of rice-beer by the Chief priest over the fire place of central hall known as *Ka sult-ka shor*

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[805] *A week consists of eight days in Khasi Calender the names are according to the places where markets are held in Khasi Hills.

Name	Market
1. Pamtiah	Shillong Chota Bazar.
2. Umni	Cherrapunji.
3. Yew-duh	Shillong Burra Bazar.
4. Lyngka	Barapani.
5. Nongkrem	Nongkrem.
6. Mawlong	Laban (Shillong).
7. Rynghep	Cherrapunji Chota Bazar.
8. Shillong	Laitlyng kot.

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

175 Khásiás, have, ever since the measures of improvement which
648 followed, remained peaceable and contented.

General Aspect of the District.—The District consists
133 almost entirely of hills, only a very small portion lying in the plains. The slope of the hills on the southern side is steep, until a table-land is met with at an elevation of about 4000 feet. Higher up there is another plateau at Máo-flang, ten miles to the eastward of which, and in the same mountain range, the Civil Station of Shillong is situated at an elevation of 4900 feet above sea level. On the northern side of the hills are two plateaux, one between 1000 and 2000 feet below the level of Shillong, and the second lower down, about 3000 feet above sea level. In general features all these plateaux are much alike, and consist of a succession of undulating downs, broken
137 here and there by the valleys of the larger hill streams. In the higher ranges, where the hills have been denuded of forest, the country is covered with short grass, which becomes longer and more rank in the lower elevations. A remarkable feature in the
[778] aspect of the country throughout the hills is the numerous sacred groves which superstition has preserved from time immemorial from the destructive hand of the woodcutter. These sacred groves contain beautiful timber-trees of various kinds, rare orchids, rhododendrons, and wild cinnamon. On the more elevated table-lands, pine trees and stunted oak are met with; and in the lower hills, in every direction, are dense forests of the usual Indian trees, containing valuable timber.

134 The geological formation is mainly granitic, with stratified rocks
135 of sandstone, limestone, and shale. The coal-beds rest on trap and metamorphic rocks. The prevailing surface soil is a red ferruginous loam.

133 Mountains.—The principal mountain ranges and highest peaks in the Khási and Jáintiá Hills are as follow:—(1) The Shillong range—height of principal peak, 6449 feet above sea level. (2) Dingiei range—principal peak, 6400 feet. (3) Máo-thad-rái-shán range—highest peak, 6297 feet. (4) Láo-syn-niá range—highest peak, 5775 feet. (5) Láit-máo-doh range—highest peak, 5377 feet. (6) Láo-ber-sát—highest peak, 5400 feet. (7) Láo-bah range—highest peak, 4464 feet. (8) Lyng-ker-dem range—highest peak, 5000 feet. (9) Lúm-baiong range—highest peak, 4646 feet. (10) Máo-syn-rám range—highest peak, 5810 feet.

The principal mountains are:—(1) Rap-leng—height, 5671 feet.

also active, and in that decade one U Kyrhai, a Khasi convert to Presbyterianism, left that church and founded a unique sect that blends something of himself with something of mystical Hinduism and Christianity. The competitors who most seriously threatened the dominance of the Welsh Presbyterians were the Roman Catholic missionaries who arrived in Shillong about 1890. Catholics have since opened a number of high schools, colleges, convents, and orphanages. They also established a technical school, and are now constructing a seminary. At the present time, one estimate is that there are about 100,000 Presbyterians and 80,000 Roman Catholics among Khasis. Members of other Christian sects are comparatively few; adherents to Hinduism and Islam are fewer still, comprised chiefly of Khasi women married to Hindu or Muslim men; U Kyrhai's sect is dying out; and the balance of Khasis are, according to their own term, "Khasi" in religion. [Cf. Lyngdoh 1937; Morris 1910; Ropmay 1940; Singh 1950; Pugh 1951.] **Supernaturals.** The great deities are two, an unnamed masculine God (U Blei) and an unnamed feminine Goddess (Ka Blei Nongsynshar Nonghukum). God created the earth, and in the beginning instructed man in cultivation techniques and also laid down the framework of a moral order that should guide his every move if he wished to join God in heaven after death. This framework was then filled in by the first ancestors, who are therefore the authorities on the subject and are semideified as Ka Iawbei (the mother), U Thawlang (the father), and U Suidñia (the mother's brother). Very early, Goddess undertook to keep account of the numbers of human beings on earth, and this role was so important, relating as it did to the health and the multiplication of the people, that she became of major importance in the Khasi pantheon. When sin beset human society, God activated automatic punishments in the form of natural calamities, and man finally decided that some animal should go and intercede with God on behalf of humans. The cock went, agreed to take upon himself the burden of human sin, and received instruction in the correct divinatory and sacrificial techniques for which he would be one of the main objects of the knife. Again, over a period of time, it was the ancestors who perfected these techniques. Now, God is regarded as powerful and merciful, but passive. His punishments have their own impetus, and the expression of His mercy is solidified in ritual. Goddess is more vaguely conceived, but is much closer to the individual. [But cf. Ehrenfels 1950, who conceives of one double-sexed, great deity among Khasis.] Regarding ancestors, it is never clear from prayers whether supplication is to generalized semideities or to particular first ancestors of a Khasi's own matrilineage, and such a distinction seems not to matter. There are three other categories of minor deities: those who protect places (such as villages, groves, or springs),

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*162 125 161 621

5.2: The following table shows the classification of population by age and sex in the three areas:—

Age and Sex Composition of Population

Age Group	Border area			Project area			General area		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
1. Below 5 yrs.	293	328	621 (16·90)	299	295	594 (20·03)	77	87	164 (18·18)
2. 5 to below 15 yrs.	426	459	885 (24·09)	260	373	633 (25·00)	117	122	239 (26·50)
3. 15 to below 65 yrs.	1025	1077	2102 (57·21)	772	862	1634 (55·42)	288	296	494 (54·74)
4. 65 yrs. & above	26	40	66 (1·80)	16	18	34 (1·15)	3	2	5 (0·56)
Total	1770	1904	3674 (100·00)	[illegible]	1548	2965 (100·00)	465	437	902 (100·00)
No. of females per 1,000 males	..	1076	..	..	..	1092	..	..	[illegible]

It is seen that the population under 15 years of age in the border area, project area and general area were respectively 41 per cent, 45 per cent and 45 per cent of the total population in these areas, while that under age group 'between 15 to 65 years', constituted respectively 57 per cent, 53 per cents 55 per cent of the population in the three areas.

It is evident that population of females was as a whole greater than that of male in border area and project area and less in general area. The number of females per 1,000 males in border area, project area and general area were respectively 1,076, 1,092 and 940 against the 1951 census figure of 983 females per 1,000 males in the rural areas of the district of United K.-J. Hills.

5.3: The following table shows the classification of population by religion.

TABLE C-3

*162 779

Classification of Population by Religion

Area	Tribal religion	Christianity	Hinduism	Other religion	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1. Border area	1766 (48·07)	1410 (38·32)	493 (13·43)	15 (0.41)	3674 (100·00)
2. Project area	811 (27·35)	2013 (67.89)	141 (4.76)	0.00	2965 (100·00)
3. General area	309 (34·26)	571 (63·30)	23 (2·44)	0.00	902 (100·00)

[433 563] Population following Hinduism and other religion in the border area comprises mostly of displaced persons from East Pakistan following trade and business as their means of livelihood, while those in the general and project areas are mainly the Nepalies who are generally engaged in cattle rearing and agriculture.

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

public auction. The Assam rules, as revised in 1875-76, reserve to Government the right of pre-emption at the price of Rs. 600 (£60) in the case of every elephant captured between 6 feet and 7½ feet in height. For every elephant caught that is not purchased by Government, a royalty of Rs. 100 (£10) is payable within one month after capture. Certain methods of hunting are prohibited. 224 648 651

POPULATION.—Prior to 1872 no attempts had been made at a Census of the Khási and Jáintiá Hills, but in 1870 the Deputy-Commissioner approximately estimated the population at 118,925 souls. In 1872, at the time of the Bengal Census, operations were set on foot in these Hills, but on a less elaborate system than in Regulation Districts. In the Khási Hills, the Census of the various petty States was effected through the chiefs; in British territory in the Jáintiá Hills, the *dolloi*s conducted the enumeration; while at Shillong and other places under direct administration, the work was done by officers attached to the Deputy-Commissioner's office. The results are thus returned:—Adults—males, 39,882; and females, 44,298: total adults, 84,280. Children under twelve years of age—males, 28,611; and females, 28,947: total children, 57,558. Total males, 68,593; total females, 73,245. Grand total, 141,838; proportion of males, 48·36 per cent. The total area of the District, according to the latest returns, is 6157 square miles, which gives an average density of 23 persons per square mile. The number of villages is 1003; the number of houses, 30,557, of which 350 are returned as of the better sort. 648 659 161 161 162

ETHNICAL DIVISION OF THE PEOPLE.—The population consists almost exclusively of aboriginal tribes and races, viz. Khásiás and Syntengs (who form the bulk of the inhabitants of the Khási and Jáintiá Hills respectively), Miśkirs, Gáros, and Kukis. The only other dwellers in the Hills are the European officials and military officers at Shillong and Cherrá Púnjí, with their native servants and followers, a few Bengálí officials, and the sepoys of a regiment of native infantry. The classification of the inhabitants according to religion shows:—141,283 aborigines; 365 Hindus; 62 Muhammadans; and 128 Christians, including 35 Europeans, 8 Eurasians, and 85 native converts. 563 162 [648] [779]

THE KHASIAS.—The following sketch of the physical characteristics and customs of the Khásiás has been kindly furnished to me by the Deputy-Commissioner, Colonel Bivar; it is reproduced almost verbatim from his report and on his authority:— 144

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It may perhaps be ascribed to the pre-eminence
accorded by the Khasis to the female sex that successive 162
censuses have shown that the women of this race
considerably exceed the men in number. According
to the census of 1901, there are 1,118 females to every
1,000 male Khasis. This excess, however, is surpassed
by that of the Lushais, 1,191 to 1,000, and it may
possibly be due to the greater risks to life encountered
by the men, who venture far into the plains as traders
and porters, while the women stay at home. Habits of 165
intemperance, which are confined to the male sex, may
also explain a greater mortality among them.

It would be interesting to investigate the effect 161
on reproduction of the system of matriarchy which 163
governs Khasi family life. The increase of the race is
very slow. In the census of 1891 there were enumerated
only 117 children under 5 to every hundred married
women between 15 and 40, and in 1901 this number fell
to 108. It has been suggested that the independence
of the wife, and the facilities which exist for divorce,
lead to restrictions upon child-bearing, and thus keep
the population stationary. The question might with
advantage be examined at the census of 1911.

The next characteristic of the Khasis which marks 787
them out for special notice is their method of divination 782
for ascertaining the causes of misfortune and the
remedies to be applied. All forms of animistic religion
make it their chief business to avert the wrath of the
gods, to which calamities of all kinds—sickness, storm,
murrain, loss of harvest—are ascribed, by some kind of
propitiation; and in this the Khasis are not singular.
But it is somewhat surprising to find among them the 787
identical method of *extispicium* which was in use among 171
the Romans, as well as an analogous development in
the shape of egg-breaking, fully described by Major
Gurdon (p. 221), which seems to have been known to

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776 793 or official spokesman of the Siem's Durbar. Another post of oak in this house is furnished by the people of the State.

342 179 353 The houses of the well-to-do Khasis of the present day in Mawkhar and Cherrapunji are built after the modern style with iron roofs, chimneys, glass windows and doors. In Jowai the well-to-do traders have excellent houses of the European pattern, which are as comfortable as many of the European subordinates' quarters in Shillong. Some up-to-date families in Shillong and at Cherra allow themselves muslin curtains and European furniture.

342 [824] The houses of the Pnar-Wárs are peculiar. The roof, which is thatched with the leaves of a palm called *u tynriew*, is hog-backed and the eaves come down almost to the ground. There are three rooms in the Wár as in the Khasi house, although called by different names in the Wár dialect. The hearth is in the centre room. The houses are built flush with the ground [361] and are made of bamboos. In the Wár villages of Nongjri and 346 Umniuh there are small houses erected in the compounds of 782 the ordinary dwelling-houses called *ieng ksuid* (spirit houses). In these houses offerings to the spirits of departed family ancestors are placed at intervals, this practice being very similar to the more ancient form of Shintoism. In some Wár villages 342 there are also separate bachelors' quarters. This custom is in accordance with that of the Naga tribes. There is no such custom amongst the Khasi Uplanders. The Wár houses are similar to those of the Pnar Wárs, except that a portion of the house is generally built on a platform, the main house resting on the hill-side and the portion on the platform projecting therefrom, the object being to obtain more space, the area for houses in the village sites being often limited owing to the steepness of the hill-sides.

The Bhoi and Lynngam houses are practically similar, and may be described together. They are generally built on fairly high platforms of bamboo, are frequently 30 to 40 ft. in length, and are divided into various compartments in order [354] to suit the needs of the family. The hearth, which is of earth, is in the centre room. There is a platform at the back of the Lynngam house, and in front of the Bhoi house, used for drying paddy, spreading chillies, &c., and for sitting on when the day's

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work is done. In order to ascend to a Bhoi house, you have to climb up a notched pole. The Bhois sacrifice a he-goat and a fowl to *Rèk-ànglong* (Khasi, *Ramiew iing*), the household god, when they build a new house.

342 [776] [782]

VILLAGES.

Unlike the Nagas and Kukis, the Khasis do not build their villages on the extreme summits of hills, but a little below the tops, generally in small depressions, in order to obtain some protection from the strong winds and storms which prevail in these hills at certain times of the year. According to the late U Jeebon Roy, it is *sang*, or taboo, to the Khasis to build a house on the last eminence of a range of hills, this custom having perhaps arisen owing to the necessity of locating villages with reference to their defence against an enemy. Khasis build their houses fairly close together, but not as close as houses in the Bhoi and Lynngam villages. Khasis seldom change the sites of their villages, to which they are very much attached, where, as a rule, the family tombs are standing and the *mòrbynna* or memorial stones. In many villages stone cromlechs and memorial stones are to be seen which from their appearance show that the villages have been there for many generations. During the Jaintia rebellion the village of Jowai was almost entirely destroyed, but as soon as the rebellion was over the people returned to the old site and rebuilt their village. Similarly, after the earthquake, the ancient village sites were not abandoned in many cases, but the people rebuilt their houses in their former positions, although in Shillong and Cherrapunji they rebuilt the walls of the houses of wooden materials instead of stone. There is no such thing as a specially reserved area in the village for the Siem and the nobility, all the people, rich or poor, living together in one village, their houses being scattered about indiscriminately. To the democratic Khasi the idea of the Siem living apart from his people would be repugnant. In the vicinity of the Khasi village, often just below the brow of the hill to the leeward side, are to be seen dark woods of oak

361 [32] 342 [211] [669] [731] 361 525 137 778

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of them, more especially when the latter are situated in places 361
where jungle is dense, and there is fear of attacks from wild animals. In the Lynngam village is to be seen a high bamboo platform some 20 to 30 ft. from the ground, built in the midst of the village, where the elders sit and gossip in the evening.

All the villages, Khasi, Wár, Lynngam and Bhoi, swarm with 361
pigs, which run about the villages unchecked. The pigs feed 231
on all kinds of filth, and in addition are fed upon the wort 274
and spent wash of the brewings of country spirit, or rice beer, the latter being carefully collected and poured into wooden troughs. The pigs are of the usual black description seen in India. They thrive greatly in the Khasi villages, and frequently attain extreme obesity.

In the Khasi villages of the high plateaux are often 244
nowadays potato gardens, the latter being carefully protected 417
from the inroads of pigs, calves, and goats by dry dikes surmounted by hedges.

I noticed an interesting custom at a Bhoi village in Nong- 757
poh of barricading the path leading to the village from the 776
forest with bamboo palisading and bamboo *chevaux de frise* to 782
keep out the demon of cholera. In the middle of the barricade there was a wooden door over which was nailed the skull of a monkey which had been sacrificed to this demon, which is, as amongst the Syntengs, called *khlam*.

FURNITURE AND HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS.

As in the case of houses, so with reference to furniture, the 352
influence of civilization shows many changes. The Khasi of the present day who lives in Mawkhar * has a comfortable house regularly divided up into rooms in the European style with even some European articles of furniture, but owing probably to the influence of the women, he still possesses several of the articles of furniture which are to be met with in the houses of those who still observe the old style of living. Let us take 352
the furniture of the kitchen to begin with. Above the hearth 417
is slung by ropes of cane a swinging wooden framework

* Mawkhar is a suburb of Shillong, the headquarters station.

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231 about Rs. 30. The price of lac has risen a good deal of late
435 years. Formerly the price was about Rs. 15 to Rs. 20 a maund. The lac trade in the Jaintia Hills and in the southern portion of the Khyrim State is a valuable one. The profits, how-
426 ever, go largely to middle-men, who in the Jaintia Hills are Syntengs from Jowai, who give out advances to the Bhoi cultivators on the condition that they will be repaid in lac.
443 The Marwari merchants from the plains attend all the plains
439 markets which are frequented by the hill-men, and buy up the lac and export it to Calcutta. The whole of the lac is of the kind known as stick lac.

HUNTING.

224 The weapons used by the Khasis for hunting are bows and
[411] arrows, the latter with barbed iron heads, and spears which are used both for casting and thrusting. Before proceeding on a
[187] hunting expedition the hunters break eggs, in order to ascertain whether they will be successful or not, and to which jungle they should proceed. Offerings are also made to certain village
[176] deities, e.g. *U. Ryngkew*, *u Basa*, and *u Basa ki mrád*. A lucky day having been selected and the deities propitiated, the hunters start with a number of dogs trained to the chase, the latter being held on leashes by a party of men called *ki nong-ai-ksew*. When the dogs have picked up the scent some hunters are placed as "stops" (*ki ktem*), at points of vantage in the jungle, and the drive commences with loud shouts from the hunters, the same being continued until the object of the chase breaks into the open. The man who draws the first blood is called *u nongsiat*, and the second man who scores a hit *u nongban*. These two men get larger shares of the flesh than the others. The *nongsiat* obtains the lower half of the body of the animal, thighs and feet excepted, called *ka tdong*, and the *nongban* one of the forequarters called *ka tabla*. The other hunters obtain a string of flesh each, and each hound gets a string of flesh to itself. These hunting parties pursue deer sometimes for many miles, and are indefatigable in the chase,
224 the latter lasting occasionally more than one day. In the
782 Jaintia Hills, at the end of the chase, the quarry is carried to

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the house of the *nongsiat*, where a *puja* is performed to some local deity, before the flesh is distributed. At Shangpung, when a tiger or a mithan is killed, the head is cut off, and is carried in triumph to a hill in the neighbourhood where there is a *duwan*, or altar, at the foot of an oak tree (*dieng sning*). The head is displayed on the altar, and worship offered to *u 'lei lyngdoh*, the God of the doloiship.

The Khasis make use of an ingenious species of spring gun for killing game, the spring gun being laid alongside a deer path in the jungle. A string stretched across the path, when touched, releases a bolt and spring, which latter impels a bamboo arrow with great force across the path. This spring gun is called *ka riam siat*. A pit-fall, with bamboo spikes at the bottom, is called *u 'liw lep*, and a trap of the pattern of the ordinary leopard trap is called *ka riam slung*. A noose attached to a long rope laid in a deer run is named *riam syrwiah*.

There is also *ka riam pap*, the principle of which is that an animal is attracted by a bait to walk on to a platform; the platform sinks under the weight of the animal, and a bolt is released which brings down a heavy roof from above weighted with stones, which crush the animal to death.

There are several means employed in snaring birds; one of the most common is to smear pieces of bamboo with the gum of the jack-tree, the former being tied to the branches of some wild fruit tree, upon which, when the fruit is ripe, the birds light and are caught by the bird lime. This is called *ka riam thit*. Another is a kind of spring bow made of bamboo which is laid on the ground in marshy places, such as are frequented by snipe and woodcock. This form of snare is unfortunately most common. A third is a cage into which birds are lured by means of a bait, the cage being hidden in the grass, and the entrance being so contrived that the birds can hop in but not out again. This is called *ka riam sim*.

FISHING.

Although there are some Khasis who fish with rod and line, it may be said that the national method of fishing is to poison

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cartridge all the fish within a certain area are killed, none escape. When poisons are used, however, some fish are not affected by them, and others are only stupefied for the time being and afterwards recover. 226

FOOD.

The Khasi and Syntengs ordinarily take two meals a day, one in the early morning and the other in the evening, but labourers and others who have to work hard in the open take a midday meal as well, consisting of cold boiled rice wrapped in a leaf (*ka já-song*), cakes (*ki kpu*) and a tuberous root (*u solphlang*) which is eaten raw. They are fond of all kinds of meat, especially pork and beef, although some of the Syntengs, owing to Hindu influence, abstain from eating the latter. Unlike the neighbouring Naga, Garo and Kuki tribes, the Khasis abstain from the flesh of the dog. Both Bivar and Shadwell say the reason why the Khasis do not eat the flesh of the dog is because he is in a certain sense a sacred animal amongst them. There is a Khasi folk-tale relating how the dog came to be regarded as the friend of man. It is, however, quite possible that the Khasis may never have eaten the flesh of the dog from remote times, and it is nothing extraordinary that the Khasis should differ in a detail of diet from the neighbouring Thibeto-Burman tribes which are so dissimilar to them in many respects. The Khasis, except some of the Christian community and some of the people of the Mawkhar, do not use milk, butter, or ghee as articles of food. In this respect they do not differ from the Kacharis and Rabhas of the plains or the Garos of the hills. The Mongolian race in its millions as a rule does not use milk for food, although the Tibetans and some of the Turcoman tribes are exceptions. Before fowls or animals are killed for food, prayers must be said, and rice sprinkled on the body of the animal. The staple food of the Khasis is rice and dried fish. When rice cannot be obtained or is scarce, millet or Job's tears are used instead. The latter are boiled, and a sort of porridge is obtained, which is eaten either hot or cold according to fancy. Khasis eat the flesh of nearly all wild animals, they

264 262 262 825 262 [782]

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The
597 adoption of a female obviates the family dying out (*iap duh*),
428 which to the Khasi is a very serious matter, inasmuch as there
764 will then be no one qualified to place the bones of its members within the family tomb (*ka ba thep shieng mawbah*), and to
597 perform the requisite funeral ceremonies. Amongst the Khasis no particular ceremonies are performed at the time of
262 adoption; but some of the Syntengs observe a religious cere-
782 mony which consists largely of a feast to the clans-folk, at which liquor, rice, dried fish, and ginger are partaken of. Before the feast commences, each clansman is provided with a small gourd (*u klong*) filled with liquor, a little of the latter is then thrown on the ground from the gourd, and the following words are uttered:—

"Oh, God! oh, Lord! oh, ruling king Biskurom, now the *pynrap iing* ceremony is about to be performed, let the ceremony be propitious, and let males and females (of the clan) increase in numbers, so that the clan may become great, and respected, and that intelligent male members may spring up." No such ceremony is, however, observed, it is understood, in the Nartiang and Raliang doloiships.

597 In the case of a family being *iap duh* (extinct), the family
428 property, according to Khasi custom, passes to the Siem. Therefore it is to the interest of the members of families to
421 adopt a female, when such necessity arises. As there is no religious ceremony which is compulsory to the Khasis on the occasion of an adoption, perhaps we are almost justified in concluding that in former times the adoption custom did not exist, more especially as the Khasis possess a special word, *iap duh*, for describing a family the females of which have all died out; and it is admittedly the custom for the Siem to succeed to the
177 property of such a family. The Synteng custom of *'rap iing*
797 may have been borrowed from the Hindus, when the Rajas of Jaintia became converts to that religion.

TENURE OF LAND AND LAWS REGARDING LAND.

423 Land in the Khasi Hills proper, i.e. land in the high plateau, is held somewhat differently from land in the Jaintia Hills and

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203 694 not to cut firewood then; *Hei!* to go as coolies then; *Hei!* to go to work then; *Hei!* to go a journey then; *Hei!* to descend to the valley then; *Hei!* he who has a pouch. *Hei!* he who has a bag. *Hei!* now come forth. *Hei!* now appear. *Hei!* the hearing then is to be all in company. *Hei!* the listening attentively then is to be all together. *Hei!* for his own king. *Hei!* for his own lord, lest destruction has come; lest wearing away has overtaken *us*. *Kaw!* come forth now fellow mates."

This proclamation is called *khang shnong*, and by it all are stopped from going anywhere from the village the following day. [687] 695 Anybody who disregards the prohibition is liable to fine. The following day, towards evening, all the grown-up males of the village assemble at the durbar ground, the site of which is marked in some villages by rows of flat stones, arranged in an irregular circle, upon which the durbaris sit. The proceedings are opened by one of the headmen, who makes a long speech; then others follow, touching upon all sorts of irrelevant matters, but throwing out hints, now and then, bearing on the subject of accusation. By degrees the debate waxes warmer, and the parties get nearer the point. Then the complainant and the defendant each of them throw down on the ground a turban, or a bag containing betul and *pán*, lime, &c., in front of the durbar. These are regarded as the pledges of the respective parties and their representatives in the suit; they receive the name of *mamla* (hence the Khasi term *ar liang mamla* for the two contending parties in the suit). There are pleaders on both sides called *'riw said*, who address the durbar in lengthy speeches, the Siem being the judge and the whole body of the durbar the jury. Witnesses are examined by the parties; in former times they were sworn on a pinch of salt placed on a sword. The most sacred and most binding form of oath, however, is sworn on *u klong* (a hollow gourd containing liquor). As, however, the latter form of oath is regarded by the Khasis as a most serious ordeal, it will be described separately. The 695 durbar sometimes goes on for several days. At length the finding of the durbar is taken, after the Siem has summed up, 782 and sentence is pronounced, which generally consists of a fine in money, almost always accompanied by an order to the losing

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695 party to present a pig. The pig is supposed to be sacrificed
782 to a goddess, *Ka 'lei synshar*, i.e. the goddess of the State,
[776] but it is invariably eaten by the Siem and the members of the durbar. The Siem then calls out "*kumta mo khynraw*" (is it not so, young people?) The members of the durbar then reply, "*haoid kumta khein khynraw*" (yea, it is so, young
681 ones). Sentences of fine are more often resorted to than other
697 punishments nowadays, probably because very few of the Siems possess jails for the reception of criminals. The condemned one in a criminal case frequently serves his time by working for the Siem as a menial servant. The above description, which is based on the account given by the Rev. W. Lewis, with some modifications, may be taken as the usual form of procedure of the Khasi durbar.

682 Under the heading of decision of disputes we may perhaps
782 give a short description of some of the punishments which were inflicted by the Siems and their durbars in criminal cases in ancient times. Murder was punishable by beating the culprit to death with clubs (*ki tangon ki lymban*). The killing, however, of a *nong shoh noh*, i.e. a man who seeks for human victims to sacrifice to the monster, *u thlen*, is not considered murder, even now by the Khasis, and the slayer of the *nong shoh noh* only has to inform the Siem and deposit Rs. 5, and one pig in the Siem's court. The slaying of a robber also is dealt with in like manner.

684 The punishment of adultery was imprisonment for life (*ka sah dain mur*), or a fine of Rs. 1,100, and one pig (*ka khadwei spah wei doh*). Whether such a heavy fine was ever paid is perhaps doubtful, and probably some other form of punishment was substituted for it. A husband finding his wife and a man in *flagrante delicto* could, as under the law of the ancients, kill both adulterer and adulteress without punishment for murder. He was, however, bound to deposit Rs. 5, and the conventional pig in the Siem's durbar. The punishment for rape (*kaba khniot tynga*) was imprisonment for life in the case of the woman being married, and a heavy fine and one pig if the
685 woman was a spinster. Arson was punishable with imprison-
683 ment for life, or a heavy fine. The punishment for causing people to be possessed by devils (*ka ba ai-ksuid briew*) was

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invocation. *U klong* is then made over to the judge (the Siem 695
or the Sirdar as the case may be, &c.).

The person who undergoes the above ordeal wins the case, the production of evidence being unnecessary.

WAR.

Although the Khasis, unlike the Nagas, the Garos, the wild 721
Was of Burma, the Dayaks of Borneo, and other head-hunting tribes, cannot be said to have indulged in head-hunting in ancient times, as far as we know, merely for the sake of collecting heads as trophies, there seems to be some reference to a custom of head-hunting in a description of the worship of [776]
the god *u Syngkai Bámon*, one of the principal gods of war amongst the Khasis. This god is described in one of the folk tales (I have obtained it through the kindness of Dr. Roberts, [797]
the Welsh missionary at Cherrapunji) as being the deity who gives the heads of the enemy to the successful warriors. To 726
this god, as well as to *Ka Rám Shandi*, they offer a cock. 782
Before sacrifice the warriors dance round an altar, upon which are placed a plume of cock's feathers (*u thuia*), a sword, a shield, a bow, an arrow, a quiver, *pán* leaves, and flowers. After the cock has been sacrificed, they fix its head on the point of a sword and shout three times. The fixing of the cock's head on the point of a sword is said to have been symbolical of the fixing of the human head of an enemy killed in battle, on the top of the *soh-lang* tree. Mr. Shadwell, of Cherrapunji, whose memory carries him back to the time when the British first occupied the Khasi Hills, has a recollection of a Khasi dance at Cherra, round an altar, upon which the heads of some *Dykhars*, or plains people, killed in a frontier raid had been placed. The Khasis used to sacrifice to a number of other gods also for success in battle. An interesting feature of 726
the ancient combats between the people of different Siemships was the challenge. When the respective armies had arrived at a little distance from one another, they used to stop to hear each other shout the *'tien-Blei*, or challenge, to the other side. This custom was called *pyrta 'tien-Blei*, or shouting out the

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[41] 726 challenge. From the records available of the military operations of the Khasis against the British, the former appear to have relied principally on bows and arrows, ambushes and surprises, when they fought against us at the time of our first occupation of the hills. During the Jaintia rebellion firearms were used, to some extent, by the Syntengs. The military records do not, however, disclose any peculiar battle customs as having been prevalent amongst those hill people then. Both Khasis and Syntengs seem to have fought much in the same manner as other savage hill-men have fought against a foe armed with superior weapons.

HUMAN SACRIFICES.

The Thlen Superstition.

825 782 773 776 There is a superstition among the Khasis concerning a *thlen*, a gigantic snake which requires to be appeased by the sacrifice of human victims, and for whose sake murders have even in fairly recent times been committed. The following account, the substance of which appeared in the *Assam Gazette*, in August, 1882, but to which considerable additions have been made, will illustrate this interesting superstition:—"The tradition is that there was once in a cave near Cherrapunji,* a gigantic snake, or *thlen*, who committed great havoc among men and animals. At last one man, bolder than his fellows, took with him a herd of goats, and set himself down by the cave, and offered them one by one to the *thlen*. By degrees the monster became friendly, and learnt to open his mouth at a word from the man, to receive the lump of flesh which was then thrown in. When confidence was thoroughly established, the man, acting under the advice of a god called *U Suid-noh*,† (who has as his abode a grove near Sohrarim),

* This cave is at Pomdalai, some five miles west of Cherrapunji, close to a great waterfall called *Noh Ka Likai*, i.e. the place where Ka Likai jumped down the precipice (for a full account of this story see Section V. of the monograph), where there is a large block of stone, with some cuts over it, known as *Dain Thlen*, i.e. the snake cutting (place).

† In another account it is said to have been U Suid-noh himself who did this.

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having heated a lump of iron red hot in a furnace, induced the snake, at the usual signal, to open his mouth, and then threw in the red-hot lump, and so killed him. He proceeded to cut up the body, and sent pieces in every direction, with orders that the people were to eat them. Wherever the order was obeyed, the country became free of the *thlen*, but one small piece remained which no one would eat, and from this sprang a multitude of *thlens*, which infest the residents of Cherra and its neighbourhood. When a *thlen* takes up its abode in a family there is no means of getting rid of it, though it occasionally leaves of its own accord, and often follows family property that is given away or sold. The *thlen* attaches itself to property, and brings prosperity and wealth to the owners, but on the condition that it is supplied *with blood*. Its craving comes on at uncertain intervals, and manifests itself by sickness, by misadventure, or by increasing poverty befalling the family that owns the property. It can only be appeased by the murder of a human being." The murderer cuts off the tips of the hair of the victim with silver scissors, also the finger nails, and extracts from the nostril a little blood caught in a bamboo tube, and offers these to the *thlen*. The murderer, who is called *u nongshohnoh*, literally, "the beater," before he sets out on his unholy mission, drinks a special kind of liquor called, *ka 'iad tang-shi-snem* (literally, liquor which has been kept for a year). This liquor, it is thought, gives the murderer courage, and the power of selecting suitable victims for the *thlen*. The *nongshohnoh* then sets out armed with a short club, with which to slay the victim, hence his name *nongshohnoh*, i.e. one who beats; for it is forbidden to kill a victim on these occasions with any weapon made of iron, inasmuch as iron was the metal which proved fatal to the *thlen*. He also takes the pair of silver scissors above mentioned, a silver lancet to pierce the inside of the nostrils of the deceased, and a small bamboo or cylinder to receive the blood drawn therefrom. The *nongshohnoh* also provides himself with rice called "*u 'khaw tyndep*," i.e. rice mixed with turmeric after certain incantations have taken place. The murderer throws a little of this rice over his intended victim, the effect of which is to stupefy the

525 782 773 776 825 782 776 [273]

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825 latter, who then falls an easy prey to the *nongshohnoh*. It is
782 not, however, always possible to kill the victim outright for
776 various reasons, and then the *nongshohnoh* resorts to the following subterfuge:—He cuts off a little of the hair, or the hem of the garment, of a victim, and offers these up to the *thlen*. The effect of cutting off the hair or the hem of the
[761] garment of a person by a *nongshohnoh*, to offer up to the *thlen*, is disastrous to the unfortunate victim, who soon falls ill, and gradually wastes away and dies. The *nongshohnoh* also sometimes contents himself with merely throwing stones at the victim, or with knocking at the door of his house at night, and then returns home, and, after invoking the *thlen*, informs the master that he has tried his best to secure him a prey, but has been unsuccessful. This is thought to appease the *thlen* for a time, but the demon does not remain inactive long, and soon manifests his displeasure for the failure of his keeper to supply him with human blood, by causing one of the latter's family to fall sick. The *thlen* has the power of reducing himself to the size of a thread, which renders it convenient for the *nong-ri thlen*, or *thlen* keeper, to place him for safety in an earthen pot, or in a basket which is kept in some secure place in the house. When the time for making an offering to the *thlen* comes, an hour is selected, generally at dead of night, costly cloths are spread on the floor of the house of the *thlen* keeper, all the doors are opened, and a brass plate is laid on the ground in which is deposited the blood, or the hair, or a piece of the cloth of the victim. All the family then gathers round, and an elderly member commences to beat a small drum, and invokes the *thlen*, saying, "*ko kni ko kpa* (oh, maternal uncle, father), come out, here is some food for you; we have done everything we could to satisfy you, and now we have been successful; give us thy blessing, that we may attain health and prosperity." The *thlen* then crawls out from its hiding-place and commences to expand, and when it has attained its full serpent shape, it comes near the plate and remains expectant. The spirit of the victim then appears, and stands on the plate, laughing. The *thlen* begins to swallow the figure, commencing at its feet, the victim laughing the while. By degrees the whole figure

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is disposed of by the boa constrictor. If the spirit be that of a person from whom the hair, or a piece of his or her cloth, has been cut, directly the *thlen* has swallowed the spirit, the person expires. Many families in these hills are known, or suspected, to be keepers of a *thlen*, and are dreaded or avoided in consequence. This superstition is deep-rooted amongst these people, and even nowadays, in places like Shillong or Cherrapunji, Khasis are afraid to walk alone after dark, for fear of being attacked by a *nongshohnoh*. In order to drive away the *thlen* from a house or family all the money, ornaments, and property of that house or family must be thrown away, as is the case with persons possessed by the demon *Ka Taroh*, in the Jaintia Hills. None dare touch any of the property, for fear that the *thlen* should follow it. It is believed that a *thlen* can never enter the Siem's or chief's clan, or the Siem's house; it follows, therefore, that the property of the *thlen* keeper can be appropriated by the Siem. A Mohammedan servant, not long ago in Shillong, fell a victim to the charms of a Khasi girl, and went to live with her. He told the following story to one of his fellow-servants, which may be set down here to show that the *thlen* superstition is by no means dying out. In the course of his married life he came to know that the mother of his Khasi wife kept in the house what he called a *bhut* (devil). He asked his wife many, many times to allow him to see the *bhut*, but she was obdurate; however, after a long time, and after extracting many promises from him not to tell, she confided to him the secret, and took him to the corner of the house, and showed him a little box in which was coiled a tiny snake, like the hair spring of a watch. She passed her hands over it, and it grew in size, till at last it became a huge cobra, with hood erected. The husband, terrified, begged his wife to lay the spirit. She passed her hands down its body, and it gradually shrank within its box.

It may be stated that the greater number of the Khasis, especially in certain Siemships, viz. Cherra, Nongkrem, and Mylliem, still regard the *thlen*, and the persons who are thought to keep *thlens*, with the very greatest awe, and that they will not utter even the names of the latter for fear some ill may befall

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them. The superstition is probably of very ancient origin, and it is possible that the Khasi sacrifices to the *thlen* demon may be connected with the primæval serpent-worship which characterized the Cambodians, which Forbes says was "undoubtedly the earliest religion of the Mons." But it must be remembered that snake-worship is of very ancient origin, not only in Further India, but also in the nearer peninsula, where the serpent race or Nagas, who may have given their name to the town of Nagpur, were long held in superstitious reverence. Mr. Gait, in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. i. of 1898, gives some account of the human sacrifices of the Jaintias or Syntengs. He writes as follows:—

"It appears that human sacrifices were offered annually on the *Sandhi* day in the month of Ashwin (Sukla paksha) at the sacred *pitha*, in the Faljur pargana. They were also occasionally offered at the shrine of Jainteswari, at Nijpat, i.e. at Jaintiapur, the capital of the country. As stated in the *Haft Iqlim* to have been the case in Koch Behar, so also in Jaintia, persons frequently voluntarily came forward as victims. This they generally did by appearing before the Raja on the last day of Shravan, and declaring that the goddess had called them. After due inquiry, if the would-be victim, or *Bhoge khaora*, were deemed suitable, it was customary for the Raja to present him with a golden anklet, and to give him permission to live as he chose, and to do whatever he pleased, compensation for any damage done by him being paid from the royal treasury. But this enjoyment of these privileges was very short. On the Navami day of the Durga Puja, the *Bhoge khaora*, after bathing and purifying himself, was dressed in new attire, daubed with red sandal-wood and vermilion, and bedecked with garlands. Thus arrayed, the victim sat on a raised daïs in front of the goddess, and spent some time in meditation (*japa*), and in uttering *mantras*. Having done this, he made a sign with his finger, and the executioner, after uttering the usual sacrificial *mantras*, cut off his head, which was placed before the goddess on a golden plate. The lungs were cooked and eaten by such *Kandra Yogi*s as were present, and it is said that the royal family partook of a small quantity of rice cooked in the blood of the victim. The ceremony was

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usually witnessed by large crowds of spectators from all parts of the Jaintia pardganas. 782

"Sometimes the supply of voluntary victims fell short, or victims were needed for some special sacrifice promised in the event of some desired occurrence, such as the birth of a son, coming to pass. On such occasions, emissaries were sent to kidnap strangers from outside the Jaintia Raj, and it was this practice that eventually led to the annexation of the country by the British. In 1821, an attempt was made to kidnap a native of Sylhet proper, and while the agents employed were punished, the Raja was warned not to allow such an atrocity to occur again. Eleven years later, however, four British subjects were kidnapped in the Nowgong district, and taken to Jaintia. Three of them were actually sacrificed, but the fourth escaped, and reported the matter to the authorities. The Raja of Jaintia was called on to deliver up the culprits, but he failed to do so, and his dominions were in consequence annexed in 1835."[1] 782 721

There seems to be an idea generally prevalent that the Raja of Jaintia, owing to his conversion to Hinduism, and especially owing to his having become a devotee of the goddess Kali, took to sacrificing human victims; but I find that human victims were formerly sacrificed by the Jaintias to the Kopili River, which the Jaintias worshipped as a goddess. Two persons were sacrificed every year to the Kopili in the months *U' naiwing* and *U' nai prah* (November and December). They were first taken to the *hat* Mawshai, or Shang-pung market, where they were allowed to take any eatables they wished. Then they were conducted to Sumer, and thence to Ka Ieu Ksih, where a stone on the bank of a small river which falls into the Kopili is pointed out as having been the place where the victims were sacrificed to the Kopili river goddess. Others say that the sacrificial stone was situated on the bank of the Kopili River itself. A special clan in the Raliang doloiship used to carry out the executions. It seems probable that the practice of sacrificing human victims in Jaintia was of long standing, and was originally unconnected with Hinduism, although when the Royal family became converts to Hinduism, the goddess Kali may easily have taken the place of the Kopili 782 776 823

1 Quote from Gait, Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. I. 1898 -- Analyst

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782 776 823 River goddess. Many of the Syntengs regard the River Kopili to this day with superstitious reverence. Some of these people will not cross the river at all, others can do so after having performed a sacrifice with goats and fowls. Any traveller who wishes to cross the river must leave behind him the rice which [485] he has taken for the journey, and any other food supplies he may have brought with him. This superstition often results in serious inconvenience to travellers between the Jaintia Hills and North Cachar, unless they have arranged for another batch of coolies to meet them on the Cachar side of the River Kopili, for the Synteng coolies throw down their loads at the river side, and nothing will induce them to cross the river. The Kopili is propitiated by pujas in many parts of the Jaintia Hills, and at Nartiang a tank where sacrifices are regularly performed is called Ka U'mkoi Kopili.

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SECTION IV.

RELIGION.

GENERAL CHARACTER OF POPULAR BELIEFS.

THE Khasis have a vague belief in a God the Creator, *U Blei Nong-thaw*, although this deity, owing, no doubt, to the influences of the matriarchate, is frequently given the attribute of the feminine gender, *cf.*, *Ka lei Synshar*. The Khasis cannot, however, be said to worship the Supreme God, although it is true that they sometimes invoke him when sacrificing and in times of trouble. The religion of the Khasis may be described as animism or spirit-worship, or rather, the propitiation of spirits both good and evil on certain occasions, principally in times of trouble. The propitiation of these spirits is carried out either by priests (*lyngdohs*), or by old men well versed in the arts of necromancy, and as the *lyngdoh* or wise man deals with good as well as evil spirits, and, as often as not, with the good spirits of ancestors, the propitiation of these spirits may be said to partake of the nature of Shamanism. A very prominent feature of the Khasi beliefs is the propitiation of ancestors; but this will be described separately. There is a vague belief amongst the Khasi of a future state. It is believed that the spirits of the dead, whose funeral ceremonies have been duly performed, go to the house or garden of God, where there are groves of betel-nut trees; hence the expression for the departed, *uba bam kwai ha iing u blei* (he who is eating betel-nut in God's house), the idea of supreme happiness to the Khasi being to eat betel-nut uninterruptedly. The spirits of those whose funeral ceremonies have not been duly performed are believed to take the forms of animals, birds, or

776 771 782 791 793 769 775 276 764 775 764

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insects, and to roam on this earth; but this idea of transmigration of souls has been probably borrowed from the Hindus. Bivar writes that although the ideas of a Godhead are not clearly grasped, yet a supreme creator is acknowledged, and that the following is the tradition relating to the creation of man. "God in the beginning having created man, placed him on the earth, but on returning to look at him, found he had been destroyed by the evil spirit. This happened a second time, whereupon the Deity created first a dog, then a man; and the dog, who kept watch, prevented the devil from destroying the man, and the work of the Deity was thus preserved." The Khasis, apparently, do not believe in punishment after death, at least, there is no idea of hell, although the spirits of those who have died under the ban of *sang* remain uneasy, being obliged to wander about the earth in different forms, as noted above. The spirits worshipped by the Khasis are many in number, those of the Syntengs being specially numerous. The particular spirit to be propitiated is ascertained by egg-breaking. The offering acceptable to the spirit is similarly ascertained and is then made. If the particular sacrifice does not produce the result desired, a fowl is sacrificed; the entrails being then examined, an augury is drawn, and the sacrifice begins afresh. As the process of egg-breaking is believed to be peculiar * to the Khasis amongst the Assam hill tribes, a separate description of it is given in the Appendix. It should be remarked that the Khasis never symbolize their gods by means of images, their worship being offered to the spirit only. The following are some of the principal spirits worshipped by the Khasis and Syntengs, omitting the spirits of deceased ancestors such as *Ka Iawebi*, *u Thawlang*, and *u Suidnia*, which will be described under the heading of ancestor-worship.

U'Ki aulak—the god of the State, who is propitiated yearly by the sacrifice of a goat and a cock.

U'ki umtong—the god of water, used for drinking and cooking purposes. This god is similarly propitiated once a year, so that the water supply may remain pure.

* Sir Charles Lyall has pointed out that the Mikirs possess this custom; it is probably borrowed from the Khasis.

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U lei longpah—the god of wealth. This god is propitiated with a view to obtaining increased prosperity.

U Ryngkew, or *u Basa shaong*, is the tutelary deity of the village. This godling is propitiated by sacrifices whenever they are thought to be necessary.

U Phan u kyrpod is a similar godling to the above.

Then follows a list of minor deities, or, rather, evil spirits, e.g. *Ka Bih*, the malarial fever devil; *ka Khlem*, the demon of cholera; *ka Duba*, the fever devil which is said to haunt the neighbourhood of Theriaghat.

Bivar says "the Khasi religion may be thus briefly defined as forms used to cure diseases and to avert misfortunes, by ascertaining the name of the demon, as the author of the evil, and the kind of sacrifice necessary to appease it." We may accept this description as substantially correct. In the Jaintia Hills, there is a peculiar superstition regarding a she devil, called "*ka Tarok*," which is supposed to cause delirium in cases of fever. When such cases occur, it is believed that "*ka Tarok*" has caused them, and inquiries are made by means of breaking eggs to find out in whose person the demon has obtained a lodgment; or sometimes the sick person is asked to reveal this. When in either of these ways the name of the person possessed by "*ka Tarok*" is known, the sick person is taken to the house of the possessed, and ashes and bits of broken pots are cast into the enclosure, after which, if the sick person recovers, the party indicated is denounced as possessed by the demon; but if the patient dies, it is concluded that the person possessed has not been properly ascertained. If people are satisfied that some one is really possessed, they denounce the person, who is then out-casted. The only way for him to regain his position is to exorcise the demon by divesting himself of all his property. He pulls down his house, burns the materials, his clothes, and all his other worldly goods. Lands, flocks, and herds are sold, the money realised by the sale being thrown away. No one dares touch this money, for fear he should become possessed by *ka Tarok*. It will be observed that, as in the case of the *thlew*, the demon is believed to follow the property.

Mr. Jenkins, in his interesting little work on "Life and

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and offered to help them with their cultivation. The Khasis also refused her, saying they were capable of managing their own cultivation, and at the same time told her to go to the country of the Bhois and Syntengs, i.e. the Jaintia Hills. Acting on this advice, she went to the village of Nongphyllud in the Jaintia Hills, where the people again turned a deaf ear to her. She proceeded to Mulagula village in Jaintia, at the foot of the Jaintia Hills, and ascended from thence to Rymbai, where she met a man who conducted her to the house of the Siem, who consented that she and her children should live with him. Ka Taben then apportioned to her children various duties in the house of the Siem as follows:—Ka Basong was to look after the young unmarried folk, and was to supervise their daily labour and to prosper their trading operations at the markets. Next Ka Basong was given a place at the foot of the king post, *trai riskot*, and her duty was to befriend young men in battle. Then came *Ka Longkhuiarwid*, alias *ka Thab-bulong*, who said, "There are no more rooms in the house for my occupation, so I will go and live in the forest, and him who turns not his coat when I meet him I will make mad." Finally came *U Lomsymphud*, who elected to live with his youngest sister inside the house.

There are special sacrifices offered to these household deities. The leaves of the *swing*, or Khasi oak, are wrapped round the post of the house, and a fowl is sacrificed and other formalities are observed which it would be tedious to describe in detail. The legend of the arrival of Ka Taben with her children in the Syntong country from a distant clime is interesting in that it perhaps indicates the possibility of the migration of these people, i.e. the Syntengs, in ancient times from some distant place to their present abode.

ANCESTOR-WORSHIP.

The Khasis not only revere the memories of deceased ancestors, but they adore them by means of offerings, which are sometimes periodical, and sometimes made when thought neces-

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WORSHIP OF NATURAL FORCES AND OF DEITIES.

133 In the Khasi Hills, especially on the southern side, there are numerous rivers, sometimes of considerable size, which find their way to the Sylhet plains through very deep valleys, the rivers flowing through narrow channels flanked by beetling cliffs which rise to considerable altitudes. The scenery in the neighbourhood of these beautiful rivers is of the most romantic description, and the traveller might imagine himself in Switzerland were it not for the absence of the snowy ranges. Of such a description is the scenery on the banks of the river Kenchi-
823 yong, the Jádukáti * or Punatit of the plains. It is in the bed
776 of the river, a few miles below Rilang, that there is the
782 curiously-arched cavity in the rock which resembles an upturned boat, which the Khasis call *Ka lieng blei* (the god's boat), and the plains people Baslanya's ship. Near to this, on the opposite side of the river, there is a rock bearing a Persian inscription, but so defaced by the action of the water as to be impossible to decipher. Like other inhabitants of mountainous countries, the Khasis reverence the spirits of fell and fall, and
226 propitiate them with offerings at stated times. A brief descrip-
782 tion of the ceremonies which are performed at Rilang, on the
776 occasion when the annual fishing in the river Punatit takes
787 place, may be of interest. The three Siems of Nongstoin, Langrin, and Nobosohpoh each sacrifice a goat to *Ka blei sam* ***ma*** (the goddess of the river) before the boatmen can cast in their nets. In former times they say the passage up the river was obstructed by the goddess, who took the form of an immense crocodile; but she was propitiated by the gift of a goat, and the boatmen were then allowed to pass up the river in their boats. Hence it became necessary for the owners of the fishery to sacrifice annually a goat each to the goddess. At the time of my visit each Siem's party erected an altar in the bed of the river, in the midst of which a bough of the Khasi oak (*dieng sning*) was planted. The goats were then decapitated, it being considered an essential that the head

* Lit.: Cut by magic.

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should be severed with one blow. As soon as the head was cut off there was a rush on the part of the sacrificers to see in which direction the head faced. If the head faced towards the north or west, it was considered an evil omen; if it faced towards the south or east, a good omen. The east is a lucky quarter amongst the Assamese also. The people ended up the proceedings by giving a long-drawn-out, deep-toned chant, or *kynhoi*. Immediately after the ceremony was concluded hundreds of boats shot out from the numerous creeks, where they had been lying, and fished the river all night, the result being an immense haul, to the delight of the Lynngams, who were seen next morning roasting the fish whole on bamboo stakes, after which they consumed them, the entrails being eaten with great gusto. Such is the worship of the goddess of the Punatit.

Similar pujas take place among the people of Wár-ding (the valley of fire) before they fish in the Khai-mara river and elsewhere in the Khasi Hills. In the Jaintia Hills there is the Synteng-worship of the Kopili river, which used to be accompanied by human sacrifices, as has been mentioned above, pp. 102-104. The Myntang river, a tributary of the Kopili, must also be annually appeased by the sacrifice of a he-goat. Numerous hills also are worshipped, or rather the spirits which are said to inhabit them. One of the best known hill godlings is the deity who is thought to inhabit the little wood close to the summit of the Shillong Peak. This deity is said to have been discovered by a man named "U Shillong," who gave his name to the Shillong Peak, and indirectly to our beautiful hill station. The Siems of Mylliem and Nongkrem reverence *U'lei Shillong*, and there are certain clans who perform periodical sacrifices to this god. Probably the origin of the superstitious reverence with which U'lei Shillong is held by the Siems of Nongkrem and Mylliem is that their fabled ancestress "Ka Pah Syntiew," of whom an account will be found in the folk-lore section, took her origin from a rock not far from the Shillong Peak in the Nongkrem direction.

Rableng Hill, which is within full view of the Shillong Peak in an easterly direction, is also said to be the abode of a minor god who is periodically propitiated by the members of the Máwthoh clan of the Khyrim State with a he-goat and a cock.

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823 776 Apparently no special puja is performed to U Kyllang (the Kyllang Rock) nowadays.

782 The picturesque hill of Symper, which rises abruptly from the plain in the Siemship of Maharam, is visible for many miles. It is in shape not unlike the Kyllang. Symper is said to be the abode of a god called "U Symper." There is a folk-tale [773] that Kyllang and Symper fought a great battle, and that the numerous holes in the rocks at the base of the Symper hill are evidences of their strife. At the base of Symper there is a great cave, where many cattle find shelter in rainy weather. The people of Mawsynram propitiate the god of Symper in cases of sickness by sacrificing a he-goat or a bull. Symper, like *U'lei Shillong*, is one of the minor deities of the Khasis.

Close to Shangpung, in the Jaintia Hills, there is a small hill called "*u lúm pyddieng blai lyngdoh*," where sacrifices are offered on an altar at seed time and when the corn comes into ear. This altar used to be overshadowed by a large oak tree. The tree is now dead.

823 776 The Wars of Nongjri worship "*u'lei lyngdoh*," the tutelary deity of the village, under the spreading roots of a large rubber tree which gives its name to this village Nongjri. This village worship is performed by a village priest (*lyngdoh*) at stated intervals, or whenever it is considered necessary. There are numerous other instances of hills and rivers being regarded as the abode of godlings, but those quoted above are sufficient for purposes of illustration.

RELIGIOUS RITES AND SACRIFICES, DIVINATION.

776 782 753 787 The Khasis, as has been explained already, worship numerous gods and goddesses. These gods and goddesses are supposed to exercise good or evil influence over human beings according to whether they are propitiated with sacrifices or not. They are even supposed to possess the power of life and death, over men and women, subject to the control of *u Blei Nongtháw*, God the Creator. Thus illness, for example, is thought to be caused by one or more of the spirits on account of some act or omission, and health can only be

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restored by the due propitiation of the offended spirits. 776
In order to ascertain which is the offended spirit, a system 782
of divination by means of cowries, breaking eggs, or 753
examining the entrails of animals and birds, was instituted. 787
The Khasi method of obtaining auguries by examining the viscera of animals and birds may be compared with that of the Roman *haruspex*. Some description of these modes of divination has been given at the end of this chapter. The 771
Khasi religion has been described by Bivar as "demon worship, 773
or a jumble of enchantments muttered by priests who are 783
sorcerers." But even a religion which is thus unflatteringly 825
described is based on the cardinal doctrines of sin and sacrifice for sin. Tradition amongst the Khasis states that in the beginning (*mynnyngkong ka sngi*) there was no sin, heaven and earth were near each other, and man had direct intercourse with God. How man fell into sin is not stated, but it is certain that he did fall. Experts at "egg healing" never forget to repeat the formula "*nga briéw nga la pop*" (I man have sinned). The cock then appears as a mediator between God and man. The cock is styled "*u khún ka blei uba kit ryndang ba shah ryndang na ka bynta jong nga u briéw*," i.e. the son of god who lays down his neck (life) for me man. The use of the feminine *ka blei* is no doubt due to matriarchal influences. There is another prayer in which the Khasis say, "*ap jutang me u blei ieng rangbah me u briéw*" (oh god do not forget the covenant, arise oh man). The idea is that man has fallen into sins of omission and commission (*ka pop, ka lait ka let*) but that God is nevertheless expected to spare him, and to accept a substitute for him according to the covenant (*jutang*). By this covenant God is supposed to have accepted in exchange the cock as a substitute for man. How the cock came to occupy such an 771
important position, tradition is vague and self-conflicting. The 825
fact remains that the covenant of the cock is the foundation 171
of the Khasi religion. It is of interest to mention that amongst the Ahoms the tradition is that Khunlung and Khunlái brought down from heaven the *kái-chán-mung*,* or pair of heavenly fowls, and that to this day the sacrifice of the

* In Ahom *kái* = fowl, *chán* = beautiful, *mung* = country. Therefore *Kái-chán-mung* = fowl of a beautiful country (heaven).

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787 [791] case. The Khasi word for consulting the omens is *khan*, and a diviner is called a *nongkhan*. Another method of obtaining omens is by dropping two leaves into a pool of water or on a stone, the position of the leaves as they fall, either right side uppermost or upside down, signifying good or evil as the case may be; this is called *khan-sla*.

PRIESTHOOD.

793 104 The Khasi priest is usually called *Lyngdoh*, or *langdoh*; he is always appointed from the lyngdoh clan. The etymology of the word *lyngdoh* is said by certain lyngdohs of the Khyrim State to be *lang*=together and *doh*=flesh. A *lyngdoh*, or *langdoh*, is one who collects sacrificial victims, i.e. flesh for the purpose of sacrificing. It must be confessed, however, that this definition is doubtful, owing to the absence in the word *lyngdoh* of the prefix *nong* which is the sign of the agent in Khasi. Besides *lyngdohs* there are persons called *soh-blei* or *soh-sla*, who may 793 also be said to be priests. The Khasis, unlike the Hindus, have [604] no *purohit* or priest to perform the family ceremonies. Such duties fall to the lot of the head of the family or clan, who 782 carries them out generally through the agency of the *kni*, or maternal uncle. Old Khasis are frequently well versed in the details of sacrifices, and in the art of obtaining auguries by examining the viscera of sacrificial victims. Apart from family and clan sacrifices, there are the sacrifices for the good of the State or community at large; it is these sacrifices that it is the duty of the *lyngdoh* to perform. He may be said to be the priest of the communal religion, although he has certain duties in connection with offences committed against the social law of marriage, and with regard to the casting out of evil spirits from houses which may be thought to be infested with them. The lyngdohs of the Khasis may be likened to the Roman *pontifices*. 793 In the different Khasi States there is, as a rule, more 631 than one *lyngdoh*; sometimes there is quite a number of such priests, as in Nongkrem where there is a *lyngdoh* for each *raj* 793 or division of the state. There are a few Khasi States where 643 the priest altogether takes the place of the Siem, and rules the community with the help of his elders in addition to perform-

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793 *lyngdoh* to this god. As in the case of sacrifices to *Ka lei*
776 *Raj*, the services of a priestess are indispensable.

A *lyngdoh* is a *lyngdoh* for life. When a lyngdoh dies and
793 his successor is appointed, certain rather elaborate ceremonies
are observed in the Nongkrem *raj* of the Khyrim State. The
535 funeral ceremonies of the old *lyngdoh* having been completed,
782 the *lyngdoh* clan appoints his successor. The latter then, after performing his ablutions, proceeds, accompanied by the assembled members of the *lyngdoh* clan, to the top of the Shillong Peak. The lyngdoh and his clansmen advance along the road dancing, this dancing being carried on all the way from the *lyngdoh's* house to the Shillong Peak. All are clad in the distinctive Khasi dancing dress. Having reached the Peak, they pick the leaves of a tree called *ka 'la phiah*, which they spread on the ground. A goat and a cock are then sacrificed, the new *lyngdoh* acting as the sacrificer. There are the usual accessories, including branches of the Khasi *sning* or oak. Nine portions (*dykhot*) are cut from different parts of the victims and are offered to the god of the Shillong Peak, *U lei Shillong*. The *lyngdoh* and his companions then perform obeisance three times to the god, and the lyngdoh walks backwards some paces. The puja is then over, and they return dancing to the lyngdoh's house. On another day the *lyngdoh* performs a puja to *u lei Lyngdoh*, alias *u Ramjah*. Undoubtedly the most interesting feature of the ceremonies on these occasions is the dancing. This dancing is carried out by the *lyngdoh* and his companions armed with sword and shield, a fly-flap made of goat's hair (*symphiah*) being also sometimes held in one hand, a quiver of arrows being slung on the back, and a plume of black and white cocks' feathers (*u thuya*) fixed in the turban. The dance is executed in a regular figure, the dancers advancing and retiring in an orderly and methodical manner, and finally clashing their swords together in mock combat. The dance of the present day is not unlikely the survival of a war dance of ancient times. The lyngdohs say they dance in honour of *U lei Lyngdoh*, to whom such dances are thought to be pleasing. The dance of the lyngdohs on these occasions may be compared with that of the Roman *salii*, who, in the month of March, performed a war dance in honour of Mars.

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The above and other similar sacrifices to the gods of the State or divisions of the State may be said to be the communal religious duties of the *lyngdohs*. The duties of *lyngdohs* with reference to private persons may now be mentioned. When it is found that any two people have made an incestuous marriage, that is to say a marriage within the exogamous group of the *kur*, or clan, the parties at fault are taken before the *lyngdoh* by their clansmen, who request him to sacrifice in order to ward off the injurious effects of the *sang*, or taboo, of such a connection from the kinsfolk. On this occasion a pig is sacrificed to *u'lei lyngdoh* and a goat to *ka lei long raj*. The parties at fault are then outcasted. As mentioned in another place, the sin of incest admits of no expiation for the offenders themselves. In the Khyrim State, it is said by the *lyngdohs* themselves, although not by the Siem or the myntries, that they are the reversionary legatees of all the persons who die without leaving female heirs (*iap duh*). In other Siemships such property passes to the Siem. The *lyngdoh* of Nongkrem can also take possession of the property of persons who have been found to harbour an evil spirit (*jingbih*) in their houses. It appears that in such cases the house and furniture are burnt, as in the case of the *Taroh* superstition in the Jaintia Hills, the *lyngdoh*, however, taking possession of jewellery or anything else of value. The only practical service the *lyngdoh* renders in return is to build the afflicted person a new house; unless, indeed, we take into account the casting forth of the devil by the *lyngdoh*. Mr. Jenkins, of Shangpung, in the Jaintia Hills, writes: "Such is the belief of the people in the evil spirits, that they are completely under the influence of the priests and spend large sums of money in order to secure their favour. They live in constant dread lest by the least transgression or omission they should offend these avaricious men and so bring upon themselves the wrath of the demons." The influence of the *lyngdohs* over the people in the Jaintia Hills seems to be stronger than in the Khasi Hills. For instance, it came to my notice in Raliang that crops cannot be cut until the *lyngdoh* has seen them, in other words, until the *lyngdoh* has claimed and obtained his share of the produce. In many places, however, in the Khasi Hills the *lyngdoh* is much disredited, owing, no doubt, to the advance of Christianity and education.

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CEREMONIES AND CUSTOMS ATTENDING BIRTH AND NAMING OF CHILDREN.

844 The Khasi birth ceremonies and customs are as follows:—
[784] When a child is born the umbilical cord is cut by a sharp
●782 splinter of bamboo; no knife can be used on this occasion. The Mundas of Chota Nagpur similarly taboo a metal instrument for this purpose. The child is then bathed in hot water from a red earthen pot. The placenta is carefully preserved in an earthen vessel in the house till after the naming ceremony has taken place. When the umbilical cord, after being tied, falls off, a puja is performed with eggs to certain water deities (*ka blei sam-um* and *ka niangriang*),* also to a forest spirit
553 (*u'suid bri* or *u'suid khláw*). The naming ceremony of the child
386 is performed the next morning after the birth. Certain females are invited to come and pound rice in a mortar into flour. The flour when ready is placed on a bamboo winnower (*u prah*). Fermented rice is mixed with water and is placed in a gourd. Some powdered turmeric is also provided, and is kept ready in a plantain leaf, also five pieces of *'kha piah*, or dried fish. The earthen pot containing the placenta is then placed in the *nongpei*, or centre room of the house. If the child is a male, they place near him a bow and three arrows (the implements of a Khasi warrior); if a female, a *da* and *u star*, or cane
553 head-strap for carrying burdens. An elderly man, who knows
782 how to perform the naming puja, which is called by the Khasis "*kaba jer khun*," places a plantain-leaf on the floor and sprinkles some water on it. He takes the gourd in his hand and calls a god to witness. The people assembled then mention a number of names for the child, and ask the man who is performing the puja to repeat them. This he does, and at the same time pours a little liquor from the gourd on to the ground. As he goes on pouring, the liquor by degrees becomes exhausted, and finally only a few drops remain. The name at the repeat-

* A spirit which is supposed to have the power of causing a disease of the navel of a child.

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ing of which the last drop of liquor remains adhering to the spout of the gourd is the name selected for the child. Then the puja performer invokes the god to grant good luck to the child. The father takes the pot containing the placenta, after having previously placed rice flour and fermented rice therein, and waves it three times over the child, and then walks out with it through the main entrance of the house and hangs up the pot to a tree outside the village. When he returns from this duty, before he re-enters the house, another throws water over the father's feet. The father, being thus cleansed, enters, and holds the rice flour to his mouth three times. Two people then, holding the dried fish by their two ends, break them in two. The powdered turmeric mixed with rice flour and water is applied to the right foot of the father, the mother and the child receiving the same treatment. The friends and relations are then anointed, the turmeric being applied, however, to their left feet. The bow, arrows, *da*, and *u star* are carefully placed inside the inner surface of the thatch on the roof, and the ceremony is over. Rice flour is then distributed to all who are present, and the male adults are given liquor to drink. After two or three months the ears of the child are bored and ear-rings are inserted. These ear-rings are called *ki shashkor iawbei* (i.e. the ear-rings of the great-grandmother). Mr. Jenkins mentions that the naming ceremony amongst the Syntengs is performed by the "eldest aunt," presumably on the mother's side. A basket of eggs is placed in the centre of the room, and before the ceremony begins one egg has to be broken. Then the aunt of the child takes two sticks, and, raising them to her shoulder, lets them fall to the ground. Before they fall she shouts, "What name do you give the child?" The name is mentioned, and if, on falling upon the ground, one stick crosses the other, it is a proof that the name has won the approval of the spirit. If the sticks do not fall in this position, another egg is broken and another name is chosen, and the sticks are dropped as before until they fall in the required position, when it is understood by the performers that the name is a good one. Mr. Jenkins was informed by a young man "who had renounced heathenism" that some of the more cunning women cross the sticks before lifting them, and that

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585 that they may prosper, that they may obtain rice and fish, that
788 they may possess hundreds and thousands; thus, oh god." The priest then pours liquor on the ground three times from the gourd, counting "one, two, three." He then continues the invocation thus, "*Hei*, thou, oh mother; oh grandmother; oh maternal uncle; oh father: oh *Suid-nia;* oh younger grandmother; oh elder grandmother; oh younger grandfather; oh elder grandfather. As the flesh has fallen (on the floor, i.e. the feast has been prepared), the ring has been put on, the three strips of flesh are ready (alluding to the three dried fish already mentioned), you will all of you (ancestors) give ear, you will continue giving strength and spirit (i.e. to the married pair) that they may be well" (and so on, as written in the first invocation). He then pours out the liquor three times as before. He then adjures the Siem, the elders, and all the people who do not belong to either of the two clans, and pours out liquor three times as before. The three pieces of dried fish are first placed on the *tympan*, the high rack above the fire-place, then removed and tied to the ridge-pole of the house, amidst shouts of
585 *Ho, hoi, hoi, hoi.* The poor then sacrifice a fowl, and the
769 rich a pig without blemish (*uba tlem*), to *u Suid nia* and *ka Iaw-bei* (the spirits of deceased ancestors of the family), and present them with *dykhot*, or pieces of flesh. Two or three days afterwards, the bride, accompanied by her female relatives, pays a visit to the bridegroom at his house, and after this they go and come as they like to one another's houses.
591 After two or three children have been born, they take down the
782 pieces of dried fish from the roof and sacrifice two pigs, one on behalf of the husband and another on behalf of the wife. Then they say there can be no possible *sang*, and husband and wife use each other's things and pool their earnings, and if the husband has a house of his own, the wife can go and live with him; this, however, is not the custom amongst many of the Syntengs, who more strictly observe the principles of the
585 matriarchate. The cost of the marriage ceremonies amongst
435 Khasis, Syntengs and Wárs, may be put down at between Rs. 50 and Rs. 200 according to the position of the parties.

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LAMDOH CEREMONY.

This ceremony is identical with that of *Pynhiar synjat*, except that the bride and bridegroom do not interchange rings, and that there is no sacrifice of the pig. The parties merely buy some pig's flesh and perform a puja with a small portion of the flesh of the legs of the animal. Amongst the poor, fish sometimes takes the place of pork at the *Iadih-kiad* ceremony. The latter consists of a drinking bout mingled with muttered sentences by a *nongkinia* (sacrificer), the invocations and prayers being the same as at the *Pynhiar synjat*. The *Lamdoh* and *Iadih-kiad* ceremonies take the place of the more elaborate *Pynhiar synjat* in most places now-a-days.

LYNNGAM MARRIAGES.

The ritual observed at these marriages is described as under:—First of all a proposal is made in the following manner. A *ksiang*, or go-between, is sent, with the brother of the girl for whom a husband is required, to the house of the father of the young man (not to the house of the mother as is the case with the Khasis). If the proposal is accepted, the father of the young man kills a pig, and gives a feast to the people of the village of his father-in-law elect; also to the go-between and the *borang* (brother of the bride). The father of the bride then gives a similar feast. A sum of Rs. 1 each is given as a present to the go-between by the fathers of the bride and bridegroom, and the father of the bride pays from Rs. 5 to Rs. 15 to the father of the bridegroom. Further feasting ensues at the house of the father of the bride. The go-betweens then sacrifice a pig and two fowls at the house of the bridegroom, and afterwards perform the same sacrifice at the house of the bride. At the house of the bride, after the fowls and the pig have been sacrificed, the go-between, after drinking liquor himself, pours out some on the floor of the house and then gives some to the bride and bridegroom to drink. The killing of the fowls, the sacrifice of the pig, and the libation of liquor are essentials at a Lynngam marriage. The sacrifice of the fowls is also an essential feature

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585 of a Garo marriage. The Lynngams, unlike the Garos, do not
782 observe which way the beaks of the fowls turn when they are thrown on the ground after being sacrificed. The Lynngams,
787 like the Khasis, take auguries from the entrails of the fowls and the pig. After these ceremonies are over, the Lynngam pair are allowed to cohabit. The cost of an ordinary Lynngam
585 marriage is from Rs. 30 to Rs. 40. The marriage system in
435 vogue among the Lynngams may be described as a mixture of the Khasi and Garo customs. As has already been stated,
161 the Lynngams are a mongrel breed of Khasis and Garos.

CEREMONIES ATTENDING DEATH.

764 The death customs of the Khasis are not only very elaborate, but possess a significance of their own, it is, therefore, necessary to describe them in detail; they are as follows:—

763 A member of the family bends down towards the ear of the apparently deceased person and calls him or her by name three times, to make sure that death has occurred. If no answer comes, the family laments, for it is then con-
764 cluded that the person is really dead. The body is then bathed
291 in warm water from three earthen pots and is reverently laid on a mat (*japung*), where it is dressed in white cloth, a peculiar feature of the dressing being that the waist-cloth and turban are folded from left to right, and not from right to left, as in the case of the living. An egg called *u'leng kpoh*
764 is placed on the stomach of the deceased, and nine fried grains, of *riw hadem*, or Indian corn, are tied round the head with a string. The rich place ear-rings in the ears and other jewellery on the body of the deceased, it being necessary that this jewellery should be specially made for the occasion, and they
[775] deck the corpse with valuable cloths. A cock, *u'iar krad lynti* (literally the cock that scratches the way), is sacrificed, the idea being that a cock will scratch a path for the spirit to the next world. A sacrifice of a bull, or of a cow in case the deceased is a woman, (*u* or *ka masi pynsum*,) follows. Portions of the left leg of the fowl and the lower part of the jaw of the bull or cow are kept, to be placed afterwards in the *mawshieng*, or bone,

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receptacle. A small basket (*ka shang*) is hung up over the head 764
of the corpse, the basket containing pieces (*dykhot*) of the sacrificed animals. A dish containing eatables, and betel-nut, and a jar of water are placed near the head of the corpse by way of offering refreshment to the spirit of the departed. The food is given each morning and evening that the corpse remains in the house; this is called *ái ja miet ja step*. Each night the corpse remains [534
in the house guns are fired, drums are beaten and flutes (*sháráti*) are played. It is a noteworthy custom that the body is not [801]
retained in the house for an even number of nights, the usual time being three nights. If it is intended to burn the body on a masonry pyre (*jingthang*), a bull (*u masi kynroh*) is sacrificed. If the body is placed in a coffin (*ka shyngoid*), a pig named *u'niang shyngoid* is sacrificed, and if it is intended to adorn the pyre with flags, a fowl called *u'iar kait* is sacrificed. On the day of the funeral procession pigs are sacrificed by the relatives and friends of the deceased; those who cannot afford pigs bring liquor (*ka'iad rong*), a small portion of which they pour on the funeral pyre. The coffin is laid on a bamboo bier (*ka krong*), money being placed close to the corpse, so that the spirit of the deceased may possess the wherewithal to buy food on its journey. Cotton, or, in the case of the rich, silk cloths are tied cross-ways over the bier, if the deceased is a male, and in the form of a parallelogram, if it is a female. Before lifting the bier a [783]
handful of rice and water from a jar are thrown outside, and a goat (*u'lang sait ksuid*) is sacrificed. These are purificatory ceremonies. The funeral procession then forms up and slowly passes along the way to the plaintive music of flutes (*sharati*) and the beating of drums. At intervals, in the case of the rich, salutes from guns are fired. Copper coins are also scattered along the route. On nearing the pyre the dead body is exposed to view, and the pieces of flesh of the sacrificial animals, which are with the corpse, are thrown away. They make ready three baked loaves (*ki kpu*), an egg, the lower jaw-bones of the animals which have been sacrificed, the left leg of the fowl (*u'iar krad lynti*), a jar of water, eatables in a dish, and a bow and three arrows. A goat is then sacrificed, *u'lang máwkjat*. [782]
The corpse is laid on the pyre, inside the coffin, if one is used, with the head to the west and the feet to the east. Logs of

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764 wood are placed around the body, and the egg; "*u'leng kpoh*," is broken, not over the stomach of the deceased, as has been sometimes supposed, but by being thrown on the pyre in the direction of the feet of the corpse. Fire is applied to the pyre, first by the *kur*, or members of the clan, and then by the children, if any, of the [782] deceased. Another fowl, "*u'iar padat*," is sacrificed, its blood being smeared round the pyre three times, and across the corpse three times. The bier is then broken to pieces, the cloths having been removed from it previously. The eatables and the jaw-bones of the sacrificial animals are then placed at the head of the pyre. After the fowl (*u'iar padat*) has been sacrificed, the three arrows already mentioned are shot from the bow, one to the north, another to the south, and the third to the east. These arrows are called *ki 'nam tympem*. It is, perhaps, significant that the [844] arrows which are shot at death correspond in numbers with [782] those which are used at the time of the birth ceremony. When the fire has blazed up, another goat, "*u'lang dholia*," is sacrificed. In some cases all the clothes of the deceased are burnt with the body, in others the clothes are merely held over the fire and then taken away, after which they can be used (this is only in the case of poor persons). Before leaving the burning-place the relatives and friends of the deceased place betel-nuts on the pyre and bid farewell to the deceased, saying "*Khublei khie leit bam kwai sha iing u Blei ho*" (good-bye, go and eat betel-nut in 765 the house of god). When the body has been thoroughly burnt, 764 the fire is extinguished with water, and the uncalcined bones are collected by the relatives in three trips. The collectors are not allowed to turn back and pick up a bone which has been forgotten in any one of these trips. The bones thus collected are carefully wrapped in a piece of white cloth by the female relatives, and an old member of the family throws on the ground some powdered rice from a leaf, at the same time adjuring the spirit of the deceased not to trouble the *kur*, or the family, as the funeral ceremonies have been duly performed. The party then sets out to the [226] bone repository, or *mawshieng*. In front walks one who strews along the line of route leaves of the tree known by the Khasis as *dieng shit* (the berries of which are used for fishing with), and grains of rice, all the way from the pyre to the cairn.

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765 If any stream has to be crossed, a rough bridge is made of
764 branches and grass. This trail of leaves and the bridges are intended to guide the spirit of the deceased to the cairn. The person who carries the bones is not allowed to turn round, or to the right, or to the left, but must proceed straight to the cairn. On reaching it, a *nongknia*, or sacrificer, washes the bones three times and then places them in an earthen pot, tying up the mouth with a white cloth. Then, having taken three pieces of the hard yolk of an egg, three loaves of bread, the leg of the fowl, "*u'iar krad lynti*," and the lower jaw-bones of the animals which have been sacrificed, he places them inside the cairn and shuts the door. Eatables and
765 betel-nut are then placed on the top of the cairn. Early next
787 morning the relatives and friends go to the cairn with fresh food and water, and look about for new foot-prints, the idea being
[775] that from these foot-prints they can foretell future events. This they do until the third night after the cremation. During these three nights the front door of the house formerly occupied by the deceased is never closed, it being thought that the spirit may wish to return and visit its earthly abode. The whole family is moreover *sang*, or taboo, during this period, and no manner of work can be done. When the three nights are over, it is called the *lait ia*, i.e. the days (of mourning) are passed, and three eggs are broken to ascertain what was the cause of the death. After this the family goes to bathe, and
[783] the clothes and mats in the house are washed. When this has been done, the taboo is removed and the family can go to work. After a month a pig or a fowl is sacrificed, the ceremony
782 being called "*ai bam lait bnai*." It will be observed that *three*
765 seems to be the lucky number throughout these funeral
801 ceremonies. The number seems to bear a similar significance in other matters of Khasi ritual, e.g. the pouring out of libations, which is always done three times.

587 It is *sang* or taboo for a Khasi widow to re-marry within one
428 year from the death of her husband, there is a similar prohibition for a husband re-marrying; but such *sang* can be got over by the payment of a fine to the clan of the deceased. After the expiration of one year the fine is reduced in amount. Khasi widows do not as a rule re-marry, according to U Jeebon Roy,

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587 unless they have no female children, in which case the clan
428 urges them to re-marry, so that the chain of inheritance may not be broken, inheritance amongst the Khasis always passing in the female line.

CUSTOMS IN CONNECTION WITH DEATHS BY VIOLENCE OR ACCIDENT.

766 These customs are interesting enough to deserve a separate
782 description; they are as follows:—

776 If a man dies by the sword, before his body can be burnt, a sacrifice of a black hen must be offered to *Ka Tyrut*, the goddess of death. The bones are then placed in a stone cairn. Again they are removed, and, after eggs have been broken, are taken to a river bank and there washed. If there is no river at hand, a tank is dug for the purpose, which is called *umkoi*. There are various such *umkois* in different parts of the district, e.g. near Raliang and Nartiang. A sacrifice of a goat is offered to the god *U Syngkai Bamon*, and a sow to *Ka Ramshandi*, both of whom are evil deities. Another sow is sacrificed to *Ka Tyrut*. After this the bones are placed in another newly-built cairn. The ceremony of placing the bones in one and [787] then removing them to another cairn is usually performed three times; but unless the auspices, as deduced from the eggs, are favourable, the relatives must go on sacrificing and removing the bones until they are so. These ceremonies having been completed, they erect a flat table-stone, or *mawkynthei*, for the ghost of the departed to sit upon, and return home, where they propitiate their ancestors with offerings of food. In the case of the murdered victims of the *thlen* superstition the same ceremonies are observed. For people who have died by drowning, or been killed by wild animals, and for women who have died in child-birth, similar pujas are
766 offered, except that a sacrifice to *U Syngkai Bamon* does not take place. In the case of one who has died at a distance from
782 his home, e.g. in a foreign country, whose body has not been burnt in accordance with custom, and whose bones have not been collected, the members of his clan, or his children, take three or five seeds or cowries (*sbai*) to a place where three roads meet. Here they summon the spirit of the departed in a loud voice,

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and throw up the seeds or cowries into the air, and when they fall to the ground they say, "*to alle noh ba ngin sa lum sa kynshew noh ia phi*," come now we will collect you (the idea being that the seeds represent the bones of the deceased). Having collected the seeds, they place them on a bier and perform the service for the dead just in the same way as if a real dead body were to hand. If possible, a portion of the dead person's clothes should be burnt with the seeds in the bier, and it is with this view that the coats or cloths of Khasi coolies, who die when employed as porters on military expeditions at a distance from their homes, are brought back by their friends to give to the relatives. If a person dies of cholera, small-pox, or other such infectious or contagious disease, the body is buried, but is dug up again and burnt with all the customary rites when fear of infection or contagion is over. In parts of the district upright stones called *maw-umkoi* are erected along the line of route when the remains of a person who has met with an accidental death are brought home. This is stated to be the case in the Rambrai Siemship.

MISCELLANEOUS CUSTOMS IN CONNECTION WITH DEATH.

In Nongjri, a large village in the War Country, the dead body is placed on a bier near the door of the house, a turban being tied about the head, the face being left bare and turned towards the door. In some of the Shella villages a second cremation is performed, in which a bamboo frame-work represents the corpse. This second cremation takes place when the body has been disposed of without the requisite ceremonies. The bones and ashes of the dead in Shella are in some cases kept in a cavity hollowed out of a post erected for the purpose. The bones and ashes find a temporary resting-place here, but are afterwards removed to a cromlech.

At Nartiang, in the Jaintia Hills, the head of the corpse is shaved, but a tuft of hair in the middle of the head is left; this is called (*u'niuh Iawbei*), the great grandmother's lock. At Nartiang betel-nut, which has been chewed by one of the mourners, is put into the mouth of the corpse, also cooked rice. There is

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the bones of males and females being kept in separate bundles wrapped in white cloth, two women of the clan reverently carrying them in their arms, holding the bundles of bones to their breasts. One female carries the bones of the males and the other those of the females. In front of these women walks an old man who scatters along the way leaves of the *dieng-shit* tree and grains of rice, and when it is necessary to cross any stream or river, he ties a thread from one side of the bank to the other, this is for the spirit of the departed to cross the water. Sometimes *u'sam tokrik*, a kind of long grass, is used instead of thread for the above purpose. On arrival at the clan puja-house, the bones of the males are laid on one bed and those of the females on another, the beds being bedecked with rich hangings. A cock, *u'iar kradlyati* (lit.: "the cock which scratches the way"), is sacrificed, this sacrifice being considered by the Khasis to be of peculiar significance. A pig, a cock, and a bull are then sacrificed, and portions of the above are offered to the spirits of the deceased. These offerings are known by the name of *ai-bam*, and are placed in a basket which is hung up in the house, together with the left thigh of the fowl and the lower jaw-bone of the bullock. A dance is performed that night, first in the house by two women, one belonging to the clan and the other an outsider, and afterwards in a specially prepared place outside the house called "*lymposg*." The *sharati*, or flute, which is played at funerals is sounded, drums are beaten, and bombs are exploded. This dancing lasts from one to nine days, the limit being always an uneven number of days. At Cherra two effigies called *Ka Peron* and *U Tyngshop* are prepared and dressed up; the former is intended to represent *Ka Iaubei*, the first ancestress, and the other *U Suidnio*, the first maternal uncle of the clan. These effigies are held in the hands of the dancers. In the meantime two lines of upright stones consisting of three each, with a table-stone in front of each line, have been set up. These are called *marijat* or *mawlyati*, and are intended to serve as resting-places for the spirits of the dead on their way to the tomb of the clan. These stones are generally not more than three feet in height, and must not be confounded with the larger stones or *mawbynar*. On the night before it is proposed to deposit the

764 764 782 [775] [535] [776] 764

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764 211 *Iawbei khynraw*, or *ka Iawbei kpoh* (the grandmother of the family, or branch of the family). It frequently happens that there are two flat table-stones in front of the upright stones, the one on the left being *ka Iawbei tynrai*, or the first ancestress, and the one on the right *ka Iawbei longkpoh*, the grandmother of the branch of the clan to which the memorialists belong, or *ka Iawbei khynraw*, the young grandmother, i.e. the grandmother of the actual family to which the memorialists belong. In olden days it used to be the custom for the clans-[772] people to place offerings of food on the flat table-stones for the shades of the departed ancestors, and this is sometimes the case still; but now it is more frequently the custom to make these offerings in the *iing-seng*, or clan puja-house. The flat table-stones are some 2 to 2½ ft. from the ground, and it is difficult to resist the impression that they were originally sacrificial stones, i.e. that animals or even human beings were actually 773 sacrificed upon them. In connection with this theory I would 782 refer to the interesting folk-tale about the Kopili river. It is 211 here related that in olden days human victims were sacrificed to the Kopili goddess on the flat table-stone (*maw-kynthei*) at a place called *Iew Kaiñ*, close to the Kopili river. A careful search has been made for this stone, with the result that a flat table-stone has been found near the above village, where goats are still annually sacrificed to the Kopili. The *doloi* reports that this is an ancient custom. None can remember, however, having heard that human victims were ever sacrificed there. Yet I do not think it at all unlikely that this is the stone, locally called *Mynlep*, which is referred to in the folk-tale. At Jaintiapur and Nartiang, both of which places were the headquarters of the kings of Jaintia, there are very large table-stones. We know for a fact that human sacrifices used to take place at Jaintiapur. Is it possible that human beings were immolated on these table-stones? It would be unsafe to base any conclusion on the solitary folk-tale about the *Iew Kaiñ* table-stone; but the tale certainly furnishes food for reflection. The Khasis borrowed their [777] religious customs largely from the Synteng inhabitants of 782 Jaintia, and it is possible that they may have obtained the 211 custom of erecting the table-stones from the Syntengs also, 769 and that the latter were originally used [illegible] for sacrificing human victims.

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783 and that the latter were originally used by both of them
211 for sacrificing human victims. Sometimes, immediately on either
769 side of the *maukai*, or large central stone, there are two much smaller stones called *maukiing*, or the stone of the drum, and *maukait*, the stone of the plantain; the drum being used in all religious ceremonies by the Khasis, and the plantain relating to their custom of feeding young children on plantains. The *mawsaw* must be described separately from the *mawlynna*, because they differ from them in an important particular, i.e. that the former may be erected to commemorate the father, while the latter are set up to perpetuate the memory of the ancestors on the female side of the family. *Maw-saw* consist of three upright stones and one flat table-stone in front. The large central stone is called a *maw thawlang*, or the stone of the father, and the upright stones on either side are meant to represent the father's brothers or nephews. The flat table-stone is *ka lowbei*, i.e. the grandmother of the father, not the first grandmother of the clan, as in the case of the *mawlynna*.

211 (*c*) The *maw ankoi* have already been described. They
783 are erected to mark the sites of purifatory tanks, which
766 have been dug so that the remains of deceased persons may be cleansed from the impurities attending an unnatural death, and to counteract the adverse influence upon the clan of *Ka Tyrut*, or the goddess of death. These stones are sometimes called *mawtyrut*.

211 (*d*) *Maw-shongthait*, or stones upon which weary travellers
485 sit, are to be found alongside all the principal lines of communication in the district. It may serve as an example of these stones to describe the very interesting collection of stones at Nartiang *hât*, or market. A reference is invited to the plate which gives a representation of some of the Nartiang stones. The great height of the upright stone will at once be seen; it is 27 ft. in height and 2½ ft. thick. This stone is the largest erect stone in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills at the present day, and is a very fine specimen. The upright stones and the flat table-stones at Nartiang are called "*ki maw jong Siem*." There is no separate designation for each of them. These stones are popularly supposed to have been erected long ago by two men,

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be a successful era in store for the people of the State. The goddess on this occasion may be regarded as a Khasi Demeter, although no mysteries form part of her services as at the Grecian Eleusis. The Nongkrem ceremony and dance (now held at Smit) take place in the Lite spring, generally in the month of May. A lucky day having been fixed, the Siem sends a ring of cane (*kyrwoh*) by way of a summons to the people of every village in the State, at the same time informing them of the date of the puja, and requesting them to attend with their offerings, consisting of goats and different articles of food. In the meantime various pujas have been taking place in the house of *Ka Siem Sud*, the Siem priestess, which it would be tedious to describe in detail. The more interesting points only will be mentioned. A fortnight before the puja and dance at Smit the *sok-blei*, or high priest, pours out libations of liquor in the *kyrem-blang*, or place where the sacrificial goats are kept, and in front of the great post (of *diang ewing*, or Khasi oak), in the house of the Siem priestess. Dancing then takes place in front of the post. Later on the Siem, with the high priest and other attendant priests, walks with extremely slow gait to a small hill where a stone altar has been prepared, and sacrifices a cock in honour of *u'lei Shillong*, or the god of the Shillong Peak. A silver dish with powdered rice, liquor in a gourd (*ka'iad ue*), betel-nut, and some leaves of the Khasi oak (*diang ewing*), are also necessary adjuncts of the puja. A goat is then sacrificed, and the sacrifice is followed by a dance of twenty-two men armed with swords and shields and chowries (*ky-daw*). Having danced before the altar, the party returns to the house of the Siem priestess and executes another dance in the great courtyard. The Siem and certain selected persons dance in front of the *riakat blei*, or holy post of Khasi oak inside the house of the Siem priestess, the dancers being entertained with dried fish and ginger. Then follows the great dance of girls and men in front of her house. The girls dance in the centre, taking such tiny steps, that the lifting of their feet from the ground is hardly perceptible, the arms hold down to the sides and the eyes demurely downcast. It is on this occasion that they wear the peculiar silver (and sometimes gold) crowns illustrated in the

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301 plate. The hair is worn tied in a knot behind the head, but with
302 a long tail hanging down the back. Rich silk cloths are worn
535 by the girls, who present the appearance of being, if any-
[312] thing, over-clothed, or, as Yule aptly puts it, of "perfect
796 parallelograms." They wear a profusion of gold and coral
782 bead necklaces, silver and gold chains, bracelets, ear-rings of gold, and any other jewellery they can lay hands on. Not only is the whole of the family jewellery requisitioned by the fair *débutante* (it is only the unmarried girls who dance), but she borrows from her friends. The men dance round the outside of the circle, waving fly-flaps and prancing (often nowadays wearing huge boots) with ungainly strides. The music necessary
[534] for the dance consists of *tangmuri* (pipes), drums, and cymbals.
[312] This is *ka shad kynthei*, or the dance of the women. Then there is *ka shad mostoi*, or the dance of the men, who are gaily dressed, wearing plumes of black and white cock's feathers (*u thwiyah*) and hold swords and shields. After gyrating for some time, two men at a time rapidly approach one another and clash their swords together in mock combat. They then retire, and, after again revolving for a period, repeat the process; then other couples follow and take their place. This goes on until the dancers get tired or are told to stop.

535 The above description may be taken as applicable to all
764 the Khasi dances. Dancing forms part of the ceremony of placing the ashes in the sepulchre of the clan. Dancing also forms a part of certain ceremonies performed at markets for the prosperity of the State and for the good of trade.

535 When I was at Mawsynram, at the time of the appointment of a Siem, I witnessed a very pretty dance called *ka shad lyngsoh*, performed by men who held the leafy branches of trees in their hands. This is most effective. Then
[301] followed a dance of some forty young girls, very well dressed, covered with the usual gold and coral beads and silver chains, and wearing the silver crown, or *ponengiat*. The young women danced with great spirit and with an absence of all shyness, but still with the greatest decorum. Many of the women, spectators as well as dancers, were observed to be without the usual *tap sah kkiah*, or head-cloth, the absence of which is always a sign amongst the Khasi women of merry-making. There were

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wonderful mass of granite known by the name of the Kyllang Rock will be found in the section of the monograph which deals with geographical distribution. I have also added a photograph of the rock. The Syntengs have a story that when the strong west wind blows in the spring this is due to the advent of *U Kyllang*, who comes to visit his wife, the river *Umngot*, at that season: amongst the Khasis hills are all of them masculine, but to rivers is usually attributed the feminine gender. U Symper is another isolated rocky eminence rising from the Maharam plain close to the village of K'mawan. The best view of the hill is obtainable from Laitmawsiang on the path to Mawsynram. The village of Mawsmai every traveller from Therria to Cherrapunji knows. It is chiefly remarkable for a fairly large limestone cave, and its fine memorial stones. The Khasi theory to explain how the moon got its spots is, I believe, original, but is no more extraordinary than our own nursery tale about the "man in the moon." The *Sohpet Byneng* hill is the first hill of any size that the traveller sees on the Gauhati road when journeying to Shillong. It is close to Umsning Dak Bungalow. There are caves in the hill which are tenanted by bears. Strange to say, according to Khasi ideas, this is one of the highest points in the hills; in reality *Sophet Byneng* is some 2,000 ft. lower than the Shillong Peak. As mentioned elsewhere, the Khasis are very fond of dogs; so I have given their version of how the dog came to live with man. The well-known *thlen* superstition will be found fully described under the heading of "Human sacrifices." I have, however, thought the tale of sufficient interest to reproduce at length here. The story of the river Rupatylli is a pretty tale, and is just such a one as would appeal to the imagination of mountaineers like the Khasis. The Kopili story is important, in that it indicates the origin of human sacrifices in the Jaintia Hills; it also throws, perhaps, some light on the question of the use to which the flat table memorial stones were put in years gone by. The superstition about the crossing of the Kopili can be vouched for by many who have taken the journey from the Jaintia Hills to North Cachar by the Kopili route. Mawpunkyrtiang is a small village close to Cherrapunji. The weird tale about the Siem of Malyniang is the pride of the Maskut people, for in olden days their King,

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211 U Lah Laskor and U Mar Phalyngki, to commemorate the
485 establishment of Nartiang market, which is called Iew Mawlong. "Laskor" is the Synteng equivalent of the Khasi *lyngskor*, or prime minister. "Mar" is a Synteng word meaning a giant, the idea amongst the people being that in the olden days there were giants in the land who performed marvellous feats of strength, e.g. the erection of the megalithic remains at Nartiang and elsewhere. A puja is performed upon a great flat stone by the *doloi* and his officers in honour of the founders of the market, but no animals are sacrificed, rice and *rynsi* (balls of rice) only being offered. In the days of the Jaintia kings only the Raja could sit upon the great flat stone; hence the name *maw jong Siem* (or Siem's stone). The great upright stone is said to have been brought by U Lah Laskor and a great number
211 of people from Suriang, a place near Nartiang. With reference
782 to the Nartiang stones I would refer to my theory, formu-
491 lated above, that they were originally connected with human sacrifices. It may be mentioned that at Nartiang there is a bridge constructed out of a single stone, which is also said to have been set in position by U Lah Laskor. Near Suhtnga there is a group of stones, said to have been originally thirty in number, together with *maw shongthait*, or stones to seat the weary, which were erected to the memory of a woman, Ka Kampatwat, who in generations past is alleged to have had no less than *thirty* husbands. The lady is not supposed to have been polyandrous, nor nine-lived, but to have divorced one husband after another. As she probably established a record
211 for divorce, her descendants afterwards commemorated her in
[731] the manner described. There is another very large stone at Nongkseh, which unfortunately fell to the ground in the great earthquake shock of 1897. This stone must have stood over 20 ft. above the ground. It is called *u mawkni Siem*, the stone of the Siem's maternal uncle, and it used to form the central stone, or *mawkni*, of a line of stones. These stones belong to the clan of the *basans* of Nongkseh, which furnishes the *sohblei*, or head sacrificer, of the Siems of Khyrim. The stones at Mawsmai which in ancient days used to be the head-
211 quarters of a Siem, are some of the best carved in the hills.
171 At Mawrongjong, in the Jaintia sub-division, is a stone upon

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Facing p. 154

THE SACRIFICE OF THE GOATS AT SMIT.
(from a photograph by Ghosal Brothers.)

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211 which a figure, evidently of a Hindu god, has been carved, without
171 doubt after the erection of the stone. Here we have a striking parallel case to the painted and carved menhir near Tregastel in Brittany, upon which has been carved the representation of a crucifix. There are also some carved stones near Nartiang (said to represent two women) called *mawthawdur briew*.

211 The Khasis say that these great stones were brought
483 sometimes from considerable distances. After being hewn, the stones were laid on a large, wooden trolley and dragged
283 across country by means of ropes of cane, of which plenty can be had from the Wár country on the southern side of the district, and then placed in position by means of ropes and levers. It seems little short of marvellous that these stones, which sometimes weighed many tons, were placed in position by such primitive means, especially when we consider the great trouble there was to re-erect one of the fallen stones at Stonehenge lately. Nowadays only comparatively small stones are erected, which are generally hewn and erected on the spot, so that there is no necessity for any conveyance.

000 In conclusion, it may be remarked that the subject of the Khasi monoliths is in reality a large one, on which a great deal could be written, but owing to considerations of space it has been found necessary to compress the account within its present limits.

FESTIVITIES, DOMESTIC AND TRIBAL.

535 Dancing forms the principal part of all the Khasi festivities,
776 and is an important adjunct of some of their religious
796 ceremonies. One of the greatest festivals in the Khasi Hills is
789 the Nongkrem dance; it may be said to be as important
782 an event to the Khasis as the *Beh dieng-khlam* festivities are to the Syntengs.

The Nongkrem dance is really part of what is known as the *pom-blang*, or goat-killing ceremony, performed by the Siem of Khyrim (or Nongkrem) with the aid of his *soh-blei* (high priest) and the various *lyngdohs* (or priests) to Ka Blei Synshar (the ruling goddess), that the crops may prosper and that there may

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539 [133] stands a hill; it is a very beautiful hill. From a distance it looks like the hump of a bull. It has big trees growing on it, as people are afraid to cut them because they believe that the god "Ryngkew" is there, who takes care of and protects the country. This hill has two names, U Mawlong Siem and U Lyngkrem. U Mawlong Siem is the smaller (peak) on the southern side, and U Lyngkrem the taller one, in which there is a cave. The 539 Mawsmai people sacrifice once 776 or twice a year according to 782 the god's demand. The Mawsmai people have, besides U Mawlong Siem, other village gods (called "Ryngkew"). The name of the one is "U Rangjadong," and the name of the other "U Ramsong." Sacrifices are offered to these two 539 also. U Mawlong Siem is a very great and stern god. The other gods dare not engage in battle with him. He has a daughter called "Ka Khmat Kharai" (i.e. the mouth of the abyss). The god of the Umwai people fell in love with this daughter, but he was unable to obtain her in marriage, as U Mawlong Siem did not like him. It is not possible to know the exact reason why the name of U Mawlong Siem was given to him, but at any rate it appears that the name arose from the fact that in olden days before the death of a Siem there used to be heard at "Mawlong Siem" a great noise of beating of drums. The Mawsmai and the Mawmluh people used to hear it, and they attributed it to the god "Mawlong Siem," who beat the drum for his

sepngi na ka shnong. Une u lúm uba i-tynnad shibún. Ban khymih na sha jingngái u long kum u syntai masi kyrtong. U don ki dieng kiba khráw ki bým jiw don ba núd ban thoh ban daiñ namar ba ki ñiew ba u long U Ryngkew u blei uba sumar uba da ia ka muluk ka jaka. Ia une u lúm ki khot ar kyrteng, U Mawlong Siem bad U Lyngkrem, U Máwlong Siem u long uta uba kham lyngkot shaphang shathi, bad U Lyngkrem u long uta uba jerong eh bad uba don ka krem Pubon hapoh. Ia une U Mawlong Siem ki Máwsmái ki jiw ai jingknia da u blang shisin shi snem ne shi sin ar snem katba u pan. Ki Mawmluh ruh ki leh kumjuh na la shnong. Nalor une U Mawlong Siem ki Máwsmái ki don shuh ki Ryngkew hajan shgong, uwei U Rangjadong bad uwei pat U Ramsong. Ia kine ki kñia. Une U Mawlong Siem u long u blei uba khráw shibún bad uba eh. Ki para blei kim núd ban ia leh thyma ia ki. U don kawei ka khún kaba kyrteng "Ka Khymat Kharái," u blei ki Umwái u i-bha ia ka, hinrei um lah poi namar U Máwlong Siem úm sngewbha ia u. Ban tip thikna ia ka dáw balei ba khot kyrteng Máwlong Siem ia u ym lah ban tip; hinrei la kumno kumno i-mat ba kane ka kyrteng ka la mih namar ba mynhyndái haba yn sa iap Siem la jiw ioh sngew hangta ha U Máwlong Siem ba don ka jingsawa tem ksing kaba khraw shibun. Ki Mawsmai bad ki Mawmluh ki jiw ioh sngew, bad ki jiw tharai ba u blei Mawlong Siem u tem ksing ban pynshád khún. Lei lei haba la

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539 in the Rupatylli channel at Duwara. She was covered with shame, and she slackened her speed and split herself up into five branches, namely, ka Umtong, ka Torasa, ka Pasbiria, ka Kumarjani, and ka Duwara. Umiam did this so as to hide her shame from Umngot. This is how the river Rupatylli was formed at Duwara, to be a token that Umngot had been victorious in her contest with Umiew.*

leh khnang ba'n búh rien ia la ka jingkhein burom ha khymat ka Umngot. Kumta sa long ka wah Rupatylli ha Duwara namar ka long ka dak ka jingjop ka Umngot ia ka Umiew.

The Kupli (Kopili).

539 133 484 782 The Kopili river rises in the "Black Mountains," † and flows northwards into the Brahmaputra. It is the boundary between the country of the Syntengs and that of the Hadems. ‡ Any traveller who wishes to cross this river must leave behind him the rice which he has taken for his journey, and any other food that he may have taken with him. If he does not do so, even if he crosses the river at an unforbidden point, he is liable to offer a sacrifice to the Kopili goddess. The people offer to her three fowls and three goats outside the village, i.e. one to the goddess herself, and the other two to her sons, U Shyngkram and U Jali; and five fowls, that

Shaphang Ka Kupli, U Shyngkram bad U Jali, ki Khún jong ka.

Ka Kupli ka long ka wah na ki lúm baiong bad ka túid da artet ha ka wah Brahmaputra. Ka long ka púd ia ka ri Synteng bad ka ri Hadem ha mihngi. Uno-uno u nongleit jingleit uba kwah ban jám ia kane ka wah Blei-Kupli u don kam ba'n bred noh ia la u kháw-ryneng ha shiliang wah, bad ia ki kynja jingbám baroh phar, te un sa klan ia ka. Lada u'm da leh kumta, la'u klan na ka jaka ka b'ym sang ruh un háp jingaingúh ha ka. Ki khún-ki-hajár ia ka ba lum lái s'iar, lái blang kawei ia ka, marmar uwei ia U Shyngkram bad U Jali; bad san s'iar ba ki'n ia bám sngewbba baroh lái

* Both rivers, Umngot and Umiew, or Umiam, have their sources in or close to the Shillong Peak. The word "*Rupatylli*" signifies in Khasi a solid silver necklace of a peculiar shape. In order to appreciate this pretty tale thoroughly, the reader ought to view the river "Rupatylli" from the heights of Laitkynsew, or Mahadeo, whence it is to be seen glistening in the sun like a veritable *rupatylli* or silver necklace.

† These mountains are the high hills which lie to the east of the Jowai Sub-Division, and which form part of the boundary line between the Khasi and Jaintia Hills District and North Cachar.

‡ The word Hadem is possibly a corruption of "Hidimba," the old name for North Cachar.

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they may all three feast together; this is in the case of one transgression only. But in the case of a man who has committed more than one, it is not possible to say how many goats and fowls must be sacrificed, because the river often demands offerings on account of a man's parents or relatives having crossed the river at some time or other.

From the time of the old Siem to that of U Ram Singh Siem, they used to sacrifice to this great goddess two persons during the months of November and December at the time of offering a sacrifice at Jaintiapur. After a ceremony performed by the Brahmins at Jaintiapur, the victims are led to the Mawshai (Shangpung) market, where they are allowed to take and eat anything they like. After that they conduct them to Sumer; but some say that the stone on which the victims are beheaded is situated below the village of Ka Iew Ksi, near a stream which falls into the Kopili, and where there is a *mawkynthei* (flat table-stone) close to that sacred river.

They place the victims on that stone, where the executioner beheads them with a terrible sword. After that they throw the dead bodies and their heads into the river. But in the days of U Markuhain (U Raj Indro Singh) "who was our contemporary," they have ceased to do so out of fear of the East India Company. The victims are known by the name of "Mugha Khara."

At that time all the people of the territory of the twelve dolois were in a great state of ngut shi khún shi kymie, kata ka long haba long tang kawei ka lait, hinrei haba ka'n long katba shong ka lait u briew lei-lei, ngam tip ka'n long katno blang katno siar namar haba dei ka'n wan pán ka jingkñia namar ba la klan ia ka na khlieh lane na kyjat da u kyñie u kypa kano-kano ka iing lane kano-kano ka kur. Nadúh ki sngi ki Siem Tymmen haduh ki sngi U Ram Singh Siem ia kane ka blei bah ka kymai u lei ba khraw ki kñia da ki briew ár-ngùt shi snem shi snem hamar u bynái ba ki puja ne ai ngúh ha Jaintiapur, kata, hamar u 'nái wieng bad u 'nái nohprah. Ynda ki la kñia ha Jaintiapur da ki Bramon, ki sa ia lam ia ki sha ka iew Mawshái ne ka iew Shangpung ba ki'n bám shiwa katba mon na kata ka iew. Nangta pat sha Sumer, kiwei pat ki ong ba u máw ba ki khrái khlieh ia ki Muga Khara u don harum ka shnong Iewksi hajan kawei ka wah kaba túid sha ka Kupli—sha ka jaka ba don ka máw kynthei harúd kata ka wah blei Kumta ki sa kyntiw halor kata ka maw kynthei ia ki; nangta pat wan sa u nongkhrai khlieh bad ka wait ba i-shyrkhei, u khrai ia ki hangta. Hadin kata ki sa shat ia ki met-iap sha um bad ia ki khlieh jong ki ruh de. Hinrei ha ki sngi U Markuháin ne U Raj-Indro Singh uba ha Khyjong ngi mynta ym long shúh kumta namar ba u tieng ia ka Kompani. Ia kine ki briew ba ki kñia ki khot kyrteng ia ki ki Muga Khara.

Mynkata ki bynriew shi khadár doloi sngew tieng, ki ong ba ki nongkem ki da kylli shiwa ia ka jaid, ki da leh ia lade kum ki bym mut ba'n leh

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782 terror. It is said that the victim-catchers, when they inquired about the clan (of their intended victims), conducted themselves as if they did not intend to do anything. When the people told their clan, then they caught them. When they heard that the people belonged to clans from which *kongngors* * were selected, they did not arrest them. When it was impossible to get hold of any one else, they sacrificed some of the (king's) slaves.

ei-ei-ruh, te ynda kita ki briw ia kiba ki mut ba'n kem ki la ia thuh ia la ka jaid ki sa kem ia ki. Haba ki sngew ba ki long na ka jaid kaba jiw long kongngór ki'm jiw kem. Te haba ym ioh eh ki kñia da ki mráw Siem.

The Village of Maw-pun-ka-Rytiang (Mawpunkyrtiang).

539 There was in olden days a woman called Ka Rytiang of the Siem clan. Whilst she was still a spinster, she used to go to catch fish in a stream over which there is to the present day a bridge made of a single stone, called Mawpun ka Rytiang. Whilst she was catching fish in the midst of the stream, a fit of drowsiness overtook her. At that very moment there approached her a very handsome young man, who thus addressed her: "Take this drumful of money; do not marry, and thou shalt nevertheless bear children. Thou must throw a bridge built of a single stone across this stream, thou must build thy house entirely of stone, the beams must be all of stone. Thou must spend all the money I have given thee, and if it does not suffice for thy expenditure, I shall bring more. Thou wilt remember all that I say?" She replied "yes." As soon as he

Ka shnong Mawpun-ka-Rytiang (Mawpunkyrtiang).

Te la don mynhyndái kawei ka briew kaba kyrteng ka Rytiang, ka jaid Siem. Mynba ka dangsamla ka leit tong shér na kata ka wah kaba don u Máwpún uba ki khot hadúh mynta u Máwpún ka-Rytiang. Hamar ba ka dang tong shér ha pyddeng um ka lamshoh sam thiah hangta. Hamarkata ka por la mih u wei u briew uba bhabriew shibun eh, bad u ong ha ka, "Heh kane ka tyngka shi sing nalai; te pha wat shongkurim shuh, ho; koit, ki khun pha'n ioh hi, bad pha'n pún uwei u máwpún na Shilliang sha shilliang kane ka wah, bad thaw iing ba phán shong da ki máw suda ki rijid ki rishot, kiei kiei baroh thaw da ki maw. Pha'n pynlut kane ka tyngka baroh, bad lada ym dap ruh ngán sa wallam pat. Phán kynmáw ho ia kaba nga la ong baroh." Ka ong "haoid." Te kumne-kumne, tang shu la dep kine ki ktin baroh ba u kren, ka la kyndit na kata ka jing-

* A Kongngor is one who has married a Khasi princess.

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

582 marry any one belonging to your own *kur*, or clan. Unlike the
614 Khasis, however, a Lynngam can marry two sisters at a time.
595 The Lynngam marriages are arranged by *ksiangs*, or go-betweens,
584 much in the same way as Khasi marriages; but the ritual
582 observed is less elaborate, and shows a mixture of Khasi and Garo customs (see Section III.). The Lynngams intermarry
583 with the Garos. It appears that sometimes the parents of girls exact bride-money, and marriages by capture have been heard of. Both of these customs are more characteristic of the Bodo
848 tribes of the plains than of the Khasis. There are no special birth
782 customs, as with the Khasis, except that when the umbilical cord
553 falls a fowl is sacrificed, and the child is brought outside the house. Children are named without any special ceremony.
764 The death customs of the Lynngams have been described in Section III. A peculiar characteristic is the keeping of the dead body in the house for days, sometimes even for several months, before it is burnt. The putrefying corpse inside the house seems to cause these people no inconvenience, for whilst it remains there, they eat, carry on their ordinary avocations, and sleep there, regardless of what would be
771 considered by others an intolerable nuisance. The religion of these people consists of a mixture of ancestor-worship and the propitiation of the spirits of fell and fall, which are, most of them, believed to be of evil influence, as is the case with other savage
776 races. As with the people of Nongstoin, the primaeval ancestress, "*ka Iaw bei*," is worshipped for the welfare of the
782 clan, a sow being sacrificed to her, with a gourd of rice-beer, and leaves of the oak, or *dieng-sning* tree. The leaves of the oak are afterwards hung up inside the house, together with the jaw-bone of the pig. Sacrifices are offered to a forest demon, *U Bangjang* (a god who brings illness), by the roadside; also to *Ka Miang Bylli U Majymma*, the god of cultivation, at seed time, on the path to the forest clearing where the seed is sown. Models of paddy store-houses, baskets and agricultural implements are made, sand being used to indicate the grain. These are placed by the roadside, the skulls of the sacrificial animals and the feathers of fowls being hung up on bamboos about the place
793 where the sacrifice has been performed. There are no priests or
796 *lyngdohs*, the fathers of the hamlet performing the various ceremonies.

773 Several Khasis claim that the devil pre-
782 scribed to their ancestors the method of sacrificing. On the other hand others maintain that in times past a man of rare size and strength came to their country. This man accomplished wonderful things, and commanded their ancestors to sacrifice and at the same time prescribed for them the method of sacrificing. Today the place
[103] of his former dwelling on a mountain near Shillon is still pointed out. Since something divine was suspected in that man, he was called u 'lei shillong (the god Shillong).

776 The Khasi believe in a highest being, whom they call u blei nongthaw (1) (the creator god).

[194] 1. Pronounciation of Khasi (method of writing): ei is pronounced as two syllables, e - i, w is pronounced like u, aw is therefore like a - u, sh is pronounced like sch = phonetic ś.

Just as the ideas about this person are very hazy, so are the concepts of eternity and the soul.

775 The Khasi are not in agreement among themselves about the conception of what happens to the soul after death. Several say that after death the soul goes up in the air and becomes air and therefore exists no longer. But most of them believe that the soul exists after death and can be happy or unhappy. But this does not depend on personal guilt or sin but only on the conscientious completion of the burial ceremonies.

[631] The country in which the Khasi live is
776 divided into several districts, which were formerly ruled by several kings before the English came. [408] According to the Khasi each district

776 has its own tutelary god on whom they confer the name of the district.

Villages have their own tutelary gods, families have their tutelary gods, even individual people have their guardian gods, to whom they occasionally bring a sacrifice.

The Khasi and Synteng also honor gods who are not thought of as tutelary gods but as dispensers of purely material favors, as, for example, u 'lei longspah (god of wealth) and u'lei umtong (the god of water which is used for cooking and drinking). (2)

2. Cf. (below, p. 410) the summarized table of some of the good and evil gods who are honored by the Khasi and the Synteng.

But in general the Khasi believe that the gods or spirits are evil spirits, whom they then designate with the name ksuid (devil).

•782 They believe that their country is full of such ksuid. The chief task of the Khasi is to pacify them. They try by all means to put them in a good mood, and to appease them by sacrifice. It is fear which incites them to their religious activities, not respect or actual reverence. For the Khasi are convinced that it was formerly [773] better. They relate that in the beginning heaven and earth were near together, that people could consort directly with u blei nongthaw the creator god, and that there was still no sin at that time. Now, however, man is sinful and no one offering a sacrifice forgets to pronounce the formula: nga briu nga la pop (I, man, have sinned). Thus the concept sin is one of the bases of the Khasi religion. The other basis is sacrifice. There is no doubt that sin and sacrifice make up the basic thoughts of the religious views

782 of the Khasi.

Just as the Khasi are unable to explain how man fell into sin, so they also cannot explain why the rooster appears as mediator between god and man. The Khasi tradition relates of the rooster: u khun ka blei uba kit ryndang ba shah ryndang na ka bynta jong nga u briu, i.e. he who, as son of the goddess, gives his life for man, thus expiating sin through sacrifice and reconciling god.

769 775 The Khasi believe in another world and their attention is directed towards the comfort of the spirits of the dead. One of the main tasks is to give them nourishment (ai bam), which must be done, since the welfare of the living depends on the welfare of the dead. For example, if one can no longer get the corpse of the deceased because it is in a foreign country or has been consumed by wild animals, one takes his clothes at the very least and carries out the burial ceremonies with these. For only such spirits, whose burial ceremonies were performed according to usage and custom, can participate in chewing betel nuts in the garden (in the house) of god, whereas the others must wander around on earth [409] or must continue living in insects, birds, and other animals. They do not believe in hell (in the Christian sense). The greatest felicity [276] for a Khasi is "to chew betel nuts perpetually." Therefore they conceive of heaven as the dwelling (garden or house) of god, in which only betel nuts are chewed: uba bam kwai ha iing u blei (he who chews betel nuts in the house of god).

[776] This cult of spirits, which relates to deceased relatives, is mixed with the ancestor cult. Thus the first great-grandmother of each sib (jaid) becomes a goddess (ka jaubei) and the first great-grandfather of the sib a god (u thaulang).

776 Finally other earthly things are deified,
778 and the cult of spirits increases in objects.
782 If there is an unusually formed mountain anywhere, sacrifices are brought to it, since a ksuid lives there. And the spirit who inhabits the mountain is soon combined with the mountain itself, and then the mountain is worshipped and sacrifices are brought to it. The same thing happens with rivers. How easily a river god can be insulted and made angry by fishing or by crossing over to the other bank! Therefore the first thing to do is to bring the river god a sacrifice. The Khasi never make a picture, neither of stone nor of wood, which is supposed to represent their gods, but nevertheless they revere many powers of nature and phenomena of nature, and it is difficult to differentiate the extent to which the mountain or river is worshipped and the extent to which sacrifice is made to the spirit of the mountain or the river.

In everything that one calls bad luck or misfortune the Khasi see the work of evil spirits: in the bad harvest, in flood, in sickness. The spirits live in the primeval forest, in the steep inaccessible cliffs, in the rushing river, in the green tree. They come through the air in all weather. They give the tiger strength, the snake poison, the thicket fever, and they lurk in cholera for their victim.

782 These are the reasons for the many sacrifices and sacrificial customs of the Khasi all of which are only to bring about the reconciliation of the angered spirits. Prayers also occur during individual sacrificial scenes which one can conceive of as prayers of thanks or of praise, but these are exceptions.

The sacrifices are performed either by sacrificial priests (lyngdoh) or by old men who have experience. First one seeks out the spirit who

782 must be appeased by throwing eggs. If the desired
[787] effect does not occur after the sacrifice has been offered, further information is sought by observing intestines (sacrifice of rooster), and the sacrifice is offered again. At least that is what is done for sickness. The other sacrifices will be described in more detail later.

771 The religion of the Khasi is one that arises
114 from fear of misfortune and harm, and is active in the worship of (evil) spirits through sacrifice. This definition of mine corresponds essentially with the definitions of Bivar, (3) who

[113] 3. Bivar, Administration Report on the Khasi and Jaintia Hills District of 1876.

says: "The Khasi religion may be briefly defined as a form to cure illnesses and to ward off misfortune, by finding out [410] the name of the devil who is the original cause of the evil and to appease him by sacrifices which are necessary," and Gurdon (4) "calls the Khasi religion a cult

[113] 4. Gurdon, The Khasi (London, 1907) p. 105.

of spirits, i.e., actually rather a reconciliation of spirits, good as well as bad, by sacrifices, which are offered occasionally, especially in times of distress."

Table of Summary

776 of several gods (good and evil) who are revered by the Khasi and the Synteng.

1. Good Gods:

u blei nongthaw, the creator god,
u 'lei longspah, the (good) god of wealth,

787 strictest sense of the word. It is rather an
754 instinctive activity, which is influenced by superstition to which they have succumbed. In their opinion all misfortune and bad luck are caused by evil spirits. The chief purpose of
[712] their sacrifices is to propitiate them (khein ban khai). But they well know that it is possible to cause others harm with the help of the ksuid. Their magic consists of this and in warding off harm. The magic is not accomplished by special magicians who make a profession of it; but whoever believes he is able to harm others with the help of the devil tries it. In the same way, those who have to ward off harm of any kind hope to be able to accomplish this with the help of the devil.

753 If anyone has a throat ailment, whether it
755 is a tumor or only hoarseness, they believe that
776 it occurs through the influence of the devil u lasamdoh. Therefore a rooster or a pig is sacrificed in the courtyard of the person concerned. The blood of the sacrificed animal is given to the sick person to drink so that he may recover.

They do similar things when a person has a toothache or is sick with some kind of mouth ailment. This sickness is ascribed to the devil u jingbih.

753 If a child is born blind they believe that
776 adultery on the part of the father is the cause. This adultery is punished in the child by the devil u kyrdep.

The demoness ka byrdaw causes attacks of cramps, and convulsive cramps are the work of the feared demoness ka shwar.

Existent ailments are made definitely worse by the devil u thyrnrei.

Whoever goes into the forest and hears the call: kăw-hoit, kăw-hoit, should hurry away because the devil u 'suid-tynjang lives there and

000 that they may also get smallpox.

776 Every Khasi is desirous of wealth. There-
55% fore they sacrifice to the demoness of wealth, ka shur, whom they fear just as much as the Synteng fear the demoness ka taro, who likewise only allows the desired wealth to come to those who revere her.

776 But all evil taken together can be caused
782 by the demoness ka ron. She is the worst of all devils in the opinion of the Synteng. The Khasi sacrifice only to her and the devil u mahet inside the hut, and not as is otherwise customary out of doors (in the courtyard of the hut).

But the Khasi have the greatest fear of the
[p.25] devil u thlen. He can be kept in the house by people in the form of a snake. Since he is only propitiated by human blood, it is necessary to find human sacrifices (ka 'langthoklieh). One cuts off the toenails and fingernails of the victims and these are brought with the blood of the murdered one during the night in a closed house as a sacrifice to the devil with prayers and exhortations. To get these human sacrifices, the thlen possessor must look for them with cunning or violence. Usually hired murderers are sent out, to whom one previously hands a quite special liquor 'iad-tang-snem (literally: lasts. for a year). The Khasi believe that anyone who drinks this liquor is so influenced (enchanted) that he will really carry out the planned murder. When these murderers (nong-shoh-noh) are on their way or waiting in ambush to catch their victim for the thlen, they may not use any iron, because the thlen near the cave of Pomdalai near Cherrapunji was killed by a brave man named u suidnoh, when the thlen appeared there in the form of an enormous snake in order to swallow up people and animals. The victim is struck down with a stick which usually has a silver knob.

776 Then the wings of his nose are cut with a shear,
782 or pincer of silver and the blood is drained
off. In the same way the nails on the hands and
feet are cut off with silver shears. Finally the
dead body is thrown into an abyss. (5)

[113] 5. For further details about "Human Sacrifice Among the Khasi", see Dr. P. C. Becker, Salvatorianische Mitteilungen [Salvatorian Communications], 1909, No. 5, pp. 75 ff.

754 [114] Since on the one hand many Khasi are busy
782 trying to kill others with the help of the devil
or to make them sick (ai-ksuid), and on the other
hand the evil spirits also harm men without being
called upon, an enormous fear is thus the fruit
of this superstition. From this fear comes the
desire to make oneself free from the influence of
evil spirits (lait-ksuid) or to modify this in-
fluence by sacrifices (khad) or at least to pro-
pitiate the devil completely (khein-ban khai).
796 Therefore the Synteng annually hold a large
feast for driving away cholera (ka behdiengkhlam)
[782] The offered sacrifices have the purpose or
propitiating the feared demoness ka khlam but
at the same time they also have the purpose of
making the participants in the sacrifice safe
against cholera (to enchant them). Gurdon (6)

6. Gurdon, The Khasis.

describes this feast as follows: "In the month
of June when the river is full of water, on a
certain day the men go in the morning in front of
the huts and strike the roofs of the huts with
sticks. At the same time they call on the demone
ka khlam continuously and challenge her to leave

[121] moon they try to frighten the frog with noise and to drive him away. A few days ago we experienced a sample of it. In all the villages the Khasi beat drums and screamed at the same time. It was a purely hellish spectacle." (8)

8. Loc. cit., p. 62.

[115] The Khasi also have no explanation for thunderstorms. They believe, therefore, that the ksuid (devils) cause them. Especially disturbing to them is thunder, which can be extremely vio-
[112] lent in a tropical storm. When lightning strikes anywhere, they sacrifice to the ksuid u pyrthat a fat pig, the blood of which is smeared on the altar in order to propitiate him and to prevent the lightning from striking again.

[112] When the Khasi sacrifice to protect themselves from harm or to heal themselves from illnesses, they murmur formulas or prayers during the sacrifice. They implore the invisible powers at the same time and thus support the offered sacrifice. They call this murmuring tim-knia (swearing-sacrificing). It is also reported thus of the sacrifices in Mongkren: (9) "Each person places

[113] 9. P. Dr. C. Becker, Die Mongkren-Puja in den Khasibergen (Assam) [The Mongkren Puja in the Khasi Mountains (Assam)], Anthropos, IV (1909), p. 898.

the little bottle of liquor on the little pile of mud in front of him. This represents the altar. Then they take pepper leaves and oak leaves and place them in front of the altar in a certain way next to and on top of each other; pieces of betel nut are placed on top and the whole is sprinkled with rice, kpu meal and rynai meal, while [illegible]."

782 The Khasi also erect little platforms with little houses from long bamboo sticks in which food is served to the spirits of the woods and fields (to serve [slang-] actually means spread out, as one spreads out a carpet or as one spreads out leaves for serving rice on).

[799] But not only through making sacrifices do the Khasi try to propitiate the devils and thereby make them harmless. They even try it with violence. Thus, as mentioned above, they drive the cholera demoness out of the house with sticks. Also during a cremation they shoot three arrows to ward off evil spirits.

There are many ways of warding off evil spirits; or, for acquiring their help words, wishes, or curses are used, as, for example, during a match of arrow shooting, the watchers who stand by the target try to keep the arrows of the opponents from hitting the target by calling on some god (kwid) and the more they shriek, the sooner they believe they will attain their purpose. They wish to influence the arrows of the opponents.

3. Taboos (sang)

784 The sang or taboos of the Khasi also belong
792 to superstition. Sang means the same as "sacrilegiously or most strictly forbidden." This sang can be traced back to totemistic views. Sang can be something for a single person, for a house (iing) or a family, for a sib and a whole race (jaid). If a man or a woman whose spouse has
[88] died remarries, the sang is transferred to the
[911] relatives of the deceased man or woman. This "inheritance" of the sang is different according to the sib. By accepting the sang the inheritors must pay 11 of a [lit] kaḿ or 7 1/2 of a kaḿ or 5 1/2 of a kaḿ. By kaḿ the number 1280 is actually understood. But it means, however, that

784 the heir must pay 11 or 7 1/2 or 5 1/2 percent
782 of their wealth, in order to be able to pay for the great festivities at the cremation and the later disposal of the ashes. First of all various sacrificial gifts are bought with the money. When one has all the sacrificial gifts together, one erects three hewn stones in the manner of mau-bynna (urn stones) on any road. These stones are called "adulterer stones" [Ehebrechersteine] (mau-klim). Then one catches a pig and curses it in the following way: (10)

[173] 10. This and the following Khasi texts are taken from the kitab jingphawar by U. Raboo Singh (Shillong, 1902); I am indebted to the very worthy P.C. Boubeim, Apostolic Missionary, S.D.S. of Cherrapunji, who was most willing to place his many years of experience at my disposal for the translation into German.

Mei engewkyndiang ho kane nga iathahkhana ha me ba la ioh ka sang na ka toga ka jong me yn leh kumno kynrad wei la pom ka bneng ka khyndew, ka tyrut ka ower engew la khuid ka sang ka ma, ka klim ka ngat yn long sa ka rong sa ka taw, sa ka engewtha ka engewniat mai Mei une sa u dykhot u lamjew ka iad bang ka iad thiang mai

So listen carefully to this that I am saying, thou who hast inherited the sang from thy wife; What else should we do, lord; after heaven and earth, the Tyrut and the Ower (demon-esses) slay him, we are freed; the sang is made holy, the feared sang, adultery and other sins. Then it can be that the bones are transferred and peace and joy will come to us, mai (is it

2:Stegmiller-21 M-4,5(no date)1921 AR7 Khasi AR7

784 not so!) See here the piece u dykhot (11) and
782

11. A piece of sacrificial meat.

the sour things u lamjew (12) (a strong and

12. Herbs, roots.

sweet liquor) no! (is it not so!)

[574] All relatives and acquaintances, friends and neighbors are invited to this sacrificial feast.[1] There is a big festive meal, chiefly of meat and bacon. But before the eating begins, the reng (horn) and ngap (fork) which were laid on the "adulterer stone" before the cursing of the pig are removed. At this sacrifice all the money collected before (11 or 7 1/2 or 5 1/2 of a kaw) must be completely used up, as it is forbidden to preserve any of it in house so that it will not get mixed up with the daily wage or one's earnings.

[577] The remarriage must naturally occur in another sib (jaid) if the sang is to be inherited; because otherwise the sang would remain in the family.

784 Most of the sang that occur, different according to the families or the sibs, are the following: (13)

13. Gurdon, The Khasis, p. 5.

[618] 1. Building a house with stone walls on all four sides.
2. The use of iron nails in building a house.
3. The use of more than one kind of wood in building a hearth.
4. The use of resinous wood in building a house.
5. Felling wood in a holy forest (except

[illegible]

784
482 hates stone; he does not wish any lime." (14)
342

14. P.A. Münzloher, S.D.S. Die apostolische Präfektur Assam [The Apostolic Prefecture of Assam] (Rome, 1899), p. 83.

4. Egg Throwing (shat-pylleng)

787 The most common of all the oracles of the
782 Khasi is egg throwing (shat-pylleng). A great deal has already been written about it. (15)

[113] 15. P. Dr. C. Becker, Das Eierwerfen der Khasi [Egg Throwing Among the Khasi] Anthropos XII-XIII (1917-1918), pp. 494-496.

I will only add here the prayer of the sacrificer u nongshat-pylleng. It is not an actual prayer, at least the nongshat-pylleng is not bound to any formula. The sacrificer speaks approximately thus:

Ko lengsam khun ka blei, ko banang ko batip ko ba lah ko baiai, nga pynthiah nga pyndem halor ka diengshat ka diengkhein, ka duwan ka dupat, a kynrad ngan kylli ngan	O thou egg of the oracle, thou daughter of the goddess, thou whom thou knowest and art aware of (art able to) thou remainest thou (stayest); I put thee down here on the board (16)

16. Cf. Table II, Picture 1. [119]

togkit katne ba long shitom ka lanot ka shoh ka ther ka shit ka kyang ka pisa ka lynga ia ka met u	on the oracular wood, on the altar, o mistress, I question and ponder (would like to question,

787 Donsing hato nangno ka
782 daw ba long katne don
hi na kpoh la iing mo?
Kaba wan thaw katne?

wish to question), for great are the troubles and the afflictions, the oppressions and the cares, the heat and the fire (of the fever), the disquietude and the depression of N.N. What is the reason that he is so badly off? Does the cause lie in the family itself perhaps (na khpoh, i.e., in the stomach, in the insides)? Has that perhaps done all this?

Lada don ka jot
ka rem ka bijar ka
buhkhoh ha ka blei
ka Iawbei, ha u phan u
kyrpad ngan sa jied
ngan sa pynshai ia ka
khmat ka long jot ka
long rem ka bijar ka
buhkhoh, don?

If perhaps a sin, a guilt, a vexation, or any annoyance exists for the goddess Jaubei or Phan u kyrpad, so will I ponder and illuminate the eye (of understanding) the corruption and the guilt, the annoyance and the vexation, which, may it be?

Jem ka mon bin
kynrong ka diang joit
buh ka jingkem arsnep
slait, da weng ka lar
ka sap ka bûheang ka
tharai ong em me ym don
na kpoh la iing ka ban

My will is soft as jelly and very tiny. Cross the left over the right quickly! Line up the two egg shells (slait, i.e., without any room in

787 wan thaw kum kata, khat
782 ei na wei du kaba wan
shoh ther katne.

between), take away the white (egg white), the sacrilegious thing, (not permitted thing) and the uncertain thing! Say: no! thou! It does not come from the family that which has caused all this. Therefore it comes from outside (from somewhere else), that which strikes him and rattles down so on him.

Lar ha ka dong ngang, kiew ha ka dong roit, noh ka diang khyllon ka diang da buh lengsam shiliang kadiang!

May the white come to the outermost corner and may it climb into the corner, down with the left! May the left close together (may the left sink powerlessly together). Place the oracle over to the left, to the half!

Mynno nga bynthiew mynno nga kyrkhah mynno nga sin mynno nga rngop nga pynsum dewlieh dewtem dewsni dewsnah dewraij dewkynton ba ngan fit ia ka liem ia ka dem ka pyllup ka lyndang, mo.

When have I then spit out? When have I cleared my throat of the thick phlegm? When have I [420] given a nickname? When have I washed and bathed the white earth (clay, loam), white loam, yellow loam, sticky loam, heaped up loam? So that I may

787
782

Mynno nga rah
mynno nga rong kum
ka khlieng ka tyngab,
ka ims ka doh.

Hu mo 'lengsam!

recognize that which lies towards the top and towards the bottom, that which lies on the back and on the stomach, is it not so?

When have I carried anything away, When have I dragged something off, such as the hawk or the raven or any kind of bird or meat?

Hurrah! is it not so, thou egg of the oracle!

5. The Sacrifice of the Rooster (jingknia syiar)

Just as by egg throwing so by the sacrifice of the rooster the Khasi wish to find out the reasons that are causing illness or some other misfortune. This sacrifice of a rooster is almost as common as throwing eggs. It is especially performed when a serious case must be settled. Since the rooster is more expensive than an egg, they expect to get the desired results more readily through the sacrifice of the rooster. In general the rite is the same as described in the Nongkrem-Puja in the Khasi mountains. (17) An example of the "invocations"

17.P. Dr. C. Becker, Anthropos, IV (1909), p. 899.

follows here, which the sacrificer pronounces with the following words:

787
782 Te ko rangiarkhad, ko khun ka blei, ko rangkynjih ko rangkyn jai, ko rangkynih ko rangphawar ko ba ioh ka hukum ka kular na myndang long ka pyrthei, shai ka pyrthei na khmat ka blei ktien ka blei, te ha sngew nga kylli nga tohkit ha shat ha ka khan, nangno ka daw ba wan shoh wan ther katne ia ka met u Donsing?

And now, thou sacrificial rooster, thou son of the goddess, thou hopper and jumper, thou crower, thou wise-speaker (who understands how to speak in figures of speech), thou who hast received the law and the promise from the beginning of the world, Bright is the world from the face of the goddess, from the word of the goddess! So listen now, I ask, I ponder, I cast oracles, I question oracles: whence is the reason (what is the reason), that strikes N. N. and rattles down so on his body?

Ong phi ka blei manga, ka shoh te manga ka ther te manga ka sympat ka kawiat te manga, te nga shang darum-darum daneng-daneng nga kylli nangno ka long-jot ka long-rem, nangno ka bijar ka buhkhoh phi ka blei!

Say, o goddess: It is I who strikes him, it is I who rattles down on him, and I who scourges /421/ and lashes him. And I go back and forth and up and down and ask, whence comes then the destruction, the incrimination, whence then the vexation and annoyance, o thou goddess!

787
782 Ong phi ka blei,
ko khun ka lamler
mynkato me ka sngi
me iapan ia ka dur ka
long briew ka long iing
na khmat nga ka blei
ka laubei nga ong!

So say, o goddess,
thou daughter of lies,
at that time, is it
not so, (18) on that

18. The following words are, as it were, as if the sacrificial rooster were putting them in the mouth of the goddess and were contradicting the oracle.

Khie kynmaw
sieh ka jutang na kata
ka lynti, ynda me ieng
ka nguh ka dem u ak-
hot u lamjew u kpu u
rynsi ia ka jong ka
longspah kat ia katei
ka dur ka long briew
ba me la sieh ka jutang
mynkato ka sngi.

day thou hast demanded the picture of the man, the value of the family before my face, before me, the goddess, before me the Jaubei, so I say!

Stand up and recall! Draw forth the promise from that way! And when thou standest there and bowest down and showest reverence, then the thanks and the reverence, then the piece and the sour thing, then the bread and the cake, to thine own well-being and wealth, as to that picture of the coming into existence of man which thou hast produced through the

787
782 Mem don ka iathu-
hkhana ha khmat nga
ka blei me tep me
lynde pynban, nangta
jot nga ka blei ka
laubei!

promise on that day.
Hast thou no tale
of this before my, the
goddess! before my
face! Thou buryest,
thou concealest it
rather, and therefore
the disaster, say I,
the goddess, the Jaubei!

Im u syiar u shan
ye nangta im ka sang
ka ma te nangta, im
ka tyrut ka smer te
nangta, ioh ka shitom
ka lanot u bynriew
te na kata ku lynti.

Long live the
rooster, the support,
and further, long live
the taboo and the
threat, and again long
live the Tyrut and the
Smer and then: man ex-
periences suffering and
sorrow, on every way
thither (from birth).

Te ko blei trai
kynrad wei nga la lap
ia kata ka knia ka
lynti ka long-jot ka
long-rem ka jong phi
te mynta ngan da ieng
ka kynmaw ka kyndit
namar kata ka lynti
kat haba shong ka
nguh ka den u kpu u
rynsi u klonh u
ksaw, la suk la jemnud
phi ka olei ka law-
bei na kata ka lynti.

Thou, however, o
god and master, since
I have now come along
thy ground, the way
of destruction, of
guilt, so I raise my-
self up. The memory,
the perplexity because
of that way, wherever
I may dwell, shall
be the thanks, the re-
verence [420], the
bread and the cake,
the gourd and the
gourd bottle; peace-
ful and well-intention-
ed art thou, o god-
dess Jaubei, on that
path.

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Yn sa ioh ka khiah ka nang, ieng rangbah u bynriew joit suk me u blei lyngngai weng ka thoah ka tar ka kjab ka star.

We receive the sublime and the possible. Quickly rise up, man! Well satisfied be thou, o god! Take away the faults, the stains, the band and the sling.

Ong ym pat shong ka dur da kumta khadei dang kumwei du, kiew da ka thoh da ka tar da ka brain da ka briah da ka kjab da ka star, katta mo blei tray kynrad, kuri-ei nga pynsum nga pynsleh nga pyntang nga pynpung ha ka umthwei umlyngiam, ban kiew ka syrti ka jumai ban um ka ryndang ha khmat ka duwan ka dupat ban nang ka korbar ka sorbar mo?

Say: the picture does not yet appear thus, rather different, is it not so! Raise thyself from the great stains and from the great faults and from all the little stains and spots, from sling and band and then, is it not so, o god and master, it is in vain! I wash and bathe and make pipes of water and scooped-out wells in the eddy and in the depths, so that ka syrtieh (19)

[776] 19. Ka syrtieh is a demoness, who cuts and scratches and files and saws, i.e., through inner pains.

and ka Jumai (20) may

[776] 20. Ka jumai is the demoness of earthquakes.

arise, so that the throat may dissolve (bleed to death) before the visage of the

787
782

Snam syiar, hei nga dkhat sohpet shynnai ban nang ka korbar ka sorbar, kane de ka deng de ka kup ka ryndia ka muka ka iarong ka muna ho, jei dong tam dong lait ban lait ka jot ka rem mo?

altar, so that the counsel be good, is it not so?

Thou blood of the rooster, hurrah! Look, I tear out its navel, the intestines, so that the counsel be good. This here is the jewelry, this the garment, this the silk, this the purse and the net, is it not so? Look, here is the tube for gathering, here the tube for escaping from destruction and guilt is it not so?

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6. Discovering the Spirits that Need Appeasing (kheinksuid).

Khein ksuid means the seeking for or the discovering of the insult to the goddess which sells (die) man through suffering to the pain-causer (ksuid). The demon cannot harm man if the goddess does not stand for it and allow it. The guilt of man plays no part in this (in and of itself). The Khasi say that in their religion there is only one goddess, the "Giver of Orders" (ka nonghukum). She commands that a phan u kyrpad [423] should be, that a suid-nia of Jaubei should be (suid-nia is the spirit of the first maternal uncle of the sib, in this case he is supposed to be the "intercessor" with the Jaubei). Or she herself choses a means, that is supposed to be "god." for example, as she herself becomes the goddess of wealth or the goddess of the curse. This goddess gives the command for the sacrifices: That the piece (u dykhot) and the

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782 sour thing (u lamjew) be sacrificed! If this goddess is insulted by any kind of error, then she must be propitiated again, and this is done by the sacrifice of a goat, of a pig, or through the sacrifice of the gourd and the gourd bottle, or (for the very poor) through the sacrifice of water which one shakes out on a brass plate (ka pliang) or on a woven plate (ka pdung). It is she also who commands that one drive away the demon or the demoness, especially the demon who helps day and night (uba rap synnia rap sngi), by a sacrifice of money, a hundred or a ten, which must be brought to him.

Everything is at her command: thus the sacrifice of food which is brought the spirits (ai bam ia ki suidiap), the sacrifice of thanks which is brought the Thaulang (kaba nguh thawlang), the auguries (kaba tap ryngiew tap rywiang) or the naming of children (tap lubri tap hyrteng). For example, if a mountain devil or a river devil is supposed to be driven away, she gives the command to ask the oracle of the house first and not to make a noise. Then, however, one should take a freely chosen sacrifice, such as doves, chickens, pigs, or goats and strew them with rice and then let them run off free. Anyone who catches them may keep them.

[769] In this religion there is also something very painful and extremely difficult, namely finding out the guilt of one long since dead in order to atone for it again through sacrifice. For sometimes nothing can be found that is the reason or cause of sickness or trouble and therefore it must be the error of an ancestor that is not yet expiated. But this kind of investigation of devils is very difficult, since one cannot easily discover the connection. An experienced and worthy sacrificer who

776 782 understands how to interpret the signs of the goddess must take this case in hand.

782 If the goddess Jaubei was insulted by an offense, a goat must be sacrificed to her. This goat must be beautiful, it must be white, it must be full-grown, but still virginal. The sacrifice is brought into the front courtyard. On the altar, which is usually prepared of loam or earth, (21) the sacrificial gifts are

21. By "altar" (ka duwan) the Khasi means everything on which he offers his sacrifices, whether it be a stone, or a banana leaf, a heap of loam, or an altar made of earth.

now spread out: bread(kpu), cake (rynsi), gourds (u klong), young oak shoots (u sning ka laliar), uncooked rice (u khaw) and fermented rice water (ka sapoh). Now the goat's head is cut off with one blow. The dead animal is cut up and the separate pieces needed for the sacrifice are placed in readiness. There are various ways of sacrificing. Some take five such pieces, others seven, and again others take nine pieces. But what is taken for the sacrifice, must /424/ come from the inside of the animal (napoh krem ka kypoh, i.e., from the stomach cavity). Those who use five pieces take something from the liver, something from the heart, something from the lung, something from the kidneys, and something from the loin (of meat, the part that runs along the spinal marrow).

Those who use seven parts for the sacrifice take the above mentioned parts and in addition some of the spleen and some of the small intestine.

782 But those who use nine parts take in addition to those parts mentioned above two parts of the large intestine and of the small intestine and two parts of the appendix.

It is very hard to describe the sacrificial customs of the Khasi, i.e., to describe them quite exactly, as it is made differently in many cases. And even in the same case, for example for the same sickness or the same trouble, the sacrifices are made differently. One can readily see that in the fact that some use five parts of the sacrificed animal, some even seven parts and others again nine parts. Similar differences occur all along the line. For all cases the "piece" (dykhot) and the "sour thing" (lamjew), as well as "liquor" (iad) are sacrificed.

The method of the sacrifice depends on the relatives, that is on what the custom of the sib is. The youngest daughter is the [428] heiress of the wealth, but she is also the one who is responsible for the sacrificial rites of the sib. It is her duty to preserve the sacrificial rite which was always customary in the family (ha iing). The sacrificer (u synniang) conducts himself according to her instructions. Often many sacrificers are needed, for example at a time of plague or general trouble. Since there are now not too many sacrificers who understand the matter well, many desired sacrifices are omitted. Because of that, the Khasi believe that the rooster (u siar u shan) lives again, because of that the u longduh u longsam (evil spirit) lives again, because of that the Tyrut and the Smer live again, i.e., the evil demonic influences of these spirits become influential again through the neglect of the sacrifices.

•782 Often the head of a sib (u knie u kypa) delays the sacrifice for a decade, often for a lifetime. From this comes the difficulty for the descendants of being able to sacrifice according to the ways of the sib, since the memory of their own sacrificial rites becomes lost by the years long pauses in the sacrifices. It is difficult to revive (kynroi) the method of sacrificing. Or the old people die off (or become Christians) and so the young people no longer learn which formulas they have, which invocations were customary, which parts (of the slain animal) they should [769] take. The relationship with the ancestors becomes lost and as a rule they can no longer remember everything.

When matters have progressed this far, then the Jaubei sees to it that sacrificing is not neglected by permitting the members of her sib to be plagued by the devils. Especially, she permits the devils of the mountains, the rivers, the water, and the air to make their harmful influences effective. Since illnesses always keep occurring and deaths [425] happen, etc., sacrificing never does quite die out and the religion of the Khasi which reverences spirits in the most varied ways remains in existence.

7. Prayer of Thanks after Receiving Good Health. (22)

22. Cf. also the prayer of thanks and entreaty at the end of the Nongkrem-Puja, Dr. Becker, Anthropos, IV (1909), p. 902.

Sacrifices are certainly offered chiefly in times of trouble. But the Khasi do not

782 forget a good deed received. If someone receives his health again by sacrifice, he brings a sacrifice of thanks and says:

To sngew ko blei ko laubei te wei nga la shem ia ka nia ka lynti ka long jot ka long rem jong phi, te kynrad hajar nguh te sngewsynei ho, ba la kum bieit kum lyndet nga u khun u ksiew!

Hear then! o god! o Jaubei! After I have recognized thy reasons and ways, from whence thy destruction and thy blame have come (which you have found in me), thus, o my lord, I thank thee a thousandfold, and hearken unto me graciously, since I unwittingly, since I opposed thee, I thy child and grandson!

To ai ka khiah ka nang, ngan sa kynmaw ngan sa kyndit namar kata ka nia kat haba shong ka nguh ka dem u dykhot u lamjew u kpu u rynsi u klong u ksaw law ka shoh ka ther ka pisa ka lynga, hei wat die rem ngiat shuh ho kum kynnin kum hunne, ap ia ka nia ka lynti pyllun katta mo!

Health and wealth, it will always hover before my eyes (thy command), these causes (of the sickness), wherever I live and settle (sit down), wherever the piece inclines itself and the sour thing and the bread and the cake, the gourd and the gourd bottle, loosen (take away) the blows and the rattling down, the difficulties and the oppression! O do not sell so dear any more as yesterday and early

• 722

today, but await with patience the cause and the way! So much, is it not so! --

II. Religion in Various Aspects of Life.

553 1. Giving a Name (tap lubri tap kyrteng).
744 By tap lubri tap kyrteng one means the
722 ceremony of the giving of a name to a child. In the section on sang I have already indicated the various taboos of a pregnant mother in regard to her husband.

At the birth of a child now, so the Khasi say, there are not as many ceremonies as at the death of a relative. For birth is anyhow in and of itself a feast of joy, since one is more joyful when a person enters life than when he departs from life.

[426] When a child is born, sacrifices are made on the next day (if it was born in the evening or in the night, on the following morning) and the ceremony of giving the name is performed. The sacrificer must be a relative of the child's. Among the Synteng, aunts of the child are called on by preference as executors of the sacrifice. The umbilical chord is cut off with a sharp-edged piece of bamboo and the child is bathed in warm water. The afterbirth (ka shynnai) is carefully kept in an earthern pot in the house (nongpei). Instruments are then placed at the child's side as symbols of later occupations, near a girl a knife (i wait) and a woven bamboo carrier (i star); but near a boy a bow (ka tymtieh) and three arrows (ki 'nam). The sacrificer fetches a little plate, on which he sprinkles rice meal and fills a gourd bottle (u klong) with rice brandy, which he previously mixes with water. He

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arranges all this on a bamboo swing (u prah) and then begins the sacrifice with the following words:

Te ha sngew ko blei trai kynrad ko thaw-bynriew ko bubbynriew te ba long ka jer ba long ka thoh ban neh ka nam ban neh ka kyrteng ban long u lubri ban long ka kyrteng wei la suk la sngewbha phi ka blei ban khot da kata ka kyrteng to kein ba un long tymmen un long san un sain la ka kur la ka jaid un bad la ka khein ka bishar ha kpoh la iing mo.

Te sngew sa ka jong me u thawlang bahha bamiat te wei ym don ka sang ka syndiah te la long synthei la long shynrang te a un long rangbah man rangbah ym sah ka nam ym sah ka kyrteng mo!

And so hear, o god and lord, o creator and maker of men! for now the name-giving and the noting-down shall occur, so that the fame may last and the name be kept, after it has pleased thee, o goddess, to name with this name. Now may it (the child) live to an old age and become great and strong in his descendants and races, and may he keep and observe the commands and justice of his family.

And so hear thou also, o thou good and beautiful Thawlang, since now for once no taboo and no difficultty exist and little woman and little man are (and a child was born), so may he become big and become a strong man and may the fame remain and the name remain preserved. Is it no so!

Sharwhile the sacrificer slowly sprinkles the brandy on the rice meal so that a dough is made. Now one seeks for the name of the child.

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844 While he pronounces several names, he very slow-
712 ly pours the rice liquor out on the ground.
The name, then, that coincides with the drop that takes the longest to free itself from the neck of the gourd bottle, is given the child. When the name is found by this method, the sacrificer makes a mark on each foot of the child with the dough mentioned above, thus giving him the name.

553 [427] But if somebody comes into the hut
844 by chance while the liquor is being poured out and says something, then a name formed from these words is given the child. Then the parents and relatives of the child must eat three times from this dough. When this is all over, the father takes the placenta, sprinkles rice meal on it and swings it three times over the head of the child. Thereupon he leaves the house and fastens the jar including the contents to a tree near the hut. Today this ceremony is seldom done exactly. Usually the father only goes in the yard and buries the placenta somewhere.

553 When the father returns, his feet are sprinkled with water ban khuid ban jhiah krat i khunlung, i.e. so that the child may stay healthy. A rice cake (u purew) which was prepared earlier is now eaten by everybody. Thereupon all the relatives sit down, the relatives of the wife on the left and the relatives of the husband on the right. A piece of the rice cake (purew) is dipped in water and the toes of all the guests are wiped with it. After the end of these ceremonies the utensils which were placed at the side of the child, the bow, the three arrows, the knife and the carrying straps, are taken away and carefully fastened to the inside of the roof of the hut.

553 that a Khasi told him, [428] that all kinds of nuisance and deceptions occur with this method of name giving since one likes to save time and trouble."

"The dried fish are held by each end and cut into two pieces. Finally one wipes the yellow root that has been mixed with water on the right foot of the father, the mother, and the child."

844 782 553 Among the Synteng the following items are offered in sacrifice immediately after the birth of a child: some rice meal, eggs, roots and leaves. After the child is a month old (one often waits two months) the ceremony of the name giving is performed. This is done, if not by the sister of the mother, then by the oldest man of the sib. Sacrifices are brought again at this celebration, specifically two hens and a goat.

844 The parents of a newborn child are not allowed to cross a river, nor may they wash their clothes as long as the umbilical cord is not healed, since otherwise the mountain or river devil would harm the child.

845 Twins are considered a punishment, which has been incurred by somebody in the sib for violating a taboo. If the twins are of different sex, their bones may not later be placed in the common family grave.

782 755 2. Sacrifices during the Illness of a Member of the Family.

[753] Usually sacrifices are made only for internal illnesses. Because the Khasi cannot explain the origin of these illnesses, they are of the opinion that a devil has caused them. He must be angry with the person concerned

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762 and must now be propitiated by a sacrifice. For outside illness, for example, wounds which they have incurred by falling or hitting something, they do not make a sacrifice because the cause of the illness is known to them.

For internal sickness the sacrifice is usually made in the court area if unfavorable weather does not prevent it. What should be sacrificed is determined only by the sacrificial priest (lyngkoh). If the illness is not important, an egg is sacrificed. (24) The

24. See above, egg throwing.

sacrificing priest takes a rather large dish (ka pliang kynthei) on which he places a lattice of little bamboo sticks. Now he takes an egg, caresses it, calls it goddess (ka blei), strews it with rice and smears it with red mud. Then he throws it with all his might onto the bamboo lattice. The inside of the egg runs through the lattice into the dish. He does this with one egg after another. This egg sacrifice is performed every morning and every evening until the sick person is well again. Many make the sacrifice early before sunrise and in the evening after sunset.

If the illness is of a more serious kind, chickens are sacrificed. This is done in the following way. The sacrificial priest strews rice on the chicken's beak. Then slaves the back of the animal on the left under fingers and holds the head of the animal down with his left thumb. Then he cuts open the chicken's throat with a knife. (25) The sacrificer

25. Cf. Table II, Picture 2: Sacrifice of a Chicken among the Khasi.

782 765 now draws the bronchia out through the opening he had made [illegible] and according to their position he judges whether the sick person will get well or not. (26)

26. Cf. Sacrifice of the rooster, ka jingkhia sylar.

If the illness is still worse and death is feared, then the cleverest and most experienced sacrificial priests are called. Goats and pigs, and if the sick man belongs to the well-to-do, also cows are sacrificed by these. (27) All the relatives participate in the

27. Cf. above, Khein Kould

sacrificial meal with the priest.

If the illness is leading towards certain death, sacrifices are made until there is no longer any sign of life. Thus the father of a sick boy in Umpling, who himself was a sacrificial priest, sacrificed the most beautiful chickens all day long until the boy died in the evening from vomiting of blood.

Among the Synteng only rice, eggs, hens, pigs, and deer, but no cows, are sacrificed. Certainly many sibs are allowed to eat the meat of cows, but they are exceptions. Of the sacrificed animals the gods (or devils) receive only some blood, [illegible] present.

765 782 3. Sacrifices and Ceremonies for a Death.

Without interruption -- until death occurs -- sacrifices are offered for a dying

2:Stegmiller-Lk N-4,5(no date)1921 ARF Sheet ARF

763 (172) person. Whether death has occurred is determined by calling his name. If no further sign of life is observed, howling and wailing begin to announce the mourning. Tears are extremely rare.

764 The dead person is bathed and washed (pynoum-pynolah), wrapped in his clothes and reverently placed on a bamboo mat. One is particularly careful with the limbs; for the hands and feet are stretched out completely (phynsit ki kjat ki kti) and placed straight (pynthiah beit). To indicate mourning one does not wind the dead man's turban from right to left as usual but the other way around. In the territory of Lamin one puts betel nuts, which are wrapped in pepper leaves, between the turban and the forehead. These betel nuts are placed in a row so that they look like a crown or wreath. Every morning and every evening, as long as the body is in the house, one places cooked rice and dried fish by the head of the dead man. One calls this giving ai ka ja miet ja step (morning and evening meal).

764 782 How long the dead man stays in the hut varies with each sib. Many are cremated on the day after death, whereas others several days later, but always the body stays an uneven number of days in the hut. A betel nut with a pepper leaf and lime is placed with the food as well as a bamboo beaker with tak-long-kpoh on the stomach of the dead man (in the area of the stomach). This is the start of the actual sacrifice.

The sacrificer takes a chicken, strews rice on its head, holds it ready for killing, and says while doing this:

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[130] To engew no ba long u krad lynti u krad synghieng, te ba poi hi ka sngi ka ia te wei ngam lup ia ka khein ka bishar te la pom ka tyrut ka sner la pom ka bneng ka ahynnew, te kynrad engew ho, ba men leit da ba muk da ba beit na kpoh la ka kmie ka kiaw u nie u ma suidnia ka laubei no?

Hear, o thou road scraper, thou path scratcher, since the day and hour have come and I can no longer get along, as with sacrifice and justice, so have the Tyrut and the Sner struck me and heaven and earth have struck me and so my lord, stop then, that thou goest in peace, right and righteousness of the stomach (in the family) in peace and harmony with the uncle and the cousins. Judge thyself, o goddess Laubei, is it no so?

Now even though otherwise only good chickens may be used for sacrifices, in this case it does not make any difference whether the rooster (u iar krad lynti) is a fine example or not. The next best is simply taken.

If the dead man is cremated "poorly," i.e. if the relatives are not in a position to pay greater costs, only this rooster and a handful of rice is sacrificed.

If the dead man is cremated "richly," i.e. if the relatives are having with numerous sacrifices, a pig is sacrificed and each of the masculine relatives must give a handful of rice which is also sacrificed immediately.

Various sacrifices are offered, according to whether the dead man is to be cremated on a base built of stone as is the case of the very

2:Stagmiller-46 M-4,5(no date)1921 AM7 Khasi AM7

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rich, or in a kind of coffin (shyngoid). In the first case a steer (ox) is sacrificed, in the other case a pig (u 'niang shyngoid). The horns of the steer (u masi pyllait) are painted gold or silver. Today one does this only with gold or silver paper. Then the animal is let loose after it has been strewn with rice and sprinkled with water ('iad-um). Anybody who captures it can keep it or kill it. As soon as the animal is let loose, one calls it masi-tamrong. If one wants to set up on the cremation area bamboo poles with white cloth pieces on them as if they were flags, which is only done for the very well-to-do, a rooster (u 'iar kait) is sacrificed.

(44) Since no work may be done on the day of cremation, all the preparations must be completed, such as fetching wood from the forest ('iew kyndang), erecting the funeral pyre, arranging for the necessary sacrificial animals and other sacrificial gifts, etc.

4. The Cremation (ka jingthang).

The Khasi burn their dead. At the crematory ceremony one can distinguish various classes or kinds, either according to the wood (45) which is used or according to the catafalque (scaffolding for the body or structure above the dead person) which is erected.

The types of cremation in the wood are:

1. The cremation, for which only uncut wood is used, that is, wood as it is found without any kind of preparation. This type of cremation is made only by the very poor (uba duk ah) who have no more relatives. There is no sacrifice made at this cremation.

764
782 (khlem dykhot).

2. Cremation in which the wood used is cut with a knife (da wait). Here a handful of rice is taken from the relatives (ka pynkham ka pynsoh) and a sacrifice offered, "the piece and the sour thing."

3. Cremation in which the wood used is cut clean as boards (ka lyntang). In this class the drum (ka ksing) and the kettledrum (ka dah) are beaten, guns (ka suloi) and the pipe (ka man, i.e., a cannon) are fired, sacrifices are offered, "the piece and the sour thing (u kykhot u lamjew)," an ox (u masi) and a pig (u sniang) are sacrificed. Usually the sword dance (shad wait) is also performed.

764 The method of cremation according to the differences in structure are:

1. Thang syrkhait is that type of cremation in which no kind of catafalque (structure) is used. In this case the dead person is placed on a kind of bamboo lattice work.

2. Thang lynghkasoo is that form of cremation for which a catafalque is erected. The dead person is put in a kind of coffin made of young slender trees, bamboo, and boards. This coffin is covered with red cloth with decorations of silver edgings. Over the body, which one does not see, a structure is erected of flowering bushes and figures. One likes to make a peacock of wood to which paper is attached. (28) The whole thing is

28. This ceremony might have originated

764 a shield, bow, arrow, and knife (wait) are placed beside the man and ornaments beside a woman. All this, however, is not burned, but is taken away before the fire is lighted, with the exception of the woolen or silk cloth that is attached to the upper ends of the bamboo poles. If the corpse has received money and food, a sacrifice is offered, usually a goat. Poorer people pour a little brandy on the ground.

Now the funeral procession moves towards the place of cremation. This place is designated in each village and is usually located on the slopes near oak forests.(29) As pre-

29. Cf. Table II, Picture 3: Place of Cremation of the Khasi with a stone substructure.

viously during the night, when the dead man lay in the hut, guns are also shot off now, and if the people have wealth, paper bombs are set off. On the way copper coins are distributed to poor people. The tom-tom resounds, the eternal, monotonous beat on the large drum and the melancholy piping of the flutes (sharati). With great wailing from the mourners, in which the women relatives of the dead person excel, they finally reach the place of cremation, which is not sought out until late in the afternoon.

767 First a goat (u'lang mawkjat) is sacrificed
● 762 here. Then the body is lifted up on the catafalque, which has already been prepared, with his head towards the west and his feet towards the east. A rooster is now sacrificed, which they call 'iar synghthong. If the deceased is well-to-do, a he-goat is also slaughtered,

764 which is called u 'lang sait ksuid or "the
782 he-goat which washes off the devil." The meaning of this is: the he-goat is similar to the "scapegoat" which takes the sins of the deceased upon himself.

Among the poor (that is among those who only use uncut wood as well as those who use wood cut with the ka wait) there is no funeral.

Now the closest relatives start the fire and after these the children of the deceased, if there are any present, apply fire. The cloth on the upper end of the bamboo poles flame brightly and is burned up in no time. The few clothes of the deceased are also soon in flames and then the actual burning of the body begins.

If the pile of wood catches fire, a rooster u 'iar padat is sacrificed immediately. This rooster is swung three times over the funeral pyre just as one swings incense and its blood is smeared three times on the pyre. Then the "stomach egg" (leng kpoh) is broken at the head end of the funeral pyre. Then three ar-
[621] rows ('nam tympem) [631] are thrown by hand as far as one can in three directions. One to the east, one to the south, and the third to
[775] the north. But never to the west. Because according to the belief of the Khasi the west leads to the unending, thither go the souls of the dead, there lies eternity. (30)

[624] When the Khasi would like to have somebody go far away and they curse him, they speak as follows: to leit sha ban sep ka sngi shaba mih u bnai, i.e., go away where the sun sets and the moon rises!

(Go away where the poppy grows.)

ooo (Go away where the pepper grows.)

764 Meanwhile others are completely occupied with the burning of the body. Soon the intestines pour out into the fire, whereupon they begin to sizzle. A horrible smell comes from the crackling intestines. The steam that is developing in the skull from the fire causes a violent explosion in the skull which sounds like a gunshot. After the pile of wood has burned down and the yellowish green smoke has gone, you still see in the bluish fire the outlines of the black, steaming and cooking corpse. Now the men, who are already quite drunk from rice brandy, poke around in the fire with bamboo sticks and pour liquor and oil on it, which causes the flames to blaze up again. I saw in Lamin at a cremation that the heart was left as the last thing, which was then burned by itself with great sadness on the [273] part of the cremators. The objectionable scene of cremation could not occur without an [742] excess taking of alchohol. As a conclusion a goat is sacrificed (u 'lang dholia) on the spot and the relatives take their departure as they place betel nuts on the burned up funeral pyre with these words: khublei khie leit bam kwai ha iing u blei (god guard thee, go and eat betel nuts in the house of god!

In some places it is customary before the cremation for a man to get drunk with liquor. He then represents the devil and performs all sorts of tricks.

764 When the corpse is burned, one then col-
782 lects the remains of the bones which did not quite get burned up. (31) These are washed

31. Cf. Table III, Picture 1: Collecting the Remains and the Bones

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that are not burned up and the Ashes (among the Khasi).

and wraped in a small piece of cloth and then put in an urn (jar). While a woman is doing this, a man strews rice on the ground and entreats the spirit of the deceased not to disturb his relatives who have remained behind in the world, since everything was done correctly at the cremation. When this entreaty is finished, the urn with the remains of the bones is placed under the tombstone (maw shying) The remains of poor people are also put undr this stone but not in an urn. The sacrifiial rice (ka japha) is also placed by the urn as food for the deceased (cf. the next section).

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Early the next day they count up together the expeditures they have had. Speeches are made by the u kni u kpa (the maternal uncle) to the assembled children and grandchildren. This u ki u kpa [434] has been the priest and judge of the sib up until now. Now all business stops for three days. But on the third day they gamble (draw lots - bud pylleng) with two eggs to see who will be the leader of the sib of the deceased in the future, so that one will know to whom one should turn when sacrifices must be offered or quarrls are to be smoothed out. Thereby the prepnt u kni u kpa speaks an admonition to the deceased:

Hei ap ia ka nia ka jutang ynda ia lum ia kynshew ia u kur u para u khun ka meinah ka meisan yn sa tai ia ka khein ka bi shar yn sa long ka

So hearken unto the words of the promise! After the relatives and brothers and sisters of the mothers-in-law and aunts are gathered, we will sift

765 ai bam ka ai sa ia me
782 ka kynrong ka hyntaw
ka pynkhiah ka pynnang,
dih sa ka kiad sa ka
um mo!

our words and our sacrifices and out judgments and then will be: to care for thee and to nourish thee and to carry over thy bones and to care for thee in sickness and to make thee healthy. So we wish to drink the liquor and the water, is it no so! (32)

[273] 32. The water is a fermented rice water, that is variously called rice beer. The last sentence has the sense of an affirmation and of an oath.

Hei sngew ryngkat
ma phi ka blei ka
laubei ka nonglum
nongkynshew shi khrum
ka nar mo!

So hear then, o goddess, thou Jaubei, thou who has gathered us here, one and all (33) the whole sib

33. Shi khrum - actually the hollow place, the place under the house.

and stone and iron, is it not so!

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782 As there are various customs for sacrifices, so are the ceremonies for cremation various. It is reported (34) that on the day of

34. Gurdon, The Khasi, p. 133.

cremation pigs are slaughtered by the relatives of the deceased. Those, who cannot afford to

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782 sacrifice pigs, bring liquor, some of which they pour out on the funeral pyre. The coffin is raised onto a bamboo bier, and some money is placed next to the body so that the spirit of the deceased can buy food on the journey. Cotton or (in the case of rich people) silk cloths are wound around the coffin, crosswise if the deceased is a man, in the form of a square if the deceased is a woman. Before the bier is [783] raised up, one throws a handful of rice and pours a little water from a jug in front of the door and sacrifices a goat. These are purification ceremonies. The funeral procession is now arranged and slowly wends its way accompanied by a great deal of music. For rich people guns are shot off in between times. Copper coins are also strewn along the way. As the funeral pyre is approached, the corpse is placed on display and the peices of meat of the sacrificed animals which lay beside the body are thrown away. Then one arranges three loaves of baked bread, an egg, the lower jawbones of the animals which were sacrificed, the left [435] foot of the rooster (u 'iar krad lynti), a jug of water, food in a dish, and three arrows. A goat is now sacrificed. The body of the deceased is placed in the coffin, if one is used, and then lifted up on the pile of wood, with the head towards the west and the feet towards the east. Pieces of wood are now placed around the corpse, and the egg ("stomach egg") is broken, not as is often supposed over the stomach of the deceased but rather it is thrown on the pile of wood in the direction of the feet. The fire is now lighted by the kur or member of the clan and then by the children, if there are any. Another rooster (u 'iar padat) is sacrificed, the blood

764 of which is smeared three times on the pile
782 of wood. After the clothes are removed, the bier is broken into pieces. The edibles and the jawbones are now placed by the head of the deceased. After the sacrifice of the rooster the three arrows are shot off from a bow, one towards the north, another towards the south, and one towards the east. One calls these arrows the 'nam tympem. It should perhaps be mentioned that the number of arrows, which are shot off during the cremation, corresponds with the number of arrows which are used during the name giving. As soon as the fire is burning, another goat is sacrificed (lang dholia). In some cases all the clothes are burned with the body; in other cases the clothes are only held over the fire and then put aside for further use (which is the case only among the poor). Before the relatives and friends leave the place of cremation, they place betel nuts on the pile of wood and say farewell to the deceased with these words: "Khublei, go and eat betel nuts in the house of god" (according to Gurdon).

5. Burial of the Bones

764 There is a threefold burial of the bones, i.e., of the remains of the bones not burned up and of the ashes. But these burials are not varied for the wealthy, the well-to-do, or the poor, as in the case of cremation, but all the bones of the dead are buried three times in different places. The burial rite for the first or second burial is essentially the same. The rite of the third is considerably more ceremonial.

The first burial occurs immediately after the cremation near the place of cremation in

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[292] on such an occasion a scarf which was decorated with gold edges and gold fringes. Whereas the relatives following next may walk and speak as they choose, the woman dressed in the scarf, who is carrying the bones wrapped in white cloth with respect against her breast, is required to be silent, not to vary to the right or to the left, but to walk in a straight line to the maw shing [sic] as far as this is possible.

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782 Having arrived at the place, a rooster is first sacrificed, which one calls the "guide to heaven" (u 'iar krad lynti), because he is supposed to accompany the spirit of the deceased into the other world. Afterwards three loaves of rice bread, an egg and brandy are sacrificed by the sacrificial priest (nongknia), so that the ashes may rest well here. The bones are placed in an earthern pot after they are well washed, and the jar is bound with a white linen cloth. The three loaves of bread along with the egg and the left foot of the previously sacrificed rooster are placed beside the jar in the prepared grave (if one can call the hole that) and the grave is closed with a stone. Betel nuts, pepper leaves, and lime are placed on top.

b) Second Burial (maw phew)

After a while the bones in the separate maw shying are collected, but the bones of the men and the bones of the women are kept and carried separately. In a manner similar to the above the transfer into the maw phew occurs. There the bones are laid separated in the prepared places, and the usual sacrifices of the rooster, the kpu, and the liquor are offered.

c) Third Burial (maw bah)

764 The ceremonial transfer of the bones from the various maw phew into the common sib grave maw bah is probably the most important of all the ceremonies [437] which the Khasi have. For not merely the precise and orderly fulfillment of every prescribed ceremony and custom, even the smallest, is necessary here, but also an emotional or spiritual preparation is needed, which neither occurs nor is demanded among the Khasi for anything else. This emotional or spiritual preparation consists in the requirement that all members of a whole sib must live in peace with each other, since otherwise the ceremonial transfer of the bones may not take place.

[787] If all quarrels and discords are smoothed out, this is determined with the greatest exactitude, and a sacrificer who is taken from the sib inquires by egg throwing and the sacrifice of a chicken, which day would be suitable for the ceremonial act. If the day is determined in this way, all the relatives of the dead meet together in the house of the group mother [Stammutter] (ing seng): the children, the brothers and sisters, the nephews and nieces (shi kur shi para ryngkat u khun ka meinah meisan baroh), the great uncles and the little uncles (u ne-bah u nierit). Standing, they call upon the goddess who has created the members of the whole sib and say:

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Kumno? hukum phi ka blei thaw bynriew buh bynriew ba ngan ieng ka lum ka kyn shew ka thep ka tian ia u suidiap u nongiap u lor u kap	How dost thou, o goddess, wish that I stand before thee, before thy face) to gather the hard earned, the stored up, the spirits of the dead,

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baroh na tynrai ka iingseng iingkhad-duh?	the chiefs of the family and the old family chiefs of the deceased from the tribal house?

If the goddess now sanctions it, then they gather the sacrificial gifts and the sacrificial money (which is often thousands of rupees) to use them for the festivities.

Two women then go to the various maw phew and reverently fetch the bones that were placed there. One woman carries the bones of the male dead, the other the female ones, and both bring them to the house of the group mother, where they are ceremoniously placed and decorated with flowers and beautiful cloths. Now the spirits of the dead receive nourishment (ai bam), in that a pig, a rooster and a steer are sacrificed. The best pieces of these animals are kept in a basket in the house for a later division among the participants. The rest is sacrificed.

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Then there is dancing. (35) This cere -

35. Cf. Table III, Picture 2: Ceremonial Dance in Honor of the Deceased.

monial dance in honor of the deceased lasts either three or five or nine days, whatever seems best (and how long the collected money lasts). A place in front of the house is festively arranged and used as the place for dancing (lympung). Music is played and liquor distributed.

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On the day on which they intend to transfer the bones, the drums (ka kaing) and the kettledrums (ka nakra) are beaten, [438] the flutes (ka sharati) are blown, guns (saloi) and cannons (ka man) are shot off. An ancestral

The man is the groom of the dead young girl, the old woman the bride of the dead youth. They have the two scramble for the spirits' rice (ki pynlaknieh ban ka ja snaiap) and have them jump over the rice mortar (thlong) and the rice pestle. Then arrows are thrown as far as possible, which the two people are supposed to seize. This game of catching means the driving out of demons who surround the new bah and wish to prevent the approach to the stones. Then one strews seed rice (u kaw rawai) on the road from the house to the end of the village. The two little people must now run with sticks (da ki dienghdih) and thresh or beat the rice. This happens three times, one after another.

When it has become bright day, a handful of rice is taken from each of the relatives, as well as the contribution for defraying the costs of the whole festivities. Then they fetch an "altar he-goat" (u' long duwan), in order to cut off its head on the village altar (ha ka duwan ka shnong ka mulah). Now they make merry with drums and flags (ka kring ka lama). The children and grandchildren sit down together and greet each other solemnly, especially the "cousin" (u kha pka). Then a shield dance (mastieh) (38) is held. They

38. Cf. Table IV, Picture 1: Khasi men, ready for the shield dance.

perform three rounds. Then a he-goat is slaughtered, and all dancers with the shields bow three times before the "cousin" (u kha pka). Each of the sons of the group house (Stammhaus) does the same thing.

Now everybody rises, and someone sacrifices the scapegoat u' long sait kseid. A

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[XIX] weapon dance is performed in which the sons follow one behind the other (according to age) (39) (shad wait, i.e. weapon dance).

39. Cf. Table IV, Picture 2: Weapon dance of the Khasi at the third burial.

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722 [XX] When the weapon dance has ended, they go in a procession (as above for the maw shying) to the maw kjat or maw lynti. Having arrived there, each of the sons slaughters a he-goat by separating the head of the animal from the body with one blow. The usual sacrifice takes place. But usually there are not a lot of he-goats slaughtered (since there is not enough money) but only one, which is then called u' lang maw lynti. The retinue or escort of the sons ends here (hangne la kut ka jingleit on lynti ki khun kha).

The others continue on to the maw bah. Having arrived there, they open the door (the closure of the container for the bones). A man, who is paid for it, crows three times to represent the spirit rooster iar iap. This occurs in front of the stone. Then all the spirits who are in the cave room are awakened (ayrslew) by someone saying:

to khle to khle la wan u khun la wan u katewt	Stand up! Stand up! The children have come, the grandchildren have come!

Then they place the bones of the deceased inside, separated according to sex. In addition there are the sacrificial gifts: the bread and the cake, which they spread out (siang). Also morning and evening rice (i.e. cooked rice ready for eating) they place (thah —

pour out) on the stone, also betel nuts and pepper leaves and ka rang ka ngab (the jawbones of the [sacrificed] animals). The contribution (u khrong u khwang) is also added. Then the stone is closed.

Then they strike three times with a stick (sympat da ki diang) on the stone, which they call tan ding (taken from fire), saying:

Hei nga tan ding nga tan thah ioh don wha mang wha thew u tymjuh u pan tien wat	See, I come towards the fire, see, I pour out the sacrificial gift, (40) so

40.- i.e., I perform the ceremonies faithfully.

leit khih wat leit win ap la ka khein ka bishar pyllum ho mei, ho iaw, ho nie, ho ma ehi khrum ka maw ka nari	that someone does not perhaps come and infringe and seek to demand a sacrifice. Do not disturb thyself! Be calm! and await patiently thy time of sacrifice. Is it not so, little mother, is it not so, mother-in-law, is it not so great uncle, is it not so, cousin, is it not so, all ye cousins who are under the stone!

On the next morning they figure out what everything has cost and what has been used. Then they take sacrificial liquor and say ('suit' means actually: they take it, present it, and hold it up ceremoniously):

Hei ko nie ko ma ko mei ko iaw ka suidiap	See, o uncle, see, o cousin, see, o little

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ko mongiap shi khrum /40/ ka maw sngew ho la lut la sep katta to nang kyrsoi to nang kyrsih la iaid ka iew ka duwar ka kitnong ka bylla ka khaii ka pateng!

mother, see o grandmother of the deceased, o all ye dead, who are under this stone, listen! Thus and thus much we have used and given out, bless and increase it. May all our doings, all our household, all our daily wage, all our business make us happy!

Then they divide the remains of the sacrificial gifts (also the pieces of meat which were kept in the basket) and bow down and mourn all the deceased cousins and aunts. And when the sacrificial remains have been divided, they give everybody four to five rupees (five marks, sixty pfennigs to seven marks according to the peace evaluation) in addition and say:

Shim kein khun to leit long bynriew to leit man byn riew to roi to pa to long spah to man spah wei kumba nga la kha la long shisha bam don ka sang bamdon ka ma a yn sah ka nam yn sah ka rong yn sah ka umnat yn sah ka umpung mo.

So, take, my son, grow and be strong, be happy and successful; may thy wealth increase, as I conceived thee without shame and wrong; may thy reputation and thy honor endure, and also the tears and the wells (41) should endure, is it not so.

41. i.e., the descendants who will mourn thee.

Thus they do it to all the children one after the other. After three days they destroy

2:Stegmiller-65 M-4,5(no date)1921 A87 Khasi A87

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the doll, whether it was (i.e. was supposed to represent) a male or a female one.

In conclusion they sacrifice a pig as a food sacrifice which they call the "doll pig" (u niang ai bam tyngshop).

After the passage of a month they sacrifice a pig again as a food sacrifice, which they call the "month pig" (u niang ai bam lait bnai).

And finally after a year they sacrifice still another pig as a food sacrifice which they call the "year pig" (u niang ai bam lait snem). (42)

42. Cf. Table I, Picture 1: Third burial place of the Khasi.

Gurdon (43) also describes this ceremony

43. Gurdon, The Khasis, p. 142.

differently, saying: "After they have arrived at the grave, the bones are washed three times in a basin (this is a custom from Cherrapunji). In Maushai the bones are exposed to the heat of a fire which has been lighted on a little platform. Then the stone door of the cinerarium is opened. The bones of the women are placed inside with the urn next to the wall which is farthest away from the door. But the bones of the men are placed next to the door. Many sibs place the bones of the men on the right side and the bones of the women on the left side. Then sacrifices of food and drink are offered the ancestors on a stone in front of the grave. The men perform a ceremonial dance with sword [440a Table I, 1. Third Burial Place. 2. the village Raliang]*

*[cf. c.A.116, p.66 -- Amalgat]

I:Stegmiller-67 #4,5(no date)1921 ARF Khael ARF

Table II

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The Egg Oracle

Sacrifice of a Chicken

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[illegible] The Place of Cremation.

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762 [Illus Table II, 1. The Egg Oracle. 2. Sacrifice of a Chicken. 3. The Place of Cremation.] [Illus] Table III, 1. Gathering the Remains and the Ashes. 2. Ceremonial Dance. 3. Foot Stone and Head Stone.] [Illus Table IV, 1. Ready for the Shield Dance. Weapon Dance.] [Illus] and shield (three times), and the door of the grave is closed. Afterwards a flag is planted on the grave.

All the people go away, with the exception of three men. One of these sacrifices a rooster (lar tanding) in front of the grave, the second one sits behind the sacrificer and holds three firebrands in his hands, which he moves back and forth. This man crows three times like a rooster. The (third) man behind the grave listens most carefully to every noise that is noticed meanwhile in the grave. The belief actually exists, that if the ceremonies have not been performed properly, the grave will now tremble and move. When the three watchers are satisfied and convinced that there was no motion in the grave, they go home and report it to the relatives. This ceremony is called tan ding or the test by fire.

On the next morning, the woman who is the householder of the house of the group [illegible] divides the hind quarters of the sacrificial animals among all the participants of the sacrifices. The relatives are not allowed to go to work before three days have passed. The third day is called ka sugi lalt.

The whole ceremony has symbolical meaning. The massive stone grave is supposed to represent a safe place for the spirits. If, however, the departed spirits are not satisfied with the whole ceremony, they will disturb their relatives in this world.*

J:Stagmiller-Sacrifice,(no date)1pp. AS/Khasi/87

(Pil) Sacrifice and Sacrificial Customs of the Khasi by P.J. Stagmiller, S.J.S., Former Apostolic Missionary of Assam (India).

(With 6 Illustrations in the Text) 782.

1. The Offerers of Sacrifices:
   a) Iynshon,
   b) Ceremonial Introduction of the Iynshon.

2. The Sacrifices:
   a) State Sacrifices,
   b) Private Sacrifices,
   c) Secret Sacrifices

1. The Offerers of Sacrifices.

a) Iynshon.

The religion of the Khasi is an (evil) 771
spirits worship, which has arisen out of fear 772
of misfortune and here and which is carried 787
out by means of sacrifice. This definition of mine corresponds essentially with the definition of Rivar, (1) who says: "The Khasi reli-

1. Rivar, Administration Report of of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills District of 1876.

gion may be briefly defined as a form to cure illnesses and to ward off misfortune by finding out the name of the devil, who is the original cause of the evil, and by appeasing him by the ceremony, sacrifices. Gurdon (2) calls "the 79
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2. Gurdon, The Khasi (London, 1906) p. 125.

Khasi religion a cult of spirits, i.e., mainly

[70] 72 rather a reconciliation of the spirits, good as well as bad, by sacrifices, which are offered occasionally, especially in times of distress.*

Undoubtedly sacrifices belong to the practice of the Khasi religion. Now who offers these sacrifices? In order to answer this question, it is necessary to differentiate between the various sacrifices that are customary among the Khasi. We find there

a) public sacrifices,
b) private sacrifices,
c) secret sacrifices,

The public sacrifices are performed by specially designated persons of the male sex (lyngdoh).

Private sacrifices can be performed by the ordinary men of the people as well as by sacrificers (lyngdoh) specifically designated for this.

Secret sacrifices are offered by anybody of the masculine or feminine sex.

73 [72] The Khasi do not have priests in the actual sense of the word. There is also no caste or family from which the sacrificers would come. There is also no special school or training for beginning sacrificers. The sacrificers or lyngdoh have also no special mark of distinction. (3) To be a lyngdoh does not mean [73] having

3. Cf. P. Dr. G. Becker, Indischer Kastenwesen und christliche Religion /India Caste System and Christian Religion/, (Aachen) p. 6.

a special profession. The sacrificers are ordinary people who may have any profession which they practice. Such men only appear occasionally as sacrificers. Even the chief sacrificers, who

preside over a whole district and are known as lyngdoh rangbah (head sacrificer), are not sacrificers by profession. Thus, for example, the chief sacrificer of Lawin in the district of Nar is a coolie by trade and carries loads from one market to the other (Fig.1). None of these sacrificers has a revered position among the people. It is rather the "fear" of them which makes them respected. For the Khasi firmly believes that the lyngdoh or even merely the ordinary sacrificers are masters over the (evil) spirits. Therefore they are very careful not to quarrel with the sacrificers, so that they will not conjure up spirits in their anger and set them on the guilty one and thus bring him to destruction.

The sacrificers are not actually officers of sacrifices in the strict sense of the word, but only representative people at the sacrifice. For the Khasi live under a matriarchy. With a sharpness of logic and with thoroughness they have probably developed and put into effect as a social organisation the most beautiful pattern of a matriarchy of anyone up to today. The mother is the head of the family, the only tie that gives the family unity; she is the sole possessor and sole owner of all property, and inheritance is only possible through her. The father has no right to the relationship of the children. These belong only to the maternal line. Even his ashes will not rest finally beside those of his wife or children, but in the grave of his mother. Whatever the father may earn or save does not belong to his children, but returns to the maternal line. It is not surprising that with such views it is also the mother who has all the spiritual power. And in reality she is in complete possession of the highest spiritual power. It is her duty to

[In the [illegible] ... Analyst]

77.4 preserve the customs of the family or eib; she
77.4 must see to it that the ancient domestic customs
77.5 of the household sacrifices are truly preserved;
it is her duty, to keep the inherited ceremonies
of the sacrifices pure and to hand them down
conscientiously to the descendants. Therefore
she has to arrange for the necessary sacrificial
materials; she must prepare everything; she is
the only one who must fast before the offering
of many a sacrifice; she gives the order for the
sacrifice, and she should also have to perform
it herself.

But this does not happen. In reality no
woman offers the sacrifice herself. (4) She is

4. With the exception of the secret
sacrifices, about which, see later.

[404] represented by a male person. But he must be
related to her on the maternal side. Usually a
maternal uncle (mul) represents her. Such
representation by a relative is always necessary,
whether it be for a public or a private sacrifice.
But not merely the degree of relationship must
lie in the feminine line; there is still something
else that must be observed for each sacrifice.
Even though the duties of the sacrificers and
their methods of sacrificing are very different
and are arranged according to the customs and
inherited usages in the family or in the eib
or in the state or community, yet in one point
they are all similar: namely, all the sacrificers
must be assisted by a woman during the performa-
nce of the services referred to. She is simply
called in ipugdah (the priestess). (5) Be-
cause the man must function in her name and he
is only her representative at the sacrifice,

792 Gurdon (5) believes that his ka lyngdoh is with-
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793 5. Gurdon, The Khasi, loc. cit.

out doubt a holdover from that time of the matriarchy in which a priestess also performed the sacrifices herself.

b) The Public and Ceremonial Introduction as a lyngdoh.

793 How does a person become a lyngdoh?[8] This
794 question can also not be answered so easily.
795 This is very different in the different districts. In general it may be assumed that the lyngdoh arises from the practice of household (private) sacrifices. Since it is the duty of the woman to watch over the sacrificial ceremonies, she will introduce one of her sons to the rite of performing sacrifices that is peculiar to the family, so that he will be able to occasionally offer the sacrifice in the prescribed manner or in case of need (sickness, death, misfortune). But because the maternal uncle is usually called upon for the sacrifices, the son who has learned to offer sacrifices will have little chance to practice this art in his own family, but rather among his maternal relatives. And the other way around, people from there who know how to offer sacrifices will be called into this household. In this way the man who offers sacrifices becomes known in the neighborhood. If he has luck with his arrangements and if success crowns his efforts, the news will spread that he is an experienced sacrificer whom the spirits obey and that he knows how to seek them out, to drive them away, or to propitiate them, as the case requires. Thus it happens that such a man is called upon again and again to offer sacrifices,
[See next page...]

793 especially in touchy cases. Thus of his own ac-
792 cord he becomes a lyngdoh and the people recognize
793 him as such on the basis of his successes. Who-
ever is once esteemed a lyngdoh remains one for the rest of his life. Just as in our country ordinary people call a dental technician "Doctor" and a high school teacher "Professor," so the Khasi call a man who is well known for his good sacrifices their "lyngdoh," although this person would not be able to prove his right to the title officially. This way of becoming a lyngdoh is probably the usual practice in most of the cases.

793 But it is not the way everywhere. There is
792 a report from Lamin (6) that a group mother

6. Salvatorianische Mitteilungen /Salvatorian communications/, 1906 No. 6, p. 84.

/Stammmutter/ of the lyngdohs is there. Gordon (7) also writes about a lyngdoh tribe, from which

7. Gordon, loc. cit.

the lyngdohs are drawn. I have never found this to happen and I have never heard of a lyngdoh group /Stamm/, or a lyngdoh sib (jaid). It could certainly happen that several sons of one and the same mother could by chance learn how to sacrifice and that they all excel in it and that they all have good luck so that these brothers are all called in as lyngdohs.

But the mother concerned has by no means become a lyngdoh group mother /Stammmutter/ just because of that, and the sib involved has no claims to the title: lyngdohjaid (lyngdoh group /Stamm/). Naturally the correct art of sacrificing, which is often very involved and difficult,

• 762 is more easily handed on through the children
763 than outside of the family, although that can also occur. But this teaching each other would never be a justification for a community or group [Stamm] relationship of lyngdohs.
[764] In those Khasi territories in which the lyngdoh are still installed by public recognition so that they may function as lyngdohs during great community or state sacrifices, it is done in the following or in a similar way.

If a certain man has been decided upon to be chosen as lyngdoh for the district, for the community, or for the kingdom, he is invited to offer his first official sacrifice. First of all he must take a purification bath. Then he must go to the top of a nearby mountain with all his relatives or electors (who are usually his relatives). This is done with great ceremony. The new lyngdoh is festively dressed. Freshly washed clothes cover his body. His turban (jingapong) is decorated with white rooster feathers. He wears a leather belt around his body on which the short Khasi quiver hangs (ka ringkap). He has a long sword (ka waitlam) in one hand and a dancing brush of goat hair (u symbiah) in the other. The male escorts are also dressed like him, but instead of the white rooster feathers they have a bunch of bright colored (Shuia) flowers on their turbans. The entire distance from the house of the new lyngdoh up to the top of the mountain must be covered by dancing, which explains the ceremonial dancing clothes of the male escorts. But also the female participants in the parade, who do not have to dance, insist on appearing all dressed up even if they are not in dancing clothes. They are also dressed in freshly washed clothes. A snow white scarf on their heads and a sky-blue cloak marks t hem from a distance as participants in the festivities. In addition most of them wear the usual Khasi ornaments: chains of

773 gold and silver, of gilded beads alternating
772 with real beads of coral. The women and girls also take some light refreshments along. They take care of the necessary pauses for quais (betel nuts) and smoking, for the Khasi are never in a hurry. Several coolies, who accompany the procession, carry the necessary utensils for the sacrifices on their backs in waterproof woven baskets (ka shang) with forehead straps (u star) woven of bamboo, while other coolies lead the living animals to be sacrificed: a goat and a rooster.

When everything is ready, a little band, consisting usually of only a flute player (ka 'tangmri) and one or two drummers (keing), begins to play and the procession moves up the mountain dancing. It proceeds slowly. From time
[774] to time everybody rests and the coconut pipe (ka jingtip duma) is passed from mouth to mouth. After a bite of betel nut (quai) has been taken, the procession moves on again dancing until the top of the mountain is reached. The Khasi must be known and admired because of the quietness and cheerfulness with which they do everything. There is no hurrying and haste, no rushing back and forth and no forgetting of anything. They give themselves time for everything and therefore succeed in what they attempt.

Hopping, skacing, and skipping they reach the top. If there are Khasi oak there, the ones who have arrived break off leaves from them and strew them on the ground. Otherwise the Khasi oak leaves are brought along from home so that they can be strewn on the ground on the top of the mountain. This makes the ground holy and consecrated to the spirits. The men now put aside the swords and the dancing brush. They begin to prepare the first ceremonial sacrifice

793 of the new lyngdoh. A hole is dug anywhere in
• 794 the ground with a chopping knife (ka wait) and the humus (earth or loam) which is dug out is brought to the middle of the place, piled up and thus serves as the altar. [215] A gourd bottle with fermented rice water is placed on the altar beside a bunch of betel nut leaves and beside a little basket full of rice and pounded meal next a pepper leaf, and the whole is surrounded by leaves of the Khasi oak trees.

Now a circle is formed. Several men lead the goat into the ring and hold it tight by a rope. Another man seizes the goat by the hind-feet and lifts these so high that the goat is only standing on its forefeet, and since it is tied by a rope it cannot move easily.

Now the new lyngdoh steps forward. He steps in front of the sacrifical animal, head high and armed with a chopping knife (ka wait). He folds his hands and takes the chopping knife between the flat surfaces of his hands. Then he crouches down, while murmuring his verses. Everything is still around him. The lyngdoh prays, i.e., he murmurs something which is not understood, yet everyone knows that he is now speaking to the spirits. After he has done this, he stands up. Taking the chopping knife by the handle with both hands, he swings it high and cuts off the goat's head with one blow. Blood shoots out in a wide arc. The body of the animal falls sideways to the ground. [Fig. 1. The chief sacrificer of Lamin in his private occupation as a coolie]. A cry of joy bursts from the throats of the crowd when the neck is severed. Raising himself up from the blow, the lyngdoh presents the bloody knife towards all sides and then hands it over to someone else. Now he picks up the severed head from the ground and lets the blood drip on the altar and on the sacrifical

gifts carefully placed there. Finally he sets the goat's head on the top of the little pile of earth thereby flattening it out, and thus crowns the altar with the bloody head.

Now the body of the goat is dragged over and the new lyngdoh begins to divide it. He has certainly done this many times before when he offered private sacrifices, or perhaps when he offered sacrifices for his own family, or perhaps when he was called upon by others to perform such sacrifices. But this time he is particularly happy about it. After all it is the first ceremonial sacrifice which he is performing officially. This is not as it usually is when he must sacrifice for sick or dying people and must propitiate the spirits and perform the observation of the entrails very precisely. No, this is a sacrifice of joy. He only needs to place the nine prescribed parts on the altar. He does that, taking a piece of the liver, the heart, the lungs, the kidneys, the loin, the spleen, the gall bladder, [Fig.] the small intestine and the large intestine. The others surround the bloody parts with leaves of the Khasi oak trees and the new lyngdoh shouts out joyfully: "The sacrifice is good!" The others repeat the cry and clap their hands as a sign of agreement. The goat is offered to the "god who commanded the sacrifice" (u 'lei Shillong). [Fig. 2. The state sacrifice at Mawkhrew.]

Now a second sacrifice begins in honor of the god u 'lei lyngdoh. A rooster is slaughtered and placed in pieces on the altar. While the new lyngdoh is letting the blood of the rooster drip on the sacrificial gifts on the altar, he shouts out: "Hey! The blood of the rooster! Hurrah!"

The sacrifice is completed. Coolies pack up the sacrifical meat into the baskets that were

[Illus. [illegible] p. 12 --Analyst]

• 772

Fig. 2 p. 11
[The state transition of chromium]

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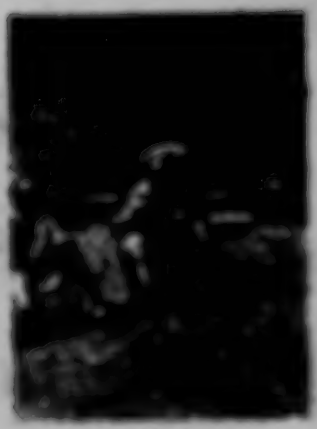

Fig. 3 p. 13
[Cm chromium phosphorus plus]

• 782 brought along and push the sacrificial gifts to
793 one side.

The new lyngdoh now gives the sign for the dance of joy. The men who are all in dancing clothes get up and seize the swords and dancing brushes they brought along. They place them-
782 selves one behind the other. The music begins
798 and slowly the dancers move away from the place.
835 Hopping and rocking from one leg to another, they move forward, forming a definite figure while doing it. Sometimes it is a circle, sometimes an eight, sometimes a spiral, which then slowly resolves itself. Now the dancers face each other in pairs. With loud cries each pair jumps at each other and they beat their swords together, uttering cries of joy which are seconded by the spectators. [Fig. 3. Egg throwing: placing rice]

Now they arrange themselves as at the beginning and the dance begins again. Thus the dance crosses the place several times, each time the peculiar dance (shad mastieh) ending
793 with the striking together of the swords. The
792 new lyngdoh, who has now performed his first ceremonial sacrifice which is concluded by the sword dance, declares his veneration for the god who has commanded the sacrifice. For this purpose all the men arrange themselves in order and with the lyngdoh at the head bow three times before the (invisible) god. While they are all standing, the lyngdoh takes several steps backwards and standing repeats his bow. With this the ceremony is over.

They arrange themselves in the order they came in. Dancing they go down the mountain to the hut of the lyngdoh. As soon as possible a new sacrifice [Fig.] is offered to the u 'lei lyngdoh, the god of sacrificers. With this the new lyngdoh has officially begun his new office
[illegible]

3:Stegmiller-14 M-4,5(no date)1954 ART Khael ART

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Fig. 4 p. 15
[Cow throwing:
throwing of the rope]

Fig. 5 p. 15
[Cow throwing:
Immobilization]

and can now also appear at the public state and community sacrifices when any basis of relationship justifies it.

This ceremonial way of introducing lyngdohs is still the custom especially in the kingdoms of Eynin and Bongkrem.

The number of active, official lyngdohs varies according to the region. A kingdom has at least one official lyngdoh. [Fig. 4. Egg throwing: Throwing of the egg.] [Fig. 5. Egg throwing: Investigation] But the kingdom of Bongkrem, for example, has six official lyngdohs, who together with the king and with other lyngdohs from neighboring villages annually offer the great state sacrifice. (8) Even

8. F. Dr. Becker, S.J.S., "Die Bongkrempuja in den Khasibergen" [The Bongkrem Puja in the Khasi Mountains], Anthropos, Vol. 4, (1909), p. 898.

villages often have their own official lyngdohs.

For the services which they perform for the people by offering sacrifices, they do not receive money or a present of money. Usually their trouble is rewarded by natural products, such as a hen, a bottle of rice liquor or even, though more rarely, by a pig. Obviously they always have the right to participate in the sacrificial meal.

2. The Sacrifices.

a) State Sacrifices.

According to the report of the last census the tribe of Khasi numbers about 200,000 people. (9) These are not unified under one ruler, but

9. F. Dr. G. Becker, S.J.S. 2a

Strontal des Brahmaputra [In the Valley of the Brahmaputra], (Aachen: Xavarius Publishing House, 1923) p. 293.

are divided into 20 kingdoms and 15 small states (communities). In each of these kingdoms and communities an official state sacrifice is offered each year. The smaller state units offer it to the u bass shong or to the u phan u kyrpad (the tutelary god of a village), the larger one to the u 'lei Shillong (the god who has commanded the sacrifice) [19]. The purpose of this large sacrifice is to thank the revered god for the country (kingdom or community) and to beg him to make its inhabitants healthy and happy. This is shown by the prayers spoken at these sacrifices, namely: "O god Shillong! for thee is this prayer, this sacrifice of goat, of hen, of kyu and ryuai (a kind of bread of rice meal or cornmeal with pounded sugar), of utensils of preparation, as thou hast given them to the royal lineage, so that once in every year Puja is celebrated in thy name, so that we may live happily, be healthy and increase, so that kings will arise, so that their honor and that of the kingdom will grow and increase and the children of the kingdom will spread out to increase thy name and thy honor." (20)

10. P. Dr. G. Becker, S.D.S., "Die Sungkrempuja in den Khasibergen" [The Sungkrem Puja in the Khasi Mountains], Anthropos Vol. 4, 1909, p. 901.

In another prayer they say: "O lord, thou who hast created heaven and earth, thou hast placed a king that we may be children of his

• 782 kingdom, thou hast given the sun and the moon,
796 for reckoning the year, so that we may have Puja once in the year, so that kings may arise, the children of the valleys may increase and thrive, the children of the Khasi, the children of the Bhoi, the children of the Nar, so that the sacrificial gifts may increase before the face of thine altar." (11)

11. P. Dr. Becker, S.J.S., loc. cit., p. 902 (Anthropos).

782 At these state and community sacrifices, the
793 official lyngdohs are the chief one to appear,
662 who together with the ruling king or chieftain
796 and with other lyngdohs from the villages perform the sacrifices. These annual state sacrifices are introduced and performed with great ceremony. They take place in front of the house of the s' lem sad (high priestess) of the state involved. (Fig. 2) [Fig. 6. The village chief in his sacrificial coat and ornaments.]

782 In addition to the usual sacrificial gifts,
796 which are grouped together on a small altar of earth and which consist of a banana leaf, betel nut leaves, pepper leaves, betel nuts, kpu and rynai, fermented rice water in a gourd bottle, and oak leaves, there are chiefly hens and goats and at the end a pig. Goats are slaughtered in great numbers, so that the chief festival day of the state sacrifice is called pun blang (the goat heads) by the people.

782 Besides the slaughtering of the sacrificial
785 animals, the dance plays a chief part. At these
796 great sacrifices all the dances that are customary among the Khasi are performed: the dance [219] of the unmarried girls, the dance of the girls and men together, but both sexes are so placed that the men form an outer circle and the girls [See category 44, p. 19 -- Anon.]

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an inner circle; the dance of the men with torches; the sword dance of the men; the shield dance of the men; the dance of the men in couples; the solo dance of a girl and the solo dance of a man.

All the inhabitants of the kingdom combine for the state sacrifice. With the cheerfulness peculiar to the Khasi they watch the passage of the individual sacrifices and the dances for hours at a time. In the evening of the day of the chief festival a sacrificial meal is held, in which all the sacrificers, dancers, and spectators may participate.

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b) Private Sacrifices.

In addition to the annual large state sacrifices, other sacrifices are also offered by the Khasi. These are the usual sacrifices which arise from the needs of daily life. The following can be mentioned as such:

1. The sacrifice for questioning spirits.
2. The sacrifice at the name giving.
3. The sacrifice before every important business, for example, before the market, before planting rice, before shooting arrows, before building a hut, before a journey, etc.
4. The sacrifice of thanks after recovering health.
5. The sacrifice in cases of sickness.
6. The sacrifice at the time of death.
7. Khein Kwid (the sacrifice for finding out which spirits must be propitiated. This is a matter of finding out past errors of those already dead).
8. The sacrifice at a cremation.
9. The sacrifice at the burial of bones:

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a) at the mau shing (first burial),
b) at the mau pheu (second burial),
c) at the mau bah (third burial).

10. The sacrifice in memory of the deceased:
a) the sacrifice at the end of a month,
b) the sacrifice at the end of a year.

These various sacrifices can be offered by the official lyngdohs as well as by other lyngdohs or even by ordinary men from the people, provided they know precisely the ritual which governs the family concerned and are guided by it.

782 764 678 A definite spiritual attitude is not required for any sacrifice. There is only one exception here: namely at the sacrifice for the third and last burial of the bones in the mau bah. This may only be carried out if all relatives of the sib concerned are living in peace with each other. This must be established by the lyngdoh himself who is performing the sacrifice. If any kind of enmity or a quarrel is discovered by the investigation, the burial and the sacrifice that goes with it must be postponed until the condition of general peace in the family is fulfilled.

782 [220] As concerns the place of the sacrifices, the areas may be divided in the following way:

1. Sacrifice is made in the hut:
at the name giving,
after recovering health.
2. Sacrifice is made in the courtyard in front of the hut:
when questioning spirits,
before important business,
in cases of sickness,
khein ksuid,
in case of death.
3. Sacrifice is made away from the house:
at a cremation at the place it occurs,
at the three different burials of the bones at the places where they occur,

• 782

at a memorial sacrifice at the place where the bones rest.

The sacrificial gifts for the individual sacrifices are the following:

1. At the questioning of the spirits: eggs, hens,
2. At the name giving: rice brandy, rice meal, eggs, roots, leaves.
3. Important business: eggs, hens.
4. After recovering health: kpu and rynai, gourds and gourd bottles, rice brandy.
5. In cases of sickness: eggs, hens, goats, pigs, cows.
6. In case of death: egg (stomach egg), rooster, rice, pig, steer.
7. Khein kwuid: eggs, gourds and gourd bottles, rice brandy, water, doves, hens, goats, pigs.
8. At a cremation: rice, kpu and rynai, oxen, pigs, he-goats, rooster, egg (stomach egg).
9. At the burial: a) rooster, rice bread, egg, brandy,
   b) rooster, rice bread, rice brandy,
   c) pigs, rooster, steer, he-goat.
10. At the memorial sacrifice:
   a) pig,
   b) pig.

Three distinct sacrifices may be differentiated, which are repeated again and again in some form or other:

1. The food sacrifice.
2. The egg sacrifice (egg throwing).
3. The blood sacrifice with observations of the entrails;
   a)rooster (hen)
   b)goat (pig, steer, cow).

1. The Food Sacrifice.

782 An altar is necessary primarily for offering this sacrifice. This altar is made of earth and consists of a little heap of earth which has been dug out of the ground near where the sacrifice is to be offered by a ka wait (chopping knife).

The usual sacrificial gifts, ingredients, and sacrificial utensils are:

kpu: a kind of bread made of rice meal. The rice is first washed, dried, and then pounded into meal.

ryuzi: a kind of bread shaped like a bullet of pounded rice meal or cornmeal mixed with sugar.

[77] u khau: unhusked, shelled rice.

u skau: a gourd bottle.

u kiad: rice brandy.

ka um : water.

kwai : betel nut.

tympeu: a pepper leaf.

sla kait: a banana leaf.

ka ding sning: leaves of the Khasi oak (botanical name: Cyclobalanopsis sp.)

u luta: a silver water container.

ka pliang rupu: a silver plate like a dish.

ka pliang kyuthei: a rather large brass dish.

The sacrificing of the gifts consists in their being placed on the altar in certain forms or figures and being reddened with the blood of the animals (which will be sacrificed afterwards) or at least being sprinkled with water and rice brandy.

782 2. The Egg Sacrifice (Egg Throwing)
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The egg sacrifice or egg throwing (shad pylleng) as it is usually called is the most

common of all. It is used on those occasions when something must be asked about or investigated. The spirits are supposed to inform at the egg throwing where the most favorable place is for the building of the hearth (building the hut), from which forest the needed bamboo should be fetched for the construction of the hut, where the most productive huntings areas are, which is the most favorable day for setting out on a journey, in which week the cultivation of rice can begin, at which market the best sale may be expected, where a general archery contest can take place, for what reason somebody is sick, who has caused a difficult birth by a moral crime.

Lyngdohs are rarely called in for this sacrifice. For the Khasi are so familiar with egg throwing that probably most of the older men know how to do it. The process is also not too complicated, so that even a person with little practice can dare to try egg throwing. Only in very difficult cases, especially in cases of sickness, is a lyngdoh sought out to perform the sacrifice. Or also in cases in which the spirits do not wish to answer. (12)

12. F. Stegmiller, S.V.D., "Teufelsopfer" [Devil Sacrifice], Missionsverlag Für Indien [Missionary Publishers for India], (1922: Vienna) p. 51.

The following objects are needed for the offering of the egg sacrifice.

1. A wooden platter which is rounded at the corners and has a handle. It is called ka dieng shed pylleng (the wood for egg throwing). The middle part is called ka lieng (the little saucer).

2. Red earth for making distinguishable the outer side of the egg shells.

3. Unhusked, husked rice which is placed in several piles (or also only in one pile) on the gaming board.

4. Last of all eggs, which one by one, after being strewn with rice (fig. 3), are rubbed with red earth, fondled, and called by flattering names and then thrown on the gaming board with great force (fig. 4). In this process the egg bursts and the white and the yolk splatter around, while the shells are scattered in all directions. So that the soft part in the egg will not obstruct the egg shells too much, the sacrificer speaks the following before he throws: "May the clear part come into the outermost corner! May it climb into the corner! Down with the left! May the left strike together!"

The position of the egg shells provides the answer (fig. 5) and the various positions means approximately the following:

1. When the small pieces of shell lie with their insides down, on both sides of the board but not on the little saucer, then the question of the egg throwing is not answered. If this happens, the sacrificer asks beforehand at the throwing of the next egg with a sad voice: "Have I perhaps sinned? Have I washed and bathed the loam? the white loam? the yellow loam? the sticky loam? the piled up loam? Oh let me know what lies below and what lies above! Let me know that which is lying on the back and that which is lying on the stomach! Oh hear me, thou egg of the oracle!"

2. If a lot of little eggshells are lying around the saucer, that means that there are a lot of reasons (for example for the illness) which cannot be found out. In this case the sacrificer will express himself approximately thus with the next egg: "Oh egg of the oracle! Has a sin, has a crime been committed? Was the tutelary

spirit of our village insulted? I wish to consider and to enlighten the eye of understanding as to what may well be the cause and the guilt of the sorrow and vexation! Look hither! Very tiny is my desire and soft as cotton my will! Thou shalt say! Thou shalt explain! Thou shalt help! Oh line up the bits of shell together! Make smaller the spaces in between! Cross the left over the right! Say: But it does not come from the family, it comes from outside, that which carries the guilt for the misfortune!"

3. If a little piece of egg shell is lying with the outside facing down at the end of the little saucer in the middle of the board, that means that the goddess wishes a blood sacrifice.

4. If a little piece of egg shell is lying quite alone at the upper end of the saucer, that means that the divinity is very angry.

Thus the Khasi have determined the meaning of all possible positions of the eggshells, according to whether they are lying up or down, in the middle, or at the end, or the side of the saucer. It is the meaning which the divinity wishes to make by the position. It is obvious that sacrifices are made until a position is finally reached which presents the desired result. Thus it happens that 50, 100, and more eggs are used at a single sacrifice.

This method of throwing eggs is the most usual. But there is a still simpler way. The sacrificer wraps the egg in a leaf (ka la met). He takes it in his left hand and strews it with grains of rice. Now he tries to press in the tip of the egg with the thumb of his right hand while uttering sayings and magic formulas. If this succeeds, it is a good sign, if not, it means the opposite. (13)

13. P. Dr. C. Becker, S.D.S. "Das

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divination der Khasi" /Egg Throwing Among the Khasi/, Anthropos, 1917, p. 436.

Only in cases of sickness does the sacrificer not take the usual gaming board. In its place he uses a rather large brass dish (ka pilang kyrshai), on which he lays a lattice work made of thin bamboo sticks (ligre). The broken egg runs through the lattice work into the dish and from the eggshells the sacrificer then predicts in the same way as described above, since he considers the narrow bamboo lattice work as the gaming board. (14)

14. F. Stegmiller, S.J.D., "Bei der Erkrankung eines Familienmitgliedes" /In the Illness of a Member of a Family/, Anthropos, 1921-22, p. 428.

3. The Blood Sacrifice with Observation of the Entrails.

a) The Rooster Sacrifice (jingkmia sylar).

If the desired result is not obtained by egg throwing, the sacrifice of the rooster usually follows. A rooster is dedicated to the godhead by strewing it with rice, kiad, kyn, and synat. The sacrificer now dips a sharp knife in the sacrificial water that is standing ready and then cuts through the rooster's throat. He lets the blood drip on the altar and on the sacrificial gifts. Now the observation of the entrails begins, which is not always the same but is described

as follows since this is the usual way. (13)

13. P. Dr. G. Becker, S.J.S., Anthropos Vol. 4 (1909), p. 899.

"The gullet of bees is formed like a fork about in the middle between the neck and the stomach. The right part of the prong is called u Blei (god), the left u briu (man). First the rectum is looked at to see if it is perhaps empty or has any symptoms of a disease or spots. In these cases, the little fowl is unsuitable for sacrifice. But even when everything is without fault, better indications are still wanted. The forking mentioned above is looked at and the sacrificer, holding the intestine in his hand, begins the ceremony with the question: "Nga ayili nga kyrthem da ka shat khan, lang ranghah u briu, dem u Blei?" (I ask and seek by throwing and by oracles, does the man rise and the god bow?) While saying that he sprinkles the forking of the gullet with a little rice with the other hand, whereby because of the convulsive trembling one part or the other actually raises itself. If "the man" raises itself, that is a good sign, since the opposite forking, the "god" then bows or stays still as a sign of agreement."

The sacrificing lyngdoh calls upon the god-head and ends with the following words: "Hey, the blood of the rooster! Hurrah! Look there, I tear out its navel, its entrails, so that the advice maybe good. This here is the ornament, this the garment, this the silk, this the bag and the net, is it not so? See here the pipe of collecting, here the pipe of escaping from destruction and the guilt, is it not so?" (14)

14. P.F. Stegmiller, Anthropos, 1921-22, pp. 420 ff.

b) The Goat Sacrifice (pom blang).

The head of the goat is cut off with one blow. Only parts of the insides of the animal (ka ka kpoh) may be taken for the actual sacrifice. Either 5, 7, or 9 parts are taken. If 5 parts are taken, they are from the heart, kidneys, lungs, gall bladder, and liver. If 7 parts are taken, parts of the spleen and lobe are added. If 9 parts, the pieces mentioned above and pieces from the small and large intestines. If the parts are good, then the sacrifice is also good, but if spots and specklies are present (ka ka thah ka ka tar ka ka brain ka ka brieh) the sacrifice must be repeated, as it is nullified. The rest of the ritual is like the one described for the first celebration of a lynghoh.

In the case of pigs, it is only observed whether liver, lungs, spleen and gall bladder are healthy.

c) Secret Sacrifices.

Although the sacrifices already described and their offerers are in general known, a whole set of tales is woven around the "secret sacrifice." The Khasi themselves [illegible] speak of these only with shyness and abhorrence. After all it concerns a human sacrifice which is offered the devil "u thlen." The fact is that these sacrifices were offered and are still offered. I myself knew two persons who fell as sacrifice to this revolting superstition between the years 1905-10.

In order to describe the secret sacrifices of the "human sacrifices" of the Khasi it is necessary:

1. to sketch the thlen tale,
2. to discuss the preparations for the

772 sacrifice — that is the murder itself.

3. to describe the offering of the sacrifice.

Following from this, several questions arise of their own accord, namely:

1. How do the people accept these facts?
   a) the fear among the people,
   b) the liberation from thlen,
   c) story of former thlen possessors.

2. The position of the English-Indian government to these human sacrifices?

773 774 772

1. The Thlen Legend

About five miles west of Cherrapunji, (15)

15. The following accounts are taken from the article "Menschenopfer unter den Khasi" /Human Sacrifice Among the Khasi/ by Dr. C. Becker, S.D.S., Salvatorianische Mitteilungen /Salvatorian Communications/ 1909, No. 5, pp. 75 ff.

near the great waterfall Noh ka likai, there is the cave Pomdalai, about which an old Khasi legend is concerned. The dwelling place of an enormous snake —called a thlen — which caused great destruction among men and animals was once here. People had to pass here to go to market; half of them were regularly swallowed by the thlen, the others could continue their way peacefully. It was a rule for the thlen, only to consume half the number of people or animals that came by. After many people had lost their lives in this fashion, the Khasi one day held a large meeting, a darbar, with the inhabitants of the valleys, to consider how they could

.25 remedy this great misfortune. A brave man named
.24 Buidnoh volunteered to cause a change. He be-
.22 gan to drive goats, pigs, and cattle to the thlen to give them to the snake to eat. After he had done this for quite some time, the thlen became quite tame and trusting. One day Buidnoh brought along a piece of glowing hot iron which he held with a tongs. He ordered the snake to open its mouth so that he could give it a piece of meat. The snake believed him, opened its mouth and Buidnoh quickly thrust the glowing hot iron in its throat so that the snake burst with horrible writhings. In another gathering it was decided to cut the snake into two pieces: the inhabitants of the valley were supposed to eat one half, the Khasi the other half. Since the former are very numerous, it was easy for them to manage their portion; but the Khasi could not quite master their share and left some of it. Others say that in the village Mawphu, west of Cherrapunji, an old woman forgot to eat up her share. In short the Khasi did not quite get rid of their share and so it came about that the snake could grow again and he still lives among them up to the present day.

[.23] 2. The Preparations for the Sacrifice

However the thlen is no longer the public waylayer of previous times. He has withdrawn into the interior of the houses; also he no longer is in just one place, but may be found in several. There are certain families that are considered possessors of such a devil snake and are known as such among the people. They are simply called the Nongri thlen, owners of a thlen. The thlen is cared for and secretly kept by the owner very carefully in a safe place. It is only supposed to be seen by members of the household

776 of the thlen owner. It is also said of the snake
773 that it can reduce itself to the size of a thin
• 772 thread and therefore can easily find a place in
a basket or earthern jar. Others even say that
it has the power to change itself into a cat or
a rooster or a stone and to stay with the owner
in this form.

776 The possession of the thlen is a valuable
772 thing for the owner; for where the thlen makes
his home, it brings good fortune and wealth to
the family. However, the snake only does this
on the condition that it is provided with human
blood. If it does not receive this, it announces
itself from time to time in the family concerned
during the night in a dream. If its desires are
still not fulfilled, it then comes bringing
sickness, misfortune, impoverishment, and the
like. There is nothing that the owner can do
other than satisfy or propitiate the thlen by
human murder. In the night he waits for his
victim alone or with another whom he has hired
for this purpose. Often the thlen worshippers
have a so-called mongtylla, i.e., a wage earner
who shares the wealth of his master for his ef-
forts without having to bother with other work.
He goes out in ambush with his master and watches
hidden from the heights of a mountain, or along
the road, or at the edge of the forest to see
whether anyone is coming along the way. By
signs or shouts he warns his master who is waiting
some distance away, and then they commit the
murder together. Both are usually disguised and
armed with a wooden club for killing their
victim. The ordinary people call these murderers
in the service of the thlen as well as the thlen
worshippers in general only mongshoh mah, literal-
ly, killers. They may not use iron weapons for
committing their dark deeds, as iron proved to
be fatal for the thlen tribal father, as was told
[illegible]

above. The tips of the hair and the finger-
nails of the slain person are cut off with
silver shears; then the murderer pricks the wings
of the nose with a silver lancet and catches
the blood that flows out in a bamboo tube. This
is called plar sman. Again no dish or iron or
metal may be used for catching the blood.

}. The Offering of the Sacrifice.

The thlen owner now asks the oracle about
the actual time when he should sacrifice the
blood to the thlen. When this is revealed, the
whole family gathers together in the hut of the
thlen owner (male or female) in the dark night-
time. The doors are opened and costly clothe
are spread out on the floor. The blood of the
slain person is poured into a brass dish or a
plate (ka pilang); the hair and fingernails are
placed there. One member of the family begins
to strike a small drum and cries while doing
it: "O uncle, o father, come forth, we have
done everything to make thee satisfied, and now
we have succeeded. Give us thy blessing,
so that we may receive health and wealth!"
They say that the thlen is only seen by the
members of the household of the owner. No matter
what form it otherwise has while staying in the
house, at the sacrifice of human blood it appears
in its true form as a snake. It is supposed to
crawl out of its hiding place when called upon,
then stretch itself out until it has attained
its full size. It approaches the platter and
waits a while in front of it until the spirit of
the slain person appears standing on the platter.
The spirit is supposed to laugh. The snake now
begins to swallow the entire form, beginning with
the feet; the victim is supposed to laugh con-
tinuously. Obviously it is difficult to find out

• 99.2 anything more certain and exact about activities
99 that are carried on in complete seclusion. The devil snake is satisfied again after receiving the sacrifice, and now pours forth a plenitude of good luck and wealth over the house.

Substitute sacrifice: Naturally it is not always easy to find a human sacrifice. In this case the thlen owner tries to help himself in another way. He sets out to catch at least some of the hair or the clothing of somebody or other and to sacrifice this to the devil snake. This means an evil fate for those, to whom the hair or the bit of cloth belongs, for the belief exists among the Khasi that the person concerned will become sick soon thereafter, will languish and die or at the very least misfortune and poverty will come to him. They are therefore very much on their guard that nothing of that sort will come into the hands of a thlen adherent. For example, if someone loses a hair, he is extremely careful to throw it into the fire at once and thus destroy it before a thlen owner can appropriate it. If the thlen owner cannot get hold of anything at all, he at least satisfies himself by throwing stones at a victim or knocking on strange doors during the night. He then calls upon the thlen to tell him that he has done his best to get booty for him but that unfortunately he was unsuccessful. The devil snake is supposed to be satisfied with this for a time until he again makes his desire for human blood known. Many heathen, on the other hand, try to get well when they are sick by putting themselves under the protection of the thlen. They give the thlen owner some of their hair, pieces of clothing, and a corresponding gift of money or food as a sacrifice for the thlen--ai thlen--in order to acquire their health again.

776 off and he was let go with the mark of Cain.

b) Liberation from the Thlen.

776 It also happens that people who revered a
• 777 thlen and sacrificed to it wish to free themselves
778 from its power and sever all connections with it.
This is called pynshud noh ia u thlen, which means
throwing away, exposing the thlen. However this
is connected with a great sacrifice for the
family concerned. 779 To get free of the
thlen, there is no other way than to give up all
their possessions. House and contents must be
burned down; money and objects of value of all
kinds thrown away and even the household animals
must be given up. This takes place with the
observance of a certain ceremony which is per-
formed by the lyngdoh of a village with the parti-
cipation of men designated by the S'iem (Khasi
king). The sacrificer (lyngdoh) first asks the
oracle about the place, mountains, etc., where
the thlen goods should be taken. When that is
found out, the ones who were the thlen owners go
with the lyngdoh and the men named, as well as
with a crowd of spectators to the place that has
been determined upon. All the movable goods,
including clothes, that belong to the ones who
wish to be free, are brought here. The lyngdoh
speaks an oath and then commands the thlen owners,
who have been deprived of all their property
down to their naked skins, to return to the
village directly without looking around. Then
the rest of the spectators leave. This occurs
during the night. It is the superstition of the
people that the devil snake is inwardly joined
with property and follows it. Whoever should
appropriate it therefore would also be in the
power of the devil snake. The snake would climb
on him as the expression says (kiu u thlen ha ki).
[Edenl snake; see category of, pp 2844.. Analyst]

776 Therefore nobody dares to appropriate the ob-
772 jects that have been thrown away or even to touch
773 them. Only into the house of the S'iem and into the whole royal family can no entrance be found by the thlen, and therefore some valuable things may be given to the Khasi king. This may be connected with the fact that usually on the next morning after the above ceremony nothing more is to be found of the objects that were given away. Therefore it rarely happened in former times that anyone kept a found object from fear that it might be thlen property and he might bring the thlen devil into his house with it. But if they did take an object they found, a piece of money or such, home with them, the oracle was first asked by egg throwing whether it contained any evil, and only when this was denied and the real owner could not be found did they keep a part of it; the rest had to be used for sacrificial purposes.

The immovable property is treated the same way as the movable property. Fields which the family formerly possessed lie fallow; nobody dares to take them over or to plant anything on them.
[974] But the whole village hastens to help the former thlen owners who have lost all their property. They are given clothes and rice and helped in building a hut so that they can begin an honest life again.

e) Story of a Former Thlen Worshipper.

776
773 How is all this known about the thlen,* many ask, if the owners try to hide their secret? An indirect answer is already given by the whole previous presentation. Then it also happens, for example, that men marry into the house of a woman who is a thlen owner. Certainly this is not always known beforehand, although real thlen

*[Don't confuse; see Ref 116, pp 28 ff. --Ann.ed]

774 guilt. The chieftai[illegible]
772 will pay the woman [illegible] then said to us: "You
783 and agree that I have entire cost of her care
that you give up your your thlen driven out and
that, nothing more of property; if you will do
where you can live will be done to you. A hut
so that you can at temporarily, a cloth (?)
rice which you need cast cover your honor, and
lage until you can still be given you by the vil-
if you do not wish upon care something. But
ment will be meted to do that then a severe punish-
pity." We submitted it to you without mercy or
tain. We then had a to the judgment of the chief-
away and our house all our possessions carried
And when we had overturned down to the ground.
for us by the inhabid into the hut which was built
command of the chieftains of the village at the
stone was there. Retain, in, this wonderful
tain and he took cou reported this to the chief-
what should now be dealt with his elders as to
clusion that at the one. They came to the con-
the lyngdoho had nothing of the first exorcism
home directly withou given us the command to go
looked around and tht looking around. We had
to us again. Therefore the thlen had com-
manded that the expulsion the chieftain now con-
struction should be lation and exorcism and de-
we went straight homundertaken again. This time
so we were then free without looking around and
seen the thlen itself of the thlen. We have never
of the thlen worship." This much the report
[illegible]per.

The Position[illegible]
182 ment in Resp[illegible] of the English-Indian Govern-
772 [illegible]ect to these Human Sacrifices.

But is it poss[illegible]
crimes can occur in[illegible]ble, many will ask, that such
Indian Empire? Why a British province of the
the attention of th[illegible] are such things not called to
[illegible] English government and why

does the government not interfere? These things are known by the English government and it did and does its best, although the Khasi Mountains still possess their independence in part. Thorough mention of this superstitious immoral custom was made in the administrative report of the government concerning the Khasi Mountains and the Jaintia Mountains of the year 1881-82. Attached to it was the decision of the head of the government of Assam at that time (Chief Commissioner), dated August 5, 1882, in which among other things he stated: "Among the cases, which received judicial treatment in this year, were three murders of quite particular baseness: two occurred to harmless old women, one to a boy. In none of these cases was a suitable reason given, and it is believed of at least two of them that they are connected with the remarkable superstition of the thlen." After a presentation of this superstitious custom the report continues: "Many families in these mountains are known as thlen supporters or are suspected of being so and are therefore feared and avoided. Whenever a dead body is found with the marks described above (blood drawn off through the nostrils, hair, and fingernails cut off) and especially when death is not caused by a wound but by strangulation, it may be assumed with almost absolute certainty that the purpose of the murder was the propitiation of the thlen. This was observed in one of the three cases indicated; in the two others these signs could not be found; however, since there was no cause at all for a murder, it was more than probable that these two are also to be ascribed to the horrible superstition. In each of these three cases one or two persons were convicted although they might not have been the only guilty

one; one man was hanged and the rest were sentenced to exile either of many years or for life."

There are also cases of murder in the following years in the government reports which are ascribed to the thlen superstition. Particularly noticeable and indicative was a case which occurred in the year 1890. The murder was committed only about ten miles from Shillong, the seat of the English government of Assam, about several hundred meters to one side of the government road, which leads from there to Cherrapunji. No trace of the murderers could be discovered, since the inhabitants of the nearby village did not care to appear as witnesses against them because of their superstitious feat that this would invite the revenge and anger of the thlen. They much preferred putting up with the government's sending to the village as a punishment a division of military policemen who had to be harbored and maintained by the inhabitants for a whole year at a great sacrifice. Those are the great difficulties with which the government has to struggle in spite of their best will; with the conditions that obtain there it is not at all difficult to have a person vanish without any trace; but if such a case of murder does come to daylight, it is still a long way to the punishment of the guilty ones because of the lack of witnesses or their refusal to testify. An improvement here can only come from the inside by a change in their religious views. At any rate it is a comfort for Europeans to know that their blood as well as the blood of any foreigner who is not a Khasi is not at all acceptable to the thlen and would not suffice to propitiate him.

arrows for their markings and arrange the whole contest. 526

Early in the morning on the day of the contest, each judge, accompanied by the archers and several curious people, goes to the place of the festivity. There he stands before the target, which was set up the day before. The bows and arrows are placed beside the target. The judge now proclaims aloud again all the conditions of the contest. He calls upon the Khasi Eve (ka-mei-ka-nong-hukum (25) 526 772

25. The Khasi believe that arrow shooting began with the creation of the world. For the Khasi Eve had two sons. She taught them the art of arrow shooting but warned them at the same time never to lose their tempers while playing. Gurdon, The Khasis, p.55. [772]

for her help and in a rambling speech recites all the errors of the opponents (26). While

26. The Khasi believe that the opponents' arrows will be kept from hitting the target by invoking the Khasi Eve and by the utterances of the judge. Gurdon, p. 55.

he is speaking thus, he pours water [616] from time to time out of a bamboo tube that was brought along in front of the target. Because of the talkativeness of the Khasi and their peculiarity of talking extemporaneously and their slowness this lasts about two hours.

533 S. : "Thou fledst into the thicket! Did that help thee?
Shyly thou retreated before the brave crowd of hunters!"
All: "Ha, ha, ho, huh!"
S. : "Quickly indeed thou retreated; quickly the pursuers pressed after thee and arrow and bow brought thee low!"
All: "Ha, ha, ho, huh!"
S. : "O mistress! Why didst thou come hither? Thou gavest thyself over to death and destruction — but we rejoice and celebrate and exult!"

Thus it continues for a long time. When one person has sung until he is hoarse, another takes his place and continues the song.

224 Exhausted from the exertions of the hunt, exhausted from the activity of the parade home, hoarse from shouting and screaming, heated from the enjoyment of brandy, the crowd drags itself to the house of the hunter who placed the first arrow or shot in the wild animal. Sacrifice is made there to the village god and the slain animal is divided up. The first shooter (u nongsiat) receives the hind quarters, the second shooter (u nongban) the front quarters of the animal.

In the Jaintia Hills the Synteng go to a hill in the neighborhood of the village when they have hunted and killed a tiger or a leopard. An altar is set up there under an oak tree and the head of the animal, which has been severed from its body, is placed on it and sacrificed to the u'lei lyngdoh (the god of the Dollci district).

*782 224

411 778 Arrow and bow are not only necessary weapons to the Khasi for hunting or pleasant sporting equipment for archery contests; Arrow and bow are also holy to him in a certain

5:Stegmiller-4 m-4,5(no date)1928 AR7Khasi AR7

[703]

The Market Life of the Khasi
443 (with ten original photographs by the author)
by P.F. Stegmiller, S.D.S., Munich

[101] The mountains in the northeast corner of India which lie between the valleys of the Brahmaputra and the Barak are inhabited by a [161] tribe, the Khasi, numbering about 200,000 people. Although they rarely cross the borders of their homeland and live almost cut off from their [484] neighbors, they have an active traffic amongst themselves and travel a lot. This traveling is determined by the very distinct market life of the Khasi. It is truly the pulse beat of the people. The rest of their homelife, their activities, and their private, public, and religious life. (1) Time is divided according to the market; the market replaces the daily newspaper and the information service; the market unites the individual villages; the market offers a living to many and for many has become a source of wealth.

1. P.F. Stegmiller, "Aus dem religiösen Leben der Khasi" [The Religion Life of the Khasi], Anthropos, 1921-1922, pp. 425 ff.

443 How much the Khasi depend on a thriving
● 182 market may be seen in their prayers which are spoken every year at the great state sacrifices in honor of the god Shillong by the sacrificer (lyngdoh) presenting the service: "O god, Shillong! Thou who receivest this prayer, this sacrifice of goats, of fowl, of kpu and rynsi (a kind of bread of rice flour or cornmeal with pounded sugar), of utensils used in the preparation, as thou has given them to the royal

race, so that once in every year a sacrifice 443
can be celebrated in thy name, so that we will 782
live happily and be healthy and increase in numbers, so that kings will arise, the markets will enjoy progress and success, and the children of the kingdom will spread out and increase in thy name and to thy honor."

After this prayer the chief sacrificer (lyngdoh rangbah) pours rice liquor (ka kiad um) out of a gourd bottle (u klong) onto the ground in honor of the goddess of the markets (ka blei jeu lei hat) and prays thus: "Hear us, o goddess, so that the markets will be good and safe and everything be blessed, so that the kingdom will progress and develop,mo (is it not so)!" (2)

2. P.F. Stegmiller, "Opfer und Opferbräuche der Khasi"/Sacrifice and Sacrificial Customs of the Khasi/, Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien"/Proceedings of the Vienna Anthroplogical Society/, Vol. LIV (1924).

/704/ Among the Khasi, the women /The Market 443
Personnel/ are so in the majority among the 462
selling personnel that it is tempting to consider them the founders of the markets. Since provisions form the chief articles of the market, and these are grown by the women, this may be the reason why the woman dominates the market. The masculine element certainly participates actively in the market, but only dealing in such articles as belong to him specially, such as dishes of iron which he has made or goats and sheep which he has raised. Although the men as an average only go to

/892/ The Nongkrem Puja in the Khasi Mountains (Assam) (1)

126 1. All the pictures attached to this article are prepared from photographs taken by P. Frumentius Stegmiller, S.D.S., missionary in Shillong. The photographs were in part very difficult to take as they had to be made without being observed and in some cases the day was already well advanced.

by P. Dr. C. Becker, S.D.S., Apostolic Prefect of Assam.

631 About five English miles to the east of Shillong, the chief town of the Khasi Mountains, lies the town of Nongkrem. It is the seat of the king (u S'iem) who governs the state Nongkrem of Khyrim, the largest of the 25 Khasi little states and which is partly independent (semi-independent) of the English government. Nongkrem is best 796 known for the great sacrifice, simply called Nongkrem Puja or also 782 ka Pom blang-u-S'iem Nongkrem (Slaying the goat of the S'iem of Nongkrem) which takes place there annually. This festivity offers, as little else does, an instructive insight into the religious and social views and customs of this interesting mountain people and should therefore be given a concise description, which may be divided into three parts:

I. The Preparations for the Sacrificial Feast.

II. The Sacrificial Feast.

III. The Celebration that Follows.

I. The Preparations for the Sacrificial Feast

793 Just as matriarchy prevails in the family among the Khasi so a 643 similar arrangement has been kept in the management of the Khasi state, Nongkrem. In the state the S'iem is not the actual head but a high priestess, called ka S'iem sād. Sād means the divinity which watches over the royal race. The temporal government is transferred by the S'iem sād to the S'iem; he acts as her authorized agent although independent in his decisions, working with his advisers, whose advice he must obtain in matters of importance. The moneys of the kingdom

are kept by the S'iem sīd. Everything that comes in, such as taxes, 793
market contributions, or that which comes in through the administra- 643
tion of justice must be given to her. She may dispose of it as she sees best, while the S'iem receives from her the money necessary for paying the costs of the government.

The S'iem sīd is the sole authority in matters of religion. She must watch over the religious sacrifices and determine the time and place for them; /facing p. 892 Fig. 1.[1] The Sacrifice (Nongkrem Puja) among the Khasi/ /893/ the state sacrifices are held in her house or in front of her house, and they must be performed in her presence. The actual S'iam is her son or nephew or even more distant male relative, who is chosen by the "state council," the Mentris.

After the death of the S'iem sīd, this office passes to her oldest living daughter, and lacking such to the eldest daughter of her eldest daughter, and lacking such granddaughters to the oldest daughter, and so forth. In case there are no daughters or granddaughters, the oldest living sister takes the office; if there are no sisters, then the oldest daughter of the oldest sister of the mother of the deceased S'iem sīd is the successor, and so it goes further. In this way the office always remains within the royal lineage.

In the house of the S'iem sīd (called ka-iīng sīd), which is 778
one of the largest and most attractive in the Khasi Hills, there is a 782
post in the middle which reaches from the floor to the ridge of the 796
roof. It is called u rishot Biei (post, pillar of god) and serves at the same time as the altar before which many sacrifices are performed. The pillar is nothing other than the trunk of the Khasi oak (ka dieng [824]
sning; botanical name: castanopsis sp.), which is holy to the Khasi. If the house of the S'iem sīd burns down, or if it is built up anew, a new pillar must be brought. Only certain families (jaid) have the privilege of cutting down the trees for this purpose. As soon as it is cut down, dancing and music begins; the trunk is covered with a cloth and carried away on a carrying frame. Hundreds of persons participate in this. As long as the pillar is not set up, it is guarded night and day. A person or an animal might jump over it and that would be sang (= taboo); the trunk would be defiled and another tree would have to be cut down. If something dreadful happens in the kingdom, or if a danger threatens, the S'iem sīd goes with six official sacrificial priests of the kingdom Nongkrem before the post and offers sacrifice there in order to avert the evil.

The foregoing has to be mentioned in order to give a better understanding of the following. 796

The Nongkrem Puja usually takes place in the month of May. 782

[1] [see category 116, p.14 - - - Analyst]

782 One month before the celebration rice liquor is poured into a hollowed-
796 out gourd bottle in the house of the S'iem sād and offered before the rishot Blei as a 'suit' (sacrifice of drink). This is done in order to in-
[769] form the u Suidnia long S'iem (the spirit of the first great-uncle on
[774] the maternal side who was the first king), the ka Blei long S'iem (the divinity who makes kings kings) and the u Blei Shillong (the god Shillong), that preparations are now being made for the Puja and that they might help with them.

776 The u Blei Shillong plays the chief part in the whole ceremony. He enjoys great reverence among the Khasi, especially in the kingdom Nongkrem and Nylliem. Not far from Nongkrem a mountain
[133] peak rises 6,450 feet above the sea. It is the highest peak in the Khasi Mountains, its name is "Shillong Peak." Here is the seat of
[773] the god Shillong. The story goes that a man appeared here once, who said he /894/ had not been born but came of himself (shu long). He also told the people that they would receive the kings, S'iem. So the god who lives here was called u Shu long (he who is out of him-
[103] self), from which the Europeans gradually made the word Shillong and also gave this name to the splendid mountain station in the heart of the Khasi Mountains.

796 After the S'iem sād has determined exactly the day of the cere-
782 monies, the news of this is sent out two weeks prior to the ceremony to the village elders (Rangbah shnong). This is done on the day of the large market (jēu duh), which takes place every eighth day. Two weeks after is the pom blang, also on the day of the large market, which is discussed below.

The way in which the invitation is issued is interesting. A num-
[211] ber of chains about an ell long are made of bamboo rings. These are called kyrwoh. One of these is sent to the oldest man of each village. Since the Khasi formerly had no script, this bamboo chain always served as a sign of invitation or summons to the S'iem for ceremonies, or of danger of war, or of court matters and such. The degree of urgency was shown by the form of the links; in the case of great haste the form was longish and flat, otherwise correspondingly rounder. The sending of the kyrwoh to the village elders serves now as a sign of invitation for the whole village to appear at the ceremonies and at the same time as a demand to gather together the prescribed sacri-
[651] ficial gifts. Each of the six districts, into which the kingdom Nongkrem is divided, must furnish a goat; each individual hut must pay a tax (called pynshok) of one rupee and four annas in addition. Very poor people only have to pay one anna or even only a half. The sacrificial gifts, such as rice, various sacrificial animals, fish, brandy

and such are bought with these contributions, the balance, as with other money, is handed over to the S'iem sād for management. 796 782

Until the approach of the actual festival, the fish sacrifice (suit-dohkha) takes places on the day called jeu pomthiah, on which all who appear are fed with dried fish and brandy. This is supposed to be a further announcement to the u Blei Shillong, u Suidnia long S'iem and ka Blei long S'iem of the imminent Puja. Twelve different kinds of drums (ksing) are beaten. 796 782

Then the drum, ksing shad tyngkoh, is beaten three times, and the first sacrificial priest (Soh Blei) and a flute player dance. The dance, tyngkoh, will be described in more detail below. After it is finished, the ksing kynthei (women drums) have a turn, to the sound of which the S'iem and the flute player (duhalia) dance three times. Usually only women dance to this drum. About the method of dancing it is sufficient to remark that in a Khasi dance the dancing persons do not touch each other, and each carries out the motions independent of the others. After the women drums are beaten, then the sword dance drum (ksing mastieh) and the large drum (nakra) are beaten. Torches are carried around and shouts of joy uttered nine times. Various drums, flute music, and clashes of cymbals follow, while dancing takes place. /facing p. 894: (A) Fig. 2.[1] Drums, flutes and cymbals of the Khasi. Fig. 3 Sacrificial knives and ka wait of the Khasi. Phot. P. Frum. Stegmiller S. D. S. Fig. 4. Sacrificial dress of the Soh Blei (Khasi). Phot. P. Frum. Stegmiller, S. D. S. / /facing p. 894: (B) Fig. 10 (sic?). Khasi ornaments. Phot. P. Fru. Stegmiller, S. D. S. / /895/ At the end the S'iem dances alone, while the drums and flutes are not silent the whole night through. Fig. 2 shows several Khasi drums, a flute, and cymbals which are never missing from a dance. 534 535

The day of the large market, on which the actual ceremony begins, approaches meanwhile. On the day before -- ka sngi umni -- the roads are swept and the place for the sacrifice of the goat put in order. As a sign of joy as to what will happen, drums are beaten again and flutes (tangmuri) played. In front of the house of the S'iem sād, the S'iem and other men perform a sword dance. Although interesting, this dance is not very artistic. Hopping and skipping from one foot to the other, the men, one behind the other, move slowly in a circle on the open place. (cf. Fig. 6).[1] They hold a bunch of goat hair in one hand and a sword in the other. A shout of joy is uttered from time to time, then they stop again, jump at each other two by two, and hit each other with quick blows of their swords. Each one quickly draws back again and moves in a circle again as before. In this way the dance continues.

[1] [For illustrations see category 116, pp. 14–18 --- Analyst]

796 this way the dance continues.

782 After it has become dark a hen is sacrificed in front of the house of the S'iem sād: to the ka S'iem synshar (the queen who rules [17] the world) and to the Biskurom, the god who instructs in the playing of flutes and other instruments. Then various drums are beaten.

Then everyone goes inside the iīng sād. The S'iem sād hands the Soh Blei, the first sacrificial priest, who is from the family (jaid) Rumnong, a hollowed-out gourd bottle (u skaw) with rice liquor. The Soh Blei pours out the contents in front of the rishot Blei in honor of the goddess of the markets (ka Blei jeu lei hat) so that the markets will be good, remunerative, and successful; so that the roads will be good and safe and everything will be blessed; so that the kingdom it-[447] self will progress and develop. It must be remembered here that the market system is very marked among the Khasi and is the chief source of their income. After this 'suit' the same sacrificial drink is offered to the Ka Blei long S'iem, in order to receive her blessings, so that the kings will be good and may make progress. Music and dancing then lasts until daybreak.

II. The Sacrificial Feast

The actual ceremony begins on the day of the large market. This day itself is called pom blang (goat heads). The S'iem sād may not eat rice for three days, only a kind of bread, which is made from rice flour. On the large open place in front of the iīng sād the men hold their sword dance (shad wait) and guns are shot off until the S'iem sād, the S'iem and the Rangbah (elders) come out of the iīng sād. Following the S'iem sād, is her slave-girl (mrau), who carries the utensils and sacrificial gifts. These are arranged by the S'iem sād herself and consist of a banana leaf, of which however only the upper part is taken (ka sla kait), five betel nut leaves (tympew), five portions of betel nuts, as much as is usually put in the mouth at one time (kwai) /896/, a kind of bread made of rice flour (kpu), for which the rice is first put in water, then taken out, dried, and pounded into flour; then rynsi bread, which is also baked with pounded rice or corn, mixed with sugar and rolled into the shape of bullets; some uncooked, shelled rice (u khaw), a gourd bottle with rice liquor (u klong) and several leaves of the Khasi oak tree. The following utensils are used: a golden or silver water container (u luta), a silver dishlike plate (ka pliang rupa). All these are now given by the S'iem sād to the Soh Blei and in addition a rooster and a white he-goat are brought to the place of sacrifice.

The spectators now go to the side, the S'iem and the Rangbahs come down to the place of sacrifice. while the Soh Blei receives the utensils and the sacrificial gifts and spreads them out in order on the ground. Then he takes the rooster in both hands and calls on the god Shillong with these words; "O god Shillong, thou who hast been seated since time immemorial! (ko Blei Shillong kumba la buh u long shwa!)" With a deep bow he then offers the sacrifice five times. Rooster and goat are sprinkled with water, rice, and the flour from kpu and rynsi, and are then beheaded. Then the examination of the entrails (dykhot) takes place in order to see if the sacrifice was acceptable. The way of doing that will be given below. 796 782 [787]

After the end of the sacrifice the Soh Blei and a flute player lead the sword dance; after them the S'iem and the other dancers follow in turn. Various drums are beaten alternately and flutes are played through the whole night. When night falls the goats of the S'iem and those of the various districts of the kingdom of Nongkrem are brought for the sacrifice of the next day. [535] [534]

The day following the great market is called ka sngi Lyngka. It is the center point and climax of the whole ceremony. From early in the morning the crowds pour in from all sides of the Khasi Mountains. 796 782 534

Early in the morning an unmarried girl of the royal lineage (ka S'iem ba dang khynraw) dances in the house of the S'iem sād before the rishot Blei. Usually a granddaughter or nearer relative of the S'iem sād is chosen for this. Two men then take the girl in their arms and carry her with a rocking motion to the large open place in front of the iing sād. 535

Then the great folk dance begins. In the middle of the place musicians squat on the ground and play the drums and flutes, and strike the cymbals. The music is quite without art, only a repetition of the same monotonous tones.

The women dancers move in a rather narrow circle around the musicians. Only the unmarried girls dance. The clothes they wear for it are very rich and frequently very valuable. Fine cloths, usually of red, yellow, or blue silk are draped over their bodies; the upper body and arms are covered by a satin jacket. Their hair is bound together in a bun behind their heads; a string hangs 292 [302] 301

/facing p. 896. Fig. 5.[1] Khasi Men Dancers in front of the iing sād. Phot. P. Frum. Stegmiller, S. D. S. Fig. 6. Sword Dance of the Khasi. Fig. 7. S'iem sād and S'iem of Nongkrem. / /897/ down from the bun which usually ends in three tassels. The head is covered by a golden or silver crown of fine chased work, which is topped by a bunch of feathers or a bunch of artificial flowers. Around their necks they wear chains of gold or

[1] [For illustrations, see category 116, p.116 --- Analysis]

Thus the dance continues for hours at a time amidst the noise of the music. Thousands of spectators who do not seem to get tired throng around the great place. In the afternoon, at about three o'-clock /898/ the dance, which plays a large part in all the religious festivities is ended. 535

Then preparations are made for the large sacrifice. In front of the house of the S'iem sād several boards are placed in a row beside each other, and in front of them at certain intervals twelve little heaps of loam are made. Music now plays inside of the iīng sād. All the sacrificial gifts are given to the S'iem sād in front of the rishot Blei and then distributed to the sacrificers by her. These then go out of the hut to the place of the sacrifice. There are twelve of them, namely the six official sacrificial priests of the kingdom and several lyngdohs from the villages; the Soh Blei is at their head, wearing a special sacrificial coat (cf. Fig. 4).[1] while the others wear everyday clothes. Each one carries a dish in his hand with some rice, pounded flour for kpu and rynsi, betel nuts and the pepper leaf that belongs with them, a small young hen, a water container, leaves of the Khasi oak tree, as well as a small gourd bottle with rice liquor. The dish and the water container of the sacrificial priests are of ornamented brass, those of the Soh Blei of silver -- all clean and polished until gleaming. 796 782

The spectators are arranged to the right and the left of the sacrificers, so that there is a wide alleyway open through the middle of the place to the gate of the board fence which surrounds the place and the iīng sād. Several men are constantly busy keeping the crowd within these bounds. No one may come in through the gate during the whole ceremony, because the god enters here during the sacrifice - therefore the broad path must be left open. If anyone should chance to wish to come in through the gate during the performance of the sacrifice, he is driven back with loud shouts. If he dared to come in anyway, in earlier times he would have been a child of death; now the fear of the English government might protect him to a certain extent, although this could hardly be an absolute guaranty of his life because of the religious excitement of the people. [688]

The twelve now squat down on the boards placed in front of the iīng sād, the Soh Blei in the middle. Behind them the S'iem sād sits alone on the steps which lead from the iīng sād to the place of the sacrifice. Somewhat further back sits the S'iem surrounded by his Mentris and relatives (cf. Fig 7).[1] The Soh Blei sets the example in all that follows; the others watch him and copy him. While each of the sacrificers slaughters only a small hen or a goat, the Soh Blei has

[1] [For illustrations, see category 116, pp 14-18 - - - Analyst]

796 the right to kill two of them, since he sacrifices to the ka Blei long
782 S'iem and to the u Blei Shillong at the same time.

Each one places the little liquor bottle on the little pile of earth in front of him. This also represents the altar. Then they take pepper leaves and oak leaves and place them in a certain pattern beside and on top of each other, pieces of betel nuts are placed on them, and the whole is strewn with rice, kpu flour and rynsi flour, while short prayers are murmured (cf. Fig. 1). Then follows the sacrifice of the little hens. The sacrificers each take one between both hands, murmuring soft prayers, then /899/ the head of the little animal is sprinkled with water and strewn with rice, kpu flour, and rynsi flour. Each one dips a kind of pocket knife in the water and then cuts through the throat of the chicken. The freshly flowing blood is allowed to drip on the altar -- the little pile of earth with the bottle of liquor and the leaves. Then the entrails are taken out of the animals in order to see whether god is favorable to them or is angry with them because of the sins and wickedness of men. The sacrificers hold them up high with their right hands and look at them carefully. A joyful "u bha! (it is good)" escapes their lips and spreads through the circle of spectators.

This observing of entrails (dykhot) occurs at all the sacrifices.
796 Although there are many kinds of such auguries, the following are
782 more or less the usual ones. The gullet of chicken is about in the
787 middle between the neck and the stomach and shaped like a fork. The right prong is called u Blei (god), the left one u briu (man). First the rectum is looked at to see if it is empty or shows any symptoms of sickness or spots; in these cases the hen is not suitable for sacrifice. But even when everything is faultless, better signs are wanted. The forking mentioned above is looked at and the sacrificer, holding the intestines in his hand, begins the ceremony with the question: "Nga kylli nga byrthen da ka shat ka khan, ieng rangbah u briu, dem u Blei? (I ask and seek through the strewing and the oracle, does the man rise and god bow?)" With his other hand he throws a little rice on the forking of the gullet, and because of the convulsive twitching actually one part or the other does rise. If the "man" rises, it is a good sign since the opposite branching, the "god" then bows or stays still as a sign of agreement.

If the omens are unfavorable, then it must be determined by throwing /perhaps a misprint -- Einwerfen instead of Eierwerfen - egg throwing: tr. /, why the god is angry and which sacrifice would be pleasing to him. Then the sacrifice begins again until the omens
796 reveal that the god is reconciled and propitiated.
782 Let us return to our Nongkrem Puja. After the observing of the

entrails of the hens is completed with good results, the main part of the ceremony begins. Goats are brought out of the inside of the iīng sād and one is placed behind each of the sacrificers. This moment is captured in Fig. 1. The hens that have already been sacrificed and the other sacrificial objects that have been mentioned can be seen lying in front of the Soh Blei and the other sacrificial priests on the ground. The Soh Blei now takes a long knife (ka wait) between both flat outstretched hands and squatting speaks a prayer with bowed head. Fig. 3 shows various kinds of such knives; the smaller folding ones are the ones mentioned above in describing the killing of the hens.

Meanwhile a kind of looping plant is thrown around the neck of one of the goats; one the the people present pulls it into the middle of the place where it /facing p. 898. Fig. 8. Dance of the Khasi Girls in front of the iīng sād. Two photographs by P. Frum. Stegmiller, S. D. S. Fig. 9. Women Khasi Dancers. Two photographs by P. Frum. Stegmiller, S. D. S. / /900/ is held fast by a rope. The Soh Blei gets up, walks up to the animal with the ka wait in his hand and waits for the instant when it holds still. With one blow the head lies on the ground. It is at once picked up and placed beside the gourd bottle standing on the little pile of earth. The twitching rump is dragged in front of the iīng sād. Thus it continues until five goats are beheaded.

Now the S'iem comes down to the sacrificial place. He takes the slaughtering knife in his hand, squats down in the place of the head priest, and observes as the latter had done the same ceremonies. Then he gets up and strides into the middle of the place in full costume with raised head and a self-conscious dignity. A goat has already been lead out there. One blow and its head also rolls on the ground. He sacrifices the first goat to the divinity which made him king; afterwards the four others are sacrificed to the u Blei Shillong. A salvo of guns and a loud shout of joy accompanies each blow of the S'iem.

The slaughter is now continued by others in endless turns. Sixty, eighty and more goats must lose their lives. The poor victims are not always lucky enough to be killed with one blow. The animal might move at the last minute or an unskilled hand may lack a certain firmness. Then the goat is only lightly wounded and crying seeks to escape. The sacrificer throws the knife away in order to disappear hastily among the spectators; some pick up earth and throw it at him with reproachful cries, while others seize the poor animal, throw it on the ground and saw the head off with the knife. That is a horrible sight. It is considered an unfavorable sign when the goat is not

796 beheaded with one blow. If it happens to one of the first twelve goats,
782 the man concerned must inquire through new sacrifices why his sacri-
787 fice was not pleasing to god.

The observing of the entrails is only done with the twelve first goats decapitated by the S'iem and the sacrificial priests. As in the case of pigs, it is only observed whether the liver, lungs, spleen and gall bladder are healthy and without spots, in which case the sacrifice is a good one and pleasing to god; otherwise through throwing /sic: could be egg throwing = Eierwerfen/ and new sacrifices a more favorable result must be brought about.

During the night a pig is sacrificed to the honor of the u Suidnia long S'iem and he is informed thereby that Puja has now taken place and that it will take place once annually to the honor of the u Blei Shillong so that the kings will be lucky and healthy, the markets will enjoy progress and good results, and the children of the kingdom will be happy. This closes with the address to the Suidnia long S'iem: "Bring it about that the augury turns out well, and if the god Shillong should still not be satisfied, then reveal it to us through the augury."

The Soh Blei now takes a chicken in his hand, sprinkles it with water, rice, flour of kpu and rynsi and speaks: "Now thou art sprinkled in order to lose thy life by having thy neck cut so that I can see the good or the evil (La pynsum pynsleh ban duh ka mynsiem ban dykut u ryndang; ba ngan khmih ia ka bha ka sniw)." Then /901/ the animal's neck is cut, the blood, as mentioned above, is allowed to drip on the leaves and the gourd bottle, and the entrails are taken out. After the augury has turned out favorably, a white he-goat is brought in and the Soh Blei speaks: "O god Shillong, this prayer is for thee, this sacrifice of the goat, of the hen, of the kpu and rynsi, of the utensils of preparation are for thee which thou hast given the royal family so that once annually the Puja may be celebrated in thy name, so that we may live happily, be healthy and increase, so that kings will arise so that their honor and that of the kingdom will grow and increase and the children of the kingdom will spread out to increase thy name and thy honor. O god Shillong, when thou hast received the sacrifice, bring it about that the heart, the lungs, the spleen, the gall bladder and the other parts are good."

Meanwhile dancers are arranged on both sides; they swing the sword (ka wait) and the bunch (u symphiah) around in the air and utter shouts of joy. As mentioned above, the goat is now strewn three times with the various sacrificial gifts, and guns are shot off three times and shouts of joy uttered. Then the S'iem gets up, takes the

off his turban (ka jain spong) and thanks god three times in a quiet 796
voice; then he hands over the ka wait tothe Soh Blei who does the 782
same and then gives the knife to the sacificer from the jaid Nongkseh, 787
this one hands it on to the one from the aid Thangkieu, and this one finally gives it to the one from the jaid Hangnong. Only one from these three families may undertake the beheading. When this has taken place, the head is placed on the leaves in front of the gourd bottle, and the entrails are taken from the body in order to read the omens. If these come out right, the dance of joy is set in motion. All members of the kingdom are invitedto the feast, which consists of rice, sacrificial meat, and rice liquor and which lasts until early in the morning.

III. The Celebration that Follows.

On the evening of the following day -- called mied Maulong -- 796
a special meeting of the council takes pace, which is called Dorbar sla in order to announce that all the sacifices are now past. The S'iem has mats spread out inside the house and in the front room for the people to sit on; he himself takes his place on a palong, a raised seat, in the front room. Goat meat andpork is distributed to all those present, while the person who is designaed as the speaker in the Dorbar and the first of the flute players receive betel nuts. The S'iem sends to the village and has it announcel three times that as long as the Dorbar lasts nobody may leave his hit.

Then he takes his turban off, raisesboth hands and offers thanks 796
in the name of the lord and creator (haka kyrteng u trai u nongthau), 782
who made him king, gave him subjects as well as the districts of the kingdom, the markets and the roads leading thither and prays that he will ever give strength, growth and progess and prosperity to the fields. Then he cries /902/ out: "O god, lord and creator, give me, the S'iem, happiness and prosperity also, so that my thanks and submission to thee may become ever greater (Ah Blei, trai kynrad u nongthau u nongbuh to ai bha ai roi ia nga I S'iem ban nongkhrau ka nguh ka dem). " Then he steps back.

The one who has been made the speaker now follows from the jaid Rynjah. He thanks the S'iem three times and then says: "O lord, thou who hast created heaven and earth, thou hast seated the king that we may be children of his kingdom; thou hast given the sun and the moon for reckoning the year, so that we can have Puja once in every year, so that the king appears, the children of the valleys increase and thrive, the children of the Khasi (2), the children of the

2. That means the Khasi themselves.

7% Bhoi (3), the childrenof the War (3), so that the sacrificial gifts will
782

3. All various folk tribes which compose the kingdom Nongkrem.

increase before the face of thy altar (Ko trai ba thau ia ka bneng ka khyndew uba pynlong i S'iem i kynrad ba long ma ngi ki khun ki hajar kumba phi buh ka sngi ban khein ia u bnai, phi buh u bnai ban khein ka snem ban long ka puja shi sien shi snem ban im ban roi i S'iem ban roi ki khun dykhar, khun Bhoi, khun Bhoi, khun Khasi, khun War ban khrau u blang u bhet ha khmat ka duwan jong phi)."

Then the drum of joy (ksing risa) is beaten and everybody is given rice liquor, as much as he wants. The S'iem and the S'iem sad eat of the inner parts of the entrails observed the day before. Music and dancing last the whole night long until early the next morning when the participants in the festival return again to their villages and their huts.

6: Becker - 14 M-4, 5 (no date) 1909 AR7 Khasi AR7

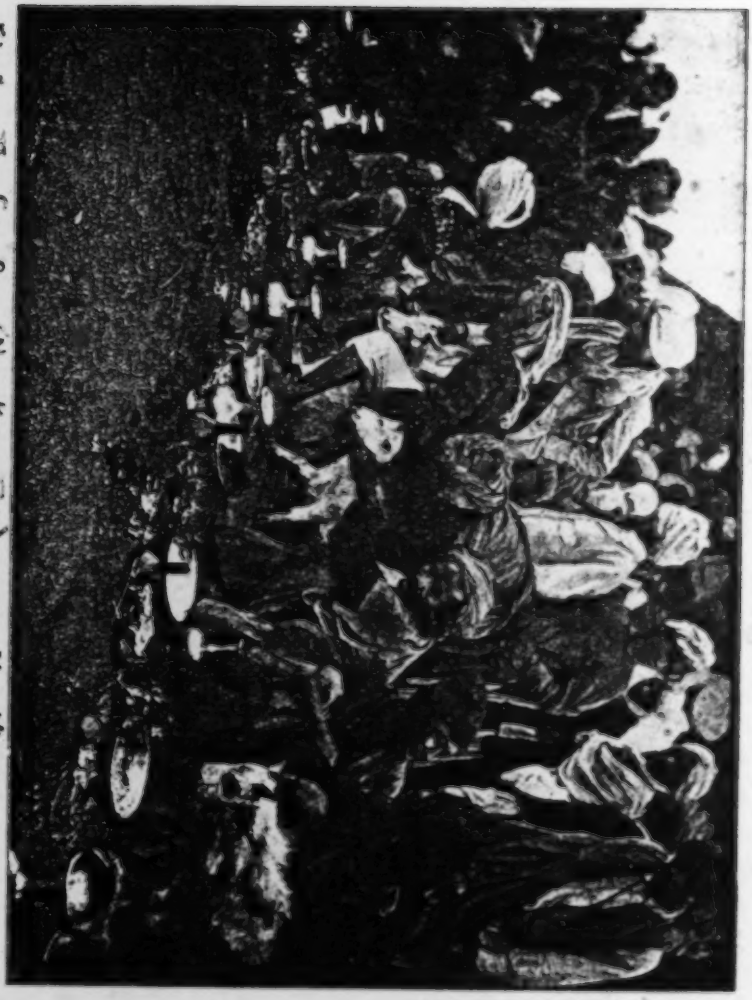

Fig. I. The Sacrifice (Nong Krem Fija) among the Khasis

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could not prevent individuals from becoming needy through misfortune 421
or laziness and their trying to rent a part of their property for an annual 425
payment or for a sum needed once. This is called ban die pan, literally: begging to buy. The sense of relinquishing by lending /133/ is contained in this. For example, a field is worth 300 reichsmarks. Fifty or 100 reichsmarks are accepted for it and the creditor remains the owner of the field until the money is repaid. This type of purchase occurs frequently. There are frequently traders (nongkhaii) who try to use such purchases to their own advantage. They turn over the field to the debtor for further cultivation in return for payment in produce of 50 to 70 per cent of the harvest. After several years the whole field is their property. Aside from this method, it also happens that instead of being able to repay the money the people need still further sums. In that case then the entire price of 300 reichsmarks is paid and the actual purchase is considered completed; that is called ban die lut; literally: totally, completely sold. A family-clan which gradually loses its property in this manner descends into poverty and need. There is nothing else for it to do than to look for work elsewhere, to rent land or to sell the children as a kind of slaves to better [567] situated people. If 40 reichsmarks are paid for a child of about 10 years, he remains in the bondage of the buyer until the money can be repaid. That happens only rarely. Besides food and the most necessary clothing only one rupee is deducted annually as wage from the purchase price, thus, practically, the child belongs to the buyer for the duration of his life.

It is the duty of individual members of a family clan to work to- 613
gether so that the clan property will be maintained and will produce 688
the necessary amount for the maintenance of all. The clan mother must oversee primarily that the appropriate customs and usages are preserved. She is held in high esteem by all. To do something against her wish to offend her, to call her insulting names, or to go so far as to strike her is considered sang (taboo), a severe crime that causes misfortune. It is a great sin (pop) and a thoroughly great dis- 613
grace (sngewsih eh tam) for the whole clan.(7) As long as a member 688
782

7. Also considered similar crimes are selling clan property in secret, incest, desecrating burial places in a coarse manner, making use of holy grounds or woods.

/134/ of the family has committed such a crime and has not begged pardon from the clan mother and the elders of the clan, perhaps with the words: pardon me. I have committed an error (to man is nga leh

613 bakla); and as long as the expiatory sacrifice, in the form of pigs and
698 goats, determined by the elders of the family and by the sacrificial
682 priest (lyngdoh) has not been offered, the sinning member is considered excluded from the family and the family sacrifices. But even after being accepted again a certain stain still clings to him.

613 But it is also the duty of the clan mother to care for the needs of the members of her family clan with regard to food, clothing, and the like. She divides the fruits of the harvests according to the needs of the individual. She goes or sends to market to trade, to buy, or to sell. She takes care of the common purse and even the masculine members of the clan have to ask her for money when they wish to drink rice liquor or buy clothing. There the clan mother is generous [662] rather than niggardly. This dependent relationship of the men is not considered unworthy at all or shameful. It is the matriarchal form and ancient custom. Nevertheless, the position of the men in the family clan is an esteemed one. Even the name they are called by has an important sound: Rangbah, Basan (oldest ones, advisers). On them falls often the work in the field and wood or the protection of the family; bow and arrow are handed to them as cradle gifts. In the more important family matters the clan mother consults with them. At the giving of the name, during a wedding, a funeral, or cremation the clan mother steps almost completely into the background, also during quarrels and court hearings before the chief (Doloi) or king (S'iem). She is still always influential with her advice, but the actual appearance, activity and judgments is the business of the men. The smaller, [782] everyday sacrifices she performs in the clan hut; but she can also let these /135/ be performed by her sons. At larger sacrificial ceremonies which are offered by several family clans at the same time, by whole [793] villages or even by one of the Khasi states, only the men are active as sacrificial priests.

613 With regard to the husbands of the clan mother and of the feminine
5%6 members, they are not considered members of the family clan of the women at all. They are only considered the begetters. They work and live in their own clan, participate in their sacrifices and burial places. The father has no further influence in the raising of the children, who belong entirely to the clan of the mother. But usually they have no obligation, unless the wife and children are impoverished. Even then their care comes in second place after that of members of their own [593] clan. Nevertheless the husband is honored and is addressed by "Mr." (kynrad) by his wife. She would consider it disgraceful to approach him impertinently. Where the property of a clan has been dissolved or Christian customs introduced, the husband lives and works together with his wife and children.

his wife and children. ooo

2. Holy Pieces of Land and Forest

A special kind of land property is still encountered in the Khasi and Jaintia Mountains. These are pieces of land and forests which are considered sang or kyntang, forbidden or holy, thus kyndiu sang, khlau kyntang, forbidden fields, holy forests. They are also named in connection with the name god, for example, khlau Blei, forest of the gods, which, to a certain extent, might offer the key to their purpose and meaning. The hands of man are not supposed to disturb this kind of property; this property is sacred to the gods and at the most may be used in their service. 423 778

It is not easy to trace the origin and beginnings of these reserves. But several solutions may be found in regard to sections of land. When the /136/ Catholic mission station was founded in the village of Schella which is located on a steep mountain slope, it was hard to find a place that was halfway suitable and big enough to build even a small dwelling on it. Finally the missionary discovered such a place somewhat outside the village. But then there was a new difficulty. The place was the cremation area for the dead and therefore was lang /taboo/. The spirits of the dead would punish every intruder severely. The people were finally persuaded to burn their dead somewhere else, but it was more difficult to find any who were ready to help with the work of the building. Even those whom the missionary finally persuaded to help still suffered heavily from the fear of the punishment of the gods and continuously one or the other of them had imaginary illnesses. [777] [778] [779]

In the cases of more extensive pieces of land, the snake worshippers (thlen), who carry on their dreadful activities in the Khasi Mountains, (8) may offer an explanation sometimes. If such a person is 423 779 [780] [781]

8. Im Stromtal des Brahmaputra, /In the River Valley of the Brahmaputra/, pp. 76ff.

convicted of murder, which he has commited in the service of the snake god in order to sacrifice the blood of the slain person to him, and if he wishes to free himself from the conviction, he can do nothing other than sell all his movable and immovable property. The latter thus becomes sang. Nobody would dare to take over the fields and gardens, to plant anything there, or to touch any fruit on that property. Thus in Cherapunji a native Catholic was able to take

8: Gurdon G-3 (no date) 1904 AR7 Khasi AR7

etc. The targets are of two kinds, i.e., *u skum*, which is made of a bundle of grass about 1 foot long and 4 inches in diameter, the target being fastened on to a pole; and from the root of a plant called *sohpdong*. The distance for the shooting is about 30 to 40 yards. 526

Before the shooting begins, a *nongkuia*, or sacrificer, performs a *puja* and then the shooting commences. Each archer subscribes from half to one anna, the total amount so obtained is pooled and then wagered against a similar sum subscribed by the other side. Whilst the shooting is going on the men of both sides dance and sing, and when there is a hit a great shout, or *kynhoi*, is raised. The side that wins the match, after rewarding the *nongkuia* and the man who makes the targets, buys a pig, and some liquor, which articles are partaken of by the people of the village which has won the match. In the War villages, and amongst the Syntengs, sometimes wagers of considerable sums are made in lump sums in these contests.

11. It is not intended to describe at great length the Khasi religious system, but only to note briefly regarding it at present, a full account being reserved for the monograph for the preparation of which I am collecting further information. Khasi religion is animism, or spirit worship. It may be divided into (*a*) the worship of spirits, (*b*) ancestor worship. 771

(*a*) *Spirit worship.*—The principal god amongst the Khasis is God the Creator (*U'lei Nongthaw*), who is sometimes masculine and sometimes feminine, the use of the feminine gender being no doubt due to matriarchal influence. A yearly sacrifice should be offered to this god of a cock and a goat. The cock is sacrificed as a substitute for man, it being thought that the cock, when killed, bears the sins of the man, and that by its sacrifice man will obtain redemption. How the cock came to occupy this important position in Khasi religion is not at present quite clear. Perhaps there were originally human sacrifices amongst the Khasis, and the cock nowadays takes the place of the human victim. Other gods which are worshipped are *Ka'lei long kur* (the goddess of the clan), *Ka'lei loupoh* (the goddess of wealth), *U'lei um tong* (god of water). An important fact to be noted is that the Khasi gods or goddesses are never worshipped in the shape of idols in any form whatsoever. 776 982

(*b*) *Ancestor worship.*—I am inclined to think that this form of worship largely underlies the Khasi religious system. The following are some of the ancestors or ancestresses who are regularly worshipped:— 769

(1) *Ka Iaubei tymmen*,—the primeval ancestress of the family. A pig is sacrificed to her. 672

Stone No. 3 in the middle is called *U Maw Kai*, i.e., the stone of the maternal uncle, Nos. 2 and 4 are called *Ki pyrsa*, *Ki para*, i.e., the brothers or sisters, and the nephews or nieces. No. 1 is called *U Maw Kring*, i.e., the stone of the drum, and No. 5 *U Maw kait*, the stone of the plantain. No. 6 is called *Ka Iawbei tyrsai*. The word *tyrsai* meaning root, *Ka Iawbei tyrsai* signifies the first maternal grandmother of the family. The above is the system of naming stones in Macshai Raj—other systems will be described in the monograph. 769 764 211

Class (b).—Stones of this class are generally, I am informed, three in number, consisting of three upright stones as shown in plate IV and a flat stone in front, as in the case of stones falling under class (a):

Here there is a marked difference in that the big stone in the middle is called *U Maw thawlang*, or the stone of the genera or father. Nos. 1 and 3 are the brothers or the male cousins of the father, and No. 4 is erected in honour of *Ka Iawbei*, or the grandmother of the father, —not the first ancestress of the clan, as in the case in stones falling under class (a). The post split at its top containing the jawbone of a bullock which has been sacrificed in honour of the deceased parent should be observed, *vide Fig.* B. It was formerly the custom and is still in some places the custom, to spread offerings upon the flat stones to appease the spirits of the deceased ancestors. These stones, which are only 2 to 3 feet from the ground, suggest the idea of sacrificial tables at some time or other. Stones 3, 4, and 5 in *Fig.* A are between 9 and 10 feet high, but there are several larger *menhirs* in these hills. [782]

The description of the stones in figures A and B was given me by a man of some intelligence at Nongkrem, but many different explanations of the names, and regarding the significance of these stones, are given by other persons living in various parts of the hills, and it is not unlikely that the account I have tentatively advanced may have to be modified subsequently. The system of each clan, apparently, varies to some extent from the other, and in some cases to a very considerable degree. In the Jaintia Hills very large groups of stones are found near villages, which are thought by the Syntengs to have been merely erected by the sides of roads as *Maw-shong-thait*, or seats for weary travellers, or for persons attending markets. At one place in the Jaintia Hills memorial stones were erected to commemorate a woman, *Ka Kumpatwat*, who in generations past is said to have had thirty husbands. It may, however, be stated that no such polyandrous custom has been found at the present day. The stones are reported to be thirty in number. There are also many stones at a place on the road from Shillong to Jowai said to have been erected to commemorate those who fell in a battle between the Syntengs and one of the Khasi Siems.

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cover what their ancestors are doing for them, and what their views and inclinations may be as regards the amount of aid they may give. To a Khasia there is no difficulty about the matter; when in distress or requiring aid of any kind, seeking omens by the breaking of eggs (which I will hereafter describe) he appeals to and propitiates any one ancestor he may select; only one or two may promise such protection, and these it may so happen have died years ago. The benefit also conferred may be very trivial, and sufficiently acknowledged by the setting up of stones of small size; on the contrary, if great favours are conferred on the wealthy we find large monoliths forming conspicuous landmarks on many a hill-top, scattered over a large area of country, and which are mostly known to the country round by the name of the individuals who have wrought so much good in their after state. 764 769 211 [782]

These stones are never erected in pairs or in even numbers; in counting over a very large series still perfect, I found them invariably in sets of three, five, seven, or, as I have before mentioned in the case of the Nongtariang clan, in two sets, five and five, on opposite sites, to the same individual.* Even numbers are considered unfinished or imperfect. 801 211 764

A reference to the plans given, numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, will show the various arrangements in which the stones are set up, both in a segment of a circle and at right angles to each other, as in fig. 3. The most common form, however, is in line, fig. 4. Fig. 1 consisted of a circular platform raised about two feet, faced with rough stones on the front face. These three examples were observed on the hill of Lailang-kote, where the bazar is held, and I have not seen anywhere else the monoliths so arranged; in other parts of the country they are invariably set up in a straight row.

These monuments are also erected for such a reason as the following:—During the illness of a person, every kind of propitiation and exorcism either by the breaking of eggs, sacrifice of fowls, pigs, etc., and by the examination of the liver and viscera, having been made, and then failing to restore him; the sick man may vow that should he recover, he will erect a set of stones to one of his ancestors, who, it is presumed, on knowing of the intention, will do his best to save him. 764 211 [782] [787]

In setting up these slabs all members of the community are under an obligation to assist on such an occasion, and are not paid for their labour, beyond receiving in the evening a little food or liquor at the dwelling of the family who have sought the aid. The skilled workmen employed on the stone-cutting are, 764 211 476

* Three and five are the most frequent numbers met with, nine very rare I have seen eleven.

1/9 [See end charts 1–4, category 116 -- Analyst]

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764 all mingle together again in one large family without trouble or
775 suffering. The idea of a member of a family being a wanderer in the other world, cut off from, and unable to join the circle of the spirits of his own clan, is most repugnant to the feelings of a Khasi or Sinteng. Thus we find every attempt is made on the death of a man in a distant village or district to lead his spirit back with his calcined bones to his native place. For instance, should he die alone on a trading expedition into North Cachar and be buried by a tribe of some other denomination, some relation, if he can afford it, will proceed to disinter and burn the remains; such will be done years after when accident may take some relative near the place. Of this I had an interesting example in my own camp when marching from the Khasi Hills to Asālu.* While encamped at Thangnansip in North Cachar, one of my coolies (porters) came one morning and asked leave for the day for himself and some of his fellows; on asking why they wanted it at such an unusual time, when we were in the field and moving camp, he said that a relation had died in that village while on a trading speculation with dried fish and salt towards Asālu from Jawai. It appeared that the man, having got an attack of fever, had been left behind by his companions, in the hope that he would get round in a few days and then follow them; he, however, eventually died, and was buried by the Kūkis of "Kabúr." My men had with some difficulty discovered the grave (for many years had elapsed), the site of Kabúr had been changed in the interim, as is the custom of the Kukis, who seldom remain more than four years tilling the same ground, frequently not more than three, known in that part of India as "Joom cultivation"; high grass covered the old village site; the Khasia coolies, however, disinterred the remains, burnt them, and the residue was carefully preserved and sent back to Jawai, the man's native place, to be interred with the bones of his family.

When carrying the remains to the home of the deceased, not only is the greatest care bestowed on them, but the spirit is carefully considered and led onward, to prevent the possibility, as they suppose, of its wandering off the route. Leaves are occasionally plucked, and with three or four grains of rice placed on them, are deposited by the wayside as offerings. On reaching
[782] a river this is done on the bank, and sometimes when such a river is large and the abode of some powerful demon, a fowl is let loose in the jungle as an offering to the titular spirit of the stream. A most curious custom exists connected with this transporting of the soul which I have seen on several occasions. The dead, they say, have not the strength or ability to wade

* In Crawfurd's embassy to Siam, we find that a similar idea prevails in that country (see Appendix C).

through water, and if they trust themselves to it would be carried 764
down the stream, never to be recovered. They, therefore, stretch 775
a thread of cotton from one bank to the other, and if the breadth is great this is kept clear of the water by sticks planted in the bed of the river, and notched at the top to receive it. If the running water should be very narrow merely a stick is laid, or even a stalk of grass is considered sufficient to form a bridge for the dead man's soul. The line of thread is called the "string bridge."

On passing through some dense dark wood where it is pre- 764
sumed a demon may be, they think it not improbable that he 782
may be detaining them or throwing impediments in the way, and should any of the party fall sick such is to them clearly indicated. The breaking of eggs is resorted to, or a pendulum is made by tying a stone, knife, or generally the brass box in which they keep the lime that is mixed with the betal and pan leaves, and the rite so well described by Hodgson (Appendix A) is gone through. The similarity of the Bodo or Mech custom shows how general these superstitious customs are among the tribes in this quarter. The only difference being that with the Khasi, the weight is caused to revolve in a circle should any spirit require to be propitiated, and that it should cease to revolve when the offering, either a fowl or a pig, is considered to have been accepted.

Should a Khasia lose his life in such a way that his body can- 766
not be recovered, say by being drowned in one of the large rivers in the plains, his relations assemble on some prominent hill or rock overlooking the low country. One of the members taking some kowries (small shells used as money, Cypræa) in his hand, and, looking towards the site of the accident, shouts out the name of the deceased and calls on him to return; his spirit having been supposed to do so, they proceed to burn the cowries, which are symbolical of his bones, and any clothes of the deceased they may possess. The ashes of the cowries are then placed in the bone depository.

The corpse is kept in the house four or five days, occasionally [764]
longer.* In the case of chiefs of tribes, men of consequence and wealth, the body after death is preserved in honey, and kept in this way in its coffin for a very considerable period; the platform on which the body is burnt is erected during the times, and considerable expense is entailed on its construction, in cutting the stones, as well as on the expenditure of gunpowder; throughout the day explosions may be heard at irregular intervals from different quarters, now at one side, then at another to drive away

* The excessive and continuous rainfall of the Khasi Hills is not the reason why the dead are preserved in honey; it would be impossible to procure it in sufficient quantity for such a purpose. *Vide* M. Schlagintweit's paper in the "Ausland", where this is stated.

[see category 116, p. 137 — Analyst]

holds his own, he can reply: What was the good of calling me in, to seek signs from eggs, when the man was past hope? I could only give you such, and say he was sure to recover.—As might be expected, the sacrificers prey on the ignorance and superstitions of the people; and it not unfrequently happens, I am told, that on one being called in, and after smashing a number of eggs, he declares that owing to previous communion with spirits in other houses, he can do nothing, and recommends that another exorcist be called in, to kill a pig or a fowl, and thus those who can afford it are made to give up as much as can be squeezed out of them. 787

Any member of the community, if he desires it, can learn the forms of offering, sacrifice, etc., under the instruction of those who are in the profession, and who can thus sanction and look to their due and proper performance. When they sacrifice a cow, goat, or pig, the liver is the principal part examined for omens; if it is smooth and healthy, such are good. The entrails, if full, are a propitious token; the size of the gall-bladder is another point—if small, poverty may fall on the family. Demons also are particular; some will not accept a black or coloured fowl; pure white only will suffice, and these they object often to sell.

It is often a matter of great difficulty to persuade a Khasia to take medicine, especially men from outlying villages; they quite dread it, imagining that, should they take it, some spirit, wroth at not being propitiated, may alter its properties, and thus make them much worse. I have seen a grown-up man burst into tears, and beg that medicine might not be administered, when he was lying seriously ill. They, however soon find out the good effects of our treatment, especially that of quinine in fever, and they laugh in turn at the scruples of their more ignorant companions. 758

The Jaintias, or, more properly, the Sintengs, on the East, are, I think, more under the influence of their exorcists than are the Khasis, on the West. On certain occasions, individuals sacrifice a number of animals to different demons, and a great feast is held, to which numbers are invited; men, women, and children, are then arranged in large circles, each with a leaf for a plate before them, on which the meat, when dressed, is served. 787 782

There is, however, one very extraordinary custom—one, I am glad to say, confined to only a few villages in the Jaintia country—called "Tarroo". The unfortunate individual who is presumed to be in league with a demon, in order to clear his character and be again admitted into the society of his kinsfolk, must throw everything he possesses away, even to the clothes on his body, and begin life anew. A man on whom such an accusa- 754

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is seen by the inmates, and quite as soon by the neighbours, who 753
collect to revile and jeer the unfortunate individual; his relations 754
leave him; his wife, if he has one, retires to her parent's or sister's home, and in no other way can he recover his position in society save by throwing away all he possesses; cash and clothes are scattered on the road as he goes out of the village, and are picked up by those who follow; his house, I was told, is also demolished, and the thatch roof carried out and burnt in the outskirts of the place.

This paper has become much longer than I had anticipated, 000
and I fear will exhaust the interest that there may be in it. I had intended alluding to the Kūkis, Mikirs, Garos, etc., and exhibiting drawings of their burial-grounds, but this I think may be best postponed and introduced with some notes on the extension of those tribes and the people of the northern slopes of the Khasi range of hills, if this Society should think such of sufficient interest to them. I trust also that Captain Williamson, Deputy-Commissioner of the Garo Hills, now on leave in England, will give us the benefit of the valuable information I know he has obtained regarding the manners and customs of the Garo tribes, among whom he has mixed so much and so intimately.

Appendix A

Paper on the Origin, Location, etc., of the Bodo, Kocch, Dhimāl [113]
People, by B. H. Hodgson, Esq., Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1849.
Vol. xviii, pt. ii, p. 728.—"Thirteen leaves, each with a few grains of 782
rice upon it, are placed by the exorcist in the segment of a circle before him, to represent the deities. The Ojha squatting on his hams before the leaves causes a pendulum attached to his thumb by a string to vibrate before them, repeating invocations the while. The god who has possessed the sick man is indicated by the exclusive vibration of the pendulum towards his representative leaf, which is then taken apart, and the god in question is asked what sacrifice he requires?—a buffalo, a hog, a fowl, or a duck to spare the sufferer (the Ojha best know how?) a hog, and it is forthwith vowed by the sick man and promised by the exorcist, but only paid when the former has recovered. On recovery the animal is sacrificed, and its *blood* offered to the offending deity."

Appendix B.

Calcutta Review, 1854, p. 128. Paper by the Rev. J. Pryse.— [113]
"The universal desire to immortalise the memory of their dead ancestors on earth by the erection of stone monuments, may be deemed as a faint indication of an expectation of some kind of future existence. The sacrifice for their dead, which they call 'Suid-iap', or "Ksuid-iap', that is, the ghost or demon of the dead, may be considered indicative of the same notion. The professed intention of the sacrifice is to pacify the

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782 spirit of the dead, so that it may come in the capacity of a 'Ksuid', or demon, to cause pain and calamity to the family. This sacrifice is frequently repeated after a person's death, if his bones were deposited in a small repository; but if they are placed in a large one, the fear of his injuring the family is not so great, and the sacrifice is not so frequent, because 'la buh ka niam ka rukum', the religion and customs were observed regarding him."

Extract from the Rev. J. Pryse's Paper, p. 130.—"The reader is desired to observe that this form is always pronounced, when the person on pronouncing it is in the act of offering his thankofferings; hence it was thought necessary to give a few explanations of the movements of the speaker."

"*Thank Offering to Secure the Protection of the Goddess.*"

(The Khasia words are, "Ka jing-nguh pynskem ia ka blei"; the offering is made in order to secure the kind offices of the goddess in the future, rather than to acknowledge past kindness.)

"Attend, O Goddess, that thou mayest protect us all as a family,* that we may increase and prosper. O Goddess, we are now about to sacrifice a large cock, and a large horned goat, also a plaintain leaf, flour, baked rice, a heart, and a twig. Do thou, O Goddess, attend to us. I put up and cause to stand the offering for the purpose of appeasing thee, O Goddess.† O thou family-builder, I remove and drive away thirty demons, nine demons,‡ and Ka Tyrút Ka Smer,§ that I may prepare and set aright the intestines, that I may cut the throat of the cock, and sprinkle the blood upon the twig.‖ Away, thou Ka Tyrút ka Smer! I sweep away and remove thee, that I may open a clear road for the purpose of inquiring concerning the good and the evil. Thus it is proper that I should sacrifice a large horned goat. Attend thou, O Goddess, whilst I offer to thee a member and the backbone after I shall have laid it bare and made it ready.¶ Attend thou, whilst I observe and keep the rules and customs, and whilst I offer to thee a sacrifice in order that thou mayest give us

[601] * "All as a family", "baroh shi kur", "ka kur", is generally used among the Khasis to signify all those who are related by blood.

† Whilst saying these words, the officer prepares the place, and causes the goat, etc., to stand by the place. (See Lev. xvi, 7.)

‡ The offerer, whilst saying this, throws some rice on the ground to pacify the evil spirits, and drive them away, lest they should desecrate the sacrifice and ceremonies. "Laipen ksuid kyndai ksuid"—here neither thirty nor nine should be regarded as the exact number, but both signify any number indefinitely great; much in like manner as the number one thousand was regarded by the Jews, and as that number is occasionally used in Scripture. The phrase, "kyndai ksuid", nine demons, seems to be an old phraseology, the exact meaning of which is not known at present; but "laipen ksuid", thirty demons, is the common phrase in use to signify an indefinitely great number—it means *all*.

§ The name of one of the most powerful and malignant demons.

‖ Whilst speaking thus, the offerer kills the cock, and sprinkles the blood as described above.

¶ The offerer's hands are busily employed in preparing his sacrifice whilst he utters the above speech.

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health, that we may increase and prosper, that we may walk securely, that we may enjoy our possession in security, that we may carefully ameliorate our families, that we may increase in number. Do thou embrace us, do thou confide in us, do thou support us whilst we observe the rules and customs, that we may become numerous, that we may offer thee sacrifices. Come thou and receive us, receive us at thy feet, that we may spread out on the right and on the left. Come, confide in us; come, support us; come, envelope our spirits with thy power.* 782

This sacrifice is generally made by a whole Kúr or family *all related* by blood.

Appendix C.

Crawfurd's "Embassy to Siam", p. 19.—"Under ordinary circumstances so much importance is attached to the rite of burning the dead, that if the ceremony cannot be performed soon after death, either from poverty, or from the party dying at a distance, the body is first buried, and afterwards, as soon as convenient or practicable, disinterred and consigned to the funeral pile. Of persons of distinction, a few of the bones are kept, and either preserved in urns in the houses of their relations, or buried, with little pyramidal monuments over them, in the ground adjacent to the temples. Of these monuments we saw a good number: they are small and paltry, without any inscription. 764 211

Appendix D.

W. Griffith's "Journals", p. 75.—"Close to the village are the burying-places of two Singphos. These have the usual structure of the cemeteries of the tribe, the graves being covered by a high conical thatched roof. I find, from Bayfield, that they first dry their dead, preserving them in odd-shaped coffins until the drying process is completed; they then burn the body, afterwards collecting the ashes, which are finally deposited in the mounds over which the conical sheds are erected," etc., etc. 764

Appendix E.

Burning the Dead, etc.—"The practice of preserving dead bodies in honey has not arisen, as M. Schlagintweit states, from the extremely wet season experienced at Cherra. Bodies are burnt throughout the rains, as I have witnessed. Men of rank or wealth are treated in the above way, and are often kept thus preserved during the whole of the dry cold weather, and not burnt until a propitious time has been selected. The custom, no doubt, has been derived from its Eastern source."

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* Mr. Pryse remarks: "However devoid of sense or puerile the traditional and unwritten literature of the Khasis may be considered, the writer is not sure that he is able to elicit much more sense from many parts of the much talked of literature of the Vedas and Puranas of the Hindu sages," and he offers a specimen from the Sanhita.

587 of the woman by her husband. No occasion arises either of
421 taking his place on death, by his brother or by sister's son ; or of a sister of a deceased wife being made over to a man, as is the custom among Garos, where the husband of the heiress manages the property of his wife. Among the Khasis, the widow or widower cannot normally remarry before the end of a year after the death of the husband or wife. When a year is over, a payment is made to the Kur of the deceased to remove
587 the disability. If the man or woman want to remarry before
782 the year is out, a larger sum is paid. In Mawphlang, a sum of Rs. 5-4-0 is paid at the end of the year and Rs. 11-4-0 for untimely remarriage (within the year). The payment is made to the Ka Khadduh of the deceased in each case, and a ceremony severing the relation with the dead spouse is performed. A pig is purchased with the money and it is sacrificed in the house of the Ka Khadduh by a man—usually a neighbour. If the deceased was a man, the following invocation is made:
[539] "Ha kane ka mied la shim nong sang bad knia nong sang ia phi. Ka tnga uta uta ban ia khuid."

Free translation :—

"On this night the tabooed person is sacrificing to you. The wife of so-and-so (naming the man) is hereby made pure."

The pig is then killed by thrusting an iron spike through the shoulder. It is then cooked and eaten by the people present. This mode of killing is known as "dung."

The myntri Orongsing, whose genealogy has been noted, remarried a year after the death of his first wife Ka Resimai. This woman died two years ago, and the ceremony for removing the bar on remarriage was performed only last year. The money was made over to an old man U Ru, who is well acquainted with the rites. He purchased a pig and killed it by the "dung" method in the compound of Ka Resimai's mother, Ka Sheribon. The spike might be of wood or iron, stated U Ibchon. I was informed by the myntri U Subu Rai that the ceremony of

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removal of the bar on remarriage was also of the same kind elsewhere in the neighbouring States. Clearly, the idea of leviration or sororation is incompatible with this idea of the marriage bond continuing even after death and necessitating a ceremony to break it. It may also be noted that while the Khasis permit divorce somewhat easily, remarriage is not permitted of either party "within the family of the divorced husband or wife" (G). A Khasi cannot also marry two sisters, although he can marry irregularly, more than one woman and also the wife's sister after the decease of the wife. We can now discuss why a woman or a man refers to the brothers and sisters of the husband or wife by the kinship terms used by the spouse, qualified by a special term. When a man marries and goes to live in the house of his wife's mother, he comes in contact with unmarried sisters of the wife. But he knows that they are sexually to be avoided. He lives in the wife's mother's house only during the life time of his wife. A wife's sister is comparable to a Kur sister sexually, during this period.

But his economic relations and religious ties require that a distinction should be made between these "sisters" and the "Kur sisters." The qualifying term supplies this requirement. The woman, on the other hand, has no direct relations with her husband's brothers. She has however to keep in touch with the husband's female relatives. The bones of the husband go over to the mother's house and eventually to the clan ossuary. The husband is also a potential manager of the property of his female relatives. She has therefore to take note of the order in age of her husband's sisters. As her husband uses the terms for sisters for the sisters-in-law, it is quite natural for her to extend such usage to her husband's sisters. The brothers of the husband do not count at all so far as the woman is concerned, and she will not therefore have any special term for them. As the sisters are referred to as Para Kynsi and Hymmen Kynsi, so will the brothers of the husband be referred to by similar terms. The absence of any sexual privileges between the woman and her

household deities, and measles and smallpox deities. 776
Deities of the first two categories are simply aspects 771
of the high God or Goddess. • The earth is peopled with two great orders of land demons and water demons who cause all undesirable, unnatural, and otherwise inexplicable events, acting either on their own or as instruments in the hands of sorcerers. Apart from omens, both in nature and in dreams, 787
Khasis attach supernatural significance also to mystic 822
numbers, and to the colors white, black, and red. They hold especially important folk beliefs regarding 824
betel nut, paddy rice, gold and silver, and clothing. **Practitioners.** The two classes of religious practition- 791
ers are the village or state priests and the sacrificers. Both are male. They use the same divinatory tech- 793
niques of reading broken eggshells and the entrails 764
of cocks, and they both sacrifice cocks, hens, goats, pigs, and cattle. Their skills are not taught to them so much as picked up by observation and confirmed by demonstrations of efficacy. A priest is elected from among the men of his sib to direct his skills to the public good until he dies, and his rewards are institutionalized and come from the village or the state. A sacrificer acts for private persons or kin groups, on call, and is rewarded by them personally with gifts in cash or in kind. The sacrificer is called upon to explain and then to ritually remedy every variety of misfortune, especially illness, though his powers are nowadays regarded with ambivalence, and he is widely expected to become a sorcerer sooner or later. • There are two major types of sor- 754
cerer. One is the ritual specialist or sacrificer who secretly turns his skills from good to evil, manipulating demons to injure a person or kin group, and acting always for himself alone out of considerations of jealousy or revenge. The other is normally a leading citizen, a woman who is so wealthy and successful that it is believed that she must keep a *thlen*, i.e. a creature which will bring her prosperity as long as she feeds it periodically with human blood. To provide this blood, the men of her household, or other males whom she bewitches with a special whisky, will indiscriminately murder anyone except a mem- [184]
ber of her matrilineage. The Jaintias have an analogue to the *thlen* in their *taro*, except that the ultimate result is death from illness rather than murder. Minor witchcraft can be perpetrated by poison keepers or persons with an evil eye, who are often women. **Ceremonies.** The important traditional 843
ceremonies were the life-crisis rituals relating to 844
pregnancy and childbirth, the naming of a child, and 553
death. Lesser ceremonies related to marriage and 764
divorce, and to housebuilding. All these rituals were 585
addressed primarily to the ancestors, and they are 586
still performed in modified form by many Khasis. 342
Other rituals, which were performed by groups such 769
as villages, sibs, local descent groups, or households, 178
were addressed to the unnamed aspects of the high 782 •

God or Goddess, deities regarded as helpful in bringing prosperity, producing fertility, and so on. Rituals of this kind are no longer practiced, except for the Bedingkhlam ceremony designed to protect the Jaintia village of Jowai. Finally, the state religion of many chiefdoms was expressed in one great ceremony per year which was intended to secure ancestral blessing for a chief and his lineage, and, through this, for the entire chiefdom. The notable example, still practiced, is the Pomblang Syiem of Khyrim chiefdom. [Cf. Lyngdoh 1937; 1946; Stegmiller 1924b; Becker 1909.] **Illness and medicine.** In time of illness, a Khasi calls in a sacrificer, and possibly also a medicine man. The medicine man is an ordinary individual who has hit upon some herbal remedy for one or more ailments, who has become famous enough to be sought out and rewarded in cash, and who jealously guards the formula of his medicine until it dies with him. He and his patients tend to regard him as specially blessed. **Soul, death, and afterlife.** The universe is comprised of a heaven, the earth, and the air between. Heaven is where the souls of deceased mortals live in eternal peace, grouped sib by sib. The earth and all nature were created by God, and everything that God created has its own individual soul. There is no other great earth deity, for it was God who created the earth. The air is inhabited by the wandering souls of those dead for whom full death rites were not performed. A Khasi's potentiality for enjoying an afterlife in heaven with his ancestors depends on his receiving proper death rites at the hands of his sib mates. First, his body is cremated by his children, notably his youngest daughter, and his bones are collected and deposited temporarily in a small stone receptacle. All work stops in the village while everyone participates in the funeral. Once every several years, an entire sib gathers to witness the transfer of the bones of recently deceased sib mates from their temporary receptacles to the great sib cairn that is in the keeping of the youngest daughter, descended from the sib ancestress through a line of youngest daughters. This final ceremony covers five days, and is elaborate and expensive, but when an individual's bones are finally resting with those of his antecedents in the cairn, it is understood that his soul is finally in heaven, "eating betel nut in the house of God."

782 [178] 796 178 [113] [975] 775 [972] 764 765

BIBLIOGRAPHY. Aitchison 1931; Bareh 1962; Becker 1909, 1924; Bhuyan 1949; C., W. 1832; Cantlie 1934; Chatterji 1953; Chattopadhyay 1941; Costa 1936, 1937, 1958, 1960; Darrah 1896; Ehrenfels 1950, 1953, 1955; Gait 1926; Gatphoh 1947; Grierson 1903-28; Gurdon 1907; Hooker 1891; India (Republic) 1952-57; Lyngdoh 1937, 1946, 1952; Mills n.d.; Morris 1910; Mukherjee et al. 1941; Pugh 1951; Rabel 1961; Rafy 1920; Ropmay 1940; Roy 1897; Roy 1914; Shakespear 1914; Singh 1950; Stegmiller 1924a, 1924b, 1925.

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17: Banerjee E-5 (1955) 1962 AR7 Khasi AR7
Smit

778 objects are stored while that of the west (kynram blang) was meant exclusively
796 for sacrificial goats. There is a very big circular courtyard in front of the building where the members of the royal family as also other boys and spinsters
[793] hold a ritual dance. The function is always held during the moonlit period of
[443] May or June and the actual dates are fixed in consultation with the Chief priest
[202] (*Sohblei*) in such a way that the first day—*Pamtiah** always coincides with the market day of Shillong Chota Bazar. The dates of the festival is then communicated to the in-charge of different units of his territory, through a wooden stick '*kyrwoh*' having a few knots of cane-strips, as a form of summons for attending the festival for five days at Smit along with subjects under their jurisdiction.

IMPORTANT PARTICIPANT

796 The responsibility of performing this ritual rests on the High-priestess
793 (*Ka Siem Sad*) who is succeeded by her eldest daughter. Different ritual ob-
562 jects are procured by her, well in advance and it is obligatory on her part to join the ceremonial dancing, in which her daughter may also officiate on her
[769] behalf. U Shillong is worshipped by the chief priest while the other ancestors
[533] are invoked by lesser priests. The musicians (*Dhulia*) besides their normal duties, take part in the worship of the ancestors and they are presented with silk turban, jacket, cloth, by the ruling family for the services rendered during the festival. The *Siem* has no especial role except to supervise and evoke U Shillong for the welfare of the community. He is required to perform certain sacrifices, failing which his heir-apparent (*Siem kynnah*) does the same. He along with his sister (High priestess) abstain from taking rice during the period of celebration presumably to observe the sanctity of this festival as also to ensure the successful conclusion of the function.

RITUAL MATERIALS

796 The festival derives its name from the sacrifice of a large number of goats
782 some of which were supplied from the State fund and from different units of the territory. Formerly at least fifty goats were required and each unit had
231 a specific allotment but owing to the economic difficulty that the Khasi are experiencing, the number of goats sacrificed hardly exceeds twenty-five. The goats collected from the different units, are presented to the Chief at the midnight
[273] of the third day. Rice-beer, dried fish, fermented-rice, betel leaves together
[276] with nuts are also important ritual objects in this celebration.

DESCRIPTION OF THE FESTIVAL

796 The commencement of the festival was marked by the distribution of dried,
782 fish (suit dokha) to the persons assembled on the occasion, in the evening of *Pamtiah* (*i.e.* 21st June, 1957). This was followed by the dropping of rice-beer by the Chief priest over the fire place of central hall known as *Ka suit-ka shor*

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[805] *A week consists of eight days in Khasi Calendar the names are according to the places where markets are held in Khasi Hills.

Name	Market
1. Pamtiah	Shillong Chota Bazar.
2. Umni	Cherrapunji.
3. Yew-duh	Shillong Burra Bazar.
4. Lyngka	Barapani.
5. Nongkrem	Nongkrem.
6. Mawlong	Laban (Shillong).
7. Ryngkep	Cherrapunji Chota Bazar.
8. Shillong	Laitlyng kot.

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in which no sacrifice was made except this libation of this liquor in the name of U Shillong, Ka Blei Long Siem and U Suidnia. Subsequently, the Chief musician (Dhulia) worshipped another deity Ka Synchar, by holding a yellow cook in front of ritual offerings collected on a plantain leaf while his subordinates immediately shouted nine times in their traditional way. Redistribution of dry-fish and indigenous liquor to the people marked and the end of the first day and the ceremonies performed on this day were repeated on the second day (Umni). 796 782

The sacrifice of goats which was an important feature of the festival, was performed in the afternoon of the third day (Yew duh) on the top of an adjacent hill where the *Siem* along with other members of his house, went there in a procession. The people shouted all the time while it was preceeding to that place. The musicians went round the altar first at the top of the hill thrice in anticipation of a happy and good auguers. The Chief priest facing the north, prayed to U Shillong holding a red-coloured cock in his right hand and killed it on the altar collecting its blood in a gourd vessel. The entrails of the cock were carefully examined by him and then kept on a silver plate. The Chief priest threw some grains of rice before him as also over the yellow goat and prayed to U Shillong holding a *dah* in his hand. He then passed on this implement to the *Siem* who also prayed to the deity. The *Siem* handed over the same to a man (nengnong) who sacrificed the goat on behalf of the *Siem*. He collected nine pieces of meat from different parts of the goats body (*e.g.* heart, lungs, liver, stomach, kidney, etc.) and handed them over to the priest. The latter cut each piece of the meat into five parts and offered them to the five ancestors.* The procession returned to the Siem's residence when the head of the goat was brought back by a member of a Kharbamen clan. It was then given to the High-priestess for disposal of the same in a manner as she liked. The day's rituals were completed by performing the goat presentation ceremony in the midnight. The Chief musician stood very near the fire made in this occasion at the verhandah (tyngkong) of the building and called the names of different units to present their gifts, in order of their seniority. The gathering that was watching from the courtyard shouted in their traditional way three times on receipt of the *Siem's* acceptance and the animals were led to the *kynram-biang* for overnight stay before which they were not considered fit to be sacrificed to be held on the day next.

On the evening of the fourth day (Lyngka) betel leaves and nuts were presented to the members of the *Siem's* family by the people wishing them happiness and prosperity. The chief priest took his seat in front of the verhandah in a line along with his ten assistants who were on either side in a group of five facing the north. The Chief priest worshipped U Blei Shillong and Ka Blei-Long Siem and the responsibility of invoking each ancestor or ancestress was devolved on each assistant priest : [769] [793]

Asstt. Priest	Chief Priest	Asstt. Priest
1. U Dienger. 2. U Marshan. 3. U Ram Shillong. 4. Ka Phan Siem Shillong. 5. U Biskorom.	6. U Shillong. 7. Ka Blei Long Siem.	8. U Phan Kynthei. 9. U Shynrang. 10. Ka Lei Duwan. 11. Ka Siem Sngi. 12. Ka Blei Synchar.

* (1) U Blei Shillong (2) U Suidnia (3) U Kpa & U Kha
(4) U Bhakraw Basaw (5) U Bakri Shako

After Lingodh H.—The Pomblang Nongkrem (in Khasi) 1946. Khasi & Jaintia Hills Press, Shillong.

17: Banerjee E-5 (1955) 1962 AR7 Khasi AR7
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796 The goats were sacrificed by his sister's eldest son (*Siem-khynnah*) and in
• 782 charge of respective units at the open courtyard. The priests evoked the
ancestors and ancestress and called upon them by name praying 'Oh God and
769 Goddess, I offer this sacrifice as our ancestors did. Bless the *Siem*, his family
and the people of his state. I shall beseech you again on this day after one
231 year. You create favourable weather by virtue of your power, bring clouds
and rains to yield bumper crops and ensure a happy and prosperous life.'

On the last day (Nongkrem), a man of Mawroh clan sacrificed a pig introducing an iron spike in its left armpit. Nine pieces of meat from different parts of the pig's body were again offered to their five ancestors. The *Siem* in the presence of his *Darbar* performed the last item of festival by praying to U Shillong, when the Chief of Rynjah clan also followed in the same way for seeking the blessings of their Chief deity.

This brought the ritual to an end performed at the residence of *Siem*. The five pieces of goat's and pig's meat offered to their five ancestors, were then handed over to the in-charge of the five units considered as somewhat higher in their State organisation. They distributed them at a suitable place in their unit, making a feast as a sort of public declaration of the completion of their greatest festival for the year.

DANCING

535 Besides the ritual described above, dance with the accompaniment of music
796 formed an important aspect of this festival. A dance known as *sad-tyngkoh*
had been a regular feature for the first, second, third and fifth day. This dance
[533] has some interesting features. It has to be performed in pairs. The first
pair was constituted by Chief priest and the Chief musician. Second to fifth
pairs were between the Sirdars of the eight units after which *Siem* along with an
official of his council constituted the sixth pair. The subsequent pairs were
formed by any two persons from the gathering. They danced only after bowing
first before the Oak pillar (Rishot), then to *Siem* on the fifth day. This pairing
was then not adhered to on completion of the last rite of the festival.

A second type of dance (*Ka sad mastieh*) was then performed in the courtyard by the musicians as well as by the professional dancers (nong-shad) with
sword and fly-brush in the afternoon of the third day. The dance was always
[291] held in pairs first by musicians, and then dancers, who donned their traditional
[301] dress consisting of silk turban (Jainspong) decorated with feathers, coloured
sleeveless coat (Jymphong) silver chains and coral necklaces. Later on they
joined the procession, that went to the adjacent hill where after the completion
of the ceremony of goat killing, a group dance was performed returning to the
residence of *Siem* ultimately.

This dance (*sad-nohkjat*) was performed by the Siems family. It was held
early in the morning of the fourth day in the central hall (Shlur) and also
[291] in the courtyard. The men put on their normal dress whereas the women
[301] dressed themselves with gold and silver crown (pansngiat), numerous silver
ornaments and different coloured blouse. They dressed and braided the
hairs into a knot just at the nape. The High Priestess who also danced with
[302] the membes of the Siems' family, stood in the middle of the line and chief
musician stood at one end. They hold each other in hand and danced round
the fire-place of the central hall (Shlur) in anti-clock-wise direction in accompaniment of music. The people assembled there, gave vent to their feeling in their customary way every time, before they resumed to make it three times. Similar performance of dances were also held in the courtyard.

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Then followed the dance of the girls (*Ki shad kynthei*) who were also wearing dress as described above. They kept their eyes down, keeping their arms on their sides taking such a short steps with the music, that the movement of the feet were hardly perceptable. The boys were also in their dancing dress as worn by *nongshad* and danced with fly-brush round the girls making their steps with the beatings of the drums. The music started from the morning would be stopped only after completion of the dance which prolonged till evening. These functions served as a good source of amusement to the people, enabling them to have a good diversion from their monotonous life with an opportunity to meet their friends and relations who assembled there from different parts of the hill.

535 [534]

DISCUSSION

From the fore-going description, it is evident that the Khasi live in a democratic set up in which the secular duties are entrusted to the *Siem*. A different rule is followed in the case of religious festivals. Every Khasi family entrusts the sacredotal work of the house to the youngest daughter. The *Siem's* sister (Siem Sad) being the nearest member of his mother's clan, is made responsible for the observance of those ceremonies which concerns the welfare of the subjects. The people attend the festival to seek blessings of their supreme deity U Shillong and their presence in the *Siem's* residence indicates their loyalty to him. The rituals of the festival, instead of being performed by her (High Priestess), were conducted by the Chief Priest (Soh blei) for which he was allotted a very imporatnt position in the celebration. The musicians were given similar status owing to the belief in the sacredness of their music. It ought to be played in proper tunes otherwise the displeasure of the deity would fall on them on finding any slight departure in this respect. For this reason, the music is considered as important as the rituals and the role of musicians were consequently given due recognition at every stage of the festival. The tradition of deputing one person of Nengnong clan to sacrifice the goat at the top of the hill was followed on account of their ancestors having carried out in olden times the profession of side-de-camp (body guard) to the *Siem*. Another person of kharbamen clan was also asked to carry the head of the sacrificial animal from the hill to the residence of the *Siem* after the worship, as his predecessors were serfs in ancient times during the period of their captivity in this State. Such incidents were found expressed in a symbolic way through their ceremonies.

182 64 796 [593] [782]

The most important concern of the people was to maintain their mode of living together with their property and other means of subsistence. They worshipped him so that he might prevent the evil spirits from doing any harm and may in addition grant them bumper crops. To be recipient of such a favour, they appeased their god U Shillong with gifts and sacrifices. It is not sure whether he is considered as one of their deified ancestors but his important position in the Khasi pantheon enabled him to have some priority in their worship. The offering of red-cock together with a yellow goat, moreover, revealed his amiable and benevolent nature as the malignant ones get representation invariably with black colours. U Shillong was invoked simultaneously with other dead ancestors, with this hope, that all the deities would pool their supernatural strength in fighting the evil spirits before the latter were able to cause any harm to their crops or to reduce in any way the fertility of their fields.

796 769 782 776 182

It would be interesting to refer here about the presentation of nine pieces of meat from various parts of the sacrificial animal. It may be a case of appeasement by serving him with some food but there seems to be something

17: Banerjee E-5 (1955) 1962 AR7 Khasi AR7
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796 magical in such gifts. The khasi deities being souls of departed members,
782 are anthropomorphic in nature, have all the qualities of an ordinary human
769 being. The worshippers believe that the deities may also loose their strength
776 in course of time which can be augmented only by offering suitable sacrifices.
182 They presented pieces of meat to transfer in them the supernatural 'power' which are concentrated or lodged in those regions of the sacrificial animal, from where they were taken out. It is a case of reciprocal help between the deity and the devotee so that on attaining their normal strength, they would fulfil their request.

796 The Khasi people while participating in the celebration gave vent to their
769 emotion through their traditional cries. It could not be definitely established
182 whether these were any indication of frightening the evil spirits but on the other hand, those were intended to cheer the *Siem*, musicians, and the respective units taking parts in the celebration. The musicians on another occassion, went round the altar three times on reaching the top of the hill. The
[644] members of the *Siem's* house similarly performed a sacred dance round the
[801] fire place of central hall (Shlur) to the same number of times. This odd number of three seemed to be an auspicious one. The exact cause for such a reverential attitude to this figure may be to pay respect to their primal ancestress (Ka Iawbei), her husband (U Thawlang) and her brother, *i.e.*, first maternal uncle (U Suidnia) who are considered highest amongst all the Khasi deities.

796 The dancing is generally taken as secular part of religious function, but the
535 Khasi people considered them (except the last one) as sacred for the reason
182 that it is one of their methods of propitiating their deity. The people at times, ascribe certain meanings to them to rationalise their thinking. The dancing invariably put the participants into ecstasy to enable them to be in communion with their supernatural beings, yet those are interpreted as a device to control the spirits inspite of its calm and quiet nature. The people even then enjoyed them with this hope that these would prevent the intruding spirits from spreading diseases. Owing to the fixation of the dates of the function at the time of sowing period, the dance of the unmarried girls may have some bearing on the promotion of fertility of the soil. The custom of allowing Khasi boys to dance round the spinsters with fly-flap in one of their hands may be to protect them from the influence of the evil spirits.

The heads of the various units adhered to the official precedence strictly before they allowed a common man to take part in the dancing. The custom of allowing two officials to dance, at a time, was in recognition to their equal status. It had become a practice to follow at every stage of their function. The presence of all the in-charge of this Siemship were essential to secure the blessings of their deity on behalf of his subjects whom they represent in official capacity in this festival. This is a suitable mechanism to foster unity and solidarity among the people of the different units which is the main aim of this celebration. This was found to be so when Khasi people from all parts of State were seem witnessing the dancing of the unmarried girls. The informant on being asked to state the reason of permitting the spinsters only in this dance, came out with an interesting fact about the ancient Khasi tradition. The dance used to offer at one time, an opportunity to the youngmen of the Royal families in selecting their brides. A betel leaf with a nut were usually thrown at a girl and the men going round them, remained as witness of this incident. This explanation received some support from the frequent utterances (*rong-rong*) by the public, expressing a desire to run away with a girl dancing with graceful style.

796 The celebration can be taken up as a solidarity rite. The performance is
182 all the more essential for the purpose of security without which the people

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

243 the District, nor do any superior kinds of cereals appear to have been substituted for inferior ones.

THE DIFFERENT STAGES OF RICE CULTIVATION, in English and Khási, are as follow:—The blade as it first shows, *ipeh-u-kyba*; the blade when well above the ground, *la-thylleng-u-kyba*; the ears when first formed, *lam-mat*; the ears beginning to ripen, *kyr-tem*; the ripe ears, *la-kih*; unhusked rice, *u-kyba*; husked rice, *u-khaw*; cooked rice, *ka-ja*.

262 [435] [782] THE VARIOUS SOLID AND LIQUID PREPARATIONS made from rice are the following:—(1) *U-kypu*, cakes of different kinds, sold at six or twelve for a penny, according to size. (2) *U-shird* or *gáh-khir*, prepared by the hillmen as an offering to their deity at the conclusion of the harvest. (3) *Kodam*, fermented rice water, sold at the rate of from three-farthings to threepence per quart, according to the strength of the liquor. (4) *Ka kiad-phatiha* or *ka kiad-hárak*, a kind of spirits distilled from rice, and sold at from threepence to fourpence-halfpenny per quart.

273 435

243 OTHER CEREALS.—Indian corn, or *u-riu-ka-dem*, is grown on homestead lands. The ground is first manured, and the seed is sown about the middle of April. The crop is fit for cutting in September and October. A kind of millet seed called *u-krdi* is commonly sown with paddy on high lands. For want of more suitable land, however, this crop is often cultivated by itself on rocky slopes; and when this course is adopted, the jungle is first cut down in February and burnt. The seed is sown in April, and the crop gathered in December.

244 PULSES AND FIBRES.—Only two kinds of pulses are grown in the Hills, *u-rym-bai-ktung* and *u-rym-bai-jil*, both of which are varieties of beans. They are sown on high lands in March and April, and gathered in December. The only fibre is that made from the pine-apple stalk, which is largely used for making netted bags.

283

245 [439] MISCELLANEOUS CROPS.—(1) Oranges.—There are numerous orange plantations in the neighbourhood of Cherrá Punji, and the fruit is exported to all parts of Bengal. In the year 1876-77 the estimated exports were 9,400,000 in number, valued at Rs. 37,600, or £3760, at the rate of Rs. 12 or £1, 4s. per three thousand. These figures show a decrease in number as compared with the estimated export twenty years ago. The trees flower in March or April, and the fruit ripens in October and the following months. In some cases the oranges are allowed to remain on the trees till March, but

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

775 insects, and to roam on this earth: but this idea of transmigration
769 of souls has been probably borrowed from the Hindus. Bivar
825 writes that although the ideas of a Godhead are not clearly
grasped, yet a supreme creator is acknowledged, and that the
[776] following is the tradition relating to the creation of man.
"God in the beginning having created man, placed him on the
773 earth, but on returning to look at him, found he had been
destroyed by the evil spirit. This happened a second time,
whereupon the Deity created first a dog, then a man; and the dog,
who kept watch, prevented the devil from destroying the man,
772 and the work of the Deity was thus preserved." The Khasis,
783 apparently, do not believe in punishment after death, at least
775 there is no idea of hell, although the spirits of those who have
died under the ban of *sang* remain unsay, being obliged to
wander about the earth in different forms, as noted above. The
776 spirits worshipped by the Khasis are many in number, those of
787 the Syntengs being specially numerous. The particular spirit
782 to be propitiated is ascertained by *ngi*-breaking. The offering
acceptable to the spirit is similarly ascertained and is
then made. If the particular sacrifice does not produce
the result desired, a fowl is sacrificed; the entrails being
then examined, an augury is drawn, and the sacrifice begins
afresh. As the powers of *ngi*-breaking is believed to be
peculiar * to the Khasis amongst the Assam hill tribes, a separate
[778] description of it is given in the Appendix. It should be
remarked that the Khasis never symbolise their gods by means
of images, their worship being offered to the spirit only. The
following are some of the principal spirits worshipped by the
[769] Khasis and Syntengs, omitting the spirits of deceased
ancestors such as *Ka Iawbei*, *u Thaolang*, and *u Suidnia*,
which will be described under the heading of ancestor-worship.

776 *U Bi sohpet*—the god of the State, who is propitiated yearly
782 by the sacrifice of a goat and a cock.

U Bi wahang—the god of water, used for drinking and cooking purposes. This god is similarly propitiated once a year, so that the water supply may remain pure.

* Sir Charles Lyall has pointed out that the Mikirs possess this custom; it is probably borrowed from the Khasis.

1: Gardon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

restored by the due propitiation of the offended spirits. 776
In order to ascertain which is the offended spirit, a system 782
of divination by means of cowries, breaking eggs, or 753
examining the entrails of animals and birds, was instituted. 787
The Khasi method of obtaining auguries by examining the viscera of animals and birds may be compared with that of the Roman *haruspex*. Some description of these modes of divination has been given at the end of this chapter. The 771
Khasi religion has been described by Bivar as "demon worship, 773
or a jumble of enchantments muttered by priests who are 783
sorcerers." But even a religion which is thus unflatteringly 825
described is based on the cardinal doctrines of sin and sacrifice for sin. Tradition amongst the Khasis states that in the beginning (*u-pynyngkong ka ewpi*) there was no sin, heaven and earth were near each other, and man had direct intercourse with God. How man fell into sin is not stated, but it is certain that he did fall. Experts at "egg healing" never forget to repeat the formula "*epa briw epa la pap*" (I man have sinned). The cock then appears as a mediator between God and man. The cock is styled "*u khón ka blei who hit synding ka ulah synding na ka hynta jong epa u briw*," i.e. the son of god who lays down his neck (life) for me man. The use of the feminine *ka blei* is no doubt due to matriarchal influences. There is another prayer in which the Khasis say, "*ap judong ne u blei long ranghah ne u briw*" (oh god do not forget the covenant, crime oh man). The idea is that man has fallen into sin of omission and commission (*ka pap, ka hait ka lei*) but that God is nevertheless expected to spare him, and to accept a substitute for him according to the covenant (*judong*). By this covenant God is supposed to have accepted in exchange the cock as a substitute for man. How the cock came to occupy such an 771
important position, tradition is vague and self-conflicting. The 825
fact remains that the covenant of the cock is the foundation 771
of the Khasi religion. It is of interest to mention that amongst the Ahoms the tradition is that Khunlung and Khunlai brought down from heaven the *kri-chim-mang*,* a pair of heavenly fowls, and that to this day the sacrifice of the

* In Ahom *kri* is fowl, *chim* is beautiful, *mang* is country. Therefore *Kri-chim-mang* is fowl of a beautiful country (heaven).

l: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

receptacle. A small basket (*ka shang*) is hung up over the head of the corpse, the basket containing pieces (*dykhot*) of the sacrificed animals. A dish containing eatables, and betel-nut, and a jar of water are placed near the head of the corpse by way of offering refreshment to the spirit of the departed. The food is given each morning and evening that the corpse remains in the house; this is called *ái ja mát ja stop*. Each night the corpse remains in the house guns are fired, drums are beaten and flutes (*sháráti*) are played. It is a noteworthy custom that the body is not retained in the house for an even number of nights, the usual time being three nights. If it is intended to burn the body on a masonry pyre (*jingthang*), a bull (*u masi kynroh*) is sacrificed. If the body is placed in a coffin (*ka shyngoid*), a pig named *u'siang shyngoid* is sacrificed, and if it is intended to adorn the pyre with flags, a fowl called *u'iar hait* is sacrificed. On the day of the funeral procession pigs are sacrificed by the relatives and friends of the deceased; those who cannot afford pigs bring liquor (*ka'iad róng*), a small portion of which they pour on the funeral pyre. The coffin is laid on a bamboo bier (*ka kreng*), money being placed close to the corpse, so that the spirit of the deceased may possess the wherewithal to buy food on its journey. Cotton, or, in the case of the rich, silk cloths are tied cross-ways over the bier, if the deceased is a male, and in the form of a parallelogram, if it is a female. Before lifting the bier a handful of rice and water from a jar are thrown outside, and a goat (*u'lang sait kwaid*) is sacrificed. These are purificatory ceremonies. The funeral procession then forms up and slowly passes along the way to the plaintive music of flutes (*sharafi*) and the beating of drums. At intervals, in the case of the rich, salutes from guns are fired. Copper coins are also scattered along the route. On nearing the pyre the dead body is exposed to view, and the pieces of flesh of the sacrificial animals, which are with the corpse, are thrown away. They make ready three baked loaves (*ki kpo*), an egg, the lower jaw-bones of the animals which have been sacrificed, the left leg of the fowl (*u'iar kwad lyati*), a jar of water, eatables in a dish, and a bow and three arrows. A goat is then sacrificed, *u'lang máwbjat*. The corpse is laid on the pyre, inside the coffin, if one is used, with the head to the west and the feet to the east. Logs of

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765 If any stream has to be crossed, a rough bridge is made of
764 branches and grass. This trail of leaves and the bridges are intended to guide the spirit of the deceased to the cairn. The person who carries the bones is not allowed to turn round, or to the right, or to the left, but must proceed straight to the cairn. On reaching it, a *nongkniu*, or sacrificer, washes the bones three times and then places them in an earthen pot, tying up the mouth with a white cloth. Then, having taken three pieces of the hard yolk of an egg, three loaves of bread, the leg of the fowl, "*u'iar krad lynti*," and the lower jaw-bones of the animals which have been sacrificed, he places them inside the cairn and shuts the door. Eatables and
765 betel-nut are then placed on the top of the cairn. Early next
787 morning the relatives and friends go to the cairn with fresh food and water, and look about for new foot-prints, the idea being
[775] that from these foot-prints they can foretell future events. This they do until the third night after the cremation. During these three nights the front door of the house formerly occupied by the deceased is never closed, it being thought that the spirit may wish to return and visit its earthly abode. The whole family is moreover *sang*, or taboo, during this period, and no manner of work can be done. When the three nights are over, it is called the *lait ia*, i.e. the days (of mourning) are passed, and three eggs are broken to ascertain what was the cause of the death. After this the family goes to bathe, and
[783] the clothes and mats in the house are washed. When this has been done, the taboo is removed and the family can go to work. After a month a pig or a fowl is sacrificed, the ceremony
782 being called "*ai bam lait buai*." It will be observed that *three*
765 seems to be the lucky number throughout these funeral
801 ceremonies. The number seems to bear a similar significance in other matters of Khasi ritual, e.g. the pouring out of libations, which is always done three times.

587 It is *sang* or taboo for a Khasi widow to re-marry within one
428 year from the death of her husband, there is a similar prohibition for a husband re-marrying; but such *sang* can be got over by the payment of a fine to the clan of the deceased. After the expiration of one year the fine is reduced in amount. Khasi widows do not as a rule re-marry, according to U Jeebon Roy,

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764 bones, a ceremony called "*Beh-tympew*" is performed, which consists of driving out the devils from the house, so that they may not interf with the peace of the spirits of the departed whilst they rest in the house, and on their journey to the tomb. All the men after they have performed this ceremony are given [273] a drink of rice-beer known as *'iad nonglieh*. Another cock is sacrificed, and a small bamboo ladder of three rungs is prepared for the use of the spirits when climbing into the tomb. Rice is then thrown outside the door. The next morning they perform further sacrifices, which need not be detailed here, and let loose [783] a bull whose horns have been cased in silver. They dig two shallow tanks called *umkoi*, into which is poured water supposed [766] to possess the virtue of purifying the bones of any deceased clansmen who have died violent or unnatural deaths, or at places far away from their homes, where it was not possible to perform their funeral ceremonies according to custom. Three vertical stones are also erected, called *maw umkoi*. A bamboo with a white flag, and a plantain tree are set up; to the bamboo are attached three bamboo rings (*kyrwoh*), which are supposed to act as summonses to the spirits of the departed who have not received the benefits of a proper funeral ceremony. It may be explained that this ring of bamboo or cane is the form of summons used by the Khasi chiefs to their subjects when they wish to call them before them. Then a cock, *u'iar umkoi*, is sacrificed as a vicarious victim to bear the sins of the departed. When the procession reaches the *mawkjat* or *mawlynti* (the upright stones which have been erected), a goat called *u'lang mawlynti* is sacrificed. Then a bamboo is fixed to the centre one of the three upright stones, to which is attached the lower jaw-bone of one of the cattle sacrificed in the puja-house; this is called *u masi mawlynti*. A special ceremony called *ka-* [766] *lyngka-pongrei* is then performed for those of the clan who have died childless. We now come to the actual ceremony of placing the bones in the tomb of the clan. Having arrived at the tomb, the bones are washed three times in a dish (this is a Cherra custom). In Mawshai, the bones are exposed to the heat of a fire kindled on a small *jingthang*, or burning-platform. The stone door of the *cinerarium* is then opened, and the bones of the females are placed in an earthen pot inside the tomb

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782 and that the latter were originally used by both of them
211 for sacrificing human victims. Sometimes, immediately on either
769 side of the *mawkni*, or large central stone, there are two much smaller stones called *mawksing*, or the stone of the drum, and *mawkait*, the stone of the plantain; the drum being used in all religious ceremonies by the Khasis, and the plantain relating to their custom of feeding young children on plantains. The *mawnam* must be described separately from the *mawbynna*, because they differ from them in an important particular, i.e. that the former may be erected to commemorate the father, while the latter are set up to perpetuate the memory of the ancestors on the female side of the family. *Mawnam* consist of three upright stones and one flat table-stone in front. The large central stone is called *u maw thawlang*, or the stone of the father, and the upright stones on either side are meant to represent the father's brothers or nephews. The flat table-stone is *ka Iawbei*, i.e. the grandmother of the father, not the first grandmother of the clan, as in the case of the *mawbynna*.

211 (*c*) The *maw umkoi* have already been described. They
783 are erected to mark the sites of purificatory tanks, which
766 have been dug so that the remains of deceased persons may be cleansed from the impurities attending an unnatural death, and to counteract the adverse influence upon the clan of *Ka Tyrut*, or the goddess of death. These stones are sometimes called *mawtyrut*.

(*d*) *Maw-shongthait*, or stones upon which weary travellers
211 sit, are to be found alongside all the principal lines of commu-
485 nication in the district. It may serve as an example of these stones to describe the very interesting collection of stones at Nartiang *hát*, or market. A reference is invited to the plate which gives a representation of some of the Nartiang stones. The great height of the upright stone will at once be seen; it is 27 ft. in height and 2½ ft. thick. This stone is the largest erect stone in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills at the present day, and is a very fine specimen. The upright stones and the flat table-stones at Nartiang are called "*ki maw jong Siem*." There is no separate designation for each of them. These stones are popularly supposed to have been erected long ago by two men,

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GENNA.

784 The word *genna* is one in common use amongst the Naga tribes. It seems to be a matter of doubt whether the word belongs to any of the numerous languages or dialects spoken by these tribes; but for our purposes it may be taken to mean *taboo*. The Khasi word *sang*, which implies an interdiction either religious or social from doing any particular thing, might have been employed; but as the word *genna* is so commonly used when speaking of taboos amongst the hill tribes of this province, I have thought fit to employ it here. The word *genna*, or taboo, may be held to include the Khasi *sang*. Taboos amongst the Khasis, Wárs and Lynngams may be divided into
784 two sections; (*a*) general, and (*b*) special. Instances of general
609 taboo have not been found amongst the Khasis, but the follow-
688 ing taboo called *Ka sang kla* amongst the Wár villages of Sohbar and Nongjri is peculiar, and therefore worthy of description. Its chief peculiarity is that during the time the *sang kla* continues, the inhabitants of these two villages are not allowed to associate with foreigners. This *genna* takes place twice a year, in the months of June and November, and lasts for a month each time. During the *genna* foreigners are not allowed to stay the night in these two villages, and the villagers must not sleep the night outside their villages. If they do not return home for the night, they are subjected to a fine. There is a prohibition against eating, smoking, or chewing betel-nut with foreigners
784 during the period. The above is the only instance of general
609 taboo that I have been able to find amongst the Wárs, but in
582 the Lynngam villages there is a taboo on all outsiders at the time of the village pujas. Such a taboo amongst the Lynngams is not to be wondered at, as they have probably imbibed the notion from their Garo mothers, intermarriages between Lynngams and Garos being common. The Garos, like other Thibeto-Burmans, have numerous taboos. There are numerous
582 instances of special taboos among the Khasis. *Kaba*
784 *shong sang*, or marrying within the *kur* or clan, is the
783 most important taboo of all, and is regarded as the most
764 serious offence a Khasi can commit. It admits of no expiation, and the bones and ashes of the offender cannot be placed in the family tomb.

764
782 sacrifice pigs, bring liquor, some of which they pour out on the funeral pyre. The coffin is raised onto a bamboo bier, and some money is placed next to the body so that the spirit of the deceased can buy food on the journey. Cotton or (in the case of rich people) silk cloths are wound around the coffin, crosswise if the deceased is a man, in the form of a square if the deceased is a woman. Before the bier is [783] raised up, one throws a handful of rice and pours a little water from a jug in front of the door and sacrifices a goat. These are purification ceremonies. The funeral procession is now arranged and slowly wends its way accompanied by a great deal of music. For rich people guns are shot off in between times. Copper coins are also strewn along the way. As the funeral pyre is approached, the corpse is placed on display and the peices of meat of the sacrificed animals which lay beside the body are thrown away. Then one arranges three loaves of baked bread, an egg, the lower jawbones of the animals which were sacrificed, the left [435] foot of the rooster (u 'iar krad lynti), a jug of water, food in a dish, and three arrows. A goat is now sacrificed. The body of the deceased is placed in the coffin, if one is used, and then lifted up on the pile of wood, with the head towards the west and the feet towards the east. Pieces of wood are now placed around the corpse, and the egg ("stomach egg") is broken, not as is often supposed over the stomach of the deceased but rather it is thrown on the pile of wood in the direction of the feet. The fire is now lighted by the kur or member of the clan and then by the children, if there are any. Another rooster (u 'iar padat) is sacrificed, the blood

776 off and he was let go with the mark of Cain.

b) Liberation from the Thlen.

776 It also happens that people who revered a
782 thlen[1] and sacrificed to it wish to free themselves
783 from its power and sever all connections with it. This is called pyndud noh ia u thlen, which means throwing away, exposing the thlen. However this is connected with a great sacrifice for the family concerned. [228] To get free of the thlen, there is no other way than to give up all their possessions. House and contents must be burned down; money and objects of value of all kinds thrown away and even the household animals must be given up. This takes place with the observance of a certain ceremony which is performed by the lyngdoh of a village with the participation of men designated by the S'iem (Khasi king). The sacrificer (lyngdoh) first asks the oracle about the place, mountains, etc., where the thlen goods should be taken. When that is found out, the ones who were the thlen owners go with the lyngdoh and the men named, as well as with a crowd of spectators to the place that has been determined upon. All the movable goods, including clothes, that belong to the ones who wish to be free, are brought here. The lyngdoh speaks an oath and then commands the thlen owners, who have been deprived of all their property down to their naked skins, to return to the village directly without looking around. Then the rest of the spectators leave. This occurs during the night. It is the superstition of the people that the devil snake is inwardly joined with property and follows it. Whoever should appropriate it therefore would also be in the power of the devil snake. The snake would climb on him as the expression says (kiu u thlen ha ki).

[1] [devil snake; see category 46, pp 28ff.. Analyst]

776 Therefore nobody dares to appropriate the ob-
782 jects that have been thrown away or even to touch
783 them. Only into the house of the S'iem and into the whole royal family can no entrance be found by the thlen, and therefore some valuable things may be given to the Khasi king. This may be connected with the fact that usually on the next morning after the above ceremony nothing more is to be found of the objects that were given away. Therefore it rarely happened in former times that anyone kept a found object from fear that it might be thlen property and he might bring the thlen devil into his house with it. But if they did take an object they found, a piece of money or such, home with them, the oracle was first asked by egg throwing whether it contained any evil, and only when this was denied and the real owner could not be found did they keep a part of it; the rest had to be used for sacrificial purposes.

The immovable property is treated the same way as the movable property. Fields which the family formerly possessed lie fallow; nobody dares to take them over or to plant anything on them.
[476] But the whole village hastens to help the former thlen[3] owners who have lost all their property. They are given clothes and rice and helped in building a hut so that they can begin an honest life again.

c) Story of a Former Thlen Worshipper.

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593 How is all this known about the thlen,[1] many ask, if the owners try to hide their secret? An indirect answer is already given by the whole previous presentation. Then it also happens, for example, that men marry into the house of a woman who is a thlen owner. Certainly this is not always known beforehand, although real thlen

3 [devil snake; see Cat 116, pp 28 ff. --Analyst]

776 owners can only conceal this for any length of
593 time with difficulty. Now when the woman gathers the members of her household and the unsuspecting man together for the thlen sacrifice, this man dashes out from fright and tells the horrible things that he has seen. He never returns to his wife by whom he was deceived by the concealment of such an important condition and he seeks another wife.

776 [229] The accounts of previous thlen owners
682 finally give further information. I will only
• 783 introduce one case as it was told by one of these. I am indebted for this to the kindness of the missionary in Cherrapunji, P. Corbinian Bonheim S.D.S. who has been there many years and to whom a former thlen owner related his experiences. This he translated into our language as follows:

"Formerly we were very poor people. Then one day we found a wonderfully beautiful smooth stone on the mountain when we were chopping wood, and we brought it home and preserved it. From this time on we had good luck everywhere; every undertaking succeeded, we never had losses and our fortune increased from day to day and even at gambling we never lost. Gradually we became rich people. Thus matters continued for four or five years. Then I had a strange dream. A woman appeared to me who said to me: "Look, I have given you such great wealth, now I also demand a sacrifice of you. You should sacrifice a lang thoh khlih to me, i.e., a goat with a spotted head." The next morning I told my dream to the members of the household, and they thought that she was the goddess who was demanding the sacrifice owing to her. So we sacrificed a goat. But soon after I had a dream again and the same voice as before spoke to me again: "I have demanded ka lang thoh khlih of you and you only gave me a goat. The goat, however, that I demand,

776 is human blood ka snam briu!" The next morning
682 I told my dream again and all my relatives were
783 frightened, for they knew now that it was the thlen
devil and not the goddess who made them rich. But
now we had to decide what we would do: give up
all our wealth and possession or fulfill the will
of the thlen. We decided to do the latter. But
we let week after week go by until the thlen began to threaten that he would consume our whole
house. Now we went, my brother and I out stalking to see if we could murder someone. We saw
a woman from our village go alone to the forest
to gather wood. We crept after her and when we
thought the moment was right we fell upon her
with blows and beat her till she was dead. Immediately thereafter, however, we fled deeper into the forest with the intention of taking the
blood from the slain woman somewhat later when we
could do it undisturbed. But after a while the
woman came to her senses and luckily escaped back
to the village by a different way. When she arrived home she told what had happened and named
the two of us brothers as her murderers. Her
relatives went at once to the chief and accused
us. When we now came out of our hiding place to
get the blood from the woman who we supposed was
dead, we found to our astonishment that she had
disappeared. We hurried along the road to pursue
her but we could not find her anywhere. When we
came home we were told at once that a woman had
luckily escaped from murderers, but that it was
still questionable whether she would live. We,
however, wished secretly that she would die. But
the chieftain had commanded that the woman be
cared for carefully. When she had so far recovered that she could come to a judicial meeting, the chieftain ordered all the inhabitants
of the village to the gathering. Our hands and
feet trembled, and stuttering we confessed our

776 guilt. The chieftain then said to us: "You
682 will pay the woman the entire cost of her care
• 783 and agree that I have your thlen driven out and that you give up your property; if you will do that, nothing more will be done to you. A hut where you can live temporarily, a cloth [230] so that you can at least cover your honor, and rice which you need will be given you by the village until you can again save something. But if you do not wish to do that then a severe punishment will be meted out to you without mercy or pity." We submitted to the judgment of the chieftain. He then had all our possessions carried away and our house burned down to the ground. And when we had moved into the hut which was built for us by the inhabitants of the village at the command of the chieftain, lo, this wonderful stone was there. We reported this to the chieftain and he took counsel with his elders as to what should now be done. They came to the conclusion that at the time of the first exorcism the lyngdohs had not given us the command to go home directly without looking around. We had looked around and therefore the thlen had come to us again. Therefore the chieftain now commanded that the expulsion and exorcism and destruction should be undertaken again. This time we went straight home without looking around and so we were then free of the thlen. We have never seen the thlen itself." This much the report of the thlen worshipper.

The Position of the English-Indian Government in Respect to these Human Sacrifices.

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But is it possible, many will ask, that such crimes can occur in a British province of the Indian Empire? Why are such things not called to the attention of the English government and why

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231 Shillong is excellent, the flavour being quite as good as that
263 of English honey. Under "Miscellaneous Customs connected with Death" will be found a reference to the statement that the
[764] dead bodies of Siems used to be embalmed in honey. The existence of the custom is generally denied by Khasis, but its former prevalence is probable, as several trustworthy authors have quoted it.

HOUSES.

342 The houses of the people are cleaner than might be supposed
515 after taking into consideration the dirtiness of the clothes and persons of those who inhabit them. They are as a rule substantial thatched cottages with plank or stone walls, and raised on a plinth some 2 to 3 ft. from the ground. The only
354 window is a small opening on one side of the house, which admits but a dim light into the smoke-begrimed interior. The beams are so low that it is impossible for a person of ordinary stature to stand erect within. The fire is always burning on an earthen or stone hearth in the centre. There is no chimney, the smoke finding its exit as best it can. The firewood is placed to dry on a swinging frame above the hearth. In the
343 porch are stacked fuel and odds and ends. The pigs and calves
342 are generally kept in little houses just outside the main building. The Khasi house is oval-shaped, and is divided into three rooms, a porch, a centre room, and a retiring-room.

354 In olden days the Khasis considered nails *sang*, or taboo, and
784 only used a certain kind of timber for the fender which surrounds the hearth; but they are not so particular now-a-days. In Mawkhar, Cherrapunji, and other large villages, the walls of
342 houses are generally of stone. In Cherrapunji the houses are frequently large, but the largest house I have seen in the hills is that of the Doloi of Suhtnga in the Jaintia Hills, which measures 74 ft. in length. The house of the Siem Priestess at Smit in the Khasi Hills is another large one, being 61 ft. long by 30 ft. broad. In front of the Khasi house is a little space fenced in on two sides, but open towards the village street. The

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241 when fire is applied, logs of wood being placed at intervals of a few feet to prevent as far as possible the ashes being blown away by the wind. The lands are not hoed, nor treated any further, paddy and millet being sown broadcast, and the seeds of root crops, as well as of maize and Job's tears, being dibbled into the ground by means of small hoes. No manure, beyond the wood ashes above mentioned, is used on this class of land; there is no irrigation, and no other system of watering is resorted to. The seeds are sown generally when the first rain falls. This style of cultivation, or *jhum*, is largely resorted to by the people inhabiting the eastern and southern portions of the Jaintia Hills, e.g. the Bhois and Lalungs, the Lynngams and
243 Garos of the western tracts of the district. Wet paddy land
312 (*hali* or *pynthor*) is, as the name implies, the land where the kind of paddy which requires a great deal of water is grown. The bottoms of valleys are divided up into little compartments by means of fairly high banks corresponding to the Assamese *ális*, and the water is let in at will into these compartments by means of skilfully contrived irrigation channels, sometimes a
243 mile or more in length. The soil is made into a thick paste in the Jaintia Hills by means of the plough, and in the Khasi Hills through the agency of the hoe. Droves of cattle also are driven repeatedly over the paddy-fields until the mud has acquired the right consistency. The seed is then sown broadcast in the wet mud. It is not sown first in a seedling bed and then transplanted, as in Assam and Bengal. When the plants have grown to a height of about four inches, water is let in again; then comes the weeding, which has to be done several
243 times. When the crop is ripe, the ears are cut with a sickle
784 (*ka rashi*) generally, so as to leave almost the entire stalk, and are left in different parts of the field. A peculiarity about the Lynngam and the Khasis and Mikirs of the low hills, or Bhois as they are called, is that they reckon it *sang*, or taboo, to use the sickle. They reap their grain by pulling the ear through the hand. The sheaves, after they are dry, are collected and
243 thrashed out on the spot, either by beating them against a stone (*shoh kba*), or by men and women treading them out (*iuh kba*). Cattle are not used for treading out the grain. The

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000 credited, owing, no doubt, to the advance of Christianity and education.

CEREMONIES AND CUSTOMS ATTENDING BIRTH AND NAMING OF CHILDREN.

844 The Khasi birth ceremonies and customs are as follows:—
[784] When a child is born the umbilical cord is cut by a sharp
782 splinter of bamboo; no knife can be used on this occasion. The Mundas of Chota Nagpur similarly taboo a metal instrument for this purpose. The child is then bathed in hot water from a red earthen pot. The placenta is carefully preserved in an earthen vessel in the house till after the naming ceremony has taken place. When the umbilical cord, after being tied, falls off, a puja is performed with eggs to certain water deities (*ka blei sum-um* and *ka niangriang*),* also to a forest spirit
553 (*u'suid bri* or *u'suid khláw*). The naming ceremony of the child
386 is performed the next morning after the birth. Certain females are invited to come and pound rice in a mortar into flour. The flour when ready is placed on a bamboo winnower (*u prah*). Fermented rice is mixed with water and is placed in a gourd. Some powdered turmeric is also provided, and is kept ready in a plantain leaf, also five pieces of *'kha piah*, or dried fish. The earthen pot containing the placenta is then placed in the *nongpei*, or centre room of the house. If the child is a male, they place near him a bow and three arrows (the implements of a Khasi warrior); if a female, a *da* and *u star*, or cane
553 head-strap for carrying burdens. An elderly man, who knows
782 how to perform the naming puja, which is called by the Khasis "*kaba jer khun*," places a plantain-leaf on the floor and sprinkles some water on it. He takes the gourd in his hand and calls a god to witness. The people assembled then mention a number of names for the child, and ask the man who is performing the puja to repeat them. This he does, and at the same time pours a little liquor from the gourd on to the ground. As he goes on pouring, the liquor by degrees becomes exhausted, and finally only a few drops remain. The name at the repeat-

* A spirit which is supposed to have the power of causing a disease of the navel of a child.

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553 when they do this they invariably fall crossed to the ground. "They thus save their eggs, save time and trouble, get the
553 name they desire for the child. . . ." It is noteworthy that
844 the Khasis consider it necessary to preserve the placenta until the ceremony of naming the child is over, and that the pot containing the placenta is waved over the head of the child before it is removed and hung up in a tree.

844 Dr. Fraser, at page 53 *et seq.* of the "Golden Bough," when
171 dealing with the subject of sympathetic magic, refers to the navel string and the placenta as parts which are commonly believed amongst certain people to remain in sympathetic union with the body after the physical connection has been severed, and it is interesting to note that in the Babar Archipelago, between New Guinea and Celebes, the placenta is mixed with ashes and put in a small basket, which seven women, each of them armed with a sword, hang up on a tree of a peculiar kind (*citrus hystrix*). The women carry the swords for the purpose of frightening the evil spirits, otherwise the latter might get hold of the placenta and make the child sick. Mr. C. M. Pleyte, Lecturer on Indonesian Ethnology, at the Gymnasium William III. at Batavia, who has most courteously furnished me with some interesting information on this subject, states that it is especially in the Southern Moluccas that the placenta is mixed with ashes and hung in a tree. Wider spread is the custom of placing the after-birth on a small bamboo raft in a river "in order that it may be caught by crocodiles, incarnations of the ancestors, who will guard it till the person to whom it has belonged dies. Then the soul of the placenta is once more united with that of the dead man, and together they go to the realms of the dead. During lifetime the connection between men and their placentas is never withdrawn." The Khasis, although they cannot explain the meaning of the presence of the placenta at the naming ceremony, and the care with which they remove it and hang it up in a tree, are probably really actuated by the same sentiments as the inhabitants of the Southern Moluccas, i.e. they believe that there is, as Dr. Frazer puts it, a sympathetic union with the body after the physical
846 connection with the child has been severed. There is no fixed
784 period of *sang*, or taboo, after a birth, but the parents of the

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child are prohibited by custom from crossing a stream or washing their clothes until the navel-string falls off, for fear that the child should be attacked by the demons of the hills and the vales.

The Wár birth customs are substantially the same as those of the Khasis, but there is the difference that a Wár family after a birth is *sang*, or taboo, for seven days, whereas amongst the Khasis the only prohibition is that the parents must not cross a stream or wash their clothes until they have propitiated the spirits. A twin birth is *sang*, or taboo. The Khasis argue that as there is but one *Ka Iawbei* (first ancestress), and one *U Thawlang* (first ancestor), so one child, either male or female, should be born at a time. A twin birth is accordingly regarded as a visitation from God for some *sang*, or transgression, committed by some member of the clan. When the twins are of opposite sexes the *sang* is considered to be extremely serious, the Khasi idea being that defilement has taken place within the womb. The case is treated as one of *shong kur*, or marriage within the clan, and the bones of the twins cannot be placed in the sepulchre of the clan.

There are no special birth customs amongst the Lynngams.

There is no trace of the *couvade* amongst the Khasis.

MARRIAGE.

We now come to consider marriage amongst the Khasis from a religious point of view. Shadwell has said that marriage amongst the Khasis "is purely a civil contract." This statement is not correct, for there is an elaborate religious ceremony at which God the creator, *U'lei thaw briew man briew*, the goal or goddess of the State, *U or ka'lei Synshar*, and, what is probably more important, the ancestress and ancestor of the clan, *Ka Iawbei-tynnien* and *U Thawlang*, are invoked. There are three marriage ceremonies prevalent amongst the Khasis, which are (*a*) *Pynhiarsynjat*, (*b*) *Lamdoh*, and (*c*) *Iadib-kiad*, respectively. The first and second forms above mentioned are considered the more respectable; the last-named is resorted to by the very poor who cannot afford the greater expense entailed by the first two ceremonies.

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784 two sections; (a) general, and (b) special. Instances of general
609 taboo have not been found amongst the Khasis, but the follow-
688 ing taboo called *Ka sang kla* amongst the Wár villages of Sohlar and Nongiri is peculiar, and therefore worthy of description. Its chief peculiarity is that during the time the *sang kla* continues, the inhabitants of these two villages are not allowed to associate with foreigners. This *genna* takes place twice a year, in the months of June and November, and lasts for a month each time. During the *genna* foreigners are not allowed to stay the night in these two villages, and the villagers must not sleep the night outside their villages. If they do not return home for the night, they are subjected to a fine. There is a prohibition against eating, smoking, or chewing betel-nut with foreigners
784 during the period. The above is the only instance of general
609 taboo that I have been able to find amongst the Wárs, but in
582 the Lyngam villages there is a taboo on all outsiders at the time of the village pujas. Such a taboo amongst the Lyngams is not to be wondered at, as they have probably imbibed the notion from their Garo mothers, intermarriages between Lyngams and Garos being common. The Garos, like other Thibeto-Burmans, have numerous taboos. There are numerous
582 instances of special taboos among the Khasis. *Kaba*
784 *shong sang*, or marrying within the *kur* or clan, is the
783 most important taboo of all, and is regarded as the most
764 serious offence a Khasi can commit. It admits of no expiation, and the bones and ashes of the offender cannot

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

be placed in the family tomb. There are special taboos for certain clans, of which the following are some examples. The clan Nongtathiang cannot eat the lemon, the Khar-umnuid clan must abstain from pork, the Cherra Siem family cannot eat dried fish, and the Siem family of Mylliem taboo the pumpkin. Possibly these taboos may be relics of totemism amongst these communities. The following are some of the other taboos, although some of them are but lightly regarded now-a-days.

(i.) To build a house with stone walls on all four sides.
(ii.) To use nails in building a house.
(iii.) To use more than one kind of timber in building the hearth.
(iv.) To build a house with resinous timber. Only the Siem family can use such timber.
(v.) To cut trees from a sacred forest.
(vi.) To take or give anything with the left hand.
(vii.) To step over any one's body.
(viii.) To kill any animal or bird without first throwing rice over its body.
(ix.) To drink the milk of a cow or goat.
(x.) To talk with any one, except with one of a man's or woman's fellow-workers, when the thrashing of paddy is going on.

There are the following special taboos for pregnant women.

(a) To accompany a funeral procession.
(b) To finish any sewing she may have commenced before she became *enceinte*. There is a similar prohibition regarding the finishing of the plaiting of wicker baskets.
(c) It is *sang* for the husband of a pregnant woman to thatch the ridge of the house at such a time, or to fix a handle to an axe or a *dao*.

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301 This stone is apparently some rough gem which may be picked
up by the Lyngams in the river beds. A rich man amongst
556 them, however, is one who possesses a number of metal gongs,
534 which they call *wiang*. For these they pay very high prices,
436 Rs. 100 being quite a moderate sum for one of them. Being
curious to see one of these gongs, I asked a *sirdar*, or
head-man, to show me one. He replied that he would
do so, but it would take time, as he always buried his
gongs in the jungle for fear of thieves. Next morning
[531] he brought me a gong of bell metal, with carvings of
animals engraved thereon. The gong when struck gave out a
rich deep note like that of Burmese or Thibetan gongs. These
gongs have a regular currency in this part of the hills, and
represent to the Lyngams "Bank of England" notes. It
would be interesting to try to ascertain what is their history,
for no one in the Lyngam country makes them in these days.
Is it possible that the Garos brought them with them when
534 they migrated from Thibet? The gongs are well known in the
622 Garo Hills, and I hear that when a *nokma*, or head-man, there
778 dies his corpse is laid out upon them. They thus possess also
an element of sanctity, besides being valuable for what they
will fetch to the Garos or Lyngams. We may hope to hear
more about them in Captain Playfair's account of the Garos.

309 The Lyngams do not tattoo. Their weapons are the large-
411 headed Garo spear, the dao, and the shield. They do not usually
243 carry bows and arrows, although there are some who possess
them. They are by occupation cultivators. They sow two
kinds of hill rice, red and white, on the hill-sides. They have
no wet paddy cultivation, and they do not cultivate in terraces
like the Nagas. They burn the jungle about February, after
cutting down some of the trees and clearing away some of the
debris, and then sow the paddy broadcast, without cultivating
the ground in any way. They also cultivate millet and Job's-
tears in the same way. With the paddy vhillies are sown the
241 first year. The egg plant, arum, ginger, turmeric, and sweet
231 potatoes of several varieties are grown by them in a similar
•754 manner. Those that rear the lac insect plant *landar* trees
(Hindi *arhal dal*) in the forest clearings, and rear the insect
thereon. Some of these people, however, are prohibited by a

1:Gurdon E-4,5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

custom of their own from cultivating the *lendu*, in which case they plant certain other trees favourable to the growth of the lac insect. The villages are situated near their patches of cultivation in the forest. The villages are constantly shifting, owing to the necessity of burning fresh tracts of forest every two years. The houses are entirely built of bamboo, and, for such temporary structures, are very well built. In front, the houses are raised some 3 or 4 ft. from the ground on platforms, being generally built on the side of a fairly steep hill, one end of the house resting on the ground, and the other on bamboo posts. The back end of the house is sometimes some 8 or 9 ft. from the ground. At the end of the house farthest away from the village path is a platform used for sitting out in the evening, and for spreading cotton and other articles to dry. Some Lyngam houses have only one room in which men, women, and children are all huddled together, the hearth being in the centre, and, underneath the platform, the pigs. Well-to-do people, however, possess a sitting room, where husband and wife sleep. A house I measured at Nongdhar village was of the following dimensions:—Length, 42 ft.; breadth, 16 ft.; height of house from the ground to the eaves, front, 9 ft.; back 18 ft. Houses are built with a portion of the thatch hanging over the eaves in front. No explanation could be given me for this. It is probably a Garo custom. In some Lyngam villages there are houses in the centre of the village where the young unmarried men sleep, where male guests are accommodated, and where the village festivities go on. These are similar to the *dekedonge* bachelors' clubhouses of the Mikirs, Garos, and Lalungs, and to the *morung* of the Nagas. This is a custom of the Thibet-Burman tribes in Assam, and is not a Khasi institution. There are also high platforms, some 12 ft. or 15 ft. in height, in Lyngam villages, where the elders sit of an evening in the hot weather and take the air. Lyngam houses and villages are usually much cleaner than the ordinary Khasi villages, and although the Lyngams keep pigs, they do not seem to be as much as children as in the Khasi village. There is further no furniture in a Lyngam house. The Lyngam sleeps on a mat on the floor, and in cold weather covers himself with a

782 The Khasi also erect little platforms with little houses from long bamboo sticks in which food is served to the spirits of the woods and fields (to serve [siang-] actually means spread out, as one spreads out a carpet or as one spreads out leaves for serving rice on).

[784] But not only through making sacrifices do the Khasi try to propitiate the devils and thereby make them harmless. They even try it with violence. Thus, as mentioned above, they drive the cholera demoness out of the house with sticks. Also during a cremation they shoot three arrows to ward off evil spirits.

There are many ways of warding off evil spirits; or, for acquiring their help words, wishes, or curses are used, as, for example, during a match of arrow shooting, the watchers who stand by the target try to keep the arrows of the opponents from hitting the target by calling on some god (ksuid) and the more they shriek, the sooner they believe they will attain their purpose. They wish to influence the arrows of the opponents.

3. Taboos (sang)

•784 The sang or taboos of the Khasi also belong
782 to superstition. Sang means the same as "sacrilegiously or most strictly forbidden." This sang can be traced back to totemistic views. Sang can be something for a single person, for a house (iing) or a family, for a sib and a whole race (jaid). If a man or a woman whose spouse has
[587 921] died remarries, the sang is transferred to the relatives of the deceased man or woman. This "inheritance" of the sang is different according to the sib. By accepting the sang the inheritors must pay 11 of a [kil] kaŵ or 7 1/2 of a kaŵ or 5 1/2 of a kaŵ. By kaŵ the number 1280 is actually understood. But it means, however, that

784 the heir must pay 11 or 7 1/2 or 5 1/2 percent
782 of their wealth, in order to be able to pay for the great festivities at the cremation and the later disposal of the ashes. First of all various sacrificial gifts are bought with the money. When one has all the sacrificial gifts together, one erects three hewn stones in the manner of mau-bynna (urn stones) on any road. These stones are called "adulterer stones" [Ehebrechersteine] (mau-klim). Then one catches a pig and curses it in the following way: (10)

[113]

10. This and the following Khasi texts are taken from the kitab jingphawar by U. Rabon Singh (Shillong, 1902); I am indebted to the very worthy P.C. Bonheim, Apostolic Missionary, S.D.S. of Cherrapunji, who was most willing to place his many years of experience at my disposal for the translation into German.

Hei sngewkyndiang ho kane nga iathuhkhana ba me ba la ioh ka sang na ka tnga ka jong me yn leh kumno kynrad wei la pom ka bneng ka khyndew, ka tyrut ka smer sngew la khuid ka sang ka ma, ka klim ka ngat yn long sa ka rong sa ka taw, sa ka sngewbha ka sngewmiat mo! Hei une sa u dykhot u lamjew ka iad bang ka iad thiang mo!

So listen carefully to this that I am saying, thou who hast inherited the sang from thy wife; What else should we do, lord; after heaven and earth, the Tyrut and the Smer (demonesses) slay him, we are freed; the sang is made holy, the feared sang, adultery and other sins. Then it can be that the bones are transferred and peace and joy will come to us, mo! (is it

2:Stegmiller-21 M-4,5(no date)1921 AR7 Khasi AR7

784 782 not so!) See here the piece u dykhot (11) and

11. A piece of sacrificial meat.

the sour things u lamjew (12) (a strong and

12. Herbs, roots.

sweet liquor) no! (is it not so!)

[574] All relatives and acquaintances, friends and neighbors are invited to this sacrificial feast.[1] There is a big festive meal, chiefly of meat and bacon. But before the eating begins, the reng (horn) and ngap (fork) which were laid on the "adulterer stone" before the cursing of the pig are removed. At this sacrifice all the money collected before (11 or 7 1/2 or 5 1/2 of a kaw) must be completely used up, as it is forbidden to preserve any of it in house so that it will not get mixed up with the daily wage or one's earnings.

[587] The remarriage must naturally occur in another sib (jaid) if the sang is to be inherited; because otherwise the sang would remain in the family.

784 Most of the sang that occur, different according to the families or the sibs, are the following: (13)

13. Gurdon, The Khasis, p. 5.

[418] 1. Building a house with stone walls on all four sides.
2. The use of iron nails in building a house.
3. The use of more than one kind of wood in building a hearth.
4. The use of resinous wood in building a house.
5. Felling wood in a holy forest (except

1 [cf. cat. 116, pp. 19-21 -- Analyst]

•784

for a cremation). See table I, picture 2, "The heathen Khasi village Raliang with a "holy wood" (law kyntang) in the background."

6. Giving or taking anything at all with the left hand.
7. Stepping over the corpse of another person.
8. Killing an animal or bird without having previously strewn rice on its head.
9. Using the milk of the cow or the goat.
10. Completing all kinds of started sewing or basket weaving for pregnant women.
11. Pregnant women are not allowed to accompany any funeral procession.
12. The husband of a pregnant woman is forbidden to roof the house (straw roof) or to make a handle for a hatchet or an axe (ka wait - ka da).
13. Speaking with anyone at all as long as the threshing of the rice lasts, unless it is with the co-workers of the man or of the woman.
14. Variously the use of pork, dried fish, melons, lemons, etc. is forbidden.

784 Violating the sang is punished by the
68 deity. Thus several Khasi explained after the
342 great earthquake of June 12, 1897: "Because you built your houses of stone and fastened the planks with nails, it has so happened that everything has tumbled down, because god does not wish stone and despises nails. Formerly we too built only with wood and bamboo and used bast for making things fast and for binding, but today people have become proud and have built with stone. That is why this has happened; god

784
688 hates stone; he does not wish any lime." (14)
342

14. P.A. Münzloher, S.D.S. Die apostolische Präfektur Assam [The Apostolic Prefecture of Assam] (Rome, 1899), p. 83.

4. Egg Throwing (shat-pylleng)

787 The most common of all the oracles of the
782 Khasi is egg throwing (shat-pylleng). A great deal has already been written about it. (15)

[113] 15. P. Dr. C. Becker, Das Eierwerfen der Khasi [Egg Throwing Among the Khasi] Anthropos XII-XIII (1917-1918), pp. 494-496.

I will only add here the prayer of the sacrificer u nongshat-pylleng. It is not an actual prayer, at least the nongshat-pylleng is not bound to any formula. The sacrificer speaks approximately thus:

Ko lengsam khun ka blei, ko banang ko batip ko ba lah ko baiai, nga pynthiah nga pyndem halor ka diengshat ka diengkhein, ka duwan ka dupat, a kynrad ngan kylli ngan	O thou egg of the oracle, thou daughter of the goddess, thou whom thou knowest and art aware of (art able to) thou remainest thou (stayest); I put thee down here on the board (16)

16. Cf. Table II, Picture 1. [419]

togkit katne ba long shitom ka lanot ka shoh ka ther ka shit ka syang ka pisa ka lynga ia ka met u	on the oracular wood, on the altar, o mistress, I question and ponder (would like to question,

his wife and children. 000

2. Holy Pieces of Land and Forest

A special kind of land property is still encountered in the Khasi 423
and Jaintia Mountains. These are pieces of land and forests which 778
are considered sang or kyntang, forbidden or holy, thus kyndeu sang, khlau kyntang, forbidden fields, holy forests. They are also named in connection with the name god, for example, khlau Blei, forest of the gods, which, to a certain extent, might offer the key to their purpose and meaning. The hands of man are not supposed to disturb this kind of property; this property is sacred to the gods and at the most may be used in their service.

It is not easy to trace the origin and beginnings of these reserves. But several solutions may be found in regard to sections of land. When the /136/ Catholic mission station was founded in the village of [777] Schella which is located on a steep mountain slope, it was hard to find a place that was halfway suitable and big enough to build even a small dwelling on it. Finally the missionary discovered such a place somewhat outside the village. But then there was a new difficulty. The place was the cremation area for the dead and therefore [764] was sang /taboo/. The spirits of the dead would punish every intruder [784] severely. The people were finally persuaded to burn their dead somewhere else, but it was more difficult to find any who were ready to help with the work of the building. Even those whom the missionary finally persuaded to help still suffered heavily from the fear of the punishment of the gods and continuously one or the other of them had imaginary illnesses.

In the cases of more extensive pieces of land, the snake worship- 423
pers (thlen), who carry on their dreadful activities in the Khasi Moun- 784
tains, (8) may offer an explanation sometimes. If such a person is [776] [782]

8. Im Stromtal des Brahmaputra, /In the River Valley of the Brahmaputra/, pp. 76ff.

convicted of murder, which he has committed in the service of the snake god in order to sacrifice the blood of the slain person to him, and if he wishes to free himself from the conviction, he can do nothing other than sell all his movable and immovable property. The latter thus becomes sang. Nobody would dare to take over the fields and gardens, to plant anything there, or to touch any fruit on that property. Thus in Cherrapunji a native Catholic was able to take

423 possession of a couple of orange gardens which a thlen worshipper
784 had abandoned, as the former did not believe in ghosts. (9)

9. Ibid., p. 82.

423 In the case of all these pieces of ground which are considered
784 sang, the fear of the severe punishment of the gods prevents each
797 owner from building. If another builds, he does not stop him, because he leaves him to the revenge of the insulted god. As may be seen from the case mentioned, the /137/ heathen are at a disadvantage in respect to their compatriots who have turned to Christianity. The latter no longer feel tied to the heathen laws, at least as far as religion is involved and no longer share their fears in many things. Impoverished Khasi Christians thus find an opportunity to acquire land in cases when it would not be possible for a Khasi who is still held captive by animistic beliefs.

But among the latter there are also disgraceful exceptions. In Nongbah, a larger village of the Jaintia Mountains with perhaps 400 huts -- therefore the name, which means large village -- several years ago a heathen observed with a jealous eye how so many pieces of the fallow fields of the gods were changed into fertile lands under the hands of the Christians. The wish grew in him to do likewise. Although he no longer had much fear of his gods, he still had to reckon with the anger and revenge of the members of his clan, if he as a heathen dared to take such a step. They were not likely to dare to do anything against Christians. Without further ado he became converted to the Methodist religion and appeared before the English government official in Jowai, the capital of the Jaintia Mountains, for the transfer of a suitable piece of land. After the revolt of the Synteng in the year 1862, the English government pronounced the whole territory of the Jaintia Mountains to be government land. They also claim the right of bestowal of all free-lying land, usually by a lease of many years. Since the government receives rent for the land, it is in its interest when applicants appear. In this case the deed of conveyance was issued and over the years a flourishing rice field was made from the land that had been useless up to now. Now that the renter was sure of his affairs, he turned his back on the Methodists in order to become a heathen again and to participate in the heathen sacrifices. But then he got into trouble. The heathen were incensed at such a game and brought serious charges before the English government official. He ruled that in the future no piece of ground of that type /138/ should be leased except upon

presentation of the written statement of the chieftain and the village elders that they would have no objection to it. The avaricious renter of the divine land mentioned above was despised by all. 423 784 797

As concerns the holy forests, which often extend picturesquely from the highest peak down the slope and are overgrown with gnarled oaks and bright colored rhododendron, no tree may be felled there; at the most, fallen wood or wood torn down by a storm or already rotten wood may be taken. The spirits of the forest, as punishing gods, will revenge every offense. Tigers and leopards, apes, bears, and snakes enjoy an undisturbed existence here. The only case in which wood may be cut in these divine woods is for the religious cremation ceremonies of the dead. It is the custom of the Khasi to set fire often to great areas in order to fertilize the ground with the ashes of grasses, trees, and shrubs without regard for the new growth of trees, and to make potato fields there for a year or two or to grow mountain rice, millet, or something similar and then to leave the field fallow again. Thus this is a clever precautionary rule, since there might otherwise be cases when there might be no wood for cremating the dead. 778 776 [764] [241]

(Continuation follows)

/300/ Family Property and Maternal Rights
by C. Becker S.D.S., Würzburg

Gurdon says, (10) that these holy groves were formerly the property of a village. That is not always so as the following case will demonstrate. I am also relating this because it grants us a deeper look into the whole customs of the clan under discussion. 779 423 613 777

10. The Khasis, p. 87.

Several decades ago, a Khasi who had become a Protestant, U Jacob Shai by name, was installed as a clerk with the English government official in Jowai. In order to assure his family a better living than just his meager salary, he yearned for land. By birth from Jongushen in the War territory, he remembered that he could obtain his aim in the neighboring village Syndai from the family clan Umliang. So one day he went thither. After the customary greetings, and refreshment with a water pipe and betel nut and conversation about various indifferent matters, he mentioned his desire. "I know," he said in the polite language of even these simple natural men, "I know the goodness and the good name of your clan /Stamm/ and the elders

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764 As mentioned before, these stones are not gravestones, they are
769 shaped, both the vertical and the horizontal stones, remarkably like
211 the pictures of *menhirs* and *dolmens* that appear in Fergussons's work on rude stone monuments. It is a remarkable fact that Dalton mentions the existence of apparently very similar memorial stones in certain *Ho* and *Munda* villages in Chota Nagpur, and there is a drawing to be found at page 52 of Yule's Embassy to the Court of Ava of a cronlech which is apparently very like the cromlechs or *mawkynthei* to be met with every day in these hills. It is most unfortunate that the
[212] Khasis, owing to their want of a written language in former days, posses no written accounts of these stones, and that the Khasis of the present day are so very vague in their ideas about them, for I am inclined to believe that the proper elucidation of this question of memorial stones may prove to be the key to the origin of these people. I therefore strongly advise that a very careful search be made for similar stones, such as I have described, in other parts of India. It is possible that the Khasis may have found monoliths erected by some prehistoric race when they arrived in the Khasi Hills, and they may have adopted the custom of erecting memorial stones by the force of example, but the use of such stones seems to fit in with the Khasi system of ancestor worship, and it is remarkable that the shapes of the stones should be so very similar to those which exist in England, Ireland and Brittany, and I believe also in Denmark and Scandinavia. Is the custom of erecting such memorial stones in any way connected with people practising the matriarchate? The whole subject is a deeply interesting one, and I hope that it may be possible to throw some light on it.

784 13. *Taboo.*—The Khasis have an elaborate system of *sang*, or taboo. There are very many different kinds of *sang*, but some of them are the following :—

Special taboo, at time of pregnancy.—(*a*) It is *sang* for a pregnant woman to accompany a funeral procession.

(*b*) It is *sang* for a woman in the first stage of pregnancy to finish any sewing which she may have commenced before she became *enceinte*. There is a similar prohibition regarding the finishing of the plaiting of wicker baskets.

(*c*) It is *sang* for the husband of a pregnant woman to thatch the ridge of the roof of a house at such a time.

(*d*) It is *sang* under similar circumstances to fix an axe or a *dao* in a handle.

Ordinary taboos.—(i) It is *sang* to build a house with stone walls on all four sides.

(ii) It is *sang* to use nails in fixing the timber of a house. 784 ●

(iii) The *dypei*, or hearth, should be made of one kind of timber only.

(iv) To build a house with resinous timber (*'seh khlein*). Only the Siem's family can use such timber.

(v) To cut trees from the sacred forest.

(vi) To take or give anything with the left hand.

(vii) To step over the body of any person.

(viii) To kill a fowl or a goat without throwing first rice over the body of the victim.

(ix) To drink the milk of a cow or goat.

(x) To talk with any one, except with those who are working together, when the thrashing of paddy is going on.

(xi) Not to give fire or water when anyone demands the same.

(xii) A twin birth is *sang*. It is a more serious matter even than *sang* if the twins are of opposite sexes.

There are rules of *sang* regarding marriages within prohibited 784
degrees of relationship, and there is a very stringent rule of *sang* 582
against marrying within the *kur*, or clan. Those who do this are excommunicated and their bones or ashes are not allowed to be placed in the family mausoleum. To marry within the same *kur*, or clan, is the greatest crime a Khasi can commit.

There are special rules of *sang* affecting certain families, *e.g.*, for 784
the clan *Nongtathiang* to eat a certain kind of lemon, for the clan 614
Kharumnuid to eat pork, for the Cherra Siem's family to eat dry fish, for the family of the Siem of Mylliem to eat the pumpkin. Possibly, these taboos may be relics of totemism in these families.

14. *The Thlen superstition.*—The following succinct account of this 773
interesting superstition appeared on page 254, paragraph 20, of the *Assam Gazette* of the 5th August 1882. I do not think I can do better than repeat it here: "The tradition is that there was once in a cave near Cherrapunji a gigantic snake, or *Thlen*, who committed great havoc among men and animals. At last one man, bolder than his fellows, took with him a herd of goats and set himself down by the cave and offered them one by one to the *Thlen*. By degrees the monster became friendly, and learnt to open his mouth at a word from the man, to receive the lump of flesh which was then thrown in. When confidence was thoroughly established, the man heated a lump of iron red hot in a furnace, induced the snake at the usual signal, to open his mouth, and then threw in the red hot lump, and so killed him. He then cut up the body and sent pieces in every direction, with orders that the people were to eat them. Wherever the order was

It may perhaps be ascribed to the pre-eminence
accorded by the Khasis to the female sex that successive 162
censuses have shown that the women of this race
considerably exceed the men in number. According
to the census of 1901, there are 1,118 females to every
1,000 male Khasis. This excess, however, is surpassed
by that of the Lushais, 1,191 to 1,000, and it may
possibly be due to the greater risks to life encountered
by the men, who venture far into the plains as traders
and porters, while the women stay at home. Habits of 165
intemperance, which are confined to the male sex, may
also explain a greater mortality among them.

It would be interesting to investigate the effect 161
on reproduction of the system of matriarchy which 163
governs Khasi family life. The increase of the race is
very slow. In the census of 1891 there were enumerated
only 117 children under 5 to every hundred married
women between 15 and 40, and in 1901 this number fell
to 108. It has been suggested that the independence
of the wife, and the facilities which exist for divorce,
lead to restrictions upon child-bearing, and thus keep
the population stationary. The question might with
advantage be examined at the census of 1911.

The next characteristic of the Khasis which marks 787
them out for special notice is their method of divination 782
for ascertaining the causes of misfortune and the
remedies to be applied. All forms of animistic religion
make it their chief business to avert the wrath of the
gods, to which calamities of all kinds—sickness, storm,
murrain, loss of harvest—are ascribed, by some kind of
propitiation; and in this the Khasis are not singular.
But it is somewhat surprising to find among them the 787
identical method of *extispicium* which was in use among 171
the Romans, as well as an analogous development in
the shape of egg-breaking, fully described by Major
Gurdon (p. 221), which seems to have been known to

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787 diviners in ancient Hellas.* This method has (with
171 much else in Khasi practice) been adopted by the former subjects of the Khasis, the Mikirs; but it does not appear to be prevalent among any other of the animistic tribes within the boundaries of India.

211 The third remarkable feature of Khasi usage is the
171 custom, which prevails to this day, of setting up great
731 memorials of rough stone, of the same style and character as the *menhirs* and *cromlechs* which are found in Western Europe, Northern Africa, and Western Asia. It is very surprising to a visitor, unprepared for the sight by previous information, to find himself on arrival at the plateau in the midst of great groups of standing and table stones exactly like those he may have seen in Brittany, the Channel Islands, the south of England, or the Western Isles. Unfortunately the great earthquake of June 1897 overthrew many of the finest of these megalithic monuments; but several still remain, and of these Major Gurdon has given an excellent description (pp. 144 sqq.), with an explanation of the different forms which they assume and the objects with which they are erected. Other races in India besides the Khasis set up stone memorials; but none, perhaps, to the same extent or with the same systematic purpose and arrangement.

114 In conclusion, I have only to commend this work to the consideration of all interested in the accurate and detailed description of primitive custom. I lived myself for many years among the Khasis, and endeavoured to find out what I could about them; but much of what Major Gurdon records is new to me, though the book generally agrees with what I was able

* Called φοσκοπία: one of the lost books of the Orphic cycle was entitled τὰ φοσκοπικά.

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There are also syntactical agreements. We may take it as 177
finally proved by Dr. Grierson and Professor Kuhn that the Mon- 144
Khmêr, Palaung, Wa, and Khasi languages are closely connected. In the section of the Monograph which deals with language some striking similarities between the languages of these tribes will be pointed out. We have not so far been able to discover social customs common to the Palaungs and the Khasis; this is probably due to the conversion of the Palaungs to Buddhism, the change in the religion of the people having possibly caused the abandonment of the primitive customs of the tribe. In [797
a few years' time, if the progressive rate of conversions of Khasis to Christianity continues, probably the greater number of the Khasi social customs will have disappeared and others will have taken their place, so that it cannot be argued that because no manifest social customs can now be found common to the Khasis and the Palaungs, there is no connection between these two tribes. The strong linguistic affinity between these two peoples and the wild *Was* of Burma points to an intimate connection between all three in the past. As knowledge of the habits of the wild *Was* improves, it is quite possible that social customs of this tribe may be found to be held in common with the Khasis. With regard to social affinities it will be interesting to note the Palaung folk-tale of the origin of their Sawbwa, which is reproduced in Sir George Scott's Upper Burma Gazetteer. The Sawbwa, it is related, is descended from 825
the Naga Princess Thusandi who lived in the *Nat* tank on the 144
Mongok hills and who laid three eggs, from one of which was [787]
born the ancestor of the Palaung Sawbwa. Here we see how [764]
the Palaung regards the egg, and it is noteworthy that the 171
Khasis lay great stress on its potency in divination for the purposes of religious sacrifices, and that at death it is placed on the stomach of the deceased and is afterwards broken at the funeral pyre. Amongst some of the tribes of the Malay Archipelago also the *Gaji-Guru* or medicine-man "can see from the yolk of an egg, broken whilst sacramentally counting from one to seven, from what illness a man is suffering and what has caused it." Here we have an almost exactly parallel case to the Khasi custom of egg-breaking.

In the Palaung folk-tale above referred to the importance of

shield of Cherrapunji is used as a protection from rain. 293
Those of Maharam and Mawiang are each of a peculiar pattern. 352
Smaller shields are used as protections from the sun or merely for show, and there are specially small sizes for children. Then there are the different kinds of basket (*ki* 415
khoh) which are carried on the back, slung across the forehead 482
by a cane head-strap. These, again, are of different sizes. They are, however, always of the same conical shape, being round and broad-mouthed at the top and gradually tapering to a point at the bottom. A bamboo cover is used to protect the contents of the basket from rain. There is a special kind of basket made of cane or bamboo with a cover, which is used for carrying articles on a journey. These baskets, again, are of different sizes, the largest and best that the writer has seen being manufactured at Rambrai, in the south-western portion of the hills. 412
Paddy is husked in a wooden mortar by means of a heavy 415
wooden pestle. These are to be seen all over the hills. The 256
work of husking paddy is performed by the women. A bamboo sieve is sometimes used for sifting the husked rice, a winnowing fan being applied to separate the husk. The cleaned rice is exposed to the sun in a bamboo tray. Paddy is stored in a separate store-house in large circular bamboo receptacles. These hold sometimes as much as 30 maunds* of grain. Large baskets are also used for keeping paddy in. In 415
every Khasi house is to be found the net bag which is made 825
out of pineapple fibre, or of *u stein*, the Assamese *riha* 436
(Boehmeria nivea). These bags are of two sizes, the larger one for keeping cowries in, the cowrie in former days having been used instead of current coin in these hills, the smaller for the ever necessary betel-nut. *Pán* leaves are kept in a bamboo tube, and tobacco leaves in a smaller one. Lime, for eating with betel-nut, is kept in a metal box, sometimes of silver, which is made in two separate parts held together by a chain. The box is called *ka shanam*, and 415
is used all over the hills. This box is also used for 787
divination purposes, one end of it being held in the hand, and the other, by means of the chain, being allowed to swing

* The maund is 82 lbs. 804

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415 like a pendulum. An explanation of this method of divination
● 787 will be found in the paragraph dealing with divination.

There is also a pair of squeezers used by the old and
412 toothless for breaking up betel-nut. In the houses of the
415 well-to-do is to be seen the ordinary hubble-bubble of
322 India. Outside the houses of cultivators are wooden troughs hollowed out of the trunks of trees, which are used either as drinking troughs for cattle or for feeding pigs. A special set of utensils is used for manufacturing liquor. The Syntengand Wár articles of furniture and utensils are the same as those of the Khasis, with different names, a remark which applies
415 also to those of the Bhois and Lyngams. Both the latter,
824 however, use leaves as plates, the Bhoi using the wild plantain and the Lyngam a large leaf called *ka 'la mariong*. The leaves are thrown away after eating, fresh leaves being gathered for each meal. The Lyngams use a quilt (*ka syllar*) made out of
513 the bark of a tree of the same name as a bed covering. This
824 tree is perhaps the same as the Garo *simpak*. In the Bhoi and Lyngam houses the swinging shelf for keeping firewood is not
417 to be seen, nor is the latter to be found amongst the sub-montane Bodo tribes in Assam.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.

534 The Khasis have not many musical instruments, and those that they possess, with one or two exceptions, are of very much the same description as those of the Assamese. There are several kinds of drums, viz. *ka nikrá*, which is a large kettle-drum made of wood having the head covered with deer-skin; *ka ksing*, which is a cylindrically-shaped drum rather smaller than the Assamese *dhol* (*ka ksing kynthei* takes its name from the fact that this drum is beaten when women, *kynthei*, dance), *ka pedish*, a small drum with a handle made of wood; *katass*, a small circular drum. Khasi drums are nearly always made of wood, not of metal, like the drums to be seen in the monasteries of Upper Assam, or of earthenware, as in Lower Assam.

Ka duitara is a guitar with *muga* silk strings, which is

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231 about Rs. 30. The price of lac has risen a good deal of late
435 years. Formerly the price was about Rs. 15 to Rs. 20 a maund. The lac trade in the Jaintia Hills and in the southern portion of the Khyrim State is a valuable one. The profits, how-
426 ever, go largely to middle-men, who in the Jaintia Hills are Syntengs from Jowai, who give out advances to the Bhoi cultivators on the condition that they will be repaid in lac.
443 The Marwari merchants from the plains attend all the plains
439 markets which are frequented by the hill-men, and buy up the lac and export it to Calcutta. The whole of the lac is of the kind known as stick lac.

HUNTING.

224 The weapons used by the Khasis for hunting are bows and
[411] arrows, the latter with barbed iron heads, and spears which are used both for casting and thrusting. Before proceeding on a
[787] hunting expedition the hunters break eggs, in order to ascertain whether they will be successful or not, and to which jungle they should proceed. Offerings are also made to certain village
[17] deities, e.g. *U. Ryngkew*, *u Bosa*, and *u Basa ki mráh*. A lucky day having been selected and the deities propitiated, the hunters start with a number of dogs trained to the chase, the latter being held on leashes by a party of men called *ki nongsi-kseu*. When the dogs have picked up the scent some hunters are placed as "stops" (*ki khem*), at points of vantage in the jungle, and the drive commences with loud shouts from the hunters, the same being continued until the object of the chase breaks into the open. The man who draws the first blood is called *u nongsiat*, and the second man who scores a hit *u nongkan*. These two men get larger shares of the flesh than the others. The *nongsiat* obtains the lower half of the body of the animal, thighs and feet excepted, called *ka tlong*, and the *nongkan* one of the forequarters called *ka tabla*. The other hunters obtain a string of flesh each, and each hound gets a string of flesh to itself. These hunting parties pursue deer sometimes for many miles, and are indefatigable in the chase,
224 the latter lasting occasionally more than one day. In the
782 Jaintia Hills, at the end of the chase, the quarry is carried to

certain dominant but non-priestly clans (*mantrie*). In other States the Council has been widened by the addition to it of village headmen (*si-dare*), or the chief superintendents (*basaas*) of the village markets, tolls from which constitute the chief item in the public receipts of these States. A further step towards the recognition of the public will in the nomination of a Siem has been the introduction of popular elections, at which all the adult males vote. Such popular elections were very greatly due to the views held by Colonel Bivar, who was Deputy-Commissioner of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills from 1865 to 1877. These elections have been, in many States, an innovation which is hardly in accord with public sentiment, and in many cases the voters have done no more than confirm the selection of a special electoral body. It is, however, clear that the idea of popular elections is not one with which the people are unfamiliar, e.g. in Langrin State, where all the adult males customarily vote at an election of a Siem. Popular election has also been customary in the Nobosohpoh and Bhowal States, in cases where a special electoral body has been unable to agree upon a nomination, and also in Nongspung, if a Council of five *lyngdoha*, which has in this State authority to declare who is the rightful heir, but not to disqualify him, cannot come to an unanimous decision. The Siems are appointed by an assembly, or *durbar*, which will be described later. The chiefs, having been thus chosen by the *durbar*, which is supposed by the people to be an institution of Divine origin, are styled, *ki Siem u Ilei*, or Siems of God. In most States the Siem is the religious as well as the secular head, e.g. in the Chevra State, where the Siem is also *lyngdoh*. In Khyrim State the Siem has sacerdotal duties to perform at different religious ceremonies, especially at the time of the annual Nongkrem dance. It is the custom for the Siem to consult the auspices with the soothsayers for the good of the State. The Siem in matters judicial acts as a judge, the whole body of the *durbar* being the jury. In olden days the Siem marched to war at the head of his army. It is not customary to recognise an heir-apparent, and the young men of the Siem family pursue the ordinary avocations of a Khasi, not comporting themselves in the least like scions of royalty. In quite

Khasis which the Siem -- analysis

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775 insects, and to roam on this earth; but this idea of transmigration
764 of souls has been probably borrowed from the Hindus. Bivar
825 writes that although the ideas of a Godhead are not clearly grasped, yet a supreme creator is acknowledged, and that the
[776] following is the tradition relating to the creation of man. "God in the beginning having created man, placed him on the
773 earth, but on returning to look at him, found he had been destroyed by the evil spirit. This happened a second time, whereupon the Deity created first a dog, then a man; and the dog, who kept watch, prevented the devil from destroying the man,
772 and the work of the Deity was thus preserved." The Khasis,
783 apparently, do not believe in punishment after death, at least,
935 there is no idea of hell, although the spirits of those who have died under the ban of *sang* remain uneasy, being obliged to wander about the earth in different forms, as noted above. The
76 spirits worshipped by the Khasis are many in number, those of
767 the Syntengs being specially numerous. The particular spirit
762 to be propitiated is ascertained by egg-breaking. The offering acceptable to the spirit is similarly ascertained and is then made. If the particular sacrifice does not produce the result desired, a fowl is sacrificed; the entrails being then examined, an augury is drawn, and the sacrifice begins afresh. As the process of egg-breaking is believed to be peculiar * to the Khasis amongst the Assam hill tribes, a separate description of it is given in the Appendix. It should be
[778] remarked that the Khasis never symbolize their gods by means of images, their worship being offered to the spirit only. The following are some of the principal spirits worshipped by the
[769] Khasis and Syntengs, omitting the spirits of deceased ancestors such as *Ka Iawebi*, *u Thawlang*, and *u Suidnia*, which will be described under the heading of ancestor-worship.

76 *U Ki andah*—the god of the State, who is propitiated yearly
782 by the sacrifice of a goat and a cock.

U Ki sutong—the god of water, used for drinking and cooking purposes. This god is similarly propitiated once a year, so that the water supply may remain pure.

* Sir Charles Lyall has pointed out that the Mikirs possess this custom; it is probably borrowed from the Khasis.

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U lei longpuh—the god of wealth. This god is propitiated with a view to obtaining increased prosperity.

U Byaphew, or *u Basa shaong*, is the tutelary deity of the village. This godling is propitiated by sacrifices whenever they are thought to be necessary.

U Phan u kyrpad is a similar godling to the above.

Then follows a list of minor deities, or, rather, evil spirits, e.g. *Ka Rik*, the malarial fever devil; *ka Khlem*, the demon of cholera; *ka Duba*, the fever devil which is said to haunt the neighbourhood of Theriaghat.

Bivar says "the Khasi religion may be thus briefly defined as forms used to cure diseases and to avert misfortunes, by ascertaining the name of the demon, as the author of the evil, and the kind of sacrifice necessary to appease it." We may accept this description as substantially correct. In the Jaintia Hills, there is a peculiar superstition regarding a she devil, called "*ka Tarok*," which is supposed to cause delirium in cases of fever. When such cases occur, it is believed that "*ka Tarok*" has caused them, and inquiries are made by means of breaking eggs to find out in whose person the demon has obtained a lodgment; or sometimes the sick person is asked to reveal this. When in either of these ways the name of the person possessed by "*ka Tarok*" is known, the sick person is taken to the house of the possessed, and ashes and bits of broken pots are cast into the enclosure, after which, if the sick person recovers, the party indicated is denounced as possessed by the demon; but if the patient dies, it is concluded that the person possessed has not been properly ascertained. If people are satisfied that some one is really possessed, they denounce the person, who is then out-casted. The only way for him to regain his position is to exorcise the demon by divesting himself of all his property. He pulls down his house, burns the materials, his clothes, and all his other worldly goods. Lands, flocks, and herds are sold, the money realised by the sale being thrown away. No one dares touch this money, for fear he should become possessed by *ka Tarok*. It will be observed that, as in the case of the *thlem*, the demon is believed to follow the property.

Mr. Jenkins, in his interesting little work on "Life and

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'iaw, short for *biaw* (grandmother), and *lei*, mother. *Ka Iawbei* is the primeval ancestress of the clan. She is to the Khasis what the "tribal mother" was to old Celtic and Teutonic genealogists, and we have an interesting parallel to the reverence of the Khasis for *Ka Iawbei* in the Celtic goddess Brigit, the tribal mother of the Brigantes. Later on, like Ka Iawbei, she was canonized, and became St. Bridget.*

The greater number of the flat table-stones we see in front of the standing monoliths in these hills are erected in honour of *Ka Iawbei*. In former times, it was the custom to offer food to her on these stones. In cases of family quarrels, or dissensions amongst the members of the same clan, which it is desired to bring to a peaceful settlement, it is customary to perform a sacrifice to the first mother, "*Ka Iawbei*." They first of all take an augury by breaking eggs, and if it appears from the broken egg-shells that *Ka Iawbei* is offended, they offer to her a woven cloth, and sacrifice a hen. On these occasions incantations are muttered, and a small drum, called, "*Ka 'ning ding dong*," is beaten. It is not unlikely that the Khasi household deities, *Ka lei ding*, and *Ka lawa la jingpon*, to whom pujas are offered for the welfare of the house, are also *Ka Iawbei* in disguise. Notwithstanding the strong influence of the matriarchate, we find that U Thawlang, the first father and the husband of *Ka Iawbei*, is also revered. To him on occasions of domestic trouble a cock is sacrificed, and a *jingshong*, or chocolate coat is offered. This puja is called *kata tay Thawlang*, i.e. covering the grandfather. The following incantation to U Thawlang is then chanted:—"Oh, father Thawlang, who hast enabled me to be born, who hast given me my stature and my life, I have wronged thee, oh father, be not offended, for I have given thee a pledge and a sign, i.e. a red and white chocolate coat. Do not deliver me into the power of (the goddess of) illness, I have offered thee the propitiatory—oh that thou mayest carry me in thine arms, and that I may be aware of thee, my father Thawlang." We see clearly from the above prayer that the Khasi idea is that the spirit of the deceased male ancestor is capable of

* Earl Pearson's essay on "matriarchal ages civilization."

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WORSHIP OF NATURAL POWERS AND OF DEITIES.

133 In the Khasi Hills, especially on the southern side, there are numerous rivers, sometimes of considerable size, which find their way to the Sylhet plains through very deep valleys, the rivers flowing through narrow channels flanked by beetling cliffs which rise to considerable altitudes. The scenery in the neighbourhood of these beautiful rivers is of the most romantic description, and the traveller might imagine himself in Switzerland were it not for the absence of the snowy ranges. Of such a description is the scenery on the banks of the river Kumhi-
823 yong, the *Lubdkini* * or Piusnitt of the plains. It is in the bed
776 of the river, a few miles below Eilong, that there is the
782 curiously-carved cavity in the rock which resembles an upturned boat, which the Khasis call *Ka Sang Mei* (the god's boat) and the plains people Beelanya's ship. Near to this, on the opposite side of the river, there is a rock bearing a Persian inscription, but so defaced by the action of the water as to be impossible to decipher. Like other inhabitants of mountainous countries, the Khasis recognise the spirits of hill and fall, and
226 propitiate them with offerings at stated times. A brief descrip-
782 tion of the ceremonies which are performed at Eilong, on the
776occasion when the annual fishing in the river Piusnitt takes
787 place, may be of interest. The three Siems of Nongkrim, Langrin, and Nongkhyrh each sacrifice a goat to *Ka Mei* *ooo* *ooo* (the goddess of the river) before the boatmen can cast in their nets. In former times they say the passage up the river was obstructed by the goddess, who took the form of an immense crocodile; but she was propitiated by the gift of a goat, and the boatmen were then allowed to pass up the river in their boats. Hence it became necessary for the owners of the fishery to sacrifice annually a goat each to the goddess. At the time of my visit each Siem's party erected an altar in the bed of the river, in the midst of which a bough of the Khasi oak (*Sang ooing*) was planted. The goats were then decapitated, it being considered as essential that the head

* Lit.: Cut by magic.

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should be severed with one blow. As soon as the head was cut off there was a rush on the part of the sacrificers to see in which direction the head faced. If the head faced towards the north or west, it was considered an evil omen; if it faced towards the south or east, a good omen. The east is a lucky quarter amongst the Assamese also. The people ended up the proceedings by giving a long-drawn-out, deep-toned chant, or *hynkoi*. Immediately after the ceremony was concluded hundreds of boats shot out from the numerous creeks, where they had been lying, and fished the river all night, the result being an immense haul, to the delight of the Lyngngams, who were seen next morning roasting the fish whole on bamboo stakes, after which they consumed them, the entrails being eaten with great gusto. Such is the worship of the goddess of the Punatit.

Similar pujas take place among the people of *Wir-ding* (the valley of fire) before they fish in the Khai-mara river and elsewhere in the Khasi Hills. In the Jaintia Hills there is the *Syntong*-worship of the Kopili river, which used to be accompanied by human sacrifices, as has been mentioned above, pp. 102-104. The Myntang river, a tributary of the Kopili, must also be annually appeased by the sacrifice of a he-goat. Numerous hills also are worshipped, or rather the spirits which are said to inhabit them. One of the best known hill godlings is the deity who is thought to inhabit the little wood close to the summit of the Shillong Peak. This deity is said to have been discovered by a man named "U Shillong," who gave his name to the Shillong Peak, and indirectly to our beautiful hill station. The Siems of Mylliem and Nongkrem reverence *U'lei Shillong*, and there are certain clans who perform periodical sacrifices to this god. Probably the origin of the superstitious reverence with which U'lei Shillong is held by the Siems of Nongkrem and Mylliem is that their fabled ancestress "Ka Pah Syntiew," of whom an account will be found in the *Iaitu-ave* section, took her origin from a rock not far from the Shillong Peak in the Nongkrem direction.

Sohlong Hill, which is within full view of the Shillong Peak in an easterly direction, is also said to be the abode of a minor god who is periodically propitiated by the members of the Mawthoh clan of the Khyrim State with a he-goat and a cock.

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823 Apparently no special puja is performed to U Kyllang (the
776 Kyllang Rock) nowadays.

782 The picturesque hill of Symper, which rises abruptly from the plain in the Siemship of Maharam, is visible for many miles. It is in shape not unlike the Kyllang. Symper is said to be the abode of a god called "U Symper." There is a folk-tale
[773] that Kyllang and Symper fought a great battle, and that the numerous holes in the rocks at the base of the Symper hill are evidences of their strife. At the base of Symper there is a great cave, where many cattle find shelter in rainy weather. The people of Mawsynram propitiate the god of Symper in cases of sickness by sacrificing a he-goat or a bull. Symper, like *U Iei Shillong*, is one of the minor deities of the Khasis.

Close to Shangpung, in the Jaintia Hills, there is a small hill called "*u lum pyddiong blei lyngdoh*," where sacrifices are offered on an altar at seed time and when the corn comes into ear. This altar used to be overshadowed by a large oak tree. The tree is now dead.

823 The Wars of Nongjri worship "*u lei lyngdoh*," the tutelary
776 deity of the village, under the spreading roots of a large rubber tree which gives its name to this village Nongjri. This village worship is performed by a village priest (*lyngdoh*) at stated intervals, or whenever it is considered necessary. There are numerous other instances of hills and rivers being regarded as the abode of godlings, but those quoted above are sufficient for purposes of illustration.

RELIGIOUS RITES AND SACRIFICES, DIVINATION.

776 The Khasis, as has been explained already, worship numerous
782 gods and goddesses. These gods and goddesses are supposed to
753 exercise good or evil influence over human beings according
787 to whether they are propitiated with sacrifices or not. They are even supposed to possess the power of life and death over men and women, subject to the control of *u Blei Nongthaw*, God the Creator. Thus illness, for example, is thought to be caused by one or more of the spirits on account of some act or omission, and health can only b

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restored by the due propitiation of the offended spirits. 776
In order to ascertain which is the offended spirit, a system 782
of divination by means of cowries, breaking eggs, or 753
examining the entrails of animals and birds, was instituted. 787
The Khasi method of obtaining auguries by examining the viscera of animals and birds may be compared with that of the Roman *haruspex*. Some description of these modes of divination has been given at the end of this chapter. The 771
Khasi religion has been described by Bivar as "demon worship, 773
or a jumble of enchantments muttered by priests who are 783
sorcerers." But even a religion which is thus unflatteringly 825
described is based on the cardinal doctrines of sin and sacrifice for sin. Tradition amongst the Khasis states that in the beginning (*mynsynghong ka sepi*) there was no sin, heaven and earth were near each other, and man had direct intercourse with God. How man fell into sin is not stated, but it is certain that he did fall. Experts at "egg healing" never forget to repeat the formula "*nga briéw nga la pop*" (I man have sinned). The cock then appears as a mediator between God and man. The cock is styled "*u khón ka blei uba kit ryndang ka shah ryndang na ka byata jong nga u briéw*," i.e. the son of god who lays down his neck (life) for me man. The use of the feminine *ka blei* is no doubt due to matriarchal influences. There is another prayer in which the Khasis say, "*ep jutang ene u blei ieng ranghah ne u briéw*" (oh god do not forget the covenant, arise oh man). The idea is that man has fallen into sins of omission and commission (*ka pop, ka lait ka lei*) but that God is nevertheless expected to spare him, and to accept a substitute for him according to the covenant (*jutang*). By this covenant God is supposed to have accepted in exchange the cock as a substitute for man. How the cock came to occupy such an 771
important position, tradition is vague and self-conflicting. The 825
fact remains that the covenant of the cock is the foundation 771
of the Khasi religion. It is of interest to mention that amongst the Aboms the tradition is that Khunlung and Khunlái brought down from heaven the *kéi-chán-mang*,* a pair of heavenly fowls, and that to this day the sacrifice of the

* In Abom *kéi* is fowl, *chán* is beautiful, *mang* is country. Therefore *Kéichán-mang* is fowl of a beautiful country (heaven).

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77/ 825 [171] fowl is considered by the Deodhais, or priest-soothsayers of the Ahoms, a most important feature of the ancient Ahom ritual. But amongst the Ahoms there is the difference that auguries are obtained, not from the entrails, but by examining the legs of the fowls. The Ahoms are Shans belonging to the Tai branch, another great division of the Indo-Chinese group of the human race.

787 825 The covenant of the cock as thus explained shows the importance of this sacrifice to the Khasis. The large intestine of a fowl has two pea-like protuberances, one close to the other. One is symbolically called *u blei* or god, and the other is styled *u briew* or man, they are connected by a thin membrane. Directly the bird has been disembowelled the sacrificer throws a few grains of rice on the entrails and then watches their convulsive movements. If the portion of the entrail called *u blei* moves towards that portion which represents man, it is considered proof positive that the god has heard the prayer of the sacrificer, but if the movement proceeds in the opposite direction, then the reverse is the case and the omen is bad. If the entrails are full and healthy, having no spots (*beni*), or blood marks (*thung*), and if the membrane between the two protuberances has not been fractured, these are favourable signs. If the intestines are empty, wrinkled, or spotted, and the membrane mentioned above is fractured, these are bad signs. Auguries also are drawn by examining the livers, the lungs and spleens and gall bladders of pigs, goats, and cattle. If the liver of a pig is healthy and without spot, the augury is good; if the reverse, it is bad. The spleen must not be unduly distended, otherwise the omen is unfavourable and the gall bladder must not be over full. Inventions to deduce omens from the appearance of the entrails are quoted on page 11 of Col. Bivar's Report. From the first invention quoted by him it appears that the method of drawing the augury from the fowl differs slightly in detail from that which has been described to me by certain Khasis, but both descriptions agree in the main, and the slight dissimilarity in detail may be due to the methods of obtaining auguries varying slightly in different localities. Divination by breaking eggs and by other means, although not strictly sacrifice with the Khasis, partakes

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of the nature of a religious ceremony. Such divinations are of 787
almost every-day occurrence in a Khasi house, and always 825
precede sacrifices. The Khasis, moreover, do nothing of what they consider to be of even the least impc..tance without breaking eggs. When a Khasi builds a new house, or before he pro- 787
ceeds on a journey, he always breaks eggs to see whether the building or the journey will be lucky or not. The description of egg-breaking given by Shadwell in his account of the Khasis is not altogether correct. A detailed description of this method of divination will be found in Appendix C. The description can be depended upon, as it is the result of my personal observations of egg-breaking on several occasions. A board of the shape shown in the diagram (Appendix C) is placed on the ground, the egg-breakers' position being that indicated in the diagram. After the egg has been smeared with red earth, it is thrown violently down and the contents and the fragments of egg-shell fall on the board. Auguries are drawn from the positions of the fragments of shell on the board, and from the fact of their lying with the inner sides facing upwards or downwards. Another method of egg-breaking is for the diviner to wrap up the egg in a plantain leaf with the point uppermost, or merely to hold the egg in his hand in this position without wrapping it up, and then to press another egg down upon it. If the end of the egg so pressed breaks at once, this is a good sign, but if it remains unbroken, the egg has a god in it, and the omen is bad.

A common method of divination is by means of the *shonam*, or lime-case. The diviner holds the lime-case by the end of its chain, and addresses the god. He then asks the lime-case a question, and if it swings, this is supposed to be an answer in the affirmative; if it does not move, this is a negative reply. This seems to be a very simple trick, for the diviner can impart movement to the lime-case by means of the hand. A similar way of consulting the oracle is by the bow, which is held in the hand by the middle of the string. A simple method of divining is by means of cowries or grains of rice. The diviner plunges his hand into a bag or basket after asking the god a question. If the number of cowries or grains of rice comes out odd, the omen is good; if it comes out even, the reverse is the

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787 [791] case. The Khasi word for consulting the omens is *khan*, and a diviner is called a *nongkhan*. Another method of obtaining omens is by dropping two leaves into a pool of water or on a stone, the position of the leaves as they fall, either right side uppermost or upside down, signifying good or evil as the case may be; this is called *khan-sla*.

PRIESTHOOD.

793 104 The Khasi priest is usually called *Lyngdoh*, or *langdoh*; he is always appointed from the lyngdoh clan. The etymology of the word *lyngdoh* is said by certain lyngdohs of the Khyrim State to be *lang* = together and *doh* = flesh. A *lyngdoh*, or *langdoh*, is one who collects sacrificial victims, i.e. flesh for the purpose of sacrificing. It must be confessed, however, that this definition is doubtful, owing to the absence in the word *lyngdoh* of the prefix *nong* which is the sign of the agent in Khasi. Besides *lyngdohs* there are persons called *sah-blei* or *sah-sla*, who may 793 also be said to be priests. The Khasis, unlike the Hindus, have [604] no *purohit* or priest to perform the family ceremonies. Such duties fall to the lot of the head of the family or clan, who 782 carries them out generally through the agency of the *kni*, or maternal uncle. Old Khasis are frequently well versed in the details of sacrifices, and in the art of obtaining auguries by examining the viscera of sacrificial victims. Apart from family and clan sacrifices, there are the sacrifices for the good of the State or community at large: it is these sacrifices that it is the duty of the *lyngdoh* to perform. He may be said to be the priest of the communal religion, although he has certain duties in connection with offences committed against the social law of marriage, and with regard to the casting out of evil spirits from houses which may be thought to be infested with them. The lyngdohs of the Khasis may be likened to the Roman *pontifices*. 793 In the different Khasi States there is, as a rule, more 631 than one *lyngdoh*; sometimes there is quite a number of such priests, as in Nongkrem where there is a *lyngdoh* for each *raj* 793 or division of the state. There are a few Khasi States where 643 the priest altogether takes the place of the Siem, and rules the community with the help of his elders in addition to perform-

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[582] *Preliminaries.*—A young man of marriageable age, say between seventeen or eighteen years of age and twenty-five, 584 fixes upon a girl of, say between thirteen and eighteen years, as likely to become a fitting partner; probably he has been acquainted with the young woman for some time before, and is on more or less easy terms of intimacy with her. He mentions the name of the girl to his parents, and uncles and aunts in the house, and they agree or disagree, as the case may be. Sometimes marriages are arranged by the parents of the young people themselves. Having agreed regarding the fitness of the bride, the young man's parents send a male representative of the family, or in some cases a man unconnected with the family, to arrange matters with the parents of the bride. The latter then ascertain their daughter's wishes. According to the late U Jeelen Roy, the daughters nearly always agree, it is very seldom that it is necessary to bring any pressure to bear. The parents then investigate whether there is any *sangi* or taboo, such as clan relationship, between the young woman and her intended, in the way of the marriage. If there is found to be no such hindrance, they fix a date for finally 787 arranging the marriage (*baw ia kut khieu.*) On the day appointed 585 the bride's family consult the auspices by breaking eggs and 842 examining fowls' entrails. If the omens are favourable, well 735 and good. Should they be unfavourable, they abandon the 761 marriage project. There is a strong prejudice against a marriage taking place under unfavourable auspices, the belief being that such an union will be childless, that the bride will 585 die an untimely death, or that poverty will ensue. Given favourable auspices, the parents fix a day for the marriage. It was formerly the custom for the bridegroom to provide himself beforehand with a ring, usually of silver, but, amongst the rich, of gold, which is called *ka synjat* (hence the name of the marriage ceremony *pynhiar-synjat*), and for the bride to provide herself with a similar ring. The bridegroom used to place his ring upon the bride's finger, and the bride used to place her ring upon the bridegroom's finger; it is however believed that this custom is rare nowadays. On the marriage day a man is selected from the party of the bridegroom called *u kniang*, or go-between. The bridegroom then sets out with

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585 of a Garo marriage. The Lynngams, unlike the Garos, do not
782 observewhich way the beaks of the fowls turn when they are
thrown on the ground after being sacrificed. The Lynngams,
787 like the Khasis, take auguries from the entrails of the fowls and
the pig. After these ceremonies are over, the Lynngam pair
are allowed to cohabit. The cost of an ordinary Lynngam
585 marriage is from Rs. 30 to Rs. 40. The marriage system in
435 vogue among the Lynngams may be described as a mixture
of the Khasi and Garo customs. As has already been stated,
161 the Lyngams are a mongrel breed of Khasis and Garos.

CEREMONIES ATTENDING DEATH.

764 The death customs of the Khasis are not only very elaborate, but possess a significance of their own, it is, therefore, necessary to describe them in detail; they are as follows:—

763 A member of the family bends down towards the ear of the apparently deceased person and calls him or her by name three times, to make sure that death has occurred. If no answer comes, the family laments, for it is then con-
764 cludedthat the person is really dead. The body is then bathed
291 in warm water from three earthen pots and is reverently laid on a mat (*jopung*), where it is dressed in white cloth, a peculiar feature of the dressing being that the waist-cloth and turbanare folded from left to right, and not from right to left, as in the case of the living. An egg called *u'long kyuh*
764 is placed on the stomach of the deceased, and nine fried grains, of *rin bodem*, or Indian corn, are tied round the head with a string. The rich place ear-rings in the ears and other jewellery on the body of the deceased, it being necessary that this jewellery should be specially made for the occasion, and they
[775] deck the corpse with valuable clothes. A cock, *u'ior lynd lyati* (literaly the cock that scratches the way), is sacrificed, the idea being that a cock will scratch a path for the spirit to the next world. A sacrifice of a bull, or of a cow in case the deceased is a woman, (*u or ka nonai pynsaw*,) follows. Portions of the left leg of the fowl and the lower part of the jaw of the bull or cow are kept, to be placed afterwards in the *mawbieng*, or bone,

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If any stream has to be crossed, a rough bridge is made of branches and grass. This trail of leaves and the bridges are intended to guide the spirit of the deceased to the cairn. The person who carries the bones is not allowed to turn round, or to the right, or to the left, but must proceed straight to the cairn. On reaching it, a *nongkaia*, or sacrificer, washes the bones three times and then places them in an earthen pot, tying up the mouth with a white cloth. Then, having taken three pieces of the hard yolk of an egg, three loaves of bread, the leg of the fowl, "*u'iar kraid lynti*," and the lower jaw-bones of the animals which have been sacrificed, he places them inside the cairn and shuts the door. Eatables and betel-nut are then placed on the top of the cairn. Early next morning the relatives and friends go to the cairn with fresh food and water, and look about for new foot-prints, the idea being that from these foot-prints they can foretell future events. This they do until the third night after the cremation. During these three nights the front door of the house formerly occupied by the deceased is never closed, it being thought that the spirit may wish to return and visit its earthly abode. The whole family is moreover *sang*, or taboo, during this period, and no manner of work can be done. When the three nights are over, it is called the *lait ia*, i.e. the days (of mourning) are passed, and three eggs are broken to ascertain what was the cause of the death. After this the family goes to bathe, and the clothes and mats in the house are washed. When this has been done, the taboo is removed and the family can go to work. After a month a pig or a fowl is sacrificed, the ceremony being called "*ai bam lait kmai*." It will be observed that *three* seems to be the lucky number throughout these funeral ceremonies. The number seems to bear a similar significance in other matters of Khasi ritual, e.g. the pouring out of libations, which is always done three times.

It is *sang* or taboo for a Khasi widow to re-marry within one year from the death of her husband, there is a similar prohibition for a husband re-marrying; but such *sang* can be got over by the payment of a fine to the clan of the deceased. After the expiration of one year the fine is reduced in amount. Khasi widows do not as a rule re-marry, according to U Jordon Roy,

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587 unless they have no female children, in which case the clan
428 urges them to re-marry, so that the chain of inheritance may not be broken, inheritance amongst the Khasis always passing in the female line.

CUSTOMS IN CONNECTION WITH DEATHS BY VIOLENCE OR ACCIDENT.

766 These customs are interesting enough to deserve a separate
782 description; they are as follows:—

776 If a man dies by the sword, before his body can be burnt, a sacrifice of a black hen must be offered to *Ka Tyrut*, the goddess of death. The bones are then placed in a stone cairn. Again they are removed, and, after eggs have been broken, are taken to a river bank and there washed. If there is no river at hand, a tank is dug for the purpose, which is called *wakoi*. There are various such *wakois* in different parts of the district, e.g. near Raliang and Nartiang. A sacrifice of a goat is offered to the god *U Syngkai Bamon*, and a sow to *Ka Ramshandi*, both of whom are evil deities. Another sow is sacrificed to *Ka Tyrut*. After this the bones are placed in another newly-built cairn. The ceremony of placing the bones in one and
[787] then removing them to another cairn is usually performed three times; but unless the auspices, as deduced from the eggs, are favourable, the relatives must go on sacrificing and removing the bones until they are so. These ceremonies having been completed, they erect a flat table-stone, or *wawkyntkei*, for the ghost of the departed to sit upon, and return home, where they propitiate their ancestors with offerings of food. In the case of the murdered victims of the *thlen* superstition the same ceremonies are observed. For people who have died by drowning, or been killed by wild animals, and for women who have died in child-birth, similar pujas are
766 offered, except that a sacrifice to *U Syngkai Bamon* does not
782 take place. In the case of one who has died at a distance from his home, e.g. in a foreign country, whose body has not been burnt in accordance with custom, and whose bones have not been collected, the members of his clan, or his children, take three or five seeds or cowries (*shai*) to a place where three roads meet. Here they summon the spirit of the departed in a loud voice,

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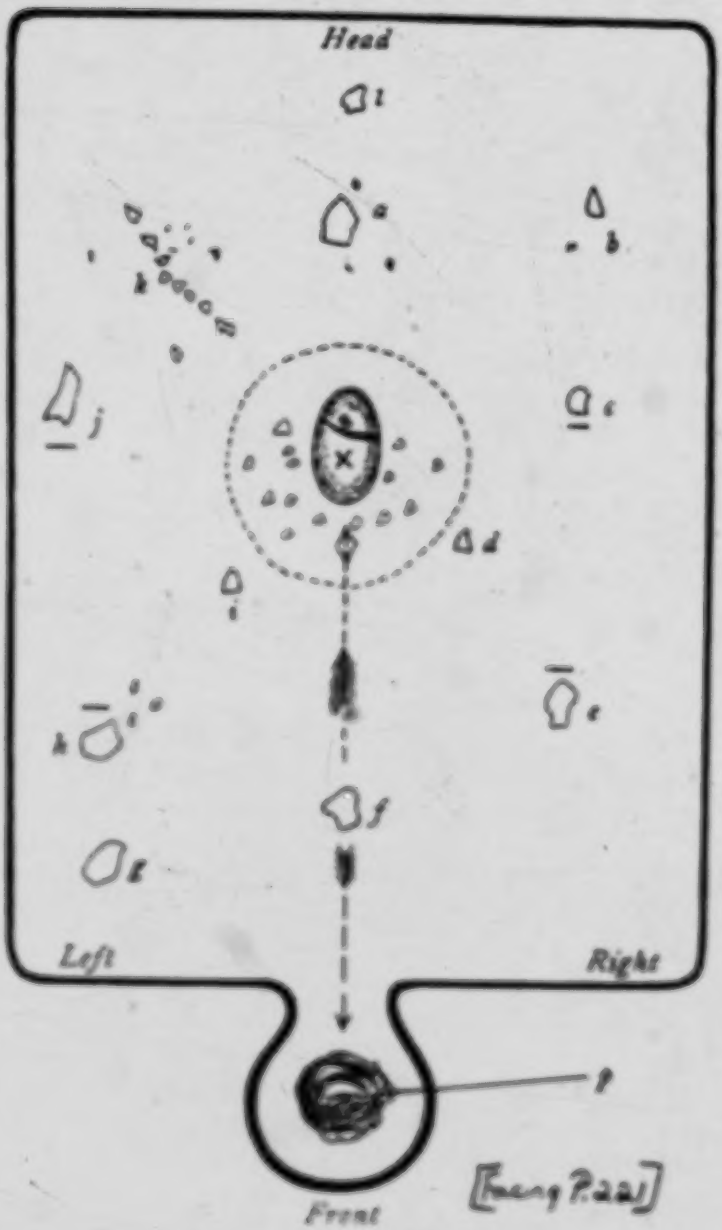
APPENDIX C.

DIAGRAM OF EGG BREAKING BOARD.

787



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POSITION OF EGG BREAKER.

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APPENDIX C.

DIVINATION BY EGG-BREAKING.

THE *dieng shat pylleng*, or egg-breaking board, is shaped as indicated in the diagram. Having placed a little heap of red earth on the board at point *p*, the egg-breaker sits facing the board in the position shown in the diagram. He first of all makes a little heap of rice in the middle of the board sufficient to support the egg. He places the egg there. He then takes it up and smears it with red earth, muttering incantations the while. Having finished the invocation to the spirits, the egg-breaker sweeps the grains of rice off the board, stands up, and dashes the egg on the board with considerable force. The large portion of the egg-shell is made to fall in the middle of the board, as at X in the diagram. This portion of the shell is called *ka lieng*, or the boat. The small bits of egg-shell which fall around the boat are either good or evil prognostics, according to the following rules :—

1. The bits of shell which fall on the right of the boat are called *ki jinglar*, and those on the left *ki jinghen*. Supposing fragments of shell fall as at *b*, *c*, *d*, *e*, with their insides downwards, this is a good sign, but if one of the fragments lies with its outside downwards, this is a bad omen, and signifies *ka sang leng kha*, or sin on the father's or the children's part. It may also signify *ka dar lum*, or "came from the hill," i.e. that the illness or other affliction has been caused by a god of some hill.

2. If the fragments of shell lie on the left side of the boat as at *g*, *h*, *i*, *j* in the diagram, they are named *ki jinghen*. If they lie with their insides downwards, they indicate a favourable sign. If *g* lies with its outside downwards, this is an evil omen. If *g* and *h* lie with their insides downwards, this is favourable,

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787 even if *i* lies with its outside downwards. If, however, *j* lies with its outside downwards, this is not a good sign.

3. If there are a number of pieces of egg-shell lying in a line, as at *k*, this is an evil prognostic, the line of shell fragments indicating the road to the funeral pyre. Such a line of shell fragments is called *ki'leng rah hang*. This sign is a harbinger of death.

4. If all the fragments of shell on both sides of the board, excepting the boat, lie with their insides downwards, the question asked by the egg-breaker is not answered. If *a* or *l* fall with their outsides downwards, this is a bad sign.

5. If the portion of a shell at *f* falls with the outside downwards, this indicates that some god needs appeasing by sacrifice.

6. If there are a number of small fragments lying around the boat, as in the diagram, these mean that there are many reasons for the illness, which cannot be ascertained.

7. If the portion of shell marked *s* is detached from the boat, this indicates that the goddess is very angry.

8. If four fragments lie around the boat so as to form a square, as *e*, *e*, *h*, *j*, these mean that the patient is at the point of death. These are called *ki leng sher thang*.

8. If there are no fragments, as at *d*, *e*, *f*, *g*, *h*, *i*, it is a puzzle. *ka leng kymtip*.

[115] *Note.*—The above information was obtained from U Sarup Singh, of Mairong; U Thum of Laitlyngkot, and U Bud, of Jowai. Different egg-breakers have somewhat different methods of reading the signs, but the main points are usually the same.

782 must be appeased by throwing eggs. If the desired
[781] effect does not occur after the sacrifice has been offered, further information is sought by observing intestines (sacrifice of rooster), and the sacrifice is offered again. At least that is what is done for sickness. The other sacrifices will be described in more detail later.

771 The religion of the Khasi is one that arises
114 from fear of misfortune and harm, and is active in the worship of (evil) spirits through sacrifice. This definition of mine corresponds essentially with the definitions of Bivar, (3) who

[113] 3. Bivar, Administration Report on the Khasi and Jaintia Hills District of 1876.

says: "The Khasi religion may be briefly defined as a form to cure illnesses and to ward off misfortune, by finding out [410] the name of the devil who is the original cause of the evil and to appease him by sacrifices which are necessary," and Gurdon (4) "calls the Khasi religion a cult

[113] 4. Gurdon, The Khasi (London, 1907) p. 105.

of spirits, i.e., actually rather a reconciliation of spirits, good as well as bad, by sacrifices, which are offered occasionally, especially in times of distress."

Table of Summary

776 of several gods (good and evil) who are revered by the Khasi and the Synteng.

1. Good Gods:

u blei nongthaw, the creator god,
u 'lei longspah, the (good) god of wealth,

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hates stone; he does not wish any lime." (14)

14. P.A. Münsloher, S.D.S. Die apostolische Präfektur Assan [The Apostolic Prefecture of Assam] (Rome, 1899), p. 83.

4. Egg Throwing (shat-pylleng)

● 787 782 The most common of all the oracles of the Khasi is egg throwing (shat-pylleng). A great deal has already been written about it. (15)

[113]

15. P. Dr. C. Becker, Das Eierwerfen der Khasi [Egg Throwing Among the Khasi] Anthropos XII-XIII (1917-1918), pp. 494-496.

I will only add here the prayer of the sacrificer u nongshat-pylleng. It is not an actual prayer, at least the nongshat-pylleng is not bound to any formula. The sacrificer speaks approximately thus:

Ko lengsan khun ka blei, ko banang ko batip ko ba lah ko baiai, nga pynthiah nga pyndem halor ka diengshat ka diengkhein, ka duwan ka dupat, a kynrad ngan kylli ngan

O thou egg of the oracle, thou daughter of the goddess, thou whom thou knowest and art aware of (art able to) thou remainest thou (stayest); I put thee down here on the board (16)

16. Cf. Table II, Picture 1. [119]

togkit katne ba long shitom ka lanot ka shoh ka ther ka shit ka lyang ka pisa ka lynga ia ka met u

on the oracular wood, on the altar, o mistress, I question and ponder (would like to question,

●787 Donsing hato nangno ka
782 daw ba long katne don
hi na kpoh la iing mo?
Kaba wan thaw katne?

Lada don ka jot
ka rem ka bijar ka
bukkhoh ha ka blei
ka Iasbei, ha u phan u
kyrpad ngan sa jied
ngan sa pynshai ia ka
khmat ka long jot ka
long rem ka bijar ka
bukkhoh, don?

Jem ka mon bin
kynrong ka diang joit
buh ka jingkem arsnep
slait, da weng ka lar
ka sap ka bûheang ka
tharai ong em me ym don
na kpoh la iing ka ban

wish to question), for great are the troubles and the afflictions, the oppressions and the cares, the heat and the fire (of the fever), the disquietude and the depression of N.N. What is the reason that he is so badly off? Does the cause lie in the family itself perhaps (na khpoh, i.e., in the stomach, in the insides)? Has that perhaps done all this?

If perhaps a sin, a guilt, a vexation, or any annoyance exists for the goddess Jaubei or Phan u kyrpad, so will I ponder and illuminate the eye (of understanding) the corruption and the guilt, the annoyance and the vexation, which, may it be?

My will is soft as jelly and very tiny. Cross the left over the right quickly! Line up the two egg shells (slait, i.e., without any room in

●787 wan thaw kum kata, khat
782 ei na wei du kaba wan
shoh ther katne.

Lar ha ka dong
ngang, kiew ha ka dong
roit, noh ka diang
khyllon ka diang da
buh lengsam shiliang
kadiang!

Mynno nga byn-
thiew mynno nga
kyrkhah mynno nga
sin mynno nga rngop
nga pynsum dewlieh
dewtem dewsni dewsnah
dewraij dewkynton ba
ngan iit ia ka liem
ia ka dem ka pyllup
ka lyndang, no.

between), take away the white (egg white), the sacrilegious thing, (not permitted thing) and the uncertain thing! Say: no! thou! It does not come from the family that which has caused all this. Therefore it comes from outside (from somewhere else), that which strikes him and rattles down so on him.

May the white come to the outermost corner and may it climb into the corner, down with the left! May the left close together (may the left sink powerlessly together). Place the oracle over to the left, to the half!

When have I then spit out? When have I cleared my throat of the thick phlegm? When have I [420] given a nickname? When have I washed and bathed the white earth (clay, loam), white loam, yellow loam, sticky loam, heaped up loam? So that I may

Mynno nga rah
mynno nga rong kum
ka khlieng ka tyngab,
ka ims ka doh.

Hu mo 'lengsam!

recognize that which lies towards the top and towards the bottom, that which lies on the back and on the stomach, is it not so?

When have I carried anything away, When have I dragged something off, such as the hawk or the raven or any kind of bird or meat?

Hurrah! is it not so, thou egg of the oracle!

5. The Sacrifice of the Rooster (jingknia syiar)

Just as by egg throwing so by the sacrifice of the rooster the Khasi wish to find out the reasons that are causing illness or some other misfortune. This sacrifice of a rooster is almost as common as throwing eggs. It is especially performed when a serious case must be settled. Since the rooster is more expensive than an egg, they expect to get the desired results more readily through the sacrifice of the rooster. In general the rite is the same as described in the Nongkrem-Puja in the Khasi mountains. (17) An example of the "invocations"

17.P. Dr. C. Becker, Anthropos, IV (1909), p. 899.

follows here, which the sacrificer pronounces with the following words:

787
782 Te ko rangiarkhad, ko khun ka blei, ko rangkynjih ko rangkyn jai, ko rangkynih ko rangphawar ko bu ioh ka hukum ka kular na myndang long ka pyrthei, shai ka pyrthei na khmat ka blei ktien ka blei, te ha sngew nga kylli nga tohkit ha shat ha ka khan, nangno ka daw ba wan shoh wan ther katne ia ka met u Donsing?

And now, thou sacrificial rooster, thou son of the goddess, thou hopper and jumper, thou crower, thou wise-speaker (who understands how to speak in figures of speech), thou who hast received the law and the promise from the beginning of the world, Bright is the world from the face of the goddess, from the word of the goddess! So listen now, I ask, I ponder, I cast oracles, I question oracles: whence is the reason (what is the reason), that strikes N. N. and rattles down so on his body?

Ong phi ka blei manga, ka shoh te manga ka ther te manga ka sympat ka kawiat te manga, te nga shang darum-darum daneng-daneng nga kylli nangno ka long-jot ka long-rem, nangno ka bijar ka buhkhoh phi ka blei!

Say, o goddess: It is I who strikes him, it is I who rattles down on him, and I who scourges [421] and lashes him. And and up and down and ask, whence comes then the destruction, the incrimination, whence then the vexation and annoyance, o thou goddess!

•777
782

Ong phi ka blei,
ka khun ka lankar
synkato me ka sngi
me lapan la ka dur ka
long briew ka ling ling
na khmat nga ka blei
ka laubet nga ongi

So say, o goddess,
thou daughter of lies,
at that time, is it
not so, (18) on that

18. The following words are, as it were, as if the sacrificial reciter were putting them in the mouth of the goddess and were contradicting the oracle.

day thou hast demanded the picture of the man, the value of the family before my face, before me, the goddess, before me the laubet, so I say!

Stand up and recall! Draw forth the promise from that way! And when thou standest there and bowest down and showest reverence, then the thanks and the reverence, then the

Khie kynnaw
sieh ka jutang na kata
ka lyuti, ynda me long
ka ngub ka dem u ah-
hot u lanjew u kyu u
rymat la ka jong ka
longsyah kot la katei
ka dur ka long briew
ba me la sieh ka jutang

and the cake, to thine own well-being and wealth, as to that picture of the coming into existence of man which thou hast produced through the

• 727

Ebm don ka lathu-
mhana ha khast nga
ka blei ne tay ne
lgude pynhan, mngta
jot nga ka blei ka
laubeit

Im u eytar u shan
pe mangta im ka sang
ka ma te mangta, im
ka tyrut ka omer te
mangta, lob ka ohitom
ka lamot u hyuriew
te na kata ko lyuti.

Te ko blei trai
kynrad wei nga la lap
la kata ka kmia ka
lyuti ka long-jot ka
long-rem ka jing phi
te mynta ngah da lang
ka kynmaw ka kyndit
ramar kata ka lyuti
dot haba shong ka
ngub ka dem u kyo u
rynai u kloah u
kmar 'ded da 'kata ka 'lyuti.

promise on that day.

Hast t.ma no tale of this before my, the goddess! before my face! Thou buryest, thou concealest it rather, and therefore the disaster, say I, the goddess, the Jaubeit

Long live the rooster, the support, and further, long live the taboo and the threat, and again long live the Tyrut and the Omer and them: man experiences suffering and sorrow, on every way thither (from birth).

Thou, however, o god and master, since I have now come along thy ground, the way of destruction, of guilt, so I raise myself up. The memory, the perplexity because of that way, wherever I may dwell, shall be the thanks, the reward and the gourd bottle; peaceful and well-intentioned art thou, o goddess Jaubei, on the path.

● 287 281 Ia ea ioh ka khiah ka nang, long ranghah u hynriew jeit suk ne u blei lyngngai ewng ka thoah ka tar ka kjab ka star.

Ong ya pat shong ka dur da kumta khadai dang kumwei du, kiew da ka thoh da ka tar da ka brain da ka briah da ka kjab da ka star, katta no blei kyng kynrad, kuri-ei nga pynsum nga pynsleh nga pyntiang nga pyngung ha ka umthwei umlyngian, ban kiew ka syrti ka jumai ban un ka rynderg ka khmat ka dawan ka dupat ban nang ka korbar ka corbar ma?

We receive the sublime and the possible. Quickly rise up, man! Well satisfied be thou, o god! Take away the faults, the stains, the band and the sling.

Say: the picture does not yet appear thus, rather different, is it not so! Raise thyself from the great stains and from the great faults and from all the little stains and spots, from sling and band and then, is it not so, o god and master, it is in vain! I wash and bathe and make pipes of water and scooped-out wells in the eddy and in the depths, so that ka syrtieh (19)

[276] 19. Ka syrtieh is a demoness, who cuts and scratches and files and saws, i.e., through inner pains.

[277] 20. Ka jumai is the demoness earthquakes.

arise, so that
throat may dis
(bleed to dest
fore the visag

• 787
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Shan syiar, hei nga dkhat sohpet shynnai ban nang ka kurtar ka sorbar, kane de ka deng de ka kup ka ryndia ka muka ka iarong ka muna ho, jei dong tam dong lait ban lait ka jot ka rem no?

altar, so that the counsel be good, is it not so?

Thou blood of the rooster, hurrah! Look, I tear out its navel, the intestines, so that the counsel be good. This here is the jewelry, this the garment, this the silk, this the purse and the net, is it not so? Look, here is the tube for gathering, here the tube for escaping from destruction and guilt is it not so?

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6. Discovering the Spirits that Need Appeasing (kheinkseuid).

Khein kseuid means the seeking for or the discovering of the insult to the goddess which sells (dia) man through suffering to the pain-causer (kseuid). The demon cannot harm man if the goddess does not stand for it and allow it. The guilt of man plays no part in this (in and of itself). The Khasi say that in their religion there is only one goddess, the "Giver of Orders" (ka nongbuksum). She commands that a phan u syrpad [121] should be, that a suid-nia of Jaubei

Or she herself chooses a means, that to be "god." for example, so she he the goddess of wealth or the goddess curse. This goddess gives the comm sacrifices: That the piece (u dykh

c) Third Burial (maw bah)

764 The ceremonial transfer of the bones from the various maw phew into the common sib grave maw bah is probably the most important of all the ceremonies [131] which the Khasi have. For not merely the precise and orderly fulfillment of every prescribed ceremony and custom, even the smallest, is necessary here, but also an emotional or spiritual preparation is needed, which neither occurs nor is demanded among the Khasi for anything else. This emotional or spiritual preparation consists in the requirement that all members of a whole sib must live in peace with each other, since otherwise the ceremonial transfer of the bones may not take place.

[131] If all quarrels and discords are smoothed out, this is determined with the greatest exactitude, and a sacrificer who is taken from the sib inquires by egg throwing and the sacrifice of a chicken, which day would be suitable for the ceremonial act. If the day is determined in this way, all the relatives of the dead meet together in the house of the group mother (Stammutter) (ling song): the children, the brothers and sisters, the nephews and nieces (ehi kur ehi para ryngkat u khun ka mainuh mainan haruh), the great uncles and the little uncles (u sia-bah u siarit). Standing, they call upon the goddess who has created the members of the whole sib and say:

Kumu? bukum phi	Now dost thou, o
ka blei thaw kynriew	goddess, wish that I
buh kynriew ka ngan	stand before thee, be-
[illegible] ka lum ka kyn	fore thy face) to
[illegible]e ka thep ka tian	gather the hard earn-
[illegible] u wuidiap u nong-	ed, the stored up, the
[illegible] u lor u kap	spirits of the dead,

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Table II

787 The Egg Oracle

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Sacrifice of a Chicken

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[illegible] The Place of Cremation.

3:Steguiller-1&-4,5(no date)1924 AR7KhasiAR7

/7117 Sacrifice and Sacrificial Customs of the Khasi by P.F. Steguiller, S.D.S., Former Apostolic Missionary of Assam (India).

(With 6 Illustrations in the Text) 782

1. The Offerers of Sacrifices:
   a) Lyngdoh,
   b) Ceremonial introduction of the lyndoh.

2. The Sacrifices:
   a) State Sacrifices,
   b) Private Sacrifices,
   c) Secret Sacrifices

1. The Offerers of Sacrifices.

a) Lyndoh.

The religion of the Khasi is an (evil) 771
spirits worship, which has arisen out of fear 772
of misfortune and harm and which is carried 777
out by means of sacrifice. This definition of mine corresponds essentially with the definition of Rivar, (1) who says: "The Khasi reli-

1. Rivar, Administration Report of of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills District of 1876.

gion may be briefly defined as a form to cure illnesses and to ward off misfortune by finding out the name of the devil, who is the original cause of the evil, and by appeasing him by the necessary, sacrifices. Gurdon (2) calls "the 771
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2. Gurdon, The Khasi (London, 1906) p. 105.

Khasi religion a cult of spirits, i.e., actually

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Fig. 2 p. 21
[The state Emerition of Nanyk[illegible]]

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Fig. 3 p. 23
[Cyn [illegible] view]

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Fig. 4 p. 15
[Cog throwing: Throwing of the cog]

Fig. 5 p. 15
[Cog Throwing: Investigation]

1. The Food Sacrifice.

782 An altar is necessary primarily for offering this sacrifice. This altar is made of earth and consists of a little heap of earth which has been dug out of the ground near where the sacrifice is to be offered by a ka wait (chopping knife).

The usual sacrificial gifts, ingredients, and sacrificial utensils are:

kpu: a kind of bread made of rice meal. The rice is first washed, dried, and then pounded into meal.

rynai: a kind of bread shaped like a bullet of pounded rice meal or cornmeal mixed with sugar.

[22] u khau: uncooked, shelled rice.

u skau: a gourd bottle.

u kiad: rice brandy.

ka um : water.

kwai : betel nut.

tympeu: a pepper leaf.

ela kait: a banana leaf.

ka ding sning: leaves of the Khasi oak (botanical name: Castanopsis sp.)

u luta: a silver water container.

ka pliang rupu: a silver plate like a dish.

ka pliang kyuthei: a rather large brass dish.

The sacrificing of the gifts consists in their being placed on the altar in certain forms or figures and being reddened with the blood of the animals (which will be sacrificed afterwards) or at least being sprinkled with water and rice brandy.

782 2. The Egg Sacrifice (Egg Throwing)

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The egg sacrifice or egg throwing (shad pylleng) as it is usually called is the most

772 common of all. It is used on those occasions
787 when something must be asked about or investigated. The spirits are supposed to inform at the egg throwing where the most favorable place is for the building of the hearth (building the hut), from which forest the needed bamboo should be fetched for the construction of the hut, where the most productive huntings areas are, which is the most favorable day for setting out on a journey, in which week the cultivation of rice can begin, at which market the best sale may be expected, where a general archery contest can take place, for what reason somebody is sick, who has caused a difficult birth by a moral crime.

Lyngdohs are rarely called in for this sacrifice. For the Khasi are so familiar with egg throwing that probably most of the older men know how to do it. The process is also not too complicated, so that even a person with little practice can dare to try egg throwing. Only in very difficult cases, especially in cases of sickness, is a lyngdoh sought out to perform the sacrifice. Or also in cases in which the spirits do not wish to answer. (12)

12. F. Stegmiller, S.V.D., "Teufelsopfer" [Devil Sacrifice], Missionsverlag für Indien [Missionary Publishers for India], (1922: Vienna) p. 51.

The following objects are needed for the offering of the egg sacrifice.

1. A wooden platter which is rounded at the corners and has a handle. It is called ka dieng shad pylleng (the wood for egg throwing). The middle part is called ka lieng (the little saucer).

2. Red earth for making distinguishable the outer side of the egg shells.

772 3. Uncooked, husked rice which is placed
787 in several piles (or also only in one pile) on the gaming board.

4. Last of all eggs, which one by one, after being strewn with rice (fig. 3), are rubbed with red earth, fondled, and called by flattering names and then thrown on the gaming board with great force (fig. 4). In this process the egg bursts and the white and the yolk splatter around, while the shells are scattered in all directions. So that the soft part in the egg will not obstruct the egg shells too much, the sacrificer speaks the following before he throws: "May the clear part come into the outermost corner! May it climb into the corner! Down with the left! May the left strike together!"

[772] The position of the egg shells provides the answer (fig. 5) and the various positions means approximately the following:

1. When the small pieces of shell lie with their insides down, on both sides of the board but not on the little saucer, then the question of the egg throwing is not answered. If this happens, the sacrificer asks beforehand at the throwing of the next egg with a sad voice: "Have I perhaps sinned? Have I washed and bathed the loam? the white loam? the yellow loam? the sticky loam? the piled up loam? Oh let me know what lies below and what lies above! Let me know that which is lying on the back and that which is lying on the stomach! Oh hear me, thou egg of the oracle!"

2. If a lot of little eggshells are lying around the saucer, that means that there are a lot of reasons (for example for the illness) which cannot be found out. In this case the sacrificer will express himself approximately thus with the next egg: "Oh egg of the oracle! Has a sin, has a crime been committed? Was the tutelary

782 spirit of our village insulted? I wish to con-
787 sider and to enlighten the eye of understanding as to what may well be the cause and the guilt of the sorrow and vexation! Look hither! Very tiny is my desire and soft as cotton my will! Thou shalt say! Thou shalt explain! Thou shalt help! Oh line up the bits of shell together! Make smaller the spaces in between! Cross the left over the right! Say: No! It does not come from the family, it comes from outside, that which carries the guilt for the misfortune!"

3. If a little piece of egg shell is lying with its outside facing down at the end of the little saucer in the middle of the board, that means that the goddess wishes a blood sacrifice.

4. If a little piece of egg shell is lying quite alone at the upper end of the saucer, that means that the divinity is very angry.

Thus the Khasi have determined the meaning of all possible positions of the eggshells, according to whether they are lying up or down, in the middle, or at the end, or the side of the saucer. It is the meaning which the divinity wishes to make by the position. It is obvious that sacrifices are made until a position is finally reached which presents the desired result. Thus it happens that 50, 100, and more eggs are used at a single sacrifice.

This method of throwing eggs is the most usual. But there is a still simpler way. The sacrificer wraps the egg in a leaf (ka la mat). He takes it in his left hand and strews it with grains of rice. Now he tries to press in the tip of the egg with the thumb of his right hand while uttering sayings and magic formulae. If this succeeds, it is a good sign, if not, it means the opposite. (13)

13. P. Dr. G. Becker, S.D.S. "Das

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Eierwerfen der Khasi" [Egg Throwing Among the Khasi], Anthropos, 1917, p. 496.

Only in cases of sickness does the sacrificer not take the usual gaming board. In its place he uses a rather large brass dish (ka pliang kynthei), on which he lays a lattice work made of thin bamboo sticks (igra). The broken egg runs through the lattice work into the dish and from the eggshells the sacrificer then predicts in the same way as described above, since he considers the narrow bamboo lattice work as the gaming board. (14)

14. F. Stegmiller, S.D.S., "Bei der Erkrankung eines Familienmitgliedes" [At the Illness of a Member of a Family], Anthropos, 1921-22, p. 428.

3. The Blood Sacrifice with Observation of the Entrails.

a) The Rooster Sacrifice (jingknia syiar).

If the desired result is not obtained by egg throwing, the sacrifice of the rooster usually follows. A rooster is dedicated to the godhead by strewing it with rice, kiad, kpu, and rynai. The sacrificer now dips a sharp knife in the sacrificial water that is standing ready and then cuts through the rooster's throat. He lets the blood drip on the altar and on the sacrificial gifts. Now the observation of the entrails begins, which is not always the same but is described

as follows since this is the usual way. (15)

15. P. Dr. C. Becker, S.D.S., Anthropos Vol. 4 (1909), p. 899.

"The gullet of hens is formed like a fork about in the middle between the neck and the stomach. The right part of the prong is called u Blei (god), the left u briu (man). First the rectum is looked at to see if it is perhaps empty or has any symptoms of a disease or spots. In these cases, the little fowl is unsuitable for sacrifice. But even when everything is without fault, better indications are still wanted. The forking mentioned above is looked at and the sacrificer, holding the intestine in his hand, begins the ceremony with the question: "Nga kylli nga byrthem dika shat khan, iang rangbah u briu, dem u Blei?" (I ask and seek by throwing and by oracles, does the man rise and the god bow?) While saying that he sprinkles the forking of the gullet with a little rice with the other hand, whereby because of the convulsive trembling one part or the other actually raises itself. If "the man" raises itself, that is a good sign, since the opposite forking, the "god" then bows or stays still as a sign of agreement."

The sacrificing lyngdoh calls upon the godhead and ends with the following words: "Hey, the blood of the rooster! Hurrah! Look there, I tear out its navel, its entrails, so that the advice maybe good. This here is the ornament, this the garment, the silk, this the bag and the net, is it not so? See here the pipe of collecting, here the pipe of escaping from destruction and the guilt, is it not so?" (14)

14. P.F. Stegmiller, Anthropos, 1921-22, pp. 420 ff.

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b) The Goat Sacrifice (pom blang).

The head of the goat is cut off with one blow. Only parts of the insides of the animal (na ka kpoh) may be taken for the actual sacrifice. Either 5, 7, or 9 parts are taken. If 5 parts are taken, they are from the heart, kidneys, lungs, gall bladder, and liver. If 7 parts are taken, parts of the spleen and loin are added. If 9 parts, the pieces mentioned above and pieces from the small and large intestines. If the parts are good, then the sacrifice is also good, but if spots and speckles are present (da ka thoh da ka tar da ha brain da ka brish) the sacrifice must be repeated, as it is nullified. The rest of the ritual is like the one described for the first celebration of a lyngdoh.

In the case of pigs, it is only observed whether liver, lungs, spleen and gall bladder are healthy.

c) Secret Sacrifices.

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Although the sacrifices already described and their offerers are in general known, a whole net of tales is woven around the "secret sacrifice." The Khasi themselves [illegible] speak of them only with shyness and abhorrence. After all it concerns a human sacrifice which is offered the devil "u thlen." The fact is that these sacrifices were offered and are still offered. I myself knew two persons who fell as sacrifice to this revolting superstition between the years 1905-10.

In order to describe the secret sacrifices of the "human sacrifices" of the Khasi it is necessary:

1. to sketch the thlen tale,
2. to discuss the preparations for the

224 bears, leopards and tigers, which seize their
136 prey not merely among the goats and calves, but also among the grown cattle, and at times are even dangerous to man; although there are lots of tasty birds -- quails, partridges, lapwings, coots and wild geese -- in spite of all this the Khasi are not actually hunters. Only when an opportunity either presents itself to catch such birds, or when a wild animal has shown itself or even caused damage in the village, then the Khasi go hunting. Exceptions occur. The Khasi who use bows and arrows from childhood on, who practise shooting conscientiously, dare to hunt bears, leopards, and tigers. [Sic] Today they often have guns for this purpose, but bows and arrows are always taken along.

224 When a lucky day has been determined upon
• 787 by egg throwing, (33) and often the hunting area

33. Dr. F.C. Becker, "Das Eierwerfen der Khasi" [Egg Throwing Among the Khasi], Anthropos, 1917-1918, pp. 494 ff.

is often determined in this way, the Khasi set
224 out with a pack of hounds. As soon as the dogs have come upon the scent of the wild animal, the Khasi begin driving it with howlings and noise. The first shooter is lucky (called u nongsiet by the Khasi) because he gets the [illegible] of the prey. [illegible] one to hit the animal (called u nongben by the Khasi) also receives special consideration. The other shooters divide the rest of the slain animal among themselves after the hunting dogs have each been given a piece. The Khasi are very persevering on the hunt and do not bother about the time or the distance. For the efforts expended on the hunt are richly rewarded by the

The spectators now go to the side, the S'iem and the Rai'jaba come down to the place of sacrifice, while the Sub Blei receives the crowds and the sacrificial gifts and spreads them out in order on the ground. Then he takes the rooster in both hands and calls on the god Shillong with these words: "O god Shillong, thou who hast been seated since time immemorial! (ho Blei Shillong kumba la bah u long dwai)" With a deep bow he then offers the sacrifice five times. Rooster and goat are sprinkled with water, rice, and the flour from kpu and rynti, and are then beheaded. Then the examination of the entrails (dyhbor) takes place in order to see if the sacrifice was acceptable. The way of doing that will be given below. [97]

After the end of the sacrifice the Sub Blei and a flute player lead the sword dance; after them the S'iem and the other dancers follow in turn. Various drums are beaten alternately and flutes are played through the whole night. When night falls the goats of the S'iem and those of the various dignitaries of the kingdom of Mawphlem are brought for the sacrifice of the next day.

The day following the great market is called ka mgi Lynghe. It is the center point and climax of the whole ceremony. From early in the morning the crowds pour in from all sides of the Khasi mountains.

Early in the morning an unmarried girl of the royal lineage (ka S'iem ka dang khynraw) dances in the house of the S'iem ñdi before the sacred Blei. Usually a granddaughter or nearer relative of the S'iem ñdi is chosen for this. Two men then take the girl in their arms and carry her with a rocking motion to the large open place in front of the ring ñdi.

Then the great folk dance begins. In the middle of the place musicians squat on the ground and play the drums and flutes, and strike the cymbals. The music is quite without art, only a repetition of the same [illegible]

The women dancers move in a rather narrow circle around the musicians. Only the unmarried girls dance. The clothes they wear for it are very rich and frequently very valuable. Fine cloths, usually of red, yellow, or blue silk are draped over their bodies; the upper body and arms are covered by a satin jacket. Their hair is bound together in a bun behind their heads; a string hangs /facing p. 106. Fig. 5. Khasi Men Dancers in front of the ring ñdi. Phot. P. From. Stegmüller, S. D. S. Fig. 6. Sword Dance of the Khasi. Fig. 7. S'iem ñdi and S'iem of Mawphlem. / /107/ down from the bun which usually ends in three tassels. The head is covered by a golden or silver crown of fine chased work, which is topped by a bunch of feathers or a bunch of artificial flowers. Around their necks they wear chains of gold or [illegible]

the right to kill two of them, since he sacrifices to the ka Blei long S'lem and to the u Blei Shilong at the same time.

Each one places the little liquor bottle on the little pile of earth in front of him. This also represents the altar. Then they take pepper leaves and oak leaves and place them in a certain pattern beside and on top of each other, pieces of betel nuts are placed on them, and the whole is strewn with rice, kpu flour and rynai flour, while short prayers are murmured (cf. Fig. 1). Then follows the sacrifice of the little hens. The sacrificers each take one between both hands, murmuring soft prayers, then /999/ the head of the little animal is sprinkled with water and strewn with rice, kpu flour, and rynai flour. Each one dips a kind of pocket knife in the water and then cuts through the throat of the chicken. The freshly flowing blood is allowed to drip on the altar -- the little pile of earth with the bottle of liquor and the leaves. Then the entrails are taken out of the animals in order to see whether god is favorable to them or is angry with them because of the sins and wickedness of men. The sacrificers hold them up high with their right hands and look at them carefully. A joyful "u bha! (it is good)" escapes their lips and spreads through the circle of spectators.

This observing of entrails (dybhot) occurs at all the sacrifices. Although there are many kinds of such augaries, the following are more or less the usual ones. The gullet of chicken is about in the middle between the neck and the stomach and shaped like a fork. The right prong is called u Blei (god), the left one u briu (man). First the stomach is looked at to see if it is empty or shows any symptoms of sickness or spots; in these cases the hen is not suitable for sacrifice, but even when everything is faultless, better signs are wanted. The forking mentioned above is looked at and the sacrificer, holding the intestines in his hand, begins the ceremony with the question: "Nga kylli nga byrthen da ka shat ka khan, long ranghah u briu, dem u Blei? (I ask and seek through the strewing and the oracle, does the man rise and god bow?)" With his other hand he throws a little rice on the forking of the gullet, and because of the convulsive twitching actually one part or the other does rise. If the "man" rises, it is a good sign since the opposite branching, the "god" then bows or stays still as a sign of agreement.

If the omens are unfavorable, then it must be determined by throwing /perhaps a misprint -- Eiswerfen instead of Eierwerfen - egg throwing; tr./, why the god is angry and which sacrifice would be pleasing to him. Then the sacrifice begins again until the omens show that the god is reconciled and propitiated.

Let us return to our Nongkrem Puja. After the observing of the

entrails of the hens is completed with good results, the main part of 796
the ceremony begins. Goats are brought out of the inside of the iing 782
sâd and one is placed behind each of the sacrificers. This moment is
captured in Fig. 1. The hens that have already been sacrificed and
the other sacrificial objects that have been mentioned can be seen
lying in front of the Soh Blei and the other sacrificial priests on the
ground. The Soh Blei now takes a long knife (ka wait) between both
flat outstretched hands and squatting speaks a prayer with bowed head.
Fig. 3 shows various kinds of such knives; the smaller folding ones
are the ones mentioned above in describing the killing of the hens.

Meanwhile a kind of looping plant is thrown around the neck of
one of the goats; one the the people present pulls it into the middle
of the place where it /facing p. 898. Fig. 8. Dance of the Khasi
Girls in front of the iing sâd. Two photographs by P. Frum. Steg-
miller, S. D. S. Fig. 9. Women Khasi Dancers. Two photographs by
P. Frum. Stegmiller, S. D. S. / /900/ is held fast by a rope. The
Soh Blei gets up, walks up to the animal with the ka wait in his hand
and waits for the instant when it holds still. With one blow the head
lies on the ground. It is at once picked up and placed beside the
gourd bottle standing on the little pile of earth. The twitching rump
is dragged in front of the iing sâd. Thus it continues until five goats
are beheaded.

Now the S'iem comes down to the sacrificial place. He takes the
slaughtering knife in his hand, squats down in the place of the head
priest, and observes as the latter had done the same ceremonies. Then
he gets up and strides into the middle of the place in full costume
with raised head and a self-conscious dignity. A goat has already
been lead out there. One blow and its head also rolls on the ground.
He sacrifices the first goat to the divinity which made him king;
afterwards the four others are sacrificed to the u Blei Shillong. A
salvo of guns and a loud shout of joy accompanies each blow of the
S'iem.

The slaughter is now continued by others in endless turns. Sixty, 796
eighty and more goats must lose their lives. The poor victims are 782
not always lucky enough to be killed with one blow. The animal 787
might move at the last minute or an unskilled hand may lack a cer-
tain firmness. Then the goat is only lightly wounded and crying seeks
to escape. The sacrificer throws the knife away in order to disappear
hastily among the spectators; some pick up earth and throw it at him
with reproachful cries, while others seize the poor animal, throw it
on the ground and saw the head off with the knife. That is a horrible
sight. It is considered an unfavorable sign when the goat is not

796 beheaded with one blow. If it happens to one of the first twelve goats,
782 the man concerned must inquire through new sacrifices why his sacri-
787 fice was not pleasing to god.

The observing of the entrails is only done with the twelve first goats decapitated by the S'iem and the sacrificial priests. As in the case of pigs, it is only observed whether the liver, lungs, spleen and gall bladder are healthy and without spots, in which case the sacrifice is a good one and pleasing to god, otherwise through throwing /sic: could be egg throwing = Eierwerfen/ and new sacrifices a more favorable result must be brought about.

During the night a pig is sacrificed to the honor of the u Suidnia long S'iem and he is informed thereby that Puja has now taken place and that it will take place once annually to the honor of the u Blei Shillong so that the kings will be lucky and healthy, the markets will enjoy progress and good results, and the children of the kingdom will be happy. This closes with the address to the Suidnia long S'iem: "Bring it about that the augury turns out well, and if the god Shillong should still not be satisfied, then reveal it to us through the augury."

The Soh Blei now takes a chicken in his hand, sprinkles it with water, rice, flour of kpu and ryni and speaks: "Now thou art sprinkled in order to lose thy life by having thy neck cut so that I can see the good or the evil (La pynsum pynsieh ban duh ka synniem ban dykut u ryndang; ha ngan ibrnih ia ka bha ka sniw)." Then /sic/ the animal's neck is cut, the blood, as mentioned above, is allowed to drip on the leaves and the gourd bottle, and the entrails are taken out. After the augury has turned out favorably, a white he-goat is brought in and the Soh Blei speaks: "O god Shillong, this prayer is for thee, this sacrifice of the goat, of the hen, of the kpu and ryni, of the utensils of preparation are for thee which thou hast given the royal family so that once annually the Puja may be celebrated in thy name, so that we may live happily, be healthy and increase, so that kings will arise so that their honor and that of the kingdom will grow and increase and the children of the kingdom will spread out to increase thy name and thy honor. O god Shillong, when thou hast received the sacrifice, bring it about that the heart, the lungs, the spleen, the gall bladder and the other parts are good."

Meanwhile dancers are arranged on both sides; they swing the sword (ka wait) and the bunch (a rynphiah) around in the air and utter shouts of joy. As mentioned above, the goat is now sprent three times with the various sacrificial gifts, and guns are shot off three times and shouts of joy uttered. Then the S'iem gets up, takes the ka wait in his hand and sits down on the place of sacrifice. He takes

off his turban (ha jun ngang) and thanks god three times in a loud voice, then he hands over the ka wain to the Ish Bini who does the name and then gives the knife to the sacrificer from the jaid Nongbneng this one hands it on to the one from the jaid Tlangkhal, and this one finally gives it to the one from the jaid Nongpoing. Only one from these three families may celebrate the beheading. When this has taken place, the head is placed on the leaves in front of the good family, and the entrails are taken from the body in order to read the omens. If these come out right, the dance of joy is set in motion. All members of the kingdom are invited to the feast, which consists of rice, sacrificial meat, and rice liquor and which lasts until early in the morning.

22. The Celebration that Follows.

On the evening of the following day — called nong Maolong — a special meeting of the council takes place, which is called Darbar Ha in order to announce that all the sacrifices are now past. The S'iem has mats spread out inside the house and in the front room for the people to sit on; he himself takes his place on a pulong, a raised seat, in the front room. Great meat and pork is distributed to all those present, while the person who is designated as the speaker in the Darbar and the first of the three pi yum receive best cuts. The S'iem sends to the village and has it announced three times that as long as the Darbar lasts nobody may leave his hut.

Then he takes his turban off, raises both hands and offers thanks in the name of the lord and creator (ka ka kynong u tui u nongthaw), who made him king, gave him subjects as well as the districts of the kingdom, the markets and the roads leading thither and prays that he will ever give strength, growth and progress and prosperity to the fields. Then he cries /Wi/ out: "O god, lord and creator, give me, the S'iem, happiness and prosperity also, so that my thanks and submission to thee may become ever greater (Ah Bini, tui kynrad u nongthaw u nongbuh to ai lika ai ini ia nga I S'iem ban nongkhraw ka ngith ka dong. " Then he steps back.

The one who has been made the speaker now follows from the jaid Rynjah. He thanks the S'iem three times and then says: "O lord, thou who has created heaven and earth, thou hast named the king that we may be children of his kingdom; thou hast given the sun and the moon for reckoning the year, so that we can have Puja once in every year, so that the king appears, the children of the valleys increase and thrive, the children of the Khasi (3), the children of the

Fig. 5. At the Oracle of Egg Throwing.

Fig. 6. Rice Girls and Men in Evening Dance-Clothing.

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524 When the body has been burnt, the ashes and the unburnt bones are collected by the relatives of the deceased and washed. They are then placed in a-lieh (to plong) which is taken to a stone repository for the bones (mawbiang); here a further sacrifice takes place. For three days after the burning, the maternal relatives frequent the mawbiang, where they offer articles of food for the spirit of the departed to eat, and then three eggs are broken (called *kur ing lot ia*) in order to ascertain what is the cause of death. Until this egg-breaking has taken place the family is taboo. The ashes and the unburnt bones are subsequently removed from the mawbiang, and are placed in the family mawshaw, or mawlah. On this occasion a special ceremony takes place.

[illegible] 9. *Divination by breaking eggs.*—As this is a very peculiar custom, it deserves some description. Shadwell describes it as follows:—

[illegible] Each case of sickness or other calamity is attributed to the influence of some evil spirit, and the first step is to ascertain what particular spirit has been at work, and for this the great institution of egg-breaking is brought into play. An expert (not a professional) sits down before a basket, in the centre of which he places an egg on a few grains of rice; after invoking the egg to speak the truth, he scrapes the rice off the basket, excepting one grain left on any spot heavy disease. Then naming a particular spirit, he asks does if he be the cause of evil, a part of the shell of the egg may be deposited near the grain of rice; he then strikes the egg sharply on the centre of the basket. This process is repeated, if necessary, till the required information is obtained. The next thing is to discover what sort of offering will be acceptable to the spirit. This is ascertained in a precisely similar way, but the desired result is often not arrived at till much time and many eggs have been expended.

I have personally witnessed this egg-breaking and can vouch for the correctness of Mr. Shadwell's description. The Khasis do nothing of what they consider to be of the least importance without breaking eggs. When a Khasi builds a new house, or before he proceeds on a journey, he always breaks eggs to see whether the building or the journey will be lucky or not. I have quoted the description of egg-breaking at length, as I am informed that there is some similar custom extant in the Arwans Hill Tracts. I hope that it will be possible to ascertain whether or not there is any similar custom in Burma.

524 10. *Khasi archery.*—Archery is a regular institution amongst the Khasis, who are very fond of it. Archery may be described as the Khasi national game. There are regular archery contests between the people of different villages, one village challenging another to shoot off a match. Certain conditions are fixed, such as the date and place of the match, the number of arrows to be shot by the archers, the distinguishing marks to be given to arrows of the two different sides, etc.,

over what their monitors are doing for them, and what the views and inclinations may be as regards the amount of aid they may give. To a Khasia there is no difficulty about the matter when in distress or requiring aid of any kind, making omens by the breaking of eggs (which I will hereafter describe) he appeals to and propitiates any one monitor he may select; only one or two may promise such protection, and these it may so happen have died years ago. The benefit also conferred may be very trivial, and sufficiently acknowledged by the setting up of stones of small size; on the contrary, if great favours are conferred on the wealthy we find large monoliths forming conspicuous landmarks on many a hill-top, scattered over a large area of country and which are mostly known to the country round by the names of the individuals who have wrought so much good in their allotted state.

These stones are never erected in pairs or in even numbers; counting over a very large series still perfect, I found them invariably in sets of three, five, seven, or, as I have before mentioned in the case of the Nongturiang clan, in two sets, five and five, on opposite sides, to the same individual.* Even numbers are considered unfinished or imperfect.

A reference to the plans given, numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, will show the various arrangements in which the stones are set up, both in a segment of a circle and at right angles to each other, as in fig. 3. The most common form, however, is in line, fig. 4. This I consisted of a circular platform raised about two feet, faced with rough stones on the front face. These three examples were observed on the hill of Laiong-kota, where the bazar is held, and I have not seen anywhere else the monoliths so arranged; in other parts of the country they are invariably set up in a straight row.

These monuments are also erected for such a reason as the following:—During the illness of a person, every kind of propitiation and omenism either by the breaking of eggs, sacrificing fowls, pigs, etc., and by the examination of the liver and viscera having been made, and then failing to restore him; the sick man may vow that should he recover, he will erect a set of stones to one of his monitors, who, it is presumed, on knowing of the intention, will do his best to save him.

In setting up these slabs all members of the community are under an obligation to assist on such an occasion, and are not paid for their labour, beyond receiving in the evening a little food or liquor at the dwelling of the family who have sought their aid. The skilled workmen employed on the stone-cutting are

* Three and five are the most frequent numbers met with, also very rarely I have seen eleven.

[illegible]

evil spirits, who I suppose they think may be lowering about the neighbourhood. Here we find a custom the counterpart of one in Burmah, where the body of a Buddhist priest of rank is enclosed in honey, and laid in state for a long period, to be afterwards blown up with powder, together with the costly houses that bore him to the place. The same custom we find in "Crawford's Embassy to Siam" exists in that country.

There is some slight analogy to be traced between the funeral customs of the Khasis and Singphos, particularly in the collection of the ashes and subsequent interment. (Appendix D)

The breaking of eggs is perhaps of all modes of seeking for an omen the most curious of all the Khasi customs, but it is by no means confined to these hill people. I am informed by Colonel M'Culloch that the Kukis and some other of the numerous Hill tribes around the Manipur Valley do the same; but there it is not so commonly practised, and I never myself saw them engaged at the rite. The Gáros use eggs only for sacrifice. The number broken appears unlimited, but about twenty is a common number. It depends, of course, on the means of the individuals. They use a small board about twelve inches by eight inches square, which has a projecting kind of handle with a hollow to receive the egg to be used. The position of the chips on this board indicates the luck or answers to the inquiry that is sought, and only those pieces that fall within the board, outside of the egg-shell upwards, count as signs. The egg is personified and addressed after this manner: Egg! I am only a man, an ignorant and can divine nothing; you can commune with spirits, and between man and them have intercourse. Now, say! who has done this? (in case of sickness)—who has caused this man to fall sick? If the spirit is to the house, let the signs be on the left; if out of the house, on the right. The sacrificer spits on the egg, and taking some clay in his hand, smears it over, so that the outside may be distinctly seen where it is smashed. Apology is made to the egg, saying: I do not spit on you to insult you, but to clean you and give you a colour. Then standing up he throws the egg down with all his force upon the board.

It would appear that only those pieces of egg-shell that fall to the right afford an of consequence in the matter; those that fall beyond or on the off-side of where the egg strikes are the representatives of spirits that are not implicated with the matter in hand, while those that lie on the near side show that the sickness is the cause of purely natural causes, over-eating, drinking, or exposure to heat and cold, and not through the agency of any malignant spirit; such signs are of good import, and indicate (taking a case of sickness) that the person is likely to recover. Should he not do so the egg, or rather the sacrificer, a professional sacrificer called "Ka Bong Kmie", or "Ka Bong Kmie Kmiel",

bolts his own, he one reply: What was the good of calling me 787
in, to seek signs from eggs, when the case was past hope? I
could only give you such, and say he was sure to recover.—As
might be expected, the medicoes pay to the ignorance and
superstitions of the people; and it not unfrequently happens, I
am told, that on one being called in, and after examining a number
of eggs, he declares that owing to previous communion with
spirits in other houses, he can do nothing, and recommends that
another exorcist be called in, to kill a pig or a fowl, and thus
those who can afford it are made to give up as much as can be
squeezed out of them.

Any member of the community, if he desires it, can learn the
forms of offering, sacrifice, etc., under the instruction of those
who are in the profession, and who can then examine and look
to their due and proper performance. When they sacrifice a
cow, goat, or pig, the liver is the principal part examined for
omens; if it is smooth and healthy, such are good. The ex-
crescle, if full, are a propitious token; the size of the gall-
bladder is another point—if small, poverty may fall on the
family. Demons also are particular; some will not accept a
black or coloured fowl; pure white only will suffice, and these
they object often to sell.

It is often a matter of great difficulty to persuade a Khasia to 788
take medicine, especially men from outlying villages; they quite
dread it, imagining that, should they take it, some spirit, which
is not being propitiated, may alter its proportion, and thus make
them much worse. I have seen a grown-up man burst into
tears, and beg that medicine might not be administered, when
he was lying seriously ill. They, however soon find out the
good effects of our treatment, especially that of quinine in fever,
and they laugh in turn at the scruples of their more ignorant
companions.

The Jaintias, or more properly the Siatengs, on the East, are, 789
I think, more under the influence of their exorcists than are the 790
Khasia, on the West. On certain occasions, individuals sacrifice
a number of animals to different demons, and a great feast is
held, to which numbers are invited; men, women, and children,
are then arranged in large circles, each with a leaf for a plate
before them, on which the meat, when dressed, is served.

There is, however, one very extraordinary custom—one, I am 791
glad to say, confined to only a few villages in the Jaintia country
—called "Tawar". The unfortunate individual who is pro-
nounced to be in league with a demon, in order to clear his character
and be again admitted into the society of his kindred,
must throw everything he possesses away, even to the clothes on
his body, and begin life anew. A man on whom such an accusa-

household deities, and ancestor and ancestress deities. 776
Deities of the last two categories are simply aspects
of the high God or Goddess. ● The earth is peo- 777
pled with two great orders of local demons and
water demons who cause all undesirable, unusual,
and otherwise inexplicable events, acting either on
their own or as instruments in the hands of ancestors.
Apart from omens, both in nature and in dreams, 787●
Khasis attach supernatural significance also to every 811
numbers, and to the colors white, black, and red.
They hold especially important folk beliefs regarding 824
betel nut, paddy rice, gold and silver, and clothing.
Practitioners. The two classes of religious practitio- 791
ers are the village or state priests and the spiritual 793
fields are made. They use the same divinatory tech- 769
niques of reading broken eggshells and the entrails
of cocks, and they both sacrifice cocks, hens, goats,
pigs, and cattle. These skills are not taught to them
as much as picked up by observation and continued
(?) demonstration of efficacy. A priest is elected
from among the men of his ah to direct his skills to
the public good and he dies, and his records are
confiscated and come from the village or the
state. A sacrifice acts for private persons or his
groups, or cult, and is conducted by them personally
with gifts in cash or in kind. The sacrificer is called
upon to explain and then to ritually remedy every
variety of misfortune, especially illness, though his
patients are sometimes regarded with ambivalence,
and he is widely suspected to become a sorcerer
himself or later. ● There are two major types of sor- 774
cerer. One is the ritual specialist or sacrificer who
secretly turns his skills from good to evil, manipulat-
ing demons to injure a person or his group, and
acting always for himself alone out of considerations
of jealousy or revenge. The other is normally a lead-
ing citizen, a woman who is so wealthy and accom-
ful that it is believed that she must keep a djinn, i.e.
a creature which will bring her prosperity as long as
she feeds it periodically with human blood. To pro-
vide this blood, the men of her household, or other
males whom she bewitches with a special whistle,
will inconspicuously murder anyone except a mem-
ber of her sacrificeage. The victim have no way [P4]
[illegible] to the djinn in their turn, except that the
attempt could a death from illness rather than
murder. Khasi witchcraft can be perpetrated by
poisoning humans or persons with an evil eye, like an
[illegible] sorcerer. Ceremonies. The important traditional 811
ceremonies were the life-cycle rituals relating to 824
pregnancy and childbirth, the naming of a child and 824
death. Lesser ceremonies related to marriage and 824
divorce, and to housebuilding. All these rituals were 824
addressed primarily to the ancestors, and they are 824
still performed in modified form by many Khasis. 824
Other rituals, which were performed by groups such 824
as villages, clan local descent groups, or households, 824
were addressed to the unnamed aspects of the high 792

THE KHASI FESTIVAL OF 'POMBLANG'

S. Bazorjee

Introduction

The Khasi inhabit the upland of the central part of the United Khasi and Jaintia Hills district of Assam. They reckon descent through mother and the youngest daughter (Ka khadduh) of the house is the custodian of the ancestral property. Belief in the existence of spirits is strong among them and the causes of disease are ascertained by taking recourse to the process of divination. They are ruled by different categories of Chief. The Siem is the highest official responsible for the administration of the state but a few small states are also governed by Sirdars with some powers as vested in the Siemship although they do not possess the same status. It is interesting to note that their priests whose rank is next to Siem, have also been allotted to perform the secular duties in some of the regions of the Khasi country. The Chief function through their respective council comprising elected members from different administrative units. He is rather subservient to this body so he is little to be considered as over dominant, if his activities are not in conformity with the Khasi traditional usage. Most of his directives are implemented through the assistance of his subordinates who are in-charge of various sections of the State. The Khasi place his grievance first to their junior officers for redress and justice, after which an appeal can be preferred to the Siem or any other higher officer as the case may be. One of the eminent State of the Khasi people known as Khyriem, where this festival is celebrated, consists of eight units for administrative convenience under the supervision of different grades of officials who participated in this celebration along with the large gathering of representatives of the people.

The Khasi festival of *Pomblang* (Goat killing) described below used to be celebrated at one time in Shillong when the Khasi states of Khyriem and Mylliem were not separated. The first chief of the Khyriem state U Singh Mawlai shifted his headquarters to Nongkrem village after partition of the kingdom, which occurred before the arrival of the British. He again moved to Lumkhrieh after a brief stay at the village of Lyngkyrdem. He performed this festival as long as he was there, transferring it later to Nongkrem where he resettled again. It was celebrated here for a long time and consequently it was named after this village. Although the ruling family had been as shifted to residence about sixty years ago to the present village Iaid, during the time of U Kiar Singh Siem, it is performed regularly at Nongkrem dance which was observed by the author from 21st June to 25th June, 1955.

Origin of the festival

It is being held every year since the days of U Shillong who was acknowledged to be the founder of original Khyriem State. They celebrate it to perpetuate his memory and pay homage with a view to secure rain, good harvest, eliminating diseases and famine. He was worshipped along with other ancestral spirits with view to guide the present Chief in his discharge of his duties and for the welfare of the people.

The house of Siem (Ing-siei) where the rites are observed, is considered sacred. It consists of a big hall (Aitar) in the centre, surrounded by rooms. One of them on the north is used as a kitchen room (Ing-shnap) where sacred

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the bridegroom then sets out with this man and a number of followers, clothed in clean garments and wearing either white or red pagris (a black pagri not being considered a fitting head-dress on this occasion), to the house of the bride, where a feast has been prepared, and fermented rice-beer (ka-kiad-kiar) in gourds (*khong*) placed ready. The bride, her female attendants, and her mother and aunts have collected in the *nongtiaw*, dressed in their best, wearing their jewellery, and with their heads uncovered, for it is not thought proper for the females to cover their heads on the marriage day. On the side of the bride, also, a *kniang* (go-between) has been appointed, and it is his duty to manage all the business of the marriage on behalf of her family. Some young men of the bride's party go to meet the bridegroom's contingent by way of doing them honour. When they have reached the bride's house, the *kniang* of the bridegroom enters first, followed by the bridegroom, and after him the bridegroom's party. The *kniang* then hands over the bridegroom to the maternal uncle (*lai*) of the bride, or to the bride's father. Either of the latter then provides the bridegroom with a seat next the bride. The bride and bridegroom exchange betel-nut, and where the custom of investiture of the ring is in vogue, these rings are interchanged. The *kniangs* of the bridegroom and bride recite the marriage contract in lengthy formulae, which may be found on pages 6, 7, 8 of the late U Jaitam Roy's interesting notes on the Khasi religion. The two *kniangs* then take up, each of them, a gourd containing fermented liquor from the gourd provided by the contracting party, and give them to an old man who is versed in sacrificial lore, who solemnly mixes the contents together. Three dried fish are produced, and are placed on the floor of the house. The priest then appointed then solemnly adjures the gods in the following words :—

Hei, oh god from above ; oh god from below ; oh lai speaker ; oh god who hast created man ; as thou hast ordained this marriage, the ring has been given this day ; thou wilt know ; thou wilt hear ; from the clear firmament above that . . . . have been married this day. Thou wilt bless them ; thou wilt grant them prosperity ; thou wilt show them the way ; thou wilt show them the road, that they may be well, that they may obtain dwellings and houses,

1:Garden E-4, 5 (no date) 1997 AR7 Khasi AR7

that they may prosper, that they may obtain rice and fish, that they may possess hundreds and thousands; this, oh god." The priest then pours liquor on the ground three times from the gourd, counting "one, two, three." He then continues the invocation thus, "*Hoi*, then, oh mother; oh grandmother; oh maternal uncle; oh father; oh *Siddi-sin*; oh younger grandmother; oh elder grandmother; oh younger grandfather; oh elder grandfather. As the fresh lac falling (on the floor, i.e. the feet has been prepared), the ring has been put on, the three strips of fish are ready (alluding to the three dried fish already mentioned), you will all of you (ancestors) give ear, you will continue giving strength and spirit (i.e. to the married pair) that they may be well" (and so on, as written in the first invocation). He then pours out the liquor three times as before. He then adjures the sun, the elders, and all the people who do not belong to either of the two clans, and pours out liquor three times as before. The three pieces of dried fish are first placed on the *tympon*, the high cock above the fire-place, then removed and tied to the side-pole of the house, amidst shouts of *Hi, hoi, hoi, hoi*. The priest then sacrifices a fowl, and the cock a pig without blemish (also three), to *o Siddi sin* and *Ko Sno-lei* (the spirits of deceased ancestors of the family), and present them with *Ephkat*, or pieces of flesh. Two or three days afterwards, the bride, accompanied by her female relations, pays a visit to the bridegroom at his house, and after this they go and come as they like to one another's houses. After two or three children have been born, they take down the pieces of dried fish from the roof and sacrifice two pigs, one on behalf of the husband and another on behalf of the wife. Then they say there can be no possible song, and husband and wife use each other's things and pool their earnings, and if the husband has a house of his own, the wife can go and live with him; this, however, is not the custom amongst many of the Syntengs, who more strictly observe the principles of the matriarchate. The cost of the marriage ceremonies amongst Khasis, Syntengs and Wars, may be put down at between Rs. 50 and Rs. 200 according to the position of the parties.

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

211 171 which a figure, evidently of a Hindu god, has been carved, without doubt after the erection of the stone. Here we have a striking parallel case to the painted and carved menhir near Tregastel in Brittany, upon which has been carved the representation of a crucifix. There are also some carved stones near Nartiang (said to represent two women) called *mawthawder briar*.

211 483 483 The Khasis say that these great stones were brought sometimes from considerable distances. After being hewn, the stones were laid on a large, wooden trolley and dragged across country by means of ropes of cane, of which plenty can be had from the Wiz country on the southern side of the district, and then placed in position by means of ropes and levers. It seems little short of marvellous that these stones, which sometimes weighed many tons, were placed in position by such primitive means, especially when we consider the great trouble there was to re-erect one of the fallen stones at Mawkhrup lately. Nowadays only comparatively small stones are erected, which are generally hewn and erected on the spot, so that there is no necessity for any conveyance.

000 In conclusion, it may be remarked that the subject of the Khasi monolithic is in reality a large one, on which a great deal could be written, but owing to considerations of space it has been found necessary to compress the account within its present limits.

FESTIVITIES, DOMESTIC AND TRIBAL.

536 796 796 789 782 Dancing forms the principal part of all the Khasi festivities, and is an important adjunct of some of their religious ceremonies. One of the greatest festivals in the Khasi Hills is the Nongkrem dance; it may be said to be as important an event to the Khasis as the *Sob dimp-khlaw* festivities are to the Syntengs.

The Nongkrem dance is really part of what is known as the *pandhong* or goat-killing ceremony, performed by the Siem of Khyrim (or Nongkrem) with the aid of his *sob-lim* (high priest) and the various *lyngdohs* (or priests) to Ka Blei Synshar (the ruling goddess), that the crops may prosper and that there may

I: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

be a successful era in store for the people of the State. The goddess on this occasion may be regarded as a Khasi Demeter, although no mysterious form part of her services as at the Grecian Eleusis. The Nongkrem ceremony and dance (now held at Smit) take place in the Lin spring, generally in the month of May. A lucky day having been fixed, the Siem sends a ring of cane (*lyewsh*) by way of a summons to the people of every village in the State, at the same time informing them of the date of the puja, and requesting them to attend with their offerings, consisting of goats and different articles of food. In the meantime various pujas have been taking place in the house of *Ka Siem Sad*, the Siem priestess, which it would be tedious to describe in detail. The more interesting points only will be mentioned. A fortnight before the puja and dance at Smit the *sah-blei*, or high priest, pours out libations of liquor in the *lyewn-blong*, or place where the sacrificial goats are kept, and in front of the great post (*of diang ewing*, or Khasi oak), in the house of the Siem priestess. Dancing then takes place in front of the post. Later on the Siem, with the high priest and other attendant priests, walks with extremely slow gait to a small hill where a stone altar has been prepared, and sacrifices a cock in honour of *u'lei Shillong*, or the god of the Shillong Peak. A silver dish with powdered rice, liquor in a gourd (*ka'ind ew*), betel-nut, and some leaves of the Khasi oak (*diang ewing*), are also necessary adjuncts of the puja. A goat is then sacrificed, and the sacrifice is followed by a dance of twenty-two men armed with swords and shields and chowries (fly-flaps). Having danced before the altar, the party returns to the house of the Siem priestess and executes another dance in the great courtyard. The Siem and certain selected persons dance in front of the *sukat blei*, or holy post of Khasi oak inside the house of the Siem priestess, the dancers being entertained with dried fish and ginger. Then follows the great dance of girls and men in front of her house. The girls dance in the centre, taking such tiny steps, that the lifting of their feet from the ground is hardly perceptible, the arms held down to the sides and the eyes demurely downcast. It is on this occasion that they wear the peculiar silver (and sometimes gold) crowns illustrated in the

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535 women from the *Wir* country, wearing their picturesque dress, amongst whom was the wife of the Siem of Bokwai with her little daughter. The dance was a pretty sight, and I have seldom seen such evidence of unalloyed happiness as was exhibited by the people on this occasion. Dancing may be described as one of the characteristic features of Khasi life.

796 The *Syntong Bok-diang-khlow* festival takes place annually
797 at *Jowai* and elsewhere in the *Jaintia* Hills in the deep water moon month (= *Jyllien*, or *June*). *Khlow* is the Khasi word for plague or pestilence, and *bok-diang* signifies to drive away with sticks. The festival may be described as follows:—The males rise betimes on the day fixed and beat the roof with sticks, calling upon the plague-demon to leave the house. Having done this, later on in the day they go down to the stream where the goddess "Aitan" dwells. Then poles of great length, which have been newly cut, are held across the stream. The people jump on the poles and try to break them; when they succeed in doing so, a great shout is given. After all these poles have been broken, a very large pole is fixed across the stream. The people then divide themselves into two parties, and contend for the possession of the tree. The contest, however, is a good-humoured one, and although many buffets are given and received, these are not regarded seriously, and there are seldom any fights. Col. Rivet says the contending villagers, in their excitement, sometimes relapse into a state of almost complete nudity. The party which succeeds in obtaining possession of this post is supposed to gain health and prosperity during the coming year. Col. Rivet remarks that the origin of this so-called ceremony is said to be that the god of thunder, "*Wiri pyrthat*," and Ka Aitan, the goddess of the stream, enjoyed its performance. Many innovations, however, have crept in. People disguise themselves as giants and wild beasts, they also parade images of serpents, elephants, tigers, peacocks, &c. Dancing is carried on with enthusiasm by the males, the girls, clad in their best attire, remaining on lookers. Before the meeting breaks up the males play a sort of game of hockey with wooden balls.

77% u Synjeng, the lame devil who lives in the thicket and tickles people to death,
ka ron, the worst of all the demonesses (only among the Syntengs),
u 'euid-lam-ia, the executor of the commands of god, who has to fetch the souls into the other world,
u Thlen, the devil of wealth and comfort who can only be worshipped by human sacrifice,
ka ewer, a demoness who brings violent death,
ka syrti, the demoness who scratches and cuts, saws, and files (by pain in the intestines),
ka Junai, the demoness of earthquakes,
ka niengriang, the demoness who causes children's illnesses (especially in the navel),
u 'euid briew or u 'euid ngon, the devil who attacks people in the early morning and causes stitches in the side or hoarseness,
u 'euid-kynta-maran, the devil who makes headaches,
u synkai hamon, an evil spirit,
ka rambandi, a demoness.

3. Revered Powers of Nature:

77% The Punatit River, to whom the kings of Nongstoin, Dangrin, and Nobosohpoh offer sacrifices.
the Khai-mara River among the War,
the Kupili River among the Syntengs,
the Kyntang River among the Syntengs,
the Shillong Peak (mountain near Shillong),
the Sohlong Mountain near Shillong,
the Kylleng Cliffs,
the Synger Mountain,
the mountain Pyndlong blei lynghoh near Shangpung (Jaintia).

• 78% 78% 2. Methods of Warding Off Evil Spirits

The Khasi do not practice magic in the

• 78) 79) strictest sense of the word. It is rather an instinctive activity, which is influenced by superstition to which they have succumbed. In their opinion all misfortune and bad luck are caused by evil spirits. The chief purpose of (80) their sacrifices is to propitiate them (khein ban khai). But they well know that it is possible to cause others harm with the help of the kwid. Their magic consists of this and in warding off harm. The magic is not accomplished by special magicians who make a profession of it; but whoever believes he is able to harm others with the help of the devil tries it. In the same way, those who have to ward off harm of any kind hope to be able to accomplish this with the help of the devil.

75) If anyone has a throat ailment, whether it 76) is a tumor or only hoarseness, they believe that 77) it occurs through the influence of the devil u lasumbah. Therefore a rooster or a pig is sacrificed in the courtyard of the person concerned. The blood of the sacrificed animal is given to the sick person to drink so that he may recover.

They do similar things when a person has a toothache or is sick with some kind of mouth ailment. This sickness is ascribed to the devil u jingkih.

78) If a child is born blind they believe that 79) adultery on the part of the father is the cause. This adultery is punished in the child by the devil u kyrdep.

The demoness ka tyrdew causes attacks of cramps, and convulsive cramps are the work of the feared demoness ka shwar.

Existent ailments are made definitely worse by the devil u thymrei.

Whoever goes into the forest and hears the calls: kŏw-koit, kŏw-koit, should hurry away because the devil u 'wuid-tynjang lives there and

78 the house concerned. Then they go slowly down to the river. Large poles, which were set out the day before, are now placed on the river. The people jump onto the poles and try to break them. If this happens a general great shout of joy sounds forth. If all the poles are broken, they fetch a particularly strong pole, actually a beam, and place it over the river. The people now divide up into two halves, and a battle begins for the possession of this beam. But the fight is a friendly one and even though there are many blows and even wounds, the people do not engage in a serious fight, even though they battle and struggle for the possession of the beam so hard that many lose all their clothes. The side which has the luck of winning possession of the beam will be healthy (free of cholera) and well for the coming year according to the belief of the people.

79 The use of charcoal also borders on magic. Thus F.V. Kartte, Apostolic Missionary, S.D.S. writes: (7) If a mother has a long journey to

[73] 7. Kartte, Die Religion der heidnischen Khasi [The Religion of the Heathen Khasi], Apostelkalender, 1895. [Apostle Calendar]

make, she makes a black mark with charcoal on the forehead of her child to protect it from any harm. Then she takes a longish piece of wood, splits it at one end into four parts, and puts the piece of charcoal in between. The mother carries this in her hand on the journey.

80 The same missionary also reports the doings of the Khasi during an eclipse of the moon: "If there is an eclipse of the moon, the Khasi believe that a frog is with the moon and is eating it up. The Khasi like the moon very much, and in order to prevent the frog from eating up the

while short prayers are murmured." To ward off the influence of evil spirits, the Khasi use all kinds of magic means. They prepare a kind of lattice work from split igrū (thin bamboo), which they fasten side by side evenly with a binding object (u thri), with the inside towards the front, and they hang it up on forked branches in the forest. The number of these little sticks is always uneven, 13 or 15 more or less. In the middle of the little sticks a colorful line (blue or red) is drawn (Fig. 1). Such lattice work or bamboo flags are often placed several together in some place in the forest. [Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, spirit sticks and spirit lattices.]

In addition to these lattice works or flags they also make spirit sticks or spirit posts which they also place in the thickets and which have the same purpose of driving off the spirits or of making them harmless. [416] Such sticks are cut from wood and are either quite simple square sticks with a crooked, added point (Fig. 5) or they are simple square sticks with a triple point (Fig. 2) all cut from one piece. These sticks are not painted. In addition to these simple spirit sticks the Khasi also make beautiful painted sticks. Fig. 3 shows a square stick which has a triple square decoration in blue and red. Its point is not notched, but cut slanted or crooked. Fig. 4 shows another kind. It is a six-sided wooden stick which has a hat or head (of one piece with the stick), the point of which is notched or set off. This spirit stick has circular decorations of red and blue interrupted by straight, horizontal lines. Such sticks also occur in an eight-sided form.

One often finds several of such spirit sticks or flags placed beside each other in a little place in the woods or thickets. [Illustration: Magic lattices against the forest devil].

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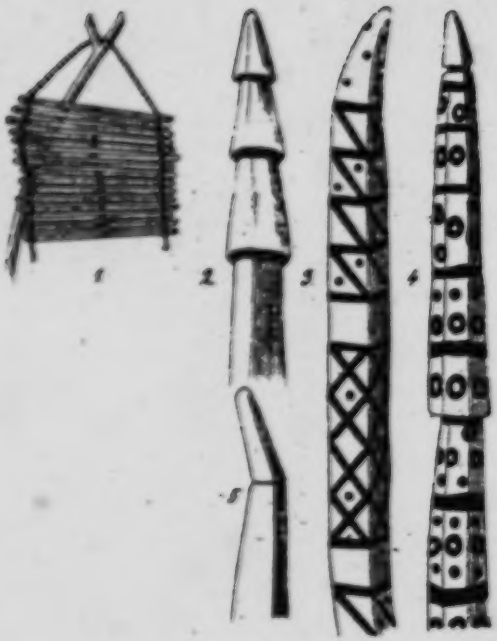

[415] Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5,

Spirit sticks and spirit lattices.

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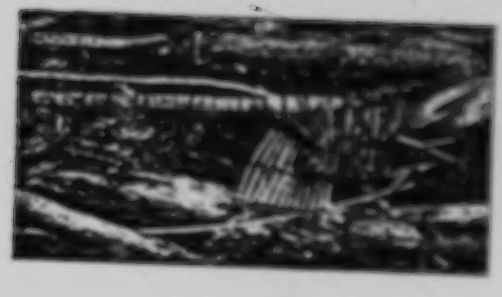

[416]

Magic lattices against the forest devil.

782 The Khasi also erect little platforms with little houses from long bamboo sticks in which food is served to the spirits of the woods and fields (to serve [slang] actually means spread out, as one spreads out a carpet or as one spreads out leaves for serving rice on).

[799] But not only through making sacrifices do the Khasi try to propitiate the devils and thereby make them harmless. They even try it with violence. Thus, as mentioned above, they drive the cholera demoness out of the house with sticks. Also during a cremation they shoot three arrows to ward off evil spirits.

There are many ways of warding off evil spirits; or, for acquiring their help words, wishes, or curses are used, as, for example, during a match of arrow shooting, the watchers who stand by the target try to keep the arrows of the opponents from hitting the target by calling on some god (kwuid) and the more they shriek, the sooner they believe they will attain their purpose They wish to influence the arrows of the opponents

3. Taboos (sang)

784 The sang or taboos of the Khasi also belong
782 to superstition. Sang means the same as "sacrilegiously or most strictly forbidden." This sang can be traced back to totemistic views. Sang can be something for a single person, for a house (iing) or a family, for a sib and a whole race (jaid). If a man or a woman whose spouse has
[58] 421] died remarries, the sang is transferred to the relatives of the deceased man or woman. This "inheritance" of the sang is different according to the sib. By accepting the sang the inheritors must pay 11 of a [417] kaw or 7 1/2 of a kaw or 5 1/2 of a kaw. By kaw the number 1280 is actually understood. But it means, however, that

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SECTION IV.

RELIGION.

GENERAL CHARACTER OF POPULAR RELIGION.

The Khasis have a vague belief in a God the Creator, U Blei Nongthaw, although this deity, owing, no doubt, to the influence of the matriarchate, is frequently given the attributes of the feminine gender, *cf.*, *Ka Iei Synshar*. The Khasis cannot, however, be said to worship the Supreme God, although it is true that they sometimes invoke him when sacrificing and in times of trouble. The religion of the Khasis may be described as animism or spirit-worship, or rather, the propitiation of spirits both good and evil on certain occasions, principally in times of trouble. The propitiation of these spirits is carried out either by priests (*lyngdoh*), or by old men well versed in the arts of necromancy, and as the *lyngdoh* or wise man deals with good as well as evil spirits, and, as often as not, with the good spirits of ancestors, the propitiation of these spirits may be said to partake of the nature of Shamanism. A very prominent feature of the Khasi beliefs is the propitiation of ancestors; but this will be described separately. There is a vague belief amongst the Khasi of a future state. It is believed that the spirits of the dead, whose funeral ceremonies have been duly performed, go to the house or garden of God, where there are groves of betel-nut trees; hence the expression for the departed, *ubo ban kwai ha ding u blei* (he who is eating betel-nut in God's house), the idea of supreme happiness to the Khasi being to eat betel-nut uninterruptedly. The spirits of those whose funeral ceremonies have not been duly performed are believed to take the forms of animals, birds, or

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[91] [94] ces. The Khasi word for consulting the omens is k
a diviner is called a *ranpikiew*. Another method of
omens is by dropping two leaves into a pool of wat
a stone, the position of the leaves as they fall, either
upwards or upside down, signifying good or evil as
may be; this is called *khawsiin*.

PRIESTHOOD.

793 The Khasi priest is usually called *Lyngdoh*, or *lyngd*
/97 always appointed from the lyngdohship. The etymolo
word *lyngdoh* is said by certain lyngdohs of the Khyrim
be *lang*=together and *doh*=flesh. A *lyngdoh*, or *la*
one who collects sacrificial victims, i.e. flesh for the p
sacrificing. It must be confessed, however, that this
is doubtful, owing to the absence in the word *lyngd*
prefix *ang* which is the sign of the agent in Khasi.
lyngdoh there are persons called *sohbiin* or *sohsiin*,
793 also be said to be priests. The Khasis, unlike the Hin
[604] *pandit* or priest to perform the family ceremonie
tion fall to the lot of the head of the family or
782 performs them out generally through the agency of th
maternal uncle. Old Khasis are frequently well vers
details of sacrifices, and in the act of obtaining an
examining the viscera of sacrificial victims. Apart fro
and clan sacrifices, there are the sacrifices for the pe
State or community at large; it is these sacrifices tha
duty of the *lyngdoh* to perform. He may be said to be
of the communal religion, although he has certain
connection with offences committed against the soci
marriage, and with regard to the casting out of evil spi
houses which may be thought to be infested with the
lyngdohs of the Khasis may be likened to the Roma
793 *flamen*. In the different Khasi States there is, as a r
631 than one *lyngdoh*; sometimes there is quite a numbe
priests, as in Nongkrem where there is a *lyngdoh* for
793 or division of the state. There are a few Khasi Stat
643 the priest altogether takes the place of the Siem, and
community with the help of his elders in addition to

household deities, and wandes and ancestors deities. 776
Deities of the first two categories are simply aspects 777
of the high God or Creator. ● The earth is gen-
ghed with two great orders of land demons and
water demons who cause all unfavorable, unnatural,
and otherwise inexplicable events, acting either on
their own or as instruments in the hands of sorcerers
against them, women, both in spirits and in demons. 787
Demons which supernatural significance also to every 788
creatures, and to the colors white, black, and red.
They hold especially important folk beliefs regarding 789
metal ore, gaining ore, gold and silver, and clothing
Prominence. The two classes of religious practitioner 791●
are are the village or state priests and the sacrificers.
Both are male. They use the same divination tech- 792
niques of cracking broken eggshells and the entrails 793
of cocks, and they both sacrifice cocks, hens, goats,
pigs, and cattle. These skills are not taught to them
in much as picked up by observation and confirmed
by demonstrations of efficacy. A person is elected
from among the men of his ally to direct his skills to
the public good until he dies, and his rewards are
contributions and come from the village or the
state. A sacrificer acts for private persons or his
group, as well, and is remunerated by them personally
with gifts in cash or in kind. The sacrificer is called
upon to explain and then to ritually remedy every
variety of misfortune, especially illness, though his
patrons are nevertheless expected with misfortunes,
and he is widely suspected to become a sorcerer
himself in later. ● There are two major types of sor- 794
cerer. One is the ritual specialist or sacrificer who
secretly turns his skills from good to evil, manipulat-
ing demons to injure a person or his group, and
giving always to herself alone use of combinations
of potions or sorcery. The other is normally a healer
rather, a woman who is an orphan and sorcerer.
Or that it is believed that she must have a demon, i.e.
a creature which will bring her prosperity so long as
she feeds it periodically with human blood. To pro-
vide that blood, the men of her household, or other
males whom she bewitches with a special whistle,
will indiscriminately murder anyone except a mem-
ber of her matrilineage. The victims have no sus-
picion to the demon in their care, except that the [P. 7]
ultimate result is death from illness rather than
murder. Minor witchcraft can be perpetrated by
private lawyers or persons with an evil eye, who are
often women. Ceremonies. The important traditional
ceremonies were the life-cycle rituals relating to 803
pregnancy and childbirth, the naming of a child, and 804
death. Lesser ceremonies related to marriage and 805
divorce, and to housebuilding. All these rituals were 806
addressed primarily to the ancestors, and they are 807
still performed in modified form by many Khasi. 808
Other rituals, which were performed by groups such 809
as villages, also, local descent groups, or households, 810
were addressed to the unnamed aspects of the high 811

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to his own matriarchal stock, and at his death his bones are deposited in the *ossuaries* of his mother's kin. In *Jowai* he neither lives nor eats in his wife's house, but visits it only after dark (p. 76). In the veneration of ancestors, which is the foundation of the tribal piety, the primal ancestress (*Ka Iaïdei*) and her brother are the only persons regarded. The flat memorial stones set up to perpetuate the memory of the dead are called after the woman who represents the clan (*nabor kyndai*, p. 130), and the standing stones ranged behind them are dedicated to the male kinsmen on the mother's side.

In harmony with this scheme of ancestor worship, the other spirits to whom propitiation is offered are mainly female, though here male personages also figure (pp. 106—109). The powers of sickness and death are all female, and these are those most frequently worshipped (p. 107). The two protectors of the household are goddesses (p. 112), though with them is also revered the first father of the clan, *U Thâwlang*.

Priestesses assist at all sacrifices, and the male officiants are only their deputies (p. 121); in one important state, Khyrim, the High Priestess and actual head of the State is a woman, who combines in her person sacerdotal and regal functions (p. 70).

The Khasi language, so far as known, is the only member of the Mûn-Khmêr family which possesses a grammatical gender, distinguishing all nouns as masculine and feminine; and here also the feminine nouns immensely preponderate (p. 206). The pronouns of the second (*nî*, *phâ*) and third person (*ô*, *lâ*) have separate forms for the sexes in the singular, but in the plural only one is used (*phi*, *li*), and this is the plural form of the feminine singular.

It may perhaps be ascribed to the pre-eminence

[the husband . . . Boslust]

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392 Syntengs plaster the space in front of the house with red earth and cow-dung, this custom being probably a remnant of Hindu influence. The Khasis have some peculiar customs when they build a new house. When the house is completed they perform a ceremony, *kyrjah-kho-shain*, when they tie three pieces of dried fish to the ridge pole of the house and then jump up and try to pull them down again. Or they kill a pig, cut a piece of the flesh with the skin attached, and fix it to the ridge pole, and then endeavour to dislodge it. The Syntengs at Nartiang worship *U Bishowm* (Biswakarma) and *Ka Siem Syndar* when a house is completed, two fowls being sacrificed, one to the former, the other to the latter. The feathers of the fowls are affixed to the centre post of the house, which must be of a *diang ewing*, a variety of the Khasi oak. The worship of a Hindu god (Biswakarma), the
77% architect of the Hindu gods, alongside the Khasi deity *Ka Siem*
177 *Syndar*, is interesting, and may be explained by the fact that
392 Nartiang was at one time the summer capital of the kings of *Jaintia*, who were Hindus latterly and disseminated Hindu customs largely amongst the Syntengs. Mr. Bits says that
637 amongst the Syntengs, a house, the walls of which have been
342 plastered with mud, is a sign that the householder has an enemy. The plastering no doubt is executed as a preventive of fire, arson in these hills being a common form of revenge.

392 Amongst the Khasis, when a daughter leaves her mother's house and builds a house in the mother's compound, it is considered *seng*, or taboo, for the daughter's house to be built on the right-hand side of the mother's house, it should be built either on the left hand or at the back of the mother's house.

774 In Nongtrai it is customary to worship a deity called
793 *U-Ki-Iap* (Khasi, a phan), by nailing up branches of the Khasi oak, interspersed with jaw-bones of cattle and the feathers of fowls, to the principal post, which must be of a *diang ewing*. The Siem priestess of the Nongkrem State at Smit and the heirs of the Siem family perform a ceremonial dance before a large post of oak in the midst of the Siem priestesses' house on the occasion of the annual goat-killing ceremony. This oak post is furnished according to custom by the *lyngskor*

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or official spokesman of the Siem's Durbar. Another post of
oak in this house is furnished by the people of the State.

The houses of the well-to-do Khasis of the present day in
Mawkhar and Cherrapunji are built after the modern style
with iron roofs, chimneys, glass windows and doors. In Jowai
the well-to-do traders have excellent houses of the European
pattern, which are as comfortable as many of the European
subordinates' quarters in Shillong. Some up-to-date families
in Shillong and at Cherra allow themselves muslin curtains
and European furniture.

The houses of the Pnar-Wáre are peculiar. The roof, which
is thatched with the leaves of a palm called a *tyrsiew*, is hog
backed and the eaves come down almost to the ground. There
are three rooms in the Wár as in the Khasi house, although
called by different names in the Wár dialect. The hearth is
in the centre room. The houses are built flush with the ground
and are made of bamboos. In the Wár villages of Nongjri and
Umnish there are small houses erected in the compounds of
the ordinary dwelling-houses called *ing lawid* (spirit houses).
In these houses offerings to the spirits of departed family ancestors are placed at intervals, this practice being very similar to
the more ancient form of Shintoism. In some Wár villages
there are also separate bachelors' quarters. This custom is in
accordance with that of the Naga tribes. There is no such
custom amongst the Khasi Uplanders. The Wár houses are
similar to those of the Pnar-Wáre, except that a portion of the
house is generally built on a platform, the main house resting
on the hill-side and the portion on the platform projecting
therefrom, the object being to obtain more space, the area for
houses in the village sites being often limited owing to the
steepness of the hill-sides.

The Bhoi and Lyngam houses are practically similar, and
may be described together. They are generally built on
fairly high platforms of bamboo, are frequently 30 to 40 ft.
in length, and are divided into various compartments in order
to suit the needs of the family. The hearth, which is of earth,
is in the centre room. There is a platform at the back of the
Lyngam house, and in front of the Bhoi house, used for drying
paddy, spreading chillies, &c., and for sitting on when the day's

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643 legate being subject to the local restrictions whatsoever. In a
651 few States the Siems are commencing to levy registration fees,
443 but the amounts are insignificant. Judicial fines are divided between the chief and the members of the durbar. In some States the Siems' income amount to a few hundreds a year only. Generally speaking, the Khasi chiefs are necessarily a very impecunious set of persons, and many of them are in-
643 debted to, comparatively speaking, large amounts. The Siem
631 is appointed from the Siem family, there being such a family in each of the fifteen Khasi States. The most important States are Khyrim, Mylliem, Cherra, Nongstoin, and Nongkhlaw. There are a few other petty States presided over by Lyngdohs, Sirdars, or Wahadadars. A fact which is of universal application is that heirship to the Siemship lies through the female side. The customary line of succession is uniform in all cases, except in Khyrim, save that in some instances younger each with brothers, or are preferred to
643 grandsonhood, instead of being postponed to them. The
425 difference between the rule of succession and the rule of inheritance to real property should be noted. In the former case the son of the eldest uterine sister inherit in order of priority of birth, although it is true that this rule has sometimes been disregarded. In cases of succession to reality, however, the inheritance goes to the youngest daughter of the deceased's mother, and after her to her youngest daughter. In successions to the Siemship, in the absence of male heirs from the eldest sister the succession passes, by what has been aptly described as the "knight's move," to the male children of the next eldest sister. In Khyrim the custom of succession is peculiar, there being a High Priestess, and heirship being
643 limited to her male relatives. Generally speaking, it would
644 appear that succession was originally controlled by a small
773 electoral body constituted of the heads (lyngdohs) of certain priestly clans, who, it is presumed, exercised their authority to reject candidates, when necessary, mainly on religious grounds. There has however, been a distinct tendency towards the broadening of the elective basis. In the large State of Khyrim the number of the electoral body has been greatly increased by the inclusion of the representative headmen of certain dominant but non-priestly clans (hynniu).

certain dominant but non-priestly clans (*mantrin*). In other States the Council has been widened by the addition to it of village headmen (*ai-dew*), or the chief superintendents (*bawne*) of the village markets, calls from which constitute the chief item in the public receipts of these States. A further step towards the recognition of the public will in the nomination of a Sieng has been the introduction of popular elections, at which all the adult males vote. Such popular elections were very greatly due to the views held by Colonel Rivet, who was Deputy-Commissioner of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills from 1866 to 1877. These elections have been, in many States, an innovation which is hardly in accord with public sentiment, and in many cases the voters have done no more than confirm the selection of a special electoral body. It is, however, clear that the idea of popular elections is not one with which the people are unfamiliar, *e.g.* in Langrin State, where all the adult males customarily vote at an election of a Sieng. Popular election has also been customary in the Nongkhyrh and Mawsai States, in cases where a special electoral body has been unable to agree upon a nomination, and also in Nongpoh, if a Council of five *lyngdohs*, which has in this State authority to declare who is the rightful heir, but not to disqualify him, cannot come to an unanimous decision. The Siems are appointed by an assembly, or *durbar*, which will be described later. The chiefs, having been thus chosen by the *durbar*, which is supposed by the people to be an institution of Divine origin, are styled, *ki Siem u Ilei*, or Siems of God. In most States the Siem is the religious as well as the secular head, *e.g.* in the Chowra State, where the Siem is also *lyngdoh*. In Khyrim State the Siem has sacerdotal duties to perform at different religious ceremonies, especially at the time of the annual Nongkrem dance. It is the custom for the Siem to consult the augurs with the soothsayers for the good of the State. The Siem in matters judicial acts as a judge, the whole body of the *durbar* being the jury. In olden days the Siem marched to war at the head of his army. It is not customary to recognize an heir-apparent, and the young men of the Siem family pursue the ordinary avocations of a Khasi, not comporting themselves in the least like scions of royalty. In quite

[Chiefs which the Siem -- Analysis]

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recent years there have been instances of Siems having been succeeded, like the Roman Cincinnatus, from quite humble positions, to undertake the duties of chief. We will now turn to an examination of the systems in the different Siemships. In the Kyrim or Nongkrem State there is a spiritual head, i.e. a High Priestess, *Ka Siew Sad*, who is responsible for the due performance of the State religious ceremonies, although, as already stated, the Siem also performs some of these duties. The temporal power here is delegated by the High Priestess to a Siem, who is her son or her nephew, or occasionally some more distant male descendant. It is the duty of an official called a *lyngdoh*, who is the official spokesman of the Siem's durbar, to propose a new Siem to the six *lyngdohs*, or priests, and to the heads of the twenty-four *mantri* clans. The latter then decide in durbar whether the proposed Siem should be appointed. In the event of their disapproving of the *lyngdoh's* nominations they proceed to elect another Siem. The High Priestess is appointed by the above electors, the order of succession to the post being as follows:—she is succeeded by her eldest surviving daughter; failing daughters, by the eldest daughter of her eldest daughter; failing daughters of her eldest daughter, by the eldest daughter of her second daughter, and so on. If there are no daughters or grand-daughters, as above, she is succeeded by her eldest sister. In the absence of sisters, she is succeeded by the eldest daughter of her mother's eldest sister, and so on. In this State the tradition runs that the first High Priestess was Ka Pah Syntiew, i.e. the flower-laced one. Ka Pah Syntiew was a beautiful maiden who had as her abode a cave at Matai, near Nongkrem, whence she was enticed by a man of the Mylliem-ngap clan by means of a flower. She was taken by him to be his bride, and she became not only the first High Priestess, but also the mother of the Siems of Nongkrem.* In Nongkrem the electors may disqualify the first, or any, heir to the Siemship for sufficient reason according to the Khasi religion and custom, such as bad character, physical disability, change of religion, &c. If the first heir be disqualified, the next in order must be appointed Siem, unless he be disqualified, and so on. In this State there

* For the story in detail see the Folk-lore section of the monograph.

the West country, it will be necessary to describe the land tenures and laws regarding land of each of these divisions separately. As land is always *jhumed* by the Bhois and Lyngngams from year to year, customs regarding land with these people are naturally very simple. Taking land in the high plateau of the Khasi Hills first:—The lands are classified under two main divisions, (a) public and (b) private lands. The following are the different descriptions of lands in the first division:—

Ka ri Raj, or *ka ri Siem*, which are Siem's, or Crown lands. These lands are intended for the support of the Siem family, and they cannot be alienated. The Siems are, however, precluded by custom from levying a land tax on persons who cultivate such lands, the relation of landlord and tenant between the latter and their chiefs being unknown.

Ka ri Lyngdoh.—These lands are for the support of the Lyngdohs or priests of the State. In some Siemships, as in Mawiong Siemship, paddy is grown on these lands from which rice is obtained for the State pujas.

Ri skhong, or village lands.—These lands are set apart to provide a supply of firewood, thatching grass, &c., and are the property of the village. The inhabitants of other villages are not allowed to enjoy the produce of such lands. Such lands can be cultivated by ryots of the village, but the latter possess only occupancy rights, and cannot transfer them.

Ki Lawkyntang.—These are sacred groves, situated generally near the summit of hills, composed of oak and rhododendron trees, which are held sacred (*kyntang*), it being an offence, or *sang*, for any one to cut timber in the grove, except for cremation purposes. These groves are the property of the villages.

(b.) Private Lands. These may be subdivided into *ri-kur*, or lands which are the property of the clan, and *ri kynti*, family, or acquired landed property. In the Khasi Hills proper a very large proportion, certainly of the high lands, is the property of the clan; for instance, the high lands at Laitkor, which are the property of the Khar kunger and Kur kulang clans, whose ancestors the large memorial stones close to the Laitkor road commemorate, also the lands of the Thang Khew clan, and many others.

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SECTION IV.

RELIGION.

GENERAL CHARACTER OF POPULAR RELIGION.

The Khasis have a vague belief in a God the Creator, *U Blei Kmyndhew*, although this deity, owing, no doubt, to the influence of the matriarchate, is frequently given the attribute of the feminine gender, cf., *Ka Iei Synshar*. The Khasis cannot, however, be said to worship the Supreme God, although it is true that they sometimes invoke him when sacrificing and in times of trouble. The religion of the Khasis may be described as animism or spirit-worship, or rather, the propitiation of spirits both good and evil on certain occasions, principally in times of trouble. The propitiation of these spirits is carried out either by priests (*lyngdoh*), or by old men well versed in the arts of necromancy, and as the *lyngdoh* or wise man deals with good as well as evil spirits, and, as often as not, with the good spirits of ancestors, the propitiation of these spirits may be said to partake of the nature of Shamanism. A very prominent feature of the Khasi beliefs is the propitiation of ancestors; but this will be described separately. There is a vague belief amongst the Khasi of a future state. It is believed that the spirits of the dead, whose funeral ceremonies have been duly performed, go to the house or garden of God, where there are groves of betel-nut trees; hence the expression for the departed, *uba bom kwai ka iing u blei* (he who is eating betel-nut in God's house), the idea of supreme happiness to the Khasi being to eat betel-nut uninterruptedly. The spirits of those whose funeral ceremonies have not been duly performed are believed to take the forms of animals, birds, or

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[91] cum. The Khasi word for consulting the omens is *khon*, and a diviner is called a *ronphkon*. Another method of obtaining omens is by dropping two leaves into a pool of water or on a stone, the position of the leaves as they fall, either right side uppermost or upside down, signifying good or evil as the case may be; this is called *khon-ala*.

PRIESTHOOD.

793 /99 The Khasi priest is usually called *Lyngdoh*, or *longdoh*; he is always appointed from the lyngdoh-clan. The etymology of the word *lyngdoh* is said by certain lyngdohs of the Khynriam State to be *lang*=together and *doh*=flesh. A *lyngdoh*, or *longdoh*, is one who collects sacrificial victims, i.e. flesh for the purpose of sacrificing. It must be confessed, however, that this definition is doubtful, owing to the absence in the word *lyngdoh* of the prefix *mang* which is the sign of the agent in Khasi. Besides *lyngdohs* there are persons called *sohkhai* or *sohsla*, who may

793 also be said to be priests. The Khasis, unlike the Hindus, have

[69] no *pandit* or priest to perform the family ceremonies. Such duties fall to the lot of the head of the family or clan, who

792 carries them out generally through the agency of the *khi*, or maternal uncle. Old Khasis are frequently well versed in the details of sacrifices, and in the art of obtaining augaries by examining the viscera of sacrificial victims. Apart from family and clan sacrifices, there are the sacrifices for the good of the State or community at large—it is these sacrifices that it is the duty of the *lyngdoh* to perform. He may be said to be the priest of the communal religion, although he has certain duties in connection with offences committed against the social law of marriage, and with regard to the casting out of evil spirits from houses which may be thought to be infested with them. The lyngdohs of the Khasis may be likened to the Roman *pontifices*.

793 631 In the different Khasi States there is, as a rule, more than one *lyngdoh*; sometimes there is quite a number of such priests, as in Nongkhrem where there is a *lyngdoh* for each *raj*

793 or division of the estate. There are a few Khasi States where

643 the priest altogether takes the place of the Siem, and rules the community with the help of his elders in addition to perform-

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by the usual spiritual offices. The duties of lyngdoh, their methods of sacrificing, and the gods to whom they sacrifice, vary in the different Siemships, but there is one point in which we find agreement everywhere, i.e. that the *lyngdoh* must be assisted at the time of performing sacrifices by a female priestess, called *ka sah-lini*, *ka sah-ala*, or simply *ka lyngdoh*. This female collects all the *puja* articles and places them ready to the *lyngdoh's* hand at the time of sacrifice. She merely acts as her deputy when sacrificing. The female *sah-lini* is without doubt a survival of the time when, under the matriarchate, the priestess was the agent for the performance of all religious ceremonies. Another such survival is the High Priestess of Nongkrem, who still has many religious duties to perform; not only so, but she is the actual head of the State in this Siemship, although she delegates her temporal powers to one of her sons or nephews, who then becomes Sien. A similar survival of the ancient matriarchal religious system is the *Sien sad*, or priestess, at Mawryngkang, who, on the appointment of a new *Sien* or chief, has to assist at certain sacrifices. Here we may compare Karl Pearson's remark, when dealing with matriarchal customs, that "according to the evidence of Roman historians, not only the seers but the sacrificers among the early Teutons were women." The duties of the *lyngdoh*, as regards communal worship, consist chiefly of sacrificing at times of epidemics of cholera, and such-like visitations of sickness (*jing iap khlaw*). In the Khyrim State there is a goddess of each *raj*, or division, of the state, to whom sacrifices are offered on such occasions. To the goddess are sacrificed a goat and hen, powdered rice (*u lyna*), and a guard of fermented liquor; the leaves of the *diang sning*, or Khasi oak, are also used at this ceremony. The *lyngdoh* is assisted by a priestess called *ka sah-ala*, who is his mother, or his sister, or niece, or some other maternal relation. It is the duty of the priestess to prepare all the sacrificial articles, and without her assistance the sacrifice cannot take place. Sacrifices are also performed by the *lyngdoh* to a *Lei Lyngdoh*, alias a *Syngkor*. This used to be the tutelary deity in times of war, but in less troublous times the Khasi *lyngdoh* sacrifices to him for success in tribal or State litigation. A pig and a cock, with the usual accessories, are sacrificed by the

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lyngdoh to this god. As in the case of sacrifices to *Ka lei Shi*, the services of a priestess are indispensable.

A *lyngdoh* is a *lyngdoh* for life. When a lyngdoh dies and his successor is appointed, certain rather elaborate ceremonies are observed in the Nongkrem *raj* of the Khyrim State. The funeral ceremonies of the old *lyngdoh* having been completed, the *lyngdoh* clan appoints his successor. The latter then, after performing his ablutions, proceeds, accompanied by the assembled members of the *lyngdoh* clan, to the top of the Shillong Peak. The lyngdoh and his clansmen advance along the road dancing, this dancing being carried on all the way from the *lyngdoh's* house to the Shillong Peak. All are clad in the distinctive Khasi dancing dress. Having reached the Peak, they pick the leaves of a tree called *ka 'ba phiah*, which they spread on the ground. A goat and a cock are then sacrificed, the new *lyngdoh* acting as the sacrificer. There are the usual accessories, including branches of the Khasi *eating* oak. Nine portions (*dphoi*) are cut from different parts of the victims and are offered to the god of the Shillong Peak, *U lei Shillong*. The *lyngdoh* and his companions then perform obeisance three times to the god, and the lyngdoh walks backwards some paces. The puja is then over, and they return dancing to the lyngdoh's house. On another day the *lyngdoh* performs a puja to *u lei Lyngdoh*, alias *u Ramjah*. Undoubtedly the most interesting feature of the ceremonies on these occasions is the dancing. This dancing is carried out by the *lyngdoh* and his companions armed with sword and shield, a fly-flap made of goat's hair (*symphiah*) being also sometimes held in one hand, a quiver of arrows being slung on the back, and a plume of black and white cocks' feathers (*u thaya*) fixed in the turban. The dance is executed in a regular figure, the dancers advancing and retiring in an orderly and methodical manner, and finally clashing their swords together in mock combat. The dance of the present day is not unlikely the survival of a war dance of ancient times. The lyngdohs say they dance in honour of *U lei Lyngdoh*, to whom such dances are thought to be pleasing. The dance of the lyngdohs on these occasions may be compared with that of the Roman *salii*, who, in the month of March, performed a war dance in honour of Mars.

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The above and other similar sacrifices to the gods of the State or divisions of the State may be said to be the communal religious duties of the *lyngdoh*. The duties of *lyngdoh* with reference to private persons may now be mentioned. When it is found that any two people have made an incestuous marriage, that is to say a marriage within the exogamous group of the *kur*, or clan, the parties at fault are taken before the *lyngdoh* by their clansmen, who request him to sacrifice in order to ward off the injurious effects of the *sneg*, or taboo, of such a connection from the kinsfolk. On this occasion a pig is sacrificed to *u'lei lyngdoh* and a goat to *ka lei long roj*. The parties at fault are then outcasted. As mentioned in another place, the sin of incest admits of no expiation for the offenders themselves. In the Khyrim State, it is said by the *lyngdoh* themselves, although not by the Siem or the myntries, that they are the reversionary legatees of all the persons who die without leaving female heirs (*iap duh*). In other Siemships such property passes to the Siem. The *lyngdoh* of Nongkrem can also take possession of the property of persons who have been found to harbour an evil spirit (*jingbih*) in their houses. It appears that in such cases the house and furniture are burnt, as in the case of the *Tarah* superstition in the Jaintia Hills, the *lyngdoh*, however, taking possession of jewellery or anything else of value. The only practical service the *lyngdoh* renders in return is to build the afflicted person a new house; unless, indeed, we take into account the casting forth of the devil by the *lyngdoh*. Mr. Jenkins, of Shangpung, in the Jaintia Hills, writes: "Such is the belief of the people in the evil spirits, that they are completely under the influence of the priests and spend large sums of money in order to secure their favour. They live in constant dread lest by the least transgression or omission they should offend these avaricious men and so bring upon themselves the wrath of the demons." The influence of the *lyngdoh* over the people in the Jaintia Hills seems to be stronger than in the Khasi Hills. For instance, it came to my notice in Raliang that crops cannot be cut until the *lyngdoh* has seen them, in other words, until the *lyngdoh* has claimed and obtained his share of the produce. In many places, however, in the Khasi Hills the *lyngdoh* is much discredited, owing, no doubt, to the advance of Christianity and education.

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582 marry any one belonging to your own *kur*, or clan. Unlike the
614 Khasis, however, a Lyngam can marry two sisters at a time.
595 The Lyngam marriages are arranged by *keiaaga*, or go-betweens,
594 much in the same way as Khasi marriages; but the ritual
582 observed is less elaborate, and shows a mixture of Khasi and Garo customs (see Section III.). The Lyngams intermarry
583 with the Garos. It appears that sometimes the parents of girls exact bride-money, and marriages by capture have been heard of. Both of these customs are more characteristic of the Bodo
881 tribes of the plains than of the Khasis. There are no special birth
782 customs, as with the Khasis, except that when the umbilical cord
553 falls a fowl is sacrificed, and the child is brought outside the house. Children are named without any special ceremony.
764 The death customs of the Lyngams have been described in Section III. A peculiar characteristic is the keeping of the dead body in the house for days, sometimes even for several months, before it is burnt. The putrefying corpse inside the house seems to cause these people no inconvenience, for whilst it remains there, they eat, carry on their ordinary avocations, and sleep there, regardless of what would be
771 considered by others an intolerable nuisance. The religion of these people consists of a mixture of ancestor-worship and the propitiation of the spirits of fell and fall, which are, most of them, believed to be of evil influence, as is the case with other savage
776 races. As with the people of Nongtoin, the primæval ancestress, "*Ka Iaw bei*," is worshipped for the welfare of the
782 clan, a sow being sacrificed to her, with a gourd of rice-beer, and leaves of the oak, or *diengsning* tree. The leaves of the oak are afterwards hung up inside the house, together with the jaw-bone of the pig. Sacrifices are offered to a forest demon, *U Bangjang* (a god who brings illness), by the roadside; also to *Ka Miang Bylli U Majyrmo*, the god of cultivation, at seed time, on the path to the forest clearing where the seed is sown. Models of paddy store-houses, baskets and agricultural implements are made, sand being used to indicate the grain. These are placed by the roadside, the skulls of the sacrificial animals and the feathers of fowls being hung up on bamboos about the place
793 where the sacrifice has been performed. There are no priests or
796 *Iyngdoh*, the fathers of the hamlet performing the various cere-
monies.

[771] rather a reconciliation of the spirits, good as
782 well as bad, by sacrifices, which are offered occasionally, especially in times of distress."

Undoubtedly sacrifices belong to the practice of the Khasi religion. Now who offers these sacrifices? In order to answer this question, it is necessary to differentiate between the various sacrifices that are customary among the Khasi. We find there

a) public sacrifices,
b) private sacrifices,
c) secret sacrifices,

The public sacrifices are performed by specially designated persons of the male sex (lyngdoh).

Private sacrifices can be performed by the ordinary men of the people as well as by sacrificers (lyngdoh) specifically designated for this.

Secret sacrifices are offered by anybody of the masculine or feminine sex.

782 The Khasi do not have priests in the actual
• 798 sense of the word. There is also no caste or family from which the sacrificers would come. There is also no special school or training for beginning sacrificers. The sacrificers or lyngdoh have also no special mark of distinction. (3) To be a lyngdoh does not mean [212] having

3. Cf. P. Dr. C. Becker, Indisches Kastenwesen und christliche Religion [Indie Caste System and Christian Religion], (Aachen) p. 6.

a special profession. The sacrificers are ordinary people who may have any profession which they practice. Such men only appear occasionally as sacrificers. Even the chief sacrificers, who

782 preside over a whole district and are known as
793 lyngdoh rangbah (head sacrificer), are not sacrificers by profession. Thus, for example, the chief sacrificer of Lamin in the district of War is a coolie by trade and carries loads from one market to the other (Fig.1).[1] None of these sacrificers has a revered position among the people. It is rather the "fear" of them which makes them respected. For the Khasi firmly believe that the lyngdoh or even merely the ordinary sacrificers are masters over the (evil) spirits. Therefore they are very careful not to quarrel with the sacrificers, so that they will not conjure up spirits in their anger and set them on the guilty one and thus bring him to destruction.

782 The sacrificers are not actually offerers
596 of sacrifices in the strict sense of the word,
793 but only representative people at the sacrifice. For the Khasi live under a matriarchy. With a sharpness of logic and with thoroughness they have probably developed and put into effect as a social organization the most beautiful pattern of a matriarchy of anyone up to today. The mother is the head of the family, the only tie that gives the family unity; she is the sole possessor and sole owner of all property, and inheritance is only possible through her. The father has no right to the relationship of the children. These belong only to the maternal line. Even his ashes will not rest finally beside those of his wife or children, but in the grave of his mother. Whatever the father may earn or save does not belong to his children, but returns to the maternal line. It is not surprising that with such views it is also the mother who has all the spiritual power. And in reality she is in complete possession of the highest spiritual power. It is her duty to

[1] [See category 116, p. 10 -- Analyst]

782 preserve the customs of the family or sib; she
694 must see to it that the ancient domestic customs
793 of the household sacrifices are truly preserved;
it is her duty, to keep the inherited ceremonies
of the sacrifices pure and to hand them down
conscientiously to the descendants. Therefore
she has to arrange for the necessary sacrificial
materials; she must prepare everything; she is
the only one who must fast before the offering
of many a sacrifice; she gives the order for the
sacrifice, and she should also have to perform
it herself.

But this does not happen. In reality no
woman offers the sacrifice herself. (4) She is

4. With the exception of the secret sacrifices, about which, see later.

represented by a male person. But he must be
[604] related to her on the maternal side. Usually a
maternal uncle (kni) represents her. Such
representation by a relative is always necessary,
whether it be for a public or a private sacrifice.
But not merely the degree of relationship must
lie in the feminine line; there is still something
else that must be observed for each sacrifice.
Even though the duties of the sacrificers and
their methods of sacrificing are very different
and are arranged according to the customs and
inherited usages in the family or in the sib
or in the state or community, yet in one point
they are all similar: namely, all the sacrificers
must be assisted by a woman during the perform-
ance of the services referred to. She is simply
called ka lyngdoh (the priestess). [213] Be-
cause the man must function in her name and he
is only her representative at the sacrifice,

782 Gurdon (5) believes that his ka lyngdoh is with-
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5. Gurdon, The Khasi, loc. cit.

out doubt a holdover from that time of the matriarchy in which a priestess also performed the sacrifices herself.

b) The Public and Ceremonial Introduction as a Lyngdoh.

793 How does a person become a lyngdoh?[1] This
782 question can also not be answered so easily.
555 This is very different in the different districts. In general it may be assumed that the lyngdoh arise from the practice of household (private) sacrifices. Since it is the duty of the woman to watch over the sacrificial ceremonies, she will introduce one of her sons to the rite of performing sacrifices that is peculiar to the family, so that he will be able to occasionally offer the sacrifice in the prescribed manner or in case of need (sickness, death, misfortune). But because the maternal uncle is usually called upon for the sacrifices, the son who has learned to offer sacrifices will have little chance to practise this art in his own family, but rather among his maternal relatives. And the other way around, people from there who know how to offer sacrifices will be called into this household. In this way the man who offers sacrifices becomes known in the neighborhood. If he has luck with his arrangements and if success crowns his efforts, the news will spread that he is an experienced sacrificer whom the spirits obey and that he knows how to seek them out, to drive them away, or to propitiate them, as the case requires. Thus it happens that such a man is called upon again and again to offer sacrifices,

[1] [i.e. sacrificer--Analyst]

• 793 especially in touchy cases. Thus of his own ac-
782 cord he becomes a lyngdoh and the people recognize
555 him as such on the basis of his successes. Whoever is once esteemed a lyngdoh remains one for the rest of his life. Just as in our country ordinary people call a dental technician "Doctor" and a high school teacher "Professor." so the Khasi call a man who is well known for his good sacrifices their "lyngdoh," although this person would not be able to prove his right to the title officially. This way of becoming a lyngdoh is probably the usual practice in most of the cases.

793 But it is not the way everywhere. There is
782 a report from Lamin (6) that a group mother

6. Salvatorianische Mitteilungen /Salvatorian communications/, 1906 No. 6, p. 84.

Stammesmutter/ of the lyngdohs is there. Gurdon (7) also writes about a lyngdoh tribe, from which

7. Gurdon, loc. cit.

the lyngdohs are drawn. I have never found this to happen and I have never heard of a lyngdoh group /Stamm/, or a lyngdoh sib (jaid). It could certainly happen that several sons of one and the same mother could by chance learn how to sacrifice and that they all excel in it and that they all have good luck so that these brothers are all called in as lyngdohs.

But the mother concerned has by no means become a lyngdoh group mother /Stammesmutter/just because of that, and the sib involved has no claims to the title: Lyngdohjaid (lyngdoh group /Stamm/). Naturally the correct art of sacrificing, which is often very involved and difficult,

782 is more easily handed on through the children
• 793 than outside of the family, although that can also occur. But this teaching each other would never be a justification for a community or group [Stamm] relationship of lyngdohs.
[214] In those Khasi territories in which the lyngdoh are still installed by public recognition so that they may function as lyngdohs during great community or state sacrifices, it is done in the following or in a similar way.

If a certain man has been decided upon to be chosesn as lyngdoh for the district, for the community, or for the kingdom, he is invited to offer his first official sacrifice. First of all he must take a purification bath. Then he must go to the top of a nearby mountain with all his relatives or electors (who are usually his relatives). This is done with great ceremony. The new lyngdoh is festively dressed. Freshly washed clothes cover his body. His turban (jingspong) is decorated with white rooster feathers. He wears a leather belt around his body on which the short Khasi quiver hangs (ka ringkap). He has a long sword (ka waitlam) in one hand and a dancing brush of goat hair (u symhiah) in the other. The male escorts are also dressed like him, but instead of the white rooster feathers they have a bunch of bright colored (thuia) flowers on their turbans. The entire distance from the house of the new lyngdoh up to the top of the mountain must be covered by dancing, which explains the ceremonial dancing clothes of the male escorts. But also the female participants in the parade, who do not have to dance, insist on appearing all dressed up even if they are not in dancing clothes. They are also dressed in freshly washed clothes. A snow white scarf on their heads and a sky-blue cloak marks t hem from a distance as participants in the festivities. In addition most of them wear the usual Khasi ornament: chains of

• 773 gold and silver, of gilded beads alternating
782 with real beads of coral. The women and girls also take some light refreshments along. They take care of the necessary pauses for quais (betel nuts) and smoking, for the Khasi are never in a hurry. Several coolies, who accompany the procession, carry the necessary utensils for the sacrifices on their backs in waterproof woven baskets (ka shang) with forehead straps (u star) woven of bamboo, while other coolies lead the living animals to be sacrificed: a goat and a rooster.

When everything is ready, a little band, consisting usually of only a flute player (ka 'tangmuri) and one or two drummers (ksing), begins to play and the procession moves up the mountain dancing. It proceeds slowly. From time
[276] to time everybody rests and the coconut pipe (ka jingdih duma) is passed from mouth to mouth. After a bite of betel nut (quai) has been taken, the procession moves on again dancing until the top of the mountain is reached. The Khasi must be known and admired because of the quietness and cheerfulness with which they do everything. There is no hurrying and haste, no rushing back and forth and no forgetting of anything. They give themselves time for everything and therefore succeed in what they attempt.

Hopping, mincing, and skipping they reach the top. If there are Khasi oak's there, the ones who have arrived break off leaves from them and strew them on the ground. Otherwise the Khasi oak leaves are brought along from home so that they can be strewn on the ground on the top of the mountain. This makes the ground holy and consecrated to the spirits. The men now put aside the swords and the dancing brush. They begin to prepare the first ceremonial sacrifice

793 of the new lyngdoh. A hole is dug anywhere in
792 the ground with a chopping knife (ka wait) and the humus (earth or loam) which is dug out is brought to the middle of the place, piled up and thus serves as the altar. [215] A gourd bottle with fermented rice water is placed on the altar beside a bunch of betel nut leaves and beside a little basket full of rice and pounded meal next a pepper leaf, and the whole is surrounded by leaves of the Khasi oak trees.

Now a circle is formed. Several men lead the goat into the ring and hold it tight by a rope. Another man seizes the goat by the hind-feet and lifts these so high that the goat is only standing on its forefeet, and since it is tied by a rope it cannot move easily.

Now the new lyngdoh steps forward. He steps in front of the sacrifical animal, head high and armed with a chopping knife (ka wait). He folds his hands and takes the chopping knife between the flat surfaces of his hands. Then he crouches down, while murmuring his verses. Everything is still around him. The lyngdoh prays, i.e., he murmurs something which is not understood, yet everyone knows that he is now speaking to the spirits. After he has done this, he stands up. Taking the chopping knife by the handle with both hands, he swings it high and cuts off the goat's head with one blow. Blood shoots out in a wide arc. The body of the animal falls sideways to the ground. [Fig. 1. The chief sacrificer of Lamin in his private occupation as a coolie]. A cry of joy bursts from the throats of the crowd when the neck is severed. Raising himself up from the blow, the lyngdoh presents the bloody knife towards all sides and then hands it over to someone else. Now he picks up the severed head from the ground and lets the blood drip on the altar and on the sacrifical

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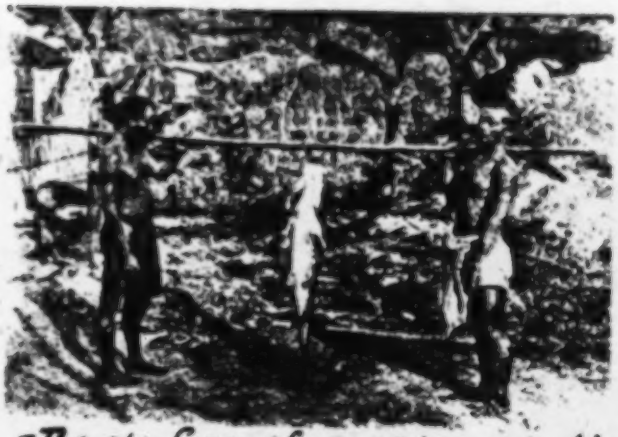

[The chief sacrificer of Lamin in his private occupation as a coolie]

Fig. 1

793 gifts carefully placed there. Finally he sets
782 the goat's head on the top of the little pile of earth thereby flattening it out, and thus crowns the altar with the bloody head.

Now the body of the goat is dragged over and the new lyngdoh begins to divide it. He has certainly done this many times before when he offered private sacrifices, or perhaps when he offered sacrifices for his own family, or perhaps when he was called upon by others to perform such sacrifices. But this time he is particularly happy about it. After all it is the first ceremonial sacrifice which he is performing officially. This is not as it usually is when he must sacrifice for sick or dying people and must propitiate the spirits and perform the observation of the entrails very precisely. No, this is a sacrifice of joy. He only needs to place the nine prescribed parts on the altar. He does that, taking a piece of the liver, the heart, the lungs, the kidneys, the loin, the spleen, the gall bladder, [216] the small intestine and the large intestine. The others surround the bloody parts with leaves of the Khasi oak trees and the new lyngdoh shouts out joyfully: "The sacrifice is good!" The others repeat the cry and clap their hands as a sign of agreement. The goat is offered to the "god who commanded the sacrifice" (u 'lei Shillong). [Fig. 2. The state sacrifice at Nongkrem].[1]

Now a second sacrifice begins in honor of the god u 'lei lyngdoh. A rooster is slaughtered and placed in pieces on the altar. While the new lyngdoh is letting the blood of the rooster drip on the sacrificial gifts on the altar, he shouts out: "Hey! The blood of the rooster! Hurrah!"

The sacrifice is completed. Coolies pack up the sacrifical meat into the baskets that were

[1] [See category 116, p. 12--Analyst]

782 brought along and push the sacrificial gifts to
● 793 one side.

The new lyngdoh now gives the sign for the dance of joy. The men who are all in dancing clothes get up and seize the swords and dancing brushes they brought along. They place them-
782 selves one behind the other. The music begins
798 and slowly the dancers move away from the place.
535 Hopping and rocking from one leg to another, they move forward, forming a definite figure while doing it. Sometimes it is a circle, sometimes an eight, sometimes a spiral, which then slowly resolves itself. Now the dancers face each other in pairs. With loud cries each pair jumps at each other and they beat their swords together, uttering cries of joy which are seconded by the spectators. [Fig. 3. Egg throwing: placing rice]1

Now they arrange themselves as at the beginning and the dance begins again. Thus the dance crosses the place several times, each time the peculiar dance (shad mastieh) ending
793 with the striking together of the swords. The
782 new lyngdoh, who has now performed his first ceremonial sacrifice which is concluded by the sword dance, declares his veneration for the god who has commanded the sacrifice. For this purpose all the men arrange themselves in order and with the lyngdoh at the head bow three times before the (invisible) god. While they are all standing, the lyngdoh takes several steps backwards and standing repeats his bow. With this the ceremony is over.

They arrange themselves in the order they came in. Dancing they go down the mountain to the hut of the lyngdoh. As soon as possible a new sacrifice [21] is offered to the u 'lei lyngdoh, the god of sacrificers. With this the new lyngdoh has officially begun his new office

1 [See category 116, p 12 -- Analyst]

782 and can now also appear at the public state and
• 793 community sacrifices when any basis of relationship justifies it.

This ceremonial way of introducing lyngdohs is still the custom especially in the kingdoms of Kyrim and Nongkrem.

The number of active, official lyngdohs varies according to the region. A kingdom has at least one official lyngdoh. [Fig. 4. Egg throwing: Throwing of the egg.] [Fig. 5. Egg throwing: Investigation] But the kingdom
[796] of Nongkrem, for example, has six official lyngdohs, who together with the king and with other lyngdohs from neighboring villages annuall offer the great state sacrifice. (8) Even

8. P. Dr. Becker, S.D.S., "Die Nongkrempuja in den Khasibergen" [The Nongkrem Puja in the Khasi; Mountains], Anthropos, Vol. 4, (1909), p. 898.

villages often have their own official lyngdohs.

For the services which they perform for the people by offering sacrifices, they do not receive money or a present of money. Usually thei trouble is rewarded by natural products, such as a hen, a bottle of rice liquor or even, though more rarely, by a pig. Obviously they always have the right to participate in the sacrificial meal.

2. The Sacrifices.

a) State Sacrifices.

161 According to the report of the last census
722 the tribe of Khasi numbers about 200,000 people.
621 (9) These are not unified under one ruler, but

9. P. Dr. C. Becker, S.D.S. Im

3:Stegmiller-17 M-4,5(no date)1924 AR7Khasi AR7

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Fig. 6 p. 18
[The village chief in his sacrificial coat and ornaments]

782 kingdom, thou hast given the sun and the moon,
796 for reckoning the year, so that we may have Puja once in the year, so that kings may arise, the children of the valleys may increase and thrive, the children of the Khasi, the children of the Bhoi, the children of the War, so that the sacrificial gifts may increase before the face of thine altar." (11)

11. P. Dr. Becker, S.D.S., loc. cit., p. 902 (Anthropos).

782 At these state and community sacrifices, the
• 793 official lyngdohs are the chief one to appear,
622 who together with the ruling king or chieftain
796 and with other lyngdohs from the villages perform the sacrifices. These annual state sacrifices are introduced and performed with great ceremony. They take place in front of the house of the s'iem sad (high priestess) of the state involved. (Fig. 2) [Fig. 6. The village chief in his sacrificial coat and ornaments]*

782 In addition to the usual sacrificial gifts,
796 which are grouped together on a small altar of earth and which consist of a banana leaf, betel nut leaves, pepper leaves, betel nuts, kpu and rynsi, fermented rice water in a gourd bottle, and oak leaves, there are chiefly hens and goats and at the end a pig. Goats are slaughtered in great numbers, so that the chief festival day of the state sacrifice is called pom blang (the goat heads) by the people.

782 Besides the slaughtering of the sacrificial
535 animals, the dance plays a chief part. At these
796 great sacrifices all the dances that are customary among the Khasi are performed: the dance [219] of the unmarried girls, the dance of the girls and men together, but both sexes are so placed that the men form an outer circle and the girls

* [See category 116, p. 17 -- Analyst]

/892/ The Nongkrem Puja in the Khasi Mountains (Assam) (1)

126 1. All the pictures attached to this article are prepared from photographs taken by P. Frumentius Stegmiller, S.D.S., missionary in Shillong. The photographs were in part very difficult to take as they had to be made without being observed and in some cases the day was already well advanced.

by P. Dr. C. Becker, S.D.S., Apostolic Prefect of Assam.

631 About five English miles to the east of Shillong, the chief town of the Khasi Mountains, lies the town of Nongkrem. It is the seat of the king (u S'iem) who governs the state Nongkrem of Khyrim, the largest of the 25 Khasi little states and which is partly independent (semi-independent) of the English government. Nongkrem is best 796 known for the great sacrifice, simply called Nongkrem Puja or also 782 ka Pom blang-u-S'iem Nongkrem (Slaying the goat of the S'iem of Nongkrem) which takes place there annually. This festivity offers, as little else does, an instructive insight into the religious and social views and customs of this interesting mountain people and should therefore be given a concise description, which may be divided into three parts:

I. The Preparations for the Sacrificial Feast.

II. The Sacrificial Feast.

III. The Celebration that Follows.

I. The Preparations for the Sacrificial Feast

793 Just as matriarchy prevails in the family among the Khasi so a 643 similar arrangement has been kept in the management of the Khasi state, Nongkrem. In the state the S'iem is not the actual head but a high priestess, called ka S'iem sad. Sad means the divinity which watches over the royal races. The temporal government is transferred by the S'iem sad to the S'iem; he acts as her authorized agent although independent in his decisions, working with his advisers, whose advice he must obtain in matters of importance. The moneys of the kingdom

are kept by the S'iem sīd. Everything that comes in, such as taxes, 793
market contributions, or that which comes in through the administra- 643
tion of justice must be given to her. She may dispose of it as she sees best, while the S'iem receives from her the money necessary for paying the costs of the government.

The S'iem sīd is the sole authority in matters of religion. She must watch over the religious sacrifices and determine the time and place for them; /facing p. 892 Fig. 1.[1] The Sacrifice (Nongkrem Puja) among the Khasi/ /893/ the state sacrifices are held in her house or in front of her house, and they must be performed in her presence. The actual S'iam is her son or nephew or even more distant male relative, who is chosen by the "state council," the Mentris.

After the death of the S'iem sīd, this office passes to her oldest living daughter, and lacking such to the eldest daughter of her eldest daughter, and lacking such granddaughters to the oldest daughter, and so forth. In case there are no daughters or granddaughters, the oldest living sister takes the office; if there are no sisters, then the oldest daughter of the oldest sister of the mother of the deceased S'iem sīd is the successor, and so it goes further. In this way the office always remains within the royal lineage.

In the house of the S'iem sīd (called ka-iīng sīd), which is 778
one of the largest and most attractive in the Khasi Hills, there is a 782
post in the middle which reaches from the floor to the ridge of the 796
roof. It is called u rishot Biei (post, pillar of god) and serves at the same time as the altar before which many sacrifices are performed. The pillar is nothing other than the trunk of the Khasi oak (ka dieng [824]
sning; botanical name: castanopsis sp.), which is holy to the Khasi. If the house of the S'iem sīd burns down, or if it is built up anew, a new pillar must be brought. Only certain families (jaid) have the privilege of cutting down the trees for this purpose. As soon as it is cut down, dancing and music begins; the trunk is covered with a cloth and carried away on a carrying frame. Hundreds of persons participate in this. As long as the pillar is not set up, it is guarded night and day. A person or an animal might jump over it and that would be sang (=, taboo); the trunk would be defiled and another tree would have to be cut down. If something dreadful happens in the kingdom, or if a danger threatens, the S'iem sīd goes with six official sacrificial priests of the kingdom Nongkrem before the post and offers sacrifice there in order to avert the evil.

The foregoing has to be mentioned in order to give a better understanding of the following.

The Nongkrem Puja usually takes place in the month of May. 796 782

[1] [see category 116, p.14 - - - Analyst]

613 bakla); and as long as the expiatory sacrifice, in the form of pigs and
698 goats, determined by the elders of the family and by the sacrificial
682 priest (lyngdoh) has not been offered, the sinning member is considered excluded from the family and the family sacrifices. But even after being accepted again a certain stain still clings to him.

613 But it is also the duty of the clan mother to care for the needs of the members of her family clan with regard to food, clothing, and the like. She divides the fruits of the harvests according to the needs of the individual. She goes or sends to market to trade, to buy, or to sell. She takes care of the common purse and even the masculine members of the clan have to ask her for money when they wish to drink rice liquor or buy clothing. There the clan mother is generous
[662] rather than niggardly. This dependent relationship of the men is not considered unworthy at all or shameful. It is the matriarchal form and ancient custom. Nevertheless, the position of the men in the family clan is an esteemed one. Even the name they are called by has an important sound: Rangbah, Basan (oldest ones, advisers). On them falls often the work in the field and wood or the protection of the family; bow and arrow are handed to them as cradle gifts. In the more important family matters the clan mother consults with them. At the giving of the name, during a wedding, a funeral, or cremation the clan mother steps almost completely into the background, also during quarrels and court hearings before the chief (Doloi) or king (S'iem). She is still always influential with her advice, but the actual appearance, activity and judgments is the business of the men. The smaller,
[782] everyday sacrifices she performs in the clan hut; but she can also let these /135/ be performed by her sons. At larger sacrificial ceremonies which are offered by several family clans at the same time, by whole
[793] villages or even by one of the Khasi states, only the men are active as sacrificial priests.

613 With regard to the husbands of the clan mother and of the feminine
596 members, they are not considered members of the family clan of the women at all. They are only considered the begetters. They work and live in their own clan, participate in their sacrifices and burial places. The father has no further influence in the raising of the children, who belong entirely to the clan of the mother. But usually they have no obligation, unless the wife and children are impoverished. Even then their care comes in second place after that of members of their own
[593] clan. Nevertheless the husband is honored and is addressed by "Mr." (kynrad) by his wife. She would consider it disgraceful to approach him impertinently. Where the property of a clan has been dissolved or Christian customs introduced, the husband lives and works together with his wife and children.

Ik Chattopadhyay E-4, 5 (no date) 1941 AR7 Khasi AR7

divides equally. U Subu Rai explained that each house counted as a separate unit. Thus if Ka Jem, Ka Jin and all their daughters were alive, the married daughters who lived in a separate house, namely, Ka Laimon, Ka Laibon, Ka Aimon and Ka Hoiman of Ka Jem's house, and Ka Phre of Ka Jin's line, would each get a share. But Ka Jem and her Ka Khadduh Ka Aibon who lives in the mother's house would get only one share. So would Ka Jin, Ka Eiribon and the unmarried daughters of the latter. The descendants of Ka Lung would get seven equal shares for distribution to each house, and not two shares first, divided later into shares corresponding to the number of daughters for Ka Jem's and Ka Jin's house. The manager does not get any share of the collections. Authority in the management of the ancestral property therefore passes from one male to another, in the extended family, and the Kur, in a manner which necessitates a clear distinction of seniority and juniority of brothers, among themselves and also of sisters with regard to brothers.

The case of succession is similar. Gurdon notes that the Siemship in Mylliem State passes from a man to his next brother, and "failing such brothers, by the eldest of his sisters' sons; failing such nephews by the eldest of the sons of his sisters' daughters; failing such grand nephews by the eldest of the sons of his mother's sisters" and so forth in the female line. In Nongkrem, the son or similar male relative of the High Priestess becomes by delegation a Siem. The office of the High Priestess passes from a woman to her eldest surviving daughter; and failing daughters to the eldest daughter of her eldest daughter; failing daughters of her eldest daughter, to the eldest daughter of her second daughter, and so on. This is the customary line of succession, and is stated by Gurdon to be "uniform in all cases" practically.

Neither levirate, nor sororate are practised by the Khasis. Widows are stated (G) quite often not to remarry if there are daughters. There is no question of the control of the property

another, in other words, a state is not a fixed territorial entity. In the early twentieth century, the most populous of the 25 chiefdoms, Khyrim, contained 30,833 persons occupying 7,839 houses in 272 villages, and the least populous, Nongkwei, contained 248 persons occupying 53 houses in 3 villages. Fifteen of the chiefdoms were headed by a *syiem* (chief), three by a *lyngdoh* (priest), six by a *sirdar*, and one by a *wahadadar*. These leaders all had executive and judicial functions, but a chief's authority was limited in that he had to obtain the approval of his executive council before acting. The other leaders were subject to a similar limitation. A chief maintained a small police force. His major sources of revenue were market tolls, fines, and, more recently, income from licenses to distill rice whisky. Succession to a ruling role in the larger states traditionally involved election by members of a lineage that had a hereditary right to elect, from among members of a lineage that had the hereditary right to rule. In British times, the elective basis was broadened, differentially in the various states, even to the point of popular elections. [Cf. Aitchison 1931; Lyngdoh 1962.] **Social stratification.** The three classes of lineage are the nobles, the commoners, and the slaves or servants. This stratification applies only to the recruitment to office in the native-state system, for there is no hypergamy, and in a village assembly everyone has equal voice. The noble lineages have the hereditary right to fill from among their male members roles such as village or state priest, councilor to a chief, or elector of a chief. The few lineages which today are remembered as slave or servant lineages had the inherited obligation to render special services to a chief's household. There is no Khasi term for "commoner." Every lineage other than a noble or a slave lineage is a commoner lineage, and the commoner lineages are in the majority. **Warfare.** Warfare was suppressed by the British, and little is known for certain about its traditional forms. The tactics which confronted the British were the ambush and the guerrilla raid. Traditional goals included taking heads from other Khasis and capturing women from the valleys.

RELIGION. Major and indigenous religions. A Welsh Calvinistic Methodist missionary penetrated into Cherrapunji in 1832, and the work that he began continues to this day. His society, which has since become the Welsh Presbyterian Foreign Mission, introduced writing, village primary schools, a high school, a theological seminary, and a hospital. Competing missionaries followed, and by 1914 some Shillong Khasis were puzzling over the tenets not only of traditional Hinduism and Islam but also of the Buddhists, Brahmo Samaj, Arya Samaj, and Unitarians (Roy 1914). By the 1920s, missionaries of the Church of God and the Seventh Day Adventists were

household deities, and measles and smallpox deities. Deities of the first two categories are simply aspects of the high God or Goddess. • The earth is peopled with two great orders of land demons and water demons who cause all undesirable, unnatural, and otherwise inexplicable events, acting either on their own or as instruments in the hands of sorcerers. Apart from omens, both in nature and in dreams, Khasis attach supernatural significance also to mystic numbers, and to the colors white, black, and red. They hold especially important folk beliefs regarding betel nut, paddy rice, gold and silver, and clothing. **Practitioners.** The two classes of religious practitioners are the village or state priests and the sacrificers. Both are male. They use the same divinatory techniques of reading broken eggshells and the entrails of cocks, and they both sacrifice cocks, hens, goats, pigs, and cattle. Their skills are not taught to them so much as picked up by observation and confirmed by demonstrations of efficacy. A priest is elected from among the men of his ab to direct his skills to the public good until he dies, and his rewards are institutionalized and come from the village or the state. A sacrificer acts for private persons or his groups, on call, and is rewarded by them personally with gifts in cash or in kind. The sacrificer is called upon to explain and then to ritually remedy every variety of misfortune, especially illness, though his powers are nowadays regarded with ambivalence, and he is widely expected to become a sorcerer sooner or later. • There are two major types of sorcerer. One is the ritual specialist or sacrificer who secretly turns his skills from good to evil, manipulating demons to injure a person or his group, and acting always for himself alone out of considerations of jealousy or revenge. The other is normally a leading citizen, a woman who is so wealthy and successful that it is believed that she must keep a thlaw, i.e. a creature which will bring her prosperity as long as she feeds it periodically with human blood. To provide this blood, the men of her household, or other males whom she bewitches with a special whisky, will indiscriminately murder anyone except a member of her matrilineage. The Jaintias have an analogue to the thlaw in their law, except that the ultimate result is death from illness rather than murder. Minor witchcraft can be perpetrated by poison keepers or persons with an evil eye, who are often women. **Ceremonies.** The important traditional ceremonies were the life-crisis rituals relating to pregnancy and childbirth, the naming of a child, and death. Lesser ceremonies related to marriage and divorce, and to housebuilding. All these rituals were addressed primarily to the ancestors, and they are still performed in modified form by many Khasis. Other rituals, which were performed by groups such as villages, abs, local descent groups, or households, were addressed to the unnamed aspects of the high

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17: Banerjee E-5 (1955) 1962 AR7 Khasi AR/
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THE KHASI FESTIVAL OF 'POMBLANG'

S. Banerjee

Introduction

The Khasi inhabit the upland of the central part of the United Khasi and Jaintia Hills district of Assam. They reckon descent through mother and the youngest daughter (Ka khadduh) of the house is the custodian of the ancestral property. Belief in the existence of spirits is strong among them and the causes of diseases are ascertained by taking recourse to the process of divination. They are ruled by different categories of Chief. The *Siem* is the highest official responsible for the administration of the state but a few small states are also governed by *Sirdars* with same powers as vested in the former although does not possess the same status. It is interesting to note that their priest whose rank is next to *Siem*, have also been allotted to perform this secular duties in some of the regions of the Khasi country. The Chief function through their respective council comprising elected members from different administrative units. He is rather subservient to this body as he is liable to be censured or even dismissed, if his activities are not in conformity with the Khasi traditional usage. Most of his directives are implemented through the assistance of his subordinates who are in-charge of various sections of the State. The Khasi place his grievance first to these junior officers for redress and justice, after which an appeal can be preferred to the *Siem* or any other higher officer as the case may be. One of the eminent States of the Khasi people known as Khyriem, where this festival is celebrated, consists of eight units for administrative convenience under the supervision of different grades of officials who participated in this celebration along with the *Siem* as representatives of the people.

The Khasi festival of *Pomblang* (Goat killing) described below used to be celebrated at one time in Shillong when the Khasi states of Khyriem and Myliem were not separated. The first chief of the Khyriem state U Singh Manik shifted his headquarters to Nongkrem village after partition of the kingdom, which occured before the arrival of the British. He again moved to Lanekerdem after a brief stay at the village of Lynshing. He performed this festival as long as he was there, transferring it again to Nongkrem where he re-settled again. It was celebrated here for a long time and consequently it was named after this village. Although the ruling family had later on shifted its residence about sixty years ago to the present village Smit, during the time of U Khur Singh, Siem, it is performed regularly as *Nongkrem dance* which was observed by the author from 21st June to 25th June, 1955.

Object of the festival

It is being held every year since the days of U Shillong who was supposed to be the founder of original Khyriem State. They celebrate it to perpetuate his memory and pay homage with a view to ensure rain, good harvest, eliminating diseases and famine. He was worshipped along with other ancestors with view to guide the present Chief in his discharge of his duties and for the welfare of the people.

The house of Siem (iing-sad) where the rites are observed, is considered sacred. It consists of a big-hall (shlur) in the centre, surrounded by rooms. One of these on the north is used as a kitchen room (iing-chetja) where ritual

17: Banerjee E-5 (1955) 1962 AR7 Khasi AR7
Smit

778 objects are stored while that of the west (kynram blang) was meant exclusively
796 for sacrificial goats. There is a very big circular courtyard in front of the building where the members of the royal family as also other boys and spinsters
[193] hold a ritual dance. The function is always held during the moonlit period of
[443] May or June and the actual dates are fixed in consultation with the Chief priest
[202] (*Sohblei*) in such a way that the first day—*Pamtiah** always coincides with the market day of Shillong Chota Bazar. The dates of the festival is then communicated to the in-charge of different units of his territory, through a wooden stick '*kyrwoh*' having a few knots of cane-strips, as a form of summons for attending the festival for five days at Smit along with subjects under their jurisdiction.

IMPORTANT PARTICIPANT

796 The responsibility of performing this ritual rests on the High-priestess
793 (*Ka Siem Sad*) who is succeeded by her eldest daughter. Different ritual objects are procured by her, well in advance and it is obligatory on her part to
562 join the ceremonial dancing, in which her daughter may also officiate on her
[769] behalf. U Shillong is worshipped by the chief priest while the other ancestors
[533] are invoked by lesser priests. The musicians (*Dhulia*) besides their normal duties, take part in the worship of the ancestors and they are presented with silk turban, jacket, cloth, by the ruling family for the services rendered during the festival. The *Siem* has no especial role except to supervise and evoke U Shillong for the welfare of the community. He is required to perform certain sacrifices, failing which his heir-apparent (*Siem kynnah*) does the same. He along with his sister (High priestess) abstain from taking rice during the period of celebration presumably to observe the sanctity of this festival as also to ensure the successful conclusion of the function.

RITUAL MATERIALS

796 The festival derives its name from the sacrifice of a large number of goats
782 some of which were supplied from the State fund and from different units of the territory. Formerly at least fifty goats were required and each unit had
231 a specific allotment but owing to the economic difficulty that the Khasi are experiencing, the number of goats sacrificed hardly exceeds twenty-five. The goats collected from the different units, are presented to the Chief at the midnight
[273] of the third day. Rice-beer, dried fish, fermented-rice, betel leaves together
[276] with nuts are also important ritual objects in this celebration.

DESCRIPTION OF THE FESTIVAL

796 The commencement of the festival was marked by the distribution of dried,
782 fish (suit dokha) to the persons assembled on the occasion, in the evening of *Pamtiah* (*i.e.* 21st June, 1957). This was followed by the dropping of rice-beer by the Chief priest over the fire place of central hall known as *Ka suit-ka shor*

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[805] *A week consists of eight days in Khasi Calender the names are according to the places where markets are held in Khasi Hills.

	Name	Market
1.	Pamtiah	Shillong Chota Bazar.
2.	Umni	Cherrapunji.
3.	Yew-iuh	Shillong Burra Bazar.
4.	Lyngka	Barapani.
5.	Nongkrem	Nongkrem.
6.	Mawlong	Laban (Shillong).
7.	Ryngkep	Cherrapunji Chota Bazar.
8.	Shillong	Laitlyng hat.

17: Banerjee E-5 (1955) 1962 AR7 Khasi AR7
Smit

in which no sacrifice was made except this libation of this liquor in the name of U Shillong, Ka Blei Long Siem and U Suidnia. Subsequently, the Chief musician (Dhulia) worshipped another deity Ka Synchar, by holding a yellow cook in front of ritual offerings collected on a plantain leaf while his subordinates immediately shouted nine times in their traditional way. Redistribution of dry-fish and indigenous liquor to the people marked and the end of the first day and the ceremonies performed on this day were repeated on the second day (Umni). 796 782

The sacrifice of goats which was an important feature of the festival, was performed in the afternoon of the third day (Yew duh) on the top of an adjacent hill where the *Siem* along with other members of his house, went there in a procession. The people shouted all the time while it was preceeding to that place. The musicians went round the altar first at the top of the hill thrice in anticipation of a happy and good auguers. The Chief priest facing the north, prayed to U Shillong holding a red-coloured cock in his right hand and killed it on the altar collecting its blood in a gourd vessel. The entrails of the cock were carefully examined by him and then kept on a silver plate. The Chief priest threw some grains of rice before him as also over the yellow goat and prayed to U Shillong holding a *dah* in his hand. He then passed on this implement to the *Siem* who also prayed to the deity. The *Siem* handed over the same to a man (nengnong) who sacrificed the goat on behalf of the *Siem*. He collected nine pieces of meat from different parts of the goats body (*e.g.* heart, lungs, liver, stomach, kidney, etc.) and handed them over to the priest. The latter cut each piece of the meat into five parts and offered them to the five ancestors.* The procession returned to the Siem's residence when the head of the goat was brought back by a member of a Kharbamen clan. It was then given to the High-priestess for disposal of the same in a manner as she liked. The day's rituals were completed by performing the goat presentation ceremony in the midnight. The Chief musician stood very near the fire made in this occasion at the verhandah (tyngkong) of the building and called the names of different units to present their gifts, in order of their seniority. The gathering that was watching from the courtyard shouted in their traditional way three times on receipt of the *Siem's* acceptance and the animals were led to the *kynram-biang* for overnight stay before which they were not considered fit to be sacrificed to be held on the day next.

On the evening of the fourth day (Lyngka) betel leaves and nuts were presented to the members of the *Siem's* family by the people wishing them happiness and prosperity. The chief priest took his seat in front of the verhandah in a line along with his ten assistants who were on either side in a group of five facing the north. The Chief priest worshipped U Blei Shillong and Ka Blei-Long Siem and the responsibility of invoking each ancestor or ancestress was devolved on each assistant priest : [769] [793]

Asstt. Priest	Chief Priest	Asstt. Priest
1. U Dienger. 2. U Marshan. 3. U Ram Shillong. 4. Ka Phan Siem Shillong. 5. U Biskorom.	6. U Shillong. 7. Ka Blei Long Siem.	8. U Phan Kynthei. 9. U Shynrang. 10. Ka Lei Duwan. 11. Ka Siem Sngi. 12. Ka Blei Synchar.

* (1) U Blei Shillong (2) U Suidnia (3) U Kpa & U Kha
(4) U Bhakraw Basaw (5) U Bakri Shako

After Lingodh H.—The Pomblang Nongkren (in Khasi) 1946. Khasi & Jaintia Hills Press, Shillong.

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

577 plains, jealous of their power, brave in action, and have an aversion to falsehood."

797 Khasis of the interior who have adopted Christianity are
177 generally cleaner in their persons than the non-Christians,
515 and their women dress better than the latter and have an air
342 of self-respect about them. The houses in a Christian village are also far superior, especially where there are resident European missionaries. Khasis who have become Christians often
771 take to religion with much earnestness (witness the recent
797 religious revival in these hills, which is estimated by the Welsh
794 missionaries to have added between 4,000 and 5,000 converts to Christianity), and are model Sabbatarians, it being a pleasing sight to see men, women, and children trooping to church on a Sunday dressed in their best, and with quite the Sunday expression on their faces one sees in England. It is a pleasure to hear the sound of the distant church bell on the hill-side on a Sunday evening, soon to be succeeded by the beautiful Welsh hymn tunes which, when wafted across the valleys, carry one's thoughts far away. The Welsh missionaries have done, and continue to do, an immense amount of good amongst these people. It would be an evil day for the Khasis if anything should occur to arrest the progress of the mission work in the Khasi Hills.

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION.

162 The Khasis inhabit the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, although
101 there are a few Khasi settlers in the neighbouring plains districts. The Census Report of 1901 gives the following figures of Khasi residents in the plains:—

Cachar	333
Sylhet	3,083
Goalpara	4
Kamrup	191
Darrang	10
Nowgong	29
Sibsagar	62
Lakhimpur	22
Lushai Hills	77
North Cachar	32
Naga Hills	62

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

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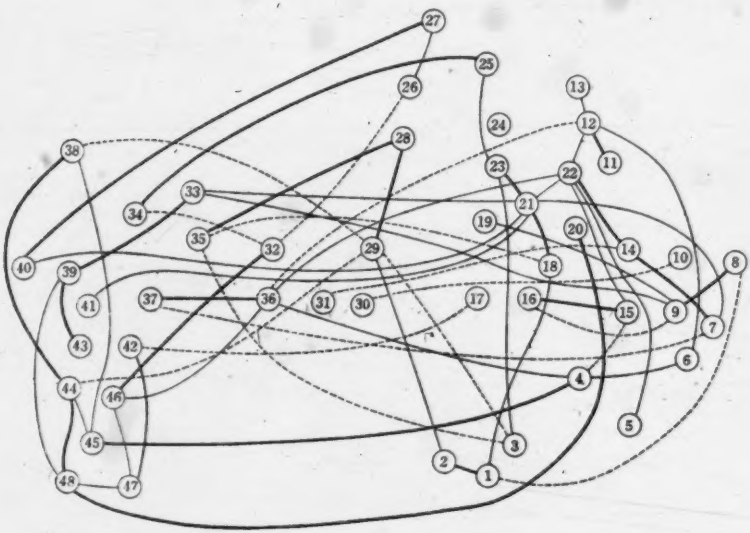

FIG. 10. — *Kinship and Household Location in Sohkynduh.*
——— Matrilineal kinships relations among household-owners;
——— Affinal relations (direct) among household-members;
- - - - - Affinal relations (indirect) among household-members.

particular two families are not restricted to one, but may be accumulated two or three, though I omitted to indicate these in Fig. 10.

582 There are some extensions of marriage relations with members
591 outside the village. In Sohkynduh, out of 88 (48 houseowners and
61 40 their husbands) 13 men and 2 women came from neighbouring
621 villages. Owing to the predominant uxorilocal arrangement, those
628 who came in from outside the village were mostly men. By these members, five different *kur*, new to Sohkynduh, were found, as shown in List 7 (17-21). Most of these outsiders came from villages inside the Kadashinong, or villages no further than a day's journey there and back. This area might be called a secondary endogamous area, and includes more than half a dozen villages. In Kongton, 20 husbands and 3 women came from neighbouring villages by their marriages. The secondary endogamous areas of Kongton and of Sohkynduh are not the same but they overlap in certain places, the surrounding areas being centred on each village. There were, by December 1955, no instances of direct marriage between these two villages.

184 There are a few exceptions to local endogamy, such as those
582 individuals who have become Christians and are educated in towns
621 like Shillong or Cherrapunjee. They usually move to a town, seeking
[795]

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

Shella

Confederacy forms a more marked endogamous community, through being cut off geographically and economically from the rest of the Khasi, and socially from the neighbouring Hindu people. 621

The Economy and the People.

Shella lies along the upper part of the Shella River and stretches upwards along the steep slope, looking down towards the Bengal plain. The climate of this part of the hills is considered to be one of the worst in tropical India for human habitation. The Bengal plain, though warmer than this area, is considered more healthy. This border land is the zone of malaria, typhoid, black fever, cholera, etc. None of the Bengalee peasants dare to live in such an area. However, it is the most fertile for products such as betel-nuts, pan-leaves, oranges, bananas and pineapples, and it also produces limestone. These people seem to prefer to settle in this zone and to enjoy its prosperity, at the expense of human lives: every year, especially between March and September, the inhabitants suffer from various fevers and dysentry and other diseaes, many of the weaker facing death. 131 132 164 433 164 648

Before the Partition of India and Pakistan, the products of Shella were carried down the Shella River to Sylhet, one of the biggest centres in East Bengal, which brought unimaginable wealth to the Shella people. Their houses were built by carpenters from Sylhet. The style and structure of these houses were exceptionally elaborate for the Khasi. They purchased vast rice fields in the plain, which used to be cultivated by Bengalee and Garo labourers engaged by them. These Khasi do not themselves know how to cultivate rice fields; they have always been managers or landowners. Their boys used to be sent to high schools and colleges in Sylhet. As a result of their trading with the Bengalee, many of them read and speak fluent Bengalee. There is no difference between their style of clothing and that of the Bengalee, though the women maintain their traditional dress in the Shella style. 177 178 434 [439] [342] [166] [464] [871] [191] [291]

They have thus been distinguished from the rest of the Khasi not only geographically, but also economically and culturally. Their personality also differs sharply from the rest of the Khasi. They are very sociable, and quick, a quality lacking among the Khasi of Sohkynduh and Kongton. They are clever enough to deal with strangers. The upland Khasi say Shella people are very cunning. This remark shows one side of these people. They had to be cunning, since they traded with the Sylhet Bengalee who were said to be the most cunning of their race. Their role in the trade and in the history of the modernization of the Hills was considerable. For centuries they represented intellectual Khasi owing to their contact with Hindu civilization, while the Hills remained in darkness. They assumed an important role when the British established an administration in the Hills, and even up to now, many leading Khasi originated from this area: for instance, Lati Hat, the first interpreter of the British Headquarters at Cherrapunjee; Jeebon Roy, who was the first Magistrate among the Khasi; Maham Sing, a lawyer and Member of the Legislative Assembly (the grandson of Jeebon Roy); Nichols Roy, Minister of Health and Prisons of the Assam Government, Member of the Legislative Assembly, and Missionary of the Church of God; R. R. Thomas (brother of Nichols Roy), Principal of the Gauhati University, etc. 157 184 648 177 178 [439]

Through constant cultural contact with Hindu, and encouraged by their economic prosperity, the Shella Khasi, like the Jaintias, have been much influenced by Hindu culture. However, this does not mean that the people of Shella adopted the Hindu beliefs. Though there is a small Hindu shrine, and some ceremonial elements were borrowed from the Hindu, most of the 177 648 771 795

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

177 people remained non-Hindu in their basic beliefs and social customs. Hindu
648 influences are nevertheless predominant in their culture, especially in their way
771 of living which shows a practical adaptability, somewhat similar to the Japanese
795 acceptance of modern western culture without becoming Christian. In my
[797] census of Shella village, the people calling themselves 'Hindu' amount to 40 per cent of the total, but they are the recent converts to the Ramakrishna School which established a missionary station at Shella after the Partition. The
[162] Christians constitute 30 per cent of the total, most of them having been converted during the last ten years, as in the case of the Ramachrishna School.[1] The rest remain as they were, of Khasi belief. These conversions to either
[458] Ramachrishna or Christianity seem to have been encouraged by the unstable situation of the people resulting from the recent economic depression in this area.

The Partition of India and Pakistan in August 1947, which drew the bor-
439 derline a few miles south of Shella village, considerably upset village economy
458 by stopping all trade with Bengal, though a limited amount of trade is allowed
648 with local people at the border. Because of this political change, all the produce of Shella gardens is rotting away for lack of markets, while all of the rice fields were taken by Pakistan. Goods now come to Shella only from the uplands, carried upon men's shoulders over the most difficult pass, which makes everything very expensive. Many families have sold their gold and other treasures, and some families are facing starvation.[2]

182 Concerning the conversion to a new religion, an interesting phenomenon
171 is to be observed. The conversion to Christianity or to Ramakrishna is mostly
592 by individual: I found in my census that the wife and husband often belong to different religions. This is a very different picture from the Garo, among whom
613 I always found that the husband and wife belonged to the same religion: the conversion of the husband to Christianity was always followed by that of the
771 wife. I think this reflects the structural differences which influence the actual relationship between the husband and wife. Among these Khasi, instead of
795 the husband and wife, the maternal uncle and his nephews and nieces are mostly of the same religion. The function of the *iing*, the most important social and religious unit, thus appears also in the conversion to a new religion, stronger than that of a domestic unit.

Intermarriage.

648 The close economic and cultural contact of the Shella people and the Bengalee
771 is not matched by social contact. The essential barrier between the two peoples is the difference of religion which dominates the entire social order in each
563 society. Though these Khasi were important traders, richer than the neighbouring Hindu peasants, they were considered by the Hindu as outcasts with whom they never shared social activities. Intermarriages were therefore very rare. In Shella village, only two exceptional cases were found in my census:

1. A Khasi woman married to a Gurka (cattle-keeper); they live at Shella Bazaar (Sholap).
2. A Khasi woman has marital relation with a Bengalee medical doctor who has resided at Disong in Shella for six years. He already has a Bengalee

1. These two entirely different missionary activities are competing with each other, and are somewhat related to the political powers within this area.
2. The state government is doing its best to provide them with additional facilities: for example, providing air transport for the transportation of oranges from Shella to Gauhati and Calcutta. However, such arrangements cannot cover the great economic loss suffered by the Shella people.

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137 and other trees. These are the sacred groves. Here the
778 villagers worship *U ryngkew U basa*, the tutelary deity of the village. These groves are taboo, and it is an offence to cut
[776] trees therein for any purpose other than for performing funeral
361 obsequies. The groves are generally not more than a few hundred yards away from the villages. The villages of the
137 Syntengs are similar in character to those of the Khasis. The
245 Wár villages nestle on the hill-sides of the southern border, and are to be seen peeping out from the green foliage with which the southern slopes are clad. In the vicinity of, and actually up to the houses, in the Wár villages, are to be observed large groves of areca-nut, often twined with the *pan* creeper, and of plantain trees, which much enhance the beauty of the scene. Looking at a Wár village from a distance, a darker shade of green is seen; this denotes the limits of the extensive groves where the justly celebrated Khasi orange is grown, which is the
361 source of so much profit to these people. The houses in the Wár villages are generally closer together than those of the Khasis, probably owing to space being limited, and to the
[363] villages being located on the slopes of hills. Generally up the narrow village street, and from house to house, there are rough steep stone steps, the upper portion of a village being frequently situated at as high an elevation as 200 to 300 ft. above the lower. In a convenient spot in a Wár village a clear space is to be seen neatly swept and kept free from weeds, and surrounded with a stone wall, where the village tribunals sit, and the elders meet in solemn conclave. Dances also are held here
778 on festive occasions. At Nongjri village there is a fine rubber
796 tree, under whose hollow trunk there are certain sacred stones where the priest performs the village ceremonies.

361 The Bhoi and Lynngam villages are built in small clearings in the forest, the houses are close together and are built often
[363] in parallel lines, a fairly broad space being reserved between
[351] the lines of houses to serve as a street. One misses the pretty gardens of the Wár villages, for Bhois and Lynngams attempt nothing of the sort, probably because, unlike the Khasi, a Bhoi or Lynngam village never remains more than two or three years in one spot; generally the villages of these people are in the vicinity of the forest clearings, sometimes actually in the midst

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basket is covered tightly with a cloth so as to be air-tight, and 273
it is allowed to remain in this condition for a couple of days, during which time the liquor has oozed out into the bowl. To make *ka'iad um* the material, the rice or millet from which the *ka'iad hiar* was brewed, is made use of. It is placed in a large earthen pot and allowed to remain there for about five days to ferment, after which the liquor is strained off. *Ka'iad hiar* is said to be stronger than *ka'iad um*. The former is used frequently by distillers of country spirit for mixing with the wort so as to set up fermentation. The people of the high plateaux generally prefer rice spirit, and the Wárs of the southern slopes of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills customarily partake of it also. The Khasis of the western hills, e.g. of the Nongstoin Siemship, and the Lynngams, Bhois, Lalungs, and Hadems almost invariably drink rice-beer, but the Syntengs, like the Khasi uplanders, drink rice-spirit. Rice-beer (*ka'iad um*) is a [796]
necessary article for practically all Khasi and Synteng religious ceremonies of importance, it being the custom for the officiating priest to pour out libations of liquor from a hollow gourd (*u klong*) to the gods on these occasions. As there is no Excise in the district, except within a five-mile radius of Shillong, liquor of both the above descriptions can be possessed and sold without restriction.

According to some Khasi traditions, the Khasis in ancient times used not to drink spirits, but confined themselves to rice-beer. It is only in the last couple of generations that the habit of drinking spirits has crept in, according to them. From Khasi accounts, the use of spirits is on the increase, but there is no means of testing these statements. There can be no doubt, however, that at the present time a very large amount of spirit is manufactured and consumed in the district. The spirit is 274
distilled both for home consumption and for purposes of sale; 438
in some villages, e.g. Mawlai and Marbisu, near Shillong, where there are fifty-nine and forty-nine stills respectively, there being a still almost in every house. Mawlai village supplies a great deal of the spirit which is drunk in Shillong, and from Marbisu spirit is carried for sale to various parts of the hills. Other large distilling centres are Cherrapunji, with forty-seven stills; Jowai, with thirty-one stills; Laitkynsew, with fifty-four stills;

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MARRIAGE.

591 It is proposed in this section to consider marriage from its social side, the religious aspect thereof being reserved for another paragraph. The most remarkable feature of the Khasi marriage is that it is usual for the husband to live with his wife in his mother-in-law's house, and not for him to take his bride home, as is the case in other communities. This arrangement amongst the Khasis is no doubt due to the prevalence of the matriarchate. As long as the wife lives in her mother's house, all her earnings go to her mother, who expends them on the maintenance of the family. Amongst the Khasis, after one or two children are born, and if a married couple get on well together, the husband frequently removes his wife and family to a house of his own, and from the time the wife leaves her mother's house she and her husband pool their earnings, which are expended for the support of the family. Amongst 591 the Syntengs, however, and the people of Maoshai, the case 576 is different, for with them the husband does not go and live in his mother-in-law's house, he only visits her there. In Jowai some people admitted to me that the husband came to his mother-in-law's house only after dark, and that he did not eat, smoke, or even partake of betel-nut there, the idea being that because none of his earnings go to support this house, therefore it is not etiquette for him to partake of food or other refreshment there. If a Synteng house is visited, it is unusual to find the husbands of any of the married daughters there, although the sons of the family may be seen in the house when they have returned from work. Generally in the day-time you will find in a Synteng dwelling an old crone, who is the grandmother, or even the great-grandmother, of the family, also grandchildren or great-grandchildren; but the husbands of the 796 married daughters are not there. The Syntengs seem to have more closely preserved the customs of the matriarchate than 611 the Khasis, and the Syntengs claim that their *niam* or religious ceremonies are purer, i.e. that they more closely correspond to what they were in ancient times than those of the 589 Khasis. Amongst the Syntengs, occasionally, a widow is 765 allowed to keep her husband's bones after his death, on con-

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INHERITANCE.

428 The Khasi and Synteng laws of inheritance are practically the same, although in some of the doloiships in the Jaintia Hills there are some slight differences. The Wár law of inheritance differs greatly from that of the Khasis, and the customs of the Bhois or Mikirs, who inhabit the Bhoi doloiship of the Jaintia Hills, are totally different from those of the Khasis, thereby supplying another link in the chain of evidence in support of the conclusion that the Bhois, or, more correctly speaking, the Mikirs, are of Bodo origin, and not Khasi or Mon-Anam. The Lynngams follow the Khasi law of inheritance. It will be convenient to describe the Khasi law first, and then to pass on to the special customs in vogue in the different doloiships in the Jaintia Hills, and, finally, to describe the Wár, Bhoi and Lynngam customs.

611 The Khasi saying is, "*long jaid na ka kynthei*" (from the
562 woman sprang the clan). The Khasis, when reckoning descent, count from the mother only; they speak of a family of brothers and sisters, who are the great grandchildren of one great grandmother, as *shi kpoh*, which, being literally translated, is one womb, i.e. the issue of one womb. The man is nobody. If he is a brother, *u kur*, a brother being taken to mean an uterine brother, or a cousin-german, he will be lost to the family or clan directly he marries. If he be a husband, he is looked upon merely as *u shong kha*, a begetter. In some of the Wár villages a newly married man is spoken of by the bride's family as, "*u khun ki briew*," some one else's son. It is,
593 perhaps, somewhat of a paradox under the circumstances that
764 wives should address their husbands as "*kynrad*," or lord.
611 There is, however, no gainsaying the fact that the husband, at least in theory, is a stranger in his wife's home, and it is certain that he can take no part in the rites and ceremonies of his wife's family, and that his ashes after death can find no place within the wife's family tomb, except, in certain cases, amongst
796 the Syntengs. Further, the ceremonial religion amongst Khasis,
562 especially that of the home, is in the hands of the women. It is, therefore, perhaps not to be wondered at, considering the
428 important status assigned to women by the Khasis, that women

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should inherit the property and not men. The rule amongst 428
the Khasis is that the youngest daughter "holds" the religion, "*ka bat ka niam.*" Her house is called, "*ka iing seng,*" and it
is here that the members of the family assemble to witness [796]
her performance of the family ceremonies. Hers is, therefore, the largest share of the family property, because it is she whose duty it is to perform the family ceremonies, and propitiate the family ancestors. The other daughters, however, on their mother's death are entitled, each of them, to a share of their mother's property, although the youngest daughter gets the lion's share, e.g. the family jewellery, and the family house, and the greater part of what it contains. The youngest [425]
daughter cannot dispose of the house without the unanimous consent of her sisters. If the youngest daughter dies, she is succeeded by the next youngest daughter, and so on. All the daughters are bound to repair the house of the youngest daughter free of cost. In the event of the youngest daughter [688]
changing her religion, or committing an act of *sang*, or taboo, she loses her position in the family, and is succeeded by her next youngest sister, as in the case of a death. Failing daughters, inheritance would pass by the "knight's move" to the sister's youngest daughter, who would be succeeded by her youngest daughter, and so on. Failing sister's daughters succession would revert to the mother's sisters and their female descendants. In the Jaintia Hills the inheritance of all real property passes from mother to youngest daughter. No man in the uplands of the Jaintia Hills can possess landed property, unless it is self-acquired property. In the Jaintia Hills, if a man dies and leaves acquired property, his heir will be his mother, if alive, excluding wife, sons, and daughters. If the wife, however, undertakes not to re-marry, she will inherit half of her husband's property, which at her death will descend to her youngest daughter by him.

Amongst Khasis all property which has been acquired by a 421
man before marriage is considered to belong to his mother; 428
indeed it may be said to belong to the man's *kur*, or clan, such property being called by Khasis, "*ka mai iing kur*" (the earnings of the house of the clan). After marriage, if there are children, the case is different, provided that the property

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211 which a figure, evidently of a Hindu god, has been carved, without
171 doubt after the erection of the stone. Here we have a striking parallel case to the painted and carved menhir near Tregastel in Brittany, upon which has been carved the representation of a crucifix. There are also some carved stones near Nartiang (said to represent two women) called *mawthawdur briew*.

211 The Khasis say that these great stones were brought sometimes from considerable distances. After being hewn,
483 the stones were laid on a large, wooden trolley and dragged
283 across country by means of ropes of cane, of which plenty can be had from the Wár country on the southern side of the district, and then placed in position by means of ropes and levers. It seems little short of marvellous that these stones, which sometimes weighed many tons, were placed in position by such primitive means, especially when we consider the great trouble there was to re-erect one of the fallen stones at Stonehenge lately. Nowadays only comparatively small stones are erected, which are generally hewn and erected on the spot, so that there is no necessity for any conveyance.

000 In conclusion, it may be remarked that the subject of the Khasi monoliths is in reality a large one, on which a great deal could be written, but owing to considerations of space it has been found necessary to compress the account within its present limits.

FESTIVITIES, DOMESTIC AND TRIBAL.

535 Dancing forms the principal part of all the Khasi festivities,
776 and is an important adjunct of some of their religious
• 796 ceremonies. One of the greatest festivals in the Khasi Hills is
789 the Nongkrem dance; it may be said to be as important
782 an event to the Khasis as the *Beh dieng-khlam* festivities are to the Syntengs.

The Nongkrem dance is really part of what is known as the *pom-blang*, or goat-killing ceremony, performed by the Siem of Khyrim (or Nongkrem) with the aid of his *soh-blei* (high priest) and the various *lyngdohs* (or priests) to Ka Blei Synshar (the ruling goddess), that the crops may prosper and that there may

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535 be a successful era in store for the people of the State. The
776 goddess on this occasion may be regarded as a Khasi Demeter,
796 although no mysteries form part of her services as at the
789 Grecian Eleusis. The Nongkrem ceremony and dance (now
782 held at Smit) take place in the late spring, generally in the month of May. A lucky day having been fixed, the Siem sends a ring of cane (*kyrwoh*) by way of a summons to the people of every village in the State, at the same time informing them of the date of the puja, and requesting them to attend with their offerings, consisting of goats and different articles of food. In the meantime various pujas have been taking place in the house of *Ka Siem Sad*, the Siem priestess, which it would be tedious to describe in detail. The more interesting points only will be mentioned. A fortnight before the puja and dance at Smit the *soh-blei*, or high priest, pours out libations of liquor in the *kyram-blang*, or place where the sacrificial goats are kept, and in front of the great post (of *dieng sning*, or Khasi oak), in the house of the Siem priestess. Dancing then takes place in front of the post. Later on the Siem, with the high priest and other attendant priests, walks with extremely slow gait to a small hill where a stone altar has been prepared, and sacrifices a cock in honour of *u'lei Shillong*, or the god of the Shillong Peak. A silver dish with powdered rice, liquor in a gourd (*ka'iad um*), betel-nut, and some leaves of the Khasi oak (*dieng sning*), are also necessary adjuncts of the puja. A goat is then sacrificed, and the sacrifice is followed by a dance of twenty-two men armed with swords and shields and chowries (fly-flaps). Having danced before the altar, the party returns to the house of the Siem priestess and executes another dance in the great courtyard. The Siem and certain selected persons dance in front of the *rishot blei*, or holy post
[242] of Khasi oak inside the house of the Siem priestess, the dancers being entertained with dried fish and ginger. Then follows the great dance of girls and men in front of her
782 house. The girls dance in the centre, taking such tiny
796 steps, that the lifting of their feet from the ground is hardly
535 perceptible, the arms held down to the sides and the eyes
301 demurely downcast. It is on this occasion that they wear the
302 peculiar silver (and sometimes gold) crowns illustrated in the

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

301 plate. The hair is worn tied in a knot behind the head, but with
302 a long tail hanging down the back. Rich silk cloths are worn
535 by the girls, who present the appearance of being, if any-
[292] thing, over-clothed, or, as Yule aptly puts it, of "perfect
796 parallelograms." They wear a profusion of gold and coral
782 bead necklaces, silver and gold chains, bracelets, ear-rings of gold, and any other jewellery they can lay hands on. Not only is the whole of the family jewellery requisitioned by the fair *débutante* (it is only the unmarried girls who dance), but she borrows from her friends. The men dance round the outside of the circle, waving fly-flaps and prancing (often nowadays wear-
[534] ing huge boots) with ungainly strides. The music necessary for the dance consists of *tangmuri* (pipes), drums, and cymbals.
[292] This is *ka shad kynthei*, or the dance of the women. Then there is *ka shad mastieh*, or the dance of the men, who are gaily dressed, wearing plumes of black and white cock's feathers (*u thuiyah*) and hold swords and shields. After gyrating for some time, two men at a time rapidly approach one another and clash their swords together in mock combat. They then retire, and, after again revolving for a period, repeat the process; then other couples follow and take their place. This goes on until the dancers get tired or are told to stop.

535 The above description may be taken as applicable to all
764 the Khasi dances. Dancing forms part of the ceremony of placing the ashes in the sepulchre of the clan. Dancing also forms a part of certain ceremonies performed at markets for the prosperity of the State and for the good of trade.

535 When I was at Mawsynram, at the time of the appointment of a Sieu, I witnessed a very pretty dance called *ka shad lymmoh*, performed by men who held the leafy branches of trees in their hands. This is most effective. Then
[301] followed a dance of some forty young girls, very well dressed, covered with the usual gold and coral beads and silver chains, and wearing the silver crown, or *pansngiat*. The young women danced with great spirit, and with an absence of all shyness, but still with the greatest decorum. Many of the women, spectators as well as dancers, were observed to be without the usual *tap moh khlih*, or head-cloth, the absence of which is always a sign amongst the Khasi women of merry-making. There were

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535 women from the Wár country, wearing their picturesque dress, amongst whom was the wife of the Siem of Bohwal with her little daughter. The dance was a pretty sight, and I have [752] seldom seen such evidence of unaffected happiness as was exhibited by the people on this occasion. Dancing may be described as one of the characteristic features of Khasi life.

786 The Synteng *Beh-dieng-khlam* festival takes place annually 789 at Jowai and elsewhere in the Jaintia Hills in the deep water moon month (= *Jyllieu*, or June). *Khlam* is the Khasi word for plague or pestilence, and *beh-dieng* signifies to drive away with sticks. The festival may be described as follows:—The males rise betimes on the day fixed and beat the roof with sticks, calling upon the plague-demon to leave the house. Having done this, later on in the day they go down to the stream where the goddess "Aitan" dwells. Then poles of great length, which have been newly cut, are held across the stream. The people jump on the poles and try to break them; when they succeed in doing so, a great shout is given. After all these poles have been broken, a very large pole is fixed across the stream. The people then divide themselves into two parties, and contend for the possession of the tree. The contest, however, is a good-humoured one, and although many buffets are given and received, these are not regarded seriously, and there [791] are seldom any fights. Col. Bivar says the contending villagers, in their excitement, sometimes relapse into a state of almost complete nudity. The party which succeeds in obtaining possession of this post is supposed to gain health and prosperity [792] during the coming year. Col. Bivar remarks that the origin of this so-called ceremony is said to be that the god of thunder, "*u'lei pyrthat*," and Ka Aitan, the goddess of the stream, enjoined its performance. Many innovations, however, have crept in. People disguise themselves as giants and wild beasts, they also parade images of serpents, elephants, tigers, peacocks, [535] &c. Dancing is carried on with enthusiasm by the males, the [536] girls, clad in their best attire, remaining on-lookers. Before the meeting breaks up the males play a sort of game of hockey with wooden balls.

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582 marry any one belonging to your own *kur*, or clan. Unlike the
614 Khasis, however, a Lyngam can marry two sisters at a time.
595 The Lyngam marriages are arranged by *kniangs*, or go-betweens,
584 much in the same way as Khasi marriages; but the ritual
582 observed is less elaborate, and shows a mixture of Khasi and Garo customs (see Section III.). The Lyngams intermarry
583 with the Garos. It appears that sometimes the parents of girls exact bride-money, and marriages by capture have been heard of. Both of these customs are more characteristic of the Bodo-
849 tribes of the plains than of the Khasis. There are no special birth
782 customs, as with the Khasis, except that when the umbilical cord
553 falls a fowl is sacrificed, and the child is brought outside the house. Children are named without any special ceremony.
764 The death customs of the Lyngams have been described in Section III. A peculiar characteristic is the keeping of the dead body in the house for days, sometimes even for several months, before it is burnt. The putrefying corpse inside the house seems to cause these people no inconvenience, for whilst it remains there, they eat, carry on their ordinary avocations, and sleep there, regardless of what would be
771 considered by others an intolerable nuisance. The religion of these people consists of a mixture of ancestor-worship and the propitiation of the spirits of fell and fall, which are, most of them, believed to be of evil influence, as is the case with other savage
776 races. As with the people of Nongstoin, the primeval
782 ancestress, "*ka Iaw bei*," is worshipped for the welfare of the clan, a sow being sacrificed to her, with a gourd of rice-beer, and leaves of the oak, or *diengsning* tree. The leaves of the oak are afterwards hung up inside the house, together with the jaw-bone of the pig. Sacrifices are offered to a forest demon, *U Bangjang* (a god who brings illness), by the roadside; also to *Ka Miang Bylli U Majgnaw*, the god of cultivation, at seed time, on the path to the forest clearing where the seed is sown. Models of paddy store-houses, baskets and agricultural implements are made, sand being used to indicate the grain. These are placed by the roadside, the skulls of the sacrificial animals and the feathers of fowls being hung up on bamboos about the place
793 where the sacrifice has been performed. There are no priests or
• 796 *Iyngdoh*, the fathers of the hamlet performing the various cere-
monies.

776 Then the wings of his nose are cut with a shear,
782 or pincer of silver and the blood is drained off. In the same way the nails on the hands and feet are cut off with silver shears. Finally the dead body is thrown into an abyss. (5)

[113] 5. For further details about "Human Sacrifice Among the Khasi", see Dr. P. C. Becker, Salvatorianische Mitteilungen [Salvatorian Communications], 1909, No. 5, pp. 75 ff.

754 [114] Since on the one hand many Khasi are busy
782 trying to kill others with the help of the devil or to make them sick (ai-ksuid), and on the other hand the evil spirits also harm men without being called upon, an enormous fear is thus the fruit of this superstition. From this fear comes the desire to make oneself free from the influence of evil spirits (lait-ksuid) or to modify this influence by sacrifices (khad) or at least to propitiate the devil completely (khein-ban khai).

• 796 Therefore the Synteng annually hold a large feast for driving away cholera (ka behdiengkhlam).
[782] The offered sacrifices have the purpose or propitiating the feared demoness ka khlam but at the same time they also have the purpose of making the participants in the sacrifice safe against cholera (to enchant them). Gurdon (6)

6. Gurdon, The Khasis.

describes this feast as follows: "In the month of June when the river is full of water, on a certain day the men go in the morning in front of the huts and strike the roofs of the huts with sticks. At the same time they call on the demoness ka khlam continuously and challenge her to leave

the house concerned. Then they go slowly down to the river. Large poles, which were set out the day before, are now placed on the river. The people jump onto the poles and try to break them. If this happens a general great shout of joy sounds forth. If all the poles are broken, they fetch a particularly strong pole, actually a beam, and place it over the river. The people now divide up into two halves, and a battle begins for the possession of this beam. But the fight is a friendly one and even though there are many blows and even wounds, the people do not engage in a serious fight, even though they battle and struggle for the possession of the beam so hard that many lose all their clothes. The side which has the luck of winning possession of the beam will be healthy (free of cholera) and well for the coming year according to the belief of the people.

The use of charcoal also borders on magic. Thus P.V. Kartte, Apostolic Missionary, S.D.S. writes: (7) If a mother has a long journey to

[113] 7. Kartte, Die Religion der heidnischen Khasi [The Religion of the Heathen Khasi], Apostelkalender, 1895. [Apostle Calendar]

make, she makes a black mark with charcoal on the forehead of her child to protect it from any harm. Then she takes a longish piece of wood, splits it at one end into four parts, and puts the piece of charcoal in between. The mother carries this in her hand on the journey.

The same missionary also reports the doings of the Khasi during an eclipse of the moon: "If there is an eclipse of the moon, the Khasi believe that a frog is with the moon and is eating it up. The Khasi like the moon very much, and in order to prevent the frog from eating up the

782 and can now also appear at the public state and
793 community sacrifices when any basis of relationship justifies it.

This ceremonial way of introducing lyngdohs is still the custom especially in the kingdoms of Kyrim and Nongkrem.

The number of active, official lyngdohs varies according to the region. A kingdom has at least one official lyngdoh. [Fig. 4. Egg throwing: Throwing of the egg.] [Fig. 5. Egg throwing: Investigation] But the kingdom
• [796] of Nongkrem, for example, has six official lyngdohs, who together with the king and with other lyngdohs from neighboring villages annually offer the great state sacrifice. (8) Even

8. P. Dr. Becker, S.D.S., "Die Nongkrempuja in den Khasibergen" [The Nongkrem Puja in the Khasi; Mountains], Anthropos, Vol. 4, (1909), p. 898.

villages often have their own official lyngdohs.

For the services which they perform for the people by offering sacrifices, they do not receive money or a present of money. Usually their trouble is rewarded by natural products, such as a hen, a bottle of rice liquor or even, though more rarely, by a pig. Obviously they always have the right to participate in the sacrificial meal.

2. The Sacrifices.

a) State Sacrifices.

161 According to the report of the last census
722 the tribe of Khasi numbers about 200,000 people.
621 (9) These are not unified under one ruler, but

9. P. Dr. C. Becker, S.D.S. Im

161

Stromtal des Brahmaputra [In the Valley of the Brahmaputra], (Aachen: Xaverius Publishing House, 1923) p. 293.

782 621 are divided into 10 kingdoms and 15 small states (communities). In each of these kingdoms and communities an official state sacrifice is of-
782 fered each year. The smaller state units offer
776 it to the u basa shnong or to the u phan u
796 kyrpad (the tutelary god of a village), the larger one to the u 'lei Shillong (the god who has commanded the sacrifice) [218]. The purpose of this large sacrifice is to thank the revered god for the country (kingdom or community) and to beg him to make its inhabitants
782 healthy and happy. This is shown by the prayers
796 spoken at these sacrifices, namely: "O god Shillong! for thee is this prayer, this sacrifice of goat, of hen, of kpu and rynsi (a kind of bread of rice meal or cornmeal with pounded sugar), of utensils of preparation, as thou hast given them to the royal lineage, so that once in every year Puja is celebrated in thy name, so that we may live happily, be healthy and increase, so that kings will arise, so that their honor and that of the kingdom will grow and increase and the children of the kingdom will spread out to increase thy name and thy honor." (10)

10. P. Dr. C. Becker, S.D.S., "Die Nongkrempuja in den Khasibergen" [The Nongkrem Puja in the Khasi Mountains], Anthropos Vol. 4, 1909, p. 901.

In another prayer they say: "O lord, thou who hast created heaven and earth, thou hast placed a king that we may be children of his

782 kingdom, thou hast given the sun and the moon,
796 for reckoning the year, so that we may have Puja once in the year, so that kings may arise, the children of the valleys may increase and thrive, the children of the Khasi, the children of the Bhoi, the children of the War, so that the sacrificial gifts may increase before the face of thine altar." (11)

11. P. Dr. Becker, S.D.S., loc. cit., p. 902 (Anthropos).

782 At these state and community sacrifices, the
793 official lyngdohs are the chief one to appear, who together with the ruling king or chieftain
622 and with other lyngdohs from the villages perform
796 the sacrifices. These annual state sacrifices are introduced and performed with great ceremony. They take place in front of the house of the s' iem sad (high priestess) of the state involved. (Fig. 2) [Fig. 6. The village chief in his sacrificial coat and ornaments][2]

782 In addition to the usual sacrificial gifts,
796 which are grouped together on a small altar of earth and which consist of a banana leaf, betel nut leaves, pepper leaves, betel nuts, kpu and rynsi, fermented rice water in a gourd bottle, and oak leaves, there are chiefly hens and goats and at the end a pig. Goats are slaughtered in great numbers, so that the chief festival day of the state sacrifice is called pom blang (the goat heads) by the people.

782 Besides the slaughtering of the sacrificial
535 animals, the dance plays a chief part. At these great sacrifices all the dances that are customary
796 among the Khasi are performed: the dance [219] of the unmarried girls, the dance of the girls and men together, but both sexes are so placed that the men form an outer circle and the girls

[2] [See category 116, p. 17--Analyst]

782 an inner circle; the dance of the men with
535 torches; the sword dance of the men; the shield
•796 dance of the men; the dance of the men in couples; the solo dance of a girl and the solo dance of a man.

All the inhabitants of the kingdom combine for the state sacrifice. With the cheerfulness peculiar to the Khasi they watch the passage of the individual sacrifices and the dances for hours at a time. In the evening of the day of the chief festival a sacrifical meal is held, in which all the sacrificers, dancers, and spectators may participate.

782

b) Private Sacrifices.

In addition to the annual large state sacrifices, other sacrifices are also offered by the Khasi. These are the usual sacrifices which arise from the needs of daily life. The following can be mentioned as such:

1. The sacrifice for questioning spirits.
2. The sacrifice at the name giving.
3. The sacrifice before every important business, for example, before the market, before planting rice, before shooting arrows, before building a hut, before a journey, etc.
4. The sacrifice of thanks after recovering health.
5. The sacrifice in cases of sickness.
6. The sacrifice at the time of death.
7. Khein Ksuid (the sacrifice for finding out which spirits must be propitiated. This is a matter of finding out past errors of those already dead).
8. The sacrifice at a cremation.
9. The sacrifice at the burial of bones:

/892/ The Nongkrem Puja in the Khasi Mountains (Assam) (1)

126 1. All the pictures attached to this article are prepared from photographs taken by P. Frumentius Stegmiller, S.D.S., missionary in Shillong. The photographs were in part very difficult to take as they had to be made without being observed and in some cases the day was already well advanced.

by P. Dr. C. Becker, S.D.S., Apostolic Prefect of Assam.

631 About five English miles to the east of Shillong, the chief town of the Khasi Mountains, lies the town of Nongkrem. It is the seat of the king (u S'iem) who governs the state Nongkrem of Khyrim, the largest of the 25 Khasi little states and which is partly independent (semi-independent) of the English government. Nongkrem is best 796 782 known for the great sacrifice, simply called Nongkrem Puja or also ka Pom blang-u-S'iem Nongkrem (Slaying the goat of the S'iem of Nongkrem) which takes place there annually. This festivity offers, as little else does, an instructive insight into the religious and social views and customs of this interesting mountain people and should therefore be given a concise description, which may be divided into three parts:

I. The Preparations for the Sacrificial Feast.

II. The Sacrificial Feast.

III. The Celebration that Follows.

I. The Preparations for the Sacrificial Feast

793 Just as matriarchy prevails in the family among the Khasi so a 643 similar arrangement has been kept in the management of the Khasi state, Nongkrem. In the state the S'iem is not the actual head but a high priestess, called ka S'iem sād. Sād means the divinity which watches over the royal races. The temporal government is transferred by the S'iem sād to the S'iem; he acts as her authorized agent although independent in his decisions, working with his advisers, whose advice he must obtain in matters of importance. The moneys of the kingdom

are kept by the S'iem sād. Everything that comes in, such as taxes, 793
market contributions, or that which comes in through the administra- 643
tion of justice must be given to her. She may dispose of it as she sees best, while the S'iem receives from her the money necessary for paying the costs of the government.

The S'iem sād is the sole authority in matters of religion. She must watch over the religious sacrifices and determine the time and place for them; /facing p. 892 Fig. 1.[1/1] The Sacrifice (Nongkrem Puja) among the Khasi/ /893/ the state sacrifices are held in her house or in front of her house, and they must be performed in her presence. The actual S'iam is her son or nephew or even more distant male relative, who is chosen by the "state council," the Mentris.

After the death of the S'iem sād, this office passes to her oldest living daughter, and lacking such to the eldest daughter of her eldest daughter, and lacking such granddaughters to the oldest daughter, and so forth. In case there are no daughters or granddaughters, the oldest living sister takes the office; if there are no sisters, then the oldest daughter of the oldest sister of the mother of the deceased S'iem sād is the successor, and so it goes further. In this way the office always remains within the royal lineage.

In the house of the S'iem sād (called ka-iīng sād), which is 778
one of the largest and most attractive in the Khasi Hills, there is a 782
post in the middle which reaches from the floor to the ridge of the 796
roof. It is called u rishot Blei (post, pillar of god) and serves at the same time as the altar before which many sacrifices are performed. The pillar is nothing other than the trunk of the Khasi oak (ka dieng [824]
sning; botanical name: castanopsis sp.), which is holy to the Khasi. If the house of the S'iem sād burns down, or if it is built up anew, a new pillar must be brought. Only certain families (jaid) have the privilege of cutting down the trees for this purpose. As soon as it is cut down, dancing and music begins; the trunk is covered with a cloth and carried away on a carrying frame. Hundreds of persons participate in this. As long as the pillar is not set up, it is guarded night and day. A person or an animal might jump over it and that would be sang (=, taboo): the trunk would be defiled and another tree would have to be cut down. If something dreadful happens in the kingdom, or if a danger threatens, the S'iem sād goes with six official sacrificial priests of the kingdom Nongkrem before the post and offers sacrifice there in order to avert the evil.

The foregoing has to be mentioned in order to give a better understanding of the following. 796

The Nongkrem Puja usually takes place in the month of May. 782

1/1 [see category 116, p.14 - - - Analyst]

782 One month before the celebration rice liquor is poured into a hollowed
796 out gourd bottle in the house of the S'iem sād and offered before the rishot Blei as a 'suit' (sacrifice of drink). This is done in order to in-
[769] [774] form the u Suidnia long S'iem (the spirit of the first great-uncle on the maternal side who was the first king), the ka Blei long S'iem (the divinity who makes kings kings) and the u Blei Shillong (the god Shillong), that preparations are now being made for the Puja and that they might help with them.

776 The u Blei Shillong plays the chief part in the whole ceremony. He enjoys great reverence among the Khasi, especially in the kingdom Nongkrem and Nylliem. Not far from Nongkrem a mountain
[133] peak rises 6,450 feet above the sea. It is the highest peak in the Khasi Mountains; its name is "Shillong Peak." Here is the seat of
[773] the god Shillong. The story goes that a man appeared here once, who said he /894/ had not been born but came of himself (shu long). He also told the people that they would receive the kings, S'iem. So the god who lives here was called u Shu long (he who is out of him-
[103] self), from which the Europeans gradually made the word Shillong and also gave this name to the splendid mountain station in the heart of the Khasi Mountains.

796 After the S'iem sād has determined exactly the day of the cere-
782 monies, the news of this is sent out two weeks prior to the ceremony to the village elders (Rangbah shnong). This is done on the day of the large market (jēu duh), which takes place every eighth day. Two weeks after is the pom blang, also on the day of the large market, which is discussed below.

The way in which the invitation is issued is interesting. A num-
[214] ber of chains about an ell long are made of bamboo rings. These are called kyrwoh. One of these is sent to the oldest man of each village. Since the Khasi formerly had no script, this bamboo chain always served as a sign of invitation or summons to the S'iem for ceremonies, or of danger of war, or of court matters and such. The degree of urgency was shown by the form of the links; in the case of great haste the form was longish and flat, otherwise correspondingly rounder. The sending of the kyrwoh to the village elders serves now as a sign of invitation for the whole village to appear at the ceremonies and at the same time as a demand to gather together the prescribed sacri-
[651] ficial gifts. Each of the six districts, into which the kingdom Nongkrem is divided, must furnish a goat; each individual hut must pay a tax (called pynshok) of one rupee and four annas in addition. Very poor people only have to pay one anna or even only a half. The sacrificial gifts, such as rice, various sacrificial animals, fish, brandy

and such are bought with these contributions; the balance, as with other money, is handed over to the S'iem sād for management. 796 782

Until the approach of the actual festival, the fish sacrifice (suit-dohkha) takes places on the day called jeu pomthiah, on which all who appear are fed with dried fish and brandy. This is supposed to be a further announcement to the u Blei Shillong, u Suidnia long Sīem and ka Blei long S'iem of the imminent Puja. Twelve different kinds of drums (ksing) are beaten. 796

Then the drum, ksing shad tyngkoh, is beaten three times, and the first sacrificial priest (Soh Blei) and a flute player dance. The dance, tyngkoh, will be described in more detail below. After it is finished, the ksing kynthei (women drums) have a turn, to the sound of which the S'iem and the flute player (duhalia) dance three times. Usually only women dance to this drum. About the method of dancing it is sufficient to remark that in a Khāsi dance the dancing persons do not touch each other, and each carries out the motions independent of the others. After the women drums are beaten, then the sword dance drum (ksing mastieh) and the large drum (nakra) are beaten. Torches are carried around and shouts of joy uttered nine times. Various drums, flute music, and clashes of cymbals follow, while dancing takes place. /facing p. 894: (A) Fig. 2.[1] Drums, flutes and cymbals of the Khasi. Fig. 3 Sacrificial knives and ka wait of the Khasi. Phot. P. Frum. Stegmiller S. D. S. Fig. 4. Sacrificial dress of the Soh Blei (Khasi). Phot. P. Frum. Stegmiller, S. D. S. / /facing p. 894: (B) Fig. 10 (sic?). Khasi ornaments. Phot. P. Fru. Stegmiller, S. D. S. / /895/ At the end the S'iem dances alone, while the drums and flutes are not silent the whole night through. Fig. 2 shows several Khasi drums, a flute, and cymbals which are never missing from a dance. 782 534 535

The day of the large market, on which the actual ceremony begins, approaches meanwhile. On the day before -- ka sngi umni -- the roads are swept and the place for the sacrifice of the goat put in order. As a sign of joy as to what will happen, drums are beaten again and flutes (tangmuri) played. In front of the house of the S'iem sād, the S'iem and other men perform a sword dance. Although interesting, this dance is not very artistic. Hopping and skipping from one foot to the other, the men, one behind the other, move slowly in a circle on the open place. (cf. Fig. 6).[1] They hold a bunch of goat hair in one hand and a sword in the other. A shout of joy is uttered from time to time, then they stop again, jump at each other two by two, and hit each other with quick blows of their swords. Each one quickly draws back again and moves in a circle again as before. In this way the dance continues.

[1] [For illustrations see category 11b, pp. 14-18 --- Analyst]

796 this way the dance continues.
782 After it has become dark a hen is sacrificed in front of the house of the S'iem sād: to the ka S'iem synshar (the queen who rules [172] the world) and to the Biskurom, the god who instructs in the playing of flutes and other instruments. Then various drums are beaten.

Then everyone goes inside the iīng sād. The S'iem sād hands the Soh Blei, the first sacrificial priest, who is from the family (jaid) Rumnong, a hollowed-out gourd bottle (u skaw) with rice liquor. The Soh Blei pours out the contents in front of the rishot Blei in honor of the goddess of the markets (ka Blei jeu lei hat) so that the markets will be good, remunerative, and successful; so that the roads will be good and safe and everything will be blessed; so that the kingdom itself will progress and develop. It must be remembered here that the [447] market system is very marked among the Khasi and is the chief source of their income. After this 'suit' the same sacrificial drink is offered to the Ka Blei long S'iem, in order to receive her blessings, so that the kings will be good and may make progress. Music and dancing then lasts until daybreak.

II. The Sacrificial Feast

The actual ceremony begins on the day of the large market. This day itself is called pom blang (goat heads). The S'iem sād may not eat rice for three days, only a kind of bread, which is made from rice flour. On the large open place in front of the iīng sād the men hold their sword dance (shad wait) and guns are shot off until the S'iem sād, the S'iem and the Rangbah (elders) come out of the iīng sād. Following the S'iem sād, is her slave-girl (mrau), who carries the utensils and sacrificial gifts. These are arranged by the S'iem sād herself and consist of a banana leaf, of which however only the upper part is taken (ka sla kait), five betel nut leaves (tympew), five portions of betel nuts, as much as is usually put in the mouth at one time (kwai) /896/, a kind of bread made of rice flour (kpu), for which the rice is first put in water, then taken out, dried, and pounded into flour; then rynsi bread, which is also baked with pounded rice or corn, mixed with sugar and rolled into the shape of bullets; some uncooked, shelled rice (u khaw), a gourd bottle with rice liquor (u klong) and several leaves of the Khasi oak tree. The following utensils are used: a golden or silver water container (u luta), a silver dishlike plate (ka pliang rupa). All these are now given by the S'iem sād to the Soh Blei and in addition a rooster and a white he-goat are brought to the place of sacrifice.

The spectators now go to the side, the S'iem and the Rangbahs 796
come down to the place of sacrifice, while the Soh Blei receives the 782
utensils and the sacrificial gifts and spreads them out in order on the ground. Then he takes the rooster in both hands and calls on the god Shillong with these words; "O god Shillong, thou who hast been seated since time immemorial! (ko Blei Shillong kumba la buh u long shwa!)" With a deep bow he then offers the sacrifice five times. Rooster and goat are sprinkled with water, rice, and the flour from kpu and rynsi, and are then beheaded. Then the examination of the [787]
entrails (dykhot) takes place in order to see if the sacrifice was acceptable. The way of doing that will be given below.

After the end of the sacrifice the Soh Blei and a flute player lead
the sword dance; after them the S'iem and the other dancers follow [535]
in turn. Various drums are beaten alternately and flutes are played [534]
through the whole night. When night falls the goats of the S'iem and those of the various districts of the kingdom of Nongkrem are brought for the sacrifice of the next day.

The day following the great market is called ka sngi Lyngka. It 796
is the center point and climax of the whole ceremony. From early 782
in the morning the crowds pour in from all sides of the Khasi Mountains. 534

Early in the morning an unmarried girl of the royal lineage (ka 535
S'iem ba dang khynraw) dances in the house of the S'iem sād before the rishot Blei. Usually a granddaughter or nearer relative of the S'iem sād is chosen for this. Two men then take the girl in their arms and carry her with a rocking motion to the large open place in front of the iīng sād.

Then the great folk dance begins. In the middle of the place musicians squat on the ground and play the drums and flutes, and strike the cymbals. The music is quite without art, only a repetition of the same monotonous tones.

The women dancers move in a rather narrow circle around the
musicians. Only the unmarried girls dance. The clothes they wear 292
for it are very rich and frequently very valuable. Fine cloths, usually of red, yellow, or blue silk are draped over their bodies; the upper
body and arms are covered by a satin jacket. Their hair is bound to- [302]
gether in a bun behind their heads; a string hangs /facing p. 896. 301
Fig. 5.[1] Khasi Men Dancers in front of the iīng sād. Phot. P. Frum. Stegmiller, S. D. S. Fig. 6. Sword Dance of the Khasi. Fig. 7. S'iem sād and S'iem of Nongkrem. / /897/ down from the bun which usually ends in three tassels. The head is covered by a golden or silver crown of fine chased work, which is topped by a bunch of feathers or a bunch of artificial flowers. Around their necks they wear chains of gold or

[1] [For illustrations, see category 116, p.116 --- Analysis]

Thus the dance continues for hours at a time amidst the noise of the music. Thousands of spectators who do not seem to get tired throng around the great place. In the afternoon, at about three o'-clock /898/ the dance, which plays a large part in all the religious festivities is ended. 535

Then preparations are made for the large sacrifice. In front of the house of the S'iem sād several boards are placed in a row beside each other, and in front of them at certain intervals twelve little heaps of loam are made. Music now plays inside of the iīng sād. All the sacrificial gifts are given to the S'iem sād in front of the rishot Blei and then distributed to the sacrificers by her. These then go out of the hut to the place of the sacrifice. There are twelve of them, namely the six official sacrificial priests of the kingdom and several lyngdohs from the villages; the Soh Blei is at their head, wearing a special sacrificial coat (cf. Fig. 4).[1] while the others wear everyday clothes. Each one carries a dish in his hand with some rice, pounded flour for kpu and rynsi, betel nuts and the pepper leaf that belongs with them, a small young hen, a water container, leaves of the Khasi oak tree, as well as a small gourd bottle with rice liquor. The dish and the water container of the sacrificial priests are of ornamented brass, those of the Soh Blei of silver -- all clean and polished until gleaming. 796 782

The spectators are arranged to the right and the left of the sacrificers, so that there is a wide alleyway open through the middle of the place to the gate of the board fence which surrounds the place and the iīng sād. Several men are constantly busy keeping the crowd within these bounds. No one may come in through the gate during the whole ceremony, because the god enters here during the sacrifice-therefore the broad path must be left open. If anyone should chance to wish to come in through the gate during the performance of the sacrifice, he is driven back with loud shouts. If he dared to come in anyway, in earlier times he would have been a child of death; now the fear of the English government might protect him to a certain extent, although this could hardly be an absolute guaranty of his life because of the religious excitement of the people. [688]

The twelve now squat down on the boards placed in front of the iīng sād, the Soh Blei in the middle. Behind them the S'iem sād sits alone on the steps which lead from the iīng sād to the place of the sacrifice. Somewhat further back sits the S'iem surrounded by his Mentris and relatives (cf. Fig 7).[1] The Soh Blei sets the example in all that follows; the others watch him and copy him. While each of the sacrificers slaughters only a small hen or a goat, the Soh Blei has

[1] [For illustrations, see category 116, pp 14-18 --- Analyst]

796 the right to kill two of them, since he sacrifices to the ka Blei long
782 S'iem and to the u Blei Shillong at the same time.

Each one places the little liquor bottle on the little pile of earth in front of him. This also represents the altar. Then they take pepper leaves and oak leaves and place them in a certain pattern beside and on top of each other; pieces of betel nuts are placed on them, and the whole is strewn with rice, kpu flour and rynsi flour, while short prayers are murmured (cf. Fig. 1). Then follows the sacrifice of the little hens. The sacrificers each take one between both hands, murmuring soft prayers, then /899/ the head of the little animal is sprinkled with water and strewn with rice, kpu flour, and rynsi flour. Each one dips a kind of pocket knife in the water and then cuts through the throat of the chicken. The freshly flowing blood is allowed to drip on the altar -- the little pile of earth with the bottle of liquor and the leaves. Then the entrails are taken out of the animals in order to see whether god is favorable to them or is angry with them because of the sins and wickedness of men. The sacrificers hold them up high with their right hands and look at them carefully. A joyful "u bha! (it is good)" escapes their lips and spreads through the circle of spectators.

This observing of entrails (dykhot) occurs at all the sacrifices.
796 Although there are many kinds of such auguries, the following are
782 more or less the usual ones. The gullet of chicken is about in the
787 middle between the neck and the stomach and shaped like a fork. The right prong is called u Blei (god), the left one u briu (man). First the rectum is looked at to see if it is empty or shows any symptoms of sickness or spots; in these cases the hen is not suitable for sacrifice. But even when everything is faultless, better signs are wanted. The forking mentioned above is looked at and the sacrificer, holding the intestines in his hand, begins the ceremony with the question: "Nga kylli nga byrthen da ka shat ka khan, ieng rangbah u briu, dem u Blei? (I ask and seek through the strewing and the oracle, does the man rise and god bow?)" With his other hand he throws a little rice on the forking of the gullet, and because of the convulsive twitching actually one part or the other does rise. If the "man" rises, it is a good sign since the opposite branching, the "god" then bows or stays still as a sign of agreement.

If the omens are unfavorable, then it must be determined by throwing /perhaps a misprint -- Einwerfen instead of Eierwerfen - egg throwing: tr. /, why the god is angry and which sacrifice would be pleasing to him. Then the sacrifice begins again until the omens
796 reveal that the god is reconciled and propitiated.
782 Let us return to our Nongkrem Puja. After the observing of the

entrails of the hens is completed with good results, the main part of the ceremony begins. Goats are brought out of the inside of the iīng sād and one is placed behind each of the sacrificers. This moment is captured in Fig. 1. The hens that have already been sacrificed and the other sacrificial objects that have been mentioned can be seen lying in front of the Soh Blei and the other sacrificial priests on the ground. The Soh Blei now takes a long knife (ka wait) between both flat outstretched hands and squatting speaks a prayer with bowed head. Fig. 3 shows various kinds of such knives; the smaller folding ones are the ones mentioned above in describing the killing of the hens. 796 782

Meanwhile a kind of looping plant is thrown around the neck of one of the goats; one the the people present pulls it into the middle of the place where it /facing p. 898. Fig. 8. Dance of the Khasi Girls in front of the iīng sād. Two photographs by P. Frum. Stegmiller, S. D. S. Fig. 9. Women Khasi Dancers. Two photographs by P. Frum. Stegmiller, S. D. S. / /900/ is held fast by a rope. The Soh Blei gets up, walks up to the animal with the ka wait in his hand and waits for the instant when it holds still. With one blow the head lies on the ground. It is at once picked up and placed beside the gourd bottle standing on the little pile of earth. The twitching rump is dragged in front of the iīng sād. Thus it continues until five goats are beheaded.

Now the S'iem comes down to the sacrificial place. He takes the slaughtering knife in his hand, squats down in the place of the head priest, and observes as the latter had done the same ceremonies. Then he gets up and strides into the middle of the place in full costume with raised head and a self-conscious dignity. A goat has already been lead out there. One blow and its head also rolls on the ground. He sacrifices the first goat to the divinity which made him king; afterwards the four others are sacrificed to the u Blei Shillong. A salvo of guns and a loud shout of joy accompanies each blow of the S'iem.

The slaughter is now continued by others in endless turns. Sixty, eighty and more goats must lose their lives. The poor victims are not always lucky enough to be killed with one blow. The animal might move at the last minute or an unskilled hand may lack a certain firmness. Then the goat is only lightly wounded and crying seeks to escape. The sacrificer throws the knife away in order to disappear hastily among the spectators; some pick up earth and throw it at him with reproachful cries, while others seize the poor animal, throw it on the ground and saw the head off with the knife. That is a horrible sight. It is considered an unfavorable sign when the goat is not 796 782 787

796 beheaded with one blow. If it happens to one of the first twelve goats,
782 the man concerned must inquire through new sacrifices why his sacri-
787 fice was not pleasing to god.

The observing of the entrails is only done with the twelve first goats decapitated by the S'iem and the sacrificial priests. As in the case of pigs, it is only observed whether the liver, lungs, spleen and gall bladder are healthy and without spots, in which case the sacrifice is a good one and pleasing to god; otherwise through throwing /sic: could be egg throwing = Eierwerfen/ and new sacrifices a more favorable result must be brought about.

During the night a pig is sacrificed to the honor of the u Suidnia long S'iem and he is informed thereby that Puja has now taken place and that it will take place once annually to the honor of the u Blei Shillong so that the kings will be lucky and healthy, the markets will enjoy progress and good results, and the children of the kingdom will be happy. This closes with the address to the Suidnia long S'iem: "Bring it about that the augury turns out well, and if the god Shillong should still not be satisfied, then reveal it to us through the augury."

The Soh Blei now takes a chicken in his hand, sprinkles it with water, rice, flour of kpu and rynsi and speaks: "Now thou art sprinkled in order to lose thy life by having thy neck cut so that I can see the good or the evil (La pynsum pynsleh ban duh ka mynsiem ban dykut u ryndang; ba ngan khmih ia ka bha ka sniw)." Then /901/ the animal s neck is cut, the blood, as mentioned above, is allowed to drip on the leaves and the gourd bottle, and the entrails are taken out. After the augury has turned out favorably, a white he-goat is brought in and the Soh Blei speaks: "O god Shillong, this prayer is for thee, this sacrifice of the goat, of the hen, of the kpu and rynsi, of the utensils of preparation are for thee which thou hast given the royal family so that once annually the Puja may be celebrated in thy name, so that we may live happily, be healthy and increase, so that kings will arise so that their honor and that of the kingdom will grow and increase and the children of the kingdom will spread out to increase thy name and thy honor. O god Shillong, when thou hast received the sacrifice, bring it about that the heart, the lungs, the spleen, the gall bladder and the other parts are good."

Meanwhile dancers are arranged on both sides; they swing the sword (ka wait) and the bunch (u symphiah) around in the air and utter shouts of joy. As mentioned above, the goat is now strewn three times with the various sacrificial gifts, and guns are shot off three times and shouts of joy uttered. Then the S'iem gets up, takes the ka wait in his hand and sits down on the place of sacrifice. He takes

off his turban (ka jain spong) and thanks god three times in a quiet voice; then he hands over the ka wait to the Soh Blei who does the same and then gives the knife to the sacrificer from the jaid Nongkseh, this one hands it on to the one from the jaid Thangkieu, and this one finally gives it to the one from the jaid Niangnong. Only one from these three families may undertake the beheading. When this has taken place, the head is placed on the leaves in front of the gourd bottle, and the entrails are taken from the body in order to read the omens. If these come out right, the dance of joy is set in motion. All members of the kingdom are invited to the feast, which consists of rice, sacrificial meat, and rice liquor and which lasts until early in the morning. 796 782 787

III. The Celebration that Follows.

On the evening of the following day -- called mied Maulong -- a special meeting of the council takes place, which is called Dorbar sla in order to announce that all the sacrifices are now past. The S'iem has mats spread out inside the house and in the front room for the people to sit on; he himself takes his place on a palong, a raised seat, in the front room. Goat meat and pork is distributed to all those present, while the person who is designated as the speaker in the Dorbar and the first of the flute players receive betel nuts. The S'iem sends to the village and has it announced three times that as long as the Dorbar lasts nobody may leave his hut. 796

Then he takes his turban off, raises both hands and offers thanks in the name of the lord and creator (ha ka kyrteng u trai u nongthau), who made him king, gave him subjects as well as the districts of the kingdom, the markets and the roads leading thither and prays that he will ever give strength, growth and progress and prosperity to the fields. Then he cries /902/ out: "O god, lord and creator, give me, the S'iem, happiness and prosperity also, so that my thanks and submission to thee may become ever greater (Ah Blei, trai kynrad u nongthau u nongbuh to ai bha ai roi ia nga I S'iem ban nongkhrau ka nguh ka dem). " Then he steps back. 796 782

The one who has been made the speaker now follows from the jaid Rynjah. He thanks the S'iem three times and then says: "O lord, thou who hast created heaven and earth, thou hast seated the king that we may be children of his kingdom: thou hast given the sun and the moon for reckoning the year, so that we can have Puja once in every year, so that the king appears, the children of the valleys increase and thrive, the children of the Khasi (2), the children of the

2. That means the Khasi themselves.

● 79% 782 Bhoi (3), the childrenof the War (3), so that the sacrificial gifts will

3. All various folk tribes which compose the kingdom Nongkrem.

increase before the face of thy altar (Ko trai ba thau ia ka bneng ka khyndew uba pynlong i S'iem i kynrad ba long ma ngi ki khun ki ha-jar kumba phi buh ka sngi ban khein ia u bnai, phi buh u bnai ban khein ka snem ban long ka puja shi sien shi snem ban im ban roi i S'iem ban roi ki khun dykhar, khun Bhoi, khun Bhoi, khun Khasi, khun War ban khrau u blang u bhet ha khmat ka duwan jong phi). "

Then the drum of joy (ksing risa) is beaten and everybody is given rice liquor, as much as he wants. The S'iem and the S'iem said eat of the inner parts of the entrails observed the day before. Music and dancing last the whole night long until early the next morning when the participants in the festival return again to their villages and their huts.

425 If after discussions lasting weeks all the problems involved have
613 been settled, the agreements decided on are finally completed with
the customary ceremonial. It was mentioned above, what objects
[778] for the religious cult are to be found in the hut of the clan mother.
The little basket plaited of bamboo cane, which is considered the special seat of the divine ancestors of the clan. /Clan/ is not divided. /309/ Another, similar basket is made. By sacrifice of goats and pigs, these divinities are then entreated so that a part of them may take up their dwelling in this basket for the protection of the newly constructed clan. If the sacrificial priest can announce the agreement of the deceased spirits with the division from the oracle of the entrails of the animals and by egg throwing, then this basket is brought to the new clan hut. On another day one of the two hazelnut poles is then taken for the new hut with further sacrifices. Each of the two separated parties must fetch a new pole to go with the other one. In a like way the existent sacrificial utensils, such as rice baskets, mats, and gourd bottles are divided. With this ceremony the agreements made about the division of the other property are considered legally existent. Each party now goes his own way independent of the other. Certain relationships of
[582] friendship and kinship still remain in existence; however, the bar to marriage, which otherwise would make impossible the marriage between members of the same family clan without regard to the degree of relationship, is no longer in existence.

425 If, at the conversion of one part of the members of the clan to
797 the Christian religion, the division of property can be accomplished
• 776 legally, it is better to insist on it. The members who have become Christian are more readily protected from disadvantageous treatment. Even if they should take part of the fields for themselves in separate management, the part of the clan that remained heathen could demand this back years later. Enmity, hate, and revenge would then follow. Without the formal ceremony combined with the sacrifices mentioned a Khasi does not recognize a division as legal. Since Christians cannot participate in such a sacrificial ceremony, there is nothing to do other than to have this ceremony undertaken while those seeking to be baptized are still catechumens. Before they are accepted then into the church by baptism, the heathen cult objects that were brought into the clan hut must be removed. "To /310/ this most important ceremony, "the missionary of the Syntengs territory, P. Benedikt Neher S.D.S., once related, "I usually went myself if it was possible for me to or sent a European sister of the Order. Thereby the ceremony acquired a great deal
[[See category III, pp 4.5 — Analyst]

more solemnity and had a powerful effect on the heathen and the catechumens. The basket of the gods, the two sticks, the gourd bottles, and the other objects of the cult were carried to an open place in front of the hut, placed on a pile of bamboo canes and wood and then lighted by fire. The heathen stood at a respectful distance, fearful and trembling, and expecting that the gods would revenge themselves and destroy me with fire from heaven. But nothing of the kind happened, and disappointed and thoughtful they went back to their huts. The clan hut would then be blessed and sprinkled with holy water." 425 797 796

In general the Christian religions strive to settle their members in a village separated from the heathen clan members, and to settle them in such a way that the separate family clans remain together when possible. The christian customs, that husband, wife, and children then live together in one family is carried out when possible but, however it is not always done without difficulties in view of the traditional customs. 797

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of a clan some ceremonial attachment developed out of the custom of depositing the bones of the clansmen in clan ossuary and renewing the relationship between the clansmen on the ceremonial occasion of *thelmawbah* when the bones were finally transferred from *mawshieng* (ossuary of a sub-clan) to *mawbah* (ossuary of a clan).

Social bond among the clansmen is due to the performance of common religious ceremonies (*pkur*), worship of common deities and spirits of household (*Kwishnia*), water (*pari*) and hills (*Kwidhum*) and observance of mourning for three days for the death of clansmen with the cessation of outdoor work specially with implements.

Economic bond among them is due further to the possession of common land (*ri-kur*), which is divided into separate holdings held by families.

Sub-clan *(Ka-k'pen)*—Unlike the clan, sub-clan has nothing to do with the regulation of marriage. Its main functions are socio-religious. Mutual interest in the welfare of the members of sub-clan evinced in the observance of *ailum** in honour of the dead grandmother, profound sentiment grown out of the former practice of depositing the bones of the dead persons of the same sub-clan in *mawshieng* and the responsibility of bearing the expenses for *thelmawbah* bind the members together.

The observance of mourning on the death of a person of the same sub-clan for three days and the consequent

*Offering of food to the spirits of the dead ancestors.

[P. 112 A]

God or Goddess, deities regarded as helpful in bringing prosperity, producing fertility, and so on. Rituals of this kind are no longer practiced, except for the Rabongbibon ceremony designed to protect the Jaintia village of Jowai. Finally, the main religion of many children was expressed in one great ceremony per year which was intended to secure material blessing for a chief and his lineage, and, through this, for the entire chiefdom. The notable example, still practiced, is the Pomblang Iynna of Khyrim chiefdom. [C] Lyngdoh 1957, 1960, Gregorius 1964, Roster 1968. Shaw and confusion. In case of illness, a Khasi calls in a sacrificer, and possibly also a medicine man. The medicine man is an ordinary individual who has hit upon some herbal remedy for one or more ailments, who has become famous enough to be sought out and rewarded in cash, and who jealously guards the formula of his medicine until it dies with him. He and his patients tend to regard him as specially blessed. Soul, death, and afterlife. The universe is composed of a heaven, the earth, and the air between. Heaven is where the souls of deceased mortals live in almost peace, grouped ab by ab. The earth and all nature were created by God, and everything that God created has its own individual soul. There is no other great earth deity, for it was God who created the earth. The air is inhabited by the wandering souls of those dead for whom full death rites were not performed. A Khasi's personality for enjoying an afterlife in heaven with his ancestors depends on his receiving proper death rites at the hands of his ab mates. First, his body is cremated by his children, notably his youngest daughter, and his bones are collected and deposited temporarily in a small stone receptacle. All work stops in the village while everyone participates in the funeral. Once every several years, an entire ab gathers to witness the transfer of the bones of recently deceased ab mates from their temporary receptacles to the great ab cairn that is in the house of the youngest daughter, descended from the ab ancestress through a line of youngest daughters. This final ceremony covers five days, and is elaborate and expensive, but when an individual's bones are finally resting with those of his ancestresses in the cairn, it is understood that his soul is finally in heaven, "resting held out in the house of God."

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THE KHASI FESTIVAL OF 'POMBLANG'

S. Banerjee

Introduction

The Khasi inhabit the upland of the central part of the United Khasi and Jaintia Hills district of Assam. They reckon descent through mother and the youngest daughter (Ka khadduh) of the house is the custodian of the ancestral property. Belief in the existence of spirits is strong among them and the causes of diseases are ascertained by taking recourse to the process of divination. They are ruled by different categories of Chief. The *Siem* is the highest official responsible for the administration of the state but a few small states are also governed by *Syiems* with same powers as vested in the former although does not possess the same status. It is interesting to note that their priest whose rank is next to *Siem*, have also been allotted to perform this secular duties in some of the regions of the Khasi country. The Chief functions through their respective council comprising elected members from different administrative units. He is rather subservient to this body as he is liable to be censured or even dismissed, if his activities are not in conformity with the Khasi traditional usage. Most of his directives are implemented through the assistance of his subordinates who are in-charge of various sections of the State. The Khasi place his grievance first to these junior officers for redress and justice, after which an appeal can be preferred to the *Siem* or any other higher officer as the case may be. One of the eminent States of the Khasi people known as Khyriem, where this festival is celebrated, consists of eight units for administrative convenience under the supervision of different grades of officials who participated in this celebration along with the *Siem* as representatives of the people.

The Khasi festival of *Pomblang* (Goat killing) described below used to be celebrated at one time in Shillong when the Khasi states of Khyriem and Mylliem were not separated. The first chief of the Khyriem state U Singh Manik shifted his headquarters to Nongkrem village after partition of the kingdom, which occured before the arrival of the British. He again moved to Laiarkordem after a brief stay at the village of Lyngkhing. He performed this festival as long as he was there, transferring it again to Nongkrem where he re-settled again. It was celebrated here for a long time and consequently it was named after this village. Although the ruling family had later on shifted its residence about sixty years ago to the present village Smit, during the time of U Kiar Singh, Siem, it is performed regularly as *Nongkrem dance* which was observed by the author from 21st June to 23th June, 1955.

Object of the festival

It is being held every year since the days of U Shillong who was supposed to be the founder of original Khyriem State. They celebrate it to perpetuate his memory and pay homage with a view to ensure rain, good harvest, eliminating diseases and famine. He was worshipped along with other ancestors with view to guide the present Chief in his discharge of his duties and for the welfare of the people.

The house of Siem (*Ing-ma*) where the rites are observed, is considered sacred. It consists of a big-hall (*shiff*) in the centre, surrounded by rooms. One of these on the north is used as a kitchen room (*ing-shi-ja*) where ritual

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778 objects are stored while that of the west (kynram blang) was meant exclusively
796 for sacrificial goats. There is a very big circular courtyard in front of the building where the members of the royal family as also other boys and spinsters [193] hold a ritual dance. The function is always held during the moonlit period of [443] May or June and the actual dates are fixed in consultation with the Chief priest [202] (*Sohbiri*) in such a way that the first day—*Pamtiah** always coincides with the market day of Shillong Chota Bazar. The dates of the festival is then communicated to the in-charge of different units of his territory, through a wooden stick '*kyrwah*' having a few knots of cane-strips, as a form of summons for attending the festival for five days at Smit along with subjects under their jurisdiction.

IMPORTANT PARTICIPANT

796 The responsibility of performing this ritual rests on the High-priestess
793 (*Ka Siem Sad*) who is succeeded by her eldest daughter. Different ritual ob-
562 jects are procured by her, well in advance and it is obligatory on her part to join the ceremonial dancing, in which her daughter may also officiate on her [764] behalf. U Shillong is worshipped by the chief priest while the other ancestors [533] are invoked by lesser priests. The musicians (*Dhulia*) besides their normal duties, take part in the worship of the ancestors and they are presented with silk turban, jacket, cloth, by the ruling family for the services rendered during the festival. The *Siem* has no especial role except to supervise and evoke U Shillong for the welfare of the community. He is required to perform certain sacrifices, failing which his heir-apparent (*Siem kynnah*) does the same. He along with his sister (High priestess) abstain from taking rice during the period of celebration presumably to observe the sanctity of this festival as also to ensure the successful conclusion of the function.

RITUAL MATERIALS

796 The festival derives its name from the sacrifice of a large number of goats
782 some of which were supplied from the State fund and from different units of
231 the territory. Formerly at least fifty goats were required and each unit had a specific allotment but owing to the economic difficulty that the Khasi are experiencing, the number of goats sacrificed hardly exceeds twenty-five. The goats collected from the different units, are presented to the Chief at the midnight [273] of the third day. Rice-beer, dried fish, fermented-rice, betel leaves together [276] with nuts are also important ritual objects in this celebration.

DESCRIPTION OF THE FESTIVAL

796 The commencement of the festival was marked by the distribution of dried,
782 fish (suit dokha) to the persons assembled on the occasion, in the evening of *Pamtiah* (*i.e.* 21st June, 1957). This was followed by the dropping of rice-beer by the Chief priest over the fire place of central hall known as *Ka suit-ka shor*

[805] *A week consists of eight days in Khasi Calendar the names are according to the places where markets are held in Khasi Hills.

Name	Market
1. Pamtiah	Shillong Chota Bazar.
2. Umsi	Cherrapunji.
3. Yow-dah	Shillong Bara Bazar.
4. Lyngba	Barapani.
5. Nongbawn	Nongbawn.
6. Mawlong	Laban (Shillong).
7. Synghong	Cherrapunji Chota Bazar.
8. Shillong	Laitkyrg Sub.

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in which no sacrifice was made except this libation of this liquor in the name of U Shillong, Ka Blei Long Siem and U Suidnia. Subsequently, the Chief musician (Dhulia) worshipped another deity Ka Synchar, by holding a yellow cook in front of ritual offerings collected on a plantain leaf while his subordinates immediately shouted nine times in their traditional way. Redistribution of dry-fish and indigenous liquor to the people marked and the end of the first day and the ceremonies performed on this day were repeated on the second day (Umni). 796 • 782

The sacrifice of goats which was an important feature of the festival, was performed in the afternoon of the third day (Yew duh) on the top of an adjacent hill where the *Siem* along with other members of his house, went there in a procession. The people shouted all the time while it was preceeding to that place. The musicians went round the altar first at the top of the hill thrice in anticipation of a happy and good auguers. The Chief priest facing the north, prayed to U Shillong holding a red-coloured cock in his right hand and killed it on the altar collecting its blood in a gourd vessel. The entrails of the cock were carefully examined by him and then kept on a silver plate. The Chief priest threw some grains of rice before him as also over the yellow goat and prayed to U Shillong holding a *dah* in his hand. He then passed on this implement to the *Siem* who also prayed to the deity. The *Siem* handed over the same to a man (nengnong) who sacrificed the goat on behalf of the *Siem*. He collected nine pieces of meat from different parts of the goats body (*e.g.* heart, lungs, liver, stomach, kidney, etc.) and handed them over to the priest. The latter cut each piece of the meat into five parts and offered them to the five ancestors.* The procession returned to the Siem's residence when the head of the goat was brought back by a member of a Kharbamen clan. It was then given to the High-priestess for disposal of the same in a manner as she liked. The day's rituals were completed by performing the goat presentation ceremony in the midnight. The Chief musician stood very near the fire made in this occasion at the verhandah (tyngkong) of the building and called the names of different units to present their gifts, in order of their seniority. The gathering that was watching from the courtyard shouted in their traditional way three times on receipt of the *Siem's* acceptance and the animals were led to the *kynram-blang* for overnight stay before which they were not considered fit to be sacrificed to be held on the day next.

On the evening of the fourth day (Lyngka) betel leaves and nuts were presented to the members of the *Siem's* family by the people wishing them happiness and prosperity. The chief priest took his seat in front of the verhandah in a line along with his ten assistants who were on either side in a group of five facing the north. The Chief priest worshipped U Blei Shillong and Ka Blei-Long Siem and the responsibility of invoking each ancestor or ancestress was devolved on each assistant priest : [769] [793]

Asstt. Priest	Chief Priest	Asstt. Priest
1. U Dienger. 2. U Marshan. 3. U Ram Shillong. 4. Ka Phan Siem Shillong. 5. U Biskorom.	6. U Shillong. 7. Ka Blei Long Siem.	8. U Phan Kynthei. 9. U Shynrang. 10. Ka Lei Duwan. 11. Ka Siem Sngi. 12. Ka Blei Synchar.

* (1) U Blei Shillong (2) U Suidnia (3) U Kpa & U Kha
(4) U Bhakraw Bazaw (5) U Bakri Shako

After Lingoth H.—The Pomblang Nongkrem (in Khasi) 1946. Khasi & Jaintia Hills Press, Shillong.

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796 The goats were sacrificed by his sister's eldest son (*Siem-khynnah*) and in
182 charge of respective units at the open courtyard. The priests evoked the
ancestors and ancestress and called upon them by name praying 'Oh God and
769 Goddess, I offer this sacrifice as our ancestors did. Bless the *Siem*, his family
and the people of his state. I shall beseech you again on this day after one
231 year. You create favourable weather by virtue of your power, bring clouds
and rains to yield bumper crops and ensure a happy and prosperous life.'

On the last day (Nongkrem), a man of Mawroh clan sacrificed a pig introducing an iron spike in its left armpit. Nine pieces of meat from different parts of the pig's body were again offered to their five ancestors. The *Siem* in the presence of his *Darbar* performed the last item of festival by praying to U Shillong, when the Chief of Rynjah clan also followed in the same way for seeking the blessings of their Chief deity.

This brought the ritual to an end performed at the residence of *Siem*. The five pieces of goat's and pig's meat offered to their five ancestors, were then handed over to the in-charge of the five units considered as somewhat higher in their State organisation. They distributed them at a suitable place in their unit, making a feast as a sort of public declaration of the completion of their greatest festival for the year.

DANCING

535 Besides the ritual described above, dance with the accompaniment of music
796 formed an important aspect of this festival. A dance known as *sad-tyngkoh*
had been a regular feature for the first, second, third and fifth day. This dance
[533] has some interesting features. It has to be performed in pairs. The first
pair was constituted by Chief priest and the Chief musician. Second to fifth pairs were between the *Sirdars* of the eight units after which *Siem* along with an official of his council constituted the sixth pair. The subsequent pairs were formed by any two persons from the gathering. They danced only after bowing first before the Oak pillar (Rishot), then to *Siem* on the fifth day. This pairing was then not adhered to on completion of the last rite of the festival.

A second type of dance (*Ka sad mastieh*) was then performed in the courtyard by the musicians as well as by the professional dancers (nong-shad) with
[291] sword and fly-brush in the afternoon of the third day. The dance was always
held in pairs first by musicians, and then dancers, who donned their traditional
[301] dress consisting of silk turban (Jainspong) decorated with feathers, coloured sleeveless coat (Jymphong) silver chains and coral necklaces. Later on they joined the procession, that went to the adjacent hill where after the completion of the ceremony of goat killing, a group dance was performed returning to the residence of *Siem* ultimately.

This dance (*sad-nohkjat*) was performed by the Siems family. It was held early in the morning of the fourth day in the central hall (Shlur) and also
[291] in the courtyard. The men put on their normal dress whereas the women
dressed themselves with gold and silver crown (pansngiat), numerous silver
[301] ornaments and different coloured blouse. They dressed and braided the hairs into a knot just at the nape. The High Priestess who also danced with
[302] the membes of the Siems' family, stood in the middle of the line and chief musician stood at one end. They hold each other in hand and danced round the fire-place of the central hall (Shlur) in anti-clock-wise direction in accompaniment of music. The people assembled there, gave vent to their feeling in their customary way every time, before they resumed to make it three times. Similar performance of dances were also held in the courtyard.

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Then followed the dance of the girls (*Ki shad kynthei*) who were also wearing dress as described above. They kept their eyes down, keeping their arms on their sides taking such a short steps with the music, that the movement of the feet were hardly perceptable. The boys were also in their dancing dress as worn by *nongshad* and danced with fly-brush round the girls making their steps with the beatings of the drums. The music started from the morning would be stopped only after completion of the dance which prolonged till evening. These functions served as a good source of amusement to the people, enabling them to have a good diversion from their monotonous life with an opportunity to meet their friends and relations who assembled there from different parts of the hill. 535 [534]

DISCUSSION

From the fore-going description, it is evident that the Khasi live in a democratic set up in which the secular duties are entrusted to the *Siem*. A different rule is followed in the case of religious festivals. Every Khasi family entrusts the sacredotal work of the house to the youngest daughter. The *Siem's* sister (Siem Sad) being the nearest member of his mother's clan, is made responsible for the observance of those ceremonies which concerns the welfare of the subjects. The people attend the festival to seek blessings of their supreme deity U Shillong and their presence in the *Siem's* residence indicates their loyalty to him. The rituals of the festival, instead of being performed by her (High Priestess), were conducted by the Chief Priest (Soh blei) for which he was allotted a very imporatnt position in the celebration. The musicians were given similar status owing to the belief in the sacredness of their music. It ought to be played in proper tunes otherwise the displeasure of the deity would fall on them on finding any slight departure in this respect. For this reason, the music is considered as important as the rituals and the role of musicians were consequently given due recognition at every stage of the festival. The tradition of deputing one person of Nengnong clan to sacrifice the goat at the top of the hill was followed on account of their ancestors having carried out in olden times the profession of aide-de-camp (body guard) to the *Siem*. Another person of kharbamen clan was also asked to carry the head of the sacrificial animal from the hill to the residence of the *Siem* after the worship, as his predecessors were serfs in ancient times during the period of their captivity in this State. Such incidents were found expressed in a symbolic way through their ceremonies. 182 64 796 [593] [782]

The most important concern of the people was to maintain their mode of living together with their property and other means of subsistence. They worshipped him so that he might prevent the evil spirits from doing any harm and may in addition grant them bumper crops. To be recipient of such a favour, they appeased their god U Shillong with gifts and sacrifices. It is not sure whether he is considered as one of their deified ancestors but his important position in the Khasi pantheon enabled him to have some priority in their worship. The offering of red-cock together with a yellow goat, moreover, revealed his amiable and benevolent nature as the malignant ones get representation invariably with black colours. U Shillong was invoked simultaneously with other dead ancestors, with this hope, that all the deities would pool their supernatural strength in fighting the evil spirits before the latter were able to cause any harm to their crops or to reduce in any way the fertility of their fields. 796 769 782 776 182

It would be interesting to refer here about the presentation of nine pieces of meat from various parts of the sacrificial animal. It may be a case of appeasement by serving him with some food but there seems to be something

17: Banerjee E-5 (1955) 1962 AR7 Khasi AR7
Smit

796 magical in such gifts. The khasi deities being souls of departed members,
782 are anthropomorphic in nature, have all the qualities of an ordinary human
769 being. The worshippers believe that the deities may also loose their strength
776 in course of time which can be augmented only by offering suitable sacrifices.
182 They presented pieces of meat to transfer in them the supernatural 'power' which are concentrated or lodged in those regions of the sacrificial animal, from where they were taken out. It is a case of reciprocal help between the deity and the devotee so that on attaining their normal strength, they would fulfil their request.

796 The Khasi people while participating in the celebration gave vent to their
769 emotion through their traditional cries. It could not be definitely established whether these were any indication of frightening the evil spirits but on the other
182 hand, those were intended to cheer the *Siem*, musicians, and the respective units taking parts in the celebration. The musicians on another occassion, went round the altar three times on reaching the top of the hill. The
[644] members of the *Siem's* house similarly performed a sacred dance round the
[801] fire place of central hall (Shlur) to the same number of times. This odd number of three seemed to be an auspicious one. The exact cause for such a reverential attitude to this figure may be to pay respect to their primal ancestress (Ka Iawbei), her husband (U Thawlang) and her brother, *i.e.*, first maternal uncle (U Suidnia) who are considered highest amongst all the Khasi deities.

796 The dancing is generally taken as secular part of religious function, but the
535 Khasi people considered them (except the last one) as sacred for the reason that it is one of their methods of propitiating their deity. The people at times,
182 ascribe certain meanings to them to rationalise their thinking. The dancing invariably put the participants into ecstasy to enable them to be in communion with their supernatural beings, yet those are interpreted as a device to control the spirits inspite of its calm and quiet nature. The people even then enjoyed them with this hope that these would prevent the intruding spirits from spreading diseases. Owing to the fixation of the dates of the function at the time of sowing period, the dance of the unmarried girls may have some bearing on the promotion of fertility of the soil. The custom of allowing Khasi boys to dance round the spinsters with fly-flap in one of their hands may be to protect them from the influence of the evil spirits.

The heads of the various units adhered to the official precedence strictly before they allowed a common man to take part in the dancing. The custom of allowing two officials to dance, at a time, was in recognition to their equal status. It had become a practice to follow at every stage of their function. The presence of all the in-charge of this Siemship were essential to secure the blessings of their deity on behalf of his subjects whom they represent in official capacity in this festival. This is a suitable mechanism to foster unity and solidarity among the people of the different units which is the main aim of this celebration. This was found to be so when Khasi people from all parts of State were seem witnessing the dancing of the unmarried girls. The informant on being asked to state the reason of permitting the spinsters only in this dance, came out with an interesting fact about the ancient Khasi tradition. The dance used to offer at one time, an opportunity to the youngmen of the Royal families in selecting their brides. A betel leaf with a nut were usually thrown at a girl and the men going round them, remained as witness of this incident. This explanation received some support from the frequent utterances (*rong-rong*) by the public, expressing a desire to run away with a girl dancing with graceful style.

796 The celebration can be taken up as a solidarity rite. The performance is
182 all the more essential for the purpose of security without which the people

17: Banerjee E-5 (1955). 1962 AR7 Khasi AR7
Smit

would not be in a position to divert their attention to the problems of basic amenities and other necessaries in their life. This is expressed through rituals which are maintained through tradition and transmitted from generation to generation. A proper performance of the ritual ensures prosperity. 796 182

The maternal uncle occupies a very important position in the social life of the Khasi community. He acts as a manager of the family and his opinion is always sought for in any matter of social implications. He is thus honoured and respected by all the members of the house. In spite of the matrilineal set up of their society, the men are given honourable position in the affairs of the family. Their role has been given due recognition in their various customs and rites. The uncle (mother's brother) as also husbands in some exceptional cases, are always remembered by the living members of the house for their wisdom and sagacity. They are thus deified and are prayed by them to bestow all possible help to tide over their period of crisis. The Khasi pantheons to whom the people in general pay due reverence, are considered to have led similar life as prevelent in their present society. Thus the various rites and ceremonies that are observed, expressing clearly the duties, nature and obligations for these deities, are simply a reflection of the Khasi way of life. The general pattern of social structure has been found to be projected unconsciously through their religious worship and these celebrations are of course of great value to the local inhabitants as it re-inforces certain cultural features so characteristic of this tribe. 593 604 182 769 796 182

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burning the dead in the immediate neighbourhood of the village of Jowái. Suspicions of insurrection arose during the months of October and November 1861. In the beginning of January 1862 alarming reports were received from various quarters, and the first serious outbreak occurred on the 17th of that month. This was occasioned by the interference of a *dároga*, or native police official, with a religious ceremony that took place at the village of Jalong. In such ceremonies dancing with arms is held essential; and the *dároga* took upon himself to disarm the dancers. This was the signal for a general rising. The *thána* or police station at Jowái was burned to the ground; the garrison of sepoys was besieged, and all show of British authority was swept away throughout the Hills. The Syntengs fought bravely for their independence, and at first were successful in cutting off several small detachments of police and sepoys. Their weapons were bows and arrows. In common with the other hill tribes of the North-East Frontier, their chief defence consisted in a series of strong stockades, one behind another; and the paths leading to their villages were thickly planted with *pánjis*, or little bamboo spikes, stuck in the ground like caltrops. The battalion of sepoys stationed in the Hills was rendered inefficient by sickness. At last it was found necessary to move a regular army, including an elephant battery and two regiments of Sikhs, into the country in order to quell the revolt. Colonel Dunsford was in chief command. He was accompanied by Major Haughton, the Governor-General's Agent on the North-East Frontier, and Captain Morton, the Deputy-Commissioner of the Khási and Jáintiá Hills, who acted in a political capacity. The operations were tedious and harassing. The rebel chiefs were captured one by one, and the District was declared to be finally pacified in March 1863, after the rebellion had lasted for fifteen months. The special Commission appointed under Act xi. of 1857, for the trial of offenders in the Jáintiá Hills, was dissolved in December 1863. The causes of the rebellion were thus summed up by Major Haughton in an official despatch to the Government of Bengal:—'Taxation was introduced without the supervision with which such a measure should have been accompanied. It was followed up by fresh taxation and rumours of other taxes, also by fiscal and other innovations, which tended to disturb the minds of the people, without any counterpoise such as might have resulted from the continued presence of a European officer.' The Syntengs, like the

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

114 Yule (afterwards Sir Henry Yule) published in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society * a much more detailed description of the hills and their inhabitants than had been given by Fisher. This formed the basis of many subsequent descriptions, the best known of which is the attractive account contained in the second volume of Sir Joseph Hooker's *Himalayan Journals* † published in London in 1854. Sir Joseph visited Cherrapunji in June 1850, and stayed in the hills until the middle of the following November.

797 Meanwhile the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Mission,
177 originally located at Sylhet, had extended their
175 operations to Cherrapunji, and in 1842 established a branch there. They applied themselves to the study of the Khasi language, for which, after a trial of the Bengali, they resolved to adopt the Roman character. Their system of expressing the sounds of Khasi has since that time continued in use, and after sixty years' prescription it would be difficult to make a change. Their Welsh nationality led them to use the vowel *y* for the obscure sound represented elsewhere in India by a short *a* (the *u* in the English *but*), and for the consonantal *y* to substitute the vowel *i*: *w* is also used as a vowel, but only in diphthongs (*āw*, *ew*, *iw*, *ow*); in other respects the system agrees fairly well with
114 the standard adopted elsewhere. Primers for the study of the language were printed at Calcutta in 1846 and 1852, and in 1855 appeared the excellent "Introduction to the Khasia language, comprising a grammar, selections for reading, and a Khasi-English vocabulary," of the Rev. W. Pryse. There now exists a somewhat extensive literature in Khasi, both religious and secular. An exhaustive grammar, by the Rev. H. Roberts, was

1:Gurdon E-4,5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

142 young are comely, of a buxom type, and, like the men, with highly-developed calves, the latter always being considered a beauty. The children are frequently remarkably pretty. Khasis carry very heavy burdens, it being the custom for the 482 cooly of the country to carry a maund, or 82 lbs. weight, or even more occasionally, on his back, the load being fixed by means of a cane band which is worn across the forehead; women carry almost as heavy loads as the men. The coolies, both male and female, commonly do the journey between Cherrapunji and Shillong, or between Shillong and Jowai, in one day, carrying the heavy loads above mentioned. Each of the above journeys is some thirty miles. They carry their great loads of rice and salt from Therria to Cherrapunji, an ascent of about 4,000 feet in some three to four miles, in the day. The Khasis are probably the best porters in the north of India, and have frequently been requisitioned for transport purposes on military expeditions.

157 The people are cheerful in disposition, and are light-
522 hearted by nature, and, unlike the plains people, seem to thoroughly appreciate a joke. It is pleasant to hear on the road down to Theriaghat from Cherrapunji, in the early morning the whole hillside resounding with the scraps of song and peals of laughter of the coolies, as they run nimbly down the short cuts on their way to market. The women are specially cheerful, and pass the time of day and bandy jokes with passers-
[461] by with quite an absence of reserve. The Khasis are certainly more industrious than the Assamese, are generally good-tempered, but are occasionally prone to sudden outbursts of
[533] anger, accompanied by violence. They are fond of music, and
[797] rapidly learn the hymn tunes which are taught them by the Welsh missionaries. Khasis are devoted to their offspring,
593 and the women make excellent nurses for European children,
463 frequently becoming much attached to their little charges. The people, like the Japanese, are fond of nature. A Khasi
517 loves a day out in the woods, where he thoroughly enjoys
824 himself. If he does not go out shooting or fishing, he is con-
825 tent to sit still and contemplate nature. He has a separate name for each of the commoner birds and flowers. He also has names for many butterflies and moths. These are traits which are not found usually in the people of India.

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577 plains, jealous of their power, brave in action, and have an aversion to falsehood."

797 Khasis of the interior who have adopted Christianity are generally cleaner in their persons than the non-Christians, 177 and their women dress better than the latter and have an air 515 of self-respect about them. The houses in a Christian village 342 are also far superior, especially where there are resident European missionaries. Khasis who have become Christians often 771 take to religion with much earnestness (witness the recent 797 religious revival in these hills, which is estimated by the Welsh missionaries to have added between 4,000 and 5,000 converts to 794 Christianity), and are model Sabbatarians, it being a pleasing sight to see men, women, and children trooping to church on a Sunday dressed in their best, and with quite the Sunday expression on their faces one sees in England. It is a pleasure to hear the sound of the distant church bell on the hill-side on a Sunday evening, soon to be succeeded by the beautiful Welsh hymn tunes which, when wafted across the valleys, carry one's thoughts far away. The Welsh missionaries have done, and continue to do, an immense amount of good amongst these people. It would be an evil day for the Khasis if anything should occur to arrest the progress of the mission work in the Khasi Hills.

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION.

162 The Khasis inhabit the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, although 101 there are a few Khasi settlers in the neighbouring plains districts. The Census Report of 1901 gives the following figures of Khasi residents in the plains:—

Cachar	333
Sylhet	3,083
Goalpara	4
Kamrup	191
Darrang	10
Nowgong	29
Sibsagar	62
Lakhimpur	22
Lushai Hills	77
North Cachar	32
Naga Hills	62

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There are also syntactical agreements. We may take it as 177
finally proved by Dr. Grierson and Professor Kuhn that the Mon- 144
Khmêr, Palaung, Wa, and Khasi languages are closely connected. In the section of the Monograph which deals with language some striking similarities between the languages of these tribes will be pointed out. We have not so far been able to discover social customs common to the Palaungs and the Khasis; this is probably due to the conversion of the Palaungs to Buddhism, the change in the religion of the people having possibly caused the abandonment of the primitive customs of the tribe. In [797 ●
a few years' time, if the progressive rate of conversions of Khasis to Christianity continues, probably the greater number of the Khasi social customs will have disappeared and others will have taken their place, so that it cannot be argued that because no manifest social customs can now be found common to the Khasis and the Palaungs, there is no connection between these two tribes. The strong linguistic affinity between these two peoples and the wild *Was* of Burma points to an intimate connection between all three in the past. As knowledge of the habits of the wild *Was* improves, it is quite possible that social customs of this tribe may be found to be held in common with the Khasis. With regard to social affinities it will be interesting to note the Palaung folk-tale of the origin of their Sawbwa, which is reproduced in Sir George Scott's Upper Burma Gazetteer. The Sawbwa, it is related, is descended from 825
the Naga Princess Thusandi who lived in the *Nat* tank on the 144
Mongok hills and who laid three eggs, from one of which was [787]
born the ancestor of the Palaung Sawbwa. Here we see how [764]
the Palaung regards the egg, and it is noteworthy that the 171
Khasis lay great stress on its potency in divination for the purposes of religious sacrifices, and that at death it is placed on the stomach of the deceased and is afterwards broken at the funeral pyre. Amongst some of the tribes of the Malay Archipelago also the *Gaji-Guru* or medicine-man "can see from the yolk of an egg, broken whilst sacramentally counting from one to seven, from what illness a man is suffering and what has caused it." Here we have an almost exactly parallel case to the Khasi custom of egg-breaking.

In the Palaung folk-tale above referred to the importance of

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274 Nongwar, thirty-one stills; and Rangthang, thirty-seven
438 stills.

From what has been stated above some idea may be gathered
274 how very large the number of stills in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills is. I am not in a position to state with any degree of accuracy what is the amount of spirit manufactured or consumed in the year, but it is very considerable. The out-turn of a Khasi still has been reckoned at from four to eight bottles per day. From this estimate, and the fact that there are 1,530 stills in the district, it may be roughly calculated what is the consumption annually. Practically the whole of the spirit is consumed within the district. The liquor which is manufactured is far stronger than the spirit distilled in the ordinary out-stills in the plains.
273 It has been stated by an expert analyst that the Khasi spirit
135 contains 60 to 80 per cent. of proof spirit, and that it possesses "an exceptionally nice flavour and taste." The usual price at which it is sold is 4 to 6 annas a quart bottle, a second quality being sometimes sold for 3 annas. It will be seen that the
[465] liquor is exceedingly cheap. A Khasi in the villages of the interior can get drunk for 2 annas,* or a quarter of an ordinary coolie's daily wage. Drunkenness prevails on every market day at Cherrapunji, Jowai, and other large hâts, and on occasions when there are gatherings of the people for various purposes. This cheap but strong spirit is demoralizing the people, and some restriction of its use would be welcomed by
273 many. In the Khasi Welsh Methodist Church abstention from
797 liquor is made a condition of Church membership, but the vast number of stills and the facilities with which liquor can be obtained are a constant source of temptation to the Christian community, and cause many defections.

GAMES.

526 The Khasis have many games, but their principal game is archery, this may be said to be the national game, and is a very popular form of recreation amongst them, the sport being indulged in from about the beginning of January to the end of

* About threepence.

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The
597 adoption of a female obviates the family dying out (*iap duh*),
428 which to the Khasi is a very serious matter, inasmuch as there
764 will then be no one qualified to place the bones of its members within the family tomb (*ka ba thep shieng mawbah*), and to
597 perform the requisite funeral ceremonies. Amongst the Khasis no particular ceremonies are performed at the time of
262 adoption; but some of the Syntengs observe a religious cere-
782 mony which consists largely of a feast to the clans-folk, at which liquor, rice, dried fish, and ginger are partaken of. Before the feast commences, each clansman is provided with a small gourd (*u klong*) filled with liquor, a little of the latter is then thrown on the ground from the gourd, and the following words are uttered:—

"Oh, God! oh, Lord! oh, ruling king Biskurom, now the *pynrap iing* ceremony is about to be performed, let the ceremony be propitious, and let males and females (of the clan) increase in numbers, so that the clan may become great, and respected, and that intelligent male members may spring up." No such ceremony is, however, observed, it is understood, in the Nartiang and Raliang doloiships.

597 In the case of a family being *iap duh* (extinct), the family
428 property, according to Khasi custom, passes to the Siem. Therefore it is to the interest of the members of families to
421 adopt a female, when such necessity arises. As there is no religious ceremony which is compulsory to the Khasis on the occasion of an adoption, perhaps we are almost justified in concluding that in former times the adoption custom did not exist, more especially as the Khasis possess a special word, *iap duh*, for describing a family the females of which have all died out; and it is admittedly the custom for the Siem to succeed to the
177 property of such a family. The Synteng custom of *'rnp iing*
●797 may have been borrowed from the Hindus, when the Rajas of Jaintia became converts to that religion.

TENURE OF LAND AND LAWS REGARDING LAND.

423 Land in the Khasi Hills proper, i.e. land in the high plateau, is held somewhat differently from land in the Jaintia Hills and

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invocation. *U klong* is then made over to the judge (the Siem or the Sirdar as the case may be, &c.). 695

The person who undergoes the above ordeal wins the case, the production of evidence being unnecessary.

WAR.

Although the Khasis, unlike the Nagas, the Garos, the wild Was of Burma, the Dayaks of Borneo, and other head-hunting tribes, cannot be said to have indulged in head-hunting in ancient times, as far as we know, merely for the sake of collecting heads as trophies, there seems to be some reference to a custom of head-hunting in a description of the worship of the god *u Synghai Bámon*, one of the principal gods of war amongst the Khasis. This god is described in one of the folk tales (I have obtained it through the kindness of Dr. Roberts, the Welsh missionary at Cherrapunji) as being the deity who gives the heads of the enemy to the successful warriors. To this god, as well as to *Ka Rám Shandi*, they offer a cock. Before sacrifice the warriors dance round an altar, upon which are placed a plume of cock's feathers (*u thuia*), a sword, a shield, a bow, an arrow, a quiver, *pán* leaves, and flowers. After the cock has been sacrificed, they fix its head on the point of a sword and shout three times. The fixing of the cock's head on the point of a sword is said to have been symbolical of the fixing of the human head of an enemy killed in battle, on the top of the *soh-lang* tree. Mr. Shadwell, of Cherrapunji, whose memory carries him back to the time when the British first occupied the Khasi Hills, has a recollection of a Khasi dance at Cherra, round an altar, upon which the heads of some *Dykhars*, or plains people, killed in a frontier raid had been placed. The Khasis used to sacrifice to a number of other gods also for success in battle. An interesting feature of the ancient combats between the people of different Siemships was the challenge. When the respective armies had arrived at a little distance from one another, they used to stop to hear each other shout the *'tien-Blei*, or challenge, to the other side. This custom was called *pyrta 'tien-Blei*, or shouting out the

721 [774] [777] 726 782 726

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The above and other similar sacrifices to the gods of the State or divisions of the State may be said to be the communal religious duties of the *lyngdoh*. The duties of *lyngdoh* with reference to private persons may now be mentioned. When it is found that any two people have made an incestuous marriage, that is to say a marriage within the exogamous group of the *kur*, or clan, the parties at fault are taken before the *lyngdoh* by their clansmen, who request him to sacrifice in order to ward off the injurious effects of the *sneg*, or taboo, of such a connection from the kinsfolk. On this occasion a pig is sacrificed to *u'lei lyngdoh* and a goat to *ka lei long rej*. The parties at fault are then outcasted. As mentioned in another place, the sin of incest admits of no expiation for the offenders themselves. In the Khyrim State, it is said by the *lyngdoh* themselves, although not by the Siem or the myntries, that they are the reversionary legatees of all the persons who die without leaving female heirs (*sep dak*). In other chiefships such property passes to the Siem. The *lyngdoh* of Nongkrem can also take possession of the property of persons who have been found to harbour an evil spirit (*jieplah*) in their houses. It appears that in such cases the house and furniture are burnt, as in the case of the *Turah* superstition in the Jaintia Hills, the *lyngdoh*, however, taking possession of jewellery or anything else of value. The only practical service the *lyngdoh* renders in return is to build the afflicted person a new house; unless, indeed, we take into account the casting forth of the devil by the *lyngdoh*. Mr. Jenkins, of Shangpung, in the Jaintia Hills, writes: "Such is the belief of the people in the evil spirits, that they are completely under the influence of the priests and spend large sums of money in order to secure their favour. They live in constant dread lest by the least transgression or omission they should offend these avaricious men and so bring upon themselves the wrath of the demons." The influence of the *lyngdoh* over the people in the Jaintia Hills seems to be stronger than in the Khasi Hills. For instance, it came to my notice in Baliang that crops cannot be cut until the *lyngdoh* has seen them, in other words, until the *lyngdoh* has claimed and obtained his share of the produce. In many places, however, in the Khasi Hills the *lyngdoh* is much dis-

[illegible] due, no doubt, to the influence of Christianity [illegible]

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SECTION VI.

MISCELLANEOUS.

TERMINOLOGY.

551 The Khasis, like the Alfoors of Poso in Celebes, seem to be somewhat reluctant to utter the names of their own immediate relations, and of other people's also. Parents are very frequently called the mother of so and so (the child's name being mentioned), or the father of so and so, *cf. Ka bnai ka Wari, U kpa u Philip.* The actual names of the parents, after falling into desuetude, are often entirely forgotten. The origin of the practice may be that the Khasis, like the Alfoors, were reluctant to mention their parents by name for fear of attracting the notice of evil spirits. The practice of *teknonomy*, however, is not confined to the Khasis or the Alfoors of Celebes (see footnote to page 412 of the "Golden Bough"). The custom is also believed to have been prevalent to some extent not long ago in some parts of Ireland.

777 177 551 The advent of the Welsh Missionaries and the partial dissemination of English education has in some cases produced rather peculiar names. I quote some instances:—

U Water Kingdom, Ka Mediterranean Sea, Ka Red Sea; U Shakewell Bones, U Overland, Ka Brindisi, Ka Medina, Ka Mary Jones, U Mission, and Ka India.

KHASI METHOD OF CALCULATING TIME.

505 The Khasis adopt the lunar month, *u lynai*, twelve of which go to the year *ka snem*. They have no system of reckoning cycles, as is the custom with some of the Shan tribes. The following are the names of the months:—

505 *U lyllo-lynglot*, corresponding to January. This month in
153 the Khasi Hills is the coldest in the year. The Khasis turn

Family Property and Maternal Rights

/127/ by C. Becker S.D.S., Wurzburg

The fall of 1910 and the entire following year found the distin-
114 guished head of the Ethnographic Museum in Munich, to whom this anniversary volume is dedicated, on a research and collection trip in the extensive and inexhaustible territories of India. He was accompanied by his active wife, who served as his scientific assistant. From Burma, a mine of rich, ethnographic treasure and where the greatest part of their Indian stay was spent, their journey led the research couple into Assam, situated in the northeast of India, a country of equal significance. Assam certainly belongs politically to an-
101 terior India, but forms a bridge to interior India both ethnographically and linguistically.

Among the mountain peoples who inhabit the chain of hills which traverses the length of present-day Assam, and which separates the two largest parts of the country from each other, the Brahmaputra Valley in the north and the Surma Plain in the south, is one of the most interesting and doubtless the most advanced of the tribes, the Khasi, who inhabit the so-called Khasi and Jaintia Mountains. It
[691] was in Shillong, the center of this area, which is now the capital of the country Assam under the English government, where towards the end of September, 1911, I first became acquainted with Professor D. L. Scherman and his wife and where a friendship of many years
133 had its beginning. Therefore this little study will lead us to the Khasi Mountains, to its slopes overgrown with its peculiar pine trees, which receive greetings across the plains from the snow-crowned peaks of the Himalayas, which are flooded by the mighty waves of the Brahmaputra River and the alternating inundations of the Surma River. Here a contented and cheerful little people live who have maintained their own special characteristics in spite of the many European influences and those of neighboring cultures.

162 /128/ Of the entire population of 243,263 people, who form the inhabitants of the Khasi and Jaintai Mountains (1), 203,855 are Khasi.

1. The following statistical estimates are taken from the Census of India 1921, Vol. III, Assam, (Shillong, 1923) pp. I and II.

162
797 Of those, 37,852 have adopted Christianity, while the others are still adherents of ancient animistic cults, with the exception of somewhat

more than a thousand of them who have been converted to the Hindu religion.

This group of people possesses the possibility of expansion, since they have at their disposal within the area of the Khasi and Jaintia Mountains a territory of 6,022 English square miles, with only 40 persons per square mile. Although wide areas are not built up and the system of shifting fields prevents the full utilisation of the land, it is still true that with this small population figure by far the largest part of the whole population (200,781) is dependent on agriculture; trade and manufacturing only play a subordinate part.

With regard to the division of the sexes, the two large religions of Assam, Hinduism and Mohammedanism, show the same proportion as in the rest of India, a lesser number of women than men. But among the Khasi the women are more numerous than the men. In the Brahmaputra valley with its greater Hindu population there are only 892 women for every 1,000 men; in the Surma valley, with a greater Moslem element, there are 937. But the situation is reversed among the Khasi, where there is a surplus of 74 women for every thousand men. The position of the women is basically different among this people. It is based on the customs and usages of maternal rights that prevail among them, which are predominantly based on possession and which find honorable expression in possession.

1. Property Rights in the Family Property.-

The great principle which governs property among the Khasi, is that all family property rests in the hands /128: A/ /Fig. 1. Khasi Girls and Women with their Carrying Baskets. Fig. 2. An Old Clan Mother in the Village Laitumkhra. / /128: B/ /Fig. 3. At the Oracle of Egg Throwing/. Fig. 5. Khasi Girls and Men in Festive Dance Clothing. / /128: C/ /Fig. 4. A Group of Symeng/ /128: D/ Fig. 6. A Holy Grove and Part of the Village Raliang/ /128/ of the women and not of the man. The man can never be the owner of family property, and it can never be transferred to him. He may perhaps acquire some property through his own industry and work, but even that will pass to feminine hands by the path of inheritance. The concept of family is not as narrowly drawn here as in our country. This is a question of the clan-family, the clan. The head of it is always the youngest daughter, who, even when she has become old, bears the honorable name ka barit in the Jaintia Mountains, and in the Khasi Mountains a khadduh, the last, the youngest. Around her gather her nearest blood relatives, brothers and sisters, and children. For example let

his wife and children. 660

E. Holy Pieces of Land and Forest

A special kind of land property is still encountered in the Khasi and Jaintia Mountains. These are pieces of land and forests which are considered sang or kynsang, forbidden or holy, thus kyndhi sang, Mikau kynsang, forbidden fields, holy forests. They are also named in connection with the name god, for example, Mikau Blei, forest of the gods, which, to a certain extent, might offer the key to their purpose and meaning. The hands of man are not supposed to disturb this kind of property; this property is sacred to the gods and at the most may be used in their service. 673 779

It is not easy to trace the origin and beginnings of these reserves. But several solutions may be found in regard to sections of land. When the /136/ Catholic mission station was founded in the village of Sohsilla which is located on a steep mountain slope, it was hard to find a place that was halfway suitable and big enough to build even a small dwelling on it. Finally the missionary discovered such a place somewhat outside the village. But then there was a new difficulty. The place was the cremation area for the dead and therefore was sang /taboo/. The spirits of the dead would punish every intruder severely. The people were finally persuaded to burn their dead somewhere else, but it was more difficult to find any who were ready to help with the work of the building. Even those whom the missionary finally persuaded to help still suffered heavily from the fear of the punishment of the gods and continuously one or the other of them had imaginary illnesses. [777] [764] [765]

In the cases of more extensive pieces of land, the male worshippers (Siler), who carry on their dreadful activities in the Khasi Mountains, (8) may offer an explanation sometimes. If such a person is 677 774 [782] [783]

8. Im Stromtal des Brahmaputra, /In the River Valley of the Brahmaputra/, pp. 788.

convicted of murder, which he has committed in the service of the snake god in order to sacrifice the blood of the slain person to him, and if he wishes to free himself from the conviction, he can do nothing other than sell all his movable and immovable property. The latter thus becomes sang. Nobody would dare to take over the fields and gardens, to plant anything there, or to touch any fruit on that property. Thus in Cherrapunji a native Catholic was able to take

923 possession of a couple of orange gardens which a Shim worshipper
799 had abandoned, as the former did not believe in ghosts. (9)

9. Ibid., p. 82.

923 In the case of all these pieces of ground which are considered
923 sang, the fear of the severe punishment of the gods prevents each
799 owner from building. If another builds, he does not stop him, be-
799 cause he leaves him to the revenge of the insulted god. As may be
seen from the case mentioned, the /137/ heathen are at a disadvan-
tage in respect to their companions who have turned to Christianity.
The latter no longer feel tied to the heathen laws, at least as far
as religion is involved and no longer share their fears in many things.
Impoverished Khasi Christians thus find an opportunity to acquire
land in cases when it would not be possible for a Khasi who is still
held captive by animistic beliefs.

But among the latter there are also disgraceful exceptions. In
Nongkhah, a larger village of the Jaintia Mountains with perhaps 400
huts -- therefore the name, which means large village -- several
years ago a heathen observed with a jealous eye how so many pieces
of the fallow fields of the gods were changed into fertile lands under
the hands of the Christians. The wish grew in him to do likewise.
Although he no longer had much fear of his gods, he still had to
reckon with the anger and revenge of the members of his clan, if he
as a heathen dared to take such a step. They were not likely to dare
to do anything against Christians. Without further ado he became
converted to the Methodist religion and appeared before the English
government official in Jowai, the capital of the Jaintia Mountains,
for the transfer of a suitable piece of land. After the revolt of the
Syeeng in the year 1860, the English government pronounced the
whole territory of the Jaintia Mountains to be government land. They
also claim the right of renewal of all free-lying land, usually by a
lease of many years. Since the government receives rent for the
land, it is to its interest when applicants appear. In this case the
deed of conveyance was issued and over the years a flourishing rice
field was made from the land that had been useless up to now. Now
that the owner was sure of his affairs, he turned his back on the
Methodists in order to become a heathen again and to participate in
the heathen sacrifices. But then he got into trouble. The heathen
were incensed at such a game and brought serious charges before the
English government official. He ruled that in the future no piece
of ground of that type /138/ should be leased except upon

7: Becker--10 M-4,5 (1910-11) 1934 AR7 Khasi AR7

presentation of the written statement of the chieftain and the village elders that they would have no objection to it. The avaricious renter of the divine land mentioned above was despised by all.

As concerns the holy forests, which often extend picturesquely from the highest peak down the slope and are overgrown with gnarled oaks and bright coloured rhododendron, no tree may be felled there; at the most, fallen wood or wood torn down by a storm or already rotten wood may be taken. The spirits of the forest, as punishing gods, will revenge every offense. Tigers and leopards, apes, bears, and snakes enjoy an undisturbed existence here. The only case in which wood may be cut in these divine woods is for the religious cremation ceremonies of the dead. It is the custom of the Khasi to set fire often to great areas in order to fertilize the ground with the ashes of grasses, trees, and shrubs without regard for the new growth of trees, and to make potato fields there for a year or two or to grow mountain rice, millet, or something similar and then to leave the field fallow again. Thus this is a clever precautionary rule, since there might otherwise be cases when there might be no wood for cremating the dead.

(Continuation follows)

/304/ Family Property and Maternal Rights
by C. Becker S.D.S., Würzburg

Gordon says, (10) that these holy groves were formerly the property of a village. That is not always so as the following case will demonstrate. I am also relating this because it gives us a deeper look into the whole customs of the clan under discussion.

Several decades ago, a Khasi who had become a Protestant, U Jaiah Bhai by name, was installed as a clerk with the English government official in Jowai. In order to assure his family a better living than just his meager salary, he yearned for land. By birth from Jongshnong in the War territory, he remembered that he could obtain his still in the neighboring village Syndai from the family clan Umlilang. So one day he went thither. After the customary greetings, and refreshment with a water pipe and betel nut and conversation about various indifferent matters, he mentioned his desire. "I know," he said in the polite language of over these simple natural men, "I know the goodness and the good name of your clan 'Sumon' and the elders

10. The Khasis, p. 87.

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of your clan; you are glad to come to the help of others everywhere and thereby have prepared honor and fame for your whole clan /Sippe/, for your clan gods and goddesses, and for your ancestors of both sexes. You are blessed with grandchildren and great grandchildren. I rejoice in your good fortune and I wish that the gods and goddesses of your clan /Stamm/ will be favorably inclined for all times. Therefore I dare to come to you and to make a request of you; I have only one request: nga don tang kawei ka jingkyrpad! Namely, I need a piece of land, so that I can give my grandsons and granddaughters something to eat. My own field does not suffice for so many mouths. I have noticed that a piece of forest lies here /301/ unused. I have inquired to whom it belongs and the village elders said to me that it was the property of the famous family clan Umlang. I honor you, therefore, and beg you: can I receive this forest according to the law and custom of the clan?"

Questions from the clan mother and the family elders followed this speech. Finally it was clear to them what piece was meant. "That is the khlau sang, the forest of the gods," they cried. "Certainly that belongs to our clan property, but as you yourself know, we can neither rent nor sell it. We cannot and do not even dare say, cultivate the land. But we also cannot prevent you from doing it or forbid you. That piece of land is presented to the gods; they will revenge themselves on anyone who removes it from their cult; they themselves will guard over it so that no one will seize it."

This answer satisfied U Shai completely. He had no fear of the punishment of the forest gods; he had just wanted to make certain whether the family clan would put difficulties in his way or would even bring complaints before the English government. The forest was soon arable. Fire transformed the wood and the bushes, the high grasses and the vines into ashes; oranges and lemons, pineapples, and bananas were planted and after a few years the land brought in from the sale of the fruit a sum, considerable for those conditions, of 800 to 1,000 jaikhemarks a year.

The family clan Umlang was still faithful to their native faith. As the other heathen did, so they observed the undertaking of U Shai with fear and anxiety. They believed the gods must bestir themselves and the forest would devour the miscreant with his family. That did not occur. It could not be avoided that in this way the belief in their gods and native customs received a jolt among the heathen and many of them went over to the viewpoint that they might also do it.

After a while a young Khasi with such advanced views married /30b/ into the family clan Umliang. Meanwhile 40 years had passed. The old father U Shai was already dead. The piece of land planted by him, as it was not actually family property, according to the special customs of the War had passed on not only to the youngest daughter but also to his son Jacob U Shai and his sisters. On their side they had helped their father in the clearing of the forest. The siblings were Catholic. The young man mentioned above brought a legal complaint against the siblings before the English government official in Jowai a few years ago: the forest made arable by Jacob U Shai and transformed into a fruit orchard had been illegally acquired and is the property of the clan of his wife; he demanded a piece of the land back for the family Umliang and for the other piece a corresponding annual rent must be paid.

In reply the siblings Shai could claim that the affair was past the legal time limit. According to tribal custom the time limit on small matters was 10 years, for greater matters 30 years. In addition the main point on their side was that the piece of land in question was khlaw lang, forest of the gods, and the family Umliang could not ask anything for it. For this the Shai siblings lacked witnesses, whereas the Umliangs produced several heathen witnesses for the simple declaration of the right of possession. The case was long drawn out. It was finally decided against the Shai siblings and they were declared deprived of the property. The missionary P. Benedikt Neher now concerned himself with the affair. He brought more than 100 witnesses, all clan mothers or village elders, who were ready to swear that that piece of land was a forest of the gods as long as man could remember. The English judge, whom he informed of this, decided that this was a basis for proposing a revision and change of the judgment, but the Shai siblings had lost all their money in the previous trial to pettifogging lawyers and did not have the spirit to begin again. With oriental equanimity they accepted the loss and thus the affair remained.

/30b/ The case is instructive anyway, insofar as it shows that the so-called holy forests are also found in the possession of individual family clans; how they are valued by them as long as they remain faithful to their animistic views and how they are able to make their right of possession to them valid even after years.

2. Customs Concerning the Right of Inheritance

When the clan mother dies, the youngest daughter always receives the inheritance among the Khasi. If for any reason the youngest daughter cannot take possession, her next youngest sister follows. If there are

returns to the hands of the women. 428

The following example may explain the customs involved here and further sift them out even though it scarcely throws a pleasant light on the dissensions which have been introduced among the Khasi people as a result of the divisions of the various Christian religions which are striving for their conversion.

In the village Kyndongtupér, a man had gradually acquired some 428
property for himself with 15 oxen and cows, /305/ a decent hut and 797
furnishings and 3 beautiful rice fields, large enough to sustain a family 613
clan. After his death the youngest daughter of his sister, named Ka Pliang Shai Syndūr, was considered the valid heiress. She was still under age and her mother was already dead. As a result a sister of this mother, named Ka Pliang Shai (11)took over the management

11. Pan and Syndur are Khasi names; Pliang Shai is the name of the family, clan; literal meaning: shining plate.

of the inheritance and lived with the little heiress in the clan hut. There was no doubt that the latter would receive the entire property after she reached her majority. After a while, a young Catholic, U Salomon Tarah, wooed for Syndūr's hand. Thereupon the older sib- 428
lings, a brother and a sister, both of whom belonged to the Methodist 797
Church, became enraged. In spite of all the hostility, the young girl 671
stuck to her decision, married Tarah and became Catholic. The 613
young married couple had to flee from the clan hut because of the anger of the siblings. The latter sought to have the sister disinherited, but the other relatives involved would have nothing to do with this. They were so carried away by their anger that they did what was considered a crime even in the eyes of the heathen: they drove the cattle away secretly and sold it; likewise they cleared out the clan hut and even sold two rice fields. On complaint to the competent court, Syndūr was finally granted her right; she could take over the clan hut and the family property which was meanwhile greatly diminished.

Although the Khasi who have been converted to Christianity do not need to be bound by the laws of succession in inheritance and although this is often recognized by the heathen Khasi, there is no hindrance put in their way by the Catholic Church to following their native tribal customs in this matter. The Catholic Khasi themselves do not wish to deviate from them: /306/ a dogged attachment to ancient customs and a respect for them are in their blood. Here are a few examples.

In Mawphlang the Catholic clan mother Ka Johanna Sumah, wife of U Andreas Tuber, died without leaving any female descendants. It would

428 797 671 613

have been understood if the only son U Johannes Sunah, according to the ruling custom of Christians elsewhere, had claimed the considerable inheritance of rice fields, forest, and huts. A serious objection would not have been expected either from the officials or the relatives. Johannes was also spoken to about it in this fashion, but in vain. He could not conquer the inner revulsion of acting against ancient tribal customs for a temporal advantage. His simple answer was: "If I am a good Catholic, God will bless me in other ways without my going against our ancient customs." And so matters stood. The whole property went to the youngest daughter of the sister of the deceased; this branch of the family was still heathen. Through industry and economy Johannes finally acquired his own household with a goodly piece of land.

The Catholic Khasi even get rid of possessions readily which they already possess if the tribal customs demand it. It happened unfortunately several years ago that both the wife of the chief teacher of the Catholic Khasi public school in Shillong, U Thomas Byllun, as well as the wife of the cook of the mission station there, U Sebastian Shiah, were both carried away by death within a short time. Both men had acquired very nice property by their industry. According to Khasi law they had no further claims on their children who were still quite small. They belonged to the clan of their deceased wives and had to be taken by them and raised. According to Khasi law, the property that they had acquired also passed to the youngest daughter. Willingly each of them handed over the children and the interim management of the property to the relatives of the deceased wives, took the few clothes and purely personal possessions /307/ with them and sought to begin again from the beginning in the rented half of a hut. To my question, whether that had been hard for them, they answered with quiet matter-of-factness: "But that is the custom among us Khasi."

It is not necessary to emphasize especially that such respect for the tribal customs has made only a favorable impression on the Khasi who are still heathen.

Gurdon relates (12) that the clan mother loses her position in the

12. The Khasis, p. 83.

family when she changes her religion, for example at her conversion to Christianity, and that the youngest daughter takes her place. The justification for this lies in the fact that she then no longer belongs to the religion and cannot offer the customary family sacrifices.

Because of her whole position as guardian of the inherited religion and customs, it is not frequent that such a woman breaks with the ancestor cult. If this does happen, it does not necessarily mean that she loses the entire property. That depends really on the position the other members of the family take. If they are all still firm heathens, who wish to have nothing to do with Christianity, they can force the clan mother to give everything up. The high respect for her is frequently so great, however, that either the whole clan or at least a part of it decides to take the same step and change religions with the clan mother. The part that remains heathen will certainly propose a division of the family property. This is also possible in other cases. 429 613 797 671

4. Division of the Family Property.

Although it is rare, the weal and woe of a family-clan can require that a family-clan be split into two clans /Clan/ and that a division of the common property be undertaken. The basis for this is if the family /Geschlecht/ becomes too big, if the elders in the family council /308/ are no longer united and hate and revenge threaten to destroy, if a part of the clan /Clan/ tries to seize the better fields by violence and refuses to deliver the harvest for the common need, if one branch has brought the whole clan /Sippe/ dishonor and shame by false oaths, incest, revenge, treachery or some other severe crime. Only the guilty party will be excluded from the clan /Clan/ in such cases, if he remains stubborn and impenitent. But if he begs for forgiveness with his lips and participates in the expiatory sacrifice, forgiveness will not be refused him. But a certain inner tension and bad feeling often remain behind. 613 578 688

At the conversion to another religion, it often depends on how the clan mother and also the family elders are inclined towards the religion in question, and also on who is changing religions. If it is only brothers, sons, nephews, or grandsons, of the clan mother, a division is out of the question, since the men are not capable of inheriting. But if it is the youngest or next youngest daughter or even the sister of the clan mother, then a division of property can be undertaken. A clan mother after all is so attached to her child or her nearest blood relatives that she would not like to push them entirely away from herself unless she were completely set against the religion in question and angered. If that should be so in individual cases, the heiress concerned will still consider, whether it is not more advisable to wait to change her religion until the clan mother has closed her eyes and she then has free play. Then that which was mentioned at the conclusion of the previous section can occur. 797 428 425 613

425 613 If after discussions lasting weeks all the problems involved have been settled, the agreements decided on are finally completed with the customary ceremonial. It was mentioned above, what objects [178] for the religious cult are to be found in the hut of the clan mother. The little basket plaited of bamboo cane, which is considered the special seat of the divine ancestors of the clan. /Clan/ is not divided. /309/ Another, similar basket is made. By sacrifice of goats and pigs, these divinities are then entreated so that a part of them may take up their dwelling in this basket for the protection of the newly constructed clan. If the sacrificial priest can announce the agreement of the deceased spirits with the division from the oracle of the entrails of the animals and by egg throwing, then this basket is brought to the new clan hut. On another day one of the two hazelnut poles is then taken for the new hut with further sacrifices. Each of the two separated parties must fetch a new pole to go with the other one. In a like way the existent sacrificial utensils, such as rice baskets, mats, and gourd bottles are divided. With this ceremony the agreements made about the division of the other property are considered legally existent. Each party now goes his own way independent of the other. Certain relationships of [582] friendship and kinship still remain in existence; however, the bar to marriage, which otherwise would make impossible the marriage between members of the same family clan without regard to the degree of relationship, is no longer in existence.

425 797 796 If, at the conversion of one part of the members of the clan to the Christian religion, the division of property can be accomplished legally, it is better to insist on it. The members who have become Christian are more readily protected from disadvantageous treatment. Even if they should take part of the fields for themselves in separate management, the part of the clan that remained heathen could demand this back years later. Enmity, hate, and revenge would then follow. Without the formal ceremony combined with the sacrifices mentioned a Khasi does not recognize a division as legal. Since Christians cannot participate in such a sacrificial ceremony, there is nothing to do other than to have this ceremony undertaken while those seeking to be baptized are still catechumens. Before they are accepted then into the church by baptism, the heathen cult objects that were brought into the clan hut must be removed. "To /310/ this most important ceremony, "the missionary of the Synteng territory, P. Benedikt Neher S.D.S., once related, "I usually went myself if it was possible for me to or sent a European sister of the Order. Thereby the ceremony acquired a great deal

[See category 116, pp 4,5. — Analyst]

more solemnity and had a powerful effect on the heathen and the catechumens. The basket of the gods, the two sticks, the gourd bottles, and the other objects of the cult were carried to an open place in front of the hut, placed on a pile of bamboo canes and wood and then lighted by fire. The heathen stood at a respectful distance, fearful and trembling, and expecting that the gods would revenge themselves and destroy me with fire from heaven. But nothing of the kind happened, and disappointed and thoughtful they went back to their huts. The clan hut would then be blessed and sprinkled with holy water."

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In general the Christian religions strive to settle their members in a village separated from the heathen clan members, and to settle them in such a way that the separate family clans remain together when possible. The christian customs, that husband, wife, and children then live together in one family is carried out when possible but, however it is not always done without difficulties in view of the traditional customs.

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8: Gurdon G-3 (no date) 1904 AR7 Khasi AR7

—the *Shyngkup*, or porch, being flush with the ground. The *nengpei*, or 342
centre room, is approached by a flight of steps. There are no windows, except one, which is bored on one side to admit light and air,—this is called the *pongshai*. Both Khasis and Syntengs, like other Indo-Chinese 524
races, are much addicted to gambling, and drinking to excess is a 273
national vice. Christianity has, through the agency of the Welsh Cal- 797
vinistic Mission, gained a very striking extension, and may be said in- 177
deed to be leavening the whole nation. Schools are numerous, and are pretty well attended by girls as well as boys. The Christians, and those who have come under the influence of Christianity, have adopted a high standard of comfort, and their houses resemble English cottages more nearly than the huts with which one is familiar in India.

Agriculture.—The Khasis do not use the plough; they cultivate their 241
fields with a peculiar-shaped hoe, or *mohkhiew*. They cultivate rice in the valleys, the rice being sown broadcast and the fields irrigated often after considerable labour. They also cultivate hill rice on the uplands, which they sow broadcast. The potato, which was introduced into the [177]
Khasi Hills by Mr. David Scott about the [439]
year 1830,[1] is extensively cultivated and forms one of the principal articles of export. Job's-tears (*Coix lachryma*), several kinds of millet, Indian-corn, the *Sohphlang* (*Flemingia vestita*), are also largely cultivated. The valleys on the 245
southern slopes of the hills have extensive orange groves, the oranges, especially those grown in the neighbourhood of Shella, being famous for their quality. The betel, vine, and areca nut are also largely grown on the southern side of the hills and in the low valleys, these plantations being irrigated by elaborate systems of aqueducts. The leaf of the bay tree (*Tatyrpad*) is collected, and is exported to the Sylhet plains. The [439]
Syntengs differ from the Khasis, in that they make use of the plough. Both Khasis and Syntengs are industrious cultivators, and they possess a certain rough and ready knowledge of the uses of manure. A more detailed description of agriculture in these hills will be given in the monograph.

[1] Khasi and Jaintia Hills Administration Report for 1875-76 by Colonel Bivar.

2. *Matriarchal customs and law of inheritance of property.*—The 611
mother is the head of the house, and is both owner and the custodian of 428
the family property as long as she lives. Males can own no property amongst either Khasis or Syntengs except self-acquired property. On the death of the mother, in the case of the Khasis, the family property passes to the youngest daughter. According to some authorities, however, the property would in practice be divided amongst all the surviving daughters. Failing daughters, the property passes to the youngest niece, and failing a niece, to the youngest female cousin. The same

U Iaiong,—the cloudy changeable-weather moon, corresponding with April. 805

U Jim-mang,—the flowering moon, corresponding with May.

U Jil-lu,—the deep-water moon, corresponding with June.

U Naitung,—the bad-smelling moon, corresponding with July.

N Nailar,—the moon when a plant called the *Jatalar*, which has a red flower flourishes. This is perhaps one of the *arums*. The plant is commonly known as the snake plant.

U Nailur,—the moon for ploughing, corresponding with September. This may be also the month for courting, the word *lur* also having the meaning to woo.

U Ry-saw,—the moon when nature fades (usually becomes red) corresponding with October.

U Naiwing,—the earthen-pot moon, corresponding with November.

U Nohprah,—the moon of the fall of the leaf, corresponding with December.

The Khasi week consists generally of eight days, although in some of the *War* villages on the southern side of the hills there is a week of four days only. The days of the week are named after the markets which are held in rotation on the different days.

Khasi.	*Synteng.*
1. Lynkah.	Ky-llao.
2. Nongkrem.	Pyn-sing.
3. Um-long.	Mao-long.
4. Rang-hep.	'Iao-siang.
5. Shillong.	Maoshai.
6. Pomtih.	Pynkat.
7. Um-nih.	Thym-blein.
8. Yeo-duh.	Ka-hat.

16. *Teknonomy.*—One more interesting custom that may be noticed is the Khasi and Synteng custom of *teknonomy*, or of parents taking the names of their children, *e.g.*, ka Kmi Ka Nari (the mother of Ka Nari), U Kpa Nihon (the father of Nihon). The taking of names thus is almost universally practised. The actual names of the parents after falling into desuetude are often completely forgotten by the villagers. Only the names of the children are used coupled with "father of" "mother of" as explained above. The advent of the Welsh Missionaries and the partial dissemination of English education has, in some cases, produced some rather peculiar names. I quote some instances:— U Water Kingdom, Ka Mediterranean Sea, Ka Red Sea, U Shakewell Bones, U Overland, Ka Brindisi. 551 [197]

Il: Chattopadhyay E-4, 5 (no date) 1941 AR7 Khasi AR7

Khar Dumpep. These three clans—Khar Dohling, Khar Dumpep and Khar Sohnoh cannot intermarry on account of their common ancestry. U Alisson, the sister's husband of U Subu Rai is of Khar Dumpep clan and furnished me with the above details. He stated that his ancestress married a man of the old settler clans of Mawphlang and came to her husband's village. This man, being of the Khadar Kur, could build a house and cultivate land from the community holding. The property thus acquired passed to the daughters; and gradually the clan Khar Dumpep grew more numerous, and acquired rights in the Ri Raid like an old clan. [Genealogy I(*c*)].

(*d*) The family of the first wife of U Orongsing furnishes another illustration. The woman Ka Li came with her widowed mother from Cherra. The father had been a Synteng from Jowai. The girl has been married by U Ibchon, who is a member of one of the old settler clans. He has built a house for his family and made an excellent potato garden out of the common land for the maintenance of his wife and children. They will inherit it from him according to the usual Khasi mode. [Genealogy II(*c*)].

(*e*) U Roberts who is a Synteng of Jowai, and a Christian by religion (Genealogy V) came to Mawphlang in 1930-31 and after a couple of years married a non-Christian Khasi girl by Khasi rites thereby losing his membership of the church. He cultivated Ri Raid land when he stayed with his wife's mother Ka Shami [Genealogy V]. This woman is of Khar Sohno clan. One of her ancestresses, came to Mawphlang only a few generations ago, and married a man of the old clans. Her descendants have thereby obtained the privilege of cultivating Ri Raid. U Roberts has divorced his wife and no longer possesses this right. He now works as a tailor in the village, and lives with a friend near the bazaar.

(*f*) Gurdon has suggested that the large number of clans having Khar as the first part of the name of the Kur have originated from ancestresses who were carried off from the plains.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

4. The Bhoi — occupy the northern slopes of the Khasi Hills, covered with thick semi-tropical forests; they practise jhum cultivation. 619

5. The Lynngam — inhabit the western border of the Khasi Hills, near the Garo Hills. They are said to be half-Khasi and half-Garo. Their economy is similar to that of the Bhoi.

These ecological and geographical differences correspond also to 175
politico-historical differences. From the 16th century to 1835, eve
of the annexation of the Jaintia Hills to the Khasi Hills under the 648
British administration, the people of the Jaintia Hills formed part of the Hindu Jaintia kingdom, whose capital was Jaintiapur, on the border of the present East Pakistan and of the Jaintia Hills. The capital, at one time, was moved to Nortiang near Jowai in the heart of the Jaintia Hills. The Jaintia Hills were administrated by twelve governors. Such a highly developed economic system as based on wet rice cultivation, must have helped a great deal in forming a kingdom adjoining the plain. Through the common economy and political organization with the Hindus of the plain, the Hindu civilization of the Bengal plain penetrated deeply among the Jaintias, who are matrilineal hill dwellers.

On the other hand, the Khasi Hills have remained outside the histories of either Assam or Bengal. They were governed by a number of petty native chiefs: there were twenty-five chiefs ruling the Khasi Hills when the British colonial administration was established there. Most of these chiefs belonged to the Siem clan. The history of the Khasi Hills had been shrouded in darkness till the beginning of the 19th century, except for fragmentary stories such as Khasi raids on the Sylhet people.

The development of the upland Khasi Hills started with the estab- 178
lishment of its headquarters at Shillong in 1874. Since then the
features of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills have changed a great deal. 648
What was once a small Khasi hamlet, untouched by the light of 797
history, has become nowadays a busy modern town where many Khasi intellectuals live, mixing with various outsiders who are engaged in official work or in business. The British administration opened the way to missionary activities, especially that of the Welsh Calvinist Methodists who set up a mission in the Hills in 1841, almost at the same time as British political influence began to make itself felt in the Khasi Hills. Along with the political penetration from Cherrapunjee [871]
(1833) to Shillong, missionaries established many institutions, includ- [743]
ing churches, schools and hospitals, etc. Christian education, bringing with it the promise of clerical positions, attracted young Khasi a great deal; and the majority of the upland Khasi have been converted to Christianity. They have become the modern intellectuals of their people.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

Thus, the marriage of a non-heiress and a man of authority also produces an unstable position for the husband in spite of his having an independent household. Therefore, the possibility of a really stable marriage is even more limited; it will occur only in the match of a non-heiress and a non-authority of the *iing*. But even these marriages cannot be free from the influence of a matrilineal social structure: the man of authority of the wife's *iing* may visit these couples now and then, curb the husband's power and remind both partners of the orientation towards the matri-kin, the *iing*, though this pressure is insignificant in comparison with that experienced by the heiress's family. Likewise, a husband now andthen visits his youngest sister's house, *ka iing sen*. These constant matrilineal contacts offer husbands chances of escaping from even the slightest matrimonial tension. Whenever a Khasi man feels uneasines, he will return to his sister's house rather than face a difficult situation with his wife. This tendency is maximised especially on the occasion of religious ceremonies, when all individuals are grouped around each *iing*.

It is apparent that the rules of the *iing* as the underlying structural pattern, function throughout the various categories of domestic unit of the Khasi community as the most inportant intrinsic force.

VII. Polygyny

After this long attempt at the structural analysis of marriages, I think one can theoretically predict what is the situation of polygyny among the Khasi. The theoretical framework elaborated through preceding discussions can also be tested by the empirical data in terms of polygyny.

Nowadays, the Khasi feel so strongly against polygyny that they have no knowledge even that they ever practised it. Many Khasi, in more sophisticated areas, did not believe my findings on polygyny in Sohkynduh and Kongton. I think his is due to the rapid Christianization of the Hills during the last hundred years. My interpreter, though he was not Christian, said to me in the village, "it is most regrettable to bring you to a village where we find polygyny." However, one of the ministers of the Cherra State to which the two villages belong, told me that there was no particular opposition to polygyny, though recent Christian influence gave people the idea that it was a shameful custom, and he mentioned the case of a polygynist in his area, a man who had recently died who had had ten wives. In Jatinga whose inhabitants are all Christian, and in Shella where there has been much contact with, and influence by, Hindus, there were

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

177 people remained non-Hindu in their basic beliefs and social customs. Hindu
648 influences are nevertheless predominant in their culture, especially in their way
771 of living which shows a practical adaptability, somewhat similar to the Japanese
795 acceptance of modern western culture without becoming Christian. In my
census of Shella village, the people calling themselves 'Hindu' amount to 40 per
• [797] cent of the total, but they are the recent converts to the Ramakrishna School
[162] which established a missionary station at Shella after the Partition. The
Christians constitute 30 per cent of the total, most of them having been con-
verted during the last ten years, as in the case of the Ramachrishna School.[1]
[458] The rest remain as they were, of Khasi belief. These conversions to either
Ramachrishna or Christianity seem to have been encouraged by the unstable
situation of the people resulting from the recent economic depression in this area.

439 The Partition of India and Pakistan in August 1947, which drew the bor-
458 derline a few miles south of Shella village, considerably upset village economy
648 by stopping all trade with Bengal, though a limited amount of trade is allowed
with local people at the border. Because of this political change, all the produce
of Shella gardens is rotting away for lack of markets, while all of the rice fields
were taken by Pakistan. Goods now come to Shella only from the uplands,
carried upon men's shoulders over the most difficult pass, which makes every-
thing very expensive. Many families have sold their gold and other treasures,
and some families are facing starvation.[2]

182 Concerning the conversion to a new religion, an interesting phenomenon
171 is to be observed. The conversion to Christianity or to Ramakrishna is mostly
592 by individual: I found in my census that the wife and husband often belong to
different religions. This is a very different picture from the Garo, among whom
613 I always found that the husband and wife belonged to the same religion: the
conversion of the husband to Christianity was always followed by that of the
771 wife. I think this reflects the structural differences which influence the actual
relationship between the husband and wife. Among these Khasi, instead of
795 the husband and wife, the maternal uncle and his nephews and nieces are mostly
of the same religion. The function of the *siag*, the most important social and
religious unit, thus appears also in the conversion to a new religion, stronger
than that of a domestic unit.

Intermarriage.

648 The close economic and cultural contact of the Shella people and the Bengalee
771 is not matched by social contact. The essential barrier between the two peoples
is the difference of religion which dominates the entire social order in each
563 society. Though these Khasi were important traders, richer than the neigh-
bouring Hindu peasants, they were considered by the Hindu as outcasts with
whom they never shared social activities. Intermarriages were therefore very
rare. In Shella village, only two exceptional cases were found in my census:

1. A Khasi woman married to a Gurka (cattle-keeper); they live at Shella Bazaar (Sholap).
2. A Khasi woman has marital relation with a Bengalee medical doctor who has resided at Dieng in Shella for six years. He already has a Bengalee

1. These two entirely different missionary activities are competing with each other, and are somewhat related to the political powers within this area.

2. The state government is doing its best to provide them with additional facilities: for example, providing air transport for the transportation of oranges from Shella to Gauhati and Calcutta. However, such arrangements cannot cover the great economic loss suffered by the Shella people.

thereafter, the British negotiated treaties with all the Khasi states, the last treaty being signed in 1882. It was contracted that the chiefs would be subject to the authority of a resident political agent, whose duties would involve maintaining law and order, judging cases of heinous crimes, approving the popular selection of any new chief, and exercising control over certain categories of natural resources. Khasis were guaranteed noninterference in their customary way of life, and they were not then, nor are they now, taxed. Most Khasis, as opposed to Jaintias, were never an integral part of British India, but they did undergo social change as a result of British presence. To enumerate Mills (n.d.): (1) The British introduced the potato, which the Khasis rapidly took up as a cash crop for marketing as far as Calcutta. The intensive specialization exhausted the soil and made for overpower crops. (2) Christian missionaries made large numbers of converts, and there arose the difficult question of whether a Christian should inherit property that traditionally was earmarked for his performance of non-Christian religious rituals. (3) About 1864 the British transferred their headquarters from Cherrapunji to Shillong. When they made Shillong the capital of the entire state of Assam, non-Khasis flocked to it, land values soared, and the concept of private property became increasingly important. Khasis began to marry with members of other ethnic groups, which introduced confusion into traditional social patterns. These problems were exacerbated during World War II, when Shillong and its environs enjoyed enormous economic prosperity. One notable aftermath of this affluence has been the accelerated enrollments in schools and colleges. Hundreds of Khasis now have the B.A., M.A., and even the Ph.D. degree. • With the independence of India in 1947 and under the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India (which was drafted by a Khasi), the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills District became a Part B, or Autonomous, Tribal Area, to be governed by a District Council composed largely of Khasis and Jaintias, and responsible not to the Legislature of Assam, but to the Governor of Assam as agent of the President of India. The caste-state system and the chiefs still exist, and the District Council finds it difficult to effect legislation which is neither offensive to regional customs nor a simple blueprint of ill-fitting all-India legislation. The major political schism of the time is between Jaintias, who are accustomed to centralized authority and taxation, and Khasis, who resist the notion of taxation to support the work of a central District Council. [Cf. Gait 1906, Aitchison 1931, Bhuyan 1948, Morris 1958.]

SETTLEMENT PATTERN AND HOUSING. Settlement pattern. Khasis live exclusively in nucleated, nucleated, and unplanned villages which are situated just below hill summits to avoid strong winds but still be defensible, and which usually include a de-

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19: McCormack E-4,5 (1956-1958) 1966
[P 110B] AR7 Khasi AR7

another. In other words, a state is not a fixed territorial entity. In the early twentieth century, the most populous of the 35 chiefdoms, Khyrim, contained 30,833 persons occupying 7,000 houses in 372 villages, and the least populous, Nongkrem, contained 246 persons occupying 53 houses in 3 villages. Petty of the chiefdoms were headed by a *sporu* (chief), three by a *lyngdoh* (priest), six by a *siñar*, and one by a *wahadadar*. These leaders all had executive and judicial functions, but a chief's authority was limited in that he had to obtain the approval of his executive council before acting. The other leaders were subject to a similar limitation. A chief maintained a small police force. His major sources of revenue were market tolls, fines, and, more recently, income from licenses to distill raw whisky. Succession to a ruling role in the larger states traditionally involved election by members of a lineage that had a hereditary right to chief, from among members of a lineage that had the hereditary right to rule. In British times, the elective basis was broadened, differentially in the various states, even to the point of popular elections. [Cf. Aitchison 1931, Lyngdoh 1931.] Social stratification. The three classes of lineage are the siñar, the commoner, and the dawn or servant. This stratification applies only to the recruitment to office in the native-state system, for there is no hereditary, and in a village assembly everyone has equal voice. The siñar lineages have the hereditary right to fill from among their male members roles such as village or state priest, councilor to a chief, or elector of a chief. The few lineages which today are remembered as dawn or servant lineages had the inherited obligation to render special services to a chief's household. There is no Khasi term for "commoner." Every lineage other than a siñar or a dawn lineage is a commoner lineage, and the commoner lineages are in the majority. Warfare. Warfare was suppressed by the British, and little is known for certain about its traditional forms. The tactics which confronted the British were the ambush and the guerrilla raid. Traditional goals included taking heads from other Khasis and capturing women from the valleys.

RELIGION. Major and indigenous religions. A Welsh Calvinistic Methodist missionary penetrated into Cherrapunji in 1841, and the work that he began continues to this day. His society, which has since become the Welsh Presbyterian Foreign Mission, introduced writing, village primary schools, a high school, a theological seminary, and a hospital. Competing missionaries followed, and by 1934 some thirty Khasis were parceling over the tenets not only of traditional Khasiism and Islam but also of the Buddhism, Brahmo Samaj, Arya Samaj, and Theosophy (Mey 1934). By the 1950s missionaries of the Church of God and the Seventh Day Adventists were

also active, and in that decade one U Kyrbai, a Khasi convert to Presbyterianism, left that church and founded a unique sect that blends something of himself with something of mystical Hinduism and Christianity. The competitors who most seriously threatened the dominance of the Welsh Presbyterians were the Roman Catholic missionaries who arrived in Shillong about 1890. Catholics have since opened a number of high schools, colleges, convents, and orphanages. They also established a technical school, and are now constructing a seminary. At the present time, one estimate is that there are about 100,000 Presbyterians and 50,000 Roman Catholics among Khasis. Members of other Christian sects are comparatively few; adherents to Hinduism and Islam are fewer still, comprised chiefly of Khasi women married to Hindu or Muslim men. U Kyrbai's sect is dying out, and the balance of Khasis are, according to their own terms, "Khasi" in religion. [Cf. Lyngdoh 1957, Morris 1933, Bopmay 1960, Singh 1966, Pugh 1961.] Supernatural. The great deities are two, an unnamed masculine God (U Blei) and an unnamed feminine Goddess (Ka Blei Nongrwaiar Nongkhrum). God created the earth, and in the beginning instructed man in cultivation techniques and also laid down the framework of a moral order that should guide his every move if he wished to join God in heaven after death. This framework was then filled in by the first ancestors, who are therefore the authorities on the subject and are considered as Ka Iawbei (the mother), U Thawlang (the father), and U Suitlin (the mother's brother). Very early, Goddess undertook to keep account of the numbers of human beings on earth, and this role was so important, relating as it did to the health and the multiplication of the people, that she became of major importance in the Khasi pantheon. When sin beset human society, God activated automatic punishments in the form of natural calamities, and man finally decided that some animal should go and intercede with God on behalf of humans. The cock went, agreed to take upon himself the burden of human sin, and received instruction in the correct divinatory and sacrificial techniques by which he would be one of the main objects of the trade. Again, over a period of time, it was the ancestors who perfected these techniques. Now, God is regarded as powerful and merciful, but passive. His punishments have their own impetus, and the expression of His mercy is solidified in ritual. Goddess is more vaguely conceived, but is much closer to the individual. [Sur cf. Elwanlala 1966, who considers God one double-sexed, great deity among Khasis.] Regarding ancestors, it is never clear from prayers whether supplication is to generalized ancestors or to particular first ancestors of a Khasi's own matrilineage, and such a distinction seems not to matter. There are three other categories of minor deities: those who protect places (such as villages, groves, or springs),

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20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

593 wedlock goes to the wife and becomes her property; but all other
428 property is inalienable, and reverts to his family, as also does his corpse after death.

971 'RELIGION.—The religion of the Khásiás is demon-worship, or a jumble of enchantments muttered by priests who are sorcerers. They invoke evil spirits as the deputies of God and the instruments
795 of His pleasure or displeasure. The Khásiás believe in metempsychosis, or the transmigration of souls. After death, human beings are transformed into monkeys, crabs, tortoises, frogs, etc. Though a future state is not denied, it is treated with absolute indifference, as beyond the sphere of responsibility; all rites, ceremonies, and observances bear reference to the welfare of mankind in this world. The spirits of their departed relatives and ancestors are invoked only in so far as they are considered to influence and have power
764 over the present life. The Khásiás burn their dead, and collect the ashes into urns, which are kept under a slab raised on four others enclosing a space. These monuments are of various kinds and sizes —one for individuals, another for a family, and another for a whole
614 clan. There is no caste system, but each clan is called after some object of nature, as the Oak clan, the Crab clan, etc., and these names entail certain restrictions beyond which intermarriage is
971 forbidden. The Khási religion may be briefly described as the practice of forms to cure diseases, and to avert misfortunes of all kinds, by means of ascertaining the name of the demon who is the author of the evil, and the kind of sacrifice necessary to appease it.

797 'CHRISTIANITY.—The Welsh Mission has been labouring amongst the Khásiás and Syntengs for thirty-two years. The Christians number about 1000 [according to the Census of 1872, the total number of native converts in the District is only 85]. There are four central stations—Cherrá, Shellá, Shillong, and Jowái —and twenty-three churches. Translations of the whole of the New Testament, and a portion of the Old, are now (1876) going to press, besides other religious books.

197 'LANGUAGE.—The definitions generally given of monosyllabic languages are far from adequate to enable us to assign to the
193 Khási tongue its position amongst the Indo-Chinese family of speech. Still, in the absence of a better terminology, it may be described as monosyllabic in the agglutinative stage. The monosyllabic element greatly predominates. By far the larger number of the compounds are mere agglutinations (in a modified

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR? Khasi AR?

697 In addition, a total of Rs. 899 (£89, 18s.) was expended on jail buildings. The manufacturing account shows cash receipts amounting to Rs. 60, against an expenditure of Rs. 29, or a net profit of Rs. 31 (£3, 2s).

797 871 648 EDUCATIONAL STATISTICS.—The management of education in the Khási and Jaintia Hills is entirely in the hands of the Welsh Calvinistic Mission, who first established themselves in the District about the year 1844. Though the Khásiás are naturally dull, and children are taken away from school before they have obtained more than a smattering of instruction, yet the perseverance of the missionaries has been rewarded by most satisfactory results. It is stated, in the Report of the Inspector of Schools for Assam for 1874-75, that 'a much larger proportion of the Khásiás know a little of reading, writing, and arithmetic than is the case, probably, in any other [562] District of either Assam or Bengal.' Female education, owing to the interest taken in this work by the wives of the missionaries, is also in a comparatively advanced condition. The missionary schools are largely subsidised by grants in aid from Government. The [212] teaching is conducted in English and in Khási, the Roman character being used in both cases.

The following paragraphs are compiled from the Education Report for 1874-75, above referred to. In that year the total number of schools open in the District was 75, attended by 1881 pupils. As compared with the area and the population, these figures show one school to every 8·34 square miles, and one pupil to every 85 inhabitants. As compared with the total number of males under ten years of age, the number of boys only attending school (1500) shows one scholar to every 13·1. The total expenditure on education in the same year was Rs. 17,701. 11. 3, or £1770, 3s. 9d.; produced Rs. 108. 3. 3, while the remainder (Rs. 7093. 4) was expended by the Missionary Society from its own funds. The average cost of educating each pupil was Rs. 10. 10. 4, or £1, 1s. 3½d.

648 797 872 PRIMARY SCHOOLS.—With the exception of the schools at Cherrá Punji, Jowái, Shillong, and Sholli, all the schools in the Hills may properly be classed as primary, though several are returned as middle vernacular schools. On this principle the total number of primary schools is 64, in 45 of which a little English is taught. These 64 schools had 1206 pupils on their rolls at the close of the year 1874-75, and an average daily attendance of 829, comparing

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formerly with an average attendance of 892 in the preceding year. Of the pupils on the rolls, 130 were professed Christians, 38 Hindus, and 1098 Khiddis. The total cost was Rs. 7109, 11, 6, or £710, 19s. 3d., towards which Government contributed Rs. 3048. The average cost of each pupil was Rs. 6, 3, 3, or 12s., of which Rs. 3, 14, 1 represents the share paid by Government. The chief failure among the Khiddis is stated by the Inspector to be in arithmetic. Four primary scholarships were awarded during the year by the Deputy-Commissioner, on the recommendation of the secretary to the Mission. These scholarships are of the value of Rs. 3 a month, or £3, 14s. a year, and are tenable for two years.

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Bengali Female Schools.—There were four schools of this class during the year under report, with 92 pupils on the rolls, and an average daily attendance of 123. The total expenditure was Rs. 2580, 13, 9, or £258, 4s., towards which Government contributed Rs. 1478, 8; the average cost of each pupil was Rs. 18, 13, 3, or £1, 17s. 8d.

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Female Instruction.—The Khiddi and Jaintia Hills is the only District of Assam, and one of the very few throughout all India, in which female instruction can be said to exist. During 1872-73 the number of girls attending the schools increased from 140 to 300, or by more than 40 per cent., showing 2·7 girls at school to every thousand of the female population, as against 0·9 in the Province generally. Of this number 14 were taught by Mrs. Hugh Roberts of Cherrí Pinji, and 18 by Mrs. John Roberts of Shillá. During the year five of the girls were sent out as teachers, of whom one was placed in charge of the Shillong girls' school, which has 29 pupils.

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Normal Schools.—According to the classification adopted by the Education Department, the institution at Cherrí Pinji, under the management of the Rev. Hugh Roberts, is described as a purely Government School. The number of pupils on the rolls was 25, and the average attendance 23. There is a class of 10 girls, and of the 16 teachers turned out during the year, 5 were girls. The total cost was Rs. 2030, 6, 6, almost the whole being paid by Government. The average cost of each pupil was Rs. 109, 6, 3, or £10, 19s., of which Rs. 105, 6, 11 represents the share of Government. The following paragraph, quoted from Mr. Roberts' Report, illustrates what the establishment have effected, and also the difficulties with which they have to contend:—"Cases have been brought to my notice during the past year

[illegible] MOVEMENT OF SIKHS AND PACIFIC [illegible]

[illegible] of parents undergoing considerable privations rather than deny their children education; and in many families it has become a matter of ordinary routine to send the children to school. This only refers to the younger children; the elder boys have attained their fourteenth or fifteenth year, their parents great inquirers for their pecuniary assistance. It is the custom among the Khalsis to leave very young children to work, so that they may earn enough to support themselves as soon as ever they can manage atag and basket. It is common for a boy to realize from ten pice to five annas a day for his parents; and it is considered sufficient sacrifice for the latter to have kept him at school up to his fourteenth year.

Kaur Sikhs.—The following is a list of the nineteen semi-independent Khalsi States or Dominions, with the particulars of information that are available for each, taken from the Annual Administration Report for 1879-80:—

(1) Sikhs or Wahid.—Name of State, U Sawan Singh, age in 1878, 18 years; approximate population of State, 3[illegible]; estimated gross revenue—from market dues, Rs. [illegible]; from established on line quarry, Rs. 18,000—total, Rs. 18,000, or £1800; products, rice, millet, [illegible] or bay leaves, black pepper, Pipar sugarcane; minerals, lime.

(2) Chhatra or Sikhs.—Name, U Sitjan Singh, aged [illegible]; population, [illegible]; revenue—from market dues, Rs. [illegible]; judicial fees, Rs. [illegible]; established on line quarry, Rs. [illegible]; considerable building in Sylhet, Rs. [illegible]—total, Rs. [illegible], or £[illegible]; products, cotton, millet, local corn, rice, oranges, black pepper, Pipar sugarcane, chillies, turmeric, ginger, and honey; manufactures, bamboo mats and bamboo baskets; minerals, lime, iron, and coal.

(3) Sikhs.—Wahid, U Jodh, aged [illegible], and U Ed Singh, aged [illegible], of whom the former can read and write both Khalsi and [illegible]; judicial fees, Rs. [illegible]—total, Rs. [illegible], or £[illegible]; products, oranges, betel-nuts, and pine-apples; manufactures, bamboo mats and bamboo baskets; minerals, lime and coal.

(4) Kaurs or Sikhs.—Name, U Khar Singh, aged [illegible]; population, [illegible]; revenue—from pension allowed by the British Government, Rs. [illegible]; market dues, Rs. [illegible]; judicial fees, Rs. [illegible]; established on line quarry, Rs. [illegible]; contributions for these purposes, Rs. [illegible]—total, Rs. [illegible], or £[illegible]; products, rice, cotton, millet, "Jabi tree" [illegible], [illegible], [illegible]

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1: Garden E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

If any stream has to be crossed, a rough bridge is made of branches and grass. This trail of leaves and the bridge are intended to guide the spirit of the deceased to the raiu. The person who carries the house is not allowed to turn round, or to the right, or to the left, but must proceed straight to the raiu. On reaching it, a *nongbain*, or sacrificer, washes the house three times and then places them in an earthen pot, tying up the mouth with a white cloth. Then, having taken three pieces of the hard yolk of an egg, three leaves of bread, the leg of the fowl, "*u'iar lead lyoh*," and the lower jaw-bones of the animals which have been sacrificed, he places them inside the raiu and shuts the door. Betelnut and betel-leaf are then placed on the top of the raiu. Early next morning the relatives and friends go to the raiu with fresh food and water, and look about for new foot-prints, the idea being that from these foot-prints they can foretell future events. This they do until the third night after the cremation. During these three nights the front door of the house formerly occupied by the deceased is never closed, it being thought that the spirit may wish to return and visit its earthly abode. The whole family is moreover sang or taboo, during this period, and no manner of work can be done. When the three nights are over, it is called the *lait ia*, i.e. the days (of mourning) are passed, and three eggs are broken to ascertain what was the cause of the death. After this the family goes to bathe, and the clothes and mats in the house are washed. When this has been done, the taboo is removed and the family can go to work. After a month a pig or a fowl is sacrificed, the ceremony [illegible] seems to be the lucky number throughout these funeral ceremonies. The number seems to bear a similar significance in other matters of Khasi ritual, e.g. the pouring out of libations, which is always done three times.

It is sang or taboo for a Khasi widow to re-marry within one year from the death of her husband, there is a similar prohibition for a husband re-marrying; but such sang can be got over by the payment of a fine to the clan of the deceased. After the expiration of one year the fine is reduced in amount. Khasi widows do not as a rule re-marry, according to U Jashon Roy,

over what their ancestors are doing for them, and what their views and inclinations may be as regards the amount of aid they may give. To a Khasia there is no difficulty about the matter; when in distress or requiring aid of any kind, seeking omens by the breaking of eggs (which I will hereafter describe) he appeals to and propitiates any one ancestor he may select; only one or two may promise such protection, and these it may so happen have died years ago. The benefit also conferred may be very trivial, and sufficiently acknowledged by the setting up of stones of small size; on the contrary, if great favours are conferred on the wealthy we find large monoliths forming conspicuous landmarks on many a hill-top, scattered over a large area of country, and which are mostly known to the country round by the name of the individuals who have wrought so much good in their after state.

These stones are never erected in pairs or in even numbers; in counting over a very large series still perfect, I found them invariably in sets of three, five, seven, or, as I have before mentioned in the case of the Nongtariang clan, in two sets, five and five, on opposite sides, to the same individual.* Even numbers are considered unfinished or imperfect.

A reference to the plans given, numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, will show the various arrangements in which the stones are set up, both in a segment of a circle and at right angles to each other, as in fig. 3. The most common form, however, is in line, fig. 4. Fig. 1 consisted of a circular platform raised about two feet, faced with rough stones on the front face. These three examples were observed on the hill of Lailong-kote, where the bazar is held, and I have not seen anywhere else the monoliths so arranged; in other parts of the country they are invariably set up in a straight row.

These monuments are also erected for such a reason as the following:—During the illness of a person, every kind of propitiation and exorcism either by the breaking of eggs, sacrifice of fowls, pigs, etc., and by the examination of the liver and viscera, having been made, and then failing to remove him; the sick man may vow that should he recover, he will erect a set of stones to one of his ancestors, who, it is presumed, on knowing of the intention, will do his best to save him.

In setting up these slabs all members of the community are under an obligation to assist on such an occasion, and are not paid for their labour, beyond receiving in the evening a little food or liquor at the dwelling of the family who have sought the aid. The skilled workmen employed on the stone-cutting are,

* These and five are the most frequent numbers met with, also very rare 9 have been shown.

10:Clarke U-3 (no date)1874 AR7 Khasi AR7

211 middle; annexed is a representation of a common type containing five stones.

A common height for the middle stone of such a monument will be six to ten feet, by 2-3 feet wide. The stones are sunk not very deep, say 1-2 feet, into the earth; great numbers of fallen stones are seen. Monuments of this character are often placed on the crest of the hills, and in many parts of Khasi-land the landscape appears dotted over with them.

The horizontal slabs are commonly grouped in pairs. The flat slabs may be 5-10 feet long, and are rarely so exactly quadrangular, and they generally have some of the corners irregularly rounded off, and thus pass into the oval or round horizontal slab, which is also a frequent type.

The upright and horizontal slabs are often combined to form a single monument, and perhaps the commonest of all the combinations is that in which five upright slabs have two horizontal before them. The combinations adopted are, however, endless in variety. In these combinations it must be understood that the whole group of stones forms one indivisible monument, which may be the monument of one individual, a household, or a family. Families retain a history of the monuments which belong to the family, and thus in a small degree of the names of their ancestors. Such family monuments may be repaired, added to, or rebuilt from time to time. They are not necessarily placed where the family ashes are kept in kists, or near such kists; but they are usually at no great distance from the village where the family dwells.

The putting up a large stone, say one that stands fifteen feet out of the ground, is a very costly matter, and the monuments of the first class in size in the Khasi country are not very numerous; in the monuments of small stones, the number of stones is often great, I have noticed twenty-one stones in a row, no stone exceeding two feet high.

The upright slabs are (particularly when unaccompanied by any horizontal slabs) usually placed in a straight line. But frequently, where the horizontal slab is round, the upright slabs stand in the arc of a circle, and sometimes the upright slabs are placed in a curved line apparently by accident, or because the nature of the steep ground suggested such an arrangement. Two such monuments occur on the main road to Laitkokote.

Major Godwin-Austen states in his article on the subject that 116 the upright slabs always stand in threes, fives, sevens, etc. This 117 is a mistake; to have the number of stones unequal, with the 118 central slab the tallest, is perhaps the plan adopted in forty-nine monuments out of fifty; but among the vast variety of monuments

10: Clarke U-3 (no date)1874 AR7 Khasi AR7

in these hills a dozen monuments on the binary type may soon be found in which there are two equal upright slabs in the middle, and the other stones placed symmetrically on each side of them.

7. There are three kinds of rock employed by the Khasis for stone monuments, viz.:—

a. The Cherra sandstones.
b. The Shillong sandstones.
c. The granite.

Small stones are conveyed considerable distances from the place of manufacture before they are set up—large stones are not—hence the material of the monuments is determined everywhere geologically.

a. The Cherra sandstones are tertiary and cretaceous rocks spread along the southern edge of the plateau and producing the ledges which mark its abrupt termination. In the great thickness of these sandstones are many beds in which the rock occurs in large sheets with very few joints, and well-adapted for working out large slabs therefrom. The sandstone is generally very hard, but not so hard but that the Khasis can work it with their own native-made iron tools.

There is a quarry, now in full work, about half-a-mile out of the old Cherra cantonment, upon the Mawlou path, where slabs may be seen in preparation. The slabs made from the Cherra sandstones, admitting of being worked, are generally hewn pretty fairly to a shape and smoothed before being set up. The ancient monuments are, however, often made of very rough slabs.

All the well-known monuments near the old Cherra station are made of these sandstones, as also the large monuments at Mawlou, Mawsmai, and Lieinow. These three monuments all stand on sheets of Cherra sandstone and the stones were cut out of the rock hard by where they now stand. The stones quarried now outside the Cherra cantonment, being for transport, are none of great size.

The Khasis also work gigantic slabs of stone for bridges. Where the span is anything under twenty feet a single slab four or five feet wide and two feet thick is thrown across; piers of enormous blocks of sandstone are raised on each side, on which the slab may rest, if there is the remotest fear that the water can, in any flood, reach the under surface of the slab. As compared with such a bridge the Khasis regard the best efforts of the English engineers as mere makeshifts. The arch at Amwee figured by Dr. Hooker is Bengali work.

b. The Shillong sandstones extend over a large area of the northern portion of the plateau: they are often more argillaceous

17: Banerjee E-5 (1955) 1962 AR7 Khasi AR7
Smit

796 magical in such gifts. The khasi deities being souls of departed members,
782 are anthropomorphic in nature, have all the qualities of an ordinary human
769 being. The worshippers believe that the deities may also loose their strength
776 in course of time which can be augmented only by offering suitable sacrifices.
182 They presented pieces of meat to transfer in them the supernatural 'power' which are concentrated or lodged in those regions of the sacrificial animal, from where they were taken out. It is a case of reciprocal help between the deity and the devotee so that on attaining their normal strength, they would fulfil their request.

796 The Khasi people while participating in the celebration gave vent to their
769 emotion through their traditional cries. It could not be definitely established
182 whether these were any indication of frightening the evil spirits but on the other hand, those were intended to cheer the *Siem*, musicians, and the respective units taking parts in the celebration. The musicians on another occasion, went round the altar three times on reaching the top of the hill. The members of the *Siem's* house similarly performed a sacred dance round the
[699] fire place of central hall (*Shlur*) to the same number of times. This odd number
• [801] of three seemed to be an auspicious one. The exact cause for such a reverential attitude to this figure may be to pay respect to their primal ancestress (Ka Iawbei), her husband (U Thawlang) and her brother, *i.e.*, first maternal uncle (U Sudnia) who are considered highest amongst all the Khasi deities.

796 The dancing is generally taken as secular part of religious functions, but the
535 Khasi people considered them (except the last one) as sacred for the reason
182 that it is one of their methods of propitiating their deity. The people at times, ascribe certain meanings to them to rationalize their thinking. The dancing invariably put the participants into ecstasy to enable them to be in communion with their supernatural beings, yet these are interpreted as a device to control the spirits inspite of its calm and quiet nature. The people even then enjoyed them with this hope that these would prevent the intruding spirits from spreading diseases. Owing to the fixation of the dates of the function at the time of sowing period, the dance of the unmarried girls may have some bearing on the promotion of fertility of the soil. The custom of allowing Khasi boys to dance round the spinsters with fly-flap in one of their hands may be to protect them from the influence of the evil spirits.

The heads of the various units adhered to the official precedence strictly before they allowed a common man to take part in the dancing. The custom of allowing two officials [illegible], at a time, was in recognition to their equal status. It had become a practice to follow at every stage of their functions. The presence of all the in-charge of this Siemship were essential to secure the blessings of their deity on behalf of his subjects whom they represent in official capacity in the festival. This is a suitable mechanism to foster unity and solidarity among the people of the different units, which is the main aim of this celebration. This was found to be so when Khasi people from *all parts* of State were seen witnessing the dancing of the unmarried girls. The informant on being asked to state the reason of permitting the spinsters only in this dance, came out with an interesting fact about the ancient Khasi tradition. The dance used to offer at one time, an opportunity to the youngmen of the Royal families in selecting their brides. A betel leaf with a nut were usually thrown at a girl and the men going round them, remained as witness of this incident. This explanation received some support from the frequent utterances (*rung-rung*) by the public, expressing a desire to run away with a girl dancing with graceful style.

796 The celebration can be taken up as a solidarity rite. The performance is
182 all the more essential for the purpose of security without which the people

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

193 *ka* is dropped, the word is no longer an adjective but a verb and in some cases a noun, e.g. *ulu khraw* (adj.) = big, great; *u khraw* = he becomes great. An adjective may be formed without any of the prefixes *ka*, *ulu*, &c., e.g. *ka mian-tuh* = a thieving cat.

An adjective follows the noun it qualifies, and agrees with the noun it qualifies in gender and number.

Comparison.—The comparative is formed by adding *kham* before an adjective, followed by *ban ia* (than), or simply *ia*, and the *superlative* by adding such adverbs of intensity as *tam*, *ch*, *ch than*, *tam ch*, *chikaddei*, which are followed generally by *ia* or *ban ia*.

Numerals.—In Khasi the cardinal number always precedes the noun (e.g. *kai sin*, three times). The following are the first ten numerals.

[802]

1. *Wei.*	6. *Hiaria.*
2. *Ar.*	7. *Hiniaw.*
3. *Kai.*	8. *Phra.*
4. *Naw.*	9. *Khyndai.*
5. *Sian.*	10. *Shiphew.*

The word *khad* is prefixed for forming the numerals from 11 to 19, e.g. *khad-wei*, *khad-ar*, eleven, twelve, &c.

The verbal root (which never varies) may be simple or compound. The compound roots are (1) causals, formed by prefixing *pyn* to the simple root; as *iap*, die; *pyniap*, kill. (2) Frequentatives, formed by prefixing *iai*; as *iaw*, weep; *iai-iaw*, weep continually. (3) *Inceptives*, by prefixing *man*; as *ainud*, be wise; *manainud*, grow wise. (4) *Reciprocals*, by prefixing *ia*; as *ieit*, love; *ia-ieit*, love one another. (5) *Intensives*, by prefixing the particle *hyn*, *hyn*, *ayn*, *ten*. Any noun or adjective may be treated as a verbal root by means of a prefix of these five classes. Thus *hajio*, a quarrel (Hindustani loan word, *gazia*); *ia hajio*, to quarrel with one another; *hynta*, share; *pyn-ia-hynta* (reciprocal causal), to divide between several persons. It should be mentioned with reference to the second class or frequentative verbs, that they sometimes take the prefixes, or particles as Roberts prefers to call them, *don*, *day*, *nang*, *shait*, *iaw* in place of *iai*, e.g. *don-ewn*, to come after; *don-ieb*, to practise; *nang-ward*, to go on working; *shait pang*, to be always ill; *iaw-ban*, to be in the habit of devouring. There are two

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193 Standard, the Present Tense is formed by using the bare root.

The Past Tense is formed in one of five ways, viz.:—

1. By suffixing *let*, as in *sup-let*, said.
2. By suffixing *lah-let*, as in *dik-lah-let*, went.
3. By prefixing *lah*, and suffixing *let*, as in *lah-sup-let*, said.
4. By prefixing *lah*, as in *lah-kyllei*, asked.
5. By prefixing *ya* (*yay*, *yai*), as in *ya-sei*, gave; *yay-khoit*, shook; *yai-pait*, broke; *ya-pei*, fell.

The Future is formed in a very peculiar way. The Standard *ya* is inserted into the middle of the root, immediately after the first consonant. Thus *rip*, strike; *ryaip*, will strike. If the root is a compound, it is inserted between the two members, as in *pun-ya-sup*, will fill. Here observe that the Standard causative prefix *pun* becomes *pun* in Lyngngam. The Infinitive has the same form as the Future.

Dr. Grierson points out the following most noteworthy fact with reference to the formation of the Lyngngam Future and Infinitive, i.e. that similar infixes occur in Malay, in the Nancowry dialect of Nicobar, and the Malayan aboriginal languages.

The prefix of the Imperative is *sei*, as in *sei-sei*, give; *sei-lem*, bring. The usual negative particle is *ji*, which is suffixed, e.g. *sei-ji* is not.

NUMERALS.

192

LYNGNGAM	SHILLONG (KHASI).
1. [illegible]	Wei, ei.
2. [illegible]	Ar.
3. [illegible]	Lai.
4. [illegible]	Ram.
5. [illegible]	Nan.
6. [illegible]	Hiarie.
7. [illegible]	Hiaraw.
8. [illegible]	Thra.
9. [illegible]	Khyndai.
10. [illegible]	Shi-phar.

The peculiarity about the Lyngngam numerals is the suffix *ei*, and the numeral "five" do. None of the other dialects of Khasi possess this peculiarity. Dr. Grierson's Volume may be

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8: Gurdon G-3 (no date) 1904 AR7 Khasi AR7

193 An adjective follows the noun it qualifies, and agrees with the noun it qualifies in gender and number.

Comparison.—The *Comparative* is formed by adding *khem* before an adjective, followed by *ban ia* [than], or simply *ia*; and the *superlative* by adding such adverbs of intensity, as *tam ek, ek than, tam, ek, shikaddei*, which are followed generally by *ia* or *ban ia*.

Numerals.—In Khasi the cardinal number always precedes the noun [e.g., *lai sin*, three times]. The following are the first ten numerals:—

1. Wei	6. Hinriu.
2. Ar.	7. Hinsiew.
3. Lai.	8. Phra.
4. San.	9. Khyndai.
5. San.	10. Shiphew.

The word *khad* is prefixed for forming the numerals from 11 to 19, e.g., *khad-wei, khad-ar*, eleven, twelve, etc.

Verbs.—The verbal root [which never varies] may be simple or compound. The compound roots are [1] *causals* formed by prefixing *pyn, pyl, kyn* to the simple root; *frequentatives* formed by prefixing *nang* [going on], *dang* still, *iai, ia* [continues to]; *inceptives* formed by prefixing *man*.

Reciprocals are formed by prefixing *ia*. There is only one form of conjugation for all verbs. Tense and mood are indicated by prefixes, number and person by the subject. When the subject is a noun, the pronoun is inserted before the verb. The following is the conjugation of the verb "to be" in the present, past, and future tenses:

Present.		Past.		Future.	
Singular.	Plural.	Singular.	Plural.	Singular.	Plural.
1	2	3	4	5	6
Ngo long, I am.	*Ngi* long, we are.	*Ngo ia* long, I was.	*Ngi ia* long, we were.	*Ngon* long, I shall be.	*Ngin* long, we shall be.
Ko (masc.) or *pha* (fem.) long, thou art.	*Phi* long, ye are.	*Ko* or *pha ia* long, thou wast.	*Phi ia* long, ye were.	*Kon* or *phan* long, thou shalt be.	*Phin* long, you shall be.
U (masc.) or *ka* (fem.) long, he or she is.	*Ki* long, they are.	*U* or *ka ia* long, he or she was.	*Ki ia* long, they were.	*U'n* or *ka'n* long, he or she will be.	*Kin* long, they will be.

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000 which are not found usually in the people of India. He is
461 not above manual labour, and even the Khasi clerk in the
333 Government offices is quite ready to take his turn at the hoe
335 in his potato garden. The men make excellent stonemasons and carpenters, and are ready to learn fancy carpentry and
276 mechanical work. They are inveterate chewers of *supari* and
804 the pan leaf (when they can get the latter), both men, women, and children; distances in the interior being often measured by the number of betel-nuts that are usually chewed on a
273 journey. They are not addicted usually to the use of opium or other intoxicating drugs. They are, however, hard drinkers, and consume large quantities of spirit distilled from rice or millet. Rice beer is also manufactured; this is used not only as a beverage, but also for ceremonial purposes. Spirit drinking is confined more to the inhabitants of the high plateaux and to the people of the *Wár* country, the Bhoiis and Lyngngams
276 being content to partake of rice beer. The Mikirs who inhabit
751 what is known as the "Bhoi" country, lying to the north of the district, consume a good deal of opium, but it must be remembered that they reside in a malarious *terai* country, and that the use of opium, or some other prophylactic, is probably
525 beneficial as a preventive of fever. The Khasis, like other people of Indo-Chinese origin, are much addicted to gambling.
577 The people, and especially those who inhabit the *Wár* country, are fond of litigation. Col. Bivar remarks, "As regards truthfulness the people do not excel, for they rarely speak the truth unless to suit their own interests." Col. Bivar might have confined this observation to the people who live in the larger centres of population, or who have been much in contact with the denizens of the plains. The inhabitants of the far interior are, as a rule, simple and straightforward people, and are quite as truthful and honest as peasants one meets in other countries. My impression is that the Khasis are not less truthful certainly than other Indian compositions. McCosh, writing in 1837, speaks well of the Khasis. The following is his opinion of them:—"They are a powerful, athletic
[47] race of men, rather below the middle size, with a sublimeness of gait and demeanour. They are fond of their mountains, and look down with contempt upon the degenerate race of the

[the Khasis ---- Khasi p.1]

shield of Cherriapunji is used as a protection from rain. Those of Maharam and Mawiang are each of a peculiar pattern. Smaller shields are used as protections from the sun or merely for show, and there are specially small sizes for children. Then there are the different kinds of basket (*ki kâsh*) which are carried on the back, along across the forehead by a cane head-strap. These, again, are of different sizes. They are, however, always of the same conical shape, being round and broad-mouthed at the top and gradually tapering to a point at the bottom. A bamboo cover is used to protect the contents of the basket from rain. There is a special kind of basket made of cane or bamboo with a cover, which is used for carrying articles on a journey. These baskets, again, are of different sizes, the largest and best that the writer has seen being manufactured at Ramkrai, in the south-western portion of the hills. Paddy is husked in a wooden mortar by means of a heavy wooden pestle. These are to be seen all over the hills. The work of husking paddy is performed by the women. A bamboo sieve is sometimes used for sifting the husked rice, a winnowing fan being applied to separate the husk. The cleaned rice is exposed to the sun in a bamboo tray. Paddy is stored in a separate store-house in large circular bamboo receptacles. These hold sometimes as much as 30 maunds* of grain. Large baskets are also used for keeping paddy in. In every Khasi house is to be found the net bag which is made out of pineapple fibre, or of a stem, the *Ananassa sativa* (Bonkoottia nivea). These bags are of two sizes, the larger one for keeping cowries in, the cowrie in former days having been used instead of current coin in these hills, the smaller for the ever necessary betel-nut. Pan leaves are kept in a bamboo tube, and tobacco leaves in a smaller one. Lime for eating with betel-nut, is kept in a metal box, sometimes of silver, which is made in two separate parts held together by a chain. The box is called *ka shawan*, and is used all over the hills. This box is also used for divination purposes, one end of it being held in the hand, and the other, by means of the chain, being allowed to swing

* The maund is 82 lbs.

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 ART Khasi ART

The most important crop on the southern side of the hills is the orange, which has already been referred to in the paragraph dealing with agriculture.

The oranges are sold by the *syuk* or 100, which is not a 100 literally, but somewhat over 2,000 oranges. Different places have different *syuks*. At Phali Hai, on the Dogpani River, the *syuk* is computed as follows :—

1 Hali = 4 oranges.
4 Halis = 1 Hiari.
100 Hiaris = six *syuk* (one hundred).
= 2,200 oranges.

At Shella the computation is slightly different, being as follows :—

1 Gai = 8 oranges.
3 Gais = 2 oranges = 32 oranges.
4 Hiaris = 1 hali = 128 oranges.
17 halis = 2 hiaris = six *syuk* (100)
= 2,320 oranges.

By another method of calculation the *syuk* consists of 2,240 oranges.

The price per *syuk* varies from about 10 rupees in good years to Re. ½ when the orange harvest has been a poor one.

The lime is also cultivated, not separately, but along with the orange. The lime can be grown with success at a higher altitude than the orange. There is extensive betel-nut and *pân* cultivation on the southern slopes of the hills. The betel-nut tree is cultivated in the same manner as in the plains, except that the trees are planted nearer to one another. The trees bear when eight to ten years old. A portion of the crop is sold just after it has been plucked; this is called a 'wai [illegible]', and is for whole consumption. The remainder of the crop is kept in large baskets, which are placed in tanks containing water, the baskets being completely immersed. This kind of betel-nut is called a 'wai [illegible]'. The Khasis, like the Assamese, prefer the fresh betel-nut. They do not relish the dry *supârî* so much.

The principal *pân* gardens are on the south side of the hills, *pân* not being grown on the northern slopes, except in the neighbourhood of *Jiraing*. The *pân* creepers are raised from cuttings, the latter being planted close to the trees up which they are to be trained. The creeper is manured with bad

446

4 ch'ing	equal	1 kyuda
5 kyuda	"	1 peisa or 5 dasli
4 peisa	"	1 anna
16 anna	"	1 tyugka
15 tyugka	"	1 muher keiar equals 20.63 gold marks

Ref The following norms are valid for wares sold according to weight:

4 ruka	equals	1 tula
1 1/2 tula	"	1 katsha
5 katsha	"	1 shatak
4 shatak	"	1 pauwa
4 pauwa	"	1 ser
5 ser	"	1 puserl
6 puserl	"	1 mun
27 1/2 mun	"	1 ton equals 20 hundredweight

The following norms are valid for wares which are sold according to the square foot:

4 saudong	equals	1 kanda
20 kanda	"	1 shatak
16 shatak	"	1 katha
20 katha	"	1 bigha equals 120 square feet

The following norms are in general valid for wares which are sold by the piece:

12 tylli	equals	1 dorjon
20 tylli	"	1 kuri
5 kuri	"	1 sish (hundred)
24 teu	"	1 diela
20 diela	"	1 rim
10 rim	"	1 ding bah

[110] The sale of oranges is an exception. These appear on the market by the thousands. This fruit is sold by the spah, i.e., the hundred, but this is not to be taken literally. For the spah have various meanings according to the region. Thus the people on the Bogapani River (in Phali) sell according to the following system: [104]

1	hali	equals	4 oranges
6	hali	"	1 bhar
100	bhar	"	1 spah, i.e., 5800 oranges

They are reckoned as follows in Shella:

1 gai	equal	6 oranges
5 gai and 2 oranges	"	1 bhar
4 bhar	"	1 hola
27 hola and 2 bhar	"	1 spah or 5920 oranges

The price for a spah varies from 10 to 20 rupees (tyngka), according to the amount of fruit that appears at the market. [435]

Quai leaves (tympen) are sold according to the following scale:

2 ala	equal	1 jur
10 jur	"	1 khongshi
5 khongshi	"	1 blah
4 blah	"	1 tap
20 tap	"	1 kuri
4 kuri	"	1 shalia

But among the War the quai leaves are sold 435

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

435 439 at the rate of two or three ears for a farthing; and sugar-cane, the [243] cultivation of which is also very limited, at from a little over a farthing 273 to three-farthings per cane. A fermented liquor called *kadam*, made 435 from rice, is sold at from three-farthings to threepence a quart, according to strength; and a distilled spirit called *phatika*, or *kadiad-kdrak*, at from threepence to fourpence-halfpenny a quart. This latter description of liquor is sometimes made very strong. No records exist by which the present prices of the above articles can [731] be compared with the rates ruling ten years ago. The maximum price of rice during the famine of 1866-67 was 5 *sers* 6 *chhatiks* for the rupee, or about £1 a hundredweight.

• 804 805 MEASURES, WEIGHTS, ETC.—The Hill people have no proper measurement of time or distance. If there be any standard for measuring distance, it is by the number of *pins* a man chews in the course of a journey, generally about one every half hour. In some parts of the District, land is measured by a stick called *ka dieng-sung*, varying in length from six to seven cubits. Liquids are measured in gourds of different measures, varying from half a *chhatik* to a *ser*, and also in bamboo tubes. Rice, potatoes, beans, etc. are measured in baskets, varying in size in different markets from two to eighty pounds.

805 In the Khási Hills the inhabitants reckon eight days in the week, named as follows:—(1) Lyn-kah; (2) Nong-krem; (3) Um-long; (4) Rung-hep; (5) Shillong; (6) Pom-tih; (7) Um-nih; (8) Yeo-duh. In the Jáintiá Hills the eight days are named thus:—(1) Kylino; (2) Pyn-sing; (3) Máo-long; (4) Máo-siang; (5) Máo-shai; (6) Pyn-kat; (7) Thym-blein; (8) Ka-hat. The Khási months of the year, calculated by moons, are as follow:—(1) U Kylla lynkot; (2) U Ryn-pang; (3) U Lyber; (4) U Laiong; (5) U Jimmang; (6) U Jillew; (7) U Nai-ting; (8) U Nai-lar; (9) U Nai-lúr; (10) U Ryaow; (11) U Nai-wing; (12) U Noh-prah.

464 LANDLESS LABOURING CLASSES.—There is, and always has been, 423 a large class of labourers in the District who neither rent nor possess any land. Women and children are employed in manual out-door labour of all kinds.

423 VARIETIES OF LAND TENURE can hardly be said to exist. There is nothing whatever resembling the relations between landlord and [427] tenant throughout the Khási Hills. The lands as a rule are either ancestral property or belong to village communities, and are cultivated under unwritten but well-understood agreements. Of the wide

SECTION VI.

MISCELLANEOUS.

TERMINOLOGY.

557 The Khasis, like the Albanes of Pass in Cilicia, seem to be somewhat reluctant to utter the names of their own immediate relations, and of other people's also. Parents are very frequently called the mother of so and so (the child's name being mentioned), or the father of so and so, cf. *Ka kni ka Mini, U Iyo a Philip*. The actual names of the parents, after falling into desuetude, are often entirely forgotten. The origin of the practice may be that the Khasis, like the Albanes, were reluctant to mention their parents by name for fear of attracting the notice of evil spirits. The practice of teknonymy, however, is not confined to the Khasis or the Albanes of Cilicia (see footnote to page 512 of the "Golden Bough"). The custom is also believed to have been prevalent to some extent not long ago in some parts of Ireland.

797 The advent of the Welsh Missionaries and the partial dis-
177 ventilation of English education has in some cases produced
551 rather peculiar names. I quote some instances:—

U Water Kingdom, Ka Mediterranean Sea, Ka Red Sea; U Stickwell Rosen, U Overland, Ka Trinidad, Ka Medina, Ka Mary Jane, U Mission, and Ka India.

KHASI METHOD OF CALCULATING TIME.

● 565 The Khasis adopt the lunar month, *a lynai*, twelve of which go to the year *ka snem*. They have no system of reckoning cycles, as is the custom with some of the Shan tribes. The following are the names of the months:—

566 *U Iyllo-lynglot*, corresponding to January. This month is
172 the Khasi Hills in the coldest in the year. The Khasis have

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(*lyllo*) the fire-brand (*ryngkot*) in order to keep themselves warm in this month, hence the name *lyllo-ryngkot*.

U Symphang, the windy month, corresponding with February.

U Lyhow, March. In this month the hills are again clothed with verdure, and the grass sprouts up (*lyhow*), hence the name of the month, a *Lyhow*.

U Iaiong, April. This name may possibly be a corruption of a *hynni-iong*, i.e. the black moon, the changeable weather month.

U Jymmong, May. This is the month when the plant called by the Khasis *ul'ieo jymmong*, or snake-plant, blooms, hence the name.

U Jyllieu. The dry rainy month, the word *jyllieu* meaning damp. This corresponds to June.

U mkiliang. The evil-smelling month, when the vegetation rots owing to excessive moisture. This corresponds with July.

U'mkiliar. The month when the weather is supposed to become clear, *ryaiar*, and when the plant called *ja'mkiliar* blooms. This is August.

U'mkiliar. September. The month for weeding the ground.

U Bhaiew. The month when the Autumn rains first appear, literally, when the country, *ri*, becomes red, *ruar*. This is October.

U'mni niang. The month when cultivators by the produce of their fields in *niang* or earthen pots, corresponding with November.

U Bah-prah. The month when the *prah* or baskets for carrying the crops are put away (*bah-sah*). Another interpretation given by Rizge is "the month of the fall of the leaf." December.

The Khasi week has the peculiarity that it almost universally consists of eight days. The reason of the eight-day week is because the markets are usually held every eighth day. The names of the days of the week are not those of planets, but of places where the principal markets are held, or used to be held, in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills. The following are the names of the days of the week and of the principal markets in the district :—

Khasi Name.	Jaintia Name.
1. Lyngkhi (Sunday or Blessing)	Kylim (Sabbath)
2. Ringkhom	Pyneng
3. Ting-long (Marking the bar or lattice)	Mating (Turning)
4. Sangkhar (Too hot or Chaos) (Darkness to Mirkness) (Chaos to Knightliness)	Sneng (Long)
5. Sulliang (Lattleglow)	Wardar (Sunrising)
6. Pasah or Pasnah (Sheddar, small market)	Pudah (Noon)
7. Tiemh	Thym-thia
8. Tim-ah (Sheddar, large market)	Kyrim (Dentanger)

In the War country, markets are usually held every fourth day, e.g. at Nongpi, Mawlong, Tylleg, and Shella. At Therie the market is held every Friday, and at Hat-nongpi, or Sholagung, every Tuesday.

THE LYNGAMS.

190 Although mention has been made incidentally in various
191 parts of this monograph of Lyngam customs, it has been thought necessary to give the Lyngams a separate chapter, as these people differ so very greatly from the Khasis in their manner of life, and in their customs. *Lyngam* is the Khasi name; the Garo name for the Lyngams is *Mgam*. There
[96] are several Mgam villages in the north-eastern corner of the Garo Hills district, and there is no close communication kept up between these villages and the Lyngam inhabitants of the Khasi Hills district. The Lyngams must not be confused with the *Bhoi* or *Lyndoh-pun* Garos who inhabit the low hills to the north of the Khasi Hills district, and are called by the
192 Khasis *Bhoi*. All Lyngams claim to be Khasis, they dislike
193 being called Garos; but although it is true they speak what may be called a dialect of Khasi, and observe some of the Khasi customs, the Lyngams are more Garo than Khasi. Before
194 proceeding further it should be stated that the Jaintias of Bika call the Lyngams *Pinrjol* Garos, all hill people being Garos to the Jaintias of that region, without distinction

448 food provisions which they have brought to sell. They sit close to each other and form long lines which double or treble when the market is heavily attended. There is little room for the visitors to the market, who must work their way through the wares that are spread out and through the women sellers who are sitting so close together. A woman seldom sits off to one side. Since there is no stealing at the market, sitting apart is also unnecessary, although a better view of the wares that are laid out for sale would be obtained.

The large objects, such as bamboo and bears are always set up on the outer side of the market and sold there even when the selling is managed by women (which is an exception).

448 *Selecting the Time.* 1. Choosing the
247 market day. The Khasi have a week that is eight or four days long. Every eight (5) days

3. P.F. Stagmüller, "Fischfangsitten und Jagdgebräuche der Khasi" [Fishing and Hunting Customs of the Khasi]. Anthropos, 1925, 20: 613 ff.

there is a large market and every fourth day there is a small market, always at the same place. The large and the small markets are also held daily, but at different places in a certain district. In this district or defined area the market days for the various villages are so determined that they never coincide with each other, and each Khasi can attend this market or that one as he wishes. The sequence of the markets is regulated so precisely that every Khasi knows exactly where a market is being held at the moment. The days are also named from the markets that are to be held. They do not say about a Sunday or a Wednesday, but of the

[illegible] dun (large market) in Shilling, in Nongkren, in Gelong, in Bangkhen, in Pemtah, in Demik, etc. Thus each day is precisely established, and at the same time the market for the place concerned.

In the territory of the Ewe the markets are held every fourth day in the following order: in Ewgbiri, in Ewubeng, in Tylley and in Shelle. Here the week days are either named according to the market days or they say: the day before the market day, the market day, the day after the market day and the day between the markets. Every Ewei in this district knows then without any doubt which day is meant.

2. Determining the time of day. As concerns the time of day during which the markets are held, no generally valid rule can be set up. This varies according to the individual places. In general from noon until late in the afternoon is the time for the chief market. The market places are usually still empty before 10 o'clock in the morning. The end is about 5 o'clock in the afternoon, if not earlier.

The duration of the markets results from what has been already said. In general the duration of a large market is about six hours, while a small market lasts only about four hours.

3) Order at the Market or Market Peace. Although there are no guards or other agents of order on duty at the Ewei markets, the great peace and order at even the largest Ewei markets seems most pleasant to everyone. I have never heard any complaint of foodstuffs or other objects for sale being stolen. The Ewei consider the market as something holy, as something to be respected, as something that belongs to everybody, which nobody can claim for his own. Attacks on a person's life also do not occur.

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(6) *Note on the Khasis, Syntengs, and allied Tribes, inhabiting the Khasi and Jaintia Hills District in Assam.—By Major P. R. T. Gordon, Superintendent of Ethnography in Assam.* (With plates III—IV).

[Read for report, 1904.]

(1) 1. *Physical characteristics.*—The men are seldom tall; they are generally well made, and possess great strength of limb,—of leg in particular. Their features show a resemblance to those of the Japanese; their complexions are fair, some fair, lips thick, and eyes very frequently obliquely set. The women are good-looking, of a Tartar type, and are cheerful and pleasant-mannered. Children are sometimes exceedingly pretty. Khasis are inveterate chewers of pân,—both men, women, and children; the Kinnaras from place to place being measured by the number of betel-nuts that can be chewed on the journey. The hair of the males is shaved above the forehead pretty high up, and the remainder is gathered into a knot at the back of the head. Very few Khasis have much hair about the face. Both Khasis and Syntengs wear the chewdana cap (*ymphong*) into which, pân along (a kind of

9: Garden G-3 (no date) 1904 AR7 Khasi AR7

113 stayed, the country houses free of the Thiew; but one small piece remained which no one would eat, and from this sprang a multitude of Thiews, which infest the environs of Cherra and its neighbourhood. When a Thiew takes up its abode in a family there is no means of getting rid of it, though it occasionally leaves of its own accord, and often follows property of the family when given away or sold. The Thiew attaches itself to wealth, and brings prosperity and wealth to the family, but on the condition that it is supplied with blood. Its craving comes on at uncertain intervals, and manifests itself by sickness among the family, by misfortunes, or increasing poverty. It can only be appeased by the murder of a human being. The murderer takes the hair, the tips of the fingers, and a little blood from the navel, ranks it in a bamboo tube, and offers them to the Thiew. The belief is that the demon then appears in the form of a snake and devours the body of the murdered person, which is materialized from the portions thus offered. After this, the craving is satisfied for a time, and the efforts of that house prosper. Many families in these hills are known or suspected to be Sirdiew, or keepers of a Thiew, and are dreaded and avoided in consequence. Whenever a dead body is found with the marks above described on it (and particularly if it is with no wound, and death has been caused by twisting the neck), it may be pronounced with almost absolute certainty that the object of the murder was to appease a Thiew."

119 It may be stated that, so far as I am aware at present, this superstition is peculiar to the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, and it is not to be met with amongst any of the other hill-tribes of the province. It would be specially interesting to know whether there are any traces of a similar superstition amongst any of the tribes of Burma and Further India. The Thiew superstition is probably of a very ancient origin. It may be said to take the place amongst the Khasis of the head-hunting custom amongst the Naga. The Thiew superstition is still deposited amongst the people here, in many portions of the country the Khasis being afraid to walk out after dark for fear of being attacked by sorcerers, or persons who are searching for victims to sacrifice to the Thiew.

● 624 11. *Calculation of time.*—The Khasis adopt the lunar month. The names of the lunar months have been extracted from Colonel Rivett's report below. I am not certain whether all Colonel Rivett's explanations of meanings of the names of the months are correct:—

U Kylai-lyngkot—the wood-burning moon, corresponding with January.

U Syngong—the study moon, corresponding with February.

U Kylai—the seed-sowing moon, corresponding with March.

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U *Iaing*,—the cloudy thunderstorm-weather moon, corresponding with April. 305

U *Iaw-mawsi*,—the flowering moon, corresponding with May.

U *Jilla*,—the deep-water moon, corresponding with June.

U *Nailong*,—the bad-smelling moon, corresponding with July.

U *Nailar*,—the moon when a plant called the *Jainlar*, which has a red flower flourishes. This is perhaps one of the crows. The plant is commonly known as the snake plant.

U *Nailar*,—the moon for ploughing, corresponding with September. This may be also the month for reaping, the word *lar* also having the meaning to reap.

U *Ky-ma*,—the moon when eaters fatten (usually because rat) corresponding with October.

U *Naiong*,—the nut-has-got moon, corresponding with November.

U *Nilgrich*,—the moon of the fall of the leaf, corresponding with December.

The Khasi week consists generally of eight days, although in some of the War villages on the southern side of the hills there is a week of four days only. The days of the week are named after the markets which are held in rotation on the different days.

Khasi.	Syntengs.
1. Lawbah.	Ky-ban.
2. Nongkrem.	Pyn-ding.
3. Tim-long.	Man-long.
4. Sung-lop.	Tam-ding.
5. Shillong.	Mawlai.
6. Pomrih.	Pyrbah.
7. Umsoh.	Thym-blein.
8. Tawdah.	Ka-lah.

16. *Nikmmong*.—One more interesting custom that may be noticed in the Khasi and Syntengs custom of nikmmong, or of parents taking the names of their children, e.g., in Khasi Ka Nari (the mother of Ka Nari), U Kpa Nikon (the father of Nikon). The taking of names thus is almost universally practised. The actual names of the parents after falling into desuetude are often completely forgotten by the villagers. Only the names of the children are used coupled with "father of" "mother of" as explained above. The advent of the Welsh Missionaries and the partial Anglicisation of English education has, in some cases, produced some rather peculiar names. I quote some instances:—U Water Hughlin, Ka Nathaniaman Sen, Ka Bat Sen, U Shakewell Sham, U Overland, Ka Bridal.

[87]

[88]

16: McCormack E-4,5 (1956-1958) 1964
[P. 1080] AR7 Khasi AR7

clothes, but Christian influence has evolved or driven underground the consumption by women and children. Industrial arts. The only industrial arts traditionally practiced in all households were a rudimentary carpentry and a simple utilitarian basketry. Other arts were few, and were practiced as village specialties: the washing and smelting of iron ore and the forging of bows, darts, knives, swords, and cooking pots (upland Khasi); the spinning of cotton thread (Nongpoh village, Jaintia); the dyeing of cotton thread; and the weaving of cloth (Jaintia, Khasi, Lyngngam, War); the spinning and weaving of Eri silk (Khyrwang and Nongtong villages, Khasi and Jaintia); and the hand manufacture, without wheel, of pottery earthenware pots (Lamar village, Jaintia). Handweaving and the production of cotton goods have nearly died out through the competition of machine-made goods. Carpentry has greatly improved, by innovation of major importance in the sawing and tailoring, on sewing machines, of ready-made garments for both sexes. (Cf. Dayrah 1966, C. W. 102.) Trade. Khasi villages normally contain a number of household shops operated by women. Every Khasi also lives within walking distance of several village markets that are held on successive days of the eight-day week. The limits of market attendance for the members of any particular village can be roughly distinguished by their naming the days of their week, which are called after the active markets. The exception is the huge market at Shillong, much of which is active daily, and which serves as a magnet for Khasis from all over the hills. The traditional barter has given way to currency in all markets. The small ones consist of local home produce, plus other essentials like betel nut, and the food and tools which serve as centers of social intercourse. The big markets contain not only regional produce and manufactures but also products from distant parts of the hills, brought for sale by traveling middlemen. There is also substantial trade from the hills to the valleys, in potatoes, pears, bailes, lac, cotton, cardamom, the wood of the ral tree, Eri silk thread, limestone, coal, iron, bay leaf, betel nut, pan leaves, bananas, sugar cane, oranges, oil vulture, and chillies. From the plains to the hills, there is trade in dried fish, paddy rice, salt, cooking oil, bananas, matches, tea, sugar, wheat flour, machine-made cloth, shawls, metal pots, crackers, porcelain objects, coral beads, silver, and gold. Markets are important not only as economic institutions but also as centers for recreation (including archery competitions), courting, reaffirmation of kinship ties with distant relatives, and the dissemination of information of all kinds. (Cf. Dagmelin 1966.) Division of labor. Men do the heavy work, such as clearing and burning the swidden fields, caring for cattle and goats and driving them to market, lumbering and selling large cuts of land and pole, carpentry and sawing, and driving and laboring on motor vehicles. They also tailor men's

[illegible] objects are stored while that of the war (Lyanee Sang) was meant exclusively for sacrificial goats. There is a very big circular courtyard in front of the building where the members of the royal family as also other boys and spectators hold a ritual dance. The function is always held during the monsoon period of May or June and the actual dates are fixed in consultation with the Chief priest (Lobdon) in such a way that the first day—*Pawnlaff* always coincides with the market day of Shillong (Jaiva Bazar). The dates of the festival is then announced to the inhabitants of different parts of the territory. Strength is wooden spoon 'Kyrwall' having a few leaves of cane-strips, as a form of invitation for attending the festival for five days or their along with subjects under their jurisdiction.

Ceremonial Publicment

The responsibility of performing this ritual rests on the High-priestess (Ka Iaw Ka) who is assisted by two other daughters. Different ritual objects are procured by her, well in advance and it is obligatory on her part to pay the ceremonial dancing, in which her daughters may also participate on her behalf. U Shillong is worshipped by the chief priest while the other ceremonies are involved by lesser priests. The musicians (Khalai) handle their sacred duties, take part in the worship of the ancestors and they are presented with with turban, shalwar, cloth, by the ruling family for the services rendered during the festival. The Kiew has an special role except to supervise and invite U Shillong for the welfare of the community. He is required to perform certain sacrifices, taking which his fore-ancestor (Kiew Lyngdoh) done, for same. He along with his sister (High priestess) abstain from taking rice during the period of celebration peculiarly to observe the sanctity of the festival as also to ensure the successful conclusion of the function.

Ritual Materials

The festival derives its unity from the sacrifice of a large number of goats some of which were supplied from the State fund and from different units of the territory. Formerly at least fifty goats were required and each unit had a specific allotment but owing to the economic difficulty that the Khasi are experiencing, the number of goats sacrificed hardly exceeds twenty-five. The goats collected from the different units are presented to the Chief on the midnight of the ritual day. Rice-beer, dried fish, Tongsamai-rice, betel leaves together with roots are also important ritual objects in this celebration.

Description of the Festival

The commencement of the festival was marked by the distribution of dried fish (ion) which is the payment provided on the occasion, in the evening of *Pawnlaff* (i.e. 21st June, 1971). This was followed by the dropping of rice-beer by the Chief priest and the first place of sacrifice (ion Sumer) or the sacrifice also

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* [illegible] To such creation of state and to Khasi Hills the extent as according to the place [illegible] Khasi Hills.

Name	Market
1. [illegible]	[illegible]
2. [illegible]	[illegible]
3. [illegible]	[illegible]
4. [illegible]	[illegible]
5. [illegible]	[illegible]
6. [illegible]	[illegible]
7. [illegible]	[illegible]
8. [illegible]	[illegible]

or the rate of two or three seers for a farthing; and sugar-cane, the cultivation of which is also very limited, at from a little over a farthing to three farthings per cane. A fermented liquor called *kadua*, made from rice, is sold at from three-farthings to threepence a quart, according to strength; and a distilled spirit called *phalaba*, or *kalisal kiwah*, at from threepence to fourpence-halfpenny a quart. This latter description of liquor is sometimes made very strong. The records exist by which the present prices of the above articles can be compared with the rates ruling ten years ago. The maximum price of rice during the famine of 1896-97 was 5 seers 6 chhatáks for the rupee, or about £1 a hundredweight.

Measures, Weights, etc.—The Khásí people have no proper measurement of time or distance. If there be any standard for measuring distance, it is by the number of pipes a man shows in the course of a journey, generally about one every half hour. In some parts of the District, land is measured by a stick called *ka dieng-ung*, varying in length from six to seven cubits. Liquids are measured in gourds of different measures, varying from half a *chhaták* to a *ser*, and also in bamboo tubes. Rice, potatoes, beans, etc. are measured in baskets, varying in size in different markets from two to eighty pounds.

In the Khásí Hills the inhabitants reckon eight days to the week, named as follows:—(1) Lyndoh; (2) Nongkrem; (3) Dieng-lang; (4) Kongkhay; (5) Shillong; (6) Pyndih; (7) Dawáh; (8) Synráh. In the Jaintia Hills the eight days are named thus:—(1) Kyrhai; (2) Pyrwing; (3) Sibu-lang; (4) Sibu-ning; (5) Sibu-dhai; (6) Pyrdah; (7) Thym-mim; (8) Kyrhai. The Khásí months of the year, calculated by moons, are as follows:—(1) U Kyrhi Ipnáw; (2) U Nongpang; (3) U Lyhar; (4) U Lainong; (5) U Jaintiang; (6) U Jibor; (7) U Sutnong; (8) U Sutlar; (9) U Sutlar; (10) U Rymm; (11) U Sibi-ning; (12) U Sub-pnah.

Labour Labourers Coolies.—There is, and always has been, a large class of labourers in the District who neither own nor possess any land. Women and children are employed in manual and dust labour of all kinds.

Tenures or Land Tenure can hardly be said to exist. There is nothing whatever resembling the relations between landlord and tenant throughout the Khásí Hills. The lands as a rule are either unoccupied, property or belong to village communities, and are cultivated under customs but not enforcement agreements. Of the wide

2:Stegmiller-14 N-4,5(no date)1921 A37 Khasi A37

the house concerned. Then they go slowly down to the river. Large poles, which were set out the day before, are now placed on the river. The people jump onto the poles and try to break them. If this happens a general great shout of joy sounds forth. If all the poles are broken, they fetch a particularly strong pole, actually a beam, and place it over the river. The people now divide up into two halves, and a battle begins for the possession of this beam. But the fight is a friendly one and even though there are many blows and even wounds, the people do not engage in a serious fight, even though they battle and struggle for the possession of the beam so hard that many lose all their clothes. The side which has the luck of winning possession of the beam will be healthy (free of cholera) and well for the coming year according to the belief of the people.

The use of charcoal also borders on magic. Thus F.V. Kartte, Apostolic Missionary, S.V.D. writes: (7) If a mother has a long journey to make, she makes a black mark with charcoal on the forehead of her child to protect it from any harm. Then she takes a longish piece of wood, splits it at one end into four parts, and puts the piece of charcoal in between. The mother carries this in her hand on the journey.

7. Kartte, Die Religion der heidnischen Khasi [The Religion of the Heathen Khasi]. Apostelkalender, 1895. [Apostle Calendar]

The same missionary also reports the doings of the Khasi during an eclipse of the moon: "If there is an eclipse of the moon, the Khasi believe that a frog is with the moon and is eating it up. The Khasi like the moon very much, and in order to prevent the frog from eating up the

2:Stegmiller-15 M-4,5 (no date)1921 A87 Khasi A87

[72] soon they try to frighten the frog with noise and to drive him away. A few days ago we experienced a sample of it. In all the villages the Khasi beat drums and screamed at the same time. It was a purely hellish spectacle." (8)

8. Loc. cit., p. 62.

[115] The Khasi also have no explanation for thunderstorms. They believe, therefore, that the kruid (devils) cause them. Especially disturbing to them is thunder, which can be extremely vio-
[72] lent in a tropical storm. When lightning strikes anywhere, they sacrifice to the kruid a pyrthat a fat pig, the blood of which is smeared on the altar in order to propitiate him and to prevent the lightning from striking again.

[72] When the Khasi sacrifice to protect themselves from harm or to heal themselves from illnesses, they murmur formulas or prayers during the sacrifice. They implore the invisible powers at the same time and thus support the offered sacrifice. They call this murmuring tin-ania (swearing-sacrificing). It is also reported thus of the sacrifices in Mongkrem: (9) "Each person places

[117] 9. P. Dr. G. Becker, Die Mongkrem-Puja in den Khasibergen (Assam) [The Mongkrem Puja in the Khasi Mountains (Assam)], Anthropos, IV (1909), p. 890.

the little bottle of liquor on the little pile of mud in front of him. This represents the altar. Then they take pepper leaves and oak leaves and place them in front of the altar in a certain way next to and on top of each other; pieces of betel nut are placed on top and the whole is sprinkled with rice, kyu meal and rynai meal, [illegible]"

The bride's parents then will call with this man and a number of followers, clothed in their garments and wearing either white or red pagris (a black pagri not being considered a fitting head-dress on this occasion), to the house of the bride, where a feast has been prepared, and forwarded rice-beer (ka-kiad-kiew) in gourds (blong) placed ready. The bride, her female attendants, and her mother and aunts have collected in the sanctum dressed in their best, wearing their jewellery, and with their heads uncovered, for it is not thought proper for the females to cover their heads on the marriage day. On the side of the bride, also, a *kniang* (go-between) has been appointed, and it is his duty to manage all the business of the marriage on behalf of her family. Some young men of the bride's party go to meet the bridegroom's contingent by way of doing them honour. When they have reached the bride's house, the *kniang* of the bridegroom enters first, followed by the bridegroom, and after him the bridegroom's party. The *kniang* then hands over the bridegroom to the maternal uncle (*kwi*) of the bride, or to the bride's father. Either of the latter then provides the bridegroom with a seat next the bride. The bride and bridegroom exchange bags of betel-nut, and when the custom of inscribing of the ring is in vogue, these tokens are interchanged. The *kniangs* of the bridegroom and bride recite the marriage contract in lengthy formulas, which may be found on pages 6, 7, 8 of the late U Ambon Roy's interesting notes on the Khasi religion. The two *kniangs* then take up, each of them, a gourd containing fermented liquor from the gourd provided by the contracting party, and give them to an old man who is versed in sacrificial lore, who solemnly mixes the contents together. Three dried fish are produced, and are placed on the floor of the house. The priest then appointed then solemnly adjures the gods in the following words :—

Hi, oh god from above ; oh god from below ; oh, hi speaker ; oh god who hast created man ; as thou hast ordained this marriage, the ring has been given this day ; thou will know ; thou will hear ; from the clear firmament above that . . . . . have been married this day. Thou will bless them ; thou will grant them prosperity ; thou will show them the way ; thou will show them the road, that they may be well, that they may obtain dwellings and houses,

[illegible] and remedies and medicine dances. Dances of the first two categories are simply aspects of the high God or Goddess. ● The world is peopled with two great orders of land demons and water demons who cause all undesirable, unnatural, and otherwise inexplicable events, acting either on their own or as instruments in the hands of sorcerers. Apart from omens, both in nature and in dreams, colours which supernatural significance also to seven numbers, and to the colors white, black, and red. They hold especially important folk beliefs regarding hand axe, gaddy axe, gold and silver, and clothing. [illegible] The two classes of religious practitioners are not the village or main priests and the sacrificers. Both are male. There are the same divination tools, [illegible] of reading broken eggshells and the entrails of cocks, and then both specifiers cocks, hens, goats, pigs, and cattle. These skills are not taught to them so much as picked up by observation and confirmed by demonstrations of efficacy. A priest is elected from among the men of his ali to direct his skills to the public good until he dies, and he usually are reinstituted and come from the village or the town. A sacrificer acts for private persons or his group, as ali, and is recruited by them personally with gifts in cash or in kind. The sacrificer is called upon to explain and then to ritually remedy every variety of misfortune, especially illness, though his patients are sometimes regarded with ambivalence, and he is widely suspected to become a sorcerer himself at later. ● There are two major types of sorcerer. One is the ritual specialist or specifiers who secretly turns his skills from good to evil, manipulating demons to injure a person or his group, and acting always for himself alone out of considerations of profit or revenge. The other is normally a healing shaman, a woman who is so wealthy and successful that it is believed that she must keep a djinn, i.e. a sorcerer which will bring her prosperity as long as she feeds it periodically with human blood. To provide this blood, the sons of her household, or other males whom she bewitches with a special whistle, will subsequently murder sorcerer except a sorcerer of her matrilineage. The djinnas have an insatiable appetite for the djinn in their sorcerer, except that the offspring could to death from illness rather than murder. Djinn witchcraft can be perpetrated by persons hungry or persons with an evil eye, who are often women. Ceremonies. The important traditional ceremonies were the life-cycle rituals relating to pregnancy and childbirth, the naming of a child, and death. Later ceremonies related to marriage and divorce, and to householding. All these rituals were addressed primarily to the ancestors, and they are still performed in modified form by many Khari. Other rituals, which were performed by groups such as villages, site, local descent groups, or households, were addressed to the congested aspects of the high

usually witnessed by large crowds of spectators from all parts of the Jaintia parganas.

"Sometimes the supply of voluntary victims fell short, or victims were needed for some special sacrifice promised in the event of some desired occurrence, such as the birth of a son, coming to pass. On such occasions, emissaries were sent to kidnap strangers from outside the Jaintia Raj, and it was this practice that eventually led to the annexation of the country by the British. In 1821, an attempt was made to kidnap a native of Sylhet proper, and while the agents employed were punished, the Raja was warned not to allow such an atrocity to occur again. Eleven years later, however, four British subjects were kidnapped in the Nowgong district, and taken to Jaintia. Three of them were actually sacrificed, but the fourth escaped, and reported the matter to the authorities. The Raja of Jaintia was called on to deliver up the culprits, but he failed to do so, and his dominions were in consequence annexed in 1835."

There seems to be an idea generally prevalent that the Raja of Jaintia, owing to his conversion to Hinduism, and especially owing to his having become a devotee of the goddess Kali, took to sacrificing human victims; but I find that human victims were formerly sacrificed by the Jaintias to the Kopili River, which the Jaintias worshipped as a goddess. Two persons were sacrificed every year to the Kopili in the months *U' saiwing* and *U' sai pruh* (November and December). They were first taken to the *hat* Mawshai, or Shang-pung market, where they were allowed to take any eatables they wished. Then they were conducted to Sumer, and thence to Ka Iew Kolh, where a stone on the bank of a small river which falls into the Kopili is pointed out as having been the place where the victims were sacrificed to the Kopili river goddess. Others say that the sacrificial stone was situated on the bank of the Kopili River itself. A special clan in the Rallang doloship used to carry out the executions. It seems probable that the practice of sacrificing human victims in Jaintia was of long standing, and was originally unconnected with Hinduism, although when the Royal family became converts to Hinduism, the goddess Kali may easily have taken the place of the Kopili

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782 River goddess. Many of the Syntengs regard the River Kopili
776 to this day with superstitious reverence. Some of these people
823 will not cross the river at all, others can do so after having performed a sacrifice with goats and fowls. Any traveller who wishes to cross the river must leave behind him the rice which
[485] he has taken for the journey, and any other food supplies he may have brought with him. This superstition often results in serious inconvenience to travellers between the Jaintia Hills and North Cachar, unless they have arranged for another batch of coolies to meet them on the Cachar side of the River Kopili, for the Synteng coolies throw down their loads at the river side, and nothing will induce them to cross the river. The Kopili is propitiated by pujas in many parts of the Jaintia Hills, and at Nartiang a tank where sacrifices are regularly performed is called Ka Umkoi Kopili.

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WORSHIP OF NATURAL FORCES AND OF DEITIES.

133 In the Khasi Hills, especially on the southern side, there are numerous rivers, sometimes of considerable size, which find their way to the Sylhet plains through very deep valleys, the rivers flowing through narrow channels flanked by lofty cliffs which rise to considerable altitudes. The scenery in the neighbourhood of these beautiful rivers is of the most romantic description, and the traveller might imagine himself in Switzerland were it not for the absence of the snowy ranges. Of such a description is the scenery on the banks of the river Kourhi-
• 823 yong, the Jádukáta * or Punatit of the plains. It is in the bed
776 of the river, a few miles below Rilang, that there is the
782 curiously-arched cavity in the rock which resembles an upturned boat, which the Khasis call *Ka lieng blei* (the god's boat), and the plains people Baslanya's ship. Near to this, on the opposite side of the river, there is a rock bearing a Persian inscription, but so defaced by the action of the water as to be impossible to decipher. Like other inhabitants of mountainous countries, the Khasis reverence the spirits of fell and fall, and
226 propitiate them with offerings at stated times. A brief descrip-
782 tion of the ceremonies which are performed at Rilang, on the
776 occasion when the annual fishing in the river Punatit takes
787 place, may be of interest. The three Siems of Nongstoin, Langrin, and Nokseidpoh each sacrifice a goat to *Ka blei sem um* (the goddess of the river) before the boatmen can cast in their nets. In former times they say the passage up the river was obstructed by the goddess, who took the form of an immense crocodile: but she was propitiated by the gift of a goat, and the boatmen were then allowed to pass up the river in their boats. Hence it became necessary for the owners of the fishery to sacrifice annually a goat each to the goddess. At the time of my visit each Siem's party erected an altar in the bed of the river, in the midst of which a bough of the Khasi oak (*dieng sing*) was planted. The goats were then decapitated, it being considered an essential that the head

* Lit.: Cut by magic.

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should be severed with one blow. As soon as the head was cut off there was a rush on the part of the sacrifiers to see in which direction the head faced. If the head faced towards the north or west, it was considered an evil omen; if it faced towards the south or east, a good omen. The east is a lucky quarter amongst the Assamese also. The people ended up the proceedings by giving a long-drawn-out, deep-toned chant, or *kyrdai*. Immediately after the ceremony was concluded hundreds of boats shot out from the numerous creeks, where they had been lying, and fished the river all night, the result being an immense haul, to the delight of the Lyngngam, who were seen next morning roasting the fish whole on bamboo stakes, after which they consumed them, the entrails being eaten with great gusto. Such is the worship of the goddess of the Funatit.

Similar pujas take place among the people of *Wár-ding* (the valley of fire) before they fish in the Khai-mara river and elsewhere in the Khasi Hills. In the Jaintia Hills there is the *Syntong*-worship of the Kopili river, which used to be accompanied by human sacrifices, as has been mentioned above, pp. 102-104. The Myntang river, a tributary of the Kopili, must also be annually appeased by the sacrifice of a he-goat. Numerous hills also are worshipped, or rather the spirits which are said to inhabit them. One of the best known hill godlings is the deity who is thought to inhabit the little wood close to the summit of the Shillong Peak. This deity is said to have been discovered by a man named "U Shillong," who gave his name to the Shillong Peak, and indirectly to our beautiful hill station. The Siems of Mylliem and Nongkrem reverence *U'lei Shillong*, and there are certain clans who perform periodical sacrifices to this god. Probably the origin of the superstitious reverence with which U'lei Shillong is held by the Siems of Nongkrem and Mylliem is that their fabled ancestress "Ka Pah Syntiew," of whom an account will be found in the folk-lore section, took her origin from a rock not far from the Shillong Peak in the Nongkrem direction.

Rableng Hill, which is within full view of the Shillong Peak in an easterly direction, is also said to be the abode of a minor god who is periodically propitiated by the members of the Máwthoh clan of the Khyrim State with a he-goat and a cock.

Apparently no special puja is performed to U Kylleng (the Kylleng Rock) nowadays.

The picturesque hill of Synger, which rises abruptly from the plain in the Smooth of Mahram, is visible for many miles. It is in shape not unlike the Kylleng. Synger is said to be the abode of a god called "U Synger." There is a folk-tale that Kylleng and Synger fought a great battle, and that the numerous holes in the rocks at the base of the Synger hill are evidence of their strife. At the base of Synger there is a great cave, where many cattle find shelter in rainy weather. The people of Mawynram propitiate the god of Synger in cases of sickness by sacrificing a bullock or a bull. Synger, like *U Ki Shallong*, is one of the minor deities of the Khasis.

Close to Shangpung, in the Jaintia Hills, there is a small hill called "*u Ion pyddeng khei kynphah*," where sacrifices are offered on an altar at stated times and when the corn comes into ear. This altar used to be overshadowed by a large oak tree. The tree is now dead.

The Wars of Nongpi worship "*u khei kynphah*," the tutelary deity of the village, under the spreading roots of a large rubber tree which gave its name to this village Nongpi. This village worship is performed by a village priest (*kynphah*) at stated intervals, or whenever it is considered necessary. There are numerous other instances of hills and rivers being regarded as the abode of godlings, but those quoted above are sufficient for purposes of illustration.

RELIGIOUS RITES AND SACRIFICES, DEVIATION.

The Khasis, as has been explained already, worship numerous gods and goddesses. These gods and goddesses are supposed to exercise good or evil influence over human beings according to whether they are propitiated with sacrifices or not. They are even supposed to possess the power of life and death, over men and women, subject to the control of a *Blei Nongthaw*, God the Creator. Thus illness, for example, is thought to be caused by one or more of the spirits on account of some act or omission, and health can only be

wonderful mass of granite known by the name of the Kylleng Rock will be found in the section of the monograph which deals with geographical distribution. I have also added a photograph of the rock. The Syntengs have a story that when the strong east wind blows in the spring this is due to the advent of U *Kylleng*, who comes to visit his wife, the river U*mngot*, so that among the Khasis hills are all of them masculine, but a river is usually attributed the feminine gender. U Syngar is another isolated rocky eminence rising from the Mylieum plain close to the village of K'mawsaw. The best view of the hill is obtainable from Lalmawmiang on the path to Mawryngaw. The village of **Mawsmai** every traveller from Therria to Cherrapunji knows. It is chiefly remarkable for a fairly large limestone cave, and its fine memorial stones. The Khasi theory to explain how the moon got its spots is, I believe, original, but is no more extraordinary than our own nursery tale about the "man in the moon." The *Sohpet Byneng* hill is the first hill of any size that the traveller sees on the Gauhati road when journeying to Shillong. It is close to Umsning Dak Bungalow. There are caves in the hill which are tenanted by bears. Strange to say, according to Khasi ideas, this is one of the highest points in the hills; in reality *Sohpet Byneng* is some 2,000 ft. lower than the Shillong Peak. As mentioned elsewhere, the Khasis are very fond of dogs; so I have given their version of how the dog came to live with man. The well-known Siloo superstition will be found fully described under the heading of "Human sacrifices." I have, however, thought the tale of sufficient interest to reproduce at length here. The story of the river Rapatylli is a pretty tale, and is just such a one as would appeal to the imagination of mountaineers like the Khasis. The Kopili story is important, in that it indicates the origin of human sacrifices in the Jaintia Hills; it also throws, perhaps, some light on the question of the use to which the flat table memorial stones were put in years gone by. The superstition about the crossing of the Kopili can be vouched for by many who have taken the journey from the Jaintia Hills to North Cachar by the Kopili route. Mawpunkyrtiang is a small village close to Cherrapunji. The weird tale about the Siem of Malyniang is the pride of the Maskut people, for in olden days their King,

(they said) the children had been born of a wonderful woman, who, it seemed very clear, was the daughter of the "god Shillong." Therefore they gladly decided to appoint Sem Siemie to the country of Shillong (i.e. the present Khyrim and Mylliem States). The children then became Siemie, and they were called "Ki Siem-Blei" (the god kings) of Shillong.*

U Law Syem ate Ka Law Dymmie.

Ki Syemong ki bataí ia ka jingiong ymmai ki Siem Sohiongkumme. La dem a wai U War Umwei, eim kyrteng U Law Synrih, eim la lait ñiwai dubbha ia ka Wah Umwei; ka ymda la ngat tang ñam kawai a la wan noh eim la iang. Tada a la eyang a la bah noh baior tyngir ka ka rah. Hangta a la ñiot bad um kymaiw shah ban bám ia ka. Kumta ymda la-shai mynsiep a la lait kai pat eim lum, ka baba a la wan noh la jan mint a la shem ia ka ing jong a ka la sir la sumer bad ka ja ka la ih. Mynkata a la lyngngoh shibin ka ka long kumme. Ta kum la-shai ka la long kumjah. Tada ka shu dam lalong kumme-pa-kumme la bán sin ah, ymda kumta a la lah la bada kum a ban sa lait lum, a da ting la ñ-kawe. Hinnei a la rih noh bacah shi-engi harud nong, bad ymda la pai ka por ehet ja a la wan noh eim ing. Ta mynba a la ioh-i ka la

U Law Syem ate Ka Law Dymmie.

The Syemongs give the following explanation of the origin of the Siemie of Sohiongs. There was a man from War Umwei named U Law Synrih. He went one day to fish in the Umwei stream. When he had caught only one fish, he returned home. He roasted the fish and placed it on the tyngir (a swinging shelf above the hearth). He forgot that it was there, and did not remember to eat it. The next morning he went out for a walk to the hill. When he returned home in the evening, he found his house had been swept and looked after, and that the rice had been cooked. He was much surprised at this. The next day the same thing happened. When this state of things continued to occur, he made a pretence of going for a walk to the hill and he called his dog. But he concealed himself the whole day outside the village, and when it was dubbed him Siem-Siemie, ka tymmen ki ñam ka ka ki Shillong ban ñiang Siem ia ka ñamar ki Khymmah ki long kha la wan kha da ka ñiew baba phylla shibin, baba ñam ah ka ka long ka khan a Blei Shillong. Ta kumta ki la la ka da ñam ñawbha bamah ka'a ñiang Siem ia ki ka ka kima Shillong, bad kumta la long Siem kha ki Khymmah, ki synshah bad ki Blei ñah ia ki Siem-Blei-Siem-Shillong.

* The Shillong Peak is thought to be the seat of a powerful lisi or god who has his abode in the wood close to the top of the "Peak." Another fabulous tale will be found concerning this god.

[illegible] which is called a 'long nait kouli or "the
[illegible] be-goat which pushes off the devil." The meaning of this is: the be-goat is similar to the "scapegoat" which takes the sins of the deceased upon himself.

Among the poor (that is among those who only use unwrought wood as well as those who use wood cut with the ko wait) there is no funeral.

Now the closest relatives start the fire and after these the children of the deceased, if there are any present, apply fire. The cloth on the upper end of the bamboo poles flame brightly and is burned up in no time. The few clothes of the deceased are also soon in flames and then the actual burning of the body begins.

If the pile of wood catches fire, a rooster a 'lar pulet is sacrificed immediately. This rooster is swung three times over the funeral pyre just as one swings incense and its blood is smeared three times on the pyre. Then the "stomach egg" (lang kyuk) is broken at the head end of the funeral pyre. Then three arrows ('nan tyqwa) [illegible] are thrown by hand as far as one can in three directions. One to the east, one to the south, and the third to the north. But never to the west. Because according to the belief of the Khasi the west leads to the unending, thither go the souls of the dead, there lies eternity. (30)

30. When the Khasi would like to have somebody go far away and they curse him, they speak as follows: ta leit sha ban sep ka ongi shaba nih ; bnai, i.e., go away where the sun sets and the moon rises!

(Ka [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].)

[illegible]

great iron-stations, and extensive excavations in the most favourable localities for obtaining immense power the extent to which this manufacture was carried on. In some places the whole surface of the ground appears to have been dug up for a depth of several feet, leaving huge boulders standing up here and there. Of late years, however, as the price of labour in the Hills has risen, the trade in iron has died away, and there is now little demand for the Chief article, the cheaper English metal having driven it out of the market.

Caves, Temples.—Many peculiar caves and caverns are found in the limestone rock formation, the most notable being the caves at Chaori Pinji and at Kiyodih in Jaintia. In the latter place the cavern ascend a great distance beneath the earth, one being imagined by the people to reach as far as China, and a Hindu legend states that a Chinese army once marched by this route to the invasion of India. In another cave, the limestone stalactites have been carved into images representing the gods of the Hindu pantheon. On the banks of the Kopili river on the Cachar border, at a place called Sumi, there is a hot spring, the water of which resembles saltwater of lime. All the rivers in the Hills flow through gorges in various parts of their courses, the most picturesque being at Tahrij, where a small stream is compressed into deep pools among limestone rocks; and at Dawing and Songhi, where the Mangai and Mawkhan rivers respectively debouch upon the plains.

Forests, etc.—The India-rubber or caoutchouc tree is found in many forests throughout the Hills, but not in great numbers, and the supply and value of the gum has much decreased of late years. In ships the right of tapping the trees in the Jaintia Hills was leased out for a sum of £38, [illegible] ad.; but by which the trade had almost entirely ceased. There are some tracts of timber forest on the lower hills towards the Brahmaputra valley, but through the ease of water carriage they are of no great value. Vigorous efforts are being made to preserve the forests in the higher plateaus. Owing to the habit of firing the jungle in spring prior to sowing, great waste of valuable timber has taken place; but since the country has been separated from Bengal and placed under the administration of the Chief Commissioner of Assam, attention has been given to the matter, and special areas are now being set apart for the preservation and growth of forest timber. Cinnamon grows wild in some parts of the country. There is a considerable trade carried on in

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young are comely, of a brown type, and, like the men, with highly-developed calves, the latter always being considered a beauty. The children are frequently remarkably pretty. Khasis carry very heavy burdens, it being the custom for the male of the country to carry a maund, or 82 lbs. weight, or even more commonly, on his back, the load being fixed by means of a cane band which is worn across the forehead; women carry almost as heavy loads as the men. The coolies, both male and female, commonly do the journey between Cherrapunji and Shillong, or between Shillong and Jowai, in one day, carrying the heavy loads above mentioned. Each of the above journeys is some thirty miles. They carry their great loads of rice and salt from Therria to Cherrapunji, an ascent of about 4,000 feet in some three to four miles, in the day. The Khasis are probably the best porters in the north of India, and have frequently been requisitioned for transport purposes on military expeditions.

The people are cheerful in disposition, and are light-hearted by nature, and, unlike the plains people, seem to thoroughly appreciate a joke. It is pleasant to hear on the road down to Therriaghat from Cherrapunji, in the early morning the whole hillside resounding with the scraps of song and peals of laughter of the coolies, as they run jaunty down the short cuts on their way to market. The women are specially cheerful, and pass the time of day and handy jokes with passers-by with quite an absence of reserve. The Khasis are certainly more industrious than the Assamese, are generally good-tempered, but are occasionally prone to sudden outbursts of anger, accompanied by violence. They are fond of music, and rapidly learn the hymn tunes which are taught them by the Welsh missionaries. Khasis are devoted to their offspring, and the women make excellent nurses for European children, frequently becoming much attached to their little charges. The people, like the Japanese, are fond of nature. A Khasi loves a day out in the woods, where he thoroughly enjoys himself. If he does not go out shooting or fishing, he is content to sit still and contemplate nature. He has a separate name for each of the commoner birds and flowers. He also has names for many butterflies and moths. These are traits which are not found usually in the people of India.

headquarters of the Administration. The manufacture of country spirit gives employment to a considerable number of persons, most of whom are females. At a recent census of the country stills in the district, undertaken by the district officials, the number of stills has been found to be 1,500. There must be at least one person employed at each still, so that the number of distillers is probably not less than 1,500, possibly more. The spirit is distilled both for home consumption and for purposes of sale, in some villages almost entirely for sale. In the Jaintia Hills stock-breeding and dealing in cattle provides occupation for 1,200 people, according to the last census. The cattle are reared in the Jaintia Hills and are driven down to the plains when they reach the age of maturity, where they find a ready market amongst the Sylhetis. Cattle are also driven into Shillong for sale from the Jaintia Hills. Another place for rearing cattle is the Siemship of Nongkhlaw, where there is good pasturage in the neighbourhood of Mawsang. These cattle are either sold in Shillong or find their way to the Kamrup district by the old Nongkhlaw road. Cattle-breeding is an industry which is capable of expansion in these hills. There are a few carpenters to be found in Shillong and its neighbourhood. The Khasis are said by Col. Waddell to be unacquainted with the art of weaving; but the fact that a considerable weaving industry exists amongst the Khyrwang villages of the Syntengs, and at Myaso and Sohbinga, has been overlooked by him. The Khyrwangs weave a special pattern of cotton and silk cloth, striped red and white. In Myaso and Sohbinga similar cloths are woven, also the sleeveless coat. In former days this industry is said to have been considerable, but it has been displaced to a large extent of late years by Manchester piece goods. The number of weavers returned at the last census in the district was 333. The Khasis and Mikirs of the low country, or Bhoia as they are called, weave cotton cloths which they dye with the leaves of a plant called a nok. This is perhaps the wild indigo, or ros, of the Shan settlers in the Assam Valley. The weavers are almost always females. An important means of subsistence is road and building work; a considerable number of Khasis, both male and female, are employed under Government, practically throughout the year, in

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or official quarters of the State's Durbar. Another part of cost in this house is furnished by the people of the State.

The houses of the well-to-do Khasis of the present day in Mawkhar and Charengiji are built after the modern style with iron roofs, chimneys, glass windows and doors. In Jowai the well-to-do traders have excellent houses of the European pattern, which are as comfortable as many of the European subordinates' quarters in Shillong. Some up-to-date families in Shillong and at Cherra allow themselves muslin curtains and European furniture.

The houses of the Four-Wars are peculiar. The roof, which is thatched with the leaves of a palm called a *tpwiw*, is long-backed and the eaves come down almost to the ground. There are three rooms in the Wár as in the Khasi house, although called by different names in the Wár dialect. The hearth is in the centre room. The houses are built flush with the ground and are made of bamboos. In the Wár villages of Nongpi and Umsiah there are small houses erected in the compounds of the ordinary dwelling-houses called *ing hood* (spirit house). In these houses offerings to the spirits of departed family members are placed at intervals, this practice being very similar to the more ancient form of Shintoism. In some Wár villages there are also separate bachelors' quarters. This custom is in accordance with that of the Naga tribes. There is no such custom amongst the Khasi Uplanders. The Wár houses are similar to those of the Four Wars, except that a portion of the house is generally built on a platform, the main house resting on the hill-side and the portion on the platform projecting therefrom, the object being to obtain more space, the area for houses in the village sites being often limited owing to the steepness of the hill-sides.

The Bhoi and Lyngngam houses are practically similar, and may be described together. They are generally built on fairly high platforms of bamboo, are frequently 20 to 40 ft. in length, and are divided into various compartments in order to suit the needs of the family. The hearth, which is of earth, is in the centre room. There is a platform at the back of the Lyngngam house, and in front of the Bhoi house, used for drying paddy, spreading chillies, &c., and for sitting on when the day's

like a pendulum. An explanation of this method of divination will be found in the paragraph dealing with divination.

There is also a pair of spectacles used by the old and spectacles for breaking up betel-nut. In the houses of the well-to-do is to be seen the ordinary bottle-bottle of India. Outside the houses of cultivators are wooden troughs hollowed out of the trunks of trees, which are used either as drinking troughs for cattle or for feeding pigs. A special set of utensils is used for manufacturing liquor. The fishing and War articles of furniture and utensils are the same as those of the Khasis, with different names, a remark which applies also to those of the Bhoi and Lyngam. Both the latter, however, use leaves as plates, the Bhoi using the wild plantain and the Lyngam a large leaf called *ka ta maniang*. The leaves are thrown away after eating, fresh leaves being gathered for each meal. The Lyngam use a quilt (*ka ngiliw*) made out of the bark of a tree of the same name as a bed covering. This tree is perhaps the same as the Garo *simgrek*. In the Bhoi and Lyngam houses the swinging shelf for keeping firewood is not to be seen, nor is the latter to be found amongst the submontane Bodo tribes in Assam.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.

The Khasis have not many musical instruments, and those that they possess, with one or two exceptions, are of very much the same description as those of the Assamese. There are several kinds of drums, viz. *ka nibei*, which is a large kettle-drum made of wood having the head covered with deer-skin; *ka kaing*, which is a cylindrically-shaped drum rather smaller than the *Assamese dhol* (*ka kaing kyrdei* takes its name from the fact that this drum is beaten when women, *kyrdei*, dance); *ka padiel*, a small drum with a handle made of wood; *kaiam*, a small circular drum. Khasi drums are nearly always made of wood, not of metal, like the drums to be seen in the monasteries of Upper Assam, or of earthenware, as in Lower Assam.

Ka duitara is a guitar with *maja* silk strings, which is

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the streams. Khasis, except the Wars and the people of Sylhet, unlike the Assamese and Bengalis, do not fish with nets, nor do they use the bamboo-work device known by the Assamese as *pala* (পলা) and *jak* (জাক). The method of fish-poisoning of the Khasis is the same as that described by Sapple in his account of the tribes inhabiting North Cachar. The following is a description of how Khasis poison fish in the western portion of the district; it may be taken as a sample of the whole. A large quantity of the bark of the tree *lo sopsi* and the creeper *u khamoo* is first brought to the river-side to a place on the stream a little above the pool which it is proposed to poison, where it is thoroughly beaten with sticks till the juice exudes and flows into the water, the juice being of a milky white colour. In a few minutes the fish begin to rise and splash about, and, becoming stupefied, allow themselves to be caught in the shallows. If the beating of the bark has been well carried out, many of the fish soon die and allow a time float on the surface of the water. A large number of Khasis stand on the banks armed with bamboo scoops shaped like small landing nets, to catch the fish, and fish traps (*ki khoor*) Assamese *khak* (খাক) are laid between the stones in the rapids to secure any fish that may escape the fishing party. Another fish poison is the berry *u sah lum*, the juice of which is beaten out in the same manner as described above.

Sapple says, certain fish do not appear to be susceptible to the poison, and not nearly the destruction takes place that is popularly supposed. The mahseer and the carp family generally do not suffer much, whereas, on the other hand, the river shark, the *bagh mas* of the Bengalis, is killed in large numbers. It is impossible, however, in the opinion of the writer, that the mahseer fry, which abound in these hill rivers in the spring and early summer months, can escape being destroyed in great numbers when the streams are frequently poisoned. In the neighbourhood of lime quarries and other large works where dynamite is used for blasting, this explosive is sometimes employed for killing fish. The practice, however, has been strictly prohibited, and there have been some cases in which the offenders have been punished in the courts. Fish-poisoning is bad enough, but dynamiting is still worse, as with an effective

1:Cen-Ess E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

COTTON CLOTHS.

293 In the Jaintia Hills at Myram cotton is spun into thread, and
297 weaving is carried on there, but on a limited scale. The Myram people weave the small stripe of cloth worn by the men to serve the purpose of the *Assamese lengti* or *Hindi langoti*. In Nongpoh the people import cotton thread from Myram and weave the (*ingki*) or sleeveless coat, peculiar to the district; these coats are dyed red and blue. The dark blue or black dye is obtained from the leaf of a plant called *u sylu*, which
Dye 294 Mr. Rice has identified as *strobilanthes hamiltonia*, which grows in the gardens round the homesteads. The leaves are
297 dried, then reduced to powder, mixed with hot water, and the skeins of thread are stamped in the liquid. The colour is permanent. The red dye is obtained from the mixture of the dry bark of two shrubs, *ka lapathing* (*morinda citrifolia*, Roxb.) and *ka lasung* (*morinda tinctoria*, Roxb.), the latter being the same as the Assamese (*मजीठ*) *majitha*. The bark is dried, then pounded, and the two sorts are mixed together and made into a paste with hot water. The skeins are stamped in this mixture for twenty-four hours, then taken out and divided, and again stamped for another twenty-four hours. The Lalungs and Khasis and Lyngngams all weave cotton cloths, which are generally dyed blue, sometimes striped blue and red. The Wars weave cotton cloths which are dyed red and yellow, the cloths being woven in checks. Mr. Dutch remarks that the cotton grown in the Jaintia Hills is said to be the best cotton produced in the province. Its thread can be more closely woven than that of other kinds. This statement, however, is not borne out by Mr. Allen writing in 1858, who says that the cotton is of inferior quality, the staple being short and woolly. The cotton cloths woven by the Khasis are called *ryan*.

POTTERY.

[162] 323 The Census Report of 1901 gave the number of persons who are supported by the manufacture of pottery at 54 only. Pottery is manufactured at one place only in the Jaintia Hills,

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and offered to help them with their cultivation. The Khasis also refused her, saying they were capable of managing their own cultivation, and at the same time told her to go to the country of the Bhoie and Syntengs, i.e. the *Jaintia Hills*. Acting on this advice, she went to the village of *Nongphylled* in the *Jaintia Hills*, where the people again turned a deaf ear to her. She proceeded to Mulagrim village in *Jaintia*, at the foot of the *Jaintia Hills*, and ascended from thence to *Rymbai*, where she met a man who conducted her to the house of the Siem, who consented that she and her children should live with him. Ka Tabon then apportioned to her children various duties in the house of the Siem as follows:—Ka Ibaneng was to look after the young unmarried folk, and was to supervise their daily labour and to prosper their trading operations at the markets. Next Ka Ibaneng was given a place at the foot of the king post, *tusi nishet*, and her duty was to befriend young men in battle. Then came *Ka Longkhaiswaid*, alias *Ka Thah-ialong*, who said, "There are no more rooms in the house for my occupation, so I will go and live in the forest, and him who turns not his coat when I meet him I will make mad." Finally came *U Lomsyngkhad*, who elected to live with his youngest sister inside the house.

There are special sacrifices offered to these household deities. The leaves of the *ensing*, or Khasi oak, are wrapped round the post of the house, and a fowl is sacrificed and other formalities are observed which it would be tedious to describe in detail. The legend of the arrival of Ka Tabon with her children in the Syntengs country from a distant clime is interesting in that it perhaps indicates the possibility of the migration of these people, i.e. the Syntengs, in ancient times from some distant place to their present abode.

ANCESTOR-WORSHIP.

The Khasis not only revere the memories of deceased ancestors, but they adore them by means of offerings, which are sometimes periodical, and sometimes made when thought neces-

[illegible] by the S'lem *dki*. Everything that comes in, such as taxes, 79?
[illegible] contributions, or that which comes in through the administra- 79?
tion of justice must be given to her. She may dispose of it as she
wishes, while the S'lem receives from her the money necessary for
paying the costs of the government.

The S'lem *dki* is the sole authority in matters of religion. She
must watch over the religious sacrifices and determine the time and
place for them. /Being p. 687 fig. 1.$\frac{2}{3}$ The Sacrifice (Nongkrem
Puja) among the Khasi/ /688/ do some sacrifices are held in her
house or in front of her house, and they must be performed in her
presence. The actual S'lem is herself or replaced in every case the
[illegible] relative, who is chosen by the "state council," the Siemsnia.

After the death of the S'lem *dki*, this office passes to her oldest
living daughter, and lacking such to the oldest daughter of her
oldest daughter, and lacking such granddaughters to the oldest daughter,
and so forth. In case there are no daughters or granddaughters,
the oldest living sister takes the office; if there are no sisters, then
the oldest daughter of the oldest sister of the mother of the deceased
S'lem *dki* is the successor, and so it goes further. In this way the
office always remains within the royal lineage.

In the house of the S'lem *dki* (called ka-ling *dki*), which is 79?
one of the largest and most attractive in the Khasi Hills, there is a 79?
post in the middle which reaches from the floor to the ridge of the 79?
roof. It is called a *ridot Bas* (post, pillar of god) and serves at the
same time as the altar before which many sacrifices are performed.
The pillar is nothing other than the trunk of the Khasi *sah* (ka dieng- [82?]
rong, botanical name: *Castanopsis* sp.), which is holy to the Khasi.
If the house of the S'lem *dki* burns down, or if it is built up anew, a
new pillar must be brought. Only certain families (*jaid*) have the
privilege of cutting down the trees for this purpose. As soon as it is
cut down, dancing and music begin; the trunk is covered with a
cloth and carried away on a carrying frame. Hundreds of persons
participate in this. As long as the pillar is not set up, it is guarded
night and day. A person or an animal might jump over it and that
would be *sang* (= taboo); the trunk would be defiled and another
tree would have to be cut down. If something dreadful happens in
the kingdom, or if a danger threatens, the S'lem *dki* goes with six
official sacrificial priests of the kingdom to Nongkrem below the post
and offers sacrifice there in order to avert the evil.

The foregoing has to be mentioned in order to give a better
understanding of the following.

The Nongkrem Puja usually takes place in the month of May. 79?
82

+[see category 116, p.14 --- Analyst]

(2) *Tmaif* sin, —an departed maternal great-uncle.
(3) *T dam* lang, —an departed great-grandfather.

A very striking feature of the Khasi religion is the use of the leaves of the *diengsing* (Q. lamellata) or Khasi oak tree. The leaves of this tree are used to cover the sacrificial bowls, a sprig of the oak is implanted in the ground before the sacrifices of fowls or goats take place, an oak bough is hung up inside the house along with the jaw-bones and horns of sacrificial animals and the feathers of fowls. A great part of oak is to be found within the avenue of the sacred enclosure of the Siem priestess of Khynriam, the custodian of the religion of the State of that name. Another feature is the use of slabs of stone on certain ceremonial occasions, and no Khasi religious ceremony takes place without the use of a small gourd a thing from which libation are poured out to the gods. Dancing always accompanies ceremonies of any importance, e.g., funeral ceremonies, the erection of memorial stones, and the great puja of the Siems of Nongkrem.

10. *Memorial stones.*—These are without doubt the most prominent features connected with these people. The first thing that strikes any visitor to the Khasi and Jaintia Hills is the immense number of these stones. The latter are placed in a line, a higher one in the centre, and lower ones on each side. The centre monolith is ceremonially covered with a round flat stone. The upright stones are always in uneven numbers, being in sets of three, five, seven, or even nine stones. In front of each set of three stones is placed one horizontal stone, or monolith which rests on three or four small upright stones, the horizontal stone being raised to about one foot from the ground. If five upright stones are erected, two horizontal stones are placed in front of them, and if seven are erected three, and so on. There can be no doubt that these stones possess considerable significance, but what exactly that significance is I am at present engaged in investigating. As far as my information extends at present, I give the following explanation.

Memorial stones may be divided for the present into two classes—

(a) Stones erected by the family, or *kur*, in accordance with the Khasi custom of ancestor worship.

(b) Stones which are erected by children in honour of a deceased parent.

It should be remarked that both classes of stones are merely cenotaphs, the mausoleums of the ancestors or the parents often being nowhere near the places where the memorial stones are erected. Taking class (a) first: Supposing that five upright stones are erected and two horizontal stones as depicted in plate III.[1]

[1] [see end plate 1 - - - - Analyst]

16:Roy 1-9 (no date) 1938 ASI Khasi ASI

592 The Khasi knows the 'lyrsiah'. The word *lyr* means 'to appear', and, *sieh* means foul, thus *lyrsiah* means to defile or corrupt; and 'tap' means cover, *lyrtap* means to cover, to spread over. Hence *ka lyrsiah ka lyrtap* means something which spreads over and makes everything foul, defiled and corrupt. Khasis regard marriage even in the case of cousins as not the right thing (*lit.*, not good), the *khun kha* (son of the son) that is the *b* son and his sister to give the seed to the house of his *kmie kha* (mother of the son, i.e. father's mother), that is, the house of the *a* group. Thus
[593] no seed, e.g., seed of trees, rice, cucumber, pumkins, *shrie* or Job's tears, or millet, are taken from the children of the son by the family of the mother of that son, that is, no seed is taken from the children (*ki khun kha*) born of the son by his mother and sisters. Any seed given by these grand-children born of the brothers must be paid for if taken by his mother and sisters.

Thus Khasis do not consider that it is good for children of the brothers to marry the children of the sisters, though they are cousins, i.e. for III (a) to marry II(a). They believe that there will be misfortune and that they will not thrive. They consider it is better that the brother of II(a) marries the sister of III(a). In the case of these nearest cousins, however, they avoid such marriages so long as I (b), the father who is the uncle of II(a) is alive. [Table (3)]

Khasis do not consider it the right thing (regard it as 'bad') for the elder or younger brother of the wife to marry the elder or younger sister of

19: McCormack E-4, 9 (1956-1958) 1964
[P. 111 B] AR? Khasi AR?

household deities, and remedies and amulets deities. 776
Deities of the first two categories are simply aspects 771
of the high God or Goddess. ● The earth is peopled with two great orders of land demons and water demons who cause all undesirable, unnatural, and otherwise inexplicable events, acting either on their own or as instruments in the hands of sorcerers. Apart from omens, both in nature and in dreams, 787
Khasis attach supernatural significance also to mystic 828
numbers, and to the colors white, black, and red. They hold especially important folk beliefs regarding 829 ●
betel nut, paddy rice, gold and silver, and clothing. **Practitioners.** The two classes of religious practitioners are the village or state priests and the sacrificers. 781
Both are male. They use the same divinatory tools 783
(ropes of coiling broken eggshells and the entrails 759
of cocks, and they both sacrifice cocks, hens, goats, pigs, and cattle. These skills are not taught to them so much as picked up by observation and confirmed by demonstrations of efficacy. A priest is elected from among the men of his ala to direct his skills to the public good until he dies, and his rewards are institutionalized and come from the village or the state. A sacrificer acts for private persons or kin groups, on call, and is rewarded by them personally with gifts in cash or in kind. The sacrificer is called upon to explain and then to ritually remedy every variety of misfortune, especially illness, though his powers are nowadays regarded with ambivalence, and he is widely expected to become a sorcerer sooner or later. ● There are two major types of sorcerer. 754
One is the ritual specialist or sacrificer who secretly turns his skills from good to evil, manipulating demons to injure a person or his group, and acting always for himself alone out of considerations of jealousy or revenge. The other is normally a leading citizen, a woman who is so wealthy and successful that it is believed that she must keep a *thlen*, i.e. a creature which will bring her prosperity as long as she feeds it periodically with human blood. To provide this blood, the men of her household, or other males whom she bewitches with a special whisky, will indiscriminately murder anyone except a member of her matrilineage. The Jaintias have an ana- [184]
logue to the *thlen* in their *tuvo*, except that the ultimate result is death from illness rather than murder. Minor witchcraft can be perpetrated by poison keepers or persons with an evil eye, who are often women. **Ceremonies.** The important traditional 845
ceremonies were the life-crisis rituals relating to 844
pregnancy and childbirth, the naming of a child, and 555
death. Lesser ceremonies related to marriage and 764
divorce, and to housebuilding. All these rituals were 595
addressed primarily to the ancestors, and they are 596
still performed in modified form by many Khasis. 597
Other rituals, which were performed by groups such 769
as villages, sibs, local descent groups, or households, 178
were addressed to the unnamed aspects of the high 782

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

young are comely, of a buxom type, and, like the men, with highly-developed calves, the latter always being considered a beauty. The children are frequently remarkably pretty. Khasis carry very heavy burdens, it being the custom for the coolies of the country to carry a maund, or 82 lbs. weight, or even more occasionally, on his back, the load being fixed by means of a cane band which is worn across the forehead; women carry almost as heavy loads as the men. The coolies, both male and female, commonly do the journey between Cherrapunji and Shillong, or between Shillong and Jowai, in one day, carrying the heavy loads above mentioned. Each of the above journeys is some thirty miles. They carry their great loads of rice and salt from Therria to Cherrapunji, an ascent of about 4,000 feet in some three to four miles, in the day. The Khasis are probably the best porters in the north of India, and have frequently been requisitioned for transport purposes on military expeditions.

The people are cheerful in disposition, and are light-hearted by nature, and, unlike the plains people, seem to thoroughly appreciate a joke. It is pleasant to hear on the road down to Therlaghat from Cherrapunji, in the early morning the whole hillside resounding with the escape of song and peals of laughter of the coolies, as they run nimbly down the short cuts on their way to market. The women are specially cheerful, and pass the time of day and handy jokes with passers-by with quite an absence of reserve. The Khasis are certainly more industrious than the *Assamese*, are generally good-tempered, but are occasionally prone to sudden outbursts of anger, accompanied by violence. They are fond of music, and rapidly learn the hymn tunes which are taught them by the Welsh missionaries. Khasis are devoted to their offspring, and the women make excellent nurses for European children, frequently becoming much attached to their little charges. The people, like the Japanese, are fond of nature. A Khasi loves a day out in the woods, where he thoroughly enjoys himself. If he does not go out shooting or fishing, he is content to sit still and contemplate nature. He has a separate name for each of the commoner birds and flowers. He also has names for many butterflies and moths. These are traits which are not found usually in the people of India.

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the egg in the eyes of Palaung is demonstrated, and we know how the Khasi regards it. But the folk-tale is also important as suggesting that the ancient people of Pagan were originally serpent-worshippers, i.e. *Nagas*, and it is interesting to note that the Ruzai or Palaung women of the present day "wear a dress which is like the skin of the Naga (snake)." Is it possible that the Khasi superstition of the *thlen*, or serpent demon, and its worship, an account of which will be found under the heading of "Human Sacrifices" in the Monograph, has anything to do with the ancient snake-worship of the people of Pagan, and also of the ancient inhabitants of Naga-Dwipa, and that amongst the wild Wa the custom of head-hunting may have taken the place of the Khasi human sacrifices to the *thlen*?

Notwithstanding that Sir George Scott says the story has very Burmese characteristics, the Palaung folk-tale is further interesting in that it speaks of the Sawbwa of the Palaungs being descended from a *princess*. This might be a suggestion of the matriarchate.

It can well be imagined how important a matter it is also, in the light of Grierson's and Kuhn's linguistic conclusions, to ascertain whether any of the Mon-Khmèr people in Annam and Cambodia and neighbouring countries possess social customs in common with the Khasis. In case it may be possible for French and Siamese ethnologists in Further India to follow up these inquiries at some subsequent date, it may be stated that information regarding social customs is required with reference to the people who speak the following languages in Annam and Cambodia and Cochin China which belong to the Mon-Khmèr group—*Sok*, *Stieng*, *Bahnar*, *Annamese*, *Khamen-Boran*, *Xong*, *Mnong*, *Khsa*, and *Lamet*.

Notwithstanding our failure up till now to find any patent and direct social customs in common between the Khasis and the Palaungs, I am in hopes that we may yet discover some such affinities. Mr. Lewis, the Superintendent of Ethnography in Burma, states that there is no vestige of the matriarchal system among the Palaungs; but there is the folk-tale I have quoted above. In matters of succession, inheritance, &c., the Palaungs, Mr. Lewis, says, profess to follow the Shans, whose customs in this regard have a Buddhistic basis. The Palaungs

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There are also syntactical agreements. We may take it as finally proved by Dr. Grierson and Professor Kuhn that the Mon-Khmér, Palaung, Wa, and Khasi languages are closely connected. In the section of the Monograph which deals with language some striking similarities between the languages of these tribes will be pointed out. We have not so far been able to discover social customs common to the Palaungs and the Khasis; this is probably due to the conversion of the Palaungs to Buddhism, the change in the religion of the people having possibly caused the abandonment of the primitive customs of the tribe. In a few years' time, if the progressive rate of conversions of Khasis to Christianity continues, probably the greater number of the Khasi social customs will have disappeared and others will have taken their place, so that it cannot be argued that because no manifest social customs can now be found common to the Khasis and the Palaungs, there is no connection between these two tribes. The strong linguistic affinity between these two peoples and the wild *Was* of Burma points to an intimate connection between all three in the past. As knowledge of the habits of the wild *Was* improves, it is quite possible that social customs of this tribe may be found to be held in common with the Khasis. With regard to social affinities it will be interesting to note the Palaung folk-tale of the origin of their Sawbwa, which is reproduced in Sir George Scott's Upper Burma Gazetteer. The Sawbwa, it is related, is descended from the Naga Princess Thonandi who lived in the *Nat* tank on the Mongsk hills and who laid three eggs, from one of which was born the ancestor of the Palaung Sawbwa. Here we see how the Palaung regards the egg, and it is noteworthy that the Khasis lay great stress on its potency in divination for the purposes of religious sacrifices, and that at death it is placed on the stomach of the deceased and is afterwards broken at the funeral pyre. Amongst some of the tribes of the Malay Archipelago also the *Gaji-Guru* or medicine-man "can see from the yolk of an egg, broken whilst sacramentally counting from one to seven, from what illness a man is suffering and what has caused it." Here we have an almost exactly parallel case to the Khasi custom of egg-breaking.

In the Palaung folk-tale above referred to the importance of

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of anything except iron or steel, the result being that the sword is most awkward to hold, and could never have been of much use as a weapon of offence.

The same spear is used for thrusting and casting. The spear is not decorated with wool or hair like the spears of the Naga tribes, but it is nevertheless a serviceable weapon, and would be formidable in the hand of a resolute man at close quarters. The length of the spear is about 6½ feet. The shaft is generally of bamboo, although sometimes of ordinary wood. The spear heads are forged in the local smithies.

The Khasi weapon *par excellence* is the bow. Although no "Robin Hoods," the Khasis are very fair archers, and they use the bow largely for hunting. The Khasi bow (*ka ryntich*) is of bamboo, and is about 5 feet in height. The longest bow in use is said to be about the height of a man, the average height amongst the Khasis being about about 5 feet 2 inches to 5 feet 4 inches. The bowstring is of split bamboo, the bamboos that are used being *u spit*, *u shken*, and *u siej-lieh*.

The arrows (*ki khnam*) are of two kinds: (*a*) the barbed-headed (*ki pliang*), and (*b*) the plain-headed (*sop*). Both are made out of bamboo. The first kind is used for hunting, the latter for archery matches only. Archery may be styled the Khasi national game. A description of Khasi archery will be found under the heading "Games." The feathers of the following birds are used for arrows:—Vultures, geese, cranes, cormorants, and hornbills. Arrow-heads are made of iron or steel, and are forged locally. The distance a Khasi arrow will carry, shot from the ordinary bow by a man of medium strength, is 150 to 180 yards. The Khasi shield is circular in shape, of hide, and studded with brass or silver. In former days shields of rhinoceros hide are said to have been used, but nowadays buffalo skin is used. The shields would stop an arrow or turn aside a spear or sword thrust. The present-day shield is used merely for purposes of display.

Before the advent of the British into the hills the Khasis are said to have been acquainted with the art of manufacturing gunpowder, which was prepared in the neighbourhood of Mawsanram, Kynchi, and Cherra. The gunpowder used to be

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shield of Cherrapunji is used as a protection from rain. 293
Those of Maharam and Mawiang are each of a peculiar pattern. 352
Smaller shields are used as protections from the sun or merely for show, and there are specially small sizes for children. Then there are the different kinds of basket (*ki* 415
ákok) which are carried on the back, slung across the forehead 482
by a cane head-strap. These, again, are of different sizes. They are, however, always of the same conical shape, being round and broad-mouthed at the top and gradually tapering to a point at the bottom. A bamboo cover is used to protect the contents of the basket from rain. There is a special kind of basket made of cane or bamboo with a cover, which is used for carrying articles on a journey. These baskets, again, are of different sizes, the largest and best that the writer has seen being manufactured at Rambrai, in the south-western portion of the hills. Paddy is husked in a wooden mortar by means of a heavy 412
wooden pestle. These are to be seen all over the hills. The 415
work of husking paddy is performed by the women. A 256
bamboo sieve is sometimes used for sifting the husked rice, a winnowing fan being applied to separate the husk. The cleaned rice is exposed to the sun in a bamboo tray. Paddy is stored in a separate store-house in large circular bamboo receptacles. These hold sometimes as much as 30 maunds* of grain. Large baskets are also used for keeping paddy in. In 415
every Khasi house is to be found the net bag which is made 825
out of pineapple fibre, or of a *stein*, the Assamese *riha* 436
(Boehmeria nivea). These bags are of two sizes, the larger one for keeping cowries in, the cowrie in former days having been used instead of current coin in these hills, the smaller for the ever necessary betel-nut. *Pán* leaves are kept in a bamboo tube, and tobacco leaves in a smaller one. Lime, for eating with betel-nut, is kept in a metal box, sometimes of silver, which is made in two separate parts held together by a chain. The box is called *ka shanam*, and 415
is used all over the hills. This box is also used for 787
divination purposes, one end of it being held in the hand, and the other, by means of the chain, being allowed to swing

* The maund is 82 lbs. 804

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cartridge all the fish within a certain area are killed, none escape. When poisons are used, however, some fish are not affected by them, and others are only stupefied for the time being and afterwards recover. 226

FOOD.

The Khasi and Syntengs ordinarily take two meals a day, one in the early morning and the other in the evening, but labourers and others who have to work hard in the open take a midday meal as well, consisting of cold boiled rice wrapped in a leaf (*ka já-sang*), cakes (*ki kpu*) and a tuberous root (*u sohphlang*) which is eaten raw. They are fond of all kinds of meat, especially pork and beef, although some of the Syntengs, owing to Hindu influence, abstain from eating the latter. Unlike the neighbouring Naga, Garo and Kuki tribes, the Khasis abstain from the flesh of the dog. Both Bivar and Shadwell say the reason why the Khasis do not eat the flesh of the dog is because he is in a certain sense a sacred animal amongst them. There is a Khasi folk-tale relating how the dog came to be regarded as the friend of man. It is, however, quite possible that the Khasis may never have eaten the flesh of the dog from remote times, and it is nothing extraordinary that the Khasis should differ in a detail of diet from the neighbouring Thibeto-Burman tribes which are so dissimilar to them in many respects. The Khasis, except some of the Christian community and some of the people of the Mawkhar, do not use milk, butter, or ghee as articles of food. In this respect they do not differ from the Kacharis and Rabhas of the plains or the Garos of the hills. The Mongolian race in its millions as a rule does not use milk for food, although the Tibetans and some of the Turcoman tribes are exceptions. Before fowls or animals are killed for food, prayers must be said, and rice sprinkled on the body of the animal. The staple food of the Khasis is rice and dried fish. When rice cannot be obtained or is scarce, millet or Job's tears are used instead. The latter are boiled, and a sort of porridge is obtained, which is eaten either hot or cold according to fancy. Khasis eat the flesh of nearly all wild animals, they

264 262 262 825 262 [782]

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[641] 726 challenge. From the records available of the military operations of the Khasis against the British, the former appear to have relied principally on bows and arrows, ambushes and surprises, when they fought against us at the time of our first occupation of the hills. During the Jaintia rebellion firearms were used, to some extent, by the Syntengs. The military records do not, however, disclose any peculiar battle customs as having been prevalent amongst those hill people then. Both Khasis and Syntengs seem to have fought much in the same manner as other savage hill-men have fought against a foe armed with superior weapons.

HUMAN SACRIFICES.

The Thlen Superstition.

825 782 773 776 There is a superstition among the Khasis concerning a *thlen*, a gigantic snake which requires to be appeased by the sacrifice of human victims, and for whose sake murders have even in fairly recent times been committed. The following account, the substance of which appeared in the *Assam Gazette*, in August, 1882, but to which considerable additions have been made, will illustrate this interesting superstition:—"The tradition is that there was once in a cave near Cherrapunji,* a gigantic snake, or *thlen*, who committed great havoc among men and animals. At last one man, bolder than his fellows, took with him a herd of goats, and set himself down by the cave, and offered them one by one to the *thlen*. By degrees the monster became friendly, and learnt to open his mouth at a word from the man, to receive the lump of flesh which was then thrown in. When confidence was thoroughly established, the man, acting under the advice of a god called *U Suid-noh*,† (who has as his abode a grove near Sohrarim),

* This cave is at Pomdalai, some five miles west of Cherrapunji, close to a great waterfall called *Noh Ka Likai*, i.e. the place where Ka Likai jumped down the precipice (for a full account of this story see Section V. of the monograph), where there is a large block of stone, with some cuts over it, known as *Daia Thlen*, i.e. the snake cutting (place).

† In another account it is said to have been U Suid-noh himself who did this.

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having heated a lump of iron red hot in a furnace, induced 795
the snake, at the usual signal, to open his mouth, and then 782
threw in the red-hot lump, and so killed him. He proceeded 773
to cut up the body, and sent pieces in every direction, with 776
orders that the people were to eat them. Wherever the order was obeyed, the country became free of the *thlen*, but one small piece remained which no one would eat, and from this sprang a multitude of *thlens*, which infest the residents of Cherra and its neighbourhood. When a *thlen* takes up its 825
abode in a family there is no means of getting rid of it, though 782
it occasionally leaves of its own accord, and often follows 776
family property that is given away or sold. The *thlen* attaches itself to property, and brings prosperity and wealth to the owners, but on the condition that it is supplied *with blood*. Its craving comes on at uncertain intervals, and manifests itself by sickness, by misadventure, or by increasing poverty befalling the family that owns the property. It can only be appeased by the murder of a human being." The murderer cuts off the tips of the hair of the victim with silver scissors, also the finger nails, and extracts from the nostril a little blood caught in a bamboo tube, and offers these to the *thlen*. The murderer, who is called *u nongshohnoh*, literally, "the beater," before he sets out on his unholy mission, [273]
drinks a special kind of liquor called, *ka 'iad tang-shi-snem* (literally, liquor which has been kept for a year). This liquor, it is thought, gives the murderer courage, and the power of selecting suitable victims for the *thlen*. The *nongshohnoh* then sets out armed with a short club, with which to slay the victim, hence his name *nongshohnoh*, i.e. one who beats; for it is forbidden to kill a victim on these occasions with any weapon made of iron, inasmuch as iron was the metal which proved fatal to the *thlen*. He also takes the pair of silver scissors above mentioned, a silver lancet to pierce the inside of the nostrils of the deceased, and a small bamboo or cylinder to receive the blood drawn therefrom. The *nongshohnoh* also provides himself with rice called "*u 'khaw tyndep*," i.e. rice mixed with turmeric after certain incantations have taken place. The murderer throws a little of this rice over his intended victim, the effect of which is to stupefy the

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782
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[761]

latter, who then falls an easy prey to the *nongshohnoh*. It is not, however, always possible to kill the victim outright for various reasons, and then the *nongshohnoh* resorts to the following subterfuge:—He cuts off a little of the hair, or the hem of the garment, of a victim, and offers these up to the *thlen*. The effect of cutting off the hair or the hem of the garment of a person by a *nongshohnoh*, to offer up to the *thlen*, is disastrous to the unfortunate victim, who soon falls ill, and gradually wastes away and dies. The *nongshohnoh* also sometimes contents himself with merely throwing stones at the victim, or with knocking at the door of his house at night, and then returns home, and, after invoking the *thlen*, informs the master that he has tried his best to secure him a prey, but has been unsuccessful. This is thought to appease the *thlen* for a time, but the demon does not remain inactive long, and soon manifests his displeasure for the failure of his keeper to supply him with human blood, by causing one of the latter's family to fall sick. The *thlen* has the power of reducing himself to the size of a thread, which renders it convenient for the *nong-ri thlen*, or *thlen* keeper, to place him for safety in an earthen pot, or in a basket which is kept in some secure place in the house. When the time for making an offering to the *thlen* comes, an hour is selected, generally at dead of night, costly cloths are spread on the floor of the house of the *thlen* keeper, all the doors are opened, and a brass plate is laid on the ground in which is deposited the blood, or the hair, or a piece of the cloth of the victim. All the family then gathers round, and an elderly member commences to beat a small drum, and invokes the *thlen*, saying, "*ko kni ko kpa* (oh, maternal uncle, father), come out, here is some food for you; we have done everything we could to satisfy you, and now we have been successful; give us thy blessing, that we may attain health and prosperity." The *thlen* then crawls out from its hiding-place and commences to expand, and when it has attained its full serpent shape, it comes near the plate and remains expectant. The spirit of the victim then appears, and stands on the plate, laughing. The *thlen* begins to swallow the figure, commencing at its feet, the victim laughing the while. By degrees the whole figure

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is disposed of by the boa constrictor. If the spirit be that of a person from whom the hair, or a piece of his or her cloth, has been cut, directly the *thlen* has swallowed the spirit, the person expires. Many families in these hills are known, or suspected, to be keepers of a *thlen*, and are dreaded or avoided in consequence. This superstition is deep-rooted amongst these people, and even nowadays, in places like Shillong or Cherrapunji, Khasis are afraid to walk alone after dark, for fear of being attacked by a *songskohnoh*. In order to drive away the *thlen* from a house or family all the money, ornaments, and property of that house or family must be thrown away, as is the case with persons possessed by the demon *Ka Taroh*, in the Jaintia Hills. None dare touch any of the property, for fear that the *thlen* should follow it. It is believed that a *thlen* can never enter the Siem's or chief's clan, or the Siem's house; it follows, therefore, that the property of the *thlen* keeper can be appropriated by the Siem. A Mohammedan servant, not long ago in Shillong, fell a victim to the charms of a Khasi girl, and went to live with her. He told the following story to one of his fellow-servants, which may be set down here to show that the *thlen* superstition is by no means dying out. In the course of his married life he came to know that the mother of his Khasi wife kept in the house what he called a *bhut* (devil). He asked his wife many, many times to allow him to see the *bhut*, but she was obdurate; however, after a long time, and after extracting many promises from him not to tell, she confided to him the secret, and took him to the corner of the house, and showed him a little box in which was coiled a tiny snake, like the hair spring of a watch. She passed her hands over it, and it grew in size, till at last it became a huge cobra, with hood erected. The husband, terrified, begged his wife to lay the spirit. She passed her hands down its body, and it gradually shrank within its box.

It may be stated that the greater number of the Khasis, especially in certain Siemships, viz. Cherra, Nongkrem, and Mylliem, still regard the *thlen*, and the persons who are thought to keep *thlens*, with the very greatest awe, and that they will not utter even the names of the latter for fear some ill may befall

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them. The superstition is probably of very ancient origin, and it is possible that the Khasi sacrifices to the *thlen* demon may be connected with the primæval serpent-worship which characterized the Cambodians, which Forbes says was "undoubtedly the earliest religion of the Mons." But it must be remembered that snake-worship is of very ancient origin, not only in Further India, but also in the nearer peninsula, where the serpent race or Nagas, who may have given their name to the town of Nagpur, were long held in superstitious reverence. Mr. Gait, in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. i. of 1898, gives some account of the human sacrifices of the Jaintias or Syntengs. He writes as follows:—

"It appears that human sacrifices were offered annually on the *Sandhi* day in the month of Ashwin (Sukla paksha) at the sacred *pitha*, in the Faljur pargana. They were also occasionally offered at the shrine of Jainteswari, at Nijpat, i.e. at Jaintiapur, the capital of the country. As stated in the *Haft Iqlim* to have been the case in Koch Behar, so also in Jaintia, persons frequently voluntarily came forward as victims. This they generally did by appearing before the Raja on the last day of Shravan, and declaring that the goddess had called them. After due inquiry, if the would-be victim, or *Bhoge khaora*, were deemed suitable, it was customary for the Raja to present him with a golden anklet, and to give him permission to live as he chose, and to do whatever he pleased, compensation for any damage done by him being paid from the royal treasury. But this enjoyment of these privileges was very short. On the Navami day of the Durga Puja, the *Bhoge khaora*, after bathing and purifying himself, was dressed in new attire, daubed with red sandal-wood and vermilion, and bedecked with garlands. Thus arrayed, the victim sat on a raised daïs in front of the goddess, and spent some time in meditation (*japa*), and in uttering *mantras*. Having done this, he made a sign with his finger, and the executioner, after uttering the usual sacrificial *mantras*, cut off his head, which was placed before the goddess on a golden plate. The lungs were cooked and eaten by such *Kandra Yogis* as were present, and it is said that the royal family partook of a small quantity of rice cooked in the blood of the victim. The ceremony was

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SECTION IV.

RELIGION.

GENERAL CHARACTER OF POPULAR BELIEFS.

THE Khasis have a vague belief in a God the Creator, *U Blei Nong-thaw*, although this deity, owing, no doubt, to the influences of the matriarchate, is frequently given the attribute of the feminine gender, cf., *Ka lei Synshar*. The Khasis cannot, however, be said to worship the Supreme God, although it is true that they sometimes invoke him when sacrificing and in times of trouble. The religion of the Khasis may be described as animism or spirit-worship, or rather, the propitiation of spirits both good and evil on certain occasions, principally in times of trouble. The propitiation of these spirits is carried out either by priests (*lyngdohs*), or by old men well versed in the arts of necromancy, and as the *lyngdoh* or wise man deals with good as well as evil spirits, and, as often as not, with the good spirits of ancestors, the propitiation of these spirits may be said to partake of the nature of Shamanism. A very prominent feature of the Khasi beliefs is the propitiation of ancestors; but this will be described separately. There is a vague belief amongst the Khasi of a future state. It is believed that the spirits of the dead, whose funeral ceremonies have been duly performed, go to the house or garden of God, where there are groves of betel-nut trees; hence the expression for the departed, *uba bam kwai ha iing u blei* (he who is eating betel-nut in God's house), the idea of supreme happiness to the Khasi being to eat betel-nut uninterruptedly. The spirits of those whose funeral ceremonies have not been duly performed are believed to take the forms of animals, birds, or

776 771 782 791 793 769 775 276 764 775 764 825

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insects, and to roam on this earth: but this idea of transmigration of souls has been probably borrowed from the Hindus. Bivar writes that although the ideas of a Godhead are not clearly grasped, yet a supreme creator is acknowledged, and that the following is the tradition relating to the creation of man. "God in the beginning having created man, placed him on the earth, but on returning to look at him, found he had been destroyed by the evil spirit. This happened a second time, whereupon the Deity created first a dog, then a man; and the dog, who kept watch, prevented the devil from destroying the man, and the work of the Deity was thus preserved." The Khasis, apparently, do not believe in punishment after death, at least, there is no idea of hell, although the spirits of those who have died under the ban of *sang* remain uneasy, being obliged to wander about the earth in different forms, as noted above. The spirits worshipped by the Khasis are many in number, those of the Syntengs being specially numerous. The particular spirit to be propitiated is ascertained by egg-breaking. The offering acceptable to the spirit is similarly ascertained and is then made. If the particular sacrifice does not produce the result desired, a fowl is sacrificed; the entrails being then examined, an augury is drawn, and the sacrifice begins afresh. As the process of egg-breaking is believed to be peculiar* to the Khasis amongst the Assam hill tribes, a separate description of it is given in the Appendix. It should be remarked that the Khasis never symbolize their gods by means of images, their worship being offered to the spirit only. The following are some of the principal spirits worshipped by the Khasis and Syntengs, omitting the spirits of deceased ancestors such as *Ka Iawebi*, *u Thawlang*, and *u Suidnia*, which will be described under the heading of ancestor-worship.

U bi mulak—the god of the State, who is propitiated yearly by the sacrifice of a goat and a cock.

U bi umtong—the god of water, used for drinking and cooking purposes. This god is similarly propitiated once a year, so that the water supply may remain pure.

* Sir Charles Lyall has pointed out that the Mikirs possess this custom; it is probably borrowed from the Khasis.

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restored by the due propitiation of the offended spirits. 776
In order to ascertain which is the offended spirit, a system 782
of divination by means of cowries, breaking eggs, or 753
examining the entrails of animals and birds, was instituted. 787
The Khasi method of obtaining auguries by examining the viscera of animals and birds may be compared with that of the Roman *haruspex*. Some description of these modes of divination has been given at the end of this chapter. The 771
Khasi religion has been described by Bivar as "demon worship, 773
or a jumble of enchantments muttered by priests who are 783
sorcerers." But even a religion which is thus unflatteringly 825
described is based on the cardinal doctrines of sin and sacrifice for sin. Tradition amongst the Khasis states that in the beginning (*mynnyngkong ka sngi*) there was no sin, heaven and earth were near each other, and man had direct intercourse with God. How man fell into sin is not stated, but it is certain that he did fall. Experts at "egg healing" never forget to repeat the formula "*nga briéw nga la pop*" (I man have sinned). The cock then appears as a mediator between God and man. The cock is styled "*u khún ka blei uba kit ryndang ba shah ryndang na ka bynta jong nga u briéw*," i.e. the son of god who lays down his neck (life) for me man. The use of the feminine *ka blei* is no doubt due to matriarchal influences. There is another prayer in which the Khasis say, "*ap jutang me u blei ieng raugbah me u briéw*" (oh god do not forget the covenant, arise oh man). The idea is that man has fallen into sins of omission and commission (*ka pop, ka lait ka let*) but that God is nevertheless expected to spare him, and to accept a substitute for him according to the covenant (*jutang*). By this covenant God is supposed to have accepted in exchange the cock as a substitute for man. How the cock came to occupy such an 771
important position, tradition is vague and self-conflicting. The 825
fact remains that the covenant of the cock is the foundation 171
of the Khasi religion. It is of interest to mention that amongst the Ahoms the tradition is that Khunlung and Khunlái brought down from heaven the *kái-chán-mung*,* or pair of heavenly fowls, and that to this day the sacrifice of the

* In Ahom *kái* = fowl, *chán* = beautiful, *mung* = country. Therefore *Kái-chán-mung* = fowl of a beautiful country (heaven).

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77/ fowl is considered by the Deodhais, or priest-soothsayers of the
825 Ahoms, a most important feature of the ancient Ahom ritual.
[71] But amongst the Ahoms there is the difference that auguries are obtained, not from the entrails, but by examining the legs of the fowls. The Ahoms are Siams belonging to the Tai branch, another great division of the Indo-Chinese group of the human race.

787 The covenant of the cock as thus explained shows the im-
825 portance of this sacrifice to the Khasis. The large intestine of a fowl has two pea-like protuberances, one close to the other. One is symbolically called *u blá* or god, and the other is styled *u briéw* or man, they are connected by a thin membrane. Directly the bird has been disembowelled the sacrificer throws a few grains of rice on the entrails and then watches their convulsive movements. If the portion of the entrail called *u blei* moves towards that portion which represents man, it is considered proof positive that the god has heard the prayer of the sacrificer, but if the movement proceeds in the opposite direction, then the reverse is the case and the omen is bad. If the entrails are full and healthy, having no spots (*brai*), or blood marks (*thung*), and if the membrane between the two protuberances has not been fractured, these are favourable signs. If the intestines are empty, wrinkled, or spotted, and the membrane mentioned above is fractured, these are bad signs. Auguries also are drawn by examining the livers, the lungs and spleens and gall bladders of pigs, goats, and cattle. If the liver of a pig is healthy and without spot, the augury is good; if the reverse, it is bad. The spleen must not be unduly distended, otherwise the omen is unfavourable and the gall bladder must not be over full. Invocations to deduce omens from the appearance of the entrails are quoted on page 11 of Col. Bivar's Report. From the first invocation quoted by him it appears that the method of drawing the augury from the fowl differs slightly in detail from that which has been described to me by certain Khasis, but both descriptions agree in the main, and the slight dissimilarity in detail may be due to the methods of obtaining auguries varying slightly in different localities. Divination by breaking eggs and by other means, although not strictly sacrifice with the Khasis, partakes

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of the nature of a religious ceremony. Such divinations are of almost every-day occurrence in a Khasi house, and always precede sacrifices. The Khasis, moreover, do nothing of what they consider to be of even the least importance without breaking eggs. When a Khasi builds a new house, or before he proceeds on a journey, he always breaks eggs to see whether the building or the journey will be lucky or not. The description of egg-breaking given by Shadwell in his account of the Khasis is not altogether correct. A detailed description of this method of divination will be found in Appendix C. The description can be depended upon, as it is the result of my personal observations of egg-breaking on several occasions. A board of the shape shown in the diagram (Appendix C) is placed on the ground, the egg-breakers' position being that indicated in the diagram. After the egg has been smeared with red earth, it is thrown violently down and the contents and the fragments of egg-shell fall on the board. Auguries are drawn from the positions of the fragments of shell on the board, and from the fact of their lying with the inner sides facing upwards or downwards. Another method of egg-breaking is for the diviner to wrap up the egg in a plantain leaf with the point uppermost, or merely to hold the egg in his hand in this position without wrapping it up, and then to press another egg down upon it. If the end of the egg so pressed breaks at once, this is a good sign, but if it remains unbroken, the egg has a god in it, and the omen is bad.

A common method of divination is by means of the *shanam*, or lime-case. The diviner holds the lime-case by the end of its chain, and addresses the god. He then asks the lime-case a question, and if it swings, this is supposed to be an answer in the affirmative; if it does not move, this is a negative reply. This seems to be a very simple trick, for the diviner can impart movement to the lime-case by means of the hand. A similar way of consulting the oracle is by the bow, which is held in the hand by the middle of the string. A simple method of divining is by means of cowries or grains of rice. The diviner plunges his hand into a bag or basket after asking the god a question. If the number of cowries or grains of rice comes out odd, the omen is good; if it comes out even, the reverse is the

000 that they may also get smallpox.

776 Every Khasi is desirous of wealth. There-
556 fore they sacrifice to the demoness of wealth, ka shur, whom they fear just as much as the Synteng fear the demoness ka taro, who likewise only allows the desired wealth to come to those who revere her.

776 But all evil taken together can be caused
782 by the demoness ka ron. She is the worst of all devils in the opinion of the Synteng. The Khasi sacrifice only to her and the devil u mahet inside the hut, and not as is otherwise customary out of doors (in the courtyard of the hut).

But the Khasi have the greatest fear of the
[825] devil u thlen. He can be kept in the house by people in the form of a snake. Since he is only propitiated by human blood, it is necessary to find human sacrifices (ka 'langthoklieh). One cuts off the toenails and fingernails of the victims and these are brought with the blood of the murdered one during the night in a closed house as a sacrifice to the devil with prayers and exhortations. To get these human sacrifices, the thlen possessor must look for them with cunning or violence. Usually hired murderers are sent out, to whom one previously hands a quite special liquor 'iad-tang-snem (literally: lasts for a year). The Khasi believe that anyone who drinks this liquor is so influenced (enchanted) that he will really carry out the planned murder. When these murderers (nong-shoh-noh) are on their way or waiting in ambush to catch their victim for the thlen, they may not use any iron, because the thlen near the cave of Pomdalai near Cherrapunji was killed by a brave man named u suidnoh, when the thlen appeared there in the form of an enormous snake in order to swallow up people and animals. The victim is struck down with a stick which usually has a silver knob.

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After the plants have attained the height of about 6 in., they are earthed up. When the leaves turn yellow, it is a sign that the potatoes are ripe. The different kinds of sweet potatoes grown and the yam and another kind of esculent root—*u sokphlang* (*flemingia vestita Benth.*) will be noticed under the head of "Crops." 244

The Khasis possess very few agricultural sayings and proverbs, but the following may be quoted as examples:— 241 538

(1) *Wat ju ai thung jingthung ne bet symbai ha uba sniew kti.*

Do not allow plants to be planted or seeds to be sown by one who has a bad hand. [177]

As elsewhere, there is a belief amongst the Khasis that some people's touch as regards agriculture is unlucky. [124]

(2) *Thung dieng ne bet symbai haba ngen bnai, ym haba shai u bnai.*

Plant trees or sow seeds not when the moon is waxing, but when it is on the wane.

(3) *Wei la saw bha ka bneng sepngi jan miet phin ka ioh jingrang lashai.*

A red sky in the west in the evening is the sign of fine weather to-morrow.

Cf. our English proverb "a red sky in the morning is a shepherd's warning, a red sky at night is a shepherd's delight."

CROPS.

The varieties of rice found in the Khasi Hills are divided into two main classes, one grown as a dry crop on high lands, and the other raised in valleys and hollows which are artificially irrigated from hill streams. The lowland rice is more productive than that grown on high lands, the average per acre of the former, according to the agricultural bulletin, as ascertained from the results of 817 experimental crop cuttings carried out during the fifteen years preceding the year 1898, being 11.7 maunds of paddy per acre, as against an average of 9.4 maunds per acre (resulting from 667 cuttings made during the 243 433

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Mr. Jenkins, in his interesting little work on "Life and
753 Work in Khasia," gives a slightly different account of the
776 superstition, in that he states that it is the sick person who
826 is possessed by *ka Tarah*. The above belief is perhaps a
164 Synteng development of the Khasi *thlen* superstition. In
177 the Jaintia Hills "the small-pox" is believed to be a goddess, and is reverenced accordingly. Syntengs regard it as an honour to have had small-pox, calling the marks left by the disease the "kiss of the goddess"; the more violent the attack and the deeper the marks, the more highly honoured is the person affected. Mr. Jenkins says, "When the goddess has entered a house, and smitten any person or persons with this disease, a trough of clean water is placed outside the door, in order that every one before entering may wash their feet therein, the house being considered sacred." Mr. Rita mentions cases of women washing their hair in water used by a small-pox patient, in order that they may contract the disease, and women have been known actually to bring their little children into the house of a small-pox patient, in order that they may become infected and thus receive the kiss of the goddess. It is possible that the Syntengs, who were for some time under Hindu influences, may in their ignorance have adopted this degraded form of worship of the Hindu goddess, "Sitala Devi," who is adored as a divine mother under different names by Hindus all over India: cf., her name *mari-amman*, or mother of death, in the South of India, and the name Ai, mother, of the Assamese.

In the Khasi Hills the god of small-pox is known under the name of *u Sium ñiang thylliew*. He is not, however, appeased in any way, the people calling on two other spirits, *Thynrei* and *Sapa*, to whom a fowl or a goat is offered.

776 This section cannot be closed without some reference to the
773 household gods of the Syntengs. The legend is that in ancient times there came a woman "from the end of heaven to the borders of the country of *u Truh*" (the country of the plains people at a distance from the foot of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills). The name of the woman was Ka Taben, and she was accompanied by her children. She offered herself to *u Dkhar*, the plains man, as a household goddess, but he rejected her. She then went to the Khasis, who were ploughing their fields,

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144 'ETHNOLOGY.—In order to determine the ethnological position of the Khásiás, we need dwell upon a few only of their physical characteristics, viz. those which are held to indicate that type of the human family, the Mongolian, to which they undoubtedly belong. A detailed description of their physiognomy would embrace forms and characters by no means common even to tribes occupying the hills in close proximity to them, much less referable to all branches of the Mongolian stock. These differences in detail, which may be attributed mainly to local influences, render it extremely difficult, if not absolutely impossible, to trace out the exact relation which these mountain tribes bear to each other. But the Mongolian, or to use a more comprehensive term, the Turanian, physiognomy is unmistakeable in them all—Khásiás, Jáintiás, Gáros, Míkírs, Nágás, Manipuris, etc. The chief points may be briefly stated as follows:—
142 Colour tawny or yellow, though a darker hue is not entirely
[141] unknown; nose somewhat depressed, with a peculiar conformation
[302] towards the forehead at the glabellum, which is very flat and broad; face broad, flat, and squarish, with high and rounded cheek-bones; skull globular rather than square; eyes middle-sized and black, with a yellow tinge in the eyeball; eyelids obliquely set, but less acutely than in the Chinese and other Indo-Chinese races; mouth large, with prominent though not very thick lips; hair black, thick, and worn long, the orthodox style being to tie it up in a knot at the back, varying little with sex; beard remarkably sparse, but the
141 moustache more abundant than the beard. The lower classes go
[826] bare-headed; stature low in the majority of cases; constitution strong and robust; limbs thick, short, and stout; trunk long in proportion and very broad at the waist; calves over-developed, but this is considered an element of beauty, more especially in the women, who, on the average, are fairer and handsomer than the men; carriage ungraceful.

157 'SOCIAL AND MORAL QUALITIES.—Disposition very affable, gentle, and cheerful; rather industrious, but devoid of ingenuity and mechanical skill. In the industrial arts, such as masonry, carpentry,
291 and agriculture, they are amenable to training. Dress amongst the lower classes is confined to a fringed jacket rudely woven of hemp, extending down as far as the thighs, and leaving the arms bare, together with a scanty covering for the loins. The more respectable classes wear a turban of coarse cotton or silk for a head-dress, and a sheet of silk thrown loosely over the shoulders, together with a long

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827 The Khasi's interpretation of his life is this,—'long jaid na ka kynthei,' i.e., from woman sprang the kind, or species; 'U kha uba ai ka rynieng,' i.e., it is the father who gives the stature or person. Thus, the mother produces the kind or species, and this kind 'ka jaid' springs and remains in the man's own house ('ha laing') by his mother, and is continued by his sister and his niece, sister's child. 828 The stature or person, is produced, crystallised and is endowed with power and fortune, that is, with power to resist forces which affect a man's capacity to grow in power and in fortune, by his father, father's younger brother and father's elder brother, and by the father's nephews.

602 835 Thus the Khasi says all those who spring from the same womb are his kind, '*jaid-u sang*'; that is, they are forbidden as 'sacred' because, he says, they are suckled of one and the same breast. They are 'sang jaid.'

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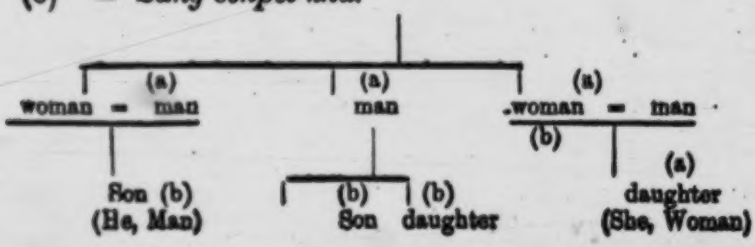

14: Roy I-5 (no date) 1938 AR7 Khasi AR7

Thus the Khasi says, "I do not marry (and I cannot even think in this wise of) my own mother, my own sister. They are of the (a) group. I cannot think like that of my father's mother (kmie kha), father's sister (nia kha), father's brother (kpa kha), father's brother's children (para kha). They are of the (b) group." On his mother's side *u sang jaid*, that is, he is *sang* or forbidden as being of the same clan, kind, species. On his father's side *u sang sohpet kha*, that is, he is *sang*, forbidden as being of the same umbilical cord. 602 835

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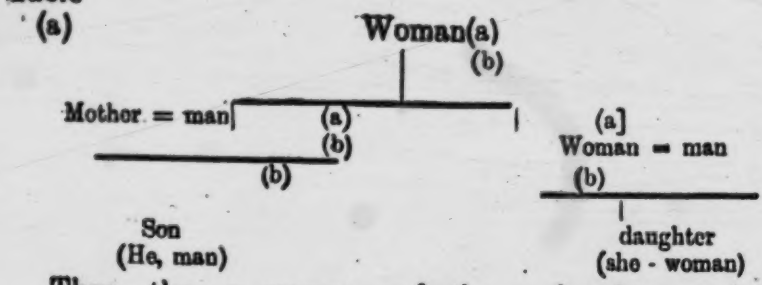

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14:Roy 1-5 (no date) 1938 AR7 Khasi AR7

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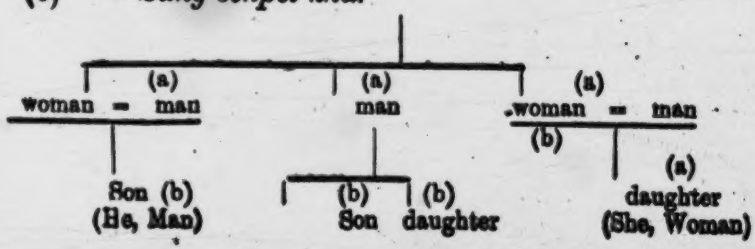

14:Roy 1-5 (no date) 1938 AR7 Khasi AR7

IV. THE PLACE OF THE KHASI IN THE WORLD.

By

David Roy

131 The Khasi country lies in the hills of the province of Assam in North East India. Khasi clans are exogamous and matrilneal, and the Khasis speak a MonKhmer language.
[614]
[611]
[197]

121 In speaking of the place of the Khasi in the world I intend to explain the Khasi's own view of his relation to other peoples of the world.*

829 The Khasi is very conscious of his importance. He says a Khasi claims to be the centre of the world. The Khasi has acquired such a feeling of self-importance from his great confidence in himself; and this confidence he has derived from the position in which his relationship-terminology represents him as standing with respect to himself and the world around him. Or, rather, his relationshisp terms and language are an expression of his attitude and notions.

601 The Khasi says—*Ka Kamie* (mother)

U Khun (son) — *Ka Kmie* (mother)

Which is=His mother

Himself (male) — His sister (female)

He calls this the family. Then he says—

Ka Kamie Kha (Father's mother)

U Kpa Kha (Father, Father's brother) (male) — *Ka Nia Kha* Father Father's sister (female)

[114] The writer of th is article is himself a Khasi (Christian).

14: Roy I-5 (no date) 1938 AR7 Khasi AR7

the husband. Whichever side is *jem ka rwiang* (*lit.* whose person is less strong, less able to resist the evil) will suffer death. The word *rwiang* means more than literally 'fortune.' The word *rwiang* goes with *rngiew* and the two are coupled together as *ka Rngiew ka Rwiang. Rngiew* is the person, the man's 'ama'. '*Rwiang*' is the encircling power produced by that person, hence *jem ka rwiang* means the power encircling the man's person becoming easy of being conquered or subdued. (*Jem* = easy, pliable.) 582

In a word, the Khasi's idea of himself is that he stands in the middle of the world. We do not find terms in the languages of peoples with the family system to express varieties of relationship to the extent that we have in the Khasi vocabulary. Some of the other languages content themselves with terms for father, mother, uncle, aunt, cousin. They have no words to differentiate the classificatory-descriptive system of terms showing relationship with mother, mother's elder and younger sistere (*mei, mei san, mei nah*); father and his elder and younger brothers (*kpa, kpa san, kap nah*) and father's brother's children (*para kha*), father's mother (*mei kha*), mother's mother (*mei rad,*) wife's brother (*kynum*), husband's brother (*kong*), and so on. We find in the Khasi sociology, departments of social organization indicating the attitude towards life which is peculiar to the Khasi. The terms are not mere names but serve to show well-defined groups based on an idea of their special functions. As Dr. R. R. Marett says, "Exogamy, and everything 156 601 156 829 601 121

14:Roy I-5 (no date) 1938 AR7 Khasi AR7

121 else that we do is instinct with a *plus*; and for the student of religion or of human culture in any of its forms, to account for that *plus* is the sum and substance of his task.....Whereas, then, there is likelihood that any *a posteriori* reason existed for believing that in-breeding makes for sterility, if indeed it be true in fact at all, there might well have been an *a priori* conviction to much the same effect based simply on a fear that to tamper with the fountain-head of human vitality would somehow cause it to dry up." The Khasi stands in the world as exogamous in his rule of life, and he says '*sang bad byrsieh*', that is, endogamy is forbidden and if it should ever be committed it will render life defiled and corrupt. He says this out of the fear of the knowledge that any act of carelessness in the prohibited area of the source of human life and vitality, which is in the Khasi phrase '*long briw*' (*long* is to be or become, *briew* is man, i.e., to be or become man), will make that source of human life to dry up. So he says, 'duh I jaid I khong' (*duh*=is exterminated; *jaid*= kind, species; *khong*=root).

156 829 582 [885]

In refutation of such aspersions as that the Khasi has no rules of marriage, I shall quote the most sacred pronouncement the Khasi when two persons, the man and the woman, are initiated into that state. Calling upon the name of God the Khasi says—"*U Lei thaw briew man briw, u' Lei ne ka 'Lei synshar'*, (God who creates man and is the source of human life, God who keeps, controls, preserves), "*Hei ko Blei na jrong, Ko*

582 585 [539]

Il: Chattopadhyay E-4, 5 (no date) 1941 AR7 Khasi AR7

removal of the bar on remarriage was also of the same kind elsewhere in the neighbouring States. Clearly, the idea of leviration or sororation is incompatible with this idea of the marriage bond continuing even after death and necessitating a ceremony to break it. It may also be noted that while the Khasis permit divorce somewhat easily, remarriage is not permitted of either party "within the family of the divorced husband or wife" (G). A Khasi cannot also marry two sisters, although he can marry irregularly, more than one woman and also the wife's sister after the decease of the wife. We can now discuss why a woman or a man refers to the brothers and sisters of the husband or wife by the kinship terms used by the spouse, qualified by a special term. When a man marries and goes to live in the house of his wife's mother, he comes in contact with unmarried sisters of the wife. But he knows that they are sexually to be avoided. He lives in the wife's mother's house only during the life time of his wife. A wife's sister is comparable to a Kur sister sexually, during this period.

But his economic relations and religious ties require that a distinction should be made between these "sisters" and the "Kur sisters." The qualifying term supplies this requirement. The woman, on the other hand, has no direct relations with her husband's brothers. She has however to keep in touch with the husband's female relatives. The bones of the husband go over to the mother's house and eventually to the clan ossuary. The husband is also a potential manager of the property of his female relatives. She has therefore to take note of the order in age of her husband's sisters. As her husband uses the terms for sisters for the sisters-in-law, it is quite natural for her to extend such usage to her husband's sisters. The brothers of the husband do not count at all so far as the woman is concerned, and she will not therefore have any special term for them. As the sisters are referred to as Para Kynsi and Hymmen Kynsi, so will the brothers of the husband be referred to by similar terms. The absence of any sexual privileges between the woman and her

14:Roy I-5 (no date) 1938 AR7 Khasi AR7

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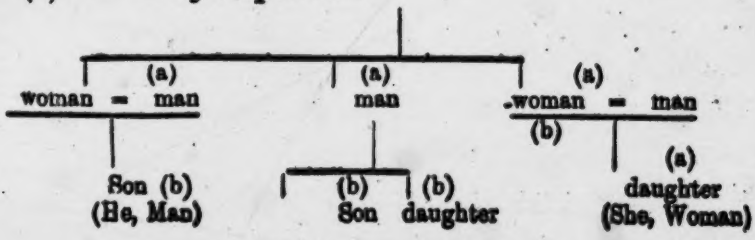

14: Roy I-5 (no date) 1938 AR7 Khasi AR7

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Then he finds only himself and his *bakha* (cousins, the children of his father's sister),—he being the son of a man born of one woman, and they the children of the sister of that person, born or whose 'statures' were generated from one man.

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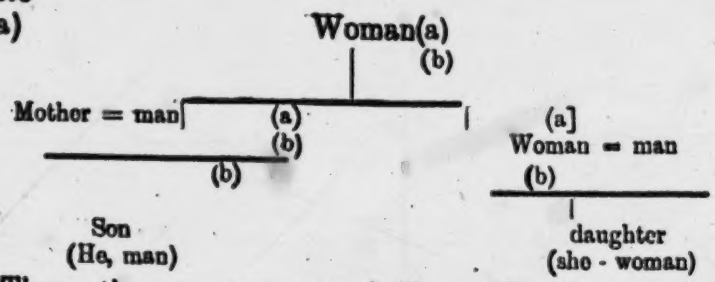

Thus the *a* woman and the *a* daughter and all those between these two and those after these two, join to the *a* woman in life through the two primary stages of life in its essence when it was sustained through the umbilical cord and later by the woman's breasts. [827]

So the *a* woman and the *b* son and all those between the two and those after these two,

iing from the time it consists of an elementary family until it grows to a local descent group four generations deep. [Cf. Chattopadhyay 1941.] **Kin terminology.** The terms of address given below are also terms of reference except where otherwise indicated, and are uniform for male and female speakers. They were collected in an upland Khasi village near Shillong (cf. Ehrenfels 1953 for some regional variants). 602 601 [114]

Fa	*pa*
Mo	*mei*
FaElBr	*pasan*
FaYoBr	*pakhynnah*
FaSi	*kha*
Fa youngest Si	*khaduh*
MoElSi	*meisan*
MoYoSi	*meinah*
Mo youngest Si	*meiduh*
MoElBr	*mama, kni*
MoYoBr	*bah* (ref.: *kni*)
ElBr	*bah khynnah*
Eldest Br	*kong bah*
YoBr	*bah deng*
Youngest Br	*bah duh*
ElSi	*deng*
Eldest Si	*lud, kong*
YoSi	*lud nah, lud rit*
Youngest Si	*khatduh*
MoSiSo, MoSiDa	*para* (ref.: *para ar kmie*)
FaBrSo, FaBrDa	*para* (ref.: *parakha*)
MoBrSo, MoBrDa, FaSiSo, FaSiDa	*bakha*

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY. **Mode.** According to the traditional courtship pattern, a group of young male relatives and friends made nightly visits to the house of some virgin girl in another village, appraising her through banter while she and her parents appraised them, and staying the night to avoid the dark walk home. Marriage was according to the wishes of the parents after negotiation by a go-between from the boy's side. Girls might be 15, and boys 17, years of age. Girls have now acquired freedom of movement through attending school, however. Premarital sexual play is common, and young people choose their own spouses when the girl is about 19 and the boy 21. The most common mode of marriage is elopement, for Christians and non-Christians alike, but some Christians marry in church, and some Khasis still marry according to the traditional ceremony or some variation on it. There are no preferred or prescribed marriage types, nor is there a bride price or dowry. **Form.** Monogamy is the ideal for all. **Extension of incest taboos.** Sibs are exogamous. Other prohibited marriage partners are real and classificatory FaSi and FaBr, FaBrCh, FaMo, and FaMoMo. The MoBrWi is also prohibited. Roy 584 582 562 178 836 584 583 585 184 583 581 835 [114]

says that the MoBrCh but not the FaSiCh is prohibited (1897: 2), but Gurdon says that the MoBrCh is eligible after the death of MoBr, and that FaSiCh is eligible after the death of Fa (1907: 78). Nowadays both types of marriage occur, whether the linking relative is living or dead. **Residence.** Residence is either duolocal or matrilocal under the roof of the wife's mother until the birth of one or two children. For a man married to a youngest daughter, it then continues to be matrilocal. For men married to other daughters, it becomes uxorilocal; there have also always been cases of virilocal residence, and it is now common to find neolocal residence in Shillong. For non-Christian Jaintias, it is duolocal throughout the marriage. **Domestic unit.** The domestic unit is the elementary family, though for a youngest daughter it may temporarily include also her aged mother, aged father, unmarried siblings, or divorced or widowed brothers. **Inheritance.** Traditionally, after the Khasi mother had helped each of her daughters to build and supply a house when each one married and had children, her only real obligation to help them economically was ended. Everything she possessed, excepting certain personalty that was destroyed in her cremation, was inherited by her youngest daughter. Failing daughters, a woman's property reverted to her next youngest sister's daughter. Today, this pattern is often modified by putting more property into the hands of older daughters and even sons. [Cf. Cantlie 1934; Becker 1924.] **Divorce.** A woman may effect numerous and usually brief separations from her husband by simply closing the door of her house to him, whereupon he returns to the house of his mother or youngest sister. Divorce, however, must be initiated by mutual consent. Divorce is very common, even though women resist it because they do not wish to lose a provider, and men because they do not wish to lose their children. Formerly it was accomplished by a simple ritual in the presence of witnesses, followed by public announcement by a town crier. Now, the witnesses and the public announcement have been dispensed with, and evidence for divorce consists only in the word of the parties concerned.

835 [114] [178] 591 592 428 [178] 586 586 178

SOCIOPOLITICAL ORGANIZATION. **Political organization.** The basic unit of political organization is the village, which is composed of one or more dominant local descent groups plus several others. Village government is by an assembly of all resident adult males, under the informal chairmanship of a headman elected by them from among their number. The membership of any immigrant household into a village is defined by the participation of the household's males in this assembly. Sustained membership in a village is voluntary. Khasi chiefdoms probably arose out of voluntary associations of villages, which occasionally transferred allegiance from one chief to another.

62 174 619

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

which I described previously, where a man brings his secondary wives to his first wife's house in which he is acting as the head. Furthermore, sororal polygyny is prohibited, while it was prefered among the Garo in terms of wives taken from the same *mahari*, though mostly not real sisters. The strong jealousy, which I observed, among the Khasi wives of a polygynist, would appear to make such polygynous marriages with closely related women practically impossible. As shown in List 6 & 9 every single one of the wives of each polygynist belongs to different *kur*, and the two secondary wives of the man of Kongton came from neighbouring villages. 591 595 [171]

These aspects of Khasi polygyny are related fundamentally to the underlying Khasi social structure. It should be remembered that every married woman has her independent household, *iing*, and that two women of different descent groups never reside together (see p. 127). The picture is one of every married woman holding a key-point in the whole network of the social system, and men fit into this network with much flexibility. The strong stability of women and the fluid nature of men in terms of residence naturally produces this form of polygyny. This analogy is also true of lovers' relations and illegal marriages. Though polygyny is a rapidly decreasing institution all over the Khasi Hills, cases of lovers' relations and illegal marriages are found to be very numerous among the Khasi, as compared with neighbouring tribes and peoples in Assam. 182 591 595 613 837 [171]

Throughout my discussions of various forms of Khasi marriage, I found men to be more or less in the position wittily described by one of them as "having one leg in my sister's house, the other in my wife's," except in cases of the husband/father who succeds in establishing paternal authority, as in marriages with a non-heiress. Even in the latter a man might have a period of uncertainty until his children were born and until the economic basis for his matrimonial life was firmly established. For the rest, Khasi men would be in the position of either becoming the authority of an *iing*, or swinging between their sister and their wife, which may produce more opportunities for lovers' relations. One of a man's legs is certainly always found in his sister's house, the other may rest in his wife's, but it may also rest in another woman's house. The wife being rather accustomed to his occasional absence due to his visits to his sister's house, another kind of absence does not mark any great change from the usual situation, at least not physically. Such situations occur particularly in the earlier stage of the marriage, as a sort of continuation of premarital affairs, which are quite freely practised: it is a usual custom before marriage for young men to sleep at a girl's house whom they like though they say sexual intercourse usually does not take place in such cases. This I observed in Sohkynduh and Kongton. 182 591 593 613 836 837

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

any man other than their husband. Women before marriage enjoy a considerable freedom in love affairs, but once married these are no longer tolerated. Women should be faithful wives. They should be so in order to keep their husbands who have a strong tendency to leave their wives. The husband of a woman who has an affair with another man, will never come back to her. There is no attraction to draw the husband, who has home at his sister's, to his wife's house unless she is good and charming. Such Gurdon's remarks as "There is no evidence to show that polyandry ever existed among the Khasis. Unlike the Tibetans, the Khasi women seem to have contented themselves always with one husband, at any rate with one at a time" (Gurdon, 1914, p. 77), is utterly nonsense: a Khasi woman is placed in a situation which is not easy to monopolize even one husband. Moreover, the Khasi social organization in general does not accord to the practice of polyandry.

182 562 593 182 562 581 593 836 182 562 595

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[P. 109 B]

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Eldest Br	*kong bah*
YoBr	*bah dong*
Youngest Br	*bah dah*
ElSi	*dong*
Eldest Si	*bad, kong*
YoSi	*bad sah, bad ra*
Youngest Si	*khadah*
MoSiSo, MoSiDa	*paru* (ref.: *paru* or *kmai*)
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15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

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20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

strip of fine silk for the loins, a part of which hangs gracefully as low as the calves in front. No notice is here taken of what has undoubtedly been added and borrowed from their more civilised neighbours in the plains. 291

'MARRIAGE.—The marriageable age for females is from 15 to 18; for males, from 18 to 24. Matrimonial alliances are contracted either through the parents or the living representatives of the families to which the parties belong. The mode of procedure is still very primitive and unceremonious. The bridegroom, escorted by a number of friends and relatives, goes to the house of the bride, where all are feasted and lodged for the night; on the morrow he leads the bride, accompanied by a number of her relatives, to his own house, and entertains the company with dishes of boiled rice and fresh pork. After remaining there a day or two, the newly-married couple return together to the house of the wife, which becomes their future home. Marriage is dissoluble by regular divorce, for any sufficient cause, and often without any assignable reason except mutual dislike or want of issue, the latter being the most common case of all. Marriage with the Khásifa is simply a conventional arrangement, with nothing further for its object than the procreation of children; failing that, it is no longer looked upon as a contract permanently binding. Divorce is effected in the presence of eye-witnesses—the parents, or the heads of clans. Five cowries (*kauri*) are produced by the parties and exchanged, then cast away by mutual consent, and the ceremony is over. Parties once divorced can never again contract marriage with each other, but they are at liberty to marry into other families. Polygamy, strictly so called, is not sanctioned by Khási custom. Adultery is looked upon as a serious crime. If the five cowries have not been cast away by mutual consent, both husband and wife are held to be subject to the "matrimonial demon;" and even when either dies in wedlock, the survivor is not at liberty to contract a fresh alliance until he or she pays the family a sum of money as the means of removing the surviving party from subjection to the "matrimonial demon." The husband is a stranger, so to speak, in the family he has entered, and perpetuates the race of others, not his own. The children in all questions of lineage and personal rights follow the mother. There are always two interests in the same family—that of the husband, and that of the wife. Whatever the husband may have earned or acquired in

58 591 586 [581] 587 595 837 587 593 611 593 428

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[587] 584 *Preliminaries.*—A young man of marriageable age, say between seventeen or eighteen years of age and twenty-five, fixes upon a girl of, say between thirteen and eighteen years, as likely to become a fitting partner; probably he has been acquainted with the young woman for some time before, and is on more or less easy terms of intimacy with her. He mentions the name of the girl to his parents, and uncles and aunts in the house, and they agree or disagree, as the case may be. Sometimes marriages are arranged by the parents of the young people themselves. Having agreed regarding the fitness of the bride, the young man's parents send a male representative of the family, or in some cases a man unconnected with the family, to arrange matters with the parents of the bride. The latter then ascertain their daughter's wishes. According to the late U Jeelan Roy, the daughters nearly always agree, it is very seldom that it is necessary to bring any pressure to bear. The parents then investigate whether there is any *sang*, or taboo, such as clan relationship, between the young woman and her intended, in the way of the marriage. If there is found to be no such hindrance, they fix a date for finally 787 arranging the marriage (*bau ia kut ktien.*) On the day appointed 585 the bride's family consult the auspices by breaking eggs and 842 examining fowls' entrails. If the omens are favourable, well 735 and good. Should they be unfavourable, they abandon the 761 marriage project. There is a strong prejudice against a marriage taking place under unfavourable auspices, the belief being that such an union will be childless, that the bride will 585 die an untimely death, or that poverty will ensue. Given favourable auspices, the parents fix a day for the marriage. It was formerly the custom for the bridegroom to provide himself beforehand with a ring, usually of silver, but, amongst the rich, of gold, which is called *ka synjat* (hence the name of the marriage ceremony *pynhiar-synjat*), and for the bride to provide herself with a similar ring. The bridegroom used to place his ring upon the bride's finger, and the bride used to place her ring upon the bridegroom's finger; it is however believed that this custom is rare nowadays. On the marriage day a man is selected from the party of the bridegroom called *u ksiang*, or go-between. The bridegroom then sets out with

776 is calling. He is, however, lame; but whoever
[753] answers the call or screams is lost, since he will be seized by the 'suid tynjang and tickled to death.

[763] If one wishes to protect oneself from a violent death, one must propitiate the demoness ka tyrut by sacrifice, because she is the original cause of this method of dying. The Khasi have a great respect for violent death as it increases the difficulties of the prescribed ceremonies of burial, even making them impossible, which would in turn deny the spirit of the departed one peace in eternity.

[775] They also live in fear of the devil u 'suid-lam-iap (the messenger of god, i.e., the executor of his commands). He leads the souls of people away into another kingdom. He is supposed to be horrible; of gigantic size, he walks around with long trailing hair seeking his victim. His teeth are as large as a ka wait (a hatchet or an axe).

●[842] [413] The women are especially afraid of a devil whom they call u 'suid-um (the water devil). He has the power of attacking women and causing sterility in them, and if they are pregnant causing a miscarriage.

776 The demoness ka khlam brings cholera and the
753 demoness ka tihar brings severe colic.

They believe that they get malaria through the influence of the demoness ka rih, while in the region of Theriaghat the fever is ascribed to the demoness ka duba.

Smallpox, which is otherwise feared everywhere, is considered by the Khasi to be evidence of the favor of the god u siem niang thylliew. If there is someone in one of the huts sick with smallpox, the sick person is not only not avoided, but even healthy children are brought there, so that they may receive the "kiss of the god," i.e., that they may also get smallpox.

21: Ehrenfels E-4,5 (1950) 1953 AR7 Khasi AR7

III. Explanations

1. General

124 Most of my informants were illiterate. The spelling of the terms was
128 checked and corrected by my English-speaking and writing Khasi- and
601 Pnár- friends, mentioned in para one, to whom thanks are being here once more expressed. All responsibility for spelling mistakes, however, which may have slipped into this list has of course to be borne by me.

Blanks (—) or question marks (?) in one of the columns do not necessarily mean that there is no word used, by the respective group, for the particular term. They more often indicate that my informants did not use, or know, the particular term, or that I failed to enquire about it in a
[114] manner sufficiently clear to my informants. This is particularly true of general terms, partly or fully corresponding to English general terms, such as parents or grand-parents, or the terms No. 9/*a* and *b*, 13, 15/*a*, 19-21, and 26, which were partly explained to me, by Khasi friends in Shillong, where I stayed some time after completion of field-work during the rainy season. Hence I could no more return for verification to the little accessible Wár-villages in the steep southern slopes. Although I am planning to utilise a future opportunity for such checking up, I am yet publishing the present results in the hope that they may thus become accessible to field-workers among other S. E.-Asiatic, and especially Austro-Asiatic speaking peoples.

193 All terms which are equal for both sexes (cf. Nos. 10, 11, 18, 19, etc.)
601 are used with *ka* and *u* respectively. These sexdetermining preposed articles,
128 as also the honorific *i* are specially mentioned in the list, only if this is essential for the understanding of the respective terms as in Nos. 3-5, 7, 8, or 10.

2. Special

601 Term No. 1 — to give birth or beget (*kha*) signifies also relatives on the paternal side as in *para kha* (paternal cousins No. 9/*c*), in contradistinction to *para kur*, 9/*b*, (lit.: cousins of the clan), i. e. maternal cousins, since the clan is a matrilineal unit. This usage of the word *kha* appears also
[842] significantly in the terms 15/*a*, 17, 18/*b*, 20, 22, 32 and, as an integral part of the Khasi kinship terminology, renders it highly improbable that the Khasi matrilineal system could lave originated in ignorance of the biological function of the father. It is a significant feature in the matrilineal social system.

The terms 3 to 3/*b* refer to unmarried but biologically marriageable youths.
[881] It will be noted that there are (and were in 1914) no indications of puberty-
[584] rites for either girls or boys. There is also no child-marriage among Khasi. The use of special terms for mature, unmarried youths is therefore significant.

Term 6 — *i* as honorific article, is at the same time indicative of
[428] diminution [23], which is remarkable for two reasons: (firstly) the diminution is used for the oldest and most respected family members, like the diminution

[23] NISSOR SINGH (1906), p. 84.

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have been born to him, his wife and children live with him. It 593
is he who faces the dangers of the jungles, and risks his life for 604
wife and children. In his wife's clan he occupies a very high place, he is second to none but *u kni*, the maternal uncle, while in his own family circle a father and husband is nearer to his children and his wife than *u kni*. The Khasi saying is, "*u kpa uba lah ban iai, u kni uba tang ha ka iap ka im*," which may be translated freely as, "the father bears the heat and burden of the day, the maternal uncle only comes when it is a question of life or death." The Khasi father is revered not only when living, but also after death as *U Thawlang*, and special ceremonies are performed to propitiate his shade. Further remarks on the subject of marriage will be found in the Section which deals with religion.

DIVORCE.

Divorce amongst the Khasis is common, and may occur for 586
a variety of reasons, such as adultery, barrenness, incompatibility of temperament, &c. The rule amongst the Khasis is that both parties must agree, but amongst the Wars, especially the people of Shella, the party who divorces the other without his or her consent must pay compensation, which is called *ka mynrain*, or *ka thnem*. Amongst the Khasis it is not the custom to enforce restitution of conjugal rights; as a rule, when husband and wife cannot live together amicably, they agree to divorce one another; but occasionally it happens that either the husband or the wife will not agree to a divorce. Usually the husband would be willing to live with his wife; but when the latter consents neither to live with her husband nor to accept a divorce, a difficult situation arises, and it is in the event of such a contingency happening that the necessity of assessing *ka mynrain*, or *ka thnem* (compensation), occurs. [587]
The latter is computed by the village elders. Parties who have been divorced cannot afterwards remarry one another, but they are at liberty to marry into other families. A woman cannot [843]
be divorced during pregnancy. The following description of the divorce ceremony is taken from U Jeebon Roy's note on the

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be placed in the family tomb. There are special taboos for certain clans, of which the following are some examples. The clan Nongtathiang cannot eat the lemon, the Khar-umnuid clan must abstain from pork, the Cherra Siem family cannot eat dried fish, and the Siem family of Mylliem taboo the pumpkin. Possibly these taboos may be relics of totemism amongst these communities. The following are some of the other taboos, although some of them are but lightly regarded now-a-days.

(i.) To build a house with stone walls on all four sides.
(ii.) To use nails in building a house.
(iii.) To use more than one kind of timber in building the hearth.
(iv.) To build a house with resinous timber. Only the Siem family can use such timber.
(v.) To cut trees from a sacred forest.
(vi.) To take or give anything with the left hand.
(vii.) To step over any one's body.
(viii.) To kill any animal or bird without first throwing rice over its body.
(ix.) To drink the milk of a cow or goat.
(x.) To talk with any one, except with one of a man's or woman's fellow-workers, when the thrashing of paddy is going on.

There are the following special taboos for pregnant women.

(*a*) To accompany a funeral procession.
(*b*) To finish any sewing she may have commenced before she became *enceinte*. There is a similar prohibition regarding the finishing of the plaiting of wicker baskets.
(*c*) It is *sang* for the husband of a pregnant woman to thatch the ridge of the house at such a time, or to fix a handle to an axe or a *dao*.

household deities, and measles and smallpox deities. 776
Deities of the first two categories are simply aspects 771
of the high God or Goddess. • The earth is peopled with two great orders of land demons and water demons who cause all undesirable, unnatural, and otherwise inexplicable events, acting either on their own or as instruments in the hands of sorcerers. Apart from omens, both in nature and in dreams, 787
Khasis attach supernatural significance also to mystic 822
numbers, and to the colors white, black, and red. They hold especially important folk beliefs regarding 824
betel nut, paddy rice, gold and silver, and clothing.
Practitioners. The two classes of religious practition- 791
ers are the village or state priests and the sacrificers. Both are male. They use the same divinatory tech- 793
niques of reading broken eggshells and the entrails 754
of cocks, and they both sacrifice cocks, hens, goats, pigs, and cattle. Their skills are not taught to them so much as picked up by observation and confirmed by demonstrations of efficacy. A priest is elected from among the men of his sib to direct his skills to the public good until he dies, and his rewards are institutionalized and come from the village or the state. A sacrificer acts for private persons or kin groups, on call, and is rewarded by them personally with gifts in cash or in kind. The sacrificer is called upon to explain and then to ritually remedy every variety of misfortune, especially illness, though his powers are nowadays regarded with ambivalence, and he is widely expected to become a sorcerer sooner or later. • There are two major types of sor- 754
cerer. One is the ritual specialist or sacrificer who secretly turns his skills from good to evil, manipulating demons to injure a person or kin group, and acting always for himself alone out of considerations of jealousy or revenge. The other is normally a leading citizen, a woman who is so wealthy and successful that it is believed that she must keep a *thlen*, i.e. a creature which will bring her prosperity as long as she feeds it periodically with human blood. To provide this blood, the men of her household, or other males whom she bewitches with a special whisky, will indiscriminately murder anyone except a mem- [184]
ber of her matrilineage. The Jaintias have an analogue to the *thlen* in their *taro*, except that the ultimate result is death from illness rather than murder. Minor witchcraft can be perpetrated by poison keepers or persons with an evil eye, who are often women. **Ceremonies.** The important traditional 843
ceremonies were the life-crisis rituals relating to 844
pregnancy and childbirth, the naming of a child, and 553
death. Lesser ceremonies related to marriage and 764
divorce, and to housebuilding. All these rituals were 585
addressed primarily to the ancestors, and they are 586
still performed in modified form by many Khasis. 342
Other rituals, which were performed by groups such 769
as villages, sibs, local descent groups, or households, 178
were addressed to the unnamed aspects of the high 782

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000 credited, owing, no doubt, to the advance of Christianity and education.

CEREMONIES AND CUSTOMS ATTENDING BIRTH AND NAMING OF CHILDREN.

844 The Khasi birth ceremonies and customs are as follows:—
[784] When a child is born the umbilical cord is cut by a sharp
782 splinter of bamboo; no knife can be used on this occasion. The Mundas of Chota Nagpur similarly taboo a metal instrument for this purpose. The child is then bathed in hot water from a red earthen pot. The placenta is carefully preserved in an earthen vessel in the house till after the naming ceremony has taken place. When the umbilical cord, after being tied, falls off, a puja is performed with eggs to certain water deities (*ka blei sam-nm* and *ka niangriang*),* also to a forest spirit
553 (*u'suid bri* or *u'suid khláw*). The naming ceremony of the child
386 is performed the next morning after the birth. Certain females are invited to come and pound rice in a mortar into flour. The flour when ready is placed on a bamboo winnower (*u prah*). Fermented rice is mixed with water and is placed in a gourd. Some powdered turmeric is also provided, and is kept ready in a plantain leaf, also five pieces of *'kha piah*, or dried fish. The earthen pot containing the placenta is then placed in the *nongpei*, or centre room of the house. If the child is a male, they place near him a bow and three arrows (the implements of a Khasi warrior); if a female, a *da* and *u star*, or cane
553 head-strap for carrying burdens. An elderly man, who knows
782 how to perform the naming puja, which is called by the Khasis "*kaba jer khun*," places a plantain-leaf on the floor and sprinkles some water on it. He takes the gourd in his hand and calls a god to witness. The people assembled then mention a number of names for the child, and ask the man who is performing the puja to repeat them. This he does, and at the same time pours a little liquor from the gourd on to the ground. As he goes on pouring, the liquor by degrees becomes exhausted, and finally only a few drops remain. The name at the repeat-

* A spirit which is supposed to have the power of causing a disease of the navel of a child.

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553 when they do this they invariably fall crossed to the ground. "They thus save their eggs, save time and trouble, get the
553 name they desire for the child. . . ." It is noteworthy that
● 844 the Khasis consider it necessary to preserve the placenta until the ceremony of naming the child is over, and that the pot containing the placenta is waved over the head of the child before it is removed and hung up in a tree.

844 Dr. Fraser, at page 53 *et seq.* of the "Golden Bough," when
171 dealing with the subject of sympathetic magic, refers to the navel string and the placenta as parts which are commonly believed amongst certain people to remain in sympathetic union with the body after the physical connection has been severed, and it is interesting to note that in the Babar Archipelago, between New Guinea and Celebes, the placenta is mixed with ashes and put in a small basket, which seven women, each of them armed with a sword, hang up on a tree of a peculiar kind (*citrus hystrix*). The women carry the swords for the purpose of frightening the evil spirits, otherwise the latter might get hold of the placenta and make the child sick. Mr. C. M. Pleyte, Lecturer on Indonesian Ethnology, at the Gymnasium William III. at Batavia, who has most courteously furnished me with some interesting information on this subject, states that it is especially in the Southern Moluccas that the placenta is mixed with ashes and hung in a tree. Wider spread is the custom of placing the after-birth on a small bamboo raft in a river "in order that it may be caught by crocodiles, incarnations of the ancestors, who will guard it till the person to whom it has belonged dies. Then the soul of the placenta is once more united with that of the dead man, and together they go to the realms of the dead. During lifetime the connection between men and their placentas is never withdrawn." The Khasis, although they cannot explain the meaning of the presence of the placenta at the naming ceremony, and the care with which they remove it and hang it up in a tree, are probably really actuated by the same sentiments as the inhabitants of the Southern Moluccas, i.e. they believe that there is, as Dr. Frazer puts it, a sympathetic union with the body after the physical
846 connection with the child has been severed. There is no fixed
784 period of *sang*, or taboo, after a birth, but the parents of the

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child are prohibited by custom from crossing a stream or washing their clothes until the navel-string falls off, for fear that the child should be attacked by the demons of the hills and the vales. 846 787

The Wár birth customs are substantially the same as those of the Khasis, but there is the difference that a Wár family after a birth is *sang*, or taboo, for seven days, whereas amongst the Khasis the only prohibition is that the parents must not cross a stream or wash their clothes until they have propitiated the spirits. A twin birth is *sang*, or taboo. The Khasis argue that as there is but one *Ka Iawbei* (first ancestress), and one *U Thawlang* (first ancestor), so one child, either male or female, should be born at a time. A twin birth is accordingly regarded as a visitation from God for some *sang*, or transgression, committed by some member of the clan. When the twins are of opposite sexes the *sang* is considered to be extremely serious, the Khasi idea being that defilement has taken place within the womb. The case is treated as one of *shong kur*, or marriage within the clan, and the bones of the twins cannot be placed in the sepulchre of the clan. 844 846 845 773 [766]

There are no special birth customs amongst the Lyngams. 844

There is no trace of the *couvade* amongst the Khasis. 846

MARRIAGE.

We now come to consider marriage amongst the Khasis from a religious point of view. Shadwell has said that marriage amongst the Khasis "is purely a civil contract." This statement is not correct, for there is an elaborate religious ceremony at which God the creator, *U'lei thaw briew man briew*, the god or goddess of the State, U or *ka'lei Synshar*, and, what is probably more important, the ancestress and ancestor of the clan, *Ka Iawbei-tymmen* and *U Thawlang*, are invoked. There are three marriage ceremonies prevalent amongst the Khasis, which are (*a*) *Pynhiarsynjat*, (*b*) *Lamdoh*, and (*c*) *Iadih-kiad*, respectively. The first and second forms above mentioned are considered the more respectable; the last-named is resorted to by the very poor who cannot afford the greater expense entailed by the first two ceremonies. 585 776

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764 wood are placed around the body, and the egg; "*u'leng kpoh,*" is broken, not over the stomach of the deceased, as has been sometimes supposed, but by being thrown on the pyre in the direction of the feet of the corpse. Fire is applied to the pyre, first by the *kur*, or members of the clan, and then by the children, if any, of the [782] deceased. Another fowl, "*u'iar padat,*" is sacrificed, its blood being smeared round the pyre three times, and across the corpse three times. The bier is then broken to pieces, the cloths having been removed from it previously. The eatables and the jaw-bones of the sacrificial animals are then placed at the head of the pyre. After the fowl (*u'iar padat*) has been sacrificed, the three arrows already mentioned are shot from the bow, one to the north, another to the south, and the third to the east. These arrows are called *ki 'nam tymperm.* It is, perhaps, significant that the [844] arrows which are shot at death correspond in numbers with [782] those which are used at the time of the birth ceremony. When the fire has blazed up, another goat, "*u'lang dholia,*" is sacrificed. In some cases all the clothes of the deceased are burnt with the body, in others the clothes are merely held over the fire and then taken away, after which they can be used (this is only in the case of poor persons). Before leaving the burning-place the relatives and friends of the deceased place betel-nuts on the pyre and bid farewell to the deceased, saying "*Khublei khie leit bam kwai sha iing u Blei ho*" (good-bye, go and eat betel-nut in 765 the house of god). When the body has been thoroughly burnt, 764 the fire is extinguished with water, and the uncalcined bones are collected by the relatives in three trips. The collectors are not allowed to turn back and pick up a bone which has been forgotten in any one of these trips. The bones thus collected are carefully wrapped in a piece of white cloth by the female relatives, and an old member of the family throws on the ground some powdered rice from a leaf, at the same time adjuring the spirit of the deceased not to trouble the *kur*, or the family, as the funeral ceremonies have been duly performed. The party then sets out to the [226] bone repository, or *mawshieng.* In front walks one who strews along the line of route leaves of the tree known by the Khasis as *dieng shit* (the berries of which are used for fishing with), and grains of rice, all the way from the pyre to the cairn.

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582 marry any one belonging to your own *kur*, or clan. Unlike the
614 Khasis, however, a Lynngam can marry two sisters at a time.
595 The Lynngam marriages are arranged by *ksiangs*, or go-betweens,
584 much in the same way as Khasi marriages; but the ritual
582 observed is less elaborate, and shows a mixture of Khasi and Garo customs (see Section III.). The Lynngams intermarry
583 with the Garos. It appears that sometimes the parents of girls exact bride-money, and marriages by capture have been heard of. Both of these customs are more characteristic of the Bodo
● 847 tribes of the plains than of the Khasis. There are no special birth
782 customs, as with the Khasis, except that when the umbilical cord
553 falls a fowl is sacrificed, and the child is brought outside the house. Children are named without any special ceremony.
764 The death customs of the Lynngams have been described in Section III. A peculiar characteristic is the keeping of the dead body in the house for days, sometimes even for several months, before it is burnt. The putrefying corpse inside the house seems to cause these people no inconvenience, for whilst it remains there, they eat, carry on their ordinary avocations, and sleep there, regardless of what would be
771 considered by others an intolerable nuisance. The religion of these people consists of a mixture of ancestor-worship and the propitiation of the spirits of fell and fall, which are, most of them, believed to be of evil influence, as is the case with other savage
776 races. As with the people of Nongstoin, the primaeval ancestress, "*ka Iaw bei*," is worshipped for the welfare of the
782 clan, a sow being sacrificed to her, with a gourd of rice-beer, and leaves of the oak, or *dieng-sning* tree. The leaves of the oak are afterwards hung up inside the house, together with the jaw-bone of the pig. Sacrifices are offered to a forest demon, *U Bangjang* (a god who brings illness), by the roadside; also to *Ka Miang Bylli U Majymma*, the god of cultivation, at seed time, on the path to the forest clearing where the seed is sown. Models of paddy store-houses, baskets and agricultural implements are made, sand being used to indicate the grain. These are placed by the roadside, the skulls of the sacrificial animals and the feathers of fowls being hung up on bamboos about the place
793 where the sacrifice has been performed. There are no priests or
796 *lyngdohs*, the fathers of the hamlet performing the various ceremonies.

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today, but await with patience the cause and the way! So much, is it not so! --

II. Religion in Various Aspects of Life.

553 1. Giving a Name (tap lubri tap kyrteng).

●244 By tap lubri tap kyrteng one means the 782 ceremony of the giving of a name to a child. In the section on sang I have already indicated the various taboos of a pregnant mother in regard to her husband.

At the birth of a child now, so the Khasi say, there are not as many ceremonies as at the death of a relative. For birth is anyhow in and of itself a feast of joy, since one is more joyful when a person enters life than when he departs from life.

[426] When a child is born, sacrifices are made on the next day (if it was born in the evening or in the night, on the following morning) and the ceremony of giving the name is performed. The sacrificer must be a relative of the child's. Among the Synteng, aunts of the child are called on by preference as executors of the sacrifice. The umbilical chord is cut off with a sharp-edged piece of bamboo and the child is bathed in warm water. The afterbirth (ka shynnai) is carefully kept in an earthern pot in the house (nongpei). Instruments are then placed at the child's side as symbols of later occupations, near a girl a knife (i wait) and a woven bamboo carrier (i star); but near a boy a bow (ka tyntieh) and three arrows (ki 'nam). The sacrificer fetches a little plate, on which he sprinkles rice meal and fills a gourd bottle (u klong) with rice brandy, which he previously mixes with water. He

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arranges all this on a bamboo swing (u prah) and then begins the sacrifice with the following words:

Te ha sngew ko blei trai kynrad ko thaw-bynriew ko buhbynriew te ba long ka jer ba long ka thoh ban neh ka nam ban neh ka kyrteng ban long u lubri ban long ka kyrteng wei la suk la sngewbha phi ka blei ban khot da kata ka kyrteng to kein ba un long tymmen un long san un sain la ka kur la ka jaid un bad la ka khein ka bishar ha kpoh la iing mo.

Te sngew sa ka jong me u thawlang babha bamiat te wei ym don ka sang ka kyndiah te la long kynthei la long shynrang te a un long rangbah man rangbah yn sah ka nam yn sah ka kyrteng mo!

And so hear, o god and lord, o creator and maker of men! for now the name-giving and the noting-down shall occur, so that the fame may last and the name be kept, after it has pleased thee, o goddess, to name with this name. Now may it (the child) live to an old age and become great and strong in his descendants and races, and may he keep and observe the commands and justice of his family.

And so hear thou also, o thou good and beautiful Thaulang, since now for once no taboo and no difficultty exist and little woman and little man are (and a child was born), so may he become big and become a strong man and may the fame remain and the name remain preserved. Is it no so!

Meanwhile the sacrificer slowly sprinkles the brandy on the rice meal so that a dough is made. Now one seeks for the name of the child.

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844 While he pronounces several names, he very slow-
782 ly pours the rice liquor out on the ground. The name, then, that coincides with the drop that takes the longest to free itself from the neck of the gourd bottle, is given the child. When the name is found by this method, the sacrificer makes a mark on each foot of the child with the dough mentioned above, thus giving him the name.

553 [427] But if somebody comes into the hut
844 by chance while the liquor is being poured out and says something, then a name formed from these words is given the child. Then the parents and relatives of the child must eat three times from this dough. When this is all over, the father takes the placenta, sprinkles rice meal on it and swings it three times over the head of the child. Thereupon he leaves the house and fastens the jar including the contents to a tree near the hut. Today this ceremony is seldom done exactly. Usually the father only goes in the yard and buries the placenta somewhere.

553 When the father returns, his feet are sprinkled with water ban khuid ban jhiah krat i khunlung, i.e. so that the child may stay healthy. A rice cake (u purew) which was prepared earlier is now eaten by everybody. Thereupon all the relatives sit down, the relatives of the wife on the left and the relatives of the husband on the right. A piece of the rice cake (purew) is dipped in water and the toes of all the guests are wiped with it. After the end of these ceremonies the utensils which were placed at the side of the child, the bow, the three arrows, the knife and the carrying straps, are taken away and carefully fastened to the inside of the roof of the hut.

553 that a Khasi told him, [428] that all kinds of nuisance and deceptions occur with this method of name giving since one likes to save time and trouble."

"The dried fish are held by each end and cut into two pieces. Finally one wipes the yellow root that has been mixed with water on the right foot of the father, the mother, and the child."

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844 The parents of a newborn child are not allowed to cross a river, nor may they wash their clothes as long as the umbilical cord is not healed, since otherwise the mountain or river devil would harm the child.

845 Twins are considered a punishment, which has been incurred by somebody in the sib for violating a taboo. If the twins are of different sex, their bones may not later be placed in the common family grave.

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611 custom prevails amongst the Syntengs. Inheritance to the post of Siem
428 (or chief) also passes through the female line, there being special customs of inheritance for each of the different chiefships.

3. The Khasis are divided into clans, or *kur*. These clans are
649 strictly exogamous. Some of these clans derive their names from animals, insects, trees or fish,—*e.g.*, the *thaw* clan, *thaw* meaning a crab; the *shriah* clan, *shriah* meaning a monkey; the *rusi* clan, so called from a fish by name *rusi*; the *diengdoh* clan, *diengdoh* meaning a certain tree. There are other instances also. In each instances, the clan is said to have sprung from the animal, fish, or tree, as the case may be. There thus appears to be a trace of totemism amongst the Khasis, although now-a-days their totems are not worshipped, nor do people abstain from killing, eating, or utilising them. A man when he marries does not cease to belong to the *kur* or family of his mother, but his children belong to the *kur* of the man's wife. Frequently the husband merely visits his wife at her mother's house. It is seldom the case that a man takes his wife to his own house, certainly not until several children have been born.

As might be expected, owing to the influence of the marriarchate,
562 Khasi and Syteng women enjoy a much greater share of liberty than is usually the case with the sex. Although not wishing to make any general insinuations, there can be no doubt that Khasi women enjoy considerable freedom in their sexual relations. Women do all the trading, and like their Manipuri sisters make all the bazar purchases.

4. *Ancestor worship.*—The Khasis propitiate *Ka Iawbei*, the first
767 maternal ancestress of the clan, by sacrificing a pig; they also sacrifice yearly to *U Suidnia* (the departed maternal great-uncle). Also when a family is in trouble, *U Thawlang* (the departed great-grandfather) is propitiated. Ancestors are further worshipped by the erection of memorial stones. These memorial stones will be noticed separately.

5. *Birth customs.*—At the birth the navel of a child must not be
744 severed by any instrument made of iron or steel, but by a sharp splinter of bamboo. The placenta is placed in a pot and is kept inside the house till the ceremony of naming the child takes place. As long as the placenta remains in the house, the latter is *sang*, or taboo, to anyone except the members of the family. On the day of the ceremony of naming the child, the father removes the placenta and buries it outside the house. Having done this, the feet of the father are washed with water before he re-enters the house. When the ceremony takes place, powdered rice is placed on a sieve (*u prah*) and a small bow and three arrows if the child is a male, and a *weit* (or *da*) and a star or (cane strap) (worn across the forehead when carrying a load by the Khasis), if the child is a female.

household deities, and massive and smallpox deities. 776
Deities of the first two categories are simply aspects 771
of the high God or Goddess. • The earth is peopled with two great orders of land demons and water demons who cause all undesirable, unnatural, and otherwise inexplicable events, acting either on their own or as instruments in the hands of sorcerers. Apart from omens, both in nature and in dreams, 787
Khasis attach supernatural significance also to mystic 822
numbers, and to the colors white, black, and red. They hold especially important folk beliefs regarding 824
betel nut, paddy rice, gold and silver, and clothing. **Practitioners.** The two classes of religious practitioners are the village or state priests and the sacrificers. 781
Both are male. They use the same divinatory tech- 783
niques of reading broken eggshells and the entrails 764
of cocks, and they both sacrifice cocks, hens, goats, pigs, and cattle. Their skills are not taught to them so much as picked up by observation and confirmed by demonstrations of efficacy. A priest is elected from someone who shows of his ability to discover his skills, to the public good until he dies, and his rewards are institutionalized and come from the village or the state. A sacrificer acts for private persons or his groups, on call, and is rewarded by them personally with gifts in cash or in kind. The sacrificer is called upon to explain and then to ritually remedy every variety of misfortune, especially illness, though his powers are nowadays regarded with ambivalence, and he is widely expected to become a sorcerer sooner or later. • There are two major types of sor- 754
cerer. One is the ritual specialist or sacrificer who secretly turns his skills from good to evil, manipulating demons to injure a person or his group, and acting always for himself alone out of considerations of jealousy or revenge. The other is normally a leading citizen, a woman who is so wealthy and successful that it is believed that she must keep a *thlaw*, i.e. a creature which will bring her prosperity as long as she feeds it periodically with human blood. To provide this blood, the men of her household, or other males whom she bewitches with a special whisky, will indiscriminately murder anyone except a mem- [184]
ber of her matrilineage. The Jaintias have an analogue to the *thlaw* in their *ram*, except that the ultimate result is death from illness rather than murder. Minor witchcraft can be perpetrated by poison keepers or persons with an evil eye, who are often women. **Ceremonies.** The important traditional 865
ceremonies were the life-crisis rituals relating to 866
pregnancy and childbirth, the naming of a child, and 753
death. Lesser ceremonies related to marriage and 744
divorce, and to housebuilding. All these rituals were 757
addressed primarily to the ancestors, and they are 778
still performed in modified form by many Khasis. 795
Other rituals, which were performed by groups such 797
as villages, *siks*, local descent groups, or households, 798
were addressed to the unnamed aspects of the high 782

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child are prohibited by custom from crossing a stream or washing their clothes until the navel-string falls off, for fear that the child should be attacked by the demons of the hills and the vales. 846 704

The Wár birth customs are substantially the same as those of the Khasis, but there is the difference that a Wár family after a birth is *sang*, or taboo, for seven days, whereas amongst the Khasis the only prohibition is that the parents must not cross a stream or wash their clothes until they have propitiated the spirits. A twin birth is *sang*, or taboo. The Khasis argue that as there is but one *Ka Iawbei* (first ancestress), and one *U Thawlang* (first ancestor), so one child, either male or female, should be born at a time. A twin birth is accordingly regarded as a visitation from God for some *sang*, or transgression, committed by some member of the clan. When the twins are of opposite sexes the *sang* is considered to be extremely serious, the Khasi idea being that defilement has taken place within the womb. The case is treated as one of *shong kur*, or marriage within the clan, and the bones of the twins cannot be placed in the sepulchre of the clan. 844 846 845 773 [766]

There are no special birth customs amongst the Lynngams. 844
There is no trace of the *couvade* amongst the Khasis. 846

MARRIAGE.

We now come to consider marriage amongst the Khasis from a religious point of view. Shadwell has said that marriage amongst the Khasis "is purely a civil contract." This statement is not correct, for there is an elaborate religious ceremony at which tied the creator, *U'lei thaw briew man briew*, the god or goddess of the State, *U or ka'lei Synshar*, and, what is probably more important, the ancestress and ancestor of the clan, *Ka Iawbei-lyoman* and *U Thawlang*, are invoked. There are three marriage ceremonies prevalent amongst the Khasis, which are (*a*) *Pynkiersyojat*, (*b*) *Lamdoh*, and (*c*) *Iadih-kiad*, respectively. The first and second forms above mentioned are considered the more respectable; the last-named is resorted to by the very poor who cannot afford the greater expense entailed by the first two ceremonies. 555 776

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553 when they do this they invariably fall crossed to the ground. "They thus save their eggs, save time and trouble, get the
553 name they desire for the child. . . ." It is noteworthy that
844 the Khasis consider it necessary to preserve the placenta until the ceremony of naming the child is over, and that the pot containing the placenta is waved over the head of the child before it is removed and hung up in a tree.

844 Dr. Fraser, at page 53 *et seq.* of the "Golden Bough," when dealing with the subject of sympathetic magic, refers to the
171 navel string and the placenta as parts which are commonly believed amongst certain people to remain in sympathetic union with the body after the physical connection has been severed, and it is interesting to note that in the Babar Archipelago, between New Guinea and Celebes, the placenta is mixed with ashes and put in a small basket, which seven women, each of them armed with a sword, hang up on a tree of a peculiar kind (*citrus hystrix*). The women carry the swords for the purpose of frightening the evil spirits, otherwise the latter might get hold of the placenta and make the child sick. Mr. C. M. Pleyte, Lecturer on Indonesian Ethnology, at the Gymnasium William III. at Batavia, who has most courteously furnished me with some interesting information on this subject, states that it is especially in the Southern Moluccas that the placenta is mixed with ashes and hung in a tree. Wider spread is the custom of placing the after-birth on a small bamboo raft in a river "in order that it may be caught by crocodiles, incarnations of the ancestors, who will guard it till the person to whom it has belonged dies. Then the soul of the placenta is once more united with that of the dead man, and together they go to the realms of the dead. During lifetime the connection between men and their placentas is never withdrawn." The Khasis, although they cannot explain the meaning of the presence of the placenta at the naming ceremony, and the care with which they remove it and hang it up in a tree, are probably really actuated by the same sentiments as the inhabitants of the Southern Moluccas, i.e. they believe that there is, as Dr. Frazer puts it, a sympathetic union with the body after the physical
• 846 connection with the child has been severed. There is no fixed
784 period of *sang*, or taboo, after a birth, but the parents of the

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There are no special birth customs amongst the Lynngams.

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child is a female. Up to the present time I have not discovered any trace of the *couvade.* 000 [546]

6. *Marriage ceremony.*—Marriage is a purely civil contract. The most prominent features of the Khasi marriage are the following:— [581] 585

(*a*) The *pynhiar synjat*, or betrothal.

(*b*) The pouring out of libations of liquor to *Ka Iawbei* (the first maternal ancestress).

(*c*) The eating by bride and bridegroom out of the same plate.

(*d*) The mixing of liquor by the *ksiangs*, or go-betweens.

(*e*) The taking of the bride to the house of mother of the bridegroom, where a ring is placed on her finger by her mother-in-law.

7. *Divorce* can be easily obtained amongst the Khasis. Adultery, want of issue, and incompatibility of temper, are some of the more frequent causes. The usual ceremony of divorce is as follows:—The husband hands the wife five cowries, or pice. The wife hands these back to the husband, with five of her own. The man then either throws them away or hands them over to some village elder, who throws them away. Divorce is then complete. 586

8. *Death, ceremonies.*—The corpse is bathed and laid on its back. A fowl's egg (*ka'lengkypoh*) is then placed on the navel. A cock (*ka' iarkrad lynti*=the fowl that scratches the way) is sacrificed. The limbs of the fowl and its feathers are placed in a bamboo basket, which is hung up near the head of the corpse. Rich people sacrifice a cow also, called *ka masi pynsum.* When a cow is sacrificed it is shot through the heart with an arrow. From the time of bathing the body till it is burned, offerings are offered daily; these offerings are called *ai ja miet ja step.* It is the custom amongst some to place the corpse in a long narrow box or coffin, which has been hollowed out of the trunk of a tree; this is called *ka shyngoid.* When this procedure is adopted, a small pig, which is killed by a spear (*u narsuh*) is sacrificed. This sacrifice takes place during the night. A goat (*U lang sait ksuid*=a goat to wash the devil)—which is believed to be a scapegoat to bear the sins of the deceased—is sacrificed. The corpse is then taken outside and placed on a bamboo bier (*ka krong*). When the *shyngoid* is used it is placed inside the bier. Some rice is scattered on the ground, and water is poured from a *lhota.* On arrival at the burning-place, the bier, with the corpse in it, is placed on the pyre, or *jingthang.* The egg placed on the navel is then broken on a plank and a fowl (*Ka iar padat*) is sacrificed. Two arrows are shot, one to the east and another to the west (this is a Khasi custom only); the arrows are intended for the protection of the spirit on its way to another world. Fire is then applied to the pyre. 764

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

182 Because of the firm right of women over the residence, Khasi poly-
595 gyny can never be a clearly distinguishable institution, and has no operational advantage in the social and economic fields; the situation is very similar with lovers' relations and illegal marriages. By polygyny the man achieves no additional economic advantage, nor does he increase his social status or prestige; rather the reverse, for I observed that the polygynyst was regarded as a somewhat ludicrous or tragic figure. As for the woman, she is placed slightly at a disadvantage since the husband's economic activities are not concentrated on her household. However, even many legally-married wives are separated or divorced, so that such disadvantages are not only experienced by the wives of polygynists. The social disadvantage of being secondary wife is not serious, firstly, because wives, whether first or secondary, have social and economic independence—they do not belong to the husband as in the case of patrilineal systems. Secondly, the significance attached to the legal marriage institution is not so great, so that the handicap of being the secondary wife is not severe. What is most important, furthermore, is that her slightly inferior status does in no ways affect the next generation. Indeed such children, including
[848] those of premarital or illegal relations, suffer no serious social dis-
[851] advantage, though they are nominally distinguishable from legitimate children. From this it is clear that the effectiveness of legitimate marriage, and paternal recognition are rather limited among the Khasi.

Thus, Khasi polygyny differs greatly from the polygyny of other societies in terms of its operation and of its form. It also differs in the incentive to its practice. Among the Garo and many other societies, the practice of polygyny usually depends on a man's economic capability, but among the Khasi, it appears rather to depend on his
182 whim. Khasi husbands are notorious for their heavy drinking and
593 neglect of wife and children. Some of them told me that their earnings, their children and everything they acquired go to their wife or sister,
733 leaving them with nothing; therefore they should at least have freedom to enjoy their life. This freedom seemed to mean women and drink. I am not sure how far this explanation is true, but it seems to justify their behaviour to a certain extent. I do not mean that this is the general characteristic of the Khasi husbands, but some such tendency is to be observed. Actually I often heard wives complain of their husbands' drinking and running after women, and was asked "Are your Japanese husbands also like that?", "What is the good of having a husband!" then comes divorce . . .

182 On the contrary, women placed at an advantage by residence
562 and matrilineal inheritance, are required always to be on their best behaviour. There are very strict rules governing the behaviour of
593 Khasi women. They are supposed not to drink, smoke, or play with

14:Roy I-5 (no date) 1938 AR7 Khasi AR7

581 [773] *Hynniew Trep Hynniew Sknm* (the seven nests, seven roots). These seven nests or roots were seven pairs of virgin women and men created by God to marry and they formed seven houses (families) and from them the country was filled and the rites and ceremonies were obtained. Thus the Khasi takes pride in the fact that God Himself delivered their religion and the rites and ceremonies unto them. ... The Khasi matrilineal system has come down through ages and with a definite idea of the union of one man with one woman. This is significant for those who consider that marriage is and has always been common to the whole human race, and it raises the question as to whether the Khasi idea is the survival of a period when the nature of paternity was not understood".

[851] [603] [553] In the sacred rites of baptism of this simple folk we find that a Khasi grandmother will not officiate in the name-giving ceremony unless in the marriage of her son with the woman to whom the child is born there has been the regular ceremony of marriage.

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

178 no polygynists, though there were many personal temporary illicit
184 relations or love affairs.

It is true that even in interior villages polygyny is rapidly decreas-
595 ing. In the two villages I found only two cases of polygyny: a man with two wives in Sohkynduh (Josio in List 6, whose wives are 26 and 32), and a man with three wives in Kongton (Jubongrai in List 9, whose wives are 8, 20 and 52). These cases appeared clearly as cases of polygyny which the villagers recognized as such, speaking of them quite differently from the way they would have spoken of lovers, calling them wives and husbands. Of course, the first wife socially outranks the secondary wives, as *ka tynga trai*, and the term *ka tynga tuh* is used for the latter, as Gurdon states (1914, p. 80). The difference being that the first wife has a legal marriage ceremony while the
585 others have not—*ka tynga tuh* means literally 'stolen wife.' About the marriage ceremony, Gurdon gives a detailed discription (*ibid.*,
595 pp. 127-130) and says there are three forms of marriage ceremonies, *Pynhiarsynjat*, *Lamdoh* and *Iadih-hiad*. The first and second forms are considered the more respectable; the last one is resorted to by the very poor who cannot afford the greater expense entailed by the first two. Unfortunately, during my stay in these villages, no marriage ceremony took place, but villagers described to me what seems to be the *Iadih-hiad*, where only a fowl is sacrified, and the whole procedure is much simpler than that described by Gurdon. However, whatever the complexity and richness may be, there is a distinct line between having a ceremony and not having it, and this draws the distinction between the status of the first wife and that of the secondary wives.

428 Nevertheless, this distinction has more of a social bearing than the
595 legal bearing it has in a patrilineal system. Since they follow the matrilineal system, the legal distinction between the first wife and
• 851 the secondary wife does not affect their children's status and their property rights, at least not in the villages where I worked. The children's social locus is determined by their mother. The children (particularly the youngest daughter) have the right to inherit their father's acquired property which is automatically under their mother's ownership. If the polygynist father has acquired property by working their mother's field, or in trading on behalf of their mother, whether she be the first wife or the second, this property undoubtedly belongs to the children of that wife, not to the first wife alone. The father's physical locus at the time of his economic realisations is the decisive factor.

591 The Khasi polygynist, without bringing his wives into one house-
595 hold, alternates his residence among them, in turn or according to his temper. This practice is similar to that of the Trukese described by Goodenough (1951, p. 123), and quite different from that of the Garo

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

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sense. For at his entrance into life and at 411
his departure from it both are used in the 778
religious ceremonies. If a boy is born, a
bow and three arrows are placed beside him at [851]
the name giving, (35) After various ceremonies,

35. P.F. Stegmiller, "Aus dem religiösen Leben der Khasi" [The Religious Life of the Khasi], Anthropos, 1921-1922, pp. 425 ff.

which cannot be described here, the sacrificer shows the boy the bow and three arrows, and calls upon him to become a good shooter. At the end of all the ceremonies the bow and the arrows are carefully attached to the inside of the straw roof of the hut.

It should be mentioned that at a Khasi 411
cremation (36) a bow and three arrows are also 764

36. P.F. Stegmiller, loc. cit., p. 430 ff.

used. They are kept in readiness with the other ceremonial objects of the dead, while the corpse is being shown for the last time to the participants in the funeral. As soon as the fire flames up on the funeral pyre, three arrows are also shot off: one towards the north, one towards the south, and the third towards the east. The Khasi call these arrows 'nam-tympem.

I. Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

It will be seen that in the three years following the earthquake of 1897 the exports fell very low indeed. Since 1901 the trade has been steadily recovering, and the exports of 1904 reached half a lakh of maunds.

It will be observed that there has been some improvement, but the exports are still not half what they were in 1881-82. There are two kinds of sweet potatoes grown in the district, the Garo potato (*u phan Karo*), which appears to have been introduced from the Garo Hills, and *u phan saulia*, the latter being distinguished from the Garo potato by its having a red skin, the Garo potato possessing a white skin. These kinds of potato are planted on all classes of land except *kali*, they do best on jhumed and homestead lands. The yam proper (*u phan shyerah*) is also largely grown. The small plant with an edible root called by the Khasis *u solphang* (*Stromlingia ovatilis Benth.*), is also largely grown. The roots of the plant after being peeled are eaten raw by the Khasis. As far as we know, this esculent is not cultivated in the adjoining hill districts. Job's tears (*coix lachryma-Jobi*)* are extensively grown, and are planted frequently with the *solphlong* mentioned above. This cereal forms a substitute for rice amongst the poorer cultivators. Maize or Indian corn (*u riew hadem*) is grown frequently, thriving best on homestead land, and requires heavy manuring; it is grown in rotation with potatoes. Next in importance to rice comes the millet (*u kwai*), as a staple of food amongst the Khasis. There are three varieties of millets generally to be seen in the Khasi Hills:—*u 'wai-ash* (*setaria Italica*), *u 'wai-shaw* (Paspalum sanguinale), and *u 'wai-trah* (Eleusine coracana). *U 'wai-shaw* is cultivated in rotation with the potato, *u 'wai-ash* and *u 'wai-trah* are generally cultivated on jhumed land, where they thrive well. Millet is sometimes used instead of rice in the manufacture of spirit by the Khasis; *u rymbai-ja* (*phaseolus calcaratus*), and *u ryngkai khang* (*glycine soja*) are beans which are cultivated occasionally. Khasis highly prize the fruit of the plantain, which they give to infants mashed up. The following are the best known varieties:—*K'a kait khán, ka kait siew, ka kait kallwit, ka kait hemaw, ka kait shyieng.*

* Khasi *u sah-riew*.

29: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1997 AR? Khasi AR?

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of parents undergoing considerable privations rather than deny their children education; and in many families it has become a matter of ordinary routine to send the children to school. This only refers to the younger children; for after boys have attained their fourteenth or fifteenth year, their parents grow impatient for their pecuniary assistance. It is the custom among the Khasis to learn very young children to work, so that they may earn enough to support themselves as soon as ever they can manage strap and basket. It is common for a boy to realize from ten *pice* to five *annas* a day for his parents; and it is considered sufficient sacrifice for the latter to have kept him at school up to his fourteenth year.'

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KHASI STATES.—The following is a list of the nineteen semi-independent Khasi States or Democracies, with the particulars of information that are available for each, taken from the Assam Administration Report for 1875-76:—

(1) BHOWAL or WAHAL.—Name of Siem, U Suman Singh, age in 1876, 16 years; approximate population of State, 360; estimated gross revenue—from market dues, Rs. 10; from *mikhilod* on lime quarry, Rs. 16,000—total, Rs. 16,010, or £1,600; products, rice, millet, *cupit* or bay leaves, black pepper, Piper nigrum; minerals, lime.

(2) CHERRA or SOHRA.—Siem, U Hijan Mihsh, aged 40; population, 8,600; revenue—from market dues, Rs. 7000; judicial fines, Rs. 150; *mikhilod* on lime quarry, Rs. 100; *mawlaibit* holding in Sylhet, Rs. 1,500—total, Rs. 8650, or £865; products, cotton, millet, betel-nuts, *pán*, oranges, black pepper, Piper nigrum, chillies, turmeric, ginger, and honey; manufactures, bamboo mats and bamboo baskets; minerals, lime, iron, and coal.

(3) SWEER.—Wheddikhin, U Jindi, aged 19, and U Ali Singh, aged 35, of whom the former can read and write both Khasi and Bengali a little; population, 3300; revenue—from market dues, Rs. 300; judicial fines, Rs. 400—total, Rs. 700, or £70; products, oranges, betel-nuts, and pine-apples; manufactures, bamboo mats and bamboo baskets; minerals, lime and coal.

(4) KYRIAM or NONGKREM.—Siem, U Khar Singh, aged 30; population, 10,000; revenue—from pension allowed by the British Government, Rs. 1800; market dues, Rs. 3000; judicial fines, Rs. 400; *mikhilod* on lime quarry, Rs. 1500; contributions for State purposes, Rs. 1000—total, Rs. 10,700, or £1070; products, rice, cotton, millet, 'job's tears,' cucumbers, cinnamon, adjoining

13:Mukherjee E-5 (1954)1958 ART Khasi ART

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cessation of transaction of money (*khinabai*) during the period, compulsory social participation in marriage, household worship, and funeral ritual, and the pride for the privilege in succession to *siem-ship* (chieftain ship) hold together the inner structure of the society in fulfilling its function.

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Family (*Ka-iing*)—The functions of family centre round the :

1. performance of basic religious rites,
2. management and inheritance of family property,
3. maintenance of social relations with the kin of *ka-k'jak* and *ka-bar*,
4. protection of familial kin.

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From the above discussions it may be inferred that the social groupings of the Khasis function in different dimensions and make the individuals aware of their duties, and obligations towards each other. In the process of socialisation and enculturation of the individual they learn that the individuals, the different social groups and the community at large are inseparable.

Even from infancy a boy is infused with the idea that family comes first in regard, sub-clan second, and clan third. The kin of the family are primary relatives, and those of the sub-clan and the clan are secondary and tertiary respectively. One bow and three arrows given by a father to his son in his naming ceremony (*jerkhas*) symbolise their relationships with the three social groups. With the first arrow man has to fight for *shi-iing* (members of the same family) and *shi-k'jak* (members of the same sub-clan), with the second for his *shi-bar* and with the third for the state.

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15: Nakane K-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

6. The Bhoi — occupy the northern slopes of the Khasi Hills, covered with thick semi-tropical forests; they practise jhum cultivation. 619

9. The Lyngam — inhabit the western border of the Khasi Hills, near the Garo Hills. They are said to be half-Khasi and half-Garo. Their economy is similar to that of the Bhoi.

These ecological and geographical differences correspond also to 175
political-historical differences. From the 16th century to 1835, eve 648
of the annexation of the Jaintia Hills to the Khasi Hills under the British administration, the people of the Jaintia Hills formed part of the Hindu Jaintia kingdom, whose capital was Jaintiapur, on the border of the present East Pakistan and of the Jaintia Hills. The capital, at one time, was moved to Nartiang near Jowai in the heart of the Jaintia Hills. The Jaintia Hills were administered by twelve governors. Such a highly developed economic system as based on wet rice cultivation, must have helped a great deal in forming a kingdom adjoining the plain. Through the common economy and political organization with the Hindus of the plain, the Hindu civilization of the Bengal plain penetrated deeply among the Jaintias, who are matrilineal hill dwellers.

On the other hand, the Khasi Hills have remained outside the histories of either Assam or Bengal. They were governed by a number of petty native chiefs: there were twenty-five chiefs ruling the Khasi Hills when the British colonial administration was established there. Most of these chiefs belonged to the Siem clan. The history of the Khasi Hills had been shrouded in darkness till the beginning of the 19th century, except for fragmentary stories such as Khasi raids on the Syllet people.

The development of the upland Khasi Hills started with the estab- 179
lishment of its headquarters at Shillong in 1874. Since then the 648
features of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills have changed a great deal. 797
What was once a small Khasi hamlet, untouched by the light of history, has become nowadays a busy modern town where many Khasi intellectuals live, mixing with various outsiders who are engaged in official work or in business. The British administration opened the way to missionary activities, especially that of the Welsh Calvinist Methodists who set up a mission in the Hills in 1841, almost at the same time as British political influence began to make itself felt in the Khasi Hills. Along with the political penetration from Cherrapunjee (1833) to Shillong, missionaries established many institutions, including churches, schools and hospitals, etc. Christian education, bringing with it the promise of clerical positions, attracted young Khasi a great deal; and the majority of the upland Khasi have been converted to Christianity. They have become the modern intellectuals of their people. [871 949]

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7.

Shella

Confederacy forms a more marked endogamous community, through being cut off geographically and economically from the rest of the Khasi, and socially from the neighbouring Hindu people. 621

The Economy and the People.

Shella lies along the upper part of the Shella River and stretches upwards 131
along the steep slope, looking down towards the Bengal plain. The climate
of this part of the hills is considered to be one of the worst in tropical India 132
for human habitation. The Bengal plain, though warmer than this area, is
considered more healthy. This border land is the zone of malaria, typhoid, 164
black fever, cholera, etc. None of the Bengalee peasants dare to live in such
an area. However, it is the most fertile for products such as betel-nuts, pan- 433
leaves, oranges, bananas and pineapples, and it also produces limestone. These
people seem to prefer to settle in this zone and to enjoy its prosperity, at the
expense of human lives: every year, especially between March and September, 164
the inhabitants suffer from various fevers and dysentry and other diseases, many
of the weaker facing death.

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Before the Partition of India and Pakistan, the products of Shella were 177
carried down the Shella River to Sylhet, one of the biggest centres in East 178
Bengal, which brought unimaginable wealth to the Shella people. Their houses
were built by carpenters from Sylhet. The style and structure of these houses 434
were exceptionally elaborate for the Khasi. They purchased vast rice fields
on the plain, which used to be cultivated by Bengalee and Garo labourers 439
engaged by them. These Khasi do not themselves know how to cultivate 342
rice fields; they have always been managers or landowners. Their boys used 166
to be sent to high schools and colleges in Sylhet. As a result of their trading 464
with the Bengalee, many of them read and speak fluent Bengalee. There is 874
no difference between their style of clothing and that of the Bengalee, though 191
the women maintain their traditional dress in the Shella style. 241

They have thus been distinguished from the rest of the Khasi not only
geographically, but also economically and culturally. Their personality also
differs sharply from the rest of the Khasi. They are very sociable, and quick, 157
a quality lacking among the Khasi of Sohbyndah and Kongton. They are
clever enough to deal with strangers. The upland Khasi say Shella people 184
are very cunning. This remark shows one side of these people. They had to 648
be cunning, since they traded with the Sylhet Bengalee who were said to be the
most cunning of their race. Their role in the trade and in the history of the 177
modernization of the Hills was considerable. For centuries they represented
intellectual Khasi owing to their contact with Hindu civilization, while the 178
Hills remained in darkness. They assumed an important role when the British
established an administration in the Hills, and even up to now, many leading 439
Khasi originated from this area: for instance, Lalit Roy, the first interpreter
of the British Headquarters at Cherrapunjee; Jadoon Roy, who was the first
Magistrate among the Khasi; Mohan Sing, a lawyer and Member of the Legis-
lative Assembly (the grandson of Jadoon Roy); Nicholas Roy, Minister of Health
and Finance of the Assam Government, Member of the Legislative Assembly,
and Missionary of the Church of God; R. B. Thomas (brother of Nicholas Roy),
Principal of the Gauhati University, etc.

Through constant cultural contact with Hindu, and encouraged by their 177
economic prosperity, the Shella Khasi, like the Jaintias, have been much 648
influenced by Hindu culture. However, this does not mean that the people 771
of Shella adopted the Hindu beliefs. Though there is a small Hindu shrine, 795
and some ceremonial elements were borrowed from the Hindu, most of the

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

178 like the Zemi-Naga, the Cacharee and the Kuki. But after the period of
563 economic prosperity as I shall describe in the next section, the Jatinga people
621 reached a rather high level of education, while most of the neighbouring tribes
[871] remained illiterate. Their standard of living likewise improved. Fashionable girls of Jatinga who have studied at the Convent school in Shillong, and speak English and Hindi, cannot marry half-naked tribesmen who work in the jungle. They prefer to intermarry with Moslem, Panjabee or Assamese who belong to amore sophisticated community, and through whom they can enjoy urban life. Thus the orientation of the intermarriage of the people of Jatinga has changed, along with the growth of Jatinga.

It should be noted that intermarriages came mostly through the contacts at Haflong, where people used to go once a week for the bazaar, rather than through direct contacts with neighbouring villages.

Economy of Jatinga and its Relation to Neighbouring Tribes.

178 It is very interesting to find two different kinds of economy in the same
171 ecological background: Jatinga Khasi practise pan-leaf and orange cultivation
245 and depend mainly on a trading economy, while the other neighbouring tribal peoples practise jhum cultivation, almost a subsistence economy. This situation has remained unchanged for the last fifty years since the establishment of Jatinga village.

101 The first Jatinga immigrants occupied one ridge of the mountain where the
245 present Jatinga is situated. Formerly, this land belonged to the Zemi-Naga, one of the old inhabitants of the Cachar Hills, who possessed a vast jungle area for jhum cultivation. It seems that there was no objection to the Khasi occupying this small spot: it was apparently too small an area for the jhum cultivator —pan-leaf cultivation of the Khasi requires less than one twentieth of the land of the usual jhum cultivation. The Khasi who started pan-leaf cultivation were able to accumulate some capital, and after several years they started orange gardens. They had had experience of orange cultivation in their homeland, but this was the first time they had operated commercially.

245 The success of this orange cultivation was beyond their dreams. Hearing
434 of good oranges at Jatinga, many Bengalee merchants from Dacca, Sylhet,
439 Silchar and Gauhati began to come to buy them. Moreover, the village had the great advantage of being situated near the railway station. Oranges were sold by carloads. Unimaginable wealth came to the Jatinga people. Especi-
[496] ally the founder's family, including his brother's and sister's, became extraor-
[871] dinarily wealthy: their income used to be Rs. 20,000 a year. The children were sent to the school which was established in the village and some were educated at colleges in Dacca, Sylhet and Shillong. The villagers had
[362] beautiful houses built by Manipuri and Bengalee carpenters. Actually the houses of Jatinga were known as some of the best construction in Assam.

Like the Shella people, they were managers of gardens and employed workers.
245 Wealthy households used to engage several labourers annually, most of them
46 from Jaintia where the Jatinga people had originated. These workers were provided with shelter in the servant quarters of their employer's house, but they had to provide meals for themselves. They were paid daily according to the work done. They were available to other households, when their employer had no work. Some labourers were also engaged locally among the Zemi-Naga, the Cacharee and the Kuki, though not as many as among the Jaintia.
245 These local tribes were fairly well occupied by their jhum cultivation, and not
464 used to being employed as workers. Therefore, most of them were not regular

or timber or stone wall with plenty of doors and windows. Houses of most of the border villages were well constructed after approved fashion, but are now in tottering condition for want of proper repair and maintenance. 342

4.6 **Educational facilities.**—The following table shows the extent of educational facilities enjoyed by the villages under enquiry. 871

TABLE B-4

Nearest school within a radius of (in miles)	No of villages having the nearest school				
	L. P.	M. E.	H. E.	Basic	Vocational school
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
0	19	0	0	2	0
2	3	1	0	3	0
3	4	0	0	7	0
(4)	5	11	5	3	0
(5)	0	0	3	9	0
more than (5)	0	0	22	0	0

The above table reveals that out of a total of 33 villages, 19 villages have got a Lower Primary school located within the village, 3 have got within a radius of 2 miles and 4 within a radius of 3 miles. Out of the 33 villages under general survey schools at random from the district, only 4 villages have got a Lower Primary school within the village, and 3 villages within 2 miles of the village. In respect of secondary education the position is far from being satisfactory as the above table will reveal.

The number of pupils on the roll of the 21 Lower Primary and Basic schools located in the 33 villages was 1,128. Thus the average number of pupils on roll per village was 34 while the average number of families per village was 82. The poverty of the villages is the main reason for this low enrolment. Many parents would rather like their children to do domestic work or send them to the fields than to allow them to indulge in the luxurious enterprise of going to school.

6.7 **Communications facilities.**—As there are no railways, roads or navigable rivers within the villages, the only communication facilities available to the people of the district is by road. Some of these roads are adequately metalled roads where bus factory can ply throughout the year. 441

3.4 Literacy and Education

TABLE C-4

Distribution of Population by Standard of Education

	Border area			Project area			General area		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
(1)		(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
1. Illiterate	1,[illegible] (50.[illegible])	1,375 (77.2)	[illegible] (7.5[illegible])	936 (66.0[illegible])	1,121 (72.4[illegible])	2,057 (69.3[illegible])	375 (50.4[illegible])	328 (95.9[illegible])	703 (73.9[illegible])
2. Primary or below ..	372 (20.7[illegible])	453 (2.4[illegible])	1,[illegible] ([illegible])	388 (27.3[illegible])	318 (20.5[illegible])	706 (23.8[illegible])	84 (10.8[illegible])	63 (14.6[illegible])	147 (16.3[illegible])
3. Middle English	62 (4.8[illegible])	9 (0.5[illegible])	[illegible] (3.0[illegible])	66 (4.6[illegible])	41 (2.6[illegible])	107 (3.6[illegible])	6 (1.2[illegible])	1 (0.2[illegible])	7 (0.7[illegible])
4. Matriculate	65 (3.6[illegible])	6 (0.3[illegible])	71 (1.9[illegible])	74 (1.4[illegible])	8 (0.5[illegible])	82 (1.0[illegible])	—	—	—
5. Intermediate	(0.06[illegible])	1 (0.0[illegible])	2 (0.0[illegible])	(0.1[illegible])	—	3 (0.0[illegible])	—	—	—
6. Graduate and above ..	(0.0[illegible])	—	—	—	—	(0.0[illegible])	—	—	—
Total ..	1,7[illegible] (100.00)	1,[illegible] (100.00)	3,[illegible] (100.00)	1,[illegible] (100.00)	1,[illegible] (100.00)	2,[illegible] (100.00)	[illegible] (100.00)	[illegible] (100.00)	[illegible] (100.00)

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*162 In border area and project area the percentage of literates is worked out at 24 and 31 respectively –a comparatively high figure for a rural area. This, however, cannot be regarded as a true index of literacy in the rural area of the district for the fact that villages from border area and project area were purposively selected almost all of which by virtue of their bigness in size and location in vantage points, happened to possess at least one school for quite a long time. The average picture for the district as a whole is brought out by the percentage of literates in the general area which is only 17. A comparison of this figure with that of 1951 census for the rural areas of the district which is only 12 per cent shows that during the last eight years there has been an increase in the percentage of literates.

As will be seen from table above the proportion of literates among males is higher than that among females throughout the district.

Economic Status

*162 #34 5.3: The following table shows the number of persons in the sample villages by sex and economic status.

CHAPTER—X

Summary of main findings

125 10.1. Twenty-eight villages were selected for the purpose of the survey. Out of the 28 villages selected, 10 from Border area and 8 from Project area were selected purposively while the remaining 10 were selected at random from the entire district which is referred hereafter as general area.

166 Migration from big villages was rare but some migration was reported in respect of small villages.

164 Occurrence of Malaria, influenza and dysentery is a regular phenomenon in the area. Medical facilities were not found satisfactory and
743 as much as 78 per cent of the villages have no dispensary within a
871 radius of five miles. In regard to education, the facilities cannot also
489 be said to be unsatisfactory for more than 60 per cent of the villages
482 have a Lower Primary School. Transport facilities were not satisfactory and as much as 86 per cent of the villages still depend upon primitive mode of transport, namely head load. Correlated with outmoded form of transport, is the prevalence of unduly high cost of transport.

162 10.2. The number of the families covered by the survey was 1006
161 in the Border area, and 647 in the Project area and 184 in the General area. The average size of a village in the respective area is 100·6, 82·9 and 18·4 families. In the Border and Project areas females out number males being respectively 1076 and 1092 females per 1,000 males as against 940 females per 1,000 males in the general area
212 Literacy is as high as 34 per cent in the border area and 31 per cent
562 in the Project area but as low as 17 per cent in the general area. In all the areas literacy among females is very low.

162 The working population (earners and earning dependents) is as high
464 as 55 per cent in the Border area, 54 per cent in the Project area and 63 per cent in the general area. While there were no cases of unemployment in the Project and General areas, 53 persons were reported unemployed from border area.

241 10.3. 51 per cent of the families in Border area are wholly agricul-
162 tural, 36 per cent partly agricultural and 14 per cent independent of
463 agriculture. The corresponding figures for the Project area are 61, 31 and 8 per cent respectively while for the General area they are 70 per cent, 29 per cent, 1 per cent respectively.

Predominantly agricultural families constitute 67, 74 and 90 per cent of the families in Border, Project and General areas respectively.

162 10.4. 31 per cent of the families in Border area, 29 per cent in Project
423 area and 10 per cent in General area were absolutely without any land while 25 per cent, 39 per cent and 24 per cent of the families in the respective areas possessed small holding ranging from 0·24 to 2·50 acres representing 11,24 and 26 per cent of the total holding area in the respective areas. 34 per cent of the families in Border and Project areas and 41 in General area possessed medium sized holding (2 to less than 10 acres)

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR 7 Khasi AR 7

697 In addition, a total of Rs. 899 (£89, 18s.) was expended on jail buildings. The manufacturing account shows cash receipts amounting to Rs. 60, against an expenditure of Rs. 29, or a net profit of Rs. 31 (£3, 2s).

797 EDUCATIONAL STATISTICS.—The management of education in the
• 871 Khásiand Jáintiá Hills is entirely in the hands of the Welsh Cal-
648 vinistic Mission, who first established themselves in the District about the year 1844. Though the Khásiás are naturally dull, and children are taken away from school before they have obtained more than a smattering of instruction, yet the perseverance of the missionaries has been rewarded by most satisfactory results. It is stated, in the Report of the Inspector of Schools for Assam for 1874-75, that 'a much larger proportion of the Khásiás know a little of reading, writing, and arithmetic than is the case, probably, in any other
[562] District of either Assam or Bengal.' Female education, owing to the interest taken in this work by the wives of the missionaries, is also in a comparatively advanced condition. The missionary schools are largely subsidised by grants in aid from Government. The
[212] teaching is conducted in English and in Khási, the Roman character being used in both cases.

The following paragraphs are compiled from the Education Report for 1874-75, above referred to. In that year the total number of schools open in the District was 73, attended by 1666 pupils. As compared with the area and the population, these figures show one school to every 84·34 square miles, and one pupil to every 85 inhabitants. As compared with the total number of males under ten years of age, the number of boys only attending school (1320) shows one scholar to every 13·1. The total expenditure on education in the same year was Rs. 17,722. 11. 3, or £1772, 5s. 5d.; towards which Government contributed Rs. 10,443. 2, fees and fines produced Rs. 208. 5. 3, while the remainder (Rs. 7071. 4) was expended by the Missionary Society from its own funds. The average cost of educating each pupil was Rs. 10. 10. 4, or £1, 1s. 3¾d.

648 PRIMARY SCHOOLS.—With the exception of the schools at Cherra
797 Pínji, Jowái, Shillong, and Sholli, all the schools in the Hills may properly be classed as primary, though several are returned as
872 middle vernacular schools. On this principle the total number of primary schools is 64, in 45 of which a little English is taught. These 64 schools had 1206 pupils on their rolls at the close of the year 1874-75, and an average daily attendance of 879, comparing

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

favourably with an average attendance of 694 in the preceding year. Of the pupils on the rolls, 132 were professed Christians, 36 Hindus, and 1038 Khásiás. The total cost was Rs. 7127. 11. 6, or £712, 15s. 5d., towards which Government contributed Rs. 3246. The average cost of each pupil was Rs. 8. 7. 7, or 17s., of which Rs. 3. 14. 7 represents the share paid by Government. The chief failure among the Khásiás is stated by the Inspector to be in arithmetic. Four primary scholarships were awarded during the year by the Deputy-Commissioner, on the recommendation of the secretary to the Mission. These scholarships are of the value of Rs. 3 a month, or £3, 12s. a year, and are tenable for two years.

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MIDDLE ENGLISH SCHOOLS.—There were four schools of this class during the year under report, with 397 pupils on the rolls, and an average daily attendance of 243. The total expenditure was Rs. 4581. 15. 9, or £458, 4s., towards which Government contributed Rs. 1478. 8; the average cost of each pupil was Rs. 18. 13. 7, or £1, 17s. 8d.

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FEMALE INSTRUCTION.—The Khásí and Jáintiá Hills is the only District of Assam, and one of the very few throughout all India, in which female instruction can be said to exist. During 1874-75 the number of girls attending the schools increased from 241 to 344, or by more than 42 per cent., showing 4·7 girls at school to every thousand of the female population, as opposed to ·4 in the Province generally. Of this number 24 were taught by Mrs. Hugh Roberts of Cherrá Pínji, and 18 by Mrs. John Roberts of Shillá. During the year five of the girls were sent out as teachers, of whom one was placed in charge of the Shillong girls' school, which has 29 pupils.

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NORMAL SCHOOL.—According to the classification adopted by the Education Department, the institution at Cherrá Pínji, under the management of the Rev. Hugh Roberts, is described as partly 'Government normal' and partly 'aided English.' In 1874-75 the number of pupils on the rolls was 43, and the average attendance 39. There is a class of 10 girls, and of the 16 teachers turned out during the year, 5 were girls. The total cost was Rs. 4032. 6. 6, almost the whole being paid by Government. The average cost of each pupil was Rs. 109. 0. 7, or £10, 19s., of which Rs. 107. 0. 11 represents the share of Government. The following paragraph, quoted from Mr. Roberts' Report, illustrates what the missionaries have effected, and also the difficulties with which they have to contend:—"Cases have been brought to my notice during the past year

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20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

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of parents undergoing considerable privations rather than deny their children education; and in many families it has become a matter of ordinary routine to send the children to school. This only refers to the younger children; for after boys have attained their fourteenth or fifteenth year, their parents grow impatient for their pecuniary assistance. It is the custom among the Khásiás to inure very young children to work, so that they may earn enough to support themselves as soon as ever they can manage strap and basket. It is common for a boy to realise from ten *pár* to five *dawds* a day for his parents; and it is considered sufficient sacrifice for the latter to have kept him at school up to his fourteenth year.'

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(1) BHAWAL or WARRAH.—Name of Siem, U Baman Singh, age in 1876, 16 years; approximate population of State, 369; estimated gross revenue—from market dues, Rs. 10; from *mulikhed* on lime quarry, Rs. 16,000—total, Rs. 16,010, or £1601; products, rice, millet, *tejpát* or bay leaves, black pepper, Piper nigrum; minerals, lime.

(2) CHERRA or SOHRAH.—Siem, U Hijan Máik, aged 40; population, 8060; revenue—from market dues, Rs. 7000; judicial fines, Rs. 150; *mulikhed* on lime quarry, Rs. 200; *sawdeiri* bubling in Sylhet, Rs. 1300—total, Rs. 8650, or £865; products, cotton, millet, betel-nuts, *pán*, oranges, black pepper, Piper nigrum, chillies, turmeric, ginger, and honey; manufactures, bamboo mats and bamboo baskets; minerals, lime, iron, and coal.

(3) SWELLA.—*Wihadédiés*, U Jiedi, aged 25, and U Rái Singh, aged 35, of whom the former can read and write both Khási and Bengáli a little; population, 3510; revenue—from market dues, Rs. 300; judicial fines, Rs. 400—total, Rs. 700, or £70; products, oranges, betel-nuts, and pine-apples; manufactures, bamboo mats and bamboo baskets; minerals, lime and coal.

(4) KHYRIM or NONG-KREM.—Siem, U Khar Singh, aged 31; population, 10,324; revenue—from pension allowed by the British Government, Rs. 1800; market dues, Rs. 3000; judicial fines, Rs. 400; *mulikhed* on lime quarry, Rs. 1300; contributions for State purposes, Rs. 1000—total, Rs. 10,100, or £1010; products, rice, cotton, millet, 'Job's tears,' cassia-bark, cinnamon, *sulphúng*

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR 7 Khasi AR 7

697 In addition, a total of Rs. 899 (£89, 18s.) was expended on jail buildings. The manufacturing account shows cash receipts amounting to Rs. 60, against an expenditure of Rs. 29, or a net profit of Rs. 31 (£3, 2s).

797 871 648 EDUCATIONAL STATISTICS.—The management of education in the Khási and Jáintiá Hills is entirely in the hands of the Welsh Calvinistic Mission, who first established themselves in the District about the year 1844. Though the Khásis are naturally dull, and children are taken away from school before they have obtained more than a smattering of instruction, yet the perseverance of the missionaries has been rewarded by most satisfactory results. It is stated, in the Report of the Inspector of Schools for Assam for 1874-75, that 'a much larger proportion of the Khásis know a little of reading, writing, and arithmetic than is the case, probably, in any other [562] District of either Assam or Bengal.' Female education, owing to the interest taken in this work by the wives of the missionaries, is also in a comparatively advanced condition. The missionary schools are largely subsidized by grants in aid from Government. The [212] teaching is conducted in English and in Khási, the Roman character being used in both cases.

The following paragraphs are compiled from the Education Report for 1874-75, above referred to. In that year the total number of schools open in the District was 73, attended by 1666 pupils. As compared with the area and the population, these figures show one school to every 84·34 square miles, and one pupil to every 85 inhabitants. As compared with the total number of males under ten years of age, the number of boys only attending school (1322) shows one scholar to every 13·1. The total expenditure on education in the same year was Rs. 17,722. 11. 3, or £1772, 5s. 5d.; towards which Government contributed Rs. 10,443. 2, fees and fines produced Rs. 228. 5. 3, while the remainder (Rs. 7051. 4) was expended by the Missionary Society from its own funds. The average cost of educating each pupil was Rs. 10. 10. 4, or £1, 1s. 3½d.

648 797 • 872 PRIMARY SCHOOLS.—With the exception of the schools at Cherrá Púnjí, Jowái, Shillong, and Shullá, all the schools in the Hills may properly be classed as primary, though several are returned as middle vernacular schools. On this principle the total number of primary schools is 64, in 45 of which a little English is taught. These 64 schools had 1226 pupils on their rolls at the close of the year 1874-75, and an average daily attendance of 829, comparing

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favourably with an average attendance of 694 in the preceding year. Of the pupils on the rolls, 132 were professed Christians, 36 Hindus, and 1058 Khásiás. The total cost was Rs. 7,113. 11. 4, or £711, 15s. 5d., towards which Government contributed Rs. 3246. The average cost of each pupil was Rs. 8. 7. 7, or 17s. of which Rs. 3. 14. 7 represents the share paid by Government. The chief failure among the Khásiás is stated by the Inspector to be in arithmetic. Four primary scholarships were awarded during the year by the Deputy-Commissioner, on the recommendation of the secretary to the Mission. These scholarships are of the value of Rs. 3 a month, or £3. 12s. a year, and are tenable for two years.

MIDDLE ENGLISH SCHOOLS.—There were four schools of this class during the year under report, with 397 pupils on the rolls, and an average daily attendance of 243. The total expenditure was Rs. 4581. 15. 9, or £458, 4s., towards which Government contributed Rs. 1478. 8; the average cost of each pupil was Rs. 18. 13. 7, or £1, 17s. 8d.

FEMALE INSTRUCTION.—The Khási and Jáintia Hills is the only District of Assam, and one of the very few throughout all India, in which female instruction can be said to exist. During 1874-75 the number of girls attending the schools increased from 240 to 344, or by more than 42 per cent., showing 4·7 girls at school to every thousand of the female population, as opposed to ·4 in the Province generally. Of this number 24 were taught by Mrs. Hugh Roberts of Cherrá Pinjí, and 18 by Mrs. John Roberts of Shillú. During the year five of the girls were sent out as teachers, of whom one was placed in charge of the Shillong girls' school, which has 29 pupils.

NORMAL SCHOOL.—According to the classification adopted by the Education Department, the institution at Cherrá Pinjí, under the management of the Rev. Hugh Roberts, is described as partly 'Government normal' and partly 'aided English.' In 1874-75 the number of pupils on the rolls was 43, and the average attendance 39. There is a class of 10 girls, and of the 11 teachers turned out during the year, 5 were girls. The total cost was Rs. 4032. 6. 6, almost the whole being paid by Government. The average cost of each pupil was Rs. 103. 0. 7, or £10, 15s., of which Rs. 103. 0. 11 represents the share of Government. The following paragraph, quoted from Mr. Roberts' Report, illustrates what the missionaries have effected, and also the difficulties with which they have to contend:—'Cases have been brought to my notice during the past year

Hereafter, the British negotiated treaties with all the Khasi states, the last treaty being signed in 1881. It was contracted that the chiefs would be subject to the authority of a resident political agent, whose duties would involve maintaining law and order, judging cases of heinous crimes, approving the popular selection of any new chief, and exercising control over certain categories of natural resources. Khasis were guaranteed noninterference in their customary way of life, and they were not then, nor are they now, taxed. Most Khasis, as opposed to Jaintias, were never an integral part of British India, but they did undergo social change as a result of British presence. To summarize Mills (n.d.): (1) The British introduced the potato, which the Khasis rapidly took up as a cash crop for marketing as far as Calcutta. The resource specialization enhanced the soil and made for more power crops. (2) Christian missionaries made large numbers of converts, and there arose the difficult question of whether a Christian should inherit property that traditionally was earmarked for his performance of non-Christian religious rituals. (3) About 1864 the British transferred their headquarters from Cherrapunji to Shillong. When they made Shillong the capital of the entire state of Assam, non-Khasis flocked of a land values soared, and the concept of private property became increasingly important. Khasis began to marry with members of other ethnic groups, which introduced tensions into traditional social patterns. These problems were exacerbated during World War II, when Shillong and its environs enjoyed enormous economic prosperity. One notable aftermath of this affluence has been the accelerated enrollments in schools and colleges. Hundreds of Khasis now have the B.A., M.A., and even the Ph.D. degree. • With the independence of India in 1947 and under the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India (which was drafted by a Khasi), the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills District became a Part B, or autonomous, Tribal Area, to be governed by a District Council composed largely of Khasis and Jaintias and responsible not to the Legislature of Assam, but to the Governor of Assam as agent of the President of India. The extra-state status and the chiefs still exist, and the District Council finds it difficult to effect legislation which is neither offensive to regional custom nor a simple blueprint of Shillong all-India legislation. The major political schism of this time is between Jaintias, who are accustomed to central and authority and taxation, and Khasis, who want the option of taxation to support the work of a central District Council. (2 Gait 1906, Gurdon 1909, Bhuyan 1966, Sharma 1968)

SETTLEMENT PATTERN AND HOUSING. Settlement pattern. Khasis live exclusively in nucleated, nucleated, and nucleated villages which are situated not below hill summits to avoid strong winds but still in defensible, and which usually include a de-

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Assembly with an average attendance of 892 in the preceding year. Of the pupils on the rolls, 130 were professed Christians, 38 Hindus, and 1098 Khasis. The total cost was Rs. 3,103, 11, 6, or £310, 17s. 3d., towards which Government contributed Rs. 3,108. The average cost of each pupil was Rs. 8, 3, 3, or 17s., of which Rs. 3, 14, 7 represents the share paid by Government. The chief failure among the Khasis is stated by the Inspector to be in arithmetic. Four primary scholarships were awarded during the year by the Deputy-Commissioner, on the recommendation of the secretary to the Mission. These scholarships are of the value of Rs. 3 a month, or £3, 10s. a year, and are tenable for two years.

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Women Education Schemes.—There were four schools of this class during the year under report, with 92[illegible] pupils on the rolls, and an average daily attendance of 1[illegible]. The total expenditure was Rs. 2[illegible], 13, 9, or £2[illegible], 4s., towards which Government contributed Rs. 1[illegible], 8; the average cost of each pupil was Rs. 18, 13, 3, or £1, 17s. 8d.

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Female Instruction.—The Khasi and Jaintia Hills is the only District of Assam, and one of the very few throughout all India, in which female instruction can be said to exist. During 1895-96 the number of girls attending the schools increased from 1[illegible] to 3[illegible], or by more than 40 per cent., showing 2.7 girls at school to every thousand of the female population, as opposed to 1.9 in the Province generally. Of this number 14 were taught by Mrs. Hugh Roberts of Cherrapunji, and 18 by Mrs. John Roberts of Shella. During the year five of the girls were sent out as teachers, of whom one was placed in charge of the Shillong girls' school, which has 19 pupils.

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Normal School.—According to the classification adopted by the Education Department, the institution at Cherrapunji, under the management of the Rev. Hugh Roberts, is described as partly "Government normal" and partly "aided English." In 1895-96 the number of pupils on the rolls was 23, and the average attendance 20. There is a class of 10 girls, and of the 18 teachers turned out during the year, 3 were girls. The total cost was Rs. 3[illegible], 8, 6, of which the whole being paid by Government. The average cost of each pupil was Rs. 1[illegible], 8, 3, or £1-4, 19s., of which Rs. 1[illegible], 8, 10 represents the share of Government. The following paragraph, quoted from Mr. Roberts' Report, illustrates what the administration have effected, and also the difficulties with which they have to contend:—"Cases have been brought to my notice during the past year

21: Ehrenfels E-4,5 (1950) 1953 AR7 Khasi AR7

III. Explanations

1. General

124 Most of my informants were illiterate. The spelling of the terms was
128 checked and corrected by my English-speaking and writing Khasi- and
601 Pnar- friends, mentioned in para one, to whom thanks are being here once more expressed. All responsibility for spelling mistakes, however, which may have slipped into this list has of course to be borne by me.

Blanks (—) or question marks (?) in one of the columns do not necessarily mean that there is no word used, by the respective group, for the particular term. They more often indicate that my informants did not use, or know, the particular term, or that I failed to enquire about it in a
[114] manner sufficiently clear to my informants. This is particularly true of general terms, partly or fully corresponding to English general terms, such as parents or grand-parents, or the terms No. 9/a and *b*, 13, 15/a, 19-21, and 26, which were partly explained to me, by Khasi friends in Shillong, where I stayed some time after completion of field-work during the rainy season. Hence I could no more return for verification to the little accessible Wár-villages in the steep southern slopes. Although I am planning to utilise a future opportunity for such checking up, I am yet publishing the present results in the hope that they may thus become accessible to field-workers among other S. E.-Asiatic, and especially Austro-Asiatic speaking peoples.

143 All terms which are equal for both sexes (cf. Nos. 10, 11, 18, 19, etc.)
601 are used with *ka* and *u* respectively. These sexdetermining preposed articles,
128 as also the honorific *i* are specially mentioned in the list, only if this is essential for the understanding of the respective terms as in Nos. 3-5, 7, 8, or 10.

2. Special

601 Term No. 1 — to give birth or beget (*kha*) signifies also relatives on the paternal side as in *pare kha* (paternal cousins No. 9/c), in contradistinction to *pare kur*, 9/b, (lit.: cousins of the clan), i. e. maternal cousins, since the clan is a matrilineal unit. This usage of the word *kha* appears also
[142] significantly in the terms 15/a, 17, 18/b, 20, 22, 32 and, as an integral part of the Khasi kinship terminology, renders it highly improbable that the Khasi matrilineal system could have originated in ignorance of the biological function of the father. It is a significant feature in the matrilineal social system.

The terms 3 to 3/b refer to unmarried but biologically marriageable youths.
[331] It will be noted that there are (and were in 1914) no indications of puberty-
[584] rites for either girls or boys. There is also no child-marriage among Khasi. The use of special terms for mature, unmarried youths is therefore significant.

Term 6 — *i* as honorific article, is at the same time indicative of
[628] diminution [illegible], which is remarkable for two reasons: (firstly) the diminution is used for the oldest and most respected family members, like the diminution

[illegible] Vienna Series (1950), p. 84.

[52] also that we do is instinct with a plus; and for the student of religion or of human culture in any of its forms, to account for that plus is the sum and substance of his task.....Whereas, then, there is likelihood that any a posteriori reason existed for believing that in-breeding unless for sterility, if indeed it be true in fact at all, there might well have been an a priori conviction to much the same effect based simply on a fear that to tamper with the fountain-head of human vitality would somehow cause it to dry up." The Khasi stands
166, 979, 582 in the world as exogamous in his sale of life, and he says 'ainy bud lyrsiah', that is, endogamy is forbidden and if it should ever be committed it will render life dulled and savage. He says this out of the fear of the knowledge that any act of carelessness in the prohibited area of the source
• [95] of human life and vitality, which is in the Khasi phrase '*long briw*' (*long* is to be or become, *briw* is man, i.e., to be or become man), will make that source of human life to dry up. He he says, 'Ah I jaid I khong' (*Ah* is exterminated; *jaidu* kind, species; *khong* = man).

592 585 has no rules of marriage, I shall quote the most sacred pronouncement the Khasi when two persons, the man and the woman, are initiated into that state. Calling upon the name of God the Khasi says—"*U Lei ibaw briw man briw, u' Lei ne ka 'Lei synshar*', (God who creates man
[59] and in the source of human life, God who keeps, sustains, preserves), "*Ki ka Ibai na jong. Ka*